SWEARING WORDS IN '*EUPHORIA*' PLAY OF SEASON 1

REFERENCES

Submitted to the School of Foreign Language – JIA as partial fulfillment of requirements for the undergraduate degree in English Literature Programme

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ENGLISH LITERATURE PROGRAMME

SCHOOL OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES – JIA

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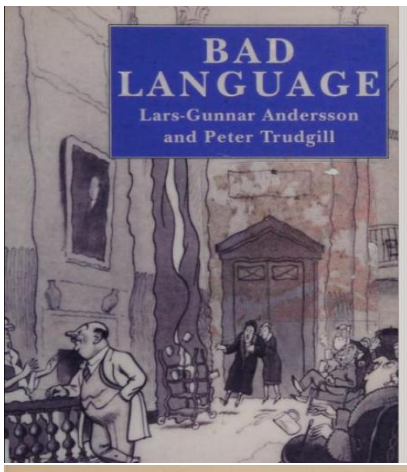
A. CHAPTER 1



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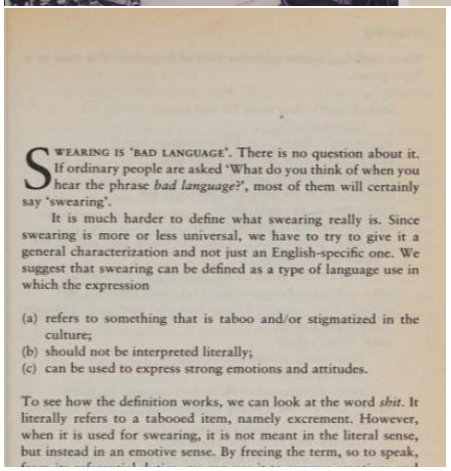
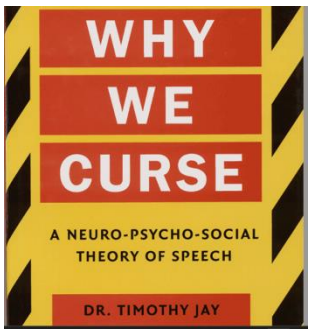


SWEARING IS 'BAD LANGUAGE'. There is no question about it. If ordinary people are asked 'What do you think of when you hear the phrase *bad language*?', most of them will certainly say 'swearing'.

It is much harder to define what swearing really is. Since swearing is more or less universal, we have to try to give it a general characterization and not just an English-specific one. We suggest that swearing can be defined as a type of language use in which the expression

(a) refers to something that is taboo and/or stigmatized in the culture;
(b) should not be interpreted literally;
(c) can be used to express strong emotions and attitudes.

To see how the definition works, we can look at the word *shit*. It literally refers to a tabooed item, namely excrement. However, when it is used for swearing, it is not meant in the literal sense, but instead in an emotive sense. By freeing the term, so to speak,



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horn
Previous Next

reflexive cursing provides meaningful information abou
tional state within the context where the emotion occurs
her thumb with a hammer in the basement, we understand the emotional meaning of the cursing from its context: She's alone in the basement and no one will care if she says, "fuck," or not. Her cursing reflects her internal emotional state and cursing announces her pain.

Emotive cursing performs a function similar to that of the horn on a car. Both are attention-getting devices that can be used to express a number of emotions (e.g., surprise, happiness, anger, or frustration). One does not *have to* use the horn on the car; in fact, one can learn to inhibit the use of it. One might choose not to honk (or curse) at someone who looks intimidating and who might retaliate. However, the horn (and cursing) is there for emergency uses, if one needs it. Cursing is more informative than honking a horn or screaming because curse words come packaged with emotional semantics. Screaming and honking rely solely on context for meaning.

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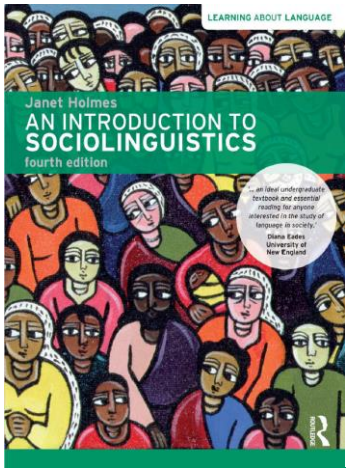

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1 What do sociolinguists study?

What is a sociolinguist?

Sociolinguists study the relationship between language and society. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning. Examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community, and the way people convey and construct aspects of their social identity through their language. This book explores all these aspects of sociolinguistics.

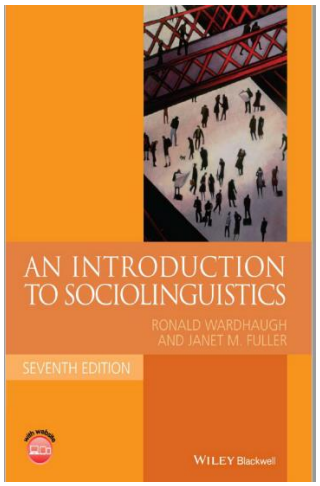
Example 1

Ray: Hi mum.
Mum: Hi. You're late.
Ray: Yeah, that bastard Scotbucket kept us in again.
Mum: Nana's here.
Ray: Oh sorry. Where is she?

Ray's description of his teacher would have been expressed differently if he had realised his grandmother could hear him. The way people talk is influenced by the social context in which they are talking. It matters who can hear us and where we are talking, as well as how we are feeling. The same message may be expressed very differently to different people. We use different styles in different social contexts. Leaving school, Ray had run into the school principal.

Example 2

Ray: Good afternoon, sir.
Principal: What are you doing here at this time?
Ray: Mr Sutton kept us in, sir.



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1 Introduction

Key Concepts

How to define and delineate the study of sociolinguistics
What it means to 'know' a language
How language varies across speakers and within the speech of one person
The social construction of identities
The relationship between language and culture
Research design and methodologies for sociolinguistics research

Sociolinguistics is the study of our everyday lives – how language works in our casual conversations and the media we are exposed to, and the presence of societal norms, policies, and laws which address language. Since you are reading this book, you may already have some idea what the study of sociolinguistics entails; you may already have an interest in, and knowledge about, regional dialects, multilingualism, language policy, or non-sexist language. And we will cover all of these topics, along with many others – what social class and ethnicity might have to do with language use, why we do not always 'say what we mean,' the role of language in education.

But we would like to encourage readers to approach the study of sociolinguistics not as a collection of facts, but as a way of viewing the world around you. In socio-linguistics, we seek to analyze data so that we can make generalizations about

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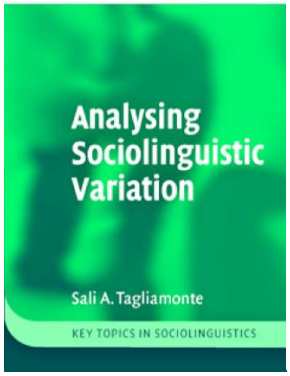
frustration-aggression syndrome" (in Andersson 1985: 111). While this is a rather good "law of swearing" when it comes to psychological motives, it disregards, as does Montagu in general in *The Anatomy of Swearing*, the other two main motives for swearing: the social and the linguistic.

2.4.2. Social & linguistic motives

Not all swearing is prompted by frustration or aggression, nor is swearing always unintentional. As any sociolinguist would agree, there are a number of social and linguistic motives for swearing, which might be quite deliberate and complex. For instance, we may swear to assert our identity in a group, to shock, to amuse, to insult, to indicate friendship, to mark social distance or social solidarity etc. When swearwords are used for these purposes, there is not necessarily any frustration or anger present. Social swearing, according to David Crystal, is the most common swearing pattern (1995: 173).

B. CHAPTER 2



SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Sociolinguistics argues that language exists in context, dependent on the speaker who is using it, and dependent on where it is being used and why. Speakers mark their personal history and identity in their speech as well as their sociocultural, economic and geographical coordinates in time and space. Indeed, some researchers would argue that, since speech is obviously social, to study it without reference to society would be like studying courtship behaviour without relating the behaviour of one partner to that of the other. Two important arguments support this view. First, you cannot take the notion of language X for granted since this in itself is a social notion in so far as it is defined in terms of a group of people who speak X. Therefore, if you want to define the English language you have to define it based on the group of people who speak it. Second, speech has a social function, both as a means of communication and also as a way of identifying social groups.

Standard definitions of sociolinguistics read something like this:

> the study of language in its social contexts and the study of social life through linguistics (Coupland and Jaworski 1997: 1)
>
> the relationship between language and society (Trudgill 2000: 21)
>
> the correlation of dependent linguistic variables with independent social variables (Chambers 2003: ix)

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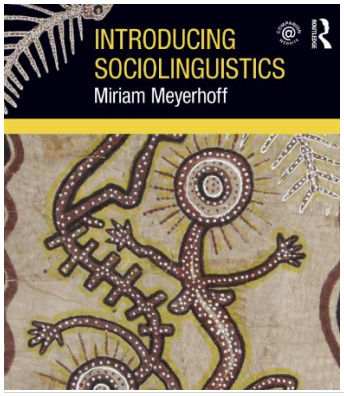

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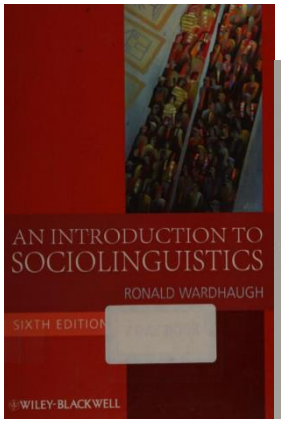
WHAT IS SOCIOLINGUISTICS?

If I had a penny for every time I have tried to answer the question, 'So what *is* sociolinguistics?', I would be writing this book in the comfort of an early retirement. And if there was a way of defining it in one simple, yet comprehensive, sentence, there might not be a need for weighty introductory textbooks.

Sociolinguistics is a very broad field, and it can be used to describe many different ways of studying language. A lot of linguists might describe themselves as sociolinguists, but the people who call themselves sociolinguists may have rather different interests from each other and they may use very different methods for collecting and analysing data. This can be confusing if you are coming new to the field. Is sociolinguistics about how individual speakers use language? Is it about how people use language differently in different towns or regions? Is it about how a nation decides what languages will be recognised in courts or education?

The answer is: yes, yes, and yes. Sociolinguists conduct research on any of those topics. For example, if a speaker describes a funny or amusing situation as 'kicksin', I know they are from, or have spent a good deal of time in, the English-speaking Caribbean. I am drawing on sociolinguistic (social and linguistic) knowledge to draw this inference.

Or take the case of Jennifer, who grew up in a small traditionally fishing village in the north-east of Scotland, but spent many years teaching English in Greece. Jennifer can draw on a number of different styles or ways of speaking, depending on who she is talking to. If her interlocutor is a member of her family, she still uses a variety of Scots which is virtually incomprehensible to other native speakers of English. She says 'fit' instead of 'what'; 'na' instead of 'don't'; 'doon' instead of 'down'; 'be'er' instead of 'better', and so forth. But in Greece she quickly learnt that she needed to adopt a less regionally marked way of speaking if her students were going to understand her, and when she later began attending professional conferences with an international audience, she had the same experience. Everyone can modify the way they speak depending on who they are with or what the situation is. When they do this, they are drawing on their sociolinguistic knowledge. And every time they change the way they speak, depending on their interlocutor or situation, they provide more sociolinguistic information that builds up the sociolinguistic knowledge in the community.



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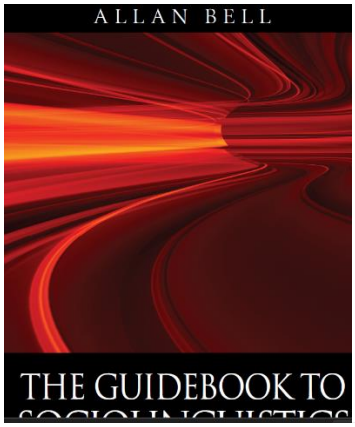
Any discussion of the relationship between language and society, or of the various functions of language in society, should begin with some attempt to define each of these terms. Let us say that a *society* is any group of people who are drawn together for a certain purpose or purposes. 'Society' is therefore a very comprehensive concept, but we will soon see how useful such a comprehensive view is because we must consider many very different kinds of societies in the course of the discussions that follow. We may attempt an equally comprehensive definition of language: a *language* is what the members of a particular society speak. However, as we will see, speech in almost any society may take many very different forms, and just what forms we should choose to discuss when we attempt to describe the language of a society may prove to be a contentious issue. Sometimes, too, a society may be plurilingual: that is, many speakers may use more than one language, however we define language. We should also note that our definitions of language and society are not independent: the definition of language includes in it a reference to society. I will return to this matter from time to time.



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This book is about the profusion of voices in society. It is about language as social fact and as identity bearer; language as interaction, as communication, as a bridge between self and other; language as expresser; language as delight. We are immersed in languages, dialects, varieties, genres, accents, jargons, styles, codes, speech acts. They eddy and swirl round us in an always-changing current of linguistic reproduction and creation. Each voice has its time and its place, its desire to be heard, its timbre. This is the linguistic profusion of Babel, that ancient story that I believe champions rather than condemns language diversity (see Chapter 12 for a re-reading).

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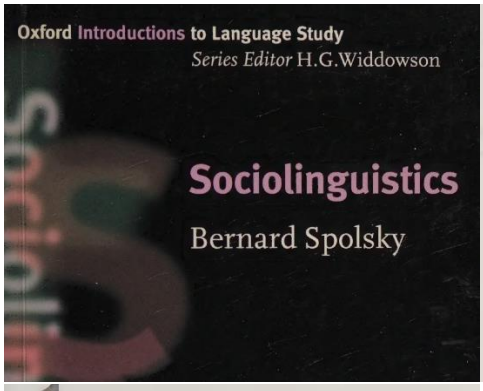

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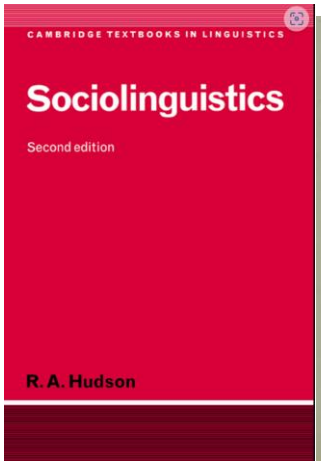
1
The social study of language

The scope of enquiry

Sociolinguistics is the field that studies the relation between language and society, between the uses of language and the social structures in which the users of language live. It is a field of study that assumes that human society is made up of many related patterns and behaviours, some of which are linguistic.

One of the principal uses of language is to communicate meaning, but it is also used to establish and to maintain social relationships. Watch a mother with a young child. Most of their talk is devoted to nurturing the social bond between them. Listen to two friends talking. Much of their conversation functions to express



1.1 **Sociolinguistics**

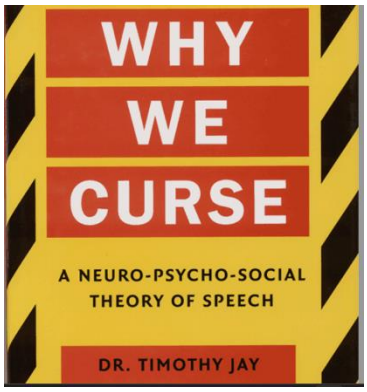
1.1.1 *A description*

We can define sociolinguistics as *the study of language in relation to society*, and this is how we shall be taking the term in this book. At the time of writing (1978), sociolinguistics has become a recognised part of most courses at university level on 'linguistics' or 'language', and is indeed one of the main growth points in the study of language, from the point of view of both teaching and research. There are now two major English-language journals devoted to research publications (*Language in Society* and *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*) and a number of introductory textbooks, apart from the present one (others are Burling 1970, Pride 1971, Fishman 1972a, Robinson 1972, Trudgill 1974b, Platt & Platt 1975, Bell 1976, Dittmar 1976, Wardhaugh 1976). Most of the growth in sociolinguistics took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, so it can be seen how young the discipline is. This is not meant to imply that the study of language in relation to society is an invention of the 1960s – on the contrary, there is a long tradition in the study of dialects and in the general study of the relations between word-meaning and culture, both of which count as sociolinguistics by our definition. What is new is the *widespread* interest in sociolinguistics and the realisation that it can throw much light both on the nature of language and on the nature of society.

Like other subjects, sociolinguistics is partly empirical and partly theoretical – partly a matter of going out and amassing bodies of fact and partly of sitting back and thinking. The 'armchair' approach to sociolinguistics can be fairly productive, whether it is based on facts collected in a systematic way as part of research or simply on one's own experience. In particular, it allows the beginnings of an analytical frame-

study of language. Thus, the value of sociolinguistics is the light which it throws on the nature of language in general, or on the characteristics of some particular language. As we might expect, students of society have found that facts about language can illuminate their understanding – after all, it is hard to think of any property of a society which is as distinctive as its language, or as important for its functioning. 'The study of society in relation to language' (the converse of our definition of sociolinguistics) defines what is generally called THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE.

The difference between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language is very much one of emphasis, according to whether the investigator is more interested in language or society, and also according to whether he has more skill in analysing linguistic or social structures. There is a very large area of overlap between the two and it seems pointless to try to divide the disciplines more clearly than at present. Much of what follows in this book could equally well have been written in a textbook on the sociology of language. On the other hand, there are some issues which such a textbook ought to include which this one will not, notably most of what is called 'macro' sociology of language, dealing with the relations between society and languages as wholes. This is an important area of research from the point of view of sociology (and politics), since it raises issues such as the effects of multilingualism on economic development, and the possible language policies a government may adopt (for discussion of these issues, see Fishman 1972a, 1972b, and also the following articles, all of which are reprinted in the very accessible Giglioli 1972: Fishman 1972c, Goody & Watt 1962, Gumperz 1968, Inglehart & Woodward 1967). However, such 'macro' studies generally throw less light on the nature of language than the more 'micro' ones described in this book, because the notion of 'language X' is usually left unanalysed. (There is a good discussion of the relations between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language in the introduction to Trudgill 1978.)



Find (2/7)
horn
Previous
Next

reflexive cursing provides meaningful information abou
tional state within the context where the emotion occurs
her thumb with a hammer in the basement, we understand the emotional meaning of the cursing from its context: She's alone in the basement and no one will care if she says, "fuck," or not. Her cursing reflects her internal emotional state and cursing announces her pain.

Emotive cursing performs a function similar to that of the horn on a car. Both are attention-getting devices that can be used to express a number of emotions (e.g., surprise, happiness, anger, or frustration). One does not *have to* use the horn on the car; in fact, one can learn to inhibit the use of it. One might choose not to honk (or curse) at someone who looks intimidating and who might retaliate. However, the horn (and cursing) is there for emergency uses, if one needs it. Cursing is more informative than honking a horn or screaming because curse words come packaged with emotional semantics. Screaming and honking rely solely on context for meaning.

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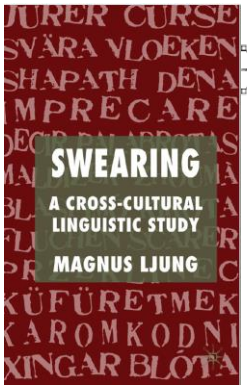

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1
Defining Swearing

1.0 Swearing in the dictionaries

Although *swearing* is an English term denoting a particular type of linguistic behaviour, it is often used in studies of other languages to denote a linguistic resource whose functions and realizations across languages are remarkably similar and seem to emanate from a common pool of emotive utterance types. Given this basic cross-linguistic similarity and the fact that the English term is a well-established one, *swearing* will be used throughout the present book as a name for the realizations of these emotive utterances in different languages, despite the fact that most other languages use terms for this type of linguistic behaviour that do not link it explicitly to swearing qua oath-taking.

English, French and Swedish are the only languages that use the same verb both for oath-taking and swearing in the profane sense; the terms used in (European) French and Swedish are *jurer* and *svära*. Each of these two verbs is linked to a resultative noun – *juron* and *svordom*, respectively – denoting the products of profane swearing, as distinct from the product of oath-swearing, which is known as *serment* and *ed*, respectively. As we all know, the English verb *swear* has no corresponding resultative noun, a fact that complicates discussions of English swearing. Attempts are sometimes made to invent such a resultative English count noun, and certain dictionaries (for instance the second edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of English* from 2003) actually contain the count noun *a swear*, but this term seems by and large to be used only about bouts of swearing as in *have a good swear*, perhaps on an analogy with *have a good cry*.

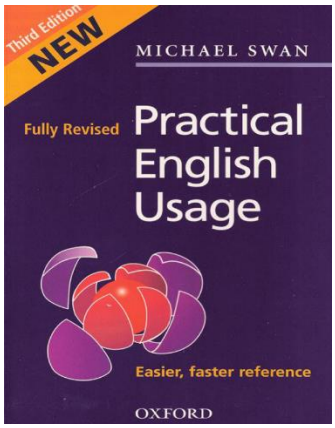
There is also an older French term for swearing – *sacrer* – which is widely used in Canadian French (see Tassie 1961). Originally it was used

2.1 Swearing: definitions and examples

The expression 'swearing' itself requires closer examination, as it refers to a range of communicative activities and draws on a variety of lexical resources. Andersson and Trudgill, for example, point to the difficulty of defining swearing satisfactorily (1990: 53-55). Their working definition of swearing is as follows. Swearing:

- refers to something that is taboo and/or stigmatised in the culture;
- should not be interpreted literally;
- can be used to express strong emotions and attitudes. (Andersson & Trudgill 1990: 53)

Although very generalised, these three characteristics highlight the central principles behind swearing that is common to all languages: it cannot function without drawing on taboo or stigmatised topics, behaviour or activities; it involves a high degree of creative or figurative use of language; and it is not commonly employed in 'neutral' speech. Andersson and Trudgill describe how swear words fulfil a variety of functions, including expletive, abusive, humorous, and auxiliary (i.e. with no specific reference, e.g. in English, "this bloody car won't work" (Andersson & Trudgill 1990: 61). Despite the stigmatisation of swearing as 'bad' or 'lazy' language, it is nonetheless subject to grammatical patterns that distinguish a non-native from a native speaker. Andersson and



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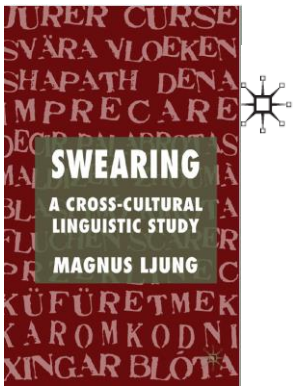
c) Some words referring to the elimination of bodily wastes (what one does in the lavatory), and the associated parts of the body, are also regarded as 'dirty' or shocking (e.g. *piss, shit*). They are often replaced by more 'polite' words and expressions with the same meaning (e.g. *urinate, defecate*) or by substitutes (e.g. *go to the lavatory, wash one's hands*).

Because taboo words are shocking, they are common in situations where people want to express powerful emotions by using 'strong' language. This is called 'swearing'. When people swear, taboo words usually change their meanings completely. For example, *fuck off* and *piss off* have nothing to do with sex or urinating - they are simply violently rude ways of saying 'go away'. The strength of the original taboo word is borrowed for a different purpose.

Linguistic taboos in English-speaking countries are less strong than they used to be. Most taboo words and swearwords shock less than they did, say, twenty years ago. And increasingly, people are using informal taboo words which are felt to be amusingly 'naughty' rather than shocking, such as *bonk* or *shag* instead of *fuck*, or *willy* instead of *prick* (= penis).

None the less, students should be very careful about using taboo words and swearwords. There are two reasons for this. First of all, it is not easy to know the exact strength of these expressions in a



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2.2 The themes

Each of the functions uses several taboo words representing one or several taboo *themes*. In the present study I recognize five major themes that recur in the swearing of the majority of the languages discussed and which are in all likelihood also used in most other languages featuring swearing. Other scholars also include other major themes, for example Pinker (2007), McEnery (2006) and Anderson and Hirsch (1985a). It is also clear that the choice of themes regarded as 'major' and 'minor', respectively, varies with the languages under discussion. The following are the major taboo themes used in swearing in the languages included in the present study:

- The religious/supernatural theme
- The scatological theme
- The sex organ theme
- The sexual activities theme
- The mother (family) theme

(2000), McEnery and Xiao (2003, 2004) and Stroh-Wollin (2008). There have also appeared a number of interesting popular accounts wholly or partly devoted to swearing, such as Burgen (1996), Wajnryb (2005) and Chapter 7 in Pinker (2007).

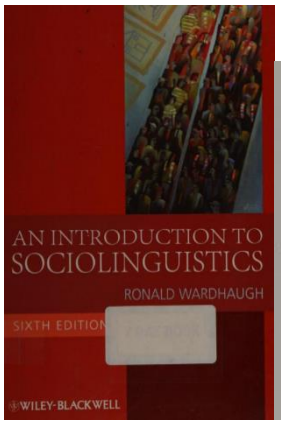
Many of the above studies are not intended as overall accounts of swearing but focus on particular aspects of swearing that they find interesting. As a result they take swearing for granted as a linguistic, psychological, social or neurological category in its own right. This attitude may also reflect the feeling – common enough among native speakers – that they know swearing in their own language when they hear it, a view that is not always entirely justified, since native speakers often differ in their views of what should count as swearing.

Others seem to take the view that swearing today is so complex that it cannot be accounted for in a systematic way. As we shall find in the course of the present study, this more pessimistic view is not wholly unjustified, given the recalcitrant nature of some of the data we will be considering.

Despite their different views on what swearing actually is and how it is best described, the studies above all set up certain basic criteria that in their opinion have to be met in order for an utterance to count as swearing. There is often considerable agreement concerning the majority of these criteria and many or even most of their creators would agree with most – but not all – of my own four criteria for what constitutes swearing. These criteria are:

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.

The remainder of the present chapter will be devoted to a discussion of these four criteria.



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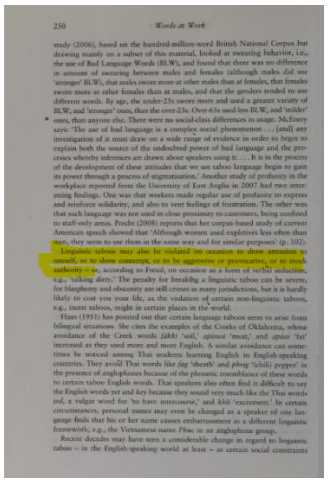


250 *Words at Work*

study (2006), based on the hundred-million-word British National Corpus but drawing mainly on a subset of this material, looked at swearing behavior, i.e., the use of Bad Language Words (BLW), and found that there was no difference in amount of swearing between males and females (although males did use 'stronger' BLW), that males swore more at other males than at females, that females swore more at other females than at males, and that the genders tended to use different words. By age, the under-25s swore more and used a greater variety of BLW, and 'stronger' ones, than the over-25s. Over-65s used less BLW, and 'milder' ones, than anyone else. There were no social-class differences in usage. McEnery says: 'The use of bad language is a complex social phenomenon . . . [and] any investigation of it must draw on a wide range of evidence in order to begin to explain both the source of the undoubted power of bad language and the processes whereby inferences are drawn about speakers using it. . . . It is in the process of the development of these attitudes that we see taboo language begin to gain its power through a process of stigmatisation.' Another study of profanity in the workplace reported from the University of East Anglia in 2007 had two interesting findings. One was that workers made regular use of profanity to express and reinforce solidarity, and also to vent feelings of frustration. The other was that such language was not used in close proximity to customers, being confined to staff-only areas. Precht (2008) reports that her corpus-based study of current American speech showed that 'Although women used expletives less often than men, they seem to use them in the same way and for similar purposes' (p. 102).

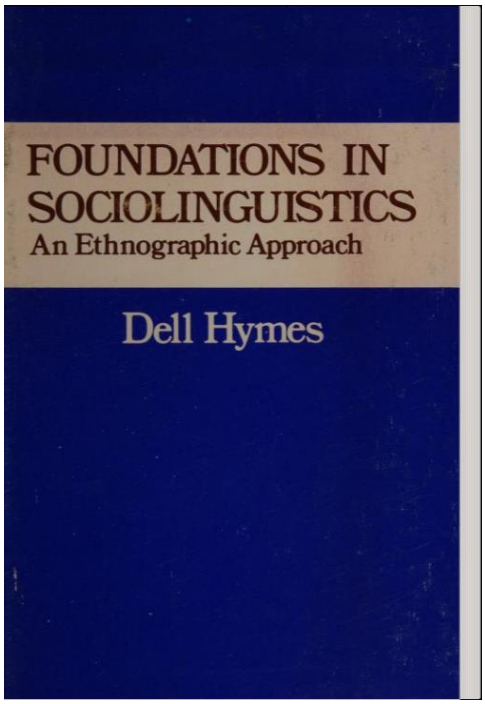
Linguistic taboos may also be violated on occasion to draw attention to oneself, or to show contempt, or to be aggressive or provocative, or to mock authority – or, according to Freud, on occasion as a form of verbal seduction, e.g., 'talking dirty.' The penalty for breaking a linguistic taboo can be severe, for blasphemy and obscenity are still crimes in many jurisdictions, but it is hardly likely to cost you your life, as the violation of certain non-linguistic taboos, e.g., incest taboos, might in certain places in the world.

Haas (1951) has pointed out that certain language taboos seem to arise from bilingual situations. She cites the examples of the Creeks of Oklahoma, whose avoidance of the Creek words *fakki* 'soil,' *apisasa* 'meat,' and *apisa* 'fat' increased as they used more and more English. A similar avoidance can sometimes be noticed among Thai students learning English in English-speaking countries. They avoid Thai words like *fag* 'sheath' and *phrig* '(chili) pepper' in the presence of anglophones because of the phonetic resemblance of these words to certain taboo English words. Thai speakers also often find it difficult to say the English words *yet* and *key* because they sound very much like the Thai words *jed*, a vulgar word for 'to have intercourse,' and *khii* 'excrement.' In certain circumstances, personal names may even be changed as a speaker of one language finds that his or her name causes embarrassment in a different linguistic framework, e.g., the Vietnamese name *Phuc* in an anglophone group.

Recent decades may have seen a considerable change in regard to linguistic taboo – in the English-speaking world at least – as certain social constraints

gate those who dare to speak obscenities in the public forum, despite the fact that a substantial portion of the "Silent Majority" seem to have little aversion to private cursing. Montagu makes this very point: "Because swearing is socially condemned, there are many who publicly join in its denunciation but privately take a somewhat different view of it."[10]

Provoke. One of the principal functions of verbal obscenity is to provoke violent confrontations. Verbal obscenity at the Chicago Democratic National Convention was clearly intended to provoke a violent encounter between law enforcement officers and the demonstrators.[15] This nation has frequently witnessed students, during campus protests, inviting police retaliation by numerous methods, including the use of obscenity. Although this strategy may appear self-defeating, there is a reasonable explanation for this apparent insanity.



4 *Swearing*

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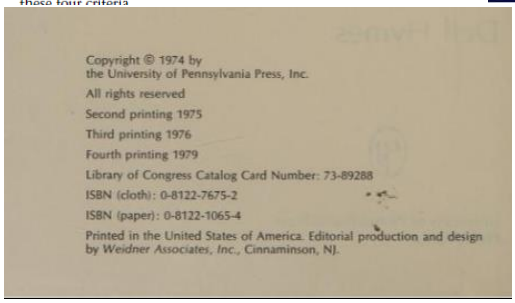
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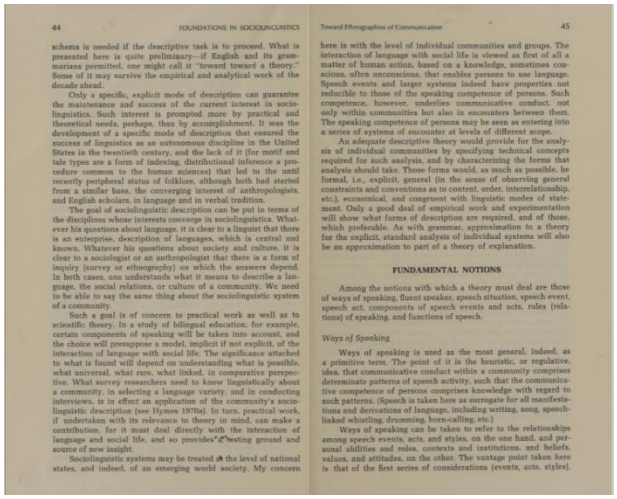

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schema is needed if the descriptive task is to proceed. What is presented here is quite preliminary—if English and its grammarians permitted, one might call it "toward toward a theory." Some of it may survive the empirical and analytical work of the decade ahead.

Only a specific, explicit mode of description can guarantee the maintenance and success of the current interest in sociolinguistics. Such interest is prompted more by practical and theoretical needs, perhaps, than by accomplishment. It was the development of a specific mode of description that ensured the success of linguistics as an autonomous discipline in the United States in the twentieth century, and the lack of it (for motif and tale types are a form of indexing, distributional inference a procedure common to the human sciences) that led to the until recently peripheral status of folklore, although both had started from a similar base, the converging interest of anthropologists and English scholars, in language and in verbal tradition.

The goal of sociolinguistic description can be put in terms of the disciplines whose interests converge in sociolinguistics. Whatever his questions about language, it is clear to a linguist that there is an enterprise, description of languages, which is central and known. Whatever his questions about society and culture, it is clear to a sociologist or an anthropologist that there is a form of inquiry (survey or ethnography) on which the answers depend. In both cases, one understands what it means to describe a language, the social relations, or culture of a community. We need to be able to say the same thing about the sociolinguistic system of a community.

Such a goal is of concern to practical work as well as to scientific theory. In a study of bilingual education, for example, certain components of speaking will be taken into account, and the choice will presuppose a model, implicit if not explicit, of the interaction of language with social life. The significance attached to what is found will depend on understanding what is possible, what universal, what rare, what linked, in comparative perspective. What survey researchers need to know linguistically about a community, in selecting a language variety, and in conducting interviews, is in effect an application of the community's sociolinguistic description (see Hymes 1970a). In turn, practical work, if undertaken with its relevance to theory in mind, can make a contribution, for it must deal directly with the interaction of language and social life, and so provides a testing ground and source of new insight.

Sociolinguistic systems may be treated at the level of national states, and indeed, of an emerging world society. My concern

Toward Ethnographies of Communication 45

here is with the level of individual communities and groups. The interaction of language with social life is viewed as first of all a matter of human action, based on a knowledge, sometimes conscious, often unconscious, that enables persons to use language. Speech events and larger systems indeed have properties not reducible to those of the speaking competence of persons. Such competence, however, underlies communicative conduct, not only within communities but also in encounters between them. The speaking competence of persons may be seen as entering into a series of systems of encounter at levels of different scope.

An adequate descriptive theory would provide for the analysis of individual communities by specifying technical concepts required for such analysis, and by characterizing the forms that analysis should take. Those forms would, as much as possible, be formal, i.e., explicit, general (in the sense of observing general constraints and conventions as to content, order, interrelationship, etc.), economical, and congruent with linguistic modes of statement. Only a good deal of empirical work and experimentation will show what forms of description are required, and of those, which preferable. As with grammar, approximation to a theory for the explicit, standard analysis of individual systems will also be an approximation to part of a theory of explanation.

FUNDAMENTAL NOTIONS

Among the notions with which a theory must deal are those of ways of speaking, fluent speaker, speech situation, speech event, speech act, components of speech events and acts, rules (relations) of speaking, and functions of speech.

Ways of Speaking

Ways of speaking is used as the most general, indeed, as a primitive term. The point of it is the heuristic, or regulative, idea, that communicative conduct within a community comprises determinate patterns of speech activity, such that the communicative competence of persons comprises knowledge with regard to such patterns. (Speech is taken here as surrogate for all manifestations and derivations of language, including writing, song, speech-linked whistling, drumming, horn-calling, etc.)

Ways of speaking can be taken to refer to the relationships among speech events, acts, and styles, on the one hand, and personal abilities and roles, contexts and institutions, and beliefs, values, and attitudes, on the other. The vantage point taken here is that of the first series of considerations (events, acts, styles).

WRITING AND PRODUCING RADIO DRAMAS

Communication for Behavior Change

Volume 1

Esta de Fossard

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Serial **drama** is a story, in dramatized form, that continues over weeks, months, or years. Serial **drama** can be likened to a novel in which the story is revealed chapter by chapter over many pages rather than being completed in a few ...

dicted direction, with 34 significant beyond the .05 level. For those three countries (India, Poland, and Sweden) in which the difference was not significant for "good looks," the sex difference was significant in the predicted direction for the ranked variable "physically attractive." Thus, the hypothesis that males value physical attractiveness in

Table 6 shows the results for the variable of "chastity: no previous experience in sexual intercourse." Cultures in this study vary tremendously in the value placed on this mate characteristic. The samples from China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Taiwan, and Israel (Palestinian Arabs

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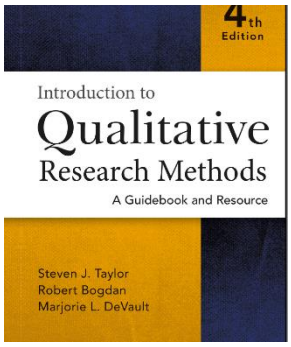
only) attach high value to chastity in a potential mate. At the opposite extreme, samples from Sweden, Norway, Finland, the Netherlands, West Germany, and France indicate that prior sexual experience is irrelevant or unimportant in a potential mate. A few subjects even indicated in writing that chastity was *undesirable* in a potential mate. The Irish sample departs from the other Western European samples in placing moderate emphasis on chastity. Also showing moderate valuation of chas-

exist with respect to standards of beauty, these variations apparently do not override sex differences in the importance attached to physical attractiveness.

The male age preference for females of just under 25 years implies that *fertility* has been a stronger ultimate cause of mate preferences than reproductive value. The fact that this age preference appears to be several years beyond peak fertility, however, suggests that other variables such as similarity (Rushton et al. 1984), com-

C. CHAPTER 3



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as human beings rather than simply as human bodies . . . are 'meaningful stuff.' They are internal ideas, feelings, and motives."

Since positivists and phenomenologists take on different kinds of problems and seek different kinds of answers, their research requires different methodologies. Adopting a natural science model of research, the positivist searches for causes through methods, such as questionnaires, inventories, and demography, that produce data amenable to statistical analysis. The phenomenologist seeks understanding through qualitative methods, such as participant observation, in-depth interviewing, and others, that yield descriptive data. In contrast to practitioners of a natural science approach, phenomenologists strive for what Max Weber (1968) called *verstehen*, understanding on a personal level the motives and beliefs behind people's actions (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011).

This book is about qualitative methodology—how to collect descriptive data, people's own words, and records of people's behavior. It is also a book on how to study social life phenomenologically. We are not saying that positivists cannot use qualitative methods to address their own research interests: Durkheim (1915) used rich descriptive data collected by anthropologists as the basis for his treatise *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. We are saying that the search for social causes is neither what this book is about nor where our own research interests lie.

We return to the phenomenological or interpretivist perspective later in this chapter, for it is at the heart of this work. It is the perspective that guides our research.

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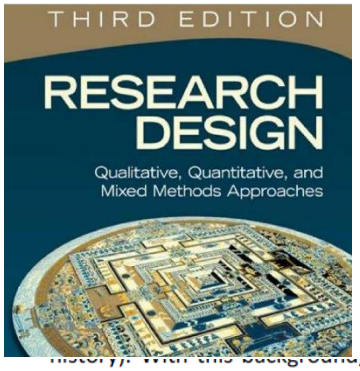

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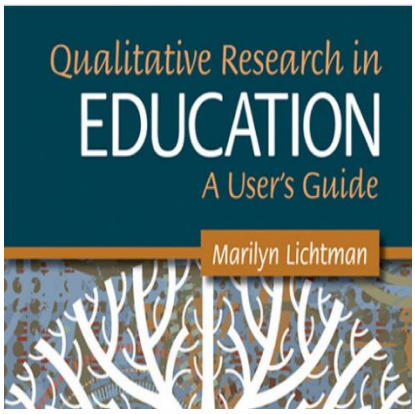
history). With this background, it should prove helpful to view definitions of these three key terms as used in this book:

• **Qualitative research** is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation (adapted from Creswell, 2007).



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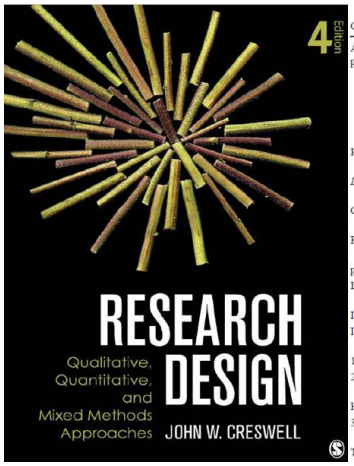
1. Education—Research—Handbooks, manuals, etc. I. Title.

conveys the diversity within the broad term qualitative research. Among the first to write about the field extensively were Lincoln and Guba (1985). By the time the first *Handbook of Qualitative Research* was published (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), definitions included "multimethod in focus," "interpretive," and "naturalistic approach to subject matter." Some take a very narrow view, while others give it a broad brush. In fact, there is no clear agreement on a definition. Some even speak of a lack of a coherent definition (Olson, 1995) or one that is difficult to get (Simmons-Mackie & Damico, 2003). Even Schwandt (2007), in *The Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry,* did not provide a specific definition of the term. A 2011 Google search yielded diverse ideas. A set of research techniques in which data is obtained from a relatively small group of respondents and not analyzed with statistical techniques; follows an inductive research process and involves the collection and analysis of qualitative (i.e., non-numerical) data to search for patterns, themes, and holistic features; is concerned with understanding the processes, which underlie various behavioural patterns. *Qualitative* is primarily concerned with "why." In the social sciences, this is the analysis of phenomena, which is not based on measuring or counting. Relevant methods of data collection include participant observation, focus-group interviews, or in-depth interviewing. Each of these definitions takes you to a specific source.

For our purposes, I would like you to consider this definition:

> Qualitative research is a general term. It is a way of knowing in which a researcher gathers, organizes, and interprets information obtained from humans using his or her eyes and ears as filters. It often involves in-depth interviews and/or observations of humans in natural, online, or social settings. It can be contrasted with quantitative research, which relies heavily on hypothesis testing, cause and effect, and statistical analyses.

Perhaps some examples will help you to get a clearer picture of what qualitative research is. Mary, a student in her early 30s, was particularly interested in young children. Throughout her life, she had been a "loner" with few friends. She wondered about other children who seemed like her. Mary decided she wanted to study the informal ways young children form friendships or find themselves outside the mainstream. Because she volunteered in a preschool, she asked permission to



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THE THREE APPROACHES TO RESEARCH

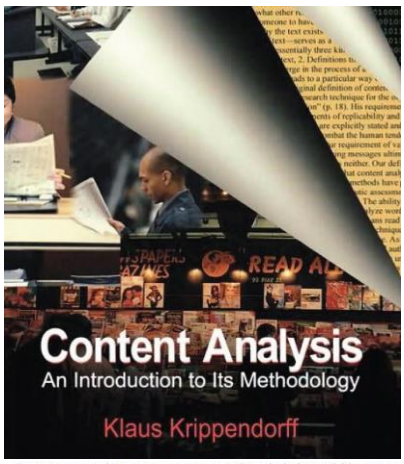
In this book, three research approaches are advanced: (a) qualitative, (b) quantitative, and (c) mixed methods. Unquestionably, the three approaches are not as discrete as they first appear. Qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as rigid, distinct categories, polar opposites, or dichotomies. Instead, they represent different ends on a continuum (Newman & Benz, 1998). A study *tends* to be more qualitative than quantitative or vice versa. **Mixed methods research** resides in the middle of this continuum because it incorporates elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Often the distinction between **qualitative research** and **quantitative research** is framed in terms of using words (qualitative) rather than numbers (quantitative), or using closed-ended questions (quantitative hypotheses) rather than open-ended questions (qualitative interview questions). A more complete way to view the gradations of differences between them is in the basic philosophical assumptions researchers bring to the study, the types of research strategies used in the research (e.g., quantitative experiments or qualitative **case studies**), and the specific methods employed in conducting these strategies (e.g., collecting data quantitatively on instruments versus collecting qualitative data through observing a setting). Moreover, there is a historical evolution to both approaches—with the quantitative approaches dominating the forms of research in the social sciences from the late 19th century up until the mid-20th century. During the latter half of the 20th century, interest in qualitative research increased and along with it, the development of mixed methods research. With this background, it should prove helpful to view definitions of these three key terms as used in this book:

• *Qualitative research* is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation.

• **Qualitative research** is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation (adapted from Creswell, 2007).

• **Quantitative research** is a means for testing objective theories by examining the relationship



Every content analysis requires a context within which the available texts are examined. The analyst must, in effect, construct a world in which the texts make sense and can answer the analyst's research questions. A context renders perceptual data into readable texts and serves as the conceptual justification for reasonable interpretations, including for the results of content analysis. Often, analysts presuppose particular contexts based on their own disciplinary commitments, as in the above example about a speech on economics. Analysts working within particular disciplines, such as political science, rhetoric, economics, and psychology, hold particular theories concerning how texts are to be handled; that is, they are willing to accept only a certain context. Holsti's encoding/decoding paradigm, mentioned above, functions as a prominent analytical context in communication research, but it is by no means the only one. The contexts that psychiatrists are willing to construct are very different from those that political scientists are likely to accept or within which literary scholars prefer to work. Once an analyst has chosen a context for a particular body of text and clearly understands that context, certain kinds of questions become answerable and others make no sense.

Just as the analytical contexts that content analysts must adopt may vary from one analysis to another, these contexts may also differ from the interpretive schemes that unaided listeners, viewers, or readers employ in reading their sensory data, the characters of their texts, and the messages they receive. The same body of texts can therefore yield very different findings when examined by different analysts and with reference to different groups of readers. For a content analysis to be replicable, the analysts must explicate the context that guides their inferences. Without such explicitness, anything would go.

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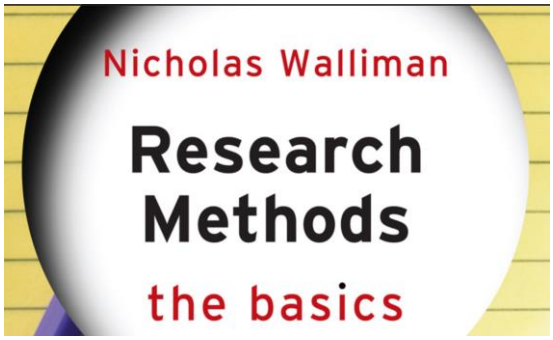

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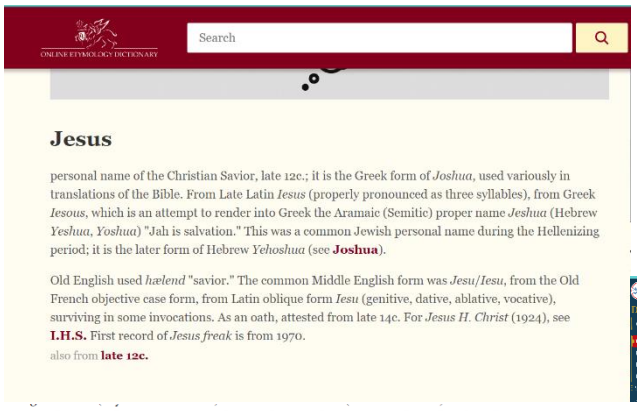
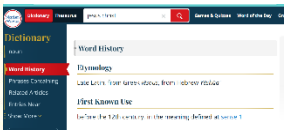
PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DATA

Data come in two main forms, depending on its closeness to the event recorded. Data that has been observed, experienced or recorded close to the event are the nearest one can get to the truth, and are called **primary data**. Written sources that interpret or record primary data are called **secondary sources**, which tend to be less reliable. For example, reading about a fire in your own house in the newspaper a day after will

secondary data in the form of news bulletins, magazines, newspapers, documentaries, advertising, the Internet etc. The data are wrapped, packed and spun into pithy articles or digestible sound bites. The quality of the data depends on the source and the methods of presentation. Refereed journals containing papers vetted by leading experts, serious journals, such as some professional and trade journals will have authoritative articles by leading figures. Magazines can contain useful and reliable information or be entirely flippant. The same goes for books – millions of them! They range from the most erudite and deeply researched volumes to ranting polemics and commercial pap. Television and radio programmes vary likewise, as does information on the Internet.

D. CHAPTER 4



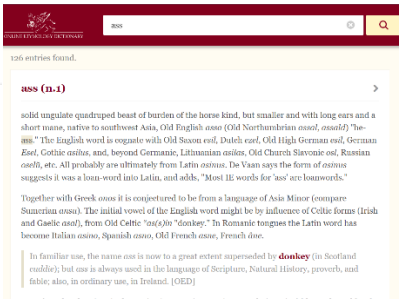


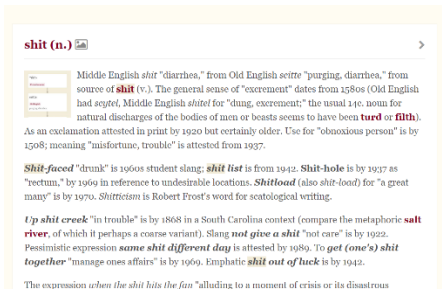
In Christian but not in Muslim cultures the names of God, Christ, etc. eventually lost their taboo charge and religious swearing is now regarded as a mild type of swearing. It may also be denied swearing status all together. Celestial Christian swearing competed with and was eventually superseded by diabolic swearing invoking the Devil and hell. As the discussion in Chapter 3 will show, the diabolic swearing in its turn was challenged by swearing using four-letter words associated with scatological and sexual themes, but swearing in terms of hell and the Devil has retained much of its power, particularly in Germany and the Nordic countries. In these countries the diabolic terms share the swearing market with the scatological.

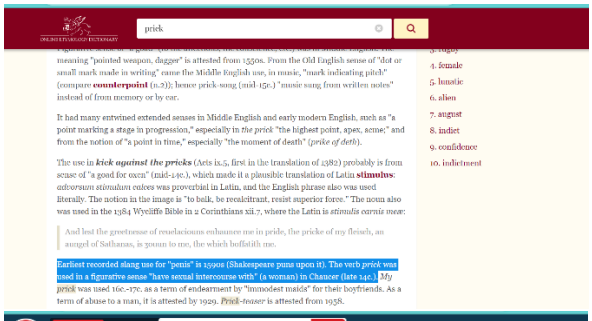
ass, n.

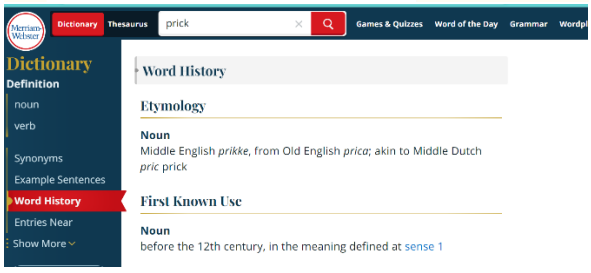
beast of burden; buttocks; moron; *American*

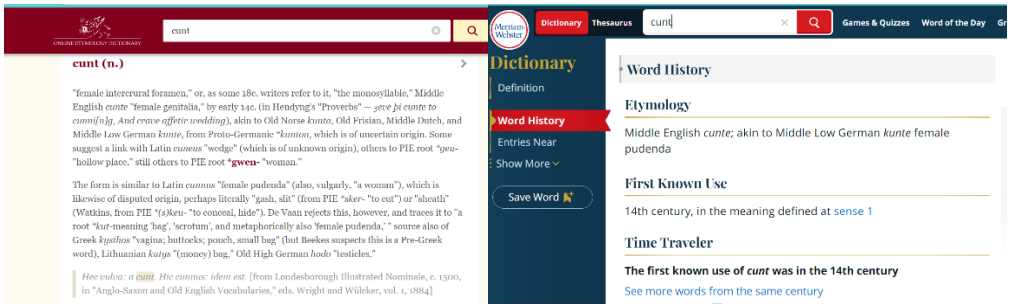
> Tom wanted to fuck his girlfriend in the **ass** and she said, "You are aware my shit comes out of there," but he really, *really* didn't care about that.
>
> **DERIVATION:** Ass comes from the Old English *assa*, meaning donkey.

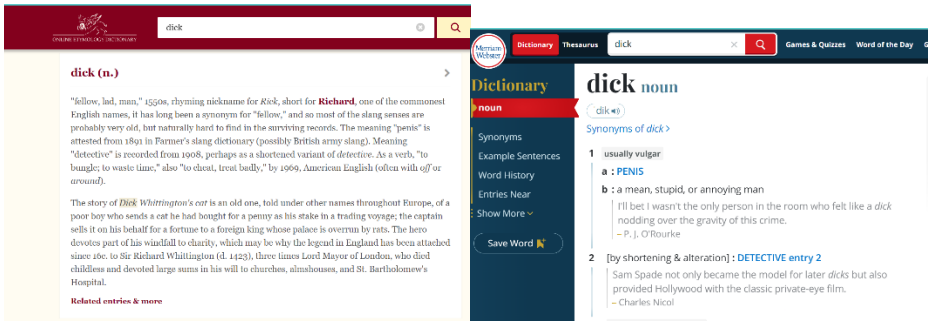


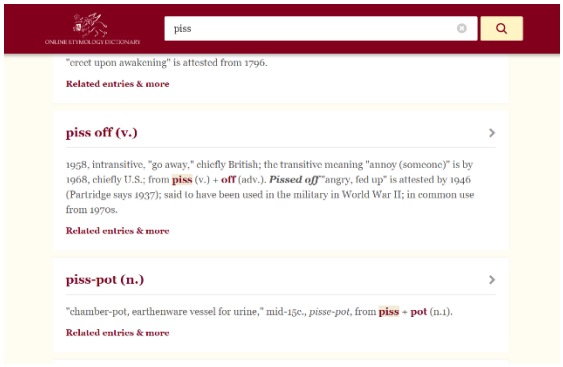


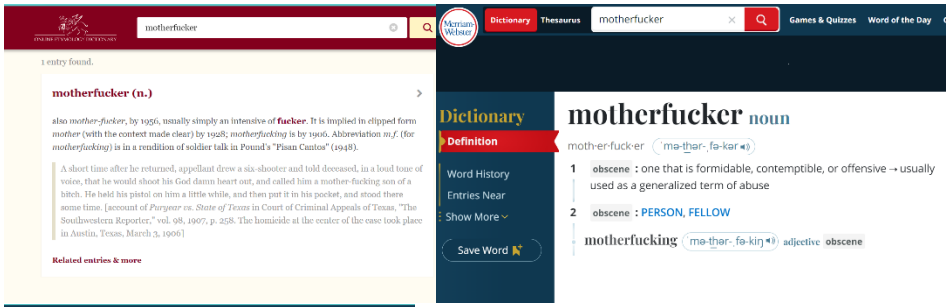





cunt
cunt (n.)
"female intercrural foramen," or, as some 18c. writers refer to it, "the monosyllable," Middle English cunte "female genitalia," by early 14c. (in Hendyng's "Proverbs" — sese þi cunte to cunnifu3ly, And crave affetir wedding), akin to Old Norse kunta, Old Frisian, Middle Dutch, and Middle Low German kunte, from Proto-Germanic *kuntōn, which is of uncertain origin. Some suggest a link with Latin cuneus "wedge" (which is of unknown origin), others to PIE root *gheu- "hollow place," still others to PIE root *gwen- "woman."
The form is similar to Latin cunnus "female pudenda" (also, vulgarly, "a woman"), which is likewise of disputed origin, perhaps literally "gash, slit" (from PIE *sker- "to cut") or "sheath" (Watkins, from PIE *(s)keu- "to conceal, hide"). De Vaan rejects this, however, and traces it to "a root *kut-meaning 'bag', 'scrotum', and metaphorically also 'female pudenda,' " source also of Greek kysthos "vagina; buttocks; pouch, small bag" (but Beekes suspects this is a Pre-Greek word), Lithuanian kulys "(money) bag," Old High German hodo "testicles."
Hec vulva: a cunt. Hic cunnus: idem est. [from Londesborough Illustrated Nominale, c. 1500, in "Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies," eds. Wright and Wülcker, vol. 1, 1884]
Dictionary
Thesaurus
cunt
Games & Quizzes
Word of the Day
Dictionary
Definition
Word History
Entries Near
Show More
Save Word
Word History
Etymology
Middle English cunte; akin to Middle Low German kunte female pudenda
First Known Use
14th century, in the meaning defined at sense 1
Time Traveler
The first known use of cunt was in the 14th century
See more words from the same century


dick
dick (n.)
"fellow, lad, man," 1550s, rhyming nickname for Rick, short for Richard, one of the commonest English names, it has long been a synonym for "fellow," and so most of the slang senses are probably very old, but naturally hard to find in the surviving records. The meaning "penis" is attested from 1891 in Farmer's slang dictionary (possibly British army slang). Meaning "detective" is recorded from 1908, perhaps as a shortened variant of detective. As a verb, "to bungle; to waste time," also "to cheat, treat badly," by 1969, American English (often with off or around).
The story of Dick Whittington's cat is an old one, told under other names throughout Europe, of a poor boy who sends a cat he had bought for a penny as his stake in a trading voyage; the captain sells it on his behalf for a fortune to a foreign king whose palace is overrun by rats. The hero devotes part of his windfall to charity, which may be why the legend in England has been attached since 16c. to Sir Richard Whittington (d. 1423), three times Lord Mayor of London, who died childless and devoted large sums in his will to churches, almshouses, and St. Bartholomew's Hospital.
Related entries & more
Dictionary
Thesaurus
dick
Games & Quizzes
Word of the Day
Dictionary
noun
Synonyms
Example Sentences
Word History
Entries Near
Show More
Save Word
dick noun
dik
Synonyms of dick
1 usually vulgar
a : PENIS
b : a mean, stupid, or annoying man
I'll bet I wasn't the only person in the room who felt like a dick nodding over the gravity of this crime.
– P. J. O'Rourke
2 [by shortening & alteration] : DETECTIVE entry 2
Sam Spade not only became the model for later dicks but also provided Hollywood with the classic private-eye film.
– Charles Nicol


piss
"erect upon awakening" is attested from 1796.
Related entries & more
piss off (v.)
1958, intransitive, "go away," chiefly British; the transitive meaning "annoy (someone)" is by 1968, chiefly U.S.; from piss (v.) + off (adv.). Pissed off "angry, fed up" is attested by 1946 (Partridge says 1937); said to have been used in the military in World War II; in common use from 1970s.
Related entries & more
piss-pot (n.)
"chamber-pot, earthenware vessel for urine," mid-15c., pisse-pot, from piss + pot (n.1).
Related entries & more


motherfucker
1 entry found.
motherfucker (n.)
also mother-fucker, by 1956, usually simply an intensive of fucker. It is implied in clipped form mother (with the context made clear) by 1928; motherfucking is by 1906. Abbreviation m.f. (for motherfucking) is in a rendition of soldier talk in Pound's "Pisan Cantos" (1948).
A short time after he returned, appellant drew a six-shooter and told deceased, in a loud tone of voice, that he would shoot his God damn heart out, and called him a mother-fucking son of a bitch. He held his pistol on him a little while, and then put it in his pocket, and stood there some time. [account of Puryear vs. State of Texas in Court of Criminal Appeals of Texas, "The Southwestern Reporter," vol. 98, 1907, p. 258. The homicide at the center of the case took place in Austin, Texas, March 3, 1906]
Related entries & more
Dictionary
Thesaurus
motherfucker
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motherfucker noun
moth-er-fuck-er
1 obscene : one that is formidable, contemptible, or offensive → usually used as a generalized term of abuse
2 obscene : PERSON, FELLOW
motherfucking adjective obscene

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Word History
Etymology
Verb
akin to Dutch fokken to breed (cattle), Swedish dialect fökka to copulate
First Known Use
Verb
14th century, in the meaning defined at intransitive sense 1
Noun
1680, in the meaning defined at sense 1
fuck
fuck (n.)
1670s, "an act of sexual intercourse," from fuck (v.). From 1874 in coarse slang sense "a woman (considered in sexual terms);" from 1929 as something one doesn't give when one doesn't care. Flying fuck originally meant "sex had on horseback" and is first attested c. 1800 in broadside ballad "New Feats of Horsemanship."
Related entries & more

bitch
18 entries found.
bitch (n.)
Old English *bicce* "female dog," probably from Old Norse *bikkjunn* "female of the dog" (also of the fox, wolf, and occasionally other beasts), which is of unknown origin. Grimm derives the Old Norse word from Lapp *piitja*, but OED notes that "the converse is equally possible." As a term of contempt applied to women, it dates from c. 1400; of a man, c. 1500, playfully, in the sense of "dog." Used among male homosexuals from 1930s. In modern (1990s, originally African-American vernacular) slang, its use with reference to a man is sexually contemptuous, from the "woman" insult.
BITCH. A she dog, or doggess; the most offensive appellation that can be given to an English woman, even more provoking than that of whore. ["Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue," 1811]
Bitch goddess coined 1906 by William James; the original one was **success**.
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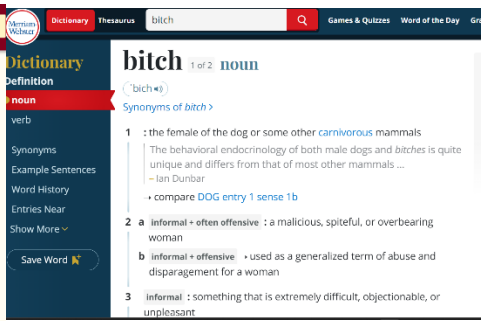
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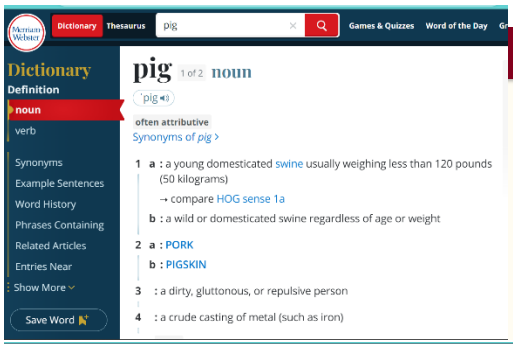
bitch 1 of 2 noun
Synonyms of bitch
1 : the female of the dog or some other carnivorous mammals
The behavioral endocrinology of both male dogs and bitches is quite unique and differs from that of most other mammals ...
– Ian Dunbar
compare DOG entry 1 sense 1b
2 a informal + often offensive : a malicious, spiteful, or overbearing woman
b informal + offensive used as a generalized term of abuse and disparagement for a woman
3 informal : something that is extremely difficult, objectionable, or unpleasant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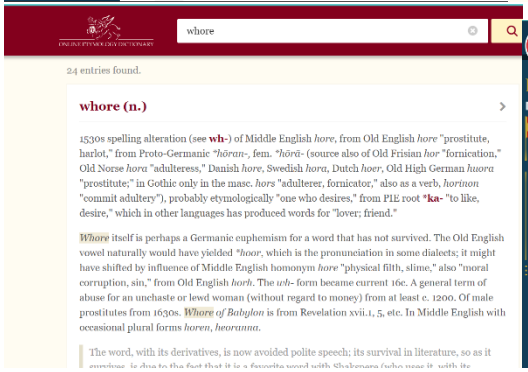
pig 1 of 2 noun
often attributive
Synonyms of pig
1 a : a young domesticated swine usually weighing less than 120 pounds (50 kilograms)
→ compare HOG sense 1a
b : a wild or domesticated swine regardless of age or weight
2 a : PORK
b : PIGSKIN
3 : a dirty, gluttonous, or repulsive person
4 : a crude casting of metal (such as iron)

pig
85 entries found.
pig (n.1)
Middle English *pigge* "a young pig" (mid-13c., late 12c. as a surname), probably from Old English **picg*, found in compounds, but, like **dog**, its further etymology unknown. The older general word for adults was *swine*, if female, *sow*, if male, *boar*. Apparently related to Low German *bigge*, Dutch *big* ("but the phonology is difficult" -- OED).
By early 14c. *pig* was used of a swine or hog regardless of age or sex. Applied to persons, usually in contempt, since 1540s; the derogatory meaning "police officer" has been in underworld slang at least since 1811.
The pigs frisked my panney, and nailed my screws; the officers searched my house, and seized my picklock keys. ["Dictionary of Buckish Slang, University Wit and Pickpocket Eloquence," London, 1811]


whore
24 entries found.
whore (n.)
1530s spelling alteration (see **wh-**) of Middle English *hore*, from Old English *hore* "prostitute, harlot," from Proto-Germanic **hōran-*, fem. **hōrā-* (source also of Old Frisian *hor* "fornication," Old Norse *hora* "adulteress," Danish *hore*, Swedish *hora*, Dutch *hoer*, Old High German *huora* "prostitute;" in Gothic only in the masc. *hors* "adulterer, fornicator," also as a verb, *horinon* "commit adultery"), probably etymologically "one who desires," from PIE root ***ka-*** "to like, desire," which in other languages has produced words for "lover; friend."
Whore itself is perhaps a Germanic euphemism for a word that has not survived. The Old English vowel naturally would have yielded **hoor*, which is the pronunciation in some dialects; it might have shifted by influence of Middle English homonym *hore* "physical filth, slime," also "moral corruption, sin," from Old English *horh*. The *wh-* form became current 16c. A general term of abuse for an unchaste or lewd woman (without regard to money) from at least c. 1200. Of male prostitutes from 1630s. *Whore of Babylon* is from Revelation xvii.1, 5, etc. In Middle English with occasional plural forms *horen, heoranna*.
The word, with its derivatives, is now avoided polite speech; its survival in literature, so as it

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whore 1 of 2 noun
plural whores
Synonyms of whore
1 somewhat old-fashioned : a person who engages in sexual intercourse for pay : PROSTITUTE
2 offensive : a promiscuous or immoral woman
3 : a male who engages in sexual acts for money
4 : a venal or unscrupulous person
whore 2 of 2 verb
whored; whoring