

Connotation of Profanity in Ewe Place Names

Yekple S.L.K.¹, Adade D.A.², Dorleku F¹, Vinyo I.Y.³,
Adenyo L.K.⁴, Akakpo-Ashiadey R.¹

Corresponding Author's
Email: syekple@gmail.com

¹Department of Languages, St Teresa's College of Education,
Hohoe Ghana.

²Department of Languages, St Francis College of Education,
Hohoe Ghana.

³Department of Languages, E.P College of Education,
Amedzofe Ghana.

⁴Department of Languages, Jasikan College of Education,
Jasikan Ghana.

Article History

Submitted: 19th April 2023

Accepted: 28th April 2023

Published: 25th May 2023

Abstract

Aim: Toponyms are universal to the world but relevant and specific to cultures across the world. Humans use toponyms in various contexts in society. Toponyms are avoided in a particular speech context, due to its social, linguistic and cultural consequences for the name bearer and users. Toponyms sometimes attract ambiguity in the meaning assigned them. This ambiguity degenerates into connotative meanings. One such connotative practice among the Ewes is profanity. The Ewes frown on the use of profane words and has punitive codes and consequences for its guilt. However, same community beautifully internalizes profane connotation into place names. The paper investigates the morphology of profanity in Ewe toponyms.

Methods: The study used speech act theory and lexical morphology. Data for the qualitative study was collected using a WhatsApp platform for Ewe Teachers and traditional community leaders through snowballing.

Results: The study found that the connotation centred on the human genitalia (penis, scrotum, and vagina) have been the sources of compounding in the crafting of profanity in the place names. The names are used mainly by the youth in teasing and in group joking practices in oral language generally in casual or playful communication. The names usually have roots and stems that take on derivational and inflectional morphemes in the process of forming the profane connotation. Though the Ewes frown upon profanity in official language, the usage in place names is decorous and linguistically acceptable.

Conclusion: The appropriate use of these names in jovial in-group and entertaining utterances demonstrates the linguistic competence of the interlocutors of the speech act.

Recommendation: The study recommends a further research on the syntactic implications of the profane names in the Ewe language.

Keywords: *Communication, connotation, Ewe place names, peers, profane.*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The language of a speech community is naturally interconnected with their culture and notion. This idea explains that there is a strong interface between a people's language and their cultural practices. Its main assumption is how language is used as a social and cultural resources in everyday practice. Foley (1997) explains that language has an instrumental function to perform in society; for instance the meaning behind the use of a word in different forms. One can therefore use language as a microscopic lens to view and understand the social practices and day-to-day activities of a society (Agyekum, 2006).

Generally, the name users of a speech community perceive their own name in their socially accepted contexts hence develop a socially accepted attitudes toward such names and their users. Hysenaj (2019) observes socio-onomastics as the sociolinguistic study of names. Hysenaj further explained that the lenses of socio-onomastics is usually focused onto how names are used in human interaction. It explains that humans use names in various contexts in society. Some names are avoided in a particular social context due to the social, linguistic and cultural consequences a name can cause for the name bearer and the name users. Similarly, the name users of a speech community perceive their own name in their socially accepted contexts, hence develop a socially accepted attitudes toward such names and their users.

Names serve various functions. Place names are noted as the symbol of cultural identity for people, by relating a person to a particular locality but not the other (Mireku-Gyema & Mensah, 2015; Kyiileyang, 2017). This association of place names to people resolves the challenge of ambiguity in the arbitrariness of names (Helleland *et al.*, 2012; Radding & Western, 2010). As place names sometimes tell the history of a group of people, it is also sometimes seen as the source of conflict, litigation and again sometimes help in resolving land disputes. Every indigenous name in Africa has traditional historical demonstrations about either the socio-cultural, socio-historical and or sometimes socio-economic occurrences of the people. This is particularly observable of indigenous place names and personal names (Mireku-Gyimah & Mensah, 2015). One of such socio-cultural demonstrations is the assignment of meaning to the names. The assignment of meaning to a place name requires some linguistic considerations (including the morphology, syntax and pragmatics). It is usually constructed through naturally authentic native intuitiveness which is the linguistic competence of the name givers (Yekple *et al.*, 2020).

It is observed that the arbitrariness of place names sometimes results in projecting ambiguity in the meaning assigned to it. This ambiguity usually degenerates into connotative meaning to the place names. One such connotative practice among the Ewe speech community is profanity. This practice is generally found in the oral knowledge of the people. It is worth noting that any linguistic production is mostly rule conditioned (Katamba, 1993) and hence explains that linguistic rules are statements of principles responsible for the observed regularities in the speech of a particular language (Kongo & Mends, 2016).

Several words have been used in literature interchangeably for the same concept – profanity, obscenity, cursing, taboo, swearing, foul language, dirty words, four letter words and colorful language (Murphy, 2012). This paper maintain profanity and relate its meaning operationally to sexuality and its sense related lexicon in the Ewe language. Profanity has received scholarly attention but generally focusing on frequency of gender relativity of usage. Profanity has also received attention in political speech and recently the effects of profane language on social

behavior of people. This study takes a deviation to focus its lenses on how profanity has been internalized in Ewe place names. The Ewe speech community frowns on the use of profane words and has punitive codes and consequences for its guilt. However same community beautifully internalizes profane into its place names. The paper considers the external property, the illocutionary force of language regarding how profanity is internalized in Ewe place names leveraging on the linguistic property of polysemy.

1.1 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research objectives; (1) Identifying Ewe place names that have internalized profane connotations (2) Investigate the morphology of profanity in Ewe place names.

2.0 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION

Several theoretical positions have been advanced as to how to analyze the meaning of speech in an environment. According to Leech (1983a), evolutionary theory explains how a species always end up more or less well adapted to its environment. Equally, an animal communication system is successful in survival of the species that use it. This biological sense of communication enables human language to function in our daily life. In the views of Leech, language has a formal (internal properties: the constitution of the words) and functional (external properties: the various usage of words) in the language. Generally, each property though usually opposing themselves on their separate levels, has some constituent of honesty in their individual fields. According to Austin (1962), human beings do not use language just anyhow to utter statements. In linguistic philosophy every utterance performs some actions. Austin's theory assumes that every statement by a speaker has a sense and an illocutionary force. The sense is the intended meaning of the speaker and the illocutionary force is the pragmatics of it (the contextual social effect of the statement on the hearer). Austin's theory projects that things we intend to do when we speak, how we do them may succeed or fail due to the context (Thomas, 1995). It is in the pragmatic statement that the act of profanity in a name manifests.

The theory of Lexical Morphology propounded by Katamba (1986), an upgraded development of Generative grammar is employed for the morphological analysis of the names. The theory denotes that words in a language are broken into functionally meaningful lexical units whose grammatical meanings are assessable. In application, Generative Grammar assumes that the human brain has the linguistic capacity to generate volumes of words in a language. When such words are generated, the linguistic responsibility of Lexical Morphology is to use sets of rules to analyze their form and function. Accordingly, Katamba (1993) explains that any linguistic production is mostly rule conditioned. In arriving at the profane connotation of the place names, we hence used the theory of Lexical Morphology to break the names into their morphemic constituents. The morphemic constituents which guided the determination and conclusion of profanity in the place names are demonstrated.

2.1 Empirical Review

2.1.1 Names as linguistic and cultural phenomenon

As names are identified as linguistic and cultural phenomenon, Hysenaj (2019) observes that no language is yet sufficient with permanent conditions that lead people to name giving hence, there are no limits to how names are used. Hysenaj is of the view that due to direct and indirect contacts

with different cultures, political, commercial, economic, social and sportive relations, the use of names is generally flexible to social and cultural contexts. Based on the linguistic resources and the prevalent culture of a society, names may be used creatively or in a common way to generate a variety of social meanings and build an explicit identity for the bearer or the name referent. The values that are important or useful in the particular linguistic society also permeates the usage of the name. Guasti (2002) concludes the argument that language use is governed by truth conditions called denotative semantics and by felicity conditions described as pragmatics which is the connotation or contextual usage.

2.1.2 Profanity in names

Heins (2007) observes that profanity is very ancient, and that the declaration of a word as profane has been the duty of religious authority dating to biblical age. Profanity is a part of daily life and can cover every aspect of life including names. Defining what constitute profanity is very difficult task according to Gitter (2010). Profanity *“serves the emotional needs of the speaker and affects listeners emotionally. It permits a speaker to express strong emotions and/or produce an emotional impact on a listener. The impact can be positive, as in joking and sexual enticement, or it can be negative, as in name calling and sexual harassment”* (Jay, 2000).

It is difficult for the legal fraternity classifying a word/statement to be taboo or profane (Heins, 2007). From the theory of sociolinguistics, profanity is a language feature most commonly considered to exhibit differential use of words between males and females. A good volume of research has investigated identity parameters such as gender, age, or social class patterns which affect the use of profanity (Thelwall, 2008; Bamman *et al.*, 2014; Wang *et al.*, 2014). Looking at the difficulty in classifying what constitute the definition of profanity, Coats (2021) suggests a caveat which should consider the pragmatic contexts of the use of profane items. To support Jay and Janschewitz (2007), Coats (2021) advance the argument that many of the lexical items which may be considered profane on the basis of a particular usage which can be translated as derogatory, offensive or vulgar, could equally be used inoffensively in casual communication.

In Jay (2009), it is unclear and doubtful how children learn profane words in the process of language acquisition. However, Jay *et al.* (2006) argues that children with normal hearing naturally acquire profane lexicon the same way non-profane language is acquired from their early years. Like other aspects of language, this learning process is attributed to parents, care givers and peers as the sources of tuition. Murphy (2012) thinks that the process which sometimes start as mimicry, the reaction of their guardians causes this class of words to gain long-lasting emotional connotations. However, the social interactive nature of language makes it possible that children learn profane words through the act of socialization in speech practices. Jay and Janschewitz, (2008) corroborates this position to say that native speakers of a language in a culture learns who it is appropriate to speak a profane word to and when to say those words to avoid linguistic reprimand.

Rathje (2014) used a survey methodology to investigate attitudes toward the use of profane language in Danish among young people and the elderly. This study found that younger respondents are more likely to consider English-language profanities such as *fuck* and *shit* to be strong swear words when used in Danish than are older respondents. Wajnryb (2005) suggests that profanity in language is sometimes used to maintain informal and friendly relationship with the receiver, thus reinforcing social connections between interlocutors. These may include playful

expressions, solidarity markers and some polysemous items having a secondary, inoffensive denotation. Though the discussion above may be valid in the case of place names, Gitter (2010) is of the view that profane language has the possibility of influencing people's social behavior in unsavory ways even when fleeting. Profane words are usually used by peers to achieve positive interactional outcomes like joke, humour, social commentary, sex talk and in-group slang (Zoglin, 2008; Jay, 2000).

According to Thomas (1983), context and language specifics remain constant in the attempt of definition and declaration of a word to be profane. This indicates that the time, place, interlocutors, purpose and mood of use of a word may determine it to be considered profane. This suggests that a word may be classified profane in one context but may not in another context. To use or not to use a profane word or language depends largely on the intent of conversation between the interlocutors. It is equally basic for both native speakers and non-native speakers to acquire the folk knowledge of profane words. The challenge however is that, it is difficult for non-native speakers to determine when to use same word without being accused of profanity (Thomas, 1983).

3.0 METHODOLOGY

The paper employed a qualitative research using a descriptive analysis. Data for the paper was gathered from native speakers of the Ewe language. A WhatsApp platform for Teachers of the Ewe Language was used to collect the names. The profanity feature of each of the names have been discussed on the platform. Through interview, the names have been validated by traditional authorities from the localities in which such names originate. These traditional leaders hold the oral narratives of the origin of the community names and other extensions to their meaning. Access to the traditional authorities was done through the strategy of snowballing. Forty-six names were collected. However, twenty-two names were validated for this study. This was done to prevent self-crafted names by the respondents to influence the study. Out of this, sixteen names have been used in the profane analysis. The other Seven could not get a clear explanation for the purpose of this study. Lexical Morphology was used in doing the profane connotative analysis.

4.0 RESULTS

4.1 Conceptual Place Names with Property of Profanity

A list of community names has been identified with the linguistic feature of profanity internalized in their composition. It was observed through the interview that the property of profanity has not been a factor of focus for the Ewe people in the process of bestowing names to their communities. However, the polysemous property of lexicon in the Ewe language allows the speakers to connote profane meanings from the various place names. For example, *Fume* (fu+me - through suffering) is a word summarizing their migration history. In the word, the first syllable receives a low tone (fù) to mean suffering that they have experienced to locate the current settlement. However in the application of the property of polysemy blended with tone the initial morpheme and syllable has been realized as (fú - hair) with a high tone to result in a word (Fú-me –Hair-in: Fúme) hence the name, *Fúme*. The hair has been considered connotatively as *pubic hair* hence the profanity (in pubic hair). The morphemic composition of the place names makes such connotations possible from either one or more of the constituent morphemes and syllables. In table 1, the conceptual or socially accepted denotative meaning or gloss of the place names are presented.

Table 1: List of community names and their denotative meaning

Name	Socially Accepted Denotation	Name	Socially Accepted Denotation
Avakpeta	A place where warriors clashed for war	Avate	Under war
Vodzã	Red hairy fig (tree)	Avata	Because of war
Avalavi	Little wing	Lũme	Inside hole
Vogɔme	Under hairy fig (tree)	Avakɔme	Warfare/home of wars
Volo	hairy fig proverb	Vokpoe	Short hairy fig tree
Uume	Inside drum/vehicle/back of the head	Agɔme	Under
Avakɔme	In front of war	Fume	Through difficulty
Uuata	Because of the vehicle/drum	Deme	Lean your back against
Vogã	Big hairy fig (tree)	Vokpoe	Short hairy fig tree
Amedzɔfe	The origin of man	Avalĩme	In the peak of war
Vodzãkpo	Heap of hairy fig trees	Avasive	A forest into which one seeks refuge

4.2 Morphological Analysis of Profanity in Place Names

4.2.1 Compound profane place names

Noun + noun

Avata is the only profane place name found to have the composition of two nouns.

Ava + ta = Avata (penis + head = penis head/head of penis)

Noun + postposition

Some of the place names are composed of a noun and a postposition.

Fũme: Fũ + me (hair + in = in hair). Hair on the human body has a generic name *ɔa* in Ewe. However, the hair on any other part of the body apart from the head is known as **fũ**. Beard has a separate register **gè**. For instance, hair in the nostrils, in the armpit, around the anus and in the private part are called **ɔtimefũ**, **axatomefũ**, **mitomefũ** and **anɔmefũ** respectively. In the realization of profanity in the place name the speakers reference the female pubic hair. The connotative referent in the name is the hair on the female sex organ **kolofu**.

Avakpedome: There are three separate morphological composition of this name depending on the meaning one refers to. The first one is formed from initial two morphemes - *Ava* + *kpe* compounding a name *Avakpe* (penis stalk). Morphologically *dome* (under) is added *Avakpe* + *dome* = *Avakpedome* (penis stalk + under = Under penis stalk). In the second sense the composition is observed as *Ava* + *kpe* + *le* + *dɔ* + *me* (penis + meet + prep + vagina + post) *Penis had met in the female genitalia*.

Vogɔme, vo + ɔme (scrotum + under) = **Vogɔme** (Under scrotum). This name is used by in-group peers to tease ladies who are observed to take delight and pleasure in sexual activities that. From

the interaction with the traditional leaders, it was evident that though this name is not used usually in formal communication, (it is sometimes done behind the targeted woman), it is effective as a tool for social control and entertainment.

Koloenu is morphologically composed of *kolo* + *nu* (female genital + entrance) - Entrance of the female genitalia.

Gbadzeme is composed of *gbadzε* + *me* (flat + in) glossed 'In the flat space.'

Uume has two free morphemes *vu* + *me* (*vehicle/drum*+*in*) glossed. *In a vehicle or drum*.

Avate has one free morpheme *ava* and a bound morpheme *te* = Avate (penis + under = under penis).

Table 2, demonstrates a list of community names, their socially accepted meaning and the profane connotative meaning. Names that have been analyzed already are not captured in this list.

Table 2: List of community names and profane connotation

Name	Socially Accepted Denotation	Profane Connotation
Avakpeta	Meeting place for war	Male genitals had meeting.
Vodzã	Red hairy fig	Red scrotum
Vogɔme	Under hairy fig	Under scrotum
Volo	Hairy fig proverb	Big scrotum
Uume	Inside drum/vehicle/back of the head	Open up the vagina
Vome	Unawares/ in hairy fig (tree)	In the scrotum
Uuata	Because of the vehicle/drum/ the top of canoe	Open your thighs
Vogã	Big hairy fig (tree)	Big scrotum
Amedzɔfe	The origin of man	Vagina/Womb
Vodzãkpo	A heap of hairy fig trees	Community of red scrotum people
Avasive	A forest in which people seek war refuge	A hairy vagina.
Agɔme	Under/ inside date palm/ anus	Vagina
Avakɔme	Warfare/home of wars	In front of penis
Avalime	In the peak of war	A place where an erected penis enters (vagina)
Deme	Lean your back against	Put it in/visit vagina
Vokpoe	Short hairy fig tree	Short scrotum/hill of scrotum

5.0 DISCUSSION

The human hair has a generic name *da* in Ewe. However, the hair on any other part of the body apart from the head is known as *fú*. For instance, hair in the nostrils, in the armpit, around the anus and in the private part are called *ɲɔtimefú*, *axatomefú*, *mitomefú/mefimefú* and *aɲomefú* respectively using the specific part of the body to describe the hair. In the realization of profanity in the place name *Fúme*, the speakers refer the pubic hair. However, the speakers do not reference the male pubic hair in this name. The connotative referent in the name is the female sex organ. In a youthful (and sometimes adult) joke talks, one can hear such statements like *Eyi Fume. Ege de Fume* (*He is gone into hair. He has entered hair*). In this utterance, the speech participants connotatively refer sexual intercourse. This finding supports Zoglin (2008) and Jay (2000) that profane words are usually used by peers to achieve positive interactional outcomes like joke, sex talk and in-group slang.

Avakpedome, *Avakpe* + *dome* = *Avakpedome* is glossed (under war stone) in one of the two senses of the name. In the second sense the composition is observed as *ava* + *kpe* + *le* + *do* + *me* (penis + meet + prep + vagina + post) glossed *Penis had met in the female genitalia*. Connotatively, native speakers of the Ewe take advantage of the property of polysemy of the language focusing on the morphemes *ava* (penis) and *do* (vagina) to realize the name as profane. This act of connotation is generally observed among the youth as they participate in peer and in-group communication. In few instances, it is reported that adults occasionally use it in loose talk also in their in-group casual communication just to create some form of humour and fun. The name is used teasingly to describe males who are identified to have had sexual relationship with the same woman.

The name *Vogme* is used by both male and female in group peers to tease ladies who are observed to take delight and pleasure in sexual activities. From the interaction with the traditional leaders and the youth, it was evident that though this name is not used usually in formal communication, (it is sometimes done behind the targeted woman), as an effective tool for social control on sexual promiscuity. This is corroborated by Gitter (2010) who is of the view that profane language has the possibility of influencing people's social behaviour even when fleeting. It was also evident that females seldom use the name in even informal communication. In the data collection activity, females were careful to mention these names on the Whatsapp platform. The few who did, have to send their interaction to the researchers as a private chat.

The community name *Gbadzeme* derives its name from the topography of its location. The community is found on a somewhat flat (a plateau-like) land located within mountains. For profanity, these surrounding mountains are considered as the two female thighs while the flat land is observed connotatively as the surface wall of the female genitalia. The name *Avate* is jokingly used to describe ladies who are cohabiting with their suitors before marriage. It is a kind of negative expression registering societal displeasure against the practice of cohabitation which does not result into marriage for a long time. This finding demonstrates the theory of linguistic philosophy by Austin (1962), human beings do not use language just anyhow to utter statements. Every utterance has a sense and an illocutionary force to perform some actions on the interlocutors.

The use of some connotations to exert social pressure on young male and female who take so much pleasure and delight in sexual activities help to prevent or manage sexual promiscuity and its attendant cultural offences like incense. It is a tool for managing social conflicts that might have occurred through sexual promiscuity like quarrels among young male and female. It also, help in

reducing the contraction of sexually transmitted diseases like gonorrhea, syphilis, HIV AIDS and others. In effect, the world achieves social cohesion.

6.0 CONCLUSION

This study looked at how profanity has been connoted into Ewe place names. It was observed that all the connotative meanings that are derived from the original denotation are centred on the human genitalia. The male sex organs (penis, scrotum) and female sex organs (vagina) have been the sources of compounding in the crafting of profanity in the place names. The connotation has usually been used in oral language generally in casual or playful communication. It has been observed that these names are used mainly by the youth in teasing and in group joking practices. The names usually have roots and stems that take on derivational and inflectional morphemes in the process of forming the profane connotation. Though the Ewes frown upon profanity in official language, their usage in place names is decorous and linguistically acceptable. The appropriate use of these names in jovial in-group and entertaining utterance demonstrates the linguistic competence of the interlocutors of the speech act. Jay and Janschewitz, (2008) corroborates this position to say that native speakers of a language in a culture learns who it is appropriate to speak a profane word to and when to say those words to avoid linguistic reprimand.

It was also evident that females seldom use the profane place names in even informal communication. Females were careful and hesitant to mention these names even in this research. The few who did, have to interact with the researchers in a private chat. The Ewe language has the flexibility of polysemy of words hence the connotation of profanity in some place names but only in casual and informal communication. This paper observes that Ewes have the flexibility of using profane connotations in their place names using the linguistic concept of polysemy hence dodges the possibility of being punished.

7.0 RECOMMENDATION

This study recommends further research into the historical, semantic and sociocultural implications of the place names in the Ewe language.

Conflict of Interest

There has not been any known conflict of interest in the process of the study. The paper has not been submitted to any journal and or is in the process of review.

Ethical Considerations

Respondents in the research have not been coerced in anyway. The intent of the research was explained to the respondents in their own language. Respondents were assured of the flexibility to withdraw from the research at any time they don't feel comfortable.

REFERENCES

- Agyekum, K. (2006). The Sociolinguistic of Akan Personal Names. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 206-235.
- Austin, J.L. (1962). *How to do things with Words*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Batoma, A. (2006). African ethnonyms and toponyms: An annotated bibliography. *Electronic Journal of Africana bibliography*, 231-143.

- Cavazza, N & Guidetti, M. (2014). Swearing in Political Discourse: Why Vulgarly Works. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 1-19.
- Coats, S. (2021). 'Bad language' in the Nordics: profanity and gender in a social media corpus. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 53:1, 22-57.
- David B., Eisenstein, J. & Schnoebelen, T. (2014). Gender Identity and Lexical Variation in Social Media. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 18 (2): 135–160.
- Foley, W. (1997). *Anthropological Linguistics: An Introduction*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Gitter, S.A (2010). *Shooting the Shit: Profanity, Self-Control, and Aggressive Behavior*. Florida: Florida State University Libraries.
- Guasti, T.M. (2002). *Language Acquisition: the Growth and Grammar*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Helleland, B., Ora, C. E. & Wilkström, S. (2012). Names and Identities. *Oslo Studies in Language*, 95-116.
- Heins, M. (2007). *Not in front of the children: Indecency, censorship and innocence of youth*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Hysenaj, V. (2019). Pragmatics of names. *International journal of library and Information Sciences* 8(5), 45-48.
- Jay, T. (2000). *Why we curse: A neuro-psycho-social theory of speech*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Jay, T., King, K., & Duncan, T. (2006). Memories of punishment for cursing. *Sex Roles*. 10, 1-11.
- Jay, T. and Janschewitz, K. (2008). The Pragmatics of swearing. *Journal of politeness and research*, 267-288.
- Jay, T. (2009). The utility and ubiquity of taboo words. *Perspectives on psychological Science*, 4(2), 153-161.
- Katamba, F. (1986). *Introduction to phonology*. London: Longman Publishers.
- Katamba, F. (1993). *Morphology: Modern linguistics series*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.
- Kyiileyang, M. (2017). Symbolic representation in the naming of people among the Dagara of northwestern Ghana. *International Journal of Current Multidisciplinary Studies*, 599-606.
- Kongo, E.A. & Mends, E. (2016). Language learning: A morphosyntactic analysis of contemporary Ewe personal names . *Proceedings of INCEDI 2016 Conference* , (pp. 610-619). Accra.
- Mireku_Gyema, P.B. & Mensah, A.A. (2015). Anglicized place names in Ghana: The case of two towns in the Tarkwa Mining Area. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 19-23.
- Murphy, K. (2012) "Warning: Explicit Content! A Case for Profanity Education and a Collection of Strategies used by Sign Language Interpreters. *Journal of Interpretation*: Vol. 19(1): 70-103.
- Radding, L. and Western, J. (2010). What's in a name? Linguistics, geography, and toponyms. *Geographical Review*, 394–412.

- Rathje, M. (2014). Attitudes to Danish Swearwords and Abusive Terms in Two Generations. In *Swearing in the Nordic Countries*, edited by Marianne Rathje, 37–61. Copenhagen: Dansk Sprognævn (Sprognævnets Konferencserie 2).
- Thelwall, M. (2008). Fk Yea I Swear: Cursing and Gender in My Space. *Corpora* 3 (1): 83–107.
- Thomas, J. (1983). Cross-cultural pragmatics failure. *Applied linguistics*, 91-112.
- Thomas, J. (1995). *Meaning in Interaction: an introduction to Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Wang, W.; Lu, C.; Krishnaprasad, T. & Amit, P.S. (2014). Cursing in English on Twitter. In *Proceedings of the 17th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing*, 415–425. Baltimore, Md.
- Yekple, S.L.K.; Ahorlu, F. & Susuawo, C. (2020) Linguistic Analysis of Place Names in Ewe: A Focus on Ziope Traditional Area: *Ife Journal of Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 6 (1):134-157.
- Zoglin, R. (2010). *Comedy at the edge: How stand-up in the 1970s changed America*. New York: Bloomsbury.