The effects of socio-biographical background, acculturation, and personality on Persian immigrants' swearing behaviour

The Effects of Socio-biographical Background, Acculturation, and Personality on Persian Immigrants' Swearing Behaviour

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I hereby declare that, except where explicitly mentioned, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the effects of socio-biographical background, acculturation orientation, and personality on Persian (Farsi) immigrants' swearing behaviour. Swearing is used to fulfill several functions, including signalling group membership (Beers Fägersten 2012; Dewaele, 2013; Stapleton, 2003, 2010). Immigrants navigate between their heritage and host culture social networks; as such, they use swearwords as affirmation of their membership, signifying their membership of both networks (Dewaele, 2013, 2016a). Several factors affect how close immigrants feel to members of the host culture in-group, such as frequency of the use of a language (Dewaele, 2004a, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012), self-rated knowledge (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013), and length of residency (De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Kim, 2011; Dewaele, 2011a). Previous studies also examined potential links between personality profiles and use of swearwords. For instance, Dewaele's (2012, 2017a) and Jay's (2000) studies showed that extraverts use more swearing. However, to my knowledge, there has been no research yet on the possible link between immigrants' language choice for swearing, socio-biographical, acculturation variables, and personality profile. The present dissertation research was set out to fill this gap and aims to provide a more unified (i.e., less fragmented) account of immigrants' language choice for swearing and its relationship with several variables.

A mixed method approach was adopted. The quantitative study investigated individual differences in acculturation and personality traits, and how these may be linked to socio-biographical and language variables, including language preference for swearing. Data were collected through an on-line questionnaire. A total of 204 Persian-English bi- and multilinguals residing outside Iran and 50 residing in Iran participated in this study. Qualitative data were collected via semi-structured interviews to give participants a voice and gain a better understanding of individuals' experiences, strategies, language preference for swearing, and the possible effects of socio-biographical, acculturation variables, and personality traits. Interviews were conducted with 11 participants residing outside Iran.

Results revealed a positive relation between higher mainstream acculturation scores and frequency of swearing in English. Female participants who scored higher in Social Initiative (Extraversion) used English swearwords more often. Male participants who scored lower in

Emotional Stability (high Neuroticism) used Persian swearwords significantly more frequently. Results also showed a positive relation between frequency of the use, self-rated knowledge in Persian/ English, and Cultural Empathy and Open-mindedness. Moreover, sociolinguistic variables such as younger age, lower age of acquisition, higher self-rated knowledge in English, and longer length of residency were found to have positive effects on the frequency of swearing in English. Participants' gender mattered as indicated by the finding that males and females showed different language choices at the time of anger with different interlocutors. The effect of both heritage and mainstream culture was evident in participants' language choice at the time of anger for different interlocutors. Persian immigrants outside Iran differed from Farsi speakers in Iran in their choice and frequency of use of Persian/English swearwords. Also, ratings of the offensiveness of Persian/English swearwords varied between Persian immigrants residing outside Iran and Farsi speakers in Iran. These indicate that socio-pragmatic norms of immigrants gradually shift as a result of acculturating in a host culture and this will ultimately affect the perception and the use of L1/LX swearwords. Overall, qualitative findings were consistent with quantitative results and provided deeper insight into reasons underlying migrants' language choices for swearing. The present results are consistent with past empirical findings and could be interpreted to provide support for several theoretical perspectives (i.e., bi-dimensional acculturation; multi-competence). Finally, these results have practical implications and provide suggestions for informing practices for teaching foreign languages.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: IMMIGRATION AND ITS RELATION TO LANGUAGE AND PERSONALITY TRAITS

1.1 Through a personal lens

Swearing, in very basic terms, refers to the use of words which have "the potential to be offensive, inappropriate, objectionable, or unacceptable in any given social context" (Beers Fägersten, 2012, p. 3). Swearing has been defined as an expression that refers to something that is stigmatised in the culture. It should not be interpreted literally also can be used to express strong emotions (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990). Swearwords are "used persistently over a person's lifetime and are frequently uttered in public" (Jay, 2009, p. 155), and people from all different cultures use them every day. Even those who suffered from aphasia and Alzheimer, who cannot remember the name of their family members, still remember how to swear (Jay, 2009). Many people have a long-lasting interest in swearing because it captures a paradox: swearwords are commonly learned as part of growing up in a certain culture but at the same time they are forbidden words and must be used in a restricted way (Jay, 2009). Swearwords permit a speaker to express strong emotions, which can be either positive like joking, and sexual enticement, or negative like name calling and sexual harassment (Jay, 2000). There is a great variety in the terms that are used to refer to swearwords including labels like curse words, taboo words, profanity, etc. This study, similar to the previous literature (Allan & Burridge, 2006; Beers Fägersten, 2012; Pinker, 2008, Vingerhoets et al., 2013) uses the terms swearwords and taboo words synonymously and interchangeably with swearing, with the intention of achieving semantic consistency. With respect to using swearwords, many authors noted a wide variability, with influences from a multitude of factors. As such, each community has a different range of linguistic behaviours, that function slightly differently from other communities of practice and can present "different sets of linguistic and semantic constraints on dirty word use" (Jay, 2000, p. 19). Allan (2017) also highlighted the effect of community in judging a specific behavior as taboo and mentioned that taboo refers to an inhibition of harmful behavior for a particular community of one or more persons at a definite time in specifiable contexts. The degree of harm produced can vary from a breaking of etiquette to absolute fatality (Allan, 2016). Norms among communities of practice are different, as are judgments of what is acceptable or not. Even

gestures are culturally specific, for example thumbs up means fuck you among Persian language speakers. I remember two years ago I was looking for a tailor's shop in Tehran/Iran and had to ask details about the address from the bakery. After getting the right address, based on my habit in Canada, I showed the person the thumbs up gesture and passed that place. Immediately, I noticed that this is extremely bad and I did not expect that the baker knew that thumbs up might have a positive meaning in other cultures. Thus, I felt terrified and started running as fast as I could. Dewaele (2017c) asserts that meaning and offensiveness are influenced by "proximity of the linguistic context […], sometimes also by paraverbal information such as intonation or prosody, and finally also by body language and facial expression" (p. 258). I grew up in Iran, and though I was aware of almost all swearwords in Persian, I also knew that as a woman, coming from an educated family, I was expected not to use swearwords. My father is a retired army general and in our house the language I spoke with parents was very formal. Of course, I spoke the same way to family friends. It would have been disgraceful for a daughter from this family to use swearwords. This is a key aspect of the Persian culture and social interactions. In fact, "all Iranians measure themselves to a great extent by the honour they accumulate through their actions and social interrelations" (Sharifian & Tayebi, 2017, p. 419).

Gender was shown to be a factor influencing language use in general and swearing in particular among Persian people. Iranian girls are born and raised within a society that defines gender roles in a somewhat static and rigid way. Women in Iran are taught to pay particular attention to the cultural appropriateness of the words they use in daily conversation. "Women are considered inferior and normally they are expected not to talk, or the last turn is given to them" (Nodoushan, 2016, p. 234). Also, "Iran's supreme leader has claimed gender equality is a 'Zionist plot' aiming to corrupt the role of women in society." (https:// www.independent.co.uk › News › World › Middle East 21 Mar 2017) which implies the general attitudes toward women in the society. Moreover, in addition to gender differences in the use of swearwords, educational status is also a factor. Specifically, educated people use swearwords very rarely, since it is not the norm and the use of swearwords suggests that the speaker is of a lower social status. This is consistent with the history of Iran and reflects deeply rooted social hierarchies - "Iran has over 2500 years of feudalist history, and people are still under the influence of archetypal social discrimination and consider certain people are superior and others inferior" (Nodoushan, 2016, p.

246). Further nuancing the use of language and swearwords is a cultural preference, among, Persians, for being more indirect and using euphemisms.

Given the multitude of factors influencing the use of swearwords, in my previous research "Implications of Social Context in the Usage of Taboo Words in Tehrani Males and Females" (Shakiba, 2007), I set out to investigate how certain aspects of the social context shape the use of swearwords. Specifically, I studied the different linguistic behaviours of 120 monolingual Farsi speakers (60 males and 60 females) from two age groups (19-29 years and 30-40 years) from Tehran/ Iran. Fifteen Persian swearwords were selected from recorded cassettes and included in the questionnaire, with a focus on identifying differences in the application of taboo words with respect to the frequency of usage, the effects of social context on the choice of such words, the addressee's character, and incentives or inhibitions affecting the usage of taboo words. Due to cultural restrictions on the use of swearwords, I had to use first and last letter of the swearwords and three points in between in the print version of both the questionnaire and the published article. The results showed that male participants claimed to use taboo words more frequently than the female participants, with a specific taboo word being used exclusively by men "Dayous[1]". Older participants used swearwords less frequently than younger participants. In addition, women with higher educational levels were more concerned about their language and generally attempted to use more polite language. Finally, men used swearwords more frequently in the presence of their own gender (Shakiba, 2007).

Adding further complexity to the use of swearwords is the experience of immigration and learning and using a second language. This became apparent to me when I moved to Canada, and I heard women use many taboo words that, back in Iran, would be seriously considered marks of a "strong social stigma" (Dewaele, 2011b, p. 606) by other Persians, particularly their fellow women. I noticed that this phenomenon appears not only among English speakers; even my Persian female students use swearwords without hesitation. I became interested in finding out whether individuals' knowledge of their first or second language, length of stay in a foreign country, and their personality had any significant effect on their usage of swearwords. The fact that swearing is a complex, multi-functional behaviour and the relationship between several

[1] refer to someone who happily accepts the wrong doing of female members of his family (http://www.urbandictionary.com)

variables that were shown to be related to swearing is not clear. Therefore, I decided to systematically analyse what factors could contribute to explain the underlying reasons for immigrants' language choices for swearing. As a result, this thesis has been developed with the aim of investigating the possible links between socio-biographical background, acculturation variables, and personality on Persian immigrants' swearing behaviour. To my knowledge, there has been no research yet on the possible link between immigrants' language choice for swearing, socio-biographical, acculturation variables, and personality profile.

As it was mentioned earlier, the basis of this thesis is inspired by my personal experience and exposure to interesting individual language behaviours, particularly swearing behaviours. This chapter will provide an overview of the topic. It starts with my pilot study, followed by the key themes of this thesis, which will be introduced briefly: immigration and language, acculturation, language socialization, migration and personality, multi-competence, and language and swearwords. Then an overview of the remaining chapters will be presented, followed by conclusion and important assumptions to be considered.

1.2 My pilot study

I have had many Persian students eager to know about the meaning of particular swearwords in English, or who even wanted me to translate the specific swearwords that they had heard into Persian. I had to explain that they needed to understand how, in different situations, these swearwords carried different weights, and that a swearword taken out of context might be even more offensive than one that is used properly in the context (Dewaele, 2011d). Though these students wanted to learn these words, the problem was that memorizing a list of swearwords would not be useful, since this is not a static phenomenon. Taboo expressions are constantly being created and their use and meaning can extend, fade, or be completely lost over time (Andersson & Trudgill, 2007; Hoeksema & Napoli, 2009). Taboo expressions are also culturally powerful which makes them inclined to rapid and unpredictable changes (Burridge & Benczes, 2017), which may, in turn, motivate a speech community to introduce new ones. These changes also reflect changes in social attitudes. In addition, books, magazines, newspapers, etc. are often lacking in taboo terms and, even when these terms are present, the range of both lexical

items and syntactic constructions those lexical items occur in is more limited than the range of actual use (Hoeksema & Napoli, 2009). Apparently, this forms an additional challenge for immigrants who are in the process of joining their native speaking peers and holding fluent conversations with them. In addition to the innovative process of creating new swearwords in a society, some swearwords aren't "even profanity anymore" https://www.nationalpost.com/...swears-becoming-so-common...profanity.../Apr 11, 2014). Swearwords have also the ability to contaminate innocent expressions that just happen to sound similar to them as well (Allan & Burridge, 2006). This is very challenging for immigrants even when they go back to Iran, since frequency of use and offensiveness of swearwords vary over time and this phenomenon exists in all languages, including Persian. The swearwords that were considered offensive in the past do not carry the same degree of offensiveness at present. The changing nature of what constitutes a swearword and their use is, arguably, a crucial issue for immigrants to understand.

In addition, during break time between classes, I have heard Persian immigrant girls use swearwords that are taboo back in Iran. A girl heard using these words in Iran would immediately be faced with a severe reaction from other people. These Persian immigrant students can all speak and write fluently in both English and Persian, but they only received formal classroom instruction back in Iran. As in many foreign language learning classes, the only focus has been on the development of knowledge, proficiency, and use of the new language (Garret & Young, 2009). Now, they do not feel that they belong to the new society that they are living in, because they lack the English knowledge to express emotion through swearwords. In fact, they feel the immediate need to improve this part of their English knowledge, and understand its "delicate, unwritten rules" (Dewaele, 2011d, p. 88).

These young adults need to be able to swear appropriately among their peers in their new community. Since "mastering the slippery rules of "appropriateness" is notorious for the learners" (Wilkinson, 2002, p. 168), they also need to learn to consider when, where, and with whom it is appropriate to swear, or where swearing would be count as offensive (Jay & Janschewitch, 2008). Thus, learning sociolinguistic competence is vital for them to be able to integrate into the new country as soon as possible. Dewaele (2008a) claims that knowledge of swearwords and expressions forms an essential part of socio-cultural competence in the target

language and therefore should be taught, though with caution. The socio-cultural impact of swearing is different from culture to culture and requires some time and experience within a culture to be fully used appropriately. Pragmatic variables such as the speaker-listener relationship, gender, occupation, status, conversational topic, the social-physical setting of the communication as well as the level of formality of the situation (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008) all affect the use of swearing. In Iran, people use animal, vegetable, and fruit names as insults; when my students keep asking me the English equivalent of those words, I have to explain to them that those words are not swearwords in English. Thus, we shouldn't refer to them as such as they do not have the same emotional force in English, and they shouldn't resort only to the literal translation of those particular words. This emphasized the fact that in our multicultural world where people are constantly moving in and out of different societies, awareness of cross cultural sensitivity and adaptation is vital for all individuals (Wei, 2007). Indeed, immigrants need to learn and consider many things about the rules and norms of their new country when seeking to use swearwords among native speakers. Appropriateness of meaning is not the only issue!

To this end, I set out to investigate the issue of swearing in Persian/English bilinguals with the goal of exploring the use of swearwords as a function of several variables such as language status (first language, L1 or second language, L2), knowledge of language, gender, length of residency in the country, etc. First, I administered a pilot research questionnaire to 30 bilingual Persian/English teenage students in January 2012, selecting 10 popular Persian swearwords along with 10 English ones for consideration. This was followed by another major pilot survey among private school students, aged 17-19 years old, including 33 Persian/English bilinguals and 10 English monolinguals. The data from major pilot survey show there is a tendency for participants to use L2 for expressing their anger more, regardless of their knowledge in L1 or L2. Female participants feel insults in Persian are stronger than insults in English; they also feel better able to release their emotions in English than in Persian. Swearwords in their L1 feel more powerful than those in their L2, which might be why participants feel more insulted when they hear swearwords in Persian. In general, male participants use swearwords more often than female participants, but female participants use L2 swearwords more than L1 swearwords. Female participants feel more restricted in using swearwords in Iran, compared to in Canada. Female participants feel more inappropriate when using swearwords in L1. There is a significant association between the knowledge of L1 and L2

and the use of that language. The higher their knowledge of a language, the more participants use that language. Participants use L2 to express their anger more than L1, regardless of how frequently they use L2. The longer their length of residency in Canada, the more willing participants are to use English to express their anger. However, participants generally use English to express their anger more than they use Persian, regardless of the length of their residency. Female participants are more willing to use L2 over L1 regardless of their length of residency in Canada. This pilot work was significant in that it informed, in part, the methodological approach of the present research and contributed to the refinement of my research questions. First, based on the results of my major pilot research, I redesigned my questionnaire. I decided to include all ages and post my questionnaire on-line in order to access Persian immigrants who live outside Iran and this choice was motivated by having access to a large sample of participants from all over the world. In addition, considering the effect of length of stay, I included acculturation scales and sought to know if participants' personality traits had any relation to the use of swearwords as well. Thus, building on this pilot research work, the purpose of the present study is to shed light on migrants' language choice for swearing behaviour and its possible link with socio-biographical variables (e.g., age, AOA, gender,...) their acculturation orientation, and personality traits.

1.3 Aims of this study

In countries with high rates of immigration, such as Canada, the majority of newcomers arrive with different experiences and attitudes toward hierarchical social relations and linguistic gender differences. People in general may act differently in order to confirm their position of power, and may even want to negotiate a more powerful position through their use of language. Within different communities, individuals may act differently in order to confirm their identity (Mills, 2003). In fact, identity is not a self-contained individual construct, however is situated in, and shaped based on the context in which individuals find themselves communicating (Jenks, Bhatia, & Lou, 2013). When individuals move from one culture to another, many aspects of their identity will change in order to adjust to the new place (Ryder, Alden, and Paulhus, 2000). This process is called acculturation, which involves the changes that happen as a consequence of

continuous and direct contact between individuals who have different cultural origin (Kim, 2001).

Some multilinguals believe that their multiculturalism and multilingualism have brought them a sense of empowerment and feeling of freedom (Dewaele, 2011a). It helps them to "cherish their uniqueness" (Dewaele, 2011a, p. 48). Some obey the conventional norms. Others, however, might resist and confront these norms, attempting to construct another identity for themselves and overcome the socio-cultural constraints they face in their L1. "Goffman (1963) reasoned that if other people's reactions influence our behavior and identity, then it is reasonable that people try to control the reactions of others by manipulating what they reveal about themselves. He further stated that in their interactions with others, people often expose or hide certain beliefs, ideas, or behaviors to manipulate the perceptions these people hold of them" (as cited in Padilla & Perez, 2003, p. 44).

Some studies have focused on finding factors affecting language choice for expression of emotions including swearwords. Dewaele (2011b) investigated language preference for swearing among 386 adult multilinguals who had claimed that they were extremely proficient in their L1 and L2 and used both languages regularly. This research showed that multilinguals significantly prefer to vent their anger in their L1 and perceived it to carry more language resonance than any other language acquired later, regardless of their language proficiency. While the quantitative data showed that multilinguals prefer L1 for swearing, in qualitative data some participants showed their concern in using swearwords in their L1 due to their cultural constraints for using swearwords. Research data on more than one thousand adult multilinguals from all over the world confirm that frequent use of a language has a positive effect on prioritizing that language for swearing; multilinguals use their dominant language for swearing (Dewaele, 2004b). In fact, individuals who use a language frequently develop the correct perception of the emotional force of swearwords and may, at some point, feel that they are close enough to the in-group to risk using these powerful words (Dewaele, 2004b). In fact, using swearwords indicate "both the self and interlocutor as members of the in-group who shared a particular social identity" (Stapleton, 2010, p. 298). Similarly, in addition to written regulations, group functioning is also characterized by unwritten conventions, which specify what is appropriate in the group, and sharing taboos is a sign of social cohesion (Allan, 2010). In taboo constructions, lexical meaning

seems to have no role. In fact, these constructions show the victory of connotation over denotation. These taboo terms have a certain rude quality about them which is more relevant than their meaning (Hoeksema & Napoli, 2008). This connotative function of swearwords is crucial for speech since it has information about feelings and emotional states that other words do not have (Jay, 2000). In fact, swearwords are crucial aspects of language and, at the same time, "an essential aspect of how one acquires an emotional identity through language usage" (Jay, 2000, p. 80). This makes it interesting to learn swearwords, especially for immigrants seeking to establish peer group membership. It is important to note, however, that although swearwords are often used to express emotions, there are other uses of swearing that are not emotionally focused such as habitual or humorous (Andersson & Trudgill, 2007; Stapleton, 2010).

With that in mind, I intend to see whether acculturation plays any significant role in the use of swearwords among Persian immigrants and if this is related to any specific personality traits. Do socio-biographical variables have a significant effect on the usage of swearwords? By making such language choices, migrants can earn respect, increase their status, and reinforce a new status in their new society.

I anticipate that the present research work will contribute to the existing knowledge about the use of swearwords in several ways. First, considering that insults and swearwords are significantly culture specific (Dewaele, 2004b), it is essential for applied linguists to do more research among different cultures and compare the results. In studying the pedagogical implications of this type of research, teachers will become aware that paying more attention to affective aspects of the language learning could lead to more effective second language learning (Dewaele, 2011c). Second, being able to communicate emotions naturally is an important social activity that helps people maintain their physical and mental health (Dewaele, 2011c). As Dewaele (2004a) argues, teachers should provide enough material to make their students be aware of a wide range of registers in the target language, including those rich in S-T words[2]. In order for students to be able to communicate their emotions, they need to become aware that speech act realizations may differ on "three levels: social acceptability of the utterance, linguistic acceptability of the utterance, or pragmatic acceptability reflected in shifts of illocutionary force" (Bardovi-Harling, 2001, as cited in Dewaele, 2004b, p. 85). A lot of research supports the crucial

[2] Swearwords and taboo words

role of authentic contact in the target language for development of socio-pragmatic competence (Dewaele, 2004b), so teachers need to provide further opportunity for the students to develop such competence so that they can express their emotions naturally.

Third, this type of research will help teachers understand the need for introducing authentic context to second language learners, so as to help students learn how to react naturally in various authentic interactions. Dewaele (2011c) asserts that foreign language teachers might be able to refute the negative effects of a lack of authentic interactions by introducing diverse types of emotional discourse in the classroom. Foreign language teachers should broaden the emotional range of linguistic input for their students. Being able to communicate proficiently in a new linguistic context is only one part which is needed to integrate into a new culture and society (Wierzbicka, 1999). There is a large body of literature indicating that emotional scripts vary across languages and cultures (Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, 2008; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004). Individuals should be aware of the socio-cultural norms and have enough knowledge on how to break the norms that are essential for any speakers of a language. In this way, an immigrant can join their new society, learn to communicate more easily, feel more accepted among their peers, and not feel frustrated even when they want to disobey their new society's norms. On the other hand, learning to conduct emotional experiences in another language could indicate a crucial success in the adaptation process.

Finally, this research has important theoretical implications by providing empirical support for several theoretical accounts. Specifically, the present results fit with the multi-competence perspective which indicates that acquiring another language changes individuals' mind in a way that goes beyond the actual total knowledge of the languages (Cook, 2002, 2016) and provides a holistic view on the linguistic knowledge and the use of two or more languages by the same individuals or community. From this perspective, the relationship between L1 and L2 is mutual and there is bidirectional transfer between them. Bi-dimensional acculturation is another theoretical underpinning to this thesis where heritage and mainstream culture are separate dimensions and individuals can appreciate the mainstream culture while still retaining attachment to their heritage culture (Ryder et al., 2000). Also, acculturation is a matter of both internal adjustment and changes in emotional and affective states, which is considered psychological acculturation. According to De Leersnyder et al. (2011) migrants' emotional

patterns changes due to exposure and contact with a new language and culture and is called as emotional acculturation or emotional concordance. In addition, these results support the Neuro-Psycho-Social (NPS) theory (Jay, 2000) proposing that people have similar nervous systems for emotional expression and swearing, however different personality traits, socio-cultural effect like cultural constraints which belongs to their private experiences affect individuals swearing. This thesis is also informed by bilingualism research with respect to the word access and representation and access of languages in a bilingual speaker (e.g., Costa, 2005; Green, 1998). This thesis will contribute to these theories by validating them and bringing empirical evidence to support them, creating new linkages between them.

1.4 Immigration and language

When individuals migrate, they not only cross geographical borders, but also linguistic and cultural ones, which are less tangible (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). Migrants need to be able to communicate, find a job, build a new social network, learn the language, which contains cultural-conceptual structures shared and recognized by their speakers (Sharifian, 2015), and express their emotions in their new linguistic context. All these tasks could be very challenging for them and with important consequences; for instance, misuse of swearing could affect their personal lives (Finn, 2017). Therefore, it is very important to discover which factors influence migrants' adjustments to their new cultural environment. Empirical research has shown that the ability to express, understand, and respond to emotions in a new socio-cultural environment affect migrants' intercultural adjustment (Matsumoto, 2006). This also requires some "cultural shedding" (Berry, 1997, p.13) which means that some aspects of the previous repertoire that are no longer appropriate will be ignored, which may cause "culture conflict" or, in some serious cases, lead to "acculturative stress" (Berry, 1997, p.13). In previous research (Berry,1990) the main focus was on migrants' frustration, anxiety, and acculturation stress. However, more recent research has focused on the positive aspects of immigration, on the ways which affect migrants' feelings, behaving, and thinking when exposed to the second culture (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2008). In fact, in our multicultural world where people are constantly moving in and out of different cultures and societies cross-cultural awareness and adaptation is crucial and should pay particular attention to this matter (Wei, 2007).

1.4.1 Acculturation

This section provides a brief definition of acculturation and introduces various dominant theories about the concept of acculturation. It discusses how particular models may relate to Persian immigrants and ultimately their usage of swearwords. Migrating is not just crossing geographical borders, but also cultural and linguistic ones (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017). Acculturation research generally investigates the ways in which people accommodate the two cultures - their heritage culture and mainstream ones. Berry (2005, p. 698) states that "acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members". He also believed that acculturation included the process of reorientation of feeling and thinking which happens during the time that individuals try to socialize and develop relations with members of the host culture. Socializing with host culture members and use of the host culture language are linked with emotions and is a key part of psychological acculturation (Berry, 2005). During the process of psychological adaptation, the role of social support and migrants' ethnic cultural affiliation, duration of staying abroad are crucial. In other words, acculturation is a social process that happens in a context in which members of the host culture and newcomers are in active contact with each other (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Kim (2008) also stated that the heart of acculturation is an activity of intercultural communication and new cultural learning and will bring about a development of cognitive complexity, or the structural refinement in migrants' internal information processing skills with regards to their host culture. In other words, it is acquisition of new cultural "aesthetic and emotional sensibilities, from a new way of appreciating beauty, fun, joy, as well as despair, anger, and the like" (Kim, 2008, p. 363). She also believes that acculturation is not something automatic or random which happens at intercultural contact, neither new cultural elements simply added to existing ones, however migrants have control over it based on their predispositions, and pre-existing need and interest (Kim, 2008). Brown (1994, p. 169) outlined acculturation as a process of becoming "adapted to a new culture where reorientation of thinking and feeling is necessary". Teske and Nelson (1974) offered the first complete psychological perspective on acculturation. They believe acculturation included changes in "material traits, behavior patterns, norms, institutional changes, and importantly, values" (as cited in Padilla & Perez, 2003, p. 37). Also, acculturation can lead to some longer term psychological and sociological adaptations between both groups (Berry, 2005). The study

of acculturation theories can potentially offer insights into "multifaceted and often versatile interactions" (Van Hieu, 2008, p. 1) between immigrants and the host culture.

Acculturation theories mainly focus on the degree to which immigrants feel willing, or forced, to assimilate or integrate into the dominant cultures. There are four main acculturation theories: unidimensional acculturation, bi-dimensional acculturation, interactive acculturation, and multidimensional and quantitative acculturation. The theory of *unidimensional acculturation* depicts acculturation as "synonymous with assimilation or absorption of subordinate groups into the dominant culture" (Van Hieu, 2008, p. 4). The prevalent assertion among the unidimensional acculturation theorists is that the ultimate aim for acculturation of immigrants is their assimilation into the host culture, involving their "eradication of any form of ethnic identity in favor of an exclusively national identity" (Gordon, 1964, as cited in Van Hieu, 2008, p. 5). In fact, in the unidimensional acculturation model individuals are positioned on a continuum ranging from completely heritage culture to entirely mainstream culture. If immigrants acquire a new culture, they lose their original culture; for example the ability to speak the heritage language is expected to decrease immigrants' proficiency in mainstream language (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006). Therefore, unidimensional describes cultural maintenance and adoption of host culture as bipolar. The societies which reject diversity provide policies and programs to support assimilation to the host culture. This model of acculturation is not suited to describing immigration in a multicultural country such as Canada. However, there are countries in which this type of acculturation is the only option for immigrants, and many constraints are imposed by the host culture, so individuals are not free to act based on their preferences.

The second theory is called *bi-dimensional acculturation*, a school of thought influenced most by the works of John Berry, a Canadian scholar of cross-cultural psychology. Central to Berry's model (1980) is the concept that there are two independent dimensions underlying the process of acculturation of immigrants: the maintenance of heritage culture, and identity, and involvement or identification with aspects of the dominant group or host culture. For example, the ability to speak the heritage language does not need to impact the ability to speak the mainstream language (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006). The importance of Berry's model is that it recognizes "the value of multicultural societies, minority individuals and groups, and the fact that individuals have a choice in the matter of how far they are willing to go in the

acculturation process" (Padilla & Perez, 2003, p. 37). A dominant belief in Canada is that this country contains all its cultures like a mosaic, such that all cultures have their own identities while still sharing and constituting a larger multicultural society. Therefore, Canadian culture is more aptly described by bi-dimensional acculturation theory, as it is less likely to enforce cultural change (assimilation) or exclusion (marginalization and segregation) on non-dominant newcomers and immigrants. This conceptualization is in contrast to the previous theory, unidimensional acculturation, which depicts acculturation like a melting pot in which all cultures are forced to assimilate fully into the dominant culture and host group. A limitation of the unidimensional acculturation model is that it neglects to consider the pre-immigration experience to host culture, individual differences, and willingness to have social contact with the mainstream culture. Also, it fails to account for those bicultural individuals who identify with both the heritage and mainstream culture. Another limitation is that this theory of acculturation cannot categorise those who do not identify with either of the heritage or mainstream cultures. However, according to the bi-dimensional model of acculturation, self-identity includes culturally based values, attitudes, and behaviors and cultures may have a significant role in shaping individuals' identities. In addition, this model emphasizes that individuals can have different cultural identities which may be unconventionally different in strength. Ryder et al. (2000) conducted three studies comparing the unidimensional and bi-dimensional perspectives on acculturation. They argued that if the heritage and mainstream scales of acculturation show independent sets of correlation, therefore this indicates that the bi-dimensional model would be proved as an efficient model. In their first study, they compared these two models (unidimensional and bi-dimensional) in the domain of personality traits among a Chinese sample. In their second study, they examined these models of acculturation in the context of psychological adjustment and, finally, in their third study, they repeated the findings of their second study with non-Chinese and Chinese samples in order to find out the validity of the scale for cross-cultural research. For each of the acculturation subscales they considered two items: one for values and the other for social interactions and all were rated on 5 point Likert scale. The result of the first study indicated that there is relation between the heritage subscale and high score in Conscientiousness, and low score in Neuroticism. Also, the mainstream subscale was related to high score in Conscientiousness, Extraversion, and Openness and lower score in Neuroticism. The second study was conducted among 150 first and second generation Chinese

migrants who identified themselves as US citizens. The content of the items in questions each pair referred to Chinese and to North American culture. Questions were rated on a 5-point Likert scale, where higher subscale score indicated higher identification with the specific culture in question. The results of the second study also supported the bi-dimensional scale of acculturation. The two dimensions were proved to be independent therefore the bi-dimensional scale proved to be a promising instrument for measuring acculturation. The last and third study results led to a more refined version of Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA). The revised instrument was tested and analysis indicated that heritage and mainstream subscales were reliable and presented interrelationships. This result indicated that the old cultural identity does not necessarily diminish when the new one develops. In fact, the results of Ryder et al. (2000) studies showed that the bi-dimensional model provides richer, more functional, and also "broader and more valid framework for understanding acculturation" (p. 62). Also, individuals' heritage culture and identity do not need to diminish while the new one grows. The two identities can vary independently (Ryder et al., 2000). Indeed, VIA is a self-report instrument that evaluates many factors related to acculturations, including "values, social relationships, and adherence to traditions" (Ryder et al., 2000, p. 53). Bi-dimensional acculturation theory is the theory guiding this thesis and will be the major focus for acculturation perspectives.

Berry (1997, 2005) and Van Hieu (2008, p. 6) categorize bi-dimensional acculturation into four sectors: "assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration." According to this model, assimilation occurs when there is little interest in maintaining native culture however consider interacting with the host society as their priority. It can be seen as a strategy to enhance social identity by leaving the native culture group and joining the host group. Of course, it is important to know that leaving a group is not without risk. For those who leave their heritage culture and want to join the host culture, if they cannot assimilate successfully, they may end up being marginalized and, subsequently, may no longer identify with their heritage group. Separation indicates the scenario where cultural maintenance is pursued and individuals reject having contact with the host culture society. It could be due to their own willingness or strong pressure from their fellow nationals. Marginalization exists when there is a lack of interest in both having contact with the native culture or the host culture society. Finally, integration is present when individuals consider contact with the mainstream culture as important as maintaining their native culture. It also describes situations when the host culture is open toward

and inclusive of cultural diversity. Therefore, in multicultural societies characterized by low level of prejudice and positive attitudes among cultural groups, integration can happen naturally. These societies do not force for cultural change like assimilation or segregation and marginalization, instead they provide social support for immigrants (Berry, 1997, 2005; Van Hieu, 2008). It is also important that individuals believe that group boundaries are open and also that the host culture group are willing to accept migrants as full members of the host culture.

Immigrant populations differ significantly in the way in which they engage with their new societies, and the interaction between the host and the heritage cultures. This variability has been the focus of much research set out to uncover what accounted for these differences. For instance, Hong, Morris, Chiu, and Benet-Martínez (2000) showed that Hong Kong and Chinese American biculturals present Eastern behaviour when interacting with Western cultural cues and behave like East Asians when interacting with East Asians. This indicates that culture is not monolithic and individuals have access to multiple cultural meaning systems and switch between them accordingly. Similarly, Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, and Morris (2002) conducted three studies building on Hong et al. (2000) research. In their first study they replicated the procedure used by Hong and colleagues (2000). Participants were 65 first generation Chinese American who were exposed to either Western or East Asian cultural primes and were subsequently asked about their gender, age, country of birth, length of residency in USA and Chinese country, as well as language proficiency for English and Chinese. Participants were randomly shown American or Chinese cultural cues with the goal of activating their Chinese or American cultural meaning systems. In their second study, Benet-Martínez et al. (2000) used the Hong et al. (2000) procedure again but they expanded their sample to include college students and their study was conducted in both university and community settings. Participants included 176 first generation Chinese Americans. Their third study used the same methodology and participants were 135 first generation Chinese Americans. However, instead of presenting Chinese or American cultural cues to participants, they were shown primes of landscapes such as trees, desert, mountains, and those pictures were unique features of East Asian or Western countries. Importantly, the results from all three studies are consistent and show that individuals can hold dual cultural meaning systems mentally and these systems are integrated, dynamic and responsive to situational cues (Benet-Martínez et al., 2000). This highlights the idea that migrants can gain competence in two

cultures without losing their heritage or mainstream culture, which supports the bidmensional acculturation theory.

To identify the factors affecting acculturation, Cheung, Chudek, and Heine (2011) conducted a study with 232 Hong Kong immigrants in Vancouver, Canada. All participants completed the Vancouver Index of Acculturation[3]. Participants included 141 females and 91 males, with ages ranging from 18 to 60 years. The results showed that the younger participants were at the time of immigration, the faster they came to identify with the Canadian (mainstream) culture. Interestingly, neither their age of immigration nor their length of residency in Canada predicted participants' identification with Chinese (heritage) culture. Also, older immigrants presented a negative relationship between their length of residency in Canada and mainstream identification. Cheung et al. (2011, p. 147) believed that their results "provide evidence for a sensitive period of acculturation[4]". In a different study, Berry and Hou (2016) analyzed data collected by Statistics Canada's General Society Survey[5] (GSS, 2013) with the same goal of determining the factors that influence immigrants' identification with the heritage or mainstream culture. Their study focuses on 7003 immigrants who landed between 1980-2012. The study examined the immigrants' ways of engagement with the mainstream culture as well as their sense of belonging to their native country and to Canada. They used four acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization). The results showed that with a longer length of residency in Canada, the possibility of being in the assimilation group increases. The age of immigration was a significant factor; those who immigrated to Canada before the age of 12 and between 12-17 were more likely to prefer assimilation over integration. It is important to note that these results did not support Cheung et al.'s (2011) assertion that younger immigrants assimilate faster. Berry and Hou (2016) also presented an interesting result: that integration acculturation scores were associated with higher level of wellbeing. This indicates that being involved in both the heritage culture and in mainstream culture (by way of integration) promotes life satisfaction (Berry & Hou, 2016).

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[3] "a measure that assesses respondents' identification with their mainstream and heritage culture" (Cheung et al., 2011, p. 147)

[4] "a sensitive period implies that people's rate of acculturation […] are dependent on their age of immigration" (Cheung et al., 2011, p. 148)

[5] "The GSS is an annual national representative household survey targeting the Canadian population aged 15 or older" (Berry & Hou, 2016, p. 256).

Furthermore, building on these findings, Berry and Hou (2017) conducted another similar study with the main focus on exploring the relationship between acculturation strategies and psychological wellbeing in second-generation immigrants in Canada. There were a total of 3163 participants, of which 1362 were second generation[6], with ages ranging between 15 and 44 years. The main purpose of this study was to examine how the sample population was acculturating to Canada by examining their sense of belonging to their heritage culture and mainstream culture. The results indicated that "the second generation feels that they belong to Canada, and at the same time are comfortable being part of their heritage culture group" (Berry & Hou, 2017, p. 37), which is indicative of their integration. Results also showed that integration was related to positive outcomes and higher levels of life satisfaction. Finally, further reflecting on the factors underlying cultural identities, Van Hieu (2008) posits that immigrants perceive their cultural identities differently depending on their experience, struggles, and flexibilities. Therefore, it is interesting to find out whether the sample population, Persian immigrants living outside Iran, choose to be actively involved either in their heritage or mainstream culture, or even in both cultures and integrate. Other questions are also worth asking. What are the underlying reasons for their choices that?

Bourhis, Moise, Perrault, and Senecal (1997) proposed a third acculturation theory, *interactive acculturation*. Interactive acculturation has three components: "(1) acculturation orientations adopted by immigrant groups, (2) acculturation orientations adopted by the dominant culture towards specific groups of immigrants; and (3) interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes that represent combinations of immigrants' and the dominant culture's acculturation orientations" (Van Hieu, 2008, p. 8). Bourhis et al. (1997) claim that, in general, the dominant culture's decision plays a crucial role regarding immigrants' willingness to either maintain their cultural identity or abandon it and acculturate into the dominant culture. However, I believe acculturation is not a homogenous process consistent among all immigrants. Cultural background norms, beliefs, negative experiences associated with L1, power relations, social status, and gender all play critical roles in the process of acculturation.

[6] This includes those who were "born in Canada with at least one immigrant parents" and 1.5 generation immigrants who were "foreign born but arrived in Canada at age 12 or younger" (Berry & Hou, 2017, p. 31).

In addition, Padilla and Perez (2003) presented another model of acculturation: *multidimensional and quantitative* that relied on two major supraconstructs: cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty. In this model, cultural awareness denotes the implicit knowledge that individuals have of their cultures of origin and of their host cultures. To elaborate on this, Padilla and Perez (2003) argued that proficiency in each of the two languages, knowledge of significant historical events that have shaped the two cultures, understanding and appreciation of the artistic and musical forms of the cultures, and standards of behavior, norms, and values that have shaped how people conduct themselves are inseparable elements of their proposed model. I also agree that the understanding and appreciation of different cultures and values are important. However, people who immigrate, even if from a similar country, may not have the same attitude towards their own cultural norms and values. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Persian women are more restricted in what and what not to do. Thus, they might have a stronger tendency to assimilate into a new culture. They might use swearwords recklessly, without fear of being criticised or stigmatized, and cherish the feeling of not being imprisoned by their culture's constraints.

In short, immigration and the subsequent acculturation to a host culture represent a profound social change, which is expected to shape an individual's personality (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). Accordingly, the concept of acculturation comes with having knowledge of the host's culture. Besides, if someone has more knowledge of the host culture and language, this individual is more likely to be more acculturated. Therefore, acculturation is a link between second language acquisition, cultural psychology, and socio-cultural anthropology (Pavlenko, 2002) also happens when groups or individuals with various culture are in long lasting contact. The change happens in cultural characteristics of the groups in contact. The changes can happen in individuals' behaviour, norms, and values. It is crucial to mention that individuals may vary in the degree that they participate and acculturate which refers to their psychological acculturation (Bakker, van der Zee, & van Oudenhoven, 2006). Therefore, acculturation is a matter of both internal adjustment and change in emotional and affective states, which is considered as psychological acculturation. There are two fundamental factors in examining acculturation: maintenance of heritage culture and acquiring host culture (Berry, 2005) and, as a result of variations on these two dimensions, there are four acculturation patterns (assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization) that can be distinguished. In addition, past research

has identified a number of factors which contribute to successful acculturation: knowledge of the host culture, language ability, longer length of residency, and having wider network of interlocutors (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2011). It is important to consider that acculturation may not impact all these factors in the same way and at the same pace.

This study embraces the idea of bi-dimensional acculturation where heritage and mainstream culture are separate dimensions and individuals can appreciate mainstream culture while still retaining attachment to their heritage culture (Ryder et al., 2000). Also, evidence from the previous literature that were presented in this section showed that individuals can simultaneously have two or more cultures and can shift from one culture to another temporarily. In fact, acculturation plays a crucial role in migrants' social, psychological, and linguistic behaviours. Relatedly, individuals should know that misuse of swearing could affect their personal lives (Finn, 2017). Moreover, sociolinguistic and socio-cultural competence are likewise crucial in the process of acculturation. Therefore, acculturation has been included among the main factors to be investigated in the present research. In other words, this thesis focuses on examining the acculturation status of Persian immigrants and its possible relation to socio-biographical variables, personality traits, and swearing behaviour.

1.4.2 Language socialization

Socialization is the process through which "a child or other novice acquires the knowledge, orientations, and practices that enable him or her to participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community" (Garret & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002, p. 399). Kulick and Schieffelin (2004) make the strong claim that language is a central and important element of the process of socialization and that any study of socialization that neglects to document the role of language is fundamentally flawed. Most bilinguals and multilinguals claim that their socialization in LX[7] is a result of an intense process of personal makeover (Pavlenko, 2005; Wierzbicka, 2004). Also, Jay (2000, p. 81) asserts that "we learn to live in language and we exist through the language we learn". Since language plays such a pivotal role in the study of socialization, the concept of language socialization has been the focus of much

[7] The use of 'native speakers versus 'non-native speakers' indicates the inherent inferiority of the later, Dewaele (2018a) proposed a more holistic categorization and used the dichotomy first (L1) versus foreign (LX) users which this study follows.

research to date. Most bilinguals explain their experience of being bilingual as living a double life (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2006; Wierzbicka, 2004) or even suspended between two worlds (Wierzbicka, 2004). However, some consider their bilingualism as an extreme personal transformation (Pavlenko, 2005; Wierzbicka, 2004). All these conceptualizations of socialization are consistent in highlighting the central role played by language, which is relevant to the present investigation into swearing among bi-/multilingual immigrants.

Furthermore, language socialization has been described as a dynamic process, continuously changing across lifetime. For instance, Schecter and Bayley (2004) present a thorough definition of language socialization, asserting that language socialization is a dynamic and interactive process that "extends throughout the lifespan as people come to participate in new communities, define and redefine themselves according to new roles, and either acquiesce in or challenge the definitions and role relationships formulated by others" (p. 605). With respect to its functions, Pavlenko (2004a) emphasized the importance of language socialisation on changing speakers' perceptions of language emotionality, as she believes that it allows individuals to invent new emotional personae. She also mentioned that the whole process of language socialization may lead to changes in "verbal repertoires, lexical-semantic networks, conceptual memory, and emotion scripts" (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 54). Therefore, in order to participate in the new society effectively, immigrants have to discover their new roles in society, and this will affect how individual immigrants' express emotions through a linguistic medium. Linking this idea to swearing, this suggests that language socialization is a key process for bi-/multilinguals to build their identities and learn how to express emotions, form new linguistic habits, and adjust them across the lifespan as a function of a multitude of factors, discussed in the previous sections (e.g., language proficiency, values, gender, education, etc.).

Researchers' initial formulations of language socialization date back to the 1980s. In general, researchers are concerned about "the context and content of interaction and the culturally sanctioned roles of the participants as major determinants of language forms and strategies used in given situations" (Bayley & Langman, 2011, p. 293). Ideologies and power relations underlie socializing interactions and the focus of language and socialization research is on both linguistic forms and socio-cultural context. One of the most significant contributions of language socialization research is the insight it has brought into everyday life about "the

mundane activities and interactions in which ordinary individuals participate, constituting the warp and woof of human sociality" (Garret & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002, p. 343). Thus, a key issue is how people socialize to use language. Immigrants may ultimately end up creating new personae for themselves through new ways of expressing emotion via language, of which using swearwords is a part.

Current language socialization studies are concerned with examining broader social processes, as well as the ways in which individuals claim and negotiate their shifting identities within these diverse contexts (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). The use of particular language forms can indicate language learners' identity. Therefore, paying attention to the usage of swearwords can provide insights into language socialization processes. Furthermore, Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez (2002) hold that learners in the process of language socialization acquire social and linguistic skills but also a culturally specific world view. They learn to recognize, negotiate, index, and co-construct different types of meaningful social contexts, making it possible for language learners to engage with others under an increasingly wider range of situations and to expand their social perspectives by taking on new roles and statuses. In other words, as part of the process of joining a new environment, language learners learn how to speak, how to think, and how to express their feelings, including how to use swearwords and react with their new environment and identity of choice.

Additionally, Padilla and Perez (2003) hold that the change from one cultural orientation to another one can be selective, and individuals involved in intergroup contact can decide what elements of their culture they wish to abandon and what cultural elements they want to incorporate from the host culture. This way, acculturation is closely related to language socialization, a relationship that is important to acknowledge and highlight in the context of the present thesis. Thus, accordingly, the study of new immigrants' language can reveal to us the conscious decisions immigrants make as to which values and norms of their background culture and host culture they choose to use. As noted above, language provides ways to access emotions. With regards to immigrants, it seems that it would be possible for them to acquire new emotion patterns by socialization, which takes place when individuals are deeply involved in the relevant

language and culture. Also, by affective socialization[8], individuals can internalize the concepts that are not even available in their L1 and can fully acquire socio-cultural elements such as stylistic appropriateness and nonverbal communicative factors (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2008).

It has been noted that when individuals want to join a group for the first time, they typically keep a "low profile and test the water before drowning too much" (Bousfield & Grainger, 2010, p. 177). Hence, a second language learners' use of higher proportions of colloquial and emotion words in the LX could be revealing of higher levels of LX socialization (Dewaele, 2006). This shows that they have enough confidence and feeling of belonging to their new group that they challenge themselves to use emotional words, even swearwords. Moreover, this is important given that early socialization happens in the L1(s), which indicates that a multilingual will develop "rich and varied memories with strong emotional connotations in that language. However, LX[9] socialization – a variable that reflects a trajectory rather than an event in the participant's life" can change language preference for emotional expression (Dewaele, 2006, p.148).

Dewaele's (2013) study on language preferences for expressing emotion among 1569 multilinguals revealed that higher levels of socialization can lead to a strong preference for the L2 and imply indirectly the attrition of the L1. This leads to a more frequent choice of L2 for the expression of anger. Higher levels of socialization can thus indicate greater use of swearwords. In addition, Dewaele (2006) asserts that it seems that a growing awareness of socio-cultural and socio-pragmatic norms in the LX impacts on the development of the individuals' repertoire for expressing anger in the LX. In fact, experienced LX users know how, when, where to use swearwords and are aware of illocutionary effects, how interlocutors will react, and the social consequences of using swearwords (Dewaele, 2018a).

A look at the participants' linguistic history showed that socialisation in the L2 culture is related to a change in the perception of swearwords. Many participants in Dewaele's (2013) research on 1569 multilinguals commented that LX swearwords had sneaked into their swearing

[8] "a process of integration of phonological forms of words and phrases with information from visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile, kinesthetic, and visceral modalities, autobiographical memories, and affect" (Pavlenko 2012, p. 421).

[9] "Any language other than the L1, that is L2, L3, L4, L5, etc" (Dewaele, 2006, p. 120).

repertoire without them even realizing it. Ljung (2011) studied the forms, uses, and actual instances of swearing in English and 24 other languages in the Germanic, Romance, Slavic, and Finno-Ugric language families, among others. Ljung (2011) revealed that the distribution of swearing types is not fixed, and due to increasing immigration from other cultures, swearwords that were not common among a specific culture became widespread. For instance, mother-theme insults are entirely natural among Swedish young speakers. Therefore, immigrating into a different country and acculturating into the new language and culture create strong potential pressures for speakers to use their L2 when expressing emotional feelings.

In short, past research shows that it is important to consider that there is a strong link between emotions and cultures, and, additionally, that emotions play a significant role in the socialization process. More specifically, it had been shown that acculturation is closely linked to language socialization and that affective socialization in LX is an indication of acculturation (Dewaele, 2008c; Ryder et al., 2000). This means that individuals who are strongly socialized into their host culture generally report using local linguistic forms such as swearing (Dewaele, 2013). Thus, language users have access to different cultural norms through each language that they are involved in. This further emphasises the importance of doing more research on emotional language, including the use of swearwords in different cultures. It is expected that this type of research will contribute to the existing body of knowledge by providing new insight on issues concerning the relationship between using swearwords and culture in immigrants. There are also more practical implications of the present research, which relate to how to incorporate this language into teaching materials for second and foreign language learners, in order to help them better acculturate and use language naturally, without being penalized for the inappropriate use of swearwords.

1.5 Migration and personality

In this section, various models of migration are presented, with the ultimate aim of depicting the possible relation between migration and immigrants' personality. An individual's personality is the "combination of genetic (innate) tendencies and characteristics plus behaviours acquired through learning and experience" (Jay, 2000, p. 81). When moving into a new culture it

is crucial for immigrants to be able to adapt their personal attitudes to the new culture and meet the many challenges that come with immigration, including language. Thus, migration could represent by itself a strong emotional and psychological discomfort (Dewaele, 2013). When people migrate, they cross the borders and it seems to cross the individual inner self-borders takes longer time compared to geographical ones (Dewaele & Stavans, 2014). The challenges migrants have to face include not only the matter of settling into a new country and pre-existing personality traits, but also the cultural and linguistic differences between migrants and the host group.

In addition, the experience of migrating into a new language often makes individuals become aware that feelings that were previously considered to be purely personal are, at least partly, dependent on cultural forms. Also, bilinguals may be faced with the struggle to choose between different ways of feeling and differing cultural norms of expression, therefore with the possibility of going beyond a particular emotional world (Besemeres, 2006). That is a complex and challenging experience that potentially every immigrant has to deal with. In what follows, the major models of migration are being summarized in order to clarify what immigrants are experiencing, the emotions they are trying to convey, and the possible relations to their personality. This will help to frame the present research by articulating possible linkages between migration, personality traits, and language use.

Papastergiadis (2000) proposed two models for migration: the *voluntarist push-pull model* and the *structuralist centre-periphery model*. The voluntarist model sees "rational choice and individual agency as the driving force behind migration […] People move from one place to another in order to improve their economic lot" (Block, 2007a, p. 31). However, the structuralist centre-periphery model draws on "Marxist economic theory. It sees world capitalism as the driving force behind migration, which serves the function of providing an everlasting supply of cheap and dispensable labour to the developed economies of the world" (Block, 2007a, p. 31). Although these two models account for important aspects of the migration experience, they provide an overly simplified view of what is, arguably, a complex experience. Thus, in addition to these two models of migration, a third model has been proposed, the *"multilevel migration system theory*" (Block, 2007a, p. 31). This theory distinguishes between three levels: macro, micro, and meso. At the macro level, global forces affect the stream of immigrants between and

among countries. At the micro level, human values, desires, and expectations have a crucial role (Block, 2007a). The meso level refers to "the different networks that intervene between macro and micro level, such as families, occupational networks, ethnic groups, nationalities, political groups, religious affiliations, or access to resources" (Block, 2007a, p. 31). Given that this theory accounts for a range of factors related to the migration experience, from individual to global, it provides a comprehensive way to frame the topic and it makes perfect sense in our current era.

Millions of people change their home country, cross cultural boundaries and settle into a new country. Some immigrants may be inclined to completely assimilate into a new culture, due to personal interests, political or economic constraints, or even social situations. Others may maintain their own culture while actively respecting and participating with the host group. Beyond social, political and other kinds of external constraints, it could be argued that personal attitudes and other aspects of personality influence how immigrants interact with their new culture; for instance, those with rigid attitudes or strong prejudices toward the host culture's values and norms may be inclined to segregate, avoiding entry into social networks with the host group or being active in their new environment. In fact, research showed that those with rigid attitudes could see the impact of the new culture as a threat and prefer to stick to their own heritage culture, which is the most trusted one (Pavlenko, 2008; van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2000). Moreover, research showed that individuals could understand LX emotions as they learn the socio-cultural impact they communicate through socialization (Dewaele, 2013; Pavlenko, 2008). Therefore, individuals with rigid attitudes see the impact of their new culture as a warning and threat and will not be willing to socialize into the new culture. Overall, this research suggests that aspects of personality shape the way in which immigrants engage with the heritage and the new culture, which influences the language socialization process.

Typically, immigrants have to deal with preserving their cultural norms and fitting into a new environment. Individuals react differently to this situation. They must become able to appropriately use the norms and language of the host group, which is not an easy task. In fact, individuals make purposeful choices with respect to the limitations imposed on them by social structures (Bucholtz, 1999). These different responses by immigrants to the new culture motivate social psychologists to investigate if individual personality traits have any significant impact on how immigrants fit into their new culture.

In one such study, Xiaohua Chen, Benet-Martinez, and Harris Bond (2008) examined the effects of bilingualism, bicultural identity, and social context on the psychological adjustment of Filipino domestic workers, mainland Chinese students, and mainland Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong. The personality traits investigated were self-efficacy and Neuroticism. Results showed that bilingual competence and identification of an individual's two cultural identities as integrated were crucial antecedents of beneficial psychological outcomes. Similarly, Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2005) found a relationship between personality traits and immigrants' identification with their cultures. The authors argue that individuals who consider their dual cultural identities in harmony scored high in Openness to experience and low in Neuroticism. Those who are Neurotic feel more vulnerable and anxious and stressed in intercultural relations. Also, those who scored high in Agreeableness are less likely to report to have struggled in their intercultural relationships and they are more relaxed. Finally, those rated high in Extraversion are sociable and outgoing and feel less strained living in multicultural environments. Kim (2001) also focused on whether immigrants' individual characteristics, such as social background and psychological profile, are linked to successful cross-cultural adaptation. Kim (2001) found out that Openness enabled migrants' to minimise their resistance and interpret various situations without any ethnocentric judgments; openness also had a significant effect on their willingness to attend to new and changed circumstances and contributed to successful cross-cultural adaptation. The author argued that personality is shaped by constant interactions between internal psychological and external social factors. Therefore, changes in the environment (e.g., the effect of new cultural contact) as well as changes in internal tendencies (e.g., the use of LX for particular purposes), all could have significant effects on personality (Kim, 2008). Moreoever, related to the interaction between internal tendencies and external events, Kim (2008) discussed the notion of personality strength, defined as the "internal capacity to absorb shocks from the environment and to bounce back without being seriously damaged by them" (Kim, 2008, p. 85).

In short, the research reviewed here suggests that, despite the common belief that personality is stable, cultural change may be sufficient enough to make corresponding changes in personality in the path of the mainstream culture (Ryder et al., 2000) and that there is a relationship between personality traits and linguistic behaviour. Past research also revealed a positive relation between Openness and accepting or embracing a new culture. Specifically, immigration contributed to individuals being more open-minded, unbiased, and increasingly

aware of different cultural norms and values. As such, individuals may differ in the extent to which they are able to identify with the host culture or switch between their heritage and host culture (van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013). Based on this evidence for the interrelations between personality, immigration and language use, this thesis argues in favor of the inclusion of personality traits variables in cross cultural and cross linguistic research since it can better present the complex relations between social and psychological factors with regards to immigrants' experiences.

1.6 Multi-competence

In addition to the factors discussed so far, acculturation, migration and personality, when exploring immigrants' use of swearwords, it is important to consider their linguistic competence and to conceptualize the relationship between the languages. This is crucial to the present thesis given that, as discussed below, a bi-/multilingual is not the simple sum of two or more monolinguals and that knowledge/ use of multiple languages affects all aspects of the mind. This is, in essence, the multi-competence view, which forms, in part, the conceptual basis of the present research work. From a monolingual perspective, the second language is something added to the first language. In contrast, the bilingual perspective considers a bilingual as a whole person with the second language being part of the user's total language skills; importantly, each of the two languages spoken by a bilingual differs from a monolingual's speaker (Cook, 2016).

Multi-competence was defined as "the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind" (Cook, 2012, p. 2). The multi-competence perspective typically focuses on the effect of the new language. Cook's (2012) recent view is holistic and includes the knowledge and the use of two or more languages by the same individual or the same community and it goes beyond the second language or other languages that second language users may know. This recent view on multi-competence fits well with sociolinguistics because of its focus on "speakers-in community rather than individuals" (Wei, 2016a, p. 169). Multi-competence considers diverse languages in the mind or community as a whole rather than separately. Cook (2016) believes that "all the languages form part of one overall system, with complex and shifting relationships between them, affecting the first as well as the others" (p. 1). In fact, multi-competence includes all

language-related aspects of the mind. As a consequence, the multi-competence perspective differs from the second language acquisition perspective, and, thus, the inability of second language users to speak like a native speaker, or sound like natives is not meaningful from the multi-competence perspective. Consistent with this idea, the multi-competence perspective also considers second language users as independent persona rather than the shadows of native speakers. Therefore, instead of using the L2 learners term, which confirms their subordinate status, the L2 users term goes naturally with the concept of multi-competence indicating those who know and use second language at any level (Cook, 2012). Multi-competence is mainly concerned with the mind of individuals who use languages at any level of achievement. Wei (2016b) argues that while individuals use a language, he/she is a language learner since it is impossible to grasp a language entirely; besides, the knowledge of the mind is dynamic as well.

Importantly, the notion of multi-competence is relevant to the present research on the use of swearwords in immigrants because multi-competence changes the way in which individuals picture the acquisition and use of multiple languages. In other words, a bilingual is not the simple sum of two monolinguals when it comes to language skills because the two languages interact with each other. In fact, there are three underlying premises for multi-competence. "*Premise 1*. Multi-competence concerns the total system for all languages in a single mind or community and their interrelationships. *Premise 2*. Multi-competence does not depend on the monolingual native speaker. *Premise 3*. Multi-competence affects the whole mind, i.e. all language and cognitive system rather than alone" (Cook, 2016, p. 7).

From *Premise 1* perspective, there is a constant interaction between the different languages; to illustrate this point, Murahata, Murahata, and Cook (2016) likened it to the liquid in a flask when one or more elements will be added to it. It either changes marginally or noticeably. The interesting point in here is that the multi-competence view places emphasis on the effect of L2 on L1, which was seldom acknowledged before. In other words, the multi-competence perspective stresses "the bidirectional nature of L2 users' linguistic competence" (Murahata, et al., 2016, p. 26). Consistent with this view, Ortega (2016) mentioned that even the effort which learners put in learning new concepts and vocabulary in L2, may lead them to expansion of their vocabulary size and/or restructuring of their L1 vocabulary. Similarly, De Leersnyder et al. (2011) defined migrants' emotional patterns changes due to exposure and

contact with a new language and culture and called it as emotional acculturation. Although the authors have not specifically talked about multi-competence, since their research interest was not in language, there are noticeable similarities between emotional acculturation and multi-competence – in both cases, there are shifts in the linguistic or emotional experience of the immigrants shifts due to the contact with host culture (Dewaele, 2016d).

To date, a significant body of empirical research documented the influence of L2 on L1 as well as related revisions to the emotional concepts. For instance, Pavlenko (2002) conducted a study with 31 Russian native speakers who had English as their L2 and had been living in the USA for 3 to 8 years. The study showed that in the process of second language socialization participants have transformed their verbal repertoire and emotions conceptualization. Some of the participants have internalized and preferred following emotion concepts shared by both Russian and American speech communities rather than following what was relevant in monolingual Russian natives. Overall, this study revealed an extensive English (L2) influence on their Russian (L1). In other words, intensive exposure to L2 language and culture had significant impact on their conceptual restructuring of emotion concepts in their Russian (L1). Pavlenko (2002, p. 58) argued that "this complex phenomenon of L2 influence on L1 is best understood from multi-competence perspective" and that the process of conceptual restructuring took place in individuals' mental lexicon.

Similarly, Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) conducted a study among 102 Polish, English L2 users who had been living in English countries. The findings also showed that socialization in L2 had a significant effect on participants' perception of Polish emotion words. Specifically, results indicated that L2 socialization had blurred their perception of emotion words, suggesting conceptual restructuring in the expression of emotion words among multi-competent speakers, both at the level of grammar and lexicon. The author noted that the relationship between L1 and L2 is mutual and there is bidirectional transfer between them. Thus, this study shows that cultural and linguistic socialization could change not only the emotionality of the foreign language, allowing for greater expression of oneself in L2, but also the perception of emotion in the L1 (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2017a).

Premise 2 highlights the independence of L2 users from monolingual native speakers. Subscribing to this view, Birdsong (2005) stated that none of the bilingual's two languages

should be expected to be similar to that of a native monolingual. Therefore, according to this view, monolinguals are not seen as deficient for not having L2 users' qualities and, similarly L2 users are not perceived as having imperfect or non-native forms of the monolingual system. It is, therefore, a positive view, which focuses on the complex interactions between the languages. In other words, the multi-competence framework proposes a new perspective on language acquisition research such that inherent differences between speakers of one and multiple languages are not regarded as deficiencies but rather as unique characteristics. Furthermore, the multi-competence view assumes that there is a complex interaction between learners' language systems and that linguistic transfer is bidirectional (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). In this line of research, Su (2016) conducted a study among 120 college students. Results revealed that advanced Chinese (L1) and English (L2) learners showed "English egalitarian usage to their L1 apology performance" (p. 318). Moreover, learners merged the Chinese and English apologizing systems, with bidirectional influences between their pragmatic systems. In short, this study showed that L1 can affect L2 and L2 can affect L1 as well.

Finally, *Premise 3* states that the experience of learning and using a L2 affects multiple aspects of mental processing that go beyond language such as emotions, cognition, etc. In other words it is expected that users think differently from monolinguals, thus the examination of second language acquisition was expanded to include cognitive domains including conceptualization or perception of gender, objects, and emotions (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Murahata, et al., 2016). This is based on the notion that the multi-competence view assumes an extended integrated linguistic repertoire and the use the appropriate linguistic variety for appropriate situation (Franceschini, 2016). Consistent with this view, Kharkhurin (2016) argues that the multilingual conceptual system is not the result of merely adding up two monolingual systems because it includes new conceptual representations different from a monolingual's mind. From the multi-competence perspective, languages are not stored independent of each other in the mind; instead, they are connected and build on each other and make new cross-references. Multi-competence relates to the "complex, flexible, integrative, and adaptable behaviour which multilingual individuals display" (Franceschini, 2016, p. 113).

Therefore, from the multi-competence perspective, acquiring another language changes the individuals' mind in a way that goes beyond the actual total knowledge of each individual

language (Cook, 2002). Dewaele and Wei (2012, 2013) argued that the increase in multilingualism and multi-competence impact not only an individual's cognition but also their personality. To this end, they conducted a study to find the possible link between multilingualism and Cognitive Empathy among 2158 mono-bi-/multilinguals. Results showed that the effect of frequency of the use of multiple languages was greater on personality traits such as, Cognitive Empathy, than mere proficiency in multiple languages. This means that participants who used multiple languages frequently became more skilful in their conversation in that they could see the world from their interlocutors' perspective. This effect goes beyond mere linguistic gains associated with acquiring another language and Dewaele and Wei (2012) interpreted it as evidence of multi-competence. In addition, in a different study, Dewaele and Wei (2013) examined the same database to explore the possible link between multilingualism and Tolerance of Ambiguity (TA). The results indicated that the social-linguistic-cultural environment impacted TA. Dewaele and Wei (2013) argued that the impact of length of residency, knowledge of more languages, and frequency of the use of language on TA is evidence of multi-competence since the effect of various languages is beyond their actual language (Cook, 2002).

Languages in mind are interconnected and bi-/multilinguals in their social interactions move freely and dynamically between the languages they know to "fulfill a variety of strategic and communicative functions" (Wei, 2016b, p. 535). Therefore, the use of a specific language for expression of emotion could be interpreted as evidence of multi-competence. Some researchers (Dewaele, 2013; Pavlenko, 2002, 2005) have argued that the effect of learning multiple languages, leading to multi-competence, goes beyond phonology, syntax, and morphology, it also affects pragmatics where the communication of emotion is placed. Dewaele (2013) conducted a study with 1500 multilinguals and measured emotions using the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (BEQ). The results indicated that the majority of multilinguals preferred their dominant language L1 to express emotions, however, some reported that they preferred other languages. The author interpreted the results as an indication of multi-competence since multilinguals were not limited to a single channel in expressing their emotions.

This is one of the key concepts that this research is set out to investigate - whether the knowledge of L2 and living in a L2 community affect L1 swearing behaviour and if there is any evidence of conceptual restructuring in Persian immigrants' swearing behaviour in their L1 and

L2. This research is consistent with the key notion underlying the multi-competence view (Cook, 2002, 2012, 2016), that knowledge/use of more than one language affects the whole mind rather than the domain of language alone. The present investigation subscribes and further contributes to the multi-competence view by providing additional empirical evidence for the effect of multilingualism on swearing behaviours in Persian immigrants, also it integrates with the bi-dimensional acculturation theory (Ryder et al. 2000) and emotional acculturation, which indicates that migrants' emotional patterns change due to exposure and contact with a new language and culture (De Leersnyder et al., 2011). It also signifies the importance of impact of socio-cultural competence and personality traits on swearing behaviour based on Neuro-Psycho-Social theory (Jay, 2000).

1.7 Language and swearwords

The main purpose of this section is to define swearing, explain how and why people swear, and show how swearing in L1 is linked to age and gender. This section also presents studies which focused on possible differences in emotion-laden word use among different varieties of the same L1 and conclude with how emotion-laden words are used differently by second language learners. This study, similar to the previous literature (Allan & Burridge, 2006; Beers Fägersten, 2012; Pinker, 2008, Vingerhoets et al., 2013) uses the terms swearwords and taboo words synonymously and interchangeably with swearing, with the intention of achieving semantic consistency. Swearing does not need to be done to insult somebody, people can swear at themselves. There may be positive or negative reactions to the use of swearwords which can be divided into three main categories: cognitive, affective, and behavioral. Cognitive refers to the knowledge that an individual has about swearwords. Affective relates to the emotions resulting from the offensiveness or intensity of swearwords, and, lastly, the behavioral component refers to how individuals behave when it comes to the swearword topic, in other words how often they use swearwords (Rosenberg, Garcia, & Sikström, 2017). The stylistic function of swearing is to spice up what is being said and make it more vivid and memorable than if said without swearwords (Allan, & Burridge, 2009).

Swearing has been defined as an expression that refers to something that is "taboo and /or stigmatised in the culture; should not be interpreted literally; and can be used to express strong

emotions and attitudes" (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990, p. 53). However, Beers Fägersten and Stapleton (2017) disagreed with this definition and claimed that the nonliteral translation of swearing can be debated and mentioned that "if swearwords are used in a denotative sense, for example, […], "They were fucking", the expression in question is still likely to be seen as taboo (as offensive) if used in an inappropriate context" (p. 3). Swearwords are considered to have unique features since they provide "for both emotional expression about an emotional reaction to the world that create an aspect of self-awareness that non-curse words cannot provide - a deep emotional view of the world and the self" (Jay, 2000, p. 80). This adds emphasis to the importance of the study of swearwords since "as speech communicate phonological, grammatical, and semantic information, it also conveys emotional language" (Jay, 2000, p. 17) and swearwords are part of the emotional and offensive aspects of speech (Jay, 2000). Therefore, swearwords should be regarded as an important aspect of language.

The primary meanings of swearwords are connotative and based on individuals' experience within a culture, and the emotional impact of swearwords varies and depends on individuals' experience with a culture and its language conventions (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). To further elaborate on this, swearwords are "multi-functional, pragmatic units which assume, in addition to the expression of emotional attitudes, various discourse functions" (Dewaele, 2004a, p. 205). As social individuals, people express their emotions to others in their daily life and interactions. Swearwords are significant indicators of emotional language and, therefore, it is important to be aware of patterns, contexts, and the effects of swearing (Horan, 2013, p. 285); this means that individuals who lack such awareness cannot be successful communicators. Context clarifies the intentions of swearwords usage and affects its offensiveness rating (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). In addition, the offensiveness of swearing may be attuned in the presence of friends and it seems that the swearwords that can be used among friends and are not typically judged to be offensive, are being used more often than the ones with higher offensiveness.

Swearwords can be used for expression of emotions, humor, excitement, and social bounding (Stapleton, 2010). Generally, swearwords are used to express strong emotions and have the potential to be (very) offensive (Dewaele, 2004a; Horan, 2013; Jay, 2000). In addition to expressing emotions, it is important to acknowledge that swearing can also happen "neutrally, neither deliberately nor strategically, and in situations that are neither saliently positive or negative" (Beers Fägersten & Stapleton, 2017, p. 4). People use different ways to express their

anger and frustration when communicating, like facial expressions or gestures (Horan, 2013), however people generally use swearwords to indicate their anger and frustration. In fact, the primary use of swearing is for emotional connotation through insults or epithets, which are emotional outbursts of single words or phrases indicating speakers anger, frustration, or surprise. Positive social outcomes can also be achieved by using swearwords in the form of jokes, humor, and in-group slang in order to strengthen social harmony or cohesion. Therefore, swearing is like a tool box which can be used for variety of emotional expressions (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). In fact, swearing has some communicative functions, which are not possible through other linguistic means (Stapleton, 2010; Jay, 2000).

Some researchers claim that people who use swearwords frequently lack rich vocabulary (Jay & Jay, 2015). However, in Jay and Jay's (2015) studies comparing participants' general verbal fluency with taboo word fluency in spoken and written format, the overall findings indicated that "taboo fluency is positively correlated with other measures of verbal fluency, [which] undermines the POV (poverty-of-vocabulary) view of swearing" (p. 7). Jay (2017a) further noted that swearwords use can be impulsive and unprompted or well-thought and, consequently, they should not be regarded as an indication of poor lexicon or the lack of education. Rosenberg et al. (2017) conducted two studies to investigate the relationship between the affective component (level of offensiveness) and the behavioral component (frequency of the usage of taboo words) of swearing, which are part of the cognitive component (individuals' natural language). Study one included 1900 U.S residents who were asked to rate the offensiveness and frequency of use for ten most common taboo words that they used in their daily lives. In study two, 1000 U.S. residents were presented with 30 most common taboo words and the procedure was similar to the ones in the first study. The results showed that the level of offensiveness predicted the usage of taboo words. Thus, it can be argued that individuals' affectivity may be linked to both offensiveness of taboo words and frequency of their use. In fact, the link between offensiveness and frequency of using taboo words is affected by the individuals' tendency to experience positive and negative affect. Women gave higher ratings to offensive words but this did not prevent them from using them. This shows that their affective component does not have an effect on their usage of swearing (i.e., the behavioral component of swearing). In fact, the presence of one component does not limit the existence of the other one. Both can exist; in other words, they are not mutually exclusive.

People use swearwords for different purposes. Swearwords may indicate group membership. Specifically, Beers Fägersten (2012) mentioned that swearing serves as "an intra-speech community isogloss, marking boundaries between social groups within the speech community" (p. 100). In other words, avoidance of swearing can indicate social distance between speaker and interlocutor and signal an out-group identity. Swearing can thus be as a symbol of solidarity, social bonding, and an affirmation of in-group membership (Allan & Burridge, 2009; Dewaele, 2006; Beers Fägersten, 2007, 2012; Brandes, 2017; Stapleton, 2003, 2010; Stenström, 2006; Vingerhoets, Bylsma, & de Vlam, 2013). In this way, individuals can express that they have a certain identity and are part of a particular group by swearing or not swearing. In a similar vein, Brandes (2017) asserted that swearing could be used to either "unite people who reside and operate under a common cultural umbrella" (p. 383) or to separate individuals and groups "through antagonistic abusive terms of address" (Brandes, 2017, p. 383). Allan (2017) also mentioned that it is an indication of social cohesion. Also, swearwords can be used as phatic elements to facilitate communication by maintaining contact between speaker and interlocutor in interaction as go-on-signal (Stenström, 2006). Those who use particular swearwords during an interaction should ensure that those swearwords are appropriate based on sociolinguistic and pragmatic rules, which include "the characteristics of interlocutors and both the local and more global context of interactions" (Dewaele, 2015a, p. 99).

Furthermore, as alluded above, swearing is a complex behavior and it serves multiple purposes. For instance, Jay's study (2000) based on Neuro-Psycho-Social (NPS) theory divided people's swearing purposes into three categories: neurological, psychological, and socio-cultural. The neurological aspect refers to the observation that swearing relies primarily on the right hemisphere and subcortical areas (e.g., swearing at the time of surprise or frustration) and explains that swearing can be an automatic brain response to pain, joy, frustration, or some other emotions. The psychological aspect relates to an individual's personality, upbringing, and genetic factors, all of which provide a range of constraints on swearing. This aspect considers linguistic competence, a person's use of swearwords, as being controlled by personality, and religious background. Lastly, the socio-cultural aspect, by which each culture defines its own categories of offensive speech and beliefs, explains the appropriateness of a specific word and considers factors such as gender, social distance, and speakers' power. Based on this theory, an individual's knowledge about swearwords develops as a person gets older and the individual's

style of swearing is the product of both shared and private experiences (Jay, 2000). Shared experiences include people having similar nervous systems for emotional expression, however different personality, learning history, and cultural constraints, which belong to their private experiences (Jay, 2009).

With respect to the role served by swearing, Stapleton (2010) also states that by swearing, individuals can express strong positive emotions, humour and verbal emphasis; social bounding and solidarity; and construct and display an identity which does not imply that the speaker is emotionally charged. However, it has relevance for and could affect issues such as frequency of swearing. Furthermore, taking into account the context in which swearwords occur appears essential to understanding their role. For instance, Beers Fägersten (2007) argued the importance of context and mentioned that the swearing paradox[10] can be explained by paying particular attention to the context in which swearing takes place. If swearwords are used disregarding the context and people are asked to rate their offensiveness, then swearing would be considered from alternative perspective and the rate of frequency of use will be higher. Consequently, swearing is a paradoxical behavior – despite being highly offensive, it is used with high frequency. Therefore, in order to avoid the swearing paradox, swearing usage should be explained embedded in a context and specify that the frequency the use of swearwords does not always indicate all usage of swearwords are offensive ones. Instead, they may refer to other functions served by swearing such as humorous, habitual, and not exclusively an outlet for anger expression.

As it was mentioned earlier, there is a debate on the definition and types of swearing. In what follows, a summary of the conceptual debate on swearing is presented. For instance, Beers Fägersten (2012) differentiated between annoyance and social swearing. Annoyance swearing is linked with greater misbehavior, where the speaker is stressed out and its primary function is intra-individual catharsis. This intra-individual function of swearing, which is expression of negative emotions, can cause tension and the catharsis function is more likely to occur when individuals feel stress and want to vent anger; this way, annoyance swearing can serve as a

[10] In spite of swearing being highly offensive, it is very frequent, especially when the context is disregarded (Beers Fägersten, 2007).

substitute for physical aggression (Jay, 2000). Social or conventional swearing[11] is linked with social context; specifically, when the speaker is in a relaxed situation and is used to social bonding and solidarity, social or conventional swearing serves a primarily inter-individual function and, consequently, proper use of swearwords enhances creditability and status within the group. Therefore, shared swearing patterns show familiarity with interlocutors, mutuality, and indicate high solidarity and the speaker should be aware of metapragmatic knowledge about the importance and status of these words in the community of discourse (Cliff, 2015). Thus, it seems that swearing has both intra-individual and inter-individual functions, which are strongly dependent on contextual factors. Therefore, swearing may impact the emotional state of the swearer as well as others and, in turn, the others reactions may influence the emotional state of the swearer. Furthermore, in addition to these distinctions, Andersson and Trudgill (2007) differentiated between abusive and humorous swearing. Humorous swearing has more teasing, playful, or joking effect rather than having derogatory effect like abusive swearing for example: get your ass in gear! (Andersson & Trudgill, 2007; Stapleton, 2010).

Other authors made further distinctions among types of swearing, adding important nuances to the discussion. For instance, Jay and Janschewitz (2008) conceptualized the occurrences of swearing as either propositional or nonpropositional swearing. Propositional swearing is intentionally planned by the speaker, who has control over the content of his speech and the word he/she uses is consciously selecting. It obeys semantic and syntactic rules since swearing is rule bound and not random. It can be either polite, impolite, or neither and in abusive context swearing is mostly propositional. Propositional swearing includes: dysphemic, euphemistic, abusive, idiomatic, and emphatic swearing. Dysphemic swearing is used when a swearword is used instead of neutral term (e.g. mental institution versus loony bin) to emphasize the emotion. Euphemisms are indirect words used to replace dysphemisms (e.g. Oh sugar!). Abusive swearing is always considered rude (e.g. Fuck you, asshole!). Idiomatic swearing is used to gain attention or could be used to express dominance in relationship (e.g. It's fucked up), and, lastly, emphatic swearing is used to emphasize something, in either a positive or negative way (e.g. This is fucking fabulous!) (Finn, 2017; Pinker, 2007; Vingerhoets et al., 2013). Nonpropositional swearing, in which the speaker has no control over the use of swearwords,

[11] I got the last raw sits in the movie dude!

most commonly happens at the time of "sudden bursts of emotion (e.g., surprise) or as a result of brain damage" (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008, p. 270). Cathartic swearing is nonpropositional and is used to relieve stress, tension and increase an individual's tolerance to pain (Finn, 2017; Pinker, 2007; Vingerhoets et al., 2013). Swearing in causal[12] scenario can be either propositional or nonpropositional. Psychological and cultural factors play a crucial role when individuals have the time and resources and are trying to make word choices. Psychological aspects of swearing follow a certain maturational time course and highly depend on individuals' experiences during development. Also, psychological factors most directly related to swearing are "trait anger, religiosity[13], sexual anxiety, verbal offensiveness, and Type A personality" (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008, p. 271). The psychological perspective views swearing as catharsis or emotional release, which relate to the aggressive function of swearing (Stapleton, 2010). Importantly, this is the key function of swearing and the main focus of this study. Socio-cultural factors affecting swearing are different from culture to culture, therefore individuals need time and experience within a culture to fully acquire them. Cultural values embedded in swearwords conceptual representation are culture specific. In addition, pragmatic factors which affect swearing are the topic of conversation, the relationship between listener and speaker which could be influenced by status, occupation, gender, social-physical settings, public or private place, and formality of situation. Formality of the situation and gender have a powerful influence on swearing. Specifically, individuals are more likely to swear in relaxed situations and when surrounded by people of the same gender (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). Similarly, Stapleton (2003, 2010) noted that in a place where there is a low level of interpersonal formality, swearing would be seen as appropriate and a sign of social bonding. The author discussed the interpersonal functions of swearing and explained that, although swearwords can be seen as a powerful form of catharsis or tension release, swearing can be categorized in four broad groups: expression of emotion, humour, verbal emphasis, and social bonding and solidarity (Stapleton, 2010). Although the present thesis focuses on swearing as a channel for the expression of emotion, it is important to acknowledge that this is not the only purpose served by swearing. In this line, Jay (2000) also asserts that the primary purpose of swearing is to express the emotional state of speaker and is primarily linked with the expression of negative emotions such as anger. The author also considers the cathartic

[12] : Swearing with little or no intention of causing harm

[13] today the emotional power of religious swearing has been reduced, however the psychology behind it is still significant factor (Pinker, 2007)

function of swearing as a substitute for physical aggression, which inherently related to the concept of power, and masculinity. Stapleton (2010) mentioned that swearing, as a form of emotional expression, can thus be used to express a range of diverse inner states. In other words, not all emotions expressed by swearing are negative. Swearing can be used to hide particular emotions, as was noted by participants in the Stapleton (2003) study among Irish undergraduates. Here, participants indicated that they used swearing to appear hard to others in their peer group. Jay & Janschewitz (2008) mentioned that swearing happens most in conversational functions[14] which are not highly emotional and rude or aggressive. Stapleton (2010) also mentioned that the context of the social interactions has a significant role in judging interpersonal effects. Ljung (2011) compared swearing as a linguistic and pragmatic activity among twenty-five languages and identified four criteria common to all instances of swearing. First, swearing is the use of utterances that contain taboo words. The use of taboo words in swearing adds emphasis to the message the speaker wishes to convey. At the same time, swearing frequently violates cultural rules. Second, while the literal meaning of these taboo words is indeed used in swearing, they do not carry much weight. Third, due to lexical, phrasal, and syntactic constraints, swearing is considered a type of formulaic language[15]. Finally, swearing constitutes an instance of reflective language use that reveals the speaker's attitudes and feelings.

Hoeksema and Napoli (2008) believe that swearwords and taboo expressions are interesting for a variety of reasons. "It flavors our speech, it shows great variation among social groups and especially social settings, and it changes all the time" (p. 347). Swearwords also add intensity to utterances (Hoeksema & Napoli, 2009). Culpeper (2017) agrees that taboo expressions add intensity to the speech, increase the pragmatic force of what the speaker is trying to do, and can also "make a negative attitude toward the target" (p. 38). Culpeper (2017) further proposed that prosody acts as an intensifier, although taboo language is frequently used to increase the impoliteness of the message (Culpeper, 2017). In the same vein, Allan (2017, p. 14) mentioned that use of swearwords can "spice up what is being said: to make it more vivid and

[14] "Conventional function is similar to the notion of "social swearing" which was posed by Montagu" (Stapleton, 2010, p. 295).

[15] Wray (2002, p. 9) defines it as "a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar".

memorable than if an orthophemism[16] had been said". In fact, swearing can be considered as both a reflection of interlocutors' relationship, most commonly one characterized by little social distance, as well as a "pragmatic move to reduce or emphasize social distance" (Beers Fägersten, 2012, p. 152). All these add emphasis the unique feature of swearing and to the importance of research on swearing.

In addition to research examining the types and functions of swearing, other authors investigated the sources of swearing. For instance, Hoeksema and Napoli (2009) categorised English taboo terms as originating from four major sources: religion, health, sex, and bodily excretions.

> Old taboo terms, in particular, derive from religious and folk beliefs, such as terms having to do with the devil, hell, God, [or] Jesus Christ […] Life, death, and diseases form another source of taboos and taboo terms (as in the child's insult *You've got cooties*) […] Sex, reproductive organs, bodily functions, and sexual acts provide strong linguistic taboos, even today, in spite of the sexual revolution of the 1960's and 1970's […] Finally, bodily excretions (e.g. shit, piss, fart, vomit, sperm, snot and menstrual blood) constitute powerful taboo topics, particularly for children, and provide us with an additional set of taboo terms to choose from, which can be exploited in somewhat counter-culture, youth-oriented venues, such as TV shows. (p. 616)

Jay (1992, p. 2) also categorizes dirty words into "cursing, profanity, blasphemy, taboo, obscenity, vulgarity, slang, epithets, insults and slurs, and scatology" to clarify the semantic taxonomies, though such taxonomies fall outside the domain of this research.

Swearwords are a part of our language, used in many people's daily conversations. They are a very common phenomenon in every language, appearing across age and gender, and people all around the world use them. Dewaele (2011d) asserts that the importance of paying attention to swearing comes from the fact that it is not a "rare linguistic event" (p. 88). Moreover, Jay (1992) emphasizes the emotional impact swearwords carry, and highlighted that in messages

[16] "straight talking" (Allan, 2018, p. vi) & "more literal and more formal" (Allan, 2017, p. 2).

swearwords are more likely to be interpreted connotatively by listeners, rather than denotatively. Therefore, a strong potential reason for speakers to express their emotional thoughts through taboo words is that they are more concerned about the impact of those words on listeners than the meaning of those words. So, for assessing swearwords in a discourse "participants' identity, relationship, social norms, intentions, and motivations" (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008, p. 269) are all essential elements. Also, it is necessary to know whether or not the use of a specific word is appropriate in a particular situation.

Sociolinguistic studies on the effects that independent variables such as gender, age, and social class have on the use of swearwords in L1 show interesting results. Jay (2000) found that "women are expected to exhibit control over their thoughts […] Cursing is done by those who have power to do it. Cursing and dominance are masculine traits" (p. 164). He also claimed that not long ago women were not allowed to use swearwords, but now they can swear more openly (Jay, 2000). Jay (2017b, p. 102) proposed that "gender differences in swearing evolve as children acquire gender-based communication practice through social interaction" and identified three general trends: men swear more than women, they use more swearwords, also more offensive swearwords than do women (Jay, 2000). With regards to age, Jay (1992, 2017b) also asserts that children start learning and using swearwords early, from the time they start using normal language. Also, anger and use of swearwords appear to be lower among older individuals compared to the younger ones (Stets, 2012). Jay (1992) also agrees that all people from all ages use swearwords, however teenagers use swearwords more than older people and the use of swearwords declines with age.

More research has accumulated to show the effect of gender, age and other sociolinguistic factors on swearing. In one study, Rayston, Leech, and Hodges (1997) undertook a frequency analysis of vocabulary items of the demographically sampled spoken English component of the British National Corpus. Sociolinguistic factors as gender, age, social group, and geographical region were the independent variables. They found that males and speakers under 35 years of age used more swearwords. But social class did not show any significant effect on the use of swearwords. In a different study, Bayard and Krishnaya (2001) examined expletive usage in casual unstructured dialogue and in purpose-oriented structured conversation among New Zealand university students. Males showed a general tendency to swear more frequently

than females. Males used stronger expletives and females swore less than males. Interestingly, this study showed that the nature of the context interacted with the gender effect on swearing such that male participants reduced their level of swearing in structured contexts compared to female participants. Jay (1992) found a similar effect by showing that men use swearwords more than women in public and use more offensive words than women.

As for LX users, swearwords are among the first words that they learn in a language (Jay 2000; Dewaele, 2006). However, these swearwords are rarely found in textbooks or in the classroom discussion due to their offensive character. As a consequence, instructed language learners seem to have a limited general knowledge of these words and use them infrequently (Dewaele, 2006). Swearwords are a linguistic device used to affirm in-group membership and they also create boundaries and social norms for language use (Dewaele, 2013). Indeed, learning how to swear properly is a challenge for a foreign language speaker. Swearing in LX may be interpreted differently by L1 users even in situations identical to those in which L1 speakers swear, creating challenges for LX speakers of which they may not even be aware (Dewaele, 2016a).

Dewaele (2011b) investigated language preferences for swearing among 386 adult multilinguals migrants who were highly proficient in both their L1 and L2 and used both languages frequently. The data analysis revealed that L2 was used significantly less frequently for swearing and L2 swearwords held weaker emotional resonance for the participants compared to L1 swearwords. Caldwell-Harris, Tong, Lung, and Poo (2011) carried out a study among 64 native Mandarin speakers (19 males, 45 females), and the results showed that L1 Mandarin expressions had stronger emotional resonance for participants compared to L2 English expressions. However, many participants preferred using L2 to express their anger due to the strong social constraints in Chinese culture to minimize emotional expression. Thus, these results suggest that the selection or preference for a certain language for swearing in bilinguals is multi-determined: language status (L1/L2) is important but other factors such as social cultural constraints for expressing emotions matter as well. Moreover, Harris, Ayçiçeği, and Gleason (2003) conducted research into physiological responses to swearwords in the L1 and L2 of bilinguals. In a first study, there were 32 balanced Turkish-English bilingual migrant students at Boston

University. They were asked to listen and read neutral, positive, negative, and taboo words and reprimands in their L1 (Turkish) and their L2 (English). The results showed skin conductance responses to taboo words and reprimands were significantly higher for swearing in the L1 compared to swearing in the L2.

Pavlenko (2002) also conducted a study on discursive construction of emotions in two languages of 31 late Russian-English bilingual migrants. All participants had learned their English (L2) upon arrival in the USA. By the time of study, they had lived in the USA for 3 to 8 years. The results showed that some of the participants have internalized and actively adopted "American concepts of privacy and personal space" (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 71) and prefer emotional concepts shared by their two speech communities. Also, they used emotion adjectives like English L1monolinguals instead of using emotion verbs as Russian L1 monolinguals did. Therefore, they were presenting instances of L2-influenced semantic and morphosyntactic transfer. They were violating both semantic and syntactic rules in Russian which was an indication of multi-competence since conceptual restructuring happened.

In fact, individuals readjust their emotion lists based on their new speech community. Throughout the process of language socialization, individuals who hesitate to make such adjustments may sound "too affectionate, emotional, or high –strung (or, in the reverse scenario, too cold and impassive" (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 73). Also, those that stick to the trusted behavioural patterns may be faced with fewer resources to adjust in unanticipated situation (van oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2000). Effects on swearing by LX users is an area that is attracting more attention. Further research is needed to understand the processes of acculturation, language socialization, and possible underlying differences among different languages for bi/multilinguals' use of swearwords.

A very interesting idea was posed by Dewaele (2018a), who claimed that "groups of L1 users are probably less homogenous than is probably assumed" (p. 334). He argues that "the process of semantic and possibly conceptual –restructuring also applies to bi-varietal native English speakers" (Dewaele, 2018a, p. 323). He also mentioned that it is therefore possible that the knowledge of English of American-English or British- English speakers who have never left their country of residence will differ from those who left their home

country. There is only one study done before Dewaele (2018a) that specifically looked at the effect of British language and culture on 107 Californian students who spent a semester in London, UK (Boring, 2005, as cited in Dewaele, 2018a, p. 321). Two thirds of students reported having adapted their "English (vocabulary and accent) to fit the local English variety. This also included non-verbal behaviour, such as gestures and intonation in speech" (Boring, 2005, as cited in Dewaele, 2018a, p. 322).

Dewaele (2018a) conducted a study on the effect of living outside the USA on the understanding of meaning, self-reported frequency of use, and perceived offensiveness of four emotion-laden English words of American origin as well as four English emotion-laden English words of British origin among 556 American English (L1) users. Statistical analysis showed that the scores of those who were living in the UK or in non-English speaking countries differed significantly from those Americans who were living in USA. The results indicated that "semantic representations of emotion-laden words originating from another variety of L1 are relatively weaker and more likely to shift as a result of exposure to their use in other varieties and knowledge of other languages" (p. 320). It is possible that the frequency of use of Persian swearwords, their rate of offensiveness, and their effectiveness in communicating anger will be different between Persian immigrants and Persian speakers in Iran. As it was mentioned in this section swearing can be used for expressing excitement, strong emotions, abuse/ insult, humour, emphasis/ intensification, solidarity, social distance, and group membership, and even can maintain contact between speaker and listener during conversation. However, the main focus of this study is on the use of swearwords for expressing emotions, in particular anger which has been mentioned in the questionnaire and interview questions. This study also aim to find out if there is any conceptual restructuring has happened in swearing behaviour of Persian immigrants can confirm multi-competence perspective for swearing behaviours among immigrants.

1.8 Overview of chapters

This dissertation is composed of six chapters. The present chapter introduces the main themes and provides a general overview of topic: immigration, acculturation, personality, multi-

competence, and language and swearwords. Chapter Two presents a broad review of the literature relating to bi-/multilingual immigrant acculturation, personality traits, and language choices when swearing. It also discusses the effect of interlocutors on emotional expression including swearwords and the links between socio-biographical variables and swearwords. The focus throughout is on the connections between acculturation, personality traits, and expressing emotion, particularly through the usage of swearwords. The chapter begins with perspectives and notions on emotion and the usage of the L2 for swearing. It will then consider different theories related to acculturation and emotion language as well as language and personality traits, before discussing the importance of examining the concept of emotional language, especially swearwords, from a pedagogical perspective. Chapter Two concludes with the research questions and hypotheses that this study is based on. Chapter Three presents an overview and justification of the methodological approach of this study, including instruments used for data analysis. It also describes the research procedures used; specifically, this study relies on a mixed-method approach, which is based on data collected through on-line questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. The first part of this chapter describes the quantitative study and information on participants. Two main research instrument with all the details and description will be presented: the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000) and the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire short form (MPQ) (van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, Ponterotto, & Fietzer, 2013). The second part will be on qualitative analysis including more information on participants. Chapter Four presents the statistical findings from the quantitative study; in addition, semi-structured interview quotes and findings will be provided to give more insights and support for statistical findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Chapter Five presents a detailed discussion of the results with support from previous related literature. Research questions and initial hypotheses are restated and both expected and unexpected results are discussed. Chapter Six summarizes the key findings, linking to the original purpose of this research as outlined in the first chapter. Implication for foreign language instruction as well as theoretical implications and the limitations of this research are also addressed and suggestions are proposed for further research.

1.9 Conclusion

This dissertation is based on the idea that analysis of immigrants' swearing behaviour requires a wider perspective that goes beyond a merely linguistic one. To this end, this dissertation links swearword use with immigrant language profiles, and investigates their relationship with socio-biographical background, acculturation orientation, and personality traits. It hints at the possibility that immigrant use of swearwords may reflect their status in their new environment, their belonging to the mainstream or background culture, and their personality traits. Noteworthy, for immigrants to be able to communicate professionally is only one hurdle, which on top of that they should be aware of linguistic behaviour, cultural norms, and emotional attitudes, and many more factors which are all deeply embedded in their new culture. Acknowledging that swearwords serve multiple functions, the present dissertation focuses on the use of swearwords for expressing emotions, in particular anger. This examination is informed by several theoretical perspectives on acculturation such as the bi-dimensional acculturation model and the multi-competence model. The present work has both theoretical implications (i.e., validating and expanding on theoretical perspectives on acculturation and multi-competence) as well as empirical and applied (i.e., exploration of the relationship between swearwords and several factors such as personality traits and socio-biographical background, potentially informative for approaches to teaching a second language). Thus, this dissertation will seek an explanation of the complex and dynamic relationships between swearword usage and individual levels of acculturation and personality traits. In addition, it is anticipated that this dissertation will add to the debate on whether emotional words, particularly swearwords, should be included in the language curriculum. The hope is to reduce the challenge of integration into a new environment for all LX language learners and immigrants.

1.10 Important assumptions

The overview of the literature presented earlier in this chapter highlights some important assumptions about acculturation, bilingualism/multilingualism and swearing, noted below. It is

important to acknowledge these assumptions as they form the building blocks for building the present argument.

- In our multilingual and multicultural world where individuals are constantly moving in and out of different societies, it is important to raise attention to cross cultural awareness and adaptation (Wei, 2007).
- Acculturation refers to changes that happen as a result of constant and direct contact between individuals with different cultural origins (Berry, 2005; Kim, 2001).
- Acculturation is a multidimensional process, which includes psychological, cognitive, linguistic, and social elements (Ryder et al., 2000). Based on the bi-dimensional model, individuals can have multiple cultural identities, each of which may vary on strength independently (Ryder, et al., 2000). Also, individuals can gain competence in both cultures and have access to multiple cultural meanings (Hong, et al., 2000; Benet-Martinez, et al., 2002).
- It is important to include psychological variables when conducting cross cultural research since some personality traits affect successful cross-cultural adaptations (Kim, 2001, 2005)
- Personality is influenced and shaped by the language and culture (Kim, 2001; Pavlenko, 2008; van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013; Ryder et al., 2011; Wierzbicka, 2004).
- Emotional patterns vary across different cultures (De Leersnyder, Kim, & Mesquita, 2011; Dewaele, 2011a, 2013; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, 2008, Matsumoto, 2006; Mesquita, 2010; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013).
- Socialization process in the host language and culture may facilitate the acquisition of culture-specific emotion patterns from the host culture (Dewaele, 2008c, 2013, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Pavlenko, 2008, 2013, 2014; Ryder et al., 2011; Wierzbicka, 2004)
- Host language and culture do not replace the heritage ones in migrants' minds, they both can coexist (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Dewaele, 2004c;

Hammer, 2016; Harris, 2004; Matsumoto, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017b; Ryder et al., 2000)

- Multi-competence perspective views acquiring another language change the individual mind in a way that goes beyond the actual knowledge of the language itself (Cook, 2002, 2012). Also, there is a complex interaction between the languages that individuals know and the transfer between their language systems is bidirectional (Su, 2016; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017a; Murahata et al., 2016). Cultural and linguistic socialization can change both the emotionality of the foreign language, allowing for greater expression of oneself in L2, but also the perception of emotion in the L1 (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2017a).
- Immigrants can select what elements of their language and culture they wish to keep or not (Hong et al., 2000; Benet-Martínez et al., 2000; Kim, 2008; Padilla & Perez, 2003; Panayiotou, 2004; Pavlenko, 2005).
- Neuro-Psycho-Social (NPS) theory categorize swearing purposes into three categories: Neurological, activated at the time of frustration, surprise, which can be considered as automatic response of the brain; Psychological, linked to individuals' personality, genetics, upbring, and religiosity, all impacting on swearing; Socio-cultural, which refers to individuals' cultural norms and includes factors such as gender, social distance, and power (Jay, 2000).

Swearwords have some communicative functions which are not possible through other linguistic means which make them unique feature of language (Jay, 2000; Stapleton, 2010). Swearing is culture specific (Allan, 2016; Dewaele, 2004a; Jay, 2000). Swearing can be used to express excitement, strong emotions, humour, solidarity, and group membership (Allan & Burridge, 2009; Dewaele, 2006, 2013; Beers Fägersten, 2007, 2012; Brandes, 2017; Stapleton, 2003, 2010; Stenström, 2006; Vingerhoets et al., 2013), and acts as intra-speech isogloss (Beers Fägersten, 2012; Brandes, 2017; Dewaele, 2013). Swearing can even maintain contact between speaker and listener during conversation (Stenström, 2006). The conceptual and definitional debates on swearing have been presented in this chapter. Acknowledging that there are multiple types of and purposes for swearing, this thesis focuses on the primary purpose of swearing which is

expression of emotion particularly anger (Jay, 2000; Stapleton, 2010). Therefore, in order to avoid the swearing paradox (Beers Fägersten, 2007) swearing usage should be explained embedded in a context and specify that the frequency the use of swearwords does not always indicate all usage of swearwords are offensive ones. Instead, they may refer to other functions served by swearing such as humorous, habitual, and not exclusively an outlet for anger expression.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW: PREFERED EMOTIONAL LANGUAGE, ACCULTURATION AND ITS RELATION TO PERSONALITY TRAITS

2.1 Overview

The present dissertation was motivated by responses received from the major pilot research project described in the previous chapter (Section 1.2). In that study, participants were asked about their socio-biographical information, the length of their residency outside Iran, the number of languages they knew, their age of acquisition of L2 (AOA), the language they used when angry, the frequency with which they used each language they claimed to know, and their knowledge of and proficiency with each of those languages. Of particular interest was the language they chose to swear and their feelings toward social constraints. The project sought to uncover relationships between their knowledge and frequency of use of a particular language, and their use of swearwords in that language.

The overarching theoretical framework informing this literature review links the use of swearwords by immigrants with their socio-biographical characteristics, acculturation orientation, and personality traits. Various perspectives consider the relationship between immigrant usage of swearwords and acculturation, examining such factors as the effects of acculturation, language socialization, personality traits, and the use of emotional words. Also, included in the review are studies that inquire about the possible relationships between immigrant use of swearwords and the variables examined in the previously mentioned research project, such as language, gender, frequency of the use, length of residency in a foreign country, self-rated knowledge in their L1 and L2, and age of acquisition (AOA). Where appropriate, empirical studies are discussed in the light of several theoretical perspectives. The overall assumption underlying this research is that swearing is a multi-functional, complex, and dynamic behaviour. Consequently, this research takes a broad approach that combines several different lines of research that have been largely examined independently to date. The purpose of connecting findings from different fields is to design a solid framework to support analyses, aimed at unwrapping the dynamics and complexity of migrants' language choice for swearing and its possible link with socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, and personality

traits. It is important to note that all these dimensions are believed to be interrelated. This represents the unique contribution of the present study – an exploration of the relationship between swearwords and multiple variables related to language, culture, personality, and demographics in order to present a more holistic view on swearing in immigrants. In contrast to Chapter One, which introduces the main variables in order to set up the stage for the present research, Chapter Two provides a more systematic and detailed review of the relevant literature.

2.2 Emotion, language, and bi-/multilingualism

Emotions play an important part in the lives of language users (Dewaele, 2013). This section focuses on the factors determining language used by bi-/multilinguals to express their emotional feelings. The goal is to provide insight on this matter before moving to the next section, largely focused on swearing, which is also part of the emotional and affective aspects of speech (Jay, 2000). Emotions are important to social beings since they help individuals to form and maintain positive social relationships, and also to form and maintain a social position. Moreover, in order to have a socially successful life, individuals have to have knowledge of the norms, be sensitive to others' needs, and be able to control and regulate emotions in a socially appropriate way. In fact, at interpersonal level, emotions can help individuals maintain long-term relationships by encouraging harmony, providing well-being, and preventing social isolation (Fischer & Manstead, 2016). This is related to the use of swearwords, whose purpose (although not the only one) is to achieve social bonding (Allan & Burridge, 2009; Dewaele, 2006; Beers Fägersten, 2007, 2012; Brandes, 2017; Stapleton, 2003, 2010; Stenström, 2006; Vingerhoets et al., 2013). With respect to the relationship between emotions and language, in some cases emotion terms cannot be easily translated from one language into another (Pavlenko, 2002, 2008; Panayiotou, 2004) since some emotion words do not exist in a language. Thus, arguably, people who speak that language might not be able to express or perceive those specific emotions (Pavlenko, 2008). However, bi-/multilinguals have the opportunity to construct the new emotion concept, which is not available in their L1, through exposure to LX language and culture, highlighting the importance of studying emotions in bi-/multilinguals. This means that more research about the relationship between emotions and bi-/multilingualism can give those interested in this field a better understanding of the issues that relate language, culture, and

emotion. This section provides the relevant literature and discussion regarding the relationship between language and the use of emotional words. The close relationship between language, culture, socialization, and language proficiency is discussed below. The relevant literature describes how and under what circumstances bi-/multilingual learners express their emotions in LX, and the challenges they must face in doing so.

"Emotions are complex physiological-affective-cognitive responses to the physical and socio-cultural environment" (Schrauf & Sanchez, 2004, p. 267). Therefore, individuals need to learn the socio-cultural significance that emotions can convey (Pavlenko, 2008, Panayiotou, 2004). Subsequently, emotion concepts become then a lens through which we interpret what we feel and how we act (Besemeres, 2004). Consistent with the cognitive model of emotion, we find:

> […] the emotional response to environmental stimuli involves several crucial cognitive components, each intimately shaped by culture. A first observation is that the environmental stimuli, or the antecedent events, that activate emotional response are themselves different in different cultural surroundings. Secondly, in response, individuals code or categorise such events as particular kinds of events with expectable implications and outcomes, and this coding is also pervasively shaped by the culture to which one belongs. Finally, individuals make appraisals of these events. That is, individuals evaluate how their lives and well-being will be affected by the events (Schrauf & Sanchez, 2004, p. 281).

Mccormick-Huhn and Sheilds (2016) talked about the important role of social appraisal in the expression of emotions. The authors indicated that the way individuals express their emotions is affected by imagined social implications of these expressions. Specifically, individuals predict others' reactions to their emotional expressions, or how others' reactions to their emotional expressions may affect their values. Generally, individuals are aware of others' evaluation on their behaviour, even when their emotional behaviour has negative impact, and they adjust accordingly in order to gain social support. This has been documented by previous literature as one of the purposes of swearing (Allan & Burridge, 2009; Dewaele, 2006; Beers Fägersten, 2007, 2012; Brandes, 2017; Stapleton, 2003, 2010; Stenström, 2006; Vingerhoets et al., 2013).

Many researchers argued that any theory on emotion should include cultural and linguistic elements (Wierzbicka, 2004; Panayiotou, 2006). There are differences in the ways emotions are constructed across socio-cultural contexts and individuals may realize the significant importance of emotion in human life when he/she is not able to communicate due to cultural and linguistic barriers (Dewaele, 2013). Also, different languages are linked to various ways of thinking, expressing one's feeling, and having different attitudes (Wierzbicka, 2004). Arguably, individuals feel the same emotions, however different languages provide different means to access these feelings and they shape the way individuals express their emotions (Pavlenko, 2008). For instance, "while in the West self is viewed as independent, self-contained, and autonomous, it is considered interdependent in Asian, African, Latin-American and many southern European cultures" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 225). In independent cultures individuals have "freedom to express both negative and positive emotions to members of the in-group and strangers alike" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 236). However, for those in interdependent cultures, emotional restraint is seen as a sign of maturity, especially when dealing with superiors. An additional characteristic of the interdependent cultures is that the focus is on in-group goals rather than individual wishes. This means that individuals from interdependent cultures or "collectivistic cultures" (Matsumoto, 2006, p. 422) are expected to express their emotions and adjust their behaviour in a way that promotes and maintains in-group harmony (Matsumoto, 2006). For instance, in the Japanese society, the overt expression of anger and verbal attack is interpreted as indication of immaturity and childishness (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 281). However, in cultures promoting autonomy, anger expression may be welcome since it acknowledges the existence of the problems. In fact, emotion terms are deeply embedded into the cultural model of their related languages (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Pavlenko, 2008; Mesquita, 2010; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004).

This difference in expectations adds to the challenge that bi-/multilinguals face when expressing emotions in languages other than their L1. Specifically, they must pay particular attention to the culture-specific behaviour and expectations of different individuals from different cultures. Besides, some parts of information which is conveyed through different

"channels (visual[17], vocal[18], and verbal[19]) in LX, might not be equally relevant in the listener's L1 language /culture" (Lorette & Dewaele, 2015, p. 64). Empirical evidence confirms these conceptions about the relationship between emotions and culture. For instance, Mesquita (2010) conducted a study on experiences of offense among Japanese and American participants, showing that while offense triggered anger in both groups, only 30% of Japanese reported being aggressive in response to the offense, compared to 70% of Americans. Most Japanese reported doing nothing, which is consistent with what Markus and Kitayama (1991) mentioned about interdependent cultures prioritizing group harmony. In fact, emotions themselves "may differ in the ways that fit the cultural models" (Mesquita, 2010, p. 98). The literature reviewed so far shows that emotion concepts differ across languages and are profoundly rooted into the cultural model that originated from them (Pavlenko, 2008, Wierzbicka, 1992). Therefore, the relationship between emotion and culture is an important factor to consider.

Based on the notion that emotional reactions are culturally embedded, it could be argued that people from different cultural backgrounds can show different emotional reactions to the same event. How does adding another variable change this relationship? Specifically, how does knowing/ using two or more languages come into play? Pavlenko (2008), asserts that emotion concepts are dynamic and can co-exist in bicultural speakers. Her analysis of comparability of emotions specifies three possible relationships between concepts encoded in two languages. First, two languages may have similar concepts. In this case, having similar concepts and complete overlap may facilitate LX learning. Second, the concepts in two languages may have no counterparts. In this case, when no equivalent translation exists in L1 conceptual and linguistic repertoires, in order to internalize those concepts learners have to go through the process of secondary affective socialization to develop typical scripts for these emotions. Last, two or more concepts in the two languages may have partial overlap. In this case, since elements of the L1 and L2 partially overlap, some elements of an L1 concept may be transferred to the L2 concept. In these cases, highly socialized L2 users may present evidence of conceptual restructuring their existing L1-based concept. Also, these highly socialized L2 users may

[17] facial expression or body language
[18] pitch, rhythm, timbre, speaking rate or intensity
[19] actual content of language

combine partially overlapping concepts in the L1 and the L2 to form a unique emotion concept, different from both the L1 and the L2 concepts from which it was formed. Moreover, prolonged contact with the L2, joined with lack of constant use of the L1, can lead to attrition of L1 emotion concepts and emotion vocabulary. While these speakers are still able to distinguish the concept, it eventually ceases to be central to their interpretation of the world around them. Consistent with this view, Wierzbicka (2004) also mentioned that emotions are crucial elements for understanding cultural patterns and linguistic differences are deeply-rooted in cultural attitudes. She also proved in her research that meaning of words from different languages define their particular ways of thinking and living. She claims that the interpretation of feelings was significantly related to the language in which those feelings are expressed with (Wierzbicka,1992, 1999)

Further refining the discussion of the relationship between culture, language, and emotions, Panayiotou (2006) talked about the difference in emotional concepts among different languages and claimed that even if emotional terms have equivalents in different languages, the meanings they present in specific cultural contexts will still contain subtle differences. Each "bilingual accommodates his/her expressions to the interlocutor's cultural norms, personality, values, and beliefs" (Xiaohua Chen & Harris Bond, 2010, p. 1515). Therefore, it seems that bi-/multilinguals should use different resources to express emotions and they should be aware that certain emotions have the effect of creating social distance between individuals (Fischer & Manstead, 2016). Moreover, contextualizing emotions in a particular cultural model supports the idea that emotional experiences and behaviours are better interpreted if individuals have wider knowledge of that particular language (Mesquita & Walker, 2003).

Wierzbicka (2004) asserts that it is crucial to keep in mind that the two languages of a bilingual person differ not only in their lexical and grammatical repertoires for expressing and explaining emotions but also in "the sets of 'emotional scripts' regulating emotion-talk" (p. 101). Therefore, "[Being] Bilingual is like having a palette with more colours: whereas monolinguals have some colours with which to paint their emotions, bilinguals have even more and can thus use a greater variety of emotions" (Panayiotou, 2004, p. 133).

Further specifying the complex relationship between culture, language, and emotions, it could be argued that a change in context demands a change in language, and a change in

language requires a change in context. Panayiotou (2004) believes that the bilingual speaker is aware of these changes, and intentionally or unintentionally, adapts to them in order to connect to the appropriate language and vice versa. However, although adaptation occurs, using the appropriate emotion-laden word is not straightforward or automatic in all circumstances. In some cases, it could be challenging for bilinguals to use suitable emotional words when language and context are changed, as an inaccurate or incomplete understanding of the emotionality and "valence of an emotion word, or an emotion-laden word, in the L2 might lead to unwanted illocutionary effects, which might be far more embarrassing than phonological, morphological or syntactical errors" (Dewaele, 2008b, p. 173). In other words, "the new shoes do not fit straight away" (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009, p. 15). Therefore, having good understanding of emotion words means to have complete understanding of the meaning and offensiveness of emotion laden words, frequency of the usage, paralinguistic variables[20], and body language (Dewaele, 2015a). Importantly, one variable that was shown to influence the appropriate use of emotion-laden words in bilinguals is LX frequency of use. Specifically, the difficulties that bi-/multilinguals face can fade away and become less challenging if the LX is used frequently. When LX learners feel more proficient, there is an increased possibility of choice of that language [LX] to express emotional feeling (Dewaele, 2013). Also, when individuals choose LX to express their emotions, it enables them to internalise a new emotional repertoire (Pavlenko, 2006). In fact, high levels of socialization may allow LX users to use LX to communicate emotion confidently (Dewaele, 2011c), and thus feel proficient enough, and close enough to their LX, to be able to express their feelings in that language include using swearwords. These bi-/multilinguals make a systematic choice between their languages when expressing emotions, aware as they are of how the choice of particular language in a specific context can lead to different emotions.

Koven (2006) presented research in which two French-Portuguese bilinguals told stories on different kinds of personal experiences to a social peer. They also were asked to tell the same story in the other language, and were subsequently interviewed about their experience of telling the story. Koven (2006) demonstrated the expression of different kinds of affect in the two different languages, despite the fact that the factual story was the same. In fact bilinguals

[20] "intonation, prosody, volume" (Dewaele, 2015a, p. 318).

performed completely differently in their two languages resulting in two different characters. For instance, one participant, Linda, "is perceived in French not just as angrier in the here and now, but as an angrier person. On the other hand, in Portuguese she comes across as someone who uses less profanity, restrains herself, and is thus a more 'calm, reserved' person" (p. 107). Koven (2006) proposes that "Linda may not be free to perform an aggressive persona in Portuguese [...] this difference matters for the available range of affective displays, intensities, and gendered personas she can perform in each language" (p. 108). Koven (2006) believes that Linda is aware that she should contains herself in Portuguese, but was "angrier, more forceful and more aggressive in French" (p. 107). Further exploring the reasons underlying the expression of different emotions as a function of the language selected for narration in bilingual speakers, Dewaele and Nakano (2013) examined 106 respondents, who were able to speak up to four languages. Multilinguals in their study presented a systematic shift in how they feel in LX. Participants were able to provide more insight on their sense of feeling different and their emotional perceptions. Dewaele and Nakano (2013) argued that Koven's (2006) bilinguals behaved differently in their two languages, not because of the language itself, but because French and Portuguese communities have different socio-pragmatic rules. In fact, the perception of a language may change the perception that a person has of himself/herself when using that particular language. Therefore, we learn to make sense of our basic feelings through sets of rules dictated by our language; each rule "enters into the fabric of our feelings, and gives them shape and direction" (Wierzbicka, 2004, p. 103).

Similarly, Panayiotou (2004) conducted a study on Greek–English and English–Greek bilinguals' reactions to the same story read to them in their two languages. The story was about a character named Andy or Andreas, as appropriate, who neglected his girlfriend and his care for his elderly mother because of work pressures. Participants' reactions were recorded in response to the same story presented in English and Greek a few weeks apart. The key finding was that participants reacted differently to the same story based on the language of the presentation. Participants were found to be much more tolerant of Andy's behaviour compared to Andreas's behaviour when asked to give advice to the character. The results indicate that participants interpreted and related to the 'same' events differently, depending on the language context. Participants were found to express different judgements according to the language in use. Specifically, in Greek, the story elicited sympathy and concern for the protagonist; however, in

English it elicited indifference and disapproval. In fact, the two versions depicted not only different reactions, but also different imagery and cultural scripts. Panayiotou (2004) suggests that the two languages were linked to distinct linguistic repertoires and cultural frames, which is consistent with the cultural frame switching view in bilinguals. By choosing a language bilinguals activate its cultural scripts and, by using different languages for swearing, cultural frame switching will happen and bilinguals could see swearwords from different perspective. "The set of concepts by means of which the speakers of any given language make sense of their own and other people's feelings is specific to a particular language" (Wierzbicka, 2004, pp. 94-95).

Most research suggests that L1 is perceived as the most suitable language to express emotions or swearing (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2011b, 2013; Pavlenko, 2006). Kinginger (2004) also advances the same idea, that generally L1 is the preferred language for expressing emotions, and L2 is considered less emotional, more detached, and less sophisticated and suitable for the task of expressing emotion. However, this relationship between language and emotional expression in bilinguals is not fixed but dynamic and changing as a function of language use and increased competence. Extensive communication in the target language can significantly affect socio-cultural and sociolinguistic competence in learners. Moreover, participation in LX speaking social groups and frequent use of LX can boost linguistic and personal development. Harris (2004) speculates that the reason the first language is often perceived as more emotional than the second language is due to the fact that the first language is learned in a context that is the most consistently emotional.

Several studies showed that L1 swearwords were rated as more powerful and having stronger emotional force than LX swearwords (Dewaele, 2011b; Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Harris et al., 2003). With the goal of understanding the reasons for the perceived difference between languages, Dewaele (2004a) investigated the perception of emotional force of swearwords and taboo words (S-T words) among 1039 multilinguals. The research is based on data drawn from a large database collected through a web questionnaire on bilingualism and emotions. Participants reported the emotional force of L1 as the highest, and that subsequent languages they learned possessed gradually decreasing emotional force. Participants who learned their LX through instruction gave lower rating on LX emotional force of swearwords compared

to the ones who had learned it in a naturalistic or mixed context. Similarly, Dewaele (2006) findings showed that participants who had learned the LX at younger age and in naturalistic context reported using the LX for expressing anger more frequently. Dewaele also agrees with Harris (2004) and believes that languages learned at younger ages seem to have a stronger emotional resonance than languages learned later, which carry a weaker emotional resonance for the individuals (Dewaele, 2004a).

To support the above idea, Harris, Gleason, and Ayçiçeği (2006) conducted another study in which they measured skin conductance responses to both emotional and neutral phrases. Participants were speakers of Turkish or Spanish as their first language. The strongest language effects were found in the Turkish study, where childhood reprimands provoked stronger skin conductance responses in L1 Turkish than in L2 English. However, in order to explain cases in which L1 was not more emotional than L2, Harris et al. (2006) suggest the existence of "a mechanism independent of age: the emotional contexts of learning hypothesis" (p. 227). According to this hypothesis the context in which the language is acquired and used is key to how it is being experienced such that languages acquired and used in an emotional context are experienced as more emotional.

In sum, as documented in this section, there is a large body of empirical research on the expression of emotion in LX (e.g., Dewaele, 2004c, 2006, 2008b, 2011a, 2013; Panayioutou, 2004, 2006; Pavlenko, 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017a, 2017b; Wierzbicka, 2004). These researches showed that L1 was typically perceived as carrying more emotional power than LX. However, findings also revealed the complex relationship between language and emotions, shaped by multiple variables such as the age of language acquisition, language proficiency, context of acquiring and using language, whether the language was learned formally, etc. For instance, some researchers indicated personality change and behaviour when switching languages (Koven, 2006; Pavlenko, 2009; Wilson, 2008; Wierzbicka, 2004). Some has indicated the link between expression of emotion in LX and self-perceived proficiency (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004c, 2008a, 2011a; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Hammer, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013) and the link between expression of emotion in LX and LX use (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2011a; Hammer, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013). The studies

presented above provide insight into the general relationship between emotions and the language used to express emotional feelings and the different factors that affect the use of emotional expressions. However, the discussion did not focus on swearwords, which are often used to express strong emotions. Thus, the main focus of the following section is to present the discussion around the impact bi/-multilingualism has on the use of swearwords, which constitutes one aspect of emotion language.

2.2.1 Bi-/Multilinguals' language preferences for swearwords

> We curse to express our emotions and convey our emotions to other people. Taboo words communicate emotional information more effectively than non-taboo words. Fuck you! tells you immediately that I am frustrated or angry and permits me to vent my anger at the same time. There is no other way to say fuck you and convey the same level of contempt in polite language. (Jay & Janschewitz, 2007, p. 215)

However, this way of expressing emotion is very challenging for second language learners. What makes it particularly difficult for foreign language users is getting "the grading of taboo words for a given referent right. Not only are taboo words with the same referent not emotionally equivalent, they are not equally likely to be chosen in a given context with specific interlocutors" (Dewaele, 2013, p. 110). Therefore, the use of swearwords is highly related to the intended perlocutionary effect and identity of the interlocutors, elements that are difficult to deal with from a second language learner's perspective. Further compounding this issue is the role played by the context. It has been argued that the appropriateness of swearing is "highly contextually variable dependent on speaker-listener relationship, social, psychological context, and particular word used" (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008, p. 267). Swearwords are also versatile and can perform different interpersonal functions in different contexts; they can even perform more than one function simultaneously (Stapleton, 2010; Andersson & Trudgill, 1990). All these factors add to the importance and difficulty of mastering the proper use of swearwords. It seems that individuals require profound knowledge, comparable to memorizing an entire encyclopaedia, in order to use swearwords appropriately.

Jay and Janschewitz (2008) confirmed that native English speakers are more responsive to the impact of contextual variables in swearing scenarios than non-natives. In other words, LX

users are less sensitive to social pragmatics. In fact, L1 users can adjust their speech and accurately judge the appropriateness of the use of swearwords according to main contextual conditions to avoid punishment and benefit from social acceptance (Jay, 2017a). Insufficient knowledge of social pragmatics is another tricky issue second language learners face in using swearwords. This might even lead LX users who lack a deep understanding of social pragmatics to overuse swearwords.

As noted in the previous section, swearwords serve several different functions ranging from humorous to habitual to expressing strong emotions. Acknowledging this, the present research and the discussion in this section focus swearing as an outlet for emotional expression. Using swearwords "results from a volcanic loss of temper or loss of control over one's emotions" (Beebe, 1995, p. 159). In fact, anger, cursing, and swearing involve a certain amount of loss of control over one's emotions. It can include a similar lack of control over linguistic resources, which makes the task more challenging in the foreign language (Dewaele, 2013). Taboo words usage is very demanding, and they are an essential part of conversations. In fact, possessing the knowledge to express emotional feelings during an explosion of feeling and sensitivity can give relief to the speaker. It is crucial knowledge for every human being. It is important to know that socio-cultural influence on swearing differs from culture to culture (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). Indeed, cultural background plays a significant role in the perception and use of emotional language (Dewaele, 2013).

Socio-cultural knowledge regarding swearing, offensiveness, or impoliteness is acquired through living in a culture, and contacting different communities of practice which "reward, punish, or/and are indifferent to offensive speech" (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008, p. 274). It follows that with high levels of socialization, the massive cultural barriers bilinguals face will be easily removed, and bilinguals will become able to communicate naturally. Socio-pragmatic competence can only acquire through actual use of the language in authentic interactions with LX speakers. An individual who is proficient and frequent user of a language can acquire the correct perception of emotional force to appropriately use taboo words. Moreover, another variable is feeling close enough to the in-group to risk using these powerful words (Dewaele, 2004a).

Dewaele (2011b) investigated language preference for swearing among 386 adult multilinguals who were highly proficient in their L1 and L2 and used both languages very often. The results show that instructed language learners used the target language less frequently, and gave lower ratings on emotional force of swearwords and taboo words in that language, than did mixed learners (i.e., who had a combination of classroom instruction and naturalistic contact) and naturalistic learners (i.e., who had not benefited from any classroom instruction). In addition, L2 swearwords were perceived as having weaker emotional resonance than their L1 swearwords. To support this, "a number of instructed language learners point out that anger repertoires in the TL[21] were not part of the curriculum, hence their difficulties in expressing anger or irritation in authentic communication in the TL" (Dewaele, 2013, p. 117). Dewaele (2013) also mentioned that emotional scripts and vocabulary rarely figure in SL[22] textbooks. This is a strong explanation for why those who had only instructed language learning had difficulty expressing their anger or using swearwords in the target language. This is due to a lack of sufficient information on how to express emotional feelings, including swearwords, in almost all second language learning materials and curricula.

In addition to LX being learned formally or in naturalistic settings, research evidence also showed that age of language acquisition plays an important role in the perception and use of swearwords in LX. Specifically, participants who had started learning a L2 at a younger age rated the emotional force of swearwords and taboo words in L2 higher than learners who started language learning later (Dewaele, 2005). Thus, age of acquisition seems to be another factor of concern in research on language and emotion, indicating the importance of age of acquisition on the use of swearwords. Also, a high level of socialization in L2 is an important factor for individuals' preference in using L2 for swearing (Dewaele, 2011b). If L2 learners are highly socialized into a new culture and use L2 in authentic contexts more frequently, they use L2 for swearing as well, indicating that learners may "avoid the use of linguistic 'nuclear devices' if they are unsure about their yield" (Dewaele, 2006, p. 126). As mentioned earlier, Dewaele (2004a) and Harris (2004) agree that the L1 is preferred language for expressing emotion, and that the L1 has more emotional weight in general; however, this cannot prevent participants from sometimes using their other languages depending on "the intended perlocutionary effects and the

[21] Target Language
[22] Second Language

linguistic competence of the interlocutor" (Dewaele, 2006, p. 126). On the other hand, Harris (2004) states that if the emotional connotations of swearwords in the L1 are uncomfortable, languages later learned will be used for swearwords. Therefore, the L2 can be used for swearing in cases where bilinguals have achieved high levels of socialization in the L2 and thus feel highly comfortable with and attached to the L2 culture, or in cases where swearing in the culture of the L1 is severely stigmatised. In the latter case, the L2 learner will consciously use the L2 for swearing, because they feel less of a burden, disgrace, or dishonour when using L2 swearwords.

Exploring language preference for swearing and possible reasons for this preference, Dewaele (2013) conducted research on a sample of 486 pentalinguals using selected items extracted from the BEQ (Bilingualism and Emotion Questionnaire). "Because of the superior impact of swearing in the L1, some participants considered it taboo and avoided swearing in it, which could be linked to both cultural and religious beliefs" (p. 130). Many wanted to distance themselves from embarrassing topics. Asian participants reported that they in fact preferred to swear in English to escape the social stigma on the overt expression of anger in their native languages (Dewaele, 2013). Some even reported using euphemisms instead of the actual English swearwords (Dewaele, 2013). In fact, choosing a particular language allowed speakers to "momentarily reconnect with those particular values" (Dewaele, 2013, p. 166). Koven (2007) confirms that speakers' use of less colloquial speech in their L1 than in their L2 is not related to the lack of knowledge, but, it is due to its "inappropriateness in their mouth" (p. 140). This provides a strategic retreat from cultural constraints in a specific language.

In Dewaele's research, Asian, Arab, and Kurdish participants who used L2 for swearing claimed that they did so to weaken the social constraints on the open expression of emotion in their L1 (Dewaele, 2011b, 2013). It could be argued that this is an evidence of multi-competence since they were not restricted to a single channel of communication, all had been in an English speaking country for a considerable amount of time, and were highly proficient in English. In this case, participants used LX to express their emotions, including swearwords, in order to escape from social and cultural restriction in their L1. In addition to those cases, it was reported that other participants felt LX swearwords could provide necessary relief to express strong anger since LX swearwords had weaker impact and would help them to use of these words for some interlocutors (Dewaele, 2013). Moreover, several participants reported switching to their L1

when expressing strong anger and swearing without even paying attention to the fact that their interlocutor did not understand that language (Dewaele, 2004a, 2011d). In such cases, speakers unconsciously switched to the dominant language or the language in which they felt less restricted when using swearwords. All this research supports the idea that individuals had access to more than one channel to express their emotions, which is consistent with the multi-competence view.

Toya and Kodis (1996) considered the use of swearwords and the pragmatic use of rudeness in English among NSs[23] of Japanese with advanced English proficiency. They found that when the emotionality of swearing was uncomfortable, the participants had great difficulty to master two different norms of expressing emotions, so "the acquisition of rude language appeared to be an extremely sensitive issue because of the possible danger and misunderstanding involved in using such expressions" (p. 293).

Jay and Janschewitch (2008) state that the use of and reaction to swearwords "tells us who we are and where we fit in a culture; in short, our identities are marked by our use of swearwords" (p. 275) and, to understand swearing, individuals should "appreciate the contexts and communities in which it occurs" (Jay & Janschewitch, 2008, p. 274). Also, as Jay (2000) claimed, according to the Neuro-Psycho-Social theory, individuals learn to swear if the use of swearwords is rewarding for them like getting peers' respect or learning to avoid swearing in a situation where there is a punishment or the risk of losing face. Bi-/multilinguals make a conscious or unconscious choice in their language to express their status in the specific culture. Language choice for communicative function was found to be related to the character and dynamics of individuals' social networks (Wei, 1994). Also, language choice is an indicator of "not only one's subjective sense of self, but also one's positioning in a larger socioeconomic order […] also, each language in the verbal repertoire of a bilingual community becomes semiotically linked with different kinds of values, social relations, social locations, and ideas of personhood, as well as different symbolic positioning of bilinguals' communities in larger social, political, and economic contexts" (Koven, 2007, p. 26).

[23] Native Speakers

The research findings summarized here show that swearing in LX is a result of complex interactions of linguistic variables and socio-cultural variables such as age of acquisition, context of acquisition, and language knowledge (Dewaele, 2004c, 2013, Dewaele & Pavlenko 2002, Pavlenko, 2008, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Therefore, bi-/multilinguals knowledge of LX and socialization into LX culture can cause cognitive changes in their expression of emotions and significantly affect their swearing (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Pavlenko, 2008).

2.2.2 Bi-/Multilinguals' reasons for using L2

The literature summarized so far presents speakers' preference for in choosing their L1 for expressing emotion through words (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2011b, 2013; Harris, 2004; Pavlenko, 2006). However, this is not a straightforward issue, and, in some cases, L2 is the preferred language. Specifically, high levels of socialization (Dewaele, 2006, 2011b, 2011c, 2013; Ljung, 2011), frequency of usage (Dewele, 2004a, 2004b), age of acquisition (Dewaele, 2005, 2006; Jay, 1992; Stets, 2012), knowledge of the language (Dewaele, 2004a, 2010, 2011c), and individuals' own decisions are significant factors shown to impact the usage of L2 over L1. This section focuses on the reasons behind prioritizing L2 over L1 and discusses several different views on this preferential language selection.

Kinginger (2004) asserts that language learning is viewed as a process of socialisation into particular linguistic communities, with negotiation taking place as learners familiarize to or challenge the discursive practices they confront. Wierzbicka (2004) also notes that different languages are linked with different ways of thinking and different ways of feeling; "they are linked with different attitudes, different ways of relating to people, different ways of expressing one's feelings and so on" (p. 98). All these make the process of learning and using a language appropriately more challenging.

Several authors proposed that higher proficiency in L2 was shown to be a key factor in the complex task of socialization into a new socio-cultural community. Pavlenko (2006) believes that in order to achieve proficiency in L2, individuals need to "'assume certain cultural perspectives', to 'act according to the behavioural norms of the corresponding culture', and to 'conform to the way the native speakers talk'" (p. 12). Higher language proficiency provides more opportunity for immigrants to be more involved in their host culture and reach a deeper

level of understanding of the surrounding socio-cultural reality from authentic sources. For this reason, it has been proposed that linguistic attainment is a crucial factor in socio-cultural integration (Hammer, 2017c), and, moreover, language shift at individual level is a sign of gradual internalisation of the new language (Pavlenko, 2014). Therefore, people learn to react strategically and make conscious decisions to choose a particular language with a particular interlocutor in a specific occasion (Dewaele, 2006).

Other empirical research has shown the role of additional variables in bi-/multilinguals' preference for LX for expressing emotions. For instance, Dewaele (2015c) analysed the feedback of 1454 adult multilinguals who had filled out the BEQ on their language preferences for both inner speech and emotional inner speech. The quantitative analysis indicated that frequency of use, socialization, and self-perceived proficiency were linked to the use of a particular language for both inner speech and emotional inner speech. There was a significant relation between naturalistic or mixed context of acquisition and higher perceived emotionality. Also, younger AOA was significantly related to more use of the language for both inner speech and emotional inner speech. The participants' preferences for using LX for inner speech was indicated as a sign of conceptual restructuring and acculturation. Similarly, De Leersnyder et al. (2011) asserts that higher level of LX use for expressing emotions indicates extensive contact with the host culture community and it can prove to be a significant factor in the emotional acculturation process. Dewaele (2008a) believes that proficient L2 users become aware of subtle differences in pragmatic norms in their different languages, and they "reflect on potentially conflicting norms concerning appropriateness. They had clearly developed a metapragmatic awareness of differences in the norms in their different languages, and were able to adapt according to the situation" (p. 249). In a different study, Dewaele (2008a) suggests that using L2 for a longer period of time may lead users reach a certain point in the improvement of fluency and accuracy, and "judgments of proficiency and success will probably be determined more by the relative ease with which communicative intentions are translated in the L2, especially in social interactions which require interpersonal skill, socio-cultural awareness, and knowledge of local pragmatic norms" (p. 244). In addition, immigrants who are living in L2 environment for many years usually prefer their L2 over their L1 since it becomes their dominant language; this result normally comes with increasing "appreciation of diversity, cross-cultural interest, [and] cultural cosmopolitanism [that] makes them more critical of their own culture" (Carlson & Widaman,

1988, as cited in Dewaele, & Wei, 2012, p. 5). These findings also confirmed by Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) study. Participants who had higher socialization in their L2 culture reported using swearing or other emotional patterns in their L2.

It is important to note that, in addition to the variables noted above (i.e., language proficiency, AOA, frequency of use), bi-/multilinguals' perceptions of their own linguistic identity as a bilingual or multilingual is also a contributing factor to their language choices and preferences. This factor is, arguably, more elusive and likely more difficult to operationalize and quantify. What it means is that different individuals take different strategies with regards to their position as bi-/multilinguals and have expressed different feelings toward their being bi-/multilinguals.

> For bilingual people, living with two languages can mean indeed living in two different emotional worlds and also travelling back and forth between those two worlds. It can also mean living suspended between two worlds, frequently misinterpreting other people's feelings and intentions, and being misinterpreted oneself, even when on the surface communication appears to proceed smoothly. (Wierzbicka, 2004, p. 102)

In the same line, noting the complexity of the bi-/multilingual experience, Pavlenko (2006) states that a bilingual is not exactly like two single monolinguals. Some bilinguals may perceive the world differently, and have different perspectives, ways of thinking, and verbal and non-verbal behaviours when switching languages. Some may even feel pleasure and gratification from the hybridity and relativity of their existence. However, some may feel that they "inhabit distinct and at times incommensurable life worlds and experience pain and anguish over this condition" (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 29). This perception is, arguably, playing a role in bi-/multilinguals' linguistic choices and preferences.

Several studies showed that some LX learners feel artificial or inauthentic when expressing their feelings in a language other than their L1. This feeling of different is likely linked to the reason that languages learnt later in life are often associated with instructed learning compared to native languages which are acquired during childhood and associated with rich emotional context. Dewaele (2016e) investigated the perception of feeling different when

speaking languages other than L1. The results show that some older bi-/multilinguals were more likely to feel different when using languages other than their L1. Some participants had their own unique explanation linking "feeling difference to conscious or unconscious shifts in behaviour and to unique context of language use" (Dewaele, 2016e, p. 92). Some even explained that their feeling of difference will change over time. Surprisingly, there was no significant relation between self-perceived proficiency, AOA, and frequency of the use of language with perception of feeling different, this may indicate that there are other factors which are linked to these. Pavlenko (2006) also analysed the feedback from 139 participants and results showed that almost two-thirds of participants felt like a different person when they changed language. Most reported that they felt real in their L1 and felt more "artificial" (p. 18) in languages learned later. In line with examining psychological factors which influence feeling fake or yourself, Ożańska-Ponikwia (2012b) studied among 102 Polish L2 users of English and have spent some time in English speaking countries. Results revealed that the self-perceived feeling of difference when using L2 was significantly related to personality traits such as Extraversion, Openness, and Agreeableness. She concluded that bilinguals do not have split personalities, however they "adapt their behavior to the linguistic and cultural norms represented by a given language" (p. 230). Moreover, Ożańska-Ponikwia (2012b, 2013) argued that socially and emotionally skilled multilinguals are better at recognizing their changes in their personality when switching languages and using LX. This was also proposed as the reason why some studies reported changes in personality and others did not. In this same line of research related to bi-/multilinguals' feelings when using LX and interaction with personality traits, introvert participants reported feeling liberated when speaking French LX (Wilson, 2008). Furthermore, gender also played a role; specifically, female participants who were highly educated were more likely to report feeling different when switching languages and using LX. LX can give shy people a mask to hide behind even uncertain level of proficiency. The majority of her participants reported that using LX had a positive impact on the way they behaved and felt. In order to find if there is any link between gender, age, AOA, length of residency, social network, and language dominance and feeling yourself in L2, Hammer (2016) conducted a study among 149 Polish-English bilinguals who were highly educated and lived in UK, and underwent acculturation process. Findings indicated that there was a significant relation between the perception of being yourself in L2 and social network, and language dominance.

Adding another layer of factors to the discussion, Pavlenko (2005) proposed that the interplay between sociohistoric, sociopolitical, and linguistic circumstances shape individuals' investments in particular languages. Also, she shows that the languages speakers choose to learn, speak, or abandon are linked to their social, political, gender, and national identities and imagined futures. Pavlenko (2005) asserts that Russian, the language of her early years, gives her the feeling of constraint as a woman, voiceless in a hated regime, and presents her as Jew. In contrast, writing in English gives her freedom, "without hearing echoes of things I should not be saying" (p. 22). This illustrates how different factors influence the speaker's choice of language.

Sometimes, the host culture performs an extreme action and forces immigrants to use the L2. In the United States, during and after the First World War, language and educational policies directed to incoming immigrants and their children and forcing them to stop using their native languages in respect of their loyalty to their new country (Pavlenko, 2006). However, nowadays, countries like Canada respect multiculturalism, and while immigrants are provided with free English classes (such as LINC and ESL), individuals do not feel pressured by the state to choose a particular language. Here, the process of learning and reaching native speakers level happens through practice, over a long time, as a permanent resident.

The other reason cited by Pavlenko (2006) for choosing an L2 over L1 is when speakers find that L1 words may function as "triggers for painful, traumatic, and previously repressed memories and unacknowledged feelings. As a result, these speakers may associate anxiety and vulnerability with the L1 and favour the L2 as a mechanism of defence" (p. 22). Such speakers, by their own conscious decision, do their best to assimilate into the new culture and language. Pavlenko (2006) referred to Heinz (2001), noting that individuals "whose L1 was undergoing attrition favoured the L2 and felt able to express themselves freely in that language, liberated from the taboos and constraints of the mother tongue" (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 21).

Dewaele (2008a) describes three strategies available for second language learners in adapting to the use of their L2: one possible option for the L2 user is to be away from engaging in interactions that could lead to inappropriate linguistic behaviour. A second option for the L2 user is to familiarize and adapt towards the target language (TL) norm in order to produce the suitable perlocutionary effects, which typically happens as a consequence of intense L2 socialisation. A third option for the L2 user is to consciously reject to familiarize and socialize

toward the TL norm, which does not indicate as an example of pragmatic failure. However, it may lead to unwanted social consequences.

Hammer (2016) showed that there was a significant relation between socio-cultural and psychological integration into a new culture and the perception of being yourself in L2. Specifically, results indicated the importance of acculturation and perception of feeling yourself when using a language other than L1, acquired later in life. These findings connect with Dewaele and Nakano (2013), and Dewaele (2016e) who found that, in the context of migration, the feeling of being yourself when using LX is significantly related to acculturation levels, having wider network of LX interlocutors, and LX language dominance. These empirical findings fit with the theory of emotional acculturation (De Leersnyder et al., 2011), which proposes that acculturating in LX cultural group, socialising with LX peers have significant effect on immigrants' emotional life. In the same vein Ożańska-Ponikwia (2012a) investigated the possible link between gender, educational level, frequency of use, length of residency, self-perceived proficiency, and exposure to foreign language and culture with emotional expression. There was no significant relation between gender and expression of emotion in L2. However, her results showed that being immersed in a foreign language and culture and higher frequency of language use have significant effect on selecting the foreign language for emotional expression. Also, those who had used L2 more frequently and had contact with L2 on everyday basis had significantly high self-perceived proficiency in L2 and longer length of residency in L2 as well. She concluded that immersion in the L2 language and culture and frequent use of L2 were predictors of more defined expression in L2. Similarly, a study with 149 highly educated young Polish (L1) and English (L2) participants residing in UK showed that participants who used English more frequently and had wider English speaking network had higher level of English proficiency as well. In addition, older age, younger AOA, and longer length of residency were positively linked with higher proficiency level in L2. However, proficiency level in L2 was not significantly related to education level, or gender. Finally, participants who rated high in acculturation were found to have higher level of English (L2) proficiency, suggesting that linguistic acquisition does not happen without social integration (Hammer, 2017c).

Pavlenko (2013) also emphasized the importance of affective L2 socialization and experience of using L2 in an emotional context, which leads to stronger feelings of language

emotionality and attachment to the language in question. Pavlenko (2004b) argued that L2 learning in L2 dominant environment may lead to conceptual restructuring in late bilingual's mental lexicon and can influence their feeling of inadequacy when expressing certain emotions in L1. This perceptual change may also affect the change in L1 structures at different levels, which could result in a change in the way bilinguals view the world. Consistent with this idea, one study found out that the language choice for expression of anger was significantly related to the degree of socialization in the LX, acquisition context (i.e., instructed learning vs. naturalistic acquisition), and oral proficiency (Dewaele, 2006). Frequent use of LX in a natural environment and language socialization have a significant positive effect on using the language for emotion. In fact, language choice for expressing emotions is affected by a number of interacting variables. Similar findings were reported in the number of studies (Dewaele, 2013; Pavlenko, 2005, 2008; Panayiotou, 2004; Wierzbicka, 2004). In addition, as indicated by some researchers, possible reasons for speakers who report feeling much more comfortable discussing emotions in later learned languages, include growing up in a "tradition of a 'stiff upper lip'" (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 23) or mainly living and interacting in the domain of later learned languages. For some people, their foreign tongue "can give voice to the words that could not be spoken in their language" (Clare, 2004, p. 184). Also, Bond and Lai (1986) showed that language proficiency had no effect on Chinese-English bilinguals' emotion related language expression. The only reason reported was to avoid distancing themselves from topics which were embarrassing in their L1. Even among translingual writers, it has been reported that they enjoy using second language for "freeing them from self-censorship, from prohibitions and loyalties of their native culture, and this allow them to gain full control over their words" (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 20). Multilinguals may prefer to use an L2 since it gives them richness, frees them from cultural constraints, or makes them feel safe to let themselves go and express freely. Reflecting on the implications of this finding for the present study, this could be the case for Persian women who prefer using swearwords in languages other than their L1.

2.2.3 Emotion expression and interlocutors

Several studies have indicated that individuals prefer to express their emotion in L1 (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2011b, 2013, 2017a; Pavlenko, 2006, Harris, 2004). Moreover, the emotional resonance of L1 has been reported to be higher than in languages learned later in

life (Dewaele, 2004a, 2011b; Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Harris, 2004; Harris et al., 2003; Hammer, 2017b). Numerous studies have shown that the types of interlocutors bi-/multilinguals interact with affect the language which is used for expression of emotions (Dewale, 2004c, 2006, 2008c, 2013, 2015c; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Specifically, speaking with strangers may affect anxiety levels (Dewaele, 2016) and bi-/multilinguals may even code-switch to choose the language which suits the emotional needs of a particular situation, suggesting access to multiple cultural meanings (Hong et al., 2000; Benet-Martinez et al., 2002) and a gradual internalization process to a new language (Pavlenko, 2006, 2014). Moreover, research has indicated the strong effect of socialization (i.e., having wider network of interlocutors, higher frequency of the use of LX) on the language used to express emotions (Dewaele, 2013, 2016e; Hammer, 2016, 2017a; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2011). For instance, Dewaele (2004c) conducted a study among 1039 multilinguals on language preference for emotional expressions. The results indicated that language dominance had a significant effect on expressing feelings, including anger and swearwords with different interlocutors, and that L1 was the preferred language for inner speech. In a more recent study, Dewaele (2015c) analysed the feedback of 1454 adult multilinguals and the result were in line with his previous research; namely, participants reported using L1 more frequently for their inner speech and for emotional inner speech. Also, inner speech and self-perception were strongly related. There were some participants who reported using LX for their inner speech and Dewaele (2015c) concluded that the choice of using emotional inner speech in LX is an indication of a "conceptual restructuring and repositioning of the self" (p. 14).

Other research highlighted several characteristics of interlocutors, largely related to their language use, which influence language choice in bi-/multilinguals. For instance, Pavlenko (2004a) indicated that factors such as interlocutors' linguistic competence, social context, and language dominance affect multilinguals' language choice for expression of emotion. Dewaele (2008c) also conducted another study to examine multilinguals 'perception of the emotional weight of "I love you". The results showed that the perception of the emotional weight of "I love you" was significantly related to self-perceived language dominance, LX socialization, and LX categories of interlocutors. He asserted that strong socialization in the LX, indicating high frequency of the use of LX with different interlocutors over a long period of time, had a significant effect on the use of LX for this particular emotional script. In fact, a wider network of

interlocutors and having authentic interactions with LX speakers and socialization had positive correlation with individuals feeling dominant in their LX. In addition, multilinguals who have a wider network of interlocutors show a stronger ability to avoid or overcome linguistic iceberg (Dewaele, 2013). De Leersnyder et al. (2011) declared that emotional patterns convey and emphasize the dominant meanings and practices in their culture, therefore they imply migrants' socio-cultural affiliations. In other words, participants' attachments to LX culture and affective socialization have a significant effect on their choice of LX for expressing emotions with different interlocutors.

Similar results emerged from Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) study, which showed that sociable individuals, who seemed to have a wider network of interlocutors and actively engaged in social interactions in LX, tend to use LX for a wider range of emotional terms. Dewaele and Pavlenko (2002) also showed that personality traits of Extraversion had a significant effect on the development of emotional scripts and wider use of colloquial terms in LX. Moreover, proficiency and frequency of the use of multiple languages were related to multilinguals' ability to see the world from their interlocutors' perspective. This was interpreted as evidence of multi-competence, since knowledge of multiple languages provided multilinguals with something more than mere knowledge and proficiency - they showed higher Cognitive Empathy (Dewale & Wei, 2012). In a different study, migrants' longer length of residency was related to increased awareness that their beliefs, norms, and values are not necessarily shared by interlocutors from different cultures, which showed a positive effect of their tolerance of ambiguity (Dewaele & Wei, 2013).

In the same vein, numerous studies revealed that bi-/multilinguals normally have linguistic preferences to communicate specific types of content and negative emotions with certain interlocutors (Dewaele, 2004b, 2006, 2008c, 2017a; Hammer, 2017a). Bilinguals showed clear linguistic preference when expressing specific content or when communicating with particular interlocutors, such as friends or colleagues. Dewaele (2017a) participants reported using swearing significantly more with friends, followed by swearing alone, and, less frequently, with family members, colleagues, and strangers. Beers Fägersten (2007) conducted a study among 60 undergraduate students of University of Florida. Results indicated that there was tendency among participants to swear more frequently with interlocutors of similar age, gender

and ethnicity. This finding illustrates the inter-individual function of swearing, which depends on the specific interpersonal context (e.g., the group in which swearing happens). This is consistent with the idea that swearing can be used as a sign of group bonding and solidarity, which was emphasized by numerous studies, (Allan & Burridge, 2009; Dewaele, 2006; Beers Fägersten, 2007, 2012; Brandes, 2017; Stapleton, 2003, 2010; Stenström, 2006; Vingerhoets et al., 2013). Similarly, Stenström (2006) study showed that swearing can function as a marker of group identity among teenagers and young participants also could be a marker of gender identity as well. Along the same line, avoidance of swearing can represent social distance between speaker and interlocutors (Beers Fägersten, 2012; Dewaele, 2013).

Other research pointed out the effect of additional characteristics of the interlocutors, highlighting the complexity of swearing. The relative status of the interlocutors, and not only the style of usage, was suggested to have a significant effect on the perception of swearing (Allan & Burridge, 2006). Relative status was conceived to come from two sources: the relative power of the interlocutors and the social distance between them" (Allan & Buridge, 2006, p. 361). The relative power is explained by the social factors present in a specific situation of utterance. For example, the relative power of a policeman and a dentist is not the same in all situations. It highly depends on where they meet one another. If a dentist is stopped by a policeman due to impaired driving, the relative power between them is different relative to a situation in which a policeman is a patient in a dentist office. Social distance between interlocutors is regulated by factors such as age, gender, and socio-cultural background. Swearing at someone of lower status may not lead to loss of status, however swearing at someone with higher status may result in more serious consequences for the swearer (Allan & Burridge, 2009). Similarly, Jay (1992) showed that students hardly swear in official contexts such as the Dean's office since there is a risk of losing their status and respect. He concluded that swearing in an inappropriate context may lead the swearer to face loss of credibility, showing that, overall, swearing is highly dependent on its context. Also, it can be used to create informal mood and atmosphere (Jay, 1992, 2009).

More recently, Su (2016) conducted a study with 120 college students and showed that, among advanced learners, the interlocutor's relative power for apology in Chinese language has been blurred among Chinese (L1) and English (L2) speakers. Participants used apologizing

repertoires from the English language, which does not express the power relation concept, instead of the Chinese one. This was interpreted to be evidence for conceptual restructuring (instead of using the apology system in Chinese (L1), participants used their English (L2) apology system, which was based on egalitarian system), the effect of L2 on L1, and an indication of multi-competence. Dewaele (2013) used a subsample of 486 pentalinguals extracted from BEQ, his study showed significant link between rich network of interlocutors, LX socialization, frequent use of LX and swearing in LX. Also, in his studies (Dewaele, 2016a, 2017a) among total of 1159 English L1 and 1165 English LX language users, participants showed that they used swearing significantly more with their friends followed by the situation where they were alone. Also, younger AOA, higher frequency of the use of LX, higher proficiency in LX, and use of LX outside school were significantly related to swearing in English with different interlocutors.

In sum, the literature in this section (2.2.3) showed the influence of several characteristics of the interlocutors and their relationship with the speakers (e.g., formality, social distance between speaker and interlocutor, having wider network of interlocutors, and interlocutors age and gender) on the language used by bi-/multilinguals for expressing emotions, including swearwords. Swearing is defined as a multi-functional pragmatic unit, which can be used to express different emotions and different discourse functions. Swearing was shown to be affected by pragmatic variables like social distance and formality between speaker listener and location (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). Also, swearing can be used to indicate group identity, and solidarity, suggesting that both the intra-individual and inter-individual functions of swearing are important to consider when doing research. In the next section, the attempt is to provide insight into the relationship between gender and swearwords through a review of the literature from previous studies.

2.2.4 Swearwords and gender

In cross-cultural research, sociolinguists usually examine the effect of independent variables such as gender, age, age of acquisition, and length of residency. Differences in how women and men speak constitute a controversial subject that has attracted numerous researchers, especially sociolinguists. A variety of assumptions have been made in order to answer questions regarding the difference between men's and women's use of swearwords or prestigious forms of

speech. Researchers have sought to find out whether or not the use of swearwords is gender-specific and possible explanations for these differences. This section presents theories which frame gender effects, along with the relevant empirical literature on the discussion and debate around the relationship between swearword usage and gender.

Language is seen as part of the processes of "social action and interaction and in particular as a way in which people influence others […] it is a symbolic resource which may be tied to the ability to gain, access, and exercise power" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 12). Thus, it could be argued that speakers choose a language that would "symbolize the rights and obligations they wish to enforce in the exchange in question and index the appropriate identities […] In contrast, making a marked choice indicates an attempt to negotiate a different balance of rights and obligations" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 8). Some believe that gender plays a significant role in swearing. Specifically, it has been proposed that girls and boys are socialized differently and they use different strategies related to their social interactions and more specifically to language use and communication, which, in turn, affects the frequency of the use of swearwords among men and women (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008).

Block (2007a) also mentioned that "from a feminist linguistics perspective, there have been four approaches to language and gender over the past 30 years, each of which frames gender identities in very different ways. These approaches include the *deficit model,* the *cultural difference model,* the *dominance model,* and the *poststructuralist model"* (p. 34). The first approach, the deficit model, "frames women as disadvantaged speakers and communicators, particularly in professional settings. This disadvantage is said to arise from their upbringing and socialization as females and the way forward for women is to align their speech to male-dominance norms" (Block, 2007a, p. 34). Thus, this model signifies the importance of women adopting men's behaviours and communication styles, or assimilating to men's expectations and standards, in order to be successful.

The second approach, the cultural difference model, is also "about different socialization patterns, namely that men and women belong to separate but equal cultures […] Women's speech and communication styles are not inferior to men's; rather the relationship between the two are problematic at least in part due to the clashing of cultures" (Block, 2007a, p. 35). Many publications based on this model generally focus on how women talk to men. The goal was to

provide better communication skills between the two sexes and ultimately improve their relationship.

In the dominance model, "women are seen to perform their femininities in patriarchal societies in which they negotiate, as best as they can, their position of relative powerlessness vis-a-vis men. […] It challenges the foundations of socio-economic hierarchies in different societies around the world" (Block, 2007a, p. 35). The main insight of this model lies not just in how women adjust their way of speaking, but in questioning the whole hierarchical system that gives men priority over women.

The last model is the poststructuralist model, which to most gender specialists, shares four key characteristics.

> "First, there is a consensus that gender is about doing as opposed to having or being. […], Second, in short gender identities emerge in and from activity and interaction and do not precede or cause them […] Third, gender work is done by all human beings, not just those classified as female […] Finally, adopting this model means that gender cannot be studied in isolation from other perspectives on identity, such as ethnicity, race, nationality, and social class" (Block, 2007a, p. 36).

In this line of poststructuralist perspective Cameron (2005, p. 487) also mentioned that "masculinities and femininities come in multiple varieties, inflecting and inflected by all the other dimensions of someone's social identity - their age, ethnicity, class, occupation, and so forth". When discussing the relationships between language choice and gender it is necessary to consider the feminist movement. In second wave feminism in particular, culture and society separate men and women; it was suggested that women were oppressed and restricted by men. However, the third wave feminist movement also emphasises the force of institutions and social pressures on women, as well as their opposition to those pressures (During, 2005). In general, the poststructuralist model "highlights the fact that identities are constructed at the interstices of multiple axes, such as age, race, class, ethnicity, gender, generation, sexual orientation, geopolitical locale, institutional affiliation, and social status, whereby each aspect of identity redefines and modifies all others" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 16).

Moreover, there is a belief that the way women choose to express themselves denotes their social relationships and their status (Coates, 1993). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet

(1995) apply the theory of community of practice to Eckert's study of Jocks and Burnouts. The researchers argue that the way vowels are used by Burnout girls implies that these girls construct and negotiate their identities in a "tough and streetwise" manner (Bucholtz, 1999, p. 213). Boys display their toughness through physical fighting, which is considered inappropriate for girls. On the other hand, "female Burnouts must index their identities semiotically. Thus, Burnout girls and boys share an orientation toward toughness in their community of practice[24]" (Bucholtz, 1999, p. 213), but the way in which each gender achieves toughness is different.

To explore gender differences in swearing, Stapleton (2003) conducted a qualitative and exploratory study of Irish undergraduates in a pub-based community of practice. Her study showed that swearing functions as a marker of group identity and as a means of negotiating identity in a particular way (e.g. "'women drinkers' within the broader social context" (Stapleton, 2010, p. 300). Also, men, unlike women, reported regular usage of obscene terms, which indicated that "regardless of community available social meanings, male members perceive greater 'rights' to obscenity, than do the female members" (Stapleton, 2003, p. 27). In addition, women's swearing was faced with negative social judgements, social censure, and moral ascriptions, which were not applied to men's swearing, a finding confirmed by previous research (Evers, Fischer, Rodriguez Mosquera, & Manstead, 2005). This study revealed the expectation for women to suppress and inhibit showing their anger due to negative social appraisal. In contrast, men's expression of emotions, including anger, received positive social appraisal. Women's swearing could function as a way of negotiating gender boundaries and presenting contextualized version of femininity to them. In addition, since swearing is more forbidden for women than men, when women swear it could indicate trust and interpersonal solidarity, suggesting that "it's ok to swear with you because you are my friend" (Stapleton, 2010, p. 298). Finally, in her study, female participants reported avoiding using a wider range of obscenity terms relative to male participants (Stapleton, 2003).

Beers Fägersten (2007) conducted a study among undergraduate students of University of Florida. Out of 65 questionnaires, which were distributed randomly, 60 were

[24] "[…] in community of practice unlike speech communities, the boundaries are determined not externally by linguists, but internally through ethnographically specific social meanings of language use" (Bucholtz, 1999, p. 214).

used for analysis in her study. Participants were invited to follow up interviews when they finished filling the questionnaire and were asked to discuss their answers and the topic of swearing. Overall, females rated the listed swearwords more offensive than males. However, White females rated swearwords usage less offensive than the White males. These data show that gender and race affect significantly the degree to which swearwords are perceived as offensive. This suggests that in females swearing is not traditionally acceptable and, consequently, they are more sensitive to and aware of the possible offensiveness or inappropriateness. Also, minority males, African Americans, use fewer swearwords compared to White males. This can suggest that they do not enjoy the same power as White males due to their minority status and therefore are less willing to engage in the social complex behavior of swearing unless they make sure the context is appropriate. More recently, Beers Fägersten (2012) conducted an observational study to examine gender differences with respect to swearing. Analysis of spontaneous speech of undergraduate students at the University of Florida indicated that "males not only produce more swearing utterances, but they also engage more often in self-echoic swearing" (p. 71). The data also showed that swearing most frequently occurred in same-sex interactions for both females and males.

Bucholtz's (1999) work at a US high school in California showed that participants were aware of linguistic forms, such as in the case of "Carrie announcing her willingness to enter nerdy interactional space by carefully gauging her utterance to match the group of practices" (p. 219). Thus, Carrie's nerdy performance places her within the community of practice to which she wanted to belong. However, as she uses linguistic forms that do not belong to that group, members of that group disregard her totally and place her out of the group. This type of analysis helps researchers to view language within the context of social practice, and also to obtain more information about the conscious preferences of agentive individuals and the constraints of social structure.

The issue of gender differences with respect to using swearwords is a complex one as it is sits at the intersection between social status, power, identity, belonging to certain groups, and traditional, established ways of expression. For instance, with regards to the concepts of power, gender, and swearwords, Mills (2003) believes that women want to show themselves as competent, powerful, and not restricted by conventional norms of formality. In fact, by using a

masculine type of language or swearwords, women are using specific linguistic behaviours to negotiate a more powerful position. That reason serves well to describe countries in which the roles of men and women are defined separately, and women need to be more concerned about their behaviour and their speech. Individuals or groups of people who disregard the roles and norms in those countries are immediately faced with harsh reactions from the rest of society. Stapleton (2003) also mentioned that the consequences for breaching a taboo "will be intensified by the speakers positioning within the prevailing (gender) hierarchy" (p. 22).

In the same vein, Koven (2007, p. 234) believes that "performances of more socially daring personas and characters who curse and condescend might reflect poorly on women's need to preserve locally valued images as honorable young women whose (verbal and nonverbal) comportment is beyond reproach". The notion that men use impolite forms of speech more than women do is partially accepted as universal. What is interesting is the considerable disparity between the results of researchers among different languages. Men are expected to use more "obscene language than women only if the recipient of the obscenity is another man" (Pilotti, Almand, Mahamane, & Martinez, 2012, p. 23). In this line, Jay's (1992) research demonstrates that men use more offensive words than women; however, their tendency to swear in the same sex context is the same. In fact, both use swearwords more often in same sex contexts than in mixed ones. Coates (1993) also mentions that men swear more.

Another idea put forth by gender differences research on swearing emphasizes part of the motivation for engaging in swearing. Specifically, it has been proposed that the way women and men choose to express themselves represents their social relationships and their status (Coates, 1993). In this line of thinking, James (1996) claims that women use more prestigious speech, which is an indication of securing themselves and signalling their social status. In part, these might be remains of behaviours that were socially valued throughout history and thus became embedded in the fabric of gender roles and expectations. For instance, Watts (1992) asserts that politeness in the culture of the18th century was strongly linked to social class and socio-political power and those who break the norms were open to "social stigmatization and political persecution" (p. 44). Similarly, James (1996) notes that the "market forces and social networks approaches do not provide a full explanation for sex differences in the uses of overtly prestigious versus stigmatized speech" (p. 102). It is not unusual for women to adopt prestigious speech in

response to the pressures and problems they face in their own speech community (James, 1996). Women hope to gain respect and increased status in a new community by using its language; they want to show their belonging and new identity.

Furthermore, several authors argued that women's use of a particular kind of language reflects their perceived social status (e.g., Brown, 1980; Trudgill, 1974). Brown (1980) and Trudgill (1974), for instance, commented on the inferiority of women in society and their use of more polite forms of language in response to this inferiority. Brown (1980) presents a study of a Mayan community, showing that women in that community use polite forms more than men because of the difference in power relations between women and men in that community. Interestingly, Herbert (1992, as cited in James, 1996) shows that among the Thonga people in South Africa, women showed more respectful language in their traditional language (Thonga) than in the dominant one (Zulu). Although Thonga is a stigmatized language, women use it more than Zulu. Herbert suggests that, by doing this, they seek to show their resistance to losing their power and identity (James, 1996).

The relationship between social structure and behaviour provides reasonable predictions about when, where, and under what conditions women use polite form of speech. It allows us to predict "universals in linguistic usage based on universals in the position of women cross-culturally. Linguistic similarities should not be expected between West African women or high-caste Indian women and Tenejapan women" (Brown, 1980, p. 134), as the former have structural power and the latter have a lack of power. However, "similarities between language usage of Tenejapan women and other peasant women in egalitarian small scale societies with similar social structural features" can be predicted (Brown, 1980, p. 134).

Language is not neutral; by adapting or acquiring a language or even a type of language, each person explicitly or implicitly constructs and presents his or her own chosen status. Therefore, different criteria must be considered, such as social networks, social class, age, education, the effect of speech community, and – most importantly – the beliefs and decisions of each individual on how to express his or her own status in a society. Past research suggests that gender differences in using swearwords are not related to prewired, genetic, or biological factors. However, factors like ideology of gender and emotions, value of swearing in a particular speech community, the identity of interlocutors, the context of interactions, hierarchical system, and

socialization, all were shown to affect individuals swearing frequency and range of its use. It is important to note that these researches focus primarily on monolinguals whereas, in bi-/multilinguals, the link between gender and swearing in LX is inconsistent, pointing to the need to explore more cross-cultural gender differences. Thus, this thesis is an attempt to find if there are any gender differences in Persian immigrants with respect to swearing behaviour and whether this might be related to immigrants' acculturation orientation or their personality traits.

2.2.5 Swearwords and age, age of acquisition, frequency of use, language knowledge, and length of residency

As mentioned in the previous chapter, most sociolinguistic research is interested in the effects of speaker age, age of acquisition (AOA), frequency of use of a language, language knowledge, and length of residency on linguistic behaviour. It is clear that for all speakers some topics are more emotional or trigger their anger and these differences are socio-cultural as well as individual. Swearing in LX is often perceived differently from swearing in L1, therefore it is required to investigate if "the independent variables linked to swearing in the L1 are equally linked to swearing in L2" (Dewaele, 2017a, p. 334). This section will present the findings of various researchers on the effects of these independent variables on the usage of swearwords. It is believed that being highly proficient in an L2 may facilitate individual's access to native speakers of that language, and thus their access to interpersonal context in that language. It is also important to emphasize that longer length of residency does not always indicate being active in LX social interactions. Strong immersion in the LX culture, and having a wider network of interlocutors and strong social interactions might enable migrants to use language appropriately in various contexts, including expression of emotion. In fact, both immersion in LX language and culture and affective socialization can change the way emotions are expressed in LX (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Accordingly, "high proficiency is frequently a marker of having had exposure to emotional context of learning" (Harris et al., 2006, p. 274). Therefore, "socio-pragmatic competence can only develop through actual use of the language in authentic interaction" (Dewaele, 2004a, p. 220).

In order to find out how emotion vocabulary was incorporated and used in interlanguage as well as possible constraints on emotion vocabulary for L2 use, Dewaele and Pavlenko (2002) conducted two studies and examined the possible effect of socio-cultural competence, gender,

language proficiency, and Extraversion. Participants in the first study were 29 Belgian speakers of Dutch L1 and French L2. The second study was conducted among 34 Russian native speakers who included 20 learners of English and 14 L2 users of English who were living in USA. Two three-minute films with no dialogue but sound track were used for narrative elicitation objectives. The results from both studies showed that the range of emotion terms and frequency of use were significantly related to proficiency level and Extraversion. Only in very few cases gender was significant. They concluded that L2 socialization could modify and broaden emotion concepts. With regards to socio-cultural competence, the authors speculated that it was possible that familiarity with culture-specific emotion scripts could impact the emotion vocabulary choice rather than its amount. Similarly, in a study based on the BEQ, the analysis of the feedback from 1039 adult multilinguals revealed that a lower age of language acquisition was linked to higher frequency of swearing in that LX (Dewaele, 2004a). There is also strong positive relationship between frequency of LX and use of that LX for swearing. Highly proficient users of LX and frequent use of LX can correctly perceive emotional force in that language and feel close enough to the in-group to risk using swearwords in that particular language (Dewaele, 2004a, 2011a). In a different study using the BEQ, participants included 102 bilinguals who had Polish as L1 and English as L2 and were living in Ireland and the UK (Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012). Among them, there were 35 participants who had never lived in an English-speaking country. Their study showed that a longer length of stay has a significant effect on the expression of emotion in L2 and feeling more proficient in L2. In other words, as participants build up their social network in L2, they use L2 more frequently. Consequently, this impacts the development of L2 and speeds up their socialization. Higher frequency of L2 use, and higher self-perceived knowledge of L2 were significantly liked to more frequently using expression of emotion in L2. Various personality traits among Big Five factors were related to L2 use. Those who scored high in Openness and Extraversion reported using English L2 more frequently than those who scored lower on these personality traits. Openness was a highly significant factor for self-perceived proficiency in L2. In fact, curiosity in L2 language and culture had a significant effect on L2 proficiency rather than general talkativeness, so immigrants' personality profile is significantly related to L2 use and proficiency in L2. Their results indicated that both immersion and personality factors impact migrants' expression of emotion in L2. A more recent study using both qualitative and quantitative data from 149 Polish L1 migrants residing in UK showed that

self-perceived English (L2) proficiency was significantly related to age, AOA, L2 frequency of the use, and acculturation level (Hammer & Dewaele, 2015). Highly acculturated Polish-English migrants significantly rated their English (L2) proficiency higher than moderate or less acculturated individuals. These results can be interpreted to show that a higher acculturation level provides more opportunities for immigrants to receive L2 input through higher L2 use. In addition, individuals who used L2 more frequently had significantly higher L2 proficiency. These results support previous studies indicating that high frequency of L2 use and high acculturation into L2 culture are significantly related to higher self-perceived proficiency in L2 (Dewaele, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). With regards to age, older participants reported feeling more proficient in their L2 than younger ones. Higher frequency of L2 use, older age, younger AOA were all linked to higher self-perceived L2 proficiency. Moreover, acculturation level and length of residency were positively linked to self-perceived proficiency in L2 and increased perception of L2 as emotional. Similarly, analyses of migrants' emotion expression and perception in L1 and L2 showed that those who experienced affective socialization consider L2 as their dominant language and perception of L1 emotion occurs through L2 emotional scripts (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). In fact, language dominance was found to have a significant effect on bilinguals' emotional perceptions and participants who rated L2 as their language dominant and did not perceive L1 as more emotional than L2.

Consistent with these findings, Dewaele's (2004b) research on more than one thousand adult multilinguals from all over the world indicates that participants preferred to swear in their L1. LX learnt at school were less likely to be used for swearing, possibly due to insufficient socio-pragmatic competence. An analysis of individual variation in perceived emotional force of swearwords in multilinguals' different languages revealed that L1 swearwords had higher emotional force compared to languages learned later in life. High frequency of use of LX was related to more frequent use of that LX for swearing. In another study among 1039 multilinguals, Dewaele (2004c) showed that language dominance and perceived L1 attrition had a significant effect on frequency of L1 use for expression of feeling, and swearing to various interlocutors in both silent and articulated speech. In addition, language dominance and perceived L1 attrition had a significant effect on self-rated proficiency in L1. In other words, as individuals use L1 less frequently, the perception of its usefulness, colorfulness, and emotional character diminishes, a common characteristic among participants who no longer considered L1 as their dominant

language. Interestingly, L1 remain largely unaffected by L1 attrition and L1 swearwords remain their force in spite of being rarely used. In fact, “every exposure to the emotion-laden words has the potential to push the user to consciously or unconsciously re-adjust, re-calibrate the meaning, reconsider the capacity to offend, and, at some future point, decide to mimic (or not) the use by L1 users of these potentially powerful emotion-laden words” (Dewaele, 2016 a, p. 125).

Kim and Starks (2008) explores the role of emotion attritions in L1 and L2 acquisition among 30 Korean L1 late bilinguals in New Zealand. They used three measure: a questionnaire, a story retelling task, and follow up interview. The findings show that there was a significant link between increase in L2 fluency and decrease in L1 accuracy, with a shift from L1 to L2. Also, there was a strong relation between emotion related language choice (ERLC) and language proficiency. Participants in their study were all late bilinguals who immigrated at age of 12-13 to New Zealand. Under this circumstance, participants’ emotional attachment to L1 may have changed due to their decreased use. While L1 may serve as the language which carry more emotional resonance and autobiographic memories, late bilinguals who have gone through socialization in an L2 language and culture may have different emotion related language choices (Dewaele, 2004a; Kim & Starks, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Pavlenko, 2005).

More frequent use of LX and having a wider network of LX speakers with whom to share informal conversation could boost social interaction and serve as an indication of socialization. To this end, Dewaele (2011b) selected a subsample from the BEQ and participants included 386 multilinguals who self-reported to be highly proficient in both L1 and L2 and use both languages very frequently. The analysis showed that participants preferred L1 for expressing their anger through swearing, communicating feelings, addressing their children, doing calculations, and for their inner speech. Also, L1 felt emotionally stronger than LX and they felt less anxious when using their L1. More recent research by Hammer (2017b) showed that length of residency was significantly related to using L2 for inner speech, cognitive, communication functions of language use and length of residency positively correlated with acculturation levels, suggesting that there is a link between acculturation and length of residency. Participants also reported lower levels of communicating anxiety in their L1. Moreover, L1 was considered by most participants to be emotionally stronger than L2. In the subsequent interviews, some participants specifically confirmed that their L1 felt more emotionally powerful than their L2. Qualitative

results also indicated that highly acculturated individuals at their initial stage of immigration mostly rely on internal translation from Polish (L1) to English (L2) and, with continuous socio-cultural integration and longer length of residency, their internal translation gradually disappeared and their L2 production became independent of L1. This does not mean that L2 production no longer relies on L1, but rather that the two processes of production become independent of each other. On the effect of age on language choice for emotional expression, Dewaele (2009) study found that the earlier L2 is acquired, the higher the chance that individuals choose L2 to communicate emotions. Moreover, the higher age of onset, the more likely it is that individuals use L1 as their more emotional language. However, the age-independent hypothesis of emotional context of learning stated that languages acquired in an emotional context are perceived as more emotional regardless of age of acquisition (Harris et al., 2006). In previous literature, it has also been proposed that since L2 is usually acquired in the instructed context of a formal classroom, it is associated with emotional detachment and, therefore, it is unlikely to be used for emotional expression (Dewaele, 2004a, 2013; Harris, 2004). In another study, Dewaele (2011a) focused on French (LX) use for swearing among 628 LX users of French. The results show that language socialization and proficiency were significantly related to swearing more in French. Also, individuals who had more authentic communication outside the classroom and had to use French in those contexts were more likely to swear in French compared to individuals who only acquired French through classroom instruction. However, in the Dewaele (2011b) study including 386 participants, results showed that L1 was the preferred language for swearing and felt emotionally stronger than the LX swearwords. Pavlenko (2005) argued that the discrepancy in the results is related to the presence or absence of autobiographic and emotional memories, which are better contextualized and remembered than the words learned through instruction only. She also stated that immersion into L2 dominant contexts has a significant effect on the nature of language processing. In addition, emotions and autobiographical memories are involved in this process, which helps the L2 user to integrate information from different authentic sources. The emotional expressions are integrated with emotional experience and activate memories which lead to more psychological reactions (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004c; Harris, 2006). However, shared emotional context has a positive effect on changing the language preference and the way individuals express their emotions. Consistent with this view, De Leersnyder et al. (2011) have found that individuals who experience emotional situations together tend to approximate and

match their emotional experience with each other and in their studies on Korean immigrants in USA and Turkish immigrants in Belgium, the results showed that exposure and engagement in L2 culture and emotional context of L2 lead to emotional acculturation.

Numerous studies reported that high impact lexemes such as swearwords can evoke stronger physiological responses in bilinguals when used in L1 rather than in L2 (Harris et al., 2003; 2006). A longer length of stay in the L2 culture was related to a gradual shift in linguistic practices, indicating a time came when the L2 started to pair with the L1 in their heart and minds (Dewaele, 2004c, 2012, 2015c; Hammer, 2016). In a more recent study with 1005 bi-/multilinguals, using the BEQ, results showed that multilinguals who felt anxious when using LX, also felt different when switching languages (Dewaele, 2016d). He examined the possible link between age, AOA, frequency of use, self-reported-proficiency of LX, and the sense of feeling different when switching languages. There was no significant relation between AOA and feeling different when using the LX. There was also no significant relation between the sense of feeling different when switching languages and language proficiency in LX or frequency of use of LX. However, there was a significant relation between age, educational level, and anxiety when using LX for speaking on the phone with colleagues.

Dewaele (2013) conducted a study among 485 pentalinguals, extracted from BEQ and looked at participants' language perceptions. The results indicated a gradual decline in usefulness, poetic character, colorfulness, richness, and emotionality from participants' L1 to their L5. In other words, L1 had the highest value on all mentioned dimensions. Also, a younger age of acquisition and a higher frequency of language use of language had a significant positive effect on all these dimensions and participants considered them more emotional, rich, colorful and poetic. Dewaele (2013) speculated that when multilinguals perceive a language as more emotional and rich, they may even feel more emotional and rich when using that language as well. The research has shown that men and women swear more frequently in the presence of their own gender than in mix gender situation. As for age of swearing, Stenström, Andersen, and Hasund, (2002) found that London teenagers used swearwords more frequently than others older participants and frequency of swearing was less related to social class and gender than with young age. A subsample of 486 pentalinguals extracted from BEQ in Dewaele (2013) also indicated that early acquisition of LX is significantly related to swearing more in LX. Swearing

happens across all ages, however swearing has been reported to be at highest in the teenage time and decline at older ages (Jay, 1992).

Wierzbicka (2004, p. 98) agrees with this general notion, stating that "a person's language acquired first ('at the mother's knee') is often endowed with a greater emotional force than the second language". Dewaele's (2013) research of 486 pentalinguals also found that a lower AOA of an LX was significantly related to higher use of that LX for swearing. Mixed or naturalistic learning of an LX, as opposed to learning the LX in a classroom context, was also related to higher use of LX for swearing. Dewaele (2013) also demonstrated that many multilinguals choose to swear in their LXs, as they feel detached from the taboos and social impacts in that language. However, some experience freedom through swearing in a newly acquired language. It gives them an opportunity to express "their emotions by harnessing the kind of taboo expressions they would feel uncomfortable using otherwise" (Dewaele, 2013, p. 131). It also seems that swearwords in an LX do not have "the same illocutionary effect as in L1, they can be considered either too strong or too weak" (Dewaele, 2016b, p. 143). Wierzbicka (2004) agrees that the emotional distance produced by the use of second language can sometimes "convey 'anger' and 'bad feelings' better than anything said in one's first language" (p. 98).

In sum, higher frequency of use of a language, higher level of proficiency, longer length of stay in that language's culture (which boosts the understanding of emotion-laden words), constant contact and use of that language in authentic contexts, and socialization in that language are all strong indicators, reported in participants from different studies, that an individual is able to switch from their L1 to the other language for expressing strong emotions and for swearing. Moreover, some participants with strict cultural backgrounds felt that this switch allowed them to bypass the social stigma that those words held in their L1 culture and express their feelings more freely.

2.3 Acculturation and the language of emotion

In Chapter One (Section 1.4.1), different dominant theories were presented about the concept of acculturation. In this section, the main focus is to present the relationships

between acculturation and the way multilinguals express their emotional language. It was discussed earlier that emotion terms are profoundly embedded into the cultural model of their related languages (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Pavlenko, 2008; Matsumoto, 2006; Mesquita, 2010; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004) and emotions are dynamic and interactive processes that are socially formed (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012). Further acculturation studies have shown that immigrants' emotion expression will resemble the one specific to the host culture due to longer length of residency and wider contact with host culture speakers (De Leersnyder et al., 2011). In fact, when communicating, immigrants look for common ground and extended interactions lead to the establishment of commonly shared meaning and values. Individuals who shared the same meaning and values should, arguably, experience the same emotions (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012). For immigrants, each interaction taking place in their new cultural context "will model and reward emotional patterns that are different from those prevalent and valued in their cultural origin" (De Leersnyder et al., 2011, p. 461). Immigrants' emotional fit may significantly help them to communicate, engage, and participate in their host culture better. It has been documented that meaning, frequency, and intensity of particular emotions vary across different cultures and that even the same emotions are experienced differently across cultures. Also, emotions indicate socio-cultural connections. Migrants' emotions approximate LX culture patterns based on their intensity of their social contact with the cultural context of the host culture (De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Mesquita, 2010). The immigrants' emotional patterns may change due to several reasons including: the different situations that new immigrants face in the new culture; acculturation into a new culture; similarity between migrants' emotional patterns and host culture implying migrants' internalization of new culture; and, migrants' emotional fit with the host culture. All these have the potential to significantly help migrants to participate, communicate, and engage in host culture practices (De Leersnyder et al., 2011). Psychological acculturation consists of two elements, one reflecting the extent to which a person has adopted the mainstream culture and the other indicating the maintenance of their heritage culture (Ryder et al., 2000).

Changes in immigrants' emotional patterns may facilitate their social life in the new culture and assist these individuals in finding happiness in their new place, since "emotionally

similar teams and groups tend to be closer, happier, and more identified than divergent groups" (De Leersnyder et al., 2011, p. 452). These changes in emotional patterns are collectively called emotional acculturation, which can be defined as "changes in emotional patterns due to an immigrants' exposure to and contact with new or second cultural context" (De Leersnyder et al., 2011, p. 451). It is suggested that the length of an immigrant's stay in a host culture predicts their emotional concordance, which means that immigrants' life experiences continue changing and shaping their emotions beyond the early years of socialization. Therefore, the more immigrants have lived in a host culture, the greater their emotional concordance to the host culture (De Leersnyder et al., 2011), which is the result of intercultural interactions and relationships. As a result, it is expected that migrants are able to recognize and respond to emotional context in LX correctly. Therefore, according to this theoretical framework, migrants' emotional patterns' will change in response to their involvement and engagement in a host cultural context (De Leersnyder et al., 2011), and research evidenced that socialization and acculturation impact language use (Dewaele, 2004c, 2008c, 2011a, 2017a; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013, 2017).

People who belong to the same cultural context share the same emotional patterns. For instance, Kitayama, Mesquita, and Karasawa (2006) found that those who live in a North American independent culture exhibit high frequency use of socially disengaging emotions, like anger and pride, while those living in a Japanese interdependent culture exhibit low rates of disengaging emotions, and instead commonly exhibit emotions such as shame and sympathy. This study indicates that in addition to differences in the frequency and intensity of specific emotions across different cultures, the same emotions could be experienced differently in different cultures. For those in independent cultures, expressions of anger are associated with feelings of independence and personal control. However, in Japanese culture and other interdependent cultures, expressions of anger would be associated with guilt. Matsumoto (2006) also documented the existence of cultural differences on emotion regulation. He found that those differences were influenced by individual differences in personality traits too. Specifically, individuals having certain personality traits (e.g., Extraversion, Neuroticism, and Conscientiousness) affected their emotion regulation.

De Leersnyder et al. (2011) also conducted a study to investigate the phenomenon of emotional concordance (i.e., change in immigrants' emotion expression to resemble the one specific to the host culture due to longer length of residency and wider contact with host culture speakers) and see to what extent emotions acculturate and what circumstances facilitate emotional concordance. They studied to what extent emotional concordance could be predicted by immigrants' exposure to and engagement in the host culture. The authors indicated that the emotional experiences of the people who live together (dyads, groups, cultures) tend to be similar, and that immigrants' emotions may come to resemble host culture patterns of emotional experience. Their first study focused on Korean immigrants in the United States; a second study focused on bicultural Turkish immigrants in Belgium. To measure emotional concordance, they designed the Emotional Patterns Questionnaire (EPQ), and compared immigrant participants' patterns of answers with those of an average mainstream sample. Both studies indicated that emotional concordance is higher for those immigrants who have lived in a host culture for longer, and who have more intercultural interactions and engaging relationships with host culture group members. Immigrants' emotional patterns became similar to those typical in the host culture, with increasing time spent in the host culture. Also, engaging in social interactions with members of the host culture was a significant factor for emotional similarity between migrants and host culture members. De Leersnyder et al. (2011) concluded that interpersonal interactions happen in a cultural context and not in a vacuum place and this has crucial importance in acculturation process. This conclusion reveals significant evidence supporting the idea that social interactions can develop and change migrants' emotional patterns as a result of a conceptual shift in emotional categories. This constitutes evidence for the notion that emotions are socially constructed. Social constructionists argue against the naturalistic view conceiving emotions as unitary and stable across time. Instead, social constructionists consider emotions as dynamic and changing due to response to social environment, to make individuals successfully navigate the different kinds of social contexts in which their lives take place (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012).

Hammer (2017a) conducted a study among 149 highly educated Polish-English bilinguals who resided in UK. Results confirmed the significant effect of social networks on acculturation. Participants who showed higher interest in using L1 had a wider L1 speaking social network and used L1 for private domains such as their household and among their peer groups; in contrast,

high acculturation and having a wider L2 speaking social network were linked to higher frequency of L2 in even private domain. Interestingly, the qualitative data showed that professional skills acquired in L2 become automatic and, irrespective of their acculturation, migrants use L2 very frequently in their work domain. Participants who lack the L1 base experience find this challenging and prefer to use L2; one exception is professional interpreters who have high skills in translating the content into L1. In fact, levels of L2 use across different communicative domains (private or public) were significantly associated with acculturation level and social network profile. Dewaele (2009) also found that AOA had a significant effect on the language choice for emotional expressions. That is, the earlier a language is acquired, the higher the possibility that this language will be used to communicate emotions. With an older AOA for a non-native language, there is a high possibility that the L1 will remain the language used more often for communicating emotions. Although it is true that younger immigrants have higher chances of emotional concordance, this could be due to their lack of experience with their heritage culture. Also, as immigrants may spend more time with members of the host culture, that culture "may find its way into people's emotional experience through intercultural relationships and interactions" (De Leersnyder et al., 2011, p. 461). In fact, as noted by several authors, the emotion repertoires of migrants will change because of their interactions with different cultural context (Dewaele, 2013; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017b; Pavlenko, 2006; Mesquita, 2010).

Individuals' familiarities with emotion terms from different languages can alter and broaden the conceptual representation of emotion words in each language known by individuals (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002). Therefore, according to De Leersnyder et al. (2011) theoretical framework, migrants' emotional patterns change based on the intensity of their engagement with the host culture, in other words as a function of acculturation. Therefore, learning to express emotions in LX and swear in LX (Dewaele, 2011a) can represent a significant achievement of emotional acculturation.

In summary, there are differences in the ways emotions are created and expressed across socio-cultural contexts. There is a high tendency for immigrants to emotionally acculturate into the host culture's emotional patterns. AOA and length of stay in the host country are found to be important factors, but engaging in intercultural relationships with the host culture plays a more

crucial role in the development of emotional concordance between immigrants and their host culture. Also, this emotional concordance indicates migrants' level of internalization into the host culture. The following section aims to introduce literature which specifically focuses on acculturation, personality traits, and linguistic behavior.

2.3.1 Acculturation, personality traits, and linguistic behaviour

The previous section reviewed how acculturation may change the way immigrants express their emotional language and lead to emotional acculturation or emotional concordance with the host culture's emotional language. This section will present a more detailed review of previous research in relation to acculturation, personality traits, and linguistic behaviour, particularly swearing.

With respect to personality, traits theorists argue that personality has both a biological and an environmental basis and, since behaviours are conveyed according to local norms, personality is influenced by culture (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1985). Some researchers showed that cultures whose members ranked high in Extraversion encourage individualism, democratic values, and self-expression, values that are typical of Western cultures. Also, Agreeableness seemed to be related to values at the "individual level" (McCrae, & Terracciano, 2005). Moreover, research in the area of cross-cultural psychology has focused on the positive aspects of immigration and psychological adaptation to the host culture (Kim, 2001). Also, Allik and McCrae (2004) used five factor personality traits, focused on NEO (Neuroticism, Extraversion, and Openness), and analysed data from 36 cultures. Their research showed that European cultures are systematically different from African and Asian cultures. European cultures are generally ranked higher in Extraversion and Openness and lower in Agreeableness. Also, there was a difference between southern European culture and northern ones, in which southern European cultures tend to rank higher on Neuroticism. This indicated that language and culture may influence personality. Some personality traits are believed to be particularly important for cross-cultural adaptation. For instance, highly Open-minded people are less resistance to change and less willing to make ethnocentric judgements in various situations (Kim, 2008). Similarly, Mc Crae, Yik, Trapnell, Bond, and Paulhus (1998) conducted three studies among Hong Kong Chinese immigrants to Canada

based on the assumption that culture may affect thoughts and feelings so deeply that they might result in personality change. Results indicated that Canadian born Chinese scored lower on Extraversion and Openness, however they scored higher on anxiety and Neuroticism as well as Agreeableness. Canadian culture appeared to increase Openness and Agreeableness and, with longer residency, the Chinese and Canadian personalities were increasingly attuned, which shows that personality traits are influenced by acculturation. In a different study, Swagler and La Rae (2005) explored how personality traits and acculturation affect the cross-cultural adjustment of North American sojourns in Taiwan. The authors found that North American sojourners who were more acculturated to the Taiwanese culture, with lower Neuroticism, higher Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness, had better degree of success in their psychological adjustment to Taiwan. Those who had higher score in Extraversion and were more acculturated to the Taiwanese culture had greater socio-cultural adjustment as well. Males showed more socio-cultural adjustment than females. Greater Neuroticism was significantly related to greater psychological distress in North American sojourners in Taiwan. Agreeableness and Conscientiousness were significantly related to psychological adjustment. In an Asian country such as Taiwan, which is characterized by collective cooperation and having harmony in interpersonal situation, being more Agreeable seems to facilitate cross-cultural adjustment. Males, more Extraverted individuals, and those who were more acculturated to the Taiwanese culture had higher rate of socio-cultural adjustment. It is possible that Western females were not interested in integrating some of these cultural differences since it would lead them to accept having a lower social status compared to men. Also, Neuroticism was negatively correlated with mainstream acculturation, whereas Extraversion was positively correlated with both mainstream and heritage acculturation. The data also indicated that those who were low in Emotional Stability preferred assimilation rather than integration. This result emphasised the importance of distinguishing between psychological and socio-cultural adjustments; considering acculturation as a multidimensional construct; and including personality traits in cross-cultural studies. Similarly, Peltokorpi and Froese (2011) conducted a study among 181 expatriates in Japan. They examined the effect of expatriate personality traits on cross-cultural adjustment and used the MPQ questionnaire. Their result showed that there was a significant relationship between Open-mindedness and interaction adjustment and that

Emotional Stability and Cultural Empathy were significantly related to general adjustment. Social Initiative had a significant relation with work adjustment. Their findings indicated that culturally adjusted expatriates were open and willing to add new behaviour, norms, and rules from the host culture to their home culture. In fact, some personality traits were recognized as important predictors of cross-cultural adjustment. In this line of research, Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) studied the link between bilinguals' feeling different when switching language and personality traits. Participants included 102 Polish migrants. The author found that there was a significant relationship between expression of emotion in Polish (L1) and English (L2) and different self-perceptions. There was a significant relationship between Extraversion, Openness, and Conscientiousness and sense of feeling difference when using L2. She speculated that participants with higher score in Extraversion are more engaged in social interactions in the L2 community, which leads them to have more self-confidence and sociolinguistic awareness, and therefore will be more sensitive to their personality changes.

Ożańska-Ponikwia' (2013) qualitative analysis confirmed the previous findings (Dewaele, 2013; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006) that expression of emotion in L1 feels more natural. In a follow-up study, Ożańska-Ponikwia (2017a) set out to explore what factors are linked to expression of emotion in L2. Analyses showed that there was a significant relation between expression of emotion in L2 and personality traits (Extraversion, Agreeableness, Openness, and EI Trait Empathy). She speculated that those who are more talkative, sociable, cooperative, open to new experience and capable of taking someone else's perspective are more willing to express their emotion in L2, which is in line with previous research (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012). These results could be interpreted to suggest that some personality traits may affect individuals' willingness to have social interaction with L2 users, leading to more frequent use of L2, and, consequently reports of using L2 to express emotion. Openness was a strong predictor of self-perceived proficiency in L1; in other words this personality traits enhanced the development of L2 and L2 socialization. Results also showed that females did not report using LX for expression of emotions more frequently than males. This could suggest that both genders perceive their emotional expression in LX the same way. Females scored significantly higher on some personality traits (Extraversion, Openness, and Agreeableness). Importantly, these

personality traits were linked to expression of emotion in LX, although female participants in this study did not report this. This could be related to number of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors like their length of residency (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a; Hammer, 2017c), socialization, (Dewaele, 2006, 2011b; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013) self-perceived proficiency (Dewaele, 2004a, 2008a, 2015c, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer, 2017c; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004a; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013) and frequency of use of LX (Dewaele, 2004a, 2013, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012b, 2013). It could be stated that the link between personality traits and emotion expression in LX and gender is complex and other factors have crucial roles. Consequently, Ożańska-Ponikwia (2017a) called for more cross-cultural studies to consider if there are any gender differences in self-perceived emotional expression in L2 among L2 users who lived abroad for period of time. To this end, the present study was set out to address this gap by examining whether there are any gender difference among Persian immigrants in language choice for their swearing behaviour.

Moreover, some of the research on personality traits aimed to determine whether particular personality traits facilitate the process of learning an LX and smoothly acculturating into the new culture as well as if particular personality traits are linked to swearing more than others. Matsumoto (2006) argues that people from different cultures have different worldviews and therefore different self-concepts. In his research including about 8,000 North American and Japanese participants, cultural differences in emotion regulation were related to individual differences in Extraversion, Neuroticism, and Conscientiousness.

Psychologists have used a wide variety of approaches to investigate individual differences in the use of swearwords, including continuous recordings of participants over a certain period of time. Mehl, Goslin, and Pennebaker (2006) recorded 96 Texan university students' conversation in 2 consecutive weekdays during their waking hours using an Electronically Activated Recorder (EAR). Participants had filled out a Big Five Personality questionnaire which was rated by a team of judges. A significant positive relationship emerged between students' frequency of swearing and Extraversion as rated by judges. A significant negative correlation was found between Agreeableness and the use of swearwords, as rated by

both self and judges. Also, a significant negative correlation existed between Conscientiousness and the use of swearwords as rated by both self and judges. In addition, only for male participants, a significant negative correlation emerged between Openness to Experience[25] and the amount of swearwords.

Jay (2000) emphasized on the importance of psychological analyses of swearing, arguing that such analysis describes how each person uses swearwords. For instance, swearing can indicate when a speaker is anxious or it can reflect an individual's social learning history such as if they have been raised by religious parents. Jay (2000) notes "when we hear a person cursing, we hear emotionality, hostility, aggression, […] we hear a speaker's personality through his/her style of cursing" (p. 107). However, not many personality psychologists included the linguistic profile of their participants, which is a significant gap in the past research (Jay, 2000). He also indicated that from a "psychological perspective, each person acquires a language and an identity through a collection of behaviours, habits, traits, abilities, and mental process" (Jay, 2000, p. 80), all of which shape an individual's swearing. However, although psychological factors are essential in the study of swearing, according to Neuro-Psycho-Social theory they are not enough, since they are influenced by other important factors such as neurological processes and socio-cultural constraints (Jay, 2000).

Other research explored the possible effect of social, cultural, and linguistic factors on personality traits, at the individual level. Dewaele and Wei (2012) studied the relationship between multilingualism and Cognitive Empathy among 2158 mono-and multilinguals from around the world, through an on-line questionnaire. The statistical analysis showed that knowing more languages was not linked with higher levels of Cognitive Empathy. There was no significant correlation between number of LX languages known and personality traits. In contrast, a study by Korzilius, van Hooft, Planken, and Hendrix (2011) including 144 local and international employees of Dutch company found several significant correlations between personality traits and participants' linguistic profile. Specifically, the authors examined the link between the number of languages known by international employees and personality traits. International employees were significantly more Open-minded and Flexible than non-

[25] "is associated with being curious, imaginative, and having a wide range of interests" (Mehl et. al, 2006, p. 871).

international employees. Self-rated knowledge of foreign language was positively linked to Cultural Empathy as well. Knowing more foreign languages significantly correlated with personality traits of Open-mindedness and Emotional Stability. It could be stated that knowing more languages affects individuals to remain calm in a stressful situation and be open and unprejudiced attitudes and willing and accepting new changes. The discrepancy between the findings of these two studies could be due to a range of reasons, from language proficiency and use to the reasons for migrants' decision to migrate and explore different cultures. Supporting this interpretation, Dewaele and Wei (2012) indeed found that participants who made frequent use of multiple languages had significantly higher Cognitive Empathy scores. In addition, gender and education level were significantly related to Cognitive Empathy, namely female participants scored significantly higher than male participants. A positive link also emerged between multilingualism, having high level of proficiency in many foreign languages and higher frequency of use of those languages, with Cognitive Empathy. A follow up analysis also indicated that frequent use of multiple languages was related to Cognitive Empathy compared to high proficiency in multiple languages. Results show that intense multilingual practice makes multilinguals more skilful in conversation, as they learn to see the world from their interlocutors' perspectives; this could be inferred as an indicator of multi-competence. It is possible that the ability to empathise with a multilingual interlocutor might be linked to increased Code Switching (CS), showing the importance of the specific links between the speaker and the interlocutor. A high level of Cognitive Empathy might push a multilingual speaker to use more frequent CS in order to match the pattern of the interlocutor. In addition to language use and proficiency, other studies showed that multilingual speakers have linguistic preferences to communicate particular types of content, positive or negative, with specific groups of interlocutors (Dewaele, 2004b, 2006, 2008c, 2017a; Hammer, 2017a). Gender and education were linked to Cognitive Empathy as females and participants with higher levels of education tended to score higher on Cognitive Empathy.

To get further insight into the relationship between gender, personality, and use of emotion words, Dewaele and Pavlenko (2002) conducted two other studies. A key variable in their research was the degree of similarity between bilinguals' cultures (i.e., heritage and host). To this end, the first study explored the possible link between language proficiency, gender, Extraversion, and use of emotion words among 29 Dutch L1 and French L2. Importantly, these

cultures are relatively similar and their emotion vocabulary and concepts are considered to overlap. The second study was conducted to examine the link between gender, socio-cultural competence and the use of emotion vocabulary among 34 Russian L1 speakers and English L2, whose emotion words were shown to be conceptualized differently (Pavlenko, 2002). The results from the two studies indicated that the use of emotion words in interlanguage was related to language proficiency, topic, Extraversion personality, and, in some cases, it was related to gender. However, there was no significant relation between frequency of use of emotion words and socio-cultural competence. Dewaele and Wei (2013) also investigated the link between multilingualism, high level of global proficiency, frequency of use of various languages, and Tolerance of Ambiguity (TA) among 2158 mono-, bi-and multilinguals from around the world (204 different nationalities and 82 different L1s). The results showed that participants who knew more languages presented higher scores in TA compared to those who know fewer languages. Bi-/multilinguals showed that short term living experience abroad significantly improved this personality feature (TA), though growing up bi-or trilinguals from birth had no effect on TA. Also, TA scores seemed to increase strongly in participants who experienced a "sudden massive exposure to unfamiliar language and culture" (Dewaele & Wei, 2013, p. 14), contrary to the finding in Dewaele and Wei (2012), since staying abroad did not show any link to increased Cognitive Empathy. This indicates that longer length of residency in a new environment boosts and demands "a sustained and conscious effort to acquire the new socio-pragmatic rules and cultural values" (Dewaele & Wei, 2014b, p. 229). Thus, TA seems to have an impact on individuals' socio-linguistic and cultural environment and knowledge of multiple languages and the experience of living in foreign language and culture can contribute to individuals feeling more tolerant of ambiguity (Dewaele & Wei, 2013). In fact, individuals' conscious attempt to fit in a new linguistic and cultural environment and learning a new language impact their TA and make them more accepting in dealing with ambiguity. Dewaele and Wei (2013) also argued that the effects of these independent variables on TA could be interpreted to illustrate multi-competence since the existence of multiple languages in one mind has an effect that goes "beyond the actual knowledge of the language itself" (Cook, 2002, p. 7). Therefore, migration experiences not only impact individual's cognition, but also an individual's personality. In addition, other benefits of the process of linguistic and cultural acculturation suggest that individuals are more tolerant and open to different beliefs (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009).

Also, Dewaele and Wei (2014b) study revealed that the environment that individuals grow up and live in is also related to their self-reported frequency of CS and the frequency of the use of CS is linked to socio-biographical, environmental, and situational factors as well as personality traits. Those who scored higher in Extravagant and Cognitive Empathy reported using CS more often. These all indicate the links between linguistic behaviour and personality traits.

In a similar vein, Ożańska-Ponikwia and Dewaele (2012) conducted a study to find the possible link between personality traits and self-perceived proficiency in English L2 as well as frequency of use of English L2 among 102 Polish immigrants who were living in the UK and Ireland. The participants filled out Polish version of Personality questionnaire (OCEAN and TEIQ) and a socio-biographical questionnaire. The results indicated that there was a significant correlation between length of residency and frequency of using English L2 as well as self-perceived proficiency in English. Also, Openness and Self-esteem were significantly correlated with frequency of using English L2. This could be related to the fact that more open immigrants are more willing to look for new opportunities in their new culture and this may in turn lead to them using L2 more frequently in various authentic L2 interactions. Analyses also revealed a positive correlation between Agreeableness, Openness, Empathy, and self-reported proficiency in English L2. Those who scored higher on Extraversion used English L2 more frequently, which could be related to the fact that extraverts are more willing to participate in social interactions in both L1 and L2. Moreover, these results show that immigrants who have spent longer periods of time in a host culture and were more likely to have socialized in the L2 with more often use of L2, also have higher levels of self-perceived proficiency in L2. Therefore, progress in L2 not only depends on socialization and immersion into L2 language and culture, but also on L2 users' willingness to have social interaction in L2.

Research on the relationship between personality and acculturation phenomena got a boost from the publication of the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ) (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2002). The main purpose of the questionnaire was to measure the multicultural effectiveness of individuals dealing with cross-cultural contexts and was designed based on three criteria for effectively operating within new cultural environments: "the capacity to make things work'; 'a feeling of psychological well-being in that environment'; and 'an interest and ability to deal with individuals from a different cultural background' (van

Oudenhoven & van der Zee 2000, p. 293). It is a 91-item questionnaire with five point Likert scales. As an instrument, the MPQ aims to measure five traits that are relevant to intercultural success. These five dimensions are: Cultural Empathy (i.e., the ability to empathise, understand feelings, thoughts, attitudes, and behaviour of the people different from heritage culture); Social Initiative (i.e., the ability to initiate and engage social situations actively and eagerly); Emotional Stability (i.e., the ability to stay calm in stressful situations); Flexibility (i.e., the ability to adjust behaviour, learn from new experience and consider them as challenge and enjoy the change and innovation); and Open-mindedness (i.e., the ability to be unprejudiced toward different cultures) (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2002). These five personality traits are related to three domains of intercultural effectiveness. Specifically, Cultural Empathy, Open-mindedness, and Flexibility are linked to intercultural interaction domain. Emotional Stability and Flexibility are relevant to personal adjustment domain, and, finally, Social Initiative and Flexibility are related to professional effectiveness in international settings (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2000). MPQ has been applied to various groups and been used in various cultures and in all cases, "the scales proved to be reliable and to show consistent patterns of correlations with related variables" (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009, p. 8). Internal consistencies of MPQ were generally high. The study conducted by van der Zee & van Oudenhoven (2013) showed that Emotional Stability and Flexibility can be considered as stress-buffering traits since they are linked with the ability to deal with ambiguity and lack of control and they are related to lower tendency to perceive an intercultural situation as threatening. As such, these traits may protect individuals from cultural shock by keeping them away from sticking to their own culture. Also, Cultural Empathy, Social Initiative, and Open-mindedness may be related to intercultural success since these individuals look at intercultural situations as a challenge and respond to it with positive affect, which may facilitate cultural learning. Open-minded individuals did not consider intercultural situations as threatening. They concluded that it seems that some personality traits are linked with seeing intercultural situations as threatening or challenging.

Leong (2007) conducted one of the first studies that collected longitudinal MPQ data from undergraduate students in Singapore. He used MPQ to look at the link between personality traits and socio-cultural adaptations of 166 Singaporean undergraduate students in international program compared to one group who were at home. Results confirmed that the use of MPQ can

be used predicting socio-psychological adaptation. Those who went abroad had significantly higher score in MPQ dimensions (Open-mindedness, Social Initiative, Emotional Stability, and Flexibility). Social Initiative was a good predictor of reduction in socio-cultural and psychological difficulties. Considering that Asians are generally more conservative than Americans and Europeans, it is important for Asians to learn cultural appropriate competencies to fit in the Western social cultural environment. A growing number of studies have shown that the effect of multilingualism goes beyond the mere cognitive level. In fact, multilingualism has been related with creative behaviour and divergent thinking (Kharkhurin, 2016). Dewaele and van Oudenhoven (2009) conducted a study to find the relation between multilingualism / multiculturalism, acculturation, and personality profiles, as measured by the MPQ results of 79 young London teenagers. Their study was one of the first studies to examine the possible relationship between language dominance and personality traits. The analysis showed that 'Third Culture Kids'[26] scored lower on Emotional Stability, suggesting that during adolescence the process of linguistic and cultural acculturation to a new society could significantly affect young people's Emotional Stability. This link was also found in Ventura, Dewaele, Köylü, and Mc Manus (2016) study which showed a significant increase in Emotional Stability in students after spending a year abroad. Those who were dominant in more than one language scored significantly higher on Open-mindedness, marginally higher on Cultural Empathy, and significantly lower on Emotional Stability than those participants who were dominant in a single language. The number of languages known by participants was significantly related to Cultural Empathy and Open-mindedness. Being in contact with different languages and various cultures boosted Cultural Empathy and Open-mindedness. The results indicated that multilinguals showed a stronger tendency to empathize with other cultures, higher Cultural Empathy, were more Open-minded, less able to control over their emotional reactions, and had lower Emotional Stability compared to incipient[27] bilinguals' group. Reflecting the complexity of the interaction between individuals' personality, linguistic and cultural profiles, Dewaele and van Oudenhoven (2009) asserted that contact to different language and cultures had effects on personality profiles

[26] They have "spend significant portions of their growing years in cultures other than their passport cultures. Such children internalize portions of both the home culture and the host culture, building a new cultural identity that reflects all their experiences without developing a sense of belonging to any single culture" (Bonebright, 2010, p. 351).

[27] "All monolinguals that were in the process of learning a LX and were not yet using the language outside the classroom" (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009, p. 10).

and, for those who were not dominant in their L1, this could indicate complete acculturation. Dewaele and Stavans (2014) repeated part of Dewaele and van Oudenhoven's research in an Israeli context. The major difference between the two studies was that Israeli participants were fluent and proficient users of at least two languages. The goal of the study whether there was a link between the linguistic and cultural background of 193 Israel residents and their personality traits. Consistent with most studies discussed so far, results showed that a variety of social, linguistic, and biographical factors were related to some personality traits. They considered language dominance as an indication of linguistic and cultural acculturation. The statistical results revealed that knowing more than two languages had no effect on any personality dimensions. Foreign born participants who were dominant in their LX (Hebrew) scored lower on Emotional Stability than Hebrew native speakers. Language dominance had a significant relationship with Emotional Stability, with L1 dominant participants scoring higher than LX dominant participants. Participants with foreign-born parents tended to score lower on Emotional Stability. Participants with only one immigrant parent scored significantly higher on Cultural Empathy, Open-mindedness, and Social Initiative. More acculturated participants and those their language dominance shifted from L1 to L2 had lower Emotional Stability. This indicates that language dominance could be considered as a significant factor for acculturation and those who experienced this transformation would feel less emotionally stable and secure compared to the ones that they did not. Their study suggests that various biographical, social, and linguistic factors are related to personality traits. Advanced proficiency and frequent use of various languages were significantly linked to higher scores on Cultural Empathy and Open-mindedness. Contrary to the findings in Dewaele and van Oudenhoven (2009), participants who knew more languages did not show any relationship to participant personality profiles. It could be that all participants were already multilinguals. Overall, Dewaele and Stavans (2014) emphasised the psychological benefits of growing up in a multicultural environment and multilingual surroundings. It could be expected that mastery in multiple languages can affect individuals' personality to be open to experience. Their findings suggested that socialization, higher intercultural communication, and growing up in a family with mixed cultural and linguistic background can increase individuals' socio-cultural understanding and abilities.

Personality research commonly relies on self-reporting from participants who have to mention whether, or to what extent, a particular statement applies to them. Using this kind of methodology, Costa and Mc Crae (1988) and Goldberg (1981) conducted research to examine the Big Five factors. Researchers used different approaches but reached to the same results and concluded that some personality factors were significantly related to several cultural values, which describe the values, beliefs and norms prevalent in the society. Analyses also revealed that most personality traits could be reduced to five dimensions. One personality taxonomy very popular among researchers is the 'Big Five' group of personality traits (Extraversion versus Introversion; Neuroticism versus Emotional Stability; Conscientiousness; Agreeableness; and Openness to Experience). Dewaele and Wei (2014a) investigated the links between personality traits, multilingualism, and socio-biographical variables in attitudes towards code switching (CS) among 2070 multilinguals through an on-line questionnaire. They only focused on the first two Big Five personality traits, Extraversion versus Introversion and Neuroticism versus Emotional Stability. They also considered the lower order trait Tolerance of Ambiguity (TA). Analyses revealed that higher levels of TA and Cognitive Empathy and lower levels of Neuroticism were linked to having positive attitudes toward CS. Individuals with high Emotional Stability were less worried and those with high scores in Cognitive Empathy felt that CS could strengthen the social connection by emphasizing a common linguistic ground among the interlocutors. In addition, those with low TA scores lacked interest in CS, possibly because "they feel that CS sneaks ambiguity into the interaction" (Dewaele & Wei, 2014a, p. 247). In fact, understanding the factors that impact inter-and intra- speaker differences in language attitudes facilitates understanding "the processes of social change and how individuals in their specific socio-psychological locale respond to social changes" (Dewaele & Wei, 2014a, p. 236).

Many researchers have explored potential relations between the Big Five personality traits and LX learner success. For instance, Wilson (2008) who researched individuals' self-perceptions when using in an LX and took into account their personality traits as well. Participants in this study included 172 British adult LX users. The results indicated that participants using French LX experiences a sense of freedom and could speak and behave in ways that were different from their usual behaviour. Overall, results showed that personality traits, self-perceived proficiency, age, AOA, may impact the way individuals feel about LX use.

Specifically, participants with lower level of education, and younger AOA felt more different when using LX relative to L1. Findings also showed that British students who scored higher on Conscientiousness had a higher chance of completing the French L2 courses successfully at Open University. In fact, personality traits could impact how individuals feel about their use of LX. She also showed that introverted participants were likely to feel different when using LX but there was a negative correlation between Extraversion and feeling different when using LX, particularly for participants that rated their self-reported proficiency at intermediate levels or higher. She explained that introverted participants asserted that using LX gives them the opportunity of feeling liberated from inhibitions in L1. The first Big Five dimension, Extraversion, has been used in most SLA research designs (Dewaele, 2012). Findings were generally consistent in showing that extraverts turned out not to be more successful than introverts as L2 learners. Their higher fluency, better resistance for situational stress, higher willingness to participate in L2 interactions and increased risk-taking are typically balanced by the introverts' increased L2 reading and careful preparation (Dewaele & Furnham, 1999). Extraverts have been found to use more slang words (Dewaele & Regan, 2001), and enjoy using stigmatised speech styles (Dewaele, 2012).

Hammer (2016) studied 149 Polish participants who were English L2 speakers and lived in Canada, UK, USA, Ireland, and Australia. She investigated the possible link between acculturation and being yourself. The results indicated that socio-cultural and psychological integration into the host culture were significantly related to migrants' feeling themselves and not fake in their L2. The results showed that migrants who acculturated into the host culture and had a wider network of L2 friends, perceived their L2 as their dominant language and felt more themselves when speaking L2.

Jay and Jay (2015) studied the possible association of general verbal fluency (measured by the Controlled Oral Word Association Test; COWAT), with taboo word fluency and animal word fluency, in both spoken and written formats. Both designs revealed positive correlations between COWAT fluency, animal fluency, and taboo word fluency. In each study, a set of 10 taboo words accounted for 55–60% of all taboo word data. Taboo fluency was positively correlated with the Big Five personality traits of Neuroticism and Openness and negatively correlated with Agreeableness and Conscientiousness (Jay & Jay, 2015). Psychologists have

investigated the possible links between personality dimensions and swearing using other research designs. For example, Schwartz et al. (2013) analyzed 700 million words, phrases, and topics from 19 million Facebook status updates produced by 13600 participants. They created age and gender-adjusted word clouds for each personality factor based on around 75 thousand participants, all of whom voluntarily completed personality questionnaires, with at least 1,000 words across their Facebook status updates. The results revealed interesting variation in language with personality, gender, and age. Male participants used swearwords significantly more than women. Younger participants also used swearwords significantly more. These results are consistent with other findings (e.g., Jay & Jay, 2015). Swearwords were positively correlated with Neuroticism, Extraversion, and Openness. Swearwords were also significantly negatively correlated with Conscientiousness and Agreeableness. Similarly, Jay (2000, 2009) found that swearing negatively correlated with Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, religiosity, and sexual anxiety. Moreover, other personality factors such as impulsivity and masculinity were associated with the motivation of using swearwords. In addition, Jay (2000) claimed that Extraversion, antisocial personality, and Type A personality related to the use of swearwords, since such individuals use swear words "to achieve personal states or effects (e.g, for stress reduction) and to affect others (e.g., bullying)" (Jay, 2000, p. 84). In fact, how we use swearwords presents our deep emotional investment in a "personal identity which we use to experience the world, to differentiate ourselves from others, and to express our feelings and attitudes about others" (Jay, 2000, p. 81).

Dewaele (2017a) conducted a study on self-reported frequency of swearing and whether psychological and socio-biographical variables have similar effects on L1 and foreign language users, analyzing data from 2324 participants through an on-line questionnaire. Results revealed that swearing was significantly more common with friends followed by swearing alone and less frequently used with family members, colleagues, and strangers. LX users in this study significantly preferred to use swearing in their L1, English. Higher scores in Extraversion, Neuroticism and Psychoticism were positively linked to more self-reported swearing in English with various interlocutors. However, the strength of the effect varied and Extraversion had a stronger effect among LX users than among L1 users of English. Also, Psychoticism had a stronger effect among L1 users and Neuroticism had a more comparable effect in both groups, especially in swearing with friends and when alone (Dewaele, 2017a). Moreover, introvert

participants reported that they avoid risk taking, including using swearwords. It is possible that more extravert LX users are more likely to "abandon caution in swearing in English with their friends after judging optimistically that they belonged to the in-group and could thus act like the L1 members of the group" (Dewaele, 2017a, p. 341). In addition, more frequent swearing in English across interlocutors was reported by LX users of English who were proficient in English, had acquired it at a younger age, used it more frequently, and had used English outside school when learning the language.

Studies on swearing in various disciplines have shown that swearing frequency is highly variable: "with cultural differences, considerable intra-speaker variation[28] and inter-speaker variation[29]" (Dewaele, 2017a, p. 334). This variability is crucial for "maintaining the unique status of swearwords: if their usage, force, and reception were invariable and predictable, there would be no communicative risk taking, no social tension, and no emotional release" (Beers Fägersten & Stapleton, 2017, p. 5). It is evident that there exists a link between certain personality traits and the linguistic behaviours of mono-, bi-, and multilinguals. Ventura, Dewaele, Koylu, and Mc Manus (2006) study showed some personality changes in 58 British students studying a year abroad. All these students took MPQ test before and after their departure. Results indicated that the experience of living abroad was significantly related to higher scores in Emotional Stability. Follow up interviews also confirmed that more than three quarter of participants felt more confident and independent after a year living abroad. These studies indicate the possible link between length of stay, personality, and linguistic behaviour. Length of residency and the effects of acculturation were also shown to be non-trivial factors and thus worthwhile to be included in more research.

In sum, a review of past studies showed that different linguistic and cultural forms have an effect on expression of emotion (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, 2008; Wierzbicka, 2004). Exposure to an LX for immigrants living in a foreign country has a significant role on immigrants' interpretation of emotion and emotion repertoire (Pavlenko, 2005; Wierzbicka, 2004). Also, the study of literature indicated that how socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, and personality traits contributed to the

[28] "the same individual's different usage in different contexts with different interlocutors" (Dewaele, 2017a, p.334)

[29] "differences between speakers which can be linked to personality traits, socio-biographical variables and linguistic profiles" (Dewaele, 2017a, p.334).

development of immigrants' unique swearing behaviour and highlighted the complexity of analysing swearwords in cross-cultural interactions. For all the above-mentioned reasons, it is important to incorporate acculturation scales, personality traits in any studies dealing with bi-/multilinguals in order to get better perspective on immigrants' linguistic behaviour. The following section will focus on pedagogical perspective on emotion words including swearwords.

2.4 Pedagogical perspective

This section presents the Pedagogical perspective underlying the present study. Emotion-laden words occur frequently in daily conversations; therefore, it is inevitable that LX users will notice them. As discussed in the previous sections, with more exposure to the LX culture, LX users will start using more emotion-laden words, and with stronger socio-pragmatic competence, they can start using them like native speakers. With strong socio-pragmatic competence, they will understand how often and in what situations they can use specific emotion words, as well as the possible illocutionary effects. Unfortunately, *"affect* and *emotion* are terms that have been in the shadows of discussions of classroom foreign language learning, and the primary focus has been on the development of knowledge, proficiency, and use of the new language (Garret & Young, 2009). As discussed in previous sections, specifically in Section 2.2, L2 learners find learning emotional words essential to their communications, particularly when living in L2 environments. The use of such language is part of how they can become as proficient and natural-sounding as native speakers. It is key for peer group membership, ensures group recognition, and establishes group boundaries (De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Hammer, 2016, 2017a) particularly for teenagers. Therefore, as Dewaele (2005) argues, foreign language teachers need to pay attention the advancement of socio-cultural competence in a L2 also communication of emotion.

Song lyrics, English-language television, and new media are the sources from which LX users, especially young people, receive exposure to emotional language and swearwords, which give many of them the impression that English speakers use swearwords much more frequently than they actually do (Mercury, 1995). Some foreign language speakers use foreign (particularly

English) swearwords because of their "prestige ('coolness'), [and] their apparently prolific appearances", though this will lead to communicative problems for these speakers (Horan, 2013, p. 283).

Borg (2006, p. 23) also states that "an ability to communicate freely and radiate positive feeling" is one of the crucial things to consider in a pedagogical approach. Swearwords are emotion words, found in everyday conversations, that unfortunately end up neglected in L2 learning materials due to ethical issues, cultural, or religious restrictions. Relatedly, Dewaele (2016a) asserts that "the words with negative emotional valence remain clouded in fog for LX users" (p. 123). One possible reason for this fog is that these words are not openly explained in foreign language classes, and LX users might have exclusively categorized all of them as bad words in their mental lexicon, without even knowing how bad they are. Therefore, LX users need to find out themselves how bad these words are, what they mean exactly, and how often they can be used in social interaction. Trying these words out without a basic knowledge of when and where they can be used will likely cause LX learners embarrassment and trouble. They may depend "more on visual and vocal cues in order to compensate for their lower lexical knowledge" (Lorette & Dewaele, 2015, p. 18) which all add extra challenges for LX learners. Mugford (2008) believes that everyday communicative realities such as "rudeness, disrespect, and impoliteness should be part of the English as a Foreign Language curriculum" (as cited in Dewaele, 2011d, p. 89). The main reason for approaching this topic in a direct and formalized way include L2 users likely being faced with these situations in the target language context or when interacting with other L2 users, which highlights the need to learn to react appropriately. Moreover, determining whether swearing is rude in a discourse is a complex task, which depends on participants' intentions, motivations, identity, social relationships, and norms. In other words, individuals use the reactions to swearing to give information on who they are, where they fit in a culture, or simply their identity is marked by use of swearwords. Inappropriate use of swearwords affects the image of individuals who want to project and may lead to "pragmatic failure or worst sociolinguistic blunders" and fear of being ridiculed may prevent speakers from using new words (Dewaele, & Pavlenko, 2002, p. 297). However, if swearing is appropriately used, it may lend the speakers credibility if the expression of emotion seems genuine and honest to others (Vingerhoets et al., 2013). Considering that the dominant attitude toward swearing is

that it should be avoided, this adds more challenge for foreign language teachers to find appropriate and effective ways to introduce swearwords in the classroom. Illustrating these kinds of challenges, Dewaele (2006) showed that advanced Arab and Asian ESL students had a significantly hard time recognizing the intensity of taboo words compared to native speakers. Also, Spanish speakers had the same problem but could recognize the intensity of swearwords slightly better than Arab and Asian students. This finding highlights the challenge that LX learners encounter when interacting with interlocutors from the host culture, whom they may face with misused swearwords or inappropriate reactions. In another study that Gawinkowska, Paradowski, and Bilewicz (2013) conducted among students from a university in Poland who were asked to translate an English (L2) text, that included taboo words, into Polish (L1) and vice versa. When participants performed the translation from Polish (L1) into English (L2), they used stronger language and even taboo words. However, when they translated from English (L2) into Polish (L1), taboo words were omitted or softened when translated. These studies could be interpreted to suggest that non-native speakers had difficulty in understanding the level of offensiveness of swearing and failed to fully comprehend the seriousness and consequences of using swearwords, which could be costly for them. This emphasizes the importance of including swearwords in teaching materials as a way to familiarize language learners with these pragmatic aspects of language. Dewaele (2013) also confirmed the need for explaining emotional words in the LX classroom, but emphasized "the necessary warnings about their offensive character" (p. 223). He also emphasized that the purpose for this is for learners to understand these words and expressions, with no expectation to use them.

Learners need to be able to express and recognize "anger, sadness, shame, and happiness in the L2" (Dewaele, 2005, p. 375), and consider that they are language and culture specific. The only way to ensure success in teaching is by engaging our students "where they are, and not by expecting that through repeated exposure to our discourse of reason they can be won over to our side and made to see the rationality of our arguments" (Rajagopalan, 2004, p. 120). Dewaele (2005) argues that research in L2 learning would benefit from combining quantitative and qualitative research among different cultures and having adequate knowledge to be able to design teaching materials or curricula, also keeping in mind that the ability to express emotion and interpersonal language functions, in general, have crucial implications for L2 teaching (Dewaele, 2005).

Language teachers need to be aware that the cultural distance between the learners' L1(s) and their L2 is a crucial barrier in the mastery of emotional speech. SLA research indicated that learners from 'distant' cultures experience considerably greater difficulties in identifying emotion in the L2 and judging the intensity of that emotion than do individuals from 'closer' cultures with similar levels of proficiency. In addition, emotion-free course books cannot prepare L2 learners to become proficient L2 users (Dewaele, 2005). Teachers should develop awareness of culture-specific norms of appropriate behaviour in the target language (TL) if there is no comparable norm in the learners' L1 (Dewaele, 2008a). Since language is not separated from culture, more cultural instruction should be included in teaching materials. Teachers need to find ways to balance the linguistic goals of a curriculum with instruction in culture addressing more of the cultural components in the course textbook and including more "authentic cultural artifacts, such as newspaper articles and songs" (Garret & Young, 2009, p. 223).

The language and cultural perspectives are not universal and research documented reliable cross-cultural differences (Bousfield, & Grainger, 2010). This has implications for teaching foreign languages such as helping students know more about the target language and culture and having more cross cultural contact, as that was found to boost students' motivation and reduce their foreign language anxiety (FLA) (Dewaele, 2013). Learners' cultural background has been found to determine levels of FLA (Dewaele, 2013) therefore it is an important matter to be considered in teaching. The other concern to be addressed in order to facilitate learning is dealing with the fact that many migrant children suffer from lower self-esteem, often coupled with anxiety and depression (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009). Dewaele and Thirtle (2009) conducted a study on 79 third year young teenagers who had enrolled in foreign language (FL) classes in London. They compared three groups on a range of learner-internal variables (socio-biographical and psychological variables). The results revealed that young teenagers were more concerned than young children or adults about "sounding stupid or silly" (p. 644) in the foreign language. Therefore, it is important to give these young learners not just linguistic but also pedagogical support to cope with their foreign language classroom anxiety (FLCA) (Dewaele & Thirtle, 2009). The ultimate goals of all L2 classroom instruction are to facilitate the uneven and challenging task of learning a second language and to prepare students for communicating with native speakers such that they can join L2 environments smoothly. Given those goals, paying attention to the issue of cultural differences in using emotional words is crucial.

In this vein, Dewaele (2004a) proposed several ways to inform teaching a second language. First, instructed learning should primarily rely on a rich source of different types of written and visual authentic material. This way, learners become familiar with a wide range of registers in the target language, including those rich in Swearwords and taboo words. Second, instruction should be supplemented by 'beyond the classroom' interactions with members of the target culture preferably by spending some time in the target community. Lastly, using swearwords in L2 could be "a hit at parties, but in interaction with NSs, it is probably better not to put too much tomato (or pepper) in the soup, and to taste it oneself before serving." (p. 220).

Therefore, foreign language teaching and second language teaching should pay more attention to emotion-laden words, particularly swearwords, by focusing on cultural differences. They should provide an opportunity for contextualized discussion in the classroom to make the students familiar with the appropriateness and register of using swearwords. The instruction materials should be used in a way that boosts sociolinguistic and socio-pragmatic competence. Specifically, not only learners need to be equipped with linguistic knowledge, they also need to know socio-cultural rules for appropriate use of swearwords. It is important to highlight that through foreign language classes, learners recognize and start to understand the norms and values for the target language culture (Dewaele, 2013), thus providing a unique opportunity to teach about cross-cultural differences in emotional and language expression.

2.5 Research questions

The complex relationship between migrants' language choice for swearing, the effect of socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, personality traits represents the main thread of this dissertation. The literature reviewed so far shows linkages between migrants' language choice for swearing and each of these variables. Further contributing to the complexity of this topic, research also shows linkages among socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, and personality traits. However, to my knowledge, there is no empirical evidence connecting all these factors in a single design. This is an important gap given that, arguably, in real life these factors work together and influence each other's effect. Thus, the present dissertation is set out to address this gap in order to better understand migrants' experience of

using swearwords. The research questions are broadly focused on the link between socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, personality traits, and use of swearwords by Persian immigrants living outside Iran. To answer these questions, a mixed-method approach was adopted: a quantitative study using web questionnaire and a qualitative analysis using semi-structured interviews. In mixed-method approach, "the investigator combines statistical trends (quantitative data) with stories and personal experiences (qualitative data), this collective strength provides a better understanding of the research problem than either of the data alone" (Creswell, 2015, p. 2). The purpose of etic-quantitative approach was to "establish the existence of general patterns in data collected from large sample" (Dewaele, 2015b, p. 358) and provide statistical evidence. The semi-structured interviews were constructed in order to address individuals' experiences around the research questions and give participants a voice. In fact, the emic-qualitative approach helps researchers to study "what a small group of individuals say about their behaviour and the reasons underlying that behaviour" (Dewaele, 2015b, p. 358). According to the theoretical approaches presented in these chapters, different lines of influence will be studied and hypotheses are based on the theoretical and empirical evidence presented earlier. The research questions are as follows:

1. To what extent is the use of Persian/English swearwords related to socio-biographical and acculturation variables? (RQ1)

   Language choice for expressing emotion is one way of getting insight into migrants' acculturation orientation (Matsumoto, 2006). In fact, migrants' language choice for expressing emotion is supposed to show their affective engagement within that specific culture (De Leersnyder et al., 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014; Dewaele, 2013; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2008, 2013, 2014; Wierzbicka, 2004). To this end, several studies showed that migrants language choice for use of swearwords is related to their acculturation orientation (Dewaele, 2013; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Cultural restriction in L1 may lead to LX use for emotion expression and swearing (Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Bond & Lai, 1986; Dewaele, 2011b, 2013; Pavlenko, 2006). In other words, migrants who have higher score in mainstream culture and have higher appreciation of the LX culture, those who are younger (Dewaele, 2006; Jay, 1992; Stets, 2012), younger AOA (Dewaele, 2004a, 2009, 2013, 2016a), longer length of

residency (Dewaele, 2004c, 2008a, 2012, 2015c; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Hammer, 2016, 2017a; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a; Mesquita, 2010) and higher language proficiency (Dewaele, 2004a, 2008a, 2015c, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer, 2017c; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004a; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013) are expected to use LX swearwords (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2011a, 2013, 2016a, 2017a).

Three hypotheses were investigated:

a. Females who have higher score in mainstream culture will use English swearwords more often.
b. Participants who have higher scores in mainstream culture will be using English very often and swear more often in English.
c. Participants who have higher scores in mainstream culture will be younger, have earlier age of English acquisition (AOA), higher self-rated English knowledge, and longer length of residency outside Iran.

2. To what extent is the use of Persian/English swearwords related to socio-biographical variables and personality traits? (RQ2)

   Language choice for expressing emotion in LX is related to some personality traits (Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017a; Wilson, 2008). Also, the link between some personality traits and swearing has been reported by numerous research and researchers either used Big Five or MPQ as their personality scales (Dewaele, 2012, 2017a; Dewaele & Regan, 2001; Jay, 2000, 2009, Jay & Jay, 2015; Mehl, et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2013). Since this thesis has used MPQ scales the personality which is related to that scales have been mentioned in hypothesis. Regarding the link between socio-biographical variables and personality traits there is no specific evidence in the previous literature. However, the purpose of adding the last hypothesis is find out if the variables show any significant relationship.

   Three hypotheses were investigated:

   a. Participants who have higher scores for Social Initiative will use English swearwords more often.

b. Participants with lower scores on Emotional Stability will use swearwords more often.

c. The use of Persian and English swearwords might be linked to other socio-biographical and personality traits.

3. To what extent is the language used (Persian/English) at the time of anger with different interlocutors related to socio-biographical and acculturation variables? (RQ3)

   Being male (Coates, 1993; Jay, 1992, 2000; Jay & Jay, 2015; Jay & Janschewitz, 2008; Stapleton, 2003; Schwartz et al., 2013; Koven, 2007) and younger age (Dewaele, 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2013; Jay, 1992, 2000; Coates, 1993; Stapleton, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2013; Rayston et al., 1997) is linked to using swearwords more often. Wider network of interlocutors and language dominance affect the language which is used for expressing emotion and anger (Dewaele, 2004c, 2013, 2017a; Hammer, 2017a, 2017c; Pavlenko, 2004a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Language socialization and affective socialization and acculturation affect the choice of LX for expression of emotion including swearwords (Dewaele, 2006, 2011a; De Leersnyder et al., 2011) Previous research indicated that the type of interlocutor affects which language is used for emotional expression (Dewaele, 2004c, 2006, 2008c, 2013, 2015c; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). As summarized above, individuals tend to express their anger and use swearing more among their friends compared to their colleagues, strangers or family or when they are alone (Beers Fägersten, 2007; Dewaele, 2016a, 2017a).

   Three hypothesis were investigated:

   a. Male and female participants may make different language choices when angry with different interlocutors.

   b. Younger participants, participants with an earlier AOA, longer length of residency, higher frequency of the use of English, higher self-rated knowledge in English will report using English language when angry with different interlocutors.

   c. A stronger attachment with the heritage culture will be related to a higher frequency of use of the Persian language when angry with all interlocutors. However, those who have higher score in mainstream culture will use English instead.

4. How do Persian speaking immigrants living outside Iran differ from Persian speakers living in Iran in how frequently they report swearing in Persian/English, how offensive

they rate Persian/English swearwords to be, or how effective they report Persian/English swearwords to be in expressing anger? (RQ4)

Research to date has documented a link between language socialization (Dewaele, 2004a, 2006, 2011a, 2011b, 2011d; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013), length of residency (Hammer, 2017b, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a), acculturation orientation (Dewaele, 2013; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013), and the language used for emotion expression and swearing behavior. Also, affective acculturation and language socialization may lead to conceptual restructuring (Dewaele, 2015c; Pavlenko, 2002, 2004b) in bi-/multilinguals emotional repertoire. Therefore, it is expected that frequency of using Persian/English, the level of perceived offensiveness in Persian/English, the effectiveness of communicating anger in Persian/English will differ for Persian immigrants and Persians speakers in Iran.

Three hypotheses were investigated:

a. The frequency of use of Persian/English swearwords will be different for Persian immigrants and Persian speakers in Iran.
b. The level of offensiveness of Persian/English swearwords will be different for Persian speakers in Iran compared to those who live outside Iran.
c. The perceived effectiveness of communicating anger will be different for Persian immigrants and Persian speakers in Iran.

5. How do socio-biographical and acculturation factors relate to the use of Persian and English swearwords among Persian immigrants residing outside Iran? (RQ5)

Cultural restriction was shown to have an impact on emotional expression and using swearwords (Bond & Lai, 1986; Dewaele, 2013, 20111b; Pavlenko, 2006; Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Wierzbicka, 2002). Swearing in LX can give a sense of empowerment and liberation to immigrants who have experienced cultural restriction on the use of swearing in their L1 (Clare, 2004; Dewaele, 2011a; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006). As a result, immigrants are expected to use swearwords in Persian and English differently due to their cultural restriction on using swearword in Persian. Younger age (Dewaele, 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2013; Jay, 1992, 2000; Coates, 1993; Stapleton, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2013; Rayston et al., 1997), lower AOA (Dewaele, 2005, 2006, 2013), higher frequency of use

(Dewaele, 2004b; Hammer, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013), higher self-rated knowledge (Dewaele, 2004a, 2008a, 2015c, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer, 2017c; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004a; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013), longer length of residency (Hammer, 2017b, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a) all are indication of higher acculturation in LX and are expected to lead to a shift in the language used for emotional expression and swearing behavior. There is no specific evidence in the previous literature regarding hypotheses c & d. Thus, these hypotheses are exploratory in nature and the purpose is to find out if the variables show any significant relationship. Four hypotheses were investigated:

a. Female participants will use fewer Persian swearwords than male peers but no difference is expected for English swearwords.
b. Younger participants, participants with an earlier age of English acquisition (AOA), higher frequency of the use of English, higher self-rated knowledge of English, and participants who have lived outside Iran for longer will report using more English swearwords.
c. The effect of socio-biographical characteristics on the use of Persian/English swearwords varies.
d. The effect of acculturation on the use of Persian and English swearwords varies.

2.6 Summary

This dissertation draws from the bi-dimensional acculturation model (Berry, 2005; Van Hieu, 2008) as well as the multi-competence view and investigates the links between acculturation and emotion words in L1 and LX, specifically swearwords. It focuses, more specifically, on the usage of swearwords and their relationship with immigrants' socio-biographical background, acculturation orientation, and personality profiles. The close relationships between acculturation and multilinguals' emotion-laden words, specifically swearwords, have been discussed in the literature reviewed in Chapter Two. The studies presented here depict swearing as a multi-functional pragmatic unit, which can be used for

expression of emotions and having various discourse functions. This is the novelty of the present work and the main contribution to the existing literature – the relationship of these variables with swearing will be investigated in a systematic and consolidated way, in one study, thus approximating a real-life situation where all these variables affect individuals' language expression. Previous literature presented the relationship between the use of swearwords and socio-biographical variables such as gender, age, AOA, and knowledge of the language, however these relationships were examined in separate studies, offering a fragmented view on migrants' use of swearwords. In addition, the review included studies that investigated the relationship between the use of swearwords and multilingualism, and the effects of neglecting emotional words, particularly swearwords, in L2 curricula. All research questions and related hypotheses have been discussed in more details based on previous literature.

The conceptual basis for the hypotheses generated in this dissertation is the theoretical framework related to the multi-competence perspective (Cook, 2002, 2012) and bi-dimensional acculturation (Vancouver Index of Acculturation) (Ryder et al., 2000) while considering the theory of emotional acculturation or concordance (De Leersnyder et al., 2011) and the Neuro-Psycho-Social (NPS) theory (Jay, 2000), which indicates the importance of personality and socio-cultural factors on swearing behaviour. The next chapter (Chapter Three) will introduce methodology, research instruments, and variables.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approach and research design used to answer the five research questions presented at the end of Chapter Two (Section 2.5). A major pilot research project was conducted to test the questionnaire and 10 most popular Persian swearwords along with 10 English ones for consideration were selected from pilot research. The participants were 33 Persian English speakers (20 male and 13 female) and all were over 17 years old. The piloting focused on content, wording, and length so that the final questionnaire would be appropriate for the target sample (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). Convincing participants to fill out a questionnaire without being paid or getting credit required a very well-organized layout, which emphasizes the importance of doing pilot research in advance to find out if there is anything "wrong or ambiguous or boring" (Dewaele, 2018c, p. 281). The research design and questionnaire obtained approval from the Ethics Committee of the School of Social Science, History & Philosophy at Birkbeck College, University of London.

The present research is affected by limitations inherent to self-report data. Specifically, given the nature of the topic (i.e., one that has consequences for how participants are being perceived socially), it could be argued that participants did not fully disclose their true behaviors and opinions on swearing but rather a fragmented view, to present themselves in a more desirable light (i.e., the social desirability bias). Thus, it is possible that participants under-reported instances of swearing and reasons behind this behavior. I opted for a mixed-method approach which is becoming increasingly well-known in Applied Linguistics (Dörnyei, 2007). The advantage of using a mixed methods design is the combination of both quantitative data, allowing to examine possible points of convergence or divergence. Adding qualitative data to triangulate results from quantitative data would add more credibility and in-depth understanding of the results (Ellis, 2008). In a mixed method design: "the investigator gathers both quantitative (closed-ended) and qualitative (open-ended) data, integrates the two, and then draws interpretations based on the combined strengths of both sets of data to understand research problems" (Creswell, 2015, p. 2). In fact, the combination of emic and etic perspectives can reduce the limitations of narrow frameworks and make the research broader, with greater

diversity (Dewaele, 2008c). In the present research which relies on mixed methods, qualitative data are collected in support of pre-identified statistical analysis trends (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The purpose is to use migrants' insights to explain and support statistical analysis findings and to depict a more detailed picture of the effect of socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, and personality traits involved on Persian immigrants' swearing behaviors. Dörnyei (2007) emphasized the benefit of using mixed methods: diverse methodologies can counteract the weakness any individual method may have, therefore increase the strength of the research. In fact, mixed methods offer the prospect to develop a deeper understanding of issues mentioned by participants. The participants' own words can fill in gaps in understanding and add vivid meaning to the data derived through quantitative analysis, and the data obtained through quantitative methods can enhance the precision of the descriptions and the words derived through qualitative methods. The greatest advantage in conducting questionnaire surveys lies in the potential to produce a large amount of information from a very large group of people (Beers Fägersten, 2012). Also, interviews can reveal "the tacit knowledge that speakers have about why they speak differently in different social contexts" (Beers Fägersten, 2012, p. 18). Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) also indicated that "[…] each type of data has unique strength and weakness, and no single type of data will necessarily provide the best evidence […] (p. 34).

Considering methodological choices, the actual production of data and 'wiring' participants to record daily interactions for a length of time[30] would be interesting and obviously a better choice. Considering the topic of this thesis, however, if the situation for swearing happens that would yield an interesting data unless, if that person does not swear frequently and the situation does not happen during that specific time period, then there will be no useable data (Dewaele, 2018c). As this study is an attempt to understand the effects of socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, and personality traits on Persian immigrants' language choice for swearing, a mixed method seems to fit the purpose by considering the topic from different angles. Triangulation is a technique which combines different methodologies in one research study. The present study relies on established instruments for measuring acculturation: VIA (Ryder et al., 2000) and personality traits: the MPQ short form (van der Zee et al., 2013), and incorporating previous literature and findings. In addition, by having semi-structured

[30] Typically, this is not more than two days

interviews and giving participants the opportunity to talk about their experience as migrants, it also has the advantages of having data elicited from genuine experience and the immigrants' voices. These qualitative data are not context-based, but they provide the researcher with emerging themes that could be used in explaining quantitative findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Figures will accompany the tables throughout the analysis as necessary, in order to show that the assumptions were met.

3.2 Methodological preliminaries

Social identities are acquired through socialization within social groups and language plays a central role in that process. Koven (2007) asserts that different ways of speaking are each linked with "culturally specific images of persons, a speaker inevitably associated with or distance himself/herself from particular personas, whether he or she speaks, whether by choice or constraint" (p. 145). In other words, Koven (2007) believes that through use of different ways of speaking from across "the larger community's repertoire, speakers may index situation and/or their social identities" (p. 106).

Immigrants are at different levels with respect to 'in' and 'out' of certain groups. Immigrants may want to signal this group membership in a different language, to which they may react differently. This quantitative study focuses on the links between socio-biographical background, acculturation variables, personality traits, and the use of swearwords by Persian immigrants residing outside Iran and Farsi speakers in Iran. The qualitative analysis uses a semi-structured framework. The purpose was to go beyond the statistical analysis by focusing on unique individual experiences and was designed specifically to add nuances to the statistical analyses. Quantitative and qualitative data collection will be presented in the following sections with more details on methods, participants, and the instruments used.

3.3 The quantitative study

The choice of an on-line questionnaire was inspired by the benefits of access to a larger sample of participants around the world (Wilson & Dewaele, 2010), considering the present

research address of Persian immigrants outside Iran and in Iran, it served the purpose perfectly well. The advantage of having an on-line questionnaire is the setting up is low cost and they 'can run themselves', there is no need for additional input from the researcher and the responses will automatically be downloaded to a spreadsheet (Dewaele, 2018c). Also since there is no face-to face interaction between participants and the researcher, the honestly levels in responses are higher. In addition, the researcher has access to a more diverse and a larger number of participants around the world (Dörnyei, 2007). The purpose of the on-line questionnaire was to collect quantitative data that would allow further investigation into individual differences in acculturation, personality traits, and how this may be linked to socio-biographical and language variables, including language preferences for swearing by Persian English speakers. The advantage of having a quantitative analysis, as Dörnyei (2007, p. 34) mentioned, is that "it is systematic, rigorous, focused, and tightly controlled, involving precise measurement and producing reliable and replicable data that is generalizable to other contexts". In the following section, I present the participants, instruments, procedures, and details of data collection and analyses.

3.3.1 Participants

This research involved 254 Persian English speakers (117 male and 137 female). Two hundred and four participants reside outside Iran, and 50 live in Iran. Participants who do not live in Iran are from Canada, the UK, USA, Australia, Switzerland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Malaysia, New Zealand, UAE, Dubai, India, and France. All participants speak Persian as their first language (L1), and have acquired English as a second language. There are 151 bilinguals and 103 multilingual participants. The latter group were able to speak Arabic, Mazandarani (a language in Iran), Azeri (a language in Iran), Tat (a language in Iran), French, German, Dari, Turkish, Dutch, Armenian, Spanish, Mandarin, Hindi, Pashtu, Urdu, Assamese, Italian, Kurdish, Malay, and Japanese (in addition to Persian (L1) and English(L2)). They came from different educational levels. There were 17 in high school grade 12, 31 graduated from high school, 19 completed college, 74 completed a Bachelor's degree, 69 completed a Master's Degree, and 44 completed a doctoral Degree. The advantage of using an on-line questionnaire is allow the researcher to have access to larger sample of participants from all around the world, with a wide

range of age, and diverse socio-biographical characteristics. These preliminary indications of the nature of the sample appear to provide evidence of the value of this method.

3.3.2 Instrument/ Web questionnaire

A Persian (Farsi) English speakers' questionnaire remained on-line between August 2014 and February 2015 and snowball sampling (or RDS: respondent driven sampling) was used. Snowball sampling[31] is a form of non-probability sampling (Ness Evans & Rooney, 2013) which takes advantage of the social networks of respondents to offer a researcher with a wider set of potential contacts. The on-line link was sent to all my contacts and asked them to forward it to all their eligible contacts as well. This on-line questionnaire was also advertised through several list-serves, including LinkedIn, Academia.edu, The Linguist List, personal Facebook, and Facebook of the Society for Iranian Linguists.

The questionnaire contained four sections. The first part of the questionnaire, background information, contained open-ended questions about participants' gender, age, AOA, number of years living in English-speaking countries, the number of languages in which participants can have basic conversations, and country of residence.

The second part, linguistic behaviour, contained 10 closed-ended, 5-point Likert scale items on language choice for expressing anger with different interlocutors (friends, family, colleagues, strangers, yourself), their self-rated knowledge of Persian and English, frequency of use of swearwords in Persian and English, and frequency of use of their first and second languages. It was clearly indicated in the questions that the researcher was asking participants report on their swearing behaviour with the purpose of emotional expression specifically expressing anger. In addition, there were ten Persian swearwords which are defined in the Urban dictionary[32]: "*Kesafat*": nasty, morally offensive and indecent ; "*Oskol*": useless silly person, also this is recent swearword ; "*Bisheour*": stupid and morally cheap; "*Bisharaf*": dishounorable ; "*Olagh*" donkey, usually used as an insult to mean that someone is stupid; "*Ashghal*": dirty, garbage; "*Dayous*": refers to someone who happily accepts the wrong doing of female members of his family; "*Koon goshad*": lazy ass; "*Koskesh*": pimp but it can be used to replace fucker;

[31] "researcher throws the ball in the direction of fresh snow that will adhere and that multiple little pulls and pushes are needed to keep it rolling" (Dewaele, 2018c, p. 279).

[32] http://www.urbandictionary.com

"*Kharkosseh*": somebody whose sister is a whore[33]. Finally, there were ten English swearwords which are defined as follows in the Oxford dictionary[34]: "*Asshole":* a stupid, irritating, or contemptible person ; *"Fucker":* a contemptible or stupid person (often used as a general term of abuse); "*Shit":* worthless person, something worthless; rubbish; nonsense*; "Idiot":* a stupid person, a person of low intelligence*; "Bitch":* a spiteful or unpleasant woman, a person who is completely subservient to another*; "Bastard":* an unpleasant or despicable person*; "Jerk":* a contemptibly foolish person*; "Suck":* be very bad or unpleasant*; "Crap":* something of extremely poor quality, nonsense, rubbish, excrement*;"Dick":* a stupid or contemptible man. These were taken from the previous pilot study, and participants were asked questions on each swearword. In order to make it easier for participants answering the on-line questionnaire, I designed the related questions in a format of question forms without having a whole series of large statements, and I used non-standard Likert, standard Likert, and frequency response categories. These questions covered their frequency of use, rate of offensiveness, and effectiveness to express anger.

The third section focuses on acculturation questions. There are eight direct acculturation questions taken from Ryder et al. (2000) with 5-point Likert-scale types ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), which were modified to suit this research project. The word "heritage" was replaced by "Iranian", and the "white American/American" was also replaced by "current host culture". The main focus of these questions is on cultural maintenance (heritage culture sub-scale) and participation in the larger society (mainstream culture sub-scale). This research based on a bi-dimensional model of acculturation, which identifies heritage and mainstream culture as independent, unlike the uni-dimensional models which indicate that heritage and mainstream have opposite relations. The heritage and mainstream culture sub-scores means were calculated based on the scoring direction which was taken from Ryder et al. (2000). A score on the heritage sub-scale reflects how much individuals involve themselves in maintaining the beliefs and behaviours of their cultural heritage. By contrast, a score on the mainstream culture sub-scale reflects how much an individual embraces the beliefs and behaviours of their new culture.

[33] "Bisharaf", "Dayous", "Koon goshad", "Koskesh", and "Kharkosseh" are extremely offensive swearwords

[34] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english

The last section of the on-line questionnaire is based on the MPQ short form personality questionnaire (van der Zee, et al., 2013). The MPQ basically followed the Big Five themes and structure, but it is designed to make predictions in terms of multicultural adaptation and to measure personality traits that are related to different aspects of intercultural skills, which was a better choice for the purpose of this research than using the Big Five. A study of 257 students showed that the MPQ explains variance above and beyond the Big Five, and the scale covers more aspects related to multicultural success (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2000). A study conducted by Bakker et al. (2006) of 265 Dutch immigrants analysed Dutch immigrants' attitudes toward four acculturation strategies (assimilation, integration, segregation and marginalization). Four scenarios were developed and each represented one of the strategies. The results presented the link between high scores on Flexibility and being a full member of the host culture. Those who ranked higher on Flexibility would like to socialize and make friends with members of the host culture. This may help taking into account when there is a selection procedure for "expatriate employees, or training or consulting sessions in preparation for emigration or an expatriate assignment" (Bakker et al., 2006, p. 2883). In the last section for the MPQ questionnaire, I included first person pronouns at the beginning of each sentence to suit the questionnaire the MPQ short form contained 40 questions with 5-point Likert scale types scale ranging from 1 (totally not applicable) to 5 (completely applicable) and the only difference with MPQ is that MPQ long scale has 91 questions. The MPQ short form consists of the same five sub-scales as the MPQ long scale (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2002) and it is quite reliable as evidenced by high correlation with the original MPQ long scale. The MPQ short form requires less than five minutes to be completed, and it also "has the potential to be widely and efficiently utilized in future research" (van der Zee et al., 2013, p. 123). Moreover, "(the) short version was sufficiently reliable and showed considerable content overlap with the original scale" (van der Zee et al., 2013, p. 123). The scoring directions for calculating the five sub-scales were taken from van der Zee, et al. (2013). These were Cultural Empathy, Flexibility, Social Initiative, Open-mindedness, and Emotional Stability. Those who scored high on Cultural Empathy show an interest in others and understand the feelings and thoughts of others and they have a sensitivity toward other's feelings and behaviours. Individuals who score high on this dimension can easily understand the rule of the culture with which they are unfamiliar (van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013). Those with high Flexibility scores can adjust their behaviour whenever it is

required; they switch easily from one strategy to other. They also can switch from their habits to new ones to adapt to the new cultural environment. They are able to tolerate uncertainties and learn from past experiences. They look at the new situation as a positive challenge. People with high Social Initiative scores are inclined to speak out and can take the initiative in social situations, demonstrate high communication skills, and easily establish interpersonal relationships. People with nonjudgmental attitudes toward the cultural norms and behaviours of other ethnic groups score high on Open-mindedness. Individuals who score high on these dimensions can "postpone their judgments" (van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013, p. 929). Individuals who stay calm and do not show strong reactions in stressful situations score high on Emotional Stability. Leone, van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, Perugini, and Ercolani (2005) examined the validity of MPQ. They first investigated MPQ cross-cultural generalizability between 421 Italian and 419 Dutch students. The results indicated that the five scales were stable across the two countries. They correlated MPQ scales with the Big Five scales and showed that Open-mindedness was negatively linked to Conscientiousness and significantly related to Extraversion. Social Initiative was positively correlated with Extraversion and Openness to experience, and negatively correlated with Neuroticism. Also, Cultural Empathy was positively related to Extraversion, Openness to Experience, Neuroticism and Agreeableness. Flexibility was positively related to Openness to experience and Extraversion, and negatively linked to Conscientiousness. Moreover, Emotional Stability was positively correlated to Extraversion, Agreeableness, Openness to experience, and Conscientiousness and negatively correlated with Neuroticism (Leone et al., 2005).

The Cronbach alpha reliability coefficient for the acculturation and personality scales used in the present study were calculated. The reliability of the Cronbach alpha scales is consistently high (greater than 0.7), which is acceptable according to Dörnyei (2007): for the measured sub-scores the reliability measures are for "Mainstream culture", 0.715; "Heritage culture": 0.740; "Cultural Empathy": 0.843; "Flexibility": 0.781; "Open-mindedness": 0.827; "Emotional Stability": 0.762; and "Social Initiative": 0.773.

3.3.3 Confidentiality and feedback

All participants were presented with an initial research ethics statement of confidentiality which they were required to accept or reject before completing the on-line

questionnaire. Confidentiality was ensured in order to encourage honest responses, which "limits the social desirability bias, (i.e., the tendency of participants to answer questions in a manner that they imagine will be viewed favourably by the researcher)" (Dewaele, 2018a, p. 334). One section was added to include the participant's e-mail address for those willing to take part in further interview sections: 57 participants included their e-mail address for me. Another optional file was provided to allow participants to enter their comments on the on-line questionnaire (see Appendix 1 for the print version of Persian (Farsi) English speakers' on-line questionnaire). Some comments were encouraging, and as participant # 165 mentioned: "very interesting, I always think why I am using English instead of Persian", but there were also extremely severe reactions from people living in Iran with regard to the swearwords in the questionnaire. A few of the participants noted that they sometimes use swearing as jokes and do not even mean to be offensive. A few indicated that the offensiveness depends on the context, situation, and even the tone of the expression. A few of the participants mentioned that this mixed-up of using Persian or English is related to their growing up with two cultures and language.

The qualitative analysis section will be presented in the following section. The detailed description of participants, semi-structured interview questions, and procedures will be presented as well.

3.4 The qualitative analysis

The qualitative analysis was completed in October 2016 and focused on individuals' experiences and strategies for expressing their anger with their language of choice, through semi-structured interviews. In the sections that follow, I present the participants, the semi-structured interviews, procedures, and details of data collection and analysis. Results provided by the two types of data are combined in the discussion of 'results'. Then the results from the open-ended questions are used to verify or further explore the results from the closed-ended questions. As Dörnyei (2007) indicated, the advantage of qualitative methodology is its richness of explanations of dynamic processes in the participants' own terms, although it also has weaknesses, mostly in terms of a small sample size. I combined emic and etic perspectives and the purpose of the qualitative data was to go deeper into possible relations revealed by the

quantitative analysis data and add unique insight to them. As Creswell and Plano Clark (2011, p. 81) indicate: "…the qualitative items are add-on to a quantitative instrument; the items generally do not result in a complete context-based qualitative data set. However, they provide the researcher with emergent themes and interesting quotes that can be used to validate and embellish the quantitative survey findings." Also, the emic perspective will provide this researcher with the possibility to hear the voices of participants and get a fuller insight into their behaviors (Dewaele, 2013).

The aim of the semi-structured interviews was to further examine the possible links between socio-biographical variables, acculturation variables, and personality traits in Persian immigrants' language choice for swearing, but it could also add a more authentic perspective through migrants 'voice. Interviews with participants generated 11,570 words. A thematic analysis was carried out and revealed three broad and sometimes slightly overlapping themes. Thematic analysis "provides a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 5). Therefore, semi-structured interviews can help the researcher to examine speech variation in depth, and obtain individuals' perspectives about the speech behavior under examination (Beers Fägersten, 2012) and qualitative analysis will allow the researcher to obtain a better understanding of the complex interactions of variables.

3.4.1 Participants

Participants were selected from the sample that completed on-line questionnaire. As mentioned above, participants who expressed their willingness to participate in a further interview and provided their email address for the follow-up, were contacted. Due to a lack of access and constant filtering of social medias from Iran's government, only participants who were living outside Iran were contacted for the semi-structured interviews. Participants in the semi-structured interviews consisted of 11 Persian English speakers living in English-speaking countries (Canada, UK, USA), 6 females and 5 males, all aged over 17. They were selected on the basis of their acculturation sub-scores from the on-line questionnaire. At first, those who had the highest or lowest scores from each of the two acculturation sub-scores (Heritage and Mainstream culture) were selected to probe into the links between acculturation scale scores and linguistic behaviours, specifically using Persian/ English swearwords. For ethical reasons, each

participant had a specific ID number, the ID numbers of the participants who scored the highest or lowest in each of the acculturation sub-scores were recorded. Then those who had shown willingness to participate in interview were checked, and if their ID was among the list of those who scored the highest or lowest on the acculturation sub-scores, they were contacted. 11 participants were selected for scheduled interviews on Skype. Participants' comments believed to be relevant to the analysis will be reported in Interview results (Section 4.3). Table 1 below presents the demographic information of the participants.

Table1. Background information for the participants in the interviews

ID	Acculturation scores	Age	Gender	Education	L1/L2/L3/L4	Length of residency	Country of residence
1	High Mainstream culture	47	Female	PhD	Persian/English/Dari	34	Canada
2	High Mainstream culture/low heritage culture	37	Female	MA	Persian/English/French	6	UK
3	Low Mainstream culture	31	Female	MA	Persian/English	6	UK
4	High mainstream culture/Low Heritage culture	31	Female	BA	Persian/English/French/German	8	USA
5	High mainstream culture/ low heritage culture	37	Male	PhD	Persian/English	7	Canada
6	High Heritage culture	49	Female	MA	Persian/English	2	Canada
7	High mainstream culture	46	Male	MA	Persian/English	17	Canada
8	High Heritage culture	18	Male	College	Persian/English	4	Canada
9	High Heritage culture	23	Male	College	Persian/English/French	14	USA
10	High mainstream culture	41	Female	PhD	Persian/English/Arabic/Turkish	12	Canada
11	High Heritage culture	22	Male	College	Persian/English	8	Canada

3.4.2 The semi-structured interviews

Whereas the focus of the on-line questionnaire was to examine potentially statistically significant patterns in the data, the semi-structured interviews were conducted to address unique individual experiences and strategies, providing a richer individual context for the findings from the quantitative analysis. As the interviews were semi-structured, the same questions were presented to each of the eleven participants, but the interviewer intervened as little as possible, allowing the participants to explain and speak freely without interruption. I would occasionally

ask for an example or explanation, depending on the individual participants. The following four interview questions were posed to each of the participants:

1. Do you swear in Persian more than in English? Why do you think you would/would not? Please explain.
2. Do you think the period of time you have lived outside Iran affected your language preference for swearing? Can you please explain?
3. Do Persian swearwords feel more offensive than English ones? Why/why not? Please explain.
4. Does swearing in English allow you to express your anger better than swearing in Persian? Why/why not? Please explain.

For further details please see Appendix 2 for the print version of interview questions.

3.4.3 Procedure

The interviews were conducted through Skype, in English. All participants were willing to answer in English and there was little code switching only for Persian swearwords for which they could not find a similar swearword in English. At the start of each interview, participants were presented with a declaration of confidentiality and information regarding the purpose of the interview. With respect to ethical regulations, participants were ensured of the confidentiality of the study in giving their consent for recordings. They were informed that their interview session would be recorded and the recording would be used in one section of my thesis without any mention of their name. Also, I did not refer to any of the statistical analysis findings, which could have affected the participants' responses. Regardless, some of the participants asked me to inform them of the final results if published in any articles.

3.4.4 Data collection and analysis

The eleven interviews were recorded using a OLYMPUS VN-702PC digital voice recorder. As the interviews were conducted in English, there was no need to translate them.

3.5 Notes on quantitative and qualitative analysis

The quantitative and qualitative analysis will be presented in Chapter Four. The qualitative analyses are considered as a complement to the quantitative instrument, and they are not completely context-based. However, they can offer the researcher "emergent themes and interesting quotes that can be used to validate and embellish the quantitative survey findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, p. 81). The quantitative analysis is organized with respect to the study research questions. The qualitative analysis is based on the emergent themes.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

The literature reviewed suggested that migrants' language choice, acculturation orientation and personality profiles are pieces of a complicated puzzle. The main argument of this thesis is that there is a link between migrants' language choice for swearing and socio-biographical, acculturation variables, and personality traits. The present chapter will provide an overview of all quantitative and qualitative procedures. They answer the five main research questions outlined in Chapter Two, investigating individual differences in acculturation, personality traits, and how this may be linked to socio-biographical and language variables, including language preferences and frequency of the use of Persian/English swearwords.

First, quantitative analyses of the data collected through the on-line questionnaire are presented (Section 4.2), followed by the qualitative analyses of the interview data (Section 4.3). An analysis of these results is presented in Chapter Five.

4.2 Quantitative results

The first thread of analysis focuses on the links between socio-biographical and acculturation variables and the use of Persian/ English swearwords.

4.2.1 To what extent is the use of Persian/English swearwords related to socio-biographical and acculturation variables? (RQ1)

The first socio-biographical variable to be considered is gender and its relation to acculturation (heritage and mainstream culture sub-scales), and self-reported use of Persian/ English swearwords. Independent samples t-tests were conducted to find out the effect of gender on acculturation and the results indicate that gender has no significant effect on heritage [Female ($M = 14.29$, $SD = 3.01$), Male ($M = 13.89$, $SD = 2.97$), $t(252) = -1.067$, $p = 0.287$] and mainstream culture scores [Female ($M = 15.15$, $SD = 2.70$), Male ($M = 14.65$, $SD = 2.48$), $t(252)$

= 1.510, p = 0.132]. Then, another set of independent t-tests were carried out to examine the effect of gender on Frequency of swearing in Persian/ English. The results suggest that there is a significant effect of gender on frequency of swearing in Persian. Females (M = 2.61, SD = 0.91) swear significantly less than males (M = 2.88, SD = 0.92), t(252) = -2.310, p = 0.02. On the other hand, there is no significant effect of gender on frequency of swearing in English [Female (M = 3.01, SD = 1.26), Male (M = 2.88, SD = 1.08), t(252) = 0.843, p = 0.4].

Considering the outcome of these t-tests, in order to find out if there is a relation between acculturation variables and frequency of swearing in Persian/English and gender, the relationships between the variables were considered separately for the female group (*N* = 137) and the male group (*N* = 117). Correlation analyses were conducted to see if there were any relations between the acculturation sub-scales and the frequency of use of Persian/English in the female group. Correlation analyses indicated that females who had higher scores in mainstream culture, used English swearwords more often (r = 0.168*[35], n = 137).

A separate analysis for the group of male participants showed no significant correlation between acculturation and use of Persian/English swearwords. Therefore, females who had embraced the attitudes, behaviours and values of their host country used English swearwords significantly more often than males (see Table 2 for details).

Table 2: Correlations (Pearson r) between acculturation and the frequency of use of Persian/ English swearwords for females and males

			Heritage culture	Mainstream culture
Frequency of swearwords in Persian	Female	r p	-0.024 0.754	-0.009 0.921
	Male	r p	0.093 0.318	-0.022 0.816
Frequency of swearwords in English	Female	r p	-0.053 0.535	0.168 **0.050**
	Male	r p	0.012 0.894	0.084 0.365

Further correlation analyses were conducted to see if there were any relations between acculturation, frequency of the use of Persian/English languages, and the use of Persian/ English swearwords, respondents' self-rated knowledge in the Persian/English languages and other socio-biographical variables. The results show that there are no significant relationships between

[35] p<.05

acculturation scales and age, length of residency, AOA, and self-rated knowledge in Persian /English languages (see Table 3 for more details). The results do show that there is a significant positive relationship between the frequency of the use of Persian swearwords and heritage score ($r = 0.286^{***}$[36], $n = 254$). In addition, the correlation analyses pointed out that higher use of English ($r = 0.187^{**}$[37], $n = 254$) and swearing in English ($r = 0.014^{*}$, $n = 254$) were significantly linked with mainstream culture scores. So far, the data show that individuals who maintained the beliefs and behaviour of their cultural heritage swear in Persian to a significantly greater extent. Participants who used English and swore in English more often, however, had higher mainstream culture scores, indicating that they had adopted and accepted the beliefs and behaviour of their host country's culture. The migrants' emotional expression patterns (swearing in Persian or English) seemed to be associated with their understanding and awareness of the cultural practices that produced them. Therefore, extensive use of a specific language for swearing could be a sign of socialization with that specific community and a higher level of involvement with the socio-cultural practices of that particular society. In fact, there was no significant correlation between migrants' Persian (L1) swearing and mainstream (LX) cultural attachment, nor between migrants' mainstream English (LX) use for swearing and heritage (Persian) cultural attachment. This is a valuable outcome which confirmed the idea that both languages and cultures can coexist in migrants' minds and this independent set of correlations supports the bi-dimensional model. Therefore, choosing a specific language for swearing does not necessarily imply it being a replaced for the other languages spoken. In other words, this evidence supported the theory that LX were not to be considered as alternatives to L1 language, and vice versa. In addition, there is no significant correlation between self-rated knowledge in Persian/English with either of heritage or mainstream culture. It might indicate that all participants were bi- or multi-cultural (see Table 3 for details of the correlation analyses). I now turn to the second RQ.

[36] $p<.0001$
[37] $p<.001$

Table 3: Correlations (Pearson r) between individual differences in socio-biographical variables, acculturation, and self-reported frequency of the use of Persian/English language, the use of Persian/ English swearwords, and self-rated knowledge

Acculturation		Age	Length of residency	Age of acquisition (AOA)	Frequency Persian use	Frequency English use	Frequency Persian swear	Frequency English swear	Knowledge Persian	Knowledge English
Heritage culture	r p	-0.025 ns[38]	-0.034 ns	-0.035 ns	0.018 ns	0.008 ns	0.286 **0.000**	-0.022 ns	0.001 ns	-0.088 ns
Mainstream culture	r p	0.010 ns	0.072 ns	-0.054 ns	-0.057 ns	0.187 **0.003**	-0.028 ns	0.138 **0.028**	0.034 ns	0.101 ns

4.2.2 To what extent is the use of Persian/English swearwords related to socio-biographical variables and personality traits? (RQ2)

The second Research Question focused on the possible links between socio-biographical and psychological variables and the self-reported use of Persian/English swearwords. In order to find out if there are any relations between psychological variables and the use of Persian/ English swearwords and if they are gender-specific, the female group (N = 137) was first considered. Then, correlation analyses were conducted to see if there were any relations between the psychological sub-scales and the frequency of the use of Persian/English for female participants. These analyses showed that for females there is a significant positive relation between Flexibility and frequency of use of English swearwords (r = 0.210*, n = 137); also those females who rated high in Social Initiative reported using significantly more English swearwords (r = 0.259**, n = 137). When the same sets of analyses were conducted for male participants (N = 117), however, only those who rated lower in Emotional Stability reported using significantly more Persian swearwords (r = -0.191*, n = 117). Therefore, males who were less Emotionally Stable and did not remain calm in stressful situations, which could be the cause of frustration or stress, reported using their Persian (L1) swearwords more often. Therefore, females who had a positive attitude towards new situations and could adapt accordingly, reported using more English swearwords. Moreover, females who approached social situations actively were using English swearwords more often. These two variables were unrelated to males' self-reported use of English

[38] Not Significant

swearwords, as those who could not stay calm in stressful and new situations, used Persian swearwords more often (see Tables 4 and 5 for details).

Table 4: Correlations (Pearson r) between personality traits and the frequency of the use of Persian/ English swearwords for females

		Cultural Empathy	Flexibility	Social Initiative	Open-mindedness	Emotional Stability
Frequency of use of Persian swearwords	r	-0.107	-0.042	-0.097	-0.146	-0.040
	p	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Frequency of use of English swearwords	r	0.122	0.210	0.259	0.140	0.042
	p	ns	**0.014**	**0.002**	ns	ns

Table 5: Correlations (Pearson r) personality traits and the frequency of the use of Persian/ English swearwords for males

		Cultural Empathy	Flexibility	Social Initiative	Open-mindedness	Emotional Stability
Frequency of use of Persian swearwords	r	-0.067	0.141	0.165	0.010	-0.191
	p	ns	ns	ns	ns	**0.039**
Frequency of use of English swearwords	r	-0.114	0.109	0.100	-0.043	-0.054
	p	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns

Correlation analyses were also conducted to explore relationships between other socio-biographical and psychological variables (Cultural Empathy, Flexibility, Social Initiative, Open-mindedness, Emotional Stability). The analyses showed that there are positive correlations between age, length of residency and Emotional Stability. Those who are older ($r = 0.151^*$, $n = 254$) and have lived outside Iran for a longer period of time ($r = 0.140^*$, $n = 254$) scored significantly higher on Emotional Stability. These two variables were not significantly related to other MPQ dimensions, however, as was also the case for Age of Acquisition.

Moreover, those who showed higher frequency of the use of Persian (r = 0.133*, n = 254) and English (r = 0.138*, n = 254) scored significantly higher on Cultural Empathy. Therefore, those who had higher contacts with different languages, could have a wider network of interlocutors from different cultures and ultimately lead them to be highly culturally empathic.

Those who had higher frequency of the use of English (r = 0.136*, n = 254) had significantly higher scores on Open-mindedness. In fact, those who had unprejudiced attitudes to different cultures and were open to diversity used English more often.

Correlation analyses also showed a positive relationship between frequency of the use of English swearwords and Flexibility and Social Initiative scores. Those who used English swearwords very often had higher score in Flexibility (r = 0.174**, n = 254) and Social Initiative (r = 0.199**, n = 254). Those who had higher flexibility probably had wider understanding of local emotional words. In fact, those who swear more often in English could modify their behaviour whenever it was required and take initiative in social situations. Also, those who have higher self-rated knowledge in English (r =0.161*, n = 254) have higher score in Social Initiative. Considering that those who had higher score in Social Initiative are outgoing and talkative, they may have more chances to express their feelings in LX and this will boost their knowledge in English as well. Also, there are positive relationships between higher self-rated knowledge in Persian (r = 0.156*, n = 254) and English (r = 0.192**, n = 254) and Cultural Empathy and Open-mindedness [knowledge of Persian (r =0.175**, n = 254), knowledge of English (r =0.241***, n = 254)]. Therefore, those who have higher self-rated knowledge in both languages, have higher appreciation of both cultures and have unprejudiced attitudes toward both cultures as well (see Table 6 for details).

Table 6: Correlations (Pearson r) between individual differences in socio-biographical variables, personality traits, self-reported use of Persian/English swearwords and self-rated knowledge of Persian/English languages

Personality traits		Age	Length of residency	Age of acquisition (AOA)	Frequency Persian use	Frequency English use	Frequency Persian swear	Frequency English swear	Knowledge Persian	Knowledge English
Cultural Empathy	r p	0.075 ns	0.024 ns	-0.018 ns	0.133 **0.034**	0.138 **0.028**	-0.119 ns	0.034 ns	0.156 **0.013**	0.192 **0.002**

Flexibility	r p	-0.092 ns	0.041 ns	-0.063 ns	-0.085 ns	-0.076 ns	0.022 ns	0.174 **0.005**	-0.124 ns	-0.089 ns
Social Initiative	r p	0.051 ns	0.088 ns	-0.035 ns	0.029 ns	0.098 ns	0.005 ns	0.199 **0.001**	0.064 ns	0.161 **0.010**
Open-mindedness	r p	0.099 ns	0.064 ns	-0.055 ns	0.024 ns	0.136 **0.030**	-0.084 ns	0.064 ns	0.175 **0.005**	0.241 **0.000**
Emotional Stability	r p	0.151 **0.016**	0.140 **0.025**	0.086 ns	-0.019 ns	-0.025 ns	-0.099 ns	-0.004 ns	0.011 ns	-0.026 ns

Another set of correlation analyses was conducted to explore relationships between age, AOA, length of residency, self-rated knowledge in Persian/English language, and the frequency of the use of Persian/English swearwords. No significant relationships emerged between age, AOA, length of residency and frequency of the use of Persian swearwords. A negative correlation was found, however, between age and AOA and the frequency of the use of English swearwords. Those who are younger and started learning English earlier claimed to use English swearwords more often. Also, those who have lived outside Iran for a longer period of time have claimed that they used English swearwords significantly more often. A positive correlation was found between self- rated knowledge in English ($r = 0.217^{***}$, $n = 254$) and the frequency of swearing in English, which shows that those who have higher self-rated knowledge of English tend to swear more in English. There was, however, no significant relationship between self-rated knowledge in Persian and swearing in English. There were also no significant relationships between the frequency of swearing in Persian and both self-rated knowledge levels in Persian and in English. This also indicates that self-rated knowledge in both languages is independent, and swearing in one specific language is not affected by a lack of knowledge in one language and higher knowledge in another language, both levels of knowledge can coexist in the minds of individuals (see Table 7 for details).

Table 7: Correlations (Pearson r) between individual differences in socio-biographical variables, self-rated knowledge of Persian/English, and the frequency of the use of Persian/ English swearwords

		Age	Length of residency	Age of acquisition (AOA)	Knowledge Persian	Knowledge English
Frequency of use of Persian swearwords	r p	-0.107 ns	0.011 ns	0.020 ns	-0.052 ns	-0.108 ns
Frequency of use of English swearwords	r p	-0.202 **0.001**	0.290 **0.000**	-0.279 **0.000**	-0.167 ns	0.217 **0.000**

4.2.3 To what extent is the language used (Persian/English) at the time of anger with different interlocutors related to socio-biographical and acculturation variables? (RQ3)

The third Research Question focused on the possible links between socio-biographical and acculturation variables and the use of Persian/English language at the time of anger with different interlocutors (friends, family, colleagues, strangers, and yourself). First, I present the analyses on the relations between the language (Persian/English) used at the time of anger with different interlocutors, and socio-biographical variables (Section 4.2.3.1). The main purpose is to find out if socio-biographical variables have similar effect on the use of language (Persian/English) at the time of anger with different interlocutors. This will be followed by analyses related to acculturation effects on the use of language (Persian/English) at the time of anger with different interlocutors (Section 4.2.3.2).

4.2.3.1 The links between the language (Persian/English) used at the time of anger with different interlocutors and socio-biographical variables

In order to find out if there are any relations between socio-biographical variables and the use of Persian/English language at the time of anger with different interlocutors, for the case of gender, independent samples t-tests were conducted. The results indicate that there is a significant gender effect in using the Persian language at the time of anger with all interlocutors. Males significantly use the Persian language at the time of anger with friends [Female (M = 3.47, SD = 1.07), Male (M = 3.73, SD = 1.06), t(252) = -1.933, p = 0.05], family [Female (M = 4.16, SD = 1.21), Male (M = 4.37, SD = 0.95), t(218.617) = 1.562, p = 0.006], colleagues [Female (M = 2.15, SD = 1.20), Male (M = 2.70, SD = 1.44), t(227.618) = -3.261, p = 0.001], strangers

[Female (M = 1.99, SD =1.27), Male (M = 2.37, SD = 1.37), t(235.761) = -1.873, p = 0.024], and yourself [Female (M = 3.30, SD = 1.17), Male (M = 3.60, SD = 1.30), t(233.415) = -1.873, p = 0.026]. (See Figure 1 and Table 8).

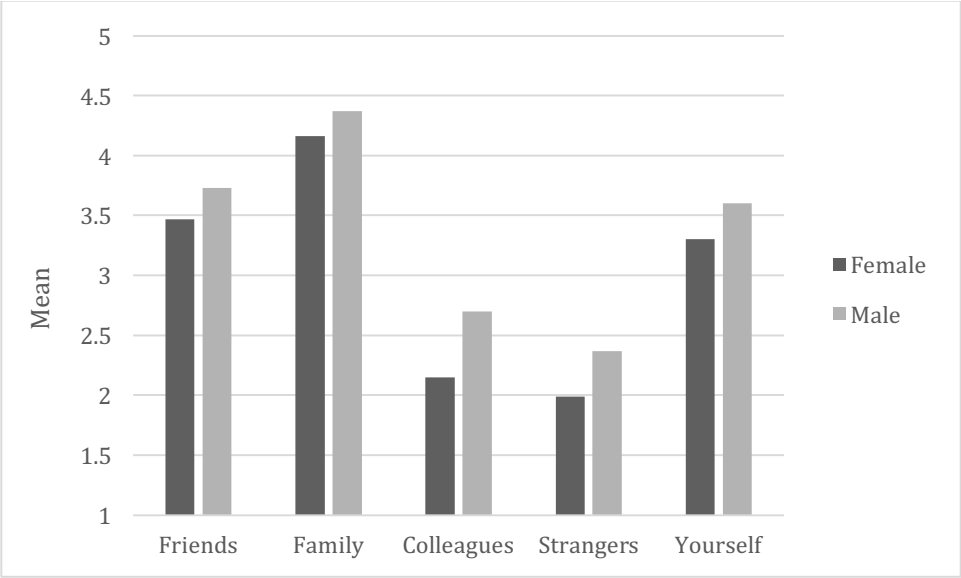

Figure 1. The effect of gender on the use of Persian when angry with different Interlocutors (Means)

Table 8: Independent t-test, the effect of gender on the use of Persian when angry with different Interlocutors

Interlocutor	Female	Male	t,df, p value
1.Friends	M = 3.47 SD = 1.07	M = 3.73 SD = 1.06	t(252) = -1.933 **p = 0.05**
2.Family	M = 4.16 SD = 1.21	M = 4.37 SD = 0.95	t(218.617) = 1.562 **p = 0.006**
3.Colleagues	M = 2.15 SD = 1.20	M = 2.70 SD = 1.44	t(227.618) = -3.261 **p = 0.001**
4.Strangers	M = 1.99 SD = 1.27	M = 2.37 SD = 1.37	t(235.761) = -2.268 **p = 0.024**
5.Yourself	M = 3.30 SD = 1.17	M = 3.60 SD = 1.30	t(233.415) = -1.873 **p = 0.026**

When the same sets of analyses were conducted to see if there is a significant gender effect in the use of the English language at the time of anger with different interlocutors, the mean values for females and males for family members and strangers are higher for females, but the difference is not significant. The results demonstrate that there is a gender effect in the use of the English language at the time of anger with specific interlocutors, and unlike the Persian language situation, females significantly use the English language with their friends [Female (M

= 3.37, SD =1.15), Male (M =2.88, SD =1.17), t(252) = 3.298, p = 0.001], colleagues [Female (M =3. 68, SD = 1.36), Male (M = 3.21, SD = 1.48), t(252) =2.774, p = 0.006], and yourself [Female (M = 2.94, SD =1.26), Male (M =2.58, SD =1.18), t(251) = 2.346, p = 0.020]. For more details see Figure 2 and Table 9). This could indicate that Persian males have no restrictions on expressing their anger toward different interlocutors in Persian, females feel liberated and can express their anger with their friends and colleagues, and also their choice to express their anger with themselves can indicate that some conceptual restructuring happened for their inner speech expression of anger. Since female expression of anger with their family and strangers did not show any significant effect, it could signify that they are under the influence of their first language restrictions on use of swearing among their family and with people who they do not know.

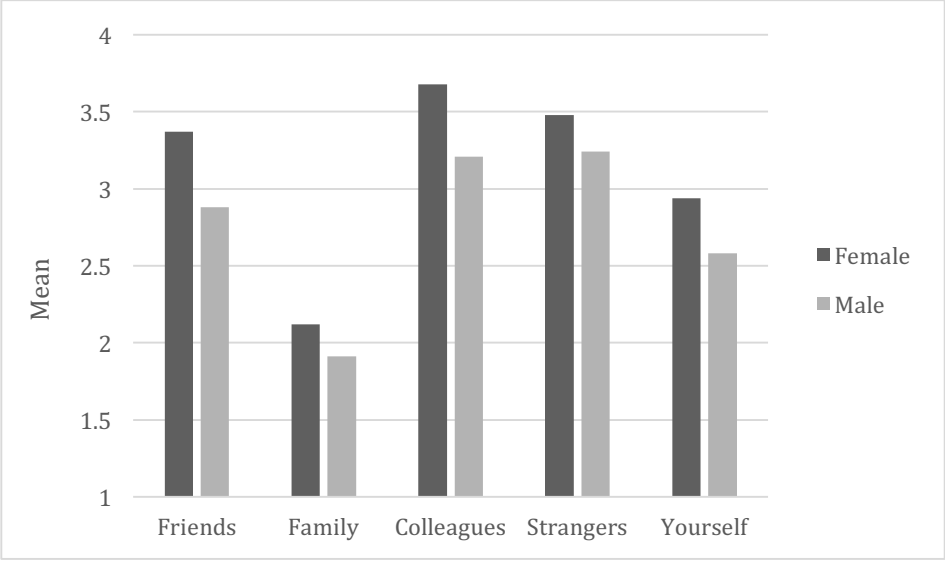

Figure 2. The effect of gender on the use of English when angry with different Interlocutors(Means)

Table 9: Independent t-test, the effect of gender on the use of English when angry with different Interlocutors

Interlocutor	Female	Male	t,df, p value
1.Friends	M = 3.37 SD = 1.15	M = 2.88 SD = 1.17	t(252) = 3.298 **p = 0.001**
2.Family	M = 2.12 SD = 1.23	M = 1.91 SD = 1.13	t(252) = 1.401 p = ns
3.Colleagues	M = 3.68 SD = 1.36	M = 3.21 SD = 1.46	t(252) = 2.774 **p = 0.006**
4.Strangers	M = 3.48 SD = 1.46	M = 3.24 SD = 1.48	t(252) = 1.262 p= ns
5.Yourself	M = 2.94 SD = 1.26	M = 2.58 SD = 1.18	t(251) = 2.346 **p = 0.020**

Correlation analysis were also conducted to explore the relationships between other socio-biographical variables and the use of Persian/English at the time of anger with different interlocutors. The analyses indicate that those who were older significantly expressed their anger with all interlocutors except strangers [friends (r = 0.272***), family (r = 0.128*), colleagues (r = 0.136*), and yourself (r = 0.312***)]. It seems that older people who could express their anger in the Persian language with different interlocutors except strangers, were possibly more concerned about their language with people who they do not know. Also, those who had shorter length of residency outside Iran significantly used the Persian language at the time of anger with all interlocutors [friends (r = -0.152*), family (r = -0.132*), colleagues (r = -0.294***), strangers (r = -0.208**), and yourself (r = -0.241***)] which could indicate that they were not acculturated and had only access to their Persian language repertoire for expressing their anger. Older age of acquisition correlated with use of the Persian language at the time of anger with all interlocutors except family [friends (r = 0.217**), colleagues (r = 0.2**), strangers (r = 0.120*), and yourself (r = 0.192**)]. This may indicate they were more concerned with using it with family members possibly due to cultural restrictions. Also, there was significant correlation between a more frequent use of Persian and the use of the Persian language at the time of anger with all interlocutors [friends (r = 0.337***), family (r = 0.325***), colleagues (r = 0.284***), strangers (r = 0.196***), and yourself (r = 0.332***)]. These results indicate positive relationships between using a language more often and using it for expressing anger with all interlocutors.

The frequency of the use of English was negatively correlated with use of the Persian language with all interlocutors except family members [friends (r = -0.235***), colleagues (r = -0.246***), strangers (r = -0.306***), and yourself (r = -0.240***)]. Having greater knowledge of Persian was correlated significantly with using the Persian language at the time of anger with

different interlocutors except family members and strangers [friends (r = 0.233***), colleagues (r = 0.205**), and yourself (r = 0.320***)]. It may indicate that they were more concerned with expressing anger with family members and strangers. Knowledge of English, however, was negatively correlated with using the Persian language at the time of anger with different interlocutors except family members [friends (r = -0.169**), colleagues (r = -0.178**), strangers (r = -0.177**), and yourself (r = -0.256***)]. Therefore, English knowledge or the frequency of the use of that language does not have any influence on expressing anger in Persian with family members, which may indicate that other factors are involved (see Table 10 for more details).

Table 10: Correlations (Pearson r) between socio-biographical variables, frequency of using Persian/English, self-rated knowledge of Persian/English and the use of Persian when angry with different interlocutors

Interlocutor		Age	Length of residency	Age of acquisition (AOA)	Frequency Persian use	Frequency English use	Knowledge Persian	Knowledge English
1.Friends	r p	0.272 **0.000**	-0.152 **0.015**	0.217 **0.001**	0.337 **0.000**	-0.235 **0.000**	0.233 **0.000**	-0.169 **0.007**
2.Family	r p	0.128 **0.041**	-0.132 **0.036**	-0.030 ns	0.325 **0.000**	-0.009 ns	0.161 ns	-0.041 ns
3.Colleagues	r p	0.136 **0.030**	-0.294 **0.000**	0.200 **0.001**	0.284 **0.000**	-0.246 **0.000**	0.205 **0.001**	-0.178 **0.004**
4.Strangers	r p	0.061 ns	-0.208 **0.001**	0.120 **0.05**	0.196 **0.002**	-0.306 **0.000**	0.111 ns	-0.177 **0.005**
5.Yourself	r p	0.312 **0.000**	-0.241 **0.000**	0.192 **0.002**	0.332 **0.000**	-0.240 **0.000**	0.320 **0.000**	-0.256 **0.000**

When the same sets of analyses were conducted for the use of the English language at the time of anger with different interlocutors, the results showed that there was a negative correlation with age and using the English language to express anger with friends and yourself [friends (r = -0.195**), and yourself (r = -0.356***)]. This indicates that those who were younger could express their anger in English among their friends and with themselves. Expressing anger among their friends could show their group membership among their peers, and using it with themselves could indicate that some conceptual restructuring had happened in their emotional repertoire. Also, there was a positive correlation between longer length of residency and using English to express their anger with all interlocutors [friends (r = 0.410***), family (r = 0.511***), colleagues (r = 0.268***), strangers (r = 0.314***), and yourself (r = 0.256****)]. There was a

negative correlation between AOA and the use of English to express anger with different interlocutors. [friends (r = -0.353***), family (r = -0.245***), colleagues (r = -0.214**), strangers (r = -0.190**), and yourself (r = -0.309***)]. Therefore, those who had a longer length of residency and lower AOA used English to express their anger with all interlocutors.

Also, the frequency of the use of Persian had negative correlations with the use of English at the time of anger with different interlocutors [friends (r = -0.250***), family (r = -0.209**), colleagues (r = -0.220***), strangers (r = -0.2**), and yourself (r = -0.233***)]. The frequency of the use of English, however, demonstrated positive correlations with use of English at the time of anger with different interlocutors [friends (r = 0.476***), family (r = 0.206***), colleagues (r = 0.385***), strangers (r = 0.380***), and yourself (r = 0.313***)]. This could indicate that those who use English more often use it at the time of anger with all interlocutors and language becomes the language of their hearts and minds. A lower knowledge of Persian also significantly correlated with using English at the time of anger with different interlocutors except colleagues and strangers [friends (r = -0.156*), family (r = -0.265***), and yourself (r = -0.250***)]: possibly such respondents had no access to another language repertoire but could use English to express their anger. Higher knowledge levels in English, however, significantly correlated with using English at the time of anger with all interlocutors [friends (r = 0.357***), family (r = 0.170***), colleagues (r = 0.241***), strangers (r = 0.306***), and yourself (r = 0.321***)]. Generally, it shows that a longer length of residency, a younger age of acquisition, a higher frequency of the use of English and more knowledge in English were linked to using the English language with different interlocutors at the time of anger. It can indicate that they had internalized and actively used the English language and used English for the expression of anger (see Table 11 for more details).

Table 11: Correlations (Person r) between socio-biographical variables, frequency of Persian/English use, self-rated knowledge of Persian/English and the use of English when angry, with different interlocutors

Interlocutor		Age	Length of residency	Age of acquisition (AOA)	Frequency Persian use	Frequency English use	Knowledge Persian	Knowledge English
1.Friends	r p	-0.195 **0.002**	0.410 **0.000**	-0.353 **0.000**	-0.250 **0.000**	0.476 **0.000**	-0.156 **0.013**	0.357 **0.000**
2.Family	r p	-0.014 ns	0.511 **0.000**	-0.245 **0.000**	-0.209 **0.001**	0.206 **0.001**	-0.265 **0.000**	0.170 **0.000**

3.Colleagues	r p	-0.054 ns	0.268 **0.000**	-0.214 **0.001**	-0.220 **0.000**	0.385 **0.000**	-0.037 ns	0.241 **0.000**
4.Strangers	r p	-0.079 ns	0.314 **0.000**	-0.190 **0.002**	-0.2 **0.001**	0.380 **0.000**	-0.240 ns	0.306 **0.000**
5.Yourself	r p	-0.356 **0.000**	0.256 **0.000**	-0.309 **0.000**	-0.233 **0.000**	0.313 **0.000**	-0.250 **0.000**	0.321 **0.000**

4.2.3.2 The links between the language (Persian/English) used at the time of anger with different interlocutors and acculturation variables

A final series of correlation analyses was conducted to see if there are any links between acculturation variables and the use of the Persian language at the time of anger with different interlocutors. This analysis indicates that there is a positive relation between heritage culture and using the Persian language at the time of anger with friends and yourself [friends (r = 0.295***), and yourself (r = 0.102*)]. In contrast, there was a negative correlation between mainstream culture and use of the Persian language with friends [friends (r = -0.151*)]. This indicates that those who are more involved with mainstream culture do not to use Persian at the time of anger with their friends. No significant relations are indicated between mainstream culture and the use of the Persian language at the time of anger with family, colleagues, strangers, and yourself (see Table 12 for more details).

Table 12: Correlations (Pearson r) between acculturation variables and the use of Persian when angry with different interlocutors

		Friends	Family	Colleagues	Strangers	Yourself
Heritage culture	r p	0.295 **0.000**	0.147 ns	0.229 ns	0.200 ns	0.102 **0.016**
Mainstream culture	r p	-0.151 **0.016**	0.010 ns	-0.102 ns	-0.094 ns	-0.112 ns

When the same sets of analyses were conducted for the use of the English language at the time of anger with different interlocutors, analysis indicated that those who are more involved with heritage culture do not to use English at the time of anger with family, colleagues and strangers [family (r = -0.134*), colleagues (r = -0.190**), and strangers (r = -0.184**)]. This indicates that they do not use English at the time of anger with family members, and the reason

that they do not use it with colleagues and strangers might be their uncertainty about the rules and lack of knowledge in English. Also, the analyses showed that there was a positive correlation between mainstream culture and using English at the time of anger with all interlocutors except family members [friends (r = 0.176**), colleagues (r = 0.159*), strangers (r = 0.154*), and yourself (r = 0.138*)]. This indicates that being more acculturated and involved with mainstream culture is related to the use of the English language for expressions of anger with friends, colleagues, and strangers. Also, using it with yourself could indicate that a conceptual restructuring had happened in their emotional repertoire. It does seem however that there is no significant link between being more involved with mainstream culture and using English at the time of anger with family members. This might indicate first language norms and restrictions on expressing anger among members of the family or that there are some other factors involved, which present the effect of L1 on L2 and indicate that these languages are not separated (See Table 13 for more details).

Table 13: Correlations (Pearson r) between acculturation variables and the use of English when angry with different interlocutors

		Friends	Family	Colleagues	Strangers	Yourself
Heritage culture	r p	-0.075 ns	-0.134 **0.033**	-0.190 **0.002**	-0.184 **0.003**	-0.119 ns
Mainstream culture	r p	0.176 **0.005**	0.105 ns	0.159 **0.011**	0.154 **0.014**	0.138 **0.028**

4.2.4 How do Persian speaking immigrants living outside Iran differ from Persian speakers living in Iran in how frequently they report swearing in Persian/English, how offensive they rate Persian/English swearwords to be, or how effective they report Persian/English swearwords to be in expressing anger? (RQ4)

This Research Question asked whether there is a difference in the frequency, rate of offensiveness, and effectiveness to express anger in the use of 10 Persian/English swearwords between Persian immigrants outside Iran and those Persians who reside in Iran. Those living in Iran were categorized in the ‘Inside Iran group’, and those living outside Iran all categorized in

the ‘Outside Iran’ group. It is worth keeping in mind that the two groups are quite different in size (Outside Iran $N = 204$, Inside Iran $N = 50$). The analysis related to Persian swearwords will be presented first.

Independent sample t-tests were conducted for each of the swearword frequencies with the independent variables of immigrant Persians and those Persians who live in Iran. With regard to differences in the frequency of the use of Persian swearwords between those outside Iran and inside Iran, only one Persian swearword’s frequency of the use was significantly higher for those who live outside Iran. Persian immigrants who reside outside Iran report using “Ashghal” significantly more than those who reside in Iran; $t(251) = 2.48$, $p = 0.01$. There is also only one Persian swearword, “Oskol”, that those who live in Iran use significantly more than those Persian immigrants outside Iran; $t(248) = -2.491$, $p = 0.013$. The differences in means are represented in Figure 3 (see Table 14 for more details).

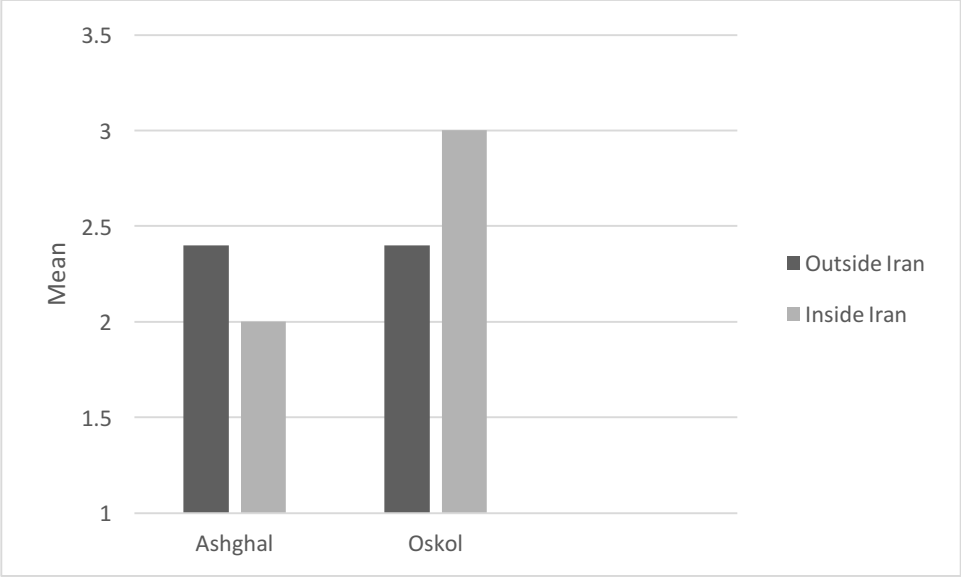

Figure 3. The effect of country of residence on the frequency of the use of Persian swearwords (Means)

Another series of independent sample t-tests was conducted to find out if there were any differences between the rate of offensiveness of Persian swearwords between those who lived in Iran and those who were outside Iran. These tests suggest that for Persians who live in Iran, the

rate of offensiveness is significantly higher for “Bisharaf”; “Dayous”; “Koon goshad”; “Koskesh” and “Kharkosseh”, compared to those who live outside Iran. The differences in means are presented in Figure 4 (see also Table 14 for more details).

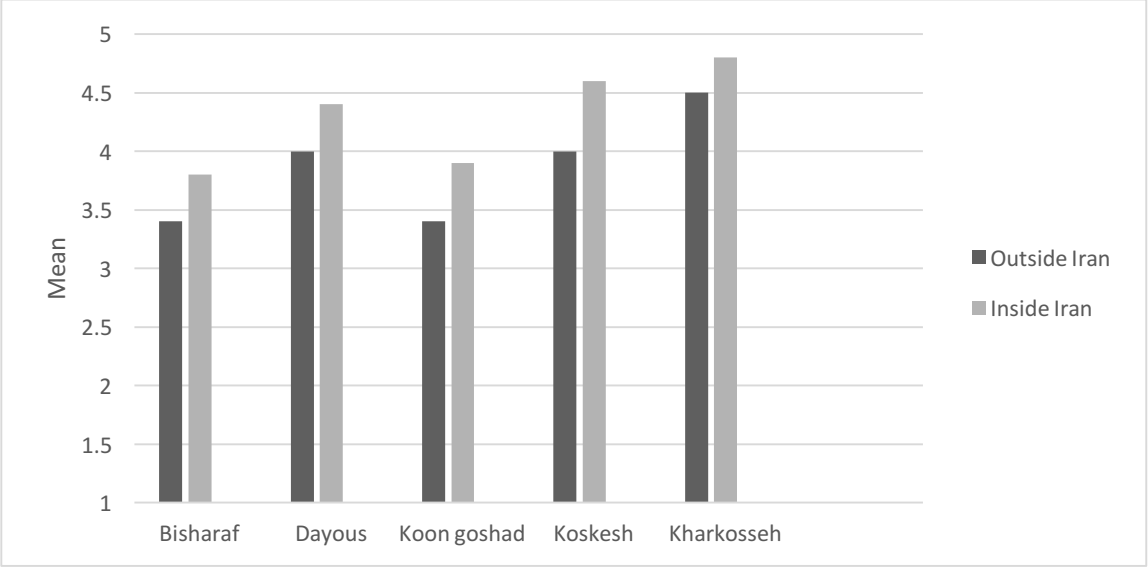

Figure 4. The effect of country of residence on the rate of offensiveness of Persian swearwords (Means)

A last set of independent sample t-tests was conducted to see if there were any differences in the effectiveness to express anger by using Persian swearwords between those who resided in Iran and those outside Iran. Independent sample t-tests indicated that for Persians outside Iran, the Persian swearwords “Kesafat” and “Ashghal” allowed them to express their anger significantly more effectively. No differences emerged for the other swearwords (see Table 14). The differences in means are presented in Figure 5.

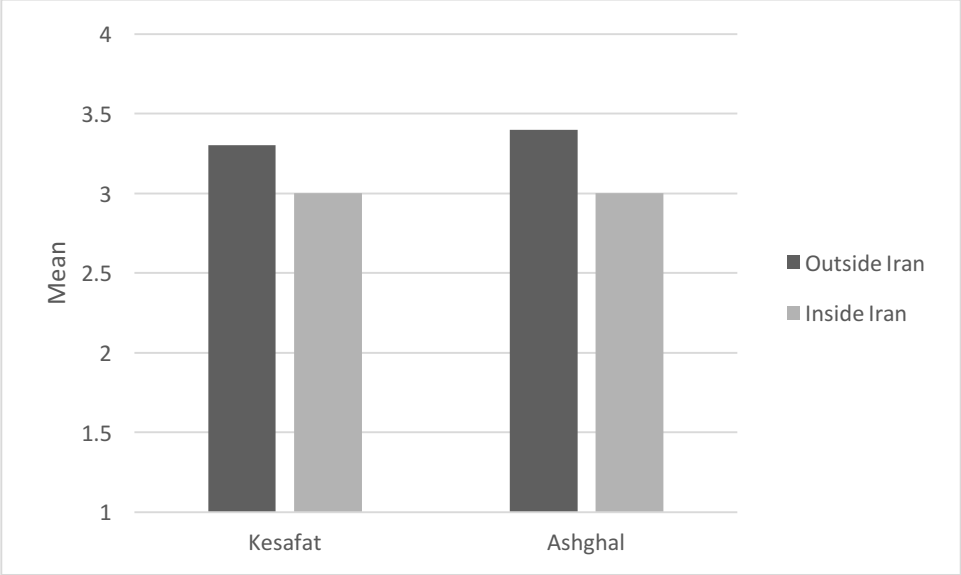

Figure 5. The effect of country of residence on effectiveness to express of anger by Persian swearwords (Means)

Therefore, respondents' country of residence showed different effects for the frequency of the use, rate of offensiveness, and the effectiveness to express anger of certain Persian swearwords (see Table 14 for more details).

Table 14: Independent samples t-tests: The effect of country of residence on the frequency, rate of offensiveness, and effectiveness to express anger using Persian swearwords.

Persian swearword	Frequency of use	Offensiveness	Effectiveness to express anger
1. Kesafat	Outside Iran: M = 2.7 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 2.6 SD = 1.2 t(251) = 0.651, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 2.8 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 2.7 SD = 1.1 t(252) = 0.691, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.3 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 3 SD = 1.2 t(252) = 1.977, **p = 0.04**
2. Oskol	Outside Iran: M = 2.4 SD = 1.3 Iran resident: M = 3 SD = 1.4 t(248) = -2.491, **p = 0.013**	Outside Iran: M = 2.7 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 2.6 SD = 1.3 t(252) = 0.595, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 2.6 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 2.7 SD = 1.2 t(252) = -0.254, p = ns
3. Bisheour	Outside Iran: M = 3 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 2.8 SD = 1.3 t(251) = 1.162, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 2.8 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 3 SD = 1.1 t(252) = -1.945, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.5 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 3.5 SD = 1.1 t(252) = 0.029, p = ns
4. Bisharaf	Outside Iran: M = 2 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 1.8 SD = 1 t(251) = 1.117, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.4 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 3.8 SD = 1 t(89.592) = -2.263, **p = 0.02**	Outside Iran: M = 3.1 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 3 SD = 1.2 t(252) = 0.550, p = ns
5. Olagh	Outside Iran: M = 2.6 SD = 1.3 Iran resident: M = 2.3 SD = 1.3 t(252) = 1.395, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 3.3 SD = 1.1 t(251) = -1.411, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.2 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 2.9 SD = 1.3 t(252) = 1.610, p = ns
6. Ashghal	Outside Iran: M = 2.4 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 2 SD = 1 t(251) = 2.48, **p = 0.01**	Outside Iran: M = 3.4 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 3.5 SD = 1.1 t(252) = -0.964, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.4 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 3 SD = 1.4 t(65.017) = 2.235, **p = 0.029**
7. Dayous	Outside Iran: M = 1.8 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 1.6 SD = 1.1 t(252) = 0.858, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 4 SD 1.1 Iran resident: M = 4.4 SD = 1 t(252) = -1.453, **p = 0.04**	Outside Iran: M = 3 SD = 1.3 Iran resident: M = 2.9 SD = 1.6 t(64.090) = 0.100, p = ns
8. Koon goshad	Outside Iran: M = 2.3 SD = 1.3 Iran resident: M = 2 SD = 1.3 t(252) = 1.57, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.4 SD = 1.3 Iran resident: M = 3.9 SD = 1.3 t(252) = -2.001, **p = 0.046**	Outside Iran: M = 2.7 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 2.6 SD = 1.2 t(251) = 0.651, p = ns
9. Koskesh	Outside Iran: M = 1.9 SD = 1.3 Iran resident: M = 1.6 SD = 1.1 t(252) = 1.41, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 4 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 4.6 SD = 0.6 t(111.201) = -1.395, **p = 0.06**	Outside Iran: M = 3.1 SD = 1.5 Iran resident: M = 3.1 SD = 1.6 t(251) = 0.252, p = ns
10. Kharkosseh	Outside Iran: M = 1.5 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 1.5 SD = 1 t(252) = 0.133, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 4.5 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 4.8 SD = 0.5 t(148.199) = -2.926, **p = 0.004**	Outside Iran: M = 3 SD = 1.5 Iran resident: M = 3.1 SD = 1.7 t(67.858) = -0.517, p = ns

As mentioned above, Figures 3, 4 and 5 and Table 14 present the analysis related to the Persian-speaking immigrants living outside Iran and those Persian speakers in Iran, and how they may differ in the frequency, the rate of offensiveness, and how effective they report Persian swearwords to be. Those living in Iran were categorized as the 'Inside Iran' group, and those living outside Iran categorized as the 'Outside Iran' group. It is worth keeping in mind that the two groups are quite different in size (outside Iran $N = 204$, Inside Iran $N = 50$). Independent t-tests were conducted for each of above independent variables between immigrant Persians and those Persian who live in Iran. With regard to differences in frequency of the use of English swearwords between those who were outside Iran and inside Iran, Persian immigrants who live outside of Iran use almost all English swearwords significantly more than those who live in Iran, except for "Fucker" and "Bastard". The differences in means are presented in Figure 6 and Table 15.

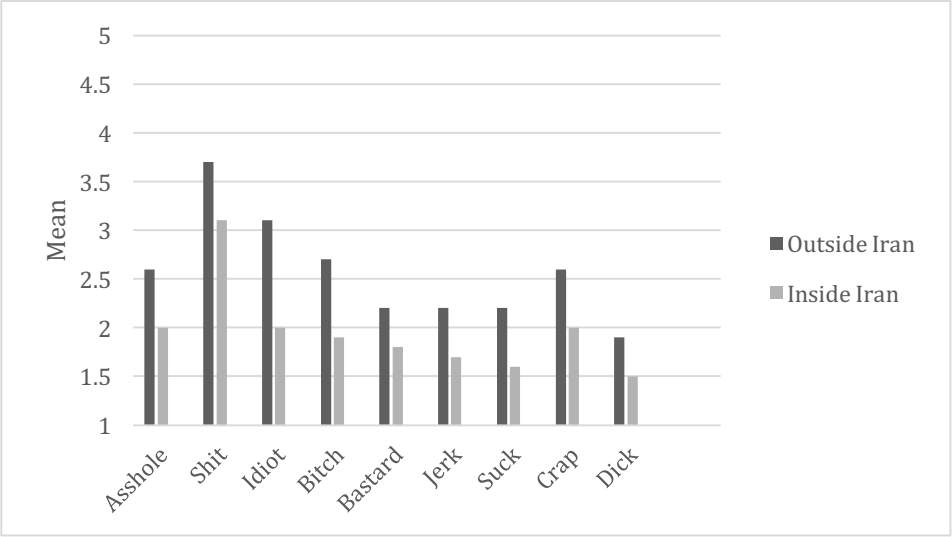

Figure 6. The effect of country of residence on the frequency of the use of English swearwords (Means)

Another set of independent samples t-tests was conducted to find out if there were any differences between the rate of offensiveness of English swearwords between those who were inside Iran and those who were outside Iran. The independent t-tests suggest that for Persians who live in Iran, the rate of offensiveness was different from those who live outside Iran. Persian immigrants living outside Iran rated "Fucker" and "Dick" significantly higher than those who were residing in Iran. Also, those who were living in Iran rated "Bastard" and "Suck" significantly higher than those Persian immigrants living outside Iran. The differences in means are presented in Figure 7 (see also Table 15 for more details).

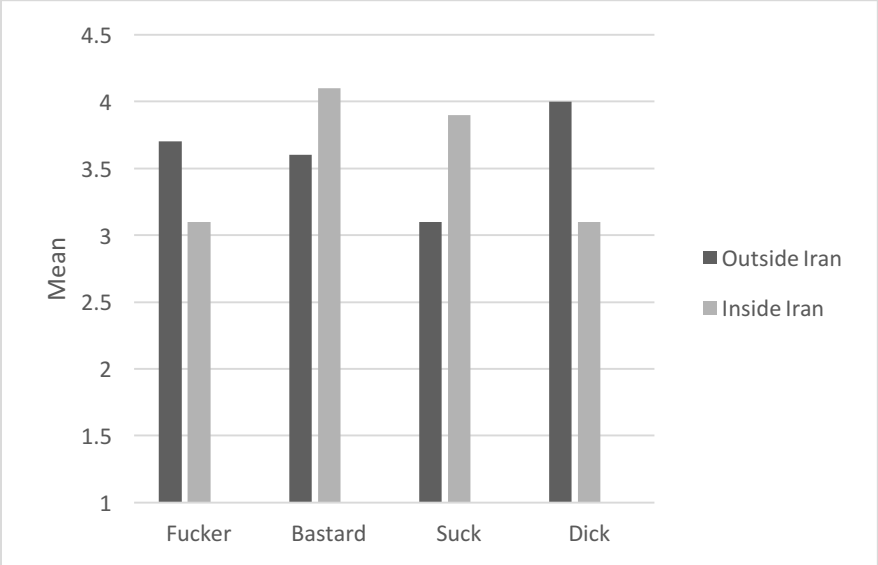

Figure 7. The effect of country of residence on the rate of offensiveness of English swearwords (Means)

A last series of independent samples t-tests was conducted to see if there were any significant difference in the effectiveness to express anger by English swearwords between those who were inside Iran and outside Iran. The t-tests indicated that for Persians outside Iran all English swearwords except "Bastard" and "Suck" allowed them to express their anger significantly more effectively than those who lived in Iran. The differences in means are presented in Figure 8 (see Table 15 for more details).

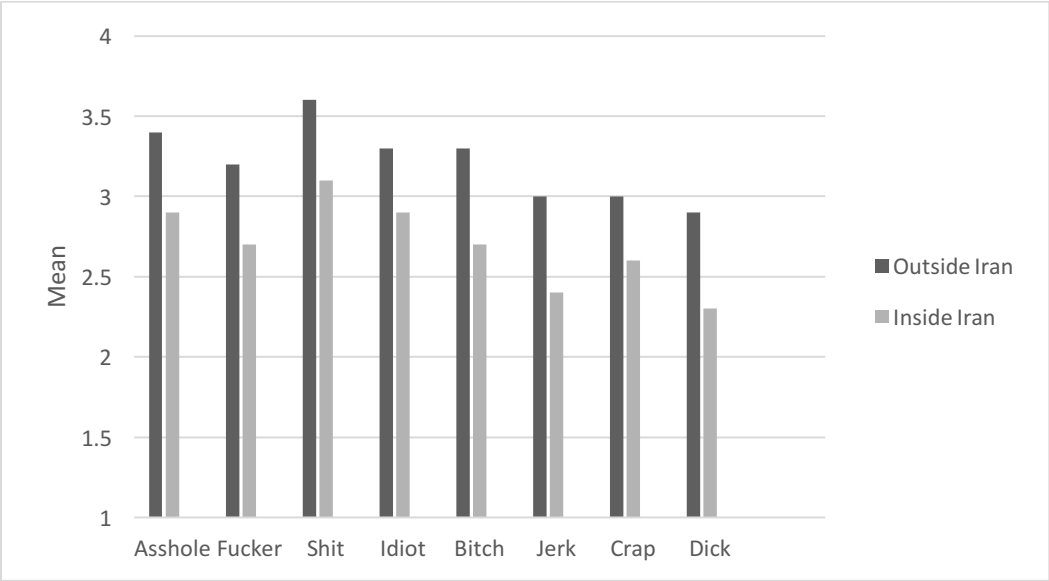

Figure 8. The effect of country of residence on effectiveness to express of anger by English swearwords (Means)

Therefore, country of residence showed different effects for frequency of the use, rate of offensiveness and the effectiveness to express anger in English swearwords (see Table 15 for more details).

Table 15: Independent samples t-tests: The effect of country of residence on the frequency, rate of offensiveness, and effectiveness to express anger using English swearwords.

English swearword	Frequency of use	Offensiveness	Effectiveness to express anger
1. Asshole	Outside Iran: M = 2.6 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 2 SD = 1.1 t(252) = 3.328, **p = 0.001**	Outside Iran: M = 3.5 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 3.7 SD = 1.1 t(252) = -0.616, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.4 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 2.9 SD = 1.4 t(65.839) = 2.431, **p = 0.018**
2. Fucker	Outside Iran: M = 2.2 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 1.8 SD = 1.1 t(252) = 1.746, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.7 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 3.1 SD = 1.1 t(252) = 1.581, **p = 0.04**	Outside Iran: M = 3.2 SD = 1.3 Iran resident: M = 2.7 SD = 1.4 t(252) = 2.485, **p = 0.014**
3. Shit	Outside Iran: M = 3.7 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 3.1 SD = 1.4 t(252) = 3.197, **p = 0.002**	Outside Iran: M = 2.86 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 2.88 SD = 1.2 t(252) = -0.092, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.6 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 3.1 SD = 1.3 t(64.701) = 2.216, **p = 0.030**
4. Idiot	Outside Iran: M = 3.1 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 2 SD = 1.4 t(252) = 1.282, **p =0.021**	Outside Iran: M = 2.87 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 2.80 SD = 1.2 t(252) = 0.437, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.3 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 2.9 SD = 1.2 t(251) = 2.361, p = **0.019**
5. Bitch	Outside Iran: M = 2.7 SD = 1.4 Iran resident: M = 1.9 SD = 1.2 t(250) = 3.805, **p = 0.000**	Outside Iran: M = 3.7 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 4 SD = 0.9 t(252) = -1.675, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.3 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 2.7 SD = 1.4 t(67.616) = 2.254, **p = 0.006**
6. Bastard	Outside Iran: M = 2.2 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 1.8 SD = 1.1 t(250) = 1.818, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3.6 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 4.1 SD = 1 t(252) = -2.914, **p = 0.001**	Outside Iran: M = 3.2 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 2.9 SD = 1.4 t(251) = 1.466, p = ns
7. Jerk	Outside Iran: M = 2.2 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 1.7 SD = 0.9 t(91.471) = 3.240, **p = 0.002**	Outside Iran: M = 3.9 SD 1.1 Iran resident: M = 3.6 SD = 1.1 t(252) = -3.392, p = np	Outside Iran: M = 3 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 2.4 SD = 1.4 t(67.607) = 2.709, **p = 0.009**
8. Suck	Outside Iran: M = 2.2 SD = 1.3 Iran resident: M = 1.6 SD = 0.9 t(95.112) = 3.573, **p = 0.001**	Outside Iran: M = 3.1 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 3.9 SD = 1 t(83.563) = -4.423, **p = 0.000**	Outside Iran: M = 2.7 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 2.4 SD = 1.4 t(252) = 1.761, p = ns
9. Crap	Outside Iran: M = 2.6 SD = 1.3 Iran resident: M = 2 SD = 1.3 t(250) = 2.841, **p = 0.005**	Outside Iran: M = 2.8 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 3.1 SD = 1.2 t(252) = -1.604, p = ns	Outside Iran: M = 3 SD = 1 Iran resident: M = 2.6 SD = 1.4 t(63.928) = 2.123, **p = 0.038**
10. Dick	Outside Iran: M = 1.9 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 1.5 SD = 0.9 t(97.159 = 2.416, p = **0.018**	Outside Iran: M = 4 SD = 1.1 Iran resident: M = 3.1 SD = 1.1 t(252) = -1.083, **p = 0.000**	Outside Iran: M = 2.9 SD = 1.2 Iran resident: M = 2.3 SD = 1.3 t(70.090) = 2.866, **p = 0.005**

4.2.5 How do socio-biographical and acculturation factors relate the use of Persian and English swearwords among Persian immigrants residing outside Iran? (RQ5)

This last Research Question focuses on the potential linkages between socio-biographical variables and acculturation, and the use of Persian and English swearwords among Persian immigrants residing outside Iran. First, I present the analyses on the relation between socio-biographical variables and use of Persian swearwords, and then the use of English swearwords. The main purpose is to find out if socio-biographical variables have similar effects on Persian/English swearwords. This will be followed by analyses related to acculturation effects on Persian/English swearwords.

4.2.5.1 The effect of socio-biographical variables on the use of Persian and English swearwords.

An independent samples t-test was conducted to find if gender had any effect on the use of Persian and English swearwords for Persian immigrants residing outside Iran. Among the ten Persian swearwords that have been chosen for this research, males reported significantly higher use of "Bisharaf", "Dayous", "Koon goshad", "Koskesh", and "Kharkosseh" than females. Females did not report using any of the Persian swearwords significantly more than males. The differences in means are represented in Figure 9. Table 16 presents the results of the independent t-tests for all Persian swearwords.

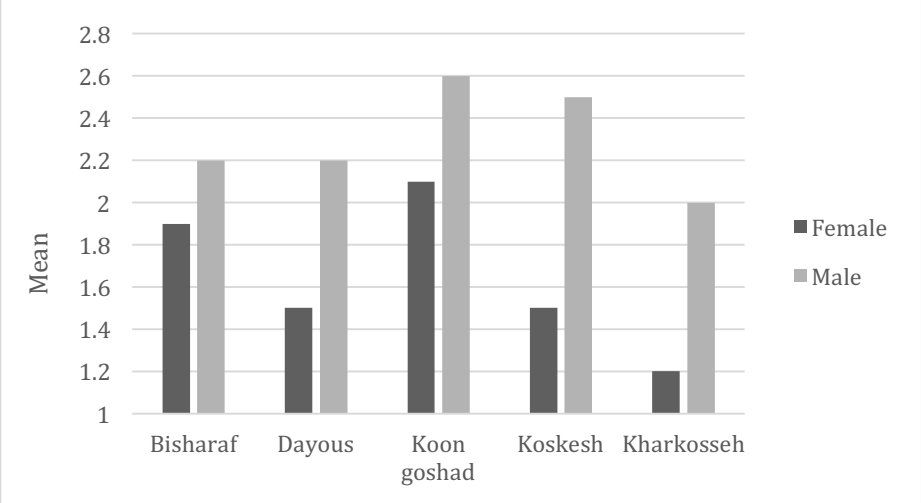

Figure 9. The effect of gender on the use of Persian swearwords (Means)

Table 16: Independent t-tests, the effect of gender on the use of Persian swearwords

Persian swearword	Female	Male	t,df, p value
1.Kesafat	M = 2.7 SD = 1.1	M = 2.7 SD = 1.1	t(201) = 0.196 p = ns
2.Oskol	M = 2.4 SD = 1.3	M = 2.4 SD = 1.2	t(199) = -0.085 p = ns
3.Bisheour	M = 3.1 SD = 1	M = 2.9 SD = 1.1	t(202) = 1.405 p = ns
4.Bisharaf	M = 1.9 SD = 1	M = 2.2 SD = 1.1	t(202) = -2.136 **p = 0.034**
5.Olagh	M = 2.5 SD = 1.3	M = 2.7 SD = 1.3	t(202) = -0.859 p = ns
6.Ashghal	M = 2.4 SD = 1	M = 2.5 SD = 1.2	t(201) = -0.668 p = ns
7.Dayous	M = 1.5 SD = 0.9	M = 2.2 SD = 1.3	t(152.12) = -3.957 **p = 0.000**
8.Koon goshad	M = 2.1 SD = 1.2	M = 2.6 SD = 1.3	t(202) = -3.173 **p = 0.002**
9.Koskesh	M = 1.5 SD = 1.1	M = 2.5 SD = 1.5	t(152.72) = -5.392 **p = 0.000**
10.Kharkosseh	M = 1.2 SD = 0.8	M = 2 SD = 1.2	t(137.99) = -4.716 **p = 0.000**

In order to find out whether the use of English swearwords is gender-specific among Persian immigrants residing outside Iran, another set of independent sample t-tests were conducted. The results indicate that among ten English swearwords, females reported using "Idiot", "Bastard", and "Dick" significantly more often than males (see Table 17). The differences in means are presented in Figure 10.

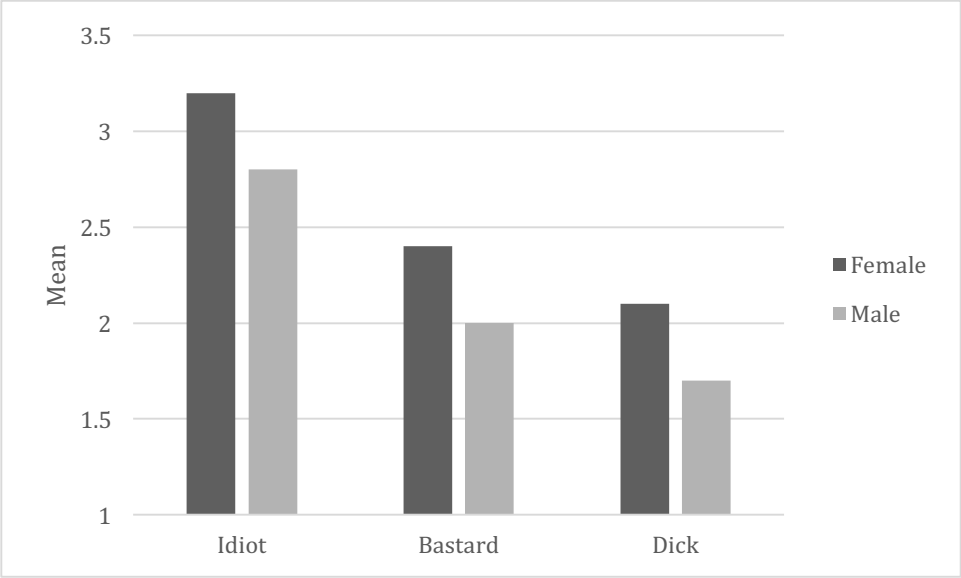

Figure 10. The effect of gender on the use of English swearwords(Means)

Half of the Persian swearwords were gender-specific, with males using them significantly more than female, and females did not report using any of the Persian swearwords significantly more than males. Among the English swearwords, however, there were fewer gender differences.

Table 17: Independent t-tests, the effect of gender on the use of English swearwords

English swearword	Female	Male	t, df, p value
1.Asshole	M = 2.5 SD = 1.2	M = 2.7 SD = 1.2	t(202) = -0.965 p = ns
2.Fucker	M = 2 SD = 1.3	M = 2.4 SD = 1.2	t(202) = -1.866 p = ns
3.Shit	M = 3.7 SD = 1.1	M = 3.7 SD = 1.2	t(202) = 0.389 p = ns
4.Idiot	M = 3.2 SD = 1.3	M = 2.8 SD = 1.1	t(202) = 2.018 **p = 0.045**
5.Bitch	M = 2.8 SD = 1.4	M = 2.7 SD = 1.3	t(200) = 0.799 p = ns
6.Bastard	M = 2.4 SD = 1.2	M = 2 SD = 1.3	t(200) = -2.462 **p = 0.015**
7.Jerk	M = 2.3 SD = 1.2	M = 2.1 SD = 1	t(199.41) = 1.013 p = ns
8.Suck	M = 2.3 SD = 1.4	M = 2.2 SD = 1.1	t(198.85) = 0.285 p = ns
9.Crap	M = 2.6 SD = 1.4	M = 2.6 SD = 1.2	t(200) = 0.212 p = ns
10.Dick	M = 2.1 SD = 1.2	M = 1.7 SD = 1.2	t(202) = -2.309 **p = 0.022**

Sets of correlation analyses were conducted to see if there were any significant relations between age, number of years living outside Iran, AOA, frequency of the use of Persian and English, and self-rated knowledge in Persian/English language on the use of the sets of ten Persian and English swearwords among Persian immigrants residing outside Iran.

Among the Persian swearwords, age had a significant effect on the use of only "Kesafat" and "Oskol" for Persian immigrants residing outside Iran. Younger people use "Kesafat" (r = -0.155*) and "Oskol" (r = -0.313***) significantly more. Length of residency only had a significant effect on the use of "Oskol": a shorter length of residency outside Iran was significantly related with higher use of "Oskol" (r = -0.271***). There were no other significant relations between the rest of the socio-biographical variables, self-rated knowledge in Persian/English language and the use of Persian swearwords among Persian immigrants residing outside Iran. More detailed analyses are presented in Table 18.

Table 18: Correlations (Pearson r) between individual differences in socio-biographical variables, frequency of Persian/English use, self-rated knowledge of Persian/English, and the use of Persian swearwords

Persian swearword		Age	Length of residency	Age of acquisition (AOA)	Frequency Persian use	Frequency English use	Knowledge Persian	Knowledge English
1.Kesafat	r p	-0.155 **0.027**	-0.096 ns	-0.103 ns	0.123 ns	0.104 ns	-0.120 ns	-0.047 ns
2.Oskol	r p	-0.313 **0.000**	-0.271 **0.000**	-0.022 ns	0.126 ns	0.029 ns	-0.035 ns	-0.078 ns
3.Bisheour	r p	-0.083 ns	-0.105 ns	-0.062 ns	0.116 ns	0.023 ns	-0.007 0.925	-0.094 ns
4.Bisharaf	r p	0.118 ns	0.001 ns	0.000 ns	0.057 ns	-0.066 ns	0.086 ns	-0.107 ns
5.Olagh	r	0.016	0.032	-0.052	0.011	-0.009	0.032	-0.060

	p	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
6.Ashghal	r p	-0.030 ns	-0.092 ns	-0.054 ns	0.115 ns	0.082 ns	0.014 ns	-0.020 ns
7.Dayous	r p	-0.060 ns	-0.192 np	0.088 ns	0.081 ns	-0.005 ns	0.097 ns	-0.047 ns
8.Koon goshad	r p	-0.047 ns	0.026 ns	0.027 ns	-0.021 ns	0.011 ns	-0.042 ns	-0.038 ns
9.koskesh	r p	-0.118 ns	0.016 ns	0.002 ns	-0.097 ns	0.012 ns	-0.059 ns	0.015 ns
10.kharkosseh	r p	-0.003 ns	-0.092 ns	0.061 ns	0.029 ns	0.005 ns	0.086 ns	-0.039 ns

Another set of correlation analyses investigated the relations between socio-biographical variables, self-rated knowledge in Persian/English language, and English swearwords among Persian immigrants residing outside Iran. Age was negatively correlated with the use of the English swearwords, with the exception of “Bastard” and “Jerk”. Younger participants reported a higher use of “Asshole” (r = -0.190**), “Fucker” (r = -0.329***), “Shit” (r = -0.33***), “Idiot” (r = -0.175*), “Bitch” (r = -0.327***), “Suck” (r = -0.261***), “Crap” (r = -0.190**), and “Dick” (r = -0.384***).

Longer length of residency also had a significant relation with more use of several English swearwords including “Asshole” (r = 0.165*), “Idiot” (r = 0.310***), “Bitch” (r = 0.152*), “Bastard” (r = 0.197**), “Crap” (r = 0.240**), and “Dick” (r = 0.156*).

Age of acquisition was significantly linked to the use of all of the English swearwords except one (“Bastard”). Those who had started learning English earlier were more frequent users of “Asshole” (r = -0.166*), “Fucker” (r = -0.224**), “Shit” (r = -0.268***), “Idiot” (r = -0.243***), “Bitch” (r = -0.188**), “Jerk” (r = -0.164*), “Suck” (r = -0.195**), “Crap” (r = -0.292***) and “Dick” (r = -0.336***).

Frequency of the use of Persian did not show any significant relation with any of the English swearwords. Higher frequency of the use of English, however, was positively correlated with higher use of all the English swearwords: “Asshole” (r = 0.263***); “Fucker” (r = 0.213**); “Shit” (r = 0.287***); “Idiot” (r = 0.302***); “Bitch” (r = 0.271***); “Bastard” (r = 0.231**) “Jerk” (r = 0.240**); “Suck” (r = 0.212**); “Crap” (r = 0.298***); and “Dick” (r = 0.349***).

Knowledge of the Persian language did not show any significant relation with any of the English swearwords. Higher levels of English knowledge, however, was significantly correlated with higher use of all English swearwords except "Fucker", which may relate to its offensiveness meaning or could be due to hearing it more often in society from different people or in the movies. Those who rated higher in English knowledge were positively correlated with more often use of English swearwords: "Asshole" (r = 0.197**); "Shit" (r = 0.139*); "Idiot" (r = 0.235**); "Bitch" (r = 0.235**); "Bastard" (r =0.179*) "Jerk" (r = 0.268***); "Suck" (r = 0.243***); "Crap" (r = 0.257***); and "Dick" (r = 0.226**). As presented earlier, socio-biographical variables had different effects on the use of English swearwords compared to Persian ones. Table 19 presents more details for these correlation analyses.

Table 19: Correlations (Pearson r) between individual differences in socio-biographical variables, frequency of Persian/English use, self-rated knowledge of Persian/English, and the use of English swearwords

English swearword		Age	Length of residency	Age of acquisition (AOA)	Frequency Persian use	Frequency English Use	Knowledge Persian	Knowledge English
1.Asshole	r p	-0.190 **0.007**	0.165 **0.018**	-0.166 **0.017**	-0.121 ns	0.263 **0.000**	-0.116 ns	0.197 **0.005**
2.Fucker	r p	-0.329 **0.000**	0.130 ns	-0.224 **0.001**	-0.038 ns	0.213 **0.002**	-0.254 ns	0.123 ns
3.Shit	r p	-0.330 **0.000**	0.132 ns	-0.268 **0.000**	-0.014 ns	0.287 **0.000**	-0.224 ns	0.139 **0.047**
4.Idiot	r p	-0.175 **0.012**	0.310 **0.000**	-0.243 **0.000**	-0.093 ns	0.302 **0.000**	-0.144 ns	0.235 **0.001**
5.Bitch	r p	-0.327 **0.000**	0.152 **0.031**	-0.188 **0.007**	-0.137 0.054	0.271 **0.000**	-0.185 ns	0.235 **0.001**
6.Bastard	r p	-0.113 ns	0.197 **0.005**	-0.130 0.066	-0.065 ns	0.231 **0.001**	-0.139 ns	0.179 **0.011**
7.Jerk	r p	-0.040 ns	0.116 ns	-0.164 **0.020**	-0.053 ns	0.240 **0.001**	0.079 ns	0.268 **0.000**
8.Suck	r p	-0.261 **0.000**	0.081 ns	-0.195 **0.005**	-0.067 ns	0.212 **0.003**	-0.045 ns	0.243 **0.000**
9.Crap	r p	-0.190 **0.007**	0.240 **0.001**	-0.292 **0.000**	-0.012 ns	0.298 **0.000**	-0.073 ns	0.257 **0.000**
10.Dick	r p	-0.384 **0.000**	0.156 **0.026**	-0.336 **0.000**	-0.083 ns	0.349 **0.000**	-0.206 ns	0.226 **0.001**

4.2.5.2 Individual differences in acculturation and the use of Persian and English swearwords. The socio-biographical variables presented more diverse effects on the use of English swearwords compared to the Persian ones. The second part of the final research question addresses the effects of differences in acculturation on the use of Persian/English swearwords among Persian immigrants residing outside Iran.

Correlation analyses were conducted between acculturation variables (heritage and mainstream culture), and the use of ten Persian swearwords. The analyses indicated that there is only one positive correlation between higher frequency of the use of "Oskol" and the heritage culture scale scores (r = 0.180*). Therefore, those who used "Oskol" felt closer to their cultural heritage (Table 20). The analyses were conducted again with the ten English swearwords. Positive correlations emerged between higher frequency of the use of "Shit" (r = 0.263***), "Bitch" (r = 0.195**), and "Crap" (r = 0.159*) and higher scores on the mainstream culture scale. In fact, the Persian immigrants who showed higher rate of use of "Shit", "Crap", and "Bitch" embraced the culture and beliefs of their current host country more strongly (see Table 21 for details). Intriguingly, no significant correlations were recorded for the ten Persian swearwords and mainstream scores nor for the use of the ten English swearwords and heritage culture scores. This result therefore shows that the effects of acculturation on the use of Persian and English swearwords were different. In fact, there was no correlation between migrants' Persian swearwords use and mainstream (LX) culture attachment or between migrants' mainstream English (LX) use for swearing and L1 heritage cultural attachment. This is a valuable outcome which confirms the findings for RQ1 (Table 3, p. 152), and the idea that both languages and culture can co-exist in migrants' minds. Therefore, choosing a specific language for swearing does not necessary imply it being a replaced for the other languages spoken. In other words, this evidence supports the theory that LX were not to be considered as substitutes for L1 language, and vice versa.

Table 20: Correlations (Pearson r) between individual differences in acculturation and the frequency of use of Persian swearwords

		"Kesafat"	"Oskol"	"Bisheour"	"Bisharaf"	"Olagh"	"Ashghal"	"Dayous"	"Koon goshad"	"Koskesh"	"Kharkosseh"
Heritage culture	r	0.080	0.180	0.032	-0.033	0.004	0.078	-0.027	-0.046	0.039	0.048
	p	ns	**0.011**	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Mainstream culture	r	0.077	0.080	0.085	-0.036	0.062	0.063	0.077	0.107	0.035	-0.006
	p	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns

Table 21: Correlations (Pearson r) between individual differences in acculturation and the frequency of use of English swearwords

		"Asshole"	"Fucker"	"Shit"	"Idiot"	"Bitch"	"Bastard"	"Jerk"	"Suck"	"Crap"	"Dick"
Heritage culture	r	-0.038	0.061	0.037	-0.068	-0.054	-0.055	-0.044	0.010	-0.043	0.092
	p	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Mainstream culture	r	0.118	0.035	0.263	0.105	0.195	0.665	0.008	0.111	0.159	0.103
	p	ns	ns	**0.000**	ns	**0.006**	ns	ns	ns	**0.024**	ns

4.3 Qualitative evidence: Interview results

Whereas the focus of the on-line questionnaire was on detecting patterns in the quantitative data, the semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to better understand participants' attitudes in choosing a language in which to swear. In addition, interviews were conducted to further explore the finding that length of residency has an effect on language choice for swearing, frequency of use of Persian and English swearwords, and ratings of offensiveness. The interviews also allowed participants to describe how they felt personally about these findings. Moreover, as Dewaele (2013, p. 46) indicated: "… the data elicited through the closed and open-ended questions of the questionnaire, and their combination with the interview data, strengthen the overall validity of the research". Eleven interviews were conducted through Skype sessions. The language in which these interviews were conducted was English, with some code switching to Persian.

As outlined in Chapter Three, Section 3.3.1, participants were selected based on their scores in the acculturation sub-scores from the on-line questionnaires. Interview extracts that were the

most interesting and the most representative of the themes of this research were chosen. The thematic analysis revealed three themes in the interviews: (a) “Reasons for offensiveness of Persian swearwords”; (b) “Reasons for swearing more in English”; and (c) “Reasons for swearing more in Persian”. Also, three sub-themes were defined: (b1) “English swearwords’ effectiveness to express anger”; (b2) “Positive effect of length of residency on swearing more in English”; and (c1) “Persian swearwords’ effectiveness to express anger”.

The themes and sub-themes that are presented in Table 22 are the most frequent ones and are ranked in descending order of frequency and relative proportion.

Table 22. The themes in the data generated by the semi-structured interview questions

Theme	Frequency	Percentage
Reasons for offensiveness of Persian swearwords	99	20.3
Reasons for swearing more in English	93	19.1
Reasons for swearing more in Persian	89	18.3
Positive effect of length of residency on swearing more in English	79	16.2
English swearwords’ effectiveness to express anger	74	15.2
Persian swearwords’ effectiveness to express anger	53	10.9

4.3.1 Reasons for offensiveness of Persian swearwords

All participants, regardless of their length of residency outside Iran, agreed that Persian swearwords feel more offensive due to Persian being their first language and due to cultural restrictions, since Persian swearwords carry connotations of shame and disgrace in Persian culture. Indeed, despite living in the host country for a long time Persian swearwords still carry a strong emotional weight. Participant 4 (31, female) explained that:

> *In our culture you don't swear in front of parents, older people, and in general it is extremely disgraceful for an educated lady to swear. Swearwords like "Koskesk" and "Avazi": jerk, if you translate them in English they don't mean that much offensive but in Persian it is very harsh. However, teenagers and young people may hold less regard for or awareness of cultural norms, and swear recklessly. In my personal experience, when I visit my cousins in Iran, the youngest of them swear. We older cousins have warned him not to use "Koskesh", for example, telling him that its use is very impolite and that others may think he is from a very low class family.*

Participant 10 (41, female) agreed that swearing in Persian is prohibited for women. Back home she had always been warned not to swear, lest people think her family was uneducated and low class. She said that:

> *[…] Persian swearwords feel more offensive and even after living 12 years outside Iran, I feel I could not swear in Persian because of those cultural restrictions. Generally, in family and society women will face extremely bad reaction if they swear. If parents get mad at their kids they may swear but it is big no no for kids to talk back and say something bad to their parents or at school to their teacher ... [sic]*

This illustrates the concern that female participants held about social restrictions and being categorized as belonging to a very low class family.

Also, the sense that L1 swearwords hold a higher intensity and feel harsher was another reason participants gave for why Persian swearwords came across as more offensive.

Participant 5 (37, male) pointed out that:

> *Swearing in the first language can evoke certain situations in the past, all of which can add to the intensity and effectiveness of that swearwords (sic).*

He also mentioned that if one cannot use swearwords when they are needed, then one will probably find it easier to employ familiar terms from their first language and referred to having more knowledge in a language helps to express their emotions better. Participant 7 (46, male) also agreed that:

> *growing up as Persian as my mother tongue, the swearwords in Persian tend to sound harsher than the ones in English, the reason is you tend to have better understanding of the connotations in your language. I see that all the time in ESL classes.*

The place of swearwords in an individual's first language and participant awareness of all the cultural restrictions in their native language both emphasized the perceived offensiveness of Persian swearwords among participants. Participant 9 (23, male) believed that:

> *English swearwords are rather bland compared to Persian verbiage available when it comes to swearing. Also to the sometimes-elaborate availability of swearwords, there is also a more distinct harshness to Persian swearwords; they tend to deviate around the relationship of kin.*

Participant 3 (31, female) also showed her concerns about Persian cultural restrictions against using swearwords and the intensity that they carry, mentioning that:

> *[…] we are very concerned in our culture [about] using swearwords; especially swearwords that have [a] mother or sister theme are extremely harsh and can cause [a] severe reaction also for girls and women using these words are really forbidden. If you see a girl swear when angry compared to the time when you see a boy swear, family, teachers, …. will respond worse to girl compared to boys. The same is through when you see a child swear compare to an adult. When a child swears, everybody say oh she/he hasn't been raised properly, for adults are the same however when you see an adult is angry and swear seems sort of milder. Also, in order to show respect younger people should use particular pronoun which indicate their respect to the older ones when talking or calling them. It is really complicated among Persians [sic].*

All participants shared cultural restrictions, the closeness of Persian as their first language, and the harsh meaning of Persian swearwords as reasons for their greater offensiveness.

4.3.2 Reasons for swearing more in English

All participants who ranked high in the mainstream acculturation score claimed to swear more in English, and said that the liberty given them by English enabled them to express their feelings and anger more freely and better in that language. They all acknowledged the

importance of length of residency as well. Two sub-themes that emerged are the effectiveness of English swearwords when used to express anger, and the positive effect of length of residency on swearing more in English. Participant 7 (46, male) stated:

> *I don't swear very often, but I do it more in English. Few reasons come to my mind. First, I use English more than I use Persian in any given day. Second I feel less strict when swearing in English and can use it in casual conversation with staff and Persian is linked to my roots. Personally, I feel that I can probably express my emotions and thoughts better in English. My attempts in Persian sound "contrived" in my own view!"*

Participant 1 (47, female) emphasized the importance of her length of stay in Canada, and said that swearing in English feels less offensive. She also said:

> *"I swear more in English. Several reasons: I have been in Canada for 35 years, since I was 11, and second, English swearing feels less offensive. Literally I didn't know how to swear back in Iran. Children are constantly warned of not to use bad language and even they should use respected form of the language in front of family, and those who are older than them. Also, I have learnt it how to use swearwords appropriately to the context in Canada little by little from my classmate and friends and even some at med school" [sic].*

Participant 10 (41, female) also agrees that swearing in English feels natural and can relieve stress. She pointed out that:

> *you don't feel suffocated anymore because you can express your anger freely without being penalized of being women and swearing! Anytime I am angry or want to use swearwords, even [if] I am speaking Persian, I unconsciously switch to English and continue my talk in English without paying attention to the language of my interlocutor. It is sort of automatic that I know I cannot swear in Persian, I feel the heaviness of using that words and bad reaction from Persian culture to a woman who swear. It just feels more natural. It is interesting that even when I was in Iran and got angry I automatically switched in English, I could explain my feeling away much better in English [sic].*

Participant 2 (37, female) stated that it felt more natural to swear in English, and on top of that she placed emphasis on the importance of context of use. She mentioned that:

> *I don't think it's a matter of preference but more a matter of ease of use and context. If you think, read, write and communicate mainly in English, it is easier and more natural to swear more in English too! I feel more passionate and outspoken in English because I can easily express my feelings and thoughts. It gives me liberation of expressing my thought and feeling and keep me away from all bad memories of not to do this and that ...*

Participant 4 (31, female), also emphasized the importance of context of use and she emphasized that when she code switches to Persian for swearing it is not a matter of lack of knowledge but it is just the direct expressing of her feelings as well and said:

> *it depends. In Iran, there are so much cultural restriction for swearing particularly for women. When I left Iran, I stayed in France for 8 years before moving to the USA. When I left Iran, I was fluent in English but when I moved to France, I pushed myself to swear in French, I wanted to look fluent in French as well. Now I live in the USA and most of the time I swear in English, but it is weird; my boyfriend is not Persian and don't know Persian. But when I want to swear [at] him I swear in Persian for example may times I call him "Olagh" maybe because I feel very close to that person!*

Therefore, relief from stress, higher frequency of the use of English, and freedom from cultural restrictions were the major reasons given by participants for swearing more in English.

4.3.2.1 English swearwords' effectiveness to express anger. Seven out of eleven participants agreed that English swearwords are more effective in expressing their anger. In English, they reported, they can express their anger and stress better and it feels more natural to swear. These participants emphasized the variety of words, the importance of proficiency, their underlying reason. Participant 1 (47, female) said that:

> *I do express my anger better in English. Not sure why. Possibly, because I spent most of my time in Canada, my English knowledge is really good, and secondly, my most interaction with people I would engage in swearing with are English speaking [sic]. Lastly, it does not seem as crude as Persian swearing!.*

Participant 2 (37, female) also agrees that:

> *Swearing in English can be more anger and stress relieving than Persian ones [sic]. It is interesting since I remember the first and last time I ride sky screamer and came down from it, I just spoke English and I was so excited and was talking English so fast and explained all my emotions up there in English. It seems that I feel more relax to talk about all my feeling and excitement in English rather than in Persian since then, I have to think if I say this it may be wrong and offensive and there are lots to consider.*

In addition, Participant 8 (18, male) emphasized on how versatile he feels when he uses English stating that:

> *English has a greater variety of words to choose from which can really focus on why you are angry and helps you express it better rather than Persian which has general yet harsh words.*

Participant 7 (46, male) also admitted that language proficiency is an important factor and said:

> *I feel that I can probably express my emotions and thoughts better in English and this tends to increase as the second language proficiency improves and the added stress and emotion may cause individuals to lose control and just use the language they are more confident and relaxed with.*

Interestingly, Participant 10 (41, female) claimed that even she switches in English unconsciously; she also admitted that she can "definitely" express her anger better in English, stating that:

> *for any emotional situation even the ones that I am so excited I switch into English [sic]. It simply feels that I can say whatever I feel in that moment in English and I don't have to think if I say this someone may think this and that. I feel me when expressing my anger and emotion in English.*

Participant 3 (31, female) emphasized the importance of the context in which swearing occurs:

> *I think it depends on the situation. But sometimes I find myself swearing in English naturally which may mean that I express my anger better in English swearwords and it feels more right".*

Participant 4 (31, female) also mentioned that;

> *when you say "shit" in English feels more right but I cannot say synonyms of that "Goh" in Persian easily because many people immediately criticize me for using that word, especially because I am a lady!.*

4.3.2.2 Positive effect of length of residency on swearing more in English. Another theme emerging under the reasons participants gave for swearing more in English is the importance of length of stay in an English-speaking country. Eight out of eleven participants affirmed that their length of residency in English-speaking countries has affected how often they swear in English since their swearing skills become more natural. With more time, it feels easier to use a language they use every day, and they also speak with large network of English interlocutors. Almost all participants emphasize the importance of cultural adaptation and the fact that they have become more familiarized with values and norms of the host culture when they live in that culture for a longer period of time. All affect their attitudes and make them use local language more often and even feel more confident when expressing emotion in LX. They ultimately tend to use more LX and LX swearwords. Participant 1 (47, female) said that:

> *living outside of Iran has taught me a new language to swear in. Because I speak mostly English, I do swear in English too. Most of my friends are English speaking too. In fact, I was English speaking at the age my swearing skills were developing, because I was 11 when we moved to Canada and it has been 35 years that I am living in Canada. Also, I didn't start swearing until I moved to Canada and find friends at school and well I learnt that skill but I still hesitate to swear in front of parents and always warn my kids to avoid using swearwords. They know our house rules and know I get extremely disappointed from them if they ever use any bad words at home [sic].*

Participant 2 (37, female) also emphasized how swearing in English came to feel more natural and mentioned that:

> *when you live in an English-speaking country and you read and write and communicate in English, I mean you will learn enough knowledge, therefore it is easier and more natural to swear in English. As I said before, it is not a matter of choosing to swear in English. It is more a matter of feeling more comfortable, that it is easier to use.*

Participant 3 (31 female) agreed that a longer length of residency leads to feeling more comfortable, and stated that:

> *yes, exactly I think swearing happens when you are comfortable with the language and people around you and the more you hear the words, the more you use them, more you become proficient in the language. I have learnt some new English swearing that I didn't know about […] before. So I mean the more you are in a country you swear more in that language.*

Participant 6 (49, female) highlighted the importance of living in a country and having positive effect on her being open-minded and being able to see things from new perspectives also claimed that:

> *yes, when you live out of your home country, you will be influenced by [the] new culture, environment and new attitude so you may need to admit some changes to adapt yourselves to new situation [sic]. Actually, it takes time and would be a dynamic process but finally it will affect your values, beliefs and habits. It means not only the language you prefer for swearing but also the pattern, style, and the nature of swearing!*

Participant 7 (46, male) "absolutely" agrees, and emphasized the importance of more exposure to the language, gaining more knowledge and socializing in that language which lead him to feel more belonged to the society and feel as a part of that society which reflect in his expression of emotion particularly swearing. He stated:

> *[…] the more you live outside Iran the more it will affect the language you prefer for swearing. The added exposure to the language and culture has equipped me to use English swearwords more appropriately as does working in English speaking company and having 2 kids who only speak English. All those factors helped me to be more fluent in English and […] know how to swear in English when it is needed.*

Participant 9 (23, male) also emphasized the importance of feeling of belonging to the society and having socio-cultural interacting and language ability to communicate with host culture people. Also, he indicated that when individuals live in a place then they need to have friends from that culture and need to feel integrated not isolated and he said that;

> *[…] the acquisition of language is partly related to the community that is around people. This plays a part in my usage of English vulgarity. I have spent my adolescence with English speakers, and thus propagated my comfort in English swearing.*

Participant 10 (41, female) also admitted that living longer in an English-speaking country has had a significant effect on her swearing behavior. She emphasized the importance of solid contact with respective language and culture and notified the behaviour change as well. Also, she said that in Persian she was not able to express her feelings and felt the strong sense of liberation after her immigration:

> *[…] the more I have lived in Canada has helped me to know where, when, and how to swear. However, I have never sworn in Persian as I said before because of cultural restriction, family ethics [sic] but even in Iran I started swearing in English. When you live in an English country for a long time you get more familiar with delicate differences between swearwords and feel it is more natural to swear in that language.*

Participant 11 (22, male) also said that:

> *yes of course living for a longer period of time in English speaking country has a positive effect on swearing in English. I also think that we shouldn't ignore the influence of media, the way people talk on TV and movies. You cannot hear for example any "asshole" synonym in Persian in any movies back in Iran. What I want to say [is] that the more you hear well the more you use them naturally.*

As a longer length of residency leads to more exposure to the language and a larger community of English interlocutors, it leads to feeling more natural when swearing in English.

4.3.3 Reasons for swearing more in Persian

Some participants who preferred swearing in Persian, mainly because they reported feeling more comfortable in their first language and LX cannot genuinely express their true feelings. All female participants showed hesitation in using swearwords in general. Some participants chose to emphasize the effectiveness of Persian swearwords in expressing anger, a recurring theme. Participant 8 (18, male) had only lived 4 years outside Iran, feels more comfortable with swearing in Persian and he still feels a strong emotional attachment to Persian

language. His choice to use Persian swearwords was a sign of his need to maintain connection with his heritage culture and language considering his short period of time of stay outside Iran, he still feel more attached to his Persian culture and language:

> *because it is my mother tongue and I am more used to it. It is [a] matter of ease of use and more awareness in context, but I think the more I live outside Iran, I feel more comfortable using English swearwords. It is also depending on the situation. If I am with my Persians [sic] friends I swear in Persian and if I am with non-Persian speaking friends I swear in English.*

Also, participant 3 (31, female) emphasized that she has lived most of her life in Iran, not in the UK, and therefore it is more natural to swear in Persian:

> *before answering this question, I should clarify that I have been living in the UK for six years, before that I have spent my whole life in Iran. I think, generally speaking, I don't swear a lot. If I swear, I swear in Persian because it is my first language. Swearing in Persian is easier and comes to my mind faster. However, when I spend more time with my English speaking friends, it feels that some English swearwords seem easier or more natural to use than Persian ones!*

Participant 5 (37, male) emphasized the importance of networks of interlocutors:

> *yes I swear more in Persian. I think it is probably because I am mostly in touch with Persian-speaking people with whom I feel more comfortable to use swearwords, what I mean is I have strong cultural connection with my first language which is Persian. Still, when I have [a] non-Persian audience, I will naturally shift to English swears. In this latter setting, though, I find myself to be more careful with the type of swearwords as well, specially to avoid unwanted offense due to cultural unfamiliarity with certain type of swearwords.*

Participant 6 (49, female) had only lived 2 years outside Iran and had less exposure to English language and culture and has not been immersed in the language and culture yet. She admitted refraining from participating in topics which are based on emotional expressions due to her lack of lexical competence in communicating delicate emotional intentions:

> *I definitely prefer Persian since it is my mother language, and [I am] more familiar with my culture, [what] emotions and feeling that I can express in such a situation. Also, I am aware of the connotation attached to Persian swearwords, therefore I can use them. But, I never use very bad swearwords and rarely swear. I am always very careful with the type of swearwords I use. (…) in English, I know, for example, [that] a word or phrase is a swearword but I still don't have the linguistic competence to differentiate the level of offensiveness; therefore, I avoid using English swearwords.*

Participant 9 (23, male), like the other participants, claimed that "*I use Persian swearwords for more severe responses and feel English swearwords as comfortably casual" [sic].*

In summary, several factors were mentioned by participants who preferred to swear in Persian. They gave the fact that Persian is their first language and were aware of the offensiveness and the meaning of the swearwords as a reason, and either they scored high in the heritage scale or had constant contact with Persian community and less contact with English speakers.

4.3.3.1 Persian swearwords' effectiveness to express anger. Participants 6, 9, and 11 all had higher scores in the heritage value, and all claimed that by swearing in Persian they could better express their anger. For them, Persian swearwords were more effective in expressing their anger compared to English ones. Also, they were more familiar with the norms in Persian. Participant 6 (49, female) said that:

> *in my opinion, the way we express our feelings usually depends on our culture which has been formed from our past experiences, beliefs and values and our mother language has an influential effect on our feeling so we can ventilate ourselves on our own mother language better [sic].*

Participant 9 (23, male) also claimed that:

> *for expressing anger, Persian has more depth and English reserves swearwords for casual use […] I feel that I can express my anger effectively in Persian and that Persian swearwords feel stronger, I can use them appropriately, besides Persian is my first language.*

Participant 11 (22, male) stated that regardless of the language of his interlocutor, he swears in Persian because it is his first language:

> *Persian is better and helps you to express your anger better and even when I am so emotional I swear in Persian regardless of the language known to the person whom I am speaking with. I just start yelling in Persian and say whatever Persian swearwords comes to my mind! [sic].*

Participant 5 (37, male) was the only one who was not so sure, saying that:

> *I don't know, I don't think swearing in English allow[s] me to express my anger better but again if someone lives in an English country and [has] contact with English speaker[s] frequently, I think it feels better to swear in English, for my case I am mostly in touch with Persian speaking people.*

In general, these participants all emphasized the importance of knowing their first language and being familiar with all its norms and values. Furthermore, having larger networks of Persian interlocutors and constantly being in contact with Persian speakers made them feel more comfortable expressing their anger effectively in Persian.

4.3.4 Summary of interview results

Eleven Persian participants who were English speakers living outside Iran were respondents for the semi-structured interviews. Based on a qualitative analysis of the results, three slightly overlapping themes and three sub-themes emerged. All participants concur that Persian swearwords feel more offensive than English swearwords due to cultural restrictions in Persian. Swearwords in Persian are considered taboo. Moreover, Persian is the participants' first language and L1 possessed stronger negative emotional resonance and is felt to be more offensive (Dewaele, 2011a). Also, those participants who scored high in the mainstream scale reported using English swearwords more than Persian swearwords, as English swearwords gave them the freedom to express their feelings in the moment of anger and they felt more natural using English swearwords. Moreover, most participants emphasized the importance of the context in which swearing occurs, confirming Beers Fägersten's (2007) assertion that context of utterance significantly impacts the perceived offensiveness of swearwords.

Two sub-themes emerged under reasons for swearing in English. One was the effectiveness of English swearwords in expressing anger. Mostly female participants felt liberated using English swearwords and could avoid all restrictions in the Persian language. This sense of linguistic detachment when using LX allowed them to use swearwords in LX freely. It may even disconnect them from bad experiences or trauma that they may have had in their L1. Therefore, their voluntary decision to use LX swearwords and to stick to the language in which they feel more liberated and real when they need to vent their feelings, is a great tool to take them away from stress and suffocation and gave them the opportunity to change the norms that they did not like in their language and try to look at the way they like themselves to be. Also, participants emphasized the family restrictions and rules of avoiding swearing in front of family members, especially older people and strangers whom they do not know, as it can cause disgrace to their family. Most claimed that it is easier and more comfortable to express their anger by swearing in English, since they all had large networks of English-speaking interlocutors and were actively involved in English-speaking society, helping them feel more natural when swearing in English. The other sub-theme was the positive effect of length of residency in swearing in English.

Almost all participants emphasized the importance of living in an English-speaking country for a long time and its positive effect on swearing in English. Again, they stated it felt easier and more natural to vent in a language they heard and spoke every day. Lastly, those who scored high in the heritage scale reported using Persian swearwords more often than English ones, claiming that as their first language, Persian came to their mind faster in moments of anger, and they were aware of socio-pragmatic rules. In fact, they expressed their inability to express their anger and feelings accurately in their LX. Another sub-theme emerged here, this time on the effectiveness of Persian swearwords in expressing anger. Three participants who scored high on the heritage scale score claimed that they can express their anger better by swearing in Persian, for three reasons: (i) because it was their first language; (ii) because they were familiar with the culture and its norms; and (iii) because they were unafraid of using it inappropriately.

The qualitative data have added some more details to the quantitative data analysis findings and provided further shades of interpretation, all of which indicate the complexity of migrants' language choice for swearing.

4.4 Final remarks on quantitative and qualitative data

The participants' testimonies have strongly supported the statistical results, explaining in more depth the connections between socio-biographical, acculturation variables, and personality traits and migrants' language choice (Persian/English) for swearing. Participants' socio-biographical and acculturation variables showed influences on migrants' language choice for swearing. For example, females who had embraced the values and norms of their host culture and were more acculturated used English swearwords to a significantly greater extent. Testimonies from participants supported the connection between attachment to mainstream culture and swearing more in English, and they expressed their sense of constraints when expressing emotion in L1. Female participants all declared the strict cultural constraints for using swearwords, and they also indicated that swearing in Persian carries cultural stigma for females -- therefore, they feel liberated and less suffocated and do not need to be constantly worried about what to say or not say in front of whom! Also, migrants' language choice (Persian/English) for swearing is associated with their cultural attachment. Extensive use of English and using it for swearing related significantly to their mainstream culture attachments. Testimonies from participants also supported this finding, as they claimed that using English allows them to take outspoken attitudes about their feelings, which was typical of their host culture. English was perceived as more suitable to convey their emotional feelings, including swearwords, and they felt more natural and more themselves since they were not restricted by cultural constraints. Testimonies also showed that by using the English language, participants felt more outspoken and unprejudiced and more natural in expressing their feelings.

Considering the personality traits, many showed significant impacts on the language choice (Persian/English) for swearing among Persian immigrants. Those who scored high on Social Initiatives used swearwords to a greater extent. In fact, for those who are outgoing and talkative and use English more often, this could boost their knowledge in English as well as being able to express emotions and swearwords in English. Many participants' testimonies

indicated the importance of being in contact with a wider network of interlocutors and having knowledge in that language, which boosts their understanding of the norms and values of the language and culture and has an impact on their language choice for swearing.

Considering the socio-biographical and acculturation variables, there were significant effects on language choice at the time of anger with different interlocutors. For example, there was a significant gender effect on using the Persian language at the time of anger for different interlocutors. As constantly stated by testimonies from participants, cultural restrictions on Persian females were highly restrictive in using swearwords regardless of their interlocutors. Therefore, at the time of anger they prefer to use English, which gives them an opportunity to express their emotions and feel liberated. In fact, the new language gives them the opportunity to voluntarily decide to stick to the language that made them feel more genuine when coping with swearing behaviour. Therefore, they consciously or unconsciously decided which cultural norms to embrace and to avoid those which were inadequate for them for revealing their emotions and intentions. Considering the links between younger age, a lower AOA, longer length of residency, higher frequency of the use of English, and self-rated knowledge in English and use of English at the time of anger with different interlocutors, the data showed that they were partly confirmed and qualitative insights conformably provided further shades of interpretations. Testimonies from participants provide more clarification for those elements which were not completely confirmed, and indicated the influence of heritage language and culture on the use of host culture language for different interlocutors. In Persian cultures, children and females are more restricted in using swearwords among family members, and people do not use them as it can cause family disgrace and stigma for them. Even younger people should use special pronouns when talking to or calling older people, and those who do not know them show their respect. Also, the data illustrated that those who have higher scores in heritage will use the Persian language at the time of anger with friends and themselves, but those with high scores in mainstream culture will use English at the time of anger with all interlocutors except family members. Testimonies from participants give more elaboration for this difference and showed the influence of Persian cultural restrictions on not using swearwords among family members, and it was present even when they used the English language.

Country of residence revealed different effects for the frequency of use, rate of offensiveness, and effectiveness to express anger of both Persian and English swearwords. This was supported by many testimonies from participants which indicated the importance of a longer length of residency and its effect on knowing and becoming familiar with the norms and values of a culture and language, using the language more often and leading them to see things from new perspectives, which ultimately affect their use of emotional language, including swearing. Testimonies also revealed the influence of culture and language on the frequency of the use of swearwords, rate of offensiveness, and its effectiveness in expressing anger. Also, as shown by the statistical analysis, younger participants, those with lower AOA, a higher frequency of the use of English, higher self-rated knowledge in English and longer length of residency, reported using English swearwords more often. This was also illustrated by many testimonies: those participants who immigrated at younger ages and started learning and using English more often, which also boosted their knowledge of English, claimed to be using English swearwords more often, and this seemed more natural and was perceived as more suitable to convey their anger in English. This finding indicates affective acculturation.

Both the quantitative and qualitative data strongly highlighted the effect of acculturation on language choice for swearing. This also indicated that both cultures and language can co-exist in migrants' minds, engaging in heritage culture and language does not imply disengaging from the host language and culture. Moreover, it showed the effect of both L2 on L1 and L1 on L2, and confirming a holistic view rather than having L1 or L2 as separate entities, the focus is on the whole picture. Testimonies from participants also indicated the fact that L1 felt stronger and L1 swearwords had undeniably high emotional power, but some indicated that using swear words more often in their LX, which provides their motivation for their swearing, which reflects the difference between annoyance swearing versus social/ routine swearing. Also, this analysis has shown that socio-biographical, acculturation variables and personality traits affect migrants' language choice for swearing.

A more in-depth discussion of these findings and their connections to the literature previously reviewed will be presented in the next chapter (Chapter Five).

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter (Chapter Four) summarized the quantitative and qualitative analyses. As part of a mixed methods design, results have been presented in a way that qualitative insights clarify and explain the quantitative ones (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Overall, results showed that qualitative findings confirmed statistical trends. In each circumstance where qualitative analyses revealed new themes, further explanation has been given. This chapter is organized by research question and hypothesis, each being restated and discussed in detail. Both expected and unexpected results are discussed thoroughly. The main purpose of this chapter is to provide a deep discussion of the results as a function of the research questions and hypotheses, and to link the present findings to the previous literature (i.e. theoretical and empirical), summarized in Chapters One and Two, ultimately providing a more complete synopsis of the outcomes of this research.

5.2 The main argument of this thesis

The main argument behind this thesis is that socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, and personality traits impact immigrants' language choice for swearing. This thesis specifically focuses on Persian migrants living outside Iran and Farsi speakers in Iran. In order to provide a clear answer to the main research questions and to present a wider perspective on migrants' language choice for swearing, a final section (5.4 Concluding remarks) will consolidate all the findings.

This study used a mixed methods design, combining both quantitative and qualitative data. The purpose of the quantitative study was to investigate and provide evidence for a significant relationship between socio-biographical background, acculturation orientation, and personality traits on the one side, and the swearing behaviour of Persian immigrants, on the other. This study also took into account several other variables shown to be relevant to swearing in past research: age, age of acquisition, length of residency, self-rated knowledge, and

frequency of use of swearwords. This constitutes the uniqueness of the present work and its main contribution to the literature – namely, this research undertakes a systematic investigation of swearing in immigrants as a function of several variables that are studied simultaneously, rather than separately.

As mentioned, this research involved 254 Persian English speakers (117 males and 137 females). Two hundred and four participants lived outside Iran, and fifty lived in Iran. All participants completed an on-line questionnaire. In the semi-structured interviews, participants were asked four questions to better understand their views in choosing a language in which to swear. For the qualitative part of the study, participants included eleven Persian English speakers (6 females, 5 males), living in English speaking countries, all over 17 years of age. Participants were chosen on the basis of their acculturation sub-scores. A thematic analysis from the interview sessions yielded three themes: reasons for offensiveness of Persian swearwords; reasons for swearing more in English; and reasons for swearing more in Persian. Three subthemes, as mentioned in Chapter Four, emerged from the analysis of the data: English swearwords' effectiveness to express anger; positive effect of length of residency on swearing more in English; and Persian swearwords' effectiveness to express anger. In order to provide a clear answer to the main research questions and a profound perspective on migrants' language choice for swearing, this discussion integrates both quantitative and qualitative results. The discussion also incorporates findings of previous research and qualitative analysis for each research question and hypothesis in order to explain and clarify quantitative results and create a cohesive context of discussion.

5.3 Research questions, hypotheses, and findings

The discussion is organized by research question (RQ) and hypothesis. Each hypothesis will be considered in detail and the discussion of results will follow on the basis of statistical and qualitative findings.

5.3.1 To what extent is the use of Persian/English swearwords related to socio-biographical and acculturation variables? (RQ1)

This research question specifically considers the possibility that there is a link between socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, and frequency of the use of Persian/English swearwords. Based on previous literature, language choice for expressing emotions is expected to show migrants' acculturation orientation (Matsumoto, 2006). In fact, migrants' language choice for expressing emotions is supposed to indicate their affective engagement within that specific culture (De Leersnyder et al., 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014; Dewaele, 2013; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2008, 2013, 2014; Wierzbicka, 2004). Migrants' language choice for use of swearwords was also shown to be related to their acculturation orientation (Dewaele, 2013; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Additionally, cultural restriction in L1 may lead to LX use for emotion expression and swearing (Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Bond & Lai, 1986; Dewaele, 2011b, 2013; Pavlenko, 2006). In other words, migrants who have higher score in mainstream culture and have higher appreciation of the LX culture, those who are younger (Dewaele, 2006; Jay, 1992; Stets, 2012), younger AOA (Dewaele, 2004a, 2009, 2013, 2016a), longer length of residency (Dewaele, 2004c, 2008a, 2012, 2015c; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Hammer, 2016, 2017a; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a; Mesquita, 2010) and higher language proficiency (Dewaele, 2004a, 2008a, 2011c, 2015c, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer, 2017c; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004a, 2006, 2014; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012) are expected to use LX swearwords (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2011a, 2013, 2016a, 2017a).

Three hypotheses were investigated:

a. Females who have higher scores in mainstream culture will use English swearwords more often.
b. Participants who have higher scores in mainstream culture will be using English very often and swear more often in English.

c. Participants who have higher scores in mainstream culture will be younger, have earlier age of English acquisition (AOA), higher self-rated English knowledge, and longer length of residency outside Iran.

5.3.1.1 Hypothesis 1: (Females who have higher scores in mainstream culture will use English swearwords more often). The first hypothesis argued that females' acculturation orientation was expected to reflect their language choice for swearing. Migrants' language choice for expression of emotion was expected to reflect their acculturation orientation. This hypothesis was formulated on the basis of previous literature (De Leersnyder et al., 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014; Dewaele, 2013; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2008, 2013, 2014; Wierzbicka, 2004) and the language choice for use of swearwords which is expected to be related to their acculturation orientation (Dewaele, 2011a, 2013; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewale, 2012, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). More specifically, females showing strong sense of belonging to mainstream culture were expected to use English swearwords more often.

The first hypothesis was confirmed. It was found out that female participants who had embraced the behaviours, attitudes, and values of their mainstream culture used English swearwords more often. This finding is in line with De Leersnyder et al. (2011) theoretical framework of emotional acculturation or concordance, which states that migrants' emotional patterns change based on the intensity of their engagement with the host culture, in other words as a function of acculturation. Therefore, learning to express emotions in LX and swearing in LX (Dewaele, 2011a, 2013; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewale, 2012, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013) can represent significant achievements of emotional acculturation. Dewaele (2015c) also stated that using LX for emotional expression is an indication of acculturation into LX culture, when participants use LX frequently for expressing emotions. This can motivate them to appreciate LX culture values more, feel closer to that culture, and ultimately, lead to affective acculturation within LX community. This is also consistent with Ożańska-Ponikwia's (2013) finding that for migrants who have gone through affective acculturation, L2 will be their dominant language and the perception of L1 emotions will occur through L2 emotional scripts. In addition, with respect to gender differences, past research has shown that overall men swear more than women (Coates, 1993; Jay, 1992, 2000; Jay & Jay, 2015; Jay & Janschewitz, 2008; Stapleton, 2003; Schwartz et al., 2013; Koven, 2007). The

present result indicated gender difference among Persian migrants who had higher score in the mainstream culture. It was expected and found that Persian women use English swearwords, which is in line with previous literature showing that participants reported feeling a sense of liberation when using LX to socialize and interact with other people (Hammer, 2016; Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017). Considering the strict social constraints on Persian women, their emotional predisposition toward LX plays a significant role in participants' preference to use LX. Migrants who associate L1 with pain, oppression, and traumatic experience enjoy feeling more liberated and confident when using LX (Dewaele, 2011a; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006), and finding in LX a voice to express themselves (Clare, 2004; Pavlenko, 2006).

Overall, the qualitative findings support the survey results and add richness and detail to understanding the experience of using swearwords. As noted above, quantitative data revealed participants' linguistic choices; these choices were confirmed by the qualitative findings, which added further insight into participants' motivations and subjective experiences regarding swearing. Specifically, the qualitative analysis provided a clear picture of the link between higher score in mainstream and using LX for swearing. In the narratives presented under the theme of "Reasons for offensiveness of Persian swearwords", all participants, regardless of their length of residency outside Iran, talked about Persian swearwords feeling more offensive, which is in line with previous literature (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2011b; Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Harris et al., 2003; Harris, 2004; Hammer, 2017b; Kinginger, 2004; Wierzbicka, 2004). In other words, Persian swearwords were perceived to carry a higher emotional force for the participants. In fact, all participants emphasized the greater offensiveness of Persian swearwords regardless of their heritage or mainstream scores. This confirms Dewaele's (2011a) finding that L1 is usually perceived to be more powerful than L2 in expressing emotions, and is in line with Dewaele's (2011b) finding that words in the "L1 carry more emotional resonance" (p. 595). Kinginger (2004) also defends the same idea, that the L1 is considered more emotional and suitable for the task of expressing emotion. Harris (2004, p. 241) similarly speculates that "the reason the first language is often experienced as more emotional than the second language is because the first language is learned in a context that is the most emotional". Dewaele's (2004a) participants also reported that the emotional force of L1 was perceived as the highest, and the subsequent languages that they learned possessed gradually decreasing emotional force. He also agrees that "language learned early in life seem to have a stronger emotional resonance than language

learned later, which seem to have a weaker emotional hold on the individual" (p. 207). However, under the theme of "Reasons for swearing more in English" participants reported their preference to swear in English and all female participants emphasized that L1 swearwords carry strong social and cultural stigma and they prefer swearing in LX which supports the quantitative results. This highlights another relevant factor to the discussion, namely the degree to which swearing in L1 is perceived as stigmatizing and socially condemned, and thus subjectively uncomfortable. Consistent with this view, Harris (2004) stated that if the emotional connotations of swearwords in the L1 are uncomfortable, languages learned later will be used for swearwords. Another reason given by Dewaele (2013, p. 199) is that "it is possible that the greater emotional arousal of the multilingual affects the balance of the language mode" and LX users may momentarily lose control of their language choice and use strong emotions in a language that allows them speed of expression (Dewaele, 2013). This was mentioned by a participant in Section 4.3.2., that she automatically resorted to switching to English (LX) without paying attention to her interlocutor's language, whenever she could not express swearwords in her L1. In addition, Dewaele and Costa (2013) found that code switching happens when the "emotional tone is raised" (p. 31). In other words, participants, in times of sudden emotional arousal, switch to another language. By using English swearwords, these female participants could express their anger freely without being stigmatized by the Persian culture. This is in line with Caldwell-Harris et al. (2011), whose participants reported that swearing in English (LX) allowed them to overcome the social constraints of their heritage culture, where swearing is typical for males and is associated with a lack of education. Dewaele (2013, p. 129) explains that some multilinguals experience linguistic and expressive liberation through swearing in a newly acquired language, it enables them to express their emotions by "harnessing the kind of taboo expressions they would feel uncomfortable using otherwise".

Therefore, the LX can be used for swearing in several cases: when bi-/multilinguals have achieved high level of socialization in the LX due to longer immersion in the LX culture; as they feel comfortable and attached to the LX culture, and "developed accurate socio-pragmatic judgements on appropriateness of swearing" (Dewaele, 2017a, p. 342) and emotion acculturation (De Leersnyder et al., 2011); or when swearing in the L1 is severely stigmatized in the L1 culture (Dewaele, 2011a; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006). Dewaele (2017a) states that for some participants, LX swearing helps them to overcome the social stigma in their L1 swearing, which

may be mainly reserved for males or can signify a lack of education. In the latter case, the LX user will consciously use the LX for swearing, because they feel less burden, disgrace, or dishonour when using LX swearwords. As it was reported in qualitative data generally, L1 was considered as having more emotional force, however female participants mostly reported swearing in LX more due to feeling greater freedom to do so. However, for male participants, there was a general agreement regarding L1 having higher emotionality and effectiveness in expressing emotion, with some participants reporting using L1 for swearing. Overall, these results indicate that individuals have different motivations, attitudes and perception for their language choice for swearing and, importantly, these motivating factors are not mutually exclusive.

5.3.1.2 Hypothesis 2: (Participants who have higher scores in mainstream culture will be using English very often and swear more often in English). Prolonged and intensive LX affective socialization can expand LX emotional scripts and enhance LX emotionally. This hypothesis was also formulated on the basis of previous literature (De Leersnyder et al., 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014; Dewaele, 2008c, 2013; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2002, 2008, 2013, 2014; Wierzbicka, 2004). It is speculated that those who have higher score in mainstream subscale will use English more often and will also swear in English more frequently (Dewaele, 2011a, 2013; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewale, 2012, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). In fact, participants' degree of affective socialization within the host culture can be seen as an indication of a conceptual shift toward the host culture (De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Dewaele, 2004b, 2013, 2015c, Mesquita, 2010), internalizing a new emotion repertoire (Pavlenko, 2006), and experiencing intercultural adjustment (Matsumoto, 2006). This hypothesis states that migrants highly involved in the mainstream culture tend to use LX more and swear more in LX. This second hypothesis was confirmed. Results showed that participants who claimed to belong to the mainstream culture and use English very often, did also swear in English more often. This is in line with previous findings (Dewaele, 2004a, 2013; De Leersnyder et al., 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017b). Socialization into the host culture, and frequent use of LX appear to be some of the main factors predicting emotional expression in LX (Dewaele, 2004c, 2008c, 2011a, 2017c; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013, 2017b). Similarly, De Leersnyder et al. (2011), in support of the effect of cultural orientation on language use, showed that migrants' intense exposure to the host culture and

advanced internalization of new emotional scripts implied emotional acculturation. In other words, migrants' emotional repertoire can be boosted as a result of their interactions within cultural contexts (De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Mesquita, 2010). In fact, living in an English-speaking environment led them to have higher understanding of emotion-laden words, and push LX users to more frequent use of swearwords (Dewaele, 2013). It also shows that being able to swear in LX appropriately "requires advanced cultural and socio-pragmatic knowledge" (Dewaele, 2017b). Understanding LX practices and norms and having more interactions with people of the mainstream culture help the process of internalization of LX emotional patterns. In turn, having a wider understanding of LX practice in terms of emotional expressions, and higher emotional acculturation, is associated with migrants choosing to swear in LX accordingly. Previous literature evidenced that migrants could understand LX emotions as they learn the socio-cultural significance they convey through LX socialization (Dewaele, 2008c, 2011a; Panayiouto, 2004; Pavlenko, 2006, 2008). Dewaele (2004a) found a strong positive relationship between frequency of LX use and using that LX for swearing, suggesting that being a frequent user of a language expands the correct perception of the emotional force of swearwords and which may lead to migrants feeling, at some point in the process, close enough to the in-group to dare using swearwords. Also, De Leersnyder et al.'s (2011) results confirm that interaction with others shapes people's emotions, and the emotional patterns of immigrants become similar to those of the host culture with increasing length of residency in the new culture. Additionally, more social interaction with people in the mainstream culture is an indicator of emotional similarity between immigrants and their new host culture. Moreover, Dewaele (2008c) explained that frequent use of LX with a wider network of interlocutors over a prolonged period of time indicated strong socialization and enriched individuals' familiarity with LX emotion scripts. Therefore, intense socialization in the LX society affects local linguistic practices including use of swearwords (Dewaele, 2006, 2008a, 2011b, 2011c, 2013; 2015c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013, 2017b; Pavlenko, 2006; Hammer, 2016).

As it was stated above, in the discussion of the previous hypothesis, in the narratives under the theme of "Reasons for offensiveness of Persian swearwords", all participants, regardless of their length of residency outside Iran, confirmed that Persian swearwords felt more offensive. This is in line with previous literature (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2011b; Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Harris et al., 2003; Harris, 2004; Hammer, 2017b; Kinginger, 2004;

Wierzbicka, 2004). However, under the theme of "Reasons for swearing more in English" participants reported their preference to swear in English. In fact, although all participants confirmed that Persian swearwords were perceived to carry more emotional resonance, they reported using English swearwords more often. This shows that participants' testimonies confirmed the statistical trends. As it was mentioned in the discussion of the previous hypothesis, overall participants felt that L1 carried more emotional resonance but some chose to swear in L1 whereas others preferred to swear in LX. Qualitative data provided more insight into this experience - some participants reported swearing more in LX but in an emotionally intense situation they switched to swearing in L1 or, some even claimed that they automatically switched into LX for swearing. These language choices show that there are various motivations, attitudes, and perceptions underlying swearing. In addition, the effect of contextual variation should be taken into account when examining language choice for swearing. It is also important to note that these variables are not mutually exclusive. Overall, this highlights the multi-functionality of swearing, which should be considered in interpreting data.

Similar to the results of Dewaele (2017b), long-term socialization in an English-speaking country and using a language in naturalistic contexts with higher level of proficiency are linked to swearing in the LX. In fact, LX learners become more aware of "emotion-laden words" (Dewaele, 2016a, p. 125) and start approximating L1 users' values (Dewaele, 2017b). Participants who have acculturated to a new culture will have a wider network of interlocutors, use that language more often and for many purposes, including swearing. Participants who ranked higher in the mainstream culture scale claimed that they swore in English, which is expected after a long time outside of Iran. In fact, high levels of socialisation are linked to more swearing in that language (Dewaele, 2006, 2008a, 2011b, 2011c, 2013; 2015c, 2016a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013, 2017b; Pavlenko, 2006; Hammer, 2016), which is again linked to more authentic communication with native speakers. It is also an indication of emotional acculturation. Immigrants who are exposed to and remain in constant contact with a new culture will see their emotional patterns change, and will tend to swear in the new culture's language. This phenomenon is called emotional concordance to the host culture (De Leersnyder et al., 2011).

Interestingly, results also showed that those who claimed to belong to the heritage culture used Persian swearwords significantly more. A strong sense of belonging to the heritage culture could increase their chances to use L1 for expressing emotion, swearwords, and cognitive

attachment to the heritage language and culture. Testimonies under the theme of "Reasons for swearing more in Persian" support these results. Moreover, participants who emphasized the subtheme of the effectiveness of Persian swearwords in expressing anger indicated that they could express their feelings and anger better in Persian because it was their first language, and therefore they were more familiar with the language, swearwords' meanings, rate of offensiveness, and all its norms. This was expected too, since participants who either ranked higher in heritage scale scores or had shorter length of residency outside Iran claimed to swear more in Persian. Dewaele (2018b, p. 224) also mentioned that "uncertainty about meaning, offensiveness, and appropriateness of taboo words makes LX users vulnerable in social interactions" therefore, they may remain more attached to their heritage culture and language and inclined to stick to the trusted behavioural patterns. This fear of uncertainty makes them avoid using LX swearwords or tend to use less offensive ones. This is in line with many studies showing that L1 is the preferred language for swearing (Dewaele, 2004 a, 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2016; Harris, 2004). This also reinforces Dewaele's (2013, p. 218) position that "cultural background plays an important role in the perception and use of emotional language". Therefore, those who feel more attached to their heritage culture and had wider network of Persian interlocutors prefer swearing in Persian.

It could be argued that use of swearwords in L1 or LX can also be an indication of affective engagement in heritage or mainstream culture. Also, there was no significant correlation between heritage culture and frequency of swearing in English nor between mainstream culture and frequency of swearing in Persian. Therefore, this independent set of correlations for each heritage culture and mainstream culture would support the bi-dimensional acculturation model (Rydel et al., 2000). As noted in Chapter One, the bi-dimensional acculturation model posits that there are two independent dimensions underlying the process of acculturation of immigrants: the maintenance of heritage culture, and identity, and involvement or identification with aspects of the dominant group or host culture. Being more attached to the heritage culture had significant effect on the use of frequency of swearing in Persian but did not show any correlation with swearing in English. Similarly, being more involved and embracing the mainstream culture had significant effect on the use of English swearwords, however there was no correlation between the mainstream culture and swearing in Persian language. Thus, it could be argued that the present thesis supports the bi-dimensional acculturation model by

providing some empirical evidence for the idea that attachment to the heritage culture was independent from swearing in English and vice versa.

5.3.1.3 Hypothesis 3: (Participants who have higher scores in mainstream culture will be younger, have earlier age of English acquisition (AOA), higher self-rated English knowledge, and longer length of residency outside Iran). This hypothesis was also formulated on the basis of previous literature showing that migrants who have higher score in mainstream culture and have higher appreciation of the LX culture, those who are younger (Dewaele, 2006; Jay, 1992; Stets, 2012), younger AOA (Dewaele, 2004a, 2009, 2013, 2016a), have a longer length of residency (Dewaele, 2004c, 2008a, 2012, 2015c; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Hammer, 2016, 2017a; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a; Mesquita, 2010) and higher language proficiency (Dewaele, 2004a, 2008a, 2011c, 2015c, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer, 2017c; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004a, 2006, 2014; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012) are expected to use LX swearwords (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2011a, 2013, 2016a, 2017a). In fact, younger AOA, longer immersion in LX culture, frequent use of LX, and higher language knowledge can be significant factors indicating immigrants' successful acculturation (Berry & Hou, 2016; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Dewaele, 2009, 2011a, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017b, Hammer, 2016, 2017c; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Kim, 2001). The third hypothesis was rejected. In the present research, participants' mainstream culture scores did not show any significant relation with age, AOA, or length of residency. Similarly, the Heritage scale score results did not show any significant relation to age, AOA, and length of residency. This is in contrast with Ożańska-Ponikwia's (2013) study showing a positive correlation between longer length of stay and immersion into the host culture. Longer length of residency also showed a negative correlation with L1 being the dominant language. The author concluded that immersion in the L2 culture affected migrants' linguistic attitudes by orienting them toward higher L2 dominance. In a different study, Kim (2001) also indicated that when individuals have more exposure to the mainstream culture, this ultimately leads to greater adaptation to the mainstream culture with the passage of time. In fact, the length of residency in a mainstream culture is among the strongest well-known "predictors of how immigrants acculturate and how well they adapt" (Berry & Hou, 2016, p. 255). Similarly, Dewaele (2011a)

proposed that longer length of residency in L2 culture is related to continuing change in linguistic practices. Along the same line of reasoning, De Leersnyder et al. (2011) emphasized the importance of length of residency for emotional concordance with the host culture. In other words, participants who had spent a longer proportion of their life in the host culture and had intense intercultural interaction with locals were highly emotionally acculturated. It seems that the emotional repertoire of migrants can be shaped as a consequence of their interactions with different cultural contexts (De Leersnyder et al., 2011).

The qualitative findings offer some insight into this experience and a possible explanation for the discrepancy between the present quantitative findings and the previous literature with respect to length of residency in a mainstream culture. Specifically, testimonies from the qualitative analysis also revealed that some participants who were living outside Iran for a long time reported preferring Persian swearwords, being more in contact with the Persian community, and having wider Persian networks relative to the mainstream ones. This shows that a longer length of residency alone cannot be a significant factor for migrants' emotional acculturation and, importantly, it suggests other factors play a significant role as well. That is, having a wider social network and being actively involved in LX community are crucial factors in migrants' emotional acculturation in LX. Also, Berry and Hou (2016) found that younger age of immigration is associated with less influence from heritage culture and more from the mainstream culture. With regards to AOA, Dewaele (2009) stated that with an older AOA for LX comes a higher chance that the L1 remains the language used for communicating emotion. Another variable proposed to play a role in migrants' linguistic choices with respect to swearing is economic status. Specifically, Berry and Hou (2016) believed that migrants' economic status in the new society affects acculturation strategies and argued that immigrants with higher income would be more inclined to integrate into the host culture. Extending this finding to the present research, it is possible that the participants in this study came from higher income backgrounds, and thus were more integrated (rather than assimilated) in their host culture as their high score in mainstream scale shows. This could explain why high mainstream culture scale scores did not show any significant relation with socio-biographical variables like age, AOA, and length of residency. Language dominance can be interpreted as linguistic indication of migrants' acculturation orientation (Dewaele, 2004c, 2008c, 2013, 2015c; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017b). However, interestingly,

there was no significant correlation between self-rated knowledge in Persian/English and heritage or mainstream culture which may indicate that participants have reached the level of biculturalism and thus consider both their self-rated knowledge of Persian and English at a high level and not significantly related to heritage or mainstream culture. This shows that language and culture could both coexist and not be interchangeable. In other words, L1 and LX culture and language are not interchangeable or mutually exclusive and migrants can be dominant in both languages and select according to the cultural values they feel closer to them. Heritage and mainstream scales are independent, a finding which is consistent with the bi-dimensional acculturation view (Ryder et al., 2000). In fact, these variables (age, AOA, knowledge, and length of residency) alone cannot account for all aspects impacting acculturation orientation (Ryder et al., 2000) and, arguably, other factors may be involved such as migrants' personality traits, economic status, motivation, and network of interlocutors.

5.3.2 To what extent is the use of Persian/English swearwords related to socio-biographical variables and personality traits? (RQ2)

This research question specifically considers the possibility that there is a link between socio-biographical variables, personality traits, and frequency of the use of Persian/English swearwords. A number of previous studies have shown that there is a link between personality traits and using LX for emotional expression (Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Wilson, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012b, 2013, 2017a). Moreover, the link between some personality traits and swearing has been reported by numerous studies using primarily the Big Five or MPQ to measure personality (Dewaele, 2012, 2017a; Dewaele & Regan, 2001; Jay, 2000, 2009, Jay & Jay, 2015; Mehl, et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2013). A link was also found between multilingualism and personality traits, with frequent, and proficient users of multiple languages scoring high on Social Initiative, Cultural Empathy, and Open-mindedness (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Stevans, 2014), Cognitive Empathy (Dewaele & Stevans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012) and Tolerance of Ambiguity (Dewaele & Wei, 2013). Since this thesis has used MPQ short form scales to measure personality, the present hypothesis refers specifically to the MPQ short form. Regarding the link between socio-biographical variables and personality traits (i.e., hypothesis c, below), no specific evidence has been documented in the previous

literature. Thus, this hypothesis is exploratory in nature and its purpose is to find out if the variables show any significant relationship.

Three hypotheses were investigated:

a. Participants who have higher scores for Social Initiative will use swearwords more often.

b. Participants with lower scores on Emotional Stability will use swearwords more often.

c. The use of Persian and English swearwords might be linked to other socio-biographical and personality traits.

5.3.2.1 Hypothesis 1: (Participants who have higher scores for Social Initiative will use English swearwords more often). This hypothesis is based on previous literature that more extraverted people are more involved in LX community, social interaction, and more likely to swear in LX (Dewaele, 2012, 2017a; Dewaele & Regan, 2001; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017a; Mehl, et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2013). Social initiative is closely related to extraversion and there a positive significant correlation between Extraversion and Social Initiative (Leone et al., 2005). The first hypothesis was confirmed. Present results showed that there was a significant relationship between higher Social Initiative scores and swearing more often in English. This is consistent with other research showing that more extraverted participants had more intense social interaction with members of the host culture, and may have had the opportunity to pick up swearwords and may have enjoyed the thrill of using them in interactions (Dewaele, 2012, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Interestingly, there was a gender difference, namely females who had higher Social Initiative scores used significantly more English swearwords as well. Among female participants, Social Initiative (i.e., Extraversion) was linked to more frequent use of English swearwords. Dewaele's (2017a) study also showed that extraverts reported more frequent swearing with friends. This could be linked to the "gregarious nature of extraverts and their use of swearing to strengthen social bonds with friends, and to a lesser extent with other interlocutors" (Dewaele, 2017a, p. 341). Also, the extravert' willingness to take risks seems to extend to their linguistic behavior. They are willing to use "more stigmatized speech style and swear more frequently than introverts" (Dewaele, 2012, p. 45). Previous literature indicated that more extraverted individuals use a wider range of emotional terms (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002) and are willing to participate in social interactions more actively therefore they have more

opportunities to be involved with LX community (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Therefore, it could be argued that Persian female participants who enjoyed social activities and were gregarious felt more comfortable to swear in English and were not bound to Persian cultural restrictions. This is in line with Jay's (2000) view that extraversion is associated with swearing.

Qualitative results support the quantitative findings. Specifically, under the theme of "Reasons for swearing more in English" from qualitative analysis, participants 7 & 10 also ranked high in Social Initiative and reported using English swearwords more often. Schwartz et al., (2013) study also showed that participants who ranked high in Extraversion, Neuroticism, and Openness reported using high taboo fluency. Swearing in English appears to feel less restrictive and serves the function of liberating emotions and thoughts more effectively. It is noteworthy that participants also mentioned that they can use English swearing in casual conversations, which is important to highlight with respect to the distinction between affective/ annoyance swearing and routine/ social swearing. The present results can be interpreted to show that swearing serves both functions for Persian immigrants; namely, participant 7 (46, male) reported that he could use English swearing in routine/social situations (i.e., routine/ social swearing), whereas for participant 10 (41, female) swearing in English helped to relieve stress and feel less burdened by the cultural restriction of avoiding swearing for females. Moreover, as it was mentioned in RQ1, in both hypotheses 1 (Section 5.3.1.1) and 2 (Section 5.3.1.2), L1 was considered to have more emotional force, however there is a nuance difference between female and male participants in using English swearwords. Females considered L1 as having more emotional resonance but used English swearwords to escape from their cultural restrictions. In fact, they considered L1 more effectively cathartic, however used more swearing in LX for the feeling of social liberation it enabled. In addition, there were also reports of routine or social swearing, as it was mentioned by participant 7. The important point in here is migrants have different motivations for their language choice for swearing and their choices are not mutually exclusive. Those who used English swearwords more often had higher scores in Flexibility, which shares characteristics with Extraversion. It also supports the idea that participants who have higher Flexibility can adjust their behaviour better to the new situation (van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2000). Also, females who had higher Flexibility scores used significantly more English swearwords. It can thus be argued that those who can adjust their behaviour whenever required and adapt easily use English swearwords more often and try to adapt to and feel a

stronger sense of belonging to the new culture. In fact, higher Social Initiative and Flexibility in female participants was a significant predictor of using English swearwords more often.

5.3.2.2 Hypothesis 2: (Participants with lower scores on Emotional Stability will use swearwords more often). Emotional Stability is the positive pole of Neuroticism. Emotional Stability was shown to be negatively correlated with Neuroticism (Leone et al., 2005). This hypothesis is based on previous literature that more Neurotic people are more likely to swear in English (LX) (Dewaele, 2017a; Jay & Jay, 2015; Schwartz et al., 2013). The second hypothesis was partly confirmed. Results indicated that there was a significant relationship between lower Emotional Stability scores and swearing more often in Persian for male participants. Among Persian male participants, lower Emotional Stability (i.e., Neuroticism) was linked to more frequent use of Persian swearwords. Jay and Jay (2015) study showed that taboo fluency was positively correlated with the Big Five personality traits Neuroticism, Openness, and negatively correlated with Agreeableness and Conscientiousness. Schwartz et al. (2013) study showed that more frequent swearing was positively correlated with Neuroticism, Extraversion, and Openness. Similarly, Dewaele (2017a) showed that there was a positive correlation between Extraversion, Neuroticism, and Psychoticism and swearing more often in LX with various interlocutors. It seems that those with rigid personality prefer to stick to their L1 for expression of emotions since it is the most trusted ones (Pavlenko, 2008; van Oudenhoven & van der Zee, 2000). In addition, Dewaele's (2013) study showed that high Neurotic English L1 and English LX users reported swearing significantly more in interactions. Also, Dewaele (2017b) found that Neuroticism was linked to more frequent use of the word "Cunt". Other factors included younger age and being male, which applied to both L1 and LX users. Therefore, male participants who could not easily stay calm in stressful situations were more likely to swear in Persian and could express their anger better in L1 without being concerned about social restrictions. All participants in the qualitative analysis perceived Persian (L1) to carry more emotional resonance but almost all female participants reported hesitating to swear in Persian to avoid the severe social stigma associated with it. Once again, this result confirms the existence of gender differences in swearing in Persian.

Furthermore, looking at the relationship between swearing and other personality traits, the present results showed that within this group participants 5 (37, male) and 10 (41, female)

ranked high in Open-mindedness, which refers to the people who have unprejudiced attitudes toward cultural differences (van der Zee et al., 2013). Open-minded people might be less offended by the use of stigmatized language and might have open attitudes towards the new means of communication. In addition, within this group, participants 8 (18, male) and 9 (23, male) also ranked low in Cultural Empathy. This finding could be interpreted to suggest that the preference for swearing in Persian might be linked to empathizing less with the "feelings, thoughts, and behaviours of culturally diverse individuals" (van der Zee et al., 2013, p. 118) and to being insufficiently socialized into the host culture. The results from Hypotheses 1 (Section 5.3.2.1) and 2 (Section 5.3.2.2) support the theory of Neuro-Psycho-Social (Jay, 2000) which claims that people have similar nervous systems for emotional expression, but personality differences and socio-cultural effects such as cultural values and constraints affect individuals' swearing behavior.

5.3.2.3 Hypothesis 3: (The use of Persian and English swearwords might be linked to other socio-biographical and personality traits). There is no solid evidence in the previous literature with regards to the direction of the link between socio-biographical variables, personality traits, and use of Persian/English swearwords. One of the aims of the present research is to examine the possible link among these variables. The third hypothesis was confirmed. The use of Persian/English swearwords was linked to certain socio-biographical and psychological traits. The analysis showed that those who are younger and started learning English earlier reported to use English swearwords more often. In addition, those with a longer length of residency outside Iran have reported using English swearwords significantly more often. These results are in line with Dewaele's findings (2004a, 2011a, 2013), overall showing participants' strong acculturation in the mainstream culture. However, no significant relationship emerged between age, AOA, length of residency, and frequency of the use of Persian swearwords. The present data revealed several surprising relationships between the variables. Specifically, there was a positive correlation between older age, longer length of residency, and Emotional Stability. Considering that "Freshly arrived immigrants can experience culture shock" (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009, p. 1), also it is possible that older people and those who have lived longer abroad have reached a more secure social position and might show more emotional stability. Arguably, this might be the reason why older people and those who have lived outside their country for a longer period of time have reached to more stable social status and more emotional

stability too. Moreover, higher frequency of swearing in English was significantly related to higher score in Flexibility and Social Initiative. Another finding was that participants who scored higher in self-rated knowledge in English had higher scores in Social Initiative. These results suggest that migrants who are willing to initiate social interaction and communication benefit by gaining more contact with the host culture people, which positively affects and boosts their LX knowledge. Moreover, those who scored higher in frequency of using Persian and English and had higher self-rated knowledge of both Persian and English scored significantly higher on Cultural Empathy. These results could be interpreted to support the multi-competence view. This is in line with Dewaele and Wei's (2012) study showing a link between frequent use of multiple languages and better knowledge of many foreign languages with Cognitive Empathy. These results suggest that intense multilingual practice makes multilinguals more skilful in conversation, as they learn to see the world from their interlocutors' perspectives. The authors consider that as an indication of multi-competence since, from the multi-competence view, learning a language is not just adding another language to the mind of individuals; rather, the consequences of learning another language go beyond the knowledge of the language itself, and extend to non-linguistic areas of knowledge and skills (Cook, 2002). As several authors demonstrated, knowledge of other languages and their use in the affective socialization process can influence individuals' personality (Dewaele & Wei, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013, 2017b). The results of the present study could be interpreted to show that migrants' frequent use of multiple languages is an indication of them becoming more bicultural, and having acculturated into the host culture, as their level of Cultural Empathy was reinforced by their language dominance (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009). In addition, those who scored higher in the frequency of English use and had higher self-rated knowledge of Persian and English had significantly higher scores in Open-mindedness. This finding is consistent with past research showing a significant link between Open-mindedness and LX language dominance (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Alternatively, it could be argued that using English and learning the new culture has taught these participants to be "Open-minded about what the local values and attitudes are" (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009, p. 14). Open-minded people are likely unprejudiced and welcome changes related to the immersion into a new culture, which include new ways of expressing emotions. In addition, having higher knowledge in Persian and English, which positively correlated with Cultural Empathy and Open-mindedness, highlights the benefits

of multilingualism and multiculturalism (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009). It seems that migrants who are be able to accept the new means of communication in different domains of their daily life need to be Open-minded and unprejudiced (Kim, 2001, 2008).

Testimonies from the qualitative results generally indicated the importance of length of residency in a country, having a wider network of interlocutors, and its effect on their way of thinking and use of swearwords in LX. Qualitative findings also showed that when they hear, read, write, and communicate more in a language they become more proficient in that language, which ultimately affects their language choice for using swearwords in that particular language. In fact, this language choice feels right and it is considered as the preferred language (Dewaele, 2016e; Hammer, 2016; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a; Wilson, 2008). This also supports De Leersnyder et al. (2011) finding that emotion language acculturates due to intense cultural contact and longer length of residency. Moreover, qualitative findings revealed participants' claim that they could switch to the language they perceived as more comfortable, as needed. As noted in past research (e.g., Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012b), this behaviour does not reflect a split personality but rather it is an adaptive behaviour according to the linguistic and cultural norms. Language and culture are not separate and migrants chose a language based on the culture perceived to provide a more appropriate outlet for expressing emotions. This could be interpreted to show that migrants have simultaneous access to the languages they know and their languages are integrated, confirming overall the multi-competence view (Cook, 2002, 2016). In the same vein, the link between language knowledge and personality on LX swearing provides evidence for the multi-competence view, given that migrants' knowledge of language is related to their personality as well. This also suggests that migrants have simultaneous access to both cultures, which confirms Ryder's et al. (2000) bi-dimensional theory of acculturation stating that migrants have access to both heritage and mainstream culture. In other words, migrants can appreciate the mainstream culture while still retaining attachment to their heritage culture since the effect of their culture on their personality was visible as well.

5.3.3 To what extent is the language used (Persian/English) at the time of anger with different interlocutors related to soiciobiographical and acculturation variables? (RQ3)

Being male (Coates, 1993; Jay, 1992, 2000; Jay & Jay, 2015; Jay & Janschewitz, 2008; Stapleton, 2003; Schwartz et al., 2013; Koven, 2007) and younger age (Dewaele, 2004a, 2005,

2006, 2013; Jay, 1992, 2000; Coates, 1993; Stapleton, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2013; Rayston et al., 1997) are linked to using swearwords more often. In addition, a wider network of interlocutors and language dominance also affect the language used for expressing emotion and anger (Dewaele, 2004c, 2013, 2017a; Hammer, 2017a, 2017c; Pavlenko, 2004a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Language socialization and affective socialization and acculturation are also related to the choice of LX for expression of emotion, including swearwords (Dewaele, 2006, 2011a; De Leersnyder et al., 2011). Previous research indicated that the type of interlocutor influences which language is used for emotional expression (Dewaele, 2004c, 2006, 2008c, 2013, 2015c; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Specifically, individuals tend to express their anger and use swearing more among their friends compared to their colleagues, strangers, family, or when they are alone (Beers Fägersten, 2007; Dewaele, 2016a, 2017a).

Three hypotheses were investigated:

a. Male and female participants may make different language choices when angry with different interlocutors.
b. Younger participants, participants with an earlier AOA, longer length of residency, higher frequency of the use of English, higher self-rated knowledge in English will report using English language when angry with different interlocutors.
c. A stronger attachment with the heritage culture will be related to a higher frequency of use of the Persian language when angry with all interlocutors. However, those who have higher score in mainstream culture will use English instead.

5.3.3.1 Hypothesis 1: (Male and female participants may make different language choices when angry with different interlocutors). There is no solid evidence in the previous literature with regards to the direction of link between female/male language choices at the time of anger with different interlocutors. Thus, one of the aims of the present research is to explore this possible link. Based on the previous literature, overall, males are expected to use more swearwords (Coates, 1993; Jay, 1992, 2000; Jay & Jay, 2015; Jay & Janschewitz, 2008; Stapleton, 2003; Schwartz et al., 2013; Koven, 2007). Another important consideration is that different cultures put different restriction on expression of emotion, including swearing (Allan, 2016; Dewaele, 2004b, 2013; Jay, 2000; Panayiotou, 2004; Koven, 2007) and emotions are

profoundly embedded into cultural model of migrants' related language (Markus & Kitiyama, 1991; Pavlenko, 2008; Matsumoto, 2006; Mesquita, 2010; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004). Consequently, it was expected that females and males make different language choices at the time of anger with different interlocutors. The first hypothesis was confirmed. Results indicated that there was a significant gender effect on using Persian language at the time of anger with all interlocutors (friends, family, colleague, strangers, and self). Male participants significantly used Persian language at the time of anger with different interlocutors. Consistent with the strict cultural restriction on females using swearwords or explicit expression of emotion, the results indicated that males had no restriction on expressing their anger in Persian and overall showed significant gender difference between females and males with respect to expressing anger in Persian. This finding also shows that culture affects expression of emotions (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; De Leersnyder et al., 2011, Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, 2008; Weirzbicka, 2004). However, results were different when the same sets of analyses were conducted on using English language at the time of anger with different interlocutors. Unlike Persian language, females used English significantly more when feeling anger with their friends, colleagues, and themselves. This indicates language socialization and acculturation into new language and culture which affect LX choice for expression of emotion and swearing (Dewaele, 2006, 2008a, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2013; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002) with diverse interlocutors (Dewaele, 2006, 2016a, 2017a; De Leersnyder et al., 2011). Moreover, females who experience cultural restrictions in expression of anger in their L1 prefer to use LX (Bond & Lai, 1986; Dewaele, 2011b, 2013; Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Pavlenko, 2006) because it gives them a sense of empowerment and freedom (Clare, 2004; Dewaele, 2011a; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006). It is noteworthy that females only used English language significantly more with their friends, colleagues, and themselves. This was supported by previous literature that individuals tend to swear and express anger among their friends (Beers Fägersten, 2007; Dewaele, 2016a, 2017a). This finding also indicates that, due to language socialization and acculturation into the new language, females feel more freedom to express their anger in LX, confirming the emotion acculturation theory (De Leersnyder et al., 2011). Females also reported using LX with themselves for expression of anger. Dewaele (2015c) showed that bi-/multilinguals prefer using L1 for inner speech or emotional inner speech. However, for those who preferentially use LX for inner speech or

emotional inner speech, this is an indication of conceptual restructuring (Dewaele, 2015c) and shows changes in the way bi-/multilinguals view the world (Pavlenko, 2002, 2004b). However, there is no significant difference reported for expressing anger with family members and strangers. This may be interpreted to reflect the effect of L1 on expressing anger in LX and provides support for the bi-dimensional acculturation theory (Ryder et al., 2000) which states that individuals can belong to both heritage and mainstream culture. Arguably, this finding also provides evidence for the multi-competence view, which looks at the languages known by individuals from a holistic view (Cook, 2002, 2016) and considers the effect of those languages as bidirectional (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Murahata et al., 2016; Ortega, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017a; Su, 2016). In addition, it could be argued that bi-/multilinguals knowing when, where, with whom, and what language to use (Franceschini, 2016) constitutes evidence for the multi-competence view. This is consistent with qualitative findings showing that female participants emphasized that expressing anger and using swearwords are strictly forbidden among family members and people they do not know and it can have costly consequences such as family disgrace. Alternatively, this finding may show that women are concerned about their language choices due to strong negative social appraisal for women and, consequently, they inhibit expressing their anger in L1. However, among their friends and colleagues, expression of anger in their L2 indicates that they feel close to them (Stapleton, 2010) or could be as a sign of social inclusion or group bonding (Allan & Burridge, 2009; Dewaele, 2006; Beers Fägersten, 2007, 2012; Brandes, 2017; Stapleton, 2003, 2010; Stenström, 2006; Vingerhoets et al., 2013). With respect to this potential interpretation, it is important to note that swearing among friends as a sign of group bonding may not necessarily have a cathartic function (i.e., relieving anger) but, instead, it may be largely used as routine and social swearing. This distinction is important when attempting to elucidate the role played by swearing among migrants, as it illustrates that swearing is not strictly used to express emotions and has other purposes.

5.3.3.2 Hypothesis 2: (Younger participants, participants with an earlier AOA, longer length of residency, higher frequency of the use of English, higher self-rated knowledge in English will report using English language when angry with different interlocutors). Previous literature indicated that factors such as younger age (Dewaele, 2006; Jay, 1992; Stets, 2012), younger AOA (Dewaele, 2004a, 2009, 2013, 2016a), longer length of residency (Dewaele, 2004c, 2008a, 2012, 2015c; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Hammer, 2016,

2017a; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a; Mesquita, 2010), higher frequency of use (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2013, 2016a, 2017a; Hammer, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012), and higher self-rated knowledge in LX (Dewaele, 2004a, 2008a, 2011c, 2015c, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer, 2017c; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004a, 2006, 2014; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012) all have an impact on choosing LX for expression of emotions, including swearwords. Affective socialization has a significant impact on using LX with different interlocutors (Dewaele, 2006, 2016a, 2017a; De Leersnyder et al., 2011), and, as noted above, the type of interlocutor affects which language is used for expressing emotions (Dewaele, 2004c, 2006, 2008c, 2013, 2015c; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). This hypothesis was partly confirmed. The present results indicated that only younger AOA, longer length of residency, higher frequency of the use of English language, and higher self-rated knowledge in English significantly correlated with using English at the time of anger, with all interlocutors (friends, family, colleague, strangers, self). Dewaele and Wei (2012) stated that proficiency and higher use of multiple languages could lead individuals to see the world from their interlocutors' perspective and use LX for emotional expression. This supports De Leersnyder's et al. (2011) theory of emotional acculturation, which states that socialization, higher frequency of using LX with different interlocutors for longer periods of time, affect the use of LX for emotional expression. In fact, rich network of interlocutors, LX socialization, higher LX frequency of use, can all lead individuals to expression of anger and using swearwords in LX with different interlocutors (Dewaele, 2013, 2016a). However, younger age was significantly correlated with using English language for expression of anger with only friends and self. Previous literature showed that younger individuals tend to swear and express their anger among peers and friends (Allan & Burridge, 2006; Beers Fägersten, 2007; Dewaele, 2016a, 2017a; Stenström, 2006) and indicating group bonding and social cohesion (Allan & Burridge, 2009; Dewaele, 2006; Beers Fägersten, 2007, 2012; Brandes, 2017; Stapleton, 2003, 2010; Stenström, 2006; Vingerhoets et al., 2013) and potentially suggesting offensiveness attunement among friends (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). In the same line, as noted above, Dewaele's (2015c) study revealed that younger AOA, and use of language for inner speech and emotional inner speech indicate

conceptual restructuring and acculturation. Therefore, the finding that bi-/multilingual participants use English for emotional inner speech at the time of anger could indicate conceptual restructuring as well. However, there was no significant correlation between younger age and using English for expressing anger with other interlocutors (family, colleague, strangers). This may illustrate the effect of the L1 culture on swearing, which was confirmed by narratives from the qualitative analysis where participants talked about children and younger people constantly being warned of not using any bad language in front of their family members and those who do not know them. It seems that their L1 cultural restriction affects even their expression of anger in LX, which provides support to the bi-dimensional theory of acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000; i.e., migrants have access to both the heritage and mainstream cultural norms) and to the multi-competence view (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Murahata et al., 2016; Ortega, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017a; Su, 2016; i.e., both language affect each other, they are integrated, and their effects go beyond the linguistic domain). A central idea to this work that was mentioned before is that language and culture are not separated but they affect each other. These results also show that bi-/multilinguals learn to react strategically and make conscious decisions to choose a particular language, with a particular interlocutor, in a specific situation (Dewaele, 2006).

Interestingly, the present data also showed that those who use English more often and have higher self-rated knowledge in English prefer not to use Persian at the time of anger with their friends, colleagues, strangers, and themselves. This may indicate that higher frequency of English use and self-rated knowledge in English affect individuals' language choice to express their anger among friends, colleagues, strangers, and themselves but no relation was detected with using Persian at the time of anger with family members. As noted above, this may be due to L1 cultural restrictions on openly expressing anger among family members. This finding was also supported by narratives from the qualitative analysis, with many participants admitting that in the Persian culture they felt concerned about using swearwords or expressing anger with family members. Many participants talked about the importance of the frequency of the use of language and language proficiency on their preference to use that language to express anger, which is consistent with the previous literature showing that higher frequency of LX use (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2013, 2016a, 2017a; Hammer, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013) and higher proficiency in LX (Dewaele, 2004a, 2008a, 2011c, 2015c, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer,

2017c; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004a, 2006, 2014; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012) can lead to LX for expression of emotions, including anger and swearwords.

5.3.3.3 Hypothesis 3: (A stronger attachment with the heritage culture will be related to a higher frequency of use of the Persian language when angry with all interlocutors. However, those who have higher scores in the mainstream culture will use English instead). This hypothesis is formulated based on previous literature that migrants' language choice for expressing emotion indicates their affective engagement within that specific culture (De Leersnyder et al., 2011; De Leersnyder, 2014; Dewaele, 2013; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2008, 2013, 2014; Wierzbicka, 2004). Migrants' language choice for swearwords is expected to be related to their acculturation orientation (Dewaele, 2013; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). The socialization process in the host language and culture may facilitate the acquisition of culture-specific emotion patterns from the host culture (Dewaele, 2008c, 2013, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Pavlenko, 2008, 2013, 2014; Ryder et al., 2011; Wierzbicka, 2004) and potentially affect the choice of LX for expressing emotions, including anger and swearwords (Dewaele, 2006, 2011a; De Leersnyder et al., 2011). The third hypothesis was partly confirmed. The results showed that there was a positive correlation between heritage culture score and the use of Persian language at the time of anger, but only with friends and self. However, it was expected that the Persian language would be used with all interlocutors at the time of anger, based on De Leersnyder's et al. (2011) theory of emotional acculturation, which states that socialization, higher frequency of using a language with different interlocutors and for longer periods of time, all affect using that language for emotional expression. Dewaele (2013, 2016a) asserted that a wider network of interlocutors, LX socialization, and higher LX frequency of use, could lead individuals to express their anger and use swearwords in LX with different interlocutors. This indicates that those who are highly attached to the heritage culture can express their anger in Persian among friends and to themselves. Given the cultural restrictions associated with the L1 culture, participants felt that they were not allowed to express their anger in Persian with family members and with people whom they do not know. Results also showed that participants who were highly acculturated and

embraced the mainstream culture tended to use Persian less at the time of anger with their friends. This may imply a preference for using the mainstream language, when experiencing anger among their friends, which fits the present finding of a relation between high mainstream culture score and use of English language at the time of anger with different interlocutors except family members. This may be interpreted to reflect the effect of L1 cultural restriction on openly expressing anger among family members on expressing anger in LX and provides support for the bi-dimensional acculturation theory (Ryder et al., 2000) which states that individuals can belong to both heritage and mainstream culture. These results indicated that those who were highly acculturated and embraced the mainstream culture preferred to express anger in English with their friends, colleagues, strangers, and themselves, which supports Dewaele's (2017a) finding that individuals prefer to swear among their friends and alone and are less willing to do this among family members. In addition, participants who are highly acculturated and embraced the norms and beliefs of the mainstream culture, reported using English at the time of anger in the form of inner speech, which could, arguably, demonstrate that these bi-/multilinguals have experienced conceptual restructuring and that English has become their dominant language (Pavlenko, 2002, 2004a; Dewaele, 2015c). In other words, the host language and culture do not replace the heritage ones in migrants' minds, but rather they coexist (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Dewaele, 2004c; Hammer, 2016; Harris, 2004; Matsumoto, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017b; Ryder et al., 2000). This provides support for the bi-dimensional acculturation theory (Ryder et al., 2011) and affects language choice when migrants engage in swearing. Therefore, immigrants appear to select, in a fluid way, elements of their language and culture they wish to keep or eliminate (Hong et al., 2000; Benet-Martínez et al., 2000; Kim, 2008; Padilla & Perez, 2003; Panayiotou, 2004; Pavlenko, 2005). As noted above, this also suggests that migrants have access to both languages, showing that L1 and L2 are not separated and confirming the multi-competence view (Cook, 2002, 2016).

Some participants openly admitted being aware of the fact that they could not express their anger in Persian among their family members and people that they did not know. This was a way to honour their families, consistent with the characteristics of the interdependent (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) or collectivist culture (Matsumoto, 2006) among Persian people. Therefore, the effect of languages known by bi-/multilinguals goes beyond the knowledge of those languages. Migrants' knowledge of languages affects the language selection for swearing as a function of

interlocutor type, among other factors. Migrants choose the language they swear in based on the cultural norms that they perceive as constraining, in certain situations and with certain people.

5.3.4 How do Persian speaking immigrants living outside Iran differ from Persian speakers living in Iran in how frequently they report swearing in Persian/English, how offensive they rate Persian/English swearwords to be, or how effective they report Persian/English swearwords to be in expressing anger? (RQ4)

A large body of empirical research has documented a link between language used for emotion expression and swearing behaviour and language socialization (Dewaele, 2004a, 2006, 2011a, 2011b, 2011d; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013), length of residency (Hammer, 2017b, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a) and acculturation orientation (Dewaele, 2013; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012, Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Affective acculturation and language socialization were also shown to lead to conceptual restructuring (Dewaele, 2015c; Pavlenko, 2002, 2004b) in bi-/multilinguals' emotional repertoires. Therefore, it is expected that frequency of Persian/English use, the perceived level of offensiveness in Persian/English, the effectiveness of communicating anger in Persian/English differ for Persian immigrants and Persians speakers in Iran.

Three hypotheses were investigated:

a. The frequency of using Persian/English swearwords will be different for Persian immigrants and Persian speakers in Iran.
b. The level of offensiveness of Persian/English swearwords will be different for Persian speakers in Iran compared to those who live outside Iran.
c. The perceived effectiveness of communicating anger will be different for Persian immigrants and Persian speakers in Iran.

5.3.4.1 Hypothesis 1: (The frequency of using Persian/English swearwords will be different for Persian immigrants and Persian speakers in Iran). Hypothesis one was confirmed. The results showed that there is a difference in frequency in the use of the ten Persian swearwords between Persian immigrants living outside Iran and Persians who resided in Iran. Unexpectedly, those who resided in Iran reported using "Oskol" more often than those who

resided outside Iran. Participants who resided outside Iran also reported using "Ashghal" significantly more often than those who resided in Iran. It seems that those who resided outside Iran prefer milder swearwords and hesitated to use extremely offensive swearwords. A potential explanation for this difference could be that "Oskol" is a relatively new swearword and thus likely those who left Iran prior to the widespread use of "Oskol" did not use it more frequently due to not being familiar with the proper context in which swearwords are used or the exact offensiveness of that particular swearword. When comparing the use of English swearwords between participants who resided outside or inside Iran, the results showed a difference in the frequency in using the ten English swearwords. Specifically, Persian immigrants who lived outside of Iran used the majority of English swearwords (except "Fucker" and "Bastard") significantly more often than those who lived in Iran. In fact, country of residence and length of residency outside Iran show significant effect on the frequency of using English swearwords, with the exception of "Fucker" and "Bastard", which were not significantly correlated.

Some participants openly admitted being aware of the fact that the more they have lived outside Iran and the more they used English with diverse interlocutors impacted the use of English for swearing. However, participants who reported using predominantly Persian swearwords were those who either ranked higher in heritage scale scores, had shorter length of residency outside Iran, were more involved with the Persian community and had a larger Persian social network than the mainstream culture network. The results, therefore, indicated that the country of residence had a significant effect on frequency of using English swearwords and even affected the frequency of using Persian swearwords. This result is in line with De Leersnyder's et al. (2011) view that emotional expression can be acculturated and affective acculturation and language socialization can lead to conceptual restructuring in bi-/multilinguals' emotional repertoire (Dewaele, 2015c; Pavlenko, 2002, 2004b). This supports the multi-competence view that the effect of the languages known by bi-/multilinguals is bidirectional (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Murahata et al., 2016; Ortega, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017a; Su, 2016) and the languages known by bi-/multilinguals are not separated (Cook, 2002, 2016). Moreover, language and culture are not separated but they affect each other. This result also supports previous research showing that language socialization (Dewaele, 2004a, 2006, 2011a, 2011b, 2011d; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a,

2013) and length of residency (Hammer, 2017b, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a) have significant effect on the use of swearwords.

5.3.4.2 Hypothesis 2: (The level of offensiveness of Persian/English swearwords will be different for Persian speakers in Iran compared to those who live outside Iran). The second hypothesis was confirmed. The level of offensiveness of Persian swearwords was different for Persian immigrants and Persian speakers in Iran. Considering the social restriction and severe stigma that use of swearwords carry among Persians, those swearwords with extremely negative emotional valence received a higher rating of offensiveness from participants who lived in Iran. Therefore, "Bisharaf", "Dayous", "Koon goshad", "Koskesh", and "Kharkosseh", which carry severe negative emotional valence, were rated as being significantly more offensive by participants who live in Iran than by participants living outside Iran. The rate of offensiveness of these words was stronger for those who lived in Iran since they were more bound to cultural restrictions. However, for those who lived outside Iran, socialization in the host country may have weakened the cultural stigma of those swearwords, suggesting conceptual restructuring (Dewaele, 2015c; Pavlenko, 2002, 2004b).

The level of offensiveness of English swearwords was also different for Persian immigrants and Persian speakers in Iran. The present results showed that for Persians who lived in Iran, the level of offensiveness was different from those who lived outside Iran. Persian immigrants living outside Iran rated "Fucker" and "Dick" significantly higher than those who were residing in Iran. This may indicate that they were more aware of the offensiveness of these swearwords than those who lived in Iran. Qualitative data emphasized the importance of having more knowledge in a language and being aware of the norms and offensiveness of the swearwords in that language. As it was indicated by many participants, they avoided swearwords that they are not aware of their offensiveness level due to their lack of knowledge about the norms. In fact, many clearly reported that there was a significant relationship between higher knowledge in a language and level of offensiveness. Also, having seen these swearwords being used in movies may have given those in Iran the assumption that these swearwords are frequently used and have lower level of offensiveness. That might be the reason why participants who lived in Iran did not rate "Fucker" and "Dick" as offensive. This was indicated by testimonies of participants where they mentioned the role of media for learning these

swearwords and speculating that it was acceptable to use these swearwords. This is in line with the previous literature indicating television dialogue as a key way in which learners encounter spoken English and can constitute a significant model (Bednarek, 2019; Mercury, 1995). In the context of swearwords this is more influential since such words are unlikely to occur in the textbooks or taught in the second or foreign language classes while learners tend to be "fascinated by them but have limited knowledge of their use" (Bednarek, 2019, p. 29). Also, those who lived in Iran rated "Bastard" and "Suck" significantly higher than those Persian immigrants living outside Iran. It is speculated that, since their connotation is extremely offensive in the Persian culture, this might be the reason why those who lived in Iran rated these swearwords more offensive than those who lived outside. Some participants openly admitted being aware of the fact that the longer that they have lived outside Iran, the more they have learnt how to use swearwords properly and became aware of their exact negative impact. Some participants mentioned that not being aware of the norms and the proper usage and appropriateness of swearwords is another factor that inhibited their use of swearwords overall or of those specific swearwords that are considered extremely offensive in the Persian culture. In fact, the results illustrated the effect of language socialization and acculturation on the level of offensiveness in both L1 and LX swearwords, and this indicated conceptual restructuring. Knowing another language and acculturating into a new culture had an effect on the perceived level of offensiveness of the languages known by bi-/multilinguals, confirming the multi-competence perspective (i.e., acquiring another language changes the individuals' mind in a way that goes beyond the actual total knowledge of the languages) (Cook, 2002, 2012).

5.3.4.3 Hypothesis 3: (The perceived effectiveness of communicating anger will be different for Persian immigrants and Persian speakers in Iran). The third hypothesis was confirmed, as the effectiveness of communicating anger was different for Persian immigrants and Persian speakers in Iran. Surprisingly, participants who resided outside Iran reported that using "Kesafat" and "Ashghal" allowed them to express their anger significantly more effectively. Even Persians who resided outside Iran hesitated to use strong, extremely offensive Persian swearwords to express their anger, preferring milder swearwords instead. This can be interpreted to show the effect of L1 on L2, providing support for the multi-competence view that languages are not separated (Cook, 2002, 2012, 2016). In Iran, none of the swearwords showed

any significant difference in their effectiveness in expressing anger. Social restrictions may have shaped their use.

Considering English swearwords, the effectiveness of communicating anger was different for Persian immigrants and Persian speakers in Iran. The results indicated that for Persians residing outside Iran, all English swearwords except "Bastard" and "Suck" allowed them to express their anger significantly more effectively than those who lived in Iran. These two swearwords have also been reported to have a higher level of offensiveness among Persians who resided in Iran (Hypothesis 2, Section 5.3.4.2). It could be speculated that these swearwords have extremely offensive meaning in the Persian culture and that might be the reason why even those who lived outside Iran hesitated to use them while, at the same time, these swearwords were not perceived as effective in expressing anger due to inhibition from cultural restriction.

Qualitative analyses revealed that many participants emphasized the effectiveness of English swearwords in expressing anger and the positive effect of length of residency on swearing in English. Analyzing these two subthemes in participant responses revealed that when L1 swearwords carry strong social and cultural stigma, and LX is used more often, participants prefer swearing in the LX. Participants who discussed the effectiveness of Persian swearwords in expressing anger indicated that they could express their feelings and anger better in Persian because it was their first language, and therefore they were more familiar with the language, swearwords' meanings, level of offensiveness, and all its norms. This was expected too, since participants who either ranked higher on the heritage scale scores or had a shorter length of residency outside Iran and were more involved with the Persian community claimed to swear more in Persian.

With all the three hypotheses confirmed, it is clear that frequency of using Persian/English swearwords, the level of offensiveness of Persian/English swearwords, and the effectiveness of Persian/English swearwords in communicating anger differed between Persians who resided outside Iran and Persian speakers in Iran. The results of the above three hypotheses confirming multi-competence perspective that the effects of the languages known by individuals goes beyond the actual linguistic knowledge of these languages and languages in the mind or community are perceived as a whole rather than separately (Cook, 2002, 2012). Also, the results are in line with Dewaele's (2018a) finding showing that the scores for swearwords of Americans

living in the UK or in non-English-speaking countries differed significantly from those who were living in the USA. In fact, "words acquire emotional connotations in different locations" (Dewaele, 2018a, p. 325) which can be interpreted that "some English- emotion-laden words display different levels of emotionality (probably also valence and arousal) in American and British English" (Dewaele, 2018a, p. 333). In this case, Persian immigrants might use a variety that is increasingly different from that spoken in Iran. Inevitably, the power and meaning of swearwords will shift. These findings emphasised the importance of the socio-cultural competence effect on swearing, which confirms the Neuro-Psycho-Social theory (Jay, 2000). This also confirms that being familiar with emotion terms in different languages can change, modify, and broaden the conceptual representation of emotion words in each language known by bi-/multilinguals (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002). In the same line of research, Pavlenko (2004b) stated that conceptual restructuring may change L1 structure at different levels and ultimately change the way in which bi-/multilinguals see the world. Moreover, according to the theory of emotional acculturation (De Leersnyder et al., 2011), migrants' emotional repertoire changes due to intense contact and engagement in the host culture language and culture. Finally, these findings could be interpreted in the light of psycholinguistic theory of semantic and conceptual change (see Dewaele, 2018a).

5.3.5 How do socio-biographical and acculturation factors relate to the use of Persian and English swearwords among Persian immigrants residing outside Iran? (RQ5)

Past research has documented that cultural restriction impacts the emotional expression and using swearwords (Bond & Lai, 1986; Dewaele, 2013, 20111b; Pavlenko, 2006; Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Wierzbicka, 2002). Swearing in LX can confer a sense of empowerment and liberation to immigrants who had experienced cultural restriction on using swearing in their L1 (Clare, 2004; Dewaele, 2011a; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006). Overall, immigrants are expected to use swearwords in Persian and English differently due to their cultural restriction on using swearwords in Persian. Younger age (Dewaele, 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2013; Jay, 1992, 2000; Coates, 1993; Stapleton, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2013; Rayston et al., 1997), lower AOA (Dewaele, 2005, 2006, 2013), higher frequency of use (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2013, 2016a, 2017a; Hammer, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012), higher self-rated knowledge (Dewaele, 2004a, 2008a, 2015c, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-

Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer, 2017c; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004a; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013), longer length of residency (Hammer, 2017b, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a) are all indication of higher acculturation in LX and will lead to a shift in the language used for emotional expression and swearing. With regards to the last two hypotheses, since there is no statistical significant relationship among variables documented by past research, the present goal was explorative in nature and aimed to assess the strength of the available evidence.

Four hypotheses were investigated:

a. Females participants will use fewer Persian swearwords than male peers but no difference is expected for English swearwords.
b. Younger participants, participants with an earlier age of English acquisition (AOA), higher frequency of the use of English, higher self-rated knowledge of English, and participants who have lived outside Iran for longer will report using more English swearwords.
c. The effect of socio-biographical characteristics on the use of Persian/English swearwords varies.
d. The effect of acculturation on the use of Persian and English swearwords varies.

5.3.5.1 Hypothesis 1: (Females participants will use fewer Persian swearwords than male peers but no difference is expected for English swearwords). The first hypothesis was formulated based on previous studies showing that different cultures have different ways of expressing emotions (Markus & Kitiyama, 1991; Matsumoto, 2006; Mesquita, 2010; Pavlenko, 2008; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1999, 2004), emotion terms are deeply embedded into the cultural model of their related languages, and culture affects expression of emotions (Dewaele, 2002; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, 2008; Wierzbicka, 2004). Also, cultural restriction has an impact on emotional expression and using swearwords (Bond & Lai, 1986; Dewaele, 2013, 20111b; Pavlenko, 2006; Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Wierzbicka, 2002). The first hypothesis was confirmed. Female participants did not report using any of the Persian swearwords significantly more frequently than did male participants. Considering social restrictions on females in Iran, this was an expected result. Almost half of the Persian

swearwords were gender-specific, showing that male participants used them significantly more than females, which is in line with the previous literature indicating that males used swearwords more commonly than females (Coates, 1993; Jay, 1992, 2000; Jay & Jay, 2015; Jay & Janschwitz, 2008; Stapleton, 2003; Schwartz et al., 2013; Koven, 2007). People in Iran live within "social structures that do not allow them to make as many choices (e.g., societies where the roles of men and women are circumscribed by tradition)" (Block, 2007b, p. 865). In this type of societies, females are not free to use many words. However, female participants reported using "Idiot", "Bastard" and "Dick" significantly more often than their male counterparts, which shows that through acculturation into LX, reorientation of thinking and feeling can happen (Brown, 1994; Kim, 2008). This is consistent with Dewaele's (2013) argument that by choosing a particular language, bi-/multilinguals gain the opportunity to momentarily reconnect with the values of that language. In other words, when choosing English, female migrants activate its cultural scripts, and by using LX for swearing, a cultural frame switching will happen and they could see swearwords from different perspectives (Panayiotou, 2004) and not feel constrained by their L1 cultural norms. This finding provides support to the previous literature showing that different languages can lead to different ways of thinking and expressing feelings and shaping the way migrants' express their emotions (Pavlenko, 2004; Wierzbicka, 2008). The present findings showed that female participants reported using offensive swearwords in English, consistent with the previous discussion that using swearwords in LX provides LX users with a sense of freedom not typically enjoyed in their L1 (Clare, 2004; Dewaele, 2011a; Pavlenko, 2005, 2006).

Qualitative results are aligned with the quantitative findings. Generally, testimonies from all female participants confirmed the social restriction on females in the Persian culture with respect to using swearwords and being outspoken in expressing anger. This also confirms that swearing in LX gives them the freedom to be and express themselves since they are able to vent their anger and not feel inhibited due to cultural restrictions in their L1. In fact, although it has been reported in the previous literature, the impact of language dominance and acculturation on individuals' feeling more themselves when using LX (Dewaele, 2016e; Hammer, 2016; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013), it seems that personal choice and cultural restriction in L1 are other significant factors which affect individuals feeling more themselves when using LX.

5.3.5.2 Hypothesis 2: (Younger participants, participants with an earlier age of English acquisition (AOA), higher frequency of the use of English, higher self-rated knowledge of English, and participants who have lived outside Iran for longer will report using more English swearwords). This hypothesis is based on previous literature indicating that younger age (Dewaele, 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2013; Jay, 1992, 2000; Coates, 1993; Stapleton, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2013; Rayston et al., 1997), lower AOA (Dewaele, 2005, 2006, 2013), higher frequency of use (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2013, 2016a, 2017a; Hammer, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012), higher self-rated knowledge (Dewaele, 2004a, 2008a, 2015c, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer, 2017c; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004a; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013), and longer length of residency (Hammer, 2017b, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a) all impact the use of LX for emotional expression, including swearing. The second hypothesis was confirmed. The present results showed that younger participants, participants with a longer length of residency outside Iran, a lower age of English acquisition, and higher frequency in using English, all reported using more English swearwords. This is in line with previous research findings (e.g., Dewale, 2004c, 2011a). For instance, with respect to the age of swearing, Stenström's et al. (2002) study showed that London teenagers used different types of swearwords with varying frequency and the frequency of swearing was primarily linked with young age and less related to social class and gender. Dewaele (2013) also showed that a low AOA for LX was linked to swearing in that language more frequently and frequency of use had a significant effect on self-perceived level of competence in a language. Swearing is a behaviour present across all ages, however swearing has been reported to be at highest in the teenage time and decline at older ages (Jay, 1992). This age-related trend was confirmed by testimonies from many participants in the present study who claimed that the younger they were at the time of immigration and the more they lived outside Iran had a significant effect on their language proficiency and learning swearwords from their peers and in their social interactions. Participants also talked about feeling more comfortable to use swearwords in LX since they came to their mind sooner due to higher frequency of use.

Dewaele's (2006) research showed that mixed learners and those with younger AOA used LX more frequently to express anger than those who started learning that language at an

older age. Also, higher language proficiency in LX was significantly related to using LX for expressing anger. With respect to the importance of language proficiency, Harris (2004) stated that LX dominant bi-/multilinguals who socialized and expressed their emotions in LX reported feeling freer to be themselves in LX than those whose social networks and emotional expressions were mostly in L1. In the same line, Hammer (2017c) argued that proficiency in LX was a crucial factor in socio-cultural integration. Hammer's research showed that a younger AOA and a longer length of residency were significantly related to higher proficiency in LX and mentioned that linguistic acquisition cannot happen without social integration. This is consistent with the findings of the present statistical analysis and testimonies from participants from qualitative data that both higher frequency of English use and higher English knowledge had a significant effect on using more English swearwords. Similarly, Dewaele (2011a) emphasized the importance of language proficiency and language socialization in using LX for swearing. Dewaele (2004a) also argued that individuals with higher language proficiency would use more LX and feel close enough to the in-group to use LX for swearing. Other studies found that more frequent use of LX was significantly related to using LX for emotional expression and swearing in LX (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2013, 2015c, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013). This language shift at individual level can be considered as a sign of gradual internalization of the new language (Pavlenko, 2004, 2006, 2014). In other words, the higher frequency of LX use, higher LX proficiency, and longer length of residency can help individuals to build up a wider network of interlocutors in LX and be able to express their emotions in LX. Arguably, this speeds up the language socialization process and individuals become highly acculturated (Dewaele, 2013; Hammer & Dewaele, 2015, Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). Interestingly, shorter length of residency and younger age were linked to using the swearword "Oskol", which is in line with the results of RQ4, Hypothesis 1 (Section 5.3.4.1). "Oskol" is a relatively new swearword, therefore older people and those who have lived outside Iran for a longer period of time are likely less familiar with this swearword. This also suggests the dynamic nature of swearwords, reflecting changes, values, and priorities in the social environment. As the social environment changes, the need to make language adjustments and decisions regarding language use for emotional expression and beyond poses constant challenges for individuals who attempt to successfully navigate the different kinds of social contexts in which their lives take place (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012). Some participants specifically claimed

that although they become proficient in LX and use LX for swearing, L1 retains its emotional force. This finding (bi-/multilinguals preferring to use certain language for certain domains) could be interpreted to provide support for the multi-competence view by showing that both/multiple languages can exist in the mind of individuals. Languages in mind are interconnected and bi-/multilinguals in their social interactions move freely and dynamically between the languages they know in order to achieve a variety of strategic and communicative functions (Wei, 2016b).

5.3.5.3 Hypothesis 3: (The effect of socio-biographical characteristics on the use of Persian/English swearwords varies). The third hypothesis was confirmed. The effect of socio-biographical variables on the use of Persian and English swearwords was different for Persian immigrants residing outside Iran. Interestingly, among Persian swearwords, only two swearwords "Kesafat" and "Oskol", were significantly correlated with age, and younger participants reported using them more often. However, eight out of ten English swearwords presented a positive correlation with young age. Among Persian swearwords "Oskol" is a recent swearword therefore, it was expected that the younger generation would use it more. In RQ4, Hypothesis 3 (Section 5.3.4.3), participants who reside outside Iran reported that using "Kesafat" allowed them to express their anger in a significantly more effective way. In addition, among Persian swearwords, "Oskol" only showed negative correlation with length of residency. Again, considering that "Oskol" is a new swearword, arguably those who recently moved outside Iran are more familiar with this swearword. However, six out of ten English swearwords were positively correlated with length of residency. English swearwords (nine out of ten) showed a positive correlation with AOA, however none of the Persian swearwords showed any significant correlation with AOA. Socio-biographical variables revealed more diverse effects on the use of English swearwords compared to the Persian ones. Qualitative findings are consistent the quantitative results. Specifically, testimonies from the qualitative analysis generally revealed the higher emotional force in L1 and strong cultural restrictions on the use of swearwords, specifically for females. These are significant factors for Persian immigrants that shape their preferences to express emotion in LX or their discomfort in using swearwords in L1. This shows that migrants have access to multiple cultural meanings and can choose the one they feel more comfortable (Hong et al., 2000; Benet-Martínez et al., 2000; Kim, 2008; Padilla & Perez, 2003;

Panayiotou, 2004; Pavlenko, 2005). Again, this provides supporting evidence for the bi-dimensional theory of acculturation, with individuals forming and retaining attachment to the two languages/ cultures (Ryder et al., 2000).

Other than Persian cultural restrictions on using swearwords, this could be an indication of LX socialization. Past research has shown that language socialization and affective socialization could modify and broaden emotion concepts in bi-/multilinguals and may pose different emotion related language choices (Dewaele, 2004a, 2006, 2008a, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2013, 2015c; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Ljung, 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012). In addition, language socialization could affect socio-pragmatic norms in LX and ultimately the development of language repertoire for expression of anger and swearwords.

5.3.5.4 Hypothesis 4: (The effect of acculturation on the use of Persian and English swearwords varies). The forth hypothesis was confirmed. The effect of acculturation on the use of Persian and English swearwords were different. This finding could be interpreted as evidence for the idea that mainstream language and culture do not replace heritage ones in migrants' minds, but they both can coexist (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Dewaele, 2004c; Hammer, 2016; Harris, 2004; Matsumoto, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017b; Ryder, et al., 2000). There was no significant correlation between mainstream culture and Persian swearwords, or between heritage culture and English swearwords, confirming Ryder's et al. (2000) bi-dimensional theory of acculturation. Migrants can have access to their both heritage and mainstream culture. Surprisingly, there was only a positive correlation between more frequent of use of "Oskol" and high scores in the heritage scale. This means that only participants who scored higher on the heritage scale reported using "Oskol" more often. "Oskol" is more frequently used by Persians who reside in Iran, and, as mentioned earlier, is a recent swearword. This means that those who are more involved with their heritage culture are likely more familiar with that word. However, English swearwords, such as "Shit", "Crap", and "Bitch" were positively correlated with frequency of use and participants' mainstream acculturation. Therefore, participants who embraced their new culture and the beliefs of their host culture used swearwords from that culture more frequently, providing supporting evidence for De Leersnyder's et al. (2011) emotional acculturation theory. Some participants claimed that, the

longer they lived in the host culture and the more social contact they have had with host culture community, affected the frequency of using English swearwords. Participants mentioned that this was likely due to the fact that their swearing skills became more natural and, with longer time residing in a host culture, it felt easier to swear in the language used every day with a larger network of English interlocutors. Similar to the results of Dewaele (2013, 2016a), those who are strongly socialized in the LX, appeared to use LX significantly more for swearing. Dewaele (2016d) stressed that affective socialization in the host language as well as extension of the emotional portfolio by adding new emotion concepts lead to development of a unique multi-competence profile in multilinguals, which is apparent among Persian immigrants in the present study. This could be interpreted to suggest that migrants have developed an exceptional emotional portfolio, which differs from that of monolinguals. This interpretation is in line with the multi-competence holistic view (Cook, 2002, 2016) (i.e., languages in the mind or community are perceived as a whole rather than separately). In fact, the appreciation and understanding of LX cultural norms and beliefs could lead individuals to feeling confident in using LX for swearing.

5.4 Concluding remarks

All hypotheses have been discussed in depth, in relation to the previous literature, both empirical and theoretical aspects, and the present quantitative and qualitative results. Overall, the present findings confirmed the initial hypotheses that there is a link between socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, personality traits, and migrants' language choice for swearing. Moreover, the results could be interpreted to provide empirical support for several theoretical frameworks (i.e., bi-dimensional theory; emotional acculturation theory; multi-competence view, presented in Chapter One) and are largely consistent with the past empirical studies summarized in Chapter Two. Indeed, many previous studies confirmed bi-/multilinguals' preference for swearing in L1 (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2011b, 2013, 2017a; Harris, 2004; Pavlenko, 2006) and its relationship with several variables such as younger age (Dewaele, 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2013; Jay, 1992, 2000; Coates, 1993; Stapleton, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2013; Rayston et al., 1997), lower AOA (Dewaele, 2005, 2006, 2013), higher frequency of use (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2013, 2016a, 2017a; Hammer, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a,

2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012), higher self-rated knowledge (Dewaele, 2004a, 2008a, 2015c, 2016a, 2017a; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Hammer, 2017c; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004a; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013), type of interlocutor (Dewaele, 2004c, 2006, 2008c, 2013, 2015c; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013), longer length of residency (Hammer, 2017b, 2017c; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a), language socialization, and affective socialization (Dewaele, 2004a, 2006, 2008a, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2013, 2015c; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Ljung, 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012). However, these variables have not been typically examined in the same sample of participants, providing overall a fragmented account of migrants' language choice for swearing. The present research addresses this gap and explores the relationship between these variables and swearing in a more holistic design.

It is important to note that, considering the multi-functionality of swearing, not all reported instances of swearing in the present research are related to affective and annoyance swearing. Instead, swearing appears to serve the role of social bonding or a more habitual role. Moreover, bi-/multilinguals' motivation and personal choice of what language they may feel more comfortable (Hong et al., 2000; Benet-Martínez et al., 2000; Kim, 2008; Padilla & Perez, 2003; Panayiotou, 2004; Pavlenko, 2005), their L1 cultural restrictions (Bond & Lai, 1986; Dewaele, 2013, 20111b; Pavlenko, 2006; Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Wierzbicka, 2002), and even possible contextual differences, all affect their language choice for swearing. In addition to all the links between the above-mentioned socio-biographical and acculturation orientation factors, it was confirmed that the mainstream language and culture do not replace the heritage ones in migrants' minds, they both can coexist (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Dewaele, 2004c; Hammer, 2016; Harris, 2004; Matsumoto, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017b; Ryder, et al., 2000). Personality traits (Dewaele & Wei, 2012, 2013; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Ożańska-Ponikwia & Dewaele, 2012; Wilson, 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012b, 2013, 2017a) are also significant factor in migrants' language choice for swearing, which is in line with the Neuro-Psycho-Social theory (Jay, 2000; i.e., the claim that neurological, psychological, and socio-cultural factors affect swearing behaviour and all should be included in swearing research).

In general, the present findings confirm the multi-competence view, specifying that individuals' language knowledge is holistic (Cook, 2002, 2016) and the effects of the languages known by an individual are bidirectional (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Murahata et al., 2016; Ortega, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017a; Su, 2016). Moreover, the effect of the languages known by bi-/multilinguals extends beyond the knowledge of those languages. Results also show that migrants' language choice for swearing also appears to vary as a function of interlocutor type (e.g., family member; friends; strangers; self). Migrants' language proficiency affects the language they use for swearing if they perceive it as offensive with particular interlocutors. Therefore, their language choice and perceived level of offensiveness are the result of both their knowledge and their acculturation orientation. Overall, the present results suggest that migrants have simultaneous access to both their languages/cultures, confirming Ryder's et al. (2000) bi-dimensional theory of acculturation (i.e., migrants have access to both the heritage and mainstream culture and can appreciate the mainstream culture while still retaining attachment to their heritage culture). Migrants choose the language they swear based on the cultural norms that they feel comfortable with in certain situations, with certain people.

The following chapter will discuss the final overview of the results and provide the most significant outcomes of the present dissertation and their implications for foreign language instruction and future research. Limitations of the present research will also be addressed and recommendations will be made for future investigations.

Chapter Six

CONCLUSION

6.1 Final overview

This chapter summarises the main findings outlined and discussed in Chapters Four and Five, referencing the purpose of this research introduced in Chapter One. In terms of future development, the significance of the research is reaffirmed in the light of the findings. The implication of this type of research for foreign language instruction will be acknowledge (Section 6.2). Lastly, a number of limitations are addressed and recommendations are made for future investigations (Section 6.3).

The present research was the first one to attempt to empirically address the complex relationship between migrants' language choice for swearing and socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, and personality traits. More specifically, although the relationship between language choice for swearing and these variables has been previously investigated, it was not done in a holistic way, examining all variables in a single design. When individuals swear, their swearing behaviour is influenced by intra-individual and inter-individual factors. Swearing, as it was mentioned in Chapter One (Section 1.7) can be used to express either positive or negative emotions. With respect to the scope of the present research, the focus of this thesis was on swearing as an outlet for expressing emotions particularly anger. This was clearly specified in the questions, in both quantitative and qualitative data collection tools. The intra-individuals factors and the relationship between swearer, social context, acculturation orientation, and personality traits can influence the functionality of swearing. Also, they can convey a sense of solidarity, group binding, isolating people, obtaining credit, and characterizing a more informal situation.

The quantitative study among Persian immigrants outside and inside Iran revealed that there was a significant effect of gender on frequency of swearing in Persian and that females swear significantly less than males, which is in line with previous literature (Bayard & Krishnaya, 2001; Coates, 1993; Jay,1992, 2000). Also, females who scored higher in mainstream culture used English swearwords more frequently, a liberating act given that in Iran, swearing is mainly reserved for males and indicative of a lack of education. In general, those who had higher

mainstream scores used English frequently and swore in English more often, which means that they are highly socialized and engage in more affective interactions with LX interlocutors. Moreover, participant who have a wider network of people to socialize with and proficient in the English language use English swearwords more frequently. Pavlenko (2004a) also stated that affective socialization impacts L2 choice for expressing emotions. Acculturation also plays an additional role in bi-/multilinguals' cognitive shift (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013). In fact, frequent use of target language in native environment will boost sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence in migrants as well. The significant effect of social interactions, which typically causes changes in migrants' emotional experience, is confirmed by several preceding studies (Dewaele, 2008c, 2013; De Leersnyder et al., 2011; Pavlenko, 2006; Hammer, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017). Indeed, swearing appropriately in LX requires "proper semantic and conceptual representation" (Dewaele, 2018b, p. 219), "advanced cultural and socio-pragmatic knowledge" (Dewaele, 2017b, p. 8), and a "keen sense of unwritten pragmatic rules" (Dewaele, 2017b, p. 24). These participants with high mainstream scores have achieved a level of language proficiency such that they could communicate their message with "its all nuances in any socio-cultural context" (Fraser, 2010, p. 15), indicating a high level of pragmatic competence. It could be argued that individuals who experienced emotional stress and constraints in their L1, tend to stick to what offered them a sense of freedom and, consequently, tend to swear in LX. They may not have enough metapragmatic knowledge but they prefer to use LX. As Ożańska-Ponikwia (2012b) explained, these individuals do not have split personality, but rather they adapt their behaviour based on the linguistic and cultural norms that are presented to them through that specific language. The qualitative data supported and enhanced the quantitative data analysis and revealed that Persian swearwords, as L1 swearwords, possessed stronger negative emotional resonance and felt more offensive to participants, which is consistent with previous research (Dewaele, 2004c, 2008c, 2013, Pavlenko, 2006). Due to integration into a new culture, having a wider network of interlocutors, socializing with LX culture, and the severe cultural stigmatization of Persian swearwords, Persian immigrants residing outside Iran reported using more English swearwords, while only those participants who still felt like they belonged more strongly to their heritage culture reported more frequent use of Persian swearwords. In fact, those who preferred swearing in English have reached certain levels of sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence through intense interactions with members of LX community, in diverse situations

(Dewaele, 2017b). This could arguably be a sign of deep attachment to the LX culture. The finding shows that although some participants find L1 more effective cathartically, they still swear more in LX due to social freedom and other different motivations for their choice. This behaviour could suggest that Persian females swear more in English to show their solidarity with their interlocutors outside Iran. Also, it could be argued that women are more aware of the social situations and consequences of swearing (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008), which affects their perception of the swearwords' intensity (i.e., the affective component) but does not affect their usage of swearing (i.e., the behavioral component) (Rosenberg et al., 2017). In addition, some swear in the L1 in particular emotionally intense situations but report swearing in LX frequently. It is important to note that all these indicate the multi-functionality of swearing. Specifically, some indicated that swearing in L1 had more emotional force and expressed its effectiveness in expressing emotions and claimed to use L1 for swearing. However, others admitted that L1 had higher emotional force but acknowledged that they preferred to use swearwords in LX since it gave them freedom of expression. In addition, some claimed that they swore more frequently in LX but in intense situations they swore in L1 regardless of the language known by interlocutors; or, for others, this pattern was reversed and they automatically switched into LX regardless of the language known by interlocutors. This all shows that motivation, attitudes, and context have a significant effect on the language which is chosen by speaker for swearing and indicates that these choices are not mutually exclusive since participants may use swearwords to express their intense emotions, as a routine or habitual behaviour, or as social swearing to mark their identity as part of a certain group. These findings shed new light on previous literature analysing migrants' swearing behaviour. Specifically, the present findings allude to several reasons why bi-/multilinguals tend to show a paradoxical behaviour, namely, they swear in LX rather than L1, although L1 swearwords are perceived as most emotionally powerful (Dewaele, 2017a; Pavlenko, 2006). This confirms that the interpersonal effect of swearing is influenced by the context in which it is used and the social judgments or stereotypes it makes in a context (Stapleton, 2010). Also, why some migrants tend to maintain strong attachment to their L1 while others are more involved in LX community and enjoy the excitement LX brings for them (Dewaele, 2008c, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013).

Interestingly, there is no significant relation between self-rated knowledge in Persian/English and heritage and mainstream culture. It could be speculated that participants were all already bicultural and considered their self-rated knowledge in Persian and English high. Also, although previous studies have shown a significant relation between younger age, lower AOA, longer length of residency, higher self-rated knowledge in LX, and the feeling of belonging to the mainstream culture, the present research did not confirm this relation. Importantly, one of the advantages of the mixed methods design is for the qualitative data to be used to expand or clarify the quantitative findings. Here, the qualitative data provided a clear answer for this discrepancy and many participants reported that having wider network of interlocutors has helped them to feel a stronger sense of belonging to either of the two cultures (heritage and mainstream). Some participants talked about the fact that although they have lived outside Iran for a long time, given their wider Persian network they still felt a stronger sense of belonging to their heritage culture. This finding signifies the importance of engaging with a wide network of interlocutors and being intensely active in a specific culture. In other words, other factors could have a crucial role in migrants' acculturation orientation other than age, AOA, longer length of residency.

Moreover, the results show connections between socio-biographical and psychological variables and the self-reported use of Persian/English swearwords. Participants who had higher Social Initiative scores reported using English swearwords more often; additionally, females who had higher score in Social Initiative reported using English swearwords more often. Possibly, their gregarious nature helped them to develop a wider network of interlocutors and be more involved with the host culture community and feel close enough to that community to use swearwords in LX. This is in line with Dewaele's (2017b) findings, in which participants with high extraversion scores reported being aware of the "meaning and offensiveness [of a given LX swearword] but still chose to deploy it in interaction" (p. 22). Male participants who had lower Emotional Stability reported using more Persian swearwords which again shows that there is a gender difference in using Persian swearwords. Again, the qualitative data provided a possible explanation for this nuance difference as well. Participants who also scored high in Social Initiative reported using English swearwords more often. However, some indicated using it in more casual settings, as routine or indication of social bonding, while most females added that

swearing in English could help them to express their anger better because they did not feel burdened by the cultural strain on using them. As noted above, this suggests the multi-functionality of swearing among migrants. Also, the relationship between psychological and socio-biographical variables indicated that participants who were older and have lived outside Iran for longer periods of time had higher Emotional Stability. In fact, acculturation process could be very stressful but the experience of being in contact with different languages and cultures could boost migrants' socio-cultural skills (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009; Dewaele & Wei, 2013; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Ventura et al., 2016). It could be speculated that older people who have lived outside their country for a longer period of time and have acculturated, have reached a more stable social status and showed a certain level of emotional strength.

Interestingly, participants who used both Persian and English more frequently and had higher self-rated knowledge in both Persian and English also had higher scores in Cultural Empathy. This might signify interest in others and greater understanding of the thoughts and feelings of other people. In fact, those who have great enthusiasm for cultural exchange and have this ability to empathise with various ideologies, norms, and beliefs are expected to enhance their understanding of LX culture practices (Kim, 2001, 2008). Also, Cultural Empathy is expected to be strengthened by the experience of fitting in and being in contact with different languages and cultures (Dewaele & van Oudenhoven, 2009, p. 15). It is possible that the consequences of having acquired knowledge of more languages and using them frequently, affect more than linguistic knowledge itself and expand to affect migrants' personality traits of being high in Cultural Empathy and more understanding of others' feelings and thoughts. This could be interpreted to support the multi-competence view. Dewaele and Wei (2012) also showed that higher knowledge and frequent use of multiple languages were significantly related to Cognitive Empathy and they speculated that that was an indication of multi-competence. Unexpectedly, more frequent use of English and higher self-rated knowledge in both Persian and English was an indicator for high scores in Open-mindedness. This again shows that knowledge of more than one languages goes beyond the knowledge of language itself (Cook, 2002, 2016) and even affects the personality traits on bi-/multilinguals, and make them be more understanding of other people's thoughts and feelings.

Results also showed that male and female participants made different language choices at the time of anger, when interacting with different interlocutors. Specifically, females' language choice at the time of anger appeared to be influenced by L1 cultural restrictions. Male participants reported using Persian at the time of anger significantly more than female participants, indicating a clear gender effect in Persian language for expressing anger and using swearwords. However, females reported using English at the time of anger significantly more than males, when interacting with friends, colleagues, and when they were by themselves. However, this pattern was not apparent when interlocutors were family members and strangers reflecting the influence of L1 cultural restrictions. Qualitative results confirmed and expanded this finding; female participants emphasized that their decision to swear and express their anger in English was influenced by the presence of family members and strangers. Considering the Persian cultural restrictions on using swearwords and its negative social appraisal for females, it is not surprising that they conformed and avoided swearing. It is noteworthy, however, that swearing was not eliminated altogether but only with selected groups of interlocutors. Females expressing their anger among their friends, colleagues highlight the value of close social relationships and perceived low risk of negative social judgment (Stapleton, 2010). Moreover, females using swearwords when by themselves indicates possible conceptual restructuring in their emotional repertoire (Dewaele, 2015c; Pavlenko, 2002, 2004b). Adding nuances to this complex behaviour, it could be argued that the influence of the heritage culture on their expression of anger in LX reflects migrants simultaneous access to both cultures (heritage and mainstream).

The relation between younger age, lower AOA, higher frequency of use of English, self-rated knowledge in English and using English at the time of anger with different interlocutors shows the influence of the heritage culture for choosing specific interlocutors. Younger participants indicated using English at the time of anger with their friends and to themselves. This suggests the complexity of the swearing behaviour and the many possible roles it can fulfill, including expressing anger among friends, reflecting close emotional relationships or low risk of being judged or as a routine or social bonding behaviour. As mentioned earlier, it is important to acknowledge that swearing is not solely used to express anger or annoyance.

Although it was expected that those who were highly involved with the heritage culture used Persian at the time of anger with different interlocutors and those who were highly involved in mainstream culture used English, the present results did not support this hypothesis. The results showed the strong influence of cultural restriction on expressing anger with different interlocutors among those who were rated high in both the heritage and mainstream. Those who were highly involved with their heritage culture reported typically expressing their anger with their friends and themselves, showing the influence of cultural norms and restrictions on their behaviour, as discussed above. The fact that this pattern was found even in participants who rated high in the mainstream shows the influence of the heritage culture since participants used English to express their anger with friends, colleagues, strangers, and themselves. Although, they have acculturated, they did not report using English to express their anger among their family members. Qualitative data revealed possible explanations for this behaviour as several participants talked about their concern with conforming with the social norms and expectations when communicating with family members. This also shows that acculturation is bi-dimensional and migrants can equally have access to the heritage and the mainstream culture, coloring the language choice for expressing anger and swearing.

An analysis of 10 Persian/English swearwords also revealed differences in the frequency of using swearwords, ratings of perceived offensiveness, and ratings of effectiveness in expressing anger between Persian immigrants living outside Iran and those living in Iran. Again, the qualitative data offered further insight into this behaviour. Specifically, the narratives from the qualitative data outlined that language proficiency was one of the crucial factors influencing the frequency of use and rating of offensiveness for English swearwords. Participants also emphasized the importance of having a longer length of residency and a wider network of interlocutors. Consistent with Dewaele's (2018a) findings that different locations affect the emotional connotations of words, the present findings showed that the frequency of using both Persian and English swearwords, their level of offensiveness, and effectiveness in expressing anger differed between Persian immigrants living outside Iran and those who lived in Iran. Arguably, this difference reflects the notion that participants' familiarity with emotion terms of different languages can modify the conceptual representation of emotion words in each language known by bi-/multilinguals (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002). Moreover, this also shows that individuals' knowledge of language can go beyond each individual language (Cook, 2002, 2012,

2016). These findings also support Dewaele's (2018a, p. 332) findings that "words that are frequently used within a speech community belong to the core L1 vocabulary and their semantic representations are pretty stable"; in contrast, for words that belong to the same L1 and are frequently used in another variety, "their semantic representations are more likely to shift outside the usual speech community" (Dewaele, 2018a, p. 332). Therefore, this suggests that the language variety used by Persians living outside Iran is diverging from that used in Iran and it is expected that the frequency of the use, semantic representations, and even the exact offensiveness of swearwords will be impacted. This pattern indicates the effect of living abroad on the perception and use of both L1 and LX, which was confirmed by qualitative data from participants' narratives. Specifically, many participants claimed the importance of a longer length of residency on the frequency of language use and its effectiveness in expressing anger and many agreed that with time the experience of accessing words has improved. Moreover, immigrants' socio-pragmatic norms gradually shifted from those of participants who still resided in the heritage culture. In addition, half of the Persian swearwords were gender specific, with male participants using them more frequently than their female counterparts. In contrast, fewer gender differences emerged in the use of English swearwords. Also, socio-biographical variables had differential effects on the use of English swearwords that were not observed for Persian swearwords. Younger participants, those who have acquired English at a lower age, have lived outside Iran for a longer period of time, used English more frequently, had higher self-rated English knowledge, used English swearwords significantly more often, suggesting that they are acculturated and have reached a high level of socio-pragmatic competence in English. Similarly, Dewaele's (2013) findings also showed that the participants who were socialized in LX and used LX with a wide network of interlocutors commonly used LX for swearing. Acculturation scales had different effects on Persian/English swearwords for Persian immigrants' residing outside Iran. The results showed the development of a unique multi-competence profile in bi-/multilingual Persian immigrants and suggest that they have developed an exceptional emotion portfolio for swearing, which differs from individuals who know either Persian or English. This is in line with the multi-competence holistic view (Cook, 2002, 2016), which considers the existence of multiple languages, at the individual or community level, as a whole rather than separately. In fact, the appreciation and understanding of LX cultural norms and beliefs could lead individuals to feel sufficiently competent and confident to use LX for swearing, however the

heritage language and culture influences cannot be ignored. The present findings confirm that the use of swearwords is linked to "users' socio-biographical and linguistic background, and personality" (Dewaele, 2017b, p. 26). This is in line with the notion that swearing is a complex behaviour, influenced by both inter-individual and intra-individual factors. Thus, an individual's decision to swear and the selection of swearwords is affected by multiple factors and it is not restricted to their L1 or their LX. Individuals who have internalized more than one culture can switch among them and can access all cultural systems or shift from one language and cultural frame to another depending their individual decision or context. This is consistent with the common conceptualization of bilingual lexical access positing that lexical concepts in the bilingual lexicon have double lexical representations and that activation from the conceptual level is linked to both lexicons, in other words it is not language-specific (Costa, 2005; Green, 1998).

Qualitative data strongly highlighted the co-existence of both cultures (heritage and mainstream) in migrants 'mind. In other words, engaging in one culture did not imply disengaging from another, as both cultures and languages co-existed in migrants' voice. It also reflects the nuances of the bi-/multilingual linguistic selections, specifically the decision to stick to one specific language in order to perform some specific operation (e.g., swearing as cathartic) or to use it for socializing with certain interlocutors, overall revealing the underlying cultural values that migrants embraced or feel comfortable with in that certain situation. Participants either commended on their voluntary decision to stick to a specific language that made them feel more genuine when coping with emotional arousal, on their inability to express their anger accurately in the new language, or their constraints in using swearwords in L1. With respect to the affordances created by speaking two languages, Pavlenko (2006) mentioned that languages may create different worlds for their speakers, and switching languages brings about the perception that their selves will change too. By choosing LX bi-/multilinguals activate its cultural scripts and using different languages for swearing leads to cultural frame switching (i.e., bi-multilinguals seeing swearwords from different perspective; Panayiotou, 2004). In fact, new cultural elements will not simply be added to the heritage cultural elements, but stimulate a process of shifts and restructuring that immigrants have some degree of control over.

The findings of this study showed that bi-/multilinguals' language knowledge are not separated in migrants' mind confirming Cook's (2002, 2012, 2016) idea of multi-competence (i.e., languages affect each other, show bi-directionality, and the result of this interaction goes beyond the actual linguistic knowledge). They affect their acculturation orientation, personality traits, and their individuals' language choice for swearing. Switching and using specific swearwords in a certain situation, with certain interlocutors, considering heritage or mainstream culture by migrants, all indicate that migrants have access to both cultural norms and decide when, where, with whom what language to use for swearing confirm multi-competence view. In fact, it confirms that languages in mind are interconnected and bi-/multilinguals in their social interactions move freely and dynamically between the languages they know to achieve a variety of strategic and communicative functions (Wei, 2016b). The results also show that the host language and culture do not replace the heritage one, as, they can both coexist (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Dewaele, 2004c; Hammer, 2016; Harris, 2004; Matsumoto, 2006; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013, 2017b; Ryder et al., 2000), this way confirming the bi-dimensional acculturation theory (Ryder et al., 2011). Regardless of the length of residency, L1 culture was still perceived as having strong emotional resonance and strongly influenced migrants' swearing behaviour and their language choice for swearing, therefore being indirectly responsible for their linguistic preference for swearwords.

In addition, the results indicated that swearwords in L1 and L2 influenced each other which shows that semantic and conceptual restructuring are present in both L1 and L2. Results also confirmed that emotion languages for swearing can coexist; almost all participants believed that L1 was a powerful language however for expressing anger and swearing some preferred using LX. This seemingly paradoxical behaviour indicated the multi-functionality of swearing and confirmed a strong and complicated relationship between socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, and personality traits on migrants' language choice for swearing. In fact, migrants' language preference for swearing and the changes in their linguistic behaviours could explain the complexity of swearing behaviour.

Consequently, the crucial finding of this research was the evidence in support of multi-competence (Cook, 2002, 2012, 2016) and emotional acculturation views (De Leersnyder et al., 2011), and acknowledging the existence of bidirectional acculturation theory (Ryder et al., 2000)

that migrants swearing language choice is affected by their knowledge of languages and both heritage and mainstream culture. This means that migrants have access to all the languages/ cultures they know, consistent with the language-unspecific view (Costa, 2005). As noted in the literature, "it is widely accepted that the two languages of a bilingual are constantly active both when comprehending and producing language" (Rodriguez-Pujala et al., 2013), which has important consequences for word access and selection. Migrants swearing in their two languages is not separated in their brains, they are interrelated and can therefore affect each other' choice. This fits a key finding in the bilingual literature that similar brain structures are involved when bilinguals use either of their two languages (Perani, Paulesu, Sebastián-Gallés, & Dupoux, 1998).

Also, the impact of personality traits is something which should not be ignored when doing any swearing research which is in line with Neuro-Psycho-Social (NPS) theory (Jay, 2000). This theory states that from the neurological perspective swearing can be an automatic response of brain joy, frustration, or some other emotions. From the psychological perspective, which is related to a person's personality. And from the socio-cultural perspective, each culture defines the categories of offensive speech and beliefs and factors such as gender, social distance, and speakers' power all of which providing a range of constraints on swearing. Finally, migrants' personal choice and predisposition has significant effect on the language choice for swearing among migrants.

6.2 Implications for foreign language instruction

Learning a new language and being able to communicate naturally is challenging and this adds extra pressure on immigrants trying to settle in their new country. Expressing emotions, trying to engage in group interaction and use in-group language, including swearwords, all present immigrants with extra challenges. Almost all teaching curricula avoid using swearwords, reinforcing this extra challenge for LX learners and forcing them to face situations in which they cannot express their emotions and in which their language sound inauthentic. Leaving students to only rely of their peer or coworkers learning about swearwords can put them in inconvenient situations (Vingerhoets et al., 2013). This is the case particularly in countries where many people

immigrate from various cultural backgrounds and in their daily life migrants need to be aware of the host culture norms, and the way people from the host culture may express their emotions including swearing.

With respect to implications for teaching, it could be argued that teachers and educators can provide more relevant topics and opportunities for students to be more engaged in the host communities and provide them with guidance in the interpretation of some culture specific behaviours, and expressions. More concretely, teachers can help students to understand more precisely the meaning of swearwords in a certain language/ culture, the consequence of using swearwords, which likely brings increased awareness of dangerous situations, and even guide them with respect to using swearwords to their advantage, to make social gains. In other words, teaching could focus on the pragmatic aspects of swearing in order to improve both swearing comprehension and production. Learning how, with whom, and when it is appropriate to use swearing could arguably help LX learners to create a strong relationship with host culture individuals and fit in host culture even better. This is consistent with research on swearing in children arguing that teaching students to swear can help them to understand language better, and has been linked to a more robust vocabulary, better credibility, and improved anger management (Byrne, 2017).

Moreover, it could be argued that the degree of offensiveness of swearwords in certain situations should be taught and they should be aware of certain euphemism that could be used instead of swearwords and with this way they would be able to express what they would like to say (Finn, 2017). Helping students understand the degree of offensiveness of swearwords in a certain language maps onto theories of explicit learning (as opposed to implicit learning) by encouraging reflection in students and analyses of various linguistic samples (Gasparini, 2004). Additionally, an open discussion of the challenges of foreign language learning will help students recognize what they will have to face in real situation and how they can adapt emotionally. Teachers can modify teaching materials accordingly and can ask students to express their concerns. This should lead to realistic student expectations of what they will need to learn and know and create meaningful learning environments for students.

Considering the existence of students from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds in language learning classes, teachers should look at teaching from multilinguals' perspectives

rather than monolinguals which means that they should consider learners as individuals who know more than one languages and are already a member of a community. From multi-competence perspective then they should look at different languages of a community (Scott, 2016). Since teaching materials typically lack any mention of swearwords, teachers can use video to make students familiar with the gestures, facial expressions, and overall settings relevant to understanding swearwords (Horwitz, 2008). It is crucial for the students to know that "the interpersonal effects of swearing are shaped by both the context in which it occurs and the social stereotypes/judgements it invokes within this context" (Stapleton, 2010, p. 292). Fitting an experiential learning approach (Kolb, 1984), students can then benefit from conversations in a natural setting with normal patterns, imagine themselves in that setting, and understand what is appropriate to say. More specifically, students could listen to language stories of other students in the class, which would enable them to be more aware of feelings, norms, dos and don'ts of people from different cultures. In this way, the students will be ready for communication outside the classroom in authentic situations. In fact, once learners become aware of illocutionary effects, and how interlocutors will respond to a violation of the rules, they will understand how they interpret "the deviation of the rules, and what the social consequences may be of using particular words or expressions" (Dewaele, 2015a, p. 311). Furthermore, including multicultural curricula in a school will help students become familiar with sensitive topics from different cultures and keep them from violating cultural/ social norms in real situations by using inappropriate talk. Learners should understand and be aware that they need to be open and willing to accept the new norms in order to communicate naturally.

New members of the society who do not attempt to accept the core values and norms of the host culture and hesitate to understand it, should be aware of the costs of possibly offending members of the host culture, which may lead to personal or social costs and conflicts (Berry, 1997). It seems that learning a new language can affect metalinguistic awareness and learning a new language is not only acquiring a high proficiency in certain languages, it also affects learners to be multi-cognitive LX users (Murahata, et al., 2016). Learning a new language also tends to make a person "more open-minded, more empathic, more emotionally stable, more sociable, more likely to enjoy foreign language classes, better equipped to learn new languages and less anxious in communication" (Dewaele, 2016 c, p. 414) confirming Cook's (2002, 2012, 2016) multi-competence view that learning a language is not just adding another language to the

the existing body of knowledge; instead, it goes beyond the knowledge of the language itself which makes the learners to be unique persons. In fact, in teaching a new language and how to express anger or use swearwords appropriately, teachers and educators should consider learners' full language systems and should not consider learners' L1 or L2 as separate systems which is in line with Cook (2002), premises 1 & 2. Teachers should use learners' L1 as a positive system in teaching L2 or LX, this way teachers can help learners to be able to operate with a holistic language system of languages as an authentic LX users and L1 will be used as an aid to learning which can represent a small version of world outside (Cook, 2016). In fact, language education goes beyond the language learning and should look for students' awareness about what it means to be a member of culturally diverse world and they should be aware of the role that language plays in their life and how the languages they know interact and affect each other (Scott, 2016) which is essential part of multi-competence perspective.

6.3 Limitations of the present research

The methodological limitations of this study relate to the design of the questionnaire, access to participants, the involvement of only a single researcher, and more generally, the methodological difficulties inherent in a study of swearwords. Each of the points will now be discussed in turn before recommendations will made for future investigations.

Considering inherent flaws in any research methods, mixed method are arguably a good substitute for an exclusively quantitative or qualitative research design in applied linguistics (Dewaele, 2013). Instructed interviews helped in understanding the differences observed sometimes between this study and previous studies in the literature. Also, it has been used to support the quantitative results and investigate its findings further, offering an illustration of the quantitative patterns, a method that has been broadly accepted in Applied Linguistics (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). On-line questionnaires also have several limitations. The data was gathered from people who only had access to internet. It was impossible to control how many of answers were the result of clicking wrong box unintentionally or being distracted. However, the idea that on-line questionnaire had different sections could help participants to be more focused. Also, participants could not save their answers half way in order to come back later to complete

the whole survey, which is somehow inconvenient. Another limitation is that typically only participants who either feel strongly positive or negative emotions about the topic will be willing to spend 20-30 minutes of their time to fill out the on-line questionnaires (Dewaele, 2018c). Consequently, this may create a more biased (as opposed to representative) view on the topic. Considering that the pilot research, which was a paper survey, was only half finished and the difficulties in having access to participants living in Iran, using on-line questionnaires had much more advantages and was a better alternative for this study. This study presented participants with 10 swearwords in each Persian and English. The swearwords selected for Persian are chosen from major pilot research due to the lack of any Persian swearwords corpus. This again shows that constraints and limitations that exist in Iran for doing any academic research on swearwords. Due to the extreme social constraints on using swearwords and a lack of understanding the benefits of research on swearwords, even among the highly educated people in Iran, several severe reactions and extremely offensive messages were received in response to posting the questionnaire on LinkedIn and even through emails. Therefore, access to people in Iran who were willing to participate in this research was extremely limited.

Essentially, the present data represent self-reported data, which has certain limitations such as participants possibly trying to present themselves in a more desirable light and thus distorting their answers accordingly. Due to the nature of using self-reported data, there are some limitations in this study. Because it is relatively unusual for most participants to fill out a questionnaire which includes swearwords, this may include some margin of error linked to social bias (Dewaele, 2016a) and participants may tend to respond in a certain way, regardless of their actual evidence. Also, generally, researchers rely on participants' honesty in self-report data which degree to which is a problem since the information that participants provide may be incorrect and not accurate. Moreover, participants may vary to some extent in their interpretation and understanding of particular questions. Sometimes, in self-reported data, the specific linguistic usage, which is the concern of researcher, is not completely understood by participants, which might be related to their language proficiency. In addition, there are few controls to stop the same person filling the same questionnaire multiple times, also "the fact that participants must have sufficient metalinguistic awareness to participate and willing to engage with the questions on language preferences and use" (Dewaele, 2018a, p. 334) is another drawback of this

type of research. Some of the problems with self-reported data can be countered through the careful design and ensuring anonymity and confidentiality of responses to control any bias response. Noteworthy, self-reported data is very popular because of its utility. To run on-line questionnaires there is no need for the researcher to be present when participants complete the questionnaire which is a great advantage in saving time also with google doc which is free, it is very cost efficient and can be easily implemented to a very large sample as well. However, it is worth bearing in mind the problems and limitations associated with self-reported data and acknowledge to remain careful in drawing conclusions from the results. In addition, the qualitative research is more modest than the quantitative component and allowed only a brief exploration of potential causes. In sum, a future study would benefit from collaboration with a researcher in Iran with a very good social network in order to collect more data from Persian participants in Iran, rather than relying only on an on-line questionnaire and a relatively small sample. Also, the sample is not fully representative of the general population, thus more research is needed to confirm the findings of this research. In addition, recordings of long stretches of spontaneous speech data to see how much participants actually swear would constitute ideal research material, since the topic of this thesis is related to swearing that would yield an interesting data. However, if that participants do not swear frequently and swearing does not occur during that specific time period, then there will be no useable data (Dewaele, 2018c).

Acknowledging these limitations, the present research contributes to the existing body of knowledge by offering insight into the complex relations between swearing and several related variables (i.e., socio-biographical variables, acculturation orientation, and personality traits). As noted above, although the relationship between language choice for swearing and these variables has been previously investigated, but it was not done in a holistic way, examining all variables in a single design. Thus, to my knowledge, this dissertation is the first to examine swearing using a research design that allows capturing its complexity. This work has both theoretical (i.e., providing empirical support for several theoretical views) and practical implications for teaching L2/ foreign languages.

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APPENDICES 1-2

APPENDIX 1

Quantitative Study: On-line Questionnaire

Persian(Farsi) English Speakers' Questionnaire:

At the beginning I would like to express my gratitude for participating in my research. The aim of this research is to help me better understand the link between personality, acculturation, and the use of swearwords among Persian English speakers. There is no 'right' or 'wrong' answer to any of the following questions. You should be a native Persian speaker, living or having lived in an English speaking country. A code will be attached to your data so it remains totally anonymous. It only takes 10 minutes.

* Required

Consent Section:

1. Back ground Information

1. **I have been informed about the nature of this study and willing to consent to take part in it. I understand that the content of the questionnaire will be kept confidential. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time.** *
   Mark only one oval.
   ◯ Tick in the box

2. I would like to get in touch with some respondents to this survey for more detailed information at a future date. If you are willing to be contacted, please leave your email address in the following box.If you leave your email address, you will agree a convenient time for me to schedule you for a short Skype interview.

3. **1. Gender:** *

4. **2. what year were you born?** *

5. **3. Country of residence:** *

6. **4. Education Level (highest diploma or degree or current program of study):** *
   Mark only one oval.
   - a. Didn't finish high school
   - b. Graduated from high school
   - c. Completed college
   - d. Completed Bachelor's Degree
   - e.Completed Master's Degree
   - f. Completed a Doctoral Degree

7. **5. Have you lived in an English speaking country?** *
   Mark only one oval.
   - Yes
   - No

8. **6. If your answer was "yes" to the above question, how many years you have lived in an English- speaking country?** *

9. **7. In how many languages can you have a basic conversation?** *

10. **8. Please list all languages in which you can have a basic conversation chronologically** *

11. **9. At what age did you start learning Persian?** *

12. **10. What age did you start learning English?** *

"Host" in this research means the country you immigrated to and where you are living now as an immigrant.
"Hybrid" is something that is mixed.

2. Linguistic Behavior:

I. Please choose the number that is the most appropriate answer to the question for you.

13. **11. How do you rate your knowledge of Persian (First Language)?** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Very poor	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Excellent

14. **12. How do you rate your knowledge of English (Second Language)?** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Very poor	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Excellent

15. **13. How often do you use Persian?** *
Mark only one oval.

- ◯ 1. never
- ◯ 2. rarely
- ◯ 3. sometimes
- ◯ 4. often
- ◯ 5. always

16. **14. How often do you use English?** *
Mark only one oval.

- ◯ 1. never
- ◯ 2. rarely
- ◯ 3. sometimes
- ◯ 4. often
- ◯ 5. always

17. **15. Think about the time when you are angry. How often do you use Persian in the following various situations?**
Mark only one oval per row.

	never	rarely	sometimes	often	always
1.speaking with friends					
2. speaking with family					
3. speaking with collegue					
4. speaking with stranger					
5. when talking to yourself					

18. **16. Think about the time when you are angry. How often do you use English in the following various situations?**
Mark only one oval per row.

	never	rarely	sometimes	often	always
1.speaking with friends					
2. speaking with family					
3. speaking with collegue					
4. speaking with stranger					
5. when talking to yourself					

19. **17. Swearwords feel stronger in Persian than in English** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. strongly disagree
- 2. disagree
- 3. neither agree nor disagree
- 4. agree
- 5. strongly agree

20. **18. How often do you use swearwords in Persian?** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. never
- 2. rarely
- 3. sometimes
- 4. often
- 5. very often

21. **19. How often do you use swearwords in English?** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. never
- 2. rarely
- 3. sometimes
- 4. often
- 5. very often

22. **20. If you are angry and you use swearwords, how often does it matter that the person at whom you swear understands that language?** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. never
- 2. rarely
- 3. sometimes
- 4. often
- 5. always

23. **21. Are you able to completely release your emotion when you swear in Persian?** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. never
- 2. rarely
- 3. sometimes
- 4. often
- 5. always

24. **22. Are you able to completely release your emotion when you swear in English?** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. never
- 2. rarely
- 3. sometimes
- 4. often
- 5. always

25. **23. Are swearwords in Persian more powerful than English?** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. never
- 2. rarely
- 3. sometimes
- 4. often
- 5. always

26. **24. Can you use Persian swearwords more freely in Iran than in your current host country?** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. strongly disagree
- 2. disagree
- 3. neither agree nor disagree
- 4. agree
- 5. strongly agree

27. **25. Can you use English swearwords more freely in your current host country than in Iran?** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. strongly disagree
- 2. disagree
- 3. neither agree nor disagree
- 4. agree
- 5. strongly agree

28. **26. Do you fear social disapproval using swearwords in Persian?** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. never
- 2. rarely
- 3. sometimes
- 4. often
- 5. always

29. **27. Do you fear social disapproval using swearwords in English?** *

Mark only one oval.

- 1. never
- 2. rarely
- 3. sometimes
- 4. often
- 5. always

II. Please choose the number which matches your agreement with the following swearwords:

a. Persian swearwords

30. **28. How often do you use this word?** *

Mark only one oval per row.

	1.never	2. rarely	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
kesafat					
oskol					
bisheour					
bisharaf					
olagh					
ashghal					
dayous					
koon goshad					
kos kesh					
khar-kosseh					

31. **29. How offensive is this word?** *

Mark only one oval per row.

	1.not offensive	2. slightly offensive	3. neutral	4. offensive	5. extremely offensive
kesafat					
oskol					
bisheour					
bisharaf					
olagh					
ashghal					
dayous					
koon goshad					
kos kesh					
khar-kosseh					

32. **30. Does it allow you to express your anger?**

Mark only one oval per row.

	1.strongly disagree	2. disagree	3. neither agree nor disagree	4. agree	5. strongly agree
kesafat					
oskol					
bisheour					
bisharaf					
olagh					
ashghal					
dayous					
koon goshad					
kos kesh					
khar-kosseh					

33. **31. Have you ever heard the word used by somebody from the same gender as you?** *
Mark only one oval per row.

	1.never	2. rarely	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
kesafat					
oskol					
bisheour					
bisharaf					
olagh					
ashghal					
dayous					
koon goshad					
kos kesh					
khar-kosseh					

34. **32. Have you ever heard the word used by somebody from the opposite gender?** *
Mark only one oval per row.

	1.never	2. rarely	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
kesafat					
oskol					
bisheour					
bisharaf					
olagh					
ashghal					
dayous					
koon goshad					
kos kesh					
khar-kosseh					

b. English swearwords

35. **33. How often do you use this word?** *

Mark only one oval per row.

	1.never	2. rarely	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
asshole					
fucker					
shit					
idiot					
bitch					
bastard					
jerk					
suck					
crap					
dick					

36. **34. How offensive is this word?** *

Mark only one oval per row.

	1.not offensive	2. slightly offensive	3. neutral	4. offensive	5. extremely offensive
asshole					
fucker					
shit					
idiot					
bitch					
bastard					
jerk					
suck					
crap					
dick					

37. **35. Does it allow you to express your anger?**
Mark only one oval per row.

	1. strongly disagree	2. disagree	3.neither agree nor disagree	4. agree	5. strongly agree
asshole					
fucker					
shit					
idiot					
bitch					
bastard					
jerk					
suck					
crap					
dick					

38. **36. Have you ever heard the word used by somebody from the same gender as you?** *
Mark only one oval per row.

	1.never	2. rarely	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
asshole					
fucker					
shit					
idiot					
bitch					
bastard					
jerk					
suck					
crap					
dick					

39. **37. Have you ever heard the word used by somebody from the opposite gender?** *
Mark only one oval per row.

	1.never	2. rarely	3. sometimes	4. often	5. very often
asshole					
fucker					
shit					
idiot					
bitch					
bastard					
jerk					
suck					
crap					
dick					

3. Acculturation

I. Please choose the number which matches your agreement with the following statements:

40. **38. I often participate in Iranian cultural activities.** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. strongly disagree
- 2. disagree
- 3. neither agree nor disagree
- 4. agree
- 5. strongly agree

41. **39. I would be willing to marry a person from my current host culture.** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. strongly disagree
- 2. disagree
- 3. neither agree nor disagree
- 4. agree
- 5. strongly agree

42. **40. I enjoy social activities with my typical current host culture people.** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. strongly disagree
- 2. disagree
- 3. neither agree nor disagree
- 4. agree
- 5. strongly agree

43. **41. I am comfortable working with my typical current host culture people.** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. strongly disagree
- 2. disagree
- 3. neither agree nor disagree
- 4. agree
- 5. strongly agree

44. **42. I often behave in ways that are typical of my Iranian culture.** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. strongly disagree
- 2. disagree
- 3. neither agree nor disagree
- 4. agree
- 5. strongly agree

45. **43. It is important for me to maintain or develop the practice of my Iranian culture.** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. strongly disagree
- 2. disagree
- 3. neither agree nor disagree
- 4. agree
- 5. strongly agree

46. **44. I believe in the values of my Iranian culture.** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. strongly disagree
- 2. disagree
- 3. neither agree nor disagree
- 4. agree
- 5. strongly agree

47. **45. I am interested in having friends from my current host culture .** *
Mark only one oval.

- 1. strongly disagree
- 2. disagree
- 3. neither agree nor disagree
- 4. agree
- 5. strongly agree

II. Please choose the number which matches your agreement with the following statements:

48. **46. There is a conflict within myself between the two cultures I belong to.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree							Strongly Agree

49. **47. Sometimes I am confused about my Iranian identity.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree							Strongly Agree

50. **48. I feel it is hard to belong to two cultural groups.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree							Strongly Agree

51. **49. I have difficulty reconciling the differences between my Iranian culture and current host culture.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree							Strongly Agree

52. **50. If I were born again, I'd choose to be part of only one cultural group.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

53. **51. I feel one has to make a decision of choosing a particular culture over the other.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

54. **52. I feel one should be loyal to only one cultural group.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

55. **53. I feel that I must decide which of my two cultures is more central to my identity.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

56. **54. My Iranian identity varies depending on whom I am with.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

57. **55. I often find myself switching between cultures in different situations.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

58. **56. I adjust my identity depending on whether I am with people from Iran or my current host country.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

59. **57. I adapt my Iranian identity according to the circumstances.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

60. **58. My Iranian culture is compatible with my current host culture.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

61. **59. Although they are different, the two cultural groups I identify with go well together.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

62. **60. My Iranian identity pairs nicely with my current host identity.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

63. **61. My Iranian and current host identities are in harmony.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

64. **62. I feel my identity is a hybrid of two cultures.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

65. **63. I feel my identity is a mix of two cultures.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

66. **64. If I were to describe the relationship between the two cultures within myself, I'd depict them as integrated.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

67. **65. Most of my friends see me as belonging to both my Iranian culture and current host culture.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

4. Personality

To what extent do the following statements apply to you?

68. *
Mark only one oval per row.

	totally not applicable	hardly applicable	moderately applicable	largely applicable	completely applicable
66. I sympathize with others	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

67. I try out various approaches					
68. I find it difficult to make contacts					
69. I am reserved					
70. I like routine					
71. I set others at ease					
72. I take the lead					
73. I am often the driving force behind things					
74. I am looking for new ways to attain my goal					
75. I make contacts easily					
76. I keep calm when things don't go well.					
77. I have a feeling for what is appropriate in a specific culture					
78. I seek contact with people from a different background					
79. I have a fixed habits					
80. I like to imagine solutions for problems					
81. I am insecure					
82. I want to know exactly what will happen					
83. I enjoy other people's stories					
84. I start a new life easily					
85. I am under pressure					
86. I get upset easily					
87. I leave the initiative to others to make contacts					
88. I pay attention to the emotions of others					
89. I look for regularity in life					
90. I am nervous					
91. I function best in a familiar setting					
92. I am a good listener					
93. I work according to plan					
94. I am inclined to speak out					
95. I have a broad					

range of interests					
96. I am apt to feel lonely					
97. I enjoy getting to know others profoundly					
98. I take initiatives					
99. I am not easily hurt					
100. I work mostly according to a strict scheme					
101. I notice when someone is in trouble					
102. I sense when others get irritated					
103. I worry					
104. I work according to strict rules					
105. I am a trendsetter in societal developments					

69. **If you have any other comments and/or suggestions please use this box below.**

Thanks you very much for your time! Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

APPENDIX 2

Qualitative Study: Semi-Structured Interview

Participant Declaration:

. I have been informed about the nature of this interview and willing to consent to take part in it.

. I understand that data from this interview will remain anonymous and I will not be identifiable in the write-up of the data or in any publication that may ensue.

. I understand that the interview will be recorded and that the recording will be destroyed as soon as it has been transcribed.

. I am over 16 years of age.

Interview section:

1. Do you swear in Persian more than in English? Why do you think you would/would not? Please explain.

2. Do you think the period of time you have lived outside Iran affected your language preference for swearing? Can you please explain?

3. Do Persian swearwords feel more offensive than English ones? Why/why not? Please explain.

4. Does swearing in English allow you to express your anger better than swearing in Persian? Why/why not? Please explain.