



**Manjulata Sharma**

**Taboo Words for better Intercultural Competence:  
Why not? Context, meaning and use of palavras  
in the Teaching of Brazilian Portuguese  
as a Foreign Language in India**

**Tese de Doutorado**

Thesis presented to the Programa de Pós-graduação  
em Estudos da Linguagem of PUC-Rio in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doutor  
em Letras/Estudos da Linguagem.

Advisor: Prof. Rosa Marina de Brito Meyer

Rio de Janeiro  
April 2021



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### Bibliographic data

Sharma, Manjulata

“Taboo words for better intercultural competence: why not? context, meaning and use of palavras in the teaching of Brazilian Portuguese as a foreign language in India / Manjulata Sharma; advisor: Rosa Marina de Brito Meyer. – 2021.

276 f.: il. color.; 30 cm

Tese (doutorado)–Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Departamento de Letras, 2021.

Inclui bibliografia

1. Letras – Teses. 2. Português do Brasil como língua estrangeira na Índia. 3. Lexicultura. 4. Semântica e pragmática. 5. Interculturalismo e didática de línguas estrangeiras. 6. Palavras-tabu. I. Meyer, Rosa Marina de Brito. II. Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro. Departamento de Letras. III. Título.

CDD: 400

I dedicate this work  
To my Mom for nurturing me, giving me wings to fly and to lead from the front;  
To my Dad for teaching me to realize my potential, be fearless and dream big;  
To my Brothers, for sending me hilarious jokes and keeping my spirits high;  
To my Sister in-laws, Indu and Priti for supporting, appreciating my work;  
To my nieces Nandni and Gayatri for sharing lively chats and smiles;  
To Jeje for showing me how to express love silently and selflessly;  
To Lotus feet of Shri Radhika-Krishan for their divine blessings.

## Acknowledgements

I express my heartfelt gratitude to:

FAPERJ and CAPES, for granting me scholarships. I remain indebted to these Institutions for providing me financial help during the research period.

My research advisor, Prof. Rosa Marina de Brito Meyer, for her infinite patience, appreciation, affection and a great sense of wittiness and humour that always inspired me to produce my best. It has been a great unforgettable learning experience with you.

My dear friends: Lucia Helena Lopes de Matos, Maria de Fátima Lucena de Oiveira Totoli, Lygia Pereira, and Elóide Cardoso Antunes Faria Fabião, and Maria Inês, all excellent human beings, for providing me moral support and encouragement. I cannot thank you enough for being my family in Brazil.

My colleagues of WhatsApp group- Manos PL2E: Arthur, Adriana, Alessandra, Beatriz, Clarissa, Deise, Fernanda, Livia, Lucas, Leandro, Lays and Luciana who always clarified my doubts with superb explanations and sent me links to relevant sites for further reference. With your help this research has turned out to be a memorable journey together.

The devotees of Gaurvani Gaudiya Math, Rio de Janeiro, for providing me an atmosphere of meditation, consciousness, compassion and tranquillity. My deep gratitude to Basanti, Vrindavan Pallika, Krishan Chaitanya, Radha, Govind Priya, Mangala Nilay Das, Chaitanya Priya, Taruni, Nimai, Saurabh and Param Pujniya Gurudev Van Maharaj.

Chiquinha and all the staff members and Professors at PPGEI, PUC-Rio for taking care of my academic formalities with a cheerful disposition in true *Carioca* spirit.

Dr. Moura, Ex-Director at Portuguese Cultural Centre, Embassy of Portugal, New Delhi, my friends, Mr. Harpreet Singh and Mr. Vandan Kumar Nigam for their unfailing constant support.

Late Ms. Muriel Faleiro, my Portuguese teacher, Late Mr. Rakesh Kumar Sharma, my cousin and late Mrs. Kamlesh Kumari Sharma, my mother, for initiating me into this beautiful language.

I bow to each one of you in deep reverence with a profound sense of gratitude.

“This study was financed in part by the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior- Brasil (CAPES) - Finance code 001.”

## Abstract

Sharma, Manjulata; Meyer, Rosa Marina de Brito (Advisor). **Taboo Words for better Intercultural Competence: Why not? Context, meaning and use of *palavrões* in the Teaching of Brazilian Portuguese as a Foreign Language in India.** Rio de Janeiro, 2021. 276p. Tese de Doutorado- Departamento de Letras, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro

This study on taboo words focuses on the observation of use of *palavrões* in nine episodes of the comedy series *Porta dos Fundos* (PdF) as portrayal of discursive practices of residents of the city of Rio de Janeiro (*Cariocas*), primarily through theories of: Lexiculture (Galissou, 1988); Semantic and Pragmatics (Goffman, 1967; Camara Jr., 1981; Jay, 2008; Carretero, 2011); Interculturalism (Bennett, 1998; Lewis, 2006; Hofstede, 2010; Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012); and Foreign Language Teaching (Bennett, 1998; Byram, 2000; Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012; Liddicoat, 2005, 2013). Through a qualitative interpretative methodology taboo words are analysed in nine episodes of the popular situational comedy online series *Porta dos Fundos*. Seven more frequently used taboo words by *Cariocas*, namely *buceta*, *cu*, *caralho*, *foder*, *pau*, *porra* and *puta*, are analysed and interpreted. The semantic and pragmatic use of taboo words demonstrates that they belong to the themes of sexual anatomy, sexual activity, scatology, illicit sex and animal names – although the latter ones are not classified as taboo words. They are compared with Hindi taboo words wherever applicable. The frequent use of taboo words in comedies, satires and other forms of entertainment, as well as in different types of communicative situations, is not, as generally perceived, i.e., a face threatening act (Goffman, 1967) in Portuguese, opposed to what happens in Hindi. The analysis also shows that the *Cariocas*, as multi-active Brazilians (Lewis, 2006), depending on the pragmatic variables, use taboo words as expressive speech acts to communicate emotions, not always carrying an offensive tone, as when used as interjections. A TbWs didactic proposal is presented for the teachers and students of Brazilian Portuguese as a Foreign Language in India.

## KEYWORDS

Brazilian Portuguese as a Foreign Language in India; Lexiculture, Semantics and Pragmatics; Interculturalism and Foreign Language Teaching; Taboo words

## Resumo

Sharma, Manjulata; Meyer, Rosa Marina de Brito (Orientadora). **Palavras-tabu para uma melhor competência intercultural: Por que não? Contexto, significado e uso de palavrões no Ensino de Português do Brasil como Língua Estrangeira na Índia** Rio de Janeiro, 2021. 276p. Tese de Doutorado-Departamento de Letras, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro

O presente estudo sobre palavras tabus focaliza o uso de palavrões em nove episódios de Porta dos Fundos como forma de desvendar as práticas discursivas dos residentes do Rio de Janeiro (cariocas) por meio das teorias, principalmente, de: Lexicultura (Galissou, 1988); Semântica e Pragmática (Goffman, 1967; Camara Jr., 1981; Jay, 2008, Carretero, 2011); Interculturalismo (Bennett, 1998; Lewis, 2006; Hofstede, 2010; Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012); e Didática das Línguas Estrangeiras (Bennett, 1998; Byram, 2000; Liddicoat, 2005, 2013). Através de metodologia qualitativa interpretativa, palavras tabus são analisadas em nove episódios da popular comédia situacional da série online Porta dos Fundos. Sete palavras tabus usadas muito frequentemente nas práticas discursivas dos cariocas, nomeadamente *buceta*, *cu*, *caralho*, *foder*, *pau*, *porra* e *puta*, são analisadas e interpretadas. O uso semântico e pragmático dessas palavras de ofensa demonstra que se situam nos campos da anatomia sexual, da atividade sexual, da escatologia, do sexo ilícito e dos nomes dos animais – estes, não classificados como palavrão. Onde considerado relevante faz-se uma comparação com palavras tabus em hindi. Observa-se que o uso frequente das palavras tabus em comédias, sátiras e outras formas de entretenimento, assim como em outras situações comunicacionais, não é percebido, como acontece no emprego geral da língua, como atos de ataque à face (Goffman, 1967) em português, em oposição ao que ocorre em Hindi. A análise mostra ainda que os cariocas, brasileiros multi-ativos (Lewis, 2006), a depender de variáveis pragmáticas, usam as palavras tabus também como atos expressivos de fala para comunicar emoções, nem sempre com valor ofensivo, como é o caso do seu uso como interjeição. Ao final, apresenta-se uma proposta didática de palavras tabus para os professores e alunos do Português do Brasil como Língua Estrangeira na Índia.

## Palavras- Chave

Português do Brasil como Língua Estrangeira na Índia; Lexicultura; Semântica e Pragmática; Interculturalismo e Didática de Línguas Estrangeiras; Palavras-tabu.

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## Abbreviations

BPTI	Brazilian Portuguese Teaching in India
BN	Boa Notícia
BP	Brazilian Portuguese
CCL	Common Cultural Load
CG	Conta pra Gente
DE	Degustação
DU	Dura
DIO	Dicionário Informal
DABL	Dicionário Academia Brasileira de Letras
EL	Elevador
FTA	Face Threatening Act
FLT	Foreign Language Teaching'
IA	Intercultural Approach
IC	Intercultural Competence
IS	Intercultural Speaker
NL	Nome na Lista
PA	Pau Amigo
PFL	Portuguese as Foreign Language
PdF	Porta dos Fundos
SM	Sobre a Mesa
TbW(s)	Taboo Word(s)
VI	Virgem

## Disclaimers

1. The objective of this intercultural research is to analyse and describe the use of taboo words in the discursive practices of the native speakers of Portuguese in the region of Rio de Janeiro for the purpose of pedagogy of taboo words in Portuguese as a Foreign Language for Indian students. Therefore, it contains culturally sensitive, explicit sexual and scatological lexicon metalinguistically used exclusively for the purpose of the scientific academic research. The author requests the exercise of discretion by the readers.
2. The text has been written in Indian/British English. However, some citations may contain American English.
3. All translations from Portuguese and French to English have been done by the researcher unless otherwise mentioned.
4. Words in block or in italics in citations are by the authors themselves.
5. Some page numbers of citations could vary or be absent since online e-book versions were consulted during the 2020 pandemic.

*Quem não quiser ouvir pode ir embora,  
minha fala é simples e sem pretensão.*

Jorge Amado, Os Pastores da Noite (1964)

*Those who don't want to hear can go away,  
my speech is simple and unpretentious.*

Jorge Amado, Shepherds of the Night (1964)

जो न सुनना चाहें वे चले जायें,  
मेरी बोली तो साधारण और सरल है।  
जॉर्ज अमादू, रात के चरवाहे (१९६४)

# 1.

## Introduction

Foreign language learning in India, particularly at the advanced institutional level, leads to a popular career option for those learners who wish to join the work force in the related target language area. Accordingly, language teaching has undergone changes in its approach in terms of considering the language not only as a means to get information or to communicate but also to communicate effectively with the native speakers. While interacting with native speakers, students often feel the inability to express their emotions as spontaneously as they wish to. This is because the emotional part of the language, represented by taboo words (TbWs) in a language, is usually eliminated from the academic syllabus. However, many scholars believe that TbWs manifest the most basic popular values, preoccupations and attitudes of the native speakers. Finn (2017, p. 24), Concordia University, advocates the teaching of TbWs, stating that “Taboo words are a dark part of language, that expresses emotions, but it is a part that should not be snubbed as it is very much a part of daily life.”

In order to understand the subtle aspects of Brazilian culture and explore the use of TbWs in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), the city of Rio de Janeiro was carefully chosen for the following reasons: firstly, Rio is the former capital of Brazil, therefore, it is home to many renowned Institutions of language, literature, art, music, cinema and theatre, that witnessed a number of historic events and created remarkable productions in the respective areas. Secondly, Rio is home to the biggest media network in South America, the TV Globo that produces programmes, tele-serials and shows that are popular not only in Brazil, but also in most Portuguese as well as Spanish speaking countries. This has helped the Portuguese language spoken in Rio spread beyond Brazil’s borders and thus, become a generalized idea of the ‘Standard Brazilian Portuguese’. Consequently, the TbWs used in these programmes have come to be identified all over the Lusophone countries. Thirdly, the researcher has been a resident of the city of Rio de Janeiro for four years and by now is familiar with the TbWs used by the *Cariocas* (residents of the city of Rio de Janeiro)<sup>1</sup> through her day-to-day interactions with persons from all walks of life.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/carioca>. Access on 19 May, 2021.



## 1.1

### Theme

This research studies the use of TbWs in the discursive practices of *Cariocas*, with the aim to describe, analyse and interpret them in order to explore the possibility of introducing them to students of PFL (Portuguese as Foreign Language) in BPT (Brazilian Portuguese Teaching) at advanced levels in India, in the Hindi speaking region of Delhi. Among various definitions of TbWs, this research uses the one presented by Guérios (1979, p.1): “Properly speaking, the linguistic taboo is prohibition to speak certain name or certain word, to which supernatural power is attributed, and whose violation causes unhappiness or disgrace. Improperly speaking, the linguistic taboo is the prohibition to say anything immoral or vulgar.” Thus, TbWs are influenced by moral values of a culture and their use is perceived as violation of social norms of politeness.

## 1.2

### Motivation

The motivating for this research was born from a graffiti (Figure 1) painted against sexual assault in the Pedro Ernesto Hospital in the Vila Isabel neighbourhood, where the researcher was invited to conduct a few yoga sessions by students of the Department of Medicine in the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ).



Figure 1. Grafitti, *Porra*, Hospital Pedro Ernesto, Vila Isabel, Rio de Janeiro. (Photo: Researcher)

The word *porra* being unfamiliar, she asked the medical students about it who explained its meaning (sperm) but at the same time advised her against its use

for being an offensive word (*palavrão*). However, not only the meaning of the word *porra* (sperm) was intriguing but also its uninhibited use by the general public in public places, in conversations amongst friends and during academic discussions amongst discrete, specific groups of researchers that she observed. This was happening without any visible sign of offensiveness as cautioned by her friends. She grew curious and wondered, “If it is an offensive word, then why is it being used?” Following a few more days of keen observation and confusion as a new foreigner in the city of Rio de Janeiro, she conceived her research topic considering the TbWs as a fertile territory for study. Owing to their sociocultural and discursive value this later could, possibly, be applied to the teaching of PFL. According to Darington and Scott (2002, p.180), “(...) the conception of question is usually not too difficult for those curious about the world around them (...)”. What further motivated the researcher was the readily available and accessible bibliography on TbWs (Nash & Ferreira, 2010 (2ed.); Xatara & Oliveira, 2008 (2ed.); Serra e Gurgel, 2005 (7ed.); Arango, 1991; Preti, 1983a 1983b; Maior, 1980) and online published articles, together with a group of willing-to-help fellow-researchers. These became the decisive factors for initiating this research on TbWs, presumably the first in the field of BPT as a foreign language.

### **1.3 Justification and Relevance**

There are a number of reasons behind conducting this research on TbWs, still considered a polemic subject in academia and the scholarly circles. Therefore, an elaborate justification from both sides of the arguments, positive and negative is presented in details ahead, some of which could be termed as general while others as more specific to the context of Brazilian Portuguese Teaching in India (BPTI).

#### **1.3.1 General justification**

Taboo word is a class of lexicon that has started being widely researched and explored recently. Experts from the field of sociolinguistics (Preti, 1984; Orsi, 2012); psycholinguistics (Arango, 1991); neuro-psychology (Jay, 2008); cognitive psychology (Pinker, 2008); linguistics (Battistella, 2005; Allan & Burrige, 2006;

Ljung, 2011) and various others from physiology, psychology, neurology etc. have conducted studies in the area of TbWs and contributed a huge body of work in the last two decades.

In English, the importance of TbWs can be appreciated from the large number of alias such as: Swearing, used by the authors: Hughes (2006), McEnery (2006), Conley (2010), Ljung (2011), Fagerstern (2012), Mohr (2013), Bergen (2016) and Jay (2008); Bad language by Battistella (2005); Bad words by Sosa (2018); Wicked words by Rawson (1989); Forbidden words by Rosewarne (2013) and Allan and Burridge (2006); Foul language, by Wajnryb (2004); Cursing, by Jay (2000, 2008) and Finn (2017) and Filthy by Silverton (2010). In an in-depth study by Allan and Burridge (2006, p. 243), the authors state that “English has accumulated 1000 words for penis and 1200 for vagina, 2000 for wanton woman and 800 for copulation.”

In Portuguese, TbWs have been named as: *Linguagem tabu* by Guérios (1979), Orsi (2012); *Linguagem Proibida* by Preti (1984b); *Léxico erótico-obsceno* by Sousa (2016); *Léxico obsceno* by Valadares & Santos (2015); *Palavrão* by Santos & Costa (2013), Braga (2008) and, Arango (1991). In an in-depth study, Orsi (2012, p. 158) was able to find a total of 8713 TbWs in Portuguese, and out of these, 770 words for penis, 5255 for vagina, 233 for anus.

Hindi TbWs (*gaalis*) were found in studies that compared them with other languages in two cross-cultural studies. First, in a book titled “Swearing: A Cross-Cultural Linguistic Study” by Ljung (2011), professor of English at the University of Stockholm, Sweden, who examined twenty-five languages in all. The second, in a M.A (Masters of Art) dissertation titled “Swearing: A Cross-Cultural Study in Asian and European Languages” by Rahman (2017, p. 59-60) at Radboud University, Nijmegen, Netherland, where he examined seventeen languages (ten European and seven Asian languages). While Ljung compared ten Hindi TbWs with those listed in twenty-four languages, Rahman compared twenty-eight Hindi TbWs with those found in sixteen languages.

A large number of TbWs in English and Portuguese compared to an extremely small number of TbWs in Hindi reveal the implicit cultural preoccupation of the native speakers of the respective languages. An intercultural interaction between the emotional, indulgent and expressive Brazilian (typical multi-active, subjective culture) (Lewis, 2006) (Cf. 2.2.2) and a restrained, less

expressive Indian (Reactive culture) (ibid.) is likely to encounter stumbling blocks in case of intentional or unintentional use of TbWs by the *Cariocas*. This can be resolved by familiarizing the Indian students with Brazilian TbWs and especially those particular only to BP such as *porra* (Ljung, ibid., p. 158) as well as the use of the verb *comer* (to eat) to mean sexual intercourse (Pinker, 2008).

Pinker (op. cit.) makes a specific mention of the male power in Brazilian culture reflected in the use of verb *comer* (to eat).

“In Brazilian Portuguese, the vulgar equivalent of fuck is *comer*, “to eat,” with the man (or active homosexual partner) as the subject. This would be mysterious if the verb would be a metaphor based on mechanics of copulation, because it should be the woman’s body that metaphorically eats the man’s. But it fits the understanding of sex in which a woman is enjoyed and exploited by the man.”

At this point, however, we would like to add that in Spanish too (Argentina), “*se comió dos minas*” literally means “he ate two chicks” (*comeu duas garotas*) referring to *comer* as a sexual act.

For Ljung (ibid., p. 158), “The Portuguese choice of the taboo theme ‘sperm’ is original and not found in any of the other languages discussed here.” The semantics of the verb *comer* as a reference to sexual intercourse, too, is a peculiarity of the Brazilian Portuguese (Pinker, ibid.). Therefore, students of PFL should be familiarized not only with their semantics but also with their pragmatic use in order to achieve intercultural communication flexibility by mindfully observing the similarities and differences between the two cultures. Teaching the students, the Portuguese TbWs can lead to learning the pragmatic use of the language as well as social implications of the language use called Pragmalinguistic and Sociopragmatic respectively by Thomas (1982) (Cf. 2.2.9).

The arguments against the use and learning of TbWs largely due to their dysphemistic form are as follows:

1. Word Magic - Word magic is the power that words, in older times, were thought to possess when spoken. It was believed that they could effectuate and materialize whatever the word meant, generally evil. Mohr (2013, p. 6) informs

that “Historically, swear words have been thought to possess a deeper more intimate connection to things they represent than do other words.” Although this idea may have lost its power today, some in India do believe it to be true and, therefore, believe in the power of TbWs as bad and foul language due to their negative stereotyped referents whose frequent and habitual use could bring a bad omen upon the users.

1. Law and order -The use of TbWs in a country like India can provoke vocal and physical aggression in some cases, depending on the regional and contextual variables. Uttering TbWs in religious places, festive occasions, ceremonies and public places can even create a law-and-order situation in a multi-religious country like India. Delhi, being a city of extremes in terms of climate and temperament of its residents, sees a surge in the cases of accidents and aggressive behaviour called road-rage or bullying, especially in summer. Those involved generally begin with heated exchange of TbWs, and end in violence.

2. Inappropriate representation of sexuality - Sex is a social taboo topic in India. The use of sex-themed TbWs is considered a perverse and socially unacceptable behaviour since sexuality is portrayed inappropriately in the form of incest and other contexts considered immoral. Instead, animal-themed name-calling is not considered as offensive as the sex-themed TbWs, and is mostly used as interjections during the interaction, “to let off steam” (Allan and Burridge, *ibid.*, p. 31). Interjection is, according to Camara JR. (1981, p. 147), “Word that translates, in a lively way, the state of the soul.” (“*Palavra que traduz, de um modo vivo, os estados d’alma.*”)

3. Personal cost (Jay, 2008, p. 275) - The punishment for proffering TbWs can be serious due to large socio-economic and political power distance in a country like India. For example, calling someone a *haramzada!* (bastard!) during an informal interaction to vent-out emotions can either result in loss of face – or, in some formal situations, even the job of the speaker. Owing to the emotional intensity of TbWs some experts like Mohr (2013, p. 5) state that during the use of these words, “Heart rate is increased.” Therefore, persistent use of TbWs can cause psychological harm to the victim by lowering his self-esteem, sometimes even leading to depression and serious health issues for the victim.

The arguments in favour of the use and learning of TbWs largely due to their emotive meaning expressed through connotation are as follows:

1. Identity and Motivation for in-groups - All human relationships are cemented by emotions that begin with our first cry at birth. Growing older, amongst other emotions, one learns about the social stigma of TbWs and the serious repercussions from their use, compared to other categories of words. As a result, for the purpose of exclusivity, TbWs are frequently used to construct a distinct identity by small groups of adolescents or specific professional team-members at work. (C.f.4.1.4). “Scientists have shown that teams who share a vulgar lexicon tend to work more effectively together, feel closer and can be more productive than those who don’t. These same studies show that managing stress in the same way that we manage pain (...) is more effective than any number of team building exercises.” Byrne (2017, p. 2-3). The use of TbWs represents a sort of rebellious attitude against sociolinguistic norms. For Allan and Burridge (ibid., p. 252) “Taboos strengthen group identity and social fabric through feeling of distinctiveness, while rites and rituals that accompany them, give us a sense of control in a chaotic and hostile world. Taboo Words can display in-group solidarity (especially when speaking against out-groupers.)” So, instead of a digressive behaviour, it can also be seen as a part of the process of contextualizing the use of language.
2. Political Correctness – It can be understood as use of language without bias or prejudice against other social groups. The use of social media as a means of rapid communication has increased manifold especially during the 2020 pandemic worldwide, although it was already being widely used, for personal and professional purposes. Intercultural communication through media networks like WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter and various chat sites has facilitated the netizens to communicate virtually without sometimes seeing the reaction of their chat partners. Therefore, expressions such as “You look fucking awesome in your DP (display profile)!” from an American can offend someone from a conservative culture, unfamiliar with

the use of TbWs in the USA, just like someone from Brazil saying “*Você é foda!*” (You are fucking awesome!) for a chat partner in India. Finn (ibid., p. 20) remembers a middle-aged student from Shanghai “who was shocked when his 28-years old female boss at a well-respected company told him, he did ‘fucking awesome’ in front of everyone after a presentation. He became very confused about the usage of swearing in an office.” People may be familiar with the use of TbWs in another culture through books, multimedia and cinema etc., but when they come to face it personally it may sound offensive and cause intercultural misunderstanding. Institutions like the Federal Communication Corporation (FCC) in the United States of America, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the United Kingdom, Central Board of Film Certification (CBFC) in India and National Council for Advertising Self-Regulation (*Conselho Nacional de Autorregulamentação Publicitária*) (CONAR) in Brazil have issued guidelines about politically correct language and, in case of dispute, decide the political correctness (Cf. 6.5) of the programmes telecast in the media.

3. Stress-buster - TbWs are charged with emotional expressivity, particularly when used for name-calling, insulting and cursing, they are associated with hostility that can lead to physical aggression in India. Therefore, TbWs can act as safety valve and allow the speaker to let-off steam and thus, diffuse the accompanying eminent violence by feeling a sense of relief from anger, disappointment and frustration. Unexpected situations accompany a feeling of shock, such as: accidentally dropping a cell phone in the bath tub, failing in examination by a narrow margin, forgetting the house keys in the office, leaving the gas-stove on in the kitchen can produce reactions in the form of *Put a que pariu!* (Son of a bitch!) *Merda!* (Shit!) *Caralho!* (Dick!) etc. These expressions, although considered taboos, can be quite harmless and help diffuse the stress, since their meaning and level of offensiveness can vary depending on the context and state of the mind of the speaker as in Damn it! Fuck! Shit! Asshole! etc. (Cf.7.3.7.1).
4. Dirty talk - For being a forbidden lexicon, TbWs, are charged with more emotional intensity than other words. For this reason, they are used to

increase the emotional intensity and intimacy involved during the sexual activity by sharing an otherwise forbidden lustful lexicon between the users. (Cf. 6.4.7 & 6.4.8).

5. Entertainment - TbWs are frequently used in joke-telling, situational and stand-up comedy, films, popular music in the name of artistic liberty to create more impact and create closer-life situations. *Proibidão* (Prohibited), a *funk* genre of music in Brazil, uses a profusion of TbWs and is highly popular amongst the youth in Rio de Janeiro. Another example of use and acceptance of TbWs for entertainment is *Porta dos Fundos* (PdF), where these words are used as a situational comedy to highlight serious social issues like corruption, morality, social disparity etc in a light-hearted entertaining manner.

### 1.3.2

#### Specific Justification

The communication between India and Brazil as two important member-countries of BRICS has increased not only at the diplomatic and organizational level but also between people-to-people, under what has come to be officially termed as south-south cooperation, since India belongs to southeast Asia and Brazil is a South American country. The political and economic goals being common, nonetheless, culturally they are two diverse nations and this diversity manifests itself in linguistic and discursive practices of their peoples. The cultural and linguistic difference is explained by Meyer (2013).

Just like in other languages, in Brazilian Portuguese too, (Meyer, *ibid* p. 57), “context determines the meaning” (“*o contexto determina os significados*”) in other words, the meanings of words depend on their use. This may appear as linguistic ambiguity (“*ambiguidades*”) to a foreigner. She explains it through the example of the word *Malandro* (person who shirks work), translated roughly as *kamchor* in Hindi. However, the negative connotation can turn positive by adding a qualifier *bom* (good). However, a *bom malandro*, translated as *accha kamchor*, would be something incomprehensible in Hindi.

The lexical flexion (Meyer, *ibid*) through the use of augmentatives (-ão) turns the masculine terms positive, for example, *maridão* (*hubby*), *paizão* (*daddy*);



and diminutives (-inha/o) adds either tenderness to feminine terms, for example, *mãezinha* (mommy), *menininha* (little girl), *bonitinha* (cute), *novinha* (young) etc. or irony, for example, *chatinha* (nagging), *quietinha* (silent), as well as masculine terms such as *paizinho*, *maridinho*, *menininho* etc. This meaning making process is embedded with shared cultural understanding by native speakers as manifested in *boazinha* (good); contrary to the obvious positive meaning, it is understood as pejorative (good, but not enough). However, this meaning making can also depend on the intonation and, the pitch of the speaker and the context. There are no diminutives or augmentatives in Hindi.

Informality in the Brazilian social behaviour is reflected in the form of addressing that can cause a lot of confusion for Indian students, since in Hindi it is based on social hierarchy such as: *tu* (informal, same age-group); *tum* (semi-informal, same age/intimate); and *aap* (singular and/or plural, formal, for seniors in family/at work). In Rio de Janeiro, *você* is the only addressing form that can be used for everyone irrespective of hierarchy, gender and age. However, sometimes the use of ‘tu’ can be heard spoken by the migrants from the Northeast. *O Senhor* or *a Senhora* can be used according to social norms of politeness depending on age and social distance. *Moço* (young boy) or *moça* (young girl) too are commonly often used as vocatives for people from working class.

The use of imperative as a tense used for passing orders, requests or advise, as per the manuals of Portuguese language for foreigners can make the speakers look (Meyer, *ibid.*, p. 61) “*arrogantes e autoritários*” (arrogant and authoritarian), as Brazilians’ dislike being ordered around even by those at the top of the hierarchy. A practical and polite way to address this issue would be through mitigating it with a pragmatic question- *Dá pra?* (Could you possibly...?)

What could possibly create more intercultural misunderstanding for Indians in general, is the informality manifested in Brazilian’s sense of time and space. The Brazilian flexible relation with time, in terms of delays even in important events, agendas, and the postponing of deadlines, is quite common. An invitation to lunch or dinner by a *Carioca* could just be his/her way to make the person feel-good without any commitment. In India, an invitation to a lunch or dinner is an important age-old tradition called *Atithi Devo Bhav* (*Guest is god*), and it means to honour the guest with one’s best and maximum capacity. The guest is welcomed and escorted into the house, introduced to the family, explained about the dishes being served

and is usually presented with a gift. In the end, s/he is escorted to the vehicle parked outside the house, with the host family expressing the desire to welcome him/her again in the future.

Culturally multi-active, emotional and prolix, Brazilian habit of physical proximity manifested in touching, patting, slapping and hugging during conversation might appear totally unnecessary, and, to some extent, even intimidating to Indians. The researcher had to gradually adapt herself to such behaviour at social gatherings. Other cultural characteristic of Cariocas is the openness to sharing intimate details of personal life. During many conversations with *Cariocas*, the researcher is surprised at the details on issues such as family disputes, homosexuality of children, intimate details of husband-wife relationship that are discussed with her within a short span of a bus or metro-ride within the city, intermittently punctuated with TbWs. These cultural traits and the use of taboo lexicon can be understood through the analysis of the use of *palavrão*. In the following sub-section, the objectives of this study are outlined.

## **1.4 Objectives**

This study is based on one general objective and four specific objectives.

### **1.4.1 General Objective**

The general objective of this study is to provide information on the use of taboo language in order to help familiarize the Indian student of PFL with its use as an emotional lexicon. This common social behaviour, a trouble area in the teaching of Brazilian Portuguese, could potentially cause an intercultural conflict with serious consequence due to the lack of knowledge about the level of offensiveness and appropriateness among Indian learners. With this idea, a research carried on manuals of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) as Foreign Language revealed the absence of the TbWs. The words frequently used by *Cariocas* in their day-to-day activities are eliminated from the language to be taught to the foreigners for being a part of popular spoken language.

However, Brazilian linguist, Marcos Bagno (2011, p. 36) has long advocated the teaching of spoken *língua viva* (living language) citing Sérgio Nogueira Duarte's book *Língua Viva*, instead of the cultivated written form of Portuguese. Carretero (2011, p. 6) of Salamanca University, recommends the teaching of insults to students of Spanish as "*un lenguaje común y auténtico*" (an authentic and common language) as part of spoken language. Finn (ibid., p.24), an experienced teacher of English as a foreign language informs that "Textbooks already exist for teaching swearing for English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers such as: English as a Second F\*cking Language (Johnson, 1996) and Watch Your F\*cking Language (Johnson, 2004)." BPTI could also consider introducing TbWs as an elective course in the PFL.

The use of TbWs in India can invite shame, embarrassment for the speaker and angry reactions from the listeners. Nonetheless, they are cautiously used in entertainment in the guise of creative liberty, under the strict guidelines laid out by the Central Board Film Certification in India. Contrary to the frequent use in Brazil, Indian people are discouraged from using TbWs, particularly sex-themed ones that convey culturally negative connotations in Hindi and the utilization of which is usually associated with men. This research endeavours to explore if the same is true in the use of Portuguese TbWs.

#### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

1. Identify a specific number of taboo words mostly used by *Cariocas*.
2. Analyse the presence and use of these taboo words in nine episodes of the online Brazilian situational comedy *Porta dos Fundos* (Backdoor), considering its Linguistic and Pedagogic aspects.
3. Interpret, based on an intercultural approach, the social impact of the use of taboo words in Brazilian Portuguese when taught to Indian students.
4. Propose didactic activities for the teaching of Brazilian Portuguese taboo words to Indian students.

### **1.5 Parts of the Research**

This research is presented in seven chapters.

The first chapter introduces the outlines of the topic of research and the motivating factor behind conducting the study on a presumably polemic and yet unexplored topic of TbWs. This is justified by citing identifiable motivating factors, and the feasible objectives it can serve for a more elaborate scientific research.

The second chapter outlines the theories used as tools to simplify the presumed complexities of TbWs with theories such as: Lexiculture by Galisson (1988), Preti (1984a, 1984b), Pinker (2008), Ljung (2011), Allan and Burrige (2011); Semantics and Pragmatics: Goffman (1967) and Jay (2000, 2008, 2012, 2017); Intercultural theories by Bennett (1998), Lewis (2006), Hofstede (2010) and; Ting-Toomey & Chung (2012); Aspects of Brazilian Culture: Meyer (2013, 2016, 2020) and DaMatta (1993); and Foreign Language Teaching by Ting-Toomey & Chung (2012), Liddicoat (2005, 2013) among others.

In the same chapter some useful operational terms like Common Cultural Load (CCL) by Galisson (1988), X-phemism by Allan & Burrige (2011); Face theories by Goffman (1967); degree of offensiveness by Careterro (2011); aspects of Brazilian culture and Indian culture (Hofstede, 2010), Intercultural Communication Competence by Ting-Toomey & Chung (2012); and Pragmalinguistics and Sociopragmatics by Thomas (1982) and other related terms are discussed.

The third chapter provides the methodological guidelines for this research, informing details of the corpus (nine episodes of *Porta dos Fundos* (PdF), the selection criteria, the transcription method, and the analysis process. In the same chapter, some of the limiting factors of the research are also presented.

The fourth chapter consists of the analysis of the nine episodes of PdF, describing the context, the semantic and pragmatic use of the TbWs used in the dialogues. Any lexicultural word beside the taboo word are described through its contextual relevance to the episode. The aspect of Brazilian culture manifested by the episode is compared whenever possible with corresponding aspects of the Indian culture and its application to BPT (Brazilian Portuguese Teaching) for Indian students.

The fifth chapter describes the possible social impact of TbWs on the students of PFL, summing up the themes of TbWs used in *Carioca* discourse and their pragmatic use in name-calling and interjections. This chapter discusses how this result can be applied to teaching TbWs through X-phemism. It also presents an

informal WhatsApp survey conducted in two friends' groups and the result obtained.

The sixth chapter presents didactic potential of TbWs and discusses the cultural dimensions manifested by TbWs and the level of offensiveness and their use for generating humour in each episode.

The seventh chapter deals with the teaching of TbWs in PFL classroom in India. Besides some theoretical preparation and practical implementation, a few methodological tools are suggested for the teachers. For this purpose, TbWs from episodes have been grouped under a grammatical classification for the students to achieve a better understanding of their contextual use so that students adopt Intercultural Communication flexibility and consequently, a fair level of Intercultural Competence.

The final eighth chapter discusses the findings of the research and provides a few suggestions for future areas of research on TbWs.

## 2. Theoretical Foundation

This chapter presents theories and related operational terms used for the analysis of the data. Since the two predominating areas of research are: i) the semantic and pragmatic use of TbWs as lexis in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), and ii) their intercultural impact and applicability to BPTI (Brazilian Portuguese Teaching in India) in PFL, the theories have been grouped under these two major headings of Lexiculture and Interculturalism as both treat the language as vehicle for culture and its contribution to Foreign language teaching (FLT).

### 2.1 Lexiculture

This research is primarily based on the language-culture pedagogy theory of Lexiculture with a lexico-pragmatic and intercultural approach. The theory suggests integrating culture with language teaching, making an analogy to marriage, terming the concept as *consommer um mariage* (1991, p. 55), thus implying the inseparability of culture from language. In his lexico-semantic approach to FLT, Galisson coined expressions such as *langue-culture* and *mot à Charge Culturelle Partagée* (CCP), the latter translated into English as word with Common Cultural Load (CCL) by Risager (2007, p. 88) and into Portuguese by Barbosa (2008/2009, p. 34) as “*Palavra com Carga Cultural Compartilhada*” (CCC). The English translation CCL is being used in the data analysis of this research.

#### 2.1.1 CCL: Common Cultural Load

CCL is a concept created by Galisson (1988, p. 337) that states that the linguistic sign has two parts: form and content. The form is represented by the word (*signifiant*) while the content is represented by double meaning; the meaning (*signifié*) and CCL (Common Cultural Load). The former is an objective semantic approach, whereas CCL is a collectively shared pragmatic approach to the meaning. For example, *churrasco* in Brazil does not just mean a barbeque, but a long weekend celebration with family and friends where relationships are strengthened over food and copious amount of beer. Many houses in Rio de Janeiro have space allocated in their backyard (*churrasqueira*) for regular parties over the weekend

(*churrascada*). The importance of this cultural aspect is reflected in words like *churrascaria* (restaurant that serves *churrasco*), *churrasco* (barbequed meat), *churrasqueiro* (the person who makes the barbeque), *churrasquinho* (barbeque sticks). Therefore, *churrascada* can be termed as a lexicultural word with CCL, that not only means a barbeque, but evokes an imagery of Collectivist and Indulgent (Hofstede, 2010, Cf. 2.2.2) Brazilian culture replete with smoky ambience of grilled meat and beer, popular music, people eating, singing, dancing and having a good time with family. In Indian culture, the word *pooja* (deity worship) can be called a lexicultural word with CCL. It evokes the imagery of smoky ambience of flowers, incense, burning oil lamps from holy fire, people sitting together to sing and pray for the deity's blessings, partaking vegetarian food and drinks served by the hosts and having a good time with family and friends, reflecting Collectivist and Restraint (ibid) Indian culture.

Explaining the concept of *Carga Cultural Compartilhada*, Barbosa (ibid., p. 34) states: "It is value added to the referential meaning of the word which is known and shared among the members belonging to a culture and becomes a factor for approximation and mutual recognition."<sup>2</sup> Further she adds that the shared cultural load is closer to the culture acquired through day-to-day social life experiences than to the learned institutionalized culture. In this sense, the theory of *langue-culture* can be considered as rooted more in mass popular culture than the erudite, elite culture that Galisson (1988, p. 326) terms as "encyclopaedic culture" learned from books, school syllabuses, and religion and, being so, would be taught to the natives as well as the foreigners.

As this research investigates TbWs, often associated with the popular culture, lexiculture presents a suitable theory and methodology, with its lexico-pragmatic and intercultural approach to teaching the target language.

In an informal opinion poll conducted by The Language Nerds group on Facebook (Figure 2) on the question "In your opinion what's more important in language learning?", an overwhelming majority of 71% voted for vocabulary from a total of 4100 votes polled and merely 29% for grammar. To a certain extent, our theory of lexiculture gets a theoretical boost from this informal poll that lexicon is

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<sup>2</sup> Trata-se do valor acrescentado ao sentido referencial da palavra, que é conhecido e compartilhado entre os membros pertencentes a uma cultura e constitui fator de aproximação e de reconhecimento mútuo.

a crucial part for learning a language. Given below is the screen-shot of The Language Nerds poll.

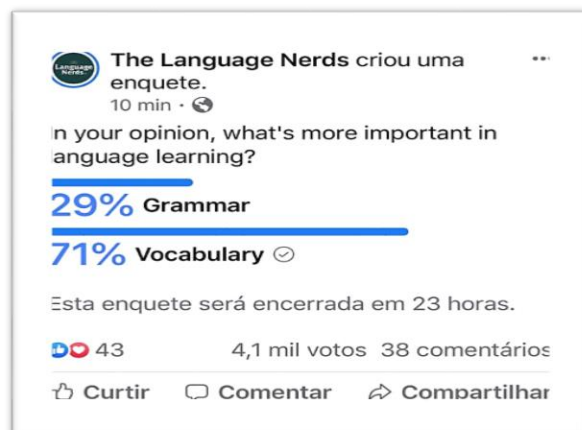


Figure 2. Facebook Opinion poll by The Language Nerds. (05 February 2020).

This proves that “Culture appears exactly there for what it is: nutritious humus where lexicon is rooted.”<sup>3</sup> (Galisson, 1993, p. 61).

### 2.1.2 Language Culture Pedagogy

Galisson (1988) believes that FLT should integrate that cultural knowledge which is shared by its speakers and the best way to do this is through words, since they are privileged places of permeation for certain cultural contents. These contents settle and end up establishing themselves in the words, thus adding another dimension to the ordinary semantic dimension of signs. (Galisson, 1991 apud Risager, *ibid.*, p. 88)

That other dimension is called CCL, which is a result of association of ideas that the word defines. It is acquired and not learned and is originally considered as limited to nouns, adjectives and verbs. Despite the objectivity of the sign, it is loaded with subjectivity that is shared within the society, which makes it different from connotation. For Galisson (1988, p. 339), connotation is an individual concept that can be taught whereas, CCL is acquired through social behaviour and life experiences. It is demonstrated through stereotypes, fixed expressions, association of a product with a brand or place, customs, beliefs superstitions and behaviours,

<sup>3</sup> «La culture apparaît bien là pour ce qu'elle est: l'humus nourricier où le lexique s'enracine.»



proper nouns/names of personalities, institutions, or places that evoke collective memory.

In the excerpt below, Risager (2007) explains the way in which culture permeates into words, thus giving them a new dimension:

“If language is permeated by culture, it is not in a uniform manner. As preconstructed receptacles and thus stable and economical in use compared to utterances which have to be constructed, words are the privileged places of permeation for certain cultural contents that settle there, that end up by sticking there, and thus add another dimension to the ordinary semantic dimension of signs.” Risager (2007, translated from Galisson, 1991, p.119).

This means that some words are culturally more charged than others. Pedroso (1999, p. 32) adds that lexicultural words with CCL are characterized by their pragmatic content in “(...) proper nouns, “ugly” words (taboos) or allusions to them, festivities, names of the products, popular names of flora and fauna etc. (...) Animals, objects, products, traditional festivals, costumes also form a part of CCL feeds on”.<sup>4</sup>

More than just a theory, lexiculture is an instrumental concept that views culture in and through the word and makes the object of study an element for action and intervention, making this culture available to the learner of the foreign language. (Barbosa: *ibid.*, p. 34). Lexicon is thus considered as a cognitive, social and cultural representative of day-to-day lives of members of a linguistic community. It is seen as the primary access to a culture and thus cannot be considered in isolation from language. Therefore, it can be said that a word with CCL is a tool to understand the culture of a society.

“The meaning of lexiculture becomes clear from its definition: “...the culture mobilized and updated in and through the words of all discourses whose aim is not to study the culture by itself.”<sup>5</sup> Galisson (1995, p. 6 apud Diaz 2003, p. 113). Lexiculture refers us to a word or to a set of words and lexicalised units, with an implicit value corresponding to the pragmatic dimension of that word, values

<sup>4</sup> “Trata-se dos nomes próprios, palavras “feias” (tabus) ou alusões a elas, festividades, nomes de produtos, nomes populares da flora e da fauna, etc. (...) Animais, objetos, produtos festividades tradicionais, costumes etc., são fontes de que se nutre CCC.”

<sup>5</sup> «Le sens de lexiculture devient explicite à travers sa définition «... la culture mobilisée et actualisée dans et par les mots de tous les discours dont le but n’est pas l’étude de la culture pour elle-même». (Galisson, 1995, p. 6).

arising from the use of those words in situations that serve as a brand of membership and cultural identity. “Thus, word is a place of storehouse of meaning and significant content of human language.” Biderman (1996, p. 27)<sup>6</sup>

Galisson (1999, p. 48) introduces a particular category of words such as; pictorial expressions, portmanteau-words<sup>7</sup>, words with cultural load, palimpsests<sup>8</sup> cultural verbs, situational words, marked names, proverbs and sayings, the occult words [...] circumscribing the sites (or spheres)<sup>9</sup> that have cultural load and thus should be used in language culture pedagogy. He states that his work on the above category of words was an attempt at “*piéger la culture dans la langue*” (to cage the culture in the language), associating it to intercultural approach. (1994a, p. 25 apud Dias, 2003, p. 106). The social world of the language that one learns is configured by values, attitudes, customs, gastronomy, geographical data and historical facts that are embedded in portmanteau words, pictorial expressions, figurative expressions, palimpsest cultural verbs; configured by words or lexical units belonging to the logical category creating pragmatic-semantic spaces where culture is found. Therefore, the culture embedded in these words is the CCL that is available to the students of foreign language.

### 2.1.3 Cultural Value of Taboo Words

Before the analysis of the data of three episodes of *Porta dos Fundos* as a pilot research project, the three assumptions that Galisson (1988, p. 331) makes on the topic, in an article “What culture to teach?” should be kept in mind. The first assumption states that the words with shared Common Cultural Load (CCL) focus and crystallize a certain form of culture that can be noticed and observed. Therefore, they can be listed in an inventory and described like any other words. For the second assumption, Galisson (op. cit.) states that all the words are cultural but some words

<sup>6</sup> “Assim, o léxico é o lugar da estocagem da significação e dos conteúdos significantes da linguagem humana.”

<sup>7</sup> Example of portmanteau words in portuguese; portunhol (português + espanhol)

<sup>8</sup> “un énoncé complet (auto-suffisant); ou un élément d'énoncé suivi, qui fait surépaisseur, par rapport à l'énoncé complet ordinaire, ou dans la linéarité de l'énoncé suivi. Cette surépaisseur (implicite) est le produit du chevauchement: d'un sous-énoncé lexicalisé et d'un sur énoncé.” (43:1994)

<sup>9</sup> “Les expressions imagées, les mots-valises, les mots à charge culturelle partagée, les palimpsestes verbo-culturels, les mots de situations, les noms de marques, les proverbes et dictons, les mots occultants [...] circonscrivent les sites (ou gisements).”

are more cultural than others, citing famous author George Orwell, who said that all men are born equal, but some men are born more equal than others. This means that the cultural load of some words is heavier, more obvious and more available to perception than the cultural load of other words. For the third and last assumption, the author considers the dictionary as the most appropriate tool to delve into and describe the shared culture. As a solution-provider, it tends to become a systematic discovery of cultural information. It is the teachers' task to familiarize the learners through assiduous frequency, the prospective use of this underestimated device.

Galisson (ibid., p. 339) states that the objectivity of semantic approach and the subjectivity of pragmatic approach clearly explain that, from one language to another, the same signs can have the same meaning but different CCLs. For example, the word cow has the same denotative objective meaning in India and in France (female of a bull) but different CCL; in India, as sacred and worshipped, whereas in France, as exploited for nourishment. In Brazil, *vaca* (cow) is usually used as name-calling for an obese or badly behaved woman and is considered offensive (Figure 3). A Brazilian beer brand called *Brahma* is supposedly taken from an Indian deity with the same name. Many Interfaith and Hindu Organizations requested the Company, founded in 1888 and owned by Anheuser Busch InBev, to change its name since it was considered "hurtful" to Hindu sentiments.<sup>10</sup>

Galisson is interested only in the denotation of the word combined with its CCL because it is shared by the community in contrast to connotation which, according to him, is very individualistic.



Figure 3. Common Cultural Load of the words *Vaca* and *Brahma* in Brazil (Created by researcher for a Presentation at UERJ (13-14 November 2019).

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.india.com/viral/dont-trivialise-hindu-faith-campaign-demands-removal-of-brahma-name-from-popular-beer-line-4085113/>. Access on 08 October 2021.

In this study, TbWs, adverbs and proper nouns (names of places or celebrities) are also being treated as lexicultural words.

#### **2.1.4 Semantics**

As Lexicature theory is determinant to the effectiveness of our research, lexical semantics plays a significant role in providing a suitable support base as it delves into the meaning of the word. As already mentioned in item 2.1, our objective is to analyse, describe, interpret and apply the result of our research in the teaching of TbWs in BP to the students in advanced level of spoken Portuguese as PFL.

Defining the relation of words to human concerns, the definition of semantics by Pinker (2008) draws on cultural anthropology, sociolinguistics and pragmatic aspects of the word states: semantics is the relation of words to thought but it is also about the relation of words to other human concerns such as:

- a. Reality - the way the speakers share a common understanding of the truth, and the way their thoughts are anchored to things and situations in the world;
- b. Community - how a new word created by a single speaker evokes the same idea in the rest of a population and can be understood by one another upon its use.
- c. Emotions - the way in which words don't just point to things, emotions and feelings but can endow the words with a sense of magic, taboo, and sin.
- d. Social relations - people use language not just to transfer ideas but to negotiate the kind of relationship they wish to have with their conversational partner.

The definition of semantics by Pinker is in sync with lexicultural theory that sees social relations in popular culture substantiated by mutually shared meanings of the words among the native speakers of a linguistic community. That is why the meaning of words representing the reality of this group becomes opaque and incomprehensible to the non-native learner outside the group.

The semantics of taboo affects all four aspects of human life; reality, community, emotions and social life when it was, for the first time, introduced to the West by the British navigator, Captain James Cook in his chronicle 'Voyage to the Pacific Ocean' (1784). He mentioned about the social behaviour by inhabitants of the island of Tonga called *tapu*, used to refer to anything that was sacred and

forbidden. Following a series of transformations, the word *tapu*, finally came to be known as taboo, although it retained its original semantics of things sacred and forbidden. For Sigmund Freud (1913, p. 21):

“To us it means, on the one hand, ‘sacred’, ‘consecrated’, and on the other ‘uncanny’, ‘dangerous’, ‘forbidden’, ‘unclean’. The converse of ‘taboo’ in Polynesian is ‘noa’, which means ‘common’ or ‘generally accessible’. Thus ‘taboo’ has about it a sense of something unapproachable, and it is principally expressed in prohibitions and restrictions.”

Guérios (1979, p.1) defined “taboo is about the “abstention or prohibition to touch, kill, eat, see, speak anything sacred or feared. Upon committing such acts, people are subjected to collective disgrace, to the family or individual.”<sup>11</sup> He adds that the taboo extends to objects that cannot be touched; places where one should not go not even pass by; actions that one should refrain from doing; words that one should not utter. In short, taboo influences all spheres of human life, as echoed by Arango (1991, p. 9): “Taboo is about everything that commonly evokes ‘sacred fear’ in us.” The common element in these definitions is the restriction imposed on human day-to-day activities, the violation of which invites fear, shame or punishment by the ‘sacred’ powers for the transgressor. Taboo as a word, therefore, has become a metaphor for prohibition; inappropriateness on one hand, and on the other; sacredness; supernatural; and magical, dependent on the world views or perception of objects or situations by the members of linguistic communities.

#### **2.1.4.1 Connotation**

As discussed above, semantics is expressed through connotation, the implied, or the non-literal meaning as in denotation. “Swear words are almost all connotations. They carry an emotional charge that exceeds the taboo status of their referents.” (Mohr, 2013, p. 6). In the 1980s and 1990s, as a precursor to communicative approach, it was felt that the semantics knowledge of cultural connotation of lexis was essential for effective communication among language

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<sup>11</sup> “(...) Abstenção ou proibição de pegar, matar, comer, ver, dizer qualquer coisa sagrada ou temida. cometendo-se tais atos, ficam sujeitos a desgraças a coletividade, a família ou o indivíduo.”

learners. However, Galisson is averse to the idea of connotation and instead prefers to use CCL. Risager (2007, p. 89) explains below:

“Galisson does not want to use the term ‘connotation’. He distinguishes between the denotative meaning of the words (signs) and their CCP. He prefers the latter expression to the term ‘connotation’, which for him is too individual. It is precisely not the individual variation he is after but that which is common to the entire language community.”

In a comparative study (Table 1) conducted on difference between Connotation and CCL, the two were compared in six lexico-semantic fields by Pedroso (1999). It was found that only two concepts differed out of six domains as shown below:

	<b>Connotation</b>	<b>Common Cultural Load (CCL)</b>
1	Semantic value added by ideological association	Semantic value added by ideological association
2	Unstable concept	Stable concept
3	It is learned (schooled)	It is acquired (unschooled)
4	Related to erudite culture	Related to daily practices
5	Present in enunciation	Present in the word
6	Cannot be registered	Can be registered

Table 1. Comparison: Connotation with Common Cultural Load. Pedroso (1999, p.36)

Connotation, according to Camara (1981, p. 82), “is part of a word’s meaning that does not belong to its meaning in the *strict sense* of the term (...) but corresponds to the ability of the word to function as a psychic manifestation or a calling. In this sense, the connotation belongs to the stylistic domain and distinguishes itself from denotation.” Connotation of words depends on a number of factors. Camara (op. cit., p. 82) lists six of these factors, the last factor being the collective emotional or even individual impressions characterizing the individual or collective style of an epoch. The emotional impressions therefore can be inferred as embodied emotions manifested in individual or collective style depending on context and state of mind by the user.

This means that TbWs, expressed through connotation, are charged with embodied emotions and their use helps in liberating fantasies and suppressed emotions. This idea is echoed by psychoanalyst Arango (ibid., p. 139): “The inner freedom to express our emotions and erotic desires is a condition for sexual

power.”<sup>12</sup> “It is through them [words] that our [innermost] unconscioned conflicts become conscious.”<sup>13</sup> (Arango, op. cit., p. 15). Therefore, the transgression of TbWs liberates the latent emotions for they are loaded with a hidden discourse.

#### 2.1.4.2 Conceptual Metaphors

Metaphor is a figure of speech in which literal meaning of an object is transferred to another one to create “a wider, more ‘special’ or more precise meaning”. Hawkes (2018, p. 2). “Metaphors are taken to be a fundamental part of the figurative language. *Figurative language* is language which doesn’t mean what it says. (...) Figurative language interferes with the system of literal usage by its assumption that terms literally connected with one object can be transferred to another object.” (loc. cit.).

For Hawkes (op. cit., p. 71), “Metaphor conveys a relationship between two things by using a word or words figuratively, not literally, i.e., in a special sense which is different from the sense it has in the contexts noted by the dictionary.” This means that there are two meanings; a) literal meaning: objective and independent of the context; and b) metaphorical meaning: subjective and context driven. “The meaning, the value and simple existence of any metaphor is discernible only as it occurs. In any context any metaphor will be modified.” (loc. lit.)

It means that the meaning of metaphors is subject both to context and individual perception. All TbWs are metaphors by stretching of the language, a “process whereby new areas of reality are constantly enclosed in the language, new dimensions of experience recorded, and made available within its confines.” (Empson, apud Hawkes, op. cit., p. 63). The meaning of a word is often determined by culture and language conventions at the cognitive and the affective level manifested in denotation and connotation. For example, the use and meaning of the word *puta* in the following interaction is co-constructed in context by the participants. For example: *Foi uma puta festa!* (The party was fucking amazing!) means different from the expression *Ela tá puta com ele!* (She is mad at him!).

<sup>12</sup> “A liberdade interior para expressar nossas emoções e desejos eróticos é uma condição da potência sexual.”

<sup>13</sup> “Através delas os conflitos inconscientes tornam-se conscientes.”

The evolution in the lexical semantics happens through the conceptual metaphors involving the idea of a concept transferred to another one through similarity or comparison. “The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”. Lakoff & Johnson (2003, p. 5). In this sense, most TbWs are, in general, conceptual metaphors.

Lakoff & Johnson (*ibid.*, p. 247), state that “A great deal of everyday, conventional language is metaphorical, and the metaphorical meanings are given by conceptual metaphorical mappings that ultimately arise from correlations in our embodied experience.” The ‘embodied’ is explained by Ritchie (2013, p. 69) as “conceptual metaphors originate when an abstract concept (emotion or passion) is repeatedly experienced in conjunction with a physical sensation (warmth or heat)”. This means that an emotion like love in childhood when repeatedly accompanied by physical and direct contact with mother or guardian, is learned to “associate love and affection as physical proximity and physical warmth.” Expressions in English such as: warm welcome, warm relation, warm greeting and warm regards imply a connotation of physical and psychological proximity. TbWs as a forbidden vocabulary are encoded with a concept of shame, fear and guilt at one end of the emotional bar and with thrill and excitement at the other end of the continuum in all languages. Therefore, as conceptual metaphors, their contextual use and appropriateness has to be learnt and well understood by the learners of a foreign language.

Maalej (2004) quoted by Ritchie (*op. cit.*, p. 78) believes that these “embodied experiences are influenced by cultural beliefs and practices.” This means that conceptual metaphors are a defining factor in a person’s behaviour, that come from beliefs, disbeliefs, attitudes, values and display of embodied emotions and practices of his shared collective culture that define the character of his personality.

Conceptual metaphors may explain, to some extent, the idea of metaphorical usage, gradually building up a repertoire of sensorial and emotionally coloured concepts through individual and social embodied experiences. Ritchie (*op. cit.*) however, criticizes the conceptual metaphor theory stating, “the concepts are mental images subject to individual experience and mutable over a period of time and context.” This idea is important in this study since the TbWs as conceptual metaphors reflect sociocultural and individual experience in context of their



connotative use, inconsistent with passage of time, therefore, difficult not only learners of a foreign language but also for lexicographers.

### 2.1.4.3

#### Orthophemism, Euphemism and Dysphemism

To circumvent the ire, harm or injury implicit in the social power of the TbWs, most cultures have created milder words and expressions to substitute them. Allan and Burrige (2011, p. 29) created the term Orthophemism, or words “that are not sweet-sounding, evasive or overly polite (euphemism) or harsh, blunt or offensive (dysphemism)”. Since TbWs are used in dysphemistic form, one way to mitigate their offensiveness is the use of euphemistic or orthophemistic words alternative to dysphemism (Allan & Burrige, *ibid.*). Hence, orthophemism can also be a scientific term with no cultural or emotional connotation. The authors also created a collective term for the set of orthophemism, euphemism and dysphemism and called it X-phemism. Associated with this idea is ‘cross-varietal synonymy’. For example, in the ascending order of offensiveness: *fezes*, *excrement*, *cocô*, *merda*, the words denote the same object but have different cultural-specific connotations and degree of offensiveness. This cross-varietal synonymy (Cf. Table 8) will be useful for creating didactic exercises for PFL learners.

### 2.1.5

#### Pragmatics

Pragmatics is defined by Yule (2000, p. 3) as “(...) the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker (or writer) and interpreted by a listener (or reader).” In other words, pragmatic is the study of speaker’s meaning conveyed through syntactical arrangement of linguistic forms and their association with the content combined with the process of listener’s understanding. In doing so the context of the interaction and language conventions play a significant role in the meaning making process.

As aspects of lexiculture and semantic theories are determinant to the effectiveness of our research, discussion on pragmatics of TbWs will play a significant role in providing a suitable support base as it delves into the meaning of the word in context. Therefore, it is only appropriate that this study concentrates primarily on spoken language, as the principal objective of learners of PFL is to

achieve verbal communicative competence along with written. In fact, linguists from past years have concentrated on spoken language as Bloomfield (1973, p. 21) who observed “Writing is not a language, but merely a way of recording language by means of visible marks.” Following a similar principle, Bagno (2011, p. 72) underlines the dynamic nature of spoken language and states:

“The importance of spoken language for a scientific study is mainly due to the fact that in this spoken language undergo changes and variations that incessantly go on transforming the language. Anyone wanting to know the present state of Brazilian Portuguese will have to empirically investigate the spoken language (...).”<sup>14</sup>

Bublitz & Norrick (2011, p. 5) highlight the importance of spoken language where personal feelings, goals, personalities, objects, along with social factors like institutions and communities interact to create a meaning:

“(...) pragmatics goes beyond the perspectives of written texts with their carefully marshalled grammatical sentences to embrace ‘messiness’ of language in real embodied human contexts, where participants with personalities, feelings and goals interact in complex ways with physical objects and other participants within institutions and communities.”

Moreover, in the foreign/second language teaching methodology, L1 users are referred to as ‘native speakers’ and not ‘native writers. Spoken language is the primary source for research in the area of sociolinguistics and pragmatics.

Earlier in lexical semantics, we learnt that meaning can be made through the figures of language like connotation and conceptual metaphors. In this section we study the meaning as derived through social interaction. By respecting the social conventions of politeness, a smooth flow of communication within a society is maintained and propagated. However, TbWs go against this flow.

Guérios (ibid., p. 1), believes that speaking TbWs is forbidden by definition because they defy the standard linguistic social conventions of decency and polite public behaviour. In this sense, transgression of TbWs is basically considered a face threatening act (FTA) with deliberate use of impolite language aimed at attacking the

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<sup>14</sup> “A importância da língua falada para o estudo científico está principalmente no fato de ser nessa língua falada que ocorrem as mudanças e as variações que incessantemente vão transformando a língua. Quem quiser, por exemplo, conhecer o estado atual do português brasileiro precisará investigar empiricamente a língua falada (...).”

face of the interlocutor exercising the use of economic, political or social power. It is essentially an aggressive emotional verbal exchange between the speaker and the hearer that can sometimes even evolve to physical violence.

### 2.1.5.1

#### Contextual Variables

All meaning making process in a language is context driven. Context means “a concrete situation in which speech acts are enunciated or spoken, the place, the time, the identity of the speakers etc., everything required to understand and evaluate what is said.” Françoise Armengaud (1999, p.13).

“Taboo Words occupy a unique place in language because once learned, their use is heavily context driven.” (Jay & Janschewitz, 2012). In this sense, context as the deciding factor in meaning making process is illustrated through the possible responses to the utterance ‘*Como vai?*’ (How are you?) in varying communicative situations as follows:

- *Como vai?*
  - a) *Bem, obrigado/a.* (Fine thank you). (person entering the office in the morning).
  - b) *Vou de táxi.* (I am going by taxi). (person exiting the office in the evening)
  - c) *Melhor do que ontem.* (Better than yesterday). (patient and a doctor in a clinic).

It is observed in the examples above that the semantic field of the response in a) is the social conventional politeness; in b) is mode of transport, and in c) health concern. An explicit explanation of the cultural conventions and their shared CCL in context, therefore, becomes essential for a learner of PFL to achieve intercultural communicative competence.

O’Keefe et al. (2011, p. 1) citing Cutting (2008, p. 3-11) present three types of spoken contexts: “a) situational, the speakers’ awareness of their surroundings, b) interpersonal knowledge, what speakers know about each other and their world (cultural knowledge), and c) co-textual knowledge, the speakers’ knowledge about the subject.” Within these contextual parameters, the participants can simultaneously encode indicators of position and power status. Jay & Janschewitz (2008, p. 272) present sociocultural and pragmatic factors as contextual variables that influence swearing, “such as the conversational topic, the

speaker-listener relationship, including gender, occupation, and status, and the social-physical setting of communication (...), one's jurisdiction over the location, and the level of formality of the occasion.” These contextual variables will help analyse the level of offensiveness and appropriateness in the analysis of the data.

### 2.1.5.2

#### Positive Face and Negative Face

The concept of Face as defined by Goffman (1967, p. 5) is “The public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself by the line others assume one has taken during a particular contact.” Working on the theory of face, Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 312) identified the concepts of negative face - the want to be unimpeded, dissociated or independent, and positive face - the want to be appreciated, associated or interdependent. Any speech act that demeans, derogates or attacks the positive or negative face is perceived as a face threatening act (FTA) by the listener. It could be planned, called propositional swearing “in which utterances are made purposefully” or non-planned (Jay, 2012, p. 285). The attempt by the victim to salvage his public-image is termed as saving face through reactions such as: rude retort, nervous laughter, or silence, as will be explained by Carretero (2011) below. Factors like the greater power exercised by the speaker over the listener, the larger the cultural difference between the speakers, or the importance of the conversational topic make offensiveness of the FTA greater in intercultural interactions.

### 2.1.5.3

#### Locution, Illocution, Perlocution

Speech acts have been divided into three categories viz. locutionary (act of speaking), illocutionary (act performed in speaking) and perlocutionary (act performed by speaking). “Locutionary is the most objective, since it concerns the stable language form of the utterance, the illocutionary and perlocutionary aspects involve a dynamic negotiation of meaning between the speaker and the hearer.” (Bublitz & Norrick, 2011, p. 62). For example, in the locutionary act *Que Foda! foda-se! E foda!* (What the fuck!), the speaker could be reacting to a pleasant

surprise, a sudden shock, disgust, or just having a euphoric/ecstatic moment. For a non-native speaker it would be a challenge to make sense of the meaning.

Speech acts are classified into five major categories to perform typical functions such as: representative (assertive), performative, directive, commissive and expressive. TbWs belong to the expressive category for their emotional content. Bousfield (2008, p. 139) believes that “use of taboo language strategy is predominantly a symptom of emotive communication and is not linguistic impoliteness *per se*.” Jonathan Culpeper *et al* (2003, p. 1557) argue that the use of taboo language is an expression of the emotional state and may act as impoliteness strategy to express anger targeted at the hearer and make him/her uncomfortable. In this sense, it is a socially disruptive illocutionary act that transgresses the social linguistic politeness norms. For example, in the expression: *O vestibular que eu prestei ontem foi o mais foda da minha vida!*<sup>15</sup> (The entrance exam that I took yesterday was the most fucked up of my life!) the speaker is using the impolite marker of TbW *foda* to express the emotional state of mind on an important event of one’s life.

#### 2.1.5.4 Expressive Speech Act

For Jay and Janschewitz (2008, p. 267), “Swear words are well suited to express emotions as their primary meanings are connotative. The emotional impact of swearing depends on one’s experience with a culture and its language conventions.” Highlighting the expressive power of swear words as the key to mental wellbeing, Arango (*ibid.*, p. 16) states that “Narrating one’s sexual life using an anatomical or physiological book, is like making a report. As scientific, cold (*frio*) and impersonal (*impessoal*) as a medical text”<sup>16</sup>. The semantic relation between lexis and emotion has been explored by scholars such as Wierzbicka (1999, p. 26), who affirms that “the way people interpret their own emotions depends, to some extent at least, on the lexical grid provided by their native language.”, while Perakyla & Sorjonen (2012, p. 3), in their study on emotions in interaction, state that “Displays of emotion and affect are a central part of everyday actions and social

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.dicionarioinformal.com.br/foda/>. Access on 20 February 2020.

<sup>16</sup> “Quem relata sua vida sexual com termos próprios de um livro de anatomia ou fisiologia não conta uma história, faz um relatório. Tão científico, frio e impessoal como um texto médico.”

relations.” The use of TbWs in the form of interjections and name-calling express emotion of the speaker and therefore, can be more of an Expressive Act than FTA as will be seen in the analysis of the episodes.

#### 2.1.5.5 Implicature

Related to the speech act of illocution as explained above (Cf .2.1.5.3) is the concept of implicatures, important in the meaning making process. “Implicature is a component of speaker meaning that constitutes an aspect of what is **meant** in a speaker’s utterance without being part of what is **said**.” (Horn & Ward, 2006, p. 3). In an intercultural interaction, the use and meaning of TbWs can cause misunderstanding in the meaning making process due to dissimilarity in cultural and linguistic conventions of the speakers. Therefore, the learners of PFL need to be apprised with the idea of implicatures of taboo language which native speakers share as part of the CCL of these words. For example, the implicatures of the following examples with TbWs are different:

- a) *Nossa!* ‘*Cê não sabe fazer isso?! (Gee! You don’t know how to do this?!)*
- b) *Pô!* ‘*Cê não sabe fazer isso?! (F word! You don’t know how to do this?!)*
- c) *Porra!* ‘*Cê não sabe fazer isso?! (Fuck! You don’t know how to do this?!)*

The offensiveness of the second (b) example is higher than the first (a) due to the speaker’s implicature of mental capability of the listener, while it is explicit in the third (c) example.

#### 2.1.5.6 Appropriateness and Offensiveness

The concepts of offensiveness and appropriateness are determined and influenced by cultural and contextual parameters. For example, touching the food or using hands for eating and cooking is appropriate in Indian culture whereas in Brazil it is considered inappropriate from social, health and hygienic perspectives.

The context is determinant for appropriateness. For Jay (2017, p. xvi), “what is appropriate or not depends heavily on context, the “who, what, where and when” as something questionable happens. (...) context is critical.” Ting-Toomey & Chung (ibid., p. 29) define appropriateness as “the degree to which the exchanged

behaviours are regarded as proper and match the expectations generated by the insiders of the culture.”

While appropriateness is context driven, offensiveness is determined by the reaction and response of the listener. In order to determine the level of offensiveness of the TbWs used in the interactions, we consider Carretero's (2011) characteristics of the offensiveness depending on interlocutor's response that can be: (a) very threatening, (b) threatening, (c) less threatening, (d) non-threatening, described below in detail:

- a) The very threatening category: The use of words by the speaker to attack, humiliate and discredit the image of the interlocutor. This type could provoke responses that are either offensive or defensive from the interlocutor, thereby resulting in a break-down of communication between the participants. In some occasions, instead of a rude retort, the communication can break down through an uncomfortable silence.
- b) The threatening category: The use of words to attacks the image of interlocutors but opposed to the earlier category, there is no break-down in the communication. Instead of uncomfortable silence or rudeness from the interlocutor, there could be response through laughter or humorous expressions.
- c) Little threatening category: The use of words to attack, humiliate or discredit the image of people in absence, to evaluate positively or negatively people in their absence, to evaluate the interlocutor positively or to draw his/her attention.
- d) The non-threatening category: The use of crude and improper expressions to emphasize, repeat or exclaim. They are not perceived as a threat to the interaction by the interlocutors and the communication does not break down. The flow in the conversation is maintained and they can often be repeated by the interlocutors.

## 2.2 Interculturalism

A general idea of definition of culture and its components shall gradually lead us to better understanding of interculturalism. For Peterson (2004, p.16) culture is, “the relatively a stable set of inner values and beliefs generally held by groups of people in countries or regions and the noticeable impact those values and beliefs have on the peoples’ outward behaviours and environment.” Culture for

Singer (2000, p. 30) is “A pattern of learned, group-related perceptions - including both verbal and non-verbal language, attitude, values, belief systems, disbelief systems, and behaviours - that is accepted and expected by an identity group is called culture.” Hofstede (ibid., p. 10) describes culture as “collective programming of the mind”. These definitions seem to suggest that culture is collectively learned and shared meanings of beliefs, attitudes and symbols. Lewis (2006) proposes the image of an iceberg of which just one third is above water representing the visible culture such as language, culinary, etc. whereas the major part under water represents the invisible culture of values, attitudes, ethics and world-views.

As this research deals with the meaning making process of words in interaction, the definition of culture is being taken as a meaning system considered by culture theorists such as: Clifford Geert (1973, p. 5), for whom the idea of culture is “essentially a semiotic one.”; Susan Bassnett (2005, p. xxi), believes that “meaning is constructed, not found, hence it is fundamental to examine ways in which meanings develop and how they circulate.”; Claire Kramsch (2014, p. 30), who states that “cultural meaning gets encoded in linguistic sign and expressed pragmatically through verbal action.”; and Ting-Toomey & Chung (2012, p. 16), for them culture is “as a learned meaning system that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, meanings, and symbols that are passed on from one generation to the next and are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of a community.” Liddicoat (2013, p. 23) considers “individual as a semiotic system” which means that beside a shared meaning of words in collective memory, there is also a meaning making process at the individual level. In the use of TbWs, this theory manifests its dynamic nature, making taboo language a versatile yet challenging area in BP. Therefore, to understand the communication patterns, knowledge of cultural aspects of a linguistic community is of fundamental importance. To understand what constitutes culture, few definitions by culturists are presented to arrive at the basic idea of culture and its components.

### **2.2.1 Components of Culture**

Ting-Toomey & Chung (2012), through the iceberg diagram (Figure 4), consider culture as a ‘Learned Meaning System’ at the following three levels: 1)



Surface-Level Culture: Popular Culture: referring to cultural artifacts that have mass appeal, like films, music etc. 2) Intermediate-Level Culture: refers to symbols like national flags or other non-verbal gestures like *swastika*, *om*, *yin yan* etc and Norms; 3) Deep-Level Culture: refers to traditions, beliefs, and values. For Toomey & Chung (ibid., p. 18-20), “Cultural norms refer to the collective expectations of what constitutes proper or improper behaviour in a given interaction scene.” And cultural values refer to a set of priorities that guide “good” or “bad” behaviours, “desirable” or “undesirable” practices, and “fair” or “unfair” actions. In essence, there is congruency seen among the cultural theories as far as the components of culture: symbols, values and beliefs are concerned.

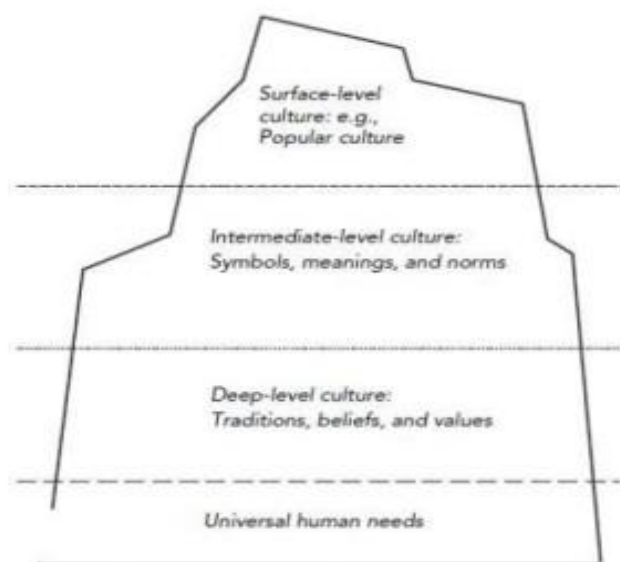


Figure 4. Iceberg by Ting-Toomey & Chung. (Google Images. Access on 17 December 2020)

Culture has been described by Bennett (1998) as manifesting at two levels: Objective – what is perceptible and extrinsic; and Subjective - what is imperceptible and intrinsic. This concept has similarly been represented in the idea of culture with C (capital) and c (non-capital), as high context and low context by Peterson (2004). It is clear that Objective cultural artifacts such as: literature, architecture, plastic and performing arts, gastronomy, festivals and language, that are perceptible to the five senses, can be easily learnt and taught thanks today to the easy access to social media and international mobility. It is, in fact, the Subjective culture, with an intrinsic relation to its social identity expressed through the language, that poses challenge for foreign language learners.

Meyer (2013, p. 56) explains that, “In the case of Portuguese as a second language for foreigners PL2E, it is the subjective culture that is difficult for its learners. It is because subjective Brazilian culture is a topic with no clear rules that can be explained, taught and consequently easily learnt.”<sup>17</sup> Meyer further adds that “the subjective culture is hidden even from the native speaker under the rules ‘of good living’, or ‘good behaviour’ or even ‘common sense.’” (Ibid., p. 56)<sup>18</sup>. Taboo language, due to its ‘unruly’ nature, poses a challenge to the learner of PFL. Pinker (2008) thinks that “(...) taboo language is an affront to common sensibilities; the phenomenon of taboo language is an affront to common sense.” This study considers TbWs as lexicultural words, and the theory of *language through culture* emphasizes the need of teaching the intrinsic culture deposited/charged within the lexicon of taboo language.

To understand and describe the intrinsic concept of Subjective culture means to break it down in to the categories of smaller parts and study them individually. According to Peterson (2004), the aim to categorize cultures under certain parameters arises from the following objectives: a) to predict a culture’s behaviour; b) to clarify why people did what they did; c) to avoid giving offense; d) to search for some kind of unity etc.

In the next item, the cultural comparison in the three cultural types in the form of Triangle by Lewis (2006) and six cultural dimensions by Hofstede (2010) provides an overall generalized view of differences between Indian and Brazilian culture.

### 2.2.2 National Cultures Comparison

Some cultural universals like social power distance, reaction to uncertainties of life, communication patterns, tendency to collectivism, planning for the future, world-views on time and space and interpersonal relations can be generalized (without stereotypes) in order to study and arrive at common cultural behaviour of

<sup>17</sup> “No caso do português como segunda língua para estrangeiros (PL2E), são exatamente os aspectos da cultura subjetiva dos brasileiros que oferecem maiores dificuldades aos seus aprendizes. Isso porque a cultura subjetiva não é um conteúdo com regras claras que se possa expor, ensinar e, por consequência, aprender com facilidade (...).”

<sup>18</sup> “A cultura subjetiva se esconde do próprio falante nativo, mitigada como regras “de boa convivência”, ou “de boa educação”, ou mesmo de “bom senso.”

a cultural community. Lewis (2006) categorizes the major cultures of the world (Figure 5) into three types, as follows:

- a) Linear-Active: societies that are factual, logical, job-oriented and depend on meticulous planning based on data and facts. Example: Germans and Americans.
- b) Multi-Active: societies that are engaged in multiple tasks at the same time, prioritizing those that seem thrilling and adventurous. Example: Spanish speaking Latin Americans and Brazilians. The table given below of the three cultural types shows Brazilian society as “emotional, display feelings, impatient and talk most of the time, people oriented.” In this sense, as it will be seen further in this research, the use of TbWs as expressive speech act helps the Brazilians, especially *Cariocas*, in verbally displaying their emotions and feelings to everyday situations.
- c) Reactive: societies that value courtesy, politeness and respect in order to establish long relationship and do not take initiative to make the first move for example Japanese and Chinese.

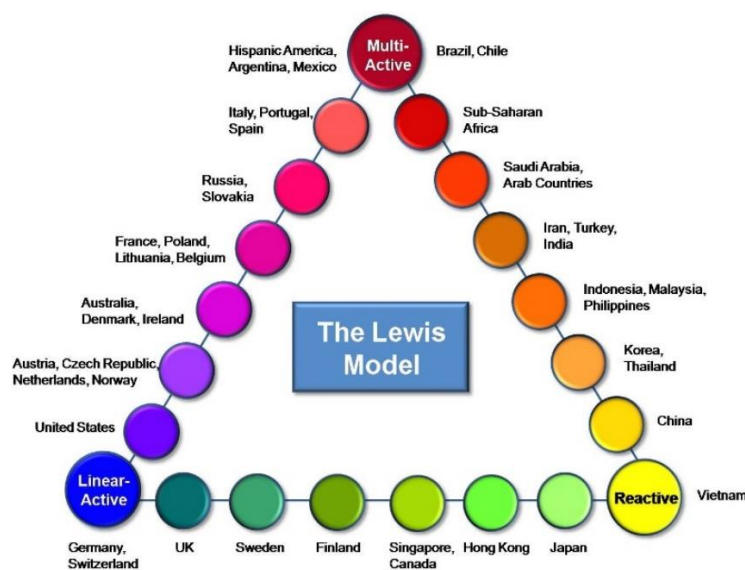


Figure 5. Cultural Triangle -The Lewis Model – Dimensions of Behaviour | Cross Culture. <https://www.crossculture.com/the-lewis-model-dimensions-of-behaviour/>. Access on 15 December 2020.

India figures on the right side of the Lewis Triangle, between Multi-Active and Reactive, thus possessing characteristics (Figure 6) of both vertices: polite, courteous, people-oriented, conscious of face as well as multi-tasker and emotional. Brazil appears on the top right side of the triangle as impulsive, emotional, multi-

tasker. For being on the right side of the triangle, Brazil also has a tendency to some Reactive culture features, like indirectness and non-confrontation.

LINEAR-ACTIVE	MULTI-ACTIVE	REACTIVE
Talks half the time	Talks most of the time	Listens most of the time
Does one thing at a time	Does several things at once	Reacts to partner's action
Plans ahead step by step	Plans grand outline only	Looks at general principles
Polite but direct	Emotional	Polite, indirect
Partly conceals feelings	Displays feelings	Conceals feelings
Confronts with logic	Confronts emotionally	Never confronts
Dislikes losing face	Has good excuses	Must not lose face
Rarely interrupts	Often interrupts	Doesn't interrupt
Job-oriented	People-oriented	Very people-oriented
Sticks to facts	Feelings before facts	Statements are promises
Truth before diplomacy	Flexible truth	Diplomacy over truth
Sometimes impatient	Impatient	Patient
Limited body language	Unlimited body language	Subtle body language
Respects officialdom	Seeks out key person	Uses connections
Separates the social and professional	Mixes the social and professional	Connects the social and professional

Figure 6. <https://www.crossculture.com/the-lewis-model-dimensions-of-behaviour/>. Access on 16 December 2020.

According to this researcher's personal experience, the major cultural differences between Brazil and India seem to depend on the traits of display of feelings, vision of truth, dealing with facts, patience and body language.

The *Cariocas*' exuberant behaviour manifested in physical proximity such as touching and back slapping can overwhelm Indians, especially Indian woman not used to such behaviour with acquaintances. The researcher also felt intimidated by personal questions about her age, civil status, number of children, following introduction with strangers. Indians are often wary of a 'too early too soon' kind of intimacy with the unknown. Also shocking to an Indian is how *Cariocas* bare their intimate family secrets in public that sometimes may even be embarrassing to hear. Sometimes, a smile from behind the pandemic mask to a talkative *Carioca* on the other side of the aisle in a bus is incentive enough for her to talk about her family, neighbours, criticize the Mayor of Rio de Janeiro, corrupt politics and her kitty cat. The emotional *Carioca* is an ardent host who may invite the new friend to lunch or dinner and forget about it completely afterwards.

The researcher was witness to an incident in a bus where a lady in her sixties continued to complain loudly about the driver not driving fast enough. After sometime, the driver lost his temper and told her to go and fuck her husband. At this point, the rest of the passengers jumped in the argument and the air was filled

with all kinds of TbWs. The impatience of the *Cariocas* is often visible in humdrum of daily activities while they complain just about everything that directly affects them. It could be the long queue at the supermarket counter not moving fast enough, the weather, the sudden price rise etc. The large number and variety of TbWs in BP are an evidence of the Brazilians' anxiety arising from a high level of Uncertainty Avoidance (Cf. 2.2.2).

These personal experiences cited above are useful to illustrate, to some extent, traits that Lewis (2006) attributes to multi-active peoples can in fact be found in the Brazilians' behaviour.

Hofstede (2010) presents six dimensions of National Cultures (Figure 7) by making an informed generalization of universal human behaviour, namely: (i) Power Distance – It reflects the degree of social and economic inequality accepted by the members and the possibility of social ascension among the classes; (ii) Masculinity vs. Femininity – It reflects the degree to which a society accepts male dominance as its norm; (iii) Individualism vs. Collectivism – It reflects the degree to which the society allows individual freedom of expression and action to the members; (iv) Uncertainty Avoidance – This reflects the degree of anxiety and intolerance of the members to uncertain circumstances, the uncertain future and the surprises in store; (v) Long term Orientation vs. Short Time Orientation – It reflects the degree to which a society plans for its long term future goals; (vi) Indulgence vs Restraint -This reflects the degree to which the members value instant gratification of desires or practice restraint. In the graph below the six cultural dimensions of Indian and Brazilian cultures are compared:

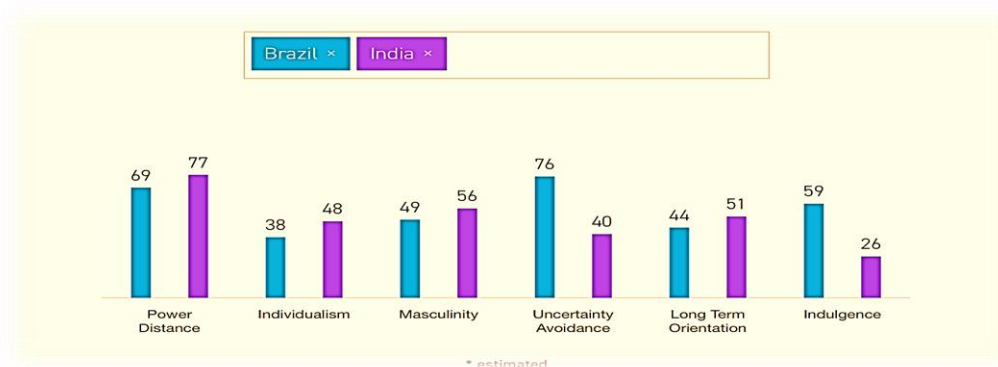


Figure 7. Country Comparison: India & Brazil  
Available at <https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison/brazil,india/>. Access on 07 January 2021.

According to the cultural comparison graph (Hofstede, 2010), India has more Power Distance and is more hierarchical with 77 points than Brazil with 69 points; India is more Individualistic with 48 points than Brazil scoring 38 points; Indian society is more Masculine with 56 than Brazil scoring 49; Uncertainty Avoidance is higher in Brazil with 76 points than India with only 40 points; Long Term Orientation is higher in India scoring 51 than Brazil scoring 44; and lastly Brazilians are more Indulgent with 59 points than Restrained Indians with 26 points.

These comparative scores help us to have a sense of the reflection of these cultural traits in the Portuguese language as we focus on TbWs, their use in the Brazilian culture and subsequently their application to Intercultural Communication with Indian students.

The cultural comparisons help in understanding the basic values behind a certain behaviour and see the ‘dissimilar other’ in a more humane way from an ethnorelative perception, consequently leading to successfully satisfying Intercultural Communication without stumbling blocks (Barna, 1998).

### **2.2.3 Intercultural Communication**

Intercultural communication is defined by Ting-Toomey & Chung (ibid., p. 24), “*as the symbolic exchange process whereby individuals from two (or more) different cultural communities attempt to negotiate shared meanings in an interactive situation within an embedded societal system.*”

In an interaction, the meaning and the possibility of the use of TbWs is negotiated between the participants depending on contextual variables (Jay, 2012, p. 247) namely; topic of conversation and the relation between the speaker and listener, including gender, age, status, and social-physical setting of communication such as private-public, formal-informal etc. In an Intercultural Communication, speaker and listener belong to two distinct sets of cultural beliefs and values and therefore, possess distinct conceptual metaphors and their meanings. For example, the expression, *Oh! what a fucking sunny day!* will have different meanings for a speaker from the Middle-East and for a speaker from Alaska region and therefore their reactions will accordingly be different. As a depository of culture, words have been assigned a tremendous amount of power to please, annoy, irritate, upset,

worry, distress or even hurt members of a linguistic community who share the cultural connotation along with the emotional affect.

For Ting-Toomey & Chung (op., cit., p. 5), Intercultural Communication is about “open-minded attitude”. According to Ting-Toomey & Chung (ibid., p. 5):

“The study of intercultural communication is about the study of communication that involves, at least in part, cultural group membership differences. It is about acquiring the necessary knowledge and dynamic skills to manage such differences appropriately and effectively. It is also about developing a creative mindset to see things from different angles without rigid prejudgment.”

Among eight reasons to study IC presented by the authors, what is of more relevance to our research is “enhancing intercultural relationship satisfaction” since a student of PFL seeks to achieve a certain comfort level with the target language and be accepted as part of the peer group of native speakers in the situation of immersion. For the authors (ibid., p. 11), “Concepts such as ethnocentrism and ethnorelativism and constructive intercultural conflict management skills such as mindful listening and reframing (as explored in the next few chapters) can serve as foundational building blocks for effective multicultural health care communication.”

#### **2.2.4 Ethnocentrism vs. Ethnorelativism**

The students’ contact with a target language primarily in classroom situations often begins with dissimilarities from an ethnocentric point of view and may experience varying degrees of emotions of shock, disbelief and denial. On the contrary, the commonalities between the native and target languages could be well-received with appreciation, understanding and relief. Bennett (1998) created the Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Figure 8) given below which shows six stages of culture from denial to integration divided into ethnocentric and ethnorelative stages.

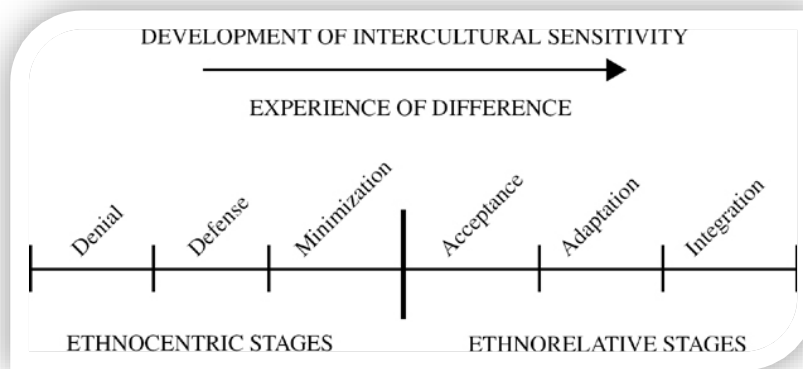


Figure 8. DMIS - M. Bennett. (Google Images. Access on 15 December 2020).

Ting-Toomey & Chung citing Bennett (op. cit., p. 28), explain, “An **ethnocentric mindset** means staying stuck with our own cultural worldviews and using our own cultural values as the baseline standards to evaluate the other person’s cultural behavior. An **ethno-relative mindset**, however, means to understand a communication behavior from the other person’s cultural frame of reference.” (M. Bennett, 1993; J. Bennett & M. Bennett, 2004 apud Ting-Toomey & Chung, *ibid.*).

This can be demonstrated through an incident where a visiting Brazilian businessman commented with ethnocentric view of Indian culture, wondering why Indians preferred to die of starvation than eat the cows wandering in the streets. He also asked why Indian women preferred to wear a five-and-half metres long saree to wearing shorts in extreme hot weather in the summer. The westerners often express surprise seeing Indian women publicly bathe fully clothed, thus displaying an ethnocentric mindset.

Ting-Toomey & Chung (*ibid.*, p. 29) elaborate that “A flexible intercultural attitude means engaging in ethno-relative thinking to understand someone else’s behavior from her or his cultural point of view. From an ethno-relative lens, we put our ethnocentrism on hold and suspend our hasty cultural judgments.” This approach is more appropriate for Indian students who are culturally conditioned to have an open-minded view towards diversity, considering that India is one of the most culturally diverse countries, with 22 official languages. Further, Ting-Toomey & Chung explain (*ibid.*, p. 30), “The first lesson in communication competence is to ‘tune in’ to our own ethnocentric evaluations concerning ‘improper’ dissimilar



behaviors. Our evaluations of ‘proper’ and ‘improper’ behavior stem, in part, from our ingrained cultural socialization experiences.”

“Mindfulness means being aware of our own and others’ behaviour in the situation, and paying focused attention to the process of communication taking place between us and dissimilar others.” (Ting-Toomey, 1999, p. 16). Usually, in an intercultural communication, each participant instinctively, forms an ethnocentric opinion of the dissimilar ‘other’ that gradually turns into a sort of generalized prejudice. This can be avoided by being mindful as Ting-Toomey states that “The key qualities of a mindful state of being are: (1) creation of new categories; (2) openness to new information; and (3) awareness of more than one perspective. [...]”

Ting-Toomey’s concept of mindfulness relates to Bennett’s idea of ethno-relativism in essence as both take into consideration the frame of reference from the other’s point of view as opposed to ethnocentrism, where the point of reference is one’s own cultural mindset. When the mind accepts new world-view of a dissimilar culture and adapts to other ideas as a possibility, the communication becomes easier and more meaningful. The students should be assisted in passing through ethnocentric to ethnorelative stages in order to achieve Intercultural Competence.

### 2.2.5 Intercultural Competence

“**Intercultural Competence** refers to the intentional integration of culture-sensitive knowledge, open-minded attitude, and adaptive communication skills in an intercultural encounter.” (Ting-Toomey & Chung, *ibid.*, 304). Knowledge of subjective cultures - one’s own and others’ - is essential for intercultural competence where subjective culture means “*learned and shared patterns of beliefs, behaviours and values of groups of interacting people.*” (Bennett, 1998, p. 2).

As the aim of this study involves learning and teaching of TbWs in BP to students of PFL in India aspiring to achieve a certain level of intercultural competence, the “(...) **cultural competence skills** refer to the cultural knowledge that you have internalized and the operational skills [that] you are able to apply in the interaction scene.” (Ting-Toomey & Chung, *ibid.*, p. 19). The authors (*Ibid.*, p.21) believe that “To understand various communication patterns in a culture, we

must understand the deep-rooted cultural values that give meanings to such patterns.”

Based on these intercultural theories, a brief description of five major themes of taboo language manifesting subjective culture in Indians and Brazilians’ shared collective values and beliefs is given below. The values and world-views reflected in TbWs in their respective languages- Hindi and Portuguese, will eventually help the student of PFL understand their context and appropriateness. (Cf: 2.1.4.7).

## 2.2.6

### Taboo Words in Hindi and Portuguese

TbW(s), translated as *gaali(yaan)* in Hindi and *palavrão (es)* in Portuguese, reflects the cultural influences in its use, context and appropriateness. Therefore, given the diversity in historical, cultural and social fabric, learning the offensiveness of TbWs in Portuguese can be a challenging task for a PFL Indian learner since dictionaries do not distinguish clearly between the meaning of *xingamento*, *gíria* and *palavrão*<sup>19</sup>. This is evident in the name and description of dictionaries. For example, the words classified as *palavrões* are found in the *Dicionário de Gíria* by Serra e Gurgel (2005). While *palavrão* and *xingamento* both mean swear word; *gíria* means slang, according to the dictionary Aurélio on line.<sup>20</sup>

In English they could be translated as profanity- “words that are offensive because of not respecting religion, or offensive because of being rude” - Cambridge online Dictionary<sup>21</sup>, or, as defined by Oxford Online Dictionary<sup>22</sup> as “swear words or religious words used in a way that shows a lack of respect for God or holy things.” However, the exact translation into English becomes problematic, as they can be termed as cuss words, insults, coarse words, ugly words, indecent words, offensive words or profanity. In Hindi, *gaali* means a socially unspeakable TbW. In both languages, TbWs are centred mostly around the semantic fields of women and sex. Animals’ names are used in both cultures for name calling as interjections, as will be seen in the next chapter.

<sup>19</sup> 1 Palavra grande, de pronúncia difícil.

2 Palavra grosseira, indecorosa, obscena; bocagem, obscenidade, pachouchada, palavrada, turpilóquio. Ofender ou insultar por meio de palavras.

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.linguee.com.br/portugues-ingles/traducao/aurélio.html> Access on 13 January 2021.

<sup>21</sup> <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/profanity>. Access on 12 January 2021.

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/profanity?q=profanities>. Access on 13 January 2021.

### 2.2.6.1 Taboo words in Hindi

“In ancient India, women were revered and rendered a significant contribution towards leading to welfare of the family and society. The women were given high status within the society and they felt gratifying and contented. They were provided with the opportunity to attain high intellectual and spiritual standards.”<sup>23</sup> In that period, Hindi TbWs were mostly used as ritual insults in folk music played in marriage and festivals for humour and better social bonding within communities. With the advent of invaders who targeted women as part of their loot, women had to be protected and gradually became a part of men’s responsibility. Nath (2019, p. 61), explaining the situation about Bengal states that “(...) 1620 onwards these Arakanese raids came to be supplemented by naval raids by Portuguese pirates and freebooters, who started combing south-eastern Bengal in search of slaves, food grains, and booty.” Quoting Mirza Nathan on a place called Bakla near the Bay of Bengal, Nath (2019, p.185) states: “(...) in early 1620s, Portuguese pirates carried away 1,500 men and women as slaves from the area owing to the negligence of the Mughal officer on duty in Jessore.”

Nowadays, to demean a woman translates as a direct affront to her protector. Consequently, a major part of insults among men, target women and sex and are used to settle scores between them. However, owing to the conservative nature of Indian society, the use of TbWs is not as frequent as in Brazil.

The TbWs below have been classified on themes of illicit sex, mother, sexual anatomy, scatology and animals’ names as follows:

- a) Illicit sex (sex out of marriage): Many TbWs in Hindi belong to the category of sex or sexual activity since chastity, virginity and celibacy are values that are adhered to literally at the cost of one’s life for women. That is why illicit sex is seen as a socially unacceptable behaviour and the deviant is treated almost as a social outcast and in some communities the punishment is sure death, notoriously known as honour killing, in particular for women marrying persons outside of certain communities. In rural areas the families of both man and

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<sup>23</sup> [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330220793\\_Status\\_of\\_Women\\_in\\_Ancient\\_India](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330220793_Status_of_Women_in_Ancient_India). Access on 13 May 2021.

woman are socially boycotted and all relations with community are severed permanently. So, the personal cost of nonadherence or transgression of social and cultural norms is very high, not only for the errant but also for the entire community, as the youth is considered the face of the community. Due to increased level of literacy, these norms have started to relatively relax and are on the downslide nowadays.

Examples of swearing: *Haramjadi*, (bastard), *Randi* (whore), *Kulta* (slut), *chhinaal* (bad character).

- b) Mother:** The figure of mother and motherhood is culturally highly respected and the tradition is preserved through the age-old customs and social norms in India. The idea of feminine power (*shakti*), manifested as mother nature (*prakriti*), mother earth (*prithvi*) and mother universe (*srishti*) are reinforced through idols and images of demi-goddesses like *Durga*, *Laxmi*, *Kali*, *Sarswati*, *Bhavani*. Most of Indian festivals celebrate the feminine power as creator and upholder of life on earth. As a result, the mother and motherhood form the basis of all social relationships. Any insinuation about chastity of mother, sister or a daughter is an unacceptable social and individual injury to the listener and elicits a strong, sometimes even violent reaction.

Examples of swearing: *Mader chod* (mother fucker), *Beti chod* (daughter fucker), *Behan Chod* (sister fucker), *Ma ka lode* (mothers's pussy), *behen ke lode* (sister's pussy). Sometimes these are abbreviated as *teri maa ki* (*your mother's*).

- c) Sexual Anatomy:** Physical body, especially female, in Indian tradition is treated as sacrosanct. The age-old spiritual practices of yoga and meditation have concentrated on human activity, on self-knowledge and self-improvement of physical body to arrive at the reunion of mind-body-soul. Any graphic or verbally vulgar depiction is an unacceptable offence to the victim and therefore, proffering TbWs on social media is punishable in the court of law.

Examples of swearing: *gaandu* (asshole), *lodu* (dick head, prick), *burr* (pussy), *chute* (pussy).

- d) Scatology:** The concept of private and public is still very strictly observed in Indian society and any graphic or verbal reference to human waste or reference

to scatological activity is discouraged as socially offensive behaviour. Therefore, even remote or indirect reference to effluvia or related activity can be offensive depending on the context.

Examples of swearing: *gaand chaat mera* (lick my ass), *lund chus* (cock sucker), *gu kha* (eat shit).

- e) Animals: All animals, herbivores in particular, as an integral part of mother nature are treated as sacred and worshipped along with the deity they represent. Therefore, bull, cow, elephant, monkey, peacock, cobra, lion and rat are worshipped and even have a week-day or an annual festival marked for them. For example: *Govardhan puja* for cows, *Nag Panchami* for cobras, *Hanuman Jayanti* for monkey god etc. Cow is treated sacred and beef is not consumed by most Hindus, just as pork is not eaten by most Muslims in India. Unlike in Brazil, where addressing a woman as cow is considered offensive and demeaning, in India it is generally considered a valued feminine virtue symbolizing gentleness, caring, generosity and piety. However, addressing someone as donkey, dog, pig, bull or snake in India refers to the negative cultural stereotype associated with: donkey (*gâdha*) as a beast of burden without a mind of his own; dog (*cûttâ*) as dependent on humans for food; pig (*suer*) for its affinity for filth; bull (*sããnd*) for being strong-headed; snake (*sããp*) for its disloyalty. These TbWs are often used in masculine form. They are either not used in the feminine form or are less frequently used.

Examples of swearing: *kutta/i* (dog/bitch), *suer* (pig), *gâdha/i* (donkey), *ullu ka pattha* (son of owl), *sããp* (snake), *sããnd* (bull).

Keeping in mind the recent increasing trend among youngsters using *gaalis* on social media, two women have started a project called *The Gaali Project*, according to an article<sup>24</sup> published on 18 Dec. 2020 by Susheela Singh. The aim of the project is to decentralize women from the TbWs and provide euphemistic, inoffensive, humorous *gaalis*.

<sup>24</sup> महिलाओं पर क्यों केंद्रित होती हैं ज्यादातर गालियां? - BBC News हिंदी . Access on 12 January 2021.

### 2.2.6.2

#### Taboo words in Portuguese

TbWs in Brazilian Portuguese are said to have been inherited from the Portuguese settlers and are frequently used in erotic literature/poetry, cinema, music - specially in funk *proibidão* - and day to day discursive practices. Most TbWs target women, sex and scatology as shown below:

- a) Illicit Sex: In a national survey conducted on core values of Brazilian society, the result of which were compiled in the critically acclaimed book, *Cabeça do Brasileiro*, by Almeida (2007, p. 20), the author found that female virginity was an important value until 1970, but now a days the situation has reversed. “A virgin adolescent will probably be made fun of by her peers.”<sup>25</sup> However, there still are TbWs from that era when the premarital sex in Brazil was considered taboo.

Examples of swearing: *puta* (slut), *piranha* (whore).

- b) Mother: In a chronicle titled *Amigos* (friends), published in the newspaper Globo (March, 2000), Luis Fernando Veríssimo, the author, humorously describes a scene where two friends meet by chance; “The bigger the friendship, the higher the aggressivity. You can be sure of the intimacy between two Brazilians once they bring in their mother in the conversation. The mother is the last taboo in Brazil. You only insult the mother of your best friend.”<sup>26</sup>

Examples of swearing: *puta que pariu*, *filho da puta*. The themes of illicit sex and the mother involve use of TbWs targeting women for having indulged in sexual activity out of marriage. While *puta* is a direct insult to a woman, *filho da puta* is a direct insult to a man by indirectly insulting women with reference to the mother figure. For the purpose of data analysis, therefore, instead of the theme mother, the implicit theme of sexual activity is being used.

<sup>25</sup> “A adolescente virgem tende a ser estigmatizada pelas colegas.”

<sup>26</sup> “Quando maior a amizade, maior a agressão. E você pode ter certeza de que dois brasileiros são íntimos quando põe a mãe no meio. A mãe é o último tabu brasileiro. Você só insulta a mãe do seu melhor amigo.”

- c) Sexual Anatomy: Since sexual activity and the sexual act in Brazil are not as stigmatized as in India, Brazilians and *Cariocas* in particular use the TbWs related to sexual organs without social inhibition, in the form of either interjection or as discursive prosody.

Examples of swearing: *cacete!* (dick!) *caralho!* *Vai tomar no cu!* (Fuck you, asshole!).

- d) Scatology: Scatology is frequently used for expressing emotions like joy, surprise, exasperation and anger. Examples of swearing: *porra!* (fuck!) *merda!* (shit!). As TbWs are essentially expressive speech acts, their exact translation into another language is context-driven and their meaning is connotative. *Porra* is a TbW only found in Brazilian Portuguese (Cf.1.3.1) whose denotation means sperm but when used as an interjection its meaning can range from *Fuck a duck* to *Fucking* (when collocated with the preposition *de*) (Nash & Ferreira, 2010, 56,61). Basnett (2011, p. 83) agrees that it is difficult to translate insults and curses and “even when they are translated the weight they carry with native speakers is very difficult to determine.”

- e) Animals: The animals’ cultural stereotypes like obesity, mental faculties, dirtiness, are transferred to and used for name calling mostly women. Calling someone a cow is a serious offence and calling someone a monkey (*macaco/a*) is a racial slur punishable by law in Brazil.<sup>27</sup>

Examples of swearing: *vaca* (cow), *cachorra* (bitch), *porca* (pig), *hippopótamo* (hyppo).

In the book titled *A mulher na língua do povo*, by Leitão (1981), Monica Rector in the preface plays on the double meaning of *língua* in Portuguese: as language and as the tongue, having a double function: speaking and tasting (*falar e saborear*). She chooses the second one to recall the Portuguese verb *comer* (to eat) referring to women as eatable (*comível*). For example, *Paulo comeu Joana ontem* means that Paulo had sex with Joana yesterday. This cultural meaning of the verb *comer*, which is shared among Brazilians demonstrates the patriarchy still

<sup>27</sup> O Juizado Especial Cível (JEC) da Comarca de Epitaciolândia (AC) condenou um homem ao pagamento de R\$ 3 mil por danos morais em decorrência da prática de injúria racial. Revista Consultor Jurídico. 4 de fevereiro de 2018, 7h08.

entrenched in the Brazilian society. Nevertheless, in the episodes (PdF) such as *Degustação* (DE) and *Sobre a Mesa* (SM) (Cf. 4.8), it was found that the women characters freely express their sexual expectations and concerns to their spouses, making uninhibited use of TbWs. It could mean a gradual loosening of the patriarchal structure in favour of women liberty in the Brazilian society.

Roberto DaMatta (1993, p. 30) explains that “In Brazil, the street and house are two sides of the same coin. What is lost on one side, is gained on the other. What is denied at home – like sex and the work, is available in the street.”<sup>28</sup> In a chapter comparing women and food “*Sobre comidas e mulheres*”, DaMatta (1993, p. 60) describes the relation between sex and food to explain the power relation between man and woman in Brazil, not as meeting of the opposites and equals but a way to resolve this equality.

“The sexual relation and the act of eating are similar in a way that indicates the way we, Brazilians, conceive sexuality and see it, not as a meeting of the opposites and equals (the man and the woman who are individually their own masters), but as a way to resolve this equality by absorption, symbolically consented in social terms, by one another. Thus, the sexual relation, in Brazil, places the difference and the radical heterogeneity, to put them into hierarchy in encircling of a consumer and consumed.”<sup>29</sup>

In this context we are reminded of Pinker (ibid.): comparing the verb *comer* to the American English meaning of *fuck*, stating that “In Brazilian Portuguese, the vulgar equivalent of fuck is *comer*, “to eat,” with the man (or active homosexual partner) as the subject (...) it fits the understanding of sex in which a woman is enjoyed and exploited by the man.”

Elaborating on the two views of sexuality, Pinker (op. cit.) states that the first one is an accepted and celebrated public discourse under the terms of holy matrimony, nuptials, consummation, honeymoon etc between two consenting individuals; and the other view of sexuality is that of “an active male exercising the

<sup>28</sup> No Brazil, casa e rua são como os dois lados de uma mesma moeda. O que se perde de um lado, ganha-se do outro. O que é negado em casa -como o sexo e o trabalho tem-se na rua.

<sup>29</sup> A relação sexual e o ato de comer, portanto, aproximam-se num sentido tal que indica de que mono nós, brasileiros, concebemos a sexualidade e a vemos, não como um encontro de opostos e iguais (o homem e a mulher que seriam indivíduos donos de si mesmos), mas como um modo de resolver essa igualdade pela absorção, simbolicamente consentida em termos sociais, de um pelo outro. Assim, a relação sexual, na concepção brasileira, coloca a diferença e a radical heterogeneidade, para logo em seguida hierarquiza-las no englobamento de um comedor e um comido.



act on a passive female, exploiting or damaging her” person or her self-worth. The second view is a taboo in the public discourse.

We could, to some extent, arrive at the conclusion from the above statements that the woman in Brazilian society is traditionally considered an object to satisfy two basic corporal desires: food and sex. This is reflected in TbWs, belonging to theme of sex and sexual activity. However, some Brazilians do argue that the status of women is gradually changing for better.

India and Brazil, being Masculine countries with high Power Distance Index, have in common TbWs that sexually derogate women. However, the number of TbWs in the Indian society are comparatively lesser in number due to the Restrained Indian society and its five thousand years old cultural values and belief systems. On the contrary, due to a relatively higher Indulgent Brazilian society, and its historic-cultural and social fabric, there are higher number of TbWs and their usage is frequently employed to create humour in stand-up comedies, reality shows, tele-serials and films. Therefore, Indian students of BP as a foreign language would need to understand appropriate contextual use of the TbWs in Portuguese and learn to distinguish the offensive from the ludic, or appropriate from inappropriate depending on the context. Figure 9 given below demonstrates in no certain terms, the extent to which the TbWs form a part and parcel of the popular culture of Rio de Janeiro.



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Figure 9. On the left: Bracelet that gives shock on uttering Taboo words; On the right: Morphed image with Portuguese Translation. (Google images. Access on 05 January 2021).

The image of a bracelet that gives electric shock on saying a curse word was morphed by the netizens and circulated in social media in Rio de Janeiro by substituting the caption, “kids playing CSGO” by the word “*Cariocas*”. It may seem a fun-fact, but it also highlights the profusion of TbWs used in *Carioca* discourse. This is proven by the headline of a news about the news-anchor, Marcelo Barreto, of a sport TV channel where he spoke a taboo word in a programme on live telecast. Wanting to acknowledge his appreciation to his editorial team he said: “*equipe do Redação, 2020 foi f..., mas vocês são mais*” (editorial team, 2020 was f... but you all were awesome”)<sup>30</sup>

This also indicates that TbWs are irrepressible expressive speech acts. Their use forms an irreplaceable part in day- to- day Carioca discourse.

The theories presented in this chapter apply to this research in general, however, depending on the concept and use of TbWs in individual Pdf episodes, specific appropriate theories would be utilised for data analysis wherever applicable.

### 2.2.7 Intercultural Approach

Since lexiculture theory is determinant to our research, we believe that Intercultural Approach for teaching TbWs is appropriate for this purpose. Intercultural communication is thus understood as “the actual interaction between people of different cultures”. (Stewart and Bennett, 1999, p. xii).

So, when two dissimilar meaning (semiotic) systems enter into intercultural interaction, culture shock manifests itself in the form of emotions such as confusion, embarrassment, shame, denial, withdrawal etc. The word representing an object has different cultural connotation in different cultures. For example, *chá* (tea) in Brazil signifies a cup of boiled water with leaves of varying flavours (apple, camomile, ginger etc.), whereas in India *chai* (tea) means tea leaves boiled with sugar and milk with or without aromatic spices. The first time this researcher was offered tea in Brazil she got a cultural shock upon learning a different meaning of tea.

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<sup>30</sup> <https://odia.ig.com.br/esporte/2021/01/6056276-apresentador-do-sportv-solta-palavrao-ao-vivo-em-mensagem-de-ano-novo.html>. Access on 13 January 2021.

Ting-Toomey & Chung (ibid., p. 93), on the concept of culture shock, believe that “it is an intense emotional experience for ‘short-time sojourners and long-time immigrants.’” However, as a teacher of PFL, the researcher believes that the culture shock can happen even outside the country of the target language or whenever the two cultures come into contact as she was witness to one, experienced in the classroom by the students of PFL in India. After watching a video of Rio *Carnaval*, Indian students faced a culture shock for having seen the semi-clad girls (*mulatas*) with fancy ‘*fantasias*’ and their sexy suggestive samba dance moves. Being their first exposure to the Brazilian culture, they considered it outright ‘dirty’ and continued to talk about it for a couple of days, until, the news reached the Head of Department, who advised the teacher to use discretion in selecting the pedagogic AV material.

Yet in another example, a middle-aged Brazilian woman visiting New Delhi, India, wondered why the male executives working at her office avoided eye contact with her. Upon inquiry, the men said they were intimidated by the proximity of the lady’s audaciously plunging necklines, something considered obscene by the conservative Indian social norms of dressing. Therefore, as a polite gesture, the men avoided eye contact while interacting, as a mark of respect which she interpreted as rude. As a result, there was stress, emotional turmoil, feeling of unease, helplessness, and confusion on both sides until it was resolved by educating both parties involved in intercultural interaction. She eventually adopted culturally appropriate dress code to the office. In fact, she had misinterpreted the shocked staring/gazing from men in public, as a sign of admiration.

According to Barna (1998, p. 337), the non-comprehension of nonverbal behaviour, gestures, and symbols of formality and non-formality can be a stumbling block in intercultural communication. This can be illustrated by another example when the male staff-members (driver, chef etc.) working for a Brazilian lady in India complained to the researcher that their ‘madam’ wore clothes too revealing for their comfort. The request to dress appropriately was communicated to her pragmatically and she did agree to dress appropriately. However, her dresses made from traditional, fine quality, fabric left nothing to imagination. Despite all covered, the thin see-through clothes exposed her body to public gaze. She explained that she preferred these clothes due to the extreme hot weather in India, putting an end to further arguments. Barna explains (ibid., p.180) “People from different cultures

inhabit different sensory realities. They see, hear, feel and smell only that which has some meaning or importance for them.”

The teacher of culturally sensitive subject such as TbWs could bear in mind this aspect of intercultural interaction and use a methodology that helps alleviate the shock as will be shown later (Cf.7.3).

### 2.2.8

#### **Intercultural Competence (IC) through Intercultural Approach (IA)**

The researcher’s experience described above is an example that shows the importance of IC in order to hold a successful intercultural communication which happens due to an adequate understanding of context.

IC involves accepting that there is no one right way to do things. IC means being aware that cultures are relative (Liddicoat; Scarino: 2013, p. 23-24). The IA to teaching culture “is a learner-oriented development of communicative teaching. In foreign language learning, the world of the target language and the learners’ own cultural world come face to face.” (2000, p. 240).

“The IA thus attempts particularly to focus on processes of understanding and negotiation of meaning between other and own worlds.” (Ibid.). It positions language learner not as someone deficient in relation to the monolingual monocultural native speaker, but as a bilingual or multilingual and multicultural mediator of meanings between the languages: his own and the target languages.

The IA for teaching IC developed by Liddicoat with Crozet (1999) is based on comparison and learning to notice differences, something similar to that proposed by Byram (2000) and Ting-Toomey & Chung (2012). It divides language and culture teaching into four stages (Figure 10) such as: (1) Awareness-raising (2); Skills development (3); Production and (4) Feedback.

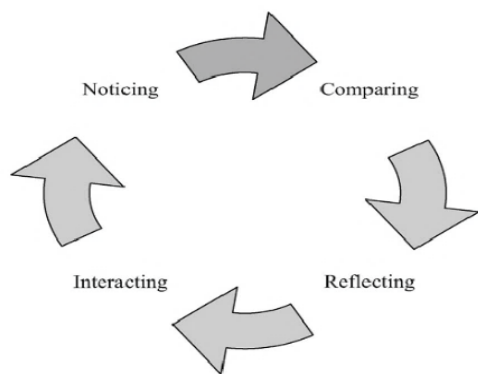


Figure 10. Interacting Processes of Intercultural Learning Model- Liddicoat (2015). (Google Images. Access on 07December 2020)

Liddicoat (2005) firstly, proposes the use of “authentic video material” for raising awareness on the difference. The second stage, skill development, the experiment stage, involves ‘short, supported communicative tasks for focussed practice’ in order to fix newly noticed knowledge. In the third stage, production, role-plays to simulate as like native speakers and feel the impact of newly acquired skills on their identity. The last stage, feedback, involves reflecting and discussion by the students on the “experience of acting like a native speaker.”

Liddicoat’s four steps approach involving the noticing of difference is in resonance with that of Ting-Toomey & Chung’s four step staircase model that advocates working at the level of consciousness, as well as that of Bennett’s (2019[1998]) IC approach, based on differences in cultures. In this approach, interculturalists use these kinds of comparisons for their knowledge-base, focusing less on the differences themselves and more on how the differences are likely to affect face-to-face interaction.

For Ting-Toomey (ibid., p. 30) “The first lesson in communication competence is to “tune in” to our own ethnocentric evaluations concerning “improper” dissimilar behaviors. Our evaluations of “proper” and “improper” behavior stem, in part, from our ingrained cultural socialization experiences.” This practice is inspired by Asian philosophy of silence, listening intently, accepting and giving preference to others over self, aims at eliminating any possible conflict and misunderstanding that may arise from holding one’s ethnocentric values and attitudes, considered ‘better’ or more correct than the other ones.

For Bennett (ibid, p.6) The process of communication is seen as the mutual creation of meaning - the verbal as well as nonverbal behaviour of communicating

and the interpretations that are made of that behaviour. The constructed meaning is called the content of the communication where many linguistic aspects contribute to the meaning making process, some of these are as follows:

- a) Relationship between language syntax and the experience of physical and social reality. Bennett shows the simple examples embedded in linguistic differences as “status markers in some of the Asian languages”. In Hindi, for instance, there are three personal pronouns for first person singular; *mein*, *hum* and *hum log*, similar to the *eu*, *nós* and *a gente* in BP. The use of *mein* (*eu*), in the regions of Delhi, is interpreted as individualism whereas *hum* (*nós*), *hum log* (*a gente*), in other Hindi-speaking regions, as collectivism. The use of *mein* in Hindi films, TV and print media reinforces the North-Northeast linguistic-divide stereotype. Similarly, there are three forms of second person singular personal pronouns: *tu*, *tum*, *aap*, that the speaker may use depending upon the age, relation and social status of the interlocutor in an informal (*tu*), semi-formal (*tum*) or formal (*aap*) interaction. Indiscriminate use of *tu* without an adequate understanding of social hierarchy is interpreted as rude, uncultured and offensive in Delhi.
- b) Relationship between language and experience in the semantic dimension of language. The semantic dimension of BP is evident from the 770 synonyms for the TbW for male sexual organ (Orsi, *ibid.*, p. 158), whereas in Hindi there is only one word (*laand*). On the other hand, in Hindi there are eight synonyms (*praiavachi*) for Sun, fifteen for Earth and Twenty-five for Moon,<sup>31</sup> whereas, in BP, there seem to be three for Sun (*sol*), four for Earth (*terra*) and three for Moon (*lua*).<sup>32</sup> Thus, the semantic dimensions reveal the preoccupation and world-view of the respective linguistic community of native speakers.

Like the assumption of linguistic relativity, the assumption of perceptual relativity lies at the heart of IC. If one is unable to assume that people from different cultures perceive the world in a different way, his efforts, instead of understanding the difference, are guided by the desire to correct the other. Bennett discusses various features of languages such as basic contrast between direct and indirect styles applied to understanding a difficulty in communication; cultural values as of good vs. bad, correct vs. incorrect, right vs. wrong that people assign to ways of being in the world; and the author also refers to cultural assumptions interrelated

<sup>31</sup> <http://hindigrammar.in/Synonyms%20Words3.html>. Access on 14 January 2020.

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.sinonimos.com.br/lua/>. Access on 14 January 2020.

with values. Hence, IA's main goal is to produce an intercultural speaker who has a clear notion of the aforementioned skills.

An intercultural speaker, according to Byram (2003, p. 60), is "the foreign language learner as a social actor whose interaction with others is coloured by the social identities, he/she brings to communication situations and how those identities are perceived by other speakers of the language, both natives and non-natives." The intercultural speaker aims basically to achieve competence in two skills: Linguistic and Cultural, termed as Pragmalinguistic and Sociopragmatic.

### 2.2.9

#### **Pragmalinguistic and Sociopragmatic**

Speaking a foreign language fluently and possessing a fair amount of theoretical cultural knowledge acquired in classroom situation does not ensure a successful intercultural communication. The researcher experienced this in Portugal, few years ago, when she misunderstood friendly winks by her male European friends which in Indian culture has a sexual connotation. She was embarrassed and analysed her own behaviour that could have invited this unwarranted behaviour from them. The confusion was cleared when her female friend explained that it was a just a polite camaraderie kind of gesture of acknowledgement and acceptance. She was relieved and secretly ashamed for having wasted many anxious and stressful moments on a trivial issue. But incidents like this are common in intercultural verbal or nonverbal IC, which Barna (1998) terms as the "stumbling blocks" in intercultural communication such as: (1) assumption of similarity, (2) language difference, (3) nonverbal misinterpretation, (4) preconception and stereotypes, (5) tendency to evaluate, (6) high anxiety.

Applying Barna's (1998) theory to the researcher's own experience described above, she had misinterpreted the meaning of the nonverbal gesture of winking in her ethnocentric way. That is why she had evaluated and experienced these stages namely (1) (3) (4) (5) and (6).

Thomas (1982) presents two key terms in cross-cultural communication applicable also to second language teaching methodology, viz. Pragmalinguistics (knowledge of grammar and pragmatics) and Sociopramatics (knowledge of pragmatics and social conventions) as key competences to avoid pragmatic failure (Figure 11). In Thomas's view, the reasons for sociopragmatic failure are: the size

of imposition of a speech act, the awareness of taboos in a particular cultural context, and differing assessments of relative power or social distance between interlocutors.

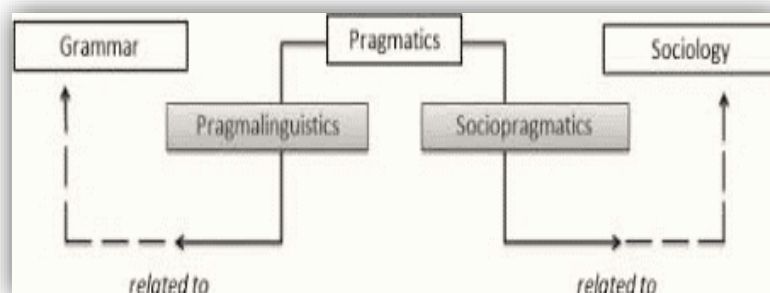


Figure 11. Pragmalinguistics and Sociopramatics (Google Images. Access on 4 December 2019)

According to Bousfield (2008), “Politeness is indeed an area in which pragmalinguistic failure merges with sociopragmatic failure. The choice of polite forms and strategies seems to belong to the pragmalinguistic end of the continuum and language specific. When and to whom to be polite concerns the sociopragmatics end and is culture specific.”

### 2.2.10 Intercultural Speaker (IS)

Over the years, FLT has been focussing on achieving native speaker-like proficiency for the learner, paying little attention to the reality of the learner’s own learning process and the difference between his/her own meaning system and the one he/she is being introduced into. However, the IA to FLT treats the language learner as a mediator between his/her own and the target language and culture as a multilingual and multicultural negotiator of meanings, in opposition to the monolingual and monocultural native speaker as the target norm. In this mediation process, the learner has to deal with claiming his own place as a member of the target culture from the point of reference of his own culture as a non-member. Byram (2000) and Liddicoat (2013) consider the language learner as an IS.

According to Liddicoat (op. cit., 56), “Intercultural speakers, the language learners’ own thoughts and ideas become a central source for the process of mediation – it is their meanings and their attempts at meaning making for others



that form the basic resource for mediation.” Hence, IA is a learner-centric approach in which the learner is the interpreter of the meaning of a culture different from his own, and a producer of meaning for the target language that a native speaker has to understand in an intercultural interaction. “Intercultural speaker has a responsibility to intercultural sensibility and intercultural understanding.” (op. cit., p. 59) where Responsibility is a principle that recognizes that learning depends on the “learner’s attitudes, dispositions, and values, developed over time” reflected in communication. Intercultural Communicative Competence “enables learner to understand what they need to understand and to say what they want to say (to each other and to their foreign interlocutors) in certain situations in relation to specific topics has become the central tenet of the foreign language learning process.” Byram (2000, p. 44). The four dimensions to socio-cultural competence according to Zarate and Byram (1994) (Figure 12) are shown in the table below:

	<i>Savoir apprendre</i> (Observe) Interpret and relate	
<i>Savoirs</i> (Knowledge) Of self and others; of interaction: individual and societal	<i>Savoir s’engager</i> (Education) Political education Critical cultural awareness	<i>Savoir être</i> (Attitude) Relativizing self; valuing others
	<i>Savoir faire</i> (Skills) Discover and interact	

Figure 12. Factors of Intercultural Competence (IC) Interacting in intercultural communication. Source: Byram (1997, p. 34).

- Savoirs*: the knowledge of one’s own cultural attitudes and the ability to establish and maintain relationship with the other from an ethno-relative perspective.
- Savoir être*: refers to the attitude of approaching the dissimilar ‘other’ with openness, curiosity and non-judgemental mindset and learn to embrace the difference as part of the learning process.
- Savoir apprendre*: the ability to observe and analyse other people’s culture;
- Savoir faire*: ability to interact with people of another culture
- Savoir s’engager*: involves critical cultural awareness. (added by Byram in 1997).

As proposed by Zarate and Byram (1994), the consciousness or awareness is proposed also by Ting-Toomey and Chung (ibid., p. 31) as a cognitive approach to Intercultural communication competence in staircase model:

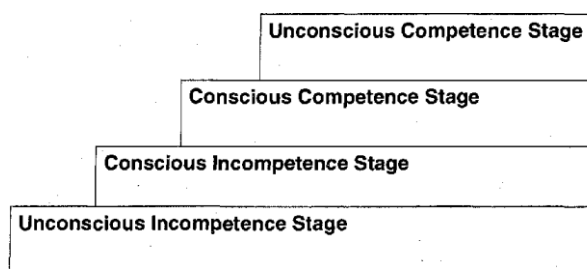


Figure 13. Intercultural Competence Staircase Model - Ting-Toomey & Chung (Google Images: 10 Jan 2020)

- a) Unconscious incompetence - the blissfully ignorant stage in which an individual is unaware of the communication blunders he/she has committed in interacting with a cultural stranger;
- b) Conscious competence - the semi-awareness stage in which an individual is aware of his/her incompetence in communicating with members of the new culture but does not do anything (or knows how to) change his/her behaviour adaptively in the new cultural situation;
- c) Conscious incompetence - the “**full mindfulness**” stage when an individual is aware of his intercultural communication “non fluency” and is committed to integrating the new knowledge, attitude, and skills into competent practice;
- d) Unconscious incompetence stage - the “mindlessly mindful” zen stage when an individual can code switch so spontaneously and effortlessly that the interaction flows smoothly from an “out-of-conscious yet mindful awareness” rhythm. (Howell, 1982; Ting-Toomey, 1999)”

Thus, we see a paradigm shift in language learning focus from the native speaker towards the learner, viewed as the active language user, interpreter, observer, analyser, critique and producer. Through the ideas inspired by the Asian practice of Mindfulness, Consciousness, Awareness, and placing others before oneself and West European strategies of *Savoirs* skills (Byram, 1994), the learner is positioned between his own culture and the target language culture, thus creating a third spot in between the two as a mediator and negotiator of meanings. This approach sees the teacher and the learner as participants in the language learning process.

## 2.3 Humour

Humour can be defined as any message, gesture, word, image or sound that provokes laughter or smile. Humour is primarily dependent on the understanding of language and subjective culture. Filho (2012, p. 69, p. 75) informs that “Brazilians seem to have a consensus on being ‘well humoured’. (...) We can say that humour in Brazil is understood as intrinsic characteristics that either one has (have sense of humour) or one that is (good or bad humoured).”<sup>33</sup> This is in accordance with Lewis (2006), who states that Brazilians, as a multi-active community are a happy, emotional and expressive people (Cf.2.2.2). In a study on comedies (*programas humorísticos*) televised on Brazilian TV channels between 1987-1988, Travaglia (1990, p.72) defines humour as: “(...) sort of “a weapon for denunciation” (*arma de denúncia*)” that uses comedy in its discursive intentionality to point out and satirize the evils and deviation from natural realities, catching the countless events apparently foreign to the customs of a given historic period. The laughter arises from something’s defamation in which someone or a given situation is the target of apparently innocent sarcastic persecution.”<sup>34</sup>

Travaglia (ibid) states the following three types of humour as far as politeness is concerned:

- a.) Living room Humour (*Humor de Salão*) - uses polite and refined language, adheres to social norms, without reference to *palavrões*, prejudices or sex related vocabulary. Even if it does, it is done in an indirect, veiled manner using indirect, metaphorical and euphemized language.
- b.) Dirty or Heavy Humour (*Humor sujo ou pesado*) - uses vulgar language and *palavrões* presenting in direct and explicit form elements whose explicitness is, almost always, taboo.
- c.) Medium Humour (*Humor médio*) uses language that is mid-way between that of polite Living room humour and that of non-adherence of social norms of the Dirty or heavy humour.

<sup>33</sup> “Sobre os brasileiros parece ser consenso o fato de sermos “bem humorados. Pode se dizer que no Brasil o humor é entendido como característica intrínseca que se tem (ter senso de humor) mas que também se pode ser ou estar.”

<sup>34</sup> “O humor é uma espécie de arma de denúncia em cuja intencionalidade discursiva utiliza-se da comichidade para apontar e satirizar os vícios e desvios das realidades naturais, flagrando os inúmeros acontecimentos aparentemente estranhos aos costumes de um dado período histórico. O riso surge da difamação de algo em que alguém ou uma dada situação é alvo de perseguição sarcástica aparentemente inocente.”

Travaglia (ibid. p. 52) explains that the Dirty Humour, “(...) has a strong dose of aggressivity towards taboos and prejudices of all sorts and not just sexual.”<sup>35</sup> The author (ibid., p. 53-54), further divides the types of humour into four types depending on the topic: 1) Black humour (*Humor Negro*), 2) Sexual humour (*Humor sexual*) 3) Social humour (*Humor social*) and 4) Ethnic humour (*Humor étnico*).

Travaglia (ibid., p. 57-65) elaborates the following five elements that provoke laughter, in the Script: Stupidity 2. Cleverness 3. Ridicule 4. Absurd 5. Stinginess. Another category called Mechanisms has the following listed elements such as: Complicity of audience turns complicity of the character; 2. Irony; 3. Mixing of places or positions of the subject; 4. Ambiguity; 5. Use of stereotype; 6. Contradiction; 7. Suggestion; 8. Change of topic; 9. Parody; 10. Word play – homonymy, polysemy or phonetic similarities; 11. Tongue-twisters; 12. Exaggeration; 13. Disrespect for conventional rules; 14. Metalinguistic observation; 15. Violation of social norms.

Concluding a study on humorous TV programs in Brazil, Travaglia (ibid, p. 68) states:

“Sex appears in almost all the programs and with greater force in more popular ones. In these themes over gays, infidelity, sexual desires, man woman relationship in and out of marriage, etc. with different nuances: approval, disapproval, simple freedom of desire, etc. As Freud says, humour is a form of illuding, fleeing, escaping social censure (...) the presences of these two [topics] are a symptom of how much the Brazilian people has been and (still is) repressed in these aspects.”<sup>36</sup>

These observations are determinant to deconstructing the Script of *Porta dos Fundos* and exposing the element of ridicule in CG, absurdity in EL, parody in NL, word-play and repetition in SM, and violation of social norms in PA. The author also affirms that these elements are interconnected and play a role in building humour. A significant fact about humour is that its understanding depends on culture and historic period. PdF portrays characters in unusual situations trying to resolve the conflict through the impulsive use of TbWs calling it a situational

<sup>35</sup> “têm uma forte dose de agressividade face a tabus e preconceitos de toda sorte e não apenas sexual.”

<sup>36</sup> “O sexo aparece fortemente em quase todos os programas e com mais força nos populares. Ai se incluem quadros sobre gays, infidelidade, desejo sexual, relacionamento homem mulher dentro e fora do casamento, etc. com diferentes, nuances: aprovação, reprovação, simples liberação de desejo, etc. Se como diz Freud, o humor é a forma de iludir, de fugir, de escapar a censura social, (...) essas duas presenças são um sintoma do quanto o povo brasileiro anda (ou é) reprimido nestes aspetos.”

comedy. As the name suggests, the term comes from situation and comedy, which have been abbreviated as sitcom.

However, Blake (2005, p. 11) states that “SITCOM IS NOT about the situation but about characters.” Situational comedy started in 1926 simultaneously in the United States of America and United Kingdom and created characters caught in unusual situations. The humour was generated from the way the characters acted or expressed to resolve the situation. The characters of PdF are portrayed as trapped in situations of conflicting interests, in the interaction involving power-play. The TbWs are used to ridicule or attack their opponent’s face and make their point of view understood. Travaglia’s study (1989, 1990) will help analyze the humour in each episode of PdF.

## 2.4 Conclusion

In sum, the IA for teaching IIC aims at the student being “mindful”, “aware” “noticing” and above all, being “open-minded” and ethno-relative to the cultural differences, being acceptive to the new “world-vision” of the target language. Bennett believes that intercultural experts should have deep knowledge of at least their own cultures. Liddicoat (2005) states that “teachers’ experiences of intercultural communication, especially of problems, can lead to insights about language and culture.” Galisson (2002, p. 510) emphasises the role of the teacher: “(...) the teacher of foreign language (...) presently should be also a culturologue, this means, to know how to master the current culture, new to him, relatively less accessible and which evolves in rhythm, often forced by successive mastery.”<sup>37</sup>

TbWs, as shown above, become an indissociable part of teaching and learning of PFL of BP to achieve intercultural competence in order to eliminate stress, “an inherent part of intercultural encounters.” (Barna, 1998, p.180) and hold a successful intercultural dialogue. In order to deal with culture shocks faced by the student of PFL, the teacher’s deep knowledge of the target culture as well as his/her own culture can help alleviate the degree of culture shock and inculcate the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatics skills in the use of TbWs that will ultimately

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<sup>37</sup> « (...) l’enseignant de langue étrangère doit à présent être aussi culturologue, c’est à dire, savoir maîtriser une culture courant, nouvelle pour lui, relativement peu accessible et qui évolue au rythme, souvent forcé, de ses métissage successifs. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-ela-2002-4-page-497.htm/> »

orient the learner to achieve Intercultural Communication Flexibility (in the target language and become an intercultural speaker (Cf.2.2.10).

### 3. Methodology

This research follows a Qualitative Interpretative approach based on sociolinguistic data collected and interpreted from audio-visual material obtained online from nine episodes of *Porta dos Fundos* (PdF) posted on YouTube. As presented in Chapter 1, the general aim of this research is to familiarize the Indian students of PFL with TbWs used by *Cariocas*. The decision to use data from PdF as the most accessed YouTube channel of Brazil that portrays various aspects of Brazilian culture and raises polemic issues, depended on the content that makes extensive use of TbWs in many of its episodes. Therefore, it proves to be a very productive source of data for this research, as explained in detail in the next item.

Qualitative research is a subjective, naturalistic observation and interpretation of data by the researcher whose role has been highlighted by writers such as Flick et al. (2004, p. 8), “(...) the reflective capability of the researcher about his or her own actions and observations in the field of investigation is taken to be an essential part of discovery and not a source of disturbance that needs to be monitored or eliminated.” The researcher of this study framed the research question following a keen observation of the uninhibited use of TbWs by native-speakers in Rio de Janeiro and its non-inclusion in the BP taught to non-native speakers. Darlington & Scott (2002, p. 18) recommend the involvement of researcher in the all aspects of the research stating that

“(...) the researcher cannot be and should not be written out of the text. This relates to the development of the research question and, as we shall see, it permeates all parts of qualitative research process. The qualitative researcher is inextricably immersed in the research; thus qualitative research requires a high level of ‘reflexivity’ or self-reflection about one’s part in the phenomena under study. For some qualitative researcher the questions they explore grow out of a strong ideological commitment and the pursuit of social justice.”

In this sense, the researcher has related, wherever relevant, her own experiences as a Portuguese language teacher in India as well as a researcher and still, a keen learner of BP in Brazil in order to better illustrate the stumbling blocks proposed by Barna (1998) in the learning of intercultural communication. Therefore, this pioneering intercultural study on TbWs in BP not only shapes this

research but also, in a way, represents the self-realization by the researcher as a teacher of BPTI in the field of TbWs.

Darlington and Scott (ibid., p. 75-76) caution about the subjective nature of observation by the researcher.

“There is always the risk of imposing one’s own interpretation and assumptions on what is observed and so failing to understand what an activity means for those involved. It is important to build safeguards to minimise such misinterpretation. Understanding of the context being observed is one approach. This can be achieved either through prior familiarity with the setting or through a period of general observation at the commencement of the study. Where practicable, the use of co-observers may provide a check on observation.”

As the researcher does not belong to the culture being researched, the context and the use of TbWs were understood by a number of critical viewing of episodes, followed by soliciting views from the supportive group of Brazilian fellow-researchers as native speakers. Advices were sought from the research advisor, for correct analysis of the data to avoid extending, presumably, any subjective impressionistic observations.

### 3.1

#### Source of Data: *Porta dos Fundos*

The data for analysis is taken from *Porta dos Fundos* (Back Door) (PdF) which is listed as *palavrão* in the dictionary<sup>38</sup>. It is the name of a Brazilian creative group, founded in 2012 by a group of friends namely; Fábio Porchat, Antonio Tabet, Gregório Duvivier, João Vicente de Castro and Ian SBF in Rio de Janeiro, looking for ‘creative liberty’ (*liberdade criativa*)<sup>39</sup> with an aim to produce short situational comedy episodes for YouTube. PdF produces videos on general sociocultural, political and religious issues like drug (ab)use, human relationships, sexuality, social and gender disparity, corruption in politics, racial prejudice, police functioning etc. The channel has 5 billion visualizations and 16 million subscribers on YouTube according to an article<sup>40</sup> published on 16 December 2019, by NBC news channel as well as by the description on the PdF site.<sup>41</sup> Since the group is

<sup>38</sup> Xatara & Oliveira (2008). *Dicionário de Provérbios, Idiomatismos e Palavrões em Uso*. 2 ed.

<sup>39</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/c/PortadosFundos/about>. Access on 10 January 2021.

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/nbc-out/netflix-facing-backlash-over-comedy-special-gay-jesus-n1102766>. Access on 12 January 2021.

<sup>41</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/c/PortadosFundos/about>. Access on 10 January 2021.



based in Rio de Janeiro, the language used in the episodes is presumed to be the one spoken in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

The group has earned international acclaim for their work. PdF won an International Emmy Award (Figure 14) for best comic episode in 2019. The name *Porta Dos Fundos* itself is an ambiguous expression, with a literal meaning “the back door” and a metaphorical taboo word meaning “anus”. (Xatara & Oliveira, 2008, p. 567). Porchat was named the Man of the Year 2019 by GQ (Gentlemen’s Quarterly), a Fashion Magazine for men published in New York.

In an interview<sup>42</sup> to Rádio Gaúcha, Porchat states that PdF fills a blank space “left by Brazilian television’s conservative nature and obsession with [viewership] figures.” Further, Porchat feels that “Humour needs to change and get more importance in Brazil.” For Porchat there is no topic that is forbidden or sacred as far as humour is concerned. Humour has to be more cautious because it throws light on particular topics and makes a lot of people stop to think about serious issues in a lighter and relaxed way.<sup>43</sup>

In an article<sup>44</sup>, Nogueira (2015, p. 2) states that “*Porta dos Fundos* has become an icon for popular culture and media, especially in the web world, being able to establish points of view, criticism of behavior, and social satires, through its narratives charged with parodies, satires, ironies, intertextuality and metalanguage.” These reasons made PdF, the obvious choice for the data on TbWs.

<sup>42</sup><https://gauchazh.clicrbs.com.br/cultura-e-lazer/tv/noticia/2019/12/no-melhor-ano-da-vida-fabio-porchat-optou-por-ouvir-quando-todo-mundo-esta-querendo-falar-ck3zxog0p00ks01qhbjm7oyl2.html>. Access on 08 January 2021.

<sup>43</sup> Numa entrevista para Rádio Gaúcho, Fábio Porchat comenta que “o humor precisa mudar e ser mais valorizado no Brasil. Mais do que avançar, o humor não pode ser tolhido. Para Porchat, não existe nenhum assunto proibido ou sagrado para o humor. O humor tem de estar muito atento, pois ele joga uma luz sobre determinados assuntos e faz com que muita gente pare para pensar, de uma forma leve e descontraída, sobre coisas muito pesadas”. — opina.

<sup>44</sup> “O Porta dos Fundos se tornou um ícone da cultura popular e midiática, especialmente no universo web, sendo capaz de estabelecer pontos de vista, críticas ao comportamento e sátiras da sociedade, por meio de suas narrativas carregadas de paródias, sátiras, ironias, intertextualidade e a metalinguagem.”



Figure 14. (left) *Porta dos Fundos*, Emmy International Award (right); Porchat on the front cover of the GQ Magazine. (Google Images. Access on 10 October 2020).

Recognition of Porchat's role in 'changing the meaning of humour' can be seen as an acknowledgement of PdF's strategy of leveraging humour for the portrayal of social and political issues that are usually brushed under the carpet for being either polemic or too sensitive for general public viewing. TbWs charged with intense emotions and used for the purpose of carnivalization and/or trivialization of life-situations through humour explains the popularity of PdF episodes.

### 3.1.1

#### Selection of Data

For collection of data for research PdF, a situational comedy series on YouTube was chosen for the following reasons:

1. The researcher was familiar with PdF as it was used by her research advisor to display and analyse aspects of Brazilian culture in the courses on Portuguese as a Second or Foreign Language (PL2E) at the PUC-Rio Language Studies graduate program.
2. The popularity of PdF among the Brazilian audience can be seen in 16 million subscribers which reflects its acceptance by the viewers.
3. The independent portrayal of serious social issues through exaggerated humour by PdF that highlights the situation's absurdity in an entertaining manner without adhering to the norms of the tv channels regarding the number of visualizations (called TRP - Television Rating Point in India - which indicates the popularity of a programme and its commercial success.)

The collection of data in real life or simulated situations was not considered feasible. Firstly, because TbWs are not often used in public all the time. Secondly, collecting data through questionnaire without defining context would not have

served the purpose, neither creating hypothetical contexts for the sake of questionnaire obtaining the responses. This would not have given an accurate feedback since taboo language is used for expressing emotional meaning in context; and in a controlled question-answer situation, informants could disguise or even omit their possible use of TbWs.

Therefore, the decision to use PdF episodes was taken for its independent portrayal of issues through exaggerated and uncensored use of linguistic taboos in situational comedy.

After having screened through around 71 (seventy-one) episodes of PdF, a total of nine episodes with offensive language were selected with the consent of the advisor, for analysis around Jan 2020. Their names and respective links on 10 January 2021 are as follows, all available on the *Porta dos Fundos* channel on YouTube:

1. Boa Notícia - [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k0P\\_icE3BOE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k0P_icE3BOE)
2. Conta pra gente - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZI7dXadr1YM>
3. Degustação- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DW64IA4iyPs>
4. Dura - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DyPb15CHdew>
5. Elevador- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7AdXC7PJNBo>
6. Nome na Lista - [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-\\_aL7qCN73c](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-_aL7qCN73c)
7. Pau Amigo - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QVuZ0qu8Uis>
8. Sobra a mesa - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6EYmKAs7mzc>
9. Virgem - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EgLbOJuafLs>

### 3.1.2

#### Criteria for Selection

The selection of episodes of PdF was based on the sociocultural and pragmatic factors presented by Jay (2008, p. 272) as follows:

“Swearing is influenced by pragmatic (contextual) variables such as the conversational topic, the speaker listener relationship, including gender, occupation and status, and the social-physical setting of the communication with respect to whether the swearing takes place in a public or private location, one’s jurisdiction over the location, and the level of formality of the occasion.”

Depending on the pragmatic variables cited above, an attempt was made to include the episodes with maximum number of TbWs on: (i) varied topics of conversation: sex, corruption, infidelity, love, bullying etc.; (ii) varied social-physical setting of interactions: home, restaurant, film-premier, tv interview, road, public places; and (iii) different types of speaker-hearer relationships: husband-wife, children-parents, boss-colleagues, celebrities-journalist-politician, police-citizens, people in public places etc. The consequence of the use of TbWs on the interaction as well as on the hearer's reaction was another important factor for choosing the episodes that ranged from physical aggression, uncomfortable silence, embarrassment and/or listener's submission to the speaker.

Nine episodes provide a fair amount of the basic seven TbWs that this research aims to investigate, namely: *cu*, *caralho*, *porra*, *puta*, *pau*, *foder* and *buceta*; nevertheless, other TbWs that may be found in these episodes are also considered for analysis. In these episodes, these TbWs are used in different contexts, thus providing sufficient data for analysis, allowing the presentation of a general idea on the use of TbWs in Rio de Janeiro.

As mentioned above, after scanning a large number of episodes for TbWs, the following nine episodes from PdF (Table 2) were chosen and enlisted in alphabetical order. The name of each episode has been abbreviated for facilitating the identification and compilation of data.

Abb.	Name of the Episode	Topic	S-H Relation	Social-physical	Launched
BL	Boa Notícia (good news)	Annual report	boss – colleagues	Private: office	24/01/2019
CG	Conta pra Gente (tell us all)	TV interview	actress – journalist	Public: film show	16/01/2016
DU	Dura (tough)	Police search	police – citizens	Public: road	03/02/ 2014
DE	Degustação (tasting)	Suspicion	husband – wife	Private: home	20/12/ 2018
EL	Elevador (elevator)	Elevator use	woman1 – woman2	Public: building	03/08/ 2017
NL	Nome na Lista (name in list)	Corruption	deputy – journalist	Public: office	25/05/2017
PA	Pau Amigo (fuck buddy)	Introduction	daughter – parents	Private: kitchen	08/09/2018
SM	Sobre a Mesa (on the table)	Dirty talk	husband – wife	Private: kitchen	10/09/2012
VI	Virgem (virgin)	Meaning	husband – wife	Public: restaurant	18/02/2019

Table 2. Compilation: Data for Analysis. (Columns explained- Abb. Name of episode abbreviated; S- Speaker; H- Hearer)

The three major pragmatic contextual variables in each episode as shown in the table above is explained in greater detail below:

a) Conversation topic:

BL: The annual report discussion by the boss and his team members and ways to compete with their competitors;

CG: TV interview of a film actress by a journalist wanting to know her intimate details;

DE: Investigation of a man's sexual organ by his wife and her friend on suspicion of infidelity;

DU: Investigation of two policemen found sleeping on duty by two citizens;

EL: Argument over pushing the button of the elevator that ends in a physical fight;

NL: Interview of a politician on embezzling of public funds;

PA: Daughter's first-time introduction of a male sexual partner to her parents;

SM: Dirty sex talk at dinner table by wife in response to her husband's dislike for her way of cooking.

VI: Parents trying to explain the meaning of the word *virgem* to their young son.

b) Characters involved: Speaker and Hearer (S, H)

Professional (formal):

BN – boss, subordinates

CG - TV journalists, TV actors

NL - TV journalist, politicians

Family (informal):

PA – daughter, parents, daughter's boyfriend

SM, VI, DE – husband, wife

EL – woman 1, woman 2, woman 3

DU – police, citizens

c) Social-physical setting of communication:

- Formal - semi-public place: BN - office board room
- Semi-formal Public Place: CG, NL - TV interview; EL - building; VI - restaurant;
- Informal - Private Place: PA, SM - kitchen; DE - living-room; DU- street.

### 3.2

#### Theories for Data Analysis – brief review

The second chapter outlines the theories that are used as tools to simplify the presumed complexities of TBWs. Primarily, these theories are: Lexiculture and Language Culture Pedagogy: Galisson (1988, 1992); Intercultural theories: Hofstede (2010), Lewis (2006), Peterson (2004); DMIS Model: Bennett (1998); Specific Aspects of Brazilian Culture: DaMatta, (1993, 1997) Meyer (1993, 1996, 2020) Pinker (2008); Teaching of foreign language Byram (2013) Liddicoat (2005, 2013). Intercultural Communication Ting-Toomey & Chung (2012), Semantics and Pragmatics: Face work: Goffman (1967) Jay (2000, 2008), Ljung (2011), Allan and Burridge (2011); and Pragmalinguistic and Sociopragmatics Thomas (1982) etc.

In the same chapter, some useful operational terms like X-phemism by Allan and Burridge (2011); context and contextual variables by Jay (2008, 2012, 2017); face by Goffman (1967), degree of offensiveness by Carretero (2011); conceptual metaphor by Hawkes (2018), terms in the teaching of Foreign Language such as: Intercultural Communication competence, intercultural approach by Ting-Toomey (2012). These and other theories are discussed at length in the Theoretical Base. (Cf. Ch. 2)

### 3.3

#### Ethical Committee

All nine episodes are produced by PdF as work of fiction in situational comedy format and posted on YouTube for open and free public viewing for entertainment. Therefore, there is no copyright issue involved in the use of the content as research material and, hence, scrutiny by the Ethical Committee is not applicable. A number of researches carried out in the Department of Letters, PUC-Rio, in the past have used content from TV Globo series, for example, *A Grande*

*Família, Diaristas, Os Aspones, Os Normais* as well as *Porta dos Fundos* as data for research purpose.

The decision to write the thesis in English was taken jointly by the researcher and the advisor, later approved by the Department, keeping in mind the scope of a wider reach to the English-speakers in the world where English has become the lingua-franca of the research-oriented academia. Secondly, being the researcher's second language, makes the expression and analysis in English carried out in this work easier and faster. Thirdly, as the objective is to study, analyse and describe the Portuguese TbWs in BP using the Intercultural Approach strategy, it was thought appropriate to use both the languages: Portuguese for the research and English for description. The Coordinating Committee for Post-Graduation of the Language Studies Post-Graduate Program (PPGEL) has kindly permitted the text of the research to be written and published in English.

All rules and regulations prescribed by the Coordination Committee for Post-Graduation studies at PUC-Rio for writing the thesis have strictly been adhered to according to the editing and formatting pattern established at [http://www.puc-rio.br/ensinopesq/ccpg/apresentacao\\_ted.html#roteiro](http://www.puc-rio.br/ensinopesq/ccpg/apresentacao_ted.html#roteiro).

### 3.4 Limitations

The exact translation of Portuguese TbWs into English posed a challenge at times. For example, the word *porra* (sperm) is a TbW used only in Portuguese language. Therefore, its closest translation was considered as “shit” which actually in Portuguese is translated as *merda*. It may also be translated as “fuck” in context such as, “*Que porra é essa?*” (What the fuck/heck is that?)

Another limitation was posed by the type of English use. Since, the researcher is a British English speaker, and the bibliographical material consulted was British, American and Australian, a few times arose a question of translation of TbWs. Some orthographic differences also had to be taken into account, particularly in citations.

Thirdly, this research is not exhaustive in dealing with Brazilian Portuguese language TbWs, i.e., it was possible to deal with the words present in the nine episodes only. Many other TbWs that do exist and certainly are frequently used, could not be included in this analysis for a matter of time and feasibility.

## 4. Data Analysis

For the purpose of data analysis, all the theories have been grouped under two major headings: 1. Lexicocultural and 2. Intercultural, as both deal with Foreign Language Teaching through culture deposited in the language.

### 4.1 Boa Notícia (BN) (Good News)

#### 4.1.1 Context

The episode posted on 24 January 2019, shows Oswaldo and his colleagues in an official board meeting of the company, discussing the company's performance in the past year and strategies to improve it for the next year using a homosexual jargon, because he is gay. A participating new employee feels visibly confused and uncomfortable with the expressions that Oswaldo uses to describe their situation in comparison with their competitors. His colleague Julio, sitting by his side, helps him understand the sense of the meaning implicit in the vocabulary. Again, in the second part, Marta, the CFO (Chief Finance Officer) of the same company, speaks to her colleagues using heterosexual vocabulary according to her own sexual orientation which Julio explains to the new employee and helps him decipher the meaning of the discourse.

The TbWs used in this episode belong to the themes of scatology: *porra*, and sexual anatomy: *cu*, *rola*, *buceta*.

#### 4.1.2 Linguistic Aspects

Semantically this episode is an example of the inversion of meaning by a close restricted small group in order to create an exclusive group code for its members belonging to a particular profession, or a sexual orientation, distinct from their own linguistic community. The semantic field of sexual activity is inverted for use in a workplace culture where *tomar no cu* has a positive connotation among the in-group members and being so, incomprehensible to out-group community members just like we shall see in the episode *Pau Amigo* (Cf. 4.7).



The expressions *tomar no cu*, *enfiar no cu*, *chupar um cu* denote the idea of doing something to the anus and connote invasion, violation of one of the most intimate areas of the body. Grammatically, these are formulaic expressions used as face threatening utterances or unfriendly suggestions in popular language and, for being so, considered offensive depending on the context. Formulaic Expressions can be defined as a type of language that is “*pré-determinado*” (predetermined) as formulas “*pré-fabricadas*” (prefabricated) (Alencar, 2016, p.19) whose meaning surpasses the total sum of the meaning of each word component.

However, in this episode, they are used as metaphors for professional performance and workmanship in the corporate culture for their emotive meaning in order to motivate the employees by generating a sense of belonging to the organization and to create solidarity among the team members.

*Cu* (asshole in American English)<sup>45</sup> is a synonym of *rabo* (ass) in popular culture. The meaning and emotions with expressions associated with *cu* are therefore not well defined and hence, depend on the contextual use. All TbWs, as seen before, defy lexical, syntactical and semantic norms of orthophemistic / scientific words as is evident in the expression *cu de burro* meaning a homosexual whereas *cu de cachorro* means a difficult task / situation. *Cu doce* in Maior (1980, p. 37) means someone who makes simple things difficult in the Northeast or a pretentious person in the South, whereas in Serra e Gurgel (2005, p. 278), it means pride, thus, indicating a shift in the meaning during 25 years. These changes in form, content and use, together with regionalism of TbWs are used and shared within the native speakers, qualifying them as words impregnated with popular emotional culture, inaccessible to foreign students.

The propositional use of expressions with TbWs such as: *chuva de bucinha*, *ficar de quatro*, *botar uma rola de 30 cm na nossa boca*, *chupar um cu cabeludo*, by Oswaldo, firstly, describes the current situation of the company and secondly, emotionally inspires team spirit and loyalty to the firm. In this sense, there are two deviations in the use of TbWs: of the physical setting i.e., from informal to formal, and from the semantic field of sex to professional motivation as shown below in dialogue no. 14:

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<sup>45</sup> *Cu* is translated as *arse* in British English. (Nash & Ferreira, 2010, p.13).

Oswaldo: - Foi uma chuva de **bucetinha** depilada, cheirosa. Deus me livre. Mas esse ano vai ser diferente. Esse ano a gente vai pegar a concorrência. Vamos **ficar de quatro** na frente deles e eles vão meter com força na gente. Vão rasgar a gente entendeu? Depois vão botar uma **rola de 30 cm na nossa boca** de tamanho daquele sanduíche grande de *Subway* e engasgar a gente assim.

The diminutive in *bucetinha*, is used pejoratively by Oswaldo to imply his aversion to vagina even with positive adjective markers: *depilada* (waxed) and *cheirosa* (perfumed). This dislike and pejorativeness is highlighted by the use of the expression *Deus me livre!* (God spare me!). The use of the diminutive suffix -*inha*, or the augmentative -ão in *cuzão* (big ass) by the team member is taken as a compliment (*elogio*) by Oswaldo despite the member being responsible for messing up the stock, as shown below in dialogue no. 16:

Executivo: - Eu mesmo, **cuzão!**

Oswaldo: - Para seu bobo. Vou deixar passar por causa do elogio, hein!

However, outside the group of close friends, the use of *cuzão* can be highly offensive. According to Sandman (1989, p. 74) -*inha* or -ão denote more than the idea of size, they are an expression of emotion. He also adds that “Pejorativeness depends on contextual and situational factors.”<sup>46</sup> In the episode, *bucetinha* is disliked and *cuzão* is liked according to Oswaldo's personal sexual preference.

On the other hand, the lexical choice of *rola* (dick) used four times with adjectives like *grossa* (thick), *bem grossa* (very thick), *cheia de veias* (full of veins), *de 30 cm*. reflect not only Oswaldo's own sexual orientation as gay but also his motivational and oratorical skills with which he inspires his team and downsizes his competitors in the market.

Pragmatically, there are two parallel interactions in the episode: (i) one between Oswaldo and the team members, (ii) the other one aside between Júlio (interpreting the terms used in the interaction) and the new member. They configure two meaning-making processes, (i) the homosexual jargon with the new sense of the meaning and (ii) the original popular meaning. The aside comments are indicative of permeation of the jargon into the popular language. The first aside

<sup>46</sup> “Pode-se afirmar sem receio que os sufixos de aumentativo e diminutivo -ão e -inho se prestam hoje mais à expressão de apreço e despreço – contêm, portanto, elementos de emocionalidade do que à expressão neutra do tamanho grande ou pequeno.”

takes place when the new member asks Julio the reason for celebration since the expression used by Oswaldo, *tomar no cu* means disappointment and frustration as shown in dialogues no. 5-8:

New Member:- Espera aí gente. Porque vocês estão comemorando?

Júlio:- Por causa da boa notícia.

New Member:- Mas ele acabou de dizer que a gente **tomou no cu** e que o Chefe vai **comer no nosso rabo**.

Júlio:- O Oswaldo é gay. Pra ele, isso é bom, entendeu?

Julio explains that it means good news and since Oswaldo is gay and in the homosexual jargon it has a positive connotation (*isso é bom para ele*). Therefore, we see a confrontation of two different senses of the meaning of *tomar no cu*; one negative and offensive represented by the new employee and the other, positive and inoffensive represented by Oswaldo. Julio acts as the mediator between the two meanings.

The second aside happens when Julio explains to the confused new member that Marta is heterosexual and therefore, the sense of the meaning of *cair de boca numa rola cheia de veias* was good and positive as shown below in the dialogue no. 18 and 19:

Marta:- Oi, eu sou Marta, a CFO da empresa. Quero traçar metas para o próximo trimestre. E espero que a gente consiga **cair de boca numa rola cheia de veias de novo**.

Júlio:- Isso é legal porque ela é hetero.

Jennifer Waters (2007), in an article<sup>47</sup> on line, observes that in a mixed company, women tend to swear more in order to assert themselves and prevent the conversation from being dominated by males. We see this happening with Marta in the second part of the episode.

Although the asides stated above are not disruptions or FTAs in the conversation and the TbWs used do not offend the colleagues so as to result in exchange of aggressive words or a verbal argument, they do represent a sense of

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.marketwatch.com/story/what-the-bleep-swearing-in-the-office-can-inspire-teamwork>. Access on 16 May 2019.

alienation and incomprehension for the new employee. This kind of language has been termed as jargon by Allan & Burrige (ibid., p. 58) “Jargon is a language peculiar to a trade, profession or other group; it is the language used in the body of a spoken or written text dealing with a circumscribed domain, in which the speakers share a vocabulary, habits of word usage and a form of expression.” Further the writers propose two basic functions of jargon: “to serve as a technical and specialist language for precise and economical communication; to promote in-group solidarity and exclude the out-groupers, those people who do not use jargon.”

This feature of jargon may seem to overlap with the feature of slang we see in *Pau Amigo*, also as a group code. Allan & Burrige (Ibid., p. 71-74) state two major differences, “[1] slang dates faster than jargon and, [2] slang can be usually replaced by standard language without affecting the communicative efficiency whereas the best jargon cannot.”<sup>48</sup> Oswaldo’s team members share an understanding of the homosexual jargon either because they too are gay or have acquired it in the course of having worked in the office over a period. That is why, the new member being an outgroup member has difficulty in understanding the sense of the words and expressions used by Oswaldo since their connotative meaning is different from what he has known so far.

This shows the dynamics of power play in the meeting. Oswaldo, being in the position of higher hierarchy over the rest, uses the homosexual jargon in the formal setting of the workplace without inhibition and is understood by everyone present in the meeting except the new out-group employee. Julio explains to him the sense of the vocabulary thus initiating the process of integrating him into the group.

According to Thomas (1995, p. 50) “(...) the same locution can have different illocutionary forces in different contexts.” The semantics of the taboo jargon in the episode takes on another sense of the meaning, contrary to what they mean in connotation: *tomar no cu*, *chuva de bucinha*, *ficar de quarto*, *botar uma rola na boca*, *chupar um cu cabeludo*, the taboo category of genitalia and sex are shown as having illocutionary force of inspiring motivational team-work to achieve a common target for the company. This emotive aspect of TbWs is evident from the

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<sup>48</sup> The example can be *sacanagem* a taboo word in the sixties is now a common mainstream word used by news-anchors and journalist in the electronic media.

team members tapping the table, clapping, exclaiming with joy and enthusiasm as shown below in dialogue no. 4 and the reaction of the members in no.14:

Executive: - Que maravilha! (smiles) (4)

(Every one claps and taps on the table in jubilation.) (14)

This episode demonstrates the permeation of homosexual discourse into general public discourse and those who are out of the group have to be initiated and familiarized with it. The language considered obscene and therefore taboo by the new member gradually, finds acceptability for its emotional intensity and motivational force.

### 4.1.3

#### Pedagogic Aspects

Interculturally, Brazilian culture, being more feminine than India (on country comparison of MAS dimension scale proposed by Hofstede (2010), puts women in a fairly high position in sexuality as compared to men, they have almost equal sexual rights and freedom whereas in India men enjoy more freedom as compared to women in sexual matters. In Brazil, sexual issues are openly discussed in TV shows<sup>49</sup> whereas talking about sex is a taboo in India. Homosexuality in Brazil is accepted as a way of life contrary to India where it is considered unnatural and a violation of social norms although it is clearly mentioned in India's mythology, ancient folklore.

According to Agoramurthy & Hsu (2007, p. 659), “When compared to other world religions, the Hindu religion appears to be one of the oldest to accept homosexuals as part of the society.” This is a reference to the most translated book, *Kamasutra*, the volume on art of living that has a complete chapter dedicated to homosexuality. The ancient *Khajuraho temples*, a world heritage monument, has its walls depicting homosexuality in sculpture. However, in 1860, the British banned homosexuality under Indian Penal Code section 377 to declare homosexuality as a criminal offense.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-w-xvif4TvA>,  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mp76fPk3DNg>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t-2dIv5IGRw>. All accessed on 05 January 2021.

<sup>50</sup> It states “whoever voluntarily has carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any man, woman or animal shall be punished with imprisonment for life or with imprisonment of either

After Independence, India has made homosexuality legal by passing a law in 2019, which allows gender change and freedom to register in the category of third gender. However, most LGBT members remain closeted community fearing discrimination from their family who might see homosexuality as shameful.

Brazil<sup>51</sup> is among the most advanced nation in Latin America as far as the rights of LGBT community is concerned. They enjoy marriage rights since May 2013. According to Guinness World Records, São Paulo LGBT Pride Parade is the world's largest LGBT gathering in the world. According to a Datafolha survey of 2017, the number of Brazilians who think that homosexuality should be accepted rose from 64% in 2014 to 74% in 2017.

Unlike Brazil, homosexuality in India has only recently been made legal following a prolonged struggle by LGBT community. Homosexuals therefore, form a small close-knit community due to which their communitive styles, their vocabulary, if any, has not yet permeated into the general public discourse in Hindi, the way it has done in Portuguese language.

The Lexiculture and Interculturalism approach have a similar goal, i.e., to inculcate intercultural competence in language speakers, what Thomas (1982) calls Sociopragmatics and Pragmalinguistics. In this episode we examine the word, "Subway" with a Common Cultural Load (CCL) among the native speakers who know that "Subway" does not belong to Road-ways category as highway is. It is an American sandwich and salad Restaurant Franchise with outlets all over the world, known for its extra-long sandwiches below in dialogue no. 14:

Oswaldo: - Depois vão botar uma **rola de 30 cm** na nossa boca de tamanho daquele **sanduíche grande de Subway** e engasgar a gente assim.

The notable feature of this franchise is that the sandwiches come in sizes of different measurements. The restaurant is known for its footlong sandwich split-

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description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall be liable to fine. This law was inspired by the Bible Leviticus 20:13 which states that "if a man practices homosexuality having sex with another man as with a woman, both men have committed a detestable act. They both must be put to death for they are guilty of capital offense." In 2018 this law was abolished by the highest court of justice, the Supreme court of India.  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Section\\_377\\_of\\_the\\_Indian\\_Penal\\_Code#:~:text=377.,also%20be%20liable%20to%20fine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Section_377_of_the_Indian_Penal_Code#:~:text=377.,also%20be%20liable%20to%20fine). Access on 18 June 2020.

<sup>51</sup><https://www.bing.com/search?q=homosexuality+in+brazil&cvid=66e7a5976ac44d2096428ccc06399078&FORM=ANAB01&PC=SMTS>. Access on 18 June 2020.

roll that is filled with ingredients ordered by the customers. Its long length makes the client hold it with both hands. Oswaldo makes the same gesture of eating it with pleasure, making an analogy between *rola* (dick) and the Subway sandwich with a similar appearance in terms of length. Food and sex both belong to the semantic category of carnal pleasure in Brazilian culture. It is only in Portuguese language (Pinker, 2008) that the verb to eat, *comer* is used to denote having sex. *Comi Veronica ontem* means *I had sex with Veronica yesterday*.

In this context, Oswaldo, describing the pleasure of *tomamos no cu* (dialogue. no.3) by their competitors, symbolizes their victory over them in the homosexual jargon which is exactly the opposite of what it would mean in the community out of the homosexual discourse. The use of Subway sandwich is a metaphor for popularity and commercial success of the franchise in sale of this 30 cm.- long sandwich. It has been cited as an example to emulate and achieve that kind of success since the sandwich is popular fast food in the corporate sector and therefore well known among employees.

The semantics of *foder* and the gamut of relations surrounding it, has been inverted to symbolize achievement, victory and pleasure over the adversary in the work culture of homosexuals. In the episode, *cu* has been used in the following syntactical structures:

cu + adjective	= cu bonito, cu cabeludo
verb + (indef. art). + cu	= chupar um cu, chupar cu, arrombar cu
verb + preposition + def. art. (no) + cu	= tomar no cu, enfiar no cu

This analysis may appear simple at the outset. However, for the learners of PFL, it helps them to decode the structure of the use. The learners of PFL have to take a longer route to understand the structure and the corresponding function of the language, things that native speakers take for granted. For Allan & Burrige (Ibid., p. 67), one of the features of jargon is that it cannot be replaced by standard language without affecting the communicative efficiency, the way slang can. “Changing the jargon alters the message.” For example, *tomar no cu* cannot be replaced by synonyms such as: *pegar no ânus* or *apanhar no traseirou* or for that matter *tomar no anus* or *tomar no traseiro*.

In the episode, *the word cu* in expressions such as: *tomar no cu*, *enfiar no cu*, *chupar um cu*, is used as a metaphor for performance, excitement and workmanship of the workers. Analogy between *cu*'s denotation as performance (defecating) and *cu*'s connotation as performance (sexual act) has been stretched to meaning a good performance (team work) by Oswaldo in order to colour his utterances with intense emotions, hoping to motivate his team to perform better the coming year. This way the dysphemistic connotation of *cu* as a metaphor for something vital, intimate, sensitive, shameful have been inverted to euphemistic connotations: pleasure, excitement and motivation. The inversion in the sense of the meaning is shared within the small in-group of a specific profession and sexual orientation. The outgroup member will have difficulty in making sense of the meaning until they are well integrated into the group. The same goes for a foreign student of Portuguese language. The TbWs carry a shared cultural knowledge charge, tinged with emotions which needs to be carefully analysed.

Connotation of *cu cabeludo* (hairy asshole), can be understood in relation to a popular expression *quer o cu e ainda quer raspado* (to want an asshole and shaved too). This implies that a shaved *cu* is preferred over the hairy one since it connotes negligence and careless attitude towards one's own body (part). The same reasoning can be applied for *peito cabeludo* (hairy chest). This reminds us of an article<sup>52</sup> by Labre (2002) on Brazilian wax in which she describes how the removal of the pubic hair has caught on as a rage among all sections of Brazilian society and turned it into a multibillion-dollar industry. Goldenberg (2010, p. 237) too reminds us that "a cared for body is fundamental in markets of love, marriage, sex and, yes, employment." These authors explain the concerns of *Cariocas* to maintain a beautiful body free of unwelcome body hair.

As Brazilian culture is characterized by Indulgence (Hofstede, 2010), given to instant gratification of desires, a non-indulgent attitude does not find favours from *Cariocas*. Expressions with *cu* (asshole) are a popular way of emoting towards ambiguous situations in popular public discourse. Posted in Facebook<sup>53</sup> by Rafael Capanema (11April, 2017) of Buzzfeed, Brazil, an article<sup>54</sup> demonstrates

<sup>52</sup> <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0196859902026002001>. Access on 26 June 2020.

<sup>53</sup> 25 expressões que comprovam que o brasileiro é cismado com cu.

<https://www.buzzfeed.com/br/rafaelcapanema/expressoes-com-cu> Access on 05 January 2020.

<sup>54</sup> "25 Expressions that prove that Brazilians dwell on asshole" Access on 05 January 2020.



Brazilians' indulgence (Hofstede, 2010) in pleasure and gratification. In response to this post, hundreds of netizens posted expressions on *cu* used by their family in different regions, thus giving an idea of what place the *cu* holds in public discourse not only in Rio but all over Brazil. Compared with Hindi, *cu*'s equivalent *gaand* does not have as many connotations as in Portuguese, due to sex being taboo subject in India. *Gaand* is mostly used in its dysphemistic denotative meaning.

Pedagogically, this episode can be used for teaching the jargons of homosexual language that are becoming an added semantic field by inverting the old meaning on its head. The rising homosexual population and frequent international travels in/to India as well as in/to Brazil makes it imperative to get a sense of the new semantics being added to the language in order to avoid ethnocentric views of the other culture by Indian students. With more and more student exchange programmes, Indians studying in the universities of Brazil or working with Brazilians in International companies are possibly going to have homosexual class mates and colleagues. Hence, it might be a good idea to familiarize them with the homosexual jargons for in-groups such as: *tomar no cu*, *enfiar no cu*, *comer o rabo*, *botar a rola na boca*, *chupar um cu cabeludo* etc. with their new semantic and pragmatic contextual use that may eventually aid their integration into specific teams or in-groups

The research conducted on the emotional aspect of TbWs mentioned by Allan & Burrige (ibid., p. 245) suggests that the "second language speakers find it easier to utter TbWs in their second language than their first. Moreover, they are far less conscious when discussing taboo topics in their second language." So, it can be beneficial for those students who choose to be acquainted with this category of jargon to be able to develop better understanding with the in-group without being subject to culture shock.

Secondly, the lexical richness of a language is the key to understanding society's concerns. The knowledge of TbWs related to homosexual jargons could initiate the students of PFL, into a better understanding of the sociocultural aspects of the Portuguese language and Brazilian society as a sexually open society for both men and women and help mindfully avoid possible ethnocentric perceptions and eventually acquire Intercultural Communication Flexibility (Ting-Toomey & Chung, ibid., p. 28).

#### 4.1.4 Final Considerations

The TbWs used in this episode are not offensive firstly, because they are used within a small group in which their semantics and pragmatics is shared by the members and the interaction takes place in amicable, jovial atmosphere with laughter and celebration. Secondly, they are not used as FTAs to damage the face of the listeners but to inspire and motivate them to do better. Thirdly, there is no exchange of aggressive words between the interlocutors thus, no breakdown of interaction happens. (Cf. 2.1.5.6). However, the TbWs are offensive for the new member of the team as an outgroup member, unfamiliar with the homosexual jargon because its meaning is shared exclusively by the ingroup only.

The episode catapults not only jargons of male homosexuality but also female heterosexuality into the formal context of Corporate culture. The reaction of the new employee reminds us of Allan & Burridge (ibid., p. 41) who state that it is not the words that are inappropriate in a given context but our “attitude towards denotations and connotations of the words.” In this sense, the word *caralho* can be no more offensive than *pau* than the orthophemism *pênis* or its scientific term *genitália masculina* depending on our own attitude and the contextual variables of use. The implicature of *tomamos no cu* and other jargons for Oswaldo and his team (in-group) is an occasion to celebrate however incomprehensible for the new employee (an out-group). A change in attitude towards the use of words is the key to a change in perception of the world given the fact that taboos are loaded with intense emotions of popular culture that can be leveraged to harness motivation in order to achieve goals. Speaking of attitude, in the chapter “Speaker’s linguistic attitude” Preti (1984a, p. 69) elaborates that “It is a conscious linguistic attitude that makes a speaker choose certain variables, levels of speech or registers, suitable for particular situation according to him.”<sup>55</sup>

Preti (op.cit., p. 70) explains that beside the three general variations of socio-linguistic stratifications namely: *formal*, *coloquial*, *comum* of a language, an individual, dissatisfied with his own “socio-cultural conditions” can adopt a “group code” (*signo grupal*) used within closed groups (prisoners, youth etc.). The author states that:

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<sup>55</sup> “...uma atitude linguística consciente, que o leva a escolher certas variantes, certos níveis de fala ou registros, mais adequados a determinados momentos, segundo ele.”

“The use of these variations represents a linguistic attitude of opposition, a conscious aggression to the standard language. (...) Within groups, there is a strong adherence to its speech, as code that is synonymous with the personality of the speaker, of his self-realization as an individual in his own community and above all, of his *status*. ”<sup>56</sup>

The episode can be seen as an interaction and induction of the out-group member into the in-group users of jargons. Allan & Burridge (ibid., p. 65) concur with the idea that “While jargons facilitate communication among in-groupers on the one hand, on the other, they erect communication barriers that keep out-groupers out.”

This episode is an attempt at de-stigmatization of taboo homosexual jargon not only through its inclusion but also its elevation and use in the formal professional culture. The characters of Julio and the new employee represent the dialogue between the jargon and the standard language. For Jennifer Waters (2007), swearing at work place can boost morale and foster team spirit among the employees and this episode seems to concur with this line of thought.

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<sup>56</sup> “Podem significar, muitas vezes uma atitude linguística de oposição, de agressão consciente à linguagem padrão... Sente-se em grupos como estes um sentimento de apego muito grande ao próprio falar, como um signo inconfundível da personalidade do falante, de sua realização como indivíduo na comunidade em que vive, de seu *status*, enfim.”

## 4.2

### Conta pra Gente (CG) (Tell us all)

#### 4.2.1

##### Context

The episode posted on 16 January 2016, shows the premiere of the new film *Separação*, the name being visible on the promotion panels in the background. At the entrance of the event, a female TV journalist is seen interviewing a male actor while actress Fernanda Mariano waits for her turn. The journalist showers the actress with praise for her success. Fernanda excitedly talks about the story, the cast of the film and her contribution to the project. But the journalist apparently is more interested in talking about the actress' personal life using words such as *corpão* (great body), *coraçãozinho* (love life), and finally more intimate details asking her about the colour of her *cu* (ass) even waving a colour palette at her. The actor is horrified by her question and exits the interview calling her *babaca* (jerk). The journalist tricks her back into the interview asking her, this time, if she had had anal sex. The actress leaves the interview in disgust not before replying *vai pra merda* (go to hell). In the second part of the episode, the journalist asks a male actor the colour of his *pau* (penis) and thereafter about his ass. Instead of responding, the actor remains silent and the journalist has to end the interview by saying that he is too shy to answer. The TbWs are used to titillate and create sensationalism in order to gain an edge over the other media channels in terms of viewership.

The TbWs used in the episode belong to the themes of sexual anatomy: *cu*, *pau*; and scatology: *merda*.

#### 4.2.2

##### Linguistic Aspects

There are two parallel lines of communication realized by the journalist in the episode; verbal with the actress Fernanda and non-verbal with the spectators of the interview whom she addresses as *público em casa* (audience at home) and *pessoal de casa* (folks at home). She communicates with them through gestures such as smiles, laughter, winks and facial expressions at the camera, creating an informal jocular setting through vocabulary that is inappropriate for the event but appropriate for the audience. Apparently, the journalist takes on acting and the actress takes on the role of the journalist, answering with all seriousness and

professionalism usually expected of journalists. Similar to other episodes analysed, there appears to be a role reversal between the celebrity and the journalist.

Semantically, the use of the verb *contar* in the expression *Conta pra gente* is a directive speech act spoken with an intonation of request or command. Used as a moderator for the directness of imperative mode, it can be used in the form of request, question, command or advice depending on the tone used to convey the message in Brazilian Portuguese. It is used in expressions such as: *conta!* (Tell us! come on!) Its meaning is usually understood as to narrate the events in sequential manner whereas *falar* means to be able to use vocal cords to produce sounds, coherent or not. This difference is clear from the following context: *O bebê ainda não fala*. (The baby doesn't speak yet.)

The interaction in the episode begins on an amicable tone with the journalist giving face to Fernanda by eulogising her looks and her professional success as an actress shown below in dialogue no.1:

Journalist:- Tá **linda** ela, lançando filme novo. Outro **sucesso**, Puxa! Mas você não para hein?

The use of the words such as *linda* (beautiful) and *sucesso* (success) with positive connotation along with interjections such as *puxa! hein!* emphasize the tone of appreciation. As Battistella (2005, p. 68) states: "The words one uses - proper or improper, coarse or polite - establish the tone of one's language." Fernanda carries forward the patronising tone as shown below in dialogue no 2:

Fernanda: - Eu estou muito **feliz** com esse projeto. É uma história **forte**, conta a história de um casal que está em crise e decide de se separar. Eu reavalio toda a vida deles. **Incrível**. Um elenco **maravilhoso**, um projeto **super otimista**, bem **bacana**.

She continues excitedly, with the use of more positive words such as: *feliz* (happy), *forte* (deep), *incrível* (amazing) *maravilhoso* (marvellous), *super otimista* (highly positive), *bacana* (good) to describe the film, the cast and the project. Both the interlocutors so far create a polite and positive tone of interaction that changes once the journalist begins to unravel her curiosity and explore the personal life of the actress as shown below in dialogues no. 3 and 7:

Journalist:- Que ótimo! E esse **coraçãozinho**? Como é que está? Tá solteira?

Journalist:- Tá focada! E esse **corpão**? Muita malhação para manter, conta? Dá uma rodadinha para gente.

The use of diminutive *-inha* and augmentative *-ão* express the emotive meaning of *coração* (heart) and *corpo* (body) enhancing affective and appreciative aspects of the words as seen in many other episodes. Beginning her utterance with face enhancement and appreciation through an interjection - *que ótimo!* (how great!), the journalist advances in her attempt to obtain more details on the personal life of the actress by posing a question in the end, hence, imposing on her autonomous face by using the imperative form - *dá*. Grammatically, these are formulaic expressions in imperative mode with illocutory force manifested in the intonation of request, suggestion and advice to the addressee in the form of a question to minimize imposition on the addressee (Meyer, 2002, p. 206). The directness in imperative mode is moderated through the syntactical structure as following:

- *dar* (imperative) + indefinite article + nominalized verb + diminutive *-inho/a* +?

However, according to Spencer & Oatly (2008, p. 17) “Orders and requests can easily threaten rapport, because they affect our autonomy, freedom of choice, and freedom from imposition, and this threatens our sense of equity rights (our entitlement to considerate treatment.”

The flow of interaction comes to an abrupt halt when the journalist wants to know about the actress’s *cu* (ass) on the pretext of public demand. The actress expresses shock due to the unexpectedness of the question as shown in dialogues no. 9, 10 and 11:

Journalist:- Olha, o público em casa quer saber como é seu **cu**?

Fernanda: - Quê? (surprise, shock, disbelief. The smile disappears)

Fernanda: - Você tá louca?

The unexpected question about the *cu* produces surprise, shock and disbelief, and the cheerful tone of the conversation, evident so far from Fernanda’s excitement and smile, disappears suddenly due to the inappropriateness of the request for the occasion. Fagersten (2012, p. 119) states that “The fact that swearing can be inappropriate and/or offensive can contribute to its potential to titillate or

entertain.” (Zelvys, 1990, p. 324 apud Fagersten, op. cit.). Further, she adds the element of unexpectedness and observes that “very often all the humour is in the unexpected appearance of obscene word at the inappropriate moment.” For the journalist, the use of TbWs seems to be an attempt to entertain by titillation.

However, the use of a TbW in the utterance - *como é seu cu?* (What is your ass like?) is an invasion of Fernanda’s privacy, a threat to her public self-image, and a direct imposition on her negative face in full public view of the camera. She tries to save face by launching a counter face attack through the use of a pejorative word *louca* (crazy), a reaction termed as behavioural echo by Fagersten <sup>3</sup>ibid., p. 119) that questions the mental faculty of the listener. The journalist inverts the negative connotation of *louca* through the use of the preposition *para* as shown below in dialogue no. 13, 14, 15 and 16:

Journalist:- Louca para saber como é esse **cu**? Tem dado?

Fernanda:- Gentel! Eu não quero falar do meu **cu**!

Journalist:- Tá. Você tem feito sexo pelo **bumbum**?

Fernanda:- Dá licença. (She exits)

The expression *louca para* followed by a noun (*comida*) or a verb (*saber*) means “passionate about someone/ thing”. Through this expression, the journalist communicates the intensity of her curiosity representing, at the same time, the presumed curiosity of the spectators of the interview. The use of the past participle *dado* of the verb *dar* (to give) can be seen as a word play (Cf. 2.3) on its double meaning: one, as “data”, a noun; and second, as part of an expression- *dar o cu* meaning to have anal sex to create humour. The placement of *cu* at the end of the sentence followed by the question- *tem dado?* (have you been having (anal sex)?) discursively lends ambiguity to the meaning of the utterance of the journalist due to its two implicatures: Do you have data on your sex life? and Have you been having anal sex?

In the following sentence, when Fernanda refuses to answer the query about her *cu*, the journalist collaborates by saying *tá* (ok) and replaces *cu* by *bumbum*, euphemism of *cu*, in order to obtain an answer. However, the lexical replacement does not change the semantics of the expression; therefore, the actress makes a polite exit by using *dá licença* (excuse me), making it a first complete breakdown in the interaction. The journalist tries to bring her back into the interview, this time

offering her the choice of communicating non-verbally by choosing a colour from a colour palette to indicate the colour tone of her ass. The actress calls her *babaca* (jerk) and makes a second exit from the interview. The journalist tries again to call her back literally hoodwinking her into the interview as shown in the dialogues no.19, 20 and 21:

Journalist:- Espera aí, só uma pis..., pera aí. Olha uma última pergunta, querida, é sobre o filme (winks at the camera), vem cá. Tá linda ela!

Journalist:- Aí olha! Não vou te enganar, eu quero saber do teu *cu*.

Fernanda:- Vai pra **merda**!

The journalist tricks her into coming back on the pretext of asking about the film and winks at the camera, letting the spectators know about her intentions. However, she again asks the actress about her *cu*. This time, the actress retorts with an offensive taboo expression- *vai pra merda*! (go to hell!) and the interaction breaks down completely as she makes a third and final exit from the interview. Depending on the colour cards of three shades: pink, brown and black, the journalist tells the cameraman/ producer, Nelson (behind the camera), that she thinks it is *rosáceo* (pinkish), probably considering the fair skin of the actress.

In the second part of the episode, the interaction between the journalist and the male actor turns out to be a monologue since he gives no noticeable reaction and chooses to maintain silence over questions about his *cu* (ass) and *pau* (dick). The interpretation of silence is generally influenced by culture. However, the well-known expressions such as: “maintain a dignified silence”, and, “speech is silver, silence is golden”, highlight its positive effect specially in the situations of conflicting interests.

In the Asian cultures, silence is treated as a great human virtue to put an end to the affronts to the face in tricky social interactions, sometimes as act of negation. In a research conducted over comparison of speech acts of negation between Brazilian Portuguese and Chinese Mandarin, Guo (2016, p. 103) identified three categories, namely: direct, indirect and ritual negations. According to her analysis, silence, an indirect form of negation was not found in the Portuguese language<sup>57</sup>. However, the use of silence as a refusal to answer the journalist’s question by the

<sup>57</sup> “(...) somente a estratégia do silêncio não apareceu no ato de fala de recusa no português brasileiro.”



male actor was found in this episode. Yet in another study conducted by Viana (2020) over the significance of silence as a discursive element based on the intention of the speaker in Brazilian Portuguese, the researcher identified three types of silence – negative, positive and ambiguous. About the ambiguous silence, the study (ibid., p. 62) states that “the speaker makes his contradictory sentiments clear through non-verbal elements such as facial expression and gestures. This silence represents a polite strategy as it does not pose a threat to the face of any participants of the interaction.”<sup>58</sup> The silent response of the male actor, who does not show any visible signs of approval or disapproval of TbWs, fits the definition of ambiguous silence.

Semantically, the taboo word *cu* here has been used in the direct denotative and dysphemistic form in the public domain in live broadcast. In the formal ambience, the use of a TbW is not only inappropriate but also highly offensive, especially in an interview. Inappropriateness is influenced by social and cultural factors of a linguistic community.

Pragmatically, the use of TbWs in formal occasions like public discourse, interview etc are inappropriate and can be offensive to the listener. Jay (2017, p. xvi) observes that “what is appropriate or not depends heavily on context, the “who, what, where and when” as something questionable happens. (...) context is critical.” Owing to the socio pragmatic variables such as relationship between the actress and the journalist, the sociocultural setting of a formal interview, the use of the taboo word *cu* is inappropriate and therefore offends the actress and consequently she retorts with *vai pra merda*, thus creating a complete breakdown of the conversation.

The listener’s possible reaction to the swearing is an important indication of the offensiveness, according to Fagersten (2012, p. 28). The author categorizes these reactions into the following four types:

“No noticeable reaction- the listener did not overtly react to the occurrence of swearing and the flow of the conversation was not affected; Laughter - the listener (s) responded by laughter immediately after the swearing utterance; Echo - the listener responded by producing a swearing utterance; Rejection –

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<sup>58</sup> “O falante deixa evidentes sentimentos contraditórios geralmente com acompanhamento de elementos não verbais como expressão facial e gestos. Esse silêncio representa uma estratégia também bastante polida, pois não ameaça a face de nenhum dos participantes da interação.”

the listener overtly reacted to the swearing utterance, interrupting the flow of conversation.”

Fagersten (op. cit., p. 119) states two types of echoes: Behavioural and Lexical. Behavioural echo refers to responding to a swearing utterance with another swearing utterance. Lexical echo refers to responding to a swearing utterance by repeating the same swear word (s) from the original swearing utterance.

Given below is the gradual progression from expressions of shock to use of pejoratives, ending in the use of TbWs, depending on responses by Fernanda and male actor:

1. *Quê?! - a shocked interjection - offensive*
2. *tá louca? - a question using pejorative word - offensive*
3. *dá licença + abrupt exit - an expression of politeness followed by exit from the interview - highly offensive*
4. *babaca! - a pejorative word - highly offensive*
5. *vai a merda! - a taboo expression - highly offensive*
6. uncomfortable silence<sup>59</sup> - no noticeable reaction, highly offensive

The progression demonstrates the stages in the use of expressive words arising from the unexpected use of *cu*, beginning with just shock (1); use of pejorative words with mild negative connotation (2); brief walkout from interaction using a conventional politeness formula (3); use of a more negative pejorative word with higher negative connotation (4); and finally break down of interaction with the use of taboo word (5); Silence (6), as explained above, is a strategy to counter offensiveness of TbWs used by the journalist.

For King (2013, p. 6), “Silence does not necessarily equate to a breakdown in communication. In a functional sense, it may overlap with speech and, although sometimes misinterpreted, silence is often employed to convey a message (...) Silence may reflect one’s psychological inhibitions, and that it can be used as a very effective tool for emotional defence.” The male actor’s silence can be interpreted as his passive resistance to the intimidating use of TbWs by the journalist to invade his privacy.

In the Brazilian society, considered as patriarchal, the use of TbWs is mainly to satisfy the male gaze of “*macho soberano*” (Preti, 1984, p. 37), present behind the camera. The journalist calls out to Nelson, the cameraman/ producer of the

<sup>59</sup> Carretero (2011) “en ocasiones, en lugar de una respuesta mediante otro insult, la comunicación puede romperse mediante un *incómodo silencio*.” (Translation from Spanish).

programme, in the beginning of the interview- *Olha Nelson!* (Look Nelson!) and at the end- *Nelson, sei lá.* (Whatever, Nelson). The whole show is managed by a male for the public viewing at home through a male perspective representing yellow journalism (*imprensa marrom*) for tabloids that satisfy the public curiosity by providing them sensational details on private lives of celebrities.

### 4.2.3 Pedagogic Aspects

Interculturally, the episode demonstrates the cultural dimension of Indulgence (Hofstede, 2011). According to a report<sup>60</sup> by Wambugu (2018), on the countries that watch TV most, Brazil ranks fourth in top ten countries, clocking 254 minutes as daily average time watching television against the United States of America clocking 270 minutes. The popularity of television as a medium of entertainment in Brazil has also increased considerably. According to an online Brazilian TV channel database, *techinbrazil.com*<sup>61</sup>, there are 312 channels and 7 TV networks in the country.

The indulgence (Hofstede, 2011) of the Brazilian population that seeks instant gratification of basic desires, seeks new avenues of pleasure by watching on TV those who represent success, abundance in terms of money and beauty, something that they themselves may not have. These dreams are fulfilled by media through the portrayal of lives of celebrities in TV programmes such as *A Tarde é Sua* hosted by *Sonia Abrão*, about the rich and the famous.

This phenomenon is also due to the Power Distance in both countries - India (77 points) and Brazil (69 points) - that is virtually bridged through the media where those who have, feed the dreams of those who don't (ibid.). This feature is evident in the large number of tele-serials, reality shows and films made both in India and Brazil; the producers and actors of films are called *sapno ke saudagar* (dream merchants) in Hindi.

There is also a discourse on the issue of gender disparity. The episode opens with a journalist thanking a male actor for his interview while the actress Fernanda waits for her turn to be interviewed. She speaks passionately about her work in the

<sup>60</sup> <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/which-country-watches-the-most-tv.html>. Access on 29 August 2020.

<sup>61</sup> <https://techinbrazil.com/tv-channels>. Access on 27 August 2020.

film and also about the social pressures on women to marry and have children. But the journalist shows more interest in exposing her personal life and intimate details such as: *coraçãozinho* (love life), *corpão* (body), *malhação* (fitness regime) and the colour of her *cu*. At this point, the colour palette may have been introduced in the episode to indirectly mention a paint company that might be the program sponsor. Despite the actress's refusal to speak verbally about her *cu*, she is tricked into nonverbal communication through colour palette. Women are not encouraged to be vocal about their choices. In Brazil, several publicity campaigns use the women body, mainly the *bunda*, to promote their products (Figure 15) as shown in the advertisement below.



Figure 15: *Bundas. Brasileiras* (Brazilian Butt) (Google Images. Access on 29 September 2020).

According to an article<sup>62</sup> published online, *Por que a bunda é tão reverenciada no Brasil?* (Why is butt so important in Brazil?), by Rosemary Rhodes (2020), “Women butt is an integral part of Brazilian culture and is the queen of Brazilian sexuality, its symbolic status being celebrated in *Miss Bumbum*, an annual event, which is spreading internationally through a procedure known as the Brazilian butt.”<sup>63</sup>

The competition, *Miss Bumbum* is contested by a large number of participants whose buttocks are judged on criteria including the size, texture and attractiveness. The winner takes home R\$ 50.000 as award-money. The article cites the example of the winner Andressa Soares who was given the nickname- *Mulher Melancia* (Watermelon Woman), who rose to fame through a contract with Playboy magazine and other modelling assignments. Thus, this contest, the frequent mention

<sup>62</sup> <https://pt.yourtripagent.com/2062-why-is-butt-so-revered-in-brazil>. Access on 01 January 2020.

<sup>63</sup> “A bunda brasileira é uma parte integrante da cultura do país e é rainha na sexualidade brasileira, com seu status simbólico celebrado na Miss Bumbum anual, e se espalhando internacionalmente em procedimentos como o butt brasileiro.”

to the butt in Brazilian songs mainly among Funk songwriters, the importance given to the samba *passistas'* buttocks, the creation of a number of cosmetic products and procedures specifically for the buttocks such a surgical procedure known as “Brazilian Buttlift” are evidence of Indulgence present in the investment in the *bumbum* industry.

In an intercultural research on German and Brazilian cultures, Lima (2019, p. 77)<sup>64</sup> describes the reporting of Brazilian Carnival in the German media. She comments how an illustrative photo (*foto ilustrativa*) published on website of *Bunte* “attracts attention not for its quality but for its eccentricity (*não por sua qualidade mas por sua excentricidade.*)” She particularly describes this aspect of the photo that does not show the heads but focuses on “the woman dressed in a scanty bikini with her butt turned towards fully dressed men playing musical instruments.” This typical cliché of Brazilian *Carnival* with semi-clad young women dancing to the tunes played by fully clothed men, some even wearing hats, is shared by foreigners as a stereotypical side of Brazilian ‘butt culture’ described above. Upon being shown a video clip of Brazilian *Carnival*, the Indian students of BP, reacted the same way as the Germans, finding it eccentric and obscene, clearly from an Indian ethnocentric point of view.

In India, the Indulgence being low at 26 points as compared to Brazil at 59 points, any verbal reference to any part of women body is considered offensive except in campaigns for promotion of mother and child health promotion sponsored by the Ministry of Health. The images below, (Figure 16) of women bathing at public places, demonstrates this difference.



Figure 16. Women bathing in public: India (left), Brazil (right). (Google images. Access on 30 September 2020).

<sup>64</sup> “as mulheres estão dançando de costas, vestindo biquínis exíguos com as nádegas em destaque, e os homens tocam instrumentos musicais, vestidos.”

The episode is a statement on the role of patriarchy as stated by the actress - “*pressão que existe em cima da mulher de casar, ter filhos*” (pressure on women to marry and have kids) and objectification of women especially from cinema and TV as suggested through the journalist: *Louca para saber como é esse cu*. (I am crazy to know about your ass). The prompt introduction of the colour palette for the actress to point the colour of her ass makes it appear as a brand promotion strategy for a paint company. The episode is a comment on the use of women in the media to propagate and glorify patriarchy through shows like *Musa do Brasileiro* and *Beldades e Gostasas*, mindfully ignoring the professionally successful women focussed on their work in their fields such as academia, cinema, science and technology etc. as stated by the actress- *Oh, estou focada na divulgação do filme*. (Look, I am focused on promoting the film.)

In India, interviews with women actresses focus, in general, more on their professional than on their private lives. These changes are evident in the advertisements where women are shown as empowered and holding an equal social status with men. An article<sup>65</sup> published in 2017 observes that “Social marketing in India has become increasingly focussed on gender roles, family hierarchy and traditional marriage practices. Different forms of femvertising- female empowerment through socially focused marketing - has taken hold here in unexpected ways.”

This aspect of cultural difference can be discussed in PFL classrooms by comparing two advertisements shown below (Figure 17) on two popular beverages: Indian tea and Brazilian beer with an aim to study the issue of women empowerment. The students can be asked to interpret the image and the text of the advertisement in order to gain Intercultural Communication Flexibility, defined by Ting-Toomey & Chung (ibid., p. 28) as “the importance of integrating knowledge and an open-minded attitude and putting them into adaptive and creative practice in everyday communication.” This exercise will help Indian students of PFL to gain sociopragmatic as well as pragmalinguistic skills to achieve intercultural communication flexibility. Therefore, instead of evaluating the ‘other’ through

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<sup>65</sup> <https://scroll.in/article/841297/femvertising-indian-advertisements-are-slowly-trying-to-overturn-sexist-notions>. Access on 05 October 2020.

ethnocentric mindset, the students will be able to adopt an ethnorelative mindset (Bennett, 1998, p. 63).



Figure 17. Commercial: Man serving tea to his wife. Man serving beer to woman not found. (Google images. Access on 06 October 2020)

There has been a conscious effort to redefine gender roles in India during the last decade through the government and private media campaigns. This change in mindset is gradually trickling down in Indian society. It is more visible in the educated urban middle class, as shown in the image above, where a man is serving tea to his wife, the act of serving being usually associated with women only. The tagline “where is it written it has to be done by the women only” questions the age-old Indian custom of women in service of men.

However, in the Brazilian advertisement for the beer, a woman’s body is used to seduce the consumers by the slogan *um brinde às coisas boas do verão* (a toast to the good things of summer). Good things of summer are represented in the image by a woman’s *corpão* (hot body) in the main front image, but also by the beach, beer, blue-white samba musical instrument. Despite the exposed body of a woman in bikini, the hand of an unseen male raising a glass of beer to her for a toast does manifest a very subtle notion of gender equality to the discerning audience only.

Lexicoculturally, the words invested with CCL are pejorative words like *babaca* and *louca*, that are shown as forming an integral part of discursive practices of *Cariocas* and the rest of Brazil.

*Babaca*<sup>66</sup> (jerk, prick, nasty or contemptible person), whose use and context are influenced by linguistic and cultural conventions is used to express the state of mind of the speaker. In most cases, *babaca* is used as name-calling: *Minha amiga chamou o cantor de babaca*. (My friend called the singer worthless). It can be used as a noun: *Infelizmente elegemos um babaca* (Unfortunately, we elected a prick.) or as quality marker: *Ficou frustrado com uma atitude babaca dela*. (He was frustrated with her annoying stupid attitude.) It can be used with collective nouns: *Não perca tempo com gente babaca*. (Don't waste time with clueless people.) It can be used for feminine and masculine forms without inflexion.

*Louca*<sup>67</sup> (crazy, mad), when preceded by the preposition *para*, has a positive connotation in the Brazilian Portuguese. It can be used (i) before the preposition *para*: *Ela está louca para levar o namoro até o final feliz*. (She is determined to take her courtship to a happy ending.); (ii) as a quality marker: *Trabalhar de dia e estudar de noite foi uma experiência louca*. (Working during the day and studying at night was a harrowing experience.); (iii) before the preposition *de*: *Se antes eu era a louca do lixo, agora virei a louca do plástico*, (Before I used to be crazy about garbage, now I have become crazy about plastic.).

Pedagogically, this episode can demonstrate the appropriateness of the use of TbWs keeping in mind various pragmatic variables such as age, gender, sex and relationship between the interactants. The students can be asked to prepare exercises on situation for contextual use of taboo and pejorative words. The students can also be advised to compare the synonyms and euphemisms of *cu* and *gaand* (ass) in Hindi. The lack of synonyms or euphemisms in Hindi can be an indication of the importance that this part of the body receives, thus revealing the worldview of Indian culture compared to Brazilian culture although both cultures demonstrate high patriarchal mindset. This could be due to the influence of religious and spiritual scriptures on the language that direct the verbal and nonverbal behaviour of Indian society to date. Nevertheless, the young generation, under the influence of social media, has started using TbWs from English (Fuck off! Bitch! Asshole!) to avoid the offensiveness of TbWs in Hindi and their negative social repercussions. Jay

<sup>66</sup> <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/portuguese-english/babaca>. Access on 28 September 2020.

<sup>67</sup> <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/portuguese-english/louco>. Access on 28 September 2020.



(2008, p. 274), quoting Dewaele (2004), states that “the perceived emotional force of swear words is highest in one’s native language and gradually declines in languages learned later.” It may be due to the fact that a second or a foreign language is learnt in a formal, methodological and sometimes scientifically programmed system as opposed to an emotional, familial and hierarchical environment of learning which develops a greater emotional and affective relation with the words.

#### 4.2.4

#### Final Considerations

The use of TbWs by the journalist in interaction with the female actress are highly offensive on three accounts: firstly, the choice of the taboo word *cu* is invasive of her privacy as a woman and a public figure; secondly, it aims at probing the kind of sexual activity (anal sex) she indulges in or not; thirdly, it is more offensive in comparison to the question posed to the male actor. The journalist does not persist when he gives a silent response; however, she persists and even uses unfair means to get the actress to respond to her question. The journalist even ignores the visible discomfort of the actress and continues to push the limits of offensiveness higher from *cu* to *sexo pelo bubum* (anal sex) which is evident in the intermittent brief interruptions followed by the final break down in the interaction in the first part.

In the second part, the male actor maintains silence in response to the use of TbWs in the questions, posed by the journalist who assumes that the actor is timid, behaviour generally associated with women. In contrast, the actress is more reactive and vocal about her emotions due to the offensiveness of the TbWs since the questions posed to her are higher in the degree of offensiveness than those posed to the male actor. Therefore, the role reversal between the actress and the actor highlights the pragmatic variable of gender in response to the use of TbWs, also raising the question on the use of TbWs in female discourse as compared to that of male discourse in the Brazilian society.

This episode is a parody of an episode on *#CarnavalRedeTV* <sup>68</sup> named “*Popozudo! Nelson Rubens tem 102 cm de bumbum*” in the site “Rede TV!

<sup>68</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Evm2Naz8CgA&t=32s>. Access on 01 January 2020.

*Bastidores do Carnaval 2016*". In the episode, appear subtitles such as: *Desafio da fita Métrica! Quem será que tem o maior bumbum dos bastidores?* (Measuring-tape Challenge! Who has the biggest ass from the backstage?), the programme hosted by Nelson Rubens where his assistant measures the invited women's asses, hips and thighs down to centimetres. The crowd in the studio cheers after each announcement about the bigger measurement as an achievement of the ass-owner. Shows such as *Campeonato de Tapa na Bunda* (Slap the Ass Championship) (2019), *De quem é esse bumbum? Será que o anão acertou?* (Whose ass is this? Did the dwarf get it right?) (2020) posted on YouTube are indicators of patriarchy and women objectification in Brazilian culture. Such programmes are out of bounds in India, as exhibition of intimate parts of women body is a taboo. In an article<sup>69</sup> reflecting on the advertisement in India, Naair (2016) states:

"No matter how hard we try, Indian women will always be associated with the traditional roles of a mother, home maker, wife and daughter. (...) I jubilantly note a change in the outlook. Advertisements are a reflection of our society. It is indeed heartening to note that they are gradually moving towards representing an egalitarian set up by consciously dodging stereotypical gender roles and steadily blurring boundaries of gender discrimination."

The use of the TbWs *cu*, *pau*, *merda* and pejorative words *babaca* and *louca* is contextually inappropriate by the journalist during formal event organized for launch of a new film. Applying Fagersten (2012), communication breaks down twice and the hearer expresses shock, responds with behavioural echoes like *babaca*, *louca* and finally leaves the venue, conveying a rejection of the conversation with the taboo word *merda*. In the second part, there is no noticeable verbal reaction on the part of the male actor.

The use of TbWs is therefore unexpected, out of context and inappropriate. They have a shock value aimed at titillating a section of indulgent audience who takes interest in the intimate details of the personal lives of celebrities of TV and cinema. Many TV programmes and internet dedicated websites such as *TV e Famosos*, *A tarde é sua*, *O Fuxico* and many more satisfy the curious gaze of the public scrutiny about the personal lives of the stars of entertainment. In one such

<sup>69</sup> <https://www.outlookindia.com/outlookmoney/fixed-assets/indian-woman-in-tv-advertising-494>. Access on 03 January 2021.

programme<sup>70</sup> where 87 years old Silvio Santos made an offensive remark about the famous singer Claudia Leitte on SBT channel, made headlines in the National and International media. According to Moraes (2016, p. 10),<sup>71</sup> “This use of women body as a sexual object at the disposal of other individuals is known as objectification of women.”

The TbWs used in the episode are highly offensive and inappropriate in the semiformal context. They are used with the intention of creating sensationalism in the media with a purpose of satisfying the spectators’ voyeuristic curiosity about the celebrities.

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<sup>70</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/15/silvio-santos-sbt-owner-claudia-leitte>. Access on 05 January 2020.

<sup>71</sup> “Este emprego do corpo feminino como instrumento sexual a disposição de outros indivíduos constitui a chamada objetificação da mulher.” Available at <<https://pantheon.ufrj.br/bitstream/11422/5634/3/GVieira.pdf>>. Access on 29 August 2020.

### 4.3 Degustação (DE) (Tasting)

#### 4.3.1 Context

The episode posted on 20 December 2018, shows Thiago returning home after a football match. He plants a customary kiss on his wife's lips and sees her disgusted expression after which she questions him about a smell in his mouth that she associates with vagina. She asks her friend Vanessa, present in the room, to confirm her suspicion. Despite Thiago's expression of shock, Vanessa kisses him and concludes that his mouth indeed smelt of the vagina of their common friend, Flavia. Following a brief discussion and taking into account minute details of anus of their friends, they arrive at the conclusion that it could only be the smell of the anus of their friend Marina and not Flavia. His wife becomes furious and accuses him of having sex with other women. Thereafter, the wife requests her friend Vanessa to give Thiago a blowjob to find out more details about the intercourse he probably had with Marina. Later, to confirm her belief, the wife orders Thiago to lower his underwear and requests Vanessa to examine his penis in order to find out if he had sucked Marina's anus. In the second half of the episode, the wife lies on the couch with her legs open while Vanessa inspects and describes in detail, the taste of her vagina and suggests the ways to improve it. Later, they decide to call Marina to warn her about the sodium in Thiago's semen and not to swallow it because she has a family history of high blood pressure.

The TbWs used in this theme belong to sexual anatomy: *buceta, cu, caralho, piroca, xereca*; scatology: *porra* and illicit sex: *puta*.

#### 4.3.2 Linguistic Aspects

Semantically, beside the TbWs and expressions from the semantic fields mentioned above there is another hybrid category by mixing words from sexual theme with those of gastronomic as shown below:

Sex.	<i>buceta, xereca, piroca, porra, puta, cu, caralho</i>
Anat.	

Food	<i>aroma ácido, perfume, aroma de cacau, chocolate, morango, champagne, suco de abacaxi, líquido pastoso; papilas sensíveis</i>
Crime	<i>cena de crime, me beija de novo, baixa as calças, baixa a cueca, se subir morreu</i>
Illicit sex	<i>Putá</i>
Hybrid	<i>porra salgada (salty semen), bafo bucelil (vaginal smell), blende de cu (ass-blend), chupando o cu (sucking ass), engole a porra (gulp semen)</i>

The verb *degustar* (to taste) has been used in noun form as *degustação* (tasting) as the title of this episode but does not reappear even once in the dialogues as did *Pau Amigo* in the episode with the same title. *Degustar* differs from other synonyms such as *provar*, *experimental*, *saborear*, *devorar* etc. since its noun form *degustação* implies the process of tasting, analysing, reviewing and classifying the edible item. *Degustação* cannot be synonymous of *gosto* given its semantic ambiguity as noun and inflexion of *gostar* in first person singular form in present tense. This ambiguity can be seen in the dialogues between Thiago and his wife below in dialogue 10, 11 and 12:

Wife:- Não se faz de idiota não. Tô falando desse **gosto** na tua boca.

Thiago:- **Gosto?** Eu tomei um chope e comi uma azeitona. Você não **gosta** de azeitona, é isso?

Wife:- Não tou falando disso. Tô falando desse **gosto** de buceta, cara.

While the wife means to say the flavour in his mouth (10), Thiago thinks about the taste of olives that he had eaten (11). The misunderstanding is due to the preposition (*gosto*) *na (tua boca)*. She tries to clarify by adding preposition (*gosto*) *de (buceta)* (11). The expression *gosto de buceta* is still ambiguous as it can and does have two meanings in the episode, (I like vagina / the taste of vagina) intended to generate humour. The vocative *cara* is a sign of her frustration due to confusion on semantics of *gosto*. Besides double meaning words and expressions employed to create humour, TbWs are employed to play various functions in the context they are spoken in, as shown below in dialogue no. 15 and 40:

Thiago:- **Porra**, amor! Você agora é **sommelier de buceta**, é isso? (He seems annoyed.)

Vanessa:- Tá com muito sódio, entendeu? Não engole essa **porra**.

Thiago's use of *porra* is an emphatic denial as explained by Ljung (ibid., p. 75): "To deny the truth of claims put forth in an utterance by arguing that these

claims have no more value than some negative and/or worthless entity.” Thiago exclaims *porra* to negate the accusation earlier alleged by his wife (dialogue 15). Whereas, Vanessa’s use of *porra* is a denotational reference for the word semen that can be understood through the verb *engolir*. (dialogue 40).

Thiago’s use of the word *sommelier*, a word from French language meaning the taster of wines, is a very specialized glamorous profession that requires sensitive tastebuds and years of experience in the wine manufacturing industry. It entails tasting a number of samples of wine sequentially in order to classify them in terms of quality, flavour, finesse and other commercial parameters defined by the market. However, when used in the context of sex, as *sommelier de bucetas* by Thiago, it acquires a pejorative meaning for the addressee as it means a person indulging in extraordinary sexual activity of tasting vaginas. In the episode, Thiago uses this expression to mock his wife. We see the subject of taste buds/tasting appear yet again in dialogue no 33:

Wife:- Abaixa a cueca, porra! Vanessa, faz as honras que você tem as **papilas mais sensíveis**.

The wife gives a stern order to Thiago to lower his underwear using *porra* in interjection as affront to his face and requests her friend Vanesa to examine Thiago’s penis since she is blessed with more sensitive *papilas* (palate). This point brings out the most ironical and humorous part of the episode since, on one hand, Thiago is being accused of having sex with other women and, on the other, Vanessa is doing the same thing that he is accused of, that too as a favour to his wife. Another area of creative humour is through construction of new words as shown below in dialogue 16:

Wife:- Cara de pau vem aqui com esse **bafo de fluido bucelil** do caralho aqui.

In the expression *bafo bucelil* (*breath of vagina*), *bucetil* is an inflection of *buceta* through the suffix -il, as in words such as: *juvenil*, *infantil*, *mercantile*, *estudantil* and functions as a qualifier of *bafo*. With suffixes the nouns are made into adjectives and this way can be tailored to suit the emotional requirement of the

speaker. However, the word *bucetil* was not found listed in the dictionaries consulted for the purpose. The word *caralho* although a dysphemism for penis, is used here as intensifier of the preceding noun *bafo* by employing the preposition *de* before it to mean ‘fucking smell of cunt’.

Another taboo word *cu* has been used in denotation as dysphemism in the hybrid category of food and sexual organ as shown below in dialogue no. 19:

Wife:- Blende de **cu**, Thiago?! Tava chupando o **cu** de quem?!

From smell of vagina now the wife shifts her questions on anus because she suspects Thiago of having anal sex. The words from semantic field of culinary; *blende* and from gastronomy *chupar*, are juxtaposed on the sensual pleasure of food over sex. Within the context of sex, even the orthophemistic words like *subir* assume a completely different meaning as shown below in dialogues no.24 and 36:

Wife:- Que **líquido pastoso** é esse, que tem um aroma ácido que deixa o céu da tua boca áspera?

Wife: - Se **subir**, morreu! (whispers threateningly.)

The wife’s interrogation of Thiago about the *líquido pastoso* meaning vaginal discharge displays her deep knowledge about the properties of vagina, revealing her own experience.

She threatens Thiago that if he showed any signs of sexual arousal when Vanessa was checking his penis, he would have to face serious consequences. The word *morreu* although inflected in past tense, functions as the present with immediate effect in Portuguese language. This episode in fact is a parody that portrays women taking on the role of those men who have detailed conversations about length of their dick, sexual performance and have in- depth knowledge of sex and partners within the male company.

Pragmatically, in this episode, the power play oscillates between Thiago and his wife through the use of dysphemistic and orthophemistic words drawn from three general semantic fields of sex, food and crime. We analyse the points of conflict between the two characters in the interaction as shown below in dialogue no. 12:

Wife:- Não tou falando disso. Tô falando desse gosto da **buceta**, cara.

The wife using the noun *gosto* asks Thiago about ‘taste of vagina’ (*gosto de buceta*). The use of *cara*, shows her anxiety at this point. She repeats it in dialogue no. 14 with conviction, sure of her husband being a suspect of tasting vagina of other women. The semantic fields of sex, food and crime are intertwined. The reaction of Thiago shows his concerns about his privacy as shown below in dialogue no.13:

Thiago:- Que é isso, amor? A Vanessa tá aqui. (little annoyed)

He demonstrates his want of privacy for conversation with wife which is not possible in presence of Vanessa. His reaction in dialogue no.15 using *Porra!* is a sign of surprise and disgust when he asks his wife if she had become the *sommelier* of vagina, referring to the well-known French practice of wine-tasting. Seeing Thiago angry, the wife retorts using taboo word and a pejorative expression in dialogue no.16:

Wife:- Ah é? Então você me beija de novo se tu é macho, **porra**, beija. (He kisses.)

**Cara de pau!**

She retorts using words such as: *porra!* and *cara de pau* (shameless) to impose her point of view and take the power away from him, threatening his negative face in the presence of her friend Vanessa. Thiago loses face and power completely and just manages to react meekly in dialogue no. 17: *O que é isso, amor?* Thereafter, he turns meek spectator to the conversation of the two investigating [police] women discussing over whose *buceta* it probably could be that he had tasted, and wants to leave the spot as in dialogue no. 28:

Thiago:- Gente, olha só. Eu vou lá dentro tomar banho. Quando vocês acabarem com essa **palhaçada**, vocês me chamam, tá?

However, he makes an attempt to regain face by calling their interaction a *palhaçada* (nonsense) and tries exiting from the scene on the pretext of taking a shower. But his wife frustrates his move by accusing him of washing his *piroca*



(dick) and in doing so washing up the scene of the crime, a reference to his penis. Seeing the power slipping away, Thiago makes one last attempt in dialogue no. 30: “*Opa! calma aí gente.*” (Ops! Be patient, guys.) to salvage his power and pacify the two investigating women. But his trouble does not seem to end here as shown below in dialogue no. 31:

Wife:- *Baixa as calças* (Vanessa pulls down his shorts.) *Abaixa a cueca agora, Thiago.*

After all-round investigation over whose *buceta* it could be, his wife strips him of all his power literally down to his shorts which Vanessa, in a flash, pulls down. Then she orders him like a policewoman to lower his underwear this time. Thiago is shocked and repeats his wife’s question in dialogue no. 32, to ascertain if that is what exactly she wanted him to do. In dialogue no. 33, his wife screams, repeating the ‘order’ using *porra*, and asks Vanessa to do the ‘inspection’ of his penis, as an expert investigator.

In dialogue no. 35, with an air of expectancy he feebly expresses his protest in a lowered voice: *Que é isso amor?* seeming to salvage the situation but apparently also to enjoy the act. However, his last attempt too is frustrated. Finally, his wife says in dialogue no. 36: “*se subir morreu.*” with an obvious hint at his arousal (*subir*) while Vanessa examines his penis. With this Thiago’s struggle for power comes to an end as the wife silences all his protests, in the way, men traditionally do to women.

Vanessa’s character has been portrayed as an expert of sexual organs, penis and vagina through her use of scientific terms such as Ph, acidic, *Dermacyd*, *lubrification*, and the expression- *blende suave de cu* etc. Her expertise on taste and smell are used to portray her character as assistant investigator of the crime to the police woman, portrayed by the wife of Thiago who is portrayed as the suspect. Other than the TbWs, the words used by Vanessa such as *rapidinho* (dialogue no.21) in connotation meaning a ‘quickie’ referring to a hurried sexual act (*dar uma rapidinha*). Again, the use of expression like: *Vamos lá!* in connotation means voice of authority brooking no tolerance on the part of the speaker. This vocabulary is traditionally used by men to exploit women sexually.

The TbWs in the episode are used as transgression not only through their uninhibited use but also through transgression of concepts like intimacy and privacy in human relationships to the extent of making it appear as banalization or trivialization of linguistic taboos. In the power play between Thiago and his wife, Thiago comes out as the loser of power and face, the power in interaction first tilting in favour of his wife. In the end, he is beaten into complete submission down to his underwear.

Therefore, the episode ends on ambiguity as to who actually is the winner in this power game since Thiago gets kissed on his lips a number of times by his wife and Vanessa, has his penis examined willingly by Vanessa. He ends up experiencing all that for which he has been accused of by them. His shocked feeble protests pointing to the presence of Vanessa are limited to meek utterances are similar to submissive women: *Que é isso, amor?* in dialogues no. 6, 9, 13, 15, 17, 20, 22, and 35. Although the episode seems to create irony and humour through exaggeration (Cf. 2.3), it demonstrates the cultural relation between food, sex and crime in Brazilian society, considered as a source of pleasure and power.

#### **4.3.3 Pedagogic Aspects**

Interculturally, this episode can be considered as a portrayal of Brazilian culture as a highly Indulgent and Uncertainty Avoiding Culture according to the six dimensions of national cultures by Hofstede (ibid.) analysed in other episodes. The instant gratification of basic desires, and anxiety arising from the desire to combat ambiguity or uncertainty in life are the key feature of an Indulgent and anxious culture. This episode, as discussed above, uses semantics of food, sex and crime to invert the issue of gender equality, privacy and intimacy in Brazilian society in favour of women who are concerned about their sexuality and the ways to derive maximum pleasure. This tendency can be analysed against the backdrop of sexual revolution of the '70s spearheaded by Rosie Marie Muraro (1930-2014) also known as '*patroa de feminismo*' (Godmother of feminism) in Brazil which, according to Barros (2017, p. 103), brought significant changes in the society:

“The new era was characterized by the introduction of anticontraception pill (symbolizing sex for pleasure rather than for procreation), of community in detriment of marriage, of fun as opposed to monogamic marriage and of

pleasure rather than anxiety of power propagated by capitalist system, these were some of the countercultural proposals related to the area of sexuality. The need to fight against all forms of power and oppression by a patriarchal society established the intersection with feminist movement. Feminism was and is a counterculture in its intellectual, philosophical and political discourse in search of gender equality.”<sup>72</sup>

Pleasure became the bed rock of feminist movement in the areas of gender equality, family and capitalist system. Given the huge power disparity among the various classes of society, the physical body is the only capital asset to extract pleasure for the powerless. This becomes the topic of many anthropological, sociological and historical cultural discourses. The well worked-upon, chiselled and shapely body is a value that distinguishes and identifies one who has it from ones who do not thus, marking identity with physical body.

Goldenberg (2010, p. 236) identifies the following three concepts of body in a study conducted in Rio de Janeiro: 1.) as an emblem of hard work and time invested by the person to achieve the ‘perfect shape’; 2.) as a brand, as a trend setter of exclusive group for others to emulate and aspire for and, 3.) as a medal, for having achieved that body by dint of regular and pointed efforts and sacrifice. In this sense, the attraction for a well-shaped, chiselled body becomes the feature of sexual attraction for the opposite sexes. But when it comes to male and female sexuality, the language used to refer to the male and female sexual organs by patriarchal system manifests its gender disparity. For Chacham & Maia (2004):

“As for the man’s body, the language of penis means power and superiority of male genital and its function as instrument of violence and rape (*pau, caralho, cacete, pica, ferro, vara*). Whereas for the woman body, the language points to a deficient, inferior and passive anatomy, object of violence and paradoxically, a danger for itself (*buraco, gruta, racha, boca mijada*).”<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> “A nova era marcada pelo advento da pílula anticoncepcional (o que simbolizava para as mulheres, o sexo não apenas para a procriação, mas para o prazer), das comunidades em detrimento da família tradicional, da “curtição” em contraponto ao casamento monogâmico e do prazer em detrimento à ânsia de poder propagada pelo sistema capitalista, foram algumas das propostas contra culturais relacionadas ao campo da sexualidade. A necessidade de se combater todas as formas de poder e opressão advindas da sociedade patriarcal estabeleceu a interseção com o movimento feminista. Podemos afirmar que o feminismo foi e é uma contracultura em seu discurso intelectual, filosófico e político na busca da equidade de gênero.”

<sup>73</sup> “Com relação ao corpo do homem, a linguagem sobre o pênis elabora a força e a sua superioridade dos genitais masculinos bem como a sua função como instrumento ligado à atividade violência e violação (*pau, caralho, cacete, pica, ferro, vara*). Com relação ao corpo da mulher, a linguagem aponta para uma anatomia deficiente, inferior e passiva, objeto da violência e paradoxalmente, ao mesmo tempo, um local de perigo por si só (*buraco, gruta, racha, boca mijada*)”

This disparity is turned on its head by women through their culinary art, thus ‘eating’ up the man. DaMatta (1993, p. 61) presents examples of well-known women characters created by the well-known writer Jorge Amado like *Gabriela* (1958) and *Dona Flor* (1966), who used their extraordinary cooking skills spiced with sexuality to turn the dominating into the dominated men. DaMatta (ibid., p. 62) says “these are secrets that lead to inversion of the world where a head is exchanged with a stomach and sex (where all men are equal and delighted...).”<sup>74</sup> DaMatta (op., cit.) further elaborates that sexuality and art of eating, instead of being individual acts, are collective occasions of creating social relations. “As real communions where a meeting transforms the participants because they partake the same substance, the dish or the loved person, turns food in our society. The women as we know, play a basic role in these two processes.”<sup>75</sup>

In the light of the concepts of the body, sex, food and pleasure in Brazil, discussed above, the episode presents the women as culinary experts of the ‘taste’ of vaginas who endeavour to ‘improve’ the consistency and their sexual skills to extract maximum pleasure from their own bodies. The metaphor of ‘*sommelier de buquetas*’ is a reference to the level of obsession it has become for the women in their pursuit of sexual pleasure. Thiago is the one who is ‘eaten’ after being accused of ‘eating’ other women (Flavia and Marina). This inversion of traditional roles reminds us of the stigmatization and criminalization of women sexuality by patriarchal system, before the sexual revolution era where women were tried and penalized for seeking or indulging in sexual pleasure. Culturally, sex is seen as a relation of power between the exploiter and the exploited. The Brazilian Portuguese is the only language where *comer* (to eat) is a conceptual metaphor for sex as stated by Pinker (2008) and also mentioned in the episode of *Sobre a Mesa*. India as a culture of Restrain with a score of 26 points is a country where sex is taboo, this kind of sexual freedom and behaviour by women is probably, not likely to happen.

<sup>74</sup> “são segredos que permitem uma inversão do mundo, fazendo com que a cabeça seja trocada pelo estômago e pelo sexo (onde todos os homens se igualam e se deleitam...)”

<sup>75</sup> “Como verdadeiras comunhões onde o encontro se transforma as pessoas nele engajadas porque faz com que todos participem de uma mesma substância comum, o prato comido ou a pessoa amada que, sabemos, vira “comida” em nossa sociedade. E as mulheres desempenham, conforme sabemos, um papel básico nesses dois processos.”

Lexicographically, the most recurring word from semantic field of sex is *buceta* which can be said to have CCL (Common Cultural Load) for its etymological evolution, semantic and pragmatic variations use in popular language. In fact, it is a lexically corrupt yet popular variant of the word *boceta*, an oval snuff-box or a simple box for trinkets used by women in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Its notable features such as: oval shape, smell of snuff and association with women were attributed to the female sexual organ resulting in the formation of a new word *buceta* through rising of the middle unstressed vowels (*alçamento das vogais médias pretônicas*)<sup>76</sup> replacing -o by -u, as in *bolacha* for *bUlacha*, *governo* for *gUverno*, *poder* for *pUder* e *foder* for *fUder* etc.

The taboo word *buceta* has been used four times to denote vagina and once as an adjective, *bucetil*. It has been metaphorically referred to as *boca* (mouth) in dialogue no.40. The other episodes analysed, that had references to *buceta* are: *Pau Amigo* as *Buceta Amiga*; *Boa Notícia* as, *chuva de bucinha*, *buceta cheirosa* and *buceta depilada*; *Sobre a Mesa* as *escalavrar a buceta* and in *Virgem* as *buceta grossa*. Thus, we see that *buceta* and its marked adjectives convey the same qualities as attributed to women. Therefore, *buceta* as a metonymical and metaphorical reference to a woman's body can be interpreted as an objectification by the patriarchal society.

The use of *buceta* with its lexical, semantics, and pragmatic variations in context is highly flexible and shared within the native speakers of Portuguese language and inaccessible to the non-native speakers. Without a proper linguistic and cultural knowledge, a foreigner would be unable to distinguish the range of emotional and affective baggage that *buceta* from this taboo vocabulary carries. Therefore, the taboo word can be termed as lexicultural word owing to their cultural specificity in contextual use by the native speakers.

Brand name *Dermacyd* is loaded with CCL as information about an ointment used for vaginal hygiene by women in Brazil. This word can be called a lexicultural word since it is an important key to understand the meaning of the sentence in context of sexuality and thus becomes an important word for a cultural connotation.

<sup>76</sup> <https://www.lume.ufrgs.br/bitstream/handle/10183/110730/000950941.pdf?sequence=1>. Access on 15 May 2021.

Pedagogically, before showing this episode to the Indian students of PLF, they can be cautioned about the culturally sensitive behaviour involving sex, given that India as a Restraint society treats sex as taboo. Students should be made aware of the serious social issues exposed by exaggerated humour in this episode which is a part of a comic series in social media. To lessen the shock, the students can be asked to talk about gender disparity, status of women in their own society and the ways to amend this social issue. This mindful cultural comparison (Ting-Toomey & Chung, Cf. 2.2.7), will reduce the intensity of ethnocentric views and help view the 'other' with more understanding and tolerance. So, after preparing the students, the episode can be shown with subtitles to avoid the awkwardness among the teacher and students in the class of mixed gender.

Alternatively, they can be asked to watch the episode in privacy of their home and freely discuss their impressions and views in class with their colleagues as group activity and satisfy their queries with the teacher. They can be asked to find and note the various synonyms of penis: *caralho*, *piroca*, *pica*, *pau* etc. and those of vagina: *buceta*, *xereca*, *xoxota* and its euphemism *boca*. This way they can learn the difference in the offensiveness and appropriateness of TbWs and their use in context in order to achieve pragmalinguistic competence with intercultural communication flexibility by comparing with those in Hindi such as *phudi*, *chut* (vagina) and *lund* and *lavda* (penis). Also, the verbal collocations as of TbWs: *chupar o cu*, *abafar a xereca*, *fazer a depilação*, and expressions such as: *fazer de idiota*, *acabar com a cena de crime* etc. can help them attain fluency as well as a better understanding of the Brazilian values and attitudes towards sexuality.

#### 4.3.4

##### Final considerations

In this episode, the TbWs used in dysphemistic form: *buceta*, *cu*, *piroca* to refer to vagina, anus and penis respectively within the confines of a home in an informal context, between husband and wife and her friend. They are not offensive enough so as to break down the communication but enough to get shocked reactions and ultimately a silent submission from Thiago. For example, *Porra* enunciated in a high pitch has a higher degree of offensiveness as interjection than when uttered by Vanessa as an advice to the wife not to swallow *porra* (sperm). *Putá*, the TbWs

is inoffensive because it is used to refer to Flavia and Marina, their friends. TbWs when used to refer to third person (s) in their absence are not offensive (Carretero, p. 2011).

Using TbWs to create double meaning hybrid expressions from culinary and sexual fields, this episode creates humour and highlights the role reversal for women. They administer men a dose of their own medicine in the same way as the character of Odette in *Sobre a Mesa* does to her husband Mario Alberto.

Other words used for Thiago are: *idiota*, *cara de pau* (negative name calling), *cara* (vocative). Although these are not TbWs they convey the emotional state of mind of the speaker. They are demeaning to the listener because they call into question their intellectual and moral integrity and act as FTAs specially in the presence of Vanessa.

The other non-taboo words such as *subir*, as conceptual metaphor for arousal, *rapidinho* as a quickie, *liquido pastoso* as vaginal discharge, *vamo-lá* as connotation of a power symbol, can only be understood as anaphoric words dependent on the context, their sociopragmatics use is comprehensible only to the native speakers of the Portuguese language. This episode can be considered highly offensive for Thiago not only for the verbalization of TbWs used for him but also the behaviour and actions accompanying them.

## 4.4

### Dura (DE) (Tough)

#### 4.4.1

##### Context

The episode posted on 3 February 2014, is a satirical situational comedy in which two policemen are spotted sleeping by two men, Miguel and Armando, inside the official police patrol car parked by the roadside, who accuse them of sleeping while on duty and ask them to step out of the car. After conducting a body search, they eventually keep the money and uniform of one of them while mocking, threatening and physically assaulting them in public in broad daylight. As a condition for their release, they ask one of the policemen to carry the other in his arms and run through the street screaming “I got married, I got married.” This episode, like many others, shows a hypothetical situation dealing with inversion of power between the police and citizens in order to portray a conceived high arbitrariness in the functioning of the police through humour, and to raise the issue of law and order, corruption, violence, public safety and civil rights of common citizens in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The title of the episode *Dura* is inspired by a popular familiar Portuguese expression: *dar uma dura* (to roughen up, to pull up). It is done by a person enjoying higher authority over another. For example, a teacher to a non-performing student, a boss to a late comer employee, a mother to a naughty child or a policeman to a habitual shoplifter.

The TbWs used belong to the themes of name-calling: *filho da puta*; sexual anatomy: *caralho*; and scatology: *merda*, *porra*.

#### 4.4.2

##### Linguistic Aspects

The interaction between the citizens and the policemen opens with *Opa!* (Ops!), an interjection signifying unexpected surprise as it is a chance encounter and, therefore, unplanned. Catching the sleeping policemen red-handed in a powerless situation, the citizens Miguel and Armando decide to take over the power in their hands and have some fun by humiliating and attacking their face in public. They give them orders arbitrarily as it is suggested that the police would do in Rio. In this episode, physical aggression is achieved by the use of the imperative mode as shown below in dialogues no. 4, 20, 35:



Armando:- *Desce do carro!*

Armando:- *Vira de costas!*

Miguel:- *Tira essa merda!*

As in the episode *Degustação*, the imperative mode is used to impose the wish of the speakers on the listeners since it leaves them no option but to act upon it. Therefore, in this episode too, the verbs *descer*, *virar* and *tirar* are used to issue commands by imposing on the negative face of the policemen by the citizens. In this sense, the use of imperative is a threat to the autonomy of an individual as it does not leave him/her a choice to deny the request. It can be used by those invested with authority like police, priests, judges or bosses to obtain obedience. By inverting the roles, citizens Armando and Miguel usurp the authority into their own hands and order the policemen, just the way they would do with the public. Caught wrong doing (sleeping during work-hours), the policemen try to extend an explanation for their act as shown below in dialogues no. 5 and 8:

Policeman 1:-*ô querido, deixa eu só explicar.*

Policeman 2:- *Deixa eu explicar aqui.*

The use of *só* (just), and *aqui* (here), as spatial deixis, implies a sense of urgency in the utterances by the policemen. The use of *querido* (my dear), an informal form of endearment, is an attempt to create familiarity between them, together with the use of the verb *deixa* (let me), implying a plea for a permission to explain their situation, which is denied, as shown below in dialogue no. 9:

Armando:- *Explica pra minha mão, ô filho da puta!* Eu não pago o teu salário pra você ficar dormindo no carro da polícia, *ô caralho!*

The citizens affront the policemen, calling names, *filho da puta* and *caralho*, to attack their face in public and ask indirectly for a bribe from the policemen. ‘Explain to my hand’ is a cultural connotation for asking a bribe to release the accused, suggesting that money should be placed in his hand. The policeman attempts to salvage the face by using a more familiar vocative *cara* (buddy), as shown below in dialogue no. 16, 17:

Policeman 1:- Que é isso, **cara**, pelo...

Armando:- Que cara o que, **filho da puta!** Cara é o **caralho**, que ele não é teu amigo, **porra!** Para você é cidadão Miguel e cidadão Armando. Tá entendendo, **ô porra!**

The policeman tries to act friendly by using *cara*, a vocative used for addressing a familiar person. His utterance is cut short by Armando, objecting to his attempt to use informal address in order to mitigate the gravity of the situation. He repeats the expletives used earlier in dialogue no. 9, this time adding *porra* as an interjection. *Caralho* acts as a negative qualifier of *cara* implying Armando's dislike of the use of *cara* by the policeman which he further reinforces with the use of *ô porra* as an interjection. He warns him not to be informal for they are to be treated respectfully as *cidadão* (citizen) Miguel and citizen Armando.

The use of *cidadão* is explained by Roth-Gordon (2009, p. 66) "As a primary example of the state's direct hand in emergent citizen-subject position, police officials are instructed to call particular kind of citizens into being through the euphemism address term *cidadão* distinguishing those who must be forced to abide by the law (...) from those protected by law." It is common knowledge in Rio that the policemen insist on being addressed by the general public by their ranks displayed on their identity name tag pinned on their uniform, usually above the shirt pocket, like *Sargento Souza*, *Capitão Carvalho* etc. By demanding to be addressed as *cidadão*, the citizens assure the symmetry of power between them and the police. It is this aspect of public dealing of police that is highlighted in the utterance by Miguel and Armando who ask to be addressed as citizen Miguel and citizen Armando and not by *cara*. The frequent use of *porra* suggests a type of attitude that the police would have in general towards the members of civil society but also a verbal means to assert their position of power over those who they are meant to protect.

Having established their power over the two policemen, Armando and Miguel question them about the quality of their uniform and get to know its superior quality (100% cotton), calling them name *filho da puta* as a vocative, as shown in dialogue 28:

Armando:- Essa é farda de padrão corporação, **ô filho da puta?!** Teu salário é uma miséria e fica usando farda de marca?

The use of *filho da puta* (son of a bitch), an insult to the mother of the listener, is a direct attack on the face. Miguel goes a step further and asks the policeman to remove his uniform proffering more TbWs as shown below in dialogue no. 35:

Miguel:- Tira essa **merda**! Tira, **porra**! Ô, tira, **caralho**!

The use of the verb *tira* (take off) in the imperative with the spatial deixis pronoun *essa* (this) is a reference to the uniform of the policeman. *Merda* as a noun does not refer to the quality of the uniform but to the state of mind of the speaker. *Porra* and *caralho* are interjections used as FTAs to malign the public self-image of the policemen by taking away their uniform, a metaphor for limitless power without control and a visible mark of disparity between the powerful and the powerless.

The citizens acting as policemen then proceed to exercise their power over something that is not under the purview of their jurisdiction: the food eaten by common man. The citizens decide to examine what the policemen had eaten in lunch and denigrate them further through face threatening TbWs as in dialogue no. 44-45:

Miguel:- Isso é peixe, teu **filho da puta**! Eu comendo linguça, e tu comendo peixe!

Linguado grelhado! Isso tá certo? Porquê? Porque eu sou uma **merda**?

Armando:- É **merda**. Tu é uma **merda**, Ó **caralho**. Tu é uma **merda**. E você? Não olha pra minha cara! Eu não te dei liberdade pra você olhar pra cara, **porra**! É olhar pro chão! Eu vou agora com calma, ligar pra mulher de vocês e vou dizer que vocês estavam na arruaça!

On discovering that the policemen had partaken grilled *linguado* (sole, a costly fish), the citizens feel the pinch of the economic and social difference that exists between the police and the poor like them and question if that's fair. This emotion of anger is expressed through the swearing *merda* by Miguel with which Armando agrees and repeats as a plan to launch further face attack on one of the policemen. The intensity of anger is so high that Armando slaps the other policeman asking him not to look at him but look down as a symbol of the one guilty of a crime. The profuse use of TbWs is to mock the policemen, suggesting that they

generally use the same kind of language when addressing citizens. Armando then proceeds to threaten them by calling up their wives and, in order to further break their image in the family, let them know that the policemen were up to mischief (*arruaça*) drinking Cristal (expensive champagne brand), thus suggesting that they would have been in the company of women. This forces the policemen to try to negotiate their release, as shown below in dialogues no. 45-47:

Police 1:- Olha só: você não acha que dá pra gente resolver de uma forma onde todo mundo sai beneficiando?

Armando:- Senhor oficial você tá insinuando aquilo que você tá tentando sugerir, oficial?

Police 2:- Não, ele tá querendo dizer que é melhor pra todo mundo, fazer uma maneira que fique melhor pra todo mundo.

The formal yet ambiguous manner used by the policeman to negotiate the situation in the utterance no. 45 is incomprehensible to Armando who, in turn, uses the semiformal address *Senhor oficial* in a highly standardized rhetoric of the language, so as to mock him for his ambiguous proposal of offering money in exchange of their release. The second policeman realizes the ambiguity and intervenes to explain his colleague's position in simpler words. At this moment, no TbWs are used because the policemen are trying to establish proximity and complicity with the two men by being polite.

Pragmatically, the episode suggests a power dynamic that would be played out between the police and the members of civil society in general. The arbitrariness of the functioning of the police is demonstrated through the uninhibited use of TbWs in name calling such as: *porra, merda, caralho, filho da puta*, and verbs in the imperative mode such as: *desce, vira, tira, arrotta, anda, vambora*; these are words invested with semantics of power, intolerance and indifference that are understood to be used towards the citizens. This is demonstrated at regular points of the episode.

In order to save his money from being taken by the two men, the policeman 2 gives the commonly known excuse of sickness of his mother to act as a softener for the aggressor, as shown below in the dialogues 13-15:

Police 1:- Que é isso? Não. Eu juntei dinheiro para comprar o remédio para a mãe.

Miguel:- Pra tua mãe? (É...) que dinheiro aqui, é esse dinheiro aqui é pra tua mãe, Que é isso? Tua mãe é abastada, hein!  
 mando:- Deixa eu ver. Opa deixa eu ver (não é é... remédio). Ué! tá caro esse nédio hein. Vai comprar onde, em Cancun?

Looking at the large amount of money, the two men are not convinced of the mother's sickness and decide to keep it with them before mocking him about his affluence, suggesting that policemen do this regularly in real life.

Baseless accusations against citizens by the police is highlighted in dialogue no. 42 when Armando asks the policeman to belch in order to smell his breath and accuses him of eating grilled fish while he only manages to eat *linguiça* (sausage).

The only moment of disguised politeness in this episode takes place at the time of negotiation by policeman1 for settling the situation amicably between the two parties as seen above. Armando uses the semiformal form of address *Senhor Oficial* in a hope for getting some bribe from the policemen. The moment of symbolic exchange of power takes place through the taking away of the uniform as shown below in the dialogues 29-32:

Police 2:- Foi meu pai que me deu.

Armando:- Teu pai que te deu? Sabe quem ia adorar ganhar uma farda dessa aí?

Miguel:- Ahn!

Armando:- Meu pai.

The mention of *pai* (father) shows the implicature that the men would not ask for a gain for themselves, as they could be accused of bribery by doing so. So, bringing his father into the scene suggests that the policeman would just be giving him (the father) in the form of a gift. Earlier, in the preceding dialogue, the policeman 2 named his mother for whom he had saved money (*juntei dinheiro*) for buying her medicine. Similarly, the implicature could be that even the money saved by a poor man for buying medicine for his mother can be appropriated by the police. The taking away of the police uniform has also a connotational implicature of usurping of power from the rich and the powerful for the marginalized class represented by the father of Armando who wants the power restored.

In the end of the episode, giving order to one of the policemen to carry another in his lap, in the way a bridegroom carries a bride after the marriage ceremony and declare "I got married", has a cultural implicature of homosexuality

which in police force is looked down upon. The purpose of this act is to humiliate them in public.

#### 4.4.3 Pedagogic Aspects

Interculturally, this episode exposes the cultural dimension of Power Distance Index (PDI) which according to Hofstede (ibid., p. 61) is “the extent to which the less powered members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally. The power distance described is based on the value system of the less powerful members.” On the cultural dimensions’ comparison scale, Brazil scores 69 points on the PDI whereas India scores 77. Evidently, both countries have very high PDI with unequal distribution of power between the members of the civil society. This is evident in statistics. According to a report, “Rio violence: Police killings reach record high in 2019” by BBC<sup>77</sup>, “Police killed 1,810 people, an average of five per day, the highest number since official records began in 1998.” online survey on the research report on policing in India and Brazil revealed a number of similarities in resonance with statement by Hofstede (2010) that “(...) in high power distance countries, people do not trust the police.” This characteristic is perceptible in the following two policing reports in India and Brazil.

According to an online report ‘Status of Policing Report in India’ (2019)<sup>78</sup>, “The police work for the rulers of the day and not for the real masters, the people of the country.” This report further elaborates that “deep-seated prejudices exist against vulnerable communities such as non-literate people, the de-notified tribes, and nomadic tribes and transgenders.” On being asked whether it was alright for the police to adopt a violent attitude towards criminals, for the greater good of society, about three fourth of the policemen surveyed replied in the affirmative. The report states the following:

“The high number of non-reporting of crime perhaps reflects how police stations are viewed as spaces that threaten and intimidate common people. The report highlights that every two out of 5 people in India are afraid of the police. That is the reason that 99 percent of cases of violence against women are not reported. Incidents of police brutality are common across states.”

<sup>77</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-51220364> Access on 13 August 2020.

<sup>78</sup> <https://www.commoncause.in>. Access on 13 August 2020.

In Brazil, according to Costa (2011, p. 30), professor of sociology in the University of Brasilia, “Police brutality is nothing new in Brazil. It is the product of long authoritarian tradition whereby the state has acted against certain segments of society (the poor, minorities, political dissidents).” The result of police brutality, especially on the lives of *Cariocas*, as Costa (ibid., p. 31) states:

“In Rio de Janeiro, the absence of limits and controls on police activity has led society to mistrust those who should be at its service. The 1996 survey of greater Rio de Janeiro revealed that eighty percent of robbery victims, eighty two percent of theft victims, seventy seven percent of assault victims did not go to the police. The primary stated reason for not seeking police assistance was lack of trust in or fear of the police. In short, the lack of control over police activity has made the police of little use to the citizens.”

The texts cited above demonstrate that the relationship between police and citizens in both countries, India and Brazil, is based on arbitrariness perpetrated by the police against common people, generating fear and hate in their mind against very those who are supposed to safeguard and protect them. Therefore, the desire to acquire power by the powerless is reflected in this episode where two common men catch the policemen sleeping on duty and command them to do whatever comes to their mind, just the way the police is understood to do in real life.

Lexicographically, *filho da puta*, *merda*, *porra* and *caralho* in the episode are TbWs, mostly used by the citizens Miguel and Armando to overpower the policemen and attack their face in public. *Caralho*, instead of its referential meaning, is used with emotive meaning (*cara é o caralho!*); as an interjection in name calling (*Ô caralho!*). They can also act as a quantifier: *A festa foi boa, bro! Bebi pra caralho* <sup>3</sup>Bro, Party was fucking awesome <sup>3</sup>I drank like a fish <sup>3</sup> and as interjection for surprise: *Caralho! estava aqui e te procurei todo lado!* <sup>3</sup>Fuck <sup>3</sup>you were here and I looked for you everywhere <sup>3</sup> As it is evident from these examples, *caralho* is a taboo word with varied and diversified use in context and therefore a lexicultural word that can be used in innumerable contexts, as it takes on the meaning from the context. Its feminine dysphemism, *caralha* is relatively more offensive to men. With passage of time its euphemism *caraca* has lost its referral meaning and used more often for its emotive meaning. Therefore, its use is limited to interjection such as: *Caraca! Perdi a chave de novo! Esqueceu a senha? Caraca! Fala palavrão? Caraca!*

The euphemism, according to Rosewarne (2013, p. 77), “is frequently thought of as a technique used to temper a sensitive subject matter; euphemisms tend to be words that are less inflammatory and, therefore, less likely to evoke extreme reactions.” Just as *pô* can be considered euphemism of the word *porra*, which Hughes (2006, p. 3) and MacArthur (1996, p. 661 apud Ljung, *ibid.*, p. 11) describe as minced oath. It can be arrived at in 2 ways: “1. by creating a non-sense equivalent of a swear word and 2. by substituting an everyday expression of similar sound and length.” and provide an opportunity to talk more safely about topics that frequently embarrass. Therefore, *pô* (*porra*), *caraca* (*caralho*) and *putz* (*puta*) can be called Minced oaths. While Allan & Burridge (*ibid.*, p. 98) see euphemism as sweet talking and ‘linguistic deodorizer’; Rosewarne (*ibid.*, p. 81) considers it as ‘sugar coating’; and Hughes (2006, p. 3) terms it as ‘surreptitious erosion’ for TbWs. This knowledge of euphemism is shared by the native speakers of Portuguese only and loaded with emotive meaning. It can even be transformed by Portuguese speakers in Brazil by adding augmentative *caralh-ão*, *caralh-aço* or *caralh-ada* to express the intensity of emotions in a given context.

Another lexicultural word invested with CCL in the episode is *malandro* (dialogue no. 12). Malandro (scoundrel) is a street-smart character, popular throughout the decades of 1960 and 1970 in Rio de Janeiro as defined by Roberto DaMatta (1993, p. 102-103):

“Malandro is a professional of “jeitinho” and of art of survival in difficult situations. The possibility of behaving like a malandro is possible everywhere [in Brazil]. But there is one area where it is certainly privileged. I would like to refer to the area of pleasure and sensuousness, area in which malandro is a concrete example of bohemia and a someone special of good life. That type of existence that allows wanting the maximum pleasure and well-being with minimum of work and effort. Malandro is a national character. It is a social role that is at our disposal to be lived in the moment in which we think that law can be forgotten or even can be tricked with a certain class or *jeito*.”<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> “O malandro, portanto, seria um profissional do “jeitinho” e da arte de sobreviver nas situações mais difíceis. A possibilidade de agir como malandro se dá em todos os lugares. Mas há uma área onde certamente ela é privilegiada. Quero referir-me à região de prazer e da sensualidade, zona onde o malandro é o concretizador da boêmia e o sujeito especial da boa vida. Aquela existência que permite desejar o máximo de prazer e bem-estar, com um mínimo de trabalho e esforço. O malandro (...) é uma personagem nacional. É um papel social que está à nossa disposição para ser vivido no momento em que achamos que a lei pode ser esquecida ou mesmo burlada com certa classe ou jeito.”



*Malandro* is basically an idea of living a good life without working for it. The concepts of *malandragem* and *jeitinho* involve using the element of intellectual capabilities for social navigation or manipulation employed by an individual as a sweet-talker to achieve his objectives. The character of *malandro* has been immortalized by various artists from music, literature and folklore. “*Ópera do Malandro*” by Chico Buarque de Holanda, the famous Brazilian singer and composer; “*Malandro é malandro, mané é mané*” written by Neguinho Da Beija-flor and sung by Zeca Pegodinho are some of the best-remembered popular songs on *malandragem* (the *malandro* way of living). The single most salient theme that stands out of the discourse on *malandro* is to avoid work, which is explained by Oliven (2011, p. 172) as follows:

“Until the nineteenth century manual labour in Brazil was considered a degrading activity, fit for slaves. The attitude of “aversion to drudging work” – that is, rejection of work as anything positive did not fade away with the end of slavery but persisted well in the twentieth century. Even with the advent of industrialization, wage labour did not provide opportunities for significant social mobility since the social order continued to be marked by rigid class boundaries.”

Pedagogically, this video can be used to teach, the use of the verb *estar*, in its oral colloquial forms (*tou, tá, tamos, tão, tava* etc.) in BP, which is also accepted graphically in a non-academic setup and frequently in use by social media. The pragmatic use of *vamo-lá* e *vambora* can help the learners understand their use in context to achieve sociopragmatic knowledge of Portuguese. The students of PFL can also be taught the general use of second person with *tu* with verbs *estar/ser* conjugated in the third person singular, mainly among the less educated population, as in dialogue no. 44: *tu é uma merda!* as this construction is hardly /rarely seen in the manuals of Portuguese for foreigners.

The learners can be explained the relation between the citizens and the police through various commands such as: *vira de costas! tira a merda!* etc. Various words such as: *cara, rapá, porra, caralho, merda, filho da puta* can turn interjection by using an exclamation mark behind or vocative by employing *ô* in front: *Ô porra! Ô merda! Ô caralho!* etc. The students of PFL can be asked to compare them with vocatives from Hindi such as: *sala* (buddy), *ullu ka pattha* (son of an owl) *behenchod* (sisterfucker), *madarchod* (motherfucker), *bhadv* (pimp) etc. Students

can be directed to research and compare nicknames used by popular culture for policemen in India such as *mamu* (uncle) *thulla* (fatso) with corresponding names in Brazil (*tira*, *justa*, *meganha*) to further their knowledge about the relationship between police and the Brazilian citizens.

Another practice of police smelling the hand for finding out about the sale of drugs by the accused could be culturally a useful information for Indian students as in India as sale, consumption and purchase of drugs is illegal and a crime punishable by law while consumption of drugs is not a criminal offence in Brazil.

#### 4.4.4 Final Considerations

The TbWs in this satirical situational comedy are highly offensive since they are used to assert the position of power and assault the face of the policemen by two ordinary citizens not only in order to obtain their obedience, but also to accept all illegal actions by them (Carretero, p. 2011) (Cf. 2.1.56). The policemen (representing the citizens in reality) are in a powerless situation to retaliate and protest verbally or physically to the injustice they face in terms of losing money, clothes and face. This episode in fact criticizes a conceived inhuman, arbitrary functioning of the police and portrays it as violent, verbally abusive, irresponsible and completely unaccountable towards those it is supposed to protect. This irony is explained by Mesquita (1999)<sup>80</sup> in the following words:

“A fundamental difference between the police and other citizens is that policemen are authorized to use physical force against another person in realizing the legal rights, which in Brazil is defined by the federal constitution as preservation of public safety and, more specifically, of public order and people’s safety and that of the country.”

The students of PFL in India can relate to the episode since a study by Tata Institute of Social Sciences (2018)<sup>81</sup> reports that unruly behaviour by the police deters about three fourth of Indian population from reporting complaints. There are certain euphemised terms for violence used by the Indian police in order to obtain

<sup>80</sup> “Uma diferença fundamental entre os policiais e os outros cidadãos é que os policiais estão autorizados a usar força física contra outra pessoa no cumprimento do dever legal, que, no Brasil, é definido na constituição federal como a preservação da segurança pública e, mais especificamente da ordem pública e da incolumidade das pessoas e do patrimônio.”

<sup>81</sup> [www.commoncause.in](http://www.commoncause.in). Access on 15 September 2020.

the confession from the accused such as: *khatirdari* (hospitality), *nani yaad aa jayegi* (you will remember your maternal grandmother), *band kar do* (lock him up) and even *third degree* (torture) in extreme cases. Without using TbWs' implying offensiveness, the connotation of violence and torture is implicit in these expressions and makes even the ordinary citizen fear the police and choose not to file a complaint.

The use of TbWs is one of the tools employed by those in power to sometimes perpetrate atrocities on the powerless in the name of establishing law and order in the society as shown in this episode. On the other hand, the powerless, too, use it as an emotive tool to vent their anger, helplessness and frustration against the powerful. It works, therefore, both ways. The humour in the episode is generated through the use of sex-related taboo words as FTAs, creating irony, changing of places and positions of the subject (police and citizens) and violation of social norms. (Cf. 2.3)

## 4.5

### Elevador (EL) (Elevator)

#### 4.5.1

##### Context

The episode posted on 3 August 2017, shows a young girl waiting for the elevator at a public building when another lady comes and waits too. After a few moments, the lady wishes to press the button, the girl tells her that she has already done so and there is no need to do it again. The lady, being in a hurry, wants to press the button to make sure that it had been pressed properly by the girl. This infuriates the girl, interpreting it as an insult to her ability to call the elevator. So, in the heated discussion with the lady, she makes an analogy between the descending of the elevator and the flushing of shit down the drain. The annoys the lady who advances to press the button and the girl tries to stop her physically. A fight begins and the two women end-up on top of each other on the floor, showering blows. Another lady arrives and she, too, is warned against pressing the button and she is invited to join the brawl (*briga*). The elevator, in the meanwhile, arrives, opens, waits, closes and goes up while all three are still engaged in a free for all.

The TbWs used in this episode belong to the theme of scatology: *porra*, *merda*.

#### 4.5.2

##### Linguistic Aspects

Semantically, the taboo word, *merda* (shit), has been used to explain the functioning of the elevator by giving an example of descending of poop down the toilet by the girl while the lady uses the same to make a reference to the girl as shown below in dialogues no. 29 and 30:

Girl:- Está apertado!! (shouts, stopping her from pressing the button.) A senhora vai ao banheiro, faz **cocô**, dá descarga e **a merda** desce. A senhora dá outra descarga? Não, porque a **merda** já desceu.

Lady:- Desceu e tá aqui falando comigo agora.

The sense of meaning is being negotiated between the speakers; denotational and referential meaning in the girl's dialogue and its connotational emotive meaning are implied by the lady by using spatial and temporal deictic

elements *aqui* and *agora* respectively in an anaphoric reference to the girl. Ljung (ibid., p. 21) terms the former as symbolic meaning; “describing the world surrounding us” and the later as symptomatic meaning; “referring to the state of mind of the speaker”. These conflicting meanings ultimately lead to the break-down of interaction amidst face-threatening dialogues resulting in a physical fight.

The TbWs *porra* (*semen*), *merda* (*shit*), and *cocô* (poop), although the latter is not considered taboo, belong to the semantic field of scatology that call to mind the images of objects considered unclean by a linguistic community. *Cocô* and *merda* are synonyms of faeces, and are used in the same dialogue as formulaic constructions (*fazer cocô*, *descer merda*). However, when used with verb *fazer*, for example, *fazer cocô* means to defecate whereas *fazer merda* means to mess up things. The formulaic constructions using TbWs is one of the criteria of an expression to be considered as swearing by Ljung (2011).

Over the years, the semantic field of *porra*<sup>82</sup> as listed in different dictionaries has varied: male sex organ in Maior (1980), sexual activity in Xatara and Oliveira (2008). However, only the context would finally determine its meaning as seen below, in dialogue no. 28:

Lady:- Eu só tô atrasada. “Vai para **porra**!”

*Porra* is used as locative noun in a formulaic construction: Ir + para+ *porra* +! Used as expletive interjection (written with an exclamation mark), it expresses state of mind of the speaker, meaning “Go to hell!” as in dialogue no. 28. *Porra* has been used differently, as shown below in the dialogue no. 32:

Lady:- Tem uma **porra** de uma **merda** de um **cocô** de uma garota falando comigo aqui na frente!

Multiple TbWs are used in the same dialogue in the formulaic construction *porra* +*de* + *uma/um* + *merda* /*cocô* /*garota* (Here is a shithead of a girl talking to me!).

<sup>82</sup> Maior (1980:106): cacete, pau, bastão, bengala forte, clava.  
Serra e Gurgel (2005:584); qualquer coisa, pessoa ruim, desagradável.  
Xatara and Oliveira (2008:567): orgasmo.  
ABL (2008:1007): *chulo*, sêmen esperma *int.*, coloq. Expressa irritação.

By using *garota* in the same dialogue as *merda and cocô*, *garota* is being used pejoratively (this chit of a girl) by the lady aiming to cause maximum face damage to the girl, as well as defy the threat, assert her right and save her negative face at being imposed upon by the girl. This construction reminds of Battistella (2005, p. 72) in the dialogue "God fucking damnit!", consisting of more than one category of offensive words in one sentence.

Pragmatically, the TbWs used provoke disagreement between the interactants that gradually start to build up from the dialogue no. 22-23 onwards where the girl feels offended by the lady's remark "*quanto tempo?*" The girl interprets the meaning of this remark as a threat to her positive face (CF. 2.1.5.2), as an aspersion on her knowledge and efficiency to call the elevator. Her reply - "*A senhora fala de um jeito que parece que eu não sei chamar o elevador.*" is her subjective interpretation of the lady's dialogue. Her reaction "*de um jeito que parece*" indicates the girl's interpretation of the manner in which the lady said it. Allan & Burrige (ibid., p. 242) remind us that "Foul language exists because it is only words whose meaning lies in what listeners believe to be offensive. It is not the word that causes offense, but the concept." The girl tries to provoke and threaten the face of the lady in various ways as shown below in the following dialogue no. 25:

Girl:- *A senhora é o que? Uma encantadora de elevadores?*

The girl launches a counter attack, makes fun of the lady calling her a 'charmer of elevator'. The lady does not react verbally but responds through her silence in dialogue no. 27:

Girl:- *Que o elevador gosta mais de você do que de mim? (Stifles her giggle with her hand). Que a senhora chama e o elevador e o elevador vem. (mockingly) Vem elevador, uh! vou descer ali, pra dona nãnaã!*

The girl giggles, mimics and mocks the lady by calling her *Dona Nananã*, referring to her age by using *Dona*, a semiformal form of address for older women in Portuguese language. However, *Dona Nãnaã* here is used to indicate authoritarian bossy woman as in dialogue no. 27. The girl goes one step further to ridicule the lady as shown in the dialogue 29 below:

Girl: -A senhora vai ao banheiro, faz **cocô**, dá descarga e a **merda** desce. A senhora dá outra descarga? Não, porque a **merda** já desceu.

The girl makes an analogy between poop and elevator to explain the similar processes involved in functioning of both. Being younger she tries to teach the lady about the situation in her way. The lady starts to feel her face under attack and the conflict escalates to the next level in dialogue no. 30:

Lady:- Desceu e tá aqui falando comigo agora.

The lady initiates a face preservation exercise. She makes a metaphorical analogy between the girl and poop, using the verb *descer* (to descend) collocable to both the referents: poop and the girl as in dialogue no. 32:

Lady:-Tem uma **porra** de uma **merda** de um **cocô** de uma garota falando comigo aqui na frente!

The lady uses *porra*, *merda*, *cocô*, *garota* in rapid succession in a raised voice and decides to assert her right to press the button of the elevator. Although *porra* and *merda* are placed very high in the offensive scale, *garota* is an inoffensive term, often used as an endearment (*Vem pegar esse presente garota, linda da mamãe!*). But in a verbal conflict here, *garota* is being used as a name calling, referring to her lack of sensitivity towards others, ignorant of social etiquettes/behaviour, a direct reference to her coarse and unbecoming conduct in the public domain. The girl mocks her sarcastically, calling her names; a charmer of elevator and *Dona Nananã*. Although a formal respectable form of address for older women under normal situation, addressing a woman as *Dona*, can sound offensive to some women in a situation of conflict and aggression. In Brazil, women usually prefer to be addressed by their first name only since being addressed as *Dona* or *Senhora* may be interpreted as a direct reference to advanced age, as in dialogue no. 33:

Girl:- Você não vai apertar!!

The girl shouts and flies into physical aggression biting the hand of the lady in order to physically prevent her from pressing the button to call the elevator.

The level of offensiveness at this point is extremely high mainly due to two factors: firstly, calling names, mocking, mimicking, shouting, giggling sarcastically; secondly, engaging in physical aggression, preventing (using physical force) someone from using a public utility service by imposing one's own judgement over the other one'. This behaviour can be termed bullying on the part of the girl. The word bullying, according to Encyclopaedia Britannica, can be defined as "Intentional harm doing or harassment that is directed towards vulnerable targets and typically repeated. Bullying encompasses a wide range of malicious aggressive behaviour, including physical violence, verbal mockery threats and ostracism..."

The girl's behaviour is against all norms of conventional politeness, as she insists on stopping the lady from pressing the button (*Não! Vai chegar!*) in dialogue no. 11. She does not respect the other's right and tries to impose her idea on the negative face (desire to be not imposed upon) of the lady. This kind of rude aggressive behaviour is termed by Randall (2001, p. 9) as bullying:

"This type of aggressive behaviour arises from the deliberate intent to cause physical or psychological distress to others and can be termed as verbal bullying which includes "derogatory name calling, spreading rumours, threatening someone, yelling or talking to someone in a rude or unkind tone of voice especially without justifiable cause, making insults or otherwise making fun of someone."

Bullying occurs due to the "perception of imbalance of social power by the perpetrator who uses voice to yell, mock, threaten, call names, to insult or socially exclude the victim in order to achieve a sense of psychological domination." In extreme cases, the verbal bullying can even escalate to physical violence.<sup>83</sup>

The face-to-face bullying, according to Harris & Petrie (2003, p. 45) is termed as direct bullying. "The direct bullying involves taunting, teasing, calling names, verbally criticising unfairly, threatening, obscene gestures, menacing stares, hitting, using a weapon or threatening to use one, stealing or hiding another's

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<sup>83</sup> The researcher has first-hand personal experience of having been bullied in her early school days at the hands of her class-mate, therefore can testify the process presented in this episode.



belongings.” In this sense, in this episode the conflict is between an aggressive girl and an assertive lady, amply visible in their body language, raised tones of voice, facial expressions, gestures and TbWs used.

Assertiveness, for Randall (2001, p.78 apud Mauger and Adkinson: 1980, p. 1) is “behaviour directed towards reaching some desired goal, which continues in the direction of that goal in spite of the obstacles in the environment or the opposition of others.” On the other hand, aggressiveness “emanates from hostile attitude and the main purpose is to attack other individuals or exert power over others. The rights of others are disregarded and/or are violated.” The girl’s aggressive behaviour after a point is countered by assertiveness of the lady firstly, through attacking the latter’s face by the use of TbWs and thereafter through physical aggression (*briga*) over an ambiguous situation. In the end it is shown that neither gets to use the elevator when it finally arrives, only the number of participants in fight goes up to three.

#### **4.5.3 Pedagogic Aspects**

Interculturally, the episode echoes an important cultural aspect theorized by Hofstede (ibid., p.191) as Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI), described as “the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous and unknown situations.” On the national cultures’ comparison scale, Brazil with a strong UAI scores 76 points, opposed to weak UAI culture, India with a score of 40 points. Some of the identifiable characteristics of the high UAI cultures Hofstede (Ibid., p.197) are “Neuroticism (against emotional stability) combines the following set of self-scored personality facets: anxiety, angry hostility, depression, self-consciousness, impulsiveness, and vulnerability.”

Hofstede (ibid., p. 195) cautions about confusing uncertainty avoidance with risk avoidance, and anxiety with fear. “While fear has an object to be feared, anxiety does not have an object. Anxiety is a term from psychology and psychiatry that expresses a diffuse state of “uneasy and uncertainty about what is going to happen.” In sum, anxiety can be about any unknown situation, object or a person.

The fight between the girl and the lady is a result of anxiety and fear, described as street fight (*briga*), the reason (Linger, 1992) behind which “may be

as little as an accidental bump or an innocent question. Such rituals of self-assertion over nothing in particular are perhaps sharpest in certain macho societies such as Brazil.” Hofstede (ibid., p. 198) explains that people of countries with high UAI scores like Brazil “are often prepared to engage in risky behaviour in order to reduce ambiguities, such as starting a fight with a potential opponent rather than sitting back and waiting.”

It is the anxiety that an innocent question like "*Quanto tempo?*" poses that triggers the *briga* by the girl in dialogue no. 23 when she accuses the lady of doubting her ‘motor and intellectual’ capacity to press the button. In the second half of the episode, she continues to dare the lady by saying “*Qual o botão que tu vai tocar?*” (Which button you want to press?).

On the other hand, India is a low uncertainty avoidance country primarily due to the effect of religious beliefs of *karma*, a philosophy of law of retribution which results in high tolerance to uncertainty. The belief that whatever has to happen will happen (*jo hota hai acchhe ke liye hota hai.*), and whatever will happen will happen for good (*Jo hoga accha hi hoga.*) makes Indians more tolerant towards ambiguous situations or persons. This may be the reason behind the relatively few TbWs in Hindi. The equivalent of *porra*, in Hindi does not exist, and *cocô* in literal translation - *gu, haggi, tatti* - are rarely used even as taboos. There is no distinction between *merda* and *cocô* in Hindi and are often translated into Indian English. So, in India, euphemisms of *cocô* is ‘potty’ referring to the small toilet seat for children and, of *fazer cocô* is ‘go to the loo’ for adults. Direct reference to *cocô* is avoided altogether.

Lexicographically, for a better understanding of the use of TbWs and their social relevance, a brief historical semantic evolution can better explain its tabooeness for learners of Portuguese as a second or foreign language. The word *porra* comes from Latin, according to Maior (1980, p. 106): *alium porrum*<sup>84</sup> meaning a big garlic, garlic with a big head. Due to its pungent smell, colour, the popular culture turned

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<sup>84</sup> “Alho grande, alho de cabeça grande. O nome foi dado a este bastão, a esta clava, por causa da forma, pois termina na protuberância, numa cabeça quase sempre encastada de metal para maior resistência e peso na pancada, tal como o *porro*, alho, que embora tenha a haste a haste delgada, termina pela cabeça a que se dá o nome de *alho*. Por causa dessa mesma semelhança houve tempo em que na gíria, se dava o nome de *porra* ao membro viril. Continuando ainda a metáfora, porque o alho porro produz líquido alvaco, de cheiro acre e rapidamente coagulável, se passou a designar, na linguagem chula do povo o esperma humano com o mesmo nome de *porra*”, registra Silveira Bueno.”

it a metaphor for semen used in varying contexts. The word *porra* is used in many forms:

- 1) as expletive epithet in the form of interjection: *Porra!*
- 2) as emphazier in *porra de uma garota*.
- 3) as formulaic expression in unfriendly suggestion in *vai para porra!*
- 4) as emphatic denial in *porra nenhuma*.
- 5) as minced oath in *pô!* used in the public discourse of *Cariocas*.

Therefore, *porra* is loaded with CCL (Common Cultural Load) amongst *Cariocas* who use it as a prosodic element in their everyday expression to the extent that it is no longer considered a TbW by a large section of general public in Rio. Its use and context can be modified by the speaker and interpreted by the listener thanks to its CCL which would have to be learnt by the non-native speakers.

This video can be used as pedagogic tool to explain forms of address, (various forms of social address) to the students of PFL. It is a problematic area for non-native learners as they are normally not conversant with the contextual pragmatic use of forms of address like "*dona*", "*garota*" and there are various other forms: *senhor/a*, *amor*, *flor*, *irmão/ã*, *rapaz*, (*rapa*) *gato/a*, *menino/a*, *moço/a*, *mano/a* etc. These social norms can take the Indians by surprise, specially by the way *Cariocas* demonstrate informality and directness even towards strangers. The researcher herself felt uncomfortable when an acquaintance addressed her as *garota* for the first time. Students should be explained the difference between *Dona* and *dona*: the first, a formal honorific for a lady, the second, an informal honorific meaning owner.

Given that honorifics such as *senhor/a*, *irmão/irmã* are used in both genders, the students of PFL tend to generalize by using *rapaz/rapariga* also in both gender forms. In the case of *rapaz/rapariga*, *rapaz* can be addressed to a same-age male friend but a same age girlfriend cannot be addressed as *rapariga* as that means a prostitute or at least a girl with questionable character. The researcher was baffled by the honorific used as '*Seu Costa*' as the form *seu* as a possessive pronoun did not make sense when placed before a proper noun.

The social and gender hierarchy is strictly observed in Indian men in general and women in particular are sensitive and cautious about addressing and being addressed by others. India is categorized as Masculine culture (Hofstede, *ibid.*) as

we saw in *Pau Amigo*, so women are seen as modest and men as tough. In this sense, it will be pedagogically more useful to address the semantic and pragmatic implications of personalized addresses like *minha senhora* in dialogue no. 20.

The Uncertainty Avoidance cultural dimension will help students understand the sociocultural contextual use of TbWs that can help them face, control or combat ambiguity and uncertainty in interactive situations as escape valve. They could also understand the subtle relation between expression of emotions, aggression and assertiveness and to illustrate the meaning making process between the speaker and the listener depending on the context.

#### 4.5.4 Final Considerations

The level of offensiveness is very high given the fact that TbWs are exchanged between the interlocutors as FTAs, and the interactional communication breaks down and ends in violence. (Carretero, 2011) The power dynamics between the bully girl and the assertive lady is negotiated first, through the use of TbWs and then through physical force. Thus, the use of TbWs and the fight (*briga*) over a trivial issue is aimed at creating humour and demonstrates the aspect of UAI dimension of Brazilian culture.

The episode is a statement on high level of anxiety and stress and low level of tolerance among Brazilians, *Cariocas* in particular and the resulting verbal and physical aggression on mundane trivial issues. Characterised as impulsive and expressive, this aspect of Brazilian culture is reflected in the language and in the uninhibited use of TbWs which, on one hand, can alleviate the stress for the speaker and on the other, aggravate it for the listener. As Pinker (ibid.) states “the ability of the TbWs to evoke an emotional reaction is useful not just when speakers wish to convey their own distress to a listener but also to create that distress in a listener from scratch.”

In opposition to the episode *Pau Amigo*, where taboo was used as slang to create an exclusive identity for the users, this episode shows that TbWs not only can be used to disparage or threaten the face of the listener but also can be used to assert one’s right, to counter the aggressiveness of the bully in a given context, to claim one’s right.

In a culture with high UAI like Brazil, the TbWs can be resorted to as emotional missiles to handle ambiguous situations and people, their choice depending upon pragmatic variables such as age, gender, physical and social setting, relation between the participants and the level of stress at the moment. Jay (2000, p. 148), reminds that as long as there is social cost involved such as: loss of job, punishment from authority and social ostracization, the use of TbWs is avoided. On the other hand, if its use will benefit the speaker in taking control of the situation, get appreciation, or help integrate in to the group, it is more likely to be used.

## 4.6

### Nome na Lista (NL) (Name in the list)

#### 4.6.1

##### Context

This episode, posted on 25 May 2017, is a parody on political corruption, named *Operação Lava Jato*<sup>85</sup> (*Operation Car Wash*) as a result of investigations held by the Brazilian Federal Police (equivalent to the US FBI) that shook the conscience of the Nation in the year 2016. The scam landed several reputed politicians in prison, including the then former President of Brazil, and consequently, led to the impeachment of President Dilma who in turn accused the opposition of staging a *golpe* (coup) to topple her government. It was revealed that corruption links were not just limited to the territory of Brazil but spread across several other countries. The country faced a huge political turmoil due to the polarization of public opinions, a by-product of a series of revelations made public by the accused involved in the scam. A special term was coined during this period called *delação premiada* (plea bargain, state approver) that basically meant confessions before a judge by the accused, in return for leniency in the imminent legal action against them. These statements were recorded and could eventually be even aired on TV. During the *delação*, a list containing code names of ministers / politicians involved in the scam was put out in the public domain. The names mentioned in the episode are real names of some who were tried and sentenced, such as: entrepreneur Marcondes (Ferraz), journalist and a columnist of magazine *Veja*, Lauro Jardim (who exposed the scam), President of the lower house of Parliament (Eduardo) Cunha, Senator Renan (Calheiros) and Deputy Dias.

The episode, posted at the height of investigations of the scam *Lava Jato*, shows a Deputy being interviewed inside the official premises by the Brazilian media, when the one of the journalists informs him that the entrepreneur Marcondes, during *delação premiada*, had confessed that the Deputy's codename in the list was *brocha*<sup>86</sup> (sexually impotent) and he had diverted 300 million reais,

<sup>85</sup> The operation was named *Lava Jato* after an incident where a politician gifted an expensive Mercedes car to the owner of a carwash shop. This incident came under the scanner of Federal Police which led to unearthing of a corruption of gigantic proportions involving the government.

<sup>86</sup> This word in the subtitles of the episode is spelt as *broxa*. According to the Informal Dictionary Online, “*se diz do homem cujo pênis não ingurgita ou ingurgita insuficientemente para obter uma ereção funcional.*” The man whose penis does not harden or sufficiently hardens to obtain a

funds allocated for the school children mid-day meals. The Deputy becomes worried more about his social reputation being tarnished by the codename *brocha* than the financial scam that he is allegedly being accused of. It is in this context that the episode is named after the secret list of names of corrupt politicians' codenames as *Nome na lista*. The Deputy shown in the episode speaks with an accent and uses words such as *quenga* (prostitute) generally associated particularly with the Northeast region, considered more patriarchal and possibly considered more corrupt than the rest of Brazil.

The TbWs used in the episode belong to the themes: sexual anatomy: *cu*, *pau*; sexual activity: *foder*, *suruba*; name-calling: *vagabunda*, *corno*, *quenga*, illicit sex: *filho da puta*; scatology: *porra*.

#### 4.6.2 Linguistic Aspects

Semantically, words from two fields - sex and political corruption - are woven together to build a political satire through the use of word-play on the taboo word *pau* (dick). The formal interaction between the Deputy and the media on context of voting suddenly changes into informal on the introduction of the word *brocha*, the Deputy's secret codename in the list of those involved in the political scam. From this point onwards, the topic of interaction becomes the sexual activities indulged in by the political class. The meaning of *brocha* (*sexually impotent*) is used to connote the erosion of moral and ethical values and ideological bankruptcy in the political system, evident in the discourse of Deputy, as shown below in the dialogue no. 14.

Deputy: - Ah! Coisa boa Marcondes não conta, né? Eu poderia tá reconhecido como papa do **cu** da mulher de **corno**. Mas não, né? Será que eu conto? Que eu estava comendo o **cu** da rapariga, da **quenga** da mulher dele, enquanto ele segurava o maria-mole de **pau** que ele tem, observando tudo, chorando e cantando hino nacional observando no canto do quarto pelado. Será que eu conto, não? Qual o apelido dele na lista? Pátria amada?

Words such as: *papa do cu da mulher do corno* (specialist of the cuckold's wife's ass); *cu da rapariga* (ass of the whore) and *maria-mole de pau* (a limp dick)

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functional erection. <https://en.dicionarioinformal.com.br/broxa/> Access on 15 January 2020. However, in this text, the standard Portuguese spelling is being used as *brocha*.

are inappropriate and offensive since they are not expected from a politician during an interview with the media. Their unexpected use is aimed at highlighting the extent of Indulgence and priorities of political class when the Deputy elaborates his sexual competence with Marconde's wife while portraying Marconde as *cornio* (man betrayed by wife) who grabbed his own *maria-mole de pau* (limp dick) and wept as he stood witness to his wife having sex with the Deputy. *Cornio*<sup>87</sup>, although not a taboo word, it is a pejorative word that means "man whose wife has sex with another man or other men".

In a patriarchal Brazilian society where man is seen as '*macho soberano*' (*sovereign male*), term coined by Preti (ibid., p. 37), *cornio* has a cultural implicature of "man without power over his woman". In this sense, in such a society *brocha* has more negative connotation than *corrupto* (corrupt). Therefore, in an attempt to salvage his face, the Deputy reveals that while he was having sex with Marconde's wife, the entrepreneur himself stood naked and cried in the corner singing *pátria amada*, a reference to the national anthem of Brazil as a symbol of his patriotism.

Pragmatically, this suggests that while the country is being robbed of its respect and resources, the politicians remain silent spectators merely paying lip-service to the nation. *Pátria amada* (Beloved Nation, expression present in national anthem of Brazil) in its referential meaning is used as a metaphor to refer to Brazil as beloved motherland. The Deputy exposes more of his sexual encounters as proofs of his sexual prowess as shown below in dialogue no. 20:

Deputy:- Pois é! Se meu **pau** levantasse comigo bêbado e cheirado, aí é que seria de relevância nacional. Mas foi uma vez, inclusive no dia seguinte eu comi uma **vagabunda** na **suruba** de Cunha. Lauro Jardim é testemunha! Lauro Jardim é testemunha porque estava lá!

*Suruba* (sexual group orgy) has been used as a metaphor for the collective appropriation of the resources of the country by its politicians. The use of *comi uma vagabunda* (I had sex with a slut) is an attempt to rebuild face by indicating his sexual skills in order to clear his name as *brocha*. The Deputy reveals that he had participated in a *suruba* (orgy) organized by his friend *Cunha* where *Lauro Jardim*

<sup>87</sup> According to DIP, *cornio*; *Homem que gosta de ver sua esposa transando com outros homens*; (man who likes to see his wife having sex with other men). Available at <<https://www.dicionarioinformal.com.br/cornio/>>. Access on 24 September 2020.



was present as an eyewitness thus exposing the political fraternity involved in sex, connoting corruption. The Deputy is so preoccupied about his sexual reputation that he does not even pay attention to the context of the question from the journalist as shown below in dialogue no. 20, 21 and 22:

Journalist:- Mas o senhor pretende fazer alguma coisa a respeito dessas acusações?

Deputy:- Ah... pretendo. Pretendo contar mais nada para ninguém. Porque aqui dentro só tem filho de rapariga futriqueiro e **quenga**.

In the utterances above, the context has been deliberately misunderstood or ignored by the Deputy. While the journalist's question is on allegations of corruption about diverting funds, he answers about his plan of not confiding about his sex escapades to anyone in future. By confusing the possible contextual use of *dessas acusações* (these accusations) in two different semantic fields: sex and corruption, the Deputy prioritizes the former and explains his strategy for the future. His use of *filho de rapariga* (son of prostitute) and *quenga* (prostitute, in the Northeast of Brazil) for his fellow politician evokes humour through his echoing of general public sentiments about politicians. The use of the words *rapariga* and *quenga* demonstrates his patriarchal attitude while *futriqueiro* (one who frequently indulges in gossip) is a reference to those involved in the *delação*. The spatial deixis *aqui dentro* (over here) is a reference to the government in power and adds comic irony to the utterance. The repeated use of *pau* is a metaphor for *macho soberano* whose only claim to power is through the pride of functional penis as shown below in the dialogues 25, 26:

Journalist:- Deputado. O povo ali quer saber a verdade.

Deputy:- O povo ali quer saber a verdade então eu vou mostrar o tamanho do meu **pau** aqui. Filme o meu **pau** duro que é pra ver que não vai ter golpe, não? Diretas já nessa **porra**! Filma meu **pau** aqui. Filma meu **pau** aqui.

Once again, the contextual use of the word *verdade* (truth) by the journalist is associated with corruption of 300 million reais is ignored by the Deputy who chooses to develop the interview in terms of his sexual competence and wants to prove it through the use of *tamanho do meu pau* (size of my dick). He goes a step further to even show his penis as *pau duro* (hardened dick), a sign of virility.

The word *golpe* (coup) is a reference to the term used by President Dilma, accused of overspending public money in favour of her administration, to counter the allegations levied against her and so launch a counter allegation of a political conspiracy by the opposition. Therefore, *golpe* has a referential meaning of political conspiracy as the President's voters used the slogan: *não vai ter golpe não* (there will be no coup) with double negation. In the episode, the Deputy uses this slogan to connote that he is sure of his lasting virility. In the Deputy's repeated utterance *filma meu pau aqui* (film my dick over here), *meu pau* demonstrates his anxiety to prove his virility, ignoring the socio-physical setting of a formal political gathering.

The use of *diretas já* (direct) (Figure 18) is a reference to the political slogan of the year 1984, during the popular civic movement by the Brazilian citizens to demand direct voting rights for the election of the President of Brazil. The deputy means to say that it is not the people who are going to determine his sexuality by naming him *brocha*; he claims that he himself should have the right to directly prove his virility to the people.



Figure 18: *Diretas Já*. (Google images. Access on 24 September 2020).

In the expression *nessa porra*, *nessa* is used as a spatial deixis for *pau* and *porra* has an emotive meaning referring to his anxious state of mind, wanting to restore sexual power to himself and clear his codename *brocha*. *Meu pau* is repeated twice in the following two utterances using the verb *filmar* (to film) in imperative mode to impose on the negative face of the cameramen present, referring to the *delação* on cameras, as a proof of his hardened virility. The irony of the act evokes humour and leaves the spectator to interpret the meaning for himself on the basis of the background knowledge of the Operation Car Wash.

The word *brocha*, according to Novo Michaelis (1976, p.190) dictionary, means a painter's brush. The features of a brush as an oblong limp object are attributed to the Deputy's so-called limp penis (*pau mole*), that is, with no erection, a matter of embarrassment for men. That is the reason, why the word *brocha* makes the Deputy worry more about his social reputation than his political image of a corrupt politician.

Intertextuality with *Mario Bros.* in the second part of the episode refers to a video game making analogy between the penis and the character toad (a mushroom in the game) is pejoration through insignificance. The use of words such as *cogumelinho* and *mamilinho* is pejoration according to Finkbeiner (2016, p. 303) "the property "small" often engenders the 'contempt' meaning across languages. The transfer from physical size to attitude is well manifested in the English word belittling (making small) as a synonym of pejoration." Having a small penis has a cultural implicature of lack of virility and therefore loss of face and social stature for a man in a powerful position.

Pragmatically, the interaction is a discourse on political corruption and the priority of the politicians. The interaction between the Deputy and the media is interrupted in dialogue no. 4 when the Deputy is shocked to know about his code name *brocha* through the journalist and wants to reconfirm what he just heard.

Deputy:- Ele disse o quê, hein?!

The interjection *hein* is an expression of surprise tinged with anxiety due to the unexpectedness of the information. The sudden change in the Deputy's reaction begins from this dialogue onwards. The second interruption occurs when the Deputy expresses his disappointment in dialogue no.7:

Deputy: - Rapaz, aqui não pode confiar em ninguém aqui dentro, viu? Em ninguém!

The Deputy expresses his indignation on his friend Marconde's betrayal by revealing his code name and regrets having shared his intimate problem with him. Pragmatically this utterance is impregnated with issues of trust and betrayal of safeguarding personal interests in politics. Thereafter, there are two contexts: one, of the journalist representing the population's request of information and second,

of the Deputy representing the shallowness of the political class; the clash between the two is shown below in dialogue no. 11 and 12:

Journalist: - Deputado, eu acho que mais importante para a população...

Deputy: - Que eu comi o cu da mulher dele? Ele contou ou não?

When the journalist asks the Deputy about an important issue for the population, he cuts him short saying *comi o cu da mulher dele* (had anal sex with his wife), showing violation of Grice's maxim of relevance in the conversation, because the Deputy's answer to the question is not relevant nor expected by the journalist and does not provide any information. The semantics of the verb *comer* (to eat) in Portuguese has cultural connotations explained by DaMatta (1993, p. 60)<sup>88</sup>:

"(...) to "eat", to cover, to encompass, to ingest or completely surround whatever is eaten. The one eaten, a woman, or a man in certain situations, disappears inside the eater – or the glutton. This is the basis of metaphor for sex. Sex and the act of eating, therefore, are close in the sense that we, Brazilians, conceive sexuality and see it as, not as a meeting of opposites and equals (the man and woman who would be masters of selves), but as a way to settle this equality through absorption, symbolically consented in social terms, by one another."

The use of the verb *comer* has also been dealt with in the episodes such as *Virgem*, and *Boa Notícia* as well. The taboo word *brocha* provokes the Deputy into losing control over his emotion and the conversation hence, digressing from the topic of the interview on corruption. He eventually divulges more than he otherwise would have done, therefore violating the Grice maxim of quantity. His utterances, as a consequence, are dotted with more obscene words. His concern about protecting his public image is further frustrated by his use of TbWs in full view of the cameras making irony of his efforts as shown below, in dialogues no. 9 and 10:

<sup>88</sup> "(...) "comer", abarcar, englobar, ingerir ou circunscrever totalmente aquilo que é (ou foi) comido. A comida, como a mulher (ou o homem, em certas situações), desaparece dentro do comedor – ou do comilão. Essa é a base da metáfora para o sexo, indicando que o comido é totalmente abraçado pelo comedor. A relação sexual e o ato de comer, portanto, aproximam-se num sentido tal que indica de que modo nós, brasileiros, concebemos a sexualidade e a vemos, não como um encontro de opostos e iguais (o homem e a mulher que seriam indivíduos donos de si mesmos), mas como um modo de resolver essa igualdade pela absorção, simbolicamente consentida em termos sociais, de um pelo outro."

Journalist:- O senhor confirma as acusações, então?

Deputy:- Veja, uma vez eu tive esse problema e eu desabafei com Marcondes, uma vez. E agora ficou esse apelido aí. Essa fama de **pau mole** dentro da sociedade.

*Esse problema* is a reference to his going limp as well as sharing this secret with his friend Marcondes. Between sex and corruption, sexual reputation of being a *pau mole* (limp dick) is the main cause of concern for the Deputy. This is also a statement for the society that pays attention to sensationalism than real issues. What worries him more is the public self-image that is threatened by the public revelation of the codename by which he is known and listed in the group as *brocha*, revealed by his friend Marcondes as in dialogue no. 16:

Journalist: - Senhor em relação aos 300 milhões de reais desviados?

Deputy: - Como é que eu vou voltar para casa? Como é que eu vou olhar para o meu filho? Para o painho, para a mainha?

The priority of Deputy is more inclined towards clearing his codename *brocha* than assuming responsibility for the alleged appropriation of 300 million reais. The Deputy is ashamed of loss of face in the family and the society in general. The words for family members like *filho* (son), and diminutives *pai-nho* and *mai-nha* are used to show his affection and concern for his own family in contrast to his indifference to his larger family of fellow citizens who are parents and have children too. In an effort to clear his name, he goes on to reveal more than he should as shown below in dialogues 18, 19 and 20:

Deputy:- Uma vez eu tive esse problema. Eu **brochei** uma vez porque estava bêbado e cheirado. Já **fodeste** bêbado e cheirado?

Journalist:- Por acaso não!

Deputy:- Pois é! Se meu **pau** levantasse comigo bêbado e cheirado, aí é que seria de relevância nacional. Mas foi uma vez, inclusive no dia seguinte eu comi uma **vagabunda** na suruba de Cunha. Lauro Jardim é testemunha! Lauro Jardim é testemunha porque estava lá! E eu o vi uma vez e agora fico com essa fama, rapaz? Ah...francamente.

The use of *brochei*, *fodeste*, *pau*, *vagabunda* is normally associated with popular culture and not with the political discourse. The pragmatic use of this vocabulary is misplaced and, therefore, generates humour. The revelation of use of drugs, group sex, prostitution etc. being projected as positive characteristics by the

political class demonstrates erosion of moral values. The level of offensiveness is very high since there is surprise, anger, frustration and loss of self-control over emotions on the part of the interactant Deputy due to unplanned exchange of more offensive words. As a result, he further sullies his own image. This episode, therefore, is not only a statement about one individual but the values held in esteem by the society as a whole.

### 4.6.3 Pedagogic Aspects

The TbWs are used in context of the political corruption, sexual activities indulged in by the politicians to expose their preferences and attitudes towards the Brazilian citizens. Culturally, Brazil, on the scale for National Cultural Dimensions by Hofstede (2010), scores quite high on the dimensions of Power Distance (69 points) and Uncertainty Avoidance (76 points). Hofstede (ibid.) further elaborates that:

“Difference in power distance and uncertainty avoidance affect primarily the political process. Large power distance implies political centralization, lack of co-operation between citizens and the authority, and more political violence. Strong uncertainty avoidance implies more rule and laws, more government interference in the economy and perceived incompetence of citizens versus authority; stronger uncertainty avoidance implies more perceived corruption, after elimination of the effect of national poverty.” Hofstede (ibid., p. 413).

The above statement is corroborated by statistics available online by a non-governmental organization: Transparency International<sup>89</sup>. Its 2019 Corruption Perception Index (CPI) Report on 180 countries and territories shows Brazil rank 106 with a score of 35 on a scale between zero to one hundred where zero means least corruption. India ranks 80 with a score of 41, similar to China. According to a study by Global Corruption Barometer: Latin America & Caribbean<sup>90</sup> 2019, 54% people in Brazil think that corruption is on the rise while 90% feel that government corruption is a problem while 63% people think that members of Parliament are corrupt.

<sup>89</sup> <http://www.transparency.org/cpi>. Access on 08 January 2020.

[https://images.transparencycdn.org/images/2019\\_CPI\\_Report\\_EN\\_200331\\_141425.pdf](https://images.transparencycdn.org/images/2019_CPI_Report_EN_200331_141425.pdf) Access on 08 January 2020.

<sup>90</sup> [https://images.transparencycdn.org/images/2019\\_GCB\\_LatinAmerica\\_Caribbean\\_Full\\_Report\\_200409\\_091428.pdf](https://images.transparencycdn.org/images/2019_GCB_LatinAmerica_Caribbean_Full_Report_200409_091428.pdf). Access on 05 January 2020.

Corruption, according to Hofstede (ibid., p. 221), depends partly on its definition. “We speak of corruption when people use the power of their positions to illegally enrich themselves, or when citizens buy the collaboration of authorities for their private purposes.” This, in part, is a result of high Uncertainty Avoidance, a by-product of Power Distance which is related to stress of being in a powerless situation.

Explaining the “endemic nature” of corruption in Brazil, Silva (1999, p. 30) says “The first structural cause is tolerance or cynical ignorance towards corruption: apparently, Brazilians ignore or tolerate corruption or just accept it as a cultural feature of the *humus Brasiliensis*.” This cultural trait is shown in dialogue no. 15,16:

Journalist:- Senhor em relação aos 300 milhões de reais desviados?

Deputy:- Isso aí que, rapaz! Isso o **povo esquece**. Agora o meu apelido vai perdurar. Como é que eu vou voltar para casa? Como é que eu vou olhar para o meu filho? Para o painho, para a mainha?

The Deputy’s comments demonstrate not only his indifference towards society’s concerns about corruption but also disrespect for his electors who voted him to power. This utterance also implies the impunity towards corruption in public domain. Since no one is held accountable for the corruption, no one is punished and, therefore, the public forgets.

Lexic culturally, there are many words in the episode such as: *pátria amada*, the loving patriotic way in which Brazilians refer to Brazil and *diretas já*: a popular civic movement in the year 1984 to demand voting rights to elect the President of Brazil directly, are charged with CCL. This movement was responsible for re-democratization of Brazil that resulted in promulgation of a new constitution in 1988. These words are loaded with CCL in terms of politico-social importance in the Brazilian culture. According to Delgado<sup>91</sup> (2007, P. 2), “The campaign for *Diretas Já*” was, in fact, the biggest civic/popular movement in the history of Brazil. The bustle on the streets translated into a strong symbiosis between political democratic flag and collective aspirations for liberty.”

<sup>91</sup> “A “campanha pelas Diretas já” foi, de fato, o maior movimento cívico/popular da história brasileira. O fervilhar das ruas traduziu uma forte simbiose entre bandeira política democrática e aspiração coletiva por liberdade.”

The taboo word *pau* has been used repeatedly eight times with quality markers such as; *pau mole*, *pau pequeno*, *maria mole de pau*. *Maria mole* (Limp Mary) (Figure 19) is a popular dessert similar to marsh-mellows made of basic ingredients: sugar, egg whites, and gelatine and covered with grated coconut. It was first invented by candy chef Antonio Bergamo, of Italian origin.<sup>92</sup> Due to its shape, consistency and name, its features have been attributed to the limp penis of the Deputy, its synonym is *pau mole*.



Figure 19: Maria Mole. (Google Images. Access on 22 September 2020).

Operation Car Wash is loaded with shared cultural knowledge, (CCL) of socio-political history by the native speakers of Portuguese. In order to understand this episode, the knowledge of political events related to Operation Car Wash and terms like *delação premiada* are the key lexicultural words needed to unravel the terms and expressions. These words have a recall value of not only the events but also the public reaction, the public protests, the President's impeachment process and finally the imprisonment of those accused of corruption charges.

The operation Car Wash, as seen before, can be understood as a metaphor composed of the verb *lavar* (to wash) *jato* (jet) alluding to the laundering of money, a term that has come to symbolize corruption in the public sphere. As for the expression *delação* (to depose) *premiada* (awarded) it came to existence in Brazil only after the scam was discovered.

This episode can help students learn about an important historical event involving political corruption, named *Operação Lava-Jato* by the media that not only led to the impeachment of the then President but also affected the image of Brazilian politics in the world scenario. The students can be exposed to the political system of Brazil through the vocabulary related to the semantic field of politics:

<sup>92</sup> Available at <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maria-mole>> Access on 31 August 2020.



*deputado, empreiteiro, votação, delação etc.* There is also the possibility of teaching them taboo and non-taboo vocabulary related to sex such as *suruba, brocha, quenga*, and conceptual metaphors impregnated with cultural connotations such as *maria mole, cogumelinho* (small sized mushroom), *mamilinho* (small sized nipple), *porra rala* (semen with low count of sperms) etc. Besides, they can also be familiarized with *pátria amada*, the expression that, being part of the Brazilian National Anthem, shows love for Brazil. The students can be asked to compare it with Indian national anthem *Jan Gan Man* and research about the semantic fields present in each of them and discuss the cultural significance of the vocabulary used.

Students can also be explained about corruption prevalent in both countries and how citizens in India and Brazil deal with it through the socially acceptable practices of *jugaad* and *jeitinho* respectively. The students can also be acquainted with euphemisms of *jugaad* in Hindi: *chai-pani* (tea) or *chai-naaxta* (tea snacks), *khyaaal, dhyaan* (care); and of *jeitinho* in Portuguese: *cafezinho* (small coffee), *cervejinha* (small beer). There is an uncanny similarity between the pragmatical use of the Indian and Brazilian euphemisms of *jugaad* and *jeitinho*. The only difference between the two is that *jugaad*, which is a cross between *gambiarra* and *jeitinho*, has graduated to be included in the Oxford English Dictionary<sup>93</sup> as “the use of skill and imagination to find an easy solution to a problem or to fix or make something using cheap, basic items.” as a synonym of innovation in the field of art and creativity. An exercise on *jeitinho, jugaad, gambiarra, fazer um gato* can be suggested and students can find similarities and differences in their culture discuss later preparing a presentation on this aspect in both the cultures.

#### 4.6.4

#### Final Considerations

Just like in *Boa Notícia*, where two discourses run parallel, one on ingroup homosexual jargon and the other on outgroup standard normative discourse, in this episode too, there are two parallel discourses on sex and corruption. The climax of the episode is the double meaning of the sentence when the Deputy appeals to the cameramen: *Filma meu pau aqui* (Film my dick right here.), something in principle, unbecoming of politicians in the political setting, connoting their impropriety.

<sup>93</sup> [https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/jugaad\\_2](https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/jugaad_2). Access on 15 September 2020.

The level of offensiveness of TbWs spoken in the public domain on camera by an elected representative of the people of Brazil accountable to them, is very high due to the shock value derived from unexpectedness. We know that offensiveness depends on who speaks the TbWs and in what socio-physical setting. Therefore, taking into account pragmatic variables such as: middle-age; the socio-physical formal setting in front of TV media; the relationship of the speaker with audience (politician-public); power dynamics between the interlocutors (journalist-politician, elected-electors) it can be concluded that the use of TbWs is highly offensive since communication between the journalist and the Deputy ends abruptly. (Carretero, 2011)

The word *brocha* also appears in the episode *Virgem*, where Marta uses it to humiliate and attack Julio, her husband's face, in a familiar informal setting. However, the difference is that in this episode, it is used in public domain broadcast through the cameras of National media channels. Its denotational meaning as sexual disfunction is applied connotatively to mean political disfunction in the politics. Therefore, face being a public self-image of an individual member of society, it is comparatively less offensive in *Virgem* as it is used in private setting as compared to this episode where it becomes common public knowledge.

For Pinker (ibid.), "Expressions of disrespect are damaging when they are public." A word is not offensive if the hearer believes that the others do not have any knowledge of its use against him. The use of the word in full public view, to attack and humiliate the hearer, is what increases the level of offensiveness of the taboo word. In the episode, a large number of TbWs are used by the Deputy to counter the claims made by the codename *brocha* from the theme of name-calling and provide a proof to this effect, thus making the private issue more public just like the *delação* was made public.

This episode's importance is due to the emphasis given to virility among Brazilian men, even above correctness and honesty in private and public life.

## 4.7

### Pau Amigo (PA) (Fuck Buddy)

#### 4.7.1

##### Context

The episode posted on 8 September 2018, shows parents Roberto and Ivone at home in their kitchen talking about *Pimenta do Reino* (black pepper) when their daughter Jussara walks in with her male friend, Gerson. She introduces him as her *Pau Amigo* (fuck buddy)<sup>94</sup>, a slang (*gíria*) amongst youth referring to sex without commitment. That is the reason why her parents are unable to understand the term in the beginning. When Gerson explains their type of relation, he intends to have with their daughter using obscene word *cu* (anus)- the parents are shocked at the directness. In the second half of the episode, they happily participate in the marriage-like ceremony of Jussara and Gerson where TbWs are freely used by the wedding celebrant to solemnize the event. The term *Pau Amigo* is seemingly inspired from the term *ombro amigo* (shoulder to cry on). Semantically both terms mean someone who fulfils the need of the hour - sexual or psychological - without necessarily entering into an intimate relationship with the solace provider. Both expressions mean need-based relationships.

The TbWs used in the episode belong to the themes: sexual anatomy: *pau*, *buceta*, *cu*; *sex*: *foder*; name-calling: *piranha*.

#### 4.7.2

##### Linguistic Aspects

In the beginning of the episode, the father follows all the principles of politeness by appreciating Gerson, calling him *rapaz simpático* to make him comfortable and create a certain camaraderie (Lakoff, 2003), between the members since Gerson is being introduced first time into the family. However, the polite conversation takes a different turn when Roberto asks Gerson since when had they been dating. His daughter's reply, "No we are not dating. He is my fuck buddy (*pau amigo*)" stuns him in to shocked silence. He finds himself in confusion by Jussara's reply, as shown below in dialogue no. 8:

<sup>94</sup> Dicionário de Vulgarismos, Insultos e Xingamentos em Inglês, 2010, p. 56.

Jussara:- Não, a gente não namora, não. O Gerson é o meu **pau amigo**. (parents' shocked silence)

The unexpectedness of the reply containing the taboo word *pau* shocks Roberto into silence, at loss of words. For Jay (2008, p. 267), “the emotional impact of swearing depends on one’s experience with a culture and its language conventions.” Parents are shocked on hearing *pau amigo* for the first time. The second instance of shock occurs when Jussara explains that she did not remember how many years they had been having sex (*foder*) but it is only now that they had decided to take the relationship to the next level as shown below in dialogue no. 12:

Jussara:- Ah! Eu também sou péssima com datas. A gente **fode** de vez em quando há muito tempo e como esse ano a gente completa bastante tempo de sexo sem compromisso. Eu quis dar esse passo no nosso relacionamento sexual. (father and mother *express shock*.)

The facial expression and silence of the parents convey their shock at the directness of use of the taboo word by Jussara (*foder*) to explain the nature of her relationship with Gerson. The shock value is described through ‘numbering effect’ by Wajnryb (2004, p. 45) which depends on “where you are, who you are and what is happening etc. If the word continues to be used in the same context the shock value wears off.” This is perceptible in the second part of the episode when parents participate in marriage-like ceremony of Jussara and Gerson and seem to be comfortable with the use of TbWs.

The third instance of shock happens when Roberto asks Gerson what exactly he was looking for in their daughter. The young man replies that he was looking for her asshole (*cu*), meaning that he wanted anal sex with his daughter but she was unwilling; however, he hoped that she would soon cede to his demand, as shown below in dialogue no. 28:

Gerson:- **Cu**. Pretendo **cu**. (Father and mother exchange shocked glances.) Estou nessa batalha faz tempo, viu Sr. Roberto. Sua filha é dura na queda. Mas esse ano eu acho que vai.

Roberto exchanges glances with his wife in shock at the unexpected directness of the dysphemistic reference to the anatomy (*cu*) of their daughter since this is the first time, they are faced with directness in use of taboo word *cu*. For Wajnryb (ibid., p. 27), “being able to violate a taboo has shock value and displays the semblance of power which is often effective.” The power of the word *cu* shows its shock value on parents, who face it for the first time.

The fourth instance of shock occurs when Gerson and Jussara start talking about sex in connotative expressions: “I want to squirt milk in your pussy?” Here, through the use of euphemistic words such as *leitinho* and *vaquinha*, Gerson actually refers to sperm and vagina respectively. The semantic field of milk (*leitinho*) and cow (*vaquinha*) have been extended to sexual activity. Although these are euphemisms in a normal context, they turn highly offensive when used in the sexual context with out-group members. This is why the father reprimands her: “What is going on, *Jussara*?” and she apologizes saying: “Sorry. This is our little talk”, meaning it was their own personal intimate sexual foreplay slang, as shown below in dialogue no. 38, 39, 40:

Jussara:- Delícia! Quero jogar leitinho na sua **vaquinha**? Eu quero ficar com o **olho colado**.

Pai:- Que é isso, Jussara?

Jussara:- Ah! Desculpa. É nossa vozinha.

Adding the diminutives in the forms of suffixes *-inho* and *-inha* to nouns as in *vaquinha* (diminutive of *vaca*), according to Neto & Infante (1997, p. 89), lends an added semantic hue of affection (*carinho*) and intensity (*intensidade*) etc. This way normal orthophemistic words get enhanced emotional expressivity through diminutives making them more endearing and exciting for the speakers. Therefore, we see that slang is understood only by in-group people where it is a way of personalized expression, however, when used outside of the group, it becomes offensive and incomprehensible.

Depending on the four instances of shock, surprise and confusion including reprimand by the parents, the use of TbWs can be said to be highly offensive. However, given the contextual variables of social and physical setting of home, relations between the participants, parents, their daughter and her friend, there is no

breakdown of communication although the use of taboo in some places was inappropriate due to the generation gap between the speakers.

Pragmatically, what is an inappropriate and offensive behaviour? Jay explains (2017, p. xvi), “It is important to recognize that what is appropriate or not depends heavily on the *context*, “who, what, where, and when” as something questionable happens.” Context is critical and, in this sense, when words like *Pau amigo*, *cu*, *piranha*, are used within the young in-group members, they are appropriate for social bonding. But spoken to elderly out-group people, they are highly inappropriate and offensive resulting in embarrassment and shock.

Once the TbWs enter the mainstream public discourse, they cease to be inappropriate and offensive. This is evident in the second half of the episode, when Jussara and Gerson go public about their relationship and marry in a church in the presence of parents Roberto and Ivone. A lady wedding celebrant solemnises their marriage-like ceremony, using obscene TbWs: *pau e boceta amigos* and *foder*, as shown below in dialogues no. 45:

Wedding celebrant:- Então, eu vos declaro **pau e boceta amigos**. Podem **foder**.

The use of the performative verb *declaro* in first person by the wedding celebrant appears to publicly legitimize the use of TbWs words in the presence of the parents representing an older generation. Therefore, it can also be a reference to the phenomenon of slang even permeating the religious discourse eventually and becoming a part of mainstream linguistic expression. Instead of the conventional marriage-vows: *Então, eu vos declaro marido e mulher. Podem beijar*, the dialogue above can be seen as a parody on the evolution of the institution of marriage.

Here, it needs to be highlighted that in this episode, being a fictional comedy, the sexual slang is used as artistic liberty, with an aim to create humour. In reality, the use of slang by a wedding celebrant during religious ceremonies in the presence of older generation is less than likely to happen.

Semantically, *pau amigo* is an expression consisting of two words: *pau*, a popular but obscene synonym for penis, and *amigo*, a male friend. But the meaning of *pau* prevails over the meaning of *amigo*, the part over the whole as in metonymy. *Amigo*, as an adjective here can be translated as friendly. Thus, the genitalia (male/female) supersede the human relationship devoid of emotional or social

commitment. This fact is highlighted in the episode by Jussara addressing Gerson as Robson and being oblivious about his profession too as shown below in dialogues no.29, 30 and 31:

Jussara: - Ai que fofo, Robson!

Gerson: - Gerson.

Jussara: - Ai que fofo, Gerson!

Despite not knowing his name and profession, Jussara has been having sex with him for many years. As it is evident, the semantic field of relationship, friendship has been reduced to sex *sans* emotion for today's youth.

That is why the word *pau amigo* elicits an expression of shock from parents for not being updated on the meaning and use of the youth slang. The use of vocabulary created and spoken by a small restricted group within a linguistic community is known as slang (*gíria*). According to Preti (1984a, p. 3), "Characterized as especial vocabulary, slang appears as a group code, mainly secret, an exclusive domain of social restrictive community (whether the slang of marginals or of police, of students, or of others groups or professions)".<sup>95</sup> Therefore, the code language *pau amigo* represents transgression of the taboo word *pau*, in the process, creating an exclusive social identity for the group.

Gradually, however, the slang is absorbed and becomes part of the general public discourse through social and mainstream media. On a popular TV programme in Brazil named *Saia Justa*,<sup>96</sup> Mônica Martelli narrates the dilemma she faced before using the term *pau amigo* during an event in Portugal, where supposedly this slang is unknown. She discusses the options (*avulso*, *solto*, *retalho*) that could have possibly replaced the word *amigo* (for ex. *pau avulso*, *pau solto*, *pau retalho*) keeping the semantics of the word intact. Evidently, her choices harped upon adjectives as euphemistic substitutes for *amigo* instead of the taboo *pau*, ironically, with an aim to lower the degree of offensiveness.

According to Preti (1984b, p. 66-67), "There are times, however, in which this restricted vocabulary ends up getting depersonalized, losing its [position] as a

<sup>95</sup> "Caraterizada como um vocabulário especial, a gíria surge como um signo de grupo, a princípio secreto, domínio exclusivo de uma comunidade social restrita (seja a gíria dos marginais ou da polícia, dos estudantes, ou de outros grupos ou profissões)."

<sup>96</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gu8ROKqXuZ4>. Access on 03 January 2020.

group code.”<sup>97</sup> In this context, we are reminded of the words *sacana* and ‘*sacanagem*’<sup>98</sup>, that were a part of the TbWs during 1960s, becoming a part of the public discourse today and being freely used in the media and not seen offensive anymore. From being a slang used within a minority, they have, over a period of time, gained ground among the majority speakers. Therefore, use of sexual slang with members out-of-group may cause offense or humour depending on the response from the listeners and their age, gender sex and other factors such as social distance and relationship between the interlocutors etc.

In this sense, the use of words such as *cu*, *foder*, *piranha* and words in connotation such as *pau amigo* and expressions such as: “I want to squirt milk in your pussy” used by Jussara and Gerson as their intimate sex talk in the presence of parents are highly offensive. Conventionally, sex being a social taboo, it is an intimate subject for those involved and to speak about it out in the presence of parents makes it highly offensive. It is seen as a violation of the social context. The father does not understand the expression *Pau amigo* and the nature of the young couple’s relationship and confesses: “Sorry. I am kind of confused, you know, about these modern relations.” as he is not updated neither with the vocabulary nor the semantics of the newly coined words by young generation. The reaction by the daughter, “*It’s normal*” indicates that she understands the exclusive nature of the use of slang to create intimacy and group identity for its speakers only. The need to create a new vocabulary within restricted groups according to Preti (1984a, p. 2) is manifold:

“The creation of this special language not only can help the wish to achieve originality, but also achieve different purposes like, for example, the desire to be understood only by the group members, without being understood by others in the community, from where comes its hermetic characteristic.”<sup>99</sup>

By restricting the use of slang within group, young speakers acquire a separate identity, in terms of transgressing the obscene language imposed by the

<sup>97</sup> “Há um momento, porém, em que esses vocabulários restritos acabam por despersonalizar-se, perdendo seu signo de grupo.”

<sup>98</sup> *Sacanagem* is also the name of a snack (finger-food) containing ham, cheese and olive mounted on a tooth pick, popular during the 1970-80s.

<sup>99</sup> “A criação dessa linguagem especial pode não apenas atender ao desejo de originalidade, mas também servir a finalidade diversas, como, por exemplo, ao desejo de se fazer entender apenas por indivíduos do grupo, sem ser entendido pelos demais da comunidade, de onde advém o seu caráter hermético.”



community, as well as self-assertion in terms of expression. By developing their own slang by borrowing partly from the marginalized vocabulary and partly from the mainstream language, for example, by developing the expression *pau amigo*, the young generation is able to represent the new dimensions of sexual relation amongst the youth that is an emerging phenomenon among youth. Preti (1984a, p. 4) explains that “In last few decades, more than ever before, this language faithfully mirrors the conflict of generations.”<sup>100</sup> The high offensiveness is largely due to the use of TbWs in the presence of older generation, thus highlighting the importance of relation between the speaker and the listener.

Another reason for high offensiveness of the TbWs is their use out of physical and social context (Jay, p. 2008) making it inappropriate. It also reminds us of *casa e rua* (DaMatta, 1997) the distinction between private and public space that is well demarcated in Brazil. Jussara violates this demarcation and uses words with sexual connotation in the presence of her parents. Therefore, the TbWs are not used to intentionally offend the parents but the situation of their use is inappropriate which produces an offensive illocutionary effect on their interlocutors. The context here determines the offensiveness and not the speaker.

#### 4.7.3 Pedagogic Aspects

The episode is an example of the impact of evolution of human attitudes, values and relations on the language with development of new slang to represent these changes in the social fabric of the society. This process creates a generation gap between the youth and their parents and grandparents. The slang *pau amigo* is more a semantic reference to the male sexual organ of a man with whom the women have sexual relation only. Their relation is therefore, exclusively based on sex. As mentioned before, this is evident when Jussara calls Gerson as Robson and does not even know his profession.

For Hofstede (ibid., p. 157), “The sexual behaviour and attitude towards sex are influenced by culture.” Sex is a taboo subject in masculine countries like India (56 points) where double moral standards exist; one for men and a separate one for

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<sup>100</sup> “Nestas últimas décadas, mais do que nunca, essa linguagem espelha com fidelidade o conflito das gerações.”

women. In less masculine cultures like Brazil (49 points) same norms prevail for both men and women. According to a survey conducted on premarital sex among youth in India 66% were found to be against it. In India, the concept of *Pau Amigo* would not be expected due to strict social taboos on pre or extra marital sex.

This kind of free and open sex related activities in Brazil can be alluded to the cultural influences of an indulgent society referred to in the sixth dimension of indulgence by Hofstede (ibid., p. 218). “It stands for the tendency to allow relatively free gratification of basic and natural human desires related to enjoying life and having fun.” In comparison with restrained India (26 points), Brazil (59 points) scores much higher in indulgence index. It means that Brazilian society is more permissive and norms regarding sex and sexuality are less strict than those in India. An indulgent society is characterized (ibid., p. 291) as a loose society with low moral discipline whose people are more extroverted, happy people who give more importance to leisure.

On the contrary, India as a tight society views non-committal sexual activity and free gratification of desires as immoral, unethical and a threat to the age-old traditions which dictate norms for women to be under protection of the father before marriage, of her husband after marriage and of her son in old-age. Therefore, the Indian languages are not likely to have expressions or words related to open ended relations based exclusively on sex.

For Galisson (1988), the name of places, brands, products are charged with cultural connotations collectively shared within the native speakers of a linguistic community. In the episode, Jussara says in dialogue no. 34 that she got the abortion done in the area of *Belford Roxo* which happens to be known mainly for poverty and violence. From a lexicultural perspective, Belford Roxo<sup>101</sup> is loaded with shared cultural meaning by the native speakers, as a region in Rio de Janeiro notorious for shoot outs between criminals and the police. In this context, this locative noun acts as metaphor for violence committed by abortion. The non-native speakers having no access to this shared knowledge, therefore, might find it difficult to understand the meaning in its entirety.

Secondly, *pau amigo*, this expression is composed by the use of the dysphemistic colloquial word *pau* with the euphemistic word *amigo*. It may appear

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<sup>101</sup> <https://odia.ig.com.br/rio-de-janeiro/2020/01/5850120-belford-roxo---a-mais-violenta.html>  
Access on 08 January 2020.

to have a very limited or no CCL (Common Cultural Load, Cf. 2.1.1) due to its limited use by youth only as a slang for sexual relation without commitment. However, for Preti (1984a, p. 5) “(...) certain words, when used in determined situations in colloquial register, could end up getting an affective and caring colour.”<sup>102</sup> Therefore, to the uninitiated, the word would sound obscene and eventually taboo; but for the youth, it would sound as a term for social and physical bonding.

Beside this, polysemic word *pau* has a wide semantic field and versatile use in Portuguese language as was suggested in the programme *Saia Justa* such as: *pau avulso*, *pau solto*, *pau retalho*. These variations of *pau* in Serra e Gurgel (2005, p. 552) (*pau barbado*, *pau bebo*, *pau seco*) and in Xatara and Oliverira (2008:566) *pau duro*, *pau mole* are examples of indulgent culture reflected in the lexicon of Portuguese language. The word *pau* is dealt with further in the episode *Nome na lista*.

*Pau amigo* as a neologism is evident from the dialogues no. 9 and 25 where Roberto expresses his incomprehension of the word used for modern relations. Neologism is defined by Camara (1981, p. 175) as “linguistic innovations that take root in a language.”<sup>103</sup> Linguistic innovation by young groups reflects the changes in cultural values and for being so, can be a good lexicultural word for PFL in order to study cultural values in Brazilian society.

The episode can then serve as an example for students of PFL on the formation and use of slang as a sub group of the offensive taboo language in Brazil. The creation of new slang within restricted groups, explains Preti (1984a, p. 2), “lends it an insulated (*hermético*) character.”

The importance of context for the use of slang is manifested between the two couples from two different generations: Roberto-Ivone and Gerson-Jussara. There are moments of silence, shock and disbelief expressed by parents on the use of TbWs as *foder*, *cu*, *piranha*. Therefore, variables like gender, age, relation between speaker and listener, physical and social context can be taught to the learners. In this episode, the generation gap between parents and the youth is the main contextual factor for the shock value of TbWs.

<sup>102</sup> “Certos vocábulos empregados apenas em registro coloquial acabam em determinadas situações por ganhar coloração afetiva e carinhosa.”

<sup>103</sup> “Inovações linguísticas que se firmam numa língua dada.”

Metaphors require a special form of interpretation by the listener of the message conveyed by the speaker where both the listener and the speaker construct the concepts based on their common shared experiences and their culture. According to Searle (2002, p. 124), “The metaphorical meaning is always the meaning of the speaker.”<sup>104</sup> Therefore, *leitinho* (*semen*) or *vaquinha* (*vagina*) as sexual metaphors can be understood by the native speakers but the same cannot be said about non-native speakers of PFL.

Keeping this in mind, the students should be informed about the metaphors as figures of language where comparison and transfer of properties between two objects is subjective and based on cultural values and shared day to day common experiences. This knowledge helps the development of socio-pragmatic (Cf. 2.3.4) skills leading to a better understanding of social and cultural world-view of the Portuguese language. Grammatically, students can be asked to research the polysemy of the word *pau* and list them according to their respective semantic fields such as: money, wood (*pau-brasil*), penis and compare with its equivalent *laand* and its synonyms in Hindi.

#### 4.7.4 Final Considerations

The TbWs used in the episode are very offensive for the parents who are unfamiliar with the slang created by the young generation. However, the slang words used by Jussara and Gerson among themselves are sexually exciting for them and therefore, inoffensive. Due to the pragmatic variables of relationship of the interlocutors, and the informal setting of the interaction, despite the shocked silence and reprimand by Roberto, the communication does not break down. Despite the use of TbWs, being offensive for the parents, there is no breakdown of the communicative process as proposed by (Carretero, 2011) since he did not take into consideration the pragmatic contextual variables proposed by Jay (2008, p. 272) such as “the conversational topic, the speaker- listener relationship, including gender occupation, and status, and the social-physical setting of communication (...)”

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<sup>104</sup> “Um significado metafórico é sempre um significado da emissão de um falante.”

In the second part of the episode, parents accept Gerson and Jussara as fuck buddies officially, given that the intention behind the use of TbWs is not to affront the face of parents but use them as communicative tool with denotative referential meaning for the purpose of clarity and objectivity. Therefore, their intention is well intended but it is the directness and unexpectedness of the use of TbWs by the youth that is shocking and uncomfortable for the parents and considered inappropriate by them in the beginning. However, the parents do accept the use of sexual slang later on and the family even comes together for the wedding-like ceremony. Appropriateness, according to Jay (2017, p. xvi), “depends on how old we are. What we deem inappropriate for young children (drinking alcohol) can be appropriate for adults. Standards shift and change.” It is inappropriate for the youngsters to use TbWs “*pau amigo, cu, buceta*” in the presence of parents but appropriate amongst themselves or their group. However, later, in the second part, the parents have been updated on the slang using TbWs and are not offended by their use as they did in the beginning. As mentioned earlier in this text, according to Wajnryb (2004, p. 45) “If the word continues to be used in the same context, the shock value wears off.”

The expression *pau amigo* was introduced to the researcher by the young daughter of a close friend who wanted to acquaint her with the concept, restricted to the youth of the present generation of Rio de Janeiro. Not finding the word in the dictionaries of Portuguese language, the online explanation on some websites<sup>105</sup> like [www.mercadoerotico.org](http://www.mercadoerotico.org), presented some details about PA, an abbreviated reference to *Pau Amigo* also known as *amigo colorido* or Fuck Friend. The definition found on this site deserves mention here, “It is an ideal way to obtain sexual satisfaction without investing time or effort in a real sexual relation. As goes a popular saying “While one does not get it right, go on liking the wrong ones.”<sup>106</sup>

Therefore, a concept that was earlier known as *amizade colorida* or *amizade com beneficios* has been given a new term called *pau amigo* and *boceta amiga* in this episode. The slang *pau amigo* has been *catapulted* into public discourse through

<sup>105</sup> <https://www.mercadoerotico.org/fuck-friend-ou-pau-amigo-e-como-mante-lo-exatamente-assim/>. Access on 12 February 2020.

<sup>106</sup> “É a maneira ideal de obter satisfação sexual sem colocar tempo e esforço em um relacionamento real.” “Pelo menos enquanto você não acha o certo, vai curtindo os errados”. (ditado popular)

this episode, where the use of taboo word *pau* has cleared the semantic ambiguity of earlier expressions: colourful friendship or friendship with benefits. Wajnryb (2004, p. 47) reminds us that “the more people hear a word, the weaker its taboo and, therefore its shock value becomes.”

The neologism in Portuguese *pau amigo* as well as its translation as fuck buddy not only carries a semantic and pragmatic significance but also a sociolinguistic which according to Thomas (1995, p. 185) “looks at language use to see how it reflects social relations.” The interaction between young couple Gerson-Jussara and the older couple Roberto-Ivone represents the evolution of social relations reflected in the language spoken in Rio de Janeiro.

## 4.8

### Sobre a Mesa (SM) (On the Table)

#### 4.8.1

##### Context

The episode posted on 10 September 2012, shows dinner conversation between Odette and her husband, Mario Alberto taking an unexpected turn when he learns that there is pineapple for dessert. Raising his voice after putting down his cell phone, he wants to know why she is unable to prepare a crap (*porcaria*) of a pudding after reminding her how hard he works to make a living. In the end, he asks the Freudian question: what does she really want? This infuriates Odette who then uses obscene vocabulary punctuated with the taboo word (*foder*) to reveal her unfulfilled sexual fantasies. Mario listens to her long discourse and finally accepts to eat the fruit in whatever condition it is available.

The TbWs used belong to the theme: sexual activity: *foder*, sexual anatomy: *buceta*, *piroca*, *caralho*, scatology: *porra*, name-calling: *vaca*, *vadia*, *cachorra*, illicit sex: *putinha*.

#### 4.8.2

##### Linguistic Aspects

Semantically “*Sobre a Mesa*” is a wordplay on the word *sobremesa* that denotes the sweet dish served after dinner. However, by inserting a definite article between *sobre* and *mesa* means its connotational meaning is on the table or in your face. Since the interaction between the couple happens on the dinner table over the sweet dish the title has been appropriately chosen to explicit the form and the content of the conversation.

The repeated and explicit use (12 times) of *eu* despite the subject implicit in the termination of the verb *querer*, is aimed at asserting her desire for power in choosing her sexual partners from men among her intimate social circle to more distant ones, such as; Brazilian model actor, Hollywood actor, Nigeria team, Israeli army and the Olympic swimming champion. The use of taboo verb *foder* with an assertive illocutionary verb *querer* (*want*) and personal pronoun *eu* (I) in the first person singular in simple present makes Odette’s discourse more emphatic as well as effective to the listener, as shown below in dialogue no.8:

Odette:- O que eu quero é **foder**, Mario Alberto. Eu quero **foder**. Agora, você repara que eu não falei fazer amor, eu não falei transar. Eu não falei fazer *nheco nheco*. Eu falei **foder**. **Foder**. Agora, eu não quero **foder** só com você. Eu quero **foder** com seu chefe, com o meu *personal trainer*. Eu quero **foder** com Malvino Salvador. Eu quero **foder** com George Clooney. Eu quero **foder** com aquele menino que faz piadas na internet. Eu quero **foder** com o time da Nigéria, com o exército de Israel, até com Toninho, o porteiro, quem sabe até com seu irmão, Mario Alberto. Mas eu não quero um de cada vez. Eu quero todos ao mesmo tempo. Eu quero levar surra de piroca até semana que vem. Eu quero ficar com o queixo para dentro quem nem Noel Rosa, sabe? De tanto levar saco aqui no queixo sem conseguir falar. Eu quero ficar tão larga que...Qual é o nome mesmo daquele nadador? Aquele menino comprido?

To wish is distinct from the verb to speak given that the former is cognitive and the latter expressive. So, to wish without speaking leads to lack of communication in any relationship. Culturally, women have been silent about their sexual desires, choices and fantasies. Therefore, the sentences- *Eu quero foder. Eu falei foder. Foder* - are important not only from semantic but also for their pragmatic meaning. The women have to want and to speak so that men know about what women want. The use of *agora* (twice) is to draw the attention of Mario. In this context *agora* is used to indicate a shift from the past state of affairs to the present moment of her utterances (Oliveira, p. 2005).

She specifies her desires very clearly: sex with multiple partners at the same time with lights-on and sexually explicit acts such as: *surra de piroca, levar saco aqui no queixo, ficar tão larga*. Although *piroca* and *saco* are synonyms of penis, *saco* is not a taboo word as *piroca*, nonetheless, both are dysphemistic words used in denotation. The meaning of *ficar larga*, is entirely co-contextual and is an anaphoric reference to the character's vagina.

She wants to be covered in semen and classifies *caralho, semen* and *porra* in the same semantic field of sex although semen and *porra* are synonymous, only *porra* is a taboo word. She wishes to be treated by derogatory names such as: *putinha, vaca, vadia, cachorra* and describes exactly how she would like to wake up the next morning: *puída, assada que nem um fantoche velho*. Odette gets more candid about her sexual desires, as shown below in dialogue no. 11:

Odette:- **Eu quero** ficar tão larga que o Phelps vai entrar o cotovelo assim dobrado dentro de mim e eu nem vou sentir porque eu vou estar o que... extasiada, entendeu?



- **Eu quero** tudo de luz acesa. Porque **eu quero** ver aquele banho de sêmen. Sêmen é o **caralho**, né Mario Alberto? É **porra**, banho de **porra** mesmo. Você sabe bukkake? Coloca no Google que você vai saber o que é. **Eu quero** levantar que nem um boneco de cera, sabe? Pingando assim, derretendo. Depois, **eu vou querer** um repeteco. **Eu quero** escalavrar a buceta. **Eu quero** levar catucada no colo do útero, entendeu? E depois **eu vou querer** dar o troco, passar recibo. **Eu vou querer** que me chame de putinha, de vaca, de vadia, de cachorra e depois de putinha de novo. En fim para terminar com tudo isso, eu vou esmerilar a chapeleta de geral para limpar a bagunça, e no dia seguinte eu vou acordar puída, assada que nem um fantoche velho. É isso que **eu quero**, Mario Alberto.

The names of men mentioned by Odette- George Clooney (Hollywood actor), Michael Phelps (Olympic champion), Malvino Salvador (Brazilian model and actor) - are used as metaphors of male sex symbols in her discourse to generate maximum offensiveness. They are addressed to Mario Alberto so as to let him know that she satisfies her fantasies through the social media such as television, Internet and Google, in particular, to explain *bukkake*, the Japanese group sex act.

The reference to Noel Rosa, the well-known Brazilian composer who was born with a disfigured chin due to a forceps accident during birth, in order to refer to her own, (*queixo para dentro*) deformed chin is a connotational reference to the consequence of repeated lashing of a penis (*surra de piroca*) in denotation. The lexicon of violence - *surra*, *escalavrar*, *catucada* in the sexual discourse indicate the power imbalance between genders.

The diminutive suffix *-inha* in *putinha*<sup>107</sup>, as we saw in other episodes, adds to the emotional load of the word *puta* (prostitute). Besides expressive and affective function, diminutive also plays a pejorative function in Portuguese language (Basilio, 2010, p. 79). *Putinha*, therefore, can be understood as a pejorative term for *puta* as explained in *Que bonitinha!* by Sandman (1989, p. 67).

In the second part of this episode, Odette is seen seated in the sofa facing the camera, speaking directly to the director of the episode, Carlos Alberto behind the camera as shown below in dialogue no. 15:

Odette:- Sabe que vou fazer com quem se inscrever aqui, Carlos Alberto? Eu vou chamear a **buça** todinha na cara dele que nem eu fiz com Ian SBF. Sabe o que mais? Depois que ele se inscrever, Carlos Alberto, ele vai poder entrar no meu canal na hora que ele quiser. Eu quero que o Gustavo Chagas acabe comigo. Eu quero que meu reto

<sup>107</sup> DIO: Putinha Geralmente é uma definição para as mulheres que são vulgares, que geralmente são de baixo valor sexual.

passa a se chamar torto, depois que ele e o João Paulo embrenharem nele. E eu prometo, se Antônio Tabet favoritar esse vídeo eu, a Nataly Mega e a Marília Tapajós vamos fazer ménage à quatre com ele. Sabe o que é a quatre, Carlos Alberto? Luane Araujo com certeza sabe. Enfim, é isso que eu quero, Carlos Alberto, isso o que? Todo mundo clique aqui, ó!

Given the context of conversation on sex, the connotative meaning of the verbs *entrar* and *enfiar* (action of inserting in an orifice), expressions such as: “*meu canal*” (my channel), “*dentro de mim*” (inside me) and the utterance: “*eu quero ficar tão larga*” (I want to be wide), as metaphors for vagina, are shared by native speakers, something difficult for the non-native speaker to comprehend.

Pragmatically, the interaction reveals the current status of the relationship between the two interactants. While husband is dissatisfied with the performance of wife as a caring home maker, the wife is dissatisfied with her husband’s cold attitude and dismal sexual performance. Contextually, the interaction can be understood in terms of the dynamics of power play between the couple, which in the beginning appears to be in the hands of Mario Alberto when he raises the pitch of his voice in dialogue no. 5 and uses the word *porcaria* to assert his role as the hard-working provider. The use of *porcaria*<sup>108</sup> by Mario Alberto becomes the trigger for interaction to turn into a powerplay his wife. *Porcaria*, although not a taboo word, can be considered pejorative which according to definition by Camara<sup>109</sup> (1977, p. 190-191) is “character of connotation of certain linguistic form involving disdain or dislike by what is meant. He states that “the pejoration can emanate from 1) the denotation; 2) term from popular language; 3) pejorative intention; 4) lexical pejorative add-ons (diminutives and augmentatives); 5) pluralization; 6) by a figure of language like metaphor or irony.”

In this sense, *porcaria*, with a pejorative intent, can be understood as a slur<sup>110</sup> defined by Rawson (1989, p. 361), as “a disparagement, a deliberate slight”

<sup>108</sup> Porcaria: DABL s. f 1. Sujeira, imundície, sujidade 2. Fig. Coisa feita com capricho, coisa malfeita, sem valor e de má qualidade: DHL [Popular] Sujeira, imundície. Fig. Objeto sujo, nojento; coisa em mau estado ou sem valor. Fig. Palavrão; atitude ou propósito obscenos. DIO: Coisa sem valor, estragada. 20Aug. 2019.

<sup>109</sup> PEJORATIVO: Caráter da conotação de certas formas linguísticas, em que se envolve desprezo ou repugnância pelo que está significado. O caráter pejorativo pode decorrer: 1) da própria denotação; 2) do uso do termo na língua popular; 3) da presença constante em determinados contextos de intenção pejorativa; 4) do uso de afixos lexicais pejorativos; 5) de pluralização; 6) de uma figura de linguagem como a metáfora e a ironia.

<sup>110</sup> An insinuation or allegation about someone that is likely to insult them or damage their reputation. Available at <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/slur>. Access on 17 September 2019.

that casts aspersion on Odette's status as a housewife while glorifying his own role as the breadwinner. This reminds us of an article by Whiting (2013, p. 364-377) titled "It is not what you said but how you said it." According to the author, "the slur and its neutral counterpart contribute the same thing to what is said by uses of sentences involving them." Apparently, Mario's utterance *Porcaria de pudim* (fucking pudding) is not a reference to the pudding but to Odette efficiency as a housewife. Mario Alberto could have opted for more euphemistic terms such as: *insignificante* or *miséria de pudim* with a lesser offensive load than *porcaria* in dialogue no. 5, a face threat to Odette. But the real provocation is the question "What does she want?" She answers uninhibited, breaking all linguistic taboos in order to bare her long repressed unfulfilled sexual fantasies.

However, she does not lose control of her emotions neither does she use any direct dysphemistic words for Mario Alberto to attack his face. In a determined choice of words, she one by one unveils her wants using TbWs. On the use of dysphemistic taboos, Allan & Burrige (ibid., p. 31) say that it "is a way to let off steam." Odette does just that by using the following linguistic features:

- a) The interaction is a dynamics of power play between the husband who uses a slur (*porcaria*) in a raised tone to disparage Odette, who, in turn, uses most offensive TbWs related with sexual anatomy (*caralho, buça*), scatology (*porra*), animal names (*vaca, cachorra*), illicit sex (*putinha, vadia*) in a calm and composed manner to take over the control. Expressions like *catucada no colo do útero* (cervical peck) and *escalavrar a buceta* (to scale the pussy) have connotation of physical violence and *dar o troco* (give the change) and *passar o recibo* (give the receipt) connote pornography and prostitution involving commercial transactions in exchange for sexual services. Therefore, pointing to the dynamics of power inclined towards the women as service provider. As per Bousfield and Locher (2008, p. 129), "There is and can be no interaction - linguistic or otherwise -, without power being an issue."
- b) The irony and indirectness of her utterance "*eu quero*" (twelve times) manifests in her tone, when actually, she does not mean it. Irony is defined by Camara (1981, p.149) as "Figure of thought that suggests in a word or a sentence something other than this word or sentence literally means. The

irony is expressed through context, in oral language, also in intonation and mimicry.”<sup>111</sup> For example, her wanting to have sex with Nigerian football team and Israeli army and others all together, is meant to add extreme offensiveness and black humour to the episode.

- c) The use of metaphors for male sexuality: George Clooney, a Hollywood actor; sports star Marc Phelps; Brazilian model and actor Malvino Salvador, as sex symbols is meant to highlight the male power to Mario.
- d) The pejorative use of animals’ names such as *vaca*, *cachorra* is a category for Sandman (1989, p. 81), pejorative words, used for unfriendly name-calling that Odette uses in the interaction as self-depreciation. For Allan & Burrige (ibid., p. 80), “Dysphemistic use of animals is taken from the salient characteristics of the folk concepts about appearance and/or behaviour of the animal which is then metaphorically attributed to the human named or addressed.” The connotation of *vaca* is derived from the appearance of cow as fat, ugly and promiscuity for *cachorra* as characterless attributed to women. As Jay (2000, p. 196) states, “Animal insults rely on cultural definitions of the salient properties or behaviours attributed to animals that are assumed to have human parallels, for example being lazy, dirty, stupid.”

Despite the high offensiveness, the contextual variants such as the marital relation between Odette and Mario Alberto and the informal physical setting of home, although the use of sexual TbWs shocks Mario Alberto into silence and submission but does not breakdown the communication. Odette continues her dinner and Mario accepts to eat tangerine. We are reminded of Sosa (2018, p. 116): “offensiveness is not tied to the language at all but to the behavioural act that need not be linguistic. What counts offensive for some people isn’t offensive for others. Furthermore, a term is not offensive if no offence is taken.” Mario does not take offense to Odette’s use of TbWs although he is stunned in to silence by the directness and unexpectedness the answer *eu quero foder*, repeated multiple times in the entire discourse.

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<sup>111</sup> “Figura de pensamento que nos leva a sugerir numa palavra ou numa frase coisa diversa do que essa palavra ou essa frase literalmente designa. A ironia ressalta do contexto e, na linguagem oral, também da entoação e da mímica.”

### 4.8.3 Pedagogic Aspects

Interculturally, the episode draws attention to the imbalance of power between men and women in sexual relations in the Brazilian society. On the scale of Hofstede's (2010) cultural dimension of Masculinity vs. Femininity, Brazil scores 49 points against India's score of 56 points. It means that India is a more masculine culture that defines different set of roles for men and women: men as subjects and women as objects. According to Hofstede (ibid., p. 157) "Sex is more of a taboo subject in masculine than in feminine cultures."

The use of TbWs used by Odette to express her emotions is less likely to take place in Indian culture that is more masculine than Brazilian. Also, because of sociocultural roles assigned to man and woman being well defined, the roles of man as provider and woman as the house maker still run deep in the Indian society, causing lesser conflict about their respective roles in the family. But there do exist the taboo expressions *madar-chod* (mother fucker), *behen-chod* (sister fucker) and *beti-chod* (daughter fucker) that are abbreviated as MC, BC to lower the level of offensiveness and are generally used among males to resolve power issues between them.

Odette's preference for the word *foder* over its other synonyms can be understood as inversion of power play, implied masochism, male sexual superiority as shown in the definition by DOI<sup>112</sup>; the male on top of the female enjoying her is the idea of sex. Odette inverts the idea from active sex male by emphatic use of 'eu quero *foder*' to active sex female breaking away from the traditional passive sex female. This she realizes by choosing *foder* over other lexical choices.

In the episode, the idea of male superiority in sex is further accentuated by the use of other words from the semantic field of sex with connotation of male superiority such as: *bukkake*<sup>113</sup> (the Japanese practice of group sex where a woman is bathed by the semen of group of masturbating men around her), wax-doll (*boneca*

<sup>112</sup> **Foder** é um verbo transitivo direto ou intransitivo que significa "transar". Porém, essa palavra é utilizada em linguagem pejorativa, não se referindo a qualquer tipo de ato sexual, mas sim a algo moralmente depreciativo, como uma transa violenta ou estupro. Portanto, está implícito no emprego dessa palavra um tom machista, pois, considerando que na violência sexual o agente é quase sempre um homem, "quem fode comanda, quem fode tem o poder, quem fode machuca". <https://www.dicionarioinformal.com.br/foder/>. Access on 15 September 2019.

<sup>113</sup> *Mas. noun*, A type of sexual activity in which several men ejaculate on another person. <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/bukkake>. Access on 16 September 2019.

*de cera*) and lashing by penis (*surra da piroca*), violent metaphorical images of male sexual dominance. This can be further illustrated by an experiment Hofstede (ibid., p. 158) conducted on students from four countries namely Brazil, Australia, The United States and Germany by IBM on sexual harassment. The Brazilians considered sexual abuse “less as an abuse of power, less as related to gender discrimination and more as a relatively harmless pastime.” Pinker and Hofstede point towards the sex in Brazil being one-sided dynamics of power tilted in the favour of men.

Lexicographically, *foder* is loaded with CCL for its use and lexical variations and its connotational meaning. In the episode it appears to be the most frequently used taboo word in its infinite form by Odette with denotational meaning. *Foder* (future from Latin) means to have sex, to ruin or spoil, to harm a person, object or situation. Its multidimensional use as verb (*foder*), noun (*uma foda*), adjective (*fodido*), and a few other lexical variations<sup>114</sup> are popular creative adaptation of the verb *foder* used according to context. This emotional, affective and cultural baggage called CCL (*Common Cultural Load*) is what makes it a lexicocultural word that the native speakers share among themselves.

The range of emotions encrypted in taboo word *foder*, its versatile use according to the context and its connotational flexibility makes it a versatile lexicocultural word. We are aware that there could be many more contexts and uses of the word *foder*, its use and form depend upon the context and state of the mind of the speaker at a moment. Moreover, *foder* is the only taboo word to have a corresponding hand gesture.<sup>115</sup> There is a big repertoire of publications in Portuguese language using the verb *foder* on the cover.

Over the period of time, however, the semantic field of *foder* has stretched from sex to infinite emotional expressivity for all irrespective of class, age or gender. Some examples such as these: *A festa foi foda!* (The party was awesome!), *faltou à aula? Tá fodido, mano!* (Missed the class? You’re fucked, bro!) *Não trouxe meu presente? Vai foder!* (No gift? Go to hell!) *Que foda de carro!* (What a fucking awesome car!), demonstrate the wide range of use and context of *foder*.

<sup>114</sup> *Fode* + *lança* - adding a suffix -*ança* for ex. *esper+ança*, *fode+back*, -modifying the English feedback

*Foder* + *oso*, - modifying the *poderoso*, *fode+dor* – adding suffix -or for ex. *vende+dor*

<sup>115</sup>



Another word *Nheco-nheco* is an onomatopoeic colloquial term, according to the DIO it is, “onomatopoe that signifies coitus, sexual act” that can be categorized as a lexicultural word since it is typical of Brazilian *sertaneja* (countryside) popular culture, from interior parts of North-eastern region. A song titled *Nheco-nheco* by the music band from the area, called *Garotos de Ouro* <sup>116</sup> is quite popular among youth.

Pedagogically, this episode can serve an example for role of pragmatic contextual variables stated by Jay (2008, p. 268) as “the speaker-listener relationship, and social- physical setting of swearing”. Through this episode, students of PFL can learn that TbWs can be used not only for threatening the face of the listener but also used as communicative tools to draw attention to situation, and express emotions effectively. This way students can achieve a better understanding of the Brazilian culture, values and attitudes, as in the words of Hofstede (ibid., p. 144), “Taboos are strong manifestation of cultural values.” The teaching of linguistic taboo to students of PFL can help in building up socio-pragmatic and pragma-linguistic (Thomas, 1982) competence that can potentially raise their sociolinguistic awareness of the Portuguese language. The difference in cultural definitions of animal behaviour and properties attributed to humans can be a very useful subject for PFL. For example, cow has a different cultural connotation in India as a sacred animal from connotation in Brazil as source of meat.

*Caralho* and *piroca* are synonyms of penis just as *buça* and *buceta* are of vagina. However, out of the four, *caralho* and *buceta* are used more commonly in the public discourse of Rio de Janeiro than *piroca* and *buça* as they belong to the linguistic variation that are more in use in the south of Brazil.

The use of dysphemistic words by Odette is a conscious effort to effectuate the highest degree of offensiveness in the interaction. Despite being synonyms, the words *transar*, *fazer amor*, *nheco-nheco* and *foder* vary in degree of offensiveness and appropriateness; *fazer amor* is a formulaic romantic euphemistic expression used in literature and poetry; *transar* is an orthophemistic, innocent, informal word. Thus, grading them in following ascending categories (from neutral to taboo) will help create awareness of usage and a better understanding of the socio-cultural values of Brazilian society.

<sup>116</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cq-dV5pOdPI>. Access on 10 January 2021.

Orthophemistic- *transar*  
 Euphemistic - *fazer amor*  
 Dysphemistic/ colloquial - *nheco-nheco*  
 Taboo – *foder*

The students should be familiarized about the fact that over a period of time TbWs' offensive load starts to wane gradually and finally they become part of general public discourse like any other word of the standard language, in order to avoid intercultural misunderstanding about their offensiveness.

This happened in India when a cultural group based in Rio was in India to conduct an art workshop with local youth in the northeast part of the Himalayas. After a couple of days, the Indian driver responsible for driving the Brazilian girl to the workshop asked the researcher, working as the interpreter, the meaning of *foda*. He said he was being addressed by the girl as *foda* meaning awesome. Not familiar with the culture then, the researcher told him that it was an offensive word. Following this, the behaviour of the driver, towards the girl changed completely. He became so angry that he refused to drive her to the venue let alone talk to her. India being a masculine country, where talking about sex is a taboo, his anger was incomprehensible by the girl from Brazil where sex is an open topic of discussion. The group contacted the interpreter and clarified the misunderstanding and even apologised to him. So, even the best speaker of Portuguese language sometimes could be unaware of the culture inherent in the TbWs of the target language. Consequently, they lack socio-pragmatic competence that can lead to serious cultural conflict as shown in the incident above.

#### 4.8.4 Final Considerations

The use of TbWs in the episode is intended to draw the attention to a long pending issue of sex between the interactants. At the end of her discourse, while Odette feels relieved to have “let off the steam”, Mario Alberto appears to have understood the points she highlights and eats his arrogance along with the tangerine fruit. Following the categories of offensiveness by Carretero (2011), the interaction between Odette and Mario Alberto can be classified as highly offensive, since it results in silence, loss of face, and surrender by Mario Alberto.



This episode *Sobre a Mesa* attempts to break the general stereotype that men use more offensive words than women do. It also counters the myth that women do not use offensive language. By transgression of linguistic taboos Odette is able to communicate effectively, the intensity of her desires and makes Mario realize what her wants are. This idea is echoed by *Monique Augras* (1989) when she says, “The taboo makes distinctions, creates differences and sets limits. The practice of transgression consists in surpassing limits, not to abolish separation but to accept them (...) there can be no power without taboos, neither taboos without transgression.”<sup>117</sup> The utterances with TbWs apparently are FTA directed at Mario indirectly, through the use of irony of first person (*eu quero*) and challenging his masculinity by comparing him with other men implying that he is incapable of those acts. The indirectness of the utterances produces more communicative efficiency to get the message across without directly derogating the listener.

The format of *Sobre a Mesa* was appropriated for an advertisement (2019) by the internet provider company Oi, (Figure 20) showing the same actress, *Júlia Rabello*, with another well-known actor *Rafael Portugal*. In the interaction between the two, *Júlia* says “*eu quero*” (four times) to express her desire to have the internet connection ‘Oi Fibra’.<sup>118</sup>



Figure 20: Oi Fibra. (Google Images. Access on 27 May 2020).

The intertextuality between this episode of *Sobre a Mesa* (2013) and the advertisement for Internet provider company Oi (2013) is an indicator of growing acceptability of the taboo offensive words in the public discourse.

<sup>117</sup> “O tabu estabelece distinções, cria diferenças, fixa limites. O jogo da transgressão consiste em ultrapassar os limites, não para abolir a separação, mas sim para afirma-la. (...) não pode haver poder sem tabus, nem tabus sem transgressão.”

<sup>118</sup> *Eu quero* mudar de internet, *eu quero* fibra chegando até a porta. *Eu quero* maratona todas as redes até a chuva de filme parecendo no tablete na tv ao mesmo tempo onde *eu quiser*.

In brief, we can view this interaction as a game of power dynamics between Odette and Mario in which, by a deliberate choice of obscene TbWs, Odette is able to get her message across effectively, let off steam, feel cathartic and gain control over the situation, without raising her voice. On the other hand, Mario Alberto uses pejorative word in a raised voice, casts indirect aspersion on her abilities as a 'good wife', but finally suffers loss of face and accepts tangerine, the very source of disagreement between them.

In sum, the TbWs are used to by Odette to draw Mario Alberto's attention by 'dirty talk' who, in the beginning is seen giving more attention to his mobile phone, but later, pays undivided attention to Odette, even helps her complete utterances. Secondly, she was able to explicitly express her desires and fantasies in a language traditionally associated with men, and achieve a sense of liberation, as stated by Arango (ibid., p. 161) "By setting free the language, we also set the soul free."<sup>119</sup> The episode draws attention to the communicative, therapeutic and cathartic power of TbWs.

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<sup>119</sup> "Liberando a linguagem, liberamos também a alma."

## 4.9 Virgem (Virgin)

### 4.9.1 Context

The episode posted on 18 February 2019, shows Marta and Julio seated in a restaurant with their child Rafael, waiting to place their order for dinner. While they are checking the menu, Rafael asks the meaning of the word *virgem* (virgin) which causes surprise and dilemma to his parents. Julio signals Marta to explain it to the child. Marta explains it first as a zodiac sign and when he does not understand it, goes on to explain it as the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus Christ. This angers Julio who thinks that it is dishonest to mislead the child and tries to explain it himself in terms of sex. Marta disagrees and a quarrel erupts between the couple consequently leading to a heated argument between the two that steers eventually towards their personal issues of cheating, lies, corruption and dishonesty in the marriage etc.

The TbWs used in this episode belong to the themes: sexual anatomy: *piroca*, *peru*, *xereca*, *rola*; scatology: *merda*, *porra*; name-calling: *piranha*, *putanheiro* and animal names: *burra*, *hipopótamo*. There is another category of words such as *piupiu*<sup>120</sup>, *pepeca*<sup>121</sup>, which are not considered offensive since they belong to children vocabulary.

### 4.9.2 Linguistic Aspects

Semantically the whole interaction is about the attempts firstly, by Marta and thereafter by Julio, to arrive at an appropriate meaning of the word *virgem* for their son without taking into account the context in which the word is placed, as in the dialogues no. 10, 14, 18, 27:

Marta:- Virgem é...um signo.

Marta:- Virgem é ...um tipo de pessoa, uma pessoa pura, também.

Marta:- Então. A mãe do Papai do Céu. Ou é a mulher do Papai do Céu. Nunca sei essa **merda**.

Júlio:- Meu filho. Quando um menino e uma menina vão namorar pela primeira vez, se beijando, o **piupiu** do menino fica duro.

<sup>120</sup> Palavra em substituição à palavra pintinho, que geralmente os pais usam para crianças dando nome ao pênis. (DOI: 30/09/2019).

<sup>121</sup> A Palavra pepeca pode ser um palavrão/ofensiva. (DOI: 30/09/2019).

Marta appears unsure before she explains the meaning of *virgem* as a zodiac sign. When the child does not understand and Julio shows his displeasure by giving her a clue *outra coisa* (something else), she explains it as a 'pure person', still vague for the child. She then goes on to explain it through the example of *mãe* (mother) *do Papai do Céu* (heavenly father). However, she is not sure about the relation of Virgin Mary being *mãe ou mulher* (mother or the wife) of Jesus. As a mother, she sources her meanings from two semantic fields: astrology and religion, in order to make it appropriate for the child's age. The use of *também* (also) at the end of the sentence is to imply polysemy of the word *virgem*.

However, for a dissatisfied Júlio who had ordered her into speaking, the only appropriate meaning is the one that belongs to the field of sex. As a father, he attempts to explain what he understands as the correct meaning of *virgem* using children vocabulary; *piupiu*, *pepeca*, accompanied by hand gestures without any uncertainty and hesitation shown by Marta. The words *Papai do Céu* used by Marta and *meu filho* (my son) used by Julio apparently refer to the religious discourse built on the concept of patriarchy, namely: the father, the son and the holy spirit (*Pai, Filho e Espírito Santo*). The patriarchy is conveyed through the child who smiles on hearing *pepeca* (pussy) and complains to the mother in dialogue no. 31:

*Rafael:- Mãe, o papai falou pepeca.*

This utterance implies that the child has knowledge of the taboo status of female sexual organ which makes Marta object to Julio's explanation, considering it inappropriate for the child of his age and for this reason calls Julio *patético* (disgusting). The conflict commences when Julio calls Marta *burra* (dumb), although not a taboo word, its pejorative connotation demeans the mental or intellectual faculty of a person. They make comparison between *burrice* and *patético* over who is more dishonest; to present a fake bill for obtaining tax benefit or lie about her virginity in order to get married as seen in dialogue 37:

*Júlio:- Nota fria? O que que é mais desonesto? Passar nota fria ou dizer que vai casar virgem? E já chegar toda arregaçada e desbeijada no altar?*

The use of adjectives *arregaçada* (rolled up) and *desbeijada* (chipped) by Julio is to refer to Marta's vagina implying her impurity for marriage. Despite not being

TbWs, *arregaçada* and *desbeijada* are offensive to Marta due to the directness of graphic description of her vagina, spoken with aggressive intonation with implied patriarchal evaluation of woman's integrity solely dependent on her virginity. Marta is more restrained, indirect and overtly religious, as shown below in dialogue no. 38.

Marta:- Aí meu deus! Nossa! Que pecado! Tomara que esse fogo do inferno também sirva para queimar essas verrugas que volta e meia aparecem na **piroca** do inteligente de HPV! Essa fazenda de cogumelos que você cultiva no meio das pernas!

The use of interjections: *meu deus* (my god), *nossa* (wow), *que pecado* (sin), and the word *inferno* (hell) by Marta are in response to Julio's use of the word *altar*. Reacting to Julio's use of *burra*, Marta uses the word *inteligentão*, derived by adding augmentative suffix *-ão* to *inteligente*, with a pejorative connotation to mean the opposite in order to mock Julio for his HPV (Human Papillomavirus). This disease is caused through sexual contacts and she describes it through connotation using metaphors such as: *fazenda de cogumelos* (large number of warts) and *meio das pernas* (penis). Therefore, in the dialogues 37, 38, Julio attacks the face of Marta and she makes an attempt to save her face by launching counter attacks. Thus, from face negotiations, Julio goes on to attack Marta's social circle as seen in the dialogue no. 41:

Júlio:- Ele deve ter visto no teu grupo lá com as tuas amigas **piranhas** lá! Aliás **piranha** não porque elas não têm competência pra isso! Aquele bando de **gorda**, **hipopótamo** não tem uma **porra** de um **peru** caridoso para comer aquela **xereca gordurosa**!

Beside calling Marta *burra*, Julio uses the word *hipopótamo* (hippopotamus) as a metaphor for obesity, aimed at body shaming her friends. As Sandman (1989, p. 67) says, "one of the ways to demean someone through language is to attribute the names of animals or their body parts to them." In sum, the use of words to humiliate women by Julio is three pronged; *burra* for insulting their mental and intellectual faculty; *bando de hipopótamo*, *gorda* (fat), *xareca gordurosa* (greasy pussy) for shaming their physical appearance and *piranha* (slut) for questioning their sexual conduct. All the TbWs are used in their dysphemism with referential meaning makes them obscene and offensive as FTAs.

Therefore, from the analysis of the dialogues the semantic field of astrology, religion and sex plays an important role in meaning making process of the word *virgem*. The fields of patriarchy and religion dominate the other semantic fields. Although *piupiu* and *pepeca* belong to children vocabulary, Marta objects to Julio's description of a sexual intercourse for being too direct for a child and therefore inappropriate. With a feminine modesty, she prefers indirectness for the sake of appropriateness, a characteristic of Brazilian culture reflected in Portuguese language highlighted by Meyer (2016).

Pragmatically, this interaction demonstrates a clash between linguistic patriarchy that dictates and stifles the female discourse as far as semantics of sexual activity is concerned. It also reflects how children are culturally tutored into the dominant patriarchal discourse by a dominating father through belittling the intellectual, physical and sexual conduct of women. In the interaction, on one hand, the questions asked by the son are interpreted by Julio and put forth to the mother; on the other hand, Julio has already imagined the correct answer that he wants Marta to produce as shown below in dialogues 13 and 23:

Júlio:- **Porra!** Acho que o garoto tá perguntando outra coisa, né filho?

Júlio:- **Porra!** O garoto tá perguntando o que é virgem e você vem falar de **porra de signo** e da religião, Marta! Cadê a coerência disso?

The use of *porra* (sperm) as an interjection for the first time by Julio is to express displeasure, dissatisfaction and disagreement with his wife's incorrect meaning of *virgem*. The use of *porra de signo* (damn sign) is to express his increasing impatience, intolerance and displeasure.

The interaction is dominated by Julio's interpretation (*acho que*) of son's question which he reaffirms for himself by saying- *né filho* (isn't it, son) and his questioning of the (in) correct answer by Marta: *cadê coerência* (where's the logic). It is Julio who dominates the flow of interaction as the self-appointed moderator of the semantic interpretation of *virgin*, ordering Marta and Rafael to speak as seen in the dialogues no. 7 and 43:

Júlio:- **Fala. Fala.** (whispers to Marta.)

Júlio:- Aposto que foi nas fotos de rola da tua mãe, não foi? **Fala aí !** (speaks to Rafael)

Julio orders, criticizes, moderates and dominates the interaction on the meaning making process of *virgem*. The symmetry of power between the couple is tilted towards Julio who dictates his wife and son in the meaning making process, evident in the utterance below in dialogue no. 20, 21:

Marta:- O que é que você quer que eu fale, Júlio?

Júlio:- Quero que você seja coerente com o garoto pelo menos uma vez na vida.

Marta wants to know from Julio how he wants her to explain the meaning to their son. Instead, he accuses her of being always dishonest and asks her to be honest, by using *pelo menos uma vez na vida* (at least once in life) and launches attack on her face comparing his own dishonesty with hers, as shown in dialogue no. 32-35:

Marta: - Você é patético, Júlio! (she hisses at Julio.)

Júlio: - Melhor ser **patético** do que **burra**! (he retorts.)

Marta: - **Burra**!? (in shock)

Júlio: - É. **Burra**! Desonestidade intelectual também é um tipo de **burrice**, Marta!

Marta opposes Julio's explanation and calls him *patético* for initiating their son into the sexual vocabulary and he in turn calls her *burra* for not having towed his line of meaning. She is shocked due to the unexpectedness and his directness of use of these words, repeating the word *burra* in disbelief, to make sure she heard it right. Thereafter, they begin to launch allegation and counter allegations for causing various problems in their married life: Julio committing dishonesty in financial matters, Marta lying about her virginity before marriage and Julio straying towards other women and in the process getting affected by HPV the sexually transmitted disease. They both attempt to tarnish each other's face by digging the past events as shown below in dialogue no.40:

Marta:- Eu aposto que o garoto viu essa **porra** nos vídeos que você tem no celular! Era de homem com homem, meu filho! Porque se depender do ânimo do papai aqui desse **brocha** não tinha mulher nessa **porra** desse vídeo!

Marta speaks with self-assurance the word - *aposto* (I bet) that her son saw the word in Julio's cell phone in pornographic homosexual videos that he got from his male friends because of being *brocha* (sexually impotent) there would not be

women in these videos. The word *brocha*, used pejoratively, is aimed at insulting Julio and as a direct attack on his face (manhood). From the beginning of the interaction, the use of TbWs is meant to question the character of women sexually active as *piranha* (woman having sex with multiple partners) and *brocha* as sexual impotence in men, both being undesirable. In sum, female freedom in sexual activeness and male sexual impotence are social taboos. However, its corollary, the female inactiveness as virgin is glorified whereas that of male inactiveness, vilified. Therefore, the gender disparity in sexual rights is highlighted by this episode.

This episode demonstrates that the semantic field of a word is determined by its use in the context, gender, age and culture. Similarly, the reaction to TbWs is additionally influenced by culture, language experience and the relationship between the speakers. In the episode, Marta and Julio make meaning of the word according to their personal experiences and cultural influence. Julio's meaning of *virgem* is arbitrary and patriarchal, evident in his vehement criticism of Marta's meanings that are incongruent with his own. The disparity of sexual rights for men and women is the issue that this episode raises

For this kind of macho behaviour, Preti (1984, p. 37) uses the term “*macho soberano*” (sovereign male), the man who dictates the terms and brooks no opposition. Julio affronts Marta's face and, in the end, is able to force her into submission and tow his line of linguistic superiority as far as the lexical semantics is concerned. This is obvious in the second part of the episode, when she explains the meaning of *Porta dos Fundos*, using euphemistic words with sexual connotations.

Secondly, children vocabulary regarding sex organs (*piu piu* and *pepeca*) is not considered offensive in any culture. For Arango (ibid., p. 55), “The prohibition allows us to think freely about naked human body as long as it is of children. It is the adult sexuality that is forbidden (...) the obscene words are always about adult anatomy.”<sup>122</sup> As the children grow older, this vocabulary is dropped in favour of the adult vocabulary like *rola*, *xereca*, *peru* etc in the dialogue no. 41:

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<sup>122</sup> “A proibição nos permite pensar livremente no corpo humano desde que se trata de uma anatomia infantil. A sexualidade é que está proscrita... as palavras obscenas falam sempre da anatomia adulta.”



Júlio: - Ele deve ter visto no teu grupo lá com as tuas amigas **piranhas** lá! Aliás piranha não porque elas não têm competência pra isso! Aquele bando de gorda, **hipopótamo** não tem uma **porra** de um **peru caridoso** para comer aquela **xereca** gordurosa!

The use of *piranha* is a theme of illicit sexual activity that men use as an affront to the face of women despite the fact that it implies involvement of both man and woman in the act. On one hand, the use of the words- *peru caridoso* (charitable dick) is an attempt to establish the male generosity towards women as provider of sperms; on the other, the use of words- *bando de gorda* (bunch of obese women) and *xereca gordurosa* are a reflection of body shaming women and their objectification by a patriarchal society represented by Julio since these words have culturally negative connotations. This fact is stated in a research carried out by Goldenberg (2010, p. 234) in Rio de Janeiro, “Fat and flaccidity are considered a tangible symbol of lack of discipline, laziness, messiness, almost a moral shortcoming reflected on the unwillingness to work on oneself.”

Marta initiates a counter face attack on Julio and reminds that his own mother is part of the group of her friends, in order to stop him from further going on with his anti-women rhetoric as shown in the dialogues no. 42, 43 and 44:

Marta:- Sua mãe também tá no grupo! Vem cá Rafinha, me diz uma coisa. Onde é que você viu esse negócio de virgem para perguntar? Foi no celular de **putanheiro** do seu pai?

Júlio:- Aposto que foi nas fotos de **rola** da tua mãe, não foi? Fala aí!

Marta - Foto da **rola**? Olha a baixaria, Júlio!

Upon being told that his mother was also in Marta's cell-phone list of friends, Julio decides to attack Marta in return. Insulting one's mother is the highest offense in Brazilian culture and that is why Marta cautions him by using the word *baixaria* (meanness). Across languages, mother theme TbWs are common, such as: mother fucker, *filho da mãe* (Portuguese), *madarchod* (Hindi), *figlio di puttana* (Italian) etc.

In the end, it is Marta who asks her son where he had seen the word and asks whether it was in the cell phone of the *putanheiro* (client of prostitutes), referring to Julio having phone-sex. Julio too, by using *fotos da rola* (pictures of dick) alleges Marta is indulging in phone-sex.

In this episode the use of TbWs is highly offensive given that there is exchange of FTAs (face threatening acts) between the listener and the speaker that leads to loss of face for both in the end. The illocutionary force of the TbWs is derogatory and scathing, provoking anger and repulsion for each other. At the end of interaction, there is a feeling of embarrassment, guilt and shame evident in their silence and avoiding looks when they come to know about the context of the word *virgem*. In sum, this episode demonstrates that not just taboos but just any word in a given social-physical setting, and context can be offensive and threaten the face of the listener depending upon the pragmatic variables stated by Jay (2008).

### 4.9.3 Pedagogic Aspects

Interculturally, this episode is about the influence of culture and factors such as age, sex in meaning making process. Culture (Cf.4.9.3), as defined by Ting-Toomey & Chung (ibid., p. 16), “is a learned meaning system that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, meaning and symbols that are passed on from one generation to the next and are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of a community.” By rejecting the meaning of *virgem* presented by Marta in the presence of his son, Julio teaches him only the ‘correct’ meaning from sexual domain, an example of how cultural meanings are passed on from one generation to another establishing cultural identity. For example, cow (*vaca*) in Brazil means the animal that produces milk and a pejorative address (*vaca*) for a woman, whereas in India it means a sacred mother animal (*gai*) having virtues such as generosity, tolerance and gentleness.

Culturally, Brazilian society is patriarchal. According to Preti (1984, p. 37), “The treason or adultery, essentially is a feminine crime, (...) the position of women is always considered sinful, immoral.” In this sense, the comparison is made between breach of virginity and breach of law since both are associated with money. The moral, ethical, financial breaches are questioned when Julio compares the two dishonest acts in dialogue no. 37:

Júlio:- O que que é mais desonesto, Marta? “Passar nota fria ou dizer que vai casar virgem?”

Julio asking the question to Maria has a cultural significance as the morality of world view - good/ bad, correct/ incorrect, honesty/ dishonesty, pure/impure - is culturally learned and passed on from one generation to the other within a community. According to Hofstede (ibid., p. 14), “Religion, in essence and whatever the specific beliefs of a particular one, plays an important role in creating and delineating moral circles.” The use of religious jargon: *Papai do Céu, meu Deus, altar, inferno* in the episode appears as an attempt to interpret virginity through the lens of religious discourse. Brazil, as a feminine country, with MAS score of 49 points, is sexually more liberal than India with 59 points.

In India, sex is strict taboo even in conversation. Most marriages are arranged and solemnised traditionally by the heads of the families between the consenting parties. As mentioned in *Sobre a Mesa*, there is little talk about sex between most married couples in India. Marriages even today are arranged by families and virginity is not even an issue to be discussed as it is assumed by parents that the prospective bride and groom have been brought up with traditional values preserving their virginity. However, a small section of population in cosmopolitan cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Bengaluru etc., where the level of education, access to social media, economic status, foreign travel and social mobility is way higher than the smaller cities, a small percentage of incidences of premarital sex may be an exception to the rule.

The episode raises an important social phenomenon of dishonesty in personal relations and corruption in public domain. Cheating in marriage to achieve social advantage by Marta and cheating in public life to gain economical advantage by Julio. This focuses on a social practice of getting by the law in a peaceful manner where the interest of both the parties are amicably preserved, called *jeitinho*.

*Jeitinho* has been defined by Almeida (2007, p. 47) as “*zona cinzenta moral*” (moral grey zone) between right and wrong”. This issue has been written about extensively by DaMatta (1993) and Almeida (2007) who investigated the thin line that exists between favour and corruption in his book *Cabeça do Brasileiro*. For Damatta (1993, p. 99) *jeitinho*, “is a junction between “can” with “cannot”. It is this junction that produces all types of “*jeitinhos*” and set-ups that allow that legal system to operate which has almost *nothing to do with social reality*.”<sup>123</sup> An in-

<sup>123</sup> “Pois bem, é essa junção que produz todos os tipos de “jeitinhos” e arranjos que fazem com que possamos operar um sistema legal que quase sempre nada tem a ver com a realidade social.”

depth study by Barbosa (2005) explains that *jeitinho brasileiro* became popular in the decade of 1950 and was officially included in the Portuguese language in the decade of 1960 while its inclusion in the dictionary happened in the 1980s. Barbosa (op. cit., p. xii) states that “*Jeitinho* belongs to a family of favour and corruption. The best way to understand them would be to understand them as a continuum where at the positive end is favour, and at the negative end is corruption, and at the intermediary position, *jeitinho*.”<sup>124</sup> Barbosa (op. cit., p. xxii) explains the relation between the law and its adherence: “*jeitinho* is constituted in the compulsory way to solve those situations in which a person comes across “*não pode*” (can’t do) by a law or an authority and by going past the negative without opposing, attacking or refusing the law, obtain what one wants, this way “becoming more equal” than the others.”<sup>125</sup>

Secondly, the linguistic issue raised by this episode is the difference of offensiveness in the vocabulary of children and adults. This is explained by Arango (ibid., p. 55):

“Euphemisms or diminutives are used to name the sexual organs and human waste of children. They convey their reduced dimensions and smaller excrements. The censor allows us to think freely about nude human body as long as it is that of a child. It is the adult sexuality that is condemned. Precisely, that of father and mother. (...) the obscene words always are about adult anatomy.”<sup>126</sup>

This explains the children vocabulary *piupiu*, *pepeca* referring to penis and vagina as inoffensive and *peru* and *xereca* as offensive obscene words referring to adult sexual organs. It is the adult obscenity that is the target of obscenity laws and censorship.

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<sup>124</sup> “O *jeitinho* pertence a uma família dos quais fazem parte o favor e a corrupção. A melhor forma de entendê-los seria visualizá-los como continuum, no qual, no pólo positivo encontra-se o favor, no negativo a corrupção e na posição intermediária, o *jeitinho*.”

<sup>125</sup> “O *jeitinho* se constitui num modo obrigatório de resolver aquelas situações nas quais uma pessoa se depara com um “*não pode*” de uma lei ou autoridade e -passando por baixo de negativa sem contestar, agredir ou recusar a lei, obtém aquilo que desejava, ficando assim “mais igual” do que os outros.”

<sup>126</sup> “São os habituais eufemismos ou diminutivos que utilizamos para nomear os órgãos sexuais e os dejetos das crianças. Eles representam para nós suas reduzidas dimensões e seus magros excrementos. A proibição nos permite pensar livremente no corpo humano desde que se trata de uma anatomia infantil. A sexualidade adulta é que é proscrita. Mais precisamente a de papai e de mamãe. (...) as palavras obscenas falam sempre da anatomia adulta.”

Lexicographically, the TbW *porra* has been used semantically and grammatically in the form of emphatic negation, interjection etc. as an act to threaten the face of the interlocutor at various points of disagreement of the interaction. Therefore, for its common cultural load (CCL) it is being taken as our lexicological word from this episode. In this episode the following syntactical structure in the six uses of *porra* (Table 3) can be described as follows:

No.	Analysis	Example of use in the episode
1	Porra +!	<i>Porra!</i> Acho que o garoto tá perguntando
2.	Porra +!	<i>Porra!</i> O garoto tá perguntando o que é
3	de + porra + de + noun	virgem
4	essa + porra	(...) e você vem falar <i>dessa porra de signo</i>
5	nessa + porra + de + noun	Eu aposto que o garoto viu <i>essa porra</i> nos vídeos
6	uma + porra + de + noun	(...) mulher <i>nessa porra desse vídeo!</i> (...) não tem <i>uma porra de peru</i> caridoso

Table 3: Analysis: Use of *porra* in the episode

The examples in Table 3 above are explained as follows:

(1, 2) *Porra* as an interjection expresses the state of mind of the speaker. Defined as ‘emphatic denial’ by Ljung (ibid., p.105) “it is a mechanism to deny the truth of claims put forth by an utterance by arguing that these claims have no more value than some worthless entity.”

(3) *Porra* has referential meaning as negative emphaser expressing the speaker’s state of mind.

(4, 5) *Porra* as a negative emphaser with a referential function as a taboo word.

(6) *Porra* functions as negative qualifier of *peru* (dick) (a bastard of a penis).

Its minced oath form *pô* is used even by the upper middle-class public servants, professionals and even academics such as professors, researchers during presentation in conferences and in media as well. However, it should be mentioned here that, due to its wide spread use, its origin from the word *porra* has lost its meaning in the shared collective memory of *Cariocas* and therefore has been reduced to a mere interjection like “gee” (Jesus). The ‘minced oath’ is described by Hughes (2006, p. 316) also cited by Ljung (ibid., p. 11) is “a specific kind of euphemism or disguise mechanism whereby an offending term or a taboo phrase is distorted or “minced” so that it no longer offends.” It is used as an interjection either

in the beginning, in the middle or in the end of an utterance. It can also add emphasis and be used as a slot filler such as: *Não sei, pô, o que se passou pela cabecinha. Pô, tudo deu errado!*

Ljung (ibid., p. 158), who conducted a cross-cultural linguistic study on twenty-five languages, states that “The Portuguese choice of the taboo theme ‘sperm’ is original and not found in any of the other languages discussed here.” He translates *porra* as bastard in construction such as: *essa + porra + de + noun (carro)* means this bastard of a car.

As explained earlier, *porra* has its origin in the Latin word: *porrum alium* meaning a garlic with a large head (Cf. 4.5.3). According to Maior (1980, p. 106), there were times when *porra* was used to refer to the male sex organ. Since garlic produces a whitish pungent smelling liquid that rapidly coagulates, these attributes were used to refer to human sperm in the popular language. In its journey from garlic head to human sperm, *porra* has lost its original meaning and has been reduced to being a metaphor for emotions in *Carioca* public discourse.

Julio uses *porra*, a taboo word in different grammatical forms contributing an emotional colour to the interaction. Used as interjection in the beginning of a sentence, it expresses a dissatisfaction and disagreement with Marta, “*Porra! acho que o garoto tá perguntando outra coisa, né filho?*” Used after demonstrative pronoun, *porra* functions as a referral noun. “*Eu aposto que o garoto viu essa porra nos vídeos que você tem no celular!*” Here, *porra* refers to the word *virgem*. It is a clever wordplay on the meaning of virgin (fem. noun) as a woman and virgin as a word (fem. adjective). Used in the middle of the sentence, before the noun following the preposition *de*, it serves as emphatic: *porra de signo* (fucking sign), *porra de vídeo* (fucking video) (Ljung, 2011) etc. Also, when used after *nenhum* or *nada*, *porra* functions as emphatic negation. *Não vi porra nenhuma!* (Didn’t see fucking anything!)

*Porra* (sperm) is a dysphemistic form and has almost become a part of public discourse irrespective of social class. Due to its variability in meaning, form and subjective contextual use, *porra* has become a lexicon associated with *Carioca* culture and therefore a lexicultural word that can mean bastard, crap, nonsense, nuisance, shit, nothing at all, depending on the context which turns difficult for a foreigner to comprehend.

Application to PFL: This episode can be very useful in teaching the importance of context, since the students of PFL are usually advised to learn vocabulary on their own. The idea behind this practice is the belief that a dictionary is the best autonomous self-help tool available for this purpose. What the teachers of PFL often overlook is the importance of the use of words within the context. It can even be risky to learn words without context.

A personal experience of the researcher shall illustrate this fact more clearly. It happened in a French language course where students were asked to write an essay in French on the university canteen. A day later, the professor had to explain and correct a student who had attempted to write about the canteen as a favourite dating spot for students. As the concept of dating was little known in India then (and to some extent it still is) he had chosen the expression '*faire l'amour*' (to make love) after consulting the dictionary and consequently wrote that students made love in the canteen instead of having conversation about love. A culturally rudimentary knowledge of a concept 'dating', and a word chosen without understanding its contextual use can result in embarrassment. This episode can be used to reinforce the importance of meaning in context for the students of PFL from a culturally as diverse country as India.

This episode can help create awareness about various semantic fields of a word and the degree of offensiveness depending on context, language experience and culture. Using Intercultural approach, students can carry out a comparative study of corruption and ways to get by in India called *jugaad* with *jeitinho* in Brazil. Personal relations with family, friends and colleagues are exploited to jump the waiting list and move faster up the social ladder. This episode will help familiarize students with the Brazilian *jeitinho*; its similarities and differences with *jugaad*. They can list situations where they would use *jeitinho* to get by a difficult situation (Cf. episode *Nome na Lista*).

This episode also highlights how the taboos are learned as one grows older and gains awareness of adult sexuality. Children vocabulary is euphemistic with referential meaning, limited to the denotations of the word as we see in this episode. As they grow older, they learn the connotational and metaphorical meanings of the words and their use in the appropriate context. Therefore, the message of this episode is the importance of context as the determining factor in the meaning making process. Students of PFL can be presented with some euphemistic forms of

TbWs like *virgem* with denotation and asked to research and describe as many appropriate semantic fields as possible.

The brand *Gino-Canestan*, a vaginal cream (Figure 21), using children vocabulary *Pepeca* and long glorified feminine attributes of timidity, modesty and silence and, the sociolinguistic taboos on speaking about their own body, urges women to speak out and break the linguistic taboos as shown by the slogan: # PPK SEM TABU can be seen in the Figure 21 below:



Figure 21: Gino-Canestan: (Google Images. Access on 04 September 2020).

The campaign presents various pleasant euphemisms of vagina such as: *florzinha* (little flower), *preciosa* (precious), *periquita* (little birdie), *pepeca* (PPK) (vagina), *perseguida* (sought after), represented artistically to promote the topic of vaginal hygiene that a large number of women (3 out of 4 according to the advertisement) face but due to the social and linguistic taboos remain silent and continue to suffer from serious health hazards. Therefore, the brand educates women about various synonyms of vagina and follows up with a catchy tag line “*O nome não falta. O que falta é falar.* (Names are aplenty. What’s missing is to speak up). This episode is a reminder of *Sobre a Mesa*, in which the protagonist Odette speaks about her sexual fantasies openly without any restraint. In the episode *Degustação*, two women, Vanessa and her friend, in a role reversal, behave like those men who keep a strict watch over women’s control of her own body and subject her to ridiculous scrutiny. The society finally seems to take note of the linguistic and social taboos that subject women to an inferior position by the patriarchal system. This public campaign combines the personal hygiene through the transgression of linguistic taboos on women body.



#### 4.9.4 Final Considerations

TbWs used in the interaction are of highly offensive category since Julio and Marta exchange taboos and pejorative words to attack each other's faces and the communication between the interactants comes to a sudden halt expressed by silence impregnated with embarrassment, guilt and shame. (Carretero, 2011, Cf. 2.1.5.6). The moment of humour is the point when they realize they had been arguing about the meaning without giving a thought to context. The subject of the interaction, *virgem*, actually is the name of a type of olive oil, used as a mark of purity of the product. This metaphor of purity is attributed to the female purity of virginity.

The episode raises some cultural issues such as: linguistic representation of patriarchal discourse in Portuguese language, offensiveness of adult vocabulary versus children vocabulary, corruption and erosion of moral values in public and personal spheres, changing concepts of adultery through phone-sex, the issue of indulgence reflected in body shaming. Another issue highlighted is that women use indirectness while approaching taboo subjects as sex different than men who are direct and blunt about the issue. This possibly could be due to the fact that Portuguese language is predominantly inclined towards patriarchy propagated by the religious discourse where God, *Papai do Céu*, is male.

This could be explained in the words of DaMatta (1993, p. 60)<sup>127</sup>: “Therefore, it can be said that, in his relations with virgins and wives or women who are socially defined this way, men are the eaters; but in his relations with prostitutes or with women who define themselves as independent and individualistic, they are eaten”. This means that having a virgin woman spells position of power for men. The language reflects this cultural aspect through gender disparity as far as women are concerned. Virginity as a conceptual metaphor for sexual purity is expected only from women as shown in the episode. Any deviation from these social norms is looked down upon by men which is expressed in the form of name-calling as *piranha*, *vagabunda* etc.

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<sup>127</sup> “Assim, pode-se dizer que, nas suas relações com as virgens e esposas - ou mulheres que assim se definem socialmente -, os homens é que são os comedores; mas nas suas relações com as mulheres do mundo e da vida- ou com aquelas que se definem como independentes e individualizadamente -, eles são comidos.”

This episode, therefore, informs the viewers about the changing cultural values and relations between man and woman against the background of patriarchy and its reflection in the language.

## 5.

### Social impact of Portuguese taboo words for Indian students

All nine episodes of PdF present a fair idea of aspects of Brazilian culture, in situational comedy format along with an idea of the discursive practices of *Cariocas* in which TbWs are used as slang, jargon and dirty talk, also including pejorative words and expressions. In the table below, the TbWs used in all nine episodes are tabulated thematically under five semantic themes (Table 4) with an aim to understand and analyse their contextual use.

#### 5.1

##### Semantic Fields

The TbWs from all nine episodes are tabulated in their respective semantic themes to provide information on the fields preferred more than others in terms of use by the Cariocas. The fields of sexual anatomy and scatology and illicit sex (Table 4) appear to be more commonly used than the other two fields identified, as seen below:

	Epis.	Sexual Anatomy	Sex. Act	Scatology	Illicit Sex	Animal
1	BN	cu, rola, buceta	-----	porra	-----	
2	CG	cu, pau	-----	merda	-----	
3	DU	caralho	-----	porra, merda	filho da puta	
4	DE	cu, caralho, buceta, piroca, xereca	-----	porra	Puta	
5	EL	-----	-----	porra, merda	-----	
6	NL	cu, pau	foder	porra	vagabunda, corno, quenga, filho de puta, filha de rapariga,	
7	PA	cu, pau, buceta	foder	-----	Piranha	
8	SM	buceta, caralho, piroca	foder	porra	putinha, vadia	vaca, cachorra
9	VI	piroca, peru, xereca, rola	foder	porra, merda	putaneiro, piranha	burra, hipopótama

Table 4: Analysis: Semantic Theme of the TbWs used in the episodes

The names of the episodes are being abbreviated to facilitate the tabulation of data. BN -Boa Notícia, CG - Conta pra Gente, DE - Degustação, DU - Dura, EL - Elevador, NL -Nome na Lista, PA - Pau Amigo, SM - Sobre a Mesa, VI -Virgem.

According to Ljung (ibid., p. viii), “The vocabulary used in swearing consists of a limited number of TbWs, viz. words whose literal meanings denote semantic areas that are, as Hughes (2006, p. 462) states- ‘too private, too vile or too

sacred' to be mentioned." Taking the cue from Hughes, Ljung (op. cit.) refers to his study on cross-cultural swearing in twenty-five languages (including Portuguese and Hindi), under these three areas as taboo themes. The term theme is being chosen over class or category for its connotation as a wider, all-encompassing and open-ended concept since TbWs in general, are used primarily more for their emotive than their referential meaning. Hence, they are used to express the state of mind of the speaker in a given context, in different forms (*foda, fodido, nem fodendo, foder-se, vai-se foder, tá foda*). Their orthographical form can also be changed from *foder* to *fuder* or from *boceta* to *buceta*. Abbreviated messages sent through emails and online chats can cause confusion to non-native speakers /learner of BP. As it happened with the researcher on seeing the word *Viado* written on a political slogan in the State University of Rio de Janeiro, she thought that it had been mis-spelt as she knew the word as *Veado* (deer). Later, after mentioning it to her Brazilian colleagues she learnt that is used to refer to homosexuals in Rio.

Ljung (ibid., p. 36), identified five major, more-widespread themes related to the languages of his study, such as: Religion, Scatology, Sexual Organ, Sexual Activity and Mother, and he also identified (idem: 41) five minor, less widespread themes such as: ancestors, animals, death, disease and prostitution. For Pinker (ibid.), the semantic areas of TbWs are: religion, sex, excretion, death, infirmity, and disfavoured groups, whereas for Rawson (1989) the taboo themes are named: sacred, profane and taboo. Also, about describing TbWs, Wajnryb (2004, p. 15-16) states that "These are words that disrespect religion or that make public references to intimate acts."; obviously, the implicit here is that they make reference to religion, sex and scatology.

However, no TbWs related to religion, profanity or blasphemy were used in the nine episodes used for our study. However, the semantic themes of TbWs related to sexual anatomy, sexual activity, scatology, illicit sex, and animals are analysed below.

### 5.1.1 Sexual Anatomy

The taboo word *caralho* with its synonyms *rola, pau, piroca* and *peru* are used in seven episodes in denotation and as dysphemistic words. *Cu* and *buceta*,

and its synonym *xereca*, are used in five episodes each. *Cu* is shown being used by varied age groups: young generation, a team-head, journalist, politician, house wife and common citizens. *Buceta* and *xereca* have been used by men as well as women. In the episode BN, its diminutive form *bucetinha* has been used pejoratively by the homosexual character Oswaldo to show his averseness to the female sex organ. Thus, we see that the class, age, gender is not a determinant factor in the use of TbWs related to sexual anatomy.

### 5.1.2 Sexual Activity

Taboo word *foder* is used in four episodes. It is used in the episodes SM by the character of Odette repeatedly, and in PA by the character of Jussara in its denotative meaning, both inverting the power of expression of sexuality in favour of women. In fact, in both episodes Odette and Jussara indulge in dirty talk, that according to Rosewarne (2013, p. 77), “can be instrumental in perverse sex.” Inherent in the concept of dirty talk is that the language used differs markedly from the dialogues of daily life; it is sexy because people do not usually speak this way.” The author (ibid, p.78) notes that “Dirty talk can help create power dynamics which otherwise do not exist in a relationship (...) Words such as ‘cunt’ and ‘whore’ are effective in dirty talk because they have political gravitas; they are insulting, subordinating, and inflammatory, but notably they are evocative. Such words can be arousing because they are distanced from the language of real life and simultaneously fetishize subordination.” The episodes show that the taboo word *foder* can be used in dirty talk as provocative language for sexual arousal and tilt the dynamics of power.

### 5.1.3 Illicit Sex

The taboo word *puta* (slut) and the pejorative word *putinha* are used in only two episodes, namely, DE and SM respectively. This theme can be sub-theme of name-calling (Cf. below) since hardly any woman would like to be called by a culturally offensive word in daily life situations. In these episodes, these words are referentially used in their dysphemistic form by Thiago’s wife to refer to her friend

Marina, and by Odette in her dirty talk with her husband. When directed at a third person in anger, it can be inappropriate and offensive. *Putaneiro* (man who likes to have sex with *putas*; not listed in the *Dicionário de Gíria* (2005)) is used as name-calling in the episode VI by Marta with its connotational meaning as dysphemism, directed towards her husband.

#### 5.1.4 Scatology

The taboo word *porra* (semen) is used in seven episodes and *merda* (shit) in four episodes in their emotive dysphemistic form. *Porra* is understood to be the most used taboo word in the *Carioca* discourse (although there is no statistical proof), a Brazilian Portuguese unique feature of TbWs (Cf. 1.3.1). In the episode CG, *merda* has been used in the formulaic phrase “*Vai à merda!*” and as name-calling in the episode DU “*Tu é merda!*”. According to a research conducted by Allan and Burridge (ibid, p. 163), a summary finding on revoltingness rating (Allan and Burridge (1991, p. 74) showed that shit and vomit were the highest rated revolting words by the participants. Unfortunately, no such study on the word *porra* or any other TbWs in BP could be found.

#### 5.1.5 Animal Names

The words *vaca* (cow), *cachorra* (bitch), *burra* (donkey), *hipopótama* (hippopotamus), are placed under this theme although they are officially not listed as TbWs TbWs. In the *Dicionário de Gíria* (2005) (Dictionary of Slang), the word *burra* was not listed, and *hipopótama* is listed only in its masculine form. However, the theme has been treated as minor theme by Ljung (ibid., p. 42), who claims that “In a wider selection of languages, some of them may well turn out to be major themes.” The words may be used as an interjection - *burra!* (dumb) - or as name-calling - *É burra!* (You’re dumb) -, shocking the listener Marta, his wife as in the episode VI. Leech (2014, p. 230) explains that, “Animal metaphors can also be offensive; for instance, bitch, cow, rat, and pig have well-known insulting overtones, when referring to a human being.” For Jay (2000, p. 196), “Which animal names form the basis of insults vary from culture to culture and depend on cultural

stereotypes for the animals. (...) Insults develop when enough is known about the negative behaviors of domesticated animals to form stereotypes of their undesirable behaviors and properties.” In the episode SM, Odette herself wants to be called as *vaca*, (cow) *cachorra* (bitch) as a part of dirty talk during sexual arousal. The offensiveness implicit due to negative stereotypes of animals in TbWs can act positively as language of lust and passion.

On the other hand, in Indian Culture, the positive stereotypes of animals such as lion for its power, tiger for its agility, horse for its resilience, cow for its gentleness and peacock for its beauty and grace are often used for name-calling for children to inculcate these qualities with a sense of pride. Many animals such as elephant, monkey, cow, cobra, lion, bull, peacock, parrot, swan, deer etc. are a part of Indian mythology and exercise great influence on the moral and ethical values of Indian society through their positive stereotypical qualities. Most of these animals can be seen in images and carved sculptures in temples, as vehicles for Hindu deities; therefore, enjoying a sacred - or protected - status. Cow is treated as a sacred animal and beef does not form part of the diet for a large majority of Hindu population.

In literature, the famous book of fables called *Panchtantra*, written by the famous sage Vishnu Sharma in around the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C (exact period couldn't be ascertained), in order to inculcate moral values in children by creating animal characters with human behaviour. *Panchtantra* has been translated into over fifty languages and is said to have inspired *les Fables de La Fontaine*, Aesop's Fables and, lately, Disney cartoon characters. Many *Yoga* postures have been inspired by animals. In sum, animals in India play an important role in not only moral building, food habits, religious rituals and festivals, but also are a part and parcel of human life.

## 5.2

### Pragmatic Theme: Name-Calling

Although all the TbWs used in episodes have been placed in five themes according to their semantic fields, pragmatically, they can all be grouped under Name-calling (Table 5).

Name-Calling						
	Episo de	Sexual anatomy	Sexual activity	Scatology	Illicit sex	Animal
1	BN	cu, rola, buceta		porra		
2	CG	cu, pau		merda		
3	DU	caralho		porra, merda	filho da puta	
4	DE	cu, caralho, buceta, piroca, xereca		porra	Puta	
5	EL			porra, merda		
6	NL	cu, pau	foder	porra	vagabunda, corno, quenga, filho de puta, filha de rapariga	
7	PA	cu, pau, buceta	foder		piranha	
8	SM	buceta, caralho, piroca	foder	porra	putinha, vadia	vaca, cachorra
9	VI	piroca, peru, xereca, rola	foder	porra, merda	putaneiro, piranha	burra, hipopótam a

Table 5: Analysis: Pragmatic theme of TbWs used in the episode

The column on sexual anatomy has been coloured to indicate that the TbWs under this category were not found being used as name-calling in the analysed episodes, personal experience shows that they too can be used as name-calling.

### 5.2.1 Sex theme

Some cultures and India in particular have elaborate naming ceremonies called *naam-karan*. “One’s name is an integral part of one’s identity; it is the essence of self and it is a means by which one is known to the society. An assault on one’s name is treated as comparable with, or even worse than, an assault on one’s body.” (Allan & Burrige, *ibid.*, p. 125). The words *puta*, *putinha*, *piranha*, *quenga*, *vadia*, *vagabunda*, *rapariga* were used in two episodes SM and NL. *Filha da puta* and *filho da rapariga*, was used once each in the episode *DUR* and *NL* respectively. Used with their emotive meaning, they are used in connotation in dysphemistic form, offensive to the listener, mostly directed at women. In the episode VI, the name-calling *burra* (dumb), used by Julio to Marta, triggers the use and exchange



of TbWs directed at her husband as a counter attack to save face. Similarly, in NL, the Deputy is enraged by the calling him name, *brocha* (sexually impotent) because, presumably, from being an in-group sexual slang, it is revealed in the full public view. That is why he directs a volley of TbWs towards his detractors, in order to show his resentment and save face.

According to Ljung (ibid., p. 124) “name-calling is a type of illocutionary act that is similar to ritual insults with regard to the taboo themes involved and in being addressed to people who have incurred the speaker’s dislike.” Therefore, name-calling *quenga* (whore) is pragmatically more inappropriate when spoken by a Deputy on National channels than in the company of close friends. Name-calling can use words from all semantic themes, including an animal theme - with words such as *vaca*, *cachorra*, *burra*, *hipopótama* - and illicit sex - such as *puta*, *putaneiro* etc. - as pejoratives.

### 5.2.2

#### Animal names

Name-calling using animal names is basically dependent on culturally stereotyped qualities of domestic animals. Calling a person *gato/gata* in Brazil is symbolic of intimacy and endearment, but doing so in India would be considered as calling someone ferocious. Similarly, in India, calling a woman a lioness has positive connotation of being fearless, but calling her a wounded lioness has negative connotation of being savage. Sex being a taboo theme even in aggressive talk, name-calling with words belonging to the theme of sex is inappropriate and generally avoided; thus, name-calling is usually restricted to the animal theme. In this sense, similes with negative connotations such as: insignificant like housefly and mosquito; unfaithful like a cat; lazy, stubborn, stupid like a bull or a donkey; slow like a tortoise; dirty like a pig are commonly used depending on the context, pragmatic variables and the social cost (repercussion) involved. Some of the similes with positive stereotypes using verbs are: to walk like a deer; to dance like a peacock; and to run like a horse. There are also similes using adjectives as positive stereotypes such as: intelligent and powerful like an elephant; cunning like a fox; fast like a *cheetah* (Indian panther); sharp-visioned like an eagle; gentle like a cow; and courageous like a lion.

### 5.3

#### A Brief Description of the use of taboo words

It is observed that out of the six semantic themes for TbWs, *porra* is undisputedly the most in use by the *Cariocas*. In fact, through long time use, its referential meaning as semen has worn-off to give way to its emotive use in name-calling or interjection.

Noteworthy is the episode EL, where the least number of TbWs were used by the participants is shown as verbally and physically more aggressive ending up in an amusing physical fight. Similarly, in the episode NL where highest number of TbWs are used by the Deputy ends up in irony and being hilarious. These episodes prove that TbWs used in proper contexts can be used for entertainment beside their stereotyped functions.

Owing to their emotive meaning dependent on contextual use, and pragmatic variables, a comprehensive thematization of TbWs in Portuguese can be quite a challenging task. In the episode SM, Odette uses the words *porra* and *caralho*, and in BN, the new employee uses *cu* and *rabo* interchangeably, whereas the journalist uses *bumbum* as substitute of *rabo* in the episode CG. In this sense, semantically *caralho* (dick), in denotation, can be classified as sexual anatomy, however, in the episode DU it is used as name-calling. In Hindi, calling someone *laand* (penis) or any other sexual part for that matter would be meaningless. Thus, it can be inferred that the use of TbWs depends on the state of the mind of the speaker, and above all, is largely influenced by the culture as shown by the episode below.

#### 5.3.1

##### Language Difference

In the year 2008, the Indian Cricket tour of Australia was mired in controversy due to an Indian player, Harbhajan, calling the Australian player Andrew Symonds, with West Indies roots, a monkey, a serious racial slur. Indian BBC sports reporter Mihir Bose offered an explanation that Harbhajan actually had insulted Andrew in Hindi -*Teri maa ki* (your mother's)- where *maa* means mother; therefore, there was an insult in Harbhajan's speech, but not a racist one. The reporter also argued that calling someone a monkey is not an insult in Hindi, as naughty children are often referred to as monkeys; that is why the Indian player had

chosen a more offensive mother-themed Hindi insult that Symonds wrongly heard as monkey (*mã ki*). This episode is mentioned by Susan Bassnett (2011, p. 83), under the chapter titled “Just what did you call me?”, where she states that “(...) I have always been fascinated by the ways in which different cultures conceive of insults, because unquestionably this is a culture bound phenomenon.” Hofstede (ibid., p. 388) accepts that “Language differences contribute to cultural misperceptions.” A similar incident on the intercultural misperception due to the use of the word *foda* by a Brazilian girl to an Indian male driver is mentioned in the episode *Sobre a Mesa* (Cf. 4.8.3).

TbWs are used in formulaic phrases such as: *vai pra merda! chupar o cu, tomar no cu etc.* and therefore, students of PFL will have to learn the TbWs with their verbal collocates and their connotative meanings. The students can be also familiarized with the regionalism in the use of TbWs. For example, the word *quenga* (bitch) used in the episode NL, belongs to the North-Eastern dialect of BP, not being a typical part of the *Carioca* discourse.

There is also some revelation on the pragmatic variable of age in the use of TbWs. In the episode PA, the aged couple – Roberto and Ivonne - are shocked by use of TbWs by their daughter Jussara and her *pau amigo* (dick buddy), Gerson. However, in the episode NL, a public figure, the Deputy uses copious number of TbWs in front of the TV cameras. This demonstrates that age, social status or socio-physical setting is not a pragmatic variable applicable where the use of TbWs in Brazil is concerned - from youth to political class, anyone can use TbWs at will, depending on the situation.

### 5.3.2

#### Survey on use of TbWs by Cariocas

With an aim to do a reality check on the use of TbWs by *Cariocas*, a simple question was posted by the researcher in two of her friendly WhatsApp groups on 23 July 2020 with a total of 20 participants. All the group members are residents of Rio de Janeiro, our field area of research on TbWs. In the period of lockdown due to the Covid-19 pandemic in the year 2020, this appeared to be the only rapid and reliable means of communication to obtain information. The question was “In your opinion, what are the swear words most used by the Cariocas? Choose ten most common ones, ranking the most used first and so forth. (*Na sua opinião, quais são*

os palavrões mais usados pelos Cariocas? Escolham entre 10 mais comuns por ranking de mais usados primeiro e assim por diante.) Out of thirty members who received the question, twenty responded. All participants did not send in all ten TbWs, some of them sent four or five only. Finally, a total of fourteen taboo words were received in varying chronological order. They were tabulated (Table 6) and post-analysis the result reveals the following:

Ranking/ Voting	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup>	7 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup>	10 <sup>th</sup>	Total
Buceta						1			2	1	04
Cacete						2	1				03
<b>Caralho</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>2</b>				<b>20</b>
Cu/ tomar no cu			3	5	2						10
Cuzão								1			01
<b>Fode-se</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>17</b>
Vai se foder					4	1		1		1	07
Merda	2	2	1	1		2					08
Viado		1	1	2				1	1		06
Pau				1							01
<b>Porra</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>				<b>1</b>				<b>20</b>
Filho da puta			2	1	4	2				1	12
Putá merda				1			1	1			03
<b>Putá que pariu</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>			<b>13</b>

Table 6: Table 6: Survey WhatsApp: 10 most used TbWs in Rio de Janeiro

The vertical columns indicate the ranking one to ten (1-10) and the horizontal columns indicate the number of respondents voting for that spot. The TbWs are listed in alphabetical order and the first five highest-voted are highlighted in bold and blue colour.

According to the number of votes, the first five most used TbWs in Rio de Janeiro are as follows:

- *Porra* is voted by all twenty respondents.
- *Caralho* is voted by all twenty respondents.
- *Foda-se* got voted by seventeen respondents.
- *Putá que pariu* got voted by thirteen respondents.
- *Filho da puta* got voted by twelve respondents

The gender distribution of participants is as follows: Males = 6, Females = 14 with age-group between 25-60 years; therefore, we did not have sufficient data to classify the terms according to these features. The participants belong to diverse professional profiles, ranging from academia, foreign language teaching, informatics, medicine, management, public service, university students and housewives. Although just few respondents reacted to the question with comments,

their statements are a valuable primary source of information on the use of TbWs in Rio de Janeiro. For example, one of the older female participants remarked, while sending in her list of TbWs: “*nunca escrevi uma msg tão feia*” (“I never wrote such an ugly message”). The response from another younger female participant was alike: “*Q coisa hein? Só coisa feia! Kkkkk*” (“What a topic? Only ugly words! Lol”). A young student remarked, “*é para pesquisa? Haha*” (“Is it for research? Lol”). However, an enlightening comment came from a young mother: “*são palavras que nem consideramos mais palavrões...expressam intensidade, surpresa, um monte de emoções*” (“these are words that we don’t even consider swear words any more... they express intensity, surprise and a whole lot of emotions”) (original punctuation by the participants).

The remarks by the respondents demonstrate that with each passing generation, TbWs’ power gradually diminishes. Thereafter, they ultimately make way in to the mainstream discursive practices as expressive and emotive words, thus contributing to emotional intensity to the language. This phenomenon is stated by Orsi (ibid., p. 160): “The use of obscene words depends on the degree of emotions that needs to be conveyed (...) for many, some of these words have lost the insulting meaning that they used to possess; it can be stated that there is still prejudice about the use of TbWs, however, in smaller amount day by day.”<sup>128</sup>

Coincidentally, the most consistently used TbWs in the nine episodes analysed, *porra* and *caralho*, matched with the result of the WhatsApp survey conducted by the researcher on the most popular TbWs used by the *Cariocas* showing that art imitates real life. However, for some, this small-scale survey may not appear to represent a larger conclusive idea of TbWs used in Rio, but we believe that it could act as a possible sneak peep for a futuristic more comprehensive and elaborate research on TbWs in PFL.

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<sup>128</sup> “A utilização de itens obscenos depende do grau de emotividade que se quer comunicar (...) para muitos, alguns itens desse léxico perderam a carga semântica insultante que possuíam; consta-se que ainda há preconceito em relação ao emprego de palavrão, contudo, a cada dia em menor escala.”

## 6.

### Didactic Potential of taboo words used in the episodes

India is one of the oldest living civilizations, with a conglomerate of multicultural, multilingual and multi-ethnic societies, each one with its own typical age-old religious beliefs engrained in moral and ethical values that are manifested in gender roles, private-public spaces, in-group and out-group relationships. This also translates in an individual's personal identity woven into social identity with its complex web of linguistic, regional, religious and cultural identity. The languages spoken, therefore, reflect these perceptions and values as far as space, time, relation with Nature and family is concerned. In this scenario, learning the grammar of a foreign language becomes relatively easy for Indian students since one is born into a multilingual and multicultural society. Born of mixed marriages (parents belonging to different linguistic communities) is usually an added sociolinguistic advantage.

#### 6.1

##### Cultural Input

However, learning and teaching a foreign culture encrypted in lexicon is quite a challenging task as much for the students as for the PFL teacher. The Indian values in terms of binary units; good vs bad, correct vs. incorrect, right vs wrong, fair vs unfair, are lived and experienced in subjective as well as objective culture in the form of: daily activities, alimentary habits, family rituals and innumerable festivals that are, to a very large extent, influenced by religious beliefs and mythology. These values are reflected in well-defined gender relationship, family, social patriarchy and political structures. Thus, when Indian students are faced with a culture as diverse as the Brazilian, the intercultural situation is bound to produce culture shock, described as the first stage in DMIS model by Bennett (1998) (Cf.2.2.4).

Before showing the *Porta dos Fundos* episodes, the students should be informed of their exaggerated hypothetical context of situational comedy and, therefore, should be advised not to limit their comprehension to the denotations of the TbWs but to read between the lines and learn to see the implicit 'larger picture'. They could also be informed of the subjective culture of Brazil and its implication

in terms of personal relations, space and time (Meyer, 2020) which is not as distinctly defined in binaries like correct/ incorrect, legal/illegal, permitted/prohibited etc. as in Indian culture. It therefore, means that a distinct demarcation between the values perceived as desirable from values perceived as undesirable is not defined in questions such as: paying a bribe to get the work done faster is desirable but asking for a bribe is not. Killing the enemy to protect the sovereignty of the country is desirable but killing your competitor in business is not. In Brazil, consuming drugs is not a crime but trafficking and their sale is, whereas in India consumption, sale and trafficking is a serious crime punishable by law. In Brazil, there are situations where the two values can blur and form a haze where right from wrong or legal from illegal becomes incomprehensible despite the laws, rules and regulations in place.

We are reminded of DaMatta (1993, p. 76-78), who considers Carnival as a period when “*tudo estaria fora de lugar*” (everything would be out of place). “*Carnaval, pois, é inversão porque é competição numa sociedade marcada pela hierarquia.*” (Carnival is, then, inversion because it is competition in a society marked by hierarchy). In an article<sup>129</sup> in G1, globo.com, DaMatta refers to the historic advent of the Portuguese Royal family to Brazil in the year 1808 and the inherent institutionalization of the superior and inferior hierarchic structure. “Therefore, the system of knowing whom to talk to, means to know who is the person [being talked to]: a boss, a rich man, a leader. Anyone who thinks of himself as “somebody” places the other in the place of “nobody,”<sup>130</sup>

The DMIS model is adequately deconstructed by Meyer (2020) in a webinar, where she applies Bennetts’s theory of subjective culture to that of Brazil’s as shown below in two slides (Figure 22) from her presentation:

<sup>129</sup> <https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2020/07/20/por-que-o-voce-sabe-com-quem-esta-falando-marca-tanto-o-brasil-antropologo-e-historiadora-comentam-casos-recentes.ghhtml>. Access on 10 February 2020.

<sup>130</sup> “Então o sistema do saber com quem se fala equivale a saber quem é o ‘cara’, o dono, o rico, o líder. Quem se acha ‘alguém’ coloca o outro no lugar de ‘ninguém.’”



Figure 22: MEYER (2020) Webinar. APLEPES/Universidad Complutense de Madrid. 10 Oct. 2020

The slides show that the personal and public space in Brazilian culture is perceived as informal, evident in Brazilian practice of patting, touching, kissing and maintaining eye to eye contact even with unknown people that could be of shock to the ‘no touch’ Indian culture especially between the opposite sex. The informality is reflected in social situations of private/public, prohibited/permitted and right/wrong. This explanation can be applied to deconstruct the episodes in terms of subjective culture. They can be informed about the nonexistence of any distinct or fixed definition of TbWs, translated as *palavrões*, from slang words, translated as *gíria*, in Portuguese as opposed to English where these two words are well defined in terms of their use. No clear definition of TbWs in Portuguese was found.

The *Dicionário de Gíria* (Dictionary of Slang) by Serra e Gurgel (2005) lists all the TbWs (*palavrão*). The *Dicionário de Palavrão* (Dictionary of Coarse Language) similarly lists the *gírias*. This uncertainty can be shown in the episodes through the examples such as: the use of *cu* and *rabo* by Oswaldo in *Boa Notícia*, *porra* and *caralho* by Odette in *Sobre a Mesa*. This semantic overlap in use can be quite confusing even for a native speaker of Portuguese.

## 6.2 Context

Therefore, the significance of context for students of PFL is of prime importance and sometimes critical. According to Spencer-Oatly (2008, p. 31), “Context has a major influence on people’s use of direct-indirectness and can interact with cultural differences.” The author (*ibid.*, p. 30) says that “from an interpersonal perspective, directness-indirectness is related to bluntness. Bluntness is the extent to which the message is softened or mitigated.” In this sense, the



students have to be not only sensitized about the significance of the context but also made aware of directness-indirectness of the speech act in order to avoid sounding blunt or impolite in a foreign culture.

A small incident can well elaborate the perception of bluntness in Brazilian culture. Recently, this researcher asked a young Brazilian man to leave his shoes outside the entrance of the house saying “You cannot bring the shoes inside the house.” A few days later, a common friend informed her that the young man was upset with the researcher’s way of speaking to him. The friend then advised her to mitigate the requests with interrogative tone so that it not sound as an order. These kinds of discursive practices can be learnt by observing the real life-like situations that show contextual use, possible to some extent, through the use of readily available multimedia like Pdf on YouTube.

In the (Table 7) below we analyse each episode to elaborate the use of TbWs in the PFL classroom based on their contextual variables such as: social-physical setting as private-public or formal-informal, gender, age, relationship between the participants, function, effect on the listener and the cultural dimension represented.

Epi.	Setting	Gender	Relationship S-L	Taboo words	Function	Effect on H	Cultural dimensions
BN	Office	i) M→M ii) F→M	boss-subordinates	cu, rola, porra, buceta,	group bonding	motivation/ integration	Masculinity Femininity (MAS)
CG	Cinema	i) F⇌F ii) F→M	journalist-Actress	cu, pau, merda	intrude privacy	tittilation/ sensationalism	Indulgence (IND)
DE	Home	i) F→M ii) F→F	wife-husband	cu, buceta, porra, piroca, caralho, xereca	Investigate	face loss	Indulgence (IND)
DU	Road	i) M→M ii) M→M	citizens-police	porra, merda, caralho, filho da puta,	ironize power misuse	face loss	Power Distance (PD)
EL	Building	i) F⇌F ii) F→F	women (unrelated)	porra, merda,	bully/assert	violence / physical fight	Uncertainty Avoidance (UA)
NL	Ministry	i) M→M ii) M→CAM.	politician-journalist	cu, pau, porra, foder, quenga, filho da puta,	satirize pol. Corruption	face loss	Power Distance (PD)
PA	Kitchen	i) F→M ii) F→FM	daughter-parents	cu, pau, foder, buceta, piranha	in-group slang	shock / acceptance	Indulgence (IND)
SM	Kitchen	i) F→M ii) F→CAM.	wife-husband	porra, caralho, foder	dirty talk	submission / face loss	Masculinity Femininity (MAS)

VI	Restaurant	i) M $\rightleftharpoons$ F ii) F $\rightarrow$ CHD	husband-wife	porra, piranha, piroca, peru, xereca, rola, foder, merda	meaning making- virgin	embarrassment	Masculinity Femininity (MAS)
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Table 7: Analysis: Pragmatic & Cultural themes of TbWs in episodes. Contextual Variables are explained below.

### 6.3

#### Contextual Variables (Table 7)

The column **Gender** (M-Male, F-Female) shows the gender of the speaker who initiates the use of taboo towards the listener in the first part of the episodes. One-way arrow symbol shows the absence of any response on the part of listener whereas the two-ways arrow symbol shows an exchange of TbWs between the speakers. Each episode is shown in two parts. The column shows the speaker in the first part indicated by i) and the speaker in the second part as ii). In the episode no. 6 (N.L), the speaker (M) is seen making video-graphed confessions and therefore, appears as speaking to the camera abbreviated as (CAM.). Similarly, in the episode no. 8 (S.M.), the speaker Odette (F) appears speaking directly to the TV audience, to the camera (CAM.). In the second part of the episode no. 9 (VIR.), the speaker Marta (F) is seen explaining the meaning of TbWs (*Porta dos Fundos, sininho*) to her son, Rafael, abbreviated as CHD.

The column **Relationship** (S-L) refers to the relationship between speaker (S) and listener (L).

The column **Taboo words** refers to the TbWs exchanged between the speakers in the episode. Since TbWs are euphemised as four-letter words in English language, an attempt was made to see if Portuguese TbWs follow the same pattern. According to Pinker (ibid.), “(...) fertile ground for terms of abuse is phonetic symbolism. Imprecations tend to use sounds that are perceived as quick and harsh. They tend to be monosyllables or trochees, and certain short vowels and stop components, especially k and g: fuck, cock, prick, dick, dyke, suck (...)” Therefore, the TbWs in the column are arranged beginning with the shortest two lettered *cu* followed by three-lettered *pau*, four-lettered *rola*, *puta*, *peru* five-lettered *foder*, *porra*, *merda* six-lettered *buceta*, *xereca*, *piroca* seven-lettered *caralho* and lastly *filho da puta*. No such pattern in Portuguese TbWs was found.

The column **Function** refers to the illocutionary force of the TbWs by the speaker i.e., the intended effect of speech utterance in the use of TbWs by the speaker.

The column **Effect on the L** refers to the perlocutionary or actual effect on the listener, and consequently on the communication channel between them. “The perlocutionary act is essentially a matter of trying to get the hearer to form some correlative attitude.” Horn & Ward (2006, p. 466). For example, the journalist in CG uses *cu* in the locutionary act intending to realize the illocutionary act by actress to reveal her intimate details, but the actual perlocutionary act is her retort *Vai pra merda* and exit from the interview. The use of TbWs, depending on their intensity and other pragmatic variables, can affect the channel of communication and the perlocutionary act of the listener.

The column **Cultural Dimension** refers to the four dimensions of Brazilian culture demonstrated through the **Function** of taboo word and its **Effect on L**(istener). The four cultural dimensions by Hofstede (2010) considered in this research are abbreviated as: MAS, IND, PD, and UA.

## 6.4

### Cultural Dimensions manifested by TbWs in each episode

Masculinity versus Femininity (MAS) is shown through patriarchy in VI by Marta and Julio, and homosexuality at workplace by Oswaldo and colleagues in BN. Indulgence (IND) is portrayed through those who are given to fulfilling and gratification of desires and impulsive behaviour through titillating questions by the journalist in CG; through the investigation of adultery committed by Thiago by his wife and her friend Vanessa in DG, through the dirty sexual talk by Odette in SM, and through the use of sexual slang by Jussara and Gerson in PA. Power Distance (PD) is reflected through the distance between the powerful Deputy in NL, and the powerless citizens Miguel and Armando in front of the police in DU. Uncertainty Avoidance (UA) is shown by the two women trying to avoid an uncertain situation in EL. These cultural dimensions and humour are described more elaborately in each episode below.

### 6.4.1 Boa Notícia

*Boa Noticia* shows the use of TbWs as homosexual jargon by Oswaldo, the CEO in a board meeting to motivate and inspire colleagues to perform better and beat their rivals in business. According to an article<sup>131</sup> by Natalie Angier (2005), “In some settings, the free flows of foul language may signal not hostility or social pathology, but harmony and tranquillity.” Culturally, this episode, besides shock, could create repulsion among the Indian students due to the direct use of homosexual jargon and shows the dimension of Masculinity/ Femininity (Hofstede, *ibid.*, p.159). Brazil, as a feminine culture, sees homosexuality “as a way of life”, opposed to a masculine culture as India, where homosexuality is “considered threat to the society”. (Hofstede, 2010, Cf. 2.2.2). Homosexuality in India is still a social taboo despite the homosexual marriage being legalized and recognized by the law. Therefore, Indian motivational expressions such as: “*dho dalo*” “wash them” (referring to the old Indian habit of washing clothes by beating them against a boulder in the river), “*nani yaad dila do*” “make them remember their grandmother” (referring to their boyhood days’ pampering from grandmothers) or “*kis me kitna hai dum*” (let’s see who has more guts) do not use sex-related words for boosting the morale of the teams or ingroups.

The humour in this episode can be classified as Dirty Humour (Travaglia, 1989) (Cf. 2.3) created through the presence of a large number of sex-related TbWs and expressions used from a homosexual perspective. The humour is in the violation of the figurative meaning of the expressions by a gay boss and being appreciated in the gay world. The TbWs are used to violate the established popular meanings in order to mean the opposite in the gay world. This mechanism of suggestion (Cf. 2.3) of new meaning (Cf. 2.3) creates humour.

### 6.4.2 Conta pra Gente

*Conta pra Gente* shows the use of TbWs by a TV journalist during an interview of an actress, Fernanda Mariano, in order to invade her privacy in order

<sup>131</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/09/20/science/almost-before-we-spoke-we-swore.html>. Access on 10 January 2020.

to sensationalise the interview and entertain the audience. Here the distinction between entertainment and titillation is shown as overlapping. Culturally, the episode shows the dimension of Indulgence in Brazil (Hofstede, 2010, *ibid.*, p. 281) that “stands for tendency to allow relatively free gratification of basic and natural human desires related to enjoying life and having fun”. It may shock the students since the limits of words for privacy strictly defined, especially for Indian women. Students should be informed of the high degree of indulgence and popularity of TV in Brazil to explain the subjective culture of overlapping boundaries of decency and obscenity.

The humour in this episode can be classified as Dirty Humour (Cf. 2.3), created through violation of the politeness norms by the journalist, representing yellow journalism (*imprensa marrom*). The journalist creates sensationalism using sex-related TbWs (*cu, pau*) to find out the intimate details of the actors instead of presenting their work to the public. TbWs, as dysphemistic words used during a public transmission of interview, violate the social norms and ridicules the media, generating humour.

#### 6.4.3 Degustação

*Degustação* shows the use of power of TbWs by Tiago’s wife to investigate the suspected infidelity of her husband with the help of her friend Vanessa. She makes Vanessa inspect his penis. Culturally, it reveals the changing moral values and an elevated degree of Uncertainty Avoidance and Indulgence (Hofstede, 2010, Cf. 2.2.2) in gratification of basic desires such as sex in Brazilian society. For the students of PFL, the episode can be explained through the mythological concept of test of chastity, called *Agni Pariksha* (test by fire) where a married woman had to prove her that she was untouched by a man other than her husband by passing through a fire.

The humour in this episode can be classified as Dirty Humour, due to a large number of dysphemistic sex-related TbWs used for Thiago by his own wife in the presence of her friend, as FTAs. The episode is a satire on situations for that section of women who are overtly suspicious of their husband’s sexual conduct. In this sense it is exaggeration of anxiety arising from Uncertainty Avoidance (Hofstede,

2010). Ironically, the violation of social norms as well as disrespect to conventional rules of privacy between the married couple are violated to generate humour.

#### 6.4.4 Dura

*Dura* also shows the use of TbWs in public domain by two young men, Armando and Miguel, to humiliate two policemen caught red handed sleeping in police patrol car. The satire shows a role reversal between the citizens and the Brazilian police. Culturally, this episode shows the social unsymmetric Power Distance, defined by (Hofstede, *ibid.*, p. 61) as “The extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally.” Cf. 2.2.2) between the police and the citizens, something identifiable by Indian students in India. Similar in contexts, lexicon is more readily noticed than the difference by students of a foreign language. According to Carl James (1980, p. 169) “it is only against a background of sameness that differences are significant”.

Humour in this episode can be termed as Dirty Humour as far as politeness is concerned, due to the use of TbWs by the citizens for the policemen. Travaglia’s (1989) mechanism of mixing of social places and positions of the subjects (Cf. 2.3) (*mistura de lugares sociais ou posições de sujeito*) between policemen and citizens generate humour since the audience identify with the characters and turns accomplice (*ibid.*, p. 59) with the characters.<sup>132</sup>

#### 6.4.5 Elevador

*Elevador* shows the use of TbWs in public domain by two women over a trivial issue of calling the elevator. On one hand, the use of TbWs is to bully, on the other hand, the TbWs can be used to be assertive and defend one’s right. Culturally, the episode shows the Uncertainty Avoidance (Hofstede, *ibid.*, p. 191) that “can be defined as the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened

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<sup>132</sup> “Aqui o que ocorre é que a audiência se torna cúmplice do personagem naquilo que ele diz ou faz porque todos sabem que as coisas são exatamente como apresentadas, embora ninguém ousa dizer; o personagem diz e faz aquilo que a audiência gostaria de dizer e fazer ou, quando algo é reprovado, de repente a audiência se flagra cúmplice daquele “crime”.

by ambiguous or unknown situations.” (Cf. 2.2.2). In this sense, the students of PFL can understand the anxiety and the sense of insecurity in Brazilian society that leads to a fight (*briga*) over non-issues such as pressing a button for the elevator. The fight starts after one of the speakers uses the word *cocô* (shit), listed under the category of *Excrementos* (excretion) in a table of *palavras repulsivas* (repulsive word) by Meyer (2020, p. 13) in her article titled *Ai que nojo!* (Oh! How gross!) where she states that “the semantic field of Excretion leads us, obviously, to the scatology theme best avoided in rounds of conversation (...) absent from the women conversation.”<sup>133</sup> However, in this episode it is the use of the word *cocô* by the women that sparks the verbal argument ending up in physical fight. The Indian students of PFL may be able to relate to the context since some trivial issues like parking the car, loud music at night, a noisy pet, can spark an argument that sometimes can result in violence with serious consequences in India.

The humour in this episode can be termed as Black Humour that ends in violence although no sex-related words TbWs are used. Ziraldo (1970, p.37 apud Travaglia, 1989, p.53) states that “For us the black humour is to laugh on sorrows, tragedies, illness and pathologies, physical deformity or not, on woes. Thus, for being black humour, it has to be done aggressively and violently so that it points fingers towards what the society protects at all cost.”<sup>134</sup> Absurdity of the situation (Cf. 2.3) and the ridiculous way of resolving the public argument resulting in fight (*briga*) generate humour by exaggeration in this episode. The triviality of the fight and the use of pejorative words and scatology-themed word *merda* is used as FTA for resolving the conflict. The humour could be also a way to generate laughter at the public, who out of anxiety, act mindlessly making it a social humour.

#### 6.4.6 Nome na Lista

*Nome na Lista* also shows the use of TbWs by a politician to clear his code name *brocha*, by which he is known in a list of corrupt politicians. The use of a non-taboo word provokes the politician to speak the chosen TbWs as he ends up

<sup>133</sup> “O campo semântico Excremento, nos leva, obviamente, ao termo da escatologia bem rejeitado nas rodas de conversa (...) parecendo ausente na conversa mulher -mulher.”

<sup>134</sup> “Entre nós o humor negro é rir das tristezas, trágicas, de doenças e patologias, das deformidades físicas ou não, das desgraças. Isto, para ser humor negro, tem de ser feito de modo agressivo, violento que coloca o dedo nas “feridas” que a sociedade resguarda a todo custo.”

doing the opposite of what he actually aimed at. This humorous episode is rich in historic-political and cultural knowledge about Brazilian society. Culturally, the episode shows the dimension of Power Distance (Hofstede, 2010, Cf. 2.2.2) and, therefore, students can identify the corruption in politics or public domain; similar to the episode *Virgem*, it shows corruption in personal domain. The indulgence and power distance can be explained by the subjective culture where the lines between *jeitinho* and *favor* overlap.

Humour in this episode can be termed as Dirty Humour due to use of many sex-related TbWs by the Deputy (a public figure) for his own fraternity in politics, during an interview in the media, in violation of the social norms of politeness. His exaggerated concern to clear his nickname *brocha*. It can also be classified as sexual humour since the topic of the interaction is sexual conduct of politicians. This humour can be called political humour, a sub category of Social Humour. The satire on political corruption generate humour while highlighting serious issues in Brazil.

#### 6.4.7 Pau Amigo

*Pau Amigo* shows the use of TbWs by a young couple Jussara and Gerson to explain the nature of their relationship based on sex to the older couple Roberto and Ivonne who express shock over the use of TbWs. This shows the relaxing norms for its use and the diminishing degree of taboo-ness of the words through use in Brazil. With time and frequent usage, the obscenity of taboo wears off and it becomes part of popular discourse. Culturally, the episode shows the aspect of Indulgence (Hofstede, 2010, Cf. 2.2.2) in Brazilian culture and conveys the use of slang among the youth and the generation gap as far as the new definition of human relationship is concerned. Marcos Bagno (2011, p. 154), accepts the use of *gíria* (slang) and *palavrão* within appropriate place, context and people. For Battistella (2005, p. 86), “Slang borrows and adapts words from groups and topics perceived as falling outside of mainstream language.” This aspect can be applied to students of PFL, who can be asked to make a list of slangs they use only within their social circle and would avoid using them with members of older generations. Thereafter, they can classify them into semantic fields and compare them with the one used in the episode to get a better understanding of similarity or difference of the issues that Brazilian youth like to discuss with in-group members only.



The humour in this episode can be termed as Dirty Humour in terms of politeness, due to the use of TbWs in the presence of parents in violation of social norms of politeness and disrespect for the conventional rules. The humour can be classified as Sexual Humour (Cf. 2.3), as sex-related TbWs are used in dysphemistic form in violation of the generation gap producing shock for the interlocutors. Later, the marriage between the characters is solemnised using TbWs in the church, a place inappropriate for use of such words, thus generating humour.

#### 6.4.8 Sobre a Mesa

*Sobre a Mesa* shows the successful use of TbWs by Odette in order to draw the attention of her husband, Mario Alberto, towards their non-happening sexual life during dinner at home. The use of TbWs and expressions for ‘talk dirty’ is defined by Brienne (2012)<sup>135</sup> as “(...) a different language, one that only seasoned adults can handle. It’s the language of love. More specifically, the language of lust. It’s the language of dirty talk. It’s all about taboo phrases, naughty curse words, and innuendo that would make a porn star blush.” Odette uses TbWs and phrases not to make the husband offended, but to show him her sexual needs. His quiet submission in the end shows that Odette’s dirty talk had effect on him. The use of TbWs by a woman could shock the Indian students for upsetting their learned notions of gender roles, values and ethics in conjugal relationships since they are only comfortable with the use of TbWs only when used by men. This situation is less likely to take place in India as there is little talk of sex even among married couples. There can be talk of sex only among same sex group of friends. Culturally, this episode can familiarize the students with the cultural dimension of Masculinity/ Femininity (Hofstede, 2010, Cf. 2.2.2) in Brazil and understand the communicative value of TbWs in conjugal relationship without loss of face by the listener.

Humour in this episode can be termed as Dirty Humour (Cf.2.3) in terms of politeness and Sexual Humour in terms of topic, defined by Travaglia (ibid., p. 54) as “erotic, pornographic focuses on facts concerning sexual relation between people.” (*erótico, pornográfico enfoca sempre fatos ligados ao relacionamento sexual das pessoas.*) The mechanisms used to generate humour are exaggeration

<sup>135</sup> <https://www.amazon.com/Denise-Brienne/e/B008OIQQO4/>. Access on 15 February 2020.

through repetition of sex-related TbWs of *foder* and by the character Odette. As Travaglia (ibid., p. 64) states, “The exaggeration can be in the speech (basically using repetition, redundance and neoplasm)”<sup>136</sup>

#### 6.4.9 Virgem

*Virgem* shows the use of TbWs in a restaurant by a couple Marta and her husband Julio in order to explain the meaning of *virgem* to their son without having the knowledge of the context. The use of TbWs without defining the context turns out embarrassing for the speakers. This episode also questions patriarchy and place of women in the society with issues of dishonesty in private and public life which can be attributed to the Brazilian subjective culture, where the concepts of wrong and right overlap. The episode questions the double entendre of simple orthophemistic words: one, understood by its denotation euphemism, by the child, and the second, interpreted as its connotation dysphemism by the adults as taboos. In the end, the parents feel the embarrassment of their own carelessness about the context. Therefore, it cannot be seen as face loss by either of the speakers who are in a relationship husband-wife. Culturally, Indian students can understand the cultural dimension of Masculinity/Femininity in Brazil which has its basic concept as (Hofstede, ibid., p. 30) “The social and emotional implication of having been born as a boy or as a girl.”. They may also identify with the issue of corruption through the use of the word *nota fria*, since a similar unofficial practice in India called *savidha shulk* (facilitating charges) does prevail in some regions to some extent. Legally the term tax evasion is an economic offence. However, it is commonly seen as tax saving by common man who views it more as a skill than a crime.

The humour in the episode is created through the use of sex-related TbWs in dysphemistic forms, as FTAs between the couple. In terms of politeness, it can be called Dirty Humour and in terms of topic, it can be called Sexual Humour as described above (Cf. 6.4.8). Conflict between stereotyped ideas of virginity, adultery and marriage are shown violated, to create humour.

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<sup>136</sup> “O exagero pode estar no dizer (aqui entram basicamente a repetição, a redundância, e o neoplasmo), (...)”

In sum, the episodes such as *Dura*, *Virgem*, *Nome na Lista* and *Elevador* could be better understood by students for their similarity of context like power distance, corruption in private and public domain, and Uncertainty Avoidance (Hofstede, 2010, Cf. 2.2.2) through reaction in ambiguous situations. However, the episodes such as: *Pau Amigo*, *Sobre a Mesa*, *Degustação*, *Conta pra Gente* and *Boa Notícia* could produce shock due to cultural dissimilarity of pragmatic variables on the issues of directness-indirectness of use of TbWs, relationship between the speakers, age, and gender etc. All nine episodes contain TbWs related to human anatomical private parts, and talking about which is a social taboo in India. Unlike in more individualistic and subjective Brazilian culture, in the collectivist Indian culture, the issues of hierarchy and patriarchy still run strong in the society and any digression from established social norms is either adequately corrected or punished.

In the concluding chapter of his book “The Hidden Dimension”, Hall (1982, p. 188) remarks “(...) no matter how hard man tries it is impossible for him to divest himself of his own culture, for it has penetrated to the roots of his nervous system and determines how he perceives the world. Most of culture lies hidden and outside his voluntary control, making up the wrap and weft of human existence.”

Almost forty years later, the foreign language teaching has evolved considerably through harnessing of multimedia with an aim to develop intercultural competence through intercultural intelligence by exposing the learners to the native culture. This evolution has produced concepts such as: Intercultural Communication Flexibility (Ting-Tommey & Chung, p. 2012), Pragmalinguistics and Sociopragmatics (Thomas, 1982) in order to enable the non-native speakers to acquire a certain level of proficiency in intercultural communication competence skills. In case of BP Teaching to Indian students (BPTI), these episodes by *Porta dos Fundos* will go a long way in conscientizing the Indian students not only about TbWs in discursive practices of *Cariocas* but also help cope better with burning issues such as: online trolling, hate speech and politically incorrect language.

## 6.5

### Level of Offensiveness manifested by Taboo Words in Episode

In the case of the use of TbWs as they appear in the analysed episodes, we can assert they can be used in BPTI to teach the level of offensiveness to students

on the basis of Carretero's (2011) four possible reactions to the use of TbWs: i) Highly Offensive (HO), ii) Offensive (OF), iii) Less Offensive (LO), and iv) Not Offensive (NO). Depending on the response of the Listener to the TbWs used by the Speaker and its result on the communication between the two, we deconstruct the four degrees of offensiveness by applying them to each episode.

In HO, the response is silence or another taboo word. Consequently, the communication breaks down completely as seen in the episode CG and NL, or there is an angry retort as in PA or there is physical violence as in EL.

In OF, the response to the use of TbWs is through laughter and communication is not interrupted, as in the episode BN.

In LO, the speaker draws attention of the listener through the use of TbWs as in the episode SM, where Odette does all the dirty talk.

In NO, the use of crude or improper taboo expressions and their repetition by the listener does not affect the flow of communication, as in DE and VI.

The episode cited in each category of offensiveness may have more than one degree of offensiveness. For example, in the episode CG, there is angry retort by the actress by using pejorative words such as *louca* and *babaca* in response to the use of *cu* by the journalist before exiting from the interview. In PA, there is silence and shock and angry reprimand by the father but the communication does not breakdown due to the close relationship. They finally accept the use of TbWs and seem even pleased with their use in the second part.

Consequently, it may not be easy for a student of PFL to comprehend the offensiveness of TbWs in initial stages of interaction. One possible way-out could be reading the facial expressions (smile, anger etc.) or body language of the listener in face to face or multimedia interactions, universal in all cultures.

Therefore, the thematic analysis table can aid PFL students to familiarize with the different levels of offensiveness. For example, name-calling a listener during an interaction can be highly offensive in a formal context and not offensive in informal context. *Merda*, for example, in a name-calling - *Você é merda!* (you are a piece of shit!) - can be highly offensive, but not when used as an interjection in a situation such as *Merda! perdi a chave de casa!* (Fuck! I lost the house key!).

As far as the graphic representation of offensiveness is concerned, X-phemism (Allan and Burrige, *ibid.*, p. 29-31) can help PFL students a long way in making appropriate lexical choices of TbWs in context. X-phemism is defined by

the authors as “set of euphemism (sweet talking), orthophemism (straight talking) and dysphemism (offensive talking)” (Cf. 2.1.4.3) This is elaborated in a table by the authors, who state that “Sets of words can have same denotative meanings, but differ considerably in connotation.” Below, this concept (Table 8) is applied to some dysphemistic BP TbWs that appear in *Porta dos Fundos* episodes.

**Table 8: Compilation: Contrasting X-phemisms**

	Dysphemism	Orthophemism	Euphemism
1.	Buceta	vagina	pepeca
2.	Caralho	pênis	pinto
3.	Cu	ânus	bumbum
4.	Foder	fazer sexo	transar
5.	Merda	fezes	cocô
6.	Puta	prostitute	mulher da vida

Table 8: Offensive talking, Straight talking, Sweet talking

X-phemism can aid students of PFL to make a lexical choice in terms of degree of offensiveness so as to obtain the right meaning in the context of communication. This will help prevent any judgement of error upon the chosen words: in real life situations, whether they want to indulge in sweet, straight or offensive talk while interacting with their peers either face to face or online. It also helps them avoid falling into the tricky territory of political (in)correctness, hate speech, bullying or trolling.

For Rosenwarne (ibid., p. 79), “Political correctness describes the process whereby efforts are made to phrase things without exhibiting bias or judgement; differently abled, vertically challenged or plus-size are examples.” According to Oxford Online Dictionary,<sup>137</sup> “politically correct is used to describe language and behaviour that deliberately tries to avoid offending particular groups of people”. Hate speech<sup>138</sup> is used to describe “speech or writing that attacks or threatens a particular group of people, especially on the basis of race, religion or sexual orientation”. Trolling<sup>139</sup> is described as “to write false or offensive messages on the internet to make other people angry”.

<sup>137</sup> <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/us/definition/english/politicallycorrect?q=political+y+correct> . Access on 15 May 2020.

<sup>138</sup> <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/us/definition/english/hate-speech?q=hate+speech>. Access on 15 May 2020.

<sup>139</sup> [https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/us/definition/english/troll\\_2](https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/us/definition/english/troll_2). Access on 15 May 2020.

The ignorance about the correct use of political correctness, hate speech and trolling, although linguistic concepts involving language mis(use), have serious legal implications that can land a person in serious trouble now a days. Therefore, the teaching of TbWs to the students of PFL is highly recommended in BPTI in order to create Intercultural Communication Flexibility (Ting-Toomey, 2011), since these words sometimes act as heavily loaded emotional missiles that, when misfired, can cause Intercultural misunderstanding and legal liabilities.

## 7.

### Teaching taboo words in the PFL classroom

This research has shown that TbWs represent the emotional aspect of the language that helps: let off steam, attract attention, release stress, entertain, motivate, and create in-group identity. The study also advocates the teaching of TbWs as an elective course at the Advance level of BPTI. The arguments against and in favour of teaching TbWs have been presented at length in the Introduction (Cf., 1.3) of this study.

#### 7.1

##### Theoretical Preparation

In India, where even talking about sex is taboo, teaching sex-themed TbWs is undoubtedly an uncomfortable and daunting task for the teachers of BPTI. Therefore, this segment proposes some student-oriented, Intercultural Communication strategies (Liddicoat, 2005; Byram, 2000; Ting-Toomey, 2012, Cf. 2.2.3) and class-room activities that can be divided into two stages: Theoretical and Practical. Under the theoretical part, the student is familiarized with cultural and linguistic similarities and differences between India and Brazil through mindful observation. In the practical part, the student is involved in classroom activities such as: watching the videos of PdF, discussing within groups and/or with teacher, answering grammatical exercises etc., thus creating original material.

In the beginning of the course on TbWs, the students are familiarized with Brazilian and Indian cultures using the DMIS model of Bennett (Cf. 2.2.4) in order to help them prepare for each stage of cultural confrontation that they might probably go through and gradually become aware of the differences in order to deal with them. The intercultural comparison of six dimensions, viz., PDI, INDV, UAI, MAS, LTO, and IND (Cf. 2.2.2), followed by Lewis Cultural Triangle of culture types: Active, Multi-Active, and Reactive (CF. 2.2.2) should be used in order to conscientize the students of the differences and similarities between the two cultures through mindful observation which means raising one's consciousness through watching silently, giving preference to others over self from a ethno-relative rather than ethno-centric attitude (Cf.2.2.4).

So, following these principles, in the Theoretical Stage the teacher should explain the linguistic difference between Hindi-Portuguese (Meyer, 2013) in terms of high-low context, direct-indirectness, lexical inflexions and derivations through concrete examples such as the social forms of addressing and the orthodox use of imperative. This way students can understand the differences not only at cultural but also at sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic levels and get prepared for Intercultural Communication Flexibility (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012, Cf. 4.2.3).

## 7.2 Practical Implementation

In the Practical Stage, the students can be introduced to the video *Elevador* (Elevator) with subtitles in Portuguese so that they can note down unfamiliar words to later discuss in the class for raising awareness on the difference (Liddicoat, 2005). This episode has two TbWs and one pejorative word, all related to scatology only, therefore, relatively less offensive in India. Video-session stage is divided into the following 5 phases:

- a. Preparation: (Liddicoat, 2005, Awareness Raising). Students should be asked to observe: a) context, b) facial expressions, c) intonation, d) trigger-point for the use of the TbWs and their effect on the speakers and, e) the consequence of the use of TbWs.
- b. Group or individual activity (Liddicoat, 2005, Skill development): Post-video session, each student can be encouraged to talk about personal observations on the five points given during preparation. As a group activity, students can discuss the corresponding lexical terms in Hindi and the context they were likely to be used (illocution) in order to achieve a desired reaction (perlocution) (Cf. 2.1.5.3) from the listener. They can also relate their personal experiences of either having used these words, or having witnessed a similar incident. They may also discuss the possibility of such an event occurring in India.
- c. Explanation: The teacher explains the particular dimension of Brazilian culture (Hofstede, 2010; Meyer, 2013) exhibited through the use of TbWs and the linguistic characteristics of the BP. The students should be



cautioned against forming an opinion or stereotype about the culture and be explained about ethno-relativity (Cf., 2.2.4).

- d. Home work: (Liddicoat, 2005, Production) In order to experience the emotions embedded in the TbWs used in the video, students may be asked to make a video-recording of their facial expressions, words used and intonations in their day-to-day annoying situations such as: dropping a cell phone in the bath tub, failing in examination by just one mark, forgetting the house keys in the office, leaving the gas on in the kitchen, forgetting the milk boiling on the stove, forgetting to do the home-work, slipping on a muddy path while talking on cell phone, dropping the cake on mom's birthday, missing the deadline for an assignment etc.
- e. Post home-work (Liddicoat, 2005, Feedback): The students' videos can be shown and discussed with the teacher and colleagues in class, where they can also reveal their emotions and their difficulties in using TbWs, their pronunciation and intonation etc. This may help in better comprehension of the context, flexibility in use and appropriateness of swearing. The BPTI teacher can experiment with the comic strips in which the popular child character *Cebolinha* mispronounces the alphabet -r as -l, for example, *calalho*, *polla* or *puta que paliu* to euphemise the TbWs or by replacing the first or second vowel of TbWs: *carilho!* *fida!* *pirra!* *biceta!* *piu!* *pita!* *filho da pita!* *pita que pariu!* and ask students to talk about their experiences in the difference. The taboo word *cu* can be modified as *cúhú*<sup>140</sup> as part of ludic activities.

Regarding the material to be used, teachers of BPTI can consult the bilingual book titled *Dirty Portuguese: Every day slang from "What's Up" to F\*%# off!* authored by Rose, Vale and Cabral (2010). Although it is not considered a text book by the authors, it may be quite helpful when addressing the theme of TbWs in class. As a supplementary material, clips of videos or films containing Hindi TbWs can be used to compare the context, trigger and effect on the speakers and the result.

The proposal presented above is a sample of the methodology of teaching TbWs by using the Intercultural Communication Approach with focus on mindful

<sup>140</sup> In Hindi, a similar sound "cúhú" is known as the onomatopoeia for the singing of the bird cuckoo.

observation of similarities and differences between cultural aspects for acquisition of Pragmalinguistic and Sociopragmatic competence.

Linguists like Pinker (2008) believe that the use of taboo language at work place is becoming more acceptable as it not only helps in better social bonding between the employees but can also acts as a motivating factor resulting in increased productivity. In this context, teaching TbWs to students who would later join the work force is not only essential but gives them pragmatic advantage since it will help them integrate better into any type of organization where TbWs are accepted.

On the other hand, Finn (*ibid.*, p. 23) cautions us about “people who swear at inappropriate times or when they do not understand their relationships with their listeners often come across as unpersuasive in arguments, appear less intelligent or attractive, and/or are thought of as rebellious, unstable and disrespectful.” The author also reminds us that (*ibid.*, p. 23) nevertheless, when used appropriately, “It can be used as a tool to gain ground among peers, make tighter bonds and create a good reputation”.

Despite the use of TbWs in many cultures, including the Brazilian, in taboo-sensitive culture like India, the BPTI has to take a cautious approach in the teaching of TbWs, in order to not offend the students’ sensibilities and general academic atmosphere of the Institution.

### **7.3**

#### **Methodological tools**

Various strategies can be used by the teachers in order to meet this challenge through: etymology, euphemism, graphic disguise (term created by the researcher), bleeping and grammatical classification, as described below.

#### **7.3.1.**

##### **Etymology**

Informing the students about the origin of TbWs wherever possible, will make them interesting and facilitate better understanding of the metaphors they represent. Some examples are being given below:

*Caralho* (dick) - (Portuguese) - A small basket on the mast of the ship considered a punishment post where sailors were sent for negligence of their duty or disturbing the functioning of the system on board. Its visual association with the male sexual organ created the metaphor.

- *Buceta* (pussy) - (Portuguese) - An oval-shaped snuff-box for ladies called *boceta* that over popular use became a metaphor for female sexual organ owing to its shape and association with women.
- *Porra* (sperm) – *alium porrum* (Latin) - The garlic plant head with emits pungent smell came to be associated with sperm due to its colour and its pungent properties.

### 7.3.2 Euphemism

In order to avoid awkwardness in the teaching of TbWs, PBTI teachers can use euphemism. Many authors have designated it by different names, for example, Hughes (2006, p. 3) has termed it as a disguise mechanism; Allan and Burridge (ibid., p. 235) have called it sweet talking; Rosewarne (2013, p. 67) has termed it as sugar coating, referring to the reduced degree of offensiveness of the TbWs. It is generally used to avoid being seen as rude, uncouth or rebellious. Euphemisms are the seen at opposite end of TbWs. They can be used as X-phemisms (Cf,2.1.4.3) (Table no. 8) as shown above at the lexical semantic level. Euphemisms along with orthophemism and dysphemism can demonstrate level of offensiveness and help the students achieve a better understanding about their contextual use.

### 7.3.3 Minced Oaths

A term coined by Hughes (2006, p. 63) referring to “substitution or avoiding direct reference to foul or profane terms to creating a non-sense equivalent of a swear word” through acronyms such as: *pô!* for *porra*; *putz!* for *puta*; and “substituting an expression of similar sound and length” through example such as: *caraca!* for *caralho!* In Hindi minced oath is *teri!* in a raised tone from *teri mã ki chut* (your mother’s pussy).

### 7.3.4 Abbreviation

By using abbreviations, taboo terms can be euphemized (*siglonymização*): *FDP* for *filho da puta* (son of a bitch), *PQP* for *puta que a pariu* (bastard), something similar to *BC* for *Behen chod* (sister-fucker) and *MC* for *Madar chod* (mother-fucker) in Hindi. Many Indian students in urban areas prefer to use swearing words in English as a way to euphemize the offensiveness of Hindi TbW s due to the fact that “native language is more powerful and emotionally expressive than languages learned later in life” (Harris et al.2003; Dewaele, 2004 apud Jay, 2008, p. 286).

### 7.3.5 Graphic Disguise

Inspired by Hughes’s (2006, p. 3) term for euphemism as disguise mechanism, the researcher has termed all graphic modifications of TbWs as graphic disguise. Modifying terms like *foder* to *phoder*, *brocha* to *broxa*, *caralho* to *karalho* in personal or public messages on social media is a way the Brazilian youth use to evade criticism. Many titles of books on offensive TbWs adopt graphic disguise in order to circumvent the imposition of social and legal repercussions. It is done by maintaining the first letter in original and replacing some letters of the word as by symbols as in - f@da (*foda*); m3rda (*merda*). Introducing symbols in the names of the book containing TbWs such as “Dirty Portuguese... F\*%# off” by Rose et al (2010) and “Holy Sh\*t” by Mohr (2013) is a form of euphemism adopted in publishing industry for publishing TbWs used in cartoons, slogans, advertisements and comic strips for entertainment. In the children comic-strip the character of *Cebolinha* (Figure 23) who exchanges the letter -r for -l is another form of graphic disguise for TbW as shown below:



Figure 23: *Cebolinha* Cartoon Strip. (Google Images. Access on 06 November 2020).

### 7.3.6 Bleeping

Wherever necessary and justified due to the rules of the institution, the teacher can bleep out the TbWs as usually done in the telecast of TV programmes, films and documentaries in order to adhere to the guidelines issued by the Academic Council of the Institution or Broadcasting Organization. As a classroom activity, the video can be paused at points whenever TbW appear and students can note them down from the subtitles in Portuguese language. Bleeping will convey the tabooeness of these words and their appropriate use in context. Thereafter, they can check its pronunciation and use, through resources such as [www.dicionarioinformal.com](http://www.dicionarioinformal.com) and other related sites online and discuss with the teacher.

### 7.3.7 Grammatical Classification of Taboo Words

Indian students have a natural affinity for learning language through grammar as a part of language learning tradition. As mentioned earlier, most Indians are multilingual due to the co-existence of many linguistic communities in India. Through grammatical description, the language acquires a certain mathematical orderliness and precision; therefore, becomes better comprehensible to non-native speakers. For swearing, almost all TbWs are used in dysphemistic form with connotative meaning, except *buceta* and *pau*, because they retain their referential or denotative meaning. As result, they were not found belonging to any category listed below. Only TbWs with emotional load were found being used for swearing. TbWs are grouped according to their grammatical use (Table 9). Each category is explained below the table:

	Category	Examples found in Episodes	Description + Name of Episode
1	Interjection  TbW + !	[Merda +!] [Porra +!] [Caralho +!] [Filho da puta +!] [Vai + pra + merda +!] [Tomamos + no + cu +!]	Shit! (DU) Fuck! (DU) Dick! (DU) Son of bitch! (DU), (NL) Go to hell! (CG) We are fucked! (BN)

2	<b>Formulaic Expressions</b>  Verb + pra/ no + TbW	Ele vai [comer + no + rabo]. [Comi + o + cu] da mulher dele.	He is going to fuck. (BN) I had anal sex with his wife. (NL)
3	<b>Metaphorical Nouns</b>  Demo. Pr. + TbW) / Poss. Pr. + TbW	Nunca sei [essa+ merda]. O garoto viu [essa porra] nos vídeos. Tira [essa + merda]. {Meu cu tá na reta}	I never understand this shit. (VI) The kid saw this shit in the videos. (VI) Take out this shit. (DU) {I could be fucked.}
4	<b>Vocatives</b>  Ô + TbW	[Ô + caralho +!] [Ô + porra +!] [Anda, + porra +!] Tu é [+ uma+ merda].	You dick! You shit! (DU) Come on, you shit! (DU) You are shit! (DU)
5	<b>Preposed Intensifier</b>  TbW+Prep.+ Art.+ Noun	Você vem falar da [porra+ de+ signo]. Não tem uma [porra +de + um+ piru]. Não tinha mulher nessa [porra + de+ vídeo]. Tem [uma porra+ de+ uma merda+ de um cocô]	You talking of fucking zodiac sign. (VI) You don't have a fucking dick. (VI) There was no woman in this fucking video. (VI) Here is a fucking shit of a poop. (EL)
	<b>Postposed Intensifier</b> Noun+Prep. + TbW	Você vem aqui com bafo buetel [de+ caralho]. {Foi bom [pra+ caralho]} {A festa foi [foda+!]}	You come here with a fucking vaginal smell. (DE) {It was fucking awesome!} {The party was fucking roaring!}
6	<b>Negative Intensifier</b> Não + Verb + TbW +Nenhuma	*{Não vejo porra nenhuma daqui!} *{Cala boca! não sabe porra nenhuma!} Não vou fazer isso! Nem fodendo!	{I can't see a shit from here!} {Shut up! You don't know a shit!} {I'm not going to do it. No way!}

Table 9: Classification: Grammatical classes of the TbWs in the episodes

\*The 6<sup>th</sup> category – Negative intensifier marked in blue colour was not found in any episode. Sentences in brackets { } were not found in the episodes. They are being listed for didactic purpose only. Abbr.-TbW-taboo word; prep.-preposition; poss./demo.pr. – possessive/ demonstrative pronoun; art.-article. Each grammatical category is explained in detail below.

### 7.3.7.1 Interjection

Interjection is a class of “special words” (Camara Jr., 1981, p.147) or group of words that are used to express emotional state, in an exclamatory tone of the voice of the speaker. This category was found in many episodes. The TbWs used

in interjections for example: *Merda! Caralho! Porra!* generally have a stress-relief or cathartic effect on the speaker. But opinions are divided on this subject. On one hand, articles online such as: “5 benefícios de falar palavrão de acordo com a ciência”<sup>141</sup> (5 benefits of swearing according to science), and “Xingar em voz alta de fato diminui a dor”<sup>142</sup> (Swearing loudly really helps to reduce [physical] pain), inform the readers about benefits of swearing, on the other hand, a blog<sup>143</sup> by Murilo Pinheiro (2020) on the effect of swearing states “Vale lembrar que os palavrões são termos ofensivos e sinónimos de descortesia, menosprezo, desconsideração, dasacato, grosseria, ultraje, desrespeito, hostilidade, indelicadeza, e ainda provocam muita dor e mal-estar”. (Let’s remember that TbWs are offensive terms synonymous of impoliteness, despise, disregard, contempt, rudeness, outrage, disrespect, hostility, indelicacy and provoke a lot of pain and malaise.) The only response to this article was- “PQP... Muito boa a sua %\$€ crônica, Murilo! Ficou do car\$#>€#! Parabéns!”

However, Arango (ibid., p. 99), professor of psychoanalysis, believes in the therapeutic power of TbWs and states, “Perversion is not in finger fucking or in hand job but in the mind.”<sup>144</sup>

The idea that interjections represent the Brazilian cultural identity is proposed by Rebello (2016) in her book titled “*Interjeição: Um Fator de Identidade Cultural do Brasileiro*” (Interjection: A Factor of Brazilian Cultural Identity), in which the author states that the interjections are expressions of emotions and subjective culture. However, she does not include TbWs as interjections that represent emotional expressions in BP language and culture.

### 7.3.7.2 Formulaic Expressions

Formulaic Expressions can be defined as a type of language that is “*pré-determinado*” (predetermined) as formulas “*pré-fabricadas*” (prepared) (Alencar, 2016, p.19) whose meaning surpasses the total sum of the meaning of each word

<sup>141</sup><https://www.uol.com.br/vivabem/listas/5-beneficios-de-falar-palavrao-de-acordo-com-a-ciencia.htm>. Access on 07 February 2019.

<sup>142</sup><https://super.abril.com.br/ciencia/xingar-em-voz-alta-de-fato-diminui-a-dor/> Access on 07 February 2020.

<sup>143</sup> <https://www.revive.com.br/blog/murilo-pinheiro/efeitos-do-palavrao/>. Access on 07 February 2019.

<sup>144</sup> “A perversão não está na siririca ou na punheta e sim na mente.”

component. For example, *comer o cu* (literally, to eat the ass) means to have anal sex. And the formulaic expression *vai tomar no cu!* (literally, get fucked in the ass) does not refer to ass in particular but expresses the state of mind (anger) of the speaker to the listener in face-to-face interaction or in absentia. These predetermined linguistic formulas help native-speaker economize (ibid: p. 20) language use by not having to construct a new expression every time they want or need to express their emotions. This is a component of their language competence as mother language in contrast to non-native learners, who have to learn these formulaic expressions. The strength of the formulas can be better explained through the personal experiences of the researcher with native speakers: one in Portugal, where she reported a broken bed to the houseowner saying “*Rasgou a cama.*” The landlady exclaimed “*Partiu a cama?!.*” Second in Brazil, where she said to her doctor in Rio, “*Parti o braço.*” and he exclaimed “*Ah! Quebrou o braço?.*” The formulas in TbWs too are fixed and the students of PFL have to learn them along with their CCL.

### 7.3.7.3 Metaphorical Noun

For Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 5), “The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.” This implies that one’s understanding and experiences are influenced by the environment in which one lives and builds up concepts in the form of words. In the example above “*Comi o cu da mulher dele*”, may appear repulsive and abominable to a non-native speaker, but for a Brazilian it is understood as aggression to someone; the difference is due to culture-specific concepts of good/bad. The concept of *comer* (for example, a woman) for a foreigner would be ‘to devour’, a notion of destruction, whereas for a Brazilian it is ‘to savour’, a notion of construction (of pleasure). Nouns used in swearing carry a cultural metaphor shared by the native-speakers which learner of PFL takes time to understand.

The taboo word *buceta* does not appear in the table because it is not commonly used in swearing as it retains its referential meaning and considered offensive whereas the other TbWs are used for their emotional meanings.

Owing to emotionality of the TbWs and the versatility exercised in their semantic, pragmatic use by the speaker, they can be categorized into more than one



class. For example: *filho da puta!* can be considered as a vocative, an interjection and a formulaic expression depending on the context, which creates limitation in their classification.

#### 7.3.7.4 Vocative

Enunciation used to name or call the attention of the listener in an exclamatory tone of the speaker. In Portuguese, it is proceeded (JR. Camara, 1981, p. 243) by “ó, eh, olá”; nevertheless, Ó, an open vowel, is used as vocative element in European Portuguese, whereas in BP it is pronounced a closed vowel: Ô (Santos, 2018).

In Hindi, *hey! arré, oyé* are used as vocatives followed by the name of the person. In Sanskrit, it is known as the *sambodhn vibhakti* where the noun is proceeded by *hey*, familiar to Indian students. In the episode DU, the TbWs : *caralho* and *merda* are used as vocatives.

#### 7.3.7.5 Preposed & Postposed Intensifiers

Preposed intensifiers- When taboo words are used before the noun to emphasize dislike such as: *porra de signo, porra de um piru*, where *porra* functions as intensifier of dislike for the words *signo* (zodiac sign) and *piru* [*peru*] (dick). (Ljung, 2011, p. 158)

Postposed Intensifier- When are TbWs used after the noun to express intensity of emotions. For example, in the classification above, the words: *Carro do caralho, O show foi bom pra caralho. A festa foi foda!* etc. function as a positive or negative intensifier of the nouns placed after them. (Ljung, op. cit.).

#### 7.3.7.6 Negative Intensifier

The taboo expression [*não vejo*] *porra nenhuma* (literally, I don't see no sperm), when used between double negation, i.e., after the verb preceded by the adverb *não* (no) and before a negative pronoun (*nenhuma*), means “absolutely nothing”. Double negation is a characteristic of the Portuguese language. Two

negatives do not cancel each other, but rather emphasize the negation. The verb *foder* (to fuck) is used in gerund form after the negation *nem* in the expression *nem fodendo* (literally, not even fucking!); *foder* is used here as an intensifier of the verb *fazer* (to do) (*Não vou fazer isso! Nem fodendo!*) in the proceeding utterance, meaning “absolutely impossible!”. Something similar exists in Hindi - *sochna bhi mat* (don’t even think) or more intense, *meri arthi pé* (only after I die) - with the same meaning as *nem fodendo*, although not as offensive as the Portuguese expression.

## 7.4

### Emotional value of Taboo Words

Beside these strategies, students should be informed about the sociolinguistic value of TbWs as tools with which the powerless people communicate their surprise (*caralho!*), disappointment (*porra!*), anger (*merda!*), frustration against someone (*filho da puta!*), disgust (*puta que pariu!*), dislike (*vai se foder!*), fury (*vai tomar no cu!*), apprehension (*meu cu tá na reta!*) against the powerful ones, in situations over which they have neither control nor power.

The elective course for teaching TbWs should be designed in consultation and collaboration with the institutional authorities and/or the Academic council. Students should be well informed about the importance of emotional meaning rather than the referential meaning of the TbWs, that are used in political slogans, electoral campaigns<sup>145</sup>, advertisement, sports especially in football, book titles, cinema, and in general public discourse in Brazil. It must be emphasized, however, that, although each time more present in different types of situations, TbWs are not widely accepted as an appropriate use of language, especially among certain social groups and in specific social contexts. The billboard below (Figure 24) uses the TbW *Foda-se* (fuck-off!) for the detractors of the President Bolsonaro in order to express their support in the first person (*Eu apoio*).

<sup>145</sup> <https://noticias.uol.com.br/eleicoes/2020/10/13/joice-e-foda-campanha-de-candidata-usa-palavra-no-horario-eleitoral.htm>. Access on 12 January 2021.



Figure 24: Billboard: Foda-se. (Google Images. Access on 10 November 2020).

An electoral campaign for Joice Hasselmann<sup>146</sup> the candidate for Mayor's Post of São Paulo in the year 2020, made use of the TbW in the slogan "*Joice é Foda!*" (Joice is fucking awesome!) (Figure 25). The public opinion was divided on the use of TbW. On one hand, it was heatedly debated and criticised in social media by some, on the other hand, it was appreciated for its eye-catching value by others.



Figure 25: Electoral Campaign - Hasselmann. (Google images. Access on 10 November 2020).

Social media platforms like Instagram, Twitter, Google, YouTube, Facebook<sup>147</sup> and others have not remained untouched by the importance of expression by swearing and have included a red angry-face emoji with swearing symbols (Figure 26) realizing the importance of emotive expressions even in written communication.



Figure 26: Emoji: Facebook.

<sup>146</sup> <https://noticias.uol.com.br/eleicoes/2020/10/13/joice-e-foda-campanha-de-candidata-usa-palavra-no-horario-eleitoral.htm>. Access on 05 November 2020.

<sup>147</sup> <https://www.emojis.com/meaning/face-with-symbols-on-mouth-emoji/>. Access on 07 November 2020.

Brazil has a rich repertoire of literature on various topics either named with or containing TbWs (Figure 27) that attract a lot of attention from the media and the general public. Therefore, TbWs form such an integral part of the general *Carioca* discourse that their use can be interpreted as creativity in harnessing the power to achieve any desired result, turning it into a characteristic of *Carioca* identity.



Figure 27: Book covers with TbWs. (Google Images. Access on 10 November 2020).

Considering all the arguments, it by now becomes clear that to ignore the taboo component of the language means to negate the existence of emotions of the large population of native speakers. Without knowledge of TbWs, Portuguese is like a delicious four course meal without salt.

## 8. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter the final results of this study and proposals for future scope of research are presented.

The general aim of this study is to inform the Indian students of Portuguese as a Foreign Language (PFL) about the context and use of Taboo Words (TbWs) in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). As mentioned in the Chapter no. I, this research was motivated by a graffiti “*Respeita As Mina Porra!*” in Pedro Ernesto Hospital in the Vila Isabel neighbourhood, painted by students of Medicine against sexual harassment. Being unfamiliar with the word *porra*, she asked her friends and was told that it meant sperm but at the same time, was told not to use it for being a TbW. However, intrigued by its uninhibited use by the *Cariocas* in public places, social media and in entertainment, she researched and even found a large number of dictionaries and literature using TbWs in Portuguese. However, she could not find any TbWs in the manuals teaching of PFL. Due to the paucity of research on the subject of TbWs in PFL, she resolved to initiate a scientific research under the guidance of her advisor, Dr. Meyer, an experienced, well-versed and well-known scholar in the field of PFL studies in Brazil, so that it would help provide an understanding of the lexicultural, intercultural and emotional aspect of a dynamic vocabulary in BP to the students of PFL.

Applying primarily, the theories of Lexicature (Galisson, 1988); Pragmatics (Goffman, 1967, Jay, 2008; 2012; 2013, 2017; Carretero, 2011); Interculturalism (Bennett, 1998, Hofstede, 2010, Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012), and Brazilian culture (DaMatta, 1993, 1997; Meyer, 2013, 2016, 2020) to the analysis of data led to the following results:

- Seven specific TbWs in the BP: *cu, caralho, pau, porra, puta, foder, buceta*, were identified through the analysis of nine episodes of PdF; Their Linguistic and Pedagogic aspects were described.
- The aspects of Brazilian culture displayed through the TbWs were analysed through the theories by DaMatta (1993,1997), and Meyer (2013, 2016, 2020) and compared with those of Indian culture using Hofstede (2010) wherever possible. The analysis was supported by authentic supplementary documents

using materials like journalistic articles, commercial advertisements, photographs, media reports, a WhatsApp informal survey for reality check etc.

- The lexicultural value of TbWs in the episodes was analysed and subsequently the use of episode in Brazilian Portuguese Teaching in India (BPTI) was explored; citing the level of offensiveness categories by Carretero (2011) in the final consideration for each episode.

The four specific objectives of the research were as follows:

- a) Identify a specific number of TbWs mostly used by *cariocas*, namely *buceta*, *cu*, *caralho*, *foder*, *pau*, *porra* and *puta*;
- b) Analyse the presence and use of these TbWs in nine episodes of the online Brazilian situational comedy *Porta dos Fundos* (Backdoor), considering (i) the Linguistic and Pedagogic aspects; and (ii) the interpretation of the social impact of the use of TbWs in BP when taught to Indian students was based on an intercultural approach;
- c) Interpret, based on an intercultural approach, the social impact of the use of TbWs in BP when taught to Indian students.
- d) Propose didactic activities for the teaching of TbWs in BP to Indian students.

*Grosso modo*, this study was able to achieve its objectives and conclusions are as follows:

- Semantically, the TbWs used in PdF mostly belong to the themes of scatology (*porra*, *merda*); sexual anatomy (*cu*, *caralho*, *pau*); sexual activity (*foder*) and illicit sex (*puta*). Themes of religion namely profanity, blasphemy; disease, physical disability or racism were not found; one could conjecture that this could be due to self-censoring in the interest of the commercial success of the serial by PdF.
- Pragmatically, TbWs are mostly used in Name-calling (*caralho*, *porra*, *puta*).
- TbWs are used primarily as emotional lexicon in BP due to the fact that their dysphemistic character and degree of offensiveness gradually diminished following their usage over a long period, but has retained their emotional and lexicultural value.
- *Cariocas* use TbWs to express their state of mind by venting their emotions spontaneously as a tool against aggression due to feeling of helplessness and

frustration arising from mounting social and economic power disparity (PD), corruption, ambiguous and anxious situations (UA); or for satisfaction achieved from self-gratification as an Indulgent society. (Hofstede, 2010)

- Five TbWs can be used as an interjection, except *buceta* and *pau*; these two TbWs seem to retain their degree of offensiveness in all contexts.
- Etymology, Euphemism, Abbreviation, Graphic Disguise (a term created by the researcher), Bleeping and Grammatical classification were proposed as didactic strategies to teach TbWs in BP to Indian students of PFL. (Cf. 7.3)

The nine episodes Pdf are of short duration (2-3 minutes) and the seven TbWs that were researched are just a few of the typical ones used by *Cariocas*. Due to limitation of space and time, this study was able to explore just about the tip of the iceberg, because many more TbWs and their derivations in terms of use and context exist in BP. There is also a possibility of regional variants of TbWs within the State of Rio de Janeiro which, due to their regionalism, perhaps get marginalized from their use in the media.

The translation of the peculiarity of *porra*, used as a TbW in BP only into English, was is a challenge since in different contexts it can assume multiple translations such as shit, fuck or asshole. For example, *Porra! Cé nem sabe ligar o computador?! (Fuck! / Shit! / Asshole! You dunno how to switch-on a fucking computer?!).*

Last but not the least, there was a question of British and American English particularly in citation. Both variants have been used in the study.

The nine episodes of Pdf that were used as data for this research have their script pre-planned and rehearsed before the shoot. So, an argument against the study could be the lack of spontaneity in the speech acts used in the episode. On the other hand, an argument in favour of the study could be that art imitates real life. Also, it is incumbent upon the script-writers to present the language as close as possible to the social use, in order to maintain likelihood (*verossimilhança*). The number of comments and visualizations bear testimony to the popularity of the episodes that do appear to portray real life situations and somehow touch their viewers' lives. However, we would like to reiterate that there is a further scope of research in TbWs in the area of spontaneous speech.

Future researches could focus on the question of gender in use of TbWs, since it seems that different genders use TbWs differently.

Another dimension to the research on TbWs in PB could be a study exploring the feedback of Indian students; their initial reaction to the topic, classroom experiences, practical exercises, challenge areas and application experiences that could also include the teaching experience of the teacher, further enriching this research topic.

We are certain that this study has already managed to provoke interest at two levels; firstly, in the possibility of use of TbWs as an optional pedagogic material for an elective PFL teachers training course; secondly, as a potential area of research in the future on a larger scale and magnitude among the aspiring researchers.

During the development of this research and its presentations in many academic events and even in non-academic conversations, a number of people grew interested in the results of this study, given the fact that TbWs, on one hand are ‘forbidden’ to be used, yet without them, on the other hand, a *Carioca* finds him/herself at a loss for words when it comes to expressing emotions. This fact is evident in a real-life incident that was caught on camera on 23 Feb. 2020, on TV Globo video<sup>148</sup> (Figure 28) where a journalist asks which samba club a female fan was backing, on the occasion of *Carnaval* and she excitedly replies- *Imperatriz, Porra!* (Fucking Imperatriz!), prompting the journalist to simply laugh it off and move on to ask another participant.<sup>149</sup> This incident made headline not for its inappropriateness on a live programme for a national channel but because of its contextual appropriateness for the *Carnaval* festive moment.



Figure 28: Imperatriz Porra! A merry maker drops a swear word on TV Globo live goes viral.

<sup>148</sup> <https://meiahora.ig.com.br/amp/carnaval/2020/02/5872607-video--foliona-solta-palavrao-ao-vivo-na-tv-globo->. Access on 10 April 2020.

<sup>149</sup> Foliona solta palavrão ao vivo na TV Globo e viraliza na Web. Repórter se surpreendeu com o comentário e logo procurou outra pessoa para entrevistar.



The article ends with these lines “Some twitter followers showed support for the comment and one of them even commented that if you do not celebrate without uttering a swear word, you aren’t really a *Carioca*. Do you agree, Rio de Janeiro?”<sup>150</sup> This incident is significant to our study because it reflects not only the acceptance and tolerance of social and linguistic transgression of social norms by using TbWs among the general public but also the exercise of caution in the media, since the snippet was neither deleted nor bleeped in the internet, keeping with the Carnival mood in the country.

An important sociocultural aspect of TbWs in BP is that their use among children is still a taboo. This fact is evident in the number of newspaper articles on opposition from parents on the use of didactic material in schools containing TbWs, thus forcing the responsible education agency to remove such materials from the school curriculum. One such example is an article<sup>151</sup> (30 Sept., 2009) on the case of schools in Minas Gerais where fifteen thousand students (aged 15 years) of 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> grades received a book containing a chapter “*Capão Pecado*” with TbWs like “*filho da puta*”, “*porra*” and *bosta* among others. In another article<sup>152</sup> (19 May 2009) the *Secretaria Estadual da Educação de São Paulo* (São Paulo State Secretariat of Education) had to recall books distributed in state run schools for students (aged 9 years) that contained improper connotations of sexual activity such as: “*chupa rola*”, “*cu*” and “*chupava ela todinha*”. The TbWs in PB mostly belong to sexual anatomy and sexual activity as this research has shown and thus considered inappropriate for children.

TbWs have remained far too long in the dark dungeons of linguistic stigmas and prejudices, unattended by the Brazilian academia for being offensive and therefore ruled out from manuals of BP destined for adult learners of PFL. However, through a systematic and scientific study, the TbWs in BP, when used in the appropriate context, can be harnessed to contribute significantly not only in areas of sociolinguistic and pragmatic studies but also psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, applied linguistics and in the teaching of PFL. By ignoring the study of TbWs, this emotional and versatile part of language and culture is being marginalized from research in PFL studies, the part that sometimes could help in

<sup>150</sup> Alguns dos ‘tuiteiros’ disseram se identificar com a foliona e um deles chegou a comentar que se você não comemora sem soltar um palavrão, carioca não é. Confere, Rio de Janeiro?

<sup>151</sup> <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/educacao/ult305u631345.shtml>. Access on 01 September 2020.

<sup>152</sup> Folha de S. Paulo - SP distribui a escolas livro com palavrões – 19/05/2009 (uol.com.br)

social-bonding of people, in the identity of small in-groups as community of professionals, members of sport clubs etc for motivation. On one hand, TbWs represent repressed emotions that are the root cause of stress, depression and aggression today; on the other, they act as escape-valve of these emotions.

Given the Indian cultural and social background of the researcher, where uttering TbWs is considered a negative trait in a person's character, conducting a research of TbWs in BP was a magnanimous personal challenge and proposing its teaching in PFL in India is an even greater challenge. Therefore, this research is not only a journey into an unexplored territory of TbWs in BP, but also a journey of self-discovery from ethnocentrism to ethno-relativism to Intercultural Communication flexibility through mindful, meditative, analytical and comparative research for the researcher.

Nevertheless, the proposal for teaching TbWs to non-native learners by scholars like Carretero (2011) in Spanish and Finn (2017) in English has inspired this researcher to conduct not only this research but also explore the possibility of introducing an elective course on TbWs in BP for advanced level learners of PFL.

Presumably, being the first research of its kind in the field of TbWs in BPTI, this study can foster interest in related classes of stigmatized words whose use and definitions overlap such as colloquial, slang, repulsive, pejoratives, etc. to facilitate more understanding of significance of their lexical and discursive value in BP.

An important discovery of this research is that lexically, there are other groups of words such as: familiar, colloquial, slang, repulsive, pejoratives, vulgar, obscene (Figure 29), that can be used as affront to the face beside so called TbWs. *Palavras Repulsivas* (Repulsive Words) is a new term coined and defined by Meyer (2020, p. 2)<sup>153</sup> as “lexical items of vulgar nature suggesting nauseating referents, and when used in less vulgar contexts, may cause discomfort and consequently repulsion (...)” Grammatically, diminutives and, in some cases, augmentatives also can be used rude, impolite words and can act as FTAs, causing greater offensiveness depending on the pragmatic variables.

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<sup>153</sup> “Itens lexicais do registro vulgar que têm referentes tomados como nojentos e que, quando usados em contextos menos vulgares podem causar desconforto e, consequentemente, repulsa; (...)”

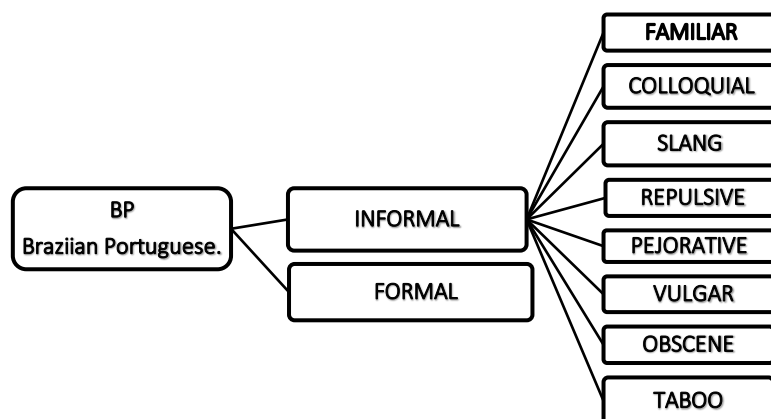


Figure 29: The Categories of words in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) by Dr. Meyer (Unpublished).

From this study, it can also be concluded that it is the form of the word and not the content or meaning of TbW which is taboo. For example, penis and *caralho* both refer to male sexual organ, but it is only the latter that is taboo owing to its CCL. Wanke (1989, p.10) presents some more examples of dysphemistic-orthophemistic pairs of taboo and non-TbWs such as: “*pau-pênis, boceta-vagina, puta-prostituta, foder-copular, cagar-defecar.*” While the first words of the pair are lexicultural words with CCL, the second do not carry a common cultural load.

This linguistic phenomenon could be alluded to the magic power that the ancients attributed to the words based on their concept of dualism: good-bad, desirable-undesirable, pure-impure etc. (Douglas, 2001). In this sense, while the prayers, hymns, holy chants were thought to bring positivity, the TbWs were feared to invoke and bring upon something undesirable or harmful on the speaker through their pronouncing. This idea forms the basis of Indian linguistic philosophy that classifies the words of the two Indian languages; Sanskrit and Hindi into *sushabad-apshabad* (polite-impolite), *shisht-ashisht* (polite-impolite), *subhasha-durbhasha* (courteous-rude), *bhadra-abhadra* (polite-impolite), *sheel-ashleel* (decent-indecent), *meethi-kadvi* (sweet-bitter). The words on the right are socially approved and desirable while on the left are disapproved and thus undesirable. Speakers of the first category are seen as products of good, cultured upbringing, of good nature and character and, therefore, are eulogized and treated as models for others to follow for their ability to not only preserve their face but also of their interactants. *Meethi-vani* (sweet-voice) or *mridu-bhashi* (sweet-talker) in Indian tradition is considered as the basis of cementing human relations into the collectivism that

represents the Indian society in the International media under the jargon “Big Fat Indian Family/Wedding” as portrayed in the Hollywood movie - Monsoon Wedding by Mira Nair.

It was also found in the study that TbWs are conceptual metaphors based on an idea or a concept of an object or a phenomenon in the shared collective consciousness of a linguistic community whose context, use and meaning are only known and shared among native speakers and have to be learnt by the non-native speakers. This is what attributes the lexicultural value, and a little more complexity to TbWs, than any other part of lexicon of a language.

Lastly, this research has brought forth the importance of TbWs in entertainment industry: in films, reality shows and situational comedies, and social media platforms, Brazilian funk music named Proibidão, TV commercials, advertisements, political campaigns, animation, and cartoons (Figure 30) as shown below:



Figure 30: Comic Strips - Use of TbWs used for Humour. (Google Images. Access on 12 November 2020).

This implies that in today's world of easy and fast access to the internet and consequently the democratization of knowledge through various portals like Google, Wikipedia, YouTube etc., the students of PFL are most likely to pick up TbWs from the media. But before they use it indiscriminately and find themselves in the thick of Intercultural misunderstanding, the Institutions of learning, academia and teachers should equip them with Sociopragmatic and Pragmalinguistic competence along with appropriateness judgement about the use of TbWs in order to communicate effectively with peers and facilitate their integration into the ingroups.

One of the significant explanations on use of TbWs in BP comes from Preti (1984a, p. 42)<sup>154</sup>, “Within the limits of our society, we can say that we are witnessing today, in Brazil, the period of demystification of *palavrão* (TbWs) together with the vanquishing of all kinds of moral taboos that it represents.” This phenomenon of loosening of moral taboos is reflected in the expression of oral language and displayed “in the form of graffiti painted on the walls of big cities, where the life is more arduous and social transformation faster.” (Preti, op, cit.)<sup>155</sup>. Incidentally, the idea for this research was born of a graffiti (Figure 1) presented in Introduction Chapter 1.

Learning in any field is not bound by spatial and temporal parameters, like this study that is born from a graffiti. Likewise, as mentioned earlier, a student of PFL is likely to pick up a TbW randomly and use it indiscriminately out of context, landing in an intercultural gaffe since TbWs are loaded with lexicultural and emotional value and, for being so, considered complex as far as their socio-pragmatics is concerned. The interactional meaning of TbWs is context-driven, which means that a TbW could express one particular emotion in one context and a diametrically opposite in another. This is opined by Meyer (2020, p. 12)<sup>156</sup>, “Here lies the danger for the students of PSL/PFL because after hearing a word being used aggressively in one context, they may not be able to perceive the affection in another context and vice-versa.”

That is why it is recommended that the students be informed about appropriateness and offensiveness of word use in context so that no student of PFL mistakenly complements a beautiful Brazilian girl saying “*Caralho! Você está muito porra hoje!*” (Hell! You are very fucking today!) instead of saying *Porra! Você está linda pra caralho!!* (Hell! You look fucking awesome!!), and ends his chance of a friendship owing to the incorrect use of TbW.

Finally, as mentioned above, this study highlights that TbWs are a dynamic and versatile part of vocabulary in BP over which the popular majority is well

<sup>154</sup> “Dentro dos limites de nossa sociedade, podemos dizer que estamos vivendo hoje, no Brasil. A época desmistificadora do “palavrão”, paralela à rápida superação dos tabus morais de toda espécie que ela representa.”

<sup>155</sup> “Os intermináveis tempos de crise que atravessamos têm sido acompanhados pela crescente irreverência da linguagem oral, também pichada nas paredes das grandes cidades, onde a vida é árdua e as transformações sociais mais rápidas.”

<sup>156</sup> “Aí é que morra o perigo para os aprendizes de PSL/PLE, porque após eles ouvirem uma palavra, usada de forma agressiva em um contexto, podem não perceber um uso carinhoso em outro contexto, e vice-versa.”

conversant with its semantics, pragmatics significance, and expression. For being a part of subjective culture, its study will lead to the knowledge of morals, values and attitudes of Brazilian society and make way for a wholistic learning of the Brazilian language and culture.

In sum, we would like to reiterate that every inquiry at the outset is born out of curiosity that gradually leads to deeper unexplored and unanswered questions on the issue, eventually leading to partial discoveries, for, no discovery is close-ended, and neither is this study, we concede. However, we do hope that this study acts as a stimulant, opening more avenues of research in the field of Brazilian Portuguese Teaching as a Foreign Language, especially in India, and consequently encourage the learners to adopt a fair level of Intercultural Communication Flexibility (C.f. 4.2.3) and become proficient Intercultural speakers. (Cf. 2.2.10)

## 9.

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## Annex: Transcriptions of Episodes

### 1. Boa Notícia (Good News)

- 1 Oswaldo - Então gente como vocês sabem a empresa tá passando por um momento um pouco delicado né. A gente precisava ir bem nesse mês para não ter que fechar nossa unidade aqui. e hoje de manhã recebi o resultado do balanço.
- 2 Executive - Como é que a gente foi?
- 3 Oswaldo - Tomamos no cu. Mas tomamos no cu bonito. E espero que vocês estejam felizes. O Presidente da empresa vai comer no nosso rabo.
- 4 Executive - Que maravilha! (smile)
- 5 New Member- Espera aí gente. Porque vocês estão comemorando?
- 6 Júlio - Por causa da boa notícia.
- 7 New member - Mas ele acabou de dizer que a gente tomou no cu e que o Chefe vai comer no nosso rabo.
- 8 Júlio - O Oswaldo é gay. Pra ele, isso é bom, entendeu?
- 9 Oswaldo - Júlio! (boss calls)
- 10 Júlio - Oi seu Oswaldo!
- 11 Oswaldo - 1º mês na mesa e você já chegou enfiando no nosso cu até o talo.
- 12 New member- Oi seu Oswaldo. Juro que eu tentei ... mas
- 13 Oswaldo- Obrigado. Obrigado.
- 14 Oswaldo- Foi uma chuva de bucinha depilada, cheirosa. Deus me livre. Mas esse ano vai ser diferente. Esse ano a gente vai pegar a concorrência. Vamos ficar de quatro na frente deles e eles vão meter com força na gente. Vão rasgar a gente entendeu? Depois vão botar uma rola de 30 cm na nossa boca de tamanho daquele sanduíche grande de *Subway* e engasgar a gente assim. Há! Há! Há! (explains with gestures.) Aquela baba escorrendo assim. E depois vão gozar na nossa cara toda, Porra!!!! (Every one claps and taps on the table in jubilation.)
- 15 Oswaldo - Mas calma, calma, calma. Nem tudo é peito cabeludo ou rola grossa, não! Temos más notícias também. Infelizmente perdemos 3% só por causa da desorganização no estoque. E a pergunta agora, quem é o responsável por isso?
- 16 Executive - Eu mesmo cuzão!
- 17 Oswaldo - Para seu bobo. Vou deixar passar por causa do elogio, hein!

#### 2nd Part

- 18 Marta- Oi, eu sou Marta, a CFO da empresa. Quero traçar metas para o próximo trimestre. E espero que a gente consiga cair de boca numa rola cheia de veias de novo.
- 19 Júlio - (Isso é legal porque ela é hetero.)
- 20 Lady - Senão a gente vai acabar com uma rola tão grossa que a gente vai precisar de duas mãos para segurar.
- 21 Júlio - Ela é lésbica, então não é bom.
- 22 Oswaldo- No final das contas são vocês que vão decidir se querem chupar um cu cabeludo ou não querem chupar um cu cabeludo.
- 23 Júlio - E aí não é legal pra ninguém. Cu cabeludo não.

### Conta pra Gente (Tell us all)

- 1 Journalist - Obrigada Paulo, Valeu! Olha Nelson, quem tá aqui. Fernanda Mariano. Tá linda ela lançando filme novo. Outro sucesso. Puxa! Mais você não para hein?
- 2 Fernanda - Eu estou muito feliz com esse projeto. É uma história forte, conta a história de um casal que está em crise e decide de se separar. Eu reavalio toda a vida deles. Incrível. Um elenco maravilhoso, um projeto super otimista, bem bacana.
- 3 Journalist - Que ótimo. E esse coraçãozinha como é que está? Tá solteira?
- 4 Fernanda – Tô , o filme fala um pouco sobre isso também, essa pressão que existe em cima da mulher de casar ter filhos.

- 5 Journalist – Então tá curtindo. Tá saindo para balada, tá curtindo muito? Conta para gente hem!
- 6 Fernanda – Oh, estou focada em divulgação do filme.
- 7 Journalist – Tá focada! E esse corpão? Muita malhação para manter, conta? Dá uma rodadinha para gente.
- 8 Fernanda – Eu me cuido.
- 9 Journalist – Olha o público em casa quer saber como é seu cu?
- 10 Fernanda – Que? (disbelief. Surprised. The smile disappears)
- 11 Journalist – Fala um pouco do teu cu?
- 12 Fernanda- Você tá louca?
- 13 Journalist - Louca para saber como é esse cu? Tem dado?
- 14 Fernand - Gente! Eu não quero falar do meu cu!
- 15 Journalist - Tá. Você tem feito sexo pelo bumbum?
- 16 Fernanda – dá licença. (She exits)
- 17 Journalista - Espera aí! Não quer falar do cu? Mostra pelo menos a cor, aponta, não precisa falar. (Shows her a number of colour palettes.)
- 18 Fernanda – Babaca! (Leaves the place.)
- 19 Journalist - Espera aí, só uma fita, pera aí. Olha para última pergunta querida, é sobre o filme (winks at the câmera), vem cá. Tá linda ela!
- 20 Journalist – Aí olha! Não vou te enganar, eu quero saber do teu cu.
- 21 Fernanda – Vai pra merda!
- 22 Journalist - (shouting) Só uma pista, fala pra mim. Aí meu deus, não quer falar! Nelson, sei lá. Para mim, rosáceo.

## 2nd Part

- 23 Journalist - Para pessoal de casa. Amorim pediu, vai. Fala que cor é seu pau? Fala! Não quer falar do *pau*. Vamos falar do teu *cu*? Hein? Ah! Tímido.

## 2. Degustação (Tasting)

- 1 Thiago - Olha, ele aí. (Enters the room)
- 2 Thiago - Oi amor. Oi, Vanessa. Tudo bem?
- 3 Vanessa - Oi.
- 4 Thiago - O jogo foi ótimo, amor. Vou tomar banho rapidinho para a gente sair fora. Tá.
- 5 Wife - Que isso? (she kisses him and has a horrified look)
- 6 Thiago - Que é que é isso, amor? (Confused)
- 7 Wife - Que cheiro é isso?
- 8 Thiago - Eu tou um pouco azedinho, né?
- 9 Thiago- Que é isso?
- 10 Wife - Não se faz de idiota não. Tô falando desse gosto na tua boca.
- 11 Thiago - Gosto? Eu tomei um chope e comi uma azeitona. Você não gosta de azeitona, é isso?
- 12 Wife - Não tou falando disso. Tô falando desse gosto da buceta, cara.
- 13 Thiago - Que é isso, amor? A Vanessa tá aqui. (little annoyed)
- 14 Wife - Tem gosto de buceta sim! Tem nota de dermacyd. Aroma de lubrificante no final. *Putá!* é a Flávia, não é?
- 15 Thiago – Porra, amor! Você agora é sommelier de buceta, é isso? (He seems annoyed.)
- 16 Wife - Ah é. Então você me beija de novo se tu é macho, porra, beija. (He kisses.) Cara de pau! Você vem aqui com bafo bucelil do caralho aqui. Vanessa, por favor beija ele para não dizer que eu tô maluca.
- 17 Thiago - Que isso, amor?
- 18 Vanessa – (kisses) Tem gosto de buceta, sim amiga. (The two discuss among themselves.) E é bem corporado. Eu tou sentindo um final prolongado, tanino estruturado. E digo mais. Tem um blende suave, mas tem um blende de cu aí.
- 19 Wife - Blende de cu, Thiago?! Tava chupando o cu de quem?!
- 20 Thiago - Que é isso, meu amor?!
- 21 Vanessa - Rapidinho. Licença. (she kisses him again and he is shocked.)
- 22 Thiago - Amor! (He looks helplessly at his wife.)

- 23 Vanessa – Não, é Flávia. O PH tá muito ácido e eu senti um aroma de cacau volátil. É como se a pessoa fizesse a depilação de cera de chocolate e a Flavinha faz foto depilação, entendeu?
- 24 Wife - Que líquido pastoso é esse, que tem um aroma ácido que deixa o céu da tua boca áspera? Ela não bebe água, essa menina não bebe.
- 25 Vanessa – É. Tô sentindo ali.
- 26 Wife - Ó Puta! Marina! (she seems to hit upon the idea!)
- 27 Vanessa - Sim, sim, sim. Ela usa calcinhas de poliéster que abafam a xereca total, ela ainda passa o dermacyd para compensar. É ela, Marina. (Both women give high five in victory.)
- 28 Thiago - Gente, olha só. Eu vou lá dentro tomar banho. Quando vocês acabarem com essa palhaçada me chamam, tá?
- 29 Wife - Não vai lá dentro, não Thiago. Vai fazer o que? Vai escovar dente, vai lavar essa piroca, vai acabar com cena de crime?
- 30 Thiago - Opa! calma aí gente! (Tries to calm them.)
- 31 Wife - Baixa as calças. (Vanessa pulls down his shorts.) Abaixa a cueca agora, Thiago.
- 32 Thiago - Abaixar a cueca, amor?! (Looks at Vanessa.)
- 33 Wife - Abaixa a cueca, porra! Vanessa, faz as honras que você tem as papilas mais sensíveis.
- 34 Vanessa – Vamo -lá! (sits down to inspect Thiago's penis.)
- 35 Thiago - Que é isso amor?
- 36 Wife - Se subir, morreu! (whispers threateningly.)

## 2nd Part

- 37 Wife - Fala! (she is lying on the couch with her legs open as Venessa looks in.)
- 38 Vanessa - Então ph 3,8. Podia ser mais ácido. Tem que tomar um pouco mais de suco de abacaxi. Tá com golpe de perfume frutado. Pungência na língua. Você usa hidratante morango champanhê?
- 39 Wife - hmm ...hmm (she answers positively.)
- 40 Vanessa - Adorei. Continua. Lá no fundo da boca tem assim, um resquício de amaciante fofo cheirinho de bebê com umas notas de sêmen de Thiago. Fala para ele, fala para ele manear nos embutidos. Tá com muito sódio, entendeu? Não engole essa porra. Sério conselho da amiga.
- 41 Wife - É?
- 42 Vanessa - É!
- 43 Wife - Eee! (Suddenly remembering something.) Tem que falar com a Marina. A família dela tem pressão alta.
- 44 Vanessa - Ah! Já vou mandar a mensagem para ela aqui, então porque cara, porra salgada não dá. Continua aqui. Então você manda.
- 45 Wife - Mando, mando.

## 3. Dura (Tough)

- 1 Armando - Opa! O que que tá acontecendo aqui? (Two men find the policemen sleeping in the patrol car.)
- 2 Miguel - Acho que tem policial dormindo em serviço, confere, Armando.
- 3 Police 1- Não a gente tá só é na hora do descanso.
- 4 Armando - Desce do carro.
- 5 Police 2- Querido, deixa eu só explicar.
- 6 Armando - Não! tô falando com você não, ô porra!
- 7 Desce do carro, ô caralha! Vambora!
- 8 Police 2- Deixa eu explicar aqui. (Armando slaps him on the face.)
- 9 Armando- Explica pra minha mão, ô filho da puta! Eu não pago o teu salário pra você ficar dormindo no carro da polícia, ô caralho!
- 10 Miguel- Deixa eu cheirar essa mão. (Smells his hand.)
- 11 Armando- Como é que tá essa mão?
- 12 Miguel- Que que é isso? Isso é o cheiro do suborno, é? É cheiro de dinheiro do...cafezinho, malandro?
- 13 Police 1- Que é isso? Não eu juntei dinheiro para comprar o remédio para minha mãe.

- 14 Armando - Pra tua mãe? (É...) que dinheiro aqui, é esse dinheiro aqui é pra tua mãe, é? Que é isso? Tua mãe é abastada, hein! (Armando takes out the money from his pocket and gives it to Miguel)
- 15 Miguel -Deixa eu ver. Opa deixa eu ver (não é é... remédio). Ué! tá caro esse remédio hein. Vai comprar onde, de Cancun?
- 16 Police 1- Que isso cara, pelo... (Armando slaps him)
- 17 Armando- Que cara o que, filho da puta! Cara é o caralho, aquele não é teu amigo, porra! Para você é cidadão Miguel e cidadão Armando. Tá entendendo, ô porra! (slaps him again)
- 18 Armando- Pô, tem dinheiro pra comprar uma farmácia, né? Revista eles, Miguel. Vambora! Vira.
- 19 Police 2- Não precisa não.
- 20 Armando -Vira de costas, ô filho da puta! Vambora. Que que é isso? Aqui. Que que tem aqui? Olha isso aqui, é spray de pimenta isso aqui? Tá mal-intencionado policial!?
- 21 Police1- Olha gente achou isso na rua e ia devolver.
- 22 Armando- (hein! Achou? Filho da puta!)
- 23 Police1- Gente ia devolver!
- 24 Armando - Que que é isso aqui? Isso aqui é coturno da marca. Tá bonita essa roupa é o que? Isso aqui é linha?
- 25 Police 2 - Essa é farda padrão corporação.
- 26 Armando- É 100% algodão?
- 27 Police 2 - É...
- 28 Armando - Essa é farda de padrão corporação, ô filho da puta! Teu salário é uma miséria e fica usando farda de marca?
- 29 Police 2 - Foi meu pai que me deu.
- 30 Armando - Teu pai que te deu? Sabe quem ia adorar ganhar uma farda dessa aí?
- 31 Miguel - ahn!
- 32 Armando- Meu pai.
- 33 Miguel- Não ouviu não?
- 34 Police 2- Que?
- 35 Miguel- Tira essa merda! Tira, porra! Ô, tira, caralho! (Policia1 takes his shirt off and gives it to Armando.)
- 36 Armando - Tavam indo aonde?
- 37 Police 2- A gente parou pra almoçar menos...
- 38 Armando - Almoçar onde? Tava comendo o que? Tava comendo o quê?
- 39 Police 2- Cristal.
- 40 Armando - Han?
- 41 Po1ice 2- Cristal.
- 42 Armando - Arrota. Isso não é Cristal. Isso é peixe! (ah, não!) (Armando squeezes his cheeks)
- 43 Miguel - Isso é peixe te filho da puta! Eu comendo linguiça, e tu comendo peixe! Linguado grelhado! Isso tá certo? Porquê? Porque eu sou uma merda?
- 44 Armando - É merda. Tu é uma merda, Ó caralho. Tu é uma merda. E você? Não olha pra minha cara! Eu não te dei liberdade pra você olhar pra cara, porra! É olhar pro chão! Eu vou agora com calma, ligar pra mulher de vocês e vou dizer que vocês estavam na arruaça!
- 45 Po1ice 2- Olha só você não acha que dá pra gente resolver de uma forma onde todo mundo sai beneficiando.
- 45 Miguel - Senhor oficial você tá insinuando aquilo que você tá tentando sugerir, oficial?
- 46 Police 1 - Não ele tá querendo dizer que é melhor pra todo mundo, fazer uma maneira que fique melhor pra todo mundo.
- 47 Miguel - Vamo fazer o seguinte, chega aí!
- 48 Armando - A gente vai liberar vocês.
- 49 Police 1- Muito obrigada
- 50 Armando - Mas tem condição, tem condiçãozinha, tem condiçãozinha!
- 51 Armando - Hoje é dia de diversão, hoje é dia de alegria! Então você vai carregar ele no colo, vai atravessar a praça dizendo, “eu casei, eu casei, eu casei”
- 52 Police 1 - Bonito. A gente faz né? (looks at his colleague in agreement)
- 53 Armando - Agora vai lá, pacotó, carrega no colo, ô filho da puta! Anda Porra!
- 54 Armando - Pega n’neném, isso! Eu casei! Vambora!!
- 55 Miguel- Ah Que delícia!
- 56 Armando - Pra lá, corre pra lá que eu quero ver pra lá, vai lá! “Eu casei”. Vai lá “Vai lá!

- 57 Police 1 - Eu casei! eu casei! (policeman lifts up his colleague and starts running)  
 58 Miguel - Eh! Rapá! (Claps)

## 2nd Part

- 59 Po - Perá aí. Posso explicar aqui o que...  
 60 Ar- Explica pra minha mão filho da puta!  
 61 Po2 - Posso explicar...  
 62 Ar - Explica pra minha mão, ô filho da puta!  
 63 Po2 - Dá pra explicar...  
 64 Ar - Explica pra minha mão, ô filho da puta!  
 65 Po2 - Pera aí amigo, eu explico...  
 66 Ar - Explica pra minha mão, ô filho da puta!  
 67 Po2 - Amigo, eu posso explicar...  
 68 Ar- Explica pra minha mão, porra! Não olha pra minha cara, não olha pra minha cara que eu não dei liberdade de olhar para minha cara.  
 69 Po2 - Pera aí amigo, eu posso explicar...  
 70 Ar- Explica pra minha mão, ô caralho! Explica pra minha mão!

## 4. Elevador (Elevator)

- 1 Girl- Já apertei. (The lady arrives and wants to push the button)  
 2 Lady - Oi?  
 3 Girl - O elevador. Já chamei.  
 4 Lady - Ah! Tá. É porque eu só ia...  
 5 Girl - O que? Apertar outra vez?  
 6 Lady - É. Que às vezes né? Computador...  
 7 Girl - É, mas...tá apertado.  
 8 Lady - Entendi.  
 9 Girl - Se chamou, vem.  
 10 Lady - Nem pra dar garantia?  
 11 Girl - Não! Vai chegar.  
 12 Lady - Porque às vezes a gente aperta e aí ele sobe, né?  
 13 Girl - Ele não.  
 14 Lady - É.  
 15 Lady - Não desce. (After sometime)  
 16 Girl - Mas esse tá descendo. Porque eu vim aqui e apertei.  
 17 Senhora -hummmm!  
 18 Girl - Eu tô aqui esperando.  
 19 Lady - Quanto tempo?  
 20 Girl - O que, minha senhora?  
 21 Lady - Que você apertou ali, já?  
 22 Girl - O tempo normal de apertar e esperar para elevador descer. A senhora fala de um jeito que parece que eu não sei chamar o elevador.  
 23 Girl - Eu sou capaz de ter uma discussão com a senhora, mas não tenho capacidade motora nem intelectual de apertar o botão?  
 24 Lady - Esse elevador é seu? Não! Então eu tenho o direito de apertar o botão.  
 25 Girl - Eu já apertei esse botão! (stops the lady from pressing the button.) você enfiar o seu dedo não vai fazer o elevador descer mais depressa. A senhora é o que? Uma encantadora de elevadores?  
 26 Lady - éh! (the lady is annoyed)  
 27 Girl - Que o elevador gosta mais de você do que de mim? (Stifles her giggle with her hand)  
 Que a senhora chama e o elevador e o elevador vem. (mockingly) Vem elevador, uh! vou descer ali, pra dona nãnaã!  
 28 Lady - Eu só tô atrasada. Vai para porra!

- 29 Girl - Está apertado!! (shouts, stopping her from pressing the button.) A senhora vai ao banheiro, faz cocô, dá descarga e a merda desce. A senhora dá outra descarga? Não, porque a merda já desceu.
- 30 Lady - Desceu e tá aqui falando comigo agora.
- 31 Girl - O que é que você tá falando aí?
- 32 Lady - Isso mesmo que você ouviu. Tem uma porra de uma merda de um cocô de uma garota falando comigo aqui na frente! (shouting) - Eu vou apertar essa merda de um elevador!
- 33 Girl - Você não vai apertar! (shouting)
- 34 Lady - Vou apertar! Sai da frente! (tussle) Sai daqui! Não me morde! Vem cá! Vem cá! Eu vou apertar.  
Another woman enters the scene.
- 35 Girl - Wo, wo wo, vai fazer o que? (To the woman who is going to press the button of the elevator)
- 36 Lady 2- Eh, eu tou chamando o elevador. (Surprised)
- 37 Girl - Eu já apertei! (shouting)

## 2nd Part

- 38 - Vai vai, vai. (all three women on top of each other; hitting, pulling hair)
- 39 - vai, vai, vai.
- 40 - Porra bate, bate! Porra! Bate!
- 41 - Me larga!
- 42 - Bate que nem gente! Bate!
- 43 Lady - Me larga!
- 44 Girl - Vai tocar que botão?
- 45 Lady - Me larga!
- 46 Girl -Qual o botão que tu vai tocar? (elevator descends)
- 47 Lady - Me larga!
- 48 Girl - Qual o botão que tu vai tocar? (elevator door shuts and goes down)
- 49 Lady - Me larga!
- 50 Lady - Bate! Bate! Bate! (not clear who is beating whom.)

## 5. Nome na Lista (Name in the List)

- 1 Deputy – E na quarta feira vamos mobilizar a base aliada para a votação ocorrer normalmente como deve ocorrer. (speaking to the media)
- 2 Voz - Deputado, deputado!
- 3 Journalist - Acabou de vaziar a delação do empreiteiro Marcondes que revelou que você era conhecido como broxa e desviou 300 milhões de reais da merenda escolar.
- 4 Deputy – Ele disse o quê, hein?!
- 5 Journalist – Que o senhor desviou 300 milhões de reais da merenda escolar.
- 6 Deputy – Não. Em relação a apelido. Que apelido que era?
- 7 Journalist – O broxa.
- 8 Deputy – Rapaz, aqui não pode confiar em ninguém aqui dentro, viu? Em ninguém.
- 9 Journalist – O senhor confirma as acusações, então?
- 10 Deputy – Veja uma vez eu tive esse problema e eu desabafei com Marcondes, uma vez. E agora ficou esse apelido aí. Essa fama de pau mole dentro da sociedade.
- 11 Journalist – Deputado eu acho que mais importante para a população...
- 12 Deputy – Que eu comi o cu da mulher dele? Ele contou ou não?
- 13 Jornalista – Não (low voice)
- 14 Deputy – Ah! coisa boa Marcondes não conta, né? Eu poderia ser reconhecido como papa do cu da mulher de corno. Mas não, né? Será que eu conto? Que eu estava comendo o cu da rapariga da quenga da mulher dele, enquanto ele segurava maria-mole de pau que ele tem, observando tudo, chorando e cantando hino nacional observando no canto do quarto pelado. Será que eu conto, não? Qual o apelido dele na lista? Pátria amada?
- 15 Journalist – Senhor em relação aos 300 milhões de reais desviados?



- 16 Deputy - Isso aí que, rapaz! Isso o povo esquece. Agora o meu apelido vai perdurar. Como é que eu vou voltar para casa? Como é que eu vou olhar para o meu filho? Para o painho, para a mãeinha?
- 17 Journalist – Deputado! Eu realmente acho que o importante... (Interruption)
- 18 Deputy- Uma vez eu tive esse problema. Eu broxei uma vez porque estava bêbado e cheirado. Já fodeste bêbado e cheirado?
- 19 Journalist - Por acaso não!
- 20 Deputy – Pois é! Se meu pau levantasse comigo bêbado e cheirado, aí é que seria de relevância nacional. Mas foi uma vez, inclusive no dia seguinte eu comi uma vagabunda na suruba de Cunha. Lauro Jardim é testemunha! Lauro Jardim é testemunha porque estava lá! E eu o vi uma vez e agora fico com essa fama, rapaz? Ah...francamente.
- 21 Journalist – Mas o senhor pretende fazer alguma coisa a respeito dessas acusações?
- 22 Deputy – Ah... pretendo. Pretendo contar mais nada para ninguém. Porque aqui dentro só tem filho de rapariga futriqueiro e quenga.
- 23 Voz- E olha lá, o broxa!
- 24 Deputy – Eu tava com problema em casa! Filho da puta!
- 25 Journalist – Deputado. O povo ali quer saber a verdade.
- 26 Deputy - O povo ali quer saber a verdade então eu vou mostrar o tamanho do meu pau aqui. Filme o meu pau duro que é pra ver que não vai ter golpe, não? Direta já nessa porra! Filma meu pau aqui. Filma meu pau aqui.

## 2nd Part

- 27 Deputy - É o que eu posso falar do senador Renan é que ele tinha pau pequeno. Parecia um cogumelinho assim, sabe? Então é por isso que o apelido dele era Toad que é aquele personagem do Mario Bros, aquele cogumelinho. O Deputado Dias era mamilinho. Porque ele tinha o terceiro mamilo aqui. Agora porra rala é auto explicativo.

## 6. Pau Amigo (Fuck Buddy)

- 1 Father and mother- Oi filha, oi filha.
- 2 Jussara - Queria apresentar uma pessoa para você. Isso é Gerson. Meu pai, Roberto, minha mãe Ivone.
- 3 Gerson- Tudo bem com o senhor? Tudo bem com a senhora?
- 4 Ivone- Tudo bem Gerson?
- 5 Father- Rapaz simpático.
- 6 Gerson- Obrigado.
- 7 Father- Há quanto tempo vocês estão namorando?
- 8 Jussara- Não, a gente não namora, não. O Gerson é o meu pau amigo. (parents shocked silence)
- 9 Father - Como assim?
- 10 Jussara- A gente foda há quanto tempo? Oito anos?
- 11 Gerson- Não sei. Não faço ideia.
- 12 Jussara- Ah! Eu também sou péssima com datas. A gente fode de vez em quando há muito tempo e como esse ano a gente completa bastante tempo de sexo sem compromisso. Eu quis dar esse passo no nosso relacionamento sexual. (father and mother *express shock*)
- 13 Father - Gerson faz o que?
- 14 Gerson- Eu sou professor de Educação física, senhor Roberto.
- 15 Jussara- Jura?!
- 16 Gerson- Juro!
- 17 Jussara- Pensei que você fosse médico.
- 18 Gerson- Não...larguei medicina em 2011. Quanto eu te falei não se meter na minha vida.
- 19 Jussara- Claro...né.
- 20 Mother - E você se conheceram como?
- 21 Gerson- Chat de UOL dona Ivone.
- 22 Mother -foi??
- 23 Gerson-Naquela vez que você entrou no chat eu estava de bermuda...
- 24 Jussara- é tanto meu pau amigo que realmente não sei.
- 25 Father - Desculpa. Eu fico meio confuso, sabe, com essas relações modernas.
- 26 Gerson- Imagina. Normal.
- 27 Father - Qual é a sua pretensão com a minha filha?

- 28 Gerson- Cu. Pretendo cu. (Father and mother exchange shocked glances.) Estou nessa batalha faz tempo, viu Sr. Roberto. Sua filha é dura na queda. Mas esse ano eu acho que vai.
- 29 Jussara- Ai que fofo, Robson!
- 30 Gerson- Gerson.
- 31 Jussara- Ai que fofo Gerson!
- 32 Mother- Vocês não pretendem ter filhos?
- 34 Jussara- A gente abortou um numa clínica em Belford Roxo.
- 35 Gerson- Meu! Que fofo!
- 36 Jussara- É. Gostoso.
- 37 Gerson- O que sua piranha!
- 38 Jussara- Delícia! Quero jogar leitinho na sua vaquinha? Eu quero ficar com o olho colado.
- 39 Father - Que isso Jussara? (Father is offended by the intimate talk between Gerson and Jussara.)
- 40 Jussara- Ah! Desculpa. É nossa vizinha.

## 2nd Part

- 42 Wedding Celebrant - Jussara você aceita Gerson como o seu pau amigo na carência na vingança contra algum possível namorado nas fantasias mais loucas e sujas, na sua casa e na casa dele, no carro, no motel mais barato, até que o pau dele não levante mais?
- 42 Jussara- Aceito.
- 43 Wedding Celebrant - Gerson você aceita Jussara como sua boceta amiga sem nenhum compromisso na volta de uma boíte em que você não comeu ninguém no momento de baixa autoestima com a terceira envolvida, sem nenhum afeto, prometendo ir embora, logo após a terceira gozada dela?
- 44 Gerson- Eu aceito.
- 45 Wedding Celebrant- Então, eu vos declaro pau e boceta amigos. Podem foder.

## 7. Sobre a Mesa (On the Table)

1. Mário - O que tem de sobremesa, Odette?
2. Odette - Abacaxi.
3. Mário - Abacaxi?
4. Odette - Ah! Tem tangerina também.
5. Mário - Ó Odette! Do jeito que tá pra mim não dá. Eu saio dessa casa às 6 de manhã todos os dias e trabalho igual a um condenado. E tudo que eu espero quando eu volto pra jantar em casa é que tenha uma porcaria de uma sobremesa. Pode ser um pudim, uma porcaria de pudim. Não dois, um pudim. Não precisa ser pudim, pode ser outra coisa. Você gosta de outra coisa? Sei lá quer um sorvete, o que você quer?
6. Odette - O que eu quero, Mário Alberto?
7. Mário - Sim Odette. O que é que você quer?
8. Odette - O que eu quero é foder, Mário Alberto. eu quero foder. Agora você repara que eu não falei fazer amor, eu não falei transar. Eu não falei fazer *nheco nheco*. Eu falei foder. Foder. Agora eu não quero foder só com você. Eu quero foder com seu chefe, com o meu *personal trainer*. Eu quero foder com Malvino Salvador. Eu quero foder com George Clooney. Eu quero foder com aquele menino que faz piadas na internet. Eu quero foder com o time da Nigéria, com o exército de Israel, até com Toninho, o porteiro, quem sabe até com seu irmão, Mário Alberto. Mas eu não quero um de cada vez. Eu quero todos ao mesmo tempo. Eu quero levar surra de piroca até semana que vem. Eu quero ficar com o queixo para dentro quem nem Noel Rosa, sabe? De tanto levar saco aqui no queixo sem conseguir falar. Eu quero ficar tão larga que... Qual é o nome mesmo daquele nadador? Aquele menino comprido?
9. Mário- O Phelps?
10. Odette - Isso! o Phelps!
11. Eu quero ficar tão larga que o Phelps vai entrar o cotovelo assim dobrado dentro de mim e eu nem vou sentir porque eu vou estar o que... extasiada, entendeu?  
Eu quero tudo de luz acesa. Porque eu quero ver aquele banho de sêmen. Sêmen é o caralho, né Mário Alberto? É porra, banho de porra mesmo.  
Você sabe bukkake? Coloca no Google que você vai saber o que é. Eu quero levantar que nem um boneco de cera, sabe? Pingando assim, derretendo. Depois, eu vou querer um repeteco. Eu quero escalavrar a buceta. Eu quero levar catucada no colo do útero, entendeu?

E depois eu vou querer dar o troco, passar recibo. Eu vou querer que me chame de putinha, de vaca, de vadia, de cachorra e depois de putinha de novo. Em fim para terminar com tudo isso, eu vou esmerilar a chapeleta de geral para limpar a bagunça, e no dia seguinte eu vou acordar poída, assada que nem um fantoche velho. É isso que eu quero, Mário Alberto.

12. Odette - E você?
13. Mário- Eu quero tangerina.
14. Odette - Só não está gelada, tá?

## 2nd Part

15. Odette - Sabe que vou fazer com quem se escrever aqui, Carlos Alberto? Eu vou chamuscar a buça todinha na cara dele que nem eu fiz com Ian SBF. Sabe o que mais? Depois que ele se inscrever, Carlos Alberto, ele vai poder entrar no meu canal na hora que ele quiser. Eu quero o Gustavo Chagas acabe comigo. Eu quero meu reto passe se chamar torto, depois que ele e o João Paulo embrenharem nele. E eu prometo, se Antônio Tabet favoritar esse vídeo eu, a Nataly Mega e a Marília Tapajós vamos fazer ménage à quatre com ele. Sabe o que é a quatre, Carlos Alberto? Luane Araújo com certeza sabe. Enfim, é isso que eu quero, Carlos Alberto, isso o que? Todo mundo clique aqui, ó!

## 8. Virgem (Virgin)

- 1 Júlio - E a Ligia meu amor? Você tem falado com ela?
- 2 Marta - Sumiu. Deve estar ocupada com a reforma do apartamento dela. Até vou ligar para ela mais tarde.
- 3 Rafael - Mamãe!
- 4 Marta - Oi filho.
- 5 Rafael - O que é que é virgem?
- 6 Marta - Filho. (She hesitates.)
- 7 Júlio - Fala. Fala. (whispers.)
- 8 Marta - Virgem?
- 9 Rafael- É.
- 10 Marta- Virgem é...um signo.
- 11 Júlio - Signo? Signo Marta?
- 12 Marta - Ué! Não é?
- 13 Júlio – Porra! Acho que o garoto tá perguntando outra coisa, né filho?
- 14 Marta - Virgem é ...um tipo de pessoa, uma pessoa pura também.
- 15 Rafael- Como assim?
- 16 Marta - Sabe. Sabe Papai do Céu?
- 17 Rafael- Sei.
- 18 Marta- Então. A mãe do Papai do Céu. Ou é a mulher do Papai do Céu. Nunca sei essa merda.
- 19 Júlio - Não tô acreditando nisso, Marta.
- 20 Marta - O que é que você quer que eu fale, Júlio?
- 21 Júlio - Quero que você seja coerente com o garoto pelo menos uma vez na vida.
- 22 Marta - Eu não tô sendo coerente?
- 23 Júlio - Porra! O garoto tá perguntando o que é virgem e você vem falar de porra de signo e da religião, Marta! Cadê a coerência disso?
- 24 Marta - Você reparou como você sempre tá me criticando?
- 25 Júlio - Porque você me dá motivo né, Marta? Deve ser porque eu sou de áries.
- 26 Marta - Porque você não pega essa sua inteligência, esse brilhantismo de áries e explica pro seu Rafael o que é virgem, Júlio?
- 27 Júlio - Meu Filho. Quando um menino e uma menina vão namorar pela primeira vez, se beijando, o piupiu do menino fica duro.
- 28 Rafael- Pra quê?
- 29 Marta - Pra quê, Papai? Pra quê? (makes faces and mocks him.)
- 30 Júlio – Pra ele entrar pepeca da menina. (Julio makes a sign with two fingers.)
- 31 Rafael- O papai falou *pepeca*. (smiles a this mother.)
- 32 Marta - Você é patético, Júlio! (she hisses at Julio.)
- 33 Júlio - Melhor ser patético do que burra! (he retorts.)

- 34 Marta - Burra!?! (in shock)  
 35 Júlio - É burra! Desonestidade intelectual também é um tipo de burrice, Marta!  
 36 Marta - Ah! Eu, desonesta? Eu ou você? Que passa nota fria para conseguir desconto no imposto da renda?  
 37 Júlio - Nota fria? O que que é mais desonesto? Passar nota fria ou dizer que vai casar virgem? E já chegar toda arregaçada e desbeijada no altar?  
 38 Marta - Aí meu deus! Nossa! Que pecado! Tomara que esse fogo do inferno também sirva para queimar essas verrugas que volta e meia aparecem na piroca do inteligentão de HPV! Essa fazenda de cogumelos que você cultivava no meio das pernas!  
 39 Júlio - HPV! Tá agora aí querendo mudar de assunto! Porque você não sabe dizer pra criança o que é ser virgem.  
 40 Marta - Eu aposto que o garoto viu essa porra nos vídeos que você tem no celular! Era de homem com homem, meu filho! Porque se depender do ânimo do papai aqui dessa brocha não tinha mulher nessa porra desse vídeo!  
 41 Júlio - Ele deve ter visto no teu grupo lá com as tuas amigas piranhas lá! Aliás piranha não porque elas não têm competência pra isso! Aquele bando de gorda, hipopótamo não tem uma porra de um peru caridoso para comer aquela xereca gordurosa!  
 42 Marta - Sua mãe também tá no grupo! Vem cá Rafinha, me diz uma coisa. Onde é que você viu esse negócio de virgem para perguntar? Foi no celular de putanheiro do seu pai?  
 43 Júlio - Aposto que foi nas fotos de rola da tua mãe, não foi? Fala aí!  
 44 Marta - Foto da rola? Olha a baixaria, Júlio!  
 45 Rafael - Foi no azeite!  
 46 Garçon - Boa noite gente! Já escolheram o seu pedido?  
 47 Júlio - Eu queria uma grande meia muçarela, meia calabresa, por favor!  
 48 Garçom - (writing the order) meia calabresa, meia muçarela. Azeite?  
 49 Filho- Eh!

## 2nd Part

- 50 Rafael - Mamãe. Que é que Porta dos fundos?  
 51 Marta - Quando duas pessoas amam muito, elas geralmente entram pela porta da frente e aí elas buscam inovar entrando pela porta dos fundos, meu filho.  
 51 Rafael - Ah! já descobri. É um canal aqui do YouTube.  
 53 Rafael - Mamãe!  
 54 Marta - Oi.  
 55 Rafael - O que é que ativar o sininho?