

Swearing

A cross-cultural study in Asian and European Languages



Thesis

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Swearing: A cross-cultural study in Asian and European Languages
By Syahrul Rahman

Abstract: Asian and European languages use swearing words to express displeasure, anger, frustration, shock, pain, surprise and other emotions. Previous studies have examined the use of swearing words in Asian and European languages. However, there have been few comparative studies on the use of swear words in Asian and European languages. The present study established how people actually swear. Sources of swearing words in Asian and European languages were also examined. In addition, the study established types of swearing that are commonly used among Asian and European languages. There was also an investigation of socio-cultural factors that influence the use of swearing words in Asian and European languages.

The study was conducted by the use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Systematic sampling was done to come up with an appropriate sample size for the study. A total of 17 languages with 125 study participants took part in the study. The study was conducted using questionnaires and interviews. It was revealed that the use of taboo words in Asian and European languages with regard to swearing is common. The present day study revealed that swearing words associated with sexual activity, sexual reproductive organs, scatology, and religion are the most used in both Asian and European languages. The Dutch language is the only language that uses diseases when it comes to swearing. Moreover, it was also revealed that socio-cultural factors have an important role to play when it comes to determining the use of swearing words in Asian and European languages. In conclusion, it was unveiled that there are similarities and differences between swearing words that are used in Asian languages and those that are used in European languages.

Key words: *Swearing, Asian Language, European language, taboo words, cursing*

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Information

Swearing has a long history. In ancient times, people did not put swearing words in writing. Swearing words were rarely used in ancient times (Montagu, 2001). However, with time, the use of swear words increased. During the Middle Ages, swearing became a common practice for individuals who belonged to different social classes (Montagu, 2001). During the Middle Ages, swearing was not restricted to gender or age. As a matter of fact, during the dark ages, swearing was viewed as a form of art (Montagu, 2001). In the Middle Ages, swearing was regarded as subversive of social and religious institutions, more so when names of gods were invoked. Use of swearing words to invoke the gods was strongly forbidden. According to Montagu (2001), it reached a point where obscene words were adopted and used in swearing. The obscene words were drawn from taboo words. There was an outrage in society when taboo words started being used in swearing (Montagu, 2001).

The first recorded cases of swearing words are attributed to Ancient Egypt (Ljung, 2010). In Ancient Greek and Latin, swearing was done using names of gods, and it was not associated with use of bad language (Ljung, 2010). In ancient Rome, the use of swearing words in public could lead to a death penalty. However, swearing words were used for many years in public before they were finally recorded in the form of written language (Ljung, 2010).

During the eighteenth century, swearing reached its pinnacle in Britain (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). However, in the nineteenth century, there was a serious campaign against swearing in Britain. Respectable members of the British society ceased using swearing as a form of expression. In the twentieth century, swearing became common and people increasingly used the word 'Fuck.' The word 'Fuck' started being used as early as the seventeenth century. In the twenty-first century, a scatological form of swearing has become highly prevalent. As a matter of fact, a study by Jay & Janschewitz, (2008) has revealed that scatological form of swearing is the most common form of swearing in the twenty-first century.

Despite the fact that swearing is popular in contemporary society, it is socially condemned. Montagu (2001) asserts that there are people who publicly take part in denunciation of swearing, but in private, they hold a different view of it. For instance, someone might denounce the use of words like 'shit' in public to create a good impression of themselves but they might use it at home or other private places. Swearing is socially

condemned because it is the use of words that are considered obscene and usurpation of the name of God or gods in vain (Montagu, 2001).

Swear words that are used in Asian languages and those that are used in European languages have similarities and differences. Socio-cultural factors play a major role when it comes to determining the use of swearing words. Swearing is done differently all over the world. It is done differently among different languages. Most of the swearing words that are used in the contemporary age arose in the Middle Ages, specifically in Medieval Europe (Maynard, 2002). Socio-cultural factors influence the use of swear words. For instance, conservative cultures tend to discourage the use of swear words, on the other hand, liberal cultures tend to be accepting when it comes to the use of swear words (Montagu, 2001). Asian cultures are conservative in nature and they discourage individuals from using swearing words. Japanese people always demand caution when it comes to the use of swearing words. The Japanese believe in an idea known as *kotodama* which is a belief that language directly influences reality (Maynard, 2002). As a result, there are very few incidences of swearing in the Japanese language. There are also few swearing words in the Japanese language (Maynard, 2002). European cultures, on the other hand, are liberal in nature and tend to be accommodative when it comes to the use of swear words (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). European cultures rarely reprimand individuals for using swear words. For instance, a language like the Italian language has a rich vocabulary of swearing words. Swearing words in Italian are used on a daily basis (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). Modernity and capitalism are slowly but surely penetrating Asian cultures, making Asians start to adopt more swear words in their conversations (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). This might be because Asians people are mainly nationalistic who have strong beliefs in their cultures, but they have lately started integrating capitalism and modernity whereby they adopt new swearing words.

Swearing is a form of expression. It is viewed as a popular way in which a person can express anger such as *fuck you* in English, *anjing* “dog” in Bahasa Indonesia etc. Among soldiers and sailors of any rank, swearing is seen as the most popular way in which to express anger (Mohr, 2013). Swearing words are likely to reveal a speaker’s state of mind (Ljung, 2010). Individual opinions on swearing differ a great deal. According to Ljung (2010) there are significant similarities and differences when it comes to wording systems of swearing among different languages. These similarities and differences exist on the differences in the languages’ cultural and linguistic elements. These phenomena might lead to misunderstanding. Therefore, for a better understanding of the use of swear words among Asian and European communities, there is a need to establish the difference between swear

words in Asian languages and swear words in European languages. There is a need to establish socio-cultural factors that influence the use of swear words in Asian languages and in European language.

Jay (2009) classifies swear words in nine categories. According to Jay (2009), swear words are often made in reference to sexual activities, religion, scatological factors, animals, (ethnicity-race-gender), psychological factors, physical factors, social deviation, ancestral allusions, vulgar terms, and offensive slang. Therefore, it is interesting to find out what referential words are used in other languages, more so in Asian languages. It is necessary to establish the difference in referential words that are used among Asian and European languages. It is important to establish the most referential word that people use when it comes to swearing and to establish the type of swearing that these cultures mostly use in classifying swear words that are used in both Asian and European languages. In addition, to classify the type and the function of swearing this study uses Pinker's book (2007) about five functions of swearing. The five functions are abusive swearing, cathartic swearing, dysphemistic swearing, emphatic swearing and idiomatic swearing.

1.2 Problem Statement

There are few studies such as Maynard (2002), Rassin & Muris (2005), Ljung (2010) and Jing-Schmidt (2017) that have conducted a comparative study regarding the use of swear words in Asian and European languages. A study by Ljung (2010) is one of the few studies that comparatively addresses the use of swear words in different languages. In this study, he makes general distinctions between the use of swear words in English and other European languages. Unfortunately, he does not make specific references to objects, events, animals and things associated with the swear words. Given that most of the languages that are discussed in Ljung (2010) are European languages, there is a need to conduct a study on the use of swear words in Asian languages such as Bahasa Indonesia, Vietnamese, Burmese, Mandarin, Hindi, Japanese and Korean. There is also a need to establish similarities and differences in the use of swear words among European languages and Asian languages.

1.3 Research Questions

Based on the problem statement described above, the research question can be formulated as follows:

1.3.1 What are the sources of swear words used in Asian and European languages?

- 1.3.2 What types of swear words are commonly used in Asian and Europeans languages?
- 1.3.3 Which socio-cultural factors influence the use of swear words in Asian and European languages?
- 1.3.4 What are the similarities and the difference of swear words in Asian and European languages?
- 1.3.5 How do people actually swear?

1.4 Rationale

Swearing and cursing are part and parcel of any given society. For many years, studies have been conducted about the use of swear words and taboo language. Some of the studies that have been investigating the use of swear words include Jay (1978;1992; 2000; 2003), Jay *et al* (1977), Jay *et al* (2005), Jay *et al* (2006), Lanker (1972; 1987), Lanker et al. (1989), Meigs et al. (2002), Taylor (1975), Anderson (1977), Klerk (1991), McErnery (2005), Pinker (2007), Ljung (2005; 2009) and Qanbar (2011). Most of the studies have been conducted on the use of swear words in English. Only a few of the studies have investigated the use of swearing words in other languages other than English such as, Maynard (2002), Rassin & Muris (2005), Ljung (2011) and Jing-Schmidt (2017).

1.5 Objectives

The aims of the study can be divided into general aims and specific aims. They are described below:

1.5.1 General objective

To establish similarities and differences in swear words used in European and Asian languages.

1.5.2 Specific objectives

In line with research questions mentioned above, the specific aims of the study are: to establish the sources of swearing words used in Asian and European languages, to establish the types of swearing that are commonly used in Asian and Europeans languages, and to establish socio-cultural factors that can possibly influence the use of swearing words in Asian and European languages. Furthermore, the study also investigates the similarities and

difference of swearing word in Asian and European languages and the last but not least, establishes how do people actually swear.

1.6 Hypothesis

There are similarities and differences with regard to swearing words used in European and Asian languages.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section will first give a general explanation of taboo language which will relate to swearing and cursing. Afterwards, the following section will explain the definition of swearing which will include the swearing context and synonym, and then, give some explanations of cursing, the clear-cut distinction of swearing and cursing and the types of swearing. Finally, the section will be closed this section by discussing some relevant studies of swear word across Asia and Europe.

2.1 Definition of taboo language

The English word *taboo* comes from the Tongan word *tabu* which means forbidden. In Tongan, the word *tabu* is applied for any sort of prohibition. The word *tabu* is a rule of etiquette and is often used in guidance to individuals on how to behave. The word *tabu* is also used as an injunction for children not to meddle with possessions of elders (Allan & Burridge, 2006).

Taboo words are words that are viewed by society as indecent, disrespectful, inappropriate, vulgar and negative. Taboo words have different degrees of offensiveness. People who swear often draw their words from different areas of taboo language. According to Jay (2009), taboo words are words whose definitions are developed and sanctioned by institutions that wield power in society. Institutions such as religion institutions and media houses serve a role in defining what taboo words are. In any given society, as a child is raised, he or she is often cautioned against the use of taboo words. Parents tend to advise their children to refrain from using taboo words and profane words because people in societies tend to interpret taboo words as a bad word and behavior when they are used in swearing.

According to Dewaele (2004), taboo words that are used in swearing have an emotional force. The emotional force of taboo words that are used in swearing tends to be high in a person's first language and lower in languages that a person learns in later years. The study revealed that individuals who learned their language in a manner that is naturalistic are likely to use taboo words that have a high rate of emotional force. However, people that are learned a language through instruction tend to have a low use of taboo words. The use of emotional force when swearing is directly related to proficiency.

2.2 Definition of swearing and cursing

2.2.1 Swearing

Swearing is an English term that refers to the use of offensive language, especially when someone is angry. In swearing profane language may be used. Profane language refers to language that is perceived as disrespectful and derisive. In modern times, swearing can also be uttering taboo words out of emotional excitement. Taboo words are mostly used in swearing to put an emphasis on a message that a speaker wants to convey. The emotional excitement in this context could be anger, frustration or joy. In modern times, swearing draws from metaphors of disease and dirt. Swearing also makes references to bodily functions such as sexual activity and excretion. In addition, swearing refers to the use of profane words, taboo words or words that make reference to animals, religion, scatology, sex, sexual reproductive organs, diseases, bodily functions and moral decadency in expressing anger, shock, frustration, surprise, pain or disappointment (Pinker, 2010).

According to Ljung (2010) “swearing is an English terms denoting a particular types of linguistic behavior”. This English term is usually used in other languages studies with different name such as in French is *juror* or in Swedish is *svara* (Ljung, 2010:1). Given the fact that this term “swearing” is a well-known one, this present study will use the name swearing as a term to refer with any emotive utterances, offensive word and any other taboo words that relate to it.

2.2.2 Swearing contexts

There are three categories of contexts in which swear words are used. From a functional point of view, swearing constructions can be used as ‘stand-alone,’ as ‘slot fillers’ and in replacive swearing (Ljung, 2010).

‘Stand-alone’ refers to swearing constructions that are complete utterances and may function on their own. Swearing words can be used as independent utterances (Pinker, 2010). The stand-alone swearing constructions can be further divided into seven kinds of uses. ‘Stand-alone’ can be used as expletive interjections, oaths, curses, name calling, affirmations, ritual insults or unfriendly suggestions (Ljung, 2010).

Slot fillers are not independent utterances but are swear words that are used inside larger units. The most popular slot fillers in British English are *fucking* and *bloody*. The most common slot filler in American English is *motherfucking* (Ljung, 2010). Other functions of slot fillers are expressing dislike, expressing subjectivity and placing of emphasis (Ljung, 2010). ‘Replacive swearing’ stands for swear words that can be used to express non-literal

meanings. For instance, ‘Jimmy is a peace of *shit*’. The swear word *shit* in that example can be best interpreted with a non-literal meaning because we know for sure that the only possible meaning of the word *shit* when used about a person is ‘a worthless person’ not a literal meaning of the word *shit* (Ljung, 2010, p. 162).

2.2.3 Swear words and synonymy

Swear words contain a specific type of synonymy which is particular to the swear words. Swearing is a type of formulaic language meaning that entire sequences of words cannot be understood from the words that make up the sequence but from words that are contained in the sequence. Examples of swearing words in formulaic language include *what the hell*, *holly shit* and so on. Swearing cannot be understood from a grammatical configuration of words that are used for swearing.

Swearing words exhibit desemanticization. Desemanticization means the loss of meaning of different words when they are used in a certain formula and a certain context (Dewaele, 2006). Swearing can be classified as an emotive language genre that is used to reveal a speaker’s attitude. When a person swears, a listener often interprets the sworn words with regard to his linguistic and non-linguistic information. Swearing is likely to lead to severe consequences. Different languages have different ways in which they do their swearing (Dewaele, 2006). According to Jay (2009), swearing is often associated with extraversion. However, there is a negative correlation between swearing and religiosity; swearing and conscientiousness; and swearing and agreeableness. Swearing has evolved and continues to persist because taboo words can be used to communicate anger and frustration more readily when compared to words that are non-taboo. Through the use of taboo words in swearing, a speaker can achieve a variety of social and personal goals.

2.2.4 Domains associated with swearing words

Swearing words are often derived from different domains. Swearing words can be derived from religion. In Christianity, swearing can be diabolic or celestial. In Islam, diabolic themes do not occur. The second theme from which swear words can be derived is a scatological theme. The scatological theme refers to anything that relates to excretion such as, *shit*, *crap*, *asshole* etc. The third theme from which swearing words originate from is about sex organs. Use of taboo words about sex organs is prevalent in contemporary societies all over the world. The theme of sexual activities is the fourth theme from which swearing words can be formulated. ‘The mother’ is one of the themes around which swearing words are derived.

Minor themes of swearing are associated with ancestors, animals, prostitution, and diseases. Death is used by many cultures as a source of swearing words. However, there are languages that prefer the use of euphemistic terms when it comes to discussing death as a subject (Montagu, 2001).

2.2.5 Cursing

According to Jing-Schmidt (2017) cursing is a term that used to invoke supernatural power to inflict calamity on the one being cursed. In line with her, Horan (2013:285) said that “Cursing is generally defined as an expression which can be in the form of a ritualized formula directed at the addressee as in ‘May you die of a wasting disease’ or ‘I hope you...’.”

Cursing is often done by invoking the name of God, a divine being or supernatural spirits. Utterances used in cursing are often regarded as profanity or blasphemous with regard to Christian faith because they invoke divine intervention. Historically, there have been attempts to curtail cursing by issuing legal consequences and divine threats on individuals found involving themselves in cursing. The threats were meant to frighten individuals so that they refrained from cursing. Curse words are often hurled at a person who has done an abominable thing such as breaking a taboo (Montagu, 2001).

2.3 Clear-cut distinction between swearing and cursing

It is difficult to define the difference between swearing and cursing. They are similar especially when we use bad, rude, offensive and insulting word as definitions. In swearing, there can be an invocation of a divine being or not. Alternatively, in cursing, there is the invocation of a supernatural being or supernatural spirits. The name of a supernatural being is often mentioned during cursing. For instance, in cursing, a person may say “may God bring suffering in your life” whereas in swearing people will say ‘*Ooh shit*’ (Montagu, 2001).

In swearing, words may be uttered jokingly. In cursing, words are often uttered seriously, with no pun intended. Cursing is more malevolently intended than swearing, given that it stems from deep-seated conditions (Montagu, 2001). Any human being can take part in swearing. On the other side, in most societies, cursing is considered as a special prerogative for a priest or a spiritual leader.

Swearing makes reference to the present whereas cursing makes reference to the future. Studies have revealed that most of the time, people swear when the promise of relief is immediate, and achievement of effect is immediate. On the other side, a person may curse when relief is immediate, but the effects of a curse could be somehow delayed. Cursing is

often associated with a language that refers to the future. To exemplify this, a person will swear at his enemy when the enemy is within reach, and a person curses his enemy when he is not within immediate reach (Montagu, 2001).

Swearing is not allowed in most societies. Cursing, on the other hand, enjoys some form of social sanction. Most societies view swearing as a sign of low intelligence and incivility and therefore, detestable. Cursing is allowed in most societies because it plays a major role in ensuring that individuals do not engage in abominable activities (Montagu, 2001).

Swear words are not necessarily directed to someone. Swearing out of anger, frustration or joy is not necessarily directed at a person. On the other hand, a curse is often directed to someone. Cursing is deliberate and objective whereas swearing can simply be done for immediate relief (Montagu, 2001).

Swear words may be used for a person who has not done anything wrong. Curse words are often administered on a person who has done an abominable thing. There are curse words that are directed to a person for breaking a taboo (Montagu, 2001). Cursing and swearing are the two terms which are actually difficult to distinguish. At least in everyday **conversion**, the words cursing and swearing are often used as **synonym**. To avoid confusion, this thesis will only focus on swearing.

2.4 Types and functions of swearing

2.4.1 Types of swearing

According to Pinker (2010), there are five categories of swearing. The categories of swearing are dysphemistic swearing, abusive swearing, idiomatic swearing, emphatic swearing and cathartic swearing (Pinker, 2010).

Dysphemistic swearing is often used to give a negative input to a subject matter under discussion or an audience towards which the swearing is directed. For instance, by swearing *you look like shit*, it means that the person that the swearing words are directed towards is not appealing to the eyes in a very extreme way. Dysphemistic swearing always compels a listener to think about a provocative matter or a negative matter. (Pinker, 2010).

Abusive swearing is a type of swearing that is used to insult or intimidate a person that the swearing is directed to. Some of the popular abusive words that are mostly used include “*fuck you*” and “*son of a bitch*” (Pinker, 2010).

Idiomatic swearing is a type of swearing where words are used to capture a person’s attention, exude coolness or to express to peers that the person who is involved in swearing

and his or her audience are in an informal setting. Examples of idiomatic swearing phrases include “*fuck, man*” and “*hell, yeah*”. Idiomatic swearing is also used to arouse interest in a certain matter (Pinker, 2010).

Emphatic swearing is used to assert emphasis about a certain issue or matter. A person can be emphatic about a point by swearing (Pinker, 2010). For instance, *this food is fucking delicious* and *you are fucking stupid*. These are two examples of emphasizing something by swearing.

Cathartic swearing is used when something that displeasing happens, for instance, when a person gets hurt or feels bad. Cathartic swearing is used to reveal to an audience that a person is undergoing a difficult time or is experiencing negative emotions. For instance, a person can swear by stating *Aww, fuck! Damn this coffee* (Pinker, 2010: 137).

2.4.2 Functions of swearing

Swearing is used to express feelings and strong emotions, and can act as a release of tension. However, most of the time, swearing is conversational and not highly confrontational or emotional. Given that swearing words contain figurative meaning, they have the ability to shock and underline the importance of emotional charge in any given message (Locher & Graham, 2010).

Swearing is used for social bonding, affirming group membership, and for enhancing solidarity. Identity can be constructed and displayed through swearing. Swearing can be used in teasing and jocular insults. Jocular insults are likely to create a sense of community among individuals as a way of dealing with challenges in life. Swear words are used to assert a presence in a given social context. According to Locher & Graham (2010), women are likely to use swearing words to assert their presence in a social setting that is potentially male-dominated. Swearing plays important roles in different social settings as a way of bonding in fostering solidarity. It is an important resource for the construction and display of individual and group identities. Swearing can be used to demarcate group boundaries. There is a tendency for people who belong to a certain social group to swear using words that are related to them. Boys have a tendency to use stronger expletives when they are expressing frustration. Swearing is likely to be avoided in a cross-generational context as a display of social distance between individuals (Locher & Graham, 2010).

Swearing can be used for humor purposes, for example, swear words can be used in storytelling. When a person is telling a story and wants people to laugh, he or she can include

swearing words in the story. Swearing words can help to get a message across more strongly in a humorous manner (Locher & Graham, 2010).

2.5 The role of socio-cultural factors in the use of swear words

According to Jay & Kushner (2001), socio-cultural factors influence the use of swear words. Some of the socio-cultural factors that influence the use of swear words include speaker-listener relationship, gender, status, occupation, socio-physical setting and the level of formality. In European languages, a speaker-listener relationship of individuals who are almost of the same age is appropriate when it comes to encouraging the use of swear words. On the other hand, a speaker-listener relationship between an old individual and a young individual could discourage the use of swear words. Gender also plays a role in the use of swearing words. For instance, there is a higher chance for conversations between men to involve the use of swear words when compared to a conversation between women. There is a high probability for a man who is conversing with a woman who is not respected in society to use swear words in the conversation (Pinker, 2010). On the other hand, there is a high probability that a man would not use swear words when conversing with a woman who is respected in society. There is a high likelihood for individuals who belong to a low socio-economic status to use more swear words when compared to individuals who belong to a high socio-economic status (Pinker, 2010). Use of swear words among individuals who belong to white collar jobs is mostly low when compared to individuals who belong to blue collar jobs.

2.6 Similarities between swear words used in European in Asian languages

There are similarities between swearing words in Asian languages and swear words in European languages. In both Asian languages and European languages, there is the use of scatological swear words. To give an example of scatological swearing in an European language, words such as *lit*, *skit*, and *skitstovel* are used in Swedish. *Lit* means urine in Swedish. *Skit* means *shit* in Swedish. *Skitstovel* means *asshole* in Swedish (Hübinette, 2012). In terms of an Asian language, scatological swearing involves making reference to feces in Japan, by using *Kuso*. Calling someone *kuso* is highly derogatory in Japanese.

Swear words in Asian languages and European languages are both used as an expression of anger. In Bikol (a Philippine language), swearing is often done using an anger vocabulary that is special in nature. Many of the other words that are used in swearing are nothing but alternative words from the anger vocabulary (Reid *et al.*, 2005).

Both Asian languages and European languages have a penchant for swearing by referring to sexual reproductive organs. In Swedish, swearing is done with regard to sexual reproductive organs. Similarly, in Bikol, swearing is also done by uttering words that are associated with private sexual organs. In Mandarin, a person can swear by uttering the name of female or male genitalia. Swearing and cursing in Japanese can be done by referring to the female sexual reproductive organ. *Manko* is a Japanese word that stands for 'cunt.' Calling a person *manko* in Japanese is found to be highly offensive and regarded as a taboo in Japanese society (Maynard, 2002). Similarly, the Finnish language uses swears which refer to female genitalia. Phrases linked to private sexual parts are used to express displeasure that a person has for something.

A person's mental deficiency is often a target of swear words in both Asian and European languages. A person who is regarded as stupid is likely to be the recipient of swear words in both Asian languages and European languages. In Italian, there are swearing words that are used to insinuate that a person is mentally deficient. *Fava* is an Italian word that is used to imply that a person is stupid. *Fava* can be translated into English as "broad bean." By calling someone "fava," it means that you are insinuating that the person is stupid (Bucaria, 2009). These include words that refer to someone as a loser. In Italian, the word *sfigato* is used to refer to someone as a 'loser.' In Japanese, a person could curse or swear at another person by insinuating that the person is stupid. In Japan, associating a person with mental deficiency is regarded as very offensive (Maynard, 2002). Words that are used in Japanese to insinuate that a person is stupid, retarded or has a non-functioning brain include *aho*, *boke*, *kasu* or *kichigai*. *Aho* stands for an idiot, *boke* refers to a person with a non-functioning brain, *kasu* refers to an 'idiot' who is of no use at all, and *kichiga* stands for a person who is mentally retarded. *Kichigai* is highly offensive in the Japanese language. Similarly, to Japanese, associating a person with a mental deficiency is highly offensive in Mandarin; people in China profoundly look down upon mental deficiency (Chapman, 2004). There are swearing words in Thai that makes reference to a person's mental deficiency. A stupid person is likely to be called *kwai*. *Kwai* is a Thai name for buffalo. In Thailand, buffalos are considered slow and stupid (Sacher *et al.*, 2012). In German, a stupid person is likely to be insulted by being called *ArmLeuchter*, which means 'dimwit' (Agha, 1999).

There is a reference to sexual immorality in both Asian and European languages. In Japanese, there are words that are used to refer to a person as being sexually immoral. Some of the words that are used with regard to men in describing a man who is sexually immoral are *hentai* and *chikan*. *Hentai* is Japanese word that means 'pervert' whereas *chikan* is a

Japanese word that means ‘groper.’ Associating a woman with sexual immorality is highly offensive in Japanese. *Abazure* and *yariman* are some of the offensive words in Japanese that are used to associate a woman with sexual immorality. *Abazure* is a word that means ‘bitch’ and *yariman* is a word that means ‘slut’ (Maynard, 2002).

In Asian and European languages, there are swear words that make reference to a person’s physical appearance. In Thai, a person may be abused based on his or her physical appearances. *Nah gliat* is a term that is used to insult a person who is regarded ugly. In Italian, a person can be referred to as *Cesso* if he or she is ugly.

In both Asian and European languages, swearing words can also be used to express positive emotions and instill confidence in individuals. A coach or a leader can use swear words in both Asian and European languages to motivate his team members or subordinates. In Finnish, swearing can be used to express positive emotions and can be used to build a positive attitude among individuals. In Japanese, swear words can be used to motivate a team.

2.7 Differences between swearing words used in Asian and European languages

European languages tend to be rich in swearing vocabularies when compared with Asian languages. As a matter of fact, European languages are the languages that have the highest numbers of swearing words. Finnish, Russian and Swedish are ranked as the languages with the highest numbers of swearing words in the world (Eilola & Havelka, 2010).

There are differences between swearing words in Asian languages and swearing words in European languages. In Asian languages, there is a profound respect for parents and names of parents are not used in swearing words. On the other hand, in Europe languages, there is a significant mention of parents in swearing phrases. In European languages, ‘your mother’ is commonly used in swearing phrases. In English, there is the use of ‘your mother’ in swearing and use of other terms that are disrespectful to a person’s parents (McEnery & Xiao, 2004). In Finnish, there is the use of *your mother* in swearing.

In Mandarin, there is no use of swearing words that refer to bodily functions such as the digestive system. Since the Mao-era, Chinese people have not had any taboo words when it comes to talking about bodily functions that are related to the digestive system. Chinese people do not see it as a taboo to talk about body parts that are related to the digestive system because, for a long time in China, it has been common for people to live, sleep, defecate and urinate in open spaces (Chapman, 2004). On the other hand, there are many European languages that make reference to body functions in their swearing words.

In Asian languages, there are no swearing words that make reference to diseases. Asians are highly conscious of their health (Sacher *et al.*, 2012). On the other hand, there is one European language that has a penchant for making reference to diseases in their swearing words; that is the Dutch language where swearing is done mostly by mentioning names of diseases. Swearing by calling a person with the name of a disease such as cancer or cholera is highly offensive in Netherlands (Rassin & Muris, 2005).

The next chapter will provide an explanation of the method of this study, how the study was conducted and also the data used for this study. Furthermore, chapter 4 will present the results and findings of this study which will include a brief discussion on swear words in Asian and European languages. Chapter 5 will further discuss the result of this study which mainly focus on answering all research questions and finally, chapter 6 will end this thesis by presenting the conclusion and some recommendations for further research of this study.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

3.1 Research design

The research was conducted by using qualitative approach. The qualitative approach dealt with ascertaining the circumstances under which swearing words are used in Asian and European languages, determining the types and sources of swearing words and also investigating which language that have the highest numbers of swearing words.

3.1.1 Study site

The study was conducted at Radboud University. The Internet played a major role in the study given that questionnaires used in the study were administered electronically to students in Radboud University. Consent was sought from the school administration, Radboud University, before the study commenced.

3.1.2 Sampling

Systematic sampling of international students who speak Asian and European languages was done. A sample size of 125 was used for this study, with between 3 to 17 participants per each of the languages under study. The sample was divided in two ways, an online questionnaire with 91 samples in total and 34 samples of direct interview. Additionally, there was a total of 17 languages that were involved in the study. Asian languages that were involved in the study were: Bahasa Indonesian, Vietnamese, Hindi, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Burmese. The European languages that were involved in the study were Dutch, German, Russia, Spanish, Italian, French, Spain, Romanian, Danish, Finnish, and Swedish. See table 1 below.

Table 1. Summary of sampling

Asian Languages	Quantity	European Languages	Quantity
1. Bahasa Indonesia	19	1. Dutch	16
2. Vietnamese	8	2. German	13
3. Hindi	15	3. Russian	5
4. Chinese	8	4. Spanish	4
5. Korean	6	5. Italian	8
6. Japanese	6	6. French	4
7. Burmese	8	7. Romanian	5
		8. Danish	5
		9. Finnish	6
		10. Swedish	4
Total	70	Total	70
Sum up		140	

3.2 Study participants

The study participants were international students of Radboud University. Given that international speakers are native speakers of several Asian and European languages, they offered a better opportunity in understanding the use of swear words in Asian and European languages. Radboud University is home to a large population of international students; therefore, there was a guarantee that relevant information would be collected from the study participants. Individuals who took part in the study had an average of 22 years of age. They were promised a free meal as an incentive for them to take part in the study.

3.3 Materials

The study was conducted by using questionnaires and interviews.

3.3.1 Use of questionnaires

The questionnaire was done by using Qualtrics of CLS Radboud University (Center for Language Study). Qualtrics is a tool for creating and conducting online surveys or questionnaires. Questionnaires were administered electronically to the study participants. The study participants were asked to provide information about their name, their gender, their age, their native language and their nationality. The questionnaires were administered to all international students who were willing to take part in the study.

The study participants were asked to mention at least three strongly forbidden words in their language plus the literal meanings of the words in English. This was done in order to find out the taboo words in their language. Additionally, they were also asked to classify the swearing words used in their language in reference to the origin of the swearing word. The reference could be an animal, religion, scatological reference, sexual organ, family members or diseases. Further, they were asked to mention the term that is mostly used in swearing with regard to their language.

The study participants were also asked to state if there are taboo words used in their language that have the same meaning as non-taboo words. They were asked to state unique words that are used in their native languages with regard to swearing.

The study participants were asked to affirm swear words that are used in their languages under different circumstances. The circumstances included dropping one's phone in water, one's car being hit, accidentally hitting one's finger with a hammer, when very angry, and when a spider surprisingly jumps on one's body. See the appendix for more detail.

From a week online questionnaire, there were 106 out of 202 respondents who can be considered as a valid online participant in this study. I had to delete some of them since their language does not include in this study. Their language is African languages (Arabic, Swahili)

3.3.2 Use of interviews

Interviews were used for the study. A total of 34 study participants were interviewed. Two of the participants spoke a common Asian and European language. Interviews gave the study participants an opportunity to elaborate on their responses and also to provide additional information that was not catered for by the research questions. The study participants were asked to give information about swear words in their native languages that they would use in different circumstances. The interviewees were asked to divulge swearing words that they would use to express shock, anger, pain, surprise, and frustration. The study participants were asked the role that socio-cultural factors have on swearing in their native languages. The participants were asked how people swear in their native languages.

3.4 Procedure

Systematic sampling of international students at Radboud University Nijmegen was done to arrive at individuals who would take part in the study. A schedule for conducting the study was then formulated. The study was done in two weeks. Study participants were first asked to

provide details of their email addresses. It was decided that 34 study participants, 2 for each of the 17 languages would be interviewed about the topic of the study. It was also decided, based on the sample size, international students would be given online questionnaires. The international students were given two weeks to fill the questionnaires. On the other hand, while the writer waited for the respond from an online questionnaire, at the same time, interviews were conducted in a single week (from Monday to Friday). Responses from the online questionnaires and the interviews were then compiled. I recruited two individuals to assist me with conducting the interviews (a total of 3 individuals were involved in conducting the interviews).

3.5 Apparatus

Microsoft Excel 2010 was used to collect responses from the online questionnaires. Responses to the interviews were recorded by audio recording and note-writing. Audio recording was important because it ensured that all details that would pass unnoticed by the interviewer were recorded.

3.6 Coding and data analysis

The data obtained from the questionnaires and interviews were coded in such a manner so that the responses could be understood in English. Responses from both the questionnaires and interviews were assessed and compared. Sources and references of swearing words that are used in the Asian and European languages were established by data analysis. Types of swearing that are common in the Asian and European languages were established. Similarities and differences in swearing words used in European and Asian languages were determined. The effect of socio-cultural factors on swearing was established. How people swear in European and Asian languages was also determined.

4. RESULTS

The results of the study were established by using Microsoft Excel to analyze the raw data. The sources of words that are used in swearing in both European and Asian languages were established. The types of swear words in European and Asian languages were also established. The circumstances under which swearing words are used were determined. Languages that have rich vocabulary of swear words were also established.

In total there are eight types of swear word in Asian and European languages as follow:

1. Animal: Dog, pig, bitch etc.
2. Religion: God, Jesus/Christ, Masyallah etc.
3. Scatological: asshole, shit, crap, piss, fart etc.
4. Sex organ: dick, prick etc.
5. Sexual activity: fuck your mother, fuck yourself
6. Family member: father, mother, sister
7. Diseases: cancer, malaria etc.
8. Mental incapacity or loose moral: stupid, idiot

4.1 Swear words used in Asian languages

Table 2. The types of swear words in Asian Languages

No	Languages	Types of swearing							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Bahasa Indonesia	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√
2	Vietnamese	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√
3	Hindi	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√
4	Chinese	X	X	√	√	√	X	X	√
5	Korean	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√
6	Japanese	X	√	√	√	√	X	X	√
7	Burmese	√	X	X	√	√	√	X	X

The above table is a summary of the types of swear words in Asian languages, where no. 1 is a representative of animal type, following no. 2 to 8 are religion, scatology, sex organ, sexual activity, family member, diseases and mental incapacity. The symbol √ means that the language uses one of the types of swear word, on the other hand, X sign means unused.

The results of the study affirm that themes of animal, religion, scatology, sex organ, sexual activity, family member and mental incapacity, are used when it comes to swearing in Asian languages. The use of taboo language derived from sexual organs was identified in this study. In Hindi, a person can swear by saying *Chut ka maindak* which means ‘frog in vagina.’ In Hindi, a person would curse by calling another person a ‘pig fucker.’ Asians are conscious of their appearance to the extent that a person would insult another person because of their looks. For instance, *Busu* is a Japanese swear word that means ‘super ugly girl’ and is used as an insult. The revelation is different to the normal domains of swearing.

The results of the present study also reveal that scatology is a source of swear words in Asian languages when previous studies said that this was not the case. In the present study it has been discovered that the Chinese, Bahasa Indonesia and Japanese language make reference to scatology when it comes to swearing. *Go se* is a Chinese swear phrase that means ‘shit’ and it is scatology.

The results of the study also reveal that swearing in Asian languages can be done by alluding that a person is mentally incapacitated. When angry, a person is likely to allude that another person is mentally incapacitated. ‘Idiot’ and its versions in Asian languages are often used to express anger at a person. *Bodoh* in Bahasa Indonesia, *Baka* in Japanese and *Babo* in Korean are all swear word that mean ‘stupid’ and they are used to express anger. Moreover, *Gila* is a Bahasa Indonesia swear word that means ‘crazy’ and it is used to express anger. *Now tsan* is a Chinese swear phrase that literally means ‘stupid’ and it is used to express anger. *Eh-ja* is a Korean swear word that means ‘idiot’ and it is used to express anger or surprise.

Study participants revealed that loose morals and immoral behavior is a theme used in swearing in the Asian language. Swear words are also likely to make reference to a person’s morals when expressing anger. In Bahasa Indonesia people use the word *bajiang* to mean ‘bastard.’ *Lonte* in Bahasa Indonesia means ‘whore’ and it is used to express anger. In Vietnamese, *con di* is a swear phrase that literally means ‘whore’ and it is used to express anger. *Kaminey* is a Hindi word that means ‘bastard’ and it is used to express anger. *Bhosdee kay* is a Hindi swearing phrase that means ‘son of whore’ and it is used to express anger. *Shang nyun* is a Korean swearing word that means ‘bitch.’ *Ano yarow/ano baka* is a Japanese swear phrase that means ‘that bastard/that idiot’ and it is used to express anger.

The results affirmed that there are swear words that are used in Asian languages that make reference to body parts and body functions. Swear words that make reference to body parts are mostly used to express anger. For instance, *Hai coae* is a Hindi swear phrase that

means ‘come on, testicles’ and it is used to express anger. In Bahasa Indonesia, *Burit* is a swear word that literally means ‘ass.’ Lol dit is a Vietnamese swear phrase and Gaandu is a Hindi swear word that literally mean ‘ass hole.’ Kontol in Bahasa Indonesia, Leel bel in Japanese, Chaji in Korean, ji ba in Chinese and Cac in Vietnamese are all swear word which literally mean ‘penis’ and are used in the context of anger. Additionally, in Vietnamese, an Cu Cua Toi is swear phrase that literally means ‘eat my cock’ and it is used as an insult. Lund Khajoor is a Hindi swear word that means ‘dickhead’ and it is used to express anger. Burr is a Hindi swear word that means ‘pussy.’ Sha bi is a Chinese swear word that means ‘stupid cunt’; bi is a Chinese swearing word that means ‘cunt.’ Boji is a Korean swear word that means ‘pussy’ and it is used to express anger.

Study participants revealed that there are swear words used in Asian languages that make reference to animals. Such as, Anjing in Bahasa Indonesia means ‘dog’ and it is used to express surprise, shock, pain or anger, Babi is also a Bahasa Indonesia swear word that means ‘pig’ and it is used to insult when a person is angry. Monyet is Bahasa Indonesia swear that literally translates as ‘monkey’, but when used in swearing has connotations that ‘you are ugly’ and it is used in swearing when someone is angry. Do cho is a Vietnamese swear phrase and Kutte is a Hindi swear word both of them mean ‘dog’ and are used in context of anger. In Vietnamese, Chó chết is a swear phrase that means ‘dead dog’ and it is used to express anger.

Furthermore, the results of the study revealed that there are swearing words used in Asian languages that make reference to religion. For instance, *Astagafirlullah* in Bahasa Indonesia which means ‘I seek forgiveness’ and *Masyaallah* is a Bahasa Indonesian swear word that means ‘May Allah be praised’ and they are both used to express surprise and shock. *Jigoku e ike* is a Japanese swear phrase that means ‘go to hell’ and it is used to express anger.

Study participants affirmed that there are swear words in Asian languages that make reference to sexual activity. Swear words that make reference to sexual activity are mostly used in the context of anger. Du is a Vietnamese swear word, tagad is a Hindi swear word, shibal is a Korean swear word, kuso is a Japanese swear word, wo cao is a Chinese swear phrase, all meaning ‘fuck’ and they can be used to express pain, shock or anger. Du mot minh is a Vietnamese swear phrase that means ‘fuck alone’ and it is used to express anger. In Vietnamese, Tao cắt cổ may is a unique swear phrase that means literally means ‘fuck your neck’ and it is used in the context of anger. Lund chuse is a Hindi swear word that literally means ‘cock sucker’ and it is used to express anger. Jot-nna is a Korean swear phrase that literally means ‘fucking’ and it is used to express anger or surprise. In Burmese, Lee sok is a

swear phrase that means ‘suck my dick’ and it is used to express pain or anger. Na ma low is a Burmese swear phrase that means ‘sister fucker’ and it is used to express anger.

The results of the study reveal that there is a use of family member theme when it comes to swearing in Asian languages. In Hindi a person can swear by calling another person ‘goat fucker’, ‘daughter fucker’, ‘brother fucker’, ‘sister fucker’, and ‘cock of sister’. Moreover, Baap ke laved in Hindi means ‘penis of father’, Min may sat pat in Japanese means ‘your mums pussy’, Nea hmea sout put in Burmese means ‘your mom’s a vagina’ are all swear word that is usually used to express anger.

The results of the study revealed that expletives are rarely used when it comes to swearing in Asian languages. Only one expletive, *Damare Konoyarou!* was revealed as having a role to play when it comes to swearing. *Damare Konoyarou!* is a Japanese expletive that means ‘shut up your bastard!’.

4.2 Swear words used in European languages

Table 3. The types of swear words in European Languages

No	Languages	Types of swearing							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Dutch	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√
2	German	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√
3	Russian	√	X	√	√	√	√	X	√
4	Spanish	√	X	√	√	√	√	X	√
5	Italian	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√
6	French	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	√
7	Romanian	X	X	√	√	√	X	X	X
8	Danish	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√
9	Finish	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√
10	Swedish	X	√	√	√	√	X	X	√

The above table is a summary of the types of swear words in European languages, where no. 1 is a representative of animal type, following no. 2 to 8 are religion, scatology, sex organ, sexual activity, family member, diseases and mental incapacity. The symbol √ means that the language uses one of the types of swear word, on the other hand the X sign means unused.

The results reveal that themes used in swearing with regard to European languages are animal, religion, scatology, sexual reproductive organs, sexual activities, mental incapacity, loose morals, family member (your mother) and diseases.

European languages make reference to scatology when it comes to swearing. Scatology is normally used in the context of expressing shock. This occurs across European languages: French has *putain de merde* meaning ‘fucking shit’, German has *scheiße* meaning ‘shit’, Danish has *du scheiÅŸkerl* meaning ‘shithead’, Dutch has *kak*, meaning ‘shit’, Russian has *chush' sobach'ya* meaning ‘bulls shit’, Italian has *merde*, meaning ‘shit’, Finnish has *paska* meaning ‘shit’ and Swedish has *skit*, meaning ‘shit.’

Mist is a German swear word that means ‘dung’ and it is also used to express shock. German has a rich swearing vocabulary with reference to scatology. *Hackfresse* is a German swear word that means ‘shit face’ and it is used to express anger. *Scheiße* is a German swear word that means ‘shit. The word ‘shit’ can actually be used in different contexts. ‘Shit’ can be used to express ‘pain’. *Verdamnte Scheiße*, is a German swear phrase that means ‘damn shit’ and it is used to express pain.

Swearing words that make reference to scatology can also be expressed as expletives. For instance, *chyort voz'mi!* is a Russian swear phrase that means ‘Damn it!, Oh shit!’ *Come mierda* is a Spanish swear phrase that literally means ‘eat shit’ and it is used to express frustration, anger or shock. *Pezzo di merda* is an Italian swear phrase that literally means ‘piece of shit’ and is used as an insult. *Leccami il culo* is an Italian swear phrase that means ‘lick my ass’ and it is used to express anger. *Cacat cu ochi* is a Romanian swear phrase that means ‘shit with eyes’ and it is used as an insult. *Paskanaama* is a Finnish swear word that means ‘shit face.’ ‘Shit’ can also be used in the context of frustration. *Din lille lort* is a Danish swear phrase that means ‘you little piece of shit’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. *Je me fais chier* is a French phrase that means ‘I’m bored shitless’ and it is used to express frustration.

The results revealed that swearing words that make reference to sexual reproductive organs are used in swearing among European languages. Swear words that make reference to sexual reproductive organs are mostly used in the context of anger, shock, pain and frustration. There results affirm that there are swearing words that make reference to male reproductive organs and there are those that make reference to female reproductive organs. *Kut* is a Dutch swear word, *Fotze* is a German swear word, *Fisse* is a Danish swear word, *figa* is an Italian swear word, *kusse* is a Danish swear word and *fitta* is a Swedish swear word, all literally meaning ‘pussy’ and are used to express anger and frustration. Variations of the

word ‘pussy’ were also identified. *Hevon vittu* is a Finnish swear phrase that means ‘horse’s cunt’ and it is used to express anger. It was also identified that there are swear phrases that make reference to both the female sexual reproductive organ and scatology. For instance, *Ät skit och dö din jävla fitta!* is a Swedish swearing phrase that means ‘eat shit and die you fucking cunt.’ Words that mean ‘dick’ were identified in many languages. *Lul* is a Dutch swear word, *hui* is a Russian swear word, *cazzo* is an Italian swear word, *minchia* is an Italian swear word, *pula* is a Romanian swear word, *pik* is a Danish swear word that means ‘cock’ and *kuk* is a Swedish swear word, all of which literally mean ‘penis’ and they are used to express anger, pain, shock and frustration. Variations of the word ‘dick’ that are used in swearing were also identified. *Testa di cazzo* is an Italian swear phrase that means ‘dickhead’ and it is used to express anger. *Paardel* is a Dutch word that means ‘horse dick’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. *Idi u kurac* is a Croatian phrase that means ‘go inside a dick’ and it is used to express anger.’ *Ollon* is a Swedish swearing word that means ‘head of penis.’ *Cojones* is a Spanish swear and *kloten* is a Dutch swear both of which mean ‘testicles’ and are used to express anger. *Kloten* is a Dutch word that means ‘testicles’ and it is used to express anger, frustration or shock. There are swear words that make reference to the size of a person’s sexual reproductive organs. *Cel'hai piccolo* is an Italian swearing phrase that means ‘you got a small dick’ and is used as an insult. *Fica stretta* is an Italian swear word that means ‘narrow pussy’ and it is used as an insult.

The results reveal that swear words are likely to make reference to a person’s body parts when expressing anger. The most common body part that is referenced when expressing anger is ‘buttocks’, a British English word. The buttock is commonly known as ‘ass’. *Leck mich am arsch* is a German swear phrase that means ‘kiss my ass’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. *Curule* is a Romanian swear word and *perse* is a Finnish swear word both, meaning ‘ass’ and they are used in the context of anger. However, there are other swear words about body parts that do not make reference to the ‘ass.’ *Pattar* is a Swedish swear word that means ‘tits.’ *Curu* is a Romanian swear word that means ‘ass.’ In Swedish, *tuttar* is a swear word that means ‘boobs.’ *Tunge pää perseesees* is a Finnish swear phrase that means ‘stick your head up your ass.’ In Romanian, *bag pula-n gatu tau* is a swear phrase that means ‘stick my dick in your throat’ and it is used to express surprise and anger. *Dikzak* is a Dutch swear word that means ‘fat-ass’ and it is used to express anger in order to insult someone. In Finnish, *tunge paa perseesees* is a swear phrase that means ‘stick your head up your ass’ and it is used in the context of anger.

The results affirm that there are swear words in European languages that make reference to religion. The ‘god’ phrases are the most common group of swear phrases that make reference to religion. For instance, ‘Oh my God’ is an English phrase that is used to express shock. *Mon dieu* is a French swearing word that means ‘My God’ and it is used to express surprise and frustration. ‘God damn it’ is the second category of swear words that make reference to religion. *Godverdomme* is a Dutch word that means ‘Goddammit’ and it is used to express anger. *For helvede* is a Danish swear phrase that means ‘God damn it.’ ‘*Ime cago en dios*’ is Spanish swear phrase that means ‘God damn it!’ *Jumalauta* is a Finnish swear word that means ‘God damn it!’ *For helvede* is a Danish swear phrase that means ‘God damn it.’ *Gottverdammt !* is a German swear word that means ‘God damn it’ and it is used to express anger, pain and frustration. *Geh zum Teufel* is a German swear word that means ‘go to hell’ and it is used to express anger, frustration and pain. *Perkele* is a Finnish swear word that means ‘devil.’ *Ohooiet* is a Russian swear word that means ‘holy fuck.’ There is a group of swear words that talk about hell. *Painu helvettin* is a Finnish swearing phrase that means ‘go to hell.’ *Du-te dracu* is a Romanian word that means ‘go to hell’ and it is used to express anger. The fourth group of swear phrase in reference to religion mention ‘hell.’ For instance, *jag hoppas att du knullas av Satan* is a Swedish swear phrase that means ‘I hope you get fucked by Satan.’

The results of the study revealed that Dutch is the only language whose swear words make reference to diseases. *Kankerlul* and *kankerwijf* are two Dutch swear words that make reference to diseases as revealed by the study participants. *Kankerlul* means ‘cancerdick’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. *Kankerwijf* means ‘cancer bitch’ and it is used to express anger and frustration.

The results of the study affirmed that mental incapacity is a theme when it comes to swearing in European languages. When making reference to mental incapacity, it can be alluded that a person is stupid, an idiot or a retard. Swear words that make reference to mental incapacity are often used to express anger and frustration and also use to insult someone. *Trottel* is a German swear word and *Estupido* is a Spanish swear, meaning ‘stupid’ and they are both used in the context of anger. *Idiooti* is a Finish swear word and *Depp* is a German swear word, both meaning ‘idiot’ and are used to express anger, frustration and to insult sometimes. *Sukkel* is a Dutch swear word that means ‘dumbass’ and it is used to insult other people. There are variations of the word ‘stupid.’ For instance, *din dumme idiot* is a Danish swear phrase that means ‘you stupid idiot’ and it is used to express anger and

frustration. There is a category of swear words that allude that a person is a ‘retard.’ For instance, *miffo* is a Swedish swear word that means ‘retard.’

The study participants revealed that there are European languages swear words that make reference to sexual activity. Swear words that make reference to sexual activity are mostly used in the context of anger. *Joder* is a Spanish swear word, *blet* is a Russian swear word, *yob* is a Russian swear word and *futu* is a Romanian swear word, all meaning ‘fuck.’ *Fick dich* is a German swear phrase and *fututi* is a Romanian swear word, *Chingate* is a Spanish swear word, all of which mean ‘fuck you.’ *Ficker* is a German swear word that means ‘fucker.’ There are different variations of the word ‘fuck.’ *Yebatsaya* is a Russian swear word that means ‘to fuck’ and it is used as an insult. *No me jodas* is a Spanish swear phrase that means ‘don’t fuck with me!’ *Va te faire encular chez les Grecs* is a French swear phrase that means ‘go get fucked in the ass by Greeks and it is used as an insult.’ *Mita vittua* is a Finnish swear phrase that means ‘what the fuck?’ *Painu vittuun taalta* is a Finnish swear phrase that means ‘get the fuck out of here.’ *Painu vittuun* is a Finnish swear phrase that means ‘fuck off.’ *Haista vittu* is a Finnish swear phrase that means ‘fuck you.’ There are swear words that make reference to a person who is involved in a sexual act. *Flikker* is a Dutch swear word that means ‘homosexual’ and it is used to express anger. *Pajero* is a Spanish swear word that means ‘wanker’ and it is used as an insult. *Muist* is a Romanian swear word that means ‘cock sucker.’ *Sugi pula* is Romanian swear phrase, *sug min kuk* is a Swedish swear phrase and *Ime mun munaa* is a Finnish swear phrase, all meaning, ‘suck my dick.’ *Muie* is a Romanian swear word that means ‘blow job.’ *Lutsch' meine Eier* is a German swear phrase that means ‘suck my balls’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. There are swear words that make reference to fluids that are associated with sexual activity. For instance, *Sloboz* is a Romanian swearing word that means ‘semen.’

The results of the study revealed that there are swearing words used in European languages that make reference to animals. Most of the swear words that make reference to animals are used to express anger. In German, *drecksau* literally means ‘shit pig’; *dummes huhn* literally means ‘stupid chicken’ and they are both used in the context of anger or frustration. *Ko* is a Dutch word that means literally means ‘cow’ and it is used in swearing. In Danish, *dumme svin* is a swear phrase that means ‘stupid pig’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. *Oslayob* is a Russian swear word that literally means ‘donkey fucker’ and it is used to express anger.

‘Your mother’ and its variations are used in swearing to express anger. *Din mammas äckliga fittkuk* is a Swedish swearing phrase that means ‘Your mother's disgusting

pussycock.’ *Din mor er en luder* is a Danish swearing phrase that means ‘Your mother is a whore.’ *Din mor* is a Danish swearing phrase that means ‘your mother.’ *Tu madre* is a Spanish swearing phrase that means ‘your mother.’ *Din mammas ackliga fittkuk* is a Danish phrase that means ‘your mother’s disgusting pussy-cock.’ *Wichser* is a German word that means ‘motherfucker’ and it is used as an insult. *Futu-ti dumnezeii matii* is a Romanian swear phrase that means ‘fuck your mother’s gods.’ *Futu-ti biserica matii* is a Romanian swear phrase that means ‘fuck your mother’s church’ and it is used to express diverse emotions.

There are swearing words used in European languages that refer to loose morals and immoral behavior. *Hoer* is a Dutch swear word, *Troia* is an Italian swear word, *curva* is a Romanian swear word, *putain* is a French swear word, *slet* is a Dutch swear word and *schlampe* is a German swear word, all which literally mean ‘whore’ and they are used to express anger. *Hoerenzoon* is a Dutch swear word, *bastardo* is an Italian swear word, *Salaud* is a French swear word and *figli di puttana* is an Italian swear phrase, all meaning bastard and are used in the context of anger.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 The use of taboo words in swearing

Taboo words have for many years been used in swearing (Jay, 2009). The study revealed that the use of taboo words in Asian and European language with regard to swearing is common. It was revealed that taboo words that make reference to scatology, sexual reproductive organs and religion are used in swearing. *Scheiße* is a German swear word that means ‘shit’, *fisse* is a Danish swear word that means ‘pussy’ and *ohooiet* is a Russian swear word that means ‘holy fuck.’ Taboo words are defined as words that are prohibited from being used by societal rules. In most societies, it is prohibited to use words about sexual activities or sexual reproductive organs in public. Conservative societies have more stringent rules when it comes to forbidding use of taboo words in public (Jay, 2009).

It is important to mention that not all taboo words are used in swearing. There are taboo words that are rarely mentioned when it comes to swearing. For instance, taboo words about infanticide, matricide and patricide are rarely mentioned when it comes to swearing. From a different perspective, it is also important to mention that not all swear words are taboo words. Swearing words may be taboo words, expletives, profanities or words that make reference to animals, sex, diseases and bodily functions (Ljung, 2010).

European societies tend to be liberal and as a result, there are no strict rules that forbid use of taboo words in public. Study participants revealed that there is a relatively high number of swear words that are considered taboo words when compared to Asian swear words. European liberal societies have played a major role increasing the number of taboo words that are used in European languages with regard to swearing. The results of the present study suggest that the use of taboo words in swearing tends to be high in European languages when compared to Asian languages. The most common taboo words that are used in swearing among European languages are words that make reference to sexual activity, religion, mental incapacity and sexual reproductive organs. In liberal societies, people have developed a habit of using taboo words that are associated with religion when it comes to swearing. People in liberal societies have also developed a habit of using taboo words associated with sexual activity and sexual reproductive organs when it comes to swearing (Pinker, 2010). In the present study, 5 Asian swear words were taboo words and 21 European swear words were taboo words. The results of the present study revealed that use of taboo words in swearing is more common among European languages than it is among Asian languages.

5.2 Sources of swear words

Words that are used in swearing often make references to certain sources, items, objects or things. The study revealed that in general, there are ten types of sources when it comes to swearing words. The results of the study are in accordance with previous studies such as Sacher *et al.* (2012), Pinker (2010), Montagu (2001) and Ljung (2010) who have established that there are at least ten categories of sources associated with swearing words. Sources of swearing words include animals, religion, scatology, sexual activity, sexual reproductive organs, body parts and functions, diseases, mental incapacity and loose morals. The results of the present study agree with previous studies on themes associated with swear words but to different extents. The results of the study revealed that European and Asian languages make different use of the sources of swearing words. Asian cultures tend to make less use of the sources of swearing words whereas European languages tend to use a lot of the sources of the swearing words.

The present study suggests that scatology is a source of swearing words in Asian languages. Previous studies were of the opinion that scatology is not a source of swearing words in Asian languages (Chapman, 2004). The use of scatological words in Asian languages could be attributed to globalization. Globalization has led to adoption of Western attitudes and behaviors by Asians (Montagu, 2001). Given that in past years only European languages used scatology in swearing, it can be said that penetration of Western behaviors in Asian societies is the one that has led to use of scatological words in swearing, among Asian societies.

Results of the present study are in line with results of previous studies that suggested Asian languages do not use swearing words that make reference to diseases (Sacher & Triumph, 2012). The results of this study suggest that Asian languages do not use diseases as a source of swearing words, as no instance of this type of swearing were identified. Alternatively, it was found that swears that make reference to diseases are only found in Dutch language.

The results of the present study are in contrast with results of previous studies which suggested that Asian languages do not swear and insult by use of parent's names (McEneary & Xiao, 2004). The results suggest that there are Asian languages that make reference to parents when swearing. For instance, it was revealed that Vietnamese, Hindi, Chinese and Burmese languages swear by using 'your mother' phrases.

5.2.1 Swear words associated with sexual activities

In most conservative societies, people do not openly talk about sexual activities and sexual reproductive organs. The use of sexual activities jargon is treated with caution in conservative societies and as a result, there is lower use of sexual activities jargon in swearing. The results of the present study concurred with previous studies that in Asian languages, there is less use of words associated with sexual activities when it comes to swearing. On the other hand, the results of the present study affirmed that European languages use words associated with sexual activities in regard to swearing. It was revealed that the lexeme ‘fuck’ and its translations in other languages is the most common swearing word used to express anger. In both European and Asian languages, swearing words are used in reference to sexual activity. Most of the time, swear words in reference to sexual reproductive organs are used when a person is emotionally charged (Dewaele, 2006). The study participants revealed that swearing words in reference to sexual activities are often used when a person is angry and when the person wants to show his or her aggression. Swear words that are mostly used to express anger are cathartic swear words. Swear words that are used to express anger in Asian and European languages are those that make reference to sexual activity (Sacher *et al.*, 2012).

All European languages tend to use swearing words that make reference to sexual activity. It was revealed that swearing words in East European languages have a slight difference when compared to swearing words in West European languages. It has been established that East European languages tend to make references that are different when compared to West European languages (Agha, 2009). In Western Europe, where Romantic languages are spoken, references tend to be made to different domains when compared with Eastern European languages. Sexual language is often associated with violence. German, Polish and Spanish swearing words tend to make reference to sexual activities (Agha, 1999). The results of the present study are in accordance with previous studies about use of swearing words in European languages and Asian languages that make reference to sexual activities.

5.2.2 Swear words associated with scatology

Scatology is a source of swearing words that are used both in Asian and European languages. Scatology is the study of excrement and excretion. Results of the present study revealed that swearing words make use of scatological terms. The use of swear words that make reference to scatology is more popular in European languages. *Scheiße!* is a German swearing word that means ‘shit.’ *Mist* is a German swearing word that means ‘dung.’ *Kacke* is also a German

swearing word that means ‘shit.’ *Merde* is a French swearing word that means ‘shit’. *Kak* is a Dutch swearing word that means ‘shit’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. *Scheiße* is a German swearing word that means ‘shit’ and *Verdammt scheiße*, is a German swearing phrase that means ‘damn shit’ and it is used to express pain. It can be deduced from the study that use of scatological terms in swearing is more common among European languages than it is among Asian languages. In the present study, it was revealed that scatological swear terms are used to express anger, frustration, surprise, shock or pain. The study participants of German descent revealed that swearing in German is mostly done by use of words that are scatological. *Go se* is a Chinese swear phrase that means ‘shit’ and it is used to express anger. *Gaand chaat mera* is a Hindi swear phrase that means ‘lick my ass’ and it is used as an insult.

It can therefore be confidently stated that the use of scatological terms in swearing are more common among European languages than it is among Asian languages. A lower use of scatological terms among Asian languages can be attributed to the fact that before modern times, Asian cultures had encouraged people to excrete in open areas and as such, many Asians grew up with the view that excrement is a normal part of human beings and therefore, there is nothing to be shocked or afraid about it. Usually, in swearing, people use sources of items, objects or things that are disrespected or treated with stigma in society. Given that excrement is not treated with stigma among Asian societies, people see no use of over relying on it when it comes to swearing (Montagu, 2001).

The results of the present study contradict results of previous studies which suggested that Asian languages do not use scatological terms when it comes to swearing. According to Montagu (2001), swearing words in Mandarin are not of scatological origin. In traditional Chinese towns, most families did not have their own toilets. As a result, it was common for people to greet one another as they entered and left communal toilets. Therefore, it was suggested that scatological words in Mandarin are mostly not used in swearing. However, in the present study, it was revealed that there are scatological terms in Asian languages that are used for swearing. *Go se* is a Chinese swear phrase that means ‘shit.’ There are studies that allege that swearing words that make reference to scatology are the most common form of swearing words among European language (Montagu, 2001).

5.2.3 Swear words associated with religion

In European societies, there is a high use of taboo words that are associated with religion. In some religious societies, use of taboo words that are associated with religion when it comes to swearing is regarded as blasphemy. *Godverdomme* is a Dutch swear word that means

‘Goddammit’ and it is used to express anger. *Mon dieu* is a French swear word that means ‘my God’ and it is used to express surprise and frustration. *Du-te dracu* is a Romanian swear word that means ‘go to hell’ and it is used to express anger. *Perkele* is a Finnish swear word that means ‘devil.’ *Ohooiet* is a Russian swear word that means ‘holy fuck.’ *Painu helvettin* is a Finnish swear phrase that means ‘go to hell.’ *For helvede* is a Danish swearing phrase that means ‘God damn it.’

In Asian societies, there is also the use of swearing words that make reference to religion. *Astagafirlullah* is a Bahasa Indonesian swearing word that means ‘I seek forgiveness’ and it is used to express surprise and shock. *Masyaallah* is a Bahasa Indonesian swearing word that means ‘May Allah be praised’ and it is used to express surprise and shock. *Jigoku e ike* is a Japanese swearing phrase that means ‘go to hell’ and it is used to express anger.

Based on the results of the present study, it can be firmly said that European languages are rich in swearing words that are considered taboo in religious terms. On the other side, it can firmly be said that Asian languages are not rich in taboo words that are associated with religion. The results of this study are in agreement with previous studies that have been conducted about the use of swearing words in European languages and Asian languages that make reference to religion (Pinker, 2010).

5.2.4 Swear words associated with mental incapacity

In most conservative societies, people tend not to publicly judge a person for being mentally incapacitated. On the other side, in liberal societies, people see no problem when it comes to swearing by referring to a person’s mental incapacity (Allan & Burridge, 2006). European languages are rich in swearing words that make reference to a person’s mental incapacity. While swearing with regards to mental incapacity, a person can allude that the other person is stupid, an idiot or a retard.

Bodoh is a Bahasa Indonesian swear word, *Baka* is a Japanese swear word and *Babo* is a Korean swear word, all meaning ‘stupid’ and they are used to express anger. *Gila* is Bahasa Indonesian swear word that means ‘crazy’ and it is used to express anger. *Now tsan* is a Chinese swear phrase that literally means ‘retard’ and it is used to express anger. *Trottel* is a German swear word and *Estupido* is a Spanish swear, meaning ‘stupid’ and they are both used in the context of anger. *Idiooti* is a Finish swear word and *Depp* is a German swear word, both meaning ‘idiot’ and are used to express anger and frustration. *Sukkel* is a Dutch swear word that means ‘dumbass’ and it is used to express anger. There are variations of the

word ‘stupid.’ For instance, *din dumme idiot* is a Danish swear phrase that means ‘you stupid idiot’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. There is a category of swear words that allude that a person is a ‘retard.’ For instance, *miffo* is a Swedish swear word that means ‘retard.’

Based on the results of the study, it can be said that Asian languages make less use of mental incapacity as a source of swear words. According to the results of the present study, there are few Asian languages that refer to mental incapacity when it comes to swearing. Results of the present study are in agreement with previous studies that have been done about use of swearing words in European languages and Asian languages that make reference to mental incapacity (Jay & Kushner, 2001).

5.2.5 Swear words associated with animals

Animals are a source of swear words in European and Asian languages. The results of the study revealed that there are some animals which are a source of swear words in Asian and European languages. *Anjing* is an Indonesian swear word that means ‘dog’ and is used as a swearing word to express anger. In Bahasa Indonesian, *bajingan*, *babi* and *kampret* are swear words that literally mean ‘squirrel’, ‘pig’ and ‘bat’ respectively and they are all used in the context of anger. *Do cho* is a Vietnamese swear word that means ‘dog’ and it is used to express anger. In Hindi, *kutte* is a swear word that literally means ‘dog’ and it is used as an insult. *Dumme svin* is a Danish swear phrase that means ‘stupid pig’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. *Ta gueule* is a French swearing word that literally means ‘your mouth (of an animal)’ and it is used by the speaker to communicate with the intent to make the hearer shut his/her mouth. *Ko* is a Danish swear word that literally means ‘cow.’

The results of the present study reveal that Asian languages tend to make more use of animals as a source of swear words when compared with European languages. A study by Maynard (2002) revealed that some swear words in Asian languages are of animal origin. The present study suggests that swearing words in Asian languages make more reference to animals when compared to swearing words in European languages.

5.2.6 Swear words associated with diseases

The results of the present study revealed that diseases are a source of swear words. However, it was established that the Dutch language is the only language that uses swear words that are associated with diseases. In the present study, all the swear words that make reference to diseases are Dutch words. Study participants of Dutch origin revealed that swear words in

Dutch make reference to pestilences, diseases and illness. The revelation concurs with previous studies which did assert that swearing words in Dutch make references to diseases.

Previous studies have suggested that diseases as a source of swear words is common in the Dutch language (Montagu, 2001). The results of the present study affirm that diseases are a source of swearing words in Dutch. *Kankerlul* is a Dutch swearing word that means ‘cancer dick’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. The results of the present study suggest that diseases are only sources of swear words in Dutch. The study concurs with previous studies (Montagu, 2001) that did assert that swearing in Dutch is done in reference to diseases.

In some Asian cultures, the use of swear words that make reference to diseases is highly detested (Ljung, 2010). The fact that Asian societies detest the use of swear words that make reference to diseases imply that the swear word may be powerful enough to instigate occurrence of diseases. The present study concurs with other studies that have affirmed that the use of swear words that make reference to diseases is common among the Dutch. The study also concurs with other studies that have been done in the past that assert that swearing words that make reference to diseases in Asian languages are few (Ljung, 2010).

5.2.7 Swear words associated with parts of the body and sexual organs

The results of the study revealed that there are swearing words that make reference to body parts and body functions. *Hai coae* is a Hindi swearing phrase that means ‘come on, testicles’ and it is used to express anger. In Bahasa language, *Burit* is a swear word that literally means ‘ass.’ *Lol dit* is a Vietnamese swear phrase and *Gaandu* is a Hindi swear word that literally mean ‘ass hole.’ *Kintama* is a Japanese swear word that literally means ‘testicles’ and it is used to express anger. *Curule* is a Romanian swear word and *perse* is a Finnish swear word both, meaning ‘ass’ and they are used in the context of anger. *Curu* is a Romanian swear word that means ‘ass.’ In Swedish, *tuttar* is a swear word that means ‘boobs.’ *Tunge paa perseesees* is a Finnish swear phrase that means ‘stick your head up your ass.’ In Romanian, *bag pula-n gatu tau* is a swear phrase that means ‘stick my dick in your throat’ and it is used to express surprise and anger. *Dikzak* is a Dutch swear word that literally means ‘fat sack’, where sack is meant as a metaphorical name for the body that looks like a big sack or simply meant that someone looks fat. Based on the results of the study, it can be said that both Asian and European languages make equal use of swear words that are associated with body parts and bodily functions.

Previous studies revealed that swearing words make reference to body parts and body functions (Ljung, 2010). Therefore, it is true that body parts and body functions are a rich source of swear words in both Asian and European languages.

5.2.8 Swear words associated with loose morals

The results of the study revealed that there are swearing words that make reference to a person's loose morals. For a very long time, 'loose morals' have always been a source of swear words. The phrase 'son of a bitch' is used to express anger. In Bahasa (an Indonesian language) people use the word *bajingan* to mean 'bastard.' *Lonte* in Bahasa Indonesia means 'whore' and it is used to express anger. In Vietnamese, *con di* is a swear phrase that literally means 'whore' and it is used to express anger. *Kaminey* is a Hindi word that literally means 'bastard' and it is used to express anger. *Bhosdee kay* is a Hindi swearing phrase that means 'son of whore' and it is used to express anger. *Shang nyun* is a Korean swearing word that means 'bitch.' *Hoer* is a Dutch swear word, *Troia* is an Italian swear word, *curva* is a Romanian swear word, *putain* is a French swear word, *slet* is a Dutch swear word and *schlampe* is a German swear word, all which literally mean 'whore' and they are used to express anger. *Hoerenzoon* is a Dutch swear word, *bastardo* is an Italian swear word, *Salaud* is a French swear word and *fils de pute* is an Italian swear phrase, all meaning bastard and are used in the context of anger. Based on the results of the study, it can be said that European swear words tend to make more use of swear words that make reference to loose morals.

Previous studies have been conducted that affirm that words associated with loose morals are involved in swearing. For example, studies by Ljung (2010) and Pinker (2010) did assert that words associated with loose morals are used in swearing. Therefore, the results of the present study are in agreement with results of previous studies about the use of words associated with loose morals when it comes to swear. Additionally, in this case, it can be said that there are more swear words in Asian languages that are associated with loose morals when compared to European languages.

5.2.9 The use of family member 'your mother' in swearing

The results of the present study revealed that both Asian and European languages use 'your mother' when it comes to swearing. In Hindi, a person can swear by calling another person 'mother fucker'. *Min may sat pat* is a Japanese swear phrase that means 'your mum's pussy' and it is used to express anger or frustration. *Nea hmea sout put* is a Burmese swear word that means 'your mom's vagina' and it is used to express anger. In Hindi, *Madar Chod* and *Mai*

Chod are both swear words that literally mean ‘motherfucker’ and are used in the context of anger. *Nea hmea sout put* is a Japanese swear phrase that means ‘fuck your own mother’ and it is used to express anger. *Din mammas äckliga fittkuk* is a Swedish swearing phrase that means ‘Your mother's disgusting pussycock.’ *Din mor er en luder* is a Danish swearing phrase that means ‘your mother is a whore.’ *Din mor* is a Danish swearing phrase that means ‘your mother.’ *Tu madre* is a Spanish swearing phrase that means ‘your mother.’ *Din mammas ackliga fittkuk* is a Danish phrase that means ‘your mother’s disgusting pussy-cock.’ *Futu-ti dumnezeii matii* is a Romanian swear phrase that means ‘fuck your mother’s gods.’ *Futu-ti biserica matii* is a Romanian swear phrase that means ‘fuck your mother’s church’ and it is used to express diverse emotions. Based on the results of the present study, it can be said that ‘your mother’ is a swear phrase that has many variations.

5.3 Types of swearing that are common in European and Asian languages

There are 5 types of swear word that are used in Asian and European languages, which are dysphemistic, abusive, cathartic, emphatic, and idiomatic swearing. All the types are classified based on the dominant function of each swearing word which was suggested by Pinker (2010). See the following section.

5.3.1 Dysphemistic swearing

Dysphemistic swearing is common in both Asian languages and European languages. Dysphemistic swearing uses animal names, unpleasant characteristics from animals, dysphemistic overtones, appearance and behavior of animals metaphorically to the human that is being addressed. Dysphemistic swearing is often subject to censoring because it is insulting in nature (Dewaele, 2004). Dysphemism refers to the use of unpleasant or derogatory terms. The study results revealed that Asian languages have swearing words that are meant to make a person think of negative things. In Asian languages, dysphemistic swearing is associated with animals. People are compared with animals that are known for certain behaviors. For instance, a person can swear by making reference to animals such as bats, cats, pigs, dogs, foxes, monkey, rabbit and mule. *Anjing* in Bahasa Indonesia means ‘dog’ and it is used to express surprise, shock, pain or anger. *Babi* is a Bahasa Indonesian word that means ‘pig’ and it is used to insult when a person is angry. *Monyet* is Bahasa Indonesian swear that literally translates as ‘monkey’, but when used in swearing has connotations that ‘you are ugly’ and it is used in swearing when someone is angry. *Do cho* is a Vietnamese swear phrase and *Kutte* is a Hindi swear word both of which mean ‘dog’ and

are used in context of anger. In **Vietnamese**, *Chó chết* is a swear phrase that means ‘dead dog’ and it is used to express anger. In German, *drecksau* literally means ‘shit pig’; *dummes huhn* literally means ‘stupid chicken’ and they are both used in the context of anger or frustration. *Ko* is a Dutch word that means literally means ‘cow’ and it is used in swearing. In Danish, *dumme svin* is a swear phrase that means ‘stupid pig’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. *Oslayob* is a Russian swear word that literally means ‘donkey fucker’ and it is used to express anger. According to the results of the present study, it can be confidently said that Asian languages make more use of dysphemistic when compared to European languages.

5.3.2 Abusive swearing

Abusive swearing is common in both European languages and Asian languages as revealed by the present study. Abusive swearing is meant to insult or intimidate a person. Most of the abusive swearing words that are used in European languages make reference to sexual activities and sexual reproductive organs. The study revealed that the use of the word ‘fuck’ which means ‘to engage in a sexual act’ is common among European languages when it comes to swearing. *Vaffanculo* is an Italian word that means “fuck off.” *Joder* is a Spanish word that means ‘fuck.’ *Blet* is a Russian swearing word that means ‘fuck.’ *Merda or cagun la puta* is a Spanish swearing phrase that means ‘I shit in the prostitute.’ *Kut* is a Dutch swearing word that means ‘cunt.’ *Kutwif* is a Dutch swearing word that literally means ‘cunt women’ meaning bitch. *Du* is a Vietnamese swear word, *tagad* is a Hindi swear word, *shibal* is a Korean swear word, *kuso* is a Japanese swear word, *wo cao* is a Chinese swear phrase, all meaning ‘fuck.’ that means ‘fuck’ and it is used to express pain, shock or anger. *Du mot minh* is a Vietnamese swear phrase that means ‘fuck alone’ and it is used to express anger. In Vietnamese, *Tao cắt cổ may* is a unique swear phrase that means literally means ‘fuck your neck’ and it is used in the context of anger. *Lund chuse* is a Hindi swear word that literally means ‘cock sucker’ and it is used to express anger. *Jot-nna* is a Korean swear phrase that literally means ‘fucking’ and it is used to express anger or surprise. In Burmese, *Lee sok* is a swear phrase that means ‘suck my dick’ and it is used to express pain or anger. *Na ma low* is a Burmese swear phrase that means ‘sister fucker’ and it is used to express anger. All those words are abusive swearing and they are usually used to insult or intimidate someone. Therefore, it can be said that both European and Asian languages make use of abusive swearing.

5.3.3 Cathartic swearing

Cathartic swearing is more common in European languages than Asian languages as revealed in the present study. Cathartic swearing involves expressing negative feelings by uttering profane and taboo words. Cathartic swearing is often used to express anger and frustration and it is commonly referenced to scatology. Scatology is often a rich source of words that are used in swearing. The results of the present study revealed that European languages have a rich vocabulary of swearing words that make reference to scatology. Among all the European languages, German is the language that has the highest number of scatological swear words. *Sheisse* and *Kacke* are a German swearing words that means 'shit' and they are categorized as cathartic swearing. *Merde* is a French swearing word that means 'shit'. *Go se* is a Chinese swear phrase that means 'shit' and it is used to express anger. *Gaand chaat mera* is a Hindi swear phrase that means 'lick my ass' and it is used as an insult. Based on the results of the present study, it can confidently be said that European languages make more use of cathartic swearing when compared to European languages.

5.3.4 Emphatic swearing

Emphatic swearing is common in most of the language in both Asian and European languages. Emphatic swearing is often used to emphasize a point (Pinker, 2010). In Bahasa Indonesia, swear words such as *Anjing*, *bangsat*, *gila* are usually used to emphasize something in Bahasa Indonesia. For instance, *anjing enak banget nih* (this food is really delicious) meaning that the food is not only good but also really delicious. Similarly, in English, the word *fuck* is usually used to emphasize something. Such as, this house is *fucking big* meaning that the house is really huge.

Based on the study results it can be said that many people use swear word with a tendency to emphasize a point if they feel that what they are saying has not been understood or to mean something which really strong or important.

5.3.5 Idiomatic swearing

Idiomatic swearing is used in swearing among Asian and European languages. Idiomatic swearing is mostly used in informal settings and it is used to show that a person is comfortable around the people he or she uses swearing words. Examples of idiomatic swearing include words and phrases such as, *Kintama*, *suvar chod*, *na ma low*, *lutsch' meine Eier* and *oslayob*. *Kintama* is a Japanese swearing word that means 'testicles.' *Suvar chod* is a Vietnamese swearing word that means 'pig fucker.' *Na ma low* is a Burmese swearing word

that means ‘sister fucker.’ *Lutsch' meine Eier* is a German swearing phrase that means ‘suck my balls.’ *Oslayob* is a Russian swearing word that means ‘donkey fucker.’

5.4 Role of socio-cultural factors in swearing

Different culture may lead to a different way of using swear words. In some languages, it is common to use animals as swear words such as *babi* ‘pig’ in Bahasa Indonesia, *chó chét* meaning you are a dog in Vietnamese, and *Bakrichod* in Hindi meaning Goat fucker are animal swear words where all these animal culturally considered as disgusting creatures therefore they are culturally use as swear words even in most of European culture these animal is really not considered as dirty as in Asian culture. On the other hand, animal words such as *dummes huhn* which literally means ‘stupid chicken’ and *Oslayob* in Russian swear word that literally means ‘donkey fucker’ are the two animal words that culturally use as swear words.

Language socialization process has a role to play when it comes to the use of swear words. Given the fact that the respondents are university students, it can be said that language socialization in a university setting encourages the use of swear words. Based on the writer experiences with the participants, university students tend to enjoy some freedom that they couldn’t enjoy as high school students. They explicitly told the writer that they got their own freedom to control what they want to say to people. As a result, most of them tend to exercise their new-found freedom by exercising freedom of speech. Therefore, it can be discerned that the freedom of speech that the university students exercise often give them the opportunity to use many swear words as they socialize.

5.5 Similarities of swear words used in European and Asian languages

Both European and Asian languages make equal use of body parts and bodily functions when it comes to swearing. *Hai coae* is a Hindi swearing phrase that means ‘come on, testicles’ and it is used to express anger. In Bahasa language, *Burit* is a swear word that literally means ‘ass.’ *Lol dit* is a Vietnamese swear phrase and *Gaandu* is a Hindi swear word that literally mean ‘ass hole.’ *Kintama* is a Japanese swear word that literally means ‘testicles’ and it is used to express anger. *Curule* is a Romanian swear word and *perse* is a Finnish swear word both, meaning ‘ass’ and they are used in the context of anger. *Curu* is a Romanian swear word that means ‘ass.’ In Swedish, *tuttar* is a swear word that means ‘boobs.’ *Tunge pää perseesees* is a Finnish swear phrase that means ‘stick your head up your ass.’ In Romanian, *bag pula-n gatu tau* is a swear phrase that means ‘stick my dick in your throat’ and it is used

to express surprise and anger. *Dikzak* is a Dutch swear word that literally means ‘fat sack’ and it is used to express anger.

Both European and Asian languages equally make use of words that are associated with loose morals when it comes to swearing. In Bahasa Indonesia, people use the word *bajiang* to mean ‘bastard.’ *Lonte* in Bahasa Indonesia means ‘whore’ and it is used to express anger. In Vietnamese, *con di* is a swear phrase that literally means ‘whore’ and it is used to express anger. *Kaminey* is a Hindi word that literally means ‘bastard’ and it is used to express anger. *Bhosdee kay* is a Hindi swearing phrase that means ‘son of whore’ and it is used to express anger. *Shang nyun* is a Korean swearing word that means ‘bitch.’ *Hoer* is a Dutch swear word, *Troia* is an Italian swear word, *curva* is a Romanian swear word, *putain* is a French swear word, *slet* is a Dutch swear word and *schlampe* is a German swear word, all which literally mean ‘whore’ and they are used to express anger. *Hoerenzoon* is a Dutch swear word, *bastardo* is an Italian swear word, *Salaud* is a French swear word and *fils de pute* is an Italian swear phrase, all meaning bastard and are used in the context of anger.

‘Your mother’ swear phrase and its variations is both used by Asian and European languages. *Min may sat pat* is a Japanese swear phrase that means ‘your mums pussy’ and it is used to express anger or frustration. *Nea hmea sout put* is a Burmese swear word that means ‘your mom’s a vagina’ and it is used to express anger. In Hindi, *Madar Chod* and *Mai Chod* are both swear words that literally mean ‘motherfucker’ and are used in the context of anger. *Nea hmea sout put* is a Japanese swear phrase that means ‘fuck your own mother’ and it is used to express anger. *Din mammas äckliga fittkuk* is a Swedish swearing phrase that means ‘Your mother's disgusting pussycock.’ *Din mor er en luder* is a Danish swearing phrase that means ‘Your mother is a whore.’ *Din mor* is a Danish swearing phrase that means ‘your mother.’ *Tu madre* is a Spanish swearing phrase that means ‘your mother.’ *Din mammas ackliga fittkuk* is a Danish phrase that means ‘your mother’s disgusting pussy-cock.’ *Wichser* is a German word that means ‘motherfucker’ and it is used as an insult. *Futu-ti dumnezeii matii* is a Romanian swear phrase that means ‘fuck your mother’s gods.’ *Futu-ti biserica matii* is a Romanian swear phrase that means ‘fuck your mother’s church’ and it is used to express diverse emotions

Both European and Asian languages make reference to animals when it comes to swearing. *Anjing* in Bahasa Indonesia means ‘dog’ and it is used to express surprise, shock, pain or anger. *Babi* is a Bahasa Indonesian word that means ‘pig’ and it is used to insult when a person is angry. *Monyet* is Bahasa Indonesian swear that literally translates as ‘monkey’, but when used in swearing has connotations that ‘you are ugly’ and it is used in swearing

when someone is angry. *Do cho* is a Vietnamese swear phrase and *Kutte* is a Hindi swear word both of which mean ‘dog’ and are used in context of anger. In Vietnamese, *Chó chết* is a swear phrase that means ‘dead dog’ and it is used to express anger. In German, *drecksau* literally means ‘shit pig’; *dummes huhn* literally means ‘stupid chicken’ and they are both used in the context of anger or frustration. *Ko* is a Dutch word that means literally means ‘cow’ and it is used in swearing. In Danish, *dumme svin* is a swear phrase that means ‘stupid pig’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. *Oslayob* is a Russian swear word that literally means ‘donkey fucker’ and it is used to express anger.

Both European and Asian languages make reference to sex and sexual reproductive organs when it comes to swearing. It was revealed that swear words that make reference to sexual activity are mostly used in the context of anger. *Joder* is a Spanish swear word, *blet* is a Russian swear word, *yob* is a Russian swear word and *futu* is a Romanian swear word, all meaning ‘fuck.’ *Du* is a Vietnamese swear word, *tagad* is a Hindi swear word, *shibal* is a Korean swear word, *kuso* is a Japanese swear word, *wo cao* is a Chinese swear phrase, all meaning ‘fuck.’

5.6 Differences in swearing words used in European and Asian languages

Asian languages make less use of swear words that are associated with a person’s mental incapacity when compared to European languages. *Bodoh* is a Bahasa Indonesian swear word, *Baka* is a Japanese swear word and *Babo* is a Korean swear word, all meaning ‘stupid’ and they are used to express anger. *Gila* is Bahasa Indonesian swear word that means ‘crazy’ and it is used to express anger. *Now tsan* is a Chinese swear phrase that literally means ‘retard’ and it is used to express anger. *Trottel* is a German swear word and *Estupido* is a Spanish swear, meaning ‘stupid’ and they are both used in the context of anger. *Idiooti* is a Finish swear word and *Depp* is a German swear word, both meaning ‘idiot’ and are used to express anger and frustration. *Sukkel* is a Dutch swear word that means ‘dumbass’ and it is used to express anger. There are variations of the word ‘stupid.’ For instance, *din dumme idiot* is a Danish swear phrase that means ‘you stupid idiot’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. There is a category of swear words that allude that a person is a ‘retard.’ For instance, *miffo* is a Swedish swear word that means ‘retard.’ *Sukkel* is a Dutch swear word that means ‘dumbass’ and it is used to insult. There are variations of the word ‘stupid.’ For instance, *din dumme idiot* is a Danish swear phrase that means ‘you stupid idiot’ and it is used to express anger and frustration. There is a category of swear words that allude that a person is a ‘retard.’ For instance, *miffo* is a Swedish swear word that means ‘retard.’ Based

on the study results, it can be said that European languages tend to use more swear words that are associated with mental incapacity when compared with Asian languages.

European languages are richer in swear words that are associated with religion when compared to Asian languages that are associated with religion. *Godverdomme* is a Dutch swear word that literally means ‘God damn me’ meaning ‘God dammit’ and it is used to express anger. *Mon dieu* is a French swear word that means ‘my God’ and it is used to express surprise and frustration. *Du-te dracu* is a Romanian swear word that means ‘go to hell’ and it is used to express anger. *Perkele* is a Finnish swear word that means ‘devil.’ *Ohoiet* is a Russian swear word that means ‘holy fuck.’ *Painu helvettin* is a Finnish swear phrase that means ‘go to hell.’ *For helvede* is a Danish swearing phrase that means ‘God damn it.’ In Asian societies, there is also the use of swearing words that make reference to religion. *Astagafirlullah* is a Bahasa Indonesian swearing word that means ‘I seek forgiveness’ and it is used to express surprise and shock. *Masyaallah* is a Bahasa Indonesian swearing word that means ‘May Allah be praised’ and it is used to express surprise and shock. *Jigoku e ike* is a Japanese swearing phrase that means ‘go to hell’ and it is used to express anger.

European languages tend to use more expletives than Asian languages when it comes to swearing. The results of the present study revealed that more expletives in European languages were revealed when compared to expletives divulged in Asian languages. As a matter of fact, only one Asian language expletive was revealed in the study. *Damare Konoyarou!* is a Japanese expletive that means ‘shut up your bastard!’ and it is the only expletive that was revealed among Asian languages. *Jeg knepper din familie!* is a Danish expletive that means ‘I will fuck your family!’ *Dumme svin!* is a Danish expletive that means ‘stupid pig!’ *Din mor er en luder!* is a Danish expletive that means ‘your mother is a whore.’ *Painu vittuun täältä!* is a Finnish expletive that means ‘get the fuck out of here!’ *Jumalauta!* is a Finnish expletive that means ‘God damn it!’

It was revealed by the results of the present study that there is one European language (Dutch) uses diseases as swear words which is not found in any Asian language and other European languages. The revelation is different to the normal domains of swearing word.

There is less use of scatological terms when it comes to swearing in Asian languages. *Go se*, a Chinese swear phrase, *chaat mera*, a Hindi swear phrase and *teri gaand mein haathi ka lund*, a Hindi swear phrase are the only Asian swear phrases that were revealed to be associated with scatology. The less use of scatological words among Asian languages could

be attributed to the fact that Asian languages have for a long time used public toilets and therefore, they do not regard scatological words as being taboo or profane.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, swearing is common in both, European languages and Asian languages. Swearing is used to express feelings and strong emotions. Swearing words can be categorized as taboo words or profane words. There are similarities and differences between swearing in European languages and Asian languages. The present study contrasts with previous studies which claimed that Asian societies are conservative and tend to use fewer swear words when compared to European societies.

The results of the present study revealed that there are eight sources of swear words in European and Asian languages. The eight sources of swear words are animal, scatology, religion, sexual activity, body parts and bodily functions, mental incapacity/loose morals, diseases, and the family member.

According to results of the study, Japanese and Dutch are the two languages that have a swear words that makes reference to a person's physical appearance. *Busu* is a Japanese swear word that means 'super ugly girl' and *Dikzak* is a Dutch swear word that means 'fat-ass.' Both of the words are used as an insult. Furthermore, only the Dutch language makes use of swear words that are associated with diseases.

There is a high use of taboo words associated with religion that is used in swearing in European languages. On the other side, there is less use of taboo words associated with religion when it comes to swearing in Asian languages. Most of the swear words that are used to express anger in Asian and European languages make reference to sexual activities and sexual reproductive organs.

Socio-cultural factors play a major role when it comes to determining the use of swearing words. Some of the socio-cultural factors that influence the use of swearing words include peer pressure and education. Individuals who are susceptible to peer pressure are more likely to use swear words when compared to individuals who are less susceptible to being influenced by peer pressure.

Modernization and globalization have compelled Asian languages to adopt swearing words that were not initially associated with swearing in Asian languages. Previous studies had alluded that Asian languages make less use of swear words than European languages. The present study results disagree with the previously held stance that Asian swear words are less than European swear words.

A similar study should be conducted by the use of study participants who are long-term inhabitants of different European and Asian countries and speak different languages. Long-

term inhabitants of those countries are likely to provide information that is more authentic and data results that are more credible. Additionally, the next researchers could also focus on seeing the reason why certain sources of swear words are used in certain countries, specifically in Dutch language for example, where people use diseases as one of the sources of swear word. It is still a big mystery until now. He/she could probably try to investigate about this issue.

The number of study participants for this study should be increased by involving other universities that have a large number of international students so that a large pool of data about the topic of study may be collected. Funding should be solicited so that the research project may be repeated but with the use of a large number of study participants. A large number of study participants will go a long way in ensuring that credible results are obtained with regard to the research topic.

Additionally, it will also be interesting to compare the background knowledge of the study participants such as a comparison between university students and non-university participants or between educated participants and uneducated participants. By doing this study, the future study can see how education plays a major role in the use of swearing words.

Last but not least, the method used in this thesis could be supplemented with recording real conversational data, although it is not easy to get access to everyday situations in which people use swearing words.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Questionnaire

General Information

Name :
Gender :
Age :
Native language :
Nationality :

Bad or taboo word: swearing or cursing

1. Could you mention at least 3 strongly forbidden words in your language plus their literal meaning in English?
2. Mark the following classification used as swearing or cursing word in your language?
 - Animal: Dog, pig, bitch etc.
 - Religion: God, Jesus/Christ, Masyallah etc.
 - Scatological: asshole, shit, crap, piss, fart etc.
 - Sex organ: dick, prick etc.
 - Family member: Mother, father etc.
 - Diseases: cancer, malaria etc.
 - Other
3. From the classification above, which term is the most frequently used in your language?
4. are there any bad or taboo words that may be used with the same meaning as non-taboo word in your language? For example: in French "*Fous-moi le livre!*"- literally "fuck me the book" -meaning "give me the book"
5. Are there any other unique words in your language used to swear or curse?

What word would you say in your native language to express your feeling in the following situations:

1. What would you say in your language when you accidentally drop your phone into the water?
Answer:
Literary meaning of the word:
2. What would you say in your language when someone hit your car from the back on the traffic line?
3. What would you say in your language when you accidentally hit your finger with hammer?
4. What would you say in your language to someone or something that you are very angry with?
5. What would you say in your language when a spider surprisingly jumps on your body?

Appendix 2: Data Summary
Result of the interview and questionnaire

List of the language and participants

European Languages	Quantity	Asian Languages	Quantity
1. Dutch	16	1. Bahasa Indonesia	17
2. German	13	2. Vietnamese	5
3. Russian	5	3. Hindi	15
4. Spain	4	4. Chinese	7
5. Italian	8	5. Korean	6
6. French	4	6. Japanese	5
7. Romanian	3	7. Burmese	8
8. Danish	5		
9. Finish	6		
10. Swedish	4		
Total	63	Total	68

Types or themes of word swearing

1. Animal: Dog, pig, bitch etc.
2. Religion: God, Jesus/Christ, Masyallah etc.
3. Scatological: asshole, shit, crap, piss, fart etc.
4. Sex organ: dick, prick etc.
5. Sexual activity: fuck your mother, fuck yourself
6. Family member: father, mother, sister
7. Diseases: cancer, malaria etc.
8. Mental incapacity or loose moral : stupid, idiot

Appendix 3: List of Asian swear words

BAHASA INDONESIA				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Note
1	Anjing	Animal	Fuck, asshole, shit, crap	Surprise, shock, pain, anger,
2	Bajingan	Animal	Fuck, asshole, shit, crap	Surprise, shock, pain, anger,
3	Bangsat	Animal	Fuck, asshole, shit, crap	Surprise, shock, pain, anger,
4	Babi	Animal	You are fat, dump, cruel	Anger insulting
5	Monyet	Animal	You are ugly	Anger insulting
6	Astagafirlullah	Religion	Oh my God	Surprise, shock, anger
7	Masyaallah	Religion	Oh my God, Oh God	Surprise, shock
8	Brengsek	Scatological	Fuck, asshole, shit, crap,	Anger, Pain, shock
9	Kampret	Animal	Fuck, asshole, shit, crap,	Surprise, anger, Pain, shock
10	Tai	Scatological	Fuck, asshole, shit, crap,	Surprise, anger, Pain, shock
11	Bodoh	Mental incapacity	You are stupid	Anger insulting
12	Gila/sinting	Mental incapacity	You are crazy	Anger insulting
13	Kontol	Sex organ	asshole	Anger insulting
14	Burit	Sex organ	asshole	Anger insulting
15	Lonte	Sex activity	You are bitch	Anger, insulting
Summary				
Surprise, Shock, Pain, Insulting, Anger,			Animal, Scatological, Sex organ, religion, Sex activity, mental incapacity,	

Vietnamese				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotions
1	Do cho	Animal	You are dog	Anger Insulting
2	Dit me/du me	Scatological	Fuck your mom	Surprise, anger, Pain, shock
3	Du	Scatological	Fuck	Surprise, anger, Pain, shock
4	địt cả lũ nhà may	Family	Fuck your entire family	Insulting
5	địt con đĩ mẹ m	Family	fuck your slutty mother	Insulting
6	địt cái lồn mẹ m	Family	Fuck your mom	Insulting
7	đĩ ăn cứt	Scatological	Fuck you	Insulting, anger
8	đéo biết	Scatological	I don't know	Angry
9	An Cu Cua Toi	Sex organ	Fuck you	Insult
10	Biển mẹ may	Scatological	Fuck off	Insult angry

	đi.			
11	Du ma	Family	Mother fucker	Insult angry
12	Du ma may	Family	Mother fucker	Insult angry
13	Du mot minh	Scatological	Go fuck yourself	Insult angry
14	Tao cắt cổ may	Scatological	Don't mess with me	Insult angry
15	cặc	Sex organ	You're a dick	Insult angry
16	chó chết	Animal	You are dog	Insult angry
17	con di	Scatological	Bitch	Insult angry
18	lo dit	Scatological	Asshole	Insulting, angry
19	Troi oi	Religion	OMG	Surprise, shock, pain
Summary				
Surprise, Shock, Pain, Insulting, Anger,			Animal, Scatological, Sex organ, religion, Sex activity, family member	

HINDI				
NO	Word	Type	Swearing meaning	Note
1	Baap ke lavde	Sex organ	Penis of father	Anger, insulting
2	Bakrichod	Animal, sex activity	Goat Fucker	Anger, insulting
3	Betichod	Family member	daughter fucker	Anger, insulting
4	Bhai Chhod bhayee chod	Family member	Brother Fucker	Anger,insulting
5	Bhen Chhod bhaynchod	Family member	Sister Fucker	surprise, anger, shock insulting, pain, frustration
6	Bhen ke lode	Sex organ	Cock of sister	Anger
7	Chut ka maindak	Sex organ, animal	frog in a vagina	Insulting
8	Gaand chaat mera	Animal, sex activity	lick my ass/ kiss my ass	Insulting
9	Gaandu	Scatological	Asshole	Insulting
10	Kaminey	Mental incapacity	Bastard	Insulting
11	Lund Khajoor	Scatological	Dickhead	Insulting, anger
12	Lund chuse	Animal, sex activity	cock sucker	Insulting, anger
13	Lund luhnd	Sex organ	Cock	Insulting
14	Madar Chod	Family member	Mother Fucker!!	Insulting Anger
15	Madarchod ke Aulaad	Scatological	Son of a MotherFucker	Anger
16	Mader chod	Family member	Mother Fucker	Anger
17	Mai Chod	Family member	Mother Fucker	Anger
18	Randi	Scatological	Whore	Insulting
19	Randi Ka Choda	Scatological	Son of a whore	Insulting
20	Teri Gaand mein Haathi ka	Animal, sex activity	Elephant's cock in your Ass	Insulting

	Lund			
21	bhosdee kay	Scatological	son of a whore	Insulting
22	burr	Sex organ	Pussy	Insulting
23	chod		Fuck	
24	harami	Scatological	Bastard	Insulting
25	kutte	Animal	Dog	Insulting
26	Mome ka pasina chat	Animal, sex activity	lick breasts sweat	Insulting
27	suvar chod	Animal	pig fucker	Insulting
28	tagad	Scatological	Fuck	All
Summary				
Surprise, Shock, Pain, Insulting, Anger,			Animal, Scatological, Sex organ, Sex activity, family member	

CHINESE				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotion
1	Ni shi shen jing bing	Mental incapacity	you are crazy	Anger, insulting
2	Sha bi	Sex organ	Stupid cunt	Anger, insulting
3	bi	Sex organ	Cunt	
4	cao	Sex activity	Fuck	
5	cao ni ma	Sex activity	fuck your mum	Anger, insulting
6	chiang jian	Sex activity	Rape	
7	gan	Sex activity	Fuck	
8	go niang yang de	Animal	son of a bitch	Anger, insulting
9	go se	Scatological	Shit	All
10	ji ba	Sex organ	Penis	Anger, insulting
11	kao yao	Scatological	WTF	Anger, insulting
12	ma la ge bi	Sex organ	Damn! Shit! Fuck!	Anger, insulting
13	ni mama gei ren diao	Sex activity	your mother fuck by someone else	Anger, insulting
14	now tsan	Mental incapacity	retard or mentally impaired	Anger, insulting
15	wo cao	Sex activity	Fuck! or Fuck you!	Anger, insulting
16	wo cao ni ma bi	Sex activity	i fuck ur mom's cunt	Anger, insulting
Summary				
Surprise, Shock, Pain, Insulting, Anger,			Scatological, Sex organ, Sex activity, mental incapacity	

KOREAN				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotions
1	Babo	Mental incapacity	Stupid	Anger, insult
2	Boji	Sex organ	Pussy	Anger, insult

3	Chaji	Sex organ	Dick	Anger, insult
4	Eh-ja	Mental incapacity	Retard / Idiot	Anger, insult
5	Goja	Sex organ	guy w/o a penis	Anger, insult,
6	Michin	Mental incapacity	Crazy	
7	Poji	Sex organ	Pussy	Anger, insult
8	Shang nyun		Bitch	All
9	Shibal	Scatological	Fuck	All
10	Shibalnyun	Animal	Bitch	Anger, insult
11	chang nyeon	Scatological	Slut	Anger, insult
12	gae saeki	Animal	son of a bitch	Insult
13	jhut-ppa-ruh	Sex organ	suck my boobs	Anger, insult
14	jot mul	Sex activity	Cum	Anger, insult
15	jot-nna	Scatological	Fucking	All
16	Jotbab	Scatological	weak piece of shit	Anger, insult
17	see bal	Scatological	Fuck	Surprise, Anger, insult
18	ttong-koo-mung	Sex organ	butt hole	Insult

JAPANESE				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotion
1	Aho	Scatological	Dumbass	Insulting, anger
2	Ano yarou/ano baka	Mentally incapacity	That bastard/that idiot	Insulting, anger
3	Baka	Mentally incapacity	Idiot	Insulting, anger,
4	Baka tare	Mentally incapacity	Complete Idiot / Moron	Insulting, anger
5	Bakayarou		Dumb bastard	Insulting, anger
6	Bokki	Scatological	Boner	X
7	Busu		super ugly girl	Insulting, anger
8	Che'	Scatological	Damn!	Frst
9	Chin Chin	Sex organ	Dick	Insulting, anger
10	Chinko	Sex organ	Penis	Insulting, anger
11	Damare Konoyarou!		Shut up you bastard!	Anger
12	Hage (Hage atama)		Bald (Bald head)	Insulting
13	Jigoku e ike!	Scatological	Go to hell!	Anger
14	Jiguko e ike kono ama!*	Scatological	Go to hell you bitch!	Anger
15	Kintama		Testicles	Anger
16	Kono ama!		You bitch!	Insult, anger
17	Kuso	Scatological	Fuck or Shit	All
18	Kuso kurae	Scatological	Fuck off (lit. "eat shit")	Insult, anger
19	Kusogaki	Scatological	Brat (lit. shit brat)	Insult, anger
20	Kuso kurae	Scatological	Eat shit	Insult, anger
21	Nameruna	Scatological	Don't fuck with me	Insult, anger

BURMESE				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotion
1	Gway Htoot		Wank	Shock, Pain
2	Lee Bel	Sex organ	Penis!	Anger, Insulting
3	Lee Sok		suck my dick	Anger, pain, frustration
4	Min may sat pat	Family	your mums pussy	Anger, Insulting, frustration
5	Minn May Minn Lo'	Family	fuck ya own mother	Anger, Insulting
6	Nea hmea sout put	Family	Your mom's a vagina	Anger, Insulting
7	Qui Kaung	Anger, insult	Bitch (male)	Anger, Insulting
8	Qui Ma	Anger, insult	Bitch (female)	Anger, pain
9	Sou Ko Ma	Sex activity	Fucking bitch (female)	Anger, Insulting, frustration
10	lee sok pay	Sex activity	suck my dick	Surprise, Anger, Insulting
11	Maylo		Hello	Surprise,
12	na ma low	Family	sister fucker	Anger, Insulting

Appendix 4: List of European swear words

DUTCH				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotions
1	Dikzak	Scatological	Fatass	Insulting, anger,
2	Flikker	Sexual activity	Homosexual	Insulting, anger
3	Godver	Religion	Damn	Pain, frustration, anger
4	Godverdomme	Religion	God damnit	Pain, frustration anger
5	Kankerlul	Diseases	Cancer dick	Insulting, anger
6	Kankerwif	Diseases	Cancer bitch	Insulting, anger
7	Kloten (singular kloot)	Sex organ	Testicles, balls	Shock , anger, frustration
8	Kut	Sex organ	Cunt	Pain, frustration
9	Kutding	Sex organ	Fucking thing	anger, frustration
10	Kutwif	Sex organ	Bitch	Insulting, anger
11	Zuig mijn lul		Suck my cock	Insulting, anger, frustration
12	Hoer		Whore	Insulting, anger, frustration
13	hoerenjong	Animal	son of a bitch	Insulting, anger, frustration
14	hoerenzoon		son of a whore	Insulting, anger, frustration
15	kak, stront	Scatological	Shit	
16	Klootzak		Asshole	Insulting, anger, frustration
17	Lul	Sex organ	Dick	Insulting, anger, frustration
18	paardelul	Sex organ	horse dick	Insulting, anger, frustration
19	Rotzak	Scatological	Bastard	Insulting, anger, frustration
20	Slet		Slut	Insulting
21	Sloerie		slut, skank	Insulting
22	snol, del, hoer, prostitutee		hoe/whore	Insulting
23	stoephoer		Sidewalk slut	Insulting
24	Sukkel	Mental incapacity	Dumbass	Insulting
25	Teef	Animal	Bitch	Insulting
Summary				
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Disease only in Dutch. 2. “Dikzak” =Fat bag means Fat ass is so funny, because the use bag to change ass 3. “teef” literally means female dog (bitch animal) and the equivalent meaning of the swearing word of this is “bitch” in English. But the word “Kutwif” is literally means “women cunt” but swearing word means “bitch”. 				

GERMAN				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotion
1	Deine Mutter!	Family member	Your Mom!	Insulting
2	Depp	Mental incapacity	Idiot	Insulting, anger, frustration
3	Dreckige Hure.	Sexual activity	Dirty whore.	Insulting
4	Drecksau	Animal	shit pig	Insulting
5	Du Bastard!	Scatological	Bastard!	Insulting
6	Du Drecksack!	Scatological	You Dirtbag!	Anger, Insulting,
7	Du verdammtes Arschloch	Sex organ	you bloody asshole	Anger, Insulting,
8	Dumme Schlampe.	Sexual activity	Stupid bitch.	Anger, Insulting,
9	Dummes Huhn	Animal	stupid chicken	Anger, Insulting,
10	Fick deine Mutter	Sexual activity Family member	Fuck your mother	Anger, Insulting,
11	Fick dich	Sexual activity	Fuck you	Anger, Insulting,
12	Fick dich Arschloch	Sexual activity	fuck you asshole	Anger, Insulting,
13	Fick dich ins Knie.	Sexual activity	Go fuck yourself (knee).	Anger, Insulting,
14	Fick dich, Wichser.	Sexual activity	Fuck you, jerk-off.	Anger, Insulting,
15	Ficker	Sexual activity	Fucker	Anger, Insulting,
16	Fickfresse	Sexual activity	Fuck face	Anger, Insulting,
17	Fotze	Sexual activity	Cunt	Anger, Insulting,
18	Geh zum Teufel	Religion	Go to hell (Lit. Go to the devil)	Anger, Insulting, frustration, Surprise
19	Gottverdammte !	Religion	God dammit !	Anger, pain, frustration
20	Hackfresse		Shit face	Anger, Insulting
21	Hurensohn	Sexual activity Family member	Son of bitch	Anger, Insulting,
22	LMS (Lutsch mein' Schwanz)	Sex organ	Suck my dick	Anger, Insulting, frustration
23	Leck mich am Arsch!	Sex organ	Kiss my ass!	Anger, Insulting, frustration
24	Lutsch' meine Eier	Sex organ	Suck my balls	Anger, Insulting, frustration
25	Schlampe	Sexual activity	Slut	Anger, Insulting
26	Schwanzlutscher	Sexual activity	Cocksucker	Insulting
27	Schwuchtel	Sexual activity	faggot, homo	Insulting
28	Sheisse	Scatological	Shit	Anger, Shock, pain frustration
29	Trottel	Mental incapacity	Stupid	Anger, shock, frustration
30	Verdammte Scheiße!	Scatological	Shit! Dammit!	Shock, pain frustration
31	Verficktes Arschloch!	Sexual activity	Fucking asshole!	Anger, frustration
32	Wichser	Sexual activity	Motherfucker	Anger, Insulting,

				frustration
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RUSSIAN				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotions
1	Na kaleni, suka	Animal	On your knees, bitch	Anger, insult
2	ohooiet'	Sex organ	holy fuck!!!	Surprise, anger, shock, frustrations
3	Debil Yobani	Mental incapacity	Fucking idiot	Anger, Insult, frustrations
4	Dolboeb	Mental incapacity	Fuck head	Anger, Insult, frustrations
5	Eblan.	Mental incapacity	Dumbass.	Insult, frustrations
6	Hooyovi / zayebátelski	Sexual activity	Bad/good	Surprise
7	Huesos	Sex organ	Cocksucker	Anger, insult
8	Hui	Sex organ	Dick	Shock
9	Otebis'	Sexual activity	Fuck off	Anger, shock
10	Pizdet'	Sex organ	To bullshit	Anger, surprise, shock, frustration
11	Polnyi pizdets	Sexual activity	FUBAR (Fucked Up Beyond All Repair)	Anger, shock, frustration
12	Poloochít Pizdyooléy	Sex organ	To be hit by	Anger
13	Poshol Na Hui	Sex organ	Fuck off! (Go to the dick!)	Anger, surprise, shock, frustration, insult
14	S'ebis'	Sexual activity	Get the fuck out	Anger, surprise, shock, frustration, insult
15	Shalava	Sexual activity	dirty slut	Insult
16	Shluha vokzal'naja	Sexual activity	Train station whore	Insult
17	Sooka	Sexual activity	Bitch/traitor/whore	Anger, surprise, shock, frustration, insult
18	Sosat'	Sexual activity	To suck	Anger, insult, frustration
19	Sosi Hui	Sex organ	Suck a dick (meaning, suck my dick)	Anger, shock, insult
20	Yob tvoyiu mat!	Sexual activity	Fuck your mother	Shock, pain, frustration
21	Zavali yebalo	Sex organ	Shut the fuck up!	Anger, shock, insult
22	bliad'	Sexual activity	Whore	Insult
23	ma'mkoo tvoyu' yeba'l	Sexual activity	I've fucked your mother	Insult
24	Oslayob	Animal sexual activity	donkey fucker	Insult
25	Pedik	Sexual activity	Gay	Insult
26	Pidaryuga	Sexual activity	fucking gay	Anger, insult
27	sosi moi hui sooka!	Sex organ	suck my cock bitch	Anger, insult

SPANISH				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotion
1	Cabron!	Scatological	Bastard	Anger, Insulting, frustration
2	Culo	Scatological	Ass	Insulting
3	Estupido	Mental incapacity	Stupid	Anger, Insulting pain frustration
4	Pinche pendejo	Scatological,	Fucking dumbass	Anger, Insulting frustration
5	Hijo de puta!	Animal	You son of a bitch!	Anger, Insulting pain frustration
6	Hijo de su pinche madre	Family member	son of a bitch	ALL
7	Joder!	Scatological	fuck!	ALL
8	Maldito puto cono!	Scatological	You motherfucking cunt!	Surprise, Anger, Insulting frustration
9	Mamon	Scatological	Cocksucker	ALL
11	Mierda	Scatological	Shit	ALL
12	No me jodas!	Sexual activity	Don't fuck with me!	Surprise, shock
13	Pajero	Sexual activity	Wanker	Insulting
14	Tu madre es una puta fea	Family member	Your mother is an ugly bitch	Anger, frustration
15	Y tu mama tambien	Scatological	and your mom also	Insulting
16	chingar	Sexual activity	to fuck	ALL
17	chingate!	Sexual activity	fuck you!	Anger, Insulting frustration
18	chupa mi vierga	Sexual activity	suck my dick	Anger, Insulting frustration
19	chupar	Sexual activity	to suck	Surprise, Insulting frustration
20	cochina	Animal, Scatological	disgusting person (f)	ALL
21	cochino	Animal, Scatological	disgusting person (m)	ALL
22	cojer	Sexual activity	Fuck	ALL
23	cojones	Sex organ	balls, testicles,	ALL
24	come kuacha	Scatological	eat squishy shit	Insulting frustration
25	come mierda	Scatological	eat shit	Insulting frustration
26	cuanto por las nalgas	Scatological	how much for your ass	Anger
27	el !cabron!	Scatological	you bastard	Anger, Insulting frustration
28	hijo de puta	Scatological	son of a bitch	Anger, Insulting frustration, pain
29	mamea mi bicho	Sexual activity	suck my dick	Anger, Insulting frustration
30	ojala que mueras	Scatological	I hope you die	Anger, frustration

31	pinche puta	Scatological	Fuckin whore	Anger
32	pon lo en tu culo	Scatological	put it in your ass	Anger
33	te mato	Scatological	I kill you	Anger, frustration
34	te odio	Scatological	i hate you	Anger, frustration
35	tu madre	Family member	your mom	Anger, Insulting

ITALIAN				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotions
1	Cazzo!	Sex organ	Fuck!	Surprise, anger, shock, pain, frustration
2	Che cazzo	Sex organ	What the fuck	Surprise, anger, shock, pain, frustration
3	Figa	Sex organ	Cunt	
4	Figlio di Troia	Family member	Son of a Bitch	Insulting, anger, shock,
5	Intro culo di mammata	Family member Scatological	Up your mother's ass	Insulting, anger, shock,
6	Merda!		Shit	Surprise, anger, shock, pain, frustration
7	Mortacci tua	Family member	Your feable ancestors	Insulting, anger
8	Pezzo di merda	Scatological	Piece of shit	Insulting, anger
9	Pompinara	Sexual activity	Cock Sucker	Insulting, anger
10	Porca Madonna	Animal, religion	Pig Madonna	Surprise, anger, shock, pain, frustration
11	Testa di cazzo	Sex organ	Dickhead	Insulting, anger
12	Testa di minchia	Sex organ	Dickhead	Insulting, anger
13	Ti ammazzo		I'll kill you	Anger
14	Troia		Whore	Insulting, anger
15	Vaffanculo	Scatological	fuck off	Anger
16	Vai a farti fottere, puttana!	Sexual activity	Go fuck yourself, whore!	Insulting, anger
17	Zoccola		Slut	Insulting, anger
18	Bastardo	Family member	Male Bastard	Insulting, anger
19	cazzo, minchia, mazza, uccello	Sex organ	Cock	Surprise, anger, shock, pain, frustration
20	ce l'hai piccolo	Sex organ	You got a small (dick)	Insulting
21	Cretino	Mental uncapacity	Idiot	Insulting, anger
22	fare una sega	Sexual activity	to jack off	
23	fatti una pugnetta	Sexual activity	Have A Wank	
24	fica stretta	Sex organ	narrow pussy	Insulting,
25	figlio di puttana	Family member	Son of a bitch	
26	i coglioni	Sex organ	the balls	
27	leccami il culo	Scatological, Sexual activity	lick my ass	
28	leccami la figa	Sex organ Sexual	lick my pussy	

		activity		
29	mangia merda	Scatological	eat shit	Anger
30	pezzo di merda	Scatological	piece of shit	Insulting, anger
31	Puttana		Whore	Insulting, anger
32	rottinculo		Gay	Insulting, anger
33	sborra, sburro		Cum	
34	Scopare	Sexual activity	to fuck	
35	testa di cazzo		dick head	Insulting, anger
36	ti corro in culo	Scatological	forget it ("I run into your ass")	
37	Troia		whore (feminine)	Insulting, anger
38	un pompino	Sexual activity	Blowjob	
39	vaffanculo	Scatological	fuck off	Anger
Summary				
Surprise, Shock, Pain, Insulting, Anger,			Animal, religion. Scatological, Sex organ, Sex activity, family member	

FRENCH				
NO	Word	Literal Meaning of the word	Swearing meaning	Note
1	"Oh, merde!"	Scatological	Oh, shit!	Shock frustration
2	Il est stupide	Mental incapacity	He is stupid	Insulting
3	Imbecile	Mental incapacity	stupid, asshole	Insulting
4	J'ai baisé ta mère	Sexual activity, family member	I just fucked your mother	
5	J'ai envie de chier	Scatological	I want to shit	
6	Je me fais chier.	Scatological	I'm bored shitless.	frustration,
7	Laisse-moi tranquille!		Leave me alone!	frustration, pain
8	Merde	Scatological	Shit	Surprise, anger, frustration, shock
9	Salaud!	Sexual activity	Bastard!	
10	Salope	Sexual activity	Bitch	
11	Ta gueule	Animal	Shut up	
12	Va te faire enculer chez les Grecs	Sexual activity	Go get fucked in the ass by Greeks	Insulting
13	mon dieu	Religion	My God!	Surprise, frustration
14	putain, pute	Sexual activity	Whore	Insulting
15	Putain	Sexual activity	Fuck	Surprise, anger, frustration, shock
Summary				
Surprise, Shock, Pain, Insulting, Anger, frustration			Animal, religion. Scatological, , Sex activity,	

ROMANIAN				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotion
1	Bag pula-n gatu tau!	Sex organ	stick my dick in your throat!	Surprise, Anger, Insulting
2	Cacat cu ochi	Scatological	Shit with eyes	Insulting
3	Curule!	Scatological	You ass!	Insulting
4	Curva	-	Whore	Anger, insulting, frustration
5	Du te Dracu	Scatological	Go to hell	ALL
6	Du-te frate si impusca-te!		Bro' , go shoot yourself!	Anger
7	Futu-i!	Sexual activity	Fuck!	ALL
8	Futu-ti biserica matii!	Sexual activity	Fuck your mother's church!	ALL
9	Futu-ti ceapa matii!	Sexual activity	fuck ur mother's onion	ALL
10	Futu-ti coliva matii	Sexual activity	Fuck your mother's funeral meal	ALL
11	Futu-ti dumnezeii matii!	Sexual activity	Fuck your mother's gods!	ALL
12	Futu-ti mortii matii	Sexual activity	Fuck your mothers dead relatives	ALL
13	Linge-ma!	Sexual activity	Lick me!	Anger, Insulting
14	Manca-mi-ai curu'!	Sex organ	Eat my ass!	Anger, Insulting
15	Manca-mi-ai pula!	Sex organ	Eat my dick!	Insulting
16	Pulă bleagă	Sex organ	soft (unworking) dick	Anger, Insulting
17	Pula calului in virful dealului	Sex organ	Horse's dick on top of the hill	Surprise, shock
18	Sa-ti scot ochii cu pula	Sex organ	Poke your eyes out with my dick	Anger, shock, insulting
19	Sugi Pula	Sexual activity	Suck my dick	ALL
20	du-te-n pizda ma-tii!	Sex organ	go back in your mother's cunt!	ALL
21	esti o laba trista	Sex organ	you're a sad jerk off	Insulting
22	inecate-ai cu sperma lu' tac-tu!	Sexual activity	choke with your dad's sperm	Insulting
23	Muie	Sexual activity	Blowjob	Insulting
24	Muist	Sexual activity	cock sucker	Insulting
25	sa-mi tarai coaiele pe fatza ta	Sexual activity	drag my balls on your face	Insulting
26	Sloboz	Scatological	Semen	ALL
27	spala-te pe dinti cu slobozii mei!	Scatological	brush your teeth with my cum	Insulting

Summary

Futu-ti ceapa = fuck your mother's onion, I think this is funny
Pula calului in varful = Horse's dick on the top of the hill
Cacat cu ochi= shit with eyes

FINISH				
NO	Word	Literal Meaning of the word	Swearing meaning	Note
1	Haista paska!		Fuck you! (lit. smell shit!)	
2	Haista vittu!		Fuck you! (Lit. Smell cunt!)	
3	Hevon vittu		Horse's cunt	
4	Hitto		Damn it	
5	Homo		Gay	
6	Huora		Whore	
7	Idiootti		Idiot	
8	Ime mun munaa		Suck my dick	
9	Ime munaa, runkkari		Suck cock, wanker	
10	Jumalauta!		God Damnit!	
11	Kullinaama		Cockface	
12	Kusipää		Asshole (lit. pisshead)	
13	Kyrpä		Cock	
14	Mita vittua?		What the fuck?(lit. Fucking what?)	
15	Munapää		Dickhead	
16	No voi vittu!		For fuck's sake!	
17	Nussi mutsias!		Fuck your mom!	
18	Painu Helvettin!		Go to hell!	
19	Painu vittuun täältä!		Get the fuck out of here!	
20	Painu vittuun!		Fuck off!	
21	Paska		Shit	
22	Paska-aivo		Shitbrain	
23	Paskanaama		Shitface	
24	Pasko kahvikuppiin		Take a shit in a coffee cup	
25	Perkele		Devil	
26	Perse		Ass	
27	Perseräiskattu pirihuora		Assraped crackwhore	
28	Persläpi		Asshole	
29	Runkkari		Wanker	
30	Tunge päätä perseeseen!		Stick your head up your ass!	
31	Vedä käteen		Jack off	
32	Vittu Saatana!		Fuck, Satan (a popular	

			combo)	
33	Vitun urpo		Fucking idiot	
34	Voi Paska		Oh, Shit	
35	Voi turku		Ou fuck	
36	Voi vittu!		Oh fuck!	
37	helvetti		Hell	
38	vitun kusimulkku		fucking pissdick	

DANISH				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotions
1	Din dumme idiot		You stupid idiot	
2	Din lille lort		You little piece of shit	
3	Din mor		your mother	
4	Din mor er en luder!		Your mother is a whore!	
5	Dumme svin!		Stupid pig!	
6	Er du fucking retarderet?		Are you fucking retarded?	
7	Fisse		Pussy	
8	For helvede		God damn it. (lit. to hell)	
9	Grimme k'lling		Ugly bitch	
10	Gå hjem og knep din mor		Go home and fuck your mom	
11	Hold k'ft		Shut up	
12	Jeg knepper din familie!		I'll fuck your family	
13	Ko!		Cow!	
14	Kusse		Cunt	
15	Køter		(lit.) Dog/Bitch	
16	Lort		Shit	
17	Pik		Cock	
18	Pik slikker		cock sucker	
19	Pikansjos		(lit) Dick anchovy	
20	Pikhoved!		Dickhead!	
21	Pikspiller		Wanker	
22	Røvguitar		(lit) Arse guitar	
23	Skrid med dig!		Fuck off!	
24	Sut Min Pik		Suck My Dick	
25	Sut min pik		Suck my dick	
26	Sut røv, pikhoved.		suck ass, dickhead.	
27	Svans		Faggot	
28	Tudefj's		Crybaby	
29	forpulede rovhul		fucking asshole	
30	klamme luderso		disgusting bitchwhore	

SWEDISH				
NO	Word	Types	Swearing meaning	Emotions
1	Din inavlade kuksugare	Sex organ	You inbred cocksucker	Surprise
2	Din kuksugar hora	Sex organ	You cock sucking whore	Surprise, shock
3	Din mammas äckliga fittkuk	Sex organ	Your mother's disgusting pussycock	Surprise, shock
4	Dra åt helvete	Religion	Go to hell	Surprise
5	Dumfan	Mental incapacity	Dumbfuck	Surprise, shock,
6	Dumjävel	Mental incapacity	Stupid fucker	Surprise
7	Fitta	Sex organ	Pussy	Surprise
8	Fjolla	Mental incapacity	Nancy boy	Insult
9	Hora	Sexual activity	Whore	Surprise
10	Jag hoppas att du knullas av Satan.	Religion	I hope you get fucked by Satan.	Surprise, shock, insult
11	Kuksugare	Sex organ	Cock sucker	Surprise
12	Miffo	Mental incapacity	Retard	Insult
13	Pappas smutsiga lilla hora	Sexual activity	Daddys dirty little whore	Surprise, shock
14	Pissluder	Scatological	Piss whore	Surprise
15	Röv	Scatological	Ass	Surprise
16	Rövhål	Scatological	Asshole	Surprise, shock,
17	Slampa, Hora, Luder,	Scatological	Slut	Surprise, frustrations
18	Sug min kuk	Sexual activity	suck my dick	Surprise, shock
19	Vad fan	Religion	What the hell	Surprise
20	fitta	Sex organ	Cunt	Surprise, shock, insult
21	kuk	Sex organ	Cock	Surprise
22	kuksugare	Sexual activity	Cocksucker	Surprise
23	pattar	Sex organ	Tits	Surprise
24	rövhål	Scatological	Asshole	Surprise, shock
25	skit	Scatological	Shit	Surprise
26	sug min kuk	Sexual activity	suck my cock	Surprise, shock
27	tuttar	Sex organ	tits, boobs	Surprise
28	Ät skit och dö din jävla fitta!	Scatological	Eat shit and die you fucking cunt!	Surprise, shock, insult