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What the F*ck Do I Know?

Knowledge of and Encounters With English Profanity by Japanese Learners

by

Jennifer Leigh Green

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science in Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition

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Abstract

Little research has been done on knowledge of and encounters with English profanity in EFL populations. Moreover, no research has been done in Japanese EFL learners, whose language background creates unique challenges to understanding and learning this language. Therefore, a two-part research design was used to provide insight on this topic with this group of learners. First, a questionnaire was developed to study three aspects of profanity knowledge, background factors related to this knowledge, and frequency of encounters with profanity in various daily life activities. Results found low productive scores and that overall higher scores were significantly related to the factors of English proficiency and time spent living in English-speaking countries. Participants reported the situations where they most frequently encountered profanity to be from watching movies and reading comments online. Using results from the questionnaire, two simulated real-world scenarios were designed to study what elements negotiated learner engagement with profanity when encountered in these two situations. Data was collected via a stimulated recall interview and analyzed to find 7 contributory factors that negotiated engagement with taboo language: stimulus format, subtitles, word form, emotional impact, frequency, L1, and abroad experience. The addition of three deviant cases allowed for one further element of attitude to be found. Results are followed by implications for pedagogy, materials design, and future research.

Note. Please be advised that this study contains frequent usage of strong language both in English and in Japanese.

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1. Literature Review

1.1 Background to the Study

Despite what parents and teachers often espouse, swearing is both useful and prevalent in the English language. Native English speakers learn swearing at school and at home during adolescence, when risks are low and rebellious behavior is expected. But how do non-native speakers learn these words? Moreover, what about those living outside of English-speaking countries and whose native language contains taboo words that function quite differently from English? For English learners in Japan, these barriers may inhibit the learning of English taboo language. No research has been done to study the specific difficulties that this groups of learners face learning this common aspect of English. Therefore, the present study aims to expose what this group already knows, what factors mediate this knowledge, where these learners encounter such language, and how encounters with such language are negotiated. The literature review will give necessary background to the study about the functions of English profanity, how taboo language differs in English and Japanese, Japanese attitudes on taboo language, and what opportunities Japanese EFL learners have to learn this language. Two studies that were designed to meet the research aims will be presented. The first utilizes a quantitative questionnaire, testing three aspects of profanity knowledge and collecting reports of where English profanity is most frequently encountered. The second is a qualitative interview analyzing learner engagement when encountering profanity in two simulated real-world scenarios. The study concludes with implications for pedagogy and materials design, and with recommendations for future research in this understudied area.

1.2 English Taboo Language

1.2.1 Defining Taboo Language

Many terms can describe taboo language: obscenity, vulgarisms, cussing, swearwords, and dirty talk, to name a few. Some terms have narrow definitions, but most areas of research do not make distinctions between the various terms. Therefore, they will be used interchangeably for the present study. Next, taboo

language is often defined as a subcategory of slang but must be distinguished for its unique characteristics that separate it from other slang. First, despite the general image of slang as “new language,” many of today’s most common swearwords (e.g. *arse, shit*, and *fuck*) originated in Middle English, becoming taboo from the 1500s (Mohr, 2013, p. 129-172). The second distinction is the unique ability of these words to convey and provoke strong emotional force, often deemed too powerful to be uttered freely due to their evocative nature (Jay, 2009).

This evocation of emotional forces comes from profanity’s connection to taboo topics. Broadly defined, there are five topics that can be extracted from to create profanity: (1) bodies and their effluvia; (2) the organs and acts of sex, urination, and defecation; (3) diseases, death, and killing; (4) naming, addressing, touching, and viewing persons and sacred beings, objects, and places; and (5) food gathering, preparation and consumption (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p. 1). In Middle English, only religious utterances of blasphemy could be considered taboo. However, beginning in modern English, religious taboos decreased in offensiveness as other words became taboo (Mohr, 2013). Several scholars have proposed refined categorizations of taboo topics in modern English (Pinker, 2008; Thelwall, 2008; Jay, 2009; Stapleton, 2010; Bergen, 2016; Finn, 2017). For ease of comparison to Japanese profanity, Jay’s (2009) are presented here as follows: sexual references, scatological, animal, ethnic, deviations, offensive slang, and blasphemous words.

These categorizations exist across English, but different varieties of English, groups of people within these varieties, and even individuals make separate distinctions on which words are classified as taboo. However, some words appear to be accepted as profanity for most English speakers, such as the words *shit* and *fuck* (Dewaele, 2015; Andang & Bram, 2018), and generally people are aware of differing perceptions of profanity and act accordingly, such as how most Americans would be conscious of the word *bloody* during travels to England, and those who do not think of the interjection *God* as profanity may be conscious of its use when speaking to a devout Christian. Regardless of exact words, most English speakers can affirm that profanity is used often and for a variety of functions.

1.2.2 Utility and Ubiquity

Jay (2009) noted the “utility” and “ubiquity” of profanity in English. Jay describes the “utility” as the ability to perform various linguistic functions fulfilling different social goals. Other scholars have attempted to more narrowly classify the functions of English profanity (Pinker, 2008; Kapoor, 2016; Finn, 2017). Pinker (2008) defined five categories of swearing: idiomatic, abusive, emphatic, descriptive, and cathartic. Finn (2017) instead defined two opposing overarching categories of propositional and non-propositional swearing, the former as intentional and meaning-oriented usage, the latter unplanned and with no intended meaning. Propositional swearing encompassed the first three of Pinker’s categories with the addition of euphemistic and dysphemistic in place of descriptive swearing. Non-propositional swearing encompassed the last of Pinker’s categories. Finn also discussed disordered speech (profanity uttered due to presence of speech or mental disorder), presumably also included as non-propositional swearing, but not explicitly stated as such. Alternately, Kapoor (2016), focused classifications on pragmatic use, being: “(a) casual, directed to a nonliving object, situation or experience; (b) conversational, directed to an individual with no intention to cause harm; (c) cathartic, to express physical or emotional pain … (d) abusive, directed to an individual to cause harm; and (e) hostile, to indicate antagonism” (p. 259-260). These categories specified who and what the profanity is aimed at and the tone of use. Considering the face-saving culture of Japan, Kapoor’s classifications were chosen for use in the present study.

In addition to versatility, profanity use in English is abundant. Both Jay (2009, p. 155-156) and Beers Fägersten (2012, p. 5-8) noted inconsistency between studies in estimates of profanity frequency, ranging from “almost no profanity” to 12.7% of English language use, dependent on which words were classified as profanity and which data was chosen for analysis. Andang & Bram (2018) instead focused on identifying which swearwords were most common in American English based on the 2013 Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), finding five terms (*damn*, *dick*, *shit*, and *fuck*) to have more than 10,000

occurrences in the corpus.[1] Attempting to give perspective on these numbers, the present researcher searched for these words again in 2021 (Table 1)[2]. Different patterns of frequency were found, perhaps denoting changing popularity of different taboo words. Additionally, all words had a higher number of occurrences due to increased database sources. Several non-taboo words were also included to convey the commonality of this language.

Table 1

Occurrences of Frequently Used Swearwords and Non-Swearwords in COCA

Search term	*Occurrences in COCA 2013 (Andang & Bram, 2018)*	*Occurrences in COCA 2021 (Davies, 2008-, a)*
shit	15,684	105,277
message		98,531
fuck	10,186	89,301
worry		87,971
damn	17,418	67,181
sad		51,802
dick	17,284	32,470
awesome		32,451

The 2021 search also revealed that all four swearwords were most often used in TV and movies. This may not be surprising considering the study by Cressman et al. (2009), which analyzed profanity in 90 US teen-oriented movies from over three decades. Results showed that all contained mild profanity and 14.3% contained strong taboo words. While no researchers have attempted to replicate this study with more modern movies, it is unlikely that today's movies aimed at teens or adults contain significantly less profanity.

Another place that contains high profanity usage in English and is accessible to learners in Japan is the internet, and more specifically social media. On Twitter, Wang et al. (2014) found that profanity accounted for 1.15% of English-speaking Tweets, with 7.73% of English Tweets containing profanity. This high utilization may come from online anonymity and lack of immediate

[1] *Bloody* also had over 10,000 occurrences but was discounted from mention from its non-taboo status and usage in American English.

[2] Occurrences included all forms of the word (i.e. no separation by semantic function of the same word) for a more valid comparison. The authors did not state differentiation by word function, and it is reasonable to assume that the 2013 COCA did not allow for separation by semantic function.

consequences for negative inappropriate profanity usage. For other sectors of the internet that attempt to censor profanity, flawed detection programs mean that words often go undetected and remain visible (Nobata et al., 2016). Therefore, anyone online is likely to encounter profanity at some point. In fact, it may be difficult for anyone that watches movies or spends time online these days to avoid English taboo language unless they strictly avoid English media and websites, including English learners.

1.2.3 Social Ramifications

It may seem surprising that this language is used so often considering that knowledge of a word's taboo status is most often learned through punishment. For most native speakers, this starts from childhood with parents punishing the use of profanity and continues throughout life with other authority figures (e.g. educators, employers, government regulators). English users are aware of the risk of negative outcomes from profanity usage, whether it be making a listener feel discomfort to losing a job, or even to charges of harassment. However, it is this very risk that also allows it to be used in socially positive ways for emotional expression.

Stapleton noted that profanity can act as a "solidarity marker" among teens, young adults at school, working colleagues, and other such members of a shared identity or community (2010, p. 296-298). Other scholars have similarly noticed this trend throughout the years (Selnow, 1985; Baruch & Jenkins, 2007; Sobre-Denton & Simonis, 2012, Jeshion, 2020). Even today's most offensive taboo language, racial epithets (Mohr, 2013), can be used to show group solidarity amongst the targeted population (Jeshion, 2020). Moreover, lack of profanity usage can sometimes be associated with group alienation, and vice versa, depending on group values and expectations (Selnow, 1985; Adams, 2016). To explain this socially positive usage of profanity simply, Adams states, "bad words are unexpectedly useful in fostering human relations because they carry risk – so that use of them demands trust" (2016, p. 57).

Beers Fägersten (2012) studied one such group where profanity is commonly used and expected: American university students. The researcher found use of swearwords to rarely result in immediate negative social outcomes

in discretely observed natural speech in both private and public settings. Of the 394 observed utterances incorporating 528 taboo words, 61% were between friends, likely relating to trusting relationship required for profanity use as stated above. In addition, profanity was used in a variety of emotional expressions, the most common being distressed (19%), humorous (18%), angry (14%), emphatic (13%), and excited (9%). Most instances were received with no reaction (47%), positive laughter (28%), or a reply using a swearword in a non-confrontational manner (22%); rejections (i.e. the receptive interlocutor opposes profanity use) were the least common reaction (3.6%). While the study is not generalizable, nor is it free of minor sampling bias, as noted by the author, it does give example that taboo language can be used for neutral or positive social outcomes when used with skill. However, this skilled usage is a difficult aspect of this language to learn.

1.2.4 The Neuro-Psycho-Social Model of Cursing

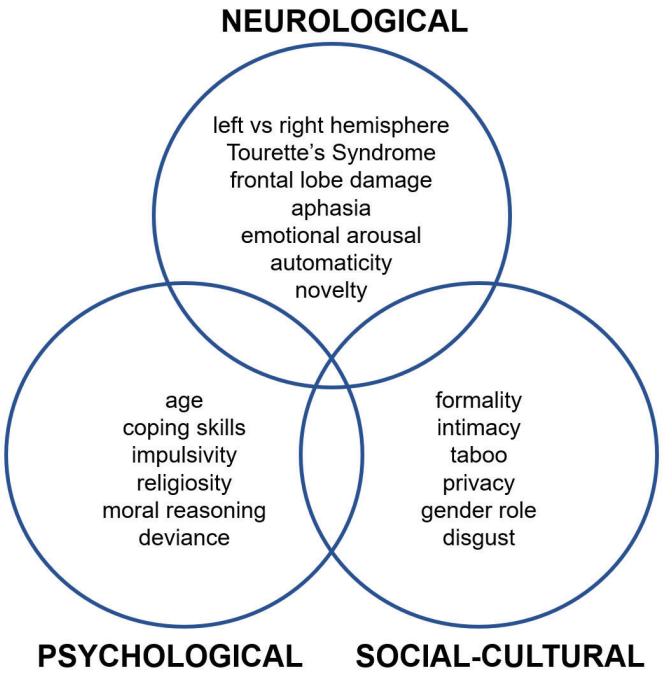
Nation defined knowledge of a word as constituted by 18 unique aspects (2013, p. 49). Due to the risky nature of taboo language, knowledge of "constraints on use" is of high necessity. Knowing "where, when, and how often" this language is expected to be encountered and acceptable for use lets English users avoid negative social outcomes. However, decisions on usage of profanity are complex. In 2000, Jay described this complexity by creating a model (Figure 1) that explains the so-called pragmatic "grammar" rules that govern usage of taboo language. The model is made up of interconnected factors divided into three overarching categories: neurological, psychological, and social-cultural factors. Several factors are listed under each category but are representative of innumerable other factors that would constitute a full model.

Several studies have since examined factors within this model in second language learners. Dewaele (2004, 2016) identified multiple background factors unique to second language learners that influenced comprehension, perception, and usage of profanity. Emotional arousal was found to be felt more strongly in the dominant language of unequal various bilinguals (Dewaele, 2004), and physical arousal elicited from profanity was found to differ dependent on second language proficiency in American non-native Mandarin speakers (Caldwell-Harris et al., 2010). Jay and Janschewitz (2008) studied how social situations affect

profanity usage in native and non-native English, finding no significant differences. Dewaele (2016) was able to find interactions between psychological and social-cultural factors on profanity use in non-native English speakers, but to a lesser extent in native English speakers. However, Dewaele notes the potential flaw of putting non-native English speakers from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds into a single set, noting that these differences have effects on profanity perception and usage, as found in the researcher's previous work (Dewaele, 2010). This same methodological choice what may have influenced Jay and Janschewitz's study. Each language background creates unique learning burdens, with the burden increasing where the learner's L1 differs from the language under study (Nation, 2013, p. 44). Therefore, studying a single group of learners from a shared language background may give greater insight to the specific struggles of that group.

Figure 1

Neuro-Psycho-Social Model of Cursing (Jay, 2000, p. 22)



1.3 Japanese Taboo Language

It is possible to find scholars from the past that claim there are no swearwords in Japanese (e.g. Herbert, 1965, p. 262; Wales, 1994, p. 542), but this is untrue. However, the restricted nature of Japanese taboo language may

make it appear so to those not familiar with the language. Maynard (1997, p. 97-102) describes Japanese taboo language as being reserved for those in “inner” relationships. There, it is used to express generally negative or antagonistic emotions. Contrastively, its direct use is hidden in “outer” relationship, replaced with verbal cues in tone of voice, use of second personal pronouns, and sentence tag particles indicating the emotion of the speaker. In some ways, this is like English taboo language, the difference being the level of restriction in “outer” relationships. An example can be seen with public figures. In English, public figures can use taboo language to promote a positive image of themselves as “down-to-earth” (Horan, 2013, p. 287). In Japan, similar use of taboo language by a public figure would be greatly condemned by the vast majority. This may relate to the general system of formality in the Japanese language which divides casual, formal, and honorific language grammatically.

Maynard also noted the further restriction in Japanese by gender, with fewer ways to use taboo language in feminine speech (1997, p. 98), a sentiment also shared in personal accounts from Japanese women (Stoffman, 1998, p. 61; Dewaele, 2010, p. 122). The only exception to this is among “delinquent female cliques” that use masculine language as a mark of in-group status. In English, gender also affects profanity use, but rather in where profanity is used and with lesser differences in younger generations (Gauthier & Guille, 2017). This may mean that Japanese women have a greater burden in learning English profanity.

Differences between English and Japanese taboo language also arise from different taboo topics and different pragmatic functions. Regarding the former, Ohkubo and Yatougo (2005) categorized Japanese taboo language as deriving from categories of body, personal characteristics, behaviors, personality, and trending words. For a more direct comparison with English, an alternate classification could be: physical appearance, sexual references, death, social status, scatological, deviations, and offensive slang. This classification is based on the present researcher’s knowledge of Japanese and English in relation to the works of Matusz (2017) and Jay (2009). Regarding the latter, Japanese taboo language contains no conversational taboo language as described by Kapoor (2016), directed to an individual with no intention to cause harm, outside of some

subcultures. Therefore, this particular usage of profanity may be difficult for Japanese learners to initially comprehend.

Japanese taboo language is also limited semantically. Whereas some English swearwords can encompass many meanings, most Japanese taboo words have a single semantic function. The exception is the word *kuso*, which acts in some ways like the word *fuck*. The direct translation is akin to *shit*, though it cannot be used to refer directly to feces. Instead, it is used as an interjection to negative outcomes or mental anguish. It is also used as an intensifier, not found in any other Japanese swearword. However, the word is limited to only these two uses, so it too is limited in range of expression. As an interjection, it cannot be used positively like the phrase *fuck yeah,* nor the intensifier used cathartically for physical pain. It is possible for use in positive expressions, as in *kuso-umai* (*fucking tasty*), but is far more often used in negative expressions, as in *heta-kuso* (*fucking unskillful*). Moreover, Japanese swearwords do not change word-part and are mostly nouns and adjectives. This lack of versatility in even the most versatile Japanese swearword may mean that learners have difficulty with the plethora of forms, phrasal verbs, collocations, and semantic functions that encompass a word such as *fuck.*

In addition to the above, particular Japanese words may cause confusion for Japanese learners of English: *bicchi*, *ōmaigā*, *manko*, and *shine*. *Bicchi* is a loanword from the English *bitch*, but the meaning and offensiveness are more akin to the word *slut*, having retained an older usage of the word (Bitch, n.1, 2016). The similar form may result in Japanese learners assuming knowledge of the word *bitch*. The word *ōmaigā* was also borrowed into the language, but from the English phrase *oh my god*. This word is not likely to cause confusion, as the meaning is the same in both languages. However, the Japanese term does not have any taboo association, whereas the English phrase is mildly offensive, generally being avoided around devout Christians. The non-taboo status likely comes from the lack of religious taboo words in Japanese. This indicates that this phrase and other religious profanity in English may be difficult to discern as taboo language in Japanese learners. *Manko* is a Japanese word but has similarities to the American usage of the word *cunt*, being a taboo word for female genitalia that evokes strong emotional force, is censored in public places and media, and is

rarely uttered. Unlike the English counterpart which can target a person, *manko* can only be used to describe a body part. There are also Japanese taboo words for male genitalia, but they are mildly to moderately offensive in comparison. This may positively or negative influence correct word acquisition, depending on context of acquisition. For example, a learner might accidentally assume the word *vagina* is a strong swearword, but alternately may correctly assume the word *bollocks* to be taboo. Finally, *shine* is the direct imperative form of the word *die*, and is used as a hostile swearword. This may cause Japanese learners of English to view similar usage in English to be extremely hostile regardless of other contextual factors that may confirm or contradict hostility.

1.4 Japanese Attitudes on Taboo Language

There is very little research on profanity in Japanese, less so focusing on attitudes, with the only easily found research on university students. Therefore, these two studies will be featured to give partial but limited insight into Japanese views on Japanese and English taboo language.

1.4.1 Ohkubo & Yatougo (2005)

Ohkubo & Yatougo (2005) studied resistance against Japanese “bad mouth” words from the five previously mentioned taboo categories. A 20x2x2 design combined each target word with two conversation types (daily conversation and conflict situation) and two interlocutor types (socially close and socially distant). Participants rated “resistance to abusive language” on a 5-pt. Likert-scale from 1=“[I] don’t feel any resistance at all” to 5=“[I] feel extreme resistance” on each of 80 items. The authors compared male (N=81) and female (N=198) students, finding female participants felt significantly more resistance against all target words, but particularly from the body category, and were highly resistant to all uses with socially distant interlocutors, though no specific numbers were reported. These gender-specific attitudes likely relate to restrictions of taboo language in femnine speech as mentioned previously. Besides gender, the study focused on comparing attitudinal differences between students of different majors. This meant that only data where the groups diverged were presented, so overall attitudes are unclear from the presented data as is.

Therefore, for cursory comparison, the present author combined the limited data (Table 2; see Appendix B for full data) to investigate visible patterns, finding that students appeared to feel most against usage with socially distant interlocutors. This aligns with Maynard's (1997) description of usage with "outer" groups being avoided. Interestingly, it seems students felt less resistance to use of swearwords in dispute situations than in relaxed conversation. This result may be related to Japanese society's value of harmony, where taboo language use carries the risk of disrupting a peaceful conversation but does not necessarily alter an already unharmonious dispute situation. These two points combined may be the reason that usage with a socially distant interlocutors in a daily conversation resulted in high resistance with strongest agreement among participants (i.e. lower SD).

Table 2

Compilation of Presented Results From Ohkubo & Yatougo (2005)

	daily conversation x close relationship	daily conversation x distant relationship	dispute x close relationship	dispute x distant relationship
Mean (SD)	3.383 (1.337)	4.449 (0.903)	3.000 (1.684)	3.685 (1.383)

However, this cursory analysis of the provided data is purely speculative as no similar formal study could be found allowing for comparison, and the authors did not provide the full set of data. Additionally, study flaws may have affected results. First, a gender imbalance in participants may have resulted in higher resistance scores. The study did not distinguish between taboo language that elicits emotional force and general insulting language, though this is because the two are generally not distinguished from each other in Japanese; both are under the same category of *waruguchi* ("bad mouth" words). This means that results may not reflect attitudes on swearwords accurately, though the two being synonymous with each other may mean that attitudes are similar. Finally, it was not clear whether participants were to score resistance for their own use or against interlocutor use, so participants may have answered differently depending on their interpretation.

1.4.2 Green (2021)

Green (2021) studied attitudes on English profanity in 78 first-year English-major students at a Christian women's university in Japan. Participants scored a 12-item questionnaire on a 7-pt. Likert scale from 1="Strongly disagree" to 7="Strongly agree," three items of which were removed post-hoc. Results showed students generally had negative attitudes on English profanity and those who use it. They disagreed with statements of use with peers (M=2.29, SD=1.501), with anyone in general (M=1.86, SD=1.006), that it made them look cool (M=2.27, SD=1.203) or accepted by peers (M=2.47, SD=1.159), and they agreed with the statement that it is best to avoid people who use English taboo language (M=5.09, SD=1.470). Despite this, 56% reported interest in English taboo language, though only 19% reported peers having interest in profanity. Students likely did not want to assume their peers' interest in a taboo topic. When ranking options for English profanity being taught at their school, all but 5 ranked highest for profanity would be taught, but in an optional setting. Students also reported feeling that knowledge of English profanity was necessary, with 77% agreeing as such, and 56% deeming it as very important for learning English. The difference between the two perhaps resulting from the former statement being aligned with the self while the latter statement aligns with the wider concept, again showing students' hesitation in making assumptions for others. Overall, the study showed the attitude that learning English profanity is necessary and most held interest in it, but also showed a strongly negative association with the language. All participants being women likely affected results if attitudes are the same as with Japanese taboo language as discussed above. Results may have been different in a male population.

1.5 Learning Taboo Language in the Japanese EFL Context

1.5.1 Explicit and Incidental Vocabulary Learning

There are two main mechanisms for vocabulary learning, explicit and incidental learning. Incidental learning of vocabulary is often associated with extensive reading; learners reading large volumes of comprehensible materials where words can be learned through context inferences and repetition, which is effective when used as a teaching method (Liu & Zhang, 2018). However,

incidental learning of vocabulary can happen in any format of encounter, whether from conversations (Mohamed, 2012), communicative tasks (Newton, 2013) or the media (Kuppens, 2010; Pavia, Webb, & Faez, 2019). Further, incidental learning can be used to learn new aspects of an already known (Hoshino & Abe, 2014). The crucial factor in all is consciously noticing of the word, as first postulated by Schmidt (1990), later dubbed the Noticing Theory. If a word is not noticed, the word will not be learned regardless of encounter.

Explicit vocabulary learning compels this attention on vocabulary with the words at the center of focus, most often performed in educational settings, where words are learned deliberately. Some scholars have found explicit teaching of vocabulary to be more effective than implicit learning (Ahmad, 2012; Sonbul & Schmidt, 2013; Kamal, 2014), while others argue against direct teaching of vocabulary because for time inefficiency for the instructor (Nation, 2013, p. 92-93) and because lack of context may not result in comprehensive word knowledge (Choi, Kim, & Ryu, 2014).

For Japanese learners of English, both explicit and incidental learning of English profanity may occur dependent on an individual's lifestyle and interests. For those with access to natural English speaking and listening, such as those who go abroad to English-speaking countries, there are many opportunities to learn English profanity. Learners may encounter profanity from listening to or joining in conversations where it can be learned incidentally. Alternately, students may choose to ask a trusted person to teach them the language explicitly. For those without such opportunities, explicit learning is limited to resources on the internet and in print. Likewise, incidental learning is limited to media and the internet. Moreover, almost all learning opportunities are limited to receptive knowledge. Even those learners that travel to English speaking countries have limited opportunity to practice productive usage unless still an adolescent. By the time one becomes an adult, knowledge of appropriacy is expected and therefore inappropriate usage carries greater risk. This may then cause adult learners to avoid attempts to learn productive use of taboo language.

1.5.2 Learning Resources

Horan (2013) commented on the lack of quality teaching materials for profanity, with materials often marketing the “cool” image of profanity and giving little contextualization of use. Green (2021) noted the same lack of contextualization in Japanese resources but remarked on many resources warning that profanity is extremely antisocial. Additionally, Green noted that resources marketing the “cool” image were generally targeted towards men. This combination then could lead to “an image of the profanity user as a young male delinquent that does not care what other people think and does not mind picking fights” (p. 51). However, Horan (2013, p. 291-293) described one context-rich and balanced resource for German learners of English. The resources was a website described as teaching both positive and negative social uses of profanity with some context based on location or topic of usage (“At school,” “In Traffic,” “Men [talking] about women,” “About the Weather,” etc.) and specified between UK and US English. However, this source could not be located by the present author, nor could any other source with similar contextualization be readily found. Therefore, while quality resources may exist, they are not likely to be what learners find when searching for themselves.

Learning incidentally from media consumption and the internet poses other limitations. Profanity is often used online in different ways than how it is used during in-person interactions (Wang et al., 2014; Gauthier & Guille, 2017). This may mislead learners to assumptions about how taboo language is used offline, to which parallels can be made for other types of media. Moreover, incidental learning from subtitled media may result in limitation of encounters that are noticed. In general, subtitles benefit second-language learners, as found by Gernsbacher’s 2015 meta-analysis of 34 studies. Studies that focused on vocabulary gains found L2 captions to improve vocabulary more than with no captions, but L1 subtitles were only sometimes beneficial. For taboo language, L1 subtitles may be even more limited as profanity is often omitted from translation, translated to a similar but non-taboo word, or translated to a word with a completely different meaning (Cintas & Rameal, 2014).

Take Furukawa's (2009) study of Japanese subtitles produced for the movie *Bridget Jones's Diary*. Of the 31-32 instances of profanity (IMDB, n.d.), Furukawa reported one direct translation to Japanese profanity (*oh shit* to *kuso*). Furukawa specifically mentioned one scene that could mislead learners from the translations of *oh shit* to *taihen* (oh no/that's tough) and of *bollocks* to *tsumetai* (cold). While the subtitles match the context of the scene and are acceptable for entertainment purposes, some learners may be misled about the meaning of these words, especially if the words are novel to the learner. Therefore, learners that use L1-subtitles may be less likely to not notice profanity and may misinterpret profanity when noticed due to how the words are translated. Overall, the lack of adequate resources available to learners combined with negative attitudes about profanity, limited opportunities for natural encounters, and differences in how taboo language is used between Japanese and English may result in low profanity knowledge in Japanese learners of English. But with a gap in the research, such is yet unknown.

2. The Present Study

Presently, the extent of English profanity knowledge that Japanese learners have is known, as is what background factors affect this knowledge, where these learners encounter English profanity, and what elements negotiate engagement with English profanity when encountered. Knowing the extent of profanity knowledge may help to identify gaps in knowledge and areas of difficulty in acquiring knowledge of these words. Knowing which learners tend to have lesser knowledge may inform as to which learners may need more support. Finally, understanding what elements are associated with English profanity engagement in commonly encountered situations may help guide future research and teaching materials on this topic regarding Japanese learners.

2.1 Research Questions

RQ1: How well do adult Japanese EFL learners know English profanity?

RQ2: What background factors relate to knowledge of English profanity?

RQ3: Which daily life scenarios where taboo language is present do adult EFL Japanese learners engage with most?

RQ4: When adult Japanese EFL learners are exposed to English taboo language in common daily life scenarios, what elements are associated with their engagement with the taboo language?

2.2 Research Design

Two studies were designed to answer the research questions. Study 1 answers RQ1-3, and Study 2 answers RQ4. The designs of the two studies were informed by Kapoor (2016) and Briggs (2015), which are therefore presented below. This is then followed by two chapters that each describe methodology and results of the studies for the present research.

2.2.1 Kapoor (2016)

Kapoor (2016) studied the likeliness of chosen swearword severity in different contexts of usage in 265 multinational participants in relation to nationality and gender (Indian nationality N=105, other nationality N=160; female

N=148, male N=117). English proficiency was not disclosed, but most participants were either native speakers or advanced English users based on reported nationalities. Contexts of usage were casual, conversational, cathartic, abusive, and hostile. Participants completed a 10-item questionnaire, each item giving a dialog with situational description to establish context of usage, each context being used twice. Learners could choose from three swearwords to complete the dialog or write a different swearword (see example item). They were then asked to rate the likeliness of each word's use for themselves in the given situation via a 5-pt. Likert scale (did not specify wording of scale). Results showed that chosen severity was significantly related to context to a large extent ($p<.001$, $\eta 2=.20$) and nationality to a medium-large extent ($p<.001$, $\eta 2 =.11$), and that there were significant interaction effects between the three combined factors to a medium extent ($p<.001$, $\eta 2<.06$). No significant differences were found in answers based on gender.

Kapoor (2016) Questionnaire Example Item:

A to a friend B, about the concert they just attended: "That concert was so _____ good!" (casual-mild, moderate, severe) bloody/fucking/motherfucking/other

However, how profanity offensiveness was decided may pose limitations to the study. The author states that an online survey was conducted with 300 Indian participants, meaning that results of Kapoor's study are limited to Indian English. Moreover, no source or methods of collection were discussed, so it is unclear if participants had the option to state that a given word was not a swearword. This means that some words which were classified as mild profanity for Kapoor's study may have not been considered swearwords by those from the online survey, a distinct possibility considering that "idiot" and "stupid" were classified as swearwords for the study. These two words may be insulting, but not necessarily swearwords if they do not evoke emotional force outside of use in a conflict situation. Without the ability to confirm methodology, the validity of the chosen words as swearwords remains unknown. Despite this, results still indicate that nationality affects how people view and use taboo language.

2.2.2 Briggs (2015)

Briggs (2015) studied out-of-classroom encounters of 95 multi-national adult students with low intermediate and higher English proficiency doing English-language study abroad programs in England. Students completed an in-class questionnaire over six-weeks measuring where students had contact with English before and during study abroad. Items included statements on a Likert-scale of how often students engaged in various English encounter scenarios with an additional free-write section to ensure all potential scenarios were accounted for.

23 students participated in a follow-up interview where they were presented with 5 mock out-of-classroom language encounter scenarios developed for this study, called *The Opportunities with Language Simulator* (OWLS), each containing one target word. Scenarios were chosen based which were most identified with from the questionnaire. A stimulated recall strategy was used, with learners first viewing the stimulus naturally, then recalling their thoughts with researcher support while viewing the stimulus again immediately after initial viewing.

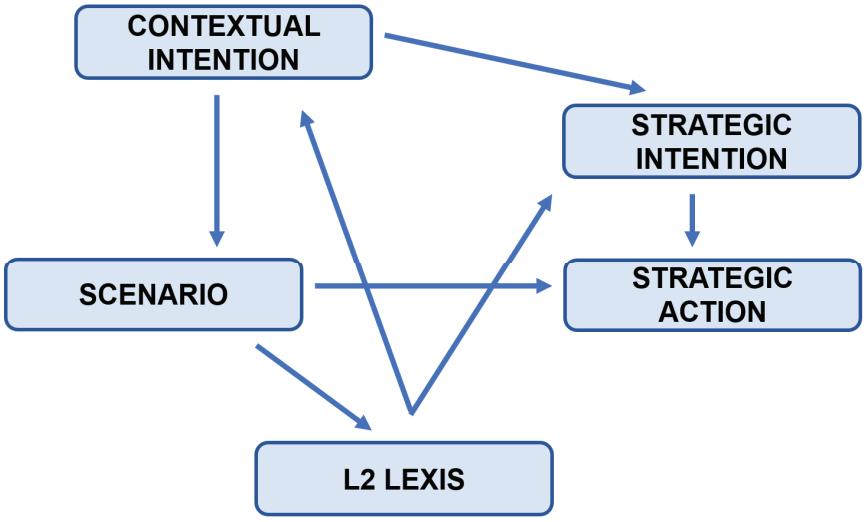
Briggs used results to create a model describing the relationship between vocabulary strategies, intention, and lexis (Figure 2). Contextual intention was learner's intention during language contact, which could be either related or not related to language learning. Holding no intention to learn related to lower usage of vocabulary learning strategies and affected which strategy the learner intended to use (strategic intention), therefore also the strategy that was utilized (strategic action). The scenario itself also related to strategy selection by restricting certain strategies from usage (e.g. not being able to search for a word when watching a movie in theaters). Finally, the L2 lexis themselves related to strategy usage with words going unnoticed, word frequency, and experience of previous contact with the word.

Briggs noted that the artificial nature of the OWLS may have affected results. The researcher attempted to reduce this by designing the OWLS with "scene-setter" media that established the scenario but notes that the media is still far from a real-life context, particularly given the brevity of each stimulus. Additionally, the physical setting of the school where the OWLS were conducted

may have affected results as students are more likely to implicitly hold intentions of learning in this setting.

Figure 2

Relationship Between Intentions, Lexis, and Action (Briggs, 2015, p. 305)



3. Study 1

3.1 Methodology

To answer research questions 1-3, an online questionnaire was developed using the software Qualtrics. The questionnaire was sent via 4 channels: to educators at formal institutions and language schools, to language teacher forums on the internet, directly to learners via webpages and forums used for informal language exchange/study opportunities, and through personal contacts (see Appendix C for details). Invitations were written to be open for all English learners, not limited to students. Participation was incentivized with a 2000-yen Amazon gift card drawing. The questionnaire was piloted with 7 pilot participants that fit the participant profile (see Appendix D) to estimate questionnaire length and to ensure items were unlikely to be misinterpreted.

512 responses were collected over 43 days. The target population was adult Japanese learners of English who were actively taking steps to improve their English at the time of participation. Responses collected outside this group were removed, as were mostly incomplete responses, leaving 257 complete responses and 43 partial responses with enough data for use in analysis. Including partial respondents (N=300), the majority were between 19-29 years old (N=205) and were majority female (N=197). Most had intermediate English proficiency (A1 N=32, A2 N=44, B1 N=120, B2 N=57, C1 N=27, C2 N=20)[3] and did not speak a third language past beginner proficiency (N=248). The majority had less than 3 months of abroad experience in English-speaking countries (N=248), had completed high school as their highest level of education (N=179)[4], and had started learning English at junior high school age (12-14 years old; N=137). 142 participants were currently or had previously majored in English. Finally, most participants reported having learned English mostly through

[3] CEFR scale proficiencies: A=beginner, B=intermediate, C=advanced, 1=lower, 2=upper (Council of Europe, n.d.)

[4] Some respondents appeared to have misunderstood the question on highest level of completed education, so the researcher manually adjusted answers based on participant age (N=56; see Appendix E for details).

instruction-based learning (N=175). See Appendix E for detailed participant information.

Instrument

The questionnaire was divided into 11 sections: section 1 obtained consent, sections 2, 3, and 9 collected participant background information, section 4 defined the term “taboo language,” sections 5-7 tested profanity knowledge, section 8 collected self-reported frequency of encounters with English profanity, and section 9-11 confirmed participant preferences on being contacted after completion of the study for prize drawing, information about the research, and interest in further participation. Items in sections 5-8 were randomized to reduce order bias. The questionnaire was translated into Japanese to ensure participant understanding and back-translated to ensure accuracy of the translation[5]. See Appendix F for the back-translated version of the questionnaire.

Background factors collected were chosen based on the works of Dewaele (2004, 2017): gender, personality, education, age of onset of learning English, type of English learning (naturalistic or instruction-based), self-rated spoken English proficiency, self-reported frequency of English usage, and experience living abroad. All factors were included except for personality and frequency of English usage, personality for requiring a much lengthier questionnaire to accurately measure, and frequency for difficulty to accurately measure. Education was expanded to ask if participants had studied or were studying English as their major in at least one of the schools they attended. For English proficiency, participants made their selection based on the CEFR Global Scale (Council of Europe, n.d.) level descriptions; translations to Japanese were taken from the British Council of Japan (n.d.). An additional category of “native speaker” accompanied by a description adapted from Davies (2004) was included to remove non-target participants. Participants were also asked if they had at least lower intermediate proficiency in any language other than Japanese or English. Finally, questions were included to confirm that all participants were native

[5] Instrument example items are shown in English. Sections that were written in Japanese on the actual questionnaire are demarked with brackets.

Japanese speakers and were actively attempting to increase their English proficiency, either formally or informally.

Sections 5-7 measured three different types of knowledge about English profanity: productive knowledge, recognition, and semantic knowledge. Productive knowledge was tested with 10 gap-fill items based in part on the instrument developed for the work of Kapoor (2016). Each item contained brief relational and situational context accompanying a spoken sentence with a missing word. Situations were categorized as casual, conversational, cathartic, abusive, or hostile. Participants could state that they did not know what to write rather than completing the gap-fill. Most of Kapoor's items were altered or rewritten to be more intelligible for participants with lower English proficiency and to include situations that may not involve face-to-face interactions (text messaging, internet reviews, etc.). Each situational category had two items, one open item which could be answered with a variety of correct answers, and one closed item that allowed for only one or two correct answers. The exception to this was for conversational items, where finding a sentence limited to only one answer meant leading to a slur on a group of people which was deemed unethical to include. Therefore, a second open item was included for conversational items.

Section 5: Productive Test Example Items

5.6 D, upon not being able to find D's house keys, says: "What the _____, I can't find the keys again!" (Cathartic – Closed)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

5.10 B, when with an annoying colleague C, says strongly: "_____ off!" (Hostile – Closed)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

For profanity recognition, participants selected the taboo word from a presented sentence. Participants could also select that they did not know the answer or that no taboo words were in the sentence. 7 sentences contained

taboo words, 3 did not. Distractors were included in two of the sentences with profanity and all sentences without profanity. Distractors were short, low-frequency words, unlikely to be known by participants while still feasible as profanity due to appearance (Bergen, 2016, p. 31). All words besides profanity and distracters were of common frequency.

Section 6: Profanity Recognition Test Example Items

6.6 Jesus, that's a hefty hock.

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / Jesus / that’s / a / hefty / hock

6.9 Egad! I think I know the answer!

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / Egad / I / think / know / the / answer

Semantic knowledge of profanity was tested with a single item consisting of 10 social situations accompanied with a verbal or written statement containing profanity. Participants selected items where the social situation and verbal statement matched. Each social situation had the potential for profanity usage, and each of the statements were valid uses of profanity grammatically. While a longer format of multiple questions with each statement being given several potential social situations to choose from, or vice versa, may have yielded more accurate results, the shorter format was chosen to reduce questionnaire length and risk of participant withdrawal.

Section 7: Semantic Knowledge of Profanity Test Example Items

From the following sentences, check those sentences that you think are correct based on the given situation.

□ H, after losing a competition, says: "This is bullshit!" (7.1)

□ B, upon reluctantly agreeing to participate, says: "Fuck yeah!" (7.10)

In section 8, participants rated how often they encounter profanity in daily life situations and activities (such as listening to music or talking with one’s teacher outside of class) on a 7-pt. Likert scale from 1= “[I] never encounter English taboo language” to 7=”[I] always encounter English taboo language” regarding each activity. The 7-pt. scale was chosen based on the findings from Lee et al. (2002) on Japanese questionnaire participants. Participants could

instead state that they do not do the activity. Language encounter scenarios were adapted from Briggs (2015) with additional categories added from piloting and reduced to small phrases for brevity. Additionally, purely productive items (e.g. writing) were removed as receptive encounters were the focus of this study. Other items were cut or altered due to irrelevance to this study (e.g. “In England, outside of class, I speak English to my teacher/instructor”). Participants were asked to report only on experiences within Japan, as the focus of the study is Japanese EFL rather than ESL context.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 RQ1 Results

Table 3

English Profanity Knowledge Scores by Test

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Productive	276	3.208	2.9085	.1751
Receptive	266	5.55	1.482	.091
Semantic	264	6.28	1.681	.103
Combined	257	15.175	4.7548	.2966

Each item on the profanity knowledge test was given a score of 1 for a correct answer, and 0 for an incorrect answer. Points for the productivity test were determined by the researcher and two other native English judges, each coming from a different English-speaking country. Two judges were male, and one was female. All judges were each at least 10 years apart in age from each other. The judges scored the tests individually and scores were compared. When scores differed, the judges consulted until they agreed on a final score. Half-points were issued for uses of minced oaths[6] when used correctly, and for word/spelling choices that gave the reader pause but would not disrupt communication (i.e. receptive interlocutor desires clarification). Selection of “I do not know what to write” was scored as 0. See Appendix G for scoring details. Scores for each overall section were calculated only for participants that had completed all items of the section. Likewise, combined scores only calculated if

[6] “A semi-technical term for a SWEARWORD modified so as to be used without giving offence: *God* modified to *Gosh*, *shit* to *shoot*” (McArthur, McArthur, & McArthur, 2005).

all sections were completed. Mean scores for each section and the mean for participants that completed all sections are listed in Table 3. Individual section scores are found in Tables 4-6.

Participants scored highest in semantic knowledge. This was an unexpected result considering the limited uses of Japanese profanity. However, this may have been due to insensitive item-design with a 50/50 percent chance to be correct on each item, and with no option to select not knowing the answer. Receptive knowledge was moderate, showing that despite profanity generally not being taught in school, learners are noticing these words elsewhere. Finally, productive knowledge was lowest but also the most varied. This may be attributed to low opportunities for productive usage or aversion to usage as postulated in 1.5.1 or may be from gap-fill item design being more difficult than other sections.

Productive Knowledge

Table 4

English Profanity Productive Knowledge Mean Scores by Item

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
5.1 Casual-Open	291	.418	.4861	.0285
5.2 Casual-Closed	287	.247	.4282	.0253
5.3 Abusive-Open	292	.295	.4528	.0265
5.4 Abusive-Closed	293	.244	.4272	.0250
5.5 Cathartic-Open	292	.342	.4717	.0276
5.6 Cathartic-Closed	290	.605	.4762	.0280
5.7 Conversational-Open	289	.114	.3047	.0179
5.7 Conversational-Open	287	.134	.3323	.0196
5.9 Hostile-Open	290	.202	.4009	.0235
5.10 Hostile-Closed	279	.545	.4916	.0294

The lowest productive scores were from conversational uses. This may reflect the higher “burden” mentioned by Nation (2013, p. 44) for word knowledge in areas where the L1 and L2 differ, at present the lack of conversational taboo language in Japanese. Unlike conversational taboo language, abusive taboo words are found in Japanese but were also difficult for Japanese participants. This may instead have arisen from the different categorizations of taboo topics

that direct insults come from in the two languages. It was expected that closed options would be more difficult for participants. However, the two highest scores were from closed items. Both items were correctly scored with the use of the word *fuck*, but it is unlikely that the high scores are results of guessing strategy alone considering the comparatively low answers of *fuck* found in other items. Knowledge of the phrase *what the fuck* may be explained by its high frequency (13,991 occurrences in COCA; Davies, 2008-, b), but the same cannot be said for the phrase *fuck off*. Perhaps the latter phrase elicits more usage of vocabulary strategies or elicits more effective vocabulary strategy use. Finally, attempts to directly translate Japanese insulting language and words from Japanese taboo topics were also found in several items (*dumb*/*idiot*/*moron*/ *stupid*, *die*/*kill*, *crazy*, *fool*/*foolish*), showing participants' reliance on the L1.

Receptive Knowledge

Table 5

English Profanity Receptive Knowledge Mean Scores by Item

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
6.1 "fuck"	271	.95	.214	.013
6.2 "shitty"	271	.91	.290	.018
6.3 "hell"	270	.75	.433	.026
6.4 "piss"	271	.80	.400	.024
6.5 "ass"	268	.85	.353	.022
6.6 "Jesus"	270	.06	.229	.014
6.7 "bastard"	272	.61	.489	.030
6.8 distractor "boon"	273	.12	.331	.020
6.9 distractor "egad"	268	.17	.374	.023
6.10 distractor "oft"	271	.32	.468	.028

Low scores on receptive distractor items were in part due to incorrect selection of distractors, indicating that some participants were guessing unknown words to be profanity. This may mean that results from items containing profanity with no distractor (6.1-6.5) may have been guessed rather than known. The one score that greatly deviates from the others is item 6.6 with the interjective use of *Jesus*, with only 15 participants selecting correctly. This maybe related to the lack of religious taboo words in Japanese and the use of Jesus as a non-taboo word when not used as an interjection, making this word harder to recognize as taboo.

Logically, the word *hell* would also follow this pattern, but the recognition of *hell* as a swearword may be attributed to similarities with the Japanese taboo topic of death and the highly offensive Japanese phrase *jigoku ike* (meaning *go to hell*).

Semantic Knowledge

Table 6

English Profanity Semantic Knowledge Mean Scores by Item

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
7.1 correct "bullshit"	266	.58	.494	.030
7.2 correct "fucked up"	266	.39	.489	.030
7.3 correct "Jesus Christ"	265	.62	.487	.030
7.4 correct "fucking"	266	.58	.495	.030
7.5 correct "bitching"	265	.52	.500	.031
7.6 incorrect "cock"	265	.79	.409	.025
7.7 incorrect "shitting me"	265	.89	.313	.019
7.8 incorrect "pissed off"	265	.60	.492	.030
7.9 incorrect "damn"	266	.55	.499	.031
7.10 incorrect "fuck yeah"	266	.76	.426	.026

For semantic function, as stated above, insensitive item design may have resulted in middling. However, that learners were correct more than incorrect on all but one item indicates the participants have some knowledge in this area. This item was 7.2 (F, when relaying to friend G that F did something bad, says: "I really fucked up."). It is unclear as to why this usage was difficult for learners, but one possibility is the multiple meaning of the phrase *fucked up* that can indicate an intoxicated state, ruination of something, something disturbing, or a mistake made. Perhaps some learners know one of the other meanings and falsely assume it to be the only meaning, and this occurred in enough participants to affect results. The item with both the highest score and lowest standard deviation was 7.7 (D, concerned about friend E's health, messages: "You're shitting me."). One possible explanation for this high score is the connections between the word *shit* and Japanese *kuso*. The topic of health indicates a literal usage of the word, but the Japanese version of the word cannot be used to literal mean *feces*. Participants may have assumed this restriction for the use of the word *shit* as well and guessed correctly without knowing the meaning of the phrase. One other

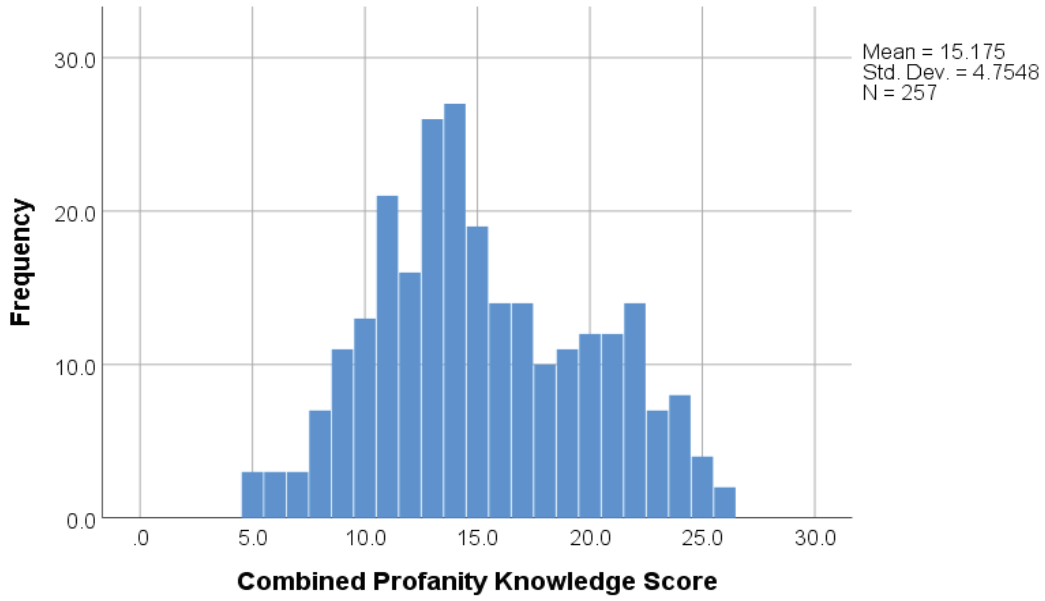
possibility is the serious tone of topic, where usage of profanity may be viewed as inappropriate and therefore incorrect from a Japanese viewpoint.

3.2.2 RQ2 Results

A histogram of combined scores from participants that completed all sections was used to determine normal distribution, indicating a slightly uneven distribution, but within reasonable boundaries for conducting further parametric tests (Figure 3). Therefore, a univariate analysis of variance was performed with the dependent factor of combined profanity knowledge to the fixed factors of participant backgrounds (Table 7). The factors of English proficiency and abroad experience were the only two factors that significantly affected combined profanity knowledge (p=.004 and p=.001 respectively).

Figure 3

Histogram of Combined Profanity Knowledge Scores



Many factors that were expected to affect English profanity knowledge failed to show significance. Gendered use of profanity in the L1 would presumably result in differing scores between male and female participants, but it may be that this gendered aspect does not extend to the L2, or that overall knowledge remains the same between men and women, while other aspects such as frequency of usage in the L2 may be significantly different. Similarly, a

relationship with style of acquisition was expected, but perhaps being surrounded by Japanese culture and continuous L1 reduced opportunity to encounter profanity, even in natural daily life language learning situations. As for an L3, perhaps it is insignificant unless at a higher proficiency or only has an effect if it shares similarities in taboo language use to English. Other factors of age, English major, education, and age of onset were all insignificant. This may be from a shared education system that generally excludes discussion of profanity.

Table 7

9-Way Univariate Analysis of Variance of Participant Background Factors on Combined Profanity Knowledge Score

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Combined Profanity Knowledge Score

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	2507.052[a]	23	109.002	8.241	.000
Intercept	12390.774	1	12390.774	936.801	.000
Gender	41.059	1	41.059	3.104	.079
English Proficiency	233.714	5	46.743	3.534	.004*
Age	79.692	4	19.923	1.506	.201
Education	73.231	3	24.410	1.846	.140
English major	17.057	1	17.057	1.290	.257
Style of acquisition	110.574	4	27.643	2.090	.083
Age of onset	30.324	3	10.108	.764	.515
Experience abroad	164.818	1	164.818	12.461	.001*
Third language	1.311	1	1.311	.099	.753
Error	2962.778	224	13.227		
Total	62007.250	248			
Corrected Total	5469.830	247			

a. R Squared = .458 (Adjusted R Squared = .403)

*Significant score (p<.05)

English Proficiency

A post-hoc Bonferroni multiple comparisons test was performed comparing combined profanity knowledge score to levels of English proficiency. Comparing each proceeding level of proficiency showed significant gains only between levels

A2*B1 and levels B1*B2 (Table 8), with a medium-large gain between levels A2*B1 (2.395 mean difference, *d*=.65), and a large gain of between levels B1*B2 (3.122 mean difference, *d*=.86). Insignificance between levels A1*B2 may be explained by a lack of interest in participation for a study on taboo language in typical low-level learners. This may be evidenced the increasing incompletion rate in participants that had competed at least one item[7], and by several deviant cases in A1 participants.[8] Lack of significancy in other progressive levels may be explained by more gradual learning, evidenced by significancy between larger progressions in proficiency (including significancy between levels B2*C2 when outliers are removed). Figure 4 provides visualization of the means by proficiency level.

Table 8

Post-hoc Multiple Comparison of Combined Profanity Knowledge Score by English Proficiency Level

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Combined Profanity Knowledge Score

Bonferroni

(I) English proficiency	(J) English proficiency	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval Lower Bound	95% Confidence Interval Upper Bound
A1	A2	.936	.9708	1.000	-1.944	3.816
	B1	-1.481	.8418	1.000	-3.978	1.017
	B2	-4.451*	.9192	.000	-7.179	-1.724
	C1	-6.739*	1.0724	.000	-9.921	-3.557
	C2	-7.008*	1.1445	.000	-10.404	-3.613
A2	A1	-.936	.9708	1.000	-3.816	1.944
	B1	-2.417*	.7078	.011	-4.517	-.317
	B2	-5.387*	.7983	.000	-7.756	-3.019
	C1	-7.675*	.9708	.000	-10.556	-4.795
	C2	-7.944*	1.0499	.000	-11.059	-4.829
B1	A1	1.481	.8418	1.000	-1.017	3.978
	A2	2.417*	.7078	.011	.317	4.517
	B2	-2.971*	.6352	.000	-4.855	-1.086
	C1	-5.258*	.8418	.000	-7.756	-2.761
	C2	-5.528*	.9319	.000	-8.293	-2.763

[7] Completion rates: A1 75%, A2 84%, B1 85%, B2 88%, C1 86%, C2 95%

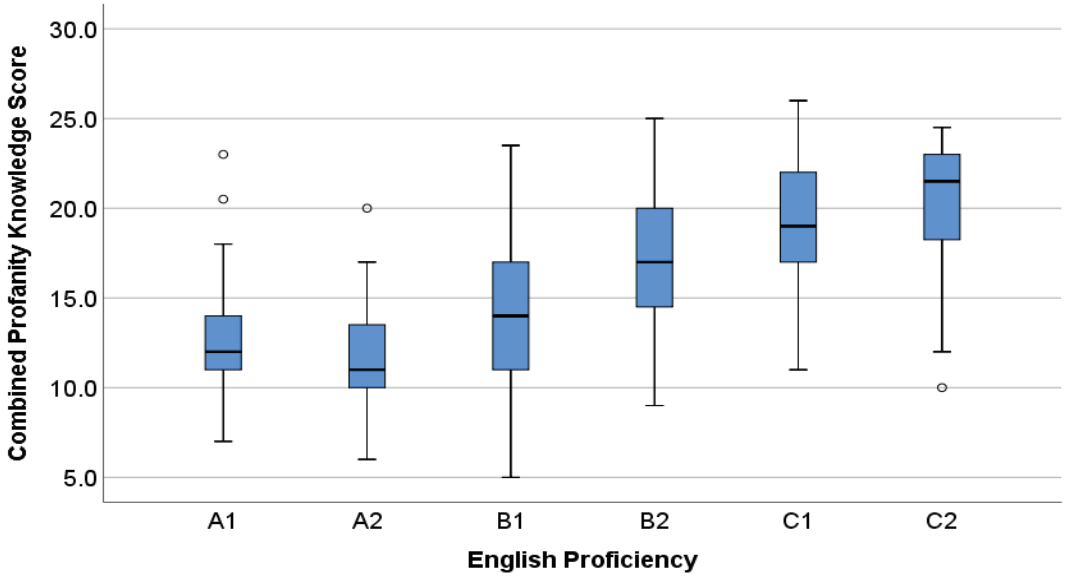
[8] Responses from Study 2 indicate deviant cases in all levels to be genuine answers rather than chance correct guessing, hence why they were included in the chart results.

(I) English proficiency	(J) English proficiency	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval Lower Bound	95% Confidence Interval Upper Bound
B2	A1	4.451*	.9192	.000	1.724	7.179
	A2	5.387*	.7983	.000	3.019	7.756
	B1	2.971*	.6352	.000	1.086	4.855
	C1	-2.288	.9192	.203	-5.015	.439
	C2	-2.557	1.0024	.171	-5.531	.417
C1	A1	6.739*	1.0724	.000	3.557	9.921
	A2	7.675*	.9708	.000	4.795	10.556
	B1	5.258*	.8418	.000	2.761	7.756
	B2	2.288	.9192	.203	-.439	5.015
	C2	-.269	1.1445	1.000	-3.665	3.126
C2	A1	7.008*	1.1445	.000	3.613	10.404
	A2	7.944*	1.0499	.000	4.829	11.059
	B1	5.528*	.9319	.000	2.763	8.293
	B2	2.557	1.0024	.171	-.417	5.531
	C1	.269	1.1445	1.000	-3.126	3.665

Based on observed means.
The error term is Mean Square(Error) = 13.227.
*Significant score (p<.05)

Figure 4

Combined Profanity Knowledge Scores Grouped by English Proficiencies



Experience Abroad

An Independent Samples t-Test found significantly higher profanity knowledge in participants with experience living abroad in an English-speaking country for 3+ months (p=.000), with a mean score difference of 5.291 points.

However, there were few advanced participants with no abroad experience and very few beginner participants with abroad experience. This means the large gain may be attributed to proficiency, so further analysis was performed. Numbers of beginner and advanced participants with varying abroad experience were not viable for analysis due to small sample size. Therefore, a Univariate Analysis of Covalence was performed with the fixed factor of intermediate proficiencies combined with abroad experience. Post-hoc Bonferroni showed significant, large gains of those with the same proficiency but differing abroad experience (Table 9; see Figure 5 for visualization). This indicates greater opportunities for encounter in English-speaking countries and therefore incidental learning or motivation for intentional learning, as postulated in section 1.5.1.

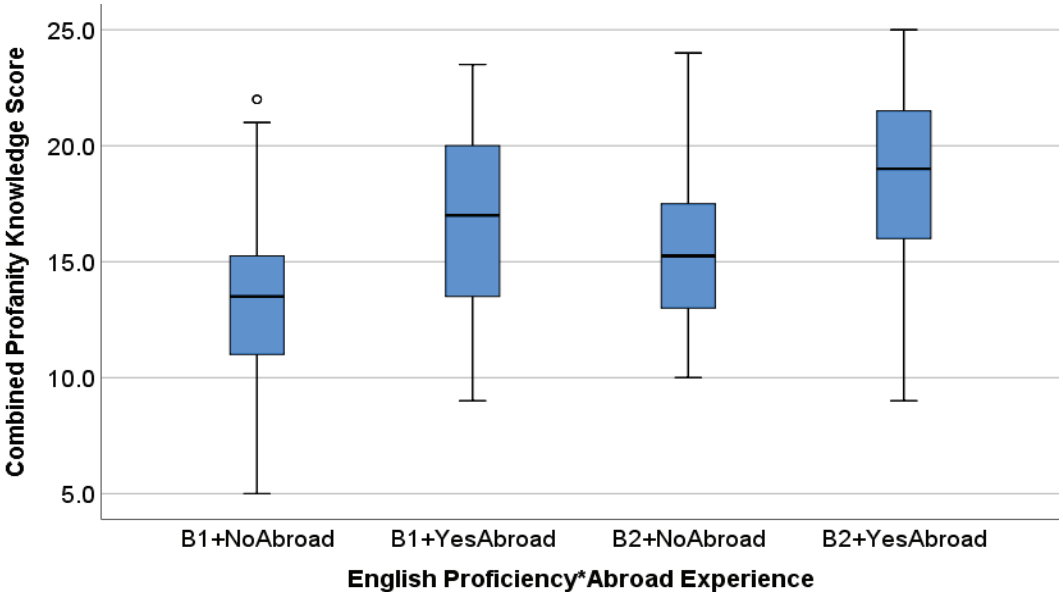
Table 9

Difference in Mean Combined Profanity Knowledge Across Combined Factors of Intermediate English Proficiencies and Abroad Experience

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean Difference	Effect size (*d*)
B1+NoAbroad	83	13.518	4.1404	3.114	0.77
B1+YesAbroad	19	16.632	3.9786		
B2+NoAbroad	24	15.563	3.4588	3.187	0.87
B2+YesAbroad	26	18.75	3.8814		

Figure 5

Mean Combined Profanity Knowledge Scores Across Combined Factors of Intermediate English Proficiencies and Abroad Experience



3.2.3 RQ3 Results

This question was posed with the intent of informing the design of Study 2 but still provided valuable insights into language encounter opportunities for Japanese learners of English. Table 10 shows whether the participants engage in said activity and reported frequency of profanity encounters by situation type. Participants that selected not doing the selected activity were removed from mean analysis. Most activities were rated as low-frequency for profanity encounters (Likert-scale points 1-2). Only 3 scenarios were scored above 4 points (movies/DVDs, comments on the internet, and social media). This confirms the postulations from section 1.5.1 that most encounters with profanity are via media and the internet.

After visual inspection, a pattern of correlation between higher average frequency of encounter and higher participant disagreement (i.e. standard deviation) emerged. The relationship was confirmed via regression analysis ($r=0.866$, $p=.000$ see Appendix H for scatterplot). This could denote some learners filtering media that contains profanity due to personal preference on profanity itself or on the types of media that contain frequent profanity usage. This may also be due to proficiency divides, with lower-proficiency learners more frequently interacting with L1 media thus decreasing encounters with profanity. All learners reported far fewer encounters from in-person and interpersonal interactions, with lesser disagreement between participants. This may relate to preserving face during such interactions or may denote that these interactions are more commonly performed in Japanese by all participants.

Table 10

Reported Frequency of Encounters With English Profanity

Activity	Does not engage in activity (N)	Engages in activity (N)	Mean Likert Score	Std. Deviation
Movies, DVDs	6	262	4.56	2.04
Comments on the internet	10	256	4.2	1.955
Social media	12	256	4.04	1.946
Music or songs	5	262	3.84	1.963
Reviews on the internet	16	252	3.67	1.982
Internet webpages	11	256	3.17	1.898
Video games	80	187	2.98	2.045
TV programs	20	248	2.93	1.922
Comics	78	188	2.77	1.832
Listening to other people's conversations	9	256	2.72	1.788
Signs, posters, T-shirts, menus, etc.	23	243	2.41	1.677
When talking with friends	10	256	2.4	1.721
Talking to those who cannot speak Japanese	23	245	2.32	1.783
Novels	46	222	2.3	1.607
Radio programs or podcasts	48	219	2.29	1.693
When messaging friends	13	253	2.29	1.614
Magazines	50	218	2.03	1.612
Getting information from other people	15	250	2	1.407
Talking to those who can speak Japanese	7	261	1.93	1.379
Talking to someone you live with	43	224	1.75	1.48
Email	23	245	1.58	1.183
Talking with your teacher outside of class	34	233	1.5	1.103
Talking with your teacher inside class	29	237	1.38	1.004
Listening to your teacher talk	20	248	1.38	0.945

Note. Table sorted by average mean Likert score

4. Study 2

4.1 Methodology

Participants

Purposive sampling was used to select candidates based on significant English proficiency levels (A1, B1, B2, and C2) whose combined profanity knowledge score fell within standard deviation of average scores for combined groups of English proficiency and abroad experience.[9] Three additional participants whose scores deviated from their peers were also interviewed. The first had A1 proficiency with no abroad experience but scored 23.0 points for combined profanity knowledge, whereas all other participants with a score this high had at least B1 proficiency with abroad experience or B2 proficiency, most still with abroad experience. Conversely, the second had C2 with no abroad experience but only scored 12.0 for combined profanity knowledge. The final was initially chosen for a low score, but upon completion of the interview, it was found that she had misinterpreted the question about abroad experience, meaning that her low score was not an outlying score. However, by chance, she revealed herself to be Christian, and engaged with certain encountered profanity in unique ways, so selected data from her interview was still used for analysis.

Table 11

Interview Participant Profiles

Participant Code	English Proficiency	Abroad Experience	Combined Profanity Score	Deviation
Participant-A1	A1	Yes	11.0	n/a
Participant-B1	B1	Yes	17.0	n/a
Participant-B2	B2	Yes	18.5	n/a
Participant-C2	C2	Yes	21.5	n/a
Participant-DL	C2	No	12.0	low score
Participant-DH	A1	No	23.0	high score
Participant-DR	B1	No	9.0	religious

[9] Participants of matching levels with less abroad experience were contacted, resulting in only one interview. However, the interview failed to yield usable results due to poor recording quality. Therefore, the study proceeded with main effect participants with abroad experience.

Instrument

Based on the work of Briggs (2015), two OWLS were constructed mimicking the two situations with highest profanity encounters found from results of RQ3, movies and comments on the internet. Like Briggs's OWLS, each situation contained a "scene-setter" before introducing the main content. Unlike Briggs's OWLS, each was longer and with multiple target words that matched during each OWLS. Multiple target lexis allowed insight to how different targets are engaged with within the same scenario. Matching lexis in each scenario allowed insights on how the same lexis are engaged with in different scenarios. To minimize the effect of contextual intention, participants were told to view the media as they would when naturally viewing a movie or webpage at home, and to proceed as they normally would when encountering difficult to understand online comments in real life. One additional difference to Briggs's study was the location of the interviews being online via the web conferencing software Zoom. All participants seemed to be at home, making the setting slightly more natural. Participant and researcher videos were hidden during initial viewing of the movie stimulus, and researcher video was hidden during initial viewing of the webpage stimulus to allow for more immersion into the simulated scenario.

For the movie stimulus, a clip from the movie Dirty Grandpa (DG; Mazer, 2016) was chosen its ease of being understood without larger plot context, multiple uses of target language, and presence of potential distractors. Moreover, the movie was not popular in Japan, and was unlikely to have been previously viewed by participants; no previous viewing was confirmed by all participants. The clip included all contextual types of profanity as described by Kapoor (2016) except for abusive profanity. The movie was searched to find a secondary clip containing abusive language. However, no suitable scene was found that did not use language targeting a specific group of people and could be understood without knowledge further plot context. Three versions of the movie clip were prepared, with L1 subtitles, with L2 subtitles, and with no subtitles. Participants were shown the version of the movie clip that most closely matched their reported natural movie-viewing habits. The "scene-setter" was a short clip of the production company's intro which was edited to transition seamlessly into the

movie clip to evoke the feeling of watching the beginning scene of a movie (see Appendix I for selected stills).

Target language for recall was all audible taboo language with the addition of four other words. Two taboo words said in succession (“Motherfucker, Jesus!”) were difficult to hear in the clip but were chosen as target vocabulary due to how they were subtitled. L2 subtitles were not displayed during the utterance, while L1 subtitles displayed the Japanese word *bicchi* (loanword from *bitch*) combined with a tag particle to mean “Slut, isn’t she?” This difference between what was uttered and what was subtitled in both versions of the stimulus presented potential insight into how subtitling negotiates engagement. Next, the word *jamba* was exclaimed by one character while jokingly poking his thumb up his grandson’s clothed posterior. The word was unlikely to be known by participants and could potentially be mistaken as taboo from its context of use. Here too the subtitles differed. For this word, L2 subtitles were displayed, while L1 subtitles were not displayed during the utterance. Finally, the word *vagina* was included as a target. While L1 subtitles indicated a non-profane word by use of euphemism over direct translation, it was chosen for study to see if L1 influence caused this word to be mistaken for profanity. See Appendix J for context of movie clip taboo words.

For the webpage stimulus, a PowerPoint presentation was made to mimic the look and scrolling movement of a YouTube webpage. This website was chosen for being well-known and popular, meaning participants were likely familiar with it, appearing as such from responses by all participants except Participant-A1. The simulated webpage was for the music video *Bang Bang* (BB) that had received over 1 billion views (Jessie J, 2014). Participants were told the number of views before initial viewing to elicit natural interest in the comments and therefore more natural engagement. The “scene-setter” was the final 20-second clip of the music video, which contained no taboo language. Once finished, the screen scrolled down to the next section. The screen was scrolled again when participants signaled finishing each section. Two versions were created, one for a computer screen and one for a smaller screen (i.e. for a smartphone or tablet; see Appendix K for selected initial and recall slides). Participants selected the version that felt more natural to them from an example comment section containing no target vocabulary. Differences between the two

versions were deemed negligible in affecting results. All participants chose the smaller screen version except for Participant-DL and Participant-DH.

Comments containing target language were found using the comment search software YTComment Finder. When no suitable comments could be found from the “scene-setter” YouTube video, comment sections from other YouTube music videos were searched. Comments were selected for use of target language that matched the meaning and usage of those from the movie and were not overly complex or lengthy (confirmed through piloting). During analysis, it was noticed that one movie stimulus target (coded DG17) did not have a matching webpage stimulus target. Another target (coded DG19) was conversational in the movie stimulus but was casual in the matching movie stimulus (coded BB19). Additionally, three non-target words that pilot participants reported interest in were added for study: *wtf*, *sucks*, and *die*. Comments containing target words were arranged to look natural, with non-target comments placed at intervals to mimic the timing of non-taboo language intervals from the movie stimulus. No alterations were made to the comments nor the surrounding webpage other than timestamps that did not match the upload time of the chosen “scene-setter”. See Appendix L for list of comments and sources.

Protocol

Participants were contacted and a time was chosen for the interview. Interviews were performed in Japanese except with Participant-C1, who preferred English. Participants could answer in either Japanese or English. After obtaining consent, interview recording began. First the movie stimulus was shown, then the webpage stimulus. For movie stimulus recall, an altered version of the movie clip was played with built-in pauses after sentences containing target language that showed the accompanying subtitles. Interview questions were semi-structured, participants being asked what they were thinking during initial viewing about what the character had said, being able to report verbal thoughts, non-verbal thoughts, and feelings. This was followed by both pre-determined and spontaneous follow-up questions used to clarify participant answers, clarify level of engagement, and ascertain patterns of engagement by the participant. After movie stimulus recall, participants were asked if any language from the movie clip stood out.

For webpage stimulus recall, an altered version of the simulated webpage was shown, each comment being successively outlined for attention. Comments containing target vocabulary were marked with a thought-bubble icon (see Appendix K for visual). Participants reported their thoughts from initial viewing for comments with the icon. Underlining was used to direct participants to thoughts about individual words. A similar semi-structured interview design was followed, but with altered questions to match the webpage format. Likewise, a similar post-recall question was also asked after webpage stimulus recall.

Recall protocol was highly informed by Gass & Mackey (2017). Participants were told to recall their initial thoughts during the second viewing of the stimuli. The researcher continuously confirmed that reported thoughts had occurred during initial viewing. Participants were also informed of the option to pause recall to share thoughts on non-target language. Participants were assured several times about the acceptability of reporting no thoughts about the target stimulus. A training session was performed before the stimulus media to ensure that participants understood the format of the interview. Training session media consisted of a shorter movie clip from a different movie and a different simulated YouTube music video webpage, neither containing taboo language. After the recall sessions concluded, participants were asked several follow-up questions to check validity of the data collected and to gain further insight into answers given in both Study 1 and 2. See Appendix M for a list of all predetermined questions.

Piloting was performed with 5 pilot participants of differing English proficiencies and differing experiences abroad.[10] The researcher attempted to find a C2-proficiency participant for piloting but was unsuccessful. The piloting session was used to ensure that interview questions and format were comprehensible and to check for potential technological issues. In retrospect, the study would have benefited from further piloting to improve the novice researcher's interview technique. Poor technique may have led to lower data validity. Because of this, there were several instances where the researcher did not ask pertinent follow-up questions, failed to clarify if thoughts occurred during

[10] A1 N=1, A2 N=1, B1 N=1, B2 N=1, C1 N=1; abroad experience N=2, no abroad experience N=3

initial viewing, and may have “fished” for answers (Gass & Mackey, 2017, p. 54). Additionally, some instances where the participant reported the target word’s meaning were interpreted by the researcher at time of interview to classify as engagement with the word. While this is probable, another possibility is that the learner passively understood the meaning but decided to report on the word knowing the general focus of the study on taboo language. Because the researcher did not ask if the word was selected for attention at the time of interview, data was interpreted based on previous participant answers and how the participant described their ideas on the word.

4.2 RQ4 Results

Each target encounter was coded for use of a vocabulary learning strategy (VLS) via a VLS taxonomy (see Appendix N). The taxonomy was adapted from Bytheway (2015), who studied VLS in massive multiplayer online role-play games.[11] An inductive approach to qualitative content analysis, as described by Selvi (2020), was used to identify several elements that were associated with the learners’ engagement with the target vocabulary, finding 7 main contributory factors: stimulus format, subtitles, word form, emotional impact, frequency, L1, and abroad experience. This section summarizes how taboo word engagement was negotiated by each of these elements in non-deviant participants. Following that, the three deviant participants unique engagement with the language will be described, finding one additional contributory factor: attitude. Table 12 lists all target language encounters coded for VLS use and contributory elements that negotiated interactions for each encounter. The table does not include engagement from Participant-DR whose data was only used for partial analysis.

Note. Participant quotes included in this section were confirmed to be thoughts during initial viewing unless otherwise stated. All included quotes can be found in Appendix O-U with the original Japanese are denoted by an asterisk; other quotes also included in the appendices are denoted by a double asterisk.

[11] The present author received a copy of Briggs’s (2015) taxonomy for use in the present study, but due to a computer issue, the taxonomy data was lost. Therefore, the researcher relied solely on the work of Bytheway (2015) rather than the planned combination of the two taxonomies. Other taxonomies found when searching for the present study were not well-suited for daily life encounters, similarly noted by Briggs (2015, p. 298-299).

Table 12

Participant Engagement With Target Words and Contributary Elements

Target	No.	A1	B1	B2	C2	DL	DH
fucked	DG1			VLS	VLS		VLS
		format	format			format	
	BB1	VLS	VLS	VLS		VLS	VLS
			form				
no shit	DG2			VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS
		format		form			
	BB2	VLS		VLS		VLS	unclear
			emotion	frequency		frequency	
oh my god	DG3						VLS
		format; subtitles	L1	L1	L1	L1	
	BB3			VLS			
		L1	L1		L1		
sucks	BB4	VLS	VLS			VLS	
		emotion					
fucked/ fuck	DG5		VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS
		format; subtitles	emotion			subtitles	subtitles
	BB5	VLS	VLS		VLS	VLS	VLS
			frequency				
fuck/ fucked	DG6		VLS	VLS	VLS		VLS
		format	format; subtitles	frequency		format; subtitles	subtitles; frequency
	BB6	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS	unclear	
		frequency	form; emotion				
slut	DG7			VLS	VLS		unclear
		format; subtitles	format			format	subtitles
	BB7	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS
die	BB8		VLS				VLS
			emotion				

Target	No.	A1	B1	B2	C2	DL	DH
bitch	DG9				VLS		
		format	format	frequency		format	
	BB9		VLS		unclear	VLS	VLS
			emotion; L1		L1	L1	
wtf	BB10	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS
			emotion				
fucking	DG11				VLS		
		format; subtitles	format; subtitles		frequency	format	
	BB11	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS
		form; L1	emotion; form	form	form	form	
piece of shit	DG12				VLS		
		format; subtitles	format; subtitles		frequency	format	
	BB12	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS
		form	form; emotion	form	form	form	
God	DG13						VLS
		format	format	L1	L1	format	
	BB13						unclear
			L1				
holy shit	DG14			VLS	VLS	VLS	VLS
		format					
	BB14	VLS	VLS			VLS	
						frequency	
jamba	DG15				VLS		
		format; subtitles	format; subtitles				format; subtitles
	BB15	VLS	VLS		VLS	VLS	unclear
what the fuck	DG16				VLS	VLS	VLS
		format	format; subtitles				
	BB16	VLS	VLS		VLS	VLS	VLS
		emotion; L1; frequency			form	form	form
oh my god	DG17						VLS
		format	L1	subtitles	L1	format	

Target	No.	A1	B1	B2	C2	DL	DH
fucking	DG18		**VLS**	**VLS**	**VLS**	**VLS**	**VLS**
		format	emotion; frequency				
	BB18		**VLS**	**VLS**		**VLS**	**VLS**
		L1				L1	
bitches/ bitch	DG19		**VLS**	**VLS**	**VLS**		**VLS**
		format	emotion; L1		L1	format	
	BB19	**VLS**	**VLS**			**VLS**	
holy shit	DG20			**VLS**			**VLS**
		format					
	BB20	**VLS**	**VLS**			**VLS**	**VLS**
		frequency				frequency	
vagina	DG21		**VLS**		**VLS**	**VLS**	**VLS**
		format; subtitles	emotion; L1; subtitles		L1	subtitles	
	BB21		**VLS**	**VLS**	**VLS**	**VLS**	
			emotion; L1	emotion; L1	L1		
holy shit	DG22		**VLS**			**VLS**	**VLS**
		format	frequency			frequency	
	BB22	**VLS**				**VLS**	**VLS**
		frequency	frequency				
mother- fucker/ mother- fuckers	DG23						
		subtitles	subtitles	subtitles	subtitles	subtitles	
	BB23	**VLS**	**VLS**	**VLS**	**VLS**	**unclear**	**VLS**
			form; emotion				
Jesus	DG24						
		subtitles	subtitles	subtitles	subtitles	subtitles	
	BB24	**VLS**					**unclear**
			L1	L1	L1	L1	

Note. Data from three encounters containing four target words in Participant-DH's interview were removed from study due to technological interference. See Appendix V for details and list of other technological interferences that occurred.

4.2.1 Elements Found to Negotiate Learner Engagement

Stimulus Format

The two lower-level participants interacted less with target vocabulary when presented in the movie clip. This may be attributed to low listening proficiency considering reports of not noticing the words and the same words being perceived in the written format. This effect was most extreme in Participant-A1, who reported not perceiving any target words in the movie stimulus. Contextual intention may also be related to this result as this participant reported usually watching English movies dubbed into Japanese and not thinking about the words used in English when watching movies.

In addition to these, Participant-B1 had three instances of misperceiving target language for other words: *fucked* heard as *fat* (B1-DG1)*, no shit* as *ah, shit* (B1-DG2), and *slut* as *slave* (B1-DG7). When reporting what words stood out to this participant after initial viewing of the movie clip, the word *slave* was reported as standing out along with the words *bitch, [va]gina,* and *fuck.* This could signal that this word was misinterpreted as a swearword with influence from the Japanese subtitles, *shirigaru onna* (translating to “loose woman”), but was not confirmed with a direct question.

Subtitles

The effects seen from stimulus format were also negotiated by subtitle choice, with the two higher-level participants choosing to watch the movie clip with L2 subtitles. Written input accompanying the spoken input may have increased the ability for words to be noticed. Moreover, L2 subtitles without matching meaning or omission may have hindered lower-level participants from noticing the words. This gives disadvantage to lower proficiency learners who do not yet have the language skill to watch movies without L1 support.

Both lower-level participants reported focusing their attention on the subtitles rather than the spoken English, Participant-B1 stating as such directly, and Participant-A1 reporting thoughts regarding subtitles. Participant-A1 appeared to only focus on the subtitles, disregarding the spoken English, “[I] imagine from, these subtitles but, quite s-, [she] is not the type [I] like, yeah, [I

thought]" (e.g. A1-DG3/5*). Participant-B2 also reported the same, "[I] normally listened with, um, [use of] the subtitles, so, what is it, [I] didn't really understand what was said quickly" (B1-DG11/12*). However, at other times reported using the subtitles to aid in understanding of target language: "Comparing together with the Japanese subtitles, the feeling was like "Ah, that such meaning" (e.g. B1-DG6*). However, this aid in understanding only occurred in words that had a direct translation, and this same strategy may have caused possible misunderstanding of the word *slave* as stated above.

Lack of corresponding subtitles also appeared to affect those with L2 subtitles. DG23/24 was uttered quickly and is only slightly audible, so the results of no participant being able to perceive the utterance was expected. However, the two participants that were not shown subtitles for the utterance reported not noticing that anything was said (B2-DG23/24*; C2-DG23/24**). In contrast, Participant-B1 noticed that something was said, though could not fully hear it due to the low audibility (B1-DG23/24**). This noticing was likely due to the L1 subtitles including transcription for the line.

> *Researcher:* What were [you] thinking when [you] first heard what he said?
> *Participant-B2:* [He] said something just now maybe, yeah? (surprised tone) [I] didn't really understand, yeah.
> *Researcher:* Yes, could [you] not hear it the first time?
> *Participant-B2:* That's right. I couldn't hear [it]. (B2-DG23/24)

Unlike the pervious utterance, DG15 was said clearly, but there were no transcriptions on either version of the movie clip while the phrase was uttered. Only Participant-C2 reported perceiving the word during the movie stimulus. Similarly, DG17 was omitted from the sentence of use in L2 subtitles, where Participant-B2 reported not perceiving the word. However, this same target phrase was perceived by Participant-B1 despite L1 subtitles also not including the target phrase. This may indicate that lack of transcription affects learner attention differently depending on subtitle type. It seems that both those with L1 and L2 subtitles are less likely to notice a word if there are no subtitles displayed during the utterance. Those with L2 subtitles are also less likely to notice a word if it is omitted from the subtitles, with other elements such as listening proficiency perhaps reducing this effect. However, those with L1 subtitles, expecting that translations are not exact, may not be affected by the omission. Research would

need to be conducted to see if this perceived phenomenon was not a coincidental occurrence.

Word Form

Unlike the movie stimulus, all participants received the same written stimulus. One stimulus comment appeared to have the same effect on all participants due to its capitalization of target words (BB11/12: “This song is FUCKING piece of SHIT!!!”; see A1-BB11/12**, B1-BB11/12*, B2-BB11/12*, & C2-BB11/12**). Two other comments utilized capitalization (BB10, BB16) but did not elicit unanimous comment. This may be due to the capitalization of all words in the other comments rather than only taboo words in BB11/12. Novelty of capitalization may be ruled out as the comment that elicited unanimous response was placed after one other comment that used capitalization. The combination of the two taboo words in the comment may have also contributed to engagement, as noted by Participant-B2 (B2-BB11/12*).

> *Participant-B1:* Amazing… As would be expected, [I] thought, “This is also a strong expression,” but, these capital letters, because of the capitalization of “fucking” and “shit,” already, without consciousness, there is an impression that it enters the eyes, right. (B1-BB11/12)

> *Participant-B2:* The combination of this “fuck” and “shit” like this. [This] place, yeah. Combining bad words. For example, [I] heard a lot in other places “holy shit,” “fucking three hours ago,” and so on, there was the impression of just one used, you know? “Fuck,” “shit,” and so on. But, the use of the connected combination plus, um, being written in capital letters, [I] thought there was the feeling like incredible (said with emphasis) emotional arousal, astonishment*. (B2-BB11/12)
> *alternate translations: stunned, surprised, alarmed, emotionally aroused

Participant-B1 seemed to be affected by the use of affixes on target words in three webpage stimulus encounters (B1-BB1**, B1-BB6**, B1-BB22*). This did not appear to be related to L1 influence, but rather the specific conjugations creating stronger mental images and associations, thereby increasing emotional impact of the words. No other participant reported any thoughts related to affixes. Participant-B2 noted the combination of the words *no* and *shit* to have made the target phrase stand out, though due to its novelty rather than affecting emotional impact.

> *Participant-B1:* This is also strong, this also had a very strong image, you know. “Motherfucker,” “-s,” “-S’?!”
> …
> *Researcher:* Earlier, um, where “-s” was strong, somehow, why did “-s” stand out, that is?
> *Participant-B1:* Ah, somehow just “motherfucker” somehow has the image of a bad word, but the image with “-s” attached is like, this, like, people are “boom” (spreads arms forward in a widening circle), somehow an image somehow appears of a large number of people, and [I] feel that somehow a crowd of people is being struck, [I] hear it with the feeling of great rudeness. (B1-BB23)

Emotional Impact

Emotional impact appeared to affect most participants’ engagement. Participant-B2 often directly emotional impact with statements like, “[I] heard it come up to the front like, ‘bwoop’ (use of onomatopoeia) for that [word] somehow” (B1-DG5). Participant-A1 expressed negative emotional impact regarding overall usage of profanity after initial viewing of the webpage stimulus, stating, “Because ‘shit’ and ‘fuck’ appeared many times, [I felt] uneasy” (A1-BB0*). Similarly, Participant-C2 showed discomfort via face and vocal tone when saying taboo words aloud, often attempting to refrain from saying them directly by using referral words (i.e. *f-word*, *b-word*). This may indicate emotional impact. However, it may instead indicate this participant’s sensitivity to appropriacy of usage, as evidenced by this participant commonly employing the strategy of appraising appropriacy. He may have deemed use of taboo language during an interview inappropriate, even to describe his thoughts about the words. The participant mentioned such hesitation in reference to the word *bitch* in consideration of the researcher’s gender near the end of the interview (C1-X2**). It may also be that both suppositions are true.

Emotional impact inherently means that a word is being engaged with as the impact causes it to be selected for attention. But this impact is not even across words as different words have differing levels of offensiveness and therefore emotional impact, as noted in a response by Participant-B1 when asked her thoughts on the stimulus *no shit* (B1-BB2*): “The word ‘shit’ is there. But, hmm, ‘shit’ doesn’t have that, what is it, same, how to say, impact as the level of intensity ‘fuck’ has maybe” (B1-BB2*).

Frequency

The chosen media had several repeated words/phrases and contained a high concentration of profanity, with taboo words and their collates constituting approximately 7% of spoken words from the movie stimulus and 12% of content words from the webpage stimulus (i.e. not including the video title or commentor names). This had varying effects on how participants interacted with the words. Participant-A1 reported feelings of discomfort, as stated above, while other participants reported acclimation to the language. Participant-B2 reported as such when explaining lack of engagement with the word *bitch* during recall (B2-DG9**). Participant-C2 reported a similar sentiment when asked which words stood out to him in one encounter, hesitating on whether the target words stood out: “Hmm. um, maybe, shit is then, fuc-, uh, f-word. But, but yeah, it's, again, like I'm, kind of getting used to hearing those words, so, it's okay” (C2-DG11/12*). Participant-B1 went further, noting that not only did the language lose its emotional impact, but that it started to become “cute” to her (B1-BB22**). However, there was no discernable pattern of decrease in engagement as words were repeated, nor after these sentiments were stated. So, it appears that how words were engaged with changed rather than frequency of engagement.

Repetition of the same word with the same usage allowed for Participant-A1 (A1-BB20**) and Participant-B2 (B2-DG6**) to correctly guess meaning of a target word. Repetition may have also aided Participant-B1’s guess from subtitles as written above (B1-DG6*). The participant mentioned both having noticed the target word and the corresponding word from the subtitles in the immediately previous target utterance but did not mention connecting the meaning at that time (B1-DG5). It is reasonable to suspect that this quick repetition with the same usage may have helped foster the participant’s connection between the two.

For Participant-A1, repetition of the same word, *fuck*, meant repetition of the same meaning. This participant assumed the meaning to be related to sex in four out of seven encounters with the word *fuck*. Of the four, only one had a meaning related to sex. Two were used as intensifiers (A1-BB11*, A1-BB18*) and one was used in the interjection *what the fuck* (A1-BB16**). Of the three that were not guessed to mean sex, two of the uses were related to sex but were

reported as difficult to understand (A1-BB5, A1-BB6) and one where thoughts on word meaning were not reported (A1-BB23). This assumption may have come in part from the limited semantic functions found in Japanese taboo language but remains speculative as it is unclear if the participant's reports of difficulty understanding were in relation to the word itself, or the combination of the assumed word meaning in the given context.

> *Researcher:* The first [word you] said, um. (Underlines the word "fucking".) What were [you] thinking when [you] saw this word?
> *Participant-A1:* A meaning related to sex, but. (A1-BB11)

> *Researcher:* What were [you] thinking when [you] saw this word?
> *Participant-A1:* Already, the same as the times before. (A1-BB18)

L1

The loanword *bicchi* from English *bitch* appeared to influence target word engagement. Use of the word as an interjection (DG9) was not engaged with in the movie stimulus for previously stated reasons of format and frequency. When used conversationally (DG19), participants had various impressions of the word. Participant-C2 understood the conversational usage of the word in the movie clip. When asked what language stood out, he reported, "Bitches, cause, because they are friends, so I guess, yeah it's okay to use, bitches. But, I wouldn't say, like, I wouldn't use it for people who I'm not familiar with" (C2-DG19*). Participant-B2 appeared intrigued by this type of usage, not assuming abusive usage but also unsure of what the usage was (B2-DG19*). This may indicate the process of learning with this word, with correct understanding of conversational usage upon further, similar encounters. Conversely, Participant-B1 reported a negative impression of its usage, stating, "Somehow, because there was an impression like a feeling of rudeness, what was it, to say rude or, there wasn't a very good feeling, you know?" (B1-DG19*). This feeling may have come from L1 influence, where conversational profanity is not used, from sensitivity to gendered language (also a form of L1 influence), or from personal preference as dislike of the conversational use of *bitch* is not uncommon in native English speakers as well.

> *Researcher:* Did any other language stand out?
> *Participant-B2:* Bitches, you know? How to say, [I] have heard and seen [it] and such, but when used at that group's friend (referring to group of friends in the movie) and such…

> *Researcher:* Yes?
> *Participant-B2:* Somehow, [I] thought, "[I] wonder what feeling it's used with," you know? (B2-DG19)

During the webpage stimulus, other elements seemed to influence interaction with both encounters of the word (BB9, BB19). For the latter, most participants appeared to have focused instead on other words for their novelty or did not notice the word because of the short, all-capitalized format. The second comment being lengthier and placed near the end may have contributed to Participant-B2 not perceiving the word's presence (B2-BB19) and Participant-C2's lack of engagement. For Participant-B1, despite previous negativity about the word in the movie stimulus, the overall comment evoked strong imagery that was not negative, so she did not get a bad impression from the word. This indicates the possibility for a shift in understanding away from abusive usage as the word is used in Japanese. However, she still falsely assumed that this use of *bitch* was referring to women when the word was used instead used as an interjection, likely based on knowledge of the word as referring to women in the L1 (B1-BB19**). Participant-A1 did not perceive any encounters with the word, appearing to either not know the Japanese word *bicchi* or not have recognized the word when read, possibly due to the spelling.

The other borrowed phrase of *oh my god*, and related religious taboo words *God* and *Jesus* elicited very little use of VLS. This was not unexpected considering the results of Study 1 showing little recognition of the word Jesus as a taboo word, the non-taboo nature of the borrowed *oh my god* in Japanese, and lack of religious taboo words in Japanese. Participant-B1 spontaneously reported her feelings about religious taboo language when relaying thoughts on the stimulus *God* (B1-BB24*) having previously stated apathy for the phrase *oh my god* in a different encounter (B1-DG3). In her statement, she showed awareness of the taboo status of the words, despite not feeling any emotional impact from them personally. However, Participant-C2 reported not thinking that the language was taboo at all, and further that he did not know who would think so when asked directly after the recall session was finished (C2-X3**). This is surprising considering that this participant spent several years in the United States, a predominantly Christian country. Perhaps the reason religious taboo language was difficult to discern as being taboo was because these words are very mild to

most Americans, in addition to the influence from the L1. It may have also been that the participant spent time mostly around those who do not consider the phrase taboo themselves.

> *Participant-B1:* Somehow not really, probably, maybe, the same as “God,” [I] don’t think it stands out to me personally [inaudible]. “God” and such words and, religious language, because of that, at least it enters [my] sight, well, [I] know it’s the strongest word from this [comment], but personally all have the feeling of something, “yeah”. (B1-BB24)

When encountering the word distractor word, *vagina*, Participant-B1 reported a strong emotional reaction. During the first encounter, she stated that she did not know the meaning of the word, but felt it had a strong sound. However, upon further questioning, it was revealed that she had guessed the meaning from the subtitles (B1-DG21**). During the second encounter, she correctly identified the meaning and expressed strong negative feelings about the word, attributing the feeling to her gender: “Maybe because I’m a woman, somehow there was a strong, feeling, that something, of dislike” (B1-BB21*).

> *Participant-B2:* When [I] saw this, [I] thought, it’s a little strong, strong, isn’t it?
> …
> *Researcher:* Regarding that word (*vagina*), do [you] think it is taboo language?
> *Participant-B2:* [I] think so, yeah.
> *Researcher:* I understand. Well, [rather than] taboo language, somehow, do [you] think [it is] a so-called a “dirty word?”
> *Participant-B2:* That’s right, yeah. (B2-BB21)

However, male respondents also reported negativity towards the word. Participant-C2 also appeared to think negatively of the word in both stimuli situations. During initial encounter, he stated, “Japanese people, may not get used to hearing that word cause it's too direct sounding” (C2-DG21*). During the second encounter, he reported thinking, “It's not a good word to use on a public place” (C2-BB21*). Participant-B2 did not engage with this word during the first encounter, reporting his focus on understanding the meaning of the full utterance (B2-DG23). However, during the second encounter, he showed signs of emotional impact, and when asked directly, he replied thinking that the word was a taboo word (B2-BB23**). This was the only clear display of emotional impact on this participant during the interview. Participant-A1 did not identify the word during either encounter. This strong impact found in most participants is highly

indicative of the strong emotional force elicited by taboo language in the L1, so much so that it transfers to non-profane words in the L2.

The two other distractors were not found to have been viewed as profanity during initial viewing. First, the distractor identified during piloting, *die*, failed to elicit emotional force similar to that of *vagina*. This result is likely due to the Japanese word only being taboo when use in the direct imperative form, whereas the usage in the webpage stimulus was not in this form. Only Participant-B1 reported emotional impact, but the impact was from the strong positive message, not from the word itself. Second, the distractor *sucks* was viewed as profanity by Participant-B1 during the recall session after direct questioning, but this was likely influenced by the recall session. She reported not thinking of the word as profanity during the initial viewing. No other participant reported thoughts that the word was profanity either initially or after the session.

Finally, two words that were not under study were commented on by participants during the recall session. Participant-B2 referred to the word *balls* as having stood out (B2-DG!). However, the researcher did not ask follow-up questions on his comments, so whether the word stood out for being thought of as taboo remains unknown. Participant-B1 referred to the word *gay*, noting that she felt negativity in its use (B1-DG!). But again, no follow-up questions were asked. Both words have connection to taboo in Japanese, but indirectly as they are related to taboo topics of sexual body parts and deviations. However, it is also possible that influence came from English with the word *bollocks* being a taboo word. Similarly, *gay* having been used as a negative word, though not profane, and related slurs of *queer* and *homo* may have influenced this encounter. This is assuming that the words were seen as taboo by participants at all, which is unknown due to lack of appropriate follow-up questions.

Abroad Experience

All participants had spent time in English-speaking countries, and all except Participant-A1 reported positively when asked if their time abroad had affected their knowledge of English profanity. Participant-A1 spent slightly over 3 months in Australia living with a relative. It may be that the intention of the trip to visit his relative meant he did not spend much time interacting with others in

English. It may also be that his limited level of English meant interactions were focused on basic understanding, and therefore that he did not notice profanity when encountered. This appears to be at least one element, with the participant stating that simply not knowing taboo language was the reason there had been no effect on his knowledge of English profanity from time spent abroad (A1-X**). Participant-B1 spent over one year in England, two-thirds of which working in customer-service. She reported that the use of taboo language in everyday conversations was quite shocking (expressed via tone of voice, use of tag particles, and use of lengthened vowels), having previously thought the language was only used in movies. This supposition was in part from not learning any of the language in school. She commented that she "absorbed" the language from hearing it used by others (B1-X**). This answer shows that attitudes on language may also influence whether taboo language is learned. If one does not think that the language is useful in real life, then they may choose to ignore that language in favor of studying what is deemed as more valuable language.

Participant-B2 spent over 5 years living in the United States. It seems that at least part of his time spent in America was related to work, but it was unclear if this was his sole purpose for spending time abroad. He made similar comments to Participant-B1, stating that by talking with young people, and even just from listening, he gained knowledge of English profanity. Also like Participant-B2, he expressed thoughts that the language was surprisingly strong (expressed via style of speech; B2-X1**). Participant-C2 spent about half a year in New Zealand, and several years in America for studies. Like Participant-B2, he reported influence via opportunities to speak with young people (C2-X1*), though he did not report any feelings of surprise. This may have been because he did not experience any such feelings but may have instead been a result of the wording of the question not directly asking about such. Overall, it appears that there is greater opportunity for incidental learning of English profanity by living abroad in English-speaking countries, but that English proficiency, time spent abroad, purpose of the time spent abroad, and type of people that one has contact with may all affect how English profanity is learned during this time.

4.2.2 Deviant Cases

Participant-DL

During stimulus, no unique elements appeared to negotiate engagement with target language for this participant. Lower frequency of engagement during the movie stimulus compared to other high-level participants can be explained by the choice of L1 subtitles. Instead, responses to questions about methods of study and engagement with English profanity outside of the interview may explain his low score as being related to lack of interest in profanity, intention for learning, and limited exposure. These points were mentioned by the participant directly when asked (DL-X1*) but were also found elsewhere indirectly. The participant reported that while he thought about and searched for the words used in movies, he did not search for slang that was used, likely from lack of interest. He also reported that his main method for studying English was book translation where the occasional taboo word was present, but often censored. In other learners, this may cause curiosity, potentially evoking purposeful study, but this learner chose to ignore the censored words.

> *Participant-DL:* I, somehow, don't really study English, don't study English for the sake of using it. Simply, this, I study English from [my] like of English itself. So, um, [I] think it's like [my] study, materials that [I], um, normally have been using until now [for my] study of English were limited in authenticity. Why, [I] am not studying for the sake of going overseas, um, [I] am not studying for the sake of living overseas, and such. This, um, [I] am studying for the sake of enjoying the words of English themselves. So, um, by doing that, as would be expected, there was restriction from things like, this, the writings like from the general people earlier, and places overseas where people have what kind of conversations and such. Um, there was some restriction from, um, this, slang taboo expressions and such things called as such. [I] think maybe with that [my] knowledge, um, was not really [high]. (DL-X1)

This participant was the only participant to report having never been interested in taboo language However, this attitude, particularly for the word *fuck*, changed from participation in the study (DL-DGX*). He reported the previous perception that the use of taboo language was limited and was surprised about the usage to express a variety of emotions, including positive emotions. This assumption likely arose from L1 influence where uses of taboo language for positive expression are rare. It appears the unnaturally high concentration of encounters with profanity and the potentially novel exposure to profanity in the

written form may have led to engagement that would not have occurred naturally for this participant. Knowledge that the study's focus was on English profanity likely also influenced his engagement. However, he confirmed that he would have had similar thoughts had he seen the stimuli in real life.

> *Participant-DL:* Somehow, there were more ways to use, especially of "fuck," than [I] thought, and, by participating in this research, [I] thought the ways to use, or depending on the (movie) scene, being also used often for one's surprise, happiness, and positive meanings, um, were a lot. Until now, [I] didn't think, um, much about that. [I] had never thought about or searched about how to use "fu-," "fuck," or in which situations [it is used], so this time being shown (positive tone) and paying attention [to it] with this, um, I could know about various new ways to use the word "fuck." (DL-DGX)

Participant-DH

In contrast to Participant-DL, engagement during stimuli encounters gave indication for the abnormally high score of Participant-DH. This participant also chose L1 subtitles. However, he seemed especially able to identify taboo language, even when reporting not having clearly heard other words in several instances (DH-DG1, DH-DG3/5, DH-DG6, DH-DG13, DH-DG17/18/19*). Additionally, he engaged with religious taboo words more often than other participants. He continued to have high engagement during the webpage stimulus as well, but no other elements appeared to have negotiated encounters there.

> *Participant-DH:* First [he] said "oh my god," a little fast, as expected, [I] couldn't hear the words in detail, but… what was it, "three," uh, bu-, I understood that the f-word was use-, the f-word and after the b-word, "bitches," were said. (DH-DG17/18/19)

When asked about methods of study and engagement with English profanity, it appeared the same factors that affected Participant-DL had affected Participant-DH in a contrasting manner. This participant reported having deep interest in profanity after being exposed to the language from YouTube videos (DH-X**). His chosen method of language study was watching foreign YouTubers play video games. This particular type of media may have been what allowed the participant to notice the words from the movie stimulus, having likely been exposed to clearly audible, repetitive, short outbursts of usage. The participant

too thought that this was likely the reason his score was higher than those with similar English proficiency and abroad experience (DH-X2*).

While Participant-DL and Participant-DH deviated from the norm, they do not appear to be unique cases. Participant-DL was not the only low-scoring participant in Study 1 with C2 English proficiency. One participant scored slightly lower, and another participant scored the same despite experience abroad. No other participant below B2 proficiency without abroad experience, or below B1 proficiency regardless of abroad experience was able to score as highly as Participant-DH. However, Participant-B2 reported knowing those who similarly had low English proficiency but knew profanity from media and self-study through books about taboo language (B2-X2*).

> *Participant-B2:* [I] actually lived in America, [but my] Japanese friends also know those taboo words. [They] can't have a regular English conversation, but [they] know only taboo words. The influence from movies, and other such media is big, then in Japan also, perhaps you already know maybe, but, there is a Japanese book called *Correct Ways to use FUCK*, with such, how to say, taken out of context, JF-, ah, that's not right, not JFL, EFL people learn taboo words maybe, [I] think. (B2-X2)

Participant-DR

Unlike the other deviant participants, Participant-DR deviated in engagement because of her religious views. She was the only participant to have negative emotional impact from a religious taboo word. She reported feeling negative about the use of *God* when used as an interjection before a negative statement in the webpage stimulus (DR-BB13*). She had previously encountered this usage during the movie stimulus, but did not perceive the encounter. She also recognized *Jesus* from the webpage (DR-BB24), selecting the word for attention, but did not report negative feelings from it, perhaps because the following statement did not contain a negative tone. Additionally, she was also the only participant to have reported making the connection of *holy* in *holy shit* to religion (DR-BB14**), likely due to placement immediately after the comment that evoked emotional force in her. However, *holy shit* did not evoke negative emotion, possibly for the same reason, but also possibly for not being as directly associated to God. Likewise, no emotional impact was relayed from the phrase *oh my god*, though this phrase was used in relation to a negative statement and

uses the word *God* directly. This encounter may have instead lacked emotional impact from the negative statement being unclear as reported by the participant, or it may have been related to influence from the L1, similar to other participants.

> *Participant-DR:* Ah, [I] thought [something] here. Even though "God" is written here, somehow because after that [it] was "terrible song" and so on at the end, somehow, a little, um, with this way of using (negative nuance). I'm Christian, actually, but [inaudible] somehow [I] think putting "God" in a place like this (negative nuance), [I] think, "I don't like it, yeah.*" (DR-BB13)
> *Alternate translation: It's a little unpleasant.

Another phenomenon unrelated to religion occurred with this participant during the movie clip when the subtitles used the borrow word of *bicchi* (bitch) for the utterance of "Motherfucker, Jesus!" When asked to recall her thoughts, she started describing opinions on the use of the word *bicchi* in this situation. The researcher then asked the participant to confirm if she had heard the movie character say "bitch" to which she responded positively (DR-DG23/24**). This phenomenon also occurred once during piloting, so it appears not to be an isolated occurrence. However, wording of the follow-up question may have been leading, and there is also the possibility after having viewed the webpage and thinking about profanity that she falsely recalled hearing the word due to being primed to hear taboo language that she knows.

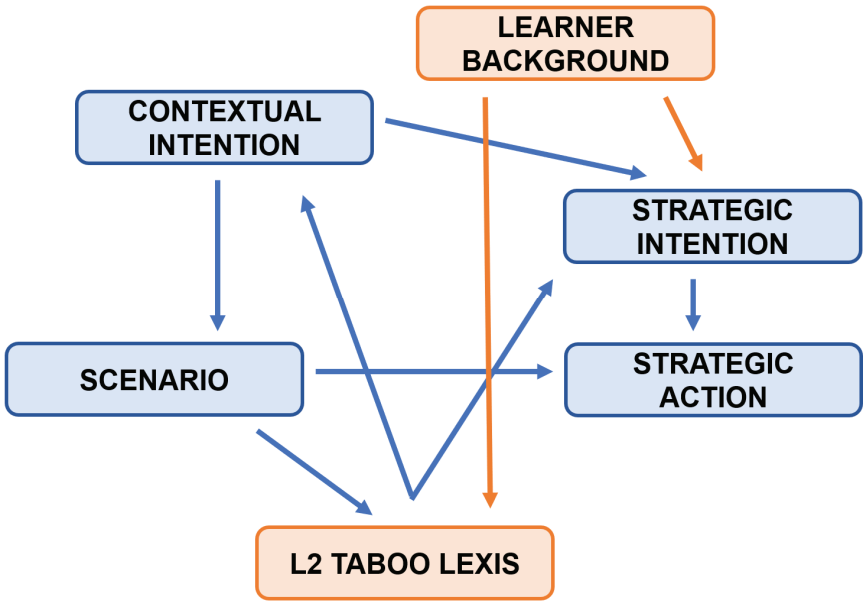
4.2.3 Relationship to Model on Intentions, Lexis, and Action

Interpreting the results above in relationship to Briggs's (2015, p. 305) model on intentions, lexis, and action, it appears that strategic intention and L2 taboo lexis are both influenced by the previously unmentioned factor of learner background. Strategic intention appeared to be influenced by learner background factors of English proficiency, attitudes on profanity, and L1. English proficiency was related to how often strategies were employed by participants in this study. However, it is unclear if type of strategy varied based on this background factor as VLS type was not analyzed in the present study. Attitudes on profanity were found in deviant participants to influence employment of VLS when encountering L2 taboo language. L1 background and religious views affected the emotional impact from L2 taboo lexis, which related to the use of strategy.

Therefore, an adapted model of relationships between learner background, intention, action, and L2 taboo lexis was created which shows this additional factor (Figure 6). Factors colored orange show where the proposed model deviates from Briggs's original model. The relationship between aspects of learner background and strategy have been researched in a variety of settings (e.g. Gu, 2002; Jafari & Kafipour, 2013; Nosratinia, Shakoori, & Zaker, 2013; Wu, 2013; Habók et al., 2021), confirming this relationship in non-taboo L2 lexis. However, the relationship between learner background and L2 taboo lexis found to be negotiated by emotional impact may be unique to taboo language.

Figure 6

Relationship Between Learner Background, Intentions, Action, and L2 Taboo Lexis (adapted from Briggs, 2015)



5. Conclusion

In this section, results of each research question will be briefly summarized with additional insights form the combination of results from both studies. This will be followed by a discussion of implications towards pedagogy and materials design. Finally, limitations of the study and recommended directions for future study will be discussed.

5.1 Summarized Results

RQ1: How well do adult Japanese EFL learners know English profanity?

The results of Study 1 showed that participants had varying levels of profanity knowledge. This indicates that learners are gaining this knowledge somewhere. The slightly uneven distribution of total profanity scores may be explained by results from Study 2, where participants reported different levels of exposure to profanity and displayed different engagement to profanity when provided similar encounters. The relatively low scores in productive knowledge may be explained by higher exposure to profanity in receptive situations as found in results for RQ3. L1 influence was able to be seen by low scores in conversational profanity items in the productive test and low scores for one item containing a religious taboo word in the recognition test. No overarching patterns were found in the semantic test, possibly from insensitive item design.

RQ2: What background factors relate to knowledge of English profanity?

Higher English proficiency and experience living in an English-speaking country both were related to higher profanity knowledge scores. The largest gain was made between levels B1 and B2. This may indicate a difference in ability to notice profanity as suggested by how participants engaged with profanity when encountered in Study 2. Particularly, this may be in part affected by the option for higher proficiency learners to use L2 subtitles when watching movies, the situation where participants reported highest frequency of profanity encounters. The lack of significant increases in most other consecutive proficiency levels may be explained by more gradual knowledge increase and the existence of outliers. Abroad experience had a very large effect on profanity knowledge. However, the results of Study 2 indicated that intention of the stay, length of the stay, and

interactions during the stay may negotiate profanity knowledge gains during time spent abroad. Study 2 results also indicate that attitude on profanity may negotiate learner engagement when encountered, thus affecting knowledge gain.

RQ3: Which daily life scenarios where taboo language is present do adult EFL Japanese learners engage with most?

The top nine activities where participants reported encountering profanity were all media and internet-based scenarios. This may indicate that learners have some control over their exposure to profanity. Scenarios that were reported to have higher frequency of encounter shows uneven exposure to profanity or uneven recognition of profanity. Study 2 found indication of this in one form of media with participants reporting differing uses of dubbing and subtitle use in movies. It may be that choices of media and interaction similarly affect frequency of encounter or frequency of perceived encounter during encounter in other activities as well.

RQ4: When adult Japanese EFL learners are exposed to English taboo language in common daily life scenarios, what elements are associated with their engagement with the taboo language?

Seven contributory factors were identified as negotiating profanity engagement: stimulus format, subtitles, word form, emotional impact, frequency, L1, and abroad experience. Elements were found to both increase and decrease frequency of noticing the presence of taboo language and the employment of vocabulary learning strategies once noticed. Elements often interlapped, some inherently overlapping, such as subtitles with stimulus format. Emotional impact interlapped with several factors: high frequency of encounters was related to lower emotional impact, word form was sometimes related to higher emotional impact, and L1 was related to increased emotional impact for both taboo and non-taboo words, also connected to emotional impact from word form. Reports from deviant participants indicated that attitude was also a contributory factor, affecting how profanity encounters were negotiated by limiting or increasing exposure to profanity. Religious background affected emotional impact on religious taboo language, which negotiated engagement with religious taboo words. These results appear to correspond with Briggs's model of relationship

between intentions, lexis, and action, but they also indicate the potential additional factor of learner background that indirectly affect strategic action and therefore learning of taboo language.

5.2 Implications for Pedagogy and Materials Design

Results from both studies show that learners are encountering and engaging with taboo language outside of formal education. However, the uneven knowledge of profanity shows that not all learners are able to gain this knowledge by themselves. Moreover, learners were found to make false assumptions of profanity, one thinking they were only used in movies, another thinking the word *fuck* to have a single definition when it is arguably the taboo word with the most variety of uses. Considering the utility and ubiquity of profanity in English, learners should be taught about these misconceptions, particularly before planning to live in an English-speaking country. Japanese learners would benefit from knowing the situation contexts for taboo language use in English and how they differ from taboo language in Japanese. Likewise, they would benefit in being taught how these uses may differ in the media and on the internet as opposed to in-person encounters. Finally, learners should be informed of both the potential social risks involved with profanity usage and the potential solidarity that can be gained or hindered from usage. With this knowledge, learners can be empowered to choose for themselves how they would like to be seen by others.

Current materials readily available to Japanese learners often give explanation of semantic usage, so learners are likely able to overcome some difficulties caused by L1 influence from self-study this way. However, most materials lack comprehensive explanation or example of pragmatic usage. It may be beneficial for learners to have materials that show both correct and incorrect pragmatic usage in consideration to Jay's neuro-psycho-social model of cursing.

5.3 Limitations

Both Study 1 and Study 2 had several limitations. In study one, at least two background factor items may have been misinterpreted by participants. Answers for item 1.4 about educational background were able to be adjusted to a more probable answer based on age. Answers for 7.2 about experience living in an English-speaking country may have been misinterpreted by not understanding

which countries are included as English-speaking countries. This may mean that differences between those with experience abroad may be greater or lesser than what was found presently. Insensitive and poor item design may have also affected results of semantic knowledge and receptive knowledge. Additionally, profanity knowledge scores may not accurately represent all Japanese learners, as those with low profanity knowledge may have given up or not fully completed the test section of the questionnaire. Learners not interested in profanity or with negative attitudes on profanity may have also chosen not to participate in the study.

The largest limitation of study 2 is non-generalizability of results, being with limited participants, and no standard participants with limited experience abroad. Participants may have also acted differently than they would naturally, aware of the interview setting and the general topic of study. Such was stated by Participant-C2, though no other participants reported as such when asked. Unnatural interactions may have also occurred from the abnormally high concentration of profanity encounters, such as with Participant-DL. Moreover, interviews and analysis being conducted by a novice researcher may have led to data loss or inaccurate data interpretation. Finally, results cannot be generalized beyond Japanese EFL learners and not EFL learners from other language and cultural backgrounds.

5.4 Directions for Future Research

There are many areas regarding this topic of research that have as yet not been explored. Research on English profanity knowledge, attitudes, and usage are generally limited to ESL populations. More studies with EFL populations might offer differing perspectives. Likewise, the questionnaire developed for Study 1 could be used with participants of different language backgrounds, though modifications to add distractors to all items in the receptive test and more sensitivity to the semantic test would be recommended. The use of the OWLs with participants who have no abroad experience may give insight as to why profanity knowledge scores were very different for those with and without such experiences. A quantitative study on L1 versus L2 subtitle type and use of false loanwords in subtitles may provide insight as to how common the effects of

omission and false recall are that were seen in Study 2. Finally, a study on the effects of capitalization regarding judgements of profanity offensiveness could determine if it is a good method to instill emotional impact of profanity in non-native speakers.

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Appendix A

CUREC Approval

Confirmation email provided below as evidence of approval. Note that the title of the present study was revised after the date of this email. Names of candidate and advisor were removed for anonymity. CUREC reference number: ED-CIA-20-101

Dear [redacted]

Adult Japanese EFL learners' exposure to and processing of L2 English profanity

Sorry for the inexplicable delay in this -

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly, approval has been granted.

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application you should submit details to research.office@education.ox.ac.uk for consideration.

Good luck with your research study.

Sincerely,

With kind regards,

Liam
Dr LF Gearon
Chair DREC
Department of Education
University of Oxford

Appendix B

Data Presented in Ohkubo & Yatougo (2005) Combined for Display in Table 2

		daily conversation x close relationship			daily conversation x distant relationship			dispute x close relationship			dispute x distant relationship		
		Group A	Group B	Groups A & B	Group A	Group B	Groups A & B	Group A	Group B	Groups A & B	Group A	Group B	Groups A & B
busu (ugly)	Mean	4.114	4.16	4.127	4.668	4.685	4.673	3.767	3.904	3.803	4.064	4.392	4.152
	SD	1.197	1.175	1.189	0.756	0.705	0.742	1.353	3.904	2.313	1.231	1.044	1.191
	N	201	75	276	202	73	275	202	73	275	203	74	277
chibi (shorty)	Mean	3.33	3.616	3.406	4.262	4.548	4.338	3.163	3.554	3.267	3.657	4.137	3.785
	SD	1.322	1.329	1.327	1.054	0.867	1.014	1.462	1.5	1.480	1.409	1.228	1.377
	N	203	73	276	202	73	275	203	74	277	201	73	274
baka (idiot)	Mean	2.547	2.4	2.507	4.212	4.453	4.277	2.389	2.52	2.424	3.446	3.627	3.495
	SD	1.207	1.127	1.186	0.985	0.741	0.930	1.227	1.427	1.283	1.403	1.496	1.428
	N	203	75	278	203	75		203	75	278	202	75	277
saitei (the worst)	Mean	3.284	3.301	3.289	4.478	4.48	4.479	2.596	3	2.705	3.421	3.733	3.505
	SD	1.251	1.063	1.202	0.895	0.891	0.892	1.351	1.498	1.401	1.384	1.398	1.392
	N	201	73	274	201	75	276	203	75	278	202	75	277
jikochuu (self-centered)	Mean	3.571	3.653	3.593	4.47	4.514	4.482	2.695	3.12	2.810	3.414	3.689	3.487
	SD	1.285	1.133	1.245	0.876	0.848	0.867	1.326	1.506	1.387	1.37	1.47	1.400
	N	203	73	276	202	74	276	203	75	278	203	74	277

Table 2

Compilation of Presented Results From Ohkubo & Yatougo (2005)

	daily conversation x close relationship	daily conversation x distant relationship	dispute x close relationship	dispute x distant relationship
Mean (SD)	3.383 (1.337)	4.449 (0.903)	3.000 (1.684)	3.685 (1.383)

Appendix C

Study 1 Contacts for Invitation

Institutions

Lists were compiled of Japanese universities (all requiring English courses), vocational school and technical colleges with English courses, and English conversation schools in Japan. Each list of institutions was randomized and 50 were contacted by email, fax, or phone for invitation. Of the institutions contacted, the following replies were received:

	Agreed to participate	Did not agree to participate	No reply	Faulty contact information
University	0	7	43	0
Vocational/Technical College	1	1	51	0
Conversation School	3	7	35	5

In-person contact would be preferable where feasible but was abstained from due to the current pandemic. The only exception was one vocational school which was the researcher's workplace.

Online Groups

Due to ease of access, groups on the social media platform Facebook were used for this study. Keywords (ex. "English" and "study" in English and Japanese) were used to search for various online groups where Japanese learners of English could be found. The researcher compiled a list of the first 50 groups to be found and contacted the moderators about posting in said groups.

	Allowed to post	Not allowed to post/Denied permission to join group	No reply
Online Group	10	10	30

The 10 groups where moderators approved posting contained a combined total of approximately 29,400 group members.

Educator Groups

Five educator groups focused on teaching in Japan were posted to, four on Facebook, and one on the online site Reddit. Additionally, one of the groups allowed me to send an email out via their email list as well as post to their Facebook group. The five groups contained a combined total of approximately 47,000 group members.

Personal Contacts

10 personal contacts of the researcher (all lecturers/professors at tertiary institutions) agreed to distribute invitations with those they knew who fit the participant profile (mostly university students). Five other contacts refused to distribute information about the study. Additionally, an invitation to the study was posted to the researcher's personal Facebook and Twitter accounts.

Appendix D

Study 1 Pilot Test Participant Backgrounds

Gender:	Female	N=5
	Male	N=2
Age:	18-19 years old	N=4
	30-39 years old	N=1
	40-49 years old	N=1
	50-59 years old	N=1
English Proficiency:	A1/A2	N=1
	B1/B2	N=4
	C1/C2	N=2

Appendix E

Study 1 Participant Information

This section includes data from participants with partial questionnaire completion.

Participant Age (Required Answer)

	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
N	82	123	27	27	30	11

Participant Gender

	Male	Female	Other/Did not wish to answer	Unanswered
N	100	197	2	1

Participant Experience Abroad in an English-Speaking Country for More than 3 Months

	Yes	No	Unanswered
N	88	212	0

Participant English Proficiency (Required Answer)

	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
N	32	44	120	57	27	20

Participant Proficiency of at Least CEFR B1 (Council of Europe, n.d.) in a Language Other Than Japanese or English

	Yes	No	Unanswered
N	52	248	0

Participant Highest Level of Education Completed*

	No schools listed	High school	2-year post-HS	Under-graduate	Graduate	Doctoral	Unanswered
N	1	179	15	45	25	2	33

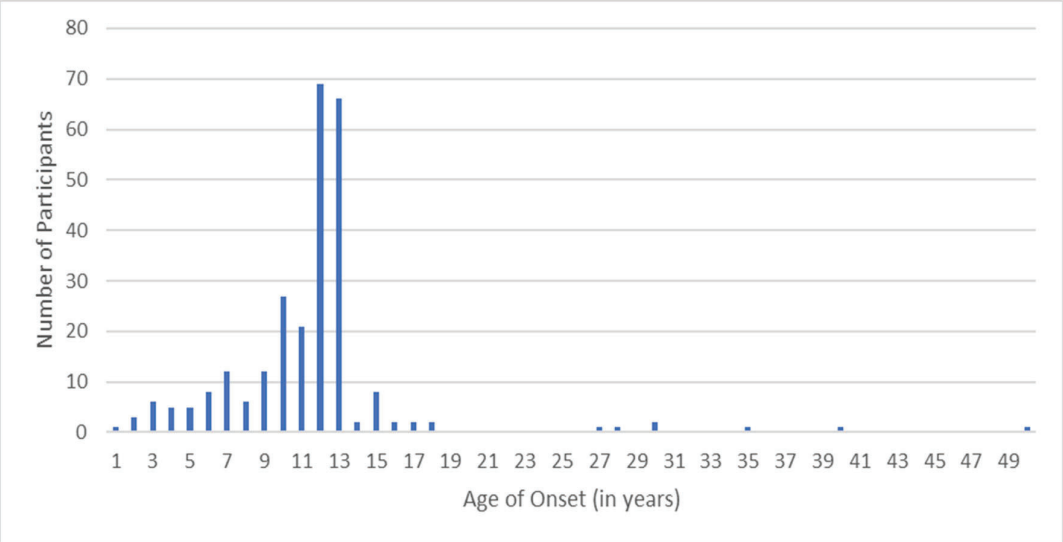
*Some respondents appeared to have misunderstood the question to mean the school they are currently attending. For participants aged 18-20 who answered “2-year college” and for participants aged 18-22 who answered “University” or higher (total N=56), responses were changed to “High school,” considering the time of the Japanese school year and average ages for graduation. Other respondents may have also answered mistakenly but would be difficult to reasonably discern.

Participant Age of Onset for English Learning (visual representation in below)**

	Pre-Elementary School Age (0-5)	Elementary School Age (6-11)	Junior High School Age (12-14)	High School Age (15-17)	Adult (18+)	Unanswered/ Ambiguous
N	20	86	137	12	9	36

**Two responses recoded to a probable age from the original given answer (which was a school year). One response not included due to its ambiguity.

Participant Age of Onset for English Learning



Participant Major of English in at Least One Level of Schooling

	Yes	No	Unanswered
N	142	124	34

Participant Style of English Acquisition

	Instruction-based	Mostly instruction-based	About equal amounts of instruction-based and naturalistic	Mostly naturalistic	Naturalistic only	Unanswered
N	23	152	54	23	15	33

Appendix F

Study 1 Questionnaire

The instrument used in Study 1 was exported directly from the Qualtrics software to Microsoft Word and pasted below. Alterations were made for easier understanding of the questionnaire flow. Section 1 which explained the questionnaire and obtained consent was omitted from inclusion here. The original questionnaire was written entirely in Japanese except for the quoted portions of Section 3 questions and the sentences shown in Section 4. Please note that the formatting may appear strange due to the original being created for input via electronic device.

Symbols:

▼ = Dropdown list

◯ = Multiple choice (single selection)

□ = Multiple choice (multiple selection)

2.1 What is your age?

_____[12]

2.2 What is your gender?

▼ Man / Woman / Other/Prefer not to answer

2.3 Is Japanese your mother-tongue?

◯ Yes ◯ No

2.4 Have you stayed in an English-speaking country for 3 months or longer?

◯ Yes ◯ No

[12] Input of number less than 18 = end of survey

3.1 What is your English proficiency?

○ **Native** Became fluent during childhood. Has knowledge of language beyond what is taught in school. Can use the language spontaneously and fluently with a high degree of diversity and creativity.

○ **Upper Advanced** Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarize information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.

○ **Lower Advanced** Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognize implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organizational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.

○ **Upper Intermediate** Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialization. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.

○ **Lower Intermediate** Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes & ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.

○ **Upper Beginner** Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.

○ **Lower Beginner** Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

3.2 Are you currently doing something to improve your English? As long as activities are at least in part for the purpose of improving your English, this includes things such as engaging in social activities in English, attending public classes, self-study, using English media, attending international exchanged, etc.

○ Yes ○ No

3.3 Other than English or Japanese, do you know another language at a lower intermediate level of higher?

○ Yes ○ No

4. The next four sections ask you about your knowledge and encounters with English "taboo language". "Taboo language" is strong, emotional language that can cause a negative reaction when used improperly around people (for example, when talking to a teacher/boss/stranger). Some stronger expressions may also be bleeped out on television and radio broadcasts.

Please do not use external resources (dictionaries, nearby people, internet, etc.). Answer naturally with your own thoughts.

5. Read the situation and text for the following questions. Then use English taboo word (or phrases) to complete the sentence.

5.1 V messaging friend A about a concert V attended: "That concert was so _____ good!" (Casual – Open)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

5.2 L on a social media post: "_____ this test." (Casual – Closed)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

5.3 F, who has a close relationship with colleague G, says to G: "You _____! You hit me!" (Abusive – Open)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

5.4 Y says to Z during a heated argument: "You're a piece of _____. I'll get revenge for this." (Abusive – Closed)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

5.5 M, upon not being able to find a pen with ink to fill out a form, says: "This _____ pen has no ink!" (Cathartic – Open)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

5.6 D, upon not being able to find D's house keys, says: "What the _____, I can't find the keys again!" (Cathartic – Closed)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

5.7 X, upon greeting close friend Y, says: "Yo, _____?" (Conversational – Open)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

5.8 J, when joking around with close friend K, says: "Haha, don't be a(n) _____." (Conversational – Open)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

5.9 A posting a negative review for a restaurant: "The service was _____." (Hostile – Open)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

5.10 B, when with an annoying colleague C, says strongly: "_____ off!" (Hostile – Closed)

○ Enter the taboo word (or phrase): _____

○ I don't know what to write.

6. For the next questions, select the word you think is the taboo word.

6.1 My fucking dog tore up my pillows again.

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / My / fucking / dog / tore / up / my / pillows / again

6.2 It's been a real shitty day.

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / It’s / been / a / real / shitty / day

6.3 How the hell should I know?

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / How / the / hell / should / I / know

6.4 I'm gonna go for a piss.

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / I’m / gonna / go / for / a / piss

6.5 I just know I'm gonna make an ass of myself.

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / I / just / know / I’m / gonna / make / an / ass / of / myself

6.6 Jesus, that's a hefty hock.

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / Jesus / that’s / a / hefty / hock

6.7 I was keen on him before I saw that he's a bastard.

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / I / was / keen / on / him / before / saw / that / he’s / a / bastard

6.8 She wanted the boon for her comate.

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / She / wanted / the / boon / for / her / comate

6.9 Egad! I think I know the answer!

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / Egad / I / think / know / the / answer

6.10 She oft went down to places she shouldn't.

▼ I don't know / There is no taboo language in this sentence / She / oft / went / down / to / places / shouldn't

7. From the following sentences, check those sentences that you think are correct based on the given situation.

□ H, after losing a competition, says: "This is bullshit!" (7.1)

□ F, when relaying to friend G that F did something bad, says: "I really fucked up." (7.2)

□ Y, after hearing that Z's house burned down, says: "Jesus Christ!" (7.3)

□ J, when talking about J's favorite food, says: "It's the fucking best!" (7.4)

□ Q, after being sent a message from P complaining about something, replies: "Quit bitching!" (7.5)

□ X, when talking about the appearance of his posterior: "Well, I have a nice cock." (7.6)

□ D, concerned about friend E's health, messages: "You're shitting me." (7.7)

□ L, when making a comment about some ugly clothing, writes: "It looks pissed off." (7.8)

□ V, when insulting V's partner W, says: "Damn!" (7.9)

□ B, upon reluctantly agreeing to participate, says: "Fuck yeah!" (7.10)

8. Please write if you encounter any English taboo words in the following activities. If you have spent time abroad, please answer the questions about the time you spend in Japan.

	[I] never encounter English taboo 1	2	3	4	5	6	[I] always encounter English taboo 7	[I] do not do this activity 8
Email	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Radio programs and podcasts	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
When listening to other people's conversations	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Magazines	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Music, songs	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
When talking to my teacher out of class	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
When talking to my teacher in class	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
When listening to my teacher talk	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
When talking with those I live with	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
TV programs	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Internet webpages	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
When talking to those who can speak Japanese	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

	[I] never encounter English taboo 1	2	3	4	5	6	[I] always encounter English taboo 7	[I] do not do this activity 8
When talking to those who cannot speak Japanese	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
When getting information from people	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Signs, shirts, posters, menus, etc.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Movies, DVDs	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Novels	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Comics	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Reviews on the internet	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Social media	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Comments on the internet	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Video games	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
When talking to friends	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
When messaging friends	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

9.1 From what age did you start learning English?

_____

9.2 What is the highest level of education you have completed?

○ High school

○ Training degree, etc. (2-year degree)

○ Undergraduate degree

○ Graduate or equivalent

○ Doctoral or equivalent

○ I have not finished any of these schools

9.3 Have you ever majored in English? Or are you currently an English major?

○ Yes ○ No

9.4 How did you learn English?

○ I learned only from daily life with English in my environment

○ I learned mainly from daily life

○ I learned English from school classes and from my every day environment (About 50/50 equally)

○ I learned mainly from school classes

○ I learned only from school classes

10.1 If you would like to be contacted, please choose the reason below (or you can choose to not be contacted).

□ I would like to receive results of the study once it is completed.

□ I would like to participate in the 2000-yen Amazon gift-card drawing.

□ I am interested in participating in the next study.

□ I do not wish to be contacted.[13]

10.2 The email address you would like to contact (the email remains private and will only be retained for the reasons selected above):

_____

[13] Selection = end of survey

Appendix G

Acceptability for Production Test Gap-Fill Problems

Comments from participants other than an answer were removed prior to scoring. If participants gave two answers, only the first answer was considered. For answers with non-standard spelling, the pronunciation was considered based on the spelling for spoken situations.

5.1 V messaging friend A about a concert V attended: "That concert was so _____ good!"

1 pt.: bloody, dam, damm, dammed, damn, fuckin, fuckin', fuck'in, fucking, fuck'ing, fuck'n

0.5 pt.: facking, fakkin, fakkin, fricking, friggin, fucckin, fuck, fuckn

0 pt.: aggressive, aggressive and, bad, crazy, done, dumb, gone, much, pretty, really, sit, so, terribly, very

5.2 L on a social media post: "_____ this test."

1 pt.: damn, danm, fuck, what the hell is

0.5 pt.: fack, screw

0pt.: answer, asshole, beat up, bitch, bullshit, do, facking, fakkin, fuck off, fuckin, fucking, hit, holly, I could pass, I hate, kill, please, see, shit, sit, suck what the hell what's you failed

5.3 F, who has a close relationship with colleague G, says to G: "You _____! You hit me!"

1 pt.: ass, ass hole, asshole, bastard, basterd, bitch, bustard, busterd, cunt, dick, dickhead, dumass, fuck, fucker, fucking bitch, mother fucker, prick, shit, son of a bitch, stupid fuck

0.5 pt.: fack, moron

0 pt.: are awesome, are destiny person for me, are foolish, are fuckin' bull shit, are gay, are idiot, badman, baster, crasy, crazy, dam, damn, dare, did well, die, domn, fuck yourself, fucked, fucking gorgeous, gee, gougeous, great, holeass, idiot, jerk, mad, suck, terrible, violent, you

5.4 Y says to Z during a heated argument: "You're a piece of _____. I'll get revenge for this."

1 pt.: shit

0.5 pt.: crap

0 pt.: ass, bish, bitch, bullshit, cake, cakes, cunt, dick, dust, fack, fuck, fucking, garage, garbage, god, hell, junk, nuts, pizza, poo, prick, rabbish, screw you, wanker

5.5 M, upon not being able to find a pen with ink to fill out a form, says: "This _____ pen has no ink!"

1 pt.: bloody, dam, damn, fucckin, fuckin, fuckin', fuck'in, fucking, fuckn', god damn, goddam, goddamn, shit, shitty

0.5 pt.: facking, freaking, fucking damn, fuking

0 pt.: bad, bitch, damb, dead, don't, fack, foolish, fountain, fuck, garage, garbage, heck, in, inc, infamous, sit, skanky, stupid, sucks, trush, unusable, write, writing, your

5.6 D, upon not being able to find D's house keys, says: "What the _____, I can't find the keys again!"

1 pt.: fuck, hel, hell

0.5 pt.: fack, heck, heck is that, shit

0 pt.: bad day, damn, day, earth, facking, fucking, holly poop, idiot, matter, meth, problems, rough, said, sit, sux, unbelievable, woang

5.7 X, upon greeting close friend Y, says: "Yo, _____?"

1 pt.: bich, bitch, cunt, dickface, homo, mother fucker, motherfucker, nigga, slut

0.5 pt.: ass hole, asshole, basdard, bastard, bicchi, dick, Jap, niggar, niggas, nigger, son of a bitch

0 pt.: bad man, badman, brat, bro, bro., brother, damn, dude, fool, fuck, fucking good, guy, guys, hannin X, happy, hay, hello, hey, how are you

today, man, mean, men, my friend, pee, sap, shit, son fo a gun, sup, swag, wassup, what up, what's the fuck up, what's up, what's up?, whazup, wuzz up, yellow monkey

5.8 J, when joking around with close friend K, says: "Haha, don't be a(n) _____."

1 pt.: arse, arsehole, ass, ass hole, asshole, bitch, cunt, dick, nigga

0.5 pt.: dickhead, pice of shit, shit

0 pt.: again, agree, black, bullshit, ediot, erd, fack, fool, foolish, fuck you, idiot, jerk, joke, kidding, lie, mad, nerd, noob, nose, nut, nuts, pig, poop, rumor, scum, shilly, shy, silly, sit, stupid, turkey

5.9 A posting a negative review for a restaurant: "The service was _____."

1 pt.: bull shit, bullshit, fucked, fucking bad, fucking terrible, shit, shitto

0.5 pt.: crap, fucking stupid

0 pt.: cheap, die, discussing, dumps, fuck, fucking, garbage, great, horrible, lavish, louse, lubbish, monkey's paw, nice, not good, not good for me, pee, peep, poor, rubbish, shit fuck, sit, so bad, suck, sucks, sux, terrible, the fuck, the least, the worst, too bad, trush, unavailable, uncomfortable, undericious, warst, worst

5.10 B, when with an annoying colleague C, says strongly: "_____ off!"

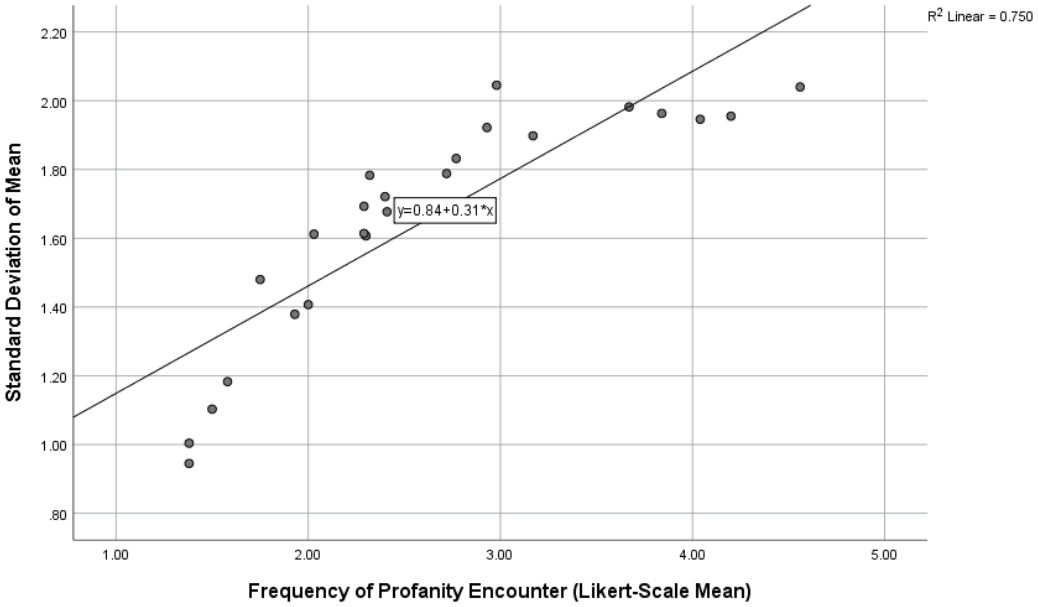
1 pt.: fuck, piss

0.5 pt.: bagger, fack

0 pt.: be, bunish, cut, facking, fuck your mouth off, get, go, jerk, keep, knife, knock it, noisy, pissed, shat, shit, shut, sit, take, turn

Appendix H

Positive Relationship Between Mean Reported Frequency of Profanity Encounter and Variability Between Participants



Appendix I

Movie Stimulus

Screenshots showing the intro theme and a frame from the movie for each of the three subtitle options:









Appendix J

Target Words and Context From Movie Clip Stimulus

Target taboo words are highlighted in green. Non-profane target words are highlighted in blue. Other non-target taboo language is highlighted in white. Time displayed represents the timestamp from the full-length movie.

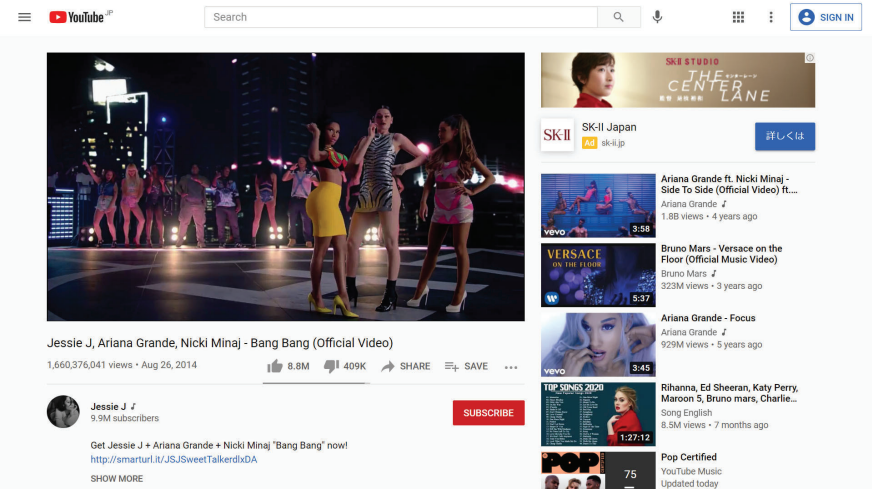
No.	Time	Target	Full spoken utterance	Usage	Back-translation from L1 subtitles
DG1	0:12:02	fucked	He looks like Abercrombie fucked Fitch.	casual	[He] looks like an Abercrombie model.
	0:12:06	shit	Shit! (*slightly difficult to hear)	casual	[no translation]
DG2	0:12:12	no shit	No shit!	casual	[no translation]
DG3	0:12:18	oh my god	Oh my god, I already have alum, remember?	casual	[no translation]
DG5	0:12:19	fuck	I fucked that crying divorced guy?	casual	I did the divorced University of Florida graduate guy.
DG6	0:12:35	fuck	I have to fuck a freshman, an alumni, and a professor	casual	"You must do a freshman, a graduate, and a professor"
	0:12:49	my god*	My god, you did? (*difficult to hear)	casual	Seriously?
DG7	0:12:55	slut	Slut.	conversational	Loose woman.
	0:13:27	slutty*	You look like a slutty safari guide. (*difficult to hear) (no transcription of target in English subtitles)	conversational	[no translation]
DG9	0:13:30	bitch	Bitch, what?	conversational	Why?
	0:13:31	shut the fuck up*	Shut the fuck up! (*difficult to hear)	conversational	[no translation]
	0:13:32	oh my god*	Oh my god. (*difficult to hear)	casual	What is it?
	0:13:47	Shit!*	Shit! (*difficult to hear)	casual	[no translation]
DG11	0:13:48	fucking	This fucking piece of shit car never starts!	cathartic	It doesn't move on one go.
DG12	0:13:48	piece of shit	This fucking piece of shit car never starts!	cathartic	It doesn't move on one go.
DG13	0:13:52	god	God, he's like a Mitt Romney terminator.	casual	Gross/Hate. [difficult word to back-translate]

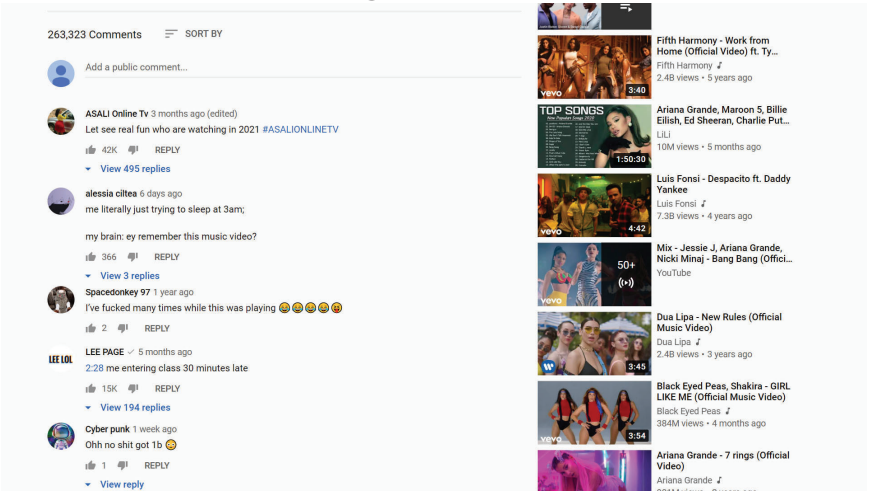
Target	Time	Word	Full spoken utterance	Usage	Back-translation from L1 subtitles
	0:13:57	fuck*	Mmm, fuck! (*slightly difficult to hear) (no transcription of target in English subtitles)	cathartic	[no translation]
DG14	0:14:15	holy shit	Holy shit, you're Shadia.	casual	As I thought, Shadia?
DG15	0:14:18	jamba	Jamba!		[no translation]
DG16	0:14:20	what the fuck	What the fuck?	hostile	What are you doing? [rude tone]
DG17	0:15:14	oh my god	Oh my god, and we should've been there three fucking hours ago, so let's move it, bitches! (no transcription of target in English subtitles)	casual	And the arrival time was a long time ago. Move it you. [rude tone]
DG18	0:15:15	fucking	Oh my god, and we should've been there three fucking hours ago, so let's move it, bitches!	casual	And the arrival time was a long time ago. Move it you. [rude tone]
DG19	0:15:18	bitches	Oh my god, and we should've been there three fucking hours ago, so let's move it, bitches!	conversational	And the arrival time was a long time ago. Move it you. [you as mild profanity]
DG20	0:15:19	holy shit	Holy shit.	casual	[I'm] surprised
	0:15:17	jesus	(*slightly difficult to hear) Jesus!	cathartic	[no translation]
DG21	0:15:53	vagina	Maybe you can use it to hit your balls right into my vagina.		Do a hole-in-one in me down there.
DG22	0:15:54	holy shit	Holy shit.	casual	The worst.
DG23	0:15:56	motherfucker*	(*slightly difficult to hear) Motherfucker, Jesus! (no transcription of target in English subtitles)	casual	Slut, isn't she?
DG24	0:15:57	jesus*	(*slightly difficult to hear) Motherfucker, Jesus! (no transcription of target in English subtitles)	casual	Slut, isn't she?

Appendix K

Webpage Stimulus

Selected still slides from the PowerPoint presentation designed to look like a YouTube webpage viewed on a computer:





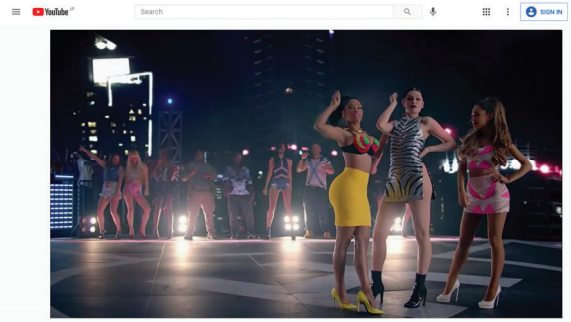
Selected slides from the recall session (computer version):

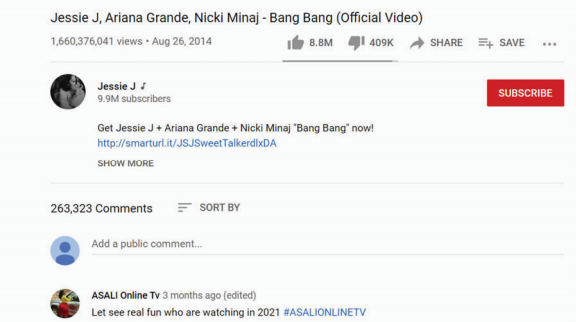






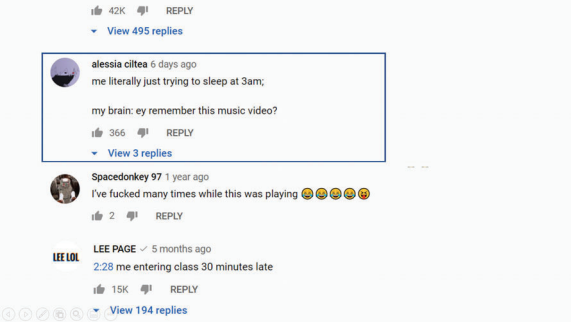
Selected still slides from the PowerPoint presentation designed to look like a YouTube webpage viewed on a mobile device:

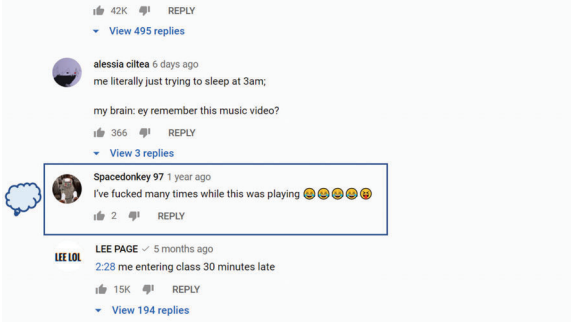


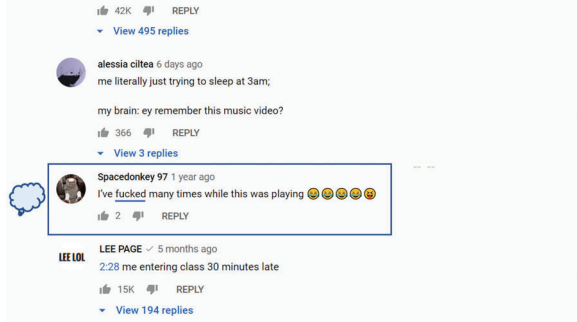




Selected slides from the recall session (mobile version):







Appendix L

Target Words and Context From Webpage Stimulus

Target words are highlighted in green. Non-profane target words are highlighted in blue.

No.	Target	Commenter	Comment	Source video	Source channel
		ASALI Online Tv	Let's see real fun who are watching in 2021 #ASALIONLINETV	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
		alessia ciltea	me literally just trying to sleep at 3am my brain: ey remember this music video?	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
BB1	fucked	Spacedonkey 97	I've fucked many times while this was playing 😂😂😂😂😝	Beyonce - Yonce/Partition	entertainment tv
		LEE PAGE	2:28 me entering class 30 minutes late	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
BB2	no shit	Cyber Punk	Ohh no shit got 1b 😳	BTS (방탄소년단) 'Dynamite' Official MV	HYBE LABELS
BB3	oh my god		Oh my God I had nothing to do but watch this 2020 sucks	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
BB4	sucks	Brielle Heins			
BB5	fuck	Hebrew26 commandments power!	I fuck em all lol 😂😂😂 hate the song tho	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
		Kyle Lorraine Obsenares Arceo	Their High notes are higher than my grades😐	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
BB6	fucked	Furqaan Thakur	The guy who fucked all of the three is the most luckiest person on Earth. He wud have gone to heaven for sure!!	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J

No.	Target	Commenter	Comment	Source video	Source channel
		FOX GUI	This music will never get old ❤️BR	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
BB7	slut	hex1an	Slut Guru.	Beyoncé - Rocket	Beyoncé
		Tazenya	Jessie's voice is just too good	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
No.	**Target**	**Commenter**	**Comment**	**Source video**	**Source channel**
BB9	bitch			Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki	
BB10	wtf	baddie_.	1,.3B VIEWS BITCH WTF😱😱😱	Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
		ISAÍAS ORTIZ	3:04 favorite	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
		Emin Braco	3 QUEENS	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
BB11	fucking				
BB12	piece of shit	Smoopy	This song is FUCKING piece of SHIT!!!	Beyoncé - Video Phone (Extended Remix featuring Lady Gaga)	Beyoncé
BB13	God	ExyleCage	God, this is such a terrible song.	[removed]	
BB14	holy shit	Cam Bailey	Holy shit this is perfect.	The Vagina Song	willam belli
BB15	jamba	John Doe	Jamba	Future - Life Is Good (Official Music Video) ft. Drake	Future
BB16	what the fuck	Micah Sobers	WHAT THE FUCK IS THIS	[removed]	
BB17	fucking	Str4berry	This song is so fucking catchy, it's been stuck in my head for days now, haha	Mindless Self Indulgence - Fuck Machine - lyrics	LinyWorld
		Freakie	Iconic	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J

No.	Target	Commenter	Comment	Source video	Source channel
		Muktha S R	Ari's makeup🔥	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
		Eric virtual lite	This song is best trio song ever. I want a new song from them	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
BB19	bitch	Audrey	IM DANCING IN MY ROOM AT 4AM BITCH LETS DO THIS!	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
BB20	holy shit	BENEDICT LUKE BRAGA	THis was 6 years ago holy shit	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
BB21	vagina	aratron2	Her lips remind me of a vagina	AZEALIA BANKS - 212 FT. LAZY JAY	Azealia Banks
BB22	holy shit	Manuela Bruno	3:05 holy shit	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
No.	**Target**	**Commenter**	**Comment**	**Source video**	**Source channel**
BB23	mother-fuckers	Δελτα TV	3:13 party motherfuckers!!!!!!	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
BB24	Jesus	fqirytxle dqrkfqiry	Jesus,I was 3years old when this came out...	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J
		kiana lyons	this. This changed the world.	Jessie J, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj - Bang Bang (Official Video)	Jessie J

Note. Two of the videos in which comments were taken from were later removed from the website.

Appendix M

Pre-Determined Interview Questions for Study 2

Post-initial viewing of movie stimulus

- While you were watching the movie, did any language particularly stand out to you? If you did not think of anything in particular about the language while watching, please say so.

Post-initial viewing of webpage stimulus

- While you were looking at the webpage, did any language particularly stand out to you? If you did not think of anything in particular about the language while viewing the webpage, please say so.

Questions during webpage stimulus recall

- What were you thinking the first time when you heard what he/she said?
- What language stood out [to you]?
    - Did any other language stand out [to you]?
- What were you thinking when you heard [target word]?
    - Were you thinking that the first time [you] heard it?

Questions during webpage stimulus recall

- Did any language stand out [to you]?
    - Did any other language stand out [to you]?
- What were you thinking when you saw this word? (Said with target word underlined)
    - Were you thinking that the first time you saw [this]?

Post-recall questions

- Did you see the movie Dirty Grandpa before today?
    - Do you think you had similar thoughts then as you did today?
    - If you had watched this movie in real life, not for this interview, do you think that you would have had the same thoughts as you did while watching today?

- When you watch movies in English, do you think about the language used while you are watching it?
- Do you ever search about English words that you hear in a movie?
    - Do you usually do so?
- If you had seen the YouTube comments from today's interview while browsing online, do you think you would have had the same thoughts?
- Do you ever look at English comments online from videos, social media, online stores, etc.?
    - Do you usually do so?
- When looking at comments in English online, do you think about the language in them?
- Do you ever search about English words that you see in a comment online?
    - Do you usually do so?
- What activities do you do to improve your English?
- Are you interested in words that are called “taboo language” or “bad words”?
    - Why is that?
- How have you leaned such words until now?

Post-recall questions for participants that reported 3+ months experience living in an English-speaking country on the questionnaire

- In the previous survey, you wrote that you have lived abroad in an English-speaking country for more than three months. If it is okay, could you tell me where you lived and how long you were there for?
    - Do you think this has affected your knowledge of English “taboo language” or “bad words”? Why is that?

Post-recall questions for deviant participants

- In the previous questionnaire, your knowledge of profanity was lower/higher than other participants with similar English skill and abroad experience, which is not a bad thing. However, why do you think that is? (Comment about “not a bad thing” was added to ease potential discomfort caused by learning about their score deviating from the norm.)

Appendix N

Vocabulary Learning Taxonomy Adapted From Bytheway (2015)

Taxonomy used for the present study

- Adding to existing knowledge
- Assessing acceptability/offensiveness
- Equating image/action to word
- Guessing from context
- Guessing from subtitles
- Looking up words in dictionaries/Google
- Noticing frequency/repetition of words
- Noticing in other contexts
- Recognizing knowledge gap
- Selecting words for attention
- Using word to learn word use

Removed items

- Interacting with players
- Observing players
- Playing in English
- Reading in-game information/pop-ups
- Receiving/giving feedback
- Requesting/giving explanations

Added items

- Assessing acceptability/offensiveness
- Guessing from subtitles

Appendix O

Selected Quotes From Participant-A1

Each quote is coded by encounter. The original Japanese as spoken by the participant is written first, followed by the English translation.

A1-DG3/5

Participant-A1: この、字幕で想像しているんですけど、相当、本当いうのか、私好みのタイプではないなという。

Participant-A1: [I] imagine from, these subtitles but, quite s-, [she] is not the type [I] like, yeah, [I thought].

A1-BB0

Participant-A1: 何回も shit と fuck が出てくるのであまり気分が良くないな。

Participant-A1: Because “shit” and “fuck” appeared many times, [I felt] uneasy.

A1-BB11/12

Researcher: 目立った言葉はありましたか。

Participant-A1: もう、fucking と shit

Researcher: はい、わかりました。

Participant-A1: あ、この shit も大文字で書いているんですからね、かもしれない。

…

Researcher: 最初言った、えと、(Underlines the word "fucking".)この単語を見たときに何を考えていましたか。

Participant-A1: セックスというふうな意味ですが。

Researcher: Did any language stand out [to you]?

Participant-A1: Well, “fucking” and “shit”.

Researcher: Yes, I see.

Participant-A1: Ah, because this “shit” is also written in capital letters, maybe.

…

Researcher: The first [word you] said, um. (Underlines the word "fucking".)

What were [you] thinking when [you] saw this word?

Participant-A1: A meaning related to sex, but.

A1-BB16

Participant-A1: ま、もう同じそのセックスなんだろうと思いながら。そういうなのが何回も出るんだな。

Participant-A1: Well, already [I] was thinking it's that same sex [meaning] That kind of thing appeared many times.

A1-BB18

Researcher: この単語を見たときに何を考えていましたか。

*Participant-A1:*もう 前回 と同じで。

Researcher: What were [you] thinking when [you] saw this word?

Participant-A1: Already, the same as the times before.

A1-BB20

Partiticipant-A1: また、またかな。や、やばい意味やばいという。そんな意味なんだろうと思いながら。

Participant-A1: Again, again, is it? [It] means *ya-*, *yabai* (Japanese word used by younger people to convey shock). While [I] was thinking maybe it's that meaning, yeah.

A1-X

Participant-A1: 今まで別にそういうこと考えたことがないから影響はなかったですね。娘、娘がオーストラリアに飛んでて、で、私の発音が、あの、え、すわ、座りなさいというの shit 発音すると、その発音はよくないとか。ま、そういうことを言われることがありました。

Researcher: はい、わかりました。

Participant-A1: でもあまり、あまり禁句というのは気にしたり影響のことはない

Researcher: はい、わかりました。えっと、なぜでしょうか。なぜ影響してない？

Participant-A1: しら、知らないからだと思うんですけど。

Participant-A1: Because I didn't think really think anything special about it until now, there was no impact, yeah. My [relative] lives in Australia, so, my pronunciation, um, uh, si-, sit (imperative) is said pronounced as "shit," that pronunciation is not good and such. Well, I was told that as such.
Researcher: Yes, I see.
Participant-A1: But not really, there was not really any impact on so-called taboo [words].
Researcher: Yes, I see. Um, why is that? Why is there not impact?
Participant-A1: Because I don't kno-, know, [I] think.

Appendix P

Selected Quotes From Participant-B1

Each quote is coded by encounter. The original Japanese as spoken by the participant is written first, followed by the English translation.

B1-DG5

Participant-B1: そこは何かこうクィって浮き出て聞こえました。

Participant-B1: [I] heard it come up to the front like, “bwoop” (use of onomatopoeia) for that [word] somehow.

B1-DG6

Participant-B1: 日本語字幕と一緒に照らし合わせてあそういうことか。みたいなそんな感じで。

Participant-B1: Comparing together with the Japanese subtitles, the feeling was like “Ah, that such meaning.”

B1-DG11/12

Participant-B1: 普通に日本語字幕であの聞いたのでなんだろう早くて何を言ってるかあまり分からなかったです。

Participant-B1: [I] normally listened with, um, [use of] the subtitles, so, what is it, [I] didn’t really understand what was said quickly.

B1-DG19

Researcher: bitches という言葉を聞いたときに何を考えていましたか。
Participant-B1: なんか失礼な感じがするっていう印象なのでなんだろう失礼だというかあんまりいい気持ちはしないですね。

Researcher: What were [you] thinking when you heard the word “bitches”?
Participant-B1: Somehow, because there was an impression like a feeling of rudeness, what was it, to say rude or, there wasn’t a very good feeling, you know?

B1-DG21

Participant-B1: 意味がわからなかったけど何か強い gina っていう響きがすごい強い響きだなと思ってました。

…

Participant-B1: 日本語字幕見てあ、こういう意味かなみたいとかと考えていました。

Participant-B1: [I] don't know the meaning but, somehow strong, the sound of "gina" had a strong sound, I thought.

…

Participant-B1: Looking at the Japanese subtitles, [I] thought something like, "Ah, this meaning, maybe."

B1-DG23/24

Participant-B1: 特に何も考えてなくて聞き取れなくて日本語字幕でビッチねって書いて、あ、ビッチって言ったのかなと思った んですけど聞き取れなかったので何も特に思いませんでした。

Participant-B1: Without hearing anything in particular, with the Japanese subtitles of "*bicchi ne*" (quoting Japanese subtitles with use of loanword from *bitch*), [I] thought, "Maybe [he] said 'bitch,'" but I couldn't pick up [what was said], so I didn't think anything in particular.

B1-BB1

Participant-B1: この fucked っていうのが気になりするんですけど何か fuck に ed が付いているのあまり見たことがないので、なんだろう、という意味だろうって。っていうか、なん、んー、なんかお下劣なイメージ出しました。

Participant-B1: [I] was interested in this "fucked," but, somehow, because [I] have not seen "fuck" attached with "-ed" much, what is it, with that meaning, you know. With that, what, hmm, somehow a vulgar image appeared.

B1-BB2

Participant-B1: shit って言葉はあるんですけど。でも、ん、特になんか shit に対してあんまりこうなんだろ、fuck ほどの強烈な、を、何というんですけど、インパクトがないのかもしれないです。

Participant-B1: The word "shit" is there. But, hmm, "shit" doesn't have that, what is it, same, how to say, impact as the level of intensity "fuck" has maybe.

B1-BB6

Participant-B1: はい。これもやっぱり fucked ですかね。ん、結構強い、なん

というですかね、印象を持ちます。なんか ed が付くと、動詞、動詞になって、え、やったの？みたいな感じになるので ed が付くだけで何か個人的にはすごいなんか印象が強くなる気がします。

Participant-B1: This also, as expected, is “fucked,” yeah. Hmm, [I] had a pretty strong, how to say, impression. Somehow, attaching “-ed” and becoming a verb, verb, there is a feeling like, “What, [you] did it (meaning sex)??” So just attaching “-ed” somehow, [I] get the feeling that the, somehow, impression becomes stronger personally.

B1-BB11/12

Participant-B1: すごいな。これもやっぱり強い表現だなって思うんですけどこの大文字、fucking と shit が大文字にしてるのでもう意識せずとも目に入ってくるなという印象ですかね。

Participant-B1: Amazing… As would be expected, [I] thought, “This is also a strong expression,” but, these capital letters, because of the capitalization of “fucking” and “shit,” already, without consciousness, there is an impression that it enters the eyes, right.

B1-BB19

Participant-B1: ビッチが一番強い言葉だなって、強い言葉だなって思うんですけど。でもビッチっていうのを永遠にお部屋で踊ってるっていう映像が強すぎてあんまりこうなんだろう。嫌な感じというかビッチだけじゃなくて場所全体がよく見えましたね。

Researcher: わかりました。で、その目立った言葉、bitch ということを見たときに何を考えていましたか。

Participant-B1: 何か。若い女の子たちがいっぱいワーっている感じかな。

Participant-B1: Bitch is the strongest word, [I] think “bitch” is a strong word, but. Speaking of “bitch,” but the image of dancing in the room at 4 A.M., [it] wasn’t really like, what is it, not a feeling of dislike, not just [the word] “bitch,” I could picture the whole thing well.

Researcher: I see. Then, what were you thinking when you saw that word that stood out, the word “bitch”.

Participant-B1: Something, maybe the feeling of many young girls like “wah” (use of onomatopoeia while spreading arms out to indicate many girls).

B1-BB21

Participant-B1: 自分が女性だからかもしれないんですけどなんかすごいその何か嫌な感じ、らしいます。

Participant-B1: Maybe because I’m a woman, somehow there was a strong, feeling, that something, of dislike.

B1-BB22

Participant-B1: ここまでいっぱい見ていると、もう、もはや、かわいいなという罹災してくれるんですけど。

Participant-B1: [I] saw many times by now, so, already, no longer, [it] affects [me to] make [me] think [it’s] cute.

B1-BB23

Participant-B1: これも強い、これもすご強いイメージがありますね。motherfucker ズ、ズッ?!あ、ズなんだ。

…

Researcher: さっきに、えと、ズで強いということは、なんか、なんでズ目立ったでしょうか。

Participant-B1: え、なんか motherfucker だけだとなんか悪い言葉ってイメージがあるんだけど s をついているイメージがこう一気にこう人がこうバーって何か人数がめっちゃいるイメージがなんか出てきて何か大勢に打っている感じがしてすごい失礼な感じに聞こえる。

Participant-B1: This is also strong, this also had a very strong image, you know. “Motherfucker,” “-s,” “-S?!”

…

Researcher: Earlier, um, where “-s” was strong, somehow, why did “-s” stand out, that is?

Participant-B1: Ah, somehow just “motherfucker” somehow has the image of a bad word, but the image with “-s” attached is like, this, like, people are “boom” (spreads arms forward in a widening circle), somehow an image somehow

appears of a large number of people, and [I] feel that somehow a crowd of people is being struck, [I] hear it with the feeling of great rudeness.

B1-BB24

Participant-B1: 何かあんまりたぶんかも god と同じで自分の中であまり目立たないんだと思います[inaudible]。god とかそういうや宗教的な言葉、だから一応目には入っ て、ま、この中で一番強い言葉だなっていうのはわかるんですけど全部個人的には何かオ感じですかね。

Participant-B1: Somehow not really, probably, maybe, the same as “God,” [I] don’t think it stands out to me personally [inaudible]. “God” and such words and, religious language, because of that, at least it enters [my] sight, well, [I] know it’s the strongest word from this [comment], but personally all have the feeling of something, “yeah.”

B1-X

Participant-B1: 何か普通に人が使ってるのが聞こえてきてしまう意識してなくてもです。日常生活で、はそこでたぶん自然と、なんだろう、自然とクラブとか特に何かみんなそういう言葉を使ってるイメージがあって、何かなんかみんなすごいよって、なんかすごい強そうな言葉を使ってるなーって感じで吸収はしていたんじゃないかなって思います。

Researcher: その経験の前にその単語についてどんなイメージがありましたでしょうか。

Participant-B1: え、なんか、本当に、なんか、映画の中だけで使われてるだと思ってました。なんかあんまりこう実生活で、使ってる人、日本でまず英語勉強して絶対習わないので、聞くのはもうほぼ映画とか、の話だけなので実生活にそんなにま、使わんだろうみたいな思ってたら、私が思ってる以上にみんな使うんだよな感じなので、そこはびっくりしましたけど。

Participant-B1: Somehow, [you] can hear (negative tone) something what is said regularly by people, even without consciousness [of it]. Everyday life, probably natural there, what is it. There’s the image that everyone is using words like that naturally and at clubs and such especially, it’s, it’s, with the feeling that everyone is very drunk and using words that seem very strong, [I] absorbed it, didn’t [I] maybe, [I] think.

Researcher: What image did you have of those words before that experience?
Participant-B1: Uhh, it's, actually, it's, [I] thought [it] is only used inside movies. Somehow, It's, people using it in like real life are not really… First, in Japan, [you] definitely will not learn [them] studying English, so listening [to them] was well, mostly [from] movies and such, only stories [from movies], if thinking that [they] are used that much, well, in real life, [I had] the feeling that everyone is using [them] more than I expected! So, [I] was surprised by that, but.

Appendix Q

Selected Quotes From Participant-B2

Each quote is coded by encounter. The original Japanese as spoken by the participant is written first, followed by the English translation.

B2-DG6

Participant-B2: この時の fuck って聞いた時は本当にそうやって。ベッドでするようなことを。したということでこういう人たちとそういうことをした。

Participant-B2: This time when [I] heard “fuck,” [she] really did that, doing that such thing on the bed, with that these people did that thing.

B2-DG9

Participant-B2: 今までのこの人たちの会話で fuck とか slut がいっぱい出てきているので。なんというかこの人たちの会話のスタイルなのかなっていうぐらいで。

Participant-B2: Until now, “fuck,” “slut,” and so on appeared a lot in this group of people’s conversation, so, how to say, it’s like this group’s style of conversation.

B2-DG19

Researcher: それ以外目立った言葉はありましたか。

Participant-B2: bitches ですね。何というか聞いたり見たことしたことあるんですけど、そのグループの友達とかを指すとき、

Researcher: はい。

Participant-B2: なんか、どんな気持ちで使ってるんだろうなって思いましたね。

Researcher: Did any other language stand out?

Participant-B2: Bitches, you know? How to say, [I] have heard and seen [it] and such, but when used at that group’s friend (referring to group of friends in the movie) and such,

Researcher: Yes?

Participant-B2: Somehow, [I] thought, “[I] wonder what feeling it’s used with,” you know?

B2-DG23/24

Researcher: 彼が言ったことを初めて聞いたときに何を考えていましたか。

Participant-B2: 今何て言いましたかね。ちょっとわからなかったですね。

Researcher: はい、それ初めて聞いたときに聞き取れませんでしたか。

Participant-B2: ですね。聞き取れなかったですね。

Researcher: What were [you] thinking when [you] first heard what he said?
Participant-B2: [He] said something just now maybe, yeah? (surprised tone) [I] didn't really understand, yeah.
Researcher: Yes, could [you] not hear it the first time?
Participant-B2: That's right. I couldn't hear [it].

B2-BB11/12

Participant-B2: この fuck と shit がこうやってつながる。とこですね。悪い言葉がつながる。例えば、他でよく聞くのと holy shit とか fucking three hours ago とか一個でしか使われてない印象があったんですよね。fuck とか shit と 。でもそれはつながった組み合わせとして使われているし、あの、この大文字で書いてあるんで、ものすごーく興奮してるの、驚い てんのが。そういう気持ちなんだろうなと思いました。

Participant-B2: The combination of this "fuck" and "shit" like this. [This] place, yeah. Combining bad words. For example, [I] heard a lot in other places "holy shit," "fucking three hours ago," and so on, there was the impression of just one used, you know? "Fuck," "shit," and so on. But, the use of the connected combination plus, um, being written in capital letters, [I] thought there was the feeling like incredible (said with emphasis) emotional arousal, astonishment*.
*alternate translations: stunned, surprised, alarmed, emotionally aroused

B2-BB21

Participant-B2: これ見たときちょっと表現が、強いなと思いましたね。

…

Researcher: その単語にとして、えと、禁句用語だと思いますか。

*Participant-B2:*と思いますね。

Researcher: わかりました。ま、禁句用語という、なんか、ダーティーワー

ドという、と 思いますか。

Participant-B2: そうですね。

Participant-B2: When [I] saw this, [I] thought, it's a little strong, strong, isn't it?

…

Researcher: Regarding that word (*vagina*), do [you] think it is taboo language?

Participant-B2: [I] think so, yeah.

Researcher: I understand. Well, [rather than] taboo language, somehow, do [you] think [it is] a so-called a "dirty word?"

Participant-B2: That's right, yeah.

B2-X1

Participant-B2: 特にアメリカに行ったときに若い人と話す機会が多かったんですよ。19 歳とか 20、21、22 ぐらいの人でその人たちは別に僕と話してなくてもその人の会話を聞いててだけですごいいろんな言葉使ってるなー。さっきの fuck とか shit とか。そういうのもあったんで、ま、聞いて自分の中に知識としてはいっぱい残っていると思います。

Participant-B2: [I] had many chances to talk to young people especially when [I] went to America. Even without 19-years-olds and such, about 20, 21, 22 [year old] people speaking to me, just by listening to those people's conversations, [they] are using a lot of words! *Fuck*, *shit*, and so on from before. By such things being there, well, [I] listened and a lot of knowledge was left in me, [I] think.

B2-X2

Participant-B2: 僕はアメリカにしばらく住んでいて日本人の友達もそういう禁句ワード、英語を知ってるんですよ。普通の英語の会話はできないんですけど禁句ワードだけ知ってて。映画とかそういうメディアからの影響は大きくて、で日本でももしかしたら[researcher name]知ってるかもしれ ないんですけど、日本の本で「正しい FUCK の使い方」という本があって、そういう、なんというのかな、コンテクストから外している中で JF、あ、ちがう、JFL じゃない、EFL の人は禁句ワードを学んでいるのかって僕はちょと思いました。

Participant-B2: [I] actually lived in America, [but my] Japanese friends also know those taboo words. [They] can't have a regular English conversation, but [they] know only taboo words. The influence from movies, and other such media is big, then in Japan also, perhaps you already know maybe, but, there is a Japanese book called *Correct Ways to use FUCK*, with such, how to say, taken out of context, JF-, ah, that's not right, not JFL, EFL people learn taboo words maybe, [I] think.

Appendix R

Selected Quotes From Participant-C2

Each quote is coded by encounter. All responses form Participant-C2 were said in English during the interview.

C2-DG11/12

Participant-C2: Hmm. um, maybe, shit is then, fuc-, uh, f-word. But, but yeah, it's, again, like I'm, kind of getting used to hearing those words, so, it's okay.

C2-DG19

Researcher: Did any other language stand out to you?

Participant-C2: Bitches, cause, because they are friends, so I guess, yeah it's okay to use, bitches. But, I wouldn't say, like, I wouldn't use it for people who I'm not familiar with.

C2-DG21

Participant-C2: Japanese people, may not get used to hearing that word cause it's too direct sounding.

C2-DG23/24

Participant-C2: I think I missed it. So I don't know which, which one you're referring.

Researcher: OK, I can play the clip again. And if you didn't notice what he said the first time, please say so.

Participant-C2: OK.

[plays clip]

Researcher: So what were [you] thinking when you heard what he said or, and if you didn't hear what he said-?

Participant-C2: Yeah, I didn't hear anything.

C2-BB11/12

Participant-C2: I can tell that this person really hates this song by using capitals.

C2-BB21

Participant-C2: It's not a good word to use on a public place.

C2-X1

Participant-C2: Because I mostly interacted with young people at the coll-, at the university, their language is more informal and then. And I got more opportunities learning, like, those casual words.

C1-X2

Participant-C2: I wasn't sure if it's, kinda, appropriate to pronounce, um, like, uh, b-word, like, especially in front of a lady, like.

C1-X3

Researcher: For the words, uh, oh my god, and Jesus, and God, do you consider them, um, bad words or no?

Participant-C2: No. Uh-huh.

Researcher: And do you, do you know some people who might consider them bad words or you don't think so?

Participant-C2: Hmmm, maybe some people in Middle East, I don't know, yeah.

Appendix S

Selected Quotes From Participant-DL

Each quote is coded by encounter. The original Japanese as spoken by the participant is written first, followed by the English translation.

DL-DGX

Participant-DL: 何か思っていた以上に。特に fuck の使い方がたくさんあって。使い方とか場面によって結構自分の驚きとか喜びとかポジティブな意味で使えることも、あの、多いんだなっていうのは今回この調査に協力して、あの、思いました。今まであまりそういう、あの、考えがなかったので fu、fuck のそのどういう状況で使われてるかとかという使い方ができるのかっていうのをこう考えたり調べ たりしたことがなかったので今回こうそこに注目して見せてもらって、あの、新しく fuck のいろんな使い方を知りました。

Participant-DL: Somehow, there were more ways to use, especially of “fuck,” than [I] thought, and, by participating in this research, [I] thought the ways to use, or depending on the (movie) scene, being also used often for one’s surprise, happiness, and positive meanings, um, were a lot. Until now, [I] didn’t think, um, much about that. [I] had never thought about or searched about how to use “fu-,” “fuck”, or in which situations [it is used], so this time being shown (positive tone) and paying attention [to it] with this, um, I could know about various new ways to use the word “fuck.”

DL-X1

Participant-DL: あんまり英語の勉強を、私は何か、英語を使うために英語の勉強をしているのではなくて、単に、こう、英語自体がとても好きで英語の勉強をしているので、あの、普段今まで使ってきた、あの、勉強のを、材料、勉強の英語がたぶんオーセンティックなものに限られていたからなのかなって思います。なんで、海外に行くために勉強はしないし、あの、海外で生活するために勉強はしないし。こう、あの、英語自体を言葉を楽しむために勉強しているので、あの、そうするとやっぱりあまり、こう、一般の方たちのさっき見たような書き込みとか、と海外でどんなこう人たちが話をしているところとかというのはあまり触れなかったのでそれで、あの、あんまり

スラング禁句表現とかというのは、こう、触れてこなかったのかなと。それで知識も、あの、あまりないのかなって思います。

Participant-DL: I, somehow, don't really study English, don't study English for the sake of using it. Simply, this, I study English from [my] like of English itself. So, um, [I] think it's like [my] study, materials that [I], um, normally have been using until now [for my] study of English were limited in authenticity. Why, [I] am not studying for the sake of going overseas, um, [I] am not studying for the sake of living overseas, and such. This, um, [I] am studying for the sake of enjoying the words of English themselves. So, um, by doing that, as would be expected, there was restriction from things like, this, the writings like from the general people earlier, and places overseas where people have what kind of conversations and such. Um, there was some restriction from, um, this, slang taboo expressions and such things called as such. [I] think maybe with that [my] knowledge, um, was not really [high].

Appendix T

Selected Quotes From Participant-DH

Each quote is coded by encounter. The original Japanese as spoken by the participant is written first, followed by the English translation.

DH-DG17/18/19

Participant-DH: 最初 に oh my god って 言っ て。 やっぱちょっと早く 細かい 単語 は 聞き取れ ない ん です けど 。なんだけ。three- あ、bu-、F ワード を 使っ、F ワード と は後 B ワード 、bitches、って言っていたのは 分かり まし た。

Participant-DH: First [he] said “oh my god,” a little fast, as expected, [I] couldn’t hear the words in detail, but… what was it, “three”,” uh, bu-, I understood that the f-word was use-, the f-word and after the b-word, “bitches,” were said.

DH-X1

Participant-DH: 印象に残るというか。YouTube の動画見ててもよく聞いたりするのでやっぱネ、ネイティブの人たちはよく上手く使いこなしたりしてるので。そういうの頻繁に聞いて、やっぱ、印象に残ったりするので、結構、興味深いなと思います。

Participant-DH: Maybe because [it] leaves an impression. Watching YouTube videos, [I] often hear [taboo language], so, as would be expected, na-, native speakers often use [them] with mastery, so. Hearing such things often, as would be expected, [they] leave an impression, so [I] have quite deep interest [in them], [I] think.

DH-X2

Participant-DH: 前から、やっぱ、海外の YouTube 英語のユーチューバーの動画とか、その海外のコンテンツをよく見るのでその中でよくそれ禁句用語が使われたりとか、またやっぱゲームとか映画も好きなのでそのゲームと映画の中でそれを禁句用語が使われたりしたのでたぶんそう。その中でだんだんその頭で理解していたのかなと思います。

Participant-DH: From before, as one would expect, [I] often watch foreign content, videos of foreign English YouTubers and such. So, taboo language is often used and such form that. And also, as would be expected, because [I] like games and movies and such. Probably because taboo language is used in those games and movies. From that, [I] think [I] gradually came to understand [taboo language] in [my] mind.

Appendix U

Selected Quotes From Participant-DR

Each quote is coded by encounter. The original Japanese as spoken by the participant is written first, followed by the English translation.

DR-BB13

Participant-DR: あ、ここ思いました、God って書いてあるのになんかこの最後の方が terrible song とかなってるから、なんか、ちょっと、あのこんな使い方しちゃうんだって。私クリスチャンなんですけど[inaudible]なんかこんなところに God とか入れちゃうんだって思ってちょっと嫌だなって思いました。

Participant-DR: Ah, [I] thought [something] here. Even though “God” is written here, somehow because after that [it] was “terrible song” and so on at the end, somehow, a little, um, with this way of using (negative nuance). I’m Christian, actually, but [inaudible] somehow [I] think putting “God” in a place like this (negative nuance), [I] think, “I don’t like it, yeah.*”

*Alternate translation: It’s a little unpleasant.

DR-BB14

Participant-DR: あ、はいここもちょっと holy shit とか言って。holy っていうのは何かこう聖なるってことですよね。holy で holy shit は何かこういう組み合わせがちょっとあるのは知らなかったので holy shit ってあるんだって感じでした。

Participant-DR: Ah, yes, here also, a little, “holy shit” was used. Saying “holy” is somehow, it becomes holy (Japanese word of the same meaning of English word *holy*), yeah. “Holy shit” somehow with “holy” a combination like this is, a little, [I] didn’t know [it], so the feeling was “There is [the expression] ‘holy shit.’”

Appendix V

Technological Interference During Study 2

Participant-C2

Participant-C2 initially joined the interview on two devices, one device for its larger screen size, and the second device for its attached camera. The Zoom software does not allow for meetings of over 2 participants to exceed 40 minutes for users with a free account, so the meeting was closed and both the participant rejoined the meeting using a single device with a smaller screen. The use of small screens for watching movies and browsing online is common, and the stimulus content under study was not interrupted, so no data was affected by this technical error.

Participant-DH

Two technological interferences occurred during Participant-DH's interview. First, when attempted to share the movie stimulus clip, the participant reported seeing only a blank screen while the audio played. The researcher attempted to several ways to resolve this issue, but ultimately was unable to and the second half of the interview was rescheduled for the following evening. Again, this is unlikely to have affected data as the only audio that the participant was exposed at when the screen was blank was the instrumental intro music.

Second, when displaying the stimulus, part of the screen was blocked by a Zoom toolbar during both initial and recall viewing (see images below). While this is unlikely to have affected the movie stimulus, three webpage stimulus comments containing three target words and one distractor were blocked from view. This was discovered by the researcher during the recall session. The three comments were then shown to the participant after the recall session was finished and the participant was told to say his thoughts aloud, but interactions were likely influenced by the recall session. Ultimately, the researcher decided to remove those three data points.

Screenshots of recorded interview stimulus during the interview of Participant-DH:



