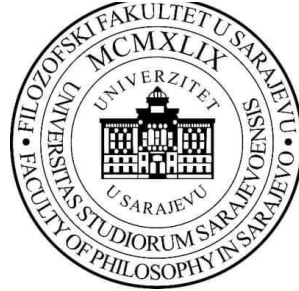


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FINAL PAPER

Vulgarisms in English and Bosnian

Vulgarizmi u engleskom i bosanskom

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DEDICATION

There are several people without whom this thesis might not have been written, and to whom I am immensely thankful.

I dedicate this thesis to beloved people who have meant and continue to mean so much to me. Even though they are no longer present among us; their memories continue to fulfill my life.

To my late mother, Alma, who was my encouragement and great inspiration, who loved me greatly and taught me the value of hard work. There are not enough words to express how thankful I am that You were the one who led me throughout my life and actively supported me every step of the way. I will make sure that your memory lives as long as I shall live. I will forever be grateful that You were there, and I am sorry that You have not lived to see me graduate. Thank you, mom!

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the usage of vulgarisms in relation to gender in two languages – Bosnian and English. Considering that vulgarisms as such are observed as a “taboo topic” in the Bosnian language, this paper uses gender as the primary social variable that shows remarkable differences between English native speakers and Bosnian native speakers. Therefore, the methodology in this paper is based on a questionnaire using the DTC method/measuring instrument that investigates to what extent the use of vulgarisms is present in our society, with the significant focus on participants in the age group of 19 – 30. In all communities and cultures, the use of vulgarisms is present, regardless of their characteristics. Nonetheless, many studies have found that women use fewer vulgarisms than men, which allows them to use different forms of vulgarisms in different contexts and for various reasons. In that way, members of each gender use different swear words and phrases to varying degrees. Those differences include voicing the speaker’s emotions in certain situations, leaving a negative or positive impact on others, or even presenting non-emphatic feelings such as humor, joy, or anger.

Key words: vulgarisms, swearwords, language, gender, native speakers, Bosnian language, English language.

APSTRAKT

Ovaj rad ispituje upotrebu vulgarizama u odnosu na spol u dva jezika – bosanskom i engleskom. Uzimajući u obzir da se vulgarizmi kao takvi posmatraju kao “taboo tema” u bosanskom jeziku, ovaj rad koristi rod kao primarnu društvenu varijablu koja pokazuje značajne razlike između govornika engleskog jezika i govornika bosanskog jezika. S toga se metodologija u ovom radu temelji na upitniku koji koristi DTC metodu/mjerni instrument koja istražuje u kojoj je mjeri upotreba vulgarizama prisutna u našem društvu, sa značajnim fokusom na sudionike u dobnoj skupini od 19 do 30 godina. U svim zajednicama i kulturama, bez obzira na njihove odlike, upotreba vulgarizama je prisutna. Bez obzira na to, mnoge su studije otkrile da žene koriste manje vulgarizama od muškaraca, što im omogućava da koriste različite oblike vulgarizama, kako iz različitih konteksta tako i iz različitih razloga. Na taj način, oba spola u različitim stupnjevima razmatraju različite riječi i fraze. Te razlike uključuju izražavanje govornikovih emocija u određenim situacijama, ostavljanje negativnog ili pozitivnog utjecaja na druge ili čak predstavljanje nenaglašenih osjećaja poput humora, radosti ili bijesa.

Ključne riječi: vulgarizmi, psovke, jezik, rod/spol, izvorni govornici, bosanski jezik, engleski jezik.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Though vulgarisms in verbal expression have received some attention in studies and analyses within the field of intercultural communication, the phenomenon of taboo lexicon in expressing theory and practice has not yet been adequately identified and processed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Simultaneously, swearwords should be addressed as informally saturated cultural and linguistic components of discourse from a linguistic and functional perspective, free of the commonly held negative connotation associated with the phrase ‘swearword’. As a result, it is quite necessary to conduct a theoretical analysis of various forms of vulgar language elements in the English and the Bosnian language, in order to present the phenomenon of vulgarisms in these targeted languages, whilst summarizing all of the relevant studies. Taking into consideration that according to Spolsky (2010, p. 3) sociolinguistics is a “developing branch of linguistics and sociology which examines the individual and social variation of language”, it can be concluded that variations of language can give us a lot of information about the places the speakers are from, while the social variation can tell us about the roles that are performed by a given speaker within one community. Nonetheless, Meyerhoff (2006, pp. 8-27.) states that “every society has its linguistic codes that are acceptable for interaction”, which means that sociolinguistics portrays how groups in a certain society can be separated by various social variables such as religion, ethnicity, status, age, gender or even the level of education. However, the main focus of this work is on gender, where patterns of language use of men are quite different from those of women in terms of intonation patterns and quantity of speech.

Swearing may be characterized and defined in a variety of ways and according to Jay (1992, p. 15) it includes “variety of utterances including curses, profanities, blasphemy, taboo words or phrases, vulgarities, slang, epithets, insults and slurs and scatology.” The main purpose of swearing and the use of vulgarisms is to express emotions, especially frustration and anger, making swearwords a form of language that is well suited to express emotions due to their main connotative meanings. Swearing’s emotional effect is contingent upon one’s familiarity with a society and its language norms. Jay (1999, p. 18) for example emphasizes that psychologists and linguists have shown a passing interest in curse words. The absence of research on emotional expression has resulted in polite yet misleading theories of language. Contemporary theories

overlook the emotional intensification generated by curse words in language as well as the issues surrounding cursing.

Various studies showed that when swearing is perceived as an affront to a listener, it might be considered as rude on behalf of a speaker. Instances of swearing are classified as propositional and non-propositional. Propositional swearing is a deliberate act, consciously planned and intentional. Kristin Janschewitz & Timothy Jay (2008, p. 271) argue that there is some correlation between research on propositional swearing and research on linguistic rudeness within instances of propositional swearing. In comparison to this example, non-propositional swearing is quite spontaneous, uncontrollable and unplanned. It is characterized by programmed emotional responses that occur most commonly in response to sudden bursts of emotion. Therefore, non-propositional swearing is a form of swearing that is neither polite nor impolite, even to one uninformed listener who may be offended by the substance of the utterance. Janschewitz & Jay came to the conclusion that swearing acts can be observed as a culmination of physiological, psychological and sociocultural (NPS) mechanisms. On the other hand, Jay (2018, p. 107) argues that “swearwords can be used for purposes that are not obviously offensive or emotional.” Speakers who wish to adhere to established communication norms will use swearwords after others have done so. As a result, this insignificant style of swearing is used to maintain compatibility with those who use swearwords, as a form of normative practice. While all qualified speakers are aware of how to use swearwords in their native language, whether or not they do so is determined by their personalities and the social-physical environment in which they live. Use of vulgarisms and swearing in colloquial speech is now widely accepted as a natural rather than an uncommon activity.

The aim of the questionnaire that is conducted via the DCT method (The Discourse Completion Task) is to examine the gender differences, namely differences between male and female gender, and the frequent and/or non-frequent use of vulgarisms/swearwords. This questionnaire served as a starting point of comparison between the Bosnian language native speakers as well as the English language native speakers, which will be thoroughly examined throughout the theoretical background.

The Discourse Completion Task (DCT method) is used as an instrument for collecting valid results that will be presented throughout the chapter titled ‘*Research Methodology*’, instructing us that DCT method could be observed as a tool that is used to elicit particular speech

acts, containing a form of a situational prompt where participant will read various scenarios, which will be preceded by a short prompt describing the situation and the setting.

Questions that arose during our research and all of the data analysis are further discussed in the fifth and sixth chapter, and are as follows:

RQ1: Do gender-identity and culture have an effect on using vulgarisms?

RQ2: Does use of vulgarisms represent a generational/cultural gap?

The structure of this paper is as follows. The second chapter presents the introduction to the in-depth theoretical background, observing all of the various forms of vulgarisms and their history through various subchapters. The following chapter deals with the research methodology itself, and it describes the research questionnaire, instrument, data collection process, and data analysis method, (where we will present two researches; one that will be focused on the DCT questionnaire aimed for the native Bosnian speakers, and one that will be focused on the examination of the Lancaster Abuse Corpus in order to compare two different forms of research); leading us to the fourth chapter that deals with the results and discussion subsection of the abovementioned research. The fifth chapter reflects on differences and similarities between the English and the Bosnian speaking community, and the use of vulgarisms. The final chapter contains the conclusion that draws upon the theoretical background of the English language native speakers, and research that was conducted with the Bosnian native speakers, which investigates the differences in the male and female usage of vulgarisms.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This theoretical framework is structured to present and summarize a number of studies and relevant materials regarding the topic of vulgarisms in the English language and the Bosnian language. People use various forms of speech to express knowledge, attitudes, feelings or even opinions on a daily basis. Speech being observed as the action of speaking, portrays how human beings share a universal trait of their ability to communicate; whilst talking can be characterized as a dynamic form of behavior that requires both linguistic and pragmatic ability. According to Jay (2018, p. 109) what binds swearwords as a category of words is not their “semantic meanings but their emotional intensity and their emotional offensiveness or negative valence.” However, Jay (2018, p. 109) offers another solution for this category and that is an alternative classification. An alternative classification system for swearwords is based on how they behave as an action; that is how people wish to use swearwords in communication. Behavioral or functional communication types are consistent with the earlier concept of swearing, which is dependent on the purpose for which speakers use swearwords. On the other hand, Jay (2018, p. 109) also emphasizes the functional analysis of swearing, where he views swearword usage as a means to an end, while functional categorization of swearwords overcomes the limitations inherent in categorizing words based on their meaning. The main idea of Jay’s work is to present a strand of language and gender research that deals with how female and male speakers interact with each other, in variety of contexts ranging from informal conversations to more formal meetings, interviews and seminars. Mesthrie, et al. (2009, p. 225) state that there is a “great amount of evidence that women and men, and girls and boys interact in different ways.” Those differences are often seen as a disadvantage of female speakers in mixed-sex interaction. Nevertheless, the studies conducted among speakers of English in USA, and UK, have recorded several specific features of conversational style that are different when it comes to male and female speakers such as amount of talk, interruptions, conversational support, tentativeness and compliments. Robin Lakoff (1957, p. 42) as cited in Mesthrie, et al. (2009, p. 226) claims that women use a number of language features that collectively indicate uncertainty and hesitancy. These features do not allow women to express themselves strongly, and they make everything women are talking about appear trivial. Lakoff’s claims have been associated with a deficit model of women’s language use allowing her to relate these claims to social inequalities between

women and men, arguing that women's speaking style denied them access to power. All of these claims were based on Lakoff's informal observations and her own intuitions about language use.

2.1. Etymology of the term 'vulgarisms' and phenomenon of vulgarisms/swearwords

The etymology of the word 'vulgarism' stems from the Latin language, precisely the term '*vulgus*', '*vulgaris*' and '*volgaris*' which was observed as connotation for some common people, which could be distinguished as a pejorative meaning. Crowley (1996, p. 169) quotes English lexicographer Henry Wyld who defines vulgarism as: "a peculiarity which intrudes itself into Standard English, and is of such a nature as to be associated with the speech of vulgar or uneducated speakers. The origin of pure vulgarism is usually that they are important, not from a regional but from a class dialect" – in this case from a dialect which is not that of a province but of a low or uneducated social class. During that time period, it was noted that the use of vulgarisms can be viewed as a subset of Standard English, but preferably as a variety that should not be used. Nevertheless, the term of 'vulgarisms' given in Collins English Dictionary (2015) and Webster's New World College Dictionary (2010) differ in defining the term of vulgarisms. According to Collins, et al. (2015, para. 3); vulgarism is defined as "a coarse, crude, or obscene expression; a word or phrase found only in the vulgar form of language; another word for vulgarity." On the other hand, according to Agnes (2010, para. 5) in Webster's New World College Dictionary, vulgarism is defined as "a word, a phrase, or expression that is used widely but is regarded as nonstandard, unrefined, coarse or obscene."

When talking about vulgarisms it should be noted that there are two varieties of language. Bell (1976, p. 171) reveals that the two varieties of language can be presented throughout "the spoken variety and the written variety of language within the scope of Standard English." The purpose of communication as well as the context in which the language is used contribute to this type of differentiation. However, it is well established that languages change for multitude of reasons. It adapts to the needs of its speakers, where a person's language experience i.e. the construction, vocabulary and phrases they use depends heavily on their age, occupation, educational level and region of the country. Ljung (2011, p. 1) defines swearing as an English term denoting a particular type of linguistic behavior. English, French and Swedish use the same word for oath-taking and swearing, while American English uses *curse* in the same sense as

British English uses *swear*. Thus, Ljung (2011,ix) states that swearing is characterized by its “formulaicity, viz. the fact that 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) emphasizes that swearing is semantically unique not only because of its restricted vocabulary, but also because the taboo words are not used in their referential or denotative senses, but rather as indicators of the speaker’s state of mind. Hence, swearing serves a variety of purposes. For example, in some of these, swearing is an utterance of its own, such as exclamations of anger ‘Bloody hell!’ unfriendly suggestions such as ‘Go to hell!’ or curses like ‘Damn you!’. Ljung (2011, p. 3) further argues that the “study of swearing – linguistic and otherwise was for long a neglected research area.” Therefore, Ljung (2011, p. 4) offers four different criteria for what constitutes as swearing:

1. “Swearing is the use of utterances containing taboo words.
2. Taboo words are used with no 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 use of taboo words in swearing emphasizes the speaker’s message. Simultaneously, swearing often violates societal conventions. Second, although the literal meanings of these taboo words are used in swearing, they are not particularly important. Third, because of its lexical, phrasal and syntactic constraints swearing is classified as a formulaic language. Finally, swearing is an example of reflective language usage that elicits information about the speaker’s attitudes and feelings. Šehović as cited in Halilović et al. (2009, p. 142) quotes Radovanović (1986, p. 175) who observes jargon as “the most accurate example of socially motivated linguistic satisfaction, classifying them as sociolects, which depict the differences between individual social units within the framework of speech communities, social groups, structures and different strata.”¹ Furthermore, Šehović as cited in Halilović et al. (2009, p. 166) refers to Savić (1998, pp. 143-168) who states that swearwords are “vulgar expressions with obscene words in the ground, which are explicitly or implicitly implemented in communication taking

into account various factors.”² On the other hand, for Šehović as cited in Halilović et al. (2009, p. 166) swearwords are used as a form of “verbal aggression against an individual, thing or phenomena that are imbued with negative results.”³ Therefore, Šehović as cited in Halilović et al. (2009, p. 166) concludes that swearwords are a part of an expressive speech act that expresses different communication habits that can reflect various forms of emotions.⁴

2.2. Taboo words

In dealing with taboo words, their definitions and implications Farb (1993, p. 78) claims that every society, within its language, has words which are marked as ‘inappropriate’. Inappropriate or prohibited words of one language can be completely normal in another language. Those inappropriate words are usually marked as taboo words. Farb (1993, p. 88) implies that the word taboo has been borrowed from Tongan, a language of Polynesia, to “describe the avoidance of particular kinds of behavior, an avoidance which sometimes appears arbitrary and fanciful to an outsider”. Not only do taboos forbid such activities, but they usually prohibit their discussion as well.

Farb (1993, p. 89) states that in English-speaking communities, children are taught that certain words are ‘dirty’ and that they should not be used. Words marked as ‘dirty’, are usually taboo words. If two different words sound alike, and one of them is considered a taboo, the other word immediately becomes a taboo word as well. For example, Farb (1993, p. 90) states that in America, *rooster* and *monkey* were once called *cock* and *ass*, but not anymore. Taboo words are often connected with bodily fluids, functions and certain animals. Men tend to use taboo words when joking, or as a form of dirty talk presented via verbal seduction, but if women engage in that type of conversation, it is hard for them to claim in some later time that they find that type of talk as offensive on moral grounds. Thus, in American community, in the interaction between men and women, certain social and sexual roles are obtained. Farb (1993, p. 98) states that “women are ‘submissive’, while men are ‘attackers’”. The strategy of using dirty talk to draw the opposite gender’s attention is only possible if the roles described above are retained. If social roles change, dirty talk will continue to exist in society, but its place in the speech culture will change. Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 1) consider swearing as a “form of linguistic activity utilizing taboo words to convey the expression of strong emotions.” Due to the fact that

swearing often contains taboo terms, these words can be observed as more dominant than non-swearing words. Individuals who swear are often judged negatively, as the uttered words can shock and disturb others, while the responses of others are highly subjective. Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 1) also emphasize that “swearing is thought to have a catharsis effect, resulting in a form of relief from stress or pain.” Swearing often has an impact on the swearer’s perceived reputation, strength, and persuasiveness. It may also have a number of interpersonal effects, such as fostering community cohesion and unity, inhibiting violence, eliciting laughter, as well as inflicting emotional distress on others. Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 287) propose a hypothetical model of swearing based on basic emotion research in order to serve as a framework for future research. Andersson & Trudgill (2007, pp. 195-199), as cited in Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 288), define swearing as “language use in which this expression refers to something taboo or stigmatized in the swearer’s culture, not intended to be interpreted literally, and can be used to express strong emotion or attitudes.”

Not all swearing is the same. Swearing has been represented in a variety of different ways and styles. Patrick (1901, pp. 113-127), as cited in Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 288), distinguishes various types of religious swearwords associated with holy places or sacred religious matters, which might be considered the origin of cursing. However according to Pinker (2007, p. 343) the most often used taboo categories for swearing are bodily functions, body parts, sex and religion. Another significant and connected trait of swearwords is their deep emotional bond, both positive and negative. Swearing can also be differentiated by its particular function or by its degree of conscious controllability. Montagu (1967, pp. 189-201) as cited in this study separates annoyance swearing and social swearing, with annoyance swearing serving primarily “intra-individual functions”, whereas social or conversational swearing refers to “swearing which mainly serves inter-individual functions.” It has been claimed that swearing can be classified on a spectrum ranging from unconscious-automatic to completely conscious-controlled. On the other hand, Pinker (2007, p. 350) distinguishes at least five different ways of swearing:

Descriptive	Let’s fuck.
Idiomatical	It’s fucked up.
Abusive	Fuck you, motherfucker.

Emphatic	This is fucking amazing.
Cathartic	Fuck!!

Table 1: Different ways of swearing (as cited in Pinker (2007, p. 350))

The aim of this categorization is to gain a better understanding of the functions of swearing behavior and to shed light on why people continue to swear, even after learning that swearing can result in social rejection or negative consequences.

When diving into the taboo lexicon of the English language, it is of high importance to emphasize the taxonomy described by Ljung. Ljung (2011, p. 29) introduces us with the functions and the themes of taboo lexicon. These functions are classified into two broad categories, namely stand-alones and the slot-fillers. Additionally, there is a third, smaller functional group that is defined under the term of replacive swearing. Nonetheless, Ljung (2011, p. 30) states that the biggest emphasis is on stand-alones and slot fillers, where stand-alones are defined as “swearing constructions that function as utterances of their own, while slot-fillers are instances of swearing that serve to make up longer strings.” Conversely, Ljung (2011, p. 35) states that there are also the major taboo themes that are used in swearing such as “the religious/supernatural theme, the scatological theme, the sex organ theme, the sexual activities theme, as well as the mother/family theme.”

Finally, it should be noted that the preceding thematic classification is based on the premise that all swearing phrases can be classified as belonging to a single theme. Additionally, the classification presupposes that, although a single instance of swearing can be synonymous with several themes, one of those themes is more critical for understanding of that particular phrase than the other(s). Ljung (2011, p. 36) believes that an epithet such as *motherfucker* encompasses both the sexual intercourse and mother themes, although the mother theme is more prominent. Therefore, it can be concluded that mother theme encompasses all swearing that makes reference to someone’s mother or another female relative, often involving incestuous ties between mother and son, such as “*Fuck your mother, motherfucker*”, or between the speaker and addressee’s mother. Ljung (2011, p.36) indicates that among the English words in this group we find “nouns such as *motherfucker*; adjectives such as *mother-fucking*, and the noun *bastard*, which has a less obvious meaning.” Hence, there was a great focus on the scatological theme, sexual activities theme and the mother theme.

It is claimed that the theme of scatological swearing is prevalent in all languages. Ljung (2011, p. 37) states that in English, it is expressed by the use of the words like “*ass/arse, asshole, arsehole, crap, fart, piss, shit, and turd.*” Some of these words are more often used in profanity than others. The term *shit* is an extremely useful word that can be used as an expletive interjection in *shit* and as an expletive epithet in utterances such as: “He is a regular shit/an arrogant shit/a piece of shit”; as well as in other phrases for instance “I understand shit – all of what he does, and I don’t give a shit.” However, when the theme of sexual activities is observed it is stated that the swearword *fuck* has a staggeringly diverse range of applications, including the exclamation *fuck!* Ljung (2011, p. 40) refers to the swearword *fuck!*, which is the incredibly flexible form of the term *fucking*, which can be used as an emphatic and/or derogatory adjective as well as an adverb of degree, and the insulting epithets for example: “*fucker, motherfucker, and fuck*”; and a motley crew of idiomatic expressions like: “*I don’t give a fuck; for fuck’s sake; She knows fuck all about it; Fuck off; fuck around; fuck up* and many others.” In all of these examples *fuck* fits into standard word classes: it is a noun in *fuck* and *not give a fuck*; a verb in *fuck you, fuck up* and *fuck off*, and it also functions as the linguistic stem in word formations like *fucking* and *fucker*. On the other hand, Ljung (2011, p. 41) emphasizes that the mother theme in many languages including Slavic ones is often used in name-calling, as when someone is referred to as “*the son of a bitch* or *a motherfucker*”, both of which cast aspersion on both mother and son. Therefore, all of these abovementioned categorizations and examples explain how Ljung has created his own thematic typology.

2.3. History of swearing and the use of vulgarisms

Ljung (2011, pp. 45-74) also gives a brief history of swearing. The first two examples of what could be considered swearing date all the way back to Ancient Egypt. One of these can be found on a stela, an upright stone slab with a commemorative inscription, dating back to the era of Ramses III, pharaoh between 1198 and 1166 BC. The primary aim of curses in Ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, but even today is to summon evil upon another person or object. Ljung (2011, p. 46) states that the point of self-cursing is to “strengthen the speaker’s commitment to the truth of a claim or to emphasize her/his commitment to a certain course of action.” In several languages, self-curse has usually been subjected to a variety of linguistic processes known as

grammaticalization, and was initially used to convert content words to grammatical morphemes. Nonetheless, if we refer to the swearing in Bible, it can be concluded that the Old Testament sets strict rules for the use of swearwords, but not in a completely negative way. Ljung (2011, p. 48) states that a critical distinction is made between God's swearing and human swearing, which is portrayed throughout the following quote from Deuteronomy 6:13 - "It is the LORD your God that you shall fear. Him you shall serve and by his name you shall swear." Therefore, blasphemous vocabulary is essentially synonymous with heresy. Contrastingly, if we observe swearing in the 19th century, this particular period represents an age of extreme gentleness in which speakers appeared to avoid, and indeed were taught to avoid all references to vulgar subjects. Hence, swearing in polite society was abolished or altered beyond recognition and Ljung (2011, p. 66) states that "the oaths and curses established during earlier stages of the language quickly became the unimaginable among respectable members of society, with the obvious exception of soldiers and sailors."

As Hughes claims (2006, xv), swearing continues to fascinate those involved in language and culture, provoking debate and bringing up current issues. Hughes (2006, xv) states that "an extraordinary range of style and content has evolved in oaths, profanity, foul language and ethnic slurs over the centuries, on a scale from the most sacred utterances to the most taboo." Formal swearing is a social obedience and duty rite used in marriage, court, for high office and pledge of allegiance to the state. On the other hand. Conversely, informal swearing is a violation of social codes ranging from impolite to illegal. Swearing now encompasses an array of diverse and evolved types necessitating the establishment of some broad distinctions at the outset. Taking into consideration the differences between mode and content, it can be concluded that in terms of mode we swear by some higher power or person; we swear that something is true; we swear to do something; we swear at something or someone, and we swear simply out of anger, disappointment, or frustration. These various forms of communication can be renamed using a variety of unfamiliar classical words including "asseveration, invocation, imprecation, malediction, blasphemy, profanity, obscenity and ejaculation." Hughes (2006, xv) illustrates the hierarchical division between the binary opposites of 'sacred', 'profane' and 'taboo', as well as the 'path of acceptability' that divides the oaths, which can be either sacred or profane. Obscenity, foul language and racial slurs all fall below the line because they are solely secular in nature and have no sacred counterpart. Taboo includes a binary opposition as well, referring to

human experiences, sentences or acts that are unmentionable due to their ineffability, sacredness (such as the name of God) or unspeakably vileness (like incest). Majority of these forms of swearing are the product of centuries of development or accumulation. Hughes (2006, xv) states that “nonetheless, the crude and simple history of swearing, however named, is that people used mainly to swear *by* or *to*, but now they swear mostly *at*.”

Line of acceptability →	SACRED			
	Prayers	Attestations	Charms	Oaths
	Curses Malediction Blasphemy	Profanity Perjury	Spells Foul language Ethnic slurs	Obscenity
	PROFANE		TABOO	

Table 2: Variations of Swearing and Word Magic (as cited in Hughes (2006, xvi))

Swearing is fundamentally regulated by ‘sacral’ notions of word magic, that is, the idea that words have the ability to alter reality. Hughes (2006, xvi) states that “these beliefs tend to be very powerful at primitive stages of society, manifesting themselves in charms, spells, invocations, and curses, so that taboos or prohibitions have grown up around dangerous or offensive usages.” Thus, swearing is a breach of these taboos in one sense – the ‘high’ varieties violate the taboo of invoking the deity’s name while the ‘low’ varieties often violate sexual taboos, especially those concerning copulation and incest. Exactly this dualistic juxtaposition of the holy and profane; of the high and low, symbolically reflects man’s angelic and diabolical potentials. A significant change in history occurred in moderately recent times, when the ‘lower’ physical faculties of copulation, defecation and urination became prominent as swearing referents. Although these can be profoundly hurtful, Hughes (2006, xvii) reveals that many of these expressions such as “*son of a bitch; bugger off; go take a flying fuck*” refer to literal or realistic impossibilities. Lastly, the history of swearing demonstrates distinct oscillations between periods of repression and counterbalancing responses of license and excess. Thus, the medieval era was characterized by exceptional flexibility in the use of religious oaths, which

authorities tried to curtail and inhibit by various legal restrictions. Certain forms of swearing tend to be common, while others are more culturally unique. However, within certain speech cultures, variants based on ethnicity, class and gender evolve over time.

2.4. History and categorization of ‘Bad Language’

McEnery (2006, p. 1) states that the phrase ‘bad language’ refers to “any word or phrase which, when used in what one might call polite conversation, is likely to cause offense.” In order to describe bad language in detail, McEnery focuses on why bad language is a major locus of variation in English languages, which allows him to investigate the historical origins of modern attitudes to bad language. The author approaches discourses about bad languages from a sociohistorical perspective. Additionally, moral panic theory and Bourdieu’s theory of differentiation are used to demonstrate how attitudes toward bad language have evolved over time as a result of groups trying to use the absence of swearing in their speech as a sign of mora, economic and political influence. Therefore, it is examined how the state has used bad language as a justification for censorship, how bad language has come to be correlated with a variety of sociolinguistic variables such as age, sex, and social status. Nonetheless, while observing social and political history, McEnery (2006, p. 3) implies that sociological theory shows that attitudes toward bad language are both a social/historical and linguistic phenomenon. To demonstrate how society develops attitudes and beliefs that problematize language, McEnery draws on contemporary sociological theory, most notably the Bourdieu’s Theory of Distinction, which is used to present differences between social classes, as well as the Moral Panic Theory which is used as the basis of the approach taken to discourses about bad language.

Stanley Cohen, a sociologist, developed the Moral Panic Theory to account for instances in which the media and culture at large, focus on a specific issue and create alarmist discourse, which results in action against the perceived problem. On the contrary, Bourdieu’s Theory of Distinction emphasizes how cultural characteristics are used to categorize social classes, forming a social hierarchy based on a set of social shibboleths. Thus, the process of delineating linguistic distinctions between groups is not a casual one, but one in which the groups’ identities become inextricably linked to their language use, owing to the socially charged existence of legitimate language, which generates a discourse of power. McEnery (2006, p. 25) presented how several

attempts have been made to categorize and classify bad language words (BLW), and stated how bad language words – BLWs are “a marker of distinction in English.” Thus, we are introduced with the Lancaster Corpus of Abuse that is based on the BNC corpus (The British National Corpus), where BLWs can be categorized as follows:

Swearwords	Fuck; Piss; Shit
Animal terms of abuse	Pig; Cow; Bitch
Sexist terms of abuse	Bitch; Whore; Slut
Intellect-based terms of abuse	Idiot; Prat; Imbecile
Racist terms of abuse	Paki; Nigger; Chink
Homophobic terms of abuse	Queer

Table 3: Lancaster Corpus of Abuse (as cited in McEnery (2006, p. 25))

The distinction between these groups is not always simple, and as McEnery (2006, p. 25) points out; “a single word can be said to belong to two or more of these categories.” For instance the word ‘*bitch*’ may refer to both an animal and a sexist term of abuse. Šehović (2003, pp.53-60) states that there are rare cases in which bad language is used to “express positive intentions, and are a sign of closeness.”⁵What adds to the intensity of bad language is the fact that reacting to them is both involuntary and emotional. Finally, according to Pinker (2007, p.332); when we hear such a word we “reflexively look it up in memory and respond to its meaning, including the possible connotations.”

2.5. Differences in spoken and written language

Coulthard (1977, vii) summarizes that there are two different approaches to discourse analysis, “one that is concerned with sequential relationships and the other that represents the negotiative processes among a variety of contextual factors which lead to the establishment of specific social relationships between the interlocutors.” That is one of the primary reasons why spoken language has a significant advantage over written language, owing to the factors such as a variety of different gestures and even the human voice, which can provide us with additional information about the language. As a result, written language must explore ways to compensate

for its deficiencies. Spoken language is considered to be a type of spontaneous language. Trudgill (2000, p. 21) demonstrates that the spontaneous forms of language will completely vanish once they have served their function, which is to express the thought regardless of its relevance. The usage of vulgarisms in spoken and written language is distinguished by the fact that spoken language cannot be detached from the speaker, whereas written language can be detached and thus observed objectively. Horowitz & Samuels (1987, p. 21.) state that written language is a type of language that is “formal, academic and planned, and is reconstructed in such a way that in the future it can be processed by varied readerships.” On the other hand, Horowitz & Samuels (1987, p. 56) state that spoken language is “adapted to a specific audience and to socio-cultural setting and communities that are presumably present, functioning in a context of here and now.”

Spoken language differs from written language in four different levels: phonetically, morphologically, lexically, and syntactically. In language, vulgarism is a word or phrase from the language that is spoken by people, that is in contrast to more sophisticated and formal use of that language. Hudson (1996, p. 116) has presented us with basic divisions of vulgarisms, which lead us to the conclusion that vulgarisms can be divided into ‘expletives’ and ‘swearwords’. Taking into an account all of the abovementioned studies, it can be concluded that vulgarisms are forms of language that can be often used in conversation mostly out of habit, without any thoughts of what they mean nor how they sound in a particular situation. Ljung (2011, pp. 97-114) claims that there are three forms of swearwords, such as serious and non-serious cursing, expletive cursing and self-cursing. The author brings into the spotlight how cursing has a long and unusually well-documented history, and as a result, we know much more about the origin and early creation of severe curses than we do about oaths.

Ljung (2011, p. 108) implies that curses come in two varieties – “formal, or serious cursing, and informal or non-serious cursing; both of which may, in principle, involve appeals both to God and Devil.” Therefore, Ljung especially emphasizes serious cursing and self-cursing. Serious cursing is genuinely maledictory, because it reflects the speaker’s desire to bring on the speaker’s own demise. Additionally, it implies a conviction that the curses is capable of inflicting evil on other with or without the help of God or the Devil, and hence requires the curses to approach either directly. Thus, serious cursing cannot be considered as swearing because it employs taboo terms in their literal sense and is compositional in nature rather than

formulaic. On the other hand, Montagu (1967, p. 105), as cited in Ljung (2011, pp. 111-112) uses term 'self-adjurative swearing' to imply that the purpose of self-cursing is identical to that of the oaths; viz. to reinforce the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition underlying his/her utterance by embedding it in a conditional construction of the form – "May something terrible happen to me + If-clause." Finally, vulgarisms can be expressed as words that possess a strong emotional meaning which denotes any form of speaker's attitude towards the object in question.

2.6. Language and gender

Mesthrie et al. (2009, pp. 213-241) dedicated a whole chapter of their book to explaining language and gender in depth. There is a perception that women and men use language differently. Research around language and gender began around 1970s. Linguists have found evidence of 'sex exclusive' language forms while studying different languages. Those were the cases in which an obligatory grammatical distinction is made between genders, i.e. female and male speakers. Trudgill (2000, p. 188) claims that women are more "status-conscious than men", but there was no evidence to support this claim. One long-running area of debate has concerned whether female and male styles are better interpreted in terms of cultural differences between the sexes, or in terms of the relative power of female and male speakers. Lakoff (1975, pp. 42-43) as cited in Mesthrie et al. (2009, p. 226) states that women employ a variety of linguistic features that collectively convey an impression of ambiguity and hesitancy. These characteristics make it difficult for women to express themselves strongly, and they diminish the importance of any form of women discussion.

Zimmerman & West (1975, pp. 106-107) found that in their studies more interruptions occurred in conversations between men and women, than in those between two men or two women, and that virtually all the 'mixed-sex' interruptions were perpetrated by men. The authors' approach was based on an empirical study of conversation. They focused on men's oppressive speaking behavior. They saw interruption as a violation of a speaker's right to complete their turn. They believed that by interrupting women, men denied them status of equal conversational partners. Their research is associated with dominance position in men's and women's language. On the contrary, Maltz & Borker (1982, pp. 196-216) as cited in Sunderland

(2006, p. 19) state that “women and men constitute different gender subcultures.” They learn the rules of ‘friendly interaction’ as children interaction mostly takes place in single-sex peer groups. Some linguistic features are used to indicate membership of their own gender group, and to distinguish themselves from the other group. The linguistic features have slightly different meanings within the two gender subcultures. When it comes to female speakers, brief answers clearly mean that they are paying attention to the discussion. However, they show compliance with the argument being made by male speakers. As a result, it is unsurprising that female speakers use them more often than male speakers. That is the main reason why these distinctions occasionally result in misunderstandings when women and men speak.

Jay (1999, pp. 81-91) claims that sex differences are a central fact of human life, and their reflection in language is unsurprising. Sex refers to “biological features that determine male and female, but gender is the social role played by people in society, the way they interact with others.” Humans as a social species, are affected by their environment. Our language style is determined by both sex and gender, and thus language plays a significant role in our personal and social identities, as linguistic habits represent our unique biographies and experiences. Jay (1992, pp. 81-87) states that men swear at a higher rate than women. Men possess a greater repertoire of curse words than women do, and men employ more offensive curse words. Additionally, men and women use taboo words differently. Gender discrepancies can be seen in the way insults, sexual terms, joke telling, verbal dueling, harassing speech and fighting words are used. Women are required to exercise discipline over their emotions, while men have greater latitude to engage in violent and offensive speech patterns. The use of swearwords in language is indicative of masculinity, not femininity. Jay (1992, p. 165) states that “cursing and dominance are masculine traits, and ultimately, cursing depends both on gender identity and power”, which indicates that males have much more power to curse in public than females. Having in mind that our research is based on whether women use vulgarisms in the same amount, and in the same way as men, we can use Jay’s study to compare his results with ours. Therefore, we begin our study with the following research questions.

- Do gender-identity and culture have any effect on using vulgarisms?
- Does use of vulgarisms represent a generational/cultural gap?

In addition, the abovementioned research questions were formed in accordance with the research studies mentioned within this paper which support Jay's study or give the same results, and are in accordance with anecdotal evidence.

While examining the psychological literature, Jay (1992, p. 166) discovers that women and men use vulgarisms and any form of offensive speech in different ways. Jay (1922, p. 166) states that he has found three following trends: "men curse more often than women; men use a larger vocabulary of curse words than do women; and men use more offensive curse words than do women." Simultaneously, women demonstrate one characteristic of female speech, and that is super-polite style of speech. They make an effort to stop using powerful curse words or impolite phrases, which might indicate that in mixed conversations, women speak in a ladylike manner. Jay (1992, p. 147) also states that even though the neurological causes of cursing might be portrayed as universal, cultural influences on the use of vulgarisms can vary from place to place. Hence, before we learn otherwise, one reasonable assumption about language is that everywhere humans go, swearing will follow.

Furthermore, Jay (1992, p. 149) demonstrates that native speakers have the ability to make appropriate judgments about where and when to use any form of vulgarisms. Subjects were asked to assess the frequency and offensiveness of cursing based on three contextual variables: speaker status, physical location and speaker's influence over the location. Subjects were given various textual combinations of curse words, and locations and were asked to rate the likelihood of these combinations on a scale of 0 to 100. Additionally, subjects evaluated the same set of materials and assigned a numerical value to the offensiveness of the statements on a scale ranging from 0 to 100. The data are extremely well-organized and meaningful, and reveal that the native speakers may make judgments about the propriety of cursing based on salient contextual information. When information about the speaker, location or utterance is altered, this alters assessments of likelihood and offensiveness.

According to Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 292) swearing is generally more acceptable in "informal and private or in-group settings relative to more formal and public settings." The formality of the situation in which the swearing takes place is important. Janschewitz & Jay (2008, p. 273) state that the relationship between the speaker and the listener, in terms of their status is a "critical determinant of swearing likelihood and appropriateness." Therefore, individuals of both genders are less likely to curse in presence of someone of a higher social rank

or another gender. Nonetheless, Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 292) state that “swearing primarily occurs when the swearer experiences a strong emotion or when he or she wants to accomplish certain goals through swearing.” The most appropriate context for swearing appears to be an informal environment of people of similar status and gender. Johnson & Lewis (2010, pp. 106-118), as cited in Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 297) state that gender effects are “the most frequently investigated group difference in swearing.” However, according to McEnery (2006, pp. 42-43) swearing appears to be a pervasive phenomenon in today’s culture, particularly among the lower socio-economic groups. The groups in which swearing is quite prevalent, tend to be dominated by men. According to Jay (1999, p. 113) “individuals having high scores on the trait of masculinity will also swear most frequently.” As a result, swearing has long been classified as a predominantly masculine activity. Numerous studies displayed within this paper confirm that men swear more often than women and that boys swear at a younger age than girls. Women report using less expletives than men and consider swearing on television or in newspapers to be less acceptable. A possible explanation for such gender difference is that women are more cognizant of social conditions and the social ramifications of swearing than men are. Baruch & Jenkins (2007, pp. 492-507) as quoted in Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 298) argue that “swearing by women might be judged by others as a strong violation of the norm, because swearing is regarded as a characteristically masculine behavior”, while women are supposed to be more affiliative and tend to cry more often when they are frustrated and powerless. Coates (1986, p. 86) claims that the differences in swearing behavior between men and women seem to be cultural. Given these observations, one may also question the supposed masculine nature of swearing, which might have developed as a result of women being forced not to swear, rather than because they simply swear less often.

Coates (1986, p.43) also approaches the question of difference between male’s and female’s speech from a feminist position. She claims that interpretations of men’s and women’s speech that relate directly to power and male dominance, have given rise to the negative view of female speaking style. Nevertheless, Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 301) indicate that “gender or age can influence a person’s swearing behavior.” Although swearing was once considered a largely masculine practice, women now swear as frequently, if not more frequently, than men. Swearing or not swearing in a particular situation is also contingent on a person’s tolerance of swearing. Additionally, personality can be considered as a factor that portrays how individuals

with an antisocial personality swear more often than others, while others stay with high religiosity, sexual anxiety or suppression tend to swear less frequently. However, it is important to emphasize how McEnery (2006, p. 28) emphasizes the fact that one might imagine that males use much more forms of bad language than females. Nonetheless, if the forms of BLW word types used by males and females are compared, it can be stated that males significantly overuse a set of terms, while females significantly overuse a set of words. McEnery (2006, p. 29) states that if only BLW word forms where a highly significant difference in use between males and females exists are examined, it will be evident that only fifteen words emerge as those that distinguish male and female swearing, such as:

- *“fucking, fuck, jesus, cunt and fucker – are more typical of male swearing, in descending order of significance; and*
- *god, bloody, pig, hell, bugger, bitch, pissed, arsed, shit and pissy – are more typical of females.”*

Thus, BLWs serve as a symbol of differentiation between males and females, but the distinction is quantitatively defined by a limited range of word types and more qualitatively defined by males drawing from a stronger set of words than females. On the contrary, regarding the Bosnian speaking area, when defining gender in Bosnian swearwords, we often have to ask ourselves why most swearwords contain the female gender. While swearing, one always refers to one’s mother, sister or even aunt, one might ask why male gender is less frequently used in swearwords. However, that might be the case simply because in Bosnian society male gender is observed as ‘stronger gender’, and therefore it should not be mentioned ‘in vain’, and certainly not in the same sentence with any form of derogatory term. As long as there is a form of swearword that will leave out the whole male gender, other forms of ‘alternatives’ with female gender will be used nonetheless. Halilović et al. (2009, p. 149-161) indicate that people mostly use swearwords “out of habit, bad manners and poor vocabulary, so that swearing can serve as a supplement or a catchphrase, out of a desire to prove oneself, for the sake of reinforcement of their own opinions.”⁶ Thus, Halilović et al. (2009, pp. 143-161) come to conclusion that swearwords are not only characteristic of the speech of one gender, or certain social groups, even though that observation was used for a long time, but instead they are a characteristic of both

genders, all social strata and all age groups.⁷Šehović, as cited in Halilović et al. (2009, p. 167) points out certain vulgarisms that are quite frequent within Bosnian society:

- “dokurčiti – which can be translated as to bore, or to reach one’s limit of patience;
- drmoguz – which translates as a person who likes to have fun;
- kuronja – a man;
- pišulja – a female;
- pizda – cunt; a female; and
- popizditi – which translates as freak out, or lose control due to anger and rage.”⁸

Therefore, Šehović as cited in Halilović et al. (2009, p. 168) concludes that less often, vulgarisms can be realized as acronyms, which are used in order to compose ‘*je*’ and ‘*be*’, and to say ‘*ku*’ and ‘*pi*’.⁹ In contrast, Hughes (2006, p. 195) implies that gender in swearing covers three main aspects: “the gender of the swearer, that of the terms themselves, and the application or ‘target’.” Historically, and as is widely accepted, swearing is primarily a male domain and swearing in the presence of women is a grave violation of good manners. The gender of swearwords has become part of a broader controversy over the last few decades, based on the belief that language is a male-dominated construct displaying chauvinist biases. Hughes (2006, p. 363) states that according to the general feminist view, since language is created in a ‘patriarchal’ or ‘phallographic’ setting, there has developed a predominance of words derived from female anatomy, most notably ‘*tit*’ and ‘*cunt*’. According to Schulz (1975, pp. 64-73) as cited in Hughes (2006, xxii) this dynamic has been dubbed as “the semantic derogation of women.” The other peculiarity is that there is no definition that is universally applicable to all sexes. In recent decades, the term *bitch* has gained popularity among men, and in the broader context of a difficult situation, as in ‘*This is a real bitch.*’ Although the general distribution or application of words is instructive, it can neglect discrimination, given the importance of insults. According to Hughes (2006, p. 196) this evaluation is also problematic, as it is influenced by contextual factors such as “tone, social codes, and degree of deliberation.” Although most words consider ‘*cunt*’, ‘*motherfucker*’ and ‘*bastard*’ to be intensely wounding, Hughes (2006, p. 196) says that some would argue correctly that these words are not only powerful and offensive, but can express a range of emotions, including hate and disdain, as well as compassion and love. Holmes

& Meyerhoff (2003, p. 1) introduce us to the authoritative, systematic and unique set of articles that reflect the breadth and diversity of contemporary research in the field of sociolinguistics that deals with language and gender. Within the broader study of language and culture, language and gender is an especially vibrant field of research and theory formation.

McElhinny (1995, pp. 21-37), provides us with an overview of the study of language and gender within the linguistic anthropology traditions and methods. Her examination of the various ways in which the definition of gender is viewed presents a recurring theme in the collection, highlighting in particular the troubling implications of believing that gender can be adequately analyzed as a simplistic dichotomy. The author emphasizes Shapiro's (1981, pp. 446-465) claim that "sex and gender serve a useful analytic purpose in contrasting a set of biological facts with a set of cultural facts." The distinction between sex and gender is intended to counter views that attribute "differences and inequalities between women and men." Therefore, the author states that "challenges to norms of sex and gender can cast a particularly illuminating light on the construction of sex and gender because they make visible norms and counter-norms of gender." On the other hand, Hall (1995, pp. 353-381) explores gender identity across a broad spectrum of linguistic contexts. Hall, therefore examines how gender identities have become problematic in language and gender studies. She argues that we can fully appreciate the importance of recent theoretical changes in the analysis of language and gender only if we appreciate the non-peripheral existence of gender identities that have historically been regarded as extraordinary or deviant. Hall (1995, p. 353) emphasizes that "the field of language and gender has witnessed several pivotal shifts in its interpretation of normative and non-normative gender identity." This analysis illuminates these changes through an exploration of how academics have defended theoretical arguments about the interaction of language gender and culture by invoking the speech habits of 'linguistic deviant', i.e. the speaker who deviates from normative norms about how men and women should speak. This 'linguistic deviant' is the 'woman' herself, whose speaking habits deviate strangely from more normative models of speech.

However, it is important to mention that Cameron (1998, pp. 445-468) expresses that ideological work marked by language representations, especially their role in preserving gender distinctions and naturalizing gender hierarchies. She traced recent developments in communication philosophies, which are inextricably related to depictions of gendered language. The author introduces us with the ideas on how men and women use language, and how they

should use it optionally, which created recurring debates about language formed by numerous cultures throughout history. Cameron (1998, p. 448) states that “women in particular have also been prime targets for the kind of ideological discourse, which sets out actively to intervene in language use with the aim of making it conform to some idealized representation.” Language and gender ideologies on the other hand, are specific because of the time and place, which means that they differ across cultures and historical periods and are influenced by representations of other social features such as class and ethnicity. What remains consistent is the belief that women and men are distinct within any identifiable social community. Whatever the difference is between men’s and woman’s language, these gender and language depictions contribute to a society’s apparatus for preserving gender differences in general, i.e. they normalize the idea of the sexes as opposite with distinct aptitudes and social obligations.

After the analysis of all of the abovementioned studies, we definitely cannot agree with connotation that women shy away from using vulgarisms, taking into consideration the results of the following questionnaire. The following chapter will introduce you to the research that is based on the following hypotheses:

H1: Women use vulgarisms in the same amount as men.

H2: Women use vulgarisms in the same way as men.

Besides, the questions that arose during our research and all of the data analysis were as follows:

- Do gender-identity and culture have an effect while using vulgarisms?
- Does use of vulgarisms represents a generational/cultural gap?

The reason why we have decided to put these hypotheses in correlation with these research questions, is because we wanted to provide a better insight into data analysis, trying to analyze whether gender-identity has any effect while using vulgarisms. Thus, the reason why these hypotheses and research questions were formed in this particular way is because of the cultural differences between the English and the Bosnian language. Farb (1993, p. 180) states that “a culturally diversified society is a vital one and affords maximum freedom for creativity

and achievement.” The use of specific vocabulary within a certain social group that is distinct from literary and standard language results in speech that is poorly understood by the larger linguistic community. Thus, Kasumović (1991, p. 207-210) states that all linguistic forms of taboo words are directly related to the levels of communication culture of the participants in the communication act.¹⁰

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research regarding vulgarisms in Bosnian was conducted in the period 28-30th May 2020, and it was finalized on 30th June, 2020.

3.1. Study of vulgarisms in Bosnian

3.1.1. Participants

This study relies on 86 participants. When choosing the participants, their age and sex was taken into consideration, but the only requirement was that the participants are native speakers of Bosnian language, since the methodological instrument was structured in Bosnian language. Since this is a study on language and gender, it relies on the same amount of male and female participants, 43 female participants, and 43 male participants. When it comes to age, the respondents were young adults, approximately from 19 – 30 years old.

3.1.2. Research problem

The aim of this research was to get certain insights about the participants' tendencies in the choice of vulgarisms within the context of the Faculty of Philosophy, where all departments were included. The participants' gender was used as a background for comparison between the given answers, in order to conclude whether our participants use certain vulgarisms and to what extent.

3.1.3. Instruments and data analysis method

The Discourse Completion Task (DCT) was used as the most reliable quantitative method for this type of a study. It is a production questionnaire in which participants respond to a given prompt. This type of method is used when one wants to elicit different speech acts. Hua & Sweeny (2015, pp. 212-221) discuss three different variations of DCT method.

The first one being the one in which participants were given a prompt in a form of a dialogue. Their task is to fill in the empty space in the dialogue. In the second one, the participants were asked to react to the given prompt in four different ways, and, in the third variant the participants were given a specific, detailed situation, and their task is to react to it. When it comes to DCT method, researcher has an opportunity to form questionnaire according to the needs of the topic of the study or research.

In this case, participants were given ten different situations. These situations are believed to be very realistic and common. The participants had an opportunity to choose between three given answers/reactions and if those answers were not in accordance with their reactions, they could write their own answer. Because of the nature of this study, even though the participants were native Bosnian speakers, some answers were also given in the English language, regarding the modernized abbreviations.

3.1.4. Procedure

After the method was chosen, the questionnaire was constructed, and presented via Google Forms. The questionnaire was distributed during the month of May, 2020. In the description of the questionnaire titled *Vulgarisms*, it was not stated what is the main purpose of the research. Therefore, the main aim of this questionnaire i.e. examination of the gender differences in the use of vulgarisms was eluded. Also, it was clearly stated that this form of a questionnaire is completely anonymous. This questionnaire was aimed to get honest answers. Hence, this questionnaire was distributed via social media –Facebook group of Student Association of Faculty of Philosophy (STAFF), whose members are students of all departments within this faculty. In the post description, our colleagues were kindly asked to fill in the questionnaire via the given link.

3.2. Study of vulgarisms in English

As for our research concerning vulgarisms and swearwords in English, McEnery's (2006, pp. 24-50) research on bad language words (BLWs) in spoken language, using corpora of the

Lancaster Corpus of Abuse (LCA), was used as the basis for our research. McEnery's research was also used as the basis for all further analyses presented within this chapter.

3.2.1. McEnery's approach to swearing

McEnery (2006, p. 24) examines BLWs in the English language, as they are used in everyday speech in order to determine how does this distinction of everyday use relates to them. In doing so, McEnery examines the behavior of single BLWs, groups of BLWs and different types of BLWs in the spoken language. This analysis allowed him to examine how such terms are associated with particular groups or may be suggestive of interactions between particular groups. Along with the quantitative research of their distribution across sociolinguistic factors such as gender, age and socio-economic position, McEnery (2006, p. 25) undertakes qualitative analysis of each BLW using a custom bad language categorization scheme (The Annotation Scheme).

3.2.2. Procedure for McEnery's data analysis

After combining the results of two surveys in order to support his hypotheses and data analysis, McEnery (2006, p. 30) forms a "five-part scale of offence" which he used to classify the use of BLWs. This scale was derived from one of the sources used in its development, the British Board of Film Classification. In order to explore whether the categories of BLWs are used more by males or females, McEnery (2006, p. 31) contrasts the use of the different types of BLWs used by males and females.

4. DATA RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, we will present the results and analysis of our research. What will follow is the analysis of our research results. Furthermore, in the following subchapters, we will introduce you with the comparison between our research results and McEnery's (2006, p. 24-50) analysis of the data from the LCA.

4.1. Results of the questionnaire aimed for native Bosnian speakers

At the beginning of the questionnaire, the participants were asked to state their sex and age. And then to proceed to the given prompts. As stated in chapter 3 – Research Methodology, there was an equal number of female (43) and male (43) participants.

Taking into consideration that when it comes to data comparison it is better to have both charts next to each other, but due to the formatting of the charts, data is much more visible when they are shown separately.

The first prompt: You are walking around the house, and you hit your toe on the table.

Figure 1

1. (M) Hodate po kući i nespretno udarite nožnim prstom od sto. Vaša reakcija je:

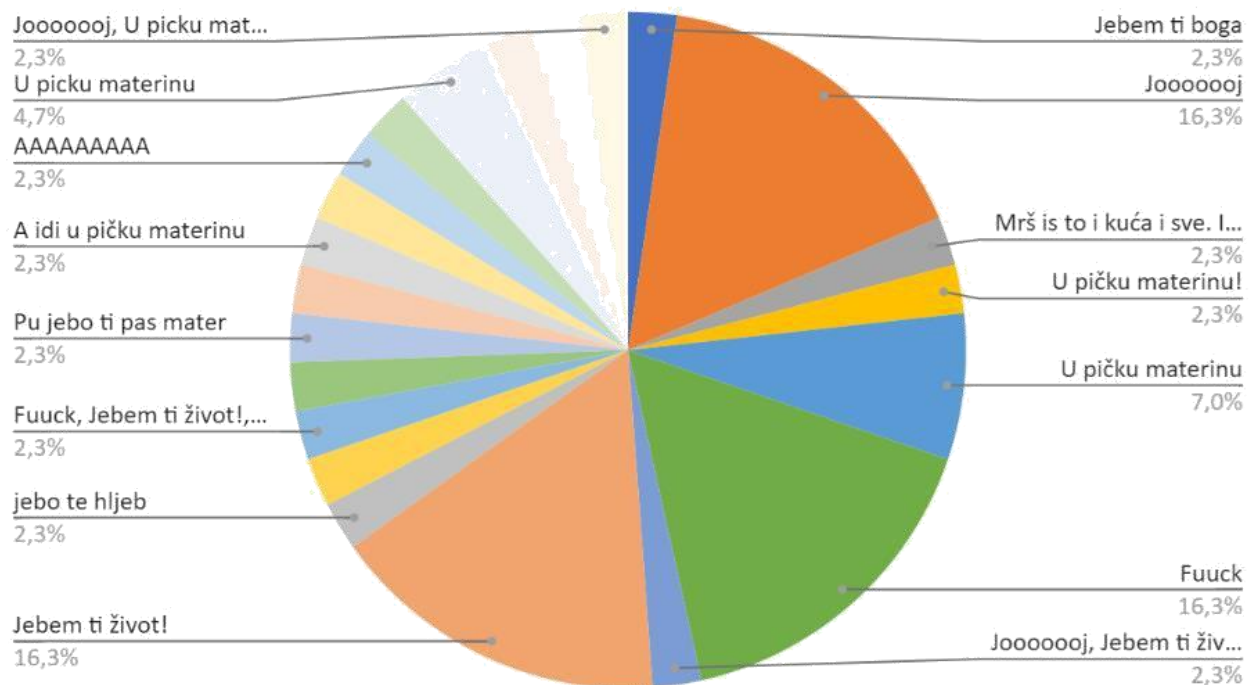


Figure 1 shows data collected from the answers of our male participants. As it is shown, 16,3% of male participants chose the swearword *Jebem ti život!*; as their response to the given situation followed by *Fuuuck* which was also chosen by 16,3% of the male participants. According to the chart, the same number of male participants has chosen the *Jooooooj* response. *Jebem ti život!*, *Fuuuuck* and *Jooooooj* were all already given answers. And solely by this results we could have concluded that male participants use vulgarisms in moderation – situations when they are angry and in pain. But, participants were given the opportunity to write down their own answer, where most of those answers were vulgarisms such as: *Fuuck*; *Jebem ti život!*; *AAA SUNCE TI...*; *u pičku materinu*; *pu jebo ti pas mater*; *Jebem ti sve!*. Some of them used the combination of *Joooj* and a vulgarism or a swearword. When we add those to the percentage of already given answers *Fuuuuck* and *Jebem ti život!*, we get a result that 77% of our male participants used some type of vulgarism as a response to a given situation. A very small percentage of them used the opportunity of writing their own answer to express the pain with words such as *auuu*; *wow*; and *auf*.

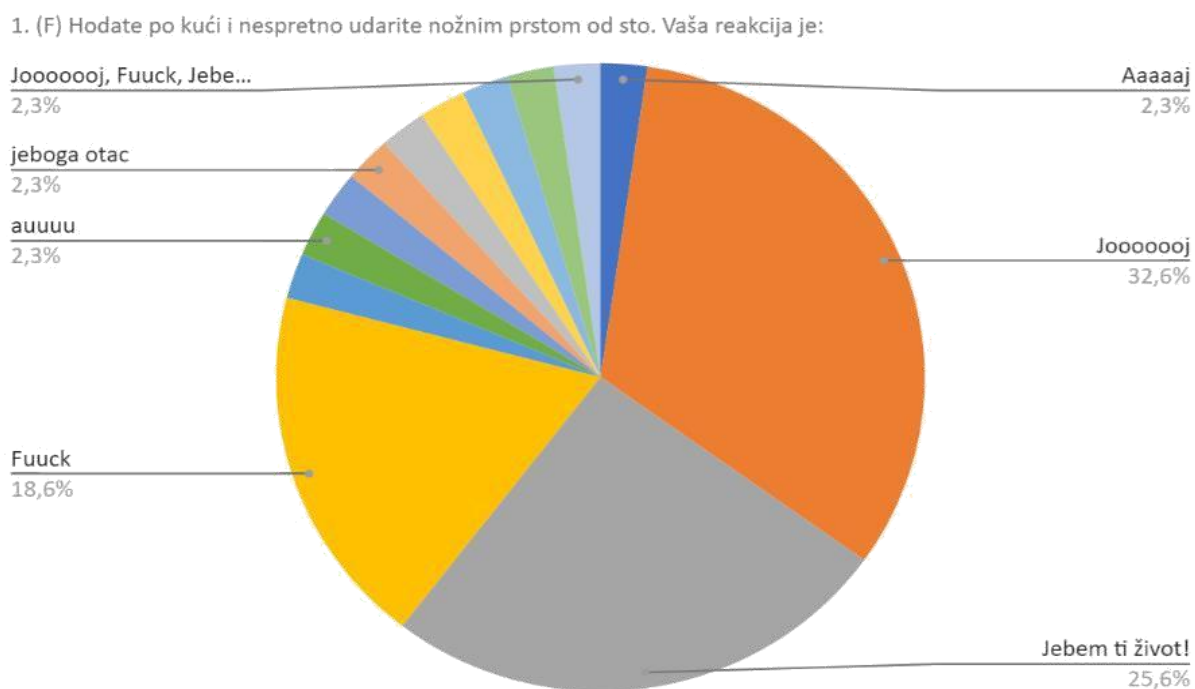


Figure 2

In comparison to the results of the male (M) participants, in figure 2 we can see that 25,6% of female (F) participants chose the given answer *Jebem ti život!*, which was followed by 18,6% for *Fuuuck*. The response *Jooooooj* has the highest percentage, 32,6%. Female participants also used the opportunity to write down their own answers, which were really similar to those of male participants (*u pičku materinu, Jebem ti sve!*). Some of those answers were: *Uu jebem ti prst!*; *SHIT*; *jeboga otac*; *Ajj jebo ga dan*. When we sum up all of those answers, we get the result that 55% of female participants used some type of vulgarity as a response or reaction to the given situation. But they also used the option of giving their own answers to write different ways of expressing pain, such as: *AAAAAAAAAAAA*; *uuuuuu*; *Jooooooj*; and *aaaaufffff*.

Even though the statistics for the giving answers show that women swear more than men, men were more ‘creative’ when it came to writing down their own answers, while women mostly chose the given ones, or used the empty space for expressions which signify pain in Bosnian language such as *ajjj*, *auuu*, and similar. This particularly shows that men use swearwords more than women.

The second prompt: Your colleague from work our university is explaining your bosses’/teacher’s idea that you do not agree with.

2. (M) Kolegica s fakulteta ili posla Vam objašnjava neku šefovu/profesorovu ideju s kojom se ne slažete. Vaša reakcija je:

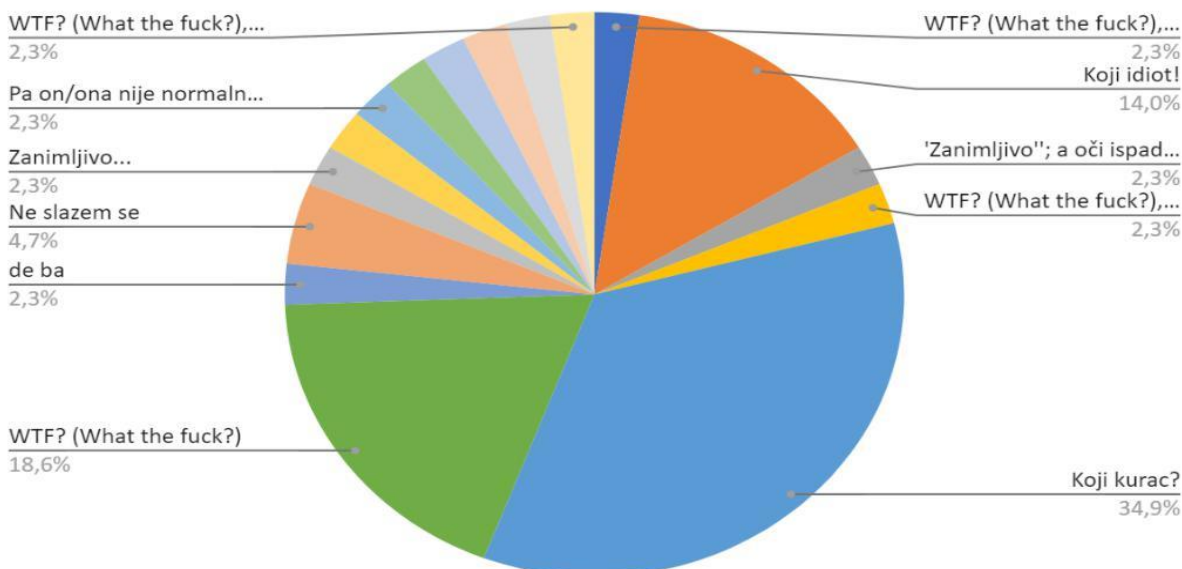


Figure 3

Figure 3 shows answers given by our male (M) participants, and the Figure 4 answers given by our female (F) participants. Again, more female participants, precisely 44,2% of them, chose *WTF (What the Fuck?)* as their reaction, in comparison with 18,6% male participants. This reaction is followed by *Koji kurac?* with 34,9% of male, and 23,3% female participants choosing their answer. This is essentially just a Bosnian translation for the *WTF (What the fuck?)* option. This goes to proof that men are more comfortable with using vulgarisms, than women. As it was already mentioned, all our participants have Bosnian as their mother tongue, and English language as their second language.



Figure 4

Jean-Marc Dewaele (2004, p. 207) refer to Bond and Lai (1986, pp. 179-186), and Javier and Marcos (1989, pp. 449-472) who have shown that bilinguals may codeswitch to their second language to distance themselves from what they say. Ideas that would be too disturbing when expressed in the first language are less anxiety provoking in the second language. Since our female participants chose the option of expressing themselves in their second language, this goes to proof that our male participants are more comfortable with using vulgarisms, while the female

participants are trying not to cross the lines of politeness. And the last given answer was *Koji kurac!*, which still falls into category of offensive words in Bosnian language. In the option to give their own answer, the most of both male and female participants gave similar, non-vulgar answers such as: *ne slažem se; ma daj; ne kontam, ha?; bezveze baš*. Only two male participants used this option to use insulting and offensive expressions *smeće* and *on/ona nije normalna*, while none of the female participants used this to write something offensive or vulgar.

The third prompt: You have decided to make hot chocolate, but you need warm milk to do so. You turn the oven on and put on the pot with milk, in the meantime you get a message on your phone and you completely forget about the milk. Milk boils over.

3. (M) Odlučili ste da napravite kakao, ali Vam je za to potrebno toplo mlijeko. Uključili ste šporet i stavili mlijeko da se grije, neko Vam u međuvremenu šalje poruku na mobitel i vi u potpunosti zaboravljate na mlijeko. Mlijeko je pokipilo. Vaša reakcija je:

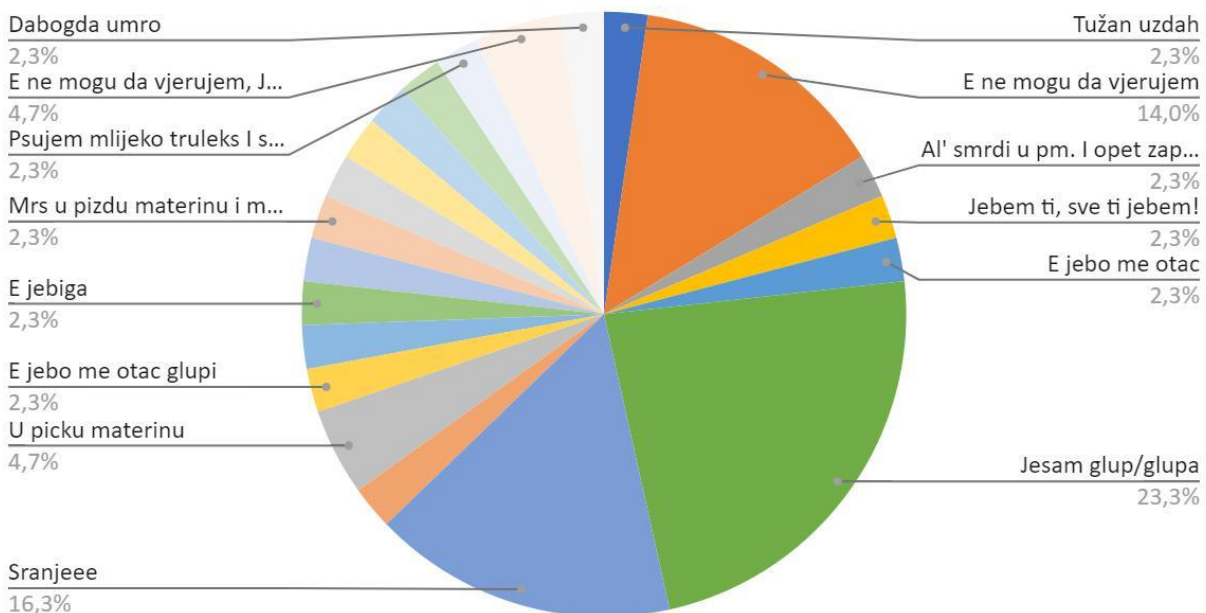


Figure 5

Figure 5 shows answers of our male participants. The given answers were *Jesam glup/glupa; Sranjeee; E ne mogu da vjerujem*. *Sranjeee*, which is considered as a vulgarity in the Bosnian language, has only 16,3% while *Jesam glup/glupa* has 23,3%, and 14,0% for *E ne*

moгу da vjerujem. But our participants used the option to write their own responses in which, 34,8% of them vulgarisms and swearwords such as *U pičku materinu; E jebiga; Shit fuck shit fuck; E u pizdu materinu; E u vražiju strinu*. Those swearwords are all directed to the speaker himself. There is even a curse phrase which says *Dabogda umro (I hope you die)*. While swearwords are considered vulgar and offensive, curse words are used as a way of wishing a punishment upon someone. One of the given responses, which was chosen by the majority of the male participants is still offensive, even though it does not contain any type of vulgarity.

3. (F) Odlučili ste da napravite kakao, ali Vam je za to potrebno toplo mlijeko. Uključili ste šporet i stavili mlijeko da se grije, neko Vam u međuvremenu šalje poruku na mobitel i vi u potpunosti zaboravljate na mlijeko. Mlijeko je pokipilo. Vaša reakcija je:

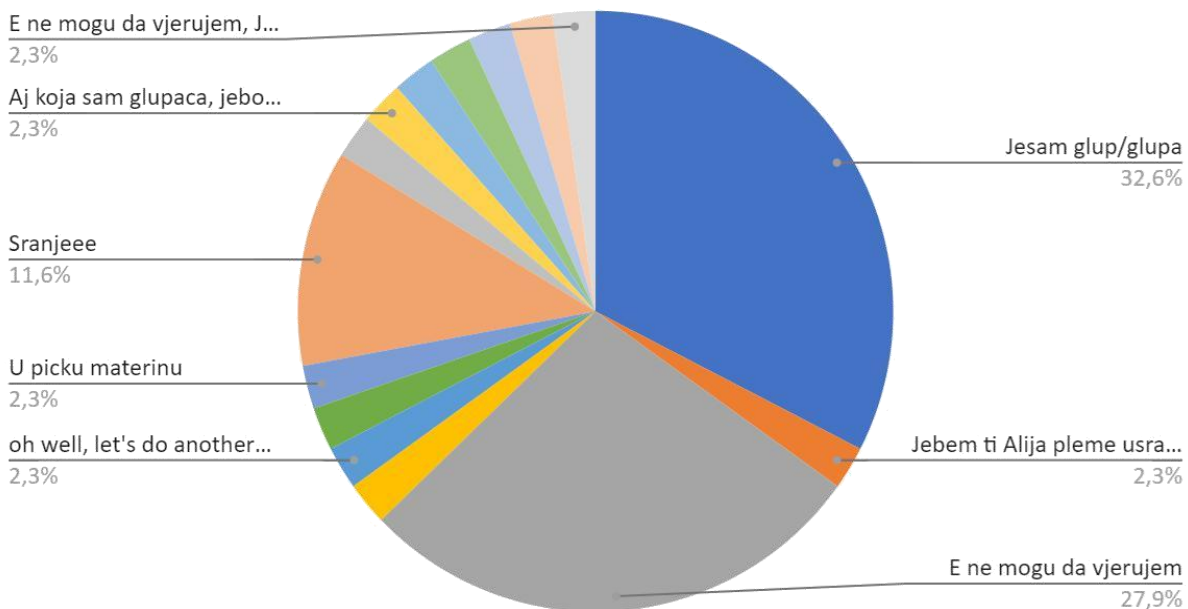


Figure 6

Figure 6 shows the answers of our female participants. They had the same given answers mentioned above. The results are similar to the ones shown in the Figure 5. 32,6% of them chose the *Jesam glup/glupa*, 27,9% *E ne mogu da vjerujem*, and only 11,6% chose *Sranjeeee*. 30% of our female participants chose their own answers consisting of different vulgarisms such as *Koji kurac; A u pm; Aj koja sam glupača jebote*.

The fourth prompt: You are wearing your new, expensive shirt while having lunch in a restaurant. You ordered soup as an appetizer, and while you were eating it, you spilled some on your new shirt. Your reaction is:

4. (M) Izašli ste na ručak u novoj majici, koju ste pri tome skupo platili. Kao predjelo ste naručili supu i dok ste jeli, kapnula vam je supa iz kašike na novu majicu. Vaša reakcija je:

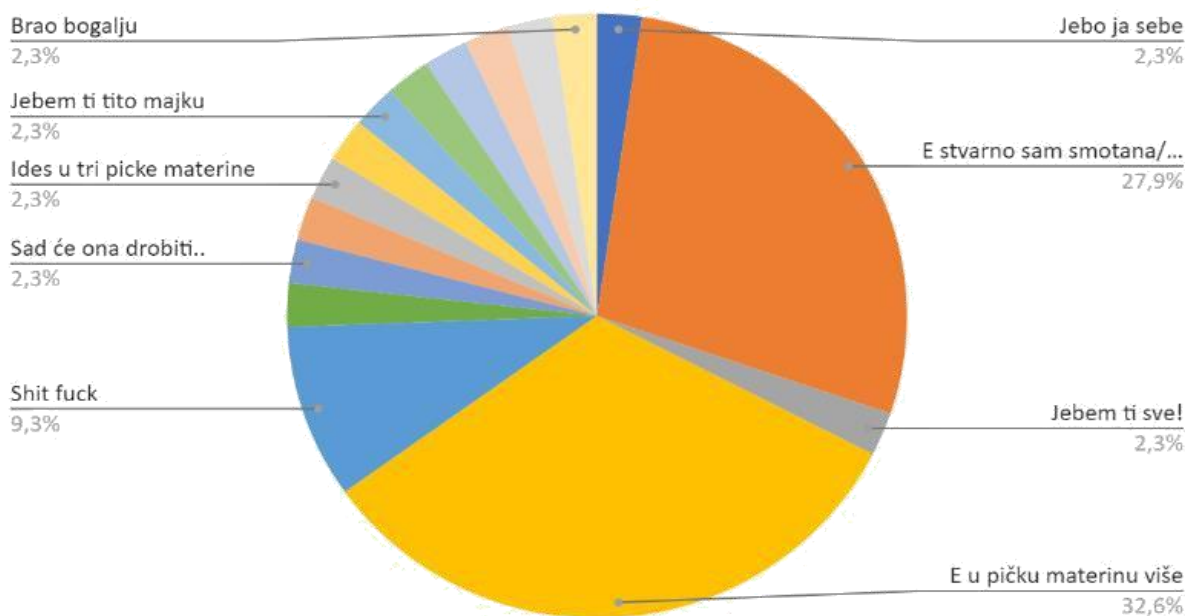


Figure 7

Figure 7 is a chart that represents answers given by male participants. The answer with the highest percentage, 32,6% is *E u pičku materinu*, followed by *E stvarno sam smotana/smotan*, with 27,9% and *Shit fuck* with 9,3%. These options were already given. Even though the given vulgarity has the highest percent, our participants also used the option to write their own answer themselves. Those were *Jebem ti tito majku*; *jebo ja sebe*; *sve ti jebem*. 21% of our participants used some type of vulgarity, while 4,7% of them (2) used offensive words in their answers such as *bogalj* and *debil*.

Figure 7 shows answers chosen by our female participants. 44,2% chose *E stvarno sam smotana/smotan*, followed by *E u pičku materinu više* with 34,9%. Only two of them chose the *Shit fuck* answer.

4. (F) Izašli ste na ručak u novoj majici, koju ste pri tome skupo platili. Kao predjelo ste naručili supu i dok ste jeli, kapnula vam je supa iz kašike na novu majicu. Vaša reakcija je:

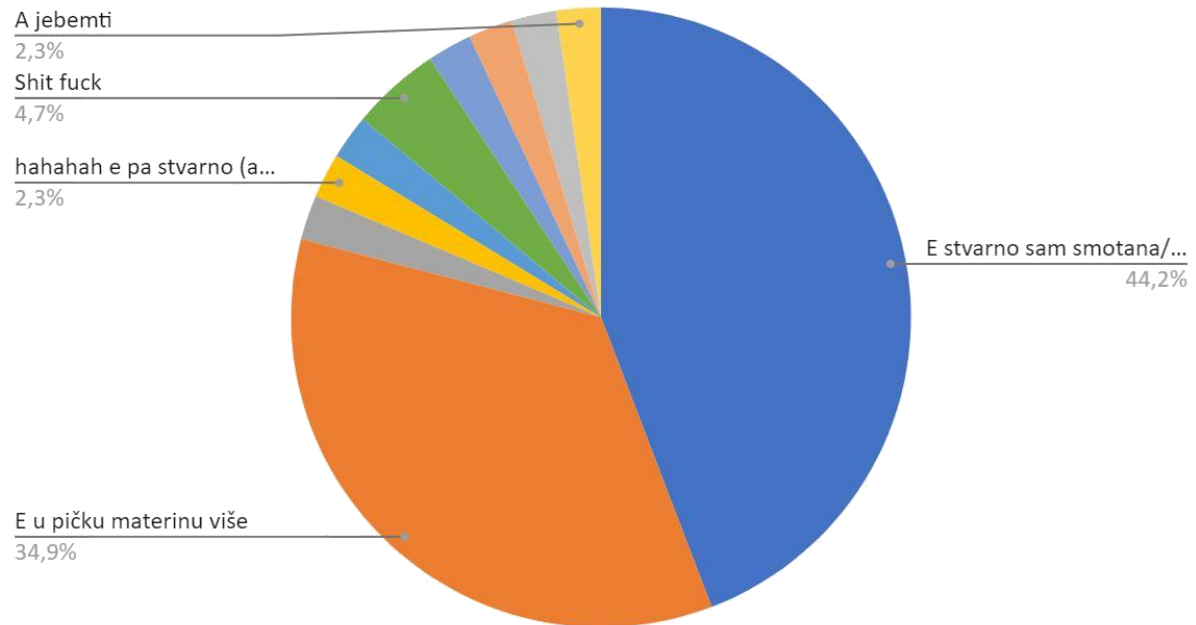


Figure 8

When it comes to the answers written by the participants, only three participants used expressions containing words which are considered as vulgar: *A jebem ti*; *E u pičku materinu više jebem te glupu*; *E jebemu*. This has shown, yet again, that our male participants use vulgarisms more than our female participants. Also they are more eloquent when it comes to vulgarisms, this was especially shown in this particular case, where female participants were more inclined in picking the already given vulgarism, rather than writing their own. This situation was also very stereotypical, as it is usually thought that women are more sensitive when it comes to ruining their items of clothing. But, according to the reactions, men were more annoyed with the given situation.

The fifth prompt: You are sitting in your car in the traffic jam, all cars are standing still. But the driver behind you keeps honking.

Figure 9 represents answers chosen and written by our male participants. The options which they could choose from were: *mrš više*; *jebi se tamo*; and *de popusti*.

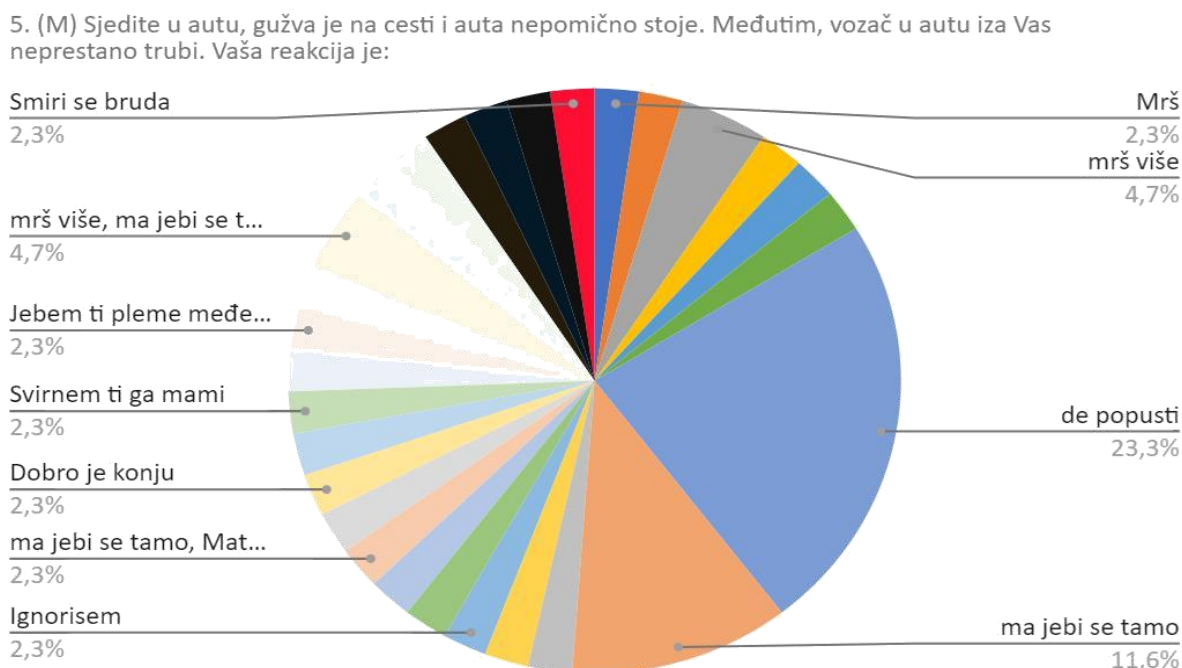


Figure 9

At first, it seems that majority chose a non-vulgar expression *de popusti*. It was chosen by 23,3% of the participants, followed by the expression containing a swearword *ma jebi se tamo* with 11,6%, and *mrš više* with only 4,7%. But majority of the participants decided to write their own answers as a response to this situation, and 39,5% of them responded with an expression containing some type of vulgarism. *Idi u pičku materinu šta trubiš više; jebem ti pleme međedsko; alo majmune koji ti je kurac; ma jebi se tamo mater ti jebem šta sviraš imbecilu*. In this situation all the vulgar expressions are directed towards someone else, and they are used as an expression of annoyance and anger. They are not just vulgar, they are also very insulting. Five of our participants chose some offensive expressions, some of them not presenting direct

swearing, but they are sort of censored, there is no F word used: *O majku ti retardiranu; svirnem ti ga mami; dobro je konju; Papak, a da jedeš govna malo?; alo majmune gužvaa*. Calling someone *monkey* or *horse* is considered offensive in the Bosnian language. Only two participants used this option and did not write something containing a vulgarism or any type of offensive word.

Figure 10 represents answers chosen by the female participants.

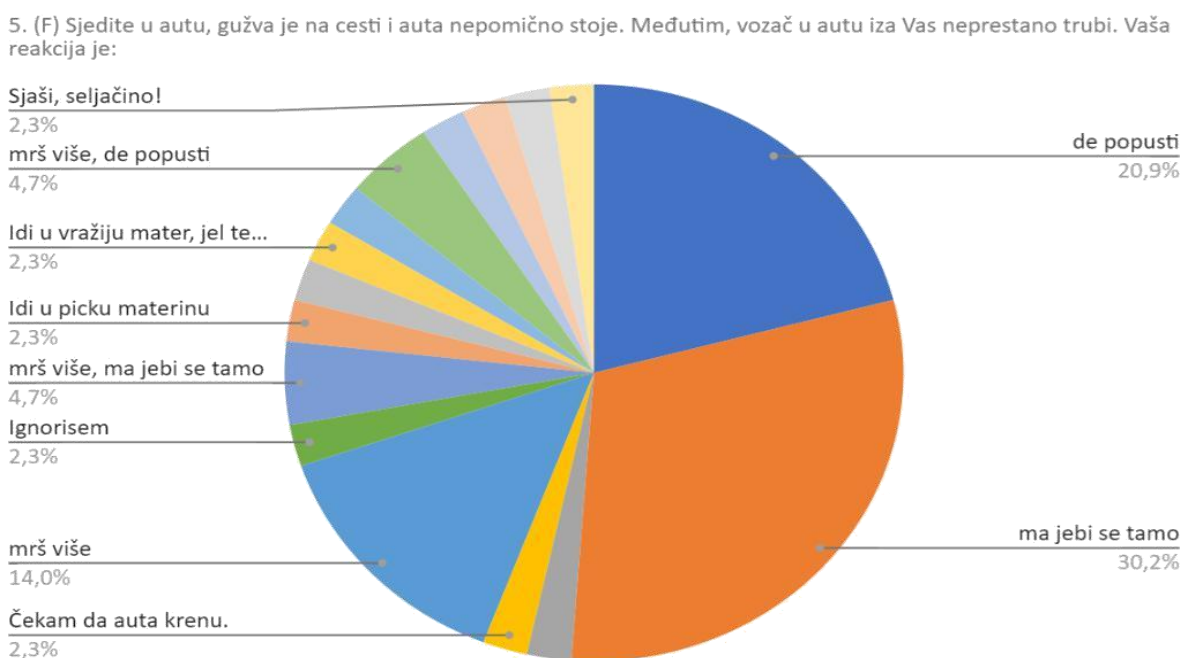


Figure 10

In comparison to the results shown in the chart containing answers from our male participants, the majority of female participants chose already given option, which is containing a vulgarism, 30,2% of them chose *ma jebi se tamo*, 20,9% chose *de popusti*, and 14,0% chose *mrš više*, 23,3% wrote their own answers containing vulgarisms: *Idi u vražiju materinu; jel te stid majmunčino; koji ti je klinac/đavo; Gdje ću u koji kurac; Ma jebi se tamo, sviraj majci svojoj*. Only one participant used an offensive expression *Sjaši više seljačino*. According to their answers, only four of the participants did not use any vulgarism or offensive words: *ignorišem*;

pojačam muziku da ne čujem; čekam da auta krenu and e sad namjerno neću nigdje. We cannot say that, in this case, male or female participants used more vulgarisms, but we can surely state that, again, male participants were more fluent when it came to swearing.

The sixth prompt: You were on a night out with your friends, you had the best time of your life and the next day, the friend who was not able to come asks you how was it.

6. (M) Bili ste u noćnom izlasku s prijateljima, proveli ste se kao nikada u životu i sljedeći dan Vas prijatelj koji nije mogao ići pita kako je bilo.

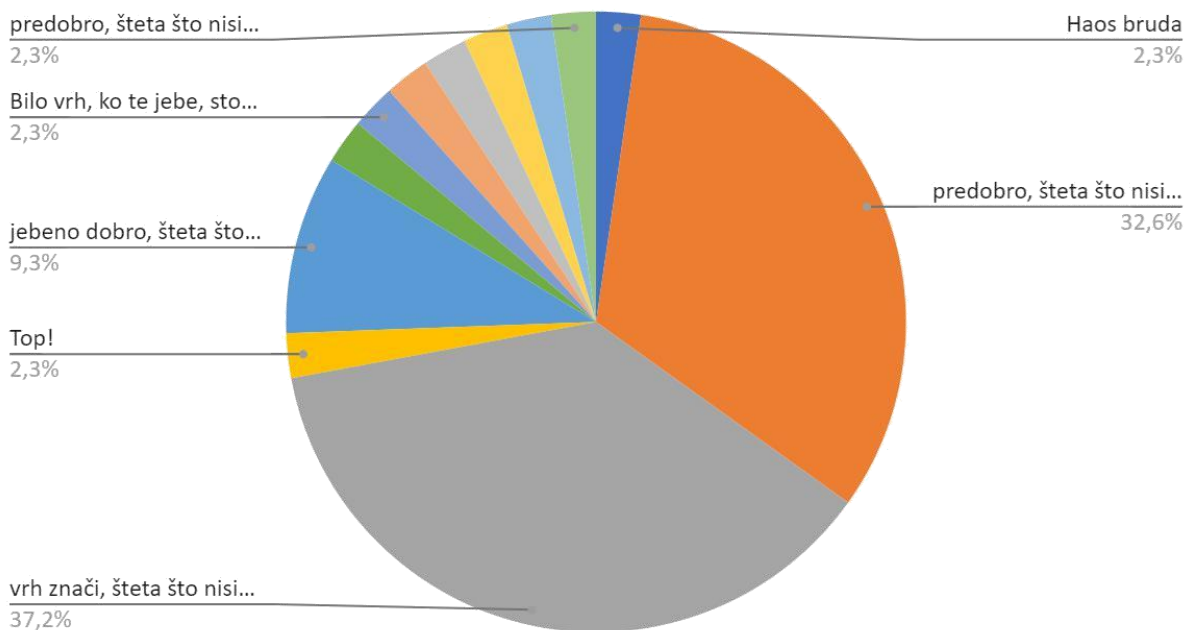


Figure 11

In Figure 11, we are presented with answers given by our male participants. They were already offered three options to choose from: *predobro, šteta što nisi mogao s nama; jebeno dobro; vrh znači šteta što nisi mogao s nama.* 37,2% said *vrh znači šteta što nisi mogao s nama*, 32,6% said *predobro, šteta što nisi mogao s nama*, and only 9,3% chose the option containing vulgarism *jebeno dobro, šteta što nisi mogao s nama*. Only two participants responded with vulgarisms *bilo vrh, ko te jebe što nisi došao*, and *boli te kurac, što nisi došao*. These two

reactions express anger because the person did not show up. While the other answers are representations of different colloquial variants of saying they had really good time. In this particular case, male participants tend to use vulgarisms to express anger, rather than to express a positive emotion such as happiness or excitement for having a good time out.

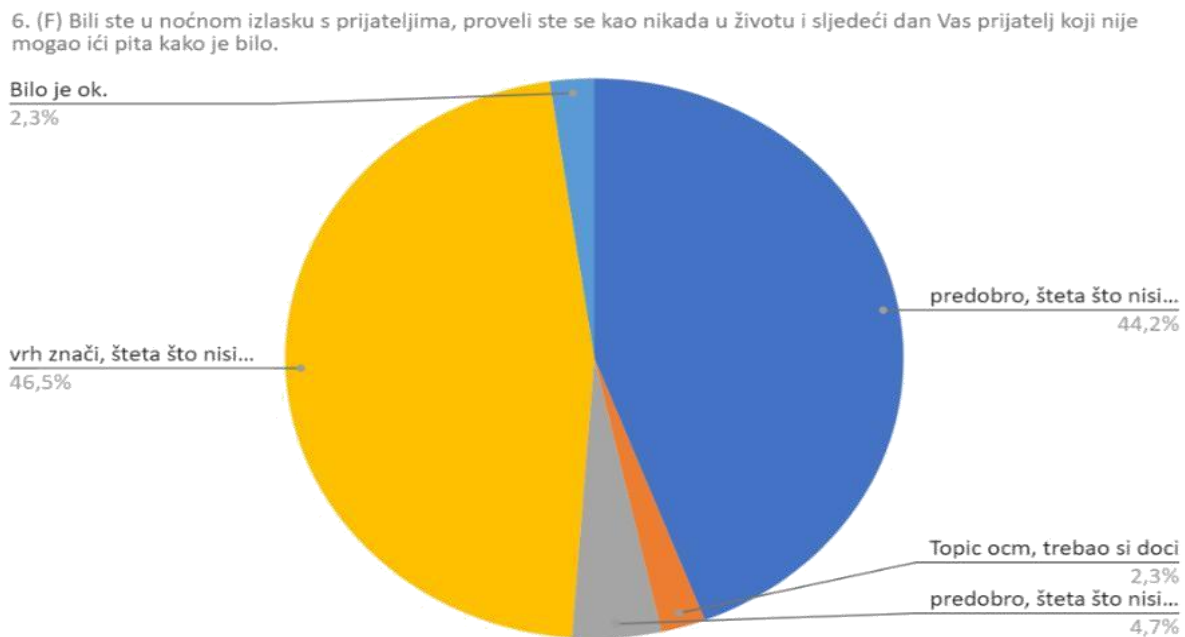


Figure 12

As it is shown in chart in Figure 12 none of the female participants has chosen an option containing a vulgarism. Most of them chose already given options. 46,5% chose *vrh znači, šteta što nisi mogao s nama*, and 44,2% *predobro, šteta što nisi mogao s nama*. Only four female participants used the option to write their own variant of expressing they had a good time. This is another example which shows that men tend to use vulgarisms more often than women. In this particular case, women did not use any type of vulgarism to express positive emotion such as happiness or excitement.

The seventh prompt: You ordered an expensive non-stick, easy to wash pan in Top Shop. But when it was delivered, it turned out that the pan is completely the opposite of the one

advertised on TV. You are retelling this to your friends, and you start the story with the following:

7. (M) Naručili ste sa Top Shopa skupocjenu tavu za koju Vam ne treba ulje, jer se ništa ne može zalijepiti za nju i koja se lako pere. Međutim, kada je došla na Vašu adresu, ispostavilo se da je upravo suprotno svemu tome. Vi to preporučavate svojim prijateljima i započinjete tako što kažete:

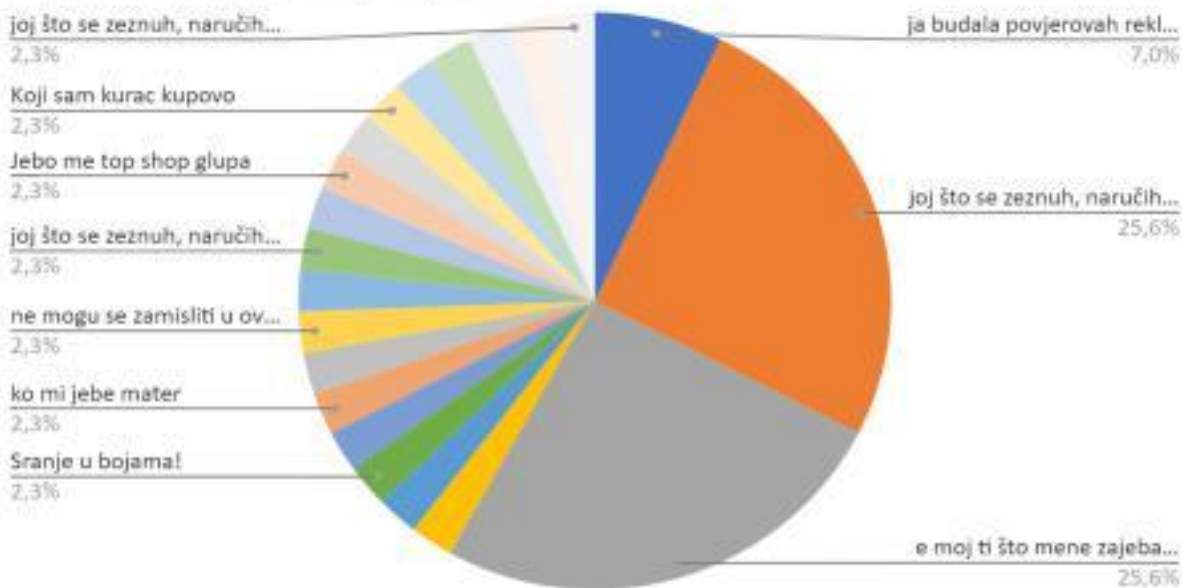


Figure 13

In Figure 13, we are introduced with the new answers from our male participants. They were given three different options: *joj što se zeznuh naručih tavu s Top Shopa*; *e moj ti što mene zajeba onaj Top Shop, koje sam sranje od tave kupio/kupila*, and *ja budala povjerovah reklami, koju glupost kupih*. Answers: *joj što se zeznuh, naručih tavu s Top Shopa* and *e moj ti što mene zajeba onaj Top Shop* were chosen by the same number of participants, 25,6% of them. Only 7,0% chose *ja budala povjerovah reklami, koju glupost kupih*. According to this, more people chose non-vulgar option. But other participants used the option to write their own answers. 27,9% of the participants used an expression containing some type of vulgarity: *karina se ne lijepi*; *sranje u bojama*; *mater im jebem*; and *koji sam kurac kupio*.

7. (F) Naručili ste sa Top Shopa skupocjenu tavu za koju Vam ne treba ulje, jer se ništa ne može zalijepiti za nju i koja se lako pere. Međutim, kada je došla na Vašu adresu, ispostavilo se da je upravo suprotno svemu tome. Vi to prepričavate svojim prijateljima i započinjete tako što kažete:

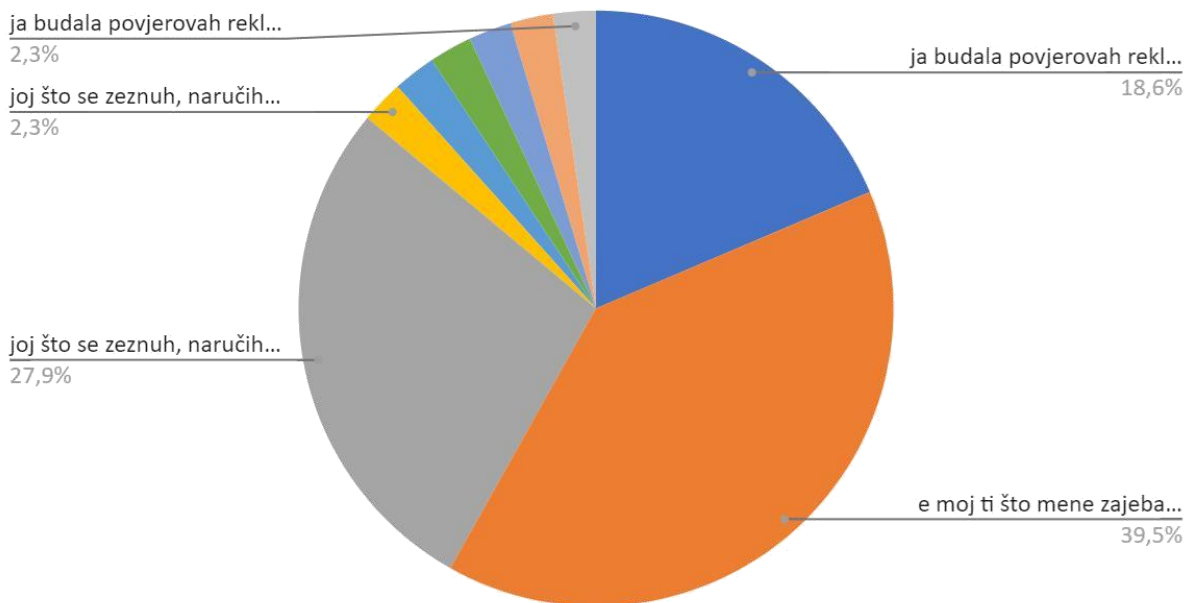


Figure 14

Female participants were offered the same answers. The majority, 39,5% of them chose the option containing a vulgarism: *e moj ti što mene zajeba onaj Top Shop, koje sam sranje od tave kupio/kupila*; 27,9% chose *joj što se zeznuh, naručih tavu s Top Shopa*, and 18,6% said *ja budala povjerovah reklamami, koju glupost kupih*. Only one of them used vulgarisms while using an option to write their own answer: *jebem ti Top Shop i tavu*. Other answers were combination of *ja budala povjerovah reklamami, koju glupost kupih* and *joj što se zeznuh, naručih tavu s Top Shopa*. Therefore, it is considered that *budala* is an offensive term in the Bosnian language, but it is not a form of vulgarism. When it comes to the direct comparison of answers given by male and female participants, we cannot say who used vulgarisms more, because there is only slight difference in the results. But yet again, male participants used the option to write their answers more. There they wrote more vulgarisms than female participants, but 39,5% of female participants chose the answer containing a vulgarism in comparison to 25,6% of male participants who chose the same answer.

The eight prompt: You are writing a paper for university, and just when you add the tables, the margins are moved, and you do not know what to do, so you decide to ask your friend for help with these words:

8. (F) Pišete seminarski rad za fakultet i prilikom ubacivanja tabele u dokument, margine su Vam se pomjerile, ne znate šta da radite i javljate se prijatelju da Vam pomogne s ovim riječima:

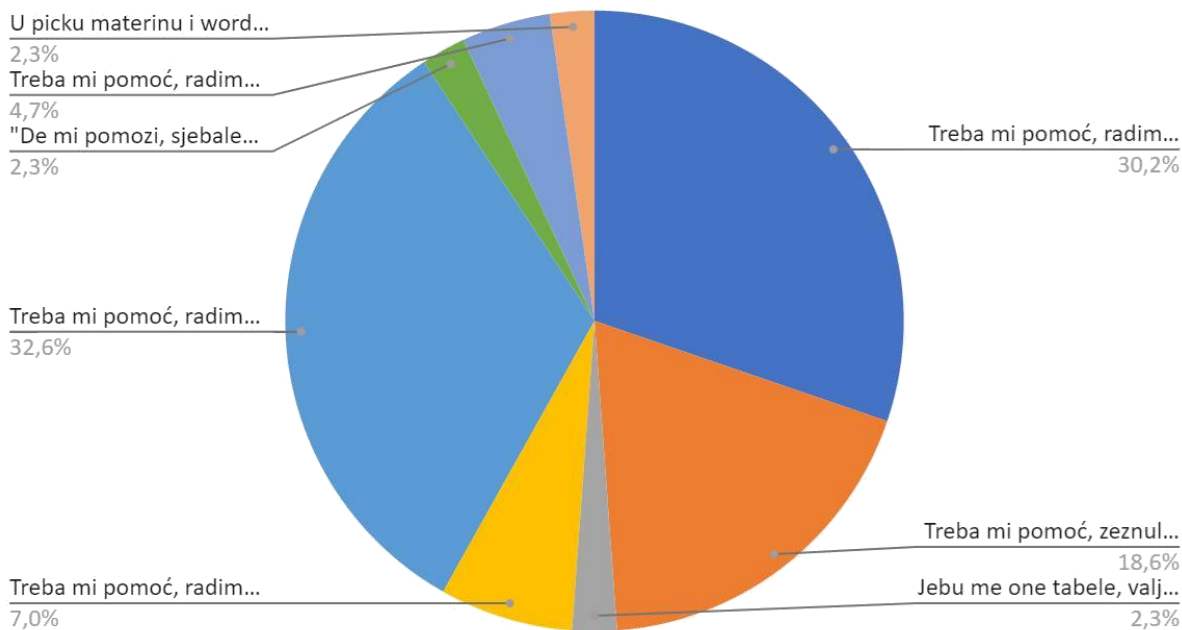


Figure 15

Figure 15 represents answers given by our male participants. 34,9% of them chose *Treba mi pomoć radim nešto za faks, sve su mi se margine pojebale kad sam ubacio onu jebenu tabelu, ne znam šta ću*. In comparison, 32,6% of our female participants, as shown in Figure 16 chose that answer. While 30,2% of female participants chose *Treba mi pomoć, radim nešto za faks i sve su mi se margine poremetile kada sam ubacio tabelu u dokument*, while 27,9% of our male participants chose the same answer. 7% of female participants chose *Treba mi pomoć, zeznule mi se sve margine kad sam ubacio/ubacila onu glupu tabelu*, and only 4,7% of our male participants chose that answer.

8. (M) Pišete seminarski rad za fakultet i prilikom ubacivanja tabele u dokument, margine su Vam se pomjerile, ne znate šta da radite i javljate se prijatelju da Vam pomogne s ovim riječima:

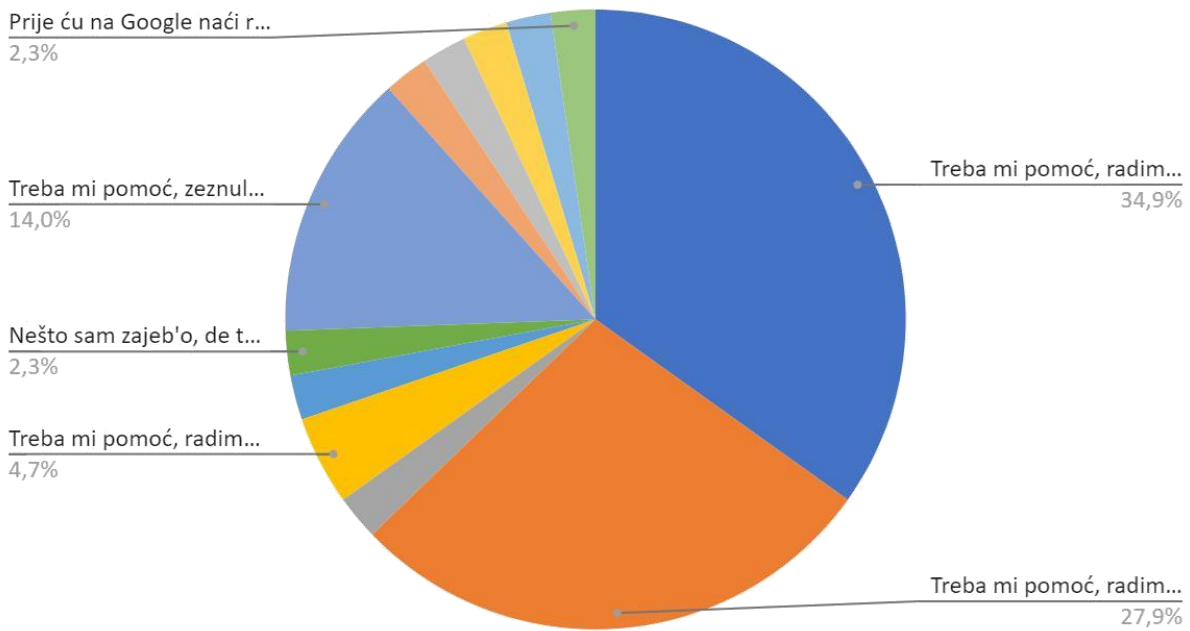


Figure 16

When it comes to the option where our participants could write their own answers, more female than male participants used this option to express themselves with some type of vulgarity, mainly using swearing such as *U pičku materinu i word i sve; De mi pomoz i sjebale mi se tabele.* On the other hand male participants used that option to give answers such as *Prije ću na Googleu naći odgovor; Gori, pomoz i!; Ko još ne zna namjestiti tabele?* Hence, it can be concluded that according to the statistics, as a reaction or an answer to this particular prompt, female participants were more creative when it came to the usage of swearwords.

The ninth prompt: You are fighting with a person you really care about, but that person says something insulting. Your reaction is:

9. (M) Svađate se s osobom do koje Vam je mnogo stalo i pri tome Vas ta osoba uvrijedi. Vaša reakcija je:

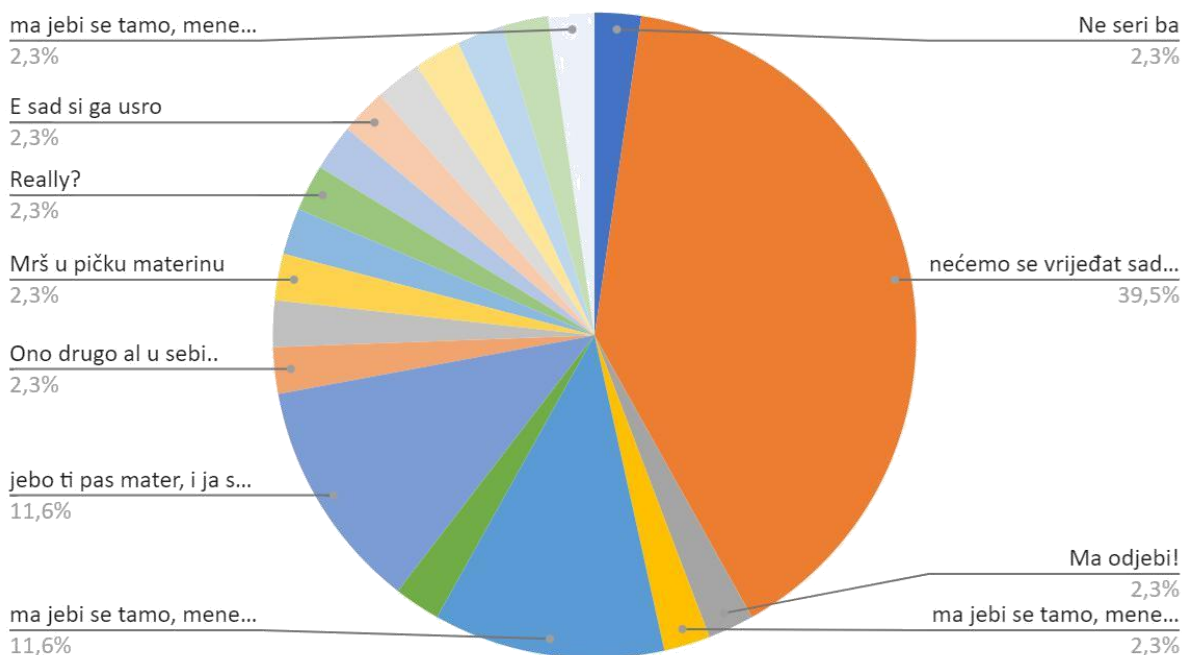


Figure 17

As it is shown in Figure 17, 38,5% of our male participants chose *nećemo se vrijeđati sada, ajde da riješimo ovo fino*, 11,6% used *ma jebi se tamo, mene našao vrijeđati*, and 11,6% *jebo ti pas mater, i ja se budala s tobom svađam!* The rest of the participants used the option to write their own response to the situation, and some of them are: *e sad sig a usr'o; o jebaću ti majku; a da odjebesh od mene?; ma jebem li ti ja majku*. One of our participants wrote a different reaction for each gender; his reaction depends on the fact whether he was having a fight with female or male: *Ma puši kurac (za likove/for males), Jedi govna (za likuše/for females)*. This answer is particularly interesting, and brings us back to Farb (1993, p. 60), and his explanation of the different notion men have when using taboo words in the presence of opposite sex. Even though he is insulted, this participant decided to use a word which is vulgar only because it has to do with bodily fluids, rather than anything else. While the reaction reserved for his male friend is very vulgar and insulting, consisting of a taboo word connected to the male body. Only 9% of our male participants decided to use this option to write something non-vulgar: *really?; ok; ok vozdra*.

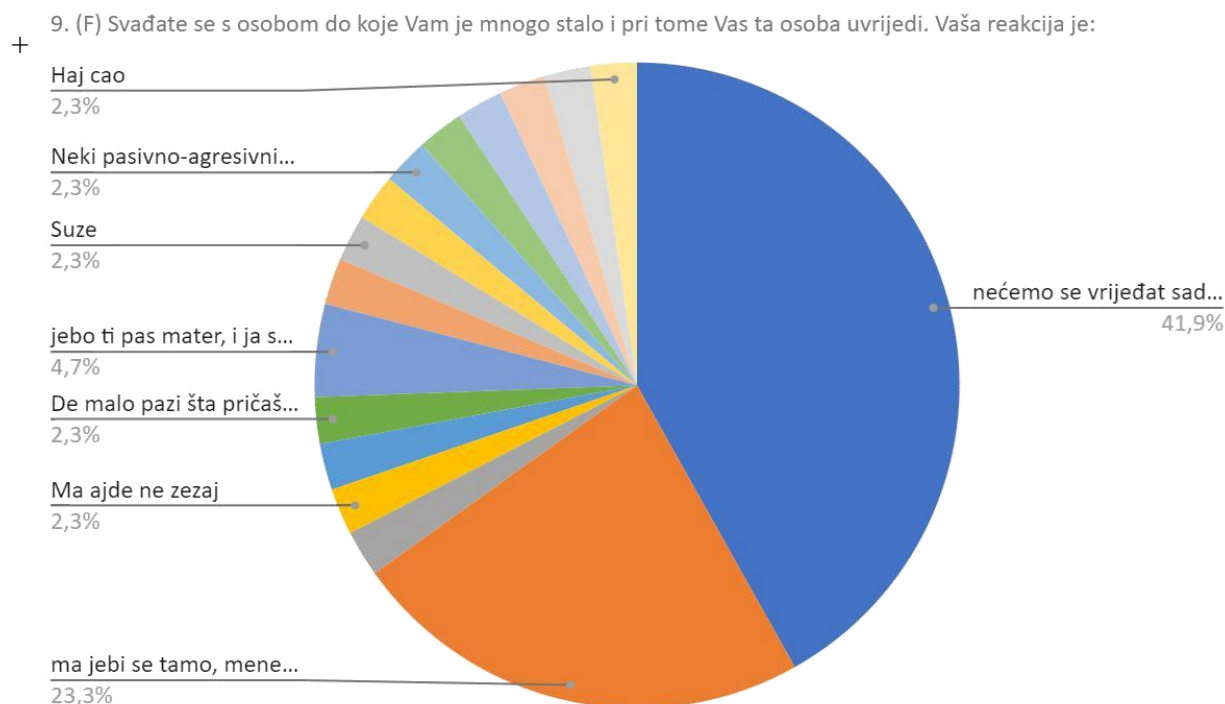


Figure 18

As it is shown in Figure 18, our female participants chose differently than our male participants. 41,9% chose the option *nećemo se vrijeđati sada, ajde da riješim ovo fino*, which is not vulgar; 23,3% chose the vulgar option *ma jebi se tamo, mene našao vrijeđati*, and just two participants (4,7%) chose *jebo ti pas mater, i ja se budala s tobom svađam!* 20,4% of them used the option to write their own response without using any vulgar words, one answer even said *Neki pasivno-agresivni odgovor, ali bez vulgarnih riječi*. 11,4% of them used this option to express themselves by using a swearword or a taboo word: *puši kurac, neću s tobom da se raspravljam; ma idi u tri pičke materine*. One of the answers was in a way censored *Mrš u pi**ku materinu*, which according to Fagersten (2012, p. 17) shows that “both presence and absence of swearing can sow different sociolinguistic aspects.” *Mrš* is embedded in the speech of young people that some of them do not even consider it as vulgar, but it is considered as a sign of bad language. Fagersten (2012, p. 17) also stated that “the disputable status of some words as swearwords indicates that there is a blurred line between what does and does not qualify as swearing.” The more likely a word is to offend, the more likely it is to be called a swearword. Traditionally, offensiveness has been assessed using evaluative and semantic distinction rating

techniques. The censored part of this response implicated a taboo word in Bosnian language, and without that particular word this expression would not be considered as swearing. Again, it is very noticeable that our male participants were angrier and more insulted, because of the words they choose to write as their response.

The tenth prompt: You are running in an attempt to catch a tram, but you fail. Your reaction is:

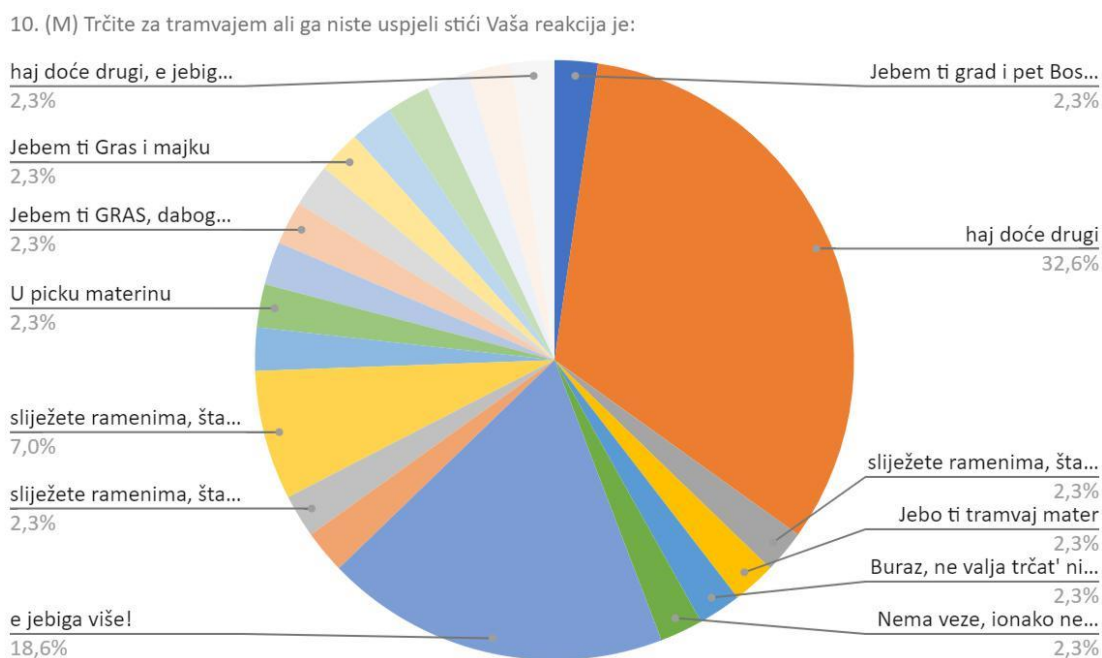


Figure 19

As it is shown in Figure 19, 32,6% of our male participants chose *haj doće drugi* as their reaction to the situation. 18,6% choose the answer with a vulgar word *e jebiga više*, and just 2,3% chose *sliježete ramenima, šta je tu je*. 25% gave their own answer containing some type of vulgarity such as: *jebem ti Gras i majku*; *e jbg*; *jebem ti GRAS dabogda se više ugasili*. One of those answers was also *Da stavim ruku u džak pun pički, ja bih kurac uhvatio* –this answer, in Bosnian culture would not necessarily be qualified as swearing because it does not contain any version of F word (in the context of the Bosnian language there is not any variant of the verb *jebem*) but it does contain two words which are considered taboo words, and essentially became

a sign of vulgar expression *pička* and *kurac*. The rest of the male participants, 22,7% of them to be exact, used this to express their reaction without using any type of vulgarity: *ne trčim za tramvajima*; *Buraz ne valja trčat' ni za tramvajima, ni za ženama*; *Nema veze ionako nemam kartu*.

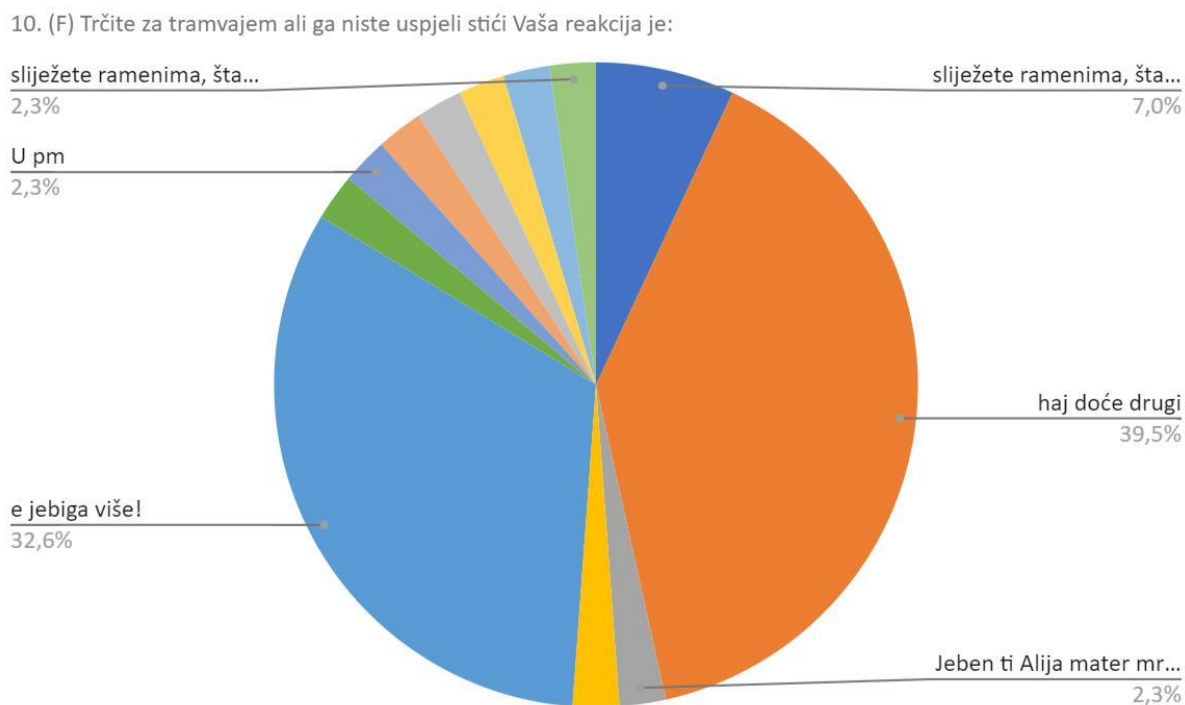


Figure 20

Finally, Figure 20 shows answers given by our female participants. 39,5% of them chose the *haj doće drugi* as their answer, 32,6% of them chose *e jebiga više*, and 7,0% of them chose *sliježete ramenima šta je tu je*. 11,7% of them chose to write their reaction own, without any vulgarisms: *sliježete ramenima, šta je tu je*, *uglavnom mi se plače*; *ne trčim za tramvajima*; *sad si trčala i više nećeš*. 11,3% of the participants used some type of vulgar expression such as *U pm*; *e u pičku materinu*; *E jebiga više, jebote te Tito mrtvi*; *Jebem ti Alija mater mrtvu*; *sliježete ramenima, šta je tu je*, *haj doće drugi* and *jebiga više!*

Finally, we can conclude that the first hypothesis that states – ‘Women use vulgarisms in the same amount as men’, was correct and that men and women use vulgarisms in the same proportion. The second hypothesis – ‘Women use vulgarisms in the same way as men’, however, was incorrect, since men have a greater propensity to use various contractions of vulgar phrases, and they are more likely to come up with a different contractions because they have a more diverse vocabulary, whilst women will not deviate from the basics.

4.2. McEnery’s data analysis method and results

McEnery (2006, pp. 25-26) uses the annotation scheme where all of the examples mentioned in the examples of LCA that were annotated in such a way that the examples preserve the appropriate metadata recorded in the BNC. Hence, if an utterance in the BNC is spoken by a male, aged 0 – 15, of social class DE, the LCA retains the information. For example in building the LCA, McEnery was interested in examples for which all essential metadata was accessible when creating the LCA. Additionally, where the age, sex or social status of a BLW speaker were unknown in the BNC, this data was omitted from the LCA, as his goal was to create the most comprehensive set of annotated data about BLWs. However, McEnery (2006, p. 26) emphasizes even though the LCA represents “a richly annotated corpus for the study of BLWs, the corpus does not represent the ideal resource with which to investigate BLWs.” Furthermore, the scheme has evolved significantly, and several categories, particularly those pertaining to metaphoric usage, are undoubtedly amenable to additional development. Having said that, the scheme itself proved robust when applied manually to the corpus, and so appears to provide a credible basis for categorizing and differentiating BLW usage.

On the other hand when we summarize the data that was presented by McEnery’s (2006, pp. 26-50) analysis of usage of BLWs within the LCA, according to Love (2017, p. 1) “both corpora were accessed via Lancaster University’s SCPweb server. The Spoken BNC1994DS contains 5,014,655 tokens across 153 texts, while the Spoken BNC2014DS contains 4,789,185 tokens across 567 texts.” Nonetheless, in terms of corpus comparability, Love (2017, p.1) states that because neither of the Spoken BNCs was sampled specifically for the purpose of investigating BLWs, it is impossible to assert that the sampling conditions permitted a comparable amount of BLW use. Hence, Crowdy (1993, p. 260) as cited in Love (2017, p. 1)

states that “it can firstly be assumed that the Spoken BNC1994 facilitated the natural occurrence of BLWs given its surreptitious approach to recording.” Love et al. (2017, p. 22) state that “the aim of the Spoken BNC2014 team was to facilitate the recording of conversations in a way which minimized intrusiveness beyond what was required of modern ethics procedures.”

According to McEnery et al. (2000, p. 46) the Lancaster Corpus of Abuse is a “problem-oriented corpus based upon data extracted from the BNC and the BOE, containing examples of swearing from transcribed spoken language.” McEnery (2006, p. 29) states that “when all of the words in the LCA are considered, it is equally likely that bad language will be used by a male as by a female.” A feasible way to invalidate this finding and demonstrate that males do really utilize BLWs more than females would be to discover that a highly common BLW that is virtually entirely used by males was removed from LCA. However, this was not the case, since another possibility was that a significant number of low-frequency BLWs utilized solely by males were removed. However, when the distribution of BLWs between males and females was examined, a more plausible explanation emerged. McEnery (2006, p. 29) states that “if we compare the BLW word forms used by males and females, we discover that there are a set of words significantly overused by males and a set of words significantly overused by females.” Thus, whereas BLWs as a group do not distinguish males from females, the frequency with which specific BLWs are used obviously does. The phrases themselves suggest another way in which males and females may vary. Hence, McEnery (2006, p. 30) emphasizes that it might be the case that “males have a preference for stronger word forms while females have a preference for weaker words.” Nonetheless, McEnery (2006, p. 32) emphasizes that “speaker sex is not the only gender variable in the LCA.” Furthermore, McEnery (2006, p. 32) introduces us with a following set of questions:

- “How do speakers respond to speakers of the same or different sex?
- Do males act, as one would imagine that gentlemen say, to avoid BLW use in the presence of ladies?
- Do they refrain from directing BLWs with ladies?
- With regard to women, do we find that women are less likely to use BLWs in the presence of other women?, and
- Do they also prefer not to direct BLWs at other women?”

Moreover, McEnery (2006, pp. 32-33) concludes that males aim BLWs at male targets considerably more frequently than they do at female targets. Women on the other hand, are more prone to target BLWs at other women.

Also, when it comes to age difference, McEnery (2006, p. 38) believes that “age is an important variable in the use of BLWs.” When all BLWs in the LCA are included a positive link exists between age and BLW production, albeit the pattern is not as straightforward as it appears to be. McEnery (2006, p. 40) also emphasizes how it is important to consider whether the different age groups make different selection from the BLW categories, and whether these different age groups have any preferences regarding BLW categories.

Besides, McEnery (2006, p. 42) reflects on social class, and emphasizes how when tested, “the differences in the use of BLWs by different social classes is indeed significantly different.” Generally speaking, all social classes employ BLWs of various categories in roughly comparable quantities. There is relatively little change in how frequently each category is used to convey a BLW when one progresses from one social class to another. McEnery (2006, p. 44) claims that “gender may also interact with social class and BLW use.” One way it could do so is through the chance of a BLW being focused at a specific gender. It is possible that speakers’ BLWs addressed at one gender or the other may change according to socio-economic class. On the surface, one may think that as one progresses up the social class ladder, the likelihood of BLWs being directed at females would diminish, as this language would increasingly be considered as inappropriate to use in the presence of or in reference to a woman. Thus, when this intuition is tested using the LCA, it is discovered that it is partially correct: there is a difference in how males and females are targeted by BLWs, but it varies in ways that are more consistent with the overall pattern of variation for BLWs and class. Moreover, McEnery (2006, p. 44) concludes that even though the class relates to BLW use in way in which we might never expect, there is evidence to suggest that “class also interacts as a variable with BLW use in ways we would not expect, with the highest social class in the BNC, AB, sometimes bucking the trend the other social classes conform to by using more and stronger BLWs directed more indiscriminately at both males and females.”

4.3. Discussion off our research results and McEnery's corpus analysis

McEnery (2006, pp. 24-25) explains that LCA is “a problem oriented corpus based on data extracted from the BNC spoken corpus.” McEnery (2006, p. 25) focuses on categories of BLW use and gender within the LCA corpus. Since he was aware that many examples of bad language are not addressed in the literature analyzed, McEnery (2006, p. 25) expanded his coverage of the LCA (2.0) on the basis of his intuition. The LCA inherits the BNC's balance which is its parent corpus, focusing on age, sex and social class. Taking into consideration that, speaker sex is a quite important variable for BLWs as a set of words, it serves to present the direction of words, and shows in what way they will be used by males and females. Thus, McEnery (2006, p. 35) reflects on following questions throughout his research –

- “Are males and females as harsh in their use of gender biased BLWs?
- Do males use weaker BLWs when directing them towards females rather than males?”

Thus, McEnery (2006, pp. 36-37) concludes that males are more frequently targeted by stronger BLWs than females. Hence, this might be true for gender biased BLWs, but not for all BLWs. Moreover, McEnery (2006, p. 37) states that males receive stronger BLWs from speakers of both genders, while females may direct BLWs more frequently at females, preferring stronger BLWs when directed at males. Males, on the other hand, use direct BLWs, as well as weaker BLWs less frequently towards females.

On the other hand, our research results from a qualitative point of the study state that our male participants were more innovative when it came to forming and providing us with a vulgar answer, while our female participants opted for the provided choices. This is quite noticeable in Figure 3, where we see that males use vulgarisms in a creative way, even though the statistics have shown that females swear more than men. Another example is Figure 4 where it is evident that our male participants are more comfortable with using vulgarisms, whereas female participants are more conscious about not crossing the line of politeness. Moreover, we can conclude that Figures presented within this research analysis are a good piece of evidence for the claim that males use vulgarisms more than our female participants. Thus, our research questions

that refer to gender-identity, culture and generational gaps support all of our mentioned claims within the data analysis and are further explained in the following chapter.

Besides, we can agree with McEnery's (2006, p. 30) claim that males have a preference for using stronger BLWs, whereas females have preferences for using weaker BLWs, which means that men and women use vulgarisms differently, which is also supported by the results of our study. Besides, we can conclude that the use of vulgarisms is often conditional on the situation and speakers' feelings, just as McEnery (2006, p. 37) states that speakers have a clear choice to select the stronger word when producing an expression which would be considered as a vulgarism. Furthermore, this supports our H1, which reflects on the equal amount of usage of vulgarisms both by males and females. However, our H2 was denied, since it does not support our claim that women use vulgarisms in the same way as men, which is also supported by McEnery's abovementioned statements. The reason why this hypothesis is not valid, is simply because men are more prone to employ varied contractions of vulgar phrases, and they are more likely to come up with new ones as a result of their 'innovative' vocabulary, whereas women stick to the weaker use of vulgarisms.

5. DISCUSSION OF SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ENGLISH AND BOSNIAN AND THE USE OF VULGARISMS

There are various forms of vulgarisms in the English and the Bosnian language, which can be classified into the main subgroups of vulgarisms, such as swearwords and curse words, where any of these various forms of vulgarisms can be considered profanities, or socially offensive language. So, terms such as profanity can be given emotion based on the mood of a speaker, even though the exact words themselves do not have an obvious connotation of hostility or contempt. Taking into account the abovementioned studies, we come to realization that in both of these languages, vulgarisms are an inseparable part of the vocabulary and cannot be eradicated in any way. If we examine an individual's behavioral patterns, we can deduce that rather than responding aggressively and harshly, people can use some swearwords to convey their frustration or some kind of disagreement. Thus, taking a psychological perspective into account, we can conclude that vulgarisms act as a type of language that helps maintain a healthy balance of positive and negative emotions. Vulgarisms, on the other hand, can be known as one country's proverbs or form of sayings by those who lack a sophisticated vocabulary and are ignorant of the meaning of those words. Another example of similarity between the English and the Bosnian language are the social values of one language community that have a significant impact on the language itself.

Now, we will reflect on some of the research and analysis discussed throughout this paper in order to analyze the major similarities and differences in the use of vulgarisms in the English and the Bosnian language. We use the following research because their claims are quite consistent with our findings and because it substantiates specific ideas and analyses that we have come across during our research. As discussed previously in the subchapter Language and Gender, Jay (1992, pp. 81-87) asserts that men curse more frequently than women. Thus, he concludes that men have a larger vocabulary of swear words than women do, and men use them more offensively. Additionally, men and women employ distinct taboo words, which demonstrates gender discrepancies. With our research focusing on whether women utilize vulgarisms in the same quantity and manner as men, we reflected on Jay's study, to compare and attempt to answer the questions that are of crucial importance for our analysis. The answer to our first question – *Do gender-identity and culture have any effect on using vulgarisms?* – is that it

supports one of our claims that swearwords serve as a backdrop for cultural and behavioral trends. As a result, all of these changes evolve over time, reflecting a movement in culture as well. Thus, we have come to a conclusion that native Bosnian speakers have a large collection of swearwords, and that Bosnian community appears to take a great delight in them. On the other hand, another question arises – *Does use of vulgarisms represent a generational/cultural gap?* – where we can conclude that according to our research swearwords have become ingrained in our culture as a very natural way of reacting in certain situations, that may create a generational gap, taking into consideration the age of the speaker that is using any forms of vulgarisms. Furthermore, McEnery's research analysis (2006, pp. 32-33) indicates that males aim BLWs significantly more frequently toward male targets than at female targets. Besides, McEnery (2006, p. 38) considers that age is a significant variable in the use of BLWs. When all BLWs in the LCA are considered, he concludes that there is a correlation between age and BLW production.

Jay (1992, p. 166) notices that men have a greater vocabulary of curse words than women, and that men employ more offensive curse terms than women, which prove certain claims that are presented in our research analysis. Primarily, within our research, male participants used the option to write their own answers, thus using swearwords that were formed in a much more creative way (presented within the data analysis), such as: *“jebem ti tito majku, jebo ja sebe, alo majmune koji ti je kurac, ma jebi se tamo mater ti jebem šta sviraš imbecilu, papak a da jedeš govna malo?, sranje u bojama, and da stavim ruku u džak pun pički ja bih za kurac uhvatio.”* Thus, we also referred to Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 292) who states that swearing occurs predominantly when the swearer is experiencing a strong emotion, as it is portrayed within these abovementioned examples.

Vingerhoets et al. (2013, p. 293) state that “by letting off steam through swearing, feelings of anger and frustration can be reduced, resulting in a decreased probability of overt, physical aggression.” Thus, swearing in this sense, acts as a mechanism for inhibiting physical aggression, which can avoid more serious consequences. Swearing often serves a communicative purpose, as it alerts the surrounding environment to the swearer's emotional state. As a result, this behavior, which is related to the communicative feature of swearing, may also mean that the person who is swearing is having difficulties controlling his/her emotions. Thus, we would like to emphasize that one of our male participants wrote a different reaction for both genders, and

stated that his reaction depends on the fact whether he was having a fight with a female or male. Hence, he classified two types of swearwords; *ma puši kurac* – for males, and *jedi govna* – for females. This distinction also supports Farb's (1993, p. 60) claim that men have a different notion when using taboo words in the presence of the opposite sex. Jay (1999, pp. 205-213) states that "people differ in the level of development of their swearing etiquette or in the degree to which they comply with their swearing etiquette." While social and cultural factors undoubtedly play a great role, it is also important to mention the influence of personality factors. Additionally, an individual's personality characteristics can influence how easily he/she swears or does not swear. Thus, one would expect extremely impulsive or emotional people to swear more often, since they would have hard time adhering to proper swearing etiquette. Halilović (2018, pp. 30-45) implies that "lexemes that represent the lexicon of direct language; vulgarisms and swearing form an integral part of the colloquial Bosnian language."¹¹ Swearwords, as well as vulgarisms in general, are undoubtedly a characteristic of the controversial style of the Bosnian language, and are widely used and portrayed in daily communication. What they convey is very distasteful and unaccepted socially and it violates polite conduct principles, as their usage implies statements that are imbued with a negative emotional charge. However, we cannot deny that they are a feature of speech in all social and age groups, recognizable in all casual contexts, and are often heard in public transportation or even on the street.

However, one of the differences is the term that is used to describe vulgarisms in the Bosnian and the English language. The term that can be used to define the wider scope of vulgarisms within the Bosnian language is jargon. Thus, jargon, as well, can be characterized as a colloquial spoken type of language which is used to identify and interact within a socially identified community, defined by profession, age or social status. Bugarski (2006, p. 11) implied that "jargon is characterized by linguistic and stylistic properties such as lexical productivity and innovation, grammatical flexibility, semantic expressiveness, metaphor and associativity, often with completely unexpected and even absurd solutions."¹² Therefore, it can be concluded that the intensity of a swearword largely depends on the sentence intonation, volume and emphasis of individual parts of the sentence. As we have previously mentioned, McEnery (2006, p. 24) examined BLWs in the English language, since they are used in everyday speech, in order to present what kind of distinction in everyday use may arise, and relate to them. McEnery does so by examining the behavior of individual BLWs, their groups and types that are presented in the

spoken language. Therefore, this study enabled him to investigate how such terms are related to certain groups or may imply interaction between specific groups, which on the other hand support our claims that there might be a bigger difference in the use of vulgarisms.

Furthermore, swearwords provide a framework for cultural and behavioral trends. Hence, behavioral trends shift as time passes, indicating a shift in culture as well. Swearwords are a part of daily life, and as already mentioned a part of behavioral processes. It is really fascinating how swearwords are the first words one can learn in a foreign language. The Bosnian language has a huge fund of swearwords, which means that some of the swearwords cannot be found anywhere else, and it seems like the community takes great pride in it. Therefore, it should be noted that swearwords have become a part of our culture and a very familiar way of reacting in some circumstances. It is quite interesting to learn that swearing does not always indicate a lack of culture and civilization but rather may point to them.

Ljung (2011, p. 4) indicates that “swearing is one of the many devices that languages offer speakers as a way to give additional emphasis to their speech”, that can be frequently in conjunction with other methods for emphasizing, such as stress, intonation, and tone of voice, as well as non-linguistic phenomena such as gestures and facial expression.

6. CONCLUSION

Swearing is an expression of powerful emotions and intense feelings. And as a result, it is expected to occur in circumstances where a strong emotion is expressed or where an individual demonstrates an especially strong attitude toward another person. Jay (1999, p. 158) proposes that swearing if considered in inappropriate context may lead to “lower ratings of credibility and persuasiveness of the speaker.” Thus, the outcomes of swearing are highly context-dependent, i.e. when used appropriately, swearing will increase speaker’s integrity and persuasiveness, since it is an expression of emotion and thus seems more sincere and truthful to others.

This paper investigated language use and gender within the topic of vulgarisms, which was explored in detail in order to present the social role of language. Therefore, the primary objective of this paper was to describe a sociolinguistic analysis of vulgarisms that used gender as a primary social variable to distinguish between the forms of vulgarisms used in the English and the Bosnian language. Furthermore, this paper was followed by its accompanying questionnaire aimed at the Bosnian native speakers, that used gender as the primary variable to demonstrate differences between native English speaker and native Bosnian speakers. Even though we have proposed our own research that was aimed for native Bosnian speakers, we also reflected on and analyzed McEnery’s data analysis from the LCA.

Questions that arose during our research and all of the data analysis were as follows:

- Do gender-identity and culture have an effect on using vulgarisms?
- Does use of vulgarisms represent a generational/cultural gap?

As we have abovementioned we successfully compared and analyzed all of the given materials in comparison with our research, in order to finalize our results and conclusion.

According to the results of this research there is not a lot of difference when it comes to men and women and their use of vulgarisms. From the quantitative point of view, there was some situations when women used vulgarisms more, and vice versa. But, from the qualitative point of view, as it was already mentioned, men were more inventive when it came to providing a vulgar answer, while women opted for one of the provided choices.

Furthermore, the study has shown, that men and women use vulgarisms differently. The use of vulgarisms is often conditional on the situation and the intensity of their indignation or frustration. Both genders avoid vulgarisms when they are describing something filled with positive emotions – having a good time or simply being happy. Thus, we can conclude that the first hypothesis has been confirmed, and that men and women use vulgarisms equally and in the same amount. However, the second hypothesis was not, because men have more tendency of using different contractions of vulgar words, and they are more prone to create their own variants of vulgarisms, while women stick to the basics.

APPENDIX

UPITNIK

Ovo je upitnik čiji će se rezultati koristiti za izradu seminarskog rada na temu Vulgarizama u jeziku. Da bi upitnik bio uspješan, jako je bitno da iskreno odgovarate. Upitnik je u potpunosti anoniman, a rezultati će se prikazati samo zbirno.

Hvala!

Starost:

Spol:

UPUTA: Molimo Vas da pročitate navedene situacije i odaberete odgovor koji najbolje opisuje Vašu reakciju u datoj situaciji. Ukoliko ne izaberete nijedan od ponuđenih odgovora na označenom mjestu dopišite Vaš odgovor.

1. Hodate po kući I nespretno udarite nožnim prstom od sto. Vaša reakcija je:
 - a) Joooooooooj
 - b) Fuuuck
 - c) Jebem ti život!
 - d) Ukoliko Vaš odgovor nije nijedan od ponuđenih, navedite kako biste reagovali:

2. Kolegica s fakulteta ili posla Vam objašnjava neku šefovu/profesorovu ideju s kojom se ne slažete. Vaša reakcija je:
 - a) WTF (What the Fuck?)
 - b) Koji idiot!
 - c) Koji kurac?
 - d) Ukoliko Vaš odgovor nije nijedan od ponuđenih, navedite kako biste reagovali:

3. Odlučili ste da napravite kakao, ali Vam je za to potrebno toplo mlijeko. Uključili ste šporet i stavili mlijeko da se grije; neko Vam u međuvremenu šalje poruku na mobitel, i Vi u potpunosti zaboravljate na mlijeko. Mlijeko je pokipilo. Vaša reakcija je:
 - a) Sranjeeee
 - b) E ne mogu da vjerujem
 - c) Jesam glup/glupa

d) Ukoliko Vaš odgovor nije nijedan od ponuđenih, navedite kako biste reagovali:

4. Izašli ste na ručak u novoj majici, koju ste pri tome skupo platili. Kao predjelo ste naručili supu i dok ste jeli, kapnula Vam je supa iz kašike na novu majicu. Vaša reakcija je:

a) E stvarno sam smotan/smotana, nemam riječi!

b) Shit fuck

c) E u pičku materinu više

d) Ukoliko Vaš odgovor nije nijedan od ponuđenih, navedite kako biste reagovali:

5. Sjedite u autu, gužva je na cesti i auta nepomično stoje. Međutim, vozač u autu iza Vas neprestano trubi. Vaša reakcija je:

a) Mrš više

b) De popusti

c) Ma jebi se tamo

d) Ukoliko Vaš odgovor nije nijedan od ponuđenih, navedite kako biste reagovali:

6. Bili ste u noćnom izlasku sa prijateljima, proveli ste se kao nikada u životu i sljedeći dan Vaš prijatelj koji nije mogao ići pita kako je bilo. Vaša reakcija je:

a) Predobro, šteta što nisi mogao s nama

b) Jebeno dobro, šteta što nisi mogao s nama

c) Vrh znači, šteta što nisi mogao s nama

d) Ukoliko Vaš odgovor nije nijedan od ponuđenih, navedite kako biste reagovali:

7. Naručili ste sa Top Shopa skupocjenu tavu za koju Vam ne treba ulje, jer se ništa ne može zalijepiti za nju i koja se lako pere. Međutim, kada je došla na Vašu adresu, ispostavilo se da je upravo suprotno svemu tome. Vi to prepričavate svojim pijateljima i započinjete tako što kažete:

a) Joj što se zeznuh, naručih tavu s Top Shopa

b) E moj ti što mene zajeba onaj Top Shop, koje sam sranje od tave kupio/kupila

c) Ja budala povjerovah reklamami, koju glupost kupih

d) Ukoliko Vaš odgovor nije nijedan od ponuđenih, navedite kako biste reagovali:

8. Pišete seminarski rad za fakultet i prilikom ubacivanja tabele u dokument, margine su Vam se pomjerile, ne znate šta da radite i javljate se prijatelju da Vam pomogne s ovim riječima:
- a) Treba mi pomoć, radim nešto za faks i sve su mi se margine poremetile kada sam ubacio tabelu u dokument
 - b) Treba mi pomoć, radim nešto za faks, sve su mi se margine pojebale kad sam ubacio onu jebenu tabelu ne znam šta ću
 - c) Treba mi pomoć, zeznule mi se sve margine kad sam ubacio onu glupu tabelu
 - d) Ukoliko Vaš odgovor nije nijedan od ponuđenih, navedite kako biste reagovali:
-
9. Svađate se s osobom do koje Vam je mnogo stalo i pri tome Vas ta osoba uvrijedi. Vaša reakcija je:
- a) Jebo ti pas mater, i ja se budala s tobom svađam!
 - b) Ma jebi se tamo, mene našao vrijeđati
 - c) Nećemo se vrijeđati sada, ajde da riješimo ovo fino
 - d) Ukoliko Vaš odgovor nije nijedan od ponuđenih, navedite kako biste reagovali:
-
10. Trčite za tramvajem ali ga niste uspjeli stići. Vaša reakcija je:
- a) Sliježete ramenima, šta je tu je
 - b) Haj doće drugi
 - c) E jebiga više
 - d) Ukoliko Vaš odgovor nije nijedan od ponuđenih, navedite kako biste reagovali:
-

ENDNOTES

All of the in-text citations are translated from Bosnian to English by R. Šišić, unless otherwise attributed.

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