CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In an open-ended questionnaire administered to 120 Malay, Chinese and Indian undergraduates at the Faculty of Language and Linguistics (FLL), University of Malaya (UM) conducted by Suraiya Mohd Ali (2001) on the issue of politeness in language, the meaning of the word, *politeness* among Indians, was indicated as, respect for others. This definition was followed by the addition of ‘abiding with good morals and good values,’ where verbal and non-verbal behaviour prescribed by the society in one’s life, presented a good self-image. The Indians also added that politeness includes good and gentle conduct and also the use of inoffensive language. This finding is outlined in Table 1.1

*Table 1.1: Meaning of politeness among the Indian undergraduate of FLL, UM (2001)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning of politeness among the Indians</th>
<th>Frequency of Occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respect for others; two mentioned respect for older people</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abiding by good morals and good values in terms of verbal and non-verbal</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behaviour prescribed by the society throughout one’s life as a show of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good self-image</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good and gentle conduct</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good conduct and language</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inoffensive language</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adapted from Suraiya Mohd Ali 2001)
Table 1.2: When to be polite among the Indian undergraduate of FLL, UM (2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When to be polite among the Indians</th>
<th>Frequency of Occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At any time, all the time and with anyone</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With older people</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With people whom one respects</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In formal situation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With educated people</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adapted from Suraiya Mohd Ali 2001)

Table 1.3: Definition of politeness among the Indian undergraduate of FLL, UM (2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definition of politeness among the Indians</th>
<th>Frequency of Occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The use of refined language</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respectful language</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriate language</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inoffensive language</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentle language</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adapted from Suraiya Mohd Ali 2001)

In Tables 1.2 and 1.3, the majority of Indian respondents defined politeness as ‘the use of refined language’ and ‘respectful language.’ In her research, Suraiya (2001:189) also noted that the majority of Indians also chose to be polite at all times, and to older people. Based on the above three tables, it seems that the Indian respondents place great importance on politeness.
1.2 Politeness as Perceived by the Western and Non Western Cultures.

In a model developed by Brown and Levinson (1987:61) politeness is described as showing concern for each other’s face. This politeness involves expressing concerns for the need of the negative and positive face.

Brown and Levinson (1987 61) defined ‘face’ as the public self image that every member wants to claim for himself or herself, and the person will try to maintain it in an interaction. The desire to be accepted and have what one wants approved by others is known as the positive face. On the other hand, the negative face is the desire for autonomy and not to be imposed by other.

In the non-western cultures the model of Brown and Levinson, does not appear to address this for a fact adequately. The primary interactional focus is not upon individualism but upon group identity as pointed out by Matsumoto (1988, 1989) and Ide (1989). In their studies on politeness, they argued that social context plays a much larger role than the want of face.

It is important to know that recent non-western politeness research has further disputed this claim. Matsumoto (1988, 1989) and Ide (1989) claim that Brown and Levinson model does not appear to address discourse behaviours in non-western cultures where the primary interactional focus is not upon individualism but upon group identity, where politeness signals different moral meanings.
1.3 Background of Indians in Malaysia.

The large scale migration of ethnic Indians from India to colonial Malaya throughout the nineteenth century and the first four decades of the twentieth century led to the emergence of a distinctively Indian Malaysian society.

Despite their trying conditions as labourers in the estates, the Indian community placed great emphasis on education. They willingly contributed from their meager earning towards education. The community felt that a sound education can contribute to a better life and a rapid socio-economic development.

Today, the total population of Malaysia, according to the Population and Housing Census 2000, which was carried out from the 5th July 2000 till 20th July 2000, is 23.27 million compared to 18.38 million in 1991. Of the total population of Malaysia in this census, about 21,890 thousand or 94.1% are Malaysian citizens. Of the total Malaysian citizens, Bumiputera comprises 65.1%, Chinese 26%, Indians 7.7% and others 1.2%.

Among the Indians, a large proportion of them are Tamils who represent 80.9% of the total Indian population. The second largest group is the Malayali group; accounting for 4.5%, followed by ‘other Indian’ groups such as the Sikh while the Ceylonese account for 10.8% of the total Indian population. Pakistanis, Nepalese and Bangladeshis account for 3.8%.

As for the geographical distribution of the population, only 28.7% of the total population of Indians is found in the urban areas. The rest of 72.3% are in the rural areas (Statistics taken from The Population and Housing Census, 2000)
1.4 A description of the Indian community

a) A cultural perspective

Age plays a significant structuring role, which should be maintained throughout an Indian’s life. The authority given to elders is such that a young person is not permitted to correct or oppose their views. He/She is also not allowed to backchat his/her parents. The authority of the Indian elders is final. A young Indian is also not permitted to participate in discussions with adults, unless he/she is asked to do so. If the child does, he/she is considered to be exhibiting rude behaviour. This in turn becomes an indictment on the parents for not raising the child properly.

b) Addressing elders and group names.

In the Indian community, addressing the elders is always with the term of ‘uncle’, ‘aunt’, ‘akka (sister)’ or ‘anna (brother)’. Indian children are also not permitted to address elders just by their first names. They have to put prefix or suffix by the terms ‘aunt’ or ‘uncle’.

For example, in Tamil ‘Perimaa’ (which refers to mother’s older sister)

‘Sinammaa’ (which refers to mother’s younger sister)

An example of such address terms transferred to English discourse can be for example “Sinnamma, mum wants to speak to you”. Traditionally, the use of personal names is not common; rather group names such as ‘Anna’ (brother) and ‘Akka’ (sister) are used.
c) Image of the family name and concept of face.

In the Indian community, the given name of an individual belongs to self but the family name or surname is shared. Indians place importance on preserving the family name, which is used to identify/locate the individual in his/her community. Thus, an Indian has to be guarded in engaging in wrong-doings as this would tarnish the family name and embarrass all those associated.

For example, in a situation in which an action of swearing in front of elders, by a child, would bring disgrace to the family name, and it is not uncommon for the mother/father to say,

“Mattavange munjile eppadi mulippen” (Tamil)

Meaning “How am I going to face people” or

“Ooraar yenna solluvaage” (Tamil)

Meaning “What will the people say”

The discussion appears to imply that the concept of face and politeness in Tamil has a great emphasis. If a person behaves in a manner which is not in keeping with the norms of his/her group/community, two most common phrase used in Tamil are :-

‘Having no face’- in Tamil: ‘Moonji illai’

‘Face became small’- in Tamil: ‘Moonji sinnathaai aaidichi’

As such, the importance of being polite is not only reflecting of one’s self but also the image of one’s family. Therefore, the face of an individual is only meaningful when it is considered in relation to one’s immediate family and society at large. Thus, in order to maintain face, one has to conform to the norms of behaviour of the group rather than live up to his/her own expectations. This concept of face is consistent with that found in other non-western as pointed out by Matsumoto (1988, 1989) and Ide (1989).
Despite all these notions, swearing is very common in the spoken language of male Indian undergraduates in university and this is what this study hopes to address.

Andersson and Hirsch (1985:3), confirms this notion by saying that swearing is ‘typical for spoken language.’ They add that teenagers often indulge in word play or verbal duelling where swearing and other types of abusive language are important ingredients in their spoken language. Jay (2000:167) explains that verbal duelling is a game, which involves throwing insults back and forth between groups of boys. The boys keep insulting each other until one of them either clearly wins or the others give in.

Edwards (1976:32) points out that the verbal duelling is a verbal interaction governed by rules. There are limits on who can participate, stereotyped opening and closing routine, as well as definite rules of sequence. A successful performance depends on high-level social linguistic skills. The ‘aggressor’ throws insult, where the surface meaning is sexual. The aim is to place the opponent (the target) in a ‘female’, passive role and to keep him there so as to symbolize an interactional superiority. The duelling continues until an insult is not appropriately used.

1.5 Statement of the Problem

This study focuses on swearing in everyday conversation among young male Indian undergraduates. For this study, ordinary everyday conversation has been taken as the prime site for studying swearing use in daily communications.

Anderson and Hirsch (1985:3) have pointed out ‘Everyday conversation is typical for spoken language’, and that is what this study focuses on.’

Andersson and Hirsch (1985:15-16) say that swear words can be categorized into major and secondary types.

A. The major types are: -
1. The expletives used to express emotions and feeling.

2. The abusive, directed towards others and is derogatory.

B. Secondary types of swearing are:

1. Humoristic, directed towards others but it is not derogatory.
   It is a question of play rather than fight.

2. The auxiliary is directed towards the language rather than the person. Swearing in this instance is a way of speaking, always stereotypical and non-emphatic.

It is hoped that this study will show that swearing really is a topic worthy of linguistic study. Hence, not only can it shed some light on language use but also mirrors some deeply rooted aspects of culture. Andersson and Trudgill (1990) have pointed out that bad language is not only a question of language. It is a question of human beings too.

Andersson, and Hirsch (1985:11) say that no words can be worse or dirtier than the bad words of one’s native language. Even people, who have rationally convinced themselves that there is nothing bad about these words, will still react strongly when these words are encountered in a conversation.

1.6 Research Questions

a) What are the main factors that cause male Indian undergraduates to swear among themselves in their everyday conversation?

b) Are these swear words taken offensively? If yes, why? If not, why?

c) Do they code switch when they swear?

d) Is there a popular swear word in their everyday conversation?

e) Does swearing serve a useful purpose?
1.7 Objectives of the Study

This study hypothesizes that swearing is essential for cohesive communication among young male Indian undergraduates. The researcher works on the assumption that it is because of one’s close relationship that one can be ‘natural and so swear’.

This study hopes to categorize the types of swearing which occurs as

1. Expletives (to express emotions and feelings)
2. Abusive (derogatory and directed at others)
3. Humoristic (not directed towards others and is not derogatory but is a question of play)
4. Auxiliary (directed towards the language rather than another person.)

(Adapted from Andersson and Hirsch (1985: 15 – 16)

It is also hoped that this study will show that swearing is a topic worthy of linguistic study because it is a neglected area of research.

This study hopes to provide an insight for people in society to see that swearing is not vulgar but a fixture in language known for its passing trends and short-lived fashions. It is what most young male undergraduates go through as they form group, sharing a close and common camaraderie.

This study will also address the language of ‘Swearing’. More specifically, it will investigate the use of swearing in everyday conversation, by young male Indian undergraduates in the university. Jay (2000:14), points out that cursing is ‘spice’ added to the language and not an essential ingredient of language. Cursing is explicitly marginalized for moral and not for linguistic reasons. This is because as with most taboo topics, which are related to morality, there is sufficient reason to avoid scholarly examination.
Jay (1996) says that language values changes over time. ‘Words that were bad in the 60’s are now culturally acceptable: like ‘sucks’ which used to imply oral sex, but now just means something is not good as in ‘Life just sucks.’

Jay (1992:9) goes on to say that all languages are living or growing and changing over time. Some, for example (Fuck) has been in use for centuries and others, for example, (Motherfucker) is a relatively new entrant.

1.8 Significance of the Study

Swearing among young male Indian undergraduates has been used with great ease, and has come to be accepted as a norm in contrast to the opinion of the elders of the Indian society, who think otherwise. Furthermore, Horvat (http://www.traditioninaction.org/Culture/C010cpLanguage.htm) says that swearing seems to be part of a code that opens the door to popularity. Young adults have become accustomed to modern trend in language where swearing is considered as easy going, informal and trendy.

This study hopes to provide the insight for people in society to see that swearing is not vulgar but a fixture in language which goes through a passing phase and is a short lived fashion. It is what most young male undergraduates experience as they form groups, where, literally speaking they can let their guard down and be themselves, without any judgement being passed as they being rude, out of order or lacking in morals. It brings about a bond between them as they share a close and common camaraderie. It is also to show that swearing is something that comes naturally to us whenever we swear in fits/bouts of anger. In summary, it is to answer the question; does swearing serve a useful purpose?
1.9 Limitations of the Study.

The study of swearing in spontaneous conversations among young native speakers of Tamil, has not received much attention. The main limitation of this study is that only 5 male university undergraduates (from UTM) of Indian origin, from a rural setting, aged from 20 to 25 will be studied. The findings of this study will be confined to these 5 male Indian undergraduates. Therefore, the findings will not be representative of the Indian culture or its language in general.

This study looks at the private profanity uttered among close friends who form camaraderie in a relaxed atmosphere, away from judgmental and preconceived opinion. It is based on a tape-recorded naturally occurring face-to-face group everyday conversation and not the issue of public profanity.

It is also important to note that the use of swear words keeps changing. Swear words by this generation of Indian undergraduates, might not be used by the future generation. Thus, this compilation on the issue of swearing is by no means an in-depth study of swearing used by all Malaysian Indian undergraduates. (Please refer to Appendix 13 which highlights some of the current swear words of the Tamil language in use and its English translation)

It is also not the intention of this study to indicate whether the usage of swearing is to be considered acceptable or unacceptable. Here, it is descriptive in nature.
1.10 Conclusion

One of the most obvious forms of bad language is swearing. Many people are shocked and appalled by swearing. They argue against the use of swear words on the grounds that they are offensive, blasphemous, obscene, insulting, rude or just unnecessary.

Tamil language is no different from other languages in having words and expressions that no one is supposed to say, but are nevertheless uttered. The type of words used in swearing may differ from other languages but basically the functions of swear words are about the same. It would be rather difficult to characterize them.

Different types of swearing calls for different explanations. The researcher presumes that swearing occurs as a part of spontaneous speech among these male Indians undergraduates as it has come to be habitual. They want to belong to a particular group and so (they) swear. Swearing is not simply a matter of a lack of self-control nor is it random or meaningless verbal behaviour. The researcher argues that swearing among young Indian male is purposeful, meaningful, goal-directed, common and a normal behaviour. Swearing is not necessarily harmful. It is hoped that a better understanding and ignorance regarding the purpose of swearing can be understood at both, the personal and social level through this study.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Through our upbringing, we acquire several cultural patterns, which among other things will make us into social beings. In the course of learning a language, many people want to throw out filth, dirt and blasphemy from their language, but these go hand in hand. When we are growing up, we face many contradictory messages. Parents say we should avoid swearing, but we still hear them use it. Children on the football field swear when faced with frustrations, and classmates in school swear, but teachers disapprove of it. So, it is a reasonable guess that we learn our attitudes to language from the same sources that teaches us the use of language. We learn how we should express ourselves in different situations if we want to be accepted. Young people try to find the right tone or style in most things they do.

The point here is that not only is language acquired at an early stage of life, but it also comes with a whole series of attitudes and views about language. A person’s use of language is a product of both, the language and attitude, which they have acquired through the years.

2.2 Function of Talk

Halliday (1978) claims that talk has two planes of meaning or two major functions of talk i.e. the ideational and the interpersonal. He describes the ideational component of language as being concerned with the expression of contents. The use of language is to express content and to communicate information, an essential aspect of most real-life situations, where the focus is on the transfer of information. Language is thus used to get things done, to produce result in real-life terms whether in study, in business, professional, or most other work contexts. Where content is the focus, the
emphasis will be on transferring information clearly and effectively. Language is used to get things done, to produce a result in real-life terms. The speaker may communicate information to a listener who needs it for a particular purpose, as when giving instructions on how to operate a piece of equipment. In this way, it can be comprehended quickly and easily whereby the listener can respond in the appropriate ways.

The interpersonal, on the other hand, is concerned with social, expressive and cognitive functions of language. It is reflected by the kind of social talk that we participate in throughout the day in conversational exchanges with family, friends, and colleagues. Language in this relaxed verbal interaction establishes and maintains social relations. The concern is not with communicating a message but with keeping a relaxed and cooperative chat relationship. The language to each of these two functions will be different. They are two distinct kinds of speaking skills. Brown and Yule (1983) similarly refer to these notions as the transactional and the interactional dimensions of talk. They say that, transactional language is used to convey content; interactional language is used to maintain social relationships and express personal attitudes.

Thus, language in conversation carries ideas as well as personal information about degree of friendliness, relationship between the interlocutor(s), level of formality, seriousness of the situation, etc, where these two functions are interrelated.

2.3 Definition of Conversation

Levinson (1983:284) says it is not hard to see why one should look to conversation for insights into pragmatic phenomena. He says conversation is clearly the prototypical kind of language usage; the form in which we are first exposed to language- the matrix for language acquisition.
Nofsinger (1991: 3-4) says that one primary characteristic of conversation is that it is fully interactive. At least two people must participate in it and they exchange messages on a real-time basis. Participants take turns in exchanging these messages, so conversation is fundamentally a sequential activity. Furthermore, all participants are eligible to take turns as speaker and to make substantive contributions to the conversation. The participants also routinely monitor each other and often respond to each other in a delicately coordinated way. Thus, no one takes on the role of the ‘director’, telling everyone what to say and when to talk. These decisions are often made without explicit discussion. It is difficult to understand what is going on by focusing on any one participant, instead one has to examine the entire group and their interactional function i.e. used to maintain social relationships and to express personal attitudes.

He goes on to say that a second primary characteristic of conversation is that it is locally managed. The participants themselves, during the course of their interaction, determine who gets to speak, in what order they speak, and for how long. The things people are expected to talk about, what they actually say, and how they say it, is also worked out among the participants as the conversation progresses.

The organization and content of a conversation are not predetermined or planned in any specific way.

Maybin (http://www.hum.aau.dk/~firth/talk3rdsem.htm.1) adds that parts of conversations are structured. This is clearly seen in the beginnings of conversations and in endings, where we say certain things at beginnings such as: -

*Hi. Hiya! So what’s up? What’re you up to these days? Etc*

And certain things at or just before ending such as: -

*Na, look I gotta go, Anyway, can we talk about this later? Etc*
Here, we put organizational signpost around our conversation, to help our interlocutors follow the direction of the conversation. In conclusion, conversation may be defined as talk between social equals where topics are not pre-arranged, and turn taking is locally managed in all forms of interactive talk (interview, meetings, consultations, casual talks and others).

2.4. How people communicate with each other in the real world.

2.4.1 What is communication?

In everyday experience, Dimblely and Burton (1998:5) have pointed out that communication is something that makes connection. The connection can be between one person to another or between one group to another. Sometimes the connection is immediate, as we talk face to face. Sometimes it is ‘delayed’, as when advertisers communicate through the use of street posters or advertisement. What flows through the connection are the ideas, believes, opinions and information which form the material and content of communication.

Communication is an activity. It is something that we do, we make or we work on when we receive it from others. When we are talking to someone, we are actively engaged in making sense of what the other person is saying, as well as talking ourselves.

Dimbely and Burton (1998:6) say that communication is learnt. We not only learn how to communicate, but we also use communication to learn how to communicate.

They go on to say that as babies, our earliest experiences include others talking and gesturing to us. We learn how to do the same, by practice, trial and error. Most of our communication skills must be learnt. A baby born in Malaysia but brought up in
Japan will be more Japanese. That is to say that, the person will learn to communicate in the ways the Japanese does.

2.4.2 Different Categories of Communication.

Communication experiences can be divided into four categories. These categories are loosely based on the number of people involved in the act of communication and are useful in trying to define this field of study as pointed out by Dimbely and Burton (1998:7).

A. Intrapersonal communication.

It is a communication within and to the self. It is when we reflect on the events of the day, or working out problem in our heads. The person making and receiving communication is us.

B. Interpersonal communication.

It is a communication between people, usually between two people interacting face-to-face. Examples of these can be in an interview, a salesperson talking to a client and a conversation between friends in café. This face-to-face contact emphasizes on speech and non-verbal forms of communication. Examples of some non-verbal communication as stated by Burgoon, Hunshekar and Dolson (1994) are proxemics (the way people use space or distance between themselves and others), haptics (the need of touch), chronemics (use of time, that is timing of events, emotional responses to time and even the length of pauses), kinesics (movement and posture, gestures, facial expressions and eye behaviour), physical appearance, vocalics (the use of voice) and artifacts (the use of environment and objects).
C. Group communication.

Dimbely and Burton (1998:7) define group communication as communication within groups of people and by groups of people to others. This can further be divided into small groups and large groups. Small groups behave differently from pairs, but they still interact face-to-face. Examples of this are a family, a group of friends or a committee meeting. Large groups are bigger and often brought together for a purpose that is rather different from a small group. Examples of this include an audience at a concert and some kind of business organization.

D. Mass communication.

It is communication received or used by large number or people. The large number involved at one time is much bigger that anything we can reasonably call a group. Examples involve the mass media such as CD, music industry, telephone, postal and television system.

2.4.3 Needs and purpose of communication.

People have reasons for communicating. When people communicate, they may fulfill more than one purpose at the same time. Most of the time the purpose is what they intend to get done through communicating in order to satisfy their needs. Dimbely and Burton (1998:11) say that purposes relate to needs in that the purpose is what we intend to get done through communication, in order to satisfy our needs.

We may not always be conscious of our purpose. For example, a person might not be aware that he/she is ‘showing off’ when communicating. By examining how he/she uses words, gestures and tone of voice, we will be able to understand what he/she is doing. In face-to-face communication, the non verbal forms often reveal our unconscious purpose or need. Communication outcomes can also be intentional or
unintentional. For example, sometimes we hurt or upset people through what we say or do which we may or may not have intended to do so.

We communicate in order to work with others. This is the single greatest need and purpose in communication. It is obvious that our need to form social groups actually comes from our need to coorporate with each other in order to survive.

Dimbely and Burton (1998:12) have pointed out that we communicate to satisfy personal needs. Humans have the personal need to feel secure within oneself. This leads to other needs - to have a good opinion of ourselves, to feel that we are wanted and valued by other people. We communicate to be involved with other people, to form and maintain relationship. We need to have friends because friends support each other. We also communicate to gain an exert power over other people. Our purpose is to get someone else to do something we want. Here the communicator intends to put the other person in a submissive or helpless position. The communication has special privileges in terms of what they know or the means of communication they can use.

2.4.4 Communication in groups.

We all belong to one group or another. These groups are important to our lives and happiness. We spend our day moving in and out of one group to another. Some groups like our family are stable and long lasting. In other situations we maybe people who are not a true group where there is an interaction and bonding. We can share a purpose, for example, going to work on a bus with a group of people but that is all. In established groups, people know their place in the group and how to relate to one another. They have their roles to play. Dimbleby and Burton (1998:98-99) have pointed out that although individuals in a group share common interest, they might not always share all of themselves. They might disagree on the group’s purpose, how it should be organized and there might even be some sort of power struggle.
Relationships and patterns of communication have to be developed for the group to function. If there is no interaction between the individuals then a group cannot be formed. Thus, in the university, a collection of individuals rarely become a group but usually consists of several sub-groups. This can be clearly seen among the male Indian undergraduates as they are from different faculty, but meet up as they share a bond of close friendship together.

Figure 2.1: Self and the Groups We Belong to. Adapted from Dimbleby and Burton (1998:99)

Figure 2.1, shows our self and the groups we belong to. The social group is the focus of this study as the male Indian undergraduates’ only meet up as a social group.

### 2.4.4.1 Qualities of the group:

Although individuals in a group share common interests, they may not always share all of themselves. There is bound to be some sort of power struggle. Here, relationship and patterns of communication have to be developed for the group to function. If there is no interaction between the individuals then a group cannot be formed. The qualities, as defined by Dimbleby and Burton (1998:101), which define what a group is:–

1. An individual member must exist in some sort of relationship together. There is some form of communication between the individual and the group develops some sort of cohesion to stay together. At times, there is tension but this will not be allowed to break up the group.
2. Group members share a common goal, purpose or interest which each individual recognizes.

3. Members of a group accept a system of common values and norms of behaviour. In a social group, the pressure to conform is less obvious.

4. Members of a group set roles of behaviour in a particular situation. In social group setting, one person may be silent; one becomes the joker and one the show-off and so on.

5. The conformity of norm in behaviour does not mean that everyone in a group behaves in the same way. The stability of a group usually depends on people accepting their different roles where there can be a clear identification of who the leader is, and who the followers are.

6. Members of a group have an identity that may be represented through their dress and behaviour pattern.

2.4.4.2 Why do people form groups?

Two main reasons as stated by Dimbleby and Burton (1998:102-103) for people wishing to identify themselves in a group are:-

A. To achieve a shared goal or oppose a common threat.

As an individual, it is difficult to wield much influence, but if others are persuaded to join in the effort; the influence of the group can be greater.

B. To have a sense of belonging and security.

An individual simply enjoys being part of the group, enjoys dressing and behaving like other people to show that he/she identifies with them. Thus, it is obvious that they share some things in common. Many people recognize in themselves and others, a desire to be ‘sociable’. That is to be able to speak to and mix with other people.
that they identify with. As pointed out by Dimbleby and Burton (1998:103), ‘we create our own personal identity through membership of groups’.

In this study, the male Indian undergraduates choose a group to align themselves with. They are prepared to give up some individual freedom and accept some imposed norms of behaviour because conformity gives advantages. One main advantage is to ease communication with the like-minded members of the group to which they belong.

2.5. Definition of Swearing?

According to the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English (Hornby, 1974) *swearing* is the use of curses and profane language. Andersson and Hirsch (1985: 5) say that “swearing means different things to different people…it depends very much on one’s social background and upbringing, what one considers to be a case of swearing”.

Swearing is ‘bad language’, as pointed out by Andersson and Trudgill (1990: 53) go on to say that swearing can be defined as a type of language use where:-

a. The expression refers to something that is taboo and/or stigmatized in a particular culture.

b. The expression is not presumed to be interpreted literally.

c. The expression can be used to manifest strong emotions and attitudes.

To see how the definition works, we take the word ‘shit’. It literally refers to a tabooed item, namely excrement. However, when it is used for swearing, it is not meant in the literal sense but in an emotive sense, used to express emotion and attitudes.
Jay (2000: 9) says that cursing refers to several uses of offensive speech. But the term cursing is used comprehensively to include categories such as swearing, obscenity, profanity, blasphemy, name-calling, insulting, verbal aggression, taboo speech, ethnic-racial slurs, vulgarity, slang and scatology. Each category has a unique set of defining features, which have been detailed in the appendix taken from Jay, 1992. Cursing, the utterance of emotionally powerful offensive words (e.g. Shit, fuck) or emotionally harmful expressions (e.g. Kiss my ass, piss off, up yours) are understood as insults. It serves the emotional needs of the speaker and affects listeners emotionally too. The impact on the listener can be positive, as in joking and sexual enticement, or it can be negative as in name calling and sexual harassment, as mentioned by Jay (2000).

Swearing, in this study refers to the use of profane languages or dirty words in everyday conversation. Profane language is related to abusive, vulgar or irreverent language.

This profane language is not commonly spoken in the open, but is used nevertheless especially in instances of camaraderie and in bouts/fits of anger. Dirty words, on the other hand, are unclean in thought or talk.

2.6 Swearing.

This study does not discuss the question of good or bad, moral or immoral and decent or indecent use of swearing. Anderson and Hirsch (1985) say that it is a known fact that people have strong feelings towards swearing and it is taken for granted that swearing is an existing and identifiable part of human language worthy of scientific study. They go on to say that most language descriptions leave swearing aside without a word i.e. does not mention it at all. Anderson and Hirsch, however, regard swearing as a part of human language that could and should be discussed, described and presented, no matter what attitude people might have towards it. In any case, they
believe it is a good idea to learn something more about these things which concern so
many. Swearing is like so many other things, and ignoring it will not make it better or
make it go away. Furthermore, they add that all these claims constitute good reasons
for the study of swearing. Since swearing expressions are so common in the daily use
of language, it is strange that the linguistic descriptions of this phenomenon are rare.
Anderson and Hirsch (1985) feel that a probable explanation is that not only the use of
swear words has been a taboo but also the scientific study of swearing. By and large
swearing expressions follow the rules of language but as pointed out by Anderson and
Hirsch (1985), there appears to be some morphological and syntactic peculiarities which
differ from language to language.

They go on to add that swearing is typical for spoken language. It is common
in conversation between individuals in a social circumstance rather than written.

The interlocutor’s main concern is the maintenance of social relationship. For
social and functional reasons, it is far less common in the written language. To support
this, Andersson and Trudgill (1990:66) say that swearing is most frequent in informal
situations than in formal ones. They say that presently there is a clear shift of interest
towards the study of spoken language, where the study of swearing finds a natural place
in this shift of interest.

Anderson and Hirsch (1985) say that teenagers often indulge in word play or
verbal dueling where swearing and other types of abusive language are important
ingredients in their spoken language. This has come to be accepted by them as a norm
rather than something bad, vulgar or even taboo. It is a new trendsetter where it can be
said to be a passing trend and a short-lived fashion. It needs to be studied and described.
We should not be judgmental, prejudiced or having preconceived attitudes towards it.
By studying swearing, we can learn something about the aspects of culture.
As swearing and cursing are everywhere, more people are swearing more than ever before, regardless of their age and socioeconomic groups. This study will address the language of ‘swearing.’ More specifically, it will investigate the use of swearing in everyday conversation, by young Indian male undergraduates in the university. Jay (2000:14) says cursing is ‘spice’ added to language, not an essential ingredient of language. Cursing is explicitly marginalized for moral and not for linguistic reasons. This is because with most taboo topics, which are related to morality, there is sufficient reason to avoid scholarly examination. Here, the issue of morality provides the reason to ignore swear words used by these young male Indian undergraduates and to ignore swearing’s status as a part of language.

2.7 Language Acquisition and Attitudes

Language acquisition is part of socialization. Socialization on the other hand, is a process by which a new-born baby is transformed into a social being, a grown-up member of society. To become a good member of society, we must first learn our native language. Native language is learnt at an early stage of life. Jay (1992: 41-45) says that at age five, children are pretty good ‘native speakers.’ They know the basics of phonological, morphological and syntactic system of a language. Vocabulary and pragmatic parts of language (i.e. how to change one’s language from one situation to another), take more time to learn. Children acquire their native language in contact with other people, not in isolation.

Jay (1992:43) gives a simple classification of groups most relevant for language-learning, in different ways and at different stages of life. They are:-

1. Parents, family, relatives
2. Nursery school, school, work
3. Playmates, friends
4. Mass media
There is a lot of two-way communication between the individual and these groups. The first three groups are important because of direct contact. They can even force an individual to use language in a specific way. Parents can punish children for swearing. Teachers decide what language rules in their classroom. Friends are the people who can use the strongest form of language control. If an individual does not conform, he/she will be out of the group.

Basically, these groups are all important in different ways and during different periods of life. During the first couple of years, parents and family members are most important. Around the ages of seven or eight, school means a lot. In school, they learn to think and talk about human beings, issues, problems and events in far away places and time. In early teens, friends are very important. There is pressure to conform in behaviour, language, clothing and other things.

The point here is to make clear that not only is language acquired at an early stage of life, but with it also comes a whole series of attitudes and views about language. A person’s use of language is a product both of the language and attitude to the language acquired through the years.

2.8 Language of Cursing (from Infancy to Adolescence)

a. Language of Infancy (Birth to Two Years)

Jay (1992:19) says that the early words of a child are both egocentric and telegraphic. Egocentric means that the speech primarily is from the view point of the speaker, not the listener or the public. The child lives in his/her own world, virtually oblivious to the needs of others. Telegraphic, on the other hand, characterizes child speech as short and sweet. The child omits prepositions, adverbs etc. This is due to the fact that the child has not developed his/her cognitive abilities, logic or memory space to construct sentences like those of adults, for example when a child says ‘milk’, the
parents must figure out if the context means, ‘I spilled the milk’ or ‘I want more milk!’

Jay (1992:19) goes on to explain that the acquisition of early dirty words from parents is similar to the milk example. The child will hear the word ‘pee pee’ used for diaper change, toilet training and even when parents refer to their own actions. Sometimes the child may repeat dirty words without fully comprehending what the word means. Parents and others around may laugh or smile, rewarding the words or become angry and physically or verbally punish the child. The reactions mentioned above provide the emotional background that makes some words more powerful than other. The use of dirty words develops part from reinforcing their use and the ability of the words to achieve certain emotional states, such as expressing anger or insulting listeners.

b. Language of Childhood (Two to Eleven Years)

The school-aged mind is able to discern physical, psychological and social characteristics of classmates that are different from the norm. These apparent differences are used for name calling, such as ‘fatty, four eyes etc.’ Children also acquire games to insult each other and make fun of others as pointed out by Jay (2000: 82). Gender differences in cursing emerge as soon as a child attends school. Boys curse more, and use more offensive words than girls. The child at this age has become more verbally sophisticated. Language based humor becomes dominant and the child can remember if he/she has heard a joke before or not. The jokes usually include sex and scatology. Scatology refers to words related to faeces and elimination. It is offensive due to its association with disgusting items as sited by Jay (2000: 200).

c. Language of Adolescence

By teenage years, the mind of the adults is able to think hypothetically, inductively and deductively. The logical and hypothetical thought affects the type of
humor that adolescents produce and appreciate. The topic of sex and swear words becomes prominent to older children. Jay (2000: 82) highlights that cursing becomes more abstract and socially based. He goes on to say that cursing reaches a peak in adolescence but it continues into old age.

The points that this study would like to highlight is that parents and significant adult in a child’s life, influence his/her attitude and behaviour with regard to sex and language. To a great degree, sex talk is a form of etiquette taught explicitly and implicitly by parents through their interaction with their children.

2.9 Cursing Habits and Environments

Jay (2000:118) says that once children get involved with peers at school and identify with peer groups, they begin to speak like their peers in their reference group. Eventually, peer groups exert more influence on the child’s speech than parental speech. He goes on to add that speakers who are frequently rewarded for cursing, and those who are not punished for cursing, are more likely to use curse words than speakers who are frequently punished. Once the habit of cursing is deeply ingrained in a person’s repertoire, cursing becomes automatic and involuntary in nature. Behaviours can be modified, but the meaning of curse words cannot be erased (expurgated) from memory. Here, the curse words persist from cradle to grave (Jay 2000)

2.10 Pragmatics and Cultural Contexts of Cursing

All cultures have words that are taboo and thus are restricted in use. The sanction on its use depends on the culture in question. Pragmatic factors in any setting, includes the relationship between the speaker and listener, the topic of discussion and the social-physical environment. If cursing leads to a cost (e.g. punishment, loss of job, etc), it will be avoided. If it leads to a benefit (e.g. attention, praise, humor, social
cohesion, etc), it is more likely to be used. The decision to curse depends on a speaker’s judgment about how appropriate and offensive cursing is for a specific setting. Jay (1992) says that native speakers have the ability to make appropriate judgment as about when and where curse words can be used.

2.11 Why People Curse?

This study would like to highlight the ‘Neuro-Psycho-Social Theory of Cursing (NPS Theory),’ put across by Jay (2002), to explain why people curse and why they choose the words they do. The NPS Theory provides a three-dimensional model of a person’s knowledge of cursing, which develops as a person matures. An individual’s knowledge depends on personal experience, psychological make-up and the culture he/she is raised in. So, the style of the person’s cursing will be a product of both shared and private experience. The neurological state includes pertinent brain activity, brain function/dysfunction, and emotional state. The psychological state includes age, personality, past rewards or punishments for cursing and personal speech habits.

The neurological, psychological and social-culture systems in the NPS Theory are interlocking. One system might be more important than the other in a given situation to produce cursing. The psychological level presumes a neurological level where the brain develops within a person. The socio-cultural system accounts for the context in which the person develops and the social factors that affects cursing in public. Cultural factors include religion, taboos, gender-identification, censorship and social power. The social level presumes psychological and neurological level that is where the brain in a person develops in a cultural context that defines and proscribes acts of cursing.
The NSP Theory can be conceptualized as three intersecting spheres of influence (see figure 2.2)

Figure 2.2. The Neuro-Phycho-Social Model of Cursing. Adapted from Jay (2000:22)

For example, a young child copying a parent’s swearing is primarily using the neurological and psychological spheres, with little influence of the social cultural level. A person telling a dirty joke is the product of all the three spheres.

Jay (2000:243) points out that we repeat curse words that others use. We choose the curse words that our culture subscribes. Jay (1992) says that native speakers have the ability to make appropriate judgments about when and where curse words can be used.

2.12 Awareness and Memory of Cursing

Jay (2000:83) highlights that in order to use curse words, children have to learn what are curse words, as well as when and where not to say them. It requires a mental model of what is offensive and a model of contextual constraints. In order to curse
effectively, children must also learn the emotional effects of curse words on others and commit these effects to memory. The child’s knowledge of cursing becomes a part of his/her larger linguistic and cultural intelligence. How the child ultimately uses this knowledge of cursing depends on his/her personality characteristics and social environment. Jay (2000:84) goes on to say that individuals with high religiousity and sex anxiety, are highly offended by emotional language. They restrain themselves linguistically and attempt to prohibit others from cursing in public.

Children learn sexual terminology through interactions with peers and adults. Parents do it, when they inhibit or punish sexual references. This punishment and avoidance of sex terms teaches the child that sexual words are powerful. Parents with high sexual anxiety are likely to transfer their anxiety to their children. Jay (2000:86) also mentions that as children develop linguistically and sexually, their conversation about sexuality becomes more highly dependent on who is listening. Most adults can talk about sexuality with lovers and with others who share similar sexual preferences. Jay (2000 : 86) also highlights that almost all young adults have trouble talking about sex with their parents and in mixed gender crowds.

2.13 Everyone Knows How to Curse

Jay (2000:86) says that all adult speakers acquire curse words, which means we know what words are curse words, as well as how to use these words correctly and effectively in different contexts. He goes on to say that whether one decides to use curse words or not is a different matter. What is important therefore, is that it is essential for us to know what kind of curse words exist in our native language. In this way, we can tell when someone is emotional or when someone is insulting us. An implicit knowledge of cursing is necessary to understand how native speakers express emotions verbally.
Some speakers will not use curse words even though they know their meanings and purposes. These speakers will suppress cursing through their adult years into old age. A family member might never hear evidence that their grandmother or grandfather knows how to curse until dementia or Alzheimer sets in. Although there might have been changes in location and context, he/she did not learn to curse in the nursing home. He/She knew how to curse all along, implicitly and the family fails to appreciate that he/she has comprehended cursing without ever explicitly using it. Patients with brain-damage cannot construct sentences, but he/she can still utter meaningful emotional statement learned in childhood. Hence, curse words remain accessible as implicit knowledge when other avenue for communication becomes unavailable.

2.14 Current Swearing Factors and Trends.

Today, we are living in an age when insulting others and ‘sassing’ family and friends are considered good humour. Horvat (http://www.traditioninaction.org/Cultural/C010cpLanguage.htm) says that swearing is so common that even the most obscene profanities are heard in homes and classroom. Here, language in general has lost a polished tone and is becoming increasingly vulgar.

Most of us today are from the school of casualness and practicality. Horvat goes on to say that there is a natural tendency to reject formalities and embrace the vulgar, to revolt against the manners and speech of a gentle society in favour of a more relaxed and casual attitude and way of being. This desire to break with rules and order was a part of the ‘right’ one had to be oneself. This is to say that whatever one wants and whenever one likes, is the main order of this notion.

According to Andersson (1985), there exists a difference between private profanity and public profanity. He says that the amount of private profanity has stayed
about the same, but enough change has occurred to bring about the proliferation of public profanity, which has become worse.

Swearing and cursing are everywhere. People of all ages and socioeconomic groups swear. This influence has even worked itself into the consciousness of the most vulnerable members in our society—our children, the future generation.

Some of the properties of language are that language is productive because it meets our expressive needs virtually without limit. As the need arises for new language forms, human language easily accommodates. It is also arbitrary, where the word for something seldom has any necessary connection with the thing itself. In addition, human language is culturally transmitted because we speak the language of our culture. Children grow up speaking the language of their parents. The same concept applies to the use of swearing. Jay (2002:2) says that adults are formed through the experiences of their childhood. The way a person speaks and acts is often determined at a young age. If a child hears bad language at home, and accepts it as ‘standard’, that child will speak that way outside the home, and accept it as normal.

2.15 Mass Media

The mass media represent one-way communication. We listen to what it says, we read what it writes, but it does not hear or see us. In this manner, it cannot condemn or applaud us as language users. What it does very successfully, is to provide us with a great number of linguistic models, which we may accept, reject, follow or turn away from. Mass media has a strong effect on language simply because it reaches so many people so effectively, whereby the total effect may be impressive.

Parents play an important role in their children’s upbringing. If children are forced to grow up without good role models, they turn to other sources to imitate. Television and other mass media have provided these role models, even though
sometimes they are not the right ones. Language ‘taboos’ have also fallen away from television, radio and movies. Television is a prime example of society’s moral slide or cultural loosening-up. Today’s youth also relate to a different kind of idol. For instance, the rapper, Eminem, is famous for his foul-mouthed tirades that usually get only chuckles from his critics, even though bad language has been subjected to censorship since the reign of Elizabeth I (Mc Crum, Cran and MacNeil, http://www.unm.edu/~abqtech/linguistics/02-08-08.htm). The movie industry is also very influential in determining what type of values and language that children and young adults adhere to.

According to Rowe (http://www.unm.edu/~abqtech/linguistics/02-08-08.htm), prior to 1966, the movie industry did not produce today’s abundance of films that contain some type of profanity. Since then, however many movie producers have increased the use of profanity in their movies. The use of profanity in movies is meant to convey frustration, tension, and anger, but is in no way necessary to get the message across. It is universally accepted that it is better to yell at people rather than hit them. So, according to Jay (2002), expression of anger is the primary emotional use for ‘cussing’. In fact, about two-thirds of our cussing is done in anger. Profanity has also been proliferated on video games that children and young adults have access to. With the advances made on CD ROM, players have more access to unacceptable ways to view and play a game.

2.16 Actions to be taken

Jay (2002:2), says that hearing racist, sexist or offensive language has become the common experience of a large majority of children. Horvat (http://www.traditioninaction.org/culture/c010cpLanguage.htm) says that swearing is so common that even profanities are heard in homes and schools, where the language in
general has lost a polished tone and is becoming increasingly vulgar. She adds that there is only one effective way to stop the eventual avalanche of swearing, which is absolutely no swearing. She goes on to say that the most effective way is by cultivating a taste for refined speech and manners in the home, to keep its members from becoming co-natural with swearing.

She goes on to say that it is also a sign of a degenerating and disintegrating society where even the ‘well-bred’ or wealthy no longer aspire to fine manners but prefer a world of swearing. The language we hear around us reflects this where one needs to turn on the television to hear these swearing.

Many in our society have come to accept that swearing is an acceptable form of language, while many others recognize that government officials should regulate its use, at least in those areas that affect children and youth.

In schools, while teaching a unit about cursing, children should be offered alternative ways of expressing themselves. Here, it may also teach them to be more sensitive about what such words mean and how they may be harmful.

Attempts to regulate the use of profanity in public for certain groups of people are still being pursued and enforced today, where laws have been placed. This calls for the punishment of those who use profanity or curse in public and in front of small children.

John Dunford, general secretary of the Secondary Head Association of UK (NST, 2005), says that when a player tells a referee to F@#* off in full view of millions on television, he should be sent off every time, however famous he may be. He would soon learn to behave in a civilized society and an example would be set to young people.

It is true that language values can vary from one community to another and from one region to another. The social and economic forces and the role that religion
plays in one’s life also can influence them. Here, parents in religion communities must put more restriction on profane language than parents from non-religious communities.

2.17 Conclusion

In Malaysia, many Indian youths who have never left their small towns and estates, face cultural shock upon leaving their neighbourhoods. Not only is there a transformation in their outlook of life compared to their parents, but also in the language and everyday vocabulary of the younger and future generation. The assimilation of these ‘colourful’ words (swearing) into their everyday conversation, developed the power to hurt, offend and insult. Parents of these youths also acknowledge that their relationship with their children could not be developed with the same degree of strictness that applied to them in their youth (the parents). Greater freedom has to be allowed in order to cater for the changing environment in which their children are growing up. The children themselves have noted that they are given more privileges than those accorded to their parents in their youth.

Society, culture and language change through time. Developments in society lead to changes in the language but this is better done by presenting alternatives and possibilities, rather than by giving restrictions and prohibitions.

One thing should be clear, as pointed out by Andersson, and Trudgill (1990), that bad language is not only a question of language. It is a question of human beings too.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Nowadays the use of vulgar language is common. Teenagers use it. Well-educated people also use it in situations where they feel that the vulgar words are more honest and direct, to express their feelings accurately. In arguments, swearing and vulgar words are weapons cited in http://www.FAST_US!(TRENPP2A)American English First papers.html

This research aims to investigate the use of swearing among male Indian undergraduates in their spontaneous conversation. Swearing is a restricted component of language (a taboo topic), which does originate in speech. The Tamil language is no different from other language in having words and expressions that no one is supposed to say, but is still uttered. These young undergraduates use it with the following objectives, namely:

- Showing one is part of a group/to show that one belongs
- To induce intimacy/ affection
- To exclude others
- For the fun of it/wit

This study hypothesized that swearing is used for group identity and to indicate a close bond between its members. It is a phase that these young undergraduates go through whenever they meet-up. Using the data from spontaneous discourse of the undergraduates, it is hoped that other findings will be brought to the open, especially on a topic which is a taboo among the Indian community in Malaysia. In this research, it is hoped that more work in this area will be carried out in the future.
In the western world, as pointed out by Andersson and Trudgill (1990), swearing can be characterized as:

**A. Major Types**

1. **Expletive:**
   The swear word is used to express emotions, not directed towards others.
   Examples: Hell! Shit! God damn it!

2. **Abusive:**
   The swear word is directed towards others, derogatory, includes name-calling and different types of curses.
   Examples: You asshole! You bastard! Go to hell!

**B. Secondary Types**

3. **Humorous:**
   The swear word is directed towards others but not derogatory. Takes the form of abusive swearing but has the opposite function, is playful rather than offensive.
   Example: Get your ass in gear!

4. **Auxiliary:**
   The swear word is not directed towards a person or situation. Swearing here is a way of speaking, often non-emphatic.
   Examples: this ‘fucking’ X, bloody Y
3.2 Framework of the Methodology Used.

The researcher has taken the Conversation Analysis (CA) as a framework because in studying aspects of social life, CA is in the sense of people doing things together. The CA addresses phenomena that are socially significant in some way where it studies the ordinary chit-chat of informal interaction, as pointed out by Ten Have (1999)

**Conversation analysis** (commonly abbreviated as CA) is the study of talk in interaction. CA generally attempts to describe the orderliness, structure and sequential patterns of interaction, whether this is institutional (in the school, doctor's surgery, courts or elsewhere) or casual conversation.

Inspired by ethnomethodology, it was developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s principally by the sociologist Harvey Sacks and, among others, his close associates Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. Sacks died early in his career, but his work was championed by others in his field, and CA has now become an established force in sociology, anthropology, linguistics, speech-communication and psychology. It is particularly influential in interactional sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and discursive psychology, as well as being a coherent discipline in its own right. (Retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conversation_analysis")

The researcher would like to point out the CA’s rationale, as highlighted by Ten Have (1999), where conversation analysis studies the order, organization and orderliness of social action, particularly those social actions that are located in everyday interaction, in discursive practices, that is, in the sayings, telling and doings of members of society.
Its basic assumptions are:

1. Order is a produced orderliness
2. Order is produced by the parties situated and occasioned.
3. The parties orient to that order themselves. It is not an analyst’s conception, not the result of the use of some preformed or preformulated theoretical conceptions concerning what action should/must/ought to be or based on generalizing or summarizing statement about what action generally/frequently/often is.
4. Order is repeatable and recurrent.
5. The discovery, description and analysis of that produced orderliness are the task of the analyst.
6. Issues of how frequently, how widely or how often particular phenomena occur are to be set aside in the interest of discovering, describing and analyzing the structures, the machinery, the organized practices, the formal procedures, the ways in which order is produced.
7. Structures of social action, once discerned, can be described in formal, which is structural, organizational, logical, atopically contentless, consistent and abstract, terms.

3.3. Research Design

Research design is a plan for collecting and analyzing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever questions he/she has posed. Ragin (1994:191), points out that the design of an investigation touches almost all aspects of the research. That is from the minute details of the data collection to the selection of the techniques of data analysis. Ten Have (1999) general outline is used in this research project which involves the following phases, namely:
3.3.1 Getting or making recordings of natural interactions.

The researcher makes every attempt to record the participants’ natural interaction as is practically possible. Natural here refers to the idea that the interactions recorded should be naturally occurring, that is, non-experimental, not co-produced or provoked by the researcher.

In order to obtain recording of such interaction of those involved in this data, the researcher stayed with them for duration of a week. A mobile phone was used to record the interactions, in order to minimize inhibition as well as to have a less obvious and imposing recording situation. Thereafter, each recording was subsequently transferred to a CD, to be transcribed.

3.3.2 Transcribing the data, in whole or in part

The data was transcribed by romanizing the Tamil language. A literal translation was carried out on the data. It was then transcribed into grammatically correct English for the researcher’s analysis. This is just another version of conversation analysis which is not the officially endorsed system.

3.3.3 Analyzing selected episodes.

For the purpose of this study, swear words were analyzed base on the following categories:-

1. Swear words related to male and female genitalia, which are used to refer to men and women respectively.

2. Abusive swearing, where the speaker abuses, offends or defames someone. The abusive swearing is basically about oral sex, sexual processes and masturbation. The abuse can also be related to the male and female genitalia.
3. Swear words related to name-calling.

4. Humoristic swearing.

To analyze the selected episodes of this study, the total number of Tamil words uttered was counted. The total number of swear words used in that utterance was then counted. This was then divided and times by 100 to work out the frequency of the swear word in use.

\[
\text{Total no of swear words} \div \text{Total no of Tamil words} \times 100 = \text{______%}
\]

The higher the percentage, then it indicates more frequent is the usage of swear words. The researcher acknowledges that as with most inquiries, these phases (3.3.1 – 3.3.3), were not strictly separated. It was carried out in a ‘spiral fashion’, where the earlier phases can be inspired by the later phase of work.

To ensure that this research conforms to the issue of reliability, the researcher also conducted an interview with the young undergraduates. (See appendix 11 and 12 for the questionnaires)

### 3.4 Transcription

Transcribing the recorded conversation was not a simple task. It was not ‘just’ writing down what was said by the parties in the interaction. The task was quite difficult and tedious, as certain parts of the recording were not of the highest quality. There have been instances of the conversant not articulating well, when more than one conversant was talking at a time or when laughing. As Ten Have (1999:76) mentions,
that for analyzing talk-in-interaction, one not only has to write down what has been said, but also how it has been said, which is why transcription is important and difficult for a researcher’s analysis.

The transcription was a direct translation made of the actual produced speech in Tamil to Romanized English. It was then transcribed into grammatically correct English for the researcher’s analysis. This is just another version of conversation analysis which is not the officially endorsed system.

This transcription was selective, theory-laden renderings of certain aspects of the tape recording of the original interaction, to locate the swear words used.

The transcription helped the researcher to take note of particular phenomena, build an accessible data archive which provides the reader with useful access to the phenomena discussed in the analysis.

3.5 Problems in transcribing and collecting data.

The researcher found the task of transcribing difficult and tedious. First, the researcher’s background of being not very fluent in Tamil was a problem when transcribing. Other than that, the researcher also had a difficult time in getting people or encouraging them to help out with the translation. This was namely due to the subject matter, which they considered to be a taboo and something which is not appropriate to be discussed openly, even though at times, they too utter it or have heard it being uttered in conversation.

In collecting/producing the recording, it was difficult as the participants involved only met up when they were free. This was due to the fact that they had lectures, group work and tutorial to attend in the University. On top of this, due to poor quality of recording, not all episodes of the recording could be used for transcription.
3.6 Conclusion

This study shares data, insights and finding within the context of Conversation analysis. It stresses the importance of working with the data in detail, especially in making the recording and its transcription. The researcher hopes that this short study will be useful for further research in this area and for aspiring ‘new’ conversation analysis.
CHAPTER 4
ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1 Introduction

Jay (2000:85) says that “human sexuality is a critical aspect of emotional language in general and of cursing in particular because sexuality is the most tabooed aspect of human existence.” Jay (2000) adds that most people talk about sex by using vulgar terms and sexual slang, where some sex acts are so taboo (e.g. Oral sex), that it is not acceptable in polite conversation or company.

It is said that all adult speakers know what words are curse words, as well as how to use these words correctly and effectively in different context. This notion is supported by Andersson and Hirsch (1985:12) who say that swearing is also a conscious part of a speaker’s knowledge of his or her language. As children, we acquire the emotional meanings of words through a process of classical conditioning. When swearing leads to rewarding consequences, we swear more. It is otherwise, if we are punished for swearing. When children see that swearing affects others, they learn the power of swearing. They learn what swear words are, as well as when and where not to say them. Thus, the child’s knowledge of swearing becomes a part of his/her larger linguistic and cultural intelligence.

Jay (2000), states that speakers are more likely to use offensive language with the same-gender groups than with other-gender groups. The likelihood of cursing also depends on what the speaker is discussing. “Sexuality is the most important trait referenced in gender-related insulting.” as mentioned by Jay (2000).
Jay (2000) points out that the act of cursing seems to be more prevalent among men when compared to women. This notion of his is supported by Bailey & Timm (1976); Frodi, Macaulay & Thome (1977); Golin & Romanowski (1977); Staly (1978); Haas (1979); Jay (1980); Holland & Quinn (1987); Johnson & Fine (1985); Selnow (1985) and Jay (1992), who have all suggested that men and women use offensive speech in different ways. Generally, three trends are found. They are:-

1. Men curse more often than women
2. Men use a larger vocabulary of curse words than women
3. Men use more offensive curse words than do women.

In this study, the analysis of terms and concepts are used to describe and explain swearing in Tamil which is common in the Indian culture. The fact that the author is studying his own culture is an indication of a self–consciousness that is characteristically human.

It is hoped that this study of swearing in the Tamil language will provide a clearer picture of how Malaysian Indian youths swear. This study is restrictive in nature. It does not include all types of swearing or insulting words used of predominantly Tamil speakers as given in the list of Swear words complied (See appendix 13)

4.2 Data analysis

Analysis of data will be made based on the following categories. They are:-

4.2.1 Swear words related to male and female genitalia, which are used to refer to men and women respectively.

4.2.2 Abusive swearing, where the speaker abuses, offends or defames someone. The abusive swearing is basically about oral sex, sexual
processes and masturbation. The abuse is also related to the male and female genitalia.

4.2.3 Swear words related to name-calling.

4.2.4 Humoristic swearing.

4.2.1 Words related to the genitalia

These expressions derive their power of retaliation through association with taboo sexual body parts. Thus, to call a person, a taboo body part is to evoke the understanding that these body parts are powerful or disgusting, and by doing so the person is insulted. In other words, these references to body parts when used to label a person is derogatory.

In these analyses, the names used are not related to any one living or dead. It is used as a pseudonym only. The samples contain Tamil spoken by the conversant, its direct translation in English (indicated with the use of ([ ])) and the grammatical version of the conversation in English (indicated with the use of (( ))).

Sample 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guna</th>
<th>Kambu kalapikiite irukkangge, mayire enna tuppi message anupi irukkiya nee? Ehh...Dei peh pundeh ehh...Enna mayire. Ehh...Enna thairiyam iruntha enna tuppi message anupi irupe nee, ehh...Nee enna periya sappere pulithiya, unnoda vanthu ella sappanuma? Ehh...Agongke sappi uduriya? Ehh...Kottai naaye, ehh...Enna thairiyum iruntha tuppve? Toh nullu...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

[Standing erect cock are you there, damn you myself condemn message sent are you? Hey... damn cunt ehh...what damn you. Ehh...How brave you have myself condemn message sent are you, ehh...You what big sucker damn’ah, yours come all to suck’a? Ehh... for Agong suck are you? Ehhh...balls dog, ehh...How brave you condemn? Here wait...]

(Is your cock standing erect, damn you. How dare you send me a foul message? Ehh hey, you cunt, ehh. How dare you sent that foul message to me, ehh. Do you think you are a big cocksucker? Do you think everyone must come to suck you off? Ehh have you sucked the Agong’s cock? Ehh Dog balls ehh. How dare you insult me..? Hold on.)

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Background information of Sample 1

Shasi is close to Jeeva, and of late, has not been giving attention to Jeeva. He has been very friendly with Guna. To convey his frustration, Jeeva sends a foul message (sms) through his mobile to Guna. This triggered a reaction from Guna, who is annoyed. Guna telephones Jeeva by using the public telephone booth, near the Maybank. As he did not have much credit left in his mobile, he gets out the change that he has. Guna also gets Shasi to hand over whatever change that he has. The phone changes hands between Shasi and Guna as they take turns to hurl a lot of abusive and sexual processes terms, to agitate Jeeva. Jeeva falls for this and swears back in retaliation. Much of what Jeeva says is not clear in this recording. Following Jeeva’s outburst, Shasi and Guna make references to a homosexual relationship that Jeeva has with the Indian man.

Table 4.1: Frequency of Words Related to the Genitalia - Sample 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Male Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Kambu (Cock)</td>
<td>1/51</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>Pundeh (Cunt)</td>
<td>1/51</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kottai (Balls)</td>
<td>1/51</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.1 of sample 1, Guna utters a total of 51 words in Tamil. 2 of these words have reference to the Male genitalia, i.e. 3.92%. 1 word has reference to the Female genitalia, i.e. 1.96%.
Sample 2

Guna - Dei India karen kambu enna inikitha? Ehh.. Kg. Achel’le irukke, kamboda aaci pudikathu unakku? Poh, avan kambu eduthu kambu podu,. Ehh... Kambu poduriya nee. India karen kuudeh?

[Hey...Indian man’s cock what sweet’ah? Ehh...at Kg Acheh you are, cock sucking do you like? Go, he cock take suck off,Ehh…sucked off’ah you Indian man together]

(Hey, is the Indian man’s cock very sweet to taste. Ehh you live in kg Achel right do you like the cock in that area? Go, take his cock and suck it. Ehh are you sucking the Indian man’s cock?)

Background information of Sample Two

Shasi has just finished speaking over the phone to Jeeva. Guna has taken over the telephone conversation. When Jeeva swears and hurls a lot abusive swear words, Guna retaliates, making references to a third party (an Indian man) whereby all the participants are aware Jeeva has a close relationship with. In sample 1, it has been mentioned that Guna was upset by the swearing hurled at him by Jeeva. It is clear that from this sample, Guna, in wanting to hurt Jeeva, deliberately makes references to the Indian man. This was done by Guna in his attempt to relate the Indian man’s relationship with Jeeva as a homosexual one.

Table 4.2: Frequency of Words Related to the Genitalia - Sample 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Male Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Kambu (Cock)</td>
<td>4/27</td>
<td>14.81</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In table 4.2 of sample two, Guna utters a total of 27 words in Tamil. 4 words make reference to the Male genitalia, i.e. 14.81%. There is no reference made to the female genitalia.

Sample 3

Guna - Ehh.. Muunu kachan’ irukkule, oru kachane sappe koduthu avanode kambu pudichi kadi, ha ha ha....
[Ehh three nipples got right? One nipple suck give cock grab bite, ha,ha,ha.]

(Ehh you have 3 nipples right. Suck one of your nipple and grab hold of his cock and bite it ha,ha,ha.).

Shasi - Dei Sunnivandi, dei..un kottai. Dei unnode manager oruthan irukan paru, Dei avan milo keppane.. Payum milo kepaane..., avanode pudichi uumbi ude. Ha ha ha...uumbi ude, konjam Kanji utthum, athe kudichittu vaa. Ha ha ha... Milo pothu kudi atuvum. Dei en..en kanji vanthu kudida, arivu varutha paapom, peh puluthi pundeh.
[Hey...cockless/dick head, Hey...your balls. Hey your manager one fellow are there see, Hey he milo ask...., his grab suck off. Ha,ha,ha suck off, little sperm ejaculate, that drink come.ha,ha,ha ...Milo put drink also. Hey my...my...my sperm come drink’la. Brain whether come we see.Damn cunt you]

(Hey cockless, hey your balls. Hey your manager is there, look. Hey he always asks for milo. Always asks for milo. Grab his and suck it off ha,ha,ha.. suck it off a little cum will flow out, go and drink it ha,ha,ha. put it into the milo and drink it. Hey come and drink my cum, let us see if you will get some brains from it. You damn cunt.)

Background information of Sample 3

The telephone conversation continues. Jeeva makes the situation more heated when he starts to swear from the other end of the line. In retaliation, Guna refers to Jeeva’s three nipples and makes fun of it. The phone is then handed to Shasi, who makes reference to Jeeva’s manager and uses this to be abusive, indicating a homosexual relationship that they share.
Table 4.3: Frequency of Words Related to the Genitalia - Sample 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Male Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Kambu (Cock)</td>
<td>1/15</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>Kachan (Nipple)</td>
<td>2/15</td>
<td>13.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shasi</td>
<td>Sunni (Cock)</td>
<td>1/53</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>Pundeh (Cunt)</td>
<td>1/53</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kottai (Balls)</td>
<td>1/53</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.3 of sample 3, Guna utters a total of 15 words in Tamil. 1 reference is made to the Male genitalia i.e. 6.67% and 2 references are made to the Female genitalia i.e. 13.33%.

Shasi, on the other hand, utters a total of 53 words in Tamil. 2 references are made to the Male genitalia i.e. 3.78% and 1 reference is made to the Female genitalia i.e. 1.89%.
[ She see why? She too scratch not? Monthly monthly cunt grab scratch.]

(What...if she sees? Why do you think she won’t scrub ah? Every month she will scrub her cunt.)

Ganesan - Athulle sorinngkitte po. Yen ingge vanthu sorire? Vekkama ille unakku?
[ That inside scratch go. Why here come scratch? ]

(Go scratch inside la, why have you to come out and do it here. Don’t you feel ashamed?)

Shasi - Enna tairiyum iruntha.. oru nattechiye paatu appadi pesuve?
[How brave you are... A malay girl see like that talk?]

(How dare you talk about that Malay girl like this?)

Jeeva - Enna avaloda inikithaa? Sappittu vanthiya?
[Why her’s sweet’ah? Sucked come’lah?]

(Is hers sweet? Have you licked hers and come?)

Guna - Dei unakku India karanode inikituda. India kaaranukku kambu pottu viduda..
[Hey, for you Indian man’s sweet. Indian man’s cock sucked off.]

(Hey, is the Indian fellow sweet for you. You help the Indian fellow to suck his cock.)

Madavan - Dei..dei..dei..angge tamilalu okkanthu irukange’da.
[Hey.. hey.. hey.. there Indian’s sitting’ da]

(Hey.. there are some Indians there..)

Guna - Avane ille.. India karen avanuku sappivitan’da. (couldn’t hear because there many in the conversation.). Athenale avan naaku pottu vanterukkan. Dei... India kaaranukke, avanoda moonavatu kacang’nge sappe kodututhu kamba pottete vanturukiran. (couldn’t hear because a lot of people were talking at the same time)

[Not him. Indian man for him sucked off da. That is why he tongue put he come. Hei Indian man his third nipple suck gave off he come.]

(Not him. The Indian fellow sucked him. So, he has licked him and come
Hey... he has let the Indian man suck his third nipple (Jeeva has three nipples) and he has shacked him.)
Background Information of Sample 4

This conversation takes place at a playground. It takes place the following day, after the telephone incident. Jeeva approaches his group of friends – Guna, Shasi, Ganesan and Madavan, scratching his private, unbashfully in public. His behaviour was reprimanded by Ganesan, and tells him to do it discreetly.

Shasi interrupts the conversation. He tells Jeeva off for making reference to a Malay girl who was mentioned in an earlier conversation. When Jeeva replies hurling some swear words, Guna then gets into the conversation by making references to the Indian man to irate Jeeva. At this point of their interaction, Madavan draws their attention to other fellow Indians nearby. Guna was not bothered and continues with his abusive swearing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Male Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeeva</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Kuuthy</td>
<td>1/17</td>
<td>5.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganesan</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shasi</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Kambu (Cock)</td>
<td>2/34</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>Kachan</td>
<td>1/34</td>
<td>2.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madavan</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In table 4.4 of sample 4, Jeeva utters a total of 17 words in Tamil. No reference is made to Male genitalia and 1 word has reference to the Female genitalia i.e. 5.88%. Guna utters a total of 34 words in Tamil. 2 references are made to the Male genitalia i.e. 5.88% and 1 reference is made to Female genitalia i.e 2.94%. The others did not use any swear words.

Sample 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Male Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Sunny (Cock)</td>
<td>1/4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeeva</td>
<td>Sunny (Cock)</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Background information of sample 5

The conversation at the playground continues. There is a kind of playful dueling between Guna and Jeeva. When Guna makes references to the Indian man and of a homosexual relationship they share, Jeeva retaliates and ends it with an abusive term, directed at Guna.

Table 4.5: Frequency of Words Related to the Genitalia - Sample 5
In table 4.5 of sample 5, Guna utters a total of 4 words in Tamil. 1 word makes reference to the Male genitalia i.e. 25%. There is no reference to the female genitalia. Jeeva’s utterances were not very audible but it was clear that 1 reference to the Male genitalia is made i.e. 100% and no reference is made of Female genitalia.

**Sample 6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Male Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female Genitalia</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeeva</td>
<td>Kottai (Balls)</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganesan</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>None mentioned</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Background Information

The group of friends, Jeeva, Shasi, Guna, Madavan and Ganesan, meet up at the playground again the following day. The swearing starts when Jeeva, once again is targeted. This time it is Shasi, who makes fun of Jeeva’s testicles. Jeeva seeks sympathy from Ganesan and retaliates. Ganesan tells him to take it easy and not to overact.
In table 4.6 of sample 6, Jeeva utters a total of 6 words in Tamil. 1 word has reference to the Male genitalia i.e. 16.67%. There is no reference made to the female genitalia.

4.2.1.1 Conclusion

The total number of words in Tamil from samples 1-6, is 188 words. In these samples, 10 words have reference to the Male genitalia i.e. 5.32%, and 5 words have reference to the Female genitalia i.e. 2.66%.

It is obvious that the subjects tend to make more reference to the male genitalia in their conversation. It is only when the subject is angry or frustrated, then they resort to using swear words related to female genitalia in retaliation.

Sanders & Robinson (1979) quoted in Jay (2000) in a study carried out, provide evidence in support of this claim whereby they say that males have a tendency to change sexual terms from context to context. This can be seen in the samples. Sanders & Robinson (1979) go on to add that both male and female display more hesitancy to name female genitals than they do to name male genitals.
Findings on Sample 1 to 6:

Table 4.7: Frequency of Swear Words Related to Male and Female Genitalia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kambu (Cock)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>Pundeh (Cunt)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kottai (Balls)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>Kuuthy (Cunt)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunny (Cock)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>Kachan (Nipple)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the analysis of table 4.7 and the frequency chart, it is obvious that the participants in the conversations tend to use a higher number of swear words which has reference to male genitalia as opposed to swear words related to female genitalia.
4.2.2 Abusive Swearing

This is an emotion laden swearing which has references to sex act, sex organs and sexual deviation (a sexual activity that is not normal e.g. homosexual relationship). It is widely used to express anger and insult. This abusive swearing depends on the context in which it is conveyed. The speaker who uses this swearing, signal to the listener, through emphasis on these words, that these words are powerful.

Sample 1


[Standing erect are you there, damn you myself condemn message sent are you? Hey… damn cunt ehh…what damn you. Ehh…How brave you have myself condemn message sent are you, ehh…You what big sucker damn’ah, yours come all to suck’a? Ehh… for Agong suck are you? Ehhh…balls dog, ehh…How brave you condemn? Here wait…]

(Is your cock standing erect, damn you. How dare you send me a foul message? Ehh hey , you cunt, ehh. How dare you send that foul message to me, ehh. Do you think you are a big cocksucker? Do you think everyone must come to suck you off? Ehh have you sucked the Agong’s cock? Ehh Dog balls ehh. How dare you insult me..? Hold on.)
Table 4.8: Frequency of Abusive Swear Words – Sample 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Phrases/Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Mayire(twice)</td>
<td>Damn you</td>
<td>2/51</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dei peh pundeh</td>
<td>Hey, you cunt</td>
<td>3/51</td>
<td>5.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Periya sappere pulithiya</td>
<td>You big cocksucker</td>
<td>3/51</td>
<td>5.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sappanuma</td>
<td>To suck off</td>
<td>1/51</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sappi</td>
<td>You sucker</td>
<td>1/51</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kottai naaye</td>
<td>Dog’s balls</td>
<td>1/51</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>11/51</strong></td>
<td><strong>21.56</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.8 of sample 1, Guna utters a total of 51 words in Tamil and 11 of these were abusive swear words i.e. **21.56 %**

Sample 2

Table 4.9: Frequency of Abusive Swear Words – Sample 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Phrases/Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Kambu podu</td>
<td>Suck his cock</td>
<td>2/27</td>
<td>7.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kambu poduriya</td>
<td>Are you sucking it off?</td>
<td>2/27</td>
<td>7.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>4/27</strong></td>
<td><strong>14.82</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In table 4.9 of sample 2, Guna utters a total of 27 words in Tamil and 4 of these were abusive swear words i.e. 14.82%.

Sample 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guna</th>
<th>Ehh.. Muunu kachan irukkule, oru kachane sappe koduthu avanode kambu pudichi kadi, ha ha ha....</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Ehh three nipple got right? One nipple suck give cock grab bite, ha,ha,ha.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Ehh you have 3 nipples right. Suck one of your nipple and grab hold of his cock and bite it ha,ha,ha.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Hey...cockless/dick head, Hey...your balls. Hey your manager one fellow are there see, Hey he milo ask..., his grab suck off. Ha,ha,ha suck off, little sperm ejaculate, that drink come.ha,ha,ha ...Milo put drink also. Hey my...my...my sperm come drink’la. Brain whether come we see.Damn cunt you]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Hey cockless, hey your balls. Hey your manager is there, look. Hey he always asks for milo. Always asks for milo. Grab his and suck it off ha,ha,ha.. suck it off a little cum will flow out, go and drink it ha,ha,ha. Put it into the milo and drink it. Hey come and drink my sperm, let us see if you will get some brains from it. You damn cunt.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4.10: Frequency of Abusive Swear Words – Sample 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Phrases/Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Kachan’e Sappu</td>
<td>Suck the Nipple</td>
<td>2/15</td>
<td>13.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kambu pudichi kadi</td>
<td>Grab his cock and bite it</td>
<td>3/15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>5/15</strong></td>
<td><strong>33.33</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shasi</td>
<td>Sunnyandi</td>
<td>You cockless</td>
<td>1/53</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kanji utthum, athe kudichittu vaa</td>
<td>When he ejaculates, drink his sperm/cum</td>
<td>5/53</td>
<td>9.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kanji vanthu kudida</td>
<td>Come drink the sperm/cum</td>
<td>3/53</td>
<td>5.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pudichi uumbi ude</td>
<td>Grab and suck it off</td>
<td>3/53</td>
<td>5.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peh puluthi pundeh</td>
<td>You damn cunt</td>
<td>3/53</td>
<td>5.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>15/53</strong></td>
<td><strong>28.28</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.10 of sample 3, Guna utters a total of 15 words in Tamil and 5 of these were abusive words i.e. 33.33 %. Shasi, on the other hand, utters a total of 53 words in Tamil and 15 of these were abusive swear words i.e. 28.28 %
Sample 4

Jeeva -   \textit{Enna avaloda inikithaa? Sappittu vanthiya?}
\[\text{(Why her’s sweet’ah? Sucked come’lah?)}\]

Guna -  \textit{Dei unakku India karanode inikituda. India karaanukku kambu pottu viduda.}
\[\text{(Hey.. is the Indian fellow’s sweet for you. You help the Indian fellow to suck his cock..)}\]

Madavan -  \textit{Dei..dei..dei..angge tamilalu okkanthu irukange’da.}
\[\text{(Hey.. Hey.. Hey.. there Indian’s sitting’ da )}\]

Guna -   \textit{Avane ille.. India karen avanuku sappivittan’da.} (couldn’t hear because there many in the conversation.). \textit{Athenale kaaranukke, avanoda moonavatu kachan’nge sappe kodututhu kamba pottete vanturukiran avan naaku pottu vanterukkan. Dei.. India.} (couldn’t hear because a lot of people were talking at the same time)
\[\text{(Not him. Indian man for him sucked off da. That is why he tongue put he come. Hei Indian man his third nipple suck gave off he come.)}\]

\[\text{(Not him. The Indian fellow sucked him. So, he has licked him and come.. Hey..he has let the Indian man suck his third nipple (Jeeva has three nipples) and he has shacked him.)}\]
### Table 4.11: Frequency of Abusive Swear Words – Sample 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Phrases/Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeeva</td>
<td>Enna avaloda inikithaa?</td>
<td>Is hers (cunt) sweet?</td>
<td>3/5</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sappithu vanthiya</td>
<td>Have you licked and come</td>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>5/5</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>India kaaranukku kambu pottu viduda</td>
<td>You sucked the Indian man’s cock.</td>
<td>5/34</td>
<td>14.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India karen avanuku sappivitan’da</td>
<td>The Indian man sucked him off</td>
<td>5/34</td>
<td>14.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Naaku pottu vantirukiran</td>
<td>Licked him off and have come.</td>
<td>3/34</td>
<td>8.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kambu pottete vantirukiran</td>
<td>Sucked him off and have come</td>
<td>3/34</td>
<td>8.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kachan’nge sappe kodututhu</td>
<td>You have given your nipple to be sucked</td>
<td>4/34</td>
<td>11.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>20/34</strong></td>
<td><strong>58.82</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.11 of sample 4, Guna utters a total of 34 words in Tamil and 20 of these were abusive swear words i.e. 58.82%. Jeeva, on the other hand, utters a total of 5 words in Tamil and 5 of these were abusive swear words i.e. 100%
Sample 5

Guna - *Paravale Shasi, kainge Shasi, kai kodu, kainge Indiakaranode... Nethu raathiri 12 manikku phone adicaka, iruda machan India karenukku kambu pottukittu iruken. Itho mudichitu varen.* (Madavan and Guna are laughing)

[Never mind Shasi, member’s Shasi, hand give, members Indian Man’s… Yesterday night 12 o’clock phone ring, wait’la brother in law, Indian Man sucking him. Here finished come. (Madavan and Guna are laughing)]

*(Never mind Shasi We are friends right, let’s shake on this Our friend , yesterday at 12 midnight telephoned him. He said “Hold on, I’m sucking the Indian guy. I will be there once I have finished. (Madavan and Guna are laughing))*

Jeeva - *Pesare’lle nee.*

[ Talking’la you.]

*(You’re talking)*

Guna - *Aamala, pesaren’la. Iru innum konje neratule veliye aidum.*

[Yes’la talking’la. Wait somemore little while out come.]

*(Yes, I’m talking. Wait, it’s going to come out.)*

Jeeva - *Vanthu sappividu*

[Come suck off]

*(Come and suck me off.)*

Background Information

The conversation continues at the playground. Guna draws Shasi’s attention to Jeeva’s antics. Jeeva retaliates with an abusive swear word when Guna targets him.

Table 4.12: Frequency of Abusive Swear Words – Sample 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td><em>India karenukku kambu pottukittu iruken</em></td>
<td>I’m sucking the Indian man’s cock</td>
<td>5/32</td>
<td>15.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeeva</td>
<td><em>Vanthu sappividu</em></td>
<td>Come and suck mine (cock)</td>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.12 of sample 5, Guna utters a total of 32 words in Tamil and 5 of these were abusive words i.e. 15.63%. Jeeva, on the other hand, utters a total of 5 words in Tamil and 2 of these were abusive swear words i.e. 40%.
4.2.2.1 Conclusion

Base on the analysis of the data collected, it is seems that the swear words used are a source of abusive swearing. These expressions are basically about oral sex, sexual intercourse, licking and sexual climax. It is all to perform a sexual act. From observation and personal experience, it can be said that the choices of the swear words among these undergraduates where not of a highly offensive language if compared to swearing used in heated argument or in a highly emotional charged situation as when one is very angry. So it can concluded that the swear words too have their degree of offensiveness. The analysis of data also suggests that these swear words may seem offensive to some and otherwise, to other users of Tamil. Some words that have greater degree offensiveness than the one used in these samples are as the following:-

Kutthy (Cunt)

Ookkeh (Fuck)

Thevadiya (Slut/prostitute)

Kandereh ooli (Slut/prostitute)

Thayolli (Mother fucker)

Akka pundeh (Your sister’s cunt)

Amma kutty (Your mother’s cunt)
4.2.3 Name calling

This type of swearing, more often than not, makes references to body parts to label a person. Their use depends on the context and according to nature of the offense. The name-calling swear words, are targeted at the wrongdoer who may have offended the listener, where it is carried out as a form of retaliation. These words are direct and unambiguous. This offensive expression can be noted with more power in the voice and with other emotional gestures.

Sample 1

Guna - Kambu kalapikiite irukkangge, mavire enna tuppi message anupi irukkiya nee? Ehh...Dei peh pundeh ehh...Enna mavire, Ehh..Enna thairiyam iruntha enna tuppi message anupi irupe nee, ehh... Nee enna periya sappere pulithiya, unnoda vanthu ella sappanuma? Ehh..Agongke sappi uduriya? Ehh.. Kottaie naaye, ehh... Enna thairiyum iruntha tuppuve? Toh nillu...

[Cock erect are you there, damn you myself condemn message sent are you? Hey… damn cunt ehh…what damn you. Ehh…How brave you have myself condemn message sent are you,ehh…You what big sucker damn’ah, yours come all to suck’a? Ehh… for Agong suck are you? Ehhh…balls dog, ehh…How brave you condemn? Here wait…]

(Is your cock standing erect, damn you. How dare you send me a foul message? Ehh hey , you cunt, ehh. How dare you send that foul message to me, ehh. Do you think you are a big cocksucker? Do you think everyone must come to suck you off ? Ehh have you sucked the Agong’s cock? Ehh Dog balls ehh. How dare you insult me? Hold on.)
Table 4.13: Frequency of Name Calling Swear Words – Sample 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Phrases/Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Mayire(twice)</td>
<td>Damn you</td>
<td>2/51</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dei peh pundeh</td>
<td>Hey you cunt</td>
<td>3/51</td>
<td>5.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sappere pulithiya</td>
<td>Are you a cocksucker</td>
<td>2/51</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sappi</td>
<td>You sucker</td>
<td>1/51</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kottai naaye</td>
<td>Dog’s balls</td>
<td>2/51</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10/51</strong></td>
<td><strong>19.60</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.13 of sample1, Guna utters a total of 51 words in Tamil and 10 words have reference to name calling i.e. **19.60 %**

**Sample 2**

Shasi -  *Dei Sunnyandi, dei..un kottai. Dei unnode manager oruthan irukan paru, Dei avan milo keppane.. Epayum milo kepaane..., avanode pudichi uumbi ude. Ha ha ha...uumbi ude, konjam Kanji utthum, athe kudichittu vaa. Ha ha ha... Milo pothu kudi avtuvum. Dei en..en..en kanji vanthu kudida, arivu varutha paapom, peh puluthi pundeh.*

[Hey...cockless/dick head, Hey...your balls. Hey your manager one fellow are there see, Hey he milo ask..., his grab suck off. Ha,ha,ha suck off, little sperm ejaculate, that drink come,ha,ha,ha ...Milo put drink also. Hey my...my...my sperm come drink’la. Brain whether come we see.Damn cunt you]

*(Hey cockless, hey your balls. Hey your manager is there, look. Hey he always asks for milo. Always asks for milo. Grab his and suck it off ha,ha,ha.. suck it off a little cum will flow out, go and drink it ha,ha,ha. put it into the milo and drink it. Hey come and drink my sperm/cum, let us see if you will get some brains from it. You damn cunt.)*
Table 4.14: Frequency of Name Calling Swear Words – Sample 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Phrases/Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shasi</td>
<td>Dei sunnyandi</td>
<td>Hey you cockless/Dick head</td>
<td>2/53</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peh puluthi pundeh</td>
<td>You damn cunt</td>
<td>3/53</td>
<td>5.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>5/53</strong></td>
<td><strong>9.43</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.14 of sample 2, Shasi utters a total of 53 words in Tamil and 5 words have reference to name calling i.e. 9.43%.

Sample 3

*Guna* - *India karan sunny’e sapparanda..*  
[Indian man;s cock suking’ da.]

(Are you sucking the Indian man’s cock?)

*Jeeva* - *Sunnyandi...* (not clear)  
[Cockless fellow.]  
(You cockless/Dick head..) (not clear)

Table 4.15: Frequency of Name Calling Swear Words – Sample 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeeva</td>
<td>Sunnyandi</td>
<td>Cockless/Dick head</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.15 of sample 3, Jeeva utters a total of 1 word in Tamil and 1 word has reference to name calling i.e. 100 %.
4.2.3.1 Conclusion

The data indicates that it is very common among the subjects to use male and female genitals as a reference in their name calling swearing. They can also be said to be sexual expletive i.e. used as a threat, retaliating after being targeted on. ‘Mayire’ which means ‘hair’, has a different concoction, where in Tamil it can be a swear word which means ‘Damn you’. The use of ‘Mayire’ (damn you) and peh pundeh (you cunt) is more often than not, seem to be used to convey a sense of greeting to start a conversation among close friends as found in sample 1. The same can be said for the word’ Sunnyandi’ (cockless) as seen in sample 3. It is interesting to note that some taboo words can be used as both to insults and terms of endearment.

4.2.4 Humoristic Swearing

As adults, the ability to think hypothetically, inductively and deductively develops. Thus, logical and hypothetical thoughts affect the type of humor that adolescents produce and appreciate. ‘The topic of sex is prominent and the ability to use this in their conversation becomes sophisticated’, as pointed out by Jay (1992:29). The sexual humor is not only complex, but also relies on adult’s ability to understand subtle ambiguities in words and meaning. As a child, the humor is more of name calling and insulting, object naming and expression of anger. In the case of the adolescent, humor appreciation is more of ethnic, sexist and scatological humor (this focuses on acts of elimination and body parts associated with elimination e.g. cock and ejaculation of sperm), which shows a greater depth of knowledge about swearing.
Sample 1

Guna -  
Kambu kalapikiite irukkangge, mayire enna tuppi message anupi irukkiya nee? Ehh…Dei peh pundeh ehh…Enna mavire, Ehh..Enna thatiriyam iruntha enna tuppi message anupi irupe nee, ehh... Nee enna periya sappere pulithiya, unnoda vanthu ella sappanuma? Ehh..Agongke sappi uduriya? Ehh.. Kottai naaye, ehh... Enna thatiriyum iruntha tuppue? Toh nillu...

[Standing erect cock are you there, damn you myself condemn message sent are you? Hey... damn cunt ehh...what damn you. Ehh...How brave you have myself condemn message sent are you, ehh...You what big sucker damn’ah, yours come all to suck’a? Ehh... for Agong suck are you? Ehhh...balls dog, ehh...How brave you condemn? Here wait...]  

(Is your cock standing erect, damn you. How dare you send me a foul message? Ehh hey, you cunt, ehh. How dare you sent that foul message to me, ehh. Do you think you are a big cocksucker? Do you think everyone must come to suck you off? Ehh have you sucked the Agong’s cock? Ehh Dog’s balls ehh. How dare you insult me..? Hold on.)

Table 4.16: Frequency of Humoristic Swear Words – Sample 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Kottai naaye</td>
<td>Dog’s balls</td>
<td>2/51</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.16 of sample 1, Guna utters a total of 51 words in Tamil and 2 words have reference to humoristic swearing i.e. 3.92%
Sample 2

Guna  
*Unakku mattum yenda.. India karen pathi sonna pudikkale, ehh.? India karen kambu than inikitha? Dei athu irukkatum.. nee companyiyle enna pannare?*
[For you only why’d a… Indian man about tell don’t like ehh.? Indian man’s cock only sweet’ ah? Hey.. that leave first.. you in company what doing?]

(Jay it is with you, if we talk about the Indian fellow, you don’t like it? Is the Indian man’s cock sweet. Hey… Let’s drop that. What you are doing in the company?)

Jeeva  
**Pudichi ellarodeyum sapparen.**
[Hold everyone’s sucking off]

(I’m sucking everybody’s cock.)

Background Information

The conversation between Guna and Jeeva is a part of a verbal dueling between them. Jeeva, in this sample, holds the trump card. He wins this round of verbal dueling, when he retaliates with a humoristic abusive remark at the end i.e.’ I’m sucking everybody’s cock.’

**Table 4.17: Frequency of Humoristic Swear Words – Sample 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeeva</td>
<td>Pudichi ellarodeyum sapparen</td>
<td>I’m sucking everybody’s cock</td>
<td>3/24</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.17 of sample 2, Jeeva utters a total of 24 words and 3 words have reference to the humoristic swearing i.e. 12.5 %
Sample 3

Guna - Ehh.. Muunu kachan irukkule, oru kachan’e sappe koduthu avanode kambu pudichi kadi, ha ha ha....

[Ehh three nipples got right? One nipple suck give cock grab bite, ha,ha,ha.]

(Ehh you have 3 nipples right. Suck one of your nipple and grab hold of his cock and bite it ha,ha,ha.).

Shasi - Dei Sunnyandi, dei..un kottai. Dei unmode manager oruthan irukan paru, Dei avan milo keppane.. Epayum milo kepaane..., avanode pudichi uumbi ude. Ha ha ha...uumbi ude, konjam Kanji utthum, athe kadichitta vaa. Ha ha ha... Milo pothu kudi atuvum. Dei en..en kanji vanthu kudida, arivu varutha paapom, peh puluthi pundeh.

[Hey...cockless/dick head, Hey...your balls. Hey your manager one fellow are there see, Hey he milo ask..., his grab suck off. Ha,ha,ha suck off, little sperm ejaculate, that drink come, ha,ha,ha ...Milo put drink also. Hey my...my...my sperm come drink’la. Brain whether come we see. Damn cunt you]

(Hey cockless, hey your balls. Hey your manager is there, look. Hey he always asks for milo. Always asks for milo. Grab his and suck it off ha,ha,ha.. suck it off a little cum will flow out, go and drink it ha,ha,ha. put it into the milo and drink it. Hey come and drink my cum, let us see if you will get some brains from it. You damn cunt.)
In Table 4.18 of sample 3, Guna utters a total of 15 words in Tamil and 7 words have reference to humoristic swearing i.e. 46.67%. Shasi, on the other hand, utters a total of 53 words in Tamil and 4 words have reference to humoristic swearing i.e. 7.55%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Munnu kachan irukkule</td>
<td>You have three nipples, right</td>
<td>3/15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ore kachan’e sappe koduthu</td>
<td>Suck one of your nipple</td>
<td>4/15</td>
<td>26.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>7/15</td>
<td>46.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shasi</td>
<td>Milo pothu kudi atuvum</td>
<td>Mix it with milo (a cocoa drink) and drink it</td>
<td>4/53</td>
<td>7.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.19: Frequency of Humoristic Swear Words – Sample 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shasi</td>
<td>Uumbi ude, konjam Kanji utthum, athe kudichittu vaa</td>
<td>Suck it off, a little sperm will flow out, go and drink it</td>
<td>8/53</td>
<td>15.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.19 of sample 4, Shasi utters a total of 53 words in Tamil and 8 words have reference to humoristic swearing i.e. **15.09%**.
Guna - Paravale Shasi, kainge Shasi, kai kodu, kainge Indiakaranode... Nethu raathiri 12 manikku phone adicaka, iruda machan India karenukku kambu pottukittu iruken. Itho mudichitu varen. (Madavan and Guna are laughing)

[Never mind Shasi, member’s Shasi, hand give, members Indian Man’s… Yesterday night 12 o’clock phone ring, wait’la brother in law, Indian Man sucking him. Here finished come. (Madavan and Guna are laughing)]

(Never mind Shasi We are friends,let’s shake (hands) on this Our friends,yesterday at 12 midnight called him. He said “Wait’la, I’m sucking the Indian guy. I will be there once I have finished. (Madavan and Guna are laughing))

Jeeva - Pesare’lla nee. [Talking’la you.]
(You’re talking)

Guna - Veliya aidum. Aamala, pesaren’la. Iru innum konje neratule come.]
[Yes’la talking’la. Wait some more little while out come.]
(Yes’la.. I’m talking.. Wait, it’s going to come out.)

Jeeva - Vanthu sappividu. [Come suck off]
(Come and suck me off..)
Table 4.20: Frequency of Humorous Swear Words – Sample 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Iruda machan India karenukku kambu pottukittu iruken</td>
<td>Wait my friend, I’m sucking off the Indian man’s cock</td>
<td>7/30</td>
<td>23.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iru innum konje neratule veliye aidum</td>
<td>Wait, shortly it’s (sperm) going to ejaculate out</td>
<td>6/30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>13/30</td>
<td>43.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeeva</td>
<td>Vanthu sappividu</td>
<td>Come and suck me off</td>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.20 of sample 5, Guna utters a total of 30 words in Tamil and 13 words have reference to the humorous swearing i.e. 43.33%. Jeeva, on the other hand, utters a total of 5 words in Tamil and 2 words have reference to the humorous swearing i.e. 40%
Sample 6

Guna - Kambu kalapikiite irukkangge, mavire enna tuppi message anupi irukkiya nee? Ehh...Dei peh pundeh ehh...Enna mavire. Ehh...Enna thairiyam iruntha enna tuppi message anupi irupe nee, ehh...Neen periya sappere pulithiya, unnoda vanthu ella sappanuma? Ehh...Agongke sappi uduriya? Ehh... Kottai naave, ehh... Enna thairiyum iruntha tuppuve? Toh nillu...

[Masturbating are you there, damn you myself condemn message sent are you? Hey... damn cunt ehh...what damn you. Ehh...How brave you have myself condemn message sent are you, ehh...You what big sucker damn’ah, yours come all to suck’a? Ehh... for Agong suck are you? Ehh...balls dog, ehh...How brave you condemn? Here wait…]

(Is your cock standing erect, damn you. How dare you send me a foul message? Ehh hey, you cunt, ehh. How dare you sent that foul message to me, ehh. Do you think you are a big cocksucker? Do you think everyone must come to suck you off? Ehh have you sucked the Agong’s cock? Ehh Dog balls ehh. How dare you insult me..? Hold on.)

Jeeva - (was replying to Guna using some swear words, couldn’t hear clearly in the phone recording)

Shasi - Dei mavire, pea punde, pakatule… ivan irupan teriyuma? Athan India karen iruppan… avanoda pudichi sappuda, ha...ha

[Hey damn you, damn cunt, near...he be there do you know? That’la Indian man be there…His grab suck’la, ha,ha,ha.]

(Damn you, cocksucker, near you there someone that’s the Indian man. Go and’ grab hold of his and suck it off ha,ha,ha.)
Table 4.21: Frequency of Humaristic Swear Words – Sample 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>Dei peh pundeh</td>
<td>Hey, you cunt</td>
<td>3/51</td>
<td>5.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enna mayire</td>
<td>Why, damn you</td>
<td>2/51</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>5/51</td>
<td><strong>9.80</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shasi</td>
<td>Dei Mayire</td>
<td>Damn you</td>
<td>2/18</td>
<td>11.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pea pundeh</td>
<td>You cunt</td>
<td>2/18</td>
<td>11.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>4/18</td>
<td><strong>22.22</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.21 of sample 6, Guna utters a total of **51** words in Tamil and **5** words have reference to humaristic swear words i.e. **9.80%**. Shasi, on the other hand, utters a total of **18** words in Tamil and **4** words have reference to humaristic swear words i.e. **22.22%**.
4.2.4.1 Conclusion

Jay (2000) says that people with power have license to tell jokes, make fun of subordinates and use curse words. They do it as they suffer no social consequences for doing it. Jay further supports this where he points out one reason adolescents curse more frequently than speakers at other ages is because they have so little to lose by cursing.

This can be seen clearly in the samples above, where Guna seems to have the right to make fun of Jeeva, who is always the butt of the joke and at its receiving end.

Jay (ibid) adds that men, compared to women, tell a higher percentage of obscene jokes, religious jokes, ethnic-racial jokes and jokes about death and drinking. Men also tell more openly aggressive and hostile jokes than women do. It is obvious that the subject Guna seems to have the power and his target is the subject Jeeva, who does retaliate at times to defend himself. Guna makes a lot inference to Jeeva having a homosexual relationship in these samples.

Andersson and Hirsch (1985:55) say that in the right circumstances and situation, swearing can be an expression of admiration or endearment. This kind of swearing is more a result of its contextual condition. It is a question of play rather than fight. There is verbal dueling back and forth between the participants. It ends when one gives in or declares himself/herself the loser. Tannen (1984) quoted in Norrick (2001) says that humor makes a person’s presence in a conversation more strongly felt than other sorts of contributions. She adds that we interact as a way of presenting a personality, to gain knowledge of others whom we are interacting with as well as to enhance self-image for ourselves and others. Thus, telling jokes provides the joker a means to gain credit for a performance and to gather relevant social data about the audience-data on beliefs, attitudes, group membership and so on. Joking also works to
establish and to enhance group cohesion. It also serves as a control on what sort of talk and behaviour are acceptable to the participants in the interaction.

There is also a lot repetition on the use of the word ‘India karan (Indian Man).’ The element of humour arises because all the participants know who he is. Due to inference to this particular person, it brings about a notion of a homosexual relationship shared. This repetition can be seen in the following phrases:-

‘India karanum kambu pudichi kadikiran’  
(I’ve grabbed the Indian man’s cock and am biting it.)

‘India karan kambu enna inikethu’  
(Is the Indian man’s cock sweet?)

‘India karan kanji kudikiran’da’  
(I’m drinking the Indian man’s sperm)

‘Nee enda India karan kanji ella kudikira’  
(Why are you drinking all the Indian man’s sperm?)

(Refer to Appendix 1 – 6)

As highlighted, there is only a slight difference in the choice of words used, but its meaning is quite close and similar. In these exchanges, it is very obvious that all involved share historical background knowledge. Here, it is ‘India karan’ (Indian man), who is linked to Jeeva, and where a close relationship is shared.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

In a study conducted by Suraiya (2002:200) (see chapter one) on Politeness in Language Perception and Behavior within a Multi-racial Society, the Indians of Malaysia stressed that ‘morally good self-image’ and ‘avoidance of abusive and offensive language and good conduct towards others,’ was viewed as important but the male Indian undergraduates, in this study still use swear words. When they are in their group, the tendency to swear is high. Their dirty words usage is highly influenced by context. They would not curse around adults. They would use these swear words with playing or arguing with each other, away from adults. They also tend to use spontaneous dirty words when they meet up. The effect of freedom, not bothered with those around, captures a high percentage of swear words used, in this study.

Base on analysis of data of spoken utterance of this study, the following categories of swear words can be identified:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Words having reference to male and female genitalia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Words having reference to abusive swearing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Words having reference to name calling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Words having reference to humoristic swearing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2 Implications

Based on the analysis of data of this study, it can be said that there is high frequency of swear words related to male genitalia. Sanders and Robinson (1979) quoted in Jay (2000: 130); base on a study carried out; found that both male and female display more hesitancy to name female genitals than they do to name male genitals. The males and females state that the act of intercourse was more frequently used than reference to genitals. They conclude that naming the genitals may imply a more personal involvement than naming the sexual act.

The Indian male undergraduates use offensive language which include words denoting body parts as clearly shown in table 5.1 and figure 5.1 below:

| Table 5.1: Frequency of Swear Words Related to Male and Female Genitalia |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Male** | **Frequency** | **%** | **Female** | **Frequency** | **%** |
| Kambu (Cock) | 7 | 3.72 | Pundeh (Cunt) | 2 | 1.06 |
| Kottai (Balls) | 3 | 1.60 | Kuuthy (Cunt) | 1 | 0.53 |
| Sunny (Cock) | 3 | 1.60 | Kachan (Nipple) | 3 | 1.60 |
These undergraduates also use more offensive language around members of the same
sex than members of the opposite sex as clearly seen from the result of the interview
carried out by the researcher. All of them said that they will not use these swear words
when they are in the midst of a female (See Appendix 11 & 12 for the questions).

This notion is further strengthened by Halaby & Long (1979) quoted in Jay
(1992-185), who surveyed college students about their attitudes towards dirty words in
a variety of context. Their study indicates that males tend to use more profane language
in the same – sex crowds.

In the data of this study, abusive swearing occurs when the speaker chooses
words that fit the occasion and who they target to insult. Making the target feel offended
is the goal of the insult. If the target does not react to these abusive swearing, they go on
to target his behaviour or actions, as it is clearly pointed out in these samples. Jay
(1992:176) points out an interesting factor which is true for these samples, where when
friendship exists between speakers, a set of terms is probably selected. These pools of
words are restrictive and are frequently used between close male friends. Another factor
that can be concluded from the data is the fact they use strong abusive swear words. This fact is proven by Bailey and Timm (1976) quoted in Jay (1992:185), where they state that overall men use stronger language, and that those from ages 19-34 reported using them more frequently. The source of their abusive swearing is basically about oral sex, and sexual intercourse i.e. to perform a sexual act.

In the data of this study, name calling is another category where there is a tendency to use male and female genital as inference. There is also a playful fight or dueling, where they argue back and forth, and when one loses or gives in, he retaliates with name calling, which is clearly shown in the data.

Fine (1976) quoted in Jay (2000:186), in a cross-cultural study noted that humor creates and maintains a sense of community for participating members. This sexual joking and insulting, stresses the ties between members of a group as being close and defends the group from disruptive forces (i.e. from any outside force). This provides evidence to the research question on factors and the issue of whether it being offensive {refer to page 8}. The fact that these undergraduates share a close bond, the swear words are not taken offensively. The researcher hypothesizes that it can be otherwise if it involves an outsider.

Coser (1960) quoted in Jay (1992:182) reports evidence that males tend to take authority over telling jokes in a social setting. In Steadman’s 1935 compilation of college students lists of various types of taboo speech, quoted in Jay (1992:184), reports that males provided more examples of obscene speech. This can be said to be the same for the data. Jay (2000:157) also mentions that people with power have license to tell jokes, make fun of subordinates and use curse words. He says that they do it as they suffer no social consequences for it. At another point of this discussion, Jay (2000:162) points out that one reason adolescents curse more frequently than speakers at other ages.
is because they have so little to lose by this. He goes on to say men tell a higher percentage of obscene jokes, religious jokes and ethnic-racial jokes. He also mentions that men tell more openly, aggressive and hostile jokes.

Andersson and Hirsch (1985:55) say that in the right circumstances and situation, swearing can be an expression of admiration or endearment. This kind of swearing is more a result of its contextual condition. It is a question of play rather than fight. There is verbal dueling back and forth between the participants. It ends when one gives in or declares himself/herself the loser. Tannen (1984) quoted in Norrick (2003:1342) says that humor makes a person’s presence in a conversation more strongly felt than other sorts of contributions. She adds that we interact as a way of presenting a personality, to gain knowledge of others whom we are interacting with as well as to enhance self-image for ourselves and others. Thus, telling jokes provides the joker a means to gain credit for a performance and to gather relevant social data about the audience-data on beliefs, attitudes, group membership and so on. Joking also works to establish and to enhance group cohesion. It also serves as a control on what sort of talk and behaviour is acceptable to the participants in the interaction. This kind of instances can be found in the data which gives evidence to the research question on the purpose of swearing.

There is no evidence in the data to indicate that these undergraduates code switch when swearing in their everyday conversation. The question, is there a popular swear word; can be answered with an inaffirmative. Jay (1992:176) points out an interesting factor which is true for these samples in the data, where when friendship exists between speakers, a set of terms is probably selected. These pools of words are restrictive and are frequently used between close male friends. So, it is base on a pool of words and not any particular word.
5.3 Conclusion

The researcher has noted that university life and the four years spent there offer a unique speech community for these Indian undergraduates. This can be clearly seen as some before coming into university life did not use swear words as often as they did now (base on the outcome of the interview carried out.). Thus, it can be hypothesized that in their bid to belong to a group, they use swear words with more confidence as who is there (especially parents and elders of society) to restrict them. This fact gives evidence to the contributing factor and purpose of the research questions. The obscenity used on campus also seems to be a linguistic marker that separates the males from females.

It was also noted that these male Indian undergraduates know the use of the dirty words. It proves that they have a previous knowledge of this and have/have not used them openly before entering university life. These undergraduates also play a role to appear as a typical male in their group in university compared to the use of this kind of language (use of swear words in their conversation) in public, where people might have a wrong perception of them. So, the finding of Suraiya (2002) that Indians perceive politeness as a tool for social harmony and integration where a show of respect for older people and people of higher status, is true.

In addition to what has been said, every person has ideas and opinions about language use. A certain construction or sentence can be viewed as good by one and bad by another. These opinions should be studied scientifically, and not made a part of our own theory of language.
‘Bad language’ is not found in language itself, but it is actually people’s views of language. Andersson and Trudgill (1990) have pointed out that bad language is also language. The bad language is often classified as bad without any legitimate arguments.

They also point out a tendency among linguists and people in general to use the written language as a yardstick to measure all types of language. This, they say, is clearly wrong.

Swear words as seen in this study can also function as a friendly gesture, where it can be one of the many ways to show solidarity and to strengthen group ties. Last but not least is that language style varies from century to century, from generation to generation, from one social setting to another. It takes time and vast energy to follow the development of this style. The language of these young male undergraduates will be common for a short period of time. Young people use language that adults disapprove, but it does not make them bad. We must remember that language does not grow by banning parts of it. Bad language is a conscious part of a speaker’s knowledge of his/her language.

Answer to the research questions can thus be summarized as the following below:-

a. What are the main factors that cause male Indian undergraduates to swear among themselves in their everyday conversation?

Firstly, accustomised with modern trend in language where swearing is considered as easy going, informal and trendy, these male Indian undergraduates are greatly influenced by it. With swearing being everywhere, its influence has worked itself into the consciousness of these undergraduates especially through the influence of mass media (television, radio and movies).
Secondly, swearing seems to be part of a code that opens the door to popularity. Here, to identify with their peer group, these undergraduates begin to speak like their peers. Once the habit of swearing is ingrained in their repertoire, swearing becomes automatic.

Other than that, these undergraduates also share a close social relationship in their grouping and to induce affection, they often indulge in verbal dueling of swearing. It is more of play where they argue back and forth until one loses or gives in. Due to the close bond shared these undergraduates feel that they can let their guard down and be themselves, without any judgement passed as being rude, out of order or lacking in morals when they swear.

b. Are these swear words taken offensively? If yes, why? If not, why?

These male Indian undergraduates play a role that appears as a typical male in their peer group in university and the fact that these undergraduates share a close bond, the swear words are not taken offensively. The researcher hypothesizes that it can be otherwise if it involves an outsider.

c. Do they code switch when they swear?

There is no evidence in the data to indicate that these undergraduates code switch when swearing in their everyday conversation.
d. Is there a popular swear word in their everyday conversation?

The question, is there a popular swear word; can be answered with an inaffirmative. As friendship exists between them, a set of terms is selected. These pools of words are restrictive and frequently used. So, it is base on a pool of words and not on any particular popular word.

e. Does swearing serve a useful purpose?

In the context of this study it can be said that swearing does in fact serve a useful purpose for these undergraduates. Firstly, to show solidarity, strengthen group ties and to have a sense of belonging and security, they are prepared to give up some individual freedom. They are willing to accept some imposed norms of behaviour because conformity gives advantages.
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(Accessed on the 28th April, 2005)

(Accessed on the 28th April, 2005)

http://www.hum.aau.dk/~firth/talk3rdsem.htm.1
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http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conversation_analysis
(Accessed on the 28th April, 2005)

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NST, EPL Friday, March 11 2005, Crying foul over bad example set by stars by Russell Kempson

NST, EPL Friday, March 11 2005, It’s not nice, it’s tough and course and cruel—but that’s football, by Tony Cascarino.
Appendices

Appendix 1

Analysis of Recording One

Sample 1

Guna - Kamba kalapikiite irukkangge, mayire enna tuppi message anupi irukkia nee? Ehh...Dei peh pundeh ehh...Enna mayire. Ehh..Enna thairiyam iruntha enna tuppi message anupi irupe nee, ehh.. Nee enna periya sappere pulithiya, unnoda vanthu ella sappanuma? Ehh..Agongke sappi uduriya? Ehh.. Kootta naaye, ehh... Enna thairiyum iruntha tuppue? Toh nillu...

[ Masturbating are you there, damn you myself condemn message sent are you? Hey... damn cunt ehh...what damn you. Ehh...How brave you have myself condemn message sent are you, ehh...You what big sucker damn'ah, yours come all to suck'a? Ehh... for Agong suck are you? Ehhh...balls dog, ehh...How brave you condemn? Here wait...]

(Is your cock standing errect, damn you. How dare you send me a foul message? Ehh hey , you cunt, ehh. How dare you sent that foul message to me, ehh. Do you think you are a big cocksucker? Do you think everyone must come to suck you off ? Ehh have you sucked the Agong’s cock? Ehh Dog balls ehh. How dare you insult me..? hold on.)

Jeeva - (was replying to Guna using some swear words, couldn’t hear clearly in the phone recording)

Shasi - Dei mayire, pea punde, pakatule...ivan irupan teriyuma? Athan India karen iruppan...avanoda pudichi sappuda, ha...ha...ha

[Hey damn you, damn cunt, near...he be there do you know? That’la Indian man be there...His grab suck’la, ha,ha,ha.]

(Damn you , cocksucker , near you there someone that’s the Indian man. Go and grab hold of his and sucked it off ha.ha.ha. )

Guna - Dei India karen kambu enna inikitha? Ehh.. Kg. Acheh’le irukke, kamboda aaci pudikutha unakku? Poh, avan kamba eduthu kambu podu. Ehh...Kambu poduriya nee. India karen kuudeh?

Hey...Indian man’s cock what sweet’ah? Ehh...at Kg Acheh you are, cock sucking do you like? Go, he cock take suck off,Ehh...sucked off’ah you Indian man together]

( Hey, is the Indian’s cock very sweet to taste. Ehh you live in kg Acheh right do you like the cock in that area? Go, take his cock and suck it. Ehh are you sucking the Indian man’s cock?)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swear word used</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kamba kalapikiite</td>
<td>Cock errect</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayire</td>
<td>Damn you</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Word</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peh pundeh</td>
<td>You cunt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sappere pulithiya</td>
<td>Cocksucker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sappanuma</td>
<td>Do you want suck off</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sappi</td>
<td>You sucker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kootha naaye</td>
<td>Ball’s dog</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanoda pudichi sappuda</td>
<td>Grab his and suck off</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inikitha</td>
<td>Is his cock sweet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamba enna</td>
<td>Is his cock sweet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambu podu</td>
<td>Suck his cock</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambu poduriya</td>
<td>Are you sucking it off</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kambu</td>
<td>cock</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this sample the word ‘kamba’ (cock) has been used with adjectives where:-

- Kamba kalapikiite – Are you masturbating?
- Kamba enna inikitha- Is his cock sweet?
- Kambu podu – Suck his cock
- Kambu poduriya- Are you sucking it off?

The same goes for the words ‘sappi’ (sucker) where:-

- Sappere pulithiya – Cocksucker
- Sappanum – Do you want to suck off (grab his cock)
- Avanoda pudichi sappuda- grab his cock and suck it off.

‘Mayire’ which means ‘hair’has a different concoction, where in Tamil it can be a swear word which means ‘damn you’. The use of ‘Mayire’ (damn you) and peh pundeh (you cunt) is the more often than not used to convey a sense of greeting to start a conversation among close friends as found in the sample

Where Guna says’ mayire enna tuppi message dei peh pundah ehh.’
And when shasi continues.. ‘dei mayire , pea pundeh’

This sample also has a pervious historical background information which is a common knowledge of those involved. In this sample it is related to ‘India Karen’(Indian Man) There is reference to him in sample one (3 times)
Appendix 2
Analysis of Recording Two

Sample 1

Ganesan - Ingge vayen… dei. Oru pombale munnuku irukkira…

[Here come … hei. A girl infront there…]

(Hey come here… How can you behave like this in front of a girl.?)

(Jeeva was scratching his private part, so Ganesan scolded him because he is not behaving well in public and especially in front of a girl).


[ She see why? She too scratch not? Monthly monthly cunt grab scratch.]

(What…if she sees? Why do you think she won’t scrub ah? Every month she will scrub her cunt.)

Ganesan - Atho ulle soringgikitte po. Yen ingge vanthu sorire? Vekkama ille unakku?

[ That inside scratch go. Why here come scratch? ]

( Go scrub inside la, why have you to come out and do it here. Don’t you feel ashamed?)

Shasi - Enna tairiyum iruntha.. oru nattechiye paatu appadi pesuve?

[How brave you are… A malay girl see like that talk?] (How dare you talk about that Malay girl like this?)

Jeeva - Enna avaloda inikithaa? Sappittu vanthiya?

[ Why her’s sweet’ah? Sucked come’lah?] (Is hers sweet? Have you licked hers and come?)

Guna - Dei unakkku India karanode inikutuda. India kaaranukku kambu pottu viduda.. 

[ Hei, for you Indian man’s sweet. Indian man’s cock sucked off.] (Hey.. is the Indian fellow sweet for you. You help the Indian fellow to shake his cock.)
Madavan - *Dei..dei..dei..angge tamilalu okkanthu irukange’da.*

[Hey.. hey.. hey.. there Indian’s sitting’ da ]
(Hey.. there are some Indians there.)

Guna - *Avane ille.. India karen avanuku sappivittan’da.*
(couldn’t hear because there many in the conversation.).
*Athenale avan naaku pottu vanterukkan. Dei… India kaaranukke, avanoda moonavatu kacang’nge sappe kodututhu kamba pottete vanturukiran.*
(couldn’t hear because a lot of people were talking at the same time)

[Not him. Indian man for him sucked off da. That is why he tongue put he come. Hei Indian man his third nipple suck gave off he come.]

(Not him. The Indian fellow sucked him. So, he has licked him and come.. Hey..he has let the Indian man suck his third nipple (Jeeva has three nipples) and he has shocked him.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swear words</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koothiye pudici soriva</td>
<td>Grab her cunt and scrub</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enna avaloda inikithaan</td>
<td>Is hers(cunt) very sweet?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sappittu vanthiya</td>
<td>Have you licked hers and come</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India karanode inikituda</td>
<td>Is the Indian man’s (cock) sweet?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambu pottu viduda</td>
<td>Fuck him</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sappivittan’da</td>
<td>Sucked him off</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naaku pottu</td>
<td>Lick him off</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kacang’nge sappe</td>
<td>Suck his nipples</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambu pottete</td>
<td>Fucked him</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this sample, it is clear that there is an indirect use of swear words where the meaning is clearly understood by the participations in this conversation. For example:-

‘Enna avaloda inikitha?’

Why is hers sweet?

Even though there is no swear words used, there is a hidden reference to the meaning of ‘cunt’. Here, it is a question which asks,’Why is her cunt sweet?’

Another example that can be highlighted to substantiate this is when in the sample, where Guna says, ‘Dei, unakku Indian karanode inikituda”
‘Hey, is the Indian man’s sweet for you?

The actual meaning that he wishes to convey is that, ‘Hey, is the Indian man’s cock sweet for you?’

It is interesting that there is an element of being careful who should hear this type of conversation (use of swear words in conversation) in public. They are at ease in swearing among themselves. This sample was recorded when they were out in a playground. They were at ease using Swear words in their conversation as those around were mostly Chinese and Malays. They tend to check on this type of language use when there are other Indians around. It can clearly be seen where at one point of their conversation, Madavan draws their attention to a group of Indians gathered there also.

Madavan:– ‘Dei,dei,dei…angge Tamilalu okkarethu irukange’da’
Hey,hey,hey… there are some Indians in our midst

Here, he wants them to check on the swearing used. As they are deep in their conversation, they couldn’t be bothered who should hear it, and they continue swearing.
Guna -  
*Nee India karanukke kai pottu vittavan, nee pesarai’ya… vekkam kettavane, ehh.. India karanum kambu pudichi kadikiran. India karan kambu enna iniketha… Dei Shasi.. India karan kanji mattum avanekkku inikethu. India karan kanji kudikiran’da avan. Ha..ha..ha..India karan kanji kudikiran’da. Ha..ha..ha..*

[You Indian man masturbate do, you talking ‘ah shameless fellow, ehh Indian man’s cock grab bite. Indian man;s cock why sweet’ah.. Hey.. shasi.. India man’s sperm only for him sweet. Indian man’s sperm drinking’ da he. Ha..ha.. ha..Indian man’s sperm drinking’da ha.. ha.. ha..ha..]

(You are the guy who masturbated the Indian man, you are talking ah? You shameless guy ehh... Go and bite the Indian fellow’s cock’la. For you is the Indian man’s cock is sweet’la. Hey Shasi... for him only the Indian man’s sperm/cum is sweet. He is drinking his sperm/cum.Ha.ha.haHe is drinking the Indian man’s sperm/cum.Ha.ha.ha.. )

Ganesan - *Ennada... nee enda India karan kanji ella kudikire..*

[why da..? why’ da Indian man’s sperm all you drinking.]

(Why are you drinking all the Indian man’s sperm/cum?)

Jeeva -  
*Neeve yen munji sullikire…. (not clear)*

[You why face pulling]

(You are pulling a face) (not clear)

Guna - *Unakku mattum yenda.. India karen pathi sonna pudikkale,ehh.? India karen kambu than inikitha? Dei athu irukkatam.. nee companiyile enna pannare?*

[For you only why’da… Indian man about tell don’t like ehh.? Indian man’s cock only sweet’ ah? Hey.. that leave first.. you in company what doing?]

(What is it with you, if we talk about the Indian fellow, you don’t like it? Is the Indian man’s cock sweet. Hey... Let’s drop that. What you are doing in the company?)

Jeeva -  
*Pudichiellarodeyum sapparen..*

[Hold everyone’s sucking off]

(I’m sucking everybody’s cock.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swear words</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oru naattu karechiyoda iniketu’’nne</td>
<td>Is the Malay girl’’s(cunt) sweet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un kambode avalode paravale’da</td>
<td>Hers is better than your cock (She’’s a better lay)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nee India karanukku kai pottu vittavan</td>
<td>You masturbated the Indian man</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India karanum kambu pudichi kadikiran</td>
<td>I’’ve grabbed the Indian man’’s cock and am biting it</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India karan kambu enna inikethu</td>
<td>Is the Indian man’’s cock sweet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India karan kanji mattum avaneekku inikethu</td>
<td>The Indian man’’s sperm is sweet for him</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India karan kanji kudikiran’’da avan</td>
<td>He’’s drinking the Indian man’’s sperm/cum</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nee enda India karan kanji ella kudikire</td>
<td>Why ’re you drinking all the Indian man’’s sperm</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India Karen kambu than inikitha</td>
<td>Is it only the Indian man’’s cock that is sweet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pudichi ellarodeyum sapparen</td>
<td>I’’m sucking everybody’’s cock</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this sample, most of the swear words cannot be separated from its phrase. This is because it needs to be read in its totality to get the intended message across. For example,

Guna says, ‘India karan kambu enna inikethu?’
Is the Indian man’’s cock sweet?
If the word’’Kambu’’ is isolated, its meaning is cock. In this sentence, it cannot be isolated as it is context specific.

There is also a lot repetition to the use of the word ’India karan.’ This repetition can be seen in the following phrases:-

‘India karanum kambu pudichi kadikiran’
I’’ve grabbed the Indian man’’s cock and am biting it.
India karan kambu enna inikethu
Is the Indian man’’s cock sweet?
India karan kanji kudikiran’’da
He’’s drinking the Indian man’’s sperm
Nee enda India karan kanji ella kudikira
Why are you drinking all the Indian man’’s sperm
As highlighted, there is only a slight difference in the choice of words used, but its meaning is quite close and similar.

In these exchanges, it is very obvious that all involved share a historical background knowledge. Here, it is ’India karan’’(Indian man), which is closely linked to Jeeva, who shares a close relationship with this Indian man.
Sample 3

Guna - *Dei… ippe mattum nee enna avanekku naakki vidure.*
Hey.. now only you now why for him tongue put] (Hey now are you licking for him?)

Jeeva - *Avanoda inikithu.*
[His sweet.]
(Is his sweet.)

Guna - *Ippe, ippe enna inikithu?*
[Now now what sweet?]
(Now, now what is sweet?)

Jeeva - *Avanoda inikithu’da…!*
[His sweet da.]
(Yes’la, his is sweet.)

Guna - *Pathiya..ipe avanode inikitam, ehh…*
[see.. now he’s sweet, ehh..]
(See.. Now his is sweet for him ehh.)

Jeeva - *Avan suthe poi nakku potthu inikitam.*
[His ass go tongue put sweet.]
( Go and lick his ass as it is sweet.)

Madavan -  (laughing) (not clear)

Guna - *India karan sunny'e sapparanda..*
[Indian man;s cock suking’ da.]
(Are you sucking the Indian man’s cock?)

Jeeva -  *Sunny yandi...* (not clear)
[Cockless fellow.]
(Dick head/cockless..) (not clear)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swear words</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

100
From this sample, it can be seen that Jeeva gets irritated as he’s the butt of the joke i.e. the receiving end. In retaliation, he fights back, a normal reaction when one is pushed to a corner. In this conversation, it is Guna who is clearly agitating him (Jeeva). This can be seen in the extract below:

Guna: Ippe,ippe enna inikithu?
Now, now,. what is sweet?

Jeeva: Avanoda inikithu’da
Yes’la, his(cock) is sweet.

Guna: India karan sunny’e sapparanda
Are you sucking the Indian man’s cock?

Jeeva: Sunniyandi
Cockless/Dick head
Appendix 3
Analysis of Recording 3

Sample 1

Jeeva -  *Avan enna… en kotaive pathiellam ilekeran.*
[He what… my balls about pulling]

(Why is he talking about my balls.)

Ganesan -  *Avan sonna athu veena aiduma?*
[He tell it bad will happen?]

(If he says will it get destroyed?. (laughing again))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swear words</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>En kotaive</td>
<td>My balls</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above extract, there is an element of joking and teasing. It is clear when Jeeva says, ‘Avan enna…en kotaive pathiellam ilkeran’
Why is he talking about my balls?
Ganesan replies, ‘Avan sonna athu veena aidama?’
If he mentions it, would it(balls) get destroyed?
Joking and teasing among good friends is very common in a conversation. It builds a closer relationship among them

Sample 2

Guna -  *Video clip’da naaye. Ippe koode un interview odikitu irukkutu ingge. Ha..ha..ha..Engga kaatu..* (not clear)
[Video clip’da dog. Now also your interview running it is here. Ha… ha… ha…(not clear)]

(Hey dog, it’s just a video clip’la. Now I’m also recording your interview, Ha.ha.ha Show it to me)

Guna -  *Unakkku India karenode inikutuda. Ha..ha..ha..*
[For you Indian Man’s sweet’da. Ha.. ha..ha..]

(For you the Indian man’s cock is sweet.Ha.ha.ha.)

Ganesan -  (laughing)

Guna -  *India karanukku vale vale’nu irukkum.*
[Indian Man’s smoth it is]

(The Indian man’s one is so smooth right..)
Madavan - (not clear)

Guna - *Paravale Shasi, kainge Shasi, kai kodu, kainge Indiakaranode... Nethu raathiri 12 manikku phone adicakka, iruda machan India karenukku kambu pottukittu irukken. Itho mudichitu varen.* (Madavan and Guna are laughing)

[Never mind Shasi, member’s Shasi, hand give, members Indian Man’s... Yesterday night 12 o’clock phone ring, wait’la brother in law, Indian Man sucking him. Here finished come. (Madavan and Guna are laughing)]

(Never mind Shasi *We are friends, let’s shake on this Our friends, yesterday at 12 midnight called him. He said “Wait’la, I’m sucking the Indian guy. I will be there once I have finished.* (Madavan and Guna are laughing))

Jeeva - *Pesare’lle nee.* [Talking’la you.]

(You’re talking)

Guna - *Aamala, pesaren’la. Iru innum konje neratule velye aidum.* [Yes’la talking’la. Wait somemore little while out come.]

(Yes’la.. I’m talking.. Wait, it’s going to come out.)

Jeeva - *Vanthu sappividu..* [Come suck off]

(Come and suck me off.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swear words</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Da’naaye</td>
<td>Hey dog</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India karenode inikutuda</td>
<td>Is the Indian man’s(cock) sweet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India karanukku vale irukum</td>
<td>The Indian man’s(cock) is smooth</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India karenukku kambu pottukittu irukken</td>
<td>I’m sucking off the Indian man’s cock</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanthu sappividu</td>
<td>Come and suck mine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Tamil language, the reference to a **dog** in a conversation can trigger off a heated argument. In the context of close friends, who share a common bond of friendship in a group, its usage is acceptable. It is otherwise if someone other than this group should use it, where it can be taken as offensive and thereafter can lead to a confrontation.

Guna:- Video clip’da naaye

Hey dog, it’s just a video clip ‘la
In this sample, there is a lot of teasing hurled towards Jeeva by Guna, who is the brunt of the joke. Once again, it has a lot of reference to the Indian man which irritates Jeeva. He retaliates at some point in the course of the teasing and jibes hurled at him.

Guna says, ‘Unakku India karenode inikutuda’
   For you, the Indian man’s(cock) is sweet
   ‘India karanukku vale vale’nu irukkan
   The Indian man’s(cock) is so smooth,right
India karenukku kambu pottukittu irukken
   I’m sucking off the Indian man’s cock

With all that is said in the course of the conversation, Jeeva retaliates by saying:-

Jeeva:- Vanthu sappividu
   Come and suck mine(my cock)

Sample 3

Guna - India karen kaama veri vantha ehtachum
   ottai iruntha kaami’nu. Itho mooku ottai irukku, Ha..ha.. ha.. illana
   itho kaatu irukku. Ha..ha..ha..
   [Indian man mood come whatever holes there show. Here nose hole have, ha..ha..ha.. if not here ear hole have, ha..ha..ha..]

(When the Indian man feels he wants to fuck a hole any hole will do. Here, there’s the nose holes.Ha.ha.ha…. if not my ears hole are here Ha.ha..ha..)

Jeeva - Avanekku adicirukangu, athan pesaran. Ha..ha..ha.. JB’le kuniye vechi adicirukangge. Vai'leyum mooku'leyum… athan toran toran kateran. Ha..ha..ha..
   [For him fucked they, that’s why talking. Ha..ha..ha.. In JB bend over fucked they. In mouth, in ear… that’s why open open showing he. Ha..ha..ha]

(I think he might done it. That’s why he’s talking like that.Ha.ha.ha.. In JB, he bent over and was fucked. In his mouth and in his nose… No wonder he is opening and showing it off.Ha.ha.ha.)

Guna - Dei… athu pareva illai.
   [Hey… that nevermind.]

(Hey.. nevermind.)

Jeeva - Encik kottai irukku. Ha..ha.. Kottaiyum sethu adicikingge. Ha..ha.. Aatti talaiyil tadaviruyan.
   [Encik… balls have..ha..ha..ha.. Balls also fucked. Ha..ha.. Shaked head wipe]
Guna - Enakku paru.. enaku paru..sotte itha viluthu, engga appa mathiri, Ivanuku mattum side’a pothu yan? Terichiruca.?  
[For me look ..bald now falling. My father like, for him only side going, why? You know?]

(look at me,look at me I’m getting bald as my father. But with him it’s just one side only. Why?.. Is it because of the cum ejaculated?.)

Jeeva - Aatti talaiyil tadavi tadavi ivanukke oru side’aa pochu, ha..ha..ha..  
[Shaked head wipe wipe for him one side gone. Ha..ha..ha..]

(He has wiped it over and over onto his head and that is why he is loosing his hair on one side.Ha.ha.ha.)

[But for him how you know? Nose put here come out. Nose put like this they fucked, when fucked here like that side come out.]

(But as for him… do you know how? They fucked him in the nose and the sperm/cum came out from the side. They fucked his nose like this, so fucking him, the sperm/cum came out from the side.)

Jeeva - Paaru anubavam.  
[Look experience]

(See, his experience..)

Guna - Dei aana, nee India karenukke kambu poduve’da.  
[Hey but, you India Man suck off’la]

(Hey, but. You usually suck the Indian man’s one..)

Jeeva - India karan unn mookule vethana thane?  
[India Man your nose put it up right?]

(The Indian man screwed your nose right?)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swear words</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India karen kaama veri vantha ehtachum ottai iruntha kaami’nu</td>
<td>When the Indian man feels he wants to fuck a hole any hole will do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanekku adicirukangu</td>
<td>He has done it(fuck)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JB’le kuniye vechi adicirukkangge.</td>
<td>.. In JB, he bent over and was fucked.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encik kottai irukku.</td>
<td>Mr. I got balls</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kottaiyum sethu adicikingge</td>
<td>You can fuck my balls</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>..Aatti talaiyil tadaviruvan.</td>
<td>... He’ll wipe it onto your head.)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terichiruca</td>
<td>Is it because of the cum ejaculated</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aatti talaiyil tadavi tadavi ivanukke oru side’aa pochu.</td>
<td>He has wiped it over and over onto his head and that is why he is loosing his hair on one side.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mookule vittu ingge veliye aiduchu</td>
<td>They fucked him in the nose and the sperm/cum came out from the side.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mookule vechi ipadi adicanggala, adiceppa ingge appidiyeye side’aa veliye aiduchi.</td>
<td>They fucked his nose like this, so fucking him, the sperm/cum came 1out from the side</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India karenukke kambu poduve’da</td>
<td>You usually suck the Indian man’s one..)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India karan unn mookule yethana thane</td>
<td>The Indian man screwed your nose right</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this sample, the swear words are like a verbal duealing between Guna and Jeeva, as they joke back and forth with swearing. The one who gives in will be considered to have lost in this activity. Once again, their topic of reference is the Indian man, whom Jeeva has a close relationship with. They at times use swear words with something that cannot be a fact, it is too far-fetched. For example:-

Jeeva:- India karan unn mookule yethana thane
The Indian man screwed your nose right.

There is many such reference to this notion in this sample.

**Sample 4**

Guna - **Unakku India karenode inikum.**
[For you Indian Man’s sweet]

(For you only the Indian man’s one is sweet..)

Jeeva - **Adachi.. mandaiyile lesa tadaviruthu. Aaaahhh..**
[Get fucked.. in head slightly wipe. Aaaahhh]
(Get fucked.. and he will wipe it slightly onto your head…. Aaaahhh.)

Ganesan - **Eppadi.? eppadi..?**
[How? How?]

(How.? How..?)

Guna - **Nee muuke tadavi, muuke valekeranda**
[You nose wipe, nose growing he.]
(You rub your nose with the sperm/cum and your nose gets biggerl…)

Jeeva -
[Aaaahhhh…. Aahhh…. (Ganesan and Madavan are laughing)]

In this sample, the swear words are used with gesture and body language (non-verbal communication). They cannot be seen or heard in the conversation. These play an important role when it comes to swearing. It helps comprehension and understanding of the situation even further.

**Sample 5**

Shasi - **Yen angeye soriyire? Arikutha..?**
[Why there scratching ? Itchy’ah?]  

(Why are you scratching there? Is it itchy’ahh?)

Jeeva - **Arikuthu sorinchi vidu.**
[Itchy… scratch come.]
(Yes’la.. come and scratch it for me.)

Guna - **Dei un mookei paruda.**
[Hey, your nose look’la]

(Hey, see your nose first.)

Jeeva - **Adicita mottai talaiyil tadaviruthu.**
[Get fucked bald head wipe]

(Get fucked and rub it onto your bald head)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>swore words</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yen aneye soriyire?</strong></td>
<td>Why are you scratching there? Is it itchy’ahh</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Arikutha</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arikuthu sorinchi vidu</strong></td>
<td>Yes’l a.. come and scratch it for me.)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Adicita mottai talaiyil tadaviruthu.</em></td>
<td>Get fucked and rub it onto your bald head</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The swear words used here is a reaction of teasing Guna who has shaved his head bald. Even though the word ‘Arikuthu’ (Itchy) cannot be considered a swear words, but Jeeva who scratches his private area, gives rise to something that should not be done in public.
Sample 6

Jeeva - *Adicitu ippadi tadaviruvan. Mottai, sottai.....*  
[Get fucked like this wipe he. Bald, Bald…]

(So,Get fucked and rub it like this Bald headed...)

Guna - *Dei.. Nee pottai’da. Nee pesariya.. Pottai, unakkku iihu illathane?*  
you this no right?  
[Hey.. you sissy’la. You talking’ah… Sissy, for sissy, you got no( balls) right?]

[If can… You open show. I am open showing.]  
(If you dare.. open and show yours first I am showing it what.)

Shasi - *Sari... Mani aidichi, porathu…*  
[Okey… times up, Lets go…]

(OK, time’s up. Let’s go.)

[Going to Nanmaran’s house?(laughs)You have something up there right. You have something up there right.Oh,now only do I understand what the issue of rubbing is all about.. “Om name tesiye namaha”, chant this mantra He takes his sperm/cum, wipes it onto his head and tells us this fact. Then, “Om chandramukhi name tesiye”, Shasi now you understand ah? Sperm/Cum., give sperm/cum.. Sir givesperm/cum…]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swear words</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adicitu ippadi</td>
<td>Get fucked and rub it like this Bald headed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tadaviruvan. Mottai, sottai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dei.. Nee pottai’da</td>
<td>Hey you are sissy’la</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. Pottai, unakku ithu</td>
<td>Hey sissy, you got no( balls) right?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illathane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nee torantu kaatu</td>
<td>open and show yours first</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naa than toran katerene</td>
<td>I am showing it what</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angge vera irukele</td>
<td>You have something up there right</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oh tadavuruthu ippe than teriyuthe</td>
<td>Oh, now only do I understand what the issue of rubbing is all about</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadavi, ingge vanthu solluran</td>
<td>He takes his sperm/cum, wipes it onto his head and tells us this fact</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanni…. Nir vidurathu…</td>
<td>Sperm/Cum.. give sperm/cum.. Sir givesperm/cum</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiya nir vidalava</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this sample there are many instances of indirect references.

Jeeva says - ‘Mudincha….nee torantu kaatu, Naa than taranthu katerene’

If you dare… open and show yours
I’m showing mine, right?

Here the reference is to showing his cock in public.

Guna says - ‘Angge vera irukele’

You have something up there, right

This has an indirect reference that Jeeva has something going on in terms of a ‘gay’ relationship with the person concern.

Much of what is said in this sample is done with teasing and joking. Jeeva does gets irritated at times but as it is with close friends whatever is said is taken with a pinch of salt and no offence is taken. They leave still very much close one another.
Appendix 4
Recording 1

Participants:-  Time:-  Place:-  Date:-
Shasi   12 midnight  At a public telephone booth  16th May 2005
Jeeva   opposite the Maybank
Guna

Through phone conversation
Situation took place when Jeeva sent a message (SMS) with bad words to
Guna, so Shasi and Guna rang and scolded him with bad words.

Guna - Kamba kalapikiite irukkange, mayire enna
tuppi message anupi irukkiya nee? Ehh…Dei peh pundeh ehh…Enna mayire. Ehh..Enna thairiyam iruntha enna tuppi message anupi irupe
nee, ehh… Nee enna periya sappere pulithiya, unnoda vanthu ella
sappanuma? Ehh..Agongke sappi uduriya? Ehh.. Koontha naaye, ehh…
Enna thairiyum iruntha tuppuve? Toh nillu…

[ Masturbating are you there, damn you myself condemn
message sent are you? Hey… damn cunt ehh…what damn you. Ehh…How
brave you have myself condemn message sent are you.ehh…You what big
sucker damn’ah, yours come all to suck’a? Ehh… for Agong suck are you?
Ehhh…balls dog, ehh…How brave you condemn? Here wait…]

( Is your cock standing errect, damn you. How dare you
send me a foul message? Ehh hey , you cunt, ehh. How dare you sent that
foul message to me, ehh. Do you think you are a big cocksucker? Do you
think everyone must come to suck you off ? Ehh have you sucked the Agong’s
cock? Ehh Dog balls ehh. How dare you insult me..? hold on.)

Jeeva - (was replying to Guna using some swear words,
couldn’t hear clearly in the phone recording)

Shasi -  Dei mayire, pea punde, pakatule…  ivan irupan
teriyuma? Athan India karen iruppan… avanoda pudichi sappuda, ha..ha..ha
[Hey damn you, damn cunt, near…he be there do you
know? That’la Indian man be there…His grab suck’la, ha,ha,ha.]

( Damn you , cocksucker , near you there someone that’s
the Indian man. Go and  grab hold of his and sucked it off  ha,ha,ha. )

Guna -  Dei India karen kambu enna inikitha? Ehh.. Kg.  
Acheh’le irukke, kamboda aaci pudikutha unakkku? Poh, avan kamba
eduthu kambu podu,. Ehh… Kambu poduriya nee. India karen kuudeh?

[Hey…Indian man’s cock what sweet’ah? Ehh…at Kg
Acheh you are, cock sucking do you like? Go, he cock take suck
off,Ehh…sucked off’ah you Indian man together]

( Hey, is the Indian’s cock very sweet to taste. Ehh you live
in kg Acheh right do you like the cock in that area? Go, take his cock and
suck it. Ehh are you sucking the Indian man’s cock?)
Jeeva - (still shouting using swear words)

Guna -  *Ehh.. Muunu kacha irukkule, oru kachane sappe koduthu avanode kambu pudichi kadi, ha ha ha….*

[ *Ehh three nipple got right? One nipple suck give cock grab bite, ha,ha,ha.*]

(Ehh you have 3 nipples right. Suck one of your nipple and grab hold of his cock and bite it ha,ha,ha.).

Shasi -  *Dei Sunniyandi, dei..un kottai. Dei unnode manager oruthan irukan paru, Dei avan milo kepanee.. Epayum milo kepaane..., avanode pudichi uumbi ude. Ha ha ha…uumbi ude, konjam Kanji utthum, athe kudichittu vaa. Ha ha ha… Milo pothu kudi atuvum. Dei en..en..en kanji vanthu kudida, arivu varutha paapom, peh puluthi pundeh.*

[Hey…cockless/dick head, Hey…your balls. Hey your manager one fellow are there see, Hey he milo ask…., his grab suck off. Ha,ha,ha suck off, little sperm ejaculate, that drink come ha,ha,ha …Milo put drink also. Hey my…my…my sperm come drink’la. Brain whether come we see. Damn cunt you]  

( *Hey mother fucker, hey your balls. Dei your manager is there, look. Dei he always asked for milo. Always ask for milo. Grab his and suck it off ha,ha,ha.. suck it off a little cum will follow out, go and drink it ha,ha,ha. put into the milo drink and drink it. Dei come and drink my cum, let us see if you will get some brains from it. You mother fucker.*)

Guna -  *Deh..Puthusa sadiyaa vanthu irukkana practicalullle, ehh.. ava soothu kaluvana….ha..ha..ha..* (conversation was cut off… coin finished)

[Hey a new Chinese fellow come there for practical, ehh… his bum he washes ha,ha,ha.]

( *Hey a new Chinese boys has come for his practical, he washes his bum ha,ha,ha.. ( The conversation was cut off *) )
Appendix 5  
Recording 2

A group conversation.
Participants:- Time:- Place:- Date:-
Shasi 6.30 – 7.30 p.m. At a playground 17th May
2005
Ganesan
Madavan
Jeeva
Guna

Ganesan - Ingge vayen... dei. Oru pombale
munnuku irukkira...
[Here come … hei. A girl infront there…]
(Hey come here… How can you behave like this
in front of a girl.)
(Jeeva was scratching his private part, so
Ganesan scolded him because he is not behaving well in public and
especially in front of a girl).

Jeeva - Avale paatha enna? Aval mattum soriya
[ She see why? She too scratch not? Monthly
monthly cunt grab scratch.]
(What…if she sees? Why do you think she won’t
scrub ah? Every month she will scrub her cunt.)

Ganesan - Athu ulle sorisgikitte po. Yen ingge
vanthu sorire? Vekkama ille unakku?
[ That inside scratch go. Why here come scratch? ]
(Go scrub inside la, why have you to come out and
do it here. Don’t you feel ashamed?)

Shasi - Enna tairiyum iruntha.. oru nattechiye paatu
appadi pesuve?
[How brave you are… A malay girl see like that
talk?]
(How dare you talk about that Malay girl like
this?)

Jeeva - Enna avaloda inikithaa? Sappitu vanthiya?
[ Why her’s sweet’ah? Sucked come’lah?]
(Is hers sweet? Have you licked hers and come?)

Guna - Dei unakku India karanode inikituda. India
kaaranukku kambu pottu viduda..
[Hei, for you Indian man’s sweet. Indian man’s cock sucked off.]

(Hey.. is the Indian fellow sweet for you. You help the Indian fellow to shake his cock..)

Madavan - Dei..dei..dei..angge tamilalu okkanthu irukange’da.

[Hey.. hey.. hey.. there Indian’s sitting’ da ]

(Hey.. there are some Indians there..)

Guna - Avane ille. India karen avanuku sappivitan’da.

(couldn’t hear because there many in the conversation.). Athenale avan naaku pottu vanterukkan. Dei… India kaaranukke, avanoda moonavatu kacang’nge sappe kodututhu kamba pottete vanturukiran.

(couldn’t hear because a lot of people were talking at the same time)

[Not him. Indian man for him sucked off da. That is why he tongue put he come. Hei Indian man his third nipple suck gave off he come.]

(Not him. The Indian fellow sucked him. So, he has licked him and come.. Hey..he has let the Indian man suck his third nipple (Jeeva has three nipples) and he has shacked him.)

Shasi - Appadiya da?

[Like that ah?]

(Oh… like that ah?)

Jeeva - Avan thane sonnan. Decent’ta nadanteke solli.

[He the one told. Decent’ah behave told]

(He is the one who said, to behave decently.)

Guna - Emm.. Decent’ta nadanteke. Nallatu sonna pidikathe.

[Emm… Decent’ah behave. Good tell don’t like]

(Emm you better behave decently. When people tell you good things, you don’t like it.)

Jeeva - Athan sonnen. Oru naattu karechiyoda

[That is why told. A malay Girl’s sweet.]

(That’s what I said.Is the Malay girl’s cunt sweet.)

Guna - Dei aval naattu karechida. Un kambode avalode

paravale’da.
Hey.. she malay Giri’s da. Your cock her’s better da.]

(Hey..is she a Malay girl’la. She is better than your cock.)

Jeeva - *Athan naattu karechiyode unakku inikethu.*
[That’s why malay Girl’s for you sweet.]

(Is that why the Malay lady’s cunt is sweet for you.)

Guna - *Nee India karanukke kai pottu vittavan, nee pesarai’ya… vekkam kettavane, ehh.. India karanum kambu pudichi kadikiran. India karan kambu enna iniketha… Dei Shasi.. India karan kanji mattum avanekku inikethu. India karan kanji kudikiran’da avan. Ha..ha..ha.. India karan kanji kudikiran’da. Ha..ha..ha..

[ You Indian man masturbate do, you talking ‘ah shameless fellow, ehh Indian man’s cock grab bite. Indian man’s cock why sweet’ah.. Hey.. shasi.. India man’s sperm only for him sweet. Indian man’s sperm drinking’ da he. Ha..ha.. ha..Indian man’s sperm drinking’ da ha.. ha..ha..]

(You are the guy who masturbated the Indian man, you are talking ah? You shameless guy ehh… Go and bite the Indian fellow’s cock’la. For you is the Indian man’s cock is sweet’la. Hey Shasi… for him only the Indian man’s sperm/cum is sweet. He is drinking his sperm/cum..Ha..ha..ha..He is drinking the Indian man’s sperm/cum.Ha..ha..ha.. )

Ganesan - *Ennada… nee enda India karan kanji ella kudikire..*
[why da..? why’ da Indian man’s sperm all you drinking.]

(Why are you drinking all the Indian man’s sperm/cum?)

Jeeva - *Neeye yen munji sullikire…. (not clear)*
[You why face pulling]

(You are pulling a face) (not clear)

Guna - *Unakku mattum yenda.. India karen pathi sonna pudikkale, ehh.? India karen kambu than inikitha? Dei athu irukkatum.. nee companiyile enna pannare?*
[For you only why’da… Indian man about tell don’t like ehh.? Indian man’s cock only sweet’ ah? Hey.. that leave first.. you in company what doing?]
(What is it with you, if we talk about the Indian fellow, you don’t like it? Is the Indian man’s cock sweet. Hey… Let’s drop that. What you are doing in the company?)

Jeeva -  
**Pudichi ellarodeyum sapparen.**

[Hold everyone’s sucking off]

(I’m sucking everybody’s cock.)

Madavan -  
(laughs)

Guna -  
**Dei… ippe mattum nee enna avanekku naakki vidure.**

Hey.. now only you now why for him tongue put

(Hey now are you licking for him?)

Jeeva -  
**Avanoda inikithu.**

[His sweet.]

(Is his sweet.)

Guna -  
**Ippe, ippe enna inikithu?**

[Now now what sweet?] (Not clear)

(Now, now what is sweet?)

Jeeva -  
**Avanoda inikithu’dą…!**

[His sweet da.]

(Yes’la, his is sweet.)

Guna -  
**Pathiya..ipe avanode inikitam, ehh…**

[see.. now he’s sweet, ehh..]

(See.. Now his is sweet for him ehh.)

Jeeva -  
**Avan suthe poi nakku pothu inikitam.**

[His ass go tongue put sweet.]

(Go and lick his ass as it is sweet.)

Madavan -  
(laughing) (not clear)

Guna -  
**India karan sunny’e sapparanda..**

[Indian man;s cock suking’ da.]

(Are you sucking the Indian man’s cock?)

Jeeva -  
Sunni yandi… (not clear)

[Cockless fellow.] (Not clear)

(Dick head/cockless..) (not clear)
Guna - Nadikiranda… nadikiranda.. erakke paduvoma.. Madava, puthusa padam kattaran. Adi poturone..konjam klinikle nulla nadanthan, padi erum pothu nulla nadathu’tu, aparam nadikiranda ippadi, ha..ha..ha… Nadicatanda avan…

[Acting’ da.. acting’ da .. pity feel for him.. madavan new movie showing him. Accident involved .. little at clinic fine he walk, stairs climb time, fine walked, then acting’da like this, ha..ha.. ha.. He has acted he..]

(Jeeva was holding leg and was limping)
He is acting…! Acting..! He is expecting us to show sympathy towards him. Madava, he is showing new act. After the accident, he was walking well in the clinic. When was walking on stairs he also walked well. Now, he is acting up Ha.ha.ha. He is acting…!)

Jeeva - (Pretends he didn’t hear anything, he is singing)


[why jeeva like this acting you,ehh ? Madava now you come ready new he acting. Chair take up time this walking. Now all for him understand do you know..but don’t know like he is..]

(Why are you acting like this Jeeva?ehh Madava after you have come he putting up a new act. When he took the chair, he acted like this. He understands everything but is pretending like he does not know anything.)

Ganesan - Dei innoru naakali eduda.
[Hey, another chair take’ da ]

(Hey, get me another chair.)

Guna - Ganesan tirumbe nadicitutan’da. Madavan puthusa vanturenkan’le.
[Ganasen again he acted’da madavan newly had come what.]

(Ganesan, he is acting again because of Madavan’s presence.)

Ganesan - Dei… ithe eduda… ivane..
[Hey.. this take’la.. hey you]

(Hey.. take this la.. )
Appendix 6
Recording 3

A group conversation.

Participants:-

Shasi

Ganesan

Madavan

Jeeva

Guna

Time:- 6.30 – 7.30p.m.

Place:- At a playground

Date:- 18th May 2005

Shasi - *Ippe etaku nee?*

[Now why you?]

(\textit{So what's the use of you now?})

Ganesan - *Sari…! Muet paricai enna karangan elutane?*

[Okey… Muet exam what 'karangan' you wrote?]

(\textit{OK, so for your MUET exam what composition did you write?})

Madavan - *Athan…. “Myself” (laughs)*

[That’la “Myself”]

(\textit{It's about “Myself” (laughs)})

Ganesan - *Unmaiyyada… Athan elutine.*

[It is true’da.. That is he wrote]

(\textit{Truly..! that’s what he wrote about.})

Madavan - *Myself’da. Athan’da vanthuci. Athan elutinen.* (conversation was not very clear due to all of them talking)

[‘Myself’da. That is come out. That is I wrote]

(‘MySelf’ la.. That’s what they asked, so I wrote.)

Shasi - *My name is Madavan……*


[My about proudly I wrote. Hey… Yes..! That isi’ye to put forgotten.]

(I praised about myself proudly. Yes’la only that.

I’ve forgotten insert the points.)

Shasi - “Sometimes…” (not clear). My friend name is Jeeva. He don’t have anything.
“Sometimes…” (not clear). You should have written about Jeeva. “My friend’s name is Jeeva”. He doesn’t have anything.

Jeeve - Dei paruda…. (Madavan, Shasi, Guna, Ganesan are laughing)

[Hey, look’da]

(Hey look)

Jeeva - Avan enna… en kotaiye pathiellam ilekeran.

[He what… my balls about pulling]

(Why is he talking about my balls.)

Ganesan - Avan sonna athu veena aiduma?

[He tell it bad will happen?]

(If he says will it happen?. (laughing again))


[Teruk’ah it is. Jungle dense it is. So big also. (not clear) For him put don’t show… Between us let it be.]

(Em.. it is very bad. Looks like an over-grown forest. Em… big also ah.. (not clear) Do not show it to him… Let it be among us only.)

Ganesan - Avan foto pidichitan.

[He photo caught]

(He has taken some snapshots already.)

Madavan - Dei… pudicitanda ataiyum.Ha..ha..ha..

[Hey… caught already that also… ha.. ha..ha..]

(Hey.. that also he has taken.Ha.ha.ha..)

Ganesan - Athan… (not clear)

[That’s why (not clear)]

(That’s why… (not clear))

Guna - Video clip’da naaye. Ippe koode un interview odikitu irukkutu ingge. Ha..ha..ha..Engga kaatu.. (not clear)

[Video clip’da dog. Now also your interview running it is here. Ha.. ha… ha…(not clear)]
(Hey dog, it's just a video clip'la. Now I’m also recording your interview, Ha..ha..ha. Show it to me)

Guna - Unakku India karenude inikutuda. Ha..ha..ha..
[For you Indian Man’s sweet’da. Ha.. ha..ha..]

(For you the Indian man’s cock is sweet.Ha..ha..ha.)

Ganesan - (laughing)

Guna - India karanukku vale vale’nu irukkum.
[Indian Man’s smooth it is]

(The Indian man’s one is so smooth right..)

Madavan - (not clear)

Guna - Paravale Shasi, kainge Shasi, kai kodu, kainge Indiakaranode… Netru raathiri 12 manikku phone adicaka, iruda machan India karenukku kambu pottukittu irukken. Itho mudichitu varen. (Madavan and Guna are laughing)

[Never mind Shasi, member’s Shasi, hand give, members Indian Man’s… Yesterday night 12 o’clock phone ring, wait’la brother in law, Indian Man sucking him. Here finished come. (Madavan and Guna are laughing)]

(Never mind Shasi We are friends, let’s shake on this Our friends, yesterday at 12 midnight called him. He said “Wait’la, I’m sucking the Indian guy. I will be there once I have finished. (Madavan and Guna are laughing))

Jeeva - Pesare’lle nee.
[Talking’la you.]

(You ‘re talking)

Guna - Aamala, pesaren’la. Iru innum konje neratule veliye aidum.
[Yes’la talking’la. Wait somemore little while out come.]

(Yes’la.. I’m talking.. Wait, it’s going to come out.)

Jeeva - Vanthu sappividu..
[Come suck off]

(Come and suck’la..)

Guna - Itho iru, innum konje nerathule veliye aidum. Mookule ehrane kaiyode vanthuren. Ha..ha..ha..
[Here wait, some more little while out come. Nose stick it in, will come. Ha..ha..ha..]

(Wait.. it’s going to come out. I will jerk it off into your nose.Ha..ha...ha .)

Ganesan -  

Appadiya da..?
[yes’ah?]

(Yes’ah..)

Guna -  

India karen kaama veri vantha ehtachum ottai iruntha kaami’nu. Itho mooku ottai irukku,Ha..ha..ha.. illana itho kaatu irukku,ha..ha..ha..

[Indian man mood come whatever holes there show. Here nose hole have, ha..ha..ha.. if not here ear hole have, ha..ha..ha..]

(When the Indian man feels he wants to fuck a hole any hole will do. Here, there’s the nose holes.Ha..ha..ha…. if not my ears hole are here Ha..ha..ha..)

Jeeva -  

Avanekku adicirukangu, athan pesaran.ha..ha..ha.. JB’le kuniye vechi adicirukangge. Vai’leyum mooku’leyum… athan toran toran kateran.ha..ha..ha..

[For him fucked they, that’s why talking. Ha..ha..ha.. In JB bend over fucked they. In mouth, in ear… that’s why open opening showing he. Ha..ha..ha]

(I think he might done it. That’s why he’s talking like that.Ha..ha..ha.. In JB, he bent over and was fucked. In his mouth and in his nose… No wonder he is opening and showing it off.Ha..ha..ha.)

Guna -  

Dei… athu pareva illai.
[Hey… that nevermind.]

(Hey.. nevermind.)

Jeeva -  

Encik kottai irukku.ha..ha..Kottaiyum sethu adicikingge. Ha..ha..Aatti talaiyil tadaviruvan.

[Encik… balls have..ha..ha..ha.. Balls also fucked. Ha..ha.. Shaked head wipe]

(Mr. I got ballsHa..ha..ha.. You can fuck my balls tooHa..ha.. He’ll wipe it onto your head.)

Guna -  

Enakku paru.. enaku paru..sotte itha viluthu, engga appa mathiri, Ivanuku mattum side’a pothu yan? Terichiruca.?
[For me look ..bald now falling. My father like, for him only side going, why? You know?]
(Look at me, look at me I’m getting bald as my father. But with him it’s just one side only. Why?.. Is it because of the cum ejaculated?..)

Jeeva - Aatti talaiyil tadavi tadavi ivanukke oru side’aa pochu. ha..ha..ha..
[Shaked head wipe wipe for him one side gone.
Ha..ha..ha..]
(He has wiped it over and over onto his head and that is why he is loosing his hair on one side.Ha.ha.ha.)

[But for him how you know? Nose put here come out. Nose put like this they fucked, when fucked here like that side come out.]

(But as for him... do you know how? They fucked him in the nose and the sperm/cum came out from the side. They fucked his nose like this, so fucking him, the sperm/cum came out from the side.)

Jeeva - Paaru anubavam.
[Look experience]

(See, his experience..)

Guna - Dei aana, nee India karenukke kambu poduve’da.
[Hey but, you India Man suck of’la]
(Hey, but. You usually suck the Indian man’s one.)

Jeeva - India karan unn mookule yethana thane?
[India Man your nose put it up right?]
(The Indian man screwed your nose right?)

Guna - Unakku India karenoke inikum.
[For you Indian Man’s sweet]
(For you only the Indian man’s one is sweet..)

Jeeva - Adachi.. mandaiyile lesa tadaviruthu. Aaaahhh..
[Get fucked.. in head slightly wipe. Aaaahhh]
(Get fucked.. and he will wipe it slightly onto your head…. Aaaahhh.)

Ganesan - Eppadi.? eppadi..?
[How? How?]
Guna - *Nee muuke tadavi, muuke valekeranda*  
[You nose wipe, nose growing he.]  
\(\text{You rub your nose with the sperm/cum and your nose gets bigger...}\)

Jeeva - Aaaahhh... Aaahhh... (Ganesan and Madavan are laughing)  
\[Aaaahhh... Aaahhh... (Ganesan and Madavan are laughing)\]

Guna - *Ippe nee avanekku join panre’la...*  
[Now you for him join doing’la...]  
\(\text{Now you are collaborating with him’la...}\)

Ganesan - **Ille, sound nalla irenthechi.**  
[No, sound nice it was]  
\(\text{No, the sound was nice..}\)

Guna - *Plan ennathu?*  
[Plan what?]  
\(\text{(So, what is the plan?)}\)

Shasi - *Yarekkku teriyum..?*  
[Who knows...?]  
\(\text{(Nobody knows?)}\)

Guna - *Avaneekku teriyum.*  
[He knows...]  
\(\text{(He knows...)}\)

Shasi - *Yen angeye soriyire? Arikutha..?*  
[Why there scratching? Itchy’ah?]  
\(\text{(Why are you scratching there? Is it itchy’ahhh?)}\)

Jeeva - Arikuthu sorinchi vidu.  
[Itchy… scratch come.]  
\(\text{(Yes’la.. come and scratch for me.)}\)

Guna - *Dei un mookei paruda.*  
[Hey, your nose look’la]  
\(\text{(Hey, see your nose first.)}\)
Jeeva -  
**Adicitu mottai talaiyil tadaviruthu.**  
[Get fucked bald head wipe]

(Get fucked and rub it onto your bald head)

Guna -  
**Mottai’nu vedaiirela.. Ippe athuku ennathu?**  
[Bald you teasing… now for that what?]

(So, you are teasing me a bald.. So what?)

Jeeva -  
**Nee mottai adiche.. atha solren.**  
[You bald you head. That’s why telling.]

(You have shaved your head bald. That’s why I’m commenting.)

Guna -  
**Naa.. mottai adikirathu biasala.**  
[I… bald shaved biasa’la.]

(Shaving my head bald is normal’la.)

Jeeva -  
**Adicitu ippadi tadaviruvan. Mottai, sottai…..**  
[Get fucked like this wipe he. Bald, Bald…]  
(So, you get fucked and wipe like this’la. Bald….)

Guna -  
**Dei.. Nee pottai’da. Nee pesariya.. Pottai, unakku ithu illathane?**  
[Hey.. you sissy’la. You talking’ah… Sissy, for you this no right?]  
(Hey you are sissy’la. You are talking ah? Hey sissy, you got no( balls) right?)

Jeeva -  
Mudincha… nee torantu kaatu. Naa than toran katerene.  
[If can… You open show. I am open showing.]  
(If you dare.. open and show yours firstI am showing it what.)

Shasi -  
**Sari… Mani aidichi, porathu…**  
[Okey… times up, Lets go…]

(OK, time’s up. Let’s go.)

Guna -  
**Nanmaran veetuka?. (laughing). Angge vera irukele. Angge vera irukele. Oh tadavuruthu ippe than teriyuthe. “Om name tesiye namaha”. Tadavi, engge vanthu solluran. Aduthu “Om chandramukhi name tesiye” Shasi ippatanda puriyuthu…. Tanni…. Nir vidurathu.. Aiya nir vidalaya..?**  
[Nanmaran house’ah…? (laughing) There also got what? There also got what? Oh wipes now only know. “Om name tesiye namaha”. Wipe here come telling. Next “Om chandramukhi name tesiye” Shasi now only understand… water… water… put… Sir water didn’t put’ah?]
(Going to Nanmaran’s house? (laughs) You have something up there right. You have something up there right. Oh, now only do I understand what the issue of rubbing is all about. Oh! You said wipe your head right. Now I know already. “Om name tesiye namaha”, chant this mantra and take his sperm/cum and wipe your head. Then, “Om chandramukhi name tesiye”, Shasi now you understand ah? Sperm/Cum.. give sperm/cum.. Sir givesperm/cum…) 

Jeeva - Nee than mottaiadicirukkiye’da. [You are bald shave one’da] 

(You’re the one who has shaved your head bald..)

Guna - Ippe tan puriyuthu. Athan ahhh… ahhh… ’na. [Now only understand. That’s why ahhh… ahhh…]

(Now only I understand, that’s Ahhhaahhh…) 

Ganesan - Dei Nanmaranukke soothu kaluvi videriya… kelvi patten. [Hey.. for Nanmaran butt wash are you… Heard i…]

(Hey, I heard that you have washed Nanmaran’s butt?)

Guna - Ivanthan.. Naakele kaluvi viduran. “Om name tesiye”. Ha..ha..ha. [He is … by tongue wipe he is. “Om name tesiye”. Ha..ha..ha.. ]

(He is the one who will use his tongue and wipe it for him.. “Om name tesiye” Ha..ha..ha.)

Guna - Vaile soothe epadida… kaluvu’re..? [By mouth butt how’la… wipe you…?]

(How do you wipe his butt with your tongue?)

Ganesan - Palaka paattatu’da (laughing) [Used to it’da (laughing)]

(He used to that… (laughing))

Shasi - Aana unmaiyle.. respect’la ivane. [But truly… respect’la him]

(But, truly we must respect him for this.)
Appendix 7
Recording 4

Participants:-  Time:-  Place:-  Date:-
Shasi      12 midnight  At an open-air  19th May 2005
Jeeva
Guna

guna: *Etir pattu tane palagure.*
[Expecting something you are having friendship with him?]

*(You're expecting something from him right?)*

Jeeva: *Amanda. Etir pattu taanda palaguren. Avan kitte irunthu aduthu aairam velli*  
*kadam vanggalanu iruken, avan kitte. Nan ippe solleren, aairam velli, varum bothu Singapore sappathu onnu vanggitu vare sollelanu irukken.*
[Yes'da expecting something from him. His from next thousand ringgit loan going to get I him to. I now telling, thousand ringgit, coming time Singapore shoe one buy and come planning to tell I am.]

*(Yes! I wanted to loan RM 1000 from him. When he comes back I want him to buy me a pair of shoes from Singapore.)*

Shasi: *Underware’ru kellu.*
[underware ask]

*(Ask him to buy underware also for you’la)*

Jeeva: *Emm… underware, iduppu size’ellam solliten.*
[underware, hip size all told ready]

*(Emm… underware… I’ve already told him my hip size.)*

Guna: *Flute marantute…*  
[Flute don’t forget]

*(Don’t forget about the flute?)*

Jeeva: *Emm… athu erenuru valli tan. Athu oru set appadiye..*  
[Emm that Rm 200 only. That one set together.]

*(Emm…. Ya it cost around RM200, so I want a1 set of flute also.)*

Guna: *Top up*  
[Top up]

*(How about a top up card?)*

Jeeva: *Emm.. top up, nuuru velli card top up pannithu vare solleren.*
[Emm top up, Rm 100 card top up make come]

( Emm.. ya..... I want to ask him to top up RM 100 for me.)

Shasi : *Ithe lam nan sir kitte solleren.*
[All this I sir to tell]

( Oh ! I’m going to tell all this to sir.)

Guna : *Ehh.. enda sir kitte sollere.. Phone’le record panniten’da*
[Ehh.. why sir to tell. Phone record already]

( Ehh... no need to tell sir, I’ve already recorded it in my handphone!)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants:</th>
<th>Time:</th>
<th>Place:</th>
<th>Date:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shasi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20th May 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeeva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Appendix 8**

**Recording 5**

**Guna:** Eppadi kalatuve nee?
[How take you?]

(How’re you going to take it off?)

**Jeeva:** Atan solleren ungge coorporation’lam tevai paduthu enaku.
[That’s why telling your coorporation need for me.]

(That’s why I need your help and coorporation.)

**Guna:** Nange help panne mattum. Nee Dass’eh kuttali matiri irunthu kittu, pinnadi ippadilam panre pattiya.. ahh?
[We all help won’t help.. you Dass’eh frien like you have, behind like this doing see.. ahh?]

(We won’t help you do this! You’re acting like his friend and doing things behind his back.)

**Shasi:** Record paneriyanu pakkeran.
[Record are you doing checking]

(I’m checking whether you’re recording or not?)

**Guna:** Panniten’da.
[Have done it’da]

(I’ve done it already!)

Guna / Shasi : (laughing together… not clear)
Appendix 9
Recording 8

Participants: Shasi  Jeeva  Guna  Madavan
Time: 10 -11 p.m.
Place: At a Food-stall
Date: 21st May 2005

Shasi: Time: Place: Date:
2005
Jeeva
Guna
Madavan

Madavan: *Paikê mudiyatu’dâ ivane. Avan katalikirunte enaku avane pidikale.*
[Use cannot’ da him. He making love me he don’t like.]

You’re good for nothing..I don’t like the way he plays with love..

Guna: *Dei… adutavan pondatiye tappa pesaran. En sappati kalindi tan irukku.*
[Hey.. others wife bad talking. My shoe loosen already have]

Hey he’s talking bad about other people's wife. My shoe is already loosen..

Shasi: *Yennada achi…?*
[what’da happen.]

Hey what’s happen?

Guna: *Pavadaive pattu tan.*
[skirt saw already]

He have seen her skirt

Jeeva: *Tamma tunndu size’le , chekke chewennu terinja evan tan pakkame irupan.*
[small size’le, in attractive colour shown who ever don’t see.]

Just a small size area , in attractive colour !If you have seen it, who won’t observe it?

Guna: *Cikkapa sollaran paaru.*
[solid’ah telling look.]

See, he’s smart with his words

Madavan: *Shalini iduppe paathu….not clear*
[shalini hip’e look..]

He’s seen Shalini's hip…. (conversation not very clear)
Guna: Hei ... nillu.. nillu.. nillu.. Innum cikkappana iduppe pakkanumma?

Nanmaran: kaili kattiruparule; Tukkipparu! Cikkapane iduppu

(laugh) 
[Hey.. wait.. wait.. wait.. still batter hip see you Nanmaran sarong he tie, lift end see! Nice hip.]

Hey wait wait! You want to see some other better hips? Go and see inside
Nanmaran's (person's name) sarung( a kind of clothing worn by Malay's) Lift it. Nice hips you can see there(all laughing)

Guna: Madavan cup eduthutan
[Madavan cup take already]

Madavan has taken the cup.

Madavan: Dei.. Edukale'da..
[Hey.. didn’t take’la]

Hey, I didn’t take it.

Shasi: Theivame…. Theivame…
[Oh God! Oh God!]
Oh God! Oh God!

Guna: Jeeva sir're patthi un komen ennathu? Inthe neratile…
[Jeeva sir about your comment what? This time…]

Jeeva can you comment about sir? At this present time…

Shasi: Anthe allu oru vinngi ponne…
[That fellow a swallon one..]

That man is a fat lump…

Guna: Irru… Avan pesaran'le
[Wait.. he talking right..]

Wait, he’s talking right.

Jeeva: Sir oru cikkappane manusen.
[Sir one nice man ]

Sir is a nice man

Guna: Aanal oru sile samayam, Enge vare kanum?
[But sometime… where rest all?]
But sometimes… Where is the rest?

Jeeva: (laughing)
Guna : Nallavana irukan innaiki. Apparum, Ganesan'e pathi?
[Nice fellow he his today. Next Ganesan about?]

Today you are a good fellow. Next, tell me about Ganesan

Jeeva : Avan teiva machan.
[He is God Brother in law]

He’s god-like,brother

Guna : (laughing)... Dei....
[laughing .... Hey...]

Jeeva : Phone’le credit’e mudiye matthutu'la
[In phone credit’e finish don’t want’la ..]

The credit in my mobile can’t seem to finish

Guna : En kitte kodukarathu, mudichi kathuven'le.
[To me give’ la finish and show]

Give it to me and I’ll show you how to finish it

Jeeva : Dass’e phone adichi bede'le viduvoma?
[ Dass’e phone ring fool him let’s us ?]

Let us ring Dass and pull his leg?

Guna : (laughing) Ice poduvingala ninge? (laughing again)
Ehh.. Mind’le enna oduthu? Etacum pesu…
[(laughing) ice putting are you ?( laughing again) Ehh.. in mind what running? Anything talk..]

(Laughing)Are you sucking up to him (laughing again) Ehh.. what is running in your head? Talk about anything...

Jeeva : Mudikittu adikiraiya. Mayir’le oduthu, kunji’le oduthu’n’nu kettu kitu irukke.
[shut up and drink’la. ‘Damn it’ running, cock’le running’nu asking you are.]

Can you shut your mouth and drink up. My hair is running,my cock is running and that is what you are asking.

Madavan : Ennada tanni adicha tan, mayir’le odutu, kunji’le odutu’n’nu.
[ what da drink (beer) after drink only, damn it running, cock’le running’nu.]

What’s the matter, after drinking you’re talking of your hair and cock running.
Guna: *Unakku ippe puriyatu, aparum puriyum unakku. Ethukage ellataiyum clear panennu.*

[For you now wont understand, later understand for you. For what I am everything clear will do]

You won’t understand now but later you will. That is why I am going to clear everything.

Madavan: *Sikiram… Sikiram…kappu.. Kappu'nu light'a appadiye…*

[Quickly.. Quickly .. drink.. drink.. light like that…]

Quickly…Quickly…drink it up slowly

Shasi: *Dei… avanaiyum settukuvom'da."Tauke mahu minum ka?"*

[Hey.. him also let us invite da. ‘Tauke mahu minum ka?’]

Hey…shall we invite him also. “Boss, do you want to have a drink?”

Guna: *Boss, mahu minum'a Boss.*

[Boss mahu minum Boss]

Boss, do you want to have a drink’a Boss

Shasi: *Unmaiya kekkarana, oru glass nee tan sonnen, Utthi kodukere..*

[Really asking is he, one glass you only told, pour give him]

If he really takes up the offer, you told one glass right. Pour for him…

Madavan: *Irukirathe konjam, mudinjirume atuvum.*

[Left also a little, then will finis that also]

There’s only a little, then it will be finished.

Jeeva: *Pundai'nggala… (laughting) Ante kutiyanukku utthi koduturuvan polirukku (not clear… all laughing)*

[All cunt’s … (laughing) that cunt fellow for pour will give it seems.]

Motherfuckers…(laughing)He might pour for that cunt.

Guna: *Guninji, intha…*

[Bend down, here..]

Bend over,take it

Shasi: *Avan vanthan vechiken, ivane matti vittiruvom "Dia cakap tak mahu” Boss tarak minum’ah?*
If he comes we’ll get him trapped. “He says he does not want”

Madavan: *Avan tan sollitan tane.*
[He has told, right]

*He has already told, right…*

Jeeva: *Irrukirathe tamma tundu, Paru machan.*
[Here we have a little, see brother in law]

*See we have only a little, brother*

Shasi: *Nee tan avan Suthu’le poi pesa poreye. Poi pesen…*
[You are is butt’le go talk will. Go talk…]

*You are going to talk to his butt, right. Go and talk…*

Guna: *Koey Tiow teknik bayanggarama irukku. Enna system Barter’ah, Bir kodutu Koey Tiow vangeringge?*
[Koey Tiow technique amazing it have. What system barter’ah, Beer give Koey Tiow buying.]

*What an amazing Koey Tiow technique. Is it a barter system, beer in exchange for Koey Tiow?*

Shasi: *Kaattama irukka?*
[Strong is it?]

*Is it very strong?*

Jeeva: *Ilai’da … Jokka irukku*
[No’la.. nice it is..]

*No la … it’s just right*
Appendix 10
Recording 9

Participants: Shasi Jeeva Guna
Time: 10 – 11p.m.
Place: At an open-air eating area
Date: 22nd May 2005

Shasi:

Jeeva: Ombotu matiri nee nadanthukire (not clear) Ante kuttiiyan pattilam
ne pesikittu irukate.
[Nine like you behaving (not clear) that cunt fellow]
(You behave like a ‘sissy’ (not clear). Don’t talk about that fucker!)

Guna: Avane... Dei... Avane patu orutan ombotunu sollikittu irukan.
[That fellow .. Hey.. That fellow see someone ‘Nine’ telling he is.]
( He is... Somebody telling that he is looking like ‘sissy’)

Jeeva: Sollatum’da.
[Let them say’la]
(Tell’la! I don’t mind.)

Guna: Appe unmai indraiya?
[Then true are you telling]
(Then, what he is telling is the truth huh?)

Jeeva: Unmai tan.
[True it is]
(Yeh... It’s the truth.)

Shasi: Kainggale tappa pesatenu sollitu neeye tappa pesaraiye.
[Members bad don’t talk told , you yourself bad talking.]
(You’re the one, who suggested not to talk bad about our members,
but then you are doing so)

Jeeva: Anthe Kutiyan paatiya... Appadiye record pannaran.
[That cunt fellow see.. just everything recod doing]
(See that fucker! He is recording our conversation..)

Guna: Record panniten’le. Innum enna panran, Late’a yosicirikuran paiyan.
[Record did already’la still what doing, late’la thinking boy]
(I’ve recorded already! Now I’m thinking what I can do later boy!)
Appendix 12

Questions on ‘Swearing’

1) Do you use swear words in Tamil in your conversation?
   Y/N
   a. As Individual.
   b. Group.

2) Why do you use swear words in Tamil?
   a. A sense of belonging to a group / group identity.
   b. Fun.
   c. Humour / Jokes.
   d. Endearment / to show love or affection.
   e. A bond of friendship.

3) Where / When do you use swear words in Tamil?
   a. In a group.
   b. Company of friends of the same sex.
   c. As greeting.
   d. Name calling.
   e. Formal / Informal situations.
   f. At others – when treatment / in anger.
   g. Sexual - Habitual.
   h. Sexual – Jokes.
   i. In University.
   j. In Hostels.
   k. In company of friends.
   l. With girls.
   m. With someone new you meet.
   n. At home.

4) Where do you think you pick it up from?
   a. At home.
   b. In school.
   c. In University.
   d. From friends.
   e. From parents.

5) How or when did you come in contact with swear words?
   a. From a child.
   b. Teens.
   c. School.
   d. University.
   e. Home.
   f. Parents.
6) When did you start to use them freely?
   b. Teen.
   c. School.
   d. Home.
   e. University.
   f. Friends / Close friend

7) How do you think you learnt to use swear words in Tamil?
   a. From Friends.
   b. From Parents.
   c. From Movies.
   d. From Society / Village.

8) What kind of swear words do you use?
   a. Body parts? – Which-male or female types?
      e.g. (Prick / cock / cunt)
   b. Body process or Products? – (Fart / shit)
   c. Animal names? – (Pig / Ass / Bitch)
   d. Name calling? – (Fatso, fatty)

These questions were drawn up by the researcher from the literature review carried out on the subject matter.
Appendix 13
Situations – (Sociolinguistics aspects)

Do you swear in these situations in Tamil / English?

1) physical Pain / Anger
   e.g.: stubbing your toe on a stone.
         Hitting on the thumb while hammering something.

2) Disappointment/ Anger.
   e.g.: TV breaks during the football match.
         Miss the bus.

3) Joy – Surprise
   e.g.: Meeting an old friend unexpectedly.
         Winning the lottery.

4) Fear – Surprise
   e.g.: Being attacked by a dog.

5) Aesthetic Experience- Beauty
   e.g.: seeing a beautiful scenery/ man / woman.

6) Aesthetic Experience – Ugliness
   e.g.: seeing an ugly building / person.

7) Taste and smell experience – disgust
   e.g.: something horrible in your mouth / smell something disgusting.

8) Defensive attitude- fear-Anger
   e.g.: someone stares at you
         Driving away strangers.

9) Embarrassment – expressive.
   e.g.: You realized you have done something stupid.
         You have damaged another person’s property.

10) Showing disgust for someone
     e.g. Someone has fooled you
          Someone has done something stupid.

11) Appreciation / wonder / praise / endearment
    e.g. Someone has helped you
         Someone has done something good / well

12) Surprise
    e.g. You hear an unexpected piece of news
13) Rejection – special type of negative answer
   e.g. Someone has made a really bad suggestion / claimed something absurd

14) Acceptance / Emphasis - Someone has come with answer to a question.

15) Quieting someone – someone talks too much or too stupidly

16) Stop someone from doing something – someone does something you don’t like

17) Encourage someone to do something

18) Give up an idea or project – you decide to give up.

19) Encourage to action, battle, work – encourage your football teammates.

20) Threaten someone – you are about to punch someone

These situations were adapted and tailored from the Appendix 1 of Andersson and Hirsh (1985: 79-82)
## Appendix 14

Tamil Language Swearing & English Translation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil Swearing</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pundai Pussy</td>
<td>Pussy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotai Balls, testicles</td>
<td>Superman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunni Dick, Cock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotai Sappu Suck my balls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kay Adithal Masturbate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavadakabal Pubes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muttal Idiot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naaye Dog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baadu Bastard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thevadiya paiya Bastard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viveh chakra Prostitutes, Whore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vesay Prostitutes, Whore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What-a-sarak Sexy Bitch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pai-thium Idiot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poolu Penis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaynay Fool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotah Pundai nye Dirty dog pussy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pundi Pig!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ada chi You’re not worth my time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kundi Ass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otha Fuck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sooth Ass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koodhi, Punda Cunt, pussy</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thevidya Slut, whore</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thaa-Oli Motherfucker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okkala-Oli Sister-fucker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soote moodu Shut your ass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pundaiye moodu Shut your pussy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaena Punda Foolish cunt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En poola chappu Suck my dick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varsai Whore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kai adithal Masturbate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kay adithal Crush the balls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uumpu Suck the penis, suck the pussy</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oththal Fuck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aattava Can I masturbate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khusum Fart</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khukhu Shit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ely Mouse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KandaarOli Fucked by everyone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gumbal Ku Porandavaney Son of a crowd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virundali Ku Porandavaney Son of a guest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pundayya Saathu Ra Dubukku Shut you cunt, you fool!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naay Poola Umbu Suck a dog’s cock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thevidiya Pundai Vervai’la Mushroom grown out of the sweat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molacha Kaalaan from a prostitute’s cunt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungoya Pundaila Katrikka Eggplant in your grandmother’s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

http://www.insultmonger.com/swearing/tamil.htm