

THE USE OF SWEAR WORDS IN ONLINE COMMUNICATION: A GENDER-BASED STUDY AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Ni Ketut Putri Nila Sudewi¹

Universitas Bumigora, Mataram, Indonesia
e-mail: putri.nila@universitasbumigora.ac.id¹

Komang Satria Wirasa²

Universitas Dwijendra, Denpasar, Indonesia
e-mail: satriawirasa@undwi.ac.id²

Abstract

This study aims to examine gender differences in the use of swear words in online communication among university students, focusing on frequency, situations, types, language choice, and perceptions of usage. The data were obtained from 40 undergraduate students (20 male and 20 female) from the English Literature Department at Universitas Bumigora. The study applies the theories proposed by Lakoff (1975) and Tannen (1990) framework on communication style differences. Using a mixed-methods approach, data were collected through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The data were analyzed using descriptive and the findings are presented in tables. The results show that male students use swear words more frequently and directly, especially in humorous contexts, while female students use them more selectively to express emotions, often in softened forms. Female students prefer expressions such as *anjir* or *anjay*, whereas male students tend to use stronger forms such as *babi* and *fuck*. Both groups use mixed languages, and female students regulate their language more carefully, while male students use swear words more habitually. These findings indicate that gender differences in language use remain evident but are becoming more flexible in digital communication contexts.

Keywords: *Gender, Online Communication, Students, Swear Words*

1. Introduction

In recent years, the rapid growth of digital platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, and WhatsApp has significantly transformed communication practices, particularly among university students. Global data indicate that social media usage has exceeded 4.9 billion users, with young adults representing the most active group (DataReportal, 2024). In Indonesia, this trend is even more prominent, as the majority of internet users are within the age range of 18–24 years actively engage with platforms such as TikTok and Instagram for daily communication and interaction (APJII,

2024). This high level of engagement indicates that online communication has become a dominant mode of interaction among university students. Communication on these platforms tends to be more informal, flexible, and expressive, allowing users to experiment with various linguistic forms, including slang and swear words (Herring, 2007). The increasing presence of swear words in online communication reflects a shift in how language is used to express emotions and social meanings in digital contexts. However, despite this growing phenomenon, the patterns of swear word usage, particularly across gender, remain insufficiently explored.

Swear words are a form of language that is often associated with taboo or socially restricted expressions. According to Ljung (2011), swear words refer to the use of taboo lexical items that are employed primarily for expressive rather than literal purposes. In a similar vein, Allan and Burrige (2006) explain that such expressions are shaped by cultural norms and are considered inappropriate in certain contexts, yet they remain widely used in everyday interaction. Although swear words are frequently linked to negative meanings, recent studies suggest that they serve multiple communicative functions, including expressing emotions, emphasizing messages, and creating interpersonal closeness (Fägersten, 2012). This indicates that the use of swear words is not merely offensive but also functional and context dependent.

The use of swear words has also undergone significant changes in contemporary communication. In digital contexts, swear words are often modified or softened, resulting in expressions that are less offensive but still expressive (Bednarek, 2008; McCarthy, 2004; Fägersten, 2012). For example, Indonesian users frequently employ variations such as *anjir*, *gila*, or abbreviated forms to convey emotions without fully violating social norms (Fadhilah et al., 2025). These variations reflect the adaptability of language users in negotiating meaning and appropriateness in online interaction. Therefore, swearing in digital communication can be understood as a dynamic linguistic practice influenced by social context and technological environment.

In addition, language use is also influenced by social variables such as gender. Gender is not only a biological distinction but also a social construct that shapes communicative behavior and

language choices (Holmes, 2013; Sunderland, 2022). Lakoff (1975) suggest that women's language is characterized by features such as politeness, hedging, and avoidance of strong expressions, reflecting broader social expectations of femininity. In contrast, men are often associated with more direct and assertive language use (Tannen, 1990). Supporting this view, Tannen (1990) proposes that male and female communication styles differ in terms of goals and interactional patterns, where men tend to focus on status and independence, while women emphasize connection and solidarity. These theoretical perspectives imply that differences in the use of swear words may also be shaped by gendered communication styles.

However, recent studies suggest that these traditional distinctions are becoming less rigid. Earlier studies consistently reported clear differences in swearing behavior between men and women. Aisyah et al. (2020) found that male students tend to use swear words more frequently and more directly, while female students use them more selectively and in context-dependent situations. Similarly, Stapleton and Fägersten (2017) argued that swearing has traditionally been more socially acceptable for men than for women, reinforcing gendered language norms. Nevertheless, more recent findings indicate a shift in these patterns. Studies have shown that female speakers increasingly use swear words in informal and digital contexts, reducing the gap between male and female language use (Kurniawanti & Damanhuri, 2022; Stapleton et al., 2022). At the same time, male continue to use swear words more frequently and more directly. These findings suggest that while traditional gender norms still influence language use, they are becoming more flexible in contemporary

communication. Despite this development, previous studies have largely focused on general or face-to-face interaction rather than online communication among university students. Therefore, this study addresses this gap by examining the use of swear words in digital interaction, focusing on frequency, types, contexts, and language choice.

Despite these developments, many studies on swearing have primarily focused on general or spoken communication contexts, with limited attention to the specific dynamics of online interaction among university students. For instance, McEnery (2006) and Ljung (2011) examine swearing from a broad linguistic and cultural perspective without specifically addressing digital communication environments. Similarly, earlier sociolinguistic studies tend to analyze swearing in face-to-face interaction rather than in online settings (Herring, 2007). This indicates that the unique characteristics of digital communication, such as anonymity, multimodality, and platform-specific norms, remain underexplored in relation to swear word usage among university students. As online platforms provide more freedom and flexibility, they may influence how individuals express themselves, including their use of swear words. Therefore, it is necessary to examine whether gender differences in swearing are maintained or transformed in online communication settings.

This study aimed to investigate gender differences in the use of swear words in online communication among university students, focusing on four main objectives. First, to identify the frequency of swear word usage among male and female students, which was analyzed using quantitative data obtained from a questionnaire, where participants indicated how often they

used swear words in online communication; the data were then categorized and compared to determine patterns across gender. Second, to examine the contexts or situations in which swear words were used, such as expressing anger or emotional reactions; this objective was analyzed through both questionnaire responses and semi-structured interviews, with the questionnaire providing general patterns and interviews offering deeper insights into the reasons behind the usage. Third, to analyze the types of swear words used by students, including variations in intensity and form; data were collected from open-ended questionnaire responses and further explored through interviews, and the analysis was conducted using the theory proposed by Braun & Clarke (2006) to identify recurring categories and patterns. Last, investigate the language choice in swearing, including the use of Bahasa Indonesia, English, local languages, or mixed forms; this objective was analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively to understand the sociolinguistic factors influencing language selection. To ensure the validity and reliability of the findings, the study employed methodological triangulation by combining questionnaire data and interview data, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of swear word usage....

However, despite the growing number of studies on swear words and gender, several limitations remain in existing literature. Previous studies have primarily focused on general or face-to-face communication, with limited attention to the specific dynamics of online interaction. Earlier research on swearing has largely examined its role in spoken or general discourse rather than in digital environments (McEnery, 2006; Ljung, 2011). The focus tends to be on specific domains such as political

discourse or hate speech rather than everyday communication among university students. In addition, many studies emphasize the frequency of swear word usage without exploring other important dimensions such as types, contexts, and language choice. This indicates that the unique characteristics of digital communication such as platform norms, interactional patterns, and social functions of language remain underexplored. Therefore, this study addresses these gaps by examining the use of swear words in online communication among university students, focusing on frequency, types, contexts, and language choice. Furthermore, this study employs a mixed-method approach by combining questionnaire data and semi-structured interviews to provide a more comprehensive and in-depth analysis of swearing behavior in digital interaction.

2. Literature Review

According to Ljung (2011), swear words refer to the use of taboo lexical items that are primarily intended to express the speaker's emotions rather than their literal meanings. This definition emphasizes that swearing is fundamentally expressive, functioning as a linguistic strategy to convey affective states such as anger, frustration, surprise, or excitement. In this sense, swear words operate beyond their denotative meanings and instead perform pragmatic functions within interaction. Allan and Burridge (2006) further argue that taboo language, including swear words, is deeply embedded in cultural norms and social values.

In addition, swear words also serve a wide range of communicative and social functions. Fägersten (2012) explains that swearing can function as a mechanism for emotional release, allowing speakers to cope with stress or

frustration. Swear words also perform positive interpersonal functions, such as creating humor, signalling solidarity, and reinforcing group identity. In informal and peer-group interactions, particularly among young people, swearing is often used to establish closeness and shared understanding, rather than to offend. This multifunctionality demonstrates that swear words are highly flexible linguistic resources that can serve both individual and social purposes. Furthermore, the use of swear words is influenced by pragmatic considerations, where speakers adjust their language based on context, audience, and communicative goals. For example, the same expression may be perceived as offensive in a formal setting but acceptable or even friendly in informal interaction.

The emergence of digital communication has further transformed the use of swear words, making them more dynamic and adaptable. Online platforms such as social media and messaging applications provide users with greater freedom to experiment with language, often leading to creative modifications of swear words. Studies have shown that in digital contexts, swear words are frequently softened or altered through processes such as abbreviation, phonological modification, and semantic shift (Dynel, 2012; McEnery, 2006). These strategies allow users to express strong emotions while mitigating the potential offensiveness of the expression. As a result, forms such as euphemisms or modified swear words become common, reflecting users' ability to negotiate meaning and appropriateness in online interaction. This suggests that swearing in digital communication is not only a linguistic phenomenon but also a socially adaptive practice shaped by technological affordances and interactional norms.

The relationship between language and gender provides a crucial theoretical foundation for understanding variation in swear word usage. Lakoff (1975), suggest that women's language is characterized by politeness, indirectness, and the avoidance of strong or taboo expressions. This perspective is based on the idea that women are socially conditioned to use language in ways that maintain harmony and conform to societal expectations of femininity. As a result, women are often expected to regulate their use of language more carefully, especially in relation to potentially offensive expressions such as swear words. In contrast, men are commonly associated with more direct, assertive, and less restricted language use. This difference reflects broader social norms that allow men greater freedom to express dominance, authority, or strong emotions through language.

Tannen (1990) introduces the difference theory, which explains that male and female communication styles differ in terms of their interactional goals and functions. According to Tannen, men tend to use language to achieve status, independence, and control within interaction, while women use language to build connection, solidarity, and interpersonal relationships. These differences influence not only what is said but also how it is expressed, including the use of swear words. From this perspective, men may use swear words more frequently and directly as a way to assert identity or strengthen group cohesion, particularly in informal contexts. Women, on the other hand, may use swear words more selectively, often modifying or softening them to align with social expectations while still expressing emotions. This reflects a more strategic use of language, where communicative goals are

balanced with considerations of appropriateness and social evaluation.

However, sociolinguistic perspectives challenge the view that gendered language use is fixed or universally applicable. Recent studies emphasize that language use is dynamic and shaped by contextual factors, including social roles, interactional settings, and cultural changes. In modern communication, particularly in digital environments, the boundaries between male and female language use are becoming less rigid. Female speakers are increasingly using swear words in informal contexts, not only to express emotions but also to participate in peer-group interaction and construct social identity. This shift suggests that gender differences in language use should be understood as flexible and context-dependent rather than strictly determined by traditional norms.

Overall, these theoretical perspectives provide a comprehensive framework for analyzing the use of swear words in relation to gender. This study examined how swear words are used, interpreted, and negotiated in online communication among university students. These theories support the analysis of frequency, contexts, types, and language choices, allowing for a deeper understanding of how gender and digital communication shape contemporary language practices.

3. Research Method

This study employed a mixed-method approach. According to Creswell (2018), mixed-method research combines quantitative and qualitative data to provide a more complete understanding of a research problem. This approach was considered appropriate to explore gender differences in the use of swear words in online communication, as it allows the

researcher to analyze both patterns of usage and participants' perceptions.

This study was conducted at the English Literature Department of Universitas Bumigora. The participants consisted of 40 undergraduate students, including 20 male and 20 female students. A purposive sampling technique was used to select students who actively use social media platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, and WhatsApp.

Data were collected through a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. The questionnaire included closed-ended and open-ended questions to allow participants to provide examples of swear words and explain the contexts in which they were used. Participants were also asked to report examples from their own online communication. First, the questionnaire was distributed online using a digital form. Then, participants completed the questionnaire and submitted their responses. After that, several participants were selected for follow-up interviews to gain deeper insights into their perceptions and experiences. The interviews were recorded and transcribed for analysis.

Data were analyzed in two stages. Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, such as frequency and percentage, to identify patterns of swear word usage. Meanwhile, qualitative data were analyzed using thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), including coding, identifying themes, and interpreting the data. The use of multiple data sources allowed for triangulation to ensure the credibility of the findings.

4. Results and Discussion

This section presents the results and discussion of the study based on data collected through close-ended and

open-ended questionnaires supported by interviews. The findings are organized based on the research objectives, including frequency, situations, types, language choice, and perceptions of swear word usage.

4.1 Results

4.1.1 Frequency of Swear Word Usage

The first finding addresses the objective of analyzing the frequency of swear word use based on data obtained from closed-end questionnaire items.

Table 4.1 Frequency of Swear Word Usage

Frequency Level	Male (n=20)	Female (n=20)
Often	14	4
Sometimes	6	8
Rarely	0	8
Never	0	0

The data indicate a clear disparity between male and female students. A majority of male participants (70%) reported using swear words *often*, whereas female participants were more evenly distributed between *sometimes* (40%) and *rarely* (40%). This pattern suggests that male students are more frequent users of swear words, while female students demonstrate more restrained usage. This finding supports the argument proposed by Lakoff (1975) that women tend to avoid strong or socially marked expressions due to expectations of politeness and appropriateness. The results also indicate that although swearing is common among both groups, its frequency is mediated by gendered norms of language use.

4.1.2 Situations of Swear Word Usage

This finding identifying the contexts or situations in which swear words are used based on closed-end questionnaire data.

Table 4.2 Situations of Swear Word Usage

Situation	Male (n=20)	Female (n=20)
Anger	6	5
Humor	10	3
Expressing Surprise	4	12
Following Trends	0	0

The data show that male students most frequently use swear words in humor situations (50%), while female students tend to use them to express surprise (60%). This indicates that swear words serve different communicative functions across genders.

This difference reflects contrasting communicative purposes across genders. The results align with Tannen (1990), who argues that men often use language to maintain group interaction and solidarity, whereas women tend to use language to express emotions and interpersonal reactions. Overall, the findings demonstrate that swear words function differently depending on gendered communicative goals.

4.1.3 Types of Swear Words Used

The next finding focuses on the classification of swear words based on open-ended questionnaire responses. The data reveal differences not only in frequency but also in the types and intensity of swear words used by male and female students. Based on the analysis, swear words can be categorized into several types, including mild expressions, animal-based insults, sexual or taboo terms, and general expletives.

Female participants tended to use softened expressions such as *anjay* and *anjir*, which function as less offensive

forms of swearing. This can be seen in the data below:

Data 1 (Female):

A: Eh tugas kamu udah selesai?

B: Udah dong, dari tadi malam.

A: *Anjirrr...* rajin banget sekarang!

Based on Data 1, the interaction reflects a casual conversation between peers about completing an assignment. The word *anjirrr* is used to express admiration and surprise rather than insult, indicating a positive and affiliative function. Therefore, it is categorized as a softened swear word. Female participants also used animal-based expressions in relatively mild ways:

Data 2 (Female):

A: Dia nggak balas chat kamu lagi?

B: Iya, *monyet* banget sih orangnya.

In Data 2, the speaker refers to a person who did not reply to a message. The word *monyet* is used to express irritation; however, the tone remains informal and not highly aggressive. Thus, it is categorized as an animal-based insult with relatively mild intensity.

In addition, female participants reported using expressions such as *anjay*, *anjir*, *WTF* (what the fuck), *bitch*, *anjing*, *babi*, *kampret*, *damn*, *sialan*, *setan*, and *monyet*. These expressions represent a range of categories. Words such as *anjay* and *anjir* are classified as mild or softened swear words, as they are modified forms of stronger taboo expressions. Terms like *anjing*, *babi*, *kampret*, and *monyet* belong to animal-based insults, while expressions such as *damn*, *sialan*, and *setan* function as general expletives used to express emotional reactions, such as surprise or anger. Although some stronger terms like *bitch* are also present, female participants generally show a preference

for less explicit and more socially mitigated forms.

In contrast, male participants demonstrated a tendency to use more direct and explicit swear words, including stronger taboo expressions. This can be observed in the following examples:

Data 3 (Male):

A: Laptopku error lagi, nggak bisa dibuka.

B: *Babi*, padahal besok deadline!

In Data 3, the speaker responds to a frustrating situation involving a technical problem before a deadline. The word *babi* functions as a strong expletive expressing anger and frustration, indicating a more direct and intense emotional reaction.

Data 4 (Male):

A: Kenapa kamu telat lagi?

B: *Fuck*, tadi macet parah!

In Data 4, the speaker explains being late due to traffic. The word *fuck* is used as a strong expletive to express frustration toward the situation, reflecting a direct and explicit use of taboo language.

Male participants also reported using expressions such as *bitch*, *fuck*, *pantek*, *puki*, *anjay*, *what the fuck*, *memek*, *anjing*, *basong*, and *stupid*. In addition to animal-based insults like *anjing*, male participants frequently used sexual and highly taboo expressions, such as *fuck*, *puki*, and *memek*, which are considered more explicit and offensive. Expressions like *what the fuck* also function as strong expletives that intensify emotional reactions. Compared to female participants, male students demonstrate a higher tendency to use direct, unmodified, and stronger taboo terms, indicating a lower level of linguistic mitigation.

Overall, the comparison indicates that female students tend to use more mitigated and context-sensitive swear words, while male students are

more likely to use explicit and direct forms. This pattern reflects different strategies in managing emotional expression and social interaction. Female students appear to balance expressiveness with social appropriateness through softened forms, whereas male students prioritize directness and intensity.

4.1.4 Language Choice in Swearing

The next finding concerns examining the language choice in swear word based on closed-ended questionnaire data.

Table 4.3 Language Choice in Swearing

Language Type	Male (n=20)	Female (n=20)
Bahasa Indonesia	0	4
English	6	6
Local Language	6	0
Mixed (Bahasa-Indonesia-English)	8	10

The data above indicate that both groups use multilingual expressions. Mixed language is the most common form, especially among female students (50%), while male students show a higher tendency to use local languages.

4.1.5 Perceptions and Patterns of Usage

The last finding concerns in exploring students' perceptions and patterns of swear word based on open-ended questionnaire responses and interviews. The results show clear differences between male and female students in how they perceive and regulate their use of swear words in online communication. Female participants described their usage using expressions such as rarely, sometimes, and not very often, indicating a more

controlled and context-sensitive approach. For example, one participant stated that she only uses swear words in certain situations and tries to avoid them in formal contexts. In contrast, male participants used expressions such as uncounted, when talking online, or when playing games, suggesting a more habitual and spontaneous pattern of usage. One participant explained that he uses swear words almost every day, especially when chatting with friends or playing games. These findings indicate that female students tend to regulate their language use more carefully, while male students use swear words more freely as part of everyday interaction. Overall, gender differences are evident not only in frequency and types of swear words but also in how they are perceived and used in online communication.

4.2 Discussion

This study employed closed-ended and open-ended data, which were analyzed using different techniques to provide a comprehensive understanding of gender differences in the use of swear words in online communication. First, the findings on frequency and situations of swear word were derived from closed-ended questionnaire items. These data were analyzed using descriptive, particularly frequency counts and percentage. By calculating the number of responses in each category (e.g., often, sometimes, rarely), the study was able to identify patterns and compare male and female participants. The results show that male students reported higher frequencies of swear word, while female students showed more variation across categories. Similarly, the analysis of situational use such as humor, anger, and surprise was conducted by comparing response distributions, revealing that male students tend to use swear words in humorous contexts, whereas female students use them more

for expressing surprise. This statistical comparison allows the identification of gender-based patterns in a systematic and measurable way.

In contrast, the findings on types of swear words were based on open-ended questionnaire responses, in which participants provided their own examples of swear words used in online communication. These responses were analyzed using categorization techniques, where similar expressions were grouped into thematic categories such as mild expressions, animal-based insults, and strong expletives. The analysis involved identifying recurring lexical items such as: *anjir*, *anjay*, *babi*, and *fuck* interpreting their functions based on context. For example, the word *anjir* in Data 1 was categorized as a softened swear word because it expresses admiration rather than insult, while words such as *babi* and *fuck* were categorized as strong expletives due to their direct and intense emotional meaning. This process demonstrates how qualitative data were systematically organized and interpreted to reveal patterns in language use.

Furthermore, the analysis of language choice was also based on closed-ended questionnaire data, which were examined using frequency comparison across categories such as Bahasa Indonesia, English, local language, and mixed language. The results indicate that both male and female students use multilingual forms, with mixed language being the most dominant. This finding was obtained by comparing the numerical distribution of responses, allowing for a clear identification of dominant language patterns in swearing practices.

Finally, the findings on perceptions and patterns of usage were derived from open-ended questionnaire responses and follow-up interviews, which were analyzed. This process

involved identifying key expressions used by participants such as rarely, sometimes, uncounted and grouping them into broader themes such as controlled usage and habitual usage. The interview data were used to support and validate the patterns identified in the questionnaire responses, ensuring data triangulation. For instance, female participants' responses were consistently categorized under controlled usage due to their emphasis on context and appropriateness, while male participants' responses were categorized as habitual usage due to their frequent and spontaneous use of swear words.

5. Conclusion

This study found gender differences in the use of swear words in online communication among university students, focusing on frequency, situations, types, language choice, and perceptions of usage. The findings show that both male and female students actively use swear words; however, clear differences exist across these aspects. Male students tend to use swear words more frequently, more directly, and in humorous contexts, whereas female students use them less frequently and more selectively, particularly to express surprise or emotions, often in softened forms. Both groups demonstrate multilingual practices, with mixed-language usage being dominant. In addition, female students tend to regulate their language more carefully, while male students use swear words more habitually. It should be noted that these findings are based on self-reported data from questionnaires and interviews rather than direct observation of social media interactions.

In terms of implications, this study shows that swear words function not only as taboo language but also as a communicative resource shaped by

gender and context. In language teaching, particularly in English learning, this highlights the importance of developing students' pragmatic competence and awareness of context-appropriate language use. Future research is recommended to use authentic social media data, involve more diverse participants, and explore additional factors such as digital identity and cultural context to provide a deeper understanding of language use in online communication.

References

- Aisyah, S., Chairuddin, C., & Athena, T. (2020). The portrayal of gender differences toward swears words: An investigation of words and expressions used by Indonesian students. *Journal of Research on English and Language Learning (J-REaLL)*, 1(2), 113–118.
- Allan, K., & Burridge, K. (2006). *Forbidden words: Taboo and the censoring of language*. Cambridge University Press.
- Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia. (2024). *Laporan survei internet Indonesia 2024*.
- Bednarek, M. (2008). *Emotion talk across corpora*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (5th ed.). SAGE.
- DataReportal. (2024). *Digital 2024: Global overview report*.
- Dewi, N. M., Beratha, N. L. S., & Sukarini, N. W. (2023). A study of gender differences in using taboo words in *Euphoria* series. *Humanis Journal*, 27(3), 342–352.

- Dynel, M. (2012). Swearing methodologically: The discourse of online interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*.
- Fadhilah, U., Lestari, A. D., Sucianingrum, B. P., & Nusarini. (2025). Mengidentifikasi makna dan fungsi bahasa gaul “anjir” dan “anjay” dengan menggunakan pendekatan pragmatik. *Journal of Applied Linguistics, Translation, and Literature*, 4(1).
- Fägersten, K. B. (2012). *Who’s swearing now? The social aspects of conversational swearing*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Hasanah, D. F., Rahman, A. A., & Azizah, H. A. (2025). Swear words as sociolinguistic tools of social criticism. *Journal of English Language and Education*, 10(6).
- Herring, S. C. (2007). A faceted classification scheme for computer-mediated discourse. *Language@Internet*, 4.
- Holmes, J. (2013). *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (4th ed.). Routledge.
- Kurniawanti, F., & Damanhuri, A. (2022). Female swearing on WhatsApp communications: A sociolinguistic perspective. *Jurnal Bahasa dan Sastra*, 10(2).
- Lakoff, R. (1975). *Language and woman’s place*. Harper & Row.
- Ljung, M. (2011). *Swearing: A cross-cultural linguistic study*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- McCarthy, M. (2004). *Touchstone: From corpus to coursebook*. Cambridge University Press
- McEnery, T. (2006). *Swearing in English: Bad language, purity and power from 1586 to the present*. Routledge.
- Prawinanto, A., Prasetyo, H., & Bram, B. (2020). Swearing and its motives in the *Antologi Rasa* novel. *LET: Linguistics, Literature and English Teaching Journal*, 10(1), 40–65.
- Sari, R. (2023). Swear word adaptation in Indonesian social media communication. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*, 19(2), 210–222.
- Stapleton, K., & Beers Fägersten, K. (2017). Swearing and pragmatics. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 116, 1–3. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.05.008>
- Sunderland, J. (2022). *Language, gender and children’s fiction*. Routledge.
- Tannen, D. (1990). *You just don’t understand: Women and men in conversation*. Ballantine Books.