



You boner-biting bastard!

Functional equivalence of translated swear words in the Norwegian subtitles from *South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut* (Parker et al., 1999).

VILDE HAGEN SVANBERG

SUPERVISOR

Barbara Gawronska

University of Agder, 2018

Faculty of Humanities and Education

Department of Foreign Languages and Translation



Abstract

This thesis is a study on functional equivalence of translated swear words in two parts. In the first part, swearing is defined as taboo words, and what is considered taboo varies greatly between cultures and societies. The differences between American English swearing and Norwegian swearing are good examples of this. To better understand functional equivalence and what makes it so hard to achieve, the thesis also focuses on why we swear, what happens to our brain when we swear and how subtitling as a form of translation might further complicate the process. In the second part, swear words from the American English movie *South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut* (Parker et al., 1999) and the Norwegian subtitles from the same movie by Leif Helgeland are chosen as material for two questionnaires: one in English for native English speakers, and one in Norwegian for native Norwegian speakers. In the questionnaires, participants have to rate swear words after perceived vulgarity to see if the Norwegian translation has a high or low degree of functional equivalence. The results showed that the swear words tended to change category between languages, but that Helgeland's translation still was surprisingly accurate and functionally equivalent.

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
I. Introduction.....	4
II. Background.....	5
Functional equivalence.....	5
What is swearing?	6
Swearing in Norwegian.....	7
Swearing in American English.....	8
Connotations – What happens in our brain when we swear?.....	9
Why do we swear?	10
Subtitling	11
III. Material and Method	12
<i>South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut</i>	12
Method	12
Distribution.....	13
Possible mistakes.....	14
IV Analysis and results	14
Participants	15
Fuck.....	16
Dæven.....	17
Complete retard.....	18
Horse fucker	19
Donkey-raping shit eater	21
Feedback from participants	22
V. Conclusion, Discussion and Implications for Further Research	24
References:	27
Summary in Norwegian	30
Appendices	32
American English questionnaire	32
Norwegian questionnaire.....	38

I. Introduction

Almost everyone swears. Even people with dementia remember swear words. Swearing is relevant for all people in all societies and cultures; from the toddler who wants to test limits and is threatened with getting his or her mouth washed with soap to the pensioner who does not understand why everybody uses so many swear words these days. What words are used as swear words tell us a lot about cultures and societies, their history and what they find important, scary, disgusting and hurtful to name a few examples.

In this thesis, I will focus on examining functional equivalence of translated swear words in the Norwegian subtitles from the movie *South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut* (Parker et al., 1999). The goal of the research is to see if the translated swear words in the Norwegian subtitles are good equivalents to the swearwords in American English. To test if the translation is equivalent to the original, I have created two questionnaires, one with the original swear words in American English and one in Norwegian, translated by Leif Helgeland. By sharing them on Facebook, I have managed to get native speakers of both English and Norwegian to rate swearwords after perceived vulgarity.

I will look at and compare the two questionnaires to find examples of high and low levels of functional equivalence, and to see where the categorisation of swear words differ between the two languages. English is spoken in many countries, while Norwegian is mainly spoken in Norway, so some variations are expected. The variations in functional equivalence and categorisation will be explained by using carefully selected words from both questionnaires with attached graphs.

Most people who have watched movies with translated subtitles know that the subtitles are not always very good. They may not convey the same meaning, the translators may have misunderstood something in the source language, they may have left something out completely or the subtitles are simply wrong. This is because swear words have a strong connection to culture and are particularly challenging to translate. Mistakes are often easy for viewers to detect if they are not done right.

II. Background

Functional equivalence

The American linguist and translation theorist, Eugene Nida, is widely known for his translation theory on functional equivalence. Functional equivalence is based on “the principle of equivalent effect”, where the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as what existed between the original receptor and the message (Munday, 2012, p. 67). The theory is receptor based, and focuses on sense-by-sense translation. What is most important for a translation to function correctly is that it must stand for the same idea and produce the same response as the source text (Munday, 2012, p. 80).

Naturalness is an important element of the equivalent effect (Munday, 2012, p. 80). One should always try to find the closest natural equivalent, and therefore, it might be necessary to adjust grammar, lexicon and cultural references (Munday, 2012, p. 80).

The equivalent effect must:

- Make sense
- Convey the spirit and manner of the original
- Have a natural and easy form of expression
- Produce a similar response

(Munday, 2012, p. 80)

According to Nida & Taber (1969, p. 24), it is impossible to get the same response in the target language as in the source language. The cultural and historical settings will be too different, but there should be a high degree of equivalence of response (Nida & Taber, 1969, p. 24). This is supported by Gottlieb (1994, p. 264), who claims that all human languages express nothing but their own culture, because different languages have different semantic fields and different usage-governed rules for collocation and cohesion between elements. The more realistic ideal would be to achieve the same effect on the target language as the source language, although the ultimate result would be to give the target reader, listener or audience the experience they would have had if they already knew the foreign language in question (Gottlieb, 1994, p. 265).

This is especially important to consider in the translation of emotive or connotative language, where the response or effect is more important than the literal meaning of the words. The questions are then, how is the response to be measured, and on whom? (Munday, 2012, p. 68). In this thesis, I have tried to test achieved degree of functional equivalence by measuring the perceived vulgarity of swear words and their translation on different people across different cultures.

What is swearing?

Swearing is emotive utterances that offer the speaker a way to give additional emphasis to their speech, often in combination with other emphasising techniques like stress, intonation and tone of voice, as well as non-linguistic phenomena like gestures and facial expressions (Ljung, 2011, p. 4-5). Ljung (1987, p. 25) also mentions that swearing differs from “normal” language because swear words gain their meaning by certain emotive formulas. Swearing is perceived as an outlet for anger and aggression, and the formula for what separates swearing from a normal suggestion includes a raised voice, intonation and special pronunciation (Ljung, 1987, p. 25). Who has not experienced stubbing their toe and used foul language as a pain relief?

There are different views on what swearing is, but most can agree to these four criteria (Ljung, 2011, p. 4):

- Swearing is the use of utterances containing **taboo** words.
- The taboo words are used with **non-literal** meaning.
- Many utterances that constitute swearing are subject to severe lexical, phrasal and syntactic constraints, which suggest that most swearing qualifies as **formulaic language** (collocations).
- Swearing is **emotive** language: its main function is to reflect, or seem to reflect, the speaker’s feelings and attitudes.

In most cases of swearing, an utterance contains a taboo word (Ljung, 2011, p. 5). The word “taboo” is of Tongan origin, and was first noted by Captain James Cook in 1777 where it was used to refer to sacred places. In the beginning, it was adopted by the English language to denote something forbidden, but “taboo” now has changed meaning to “offensive”, “grossly impolite” or “any social indiscretion that ought to be avoided” (Ljung, 2011, p. 5).

According to Allan & Burrige (2006, p. 11), taboos apply to behaviour for a specific community of one or more persons, at a specific time, in specific content. For behaviour to be proscribed, it must be perceived as harmful to an individual or the community (Allan & Burrige, 2006, p. 11). Because taboos are related to specific behaviour, what is considered taboo varies greatly between different people and communities. There is no such thing as an absolute taboo, because what one group values, another one can scorn (Allan & Burrige, 2006, p. 9). For example, some Pharaohs married their sibling, and for many Australian Aboriginal communities, talking about or showing pictures of a deceased is considered taboo (Allan & Burrige, 2006, p. 10).

It is common to divide taboos into religious and non-religious, with religion and the supernatural on one side, and bodily waste, sexual acts and sexual organs on the other side (Ljung, 2011, p. 6). This is supported by both Allan & Burrige (2006, p. 1) and Pinker (2008), but they also bring up diseases, death and killing, and naming or addressing disfavoured people and groups as important taboos. According to Ljung (1987, p. 46), swear words need to stand for something negative and must be possible to grade.

Swearing is an important safety valve, allowing people to express negative emotions without resorting to physical violence. [...]

Take away swear words, and we are left with fists and guns.

(Mohr, 2013, p. 255)

Swearing in Norwegian

Norwegian swearing has many things in common with both Swedish and Danish swearing, seeing the languages and cultures are closely related. Comparing the Nordic languages, one can mainly find the same words and constructions (Ljung, 1987, p. 52). Still, there are probably regional variations, such as the stereotype that people from Northern Norway swear a lot, or the stereotype that people from Southern Norway use euphemisms, but little research exists on that area (Jenstad, 1987, p. 40). Euphemisms are milder words and phrases used to replace swearing, for example using *Søren* instead of *Satan* (Ljung, 2011, p. 11).

The central swear words in Norwegian are outcries in anger, irritation or surprise, as well as cursing and disagreeing (Jenstad, 1987, p. 42). Swear words are also used as emphasisers to

show high degree of something, such as *jævli kjekk* (fucking handsome) (Ljung, 1987, p. 51). According to Jenstad (1987, p. 40-41), Norwegian swearing mostly consists of religious words about God, Jesus, Satan and Hell, as well as euphemisms for these. Euphemisms and expressions associated with good powers, such as *herregud* (oh my God) and *jøsses* (jeez), are usually perceived as a milder form of swearing (Jenstad, 1987, p. 41).

Words for sexual activity and faecal matter are becoming more frequent, although they are not yet prominent (Menuta & Fjeld, 2016, p. 382). This might be because of influences from American English language and culture, but also because Norway is becoming more and more secularised (Menuta & Fjeld, 2016, p. 382). Religious swear words start losing their power because they no longer break taboos. Last, but not least, the possibility to variate the language of swearing is considerably lower in Norwegian compared to American English (Ljung, 1987, p. 49).

Swearing in American English

American English swearing is much more sexual than the Nordic languages (Ljung, 1987, p. 67). Americans have a history of very casual everyday language despite being religious, resulting in many “anal oriented” swear words, with most swear words coming from the three categories religion, sexuality or faeces (Ljung, 1987, p. 68). Swearing in American English consist of heavy use of some expressions, with a much bigger opportunity for creative use of swear words than the Nordic languages (Ljung, 1987, p. 66). On average, 0.7 percent of the words English speakers use in a day are taboos, with the words *damn*, *hell*, *fuck* and *shit* being the most important ones (Mohr, 2013, p. 251).

Common uses for swear words are outcries in anger, pain or surprise, unfriendly suggestions and negative reactions (Ljung, 1987, p. 69-74). Outcries in anger, pain or surprise are a mix of mild and strong expressions, where words like *God*, *jeez* and *heck* are considered on the mild side, while words like *hell*, *fuck*, *crap* and *piss* are considered on the strong side (Ljung, 1987, p. 69). According to Ljung (1987, p. 72), the unfriendly suggestions are divided into eight main motives; *bite*, *eat*, *fuck*, *sit*, *shit*, *stick/shove*, *suck* and *up*, and expressions like *Drop dead!* and *Stick it up your ass!* are common. The negative reactions in form of denial and rejection are quite common in American English swearing as well, with expressions like *bullshit*, *the fuck* and *I'll be damned*.

According to Mohr (2013, p. 256), religious swear words are not so important anymore, and the word *fuck* loses its power the more it is used. Sexual and excrement obscenities have been the most important for a long time, but they are also becoming less taboo (Mohr, 2013, p. 256). Mohr (2013, p. 256) predicts that epithets about mental acuity (*retard*), physical disability (*cripple*) and size (*fat*), as well as racial slurs (*nigger*), will remain strong.

Connotations – What happens in our brain when we swear?

Connotation is also called expressive meaning, and gives the word a positive or negative load (Baker, 2011, p. 11). Connotation means that even if two words are synonyms or near-synonyms, the reader's or listener's associations with the words will vary greatly (Baker, 2011, p. 12). For example, taboo words activate brain areas associated with negative emotions (Pinker, 2008). This process is involuntary, the brain cannot help but register the variations in meaning, including negative emotions, when we read or hear a taboo word (Pinker, 2008). It is important to remember that what is considered taboo varies according to the target culture (Munday, 2012, p. 66).

A good example of this process being involuntary is the Stroop test – a test where participants read words written in different colours. Participants will struggle to pronounce the colour of the words instead of the words themselves, because it is impossible to turn off connotations in our brain (Pinker, 2008). As a psychologist, Pinker (2008) focuses on what kind of connotations different categories of taboo words create in our brain. He emphasises awe, fear, disgust, dread, revulsion and hatred as possible connotations. Swearing can thus be used as a weapon to force listeners to think an unpleasant, or at least an emotionally charged, thought (Pinker, 2008).

Pinker (2007, p. 332) also explains how the amygdala in the human brain “lights up” and shows greater metabolic activity when a person sees an angry face or an unpleasant word, especially a taboo word. This makes swear words measurable to some degree, and interestingly, bilingual people will show a stronger reaction to taboo words in their mother tongue even though they speak additional languages fluently (Pinker, 2007, p. 332).

Why do we swear?

According to the psychologist Steven Pinker (2008), it is hard to find one good answer to why people swear, so he has five. The first one is to use dysphemisms where taboo words are used in their literal sense to refer to something, such as *fucking* instead of *copulating*. People want to use strong words for occasions where strong emotions have to be expressed (Pinker, 2008). The second reason for swearing is called abusive swearing. It is used in a metaphorical sense to intimidate or humiliate someone, for example by comparing them to bad things, advise them to engage in undignified activities, such as *go fuck yourself*, or accuse them of undignified sexual activities, such as incest – *motherfucker* (Pinker, 2008). The third reason is called idiomatic swearing. It is used to play around with people's emotions and to express formality, to arouse the listener's attention or to assert a cool macho pose with phrases such as *What the fuck?* and *Get your shit together!* (Pinker, 2008). The fourth reason is called emphatic swearing because the swear words are used as emphasisers, as in *This is bloody brilliant!* or *Don't mention the fucking war!* (Pinker, 2008).

The fifth and final reason is called cathartic swearing, where releasing emotions is the main goal. Cathartic swearing can be divided into three different theories (Pinker, 2008). The first one is called the Hydraulic Theory because swearing helps people "let off steam". This is what happens when we hurt ourselves and swear to relieve the pain. The second theory is called the Rage-Circuit Theory (Pinker, 2008). The theory is based on that when a mammal is injured or confined, it emits sudden angry noises to scare and startle the attacker. This is also true for humans, but it also triggers our language system, and thus the words are aggressive with negative connotations (Pinker, 2008). The third and final theory is that swearing is conventional; you have to learn what to shout and when in the particular language (Pinker, 2008).

When you swear, you do not say just any old bad word – you choose the one calculated to do the most insult, to relieve the most stress, or perhaps to relieve the most stress without offending your Mormon neighbour who is outside gardening.

(Mohr, 2013, p. 250)

According to Andersson (1986, p. 110), swearing has a psychological function, a social function and a linguistic function. The psychological function of swearing is only involving yourself, and is basically the same as what Pinker calls cathartic swearing – to release

emotions, often times suddenly, as a reaction. Swearing as a social function includes other people and power relations, and Andersson (1986, p. 110-120) describes motives like acting cool, belonging, showing friendship, shocking someone, yelling at someone or deciding language formality. Andersson's linguistic function of swearing is similar to Pinker's conventional swearing (Andersson, 1986, p. 121).

Subtitling

In this thesis, I will focus on subtitling as a foreign-language message to a target audience. Earlier, many authors have refrained from defining subtitling as a type of translation, but the term has widened in correlation with the popularity of subtitling and dubbing, simultaneous interpreting, cartoon translation, etc. (Gottlieb, 1994, p. 263). Therefore, I choose to talk about subtitling as a form of translation.

Subtitles can be regarded as semiotic, because of the change of code from oral to written language, and as interlingual because of the change of language (Gambier, 1994, p. 278).

According to Gambier (1994, p. 281), subtitling comprises:

- Language conversion from longer units to shorter ones
- Transfer from spoken language to written text
- Transfer from one language to another
- Interpretation of verbal speech combined with numerous other cultural and socio-symbolic signs or with other types of semiotic systems

In texts dealing with human beings, their thoughts, their behaviour and their interpersonal relations, an organic translation is the only possible solution (Gottlieb, 1994, p. 265). Because of this, a fully equivalent translation is impossible for film and TV dialogue. It is hardly fair to ask more of subtitles than functional adequacy, because contrary to literal translation, the audience can still hear the original audio and compare this to the subtitles (Gottlieb, 1994, p. 266). Adding written messages creates a certain delay in people's reception, and distances the moment of interpretation and the appearance of the original complete message (Gambier, 1994, p. 278).

To minimise this delay, subtitling is a selective form of translation (Gambier, 1994, p. 278). According to Gottlieb (1994, p. 273), the translator can either choose intersemiotic

redundancy where the viewer does not need as much text because of supplemented information from images, or intrasemiotic redundancy where trimming down the subtitles enhances the effectiveness of the message. We are not only watching, but also reading TV (Gambier, 1994, p. 275), therefore, subtitles must be effective, yet as functionally equivalent as possible.

III. Material and Method

South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut

The movie *South Park: Bigger Longer & Uncut* (Parker et al.) came out in 1999 in the US, and in 2000 in Norway with Norwegian subtitles (IMDb, 2018) by the Norwegian translator Leif Helgeland. I have used the DVD version as a basis for my thesis. The plot is that the four boys Stan, Kyle, Cartman and Kenny, who live in South Park, go to see an R-rated Canadian movie. The boy's parents find out, because after watching it, all the boys start to use swear words they have picked up from the movie. Kyle's mum, Sheila, with the rest of the parents supporting her, wants to start World War 3 against Canada for making such a horrible movie tampering with the minds of their precious children. As if that was not enough, Satan and his lover Saddam Hussein threatens to come back from Hell to rule the world if war breaks out (IMDb, 2018).

South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut (Parker et al., 1999) made it into the Guinness World Records in 2001 for having the most profanities ever used in an animated film (IMDb, 2018). The movie was said to have a total of 299 swear words including 146 uses of the word "fuck", along with 199 offensive gestures and 221 acts of violence (IMDb, 2018). Because these words are also translated in the Norwegian subtitles, it makes the movie a great research object for the use of swear words and equivalence.

Method

To analyse whether or not the Norwegian translation is a functionally equivalent one, I made two questionnaires: one in English, and one in Norwegian. I wanted people to rate swear words after perceived vulgarity, and then compare the results of both languages. The questionnaires are structured so people have four categories of vulgarity to choose from – *Neutral*, *Slightly neutral*, *Slightly vulgar* or *Vulgar*. It was important that the participants

either had Norwegian or English as their native language, because swear words are usually perceived stronger in your native language (Pinker, 2007, p. 332).

Choosing which words to include was not an easy task. First, I watched *South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut* (Parker et al., 1999) with English audio and Norwegian subtitles. I paused the movie every time someone said a swear word, and then I looked to the subtitles to see what word it had been translated into. Based on this, I made a list of all the swear words used in the movie and their translated counterparts. They were too many to include in the questionnaires, so I chose a handful of them. I chose words based on several things:

- How vulgar or neutral I thought people would find them, so that I would have words on both ends of the scale
- If one English word was translated into several different Norwegian words
- If several different English words were translated into one Norwegian word
- Use of creativity

Distribution

I expected the Norwegian questionnaire to reach more people than the English questionnaire because I know more Norwegian speakers, so I was very considerate with how I distributed both of them. I shared both the questionnaires on my private Facebook profile, but I made the entries public, so anyone could see them and share them freely.

I also sent the English questionnaire as a personal message to all my friends that I know speak English as a first language. Many of them agreed to share the questionnaire with some of their friends, and it spread quickly. Some of them also shared the questionnaire on Facebook groups for their faculty or university, and I shared the questionnaire on a Facebook group for South Park fans.

In addition, I shared the Norwegian questionnaire on Facebook groups for different student organisations and on the Facebook group for all students at the University of Agder. I did not expect a great number of people to bother taking my questionnaire, but the interest in the Norwegian one just exploded, and I ended up with more participants than in the English questionnaire as expected.

Possible mistakes

In the questionnaires, I did not include any possibility for the participants to fill in their age or location. In retrospect, I could have done it differently, but overall, I was mostly interested in perceived vulgarity of the swear words based on language, not location. I know the participants from both languages are spread around the world, both within Norway and between several English-speaking countries such as USA, England, Scotland, Ireland, South Africa, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand. I am aware of language differences in the English-speaking countries, but there are also local differences within Norway, so I chose not to consider those.

Because I was an exchange student in Australia last year, Australians might be overly represented in the English questionnaire since I know more people there and contacted them directly since they are native English speakers.

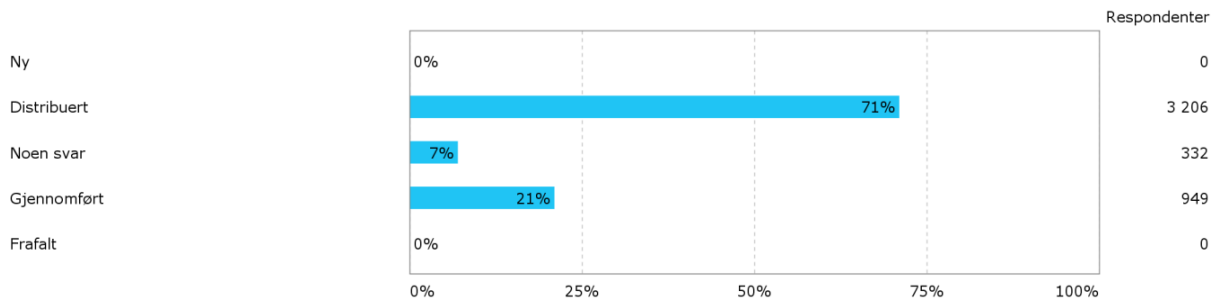
All the people I have reached out to have been young adults and students, so they make up the better part of the participants. Since I shared the questionnaires online, of course they might have reached out to someone not in the target group, considering both age and language. Norwegian is not spoken by that many people, but English is, so some people might have completed the English questionnaire as well, even though it was only meant for native speakers.

IV Analysis and results

The purpose of this study is to find what degree of functional equivalence is achieved in the translation of swear words in the Norwegian subtitles of the American English movie *South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut* (Parker et al., 1999). Another interesting question will be if the words are translated into the same category of swearing as the source language or not. Following, I will analyse some selected swear words based on the list mentioned under “Method”.

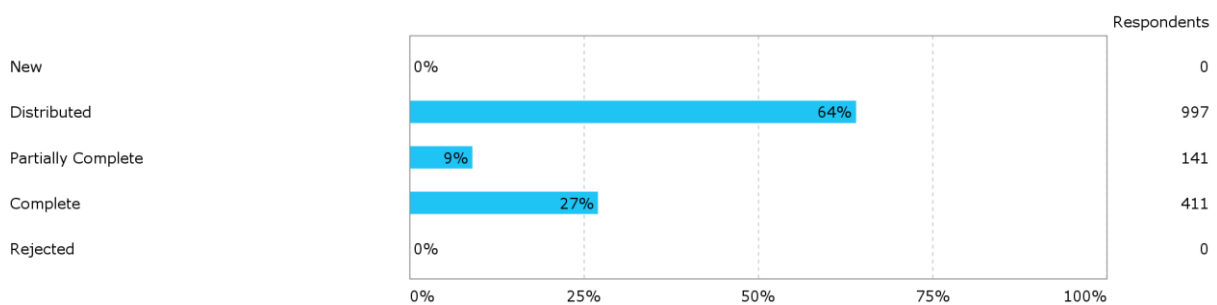
Participants

Norwegian questionnaire participants



As many as 949 participants completed the Norwegian questionnaire. In total, the questionnaire reached 3,206 people who did not participate, and 332 people who only participated partially. The questionnaire most likely reached a large number of people because of its content, but also because I shared it on a public Facebook group with several thousand members.

Participation English questionnaire

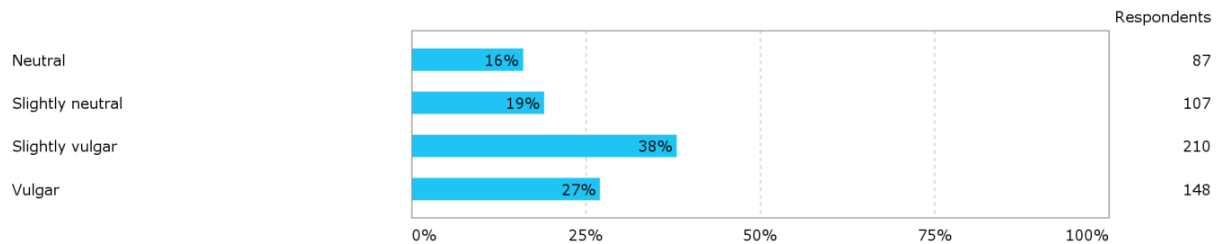


The English questionnaire did not reach out to as many people, but I am still very pleased with the numbers considering I do not personally know that many native English speakers. A total of 411 participants completed the questionnaire, 997 people was reached without participating, and 141 people participated partially. The percentage for participants who completed the questionnaire is most likely higher than in the Norwegian questionnaire because I contacted native English speakers I personally knew, and they might have felt compelled to help a friend out with her thesis.

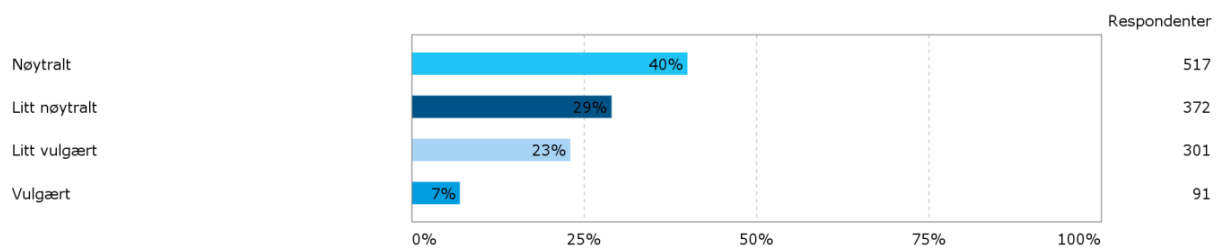
Fuck

I want to start with one of the most common swear words in the English language: *fuck*. In the movie, it was used in various combinations with other words, but I am only going to look at *fuck* alone for simplicity. In the Norwegian subtitles, the word standing alone was translated into three different Norwegian swear words: *faen*, *knulle* and *pule*.

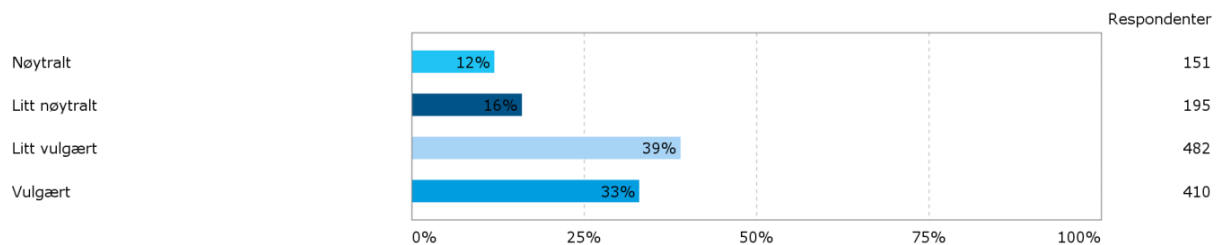
Fuck



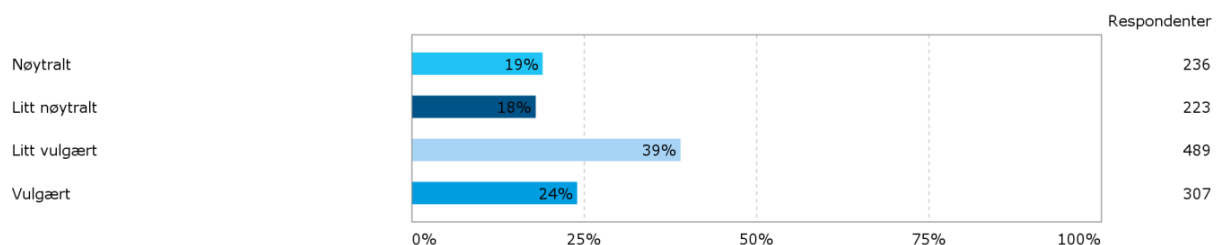
Faen



Knulle



Pule



Already here, we see a difference in category. *Faen* derives from the word *Fanden* (the Devil), and is therefore classified as a religious swear word, while the English word *fuck* refers to the sexual act. The Norwegian words *knulle* and *pule* also refer to the sexual act, and

are more functionally equivalent to the word *fuck* than *faen*, even though *faen* is the most common Norwegian swear word (Ljung, 1987, p. 45). This is proved in the questionnaires where *fuck* is rated as slightly vulgar for the majority of the native English speakers (38 percent), and *knulle* and *pule* are also rated as slightly vulgar by the majority of native Norwegian speakers (39 percent each).

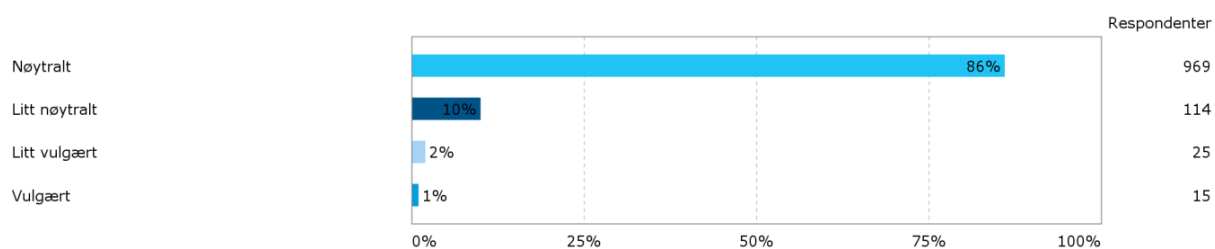
According to the participants, the Norwegian word *pule* is almost a full equivalent to the English word *fuck* on all levels of perceived vulgarity. This supports Menuta & Fjeld's theory (2016, p. 382) about how religious swear words are losing their importance in Norwegian, and that words for sexual activities are becoming more frequent, probably as a result of influence from American English.

Dæven

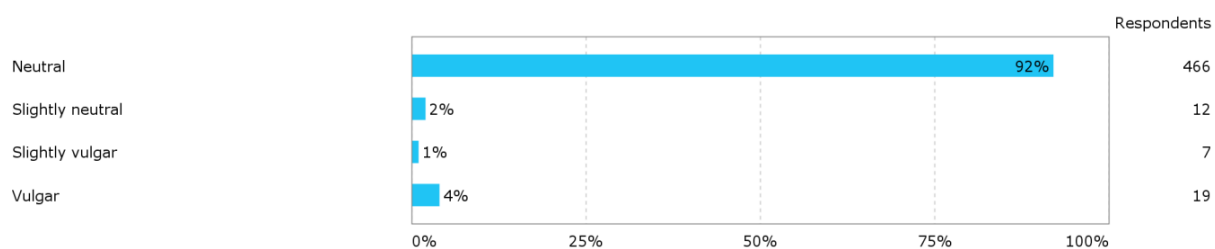
Switching it around, the English words *man* and *shit* were both translated into the Norwegian swear word *dæven* (the Devil). Again we see that Norwegian swear words tend to be religious, while American English swear words are "anal oriented" (Ljung, 1987, p. 68). Taken out of context, the word *man* does not seem like a swear word at all, but interestingly, it was still translated into *dæven* in Norwegian. Still, it seems like a good functionally equivalent translation, because 92 percent of the native English speakers rated *man* as neutral, and 86 percent of native Norwegian speakers rated *dæven* as neutral. This just proves, once again, how much power religious Norwegian swear words have lost over time, when a word for the Devil, previously thought to even summon him, is near equal to an everyday word like *man*.

Shit, on the other hand, belongs in the category for faecal expressions, and is one of the most important swear words in American English (Mohr, 2013, p. 251). Taken out of context, the results are a bit conflicting as to how vulgar native English speakers find the word *shit*, but it is certainly perceived as much more vulgar than *dæven*. *Dæven* is therefore not a good functionally equivalent translation of *shit*.

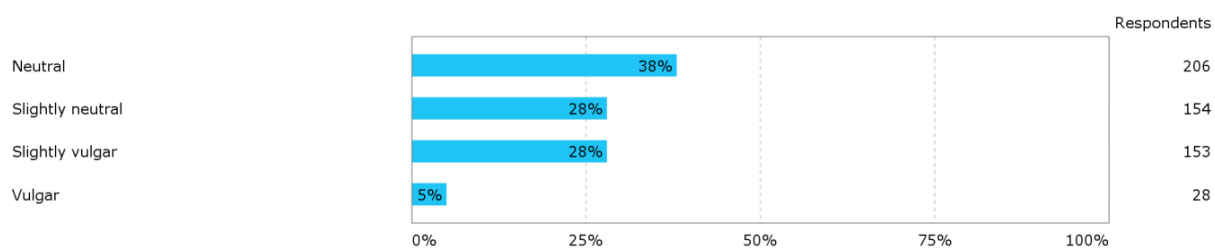
Dæven



Man



Shit



Complete retard

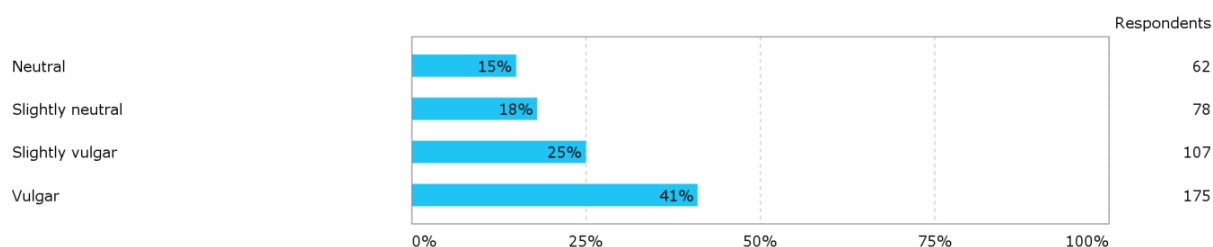
The expression *complete retard* does not belong in any of the three main categories for American English swearing – religion, sexuality or faeces (Ljung, 1987, p. 68). It fits better into what Mohr (2013, p. 256) would call an epithet about mental acuity, one of the taboos that predictively still will remain strong in the future, as religious and sexual swearing will lose its power. Swear words about mentality and the way people look will always be relevant because we will always have a brain and a body, even though society, traditions, customs and other areas for taboos might be changing.

That swear words about mental acuity are still regarded as strong taboos is visible in the ratings of the expression *complete retard* by native English speakers. The opinions were a bit split, but 41 percent meant that *complete retard* was a vulgar expression. A good reason for this might be that retardation is an actual diagnose, and not something one can get rid of. Calling someone a retard is to pick on them for who they are and can be quite painful for the victim.

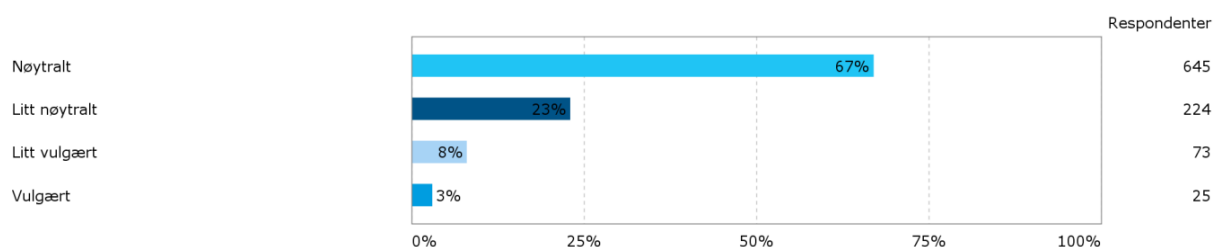
The Norwegian translation is *totalt idiot*. The native Norwegian speakers rated this expression as neutral (67 percent), the complete opposite of the English-speaking participants. This might be because idiot is more of a way of acting; an idiot might be a bit stupid sometimes, or a bit short-sighted. It is completely possible to educate and change the behaviour of an idiot as opposed to a retard. Therefore, being called an idiot is not as hurtful and degrading as being called a retard.

For the Norwegian expression to be more functionally equivalent, the translator could have used the word *tilbakestående* instead of *idiot*, as this is a more accurate translation of the word *retard*. It implies solely that someone is mentally disabled and cannot be misunderstood.

Complete retard



Totalt idiot



Horse fucker

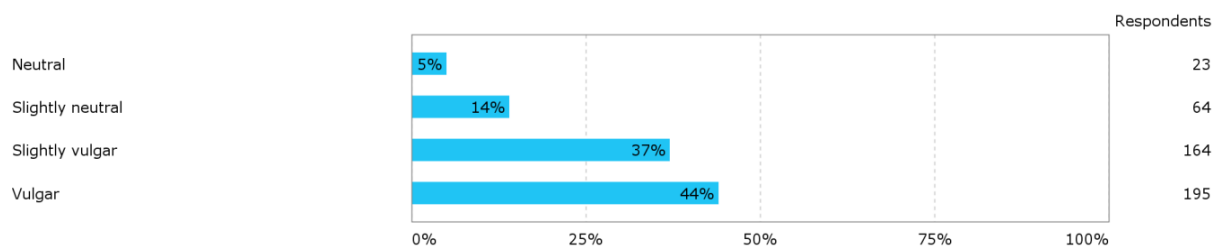
The English expression *horse fucker* – someone who fucks horses – is definitely sexual, but, to some extent, also religious. Bestiality is listed as a sin several times in the Bible. Today, animal welfare is a big concern for many, so naturally, bestiality is still viewed as wrong and taboo for them. Not surprisingly then, the majority of native English speakers have rated *horse fucker* as a vulgar expression (44 percent).

The interesting part here is that native Norwegian speakers have rated the translated expression *hæstkuk* (horse dick) as neutral (31 percent). The translated expression does not

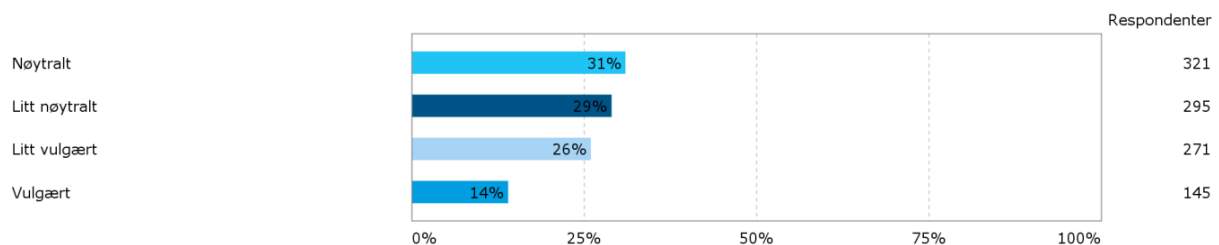
relate to a sexual act, just a sexual organ. This is seemingly less vulgar. In addition, the expression *hæstkuk* is commonly known as a typical swear word from Northern Norway, often used in a humoristic way by the rest of the country. It might have made it difficult to take the word seriously for the participants, as they have different connotations to this word.

For a more equivalent translation, the translator Leif Helgeland could have chosen *hestepuler* (horse fucker) instead. He has done so with a different expression in the movie, where *pig fucker* is directly translated to *grisepuler*. I have already established that the closest equivalent Norwegian word for *fuck* is *pule*. This is also the case with *pig fucker* and *grisepuler*, where both expressions were rated as vulgar (English 50 percent, Norwegian 42 percent).

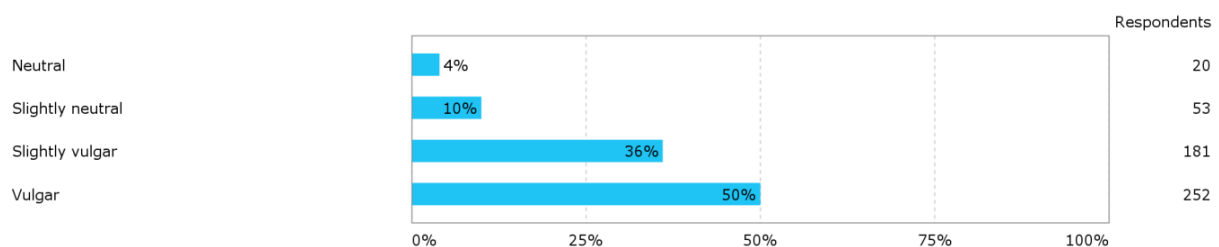
Horse fucker



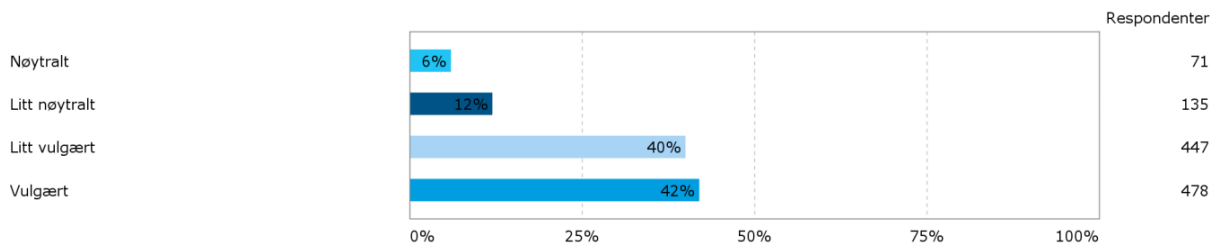
Hæstkuk



Pig fucker



Grisepuler

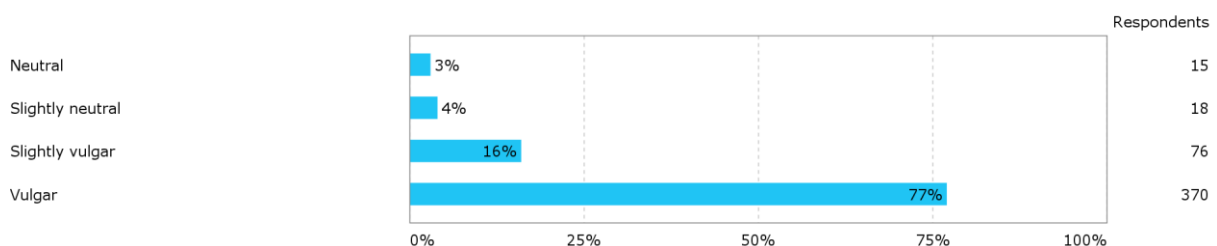


Donkey-raping shit eater

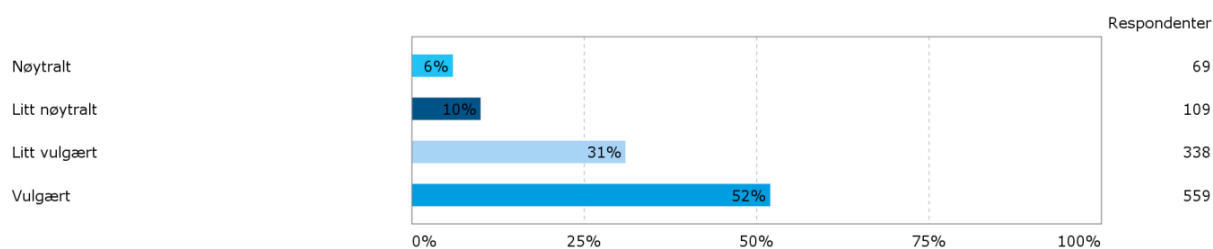
This must be the most stereotypical American English swearing ever; it has almost every component mentioned under the section Swearing in American English. The expression is sexual and faecal, it is an unfriendly suggestion that someone eats shit and rapes donkeys and it is very creatively put together (Ljung, 1987, p. 66-68). It is possible to argue that donkeys are associated with Christianity, and therefore the expression might be religious too. A donkey can for example also symbolise the Democratic Party in American politics or stubbornness.

Not surprisingly, the majority of native English speakers rated *donkey-raping shit eater* as vulgar (77 percent). The majority of native Norwegian speakers rated *eselrunkende møkkamann* as vulgar (52 percent) too, but as many as 31 percent rated it as slightly vulgar. This is because directly translated into Norwegian *donkey-raping shit eater* is something like *drittspisende eselvoldtektsmann*, but as we see, this is not the translation used. The Norwegian translation is a euphemism, a milder expression than the original English one. What *eselrunkende møkkamann* translates to in English is something like *donkey-jerking nasty man*, meaning it has lost both the acts of rape and shit eating in the translation process. As a result, fewer Norwegian participants rated the expression as vulgar, although the majority thinks it is slightly vulgar or vulgar, probably partly because such creative swearing is not as common in Norwegian.

Donkey-raping shit eater



Eselrunkende møkkamann



Feedback from participants

The questionnaires engaged many people, and they were not afraid to give me some feedback. Most of the feedback came from native English speakers. Because I reached out to them personally, it was probably easier for them to tell me what they thought about the questionnaire.

The most common feedback I received was that *man* is not a swear word. Most of the participants did not know I had made two separate questionnaires in two different languages and were to compare the results after, so I understand they reacted as they did. *Man* is not a swear word, but since it was translated into *dæven* in Norwegian, I chose to include it in the English questionnaire.

The second most common feedback was that the words were too comical to be taken seriously and rated after vulgarity:

Ahahahaha there were a bunch in there that I honestly didn't know how to answer. I was laughing so much I couldn't call them vulgar. Unless I'm just a very vulgar person.

(Male)

There needs to be an option for just 'funny'.

(Male)

I also got a lot of feedback from English speakers who had never heard these kinds of swear words before, and who clearly had never watched anything South Park related (Parker et al.). They thought I had just made up the swear words, or that I had translated them from Norwegian to English.

*Are they Norwegian swear words and phrases translated? Or did u just make them up? Lol
I've never heard a lot of them before.*

(Male)

*Some of the words on the survey were interesting ...
I don't know anybody who says some of these words.*

(Female)

Last, but not least, I received a lot of feedback on why I had chosen not to include people's location in the questionnaires. Both English speakers and Norwegian speakers wanted to inform me that language use differs greatly from country to country, or even within a country, which especially is the case with Norway and its many dialects.

Anbefaler at du har med ein del der du legger ved kor i landet me kjem frå, fordi ein del av desse har eg fullstendig nøytral holdning til då eg berre ler av dei då dei ikkje nyttast her nede i sør, mens for andre er det sikkert jævla seriøst.

(Male from Northern Norway living in Southern Norway)

(Recommend that you include a part where you add which part of the country we are from, because I have a completely neutral attitude towards many of these and just laugh at them because they're not used here in the South, while for others, it's probably fucking serious.)

All marked as very vulgar. I also feel like sending it to Australians in general is a little biased though. We aren't the most polite lot. Every country gets a couple of stereotypes that every one knows, one of Australia's is calling mates cunt and calling cunts mate. Cunt is a marvellous word.

(Male from Australia)

V. Conclusion, Discussion and Implications for Further Research

Above, I have looked into some selected swear words that stood out from the rest in the two questionnaires. The aim was to find out to what degree the Norwegian translator had achieved functional equivalence between the American English and Norwegian swear words in the translated subtitles from the movie *South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut* (Parker et al., 1999). The selected words were the most equivalent, the least equivalent, creative swear words and swear words with several translation options. These words and expressions were actually the only few that stood out from the rest. Almost all other words in the Norwegian questionnaire were rated nearly perfectly equivalent to the words in the English questionnaire by the participants.

Most modern linguists, including Nida & Taber, Munday and Gottlieb, as explained in this thesis, believe we have to focus on sense-by-sense translation to achieve the highest possible degree of equivalence. It will be impossible to get the same response in the target language because of cultural and historical differences (Nida & Taber, 1969, p. 24). To achieve a similar response and still convey the spirit and manner of the original American English swear words, the Norwegian translator Leif Helgeland has chosen to stick to the creative swearing that is so common for Americans, but still adjust it to fit into Norwegian culture.

Swear words differ from culture to culture and time to time because what society sees as taboo changes. In Norway, most swear words are of religious origin because it used to be a very religious country. Now, as the culture is more secularised, religious swear words are starting to lose their power. This was visible through the questionnaires where the Norwegian swear word for a sexual act, *pule*, was the most equivalent translation of the sexual act and swear word *fuck*. The most used swear word in Norwegian is *faen* (the Devil), while in American English it is the sexual act *fuck*. *Dæven* (the Devil) was more equivalent to the everyday-word *man*, and not equivalent at all to the word *shit*, which it was also translated from.

It also became very visible that American English swearing is quite creative, and focuses on sexual swear words and faecal swear words, as in *horse fucker* and *donkey-raping shit eater*. In Norwegian, the first expression was translated into a culture-specific swear word from Northern Norway that seemed to affect the Norwegian participant in their rating of the word. The latter expression was translated into a euphemism in Norwegian that excluded both the

act of rape and shit eating. Translating into a euphemism was also the case with the expression *complete retard*. Retardation is a diagnose and not something anyone can change. Being called a retard would then hurt more than Norwegian translation *totalt idiot*, which just implies that someone made a bad choice or were a bit short-sighted. The words' connotations in both languages differed widely, and this was shown through the questionnaires.

Even though some of the swear words were not translated into good functionally equivalent swear words in Norwegian, they were not the majority at all. The overall impression after comparing the answers from both questionnaires is that the swear words are very skilfully and creatively translated. Almost all the words had a very high degree of functional equivalence, even though full equivalence is impossible to achieve. The Norwegian translator, Leif Helgeland, has done an exceptionally good job at translating even though he was making the subtitles for a movie and probably had to cut down on many words to make it work. In audio-visual translation, the images could sometimes help the viewer interpret image and text together, but the questionnaires used in this thesis only included words. Again, this is a highly functionally equivalent translation.

Further research

As suggested by several participants, including their locations would be helpful to see the tendencies of use of swear words locally or in different countries. The variations could be significant, as different cultures and societies all have different views on what is considered swearing and taboo, and therefore, different connotations. In other works I have read, such as Jay (1992, p. 185), sex and age can also affect what people think about swearing, so this is also something to consider including in further research.

It could also be interesting to see if the translation choices made in these subtitles were affected by the fact that they were indeed subtitles. Was anything left out? The movie is also well known for its many songs. How were the songs translated? Did the songs affect word choice in the translation? Lastly, looking at how humour is translated could be very relevant for a movie like this, especially since several of the participants found it hard to take the swear words in the questionnaires seriously.

As discussed already, things like location, age and sex should all be considered in future research – in other words, the context. Contextual variables like these could definitely affect

translation choices. I chose to look at the swear words and made questionnaires without including the context. I wanted to see what connotations people had to each separate word and to see if any tendencies were showing. It showed that based on the questionnaires, the translation was very functionally equivalent, but the results might have been different if context was included.

Languages are not parallel lexical lists from which one need merely choose matching items on the basis of a one-to-one correspondence.

(Gottlieb, 1994, p. 264).

References:

Allan, K. & Burrige, K. (2006). *Forbidden Words: Taboo and Censoring of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Andersson, L. G. (1986). *Fult språk*. Stockholm: Carlssons.

Baker, M. (2011). *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation*. London & New York: Routledge.

Fägersten, K. B. (2012). The Swearing Paradox. In Fägersten, K. B. (Ed.), *Who's Swearing Now? The Social Aspects of Conversational Swearing* (p. 75-96). Retrieved from <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzUzMjM0N19fQU41?sid=277e7d10-53dd-4a7c-82b4-7692abac8a5f@sessionmgr102&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1>

Fjeld, R. V. (2014, February). Banning på tv: mer vanlig, mindre tabu. *Spåknytt*, Retrieved from <http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Publikasjoner/Spraaknytt/spraknytt-2014/Spraknytt-22014/Banning-pa-tv-mer-vanlig-mindre-tabu/>

Gambier, Y. (1994). Audio-visual Communication: Typological Detour. In Dollerup, C. & Lindegaard, A. (Eds.), *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 2 : Insights, aims and visions. Papers from the Second Language International Conference Elsinore, 1993* (p. 275-284). Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/agder/reader.action?docID=673104&ppg=283>

Gottlieb, H. (1994). Subtitling: people translating people. In Dollerup, C. & Lindegaard, A. (Eds.), *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 2 : Insights, aims and visions. Papers from the Second Language International Conference Elsinore, 1993* (p. 261-274). Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/agder/reader.action?docID=673104&ppg=269>

IMDb. (2018). *South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut*. Retrieved 2018-04-05 from <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0158983/>

IMDb. (2018). *South Park: Større, lengre og usensurert – Trivia*. Retrieved 2018-04-05 from <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0158983/trivia?item=tr0649326>

Jay, T. (1992). Chapter 5. The Offensiveness of Words: Sex and Semantics. In Jay, T. (Ed.), *Cursing in America : A psycholinguistic study of dirty language in the courts, in the movies, in the schoolyards and on the streets* (p. 159-194). Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/agder/reader.action?docID=861545&query=>

Jenstad, T. E. (1987). Norsk. In Ljung, M. (Ed.), *Banning i norsk, svensk og 18 andre språk* (p. 40-44). Retrieved from https://www.nb.no/items/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2013072408123

Lie, S. (2013). *Translate this, motherfucker! A contrastive study on the subtitling of taboo words*. (Masters' thesis, University of Oslo). Retrieved from <https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/37045/lie-master.pdf?sequence=1>

Ljung, M. (1983). Fuck you, shithead! Om översättningen av amerikanska svordomar till svenska. In Engwall, G. & Geijerstam, R. (Eds.), *Från språk till språk: Sjutton uppsatser om litterär översättning* (p. 277-295). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Ljung, M. (1987). *Banning i norsk, svensk og 18 andre språk*. Retrieved from https://www.nb.no/items/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2013072408123

Ljung, M. (2011). *Swearing: A Cross-Cultural Linguistic Study*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Menuta, F. & Fjeld, R. V. (2016). Social and pragmatic rules of cursing and other routine formulas in Gurage and Norwegian culture. *Oslo Studies in Language*, 8(1), p. 359–386. Retrieved from <https://www.journals.uio.no/index.php/osla/article/view/4432/3880>

Mohr, M. (2013). *Holy Sh*t : A Brief History of Swearing*. Retrieved from <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzU2MzgXNV9fQU41?sid=613786a2-8be7-46ab-8f3d-22851c534bea@sessionmgr120&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1>

Munday, J. (2012). *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*. London & New York: Routledge.

Nida, E. A. & Taber, C. R. (1969). *The Theory and Practice of Translation*. Leiden: E. J. Brill

Parker, T. (Director, Producer, Writer), Stone, M. (Producer, Writer), Brady, P. (Writer), Rudin, S. (Producer) & Shaiman, M. (Score). (1999). *South Park: Bigger, longer & uncut* [DVD]. Hollywood, CA: Paramount Home Video.

Pinker, S. (2007). *The Stuff of Thought: Language as a Window into Human Nature*. New York: Penguin Books.

Pinker, S. (2008, September 10). *The Stuff of Thought: Language as a Window into Human Nature* [Video file]. Retrieved from <http://thesciencenetwork.org/programs/the-science-reader/the-stuff-of-thought-language-as-a-window-into-human-nature>

Measurement instruments:

English questionnaire (open from 2018-03-04 to 2018-04-03).

<https://www.survey-xact.no/LinkCollector?key=MU8VUUNU3196>

Norwegian questionnaire (open from 2018-03-03 to 2018-03-07).

<https://www.survey-xact.no/LinkCollector?key=39HHZ7QV1512>

Rambøll Management Consulting. (2018). *SurveyXact by Ramboll* [Measurement instrument]. Retrieved from <https://www.surveyxact.no/>

Summary in Norwegian

Alle har vi et forhold til det å banne, enten det er å teste grenser som barn og få høre at vi trenger å vaske munnen med såpe, eller det er at pensjonister synes dagens unge banner i både tide og utide. De fleste har nok også opplevd å rope ut et par velvalgte ord hvis de slår lilletåa i bordbeinet. Denne bacheloroppgaven handler først og fremst om funksjonell ekvivalens i oversetting av banneord. Oppgaven er todelt, der første del omhandler en del teori, og andre del prøver å sette teoriene ut i praksis ved å sammenlikne og analysere resultatene fra to spørreundersøkelser.

Den amerikanske lingvisten og oversettingsteoretikeren Eugene Nida står bak teorien om funksjonell ekvivalens. Han mener at en god ekvivalent oversettelse skal være så naturlig som mulig og formidle den originale meningen slik at leseren av målteksten vil få den samme reaksjonen og opplevelsen som leseren av kildeteksten. Derfor er det helt umulig å oppnå fullstendig funksjonell ekvivalens, for alle språk og kulturer er forskjellige, men oversetteren skal prøve å oppnå så høy ekvivalens som mulig.

Ljung (2011, s. 4) har definert banning som ord som er tabu, ord som er figurative, ord som er sammensatte kollokasjoner og ord som er emotive. Hva som er tabu varierer fra kultur til kultur, og studier av banning på forskjellige språk kommer derfor raskt til bunns i hva disse kulturene anser som for eksempel forbudt, farlig, ekkelt og viktig. Banneord kan ifølge Ljung (2011, s. 6) deles inn i to kategorier, nemlig religiøse tabuer og ikke-religiøse tabuer. Allan & Burridge (2006, s. 1) og Pinker (2008) er enige, men vil også legge til banneord om sykdom, død og drap, og banneord som kallenavn på minoriteter og utsatte grupper i samfunnet. Banning er en måte å få utløp for sinne og aggresjon på, og det som skiller banning fra vanlig språk er hevet stemme, intonasjon og spesiell uttale (Ljung, 1987, s 25).

Banning på norsk har mye til felles med banning på svensk og dansk. De sentrale banneordene er utrop i sinne, irritasjon, overraskelse og uenighet. Banning kan også brukes forsterkende som i *jævli kjekk*. Norsk banning er for det meste religiøs med mange uttrykk for Gud, Jesus, Djevelen og Helvete og eufemismer av disse. Eufemismer og uttrykk for gode makter, som *herregud* og *jøsses*, blir gjerne tolket som mildere banning. Det kan argumenteres for at religiøs banning ikke er så viktig lenger nå som Norge er relativt sekularisert. De banneordene som tar over er mest sannsynlig banneord påvirket av amerikansk-engelsk gjennom filmer og tv-serier.

Banning på amerikansk-engelsk fokuserer mye mer på seksualitet enn den norske. I følge Ljung (1987, s. 68) kan amerikansk-engelsk banning deles inn i de tre kategoriene banning om religion, banning om seksualitet og banning om avføring. Det er spesielt de siste to kategoriene som er viktige, med ord som *fuck* og *shit*. Amerikansk-engelsk banning er ofte mye mer kreativ enn norsk banning.

Konnotasjoner handler om koblinger i hjernen, og er veldig viktige for å forstå hvorfor vi oppfatter noen ord som verre enn andre. De er gjerne koblet til negative følelser, og vi reagerer sterkere på banneord på vårt eget morsmål. Det er mange grunner til å banne, men de viktigste grunnene er for å understreke noe, for å fornærme noen, for å tøffe seg og for å «lette på trykket». I en kultur er det viktig å lære seg hvilke banneord man kan bruke når.

Neste del av oppgaven er analyse av to spørreundersøkelser, den ene på engelsk og den andre på norsk. Den engelske tar utgangspunkt i banneord fra filmen *South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut* (Parker et al., 1999), og den norske tar utgangspunkt i den norske teksten av filmen, oversatt av Leif Helgeland. Deltakerne i begge undersøkelsene skulle vurdere banneordene ut ifra hvor vulgært de oppfattet dem. Resultatene har så blitt sammenliknet for å vurdere om den norske oversettelsen av banneordene var en god funksjonell ekvivalent oversettelse.

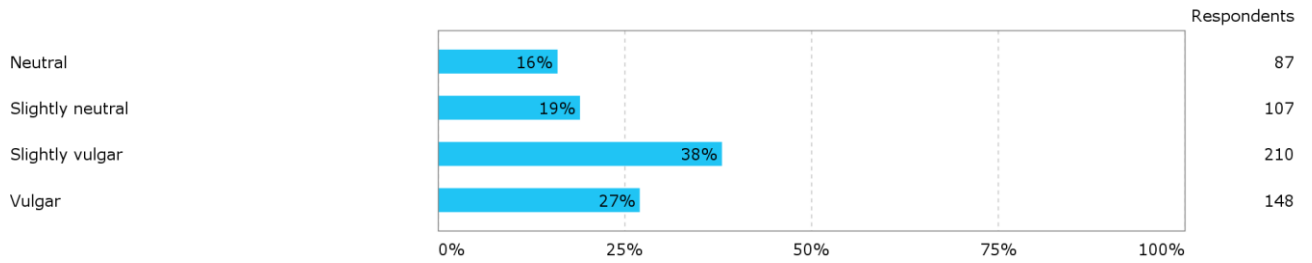
Undersøkelsene ble distribuert i diverse grupper på Facebook og som private meldinger. Målgruppen var studenter og andre unge voksne. Det ble ikke tatt hensyn til kjønn, alder eller bosted i selve undersøkelsene, noe som med fordel kan inkluderes i videre forskning. Dette ble bekreftet av tilbakemeldinger fra deltakerne, som også ønsket seg et alternativ for «morsomt» i undersøkelsene da de sleit med å plassere noen av banneordene. Videre forskning kan derfor gjerne sette større fokus på oversetting av humor. Filmen inneholder også en del sanger, og oversettelse av sangtekstene er derfor også relevant.

De utvalgte banneordene som blir sammenliknet og omtalt i oppgaven er de ordene med høyest og lavest ekvivalens, kreative banneord og banneord med flere oversettingsmuligheter. Både disse og andre banneord skiftet ofte kategori i oversettelsesprosessen og ble en sjelden gang oversatt til en eufemisme på norsk. Bortsett fra de utvalgte banneordene har Leif Helgeland oppnådd en imponerende grad av funksjonell ekvivalens med sin oversettelse.

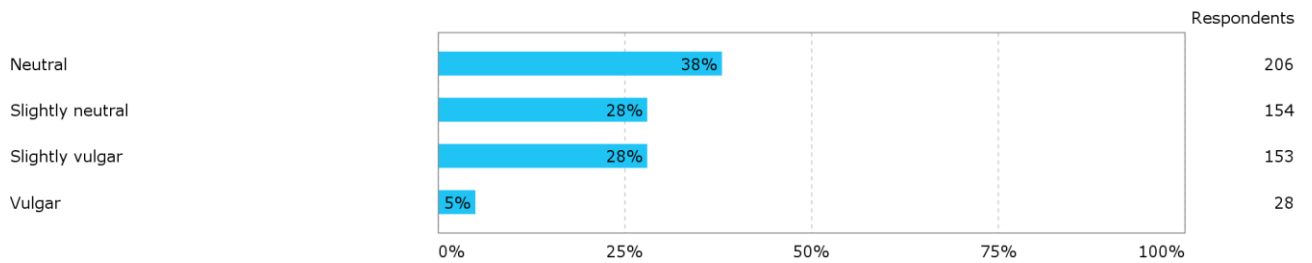
Appendices

American English questionnaire

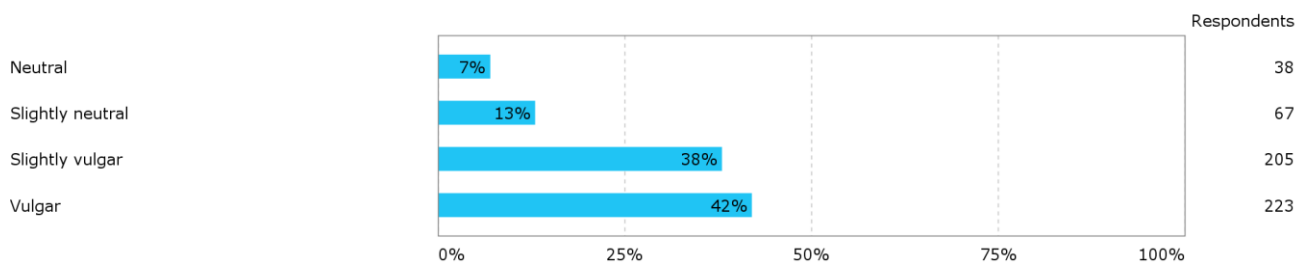
Fuck



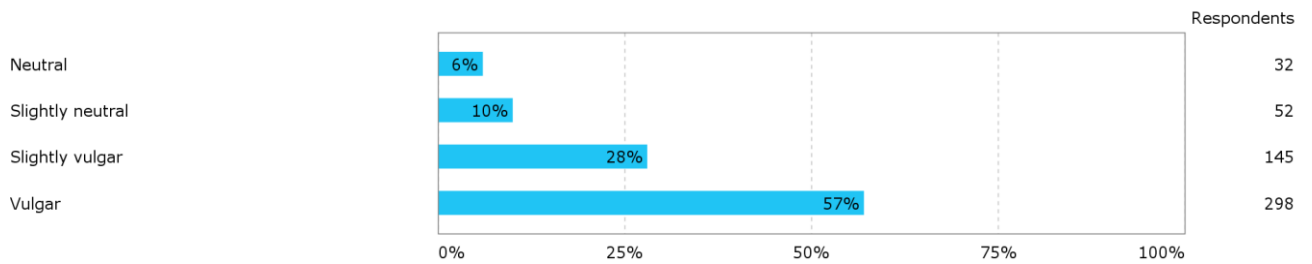
Shit



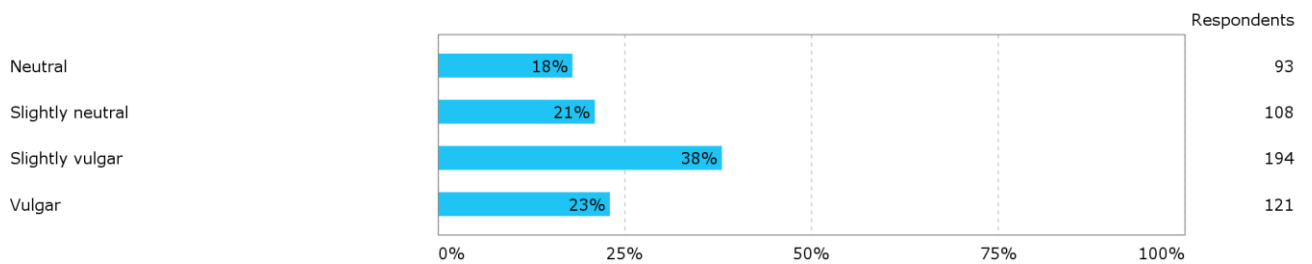
Fuckface



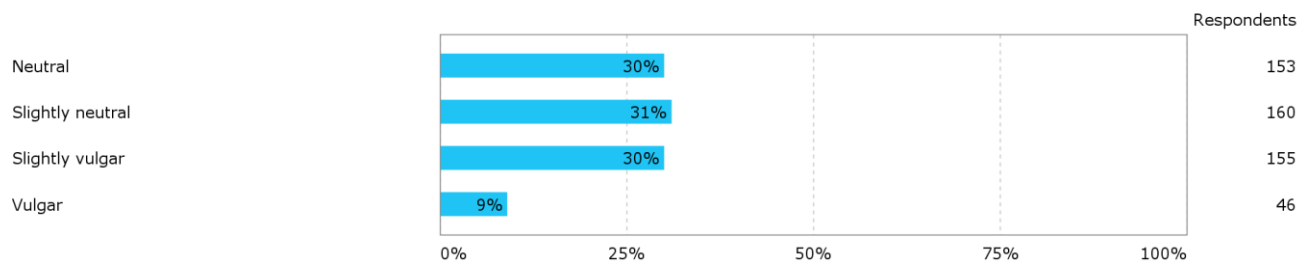
Testicle-shitting rectal wart



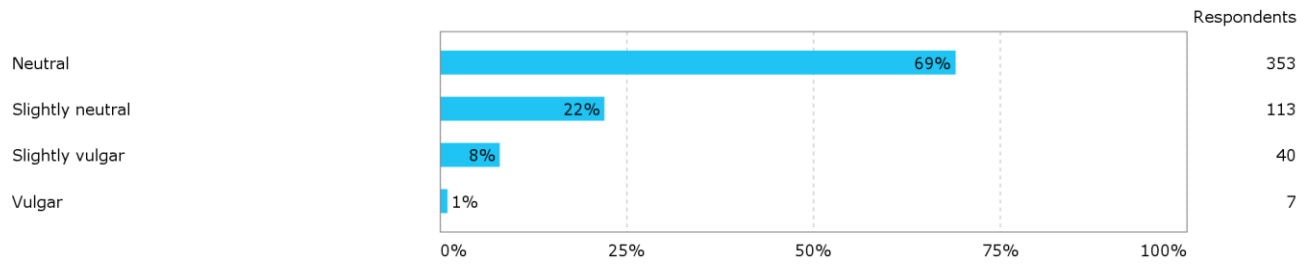
Big, floppy donkey dick



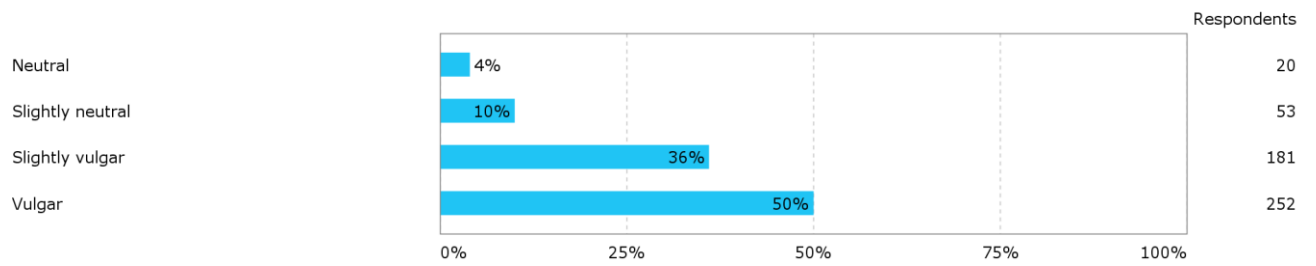
Bitch



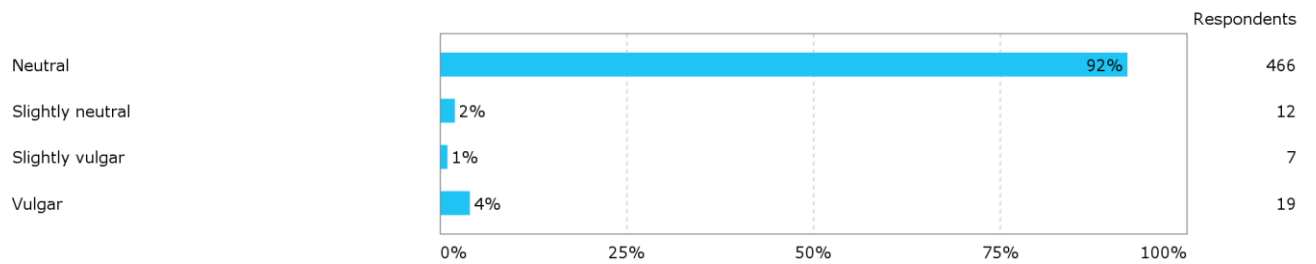
Butthole



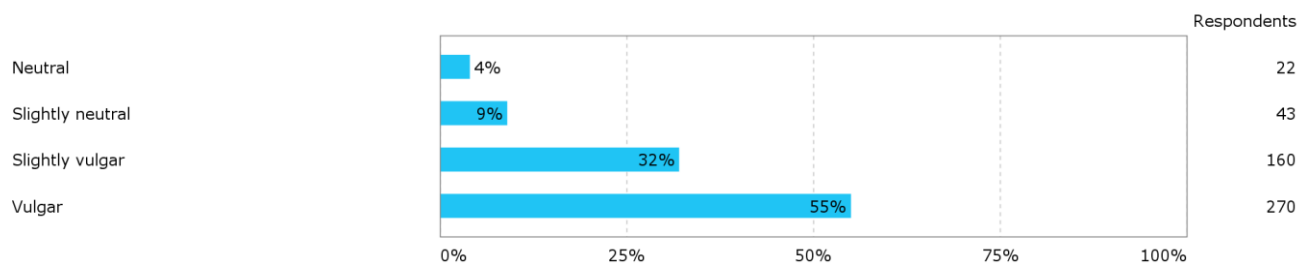
Pig fucker



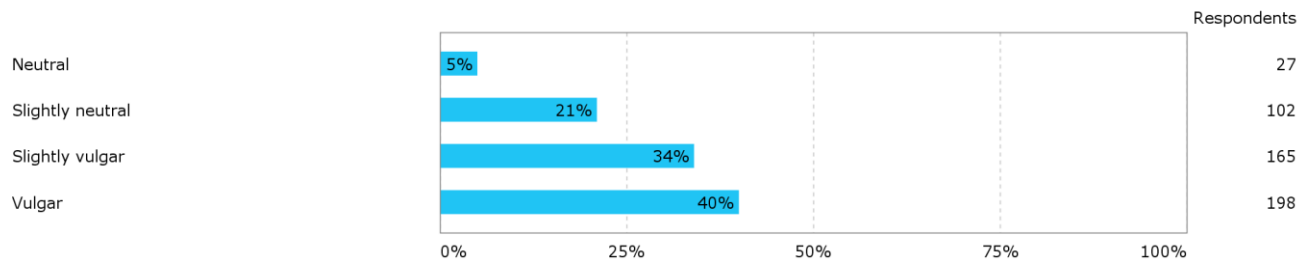
Man



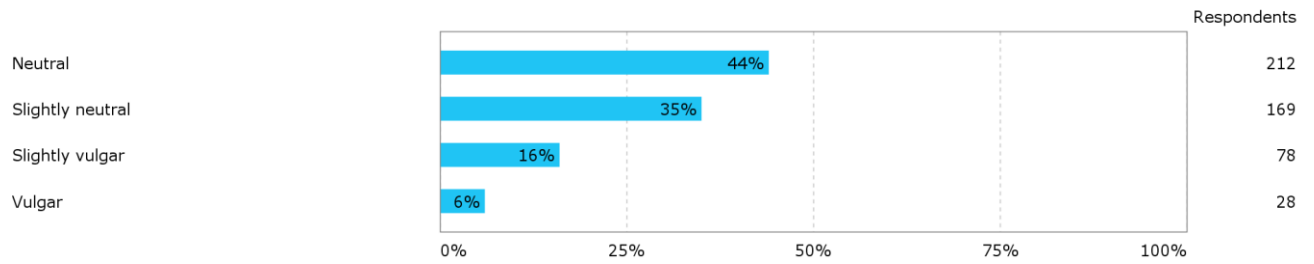
Cock-sucking asshole



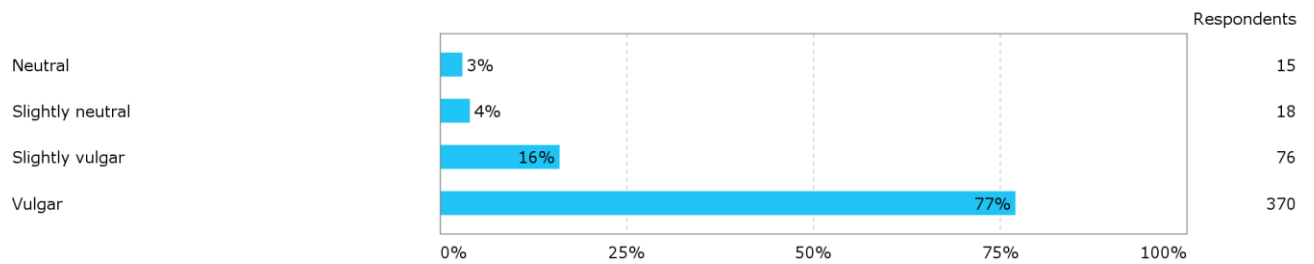
Boner-biting bastard



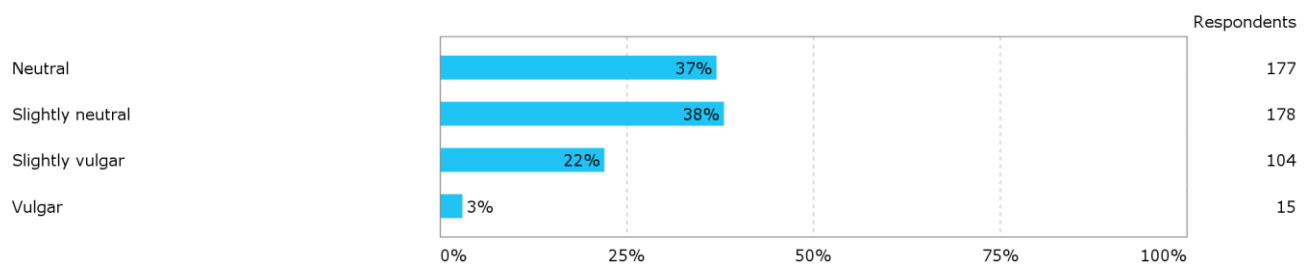
Fat boy



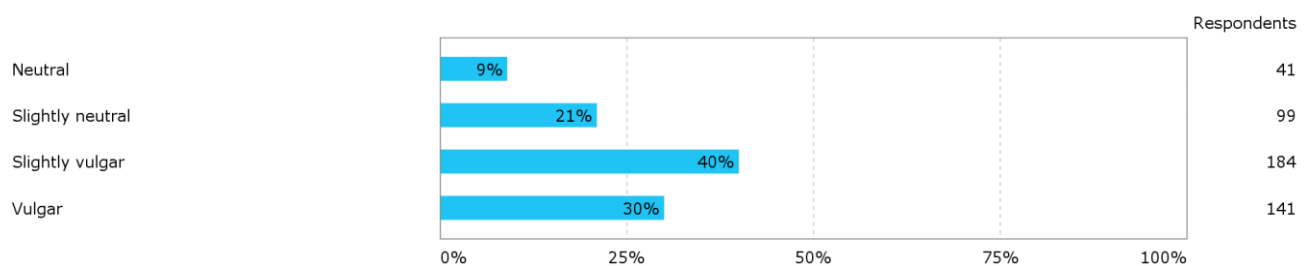
Donkey-raping shit eater



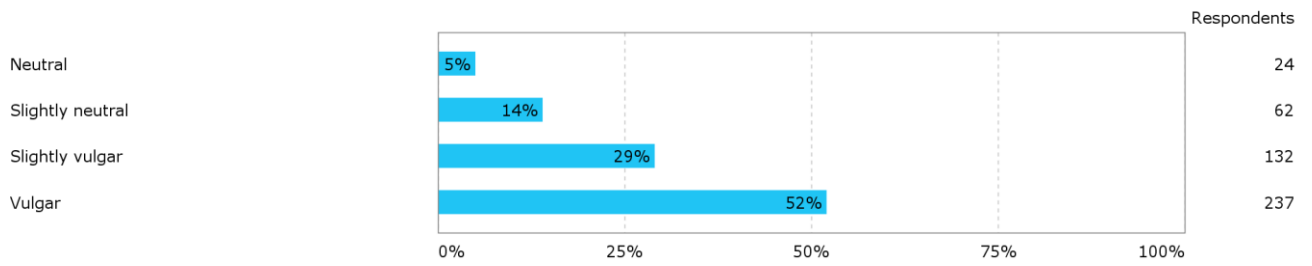
Bastard



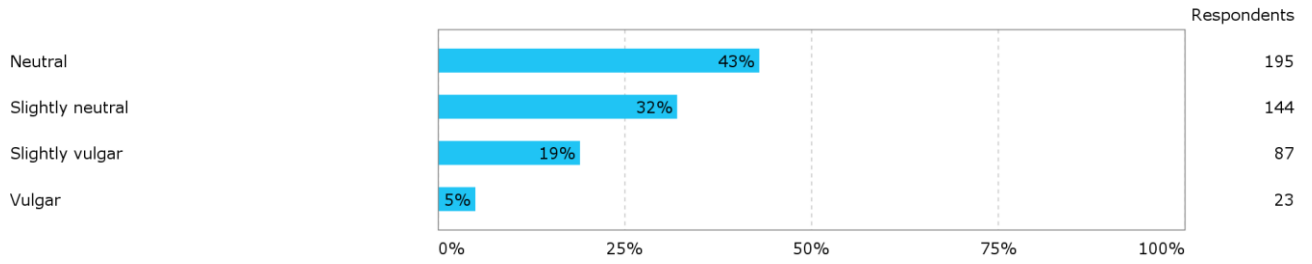
Scrotum sucker



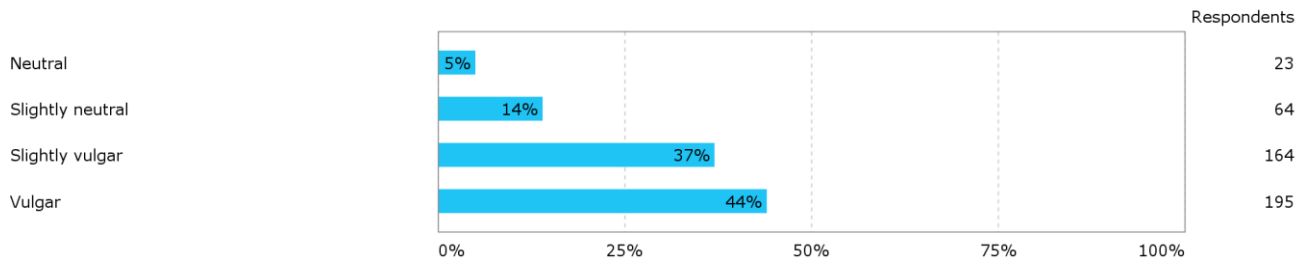
Shit-faced cock master



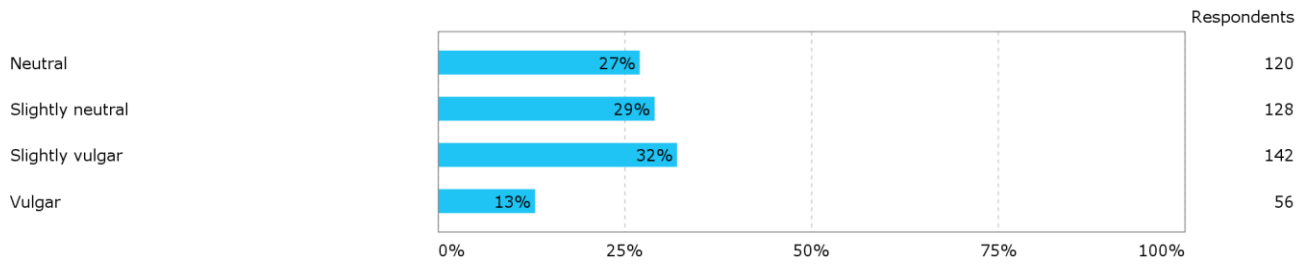
White trash



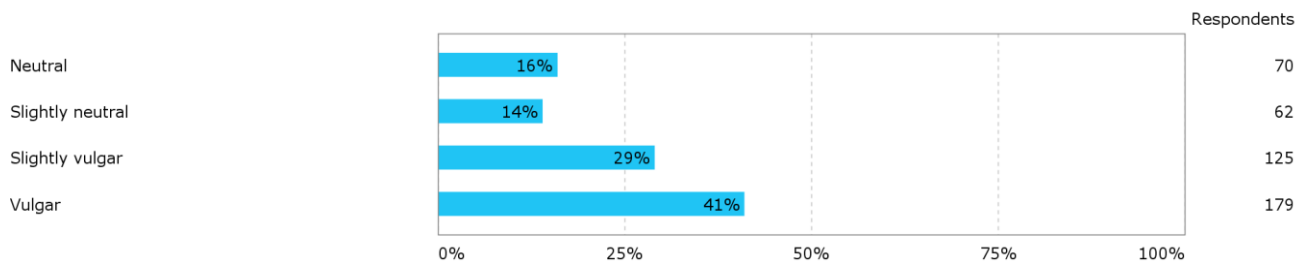
Horse fucker



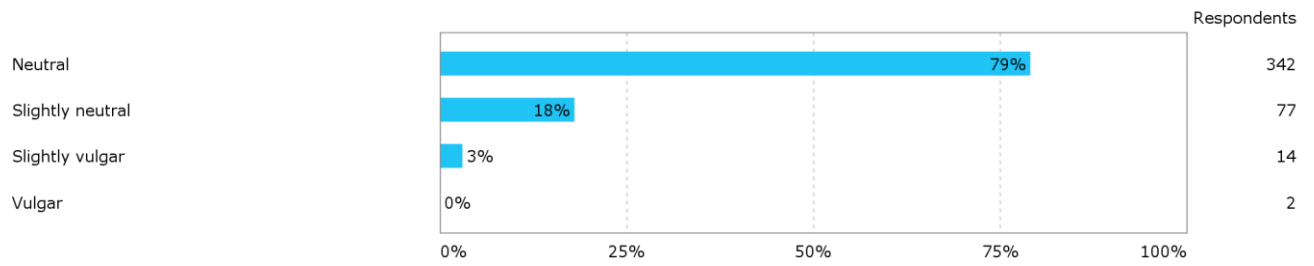
Pussy



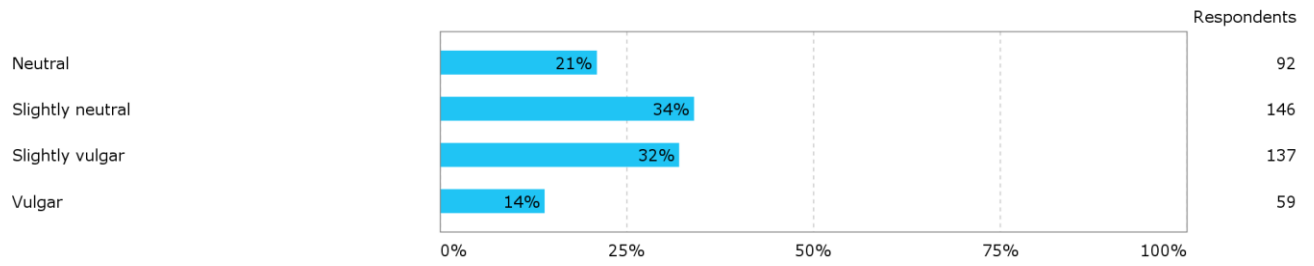
Blood-drenched frozen tampon popsicle



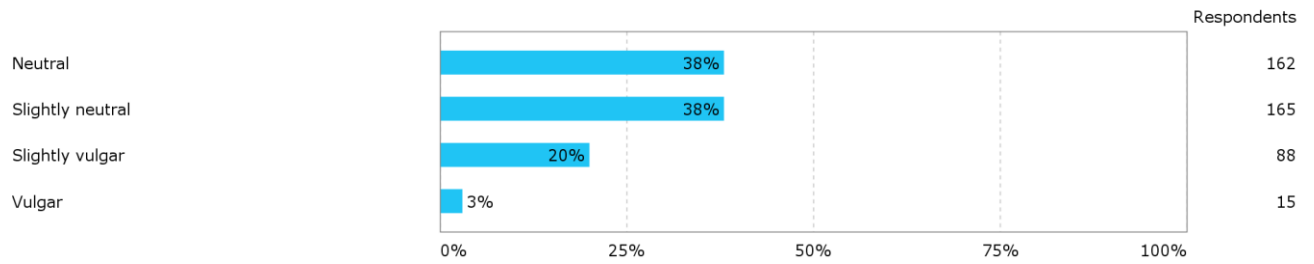
Damn



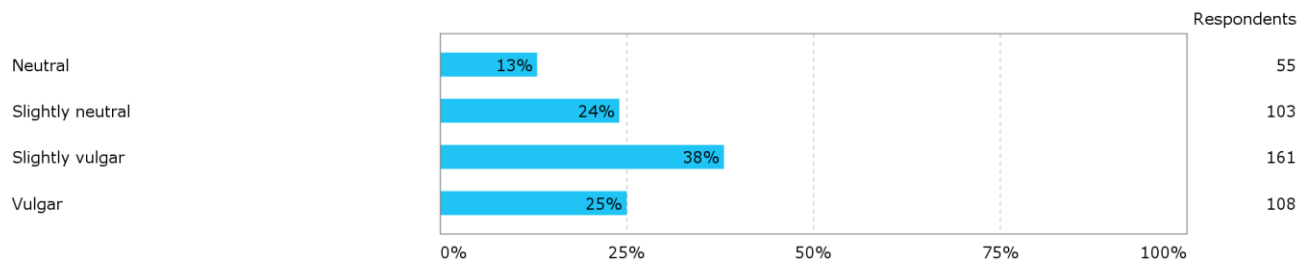
Dog shit taco



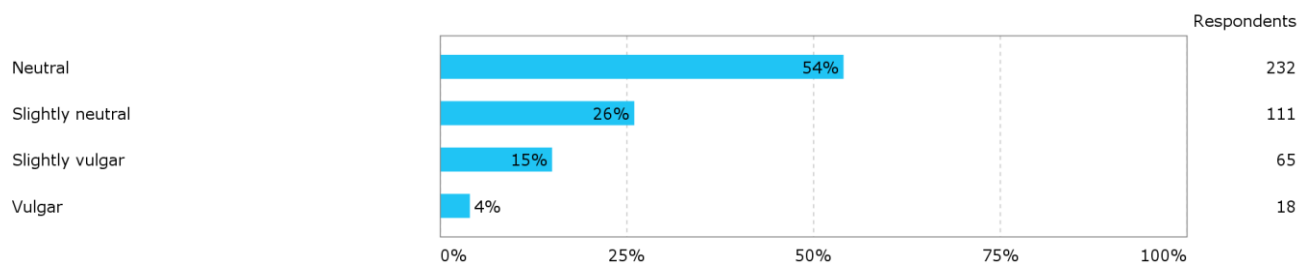
Dipshit



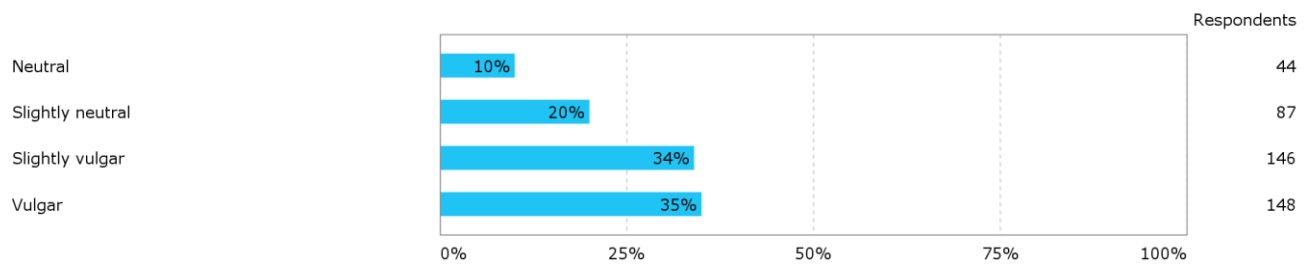
Butt fucker



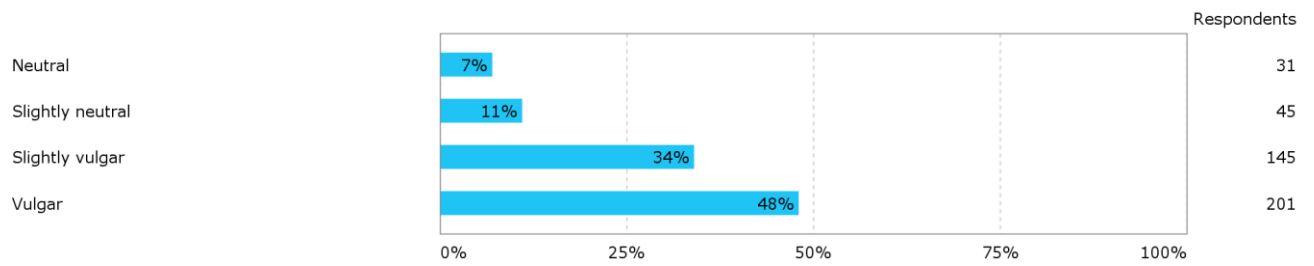
Holy shit



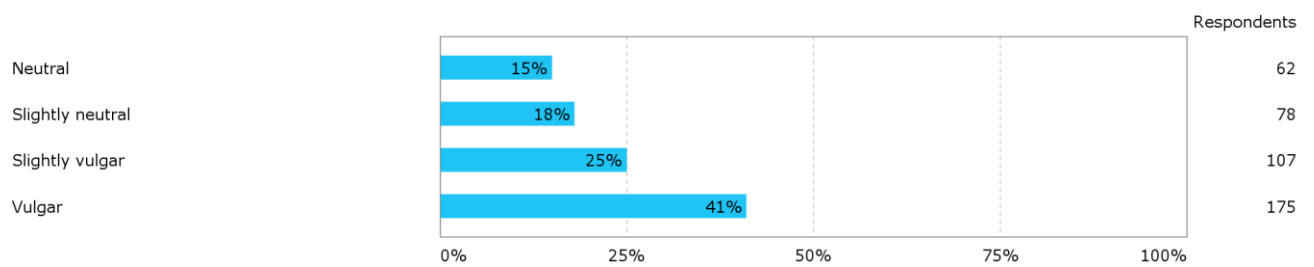
Fucking fat-ass



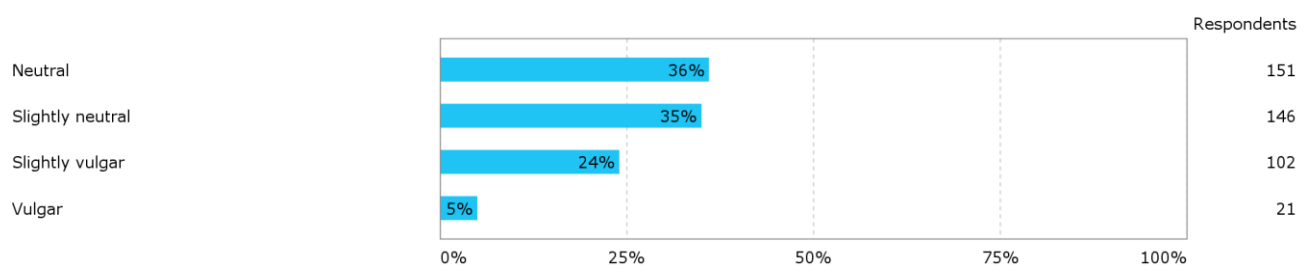
Butt-fucking son of a bitch



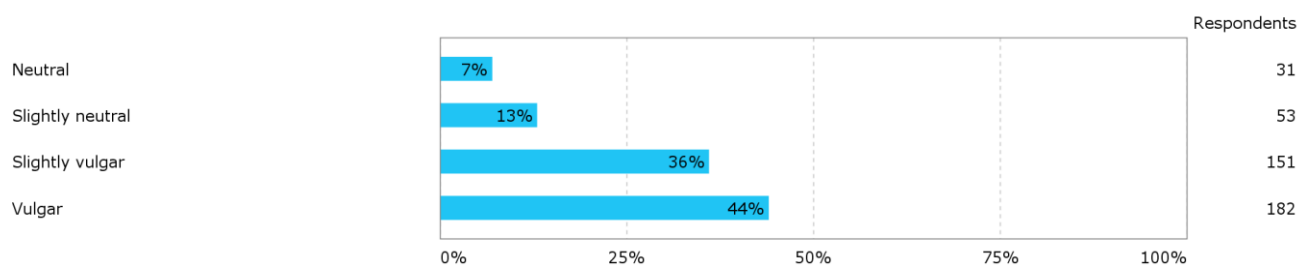
Complete retard



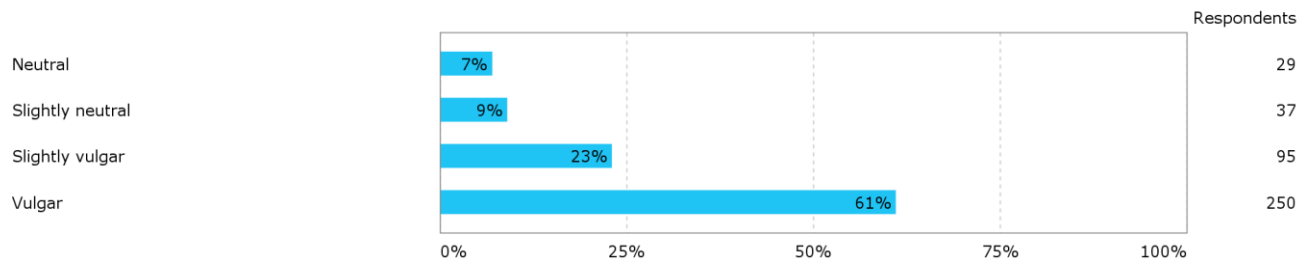
Sons of bitches



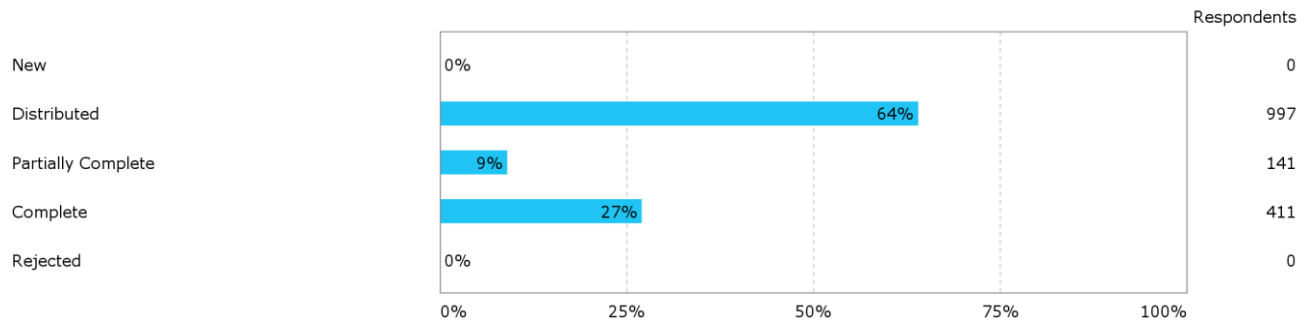
Cum fuck



Boner-biting, dick-fart fuckface

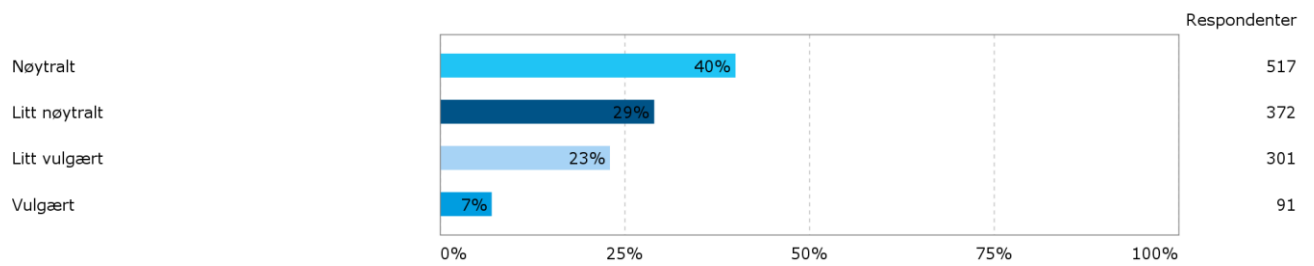


Overall Status

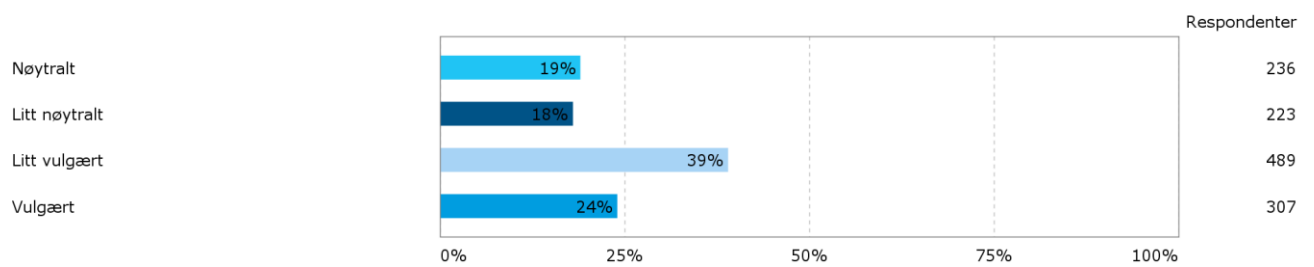


Norwegian questionnaire

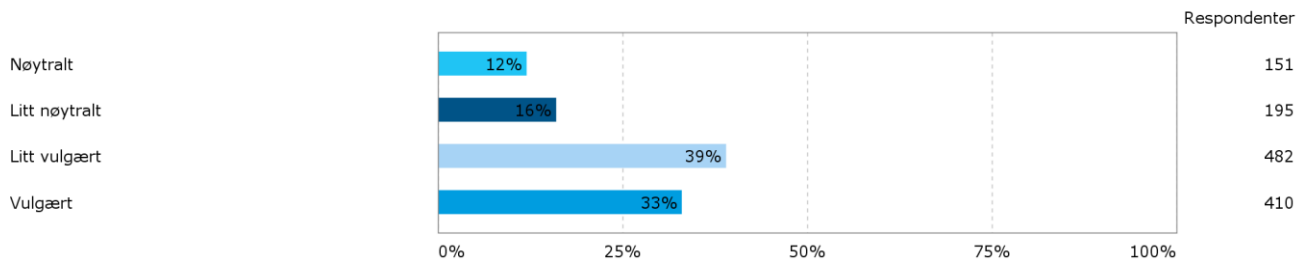
Faen



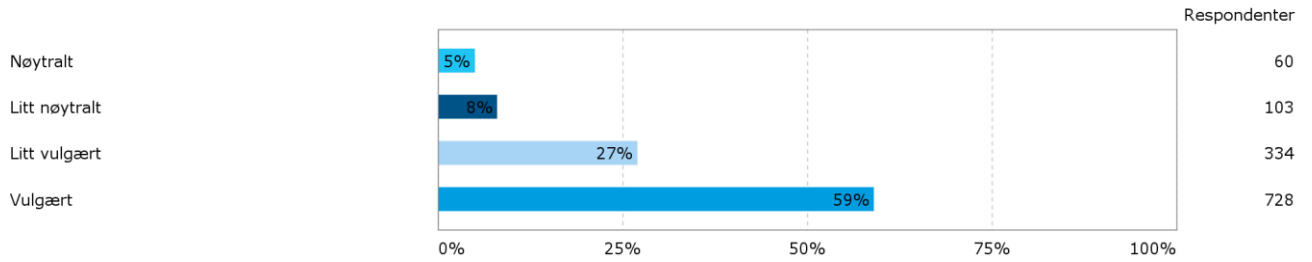
Pule



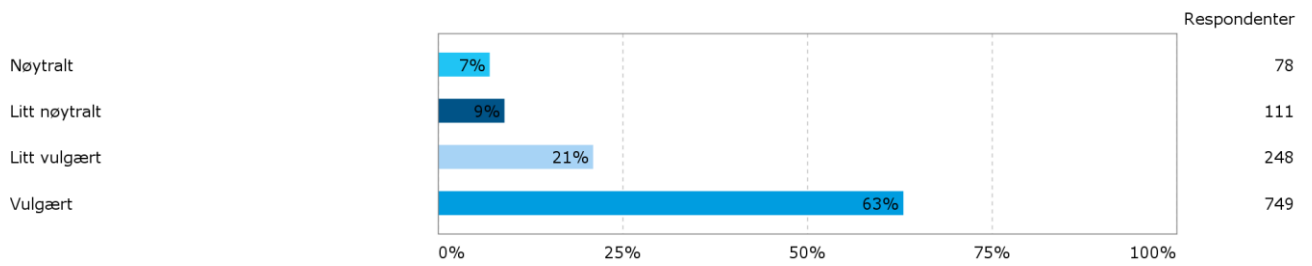
Knulle



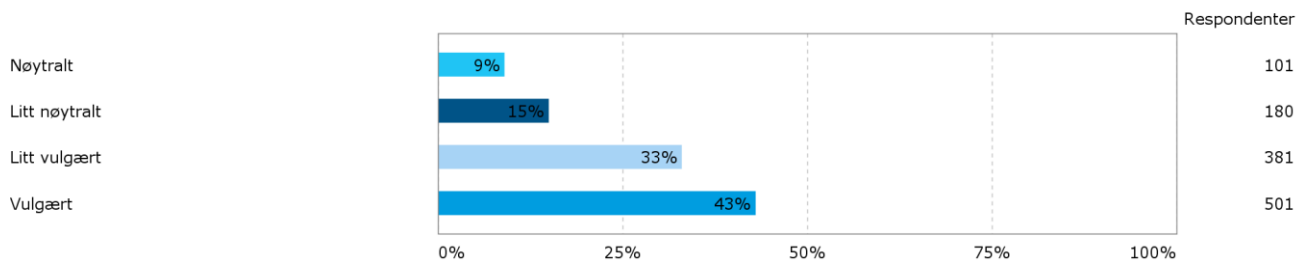
Fittetryne



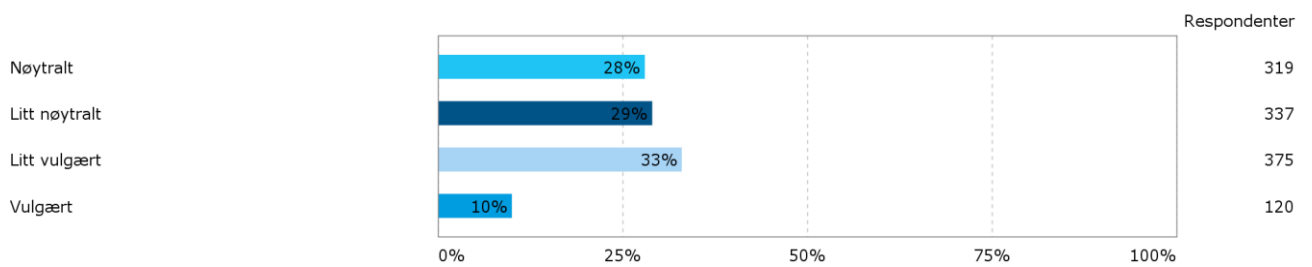
Testikkeldritende ansvorte



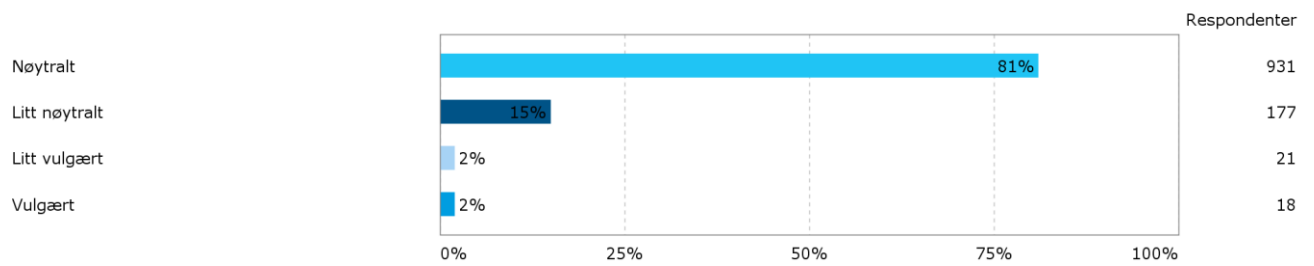
Diger, dinglete eselpikk



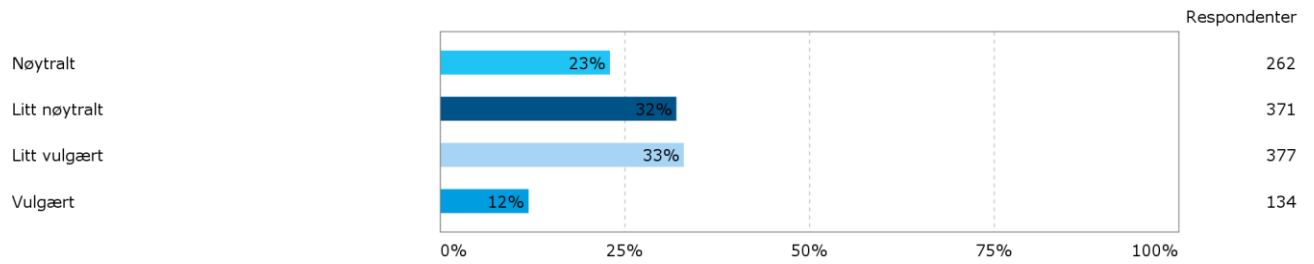
Megge



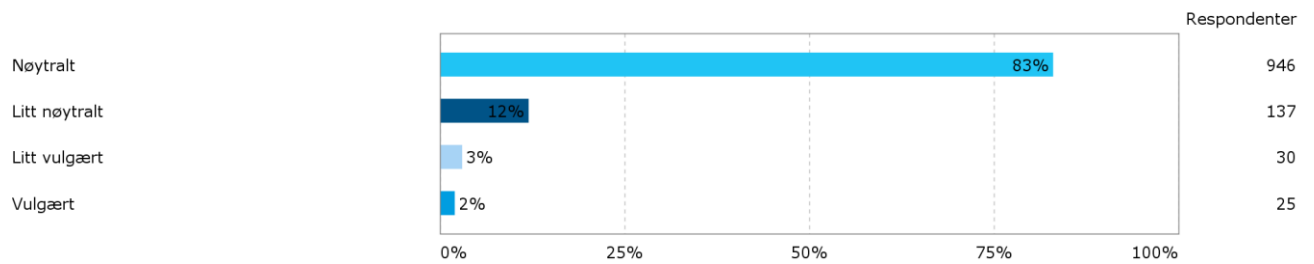
Dust



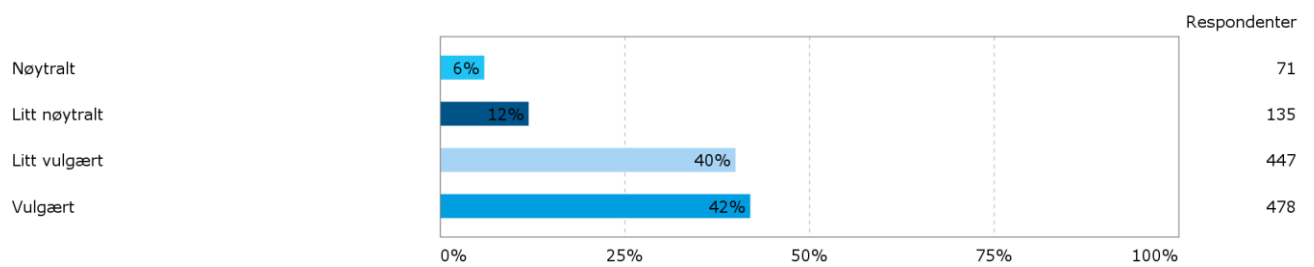
Hurpe



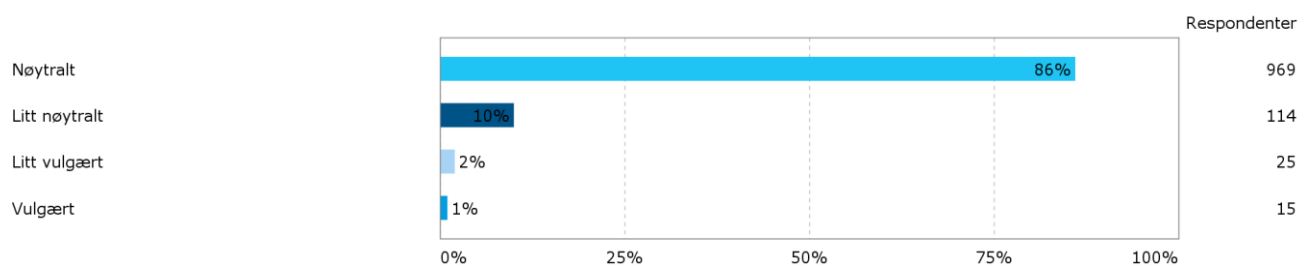
Rumpestump



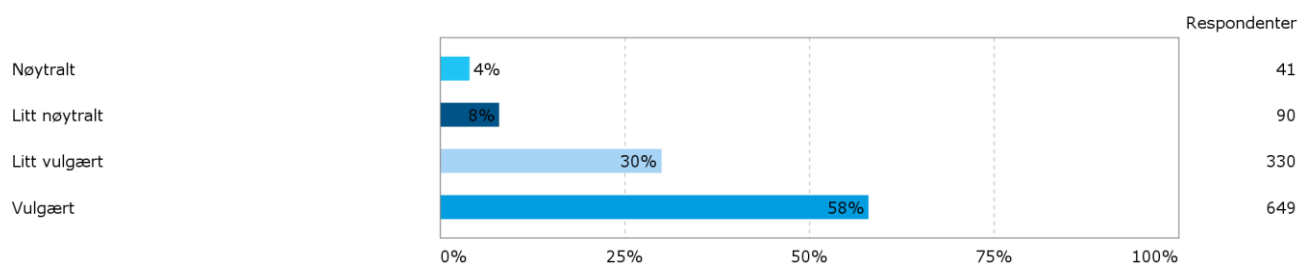
Grisepuler



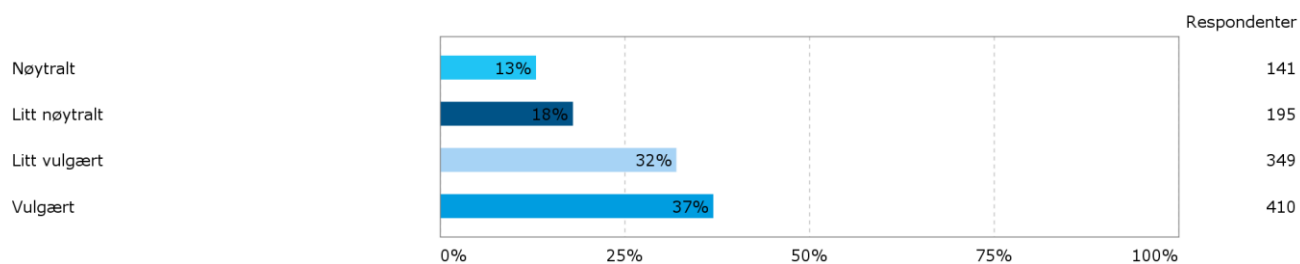
Dæven



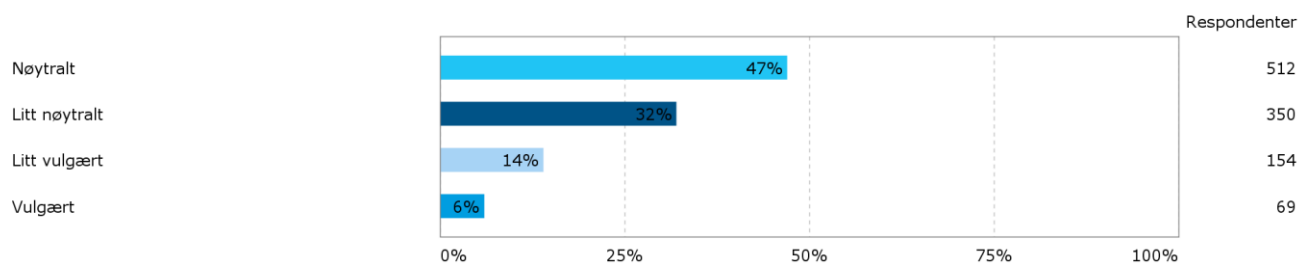
Pikksugende rasshøl



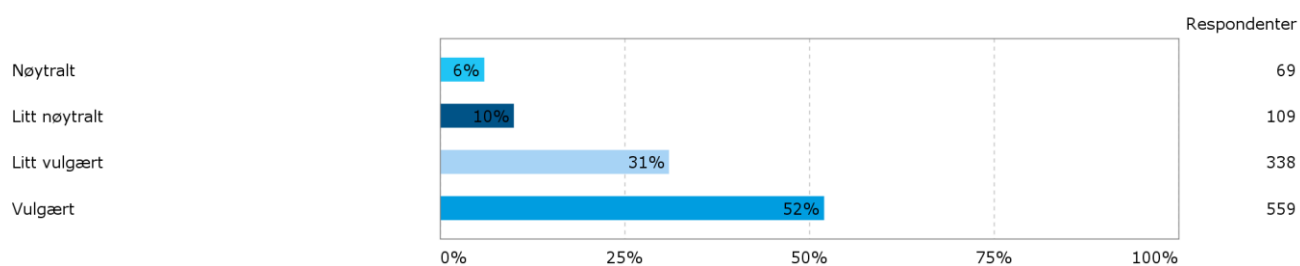
Ballebitende bæsj



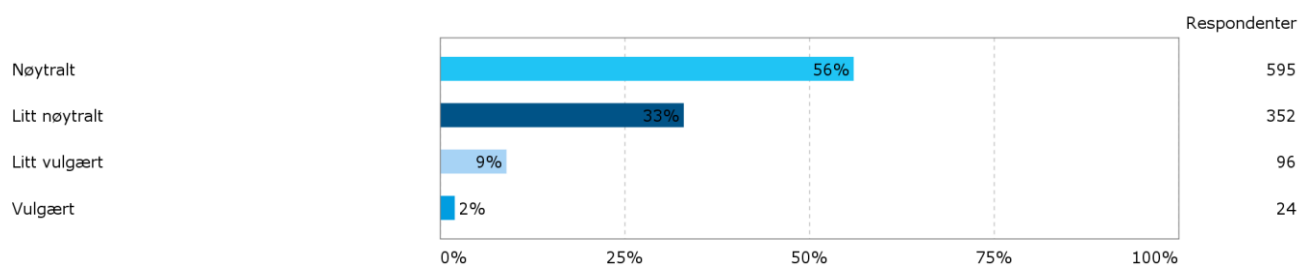
Tjukken



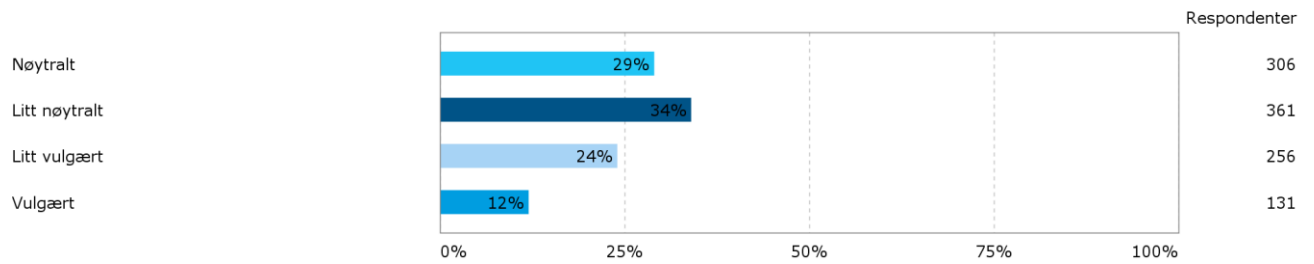
Eselrunkende møkkamann



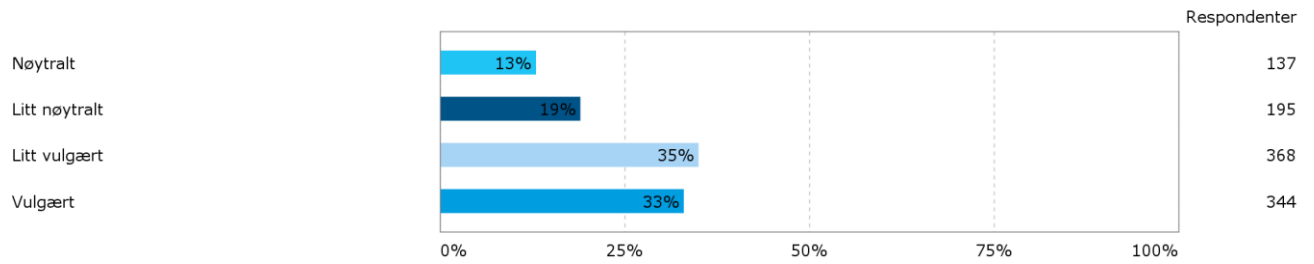
Drittsekk



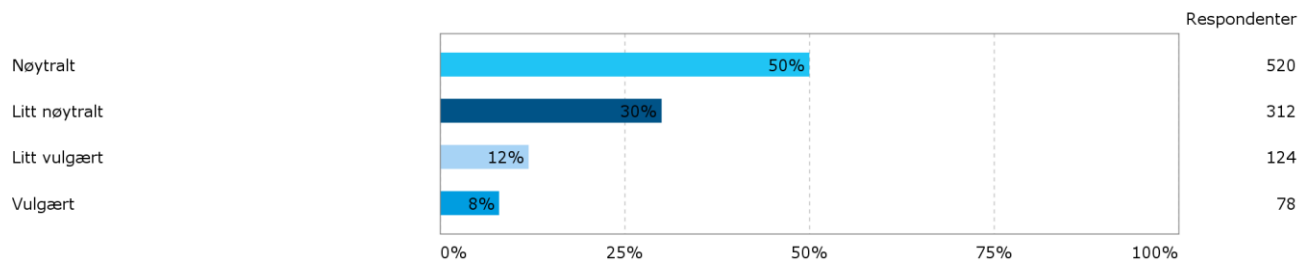
Pinglepung



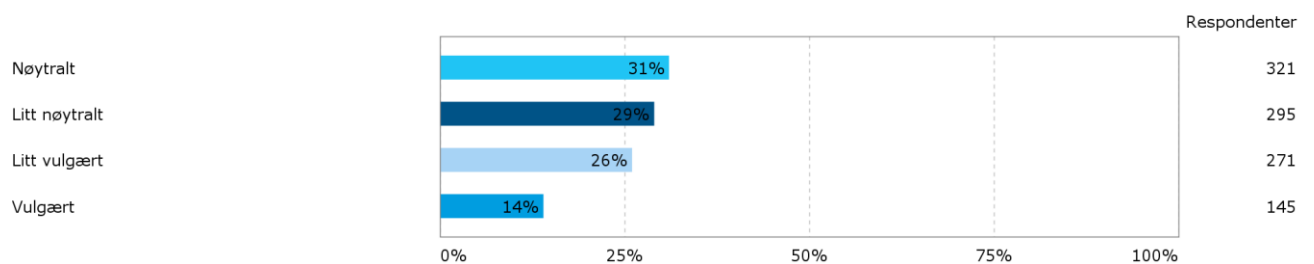
Bedritne rumperytter



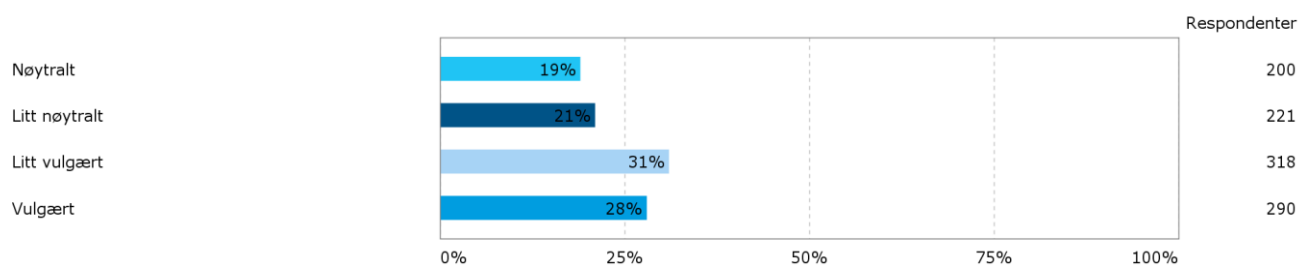
Fattigfrans



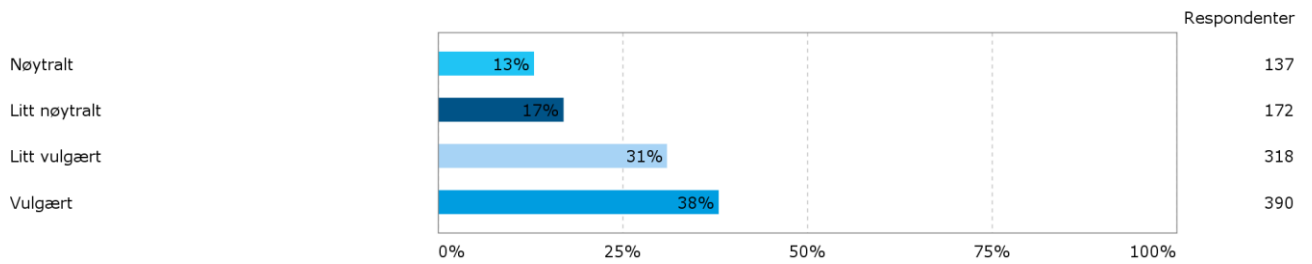
Hæstkuk



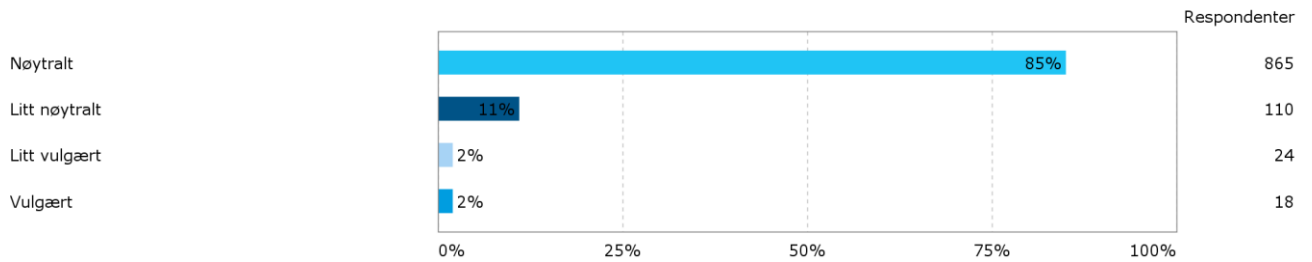
Fitte



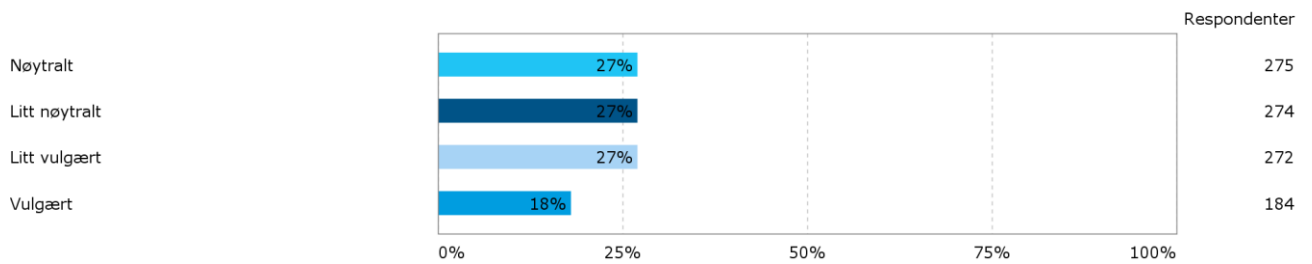
Blodstenkte, forfrosne tampongispinne



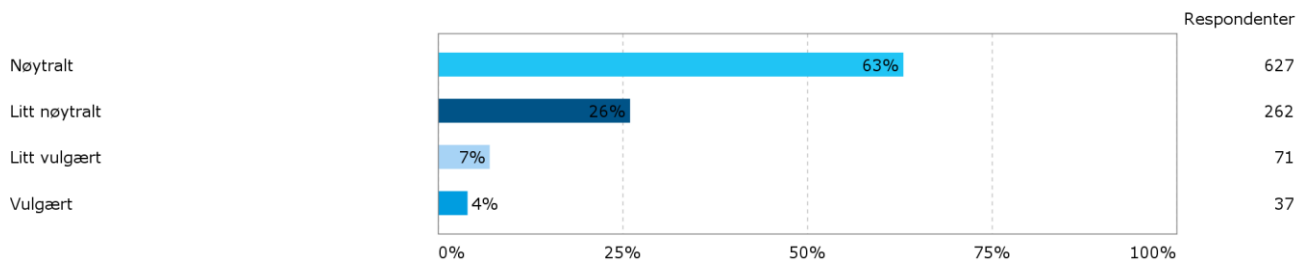
Pokker



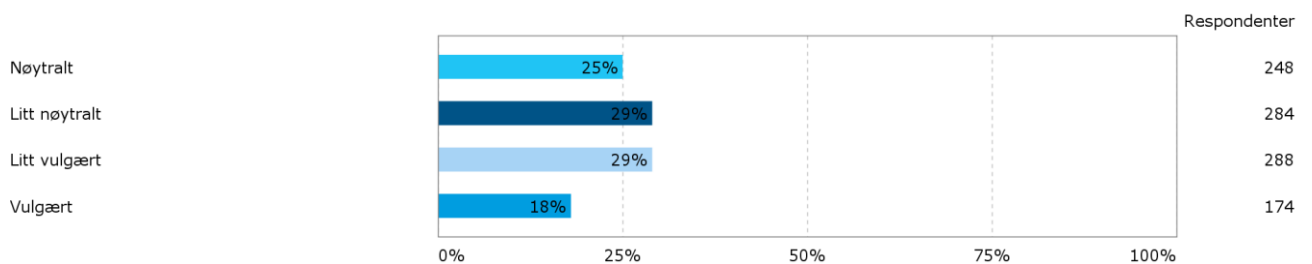
Hundebæsjburger



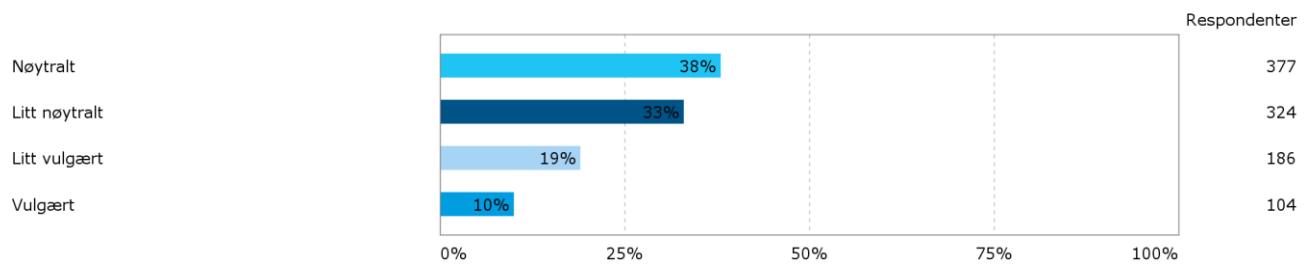
Dustefjert



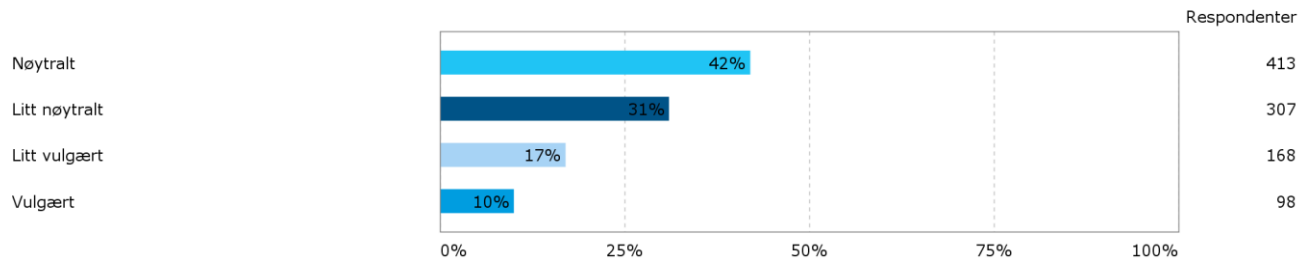
Rumperytter



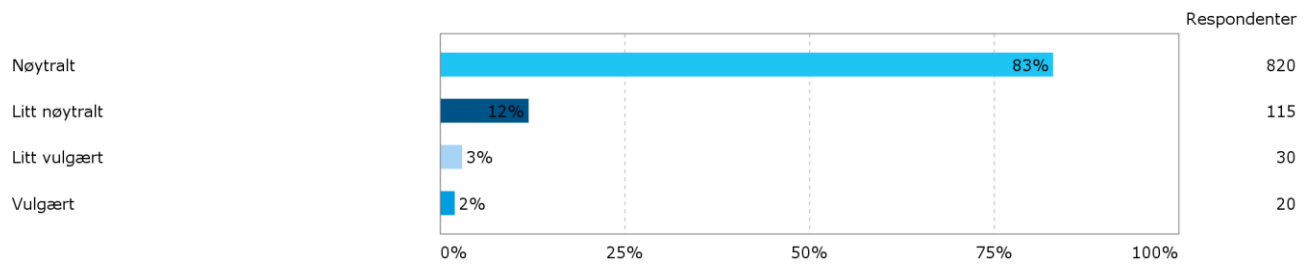
Fytti helvete



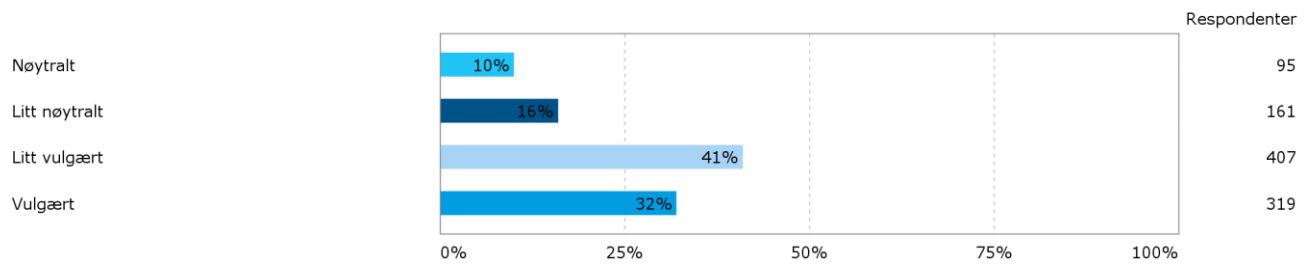
Inni helvete



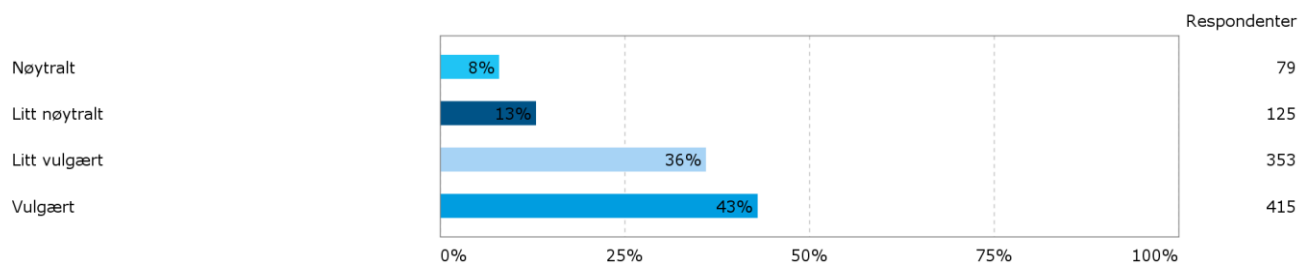
Dæven døtte



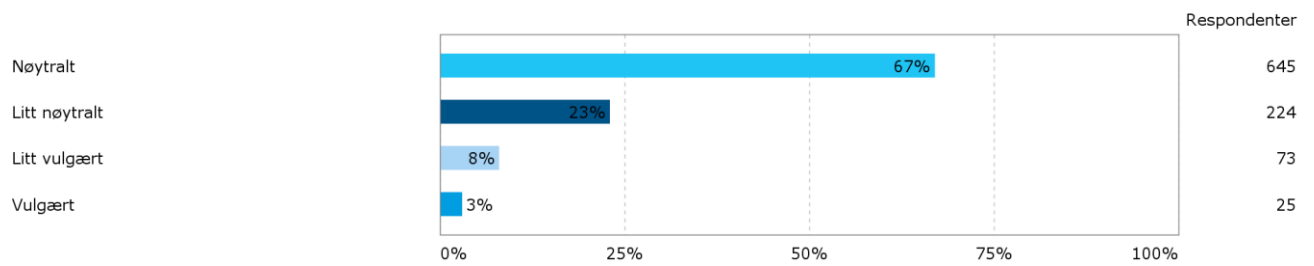
Feite fettpikk



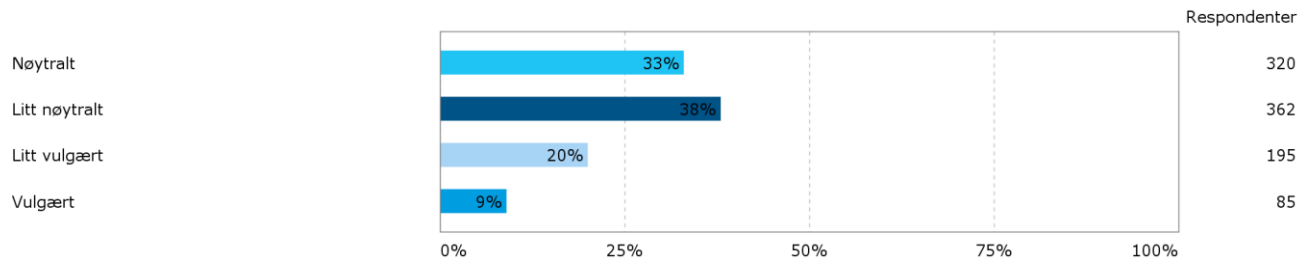
Rasspulende rasstapp



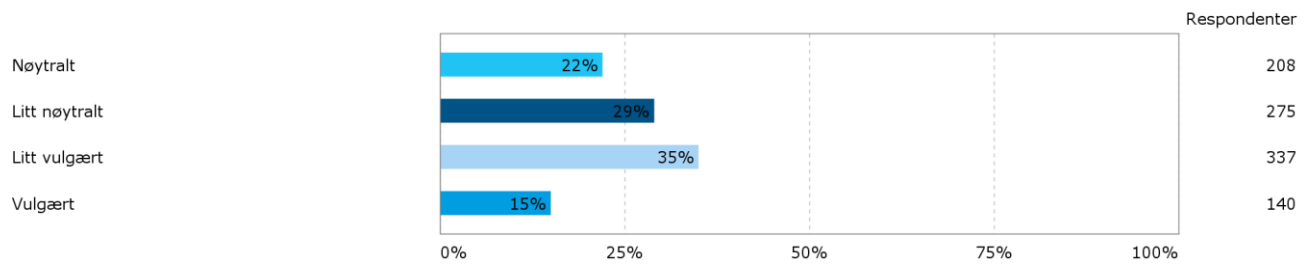
Totalt idiot



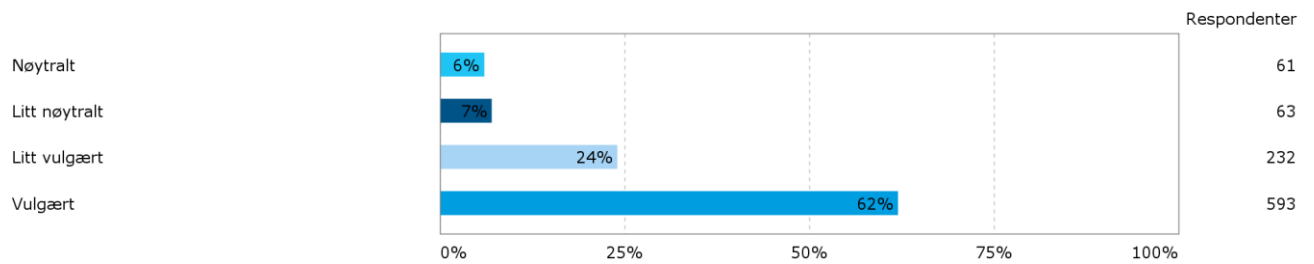
Jævla drittsekker



Dusterunk



Ballebitende, pikkpulende fittetryne



Samlet status

