



universität
wien

DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

„Gender Performance and Obscene Language in
American Series - A Diachronic Study“

Verfasserin

Kristina Kirova, Bakk.phil.

angestrebter akademischer Grad

Magistra der Philosophie (Mag.phil.)

Wien, Jänner 2013

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 343

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Anglistik

Betreuer:

Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Nikolaus Ritt

Non-Plagiarism Declaration

The undocumented use of intellectual work, especially the unreferenced acquisition of passages in texts constitutes plagiarism. Hereby I declare that all material in this thesis is my own work and does not involve plagiarism unless explicitly referred to as the mindset of somebody else.

Kristina Kirova

Vienna, January 2013

Table of Contents

i.	Cover Sheet	1
ii.	Non-Plagiarism Declaration	2
iii.	Table of Contents	3
iv.	List of Tables and Figures	5
v.	Foreword	6
vi.	Preface	8
vii.	Acknowledgement	10
1.	Introduction	12
2.	Genre Theory and New Historicism	13
3.	Cultural and Broadcast History of the United States	16
4.	Waves of Feminism and Gender Identity	21
5.	Profanity and Performance	29
6.	Research Questions and Hypotheses	41
7.	Operationalization	43
8.	Methodology	47
8. 1.	Choice of Series	51
8. 2.	Elicitation Tool and Implementation	61
8. 3.	Codebook and Categories	62

9. Analysis and Results	70
10. Discussion	78
11. References	84
11.1. Newspaper Articles and Audience Reception	92
11.2. Ratings and Population Estimates	93
11.3. Video Material	94
11.4. Corpora	99
11.5. Images	99
12. Appendix	100
12.1. Empirical Study	100
12.1.1. Transcriptions	100
12.1.2. Statistical Evaluations	122
12.1.3. Data Sheets	133
12.2. Corpus Study	152
13. Abstract in German	160
14. Curriculum Vitae	161

iv. List of Tables and Figures

Tables

Table 1. The indicator system for the selection of series 52-54

Table 2. An abridged illustration of the codebook disclosing all categories with examples 64

Table 3. Distribution of tokens in all series according to gender 71

Table 4. The number of occurrences of obscene language in the time spans 1950s, 1970s, and 2000s as analyzed in COHA 76

Table 5. Comparisons of token frequency between written texts in COHA and spoken texts in COCA and COSA in the 2000s decade 77

Figures

Figure 1. Top Ranking of high-frequency items in *I Love Lucy* out of a total of 68 tokens uttered by females 72

Figure 2. Top Ranking of high-frequency items in *Laverne & Shirley* out of a total of 35 tokens uttered by females 72

Figure 3. Top Ranking of high-frequency items in *Sex and the City* out of a total of 220 tokens uttered by females 73

v. Foreword

I have known Kristina for a very long time but have never lived in the same country with her. We would see each other only during the holidays and the rest of the year was filled with calls and emails that were about what was going on with us in personal plan and also interesting discussions. It thrilled to write this foreword when I was asked if I would liked to as it was a pleasure reading Kristina's work both as a friend and a student myself. It was great to see how the thoughts that have always been buzzing in her mind now are wrapped in theories and backed with academic knowledge only to result in pages and pages of excellent research.

I remember several years back we watched Stanley Kubrick's *Eyes Wide Shut*. It was an odd movie we both agreed but it was not until the end that we had to press pause and rewind several times- "Fuck" she said. The tender, fairy like, gentle and beautiful Nicole Kidman said the four letter word "Fuck" without hesitation or any traits of intimidation, she uttered it in a calm soft voice. The end. The movie just cut right after she said it and we stared at the screen in silence for a second. It just seemed an oddly wrong thing for her to utter. Our internalized conventions of what a gentle female behaved like were shattered in a whim by Kubrick's short ending. This somehow led to a full on amateur teenage analysis that we did for the pure pleasure of unraveling the webs of thought that the film was based on. More importantly our chat began to slowly revolve around one topic that seemed to dominate the rest- that word. We kept on going back to it again and again realizing that somehow we both instinctively felt that she a gentle loving mother and wife (despite her dreams), should not have said it. Or...maybe she should have? We begun to question it, perhaps we were wrong to think that there was a right or wrong way to be a woman. We debated it for a while and the conclusion seemed to be- why not, why shouldn't she. It felt liberating and could have been also interpreted as empowering, she demanded what she needed and wanted. It was late so we had to wrap it up and get done with the philosophizing but the subject of femininity kept coming up in our regular email correspondence. This false security of the post-feminist world we live in that is often shattered by the statistics about women in power or women taking up high positions in their fields.

If we scratch the surface of equality we would see that although we have moved few steps forward we are not quite there yet. The topic of Kristina's research has done exactly that- scratched it severely only to find that there is also an issue when it comes to language. We see how performance of gender is codified and constructed in society and also how these codes and constructions have altered throughout the years. The significance of language may be underestimated by some at first glance but its importance is immense as language is the means by which we use to express ourselves, to project ourselves in the world and reciprocally it influences the way we see others projecting themselves. The historical perspective in Kristina's work made me think a lot about that, about our use of language and more importantly our use of foul language. The use of profanity has been revolutionized and women have it as part of their munitions now. Looking back at the 50s and the decades after, we see the stereotypes of gender although changed are still here with us, sadly we still regard a girl who uses such language as vulgar and we take it as something far less acceptable than if she was a man. This is to show how essential the topic of this research was especially for feminist studies.

Evelin Petkova

vi. Preface

In its broadest sense I would like to conduct a study of the structure of society as it is reflected and created by language. To narrow down the abstract to a microcosm I would like to investigate the relationship between linguistic variation and gender in American series over time to see how alternative female identities have been portrayed in most popular and influential series over time on the basis of their performance of obscene language.

In the summer holidays of 2012 I spent two months visiting friends in New York. All my girlfriends there were very enthusiastic about the television series *Sex and the City*. We kept watching the series on rooftops, before party's, and during meetings. It seemed that Carry Bradshaw and her friends became our second closest companions. Back then, I couldn't really understand the hype surrounding *Sex and the City* as the last series had been stared eight years ago. Ever since 2004 the successful comedy drama had inspired a series of films and subsequent spin-offs such as *Gossip Girl* and *Girls*. They all seem to reflect strong and independent female roles as opposed to series which present women in traditional positions as housewives such as *Desperate Housewives*.

From a linguistic point of view a striking aspect about *Sex and the City* is the linguistic performance of the four female protagonists, that is their significant use of profanity. The women in *Sex and the City* use quite strong obscene language and explicitly discuss taboo themes, which deviate from traditional delineations of women on television. Thus, I started wondering about the relationship between obscene language and female identity and the identity transforming potential of this particular speech style performance since the early beginnings of television history. The combination of swearing and women seems to have been a highly disreputable combination over entire course of time, whereas its use by men appears to be a widely accepted normality (Gordon 1997: 61). In this respect, analyzing identity from a political point of view one might say that the performance of obscene language is connected to aspects such as masculinity, strength, credibility, dominance, and power (Read 1934, Jay 2000, Rassin 2005, Battistella 2005). Furthermore, the power relations attached to profanity seem to make it a catalyst that transfers masculinity aspects to female identity. The women in

Sex and the City all seem to use profanity rather technically as a rhetorical and identity device than using obscene language in its traditional function of frustration relief (Montagu 2001: 65).

In my analysis I chose to focus on American series as they seem to have a considerable impact on western civilization on the basis of their high proportion in the TV program of countries such as Austria, Germany, and Bulgaria, by far outweighing series of any other culture (including domestic programs). The importance of American series for western civilization grows with its dominant presence on television channels. Not only do television series contribute to a growing entertainment industry but they also transmit cultural implications, norms, values, and lead to what is generally described as a cultural hegemony (Klewin 2007: 8). The entertainment factor of series is accompanied with a presentation of ideas about normality: The audience finds a character charismatic and consequently adopts presented worldview, behavior, and attitudes. However, this should only outline the significance of this study in a wider context as ramifications about cultural hegemony and audience effects would go beyond the scope of the thesis. The focus will rather be centering on gender performance of obscene language and its connection to aspects of identity, whereby the diachronic analysis will be concerned on a textual analysis of influential television series featuring independent female protagonists, as well as a context analysis of the socio-historical developments since the post-war period with a superficial corpus study. Overall, this paper will content itself with an analysis of diachronic transformations and the relationship between the performance of obscene language and gender identity.

vii. Acknowledgement

I would like to thank my friends in New York for inspiring me with the idea for my diploma thesis. Also I would like to give thanks to my family who has been a driving force in moments of confusion. The colleges in my diploma seminar under the guidance of Professors Ute Smit and Malgorzata Fabiszak were a great help in the discussion of my thesis which motivated the elaboration of a sophisticated line of argumentation. I could not put into words my infinite gratitude to the most wonderful friends one could imagine for taking their time, patience, and motivation to not only proofread my paper but also accompany me during a winding research process with insightful discussions and cheers of encouragement. Shout-outs go to Sanja Nedeljkovic, Elke Grollitsch, and Evelin Petkova. Finally, I want to give profuse thanks to Professor Nikolaus Ritt who was an attentive supervisor and without whom the development of my idea could never have been possible.

*It seems today, that all you see
is violence in movies and sex on TV,
but where are those good old fashioned values,
on which we used to rely?*

(Family Guy, Theme Song)

1. Introduction

The order of chapters arises as a result of the logical step sequence of scientific work. A general discussion of genre theory and new historicism commences the sequence as the topic is grounded not only on a linguistic approach about performance and profanity but transcends these by taking into consideration interdisciplinary deliberations such as a socio-historical context analysis of American culture and Broadcasting, criticism and receptions of the analyzed television series, and feminist perspectives on the gender identity. What follows is a detailed revision of the linguistic research on profanity.

It shall be pointed out that the structure of the literature section aims to embed the linguistic variable in a wider context. Therefore, before discussing the linguistic aspect, the complexity of the various subfields feminism, historical studies, and media studies shall be deepened sufficiently before linking them to the field of historical and variational linguistics.

The literature part comprises a chapter on Genre Theory and New Historicism (Chapter 2), followed by elaborations on Cultural and Broadcasting history of the United States (Chapter 3), Waves of Feminism and Gender Identity (Chapter 4), and last but not least, Profanity and Performance (Chapter 5). Subsequently, research questions and the operationalization in Chapters 6 and 7 initiate the empirical part, which is followed by the methodology with detailed descriptions and a rationale about the choice of television series, the elicitation tool, the means of implementation, and the listing of categories in the codebook in Chapter 8. In succession Chapter 9 depicts the analysis of the results of the empirical study, whereas the discussion in Chapter 10 aims to answer the research questions and integrate the results in the wider field of afore going research.

2. Genre Theory and New Historicism

From a cultural studies perspective Newcomb and Hirsch (1983: 564) define television as both a cultural forum and a communication channel that reflect various ideas on dominant ideologies. Hence, they see the potential of television in its bricolage nature that avails oneself of various media genres and opinions that appeal to a wide audience (Newcomb & Hirsch 1983: 564). According to them, television does not affirm dominant ideologies but rather presents the audience with a multitude of ideas. Newcomb and Hirsch (1983: 571) are interested in the dynamics of the medium by searching for an answer to the question how television generates change rather than how it maintains dominant positions. In this way, they transcend the transportation view according to which television wants to influence morals, and the ritual model that sees television as a representation of shared beliefs, and put the process instead of the product centre-stage (Newcomb & Hirsch 1983: 571).

Seeing television as a process can be linked to Stuart Hall's conception of culture as a process of meaning making (Mittell 2008). In order to understand the complexity of the cultural process involved in the generation of social practices on television, the analysis must work beyond a mere textual analysis and capture contextual aspects and interpretations of zeitgeist and episteme. This would enable the perception of cultural artifacts such as media reception and journalism, work to constitute television genres and their cultural values (Mittell 2008: 51f). Mittell (2008: 54) points out that "the ability to analyze how genre definitions, meanings, and evaluations all intermingle with cultural power relations is the primary advantage to an approach examining genres as discursive processes". Translating these deliberations into the domain of practice this means that the researcher may begin with a textual analysis of the material but must consider genre transcending aspects so as to see how these categories operate within audience and industry practices. This could be accomplished by taking into account texts such as corporate documents, audience practices, and media responses, as an exclusive focus on the examined texts would not account for reasons of transition and development (Mittell 2008: 56). Mittell (2008: 43) assumes that genres are constituted by cultural practices instead of possessing intrinsic factors. This assumption locates genres within complex interrelations among texts, industries, audiences, and historical

contexts and assumes that genres are externally created labels (Mittell 2008: 43). Thus, a genre can be seen as a common category that emerges from the intertextual relation between texts and cultural practices of reception and production (Mittell 2008: 42). The development of genres then evolves out of a mutual feedback loop between the reactions of industry personnel to audiences viewing practices and vice versa (Mittell 2008: 42). There are various reasons for the formation of genres: On the one hand, they foster the establishment of fan and viewing practices, while on the other hand, they constitute a crucial way of sorting shows into a schedule (Mittell 2008: 37). The potential of genres even transcends the trivia, and helps to foster people's perception of normality and with this plays a far-reaching aspect in the transmission of world views:

Texts carried by a mass medium such as television, which have huge audiences, are often constructed in a manner that makes them easily understood by large numbers of people. As a result, they tend to be formulaic- that is, they observe certain familiar conventions which make it relatively easy for audiences to follow them [...] the categories function as far more than descriptive classifications. They are ways of organizing ideas about social issues, human experience, cultural behavior. Comedies, for example, may seem to be silly diversions in many cases, but often they are also very important arenas for exposing the "rules" and "standards" that go unnoticed in everyday life. [...] Very serious social issues such as AIDS, abortion, health care, and crime have been explored in "comedies" and the mixtures of expectations and outcomes require audiences to adopt a different relationship with both the topics and the genre. In this sense genres are not merely descriptions or production facilitators- they are ways of thinking about the world. (Berger 1997)

Mittell (2008: 38) addresses that a leading question media sciences is trying to answer is "How do television programs fit into historically specific systems of cultural power and politics?" He goes on by breaking down the traditions of genre theory into three basic types of approaches being definition (delimiting formal mechanisms and elements), interpretation (situating meanings of text in wider social context), and history (how changing cultural circumstances bring about generic shifts) (Mittell 2008: 39). Instead of a black-and-white thinking one may turn to face the grey area with its fuzzy boundaries, discursive shifts, and dynamic processes instead of mapping down chronologies, and strict definitions that are based on dualistic right-wrong schemes (Mittell 2008: 45-48). "Approaching genres as discursive formations enables us to balance notions of genre as both active process and stable formation: fluid over time yet

coherent at any given moment" (Mittell 2008: 47). Seeing genre clusters as transitory facilitates the perception of their operativeness in other socio-historic contexts. By seeing television as a cultural forum full of dynamic processes, the text itself becomes an agent who does not only incorporate mimetic strategies such as reflecting social realities but rather the mimesis is accompanied by aspects of negotiation and exchange (During 1991: 182). What follows is the importance of setting a text within a wider context and larger "cultural narrative" in order to clarify its aesthetic value (Levinson 2012: 375). "Contemporary theory must situate itself: not outside interpretation, but in the hidden places of negotiation and exchange" (Greenblatt 2008: 214). At this point, New Historicism allows the mediation between both past and present, as well as, text and context which During (1991: 173) describes as a "fusion of horizons". A leading principle of the approach is the awareness of bias in the analysis of historic data. This means that over the examination of archaic material, our knowledge is based on contemporary reports, given historical reconstructions, and the style and form of the text itself (Levinson 2012: 359). Yet, New Historicism is not a new development but rather an interdisciplinary encroachment from literary studies to disciplines such as history and politics (During 1991: 171). In his own words Greenblatt (2008: 4) describes New Historicism "less as a set of beliefs than the trajectory [...] that led [...] to a fascination with [...] the historicity of texts and the textuality of history". He distances himself from mimetic theories as outlined earlier and rather makes an attempt "to construct in its stead an interpretive model that will more adequately account for the unsettling circulation of materials and discourses that is [...] the heart of modern aesthetic practice. It is in response to this practice that contemporary theory must situate itself: not outside interpretation, but in the hidden places of negotiation and exchange" (Greenblatt 2008: 214). The importance of understanding shifts in epistemological change is prior to the theory and its chain of thoughts that aims at tracing changes in notions such as 'pleasure' in order to learn about shifts in their meaning and directionality (Greenblatt 2008: 14). New Historicism can be a helpful approach in feminist studies especially when trying to detect the role of gender in spoken or written texts (Lennox 1992: 159). Following Foucault, Spigel (2004: 1213) stresses the importance of seeing feminine media studies as a discursive formation composed of variety of practices such as advice, criticism, manifesto, theory, history, autobiography, ethnography. She points out the significance of interdisciplinary research of feminist studies because "it opens up questions that we might not ask within the confines of our own field" (Spigel 2004: 1211). It needs to be

pointed out that the assignment of identities (gender being an example thereof) to people is a political issue, wherefore the analysis of identity as based on feminist agenda is a scientific choice (During 1991: 188). To this study, it is highly relevant point out the conjuncture of the involuntary allocation of political identity that is gender to a collective group of people. Further considerations on gender follow in Chapter 4.

3. Cultural and Broadcast History of the United States

This chapter will give an overview of cultural trends throughout the history of the United States of America with special focus on those socio-political forces and technical progress that are influential for feminism and broadcasting from 1940 until 2000. Afterwards a general discussion about standards and regulations of broadcast programming will follow. The chapter shall begin with a thought on the paradigm shift that transformed views about power relations and hierarchical structures in the broadcast industry, namely in the transition of institution based approaches towards discursive formations as described by Streeter (1996) as follows

McChesney defines the boundaries of his field in terms given by a corporate-dominated institution- "broadcast history"- and understands political action in terms of established institutional forms and practices, particularly conventional nonprofits and Federal legislation. The new social-cultural history, in contrast, tends to be organized more in terms of audiences, communities, and social groupings, and would include works that do not make broadcasting their central focus but nonetheless address issues crucial to understanding broadcasting's commercial character and place in society.

Thus, in the early beginnings of television evolution broadcasting may indeed have been a very institution based field. Recent zeitgeist trends however show the increase of differentiation of the mass audience, which is fostered by the progress of technical developments such as the emergence of the internet (Stafford 2004: 8). These circumstances can be said to have loosened the reins in the media sector or partly even have handed them over to the critical audience. Nevertheless, the historical survey shall start in the 1940s period and the shift from radio to television. Due to its reasonable

price value and its information potential (though being used primarily as propaganda by the government), radio was the number one mass medium until the 1940s. Though the television device had already been presented at the World Fair in 1939, its production was hampered by the political conditions so that the rise of television did not follow until the end of the Second World War (Goodwin 1999). "The placement of television technology into the domestic space involved a lot of confusion, struggle, negotiation of gender and other social roles, and conflicting belief systems about the organization of leisure in modern communities" (Streeter 1996). The negotiation of gender shall at this point be sketched on an example related to television: Up to the Second World War, women incorporated the traditional role of the housewife, which was considerably time consuming due to the inefficient technical equipment of kitchens (Goodwin 1999). With the entering of women in the work force of the industries, they experienced the imposition of a double role. TV dinners, that is ready made food in trays, depicted a substantial relief to the pressure bothered woman (Schlosser 2001). Smith and Kiger (2004) link two crucial American trends that according to them "transformed American society", which are Fast Food and Television. What on first hand may seem far-fetched shows to be the revelation of an ingeniously elaborated industry conglomeration: "The food product actually worked in synergy with the still new medium to help turn television watching into an American compulsion" (Smith & Kiger 2004). In this way eating habits were transformed so that the communal family experience turned into a "vaguely satisfied sensation of having their [people's] stomachs full" (Smith & Kiger 2004). The most important factor in the decision making process of whether or not to buy TV dinners constituted convenience. In some respect, fast food had a liberating effect on women, while it fostered pressure towards perfecting one's cooking skills to the ideal of the stylized and symmetrical food server. Nevertheless, by the end of the twentieth century incredible two thirds of America's population consumed TV dinners (Schlosser 2001). Schlosser (2001) describes how the consumerism- and capitalism- driven American market as a side effect transformed gender roles in what "it used to be, even in many low-income families, that the father worked and the mother stayed home to raise the children. Now it seems that no one's home and that both parents work just to make ends meet" (Schlosser 2001). However, the end of World War II brought back together thousands of families and their resumption of a normal way of life (Bradley 1998). Just about then, commercial television commenced in 1947 with the introduction of 13 channels and in this displacing the radio (Goodwin 1999). In the 1950s the United

States Census Bureau counted approximately 152 million US citizens, which almost doubled to 273 million in 1999 (United States Census Bureau 2000). Although the installation of television systems edged ahead it skyrocketed relatively rapidly: In the 1950s only less than 4 per cent of all American households had a television system, by 1951 the number tripled, and jumped to a 95% coverage with 60 million households in 1970 (United States Census Bureau 2000). Similar trends are represented in device sales of the times "At the end of the war, only 5,000 television sets with five inch black and white screens, were in American homes. By 1951, 17 million had been sold" (Goodwin 1999). This progress goes hand in hand with the number of average time spent watching television rising from 5 hours in 1958 to 6 hours in 1978, and 7 hours in the 90s (Steinberg 1979; Whitley 2001). Taking into consideration the low number of device-distribution a considerable 70% of all television households in 1952 were watching *I Love Lucy*, which still is considered to be one of the highest ratings in US television history (Nielsen Media Research). If the 40s were the blooming time for movies (again being commissioned for educational purposes by the ministry) and popular entertainment shows on radio, these paternal media had to open the way to television in the 50s (Goodwin 1999). Although broadcasting began with the adaption of popular radio formats to television such as soap operas, it soon initiated the development of own genres. The motion pictures pulled audiences and gained status as well as reliance, which were based on its visual format that evoked authenticity and closeness especially with the upheaval of color broadcasts in 1954:

Perhaps the most far reaching change in communications worldwide was the advancement in the area of television broadcasting. During the 1950s, television became the dominant mass media as more people brought television into their homes in greater numbers of hours per week than ever before. In the early fifties, the number of hours young people watched TV steadily increased, a trend which has not changed greatly since that time. What was portrayed on television became accepted as normal. The ideal family, the ideal schools and neighborhoods, the world, were all seen in a way which had only partial basis in reality. People began to accept what was heard and seen on television because they were "eye witnesses" to events as never before. (Bradley 1998)

The troublesome circumstances of the 1960s included the Vietnam war and the uproar of social movements such as feminism and hippies, which fledged television and

introduced taboo themes such as race and homosexuality to the format and lead to an attitude Gillis describes as "Nothing was considered sacred" (Gillis 1999). In the 1990s internet revolutionized the means of communication and heralded the start of the electronic age (Whitley 2001). While 15 per cent of American households possessed a computer device with a quadrupled number in 2000, television covered 98 per cent of the households with people watching seven hours on average per day (Whitley 2001). With series such as *Ellen*, *Will and Grace*, and *NYPD Blue*, the turn of the century marked concerns for moral issues surrounding gender, violence, nudity, offensive language, and political incorrectness (Whitley 2001). An important factor concerning the development of audience synergies constitutes the shift to multi-channel television in the 90s which ended the existence of the high-rated "big 'event' sitcom" (Stafford 2004: 8). Furthermore, Stafford (2004: 8) sees the issue for modern formats in the fragmentation of audiences, "sitcoms now target more defined niche audiences on a range of channels. It is more difficult for a sitcom to 'tap into' contemporary issues [...] since a varied audience is not watching". The appearance of private cable operators such as HBO in the 70s triggered off a fierce competition of the networks, who aimed to attract advertisers and popularity among an increasingly diversifying audience. This and a consumer driven market brought to light more aggressive methods (Bates). One factor that seems to have determined consumer choices was the expectation about the nature of the network. As quoted by Turner (2000: 112), CBS designee Altieri trenchantly defines the essence of the distinction between cable and public networks:

When you go to a movie, you expect to see graphic depictions of language, sex and violence. That's what you're paying for. It's the same thing with cable; it's your choice whether or not to subscribe to it. But our network (CBS) comes into your home as a guest. We have to draw the line.

The main goal aspired by public broadcast networks hence was to "attract the largest audiences to their programs and advertisers while offending the smallest number of people" (Turner 2000: 110). In consequence, companies made an attempt to lure audiences with excess, violence, and special effects, and thus influenced psychological aspects of series such as character behavior and their developments (Berger 1997). The emergence of ABC network is a good example to illustrate the mutual interdependency of competition and standards:

What really changed in 1976 was the emergence of ABC as a force in the industry [...] ABC began targeting younger viewers, the 18-34 "power buyers" demographic that national advertisers wanted with shows like *Happy Days*, *Charlie's Angels*, and *Laverne & Shirley* had the series with top ratings but also looser standard. (Turner 2000: 119)

Still, the networks incorporate internal regulation systems. Major compartments in their politics represent the program department, which is concerned with the choice of series, and the standard department, whose prior interest lies in the series content (Turner 2000: 111). The considerable amount of financial funding via advertising revenues which rocketed at 15.6 billion dollars in 2000 depicted a liberating factor to broadcasting industries (Turner 2000: 111). As a rule, self-regulations and guidelines depending on day and night time programming are allocated on the level of 'program', while the standards department operates "as a system of independent checks and balances" being concerned with audience expectations and advertisers' needs by seeking to establish high acceptability among all audiences (Turner 2000: 111). The major problems about standards are their dependency on the personal risk disposition of the staff and managers, the quality of the program, the resistance of writers to a maximum of "editorial freedom", the voice of supporters and advertisers, social responsibility and obligations of the entertainment providers towards their audience (Turner 2000: 113-122). Still, against the denigration of networks as a wolf in sheep's clothing, consumers were protected by a number of instances, such as the FCC (Federal Communications Commission, see Chapter 5), the family viewing method, the allocation of a motion picture rating system spanning from general-audience-type G to adults-only X, and the regulation of time scheduling of programs (Turner 2000: 117; Berger 1997). Finally, Berger concludes that in general, all genre and production based processes in the entertainment industry are led by economic forces being founded on the "syndication of successful programs" and big hits (Berger 1997). She sums up the inevitable status quo:

It is precisely these economic questions that underlie any complete understanding of the role of genre in television. In commercially-supported systems producers and programmers offer genres to audiences and shift their financial support toward those that draw large numbers or particularly desirable viewers. In systems rooted in public support, additional genres may be supplied for smaller audiences and more

specialized groups, and non-formulaic presentations may provide a greater portion of the scheduled offerings without regard to costs [...] Either the financial constraints or the cultural significance can be deemed the primary factor in understanding any given program, but both must be recognized to fully understand the significance of genre in television as a system. As a form of classification within the medium, then, genre is an active and indispensable concept at almost every level of practice. Whether future forms of television alter this significance remains to be seen. (Berger 1997)

4. Waves of Feminism and Gender Identity

This chapter will explore notions of female identity, the development of feminism, and the relevance of gender performance in television series. The search for identity is a crucial aspect of modern society and can be seen as a process accompanying changes in the socio-cultural, political, and media spheres (Zirfas 2010: 10). Identity seems to bear answer and affirmation to the individuals questions in critical times of upheaval: "Where do I belong and who am I" (Zirfas 2010: 10). Yet, the topic is not new and the term of identity already occurred in Grimm's dictionary of 1854. Despite the lack of a focused discussion in a single entry, identity was used as a subcategory term to define entities such as the self or self-sameness, which according to the dictionary were comprised of elements such as constancy, perfection, unity, and continuity (Zirfas 2010: 11). Traces of the self reach back as far as the ancient greek *autos* or its latin equivalent *idem*, which emphasizes the longstanding tradition and universal claim of the subject (Zirfas 2010: 11). Still, contemporary scholars distance themselves from such static conceptions of seeing the self as a perfected whole being. Instead, they identity issues to change and contingency, according to which self-perception underlies the process of constant evaluation, adaption, redefinition, and last but not least, work (Zirfas 2010: 15). "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" Butler (1986: 35) famously quotes Simone de Beauvoir in an essay subsequently stressing the distinction between sex and gender, whereby gender is to be perceived as a progressive identity aspect which in no incidence is inherent or natural to a persona. The importance of the sex-gender delineation affects socio-political perceptions of women and their position in society

The distinction between sex and gender has been crucial to the long-standing feminist effort to debunk the claim that anatomy is destiny; *sex* is understood to be the invariant, anatomically distinct, and factic aspects of the female body, whereas *gender* is the cultural meaning and form that that body acquires, the variable modes of that body's acculturation. With the distinction intact, it is no longer possible to attribute the values or social functions of women to biological necessity, and neither can we refer meaningfully to natural or unnatural gendered behavior: all gender is, by definition, unnatural. (Butler 1986: 35)

Instead of viewing gender identity as an ontological notion Butler (1988: 519) suggests its dynamic quality "rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time- an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts". In this respect, gender can also be viewed as a performance that is subjected to social values, regulations and taboo (Markle 2008: 49-50). The societal infliction of meaning on gender affects the linguistic component (Gao Gao 2008: 11). Generally, language style and expression are choices that shape speaker identity. Language as an aspect of personal and social identity is then widely subjected to societal standards and in itself is a considerable part of gender identity. Societal expectations of what are to be considered proper expressions vary according to the gender of the speaker and are based on role models and stereotypes (Gao Gao 2008: 11). The dominance of a "white western male viewpoint" in a predominantly patriarchal society is quite striking aspect that influences gender characterizations and role allocations (Nochlin). This may explain the prevalence of traditional gender roles with the women's primary role being the one of the angel in the house (Women's International Center 1994). Before the sex-gender distinction and the feminist headway in the socio-political domain in the 1920s "the myth of the natural inferiority of women greatly influenced the status of women in law [...] During the early history of the United States, a man virtually owned his wife and children as he did his material possessions" (Women's International Center 1994). While traditional gender roles are relicts from the male dominated periods of the past, generalized portrayals of women and men are still upheld on television (Klewin 2007: 13). "Research regarding gender roles and television has a long history, dating back to the 1960s and 1970s" (Klewin 2007: 13). Klewin (2007: 13) lists a compilation of twelve studies, which confirm the reinforcement of stereotyped sex roles in television. A recent study conducted by Lauren, Dozler and Haran (2008: 1) affirms the studies by showing

women's unchanged personification of traditional roles. In addition, Klewin (2007: 14) points out the considerable underrepresentation of females in television sitcoms with men holding an average of 70 per cent of starring roles in prime-time programming, which is a factor that does not correlate with the population of the nation that is balanced between men and women. Enhanced stereotyping and over-generalizations in television have an impact on viewers' perceptions. According to Social Learning Theory, recurrent depictions on televisions increase children's and adults' approval of the transmitted roles, traits and role behaviors (Klewin 2007: 17). Television series can then be seen as culturally produced messages that illustrate scripts that are learned by viewers (Markle 2008: 46). Also, a study by McGhee and Fröh shows that "heavy television viewers held more stereotyped sex-role perceptions than light viewers" suggesting the assumption that the likelihood of a subsequent behavioral acquisition by viewers is relatively high (Klewin 2007: 17). The pedagogic aspect of television lies in its nature as "a cultural forum through which viewers can learn about their social selves. It can also be influential in identity construction" (Markle 2008: 52). Despite seeing television as a forum for discursive practices (also see Chapter 2), one needs to take into consideration that the majority of tenors on television incorporate traditional role models. Thus, the alleged multitude of practices is turned into a mass of contents with a distinguishing surface but identical values. In total, this state of affairs fosters the cultivation of the viewers' understanding of social reality towards a mainstream and the reinforcement of stereotypes (Klewin 2007: 6). In general, three distinct stereotypes of women seem to prevail in society, those three being the traditional woman, the career woman, and the sex tool (Klewin 2007: 6). In general, studies have shown that desirable attributes assigned to the idea of a proto-woman include submissiveness, tactfulness, need for security, empathy, and benevolence, whereas traits such as dominance, self-confidence, and leadership are ascribed to men (Klewin 2007: 6). The 20th century marks a revolutionary milestone in female history and the transition of those traditional role models. Long-held perceptions of a dominant patriarchal society regarded women as post-positioned subjects. The archaic status quo is encapsulated by the Women's International Center (1994) as follows:

Since early times women have been uniquely viewed as a creative source of human life. Historically, however, they have been considered not only intellectually inferior to men [...] Throughout most of history women generally have had fewer legal rights

and career opportunities than men. Wifehood and motherhood were regarded as women's most significant professions. In the 20th century, however, women in most nations won the right to vote and increased their educational and job opportunities. Perhaps most important, they fought for and to a large degree accomplished a reevaluation of traditional views of their role in society.

Female independence rose only incrementally, which can be seen in comparisons of employment figures between 1930 where only 2 per cent of American employees in the law sector were women and a tenfold rise in 1989 (Women's International Center 1994). While almost half of all registered employees were female, only a small number of them were in charge of a decision-making job (Women's International Center 1994). The status of women underwent considerable enhancement with legal achievements in the 1960s including the implementation of a number of federal laws such as the Equal Pay Act and the adding of an anti-discrimination proviso in the Civil Rights Act (Women's International Center 1994). Since its dawn, feminism traversed a number of mutations, which can be divided into three stages also known as 'waves': Those are the time before feminism as briefly sketched before, the first wave consisting of the actual emergence of feminist voices, the second wave feminism, and the third wave or waves displaying the fragmentation of feminism into a multitude of subgroups (Gerhard 2005: 39). This distinction shall be discussed fairly briefly, although it needs to be pointed out that numerous objections have been raised with regard to the definition of the feminist development as 'waves'. Spigel (2004: 1212) for example criticizes that "the waves thesis works to place old feminists on the beach- washed up like fish on the shore". However, the choice of this categorization has been considered not with the aim to compromise or ridicule feminism but rather this distinction allows a straightforward survey of the historical ongoings. Times prior to feminism were dominated by patriarchal societal structures with a value system that positioned women in second place after men as already sketched above. The demand of female voices for equal rights, suffrage, and legal liberations did not rise until 1913 (Gerhard 2005: 40). At this stage, claims were condensed to a grassroots movement up until the 1920s with the umbrella term feminism as it is known today being nascent in the 1930s:

The term new woman came to be used in the popular press. More young women than ever were going to school, working both in blue- and white-collar jobs, and living by themselves in city apartments. Some social critics feared that feminism,

which they interpreted to mean the end of the home and family, was triumphing. Actually, the customary habits of American women were changing little. Although young people dated more than their parents did and used the automobile to escape parental supervision, most young women still married and became the traditional housewives and mothers. (Women's International Center 1994)

Considerable transformation of gender identity was experienced during the Second World War, which forced many women into the heavy industries. The contemporary witness Sauer gives an account of her decision to help the nation and her experience as an aircraft manufacturer during the war: Until the break out of the war, Sauer had led a middle class homebound life "My husband was ten years older, and he always made me feel like a child, so he didn't think I would last very long at the job, but he was wrong" (Sauer). She describes the manufacturing work as a life experience that confronted her with new aspects "I had never been around uneducated people before [...] I was prudish and had never been with people that used coarse language" (Sauer). Later her mother would warn her of the irreversibility of her choice with regard to her identity:

"You will never want to go back to being a housewife." At the time I didn't think it would change a thing. But she was right- I had always been in a shell; I had always been protected. But at Boeing I found a freedom and an independence that I had never known [...] The war changed my life completely. I guess you could say, at thirty-one I finally grew up. (Sauer)

The newly gained perspectives and independence of women issued the springing up of a variety of feminist subgroups with different emphases on aspects such as racial issues, issues dealing with sexuality, socialism, radicalism in the 60s and 70s (Gerhard 2005: 39). Second-wave feminism achieved several goals and pushed women's way to substantial liberties in the domains of business, politics, and law (Novosat 2007: 29). What then followed and still subsists in contemporary times, on the one hand, was a further subdivision of the movements, and on the other hand, a reversal of feminist values in postfeminism described by Gerhard (2005: 40) as

If second wave feminism of the 1970s was a case study of political subdivision, then recent feminism is divided along entirely different lines. Beginning with Susan Faludi's 1991 Pulitzer Prize winning *Backlash: The Undeclared War against American Women*, the question was no longer "are you a cultural or radical

feminist?" but "is feminism dead or alive?" [...] antifeminism, or a broad rejection of feminist goals, transformed 70s feminism into 1990s postfeminism, a conviction rooted in popular culture's view of feminism's redundancy.

The paradigm change from feminism to post-feminism transformed the issues, which were no longer "female independence as challenged by independence but independent woman suffering under their independence" (Kim 2001: 320). In the eyes of postfeminism the ancestral feminism only had a relative value (Markle 2008: 37). Kim (2001: 321) sees complications in defining essential components of postfeminism but outlines that essential aspects are its reference to the present context. that is the era that followed second-wave feminism. Furthermore, she takes away its negative association with feminist redundancy by stressing that postfeminism "is the fulfillment of the backlash of the 1980s and 1990s such that we are now in a place where people [...] declare that there is no more need for feminism because they believe equality has been achieved" (Kim 2001: 321). With regard to gender identity, postfeminism offers a multitude of choices and gender roles, at the head led by the sexual revolution and its generation of power and confidence, which inverted traditional role models and resulted in the sophisticated new woman (Kim 2001: 331). "The image of the beautiful, sexy body thus becomes a sign of the confident, feminine self" (Attwood 2005: 399). The general consent of the idea of the new woman shows in the popularity of various contemporary texts such as the series *Sex and the City* "which champions the materialist, self-indulgent, single woman's plight to have "sex like men" (Novosat 2007: 29). Novosat (2007: 29), however, adds criticism to women's regained sexuality by arguing societies and media's propensity to exaggerate feminist ideas to a "feminist-less concept" of role expectations instead of providing real understanding of the multifacetedness of gender. Therefore, *Sex and the City* depicts a good example for the illustration of distinctive marks between second and third wave feminism:

The ghost of 70s feminism haunts SATC through a repressed, nightmarish vision of autonomous womanhood, the lesbian feminist, a man-hating, definitely humorless, and certainly fashion challenged caricature. Postfeminism is forged against this ghost of the scary lesbian/feminist as are most popular manifestations of "feminism" or "liberated women" since the 1970s [...] 70s feminists, lesbian or not, had by the late 1980s become profoundly associated with the critique of male sexuality in the anti-pornography movement. Misnamed "anti-sex" feminists, those who marched to

“take back the night” or who publicly spoke out against rape came to symbolize all that “feminism” could say (or not say) in terms of sexuality. (Gerhard 2005: 37)

Kim (2001: 321-322) points out the perpetual existence of "strong female characters" on American television dating as early as Lucille Ball in *I Love Lucy*. The increase of women in leading roles only started in the 70s and fostered a relatively strong representation of women on television. Later, especially series like *Ally McBeal* and *Sex and the City* have been major influences on female-centered sitcoms and portrayals of women (Stafford 2004: 6). Still, traditionally oriented feminist scholars share rather disappointed opinions about the portrayal of women by seeing series like *Sex and the City*, *The Bachelorette*, *Buffy*, or *Allie McBeal* not as a pivotal testimony but rather as the repackaging of "tits-and-ass into pseudo feminist series" that show a distorted image of the woman (Spigel 2004: 1212; Kim 2001: 323). Criticism is directed against consumerism-driven representations and the positioning of women as objects of gaze (Attwood 2005: 400; Markle 2008: 52). Therefore, aspects of quantity seem to be distorting and diverting from qualitative considerations about the difference between feminist and feminine discourses:

Women on television have long been points of identification for women in living rooms. What makes them interesting or engaging to women viewers is that what their characters deal with are things that women can find important- surface stories about family, husbands, and the laundry and subtextual frustrations about family, husbands, and the laundry. But even if television provides a place for feminine interests, [it] ultimately contains or repackages feminist discourses into feminine ones. (Kim 2001: 323)

Despite the inappropriateness of dualistic true-false distinctions, Kim's criticism of wrong feminist instances is overshadowed by her difficulties in specifying practical notions of "real" feminism. Also, stereotyping tendencies in the media incorporate over-generalizations of a number of mundane aspects for reasons such as simplification or amusement, wherefore the in-depth and complex portrayal of varied roles in the contemporary television program is not to be perceived as superficial and misleading but rather as beneficial (Markle 2008: 48). General tendencies in the media are not to be ascribed to simplistic matters of representation models but to be seen as the results of

the interrelations of complex socio-political and network-intern decisional processes that have been outlined in Chapter 2. As a genre series can be ranged rather in the conservative end of the continuum because in a majority of cases they portray traditional values being adjusted to the scheduling of prime-time family audience (Stafford 2004: 4).

Since the advent of television, a majority of programs incorporated male leading starring roles, whereas women predominantly were cast in ensembles (Stafford 2004: 5). The popularity of a series seemed to go hand in hand with the transgression of traditional roles by at least one character of the cast such as perceived in *I Love Lucy*: "Most sitcoms are fairly safe, but the successful ones have been seen to 'push' the limits by breaking taboos e.g. sex, death" (Stafford 2004: 4). Recently, several studies particularly outline the transgression of gender identity by women via the performance of masculinity in series such as *Sex and the City* (Markle 2008: 45-46; Gerhard 2005: 37; Gennaro 2007: 266). Gerhard describes this aspect as "queerness" by meaning the merging of female and male qualities in a persona, which will be discussed in greater detail in connection to the Androgyny Approach in Chapter 5. Generally, Queerness involves "attempts to weaken the naturalized and normalizing binaries of sexuality (straight vs. gay) and of gender (masculine vs. feminine), it offers important insights into the show's approach to the women's desires" (Gerhard 2005: 37). Also, Markle (2008: 45-46) points out that the characters in *Sex and the City* make an attempt to "transgress gendered sexual roles in their quest to experience "sex like a man", which they characterize as without feeling, for pleasure only, and with no commitment". While the characters sustain privileges of womanliness such as their appealing looks "women, if they so chose, can work, talk, and have sex "like men" (Gennaro 2007: 266). Special attention needs to be brought to the aspect of "talk" pointed out by Gennaro, which introduces the idea of masculinity induced by language style. Gennaro (2007: 266) goes further to link feminist achievements to the progress of linguistic freedom for women:

The sexuality of dialogue and the ways in which the four single girls [in *Sex and the City*] inhabit the bar atmosphere and shoot tequila while talking about sex suggests that being a cosmopolitan woman [...] allows them to interact in a male-type fashion in spaces where those types of actions had previously only been available to men.

The inversion of identity is closely linked to aspects of power discourse, which have been transformed by the second-wave movements, equipping the speaker with tool and variational choices of language style to overcome traditional hierarchies. One sample characteristic of the deviation of female behavior towards masculine performance appears to be the increase of verbal aggressiveness of women in contemporary sitcoms (Glascock 2001: Abstract). The linguistic aspect of identity shall be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

5. Profanity and Performance

This chapter will focus on the performance of obscene language. It will try to give definitions and elaborations on crucial aspects that surround the understanding of the phenomenon as a complex carrier of meaning rather than just simple words. Following the sequence, the chapter will give definitions of profanity, a historical sketch of developments surrounding the issue, broadcasting provisions restricting indecency in mass media, and finally identity aspects.

In a majority of cultures obscene language is seen as a transgression of societal language norms and political correctness (Battistella 2005: 90). Norms and societal value system are mirrored in the etiquette, which are societal guidelines for bias-free language, which are a warrant for proper social behavior (Jay 2000: 206). Mostly those "codes of conduct" are initiated by the authority in order to guarantee both control and predictability of peoples behavior as well as to foster the establishment of respect for the authority in power (Jay 2000: 206). Based on this notion, the culture poses two different kinds of constraints on language choice, which are constraints on the lexicon and constraints on how speakers communicate about certain tabooed notions (Jay 1992: 165). The conglomeration of both aspects contains restrictions on linguistic performance, hence, influences speakers' lexical choices and strategies to address (or circumvent) taboo items. For the reason of convenience this study will not distinguish between taboo of concept and taboo of word but will focus on the latter aspect, namely negatively valued words and expressions (Read 1934: 264). The majority of taboo

words are comprised by sex, sex organs, and natural bodily functions (Fromkin 1993: 303). The attempt of mitigating the offensiveness of the expression comes in form of a euphemism. Strictly speaking, euphemisms are no taboo items but shall be included for reasons of speaker coping strategies with forbidden subject matters. Bowers (2011) points out that taboo words and euphemisms operate on different semantic levels leading to a different affective response, and thus, "mean two different things". While offensive words trigger a strong reaction, euphemisms reduce the bias to a weak response as they "serve to avoid frightening or unpleasant subjects" (Fromkin 1993: 304). Contrastingly, taboo words appear to be substitutes for actions as described by Hughes (1991: 11)

Societal taboos [...] become revealing indicators of evolving social mores, and reflect differing attitudes towards major forces which sustain, alter or threaten life
[...] Taboos often reveal divisions within a society, there being different conventions according to class, position, sex, and age.

Also taboo words are powerful notions, which serve the need of the speaker to add force to a communicative intent as Jay puts it "they provide emotional intensity to speech that non-curse words can't achieve" (Jay 2000: 11). As the meaning of profanity is heavily dependent on context, vital aspects in the consideration of taboo words are type, function, and manner, which give "a sense of logic and purpose behind dirty word usage" (Jay 1992: 9). Jay (2000: 9) distinguishes various categories of obscene language such as swearing, obscenity, profanity, blasphemy, epithet, insults, verbal aggression, taboo speech, ethnic-racial slurs, vulgarity, slang, and scatology. Based on the respective time and societal values, all these types can be categorized into either explicit (taboo, insult, vulgarism) or euphemistic forms (epithet, profanity) of profanity. Humphries adds the factor of communicative function including dysphemistic, cathartic, emphatic, abusive, and idiomatic swearing (Pinker 2007). Deliberations and detailed definitions on the various types, functions, and mannerisms follow in Chapter 8. Taboos are learned in the broad context of the culture in which the speaker is immersed (Jay 2000: 5). Social acceptability and norms widely depend on what is considered taboo. Therefore, the study of offensive speech is more than just a linguistic delineation about bad words but rather the "study of human behavior, thought, identity, and motifs" (Jay 2000: 6).

Offensive language bears notions of stigma, which "has long pursued a fugitive existence in all such dark places as are not open to the light of social intercourse. That is to say among many people swearing is socially not accepted" (Montagu 2001: 1). The reason for evaluations of the status of a linguistic item (being filthy or clean) are based on prescriptive rules of the "collective ear of society" and its influence on the subjective perceptions of the listener, wherefore banned notions and words can be said to mirror societal conventions (Fromkin 1993: 303). Obscenity can be seen as a symbolic feature of language that incorporates aspects of identity, which changes over time, and which likewise reflect changes in the societal value system (Battistella 2005: 78). Therefore, the "demoralization of profanity, sexual and scatological expression, seems to reflect both the cachet of coarse language in American society and the twentieth-century trend for the mainstreaming of popular culture" (Battistella 2005: 82). Ideas about profanity undergo semantic shifts, which highly depends on the discursive practices (Battistella 2005: 83; Hughes 1991: 2). Given that negative associations are culturally conditioned, the determining factor in considerations made about obscene language is that the meaning of profanity lies not in words but in attitudes people have towards them "a word is obscene not because the thing named is obscene, but because the speaker or hearer regards it, owing to the interface of a taboo, with a sneaking, shamefaced, psychopathic attitude" (Read 1934: 277). Attitudes towards offensive language have influenced the handling of its performance, which shifted considerably in time. Contemporary times denote a polarization in the perception of swear words being both a "common and controversial issue" (Rassin & Muris 2005: 1670). The interpretation of taboo then depends on their timing and context (Harvey 2011: 41). From a historical point of view, obscene language has generally seen a socio-political traverse towards a higher acceptance of profanity but though society may have become inured to bad language, swear words are still divisive as can be seen by reference to a recent interview in which Cameron used the vulgarism 'pissed off' inducing varied reactions ("Swearing through the ages" 2009: 5). In contrast, bad language was very likely to cause offense in the past where even smallest hints of obscenities and impiety were repressed in the time of Samuel Johnson which forced the exclusion of vocabulary such as "bloody" from early dictionaries (Read 1934: 270; McEnery 2006: 2). A similar situation seemed to be the case in the 20th century: When Webster dictionary appeared in 1961, it excluded taboo words such as *fuck* and *cunt* because publishers feared "adverse repercussions and

boycotts" (Hughes 1991: 200). By looking at 'bloody', Parson (2005) illustrates the historical variation of obscene language in the following way:

Swear words are constantly changing. The *1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, for example, includes 'brat', 'lout' and 'nincumpoop' among the list of words not to be uttered in the presence of polite society. The word 'bloody', which also appears in this dictionary, is another good example of how much 'foul language' has changed over time. It caused quite a stir in 1914, when George Bernard Shaw's 'Pygmalion' was first released in England. The newspapers referred to the word as "the Unprintable Swearword", which was "expected to cause the biggest theatrical sensation for many years" (cited in Hughes 1991:186). 90 years later, 'bloody' has been embraced by Australians as a cultural term, and is regularly seen and heard in the media with few people writing immediately to an editor or boycotting a theatre as a result.

In stating that there is a "logic or purpose behind dirty word usage" Jay (1992: 9) points out an essential trivia. He stresses that dirty words are influenced by the context more than any other type of language, hence only their contextual reading enables the detection of their meaning and communicative intent (Jay 1992: 9). While 'bloody' may have appeared utterly obscene to the society of the 18th century, it has lost its shock value by now. Therefore, Kaye and Sapolsky (2004: 555) define taboo by the "reactions aroused by the word instead of the word's denotative meaning". The distinction of denotative and connotative meaning are crucial to the understanding of profanity. While the first instance marks the allocation of the word to a notion, the latter reflects attitudes and value judgements that are based on the value system of the respective society or group the person has grown into (Fromkin 1993: 305). Thus, the connotative usage of an offensive word is linked to the meaning which may involve aspects of irony, sarcasm, understatement, overstatement, humor, or implied requests (Jay 1992: 10). For this reason, the recording of pragmatics such as the words occurrence, setting, the intentions of the speaker as well as their relationship to the listener are crucial to the understanding of obscene language as related to societal values (Jay 1992: 13). Obscene language relies on the particulars of usage and audience perception and not on an ontological set of fixed vocabulary such as seen in the bloody-example (Battistella 2005: 100). Additionally, the versatility of the semantics of obscene language transgress borders: The notion of taboo is not only bend to dynamic and flexible processes of discursive practices and changes in societal values and social forces but it is also subdued to

cultural differences (Jay 1992: 13). "Swearing is completely dependent on culture. A word deemed 'dirty' in one country may be completely acceptable in another" (Parsons 2005). Following Vico, Hughes (1991: 6) points out that the evolution of language centers on three stages, being the sacred, the poetic, and the conventional stage. Comparing societies of early times with modern times, they show higher sensitivity one would title as hypersensitivity today. The slightest slur had serious repercussions such as duels or wars, while the high exposure to obscene expressions in contemporary times seems to have triggered off a general habituation to cursing (Hughes 1991: 6-8). Importantly, Hughes (1991: 5) stresses the functional shift of taboo language usage as follows

Sacral notions of language tend to be very powerful at primitive stages of society, taboos have traditionally grown up around offensive usages. Swearing is, in one sense, a violation of these taboos: the 'high' varieties violate the taboo of invoking the name of the deity, while the 'low' are often violations of sexual taboos.

It was not until the second world war that constraints were released and peoples attitudes began to change towards the acceptance of obscene language (Read 1934: 274). The significant alteration was of functional nature and turned the primarily abusive linguistic performance into more technical spheres: Read points out that soldiers were swearing non stop albeit their utterances were rather mechanical (Read 1934: 274). "In the United States the change in the conventions of swearing has been swift and dramatic. In the course of a mere two decades, from 1950 to 1970, a radical shift in attitudes occurred, marked by spectacular and often scandalous instances of public profanity" (Hughes 1991: 197). Traditional attitudes prevailed with the majority of people omitting four-letter words in the parlance until the 1960s and although use of profanity in mass media such as television and film were on the uprise, they were countered with resentment in journalistic commentary such as the *New York Times*, where Edward Mishan argued that 'obscenity now struts openly in the market place' in 1969 (Hughes 1991: 195). Still, considering the guarantee of free speech in the First Amendment of the American Constitution, the afore mentioned public rampages may seem implausible. Over the past hundred years, however, four restrictions have been made to the Amendment, which are provisions on obscene speech, fighting words, libelous speech, and utterances that pose imminent danger (e.g. shouting 'fire' in a

theatre to cause panic) (Jay 1992: 196-197). Special interest will be paid to the first two instances of restrictions being obscene speech and fighting words. The ban of fighting words as the act of addressing "any other person in offensive, derisive or annoying word in a street or public space" was induced as a reaction to the Chaplinsky case in 1942 in which the same-named man was denouncing police officers as "damned fascists" (Jay 1992: 197). The first legal definition of obscenity stems from the Roth case in 1957 and its revision in the Miller case in 1973 in which the Supreme Court finalized premises for reading obscenity in context (Jay 1992: 198): For a work to be considered obscene its major theme must imply a prurient interest in sex and affront community standards. These political restrictions were partly valid for film and television and widely depended on the type of network (cable or public broadcasting), all of which shall be discussed now.



"Frankly, my dear, I don't give a damn"- The famous catch phrase in *Gone with the wind* initiated a reversal of thought.

In 1927 sound emerged in films, which initiated thoughts about guidelines for proper expressions by the Motion Picture Producers & Distributors Association banning profane and vulgar expressions such as *god*, *lord*, *damn*, and *hell* (Jay 1992: 217). In the succession, a guideline of proper expressions was elaborated in 1930, which was also known as the Production Code (Jay 1992: 218). Implemented in 1934 the self-imposed

provision was focusing on films and excluded references to drug trafficking, perversion, revenge, and obscene language (Hughes 1991: 198). An important event in the breakthrough of profanity into the public channels marked the famous catch phrase "Frankly, my dear, I don't give a damn" in *Gone with the winds* that encountered huge resistance. Nevertheless, the producers justified the importance of the condemned word with its dramatic value: According to them the meaning of *damn* was neither profane nor abusive but rather a colloquialism which "expressed a force of drama" that is essential to and memorable of the film (Jay 1992: 219). For the first time in film history, authenticity was valued more highly than politeness. Yet with the uprise of television the Production Code was dropped

The erosion of the Production Code was initiated by competition with television, which had started to be broadcast in the United States in 1939 and which had expanded to twelve channels by 1952. Since television was essentially a family medium, it was constrained by even more rigorous prohibitions against nudity, profanity and immorality than film. (Hughes 1991: 199)

The rigor of the censorship showed in the forbiddance of the word *pregnant* at the end of season two in *I Love Lucy* as it carried sexual connotations and its replacement with the euphemistic form 'in a condition' (Bates). "In the early days of live television there were few incidents of actors and television personalities uttering expletives, and these slips were usually met with disapproval and calls for public apologies" (Kaye & Soplansky 2004: 555). Objections for the use of inappropriate language in the beginnings of television generally were the stereotype of public responsibility to protect women and children as well as the reputation of authority (Battistella 2005: 72). The evolution of television saw the confrontation of a mass audience that demanded more restricted standards than other media because "different media and types of communication have different levels of tolerance for offensive language" (Battistella 2005: 71). Thus, the demand to protect the public forum from obscene language was high because "public language should be suitable to all possible groups of listeners" (Battistells 2005: 75). While the Production Code was the watch dog of film industry, the FCC (Federal Communications Commission) was established as the main operator for regulating public airwaves being in existence until today (Battistella 2005: 69). An

important delimitation of the FCC regulations is its broad definition of profanity, which only secures the entailment of 'indecent' and 'obscene' cases in programs (Jay 1992: 199). The FCC's reading of decency and obscenity leaves a big room for interpretation though, as it encapsulates only sexually explicit conventions and aggressive speech (Jay 1992: 211).

While certain words may be objectionable to viewers, only words considered "indecent" violate federal law. As affirmed by the Supreme Court in 1978, the FCC narrowly defines indecency as "language that describes, in terms patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards for the broadcast medium, sexual or excretory activities or organs [...]. Three factors significantly influence the FCC's decision on whether or not a description or depiction is indecent: (1) the level of explicitness, (2) the degree to which the material dwells on sexual or excretory organs or activities, and (3) the degree to which the material is intended to titillate or shock listeners or viewers. (Kaye & Sapolsky 2004: 558)

The first occurrence of *shit* happened in *The connection* in 1961, whereas subsequently a tripling of cursing followed from the 60s to the 70s, followed by a considerable rise of sexual puns and double entendres on situation comedies in the 80s (Battistella 2005: 69; Kaye & Sapolsky 2004: 555). "There was a time when such utterances on television would have stunned the viewing public. Network executives would have stumbled over themselves issuing public apologies to stunt the outcry" (Kaye & Sapolsky 2004: 554). At this point, a combination of war with movements such as hippies and the flower children in the 1960s, followed by the emergence of private cable network HBO in the beginning of the 70s further promoted the liberation of vocabulary. "The war in Vietnam acted as a major catalyst in social division, provoking violent protests in which the liberation of the sexual vocabulary proved to be a corollary" (Hughes 1991: 200). During these times, Berkeley students even implemented the Free Speech Movement by drawing attention to foul language in slogans such as "death to the fascist pigs" (Hughes 1991: 200).

With the introduction of cable television in the 70s, the Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984 followed (Jay 1992: 211). Despite its small audience, the private competitor posed a great burden to public broadcast channels as it presumed looser liberties and formed a program that would pull audiences and consequently secure the financial

benefits of advertisers. Economic factors, socio-political happenings, and the emergence of cable television had a considerable impact on the linguistic performance of characters in subsequent series until today:

Acceptance of profanity in everyday conversation, daring programs, the Clinton/Lewinsky scandal, and the drive for higher ratings are all blamed for the increased use of offensive words and phrases on television. The fierce competition between cable and broadcast programs is also a contributing factor. Cable programs such as HBO's *The Sopranos* and MTV's *The Osbournes* are smash hits that teem with verbal vulgarities. (Kaye Soplansky 2004: 556)

Nowadays, obscenities no longer are suppressed, which may be linked to the extension of taboos or the hardness of society (Read 1934: 277). The increased exposure of profanity carries wider social and psychological implications for society being both desensitization and imitation as included in Bandura's Social Learning Theory (Kaye & Soplansky 2004: 557). "Desensitization may lead to the increased use and greater acceptance of profanity in everyday discourse and to an increase in the amount of off-color dialogue scripted for television" (Kaye & Soplansky 2004: 557). This notion is not only valid for profanity per se but also for the gender performance of profanity as shown in a number of studies which analyze stereotyping effects in television, where heavy viewers not only showed more biased sex perceptions but also a likeliness to expectations regarding the "gender appropriateness of certain traits and behaviors" (Klewin 2007: 17). Taking into consideration the sameness of the majority of discourses on television, this poses the issue of the creation of distorted reality and understandings of normalcy (Read 1934: 277). The influence on the audiences perception of normalcy issues about the performance of obscene language via series can be illustrated in the example given by Winzenburg. He comments on an authors opinion according to whom the language style of the Osbourne family reflects middle America:

The Osbournes reflect Middle America? The author could base this opinion on experiential reality (she grew up in a home where verbal abuse was accepted as love) or perceived reality (she thinks everyone in America talks and acts that way). But in many parts of the real Midwest only profanity-spewing undereducated druggies would consider *The Osbournes* to be reality. (Winzenburg 2004)

Assuming a considerable increase in the performance of profanity across public as well as private channels, this leads to the assumption of obscene language being perceived as normal and no longer as an extended taboo. While obscene language may still be reputed with respect to general standards, it carries social as well as personal functions (Montagu 2001: 1). Montagu (2001: 1) describes the "pathos of profanity" in its liberating and revolting power. The use of obscene language can then be viewed as the expression and establishment of identity by carrying connotations of freedom and power to break the taboo (Gao Gao 2008: 10). The use of profanity also expands to a pragmatic domain in which the performance is rather to be viewed as a rhetorical strategy that is oriented towards the utility of the social and communicative aim of the speaker, which for example can be the achievement of group binding or the elicitation of humor (Gao Gao 2008: 10; Jay 2000: 126). Therefore, modern associations differentiate the functions of obscene language, which must not necessarily include aggressive or abusive aspects. Hughes (1991: 8) refers to Malinowski's thought on the potency of language in non-literate societies, where "the word has power of tis own; it is a means of bringing things about [...] Language in its primitive function is to be regarded as a mode of action rather than as a countersign of thought". Furthermore, Hughes (1991: 33) suggests the relation of modern profanity to identity aspects instead of normativity. McEnery (2006: 10) employs Bourdieu's Theory of Distinction on linguistic performance by postulating that the use of specific linguistic style and features delimits social groups such as gender communities. When adapting to a specific type of speech this is a strategic shift towards the superior or inferior form (McEnery 2006: 11). Feminist views hold that evolution of language in a patriarchal society is such a superiority aspect, which shows in the predominance of feminine anatomy in the general taboo lexicon such as *bitch* or *tits* (Hughes 1991: 206). Important aspects to be taken into consideration are "context, tone, social codes, and degree of deliberation" (Hughes 1991: 207). Already in Samuel Johnson's time normed words were considered effeminate, whereas indecent language was perceived as "a verbal extension of the phallic symbolism" (Read 1934: 270-275). The potential of the acquisition of the male dominated tool by women therefore carried aspects of power Hughes (1991: 206) describes by following Simone de Beauvoir:

Language is inherited from a masculine society, and it contains many male prejudices [...] Women simply have to steal the instrument; they don't have to break it, or try a priori, to make it something totally different. Steal it and use it for their own good.

The general tendency shows that men swear more and employ a wider lexicon of dirty words (Jay 1992: 207). However, in modern times the gender performance of obscene language seems to have shifted, which can be illustrated on a commentary by Rosalind Coward in the newspaper *New Statesman & Society* in June 1989 as "Women are now talking seriously dirty" (Hughes 1991: 211). Comparing female performance in cultural artifacts such as films, the commonness and use of profanity seem to have increased in the female repertoire over time (Hughes 1991: 212). Still, negative connotations seem to prevail with female gender performance of profanity as is shown in Gordon's study in New Zealand: Swearing women are associated with the less prestigious low social class, which is linked up with sexual immorality. She postulates that the reason for women's tendency to use prestige forms lie in their strong consciousness of social status and social position, wherefore they would avoid any associations with lower class such as the use of profanity as this could result in their status damage (Gordon 1997: 47).

If it is true that society overlooks promiscuity in men but condemns it in women, this could be a compelling reason for women to change their speech where men do not. If middle-class views of respectability include sexual probity, this could be a reason why a middle-class woman would wish to avoid anything which might suggest she was not respectable. This could affect two clear social-class markers-her choice of clothes and her speech. (Gordon 1997: 61)

This goes hand in hand with stereotypes that are prevalent in the United States as well as Western civilizations since the nineteenth century (Gordon 1997: 50). These idealizations encourage women to behave gentle, polite, and what is considered to be respectful and moral, continue to play an essential part in current gender roles (Gordon 1997: 50). In this sense, language works as the transporter or carrier of social meaning with swear words as a "minefield" demonstrating loose morals (Gordon 1997: 50). Still, Battistella (2005: 77) points out that offensive language is "not only a question of propriety but involves effects, intentions, rights, and identity", and thus, can be seen as a status marker in ordinary speech because it is both "improper and daring". It is a "quasi-

decorous element" that enables the double function of being rebellious and respectable at the same time (Battistella 2005: 77). Thus, associated attributes with the use of swearing are brevity, power, revolt against conventions, and credibility of speaker arguments (Rassin & Van der Heijden 2004). Predominantly all those attributes are linked to masculinity. According to the Androgyny Approach, human personality incorporates both masculine and feminine qualities, whereby people with higher markedness in masculinity are more likely to make use of offensive speech (Jay 2000: 113). Gerhard (2005: 37) describes this as queerness that involves "attempts to weaken the naturalized and normalizing binaries of sexuality (straight vs. gay) and of gender (masculine vs. feminine), it offers important insights into the show's approach to the women's desires". In general, there are three trends that are indicative of those assumptions being that men swear more often, they have a larger curse lexicon, and use more offensive curse words than women (Jay 2000:166). Also do men swear more in the media, while swearing women on TV are predominantly represented as morally bad characters such as drug users (Jay 2000: 171). This aspect fosters stereotypes about gender performances of obscene language in society. Hence, stereotypes that are consequently deduced from those delineations are the connection of men to aggressiveness and dominance and women to nurturance and sensitivity, and that men are more independent and aggressive as well as less emotional than women (Jay 2000: 169). Also Klewin (2007: 13-14) points out evidence that show stereotyping for appearance, behavior and character traits associating men with dominance and women with submissiveness. When taking into consideration the impact of societal values, this means that men are free to exhibit "hostile and aggressive speech habits", while women are expected to control themselves (Jay 2000: 165). Overall, women's acceptance of strong language over the course of time can be seen as a "mark of sophistication", which has been triggered off by feminist movements in the 60s (Battistella 2005: 82). Swearing can establish solidarity and sophistication so that the linguistic transgressions aim for rhetorical effect rather than abuse (Battistella 2005: 84). In this it transforms the perspective of a white male patriarchy and heralds the process of reexamination and reinvigoration of group identities (Battistella 2005: 91).

6. Research Questions and Hypotheses

The afore mentioned epistemological interest and literature analysis imply the research questions. Over the course of work, first research questions were defined. Subsequently, based on the findings in the empirical study, the hypotheses have been generated and listed below. Terms and definitions for the addressed notions are explained in detail in Chapter 7.

1. What are the significant aspects of the performance of obscene language by female characters portraying alternative gender roles in American series with regard to type, function, manner, and context from 1950 to 2000?

1.1. The later the instant of time of the broadcasting of a series in the twentieth century, the higher becomes the use of profanity of the presented female characters.

1.2. There is a shift from euphemistic language towards more explicit forms in American series during the 20th century.

1.3. Function and manner of obscene language use change over time.

1.4. Aspects of manner and function of obscene language have a considerable impact on the meaning of the profanity.

1.5. The later a series appears in the twentieth century, the greater becomes the variety of obscene language use among the presented female characters.

2. In how far does the performance of obscene language transmit aspects of male identity to female characters?

2.1. Male attributes such as dominance, power, and aggressiveness are transferred to the female characters.

3. To what extent does the performance of obscene language influence female identity and gender stereotypes?

3.1. The more obscene language is used by the protagonist woman, the stronger is the representation of an independent and strong female.

4. What are the influences of technological trends with regard to taboo language use over time on the basis of gender within American series?

4.1. The frequency-numbers of obscene language use are higher in entertainment genres than non-entertainment texts.

4.2. Occurrences of obscene language items are higher in series that have been broadcast on cable television than on public networks.

7. Operationalization

American Series

This study defines American series as important, popular and influential television series, which have inspired consecutive spin-offs and films that have received high ratings (Smith 2004), or have been trigger to public discussions and subject to considerable fan culture (e.g. considerably big number of Facebook fans), and which center around the lives of a group of characters with an overall length of 20 to 60 minutes (Stafford 2004: 1). The choice of series was not grounded on a shared genre such as situation comedy, family or friends sitcom, or comedy drama, but on the portrayal of alternative gender roles as to fit the epistemological interest. One influential series has been chosen as representative of each decade being *I Love Lucy* (N.Y.City, CBS) for the 1950's, *Laverne and Shirley* (Milwaukee, ABC) for the 1970's, and 2000's *Sex and the City* (N.Y. City, HBO). The female protagonists of the series must represent portrayals of alternative gender roles for the respective time era (e.g. as opposed to the homebound housewife) by for example denoting ideas of independence, ambitions, and the pursuit of a career. Due to the socio-historical context and the early developments of television series no precise equivalent of the described female role could be found in the 50s time span due to the underrepresentation of women in early series which were either dominated by male protagonists up to two thirds of all series or were depicting traditional female roles (Klewin 2007: 13). Nevertheless, in the 1950s *I Love Lucy* stands out with an exceptional portrayal of female identity as, more or less successfully, she pursues ambitions to break free from her home-centered life. Further deliberations on the choice of series will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

Entertainment Genres vs. Non-entertainment Genres

This distinction is relevant particularly for the corpus study. Entertainment Genres are considered all spoken or written texts, who incorporate either humorous aspects and aim to amuse e.g. sitcoms and series (also fiction and non-fiction books), and all those who depict a high involvement factor and fascination for the audience e.g. soap operas and

comedy dramas. In contrast, non-entertainment genres are spoken or written texts with a strong informational or advertising function such as news programs, and magazines.

Time Span

For reasons concerning time management and scope, the thesis covers three time spans being 1950s, 1970s, and 2000s. The starting point for the analysis constitutes the post-war period after 1945, since television was not generally spread and the forerunner to the television series just flourished with *I love Lucy* in the 50s. Nielsen Ratings show the beginnings of the diffusion of the television medium: The number of television households amounted to 3.9 million (9 per cent of all American Homes) and quadrupled to 15.3 million (34 per cent) in 1952 (Steinberg 1980). By 1962 90 per cent (49 million TV households) of all American homes were equipped with a television device, while the number had peaked to 73 million households by 1978 covering significant 98 per cent of all American households (Steinberg 1980). Despite aspects regarding the technical propagation of the television device, the selected time spans mark important milestones in the development of feminism and female rights, especially the advent of feminism in the beginning of the 20th century which smoothed the way for the uprise of second-wave feminism and its assertion of socio-political changes in favor of women in the 60s and 70s (Gerhard 2005: 39).

Profanity and Performance

To avoid misunderstandings, a crucial distinction in the use of the terminology 'profanity' needs to be pointed out at this juncture. The paper will generally refer to profanity as synonymous with offensive speech, obscene language, swearing and taboo language. Still, there is a narrowed-down meaning of the term besides the more general definition, which is 'profanity' as a category of obscene language that is directed against something sacred. The latter use will come into application only with respect to the codebook where it is explicitly outlined, and in the listing of results. In all other cases, the broad definition will be applied unless not explicitly marked differently. The meaning of obscene language changes over time and strongly depends on the respective context. Jay (1999: 9) distinguishes numerous categories such as insults, name calling, verbal aggression, blasphemy, profanity, swearing, ethnic-racial slurs, euphemisms,

vulgarisms, obscenity, and scatology. Additionally, Pinker (2007) makes a difference between various functions of obscene language such as cathartic, emphatic, abusive, and dysphemistic. The specific categorizations of obscene language dealt with in this study are euphemism, taboo language, vulgarism, insult, profanity, and epithets and are divided along a rather dualistic continuum ranging from euphemistic to more explicit forms, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. The relation between gender performance and obscene language is to be perceived in social and linguistic categories. Therefore, societal categorizations and upheld norms about gender stereotypes include the general acceptance of male swearing performance. According to the Androgyny Approach humans incorporate qualities of both masculine and feminine gender in their personality which they can subsequently control as they like for example via variations in their language style (Jay 2000: 113).

Euphemistic vs. Explicit Forms of Profanity

A distinction between more mild forms of taboo language such as euphemisms like *gee* or cathartic exclamations like *oh no* as opposed to strong explicit language like four letter words as for example *fuck* (Read 1934: 265). Euphemistic expressions delineate indirect and mild forms of obscene language and denote the avoidance of language that is considered brutal in the respective times, for example euphemism, profanity, and epithet. Contrastingly, explicit forms of obscene language mark the direct use of the proscribed word or phrase and include vulgarism, taboo, and insult.

Female Identity

The construction of identity and conceptions of women, ambitions, desires, aspects of career and belonging, providence, their social status, norms of how women should behave, look and be like in the widest sense also links to female roles and has been discussed in detail in Chapter 4. However, it is highly relevant to this study to see gender as an involuntary allocation of political identity to a collective group of people (During 1991: 188). The importance of the sex-gender delineation affects socio-political perceptions of women and their position in society. Therefore, gender is a dynamic notion that undergoes permanent shifts based on the interim stages of actual performance. Language as an aspect of personal and social identity (as an example of

performance) is then widely subjected to societal standards and in itself is a considerable part of gender identity (Butler 1986: 35).

Female Gender Stereotypes

Stereotypes and conventional representations of women are strongly dependent on their financial independence. Traditional delineations are associated with roles such as the angel in the house, being home-bound, meek, and performing the role of house keeper with major scope of responsibilities being limited to cooking, cleaning, and looking after the children. In this respect, series such as *Desperate Housewives* and *Roseanne* are not considered in the analysis as they are mainly set in the domestic sphere. Although those series may feature witty female protagonists, the presented characters are not financially independent or pursue ambitions beyond the domestic idyll. Characters such as Bree or Lynette indeed follow careers of their own yet still the series and characters main attention seems to centre on issues concerning housekeeping or the solution of mysteries. Three distinct stereotypes outweigh the general field, those three being the traditional woman, the career woman, and the sex tool (Klewin 2007: 6). Traditional role models believe that a woman is apt to show character traits such as submissiveness, tactfulness, need for security, empathy, and benevolence, strictly differentiating them from masculinity aspects like dominance, self-confidence, and leadership are ascribed to men (Klewin 2007: 6).

Alternative Female Roles

Non-stereotyped gender roles of females include all deviations from the usual depiction of women as angels in the house, home-centered housewives or as naive, inferior and dependent on a male personae. This thesis will focus on female personae which offer alternatives to conventional identities, especially focusing on outstanding television series which are increasingly popular and ahead of female representations of their time. Examples for alternative roles: Tomboy, femme fatale, business women, round characters with multiple identities, having ambitions, daring to say and act as she pleases, pursuing a career, and being financially independent. Postfeminism offers a multitude of gender roles being all ahead lead by the sophisticated new woman (Kim 2001: 331). "The image of the beautiful, sexy body thus becomes a sign of the

confident, feminine self" (Attwood 2005: 399). Women regain power and "can work, talk, and have sex "like men" (Gennaro 2007: 266). The performance of masculinity by women is a major factor of the description of "alternative" here. Gerhard (2005: 37) describes this notion as queerness elaborating that it is "The merging of female and male qualities in one persona. Moreover, queerness involves "attempts to weaken the naturalized and normalizing binaries of sexuality (straight vs. gay) and of gender (masculine vs. feminine), it offers important insights into the show's approach to the women's desires".

8. Methodology

The importance of the critical evaluation of evidence in a scientific study requires a high state of alertness for proper methods of scientific research (Dawkins 2003: 245). The choice of methodology widely grounds on Atteslander and Mayring. Therefore, the content analysis as a research method seems to fit the purpose of the epistemological interest very well. Referring to Merten, Atteslander defines the tool as follows:

Inhaltsanalyse ist eine Methode der Datenerhebung zur Aufdeckung sozialer Sachverhalte, bei der durch die Analyse eines vorgegebenen Inhalts [...] Aussagen über den Zusammenhang seiner Entstehung, über die Absicht seines Senders, über die Wirkung auf den Empfänger und/oder auf die soziale Situation gemacht werden.
(Atteslander 2006: 225)

The relationship between content and social context stands in the centre of the scientific attention. As an empirical study the diploma thesis is based on the analysis of television series via the qualitative content analysis strictly following Mayring's scheme of inductive category formation (Mayring 1996: 91ff). Additionally, an analysis of socio-historical context and audience receptions such as Nielsen ratings, press releases, and audience syndication were conducted to warrant the integrity of the study. Therefore, one significant consideration that has been adopted from the area of feminist studies is the importance of interdisciplinary research because "it opens up questions that we might not ask within the confines of our own field" (Spigel 2004: 1211). Causality is

another aspect that needs consideration since "Tracing the waves through media evolutions [...] may have a certain common sense logic, but such shortcut homologues between changes in media and changes in feminism per se are hardly satisfying as a historical explanation" (Spigel 2004: 1212). Hence, by connecting New Historicism with feminist media studies, a new perspective on the examination object is gained by seeing entities and developments as a discursive formation composed by a variety of practices rather than establishing monocausal relationships (Spigel following Foucault 2004: 1213). The content analysis has been chosen as a research tool for numerous reasons: First of all, despite the vast multitude of studies about profanity, uncertainty remains as to whether there is a relationship between gender performance of obscene language and identity. Consequently, as a necessity for the current diachronic analysis the content analysis not only offers the only possible access of recorded speech samples but enables the elimination of the surveillance factor and proves high reliability and guarantees authenticity as the females do not simulate their speech style except for acting under their normal conditions. Here a disadvantage may be the bigoted focus on artistic speech style, whereby this work is interested on female identity as portrayed and transmitted as an idealized benchmark to a wide audience. Though the women simulate by reading out scripts knowing of the presence of a camera or a studio audience (such as in *I Love Lucy* and *Laverne & Shirley*), it is assumed that the reality portrayed on television mirrors societies norms, acceptance of, and attitudes towards obscene language up to a certain point. The investigation of the material shall be conducted systematically by the development of a set of categories that is deduced from the material. Such an exploratory approach enables the consideration of marked cases and striking contextual aspects (Mayring 1996: 91). The mere focus on texts seems insufficient in the understanding of evolving and developing phenomena, hence external factors shall be considered in the analysis as well such as the series media reception, socio-political developments of the respective times, developments in general American history and female rights activism, as well as selected aspects of the history of broadcasting companies, and a superficial glimpse at the biographies of the series' script writers.

Corpora studies of the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA), the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA), and the *Corpus of American Soap Operas* (COSA) were considered at the beginning of the study but by means of time pressure

only a superficial analysis could be conducted following the empirical study. The corpora involve various text types among them spoken as well as written ones. COCA depicts a large general corpora with a collection of 425 million words in the period 1990 to 2012, whereas COHA is a historical corpus bundling 400 million words from written text between 1810 and 2009 (Nesselhauf 2005). Differently, COSA depicts a collection of 101 million words of the fairly informal setting of soap operas dating from 2001 to 2012. Krieger (2003) summarizes the advantages of a corpus study quite trenchantly:

Corpus linguistics provides a more objective view of language than that of introspection, intuition and anecdotes [...] because speakers do not have access to the subliminal patterns which run through a language. A corpus-based analysis can investigate almost any language patterns- lexical, structural, lexico- grammatical, discourse, phonological, morphological- often with very specific agendas.

It is difficult though to make distinctions about the level of a tools objectivity or subjectivity as all methodological tools are subject to the scientist's command, and critical practice depends on their deliberate quality of work and interpretation. Still, the main argument of seeing the corpus study as a platform that offers a higher vantage point to the object of interest as opposed to the fairly narrowed perspective of a qualitative content analysis seems plausible. First of all, COHA is based on a compilation of written texts including newspaper articles, fiction and non-fiction books, and popular magazines, wherefore it is relevant to this study only indirectly by showing general linguistic tendencies in the media environment. COHA results were considered only marginally as to show a wider picture of social reality and the linguistic item occurrences. Contrastingly, COCA includes spoken texts covering television and radio channels such as ABC, NBC, CBS, CNN, FOX, MSNBC, PBS, NPR, and Indep (excluding HBO), with the disadvantage of the coverage of a relatively small time span that dates back only until 1990. A slightly more informal context is accumulated in COSA incorporating a collection of ten soap operas, namely *All My Children*, *As The World Turns*, *Bold And Beautiful*, *Days Of Our Lives*, *General Hospital*, *Guiding Light*, *One Life To Live*, *Passions*, *Port Charles*, and *Young And Restless*. Therefore, at least the results for the 2000s time span have been compared between the written text corpora of COHA with the spoken compilation of COCA and COSA. As mentioned before only a simple search was conducted to grasp general tendencies in profane language usage over time. Only linguistic items that were listed in the top ranking charts of the series

under discussion were considered for a corpus-based study. Therefore, the three most prominent linguistic items were analyzed per series being *gee* and *my goodness* for *I Love Lucy*, *jerk*, *gee*, and *idiot* for *Laverne & Shirley*, and *fuck*, *sex*, and *bitch* for *Sex and the City*. In this respect, the corpus study was conducted with a total number of seven tokens. On the one hand, the choice of tokens was restricted to its prominence in the analyzed series, while on the other hand, only straightforward units were picked which eliminated misleading ambiguity such as perceived in *oh*, *to come* (orgasm), and *shit*. Furthermore, the study implemented only a general analysis of frequency figures in the respective decades and years by disregarding in-depth considerations about manner, function, or gender distinctions. The appropriateness of a relevant linguistic environment was accomplished by a detailed search, for example a collocate search in *goodness* (my+goodness) and the inclusion of all parts of speech in *fuck* via lemmas ([fuck]). Still, problematic cases such as *jerk*, *gee*, and *sex* could not be narrowed down further in the scope of this study, so that the frequency numbers for those items unfortunately includes non-profane environments such as in "She turned sadly away from him, overcome with the intransigency of the opposite sex", "He strained up with an indignant jerk", and "Gee, I'm glad we finally did get together."

As a matter of completeness the time spans 50s, 70s, and 2000s were examined as well as the years of the analyzed series being 1952, 2000, and 1979 (calculated as the arithmetic average of all series watched in *Laverne & Shirley*). One important remark here is that definitions of 'time span' vary between the corpora and this study: 2000s mean the period between 2000 and 2009 in COCA and COHA, and 2001 to 2009 in COSA, whereas in this study the decade extends to the first year of the following decade being 2000-2010. For the sake of economy, the time span definition of COHA and COCA has been adopted for the corpus study. It will be used only when mentioned with reference to the corpus study and will else be explicitly outlined (for example when comparing COSA and COCA). Still, an in-depth study of the corpora with regard to the research topic would pose interesting and valuable information for further research. Additionally, information regarding the corpus based study of four-letter words can be found in the diploma thesis of my colleague Julene Beckmann.

8. 1. Choice of Series

The importance of sampling and selection processes is closely linked to the outcome of the research study and its appropriateness to the study's purpose. Therefore, considerations upon sampling population and the choice of units are a vital moment in the study and should be planned with caution in order to avoid incoherence and inconsistencies within the research project. Flick (2007: 28) points out that qualitative methods demand the selection of critical or core cases in which the "experience or processes to be studied become especially clear". In setting up a corpus one has to choose the units and the material deliberately but in a way that it would fit the interest of the project best and so that it enables the study of the phenomenon in a "most constructive way" (Flick 2007: 27). Very pointedly he stresses that "we are looking for core cases for the experience, knowledge, practice, etc., we want to study. In this way, our sample should be representative- not in a statistical way or in representing the reality in a basic population. Rather, our cases should be able to represent the relevance of the phenomenon we want to study" (Flick 2007: 29). This selection process may seem indiscriminate but transcends everyday randomness by the categorization and formulation of requirements that would enable a unit to become part of the relevant population. Flick (2007: 28) lists alternatives for purposive sampling such as the selection of cases according to their "intensity with which the interesting features, processes, experiences, etc., are given or assumed in them", or critical cases in which the study topic becomes especially clear but also the criterion of convenience such as the limitation of time resources or material accessibility.

This study constituted a slight issue in the selection of series. The scope of the study and the tight time management allowed only for the analysis of a limited number of series. Subsequently, this posed a decision making dilemma. Since television just flourished in the post-war period of the 1950s and the language of contemporary series was considered to have remained stable since the beginnings of the 21st century, the examined period of time was the span dating from 1950s until 2000. Major events in the development of female identity were formative in the selection of three specific time spans, which were the 50s, the 70s, and 2000s. Due to the varying conditions in the respective time spans, the research's time limitations, and the lack of objects of

comparison between the spans (these go hand in hand with the socio-political developments of the respective times), one particularly meaningful series was analyzed per decade. The major problem at this stage constituted the definition of what was to be considered 'especially meaningful' in order to avoid a distortion of the study. Under every circumstance the attempt to avoid sensitive cases was a preliminary, as these could only illustrate positive findings and skew the entire research by making it irrelevant. Thus, taking into consideration research question and epistemological interest the operationalization of terminology helped in the formation of an indicator system, which was formative of the series choice to ensure the comparativeness of the selection. In this respect, important indicators were the female gender of the main protagonist or protagonists, the actuality of communicative interaction between characters from both sexes, the depiction of alternative gender roles that are ahead of their time, and the popularity of the series. The last two categories were decisive for the sample choice. Following the indicators, the selection process generated three relevant series being *I Love Lucy* (50s), *Laverne & Shirley* (70s), and *Sex and the City* (2000). So, despite a variation in genre, topics and nature of all series, the indicator system was apt to guarantee representativeness and comparativeness of the series choice. A full indicator list with descriptions and examples of the indicators and a specific elaboration on the reasons for the selection of each series follow below.

Indicator	Description
Female protagonist (s)	Female characters are in the centre of the series attention, which means that the protagonist is a woman. Focus on female characters measurable by the time the episode shows the female protagonist acting or speaking. Protagonists of all series should fall approximately in the same age group (middle aged, 25 to 45-years-old).
Friendship between women	Example: Lucy and Ethel; Laverne and Shirley; Carrie, Samantha, Miranda, and Charlotte
Communicative interaction between both sexes	Women talking not only to women but also to men but generally with a higher proportion of woman-to-woman talk.
Portrayal of an alternative gender	Portrayal of a gender role that is revolutionary of its time. For example the enhanced use of profanity in <i>Sex and the City</i> could

role	be described as groundbreaking. Qualities of the female: Independent, ambitious, showing a desire to follow trends and climb a career ladder. Tomboy, femme fatale, business women, round characters with multiple identities, having ambitions, daring to say and act as she pleases, pursuing a career, and being financially independent. For more details look at Chapter 9.
Popularity and impact depending on the socio-historical development of the respective time span	<u>High Nielsen Ratings:</u> <i>I Love Lucy</i> ranked 67% in 1952 (Nielsen Media Research 2012). By the end of season three in 1978 <i>Laverne & Shirley</i> was rated series number one (Wright 2007). Nielsen Ratings for <i>Sex and the City</i> come to less than 5 % (10 million viewers at its peak, The Augusta Chronicle 2004). <u>Awards:</u> <i>I Love Lucy</i> nominated for 21 awards and won five among them Prime Time Emmy and the TV Land Awards (IMDb http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0043208/awards, 27. December 2012). <i>Laverne & Shirley</i> were nominated for six Golden Globe Awards and won one TV Land Awards (IMDb http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0074016/awards, 27. December 2012), <i>Sex and the City</i> nominated for over 50 Emmy awards winning seven (IMDb http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0159206/awards, 27. December 2012). <u>Facebook Fans:</u> <i>Sex and the City</i> (13.1 million Fans) <u>Inspiring Spin-offs, DVD Sale and Films:</u> <i>Sex and the City</i> (<i>Gossip Girl</i>, <i>Girls</i>, 2 <i>Sex and the City</i> Films), <i>I Love Lucy</i> (<i>The Lucy-Desi Comedy Hour</i>, <i>The Lucy Show</i>, <i>Here's Lucy</i>, <i>Life with Lucy</i>), <i>Laverne And Shirley</i> (<i>Laverne & Shirley in the Army</i>, CD Album <i>Laverne & Shirley Sing</i>, <i>The Mork & Mindy/Laverne & Shirley/Fonz Hour</i>) <u>Listed in Popularity Rankings:</u> The TIMES, The LIST, IMDb, Classic Hits. The decision was made to include two series listed on the LIST magazines best TV shows of all time, which are <i>Sex and the City</i> and <i>I Love Lucy</i> (http://entertainment.time.com/2007/09/06/the-100-best-tv-

	shows-of-all-time/#all, 27. December 2012). Classic Hits lists <i>I love Lucy</i> as number one series in the 1953-56 seasons (17 million impressions out of approximately 40 million TV households) and <i>Laverne & Shirley</i> number one in the 1976-78 period (approximately 70 million TV households with an estimated audience of 22 million) (http://www.classictvhits.com/tvratings/ , 2. November 2012).
Set in relevant periods of time	1950s (1950-1960), 1970s (1970-1980), 2000s (2000-2010). Including the first year of the following decade (e.g. 50s include the year 1960). Slight exceptions (+/- 2 years) are allowed in the case of the unavailability of research material unless the material with a broadcasting year not included in the respective time span does not expand more than 20 per cent, which is two episodes of a series.
Urban setting	Series must be set in an urban area. Must not necessarily be a metropolitan city like New York but villages and small towns with less than 500 000 citizens are excluded. Examples: Milwaukee (biggest city in Wisconsin, today: 0.6 million citizens, <i>Laverne & Shirley</i>), New York City (today: 8 million citizens, <i>Sex and the City</i> and <i>I Love Lucy</i>).

Table 1. The indicator system for the selection of series.

Since the early beginnings of television, a number of series have included female protagonists, whereas most of them focus on the portrayal of traditional gender roles such as the housewife. The position of women in the 50s varied considerably from contemporary standards which impeded the probability of the detection of a series that would delineate from the family centered sitcom. Taking into consideration the socio-historical context, Lucy (*I Love Lucy*) represents a variation as she seeks employment, fame and independence. Differently, the contemporary television program shows a striking richness of series focusing on all the various types of females that it seemed plausible to take a series that not only portrayed independent characters but also showed high popularity, importance, and impact on society. Most importantly is the deviation of the popularity indicator for the three time spans: While the popularity marker in the 50s

and 70s was based on Nielsen Ratings, the 2000s and the series *Sex and the City* posed two further issues. First, unlike *I Love Lucy* and *Laverne & Shirley* the series was broadcast on the private network HBO, and second, the rise of the internet in the 90s induced a change in the consumer behavior.

One issue regarding the comparativeness of the chosen series depicts the nature of the broadcasting channel. While the CBS series *I Love Lucy* and the ABC show *Laverne & Shirley* where both broadcast on public networks, their newer counterpart *Sex and the City* ran on the cable operator HBO, which was launched in 1972 but rose in prominence in the early 1990s. The variation of the nature of the channels (private vs public) may seem random but it can be argued that the historical change goes hand in hand with a change in media as well as social reality and the evolution of new technical development with regulations of their own, which have to be considered in a diachronic study. Since private broadcasting did not exist until the early seventies and rose in significance only until twenty years ago, no comparable counterpart series could be found in the 50s. The reasons for not selecting alternative publicly broadcast series of the 2000 time span are elaborated in detail further down. But given the research topic and popularity of the chosen series the selection has been considered necessary to warrant the recognition of changes in technical tendencies, which at the same time reflect changes in social reality. To blink a fact to popular contemporary series by means of the historical development of broadcasting would be a fatal regression in the study of historical variation by means of factoring out uprising phenomena that reflect a change in social reality and consumer behavior being mirrored in the consumer emancipation towards on-demand usage with the uprise of the internet (Oemichen & Schröter 2003: 374). These circumstances would change recipients viewing strategies who would no longer watch series exclusively on television. Instead they would denote genre overarching behavior by switching between the various media internet and television. Thus, Nielsen ratings are insufficient indicators for popularity in the 2000 time span, wherefore additional indicators have been included such as the triggering off of spin-off series and films as well as the number of fans on flourishing social media websites such as Facebook. Today, *Sex and the City* has just more than 13 million Facebook likes, which is more than the 4 million likes of *Breaking Bad* and approximately half of the contemporary top dogs *Big Bang Theory* (24m) and *How I met your mother* (22.5m) (state of affairs: Facebook December 2012). So, even though the broadcast of the last

Sex and the City episode dates back to 2004, it still has remained famous and popular among the contemporary audience. Finally, after having accomplished the selection of series, the next stage demanded the sampling of episodes, whereby the ten first episodes per series per most popular season were considered relevant. Those were the first ten episodes of season 2 in *I Love Lucy* (from the year 1952, Nielsen ratings were highest with 67%), the first ten episodes of season 3 in *Sex and the City* (from the year 2000), and finally a mixed sample of episodes in *Laverne & Shirley* due to convenience and availability (eight episodes from 1976 to 1980 and two episodes from 1981 to 1982). Each of the chosen series was considered popular and influential for their times, each being representative of a crucial turning point in feminine identity. The reasons for the selection of each series shall be elaborated in detail now.

I Love Lucy



Lucy and her best friend Ethel are trying to find a job in *Job Switching* (Season 2 Episode 1).

Generally speaking, series in the post war period were not only dominated by male protagonists but predominantly showed portrayals of females in traditional gender roles. Here, *I Love Lucy* (CBS 1951-1957) presented an alternative identity (Bates). The family sitcom is based on the married couple Lucy and Ricky Ricardo and their everyday life but although Lucy is married and occupies the role of a housewife, she shows ambitions to find employment or become famous, and thus, escape the classical role concept of the passive female. "Lucy Ricardo is an active denotation of early women activists. While living in a conservative era she is trying to break free from the stereotypes of a 1950s wife [...] Despite the necessity to only have restricted attempts of expressing revolts, Lucy is nonetheless a representation of a radical housewife revolutionizing the traditional gender roles of the 1950s" (Bates). Lucy delineates character traits of a tomboy in that she is humorous, self-ironic, and energetic in doing what she wants. In 1955 *I Love Lucy* (CBS) represented the second-best viewed show after the quiz show *The \$64,000 Question*. With 16,088,900 weekly viewers *I Love Lucy* exceeds America's top ratings and is considered America's favorite television series of all times. One has to bear in mind that the dissemination of television as well as the number of channels and television programs were considerably smaller in the 50s. In 1952 only 15.3 million households were equipped with a television, which amounts to 34.2% of the total population, unlike in 2000 the prevalence of TV screens trespassed the 100 million mark and the 98% coverage (Steinberg 1980 & Nielsen Media Research 2012). In the 1952-53 season the Nielsen ratings show a 67.3 rating for *I Love Lucy*, which means that an incredibly two thirds of all adults in a television household watched the series (Nielsen Media Research 2012). Also, in a recent ABC study the majority of participants voted *I Love Lucy* the best show of all time displaying the high popularity and lasting impact even sixty years after the series' broadcast (Green & Gomstyn 2012).

Laverne & Shirley



Laverne and Shirley (from right to left) doing dance exercises for a television show rehearsal in *From Suds to Stardom* (Season 1 Episode 14).

Laverne & Shirley (ABC, 1976-1983) is a friend sitcom and a spin-off of the famous family series *Happy Days*. Protagonists are two single women who share apartment and workplace. The best friends Laverne and Shirley go through a number of ups and downs, and while Laverne is the cynic tomboy, Shirley delineates traditional character traits. *Laverne & Shirley* premiered as a mid-season replacement in the beginning of 1976 and had finished the season in the top three with 19.1 million weekly viewers according to Nielsen ratings, whereas by the end of the third season in 1978 the series already was ranked the number one show on American television with 33 per cent watching the series (Nielsen Corporation 2012 "America's Favorite TV Shows"; Wright 2007; Nill 1997; Nielsen Media Research). Laverne and Shirley depicted two independent women who fought for their aims and rights. Two more series seemed relevant which were the equally famous *Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *That Girl*. The factors that narrowed down the choice were time period and availability in *That Girl*, which was broadcast from 1966-1971 and completely unavailable. Selecting *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* seemed plausible on first glance, albeit a second look showed that the female protagonist was predominantly communicating with male interlocutors and

lacked a closer female friend as in *I Love Lucy* or *Sex and the City*. The only disadvantage posed by *Laverne & Shirley* is the unavailability of a bundled stock of episodes of a season so that 80 per cent of the material dates from the 1976-80 period and 20 per cent from the years 1981-82.

Sex and the City



Samantha, Miranda, Charlotte, and Carrie are the leading characters in *Sex and the City*.

Sex and the City (HBO, 1998-2004) is a highly influential comedy drama that is set in the metropolis New York. Centering around the life of journalist Carrie Bradshaw and her three best friends PR-agent Samantha, lawyer Miranda, and curator Charlotte the series offers a profound inside into the personal life of the four single women. Markle points out that "Carrie, Miranda, Charlotte, and Samantha present themselves as sophisticated women who epitomize economic independence and an entitlement to self-fulfillment" (Markle 2008: 51). *Sex and the City* can be categorized as a postfeminist text that depicts "multifaceted characters, a range of different kinds of women, rather than simple tropes such as the bitch, the slut, the good girl, the working woman" (Gerhard 2005: 37& Kim 2001: 330). In this respect, postfeminist features predominate in Carrie, feminist aspects in the career woman Miranda, traditional values in Charlotte, and the sexual revolution in Samantha (Kim 2001: 329). The series was nominated for over 50 awards out of which it won seven. The large audience syndication and the

accumulation of a high fan-base (especially amongst the female target group) can be seen not least because of its 13 million Facebook Fans, the launch of two *Sex and the City* Films, and finally the inspiration of copy cat series such as the equally popular *Gossip Girl* and *Girls* that are oriented towards an adolescent target group and whose protagonist females are very much modeled on Carrie Bradshaw.

The series *Sex and the City* debuted on premium cable channel HBO in 1998, becoming an instant international hit. It was the highest-rated comedy series on cable for two seasons [...] Its huge popularity made the topic of many morning-after office discussions across America. It was the subject of countless articles and publications, and was featured on the cover of Time magazine in 2000. *Sex and the City* inspired and contributed to numeral cultural discourses and debates regarding fashion, sex and relationships, marriage, femininity and masculinity, as well as feminism. (Markle 2008: 47-48)

Winzenburg points out that a major factor in the measurement of the popularity of a series is that "the characters hold a place in American culture decades from now", which by looking at *Sex and the City's* afore mentioned accomplishments seems to be valid (Winzenburg 2004). Another important argument speaking for the popularity of *Sex and the City* is its occurrence in a number of popularity rankings such as the TIME magazine's All-Time 100 TV Shows (Poniewozik 2007). Nevertheless, compared to *I Love Lucy* and measured according to the number of TV households in 2000, which amounted to approximately 100 million (<http://www.classictvhits.com/tvratings/>, 2. November 2012), *Sex and the City* shows very low Nielsen ratings and even though Mediaweek reports high ratings in 2004 notifying about record-breaking 10.6 million viewers of the final episode "Comparatively, that was the cable net's biggest audience since the fourth season premiere of *The Sopranos* in September 2002" (Berman 2004). Still, the issue is more complex and numerous aspects seem to give ground for *Sex and the City's* low Nielsen ratings: On a wider scale, one must take into consideration the changed media behavior that underwent transition with the evolution of the internet and on-demand functions by invading televisions supremacy as mentioned earlier (Oemichen & Schröter 2003: 374). On a micro level, one must take into consideration the diversification of audiences that follows with the technical innovation (Berger 1997; Stafford 2004: 8). *Sex and the City's* small target audience is due to its topic which is

centering around the private lives and burdens of middle aged single women, and the series' late broadcasting hours (after prime time, 10 pm). Those factors widely exclude heterosexual men, children aged under 16, and pensioners. Again, the reasons for the afore mentioned assumptions are *Sex and the City's* prior concern with female affairs and point of view, the late broadcasting time (being aired not during prime time such as *I Love Lucy*, *Laverne & Shirley*, *Who wants to be a millionaire?* or *Friends* but late time from 10.30 pm to 11.30 pm), and the use of strong language and topics that probably are still considered taboo by older age groups. Also the retrieval of the series through an online stream would drop out of the Nielsen ratings.

Another important aspect that must be addressed is the multifacetedness and magnitude of series in the 2000 time span. Therefore, one major question that shall be answered at this point is why *Sex and the City* has been favored over equivalent series such as *Desperate Housewives*, *Roseanne*, *Charmed*, *2 Broke Girls*, *How I Met Your Mother*, *Big Bang Theory*, *Friends*, and *New Girl*. Primarily, the time constraint (2000-2010) excluded *Friends* and *Roseanne*. *New Girl* and *2 Broke Girls* were equally dropped because the protagonists age group was considerably younger than those of *I Love Lucy* and *Laverne & Shirley*. *How I Met Your Mother* and *Big Bang Theory* denoted a balanced portrayal of both sexes as well as a mixed gender group of protagonist, while *Charmed* showed supernatural elements and could thus be precluded as incongruous. Finally, the reason for the disqualification of *Desperate Housewives* was the setting in suburban area of a small town (all fictitious) and the portrayal of women in the traditional role of housewives with the protagonists trying to solve mysteries and rumors instead of following aims and ambitions of their own.

8. 2. Elicitation Tool and Implementation

For this analysis a codebook including all the categories to be coded in the series was compiled. Elicitation tool and implementation are grounded on Mayring's concept of inductive category formation with the deduction of the relevant categories directly from the material (Mayring 2010: 83-84). The determination of data was followed by the set up of codebook and categories based on the epistemological interest and the theoretical

framework. After a revision of 30 per cent of the total material (nine episodes per series) the categories were remastered and the whole data set coded involving the newly revised codebook. Each category includes a definition, specific examples and illustrations from the material, as well as invalid cases that have been excluded from the category. Important aspects in the revision of the category set represent their logicity, exclusiveness, repeatability, and the connection to the epistemological interest. After having coded the material a superficial corpus analysis was conducted with the high-frequency words of the empirical study in the relevant time spans in COHA, COCA, and COSA to integrate the research results of the content analysis into a wider scope. In order to ensure the comparability of samples, the results of the corpus study were normalized on occurrences per million words where necessary e.g. when comparing the results of the various corpora. The regularization of results in the empirical study was not considered important due to the consistency in the coding process, where an equal number of episodes and episode-length was analyzed per series. Finally, the data was evaluated, and statistics listed, analyzed, and interpreted with regard to the research questions. Based on convenience sampling, ten episodes have been coded per series. The first ten episodes of the highest rated season were analyzed unless they were not accessible (Flick 2007: 28). These were the ten first episodes of season 2 from the year 1952 in *I Love Lucy* and the first ten episodes of season 3 from the year 2000 in *Sex and the City*. *Laverne & Shirley* posed an availability problem so that eight episodes were selected from the 1976-80 period and two episodes from 1980-82 (see Table 1 "The Indicator system for the selection of series"). 24 years lie between time span one and the first series of time span two, and 18 years between the last episode of time span two and time span three.

8. 3. Codebook and Categories

The codebook shows a compilation of all categories that have been coded in the series. Special importance with regard to the object of study lies in embedding the language in context and considering its communicative function. Mayring and Gläser-Zikuda (2005: 21-22) deliberate on the relationship between a linguistic utterance and its context:

Das durch Inhaltsanalysen auszuwertende Material sind Texte, also sprachliche Produkte, und damit Resultate sprachlichen Handelns. Deshalb liegt es nahe, sich Gedanken darüber zu machen, welches der Beitrag der Linguistik zur Inhaltsanalyse sein kann [...] Diese Auffassung, dass Wörter, Sätze oder Texte für bezeichnete Gegenstände oder Vorstellungen stehen, ist in der Sprachphilosophie spätestens seit Wittgenstein überholt [...] Damit ist die Bedeutung des Wortes in eine soziale Handlung integriert. Es gibt keine Bedeutung des Zeichens per se. Ergo kann ich auch einem Text keine Bedeutung per se entnehmen. Jede Bedeutung der sprachlichen Äußerung, des Wortes, des Satzes, des Textes, ist sozial determiniert und erst zu erschließen, wenn ich weiß, welche sprachliche Handlung mit dem sprachlichen Zeichen vollzogen wird.

Especially when dealing with obscene language it stands to reason to make a distinction between type and function as well as the manner, dialogue partner, and setting in which a profanity has been uttered (Gao Gao 2008: 9). A general overview of all categories can be seen in the table below. The categories can be divided into formal and thematic kinds, whereby formal categories encompass series, season and episode, year, speaker, dialogue partner, and context, while thematic categories involve type, function, and manner that address the actual performance of obscene language. The dependent variables were the aspects of speech style, to be more precise the profane language that was coded. These varied according to context, interlocutor, topic, emotion, and manner and took numerous variants. After the analysis of the first 30 per cent of the material categories, variables, and variants were formed. Thus, it seemed most functional to deal with discrete rather than continuous variables as the observed variation kept within reasonable limits, except for the actual utterance, which constituted a continuous variable as it could take an unlimited number of forms. The independent variables were sociodemographic indicators such as gender and involved all categories in the formal category sector and were also coded as discrete variables. In addition, the codebook gives a definition of all contexts, moods, manners, and interlocutors in which a variable can arise so to establish equal conditions of occurrence, and thus ensures the comparability of the samples. Last but not least, the factorization of paralinguistic variables such as body language, gestures, facial expressions, and sign language was due to its dispensability in a linguistic analysis, whose prior concern focuses on language and the actual utterance. Most likely, exclamations of the kind of *oh* or *ha* have been coded as epithets but everything that transgresses a clear expression has been

disregarded and hence not coded in the study. The latter aspect constitutes a particular downside in the analysis of *I Love Lucy* and *Laverne & Shirley*, where in a considerable number of situations the protagonists vent their displeasure via body language. Yet, the study of paralinguistic features exceeds the studies interest and may be a matter for further research. Table 2 illustrates an abridged version of the codebook with the complete codebook and category descriptions following below.

Categories	Example
1. Series	SATC, Lucy, L&S
2. Season/Episode	1/2
3. Year	1952, 1979, 2000
4. Speaker/ Gender	Lucy, Samantha, Shirley, Woman, Man..
5. Dialogue Partner(s)	Mixed, Male, Female
6. Context/Setting	Informal, Formal
7. Word	Fuck, Bullshit
8. Type of Profanity	Taboo, Euphemism, Epithet, Insult, Vulgarism
9. Function of Profanity	Abuse, Amuse, Emphasis, Cathartic...
10. Manner in which Profanity has been said	Wink, Serious, Neutral, Lust, Angry..

Table 2. An abridged illustration of the codebook disclosing all categories with examples.

1. Series (formal, discrete)	Example
The name of the American series	SATC (<i>Sex and the City</i>), Lucy (<i>I Love Lucy</i>), L&S (<i>Laverne And Shirley</i>)

2. Season/Episode (formal, discrete)	Example
The number of Season and Episode of the respective series	1/2 (Season 1/ Episode 2)

3. Year (formal, discrete)	Example
The year in which the episode of the series has been broadcast for the first time	1952, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 2000

4. Speaker (formal, discrete)	Example
Name (only with relevant female characters, men will be addressed here as "man" as they are not centre of the analysis and have been coded for the sake of completeness as to provide a baseline. Non-protagonist women will be coded as "woman".)	Lucy, Ethel (characters in <i>I Love Lucy</i>) Laverne, Shirley (characters in <i>Laverne & Shirley</i>) Samantha (Sa), Carrie (Ca), Charlotte (Cha), Miranda (Mi) (characters in <i>Sex and the City</i>) Man (representative for all male characters) Woman (representative for all non-protagonist female characters)

5. Dialogue Partners (formal, discrete)	Example
Gender	Man/ Woman mixed (group of people of both sexes)
None (-)	Narrative voice of Carrie (<i>Sex and the City</i>)

6. Context (formal, discrete)	Example
Formality	Informal (no special occasion, at home, casual meeting with family or friends, regular cafe/ bar/ restaurant) Formal (special occasion, where character has to behave sophisticated e.g. television broadcasting)

7. Word/ Actual Utterance (thematic, continuous)	Example
The linguistic token that has been uttered, the actual profanity and taboo word/ phrase.	Fuck, Bullshit, Shut up, Idiot, to sleep with

8. Type of Profanity (thematic, discrete)	Example
The classification of profanity into type, function, and manner gives "a sense of logic and purpose behind dirty word usage" (Jay 1992: 9). The types of profanity are defined according to Jay and Hughes, whereas the function set is based on Pinker's deliberations. The types of obscene language can be split into direct/explicit forms	

(taboo, insult, vulgarism) and indirect/euphemistic types (euphemism, epithet, profanity).	
Taboo = "a prohibition instituted for the protection of a cultural group against supernatural reprisal" (Jay 1992: 4). Furthermore Hughes specifies "Societal taboos [...] become revealing indicators of evolving social mores, and reflect differing attitudes towards major forces which sustain, alter or threaten life[...] Taboos often reveal divisions within a society, there being different conventions according to class, position, sex, and age" (Hughes 1991: 11). Read distinguishes taboo of concept and taboo of word (Read 1934: 264). For reasons of convenience this study will analyze taboo words. The majority of taboo words are comprised by sex, sex organs, and natural bodily functions (Fromkin 1993: 303). General Themes such as words for excrements (=scatology) or sex.	To have sex with somebody (but not sex as in "the opposite sex" or "sex columnist") To have an orgasm (euphemism: come, vulgarism: shot his load, see <i>Sex and the City</i> Season 3 Episode 6, Samantha "...came, orgasm, shot his load") Scatology: Shit, Skid marks, Fart, Spunk (not considered taboo: sperm= politically correct/biological term) Not considered taboo: venereal diseases, sexual orientation (bi/homosexuality), menstruation, to pee (rather piss would be considered the taboo term)
Insult = addressed to somebody else. Treating somebody or something with contempt and indignity even if person or thing is not physically there (Jay 1992: 8). May either be an utterance for harm or injury or a slur.	Damn you Fuck you Eat shit She's a bitch (but not: the animal), Whore, Slut To be an old fart Son of a bitch/ Jackass Bastard, Motherfucker, Cocksucker
Euphemism/ Metaphor = use of an inoffensive alternative word as a substitute for the taboo item (Parsons 2005). Using weakened formulation to avoid shocking value of taboo word, paraphrasing and using a metaphor to	Gee, Jeez To sleep with To come (have an orgasm) Not considered taboo or euphemism: to meet men, dating,

describe the taboo notion. By definition euphemism is not a taboo word but it is considered important in the delineation of the multifacetedness of speaker strategies regarding taboo.	spend the night together, have a sleep over (as it must not necessarily imply a sexual innuendo)
Vulgarism = indecent and repulsive language which is abhorrent to the morality of society as well as not offensive language that reflects the crudeness of the street (Jay 1992: 5-6). Here it is used synonymously with what Jay categorizes as obscenities. Mostly sexual nature including names for body parts.	Fuck (to fuck, fucking) Cunt, Tits, Nipples, Dick, Pussy, Blow job (euphemism= getting head), hand job Shut up, Get out Kiss my ass, Bullshit Not considered obscene: Breast, Penis, Vagina.
Epithet = "a characterizing word or phrase accompanying or occurring in place of the name of a person or thing [...] brief but forceful bursts of emotional language" (Jay 1992: 7). Can also be outbursts or one word exclamations instead of physical aggression or taboo.	Oh, Ah, Oh dear, Ha! Fuck, Shit, Damn, Goddamn it (when waking up and realizing one has overslept) Considered profanity if it occurs immediately before holy entity: Oh heaven! Oh goodness! Not considered offensive language but emotional outburst of pleasure: cathartic exclamations during orgasms.
Profanity = "To treat something sacred with abuse, irreverence, or contempt [...] An example of profanity would be a word or phrase which seeks not to denigrate God, religion or holy affairs but would be based more on ignorance of or indifference to these matters" (Jay 1992: 3). "The irrelevant use of the name of a deity" (Gao Gao 2008: 9).	Oh my god (not coded as exclamation but as profanity only) Jesus Christ do it For the love of christ do it For heavens sake Who/What the hell

9. Function of Profanity (thematic, discrete)	Example
The aim and purpose behind uttering the swear language. All functions are adapted from Pinker except for the three characteristics 'declaratory', 'amuse', and 'sexual innuendo', which have been generated as a necessity to match the coded material.	
Cathartic = "when something bad happens like coffee spilling, people curse. One evolutionary theory asserts it is meant to tell the audience that you're undergoing a negative emotion" (Humphries 2012).	Aww, fuck! Damn this coffee!
Emphatic = "to emphasize something with swearing" (Humphries 2012)	It was so fucking big!
Abusive = "for abuse or intimidation or insulting of others" (Humphries 2012).	You motherfucking son of a bitch! (motherfucking=emphatic, son of a bitch=abusive) Fuck you asshole! You're a bitch! But consider for example the use of "bitch" must not necessarily be abusive but can be dysphemistic or amusing such as when Carrie smiles and tells Aiden "Ok, yes I am a bitch" (<i>Sex and the City</i>, Season 3 Episode 7).
Dysphemistic = "Exact opposite of euphemism. Forces listener to think about negative or provocative matter. Using the wrong euphemism has a dysphemistic effect" (Humphries 2012).	He fucks her. I'm so fucked up! Ha!
Declaratory = serious, stating a point, making a statement	"Shawn and I had really broken the ice or at least my ass had." (Carrie, <i>Sex and the City</i>, Season 3 Episode 4) "I think it's wrong to sleep with a man just to fulfill a certain fantasy."

	(Charlotte, <i>Sex and the City</i> , Season 3 Episode 1)
Amusive = pun, word play, joke, means to invoke humor	"You know what they say: big arms, big arms" (Miranda about men, also sexual implication, <i>Sex and the City</i> , Season 3 Episode 1). "Can we lighten up on the cock talk till cocktail time?" (Carrie, <i>Sex and the City</i> , Season 3 Episode 1)
Sexual Innuendo = most often linked to a provocative double entendre of a word/phrase, ambiguous, provocative	"Ok and what will you give me for gas light?" (guy implying sex, <i>Laverne & Shirley</i> Season 4 Episode 11)

10. Manner (thematic, discrete)	Example
The manner in which a profanity has been uttered. How the profanity has been said, the emotional constitution of the speaker.	Serious Neutral (without any particular sense of emotion, rather making a statement) Lust (sexual arousal, provocative atmosphere, flirty) Angry, Incense, Disappointed, Annoyed Wink (smiling, laughing, with a wink, ironic, cool) Distressed, Concerned, Shocked, Sad, Panic

9. Analysis and Results

General tendencies shown in the analysis are the increase of obscene language use from the 50s to the 2000s, which was accompanied by the move from the use of euphemistic forms towards more explicit forms of obscene language. The use of mild types such as profanities and epithets is predominant in *I Love Lucy* uttered with both cathartic and emphatic function. Contrastingly, *Sex and the City* incorporates a high number of explicit tokens with a comparatively high frequency of dirty word usage however with varying type and function. Yet, *I Love Lucy* shows a high frequency of paralinguistic features as a replacement for obscene language such as raised voice, high pitch, body language, or Lucy's husband swearing in an entirely different language (Italian), which have all been excluded from this research. A striking aspect about *Laverne & Shirley* is the 40-60 per cent weighting in the distribution of obscene language according to gender. While the number of profanities uttered by women outweighs significantly in *I Love Lucy* and *Sex and the City*, only 60 per cent of obscene language items in *Laverne & Shirley* occur with females. Additionally, the 70s series shows lower numbers of swearing than *I Love Lucy*. While the distribution of swear words among the female characters is balanced in *I Love Lucy* and *Laverne & Shirley*, it is fairly uneven in *Sex and the City*. A similarity factor that we can find in all three series is that the majority of tokens (94%) are being uttered in an informal setting. A striking factor in the general development of obscene language over time poses its considerable subsidence in the 70s period. Therefore, the general picture drawn by this diachronic study is not one of a constant rise but a V-formed curve.

Empirical Study

The obscene language of men and women was coded in ten episodes per series, which resulted in a total of 428 tokens apportioned into a majority of 286 tokens in *Sex and the City*, 81 units in *I Love Lucy (Lucy)*, and 61 samples in *Laverne & Shirley*. The average number of tokens per series was 8 in *Lucy*, 6 in *Laverne & Shirley (L&S)*, and 29 in *Sex And The City (SATC)*. Thus, the occurrences were 3.5 times higher in *SATC* as opposed to its 50s counterpart *Lucy*, while they showed a decrease by a quarter from *Lucy* to *L&S*. The normalization of the results with regard to words uttered by females shows

that the occurrence of obscene language per 100 words in *Lucy* amounts to 21 tokens, which is twice as high as in *L&S* (11 tokens per 100 words) and three times smaller than *SATC* (68 tokens). In all series the majority of tokens are uttered by female characters, which may be linked to the series' focus on female characters, who have longer speaking times than men (see Table 3 below). In *Lucy*, 84 per cent of tokens are expressed by women, and 78 per cent so in *SATC*. Interestingly, *L&S* shows greater balance with a 40-60 weighting. For the sake of the epistemological interest all subsequent calculations have been performed only with tokens uttered by women.

Series	Women	Men	Total
I Love Lucy	68 (84)	13 (16.1)	81 (18.9)
Laverne & Shirley	35 (57.4)	26 (42.6)	61 (14.3)
Sex and the City	220 (78.3)	66 (23.1)	286 (66.8)
Total (%)	323 (75)	107 (25)	428 (100)

Table 3. Distribution of tokens in the series according to gender.

Interesting aspects about the use of type of profanity are the trend from a majority of indirect forms in *Lucy* and *L&S* towards greater explicitness in *SATC*. Euphemisms remain at an all time high, whereas obscenities skyrocket in *SATC*, and while there are no incidences of taboos in *Lucy* and *L&S*, they make up 16 per cent of the *SATC* population. The majority of obscene language in *Lucy* is constituted by euphemisms (40%), epithets (35%), and profanities (19%), whereas explicit forms such as insults and vulgarisms form an insignificant minority with 4 tokens out of 68. *L&S* shows an increase of explicit forms and a greater variety of usage, whereupon 29 per cent are insults and euphemisms each, vulgarisms follow with 20 per cent, and profanity and epithet come at last with 11 per cent each. *SATC* stands out by its boost of explicitness, employing 33 per cent vulgarisms, 16 per cent taboos, and 13 per cent insults. Yet, almost a third of all tokens are euphemisms (30%).

The word frequency charts display the rankings of most frequently uttered words in the respective series. All ahead being the euphemism *gee*, the epithet *oh*, and the profanities *my goodness* and *for heaven's sake* in *Lucy* (see Figure 1). Figure 2 shows that the *L&S* ranking is headed by insults such as *idiot*, *moron*, or *wimp*, the epithet *oh*, the

euphemism *gee*, the profanity *my goodness*, and the vulgarism *baby*. As the number of playful metaphoric euphemisms by far exceeds all other types in *SATC*, the evaluation for the most frequent utterance results in the vulgarism *fuck* and its various parts of speech as number one, followed by the taboo *sex*, the insult *bitch*, the vulgarism *cock*, and the euphemism *to sleep with somebody* (see Figure 3).

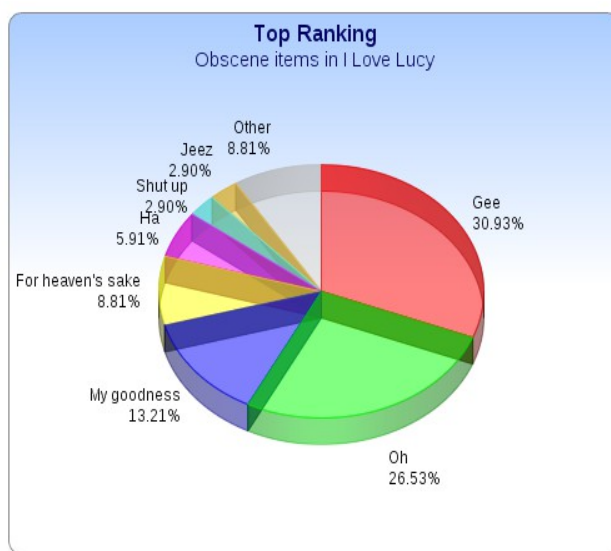


Figure 1. Top Ranking of high-frequency items in *I Love Lucy* out of a total of 68 tokens that were uttered by females.

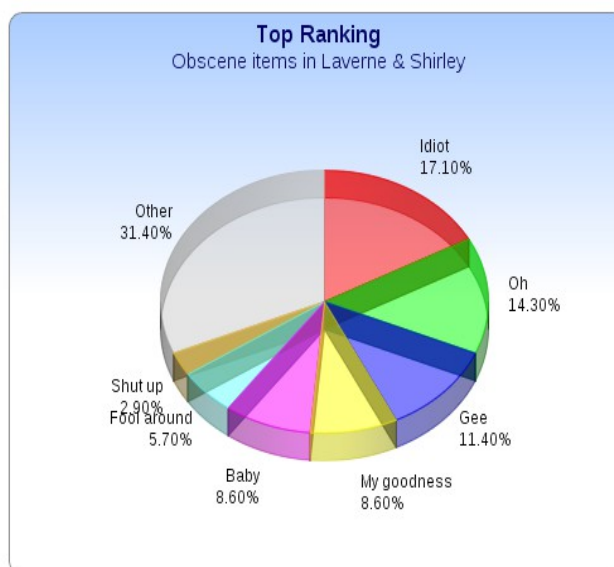


Figure 2. Top Ranking of high-frequency items in *Laverne & Shirley* out of a total of 35 tokens that were uttered by females.



Figure 3. Top Ranking of high-frequency items in *Sex and the City* out of a total of 220 tokens uttered by females.

The distribution of profane language according to female characters is subordinate to the role allocation and speaking time, whereby in most cases the protagonist or protagonists use more obscene language than their colleagues. Lucy uses more euphemisms and swears twice as much as her best friend Ethel (who uses predominantly epithets), which covers 71 per cent of all tokens. Similarly, the use of swear language by Shirley, who shows highest occurrences of euphemisms, is double the number of Laverne (predominantly using vulgarisms), being representative of 69 per cent of all tokens in *L&S*. The distribution of tokens is strikingly uneven in *SATC*, where 40 per cent of the cases are uttered by Carrie, 34 per cent by Samantha, 16 per cent by Miranda, and only 7 per cent by Charlotte. Additionally, the type of profanity vary between the four characters: Samantha shows a high use of vulgarisms, while Carrie's profane language use is dominated by euphemisms but showing also mixed features by involving vulgarisms, insults, taboo, and epithets.

In *Lucy* profane language is predominantly uttered with cathartic (60%) and emphatic (21%) aim. These two functions are still dominating in *L&S* with 26 per cent each but they are varied with abusive, dysphemistic, and declaratory tokens, which together make up to 13 per cent. There is a five time increase of sexual innuendo tokens in *SATC* as opposed to *Lucy* and *L&S*, which incorporate less than 3 tokens each. Quite striking is

also the shift towards profanity use as a neutral or amusing statement in *SATC*, where profanity is used with a declaratory function in 41 per cent of all cases, followed by the amusing (18%) and dysphemistic (15%) functions. Therefore, profanities in *SATC* are uttered as statements, humorous puns, or accentuations rather than outbursts of emotions such as in *Lucy* and *L&S*.

In 72 per cent of all tokens in *Lucy* the profanities are uttered in distress or anger. The manner in which profanities are expressed remains still high in *L&S* with distress and anger amounting to 40 per cent, while 46 per cent are uttered in a serious fashion. Very similar to the tendency in the function section, *SATC* stands out with a significantly high number of tokens being uttered in a happy, cool, and amused manner (40%), being followed by neutral utterances (19%) by means of Carrie's narrative voice, and serious or angry manners coming together to 27 per cent.

Generally, insults in *L&S* are declaratory, whereas they are balanced between declaratory and amusing in *SATC*. Euphemisms in the series of the two earlier time spans are predominantly cathartic, whereas they are declaratory and amusing in *SATC*. Emphatic vulgarisms dominate in *L&S* and *Lucy*, which become either declaratory or dysphemistic in *SATC*. Cathartic and emphatic functions dominate for the more mild forms epithet and profanity in a majority of cases in all series (83% in *SATC*, 81% *Lucy*, 51% *L&S*).

Cross tabulations have been calculated to generate the relationship between type and function as well as type and manner. Cathartic and emphatic functions dominate in the results for *Lucy* affecting the majority of epithets (96%) and 67 per cent of all euphemisms. Similarly, these two functions predominate in *L&S* where 40 per cent of all euphemisms are cathartic, and 86 per cent of the vulgarisms emphatic with half of all insults being declarative nature. As mentioned earlier, declaratory, amusing, and dysphemistic functions outweigh in *SATC*, where 65 per cent of all taboos are declarative, 59 per cent of insults balance between declaratory or amusing, and vulgarisms are predominantly declaratory and dysphemistic (58%). Traditionally, the use of epithets and profanities in *SATC* is dominated by cathartic and emphatic functions with over 83 per cent of tokens for each type.

Significant correlations between type and manner hold the expression of epithets and profanities when distressed or angry in all series. Also the trends show variations in the correlation of type and manner from uttering insults, euphemisms, and vulgarisms in a serious or distressed manner in the two earlier series towards a higher frequency of happy and ironic manners in *SATC*. Precisely speaking, obscene language in *Lucy* correlates with angry and distressed in 72 per cent of all cases (60 % of vulgarisms and 46 per cent of the profanities uttered when angry, 52 per cent of euphemisms when distressed, and 80 per cent of epithets either one or the other). The link between profane language and serious or distressed manner predominates in *L&S* (60% of insults and 71% of vulgarisms when serious, a fifty-fifty division of all euphemisms and epithets into serious and distressed, and 75% of all profanities when distressed). The trends from more distressed or serious manner tilt towards uttering the swear language with a wink in *SATC*: 56 per cent of epithet occurrences are expressed in a distressed manner, and half of all profanities when angry. Contrastingly, a cool, sophisticated, and amused manner predominate insults (41%), euphemisms (57%), and vulgarisms (36%), whereas taboos are predominantly said in either neutral (38%) or serious (27%) fashion.

Corpus study

The corpus-based study with COHA, COCA, and COSA shows only partial correlations to the findings of the empirical study, which may be due to the nature of the material compilation, being written texts in COHA, spoken texts of predominantly public networks in COCA, and soap operas in COSA. However, closer deliberations on advantages and disadvantages and the nature of the corpora have been elucidated in Chapter 8. The study of COHA depicts a general increase of explicit forms of obscene language over time, and a generally balanced but fairly low status of mild forms (Table 4). It shows a consistent number of explicit profanities such as *jerk* and *idiot*, while *sex* remains at an all-time high and raises threefold from 40.8 tokens per million in the 50s to 144.7 tokens in 2000. The high-frequency of *sex* in the 50s and 70s seems to be a paradox when compared to the results of the empirical study where it does not occur at all. This circumstance may be linked to the tight broadcasting regulations of the times and will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Interestingly, the vulgarism *fuck* rockets from abyssal 15 occurrences (0.6 tokens per million) in the 50s decade to incredible 1400 tokens (59 tokens per million) in the 2000s, which correlates with the

results of the empirical study. Mild forms such as *gee* and *my goodness* experience an overall low with a downward tendency: Over the course of time the number of tokens never surpasses 200 with *gee* remaining below 8 tokens per million and *my goodness* below 3 tokens per million, this insight being at slight discrepancy with the high-frequency of mild forms in *Lucy*.

Word	Number of tokens 1950s (total size of 50s compilation: 24,544,831 million words, normalization of token per million words given in brackets)	Number of tokens 1970s (total size of 70s compilation: 23,815,191 million words, normalization of token per million words given in brackets)	Number of tokens 2000s (total size of 2000s compilation: 29,567,390 million words, normalization of token per million words given in brackets)
Gee	153 (6.2)	177 (7.4)	123 (4.2)
My goodness	30 (1.2)	44 (1.9)	69 (2.3)
Jerk	186 (7.6)	151 (6.5)	247 (8.4)
Idiot	224 (9.1)	206 (8.7)	455 (15.4)
Fuck	15 (0.6)	981 (41.2)	1406 (59)
Sex	1002 (40.8)	1972 (82.8)	3446 (144.7)
Bitch	46 (1.9)	45 (2)	139 (4.7)

Table 4. The number of occurrences of obscene language tokens in the time spans 1950s, 1970s, and 2000s analyzed in COHA.

The overall word compilations in COCA and COSA are approximately three times as high as COHA's, which is a considerable coefficient in the comparison of frequency results, wherefore the results again have been normalized to occurrence of token per million words. Findings in the study of the spoken corpora vary slightly from COHA in that the spoken corpora show generally smaller numbers of the usage of explicit forms (see Table 5 below). The explicit token *fuck* does occur neither in the spoken text compilation of COCA nor in COSA. Also the COCA numbers for *jerk*, *idiot*, and *bitch* are comparatively small remaining under 2.2 tokens per million in the 2000s decade. Considerable 5311 tokens of the taboo *sex* occur in COCA (55.6 tokens per million). Here, the consideration of mixed meaning components has to be pointed out, whereupon the definition of *sex* included biological as well as other non-profane meanings such as 'sex lessons' or 'the person from the opposite sex'. Except for the

complete absence of *fuck* in the spoken text compilation of COCA, COSA depicts a discrepancy to COCA by means of incorporating exceedingly high occurrences of profane items. Assumptions and specific deliberations about possible reasons and the meaning of COSA results for the study will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Word	Number of tokens in COCA (total size of 2000s compilation: 95,577,943 million words, normalization of token per million words given in brackets)	Number of tokens in COSA (total size of 2000s compilation: 84,368,298 million words, normalization of token per million words given in brackets)	Number of tokens in COHA (total size of 2000s compilation: 29,567,390 million words, normalization of token per million words given in brackets)
Gee	523 (5.5)	2111 (25)	123 (41.6)
My goodness	505 (5.3)	2478 (29.4)	69 (2.3)
Jerk	137 (1.4)	3678 (43.6)	247 (83.5)
Idiot	208 (2.2)	3706 (44)	455 (153.9)
Fuck	0	0	1406 (47.6)
Sex	5311 (55.6)	6588 (78.1)	3446 (116.6)
Bitch	166 (1.7)	4172 (49.5)	139 (47)

Table 5. Comparison of token frequency between written texts in COHA and spoken texts in COCA and COSA in the 2000s time period (time span definitions vary, for COCA/COHA 2000-2009, for COSA 2001-2009).

10. Discussion

The research questions in this study were not prefixed assumptions but rather notions that lead the research in the investigation of the insufficiently studied relationship between the two variables, profanity and gender identity. The fairly extensive implementation of both qualitative empirical study and corpus study was of great success and offered results that made it possible to answer the initially posed research questions, which shall be discussed in detail now.

In how far does the performance of obscene language transmit aspects of male identity to female characters?

An important question that was raised at the beginning of this study concerned the broad social meaning assigned to the performance of obscene language. The deliberations circled around the development of profanity as a marker of emotion (especially negative emotion), an indicator of the transition in conventions, inhibition levels, and societal values, and last but not least, with regard to the gender issue, a reflection of power relations and the linguistic stages of female liberation and emancipation. An important aspect is the cultural studies approach in the attachment of power relations to swearing that goes hand in hand with the acceptance of profane usage for men, whereas intolerance when uttered by women (Jay 2000: 165). Given the assumption that masculinity is linguistically distinguished by a speaker's use of a wide variety and high frequency of obscene language, the leading roles in *I Love Lucy* and *Sex and the City* would then be supposed to contain masculinity features in their identity. Yet, although they involve a high frequency of obscene language, these items vary in type and function. Hence, gender identity transformation seems to take place only in *Sex and the City*, where profane language is more direct and explicit. The meaning assigned to identity via the performance of obscene language is a power aspect which is usually associated with male attributes such as dominance and leadership (Rassin & Van der Heijden 2004; Jay 2000: 169; Klewin 2007: 13-14). In this, profanity can be counted as a predominant factor of male language and expression strategy which is adopted by the characters of the 2000s series. Women's usurpation of this feature not only symbolizes an infringement on societal norms and general regulations but

moreover delineates a means to break the rigid status quo aiming to transgress dominant power relations via language. Though the performance of female characters in the 50s shows a relatively high-frequency of obscene language use given the average number of tokens in one *Lucy* series (68 tokens, 7 per series, 30% *gee*) and comparing it with the average number of COHA tokens (153 *gee* tokens in a 1952, 6.2 tokens per million words), it incorporates predominantly euphemistic and indirect forms, which in turn would not be associated with masculinity. In the past obscene language was regarded as a negative deviation of the general etiquette, especially associating swearing women with working class or disreputability. For this reason, women would avoid using strong language until the meaning shift and liberation of the linguistic variable with regulation relaxations and the uprising of feminist movements in the 70s.

What are the influences of technological trends with regard to taboo language use over time on the basis of gender within American series?

In general, the number of profanities is very high in contemporary television based entertainment genres such as soap operas as shown in the COSA study (e.g. 49.5 tokens of *bitch* per million and 47 tokens per million in COHA in the 2000s), as well as in comedy dramas such as *Sex and the City* (29 tokens per series as opposed to the average number of 6 tokens in *L&S*). Based on the superficiality of the corpus study, no frequency distinctions can be made between entertainment and non-entertainment genres in general. The tendency with the highest significance in this study can be summarized as the shift from more mild and euphemistic forms of obscene language towards greater explicitness. While indirect items such as *gee* and *my goodness* denote a high-frequency in the 50s, the number drops to an insignificant minimum in the 2000s, whereas explicit cases such as insults, vulgarisms, and taboos are desultory or nonexistent in the earlier time spans, they rocket in the last decade.

Considering the context, these figures may be linked to the loosening of the general broadcasting regulations of FCC and internal broadcasting standards, as well as the differing provisions for cable and public channels. However, the corpus study revealed that euphemistic items underwent a general decrease throughout all time spans, which is contrary to the high occurrences in the 50s period examined in the empirical study. This discrepancy may be due to the comparison of spoken language with COHA's

compilation that consists of written material only. From a technical and legal point of view both text types vary in their allowance of linguistic freedom concerning profane language by means of the diffusion and the diversification of audience. Thereby, written material would show greater possibilities and smaller constraints to the use of profane language due to its comparatively low level of diffusiveness (no mass audience, has to be bought, limited accessibility for shocking or provocative texts) and its smaller target group (e.g. provocative or sexual texts being banned for the use of specific age groups). The liberalization of regulations and looser cable television provisions was governed by economic factors such as the attraction of big audiences. As a side effect, it enabled the increase of profane language and changed its function and distribution among gender. Consequently, profane language was not symbolizing aggression or negative emotions but it became a rhetoric amplifier.

What are the significant aspects of the performance of obscene language by female characters portraying alternative gender roles in American series with regard to type, function, manner, and context from 1950 to 2000?

The striking trend with regard to shifts in manner and function of the performance of profanity involves the direction of the nature of utterances along a continuum from positive to negative acceptance: Only epithets and profanities denote a persistent correlation with distressed manner with over half of the cases being uttered with emphatic or cathartic function, whereas the majority of other types of obscene language undergo a shift from distressed or serious manner in the 50s and 70s towards being uttered in cool style with 60 per cent expressed with either declarative or amusive function in the 2000s. According to these implications, the primary association with profanity then is no longer connected to anger, distress, or expression of strong (primarily negative) emotions but rather positions the use of profanity as a means to refresh and accentuate speech utterances, amuse the dialogue partner by using profanity in connection to rhetoric strategies (as euphemistic puns, metaphors, humor), and thus, foster the establishment of social bonding and in-group behavior. Indicative for these assumptions is also the high number of occurrences of profanity in an informal setting, and a high correlation of profanity being uttered with declaratory function (using it when making unemotional statements) and in a cool (amused) manner. The negative associations with the performance of profanity that have persisted for at least 30

decades (1950s-1970s) seem to have shifted by taking the sting out of the negative language style items.

The setting of the portrayed reality is predominantly informal, where the characters are either at home or talking to close friends, which stands to reason in entertainment genres such as most television series. There appears to be a link between entertainment genre's high involvement and low informality rate and an extensive use of all the various types of profanities in the 2000s as seen in COSA. A definite notion is the strong correlation of high-frequency of profane language in entertainment genres, which involve an informal setting. The corpus study does not show function and manner of the profanities, whereas the evidence of the empirical study depicts the development from abusive-cathartic functions in the 50s towards amusive-declaratory alignment in series from the 2000s. Therefore, one might justify the high occurrences of profane language in contemporary series like *Sex and the City* or various soap operas (see a listing of soap operas used in COSA in Chapter 8) either with more relaxed controls for private channels, or a general change in the function of profane language that mitigates aggressive potential and shock value of obscenities, and with this changes the meaning of the linguistic item.

To what extent does the performance of obscene language influence female identity and gender stereotypes?

This question could be answered only partly. It remains unclear in how far a female character that shows a significant frequency of obscene language in her speech epitomizes a deviation of traditional gender stereotypes. The roles epitomized by the female protagonists of the analyzed series were all considered ahead of their times, so that the answering of this question would demand the conduction of a study with a relatively high number of series of the respective times. Only then the relationship between a characters impersonated role model and her profane language frequency could be established. Therefore, all characters, who have been analyzed within the scope of this study, present a strong and independent female but with a varied markedness of explicitness in profanity, whether their use of profanity is considerably higher than those of females incorporating traditional roles remains open.

The uneven distribution of type and frequency of dirty word usage among the female characters in all series is not only linked to the distribution of speaking time according to relevance of role position (e.g. protagonists speaking more) but also to a variety of roles within the alternative independent gender category, whereby the variety of alternative gender roles is highest in the 2000s. In all cases the protagonists utter twice as many profane items than their peers (protagonists considered in *Sex and the City* are Carrie and Samantha, in *Laverne & Shirley* Shirley plays a leading role with regard to speaking time though in general both characters are considered a team), whereby the protagonist in all series show the highest frequency for euphemisms (Lucy, Shirley, and Carrie). While the persons in the early time spans depict similar usage of profanity, being predominantly mild and euphemistic forms in *Lucy* and more balanced variety in *L&S*, *SATC* depicts a wide variety of roles with regard to their profile as well as profane language use. Though all these roles are examples of independent females, they vary according to their markedness: Samantha predominantly uses vulgarisms in a cool and joking manner, while Charlotte's token compilation (euphemisms and vulgarisms, which are mostly uttered in distressed or angry manner) makes up less than ten per cent of the total sample population in *SATC*. And last but not least, Carrie and Miranda show a balance between the use of euphemisms and vulgarisms that in a majority are uttered neutrally or with a wink.

The results of the corpora study round out the picture presented by the empirical study though with slight mismatch in some aspects. The study of COHA depicts high incidences and a general increase of explicit forms of obscene language over time, and a generally balanced but low frequency of mild forms being below 7 tokens per million for all time spans. The latter finding contradicts the results of the empirical study, where mild forms in the 50s occur most frequently. Then, the higher frequency of explicit items in the 1950s in the corpora as opposed to the study can be explained with stricter regulations of the mass entertainment on television networks than in more diversified written media such as fiction and non-fiction books, and magazines. To illustrate this aspect on the basis of the two examples *sex* and *fuck*: The high-frequency of *sex* in COHA in the 50s and 70s time span poses a paradox when compared to the results of the empirical study, where it does not occur at all. Also, *fuck* does occur neither in COCA nor COSA but shows a high number of occurrences in the written material corpus of COHA.

The only mystery that remains unsolved is the collapse of profanities in the 70s. While Battistella (2005: 69) points out that occurrences of offensive language tripled from the 60s to the 70s, this does not correlate with the results in the empirical or the COHA study. Possible reasons may be found in the socio-political domain and technical context: First, the corpus analysis for the 50s and 70s involved the written corpus of COHA, while the empirical study focused only on the analysis of three spoken series. Second, there may be a correlation between each networks broadcasting standards so that it may be possible for ABC to have posed tighter regulations in general. Finally, from a feminist point of view considerations about the author's viewpoints and sex would want a detailed study. Superficially, one could argue that the scriptwriters sex has a considerable influence on the characters language in so far that it involves the author's expectations and perspective on how women talk or should talk. While *I Love Lucy* was written by a mixed group of personae with Lucille Ball as a leading figure (and a mixed ensemble: Jess Oppenheimer, Madelyn Davis, Bob Carroll Junior, Bob Schiller, and Bob Weiskopf), *Sex and the City* was based on Candace Bushnell's same-named book (created by the homosexual producer Darren Star), whereas differently male writers dominate in *Laverne & Shirley* (Garry Marshall, Lowell Ganz, Mark Rothman) (<http://www.classictvhits.com/tvratings/>, 2. November 2012). The reason for the low occurrences of profanity in *Laverne & Shirley* may be linked to male expectations and standards about female language mirrored in the script of the series. Nevertheless, the latter considerations are assumptions that merely aim to give matter for reflection on the complexities that surround the topic.

11. References

- Anderson, Christopher. 1997. "I love Lucy". In Newcomb, Horace (ed.). *The encyclopedia of television*. <http://www.museum.tv/eotvsection.php?entrycode=ilovelucy> (15.November 2012).
- Atteslander, Peter. 2006. *Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.
- Attwood, Feona. 2005. "Fashion and Passion: Marketing Sex to Women". *Sexualities* 8(4), 392- 406.
- Bates, Christopher. "Life told through sitcoms".
<http://www.csupomona.edu/~cgbates/202/tv1.pdf> (15. November 2012).
- Battistella, Edwin L. 2007. *Bad Language: Are some words better than others?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Berger, Arthur Asa. 1997. "Genre". In Newcomb, Horace (ed.). *The Encyclopedia of television*. <http://www.museum.tv/eotvsection.php?entrycode=genre> (15. November 2012).
- Bowers, Jeffrey S.; Pleydell-Pearce, Christopher W. 2011. "Swearing, Euphemisms, and Linguistic Relativity". *Public Library of Science One* 6(7), e22341.
- Bradley, Becky. 1998. "1950-1959." *American Cultural History*. Lone Star College Kingwood Library. <http://kclibrary.lonestar.edu/decade50.html> (14.November 2012).
- Brunnemer, Kristin C. 2003. "Sex and Subjectivity: Gazing and Glancing in HBO's Sex and the City". *Cercles* 8, 6-15.

- Butler, Judith. 1986. "Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex*". *Yale French Studies* 72, 35-49.
- Butler, Judith. 1988. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory". *Theatre Journal* 40(4), 519-531.
- Cameron, James E. 2004. "A three factor model of social identity". *Self and Identity* 3(3), 239-262.
- Dawkins, Richard. 2003. *A devil's chaplain. Selected Essays*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- During, Simon. 1991. "New Historicism". *Text and Performance Quarterly* 11(3), 171-89.
- Elasmar, Michael; Hasefawa, Kazumi; Brain, Mary. 1999. "The portrayal of women in U.S. prime time television". *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 43(1), 20-34.
- Flick, Uwe. 2007. *Designing qualitative research*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Fromkin, Victoria; Rodman, Robert. 1993. *An introduction to language*. New York: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- Gao, Gao. 2008. "Taboo language in Sex and the City: An analysis of Gender Differences in Using Taboo Language in Conversation". Diploma thesis. Kristianstad University.
- Gennaro, Stephen. 2007. "Sex and the City: Perpetual Adolescence Gendered Feminine?", 246- 275. <http://www.nobleworld.biz/images/Gennaro.pdf> (12. November 2012).
- Gerhard, Jane. 2005. "Carrie Bradshaws queer postfeminism". *Feminist Media Studies* 5(1), 37-49.

Geulen, Dieter. 2010. "Jürgen Habermas: Identität, Kommunikation und Moral". In Jörissen, Benjamin; Zirfas, Jörg (eds.). *Schlüsselwerke der Identitätsforschung*. VS Verlag: Wiesbaden, 161- 178.

Gillis, Charles. 1999. "1970-1979." *American Cultural History*. Lone Star College-Kingwood Library. <http://kclibrary.lonestar.edu/decade70.html> (15.November 2012).

Gluscock, Jack. 2001. "Gender Roles on Prime-Time Network Television: Demographics and Behaviors". *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 45(4), 656-669.

Gordon, Elizabeth. 1997. "Sex, speech, and stereotypes: Why women use prestige speech forms more than men". *Language in Society* 26(1), 47-63.

Greenblatt, Stephen. 2008. *Learning to curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture*. Routledge: New York.

Harvey, Philip. 2011. "Why We Swear". *Eureka Street* 21(11), 41-42.

Hasebrink, Uwe; Domeyer, Hanna. 2008. "Medienrepertoires sozialer Milieus im medialen Wandel- Perspektiven einer medienübergreifenden Nutzungsforschung". Presented at the Symposium of the Hans-Bredow-Instituts. <http://tinyurl.com/b3goo6p> (2.November 2012).

Hughes, Geoffrey. 1991. *Swearing- a social history of foul language oaths and profanity in english*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Humphries, Nick. "Types of Profanity". <http://stufftothinkabout.com/post/105302350/types-of-swearing> (21. December 2012).

Jay, Timothy. 1992. *Cursing in America: A psycholinguistic study of dirty language in the courts, in the movies, in the schoolyards and on the streets*. Philadelphia: Benjamins.

- Jay, Timothy. 2000. *Why we curse*. Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Jörissen, Benjamin; Zirfas, Jörg (eds.). 2010. *Schlüsselwerke der Identitätsforschung*. VS Verlag: Wiesbaden.
- Jörissen, Benjamin. 2010. "George Herbert Mead: Geist, Identität und Gesellschaft aus der Perspektive des Sozialbehaviorismus". In Jörissen, Benjamin; Zirfas, Jörg (eds.). *Schlüsselwerke der Identitätsforschung*. VS Verlag: Wiesbaden, 87-108.
- Kaye, Barbara K.; Sapolsky, Barry S. 2004. "Offensive Language in prime-time television: Four years after television age and content ratings". *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 48(4), 554-569.
- Kim, L. S. 2001. "Sex and the single girl in Postfeminism: The F word on Television". *Television & New Media* 2, 319-334.
- Klewin, Victoria. 2007. "Living Happily Ever After? The Reinforcement of Stereotypical Gender Roles on *The Bachelor* and *The Bachelorette*". Diploma Thesis. Boston College.
- Krieger, Daniel. 2003. "Corpus Linguistics: What It Is and How It Can Be Applied to Teaching". *The Internet TESL Journal* 9(3). <http://iteslj.org/Articles/Krieger-Corpus.html> (28. December 2012).
- Kuchenbuch, Klaus. 2005. *Filmanalyse: Theorien, Methoden, Kritik*. Wien: Böhlau.
- Lauzen, Martha M.; Dozler, David; Horan, Nora. 2008. "Constructing Gender Stereotypes Through Social Roles in Prime-Time Television". *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 52(2), 200-214.

- Lennox, Sara. 1992. "Feminism and New Historicism". *Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht, Deutsche Sprache und Literatur* 84(2), 159-170.
- Levinson, Marjorie. 2012. "Reflections on the New Historicism". *European Romantic Review* 23(3), 355-362.
- Markle, Gail. 2008. "Can women have sex like a man? Sexual Scripts in Sex and the City. *Sexuality & Culture* 12(1), 45- 57.
- Mayring, Philipp. 1996. *Einführung in die qualitative Sozialforschung*. Weinheim: Beltz, Psychologie-Verlag-Union.
- Mayring, Philipp. 2010. *Einführung in die qualitative Sozialforschung*. Weinheim: Beltz, Psychologie-Verlag-Union.
- Mayring, Philipp; Gläser-Zikuda, Michaela. 2005. *Die Praxis der qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse*. Weinheim: Beltz, Psychologie-Verlag-Union.
- McEnery, Tony. 2006. *Swearing in English- Bad language, purity and power from 1586 to the present*. London: Routledge.
- Metz, Winifred Fordham. "How sitcoms work".
<http://electronics.howstuffworks.com/sitcom2.htm> (14. November 2012).
- Meyen, Michael; Löblich, Maria; Pfaff-Rüdiger, Senta & Riesmeyer, Claudia. 2011. *Qualitative Forschung in der Kommunikationswissenschaft: Eine praxisorientierte Einführung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

- Mittell, Jason. 2008. "A Cultural Approach to Television Genre Theory". In Edgerton, Gary R., Rose, Brian G. (eds.). *Thinking Outside the Box. A Contemporary Television Genre Reader*. University Press of Kentucky, 37-64.
- Montagu, Ashley. 2001. *The anatomy of swearing*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Nesselhauf, Nadja. 2005. "Corpus Linguistics: A practical introduction".
<http://www.as.uni-heidelberg.de/personen/Nesselhauf/files/Corpus%20Linguistics%20Practical%20Introduction.pdf> (28. December 2012).
- Newcomb, Horace; Hirsch Paul. 1983. "Television as a cultural forum: implications for research." *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 8(3), 45–55.
- Nill, Dawn Michelle. 1997. "Laverne and Shirley". In Newcomb, Horace (ed.). *The encyclopedia of television*. <http://www.museum.tv/eotvsection.php?entrycode=laverneands> (15.November 2012).
- Nochlin, Linda. "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?"
<http://www.bakeru.edu/faculty/adaugherty/wc/module5/artists.html> (10. November 2012).
- Novosat, Courtney L. 2007. "Almost Missing barbie: The Oh-So-Post-Feminist Carrie Bratzshaw". *A Feminist Journal Online*, 26-31.
- Oemichen, Ekkehardt; Schröter, Christian. 2003. "Funktionswandel der Massenmedien durch das Internet?" *Media Perspektiven* 8, 374-384.
- Parsons, Annelise. 2005. "What is swearing?" *SALT magazine*.
<http://afes.org.au/article/what-swearing> (15.November 2012).
- Pinker, Steven. 2007. *The Stuff of Thought: Language as a window into human nature*. London: Penguin.

Rassin, Eric; Heijden, Simone Van Der. 2005. "Appearing credible? Swearing helps!" *Psychology, Crime and Law* 11(2), 177-182.

Rassin, Eric; Muris, Peter. 2005. "Why do women swear? An exploration of reasons for and perceived efficacy of swearing in Dutch female students". *Personality and Individual Differences* 38(7), 1669-1674.

Read, Allen W. 1934. "An obscenity symbol". *American Speech* 9(4), 264-278.

Rose, Brian G. (eds.). *Thinking outside the box. A contemporary television genre reader*. University Press of Kentucky, 37-64.

Renn, Joachim. 2010. "Reflexive Moderne und ambivalente Existentialität – Anthony Giddens als Identitäts-Theoretiker". In Jörissen, Benjamin; Zirfas, Jörg (eds.). *Schlüsselwerke der Identitätsforschung*. VS Verlag: Wiesbaden, 203-222.

Sauer, Inez. "Working in the factories".

<http://www.csupomona.edu/~cgbates/202/wwiihome.pdf> (15.November 2012).

Schlosser, Eric. 2001. *Fast Food Nation: The dark side of the All-American Meal*.

<http://www.csupomona.edu/~cgbates/202/conscul.pdf> (15.November 2012).

Scott, Amanda Marie Irene. 2011. "The roles of women in television situation comedies: A pilot study". A Thesis Presented to the Faculty in Communication and Leadership Studies School of Professional Studies Gonzaga University.

http://web02.gonzaga.edu/comltheses/proquestftp/Scott_gonzaga_0736M_10072.pdf
(10. November 2012).

Sherry, Douglas. 2009. "Review of Heartland TV: Prime Time Television and the Struggle for U.S. Identity by Victoria E. Johnson". *Journal of Popular Culture* 42(2), 391-392.

Smith, Martin; Kiger, Patrick J. 2004. "Thaws and effect". In Smith, Martin; Kiger, Patrick J. (eds.). *Poplorica: A Popular History of the Fads, Mavericks, Inventions, and Lore that Shaped Modern America*.

<http://www.csupomona.edu/~cgbates/202/television.pdf> (15.November 2012).

Spigel, Lynn. 2004. "Theorizing the Bachelorette: "Waves" of Feminist Media Studies". *Signs* 30(1), 1209-1221.

Stafford, Roy. 2004. "TV sitcoms and gender". http://www.mediaculture-online.de/fileadmin/bibliothek/stafford_sitcoms/stafford_sitcoms.pdf (3.November 2012).

Sutton, Bettye. 2011. "1930-1939." *American Cultural History*. Lone Star College-Kingwood Library. <http://kclibrary.lonestar.edu/decade40.html> (14. November 2012).

Streeter, Thomas. 1996. "Standpoint: The 'New Historicism' in Media Studies". *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 40(4), 553-557.

"Swearing through the ages". 2009. *The Spectator* 310(9440), 5.

Turner, Leslie Jackson. 2000. "But the republic stood: Program producers perceived pivotal moments in network television broadcast standards of the 1970s". *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 44(1), 110-124.

Whitley, Peggy. 2001. "1990-1999." *American Cultural History*. Lone Star College-Kingwood. <http://kclibrary.lonestar.edu/decade90.html> (15.November 2012).

Winzenburg, Stephen. 2004. "TVs greatest sitcoms". http://faculty.gvc.edu/swinzenburg/sitcoms_excerpts.pdf (3.November 2012).

Women's International Center. 1994. "Women's History in America". Excerpt from Compton's Interactive Encyclopedia. Compton's NewMedia, Inc.
<http://www.wic.org/misc/history.htm> (15.November 2012).

Zirfas, Jörg. 2010. "Identität in der Moderne. Eine Einleitung". In Jörissen, Benjamin; Zirfas, Jörg (eds.). *Schlüsselwerke der Identitätsforschung*. VS Verlag: Wiesbaden, 9-18.

11. 1. Newspaper Articles and Audience Commentary

The Augusta Chronicle. 2004. "HBO's 'Sex and the City' draws record ratings for its series finale". http://chronicle.augusta.com/stories/2004/02/25/tel_405825.shtml (2.November 2012).

Crazy about TV. 2012. "I Love Lucy Show".
<http://www.crazyabouttv.com/ilovelucy.html> (3. November 2012).

Deans, Jason. 2004. "Millions bid farewell to Sex and the City". *The Guardian*.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2004/mar/22/overnights> (2.November 2012).

Internet Movie Database. "Awards for I Love Lucy".
<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0043208/awards> (27. December 2012).

Internet Movie Database. "Awards for Laverne & Shirley".
<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0074016/awards> (27. December 2012).

Internet Movie Database. "Awards for Sex And The City".
<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0159206/awards> (27. December 2012).

Lowry, Brian. 2002. "Nielsen Quirk Gives HBO a Ratings Boost". *Los Angeles Times*.
<http://articles.latimes.com/2002/aug/30/entertainment/et-lowry30> (2.November 2012).

Berman, Marc. 2004. "Prime Time Metered Market Ratings".
<http://web.archive.org/web/20070927011529/> (28. December 2012).

Poniewozik, James. 2007. "The All-Time 100 TV Shows".
<http://entertainment.time.com/2007/09/06/the-100-best-tv-shows-of-all-time/slide/sex-and-the-city/> (27. December 2012).

Rassin, Eric; Muris, Peter. 2005. "Why do women swear? An exploration of reasons for and perceived efficacy of swearing in Dutch female students". *Personality and Individual Differences* 38(7), 1669-1674.

Wright, Rebecca. 2007. "DVD Review: Laverne & Shirley- The Third Season". *Blogcritics*. <http://blogcritics.org/video/article/dvd-review-laverne-shirley-the-third/> (2.November 2012).

11.2. Ratings and Population Estimates

Genova, Tom. "Television History- The first 5 years".
<http://www.tvhistory.tv/index.html> (15. November 2012).

Green, John; Gomstyn, Alice. 2012. "I Love Lucy' voted the Best TV Show of All Time". *ABC News*. <http://tinyurl.com/ccx4wvz> (2.November 2012).

Nielsen Corporation. 2012. "America's Favorite Shows".
<http://www.csupomona.edu/~cgbates/202/television.pdf> (2.November 2012).

Nielsen Media Advisory. "Program Ratings: Availability and Definitions". 2008.
<http://tinyurl.com/csbpqfo> (2.November 2012).

Nielsen Media Research. "Top-Rated TV Shows of Each Season, 1950-51 to 1999-2000". http://www.tvhistory.tv/Top_Shows_Each_Season_50-00.JPG (15. November 2012).

Steinberg, C. 1980. "Number of TV households in America from 1950 to 1978". *TV facts*. http://www.tvhistory.tv/Annual_TV_Households_50-78.JPG (15. November 2012).

Steinberg, C. 1979. "Average amount of time per day spent watching TV from 1958-1978". http://www.tvhistory.tv/TV_Watch_Time_58-78.JPG (15. November 2012).

TV Ratings. Top 30 Shows for each year, from 1950-2000.
<http://www.classictvhits.com/tvratings/1976.htm> (2. November 2012).

United States Census Bureau. 2000. "Statistical Abstract of the United States. Section 18: Communications and Information Technology".
<http://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/statab/sec18.pdf> (15.November).

United States Census Bureau. 2000. "Historical National Population Estimates from 1900 to 1999". Population Estimates Program.
<http://www.census.gov/popest/data/national/totals/pre-1980/tables/popclockest.txt>
(15.November 2012).

11.3. Video Material

I Love Lucy: Job Switching. 1952. Video. Season 2 Episode 1.
<http://gorillavid.in/celgkq0xnrijj> (9. December 2012).

I Love Lucy: The Saxophone. 1952. Video. Season 2 Episode 2.
<http://tinyurl.com/cg26vvy> (17. November 2012).

I Love Lucy: The Anniversary Present. 1952. Video. Season 2 Episode 3.
<http://movpod.in/jzbgi7v3kcm3> (9. December 2012).

I Love Lucy: The Handcuffs. 1952. Video. Season 2 Episode 4.
<http://tinyurl.com/ccdp6lk> (17. November 2012).

I Love Lucy: The Operetta. 1952. Video. Season 2 Episode 5.
<http://movpod.in/0rb96ulw9ly7> (9. December 2012).

I Love Lucy: Vacation from Marriage. 1952. Video. Season 2 Episode 6.
<http://gorillavid.in/dlkj0x6z07od> (9. December 2012).

I Love Lucy: The Courtroom. 1952. Video. Season 2 Episode 7.
<http://movpod.in/1m3qakff0pm3> (9. December 2012).

I Love Lucy: Redecorating. 1952. Video. Season 2 Episode 8.
<http://daclips.in/z48llp2wcon7> (9. December 2012).

I Love Lucy: Ricky loses his Voice. 1952. Video. Season 2 Episode 9.
<http://gorillavid.in/dtmzpvex8act> (9. December 2012).

I Love Lucy: Lucy is Enceinte. 1952. Video. Season 2 Episode 10.
<http://movpod.in/2tz0doe06979> (9. December 2012).

JESS3 x ESPN - TV Ratings 101. 2011. Video. <http://youtu.be/-UqKLSNmEU>
(2.November 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: From Suds to Stardom Part 1/3. 1976. Video. Season 1 Episode 14.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5YpWZnZoIck> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: From Suds to Stardom Part 2/3. 1976. Video. Season 1 Episode 14.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RPj-GAZK2_k (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: From Suds to Stardom Part 3/3. 1976. Video. Season 1 Episode 14.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tIFLmBBUB4o> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: Steppin' Out. 1977. Video. Season 2 Episode 16.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hW6Ae76AxWw> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: Laverne And Shirley Move In Part 1/2. 1979. Video. Season 4 Episode 11. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5rEcnPEi8MY> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: Laverne And Shirley Move In Part 2/2. 1979. Video. Season 4 Episode 11. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zBH2q2G6J0k> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: Supermarket Sweep Part 1/3. 1979. Video. Season 4 Episode 17.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y_IAiP-BrIc (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: Supermarket Sweep Part 2/3. 1979. Video. Season 4 Episode 17.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bp92qDqMVCg> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: Supermarket Sweep Part 3/3. 1979. Video. Season 4 Episode 17.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pT4cL-wC1AY> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: Lenny's Crush Part 1/3. 1979. Video. Season 4 Episode 18.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RWkhAajHSWQ> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: Lenny's Crush Part 2/3. 1979. Video. Season 4 Episode 18.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69XMuq5Hzmg> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: Lenny's Crush Part 3/3. 1979. Video. Season 4 Episode 18.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DkfOLEVb1KE> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: The Right to Light Part 1/2. Video. 1980. Season 5 Episode 17.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SLEYZGqiMOg> (18. November 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: The Right to Light Part 2/2. 1980. Video. Season 5 Episode 17.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wSObcOnMUew&feature=relmfu> (18. November 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: Why did the Fireman Part 1/2. 1980. Video. Season 5 Episode 18.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=auUqixLkEv8> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: Why did the Fireman Part 2/2. 1980. Video. Season 5 Episode 18.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-23UjHOHQYA> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: The Collector Part 1/2. 1980. Video. Season 5 Episode 19.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e1yn_qKn2Rg (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: The Collector Part 2/2. 1980. Video. Season 5 Episode 19.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9bumGylS34s> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: I Do, I Do Part 1/3. 1981. Video. Season 6 Episode 13.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t8uWx5a69nM> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: I Do, I Do Part 2/3. 1981. Video. Season 6 Episode 13.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=djx4cZla6GI> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: I Do, I Do Part 3/3. 1981. Video. Season 6 Episode 13.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bj3Tuy0f0Nw> (15. December 2012).

Laverne & Shirley: The Note Part 1/3. 1982. Video. Season 8 Episode 3.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iL2VnoTO0Bo> (15. December).

Laverne & Shirley: The Note Part 2/3. 1982. Video. Season 8 Episode 3.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L443n_T8FZ0 (15. December).

Laverne & Shirley: The Note Part 3/3. 1982. Video. Season 8 Episode 3.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CGS62byANTo> (15. December).

Sex and the city: Where there's smoke. 2000. Video. Season 3 Episode 1.
<http://www.filebox.com/3ez303ir85wd> (17. November 2012).

Sex and the city: Politically Erect. 2000. Video. Season 3 Episode 2.
<http://tinyurl.com/c5o4ppu> (11. December 2012).

Sex and the city: Attack of the five foot ten woman. 2000. Video. Season 3 Episode 3.
<http://tinyurl.com/bqk8vef> (11. December 2012).

Sex and the city: Boy, girl, boy, girl. 2000. Video. Season 3 Episode 4.
<http://tinyurl.com/cse6uu5> (11. December 2012).

Sex and the city: No ifs, ands or butts. 2000. Video. Season 3 Episode 5.
<http://sharerepo.com/dnguo4zbn6y7> (11. December 2012).

Sex and the city: Are we sluts?. 2000. Video. Season 3 Episode 6.
<http://www.filebox.com/nqvb6sgr0g7q> (11. December 2012).

Sex and the city: Drama queens. 2000. Video. Season 3 Episode 7.
<http://www.filebox.com/n0tx3dlgelsr> (11. December 2012).

Sex and the City: The Big Time. 2000. Video. Season 3 Episode 8.
<http://tinyurl.com/d7zwfex> (11. December 2012).

Sex and the City: Easy Come, Easy Go. 2000. Video. Season 3 Episode 9.
<http://www.filebox.com/fvsv5s8c78db> (11. December 2012).

Sex and the City: All or Nothing. 2000. Video. Season 3 Episode 10.
<http://www.filebox.com/wjapt3w1xc4i> (11. December 2012).

11.4. Corpora

Davies, Mark. *The Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA).
<http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/> (3.November 2012).

Davies, Mark. *The Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA).
<http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/> (3.November 2012).

Davies, Mark. *The Corpus of American Soap Operas* (COSA).
<http://corpus2.byu.edu/soap/> (3.November 2012).

11.5. Images

Gone with the Wind. <http://tinyurl.com/ahfwzmy> (5. January 2013).

Laverne and Shirley. <http://tinyurl.com/apke77x> (5. January 2013).

Lucy and Ethel. <http://tinyurl.com/b34a5vj> (5. January 2013).

Sex and the City. <http://tinyurl.com/ayys47w> (5. January 2013).

12. Appendix

12.1. Empirical Study

12.1.1. Transcriptions

Only relevant extracts that include profanity have been transcribed. The swear words have been underlined and their categorizations denoted in brackets after the utterance.

"I Love Lucy: Job Switching". 1952. Season 2 Episode 1.

Ricky (2:50): Ha! (disbelieving Lucy when she says she could earn a living, exclamation, dysphemistic)

Fred (2:53): Ha! (same as Ricky above but with Ethel)

Lucy (3:22): Ha, I just like to see you two do that for a week. (exclamation, protest/disbelieving, serious/cool, friends, casual, at home)

Lucy (5:40): Oh jeez, fried potatoes are just great (having breakfast, euphemism, exhaling, enjoying, home, ricky)

Lucy (6:10): Gee, this is a sensational breakfast. My gosh are you a good cook. (euphemism, profanity, breakfast, smiling)

Ricky (18:05): Ey what happened to my chickens?! (angry, exclamation, emphatic, with Fred in kitchen)

Ricky (18:55): Oh! (shocked, exclamation, rice cooks over, cathartic)

Lucy (23:20): Oh Ethel, food all over the place...its a mess. (returning back from work, at home, ethel, exclamation, shocked, cathartic)

"I Love Lucy: The Saxophone". 1952. Season 2 Episode 2.

Lucy (0:40): Ah! (playing with trumpet, alone on ceiling, exclamation/epithet, surprise, smiling)

Lucy (10:28): Yeah you wanna hear me blow (smiling, at tv show rehearsal for saxophonist, double entendre, sexual innuendo, euphemism)

Lucy (14:10): You know I think Ricky would take me on tour with him if I can convince him of one thing...that it isn't save to leave me at home (euphemism for lover, Ethel at home, smiling)

Lucy (18:00) I don't know what you're talking about, my goodness (profanity, home, Ricky, incense/raised voice)

Ricky (19:14): Why the little devil. (with Fred, insult, smiling, dysphemistic)

Ricky (21:30): Ha! (disbelieving Lucy, in living room, dysphemistic, exclamation)

Lucy (22:30): He was giving me saxophone lessons. (to Ricky and alleged lover, sexual innuendo, ironic)

Lucy (22:53): Oh shut up (to alleged wardrobe lover, home, vulgarism, incense)

Man (24:00): Gee, I should have called you sooner but... (euphemism, neutral/concerned, cathartic, on the telephone)

"I Love Lucy: The Anniversary Present". 1952. Season 2 Episode 3.

Ricky (1:53): Monday is our wedding anniversary and I wanted to get Lucy some perls but they are so darn expensive you know. (vulgarism, emphatic, on the phone with neighbors wife, smiling)

Ricky (15:50): It would be terrible if she knew what we were up to. (sexual innuendo, Lucy eavesdropping Rickys telephone conversation, euphemism, neutral)

Ethel (17:24): Gee, Ricky and Grace Foster. (concerned, euphemism, cathartic)

Ethel (17:30): Gee, thats a tough one. (euphemism, concerned, cathartic, with Lucy at home)

Lucy (20:00): Oh for heavens sake Albert go eat your lunch! (angry, profanity, cathartic, with Ethel)

"I Love Lucy: The Handcuffs". 1952. Season 2 Episode 4.

Lucy (3:16): Well you're very important to me too. Gee, i never get to see you anymore. (at home, with Ricky, sad/trying to convince him to spend time with her, euphemism, cathartic)

Lucy (3:40): Well, it makes me mad. we never get to go out together. (Ricky, at home,

disappointed, cathartic, euphemism)

Lucy (5:35): Gee, mirth is more mystifying than I thought. (being handcuffed to Ricky, home, euphemism, cathartic)

Fred (6:15): I thought any idiot would see the difference. (insult, declaratory, neutral)

Ricky (6:16): Almost any idiot. (emphatic, insult, looking at Lucy, angry)

Lucy (7:55): Gee, I don't think he's home. (trying to call the locksmith, euphemism, Ricky and friends couple, cathartic)

Lucy (8:24): But wait a minute that's too late! Oh! (exclamation, cathartic, disappointed, handcuffed to Ricky, on the phone)

Lucy (8:57): Alright, lets not loose our temper, Lets get organized. (to Ricky in the bedroom, soothing, euphemism, dysphemistic)

Ethel (15:00): My goodness! (shocked to see Lucy and Ricky looking so overtired, profanity, emphatic)

Ricky (18:50): Oh no! (on the telephone with the locksmith, exclamation, cathartic, angry)

"I Love Lucy: The Operetta". 1952. Season 2 Episode 5.

Ethel (1:10): Oh darn and I thought I'd get home on time. (emphatic, neutral, vulgarism, with Lucy after having missed a meeting)

Ethel (1:50): Well, ten dollars my goodness. (smiling, profanity, dysphemistic)

Ethel (2:15): Oh my goodness you are in a spot, what are you gonna do? (profanity, with Lucy at home, worried/concerned, cathartic)

Lucy (2:27): Gee, I'm worried you know how fat I look in stripes. (euphemism, worried, with Ethel at home, cathartic)

Ethel (6:44): Oh dear. (worried about performing the Operetta, epithet, cathartic, with Lucy at home)

"I Love Lucy: Vacation from Marriage". 1952. Season 2 Episode 6.

Ethel (0:40): Oh hey! What did you lock the door for I almost broke my neck! (exclamation, angry, with Lucy, emphatic)

Lucy (2:00): Then, he'll come into the kitchen looking like a zombie (insult, humor, pantomiming Ricky in the kitchen, with Ethel)

Lucy (8:15): Ethel, well nothing personal but I'm sick of the sight of our face. (insult, cathartic, miserable, Ethel bedroom)

Lucy (8:30): Gee I wanna know what the boys are doing tonight. (sad, euphemism, cathartic, with Ethel)

Lucy (14:30): Oh Ethel, I was wrong, they aren't at the back (exclamation, emphatic, Ethel at home, miserable)

Ethel (16:10): Oh why don't they go inside? (with Lucy on rooftop, exclamation, discomfort, emphatic)

Lucy (16:18): Gee me too it's pretty windy out here. (euphemism, cathartic, concerned)

Ethel (16:25): Oh, this is ridiculous, I'm going downstairs. (exclamation, rooftop with Lucy, miserable, emphatic)

Ethel (16:58): Oh fine what are we gonna do now? (angry, exclamation, cathartic)

Lucy (23:20): Oh Ethel it's raining. (exclamation, surprised, cathartic)

"I Love Lucy: The Courtroom". 1952. Season 2 Episode 7.

Lucy (0:55): Gee, thats such a long time 25 years (euphemism, smiling, emphatic, home, Ricky)

Lucy (3:18): Gee this is a pretty set isn't it? (trying to carry the television downstairs, euphemism, exhausted, dysphemistic)

Lucy (4:20): Gee, we should have thought of this before (euphemism, smiling, with Ricky, carry TV, cathartic)

Lucy (5:10): Oh my gosh, I guess they aren't home. (disappointed, profanity, emphatic)

Lucy (7:30): Oh Ethel is that any way to talk to Ricky, he was only trying to help! (exclamation, angry, emphatic)

Ricky (10:03): You're darn right we're gonna sue them unless he pays for... (vulgarism, emphatic, angry, with Lucy)

Lucy (22:29): Oh he didn't shut his mouth. (in court pointing at Fred, emphatic exclamation+ declaratory vulgarism, incense, in court)

"I Love Lucy: Redecorating". 1952. Season 2 Episode 8.

Fred (0:40): Oh no, why do they have to go and look at those fancy homes... (exclamation, serious, cathartic, with Ricky)

Lucy (6:18): Gee my phone hasn't rung all morning. (disappointed, with Ethel, euphemism, cathartic)

Lucy (7:20): Oh, there's no use. I bet the home show is calling me right now. (disappointed, epithet, cathartic, with Ethel at home)

Lucy (8:00): Gee if it doesn't ring for one of us I'll be a nervous wreck. (optimistic, euphemism, cathartic, with Ethel)

Lucy (12:10): Gee, you know its a shame to put all that new stuff in here with all this old paint and paper? (zestful, euphemism, cathartic, home with Ethel)

Ethel (14:18): Oh, Lucy. (cathartic, exclamation, angry, after lucy paints glue over her face during papering).

Ethel (15:40): Oh, Lucy. (cathartic, exclamation, angry, during papering).

Ricky (18:30): Oh my goodness! (after he finds out that Lucy has sold all the furniture for 75 dollars, dysphemistic, profanity, concerned)

Ricky (18:38): 75 dollars for all? Oh no! (desperate/weeping, exclamation, dysphemistic)

"I Love Lucy: Ricky loses his Voice". 1952. Season 2 Episode 9.

Lucy (2:18): Oh my gosh! (comes home and finds room too crowded with furniture, with Ethel, profanity, cathartic, surprised/shocked)

Lucy (2:40): Oh for heavens sake, what did they do with it? (profanity, cathartic, angry, home with ethel, looking for telephone)

Lucy (3:00): Oh here it is for heaven's sake! (profanity, angry, dysphemistic)

Lucy (3:15): Oh gee. (after missing phone call, cathartic, euphemism, annoyed)

Fred (4:13): Gee this new stuff is marvelous! (cathartic, smiling, euphemism)

Ricky (6:12): Gee. (ill, cathartic, euphemism, with Fred)

Ethel (10:52): Oh gee is it bad? (Ricky having virus, cathartic, euphemism, lucy at home)

Ethel (11:00): Gee, imagine not to be able to talk for seven whole days. (same as above)

Lucy (12:00): Oh for heaven's sake! (spilled medicine, cathartic, profanity, angry)

"I Love Lucy: Lucy is Enceinte". 1952. Season 2 Episode 10.

Lucy (1:20): Gee, I'm gonna have to go on a diet, I hardly got into my dress this

morning. (euphemism, worried, emphatic, home with Ethel)

Ethel (1:30): You don't suppose you're gonna have a baby?

Lucy: Oh of course not, for heaven's sake (laughing, cathartic exclamation+ emphatic profanity)

Lucy (9:05): Oh, i'll get it. (just as she wants to tell Ricky that she is pregnant the doorbell rings, exclamation, angry, cathartic)

Lucy (11:07): Darn that thing! (phone rings when she wants to tell Ricky about the blessed news, curse, cathartic, angry)

Ethel (13:00): Oh Fred for heaven's sake! (cathartic exclamation+ dysphemistic profanity, smiling)

"Laverne & Shirley: From Suds to Stardom". 1976. Season 1 Episode 14.

Man (6:46): When you do the Calypso you're supposed to have fun, you show some excitement, some romance, and sex. (taboo, declaratory, giving L&S instructions)

Woman (17:00): We've got a couple of real suckers. (=L&S, insult, abusive, cool)

"Laverne & Shirley: Steppin' Out". 1977. Season 2 Episode 16.

Shirley (0:19): Are you nuts?! (to Laverne, shower, informal, insult, emphatic, serious)

Shirley (2:30): Ah what happened?! (water boiler is shut down, cold water, surprised, exclamation, cathartic, talking to Laverne)

Man (4:00): Listen I've gotta call my wife she thinks I'm fooling around! You fooling around? (laughing, talking to Shirley, euphemism, declaratory)

Laverne (4:05): Oh (she enters living room in night gown and sees man, exclamation, cathartic, shocked)

Man (4:08): She's fooling around? (laughing, joke, euphemism)

Shirley (4:10): No, she's not fooling around. (annoyed, euphemism, dysphemistic)

Man (4:24): No I'm not fooling around! (on phone with his wife, euphemism, serious, declaratory)

Shirley (8:30): Darn it, I can't wear that! (preparing to go out with L, curse, cathartic, angry)

"Laverne & Shirley: Laverne And Shirley Move In". 1979. Season 4 Episode 11.

Shirley (1:28): Step number one: Surprise him. Step number two: Kick him where it hurts! (burglar in the apartment, euphemism, humor, panicking)

Shirley (6:00): I'll give you a kiss for a toaster.

Man: Ok and what will you give me for gas light? (sexual innuendo, serious, euphemism)

Man 2 (6:50): Double make out. (takes Shirley, vulgarism, serious, declaratory)

Laverne (7:00): Leave me you disgusting creep. (to guy, insult, abusive, angry)

Man 3 (7:10): Disgusting creep...(insult, smiling, emphatic)

Man 2 (10:30): ...you stupid bimbo...(insult, abusive, serious, talking to Shirley's mother on the phone)

Shirley (15:10): Gee I have the one half and you half the other half. (leaving, sad, euphemism, cathartic)

Shirley (17:00): Gee I really think I have to be close to my mother. (sad, euphemism, cathartic, talking to Laverne's father)

Shirley (17:35): Gee, gee I'd like to stay here anything than... (sad, 2x euphemism, cathartic)

Shirley (8:57): Oh goodness me. (tired, profanity, cathartic)

"Laverne & Shirley: Supermarket Sweep". 1979. Season 4 Episode 17.

Laverne (9:00): You are making me sick. (guys, serious, declaratory, vulgarism)

Shirley (10:30): How very nice, you've arranged for two morons to call me an idiot. (2x insults, declaratory, serious)

Laverne (10:50): I feel like dirt. (insult, sad, declaratory)

"Laverne & Shirley: Lenny's Crush". 1979. Season 4 Episode 18.

Man (8:30): I had myself quite a night right here Lenny. (euphemism, sexual innuendo, bragging, with Lenny and half naked Shirley)

Shirley (8:50): Don't be stupid, no man has ever had a good time with me, ok? (smiling, euphemism, humor)

Man (15:40): Take it easy you snake in the pants?! (euphemism, abusive, other man at football match)

Man (18:00): Shut up, sit down, listen to me! (to Laverne, vulgarism, emphatic, bossy, angry)

Man (18:10): Shut up, sit down, listen to me! (to Laverne, reading his speech, vulgarism, declaratory, neutral)

"Laverne & Shirley: The Right to Light". 1980. Season 5 Episode 17.

Laverne (1:20): It's got the monkey on one side and the jerk on the other. (smiling, to Shirley, insult, declaratory)

Man (3:12): Double Make Out! (screaming/agitated, standing in the dark after electric cut, euphemism, emphatic)

Shirley (4:27): Well first of all, we don't like to tell tales out of school but that fruit loop just said he was gonna plant a bomb..(insult, declaratory, serious, to electric engineer)

Man (6:33): Sofia, this is Henry. I'm going to turn you on. (talking to a machine, ambiguous, sexual innuendo, vulgarism, serious)

Shirley (7:20): Oh boy, Oh boy. (exclamation, serious/making fun of electricity guy, abusive)

Man (11:20): I don't know what you girls got in mind but you can count me in. (sexual innuendo, smiling, euphemism, to L&S)

Shirley (11:28): Well, while your mind sachets through smut lane, Laverne and I will be fighting for truth.(euphemism, serious/blaming, emphatic)

Shirley (11:45): Chain us together and give Laverne the peanut butter. (sexual innuendo, serious, euphemism)

Shirley (13:55): Chew through that baby, chew through that baby! (vulgarism, motivating Laverne, cheering/serious, emphatic)

Shirley (16:00): Oh no. (crying/desperate, exclamation, cathartic, with Laverne bound to a bomb)

"Laverne & Shirley: Why did the Fireman". 1980. Season 5 Episode 18.

Laverne (1:15): We didn't even fool around yet. (smiling, sexual innuendo, euphemism, to date)

Shirley (6:45): You are a ... coward... (insult, serious, dysphemistic, motivate Laverne)
"Laverne & Shirley: The Collector". 1980. Season 5 Episode 19.

Man (0:10): I feel like a jerk. (insult, dysphemistic, miserable)

Man (0:35): What difference does it make were a jerk's feet go. (insult, dysphemistic, miserable)

Man (0:38): I'm a jerk, don't tell me I'm not a jerk...isn't that a jerk? (insult, declaratory, miserable)

Man 2 (1:50): There was this guy, a big fat ugly snob... (insult, humor, joking)

Man 3 (1:52): A looser. (insult, dysphemistic, smiling)

Shirley (15:50): If we don't go now my boyfriend may show up and beat the pope out of you. (profanity, emphatic, serious, to man)

Man (19:25): What a wimp! (laughing, insult, abusive, to man)

"Laverne & Shirley: I Do, I Do". 1981. Season 6 Episode 13.

Shirley (8:48): Oh my goodness what have we here? (profanity, smiling/surprised, dysphemistic, plate of brownies)

Shirley (16:12): Oh my goodness this is just.. (shocked, profanity, dysphemistic, at las vegas chapel)

"Laverne & Shirley: The Note". 1982. Season 8 Episode 3.

Laverne (8:33): Shut up. (screaming/serious, vulgarism, emphatic, with friends)

Laverne (9:10): Hey babe you're in your thirties get lost. (2x vulgarism, at stranger, ironic, emphatic)

Man (15:00): Shut up, shut up, what does it say? (to friends, 2x vulgarism, emphatic, serious)

Laverne (19:02): No way, get out! (vulgarism, emphatic, serious, to man)

"Sex and the City: Where there's smoke". 2000. Season 3 Episode 1.

Samantha (1:28): Honey I'm on the fucking ferry I hope we'll see more than that. (smiling, emphatic, cool, obscenity)

Sa (3:30): No, were just friends. I don't put my dick in you. (3 girls on a party, smiling, obscenity)

Sa (4:10): I'd like to show him my lower Manhattan. (to Charlotte, smiling, humor/pun)

Miranda (4:20): You know what they, say: big arms, big arms. (to Samantha, smiling, cool, joke)

Sa (4:25): Call 911. I'm on fire. (3 girls standing looking at half naked guy, says it more to herself, smiling, pun, euphemism)

Sa (6:00): Up in July or any month that's hot. (to fire men, smiling, euphemism/metaphor, sexual innuendo)

Carrie (8:12): Ok, time to go. Politician's hitting on me. to Miranda at Party, declaratory, neutral, vulgarism)

Mi (8:25): Samantha went home with that fire men. (smiling to Carrie at party, euphemism, declaratory)

Ca (10:28): That night something set Charlotte on fire and uptown on dry land Samantha and Mr July had their own fire going. (narrative voice, amused, euphemism/metaphor, declaratory)

S (10:52): And I'm telling you, I don't think a guy's ever gotten me that wet. Ladies let me tell you about his cock. (having breakfast in cafe with 3 girls, smiling/excited, vulgarism/obscenity)

Ca (11:00): Can we lighten up on the cock talk till cocktail time? (breakfast, girls, saying it to Samantha, smiling, cock/obscenity + 'cock talk till cocktail time'/pun)

Charlotte (11:18): I think it's wrong to sleep with a man just to fulfill a certain fantasy. (serious, concerned, breakfast with girls, euphemism, declaratory)

Sa (11:25): You fantasize a man with a park avenue apartment...for me its a fire men with a nice big cock. (smiles, breakfast, Charlotte, obscenity/amuse)

Ca (17:00): You're like a Jehovas witness with a suit. (politician guy waiting for her in front of her house, she smiles, euphemism/simile, humor)

Ca (24:30): Samantha decided that if she wanted her fire house fantasy to happen, she had to make it happen. (narrative voice, decided, declaratory, while Samantha slips down pole, euphemism)

Sa (24:50): Nice pole. Wanna see it again? (after slipping down pole in fire house, to fire men, smiles, euphemism, sexual innuendo)

Sa (25:00): Well, I should be a fire men because I'm always ready to go. (to fire men, at fire house, smiling, vulgarism, sexual in.)

Ca (25:00): Samantha rode the pole a couple of times that night. (narrative voice, irony, vulgarism, declaratory)

Ca (26:30): Oh shit it's almost midnight. I'm gonna miss my last ferry. (to politician guy, serious, epithet)

"Sex and the City: Politically Erect". 2000. Season 3 Episode 2.

Sa (5:00): The country runs better with a good looking man in the white house. Look what happened to Nixon, nobody wanted to fuck him, so he fucked everyone. (2x obscenity, humor, declaratory, serious)

Mi (5:40): I don't think our founding fathers were very fuckable. (obscenity, declaratory, serious, humor)

Ca (7:00): A discussion about sex ultimately became a discussion about politics, and a discussion about politics ultimately became a discussion about sex. (serious, declaratory, taboo, at home)

Ca (7:10): Can there be sex without politics? (neutral, taboo, dysphemistic)

Man (7:37): You are damn attractive and that is not a lie. (hitting on Samantha in a bar, smiling, curse, emphatic, flirty)

Sa (9:20): I mean sitting down he was perfectly proportional, standing up he barely clears my nipples. (vulgarity, humor, disappointed, girls at a party)

Ca (10:00): I'm sleeping with him. (laughing, humor, miranda/steve at party, euphemism)

Bill (11:58): Have you seen my ass? (at formal party, with Carrie and Stan, smiling, humor/pun, vulgarism)

Ca (12:24): Great, now I'm a first lady and a pimp. (vulgarism, declaratory, humor, with gay friend at party)

Bill (14:24): I love making love to you. (to Carrie in bed, euphemism, neutral, declaratory)

Mi (15:12): The pee could just be foreplay. (vulgarism, humor, declaratory, with girls on ferry)

Sa (15:28): I peed on a guy during sex but it was just an accident. (taboo, humor, declaratory)

Ca (21:30): That night Jeff proofed to Samantha that he more than made up for his short comings. (euphemism, irony/pun) Samantha told us later it was like having meaningless

sex with a horny smurf (taboo+insult, humor).

Ca (21:48): Meanwhile Steve was busy stuffing Miranda's belly box. (=having sex, pun, humor, smiling)

Man (23: 30): You came five times the other night. (euphemism, serious/angry, dysphemistic)

Sa (23:45): You know, you're nothing but a big dick with a little man attached. (obscenity/insult, lover, restaurant, humiliating)

Man (24:00): And you're nothing but a pair of tits with... (vulgarism, humor, smiling)

Bill (26:30): There was a lot about sex. (serious, emphatic, taboo)

Ca (26:50): I may write about sex, but you like people who pee on you. (dysphemistic, insult, angry, talking to politician guy)

"Sex and the City: Attack of the five foot ten woman". 2000. Season 3 Episode 3.

Cha: At least you have a boyfriend.

Mi (1:10): That doesn't mean I'm getting married, it means I'm getting laid. (vulgarism, declaratory, lunch with girls)

Sa (1:55): I find the higher the number the worse the sex. (taboo, declaratory, neutral)

Sa (1:56): I went out with someone who couldn't get it up. (euphemism, declaratory, humor, girls)

Sa (9:14): Honey, these bitches need to be put in their places. (=women of the art, insult, smiling/dysphemistic, telephone conversation with carrie)

Ca (10:05): Manda had discovered Miranda's goodie drawer. (euphemism, declaratory, neutral)

Mi (10:10): Look I've got a boyfriend, so its not that i'm sleeping with a bunch of men. (euphemism, declaratory, explaining herself, with ukrainian housekeeper at home)

Sa (11:20): I use nipple clams (in the spa with the girls, declaratory, serious, vulgarism)

(11:00 -14:00) all women use the term goodie drawer, which is a drawer full of condoms, vibrators, cigarettes, nipple clams... (euphemism for taboo, smiling, declaratory): sa 4x, mi 1x, cha 1x, ca 3x

Woman 1: Kevin goes down on you. (sexual implication, euphemism, talking to Samantha in the spa)

Ca (14:28): That night Steve wasn't available (=for sex/ euphemism, declaratory, narrative voice, neutral)

Ca (18:00): Since they were running out of time, Samantha decided to take the matter in her own hands. (=literally grabbing a massager's penis, pun, amused, humor)

Ca (19:20): Clearly she meant Kevin's staff. (=penis/ euphemism, joking, humor, amused)

Sa (19:25): I know for a fact that Kevin went down on another customer. (euphemism, serious, declaratory, talking to spa manager)

Sa (19:50): I paid good money expecting to be eaten up. (vulgarism, angry, dysphemistic, at formal party, everyone can hear)

Sa (20:52): I cant believe that bitch is a no show. (Insult, disappointed, dysphemistic, talks to Carrie at formal event)

Mi (21:00): Where is my other thing..the thing, the thing you moved and replaced with this lady. (the ukrainian housekeeper replaced Miranda's vibrator with a wooden Mary statue, angry, euphemism, dysphemistic)

Mi (21:57): I drink coffee and have sex and buy pies and enjoy battery operated devices. (taboo, euphemism, declaratory, angry, talking to housekeeper)

Ca (22:20): I write about sex. Is this what kids would like to learn? Writing about blow jobs and stuff? (talking to woman, annoyed, taboo+vulgarism, dysphemistic, formal party)

Woman 2 (23:56): Who's gonna fuck me now? (obscenity, at formal party, only women, annoyed, dysphemistic)

Woman3 (23:57): Kevin fucked you? (obscenity, astonished, emphatic)

Ca (25:10): It's good she got married, that woman is an idiot. (insult, abusive, smiling/glee, telephone with Miranda, at home)

"Sex and the City: Boy, girl, boy, girl". 2000. Season 3 Episode 4.

Mi (1:44): All it takes is some stick-on sideburns and a sock in your pants. (exhibition with pictures showing women dressed as men, euphemism, humor, smiling)

Sa (1:45): That's some sock. (sexual inn, euphemism, smiling, dysphemistic)

Stan (2:00): Oh my god I'm attracted to her.. (profanity, smiling/laughing, humor)

Ca (3:15): Sounds like someone needs a sock in the pants. (euphemism, smiling, humor)

Ca (4:30): Miranda absolutely loved the man inside of her, she just didn't like him inside her apartment all the time. (euphemism, declaratory, humor/pun)

Ca (5:50): Shawn and I had really broken the ice or at least my ass had. (vulgarism, after ice skating, declaratory)

Ca (7:55): I'm an old fart. (insult, desperate, humor, lunch, girls)

Sa: Correction, a hot old fart. (insult, humor/ pun, smiling)

Sa (9:20): Don't buzz my balls here Mitch, you call yourself a fucking headhunter then get me an assistant. (angry, telephone conversation, obscenity, emphatic)

Ca (13:40): It was not only about sex but...(taboo, declaratory, neutral)

Man (14:00): That bitch makes me crazy! (angry, insult, abusive)

Cha (19:12): I think I need a bigger sock. (being shot by the artist, looking like a man, flirting, sexual innuendo, euphemism/pun)

Carrie (19:50): Suddenly, Charlotte wasn't a chick with a dick but a chick with balls. (2x vulgarisms, declaratory, pun)

Man (20:28): And who the hell do you think you are? (angry, profanity, emphatic)

Sa (20:50): The bad news is you're fired, the good news is now I can fuck you. (obscenity, her assistant, smiling, sexual inn)

Sa (20:59): Fuck me on the desk. (obscenity, declaratory, instructions)

Ca (26:15): I could stand up, and walk out, and prove I was an old fart. (vulgarism, declaratory, neutral)

Ca (27:18): So, I took my hot old ass home. (vulgarism, dysphemistic, neutral)

"Sex and the City: No ifs, ands or butts". 2000. Season 3 Episode 5.

Sa (1:30): I don't get it, did he wanna fuck you or float you? (obscenity, smiling, lunch with girls, humor)

Sa (2:00): Take his lazy ass home (vulgarism, cool, dysphemistic)

Sa (2:11): If their tongues just gonna lie there, what do you think their dick's gonna do? (vulgarism, declaratory, cool)

Sa (3:51): That wasn't black talk, that was sex talk. (taboo, smiling, humor, restaurant with girls)

Cha (3:52): It's African American talk. (euphemism, concerned, declaratory)

Sa (4:26): I don't see color, I see cock-quests. (humor/pun, smiling, dysphemistic)

Steve (7:50): Guess what happened, it's so fucking great. (smiling, with Miranda at home, obscenity, emphatic)

Steve (8:01): Next Tuesday it's fucking me. (smiling, emphatic, obscenity)

Steve (8:10): Now Miranda, it's not great, it's fucking great. (smiling, emphatic, obscenity)

Mi (8:30): Yes, Steve it is fucking great, (obscenity, smiling/irony, emphatic, with Steve at home)

Steve (8:32): Don't let these legs fool ya, I'm fucking great. (obscenity, emphatic, smiling)

Steve (8:59): I'm a fucking millionaire. (happy, emphatic, obscenity)

Sa (11:53): You know, I don't usually sleep with men who have nicer accessories than me. (euphemism, smiling, humor, in bed with guy)

Aiden (13:50): I don't want to be a jerk, but I can't date a smoker. (insult, emphatic, serious, with Carrie)

Woman (17:30): Genius's over-tired ass is dragging all over this restaurant. (vulgarism, at restaurant, Samantha+woman's brother, smiling, humor)

Woman (18:13): So you're not just fucking? (obscenity, dysphemistic, rude/brisk)

Sa (18:15): Well not that its any of your business but no, we're not just fucking. (smiling, annoyed, obscenity, dysphemistic)

Cha (19:28):...biggest black cock, yes we know he has the biggest black cock. (2x obscenity, annoyed, dysphemistic, in restaurant with girls)

Sa (19:35): I was about to say heart...but yes he does have a big black cock. (obscenity, smiling, declaratory)

Mi (19:38): It's big African American cock, right Charlotte? (humor, smiling, euphemism+obscenity)

Ca (20:44): It's all total bullshit. (vulgarism, smiling, smoking with male gay best friend, dysphemistic)

Steve (21:48): What the fuck is that? (angry, obscenity, emphatic, to Miranda)

Mi (22:07): What the fuck is with your attitude? (obscenity, irritated, dysphemistic)

Steve (22:20): I need you to believe in me even if it's fucking stupid. (obscenity, angry/disappointed, emphatic)

Stan (25:30): Oh yes...(cathartic, exclamation, lust)

Ca (27:07): She'd never mouthed down to a bitch before. (insult, declaratory, neutral)

Sa (27:10): No woman no matter what color has the right to tell me who i can or cannot fuck. (obscenity, angry, dysphemistic)

Woman (27:18): Get your little white pussy away from my brother. (vulgarism, abusive)

Sa (27:20): Put your big black ass out of my face. (vulgarism, abusive, angry)

Ca (27:40): Oh my god I forgot I had that deadline I have to go. (profanity, in restaurant with Aiden, cathartic, simulating)

Ca (29:28): Samantha knew that the problem wasn't her little white pussy it was the fact that Shewan was a big black pussy who wouldn't stand up to his sister. (2x vulgarism, pun, declaratory/humor)

"Sex and the City: Are we sluts?". 2000. Season 3 Episode 6.

Ca (1:44): At 2 am the door that was opening was Samantha's. (euphemism, neutral, declaratory)

Sa (2:30): What happened, did you sleep with someone on the first date? (irony, humor, to Charlotte, breakfast, emphatic)

Ca (2:37): And what, the sex was bad? (taboo, neutral, breakfast, declaratory)

Cha: When he ... you know...

Sa: ...came, orgasm, shot his load.. (euphemism, taboo, vulgarism, smiling, declaratory)

Man (3:00): You fucking bitch, you fucking whore. (while orgasm with Charlotte, 2x insult+2x obscenity, 2x cathartic+ 2x empathic, lust)

Sa (3:11): Maybe because you were fucking him. (obscenity, laughing, making fun of Charlotte)

Ca (3:17): Well, she's right sweetie, he didn't say that when you were at the dry cleaners, he said it while he was in you. (euphemism, smiling, declaratory)

Cha (3:19): Do you think i'm a whore? (insult, anxious, cathartic)

Sa: Oh please if you are a whore what does that make me? (joking, insult, declaratory)

Cha: Do you think I'm a whore? (insult, declaratory, anxious)

Cha (3:33): Nobody wants to marry a whore! (same)

Ca (3:44): He doesn't wanna sleep with me. (euphemism, disappointed, declaratory)

Sa (3:52): Maybe his dick hurts right. (vulgarism, irony, declaratory)

Sa (4:00): If you wait too long to sleep with someone you become just friends. (euphemism, declaratory, serious)

Mi (4:04): As opposed to his fucking bitch, his fucking whore (2x empathic obscenity "fucking", 2x cathartic insult "whore", smiling, humor)

Ca (4:50): So why don't you wanna sleep with me? (euphemism, concerned, with Aiden, empathic)

Aiden (5:05): I do wanna sleep with you....I have slept with women....I just want to

sleep with somebody I care about (3x euphemism, declaratory, explaining)

Ca (5:33): Why did I expect to sleep with him only after a week and a half?
(euphemism, cathartic, determined, understanding)

Ca (7:00): Are we sluts? (insult, dysphemistic, curious/wondering)

Man (7:10): You fuckin bitch you fuckin whore. (while orgasm with Charlotte, 2x insult+2x obscenity, 2x cathartic+ 2x empathic, sexual)

Cha (7:54): No during sex! (taboo, concerned, with guy in restaurant, dysphemistic)

Man (8:26): You fuckin' bitch you fuckin' whore. (while orgasm with Charlotte, 2x insult+2x obscenity, 2x cathartic+ 2x empathic, lust)

Cha (8:36): That's what you said: you fuckin bitch, you fuckin whore. (repeating her lover, concerned, 2x emphatic obscenity "fuckin", 2x insult "bitch", declaratory)

Miranda (10:30): I'd rather not sleep with you until the sting is out of my body.
(=clamydia, with steve in bed, euphemism, declaratory, smiling)

Ca (11:05): She was making a list of all the man she'd slept with, at least all the ones she could remember. (euphemism, declaratory, neutral)

Woman (11:40): Every time I see you in the elevator, you're with a different men. (in the elevator, to Samantha, euphemism, abusive/humiliating)

Ca (14:50): This isn't romance, this is bullshit. (vulgarism, annoyed, cathartic, on the phone with Charlotte, in bedroom)

Sa (17:35): They practically chased me with torches, like I was Fucking-stein.
(obscenity, humor/ pun, angry, telephone with carrie)

Ca (17:37): Relax, they cannot evict you for having sex. (taboo, neutral, declaratory)

Sa (17:40): They are just a bunch of farts who haven't had sex since Eisenhower.
(cathartic insult, cathartic taboo, humor/joke, annoyed)

Sa (18:00): Don't tell me you're not having sex yet. (taboo, cathartic, disbelieve)

Ca (18:02): We're not having sex yet. (taboo, declaratory, smiling)

Ca (18:10): We'll have sex eventually. (taboo, declaratory, explaining)

Man (18:37): I'm afraid to come. (with Charlotte having sex, euphemism, anxious, dysphemistic)

Man (18:49): You fuckin' bitch you fuckin' whore. (while orgasm with Charlotte, 2x insult+2x obscenity, 2x cathartic+ 2x empathic, lust)

Mi (19:30): I had to make a list with all the guys i've slept with. (euphemism, smiling/anxious, declaratory)

Ca (20:38): Men who have had a lot of sexual partners are not called sluts they are

called very good kissers. (insult, declaratory, humor, neutral)

Ca (21:40): Aiden and I were going to sleep with each other. (euphemism, declaratory, neutral)

"Sex and the City: Drama queens". 2000. Season 3 Episode 7.

Carrie (4:55): Followed by exactly 8 minutes of no-thrilled sex. (taboo, neutral, declaratory)

Sa (6:15): Oh Oh (during orgasm, exclamation, cathartic, lust)

Guy (6:00): It sends me on a rocket trip through your solar system (in bed with Samantha, euphemism, sexual innuendo, flirty)

Ca (6:40): Ok, I'm a bitch. (insult, with Aiden on a walk, declaratory, smiling)

Ca (7:15): Seriously, what the hell is wrong with you that you're still not married? (with Aiden, angry, profanity, emphatic)

Mi(9:30): I'm living with skid mark guy. (taboo/scatology, declaratory, with Carrie)

Ca (9:33): Oh no! (laughing, exclamation/epithet, cathartic)

Mi (9:36): I don't know why do men get skid marks? (smiling, taboo/scatology, declaratory)

Mi (9:50): When your boyfriend is so comfortable he can't be bothered to wipe his ass that's the end of romance. (with Carrie, vulgarism, smiling, humor/declaratory)

Ca (9:57): Oh god! (profanity, laughing, cathartic)

Ca (10:00): How long have you guys been having sex? (taboo, declaratory, curious, girls, walk with Miranda)

Miranda (10:00): it's more a race to have an orgasm. (taboo, declaratory, neutral)

Sa (16:00): I guess i'm in for another wild ride. (with guy in bed, euphemism, sexual innuendo, flirting/smiling)

Sa (16:40): Oh oh oh (orgasm, exclamation, lust, cathartic)

Ca (19:00): Is she pissed? (vulgarism, declaratory, serious)

Man (22:28): What the hell! (profanity, when Charlotte falls in front of taxi, cathartic)

Sa (23:20): Give me my pills goddamn it! (=viagra, profanity, desperate/angry, empathic, in bed with guy)

"Sex and the City: The Big Time". 2000. Season 3 Episode 8.

Cha (2:10): I don't wanna ruin it by having sex with him too early. (taboo, serious, declaratory)

Cha (2:23): Do you know what I read, that if you don't have sex for a year you can actually become revirginized. (taboo, serious, declaratory)

Mi (7:10): Oh my god, look at you, you're a mess. (smiling, emphatic, profanity, with Steve in restaurant)

Ca (12:55): Jesus. (serious, annoyed, with big on a boat, dysphemistic, profanity)

Mi (18:18): We haven't had sex in over a week and he wants to have a baby. (taboo, declaratory, neutral, walking with Carrie)

Mi (18:50): And believe me no one wants to fuck mean mummy. (declaratory, humor, obscenity, serious)

Ca (20:00): So she slept with him and his hip to shut him up. (euphemism+vulgarism, declaratory, neutral)

Man (20:28): There's fucking blood everywhere...It's a fucking... (2x emphatic obscenity, in bed with Samantha)

Ca (23:00): Tray got a hand job. (vulgarism, neutral, declaratory)

Big (27:20): I'm so fucked up. (laughing desperately, talking to Carrie, dysphemistic, obscenity)

Big (28:00): I can't fuckin stop thinking about you. (Carrie listens to telephone message, emphatic, obscenity, desperate)

"Sex and the City: Easy Come, Easy Go". 2000. Season 3 Episode 9.

Ca (2:25): Yeah I'm your booth bitch. (with Aiden, smiling, insult, joke/humor)

Ca (2:33): That's because I'm your booth bitch. (as above)

Ca (2:44): Whatever you say, I'm your booth bitch. (as above)

Ca (3:35): I'm his booth bitch. (talking to Big and his wife, smiling, humor, embarrassed)

Ca (4:30): Oh shit I'm sorry is that hot? (spilling coffee over Big, emphatic epithet, distressed)

Big (6:00): Everything in my apartment is now beige, beige. It's bullshit. (smiling,

drunk, talking to Carrie, vulgarism, cathartic)

Mi (9:45): The idea of him moving to a corner of west shit street breaks my heart.

(taboo, pun, humor, concerned, walking with Carrie)

Man (11:50): Oh I'm coming, Oh I'm coming (2x cathartic euphemism, lust, while blow job with Samantha)

Sa (12:05): I'm dating a guy with the funkiest tasting spunk. (taboo, declaratory, serious, in cafe with girls)

Mi (12:55): Dear Martha, funky spunk. Help. (joke/humor, bantering, taboo)

Ca (12:58): Dear funky spunk a hint of mint. (joke/humor, bantering, taboo)

Mi (13:13): Just don't give him head again. (euphemism, declaratory, smiling)

Sa (13:25): Of course he loves getting head but then what man doesn't. (declaratory, neutral, euphemism)

Man (11:50): Oh I'm coming, Oh I'm coming...Man man man you give good head. (2x cathartic euphemism, 1x declaratory euphemism, while blow job with Samantha)

Man (25:00): Oh come on baby you give the greatest head. (vulgarism+euphemism, emphatic, with Samantha, declaratory)

Sa (25:15): Well, Adam. You've got some funky tasting spunk...you heard me your spunk is funky (2x taboo, declaratory, serious)

Man (25:23): Spunk? (taboo, surprised, emphatic)

Sa (25:24): Cum, spunk, jizz, joy juice. Funky. (3x euphemisms, vulgarism/jizz, dysphemistic, serious)

Man (25:25): Man I've heard some far excuses for not giving head but this one takes the cake. You put blow jobs in the coming attractions...(vulgarism, serious, declaratory)

Sa (25:40): I love giving head. (euphemism, angry, dysphemistic)

Sa (26:13): With the right man it can be fabulous, that is unless the man in question has spunk that is like a trip to the rotten egg buffet. (taboo, serious, dysphemistic)

Ca (26:45): Ten minutes later Samantha learned how far a man would go for a blow job. (vulgarism, neutral, declaratory)

Ca (27:00): Samantha kept her word, she gave him head but her heart wasn't in it. (euphemism, neutral, declaratory)

Big (28:05): I was an asshole to you on the phone the other day. (insult, with Carrie, declaratory, serious)

Big (28:47): The thing is fuck I miss you. (obscenity, cathartic, with Carrie, desperate)

Ca (29:04): Fuck you. (insult, abusive, distressed, with Big)

Ca (29:06): Fuck you. (insult, cathartic, aroused, with Big)

Ca (29:08): Fuck me. (obscenity, sexual innuendo, with Big)

"Sex and the City: All or Nothing". 2000. Season 3 Episode 10.

Ca (1:53): ...and a married ex-boyfriend I had slept with a week ago. (euphemism, neutral, dysphemistic)

Mi (2:40): Please tell me you didn't fuck the delivery guy. (4 girls at Samantha's flat warming, smiling, obscenity, declaratory)

Sa (2:48): The condoms came a lot faster than he did. (laughing, joke/humor, euphemism, amuse)

Sa (2:55): We have it all, great apartments, great jobs, great friends, great sex. (smiling, declaratory, taboo)

Man (3:30): Fuck you! (insult, abusive, response when Samantha shouts out on the street)

Ca (3:47): I slept with Big last week. (euphemism, distressed, with Samantha, declaratory)

Sa (7:20): Honey I can hardly blow my nose let alone blow you. (vulgarism, declaratory, angry, talking to a guy on the telephone)

Sa (10:50). Why don't you go fuck yourself because I won't be doing it again. (sick in bed, on the phone with a guy, angry, insult, abusive)

Ca (12:45): Shit happens bla bla bla. (vulgarism, with Big on the phone, distressed, declaratory)

Big (12:57): Come on it was pretty fucking amazing, wasn't it? (emphatic obscenity, smiling)

Man (13:56): I can't fucking believe I have to catch an 11 o'clock flight. (emphatic obscenity, with Miranda)

Man (14:03): If I hadn't been on the way to Chicago I'd definitely be trying to sleep with you right now. (euphemism, seducing Miranda, declaratory)

Man (14:30): Damn! (smiling, curse, cathartic)

Man (15:20): ...kissing your nipples..(vulgarism, seductive, on the phone with Miranda, sexual innuendo)

Ca (15:40): and she always came on the phone...and while Miranda was coming I was busy preparing for Aiden to come back (2x euphemism, neutral, declaratory)

Aiden (17:03): Fuck the sheets. (cathartic, obscenity, kissing Carrie)

Mi (17:08): And your dick is in my mouth. (vulgarism, emphatic, having telephone sex with guy)

Man (17:10): I think I'm gonna come. (1x cathartic euphemism)

Mi (17:17): Damn it. Hold on. (curse, angry, cathartic, while having telephone sex someone calls)

Mi (17:25): Ok your dick is in my mouth, keep it there. (vulgarism, emphatic, serious)

Man (17:48): Sorry you got me so hot I just came. (euphemism, declaratory, neutral)

Sa (18:58): If you don't have a guy who cares about you, it don't mean shit. (crying/ill, declaratory, vulgarism)

Sa (19:25): There are two types of guys out there: The ones who hold your hand and the ones who fuck you. And the guys who fuck you aren't worth a darn. (serious, 2x obscenity, dysphemistic)

Big (24:30): I can't do this anymore, sleep with two people at the same time. (euphemism, declaratory, serious, with Carrie)

Ca (24: 56): You cannot just come into my life and fuck it all up. (desperate/angry, vulgarism, cathartic)

Big (24:57): There are two people doing the fucking Carrie. (serious, declaratory, obscenity)

Ca (25:01): Shit. Oh shit...Oh shit. Shit (4x exclamations, cathartic, angry/desperate because Pete Aiden's dog has run away)

Man (26:05): Your nipple's so hard. (telephone sex with Miranda, vulgarism, sexual in., seductive)

12.1.2. Statistical Evaluation

Tokens per series

Series	Number of tokens (%)
I Love Lucy	81 (18.9)
Laverne & Shirley	61 (14.3)
Sex and the City	286 (66.8)
Total	428 (100)

Table 1. Number of tokens per series (10 episodes per series in total).

Mean values

Series/Episode	Tokens
2/1	9
2/2	9
2/3	11
2/4	4
2/5	5
2/6	4
2/7	12
2/8	2
2/9	9
2/10	6
Total	81
Average	8.1

Table 2. Tokens per episode per series and mean values in *I Love Lucy*.

Series/Episode	Tokens
1/14	2
2/16	9
4/11	11
4/17	4
4/18	5
5/17	4
5/18	12
5/19	2
6/13	9
8/3	6
Total	61
Average	6.1

Table 3. Tokens per episode per series and mean values in *Laverne & Shirley*.

Series/Episode	Tokens
3/1	17
3/2	19
3/3	31
3/4	18
3/5	33
3/6	59
3/7	16
3/8	12
3/9	34
3/10	32
Total	286
Average	28.6

Table 4. Tokens per episode per series and mean values in *Sex and the City*.

Distribution to gender

Series	Women	Men	Total
I Love Lucy	68 (84)	13 (16.1)	81 (18.9)
Laverne & Shirley	35 (57.4)	26 (42.6)	61 (14.3)
Sex and the City	220 (78.3)	66 (23.1)	286 (66.8)
Total (%)	323 (75)	107 (25)	428 (100)

Table 5. Distribution of tokens in the series according to gender.

Rankings of high-frequency words

Word	Tokens (%)
Gee	21 (30.9)
Ah/ Oh	18 (26.5)
My goodness/ My gosh	9 (13.2)
For heaven's sake	6 (8.8)
Ha	4 (5.9)
Shut up/ Shut his mouth	2 (2.9)
Jeez	2 (2.9)
Other	6 (8.8)
Total	68 (100)

Table 6 shows high-frequency tokens in *I Love Lucy* out of a total of 68 tokens that were uttered by females.

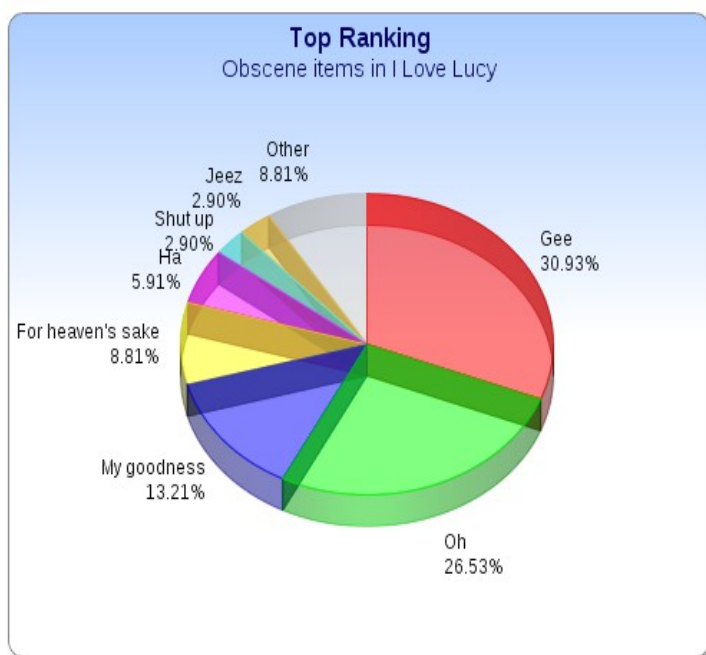


Chart 1. Top Ranking of high-frequency items in *I Love Lucy* out of a total of 68 tokens that were uttered by females.

Word	Tokens (%)
Jerk/ Idiot/ Wimp	6 (17.1)
Oh/ Ah	5 (14.3)
Gee	4 (11.4)
My goodness	3 (8.6)
Baby/ Babe	3 (8.6)
Fool Around	2 (5.7)
Shut Up	1 (2.9)
Other	11 (31.4)
Total	35 (100)

Table 7 shows high-frequency tokens in *Laverne & Shirley* out of a total of 35 tokens that were uttered by females.

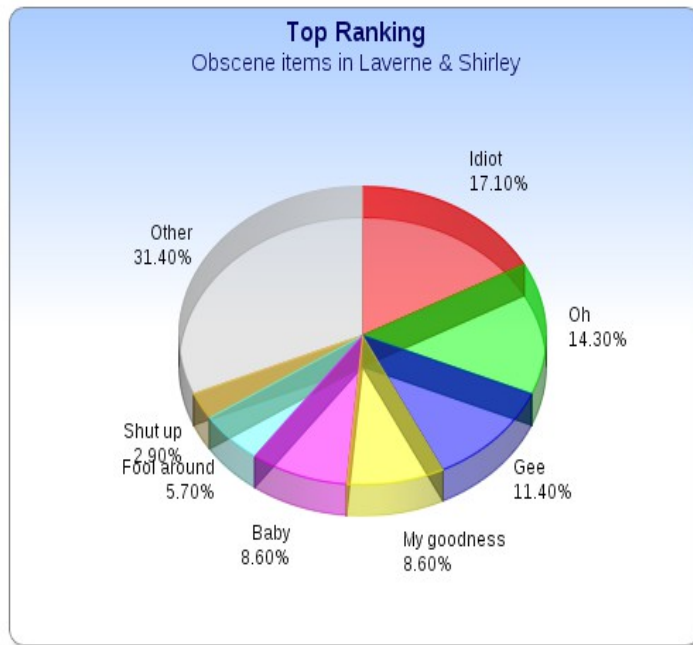


Chart 2. Top Ranking of high-frequency items in *Laverne & Shirley* out of a total of 35 tokens that were uttered by females.

Word	Tokens (%)
Fuck (all parts of speech)	30 (13.6)
Sex	24 (10.9)
Pussy/ Bitch/ Whore/ Slut	21 (9.6)
Dick/ Cock/ Balls	17 (7.7)
Sleep with someone	14 (6.4)
Shit	11 (5)
Spunk/ Cum	10 (4.6)
Blow Job/ Hand Job/ Give Head	8 (3.6)
Ass	6 (2.7)
To Come	4 (1.8)
Oh My God	4 (1.8)
Oh	3 (1.4)
Orgasm	2 (0.9)
Get Laid	1 (0.5)
Other	64 (29.1)
Total	220 (100)

Table 8 shows high-frequency tokens in *Sex and the City* out of a total of 220 tokens that were uttered by females.



Chart 3. Top Ranking of high-frequency items in *Sex and the City* out of a total of 220 tokens uttered by females.

Distribution of tokens according to female characters

Lucy	Tokens	Taboo	Insult	Euphemism	Vulgarism	Epithet	Profanity
Lucy	48	0	1	23	2	13	9
Ethel	20	0	0	4	1	11	4
Other Women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total (%)	68 (100)	0	1 (1.5)	27 (39.7)	3 (4.4)	24 (35.3)	13 (19.1)

Table 9. The distribution of tokens according to female characters in *I Love Lucy*.

L&S	Tokens	Taboo	Insult	Euphemism	Vulgarism	Epithet	Profanity
Laverne	10	0	3	1	5	1	0
Shirley	24	0	6	9	2	3	4
Other W.	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total (%)	35 (100)	0	10 (28.6)	10 (28.6)	7 (20)	4 (11.4)	4 (11.4)

Table 10. The distribution of tokens according to female characters in *Laverne & Shirley*.

SATC	Tokens	Taboo	Insult	Euphemism	Vulgarism	Epithet	Profanity
Samantha	74 (33.6)	12	6	21	32	2	1
Carrie	88 (40)	14	15	28	20	7	4
Miranda	35 (15.9)	7	3	12	12	0	1
Charlotte	16 (7.3)	3	5	4	4	0	0
Other W.	7 (3.2)	0	0	2	5	0	0
Total (%)	220 (100)	34 (15.5)	29 (13.2)	67 (30.5)	73 (33.2)	9 (4.1)	6 (2.7)

Table 11. The distribution of tokens according to female characters in *Sex and the City*.

Function of profanity

Lucy	Tokens	Cathartic	Emphatic	Abusive	Dysphemistic	Declaratory	Amusive	Sexual In.
Lucy	48	28	9	1	5	1	2	2
Ethel	20	12	5	0	2	0	0	0
Other W.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total (%)	68 (100)	41 (60.3)	14 (20.6)	1 (1.5)	7 (10.3)	1 (1.5)	2 (3)	2 (3)

Table 12. The distribution of function of profanity in *I Love Lucy*.

L&S	Tokens	Cathartic	Emphatic	Abusive	Dysphemistic	Declaratory	Amusive	Sexual In.
Laverne	10	1	4	1	1	2	0	1
Shirley	24	8	5	2	3	3	1	2
Other W.	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total (%)	35 (100)	9 (25.7)	9 (25.7)	4 (11.4)	4 (11.4)	5 (14.3)	1 (2.9)	3 (4.4)

Table 13. The distribution of function of profanity in *Laverne & Shirley*.

SATC	Tokens	Cathartic	Emphatic	Abusive	Dysphemistic	Declaratory	Amusive	Sexual In.
Samantha	74	2	5	5	14	26	11	11
Carrie	88	12	4	1	9	45	16	1
Miranda	35	1	4	0	4	14	12	0
Charlotte	16	3	2	0	4	6	0	1
Other W.	7	0	1	2	2	0	1	1
Total (%)	220 (100)	18 (8.2)	16 (7.3)	8 (3.6)	33 (14.9)	91 (41.4)	40 (18.2)	14 (6.4)

Table 14. The distribution of function of profanity in *Sex and the City*.

Manner in which profanity has been uttered

Lucy	Tokens	Serious	Neutral	Lust	Angry	Wink	Distressed
Lucy	48	1	0	0	18	14	15
Ethel	20	0	1	0	5	3	11
Other W.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total (%)	68 (100)	1 (1.5)	1 (1.5)	0	23 (33.8)	17 (24.9)	26 (38.2)

Table 15. The manner in which profanity has been said in *I Love Lucy*.

L&S	Tokens	Serious	Neutral	Lust	Angry	Wink	Distressed
Laverne	10	4	0	0	1	4	1
Shirley	24	12	0	0	2	0	10
Other W.	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total (%)	35 (100)	16 (45.7)	0	0	3 (8.6)	5 (14.3)	11 (31.4)

Table 16. The manner in which profanity has been said in *Laverne & Shirley*.

SATC	Tokens	Serious	Neutral	Lust	Angry	Wink	Distressed
Samantha	74	16	4	2	11	36	1
Carrie	88	5	35	2	8	27	11
Miranda	35	4	3	1	5	20	2
Charlotte	16	2	0	1	3	1	9
Other W.	7	2	0	0	3	2	0
Total (%)	220 (100)	29 (13.2)	42 (19.1)	6 (2.7)	30 (13.6)	86 (39.1)	23 (10.5)

Table 17. The manner in which profanity has been said in *Sex and the City*.

Setting

Series	Formal	Informal	Tokens (%)
I Love Lucy	3	65	68
Laverne & Shirley	4	31	35
Sex and the City	12	208	220
Total (%)	19 (6)	304 (94)	323 (100)

Table 18. Number of tokens uttered in formal or informal setting.

Type-Function Cross Tabulation

Type/ Function	Cathartic	Emphatic	Abusive	Dysphemistic	Declaratory	Amusive	Sexual In.	Total
Taboo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Curse	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Euphemism	18	3	0	3	0	1	2	27
Obscenity	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3
Epithet	17	6	0	1	0	0	0	24
Profanity	6	4	0	3	0	0	0	13
Total	41	14	1	7	1	2	2	68

Table 19. Cross tabulation of type and function in *I Love Lucy*.

Type/ Function	Cathartic	Emphatic	Abusive	Dysphemistic	Declaratory	Amusive	Sexual In.	Total
Taboo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Curse	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	10
Euphemism	4	1	0	1	0	1	3	10
Obscenity	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	7
Epithet	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	4
Profanity	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	4
Total	9	9	4	4	5	1	3	35

Table 20. Cross tabulation of type and function in *Laverne & Shirley*.

Type/ Function	Cathartic	Emphatic	Abusive	Dysphemistic	Declaratory	Amusive	Sexual In.	Total
Taboo	1	0	0	5	22	6	0	34
Curse	6	0	2	4	8	9	0	29
Euphemism	1	2	1	8	34	13	8	67
Obscenity	1	10	5	15	27	12	5	73
Epithet	7	1	0	0	0	0	1	9
Profanity	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	6
Total	18	16	8	33	91	40	14	220

Table 21. Cross tabulation of type and function in *Sex and the City*.

Type-Manner Cross Tabulation

Type/ Manner	Serious	Neutral	Lust	Angry	Wink	Distressed	Total
Taboo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Curse	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Euphemism	0	0	0	4	9	14	27
Obscenity	0	1	0	2	0	0	3
Epithet	1	0	0	10	4	9	24
Profanity	0	0	0	6	4	3	13
Total	1	1	0	23	17	26	68

Table 22. Cross Tabulation of type and manner in *I Love Lucy*.

Type/ Manner	Serious	Neutral	Lust	Angry	Wink	Distressed	Total
Taboo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Curse	6	0	0	2	1	1	10
Euphemism	2	0	0	1	2	5	10
Obscenity	5	0	0	0	2	0	7
Epithet	2	0	0	0	0	2	4
Profanity	1	0	0	0	0	3	4
Total	16	0	0	3	5	11	35

Table 23. Cross Tabulation of type and manner in *Laverne & Shirley*.

Type/ Manner	Serious	Neutral	Lust	Angry	Wink	Distressed	Total
Taboo	9	13	0	3	7	2	34
Curse	0	5	1	5	12	6	29
Euphemism	3	17	1	6	38	4	67
Obscenity	16	11	2	13	26	5	73
Epithet	1	0	2	0	1	5	9
Profanity	0	0	0	3	2	1	6
Total	29	42	6	30	86	23	220

Table 24. Cross Tabulation of type and manner in *Sex and the City*.

12.1.3. Data Sheets

Series	S/E	Year	Speaker	Dialogue Partner	Context	Word	Type	Function	Manner
Lucy	2/1	1952	Man	mixed	informal	ha	epithet	dysphemistic	smiling
Lucy	2/1	1952	Man	mixed	informal	ha	epithet	dysphemistic	smiling
Lucy	2/1	1952	Lucy	mixed	informal	ha	epithet	dysphemistic	serious
Lucy	2/1	1952	Lucy	man	informal	oh jeez	euphemism	dysphemistic	happy
Lucy	2/1	1952	Lucy	man	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	happy
Lucy	2/1	1952	Lucy	man	informal	my gosh	profanity	emphatic	ironic
Lucy	2/1	1952	Man	man	informal	ey	epithet	emphatic	angry
Lucy	2/1	1952	Man	man	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	shocked
Lucy	2/1	1952	Lucy	Ethel	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	shocked
Lucy	2/2	1952	Lucy	-	informal	ah	epithet	cathartic	surprised
Lucy	2/2	1952	Lucy	mixed	formal	blow	euphemism	sexual in.	smiling
Lucy	2/2	1952	Lucy	Ethel	informal	isn't save to leave me at home	euphemism	sexual in.	smiling
Lucy	2/2	1952	Lucy	man	informal	my goodness	profanity	cathartic	incense
Lucy	2/2	1952	Man	man	informal	the little devil	insult	dysphemistic	smiling
Lucy	2/2	1952	Man	Lucy	informal	ha	epithet	dysphemistic	disbelieving
Lucy	2/2	1952	Lucy	men	informal	saxophone lessons	euphemism	amuse/pun	ironic
Lucy	2/2	1952	Lucy	men	informal	shut up	vulgarism	abuse	incense
Lucy	2/2	1952	Man	men	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	concerned
Lucy	2/3	1952	Man	woman	informal	darn expensive	vulgarism	emphatic	smiling
Lucy	2/3	1952	Man	woman	informal	what we were up to	euphemism	sexual in.	neutral
Lucy	2/3	1952	Ethel	Lucy	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	concerned

Lucy	2/3	1952	Ethel	Lucy	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	concerned
Lucy	2/3	1952	Lucy	Ethel	informal	oh for heaven's sake	profanity	cathartic	angry
Lucy	2/4	1952	Lucy	man	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	sad
Lucy	2/4	1952	Lucy	man	informal	make me mad	euphemism	cathartic	disappointed
Lucy	2/4	1952	Lucy	man	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	disappointed
Lucy	2/4	1952	Man	mixed	informal	idiot	insult	declaratory	neutral
Lucy	2/4	1952	Man	mixed	informal	idiot	insult	emphatic	angry
Lucy	2/4	1952	Lucy	mixed	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	concerned
Lucy	2/4	1952	Lucy	man	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	disappointed
Lucy	2/4	1952	Lucy	man	informal	loose our temper	euphemism	diphemistic	soothing
Lucy	2/4	1952	Ethel	mixed	informal	my goodness	profanity	emphatic	shocked
Lucy	2/4	1952	Man	mixed	informal	oh no	epithet	cathartic	angry
Lucy	2/5	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	oh darn	vulgarism	emphatic	neutral
Lucy	2/5	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	my goodness	profanity	dysphemistic	smiling
Lucy	2/5	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	oh my goodness	profanity	cathartic	worried
Lucy	2/5	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	worried
Lucy	2/5	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	oh dear	epithet	cathartic	worried
Lucy	2/6	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	oh hey	epithet	emphatic	angry
Lucy	2/6	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	zombie	insult	amuse	smiling
Lucy	2/6	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	sick of the sight of your face	insult	cathartic	sad
Lucy	2/6	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	sad
Lucy	2/6	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	oh	epithet	emphatic	sad
Lucy	2/6	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	oh	epithet	emphatic	angry
Lucy	2/6	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	concerned

Lucy	2/6	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	oh	epithet	emphatic	concerned
Lucy	2/6	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	angry
Lucy	2/6	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	suprised
Lucy	2/7	1952	Lucy	man	informal	gee	euphemism	emphatic	smiling
Lucy	2/7	1952	Lucy	man	informal	gee	euphemism	dysphemistic	miserable
Lucy	2/7	1952	Lucy	man	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	smiling
Lucy	2/7	1952	Lucy	man	informal	oh my gosh	profanity	emphatic	disappointed
Lucy	2/7	1952	Lucy	mixed	informal	oh	epithet	emphatic	angry
Lucy	2/7	1952	Man	lucy	informal	darn right	vulgarism	emphatic	angry
Lucy	2/7	1952	Lucy	mixed	formal	oh	epithet	emphatic	angry
Lucy	2/7	1952	Lucy	mixed	formal	shut his mouth	vulgarism	declaratory	angry
Lucy	2/8	1952	Man	man	informal	oh no	epithet	cathartic	serious
Lucy	2/8	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	disappointed
Lucy	2/8	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	disappointed
Lucy	2/8	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	optimistic
Lucy	2/8	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	zestful
Lucy	2/8	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	angry
Lucy	2/8	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	angry
Lucy	2/8	1952	Man	man	informal	oh my goodness	profanity	dysphemistic	concerned
Lucy	2/8	1952	Man	mixed	informal	oh no	epithet	dysphemistic	desperate
Lucy	2/9	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	oh my gosh	profanity	cathartic	shocked
Lucy	2/9	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	oh for heaven's sake	profanity	cathartic	angry
Lucy	2/9	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	for heaven's sake	profanity	dysphemistic	angry
Lucy	2/9	1952	Lucy	man	informal	oh gee	euphemism	cathartic	angry

Lucy	2/9	1952	Man	mixed	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	smiling
Lucy	2/9	1952	Man	man	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	ill
Lucy	2/9	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	oh gee	euphemism	cathartic	concerned
Lucy	2/9	1952	Ethel	lucy	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	concerned
Lucy	2/9	1952	Lucy	man	informal	oh for heaven's sake	profanity	cathartic	angry
Lucy	2/10	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	gee	euphemism	emphatic	worried
Lucy	2/10	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	oh of course not	epithet	cathartic	laughing
Lucy	2/10	1952	Lucy	ethel	informal	for heaven's sake	profanity	emphatic	laughing
Lucy	2/10	1952	Lucy	man	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	angry
Lucy	2/10	1952	Lucy	man	informal	darn that thing	curse	cathartic	angry
Lucy	2/10	1952	Ethel	mixed	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	smiling
Lucy	2/10	1952	Ethel	mixed	informal	for heaven's sake	profanity	dysphemistic	smiling

Series	S/E	Year	Speaker	Dialogue Partner	Context	Word	Type	Function	Manner
L&S	1/14	1976	Man	mixed	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	neutral
L&S	1/14	1976	Woman	Laverne, Shirley	formal	suckers	insult	abusive	cool
L&S	2/16	1977	Shirley	Laverne	informal	are you nuts	insult	emphatic	serious
L&S	2/16	1977	Shirley	Laverne	informal	ah	epithet	cathartic	surprised
L&S	2/16	1977	Man	Shirley	informal	fooling around	euphemism	declaratory	laughing
L&S	2/16	1977	Man	Shirley	informal	fooling around	euphemism	declaratory	laughing
L&S	2/16	1977	Laverne	mixed	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	shocked
L&S	2/16	1977	Man	Shirley	informal	fooling around	euphemism	amuse	laughing
L&S	2/16	1977	Shirley	Man	informal	fooling around	euphemism	dysphemistic	annoyed

L&S	2/16	1977	Man	Shirley	informal	fooling around	euphemism	declaratory	serious
L&S	2/16	1977	Shirley	Laverne	informal	darn it	curse	cathartic	angry
L&S	4/11	1979	Shirley	Laverne	informal	where it hurts	euphemism	amuse	panicking
L&S	4/11	1979	Man	Shirley	informal	what will you give me	euphemism	sexual in.	serious
L&S	4/11	1979	Man	mixed	informal	double make out	vulgarism	declaratory	serious
L&S	4/11	1979	Laverne	man	informal	creep	insult	abusive	angry
L&S	4/11	1979	Man	laverne	informal	creep	insult	emphatic	smiling
L&S	4/11	1979	Man	woman	informal	stupid bimbo	insult	abusive	serious
L&S	4/11	1979	Shirley	man	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	sad
L&S	4/11	1979	Shirley	man	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	sad
L&S	4/11	1979	Shirley	man	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	sad
L&S	4/11	1979	Shirley	man	informal	gee	euphemism	cathartic	sad
L&S	4/11	1979	Shirley	man	informal	oh goodness	profanity	cathartic	sad
L&S	4/17	1979	Laverne	men	informal	making me sick	vulgarism	declaratory	serious
L&S	4/17	1979	Shirley	Laverne	informal	morons	insult	declaratory	serious
L&S	4/17	1979	Shirley	Laverne	informal	idiot	insult	declaratory	serious
L&S	4/17	1979	Laverne	Shirley	informal	dirt	insult	declaratory	sad
L&S	4/18	1979	Man	mixed	informal	have oneself a night	euphemism	sexual in.	bragging
L&S	4/18	1979	Shirley	men	informal	had a good time	euphemism	sexual in.	smiling
L&S	4/18	1979	Man	men	informal	snake in the pants	euphemism	abusive	angry
L&S	4/18	1979	Man	Laverne	informal	shut up	vulgarism	emphatic	angry
L&S	4/18	1979	Man	Laverne	informal	shut up	vulgarism	declaratory	neutral
L&S	5/17	1980	Laverne	Shirley	informal	jerk	insult	declaratory	smiling
L&S	5/17	1980	Man	mixed	informal	double make out	euphemism	declaratory	agitated

L&S	5/17	1980	Shirley	mixed	formal	fruit loop	insult	declaratory	serious
L&S	5/17	1980	Man	mixed	formal	turn on	vulgarism	sexual in.	serious
L&S	5/17	1980	Shirley	mixed	formal	oh boy	epithet	abusive	serious
L&S	5/17	1980	Shirley	mixed	formal	oh boy	epithet	abusive	serious
L&S	5/17	1980	Man	mixed	informal	what you have in mind	euphemism	sexual in.	smiling
L&S	5/17	1980	Shirley	mixed	informal	sachet through smut lane	euphemism	emphatic	serious
L&S	5/17	1980	Shirley	mixed	informal	chain us together	euphemism	sexual in.	serious
L&S	5/17	1980	Shirley	Laverne	informal	baby	vulgarism	emphatic	serious
L&S	5/17	1980	Shirley	Laverne	informal	baby	vulgarism	emphatic	serious
L&S	5/17	1980	Shirley	Laverne	informal	oh no	epithet	cathartic	crying
L&S	5/18	1980	Laverne	man	informal	fool around	euphemism	sexual in.	smiling
L&S	5/18	1980	Shirley	Laverne	informal	coward	insult	dysphemistic	serious
L&S	5/19	1980	man	mixed	informal	jerk	insult	dysphemistic	sad
L&S	5/19	1980	man	mixed	informal	jerk	insult	dysphemistic	sad
L&S	5/19	1980	man	mixed	informal	jerk	insult	declaratory	sad
L&S	5/19	1980	man	mixed	informal	jerk	insult	declaratory	sad
L&S	5/19	1980	man	mixed	informal	jerk	insult	declaratory	sad
L&S	5/19	1980	man	mixed	informal	big fat ugly snob	insult	amuse	joking
L&S	5/19	1980	man	mixed	informal	looser	insult	dysphemistic	smiling
L&S	5/19	1980	Shirley	mixed	informal	beat the pope out of	profanity	emphatic	serious
L&S	5/19	1980	Man	mixed	informal	wimp	insult	abusive	laughing
L&S	6/13	1981	Shirley	Laverne	informal	oh my goodness	profanity	dysphemistic	smiling
L&S	6/13	1981	Shirley	Laverne	informal	oh my goodness	profanity	dysphemistic	shocked
L&S	8/3	1982	Laverne	mixed	informal	shut up	vulgarism	emphatic	serious

L&S	8/3	1982	Laverne	mixed	informal	babe	vulgarism	emphatic	ironic
L&S	8/3	1982	Laverne	mixed	informal	get lost	vulgarism	emphatic	ironic
L&S	8/3	1982	Man	mixed	informal	shut up	vulgarism	emphatic	serious
L&S	8/3	1982	Man	mixed	informal	shut up	vulgarism	emphatic	serious
L&S	8/3	1982	Laverne	man	informal	get out	vulgarism	emphatic	serious

Series	S/E	Year	Speaker	Dialogue Partner	Context	Word	Type	Function	Manner
SATC	3/1	2000	Sa	women	informal	fucking ferry	obscenity	emphatic	cool
SATC	3/1	2000	Sa	women	informal	put my dick in you	obscenity	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/1	2000	Sa	charlotte	informal	show him my lower Manhattan	euphemism	sexual in.	smiling
SATC	3/1	2000	Mi	women	informal	big arms, big arms	euphemism	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/1	2000	Sa	women	informal	call 911. I'm on fire	vulgarism	sexual in.	smiling
SATC	3/1	2000	Sa	man	informal	any month that's hot	euphemism	sexual in.	smiling
SATC	3/1	2000	Ca	woman	informal	hitting on me	vulgarism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/1	2000	Mi	woman	informal	went home	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/1	2000	Ca	-	informal	set Charlotte on fire	euphemism	declaratory	amused
SATC	3/1	2000	Ca	-	informal	had their own fire foing	euphemism	declaratory	amused
SATC	3/1	2000	Sa	women	informal	gotten me wet	vulgarism	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/1	2000	Sa	women	informal	cock	obscenity	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/1	2000	Ca	women	informal	cock talk	obscenity	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/1	2000	Ca	women	informal	cock talk till cocktail time	obscenity	humor/pun	smiling
SATC	3/1	2000	Cha	women	informal	to sleep with a man	euphemism	declaratory	concerned
SATC	3/1	2000	Sa	women	informal	cock	obscenity	emphatic	smiling
SATC	3/1	2000	Ca	man	informal	like a Jehovas witness	insult	amuse	smiling

SATC	3/1	2000	Ca	-	informal	she had to make it happen	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/1	2000	Sa	man	informal	nice pole	euphemism	sexual in.	smiling
SATC	3/1	2000	Sa	man	informal	always ready to go	vulgarism	sexual in.	smiling
SATC	3/1	2000	Ca	-	informal	rode the pole	euphemism	amuse	irony
SATC	3/1	2000	Ca	man	informal	oh shit	epithet	cathartic	serious
SATC	3/2	2000	Sa	women	informal	fuck	obscenity	amuse/joke	cool
SATC	3/2	2000	Sa	women	informal	fucked	obscenity	amuse/joke	cool
SATC	3/2	2000	Mi	women	informal	fuckable	obscenity	amuse	cool
SATC	3/2	2000	Ca	-	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/2	2000	Ca	-	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/2	2000	Ca	-	informal	sex	taboo	dysphemistic	serious
SATC	3/2	2000	Man	samantha	informal	damn attractive	curse	emphatic	flirty
SATC	3/2	2000	Sa	women	informal	nipples	vulgarism	amuse	disappointed
SATC	3/2	2000	Ca	man	informal	pimp	vulgarism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/2	2000	Man	carrie	informal	making love	euphemism	dysphemistic	neutral
SATC	3/2	2000	Sa	women	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/2	2000	Ca	-	informal	short comings	euphemism	amuse/pun	neutral
SATC	3/2	2000	Ca	-	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/2	2000	Ca	-	informal	horny smurf	insult	amuse	cool
SATC	3/2	2000	Ca	-	informal	belly box	euphemism	amuse	amused
SATC	3/2	2000	Man	samantha	informal	came	euphemism	dysphemistic	incense
SATC	3/2	2000	Sa	man	informal	dick	obscenity	abusive	serious
SATC	3/2	2000	Man	Samantha	informal	tits	obscenity	abusive	smiling
SATC	3/2	2000	Man	carrie	informal	sex	taboo	emphatic	serious

SATC	3/2	2000	Ca	man	informal	sex	taboo	disphemisite	angry
SATC	3/3	2000	Mi	women	informal	getting laid	vulgarism	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/3	2000	Sa	women	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/3	2000	Sa	women	informal	who couldn't get it up	euphemism	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/3	2000	Sa	carrie	informal	bitches	insult	dysphemistic	smiling
SATC	3/3	2000	Ca	-	informal	goodie drawer	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/3	2000	Mi	woman	informal	sleeping with	euphemism	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/3	2000	Sa	women	informal	nipple clams	vulgarism	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/3	2000	Sa	women	informal	goodie drawer	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/3	2000	Sa	women	informal	goodie drawer	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/3	2000	Sa	women	informal	goodie drawer	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/3	2000	Sa	women	informal	goodie drawer	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/3	2000	Mi	women	informal	goodie drawer	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/3	2000	Cha	women	informal	goodie drawer	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/3	2000	Ca	women	informal	goodie drawer	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/3	2000	Ca	women	informal	goodie drawer	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/3	2000	Ca	women	informal	goodie drawer	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/3	2000	Woman	samantha	informal	goes down on	euphemism	sexual in.	smiling
SATC	3/3	2000	Ca	-	informal	to be available	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/3	2000	Ca	-	informal	take matter in own hands	euphemism	amuse/pun	amused
SATC	3/3	2000	Ca	-	informal	staff	euphemism	amuse	amused
SATC	3/3	2000	Sa	mixed	formal	went down on	euphemism	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/3	2000	Sa	mixed	formal	be eaten up	vulgarism	dysphemistic	angry
SATC	3/3	2000	Sa	carrie	formal	bitch	insult	dysphemistic	disappointed

SATC	3/3	2000	Mi	woman	informal	thing	euphemism	dysphemistic	angry
SATC	3/3	2000	Mi	woman	informal	thing	euphemism	dysphemistic	angry
SATC	3/3	2000	Mi	woman	informal	thing	euphemism	dysphemistic	angry
SATC	3/3	2000	Mi	woman	informal	have sex	taboo	declaratory	angry
SATC	3/3	2000	Ca	woman	formal	sex	taboo	dysphemistic	annoyed
SATC	3/3	2000	Ca	woman	formal	blow job	vulgarism	dysphemistic	annoyed
SATC	3/3	2000	Woman	women	formal	fuck	obscenity	dysphemistic	annoyed
SATC	3/3	2000	Woman	women	formal	fucked	obscenity	emphatic	astonished
SATC	3/3	2000	Ca	miranda	informal	idiot	insult	dysphemistic	smiling
SATC	3/4	2000	Mi	women	formal	a sock in your pants	euphemism	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/4	2000	Sa	women	formal	that's some sock	euphemism	sexual in.	smiling
SATC	3/4	2000	Man	mixed	formal	oh my god	profanity	amuse	laughing
SATC	3/4	2000	Ca	women	formal	a sock in the pants	euphemism	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/4	2000	Ca	-	informal	man inside of her	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/4	2000	Ca	-	informal	ass	vulgarism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/4	2000	Ca	women	informal	old fart	insult	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/4	2000	Sa	women	informal	hot old fart	insult	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/4	2000	Sa	man	informal	fucking	obscenity	emphatic	angry
SATC	3/4	2000	Ca	-	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/4	2000	Cha	man	informal	bigger sock	euphemism	sexual in.	flirty
SATC	3/4	2000	Man	mixed	formal	bitch	insult	abusive	angry
SATC	3/4	2000	Ca	-	informal	dick	vulgarism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/4	2000	Ca	-	informal	balls	vulgarism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/4	2000	Man	samantha	formal	who the hell	profanity	emphatic	angry

SATC	3/4	2000	Sa	man	informal	fuck	obscurity	sexual in.	smiling
SATC	3/4	2000	Sa	man	informal	fuck	obscurity	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/4	2000	Ca	-	informal	old fart	insult	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/4	2000	Ca	-	informal	old ass	vulgarism	dysphemistic	neutral
SATC	3/5	2000	Sa	women	informal	fuck	obscurity	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/5	2000	Sa	women	informal	ass	vulgarism	dysphemistic	cool
SATC	3/5	2000	Sa	women	informal	dick	vulgarism	declaratory	cool
SATC	3/5	2000	Sa	women	informal	sex talk	taboo	amuse/pun	smiling
SATC	3/5	2000	Cha	women	informal	african american	euphemism	dysphemistic	concerned
SATC	3/5	2000	Sa	women	informal	cock-quests	vulgarism	amuse/pun	smiling
SATC	3/5	2000	Man	miranda	informal	fucking great	obscurity	emphatic	smiling
SATC	3/5	2000	Man	miranda	informal	fucking me	obscurity	emphatic	smiling
SATC	3/5	2000	Man	miranda	informal	fucking great	obscurity	emphatic	smiling
SATC	3/5	2000	Mi	man	informal	fucking great	obscurity	emphatic	irony
SATC	3/5	2000	Man	miranda	informal	fucking great	obscurity	emphatic	smiling
SATC	3/5	2000	Man	miranda	informal	fucking millionaire	obscurity	emphatic	smiling
SATC	3/5	2000	Sa	man	informal	sleep with	euphemism	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/5	2000	Man	carrie	informal	jerk	insult	emphatic	serious
SATC	3/5	2000	Woman	women	informal	ass	vulgarism	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/5	2000	Woman	samantha	informal	fucking	obscurity	dysphemistic	rude
SATC	3/5	2000	Sa	woman	informal	fucking	obscurity	dysphemistic	annoyed
SATC	3/5	2000	Cha	women	informal	cock	obscurity	dysphemistic	annoyed
SATC	3/5	2000	Cha	women	informal	cock	obscurity	dysphemistic	annoyed
SATC	3/5	2000	Sa	women	informal	cock	obscurity	declaratory	smiling

SATC	3/5	2000	Mi	women	informal	african american	euphemism	amuse	irony
SATC	3/5	2000	Mi	women	informal	cock	obscenity	amuse	irony
SATC	3/5	2000	Ca	man	informal	bullshit	vulgarism	emphatic	smiling
SATC	3/5	2000	Man	miranda	informal	what the fuck	obscenity	emphatic	angry
SATC	3/5	2000	Mi	man	informal	fuck	obscenity	dysphemistic	irritated
SATC	3/5	2000	Man	miranda	informal	fucking stupid	obscenity	emphatic	angry
SATC	3/5	2000	Man	man	informal	oh yes	epithet	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/5	2000	Ca	-	informal	bitch	insult	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/5	2000	Sa	woman	informal	fuck	obscenity	dysphemistic	angry
SATC	3/5	2000	Woman	samantha	informal	pussy	vulgarism	abusive	angry
SATC	3/5	2000	Sa	woman	informal	ass	vulgarism	abusive	angry
SATC	3/5	2000	Ca	man	informal	oh my god	profanity	cathartic	distressed
SATC	3/5	2000	Ca	-	informal	pussy	vulgarism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/5	2000	Ca	-	informal	pussy	vulgarism	amuse/pun	amused
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	-	informal	the door that was opening	euphemism	amuse/pun	neutral
SATC	3/6	2000	Sa	women	informal	sleep with	euphemism	amuse	irony
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	women	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/6	2000	Sa	women	informal	came	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/6	2000	Sa	women	informal	orgasm	taboo	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/6	2000	Sa	women	informal	shot his load	vulgarism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	fucking	obscenity	emphatic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	bitch	insult	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	fucking	obscenity	emphatic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	whore	insult	cathartic	lust

SATC	3/6	2000	Sa	women	informal	fucking	obscurity	dysphemistic	laughing
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	women	informal	in you	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/6	2000	Cha	women	informal	whore	insult	cathartic	anxious
SATC	3/6	2000	Sa	women	informal	whore	insult	declaratory	cool
SATC	3/6	2000	Cha	women	informal	whore	insult	cathartic	anxious
SATC	3/6	2000	Cha	women	informal	whore	insult	cathartic	incense
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	women	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	disappointed
SATC	3/6	2000	Sa	women	informal	dick	vulgarism	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/6	2000	Mi	women	informal	fucking	obscurity	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/6	2000	Mi	women	informal	bitch	insult	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/6	2000	Mi	women	informal	fucking	obscurity	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/6	2000	Mi	women	informal	whore	insult	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	man	informal	sleep with	euphemism	emphatic	worried
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	carrie	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	concerned
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	carrie	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	concerned
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	carrie	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	concerned
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	-	informal	sleep with	euphemism	cathartic	neutral
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	-	informal	sluts	insult	dysphemistic	curious
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	fucking	obscurity	emphatic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	bitch	insult	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	fucking	obscurity	emphatic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	whore	insult	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Cha	man	informal	sex	taboo	dysphemistic	concerned
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	fucking	obscurity	emphatic	lust

SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	bitch	insult	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	fucking	obscenity	emphatic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	whore	insult	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Cha	Man	informal	fucking	obscenity	emphatic	concerned
SATC	3/6	2000	Cha	Man	informal	bitch	insult	declaratory	concerned
SATC	3/6	2000	Cha	Man	informal	fucking	obscenity	emphatic	concerned
SATC	3/6	2000	Cha	Man	informal	whore	insult	declaratory	concerned
SATC	3/6	2000	Mi	man	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	-	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/6	2000	Woman	mixed	formal	with a different man	euphemism	abusive	humiliating
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	charlotte	informal	bullshit	vulgarism	cathartic	annoyed
SATC	3/6	2000	Sa	carrie	informal	fucking-stein	obscenity	amuse/pun	serious
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	samantha	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/6	2000	Sa	Carrie	informal	bunch of farts	insult	cathartic	annoyed
SATC	3/6	2000	Sa	Carrie	informal	sex	taboo	amuse	annoyed
SATC	3/6	2000	Sa	Carrie	informal	sex	taboo	cathartic	neutral
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	Samantha	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	Sa	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	Charlotte	informal	come	euphemism	dysphemistic	anxious
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	fucking	obscenity	emphatic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	bitch	insult	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	fucking	obscenity	emphatic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Man	charlotte	informal	whore	insult	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/6	2000	Mi	women	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	smiling

SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	women	informal	sluts	insult	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/6	2000	Ca	-	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/7	2000	Ca	-	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/7	2000	Sa	man	informal	oh	epithet	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/7	2000	Man	samantha	informal	rocket trip through your solar system	euphemism	sexual in.	flirty
SATC	3/7	2000	Ca	man	informal	bitch	insult	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/7	2000	Ca	man	informal	what the hell	profanity	emphatic	angry
SATC	3/7	2000	Mi	carrie	informal	skid mark	taboo	amuse	neutral
SATC	3/7	2000	Ca	Mi	informal	oh no	epithet	cathartic	laughing
SATC	3/7	2000	Mi	Ca	informal	skid marks	taboo	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/7	2000	Mi	Ca	informal	ass	vulgarism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/7	2000	Ca	Mi	informal	oh god	profanity	cathartic	laughing
SATC	3/7	2000	Ca	Mi	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/7	2000	Mi	Ca	informal	orgasm	taboo	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/7	2000	Sa	man	informal	wild ride	euphemism	sexual in.	smiling
SATC	3/7	2000	Sa	man	informal	oh	epithet	sexual in.	lust
SATC	3/7	2000	Ca	woman	informal	pissed	vulgarism	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/7	2000	man	cha	informal	what the hell	profanity	cathartic	serious
SATC	3/7	2000	Sa	man	informal	goddamn it	profanity	emphatic	angry
SATC	3/8	2000	Cha	women	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/8	2000	Cha	women	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/8	2000	Mi	man	informal	oh my god	profanity	emphatic	smiling
SATC	3/8	2000	Ca	man	informal	jesus	profanity	dysphemistic	annoyed
SATC	3/8	2000	Mi	ca	informal	sex	taboo	declaratory	neutral

SATC	3/8	2000	Mi	ca	informal	fuck	obscenity	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/8	2000	Ca	-	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/8	2000	Ca	-	informal	shut him up	vulgarism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/8	2000	Man	sa	informal	fuckin blood	obscenity	emphatic	angry
SATC	3/8	2000	Man	sa	informal	fuckin	obscenity	emphatic	angry
SATC	3/8	2000	Ca	-	informal	hand job	vulgarism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/8	2000	Man	ca	informal	fucked up	obscenity	dysphemistic	desperate
SATC	3/8	2000	Man	ca	informal	fuckin stop	obscenity	emphatic	desperate
SATC	3/9	2000	Ca	man	informal	bitch	insult	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/9	2000	Ca	man	informal	bitch	insult	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/9	2000	Ca	man	informal	bitch	insult	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/9	2000	Ca	mixed	informal	bitch	insult	amuse	embarrassed
SATC	3/9	2000	Ca	mixed	informal	oh shit	epithet	emphatic	distressed
SATC	3/9	2000	Man	ca	informal	bullshit	vulgarism	cathartic	smiling
SATC	3/9	2000	Mi	ca	informal	west shit street	taboo	amuse	concerned
SATC	3/9	2000	Man	samantha	informal	oh I'm coming	euphemism	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/9	2000	Sa	women	informal	spunk	taboo	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Mi	women	informal	spunk	taboo	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/9	2000	Ca	women	informal	spunk	taboo	amuse	smiling
SATC	3/9	2000	Mi	women	informal	give him head	euphemism	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/9	2000	Sa	women	informal	getting head	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/9	2000	Man	Samantha	informal	oh I'm coming	euphemism	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/9	2000	Man	Samantha	informal	give good head	euphemism	declaratory	lust
SATC	3/9	2000	Man	Sa	informal	baby	vulgarism	emphatic	serious

SATC	3/9	2000	Man	Sa	informal	give head	euphemism	dysphemistic	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Sa	Man	informal	spunk	taboo	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Sa	Man	informal	spunk	taboo	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Man	Sa	informal	spunk	taboo	emphatic	suprised
SATC	3/9	2000	Sa	Man	informal	cum	euphemism	dysphemistic	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Sa	Man	informal	spunk	euphemism	dysphemistic	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Sa	Man	informal	jizz	vulgarism	dysphemistic	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Sa	Man	informal	joy juice	euphemism	dysphemistic	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Man	Sa	informal	giving head	euphemism	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Man	Sa	informal	blow jobs	vulgarism	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Sa	Man	informal	giving head	euphemism	emphatic	angry
SATC	3/9	2000	Sa	Man	informal	spunk	taboo	dysphemistic	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Ca	-	informal	blow job	vulgarism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/9	2000	Ca	-	informal	give head	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/9	2000	Man	ca	informal	asshole	insult	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/9	2000	Man	ca	informal	fuck	obscenity	cathartic	desperate
SATC	3/9	2000	Ca	man	informal	fuck you	insult	abusive	distressed
SATC	3/9	2000	Ca	man	informal	fuck you	insult	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/9	2000	Ca	man	informal	fuck me	obscenity	sexual in.	lust
SATC	3/10	2000	Ca	-	informal	sleep with	euphemism	dysphemistic	neutral
SATC	3/10	2000	Mi	women	informal	fuck	obscenity	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/10	2000	Sa	women	informal	came	euphemism	amuse	laughing
SATC	3/10	2000	Sa	women	informal	great sex	taboo	declaratory	smiling
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	sa	informal	fuck you	insult	abusive	angry

SATC	3/10	2000	Ca	sa	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	distressed
SATC	3/10	2000	Sa	man	informal	blow you	vulgarism	declaratory	angry
SATC	3/10	2000	Sa	man	informal	fuck yourself	insult	abusive	angry
SATC	3/10	2000	Ca	man	informal	shit happens	vulgarism	declaratory	distressed
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	ca	informal	fuckin amazing	obscenity	emphatic	smiling
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	mi	informal	fuckin believe	obscenity	emphatic	flirty
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	mi	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	flirty
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	mi	informal	damn	curse	cathartic	smiling
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	mi	informal	nipples	vulgarism	sexual in.	lust
SATC	3/10	2000	Ca	-	informal	come	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/10	2000	Ca	-	informal	come	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	ca	informal	fuck	obscenity	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/10	2000	Mi	man	informal	dick	vulgarism	emphatic	lust
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	mi	informal	gonna come	euphemism	cathartic	lust
SATC	3/10	2000	Mi	man	informal	damn it	curse	cathartic	angry
SATC	3/10	2000	Mi	man	informal	dick	vulgarism	emphatic	serious
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	mi	informal	came	euphemism	declaratory	neutral
SATC	3/10	2000	Sa	ca	informal	shit	vulgarism	declaratory	sad
SATC	3/10	2000	Sa	Ca	informal	fuck you	obscenity	dysphemistic	serious
SATC	3/10	2000	Sa	Ca	informal	fuck you	obscenity	dysphemistic dysphemistic	serious
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	ca	informal	sleep with	euphemism	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/10	2000	Ca	man	informal	fuck it up	vulgarism	cathartic	angry
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	ca	informal	fucking	obscenity	declaratory	serious
SATC	3/10	2000	Ca	man	informal	shit	epithet	cathartic	desperate

SATC	3/10	2000	Ca	man	informal	oh shit	epithet	cathartic	desperate
SATC	3/10	2000	Ca	man	informal	oh shit	epithet	cathartic	desperate
SATC	3/10	2000	Ca	man	informal	shit	epithet	cathartic	desperate
SATC	3/10	2000	Man	mi	informal	nipple	vulgarism	sexual in.	lust

12. 2. Corpus Study

Corpus Study with COHA

1952 Frequency: 33 Tokens Size: 2,479,405 Per Million: 13.31	1979 Frequency: 21 Tokens Size: 2,269,967 Per Million: 9.25	2000 Frequency: 12 Tokens Size: 3,216,713 Per Million: 3.73
Total 1950s Frequency: 153 Tokens Size: 24,544,831 Per Million: 6.23	Total 1970s Frequency: 177 Tokens Size: 23,815,191 Per Million: 7.43	Total 2000s Frequency: 123 Size: 29,567,390 Per Million: 4.16
Attention: Not all items occur in swearing environments such as can be seen in " <u>Gee</u> , I'm glad we finally did get together." or " <u>Gee</u> , thanks. You don't know how much this means to me. "		

Table 25. Corpus analysis in COHA analyzing the occurrence of *Gee* in three time spans.

1952 Frequency: 26 Tokens Size: 2,479,405 Per Million: 10.49	1979 Frequency: 18 Tokens Size: 2,269,967 Per Million: 7.93	2000 Frequency: 38 Tokens Size: 3,216,713 Per Million: 11.81
Total 1950 Frequency: 30 Tokens Size: 24,544,831 Per Million: 1.22	Total 1970s Frequency: 44 Tokens Size: 23,815,191 Per Million: 1.85	Total 2000s Frequency: 69 Size: 29,567,390 Per Million: 2.33
Attention: High collocation frequency of "my goodness, "oh my goodness", and "thank goodness" but also do not all items occur in swearing environments such as can be seen in "She was a woman of goodness" and "goodness of heart". Therefore, collocate search of "my + goodness".		

Table 26. Corpus analysis in COHA analyzing the occurrence of *My goodness* in three time spans.

1952 Frequency: 25 Tokens Size: 2,479,405 Per Million: 10.08	1979 Frequency: 17 Tokens Size: 2,269,967 Per Million: 7.49	2000 Frequency: 13 Tokens Size: 3,216,713 Per Million: 4.04
Total 1950 Frequency: 108 Tokens Size: 24,544,831 Per Million: 4.4	Total 1970s Frequency: 78 Tokens Size: 23,815,191 Per Million: 3.28	Total 2000s Frequency: 83 Size: 29,567,390 Per Million: 2.81
Attention: High collocation frequency of "oh my gosh"		

Table 27. Corpus analysis in COHA analyzing the occurrence of *Gosh* in three time spans.

1952 Frequency: 18 Tokens Size: 2,479,405 Per Million: 7.26	1979 Frequency: 24 Tokens Size: 2,269,967 Per Million: 10.57	2000 Frequency: 25 Tokens Size: 3,216,713 Per Million: 7.77
Total 1950 Frequency: 186 Tokens Size: 24,544,831 Per Million: 7.58	Total 1970s Frequency: 151 Tokens Size: 23,815,191 Per Million: 6.34	Total 2000s Frequency: 247 Size: 29,567,390 Per Million: 9.27
Attention: Not all items occur in swearing environments such as can be seen in "He strained up with an indignant jerk" or "grabs GIRTY by the collar and, with a backward <u>jerk</u> over his knee".		

Table 28. Corpus analysis in COHA analyzing the occurrence of *Jerk* in three time spans.

1952 Frequency: 10 Tokens Size: 2,479,405 Per Million: 4.03	1979 Frequency: 26 Tokens Size: 2,269,967 Per Million: 11.45	2000 Frequency: 41 Tokens Size: 3,216,713 Per Million: 12.75
Total 1950 Frequency: 224 Tokens Size: 24,544,831 Per Million: 9.13	Total 1970s Frequency: 206 Tokens Size: 23,815,191 Per Million: 8.65	Total 2000s Frequency: 455 Tokens Size: 29,567,390 Per Million: 15.39
Attention: Not all items occur in swearing environments such as can be seen in "Of course I've come, little <u>idiot</u> . Didn't I tell you I would?"		

Table 29. Corpus analysis in COHA analyzing the occurrence of *Idiot* in three time spans.

1952 Frequency: 0 Tokens Size: 2,479,405 Per Million: -	1979 Frequency: 217 Tokens Size: 2,269,967 Per Million: 95.6	2000 Frequency: 171 Tokens Size: 3,216,713 Per Million: 53.16
Total 1950 Frequency: 15 Tokens Size: 24,544,831 Per Million: 0.57	Total 1970s Frequency: 981 Tokens Size: 23,815,191 Per Million: 41.19	Total 2000s Frequency: 1406 Tokens Size: 29,567,390 Per Million: 47.55
Attention: all parts of speech searched via lemma function e.g. fuck, fuckable, fucking, fucked. In the 70s the occurrence of <i>fuck</i> was comparatively low hovering until 1977 remaining beneath 100 tokens per decade and just rose to considerable 188 units in 1979.		

Table 30. Corpus analysis in COHA analyzing the occurrence of *Fuck* in three time spans.

1952 Frequency: 74 Tokens Size: 2,479,405 Per Million: 29.85	1979 Frequency: 145 Tokens Size: 2,269,967 Per Million: 83.88	2000 Frequency: 430 Tokens Size: 3,216,713 Per Million: 133.68
Total 1950 Frequency: 1002 Tokens Size: 24,544,831 Per Million: 40.82	Total 1970s Frequency: 1972 Tokens Size: 23,815,191 Per Million: 82.80	Total 2000s Frequency: 3446 Tokens Size: 29,567,390 Per Million: 116.55
Attention: The ambiguity of the word sex as referring to the act of making love and sex as referring to the biological notion are not differentiated as seen in "She turned sadly away from him, overcome with the intransigency of the opposite <u>sex</u> ."		

Table 31. Corpus analysis in COHA analyzing the occurrence of *Sex* in three time spans.

1952 Frequency: 46 Tokens Size: 2,479,405 Per Million: 18.55	1979 Frequency: 45 Tokens Size: 2,269,967 Per Million: 19.82	2000 Frequency: 139 Tokens Size: 3,216,713 Per Million: 43.21
Total 1950 Frequency: 298 Tokens Size: 24,544,831 Per Million: 12.14	Total 1970s Frequency: 582 Tokens Size: 23,815,191 Per Million: 24.44	Total 2000s Frequency: 748 Tokens Size: 29,567,390 Per Million: 25.30
Attention: Not all items occur in swearing environments such as can be seen in "All right, Man, I guess I am getting to be an old spinster <u>bitch</u> ." Frequently appears in the collocation son of a bitch as in "He's a nasty old son of a <u>bitch</u> ". The 2000s show a generally a bathtub form of occurrences with a relatively high number of occurrences in 2000 and 2009 (above 100 tokens) and comparatively low number inbetween.		

Table 32. Corpus analysis in COHA analyzing the occurrence of *Bitch* in three time spans.

Corpus study with COCA

Section/2000	Number of tokens
Frequency	137
Words per million	6.59
Size	20,781,660
Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	523
Per million	5.47
Size	95,577,943

Table 33. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COCA analyzing the occurrence of *Gee* in the year 2000 and the complete 2000 decade.

Section/2000	Number of tokens
Frequency	137
Words per million	6.59
Size	20,781,660
Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	505
Per million	5.28
Size	95,577,943

Table 34. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COCA analyzing the occurrence of *My Goodness* in the year 2000 and the complete 2000 decade.

Section/2000	Number of tokens
Frequency	122
Words per million	5.87
Size	20,781,660
Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	137
Per million	1,81
Size	95,577,943

Table 35. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COCA analyzing the occurrence of *Jerk* in the year 2000 and the complete 2000 decade.

Section/2000	Number of tokens
Frequency	142
Words per million	6.83
Size	20,781,660
Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	208
Per million	2.18
Size	95,577,943

Table 36. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COCA analyzing the occurrence of *Idiot* in the year 2000 and the complete 2000 decade.

Section/2000	Number of tokens
Frequency	0
Words per million	0
Size	20,781,660
Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	0
Per million	0
Size	95,577,943

Table 37. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COCA analyzing the occurrence of *Fuck* in the year 2000 and the complete 2000 decade.

Section/2000	Number of tokens
Frequency	1831
Words per million	88.11
Size	20,781,660
Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	5311
Per million	55.57
Size	95,577,943

Table 38. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COCA analyzing the occurrence of *Sex* in the year 2000 and the complete 2000 decade.

Section/2000	Number of tokens
Frequency	231
Words per million	11.12
Size	20,781,660
Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	166
Per million	1.74
Size	95,577,943

Table 39. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COCA analyzing the occurrence of *Bitch* in the year 2000 and the complete 2000 decade.

Corpus study with COSA

Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	2111
Per Million	25.02
Size	84,368,298

Table 40. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COSA analyzing the occurrence of *Gee* in the 2000s decade. (2001-2009)

Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	2478
Per Million	29.37
Size	84,368,298

Table 41. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COSA analyzing the occurrence of *My Goodness* in the 2000s decade (2001-2009).

Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	3678
Per Million	43.59
Size	84,368,298

Table 42. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COSA analyzing the occurrence of *Jerk* in the 2000s decade (2001-2009).

Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	3706
Per Million	43.93
Size	84,368,298

Table 43. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COSA analyzing the occurrence of *Idiot* in the 2000s decade (2001-2009).

Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	0
Per Million	0
Size	84,368,298

Table 44. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COSA analyzing the occurrence of *Fuck* in the 2000s decade (2001-2009).

Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	6588
Per Million	78.09
Size	84,368,298

Table 45. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COSA analyzing the occurrence of *Sex* in the 2000s decade (2001-2009).

Section/2000s	Number of tokens
Frequency	4172
Per Million	49.45
Size	84,368,298

Table 46. Corpus analysis of spoken texts in COSA analyzing the occurrence of *Bitch* in the 2000s decade (2001-2009).

Corpus Comparisons

Word	Number of tokens 1950s (total size of 50s compilation: 24,544,831 million words, normalization of token per million words in brackets)	Number of tokens 1970s (total size of 70s compilation: 23,815,191 million words, normalization of token per million words in brackets)	Number of tokens 2000s (total size of 2000s compilation: 29,567,390 million words, normalization of token per million words in brackets)
Gee	153 (6.2)	177 (7.4)	123 (4.2)
My goodness	30 (1.2)	44 (1.9)	69 (2.3)
Jerk	186 (7.6)	151 (6.5)	247 (8.4)
Idiot	224 (9.1)	206 (8.7)	455 (15.4)
Fuck	15 (0.6)	981 (41.2)	1406 (59)
Sex	1002 (40.8)	1972 (82.8)	3446 (144.7)
Bitch	46 (1.9)	45 (2)	139 (4.7)

Table 47. The number of occurrences of obscene language tokens in the time spans 1950s, 1970s, and 2000s analyzed in COHA.

Word	Number of tokens in COCA (total size of 2000s compilation: 95,577,943 million words)	Number of tokens in COHA (total size of 2000s compilation: 29,567,390 million words)
Gee	523	123
My goodness	505	69
Jerk	137	247
Idiot	208	455
Fuck	0	1406
Sex	5311	3446
Bitch	166	139

Table 48. Comparison of the number of token occurrences between written texts in COHA and spoken texts in COCA in the 2000s time period.

Word	Number of tokens in COCA (total size of 2000s compilation: 95,577,943 million words, normalization of token per million words in brackets)	Number of tokens in COSA (total size of 2000s compilation: 84,368,298 million words, normalization of token per million words in brackets)	Number of tokens in COHA (total size of 2000s compilation: 29,567,390 million words, normalization of token per million words in brackets)
Gee	523 (5.5)	2111 (25)	123 (41.6)
My goodness	505 (5.3)	2478 (29.4)	69 (2.3)
Jerk	137 (1.4)	3678 (43.6)	247 (83.5)
Idiot	208 (2.2)	3706 (44)	455 (153.9)
Fuck	0	0	1406 (47.6)
Sex	5311 (55.6)	6588 (78.1)	3446 (116.6)
Bitch	166 (1.7)	4172 (49.5)	139 (47)

Table 49. Comparison of token frequency between written texts in COHA and spoken texts in COCA and COSA in the 2000s time period (time span definitions vary, for COCA/COHA 2000-2009, for COSA 2001-2009).

13. Abstract in German

Diese Arbeit widmet sich einer diachronischen Analyse von tabuisierter Sprache von weiblichen Protagonistinnen in amerikanischen Fernsehserien. Im Zusammenhang der sozio- historischen Entwicklung unter einem patriarchalen System, galt die Verwendung von Obszönitäten für Frauen lange Zeit als verpönt. Dadurch zeichnet sich Profanität als ein Charakteristikum maskuliner Identität aus. Anhand einer empirischen Studie der Serien *I Love Lucy*, *Laverne & Shirley* und *Sex and the City* erforscht diese Arbeit die Entwicklung der Verwendung von tabuisierten Begriffen von weiblichen Charakteren, die alternative Geschlechterrollen verkörpern, und untersucht inwiefern Aspekte von maskuliner Identität durch linguistische Performanz auf die Sprecherin übertragen werden können.

14. Curriculum Vitae

Born: 25/08/89 (Plovdiv)

Languages: German, English, Bulgarian

Residence & Place of Study: Vienna

Email: kristina_kirova@yahoo.de



1999 - 2007	Grammar School in Viktring, Carinthia (Austria)
Since October 07	English Studies, University of Vienna (Approximate completion: 05/13) Media Studies, University of Vienna (Approximate completion of Masters Degree: 07/14)
Since March 09 – July 12	stimmhaufn , Vienna, Foundation and Management of the student choir
February 09	Weekend Magazin , Klagenfurt, Editorial internship
October 08 – January 09	Colligo , Vienna, Dialogue marketing
November 09	derStandard , Vienna, Editorial internship
October 09 – January 10	Projektraum Viktor Bucher , Vienna, Public Relations
April 10 – June 11	ARGE Daten , Vienna, Administration and Research
Since March 10	VIENNARAMA , Vienna, Editor http://viennarama.at/
April 11	brut Wien, Vienna, Editor for the festival zine <i>Freischwimmer 2011</i> http://www.brut-wien.at/download/Freischwimmer%20Zeitung%202011_e-xilant.pdf
April 11	brut Wien, Festivalblog for <i>Freischwimmer 2011</i> http://krisfreischwimmer.wordpress.com/
June 11	brut Wien, Festivalblog for <i>Alles muss raus!</i> http://krisallesmussraus.wordpress.com/
July 11	derStandard, Vienna, Editorial internship in the culture department http://tinyurl.com/7k5bkoy Bachelor Degree in Media Studies, acquiring Bakk.phil. status
September 11 – May 12	Erasmus , University of Edinburgh, 'Language Sciences'

Since September 11	Erasmusblog , http://krisedinburgh.tumblr.com/
Since September 11	The Student , Edinburgh, Editor http://www.studentnewspaper.org/culture/1075-if-you-see-something-say-something
April 12	Talbot Rice Gallery , Edinburgh, Editor for the gallery zine <i>Impression</i> http://www.scribd.com/doc/90153776/Impression-No-1
April 12	NODE Collective , London, Article contribution to the fashion zine (p. 136-137) http://tinyurl.com/c3badeb
Since June 12	derStandard , Vienna, Freelance