Mastering the Art of Swearing in a Second Language:

A Three-Pronged Analysis of Swearing Behaviour of Dutch L2 Learners of English

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to explore relationships between attitudes to language learning and context as influential factors on the production, and perceived offensiveness and acceptability of L2 English swearwords. Using a sample of 111 L1 Dutch, L2 secondary school learners of English, this study uses a three-part approach to further understand L2 English swearing behaviour. The participants first completed a production task. In this task they replied to six hypothetical text-messages following a DCT approach that were manipulated on speaker (authoritative/non-authoritative). Following this, they completed an attitudes task consisting of 24 stimuli to be able to shed further light on attitudes to L2 English learning and swearing as possible influential variable on L2 swearing behaviour. Lastly, based on previous studies by Dewaele (2004, 2016, 2017) and Jay & Janschewitz (2008), the participants completed a perception task in which they rated the perceived offensiveness and acceptability of four swearwords in 4 different contexts. These contexts were manipulated on speaker (authoritative/non-authoritative) and location (formal/informal).

For the production task, the findings suggest that participants are more likely to use swearwords in a closed-DCT design. Further, an effect of speaker is found as significantly more swearwords were used when the participants were in conversation with a friend rather than a parent. Swearing, however, occurred rather infrequently, which is partly explained by the negative attitudes of the participants to the use of swearwords. Continuing, the results of the perception task revealed significant effects of speaker (p = 0.001) and location (p = 0.005) on offensiveness ratings, and a significant effect of speaker on acceptability ratings (p = 0.001). Further, a strong negative correlation was revealed between offensiveness and acceptability. Lastly, a comparison between the ratings of offensiveness by the participants and native speaker scales of offence (Millwood-Hargrave, 2000; McEnery, 2006; OFCOM, 2016) show that the non-native participants significantly rate offensiveness lower than native speakers. These results re-affirm findings by other researchers such as Dewaele (2004, 2016, 2017) and Jay & Janschewitz (2008), and indicate that ratings of acceptability are largely dependent on ratings of offensiveness.

Key words: language acquisition, language contact, swearing, offensiveness, acceptability, L1 Dutch, English as a second language.

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1. Introduction

Mastering the art of swearing in a language other than the first language is challenging and time-consuming for language learners. Swearing is a diverse linguistic behaviour: a varied set of swearwords can not only used to cause offence, but can be used as in-group markers, are borrowed into different languages, and can be used for expressions of anger, frustration, happiness, or pain. Causing offence does not solely rely on the use of a variety of dysphemisms in with different degrees of offensiveness, it can also rely on the use of euphemisms or body language such as gestures. Besides painstakingly attempting to learn what is polite in the L2 and what is not, learners in addition need to be aware of the pragmalinguistic factors that determine what is offensive, and what is not. Without the appropriate knowledge of these components of the L2, learners might cause unintentional harm. Research has already shown the discrepancies between offensiveness ratings of L2 swearwords by non-native and native speakers, and has suggested that the emotional connection between the L1 and L2 is partly to blame, as well as the incomplete acquisition of L2 pragmatic rules due to an incomplete L2 acquisition process (Bardovi-Harlig, 2005; Allan & Burridge, 2006; Dewaele, 2004, 2016, 2017; Jay & Janschewitz, 2008; Timpe-Laughlin, 2017).

The aim of this research is to further explore L2 swearing behaviours amongst L1 Dutch, L2 learners of English by using a three-pronged analysis of not only perception data, but also production data. Adding to that, an attitudes task is added in order to possibly explain extra linguistic factors that influence L2 learners' swearing behaviour. A special note should be made regarding the special status of English as the world's lingua franca, and the intense use and teaching of English over the globe. Encountering a Dutch individual who is not able to take part in an English conversation is becoming extremely rare. Young learners are exposed to English from the beginnings of primary school, and a rise in students enrolled in Dutch/English bilingual education shows how manifested English is in Dutch education (Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschap, 2018). However, not only in education is the effect of English noticeable. The Dutch lexicon has incorporated a striking number of English loanwords that have entered the language rapidly over the last decades. The rise of the technological age, as well as the status of English as world language translates into the daily use of English loanwords by Dutch speakers (Sterkenburg, 2011; van der Sijs, 2012; Zenner, Ruette & Devriendt, 2017). Most striking is the normality by which English loans are used – it seems to become rather hard to encounter a Dutch conversation where no English loans are used. Through this extensive contact of the two languages, swearwords have also found their way in the Dutch lexicon, and are providing Dutch

speakers with new and innovative ways of expressing anger, frustration, but also happiness, sadness, and pain.

This thesis sets out to explore the use of English swearwords by L1 Dutch, L2 learners of English. More specifically, it tries to bring together findings of earlier researchers (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008; Dewaele, multiple years), whilst simultaneously attempting to shed further light on swearing in a language other than the L1. Relationships are sought between ratings of acceptability and perceived offensiveness in different settings, which are manipulated based on speaker, physical location, and swearword. However, besides attempting to bridge the gap between earlier research, it also attempts to set the stage for incorporating production tasks in L2 swearing research. Next to providing offensiveness and acceptability ratings based on perception, the participants are also asked to provide production data by means of responding to text messages with different persons. The absence of production data in previous research leaves a gap in L2 swearing research, as so far the field largely relies on perception data. This study tentatively starts to explore what factors prompt participants to use offensive language in the L2. In this chapter, an overview will be given of the role of English in the Netherlands, the teaching of English as the L2, attitudes towards English L2 learning, swearing in general and in an L2, English loanwords in Dutch and the borrowing of L2 swearwords.

1.1. English in the Netherlands and English as a Second Language.

In the Netherlands, English plays an important role. The language functions as a second language for most native Dutch speakers, and is integrated as one of the core subjects of primary and secondary education. Further, it is the primary language for most higher education courses as it is the language of science and research globally. Continuing, it is increasingly used in advertising and business, and can frequently be encountered in the media (Edwards, 2016). Due to this exposure to English and increased use of English, it is thus not wholly unsurprising to witness Dutch natives use seemingly random English words in Dutch.

Moving first to the role of education in the Netherlands, Edwards indicates that whether or not native Dutch speakers are positive about learning foreign languages remains partly speculative. Edwards (2016) highlights that research on attitudes of native Dutch individuals towards foreign language learning is limited and scarce, and that research that has been conducted on this topic has been done on a very small scale. Edwards (2016) points out that mainly because of its participation in the European Union, English has become the L2 (second language) of most native Dutch inhabitants of the Netherlands. From a young age Dutch children are exposed to English in a formal-educational setting: even at primary school (age 4 to

12) English classes are considered entirely normal (Aarts & Ronde, 2006; Nortier, 2009; Unsworth et al., 2015; Edwards, 2016). Since 1986, all Dutch primary schools have to provide mandatory English classes in the final two years of primary school. English is also a mandatory subject in secondary school where English and Dutch are the only two languages that have to be taught by law, leaving French and German optional (Aarts & Ronde, 2006; Unsworth et al., 2015). Looking more closely at the development of English skills by very young learners (enrolled in the first two years of primary school, between ages of 4 to 6) who receive English lessons one hour per week, Aarts & Ronde (2006) found that an increase in language can be observed, albeit very limited. In a study among 168 young learners enrolled in the first two years of primary school (similar age group as Aarts & Ronde, 2006), Unsworth et al., (2015) found an increase of proficiency of English, but only when learners were exposed to English for more than one hour of instruction per week. Learners who were exposed to English less than one hour per week only showed a very slight increase in proficiency. Next to the integration of English as core subject in Dutch primary and higher education, an increase of both bilingual primary and secondary schools can be observed (Edwards, 2016). In a study on the effects of bilingual education (English/Dutch) versus monolingual education (Dutch only) on L2 English development in secondary education, Admiraal et al., (2006) found that bilingual education students outperformed the monolingual education students in speaking and reading tasks. Similar results were achieved amongst both group for listening and writing skills. Contrary to the studies by Aarts & Ronde (2006) and Unsworth et al., (2015), this study was conducted amongst secondary-school learners (from age 12).

However, due to the increased contact situation between Dutch and English, and the manifested role of English in primary, secondary, and higher education there is a growing concern for the preservation of Dutch. In 2018, the KNAW (*Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen/Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences*) released a statement that the language policy in the Netherlands needs urgent care. They state that due to the increasing number of both immigrants and Dutch citizens growing up speaking more languages than just Dutch, it is vital for the government to take measures to enforce the status of Dutch. Even though the KNAW calls the increased use of other languages than Dutch in the Netherland an enrichment for the country, and a useful tool in understanding other cultures, norms and values, they insist that the most reasonable action is to make sure that all inhabitants in the Netherlands at least achieve a basic level of Dutch (KNAW, 2018). Another concern raised by the KNAW is the influx of English loanwords into Dutch. Due to the increased contact situation, English words are substantially entering Dutch and in some cases even replacing Dutch words.

1.2 Language Contact and Borrowability.

In situations of language contact, such as in the European Union, it is reasonable to assume that to some extent linguistic transfer can take place. A number of studies have looked into the borrowability of other language words, meaning, words that are borrowed from a source language into a recipient language (Field, 2002; Haspelmath, 2009; Winford, 2013). Taking into account that English has received the (tentative) status as world lingua franca, and is the official lingua franca of the European Union, the effect of English on other languages is highly noticeable. Borrowings from English into other languages are very common phenomena, including swearwords (the topic of this thesis), but also multi-word expressions and phrases. To explain, loanwords are thus words that are borrowed from a source language (SL) into a recipient language (RL), and start out as single innovations by speakers to be gradually adopted by the larger community (Field, 2002; Haspelmath, 2009). Loanwords can either be used to express entirely new concepts where the native language does not have an item for (cultural borrowings), or can be used to replace or coexists with existing items in the native language (core borrowings) (Haspelmath, 2009). The question that arises is whether or not all items are borrowable from a SL, or whether there are linguistic constraints on adopting loanwords.

Regarding a hierarchy of borrowing, where the proposition is made that some linguistic items might be borrowed more easily than others, Winford (2013) makes reference to a hierarchy proposed by Muysken (1981). According to Muysken (1981), the three most commonly borrowed linguistic items are nouns, followed by verbs and prepositions. Winford (2013) claims that, although this hierarchy might not hold in the exact same order amongst all languages and contact situations, this hierarchy is still accurate. Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) borrowing hierarchy also proposes that content words are most frequently borrowed, which are words such as nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Function words (words that involve structure or grammar, such as prepositions, affixes, and morphemes) are less often borrowed because of their connectedness to content words. Consequently, if function words are borrowed, they are mostly borrowed together with a content word (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Winford, 2013). In a large-scale analysis of 41 languages, Tadmor, Haspelmath & Taylor (2010) conclude that nouns are highly borrowable, and that verbs and adjectives are least borrowable. These authors also confirm in their study that function words are borrowed less often than content words, which is a similar finding to Thomason & Kaufman (1988), and Winford (2013). It is also worth mentioning that besides the borrowability of parts of speech, loanwords can be further categorised by type of borrowings. Haspelmath (2009) highlights that cultural borrowings (borrowing a word with the introduction of a new concept) and core borrowings (borrowing for

prestige and replacing SL words) are the two types of borrowings that occur most often. Instead of going into a lengthy discussion regarding different types of loanwords and the reason why some loanwords are preferred over others in general linguistic terms, the focus will now be shifted towards the use of English loanwords in Dutch.

1.3 English loanwords in Dutch.

With the influx of English loanwords an increase in foundations dedicated to purifying Dutch can also be observed (Grezel, 2007). Due to the increasing use of English as not only a European lingua franca, but also a world language the fear exists that Dutch, being a relatively small language, will slowly become a dead language (Nortier, 2009). Among these foundations that strive for the purification of Dutch are *Stichting Nederlands* (Dutch Language Foundation) and *Stichting Taalverdediging* (Foundation for the Defence of Language) (Grezel, 2007). These foundations are aimed at ridding Dutch of English loanwords, and one of their approaches was to release an extensive word list with common English loans and their Dutch counterpart. To illustrate, they listed the words *feedback* ('terugkoppeling'), and *manager* ('bedrijfsleider), which are two words that appear frequently in Dutch (Grezel, 2007; Koops et al, 2009). Interestingly, this wordlist is called *'woordenlijst onnodig Engels'* (word-list of unnecessary English), illustrating their negative attitude to these English loans. This somewhat negative attitude to the influx of English loanwords is not restricted to Dutch only: in other European countries foundations have also been established to counter the effect of English. Examples of these are the '*Académie Française*' (Academy for French) in France, the Academy of Athens in Greece, and the '*Verein Deutsche Sprache*' (Foundation for German) in German (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl, 2006; Fischer, 2008; Rollason, 2008; Tsagouria, 2008; Barbour, 2008; Anderman & Rogers, 2008).

In her paper, Van der Sijs (2012) compares results from newspaper analyses from 1994 and 2012. She evaluated and selected newspaper articles that contain at least one English word, and found a very slight increase of the use of English (loan)words in her 2012 study compared to the 1994 study. Van der Sijs (2012) makes reference to a study by Gerritsen & Jansen (2001), who conducted an analysis of the integration of English loanwords into Dutch, and what factors determine a successful implementation of the loanword or not. They found that roughly half of English loans fall out of use rather quickly. Loanwords that integrate successfully are commonly (1) adverbs, (2) English words that are shorter than their Dutch counterpart, and (3) words that share no similarity to the original Dutch words. Words that are similar tend to fall out of use, similar to verbs and nouns (Gerritsen & Jansen, 2001). Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts (2012) analysed the use of anglicisms in two newspaper corpuses (LeNC and TwNC) from 1999 onwards with the aim to understand what factors contribute to the loanword being incorporated

in the Dutch lexicon. To do this, they focused on English person reference nouns (e.g. *manager* and *babyboomer*) as loanwords in Dutch. After analysis, Zenner et al. (2012) concluded that four factors contribute to the incorporation of loanwords in Dutch: the foreign word is shorter than the native word, it expresses a low-frequency concept, if the loanword was introduced before a Dutch term was coined, and if the loanword represent a concept originating or associating with Anglo-American culture.

Comparing these findings with the inclusion criteria set out above by Gerritsen & Jansen (2001), both studies agree on at least the finding that English loans tend to be incorporated in the lexicon when the SL word is shorter than RL word. Smakman (2006) has also explored the effect of English onto Dutch. Although English has been influencing Dutch since roughly the 1800s, and the language has missed opportunities to supply its speakers with appropriate Dutch terms instead of English ones, the influence is largely restricted to the lexicon. Effects of English on other aspects of the language are relatively small, and cause insignificant changes (Smakman, 2006). The sections below further explore the use of English swearwords as loans in the Dutch swearing lexicon.

1.4 Swearing.

Swearing is a feature of language that commonplace amongst speakers (McEnery, 2006; Hughes, 2006). Whether to cause offence, display a certain emotional state, or convey certain meanings, swearing can fulfil a wide range of linguistic and emotional functions (Culpeper, 2011). In languages, swearing functions as a way of communicating, with different degrees of force (or offensiveness), a range of emotions, thoughts, attitudes, and behaviours. It fulfils communicative functions, ranging from psychological to social and interpersonal (Stapleton, 2010). The most simplistic way of defining swearing is to say that it is language that is used to cause offence. In many languages, a rich swearing vocabulary exists in different categorisations of offensiveness, denoting different aspects (e.g. gender, body parts, and other categories), either as single word or phrase (Stapleton, 2010). Focusing, for now, on the literal use of a swearword to cause offence, Dewaele (2004b) defines swearwords as "multifunctional, pragmatic units which assume, in addition to the expression of emotional attitudes, various discourse functions" (p. 205). Jay & Janschewitz (2008) add to the debate that swearing is "the use of taboo language with the purpose of expressing the speaker's emotional state and communicating that information to the listeners" (p. 268).

Looking at the use of swearwords to cause offence, swearwords are defined as linguistic items that are based on taboo terms (Stapleton, 2010). These are "words and phrases that people

avoid for reasons related to religion, politeness and prohibited behaviour" (Yule, 2010, p. 260). Swearwords are very diverse, as these are words that can relate to: religion (*God*), familial terms (*son of a bitch, motherfucker*), violations of moral codes (*traitor*), immorality (*slut*), dishonesty (*liar*), social taboos (*bastard*), dehumanisations (*cow, pig, animal*), sexual (*tit, fuck*), intellectuality (*dumb, imbecile*), discharge (*shit*), and politics (*nazi*) (Montagu, 1967; Hughes, 2006). A problem that arises by the categorisation of different swearwords is the observation by Ljung (2011) that swearwords may fall under more categories than just one, which is recognised by Hughes (2006). Swearing is also further grouped by Hughes (2006) in different types: targeted directly at the listener, through personal reference, rejection, or expressions of pain, anger, frustration, and annoyance. Continuing with types of swearing, Jay & Janschewitz (2008) highlight the difference between propositional and non-propositional swearing. The former is a type of swearing that is "consciously planned and intentional" (p. 270), whereas non-propositional swearing is unintentional, and often spontaneous unprompted behaviour.

When wanting to cause offence, a speaker can choose to opt out of using a swearword and use an alternative, less-offensive word/phrase that is not a swearword (a euphemism), or choose a literal swearword (a dysphemism). Allan & Burridge (1991) highlight that the speaker "chooses either to use or to not-use a euphemism in order to create a certain effect on a given occasion" (p. 26). A euphemism is the use of an alternative word or phrase, which are "sweet-sounding, or at least inoffensive, alternative for expressions that speakers or writers prefer not to use in executing a particular communicative intention on a given occasion" (Burridge, 2012, p. 65). For example, it is commonplace to hear speakers use the phrase *shoot* instead of *shit*, or *freaking* instead of *fucking*. Euphemisms help speakers avoid using direct and offensive items, and weaken the strength of the utterance. On the contrary, dysphemism are items that more directly cause offence, or are used to more directly cause offence: "a dysphemism is an expression with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or to the audience, or both, and it is substituted for a neutral or euphemistic expression for just that reason" (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 26). The focus of the current research, however, is on dysphemisms: the direct use of lexical swearwords to cause offence. However, according to Burridge (2012) there are three main strategies that a speaker can draw on in order to cause offence (to a certain extent), but not use the lexical swearword. First, a speaker can use an analogy (transferring of meaning from one item to another, by the use of a metaphor or a hyperbole), a distortion (such as shortening, acronyms, or ellipsis), or internal and external borrowing (e.g. from varieties of a language, the use of slang terms) (Allan & Burridge, 1991; Allan & Burridge, 2006; Burridge, 2012).

Whether or not swearing is appropriate, or acceptable, in a given situation is dependent on a number of variables, as well as the offensive force of these swearwords. However, before continuing on an exploration of factors that determine whether swearing is appropriate, or acceptable, and offensiveness, it is necessary to first clarify what acceptability, appropriateness, and offensiveness is. To start, in research on swearing in a non-native language, the terms 'likelihood', 'acceptability', and 'appropriateness' come forward. Likelihood is used by Jay & Janschewitz (2008) to indicate whether a participant is prone to using a certain swearword in a given context. Christie (2012) evaluates the use of (very offensive) swearwords by different persons. She highlights that "the uses of swearwords are acceptable only if they are the spontaneous expression of a particular type of identity", and can cause offence when not appropriately used in a specific context. However, it is unclear when a linguistic item, or in this case, a swearword is appropriate. Jay & Janschewitz (2008) illustrate that "appropriateness of swearing is highly contextually variable, dependent on speaker-listener relationship, social-physical context, and particular word used" (267).

Regarding offensiveness, Christie (2013) states that: "the offensiveness of these terms is often perceived as a function of their 'taboo' status" (p. 152). Hughes (2006) shows a correlation between the taboo action and the word that it relates to: farting (fart) and urination (piss) are barely acceptable in a public space, and defecation and copulation (shit and fuck) are totally unacceptable in public. By giving this comparison, he illustrates that certain acts have a degree of acceptability in a given situation, similarly to certain words. Shit and fuck are words that have a high degree of offensiveness (McEnery, 2006), and are unacceptable actions in real life (Hughes, 2006). He also explains that the degree to which a swearword is offensive is heavily dependent on context, and interestingly he mentions that the offensiveness is dependent on the acceptability of the word, as well as in what speech community it is used (Hughes, 2006). A note should be made regarding the changeability of the perception of offensiveness: an item that is offensive in a certain setting might not be offensive in another. This leads the point that the offensiveness of swearwords is not static, but is a dynamic context that is heavily influenced by certain factors (Culpeper, 2011).

Going back to the notions of acceptability and offensiveness, what exactly Hughes (2006) considers to be the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour remains unclear. Jay & Janschewitz (2008) illustrate that gender and English experience heavily influence offensiveness ratings by participants. Jay (2009) supports this by explaining that an item might be considered to be very offensive in a formal context, but less offensive in an informal context. Allan & Burridge (2006) indicate that whether language is acceptable or not depends on "the

relationship between speakers, the audience, and everyone in earshot, the subject matter, and the situation (setting)" (p.30). Re-occurring themes by multiple authors are thus that acceptability and offensiveness depends on a variety of factors, but most commonly speaker-hearer relationship (who is speaking), and physical setting (informal or formal). On a last note, Beers Fägersten (2012) focuses on the interplay between the frequency by which a swearword is used as an affective factor on offensiveness rating, and introduces the swearing paradox. In her research she found effects of frequency of use on perceived offensiveness, and vice versa. She thus claims that swearwords that are used with a high frequency are at the same time considered to be very offensive. Naturally, swearwords that are used less often are considered as being less offensive by the participants.

1.5 Borrowing Swearwords.

In the previous sections the influx of English loanwords in Dutch is described, as well as attitudes towards the use of English loanwords. These borrowed words are distributed over different categories, such as adjectives and nouns. In contact situations between languages the occurrence of loanwords is not wholly uncommon and unexpected. Borrowing hierarchies were reviewed in section 1.2, with the conclusion that content words (e.g. lexical words) are more easily borrowable than function words (e.g. morphological/phonetic structures). The question is raised to what extent swearwords are borrowed into other languages. Anderson (2014) provides an overview of the borrowing of the word *fuck* in Norwegian, accompanied by an analysis of the (loss of) word's original illocutionary force (illocutionary force denotes the speaker's intention behind the utterance, see Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) for a more detailed analysis and explanation). Anderson (2014) highlights that the impact of English onto other languages is not surprising due to its status as the de-facto world's lingua franca. Where languages fall short in providing their speakers with appropriate terminology in rapidly developing fields such as technology, food, fashion, and science, English significantly provides speakers with appropriate terms. This holds for swearwords: borrowed swearwords "provide a euphemistic way of expressing the negative illocutionary force compared with expletives inherent to the RL" (Anderson, 2014, p. 28).

He proposes that the borrowing of swearwords induces a functional shift with regard to the illocutionary force of the expletive. Tying into this is one of the primary findings by Dewaele (2016) where L2 swearwords are perceived as significantly less offensive by non-native speakers than by native speakers. A detailed explanation of Dewaele's (2016) findings are given in section 1.6 below. Continuing with the question why speakers are prone to borrow English swearwords, Matras (2011) observes that linguistic items are more likely to be borrowed from a language that

represents power and is idolized, in order to associate with the power and status that that language represents. The latter type of borrowing coincides with Haspelmath's (2009) explanation of a core borrowing: the main reason for replacing RL items with SL items is because of prestige, and the association with prestige that SL items hold.

Thus, it is not wholly surprising to witness not only an influx of English words in Dutch only in the form of nouns and other categories, but also in swearwords. Studying the use of English swearwords on Twitter by L1 Dutch speakers, Zenner, Ruette & Devriendt (2017) conclude that the borrowability of English swearwords in Dutch is very high. According to them, this is because of three reasons, the first being that swearwords are easily borrowed in a RL (a similar conclusion is made by Anderson, 2014). Second, they indicate that swearwords should be categorised as discourse markers, which is a category that is prone to being borrowed. This argument is based on findings by Muysken (1981) and Thomason & Kaufman (1988). Lastly, they argue that in Europe (and all European languages) most loanwords stem from English. Regarding the categorisation of the acceptable borrowed English swearwords in Dutch (*shit* and *fuck*), these words have appropriate translations in the RL. This means that these are core borrowings, as the coexist with/replace RL swearwords.

1.6 Swearing in Dutch.

Suggested by Sterkenburg (2008), the Dutch are very adequate in swearing. Using all the types of swearwords described above, their swearing behaviour includes one other phenomenon: the use of swearing with diseases (e.g. *'tering'* – tuberculosis, and *'kanker'* – cancer) (Sterkenburg, 2008; McKay, 2014). In his 2007 study, Sterkenburg (publishedin 2008) looked at what swearwords are mostly used by native Dutch speakers. He found that *Jezus* (Jesus)*, godver* (goddamn)*, godverdomme* (goddamnit)*,* and *verdomme* (fuck/damnit) are amongst the most frequently used swearwords. In this study (amongst roughly 2000 participants), Sterkenburg (2008) also asked the participants to indicate reasons for swearing. The three most picked options were annoyance, fury, and anger. The interesting aspect about the research done by Sterkenburg is that the same study reported on in 2008 has also been conducted in 1997. This helps create an understanding of the evolution of swearwords, what swearwords entered the language, and what swearwords fell out of use. Further, the research on swearing in Dutch is quite restricted, and only some have attempted to look at swearing behaviour amongst the Dutch. Continuing, compared to the 1997 study, innovations in Dutch swearing in 2007 were the introduction of the English words *fuck*, and *damn*, the increased use of the word *kut* (*cunt*), and the less-frequent use of the word *verdomme*. There is one striking similarity between the 1997 and 2007 surveys, namely the continued position of English word *shit* as the self-reported most frequently used swearword in Dutch.

What is more, in 1997 *verdomme* was the third-most frequently used swearword by participants. *Fuck* was not reported as being used in 1997, and in the 2007 survey, was reported as third-most frequently used swearword, replacing *verdomme*. This shows the extent to which the influence of English onto Dutch is noticeable – even in the swearing lexicon English words are used.

The phenomenon of the use of English swearwords in Dutch has also been picked up on by Sanders & Tempelaars (1998), and Rassin & Muris (2005). In an extensive list of swearwords used by not only Dutch speakers but also Flemish speakers, *shit* and *fuck* are appear as integrated in the regular swearing lexicon of Flemish and Dutch (Sanders & Tempelaars, 1998). Rassin & Muris (2005) evaluated swearing behaviour amongst 72 female undergraduate students. *Shit* was reported as the most frequently used swearword, followed by *kut, godverdomme, klote, fuck,* and *Jezus*. Interestingly, the least-frequently used word was English *Bitch*, another instance of borrowing from English into Dutch. Regarding swearing behaviour online, the NOS (Nederlandse Omroep Stichting, *Dutch Foundation for Broadcasting*, 2015) analysed 46.688 tweets written in Dutch that contained at least one swearword. They found that *kut* was the most frequently used swearword, followed by *godverdomme*, *lul* (dick), *verdomme*, and *hoer* (prostitute). Surprisingly, English *fuck* and *shit* are not mentioned in this research, however, it is unclear whether these words were purposely neglected in this study.

1.7 Swearing in a foreign language.

The road to target language (TL) success is lengthy, and foreign language learners (FLLs) are tasked with not only understanding the TL's vocabulary, but also its grammar, its conventions, its politeness principles, and many other aspects that serve as the make-up of a language. Learning how to swear in the TL proves to be time-consuming and undeniably challenging. However, learning how to swear is not restricted to simply knowing what swearwords exist in the TL, and how to implement them in a sentence. Language learners also need to develop a form of pragmalinguistic competence in order to understand how offensive a swearword is, in what contexts a swearword might be appropriate to use, what the effects of a swearword are on the listener, and what the relationship is between the speaker and the listener (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). The question that remains, however, is when pragmalinguistic competence in the TL starts to develop, and when language learners will start to understand what is polite, what is impolite, and how to appropriately use TL language structures (Barron & Warga, 2007). The pragmatics of the TL is not easily acquired by TL learners, and the process of acquisition is lengthy (Gundy, 2000). However, Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin (2005) indicate that even without specific instruction, learners start to develop L2 pragmalinguistic knowledge. An increase in TL proficiency may thus allow learners to make correct judgements based on TL use, understand the force of utterances,

and construct meaning in appropriate contexts (Timpe-Laughlin, 2017). Dewaele (2004a) explains that language learners first reply on pragmatic competence in the L1, and mirror their L1 pragmalinguistic competence onto the L2. Thus, TL learners, especially low-level L2 learners rely on their L1 knowledge in order to perform the L2 by this definition. What is considered polite in the L1 may thus also be considered polite in the TL, whilst in reality this is not the case. Dewaele (2004a) also touches upon the concept of emotional distance between the L1 and the TL. According to him, individuals are more emotionally attached to their L1 than in their TL, and with each language that is acquired this emotional distance becomes larger. Thus, causing offence or expressing highly emotional concepts in the TL is slightly easier than the L1 (Dewaele, 2004a).

A number of studies by Dewaele (2004a, 2004b, 2016, 2017) have looked into swearing behaviour and the perceived offensiveness of swearing by native speakers and non-native speakers of English. In 2004, using 1039 participants, Dewaele looked at self-reported language preference for swearing. The participants were first asked to answer a demographics survey, containing information about gender, education, dominant language, TL acquisition context, AOA, and frequency of use. These variables were all independently compared to the answers to the question what language the participants generally swear in. His findings indicate that multilinguals have a preference for swearing in the L1, as a stronger emotional connection is found between an individual and their L1. He reported no effects of gender, nor education, on swearing behaviour (Dewaele, 2004a). In another study in 2004, Dewaele evaluated the perceived emotional force of swear- and taboo words by multilinguals amongst the same sample of the previously mentioned study. Comparing both studies, in the first study he reported on data generated for the question in what language the participants generally swore. In this paper, he reports on data generated for the question whether swear/taboo words have the same emotional weight in the participants' different languages. His findings indicate that the participants find their L1 to carry the most emotional weight, followed by the L2, and then the other languages (Dewaele, 2004b). The most influential factors on the self-reported emotional weight of the L1 versus other acquired languages are age of onset of acquisition, how the languages are learnt, level of activation, and frequency of use.

In 2016, Dewaele conducted a study amongst 1159 native and 1165 non-native speakers of English. 30 words were selected from the BNC (British National Corpus) based on how frequent they appeared in the corpus, and their emotional force. Dewaele (2016) asked the participants to rate how well they understand the meaning of a word, how offensive the word is, and how frequently they use the word. His findings show that non-native speakers of English did not fully understand the meaning of all 30 words under investigation, generally overestimated the

offensiveness of these words, and that an increase in proficiency helps the non-native speakers better understand the meaning of a swearword, as well as its emotional force. This study neglected to further look into effects of this self-reported frequency on the emotional force of TL swearwords. In 2017, Dewaele more closely examined the data of his 2016 study. The focus was on the effect of self-reported frequency in swearing behaviour, taking into consideration situational, psychological, and sociobiographical variables. These findings suggest an effect of speaker (a friend, no present conversational partner, family members, colleagues, and strangers), and personality type (e.g. extravert vs. introvert), but not of sociobiographical factors (e.g. education, age, gender).

Jay & Janschewitz (2008) evaluated offensiveness ratings and likelihood ratings of English swearword by native and non-native English college students. Similarly to Dewaele (2016, 2017), they used swearwords in different offensiveness categories (e.g. *fuck* as a high-taboo word, *bastard* as medium taboo word, and *damn* as low taboo word). They manipulated context-descriptions based on who was speaking (in different degrees of authority), where they were speaking (in different degrees of formality), and what swear word they used in that given context. After reading this description, the participants were asked to rate the offensiveness of the swearword in this context, and how likely it would be for this speaker to use the swearword in that specific context. Their findings show that ratings of offensiveness and likelihood are heavily dependent on speaker, location, and type of swearword. Swearwords used by authoritative figures in formal environments are deemed as most offensive, and swearwords used by non-authoritative figures are less offensive. Further, swearwords used in a formal setting are deemed as more offensive than swearwords used in an informal surrounding. They conclude that "this sensitivity to offensiveness and likelihood provides a basis for judgements about appropriateness" (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008, p. 283)

1.8 Current study.

The aim of the current study is to explore the influence of contextual factors (speaker and setting) and attitudes to English as the L2 on swearing behaviour in the L2, as well as on the acceptability and the perceived offensiveness of L2 English swearwords. In an earlier study, Hoogkamer (2017) has looked at whether native and non-native speakers of English similarly perceive offensiveness of English swearword. Using an L1 Dutch, L2 English sample of 61 participants, the experiment group was asked to first (in experiment 1) indicate how frequently they used a set of seven English swearwords (*damn, God, son-of-a-bitch, Jesus, shit, gay, fuck*) selected from McEnery's (2006) scale of offence. The participants were also asked to indicate how offensive they perceived these swearwords to be. In the second experiment, the participants were

given three contexts where they were speaking either with a minor, a peer, or an authoritative figure. It was unspecified in what physical setting the conversation took place. The participants were asked to, similarly to experiment one, rate how offensive they found these swearwords in these contexts. The second experiment focused on only four swearwords: *damn, shit, gay,* and *fuck.* This was because in experiment one the participant indicated that these are the four most often used swearwords. Similar to McEnery's (2006) scale of offence, a non-native scale of offence was created in order to draw conclusions based on offensiveness ratings. Additional indexations of offensiveness as perceived by native speakers were Millwood-Hargrave (2000), and OFCOM (2016).

The main findings of the 2017 study were the following: first, participants' offensiveness rating was similar for minors and peers. This distinction was for this reason neglected in the current study. Second, the participants rated offensiveness significantly lower than presented by McEnery (2006), Millwood-Hargrave (2000), and OFCOM (2016). Even in the authoritative condition the highest offensiveness rating given was 'offensive' (rating 4 on the 5-point scale). Third, an interaction effect counter to Beers-Fägersten's (2012) swearing paradox between frequency of use and perceived offensiveness was found. The outcomes of this study suggested the opposite: an increase in frequency correlates with a decrease in offensiveness. The present study aims to partially recreate the 2017 study, but takes into consideration more variables. It differs in the following way: first, an attitudes task is included in which participants indicate their attitude to language learning, learning English as a second (or for some, foreign) language, swearing in Dutch, and swearing in English. Second, the participants are only presented conditions with distinctions between authoritative and non-authoritative figures. A further distinction between minors and peers is neglected. Third, the participants are further presented conditions that are manipulated not only on speaker, but also setting (formal/informal). Fourth, semi-naturalistic production data is also generated through the use of open DCTs in text-message format. Fifth, the participants do not only rate the perceived offensiveness in context, but also whether the use of a specific swearword is acceptable or not.

This yields the following research questions:

1) To what extent can an effect be found of context and location on the perceived offensiveness and acceptability of L2 English swearwords by L1 Dutch, L2 learners   of English?

2) To what extent do differences in speaker-hearer relationship affect the production of L2 English swearwords by L1 Dutch, L2 learners of English?

3) To what extent can an effect of attitudes to L2 English and L2 English swearing be found on the production of L2 swearwords and the perceived offensiveness and acceptability of L2 swearwords of L1 Dutch, L2 learners of English?

Regarding question one, previous studies have already found that judgement ratings regarding offensiveness change with manipulations of speaker and setting (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). In this sense, the current study is an extension of Jay & Janschewitz (2008). However, this study adds to the debate the use of acceptability ratings, which are unlike the likelihood ratings presented by Jay & Janschewitz (2008). Likelihood ratings invite participants to indicate whether they would be prone to using a certain linguistic variable in a certain context with a certain speaker. This study however asks the participants to indicate to what extent it is acceptable to use a certain swearword in a certain context with a certain speaker. This is because it allows the participants to reflect on their own language use, and incorporate metalinguistic knowledge of acceptable linguistic behaviour. Regarding the interplay between acceptability ratings and offensiveness ratings, it is reasonable to believe that when a swearword is considered as acceptable, it might also be considered to have a low offensiveness rating. This study aims to find out to what extent these judgements are dependent on each other, or whether they can be considered as mutually exclusive.

For question two, it is hypothesised that attitudes to L2 English swearwords and swearing in general influence ratings acceptability and offensiveness, and influence the production of L2 swearwords. More specifically, it is hypothesized that learners with a favourable attitude to language learning and negative attitude to swearing rate offensiveness and acceptability different from participants with a negative attitude to L2 learning and positive attitude to swearing. Research on the influences of favourable attitudes on judgements such as acceptability and offensiveness is scarce, however, the issue of attitudes towards language learning has been more broadly researched (e.g. by Gómez & Pérez, 2015; Jeeves, 2015). Regarding research question three, the attempt is made to collect production data of text-message conversations. It is predicted that the participants are less-prone to using swearwords in text-message conversations in personal group chats with a parent rather than with a friend. Since previous studies on perception data have already shown that swearwords used by a non-authoritative figure such as a friend or a sibling are deemed as less offensive, it is hypothesised that in these text-message situations the participant is more prone to using a swearword. Vice versa, it is hypothesised that texting with a parent yields little swearing behaviour. This then serves as evidence for the observation that in L2 swearing production data the type of speaker influences the production of L2 swearwords.

2. Method

2.1 Materials.

The data for the current study is generated through an online survey (via Qualtrics.com). The survey consisted of four parts, each consisting of a different task. In order to obtain more information of the participants, the survey started with a demographics block. After this, the participants completed a production task, an attitudes survey, and lastly a perception task. This ordering was purposely done: one of the aims of the production task was to elicit as much unstimulated, natural swearing behaviour by the participants. Since both the attitudes survey and perception ask involve swearwords, the participants cold have been prompted to use swearwords in the production task. The tasks are accordingly discussed below, following with a description of the participants, the procedure of data collection, and finally a description of the ethical considerations

2.1.1 Part 1: Demographics. The demographics survey asks the participants for basic information such as their age and gender. This part of the survey was completed in Dutch. The aim of this part of the survey was to collect information about the participants, such as proficiency in other languages, possible bilingualism, and any extra exposure they had to English. This information was asked of the participants because it can help shed further light on L2 swearing behaviour, and account for any abnormalities in the data. The participants further indicated in what level and year of secondary school they are enrolled in, and whether or not they follow the extra English program. Further, it also asks the participants to indicate why they chose or didn't choose to follow extra English lessons. This part of the survey also focuses on the participants' experience with English, namely whether they have ever lived in an English speaking country (if yes, for how long and where), and how long in total they have spent in an English speaking country. After this, the survey focuses on the participants' language experience. The participants are asked what languages they speak besides Dutch, and whether or not they speak one or more languages since birth in order to check for any effects of bilingualism and/or multilingualism.

2.1.2 Part 2: Production task. The production data is generated through the presentation of text messages (see figure 2.1 for an example). The production part of this study has purposely been put as one of the first tasks of this survey. This is because the participants have not been prompted in any way about the purpose of the survey, as they only filled in a demographics survey. The participants have also not been instructed what the purpose of the

survey is, and the participants have not encountered any introduction regarding swearwords yet. In a scenario where the production part comes after the attitudes surveys, they have already been prompted to reflect on their own linguistic behaviour in English, and have encountered statements regarding swearing behaviour. This might thus bias the participants' answers, and stimulate them to more frequently use swearwords.

The participants are shown a text message on Whatsapp messenger, Imessage, or Facebook messenger. To manipulate the type of relationship while maintaining ecological validity, in total six text-messages are used where the participant is hypothetically texting with either a parent, a sibling, or a friend. Topics are used which invoke swearing behaviour but relate to the participants' life, such as receiving a low grade, having to come home early, or forgetting sports shoes. The participants are first given a description of the topic of the text conversation, plus their relation to the person they are texting with. After this, the participants see a screenshot of a text message thread where an open box with the text 'your reply' shows the participant where to enter their reply in the text message. An example is given in table 2.2 below. The combination of the use of a detailed, realistic context together with an open answer which triggers a response is similar to the open DCT (Discourse Completion Task) approach. Through this method, participants are invited to simulate naturalistic production data and hopefully use the target structures whilst doing so (Golato, 2003). For this experiment, the aim is to trigger participants to use swearwords in these situations in order to elicit naturalistic production data. However, it is reasonable to believe that the participants might not actually use swearwords, but are more prone to using other phrases that they use in daily life, or to avoid swearing altogether. In this case, the data gives insight into how the participants cope with situations which might invoke swearing behaviour.
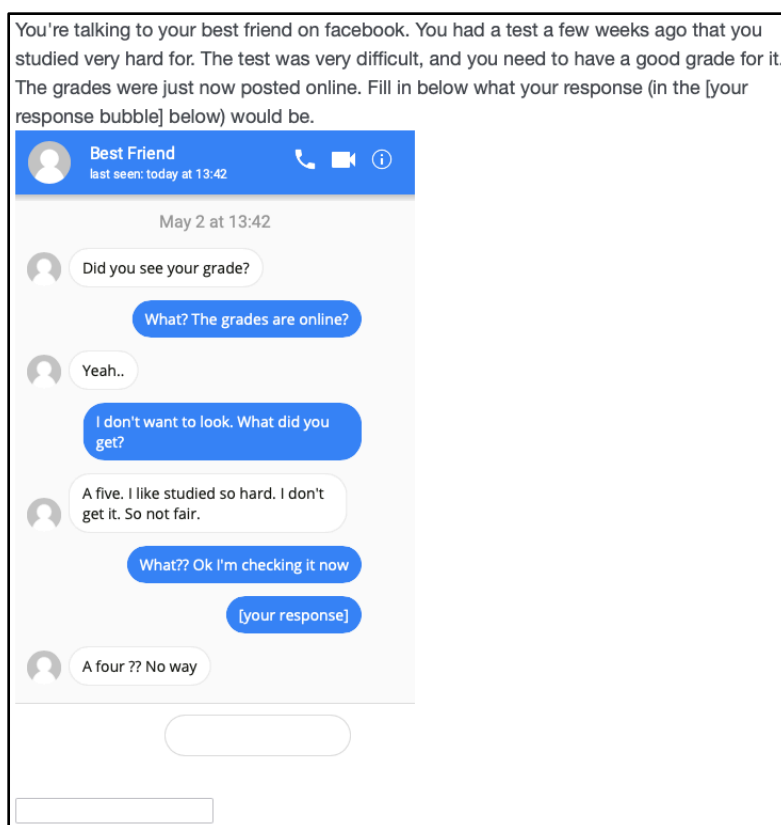
Figure 2.1: T4 stimuli example

2.1.3 Part 3: Attitudes survey. The attitudes survey aimed to on preliminary basis create a better understanding of the participants' attitude towards (English) language learning, L2 English, motivation, swearing in general, swearing in Dutch and swearing in English. At the same time, the outcomes of the attitudes survey could shed further light on why participants firstly chose certain acceptability and offensiveness ratings, but also, help understand the outcomes of the production task. For example, a participant who has a negative attitude towards swearing might perform differently in the production task than a participant with a positive attitude to swearing. These fluctuations in the data might thus be explained with the help of the attitudes task. The attitudes task was divided into two parts: the first part concerned statements about language learning, and second part concerned attitudes to swearing.

The first part of the attitudes survey (14 questions) asks participants to rate whether they agree or disagree with certain statements regarding their attitudes to English as a second language, and language learning (block 1), and swearing in the L1 and L2 (block 2) on a 5-point scale (1 = I do not agree at all, 5 = totally agree). Similarly to the demographics part, this part is also fully in Dutch. A large amount of these questions are based on Gardner et al., (1979) Attitude Motivation Test Battery. Also, it mimics Mearns, de Graaf & Coyle's (2017) study on

effects of bilingual education. In their study, Mearns et al. (2017) evaluated motivational differences regarding (English) language learning of bilingual and monolingual students. They asked their participants to rate, on a five-point scale, whether they agree or disagree with statements. These statements regarded attitudes to English, attitudes to foreign languages, attitudes to L2 English speakers, instrumental motivation, vision of future self, family attitudes to English, attitudes to English lessons, and extramural English. They found that in general the attitude towards all the above variables was more positive amongst bilingual learners than mainstream learners (besides 'family attitudes to English').

The questions in this questionnaire focus on the following aspects: willingness to communicate in English as the second language (*'I feel comfortable when speaking English'*), intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (*'I think learning English is important for my career'*, Lightbown & Spada, 2013), anxiety when communicating in English as the L2 (*'I get nervous when I speak English'*, and communicative competence in the L2 (*'I find it easy to speak English'*). The second part of the questionnaire focuses solely on swearing in English as the L2, and differences between swearing in L1 Dutch and L2 English (15 questions). This is similar to methods used by Dewaele (2004a, 2004b, 2016, 2017). However, contrasting Dewaele's (2004a, 2004b, 2016, 2017) methods, this survey consists of more questions to gain a better insight into the attitudes to swearing in not only English as the L2, but also in the L1. These questions regard opinions on swearing in the L2 (*'I think swearing in English is cool'*), L1/L2 differences (*'I find swearing in English easier than in Dutch'*), and opinions regarding swearing behaviour in general (*'I think people should try to swear as little as possible'*).

2.1.4 Part 4: Perception task. As mentioned in section 1.4 and 1.7 (*swearing* and *swearing in a foreign language*), it has been shown that contextual variables have an influence on rated acceptability and perceived offensiveness of swearwords. Earlier studies manipulated context based on speaker (e.g. an authoritative or non-authoritative figure) and location (e.g. a formal or informal setting) (Dewaele, 2004, 2016, 2017; Jay & Janschewitz, 2008), and yielded different offensiveness ratings per condition (e.g. an authoritative figure in an informal setting). The focus of these studies was on language perceptiion, as the participants were asked to rate contexts based on a written description. This perception task is used to recreate findings of these earlier researchers, and expand on their findings. The perception task is thus largely based on earlier studies in design. In this perception task, the participants are asked to independently rate acceptability and perceived offensiveness of 16 different contexts with different swearwords in different degrees of offensiveness on 5-point scales (1 = not acceptable/not offensive, 5 = very acceptable, very offensive). The aim of this task was to recreate findings of other researchers

using similar measures, and seek relationships between acceptability and offensiveness ratings. Further, it aims to shed further light on how non-native speakers of English perceive offensiveness, to be ultimately compared to the scales of offense (as perceived by native speakers) proposed by Millwood-Hargrave (2000), McEnery (2006), and OFCOM (2016). Using a comparison with native speaker scales of offense, the data of this study can show where differences lie in the perceived offensiveness of L2 English swearwords, and to what extent context influences these choices. The expected outcome is therefore that

Continuing, the participants are given brief contexts that are manipulated based on certain variables: the setting (formal or informal), the speaker (minor/peer, authoritative), the relationship with the speaker (e.g. close friend, cousin from America, mentor), and what swearword is used by the speaker (shit, damn, gay, and fuck). This yielded situations in four conditions for each swearword (16 in total): authoritative/formal, authoritative/informal, non-authoritative/formal, and non-authoritative/informal. Contrary to the demographics/attitude survey, this part was in English. In order to remain as unbiased as possible, the use of personal pronouns that indicate gender are avoided as much as possible. Further, all questions are randomized. An example is given below:

> 9) "You're talking to a friend in class. You're sitting quite close to the teacher and everyone in the class is either working on the assignment or whispering to each other. Your friend is secretly showing you   something on their phone. Whilst holding up the phone, it slips and falls on the floor. The screen breaks. Whilst your teacher looks up to see what happens, your friend loudly says "fuck!". How acceptable is the use of this word in this situation, and how offensive is the word?"

First, the participants read the description of the setting. Below the descriptions were the two slider scales, one for offensiveness, and one for acceptability. These ratings were thus given independently. After completing all 16 questions, the participants were presented with a last open question. This question asked the participants what variables in the setting descriptions influenced their choice of giving certain acceptability/offensiveness ratings. Since this was the last question of the questionnaire, this was a non-obligatory question. In this way, only participants that were motivated to fill this question in did so.

2.2 Participants.

The participants in the current study are students enrolled in a Dutch secondary school (N = 111, 45 M: 6 F). The participants are between 14 and 18 years old, with the average age being m = 15.7 years old. They are distributed over six different classes in the same year, but at different

levels. All participants are enrolled in the fourth year of Dutch secondary education; however, there is variation amongst the participants regarding level. This is because the Dutch secondary education system is divided into three levels: a 4 –year pre-vocational secondary education stream (VMBO), a 5-year senior general secondary education stream (HAVO), and a 6-year pre-university education stream (VWO) (Ministry of Education and Science, 2017). With consent from the school, students from the HAVO and VWO stream were recruited[1]. Additionally, this specific secondary school offers their students the opportunity to take extra English classes (2 extra classes of 50 minutes) per week during their secondary school career. Therefore, the participants of this study do not only differ in level, but also in whether or not they chose to follow extra English lessons. To clarify, the participants are exposed to British English since the start of secondary education. Besides their teachers speaking British English, their course-books are produced and printed in England, and the participants frequently go to England on trips with school. The participants without extra English lessons shall be referred to as 'regular', and the participants with extra English hours shall be referred to as 'extra'. Table 2.1 below gives an overview of the number of participants enrolled in either regular or extra English education, as well as their level of education.

Table 2.2: Overview participant groups per level

Regular		Extra English	
HAVO	VWO	HAVO	VWO
30	16	12	53
Total participants:	**N = 46**	**Total participants:**	**N = 65**

2.3 Procedure.

The data was collected at the secondary school during class hours on two separate days (one group on day one, five groups on day two). The participants were invited to the survey through an online link distributed 5 minutes by the teacher before the start of class via e-mail. The participants were only instructed that the survey was about English and Dutch in order to not prompt the participants to use swearwords. Due to scheduling difficulties, the participants all

[1] Students in the VWO track are excluded from this research as they were sitting national examination exams at the time of data collection.

filled in the survey on their mobile phone instead of on a computer. During data collection, the participants were not allowed to talk to each other. The researcher was walking around to ask questions, and in order to create a less-formal atmosphere in the classroom the researcher and the class teacher were softly talking. Any questions that came up during data collection were answered individually by the researcher. The data collection took on average 40 minutes per group. The consent forms were handed out after completing the data collection. To reward the participants for their efforts, snacks were handed out during the data collection, and after data collection two participants in each class could win extra snacks. This approach was met with enthusiasm from both the participants and the present teacher.

2.4 Ethical Considerations.

Since the participants of the current study are under-age, consent had to be given by parents or a guardian. The school had already consented to the participation of their students in this study, and was informed about the purpose and design of this study in both a personal meeting and through an information letter. At the end of each data-collection session, the participants were handed an information letter for their parents/guardian explaining the topic of the study, the design, its relevance, and its purpose. Parents/guardians were asked to e-mail before a May 25th, 2019 in case they wanted their child's data removed. The participants were also asked at the start of the data collection whether they were willing to participate, how their data would be used, and that starting the survey meant their automatic consent. However, they were free to drop out of the survey anytime during the collection. All participants and their parents consented to participate and have their data be part of the final analysis of the results.

3. Results

The data collection method for the current study was an online survey consisting of four parts: a demographics block, a production task, an attitudes task, and a perception task. The results of the demographics block are reported in section 2.2 of the methodology section for the description of the participants. The results of the other three parts are reported accordingly below. A copy of the data collection tool has also been added in appendix I (page …).

3.1 Production task.

The goal of the production task was to elicit naturalistic, written production data following the DCT (Discourse Completion Task) approach. This was done through presenting the participants in randomized order six different stimuli in the form of text messages on different platforms

(Whatsapp, facebook, and text) where the conversation was being held with different conversational partners: a sibling, a parent, or a friend. This yielded the following conversations: texting with a sibling about forgetting crisps at the supermarket (T1) and forgotten sports shoes (T4), texting with a friend about a cancelled class (T2) and receiving a low grade (T4), and texting with a parent about having to come home (T3) and having to empty the dishwasher (T6). The participants first read a description of the topic of the conversation, the conversational partner, and their relationship with the conversational partner. After this, the participants read the message thread (on a screenshot), where a text-bubble with the phrase *'your reply'* indicated where the participants should fill in their replies. The participants were not instructed on how long their answer had to be, nor were they shown a model answer. This was done in order to avoid any type of priming of the participants. The topics of the text messages described above were all designed to invoke swearing behaviour, and were designed to resemble real-life situations for the participants.

For the analysis, three conditions were created in order to categorise the written replies to the stimuli. These conditions were swearword with phrase (++), single swearword (+), or no swearword (-). Looking at the results (a visual representation is given in table 3.2), most swearing occurred in the swearword plus phrase condition. The participants rarely used only a single swearword, and most often used language that did not contain a swearword. Focusing on swearing in the ++ condition, 36 instances were found in T2, followed by 28 in T4, and 27 in T3. In the other conditions (T1, T5, T6) swearing in the ++ condition occurred, however, by a very small number. The type of language used by the participants in the ++ condition is very diverse, as some participants chose to embed the swearword in a short phrase (T4: *'damn, I thought I passed'*), and some chose to use a longer phrase (T1: *'you forgot the crisps! Shit! Can you go back and get more?'*). Further, in some cases the swearwords were purposely directed at the conversational partner (T1: *'you fucking idiot'*), or used in general (T2: *'Jesus Christ I hate school'*). In the no swearword condition, in some stimuli the participants avoided the use of swearwords but still used a type of strong language to express frustration or anger (T1: *'are you kidding me?!'*, T2: *'In your dreams!'*, T5: *'what is wrong with you?'*). Further, alternatives to swearwords were also used by participants, such as *sucks, shame,* and *shoot* in T2.

Since this study also takes into account differences in English experience, a count of total number of swearwords between the regular and extra English group shows that the extra English group uses a total of 61 instances of swearing, and the regular group 50. Looking closely at the scenario types in which swearing was most often used, two of these involve texting with a friend (64 in total). Following texting with a friend is texting with a parent (28), and a sibling (25). The

results of the production task lead to the acceptance of the hypothesis regarding the effect of speaker on L2 swearword production, as the data shows that an effect of speaker can be found on the production of L2 swearwords, especially considering the friend/parent condition.

Table 3.1: Overview data grouping production task

	-	+	++
T1: sibling at supermarket	101	0	10
T2: friend about class	68	7	36
T3: parent about coming home	84	0	27
T4: friend about low grade	83	0	28
T5: sibling about forgotten shoes	96	0	15
T6: parent about dishwasher	109	1	1

3.2 Attitudes task.

In the attitudes task, the participants were asked to rate, on a 5-point scale, how strongly they agreed (rating 5) or disagreed (rating 1) with certain statements. These statements concerned: language learning (L), linguistic behaviour (B), motivation (M), and performance (P) in attitudes survey I. In survey II, the statements concerned: swearing in general (S), swearing in English (SE), and swearing in English and Dutch (SED). An overview of the mean scores and standard deviations per category are given below (in appendix II an overview is given of what statements correspond to what codes). To explain, the standard deviations are reported next to the mean values as it gives an indication of the spread of the data from the average. To explain, the standard deviations are reported next to the mean values as it gives an indication of the spread of the data from the average. Range values are purposely not reported, as almost all range values were between r = 1 – 5.

Looking first at the data for all participants in attitudes survey I (see table 3.2.1, reported per group), the data reveals the following: the participants (from both groups) have a favourable attitude towards language learning, and learning English in particular as a second language (code L). Further, the participants are fairly confident about their ability to use English in non-classroom situations, either with friends, native speakers, or tourists. However, they prefer Dutch

over English when discussing sensitive issues (code B + P). The participants' main reason for learning English are reported as either for a future career or for traveling abroad (code M). These findings hold equally for the extra English group and the regular group, the mean scores and standard deviations do not differ greatly from the 'all participants' category, nor do they differ greatly when only comparing the 'regular' and 'extra group'.

Table 3.2.1: overview mean scores + standard deviations attitudes I

	ALL PART		REGULAR		EXTRA	
	Mean	St. Dev	Mean	St. Dev.	Mean	St. Dev.
L1	3.45	1.11	3.39	1.28	3.49	0.98
L2	3.68	1.06	3.43	1.17	3.85	0.93
L3	1.72	1.09	2.00	1.29	1.52	0.88
B1	2.00	1.04	2.09	1.19	1.94	0.91
B2	2.64	1.29	2.63	1.36	2.65	1.23
B3	1.87	0.95	1.93	1.01	1.83	0.90
M1	4.21	0.82	4.09	0.86	4.29	0.78
M2	4.26	0.84	4.28	0.92	4.25	0.77
M3	3.26	1.18	3.26	1.21	3.26	1.17
P1	3.06	1.12	3.02	1.24	3.09	1.12
P2	1.08	0.72	1.07	0.25	1.09	0.29
P3	2.26	1.10	2.35	1.13	2.20	1.07
P4	3.46	1.24	3.39	1.15	3.51	1.29
P5	2.06	1.25	2.02	1.19	2.09	1.29

Regarding swearing (see table 3.2.2 below), the participants report having a negative attitude towards the use of swearwords, although they find the use of swearwords very common (code S). Looking specifically at swearing in English, the participants find it easy to swear in English, but have a negative attitude towards using English swearwords (code SE). Comparing English swearing to Dutch swearing (code SED), the participants agree that swearing in English is less offensive than swearing in Dutch, and that slightly more harm can be caused with Dutch swearwords than with English ones. The participants however do not favour the use of English swearword over Dutch swearwords, nor do they find the use of English swearwords in Dutch unusual. Regarding group differences, the mean values and standard deviation values remain close.

Table 3.2.2: overview mean scores and standard deviations per group

	ALL PART		REGULAR		EXTRA	
	Mean	**St. Dev**	**Mean**	**St. Dev**	**Mean**	**St. Dev.**
S1	1.69	0.81	1.72	0.88	1.68	1.12
S2	3.17	1.08	3.09	1.08	3.23	1.08
S3	2.88	1.14	2.78	1.10	2.95	1.17
S4	2.47	1.13	2.30	1.16	2.58	1.09
SE1	3.48	1.29	3.17	1.43	3.69	1.12
SE2	1.81	0.96	1.70	0.88	1.89	1.01
SED1	2.66	1.23	2.48	1.16	2.78	1.27
SED2	1.79	1.09	2.02	1.76	1.63	0.85
SED3	2.95	1.17	2.74	1.26	3.11	1.07
SED4	2.98	1.27	2.83	1.32	3.09	1.12

3.3 Perception task.

In the last task, the participants were asked to rate offensiveness and acceptability of the use of English swearwords (damn, shit, gay, and fuck) in 16 settings. Each swearword was used in four vignettes, which were manipulated on both speaker (authoritative/non-authoritative) and location (formal/informal). Before the participants rated offensiveness and acceptability, they were given a description of the topic of the conversation, the speaker, their relationship to the participant, the physical location, and the swearword that was used. After this, the participants indicated on separate 5-point scales how offensive and acceptable the use of the swearword was. All 16 vignettes can be found in appendix II, and an example vignette can be found in section 2.4.

The scores per condition and word are presented below in table 3.3. Examining closely the ratings given by the participants, the vignettes that received the lowest acceptability and highest offensiveness ratings were in the F/A condition across all swearwords. In this condition, the participant was hypothetically in conversation with an authoritative figure (e.g. a parent/mentor/teacher) in a formal environment (e.g. in class/the mentor's office). In contrast, the highest acceptability ratings paired with the lowest offensiveness ratings were given in the I/NA condition. In this condition, the participant was in conversation with a non-authoritative figure (e.g. a sibling/friend) in an informal environment (e.g. at the park/at home). The exception to this finding concerns the words '*gay*' and '*fuck*'. For '*gay*' the highest offensiveness and lowest

acceptability ratings were given in the I/A condition, where an authoritative figure is hypothetically speaking to the participant in an informal environment. Concerning '*fuck*', the I/A condition (an authoritative figure speaking in an informal environment) received the lowest acceptability rating, but the F/A condition (an authoritative figure speaking in a formal environment) received the highest offensiveness rating. The reason for examining the offensiveness/acceptability ratings together per swearword is because a correlation was sought between these variables. This was because the question was raised whether or not a correlation could be found between acceptability and offensiveness scores. A Pearson correlation was used in order to shed light on this question. The outcome revealed a significant high negative correlation of $r = -0.894$ ($p = <0.001$) between acceptability and offensiveness.

Table 3.3: mean rates offensiveness & acceptability all participants

Word	Cat.	ALL PART		REGULAR		EXTRA	
		Acc.	Off.	Acc.	Off.	Acc.	Off.
Shit	I/NA	4.05	1.56	4.02	1.72	4.06	1.46
	I/A	3.17	2.56	2.36	2.50	3.09	2.26
	F/NA	4.11	1.64	4.22	1.82	4.03	1.52
	F/A	2.46	3.18	2.63	2.89	2.37	3.37
Gay	I/NA	2.36	3.06	2.33	3.11	2.40	3.02
	I/A	3.17	2.56	2.53	3.16	2.40	3.00
	F/NA	2.44	2.96	2.26	3.39	2.08	3.82
	F/A	2.36	3.25	2.53	3.16	2.26	3.31
Fuck	I/NA	3.90	1.67	4.02	1.83	3.83	1.55
	I/A	3.41	1.92	3.51	2.04	3.51	2.04
	F/NA	3.71	1.85	2.26	3.39	3.58	1.75
	F/A	3.51	2.21	3.54	2.28	3.48	2.17
Damn	I/NA	3.89	1.68	3.96	1.82	3.83	1.58
	I/A	3.76	1.85	3.89	1.89	3.65	1.83
	F/NA	3.85	1.96	3.91	2.04	3.78	1.92
	F/A	3.13	2.29	3.15	2.28	3.14	2.20

Evaluating more closely the effect of speaker and hearer on ratings of acceptability and offensiveness, a Generalized Linear Mixed Model (GLMM) in IBM SPSS 24.0 was used in order to provide a detailed analysis of the effect of these two variables. An extension of the analysis of variance (ANOVA), the GLMM is used to further explore relationships between the dependent and independent variables, and in detail show the effect of speaker, location, and level on the ratings of both the dependent variables of acceptability and offensiveness. In the GLMM,

English exposure was also taken into account (extra or regular group). The GLMM was executed twice, with either offensiveness or acceptability set as target (dependent variable). Speaker, setting, and level were set as fixed effects (independent variables) and word as random effect for both trials. Since the GLMM gives a detailed analysis of the variables, the outcomes are reported in table 3.4 below. Effects that were found to have a significant effect are indicated with an asterisk. Starting with offensiveness, significant effects were found for speaker, and setting 5, but not for level. Examining more closely the influence of type of speaker and setting, the largest effects were found for authoritative figures (p = 0.001), and formal settings (p = 0.005). The intercept was significant at the p = 0.001 level. Continuing with the acceptability measures, a significant effect was found for speaker. No effect was found for setting or level. Regarding type of speaker, the largest effect was found for the authoritative figure (p = 0.001). The intercept was significant at the p = <0.001 level.

Table 3.4: Outcomes Generalized Linear Mixed Model

	Offensivenss		Acceptability	
	F-value	P-value	F-value	P-value
Speaker	F(1,28) = 13.173	P = 0.001*	F(1,28) = 14.912	P = 0.001*
Setting	F(1,28) = 9.122	P = 0.005*	F(1,28) = 1.234	P = 0.276
Level	F(1,28) = 0.003	P = 0.957	F(1,28) = 0.429	P = 0.518
Intercept		P = 0.001*		P = 0.001*

Significant effects

The last question of the perception block asked the participants to indicate what influenced their choices for ratings of acceptability and offensiveness. Since this question was left as optional, 66 participants chose to answer this question. Whilst analysing the written answers, a few trends emerged: the participants mostly made reference to the influence of context (11 instances), whether the swearword was directed at the participant or not (10), what type of word was used (7), the effect of swearwords (7), and the effect of the word gay (13). Regarding context, the participants indicated that the context is important in giving judgements of offensiveness and acceptability, including who uttered the swearword, what other people were in earshot, and the situation:

(1) "When there's a big difference in power, for example, with a janitor and a student, cursing is less acceptable than wen there's less or no difference in power, for example when you're with your friends."

(2) "In some situations the words they used were not really acceptable. In some situations it doesn't really matter I think. It also depends on which swearword they used."

Continuing with direction, multiple participants indicate that their judgement were in part based on whether the swearword was directed at the participant or not, and whether there was an intent to cause offence:

(3) "It depends on the situation, when people use them on themselves it's fine, but when they really try to offend the other person, that isn't okay at all."

(4) "Some words in some situations are just expressions. For example if you forget something and you say 'fuck' then it isn't directed to somebody else, it's just an expression. It's not meant to offend somebody so then I think it's quite okay."

Further, the choice of swearword also played a role for the participants:

(5) "Some words, like 'shit' or 'damn' are just used to exaggerate some expressions. But saying someone looks 'gay' might be really offensive.

(6) "I think swearing isn't very offensive, it really depends on the word you're using."

A large number of the participants further chose to highlight and elaborate on the use of the word '*gay*' as swearword, and the harm that can be caused when choosing to use this word:

(7) "For example the word gay is really mean to use when there are gay people in your classroom. Using gay can easily hurt someone's feelings, the word fuck or damn isn't someone's business if you use it."

(8) "Well, some of the words are not really curse words in my opinion. I don't think they are very offensive, but words like 'gay' can really hurt someone. Also, I don't think you should use sexuality as a curse word."

On a last note, these findings are further reflected in the attitudes task. In this task the participants indicated a negative attitude towards swearing, but a neutral attitude towards the statement that speakers should avoid the use of swearwords in everyday language. As the participants indicate, for most swearing is a very common feature of language that is largely unnoticed. However, the negative attitude is reflected in words such as *gay*, where the possible offensive effect might be larger in different groups of people.

To remind, the purpose of the perception task was to seek effects of speaker and location on the ratings of offensiveness and acceptability given by the participants. Also, a possible relationship was sought between the offensiveness and acceptability ratings. The statistical analysis showed that speaker and location significantly influence ratings of offensiveness, and that setting significantly influences acceptability ratings. No effect was found of level for both variables, nor was an effect found of setting on acceptability ratings. The hypothesis that speaker and setting influence offensiveness ratings is accepted through this analysis, and is in part accepted for acceptability. The more authoritative a figure is, the more offensive and less acceptable swearwords become, and vice versa. Further, the attitudes task in part helps to explain the answers to the open question by the participants, but not in full. This indicates that the attitudes task only partly helps to account for the data and other possible fluctuations.

4. Discussion

The aim of the current research was to create a better understanding of L2 English swearing behaviour by L1 Dutch secondary education students. A three-pronged analysis was used in order to recreate findings by other researchers in the perception task (Dewaele, 2004, 2005, 2016; Jay & Janschewitz, 2008), verify to what extent attitudes to L2 English and swearing influence L2 swearing behaviour, and introduce production tasks in L2 swearing research. The first task was the production task, which aim was to find to what extent differences in speaker-hearer relationship influence the production of L2 swearwords in text-message conversations. In order to do this, the participants read and replied to six text-messages with three different conversational partners (a friend, a sibling, and a parent). Following the production task was the attitudes task. Mirroring Garner's AMTB (Attitudes Motivation Test Battery), and Mears, de Graaf & Coyle (2017), the participants responded to 24 questions regarding attitudes to (English) L2 learning, communicating in the L2, motivation, L2 English swearing, swearing in general, and swearing in L2 English and Dutch. This measurement was incorporated in the study to account for any fluctuations in the data, as well as to show to what extent attitudes influence L2 swearing behaviour. Lastly, in the perception task the question was raised to what extent attitudes to English as the L2 and swearing in the L2 influence acceptability and offensiveness ratings of L2 swearwords, and to what extent contextual variables such as speaker-hearer relationship and setting influence acceptability and offensiveness ratings of L2 swearwords. The influence of speaker-hearer relationship and setting on L2 swearing behaviour have been put forward by Jay & Janschewitz (2008) and Dewaele (2016), and as influences on general linguistic behaviour by

Allan & Burridge (2006), Christie (2012), and Beers Fägersten (2012). The production and perception task will be discussed separately below, with references to the attitudes task.

4.1 Production Task.

In the production task, the participants were asked to reply to six text-messages following an open/closed DCT approach. The participants first read a description of the topic, conversational partner, and their relationship with the conversational partner. After that, they read the text-message conversation on a screenshot. The place where the participants were asked to reply was indicated by a text bubble that read 'your reply'. In some text messages, the participants were asked to answer at the end of the conversations (open DCT), and in some they were asked to reply in the middle of the conversations (closed DCT). The primary goal of this task was to elicit swearing behaviour by the participants in an as naturalistic environment as possible. The production task was thus purposely the first task after the demographics block, as after completing the attitudes and perception task the participants would have been primed on the use of swearwords. The topics of the six conditions were manipulated on speaker-hearer relationship (non-authoritative/authoritative), which yielded the following scenarios: texting with a friend (two times), texting with a parent (two times), and texting with a sibling (two times). The further context that was provided was the topic of the conversation, such as asking a sibling to bring forgotten sports shoes, a parent asking to empty the dishwasher, or getting a low grade for school. These scenarios were created to resemble real-life experiences for the participants. Three main conditions were established for data analysis: no swearword, single swearword, swearword plus phrase. The challenging aspect of this task was that no prior research in L2 English swearing behaviour had been incorporated by other researchers, since the focus of these studies was largely on perception data (e.g. Jay & Janschewitz, 2008; Dewaele, years). Further, working with offensive language brings along difficulties as it is often faced with many ethical considerations, and simulating and collecting naturally offensive behaviours is an intricate process (Culpeper, 2011). This is mostly because "naturally occurring impoliteness is relatively rare in everyday contexts" (Culpeper, 2011, p. 9), and offensive language can take man forms. Further, what is offensive in one context might not be as offensive in another, or may not be offensive at all (Culpeper 2011).

Continuing with the results, the first conclusion was that swearing occurred infrequently in the replies to the text messages. Whereas the three-part analysis was used in order to reveal in what way the participants incorporated swearwords, almost all swearing behaviour that did occur was in the swearword plus phrase condition. A possible explanation for this is that the text-messages are embedded in a conversation, and that a full reply is better appreciated in a

conversational setting. This is especially true for the closed DCT stimuli, as the participants are aware that the conversation is continued after their reply. Combining the results of the attitudes task with the outcomes of the production task, the average rating for the question '*I find the use of swearwords cool*' (S1, m = 1.69) indicates that the participants' average attitude towards swearing is rather negative. This indicates that the use of swearwords is frowned upon by the participants, and helps explain why the participants mostly chose to avoid the use of a swearword in their replies. Another possible explanation might be that the participants are still in the process of acquiring English, and that their proficiency level hinders them in using offensive language. However, for the question '*I find it easy to swear in English*' the participants indicated that they find it rather easy to swear in English (SE1, m = 3.48), meaning that no interference from the language acquisition process can properly be accounted for. Further, in the attitudes survey the participants did not agree nor disagree (S3, m = 2.88) with the statement "*I find that people should avoid the use of swearwords*". This indicates that whereas swearing behaviour is frowned upon by the participants, no real efforts are made to avoid the use of swearwords in language production.

Examining more closely the scenario types that yielded the most swearing behaviour, these involved texting with a friend about class being cancelled (most instances), a parent demanding the participant to come home (second-most instances), and texting with a friend about getting a failing grade (third-most instances). Taken together, swearing with a friend received 64 instances of swearing, swearing with a parent 28, and swearing with a sibling 25. The degree of formality is rather low when texting with a friend, explaining the unsurprising finding that these two scenarios yielded the most swearing behaviour. Looking at the perception data of this study, and of others such as Jay & Janschewitz (2008), swearwords used by a non-authoritative figure are deemed as least offensive (and, in this study, are also deemed as most acceptable). Extrapolating this to the use of swearwords with a friend, it is not surprising that the barrier for using a swearword in the proximity of a friend is lower. Nonetheless, interestingly, the scenario in which the participant is texting with a parent also yielded one of the highest numbers of swearing instances. In this case, the participant is texting with an authoritative figure where a demand to come home is made. However, in the scenario description it is clarified to the participants that they are spending time with friends when the demand to come home is made. Thus, perhaps due to peer-pressure a participant might be more prone to use offensive language to an authoritative figure. Further, the participant most likely placed themselves in an informal environment with friends, and informal environments are more likely to stimulate the use of offensive language, as it is more acceptable (another outcome of the current study).

Another noteworthy finding is that the scenarios where the participants most frequently used swearwords were scenarios in the closed DCT approach. The participants were in these scenarios asked to reply at a specific part in the conversation, and not at the end. Of course, the replies in the closed DCT approach were manipulated to resemble a response to strong language. For example, in the scenario where the participant was texting with a parent about having to come home, the reply to the participants' answer was '*you're grounded just for saying that*'. This most likely has raised the suggestion to the participant that strong language had to be used, but it remained unspecified what type of linguistic behaviour the participant had to use. Being informed about the reply to the participants' answer thus invoked more swearing behaviour than in an open DCT approach. As explained at the start of this section, the participants replied to text-messages that were read on a screenshot on their phone. Due to time constraints, the school where this research took place the participants were not able to fill out the full questionnaire on a computer. It is thus a coincidental effect that the production task took on the form of a somewhat interactive role-play rather than simple DCT task. Since the screenshots were of text messages that took place on platforms that are used by the students, they resemble real-life situations which relate to the participants' own life. This point will be further highlighted in section 5.1.

In sum, the production task proved to be an interesting tool to measure L2 swearing production. Although the total instances of swearing are rather limited, a closer analysis of the type of language used by the participants proves to be interesting. As demonstrated in section 3.1, swearwords that are used are mostly embedded in a long or short phrase, and are in some scenarios targeted directly at the conversational partner. In other scenarios swearwords are used in general, and are not targeted at the conversational partner but are used as an automated response to an offence-invoking situation. Where swearwords were not used, other types of strong language are encountered, including the use of euphemisms such as *shoot*. The participants that use these type of euphemisms show to consciously avoid the use of swearwords to potentially soften the offensive effect (which Allan & Burridge (1991) also highlight as an effect of the use of euphemisms instead of dysphemisms). The analysis of the production task leads to the acceptance of the hypothesis that type of speaker influences the use of L2 swearwords, and that attitudes to swearing are in part helpful in understanding certain linguistic choices. Synthesising the results from the production task with the perception task, similar patterns are found concerning the ratings of offensiveness and acceptability. The more authoritative a figure is, the more offensive and less acceptable their language becomes. The finding of an effect of speaker on L2 swearing behaviour is therefore not restricted to L2 swearing perception, but

expands to cover L2 swearing production. Since this production task is novel in L2 swearing research, the results very tentatively show how L2 learners cope with offensivity-invoking settings. The suggestion is therefore made that L2 production tasks should be incorporated in L2 swearing research, as it helps create a better understanding of the acquisition and use of L2 swearwords and other strategies, such as the use of euphemisms. This point will be expanded upon in section 5.2.

4.2 Perception Task.

The aim of the perception ask was to broaden empirical L2 swearing research that has focused on ratings of offensiveness in situations manipulated on speaker and location (Dewaele, 2004, 2016, 2017; Jay & Janschewitz, 2008; Hoogkamer, 2017). The findings from these studies suggested that an effect can be found of both speaker (authoritative or non-authoritative) and location (formal or informal) on ratings of offensiveness of L2 English swearwords. Using non-native and native speaker samples, these studies further suggest that differences in offensiveness ratings can be found between the two sample groups (native and non-native). These differences lie in the ratings of offensiveness: non-native speakers of the L2 rate offensiveness systematically lower than native speakers of the L2. Possible explanations for these lower ratings are a weaker emotional connection with the L2 (Dewaele, 2004, 2016, 2017), and/or an incomplete L2 acquisition process (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008).

Analysis of the replies to the perception task yielded a number of results. To start, a Pearson correlation revealed a significant (p = <0.001) strong negative correlation of r = -0.894 between acceptability and offensiveness. This means that when a high rating of offensiveness is given, at the same time a low rating of acceptability is given and vice versa. This result shows that acceptability and offensiveness are two extremes that do not interact, and are mutually exclusive. Further, looking at the offensiveness/acceptability ratings in all four conditions per swearword, the ratings indicate that swearwords in the formal/authoritative condition are deemed as most offensive, and evidently, least acceptable. Not wholly surprising is thus the finding that swearwords used in the informal/non-authoritative condition are deemed as least offensive and most acceptable. Comparing the ratings of offensiveness to the scales of offence by Millwood-Hargrave (2000), McEnery (2006), and OFCOM (2016), these scales show that the four swearwords used in this swearword are categorised as follows, starting with the most offensive swearword: *fuck* (strong/very strong), *shit* (moderate/strong), *gay* (moderate), and *damn* (very mild/mild). According to the participants, this ordering is as follows: *gay* (moderate), *shit* (mild), *damn* (very mild), and *fuck* (very mild). The only two converging swearwords are *gay* and *damn*,

however, the non-native speakers' perception of offensiveness starts at a significantly lower rating than the native speakers' perception.

The mismatch between L2 swearword offensiveness ratings between the native and non-native speakers could be due to their proficiency level. Learners at an intermediate stage of acquiring the TL (such as the participants) might not have fully acquired TL pragmalinguistic knowledge, which hinders them in correctly understanding what is appropriate, and what is not (Gundy, 2000; Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin, 2005; Timpe-Laughlin, 2017). The interlanguage level of the participants could thus be interfering with their understanding of the L2 politeness norm, and largely base their judgements on the pragmatics of the L1 (Dewaele, 2004a). Another explanation may reside in Dewaele's (2004, 2016, 2017) argument that the emotional connection with the L2 is weaker than with the L1. Due to this weakened emotional connection, L2 learners cannot fully grasp the full scope of offensivity in the L2 and rate offensiveness significantly lower. Jay & Janschewitz (2008) originally hypothesized to find larger fluctuations in their data for the non-native speaker group, shown by lower offensiveness ratings (their participants were 53 non-native university students at an American university). However, their non-native speaker data resembled the native-speaker data more due to their increased use of English and high proficiency level. With their hypothesis being rejected in their study, Jay & Janschewitz (2008) call for further research: "it is likely that a larger sample of non-native speakers with less English proficiency would have produced the native versus non-native differences we expected" (p. 284). Doubling the amount of participants, and working with participants with a lower proficiency level in the L2, this study confirmed Jay & Janschewitz (2008) original hypothesis: the non-native speaker sample of this study rates offensiveness lower than native speakers (affirming earlier findings by Hoogkamer, 2017).

Interestingly, whereas *fuck* is the most offensive swearword on the native speaker scale, it is the lowest swearword for the non-native speakers. Perhaps this difference can be explained by evaluating the role of *fuck* in the Dutch swearing lexicon. Since the participants' L1 is Dutch, they are on regular basis exposed to the use of *fuck* as a swearword. In the attitudes survey, the participants indicate to have no problem with encountering English swearwords in Dutch (SED2, m = 1.79), hinting at the degree of normality by which the participant encounter English swearwords in Dutch, and their established role as swearwords in the Dutch swearing lexicon. As evaluated above in section 1.6 (swearing in Dutch), multiple researchers have shown that *fuck* (and *shit*) have been borrowed into Dutch as early as 1997 (Sterkenburg, 1997, 2007; Sanders & Tempelaars, 1998; Rassin & Muris, 2005). These studies further reveal that *shit* and *fuck* are the most commonly used swearwords by Dutch natives. Although research on the offensiveness of

Dutch swearwords limited, leaning on Beers Fägersten (2012) preliminary conclusion that the more often a swearword is used, the more offensive it is, this should suggest that *fuck* and *shit* should be perceived as the most offensive swearwords by the non-native speakers. In a previous thesis, Hoogkamer (2017) already showed that the correlation between offensiveness ratings and frequency ratings behave differently: the more frequently a swearword is used, the less offensive it becomes. This seems to be at play in the current data as well: due to the increased use of *shit* and *fuck* in Dutch, the participants perceive *fuck* and *shit* in the L2 differently from native speakers.

Combining the results from the perception task including the statistical analysis and the comparison with empirical research, the last question of the production task asked the participants to freely indicate what factors influenced their choices for ratings of offensiveness and acceptability. Their responses included context, the type of word that was used, the effect of swearwords (i.e. intention), and the use of the word gay. The main focus of this research was on the contextual variables, as these variables have repeatedly shown to influence the perceived offensiveness of swearwords. It is therefore interesting to note the observation that the participants also focused on the intention behind the swearword and the use of the word gay. Regarding the former, to briefly summarize, the participants indicated that they also focused on whether the swearword was specifically directed at the participants or whether the word was said without being directed at someone. This trend is however not noticeable in the results, as the seven vignettes where the swearword was specifically directed at the participants do not show to be outliers in the data. However, "people make use of understandings of intentions and intentionality in their judgements, including their judgements of potentially impolite behaviour" (Culpeper, 2011, p. 50). A suggestion regarding intentionality in swearing research is made in section 5 below.

5. Limitations and Future Research

Although the results of the current study are promising, and the hypotheses are accepted, there are limitations to the research design and execution. These involve the absence of a native speaker participant group for comparison, priming of the participants, limited occurrences of swearing in the production task, the high negative correlation between offensiveness and acceptability, and the use of elicited production and perception data. These limitations will be addressed and discussed accordingly below. Following the discussion of the limitations is a discussion on future directions in L2 swearing research.

5.1 Limitations.

To start, the participant group in this study consisted of L1 Dutch, L2 secondary school learners of English. These participants were chosen as a relatively large sample of participants in a contained environment could be targeted. However, one of the aims of this study is to show differences in ratings of offensiveness between native and non-native speakers as part of the non-native speakers' language acquisition process. Because of this, a limitation of this study is the absence of a native speaker participant group for comparison. Although the application of native speaker scales of offence by other researchers provides an appropriate comparison tool, these ratings of offensiveness were given by a large sample of participants. These participants groups are not controlled for age, level of education, profession, variety of British English, gender, and possibly bilingualism/multilingualism. Using a native-speaker comparison group that is similar to the experiment group allows the researcher to control for a number of variables, such as age, gender, variety of English, and educational background. This enables the researcher to use a native-speaker group that is similar to the experiment group, and provides for a more realistic comparison. Another limitation in the current study concerns the priming of the participants. As explained in section 2.3 (procedure), the data collection of the six groups of participants was largely done on one day, with the exception of a group where data collection took part two days earlier. Although the participants were specifically instructed to not discuss the research and the data collection method with other participants in different classes, it is not unlikely that this might have happened. Some participants were in overlapping classes, especially the extra English participants.

Focusing more closely on the main components of the data collection tool, no specific hypothesis was made with regards to the amount of instances of swearing that would occur in the production task. This was largely because no empirical research on L2 swearing research used a similar design with both a production and perception task, and because collecting L2 swearing production data is a difficult task faced with many ethical considerations (Culpeper, 2011). Evaluating the number of instances where swearing occurred, the conclusion regarding frequency of production is that the participants most frequently did not use a swearword in their written replies. Further, the main hypothesis for the production task was that an effect of speaker on the production of L2 swearwords could be observed in the six stimuli. These were purposely controlled for speaker (authoritative/non-authoritative), in order to observe any effects of this variable. Looking at the results, the most swearing occurred in the stimuli where the participants were in a text-message conversation with a friend (a total of 64 instances), followed by texting with a parent (28 instances), and a sibling (25 instances). It is interesting to observe that although

the number of swearing instances is significantly lower, swearing in a text-message conversation with a parent occurs more frequently than with a sibling. Although the hypothesis is confirmed that an effect of speaker on L2 swearing production can be found, the finding that swearing with a parent occurs more often than a sibling was not expected.

Regarding the perception task, this task was designed to seek out relationships between offensiveness and acceptability ratings, as well as the influence of speaker and context on ratings of acceptability and offensiveness. The main hypothesis was that offensiveness and acceptability ratings are influenced by speaker type (authoritative or non-authoritative) and setting type (formal/informal). As discussed in the results section, this hypothesis was accepted as the outcomes of the GLMM indicate significant effects of speaker and setting on offensiveness rating, and a significant effect of speaker on acceptability rating. The Pearson correlation further revealed a significant strong negative correlation ($r = 0.894$, $p = <0.001$) between offensiveness and acceptability, highlighting that when a high rating of offensiveness is given at the same time a low acceptability rating is given and vice versa. However, this strong correlation could also indicate that the participants treat acceptability and offensiveness as covariates of one variable, and not as two independent, separate qualities. Further, contradictory to offensiveness, the acceptability variable had only a significant interaction with speaker, and not with setting. This suggests that the participants are more focused on giving the offensiveness rating rather than the acceptability rating, and might even base their acceptability judgements on offensiveness ratings rather than judging these as two separate entities.

A final note regards the use of elicited data in this study. Obtaining natural production data with regards to swearword-use is complicated, especially since "naturally occurring impoliteness is relatively rare in everyday contexts and thus difficult to collect for analysis" (Culpeper, 2011, p. 9). It is thus with this intent that the choice was made for a simulated natural production task. The purpose of adding the production task in an open/closed DCT format was to stimulate the use of naturalistic responses in order to gain insights into L2 swearing behaviour. However, elicited data is not always an accurate portrayal of naturalistic behaviours. This holds for the overall format of this data collection method: a written online questionnaire has its drawbacks. Questionnaire more often than not draw on metalinguistic knowledge, and invites participants to rely more on competence rather than performance (Dollinger, 2012). Regarding DCTs, although the notion of context is introduced and participants remain unprompted with regards to what type of answer is expected, a hint of artificialness should always be expected. As Golato (2003) explains: the participants "articulate what they believe would be situationally appropriate responses within possible, yet imaginary, interactive settings" (p. 93). Whereas DCTs

stimulate more realistic and naturalistic behaviours than for example multiple-choice questions, a hint of artificialness should always be considered. However, although artificialness should be taken into account, an unexpected finding concerns the unplanned use of phones for data collection rather than computers. Initially, it was proposed that the participants would fill in the questionnaire on a computer in a computer room. However, due to scheduling issues the participants filled in the questionnaire in the classroom on their phones with both the teacher and researcher present. Since the production tasks makes use of text-message screenshots in order to elicit production data, the use of the phones onto which the text-messages were projected more closely resembled an online role-play rather than a simple open/closed DCT approach. Compared to DCTs, role-plays elicit more naturalistic data through the interactional effect of being in a conversation with a partner (Golato, 2003; Demeter, 2007). However, both with the DCT and (online) role-play, an effect of artificialness should be taken into account.

5.2 Future Research

Suggestions for further research include an expansion of the production task including a change in its design, an adaptation in the attitudes task, and the deletion of the acceptability variable in the perception task. The production task is discussed in more detail, as no preliminary research using L2 swearing production tasks to this day exists. The perception task was largely based on other research, and the findings of this task re-affirm findings of other researchers. This shows the validity and the effectiveness of the perception task. To start, the production task did not yield a significant number of swearing instances, but the instances that are used prove to be interesting nonetheless. Designing a production task that further zooms in both on swearing occurrences between authoritative and non-authoritative figures and expands the number of stimuli might yield more interesting and generalizable results. Further, using a CMC role-play for the production task where the participant is in a real-time conversation with the researcher (or another person) might also yield interesting data. Although in a CMC role-play it is harder to control for variables such as swearword-invoking behaviour, the data generated through this method is more naturalistic.

Continuing, the attitudes task proved to be helpful in attempting to explain the low frequency of swearwords in the production task. However, most statements in the attitudes task (14 in total) concerned attitudes to language learning rather than swearing in the L2. Adding more specific questions might shed further light on L2 swearing production and perception. As the participants indicated, in the open question at the end of the perception task, that they based their answers on context, intention, type of word, and effect of swearword, the attitudes task could potentially target these four categories to further show how they affect L2 production and

perception. Further, it is recommended that the production task remains one first task of a data collection tool. The production task was purposely inserted between the demographics part and the attitudes task as the participants remain unbiased and unprimed on the use of swearwords. Putting the production task first stimulates the elicitation of data that is as naturalistic as possible. On a last note, a further study on the production of L2 swearwords could help shed further light on coping mechanisms with offensivity-invoking behaviours in production data. This study uncovered the use of euphemisms and other phrases to avoid the use of swearwords. A study that looks more closely at in what scenario euphemisms, dysphemisms, and other type of linguistic items are used can help shed more light on the role proficiency in the production of these items. An expansion on the number of stimuli is therefore suggested, as well as an increased use of multiple authoritative and non-authoritative figures. This study also checked for the influence of English experience on L2 swearing behaviour, but found no significant effect in both tasks. Perhaps a research design that measures the influence on proficiency level (e.g. low level, intermediate level and high level) on L2 swearing behaviour can start to show the acquisitional pattern for L2 swearing.

Future directions for the perception task are focused on the use of the vignettes and the acceptability measure. As the GLLM indicates, acceptability ratings are mostly influenced by type of speaker, and not by setting. The correlation further revealed that acceptability and offensiveness have a high negative correlation, hinting that these measures function as covariates. The question is thus raised whether or not the acceptability measure should be incorporated, or discarded. A further study could potentially answer this question by using a somewhat different design: in the current design the offensiveness and acceptability ratings were given on two slider scales directly below each other. When the slider scales are presented on separate pages, or with breaks, the acceptability ratings might differ and shed further light on the interaction between acceptability and offensiveness ratings. Continuing, this research made use of 16 vignettes, each manipulated on speaker, word, and location. Each swearword was thus presented four times with different combinations of speaker and location. This research only used four swearwords to limit the amount of vignettes presented to the participant and avoid effects of fatigue. However, a study that uses swearword-types, such as the inclusion of swearwords that refer to gender and body parts, could potentially shed more light on the perceived offensiveness of L2 English swearwords. On a final note, the participants in the open question indicated that they paid attention to context, type of word and intention. This study did not further examine effects of intention (e.g. a swearword directed at the participant or in general). A further study could look at

effects of intention by integrating intention as a possible influential variable in the research design, next to speaker and location.

6. Conclusion

This study was purposely designed to shed more light on L2 swearing behaviour by combining both production and perception tasks, and including an attitudes task to further explain fluctuations in the data. The main hypothesis was that context, speaker, and attitude influence both the production and the perceived offensiveness and acceptability of L2 English swearwords. Data was elicited through an online survey divided into four parts: demographics, production, attitudes, and perception. The production task consisted of six text-message screenshots with indications where the participant should reply. Included in the stimuli was a description of the topic, plus who the participant was texting with. The text-messages were controlled for speaker (authoritative/non-authoritative), and were not instructed regarding what type of answer was expected from the participants. Following this, the attitudes task consisted of 24 statements regarding L2 English learning and swearing to which the participants indicated agreement or disagreement on a 5-point scale. The perception ask consisted of 16 vignettes in which the participants were familiarized with the setting (formal/informal), speaker (authoritative/non-authoritative), swearword (*shit, damn, gay, or fuck*), and the topic of the conversation. Following this, the participant indicated the offensiveness and acceptability per vignette of the four swearwords on separate 5-point scales.

The findings of this study suggest the following: context and speaker have a significant effect on both the production of L2 swearwords, as well as the perception of L2 swearwords. Not only did the participants use more instances of swearing in the production task when texting with a friend than with a parent or sibling, the GLLM test revealed significant effects of speaker and location on ratings of offensiveness, and a significant effect of speaker on ratings of acceptability. Further, acceptability and offensiveness have a strong negative correlation, which potentially indicates that offensiveness and acceptability are covariates of the same variable, or that one of the two variables is dependent on the other. These findings reaffirm and further expand findings by other researchers such as Dewaele (2004, 2016, 2017) and Jay & Janschewitz (2008), and Hoogkamer (2017). In this study it however remains unclear to what extent language proficiency or English experience influences production and perception data, as no significant effect was found between the two groups (one group received more lessons in English since the start of secondary education than the other). Suggestions are made to expand both the

production and perception tasks in order to shed even more light on this phenomenon and uncover the exact works of the L2 English swearing acquisition process. These include: recruiting native and non-native sample group, recruiting participants with different proficiency levels, a closer analysis of the use of euphemisms and dysphemisms, a closer examination of the role of acceptability and offensiveness, and the inclusion of intention as possible influential factor. To round off this research project, these findings show that mastering the art of swearing in an L2 is challenging for the participants, is a time-consuming process, and is by and large very complicated.

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Appendix I: Consent form

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INFORMATIE BRIEF

Beste ouder,

Vandaag heeft uw zoon/dochter met goedkeuring van de docent en school meegedaan aan een leuke vragenlijst over taalgebruik in het Engels en in het Nederlands. Deze vragenlijst is een belangrijk onderdeel voor mijn scriptie, die naast Engels en Nederlands taalgebruik ook over het gebruik van scheldwoorden in beide talen gaat. Om mij kort voor te stellen: ik ben Helen Hoogkamer, oud O.S.G. leerling en inmiddels bijna afgestudeerd taalwetenschapper ('*research master linguistics*') aan de universiteit Leiden. Taalwetenschap houdt niet alleen in dat je vaardig bent in talen, maar ook dat je probeert te begrijpen waarom talen zich op een bepaalde manier vormen, wat voor effect taalgebruik heeft, de historie van talen, en in mijn geval, hoe talen geleerd worden, en wat voor effect talen op elkaar hebben. Schelden doen we allemaal – echter is het onderzoeksgebied naar scheldwoorden en schelden in andere talen erg schaars. Dit is dus mijn beoogde toevoeging aan de wetenschap, door mijn master scriptie over dit onderwerp. Kortom: uw zoon/dochter helpt mij met afstuderen! De vragenlijst voor dit onderzoek staat niet vol met scheldwoorden, en ik heb er bewust voor gekozen om maar vier scheldwoorden te gebruiken die geen hoge 'taboe-waarde' hebben. Uw zoon/dochter heeft scenario's gelezen waarin een bepaald scheldwoord gebruikt werd en hebben aangegeven hoe acceptabel het gebruik van dit scheldwoord is in deze situatie, en hoe sterk het schelwoord is.

Mijn garantie naar u, als ouder, is dat de alle data geheel anoniem wordt verwerkt. Er zal geen referentie gemaakt worden naar de school of de locatie van de school. Ook wordt uw zoon/dochter niet bij naam genoemd. Dit is ook duidelijk gecommuniceerd naar uw zoon/dochter aan het begin van de vragenlijst. Er valt dus niet te herleiden uit mijn scriptie wie de vragenlijst heeft ingevuld, en waar deze is ingevuld. Mocht u, als ouder, er echter niet mee eens zijn dat de uitkomsten van de vragenlijst van uw zoon/dochter worden gebruikt voor mijn master scriptie, dan verzoek ik u contact met mij op te nemen voor 25 mei 2019 via e-mail. Ik kan dan de data op uw verzoek verwijderen. Echter, ik zou nogmaals willen benadrukken dat er op een ethisch verantwoorde manier omgegaan wordt met de resultaten van alle vragenlijsten van de leerlingen. Wetenschap moet verantwoord gedaan worden – en dat is iets dat met name de universiteit erg duidelijk maakt aan haar leerlingen.

Met vriendelijke groet,

Helen R. Hoogkamer

Appendix II: classification of attitudes statements

Coding attitudes survey part I

L1: I like learning other languages.

L2: I find English a fun language to learn.

P1: I quickly become nervous when someone speaks English to me.

M1: I find it important to learn English for my career.

M2: I find it important to learn English for traveling abroad.

M3: I find it important to learn English in order to talk to other people online.

P2: I quickly become insecure when I need to speak English.

L3: I don't like English.

S3: I feel very comfortable when speaking English.

L4: I don't understand why I need to learn English.

P4: I find it scary to speak English with native speakers.

P5: I find it easy to speak English with friends.

P6: I become nervous when I need to speak English with a tourist.

E1: I can more easily talk about sensitive topics in English than in Dutch.

SE1: I find it easy to swear in English.

SED1: I rather use English swearwords than Dutch ones.

S1: I find the use of swearwords cool.

S2: I find it normal that people use swearwords.

S3: People should do their best to avoid using swearwords.

SE2: I find the use of English swearwords cool.

SED2: I don't understand why people use English swearwords in Dutch.

SED3: Swearing in English is less intense than swearing in Dutch.

S4: I can easier express myself with English swearwords rather than Dutch ones.

SED4: Dutch swearwords are more intense, and I can cause more harm with Dutch swearwords than English ones.

Appendix III: Data collection tool

Q95 Welkom bij dit onderzoek! Dit onderzoek gaat over Engels en Nederlands taalgebruik. Dat klinkt natuurlijk niet heel erg spannend, maar er staan een paar leuke opdrachten voor je klaar. Als het goed is heb je net je naam op een klein formuliertje geschreven en in een bakje gedaan. Uiteraard worden er twee van jullie gekozen als winnaar! Die ontvangt een leuke prijs.

Je krijgt eerst wat vragen over jezelf. Je wordt ook gevraagd om je naam in te vullen. Je naam wordt later verwijderd, en de resultaten worden natuurlijk geheel anoniem verwerkt. Niemand zal dus weten dat jij meegedaan hebt aan deze studie - zelfs je eigen docenten niet.

Bij elke opdracht staat een uitleg. Je mag natuurlijk altijd een vraag stellen, steek dan je vinger op. Het is wel belangrijk dat je stil blijft, en niet met je buurman of buurvrouw gaat kletsen.

Succes!

Q2 Ik ben

○ Man (1)

○ Vrouw (2)

○ Anders (3) _____

Q96 Mijn naam is ...

_____

Q1 Ik ben .. jaar oud.

○ 14 (3)

○ 15 (4)

○ 16 (5)

○ 17 (6)

○ Anders (10) _____

Page Break

Q38 Ik zit in..

○ 4 VWO (16)

○ 4 VWO FLE (17)

○ 4 HAVO (18)

○ 4 HAVO FLE (19)

○ Anders: (20) _____

Q39 Ik volg ook FLE.

○ Ja (1)

○ Nee (2)

Skip To: Q46 If Q39 = Ja

Q46 Zo ja: welke van de volgende stellingen zijn voor jou van toepassing? Ik koos FLE omdat...
(meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

Ik Engels een leuke taal vindt (1)

Ik het belangrijk vindt om Engels goed te kunnen spreken voor een toekomstige carrière
(2)

Ik het belangrijk vindt om Engels goed te kunnen spreken voor reizen naar het
buitenland (3)

Ik het belangrijk vindt om Engels goed te kunnen spreken om te communiceren online
(4)

Het moest van mijn ouders (5)

Mijn vrienden hebben het ook gekozen (6)

Mijn oudere broer/zus volgt het ook (7)

Ik vind een extra uitdaging leuk (8)

Omdat ik dan naar Engeland ga met school (9)

Anders: (10) _____

Q47 Zo nee: welke van deze volgende stellingen zijn voor jou van toepassing? Ik koos ervoor om geen FLE te doen omdat... (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

Ik vind Engels niet interessant (1)

Ik heb geen extra lessen nodig om Engels goed te leren (2)

Het mocht niet van mijn ouders (3)

Ik ben niet zo goed in Engels (4)

Ik denk dat FLE teveel extra werk is (5)

Ik denk niet dat Engels belangrijk is voor de toekomst (een baan of een carrière), of voor reizen naar het buitenland (6)

Anders: (8) _____

Page Break

Q3 Ben je ooit naar een Engels-sprekend land geweest? (Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

    Nee (1)

    Ja: Engeland (2)

    Ja: Schotland (3)

    Ja: Ierland (4)

    Ja: Amerika (5)

    Ja: Australië (6)

    Ja: Zuid-Afrika (7)

    Ja: Nieuw-Zeeland (8)

    Ja: Canada (9)

    Ja, een ander land, namelijk: (10)

    _____

- -

Q6 Hoelang ben je in totaal (als je alles bij elkaar op telt, in weken), in een Engels-sprekend land geweest?

    ○ Niet (1)

    ○ Duur: (2) _____

- -

Q4 Heb jij ook ooit in een Engels-sprekend land gewoond? Zo ja, waar en hoe lang?

    ○ Nee (1)

    ○ Ja: (2) _____

Page Break

Q41 Is Nederlands jouw moedertaal (de taal die je sinds je geboorte spreekt). Zo nee, wat is dan jouw moedertaal, of wat zijn jouw moedertalen?

◯ Ja (1)

◯ Nee, namelijk: (2) _____

Q26 Spreek jij naast Nederlands nog een andere taal sinds je geboorte? Dit is dus niet een taal die je leert sinds je naar school gaat, maar sinds je geboren bent. Dan ben je namelijk tweetalig. Bijvoorbeeld, een van je ouders spreekt Nederlands tegen je een de andere spreekt een andere Duits tegen je.

◯ Nee (1)

◯ Ja, namelijk: (2) _____

Q43 Welke talen spreek je nog meer? Er zijn meerdere antwoorden mogelijk.

Duits (1)

Frans (2)

Italiaans (3)

Spaans (4)

Zweeds (5)

Deens (6)

Noors (7)

Fins (8)

Arabisch (9)

Zuid-Afrikaans (10)

Papiamento (11)

Turks (15)

Anders, namelijk: (12) _____

Anders, namelijk: (13) _____

Page Break

Q43 Welke talen spreek je nog meer? Er zijn meerdere antwoorden mogelijk.

Q55
Welkom bij het volgende deel. De uitleg voor dit onderdeel gaat verder in het Engels.

You will now read some text messages between you and someone else. You will be asked to reply to each text message. Read the description above the text message very carefully, as that will tell you who you're texting with and why. In each text message conversation, there is a bubble that says '[your response]'. You will be able to fill in your response (what you would say in this text message) underneath each screen shot. Good luck! If you have any questions during this part, please raise your hand.

Q50 You and your younger brother/sister are home alone tonight and want to watch a movie. You're busy with homework, so your younger brother/sister is getting drinks and snacks at the supermarket. You asked for a few things, such as your favourite crisps. Read the thread carefully and fill in what your response would be (in the [your response] bubble) below.

Q51 Last class, your teacher said that your class might be cancelled. You really hope that the class is cancelled, because you don't feel like going to class. The class is also the last class of the day, meaning that if the class is cancelled, you can go home earlier. Read the thread carefully and f ill in below what your response (in the [your response] bubble) would be.

Page Break
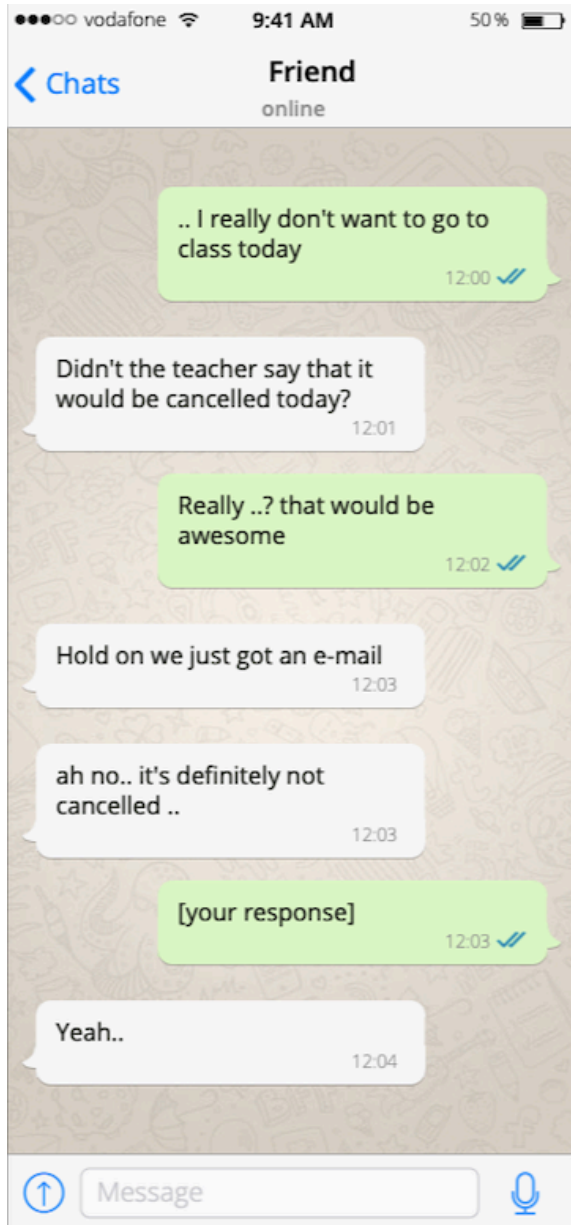
Q52 It's Saturday night and you're hanging out with your friends. You're having a good time, and you don't want to go home yet. You see that one of your parents (mom or dad) has texted you that you need to come home. Read the thread carefully and fill in below what your response (in the [your response] bubble) would be.

Page Break

Q53 You're talking to your best friend on facebook. You had a test a few weeks ago that you studied very hard for. The test was very difficult, and you need to have a good grade for it. The grades were just now posted online. Fill in below what your response (in the [your response bubble] below) would be.

Best Friend
last seen: today at 13:42

May 2 at 13:42

Did you see your grade?

What? The grades are online?

Yeah..

I don't want to look. What did you get?

A five. I like studied so hard. I don't get it. So not fair.

What?? Ok I'm checking it now

[your response]

A four ?? No way

Page Break
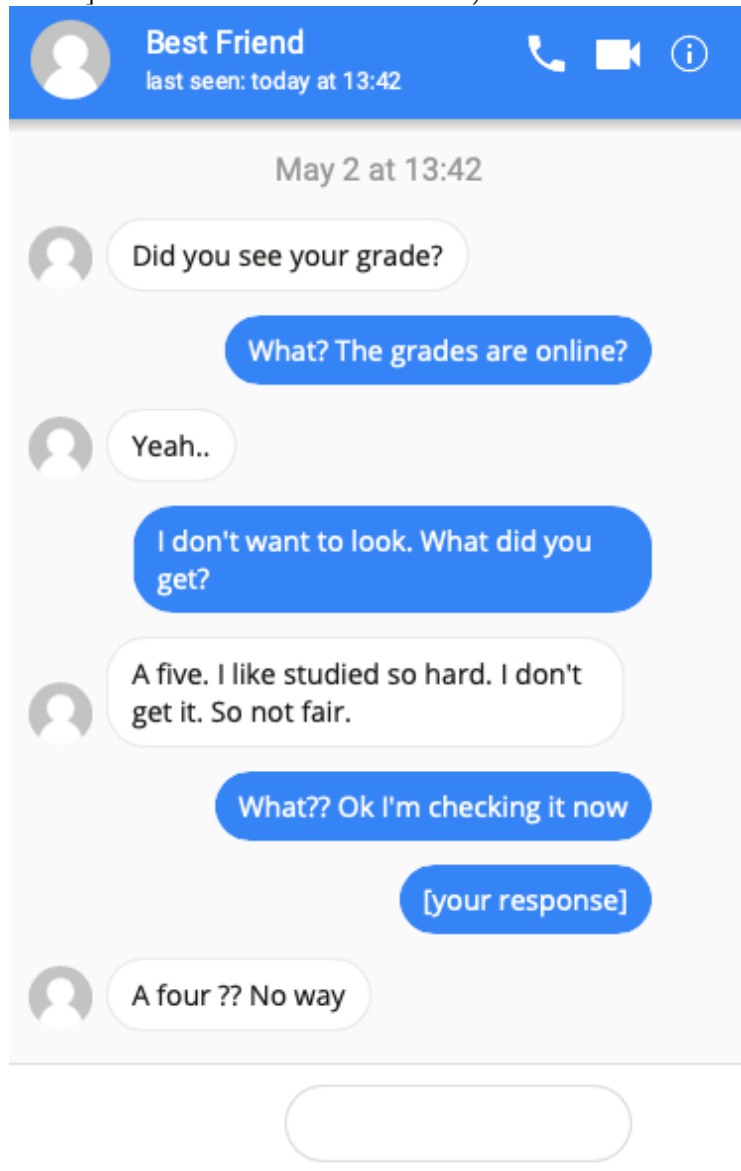
Q54 You have sports practice, but you realise you forgot your shoes. You're not allowed to go home and get them, and your parents aren't home either. Your older sibling is home however, and probably able to come bring them. Fill out your response below (in the [your response] bubble).
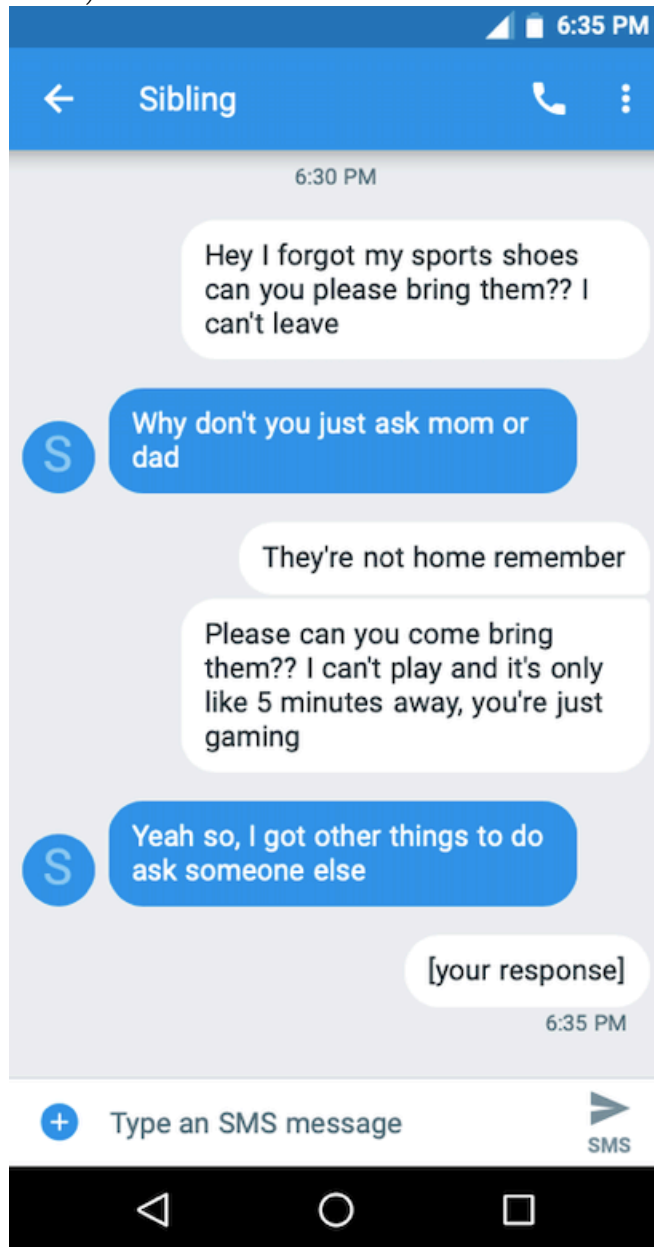
Q94 You just got home from school and you need to do some homework. Your other siblings are at home playing videogames. You get a text from your mother, who is on her way home from work, about the dishwasher.

- -

Page Break

End of Block: 2: Production

Start of Block: Attitudes I

Q56
Dit blok gaat weer verder in het Nederlands.

In dit blok mag je aangeven of je het eens of oneens ben met een aantal uitspraken. Je mag dit aangeven op een schaal van 1 tot 5, door de slider te verschuiven naar links of rechts.

Start of Block: 3: attitudes I

Page Break

Q37 Ik vind het leuk om andere talen te leren.

	1	2	3	4	5

| 1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Q7 Ik vind Engels een leuke taal om te leren.

	1	2	3	4	5

| 1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Page Break

Q9 Ik wordt snel nerveus als iemand Engels tegen mij praat.

	1	2	3	4	5

| 1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Q10 Ik vind het belangrijk om Engels te leren voor mijn carrière.

	1	2	3	4	5

| 1= niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Q11 Ik vind het belangrijk om Engels te leren voor reizen naar het buitenland.

	1	2	3	4	5

| 1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Q12 Ik vind het belangrijk om Engels te leren om te praten met mensen online.

	1	2	3	4	5

| 1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Page Break

Q13 Ik ben snel onzeker als ik Engels moet praten.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()

Q14 Ik vind Engels geen leuke taal.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()

Q15 Ik voel me erg op mijn gemak als ik Engels spreek.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()

Q16 Ik snap niet waarom ik Engels moet leren.

	1	2	3	4	5

| 1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Page Break

Q21 Ik vind het eng om Engels te praten met Engelse mensen.

	1	2	3	4	5

| 1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Q22 Ik vind het makkelijk om Engels te praten met vrienden.

	1	2	3	4	5

| 1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Q23 Ik wordt nerveus als ik Engels moet praten met een tourist in Nederland.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()	

Q27 Als ik Engels praat kan ik beter over gevoelige onderwerpen praten dan in het Nederlands.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()	

End of Block: 3: attitudes I

Start of Block: Attitudes

Q106
Dit blok gaat weer verder in het Nederlands. In dit blok mag je aangeven of je het eens of oneens ben met een aantal uitspraken, deze keer over scheldwoorden in het Nederlands en Engels. Je mag dit aangeven op een schaal van 1 tot 5, door de slider te verschuiven naar links of rechts.

End of Block: Attitudes

Start of Block: 4: Attitudes II

Q17 Ik vind het makkelijk om in het Engels te schelden.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()	

Q19 Ik gebruik liever Engelse scheldwoorden dan Nederlandse scheldwoorden in het Nederlands.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| 1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Page Break

Q24 Ik vind het gebruik van scheldwoorden cool.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| 1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Q30 Ik vind het normaal dat mensen scheldwoorden gebruiken.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| 1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens () | |

Q31 Ik vind dat mensen hun best moeten doen om zo min mogelijk scheldwoorden te gebruiken.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()	

Q32 Ik vind het gebruik van Engelse scheldwoorden cool.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()	

Page Break

Q34 Ik snap niet dat mensen Engelse scheldwoorden in het Nederlands gebruiken als ze ook gewoon Nederlandse scheldwoorden kunnen gebruiken.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()	

Q36 Schelden in het Engels vind ik minder intens dan schelden in het Nederlands.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()	

Q43 Ik kan mij makkelijker uitdrukken met scheldwoorden in het Engels dan met scheldwoorden in het Nederlands.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()	

Q44 Nederlandse scheldwoorden voelen sterker aan. Ik kan hiermee mensen sterker beledigen dan wanner ik Engels scheldwoorden gebruik.

	1	2	3	4	5

1 = niet mee eens, 5 = helemaal mee eens ()	

Page Break

Q20 Welke Nederlandse en Engelse scheldwoorden gebruik jij?

_____

Page Break

Q45 Ik ben bekend met de volgende Engelse scheldwoorden:

	Click to write Column 1			
	Niet (1)	Niet echt (2)	Wel (3)	Geen scheldwoord (4)
Shit (1)	○	○	○	○
Fuck (2)	○	○	○	○
Damn (3)	○	○	○	○
Crap (4)	○	○	○	○
Ass (5)	○	○	○	○
Oh my god (6)	○	○	○	○
Fucking (7)	○	○	○	○
Gay (8)	○	○	○	○
Jezus (9)	○	○	○	○
What the fuck (15)	○	○	○	○
WTF (16)	○	○	○	○

Q102 Ik gebruik de volgende Engelse scheldwoorden:

	Click to write Column 1			
	Niet (1)	Niet echt (2)	Wel (3)	Geen scheldwoord (4)
Shit (1)	○	○	○	○
Fuck (2)	○	○	○	○
Damn (3)	○	○	○	○
Crap (4)	○	○	○	○
Ass (5)	○	○	○	○
Oh my god (6)	○	○	○	○
Fucking (7)	○	○	○	○
Gay (8)	○	○	○	○
Jezus (9)	○	○	○	○
What the fuck (15)	○	○	○	○
WTF (16)	○	○	○	○

Page Break

Q101 Ik ken de volgende Nederlandse scheldwoorden:

	Click to write Column 1			
	Niet (1)	Niet echt (2)	Wel (3)	Geen scheldwoord (4)
Verdomme (1)	○	○	○	○
Tering (2)	○	○	○	○
Kut (3)	○	○	○	○
Jezus (4)	○	○	○	○
Kut (6)	○	○	○	○
O mijn god (7)	○	○	○	○
Homo (15)	○	○	○	○
Lul (16)	○	○	○	○
Pannekoek (17)	○	○	○	○
Klote (18)	○	○	○	○
Fuck (19)	○	○	○	○
Shit (20)	○	○	○	○
Doos (21)	○	○	○	○

Q103 Ik gebruik de volgende Nederlandse scheldwoorden:

	Click to write Column 1			
	Niet (1)	Niet echt (2)	Wel (3)	Geen scheldwoord (4)
Verdomme (1)	○	○	○	○
Tering (2)	○	○	○	○
Kut (3)	○	○	○	○
Jezus (4)	○	○	○	○
Kut (6)	○	○	○	○
O mijn god (7)	○	○	○	○
Homo (15)	○	○	○	○
Lul (16)	○	○	○	○
Pannekoek (17)	○	○	○	○
Klote (18)	○	○	○	○
Fuck (19)	○	○	○	○
Shit (20)	○	○	○	○
Doos (21)	○	○	○	○

End of Block: 4: Attitudes II

Q71 Je bent bij het laatste deel aangekomen, goed gedaan! Je bent dus al bijna klaar. De uitleg voor het laatste stuk is in het Engels. Dit komt omdat het laatste deel van de vragenlijst ook in het Engels is. Mocht je de uitleg niet goed begrijpen, of je twijfelt over iets, steek dan gerust je vinger op. Er staat ook een Nederlandse vertaling onder de Engelse text.

Q72 Welcome to the last part! In this part, you will get descriptions of situations where you're in a conversation with someone, and the entire conversation is in English. Just like the text messages in the first part of this survey, the description will tell you who you're speaking with, and in what setting (for example a school room, the supermarket). Read the descriptions carefully! After you have read the description, you are asked to rate how acceptable (normal, appropriate) the use of a certain word or phrase in this setting is, and how offensive it is. With offensiveness, we mean how rude/inappropriate ('hoe beledigend') it is. You give this rating on a scale from 1 - 5. 1 is not acceptable/not offensive, and 5 is very acceptable/very offensive.

Welkom bij het laatste onderdeel! In dit onderdeel krijg je kleine omschrijvingen van een bepaalde situatie waarin je een gesprek hebt met iemand, en het hele gesprek is in het Engels. Net als in het eerste onderdeel wordt er duidelijk gemaakt met wie je praat, en in welke locatie (bijvoorbeeld een lokaal, of een supermarkt). Lees de beschrijving dus goed duur! Nadat je de beschrijving hebt gelezen, wordt je gevraagd om aan te geven hoe acceptabel (normaal, gepast) en beledigend het gebruik van een bepaald woord/zinnetje is. Dit doe je op een schaal van 1 tot 5. 1 is niet acceptabel/niet beledigend, en 5 is heel acceptabel/heel beledigend.

Q73 This is an example question, just to help you get started. The situation is as follows: you're talking to your friend about plants at home. You recently bought a plant, but you keep forgetting to give it some water every week. You take your friend to your room to show the plant. When you get to the plant, it is already very brown and dry. The plant has died. You say: 'oh my god!'.

How acceptable and how offensive is the use of 'oh my god'?

1 = not acceptable/not offensive, 5 = very acceptable/very offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()					
Offensiveness ()					

Q74 After giving these ratings, you are also asked to shortly describe why you chose for the acceptability and offensiveness ratings. You don't have to write a very long paragraph, a single sentence is enough. You are free to use more space if needed. So why did you choose these ratings?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q76 Well done in the practice round! You're now able to complete the next part. Remember, you're almost done! Good luck!

⤭

Q59 You're talking to your friend in class. You're sitting quite close to the teacher and everyone in the class is either working on the assignment or whispering to each other. Your friend is showing you something on their phone, which is not allowed. Whilst secretly showing you something, your friend drops the phone. The screen breaks. Whilst your teacher looks up to see what happens, your friend quite loudly says "fuck!" to you.

How acceptable is the use of 'fuck' in this situation, and how offensiveness is the word?

1 = not acceptable/not offensive, 5 = very acceptable/very offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()			⬦		
Offensiveness ()			⬦		

- -

Page Break _____

Q61 You're at a parent-teacher meeting to talk about your English grades with your English teacher. You struggle with some parts of the subject and not all of your grades are very high.

Your parents have been asking you repeatedly to study more, but still you can't get higher grades for these subjects. They decided to ask for a meeting with you, your parents, and your mentor in your mentor's office. Your mentor is always very friendly to you and sees that you're putting in a lot of effort. When you are explaining yourself, one of your parents says "your grades are shit.". How acceptable is the use of the word 'shit' in this situation, and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not offensive, 5 = very acceptable/very offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()					
Offensiveness ()					

Page Break

Q63 You're having lunch at school with your friends. You're always sitting together with your friends in the cafeteria when eating lunch. This morning you did not have a lot of time to prepare your lunch, so you just made a simple sandwich. One of your friends sees you eating the sandwich that you made yourself, and says 'that's so gay'. How acceptable, and how offensive is the use of the word 'gay'?

1 = not acceptable/not offensive, 5 = very acceptable/very offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()					
Offensiveness ()					

Page Break

Page Break

Q77 You're sitting with your younger sibling in a park. The weather is beautiful, so you decide to go outside and enjoy the weather. Some kids are playing soccer in the park. While you are talking to your younger sibling, one of the kids accidentally shoots a ball against your sibling's head. Whilst the ball hits their head, your sibling says "shit!". How acceptable is the use of 'shit', and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not offensive, 5 = very acceptable/very offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()					
Offensiveness ()					

Page Break

Q79 Lately, you have been misbehaving a little bit in English class, as you have a new teacher. You're supposed to only speak English in class, not Dutch. The English teacher asks you to have a brief talk outside of the classroom in the hallway about your behaviour. There's no one else in the hallway, as everyone is still in class. Your teacher says to you that your behaviour needs to improve, because right now your behaviour is shit. How offensive is the use of the word 'shit', and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not offensive, 5 = very acceptable/very offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()					
Offensiveness ()					

Page Break

Q81 You're in class, sitting next to a friend who you don't talk to very often. You realise you forgot your book in your locker. You know that if you forget your book to class you might have to do extra assignments. You quietly ask the person sitting next to you if they can share their book so the teacher doesn't notice. Your friend says "damn, did you forget your books again? I'm not   sharing   with   you   again."
How offensive is the use of the word 'damn', and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not offensive, 5 = very acceptable/very offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()					
Offensiveness ()					

- -

Page Break

Q78 You're at the movies with your best friend. You were really looking forward to seeing this movie, and everyone has been talking about it. Multiple movies are starting at the same time at the cinema. You're sitting in the middle of the row, and the whole row is full. When the movie starts, you realise you went to a different movie playing at the same time, which is a movie you did not want to see. You start to look around to see if you can get out, but it's so crowded that you can't. You tell your friend, who is sitting next to you, that you're at the wrong movie, and that   you   can't   get   out.   Your   friend   responds   with   "fuck!".
How offensive is the use of the word 'fuck', and how acceptable is the use of the word?

1 = not acceptable/not offensive, 5 = very acceptable/very offensive

1   2   3   4   5

Acceptability ()	
Offensiveness ()	

Page Break

Q80 You bought a new shirt a few days ago, which you really like. You're wearing it to school for the first time, and all your friends like it. You're sitting in class and everyone is working on their assignment. You're allowed to talk to each other, and you overhear two classmates talking to each other about your shirt. One of them keeps looking at your shirt and you hear them say "that shirt is   so   gay".
How acceptable is the use of the word "gay", and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not offensive, 5 = very acceptable/very offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()					
Offensiveness ()					

Page Break

Q82
Your next class is gym class (P.E.). Whilst you're walking to P.E., you realise you forgot your P.E. clothes. You were in a bit of a rush this morning, and only packed your shoes. Your teacher is very strict: if you forget your clothes you have to re-do the class another time with a different class. You walk up to the teacher in class, and explain quietly that you forgot to bring your gym clothes today, but that you did bring your shoes. You were hoping that you could still participate. The P.E. teacher, who is not Dutch, responds with "Damn, what do you think? Of course not!"
How acceptable is the use of the word "damn", and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not5 = very acceptable/very offensive   offensive

1   2   3   4   5

Acceptability ()	
Offensiveness ()	

Page Break

Q84

You're watching soccer with your family at home. There's a very important match tonight. Everyone is very quiet during the match since your favourite team is almost losing. You have your new neighbours over, who have just moved to the Netherlands from a different country. In the last few minutes, one of the players misses a shot at the goal. One of your parents says "He missed the shot! That's so gay!"
How acceptable is the use of the word "gay", and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not 5 = very acceptable/very
offensive   offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()					
Offensiveness ()					

- -

Page Break

Q86

You're sitting in class with a friend, and you both need to go to the bathroom. You walk up to the teacher and ask if you can go. Your teacher agrees. You're walking towards the bathroom together, in a hurry, but you come across the janitor when you're almost at the toilets. The janitor asks you what you're doing together outside of class during class hours, and forbids you to go to the bathroom. Your friends say "shit, I really need to go".
How acceptable is the use of the word "shit", and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not 5 = very acceptable/very
offensive   offensive

1   2   3   4   5

Acceptability ()	
Offensiveness ()	

Page Break

Q88
You're in the supermarket with your older cousin who is from America, as your cousin's parents have asked you to do some last minute shopping for a housewarming party at their house. You're at the counter, and the cashier is scanning the products. Whilst you are packing up the groceries, your cousin realises that the money is probably still at home on the counter, and says: "fuck, I left my money at home".
How acceptable is the use of the word "fuck", and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not 5 = very acceptable/very
offensive offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()			⬤		
Offensiveness ()			⬤		

Page Break

Q90
When you're in the city with brother/sister, you see an elderly couple walking in front of you. Because you watch a lot of series en movies in English, and play games in English together, you sometimes also speak English together. The elderly couple looks quite old, and they walk a bit slow. You're not in a hurry, so you decide to keep walking behind them. After a while, one of them trips over something and falls. Your sibling says "damn, that must have hurt".
How acceptable is the use of the word "damn", and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not 5 = very acceptable/very
offensive offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()			⬤		
Offensiveness ()			⬤		

Page Break

Q92

You wake up, and realise you haven't set your alarm. You're still on time for class, but only if one of your parents drives you to school, and you have breakfast in the car. However, your parents also need to get to work on time, and if they drive you to school they might be late. Since you need to practice speaking English a little bit more, one of your parents speaks English to you. You quickly walk downstairs to ask them, explaining that if you're late for class you have to come in extra early the next day. Your English-speaking parents says "fuck, you're late, and if I drive you   I'll   be   late   too".
How acceptable is the use of the word "fuck", and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not 5 = very acceptable/very offensive   offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()					
Offensiveness ()					

Page Break

Q97

You're in a clothing store with your aunt from England, who you don't know very well. You're trying on a shirt that you really like, but the shirt is a bit too big. You ask your parent to try and find a smaller size. It takes a while to find the correct size, and you grow a bit impatient. When your parent is back with a shirt, you try it on again. It's very small. You look at the label and see that your parent brought a shirt two sizes smaller than the one you need. When you tell them this, your parent replies with "damn, it took so long to find this one, now I need to get another one".

How acceptable is the use of the word "damn", and how offensive is it?

	1 = not acceptable/not offensive		5 = very acceptable/very offensive

|	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()			●		
Offensiveness ()			●		

Page Break

Q99
You have a talk with your mentor and your whole class about a trip to England. Your classes with your mentor are always very relaxed, since someone always brings a snack and you mostly watch youtube videos or play games. You're talking about what to bring to England, as you will probably also go swimming! Your mentor says that everyone should bring bathing suits. One of your classmates asks whether boys can also bring bikinis. Your mentor answers: "sure, but that might   be   a   bit   gay".
How acceptable is the use of the word "gay", and how offensive is it?

1 = not acceptable/not   5 = very acceptable/very
offensive   offensive

	1	2	3	4	5
Acceptability ()			⬤		
Offensiveness ()			⬤		
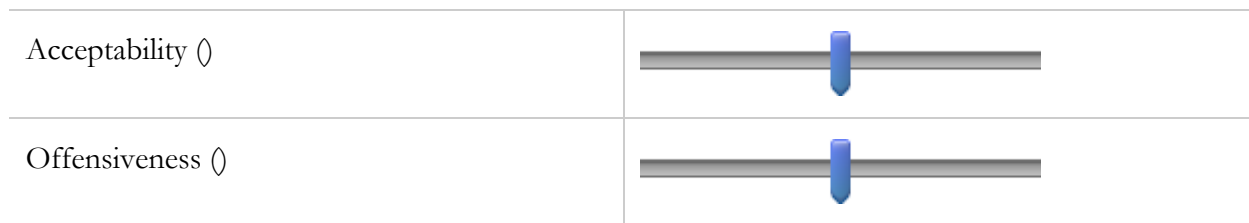
End of Block: 6: Perception

Start of Block: 7: end of survey

Q107   You're   almost   done!   Just   one   last   question:

After reading every little story, you chose to give certain acceptability and offensiveness ratings. Why did you choose to give certain ratings - what made you decide to give for example a very high acceptability rating but a very low offensiveness rating? What influenced your choice? Try to answer in full sentences! Use a minimum of 2 sentences and a maximum of 10 sentences.

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