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„A corpus-based study of four-letter words:
Investigating the form and function of foul language
in American English“

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“The words of a living language are like creatures:
they are alive.

Each word has a physical character, a look and personality,
an ancestry, an expectation of life and death,
a hope of posterity.

Some words strike us as beautiful, some ugly, some evil.

The word *glory* seems to shine;
the common word for excrement seems to smell.”

– Morris Bishop (1969: XXI)

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Abstract

A corpus-based study of four-letter words:
Investigating the form and function of foul language in American English

Swearing in contemporary English often involves the use of four-letter words related to culturally taboo themes such as religion, sex organs, sexual activities, and scatology. Until the recent development of language corpora, research on four-letter words was typically restricted to broader investigations of swearing from various approaches, including sociolinguistic (cf. Andersson & Trudgill 1990), historical (cf. Hughes 1991, 2006), psycholinguistic (cf. Jay 1992, 2000), neurolinguistic (cf. VanLancker & Cummings 1999), and lexicographic (cf. Sheidlower 1995). While corpus-based studies of swearing published within the past decade present useful insights into the various functions of four-letter words in modern British English (cf. McEnery 2004, 2006, 2009; Ljung 2009), there remains a lack of comparable research on swearing and four-letter words in American English. This paper aims to bridge a gap in corpus-based research on taboo four-letter words in American English. Accordingly, this study investigates the form and function of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in American English from 1900 to 2012 based on 1172 occurrences in the *Corpus of Historical American English* and 97 occurrences in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*. In addition to examining the morphological variation and frequency of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit*, this study also adopts a typology of swearing introduced by Ljung (2011) that serves to distinguish two main swearing functions of four-letter words as either *stand-alones* or *slot fillers*. From a corpus-based approach, such formal and functional analyses prove essential to tracing the development of taboo four-letter words in American English.

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List of Abbreviations

BLWs	Bad language words
BNC	British National Corpus
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
COHA	Corpus of Historical American English
FCC	Federal Communications Commission
NPS	Neuro-Psycho-Social Theory
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
POW	Parts of Words

1. Introduction

“A sociologist does not refuse to study certain criminals on the ground that they are too perverted or too dastardly; surely a student of language is even less warranted in refusing to consider certain four-letter words because they are too ‘nasty’ or too ‘dirty’.”

– Allen Walker Read (1934: 264)

“No word or phrase is in itself bad. It is bad only in the eyes of those who evaluate and look at the language.”

– Lars Andersson & Peter Trudgill (1990: 35)

Don't swear. Don't curse. It is not uncommon for children growing up in the United States to receive such verbal warnings from parents, teachers, or the occasional stranger attempting to preserve politeness and formality in these increasingly informal, modern times. Certain taboo or ‘forbidden’ four-letter words and expressions, uttered wittingly or otherwise by a child, may result in punishment ranging from a light restriction of privileges to a dreaded bar of soap in the mouth. However, those same four-letter words and expressions spoken by adults in various contexts ranging from the office holiday party to a casual lunch among friends may “act as an in-group solidarity marker” (Allan & Burrige 2006: 77) rather than provoke offense. This is the dynamic power of swearing and cursing in American English. From childhood onward most Americans learn that swearing or cursing is considered ‘bad’ or ‘foul’ language and, subsequently, when to use it; yet until recently, it seems little attention has been paid by linguists and scholars to studying such language.

According to Ljung (2011: 67), swearing in contemporary English consists largely of ‘four-letter words’, a euphemistic phrase attributed to

American scholar Allen Walker Read and the publication of his 1934 article, "An Obscenity Symbol" (cf. Hughes 2006: 183). At the time of publication of Read's landmark article on the nature of obscenity in relation to language, standard English dictionaries excluded the most notorious of four-letter words, *cunt* and *fuck* (ibid. 128), both of which can easily be located in English dictionaries today (cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*). Recent studies involving such four-letter words feature psycholinguistic examination of cursing in American English (cf. Jay 1992, 2000), corpus-based analysis of swearing in modern British English (cf. McEnery & Xiao 2004; McEnery 2006; Ljung 2009), historical views of swearing (cf. Hughes 1991, 2006), and cross-cultural investigation of swearing (cf. Ljung 2011). Some of these studies employ various qualitative and quantitative approaches to examine sociolinguistic characteristics of swearing such as "gender, age and social class" (McEnery & Xiao 2004: 235) or linguistic features of swearing "involving aspects of vocabulary, grammar and meaning" (Ljung 2011: viii). While such studies provide indispensable insights into the linguistic category of swearing or cursing, there appears to be an absence of corpus-based research dedicated toward investigating the form and function of four-letter words in American English.

As has been shown in previous research on swearing in British English (cf. McEnery & Xiao 2004; McEnery 2006; Ljung 2009), corpora provide a quantifiable means of observing swearing constructions (e.g. *Bugger! Fuck you!*), and describing variation in their patterns of usage across time, genre, or other variables. Such corpora may be designed to allow for close analysis of sociolinguistic factors affecting patterns of usage that, in turn, may indicate cultural attitudes to swearing (cf. McEnery 2004). Likewise, corpora may be used to simply examine the frequency and function of particular swearing constructions (cf. Ljung 2009). Although corpora comprised of British English

are increasingly utilized to explore the form and function of swear words and constructions, there remains both a need and opportunity for comparable corpus-based research on swearing in American English.

This paper examines the form and function of four-letter words in American English based on linguistic data in the *Corpus of Historical American English*, henceforth COHA (Davies 2010), and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*, henceforth COCA (Davies 2008). The scope of this study can be summarized under the following two points. Firstly, corpora comprised of spoken and written American English texts have been utilized to facilitate the analysis of four-letter words associated with select taboo themes (cf. Ljung 2011: 35), including sexual organs (e.g. *cunt*), sexual activities (e.g. *fuck*), and scatology (e.g. *shit*). While additional four-letter words (e.g. *tits*, *piss*, *damn*, *hell*) may also warrant observation, the present research is restricted to *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* and their morphological variants, because *fuck* and *shit* are common swear words in American English, while *cunt* remains increasingly taboo. Secondly, the corpus data have been utilized to trace linguistic changes, both formal and functional, in American English.

The primary aim of this paper is to employ a corpus-based approach to investigate formal and functional features of four-letter words and their development in American English over the twentieth century to present-day. Accordingly, the following two research questions lie at the center of the present investigation:

1. What are the formal features of four-letter words, and how have they changed in American English over the twentieth century?
2. What can patterns of usage reveal about the function of four-letter words in American English?

In pursuit of the above questions, this study aims to bridge a gap in corpus-based research on swearing and cursing in American English. While certain studies related to the present research have utilized corpora (cf. McEnery & Xiao 2004; Ljung 2009), the analysis in these previous accounts was restricted to observing swearing constructions in modern British English. Considering the strict prohibition of foul and obscene language in American English, the results of the present investigation also highlight some of the limitations of working with large, accessible corpora comprised of spoken and written American English texts. Additionally, the study adopts and tests a typology of swearing (cf. Ljung 2011: 24) as a means of classifying four-letter words in corpus-based research. Methodology aside, the results of the formal and functional analysis point toward evidence of language change, specifically lexicalization and grammaticalization, and thus may be of use to the growing body of research in these areas.

The idea for this research project stems from an essay by Geoffrey Nunberg (2012b), a linguist in the School of Information at the University of California at Berkeley, who often contributes commentaries on language for the nationally syndicated public radio program, "Fresh Air with Terry Gross". In his essay, Nunberg explores the word *slut* in the context of public controversy over an inflammatory comment by American radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh, who referred to a woman as a *slut* in one of his radio broadcasts. The woman in question is a lawyer and women's rights activist, who had been advocating for medical insurance companies to cover the cost of birth control. Limbaugh's *slut* comment sparked public outrage, and lead Nunberg to examine why the word *slut* is so troubling. Nunberg (ibid.) observes that "[s]lut is a charged word even when it's just used metaphorically", yet he also questions those who criticize Limbaugh for using such 'obscene language'. He explains, "I've never thought of 'slut' as that

kind of four-letter word” (ibid). Nunberg’s brief but compelling survey of *slut* inspired the research questions and linguistic analysis of four-letter words offered in the present study.

This thesis is divided into 7 chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 reviews the context and research literature informing this study. The first section of Chapter 2 provides definitions essential to the investigation from an American lexicographical perspective, primarily utilizing *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged* (Gove 1961), henceforth *Webster’s Third*, and its historically rival publication the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (Morris 1969), henceforth *American Heritage Dictionary*, to establish a foundation from which to consider the research literature in the subsequent section.

Chapter 3 outlines the research design adopted in the study, beginning with the aim, motivation, and research questions driving the investigation. As previously mentioned, a corpus-based methodological approach is central to fulfilling the primary aim of this thesis. Quantitative corpus analysis of the morphological variation and frequency of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* extends across the 1900-2009 sections in COHA and across genre in COCA from 1990 to 2012, while qualitative functional analysis of these four-letter words is focused more specifically on select decades and genres in each corpus. This blended, corpus-based approach is thus detailed and justified in this chapter, along with its process of data collection.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the results of the study. The key findings in Chapter 4 represent the formal analysis undertaken to observe the morphological variation and frequency of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* over the twentieth century to present-day. These findings serve as a step toward the functional analysis in Chapter 5, which surveys the function of each word and

select variants in the expanded context of the corpus data as a means of tracing shifts in patterns of usage.

Chapter 6 includes a thorough interpretation of the results from the formal and functional analysis of the study, with reference to the aims and objectives implicit in the research questions. The discussion in this chapter also highlights possible implications for future corpus-based research on swearing in American English. Chapter 7 briefly summarizes and concludes the paper.

2. Context of study

This chapter reviews the context and research literature informing the present study. Section 2.1 provides essential definitions from an American lexicographical perspective. The definitions and background information presented in this section serve to form the context for the literature review in Section 2.2.

2.1 Four-letter words and American lexicography

Over the course of the twentieth century, American lexicography learned to embrace four-letter words. While standard English dictionaries published in America during the first half of the century (cf. Neilson 1934) omitted *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* along with other words deemed too foul or obscene for publication, those same words often appear as headword entries in dictionaries produced toward the latter half of the century (cf. Gove 1961; Morris 1969). The shift from exclusion to inclusion of four-letter words in American dictionaries such as *Webster's Third* (Gove 1961) and the *American Heritage Dictionary* (Morris 1969) thus suggests a notable change in lexicographical tradition. Dictionaries that omitted four-letter words most likely followed the 'prescriptivist' tradition, whereby lexicographers felt

obliged to protect the integrity of American English from the influence of slang and colloquial speech by prescribing proper language use. Conversely, dictionaries that included four-letter words probably followed the 'descriptivist' tradition, a more permissive approach intent on recording and describing actual language use, regardless of whether or not usage was considered proper.

As Skinner (2012: 89) observes, the second edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged* (Neilson 1934) reflects a prescriptivist approach in its decision to include encyclopedic entries for historical military figures "but not such common scatological terms as *cunt*, *dick*, or *shit*". *Webster's Third* (Gove 1961), on the other hand, demonstrates a descriptivist stance toward American lexicography. By faithfully recording American English rather than dictating its proper usage, "the new dictionary had, in the name of science and linguistics, departed from the prescriptivist tradition" (Skinner 2012: 245). The *American Heritage Dictionary* (Morris 1969), published in critical response to *Webster's Third*, appears to fall somewhere in between prescriptivist and descriptivist traditions. It was "the first [American] dictionary to include an entry for *fuck*", and also the first to organize "a usage panel of distinguished writers and scholars" charged with contributing articles on debated usage (Skinner 2012: 295).

The remainder of this section is dedicated to establishing definitions relevant to the present study. Standard American English dictionaries published after 1950 such as *Webster's Third* and the *American Heritage Dictionary* will be examined alongside dictionaries of American slang and the online edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, henceforth OED. These definitions will thus serve as a basis for the research reviewed in section 2.2.

Swearing, as defined by *Webster's Third*, is the present participle of the verb, *swear*, which is thus defined "to utter or take solemnly (an oath)" (Gove 1961: 2308). Additional definitions of the verb *swear* and its derivations are listed, among them *swear at*, which is defined "to use violent language to: [curse]" (ibid). *Swearing* is also a derivative form of the verb *swear* in the *American Heritage Dictionary* (Morris 1969: 1298). However, this dictionary lists several definitions of *swear*, including "[t]o make a solemn declaration" and "[t]o use profane oaths; blaspheme; to curse" (ibid.). Interestingly, the OED defines the noun *swearing* firstly as "[t]he action of taking an oath" and secondly as "[t]he uttering of a profane oath; the use of profane language" (<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/195610?p=emailAYi4T.hpZyCkE&d=195610>, 17 July 2013).

The above definitions demonstrate a plausible shift in the meaning and mode of *swearing*, an observation best summarized by Hughes (2006: xv) in his comprehensive work, *An Encyclopedia of Swearing*:

Although we are familiar with most of these modes of swearing now, they have not been constantly present in the past. [...] Nevertheless, the crude and simple history of swearing, however named, is that people used mainly to swear *by* or *to*, but now they swear mostly *at*.

Unlike most standard dictionaries, which typically list brief definitions of *swearing* and its various forms, Hughes provides an in-depth look at the historical evolution of swearing. He approaches the larger category of swearing by distinguishing its *mode* from *content*, a point covered more extensively in the next section of this paper.

Cursing, while considered a categorical mode or function of swearing in recent studies (cf. McEnery & Xiao 2004; Hughes 2006; Ljung 2011), is often used synonymously with *swearing* in American English (Ljung 2011: 2).

Webster's Third defines the verb *cursing* as "to rail at typically impiously and profanely" and "to swear at" (Gove 1961: 558). The *American Heritage Dictionary* lists *cursing* as a derivative verb form of the noun *curse*, and offers four definitions of the form, including "[t]o swear at; abuse profanely" (Morris 1969: 324). Thus, *cursing* encompasses many of the characteristics of *swearing* discussed in this section. However, for the purposes of the present study, the term *swearing* will be used rather than *cursing* and will follow the definition provided by the OED as "[t]he uttering of a profane oath; the use of profane language" (cf. this section).

The euphemistic phrase *four-letter word* is defined by *Webster's Third* as "any of a group of vulgar or obscene words typically made up of four letters" (Gove 1961: 899), a definition nearly identical to that of the *American Heritage Dictionary*, which defines the noun as "[a]ny of several short English words generally regarded as vulgar or obscene" (Morris 1969: 520). While both dictionaries recognize the existence of *four-letter word*, only the latter dictionary includes entries for both *cunt* and *fuck*, two of the most taboo four-letter words in the English language (Hughes 2006: 110, 188). To complicate matters even further, the *American Heritage Dictionary* excludes a definition of *shit*, a common four-letter word defined as both noun and verb in *Webster's Third* (Gove 1961: 2098).

As Ljung (2011: viii) observes, "taboo is not merely a question of word content but also of word form: the word itself must be offensive". For example, the words *intercourse* and *fuck* both refer to what Ljung (ibid. 35) refers to as the 'sexual activities theme', yet only the latter of the terms is regarded as taboo and 'obscene'. Thus, it may be argued that although considered a controversial descriptivist (i.e. usage-based) edition of the English dictionary, *Webster's Third* neglects to include the carnal term *fuck* due to a potent combination of its sexually explicit content and crude

monosyllabic form. It may also be argued that *cunt* is included in the dictionary despite its similar form and sexually explicit content, because, unlike *fuck*, its usage traces back to more socially acceptable applications in medieval medical texts (Hughes 2006: 110). Accordingly, *Webster's Third* defines *cunt* as both "the female pudenda" and also "a woman regarded as a sexual object; usu. considered obscene" (Gove 1961: 554). Whether content and/or form determines the taboo force of four-letter words is a larger question worthy of investigation, yet beyond the scope of the present study, which is limited to investigating the form and function of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in American English from 1900 to present-day. With this goal in mind, dictionaries of American slang provide yet another useful perspective from which to consider the development of these four-letter words.

The Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English (Dalzell 2009: vii) outlines the following three criteria for the terms and phrases defined in the dictionary: all entries must be "(1) slang and unconventional English; (2) used in the United States; and (3) after 1945". The dictionary lists 35 morphological variants of *cunt* (ibid. 259-261), the majority of which are compound nouns (e.g. *cunt face*, *cunt tease*) as opposed to adjectives (e.g. *cuntish*, *cunty*). The number of morphological variants increases considerably in the case of *fuck* and *shit*. The dictionary lists 63 variant forms of *fuck* (ibid. 405-409), ranging from nouns (e.g. *fuckathon*, *fucko*), verbs (e.g. *fuck over*, *fuck up*), and adjectives (e.g. *fuckass*, *fucked*) to phrases (e.g. *fuck a duck*, *who do you have to fuck?*). The bulk of the 84 variants listed for *shit* (ibid. 863-869) are nouns (e.g. *shithead*, *shitkicker*), trailed by an interesting variety of phrases (e.g. *shit a brick*, *shit happens*), adjectives (e.g. *shitfaced*, *shitty*), verbs (e.g. *shit and git*, *shitcan*), and adverbs (e.g. *shitless*, *shitsure*).

Urban Dictionary, a popular online slang resource launched by an American college student in 1999, allows its users to participate in the lexicographical process by uploading definitions for existing terms and phrases. A recent profile of *Urban Dictionary* in the *New York Times* (cf. Kaufman 2013) noted that the site features over two million definitions, with approximately 30,000 new definitions submitted monthly for consideration; definitions must receive at least five votes of approval from *Urban Dictionary* members to be published on the website. Currently, *Urban Dictionary* lists a total of 422 definitions for *cunt*, including (17) “[a] woman’s vagina” and (122) “[y]our ex wife or some other female who will never be forgiven” (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=cunt>, 19 July 2013). The website also lists 228 entries for *fuck*, the first of which is (1) “a really stupid person”, and the last being (228) “[a] beautiful word that should be used more often and accepted as the wonderful word that it is” (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=fuck>, 19 July 2013). There are 155 colorful entries for *shit*, beginning with (1) “[o]ne of the most popular swear/cuss/curse words/profanities”, and ending with (155) “[t]he male genitalia described as a collective” (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=shit>, 19 July 2013).

As the above definitions illustrate, four-letter words are very much a part of vernacular American English. Definitions range from referential to emotive, with an impressive number of morphological variants spearheading new meanings and functions. Together, these definitions and morphological variations form a basis for discussing the research literature in the following section of the present study.

2.2 Previous accounts

As previously mentioned (cf. Chapter 1), swearing in contemporary English often involves the use of taboo four-letter words. However, until the recent

development of corpus resources, research on the form and function of such four-letter words was typically restricted to broader investigations of swearing from various approaches, including sociolinguistic (cf. Andersson & Trudgill 1990), historical (cf. Hughes 1991, 2006), psycholinguistic (cf. Jay 1992, 2000), neurolinguistic (cf. VanLancker & Cummings 1999), and lexicographic (cf. Sheidlower 1995). The advent of language corpora enabled additional studies (cf. McEnery & Xiao 2004; McEnery 2006; Ljung 2009) to pursue more quantitative accounts of particular aspects of swearing. Combined, the above studies have succeeded not only in establishing swearing as a linguistic category warranting investigation, but also as a growing field of interest across discipline.

Allen Walker Read (1934) stands out among American scholars in the early twentieth century to encourage the study of four-letter words from a linguistic perspective. In his pioneering essay on *fuck* (ibid. 264), Read omits explicit mention of the word while exploring *how* and *why* it continues to offend. His essay offers a broad examination of *fuck*, with special focus on its lexicographical history and future in American English, and its relation to cultural notions of obscenity (ibid.). In clear defense of four-letter words, Read (ibid.) argues that

[t]he obscene 'four-letter words' of the English language are not cant or slang or dialect, but belong to the oldest and best established element in the English vocabulary.

Additionally, Read posits whether such words and their referents may be inherently obscene or rather the product of "attitudes that people have towards these words and things" (ibid.). He observes that sex and certain bodily functions are essential aspects of life, yet the four-letter words depicting them stir emotional reactions disproportionate to their "simple semantic content" (ibid. 265). He thus suggests that despite their semantic

content, “[f]or most people, the bare word forms of these four-letter words have become sexual fetishes” (267).

Accordingly, Read (ibid. 278) works to distinguish “the taboo of word form [...] from the taboo of concept” as a means of deconstructing *fuck* and subsequently illustrating its function as an ‘obscenity symbol’. Its ‘obscene’ status in American English extends a power and thrill unique to the cultural taboo that informs it. Thus, Read (ibid. 277) asserts that suppressing the use of *fuck* reinforces attitudes toward its associated taboo (i.e. sexual intercourse), while literal or “unostentatious” usage may in effect weaken the social stigma tainting the word form.

In the decades immediately following Read’s controversial treatment of *fuck*, few researchers (cf. Montagu 1967) would pursue the study of swearing, cursing, or four-letter words. However, several studies surfaced toward the latter half of the century and continue to proliferate today. The remainder of this section highlights aspects of these studies considered relevant to the present investigation.

To begin, Andersson and Trudgill (1990) examine four-letter words in a brief but noteworthy sociolinguistic analysis of ‘bad language’. According to the authors (ibid. 14), *swearing* is “[o]ne of the most obvious forms of ‘bad’ language”, as opposed to *slang*, *jargon*, *misuse* and other forms of bad language examined in their study. While *swearing* may intuitively seem a sufficient description of bad language, the authors suggest that a characterization of swearing is necessary to grasp a more complete understanding of the complexity behind the culturally familiar term. Thus, the authors (ibid. 53) “suggest that swearing can be defined as a type of language use” that

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

Additionally, the authors propose a general model of swearing as a “tool for understanding what swearing is and how it could be studied” (ibid. 55). The model consists of the following five levels:

1. Taboo behaviour
2. Taboo words
3. Swear-words
4. Grammar of swearing
5. Social restrictions on swearing

This structured approach to the study of swearing is one seemingly adopted and further developed by Ljung (2011), whose recent cross-cultural study of swearing influenced the typology for the present corpus-based investigation of four-letter words.

An extensive psycholinguistic study of ‘cursing’ in American English (cf. Jay 1992: 1) also places emphasis on the pragmatics of usage rather than categorizing ‘bad language’ or ‘dirty words’ (i.e. four-letter words) grammatically or etymologically. The study employs various data collection methods such as field cards and interviews to collect information about how Americans curse in real world speech situations and how cursing affects speakers and listeners in those speech situations. Regarding the influence of context on the offensiveness of dirty words, Jay (1992: 13) states that

[d]irty words are influenced by context more than any other type of language in modern English. Regardless of how one attempts to define dirty words, the ultimate decision about the offensiveness of words relies on context.

Observing language in context is the foundation of Jay’s study. He thus establishes 10 distinct categories of usage for dirty words, focusing on their cursing function in sentences and utterances rather than solely on the linguistic characteristics of the words themselves (ibid. 12). These categories

are *cursing, profanity, blasphemy, taboo, obscenity, vulgarity, slang, epithets, insults/slurs, and scatology.*

Jay (2000:19) further develops the above categorization of dirty words in a Neuro-Psycho-Social Theory (NPS) of cursing “that integrates three broad aspects of human behavior: neurological control, psychological constraints, and socio-cultural restrictions”. He argues these three dimensions (i.e. neurological, psychological, and socio-cultural) must be examined concurrently to fully understand speech acts involving cursing (ibid.). In simpler terms, the theory works to (1) explain *why* people curse, and (2) “establish the truth about the role of cursing in a theory of language” (ibid. 265). In terms of four-letter words, NPS Theory cites past research (cf. Jay 1992) that traces cursing patterns over the course of ten years to demonstrate that “[c]urse words are a unique and essential emotional element of language” (Jay 2000: 266).

On a similar note, VanLancker and Cummings (1999: 83) argue that swearing is a common aspect of human communication, yet research on swearing remains scarce compared to other areas of language study. Furthermore, the authors (ibid. 84) argue that although swearing factors largely in “normal and impaired communication, serious study of the neurology of swearing behavior is lacking”. Accordingly, the authors (ibid. 83-84) conduct an exhaustive meta-analysis of studies on swearing as a means of observing (1) the nature of ‘normal’ swearing, (2) how it compares to “clinical presentations of selectively preserved, impaired, and augmented swearing”, and (3) what such observations reveal about the “neurobiology of communicative behavior”.

In their meta-analysis, Van Lancker and Cummings examine swearing in neurologically normal individuals, and then compare those findings with clinical representations of swearing. More specifically, they examine the

similarities and differences between three conditions: neurologically normal, severe aphasia (i.e. speech impairment resulting from stroke or left hemispherectomy), and Gilles de la Tourette syndrome, henceforth Tourette's. By observing the similarities and differences between these three conditions, the authors (ibid. 84) aim to gain knowledge about the "neurobiology of communicative behavior".

Van Lancker and Cummings (ibid. 92) argue that strings of swearing in Tourette's are not constructed by random, high frequency phonemes, but rather such strings emerge as the product of a more complex semantic-cognitive process typically involving the use of obscene words and taboo language. Additionally, observed differences between swearing in aphasia and Tourette's serve to illustrate a clear contrast between the speech pathologies underlying the two conditions. The authors' findings involving brain processing and dysfunction also implicate distinct left/right hemisphere processing, the basal ganglia, and the limbic system.

The major conclusions drawn by Van Lancker and Cummings can be distilled into the following five points. First, that "[s]wearing is a common human act and is frequent in neurological disorders" (ibid 98). Second, swearing is voluntary in normal and aphasic speakers and involuntary in Tourette's speakers (ibid.). Third, normal swearing and Tourette's have in common certain swearwords. Those swearwords consist of "highly emotional content" and thus invoke "the emotional signaling systems" in speech acts (ibid.). Fourth, the most frequently occurring expletives in the data (e.g. *damn, shit, fuck*) "occur in all three conditions, while sexual taboo items" appear most prominent in normal and Tourette's speakers. Lastly, two functional systems are speculated to exist: emotional vocalization in the right hemisphere and propositional speech in the left hemisphere (ibid).

While most of the studies discussed thus far in this section offer a somewhat holistic examination of swearing from various perspectives, McEnery and Xiao (2004) focus their investigation of swearing in modern British English to a familiar four-letter word: *fuck*. The authors' (ibid. 235) corpus-based study traces "the pattern of use of *fuck* and its morphological variants" across sociolinguistic variables in the *British National Corpus* (Davies 2004), henceforth BNC. In addition to the basic search functions (e.g. part of speech, collocation) across genre or domain often available in large corpora such as COHA and COCA, the architecture of the BNC allows researchers to observe "metadata pertaining to demographic features such as age, gender and social class" (ibid.).

To facilitate the analysis of *fuck* in modern British English, McEnery and Xiao (ibid. 257) develop a category scheme of swearing not unlike Jay's (1992) classification of cursing in American English. However, their typology reflects a more systematic account of the patterns of usage of *fuck* in spoken and written language in the BNC as illustrated in the following 9 categories: *general expletive, personal insult referring to a defined entity, cursing expletive, destination usage, literal usage denoting taboo referent, emphatic intensifier, 'pronominal' form, idiomatic 'set phrase', and metalinguistic or unclassifiable due to insufficient context*. The authors apply the scheme to the analysis of *fuck* and its morphological variants to examine the distribution pattern of word forms across *form, register* (i.e. spoken and written), *gender, age, social class, education level, social contexts, and date of creation* (i.e. data sampling period). Elements from the approach of this comprehensive corpus-based study of *fuck* influenced the methodology and research design of the present investigation, a point covered in more detail in Chapter 3.

In a later study, McEnery (2006) expands the scope of his research beyond *fuck* to make larger observations about the history and development

of 'bad language' and swearing in British English, from the late sixteenth century to present-day. Elaborating on the goals of his research, McEnery (ibid. 2) states that

this book aims to look beyond the words that have caused offence to look for the social processes that have brought about the associations between bad language and a number of sociolinguistic variables.

In pursuit of this aim, McEnery (ibid. 3) utilizes a blend of social and political theory in conjunction with corpus linguistics to justify several claims about "modern attitudes to bad language". His claims suggest a long history of censoring bad language in English, beginning in the seventeenth century, as a means of forming "a discourse of power for the growing middle classes in Britain" (ibid). Some key points from the corpus linguistic aspect of his research are briefly summarized below.

Using the Lancaster Corpus of Abuse, a corpus comprised of data drawn from the spoken section of the BNC, McEnery (ibid. 24) first considers bad language in the context of sociolinguistic variables (e.g. age, sex, social class) affecting usage in present-day English. He then categorizes instances of 'bad language words' (BLWs) from the corpus according to a list of 16 uses, including (1) *predicative negative adjective*, (5) *emphatic adverb/adjective*, (13) *personal insult referring to defined entity*, and (16) *unclassifiable due to insufficient context* (ibid. 32). Ultimately, McEnery (ibid. 57) associates observed differences in the data with Bourdieu's 'theory of distinction', which conceptualizes *distinction* as "a social process". With regards to bad language, McEnery (ibid.) argues that this social process gives rise to a "language of power" characterized by the absence of BLWs.

McEnery (2009) revisits the notion of 'bad language' in a paper seemingly reminiscent of Andersson and Trudgill's (1990) research on the topic. At the most basic level, both of the studies aim to define and

categorize bad language, of which swearing with four-letter words proves inherently a part. According to Andersson and Trudgill (ibid. 61), swearing can be categorized into the following four distinct types: *expletive*, *abusive*, *humorous*, and *auxiliary*. However, McEnery (2009: 569) goes a step beyond his predecessors in suggesting a concrete list of 15 “types of swearing”, a definitive categorization adapted from his earlier research on swearing in British English (cf. 2004, 2006). As with his previous research, McEnery cites corpus data from the BNC as evidence supporting his typology.

Before moving on to a brief discussion of Ljung’s (2011) cross-cultural study of swearing, a work which directly influenced the typology of swearing selected for the present study, mention of a historical account of swearing seems essential to the review of literature informing this thesis. As introduced in section 2.1, Hughes (2006: xv) approaches the larger category of swearing by distinguishing its *mode* from *content*. In the introduction to his vast tome aptly titled *An Encyclopedia of Swearing*, he explains that mode is either ‘formal’ or ‘informal’. The *formal mode*, he elaborates, is the root of swearing, with its history dating back centuries to when swearing consisted solely of “swearing by something or somebody, or that something is so, or to do something” (ibid. xvi). As for the *informal mode*, it consists of swearing at something or somebody by way of cursing, blasphemy, profanity, obscenity and so on, which Hughes observes is the more frequently used mode of modern swearing (ibid. xv). In terms of content, Hughes lists the following categories, all of which pertain to the *informal mode* of swearing: *religious reinforcers and sacred references*, *family origins*, *reprehensible behaviors and violations of moral codes*, *social stigmas*, *social conditions*, *insulting names*, *demeaning labels*, and *unflattering comparisons*.

Ljung (2011), who frequently refers to the work of Hughes (1991, 2006) in his cross-cultural study of swearing, structures his analysis into three main

aspects of swearing: *basic criteria, functions, and taboo themes*. He argues that these aspects, comprised of sociolinguistic characteristics and linguistic features, serve to establish swearing as a linguistic category “not only in English and other languages but across language boundaries” (2006: ix). More specifically, this structure enables Ljung to first identify and analyze swearing expressions from English and other languages and, second, compare the swearing expressions within and across languages. With regards to his cross-cultural approach, Ljung (*ibid.* ix) argues that

[s]uch comparisons make it clear that with a few exceptions the swearing ‘machinery’ in different languages is basically the same and that the perceived differences between languages in this respect are mostly due to different taboo word choices from the same set of swearing themes.

Ljung applies this approach to the analysis of swearing expressions in 25 languages, including English, with the study data stemming primarily from questionnaire-based interviews with native speakers (*cf.* viii) and secondarily from corpus resources such as the BNC (*cf.* 75). Although the present study focuses solely on American English and the implementation of corpus resources, Ljung’s systematic approach toward examining swearing expressions in English and other languages embodies a structure that may be useful beyond the scope of his study alone. This structure, as detailed in the following chapter, serves as the typology guiding the corpus-based analysis of four-letter words in the present investigation.

3. Research design

This chapter outlines the research design adopted in this study. The first section (Section 3.1) of this chapter briefly details the aim, motivation, and research questions guiding the investigation. The second section (Section

3.2) describes and justifies the methodological approach employed to examine the research questions, followed by an overview of the typology utilized for data analysis. The third and final section (Section 3.3) includes a description and justification of the process of data collection.

3.1 Aim, motivation, and research questions

The primary aim of this paper is to employ a corpus-based approach to investigate formal and functional features of four-letter words and their development in American English over the twentieth century to present-day. The present investigation thus traces variation in the morphology, frequency, and function of four-letter words in American English. The motivation for this approach stems from the aforementioned 2004 study by McEnery and Xiao (cf. section 2.2), who utilize the BNC to examine sociolinguistic variables in the corpus data to discover patterns of usage of the word *fuck* in spoken and written British English. The present study, however, differs significantly in two ways. First, it expands its scope beyond the case of *fuck* to also include *cunt* and *shit*, thus more adequately representing taboo four-letter words. Second, it utilizes COHA and COCA, as detailed in the forthcoming two sections (cf. 3.2 and 3.3), to explore two key research questions:

1. What are the formal features of four-letter words, and how have they changed in American English over the twentieth century?
2. What can patterns of usage reveal about the function of four-letter words in American English?

3.2 Methodology: a corpus-based approach

The research methodology for the present study is comprised of the following two main steps. First, employ a corpus-based approach to investigate the form of four-letter words in contemporary American English, viz. observing variation in the morphology of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in the 1900-

2009 sections of the COHA database and in the spoken genre of the COCA database. Second, investigate the function of four-letter words in contemporary American English, viz. observing frequencies and corresponding patterns of usage of *cunt*, *fuck*, *shit*, and select high frequency inflectional variants in the COHA and COCA databases. The functional analysis summarized in this second step is restricted to the spoken genre in the COCA corpus and the following sections in the COHA corpus: 1910-1919, 1940-1949, 1970-1979, and 2000-2009.

In conjunction with the corpus-based methodology outlined above the present study also adopts a typology of swearing for the aforementioned functional analysis of four-letter words in the corpus data. Introduced by Ljung (2011: 24) in his cross-cultural study of swearing, the typology clearly outlines three main aspects of swearing, all of which may be useful in examining the swearing function of four-letter words in American English. As previously mentioned (cf. section 2.2), these aspects consist of basic criteria, functions, and taboo themes.

According to Ljung (2011: 4), four basic criteria must be met for an utterance to qualify as swearing. These are:

1. Swearing is the use of utterances containing **taboo** words.
2. The taboo words are used with **non-literal** meaning.
3. Many utterances that constitute swearing are subject to severe lexical, phrasal and syntactic constraints which suggest that most swearing qualifies as **formulaic language**.
4. Swearing is **emotive language**: its main function is to reflect, or seem to reflect, the speaker's feelings and attitudes.

The functions of swearing constructions subsequently fall into two major categories: *stand-alones* and *slot fillers* (ibid. 30-35). It should be noted that a third minor category identified by Ljung (ibid. 35) as *replacive swearing* is disregarded for the purposes of the present study, as the category is specific to languages other than English (e.g. French, Russian) and is thus not relevant

or useful to the investigation of four-letter words in American English. As illustrated in Table 1 below, the *stand-alone* and *slot filler* categories are comprised of distinct swearing functions, while a third *invalid* category has been created to account for all 'non-swearing' instances located in the data. Each category has been coded for analysis in the present study.

Table 1. Functional analysis coding key

Category	Type	Code	Description	Example
Stand- alones	Expletive interjections	EX	Cathartic, i.e. not aimed at others	<i>Fuck! Shit!</i>
	Oaths	O	To swear by something or someone	<i>By God</i>
	Curses	C	To invoke evil or supernatural power to inflict harm or punishment on someone or something	<i>Damn you! Fuck you!</i>
	Affirmation + contradiction	AC	Affirmation or contradiction of the immediately preceding utterance	<i>The hell it is.</i>
	Unfriendly suggestions	US	To express aggression directed at somebody	<i>Kiss my ass!</i>
	Ritual insults	RI	Formulaic expressions involving mother/family/incest	<i>Your mother</i>
	Name-calling (expletive epithet)	NC	Expresses a speaker's (-) or (+) opinion of addressee or third party, i.e. expletive epithet. (1) In direct addresses to addressee, (2) In referring to a third party, (3) In describing addressee or third party.	<i>Cunt Motherfucker Shit</i>
Slot fillers	Adverbial/adjectival intensifier	IN	Expresses high degree of following adj. or adv.; Intensifying adj. expressing high degree of a following gradable noun; Expressed via compounding (adj. or adv.) or; Expressed w/as or like to intensify preceding verbs, adverbs, adjectives, etc.	<i>They drove damn fast. She's a damn bitch. Pisspoor. They ran like hell.</i>
	Adjectives of dislike	AD	Indicates speaker's dislike of the referent of the following noun; linked to emphasis.	<i>He's a fucking moron! He's a damn fool!</i>
	Emphasis	EM	Places emphasis on a following noun Emphasis expressed by placing swear words immediately after an interrogative pronoun or adverb Also expressed via infixation And phrases	<i>You don't need to tell me every damned time! Why the fuck...! Infuckingcredible! Shut the fuck up</i>
	Modal adverbials	MA	Attitudinal disjuncts or pragmatic markers expressing subjectivity	<i>They fucking bought one drink between them.</i>
	Anaphoric use of epithets	EP	Used like anaphoric pronouns, i.e. instead of <i>him, it, they</i>	<i>What am I going to tell Steve? Tell the motherfucker to mind his own business!</i>
	Noun supports	NS	Weakened epithets used to hang an adjective; Alternative to Subject + BE + Adjective or Subject + Predicate + Adverb constructions	<i>Jim is boring = Jim is a boring son-of-a-bitch</i>
Invalid	Literal usage	LU	Literal usage denoting taboo referent	<i>Let's fuck!</i>
	Figurative usage	FI	Figurative, idiomatic, or metaphorical usage	<i>Tough shit; full of shit</i>
	Set tag	ST	Expletive marking group membership with preceding noun, verb, or adjective	<i>Chairs and shit.</i>
	Typo	T	Misspellings or punctuation issues	<i>Cunt'd; cunt laude</i>
	Unclassifiable	UN	Unclear text or word usage	<i>...fuck' sums</i>
	Miscellaneous issues	MI	Names, text duplication, etc.	<i>The Flaming Cunts (band name)</i>

* All "stand-alone" and "slot filler" descriptions are borrowed (verbatim or paraphrased) from Ljung (2011).

* All "stand-alone" and "slot filler" examples are borrowed from Ljung (2011).

* "Literal usage" description in the "Invalid" category is borrowed from McEnery (2009).

The stand-alone and slot filler functions exemplified in the table above use taboo words “representing one or several taboo *themes*” Ljung 2011: 35). Ljung lists both major and minor taboo themes in his study; however, emphasis is placed upon the five major taboo themes listed below:

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

Of the five major taboo themes outlined by Ljung, the *scatological theme*, *sex organ theme*, and *sexual activities theme* pertain directly to the analysis in the present study. Together, the basic criteria, main functions, and themes outlined in this section serve as the typology directing the functional analysis of the four-letter words *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in the present investigation.

3.3 Data acquisition

As the scope of this paper delimits analysis to American English, the chosen approach for data acquisition was corpus retrieval from the COHA and COCA databases. The COHA database (Davies 2010) contains over 400 million words of American English in more than 100,000 texts dating from 1810 to 2009. The corpus is divided among four major written genres: *fiction*, *magazines*, *newspapers*, and *non-fiction*. The COCA database (Davies 2008) contains over 450 million words of American English text from 1990 to 2012 divided among five major genres: *spoken*, *fiction*, *magazines*, *newspapers*, and *academic*.

The spoken genre in the COCA database consists of transcripts of unscripted conversation from various radio and television interviews, amounting to more than 80 million words in the corpus, or approximately one fifth of its total size. Previous corpus-based research on swearing in British English (cf. McEnery 2004) emphasizes the significance of the spoken

register (i.e. *genre* in the present study) in analyzing swearwords. McEnery (ibid. 236) notes that spoken language tends to reflect a higher degree of informality than written language, and that “[o]ne of the linguistic indicators of informality is swearing”. Theoretically, this distinction should apply to large corpora such as COCA, with swearwords occurring more frequently in spoken genres than in *written* genres, as McEnery’s (ibid.) data from the BNC suggests. However, this rule does not necessarily translate to corpora comprised of American English.

Corpus-based analysis of four-letter words in spoken American English remains a challenge due to strict regulations against “obscene, indecent or profane language” in the United States (Ljung 2011: 9-10). Such language, which often involves the use of four-letter words, is considered unprotected speech in America, and is thus subject to heavy regulation and censorship on radio and television by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) (cf. Pinker 2007: 323). As the results presented in Chapters 5 and 6 will demonstrate, FCC policy on obscene language directly impacts the ‘unscripted conversation’ comprising the spoken genre of the COCA database. Nonetheless, data from the spoken genre of COCA is included in the present investigation as a means of providing some perspective not only on the formal and functional development of four-letter words in American English, but also on the corpora resources available for such analysis.

4. Results I: formal analysis

This chapter examines the morphological structure and development of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in American English from 1900 to 2012. The formal analysis in this chapter is motivated by the first of two research questions posed in Chapter 1:

- What are the formal features of four-letter words, and how have they changed in American English over the twentieth century?

Accordingly, Section 4.1 identifies the typical morphological patterns of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in the corpus data, while Section 4.2 details the token frequency of root and variant forms by decade from 1900 to 2009 in the COHA database and by genre from 1990 to 2012 in the COCA database. The collective results described in this chapter will be interpreted in the discussion offered in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

4.1 Morphology of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit*

Variant forms of the four-letter words *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* were located in the COHA and COCA databases by conducting a variety of searches, including a 'lemma' search and a 'parts of words' (POW) search across decade or genre in each corpus, respectively. Once located, morphological variants were then closely examined to determine their morphological form, based on criteria involving their process of variation (e.g. inflection, derivation, compounding). The relevant categories thus consist of *prefix*, *derivational suffix*, *inflectional suffix*, *infix*, *blend*, *compound*, *phrasal word*, *phonological form*, and *reduplication*. The variant forms dismissed as invalid in this study resulted from issues such as misspellings (e.g. *cuntry*), foreign languages (e.g. *cuntas*), other words (e.g. *country*), typos (e.g. *SETHFuck*), proper nouns (e.g. *Washita*), expletive chains (e.g. *Fuckshitpenis*), or unreadable text (e.g.

freshit). A complete list of all valid and invalid variant forms can be found in Appendices 1 – 2.

To trace the morphological development of the four-letter words at the center of the present study, it seems important to first establish the relevant morphological categories. As Booij (2010: 507) points out, “[m]orphology is the subdiscipline of linguistics that deals with the internal structure of words”. One way of modeling the structuring of words is to divide them into elements and consider them in terms of a ‘morphological schema’, as Booij (*ibid.*) demonstrates in the word pair below:

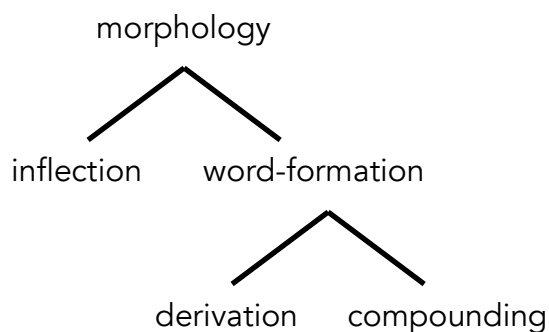
(1) Form-meaning between word pairs

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Noun</i>
Bake	Baker
[[x]v –ər] _N ‘one who Vs’	

The individual elements of the word pair *bake* and *baker* consist of morphemes, which Booij (*ibid.* 508) defines as “the minimal meaning-bearing unit of a language” and what Crystal (2010: 94) describes as “[t]he smallest meaningful elements into which words can be analysed”. Reducing words to morphemes that can in turn be viewed in a morphological schema as noted above helps to distinguish the morphological processes involved with inflection and word formation.

Inflectional changes to a word reflect “grammatical contrasts in sentences, such a singular plural, or past/present tense”, whereas derivational changes involve the formation of new words “with their own grammatical properties” (*ibid.*). However, derivation is just one of two main factors in word formation, as Plag (2003: 17) clearly illustrates in the following tree diagram:

(2) Morphology diagram



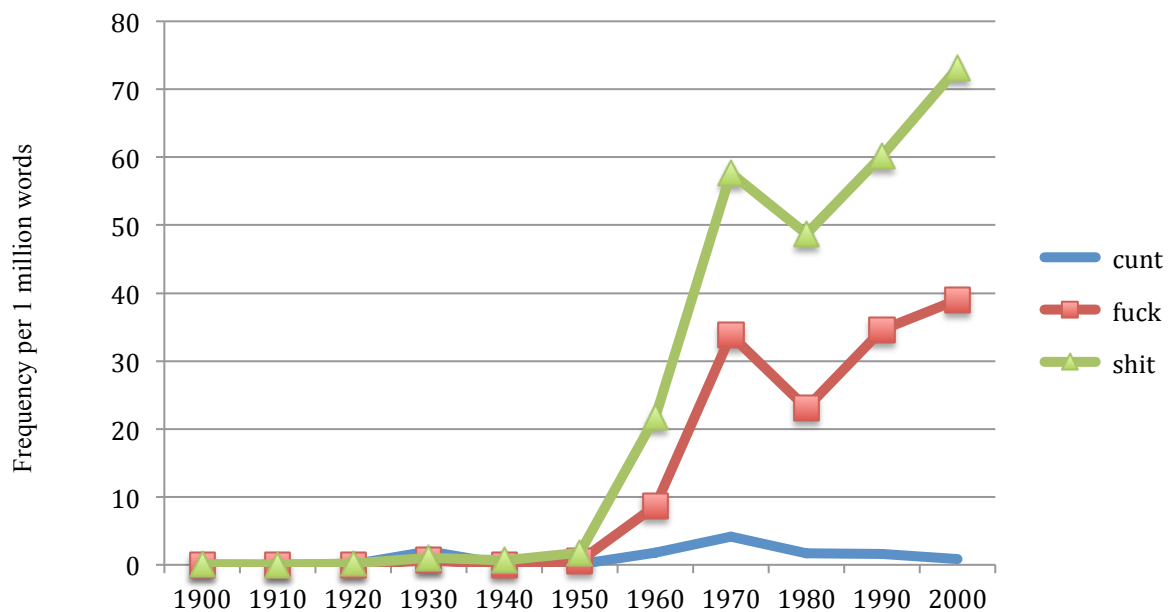
As the above diagram highlights, compounding is yet another means of creating new words from existing words, a process Carstairs-McCarthy (2002: 59) defines as “words formed by combining roots”. ‘Root’ in this sense, can be understood in terms of the notion ‘stem’. According to Booij (2010: 509), “[t]he stem of a word is the form minus its inflectional markers”, while a root consists of “a stem minus its word formation morphemes”. To illustrate this distinction using examples from the data in the present investigation, consider the word *fuckers*. In this example, the stem of the word is *fucker*, while the root is *fuck*. Compounds derived from the root *fuck* include *fuckface*, *dumbfuck*, and *fucked-up*. Interestingly, Plag (2003:132) asserts that “compounding is the most productive type of word-formation process in English”. This may be due to the variability of roots or ‘bases’ found in compounds, which typically include a creative mix of nouns, adjectives, and verbs (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad & Finegan 1999: 58).

Returning to the notion of derivation, the types of word formation commonly observed in derivational morphology include affixation (e.g. prefixation, suffixation, infixation) and non-affixation (e.g. conversion, truncation, blending) (Plag 2003: 17). Accordingly, inflection, derivation, and compounding are the morphological processes guiding the formal analysis in the present study. As noted at the beginning of this section, the

morphological variation resulting from such processes are referred to as *morphological categories* in the data below.

Let us now turn to the morphological analysis of the corpus data. To begin, Figure 1 shows the frequency of the root forms *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in the 1900-2009 sections of the COHA corpus. Sections range from approximately 22 to 29 million words each. Although frequencies of both root and variant forms will be examined in closer detail in Section 4.2, it is worth noting the general frequency of root forms in the present section to contextualize the morphological variation observed in the corpus data.

Figure 1. Frequency of root forms by decade in COHA

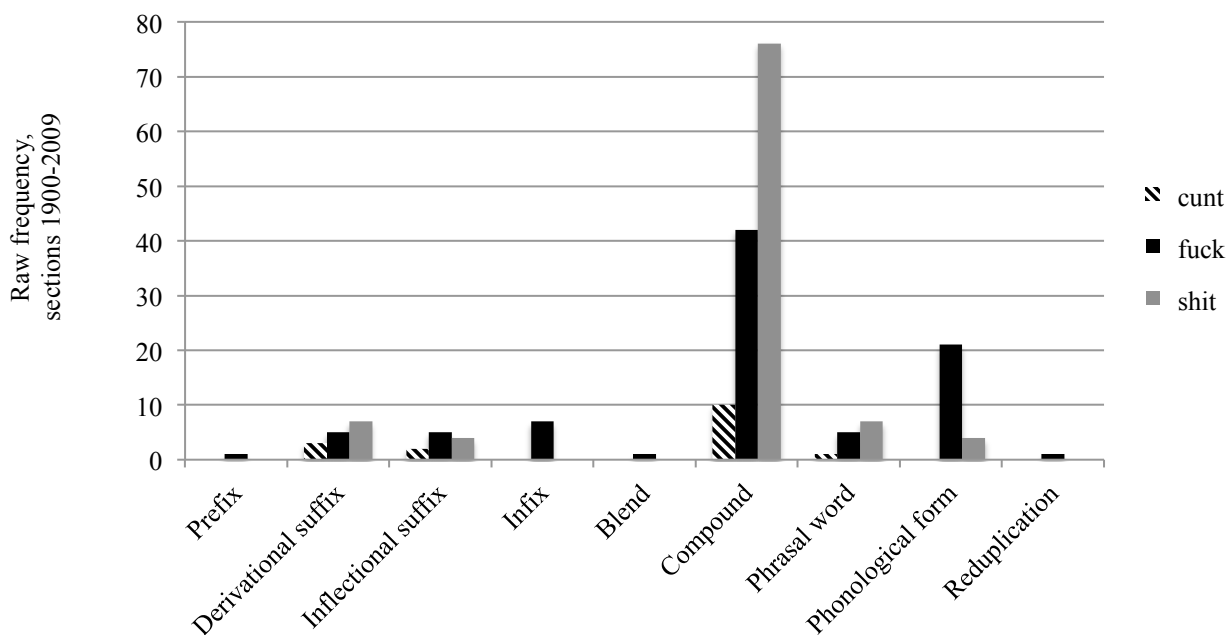


The frequencies illustrated in the graph above suggest little usage of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* prior to 1950. Interestingly, the frequencies of *fuck* and *shit* have steadily increased since 1950, with the exception of a drop in usage of both words around 1980. However, the root form *cunt* has maintained a relatively low frequency over the course of the twentieth century to present-day, despite a small spike in usage around 1970. Given the frequencies graphically rendered above, it could be argued that the root forms *fuck* and

shit may yield a wider variety of morphological variants than *cunt*, thus reflecting the apparent acceptability or popularity of each word. This brings us to the morphological variation of root forms in the COHA database.

Figure 2 below shows the distribution of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* across morphological category in the 1900-2009 sections of the COHA corpus, based on a POW search of each root form. While thorough searches of each word were conducted, it should be noted that the raw type frequencies in the data below reflect search parameters set for a minimum frequency of 1 for *cunt*, and a minimum frequency of 2 for both *fuck* and *shit*. The minimum frequency for *cunt* is lower, given the overall low frequency of the word in the COHA corpus, while the minimum frequency for *fuck* and *shit* are slightly higher, given the relatively high frequency of both words in the corpus. As previously mentioned (cf. section 3.3), the COHA corpus consists solely of written texts drawn from the following four-genres: *fiction*, *magazine*, *newspapers*, and *non-fiction*.

Figure 2. Frequency of root forms according to morphological category in COHA



A total of 67 variant forms of *cunt* were located in the 1900-2009 sections of the COHA corpus, yet only 15 of those variant forms are considered to be valid in the data. As indicated in the above chart, the bulk of the valid variant forms are compounds, 7 of which consist of *noun-noun* pairs (e.g. *cuntface*, *cunt-hunter*, *cuntheads*). The remaining 3 compounds are *noun-verb* pairs (e.g. *cunt-loving*, *cunt-sucking*, *cunt-eating*). The inflectional suffix *-s* shows up in the variant forms *cunts* and *cuntlets*, while the derivational suffixes *-y*, *-let*, *-ish* result in *cunty*, *cuntlet*, and *cuntish*, respectively. Additionally, *son-of-a-cunt* emerges as a token phrase in the data.

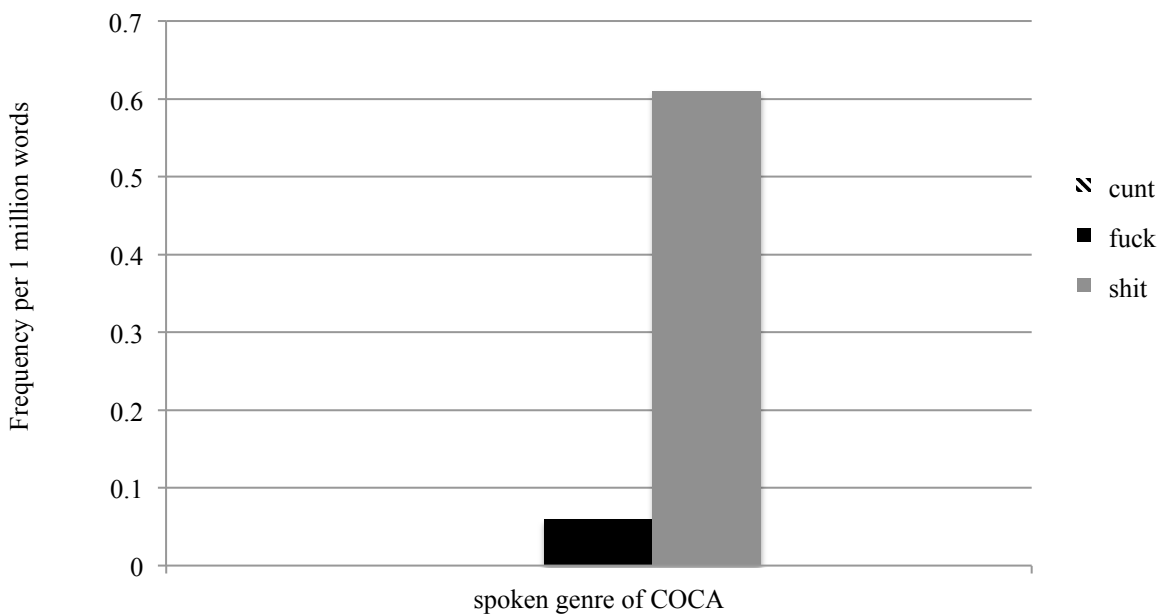
The POW search string **fuck** produced a total of 112 variant forms of *fuck* in COHA, with 85 of the forms regarded as valid. Similar to the search results for *cunt*, the majority of valid *fuck* variants are compounds, typically involving *noun-noun* pairs (e.g. *motherfucker*, *fuckhead*, *mindfucker*). The search also produced a high number of 'phonological forms' (e.g. *fucken*, *fuckinbastid*, *mothahfuckah*), where spelling of variant forms in written language mimic pronunciation of the forms in spoken language. Biber et al. (1999: 1122) describe this feature as 'morphophonemic', and explain that such variants merely indicate "a different pronunciation from the standard one". Aside from the high number of compounds and phonological forms, the remaining *fuck* variants occur at low frequency across each morphological category, as depicted in Figure 2. Examples from the COHA data include derivational variants (e.g. *fucker*, *fuckable*) inflectional variants (e.g. *fucking*, *fucked*) and infixes (e.g. *un-fucking-believable*, *good-fucking-bye*).

Lastly, the POW search string **shit** yielded 172 variant forms in COHA, with 97 valid variants largely consisting of *noun-noun* compounds such as *bullshit*, *shithead*, and *dipshit*. A small number of *noun-verb* compounds appearing in the data include *bullshitting*, *shit-eating*, and *shit-*

talking. All in all, the search rendered a total of 76 compounds, 7 derivational suffixes (e.g. *shitty*, *shitless*), 4 inflectional suffixes (e.g. *shits*, *shitting*), 7 phrases (e.g. *shit-for-brains*, *beat-to-shit*), and 4 phonological forms (e.g. *shittin*, *bullshittin*).

While the COHA data described above provides a sense of the morphological variation of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in written language from 1900-2009, it does not speak to the variation of these words in spoken language. Accordingly, Figure 3 shows the general frequencies of the root forms *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in the spoken genre of the COCA corpus. The spoken genre consists of approximately 95 million words. Noting the frequencies of the root forms in the spoken genre will help to contextualize the morphological variation observed in the COCA corpus.

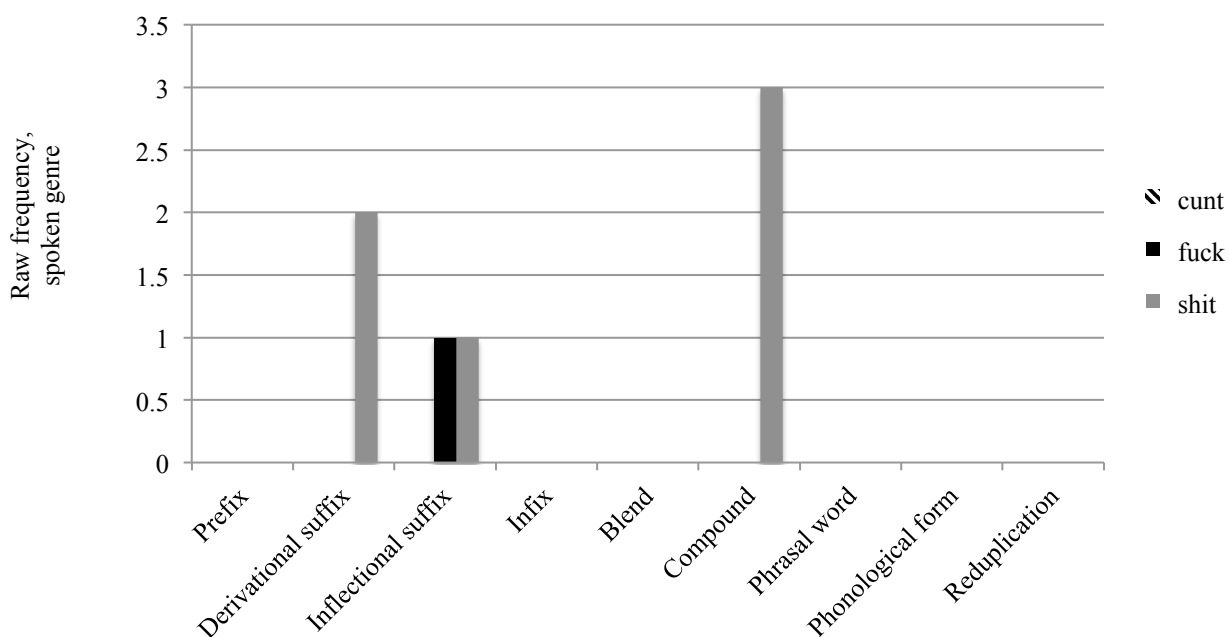
Figure 3. Frequency of root forms in the spoken genre of COCA



The frequencies illustrated in the chart above reflect no instances of *cunt* and less than 1 instance of *fuck* or *shit* per one million words in spoken language from 1990 to 2012. As will be shown in the remainder of this section, the low frequency of root forms in the spoken genre of COCA

suggests a corresponding low number of morphological variants in the data. Accordingly, Figure 4 below shows the distribution of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* across morphological categories in the spoken genre of the COCA corpus, based on a POW search of each root form from 1990-2012. Search parameters included a sorting frequency of 1 for each root form.

Figure 4. Frequency of root forms according to morphological category in the spoken genre of COCA



As indicated in the chart above, a POW search of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in the spoken genre of the COCA corpus produced a smaller number of variants compared to those observed in the COHA corpus. The COCA search yielded no morphological variations of *cunt*, 1 variation of *fuck* (e.g. *fuckin*), and 6 variations of *shit* (e.g. *bullshit*, *shitty*, *shitted*, *shitless*, *horseshit*, *bullshitting*). The disparity in frequency and morphological variation between corpora seems more an issue of content and federally imposed censorship of ‘obscene’ language in the United States (cf. Section 3.3) than corpus size. As noted above, the spoken genre in COCA consists of approximately 95 million

words, while each section (i.e. decade) in COHA consists of 22 to 29 million words each. It could be argued that without sanctions against expletives such as *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in spoken American English these words would appear more frequently in the 'unscripted speech' comprising the spoken component of the COCA corpus.

The results described thus far in this section have focused on the types (i.e. morphological categories) of variants observed in the COHA and COCA databases. In terms of type frequency, compounds clearly emerge as the most frequent variant in the data. That being said, observing the distribution of root and high-frequency variant forms over the course of the twentieth century may lend insight into the development of four-letter words in American English. Thus, the next and final section in this chapter explores the token frequency of root and variant forms of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in the COHA and COCA databases.

4.2 Morphological development

The approach adopted in the present investigation aligns with Biber (2010: 163), who posits that one of the basic goals of corpus-based studies is "to describe and explain linguistic patterns of variation and use". One means of achieving this goal is to observe the frequency of linguistic forms and constructions in corpora. Thus, this section surveys the distribution of root and variant forms of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* across decades from 1900-2009 in the COHA corpus and across genres from 1990-2012 in the COCA corpus. All frequencies in the forthcoming data are normalized per one million words, with the exception of Tables 2 and 3, which list both raw and normalized frequencies.

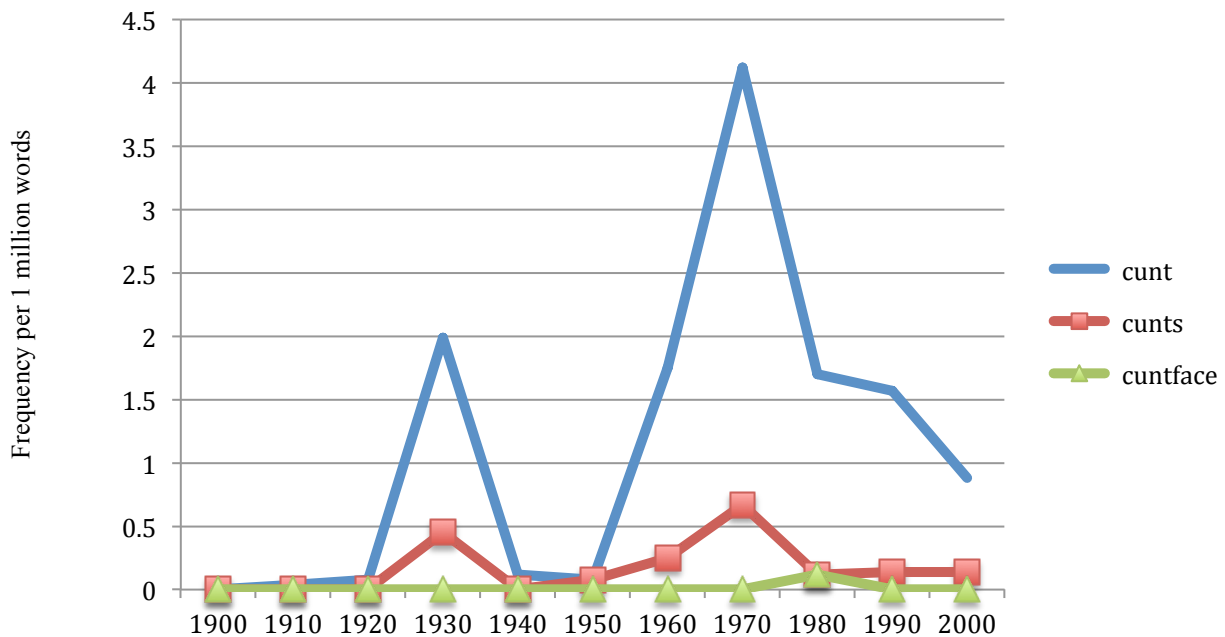
Table 2. Distribution of root and variant forms across decades in COHA

<i>Form</i>	<i>Decade</i>	<i>Words</i>	<i>Raw freq.</i>	<i>Normalized freq. per 1 million words</i>
<i>cunt</i>	2000-2009	29,567,390	26	0.88
	1990-1999	27,941,535	44	1.57
	1980-1989	25,315,978	43	1.70
	1970-1979	23,815,191	98	4.12
	1960-1969	23,977,232	42	1.75
	1950-1959	24,544,831	2	0.08
	1940-1949	24,347,955	3	0.12
	1930-1939	24,602,615	49	1.99
	1920-1929	25,653,746	2	0.08
	1910-1919	22,700,638	1	0.04
	1900-1909	22,097,593	0	0
<i>cunts</i>	2000-2009	29,567,390	4	0.14
	1990-1999	27,941,535	4	0.14
	1980-1989	25,315,978	3	0.12
	1970-1979	23,815,191	16	0.67
	1960-1969	23,977,232	6	0.25
	1950-1959	24,544,831	2	0.08
	1940-1949	24,347,955	0	0
	1930-1939	24,602,615	11	0.45
	1920-1929	25,653,746	0	0
	1910-1919	22,700,638	0	0
	1900-1909	22,097,593	0	0
<i>cuntface</i>	2000-2009	29,567,390	0	0
	1990-1999	27,941,535	0	0
	1980-1989	25,315,978	3	0.12
	1970-1979	23,815,191	0	0
	1960-1969	23,977,232	0	0
	1950-1959	24,544,831	0	0
	1940-1949	24,347,955	0	0
	1930-1939	24,602,615	0	0
	1920-1929	25,653,746	0	0
	1910-1919	22,700,638	0	0
	1900-1909	22,097,593	0	0
<i>fuck</i>	2000-2009	29,567,390	1154	39.03
	1990-1999	27,941,535	967	34.61
	1980-1989	25,315,978	584	23.07
	1970-1979	23,815,191	805	33.80
	1960-1969	23,977,232	207	8.63
	1950-1959	24,544,831	14	0.57
	1940-1949	24,347,955	0	0
	1930-1939	24,602,615	16	0.65
	1920-1929	25,653,746	0	0
	1910-1919	22,700,638	1	0.04
	1900-1909	22,097,593	0	0
<i>fucking</i>	2000-2009	29,567,390	933	31.56
	1990-1999	27,941,535	983	35.18
	1980-1989	25,315,978	699	27.61
	1970-1979	23,815,191	729	30.61

	1960-1969	23,977,232	175	7.30
	1950-1959	24,544,831	10	0.41
	1940-1949	24,347,955	0	0
	1930-1939	24,602,615	17	0.69
	1920-1929	25,653,746	0	0
	1910-1919	22,700,638	0	0
	1900-1909	22,097,593	0	0
<i>motherfucker</i>	2000-2009	29,567,390	85	2.87
	1990-1999	27,941,535	70	2.51
	1980-1989	25,315,978	35	1.38
	1970-1979	23,815,191	42	1.76
	1960-1969	23,977,232	12	0.50
	1950-1959	24,544,831	1	0.04
	1940-1949	24,347,955	0	0
	1930-1939	24,602,615	0	0
	1920-1929	25,653,746	0	0
	1910-1919	22,700,638	0	0
	1900-1909	22,097,593	0	0
<i>shit</i>	2000-2009	29,567,390	2161	73.09
	1990-1999	27,941,535	1682	60.20
	1980-1989	25,315,978	1234	48.74
	1970-1979	23,815,191	1373	57.65
	1960-1969	23,977,232	523	21.81
	1950-1959	24,544,831	43	1.75
	1940-1949	24,347,955	17	0.70
	1930-1939	24,602,615	26	1.06
	1920-1929	25,653,746	4	0.16
	1910-1919	22,700,638	1	0.04
	1900-1909	22,097,593	2	0.09
<i>shitting</i>	2000-2009	29,567,390	30	1.01
	1990-1999	27,941,535	22	0.79
	1980-1989	25,315,978	17	0.67
	1970-1979	23,815,191	22	0.92
	1960-1969	23,977,232	3	0.13
	1950-1959	24,544,831	0	0
	1940-1949	24,347,955	0	0
	1930-1939	24,602,615	1	0.04
	1920-1929	25,653,746	0	0
	1910-1919	22,700,638	0	0
	1900-1909	22,097,593	1	0.05
<i>bullshit</i>	2000-2009	29,567,390	304	10.28
	1990-1999	27,941,535	221	7.91
	1980-1989	25,315,978	216	8.53
	1970-1979	23,815,191	195	8.19
	1960-1969	23,977,232	29	1.21
	1950-1959	24,544,831	6	0.24
	1940-1949	24,347,955	2	0.08
	1930-1939	24,602,615	1	0.04
	1920-1929	25,653,746	0	0
	1910-1919	22,700,638	0	0
	1900-1909	22,097,593	0	0

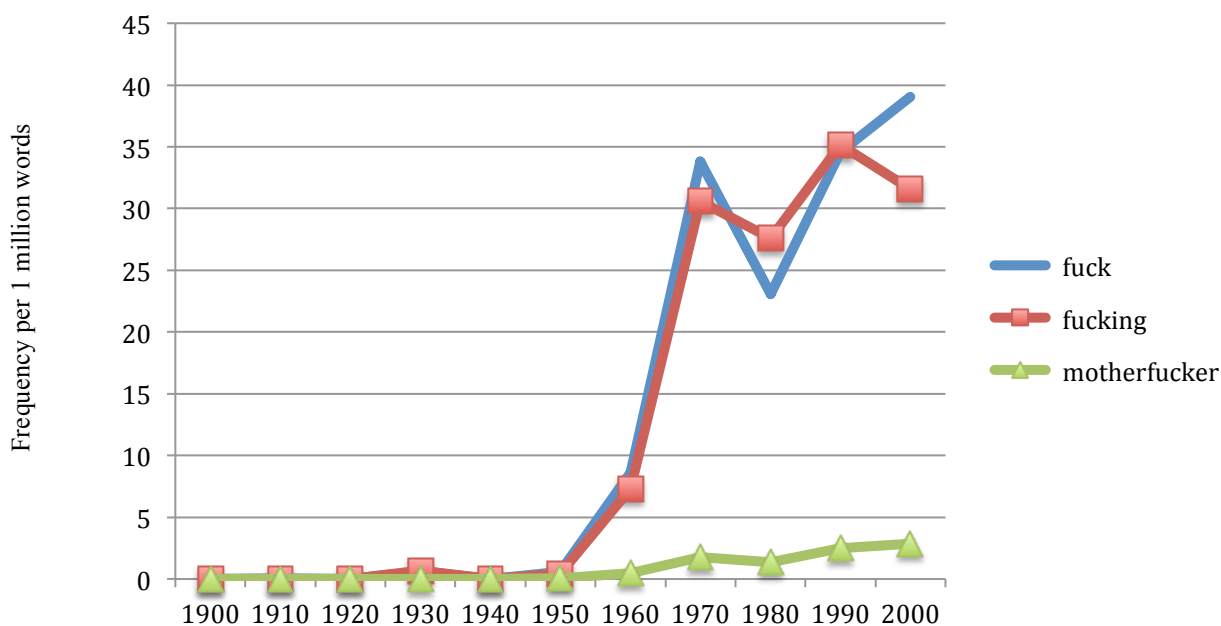
As illustrated in Table 2 above, *shit* occurs at a significantly higher frequency in the COHA database from 1950 onward than *fuck* or *cunt* and their respective variant forms. In addition to comparing root forms and inflectional morphological variants, it seems important to factor the distribution of compounds in the data, considering the high number of compound variants noted in the previous section of this paper. Accordingly, high-frequency compounds are among the variants rendered graphically in Figures 5-8 below.

Figure 5. Distribution of *cunt*, *cunts*, and *cuntface* across decades in COHA



With regards to *cunt*, the frequency depicted in Figure 5 demonstrates low usage throughout the twentieth century, with the exception of spikes in popularity around 1930 and 1970. The frequency of the root form is notably higher than both the inflected variant *cunts* and compound variant *cuntface*, which suggests a pattern of usage somewhat different to that of *fuck* in Figure 6.

Figure 6. Distribution of *fuck*, *fucking*, and *motherfucker* across decades in COHA

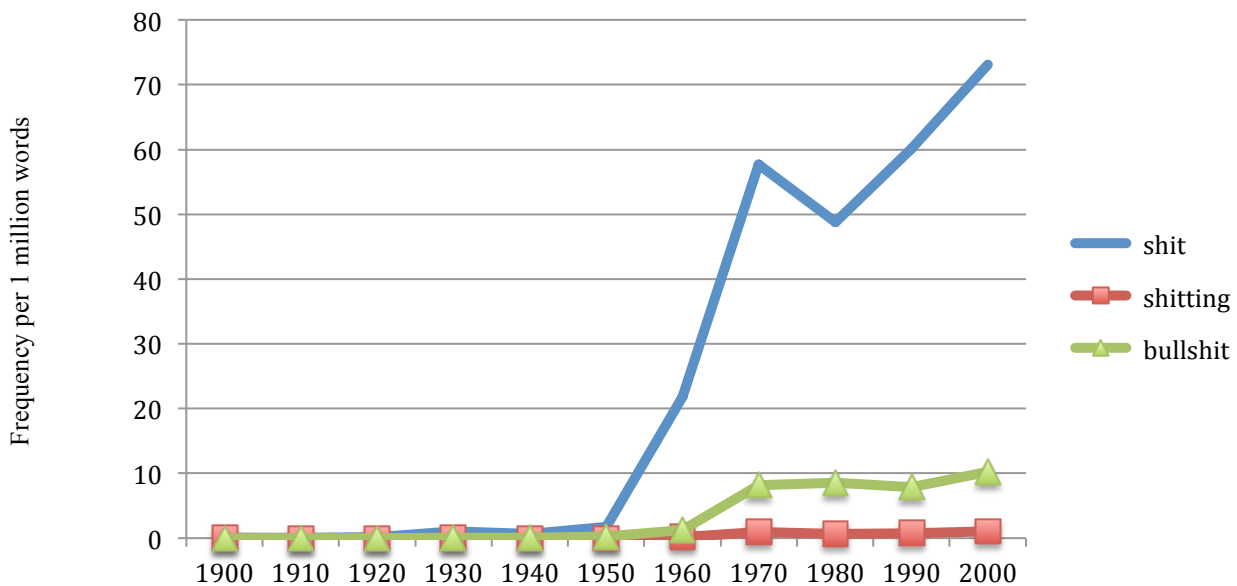


As observed with *cunt* (cf. Figure 5), the root form *fuck* occurs more frequently than its variant forms in Figure 6 above. This may be due to the ‘flexibility’ of *fuck*, which Hughes (2006: 170) claims “has extended its grammatical function from being exclusively a verb [...] to virtually every other part of speech”. However, with the exception of the past two decades, the inflected variant *fucking* is only marginally lower in frequency than its thriving root form. The compound noun *motherfucker*, on the other hand, displays consistently lower usage than *fuck* or *fucking* across the twentieth century, which may be characteristic of its restricted function as an insult or term of abuse. As Hughes (ibid. 171) notes, “terms that can be used as both noun and verb” demonstrate greater flexibility across swearing modes. In other words, nouns such as *cunt(s)*, *cuntface*, or *motherfucker* remain confined to a relatively narrow set of functions compared to *fuck*, which functions as both noun and verb.

Interestingly, each root form, including *shit* in Figure 6 below, displays an abrupt rise in frequency around 1950. As Nunberg (2012a) points out, this

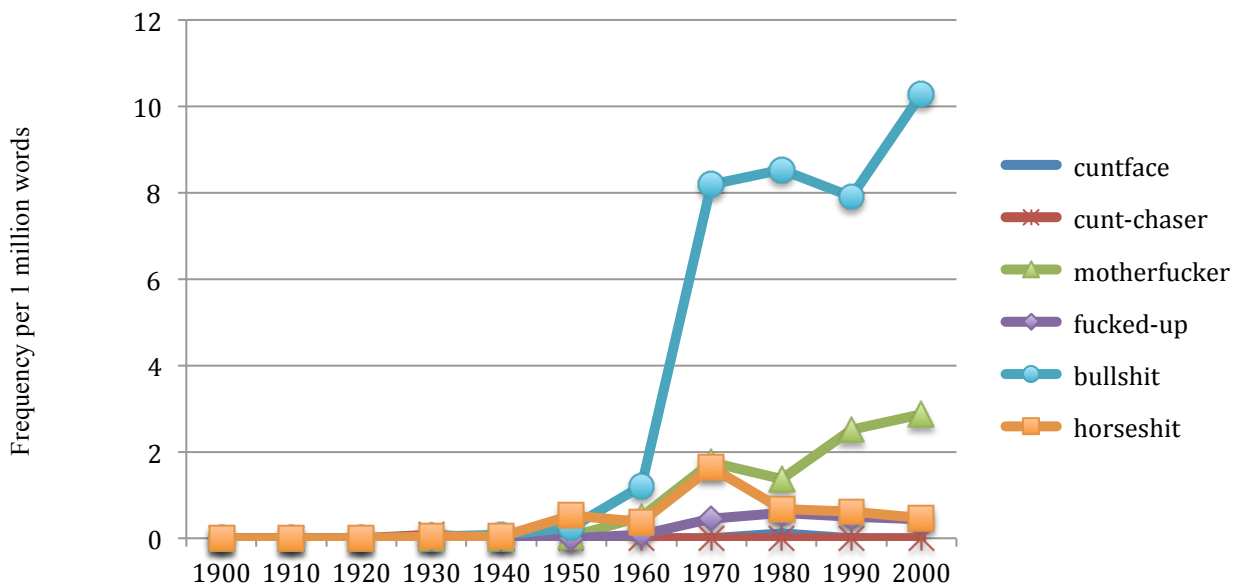
pattern of usage points toward the introduction of obscene four-letter words into mainstream society following World War II. Nunberg (ibid. 68-70) explains that during this period, the foul language arising from obscenities such as *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* initially “struck many as an incomprehensible register” yet eventually came to symbolize sophistication among certain populations, including urban and upper-class American women. The data suggest this casual and trendy use of foul language undoubtedly extends up to the 1970s, perhaps reflecting the liberal attitudes and ideals associated with the counter-culture and sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. Attitudes to language will be explored further in Chapter 6 of this paper.

Figure 7. Distribution of *shit*, *shitting*, and *bullshit* across decades in COHA



Although the data in Figure 7 show few instances of the inflected variant *shitting*, the compound noun *bullshit* indicates a slow but steady increase in frequency. To get a better sense of the recent history of the compound, Figure 8 below shows the distribution of *bullshit* alongside frequently occurring compound variants of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in the 1900-2009 sections of the COHA corpus.

Figure 8. Distribution of compound variants of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in the 1900-2009 sections of COHA



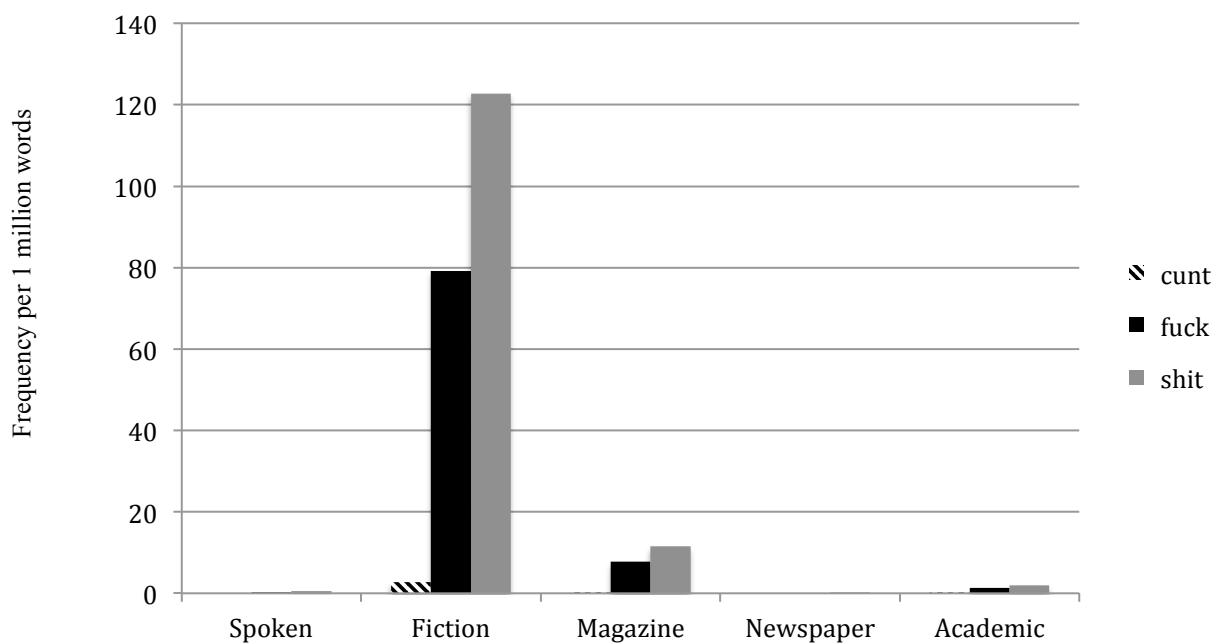
As Figure 8 shows, *bullshit* clearly emerges as a dominant compound in the twentieth century, averaging more than double the frequency of other high-frequency compounds. While the above data offer some perspective on the diachronic development of four-letter words, the remainder of this section will review their synchronic evolution across various genres in American English.

Table 3. Distribution of root and variant forms across genres in COCA

<i>Form</i>	<i>Genre</i>	<i>Words</i>	<i>Raw freq.</i>	<i>Normalized freq. per 1 million words</i>
<i>cunt</i>	Spoken	95,577,943	0	0
	Fiction	90,429,400	246	2.72
	Magazine	95,558,725	23	0.24
	Newspaper	91,713,978	0	0
	Academic	91,066,191	13	0.14
<i>cunts</i>	Spoken	95,577,943	0	0
	Fiction	90,429,400	29	0.32
	Magazine	95,558,725	4	0.04
	Newspaper	91,713,978	0	0
	Academic	91,066,191	1	0.01
<i>cuntface</i>	Spoken	95,577,943	0	0
	Fiction	90,429,400	2	0.02
	Magazine	95,558,725	0	0
	Newspaper	91,713,978	0	0
	Academic	91,066,191	0	0
<i>fuck</i>	Spoken	95,577,943	6	0.06
	Fiction	90,429,400	7160	79.18
	Magazine	95,558,725	741	7.75
	Newspaper	91,713,978	0	0
	Academic	91,066,191	123	1.35
<i>fucking</i>	Spoken	95,577,943	4	0.04
	Fiction	90,429,400	6728	74.40
	Magazine	95,558,725	769	8.05
	Newspaper	91,713,978	0	0
	Academic	91,066,191	51	0.56
<i>motherfucker</i>	Spoken	95,577,943	0	0
	Fiction	90,429,400	536	5.93
	Magazine	95,558,725	72	0.75
	Newspaper	91,713,978	0	0
	Academic	91,066,191	5	0.05
<i>shit</i>	Spoken	95,577,943	58	0.61
	Fiction	90,429,400	11100	122.75
	Magazine	95,558,725	1108	11.59
	Newspaper	91,713,978	14	0.15
	Academic	91,066,191	180	1.98
<i>shitting</i>	Spoken	95,577,943	0	0
	Fiction	90,429,400	133	1.47
	Magazine	95,558,725	15	0.16
	Newspaper	91,713,978	0	0
	Academic	91,066,191	2	0.02
<i>bullshit</i>	Spoken	95,577,943	16	0.17
	Fiction	90,429,400	1601	17.70
	Magazine	95,558,725	312	3.27
	Newspaper	91,713,978	5	0.05
	Academic	91,066,191	41	0.45

As previously mentioned (cf. section 3.3), the COCA database encourages analysis across the following genres: *spoken*, *fiction*, *magazine*, *newspaper*, *academic*. Table 3 above details the frequency of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* and their high-frequency inflectional and compound variants across the COCA genres. The root form *shit* trumps both *cunt* and *fuck* in terms of overall frequency in the COCA database, a finding that echoes patterns of usage observed in the COHA data (cf. this section). With regards to the distribution of each root form across genres in COCA, the data in Figure 9 below highlight somewhat predictable disparities between genres.

Figure 9. Distribution of root forms across genres in COCA



In 'normal', everyday life, it is not uncommon to encounter four-letter words in spoken language heard on the street or uttered between friends. As previously established (cf. section 3.3) spoken language is typically regarded as more informal than written language, with swearwords such as *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* signifying informality to a greater extent than other words. However,

few instances of these four-letter words occur in the spoken genre of the COCA database, while most instances fall under the *fiction* genre.

The disparity in frequency between genres is predictable in that it reflects American taboos on obscenity and corresponding FCC regulations against obscene language (cf. section 3.3). The 'unscripted speech' comprising the spoken genre in the COCA corpus is subject to strict censorship of obscene language (i.e. four-letter words depicting sex or excretory organs/functions), so it is not surprising, then, to discover so few instances in the data. However, what is interesting is how informal spoken language is more truthfully represented in the *fiction* genre of COCA.

As Ljung (2011: 9-10) notes, FCC regulation of obscene language in the media currently extends only to radio, television, and film. Written language, by contrast, remains a refuge for free, uncensored expression. That being said, four-letter words such as those featured in the present investigation, appear most frequently in the *fiction* genre, as opposed to the more formal written genres in the database (e.g. *magazine, newspaper, academic*). To better understand how four-letter words actually function in written and spoken language, the following chapter will examine the use of *cunt, fuck, and shit* and select high-frequency inflectional variants across specific decades in the COHA corpus and in the spoken genre of the COCA corpus.

5. Results II: functional analysis

Chapter 4 shows the morphological development of four-letter words, viz. *cunt, fuck, and shit*, is largely the product of word formation processes such as inflection, derivation, and compounding. The present chapter builds upon this analysis as it examines the various functions of four-letter words. The

functional analysis in this chapter is motivated by the second research question posed in Chapter 1:

- What can patterns of usage reveal about the functions of four-letter words in American English?

In pursuit of the above question, a classification of swearing functions introduced by Ljung (cf. 2011: 30) is employed to trace variation in the patterns of use of *cunt*, *cunts*, *fuck*, *fuckin*g, *shit*, and *shittin*g in American English over the course of the twentieth century to present-day. As previously detailed in Section 3.2, the functional analysis of these four-letter words and their inflectional variants involves two main swearing functions: *stand-alones* and *slot fillers*. The analysis also identifies a third category, labeled *invalid*, for the purpose of accounting for the ‘non-swearing’ instances located in the corpus data. All three functional categories, viz. stand-alone, slot filler, and invalid, have been coded for analysis in Sections 5.1 – 5.3. Descriptions and linguistic examples of the swearing functions in the above categories can be located in Table 1 (cf. Section 3.2).

Tables 4-9 below feature data extracted from select decades in the COHA corpus and from the spoken genre of the COCA corpus. The COHA analysis is restricted to the following sections (i.e. decades): 1910-1919, 1940-1949, 1970-1979, and 2000-2009. Each section includes data from the four written genres in the corpus: *fiction*, *magazines*, *newspapers*, and *non-fiction*. Together, these sections represent the functional analysis of four-letter words in written American English across the twentieth century. The COCA analysis is restricted to the spoken genre of the corpus from 1990 to 2012 and thus contributes a perspective on the function of four-letter words in spoken American English from the end of the twentieth century to present-day. For sections consisting of more than 100 instances, the ‘sample’ feature of each corpus was utilized to obtain a random assortment of 100 instances,

of which all were selected for analysis. Sections containing fewer than 100 instances were analyzed chronologically. A complete list of each instance included in the COHA and COCA functional analyses can be found in limited context in Appendices 3 – 4.

5.1 Stand-alone functions of root and variant forms

This section shows patterns of use and variation in the stand-alone functions of *cunt*, *cunts*, *fuck*, *fucking*, *shit*, and *shitting* in the COHA and COCA databases. According to Ljung (2011: 30), “stand-alones are swearing constructions that function as utterances of their own”. For example, Ljung (ibid.) explains that stand-alone constructions may take the form of ‘illocutionary acts’ such as oaths (e.g. *By God!*), curses (e.g. *Damn you!*), or unfriendly suggestions (e.g. *Kiss my ass!*). Likewise, he argues that stand-alones may also serve as “expletive interjections expressing anger, surprise, pain and other feelings” (ibid.). In terms of the four-letter words in the present study, such interjectional expressions include swearing constructions like *Fuck!* and *Oh, shit!* in the corpus data. In addition to the above functions, Ljung (ibid.) includes “affirmations, denials, ritual insults and name-calling” in the stand-alone category. Accordingly, the stand-alone category directing the analysis in the present section consists of the following 7 swearing functions: *expletive interjections (EX)*, *oaths (O)*, *curses (C)*, *affirmation and contradiction (AC)*, *unfriendly suggestions (US)*, *ritual insults (RI)*, and *name-calling (NC)*.

Table 4 below shows a total of 237 instances of stand-alone swearing in the COHA corpus. As can be seen in the table, the root forms *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* occur more frequently as stand-alone swearing constructions than their inflectional counterparts, with all but 8 instances appearing after 1969.

Table 4. Stand-alone functions of root and variant forms across decades in COHA

<i>Form</i>	<i>Decade</i>	<i>EX</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>AC</i>	<i>US</i>	<i>RI</i>	<i>NC</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>cunt</i>	2000-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	21
	1970-1979	0	0	0	0	0	0	46	46
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>cunts</i>	2000-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	1970-1979	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>fuck</i>	2000-2009	13	0	24	2	4	0	2	45
	1970-1979	9	0	26	1	7	0	2	45
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>fucking</i>	2000-2009	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	1970-1979	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>shit</i>	2000-2009	25	0	0	0	0	0	6	31
	1970-1979	25	0	1	1	0	0	2	29
	1940-1949	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	8
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>shitting</i>	2000-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1970-1979	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		83	0	51	6	11	0	87	237

As illustrated in examples (3) and (4), *cunt* functions exclusively as name-calling, viz. expletive epithet, in the stand-alone category, accounting for 67 instances between 1970 and 2009 in the COHA database:

(3) Then she heard a kind of hiss that became words, spilling liquidly, like broken teeth from a hurt mouth. "You... filthy... **cunt!**" it said. [COHA: 1970/FIC/DesperateCharacters: 1]

(4) "Shut the fuck up, you stupid **cunt,**" the man boomed over his shoulder. [COHA: 2006/FIC/Ploughshares: 15]

The inflectional variant *cunts* also functions exclusively as name-calling, although at a much lower frequency, with just 5 instances occurring in the 1970 section of the corpus, and 3 instances in the 2000 section.

While name-calling appears to be a major stand-alone function for *cunt* in COHA, it seems only a minor function for *fuck* and *shit*. For example, more than half of all instances of *fuck* in Table 4 perform as curses from 1970 to 2009. As Ljung (2011: 31) points out, curses function primarily to “call down evil on somebody” and are thus “typically directed at others”. Similarly, Hughes (2006: 114-115) observes that

the strict and traditional meanings of *curse* are the appeal to a supernatural power to inflict harm or evil on a specific person, the form of words itself, and the sense that a person or place is harmed or blighted by being ‘under a curse’.

The above characterization seems particularly true of curses in Old or Middle English, when religious taboos were more prevalent in society. Ljung (2011: 31) suggests older curses tend to include complex constructions involving “a subjunctive verb form” (e.g. *The devil take you!*) or possibly “verb-less constructions” (e.g. *A pox on you!*). In examples (5) and (6) below, the instances of *fuck* functioning as curses in the present study are condensed into relatively simple constructions, which seem increasingly typical of swearing in Modern American English:

(5) You never just listen, you always got to place stuff. And hey, **fuck** you, you asked me to tell you it.
[COHA: 1971/FIC/Play/CowboyMouth: 3]

(6) “OK, you can come to the store with me,” but he’s also thinking, not saying out loud, just thinking, **Fuck** you, you little shit, like most fathers would think but not say under similar circumstances.
[COHA: 2003/FIC/SouthernRev: 46]

The remaining instances of *fuck* performing as stand-alones in the COHA data occur at much lower frequencies in the following four functions, which will be discussed in turn in the following: *expletive interjections (EX)*, *unfriendly suggestions (US)*, *name-calling (NC)*, and *affirmation and contradiction (AC)*.

The data show 22 instances of the root form *fuck* functioning as an expletive interjection from 1970 to 2009, with the majority of instances occurring in the 2000 section of the corpus. Ljung (2011: 30) describes expletive interjections as cathartic expressions used as a means of venting reactions to unpleasant situations, which seems an accurate description of the examples in (7) and (8) below:

- (7) Whew, he thinks, leaning back against the door. **Fuck**, I am shitfaced. [COHA: 1979/FIC/Silverghost: 61]
- (8) "Seen any nurses around here lately?" # "Not since last night," he says. # "**Fuck**," I say out loud. [COHA: 2009/FIC/BeatReaperNovel: 10]

In (7), the utterance *fuck* may be interpreted as the speaker's reaction to the physical and mental impairment resulting from extreme inebriation, while in (8) *fuck* may be interpreted as the speaker's disappointment or shock when discovering a lack of nurses tending to the ill. Clearly, the expletive *fuck* in the above examples is not directed at anyone in particular, which Ljung (2011: 30) suggests is characteristic of the cathartic nature of interjectional swearing. However, Ljung (ibid.) observes that expletive interjections also serve non-cathartic purposes, whereby constructions aim to "carry out various pragmatic functions". He argues that such instances are 'expletive pragmatic markers' expressing "subjectivity, attitude and/or epistemic stance" (ibid. 88). This distinction between cathartic and pragmatic use of expletive interjections is apparent in the present study; the majority of expletive interjections in the COHA data function cathartically, but several instances appear to perform a pragmatic, non-cathartic function, as illustrated in the examples in (9) and (10):

- (9) "**Fuck** it! Who cares if all these rotten motherfuckers take gas." [COHA: 1975/FIC/Ragtime: 57]

- (10) I don't care who wears whose dress -- Oh, **fuck** it, forget it, I quit.
[COHA: 1977/FIC/ProfessorDesire: 84]

At first glance, the swearing constructions in the above examples might be interpreted as curses. However, upon closer analysis, it becomes clear the swearing string *fuck it* lacks the maledictory intention demonstrated in the curses previously highlighted in examples (5) and (6). Thus, the examples in (9) and (10) are analyzed as expletive interjections expressing attitude rather than as curses wishing harm upon someone or something. Interpretation poses less of a challenge when *fuck* functions as an unfriendly suggestion, name-calling, or affirmation/contradiction. Let us briefly examine *fuck* in these stand-alone functions before moving on to the analysis of *fucking*, *shit*, and *shitting* in the COHA database.

According to Ljung (ibid. 32), unfriendly suggestions are employed by speakers to “express aggression directed at somebody and [...] to indicate the speaker’s reaction to what is said”. To count as swearing, the suggestions must be interpreted non-literally (ibid.). In the COHA corpus, 11 instances of *fuck* appear to function as unfriendly suggestions. As can be seen in (11) and (12), unfriendly suggestions involving the expletive *fuck* are used non-literally to convey the speaker’s aggression toward his or her addressee:

- (11) “So go **fuck** yourself.” [COHA: 1970/FIC/IslandsInStream: 64]

- (12) “Buy you a drink?” he whispered. “**Fuck** off, Yank!” she shouted in a voice twice her size [...]” [COHA: 2000/FIC/ForkInRoadNovel: 89]

In addition to the stand-alone functions already discussed in this section, Table 4 shows that *fuck* also functions as name-calling and affirmation/contradiction in the COHA data. Name-calling accounts for 4 instances in COHA and contradiction 3 instances, with all 7 instances occurring in the 1970 and 2000 sections of the corpus. Similar to the

instances of *cunt* in examples (3) and (4), the name-calling function in (13) expresses the speaker's negative evaluation of the addressee:

- (13) "I'm not myself today." "Yes, you are, you rotten **fuck**."
[COHA: 1979/FIC/GoodAsGold: 65]

A replacement test shows that substituting *cunt* or *shit* for *fuck* in (13) would not necessarily weaken the offensiveness of the swearing construction. Rather, it could be argued that *cunt* might serve to increase the degree of offensiveness, while *shit* might maintain a force similar to that of *fuck*. However, Ljung (2011: 8-9) cautions against drawing conclusions about the offensiveness of taboo words, considering "the perceived taboo strength of a given word or phrase varies over time".

Lastly, the few instances of *fuck* performing as affirmation/contradiction in the COHA data negate the meaning of the immediately preceding utterance, as shown in the examples below:

- (14) Gon na [sic] blow Mabel's pussy a new hole. You do n't [sic] mean that, Pat. You don't really want to do that. **Fuck** I don't. Just' [sic] cause you weren't man enough. [COHA: 1979/FIC/SilverGhost: 32]

- (15) # KEVIN # It's over. We have to give up. # DENNIS # **Fuck** it's over. That money's mine. # Kevin # That money's fucked up your brain.
[COHA: 2005: FIC/Mov/Hostage: 25]

Ljung (ibid. 105) refers to affirmations/contradictions such as those in examples (14) and (15) as 'emphatic denials', the primary aim of which he argues is

to deny the truth of the claims put forth in an utterance by arguing that these claims have no more value than some negative and/or worthless entity.

The examples in (14) and (15) above draw from sexual taboos to negate the meaning of the preceding utterance. However, Ljung (ibid. 105-106)

suggests that scatological and religious taboo themes are also often utilized in emphatic denials.

Unlike the root form *fuck*, its inflectional variant *fucking* scarcely performs as a stand-alone in the COHA data. Only 4 instances of the variant form function in the stand-alone category, each as an expletive interjection, as illustrated in the following examples:

(16) And how's about knocking for a change? Oh Jesus **fucking** Christ, Jimbo said aloud. [COHA: 1979/FIC/SilverGhost: 7]

(17) Captain yells as he slams the receiver down. Jesus goddamn **fucking** Christ! Jimbo has never heard Captain curse like this before. [COHA: 1979/FIC/SilverGhost: 98]

In both (16) and (17) above, *fucking* appears to be used in a stand-alone swearing construction to express the speaker's reaction to stimuli in a speech situation. Ljung (ibid. 85-86) explains that 'reactive expletive interjections' such as *Oh bloody hell!* express feelings or emotions ranging from irritation to joy, although determining which of these feelings motivates the reaction is nearly impossible for "an outside observer". From a corpus-based approach, Ljung (ibid. 85) suggests that "we are reduced to looking for clues in the immediate context of the utterance" in which the expletive interjection occurs. Thus, with regards to the example in (16), it could be argued that the swearing construction *Oh Jesus fucking Christ* functions as a reactive expletive interjection used to express the speaker's irritation toward the suggestion 'to knock' in the preceding utterance. Likewise, the narrative text preceding the swearing construction in (17) suggests the speaker may be reacting in frustration to a telephone call.

Alternatively, it could be argued that the expletive *fucking* in (16) and (17) may also be interpreted as performing a slot filler function, viz. emphasis. From this perspective, *fucking* places emphasis on the noun *Christ* and serves to strengthen the force of the utterance. While this latter interpretation

seems as plausible as the former, the present analysis recognizes the swearing constructions in (16) and (17) as reactive expletive interjections rather than emphasis.

Thus far, the various stand-alone functions of *cunt*, *cunts*, *fuck*, and *fucking* have been examined in written language, viz. the COHA corpus. Let us now turn our attention to the stand-alone functions of *shit* and *shitting* in COHA. Of the 68 instances of *shit* performing stand-alone functions in the COHA data, 50 of those instances serve as expletive interjections. The examples in (18), (19), and (20) illustrate how *shit* functions as an expletive interjection in the 1940, 1970, and 2000 sections in COHA:

(18) "Where is it?" he whispered to Ghallager. "What?" "**Shit.**" Croft's hand found the flare box, and he loaded the gun again.
[COHA: 1948/FIC/NakedDead: 16]

(19) "I'm only a lousy cabdriver. **Shit**, I don't know everything. But I think you're on the wrongtrack [sic] [...]"
[COHA: 1977/FIC/PublicBurning: 31]

(20) "**Shit**, Jack, he's not one of ours. He's a soldier."
[COHA: 2009/FIC/SecondSightNovel: 8]

As was observed with *fuck* in (7) and (8), the swearing constructions in the examples above suggest a speaker's reaction to an unpleasant situation, which is consistent with Ljung's (2011: 30) characterization of expletive interjections. For example, the expanded context of the example in (18) shows that interjectional use of the expletive *shit* expresses a sense of fear and panic: the speaker must negotiate a defensive military strike in the dark of the night. Likewise, the interjectional use of *shit* in (19) and (20) suggests reactions based in humility and shock, respectively. However, what is consistent between all three examples is the unpleasant nature of the situation in which the speaker responds.

Shit also functions to a minor degree as name-calling (e.g. *You shit*), contradiction (e.g. *Horse shit!*), and curse (e.g. *Fuck this shit!*) in the COHA corpus. Together, these stand-alone functions account for 12 instances of *shit* in the data. The inflectional variant *shitting*, on the other hand, does not function at all in the stand-alone category, and only functions slightly in the slot filler category, as will be shown in section 5.2.

In terms of spoken language, the COCA data show few instances of *cunt*, *fuck*, *shit*, or their inflectional variants performing stand-alone functions in spoken American English. As can be seen in Table 5, a total of 18 instances of stand-alone swearing constructions were located in the spoken genre of the corpus, which seems an unusually low number compared to the 237 stand-alone instances located in COHA.

Table 5. Stand-alone functions of root and variant forms in the spoken genre of COCA

<i>Form</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>EX</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>AC</i>	<i>US</i>	<i>RI</i>	<i>NC</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>cunt</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>cunts</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>fuck</i>	1990-1994	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
	1995-1999	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>fucking</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>shit</i>	1990-1994	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
	1995-1999	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	5
	2000-2004	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>shitting</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		11	0	3	0	2	0	2	18

Of the 18 instances functioning as stand-alones in the spoken genre of COCA, 11 serve as expletive interjections involving the root form *shit*. Additionally, 2 instances of *shit* serve as name-calling in the corpus data, while the remaining instances involve the root form *fuck*. The example in (21) illustrates how *fuck* functions as a curse in the spoken genre of the COCA database:

(21) 8th CALLER: **Fuck** you, ass – SONYA: You know, it's interesting as we hear how people deal with these issues.
[COCA: 1992/SPOK/CNN/Sonya: 5]

The swearing construction in (21) illustrates characteristics of cursing similar to those observed in written language, viz. the COHA data, namely that curses involving the root form *fuck* typically consist of a verb + pronoun. In some cases, this swearing construction is followed by a noun or pronoun, as observed in (21). In this example, the speaker appears to be interrupted by the talk show host before completing the curse *Fuck you, asshole!* Despite the seemingly direct and formulaic nature of curses, Ljung (2011: 109-110) contends that curses involving sexual taboos (as opposed to religious taboos) are often difficult to interpret. For example, the example in (21) has the appearance of a straightforward instance of cursing; however, if the pronoun *it* replaces *you* in the utterance, interpretation may vary between curse and expletive interjection. As Ljung (ibid. 110) observes, *fuck* may occasionally take the pronoun *it* as a direct object to form a curse, but more often the words align to function as an 'idiomatic unit' in an expletive interjection. That being said, of the 6 instances of *fuck* located in the COCA database, 3 were determined without much difficulty to function as curses. Interpreting over 200 instances of *fuck* in the COHA database proved more of a challenge, where several instances (cf. (9), (10)) take the pronoun *it* to form pragmatic expletive interjections expressing attitude or epistemic stance.

The data show no instances of *cunt*, *cunts*, *fucking*, or *shitting* performing stand-alone functions in the spoken genre of the COCA corpus. Given the frequency of *fucking* and *shitting* already observed in the COHA data, it is not surprising to find these variant forms do not perform stand-alone functions in COCA. As will be shown in Sections 5.2 and 5.3, *fucking* and *shitting* are more inclined to function as slot filler swearing constructions or with literal or figurative meaning. However, it could be argued that the

relatively high frequency of *cunt* and *cunts* functioning as stand-alones in the COHA data suggests these forms should also perform as stand-alones in the spoken genre of the COCA database. Their absence from the COCA data highlights strict federal regulation of obscene language in spoken American English (cf. Section 3.2). The justification for including data from the spoken genre of the COCA database, despite its obvious limitations, is based in the idea that observed occurrences of the 'obscene' language at the center of the present study may indicate subtle shifts in attitudes to taboo language in American English. This implication, among others, will be further explored in Chapter 6. The following section of the present chapter will examine the various slot filler functions of four-letter words and their inflectional variants in the COHA and COCA databases.

5.2 Slot filler functions of root and variant forms

This section shows patterns of use and variation in the *slot filler* functions of *cunt*, *cunts*, *fuck*, *fucking*, *shit*, and *shitting* in the COHA and COCA databases. Ljung (2011: 30) describes slot fillers as "instances of swearing that serve to make up longer strings". For example, Ljung (ibid. 33-35) explains that speakers often employ slot fillers to intensify or add emphasis to an utterance, convey aversion toward something or someone, and express attitude or stance, among other functions. In terms of the present study, slot fillers include constructions like *You're fucking crazy!* and *What the fuck?*, which serve to either intensify an utterance or add emphasis, respectively. Additional slot filler functions include modal adverbials, anaphoric use of epithets, and noun supports, all of which are described alongside linguistic examples in Table 1 (cf. Section 3.2). Accordingly, the slot filler category consists of the following 6 swearing functions, each of which will be described and exemplified in the results below: *adverbial/adjectival*

intensifier (IN), adjectives of dislike (AD), emphasis (EM), modal adverbials (MA), anaphoric use of epithets (EP), and noun supports (NS).

Table 6 below shows a total of 231 instances of slot filler swearing in the COHA database, most of which occur in the 1970 and 2000 sections of the corpus; only 1 instance involving the root form *shit* occurs in the 1940 section.

Table 6. Slot filler functions of root and variant forms across decades in COHA

<i>Form</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>IN</i>	<i>AD</i>	<i>EM</i>	<i>MA</i>	<i>EP</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>cunt</i>	2000-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1970-1979	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>cunts</i>	2000-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1970-1979	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>fuck</i>	2000-2009	0	0	33	0	0	0	33
	1970-1979	0	0	20	0	0	0	20
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>fucking</i>	2000-2009	19	13	48	6	0	0	86
	1970-1979	16	6	56	2	0	0	80
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>shit</i>	2000-2009	4	1	1	0	0	0	6
	1970-1979	2	2	0	0	0	0	4
	1940-1949	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>shitting</i>	2000-2009	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	1970-1979	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		42	22	159	8	0	0	231

As can be seen in the table, *cunt* and its inflectional variant *cunts* do not appear to function as slot fillers. This result comes as no surprise, given the above characterization of slot filler functions. For example, it would be unusual to find the noun *cunt* functioning as an intensifier (e.g. *You're cunting crazy!*) or expressing emphasis in an utterance (e.g. *What the cunt?*). Indeed,

only two slot filler functions seem to be an appropriate match for the term: *anaphoric use of epithets* (e.g. *What should I tell Lisa? Tell that cunt to mind her own business!*) and *noun supports* (e.g. *Tim is a boring cunt*), neither of which render instances of *cunt* in the COHA data. However, these two slot filler functions warrant the following brief remarks. First, it should be noted that distinguishing the *anaphoric use of epithets* function in the slot filler category from the *name-calling* function in the stand-alone category proves somewhat challenging in the functional analysis; close attention must be paid to the preceding utterance to determine whether or not the expletive is being used anaphorically to refer back to a previously used name or word. Second, and with regards to *noun supports*, Ljung (2011: 35) explains that certain epithets (e.g. *bastard*) “lose their negative charge and are used [...] to hang and adjective”. Thus, this seems an unlikely function for the taboo expletives in the present analysis.

The COHA data also show few instances of *shit* or the variant form *shitting* performing slot filler functions in the corpus. *Shit* functions primarily as an intensifier, as illustrated in the examples in (22) and (23) below:

(22) I’m sick as **shit**, man. [COHA: 1979/FIC/SilverGhost: 51]

(23) Look you twinkie bitch, you threw our weed out the window, so now its your duty to make sure we’re high as **shit** by the time we’re eating those burgers. [COHA: 2004/FIC/Mov/HaroldKumarGoWhite: 43]

In each of the above examples, the expletive *shit* intensifies the preceding adjective in the utterance, thus adding emphasis to an elevated state of being ‘sick’ or being ‘high’. As Ljung (2011: 33) observes, “[it] is frequently impossible to distinguish clearly between expletives used as intensifiers and [...] as emphasizees”. To illustrate, let us compare the function of the expletive *shit* in the above examples with the example in (24):

(24) This place is the **shit**, Juicy.
[COHA: 2005/FIC/G-SpotUrbanErotic: 49]

The example in (24) is challenging in that the expletive *shit* clearly demonstrates an instance of slot filler swearing, as opposed to stand-alone, yet it seems to function outside of Ljung's parameters for classification as either an intensifier or an emphasizer. As Ljung (ibid. 33-34) explains, an intensifier typically expresses "a high degree of a following adjective or adverb" and often uses "as- and like- phrases [...] to intensify preceding verbs, adverbs and adjectives". The examples in (22) and (23) function as such, each taking the phrase *-as shit* to intensify preceding adjectives. However, the example in (24) lacks both the adjective and the *-as* phrase to function in this capacity.

Emphasis, on the other hand, is often expressed by placing "emphasis on a following noun", or by using expletives such as *fuck* "immediately after an interrogative pronoun or adverb" (ibid. 34). Clear examples of emphasis from the present analysis include *Drop the fucking weapon!* and *What the fuck?* It can be argued that although the example in (24) does not fit neatly into Ljung's classification of emphasis, it does exhibit the characteristics of emphasis, as outlined by Biber et al. (1999: 897). According to the authors (ibid.), *focus* determines emphasis within a clause, and often "focus is normally placed on the last lexical item of the last element in the clause". This indeed seems the case in (24), where the expletive *shit* adds emphasis to the information preceding it, all of which is directed to an addressee referred to as *Juicy*.

The root form *fuck* and its inflectional variant *fucking* occur at relatively high frequencies in the COHA data compared to *cunt* and *shit* and their inflectional variants. Of the 231 instances of swearing in the slot filler category, 166 are attributed to *fucking* in the 1970 and 2000 sections of COHA. As illustrated in the examples in (25) and (26), *fucking* functions primarily as emphasis or intensification in an utterance:

(25) As I remember, it was the **fucking** eggs that were burned.
[COHA: 1977/FIC/ProfessorDesire: 8]

(26) White Mike smiled at him and said watch this and took off running,
just running so **fucking** fast up the block toward Park Avenue.
[COHA: 2003/FIC/Twelve: 51]

Unlike *shit* in (24), the expletive *fucking* in example (25) clearly illustrates Ljung's (ibid. 34) characterization of the slot filler function emphasis, whereby an expletive is "used to place emphasis on a following noun". As for the example in (26), the expletive *fucking* shows an intensifying use different from the *-as phrase* intensifying function of *shit* observed in (22) and (23). The example in (26) illustrates how *fucking* functions in the COHA data as an adverbial intensifier by expressing a high degree of the subsequent adjective.

The COHA data show that *fucking* also functions as an intensifying adjective in the corpus. According to Ljung (ibid. 148), *fucking* is among words such as *bloody* and *damn* that are "used to indicate degree with regard to a following gradable noun". The adjective-noun combinations Ljung (ibid.) offers to illustrate gradable nouns include non-swearing constructions such as *total failure* and swearing constructions such as *damn fools*. The variant form *fucking* appears as an intensifying adjective alongside gradable nouns in the 1970 and 2000 sections of the COHA corpus, as exemplified in (27) and (28) below:

(27) "Henry! Don't make a **fucking** ass of yourself."
[COHA: 1973/FIC/BillionDollarSure: 72]

(28) What I need is a man who isn't a **fucking** miser.
[COHA: 2006/FIC/SouthernRev: 22]

In the above examples, the adjective *fucking* marks to what degree a person exhibits the characteristics of being an *ass* or a *miser*. A replacement test further demonstrates the range within these gradable nouns. For

example, if we replace the adjective *fucking* in (27) and (28) with the adjective *total* from Ljung's example *total failure*, it becomes clear that someone can either be a *total ass* or a *total miser* or to some degree less so. Thus, *fucking* functions similarly to *total* as an intensifying adjective in the examples in (27) and (28).

Table 6 shows that several instances of *fucking* also perform as adjectives of dislike and modal adverbials in the COHA data. As the name implies, adjectives of dislike are used "to indicate that the speaker dislikes the referent of the following noun" (Ljung 2011: 34). As can be seen in Table 6, a total of 19 instances of *fucking* serve as adjectives of dislike in the COHA corpus. However, distinguishing adjectives of dislike from intensifying adjectives in the data proves to be somewhat challenging. To illustrate, let us compare the examples in (29) and (30) below with the aforementioned examples of intensifying adjectives in (27) and (28):

(29) An artist creates out of nothing but himself, do you understand that, you **fucking** asshole? [COHA: 1978/FIC/FoolsDie: 96]

(30) I hate to break it to you but your sister was a **fucking** idiot who slept with the first guy that walked by...
[COHA: 2004/FIC/Mov/MariaFullGrace: 15]

The example in (29) combines the expletive *fucking* with the noun *asshole* to form what appears to be an instance of an adjective expressing dislike of the referent of the following noun. Similarly, the expletive *fucking* in (30) appears to function as an adjective modifying the noun *idiot*. However, in this instance *fucking* could be either interpreted as an adjective expressing dislike, in accordance with Ljung's description and examples, viz. *He's a bloody fool* (ibid.), or as an intensifying adjective functioning similarly to the examples in (27) and (28). The present analysis observes the instance in (30) as an intensifying adjective rather than as an adjective of dislike on the basis of the weak negative connotation or semantic meaning associated with the

expletive *fucking* in the swearing construction; the negative connotation of *fucking* in (30) appears to be less salient than its negative connotation in (29). Thus, the degree to which an expletive may be perceived as negative or insulting in a given context is yet another means of distinguishing adjectives of dislike from intensifying adjectives.

Lastly, a total of 8 instances of *fucking* appear to function as expletive modal adverbials in the COHA data. Ljung (ibid.) explains that in the context of swearing, modal adverbials involving expletive forms such as *fucking* “could be included in a syntactic category such as ‘attitudinal disjuncts’”. With regards to the syntactic function of adverbials, Quirk et al. (1999: 730) characterize them as optional:

they may be added to or removed from the clause without affecting its acceptability and without affecting the relations of structure and meaning in the rest of the clause.

The examples in (31) and (32) exhibit the adverbial characteristics noted above: the expletive *fucking* functions solely to express modality, viz. the attitude of the speaker. In other words, if *fucking* is removed from the sentence, the basic meaning of the sentence remains unchanged.

(31) “Just **fucking** try it!” [COHA: 2005/FIC/Mov/LittleAthens: 18]

(32) “You’re **fucking** kidding,” Deborah said.
[COHA: 2003/FIC/Fantasy & Science Ficiton: 60]

With regards to spoken language, the COCA data show 5 instances of slot filler swearing constructions in the spoken genre of the corpus. As can be seen in Table 7 below, modal adverbials comprise the majority of occurrences in the data, with 3 instances involving the expletive *fucking*. The remaining 2 instances include the use of *fucking* as an intensifier and the use of *fuck* as emphasis. The data show no instances of *cunt*, *cunts*, or *shitting* performing slot filler functions in the spoken genre of the COCA corpus,

while all instances of *shit* either fall under the stand-alone or invalid categories (cf. Section 5.1 and Section 5.3).

Table 7. Slot filler functions of root and variant forms in the spoken genre in COCA

<i>Form</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>IN</i>	<i>AD</i>	<i>EM</i>	<i>MA</i>	<i>EP</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>cunt</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>cunts</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>fuck</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>fucking</i>	1990-1994	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
	1995-1999	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>shit</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>shitting</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		1	0	1	3	0	0	5

Looking more closely at the spoken data, the examples in (33) and (34) below display adverbial characteristics similar to those previously observed in (31) and (32), viz. the expletive *fucking* reflects the speaker's attitude and expresses information that is apparently superfluous to the basic or essential meaning of the utterance.

(33) DEBRA: No, he's not your husband, dearie. CHRISTY: He's getting ready to **fucking** be. [COCA: 1997/SPOK/Ind_Springer: 1]

(34) TEEZER: Stupid, I'm as much a man as **fucking** you are, all right? [COCA: 1995/SPOK/Ind_Geraldo: 2]

Additionally, the example in (35) shows an instance of *fucking* interpreted in the present analysis as an intensifying adjective expressing a high degree of the gradable noun *bitch*, while the example in (36) shows the expletive *fuck* performing as emphasis in the COCA data.

(35) Ms. GABOR: He called me a '**fucking** bitch' the first time he stopped me. [COCA: 1991/SPOK/CNN_King: 4]

(36) JULIE: In other words, she's mixed up like everybody else and she don't know what the **fuck** she's talking about. [COCA: 1995/SPOK/Ind_Geraldo: 2]

The overall low frequency of occurrences functioning as slot fillers in the spoken genre of the COCA database once again highlights the effects of federally imposed sanctions against obscene language on radio programs and television (cf. Section 3.2). However, the instances noted above serve to reinforce findings observed on a larger scale in the COHA data, viz. the root form *fuck* typically functions in stand-alone swearing constructions, while the inflectional variant *fucking* often performs as a slot filler in longer swearing strings. It could be argued that if the spoken genre in the COCA data were not subject to strict censorship, similar patterns might emerge for *cunt*, *shit*, and their inflectional variants. Before drawing any further conclusions, let us first review the data in the following section, which accounts for the corpus instances omitted from the stand-alone and slot filler swearing categories.

5.3 Invalid functions of root and variant forms

This section shows the range of *invalid* functions of *cunt*, *cunts*, *fuck*, *fucking*, *shit*, and *shitting* observed in the COHA and COCA databases. The instances

in this section represent those dismissed from the stand-alone and slot filler swearing categories due to various issues ranging from literal or figurative usage to typos and miscellaneous issues arising in the corpus data. Thus, the invalid category consists of the following 6 non-swearing functions, each of which will be discussed in what follows: *literal usage (LU)*, *figurative usage (FI)*, *set tag (ST)*, *typo (T)*, *unclassifiable (UN)*, and *miscellaneous issues (MI)*.

As previously discussed in Section 3.2, this study adopts a typology of swearing proposed by Ljung (2011: 4) for the functional analysis of four-letter words in the corpus data. Ljung's typology asserts that four basic criteria determine whether or not an utterance counts as swearing. The second of these criteria, all of which are paraphrased below, stipulates non-literal use of taboo words:

1. Swearing employs taboo words
2. Taboo words in swearing utterances are non-literal in meaning
3. Swearing is often formulaic language
4. Swearing reflects the speaker's emotions and attitudes

As will be shown in the results presented in this section, careful analysis is required to determine whether or not a taboo word in an utterance does indeed count as swearing. Ljung (ibid. 14) explains distinguishing swearing from non-swearing constructions is difficult, given that

there are many constructions containing taboo words in which the meaning of the taboo word seems to be neither clearly literal nor non-literal, but rather somehow *metaphorical*.

Accordingly, Ljung (ibid. 16) suggests testing swearing constructions to determine whether taboo words are used with literal, non-literal, or metaphorical meaning. To illustrate how such swearing tests might serve to distinguish between the three types of meaning, consider Ljung's (ibid. 17) use of the taboo word *shit* in the constructions *shit happens* and *not give a shit*. In both cases, he argues the utterances should be considered non-

swearing on the grounds that each employs the taboo word *shit* with metaphorical meaning, and thus functions as a figurative idiom rather than an instance of swearing. According to Ljung (ibid. 15), metaphorical meaning in this context implies that a certain degree of literal meaning remains in the use of the taboo word. In Ljung's (ibid. 17) examples above, the word *shit* is metaphorically interpreted as 'something unpleasant' in the former and as 'something small and unimportant' in the latter. These metaphorical interpretations are based on the literal meaning of the noun *shit*, which the OED defines firstly as "[d]iarrhea" and secondly as "[e]xcrement from the bowels, dung"

(<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/178328?p=emailACnO.CYKS0gQA&d=178328>, 17 July 2013).

In contrast to the "metaphorical, non-swearing interpretation" of *shit* in the above examples, Ljung (ibid.) argues that *shit* functions as swearing in other cases, as when expressing a high degree in the constructions *miss the shit out of somebody* and *be shit out of luck*. However, he suggests the word *shit* in the construction *kick the shit out of* retains too much of its literal meaning to be considered swearing, and should thus be interpreted metaphorically. With regards to the reliability of swearing tests, Ljung (ibid. 16) suggests that

tests for swearing status based on the distinction between literal, metaphorical, and non-literal-non-metaphorical meaning work surprisingly well [...].

In terms of the present study, Table 8 below shows a total of 350 instances considered invalid in the COHA database, the majority of which were dismissed from the stand-alone and slot filler swearing categories due to literal or figurative usage. As can be seen in the table, the root forms *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* are used with literal meaning in the COHA corpus more often

than their inflectional variants. Of the root forms, *cunt* ranks highest in terms of literal usage.

Table 8. Invalid functions of root and variant forms cross decades in COHA

<i>Form</i>	<i>Decade</i>	<i>LU</i>	<i>FI</i>	<i>ST</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>UN</i>	<i>MI</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>cunt</i>	2000-2009	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
	1970-1979	50	1	0	0	0	1	52
	1940-1949	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
<i>cunts</i>	2000-2009	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	1970-1979	9	0	0	0	1	1	11
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>fuck</i>	2000-2009	14	8	0	0	0	0	22
	1970-1979	28	6	0	0	1	0	35
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
<i>fucking</i>	2000-2009	4	8	0	0	1	0	13
	1970-1979	13	3	0	0	0	1	17
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>shit</i>	2000-2009	27	27	7	0	2	0	63
	1970-1979	19	45	1	0	1	1	67
	1940-1949	4	4	0	0	0	0	8
	1910-1919	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
<i>shitting</i>	2000-2009	12	14	0	2	0	0	28
	1970-1979	7	15	0	0	0	0	22
	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1910-1919	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		192	131	8	6	8	5	350

The examples below demonstrate literal usage of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in the 1970 and 2000 sections of the COHA data.

(37) "Lay another hand on my husband and I'll punch you right in the **cunt**." [COHA: 1978/FIC/FoolsDie: 92]

(38) If you just wanted to **fuck**, why didn't you just come right out and say it? [COHA: 1976/FIC/Mov/TaxiDriver: 2]

(39) [...] Kate told us funny stories about the lawyer she worked for, a man so reviled that someone once **shit** in his desk drawer while he was out to lunch. [COHA: 2000/FIC/SouthernRev: 29]

Despite the somewhat limited contextual information provided in the corpus data, it seems unlikely that any interpretation other than literal usage would apply to the taboo four-letter words in the examples above. The example in (37) seems a straightforward reference to 'vagina', just as the example in (38) appears to refer to 'sexual intercourse' and the example in (39) the 'act of defecation'. However, interpreting literal usage can be more challenging in other instances, as illustrated in the following examples from the COHA database:

(40) Pretty Wyo. **cunt** in a car, a rich rancher's daughter... [COHA: 1972/FIC/VisionsCody: 37]

(41) Basically, I don't have to do **shit** I don't want to do. [COHA: 2004/MAG/RollingStone: 62]

The example in (40) is from a novel by Jack Kerouac, in which the protagonist often refers to women as 'cunts' without the pejorative sense associated with name-calling in the stand-alone swearing category (e.g. *You filthy cunt!*). In (40), the noun *cunt* appears to refer to a girl or a woman as an object of sexual desire rather than as a despicable person. The *Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English* (Dalzell 2009: 259) offers seven definitions of the word *cunt*, the first of which is "the vagina" and the second of which is "a woman, especially as an object of sexual desire". To illustrate the second definition of the word, the dictionary (*ibid.*) quotes the following passage from Kerouac (1953: 400): "After that, Mexico, and this time a cunt will live with me".

As Ljung (*ibid.* 29) points out, expletives can develop new literal meanings, which do not suggest any negative connotation and should thus be regarded as non-swearing. Ljung (*ibid.* 28) illustrates this development with the construction *got shit to do*. He argues that the noun *shit* in this construction "has developed a new literal meaning defined as 'something',

'anything' in Cassell's dictionary of slang" (ibid. 29; for definition of *shit* cf. Green 2005: 1267). The present analysis argues that *shit* in the example in (41) functions similarly to the noun *shit* in Ljung's example. It seems clear that in both cases, the word *shit* can be replaced with 'something' or 'anything' more easily than it can be replaced with another swear word such as *fuck*, *cunt*, and so on. Thus, both of the examples in (40) and (41) are regarded as literal usage in the present study rather than instances of swearing.

While literal usage accounts for the majority of instances dismissed from the stand-alone and slot filler swearing categories in the COHA data, many instances were also dismissed due to figurative usage. As can be seen in Table 8, a total of 131 instances function as figurative usage, with all but 4 instances occurring in the 1970 and 2000 sections of the corpus. For the purposes of the present study, figurative usage includes idiomatic phrases, as well as instances exhibiting what Ljung (2011: 29) refers to as "metaphorical extension of the literal meaning", as previously discussed in this section. The examples in (42) and (43) exemplify this latter characteristic of figurative usage:

(42) In order to **fuck** the system you have to join it.
[COHA: 1974/NF/WillItGrowInClassroom? 59]

(43) He felt the movie industry had treated him like **shit**. [COHA:
1978/FIC/FoolsDie: 93]

The example in (42) shows the transitive verb *fuck* functioning with a sense of its literal meaning, viz. the OED as "[t]o damage, ruin, spoil, botch" (<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/75197?p=emailAC34Ey6V6NsWk&d=75197>, 17 July 2013). Additionally, the *Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English* (Dalzell 2009: 405) lists three definitions of *fuck*, the second of which defines the verb as "to damage beyond repair", thus echoing the sense included in the OED. Accordingly, the construction in

(42) is regarded as instance of figurative usage in the COHA data, due to the metaphorical extension of the literal meaning of *fuck*, which may be regarded as ‘to damage or destroy’ in this instance.

The instance in (43) is also regarded as figurative usage, based on the metaphorical extension of the literal sense of the noun *shit*, viz. the OED as “[r]ubbish, trash; something regarded as worthless”

(<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/178328?p=emailACnO.CYKS0gQA&d=178328>, 17 July 2013). Interestingly, this sense of the word is not among the fourteen definitions listed in the *Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English* (Dalzell 2009). However, two of the definitions in the slang dictionary (ibid. 863-64) apply to several instances of the noun *shit* observed as literal usage in the COHA data. In such instances, *shit* is regarded without negative connotation as either ‘things or possessions’ or as ‘anything at all’, as exemplified in (44) and (45) below:

(44) While Chase’s father has spent the past fifteen years sculpting the face of an empire, these two men have been building the gears and pulling the strings and flipping the switches that make **shit** work.
[COHA: 2009/FIC/ThisIsHowItStarts: 71]

(45) I didn’t do **shit**. [COHA: 2005/FIC/Mov/LittleAthens: 19]

As has been shown thus far in this section, distinguishing between the literal, non-literal, and metaphorical meaning of taboo four-letter words such as *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* can be challenging. The meaning and corresponding function of the expletives seems more apparent in some constructions than in others. Idiomatic phrases are among the constructions in the COHA and COCA databases that pose less of a challenge to categorize. Biber et al. (1999: 1024) define idiomatic phrases as “expressions with a meaning not entirely derivable from the meaning of their parts”. In the present study, idiomatic phrases in the invalid functional category retain too much of their

literal meaning to be included as instances of swearing in the stand-alone or slot filler swearing categories.

(46) I know you said you would and all, but I guess I thought you were just full of **shit**. [COHA: 2001/FIC/SouthernRev: 44]

(47) Tough **shit**, Lady! [COHA: 1978/FIC/MortalFriends: 57]

The examples in (46) and (47) above exemplify idiomatic phrases regarded as invalid in the COHA data. In each instance, the expletive *shit* relates to a preceding adjective in some form and is interpreted with some sense of its literal meaning. In (46), the noun *shit* appears to mean 'something regarded as worthless', viz. the aforementioned definition of *shit* in the OED (cf. this section). In (47), the noun *shit* appears to mean 'something unpleasant', viz. the definition and examples set forth by Ljung (2011: 17). Additional idiomatic phrases observed as invalid in the COHA data include *shit kicked out of*, *beat the shit out of*, and *give a shit*, among others.

Before shifting our attention to the invalid occurrences located in the spoken data, let us first briefly examine the remaining invalid functions in the COHA corpus. Aside from literal usage and figurative usage, several instances of *shit* appear to function as vague language (cf. Channell 1994), as depicted in the following examples:

(48) Get some nice stuff. Chairs and **shit**.
[COHA: 1976/FIC/SpectatorBird: 9]

(49) They start screaming and **shit**. [COHA: 2002/FIC/Ploughshares: 61]

The example in (48) shows the noun *shit* in the final position of the utterance, suggesting some degree of association with the preceding noun *chairs*. Similarly, the example in (49) shows the noun *shit* in the final position of the construction, but this time coordinated with the preceding verb *screaming*.

It could be argued that if the expletives in both (48) and (49) were replaced by the noun *stuff*, the instances would likely be interpreted as performing a pragmatic function in the discourse (cf. Aijmer 2013: 127). More specifically, the instances might be categorized as 'vague category identifiers' (cf. Channell 1994: 122) demonstrating "that the thought the speaker has in mind is more complex than is directly expressed" (Jucker, Smith & Lüdge 2003: 1749). Likewise, the constructions might also be interpreted as a 'set-marking tags' demonstrating "the common function of marking the preceding element as a member of a set" (Dines 1980: 23). Thus, such instances containing an expletive are referred to as 'set tags' in the present analysis. Interestingly, the set tag function seems restricted to the expletive *shit* in the COHA data, with 8 instances appearing after 1970, the majority of which occur in the 2000 section of the corpus. The non-swearing function of these set tags will be further explored in the discussion presented in Chapter 6.

The remaining 19 instances dismissed from the stand-alone and slot filler swearing categories in the COHA data involve misspellings, unclassifiable data, and other miscellaneous issues. Misspellings in the data include constructions such as *cunt laude* (*cum*), *Cunt'd* (*Cont'd*), *shitting into the next highest gear* (*shifting*), *Democratic shit* (*ship*), and so on. Unclassifiable data, on the other hand, typically consist of instances requiring additional context to clearly interpret the function of the expletive. For example, unclassifiable instances in COHA include constructions such as *fuck' sums will be provided* and *And sparrows take shit*. In this latter instance, the fictional addressee even questions the meaning of the utterance, which seems a stylistic choice on behalf of the author of the text. Lastly, the miscellaneous issues observed in the COHA corpus include text duplication,

viz. duplicate instances of the same text and token word, reference to a name (e.g. *The Flaming Cunts*), and humorous usage (e.g. *I cunt hear*).

In terms of spoken language, the invalid functions pertain only to the expletive *shit* in the spoken genre of the COCA database. As can be seen in Table 9 below, 44 instances of *shit* were dismissed from the stand-alone and slot filler swearing categories, mostly as a result of literal or figurative usage.

Table 9. Invalid functions of root and variant forms in the spoken genre in COCA

<i>Form</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>LU</i>	<i>FI</i>	<i>ST</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>UN</i>	<i>MI</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>cunt</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>cunts</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>fuck</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>fucking</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>shit</i>	1990-1994	6	14	3	0	0	1	24
	1995-1999	2	11	1	0	0	0	14
	2000-2004	0	3	0	1	0	0	4
	2005-2009	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	2010-2012	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
<i>shitting</i>	1990-1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1995-1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000-2004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2005-2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2010-2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		8	29	5	1	0	1	44

Literal usage in the COCA data includes instances of *shit* functioning with a range of older and newer literal meanings, as exemplified in (50) and (51) below:

(50) "I've had people come up to me and say, 'Well, why would I eat an almond that was produced off of cow **shit**,' you know.
[COCA: 1994/SPOK/CBS_48Hours: 29]

(51) You are not cutting in front of me, because I am not paying for **shit**!
[COCA: 1995/SPOK/CBS_48Hours: 24]

While the example in (50) illustrates the conventional meaning of the noun *shit*, viz. "[e]xcrement from the bowels, dung" (cf. OED definition, this section), the example in (51) shows a newer meaning, viz. "anything at all" (cf. Dalzell 2009: 864). To elaborate, the speaker in (51), although seemingly agitated, is apparently using the expletive *shit* without negative connotation in place of the noun sense of the word 'anything'. Additionally, the instance in (51) varies significantly from those involving figurative usage, insofar as literal usage exhibits no overt negative connotation, whereas figurative usage clearly does. Once again, this interpretation stems from Ljung (2011: 29), who suggests that words such as *shit* can take on new meanings "which are not in themselves negative" and thus function as instances of non-swearing.

To further illustrate this distinction between literal and figurative usage, let us now briefly examine instances of figurative usage in the spoken genre of the COCA corpus. As shown in Table 9, the majority of invalid instances in the COCA data stem from figurative usage.

(52) I don't know if I'm gon na [sic] have a life that's worth living if I survive this **shit**. [COCA: 1995/SPOK/NPR_ATC: 28]

(53) Well, what do you want me to say? That this whole thing scares the **shit** out of me? [COCA: 2000/SPOK/NPR_Saturday: 8]

In contrast to the example in (51), the example in (52) demonstrates how the noun *shit* is used in spoken language with metaphorical extension of its literal

meaning to mean 'something unpleasant'. Thus, the instance of *shit* in (52) functions metaphorically and is regarded as figurative usage in the present analysis. The example in (53) is also regarded as figurative usage, but for a slightly different reason; the noun *shit* functions as part of the idiomatic phrase *the shit out of*, which appears in various forms throughout the COCA and COHA data. As Ljung points out (2011: 17), this phrase has taken on a life of its own and can function metaphorically or as swearing in certain constructions. He uses the example *miss the shit out of somebody* to highlight how the phrase functions as an intensifier to "express a high degree of the action represented" (ibid.). However, he uses the example *kick the shit out of somebody* to illustrate the "metaphorical, non-swearing interpretation" of the phrase. Distinguishing between the swearing and non-swearing function of this idiomatic phrase seems tricky at best. That being said, the present analysis classifies the construction in (53) as non-swearing based on the unlikely yet possible event that someone could indeed suffer the fate of literally having the shit scared out of them at some point in time.

The remaining 7 instances dismissed from the stand-alone and slot filler swearing categories in the COCA data involve set tags, misspelling, and text duplication. Set tags account for 5 instances located in constructions such as *It's for my gang and shit, man* and *he's driving and shit*. Misspellings account for just 1 instance in the data, viz. the construction *shit after shift* (shift after shift). Likewise, text duplication occurs in 1 instance in the data, viz. the construction *the same shit as I went through*. The first instance in which this construction occurs is classified as figurative usage, as it exhibits metaphorical extension of the 'something unpleasant' sense of the noun *shit*. It should be noted that text duplication is not widely observed in the corpus data; rather it occurs only once in the COCA database and twice in the COHA database.

In summary, this chapter has described the results from the functional analysis of *cunt*, *cunts*, *fuck*, *fucking*, *shit*, and *shitting* in the COHA and COCA databases from 1900 to 2012. Adapting a typology of swearing by Ljung (2011) for a corpus-based methodological approach, instances of swearing in the corpus data have been closely examined and categorized by function as 1) stand-alone swearing constructions, 2) slot filler swearing constructions, or 3) invalid constructions. Key research findings from the analysis will be interpreted in the following chapter.

6. Discussion

This chapter offers a detailed analysis of the results presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Key findings from the formal and functional analysis of *cunt*, *cunts*, *fuck*, *fucking*, *shit*, and *shitting* are highlighted in the context of the research questions introduced in Chapter 1. Section 6.1 observes the connection between the morphological development of four-letter words and the process of lexicalization. Section 6.2 examines the relationship between the function of four-letter words and the process of grammaticalization.

6.1 *The fucking fucker's fucked! The form of foul language*

The four-letter words featured in the present study are commonly referred to by other euphemisms in American English, among them 'foul language'. According to Hughes (2206: 182), foul language "is a broad category combining and involving such diverse elements as 'dirt', shit words, obscenity, and pornography". Accordingly, one of the aims of this paper is to investigate variation in the form and function of foul language, viz. the most notorious of four-letter words in American English: *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit*. More

specifically, this paper seeks to answer two research questions, the first of which involves formal analysis:

- What are the formal features of four-letter words, and how have they changed in American English over the twentieth century?

The research question above directly correlates to the formal analysis presented in Chapter 4. The corpus-based methodological approach adopted in this study allows for extensive analysis of root forms, as well as variant forms resulting from inflection and word formation processes such as derivation and compounding. The data in Section 4.1 show the morphological variation of the root forms *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in written American English from 1900 to 2009 and in spoken American English from 1990 to 2012. According to the morphological categories observed in the data, processes involving inflection, derivation, and compounding are behind many of the variations of these root forms.

The COHA data show inflected forms for each word, although not in equal distribution. For example, the only inflected variant form of *cunt* occurring in the data involves the plural suffix *-s* in the noun *cunts*. In other words, there is no verb form of the lexeme *cunt*, which explains why it yields so few inflectional variants in the corpus data. This is true for both the COHA and COCA data, considering *cunt* does not appear in the spoken genre of the COCA corpus (cf. Section 4.1).

Unlike *cunt*, multiple inflected forms are located in the COHA data for both *fuck* and *shit*, viz. the past-tense suffix *-ed*, plural suffix *-s*, third-person-singular-suffix *-s*, and the progressive suffix *-ing*. Additionally, the root form *fuck* yields 5 inflected variants in the COHA corpus, viz. *fucking*, *fucked*, *fucks*, *fuckers*, and *unfucked*, whereas the root form *shit* only yields 4 inflected variants, viz. *shits*, *shitting*, *shitters*, and *shitted*. Of the inflected

variants observed in COHA, only *fucking* and *shitted* appear in the spoken genre of the COCA corpus.

The range of inflected variant forms in the COHA data, considered alongside the etymology of the root forms *fuck* and *shit* (cf. *OED*), suggests that over time *fuck* and *shit* have likely undergone the process of 'conversion', which Brinton and Traugott (2005: 37) explain involves a "'functional shift' from one category to another", viz. verb to noun in the present analysis. According to the authors (*ibid.*), in English the process of conversion "is usually equated with zero derivation". Thus, from the corpus-based approach in the present analysis, frequencies of the noun and verb senses of *fuck* and *shit* must be examined to substantiate conversion as a word formation process in the data. Accordingly, frequencies in the COHA data confirm the presence of both senses, with the verb sense of each word steadily increasing in usage from 1960 (approximately 1 instance per million words for both *fuck* and *shit*) to 2000 (approximately 5 instances per million words for each word). The noun sense of *fuck* and *shit*, on the other hand, demonstrates less consistency from 1960 to 2000, fluctuating in frequency between 1 to 3 instances per million words across decades.

Let us now turn our attention to key findings from the derivational variants observed in the corpus data. Derivational morphology allows for prefixation, suffixation, and infixation among other processes "in the formation of new lexemes" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 35). Inflectional morphology, on the other hand, is restricted to suffixation as a means of encoding "grammatical categories" in lexemes to express syntax-specific relationships, such as "plural marking" and "subject-verb agreement" (Plag 2003: 14-15). The derivational variants observed in the present analysis demonstrate a distribution pattern similar to that of the distribution of

inflectional variants between *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit*, namely that the latter two root forms yield more derivational variants than the former.

In terms of derivational affixation, the morphological variants in the formal analysis suggest the suffixes *-y* and *-ish* transform the word *cunt* into an adjective (e.g. *cunty*, *cuntish*), while the suffix *-let* maintains the noun status of the root form, but indicates a younger, smaller referent (e.g. *cuntlet*; similar to *piglet*). The data also suggest that *fuck* and *shit* shift to new word categories, from verb to noun with the agentive suffix *-er* (e.g. *fucker*, *shitter*), from verb to adjective with the suffix *-able* (e.g. *fuckable*), noun to adjective with the suffix *-y* (e.g. *shitty*), and so on (cf. Appendices 1-2 for a complete list of variant forms). What these new forms demonstrate is the process of lexicalization, which Brinton and Traugott (2005: 32) broadly characterize as “the process by which new items that are considered ‘lexical’ [...] come into being”. They note that lexicalization involves “routine processes of word formation, such as compounding, derivation, and conversion” (ibid. 33). To further demonstrate the lexicalization of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit*, let us now turn our attention to the variant forms arising from the combination of autonomous words, viz. compounding.

The analysis in Chapter 4 shows that compounding (e.g. *cunt-chaser*, *motherfucker*, *horseshit*) is the most productive process for creating new words from the root forms *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit*, thus confirming Plag’s (2003: 132) assertion that compounding “is the most productive type of word-formation process in English”. As with inflection and derivation, a wider range of the variants resulting from compounding include *fuck* and *shit* as opposed to *cunt*. With regards to the process of lexicalization, compounding demonstrates ‘univerbation’, which Brinton and Traugott (2005: 68) describe as a type of fusion that entails “the unification of two or more autonomous words to form a third”. The authors explain that “[f]usion typically involves

the loss of original morphological boundaries" (ibid. 63). For example, the compound *motherfucker* appears in various forms throughout the COHA data, viz. *mothafuckah*, *muthafucka*, *mothafucka*, *mothafucker*, *motherfucka*, which might be taken as indication that this compound is increasingly treated as a single lexical form. These variants are categorized as 'phonological forms' in the morphological analysis in Chapter 4. As discussed in the analysis in Section 4.1, such forms indicate "a different pronunciation from the standard one" Biber et al. (1999: 1122). Thus, given the numerous phonological forms observed in the COHA data, it could be argued that the morphological boundaries of the original two nouns comprising the compound *motherfucker* may eventually blur into an indistinguishable single lexical item, as already evidenced in the phonetically reduced examples above.

Other examples of compound variants from the corpus data include *cuntface* and *bullshit*, both of which consist of *noun + noun* lexical pairs. As with *motherfucker*, and perhaps even to a larger degree, the lexemes in these compounds appear to function in such a way that suggests 'semantic opacity', which is characteristic of 'idiomaticization' in lexicalization (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 55-56). In simpler terms, this is to say that the semantic meaning of the compounds *cuntface* and *bullshit* might not be entirely evident by the individual lexemes in the pair. To fully understand the meaning of these terms, some degree of context might be required; thus, pragmatic function of the compounds appears to be more salient than semantic meaning.

In the present study, compound variants of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* appear to be the clearest example of lexicalization. As discussed above, the compounds *cuntface*, *motherfucker*, and *bullshit* are among those in the data that exhibit fusion, viz. univerbation, and some degree of semantic opacity. It

could be argued that it is only a matter of time before these compounds fuse and thus transition from complex lexemes into simple lexemes, where the original meaning of the individual lexemes is no longer discernable. Such fusion may already be evident between lexemes in the compound *motherfucker*, viz. *muthafucka* (cf. this section) and in the phrasal variant *fucksake*, which stems from the phrase *for fuck's sake*.

Before moving on to a discussion of key findings from the functional analysis presented in Chapter 5, let us first briefly consider the frequency analysis in Chapter 4. The data in Section 4.2 show the frequency distribution of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit*, and their inflectional variants in written and spoken American English. Frequency patterns in the 1900-2009 sections of COHA and in the spoken and fiction genres of COCA demonstrate that root forms occur at a relatively high frequency compared to variant forms (cf. Table 2 for COHA frequencies and Table 3 for COCA frequencies), with the exception of the inflectional variant *fucking*. In both databases, the frequency of *fucking* rivals the frequency of the root form *fuck* from the 1950s until the 1990s. High token frequency suggests the variant form *fucking* may be performing a wide range of functions in American English, as evident in examples from the functional analysis in Chapter 5 in which *fucking* is often used to intensify an utterance (e.g. *fucking beautiful!*), add emphasis (*what the fuck?*), or express dislike (e.g. *fucking asshole!*). This finding suggests that the variant form *fucking* may be acquiring new grammatical functions while losing semantic meaning. High frequency, functional productivity across categories, and loss of semantic meaning or 'semantic bleaching' are characteristic of the process of 'grammaticalization' (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 109). Thus, the variant form *fucking* may be grammaticalizing from a content word to a function word. Accordingly, this hypothesis will be explored in further detail in the following section.

6.2 *Oh, shit!* The function of foul language

The introduction in Chapter 1 of this thesis suggests that foul language involving taboo four-letter words such as *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* may fulfill a variety of functions; a child may utter such words as a means of experimentation or rebellion, while an adult may use them to signal offense or group membership in certain speech situations. The functional analysis in Chapter 5 explores how taboo four-letter words have functioned in American English over the course of the twentieth century to present-day. In doing so, the analysis aims to answer the following research question:

- What can patterns of usage reveal about the function of four-letter words in American English?

The data in Chapter 5 show patterns of use and variation in the functions of *cunt*, *cunts*, *fuck*, *fucking*, *shit*, and *shitting* in the COHA and COCA databases. Applying Ljung's (2011: 30) typology of swearing, the data show that *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit*, and their inflectional variants fulfill a range of stand-alone and slot filler swearing functions, as well as several non-swearing functions categorized as invalid in the corpus data. The remainder of this section will present key findings from the functional analysis presented in Chapter 5.

As previously mentioned in Section 5.1, *stand-alone* swearing functions are characterized as "swearing constructions that function as utterances of their own" (ibid.). The functions within the stand-alone swearing category include *expletive interjections*, *oaths*, *curses*, *affirmation and contradiction*, *unfriendly suggestions*, *ritual insults*, and *name-calling*. The data show that root forms are more frequently employed than variant forms in stand-alone swearing constructions from 1950 to present-day. Although the COCA data yield no instances of *cunt*, the COHA data show the noun performs exclusively as name-calling in the stand-alone swearing category.

The root *fuck* largely performs as a curse in the corpus data, while the root *shit* largely functions as an expletive interjection. Additionally, both *fuck* and *shit* perform other stand-alone swearing functions, thus demonstrating their flexibility across the various modes of swearing comprising the stand-alone category. For example, the curse *Fuck you!* employs the verb sense of *fuck*, while the name-calling stand-alone function uses the noun sense of the word, viz. *You fuck!* Likewise, interjectional uses of *fuck* and *shit*, viz. *Oh shit! Oh fuck!* further demonstrate their flexibility across swearing modes. The present analysis suggests that such flexibility between major word categories may be some indication of language change involving ‘decategorialization’ and ‘desemanticization’.

According to Ljung (2011: 21), expletives such as *fuck* and *shit* lose their literal meaning when used in swearing, as outlined in the second of his swearing criteria (cf. Section 3.2). Thus, Ljung demonstrates that “desemanticization is common in all swearing” (2011: 21). In terms of decategorialization, stand-alone interjectional use of *fuck* and *shit* show a shift in category membership, from major category (noun or verb) to minor category (interjection). Both desemanticization and decategorialization are associated with the process of grammaticalization, which Heine and Narrog (2010: 401) define as “the development from lexical to grammatical forms, and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms”. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 7) illustrate the process of grammaticalization in terms of a ‘cline of grammaticality’, as illustrated in (54) below:

(54) Cline of grammaticality

content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

The process of grammaticalization, as described above, also seems evident in the slot filler swearing functions analyzed in the corpus data. As previously discussed in Section 5.2, slot fillers are characterized as swearing

constructions “that serve to make up longer strings” (Ljung 2011: 30). Accordingly, functions in the slot filler category include *adverbial/adjectival intensifier*, *adjectives of dislike*, *emphasis*, *modal adverbials*, *anaphoric use of epithets*, and *noun supports*. The data show the variant form *fucking* dominates the slot filler category, with 166 instances distributed over the following functions in the COHA data (in order of highest to lowest frequency): *emphasis*, *intensifier*, *adjective of dislike*, and *modal adverbial*. By comparison, the variant form *shitting* occurs just once in the data, functioning as *emphasis*. This pattern of usage corresponds to the COCA data, with 4 out of the 5 instances of slot filler swearing in the data attributed to instances of *fucking* functioning as a modal adverbial or intensifier. Thus, the functional analysis echoes a key finding previously observed in Section 6.1 (cf. page 82), that the high frequency of *fucking* across swearing modes may be indication the variant form is in the process of grammaticalization.

As previously discussed in the context of stand-alone functions of *fuck* and *shit* (cf. this section), grammaticalization is characterized by desemanticization and decategorialization, or the loss of semantic meaning and shifts in word category, respectively. The data show the variant form *fucking* shifts from major word category (noun or verb) to minor word category (adverbial) when functioning in the slot filler category. Additionally, the data demonstrate the noun *fucking* is semantically bleached as it takes on the grammatical functions of adverbial or emphasis in constructions such as *Just fucking try it!* or *I heard you the first million fucking times you said it*. Moreover, such instances not only point toward a loss of negative semantic meaning in *fucking*, but also highlight a pragmatic strengthening of the word as emphasis or intensification in an utterance. As noted above, semantic bleaching (desemanticization) is a typical characteristic of the process of grammaticalization. In the case of *fucking*, the semantic bleaching and

deategorialization of the word demonstrate the term is undergoing change from lexical item to grammatical item, as illustrated in the aforementioned 'cline of grammaticality' (cf. this section).

With regards to grammatical change, Mair (2006: 82) observes that it occurs at a slower rate than lexical or phonological change, "taking hundreds of years to run its course to completion". Thus, this suggests that lexical change, as observed in the lexicalization of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in compound forms such as *cuntface*, *motherfucker*, and *bullshit* is more immediately evident than the grammaticalization of *fuck*, *shit*, and *fucking*. Although the etymology of these terms traces usage as far back as the sixteenth century (cf. *OED*), if not earlier, the words have only gained currency in American English since roughly 1950, as shown in the formal and functional analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 of the present investigation. Accordingly, years and decades may pass before changes in the form and function of foul language in American English are truly discernable.

Before bringing this thesis to its final conclusion, let us first take note of some key findings observed in the invalid category of the functional analysis in Chapter 5. Constructions falling outside of the stand-alone and slot filler swearing categories are categorized as invalid in the functional analysis presented in Chapter 5. The invalid functions observed in the data are categorized as *literal usage*, *figurative usage*, *set tags*, *typos*, *unclassifiable*, and *miscellaneous issues*. The majority of instances in the invalid category appear to function as literal usage or figurative usage, while a smaller number of instances occur across the remaining functions.

Literal usage of *cunt*, *cunts*, and *shit* in the corpus data demonstrates how each word has gained new meanings diverging to various degrees from older meanings, and thus indicating semantic change, or what Brinton and Traugott (2005: 7) refer to as 'semantic reanalysis'. For example, polysemies

arising from semantic reanalysis observed in the corpus data include *shit* 'excrement' > 'something worthless' > 'anything at all'; and *cunt* 'vagina' > 'a woman as an object of sexual desire'. In the case of *shit*, it could be argued the semantic change from something concrete (excrement) to something more abstract (anything at all) demonstrates semantic bleaching and thus the process of grammaticalization; this finding will be further explored in the context of the set tag function discussed below. In the case of *cunt*, it could be argued the semantic reanalysis from 'vagina' to 'woman as an object of sexual desire' demonstrates the cognitive process of 'metonymy', which Hopper and Traugott (2003: 93) note "involves specifying one meaning in terms of another that is present, even if only covertly". The authors (ibid.) point out metonymy corresponds with "shifts to meanings situated in the subjective belief state or attitude toward the situation". Thus, the present analysis argues a metonymical shift occurs in the meaning of *cunt*, which extends from 'vagina' to 'woman as an object of sexual desire' in several instances observed as literal usage in the corpus data (cf. Section 5.3).

It should be noted that the examples above are considered literal usage as opposed to figurative usage based on observations by Ljung (2011: 29), who argues that constructions demonstrating new meanings without overt negative connotation should be considered literal usage. While individual interpretation ultimately decides whether or not such instances are regarded as literal or figurative usage, the present analysis refers to Ljung's distinction as a means of distinguishing between the two functions in the corpus data. Polysemies for *fuck* also emerge in the data, viz. 'to have sexual intercourse' > 'to damage or destroy'. However, the new meanings appear to carry negative connotation and are thus considered figurative usage, based on metaphorical extension of the negative meaning associated with older definitions of the word.

The pragmatic 'set tag' function observed in several instances of *shit* in the COHA and COCA data also suggests the term is in the process of grammaticalization. The set tag function observed in the data is considered non-swearing on the basis of the fourth of Ljung's swearing criteria (cf. Section 3.2): swearing is emotive language. The present analysis argues the expletive *shit* in the pragmatic marker *and shit* lacks the emotive force observed in stand-alone and slot filler swearing constructions, and is thus considered non-swearing. The instances observed in the data serve to demonstrate decategorialization and semantic bleaching, which are both characteristic of the process of grammaticalization.

While grammaticalization and lexicalization provide some sense of how four-letter words in American English have changed over the course of the twentieth century to present-day, patterns of usage in the corpus data also show a surge in frequency after 1950, perhaps reflecting attitudes and ideals emerging from the counterculture associated with the 1960s and 1970s. Likewise, a decrease in usage is evident around 1980, which may be indicative of a social consciousness shifting toward 'politically correct' language. While such shifts in attitude seem inherently a part of the corpus-based observations drawn in the present study, investigating the link between the corpus data and attitudes to American English remains beyond the scope of the present study, and is thus an opportunity for future research. The following chapter, which summarizes and concludes this thesis, highlights additional suggestions for future research.

7. Conclusion

This chapter presents a brief summary of the key findings from the analysis of taboo four-letter words in the COHA and COCA databases. The overall significance of the findings is considered, as well as the limitations of the study. The chapter closes with suggestions for future research.

7.1 Summary

The primary aim of this paper has been to employ a corpus-based approach to investigate variation in the form and function of taboo four-letter words in American English over the twentieth century to present-day. In pursuit of this aim, this study has utilized the COHA and COCA databases to trace variation in the formal features of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* in spoken and written language from 1900 to 2012. A typology of swearing proposed by Ljung (2011) has also been adopted to categorize and trace variation in the function of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit*, and their inflectional variants in the corpus data. Accordingly, the key findings presented in this study are based on 1172 instances observed in the COHA corpus and 97 instances observed in the COCA corpus.

Formal analysis of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit* has shown these root forms exhibit morphological variation stemming from inflection and routine word formation processes such as derivational affixation, compounding, and conversion. The morphological variation surveyed in the data suggests lexicalization of root forms in the formation of variant forms and meanings, viz. derivation, conversion, and compounding. Additionally, the formal analysis suggests grammaticalization of the root form *shit*, which exhibits semantic bleaching in new literal meanings such as ‘something’ or ‘anything at all’.

The functional analysis of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit*, and their inflectional variants has shown that four-letter words can be categorized in terms of their function as stand-alones or slot filler swearing constructions, as defined by Ljung's (2011: 30) typology of swearing. Thus, this study has demonstrated that such a functional framework is indeed an invaluable tool in categorizing the vast data rendered in corpus analysis. However, the study has also shown that Ljung's typology can be challenging to interpret and apply to every instance in corpus analysis. Additionally, it has been shown that instances in corpus data often appear in constructions considered non-swearing, according to Lung's typology, and can thus be accounted for and categorized in terms of their non-swearing function, viz. literal usage, figurative usage, set tag, and so forth. Lastly, the functional analysis has also demonstrated the desemanticization and decategorialization of high frequency root and variant forms, viz. *shit*, *fuck*, and *fucking*, in the stand-alone and slot filler swearing categories, which can be taken as an indication of grammaticalization in taboo four-letter words.

Frequencies observed in the data reflect patterns of usage suggesting a shift in attitudes to taboo four-letter words in American English over the course of the twentieth century. The analysis in Chapter 4 has demonstrated a significant increase in the frequency of *cunt*, *fuck*, and *shit*, and their inflectional variants from the 1950s to the present-day, despite a brief decrease in frequency between 1970 and 1980. However, as noted in the discussion in Section 6.2, correlating patterns of usage with shifts in attitudes to taboo language in American English is beyond the scope of the present study and thus remains an opportunity for future research.

The overall significance of the present study lies not only in its demonstration of the key findings noted above, but also in its evaluation of the chosen research design. In terms of a corpus-based approach, this study

has demonstrated the value of corpus resources in the diachronic study of the form and function of four-letter words. However, this study has also revealed that not all language corpora are created equal, and that research aims and questions must align with the inherent capabilities of the chosen corpora. Additionally, it has been shown that contextual information is essential to the interpretation of taboo four-letter words, which poses yet another challenge to corpus-based research. Lastly, the findings presented in the study point toward opportunities for further analysis and future research, as summarized in the following section.

7.2 Future research

As populations throughout the world increasingly move and mingle with other cultures, will terms of 'identity' become more charged and replace the expletive four-letter words currently considered taboo and obscene in American English? In other words, will racial and ethnic taboos in epithets such as *spic* or *towel-head* supersede the sexual taboos behind expletives such as *cunt* and *fuck*? Hughes (2006: 464) notes that "[t]he category that now most conforms to genuine taboo is that of race", an observation that suggests a shift from sexual to racial taboos is already in progress. However, only time will tell, as the saying goes. According to Brinton and Traugott (2005: 7), "[c]hange proceeds by small steps, not large leaps". Thus, future research on the form and function of taboo language may help to identify gradual shifts in taboo, and perhaps contribute to the growing awareness of the ignorance and intolerance often motivating them.

More specifically, future research on taboo language may wish to incorporate a corpus-based approach and research design similar to that of the present study to trace changes related to colloquialization (cf. Mair 2006), pragmaticalization (cf. Aijmer 2013; Diewald 2011), and Americanization (cf. Mair 2006). For researchers interested in contrastive analysis, comparing four-

letter words or other forms of taboo language between varieties of English, viz. American, British, South African, or Australian English, would undoubtedly contribute valuable insights into the nature of cultural taboo and its linguistic expression. Similarly, building an uncensored large corpus of spoken American English to examine taboo language in relation to sociolinguistic variables such as age, education, and gender may reveal patterns of usage on par with those observed in the British National Corpus (cf. McEnery & Xiao 2004). As Hughes (2006: xxi) notes, American English has proven to be “a variety showing the most innovation in swearing and foul language”. Thus, the future seems bright and full of promise for studies on swearing in American English.

8. References

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9. Appendices

Appendix 1: COHA morphological analysis data

COHA data				*cunt* POS search x1											
INSTANCE	FORM	FREQUENCY x1	VALID FORM	DESCRIPTION	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
					1	CUNT	310	Y	Root		1	2	49	3	2
2	CUNTS	46	Y	Inflectional suffix				11		2	6	16	3	4	4
3	CUNTRY	10	N	Misspelled "country"		2	1								
4	COUNTRY	6	N	Another word			1				1				
5	EXCUNT	4	N	Misspelled "exeunt omnes"								1			
6	DICUNT	3	N	Foreign language		1							1		
7	CUNTFACE	3	Y	Compound									3		
8	CUNTAS	3	N	Foreign language										2	1
9	CUNT-CHASER	2	Y	Compound				2							
10	CUNT-HUNTER	2	Y	Compound								2			
11	CUNTRIE	2	N	Misspelled "country"				1							
12	CUNTREY	2	N	Misspelled "country"						1					
13	CUNTI	2	N	1 instance is proper noun (location); 1 instance contains spacing typo "cuntl owe you money"										1	
14	NASCUNTUR	2	N	Foreign language											
15	MITESCUNT	1	N	Foreign language											
16	MCUNTAINOUS	1	N	Misspelled "mountainous"								1			
17	JUICYCUNT	1	N	Possible spacing typo								1			
18	ICUNTZ	1	N	Proper noun "Cuntz"	1										
19	VINCUNTUR	1	N	Foreign language											
20	VINCUNT	1	N	Foreign language											
21	VILESCUNT	1	N	Unreadable; possible typo											
22	TIGHTCUNTEDFAMILY	1	N	Possible spacing typo								1			
23	SON-OF-A-CUNT	1	Y	Phrase									1		
24	SHOCKLEYCUNT	1	N	Spacing typo: proper noun and "cunt"								1			
25	SELF-CUNT	1	N	Unreadable; possible typo	1										
26	SECUNTIES	1	N	Misspelled "securities"											
27	SECUNT	1	N	Misspelled "second"		1									
28	SCUNTHORPE	1	N	Proper noun (location)						1					
29	PATESCUNT	1	N	Foreign language											
30	OCCUNT	1	N	Unreadable; possible typo			1								
31	NOSCUNTUR	1	N	Foreign language									1		
32	DUCUNT	1	N	Foreign language											
33	DIFFICUNT	1	N	Misspelled "difficult"											
34	DICUNTUR	1	N	Foreign language										1	
35	CUNTY	1	Y	Derivational suffix									1		
36	CUNTUR	1	N	Another word											

COHA data				*fuck* POS search x2											
INSTANCE	FORM	FREQUENCY x2	VALID FORM	DESCRIPTION	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
					1	FUCK	3749	Y	Root		1		16		14
2	FUCKING	3542	Y	Inflectional suffix				17		10	175	729	695	983	933
3	FUCKIN	1062	Y	Phonological form						3	35	160	173	328	363
4	FUCKED	662	Y	Inflectional suffix				6			43	128	114	185	186
5	MOTHERFUCKER	245	Y	Compound						1	12	42	35	70	85
6	FUCKER	192	Y	Derivational suffix						1	11	46	38	42	54
7	FUCKS	122	Y	Inflectional suffix							8	19	25	38	32
8	FUCKERS	94	Y	Derivational suffix + inflectional suffix							3	24	17	24	26
9	MOTHERFUCKERS	67	Y	Compound							6	10	3	26	22
10	MOTHAHFUCKAH	55	Y	Phonological form										5	50
11	FUCKED-UP	55	Y	Compound							2	11	15	14	13
12	MOTHERFUCKING	39	Y	Compound							1	9	4	13	12
13	FUCKEN	36	Y	Phonological form							3		30		3
14	FUCK-UP	33	Y	Compound								8	7	11	7
15	MOTHERFUCKIN	32	Y	Phonological form						1	2	8		3	18
16	FUCKHEAD	22	Y	Compound							1	4	1	3	13
17	MUTHAFUCKA	17	Y	Phonological form							7	5			5
18	MOTHER-FUCKER	16	Y	Compound							7	2	2	2	3
19	FUCKUP	14	Y	Compound						1		2		2	9
20	MINDFUCKER	13	Y	Compound									13		
21	MOTHERFUCK	12	Y	Compound								2	2	1	7
22	MOTHAHFUCKAHS	11	Y	Phonological form										1	10
23	FUCK-ALL	11	Y	Compound								2	3	4	2
24	FUCK-YOU	10	Y	Phrase							2		4	1	3
25	MINDFUCKING	10	Y	Compound									9	1	
26	FUCKUPS	9	Y	Compound						1	1			1	6
27	MOTHAHFUCKIN	9	Y	Phonological form											9
28	MOTHAFUCKA	9	Y	Phonological form							1		8		
29	FUCK-UPS	8	Y	Compound									3	3	2
30	FUCKFACE	7	Y	Compound							2		2	1	2
31	MOTHAFUCKER	7	Y	Phonological form									7		
32	MOTHER-FUCKIN	6	Y	Phonological form								5	1		
33	RIGHT-FUCKING-FACE	6	Y	Infix								6			
34	SO-FUCKING-WHAT	6	Y	Infix										6	
35	FUCKING-A	6	Y	Phrase									4		2
36	FUCKINGNERVE	5	N	Typo								5			
37	CLUSTERFUCK	5	Y	Compound									2	2	1
38	DUMBFUCK	5	Y	Compound								3		2	
39	BUMFUCK	5	Y	Compound										4	1
40	MUTHAFUCKIN	5	Y	Phonological form							1	1			3
41	MOTHAFUCKAS	5	Y	Phonological form									5		
42	MOTHER-FUCKING	4	Y	Compound							2		1		1
43	MOTHERFUCKA	4	Y	Phonological form										1	3
44	MOTHERFUCKAS	4	Y	Phonological form											4
45	ABOUT-FUCKING-FACE	4	Y	Infix								4			
46	BOYLEFUCK	4	N	Name + typo									4		
47	FUCK-ME	4	Y	Phrase									2		2
48	FUCKETY-FUCK	4	Y	Derivational suffix + Reduplication											4
49	FUCKA	4	Y	Phonological form							4				
50	FUCKALL	4	Y	Compound										2	2
51	FUCKAS	3	Y	Phonological form									3		
52	FUCK-HEAD	3	Y	Compound							1		1		1
53	BOYLEFUCKING	3	N	Name + typo									3		
54	FUCKHEADS	3	Y	Compound										2	1
55	MOFUCKIN	3	Y	Phonological form											3

56	MINDFUCKERS	3	Y	Compound													3		
57	FUCKSHITPENIS	3	N	Expletive chain														3	
58	FUCKWIT	3	Y	Compound														3	
59	MOTHER-FUCKERS	3	Y	Compound							3								
60	MOTHAFUCKIN	3	Y	Phonological form													3		
61	STARFUCKER	3	Y	Compound													1	1	1
62	STEVENSFUCK	3	N	Name + typo														3	
63	UN-FUCKING-BELIEVABLE	3	Y	Infix														1	2
64	WHAT-THE-FUCK	3	Y	Phrase														2	1
65	WILLIEFUCK	2	N	Name + typo														2	
66	UNFUCKED	2	Y	Prefix + inflectional suffix										1	1				
67	TEDFUCK	2	N	Name + typo														2	
68	STACEYFUCK	2	N	Name + typo														2	
69	NEDFUCK	2	N	Name + typo														2	
70	SETHFUCK	2	N	Name + typo														2	
71	SETHFUCKIN	2	N	Name + typo														2	
72	SHEEPFUCKER	2	Y	Compound													1	1	
73	MOTHAFUCKERS	2	Y	Phonological form													2		
74	MOTHAFUCKAH	2	Y	Phonological form															2
75	GOOD-FUCKING-BYE	2	Y	Infix												2			
76	HEALYFUCKING	2	N	Name + typo														2	
77	HOODFUCK	2	N	Name + typo														2	
78	JACKFUCK	2	N	Name + typo													1	1	
79	JERRYFUCK	2	N	Name + typo											2				
80	JUDGEFUCK	2	N	Name + typo														2	
81	JUDGEMOTHERFUCKERS	2	N	Name + typo														2	
82	LEFT-FUCKING-FACE	2	Y	Infix													2		
83	LEFTFUCKING-FACE	2	Y	Infix													2		
84	MERCY-FUCK	2	Y	Compound													2		
85	MIND-FUCK	2	Y	Compound															2
86	MIND-FUCKING	2	Y	Compound													1	1	
87	MINDFUCK	2	Y	Compound													1		1
88	FUCKSAKE	2	Y	Phrase														2	
89	MONFRIEZFUCK	2	N	Name + typo														2	
90	FUCKINBASTID	2	Y	Phonological form													2		
91	FUCKITY	2	Y	Derivational suffix															2
92	BRIMMERFUCK	2	N	Name + typo														2	
93	BUBBLE-FUCKS	2	Y	Compound														2	
94	BUDDUSKYFUCK	2	N	Name + typo													2		
95	BUDDUSKYFUCKIN	2	N	Name + typo													2		
96	BUGFUCK	2	Y	Compound															2
97	ASSEMBLYFUCK	2	N	Common noun + typo														2	
98	ASSFUCK	2	Y	Compound													1		1
99	BUTT-FUCKED	2	Y	Compound													1	1	
100	BUTTFUCKS	2	Y	Compound														2	
101	FUCK-OFF	2	Y	compound													2		
102	FUCK-U-LUTELY	2	Y	Blend														2	
103	ELDRIDGEFUCK	2	N	Name + typo														2	
104	DANNYFUCK	2	N	Name + typo														2	
105	FUCKASHITPISS	2	N	Expletive chain												2			
106	FUCKBIRD	2	Y	Compound															2
107	FUCKARSE	2	Y	Compound													2		
108	FUCKABLE	2	Y	Derivational suffix													1		1
109	FUCKFACES	2	Y	Compound													2		
110	FUCKFUCKFUCK	2	N	Possible spacing typo															2
111	FUCKED-UP-AND	2	N	Typo													2		

112	FUCKEDUP	2	Y	Compound							2				
113	FUCKED-OVER	2	Y	Compound								1			1
TOKEN INSTANCES 10400					0	1	0	39	0	32	549	2061	1837	2805	3075
MORPH. CATEGORY		FREQUENCY													
Prefix		1													
Derivational suffix		5													
Inflectional suffix		5													
Infix		7													
Blend		1													
Compound		42													
Phrase		5													
Phonological form		21													
Reduplication		1													
TOTAL CATEGORIES		88													
VALID VARIANT FORMS		85													

COHA data		*shit* POS search x2													
INSTANCE	FORM	FREQUENCY x2	VALID FORM	DESCRIPTION	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
					1	SHIT	7067	Y	Root	2	1	4	26	17	43
2	BULLSHIT	974	Y	Compound				1	2	6	29	195	216	221	304
3	SHITTY	179	Y	Derivational suffix					1	1	13	43	24	30	66
4	MATSUSHITA	156	N	Name								11	21	116	8
5	HORSESHIT	111	Y	Compound				1	1	13	9	39	17	17	14
6	SHITS	108	Y	Inflectional suffix				2		2	9	24	21	24	26
7	SHITTING	96	Y	Inflectional suffix	1			1			3	22	17	22	30
8	SHITDOGS	82	Y	Compound											82
9	CHICKENSHIT	81	Y	Compound						4	12	38	11	9	7
10	WASHITA	81	N	Proper noun: river	1		1		1		1	3			1
11	YAMASHITA	79	N	Name	1				13	2		2	1	4	56
12	SHITLESS	75	Y	Derivational suffix							8	22	10	19	16
13	LIPSHITZ	53	N	Name		1			1		22	29			
14	SHITDOG	46	Y	Compound										46	
15	DOGSHIT	44	Y	Compound							1	32	7	2	2
16	TAKESHITA	43	N	Name									36	2	5
17	SHITHEAD	41	Y	Compound					1		8	5	9	10	8
18	SHITHOLE	34	Y	Compound							1	7	6	8	12
19	SHITLOAD	31	Y	Compound								1	4	8	18
20	BULLSHITTING	26	Y	Compound								4	4	11	7
21	PIECE-OF-SHIT	23	Y	Phrase											23
22	SHITHOUSE	21	Y	Compound				1			1	7	8	1	3
23	SHITFACED	21	Y	Compound								10	2	4	5
24	SHITTER	19	Y	Derivational suffix									13	1	5
25	SHIT-FACED	17	Y	Compound								2	6	3	6
26	APESHIT	17	Y	Compound								5	3	4	5
27	FLISHITHY	15	N	Proper noun									15		
28	SHIT-EATING	15	Y	Compound							3	4	4	2	2
29	SUSHITSA	15	N	Proper noun									15		
30	CHICKEN-SHIT	14	Y	Compound						3	1	5	3	2	
31	SHITHEADS	13	Y	Compound							3	1	7		2
32	SHITTERS	13	Y	Derivational suffix + inflectional suffix							1		12		
33	CUSHITES	12	N	Proper noun							1	1			
34	DIPSHIT	11	Y	Compound									2	5	4
35	BULLSHITTER	11	Y	Compound						1		2	2	6	

36	SHITHEEL	10	Y	Compound						1	3		2	4
37	SHITEPOKE	10	Y	Compound			2	5	1		1			
38	QUACKSHIT	10	Y	Compound							10			
39	SHITTIN	9	Y	Phonological form				1			2		1	5
40	SHITSTORM	9	Y	Compound								4	1	4
41	PASHITCH	8	N	Name			8							
42	NASHIT	8	N	Name + typo			8							
43	SHIT-ASS	8	Y	Compound						1	2	2	2	1
44	SHIT-FOR-BRAINS	8	Y	Phrase								5	3	
45	SHITFACE	8	Y	Compound						1	1		1	5
46	SHITE	8	Y	Derivational suffix					1	3		1	1	2
47	SHITBIRD	8	Y	Compound							4	2		2
48	BATSHIT	8	Y	Compound						2	2	2	1	1
49	CUSHITE	8	N	Proper noun			1		2					1
50	DUMBSHIT	8	Y	Compound								4	2	2
51	COWSHIT	7	Y	Compound						2		3	1	1
52	APE-SHIT	7	Y	Compound							2		3	2
53	BULLSHITTED	7	Y	Compound							2		3	2
54	SHITZ	7	Y	Name						7				
55	ZEKESHIT	6	N	Name + typo							6			
56	BIRDSHIT	6	Y	Compound							1	1	2	2
57	BULL-SHIT	6	Y	Compound						1	2		1	2
58	MASHITA	6	N	Proper noun	1							1		3
59	LIFSHITZ	6	N	Name			2			3				1
60	JOSHIT	6	N	Name + typo				5				1		
61	KINOSHITA	6	N	Name	1		1	1				1		2
62	SHITKICKER	6	Y	Compound							3		2	1
63	SHITLIST	6	Y	Compound					1			2	2	1
64	MYANOSHITA	6	N	Proper noun	4			2						
65	PIGSHIT	6	Y	Compound					1			1		4
66	NICKSHIT	5	N	Name + typo									5	
67	SHITASS	5	Y	Compound					1		1	1	1	1
68	HORSE-SHIT	5	Y	Compound					2	3				
69	KUSHITE	5	N	Proper noun								4		
70	KUSHITES	5	N	Proper noun								3		2
71	LIFSHITS	5	N	Name									5	
72	SHITU	5	N	Name										5
73	SMOKEYSHIT	5	N	Name + typo								5		
74	SHITTIM	4	N	Common noun: tree				1						1
75	DYMSHITS	4	N	Name								4		
76	DUMB-SHIT	4	Y	Compound								3	1	
77	SHITBOXES	4	Y	Compound								3	1	
78	SHITPILE	4	Y	Compound									3	1
79	SHIT-COLORED	4	Y	Compound						1	1		1	1
80	SHIT-COVERED	3	Y	Compound						2		1		
81	SHIT-CANNED	3	Y	Compound										3
82	SHIT-FACE	3	Y	Compound					3					
83	SHIT-HEEL	3	Y	Compound						1		1		1
84	SHIT-HOUSE	3	Y	Compound					1	1			1	
85	SHIT-JESUS	3	N	Possible spacing typo										3
86	SHITHOUSES	3	Y	Compound						2		1		
87	SHITFIRE	3	Y	Compound									1	2
88	SHITBURGER	3	Y	Compound								2	1	
89	SHITBOX	3	Y	Compound									1	2
90	SHITA	3	N	Foreign language	3									
91	SHIT-EATIN	3	Y	Phonological form							1		1	1
92	CORPOSHIT	3	N	Name										3
93	COW-SHIT	3	Y	Compound					1			1	1	
94	BEAT-TO-SHIT	3	Y	Phrase								1	1	1
95	BUDDUSKYBULLSHIT	3	N	Name + typo								3		
96	BOSSYSHIT	3	N	Name + typo									3	
97	BULLSHITTIN	3	Y	Phonological form								1	1	1
98	FUCKSHITPENIS	3	N	Expletive chain										3
99	HOT-SHIT	3	Y	Compound							1		2	
100	HOTSHIT	3	Y	Compound							3			

161	SHIT-FIT	2	Y	Compound										1	1	
162	SHIT-EATER	2	Y	Compound						1				1		
163	NO-BULLSHIT	2	Y	Phrase												2
164	NO-SHIT	2	Y	Phrase						1						1
165	PUBLISHIT	2	N	Typo			1		1							
166	RAMIREZBULLSHIT	2	N	Name + typo												2
167	RATSHIT	2	Y	Compound												2
168	RIPSHIT	2	Y	Compound												2
169	ROCKSHIT	2	N	Name + typo										2		
170	SH-SH-SHIT	2	N	Fictional stutter											1	1
171	SHIT'E	2	N	Foreign language	2											
172	SHIT-	2	N	Typo			1									1
173	SHIT-ALL	2	Y	Compound												2
TOKEN INSTANCES					10147	23	2	19	47	56	93	696	1981	1804	2439	2890
MORPH. CATEGORY		FREQUENCY														
Prefix		0														
Derivational suffix		7														
Inflectional suffix		4														
Infix		0														
Blend		0														
Compound		76														
Phrase		7														
Phonological form		4														
Reduplication		0														
TOTAL CATEGORIES		98														
VALID VARIANT FORMS		97														

Appendix 2: COCA morphological analysis data

COCA data *cunt* POS search x1 Spoken genre				
INSTANCE	FORM	FREQUENCY	VALID FORM	DESCRIPTION
0 instances				

COCA data *fuck* POS search x1 Spoken genre				
INSTANCE	FORM	FREQUENCY	VALID FORM	DESCRIPTION
1	FUCK	6	Y	Root
2	FUCKING	4	Y	Inflectional suffix
TOTAL		10		

COCA data *shit* POS search x1 Spoken genre				
INSTANCE	FORM	FREQUENCY	VALID FORM	DESCRIPTION
1	SHIT	58	Y	Root
2	MATSUSHITA	17	N	
3	BULLSHIT	16	Y	Compound
4	IWASHITA	5	N	
5	YAMASHITA	3	N	
6	SHITAKI	2	N	
7	SHITAKE	2	N	
8	SHITTY	2	Y	Derivational suffix
9	WASHITA	2	N	
10	TAKESHITA	1	N	
11	SHITZU	1	N	
12	SHITTED	1	Y	Inflectional suffix
13	SHITTE	1	N	
14	SHITREET	1	N	
15	SHITLESS	1	Y	Derivational suffix
16	SHITES	1	N	
17	MUSASHITO	1	N	
18	MISHITS	1	N	
19	MISHIT	1	N	
20	MATSUSHITA/JVC	1	N	
21	JIBSHITE	1	N	
22	HORSESHIT	1	Y	Compound
23	BULLSHITTING	1	Y	Compound
TOTAL		121		

Appendix 3: COHA functional analysis data

COHA		CUNT		Functional analysis		
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES
1	1943	FIC	WalshGirls	Boll- of them tried to stop and glided past each other. Then she t cunt. to a full stop and rolled down the window. The long gray coupe	T	
2	1946	FIC	MiracleBells	And he gave the Bachelor of Arts (who had also taken a postgraduate course cunt laude in " public relations ") a hearty, comradely slap on the back	T	Misspelled "cum "
3	1949	MAG	SatEvePost	incantations of the Pharaoh's physicians. The (Continued on Page 61) (Cunt' d front Page 58) couple of pieces of meat, walked over to	T	Misspelled "cont'd"
1	1970	FIC	DesperateCharacters	teeth from a hurt mouth. " You... filthy... cunt! " it said. Sophie dropped the phone on its hook. She began	NC	
2	1970	FIC	DesperateCharacters	, I told her I was sick of her. She called me a filthy cunt. " Otto winced. He didn't like that. Sophie laughed. "	NC	
3	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	again? " Hymie asked. " I rammed my prick -- her wet frothy cunt..' " I put lox in her box, " Boomie mused. "	LU	Sexual organ
4	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	between her parted or parting thighs and with the power-ful head tickled her wet frothy cunt... " " That part I love, " piped Hymie. "	LU	Sexual organ
5	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	Simon cupped an ear. " Twat twat did she say? " " I cunt hear, " answered Boomie. " What Jewish kids talk today, " said	MI	Humorous usage
6	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	ah importantwith a girl than her ah tits ah. I answered him Her ah cunt ah. He wanted to give a real laugh but he went only Ha Ha	LU	Sexual organ
7	1970	FIC	ElectricCotillion	turn over "... " Now what do you think of a silly cunt who would write Eric Starvo Galt was here on the hood of my Jag.	NC	
8	1970	FIC	ElectricCotillion	well after three, belatedly noting under an Ashbury Heights street lamp that some silly cunt had scrawled Eric Starvo Galt Was Here in the dust on the hood of the	NC	
9	1970	FIC	Play:ApproachingSimone	the auditorium in three languages, equivalent to " You're nothing but a stupid cunt ") p. 9 NINE The pain in your head is evidence. TEN Evidence	NC	
10	1970	FIC	Play:TommyAllenShow	television station lobby. Receptionist and desk. Large KUSA -- TV (Kusa: Danish for cunt) on curved bright -- colored wall, rug, color television playing. Tape loop going	LU	
11	1970	FIC	Play:Moonchildren	the icebox.) COOTIE Dick, in my humble opinion you're a miserable cunt and a party pooper. DICK (Standing): All right, now listen	NC	

12	1970	FIC	Play: Moonchildren	just I thought we were friends. DICK You know what that goddamn fucking little cunt told me? Just before she left? She told me I was screwing Roper	NC	
13	1970	FIC	Play: Operation Sidewinder	the snake go. The YOUNG MAN lets out a yell. Oh fuck! You stupid cunt! You almost broke my point! My last point! You almost ripped out	NC	
14	1970	FIC	Moving On	I'm vain. A writer without vanity would be like a woman without a cunt, if you'll pardon the usage. Drink, anyone? " He got	LU	Sexual organ
15	1970	FIC	Across 110th	hear he doin' the hustle for Big Alice and a few of her smelly cunt. But he better not get wind of you lookin' for him or he	LU	Sexual organ
16	1970	FIC	Across 110th	two guys and they're nothin'. It'll be easy to grab their cunt for ourselves. That Laurelene chick, man, she'll blow your mind.	LU	Sexual organ
17	1971	FIC	Dream Museum	, but then something happened. What had happened to him was a sort of cunt hostility. Actually. The whole nerve complex that was his sex response tightened up	LU	Sexual organ
18	1971	FIC	Dream Museum	. Rose jumping to her feet. Raising an accusing finger down the table. That cunt's got her gun.' Pray people, peace.' Peace of my	NC	
19	1971	FIC	Dream Museum	L K L. Macfugger frantic waving a large cigar. Joust him one you stupid cunt. Joust him.' Toro's head gliding low. Hanging from the small	NC	
20	1971	FIC	Dream Museum	' I challenge you to meet me in the monk's passage you big cunt.' By God. That the ears of the little lovely innocents should	NC	
21	1971	FIC	Dream Museum	declare a foul.' " You big electro magnetic despicability you'll have a cunt for sure when I'm finished." I give up I give up	LU	Sexual organ
22	1971	FIC	Merry Month May	is yellow! " " Imagination power! " " Sex power! " " Cunt power! " " Commodities are the opium of the people. " There were	LU	Sexual organ
23	1971	FIC	Other	, Mrs. MacNeil, she advised me to keep my goddam fingers away from her cunt. " Chris gasped with shock. " She used those words? " "	LU	Sexual organ
24	1971	FIC	Play: Cowboy Mouth	be like a rock-and-roll Jesus with a cowboy mouth. p. 17 SLIM You fucking cunt! (He jumps up and starts tearing the place apart, throwing things against	NC	
25	1971	FIC	Play: Cowboy Mouth	things against the walls and screaming his head off.) SLIM You stupid fucking cunt! Two years ago or one year ago! If it was then! If	NC	
26	1971	FIC	Tenants	power. I want money to stuff up my black ass and white bitch's cunt. I want to fuck her with money. Think of this sacred cathedral we	LU	Sexual organ
27	1971	FIC	Tenants	for writing. Too much work, too long, gets you uptight. Black cunt, I mean? Not that I would mind, Harry says. Lemme see	LU	Sexual organ
28	1971	FIC	Tenants	1 got my first chapter in the breeze at last. If you see cunt you want cunt H though she is pissing a lot lately so it ain't	LU	Sexual organ

29	1971	FIC	Tenants	my first chapter in the breeze at last. If you see cunt you want cunt H though she is pissing a lot lately so it ain't that much of	LU	Sexual organ
30	1972	FIC	Ewings	tried again and this time I had more success. She let me feel her cunt while she played with my dingus, and the next date we had she was	LU	Sexual organ
31	1972	FIC	Ewings	Is that all? she said. " That's all, you cunt, " he said. She used her handkerchief to wipe away his juice,	NC	
32	1972	FIC	Semi-Tough	York. In those literary circles and so forth. " " She was a cunt, " I said. " I met her in the PoloLounge over at the	NC	
33	1972	FIC	VisionsCody	from New York, and pretty women with silk stockings tied by garters to their cunt hooks where I got ta go with my hand tomorrow night, he didn't	LU	Sexual organ
34	1972	FIC	VisionsCody	by Danny) lifted up the slip, which was black, grabbed her own cunt which Danny says is the greatest in the world because it squeezes your cock like	LU	Sexual organ
35	1972	FIC	VisionsCody	leave in Manhattan from 1943 or even 1944 or worse 1939 -- a cunt like that and then we would have fucked sweetly in Danny's red bedroom,	LU	Sexual organ
36	1972	FIC	VisionsCody	best one beinga guy in spats and hat ramming his finger into a woman's cunt as he bends her back, dress up, over an ironing board),	LU	Sexual organ
37	1972	FIC	VisionsCody	walkingbeanpole from the bank along the railroad street of cafes and stores -- Pretty Wyo. cunt in car, a rich rancher's daughter.... Sunny valleys of	LU	Woman; object of sexual desire
38	1972	FIC	VisionsCody	stomped one's tongue out accidentally -- They call their cocks " hammers, " cunt's a " gash " and do the up-your-ass fingersign slapping finger down into palm	LU	Sexual organ
39	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	distended pucker of vagina, a black tunnel of oviduct, an inner tube of cunt. Suddenly the she-bear strummed itself with a brusque downbeat of claw and moaned.	LU	Sexual organ
40	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	snagged one sleeve of Ashenden'sHarris tweed jacket and started to drag his hand toward her cunt. He kneed her stomach and kicked at her crotch. arng. " " Let	LU	Sexual organ
41	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	. He tried to pull his fist out butp181it was welded to the bear's cunt. Then the bear's muscles relaxedand he forced his fist open inside her,	LU	Sexual organ
42	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	of prayer and the bear abruptly sat, its stubby legs spread, her swollen cunt in her lap like a bouquet of flowers. It was as if he had	LU	Sexual organ
43	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	bear lay stock still as he reeled in his hand, climbing out of her cunt as up a rope. (Perhaps this feels good to her, he thought	LU	Sexual organ
44	1973	FIC	GreatAmericanNovel	solemnly together and said, " In actual fact... he's a cunt. " Yardley heard and smiled, and I wondered for a moment whether the	NC	

45	1973	FIC	Play:Pioneer	orbit. Old Mother Sun will suck them and us right back into her flaming cunt. MOTHER No energy gets lost, honey. We're living in a tidy	FI	Metaphor. extension of literal meaning
46	1973	FIC	Mov:MeanStreets	you I can't get involved. TERESABecause? CHARLIEBecause you're a cunt. TERESAWhere do you get off talking like that. CHARLIEIt was just	NC	
47	1973	FIC	Mov:MeanStreets	can't get involved with a girl like that -- I mean she's a cunt -- -- 64 -- 93 CHARLIE CAMERA FOLLOWING behind Charlie as he walks down the	NC	
48	1973	FIC	Mov:MeanStreets	continues. CHARLIE (V.O.)... but she's not a cunt -- Oh, you know what I mean -- It's not right. Slowly	NC	
49	1973	FIC	Mov:SteelyardBlues	... a tramp, a floozy, a hussy... a cunt... (bursting)... Goddammit, Iris, you're	NC	
50	1974	FIC	Californios	makes everyone who comes here put on an act. " " Fire the old cunt. " " How would that help? " " It would help us.	NC	
51	1974	FIC	Californios	the door, since you're feeling so peppy. " " Fire the old cunt. " " Christ, you're vulgar, " she says, and means	NC	
52	1974	FIC	Californios	That's what they say. " " Then let's fire the fucking old cunt. None of us like her. p267She doesn't like us. She reminds me	NC	
53	1974	FIC	FanClub	know more about that chick's sex life. She's got to have a cunt big as a landing barge. " " Ilcr sex life? " said Malone	LU	Sexual organ
54	1974	FIC	Play:BabesInBighouse	You lady liars. Come out of your closets, you bullydikes, you secret cunt cocksuckers! You're the liars! You're the liars! MATRON TWO Take	NC	
55	1975	FIC	Ragtime	awhile. You think the sergeants care we bust our balls? You think that cunt Lieutenant Finque cares? " " I know, Spencer, I know. "	NC	
56	1975	FIC	Ragtime	No harm, Roscoe, Sergeant Yanov grinned. " No? That cunt's been using my picture in a mug shot showup every fucking time a paddy	NC	
57	1975	FIC	Ragtime	and getting that irretrievable pension. Anyone Spermwhale didn't like was either a " cunt, " a " gelding, " a " eunuch, " or a "	NC	
58	1975	FIC	Ragtime	Knuckles Garrity was the best fuckin cop we ever had in this station and that cunt of a captain should be proud to have his picture on the wall. "	NC	
59	1975	FIC	Ragtime	the chesty, bristle jawed sergeant. " If it was one a them other cunt supervisors he'd a probably cut old Clyde in half and we'd a ended	NC	Also possible Adj. of dislike
60	1975	FIC	Ragtime	You, partner, let this little pinko, scum eating, shit sucking cunt keep you from hot pursuit? It's hard to believe! " Well	NC	
61	1975	FIC	Ragtime	I'd a been there I'd a grabbed that come licking, do-gooder little cunt and CHOKED156 / THE CHOIRBOYSHER OUT AND MADE HER DO THE FUCKING CHICKEN! YOU	NC	
62	1976	FIC	Speedboat	referred to as a back' since my football days. A brain, a cunt, a piece of ass. But never a back. It's refreshing,	LU	Sexual organ

63	1976	FIC	Speedboat	be? " I asked, implying that I did. " Shut up, cunt! " he shouted, and stormed over to my desk, Ira lingering by	NC	
64	1976	FIC	Speedboat	and onto the floor. He started yelling, calling me a whore and a cunt and a bitch, and accusing me of trying to, like, trap him	NC	
65	1977	FIC	PublicBurning	just dirty sex, twirlin' her tits, suckin' up quarters with her cunt, things like that. We didn't realize she was suckin' up a	LU	Sexual organ
66	1977	FIC	ProfessorDesire	! Ever read them on the front of the Sunday Times? All the closet cunt hunters coming on like old man Tolstoy. All that sympathy for the humble of the	LU	Seems more LU than NC
67	1977	FIC	ProfessorDesire	remaindered books he most likely will never get around to reading. " Inebriate of cunt and print! " as my secret sharer exclaims somewhere in the song of himself	LU	Sexual organ
68	1977	FIC	ProfessorDesire	on the West Coast by our bosses, the Schonbrunns. Magazine to be called Cunt. " The Schonbrunns, " he explains, " are sick and tired of	LU	Reference to erotic mag called CUNT
69	1978	FIC	MortalFriends	finding out where she went. Every screwy bitch in New York knows about this cunt hangout. " Roberta smiled. She was beginning to rock back and forth on	LU	Sexual organ; possible reference to lesbian bar?
70	1978	FIC	Whistle	What's the matter? " Frances said. " Haven't you ever eaten cunt before? " " No, " Strange said. " No, I have	LU	Sexual organ
71	1978	FIC	Whistle	windows screened on the inside to keep the basketballs from hitting them. Thinking about cunt, probably. A few bathrobed men played checkers on the low tables. Two	LU	Sexual organ
72	1978	FIC	Whistle	perhaps one on top the other. There was the Luxor of his buddies of cunt and cock and booze and parties that never stopped, going nonstop day and night	LU	Sexual organ
73	1978	FIC	Whistle	it. " Landers grinned. " Show me the man who doesn't eat cunt, and I'll show you the man whose wife I can steal,'	LU	Sexual organ
74	1978	FIC	Whistle	. It was such a moment of peace, in all the hot scrambling for cunt, and liquor, and life. He winked over at Strange. Johnny Stranger	LU	Sexual organ
75	1978	FIC	Whistle	crotch hair. In the middle of this thicket was the pink gape of her cunt, the two inner lips, hangingand open, joined to form the sheath,	LU	Sexual organ
76	1978	FIC	Whistle	and one of those brimless overseas caps which were re/quired by regulations now (called cunt cap by the troops, because of what the seam across the top made them	LU	Name of military hat
77	1978	FIC	Whistle	Faithfully, Winch would say he didn't have the cash again. " A cunt ai nt worth it, " Alexander said phlegmatically. Tacitly Winch agreed. A	LU	Woman; object of sexual desire

78	1978	FIC	Whistle	ob de people. De mon what om, right? Well here's one cunt that hates your guts, buster. You better stick a stamp on me and	LU	Woman or sexual organ
79	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	a guest and lift their silverware? Then where do you come off stealing their cunt? That's their only capital, especially when they're beautiful. And remember	LU	Sexual organ
80	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	Gronevelt said, " is never treat a smart rich broad like a dumb poor cunt. " Sometimes in LA Gronevelt would go shopping for old books. But usually	NC	
81	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	Christmas and New Year holidays, Charles Hems was a big gambler and a devoted cunt man. Even when he came to Vegas with his wife, Cully had to	LU	Sexual organ
82	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	even understand power plays, " he said. " Your hole card is your cunt, and you show it to your opponents face up. You give it away	LU	Sexual organ
83	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	and shoved her nose into The Great Gatsby. " Read this, you dumb cunt, " he said. " Read ten sentences, then read his wife's	NC	
84	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	he brushed off her affectionate advances and said coldly, " You are the worst cunt I've ever seen. " The next time Wendy came around to the review	NC	
85	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	leaned back and gave us his charming smile. " She's really a nice cunt, " he said. I could see Osano was a little depressed by the	NC	
86	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	on.... She shut up. And Osano said with maniacal quiet, " You cunt, now you get it. " And he lunged for her. He was	NC	
87	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	had almost murdered a little French poodle. Poor dog. Poor Osano. The cunt had turned out to be a large stockholder in the airline plus having millions of	NC	
88	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	ward in the city hospital, Bellevue no less. Can you imagine that fucking cunt? She didn't call me that he was sick because she wanted to lay	NC	
89	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	the whole project before they loaded film into the camera. " " That fucking cunt, " Houlinan said not in anger but with bewilderedhelplessness. " What the fuck	NC	
90	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	the ass. She uses the word fascist' the way we use the word cunt.' She doesn't mean anything by it. " Kellino was mad as	LU	
91	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	angry Malomar became, and finally he was smiling. " You talk like some cunt who can't get guys anymore, " Malomar said. " Movies are the	NC	
92	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	Lay another hand on my husband and I'll punch you right in the cunt. The man in the yachting cap had a stutter and very deadpan said	LU	Sexual organ
93	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	she said. I hate women using words like fuck " and " cunt " and " motherfucker. " But she was the only woman I ever heard	LU	
94	1978	FIC	EyeNeedle	Farnborough, Hampshire. Fortunately the Luftwaffe's geography is better than yours, you cunt.' Just like that. " " I suppose it's understandable. When	NC	

95	1978	FIC	Play:HarmsWay	you respect, bitch. FISHEYE Santouche! SANTOUCHE shoots her. SANTOUCHE Fucking unnatural cunt. I can't stand' em. FISHEYE Santouche, are you crazy?	NC	
96	1979	FIC	Mov:Hardcore	me? Do you know what she did to me, man? That fucking cunt! I couldn't walk for a week. My prick was sore and red	NC	
97	1979	FIC	Mov:OldBoyfriends	been hurt more deeply than he has let on. JEFFBecause she's a cunt. Because I'm finally getting things under control and because I've gone through	NC	
98	1979	FIC	Incandescence	some heat, a lovely groan and jump, awe-filled eyes, the smell of cunt. He watches the houses, the gas stations and taco stands, the gritty	LU	Sexual organ
1	2000	FIC	CloseRangeWyoming	toothbrush from other guys. Drove grooves across Texas. Half the time under that cunt truck fixin it. Anyway, I didn't never think about losin. Lureen	NC	Also possible Adj. of dislike
2	2000	FIC	MusicTorching	calls after him. " I thought you were watching your gut. " " Cunt, " Paul says to Elaine, who is now remaking the L-shaped sofa into	NC	
3	2001	FIC	HumanStain	of Smoky that he is incapable of thinking, Yeah, this is a real cunt I'd like to fuck. Or incapable of acting. He fucks her,	LU	Sexual organ
4	2001	FIC	HumanStain	I say, and she tells me, ' You know how when a real cunt walks into a room, a man knows it? Well, the same thing	LU	Woman or sexual organ
5	2001	FIC	DevilsCode	give the FBI a ring. See what they say. " " You silly cunt. " Corbeil slipped a cell phone from a suit pocket, punched a button	NC	
6	2001	FIC	TicketMintoStories	? Mummy Screwvala screwed Daddy Screwvala and Baby Screwvala came out of Mummy Screwvala's cunt and kissed her. What did you see while coming out, Pesi-Waysi? "	LU	Sexual organ
7	2002	FIC	Play:MercySeat	to! BEN HARCOURT Yeah, but somebody doesn't have to be an overdominating cunt about it (Beat.) Sorry, shit, I didn't mean you	NC	
8	2002	FIC	RedGoldNovel	them. " Just ignore them, " Julie said. " Gonzesse. " Cunt. Half a block. They walked quickly despite themselves. Then a turn into	NC	
9	2003	FIC	HandDante	ever conceived? It had all ended up on his right hand or in some cunt's yap. Dead-baby juice. And now it was too late. Born alone	LU	Sexual organ
10	2003	FIC	FantasySciFi	. Anything she does to me, I'm gon na do to you, cunt. " Calvin doesn't mean it, though. Calvin loves me. At	NC	
11	2004	FIC	Play:FatPig	, like, some derogatory thing I'm saying about her -- not the therapist cunt, but Jeannie -- it's just an idle thought. She seems to be	NC	
12	2004	FIC	Mov:Feast	. She advances, hissing. # HEROINE # Come and get me you blood-chugging CUNT! Momma howls and charges. Heroine slides out the side keg door, locking	NC	
13	2005	FIC	Play:ThisIsHowItGoes	? The people respected him. They did. They all understood he married a cunt and let it go at that MAN but she's not at all like your	NC	

14	2005	FIC	LossLeonMeed	the potential to be a real bitch. " " I thought I was a cunt already. You said so last week. " " Whatever. Let's play	NC	Self-reference; woman
15	2006	FIC	Ploughshares	wan me put in oven- " # " Shut the fuck up, you stupid cunt, " the man boomed over his shoulder. " I'm trying to teach	NC	
16	2007	FIC	JamestownNovel	on his cousin's womb a month before Stickboy came down the tunnel of her cunt and out into this vale of tears. " What kind of politician doesn't	LU	Sexual organ
17	2007	FIC	DoubleBindNovel	her life- which, clearly, she was. Meanwhile, they called her a cunt . In the space of moments- not minutes, but maybe- they called her a	NC	Instances 17-25 from one text passage
18	2007	FIC	DoubleBindNovel	. In the space of moments- not minutes, but maybe- they called her a cunt , a twat, a pussy, a gash.	NC	
19	2007	FIC	DoubleBindNovel	her a cunt, a twat, a pussy, a gash. A fucking cunt . A stupid cunt. A teasing cunt. Fish cunt. Slut cunt.	NC	
20	2007	FIC	DoubleBindNovel	a twat, a pussy, a gash. A fucking cunt. A stupid cunt . A teasing cunt. Fish cunt. Slut cunt. Dead cunt. You	NC	
21	2007	FIC	DoubleBindNovel	pussy, a gash. A fucking cunt. A stupid cunt. A teasing cunt . Fish cunt. Slut cunt. Dead cunt. You dead cunt. No	NC	
22	2007	FIC	DoubleBindNovel	gash. A fucking cunt. A stupid cunt. A teasing cunt. Fish cunt . Slut cunt. Dead cunt. You dead cunt. No verb. Even	NC	
23	2007	FIC	DoubleBindNovel	fucking cunt. A stupid cunt. A teasing cunt. Fish cunt. Slut cunt . Dead cunt. You dead cunt. No verb. Even the words were	NC	
24	2007	FIC	DoubleBindNovel	A stupid cunt. A teasing cunt. Fish cunt. Slut cunt. Dead cunt . You dead cunt. No verb. Even the words were violent, though	NC	
25	2007	FIC	DoubleBindNovel	A teasing cunt. Fish cunt. Slut cunt. Dead cunt. You dead cunt . No verb. Even the words were violent, though initially three sounded to	NC	
26	2009	FIC	EveDarkness	d demolished the bathroom, she gave him a paper cut. # " Stupid cunt! " the beast bellowed, seemingly oblivious to the water spraying madly from the	NC	

COHA		CUNTS		Functional analysis		
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES
0 instances in the 1040 section						
1	1971	FIC	DreamMuseum	Arms. About face. To the left flank. March. Come on you cunts. Left flank.' Macfugger counting cadence slapping his riding crop against his boot	NC	Negative connotation
2	1972	FIC	VisionsCody	and Jewish New York handsome gambler with girls, and foggy streets, and those cunts it's a sin that town -- then the new fag driver with ONE glove	UN	Need more context to determine if LU or NC
3	1972	FIC	VisionsCody	shirt, shoe, sometimes half sharp on top with wino pants below -- And cunts! Purple bandana, red velvet skirt, long legs -- BeauteousMexican girls with those	LU	Women; objects of sexual desire
4	1972	FIC	VisionsCody	, one Airforcer studying those nude magazines, I see him poring over two crazy cunts reclining in the sun together bellyup, legs closed, " health-y, " and	LU	Women; objects of sexual desire
5	1972	FIC	VisionsCody	-- again later at Sunset Strip bar with Lezes -- My vision of(115)men enslaved to cunts, to women who at or near thirty become lost in a dream of maternity	LU	Sexual organ
6	1972	FIC	VisionsCody	caress (or dreamy unconscious) -- poor Mac, Cody, broken by their cunts -- but not me -- the son of the Nuthouse proprietor riding a foolish singlewheel	LU	Women; objects of sexual desire
7	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	from their armpits and along their outstretched arms, and bloom behind their breasts and cunts and asses like webs. Hieratic columns are etched behind these like sums in a	LU	Sexual organ
8	1975	FIC	Ragtime	enough to've got a fancy annulment approved by the Pope like all these rich cunts and cocksuckers you read about. Then I coulda stayed in the church. "	NC	Negative connotation
9	1976	FIC	Speedboat	he said, staring dreamily out of the window, like these middle-class cunts. " He rambled on until we were on the hill to our house,	NC	Negative connotation
10	1976	FIC	Mov:TaxiDriver	take it any more, a man who stood up against the scum, the cunts, the dogs, the filth. Here is... (Voice trails	NC	Negative connotation
11	1977	FIC	PublicBurning	It wasn't... there wasn't -- " Everything from cunts and whiskey to captured Jap rifles, cupcakes and influence, you spread an amazin	LU	Sexual organ
12	1978	FIC	Whistle	wished something had. But grown men did not get down and lick women's cunts. That was just as much a perversion as being a fag. It was	LU	Sexual organ
13	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	it to your opponents face up. You give it away. And without your cunts you have no power at all. Men can live without affection but not without	LU	Sexual organ

14	1978	FIC	ThursdayRabbiWalked	you glad? Now you can eat in the same room with them funky white cunts and their ball-less men. I can't hardly wait, myself -- but,	NC	Negative connotation
15	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	with your dick, and so Bodine says to me, man, you turn cunts upside down and they all look just the same, then Bodine says to the	LU	Sexual organ
16	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	with your dick, and so Bodine says to me, man, you turn cunts upside down and they: all look just the same, then Bodine says to	MI	Text duplication (cf. #15)
1	2003	FIC	HandDante	n't see a nigger below Fourteenth Street. Then the basketball courts, the Jew cunts who go for the dark meat; next thing you know, it ain't	NC	Negative connotation
2	2006	FIC	Ploughshares	Reseda. From now on, I don't rent out to no spoiled American cunts. You Messicans are all right by me. " # Gail stopped at a	NC	Negative connotation
3	2006	MAG	ArtAmerica	, though they tend to be stronger on High Concept-the Nerd Camp, the Flaming Cunts, the Tom Jones Instant Intimacy and Clich Hut-than actual delivery. There are glorious	MI	Name
4	2007	FIC	SouthernRev	into a tire. He'd throw a bottle at them and yell, " Cunts!" and splash into the edge of the forest. They'd yell,	NC	Negative connotation

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COHA		FUCK		Functional analysis		
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES
0 instances in 1940 section						
1	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	he found out one thing. That how you know when a girl wants to fuck is she lets you lick her bushkee. Hymie says he can't fix shit	LU	
2	1976	FIC	Mov:TaxiDriver	marquees, but is interrupted by BETSY.) BETSYif you just wanted to fuck, why didn't you just come right out and say it? (TRAVIS	LU	
3	1971	FIC	Play:CowboyMouth	You never just listen, you always got to place stuff. And hey, fuck you, you asked me to tell you it. I ain't telling you	C	
4	1976	FIC	RatnersStar	dark night drives, how to fuck, how to fuck better, how to fuck several men at the same time, how many cocks could you fit in all	LU	
5	1976	FIC	Mov:TaxiDriver	No, no, the OTB. Fuck them. No, it was TKR. TCR and l'da made seven fucking grand	C	
6	1976	FIC	Mov:TaxiDriver	. No, it was TKR. TCR and l'da made seven fucking grand. Fuck them too. All right, what about the second race? FOURTH CABBIEOver	C	

7	1972	FIC	Play:ToothCrime	. HOSS paces around nervous.) p. 52 HOSS What the fuck! What the fuck was that! (to the REF) You call that fair? You're	EM	
8	1976	FIC	Mov:Network	those vicious things I said to you last night. You're not the worst fuck I've ever had. Believe me, I've had worse. And you	LU	
9	1973	FIC	Mov:MeanStreets	Because that's what I think of you... jerk off. I fuck you where you breathe! Michael lashes out at Johnny Boy with the back of	LU	
10	1975	FIC	Play:Fishing	ROBBIE Another day, another trip. BILL BARENBERG Oh, man, what the fuck is wrong with me? How come you're always so calm? ROBBIE Good	EM	
11	1978	FIC	Mov:BlueCollar	bastard! (sudden fury) This is the last time you're gon na fuck me, you goddamn asshole machine! Jenkins strides toward an idling high-low and gets	FI	
12	1979	FIC	Mov:RoseThe	ROSE (crying) Where am I? I never " know " where the fuck I am! All these fucking clouds look alike! Dennis leans over and touches	EM	
13	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	rage to her, " I pay a guy a hundred dollars a week to fuck my wife and they call that modern medicine? " He told the story when	LU	
14	1978	FIC	Whistle	Frances said. " Oh, no. No, sir. Let's just fuck. I'll find somebody else to come with later. I'm not going	LU	
15	1974	FIC	SomethingHappene	lucky? What decided to sort me into precisely this slot? (What the fuck makes anyone think I am in control, that I can be any different from	EM	
16	1971	FIC	Tenants	told Lesser. " Suppose I don't play? " " If you gon fuck black you gon face black, " said the light-skinned woman, Jacob's friend	LU	
17	1979	FIC	GoodAsGold	was already on his feet, gushing twenty-dollar tips and magniloquentapologies like a fountain. Fuck him, steamed Gold, dispensingones and fives with the readiest of hollow laughs to	C	
18	1976	FIC	Mov:Network	the show in collaboration with the News Division, so Hackett told the FBI to fuck off. We're standing on the First Amendment: freedom of the press and	US	
19	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	and we're about out of petrol, partner. Well, why in the fuck did you stop here, man? Pace asked, looking around. Jesus,	EM	
20	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	. Got to stay in touch, he thinks and takes several unsteady steps. Fuck this, man. Just fuck this. Jimbo stops and takes a deep breath	C	
21	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	man. This is the one that kills me. Oh Jesus. Where the fuck are we anyway? I'm not sure, Jimbo said and offered Pace a	EM	
22	1974	FIC	LoveFeast	You understand? " The manager nodded: very bright eyes. " Well, fuck you for a start, " Mr. Kullers said, whacking InspectorHeller across the back	C	

23	1976	FIC	Mov:Network	Hackett's trying to get through to you. MAXTell Mr. Hackett to go fuck himself. -- 30 -- HOWARD (on console) I don't have	US	
24	1979	FIC	Mov:RoseThe	supposed to do? ROSEOh, Rudge, if I knew, what the fuck would I need you for? She continues walking, Rudge alongside. ROSE	EM	
25	1978	FIC	Whistle	between them. " " You can bet your ass on that. She'll fuck anything as long as it's not a boy her own age, race,	LU	
26	1975	FIC	Play:Fishing	out, at least that's what I've been told, so what the fuck. And, of course, I adore the sea. BILL BARENBERG Hang on	EM	
27	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	said to Cully, " Remember, they gamble where they shit and where they fuck. When the father dies, the son will keep coming here. For three	LU	
28	1977	FIC	Mov:SmokeyBandit	240 INSIDE THE EIGHTEEN-WHEELER A TRUCKER with a flattop grins to himself. Cops. Fuck' em. CUT TO 241 BANDIT I - MOVING - DAY Taking the curves	C	
29	1979	FIC	Mov:RoseThe	singer ladies in the history of the world. Pure and simple. Don't fuck it up... (sits down close to her).. Sweetcheeks.	FI	Damage; destroy
30	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	down to enjoy the conversation with the heart lady, giving advice on her first fuck. He was putting her on a little. " Listen, " he said	LU	
31	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	Jimbo says and smacks his sock-covered right fist into his left palm. What the fuck are you wearing that sock on your hand for anyway, man? You're	EM	
32	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	n't mean that, Pat. You don't really want to do that. Fuck I don't. Just' cause you weren't man enough. What,	AC	
33	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	to straight fuck for the first time out. It won't be a good fuck for the guy because you'll be a little scared. The thing to do	LU	
34	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	the punk on when you're straight, man. Boring, Boots says. Fuck, man, Stark can take Bodine anytime. Drunk as a skunk, man	EX	
35	1973	FIC	Pentimento	of how the rest of the day's going to go, I better not fuck up my head. " " It's hard, but you've got to	FI	Damage; destroy
36	1972	FIC	Mov:GanjaHess	.. So -- 34 -- I have to sell three bracelets to get the fuck outta there. So George has got to fork up some back alimony..	EM	
37	1979	MAG	Harpers	interpret Sad Sack, " the army's and the war's' pore dumb fuck' of an eternal victim. " The soldier in this photograph is preeminently one	NC	
38	1975	FIC	GoodeysLastStand	, anxious that Maher shouldn't do anything to imperil his new stripes. " Fuck Miranda, " he said. " You know it, and you can explain	C	
39	1975	FIC	Ragtime	is absolutely no possibility of absolution and redemption, and... " " What the fuck're you babblin about, Baxter? " asked SpermwhaleWhalen who was suddenly behind Baxter	EM	

40	1977	FIC	Trans-Siberian	You Russians and your rules. He kissed her hair again. " Fuck the rules, " he said in English. " What? " " It	C	
41	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	.. fuck THAT! " Hymiereflected. " That already I would like to fuck. " " Only one time that was... " " Is he fulla shit	LU	
42	1970	FIC	Play:HappyBirthday	himself Oh, shit. p. 30 LOOSELEAF Finding enough encouragement in thisHow everybody says " fuck " and " shit " all the time. I used to be scared shitless	LU	
43	1976	FIC	RatnersStar	genitals to his mouth, God how miserable he looks when a meal or a fuck isn't on time, that's what an orderly life is about I suppose	LU	
44	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	, he thinks and takes several unsteady steps. Fuck this, man. Just fuck this. Jimbo stops and takes a deep breath. Captain Rebel Without a Cause	C	
45	1970	FIC	Play:Moonchildren	shut up? I'm trying to tell you guys something. COOTIE Well, fuck you, I'm talking to Norman. You want him to get all the	C	
46	1971	FIC	SeasonWitch	I remember most clearly is lying there with my eyes wide open wondering what the fuck we were going to do next. For a while at least I must have	EM	
47	1976	FIC	Harpers	s lawyer. " No. shit! " he said. " Wish a fuck I met you six months ago! " Soon he was babbling freely about how	EM	
48	1976	FIC	RatnersStar	about a lot in these dark night drives, how to fuck, how to fuck better, how to fuck several men at the same time, how many cocks	LU	
49	1976	FIC	Mov:NextStopGree	think you're my prisoner? -- 101 -- SARAHSometimes. LARRYThen go fuck yourself and go to Tibet. I don't care what you do.	US	
50	1978	FIC	Mov:AnUnmarriedV	ERICANineteen? JEANNETTEBut he's very mature. ELAINEThe problem is does she fuck him or does she adopt him. Erica waves to the waitress. ERICAI	LU	
51	1974	FIC	WarBetweenTates	he too might -- And Sara? Yes, why not? A good hard fuck, to shut her mouth for a while. Picturing this scene in his mind	LU	
52	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	got nothing to do with pride. Screw the bubble reputation, I say, fuck fame and shove I. Gobble genes and blast being. I pass. " Crainpool	C	
53	1977	FIC	ParisOne	smiled. Oh, my God, she thought, if I really have to fuck this character I won't be able to live with myself. I laughed off	LU	
54	1978	FIC	Whistle	is my thing. " " Shit on it, " Landers smiled. " Fuck it. " He passed across a sour, hard, unreadable look. "	C	
55	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	on old Judy. The joke was on everyone but Jimbo. Let Hutch Bodine fuck her all he wanted. Jimbo didn't give a royal shit anymore. Let	LU	
56	1972	FIC	Semi-Tough	being greater than Bronko Grange or Doak Rockne. Stay with the tape recorder. Fuck the game. Games have a way of ruining a perfectly good week. Tryin	C	

57	1975	FIC	Ragtime	Dean didn't answer Roscoe became angrier. His hairlessbrows puckered and whitened. " Fuck it! Who cares if all these rotten motherfuckers take gas. They're all	EX	Ex. Prag. Marker
58	1971	FIC	Tenants	? Like with your meat tool? You got no girl, who do you fuck other than your hand? " Lesser said he made out now and then.	LU	
59	1974	NF	WillItGrowInClassr	and trying to tell them that their only road is school. In order to fuck the system you have to join it. Education is the true revolutionary gun to	FI	Damage; destroy
60	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	too fast for me. I missed. I catch him I'm going to fuck all over him. " He goes through the revolving doors and out into the	FI	Damage; destroy
61	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	of the car. Whew, he thinks, leaning back against the door. Fuck, I am shitfaced. Whew. Jimbo squints his eyes in the strange bluegreen	EX	
62	1976	FIC	Mov:TaxiDriver	his jeans. He is starting to come apart.) TRAVISFuck it! Fuck it! Fuck it! Fuck it! Fuck it! Fuck it! Fuck	EX	
63	1976	FIC	Mov:Network	Archie Bunker. You're going to be a household word. AHMEDWhat the fuck are you talking about? A rataplan of kettledrums and a tarantara of trumpets alerts	EM	
64	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	Big enough, " Marshall told the potted plants. " So go fuck yourself. " " Know anything about hockey? " Marshall returned. " Yeah	US	
65	1979	FIC	GoodAsGold	I'm not myself today. " " Yes, you are, you rotten fuck. " " He said please pass some soup and duck, " screeched Belle	NC	
66	1978	FIC	Whistle	, he might easily have drawn a general court. " Well, what the fuck am I supposed to do about that? " Winch said, in a kind	EM	
67	1979	FIC	Incandescence	he says. I nod. " Well, " says my father, " fuck him. They aren't swelling. " He turns back to the television,	C	
68	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	fat summer leaves on the trees around the small clearing and he shivered again. Fuck it, he thought and lay back on the still warm hood and slowly blew	EX	Ex. Prag. Marker
69	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	didn't shoot you? When? What happened? Forget it, squirt. Fuck, Boomer! Come on. Goddamn it, squirt! I said forget it	EX	
70	1976	FIC	Mov:Network	distribution. LAUREEN (whose nerves have worn thin, explodes) Don't fuck with my distribution costs! I'm getting a lousy two-fifteen per segment, and	FI	Interfere
71	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	. They had it in the public library only it was under Closed Shelf. Fuck it and never mind. More on May 3, 1938Why I wrote never mind	EX	Ex. Prag. Marker
72	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	. And I am already sick enough. Bullshit! Jimbo yells. Stay the fuck out of my room! For a backhand it is a good blow, quick	EM	
73	1979	FIC	Mov:Hardcore	He'll string you out again. Gestures to his veins. NIKIYou can fuck off, too. MASTYou're taking a big chance. NIKI ai	US	

74	1978	FIC	Harpers	till Jason? " " She said that? " " What. " " Fuck. " " Yes. She was talking nice to him again, like he	LU	
75	1970	FIC	ElectricCotillion	of Chaneltingedqueen sweat emanating from hot satin and velvet (God willing, I'll fuck' em all!); if Brooks was going to fink he was going	LU	
76	1979	FIC	Play:StillLife	war back homeand none of us could look at it. MARK I wanted to fuck my brains out. CHERYL God, I was naive.I was naive as they come.And	LU	
77	1974	FIC	WarBetweenTates	, I asked you a question. " " Oh, why don't you fuck off. " " Don't speak to me like that. " He pulls	US	
78	1973	FIC	Mov:LastDetailThe	the Navy, shitbird, and you are in transit, nobody knows where the fuck you are. Now go tell the MAA to fuck himself. I ain't	EM	
79	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	Frankie says quietly, squinting his eyes at Tweel. But it's over. Fuck that! Tweel squeals. Stark suckerpunched Hutch! Yeah, Stark suckerpunched Hutch!	C	
80	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	turned around, she said You don't like the taste kiss my ass and fuck on you. May 16, 1938 Mom didn't feel good, we went	UN	Possible typo? Meant 'fuck you'?
81	1975	NF	RangelandManager	why Mr. Justice Harlan once explained that the government can't constitutionallyremove the word " fuck " from the public vocabulary, since " one man's vulgarity is another's	LU	
82	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	Hudson said.' It's way past things we know about.' Fuck everything,' Eddy said and pushed his hat back on his head.'	C	
83	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	. And I am already sick enough. Bullshit! Jimbo yells. Stay the fuck out of my room! For a backhand it is a good blow, quick	EM	
84	1977	FIC	ProfessorDesire	I had one. I don't care who wears whose dress -- oh, fuck it, forget it, I quit. " Then on a Saturday morning late	EX	Ex. Prag. Marker
85	1979	FIC	Mov:RoseThe	water is fine. Is that what you say, girls? Or do you say Fuck this Shit?!!!! (wild applause) I had enough of	C	
86	1974	FIC	ManWithNoShadov	saw the dark, black-Irish dark, handsome face of the man who had said Fuck you, Mr. Ernest Hemingway. " What's the matter with that kid of	C	
87	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	status, didn't it? And all the self-pity you can guzzle? " Fuck you, " he muttered to himself. He went to the window and looked	C	
88	1973	FIC	Play:Gabe	then. Well, watch me. ROSIE Dance with me. Watch me. Fuck him. VONNE Turn off that radio. Turn off that fucking radio. ROSIE	C	
89	1970	FIC	Play:HappyBirthday	or shit " in public, by accident. Now everybody says " fuck " and " shit, " " fuck " and " shit " all the	LU	
90	1974	FIC	SomethingHappene	I asked. Take your hand out of your pocket. " " Fuck you. " " Okay. " " On the desk? " " Pretend	C	
91	1971	FIC	Play:MadDogBlues	with you just because you can't see the sun in the morning. YAHOODI Fuck you! KOSMO Fuck you! WACO He had heart. That's what he	C	

92	1972	MAG	Harpers	rage: " Goddamn uckin' niggers! " A voice yelled back: " Fuck, uu, honky! " Some blacks thought of rushing the whites. lle	C	
93	1970	FIC	Play:TommyAllenSh	. TOMMY 3 Push, pull. Lick, lick. Push, pull, fuck! Fuck! Push, pull, suck, suck. Push, pull,	LU	
94	1971	FIC	Play:MadDogBlues	. Your friend is safe and sound in San Francisco. YAHOO! Fuck him! Fuck my friend! What good's he do me now? (to MARLENE)	C	
95	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	seven. That keeps us even. Hey, speaking of loot, what the fuck happened to all your wad, man? A two-week drunk for one thing.	EM	
96	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	I was just jiving you about him kicking your ass, man. But, fuck, man, it's going to be a bad news brawl. And you	EX	
97	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	, " said Simon. " Sure, " said Marshall. " Fuck you fuck you fuck curiosity, " said Hymie. " I would like to know "	C	
98	1975	FIC	Ragtime	Dive! Dive! Dive! " What? " " Get the fuck outta here! " Francis yelled and Calvin pulled away, leaving Wolfgang and the	EM	
99	1974	FIC	FanClub	be made love to, you don't make love with me anymore, you fuck me; I sat on the steps with him and he held my hand and	LU	
100	1971	FIC	Tenants	on home. " " Couldn't you come with me? " " Go fuck yourself. " " If I could what would you do for kicks? "	US	
1	2000	FIC	Ploughshares	14519 Johanna just wants to fuck baseball players. Baseball. She harbors no lust for the thunder boys of basketball	LU	
2	2004	MAG	RollingStone	a novelist be a hell of a lot better than working at day jobs? Fuck, yeah! But I didn't want to break my focus. # Was	EM	cf. Ljung p.89
3	2001	FIC	Play:ShapeThings	test tomorrow, anyway PHILLIP statement, she says! EVELYN ANN THOMPSON shut the fuck up, alright? just fuck right off how would you know? i think	EM	
4	2005	FIC	Mov:JacketThe	DR. GRIES Hold him while I get the tranquilizer. ## DAMON # Fuck the tranquilizer! I got a foot. # DAMON KICKS Starks hard in the	C	
5	2000	FIC	Pure	are designed not to absorb moisture. Nice talking to you, hippy.' Fuck off back to your caravan.' I dropped it in the waste basket as	US	
6	2001	FIC	BrownSugarCollect	again. He filled me like no man ever had before. He did not fuck me in the usual way of big men, all clumsy power and push.	LU	
7	2002	FIC	Play:Faster	bills and he throws in a new set of Michelins. SKRAM Finally get the fuck outta this heat. Away from this nowhere-ass town. KITCHIN Nowhere-ass, ho-infested,	EM	
8	2009	FIC	LastSecretNovel	, or stay here. " He leans close. " For all # the fuck I care! " He storms out. # " Eddie! " # The	AC	
9	2001	FIC	FantasySciFi	, slapping his sides, " tons of it. Robbed a bank. Spray-painted fuck you' all over the school. Swiped some cars. Jerked off on Meggie	C	

10	2009	FIC	BeatReaperNovel	? " # " Not since last night, " he says. # " Fuck, " I say out loud. # Sure enough, a woman five doors	EX	
11	2000	FIC	Play:JesusHoppedA	', whatever ya need, " next day it's, " Yo, fuck that niggah, B, got better things to do. " People, they	C	
12	2005	FIC	Mov:TwelveAndHo	out. Gon na head back to school, or... # # KENNY # Fuck school. I'm going to live with my Dad in New Mexico. He	C	
13	2000	FIC	SecretHonor	of flame and crushed aluminum. Or that they really didn't know what the fuck had happened to him, he just hadn't come back; and later some	EM	
14	2000	FIC	TimbuktuNovel	, that could only mean he was a lot drunker than he supposed. " Fuck you, mister, " Willy said, and without giving the matter another thought	C	
15	2005	FIC	Play:ThisIsHowItGo	are you! Wow. You two are -- CODY PHIPPS I'm outta here fuck you. MAN You just keep your end of things up I'll do the	C	
16	2002	FIC	FantasySciFi	growled him away from their Nibbles, or tried to mount him from behind and fuck him in the bottom. # " Hey, cool it! " Dazzle yelped	LU	
17	2005	FIC	Ploughshares	and wish you'd never gotten married or had kids in the first place. Fuck all of you. " Then the police came and hauled him away. #	C	
18	2007	FIC	LeanMeanThirteen	time you were in his office? Is this the Dickie you told to go fuck hisself? Is this the Dickie you were married to for fifteen minutes in another	US	
19	2000	FIC	Play:JesusHoppedA	p. 5 GUARD Cruz! ANGEL CRUZ " Our Father -- " GUARD Shut the fuck up! ANGEL CRUZ Fuck you! GUARD What? ANGEL CRUZ " Our Father	EM	
20	2000	FIC	Play:JesusHoppedA	who art in heaven -- " INMATES #1, 2, & 3 Shut the fuck up! p. 4 ANGEL CRUZ Hal -- Hal-hallowed! Hallowed be thy name!	EM	
21	2009	FIC	VisiblesNovel	Seriously. Time to go. " # Claire put her head down. " Fuck off. " # My father's eyes widened. Mine did, too.	US	
22	2001	FIC	Play:WillHeBopWill	... let me keep my clothes! p. 16 JACK BOOKER Shut the fuck up and take off your clothes. LARRY What are you gon na do,	EM	
23	2001	FIC	ShameDevilNovel	the butt out to the street. God, it was hot. What the fuck was he doing here, anyway? Sure, he'd done his share of	EM	
24	2004	FIC	Mov:Feast	. Adulterer squirms. # HEROINE # You understand me? # ADULTERER # Get the fuck off... HEROINE You understand me!? ADULTERER Yes! # HEROINE # Now	EM	
25	2005	FIC	Mov:Hostage	KEVIN # It's over. We have to give up. # DENNIS # Fuck it's over. That money's mine. # KEVIN # That money's	AC	
26	2005	FIC	Mov:LandDead	# Foxy. You're elected. Get out there # and see what the fuck. # Foxy moves out through the open hatch. # CHOLO (CONT'D	EM	
27	2007	FIC	FantasySciFi	, it was supposed to be good luck to see a green person - or fuck a green person. It depended on who was telling the story. And apparently	LU	

28	2001	FIC	Play:WillHeBopWill	the naming of the shrew -- BRENDA BOOKER If the shrew fits -- JACK BOOKER Fuck her within an inch of her life. (Jack and Gloria's passions build	LU	
29	2005	FIC	Mov:TwelveAndHo	movie.) # KENNY (CONT'D) (cont'd) What the fuck is that? # # JACOB # If people see me riding around in the	EM	
30	2000	FIC	Ploughshares	I've always wanted to be a ballplayer, but I've never wanted to fuck one. # " You sure about that, Ted? " she asks.	LU	
31	2005	FIC	Mov:Hostage	, screaming and waving his gun -- # DENNIS # Shut up! Shut the fuck up! Walter Smith slowly stands -- # WALTER # None of you will get	EM	
32	2007	FIC	BackNine	said from behind a newspaper. " It's fuckin' embarrassing. " " Fuck you, Figgs, " he replied. " Starin' at the parking lot	C	
33	2004	FIC	Mov:BatmanYearO	to walk away, then spins around? GORDON (CONT'D) Aww, FUCK it.? and kicks the stricken, laughing FLASS in the ribs producing a	EX	Ex. Prag. Marker
34	2005	FIC	Ploughshares	thing Sam remembered was telling the man, " Fuck you. Fuck you, fuck your screaming family, fuck your RV, and fuck Disneyland-or wherever the fuck you	C	
35	2000	FIC	Play:JesusHoppedA	I am a real lawyer, and you are my real client. ANGEL CRUZ Fuck that! MARY JANE HANRAHAN You wan na see the paperwork? ANGEL CRUZ Fuck	C	
36	2007	FIC	SkinSkin	a startling revelation. He'd finally met a woman he liked too much to fuck. For the past seven months he'd shoved any and all sexual thoughts aside	LU	
37	2007	FIC	BobbieFayesVery	stood, flinching as the icy water covered her ankles. " Fuck. Damn fuck fuckity shit. " " Mamma says you shouldn't cuss so much. "	EX	
38	2000	FIC	Play:JesusHoppedA	understand why I brought the mothahfuckah down, and if he don't, then fuck him! I'm juss a ordinary man, I ain't no martyr,	C	
39	2005	FIC	SouthernRev	room. I hear Bradley whisper up at his mother, " Grandma said' fuck.' " # I peek my head into the boys' room, where	LU	
40	2009	FIC	HoodLifeBentley	I can feel their glares before I even get out of the car. # Fuck' em. They don't like me and I sure as hell don't	C	
41	2001	MAG	Ms	straight at the ugly pink mouth in the hole of the mask. # " Fuck! " # She crashed backward into the steering wheel as her armwas released.	EX	
42	2000	FIC	Play:JesusHoppedA) You shut the fuck up. INMATE #3 All y'all niggas best shut the fuck up! ANGEL CRUZ " Our father who art in heaven -- " INMATES #1	EM	
43	2000	FIC	Cheaters	my head. He whispered, " Find' em. Fool' em. Fuck' em. Forget' em. " I didn't know what he meant	LU	
44	2007	FIC	AgnesHitman	on the situation. How are you feeling right now, Agnes? Shut the fuck up, Dr. Garvin. Don't say " fuck, " Agnes. Angry	EM	
45	2001	FIC	TinCollectors	his boned-out next-door neighbor, picked up the phone. " Whoever this is, fuck you " was the way he came on the line. " Sorry, Brian	C	

46	2003	FIC	SouthernRev	but he's also thinking, not saying out loud, just thinking, Fuck you, you little shit, like most fathers would think but not say under	C	
47	2005	FIC	Mov:Hostage	to Mr. Smith. I want to hear it from him. # DENNIS # Fuck you. I'm running this shit. You talk to me. # TALLEY #	C	
48	2004	FIC	Mov:LadykillersThe	melon, and the gun is a melon- baller, and -- GAWAIN What the fuck you talkin' about, man? You think this a melon-baller, you do	EM	
49	2006	FIC	Ploughshares	from inside. She pulled the door shut behind her. # " What the fuck's going on out here? Freddie, you in trouble again? " #	EM	
50	2002	FIC	LookingChetBaker	Powell's obtrusive drumming lent little to the evening's performance. What the fuck does he know? He's a critic. Derek winks at me.	EM	
51	2001	FIC	Ravelstein	thementertain them actually, as histrionic lecturers doby shouting " Shit! " or " Fuck! " There was nothing at all of the campus wildman about him. His	EX	
52	2005	FIC	Mov:IslandThe	confounded. # # DIGGS # Then - with all due respect - how the fuck do you expect us to find them? # # SCHEER # Because you wo	EM	
53	2004	MAG	Bazaar	. She may be like, " You're a great guy, let's fuck.' The Saint Laurent woman is more twisted, more perverse. She is	LU	
54	2002	FIC	SouthernRev	every circumstance was confirmation of some stupidity, of fate stacking the odds. " Fuck, " was all he could manage to say for hours. " Fuckin'	EX	
55	2000	FIC	FantasySciFi	Go to your whores.... They'll take care of you.... Leave me the fuck alone.... The voice dwindled to a whine and footsteps started down the stairs.	EM	
56	2003	FIC	LeslieNovel	Okay? Because I don't want your father to disown you. That would fuck it up for all of us. I like this house. I really do	FI	Damage; destroy
57	2001	FIC	MrPerfect	house. Jaine stared after him, shocked. A cop? " Well, fuck, " she said.	EX	
58	2007	MAG	Esquire	. " It's all about the food, " he says, " and fuck everything else. " His customers tend to agree. Suit (\$1,484) and	C	
59	2009	FIC	Unconditionally	Valentino's cell phone and mine were in the trunk of their SUV. " Fuck. Now what? " I was certain that SUV belonged to Valentino's baby	EX	
60	2006	FIC	SimplePlanNovel	was the first to speak. " Fuck, " he said softly. " Fuck, fuck, fuck. " Lou giggled a little at that and pushed open	EX	
61	2004	FIC	Mov:LadykillersThe	! He shoves Gawain. PANCAKE... Be a man! # GAWAIN # You fuck! He shoves him back. Pancake shoves: PANCAKE Be a man! #	NC	
62	2005	FIC	SlimNone Novel	. Adios your butt and your golf clubs down the road. I don't fuck for food anymore. " What happened was, Cheryl had turned about half socialite	LU	

63	2000	FIC	SouthernRev	as much as I was going to dislike answering it. # " Get the fuck away from me. " # " This doesn't have to be nasty.	EM	
64	2002	FIC	Play:OurLady121st	belt right here in this bar! PINKY VELASQUEZ Why? EDWIN VELASQUEZ Where the fuck you been?! p. 77 PINKY VELASQUEZ Out? EDWIN VELASQUEZ What time I	EM	
65	2008	FIC	FineJustWayItIs	machine worked. # The kid looked at Berenice's camera. " What the fuck do you care? " he said. " What are you doin out here	EM	
66	2000	FIC	Play:LaramieProject	I saw Aaron now I'd be like, " Man, why'd you fuck up like that? " But, I'd want to make sure he's	FI	Damage; destroy
67	2002	FIC	Play:Faster	who? KITCHIN The fish, B. The fish. SKRAM What fish? KITCHIN Fuck if I know! SKRAM Protect us from what? p. 28 KITCHIN Prolly some	EM	
68	2007	FIC	TrueGame	145th Street to get a Willie burger. She loved Willie burgers. Nothing could fuck with them in the middle of the night. No lie, like 125th Street	FI	Damage; destroy
69	2003	FIC	HerShoes	, feeling the familiar fury coursing through her veins. Maggie takes everything. " Fuck youuuu! " Maggie brayed, and twisted her body from side to side,	C	
70	2009	FIC	MysticArtsErasing	# -- Sure. # I looked back at her. # -- What the fuck am I doing here? # She ran a hand through her hair, let	EM	
71	2000	FIC	Play:JesusHoppedA	I don't need anything! MARY JANE HANRAHAN Angel -- ANGEL CRUZ Get the fuck outta here! Go on! Get out! MARY JANE HANRAHAN Did you shoot	EM	
72	2001	FIC	NeverChange	exactly like scrambled eggs. No way is this normal. All I do is fuck up, and he don't even cry. Can you call me? Sorry	FI	Damage; destroy
73	2000	FIC	Play:JesusHoppedA	own volition. It got a nice home inside a you rent-free! Why the fuck it gon na leave without being kicked out? It's time to serve them	EM	
74	2003	FIC	ShortForever	at the Nineteenth Precinct. So, he said, I see you managed to fuck up another relationship. Jesus, Dino, I did nt do anything, Stone	FI	Damage; destroy
75	2006	FIC	HotNight	's hair, jerked his head up. " Apologize to her. " " Fuck you, " Edgar wheezed. " I'll have you arrested, you scumbag	C	
76	2000	FIC	MusicTorching	to Elaine and lifts her skirt again. She turns around. " Don't fuck with me, " she says, grabbing a carving knife from the counter and	FI	Damage; destroy
77	2009	FIC	Unconditionally	. I'd call her again when it was safe. # " What the fuck is your problem, Valentino? " I said. " Onyx is not going	EM	
78	2003	FIC	ThievesParadise	and roundhouse kicks and spinning back kicks became my trademark. I said, " Fuck you. " With his other hand he grabbed the front of my throat and	C	
79	2004	FIC	Mov:ManOnFire	# # ROSANNA # (smiles back) You only give information so you can fuck me. # # MANZANO # A beautiful circle. # He kisses her,	LU	

80	2002	FIC	Play:Faster	it bein all locked down in that hospital chair. I mean, what the fuck is wrong wif you, G? You got like muscular catastrophe or some shit	EM	
81	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	Why didn't I call. Good question. ## KWON # What the fuck do I care, you think it's a good question?! Are you	EM	
82	2006	FIC	SimplePlanNovel	speak. " Fuck, " he said softly. " Fuck, fuck, fuck. " Lou giggled a little at that and pushed open his door. We	EX	
83	2005	FIC	Mov:Hostage	neck -- Dennis aims his gun -- # DENNIS # You're dead, you fuck. Mars calmly pulls the girl in front of him, blocking Dennis's aim	NC	
84	2009	FIC	LosersTownDavid	you know that? " # " All I'm saying is that I'd fuck her. If she was alive. " # Potts made a disgusted face.	LU	
85	2007	FIC	FantasySciFi	of voices screaming in her head: one of them shouting, " What the fuck! " and another, " What are you doing? " and a third	EM	
86	2002	FIC	Play:MercySeat	if you want to, or keep a can-dlelight vigil, I don't care fuck! (Beat.) How did we even get on this? ABBY PRESCOTT	EX	Missing comma or period?
87	2004	FIC	LiquorNovel	he took no notice. " Fuck Jesse Honeycombe, fuck Brian Danton, and fuck Jerod Biggs too. Fuck' em all. " " Rickey... " "	C	
88	2004	FIC	TenBigOnes	to get onto the bike and realized his tire was blown to smithereens. " Fuck, " the guy said. " FUCK! " " I didn't do	EX	
89	2000	FIC	ForkInRoadNovel	throat, smiled. " Buy you a drink? " he whispered. " Fuck off, Yank! " she shouted in a voice twice her size, which	US	
90	2009	FIC	HittinBricksUrban	My duji and my dick! Ya feel me? Eva # grown enough to fuck with my man and dabble in my shit? # Then she grown enough to	FI	Interfere
91	2006	FIC	MagicTime	would be watching for his reaction. He felt a jab of indignation. " Fuck that, " he said under his breath. The thought that his condition might	C	
92	2005	FIC	Mov:Hostage	looking straight down into his deepest fears. He finally relents -- # DENNIS # Fuck you, Talley, fuck you! You and one other guy, but that	C	
93	2004	FIC	Mov:MariaFullGrac	# Let her go. ## CARLOS # (in English) Shut the fuck up. # He shoves her against the van. # CARLOS (cont'd)	EM	
94	2002	FIC	SouthernRev	to play peacemaker for a while, but that was hopeless. Let's not fuck up the music, I kept saying. But I lost track of the Turkish	FI	Damage; destroy
95	2006	FIC	WolfBoyNovel	tired ghost stories about the many one-armed child killers who lived in the neighborhood. Fuck the world. If Stephen had owned anything deadlier than a squirt gun he would	C	
96	2004	FIC	SweetLandStories	put her forearms flat on a chair so that I could raise her frock and fuck into her in the way she preferred. It did nt take that long,	LU	

97	2006	FIC	SimplePlanNovel	into the woods after the fox. Jacob was the first to speak. " Fuck, " he said softly. " Fuck, fuck, fuck. " Lou	EX	
98	2002	FIC	FearlessJones	, in a back room in Watts, Paris Minton would show some backbone. Fuck you, asshole, was on the tip of my tongue. " Please do	C	
99	2006	FIC	Ploughshares	You, I said, charging at him. " What in the fuck are you doing with my sister? Why is she in her undershirt? "	EM	
100	2004	FIC	Mov:Feast	BOZO # Why don't you go check it out? # BEER GUY # Fuck no. ADULTERER (into cell phone) I have a signal! I have	EM	cf. Ljung p.89

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COHA							FUCKING		Functional analysis	
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD	CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES			
							0 instances in 1910 section			
0 instances in 1940 section										
1	1970	FIC	Play:Moonchildren		and he also happens to be queer as a three-dollar bill, and Dick is fucking his wife to keep her quiet so good old Roper can suck cock with all	LU				
2	1979	FIC	SilverGhost		. Plato has faith in me. Faith. That figures, Pace says. Fucking Donald Duck. Plato is my new trainer, man. Because Plato has faith	EM				
3	1977	FIC	Mov:GauntletThe		fiercely) You didn't tell me that, did you? It was the fucking mob that set the line on us -- kept raising the odds. Who the	EM				
4	1979	FIC	SilverGhost		to where the Silver Ghost is parked. You stay the fuck down in the fucking seat, champ, Pace says toJimbo and starts up the engine quietly, with	EM				
5	1976	FIC	Trinity		only now come to realize that it will be the only way to throw your fucking asses out of Ireland. " 1897When the villagers of Ballyutogue exhaled, they did	EM				
6	1979	FIC	SilverGhost		scene, man. Yes, it was. Yes, it was a great fucking scene, Frankie says. He blows on his cigarette's ember. And remember	EM				

7	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	that door too. And how's about knocking for a change? Oh Jesus fucking Christ, Jimbo said aloud. He thought he was going to be sick.	EX	
8	1977	FIC	ProfessorDesire	As I remember, it was the fucking eggs that were burned. The fucking toast never got put in. " I used to not mail your letters	EM	
9	1971	FIC	SeasonWitch	I'm thinking, Wow, how can you be dead if you're so fucking beautiful? " (I'm tempted to interrupt him, to tell him I	IN	Expresses high degree
10	1978	FIC	Harpers	Then she'll be back. " Not this time. She's fucking somebody. " Chris looked up, shaking his head. Shaking it, he	LU	
11	1974	FIC	Californios	to. That's what they say. " " Then let's fire the fucking old cunt. None of us like her. p267She doesn't like us. She	IN	Expresses high degree
12	1978	FIC	Whistle	short-lived, if he was going out of this fucking hospital and back into the fucking war. It had just built up in him. There was no way on	EM	
13	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	that door too. And how's about knocking for a change? Oh Jesus fucking Christ, Jimbo said aloud. He thought he was going to be sick.	MI	Text duplication (cf. #7)
14	1972	FIC	Harpers	found much peace and pleasure in this sharing of the rib, and called it fucking. Thus, he was still naming things. Perhaps because it rhymed with luck	LU	
15	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	his bloody head. Jesus, Jimbo thought, what a joke. What a fucking cartoon. Just as Jimbo spotted his switchblade in the deep grass and reached for	AD	
16	1973	FIC	Mov:LastDetailThe	to his fucking mother, understand? I hate this detail. I hate this fucking chickenshit detail. He goes after Meadows. 58 Int. Train Bathroom -- Moving	EM	
17	1976	FIC	SpectatorBird	You don't know nothing. Then she goes sneaking upstairs. You hear this fucking laugh of hers. " " And I caught the bitch in this room.	EM	
18	1973	FIC	Play:Gabe	fire on the lake. VONNE You can fuck off. You and your fine fucking talk about big talkers and white men with turnips for brains. GABE Louis not	EM	
19	1971	FIC	MerryMonthMay	said it often, especially when in his cups, " what are the real fucking churches of today, in mid twentieth century? Where is the one fucking place	EM	
20	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	of a studio. Then you have to be mother and father to some crazy fucking stars. You have to keep the crews happy or they murder you with malingering	EM	
21	1972	FIC	Harpers	good, they got bi anyway. This added purpose and energy to thei: fucking, but did little to improve their technique It was like the sting of conscience	LU	
22	1970	FIC	ElectricCotillion	back, reached for his pants. " Oh, go ahead and keep the fucking things on if you want. Bitch. " Val started seaward again, stopped	EM	

23	1978	FIC	Whistle	him rebellious. His rebelliousness included Linda. If Linda didn't care much about fucking him any more, and probably never had done, Strange guessed that was her	LU	
24	1972	FIC	Mov:Deliverance	DOCTOR (looking up and grinning, and holding up one hand) You're fucking aye. Hands of an angel. Cut to Scene in DOCTOR's car,	IN	Expresses high degree
25	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	usually screenwriters. Maybe that was because everyone rewrote their scripts. Everybody put his fucking two cents in. Even the script girl would change a line or two,	EM	
26	1972	FIC	Mov:Deliverance	you're making whiskey or hunting or rambling around in the woods for your whole fucking life. I don't know what you're doing and I don't care	EM	
27	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	guy like Osano to put out one of his beloved Havana cigars because of a fucking dog. Especially when Osano had paid for a first class ticket just to smoke	EM	
28	1978	FIC	Whistle	, who thinks she's such hot shit and number one because she's so fucking beautiful with her tits and long blonde pageboy. You're nothing but a fucking	IN	Expresses high degree
29	1978	FIC	Whistle	was dead. " " Where have you been? " " None of your fucking business, you puritan prig. I'll go where I like. And with	EM	
30	1977	FIC	DanielMartin	you'd take your seat, Mr Dillon.' Oh Christ. I'll fucking well report you.' He transferred his grin at her to ine. She	MA	Attitudinal disjunct
31	1974	FIC	MyLifeAsMan	and God only knows what we looked like -- like a couple of Aztecs, fucking up the sacrificial rites. I mean, it's comical when you think about	FI	Damage; destroy
32	1978	FIC	TenderMercies	, all these posh flat-out ranch houses with glass doors you could open with a fucking push button! " Here there are nothing but stairs: the kitchen could be	EM	Scope extends to button
33	1977	FIC	ParisOne	not to exercise her prerogatives, leave the land to the farmers, put the fucking " Paris One " file in a safety deposit box and tell him and the	EM	
34	1975	FIC	Play:Fishing	jerk off. Really. Very heavy day. Oh, things can get so fucking beee-zarre. MARY-ELLEN I don't think I like peyote. RORY Any of that	IN	Expresses high degree
35	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	, " You're the tenth wonder. Married a hundred years and still like fucking your wife. " Sometimes I would give him an irritated look, and he	LU	
36	1976	FIC	Mov:NextStopGree	bastard... Don't give me that arrogant fucking smile or I'll punch your fucking face in... You couldn't stay away from her, could you? Just	EM	
37	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	bondsmen. " " The fucking Supreme Court, " Poslosky says, " the fucking Miranda decision. " " Yeah, Pus. Gee, kid, I could	EM	
38	1976	FIC	Speedboat	? " Sam says, spooning out some crab imperial. " It's the fucking end of the world is what's happening, " J.D. says. The waitress	IN	Expresses high degree of gradable noun

39	1970	FIC	Play: Moonchildren	, shit. NORMAN Well, there was some gas in that can. SHELLY Fucking creeps. NORMAN I definitely smelled gas when I poured it over me. SHELLY	AD	
40	1979	FIC	Incandescence	head. Jack looked me in the eyes. " How come you moving the fucking furniture? " he said. " You behind on the rent? " "	EM	
41	1976	FIC	Speedboat	up with all I'm going to with this jealousy number. You're really fucking me over. I swear to God, I've never been unfaithful to you	FI	Damage; destroy
42	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	Sure, I saw it, man. You're right, man. Great fucking flick. Yeah, man, Tweel squeals, snapping his fingers. Great fucking	EM	
43	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	, Uncle Pace, you cocksucker, Plato the puppet quacks. Plato sounds like fucking Donald Duck, man, Pace says and takes a hit of gin. Yeah	EM	
44	1978	FIC	Mov: AnUnmarried	the shirt. Saul is very strong, very angry. SAUL Mind your dumb fucking manners. You hear me? Saul shoves Charlie away from him. Charlie is	EM	
45	1976	FIC	Mov: TaxiDriver	. Fuck them. No, it was TKR. TCR and I'da made seven fucking grand. Fuck them too. All right, what about the second race?	EM	
46	1977	FIC	ParisOne	the English. " Why, " he asked Delane, " is Grasse so fucking important? They grow roses everywhere. " Delane turned to him. Patiently,	IN	Expresses high degree
47	1970	FIC	DesperateCharacter	young bones, and they hurt. " I must give up either smoking or fucking, " he said. The gray return was before her. It was unthinkable to	LU	
48	1975	FIC	Harpers	they gave you something somebody might like really need you'll think it's this fucking insult-... An armload of mail cascaded to the sofa, ? like I mean	EM	
49	1978	FIC	MortalFriends	the telescope, the camera, and the eye patch? He's like a fucking pirate, spying on me. Even little boys like to paw you over with	AD	
50	1972	FIC	Harpers	rice and tended to alienate then He found he did no writing at all while fucking and vice versa. It could be even worse inbetween times, when he was	LU	
51	1973	FIC	Mov: LastDetailThe	-- BUDDUSKY Then take your fucking twenty-one bucks and don't give me such a fucking hard time. He gives a pile to Mule and one to Meadows. Mule	EM	
52	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	and respectable here in this universe I inhabit. I'm honest, but the fucking laws are leaking, the physical constants bleeding into each other like madras. God	EM	
53	1976	FIC	Mov: Network	We're in fucking trouble down here! He won't let go of the fucking desk. Come on, give us a hand... HARRY HUNTER Turn	IN	Expresses high degree
54	1975	FIC	Ragtime	big mouth shut. " " So do I, " muttered Roscoe. " Fucking ten dollar words. A policeman only needs about a hundred words in his whole	EM	
55	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	Dees cried. His voice rose to a fishwife's shriek. " You're fucking crazy! Forget it! Forget the whole thing, you stupid hick sonofabitch!	IN	Expresses high degree

56	1978	FIC	Mov:BlueCollar	told me what you'd do. You'd do anything to protect your eighteen fucking years. What makes you think your eighteen are more important than my seven --	EM	
57	1977	FIC	PublicBurning	a judge and getting my ass sued off by an irate client in Whittier for fucking up my first big law case, and I figured I might want to go	FI	Damage; destroy
58	1979	FIC	MatareseCircle	him to go to hell! " shouted the woman. " He's a fucking nut, dear. This whole godamn place is filled with nuts! " The	EM	
59	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	Without a Cause ain't gon na stagger-ass like a goddamn drunk nigger across this fucking parking lot, man. No way, man. No fucking way. Imagining	EM	
60	1973	FIC	Mov:LastDetailThe	and I don't want you to fuck me up. Navy's the best fucking thing ever happened to me, understand? 62 Int. Train -- Moving --	EM	
61	1978	FIC	Play:HarmsWay	What's wrong with him? MAN Stiff. Can't you see, a fucking stiff. SANTOUCHE That much I can tell. p. 23 MAN He was being	EM	
62	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	you could say that life itself wasn't a big deal, never mind his fucking literature. And then suddenly I had troubles from an unexpected quarter. One day	EM	
63	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	rest ofp239his life. Now he was going to be grateful forever. A real fucking claim agent weaseling out of his obligations. For the second time Cully felt some	EM	
64	1978	FIC	Whistle	moved his head or eyes, the figure moved in front of them. A fucking obstructionist! By peripheral vision Winch could see the car was edging toward the road	EM	
65	1973	FIC	GreatAmericanNov	beside me with the radio squawking in his hand. " Will you shut that fucking thing off! " I screamed. I do not know why I objected or	EM	
66	1977	FIC	ParisOne	I suppose. Their suits are tacky enough. Hey, you haven't been fucking around with some married woman? Could be her husband and the brother, you	LU	
67	1976	FIC	Mov:TaxiDriver	CABBIEOver at Love, this hooker took on the whole garage. Blew the whole fucking joint and they wouldn't even let her use the drinking fountain. (TRAVIS	EM	
68	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	doomed the whole project before they loaded film into the camera. " " That fucking cunt, " Houlinan said not in anger but with bewilderedhelplessness.	AD	
69	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	infantry. They get killed. And they don't get the important roles by fucking. They have to be proven artists, they have to know their craft.	LU	
70	1973	FIC	PeopleWillAlways	Joe Santini. I'll move my stuff. Christ, what a bomb. Fucking Andrews Sisters. " He was a little dark guy with lightning-quick moves. He	EM	

71	1975	FIC	Play:Fishing	the guy just be walking around like that when he's dying? It's fucking evil. (Car engine starts offstage. Car leaving.) ROBBIE What do	IN	Expresses high degree
72	1973	FIC	BillionDollarSure	and said, in a loud voice, " Henry! Don't make a fucking ass of yourself. " The tableaux on the stage before them changed, this	IN	Expresses high degree of gradable N
73	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	We're necklaces, Crainpool, sugar and spice and everything nice. We're fucking candy. And your cocksucker and muffdiver are only guys with a sweet tooth.	IN	Expresses high degree of gradable N
74	1978	FIC	Whistle	like her, it did not matter to him who she fucked or might be fucking when he was not with her. This was not the case with Linda.	LU	
75	1973	FIC	PeopleWillAlways	What do you mean by that? " His voice sounded prep school. Would fucking operate be better? Easy to swear in your head. " Yeah. That	MA	Modifies verb; attitudinal disjunct?
76	1973	FIC	Play:Gabe	. I'm going to beat him unconscious. I'm going to steal his fucking car. HENRY I'm trying to talk sense to you, Gabie. GABE	EM	
77	1977	FIC	Harpers	. " " I'm going to Compostela. I'm not si foot in fucking Tecan. It's a rathole, a gets on my conscience. " "	EM	
78	1970	FIC	Play:Moonchildren	your grades? DICK (Opens letter): Jesus. RUTH Bad? DICK Fucking awful. RUTH Do you graduate? DICK Yeah, just. RUTH They sent	IN	Expresses high degree
79	1979	FIC	Incandescence	Her tears are as thick as baby oil. " I didn't make one fucking cent! " She looks like she caught her finger in a rattrap: hurt	EM	
80	1975	FIC	Play:Fishing	to get rich and coming down on you' cause you don't want their fucking crazy trip. Just me and Rob and the fish. Us and them.	IN	Expresses high degree
81	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	remembering. When Judy hit the BozoBoat's siren jimbo as always jumped. Jesus fucking Christ! Jimbo shouted. I swear to God I'm going to bust hell	EX	
82	1973	FIC	Mov:LastDetailThe	MULHALLlisten, his old lady can write letters to her congressman till she owns the fucking post office. It don't mean diddly shit. Look, either we let	EM	
83	1976	FIC	Mov:Network	! A great Sunday night show for the whole family. We'll wipe that fucking Disney right off the air. They snigger and snort. Howard lays his head	EM	
84	1970	FIC	WreckageAgathon	and I thought how vicious it was that a person could be annoyed by a fucking tickle at a time like this. I cried harder. " I really am	EM	
85	1976	FIC	Mov:NextStopGree	, slimy bastard. I ought to kick the shit out of you. You fucking bastard... Don't give me that arrogant fucking smile or I'll punch your	AD	
86	1970	FIC	ElectricCotillion	. " " Faggot ass honkie condescending to me, talking to me like a fucking soul brother. " Clarence was on his feet, a wrathful Jesus Christ in	EM	

87	1973	FIC	BillionDollarSure	Stanley suddenly did not like this one little bit. Is this just one big fucking put-on? was the elegant thought ⁵⁵ which struck him as he followed Radazan up two flights	EM	
88	1974	FIC	Californios	. I'm glad he lived. Getting married was my idea. I enjoy fucking my wife. She lets me do it any way I want. No Women	LU	
89	1978	FIC	MortalFriends	I think I really need Laurel, " the man confided to them. " Fucking bucket seats, " the man complained, when they had gingerly squeezed him in	EM	
90	1971	FIC	Play:CowboyMouth	? I've lost track of the time. A long time. A long fucking time. And I'm still not a star! How do you account for	EM	
91	1971	FIC	DreamMuseum	his rush for any checks. " Donovan! " he croaked. " Five fucking essay-type questions on a fucking one-hour exam! I mean! Explain Skinner's Behaviorism	EM	
92	1979	FIC	Mov:RoseThe	a handshake) Howdy. Nice to meet you, sir. RUDGETerrific. Fucking terrific! Keep everybody waiting for hours and what do we get in return?	IN	Expresses high degree
93	1978	FIC	Mov:AnUnmarried	. Charlie gets down on his knees. CHARLIETHis guy is a real, fucking artist. SAULThank you. You may rise. -- 104 -- ERICAYou	EM	
94	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	what I said, " Boomie affirmed. " Sure, I wouldn't mind fucking her and fucking her I wouldn't mind. But I don't feel like	LU	
95	1971	FIC	Play:CowboyMouth	. SLIM Gim me that sausage. Well, goddammit, it's sick. Fucking dead crow sucking me off in the morning. You went too far with that	IN	Expresses high degree
96	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	An artist creates out of nothing but himself, do you understand that, you fucking asshole? He's like a fucking spider, the cobwebs are packed away in	AD	
97	1972	FIC	Play:BuffaloJump	p. 70 DOC SAVAGE You've got to climb outside. You're inside a fucking mountain, for Christ's sake. ED screams. He keeps screaming and struggling	EM	
98	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	goddamn bitch whore! Captain yells as he slams the receiver down. Jesus goddamn fucking Christ! Jimbo has never heard Captain curse like this before. Not these words	EX	
99	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	. Yeah, pussy, Jimbo says and shuts his eyes tightly. Pass that fucking pint, man. My baby loves the western movies. The radio blares from	EM	
100	1971	FIC	DreamMuseum	le's confused. He's down. For god's sake then tweak his fucking nose.' Clementine perched watching from the peak of a barn roof. Carefully	EM	
1	2001	MAG	AmSpect	told me about a recent visit to Ecuador: # There were just malls and fucking McDonald's here and McDonald's there and it's just disgusting. We've	EM	
2	2000	FIC	Glamorama	Who the fuck is Moi? I ask. " I have no fucking idea who this Moi is, baby. " " Victor, please, "	EM	
3	2001	FIC	WinterWolfMoon	to trip you, " I said. " Just calm down. " " Fucking Indians, " he said. " I'm not an Indian, " I	AD	

4	2006	FIC	FantasySciFi	She doesn't stop for a second, just keeps howling and spitting. " Fucking bastard! Bastard fuckingfuckfucking- Do it! Do it! " She's crying.	AD	
5	2003	FIC	Samaritan	in this school from OK to great; the other four percent are just stone fucking assholes taking up space and there's nothing we can do about it. "	AD	
6	2001	FIC	EndangeredSpecies	right. " " Even trying to negotiate with these places, playing their ridiculous fucking games. Giving my family's medical histories to... to men in dingy lab	EM	
7	2005	FIC	FantasySciFi	These days, everybody with a BA knows it. It goes like this: Fucking ducks - You fucking stupid fucking fucking ducks Swimming around And around in your fucking	EM	
8	2001	FIC	SouthernRev	and gone. I'm going to kill them. I'm going to absolutely fucking kill them. # Wesley made twelve dollars an hour, and Dennis knew that	MA	Attitudinal disjunct
9	2003	FIC	BestRevenge	had transported the boxes back to the Denver Field Office, Kelda figured that shethe fucking new guywould be the one who would be assigned to spend the next few weeks	IN	Expresses high degree
10	2002	FIC	SeparationPower	Ellis pointed to himself and shouted, I want a return on my fucking investment! " Clark was about to tell Ellis to calm down, but thought	EM	
11	2008	FIC	MidnightGangster	females feel uneasy. Some look at me in disbelief, like I'm a fucking liar. Others stare off in complete boredom, like it is not a life	IN	Expresses high degree of gradable noun
12	2002	FIC	Ploughshares	times on Saturdays alone. Evvie got to listening for them: if I was fucking her, hearing them pushed her to yelling herself, or, if it was	LU	
13	2003	FIC	RainbowBoys	, just leave me alone. " " I'm sorry, for the thousandth fucking time. " Kyle turned away. " Fine, " Nelson said. "	EM	
14	2009	FIC	BeverlyHillsAdjacer	increasingly familiar after a decade of network television parties. Who fucking cares? Who fucking cares? But her mouth uttered the words she had also come to memorize for	EM	
15	2004	FIC	Mov:MariaFullGrac	(attacking) I hate to break it to you but your sister was a fucking idiot who slept with the first guy that walked by... # # MARIA #	IN	Expresses high degree of gradable noun
16	2004	FIC	TitheModernFaerie	is your old, stupid mother? " " I heard you the first million fucking times you said it. " " Well, you're going to hear it	EM	
17	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	slut can kiss my ass! (to Victim) You hear me, you fucking bitch?! # As Heather spins forward to look at the road, the	AD	
18	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	# He won't to me either. # # HEATHER # Ally! Just fucking try it! # # ALLISON # I don't wan na spy on him	MA	Attitudinal disjunct

19	2006	NF	TigerForceTrue	supposed to be trying to stay alive. Why do you want to join a fucking recon unit? " // Ybarra quickly cut him off. " Look, man	EM	
20	2004	FIC	Mov:BatmanYearO	to his face and feels the blood. CAMPBELL (CONT'D) You're fucking dead. ENRAGED, CAMPBELL moves to block SELINA's escape. He punches her	IN	Expresses high degree
21	2002	FIC	FantasySciFi	? " " Because - " Gammage leaned close again - " he's a fucking hero. Not like you, Maury. This guy's your basic New World	IN	Expresses high degree of gradable noun
22	2006	FIC	SouthernRev	equally unimaginative, replied, What I need is a man who isn't a fucking miser. # If we did nothing else right, Mary thought, Stefani's	IN	Expresses high degree of gradable noun
23	2003	FIC	HandDante	another cigarette. He turned downtown. He kept on walking. Yeah, sixty-three fucking years old last May. And here he was, walking down the avenue like	EM	
24	2009	FIC	WaterDogsNovel	into the living room. After a brief silence, he said, " My fucking saber saw. Don't use my saber saw. " # " I'm	EM	
25	2003	FIC	HandDante	his own sweat-drenched gut coming up from that pool in her belly with a loud fucking smack, again and again, faster and faster, harder and harder, louder	EM	
26	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	Well that's why. (remembering) Anyway, that's neither here nor fucking there. That asshole is using # 68 (re Condoms) these things,	FI	Idiomatic
27	2009	FIC	LosersTownDavid	I correct? " # " Yeah but -- " # " No, no fucking but. Did you actually, personally, with your own eyes, see a	EM	
28	2006	FIC	HollywoodStation	terrorizing the' hood and eating any normal dogs they see. And the whole fucking pack of gangsta dogs flew into a blood lust the second they saw us coming	EM	
29	2005	FIC	FantasySciFi	So? # " So, did you ever stop to consider how fucking weird that is? If you're going to execute a guy, why are	IN	Expresses high degree
30	2000	FIC	SouthernRev	n't been the best ever. Elsa kept dreaming about dinosaurs. " I'm fucking with the damned things, " she confided. " Better stop it, "	FI	Damage; destroy
31	2004	FIC	SouthernRev	. It didn't say nothing about Cindy. You'd've thought he was Mahatma Fucking Gandhi. # My trial's coming up in a couple of months. My	EM	
32	2000	FIC	SouthernRev	man, they're mouthpieces. Some things don't change. Evil rides a fucking swift black stallion, doesn't it? It wears a bad-ass black cape.	IN	Expresses high degree
33	2007	FIC	AgnesHitman	inch off target. Fucking Joey, making him lose focus. Fucking Keyes. Fucking little Agnes, too, whoever she was. A funny look came over the	AD	Expresses dislike

34	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	# You're startin' to annoy me. ## HEATHER # You're fucking annoying me! ## DEREK # (dismissive) Fine. ## HEATHER	IN	Expresses high degree
35	2002	FIC	Play:MercySeat	the problem? Strings? BEN HARCOURT Of course! Jesus my wife, a fucking mortgage All the shit that would've killed us, this thing we have.	EM	
36	2001	FIC	LastPrecinct	wait for you! That's total bullshit. He took you there on his fucking white horse and came right back here. Then he called to see when you	IN	High degree of white
37	2002	FIC	PerfectRecallNew	you know, her bodyguard thought it was deliberate. It wasn't Con Ed fucking up again, it was a plot to kidnap Madonna! He kept lighting this	FI	Damage; destroy
38	2004	FIC	Mov:LadykillersThe	I don't vote. So fuck you. Pancake darkens: PANCAKE Why you fucking -- GAWAIN And the bus you rode in on! # PANCAKE # That's	AD	Expresses dislike
39	2004	FIC	Mov:ManchurianCa	you've ever known. Half a beat -- LT. COL. HOWARD You're fucking with me, Major. # MARCO # No sir. I wouldn't do	FI	Idiomatic
40	2004	FIC	Mov:MariaFullGrac	## MARIA # Then why the fuck are you following me around? Every fucking time I turn around you're following me. ## BLANCA # I thought	EM	
41	2004	FIC	Mov:OceansTwelve	leave the interrogation room for the ante-room where Isabel is. ## ONDERDONK # Fucking stone. # # DAVENPECK # I'm not quitting. ## ONDERDONK #	UN	Need more context to determine function
42	2001	FIC	LastPrecinct	penetrates my right eye. I am getting a migraine. " What kind of fucking question is that? " Marino raises his voice another decibel. " I just	EM	
43	2002	FIC	SouthernRev	had to do was wait a few months and McMahon would be dead. Real fucking closure. But Web's not the kind to let it go at that.	EM	
44	2003	MAG	HarpersMag	a night like this? " " Say it, Marty. " " A fucking dark and stormy fucking night, Cara. " " It is 3:15 of a	IN	Expresses high degree
45	2007	MAG	Esquire	expect. By David Katz // Sienna Miller is insisting she's the " biggest fucking klutz in the world, " and while the claim is endearing, you take	EM	Emphasize s klutz
46	2005	FIC	Mov:IslandThe	# I'm a bond agent! # METRO PD OFFICER I said drop the fucking weapon! # Diggs sees his quarry now escaping. With a scowl, he	EM	
47	2005	FIC	Mov:LandDead	scout, and # now you're telling me we're just # stealing a fucking car? ## RILEY ## You have a problem with that? #	EM	
48	2005	FIC	Mov:TwelveAndHo	but he sure as hell wasn't headed here. (tearing up) That fucking asshole! # Kenny drops the phone and begins crying in his arms. Jacob	AD	
49	2004	FIC	SouthernRev	protect him from the force of wild love. # " Twenty- four, man, fucking twenty-four! " # " Those goddamn sons of Abraham won't know what hit	EM	
50	2006	FIC	DantesEquation	nature when people looked into his eyes. The demon peered out. It was fucking inconvenient. But, like everything else, it had its uses. He sat	IN	Expresses high degree

51	2003	FIC	Twelve	smiled at him and said watch this and took off running, just running so fucking fast up the block toward Park Avenue. There were a bunch of private school	IN	Expresses high degree
52	2001	FIC	Play:ShapeThings	or something. EVELYN ANN THOMPSON the only thing that would help him is a fucking knife through his throat they grow quiet for a moment. adam studies evelyn.	EM	
53	2006	FIC	NightGardenerNovel	white boys to do their jobs," said Cook. " People regurgitatin, fucking up my crime scene... If they can't keep these folks back, find	FI	Damage; destroy
54	2001	FIC	Ploughshares	pull over, I say. It's no big deal. It is a fucking big deal, he says. Pull the fuck over and we'll settle this	IN	Expresses high degree
55	2002	FIC	Play:MercySeat	That was a test, by the way to see if you have a decent fucking bone in your body. / Which you failed. BEN HARCOURT I just /	EM	
56	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	do something different. # # HEATHER # I'm trying, but he's fucking it all up. # As they pull out of the lot, the two	FI	Damage; destroy
57	2009	FIC	PlayingDirty	had my brush with almost becoming a mother; but I got rid of that fucking baby so fast, it wasn't even funny. I wasn't about to	AD	Expresses dislike
58	2004	FIC	Mov:BladeTrinity	apartment atop one of them we hear an ANGRY SCREAM. DANICA (O.S.) Fucking Hannibal King! INT. PHOENIX TOWERS - PENTHOUSE - NIGHT An impressively decorated loft	AD	Expresses dislike
59	2000	FIC	PollysGhostNovel	his belt loop was stuck on a nail. " God fucking piss on a fucking stick! " He struggled. " Fucking horseshit goddamn piss on a fucking haystack	EX	
60	2003	FIC	Fantasy & Science F	# " You're fucking kidding," Deborah said. # " I'm fucking not. " David looked around at all of them. # " This is	MA	Attitudinal disjunct
61	2002	FIC	EnemyWithin	, just driving along under the limit in a car that's got to be fucking hot as hell. Give him the lights and siren. " Nash stuck the	IN	Expresses high degree
62	2000	FIC	Glamorama	want Chris O'Donnell anywhere at my table for dinner. Chloe thinks he's too fucking cute and I just don't need that kind of awful shit tomorrow night.	IN	Expresses high degree
63	2001	FIC	EchoPlatoon	head, fixed the mask back in position, vented it, then seated the fucking thing properly on my big, hairy face. His eyes told me he felt	EM	
64	2004	FIC	SkyscraperNovel	for is the Christmas party next week. I hear that joint is off the fucking chain. " I couldn't imagine a corporate party being all that but I	EM	
65	2009	FIC	Castaways	said, " except that Jeff's got you and every other chick on this fucking island not voting to exile him because he's a goddamned pretty boy. "	EM	
66	2002	FIC	Play:MercySeat	this meal ticket of ours, then great. I'd've worked in a fucking lumberyard the rest of my days to be with you, but if you wan	EM	
67	2005	FIC	Ploughshares	I knew it was hard for her. I told myself, Fucking is only fucking, but she'd better not give her love away. " # Richard sighed	LU	

68	2003	FIC	Fantasy & Science F	go away. # Another burst from Roland: " Are you out of your fucking mind!? Jesus Christ on a goddamn Popsicle stick, you fucking left Jami	EM	
69	2007	FIC	MichaelTolliver	it, make me buy that two-bedroom condo! That Century 21 blazer is so fucking hot! I headed for my truck (a light-blue Tacoma, if you must	IN	Expresses high degree
70	2009	FIC	LosersTownDavid	why's it got to be film? " # " Because he doesn't fucking trust us, okay? We could make copies before we got back. He	MA	Attitudinal disjunct
71	2000	FIC	Ploughshares	Mexicans by now. Que duro, that town. Yeah, it's about fucking time they noticed us living there. That's great. You got ta be	FI	Idiomatic
72	2009	FIC	MysticArtsErasing	You said he made jokes. # He looked at me. # -- Asshole. Fucking go in someone's home, there's been a tragedy, go in and	MA	Attitudinal disjunct
73	2008	FIC	SchoolOnHearts	They have a marijuana-sniffing dog and the teacher who is in on this like some fucking spy says that the dog is here to sniff our lockers, all the student	EM	
74	2007	FIC	AgnesHitman	see them an inch off target. Fucking Joey, making him lose focus. Fucking Keyes. Fucking little Agnes, too, whoever she was. A funny look	AD	Expresses dislike
75	2002	FIC	Play:MercySeat	never ABBY PRESCOTT On a boat, with a goat It's like I'm fucking Dr. Seuss! BEN HARCOURT Abby this is so out of whack that I ca	EM	
76	2006	FIC	BitterIsNewBlack	at me during a board meeting while screaming, If you cant give me the fucking answers I want, then fucking lie to me! But as I was not	EM	
77	2006	FIC	SpeakDevilNovel	behind and stopped my tumbling descent. It was a good strong grip. " Fucking move, you're fucking dead! Just freeze! " I did. Below	MA	Attitudinal disjunct
78	2003	FIC	BestRevenge	, as one instructor had shouted at a classmate during a drill, very few fucking UNSUBs are going to be waiting on the ceiling. She listened for any indication	EM	
79	2008	FIC	MidnightGangster	happiness, no family, and no reason to exist. # Mouthing off; fucking her man's friends, brothers, and cousins; running away with the children	LU	
80	2008	FIC	SecretsShoeAddict	conclusion she was expecting. " What's wrong? " # # " The fucking rubber broke. " # # " What? " # # " I said	EM	
81	2004	MAG	RollingStone	new world we're going to be living in? Is it going to be fucking Belfast here? " And I didn't want to fucking fly nowhere. I	EM	
82	2009	FIC	ShelterMe	intrusion, hoping it wasn't another pity offering of quiche or lasagna or baked fucking ham. Friends and neighbors had stopped coming by, sensing, she knew,	EM	
83	2005	FIC	Ploughshares	! " Richard had looked over at the woman's house. # " You fucking calm down! " Tony had then stomped off the job. # Richard could	IN	
84	2009	FIC	Blood	hellfire eager. # He's quiet now. Take him down. # Little fucking psycho. # Pain wrenched Dante apart and his vision winked out in an explosion	AD	Expresses dislike

85	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	barely stammer out her words. ## JESSICA # Oh my God, my fucking eyes! ## CARLOS # Jesus, look at my car, Jess!	EM	
86	2004	FIC	Ploughshares	over at the Hampton Inn, and my mother's here, and I'm fucking her in the ass, " but the kind of polite that admits defeat,	LU	
87	2004	FIC	VioletsAreBlue	labored breathing. I'm not going to hurt them tonight. I was just fucking with you. Having some fun at your expense. " You're running,	FI	Damage; destroy
88	2004	FIC	Mov:HaroldKumarC	is some pussy. # HAROLD # Huh? # NEIL # It's a fucking sausage fest in here. Let's get us some poon-tang. Then we'll	EM	Could also be IN expressing high degree of "sausage fest"
89	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	psycho. Every time a girl loses her temper, she's a # 105 fucking psycho. Can't I be upset without being a psycho? Can't I	EM	
90	2009	FIC	MercuryInRetrogra	got them instead of you, your ass was Martman grass. # " Who fucking cares if there's a storm? It's your goddamn job! " Martman	EM	
91	2004	FIC	SnowGardenNovel	have to come back before a mild sore throat could be just that, a fucking sore throat? The door flew open and she backed away from the vanity as	EM	
92	2004	FIC	FantasySciFi	the towel from her. He dabbed at his chest. " I'm too fucking old for this, " he said. I held up my arms. "	IN	Expresses high degree
93	2002	FIC	Play:OurLady121st	acting circles' round you! Everything you're in, you're the worst fucking one! Ask our friends! Ask anyone who knows you! You suck,	EM	
94	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	porch. # 43 # PEDRO # Hey, mehn, let me into my fucking apartment. MR. CARSON Either pay me or get off my porch. #	EM	
95	2005	FIC	FantasySciFi	BA knows it. It goes like this: Fucking ducks - You fucking stupid fucking fucking ducks Swimming around And around in your fucking stupid, stupid fucking smelly pondwater	AD	Expresses dislike
96	2004	FIC	Mov:Collateral	. The train sits * there for seconds. It seems like hours, like fucking forever. * Vincent riveted to the spot. Max + Annie praying Vincent *	EM	
97	2005	FIC	Mov:IslandThe	Then he turns back to the clerk- ## LINCOLN # Put that on my fucking record. # 38 INT. SUBWAY PORTAL - SECTOR FOUR # The latticed wall	EM	
98	2005	FIC	FantasySciFi	shouting, " You gave me a fucking C! You make me scratch your fucking tailfeathers all semester and you gave me a fucking C? " And he did	EM	
99	2000	FIC	Glamorama	, pea brain, she might not have shot up the junk in the first fucking place. " " She didn't shoot' anything, " I stress.	EM	
100	2000	FIC	Ploughshares	. The wind from miles away hungry you'll be in it. # Goddamn fucking piece of shit. # Glowing the cold words smirking beneath the layered riffs of	AD	Expresses dislike

COHA		SHIT		Functional analysis		
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES
1	1940	FIC	Money	Joe laughed out loud. You can buy everything! Even a load of horse shit. He laughed. But if you don't make a good show you disappoint	LU	
2	1945	FIC	CanneryRow	except whiskey, maybe cuff links with his initials. " " Oh, horse shit, " said Hazel. " Doc don't want stuff like that. "	AC	
3	1946	FIC	AdventuresWesley	They don't compel one another to do it. Human beings don't scare the shit out of one another all the time -- yes, shit -- because I do	IN	
4	1946	FIC	AdventuresWesley	don't scare the shit out of one another all the time - - yes, shit -- because I don't mean anything else. " " Did you kill somebody	LU	
5	1946	FIC	AdventuresWesley	cheering, and then he turned to Joe and me and he said, " Shit, boys, this is the life -- this is the way to live --	EX	
6	1946	FIC	AdventuresWesley	asked me for my opinion every now and then. I always said, " Shit, don't ask me. " Then I'd go freshen up my drink	EX	
7	1946	FIC	SnakePit	was tryin' to scout up a drink. " Summers said, " Snake shit! " He had another length of hide in his hands. " All back	AC	
8	1947	FIC	Gallery	-- You've got me all wrong, sir... -- Mother of shit, the lieutenant said, his voice as cool and removed as ever, how	EX	
9	1947	FIC	Gallery	... Listen, captain. I want to pull out of this censorship shit. I was trained for the armored force. I'm willing to go into	FI	Something small & unimportant
10	1947	FIC	GentlemansAgreemen	the Chaplain, Bud, and get a TS slip. " TS. Tough shit. He would try to explain it to Cahoon, and he knew Cahoon u	FI	Figurative idiom
11	1948	FIC	RemembranceRock	hardened to the place, was termed " the stink corner " or " the shit stall. " There night and day lay a woman who had been in nearly	LU	
12	1948	FIC	RemembranceRock	the corners with spit and Steve's face looked sticky-dirty and Steve said: Oh shit! I don't care a shit what grade you're in. You did	EX	
13	1948	FIC	RemembranceRock	face looked sticky-dirty and Steve said: Oh shit! I don't care a shit what grade you're in. You did it just to get that old Sister	FI	Something small & unimportant
14	1948	FIC	NakedDead	Roth said weakly, and lost track of the time. " " Shit! " Brown said. He finished tying his shoes and walked out to the	EX	

15	1948	FIC	NakedDead	aristocrats, they think. General Cummings is no better than I am. His shit don't smell like ice cream either. " Their voices were beginning to carry	LU	
16	1948	FIC	NakedDead	Where is it? " he whispered to Gallagher. " What? " " Shit. " Croft's hand found the flare box, and he loaded the gun	EX	
17	1948	FIC	NakedDead	replaced by an intense irritation. " Let's cut out that' kood-sigh' shit, " he roared at the Jap. The soldier was silent for a moment	FI	Something unpleasant
1	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	not be back down until morning. Or tomorrow night. Or next week. Shit, Jimbo thinks. Shit fart fuck. Well, I won'tgo to sleep,	EX	
2	1979	FIC	Play:CircusValentine	Clowns and their hysterical hounds. NAVARRO (Backing away from Leroy.) Oh shit! (Eva and Trina run out of the tent and into the silence surrounding	EX	
3	1978	FIC	ThursdayRabbiWalked	. " Lord, " said Peanut, " let us get out of this shit and get on home where you can start putting on some weight " -- he	FI	Something unpleasant
4	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	he got home. After all, no one walks in on someone taking a shit, Jimbo figured. Then maybe Captain would have a chance to calm down.	LU	
5	1979	FIC	Establishment	soldiers fighting for their homeland, and all our lives we had been fed that shit about the British being civilized. Then, when it happened, when they were	FI	Something worthless
6	1974	FIC	WarBetweenTates	Can we go out tonight for dinner, at least? " Aw shit, why not? " " That's no reason. You said you were	EX	
7	1974	FIC	FanClub	where he believes he's supposed to be. Devotedto one woman or some such shit. He does something stupid: either he breaks with the girl and tries to	FI	Something worthless
8	1978	FIC	Mov:BlueCollar	nothing about no Clarence Hill, nothing about no Union. I don't know shit. BURROWSEverybody knows your local's one of the most corrupt in the country	LU	Anything; no negative connotation
9	1976	FIC	SpectatorBird	Don't have to do no estimates. Get some nice stuff. Chairs and shit. Eh, Arfa? " Murf elbowed him companionably, rocking him sideways,	ST	Group membership w/ preceding noun
10	1973	FIC	Play:RosieLearnsFrend	Mange la mard, Rog. (She hangs up.) Oh, shit. (She picks up the phone again. She punches numbers hurriedly.)	EX	
11	1973	FIC	Mov:LastDetailThe	your cocks and grab your socks. We'll show Meadows the Pentagon or some shit. I got a brochure. Meadows dutifully begins to dress. Mule doesn't	LU	Something; no negative connotation
12	1978	FIC	MortalFriends	's very unrelaxed, " the kid informs Garp. " You don't know shit about how to relax anybody, " Mrs. Ralph says. Garp steers the young	LU	Anything; no negative connotation
13	1973	FIC	GreatAmericanNovel	you to be strong, to be steadfast -- to be saved. " " Horse shit! " snorted Hothead, after Mister Fairsmith had passed from the locker room in	AC	
14	1974	FIC	SomethingHappened	I retort. I turn to my daughter. " Say shit. " " Shit, " she says. " Say shit, " I say to my son	LU	

15	1973	FIC	Play:Gabe	kind of shit. LOUIS Keeps things lively. GABE I don't take any shit. LOUIS Give it out but you don't take it. GABE Meaning?	FI	Figurative idiom
16	1973	FIC	Play:RosieLearnsFrench	to start smoking again. (She hangs up. She cries.) ROSIE Shit. **32;536;TOOLONG. (She picks up the phone. She punches up eleven numbers	EX	
17	1971	FIC	DreamMuseum	game and stiff-backed professor and Eva Fox and himself, the champion fixer. And shit. Mere Marsh was locking up. He came forward as if wanting to talk	UN	Need more context
18	1970	FIC	Across110th	to represent the Organization; he calls the shots and if he tells you to shit, you better start squattin', fat man. And that's just what	LU	
19	1975	FIC	LastValley	's the lady's name? " " Did I forget that? " " Shit, Ben. What is it? You protectin' her fair reputation? "	EX	
20	1976	FIC	Speedboat	wild animal had been dismembering its prey on that very spot. " Shit, shit, shit! " the voice roared. Interested to meet my articulate new neighbor	EX	
21	1975	FIC	LastValley	. What do you expect of a Collings-worth? " " Honesty. " " Shit! " The blood rose in Kilmer's face. Cleveland imagined that if Kilmer	EX	
22	1975	FIC	LastValley	, as if truth had ironed out every wrinkle. " I tell you these shit bolsheviks are everywhere. Right here to find in this town if you look.	AD	
23	1971	FIC	SeasonWitch	, and you just never know. Anyway, Winston was talking all this great-sounding shit, and I bought it all. In fact, I was taking a big	LU	Something; no negative connotation
24	1973	FIC	Mov:MeanStreets	his pocket and tosses it to the man. MANWhat's this? More shit...? MICHAELNaw... that ain't shit..	FI	Something worthless
25	1975	FIC	LastValley	old Macalester Cleveland, Benton Collingsworth and Mort Ewing. " Ewing said, " Shit! " and got up. " Quit it, Ben. Quit that calf	EX	
26	1974	FIC	LoveFeast	know what this kid does? " Diamond asked rhetorically. " This kid pushes shit in his spare time, and he sends the money he makes to Cuba.	LU	Something; no negative connotation
27	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	n't be back down for a while. Jimbo hears shouts from the kitchen. Shit, he thinks. This means Captain might not be back down until morning.	EX	
28	1977	FIC	BetrayedByFScott	his plans. He said he was only writing it to get all of that shit out of his goddamned way so he could start writing what he called simple expressions	FI	Something worthless
29	1970	FIC	Play:Moonchildren	shitting around. RUTH Where's Norman? COOTIE Norman's he just oh, shit. MIKE He set himself on fire. BOB He what? MIKE All that	EX	
30	1971	FIC	Tenants	Man, if I had that amount of bread I'd be king of Shit Mountain. What are you going to do after it's gone? "	FI	Figurative idiom
31	1977	FIC	PublicBurning	Yeah, he said, " I'm only a lousy cabdriver. Shit, I don't know everything. But I think you're on the wrong	EX	
32	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	He was going to kiss this two-bit burg good-bye in style, by God. Shit yes, man. Hell, he wasn't being run out of this two-bit	IN	

33	1977	FIC	ParisOne	a vaguely dirty feeling. He'd wanted to tell the girl to stop the shit, to turn off the electricity, and drop the Xaviera Hollander act. He	FI	Something unpleasant
34	1974	FIC	LoveFeast	like a club for cops, and all of a sudden he is running all the shit in 1'hilly too. He really thought he hadp164it made. If I was ever	LU	Something; no negative connotation
35	1971	FIC	SeasonWitch	it was the highest night of our lives to date. Even after the angel shit wore off, the night got higher and higher and higher! Roy was in	FI	Something worthless
36	1973	FIC	SearchesSeizures	married Sunday and I'm giving her away. " " Getting married? No shit? " He talks to him as if asleep. (So accustomed am I	FI	Figurative idiom
37	1972	FIC	OpenHeart	to him was Bebb, the only thing I've been washed in is the shit of the horse. You know what he did? He took the very same	LU	
38	1970	FIC	Play:LateSnow	the key turns in the back door. ELLIE enters.) QUINCEY Oh, shit. ELLIE Quincey! QUINCEY You're back early! (QUINCEY embraces ELLIE,	EX	
39	1979	FIC	Mov:ChinaSyndrome	Navy boys have credentials. I'm a 25-year company man who didn't know shit about nuclear until they built this place. Now you tell me, Jack,	LU	Anything; no negative connotation
40	1972	FIC	Semi-Tough	of records you can break, " I said. " Records don't mean shit, " Shake said. I lit up a cigarette my own self. "	LU	Anything; no negative connotation
41	1970	FIC	ElectricCotillion	broke out two cans from the six-pack. " I think I'm onHi's shit list. " ((Why? " Tonight was my first job in six	FI	Figurative idiom
42	1970	FIC	Play:Moonchildren	n't know. Any time now. BOB Those operations kidney trouble. Oh, shit, why didn't someone tell me? MURRAY You got your studies, we	EX	
43	1971	FIC	SeasonWitch	. And the first rule is Don't let the moneymen get away with any shit. In the past, money was influence. But not here. All of	LU	Anything
44	1973	FIC	Mov:MeanStreets	worth... MICHAELHey! You want good stuff, or you want shit? BOY #2Well, we want good stuff. MICHAELWell, my stuff	FI	Something worthless
45	1972	FIC	TerminalMan	. On the computer console, a new report appeared: 11:22 STIMULATION " Oh shit, " she said. " It's happening. " " What's happening	EX	
46	1971	FIC	Tenants	bleeds, or flips, or cries mama, he's the loser and we shit on him. Do you dig? " " What's the point of it	FI	Something worthless
47	1978	FIC	MortalFriends	asked, knowing she wanted to tell him. " I feel like beating the shit out of him now, " Roberta confessed, " butwhen he was dumping all	FI	Figurative idiom
48	1978	FIC	Whistle	not what I meant. Last year when Kelly went public with all this messiah shit, he broke with the Chao Chow syndicate. That's why he is going	FI	Something worthless
49	1976	FIC	OrdinaryPeople	about it tomorrow, Dad, please! I feel lousy tonight, everything is shit -- Listen, I didn't mean to say any of that, you tell	FI	Something unpleasant
50	1973	FIC	PeopleWillAlways	? " Hi, Woody. Sieg Heil and all that. " " You shit. " Never win him back that way. Ah, well. Having enemy	NC	

51	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	flat on the ground, his face in his hands. I'm sick as shit, man. This is the one that kills me. Oh Jesus.	IN	Standard of comparison
52	1977	FIC	BeggarmanThief	them, as he had wanted to, because his father would have beat the shit out of him if he had found out Wesley was fighting. It would be	FI	Figurative idiom
53	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	ignorant lowlife, yet nobody could touch him. And he didn't give a shit whether what he wrote was tine or not just so long as it was beautiful	FI	Figurative idiom
54	1979	FIC	Mov:RoseThe	fine. Is that what you say, girls? Or do you say Fuck this Shit?!!!! (wild applause) I had enough of you,	C	
55	1972	FIC	Semi-Tough	was having to go to a squad meeting pretty soon and take a lot of shit from my pals. But it's something I've got to do. And	FI	Something unpleasant
56	1972	FIC	Semi-Tough	Miz Bookman, I was wondering if we could sing something besides this daffodil shit? Barb laughed like hell, along with everybody else. Then she said	FI	Something worthless
57	1978	FIC	MortalFriends	force the pathetic tree on him, to flash her outrage at him. Tough shit, Lady! Morning wears to evening and hearts break. Leaves of grass and	FI	Figurative idiom
58	1979	FIC	Mov:ChinaSyndrome	energy that the experts tell us may be our best shot at energy selfish-sufficiency -- shit! HECTOR'S VOICECut - - - Camera reveals Richard and Hector photographing Kimberly. The	EX	
59	1975	FIC	Play:Fishing	beeee-zarre. MARY-ELLEN I don't think I like peyote. RORY Any of that shit left? Lay some on the kid for partytime? p. 69 SHELLY In the	LU	Something; no negative connotation
60	1971	FIC	SeasonWitch	. But give it to me fast. I'm dying. " " Angel shit! " " Angel shin' " " We have just smoked angel shit	MI	reference to illicit drug
61	1975	FIC	SouthStreet	young man. " Thanks, Leo, " said Big Betsy mildly. " Shit, " said Leo. " Hey, barkeep, " said a voice	EX	
62	1975	FIC	Play:Fishing	the room, strutting and crowing like a rooster. He stops. ROBBIE Oh shit. Is it Tuesday? BILL BARENBERG Wednesday, m'boy. No, wait.	EX	
63	1979	FIC	Play:CircusValentine	OZ Dig that ball out and you can go. It's under all that shit somewhere. Use my shovel. LEROY You can't make me do that.	FI	Something worthless
64	1972	FIC	Play:TiraTellsEverything	.) God damn it. God damn you. (Brute cries.) Shit, tickling. Son of a bitch, I'm crying in front of a	EX	
65	1976	FIC	Play:CurseStarving	(still standing there watching WESTON) EMMA! (no answer) Oh, shit. Don't go out on me. Pop? (He moves toward WESTON	EX	
66	1979	FIC	Mov:Hardcore	Don't use underage kids. Wouldn't touch' em for all the cow shit in Mexico. (as Kurt steps over) You recognize this piece of wool	LU	
67	1975	FIC	Play:Fishing	glass of water. I could use that. ROBBIE Sure. Whew. Some shit! (He exits into house) REILLY Little something to wash down the pills	LU	Something; no negative connotation
68	1978	FIC	MortalFriends	But it was August; that was the wrong note. " What's this shit? " the man said. And Garp handed him another note, the first	FI	Something worthless
69	1978	FIC	Harpers	bathroom. In the shower he pinched Chris's gut and said: " No shit, we got to work on that. " They put on gym shorts and	FI	Figurative idiom

70	1970	FIC	Across110th	. He felt he was going to be hit. " Are you pushing the shit again? " The detective's voice was barely audible. " Now you know	FI	Something worthless
71	1973	FIC	Play:RosieLearnsFren	the tape explains.) TAPE Merde. I'm sorry, I mean, shit. ROSIE Hello... Hello, Rog. It's me. I	EX	
72	1973	FIC	Pentimento	said the one who was standing against the wall, " and it's already shit. Everybody has missed the boat, everywhere, everywhere, everywhere and somehow.	FI	Something worthless
73	1977	NF	TasteAmerica	I bet, man, on somethin' I especially give one large shit about. " " The honky Olympics, man? you gon na see sick	FI	Something small & unimportant
74	1979	FIC	Play:CircusValentine	ball went flying out of his hands and landed in a big pile of elephant shit. GOLDIE Oh good. (Goldie puts on her mask, so that they	LU	
75	1971	FIC	Tenants	in upper Harlem and finds he has got nothing to look forward to but more shit and stress for the rest of his unnatural life. The mother in it was	FI	Something unpleasant
76	1977	NF	TasteAmerica	boys' books the gentlemen always won: in the record books they had the shit kicked out of them. Once, in 1920, when the last Ivy League	FI	Figurative idiom
77	1975	FIC	Ragtime	he got a blue veiner every time he held a bar of soap. " Shit fuck! " Dean observed. " There it is! " And there it	EX	
78	1975	FIC	GoodeysLastStand	I told him. " Yeah, Ralph, I think you're a terrible shit. But don't look hurt. We're all terrible shits in this business	NC	
79	1978	FIC	TenderMercies	-- weren't these the kinds of people who fenced and played lacrosse? " Shit, " he said to himself. The word was comforting. " I'm	EX	
80	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	might make some valuable contacts. It's harder for a critic to knock the shit out of you if he knows you personally. And your stuff may read better	FI	Figurative idiom
81	1977	FIC	Coma	the monitor, " especially right after his lecture on vigilance in these cases. Shit, I really don't deserve this kind of headache. If she croaks,	EX	
82	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	No, man, Pace says. Bodine's sitting on his hood shooting the shit with some of his flunky cronies. They're all parked at the end of	FI	Figurative idiom
83	1979	FIC	GoodAsGold	we ain't got any real ones. Still, it's better to have shit to shoot at than nothing. Gold held to the superstitious belief that if he	FI	Something worthless
84	1977	FIC	Mov:GauntletThe	Deputy shoots Shockley a bitter look. DEPUTYYou gon na take that kind of shit? You hear what she's sayin'? Bout your own people? --	FI	Something unpleasant
85	1974	FIC	Play:BabesInBighouse	tasted of oil, and lint... (Rises).. and shit. (Stops abruptly, looks around, listens, relaxes, goes on)	LU	
86	1976	FIC	Mov:NextStopGreenw	. You bastard. You rotten, slimy bastard. I ought to kick the shit out of you. You fucking bastard... Don't give me that arrogant fucking	FI	Figurative idiom
87	1976	FIC	Harpers	his dumb-cluck's luck at meeting an off-duty people's lawyer. " No. shit! " he said. " Wish a fuck I met you six months ago	FI	Period typo between words

88	1973	FIC	GreatAmericanNovel	the cop who was covering the " mothers " with a submachine gun. " Shit and puke and piss! Just get a whiff of them! " " Lay	LU	
89	1971	FIC	Play:CowboyMouth	again and starts to threaten the LOBSTER MAN.) CAVALE Slim! Cut the shit! He's only a poor old lobster. Leave him alone. p. 26	FI	Something unpleasant
90	1970	FIC	IslandsInStream	David said. Then he started to cry like a little boy.' Oh shit, I couldn't stand it if they didn't believe it.' Thomas	EX	
91	1974	FIC	FanClub	so you end up worse: monogamous.' What's this made for whores shit.' The way it used to be. Man had his wife and kids	FI	Something worthless
92	1973	FIC	Mov:LastDetailThe	confidentially) Listen, kid, I'm handing this girl such a line of shit it's unbelievable. MEADOWSGee... BUDDUSKYShe loves it, she	FI	Something worthless
93	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	I had ever seen him. He felt the movie industry had treated him like shit. Didn't they know that he was world-famous, the darling of literary critics	FI	Something worthless
94	1977	FIC	Play:GettingOut	, an he goes out an sees all them frogs' legs and bodies an shit all over the everwhere, an, man, it was so funny. We	FI	Something unpleasant
95	1979	FIC	Play:CircusValentine	Following her, carrying all her juggling things.) We took some real heavy shit out there, folks. p. 67 GOLDIE I've never been so humiliated in	FI	Something unpleasant
96	1976	FIC	Harpers	fake accent to make fun of the way he died. " Hey, no shit, man, this really is a sharp car, man, " Dave shouted	FI	Figurative idiom
97	1973	FIC	Pentimento	then. " " Now, goddammit! I'm sick of taking all the shit for your mistakes. " " Wait a minute, Martin. " " I	FI	Something unpleasant
98	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	p116No , man, Pace says. Bodine's sitting on his hood shooting the shit with some of his flunky cronies. They're all parked at the end of	FI	Figurative idiom
99	1977	FIC	ParisOne	sweet letter. Some advice my father had once given him for me. Some shit about seeking spiritual guidance, I don't know. A romantic notion, I	FI	Something worthless
100	1975	FIC	Ragtime	it! Who cares if all these rotten motherfuckers take gas. They're all shit sucking, miserable scrotes anyways. What the fuck's a life anyway, less	AD	Modifies scrotes
1	2006	FIC	JinxHighDianaTregard	. " So how about it, Deke? Are you fast enough? " Shit. He looked back at the wreck; Fay shoved the stick up into fifth	EX	
2	2008	FIC	EnvyNight	the screen for a moment, not wanting to read the details. # " Shit, Frank, " he muttered. " Don't do this to me.	EX	
3	2001	FIC	LastPrecinct	he was doing. He's screaming bloody murder because he's got this chemical shit you threw in his eyes. He wasn't armed by this point. He	FI	Something unpleasant
4	2009	FIC	SecretSonNovel	one, " Maati continued. " What's the difference between a bucket of shit and the government? " # " What? " # " There isn't	LU	
5	2006	FIC	RiverKillings	Susan's. The boat shuddered, and we dipped dangerously to port. " Shit, " Susan shrieked. " Hold still; don't move. " I	EX	

6	2004	FIC	Mov:Collateral	Lights out. Meanwhile... MAX (CONT'D) * Oh shit, oh shit, oh shit. * He is head-butting the horn. BEEEEP. BEEP-BEEP.	EX	
7	2002	FIC	Play:MercySeat	that shit around, I'm not willing to do that!! BEN HARCOURT Shit, SHIT! Shit on you for doing this. ABBY PRESCOTT I'm not	EX	
8	2009	FIC	SecondSightNovel	for a moment, then knelt and reached to touch a red cheek. " Shit, Jack, he's not one of ours. He's a soldier.	EX	
9	2006	FIC	KnittingUnderInfluenc	turned to look. Steaming brownish hot water was dripping into the carafe. " Shit, " she said. " I forgot to put in the grounds. "	EX	
10	2000	FIC	Pure	like it, don't eat it, alright? I don't give a shit!' Well I can see you don't give a shit, woman!	FI	Figurative idiom
11	2005	FIC	Play:ThisIsHowItGoes	she's ever laid in bed with! I mean, it's possible. Shit, that's whoah. Could you imagine? Damn. (Beat.)	EX	
12	2007	FIC	ManInMiddle	. In my view, it should be called the Office Where All the Bad Shit Gets Dumped, but the spooks are really into smoke and mirrors, so nothing	FI	Something worthless
13	2006	FIC	ShadowCatchers	continued to flip through the wallet. " Holy Christ. Tip, check this shit out. " " Whatya got? " " Holy Christ on a mother-lovin'	LU	Something; no negative connotation
14	2007	FIC	SouthernRev	. Like Nova is really going to read The Scarlet Letter on this trip. Shit! She's not a hired hand; she's a project. For the	EX	
15	2006	FIC	FantasySciFi	13046 THE FAMILIAR STENCH OF unwashed bodies, cooked food, and shit washes over me as I come through the door. Cruiser lights flicker through the	LU	
16	2004	FIC	Mov:Collateral	, about nineteen, bussin' tables. Right here. Didn't pay but shit, but that wasn't the point. Being around the music, that was	FI	Something worthless
17	2002	FIC	Play:OurLady121st	fucked the cabby. NORCA You was in a cab??!! INEZ Shit, I was fifteen, girl, know what I'm sayin'? NORCA	EX	
18	2005	FIC	CandyLickerUrban	. The bright lights, iced-out jewels, expensive cars... all this shit came with a price on it, a price that sexing Hurricane had taught me	LU	Everything; no negative connotation
19	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	humped someone, didn't you? ## JESSICA # I didn't do shit. ## PITT # Well it musta been the immaculate infection,' cuz	LU	Anything
20	2009	FIC	HoodLifeBentley	. They don't like me and I sure as hell don't give a shit about them. # Ain't a damn thing changed about this motherfucker since I	FI	Figurative idiom
21	2002	FIC	Play:Faster	in the choir like a little bitch. Our Father who farts in heaven and shit. Father Feelgood'll be takin your temperature. Forcin his holy thermometer up your	ST	Group membership w/ preceding verb
22	2004	MAG	RollingStone	the violence and my sense of humor. But initially I got all kinds of shit about the violence in Pulp Fiction, but I don't really remember David Fincher	FI	Something unpleasant
23	2002	FIC	Play:OurLady121st	in two? That one mothahfuckah wit' the stiletto? And your moms? Shit, they shouldn't make no kid-size caskets, ought a juss be one size	EX	

24	2006	FIC	Eve	for Felon while he was hustling his wares, but it was still some underhanded shit. When Felon put Spooky on, he had promised to promote him once he	FI	Something unpleasant
25	2004	MAG	PsychToday	Do you know the name of the hospital? " I do. Did. Shit. Wait.... The train pulled out before the words got onboard. I looked	EX	
26	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	# # JIMMY # Alright Brad! Christ Jesus, I owe a little, shit, but I'll pay. Believe me, that guy wants his juice,	EX	
27	2002	FIC	Ploughshares	# " See, that's your problem, " she says. " Got shit figured out before you know shit about it. " # I don't say	LU	Something; no negative connotation
28	2003	FIC	Ploughshares	suits and ties, but what about love? You know shit about that. Shit. " # " Stop shouting. This isn't some stage set, "	FI	Nothing; something worthless
29	2000	FIC	SouthernRev	stories about the lawyer she worked for, a man so reviled that someone once shit in his desk drawer while he was out to lunch. # " I love	LU	
30	2000	FIC	BumpRun	can you be working out when I know you feel like the same brand of shit I do? " I said, " A man without structure in his life	FI	Something worthless
31	2002	FIC	Play:Faster	it. KITCHIN Choose for it? SKRAM Yeah, G. It's democratic and shit. KITCHIN And we a democracy, right? SKRAM Kitchin, Skram, and	ST	Group membership w/ preceding adjective
32	2004	FIC	Mov:LadykillersThe	all right. Not a problem. LUMP (O.S.) Well there sure as shit ain't no tunnel left. The clearing dust reveals the caped Professor anxiously dancing	IN	
33	2007	MAG	Esquire	wrote articles they didn't like. No. It was because we dressed like shit. I came to this conclusion after seeing a photo of myself sitting in the	IN	Intensifies preceding verb
34	2007	FIC	SouthernRev	this is all her fault. " Oh no! Oh my God! Oh shit! " Now Jake sees it, too; he drives right off the road	EX	
35	2000	FIC	Play:LaramieProject	but we had a really cheap sheriff at the time, and he bought us shit gloves, you know, you put' em on, you put' em	FI	Something worthless
36	2009	FIC	Barfighter	Cheskis and doubtless everyone else in the class knew he was a lying sack of shit. # Cheskis often wondered whether the patient Lorraine, their class instructor, had	NC	
37	2008	FIC	DictationQuartet	that audition. " # " Yes I did. I did go. That shit Lionel. Blew my whole day. " # " Don't kid me.	NC	
38	2001	FIC	MidnightComeAgain	out of diapers. " " Again? Jesus god, that kid produces more shit than a herd of moose! " Katya gave Daddy a blinding smile and launched	LU	
39	2005	FIC	FantasySciFi	there # He looked at me, smiling a little. You like that weird shit? # Well... yeah. # Least I can play. Most of these	LU	Something; no negative connotation
40	2000	FIC	Play:JesusHoppedA	na look like a two-story building! I'm a get a Coca-Cola -- that shit gon na be refreshing! VALDEZ Eight minutes! ANGEL CRUZ Ain't never gon	LU	Something; no negative connotation
41	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	SINJIN # Alright, hold on. Slow down a second. What is this shit, Jimmy? # # KWON # Tell him, Jimmy. # From O.S.	FI	Something worthless

42	2006	FIC	TalkNerdyMe	tried. " " God knows you tried. Those old fossils in charge have shit for brains. " Privately, Charlie thought so, too, but he'd	FI	Something worthless
43	2004	FIC	Mov:HaroldKumarGov	window, so now it's your duty to make sure we're high as shit by the time we're eating those burgers. # HAROLD # Well, I	IN	Intensifies preceding adj.
44	2001	FIC	SouthernRev	you would and all, but I guess I thought you were just full of shit. " # " I am full of shit, " he said. #	FI	Figurative idiom
45	2002	FIC	Ploughshares	your lady and mine up at night, I got ta try some of that shit. Mr. Benson tipped his glass to our reflections in the long bar mirror before	LU	Something; no negative connotation
46	2004	FIC	ShadowRunners	Swinging back around, she ran toward the copter pilot, gun still raised. Shit, she was going to have to go for a hijack. Suddenly, the	EX	
47	2005	FIC	CandyLickerUrban	fine, and everybody knew he had crazy musical talent. But none of that shit made up for what Hurricane was lacking, and a deficiency like the one he	LU	Something; no negative connotation
48	2007	FIC	BobbieFayesVery	flinching as the icy water covered her ankles. " Fuck. Damn fuck fuckity shit. " " Mamma says you shouldn't cuss so much. " " Yeah	EX	
49	2005	FIC	G-SpotUrbanErotic	at the most expensive gentleman's club in Harlem. " This place is the shit, Juicy. " The music was loud and Brittany was dancing in her seat	EM	
50	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	on his left shoulder. Troy notices Jessica immediately. ## TROY # Holy shit. ## JESSICA # Aaron, I don't know how the hell you	EX	
51	2006	FIC	SweetRuin	Then she trails it through my entire house. Have you ever tried cleaning dog shit out of the rug in your bathroom? " I stared at him, furious	LU	
52	2007	FIC	SouthernRev	DRLOVE: NNN DRLOVE: I NEAN MMM DRLOVE: MEAN. I MEAN. SHIT. BATTERY LOW. Or, perhaps more likely: DRLOVE: Just leave him	EX	
53	2005	FIC	Play:ThisIsHowItGoes	They totally will (Beat.) " Black man goes on rampage, " shit like that. CODY laughs at this, as does the WOMAN. She winces	FI	Something unpleasant
54	2003	FIC	LeslieNovel	and it ain't. I came to college to get away from that nigga shit just like Bridget said. " " Well, how come y'all all didn't	FI	Something small & unimportant
55	2004	FIC	Play:FatPig	, just -- JEANNIE No! I'm not obligated to talk with you about shit We're co-workers, we work together now, and that is all. Give	LU	Anything; no negative connotation
56	2003	FIC	LeslieNovel	the names, " Ayanna joked. " I can't pronounce most of that shit anyway. Jambalaya. Etouff. Whatever, just hook that shit up, L.	LU	Something; no negative connotation
57	2005	FIC	RobertLudlumsJason	the strung-out one said, goggle-eyed. " You don't look like you know shit. " " He wants to stop us, " the one with the tattooed	FI	Nothing; something worthless
58	2008	FIC	BonesAlexDelaware	the max. # You've obviously mistaken me for someone who gives half a shit. # Duboff came closer, smelling gross, that organic deodorant he'd tried	FI	Something small & unimportant
59	2002	FIC	Play:Faster	Fuckin Calamityville Horror type joints. Chasin me down Gompers in sharkmobiles. KITCHIN That shit don't do nothin but make you paranoid. SKRAM Takes them hunger pains away	LU	Something; no negative connotation

60	2005	FIC	Mov:IslandThe	can overlook. Twice I can call coincidence. Three times I start giving a shit. Because if these products are defective... # # MERRICK # Quality control is	FI	Figurative idiom
61	2002	FIC	Ploughshares	they tell him, plus it totally freaks them out. They start screaming and shit. Don't be like Wiener and wuss out on us. But he does	ST	Group membership w/ preceding verb
62	2004	MAG	RollingStone	by my own set of rules. Basically, I don't have to do shit I don't want to do. But even before, when I was in	LU	Anything; no negative connotation
63	2008	FIC	CountryCalledHome	long enough to drink it down. # " You're a lonely sack of shit, " he said aloud and nodded because there was no arguing with someone as	NC	
64	2001	FIC	Ravelstein	airs or try to scandalize them entertain them actually, as histrionic lecturers do by shouting " Shit! " or " Fuck! " There was nothing at all of the campus	EX	
65	2006	MAG	OutdoorLife	Sunset Boulevard when they took him down. That was weird. This ain't shit. " # When he spotted the acronym for American Indian Movement tattooed on the	UN	Need more context
66	2009	FIC	OneLastKiss	the time. You know she is crazy as hell when she is off that shit, " Lady tried to reason. # Sheleeta nodded in understanding and tried bravely	LU	Something; no negative connotation
67	2001	FIC	FantasySciFi	lonely, tired, and sober when Monique found him. " You look like shit, " she said. " Go away, Monique, " he said.	FI	Something unpleasant
68	2005	FIC	FantasySciFi	mining claims somewhere on Little Egypt; kept to themselves. Mormons, or some shit. Weird folk, but nobody had heard about them causing trouble before. He	ST	Group membership w/ preceding noun
69	2006	FIC	SingleInSuburbia	passed. It was the most perfect face Amanda had ever seen. " Holy shit! " The expletive left the mouths of the group of women seated around Amanda	EX	
70	2002	FIC	Play:MercySeat	sending out for you right now I figured you were taking all that in! Shit, silly me. p. 66 BEN HARCOURT Abby you just asked me how I ABBY	EX	
71	2009	FIC	ThisIsHowItStarts	have been building the gears and pulling the strings and flipping the switches that make shit work. It's impressive, if not menacing and intimidating and -- according to	LU	Something; no negative connotation
72	2002	FIC	Play:Faster	Two Tone. Sells T-shirts out the back of his Nova. Mickey Mouse and shit. I'm with stupid and whatnot. At least people buy them joints.	ST	Group membership w/ preceding noun
73	2000	FIC	Tripwire	it gets any more worthless, they'll close us down tomorrow. " " Shit, " the CEO said. " We're six weeks away. I'm	EX	

74	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	be enough. They won't fuck with you, bein' in prison and shit. # 98 # BOBBY # Jimmy, I ain't in a mood to	ST	Group membership w/ preceding noun
75	2000	FIC	HighFive	up to your earning potential, " Lula said. " We only got chicken shit cases these days. What you need is to have a serial killer or a	FI	Something worthless
76	2007	FIC	GoodGirlsPoleRiders	All I have to say is don't fall asleep, cuz all your shit might be cut off when you wake up. " That's what I	FI	Something worthless
77	2004	FIC	Mov:HaroldKumarGo	PUNK #1 (to Cole) Extreme! # HAROLD # (upset) Oh shit. These idiots. Cole and the Two Punks push past Harold and Kumar and	EX	
78	2000	FIC	Play:JesusHoppedA	can tell you that in my mind, you're a worthless psychopathic piece of shit, a scrawny old H.I.V. faggot, a skin-poppin' ugly, gangly bag of	NC	
79	2007	FIC	Impulse	wasn't exactly my idea. Shit happens, as they say, and my shit literally hit the fan. But enough sappy crap. We were talking drugs.	FI	Figurative idiom
80	2004	FIC	Mov:MariaFullGrace	. # # CARLOS # Make yourselves comfortable. You'll be here until you shit everything out. # Maria and Lucy sit together on the edge of the bed	LU	
81	2008	NF	LifeWithMySister	manager's office. He looks at me, says, " You stupid little shit! " and yanks me out of the store. // In the car,	NC	
82	2009	FIC	HumanDisguise	, are you? " # # " Out here, who cares? More shit goes down between the turnpike and the Everglades than the rest of the state.	FI	Something unpleasant
83	2000	FIC	CruddyIllustrated	it. Pretty soon you won't see an independent butcher anywhere. Gone. Shit. Gone. " " Uh-huh, " said the mother. " I'm	EX	
84	2000	FIC	Pure	. Someone had written LEILA FUCKS HORSES on it in Tippex. Smells like hippy shit.' Hippies smell like that anyway.' It was still coming. I	LU	
85	2001	FIC	SouthernRev	won't. We will live here in Carolina. Then you are a damn shit hog. And you are a woman powerful bitchy. Yawls Ridley went. Hensley	AD	Modifies hog
86	2008	FIC	UntamedHouseNight	not gay, and therefore more sensitive and polite, Damien. # " Not shit, right, Twin? " said Shaunee. # " That's right,	LU	Anything; no negative connotation
87	2002	FIC	Play:Faster	type joints. SKRAM crosses to the beach pail, looks inside. SKRAM This shit is bananas, Kitchin. KITCHIN I'm hip. Loud thunder. SKRAM sees	LU	Something; no negative connotation
88	2007	FIC	7MickeyMantleNovel	it a little myself. I even wrote a little bit about some of the shit Billy Martin and I pulled. Not much, but just enough to give people	LU	Something; no negative connotation
89	2009	FIC	BeatReaperNovel	the kind that looks like a nose job but isn't. Freckles, I shit you not. Her teeth are the cleanest things in the hospital. # "	FI	Figurative idiom
90	2004	MAG	OutdoorLife	on the ball, Sleuter thought as he opened his door, not shooting the shit with someone or taking a leak, as usual. He glanced at the camera	FI	Figurative idiom

91	2008	FIC	CureNight	anything to you about testifying against the dealers? " # " No one said shit to me, " Chris said. " Never even read me my rights.	LU	Anything; no negative connotation
92	2009	NF	YankeeYears	wasn? t as good a righthanded hitter. Freddie McGriff, who scared the shit out of me, was the second hitter. I know letting Andy hit in	FI	Figurative idiom
93	2005	FIC	Mov:TwelveAndHoldir	# # KENNY # You better not. I already packed twice the amount of shit. I can't carry it all alone. # # JACOB # I'll	LU	Something; no negative connotation
94	2005	NF	DreamBoogieTriumph	, but once I got up there, that song would get so good, shit, I couldn't mess up. I couldn't mess up. But I	EX	
95	2005	FIC	Mov:LittleAthens	're you doing? # # HEATHER # I'm gon na look through his shit. # INT. DEREK'S HOUSE, BEDROOM - CONTINUOUS Heather walks over to	LU	Something; no negative connotation
96	2002	FIC	PutLidOnIt	Chia toys take water, " Meehan said. " And sparrows take shit, " Johnson said. What was that supposed to mean? Meehan watched the	UN	Need more context
97	2004	FIC	FantasySciFi	I will be invisible to them! " # " Doctor Sen's going to shit a brick when he finds out. " # " By the time he finds	FI	Figurative idiom
98	2000	FIC	LongSonGabriel	she say, all the things got said around this table. Old piece of shit, I spend about two weeks fining it, so it don't fall to	NC	
99	2009	FIC	TrustNoOne	watching a high- speed chase on the news. A guy in a beat- to- shit Jeep Cherokee, hauling ass down the 405, a legion of black- and- whites	IN	
100	2009	FIC	CityAmpCity	she said. " Maybe they're up for junkies of the month or some shit. They got here a bit before seven. The skate pit's organised that	ST	Group membership w/ preceding NP

COHA		SHITTING		Functional analysis		
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES
0 instances in the 1940 section						
1	1970	FIC	Play: Moonchildren	with it. How can you explain something like that. RUTH Hey, no shitting around, did he really say he was gon na join? KATHY You know	FI	Figurative idiom
2	1970	FIC	Play: Moonchildren	to the march. MIKE Is he a good short? DICK I'm not shitting around. We're sitting on the bus and he's telling me he's	FI	Figurative idiom
3	1970	FIC	Play: Moonchildren	, sit down, huh? Something pretty bad just happened. Seriously, no shitting around. RUTH Where's Norman? COOTIE Norman's he just oh, shit	FI	Figurative idiom
4	1970	FIC	Play: Moonchildren	all his clothes off and poured gasoline all over himself. COOTIE We were just shitting around, Ruth. Honest. If we thought he was serious we'd've stopped	FI	Figurative idiom
5	1970	FIC	Play: Moonchildren	about you kids is you're honest, you're direct. There's no shitting around with you. Yeah, I know it sounds corny, but I'm	FI	Figurative idiom
6	1971	FIC	Play: NowTheresJust	. I got it just how I like it and judging from how you was shitting bricks just now when I came in, you probably got all the initial surprise	FI	Figurative idiom
7	1971	FIC	Play: NowTheresJust	it, but I figure you'd be better off if you stopped all this shitting around about how much you're getting. Don't worry about me. I	FI	Figurative idiom
8	1972	FIC	Semi-Tough	being in the book. A lot of background stuff. You better not be shitting me, Jim Tom. I've been at it for over an hour now	FI	Figurative idiom
9	1972	FIC	Mov: Deliverance	with it, I'm tired of this woods scene. I'm tired of shitting in a hole in the ground. This is for the Indians. They go	LU	
10	1972	FIC	Harpers	forest of pines, poplars, birch, and dogwood. I was strictly for shitting or thinking, since it wa: their habit to piss wherever they were when	LU	
11	1973	FIC	Mov: LastDetailThe	? MAAForty dollars. BUDDUSKY (incredulous) Sheeit. MULHALLYou're shitting me. MAAI wouldn't shit you. You're my favorite turd.	FI	Figurative idiom
12	1974	FIC	MyLifeAsMan	n't care to come home a year from now, Peppy, to find you shitting into your socks. " " But I'm all right. " " Oh	LU	
13	1975	FIC	Play: Fishing	BARENBERG It just was. A farm is just a bunch of dirt and cows shitting in the fields. I'm not a land person. I'm a water	LU	
14	1975	FIC	Play: Fishing	the end of the aisle and he knew what was going down and he was shitting in his shoes because if he hassled her there'd be a big hippie-drug scandal	FI	Figurative idiom

15	1976	FIC	RatnersStar	between neighboring countries disputing the ownership of coastal islands where millions of sea birds do their shitting. Bats are next. The commercial market for bat guano is already growing.	LU	
16	1977	FIC	BetrayedByFScott	keeping that god-damned dog in the kennel tonight. Trammel says the dog's been shitting out near shortstop too. Probably just a case of not being fully trained.	LU	
17	1978	FIC	FoolsDie	, like a baby not yet toilet-trained, so you couldn't blame it for shitting all over everybody. One of the women said, " Osano, you have	LU	
18	1978	FIC	ThursdayRabbiWalked	and bushy-tailed early Monday morn-ing. " " On the level? You're not shitting me? " " No, I'm not shitting you, you bastard,	FI	Figurative idiom
19	1978	FIC	ThursdayRabbiWalked	level? You're not shitting me? " " No, I'm not shitting you, you bastard, " and he hung up. Junior. You are	FI	Figurative idiom
20	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	to? Pace says. Home, man? Home? Home? Are you shitting me, man? Jimbo says. I don't have a home. I	FI	Figurative idiom
21	1979	FIC	Mov:RoseThe	Take a nap! " It's up against the wall now. And start shitting that art! So don't anybody give me any " tired artists " bullshit	FI	Metaphorical extension of literal meaning
22	1979	FIC	SilverGhost	to? Pace says. Home, man? Home? Home? Are you shitting me, man? Jimbo says. I don't have a home. I	FI	Figurative idiom
1	2000	FIC	Pure	' They stink' em out for everyone else.' I thought you liked shitting in the bushes best?' I dried my hands on one of those paper	LU	
2	2000	FIC	Pure	but still that voice in my head was going round. I thought hippies liked shitting in the bushes best? And I wondered what that had to do with it	LU	
3	2000	FIC	Ploughshares	of the bay winding down through the air whining at us all googly-eyed glimmering hotwired shitting into the water in glee. # Fifth gear. # We zoomed over the	LU	
4	2000	MAG	Esquire	remarks to her off camera. (He apparently compared that kissing experience to " shitting up a pine tree " - which she thought funny at the time, although I	FI	Figurative idiom
5	2000	MAG	Esquire	, which she thought was a funny thing for me To Do probably not terribly unlike shitting up a pine tree, I suspect. I wonder if anyone will agree with	FI	Figurative idiom
6	2001	FIC	Play:ChainsJunkdom	menial jobs as their white peers sit in Congress and the White House farting and shitting to save mankind. Academic racism! I was overqualified. The graduation ceremony is	LU	
7	2001	FIC	RightAsRainNovel	and Strange had grown attached to the boy as well. Friends warned him about shitting on the dining room table, but he was genuinely fond of the woman,	FI	Figurative idiom
8	2001	FIC	PuttAtEndWorld	to dawn on him. " Hector! " he called. " Are you shitting me? " But Hector did nt turn. He was moving down the path	FI	Figurative idiom

9	2001	FIC	FantasySciFi	. " # " You, Carmen, how long? " # " Six shitting months. I must get to the restaurant, Mary. " # " Of	EM	
10	2002	FIC	SheWentAllWay	did. The one that made them both so famous. " " You are shitting me, sir, " the newsstand owner said politely. " No, I	FI	Figurative idiom
11	2002	FIC	ThingsYouShould	do his business in public. Can't blame him -- if they had me shitting outside, I'd hide in the bushes too. " Tierney -- I hear	LU	
12	2002	FIC	Ploughshares	feces. When I was a kid, I thought that snow came from God shitting on us. The Touhy bus arrived, and we lined up at the bus	LU	
13	2003	FIC	YearIce	. This is like the only time I can get away with it without people shitting their pants. " Get off a me, " he says. " Okay	FI	Figurative idiom
14	2003	FIC	Ploughshares	Jagged seashells poke out like warnings. The only people in the water are squatters shitting or washing their laundry against salt-bitten rocks. Adil and Pia sit on plastic bags	LU	
15	2004	FIC	Ploughshares	the sink. One is licking her peach facial wash, and the other is shitting on David's hand towel. They look up at the sound of her approach	LU	
16	2004	FIC	SouthernRev	, he was old and couldn't coach. So I was sure Cindy was shitting me. I reached out and put my hand on her arm and was about	FI	Figurative idiom
17	2004	FIC	Mov:Cellular	response. Ryan can't believe this. RYAN (CONT'D) You're shitting me. # JESSICA # Johnny, what time is it?! Johnny! #	FI	Figurative idiom
18	2004	FIC	Mov:LadykillersThe	the tunnel. # GAWAIN # Motherfucker can't stop talking, can't stop shitting. Motherfucker tell everyone about his motherfuckin' asshole. No one gives a shit	LU	
19	2004	MAG	USAToday	the first half of the 21 st century will be the Middle East. The shitting dynamics of history in this new century will have settled the " out of area	T	Misspelled 'shifting'
20	2005	FIC	SlimNone Novel	? " Irv frowned. " Ben Hogan's dead. " " You're shitting me. " " You don't want to pick somebody serious? " I	FI	Figurative idiom
21	2005	FIC	MusicThroughFloor	dead people. I mean, when they were alive. They got tired of shitting themselves. You know, like an escape -- except you go under the ground	LU	
22	2005	FIC	Ploughshares	is dying, atrophying, sagging and burping and decaying and gassing and cells are shitting the bed and begging for a few antioxidants in order to go buck the molecular	LU	
23	2005	MAG	Bicycling	pedaling while maintaining a cadence of 75 rpm. Increase your effort by 10% by shitting into the next highest gear. Maintain this effort for 2 to 3 minutes while	T	Typo; meant 'shifting'
24	2006	FIC	ActTreason	's just say, wasn't playing by the rules. " " You're shitting me? " McMahon stood up so he could examine the photo more closely.	FI	Figurative idiom

25	2006	FIC	FantasySciFi	witch. " " You'll be a dead witch if you don't quit shitting me, " Angie told him. But her brother knew he had her,	FI	Figurative idiom
26	2006	FIC	FantasySciFi	aliens. That's why they all acted so weird. " " You're shitting me, " Wallace said. " No, sir. You gon na sit	FI	Figurative idiom
27	2006	FIC	FantasySciFi	rain. " Is that a joke? Little Cetshwayo is with his mother somewhere shitting his baby cloth. " The warrior's eyes narrowed. " Why are you	LU	
28	2007	FIC	SoMa	now he was about to become the laughingstock of the office. " You're shitting me! " Raphe burst out. " Excuse me? " the woman said	FI	Figurative idiom
29	2007	FIC	SouthernRev	You're right, but I'm not. I'm nervous as a dog shitting razor blades. " I let this picture sink in, and winced. "	FI	Figurative idiom

30th instance is missing

Appendix 4: COCA functional analysis data

COCA CUNT Functional						
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES
0 instances		SPOK				

COCA CUNTS Functional						
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES
0 instances		SPOK				

COCA FUCK Functional analysis						
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES
1	1997	SPOK	ABC_Nightline	still here. A C COWLINGS: Listen. O J SIMPSON: Shut the fuck up. (unintelligible) Det TOM LANGE: Juice? A C COWLINGS:	US	
2	1995	SPOK	Ind_Geraldo	, she's mixed up like everybody else and she don't know what the fuck she's talking about. Woman 7:... treat somebody bad or good.	EM	
3	1995	SPOK	Ind_Geraldo	gay, huh? RIVERA: Go ahead. Pe-Wee, tell me. PE-WEE: Fuck that. Fuck that. T-BONE: If you -- if you so hard,	C	
4	1995	SPOK	Ind_Geraldo	? RIVERA: Go ahead. Pe-Wee, tell me. PE-WEE: Fuck that. Fuck that. T-BONE: If you -- if you so hard, why you got	C	
5	1992	SPOK	CNN_Sonya	. 8th CALLER: Ms. Schwarzberg? Ms. SCHWARZBERG: Yes? 8th CALLER: Fuck you, ass-SONYA: You know, it's interesting as we hear how	C	
6	1991	SPOK	CNN_King	can I go? I have a doctor appointment.' He said,' Fuck off' - excuse the expression - which in England means' You can go	US	

COCA FUCKING Functional analysis						
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES
1	1997	SPOK	Ind_Springer	, he's not your husband, dearie. CHRISTY: He's getting ready to fucking be. DEBRA: He will never be. I -- you want to be	MA	Attitudinal disjunct
2	1995	SPOK	Ind_Geraldo	n't tough, bro. TEEZER: Stupid, I'm as much a man as fucking you are, all right? C-ROCK: You-all are not tough. T-BONE:	MA	Attitudinal disjunct
3	1992	SPOK	Ind_Geraldo	people as it is, you know? (Audience-reacts) KEITH: Being gay is like fucking being cursed. RIVERA: Is that -- is that why you're upset with	MA	Attitudinal disjunct
4	1991	SPOK	CNN_King	made a blatant pass at me. Ms. GABOR: He called me a' fucking bitch' the first time he stopped me KING OK, all right - On	IN	Expresses high degree of gradable noun

COCA		SHIT		Functional analysis		
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES
2	2008	SPOK	CNN Newsroom	and walk through the jungle and it's meet snakes and panthers and all that shit if one wants to do that, and guns and get arrested by the police	ST	Group membership with preceding nouns
3	2005	SPOK	CNN_Grace	OF JESSICA LUNSFORD: Couey is a pathological liar. He s a piece of shit. Sorry, but its the truth. If he was so willing to leave	NC	
4	2001	SPOK	CBS_48Hours	them because I know they would do it for me. ! LAGATTUTA: Shit after shift spent searching for remains. ! UNIDENTIFIED-MALE: Im more than	T	Misspelled "shift"
5	2001	SPOK	NPR_ATC	n't worry about your eyes. Get your breathing... Officer TOWNS: Oh, shit, it's burning. I've got to wear my -- whoo! Whoo	EX	
6	2001	SPOK	NPR_TalkNation	just flip' em the bird and keep flowin'. I don't take shit from no one. I'm a criminal. Because every time I write a	FI	Figurative idiom; something unpleasant
7	2001	SPOK	NPR_TalkNation	just flip' em the bird and keep flowin'. I don't take shit from no one. Your mother did drugs, hard liquor, cigarettes or speed	FI	Figurative idiom; something unpleasant
8	2000	SPOK	NPR_Saturday	, what do you want me to say? That this whole thing scares the shit out of me? Unidentified Woman: Yes. Unidentified Man 1: Well,	FI	Figurative idiom
9	1999	SPOK	CBS_Sixty	would they pick on you? RAMSEY: I'd be called a piece of shit, a bastard. I -- I've been called a spaz and a retard	NC	
10	1999	SPOK	NBC_TodaySat	, 2 3, ladies and gentlemen... (sings in Italian)... holy shit, I'm better than I thought. APPLEGATE: All right. The show	EX	
11	1999	SPOK	NPR_Weekend	know, his hairline's receding or something. And you're, like, Shit, that's happening to me,' you know, so that's the	EX	
12	1998	SPOK	CNN_KingWknd	that had a 16-year-old girl naked through the entire movie and no one gave a shit. I think that the character -- the character's complete self-control, that her	FI	Figurative idiom
13	1998	SPOK	NPR_Weekly	Muslim services? That guy can have a conversation. We debate for hours about shit. He's a friend of mine. He got sent up a week after	LU	Things; no negative connotation

14	1998	SPOK	NPR_ATC	night, and what else is the line, love is the only weapon. Shit! Bullshit! Martin Luther King died with love. Kennedy died talking	EX	
15	1997	SPOK	CBS_48Hours	mean, he'd tell me,' Guys, you know my life is shit right now.' And he'd say,' You know, right now	FI	Something unpleasant or worthless
16				Missing text		Instance is missing in data
17	1997	SPOK	ABC_PrimeTime (and pick up a bottle because I ain't breaking a nail. That shit hurts. CYNTHIA MCFADDEN: (voice-over) It's party time -- Friday night	FI	Something unpleasant
18	1997	SPOK	Ind_Springer	. You're always screaming at her when she's talking to Dina. Doing shit like that, I'm surprised -- she's going to get upset. ANGIE	FI	Something unpleasant
19	1997	SPOK	Ind_Springer	CHERYL: Then you'll love me for me. You shouldn't give a shit who I sleep with. PAUL-# 1: No, I don't -- I	FI	Figurative idiom
20	1996	SPOK	CBS_48Hours	DOW: (Voiceover)... their gangs. DENNY-KANDT-1Gang: It's for my gang and shit, man. Man 1: It's a gang symbol? All right.	ST	Group membership with preceding noun
21	1996	SPOK	CBS_48Hours	: (Voiceover) And you won't believe what happened. Unidentified Man 6: Holy shit! SCHLESINGER: (Voiceover) Or maybe you will.	EX	
22	1996	SPOK	CNN_King	you hear the content of her call. " He's going to beat the shit out of me, if I don't get off the telephone. KING:	FI	Figurative idiom
23	1996	SPOK	NPR_Weekly	that- Clients are used to their guide taking care of them, but when the shit hits the fan on an 8,000-meter peak, all a guide can do is save	FI	Figurative idiom
24	1995	SPOK	CBS_48Hours	You are not cutting in front of me, because I am not paying for shit! Get your hands off! Woman 7: Don't play yourself! Mr-DIAZ	LU	Anything; no negative connotation
25	1995	SPOK	CBS_48Hours	day, waking up every morning feeling like (censored) until you get this shit inside of you. I don't like it at all. Unidentified Man 3	FI	Something unpleasant
26	1995	SPOK	CBS_48Hours	is doing time in an Illinois prison for trying to kill her... Mr-PETKUS: Shit happens. (Footage-of-Kagan) LAGATTUTA: (Voiceover)... Margaret Kagan is trapped in a prison of	FI	Figurative idiom
27	1995	SPOK	Ind_Geraldo	that's a street level kind of deal. DELIA: I got my own shit, though, you see? You get moved up lovely if you work it	FI	Something unpleasant, i.e. 'problems'
28	1995	SPOK	NPR_ATC	I'm gon na have a life that's worth living if I survive this shit. These medical people have a way of giving you all of these promises.	FI	Something unpleasant
29	1994	SPOK	CBS_48Hours	Well, why would I eat an almond that was produced off of cow shit,' you know. (Footage-of-almond-) SCHLESINGER: (Voiceover)	LU	Feces

30	1994	SPOK	CBS_Sixty	Ben Rich knows what he wants. I hope so -- I hope this Stealth shit works.' (Footage-of-a-Steal) BRADLEY: (Voiceover) It worked.	LU	Something; anything
31	1994	SPOK	CBS_Sixty	m from Muncie, Indiana. Guama -- vaminos, vaminos. He understands. Shit, tell me something else. I got no...'	EX	
32	1994	SPOK	CBS_EyeToEye	She did. She did. (The-following-audi) NICOLE: He's going to beat the shit out of me. 911 Dispatcher: Wait a minute. O.J.:... (unintelligible	FI	Figurative idiom
33	1994	SPOK	Ind_Geraldo	at... TODD: That's a lie, Larry. You're full of shit. LARRY:... I was in the truck. I was going -- and	FI	Figurative idiom
34	1994	SPOK	Ind_Geraldo	like, Oh, they can't hurt me' and he's driving and shit. TODD: That's a liar, Larry, you -- I never threw	ST	Group membership w/ preceding verb
35	1994	SPOK	Ind_Geraldo	in jail. TODD: Yeah, you're out -- you're full of shit; you're out partying, having a good time. CELEST: Apparently,	FI	Figurative idiom
36	1994	SPOK	Ind_Geraldo	What? RYAN: I used to be all (censored) doing crack and shit. RIVERA: What does Ryan need if he doesn't need treatment? RYAN	ST	Group membership w/ preceding noun
37	1994	SPOK	Ind_Geraldo	it didn't happen. ERICA: Of course he's going to lie. Shit. RIVERA: Here you have one, here you have the other. Is	EX	
38	1994	SPOK	ABC_Turning	The captain wants to see you.' So I said, ' Oh, shit. Here we go.' BARBARA WALTERS: voice-over But the New York City	EX	
39	1994	SPOK	ABC_Turning	girl. I- but now I'm afraid that I'm going to constantly- oh shit. Uhm. Hold on. BARBARA WALTERS: voice-over As he tells his troubles	EX	
40	1994	SPOK	ABC_Turning	's a child who may need help. 1st PARENT: You're full of shit and you ain't taking him. 3rd CHILD SAFETY WORKER: Okay. Well-	FI	Figurative idiom
41	1994	SPOK	NPR_ATC	: Her first words were, ' I'm too old to go through this shit, ' and, ' I need help. He's going to kill me	FI	Something unpleasant
42	1994	SPOK	NPR_Weekend	, if I could live on heroin and not have to go through all the shit and all the pain and all the suffering and all that stuff, I would	FI	Something unpleasant
43	1994	SPOK	NPR_Weekend	pain and all the suffering and all that stuff, I would stay on that shit forever SIMON Could you give me some idea of, you know, what a	LU	Something; anything; no negative connotation
44	1993	SPOK	CBS_Sixty	I just could sell it." Oh, I'm sick of the shit. Get it out of here!' (Footage-of-Dial's-) SAFER: (Voiceover) He	FI	Something worthless
45	1993	SPOK	CBS_Sixty	advice about VD treatment. Unidentified Man 10: Many times I have gotten this shit... Dr-KRAMER: OK-# Man 10: And I've taken it correctly and then	FI	Something unpleasant
46	1993	SPOK	ABC_DayOne	to use, blood. You think I'm bullshitting, homey, but that shit gon na pay off, dog. LIL' FILA: Why you think I	LU	Something; anything; no negative connotation

47	1993	SPOK	ABC_DayOne	every day, blood, trying to sell some expletive deleted dope? But that shit's nothing, blood. You gon na get stuck on stupid, blood.	FI	Something unpleasant
48	1993	SPOK	NPR_Morning	you got ta admit, those grand owls are messy little bastards. They'll shit all over hell if you let them, and try to sleep with them hollering	LU	Defecate
49	1993	SPOK	ABC_Nightline	don't like coming over because of that dog. Ms. BLACKWELL: Oh, shit. Mom, you asked me the reason. That was the truth MOTHER No	EX	
50	1993	SPOK	ABC_Nightline	other reasons, Erin, why you did that. Ms. BLACKWELL: Oh, shit. I'm not working with you if you're going to just- MOTHER:	EX	
51	1993	SPOK	ABC_Nightline	want to sit there and take care of them. It hurts my kids and shit seeing me like this and seeing marks on my body, doing what I'm	ST	Group membership w/ preceding noun
52	1993	SPOK	ABC_Nightline	haven't- I still haven't gotten nothing, Mary Ellen. I haven't got shit. Ms. MARK: But you've got to make these things happen yourself.	LU	Anything; no negative connotation
53	1993	SPOK	ABC_Nightline	: They're going to have the same kind expletive deleted- go through the same shit as I went through with my mother. Ms. MARK: No, they wo	FI	Something unpleasant
54	1993	SPOK	ABC_Nightline	Well, you can make things- Ms. BLACKWELL: They'll go through the same shit KOPPEL It's tough to watch, isn't it? Ms. BLACKWELL: Yeah	FI	Something unpleasant
55	1993	SPOK	ABC_Nightline	: They're going to have the same kind expletive deleted- go through the same shit as I went through with my mother. Ms. MARK: No, they wo	MI	Text duplication (cf. #53)
56	1993	SPOK	ABC_Nightline	you can make things happen. Ms. BLACKWELL: They're going through the same shit KOPPEL That strange combination of naivete and street smarts, and always so deeply weary-	FI	Something unpleasant
57	1991	SPOK	PBS_Newshour	, as I was always told in my family. But Communism is just bull shit. That's what I heard from the very beginning. MR-LEHRER: What,	FI	Figurative idiom
58	1990	SPOK	ABC_Special	could believe, that would be one thing SHEELA Oh, you are full of shit, you don't know anything about- Rep. FAWBUSH: Let me just point out	FI	Figurative idiom

The search yielded 58 instances, but only 57 instances were featured in the text; #16 is missing.

COCA SHITTING Functional analysis						
INSTANCE	YEAR	GENRE	TEXT	LTD CONTEXT	FUNCTION	NOTES
0 instances		SPOK				

Appendix 5: Abstract in German

Abstract

Eine Korpusstudie zu Schimpfwörtern:
Form und Funktion „schlechter“ Sprache im amerikanischen Englisch

Die meisten Schimpfwörter der aktuellen englischen Sprache beziehen sich auf kulturelle Tabu-Themen, wie Religion, Sex und Fäkalsprache. Vor der Verfügbarkeit von Sprachkorpora war die meiste Forschung zu sogenannten *four-letter words* beschränkt auf breitere Untersuchungen aus soziolinguistischer (vgl. Andersson & Trudgill 1990), historischer (vgl. Hughes 1991, 2006), psycholinguistischer (vgl. Jay 1992, 2000), neurolinguistischer (vgl. VanLancker & Cummings 1999) und lexikographischer Perspektive (vgl. Sheidlower 1995).

Im letzten Jahrzehnt sind einige korpusbasierte Arbeiten zu den verschiedenen Funktionen von Schimpfwörtern im britischen Englisch erschienen (vgl. McEnery 2004, 2006, 2009; Ljung 2009). Es gibt jedoch bisher keine vergleichbare Forschung zum amerikanischen Englisch. Die vorliegende Arbeit hat zum Ziel, diese Lücke durch eine korpusbasierte Analyse amerikanischer Schimpfwörter zu schließen. Daher werden die Form und Funktion der Wörter *cunt*, *fuck* und *shit* im Amerikanischen von 1900 bis 2012 untersucht. Als Datenbasis dienen 1172 Vorkommnisse im *Corpus of Historical American English* und 97 Datenpunkte aus dem *Corpus of Contemporary American English*.

Die vorliegende Studie untersucht die Frequenz und die morphologische Variation dieser Wörter. Des Weiteren werden die Daten im Rahmen der Typologie von Ljung (2011) zu Schimpfwörtern analysiert, die eine Unterscheidung in die zwei Hauptfunktionen *stand-alones* und *slot-fillers* erlaubt. Die formale und funktionale Analyse der Arbeit liefert einen

wichtigen korpuslinguistischen Beitrag zur diachronen Erforschung der Entwicklung von tabuisierten Schimpfwörtern im amerikanischen Englisch.

Appendix 6: CV

Curriculum Vitae



Julene Rae Beckmann

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EDUCATION

- MA. English Language and Linguistics** 2010 – 2013
Universität Wien
- BA. English Literature and Creative Writing** 1998 – 2001
Graduated *magna cum laude*
San Francisco State University

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- Co-founder & Executive Director, Project Bike Trip** 2008 – 2010
Created bicycle education programs for youth and adults
Santa Cruz, California, USA
- Publicist, HarperCollins Publishers** 2003 – 2007
Managed author book tours and media campaigns
San Francisco, California, USA
- Freelance Bicycle Journalist** 2002 – 2004
Cover stories published in *Dirt Rag Magazine* and
Bike Magazine
- Publicity Intern, Chronicle Books** 2000 – 2001
Assisted publicists with author media campaigns
San Francisco, California, USA

LANGUAGES

English	Native language	C2
German	Beginner	A2
French	Beginner	A1