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Bakalářská práce

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Phrasal Combinations in English Swearing

Frázová kompozita anglických vulgarismů

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Prohlášení:

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto bakalářskou práci vypracoval samostatně a výhradně s použitím citovaných pramenů, literatury a dalších odborných zdrojů a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze dne 28. května 2020

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Abstract:

The aim of this BA thesis is to describe and analyze multi-word combinations of the word *fuck*, including such compounds as *fuck it up*, *fuck me off*, *fuck around*, etc. The thesis seeks to describe its collocations, types of complementation, and meaning with regards to semantic and syntactic restrictions. While most dictionaries describe *fuck* in terms of abstract semantic structures, this thesis will analyze examples from the British National Corpus of spoken English. The theoretical part will discuss briefly the recent development observed in the uses of the word as well as socio-linguistic aspects of its use, as described in secondary literature. This part will also provide a list of possible combinations of *fuck* and their meaning (according to the Oxford English Dictionary) and discuss the possible terminological approaches to the phraseological description of the word and its combinations. In the methodological part, the procedure of working with the data and the British National Corpus is described. The analytical part describes the combinations discovered in the BNC from the point of view of their meaning and the degree of their grammatical variability.

Key words: swearing, bad language, phrasal verbs, formulaic language, idiomaticity

Abstrakt:

Cílem práce je zmapovat kombinace slovesa *fuck* a jeho doplnění objektová a frázová typu *fuck it up*, *fuck me off*, *fuck around*, etc., popsat komplementaci slovesa, kolokace a význam, včetně syntaktických a sémantických omezení, i s ohledem na fakt, že slovníky poskytují informace pouze o abstraktní sémantické struktuře. Teoretická část práce stručně popíše nedávný vývoj a sociolingvistické aspekty užívání slova *fuck* v sekundární literatuře. Dále poskytne přehled frázových kombinací a jejich významů, jak jsou popsány v dostupných slovnících britské angličtiny a představí možnosti frazeologického popisu. V metodologické části bude řešen způsob a rozsah získání dat, primárně z aktualizované verze mluvené verze BNC. Výsledkem bude přehled získaných frazémů, jejich popis z hlediska významů a variability kombinací.

Klíčová slova: vulgarismy, frazeologická spojení, frázová slovesa, idiomatická spojení

List of abbreviations

BNC – British National Corpus

MWCF – Multi-word combination of *fuck*

NP – Noun phrase

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Introduction

I have chosen to study the verb *fuck* in contemporary English because of two reasons. Firstly, my personal observations as well as my interviews with native speakers have led me to believe that today this word seems to be losing its status of a vulgarism. It appears that there are less and less constraints prohibiting the usage of this word. I have heard teachers pronouncing this word in the university classroom, and it seems to appear more and more in films and on TV. At the same time most dictionaries describe *fuck* in terms of abstract semantic structures using written texts as sources for examples, which makes it necessary and relevant to study the usage of the word in spoken conversation.

Recent studies (McEnery; Xiao, 2004) (Love, 2017) confirm that there have been major changes in how *fuck* is used in spoken conversation. Love's (2017) comparative study of material from two corpora (Spoken BNC1994) (Spoken BNC2014S) concludes that in the period of 10 years "FUCK has moved away from a modifying function which emphasizes other lexical words, and occurs much more idiomatically and figuratively than previously." In turn, McEnery and Xiao (2004) state that today *fuck* "becomes more highly charged semantically [and] it has also acquired more grammatical flexibility." The scope of such grammatical variability varies from the usage of *fuck* as general expletive (*fuck!*), destination usage (*fuck off!*), emphatic intensifier (*fucking marvelous*) as well as other categories, including the vastest and the least defined group known as "idiomatic 'set phrases'" (Love, 2017) (McEnery; Xiao, 2004). This group comprises such multi-word combinations as *fuck all*, *give a fuck* as well as phrasal compounds like *fuck about*, *fuck up*, etc. It is primarily among these combinations that Love (2017) reports "a rise in figurative extensions of the original meaning."

The objective of this thesis is to carry out an analysis of the uses of these extensions and their variability. Based on Love's results, the thesis will focus on analyzing in detail the multi-word combinations of *fuck* (MWCFs) that are characterized as 'idiomatic set phrase' and include phrasal combinations as well as idiomatic/formulaic structures. In other words, the objective of

this thesis is to describe patterns observable in the respective combinations, including grammatical categories which occur in multi-word expressions involving *fuck*. This include studying phrasal and prepositional combinations as well as idiomatic phrases. I am going to look at: 1) the division of the occurrences into fixed and more variable uses as well as their classification into formulae, prefabricated sequences, and phrasal verbs 2) types of complementation and the differences in transitive/intransitive uses, 3) the preference of certain grammatical categories among individual groups 4) the difficulties in describing the passive-like forms.

I believe studying swear words such as *fuck* is informative and useful in terms of language acquisition and linguistic research. As I will be trying to demonstrate, swearing simultaneously operates on the planes of idiomaticity and grammatical variability, fixedness of expression as well as linguistic creativity. As such, compounds of *fuck* give an insight into the hidden mechanics of the English grammar. That is not to mention the fact that swearing, being socially marginalized, has not received a sufficient amount of academic attention. Yet, it is a part of everyday reality and a solid cultural fact that requires linguistic description.

Chapter I: Theoretical Background

The first chapter of the BA thesis discusses the definitions of swearing as a subtype of bad language, the phraseological nature of swearing and various terminological approaches to swearing. In the end of the chapter a dictionary-based list of MWCFs is provided. This list will serve as a basis for further corpus-based research.

Bad Language and Swearing

Fuck is a word that is often perceived of as something that should not be said aloud, yet alone mentioned in a polite conversation. Expressions involving it (as well as other swear words) go under the names of *bad language*, *swearing*, *cursing*. Yet, there is a terminological difference between these concepts. Not every instance of bad language is swearing. In his book *Swearing in English: Bad Language, Purity and Power* Tony McEnery (2006) defines bad language as “any word or phrase which, when used in what one might call polite conversation is likely to cause offense.” (McEnery, 2006: 1) Swearing, on the other hand, is something different. It is just “one example of bad language, yet blasphemous, homophobic, racist and sexist language may also cause offence in modern England.” (ibid.: 2) This definition of swearing as a subtype of the broader concept of bad language is important in terms of the theory that McEnery proposes in his book. According to it, bad language and swearing are arbitrary concepts. Bad language is what people agree to call it. This consideration may prove useful if we consider the fact that a lot of swear words historically change their status.

An interesting aspect of McEnery’s study is that he establishes a connection between the inappropriateness of bad language and the notions of political and social situation of the historical moment. More precisely, it was at the end of seventeenth century that the contemporary attitude to bad language was formed as a result of political discourses that were taking place at the time:

the roots of modern English attitudes towards bad language lie in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is in this period that we can find a social and moral revolution occurring which defined attitudes to bad language for centuries to come and established a discourse of purity as a discourse of power. (McEnery 2006: 2)

Attitudes towards bad language are closely tied to the notion of “power related to overt prestige.” (McEnery, 2006: 11) In other words, swearing is a kind of linguistic activity that is not associated with those social classes that have power. Contrary to this, swearing is traditionally imagined as typical of lower social classes. From that perspective, it can be considered to be a linguistic marker of social distinction, since in the popular imagination people belonging to higher classes are not expected to swear.

Features of Swearing: Taboo, Figurative Meaning, Formulaic language, Emotive language

At this point a question may arise: how does a certain expression become identified as swearing? Magnus Ljung (2011) came up with the following four formal characteristics of swearing:

1. Swearing is the use of utterances containing **taboo words**.
2. The taboo words are used with **non-literal meaning**.
3. Many utterances that constitute swearing are subject to severe lexical, phrasal and syntactic constraints which suggest that most swearing qualifies as **formulaic language**.
4. Swearing is **emotive language**: its main function is to reflect, or seem to reflect, the speaker’s feelings and attitudes. (Ljung, 2011: 4)

Taboo Words

Linguistically, a taboo can be defined as a word denoting “something forbidden” (Ljung, 2011:5) As Ljung points out, “the taboos violated in swearing fall into two quite different major groups, one involving religion and the supernatural, the other bodily waste, the sexual act and the sexual organs.” (ibid.) Apart from that, swearing is connected to the concept of vulgarity, which “is a social construct determined by the views of polite society concerning what can and cannot be said.” (ibid.: 7) The notion that swearing operates in socio-political realm is where Ljung’s account meets with McEnery’s theory.

According to Ljung, it is possible to distinguish different types of taboos that get violated in swearing, but they all can be related to two broader concept spheres. Those are religious taboos and secular taboos. Religious swearing involves improper uses of the name of God as well as

mentioning of the name of the Devil. (Ljung, 2011: 7) Contrary to religious swearing, secular taboos are “restricted to words considered to be vulgar and/or embarrassing, typically vernacular words for excrement, sexual intercourse and various other sexual practices regarded as deviant and the sexual organs.” (ibid.)

The difference between secular and religious swearing is also pointed out by McEnery who, referring to Ashley Montagu, discusses the arbitrariness of swearing using the example of the word *damn*. This word, which belongs to the sphere of religion, was the most popular swear word in English before *fuck*. As the cultural setup transitioned to a secular model, *fuck* has replaced *damn* and become the dominant word:

As FUCK surged in popularity, its meaning diversified and the word form was subject to a wider range of morphological processes, resulting in the word appearing with a greater range of parts of speech. (McEnery, 2006: 57)

The fact that before *fuck* the most prominently used swear word was *damn* is indicative of the nature of swearing. Today *fuck* is generally considered to be more inappropriate than *damn*, which can normally be heard in TV shows such as *The Simpsons*, whose main protagonist Homer Simpson uses the word every now and then. One could argue that *damn* is no longer perceived of as a strong swear word, since the fact of it violating a religious taboo is no longer relevant in a society that is dominantly secular. Ljung describes this process as desemanticization of swear words, which is “common in all swearing”. (Ljung, 2011: 21)

Non-literal meaning

Another important aspect of swearing is that swearing is considered to be a type of language that is non-literal and figurative. As Ljung points out, the characteristics of “successful swearing” is that “the taboo words used in swearing do not retain their literal meaning and that, conversely, taboo words used with literal meaning cannot be regarded as swearing.” (Ljung, 2011: 12) The distinction between the literal and non-literal uses of swear words can be seen more clearly if one considers what Ljung calls “the differences in synonymy relations for one and the same word when used in swearing and in non-swearing.” (Ljung, 2011: 12) The idea behind this is that different

sets of synonyms can be found for a swear-word used in its literal and non-literal senses. A number of synonyms can be found for *fuck* in the sense of sexual intercourse, whereas when *fuck* is used figuratively, the choice of possible replacements is restricted.

At the same time, Ljung also distinguishes the special use of swear words in which the literal meaning of the verb is metaphorically extended:

taboo words used with nonliteral meaning may still contain a more or less strong remnant of that meaning. If that remnant is strong enough in the construction under consideration, this may make us interpret the taboo word metaphorically, in which case the construction in question will be considered to be non-swearing. (Ljung, 2011: 15)

Ljung points out, that drawing a line between non-literal and metaphoric uses of swear words may be problematic, but not impossible. He discusses this problem on the example of *piss on*, which means ‘treats with contempt’ and as such contains too strong a connection with the verb’s literal sense, whereas combinations like *piss around*, *piss about*, or *piss off* have “lost all links with its literal meaning ‘urinate’ and may in addition be replaced by a number of semantically unrelated taboo words.” (Ljung, 2011: 18) Ljung goes as far as to suggest that “these combinations are sufficiently far away from their original literal meaning to be included into English swearing.” (ibid.)

While Ljung’s notion of distinction between non-literal and metaphoric senses of swear words may prove helpful in certain problematic cases where the meaning of a MWCF is difficult to interpret, it is not in general instrumental for the purposes of this BA thesis, which understands swear words in broader terms, that is as words that are figurative in any extent.

Formulaic language

Swearing expressions may tend to cluster into larger structures that are grammatically invariable. As Ljung points out, “multi-word swearing expressions are not freely formed in accordance with the grammar of the language but are more or less fixed and resist formal change.” (Ljung, 2011: ix) For example, swearing expressions such as ‘*Go to hell!*, *We got the fuck out*, *What the fuck do you mean?*’ are considered to be formulaic. The term formulaic is “used to describe

some piece of language whose grammatical and lexical form is more or less fixed or fossilized, so that it cannot easily be varied as normal grammatically formed expressions can.” (Leech, 2006: 43) Such phrases “resist semantic and syntactic analysis and have to be learnt as wholes.” (Ljung, 2011: 19) At the same time formulaic sequences should be distinguished from more or less flexible uses of MWCFs such as phrasal combinations *fuck up*, *fuck over*, etc., which, although manifest a higher degree of grammatical variability, are nevertheless subject to idiomatic tendencies.

Emotive language

Describing swearing as emotive language, Ljung refers to Roman Jakobson’s distinction of linguistic functions, the emotive function being one of them. (Ljung, 2011:21) Swear words and expressions can operate as interjections or expletives denoting the speaker’s state of mind (which includes irritation, surprise, superb joy, annoyance, etc.), but the emotive function is also characteristic of phrasal and idiomatic swearing, i.e. combinations like *fuck up*, etc. In general swearing is understood as ‘symptomatic’ language since it reflects “the speaker’s emotions and attitudes.” (Ljung, 2011: 4)

Formulaicness and idiomaticity: a more detailed discussion

Ljung’s description of swear expressions encompasses a wide range of multi-word structures, including formulaic sequences and combinations like *fuck up*, *fuck off*, etc. that are identified as “idiomatic set phrases” by Love (2017) and McEnery (2004). Yet, as Hyland (2008) points out in his study on lexical bundles, when dealing with larger lexical sequences there is always the difficulty of “distinguishing the idiomatic from the merely grammatical” (Hyland, 2008: 7). That is why it might helpful to consider in details the terms that may be used to describe multi-word combinations.

Idioms

A productive account of various types of multi-word combinations is given by Moon (2015) who starts with idioms, pointing out that defining an idiom is not an easy task since the concept involves categories of “fixedness, institutionalization, and non-compositionality.” (Moon, 2015: 125) An idiom can be determined by its functional characteristics such as its ability to be

modified by random words or change of certain grammatical categories. The starting point is that an idiom is distinguished by what is called a “semantic peculiarity.” (ibid.) It refers to the fact that an idiom’s meaning is not literal, but idiosyncratic. In turn, the degree of an idiom’s flexibility depends on its “transformational deficiencies” and “inflectional defectiveness.” (ibid.: 127) An example is the idiom *to smell a rat*, which means ‘to spot a betrayer’. It represents a fixed unit that nevertheless can be modified as in *to smell an ideological rat*. Yet, the idiom’s constitutive elements lose their grammatical capabilities and cannot be altered in this respect. For example, it would be impossible to say: *to smell rats*. These considerations are important for thinking about the nature of swearing expressions involving *fuck*. They raise a question whether the phrasal combinations involving *fuck* can be used as independently and flexibly as their non-swearing counterparts.

Phrasal verbs

Phrasal verbs “are combinations of verbs and adverbial or prepositional particles [...], which are associated with meaning that cannot necessarily be derived or predicted from ordinary meanings of those verbs and particles.” (Moon, 2015: 131) Importantly, in some cases swear phrasal verbs like *fuck up* or *fuck off* have non-swear phrasal counterparts such as *mess up* or *make off*. This may be explained by what Moon calls “distinct patterns in combinations, where particles are associated with recurrent uses or meanings [which] leads to a measure of productivity.” (Moon, 2015: 132) In other words, in some cases it is the particle that conveys the meaning of a combination, but this is not always the case.

Formulae and Formulaic items

Moon points out that formulae are connected with rituals and institutionalized forms of linguistic behavior such as “greeting, well-wishing, responses,” as well as in “catchphrases, slogans, and some quotations.” (Moon, 2015:134-135) Indeed, such formulaic structures as *fuck off* or *fuck that* do not describe reality, but merely denote the speaker’s attitude about a particular situation. At the same time there are MWCFs such as *he can fuck off* which, although fixed, are

not as rigid and inflexible as *fuck off*. Such structures can be referred to as prefabricated sequences (prefabs).

Prefabs

Prefabricated sequences encompass a large range of multi-word constructions that vary in length and degree of fixedness. “What characterizes them is that they recur and seem preferred ways of construction and/or articulation” of certain situations. (Moon, 2015:138) Such sequences are not as strict as idioms and yet they tend to retain their form when used by different speakers in different situations. The existence of prefabs is “further evidence of the phraseological nature of lexis and point towards phraseological models for the lexicon rather than atomistic ones.” (Moon, 2015: 139)

The list of combinations with fuck according to OED

The terminology described above may be applied to the uses of *fuck* listed in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Language*. Interestingly, the authors of the dictionary distinguish various tints of meanings when the verb is used in different context, whereas some of those meanings can be as well said to coincide. For instance, the figurative single word verb *fuck* can mean 1) ‘To damage, ruin, spoil, botch;’ 2) ‘To cheat; to deceive, betray;’ and 3) *fuck* as a single word can be used as an interjection ‘expressing annoyance, hatred, dismissal in oaths and imprecations.’ Multi-word combinations such as *fuck up* are reported to express even more senses. It is not exactly evident whether these specified meanings of *fuck* should be treated as instances of polysemy, i.e. “the property of a single word having distinguishable but related senses.” (Kearns, 2006: 658) The important part of that definition is that the relation between the senses of a polysemous word not only should be motivated, but also distinct enough to distinguish the senses from each other. It seems that the meanings of *fuck* listed in *OED* cannot be momentarily determined as truly polysemous. Rather, they are distinct, albeit dependent on each other, shades of one general semantic core.

It is worth saying that this view seems to be shared by the authors of other dictionaries. For example, the authors of *Longman Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2000) only list ten senses of the total of six combinations with *fuck*. It is also interesting that while the meanings of those combinations may be said to be confined to a particular set of certain basic characteristics, *fuck* can be used creatively in other contexts as a different word class. In the book *The F-Word* edited by Jesse Shildlowe (2009), there are almost three hundred pages listing various compounds, nouns, idiomatic phrases, and phraseological items containing *fuck*. It appears that meanings of the verb described in dictionaries may be in this or that way related back to some general figurative meaning of *fuck*, whereas there are vast possibilities for using the verb as an element in building of compounds and phrases.

The list below includes only the figurative senses of *fuck* described in *OED*. Each definition in the list is taken from *OED* and accompanied by example sentences provided by the dictionary. It appears that most of the examples are taken from written sources.

Single word verb

1. to fuck

1. *transitive*. to shirk one's duties or responsibilities; to mess about or waste time; (b) to make a (disastrous) mistake; to fail; to spoil or put an end to something.

e.g. *We are fucked in this war as of the first day.* (1941, E.Hemingway); *Oh, it was obvious..that Grissom had just fucked it.* (1979, T. Wolfe); *Newspapers are always whingeing about the dole bludgers. Shit it's the dividend bludgers that are fucking the country.* (1987, K.Lette)

2. *transitive*. U.S. To cheat; to deceive, betray. Frequently with out of.

e.g. *But they fucked me all right. Fucked me good and proper.* (1932, H.Miller); *'This is what happens to stool pigeons and people that fuck me.'* *I looked into the trunk and saw Lover laying there with blood all over his tee shirt.* (1969, O.Demaris); *I feel I've fucked you out of at least 500 bucks..so I do want to make everything possible up to you.* (1950, N.Cassady)

3. In oaths and imprecations (chiefly in optative with no subject expressed): expressing annoyance, hatred, dismissal, etc. e.g. *God fuck old Bennett!* (1922, J. Joyce) *Go on, then... Fuck the expense.* (2005, N. Hornby)

Phrasal verbs

2. To fuck around

1. *intransitive*. To mess about, play around; to waste time.
e.g. *My dear... I just couldn't stay away from you. I'm sick of all this fucking around.* (1931, H. Miller); *I don't fuck around when it comes to poker. Nine times out of ten, I'm going to come out on top.* (2003, P. Auster)
2. *transitive*. To mess about, play around; to waste time. e.g. *Are ye sure Gerry? Don't fuck me around now.* (2004, R. Kitchen)

3. To fuck about = fuck around.

4. To fuck off

1. *intransitive*. **a.** To go away, make off. **b.** In imperative. Expressing hostility or aggressive dismissal: 'go to hell', 'go away'.
e.g. *Just an excuse to fuck off to a restaurant.* (1978, P. de Polnay) *Ye could try Jed. Or Jerry's. Scottish Iain did av some, some stars I fink they were, but he's fucked off somewhere, fuck knows where, like.* (2001, N. Griffiths)
2. **a.** *intransitive*. U.S. To loaf, shirk one's duties or responsibilities; to mess about. **b.** *transitive*. Chiefly Brit. To annoy or irritate (a person). e.g. What's the use of being on the ball... May as well fuck off. (1947, T. Shibutani) *People like you fuck me off no end.* (2002, S. Orr)

5. To fuck over – transitive. To treat (a person) unfairly or harshly; to betray.

e.g. *He thinks it will make him feel better if he fucks us over and makes us hurt the way he was hurt.* (1988, J. McInerney)

6. To fuck up – transitive and intransitive.

1. **a.** *transitive*. To damage; to ruin, spoil, mess up; to botch. **b.** *intransitive*. To blunder, to make a (serious) error; to fail, go wrong.
2. *transitive*. **a.** To damage or confuse (a person) mentally; to befuddle, confound. **b.** *transitive*. To injure, wound; to kill.
e.g. **a.** She wanted to get dressed up to go to Jackie's house, right then and there, to fuck her up. (1995, P. Bourgois) **b.** *Don't wade in. Let them fuck each other up first, then arrest anything that doesn't move.* (1996, P. Godwin); *Out in the cafe, a*

series of explosions detonated. 'Fucked him up bad,' an exuberant male voice said.
(2004, D. Hamilton)

7. **To fuck with** – *intransitive*. To meddle or interfere with; to provoke or take on.
e.g. *They god damned better know because when I don't want to be fucked with him because they don't want to catch shit.* (1961, C.Bukowski)

Phrases

Combinations determined as 'phrases' in *OED* are studied under the heading of formulae and prefabricated sequences in this BA thesis. The combinations *fuck the dog*, and *fuck a duck* should rather be considered as idioms according to the terminology described above. In either case, none of them has been identified in the corpus.

8. **Go fuck yourself** – Expressing hostility, contempt, or defiant indifference.
e.g. (1969, J.Morris) *Why don't you..tell whoever it is to go fuck themselves?* (2004, *Washington Post*) *The exchange ended when Cheney offered some crass advice. 'Fuck yourself,' said the man who is a heartbeat from the presidency.*
9. **Fuck you** – Expressing hostility, contempt, or defiant indifference.
e.g. (2006, G.Malkani) *Fuck you, Jas, I ain't gonna have no daughters. All my sperms are men, innit.* (1954, W.S. Burroughs) *Well fuck you anyway.*
10. **Fuck it** – expressing dismissal, exasperation, resignation, or impetuosity.
e.g. *We never make a plan and stick to it. Fuck it. I'm going for a slash.* (2002, L.Wener)
11. **Fuck me** – and elaborated variants: expressing astonishment or exasperation.
e.g. *'Well, to cut a long story short, the angel told us to come down again.'* *'Fuck me.'* *'Exactly.'* (2005, N.Hornby)
12. **Fuck a duck** = fuck me; = go fuck yourself.
e.g. *Cohen walked to the door, swung it open, and said, 'Go fuck a duck, you faggot,' and slammed the door in the man's face.* (2005, F.Pacheco)
13. **To fuck the dog** – (a) to shirk one's duties or responsibilities; to mess about or waste time; (b) to make a (disastrous) mistake; to fail; to spoil or put an end to something.
e.g. *Quit fucking the dog and let us in.* (2003, M.Antwood)

Chapter II: Methodology

The material for the analysis was drawn from the British national corpus of spoken English, *Spoken BNC2014*. It was initially accessed on the 3rd of March in 2020. The corpus contains the total of 1,251 texts (recordings). The total number of word tokens in all texts is 11,422,617. The total number of speakers who took part in the recording process is 668. According to the manual, *Spoken BNC2014* “contains data gathered in the years 2012 to 2016.” (The British National Corpus, 2014: User manual and reference guide:1).

In order to extract all occurrences of the verb *fuck*, including its uses in phrasal combinations, the initial simple query was [lemma="fuck" & pos="V.*"], searching for all the verb forms of the lemma. The query returned 1,427 hits from 296 different texts out of the total number of 668 texts, which means that the verb *fuck* is used roughly in one half (44%) of all the texts in BNC2014. Interestingly, the total number of uses of *fuck* as a lemma is 2,499 instances in 377 texts, which means that the verbal use accounts for 57% of the total number of texts. This corresponds to Love’s (2017) conclusions that “*fuck* has moved away from a modifying function which emphasizes other lexical words, and occurs much more idiomatically and figuratively than previously.”

All the relevant concordances were downloaded into a Word document table and assigned a unique reference number and a code (used in round brackets after examples quoted in the text). The code and the reference number were assigned automatically by the corpus. By clicking on a code, it is possible to access information about the speakers.

However, not all the concordance lines been used for the purposes of analysis. In some cases, the utterance contains more than one occurrence of the multi-word item, but effectively, it can be regarded as representing only one functional example. For instance, the following sentence clearly contains a repeated usage of the same structure:

it's Australian fuck off fuck off fuck off chopper 1262 (SUVQ).

Because the verb is used three times in a row, BNC2014 treats this case as three separate examples. Such irrelevant repetitions were excluded from the overall results. At the same time cases like this should be distinguished from examples in which different uses of the multi-word item represent different independent ‘clauses’. For example, in the following sentence three structures that illustrate different phenomena can be effectively identified:

*boy tells me to **fuck off** all the time yeah you can't say and then I 'm like you **fuck off** no you **fuck off** fucking bell end and like --UNCLEARWORD I 'm going to get sacked ah 1329 (SKXA).*

Therefore, sentences like the above one can reasonably be considered to represent three examples. After deleting the irrelevant repetitive cases from the overall results, the total number of hits in the sample is **1,417**.

Moreover, some of the examples were not immediately understandable because of the insufficient context of the conversation. This was especially problematic with formulae and expressions that are not integrated into the clause structure, such as certain uses of *fuck off*. In order to be sure about whether a multi-word item can be treated as formulaic I had to study the context of the conversation provided in BNC2014. Yet, some cases still proved impossible to decipher. Such instances are marked as ‘unclear’ in the analysis.

As our analysis focuses on different types of multi-word combinations and patterns of complementation of the verb *fuck*, including its non-phrasal uses and idiomatic constructions (alongside with fixed expressions described by *OED* like *fuck it* and *fuck that*), the corpus results were then sorted into those containing only the verb, the verb and a personal or demonstrative pronoun only, and those accompanied by a particle.

As Table 1 shows, 521 (36.8 %) instances contain a particle, whereas the majority of the uses of the verb in the corpus do not (63.2 % - this comprises uses of *fuck* as a single item as well as idiomatic set phrases). In the latter group, 25.5% of instances represent the fixed idiomatic phrases in which the verb followed by *it/that/me/all/you*. My judgement of whether a construction

is supposed to be considered as phrasal or idiomatic is based on the information from *OED* described in the previous chapter.

Table 1: All instances in BNC2014

	abs	%	abs	%
<i>fuck off</i>	325	22.9%	521	36.8%
<i>fuck up</i>	130	9.2%		
<i>fuck over</i>	30	2.1%		
<i>fuck about</i>	12	0.8%		
<i>fuck around</i>	16	1.1%		
<i>fuck with</i>	8	0.6%		
<i>fuck it</i>	120	8.5%	361	25.5%
<i>fuck that</i>	61	4.3%		
<i>fuck me</i>	65	4.6%		
<i>fuck all</i>	33	2.3%		
<i>fuck you</i>	82	5.8%		
<i>fuck</i>	535	37.7%	535	37.7%
total	1,417	100%	1,417	100%

Chapter III: Analysis

Section 1 – Non-integrated Items

As was mentioned in the Methodological section, the sample was divided into three groups based on the formal (including complementation) characteristics of the verbs in question. Group (1) consists of expressions involving *fuck* as a single word. Group (2) comprises instances of fixed combinations involving the verb and a pronoun only (that is the verb without a particle). Group (3) consists of phrasal combinations in which the verb is accompanied by a prepositional or adverbial particle.

Group 1: Fuck

As Table 1 suggests, the biggest group (37.7%) is represented by the verb *fuck* without any complement or particle. Since analyzing *fuck* as a single lexical item is not a focus of this thesis, only a brief commentary will be provided. However, even a sketchy look at the data reveals that the uses of *fuck* as a single word generally coincide with the behavior of its multi-word combinations in that in accordance with Ljung's (2011) description, in these cases *fuck* operates as an expressive word denoting the speaker's emotional state:

oh fuck yeah that's the end of it 155 (S35K)

oh fuck okay that's gonna happen in the next eighteen months 259 (S382)

Interestingly, example (155) is tagged in the corpus as a verb, but its use appears to be that of an interjection. In some cases, the 'emotional' state of the speaker is reflected linguistically in the multiple repetition of the swear word:

I know what you 're like five two sixes one six one six fuck fuck fuck fuck fuck one seven one six 308 (S2LD)

Connected to the emotive function is the fact pointed out by Ljung (2011) and discussed in Chapter I, namely the tendency of swear words to be grammatically inflexible. Indeed, *fuck* as a single item tends to occur in sequences that can be characterized as relatively fixed (e.g. preceded by *ah*, *oh*). These types of fixed combinations include *fuck* used as an interjection (976, 1398, and 155), or as an element of a larger idiomatic phrase (430).

fuck I can't help you 976 (S2LD)

ah fuck ah ah what time was it? 1398 (S376)

oh fuck yeah that's the end of it 155 (S35K)

go and fuck yourself 430 (S2W4)

Another collocation characteristic of *fuck* as a single word is represented by prefabricated structures of reported speech where *be + like* operates as a reporting word (quotative). A similar situation is observed with the combination *fuck off*. (See discussion below)

I was like fuck I 'm going back to bed 25 (SNWS)

she's like fuck I forgot that 1162 (SNPA)

When *fuck* is used as a full lexical verb, it is transitive and manifests all the grammatical categories observed among its phrasal compounds. For example, *fuck* is used in the present tense (66), perfective form (81), as well as in the passive voice (770, 1261). The progressive aspect can also be observed in this group (232). As example (81) shows, tensed *fuck it* is different from *fuck it* described in Group 3:

no it's just like how man fucks nature 66 (SNCG)

they've fucked it 81 (S5RP)

we're still still fucked 770 (S376)

it's gonna be fucked 1261 (S35K)

it's probably fucking him that's why he's so fucking quiet 232 (SLPW)

Studying the behaviour of *fuck* as a single word is not the aim of this thesis and is a task that may be taken on in a separate study.

Group 2: *Fuck it, fuck that, fuck me, fuck you, fuck all + formulaic fuck off/with*

The second group identified in the sample includes combinations of the verb *fuck* followed by a personal pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun *that* and the indefinite pronoun *all*. This group represents 25.5% (361 occurrences, Table 1) of the overall results, the most frequent sub-group being *fuck it*. The group represents fixed expressions characterized by their invariable nature and

low degree of integration into the clause structure. Using the terminology described in Chapter I these MWCFs can be described as formulae since they manifest a high degree of grammatical fixedness and can always be identified as a certain type of illocutionary act (that is they are ritualistic in nature). As Quirk (1985) puts it, such formulaic structures are commonly used for “stereotyped communicational situations.” (Quirk et al.,1985: 852) From that it follows that “most of the formulae allow for little of no change in their form.” (Quirk et al.,1985: 852)

Simultaneously, 192 analogous formulaic constructions are observed among the members of Group (3), particularly in the case of the phrasal combination *fuck off*. All in all, the ‘formulaic’ section of the sample may be said to consist of eight different MWCFs (see Table 2) and is represented by 553 occurrences (39% of the dataset). Yet, there is a difference between *fuck off* and formulae with the pronoun such as *fuck that* or *fuck it*: phrasal *fuck off* can be used in structures with different level of fixedness whereas *fuck that* is mostly confined to interjections. The variable phrasal combinations will be discussed in detail in Section II.

Table 2: Formulaic items

<i>fuck it</i>	120	21.7%
<i>fuck that</i>	61	11%
<i>fuck me</i>	65	11.7%
<i>fuck you</i>	82	14.8%
<i>fuck all</i>	33	6%
<i>fuck off</i> (imperative)	186	33.6%
<i>fuck with</i>	1	0.2%
<i>go and fuck yourself</i>	5	0.9%
total	553	100%

Formulae

The criteria for formulae most often include the imperative form of the verb as well as the expression's independence from the clause structure. Examples (22), (338), (95), (1008), and (1092) show that such formulaic items are not integrated into the sentence structure and have no relation to the clauses.

*no **fuck that** no I mean like all the other stuff in here 22 (SQ6Z)*

*yeah **fuck it** fair enough that was part of your holiday money 328 (S3AV)*

*yeah **fuck me** and I 'd heard about dodgy twenty pound notes 95 (SVR6)*

*well **fuck you** we don't want people like this coming round 1008 (S4WJ)*

*you think god I know **fuck all** 1092 (SEPP)*

As Quirk points out, formulaic expressions are only “imperative in form ... [and] do not have the structural potentialities of imperatives.” (Quirk et al., 1985: 852) That means that while it is possible and common to use the imperative combination *fuck me* to express an emotion, it would be impossible to use *don't fuck me* in the similar sense. As a matter of fact, in that case the expression might even lose its figurative meaning.

Formulaic items should be distinguished from prefabricated sequences. As was mentioned in Chapter I, the latter differ from the former in that “they recur and seem preferred ways of construction and/or articulation.” (Moon, 2015:138) In this thesis the term *prefab* is taken to refer to multi-word combinations that are not as fixed as formulae, but still manifest a high degree of syntagmatic cohesion. One common type of such constructions is a reported speech clause in which the MWCF operates as a grammatical object of thought. This pattern is observed among all MWCFs in Group (2) except for *fuck all*.

*I thought **fuck me** I need to sort that out 190 (SMME)*

*he was probably working the other night saw it at like half past five in the morning and thought **fuck that** 27 (SRNC)*

*so I thought **fuck you** 1417 (SB6S)*

*I thought **fuck it** you're going to have to learn to to do it 1312 (S3YZ)*

Another common type of the reported speech construction involves *be + like* as a reporting word (quotative):

it you were like yeah fuck it 1029 (S29Q)

I was like fuck that 204 (S6J2)

I 'm like fuck all 1062 (SJ88)

and I was like fuck you 1375 (SAR5)

I was like fuck me 492 (SG87)

Another type of a larger formulaic construction identified in the sample is the phrase *go and fuck yourself*. It is used five times in total:

I 'm just like go fuck yourself like who gives a shit? 398 (SG4R)

This set phrase allows for a certain degree of grammatical variation. For instance, it is possible to change the grammatical number of the pronoun:

I weren't even fucking here so go and fuck yourselves 129 (SAR5)

It may also be interesting to mention that according to *OED* there are more idiomatic phrases with *fuck* than just *go fuck yourself*. Examples discussed in Chapter I include instances like *fuck a guck*, or *fuck the dog*. Yet, no such expressions were identified in the small size of the corpus. The reason for that may consist either in the fact that these expressions are more characteristic of the American, rather than British, spoken conversation; or in the fact that their ‘idiomaticity’ exceed the limits of contextually understandable meaning. In other words, the expression *go and fuck yourself* represents a formulaic item which, although clearly non-literal, still can be understood from the context, whereas *fuck the dog* is an idiom whose meaning (‘to shirk one’s duties or responsibilities’) is fairly more complex.

Group 3: *fuck with a particle/preposition*

The second biggest group in the sample is represented by *fuck* accompanied by an adverbial or prepositional particle. (see Table 3) This group comprises 521 instances, which represents

36.8% of the sample. Altogether, six phrasal compounds of *fuck* were identified, namely: *fuck off*, *fuck up*, *fuck over*, *fuck about*, *fuck around*, *fuck with*.

Table 3: *fuck* accompanied by a particle

<i>fuck off</i>	325	62.4%
<i>fuck up</i>	130	24.9%
<i>fuck over</i>	30	5.7%
<i>fuck about</i>	12	2.3%
<i>fuck around</i>	16	3%
<i>fuck with</i>	8	1.5%
total	521	100%

The most frequent subgroup is *fuck off* which is represented by 62.4% (325 hits) of instances. As Table 4 shows, this MWCF manifests grammatical variability, being used in such grammatical categories as the passive voice (with both *be* and *get* auxiliaries), and the active voice comprising uses in the progressive aspect as well as different grammatical tenses (see discussion of integrated units).

The majority of occurrences in this group is represented by what may be regarded as fixed constructions of *fuck off* (76.6%), which include the 186 formulaic imperative forms and 40 items in quotatives described with Group 2. To this group modal and reported speech prefabs may be added. Their grammatical characteristics are similar to the MWCFs studied above (*fuck all*, *fuck that*, etc.) In a similar way, in most cases (67%) the imperative *fuck off* is not integrated into the clause structure and operates as a formulaic item. Its main illocutionary function is usually expression of dismissal:

well fuck off she was like yeah 215 (S8X7)

school oh fuck off jesus 407 (SN3D)

oh fuck off 908 (SQPN)

Similarly, the reported speech construction involving the word *like* as a quotative is also widespread:

*I 'm like no no **fuck off** 1365 (SPHJ)*

*I 'd be like **fuck off** yeah 1197 (SBEV)*

At the same time, whereas in the case of the formulaic items *fuck it*, *fuck that*, etc. the imperative form is confined to the expression of emotion, the imperative *fuck off* also displays uses in which the verb's discourse function is that of a directive (see a more detailed discussion in Section 2):

***fuck off** and go somewhere else 402 (SA4W)*

***fuck off** next door 206 (S8PT)*

Nevertheless, the imperative *fuck off* does not always fulfill the directive function. Directives "are primarily used to instruct somebody to do something", (Quirk et al., 1985: 804) and the imperative *fuck off* is not always associated with that meaning. Sometimes this form operates as a marker of the speaker's attitude towards the interlocutor, which distinguishes such verbal usage as fulfilling a different illocutionary function (examples include sentences (78), (1160), and (1336)). Quirk characterizes this use as imprecation. (Quirk et al., 1985: 832)

*I don't like it **fuck off** 78 (S632)*

***fuck off** and die you bigot 1160 (S37K)*

*you don't even care just **fuck off** 1336 (SMNV)*

In example (1160) it is highly unlikely that the speaker asks their interlocutor to 'go away' and 'die'. Rather, the imperative form is devoid of semantic content and is similar to such swearing expression as 'go to hell!' The alike meaning of imprecation is also associated with the only one instance observed of the formulaic *fuck with*:

***fuck with** his money 798 (S5EM)*

Prefabs of fuck off

Prefabricated sequences have been discussed in relation to such MWCFs as *fuck it*, *fuck that*, etc. where it was stated that prefabs are understood as structures that are more invariable than formulae, yet are still rather fixed. In the case of *fuck off* two major groups of prefabricated sequences can be identified: reported speech constructions (includes 40 occurrences) and

structures involving a modal verb (23 occurrences). These groups may be said to fulfill the same discursive functions as the ‘imperative’ group, the difference being only in form. In the following examples the modal construction can be clearly identified as an instance of imprecation:

*she can **fuck off** 333 (S7JG)*

*I have that mirror but it does n't work so it can **fuck off** 397 (SY2Z)*

At the same time example (553) should rather be interpreted as a directive since the structure in question can be paraphrased to ‘leave me alone!’

*you can just **fuck off** 553 (SZME)*

The same is true of the reported speech construction. While example (7) can be analyzed as a directive, instances (825), (449) and (293) rather refer to the speaker’s emotional state and their attitude to the matter that is being discussed.

*you 're just like **fuck off** 7 (SZ98)*

*I will tell someone **to fuck off** if need be 825 (SJJK)*

*you always tell me **to fuck off** 449 (SECS)*

*my eighteen-year-old boy tells me **to fuck off** 293 (SKXA)*

Section 2 – Integrated items

The previous section discussed formulaic and prefabricated structures observed among two types of MWCF – 1) those in which the verb is accompanied by a personal pronoun (*fuck that, fuck it, etc.*), and 2) those in which the verb is accompanied by a particle (*fuck off, fuck with*). This section will continue analyzing the corpus instances of the phrasal combinations in terms of their grammatical behavior in order to determine whether there are certain uses which are specific for the respective verbs.

As has already been mentioned, the total of six phrasal compounds of *fuck* were identified, namely: *fuck off, fuck up, fuck over, fuck about, fuck around, fuck with*. All of these MWCFs are considered to be phrasal in nature since “the meaning of the combination manifestly cannot be predicted from the meanings of verb and particle in isolation.” (Quirk et al., 1985: 1152) All these compounds are accompanied by an adverbial particle, except for *fuck with* which is accompanied by a preposition. Besides, some of the MWCF groups include instances in which the verb is used with the adverbial particle and the preposition:

*I know I'm gonna **fuck up on** it* 713 (SNCP)

Such cases will be dealt with respectively.

The MWCFs discussed in this section manifest a higher degree of grammatical flexibility than those analyzed earlier. They are attested in different tenses and allow for constructions in the active and the passive voice, and the transitives take different grammatical objects. Yet, it is still important to be on the watch-out for idiomatic tendencies and grammatical peculiarities, while analyzing the MWCFs in question. For example, it appears that some tenses tend to be used with certain MWCFs and not with the others as the distribution of the Present Simple tense among the MWCFs shows. In the case of the *fuck up* group, 42.8% (30 occurrences) of active voice instances are in the Present Simple, whereas the *fuck over* group includes no Present Simple occurrences at all. This section will therefore concentrate on discussing grammatical categories of each mentioned MWCF. I will always do it in the following order: starting with the category of the active voice I will be analyzing the transitive use, discriminating cases in which the complement

is a full noun phrase (NP) and cases in which the complement is a pronoun; then I analyze the intransitive use and after that focus on the passive voice, which has proven to be a rich field for theoretical discussion with MWCs. Finally, I discuss specific cases such as premodifying use of *fuck up*, infinite verb forms, or phrasal-prepositional combinations that occur in several groups.

Fuck off

Active Voice

Out of the 325 instances found in the corpus, 186 were described under the heading of formulaic and prefabricated constructions in Section 1. The remaining 139 are treated in this section. *Fuck off* is a verb that allows both transitive and intransitive uses. Each type of use represents a discrete sense of the verb. As Table 4 shows, the majority (71% – 39 occurrences) of all active voice instances is intransitive with only 16 cases (29%) representing transitive use.

Table 4: Categories of *fuck off*

active	simple	49	55	10.8%
	progressive	6		
fixed items	imperative	186	249	76.6%
	modal constructions	23		
	reported speech	40		
passive	<i>be</i> passive	13	19	5.8%
	<i>get</i> passive	6		
nonfinite	participle	1	2	0.6%
other		1		
unclear		0		
total		325		100%

Table 5: *fuck off*, Active voice complementation

intransitive		39	39	71%
transitive	pronoun complement	15	16	29%
	NP complement	1		
total		55	55	100%

Transitive Use

According to *OED* (see Chapter I), *fuck off* as a transitive verb is synonymous with ‘annoy or irritate.’ According to Table 5, the majority of cases (15 instances) are complemented by a personal pronoun. The single case in which *fuck off* is complemented by a full noun phrase appears to be a metaphoric extension of the verb’s literal meaning (Ljung, 2011: 18) and therefore cannot be regarded as swearing:

*once I go to – ANONplace I **fuck** all of you bitches **off** 1094 (S2RD)*

Cases in which *fuck off* is complemented by a personal pronoun include the pronouns *me* and *you*:

*he'd **fuck** you **off** man 33 (SJG5)*

*then this weekend he oh he **fucked** me **right off** we had a massive problem 711 (SKGU)*

Example (711) is more problematic since the particle *off* is modified by the intensifier *right*. The appearance of the adverb is important from the point of view of idiomaticity of MWCFs. As Quirk points out, the possibility of inserting an adverb into a multi-word combination can serve as a test to determine whether the combination in question is idiomatic or free. (Quirk et al., 1985: 1152 – 1154) If the adverb can be inserted, then the combination is non-idiomatic. This means that example (711) should be interpreted not as a figurative use of *fuck off*, but rather as a metaphoric extension of the literal meaning. (Ljung, 2011: 18)

At the same time the choice of the adverb appears to be limited down to just this one word – *right*. Apart from that, this adverb is observed among other *fuck off* constructions including the prefabricated sequences discussed in the previous section:

*she can **fuck** right **off** 1226 (S7JG)*

*it **fucks** me **off** though **fucks** me **off** right 538 (SXCW)*

Instances of *fuck off* complemented by a personal pronoun display an interesting pattern in that nine cases out of 16 have an inanimate subject expressed by anaphoric *it* (in some cases the inanimate *that* is also used):

*it **fucks** me **off** because it makes me really angry 452 (SUNR)*

*So that really **fucked** me **off** 1307 (SXCW)*

*it really **fucked me off** 836 (STSS)*

In two cases, the clause is integrated into a larger recurring structure *the thing that + to be*, which can be considered as a subtype of a cleft construction:

*this is the thing that's **fucking me off** 920 (SACQ)*

*the thing that really **fucked me off** is 1297 (S37K)*

As the examples above show, the transitive uses of *fuck off* display the pattern where an inanimate subject is the cause and the animate object is an experiencer. Particularly interesting is the fact that in instances (920) and (1297) the same syntactic structure allows the use of both progressive and non-progressive forms of the verb. The progressive form may be considered to be more expressive denoting a higher degree of the speaker's emotional agitation.

Intransitive use

As an intransitive verb, *fuck off* means 'go away' (*OED*). The most frequent pattern observed in the sample is SV:

*the lads **fucked off** 829 (S8PT)*

*I was really upset and I just **and fucked off** 551 (SYTD)*

Sometimes an adverbial can be added:

*she **fucked off** quite early 534 (S376)*

*I'm **fucking off** back to Poland again 478 (SDGT)*

Instances (829), (551), (534), and (478) are statements that describe reality. Such cases must be distinguished from constructions that fulfill the directive discourse function, which makes them similar to formulaic sequences discussed in the previous section:

*he will want you to **fuck off** 126 (S7SU)*

*I wish them clouds would **fuck off** 161 (ST39)*

*will you **fuck off**? 356 (SDXV)*

These instances can be considered to express the kind of meaning that is similar to the directive formulaic structures of *fuck off* discussed in the previous section (indirect directives). This is the

case in example (356) where there is a discrepancy between the sentence type and the discourse function since the question form expresses a directive meaning. (Quirk et al.,1985: 803-804) On the other hand, such examples are scarce, as the majority of intransitive cases are not directives and manifest variability in terms of grammatical tense and aspect, including instances in the Present Perfect, futurate Present Progressive (Leech, 2004: section 98), as well as modal constructions:

*everyone else has **fucked off** haven't they?* 382 (SEPP)

*I 'm **fucking off** I 'm gon na be my own **fucking** boss* 425 (S4ZT)

*I might just **fuck off** to Tenerife for a week in February* 125 (SNCG)

Clearly, example (125) differs from the prefabricated modal constructions of *fuck off* (e.g. *she can fuck off*) discussed earlier in that this sentence does express information concerning the speaker's evaluation of the situation (epistemic modality) (Dušková et al., 2006: 8.62.2), whereas S + *can* + *fuck off* constructions express modal deontic senses directing the addressee to perform an action.

Passive Voice

Passive constructions of *fuck off* pose a classification problem as to whether MWCFs used in the Passive should be considered as semi-passives or pseudo-passives, rather than the regular passive. Semi-passives “have both verbal and adjectival properties” (Quirk et al.,1985: 168) and in case of pseudo-passive constructions it is “chiefly their superficial form of verb + *ed* participle that recommends them for consideration as passives.” (Quirk et al.,1985: 169) The necessity to distinguish the three types of passive constructions among MWCFs arises from the fact that uses of *fuck* should be non-literal, for them to be classified as swearing. As has been stated in Chapter I, the defining feature of swearing expressions is that they extend the figurative meaning of the verb. This means that while passive constructions of *fuck* never refer to the literal meaning of the verb they do not describe physical acts. Rather, they refer to the subject's emotional state. It is because of that the passive constructions of *fuck off* can be considered to manifest adjectival properties, rather than verbal. Whereas this ambiguity of meaning is generally characteristic of all

MWCFs, in some cases the *ed* participle can be used as an adjectival premodifier in a noun phrase, e.g. *a **fucked up** simulation* (186). (See a more detailed discussion below)

The classification of pseudo-passives and semi-passives is connected with the involvement of an agent in the passive constructions. Semi-passives “are verb-like in having active-analogues.” (Quirk et al.,1985: 168) Thus, the following examples can be turned into active constructions:

*I 'm so **fucked off** with the gas* 571 (S6ZU)

[*gas **fucked me off***]

*he must have been so **fucked off** with the way she was behaving* 1098 (S8X7)

[*The way she was behaving must have **fucked him off***]

In these examples it is possible to substitute the *fucked off* participle/adjective with *annoyed* or *irritated*, which both allow uses in the Passive Voice. In fact, in both cases the agent can be considered to be expressed by the prepositional *with* clause (although it can also be considered as instrumental cooccurring with the agentive subject). Such “agentive addition” would be impossible in case of pseudo-passives. (Quirk et al.,1985: 169) However, the problem is that the context of a MWCF does not always provide sufficient grammatical information. In other cases it may be difficult to determine whether the structure in question is an instance of the passive usage, or an SVCs structure with *be* being a copular verb:

*I was really **fucked off*** 1103 (SUNR)

*everyone's really **fucked off*** 224 (S6J2)

Examples (1103) and (224) can as well be considered as pseudo-passives, since the participle *fucked off* may refer not to an action, but rather a state ascribed to the subject by the copular *be*.

Some clearance may be achieved if one considers the difference between the competing *be* and *get* auxiliaries observed among the passive uses. For example, in the following sentences *get* should be analyzed as a resulting copula (Quirk et al.,1985: 161) that links the complement to the subject and should therefore be regarded as a clear instance of a pseudo-passive:

*and then everyone just gets really **fucked off*** 211 (SLDB)

*I get really **fucked off** if people creeping in from the left* 691 (S6J2)

In case of (691) the change of state is a theoretical result conditioned by the *if* clause. Yet, the resulting meaning is not associated exclusively with just one auxiliary. In the following example, the change of state is expressed by the copular *be*:

*if he dies in January you 're **fucked off** then aren't you?* 969 (SE3W)

As Quirk points out, the *get* passive “like the copular *get*, puts the emphasis on the subject rather than the agent, and on what happens to the subject as a result of the event.” (Quirk et al., 1985: 161) Yet, as we have just seen, in case of *fuck off* the verb *to be* is also capable of expressing the sense associated with *get*. One possible explanation of this ambiguity may consist in the already mentioned figurative nature of swearing expressions. Since *fuck off* can be used as a synonym for different words in different situations, it may be associated with syntactic and grammatical contexts typical of the particular verbs which it is being a synonym of.

Other

Finally, *fuck off* also appears in non-finite verb forms such as a participle:

*you will actually end up **fucking off*** 1049 (SLNB)

Its other specific uses include cases where the particle is followed by a prepositional phrase *with* indicating the adjunct of accompanying circumstances:

*when I was seventeen my mum **fucked off** with another man* 1048 (S52C)

*he said **fuck off** with your fifty* 790 (SUTB)

In example (1048) *fuck off* is used in the sense of ‘going away’ and in (790) it is clearly a directive. This instance, however, should not be confused with the reported speech pattern discussed in the previous section. The structure *tell/say* + pronoun + *fuck off* is a prefab that accesses its meaning as a whole, whereas this case is an instance of real reported speech.

Another interesting case of *fuck off* includes the following instance of a passive use:

*Daniel Radcliffe has been **fucked off** his face and been and photographed* 1328 (S85D)

In this example *off* can be considered to be a preposition, while at the same time the combination can also be interpreted as synonymous with ‘annoy’ or ‘irritate’. The latter interpretation would

mean that the verb is used figuratively in its idiomatic sense, while the prepositional interpretation suggests that the verb is a metaphoric extension of the literal meaning.

Fuck up

Active Voice

As Table 6 shows, the combination *fuck up* is represented by 130 instances in the sample. Out of that number ten instances are marked as unclear. In such cases it is either impossible to identify the syntactic structure or establish the grammatical characteristics of the verb:

*I don't know merci **fuck up** yeah I don't know* 62 (STSS)

*Steve-O Steve-O yeah yeah Steve-O fucked u- **fucked up** Steve-O oh my god* 903 (S3QD)

The most frequent use of *fuck up* is in the active voice (72 cases). In turn, this sub-group includes instances of *fuck up* used as a transitive (55 cases) and intransitive verb (17 cases) (see Table 7). *Fuck up* can be considered to be a verb that is neutral from the point of view of transitivity (Dušková 2006: 8.62.2), which means that although there are no formal distinctions in the verb form between the two uses, the meaning is distinguished contextually. Unlike *fuck off*, the majority of active voice instances of *fuck up* is represented by the transitive uses (62.3% – 55 cases).

Table 6: Categories of *fuck up*

active	simple	70	72	55.4%
	progressive	2		
passive	<i>be</i> passive	29	37	28.5%
	<i>get</i> passive	8		
premodifier use		9		6.9%
nonfinite		0		0
other		2		1.5%
unclear		10		7.7%
total		130	130	100%

Table 7: *fuck up*, Active voice complementation

intransitive		17		17	37.7%
transitive	pronoun complement	it pro-form	18	55	62.3%
		other pron.	15		
	NP complement	22			
total		72		72	100%

Transitive Use

As a transitive verb in the active voice, *fuck up* allows for patterns in which it is complemented by a full noun phrase – 37.7% (22 cases), and by a personal pronoun – 62.3% (33 cases) of which the pro-form *it* complement constitutes the majority of 18 cases. According to *OED*, the non-swear counterparts of transitive *fuck up* are ‘to damage; to ruin, spoil, mess up; to botch’.

NP Complement

SVO structures with the complement being a full noun phrase allows for patterns in which the adverbial particle precedes (13 cases) and follows (eight cases) the complement. As Quirk points out, “the particle tends to precede the object, if the object is long or if the intention is that the object should receive end-focus.” (Quirk et al., 1985:1154) Compare the following examples:

*if he gets a load of money it just **fucks up** all the benefits* 178 (SEPP)

*anyway cos I **fucked up** my exam* 490 (SCS9)

*various artists yeah just to **fuck up** people with iPods* 271 (S97Z)

*that would **fuck up** your home page* 1004 (SDJA)

As opposed to examples where the particle follows the object:

*it's gonna **fuck them kids up*** 465 (SEBP)

*you've got to keep your back straight as well otherwise you **fuck your back up*** 49 (S3YZ)

*they can be stupid as long as they don't **fuck people's lives up*** 102 (SFKJ)

It might be interesting to mention that in most of the above cases the noun phrase contains a modifier expressed by various forms: it may be a prepositional phrase like in (271) or a pronoun like in (465). As such, this complexity of complements is incompatible with the situation observed among the *fuck off* group.

Pronoun complement

The minimum length of the complement is when it is reduced to one word, typically a personal pronoun, although an indefinite pronoun complement is also possible:

*did I **fuck something up**?* 324 (S2LD)

As Quirk points out, in case of a one word complement, “the SVOA order is <...> the only allowable.” (Quirk et al., 1985: 1154) Unlike transitive *fuck off*, which allows only animate *me* and *you* as complements, *fuck up* is also complemented by the inanimate pronoun *it*:

I 'll fuck it up 910 (SUVQ)

everyone fucks it up 468 (SB2H)

it really fucked me up a lot 1120 (SLBS)

it 'll fuck you up next thing you know 140 (S5EM)

That the *it* pronoun is capable of complementing *fuck up* and not *fuck off* is probably explained by the fact that in the *fuck off* group no transitive uses of the verb have been identified, except for a few passive instances (discussed above) where the agent is merely implied.

Intransitive Use

As an intransitive verb, *fuck up* is capable of expressing the following meanings: ‘To blunder, to make a (serious) error; to fail, go wrong.’ (*OED*) Yet, these senses may be said to broadly correspond semantically with the meanings of the transitive use, which is why in most intransitive instances the verb phrase can theoretically be replaced by a transitive construction with the pro-form *it* as a subject:

McIlroy fucked up he really fucked up 369 (S6JP)

[*he really fucked it up*]

I really did fuck up in America 832 (SDJA)

[*I really fucked it up in America*]

At this point it might be interesting to notice that the adverb *really* is typical of both transitive and intransitive uses and as such appears to be a colloquial intensifier:

he really fucked up man 1341 (S6JP)

it really fucked me up a lot 1120 (SLBS)

Other adverbials are possible in case of the intransitive use:

oh gosh I've fucked up twice now 639 (S8X7)

*people are just **fucking up** left right 261 (S6JL)*

Particularly interesting is example (261) in which the adverbial construction *left [and] right* seems to justify the use of the Progressive aspect expressing “persistent or continuous activity” (Leech 2004: section 52).

Passive use

The problem in the classification of the passive voice usage with *fuck up* generally corresponds to that observed with *fuck off*. In most cases it is very difficult or nearly impossible to determine clearly whether the combination in question is a regular passive, or a pseudo-passive:

*I think catholic or especially religious countries mm mm do tend to be a bit **fucked up** when it comes to oh talking about life the universe and everything 524 (S5JX)*

*it's so **fucked up** 63 (SC67)*

*some of those are **fucked up** 1295 (S3QD)*

*I just see it as kind of like a nice thing to look forward to cos everyone's so **fucked up** 300 (S6JL)*

While in the case of example (524) it is clearly impossible to paraphrase the verb phrase into an agentive one (countries *fucked up* by who?), example (1295) can generally allow such an agentive addition, which nevertheless seems highly unlikely. Besides, the fact that examples 63 and 300 contain the modifying adverbials *so* is a strong indication of the adjectival character of the *fucked up* participle. Another reason in favor of adjectival analysis is that in semi-passive constructions “it is rare to have a by-phrase expressing the agent.” (Quirk et al. 1985: 168) This is also observed in the following instance where the causative relation between the subject referent’s and the semantic agent is expressed not through a *by*-phrase, but, unusually, through the prepositional phrase *from it*:

*ANONname came back from Ibiza she was really **fucked up** from it 329 (S8PT)*

In this example the verbal usage should rather be classified as semi-passive since there is an implication of the agent. In either case, one can argue that in neither of the above examples the

speaker's concern is the kind of action/procedure performed on the subject. Rather, it is a certain kind of state in which the subject has found themselves after the action was completed. From that perspective, in example (329) the subject's state of being *fucked up* appears to be the focus of the speaker's attention, which omits any mentioning of the agent.

Similarly to *fuck off*, pseudo-passive constructions of *fuck up* can also be used with *get*:

*the usual shit got **fucked up*** 714 (SKHW)

*at sixteen I was interested in like taking loads of drugs and getting **fucked up*** 638 (SDA8)

*if you get **fucked up** and then you fuck everything up* 766 (SXX5)

These cases are analogous to the similar *fuck off* instances in that the verb *get* should be interpreted as a main copular verb complemented by the past participle *fucked up*, rather than a passive auxiliary. The verb *get* is used as a means of ascribing a certain state/quality to the subject, and the complementation type can be predictably identified as SVCs.

Premodifier use

Unlike in case of *fuck off*, the past participle of *fuck up* can be formally used as a premodifier. There are nine examples of such clearly premodifying use in the whole sample. In these cases, the participle *fucked up* occupies the pre-modifying position in a noun phrase.

*a **fucked up** simulation* 186 (SA88)

***fucked up** stuff* 274 (S632)

*he had some **fucked up** family shit* 968 (SXX5)

Other

The *fuck up* group contains no nonfinite forms of the verb, but two instances of a phrasal-prepositional combination can be observed:

*I know I 'm gonna **fuck up on** it* 713 (SNCP)

*that's another thing I **fucked up on** then* 557 (SWGX)

This combination has not been described in any dictionary I am in possession of, and appears to be highly idiomatic in nature.

Fuck over

According to Table 8, the total of 30 instances of *fuck over* are observed in the sample. The majority of 73.3% (22 cases) is represented by instances in the active voice with 20% of cases (6 instances) being in the passive and with 3.3% (one case) being a nonfinite form.

Table 8: Categories of *fuck over*

active	simple	19	22	73.3%
	progressive	3		
passive	<i>be</i> passive	4	6	20%
	<i>get</i> passive	2		
nonfinite	gerund	1	1	3.3%
other		1	1	3.3%
unclear		0	0	0
total		30	30	100%

Active voice

Transitive use

According to *OED*, *fuck over* can only be used as transitive verb meaning ‘to treat (a person) unfairly or harshly; to betray.’

Table 9: *fuck over*, Active voice complementation

Transitive	Pronoun complement	21	95.4%
	NP complement	1	4.5%
Total		22	100%

The majority of occurrences (95.4% – 21 case) are complemented by a personal pronoun with only two cases in which the complement is a proper name and an indefinite pronoun:

*they just fucked over, **fucked** Germany **over** 1155 (SMC2)*

*yeah let's get an academy and **fuck** everybody **over** 1106 (S4WJ)*

With the pronouns, the complementation pattern is usually SVO followed by a particle, with only one exception in which the particle precedes the pronoun:

*they've **fucked over** me for the last eight months 1249 (S8X7)*

The range of personal pronouns complementing the verb is broader than in the case of *fuck off* or *fuck up*:

*she's probably going to **fuck him over** 1259 (S8X7)*

*they 'd **fucked me over** 1176 (SJLT)*

*Which will **fuck you over** 831 (SXX5)*

*can we **fuck them over?** 266 (S27D)*

*they **fucked her over** 372 (S8X7)*

*the **government are fucking us over** 1097 (SMSW)*

Thus, *fuck over* differs from *fuck off* and *fuck up* in that it seems to allow more personal pronouns to operate as a complement, while at the same time it is barely used with NP complements.

Passive voice

The passive uses of *fuck over* are similar to those of *fuck off* and *fuck up* with the verb *be* being involved in semi-passive constructions and *get* representing mostly pseudo-passive structures. An interesting exception, however, is that in this group *get* can as well operate as a passive auxiliary:

*yeah we were getting **fucked over** by agencies 709 (SUVQ)*

In this example *get* should no longer be interpreted as a resulting copular verb, since an agent is introduced. However, this is the only such case. In other passive uses of *fuck over* the agent is absent:

*you's aren't getting **fucked over** 629 (S632)*

*you got **fucked over** 338 (SZAK)*

*I'm gonna be **fucked over** 988 (SG87)*

An interesting use of a semi-passive construction is the following instance:

*you's have been very **fucked over** with these words 1314 (S632)*

This case can arguably be considered as representative of the difficulties in the description of the passive use of MWCFs. On the one hand, this example displays adverbial features. The *with* phrase can be interpreted as an expressed agent, but at the same time it can be given an instrumental interpretation, which makes it similar to the analogous use of *fuck off* discussed above. On the

other hand, the adverb *very* modifying the past participle emphasizes the adjectival properties of the construction.

Other

An indefinite verb form can be observed in this group. It is represented by a gerund construction:

*well it's all **fucking over** 426 (SA88)*

Fuck around, fuck about

According to *OED*, *fuck around* and *fuck about* are synonyms, which makes it reasonable to study them together, comparing differences in their uses. As Tables 10 and 11 reveal, the sample contains 16 and 12 instances of these combinations respectively. The majority of cases is in the active voice: 14 instances of *fuck around* (87.5%) and 7 instances of *fuck about* (58.3%). However, the passive voice is attested only in the *fuck about* group.

Table 10: Categories of *fuck around*

active	simple	11	14	87.5%
	progressive	3		
passive	<i>be</i> passive	0	0	0
	<i>get</i> passive	0		
nonfinite	gerund	2		12.5%
other		0		0
unclear		0		0
total		16		100%

Table 11: Categories of *fuck about*

active	simple	7	7	58.3%
	progressive	0		
passive	<i>be</i> passive	1	3	25%
	<i>get</i> passive	2		
nonfinite	gerund	1		8.3%
	participle	1		8.3%
other		0		0
unclear		0		0
total		12		100%

Active voice

As Tables 12 and 13 show, *fuck about* and *fuck around* are similar in that these MWCFs are used mainly as intransitive verbs. The two active transitive uses attested in the sample are complemented by a personal pronoun.

*I think he just likes to **fuck** you **around*** 845 (S3YZ)

*stupid internet tries to **fuck** you **about*** 1009 (SCVK)

Table 12: *fuck around*, Active voice complementation

Intransitive		13	92.8%
Transitive	Pronoun complement	1	7.1%
Total		14	100%

Table 13: *fuck about*, Active voice complementation

Intransitive		6	85.7%
Transitive	Pronoun complement	1	14.3%
Total		7	100%

Intransitive use

As an intransitive verb, *fuck around* and *fuck about* mean ‘to mess about, play around; to waste time’. (*OED*) The complementation type should be identified as SV since the meaning of the adverbial particle is fused with the figurative meaning of the verb:

*we'd all be **fucking** **around*** 347 (SMSW)

*As a graduate you can **fuck** **about*** 99 (STKV)

*uneducated people that don't go and **fuck** **around** go around fucking thirteen-year-olds* 13 (SFKJ)

Particularly interesting is example (13) in which the idiomatic *fuck around* is confronted with the free combination *go around*. The meaning of the latter can be deduced from its elements in isolation whereas the meaning of *fuck around* (‘waste time’) cannot be as easily predicted.

Another argument in favor of SV pattern, is that intransitive uses of *fuck around/fuck about* may contain additional optional syntactic elements such as an adjunct of time:

*after you **fuck** **around** for ages* 358 (S3KY)

*I might have **fucked** **around** for a few years* 654 (SUVQ)

*I do **fuck** **about** sometimes* 1254 (S4WJ)

In 12 cases (seven of *fuck around* and five of *fuck about*) the verb phrase is accompanied by an adjunct of accompanying circumstances:

*just sit around and **fuck** **around** with students* 970 (S376)

*life 's too short to **fuck around** with people in tutorials 1351 (S4ZT)*

*I'm not **fucking about** with electric [...]or something which I have done 1275 (SK8T)*

It might be interesting to notice that these constructions can mean both ‘mess about’ and ‘waste time’. Compare the above instances, which most likely express the latter sense, with the following examples that should rather be analyzed as synonymous with ‘mess about’:

*that's **fucking about** with your relationship 521 (SD3R)*

*therefore instead of **fucking around** with seventy million people just tax tax the twenty thousand companies 368 (SUVQ)*

Typical of *fuck around* is also an adverbial present participle accompanying the verb phrase:

*you better not **fuck around** acting like you don't know who she is 648 (S4D8)*

*he wouldn't be **fucking around** doing what he is doing 996 (S3KY)*

Passive use

As has been mentioned the passive use is attested only with *fuck about*.

*you should all be **fucked about** 85 (STWC)*

While the problem of classification of passives still remains, the passive uses of *fuck about* are closer to the *fuck up* group than *fuck off*. The verb *get* can operate either as a passive auxiliary, or as a resulting copula:

*I don't get **fucked about** by anyone 351 (S52C)*

*you 're not likely to get **fucked about** 857 (S52C)*

Other

Fuck around and *fuck about* contain uses of the nonfinite verb form, some of which have already been mentioned in the discussion above:

*therefore instead of **fucking around** with seventy million people just tax tax the twenty thousand companies 368 (SUVQ)*

*go and get a real job this is just **fucking around** for a while 263 (SUVQ)*

*that's **fucking about** with your relationship 521 (SD3R)*

*it's like two brothers like **fucking about** in the front room 469 (SJ88)*

Examples (368), (263), and (521) represent a gerund, and example (469) a participle, although it also can be interpreted as a gerund.

Fuck with

The smallest group in the sample is represented by the combination *fuck with* which amounts to just eight instances. As Table 14 shows, the majority of six instances is in the active voice with the exception of one case represented by an imperative formulaic construction which has been discussed in the previous section.

Table 14: Categories of *fuck with*

Active	Simple	6	7	87.5%
	Progressive	1		
	Imperative	1		12.5%
Passive		0		0
Nonfinite		0		0
Other		0		0
Unclear		0		0
Total		8		100%

Active voice

Fuck with consists of a verb and a preposition, but it is still considered to be an idiomatic combination since its meaning is ‘to meddle or interfere with; to provoke or take on’ (*OED*) cannot be predicted from its elements in isolation. *Fuck off* could operate as a prepositional verb in case of literal usage, but such cases are not the focus of this thesis.

All six active voice cases of *fuck with* observed in the sample take a prepositional object, which is represented either by a personal pronoun, inanimate *it*, or by a full noun phrase. The complementation pattern is SVOi:

*they 're really trying to **fuck with** you 70 (STWC)*

*they brought screwdrivers in just to **fuck with** it 688 (S8U5)*

*stop trying to **fuck with** the balcony 1028 (SNPA)*

The sample also contains one instance in which the verb is used in literal sense, but with a different complementation pattern – SVO. (It has already been mentioned earlier.) This example contains an instrumental *with* clause:

*he's **fucking** her **with** his whole foot 1075 (SXEV)*

Conclusion

Contemporary dictionaries of British English describe the swear word *fuck* mainly in terms of an abstract semantic structure using dominantly written texts as sources for examples. Yet, the ways in which this swear word is used are changing today. Based on Love's (2017) conclusion that in the recent decades the development of MWCFs has taken the route towards "further generalization" and "weakening" of "bad language words", and since swear compounds of *fuck* have manifested "a rise in figurative extension of the original meaning" (Love, 2017: 3), this BA thesis concentrated on studying in detail such multi-word combinations of *fuck* that are characterized as 'idiomatic set phrase' by Love (2017) and McEnery (2004). The limits of the material for analysis were confined to the British spoken conversation, and the *Spoken BNC2014* was used as the main data source.

The term 'idiomatic set phrase' may be too broad to adequately reflect all the variety of ways in which multi-word combinations of *fuck* are used. Such combinations vary in terms of their syntactic and grammatical fixedness and the degree of their integration into the clause structure, which is why it is necessary to distinguish MWCFs that are integrated into the clause structure and can be analyzed as part of the syntactic construction, from those that are not integrated and operate independently. In this BA thesis the first group was identified to include such phrasal combinations as *fuck off*, *fuck up*, *fuck over*, *fuck around*, *fuck about*, *fuck with*, while the second group is represented by the combination *fuck + that/it/me/all/you* as well as certain cases of *fuck off/with*.

The combinations that are not integrated into the clause structure are analyzed as instances of formulaic language, which corresponds to Ljung's (2011) observation that swearing expressions are fixed and ritualistic in nature. At the same time the uses of the phrasal combination *fuck off* display a strong tendency towards clustering in larger formulaic and prefabricated sequences. Altogether, 249 (76.6%) instances out of the total of 325 occurrences is represented by fixed structures that include the imperative *fuck off* as well as prefab constructions such as: S + *can* + *fuck off*; S + *tell/say* + O + *to fuck off*; S + modal verb + *fuck off*.

Yet, even in cases when *fuck off* is integrated into the clause structure and operates as a full lexical verb it is not completely devoid of traces of colloquiality. For example, the transitive uses of *fuck off* are mostly confined to the pattern in which the complement is a personal pronoun. At the same time in nine cases out of 16 the verb phrase has an inanimate subject expressed by anaphoric *it*. Furthermore, the transitive clauses can become parts of colloquial cleft sentence structures *the thing that + to be*. It appears that the most grammatically flexible uses of *fuck off* include cases when it is synonymous with the verb ‘go away’, in which case *fuck off* is used in a variety of grammatical tenses, including different verb aspects.

Analogous configuration is observed among the second biggest MWCF group represented by the combination *fuck up*. Among transitive uses of the verb, complementation by a personal pronoun is the dominating pattern, with almost one third of cases (18 instances out of 55) being represented by the pro-form *it* complement. Yet, unlike *fuck off*, *fuck up* also allows for the SVO pattern of complementation in which the object is a full noun phrase.

Characteristic of both groups are adverbial colloquial intensifiers (*right* in case of *fuck off* and *really* in case of *fuck up*) that tend to occur with the MWCF, regardless of whether it is used as a full lexical verb, or as a part of a formulaic construction.

The uses of the smaller groups of MWCFs observed in the sample (*fuck over*, *fuck around/about*, *fuck with*) can be said to be determined chiefly by their particle. For instance, the majority of cases of *fuck around/about* are intransitive, whereas *fuck with* is only observed as a transitive verb, which is understandable since *with* is a preposition that requires a prepositional object. At the same time, the meanings of *fuck around/about* and *fuck with* (as described by *OED*) are not as broad as in case of *fuck up*, which raises the question of whether the particle *up* has a higher “measure of productivity”. (Moon, 2015: 132)

The most problematic area for analysis has proven to be the uses of MWCFs in the passive voice. The problem is that of classification: in most cases it was uneasy to identify whether the MWCF in question is an instance of a semi-passive, pseudo-passive, or regular passive. Such

difficulties are explained by the fact that the swear combinations of *fuck* are non-literal by definition and therefore their passive uses rarely refer to the physical action implied by the literal meaning of the verb. Rather MWCFs describe states and qualities. Such situation presupposes a configuration when the *be* and *get* auxiliaries operate not as passive auxiliaries, but rather as copular verbs ascribing certain qualities and states to the subject. Most of the analyzed passive instances have been identified as cases of a pseudo-passive use, whereas in a few cases, where there is a clearly expressed agent (typically in the form of a *by-* phrase), the type of construction is that of a semi-passive or regular passive.

As such this ambiguity seems to support McEnery's notion discussed in the beginning, namely that today *fuck* "becomes more highly charged semantically [and] it has also acquired more grammatical flexibility." (McEnery; Xiao, 2004) Multi-word combinations of *fuck* seem to display a high variety of grammatical categories, while at the same time a substantial part of swearing is still represented by fixed formulaic constructions. This formulaicness, however, has a hierarchy, and the more flexible and variable the expression is, the broader scope of grammatical categories it displays.

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Sources:

British National Corpus *Spoken BNC2014*. Available online at <https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/bnc2014spoken/> (Last accessed: 25 May 2020)

Resumé

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá popisem frázových kompozit slovesa *fuck*, jejich komplementací a významů, včetně syntaktických a sémantických omezení.

Úvodní část mapuje problematiku popisu daných frázových kompozit a odkazuje na teoretické studie, na jejichž základě probíhá výzkum.

První kapitola se zabývá teoretickými otázkami popisu vulgarismů a určuje pracovní pojmy “bad language” a “swearing”, které dále slouží pro klasifikaci anglických vulgarismů. První kapitola dále stručně popíše nedávný vývoj a sociolingvistické aspekty užívání slova *fuck* v sekundární literatuře a definuje charakteristické rysy anglických vulgarismů, k nimž patří pojetí jako “taboo words”, “non-literal meaning”, “formulaic language”, a “emotive language”. Cílem první kapitoly je také popsat terminologii nutnou pro analýzu frázových kombinací slovesa *fuck*. Na konci kapitoly je uveden přehled kombinací slovesa podle slovníku *Oxford English Dictionary*.

Druhá kapitola popisuje způsob získání dat z aktualizované verze korpusu mluvené angličtiny *SpokenBNC2014* a jejich rozsah.

Třetí kapitola popisuje získaná data v rámci tří skupin: 1) *fuck* jako samostatné sloveso bez frázového či předložkového doplnění 2) kombinace typu *fuck that/me/it* + určité případy *fuck off/with*. Tyto kombinace představují idiomatická spojení, která jsou nejlépe popsána v rámci pojetí “formulaic language” a “prefabricated sequence”. 3) Třetí skupina představuje frázové kombinace s částicí či předložkou typu *fuck off, fuck up, fuck over, fuck around, fuck about, fuck with*.

První a druhá skupina se skládají z kombinací, které jsou nezačlenené do větné struktury a fungují jako samostatné elementy, i.e. jako citoslovce, zatímco třetí skupina je zastoupena kombinacemi, které jsou integrované do větné struktury a proto mohou být analyzované z hlediska jejich gramatického chování. Popis skupiny (2) a (3) je hlavním cílem této bakalářské práce.

Závěr rekapituluje postupný vývoj, kterým práce prošla a shrnuje její výsledky.

Bibliografie uvádí seznam použitých publikací a zdrojů.

Sekce **appendix** představuje seznam příkladů z *BNC* použitých v rámci práci.

Appendix

The appendix includes all instances from the *BNC* discussed in this BA thesis.

1. *it's Australian **fuck off fuck off fuck off** chopper 1262 (SUVQ).*
2. *boy tells me to **fuck off** all the time yeah you can't say and then I 'm like you **fuck off** no you **fuck off** fucking bell end and like --UNCLEARWORD I 'm going to get sacked ah 1329 (SKXA).*
3. *oh **fuck** yeah that's the end of it 155 (S35K)*
4. *oh **fuck** okay that's gonna happen in the next eighteen months 259 (S382)*
5. *I know what you 're like five two sixes one six one six **fuck fuck fuck fuck fuck** one seven one six 308 (S2LD)*
6. ***fuck** I can't help you 976 (S2LD)*
7. *ah **fuck** ah ah what time was it? 1398 (S376)*
8. *oh **fuck** yeah that's the end of it 155 (S35K)*
9. *go and **fuck** yourself 430 (S2W4)*
10. *I was like **fuck** I 'm going back to bed 25 (SNWS)*
11. *she's like **fuck** I forgot that 1162 (SNPA)*
12. *no it's just like how man **fucks** nature 66 (SNCG)*
13. *they've **fucked** it 81 (S5RP)*
14. *we're still still **fucked** 770 (S376)*
15. *it's gonna be **fucked** 1261 (S35K)*
16. *it's probably **fucking** him that's why he's so fucking quiet 232 (SLPW)*
17. *no **fuck that** no I mean like all the other stuff in here 22 (SQ6Z)*
18. *yeah **fuck it** fair enough that was part of your holiday money 328 (S3AV)*
19. *yeah **fuck me** and I 'd heard about dodgy twenty pound notes 95 (SVR6)*
20. *well **fuck you** we don't want people like this coming round 1008 (S4WJ)*

21. *you think god I know **fuck all*** 1092 (SEPP)
22. *I thought **fuck me** I need to sort that out* 190 (SMME)
23. *he was probably working the other night saw it at like half past five in the morning
and thought **fuck that*** 27 (SRNC)
24. *so I thought **fuck you*** 1417 (SB6S)
25. *I thought **fuck it** you're going to have to learn to to do it* 1312 (S3YZ)
26. *it you were like yeah **fuck it*** 1029 (S29Q)
27. *I was like **fuck that*** 204 (S6J2)
28. *I 'm like **fuck all*** 1062 (SJ88)
29. *and I was like **fuck you*** 1375 (SAR5)
30. *I was like **fuck me*** 492 (SG87)
31. *I 'm just like **go fuck yourself** like who gives a shit?* 398 (SG4R)
32. *I weren't even fucking here so **go and fuck yourselves*** 129 (SAR5)
33. *well **fuck off** she was like yeah* 215 (S8X7)
34. *school oh **fuck off** jesus* 407 (SN3D)
35. *oh **fuck off*** 908 (SQPN)
36. *I 'm like no no **fuck off*** 1365 (SPHJ)
37. *I 'd be like **fuck off** yeah* 1197 (SBEV)
38. ***fuck off** and go somewhere else* 402 (SA4W)
39. ***fuck off** next door* 206 (S8PT)
40. *I don't like it **fuck off*** 78 (S632)
41. ***fuck off** and die you bigot* 1160 (S37K)
42. *you don't even care just **fuck off*** 1336 (SMNV)
43. ***fuck with** his money* 798 (S5EM)
44. *she can **fuck off*** 333 (S7JG)
45. *I have that mirror but it does n't work so it can **fuck off*** 397 (SY2Z)

46. *you can just **fuck off** 553 (SZME)*
47. *you 're just like **fuck off** 7 (SZ98)*
48. *I will tell someone **to fuck off** if need be 825 (SJJK)*
49. *you always tell me **to fuck off** 449 (SECS)*
50. *my eighteen-year-old boy tells me **to fuck off** 293 (SKXA)*
51. *I know I'm gonna **fuck up on** it 713 (SNCP)*
52. *once I go to – ANONplace I **fuck** all of you bitches **off** 1094 (S2RD)*
53. *he'd **fuck** you **off** man 33 (SJG5)*
54. *then this weekend he oh he **fucked** me right **off** we had a massive problem 711 (SKGU)*
55. *she can **fuck** right **off** 1226 (S7JG)*
56. *it **fucks** me **off** though **fucks** me **off** right 538 (SXCW)*
57. *it **fucks** me **off** because it makes me really angry 452 (SUNR)*
58. *So that really **fucked** me **off** 1307 (SXCW)*
59. *it really **fucked** me **off** 836 (STSS)*
60. *this is the thing that's **fucking** me **off** 920 (SACQ)*
61. *the thing that really **fucked** me **off** is 1297 (S37K)*
62. *the lads **fucked** **off** 829 (S8PT)*
63. *I was really upset and I just and **fucked** **off** 551 (SYTD)*
64. *she **fucked** **off** quite early 534 (S376)*
65. *I 'm **fucking** **off** back to Poland again 478 (SDGT)*
66. *he will want you to **fuck** **off** 126 (S7SU)*
67. *I wish them clouds would **fuck** **off** 161 (ST39)*
68. *will you **fuck** **off**? 356 (SDXV)*
69. *everyone else has **fucked** **off** haven't they? 382 (SEPP)*
70. *I 'm **fucking** **off** I 'm gon na be my own **fucking** boss 425 (S4ZT)*

71. *I might just **fuck off** to Tenerife for a week in February* 125 (SNCG)
72. *I 'm so **fucked off** with the gas* 571 (S6ZU)
73. *he must have been so **fucked off** with the way she was behaving* 1098 (S8X7)
74. *I was really **fucked off*** 1103 (SUNR)
75. *everyone's really **fucked off*** 224 (S6J2)
76. *and then everyone just gets really **fucked off*** 211 (SLDB)
77. *I get really **fucked off** if people creeping in from the left* 691 (S6J2)
78. *if he dies in January you 're **fucked off** then aren't you?* 969 (SE3W)
79. *you will actually end up **fucking off*** 1049 (SLNB)
80. *when I was seventeen my mum **fucked off** with another man* 1048 (S52C)
81. *he said **fuck off** with your fifty* 790 (SUTB)
82. *Daniel Radcliffe has been **fucked off** his face and been and photographed* 1328 (S85D)
83. *I don't know merci **fuck up** yeah I don't know* 62 (STSS)
84. *Steve-O Steve-O yeah yeah Steve-O fucked u- **fucked up** Steve-O oh my god* 903 (S3QD)
85. *if he gets a load of money it just **fucks up** all the benefits* 178 (SEPP)
86. *anyway cos I **fucked up** my exam* 490 (SCS9)
87. *various artists yeah just to **fuck up** people with iPods* 271 (S97Z)
88. *that would **fuck up** your home page* 1004 (SDJA)
89. *it's gonna **fuck them kids up*** 465 (SEBP)
90. *you've got to keep your back straight as well otherwise you **fuck your back up*** 49 (S3YZ)
91. *they can be stupid as long as they don't **fuck people's lives up*** 102 (SFKJ)
92. *did I **fuck something up**?* 324 (S2LD)
93. *I 'll **fuck it up*** 910 (SUVQ)

94. *everyone **fucks it up*** 468 (SB2H)
95. *it really **fucked me up** a lot* 1120 (SLBS)
96. *it 'll **fuck you up** next thing you know* 140 (S5EM)
97. *McIlroy **fucked up** he really **fucked up*** 369 (S6JP)
98. *I really did **fuck up** in America* 832 (SDJA)
99. *he really **fucked up** man* 1341 (S6JP)
100. *it really **fucked me up** a lot* 1120 (SLBS)
101. *oh gosh I've **fucked up** twice now* 639 (S8X7)
102. *people are just **fucking up** left right* 261 (S6JL)
103. *I think catholic or especially religious countries mm mm do tend to be a bit **fucked up** when it comes to oh talking about life the universe and everything* 524 (S5JX)
104. *it's so **fucked up*** 63 (SC67)
105. *some of those are **fucked up*** 1295 (S3QD)
106. *I just see it as kind of like a nice thing to look forward to cos everyone's so **fucked up*** 300 (S6JL)
107. *ANONname came back from Ibiza she was really **fucked up** from it* 329 (S8PT)
108. *the usual shit got **fucked up*** 714 (SKHW)
109. *at sixteen I was interested in like taking loads of drugs and getting **fucked up*** 638 (SDA8)
110. *if you get **fucked up** and then you fuck everything up* 766 (SXX5)
111. *a **fucked up** simulation* 186 (SA88)
112. ***fucked up** stuff* 274 (S632)
113. *he had some **fucked up** family shit* 968 (SXX5)
114. *I know I 'm gonna **fuck up on** it* 713 (SNCP)
115. *that's another thing I **fucked up** on then* 557 (SWGX)
116. *they just fucked over, **fucked** Germany over* 1155 (SMC2)

- 117.yeah let's get an academy and **fuck** everybody **over** 1106 (S4WJ)
- 118.they've **fucked over** me for the last eight months 1249 (S8X7)
- 119.she's probably going to **fuck him over** 1259 (S8X7)
- 120.they 'd **fucked me over** 1176 (SJLT)
- 121.Which will **fuck you over** 831 (SXX5)
- 122.can we **fuck them over**? 266 (S27D)
- 123.they **fucked her over** 372 (S8X7)
- 124.the **government are fucking us over** 1097 (SMSW)
- 125.yeah we were getting **fucked over** by agencies 709 (SUVQ)
- 126.you's aren't getting **fucked over** 629 (S632)
- 127.you got **fucked over** 338 (SZAK)
- 128.I'm gonna be **fucked over** 988 (SG87)
- 129.you's have been very **fucked over** with these words 1314 (S632)
- 130.well it's all **fucking over** 426 (SA88)
- 131.I think he just likes to **fuck you around** 845 (S3YZ)
- 132.stupid internet tries to **fuck you about** 1009 (SCVK)
- 133.we'd all be **fucking around** 347 (SMSW)
- 134.As a graduate you can **fuck about** 99 (STKV)
- 135.uneducated people that don't go and **fuck around** go around fucking thirteen-year-olds 13 (SFKJ)
- 136.after you **fuck around** for ages 358 (S3KY)
- 137.I might have **fucked around** for a few years 654 (SUVQ)
- 138.I do **fuck about** sometimes 1254 (S4WJ)
- 139.just sit around and **fuck around** with students 970 (S376)
- 140.life 's too short to **fuck around** with people in tutorials 1351 (S4ZT)

- 141.*I'm not **fucking about** with electric [...]or something which I have done* 1275
(SK8T)
- 142.*that's **fucking about** with your relationship* 521 (SD3R)
- 143.*therefore instead of **fucking around** with seventy million people just tax tax the
twenty thousand companies* 368 (SUVQ)
- 144.*you better not **fuck around** acting like you don't know who she is* 648 (S4D8)
- 145.*he wouldn't be **fucking around** doing what he is doing* 996 (S3KY)
- 146.*you should all be **fucked about*** 85 (STWC)
- 147.*I don't get **fucked about** by anyone* 351 (S52C)
- 148.*you 're not likely to get **fucked about*** 857 (S52C)
- 149.*therefore instead of **fucking around** with seventy million people just tax tax the
twenty thousand companies* 368 (SUVQ)
- 150.*go and get a real job this is just **fucking around** for a while* 263 (SUVQ)
- 151.*that's **fucking about** with your relationship* 521 (SD3R)
- 152.*it's like two brothers like **fucking about** in the front room* 469 (SJ88)
- 153.*they 're really trying to **fuck with** you* 70 (STWC)
- 154.*they brought screwdrivers in just to **fuck with** it* 688 (S8U5)
- 155.*stop trying to **fuck with** the balcony* 1028 (SNPA)
- 156.*he's **fucking her with** his whole foot* 1075 (SXEV)