WHAT YOU ARE IS WHAT YOU SAY*: AN ANALYSIS OF TABOO WORDS ON TIKTOK

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Abstract
This study aims to reveal the use of taboo words in the modernized communication application named TikTok. A total of 67 samples were found, classified into 9 types of taboo words proposed by Jay (2009). The dominant type of taboo word found in TikTok is psychological, physical, social deviation insults, with a quantity of 31.3%. This major category was followed by the second largest type, sexual references by 18%, and at the third level, ethnic-racial-gender slur, which counted as much as 16.4%. Hereinafter, the researchers found offensive slang as much as 14.9%, profane and blasphemy as much as 8.9%, scatological reference & disgusting objects as much as 6%, and animal names as much as 4.5%. During the analysis regarding taboo words in TikTok, the categories of ancestral allusion and substandard vulgar terms have not been found. These types of taboo words are then classified based on the motive for their use, namely to signify various emotions, to obtain certain outcomes, and to express the speaker’s anger and frustration.

Keywords:
Taboo Words; Sociolinguistics; TikTok

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INTRODUCTION

“The truth is that any good modern rifle is good enough. The determining factor is the man behind the gun”- Theodore Roosevelt

The proverb above probably represents the development of social media today. Social media has developed so massively that it is frequently misused. On the one hand, good use of social media will help people, while poor use will cause catastrophe. Several words should not be said in the virtual world, especially on social media, because they do not adhere to social norms. However, there are occasions when these terms become common among young children or social media users.

Lee (2014, in Seargeant & Tagg, 2014) suggests that every social media user has their own identity; that it has characteristics such as gender, age, and nationality. The other aspects of those identities are domains (e.g., family, workplace, education) and relationships (e.g., family, friends). “When participating in social media, people do not behave as just a single, self-contained identity, but as networked individuals” (Wellman, 2001, as cited in Seargeant & Tagg, 2014). Social media has various features that are useful for depicting the essential identity of its users. Indeed, what people use or write on their accounts is part of the ‘self-representation' action which also can be the basis of other users' interest in building communication. Atmawati (2016) defined that the use of language in social media takes advantage of creativity in expression. New language variations on social media have never been used in communication media before, such as abbreviations to give a massage in short, and hash tags, which is very helpful in content filtering. Also, the accuracy of word selection and the arrangement until it becomes a grammatical form determines the effect that will arise in the communication.

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The use of a taboo word in today’s culture has become a regular occurrence and social media is the platform where taboos are easily found. There we found massive phenomena of using inappropriate words called taboos. Aitchison and Wardaugh (1987) claimed that Taboo is ‘the prohibition or avoidance in any society of behavior believed to be harmful to its members in that it would cause them anxiety, embarrassment, or shame’. The words Taboo can be summed up as a restriction in action and utterance for protection purposes as in is not only offensive words, they can also cause embarrassment and harassment toward other people.

The community’s language is employed in a variety of ways in daily activities. Dialect, idiolect, register, colloquial, jargon, and slang are all terms we’re familiar with. Taboo is one of these linguistic variations. One of the prominent characteristics of taboo is the existence of swear words. According to Jay (2009), “swearing is a rich emotional, psychological, and socio-cultural phenomenon with implications for those studying language acquisitions, child-rearing, gender differences, neuroscience, mental health, personality, person perception, emotion, verbal abuse, and cross-cultural differences”. Jay and Janschewitz (2008, in Jay, 2009) stated that “swear words that occur frequently in everyday speech are consistent with the argument that native speakers of any culture learn when and with whom it is appropriate to use taboo words”.

Practically, taboo can also be used to imply a behavior or action. Allan (2018) suggests that taboo comes from the custom of society, especially that comes from fear or respect for metaphysical powers. It extends to the social and political affairs generalize to the usage restrictions and practices, including topics of discussion and expression. Allan and Burridge (2006, in Allan, 2018) clarify that “taboo refers to a proscription of behavior for a specifiable community of one or more persons at a specifiable time in specifiable contexts”. Both the taboo words and taboo behavior in their application are bound by the values and norms of society, yet taboo words engaging with linguistic violation and manners in speaking. Meanwhile, the taboo behavior involves ethics that can be directly analyzed physically. There is also taboo behavior that is prohibited by law leading to social or legal sanctions. Taboo behavior, according to Freshman et al (2009), is limited by shared standards and values where these two points determine whether or not the habits adopted by society are accepted. Allan (2018) provides the expanded of taboo’s concept which includes physical social ethics with increased sanctions, namely legal. Since the culture in each community is different, taboo behavior was likely limited regionally. On the other hand, the present study focuses on the concept of taboo linguistically that is analyzed through social media. Social media is likely to trigger the development of language on a global scale.

Gao (2013) classifies the word taboo in English into 7 advanced types which there is a slight adjustment to the non-native perspective. English taboo words consist of (1) bodily excretions, (2) death and diseases, (3) sex, (4) four-letter words, (5) swear words, (6) privacy, and (7) discriminatory language. According to Gao (2013), all body excretion except tears is a taboo word. Two types of euphemisms can be used to denote the word excretion of the human body, namely the term hospital and connotation. If they both sound less elegant or clinical, then it is better to replace them with a more natural word. In contrast to Gao’s study that provides classification from the perspective of Chinese culture, the present study fully focuses on taboo classification is based on pure native theory which is linear with the development of taboo in American society.

Some notable scholars have already proposed taboo word classification. Jay (2009) proposed 9 types of taboo. Jay (2009) classified the taboo word based on its object, i.e. (1) sexual references, (2) profane and blasphemous, (3) scatological reference and disgusting objects, (4) animal names, (5) ethnic-racial-gender slurs, (6) psychological, physical, and social deviation insults, (7) ancestral allusions, (8) substandard vulgar terms, and (9) offensive
slang. Meanwhile, to Aitchison and Wardhaugh (1987), taboo subjects vary widely. Subjects of such taboo include (1) sex, (2) death, (3) excretion, (4) bodily function, and (5) religious matters. The taboo object increases because of the need to be careful in carrying out a subject, i.e. (6) your mother-in-law, (7) certain game animals, and (8) use of your left hand. Death, seen from its complexity, can be classified as a taboo object because of certain fears related to it. There is various fear associate to death, such as fear of losing a loved one, fear of what happens at the end of life, fear of disintegration of body parts, and evil spirits among the dead souls (Bencez & Burridge, 2018). Based on 8 types of taboo words proposed by Wardhaugh, death, your mother-in-law, and left-hand are used into their classification.

The use of the word taboo at this time does not only about a subject, but also on the level of sensitivity of a word in society (Jdetawy, 2019). This sensitivity may be influenced by changing norms and values in society that could be the result of secularization. Due to this consideration, Jay (2008, in Jdetawy, 2019) proposed four types of swearing, i.e. expletive, abusive, humorous, and auxiliary. The expletive function implies that the word taboo is not directed at other people and is merely used to express personal emotions such as anger, frustration, and surprise. In contrast to the expletive type which is not aimed at other people, the abusive type of the word taboo is aimed at other people and leads to humiliation. This kind of type is indicated by the use of name-calling and curse expressions. “Humorous swearing is a swearing that is directed towards others but it is not abusive. It tends to be idiomatic, playful, humorous, and not serious rather than offensive” (Jdetawy, 2019). The auxiliary type correlates with the ways of speaking; these are “lazy speaking” and “often or always non-emphatic”. This type of taboo appears as an auxiliary but is not aimed at a specific person or place.

The use of the taboo words depends on the speaker's communication goals (Jay, 2009). Still, the use of the word taboo essentially involves 3 substantial aspects; socio-cultural restriction, psychological restriction, and neurological control. These three aspects underlie human control of taboo words, considering their use, that is from spontaneous (small control) to reflective (making people need more time to process their utterance). Based on the level of control over the use of the word taboo, Jay (2009) proposed three main motives for why people say taboo words, namely (1) to signify various emotions, (2) to achieve the variety of personal and interpersonal outcomes, and (3) to express speaker’s anger, frustration, and surprise. Taboo words which are broadly limited by the norms and standards of society encourages Aitchison and Wardhaugh (1987) to provide four motives of taboo words usage linguistically. The word taboo was violated in order (1) to draw attention, (2) to show contempt, (3) to provoke or to be aggressive, and (4) to mock the authority. Freud (in Aitchison & Wardhaugh, 1987) adds that occasionally, taboo words become a verbal form of seduction. This proved when someone is talking dirty. It can be concluded that the motive for use can be influenced by various things, from psychological, socio-cultural, to linguistic factors. The present research has attempted to provide appropriate results using Jay's (2009) theory of classification of the motives. The researchers use Jay's classification of taboo words. Thus, the speaker can try to determine whether a word is linguistically good or bad and consider it in terms of taboo language.

Taboo words as the component of language have become a unique subject to be investigated in sociolinguistics for decades. Some notable scholars have researched this issue (Bednarek, 2019; Dewaele, 2004; Cahyani & Setiawan, 2019; Qanbar, 2011; Faizun, 2015) to name but a few. Bednarek presents her analysis of the function of taboo words in narrative mass media. Also, she analyzes what options can be used to overcome taboo words in TV programs. In the mass media, the function of taboo words varies and their multifunctionality is quite high: The word taboo is used to create realism, humor, and consistency, to reveal ideology and control several emotions, and contribute to setting up events. The use of taboo
words sometimes becomes a dilemma for directors, producers, or screenwriters due to the limitations of social norms and actual legislative regulations regarding mass media broadcasts. Another study about taboo words within the sociolinguistics perspective was conducted by Dewaele (2004) entitled *The Emotional Force of Swearwords and Taboo Words in the Speech of Multilingual*. This study aims to investigate multilingual perceptions on the emotional force of taboo words. This quantitative research involved 1039 respondents with 75 different first languages. Next, Cahyani and Setiawan (2019) also conducted a study on taboo words as part of communication which can generally be found in daily direct conversation. In fact, the word taboo is also found in works or social media although indirectly stated, such as novels, social media, films, and others (Cahyani & Setiawan, 2019). In a study entitled *Swearing Words on Yowis Ben Movie by Fajar Nugros and Bayu Skak*, Cahyani and Setiawan present the forms and functions of taboo words found in the *Yowis Ben* movie through dialogue analysis. This study aimed to presents the classification and function of taboo words in the local language, namely Javanese. Next is a study on taboo words concerning the identity of the Yemeni people conducted by Nada Qanbar in 2011. His study, entitled *A Sociolinguistic Study of The linguistic Taboos in the Yemeni Society*, aims to explore the types of taboo words that are prevalent in Yemeni society and investigate the possible factors that enable the use of taboo expressions, particularly socio-cultural factors. Last, Faizun (2015) also did a study concerning taboo words spoken in Madurese. She found in her the first conversation in her investigation that using taboo words can also be accompanied by gestures such as opening a jacket, pointing at the object being sought, and touching one's own body to show the validity of the information conveyed by the speaker.

The current study attempts to fill the void created by the prior investigations. The current study attempts to analyze banned terms found on TikTok that provide new linguistic variations such as hashtags and acronyms, as well as characteristics that stimulate widespread participation such as FYP. As explained by Chaer & Agustina (2004, p.61, cited in Setiawan, 2018), that the variety of languages can increase due to a large number of speakers and a wide area. The current study is guided by Jay's concept of categorizing taboo terms and the motivation for their use, which is solely meant for the English language so that the categories may be easily seen. Meanwhile, Cahyani and Setiawan's study concentrated on the Javanese language, and the researchers only discovered the theory in practice in the provision of analysis, not the framework for defining taboo words.

**METHODS**

Due to the wide coverage of social media platforms, the study sample only focuses on native English without a limit on the volume of respondents. The investigated cases were related to written data. Thus, the researchers used observation and literature study data collection techniques. The note-taking method is also applied to facilitate data processing. This descriptive-qualitative research used Jay's (2009) theory to find the types of the taboo words and the motives in the use of taboo on TikTok. The purpose of using the above research methods is to answer the following research questions: 1. What kind of taboo words are used in TikTok? 2. How percentage is found? 3. What is the purpose of employing TikTok-discovered Taboo words? To examine the data in this study, four stages were taken: (1) find the TikTok taboo words, (2) classify the taboo terms, and (3) analyze the motives of taboo words use (3) choose the appropriate data, and (4) determine the frequency of incidence of taboo terms in TikTok, as well as the motivations for taboo word use.

In the process of classifying the sample, the researchers also used online dictionaries and visited certain websites to get the latest information about the types of taboo words. Examples of dictionaries used are Merriam Webster Dictionary, New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English, and Online Slang Dictionary. Websites visited related to
descriptions or history of taboo words such as the New York Times and the Disabilities, Opportunities, Internet working, and Technology Center websites.

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

**Classification and the frequency of taboo words on TikTok**

The following examples were acquired from TikTok's contents and comments sessions and processed by Jay's (2009) taboo words classification. These data were analyzed to identify the classification of taboo terms, the frequency with which they appear, and the motivation for employing them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Taboo</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psychological, physical, social deviation insults</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual references</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic-racial-gender slur</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offensive slang</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profane and Blasphemy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scatological reference and disgusting objects</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal names</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestral allusion</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substandard vulgar term</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>67</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows the total samples of taboo words identified in TikTok's content and comment sections. Overall, the psychological, physical, and social deviant insults had the highest percentage of the 67 types of taboo words discovered (31.3%). This prominent type is followed by sexual references (18%), ethnic-racial-gender slur (16.4%), offensive slang (14.9%), profane and blasphemy (8.9%), scatological reference & disgusting objects (6%), and the last one is animal names (4.5%).

**a. Psychological, physical, social deviation insults**

There are as many as 21 different forms of psychological, physical, and social deviant insults identified on TikTok (31.3%). Among the psychological insults are the terms mad, fool, psycho, idiot, drug, and stupid. Psycho is a technical term for a mentally ill (mad) individual with a terrifying demeanor. Words considered as physical insults include, among others, deaf, overweight, flat, blind, and slur. Disabilities, Opportunities, Internetworking, and Technology (2021) defines dwarfism as a condition in which an adult male or female is 145 cm or shorter in height. This word is considered disparaging since it offends the physique of a smaller-than-average person. The phrase skinny relates to a person's physical appearance and can be considered disparaging because it indicates being thin in an unhealthy way.

**b. Sexual references**

The word taboo relating to sexuality is the second most common taboo word discovered in TikTok content and comments, accounting for up to 18%. Sexual references are words that allude to sexual behavior, private body parts, and the anatomy of the body concerning sexual functions. Obscenity is another term for sexual reference terms. Obscenity, as defined by Battistella (2005, as referenced in Jdetawy, 2019), refers to statements that include vulgarity and incorporate sex components in either behaviors or anatomy that are expressed disrespectfully. The researchers detected the following sexual references: fuck, prostitute, p*lv*c push, bo*bs, d*c*, and ti**. The researchers also
discovered the term boner. According to Merriam Webser Dictionary, it is vulgar slang for an erect *e*s, which this term has a correlation with the anatomy of the body that is private.

c. Ethnic-racial-gender slur
Saying nigger, fag, or dago to certain ethnicities or groups related to them is an ethnic-racial-gender slur (Jay, 2009). Cerollaro (2017) described slur as 'derogatory terms that target individuals and groups based on their belonging to a certain category, called "target class". Some terms are not listed as taboo, yet still correlate with slurs, which is called “a neutral counterpart”. Lesbian, Gay, Asian, and Italian are examples of 'neutral counterparts' (Cepollaro, 2017). The researchers discovered insult phrases associated with a race's, nationality's, and sexuality's physical appearance. In terms of physical appearance, the phrase, which is regarded as a slur, specifically indicates physical contrasts between races, such as; blonde, black, white. The word black not only denotes skin that represents races skin tone, but also hair color. Furthermore, regarding nationalism, its use is found by a direct mention to the person who posted it like the Filipino gang. Based on Alsaybar (2007), the Filipino Gang, or familiarly called Pinoy Gang has a dominant representation that they come from “the dreaded prison gang of Manila.”

d. Offensive slang
Jdetawy (2019) defined slang as “the particular non-standard words that are often used to communicate internally among the members of a particular group of people, such as teenagers, musicians, drug users, etc.” The offensive slang the researchers found on TikTok is quite diverse. Slangs appeared on TikTok such as dummy, dumbass, funky, simp, bugger, rat, motherfucker, and mess. The word idiot comes out more often than the offensive slang the researchers found above. Simp is an old slang used by a West Coast rapper in early 1985 in his lyrics (Bromwich & Marcus, 2020). According to the New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (in Bromwich & Marcus, 2020), simp stands for a simpleton, which was originally rooted in calling someone stupid for too nice to girls. This word is classified as the word sexism because it is intended specifically for men but has an impact on discrimination and ignorance against women. According to Merriam Webster Dictionary, the term bugger has two meanings. First, the bugger is a term to define a worthless person. Second, the bugger is a vulgar term that denotes sodomy.

e. Profane & blasphemy
Blasphemy is a type of word that is expressed in attacking. Meanwhile, types of terms related to certain religions with inflection disrespecting God's name, belief, and things that are considered sacred along with ignorant attitude are called profanity (Jdetawy, 2019). Montagu (2001, in Jdetawy, 2019) suggested that “blasphemy is the act of cursing god.” Based on the researchers' observation, profanity and blasphemy type words have appeared on TikTok, i.e., godd*m*, RIP, hell, damn, and Jesus Christ. The term hell, Jesus Christ, and damn appear several times without any censorship with variations such as hella, Jesus, heck, and dayum.

f. Scatological reference & disgusting objects
According to Jdetawy (2019), scatology “refers to the involvement of excrement or human waste both in product and process, in certain utterances”. The researchers realize two types of scatology words deal with the human excretion product category, like shit, and poop. On the other side, the researchers found the human body part is involved in the excretion process like the butt. Fart is the process of expelling gas through the anus, which is an informal and widely accepted word. However, this word is still considered vulgar and impolite.
g. **Animal names**

The word taboo consists not only of words that refer to disgusting things but also the names of animals. Frequently, animal names are used that explicitly represent the meaning of the speaker's utterance. However, there are also animal names that contain denotative meanings. The names of the animals I found on TikTok that explicitly reveal what the speaker means are bitch and piglet. The term ‘Llama’ looks common when analyzed the connotative meaning, for it denotes a white-furred animal of the *Camelidae* family from South America. However, in Online Slang Dictionary, *llama* can be used to define a stupid person or people doing something stupid.

h. **Ancestral allusion**

The ancestral allusion is a swear word that includes a family. Generally, this type of taboo was found to involve the term mother. Jay (2009) mentioned the son of a bitch and bastard as examples of ancestral allusion. During observing TikTok content, no ancestral allusion terms were found.

i. **Substandard vulgar term**

The substandard vulgar term is a forbidden word in English with a lower status than the norm. *Fart-face* and on the rag are two instances given by Jay (2009). The researchers were also unable to locate this type of taboo word on TikTok.

**Motivation for the use of taboo words**

The use of taboo words depends on the speaker's purpose in a conversation (Jay, 2009). The motives in using the taboo word on TikTok's use in two-way communication or face-to-face engagement is not considerably different. In contrast to ordinary terms in general, the employment of taboo words in discussion elicits particular engaging emotions. Thus, banned words serve a purpose in communication. Several quantitative studies on online communities undertaken by previous scholars indicate that a variety of factors influence the use of vulgar words. "Profanity is moderated by pragmatic or contextual factors that go beyond gender, including occupation, social status, and even the nature of the relationship between interlocutors" (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008, in Holgate et al, 2018). According to McEnery, other social variables such as age, religiosity, and socioeconomic standing have been proven to influence the diversity of vulgar expressions (2004, in Holgate et al, 2018). According to Jay (2009), the purpose of employing the word taboo in communication can be divided into three categories: to reflect specific emotions, to achieve specific goals, and to demonstrate the speaker's dissatisfaction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motives</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signify various emotions</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieve certain outcomes</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Express speaker’s frustration or anger</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>145</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2. The motives on taboo word’s theory (Jay, 2009)**

a. **To signify various emotions**

The horn on a car is analogous to a forbidden word. It can be used to describe feelings like rage, astonishment, and excitement (Jay, 2009). According to Jay (2000, in Jdetawy, 2019), taboo words are the result of neurological, psychological, and social processes. This is supported by Setiawan (2018), based on the topic of speech, language has a representational function. That is, language is used to talk about objects or events that are around the speaker or in the speaker's culture. Taboo words are supposed to ease tension since they are used spontaneously as a reaction to communicate personal feelings.
such as fury or disappointment. The speaker's situation and the pure expression of the speaker's feelings lead the speaker's use of the taboo, whether spontaneous or deliberate. The usage of forbidden terms demonstrates disagreement or hatred, as well as astonishment. The terms dummy, fool, hella, and damn were used to express disagreement or disdain.

People can utter taboo words when they are surprised or amazed by something. The example of taboo words found is like damn and crazy.

b. To Achieve Certain Outcomes

In our society, the word taboo serves a social function to achieve individual or societal results. Speakers may receive positive or negative feedback depending on the circumstances of the conversation. Because it was a successful attempt to perpetuate societal harm, the use of prohibited terms in jokes might generate beneficial social consequences such as laughing or strengthen community togetherness. Taboo words, such as exhilarating, were discovered to have unique aims based on their usage. The term "yellowish teeth" is used in figure 7 to convey an opinion regarding a TikToker's teeth, despite the fact that the yellow hue of the teeth is considered typical. Figure 8 depicts the use of a word like "Filipino Gang" to capture the attention of specific target communities. This is supported by the number of netizens who have made similar comments that appear beneath it. Figure 9 shows how the words black and white were used to portray a peach. Obviously, it offends a certain race.
c. To Express Speaker’s Frustration or Anger

According to the NPS theory, which seeks to investigate why a person swears in one environment but not in another, the brain's moderate habits are the growth of interest. The cerebral cortex and the subcortical system are the two neurological systems of the brain (Battistella, 2001). Both systems, according to Battistella (2001), govern the speaker's verbal expressions, ensuring that each expression offered by the speaker has a separate meaning. The brain is a storehouse of psychological and social knowledge that is used to control the use of profanity. Temperament, religiosity, punishment, personality traits, and social rewards are all aspects of psychological development that have a direct impact on the usage of curse words. Anger and frustration are two emotions that exist in the human psyche sphere that cause people to use taboo words. According to the researcher's results, the term fuck, as illustrated in figure 10, is used to indicate displeasure for behavior that makes other readers uncomfortable. This could be in response to an event or to relieve frustration. In response to a huge number of comments from Netizens, the word Jesus Christ in figure 11 is an example of the usage of prohibited profanity to indicate unhappiness.

Figure 10. *Fuck* used to show anger

Figure 11. The phrase *Jesus Christ* used to show frustration

The speaker's actions, from a psychological standpoint, represent what the speaker feels and experiences. This is understandable given that the word taboo is not always used to damage the interlocutor. As the concluding motives, the use of forbidden words to transmit diverse emotions can support Jay's (2009) thesis of the purpose for employing taboo phrases based on the speaker's conversation. As we know that the main use of the swear word is for emotional connotations (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008). Some swear words, such as dammit, crazy, and fool, are followed by laughing emoticons and the abbreviation of I love you (ily), which aligns with the speaker's intent in lighthearted touches. The clause “you did it hella wrong, sir” denotes the use of the word *hella* as an auxiliary swear on a non-emphatic circumstance. The growth of taboo word usage can support Jay (2008, in Jdetawiy, 2019) theory that the motivation for forbidden word usage has grown into a context of humor and linguistics purpose based on the evolution of values in society.

Compared to the previous study by Bednarek (2019), it was revealed that the present study has similarities with hers. In the mass media, the function of taboo words varies and their multifunctionality is quite high and it is in line with the functionality of taboo words used in TikTok. Bednarek (2019) found that taboo words are used one of which is to control several emotions and this is also in line with the present study. In the same vein, a study by Dewaele (2004) also found that taboo words serve to provide a greater emotional force used by participants when arguing with their partners. Dewaele argues that education level does not influence the perception of swear words in different languages. In terms of the perception of emotional force and its effect on gender, it is evident that women give higher scores that indicate their awareness of the power of swear words than men. The present study, unfortunately, did not address the issue of gender which might be used as a suggestion for future research. However, the present study's finding is a lot different from Cahyani and Setiawan’s (2019) study considering that the use of taboo words on TikTok serve to express emotions and anger while in a movie some
taboo words are used to show solidarity of Javanese address terms to maintain a social relationship. The last, a study by Qanbar (2011) revealed that understanding psychological factors have a major influence on the use of taboo words, the motives for their use can be classified in general so that they are not limited to one community but also the socio-cultural factors which this present study is lacking. Last, the result of this present study finding is also in line with Faizun’s study (2015) stating that in uttering taboos people also use special gestures like touching one’s own body to show the validity of the information conveyed by the speaker.

CONCLUSION
The recent study presents a finding that the distribution of taboo words in TikTok is unequal. From 67 samples of taboo words, only 7 types of taboo words proposed by Jay (2009) can be found. The types of taboo words available in TikTok are psychological, physical, social deviation insult (31.3%), sexual reference (18%), ethnic-racial-gender slur (16.4%), offensive slang (14.9%), profane, and blasphemy (8.9%), scatological reference and disgusting objects (6%), and animal names (4.5%). It may be inferred that the researchers do not find two categories of forbidden words in TikTok: ancestral allusion and substandard vulgar phrases. Jay (2009) categorizes the samples found based on their purpose of usage, and the following conclusion can be drawn: taboo words used to represent distinct emotions (44.2%), used to attain a specific objective (38.6%), and used to express the speaker's frustration and anger (17.2%). TikTok gives an open platform for the people to express themselves and expose their identities; therefore the desire to express diverse emotions may be the key motivation. Swearing is an important aspect of communication when used properly, since it can inspire positive outcomes and strengthen solidarity. Taboo words, whether used in direct conversation or in online media, must be able to be managed so that they are in the proper forms. Television, as a communication and entertainment medium that reflects societal reality, may have dwindled. The development or use of taboo words is an interesting subject to analyze considering the various variations and some of them are correlated with dialects.

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