



## Javanese and Sundanese Swear Words in the Film *Yowis Ben 2*: A Sociopragmatic Study

(Umpatan Bahasa Jawa dan Sunda dalam Film *Yowis Ben 2*: Kajian Sosiopragmatik)

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**Abstract:** Swearing is used in every human language activity. Swearing can be found in films as a form of literary work that provides entertainment and describes the phenomenon of social reality. The *Yowis Ben 2* film is a youth comedy genre film that contains swear words using local languages, Javanese and Sundanese. This research focuses on a sociopragmatic study of Javanese and Sundanese swearing in the film *Yowis Ben 2* to look at the references, functions, and implicatures of swearing speech acts in both languages. This study uses a qualitative descriptive research method. The primary data is in the form of swearing in Javanese and Sundanese in the form of words, phrases, sentences, and scenes for each character in the film, and the secondary data is in the form of previous studies related to swearing in Javanese and Sundanese. Data collection techniques are carried out by documenting, listening, recording, and analyzing content. Data analysis techniques are carried out by reducing, presenting, and drawing conclusions and by using pragmatic equivalent studies in order to reveal swearing implicatures in two languages. The results of the research show that not all swearing in Javanese and Sundanese languages found in the film "*Yowis Ben 2*" encompasses the entire classification of swearing. The Sundanese language presents a more diverse variety of profanity vocabulary compared to Javanese. Implicatures from the use of profanity in both languages include expressions of feelings such as annoyance, anger, disappointment, surprise, admiration, and familiarity. This research has significant implications for understanding how profanity is used within specific cultural and social contexts, such as in teen comedy films. Furthermore, further research can explore how film translators work to translate profanity vocabulary from regional languages into Indonesian or foreign languages, providing further insights into the cultural adaptation process in the film industry.

**Keywords** implicature, javanese, sosiopragmatics, sundanese, swear words

**Abstrak:** Penggunaan umpatan mewarnai aktivitas manusia dalam berbahasa. Umpatan dapat ditemukan di dalam film sebagai salah satu bentuk karya sastra yang memberikan hiburan dan menggambarkan fenomena realitas sosial. Film *Yowis Ben 2* merupakan salah satu film bergenre komedi remaja yang terdapat tuturan umpatan menggunakan bahasa daerah yaitu bahasa Jawa dan Sunda. Penelitian ini bertujuan pada kajian sosiopragmatik tentang umpatan bahasa Jawa dan Sunda yang terdapat di dalam film *Yowis Ben 2* untuk melihat referensi, fungsi, dan implikatur tindak tutur umpatan dalam kedua bahasa tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Data primer umpatan bahasa Jawa dan bahasa Sunda berupa kata, frasa, kalimat, dan lakon tiap tokoh di dalam film dan data sekunder terdiri atas penelitian-penelitian terdahulu yang berkaitan dengan umpatan dalam bahasa Jawa dan Sunda. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan dokumentasi, simak-catat, dan analisis konten. Teknik analisis data dilakukan dengan cara mereduksi, menyajikan, dan menarik simpulan serta dengan menggunakan telaah padan pragmatik agar dapat mengungkapkan implikatur umpatan dalam dua bahasa. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa tidak semua umpatan dalam bahasa Jawa dan Sunda yang terdapat dalam film "*Yowis Ben 2*" mencakup seluruh klasifikasi umpatan. Bahasa Sunda menampilkan variasi bentuk kosakata umpatan yang lebih beragam dibandingkan dengan bahasa Jawa. Implikatur dari penggunaan umpatan dalam kedua bahasa tersebut mencakup ekspresi perasaan seperti kekesalan, kemarahan, kekecewaan, keterkejutan, kekaguman, dan keakraban. Penelitian ini memiliki implikasi penting dalam pemahaman tentang bagaimana umpatan digunakan dalam konteks budaya dan sosial tertentu, seperti dalam film komedi remaja. Selain itu, penelitian lanjutan dapat menjelajahi bagaimana penerjemah film bekerja untuk mengalihbahasakan kosakata umpatan dalam bahasa daerah ke dalam bahasa Indonesia atau bahasa asing, sehingga dapat memberikan wawasan lebih lanjut tentang proses adaptasi kultural dalam industri perfilman.

**Kata Kunci** bahasa jawa, bahasa sunda, implikatur, sosiopragmatik, umpatan

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## INTRODUCTION

The use of swearing language often colors human language activities, both spoken and written (Triadi, 2017), including in literary works. Swearing language occurs when someone is confronted with differences in languages, values, and rules while communicating with others, which can trigger emotional changes. People use impolite language in the form of swearing for various purposes, such as venting anger, dissatisfaction, displeasure, or disappointment (Nugraha et al., 2022; Pamungkas et al., 2022). Swearing, as a form of curse or insult, can take the form of speech considered obscene or vulgar in a society and be used to humiliate, curse, hurt, ridicule, or mock something when the speaker feels strong emotions (Fredy, 2021).

However, returning to the arbitrary nature of language, the use of swearing does not always have malicious intent. Findings indicate that social and physical pain function similarly, and swearing alleviates social pain (Philipp & Lombardo, 2017). Jay (Pamungkas et al., 2022) first stated that the phenomenon of using swearing does not always lead to harm because it depends on the context in which the swearing is uttered. Swearing is not only used when the speaker is angry but also when they are happy, surprised, and impressed (Ibda, 2019). In addition, swearing is also used to show solidarity within their community (Laili, 2017), express relationships, strengthen kinship, and greet someone (Hanggraito, 2021; Nur & Rokhman, 2017; Revita & Fathiya, 2020; Satiti & Ma'shumah, 2021; Ulfah, 2021).

Advancements in technology and easy access to social media and electronic digital media (Puspita et al., 2018; Sabarani et al., 2020; Satiti & Ma'shumah, 2021) are some of the factors contributing to the widespread use of swearing. One electronic medium discussed in this research is film. Film is one form of literary work in the form of drama that is presented concurrently with the development of digital media technology (Rahmayanti et al., 2021; Widiastuti et al., 2022). Film has the power to influence the values and behavior of society with its visually appealing presentation; filmmakers and film viewers recognize that film is a medium of communication (Hikmawati et al., 2022; Kartika, 2016; Susanti, 2017). Films serve as entertainment and social reality phenomena that contain many meanings, grow, and develop in society before being projected onto the screen (Agustina & Pristiwati, 2019; Ayomi, 2021; Majid, 2020; Widiastuti et al., 2022). In the context of education, the incorporation of literature through the medium of film can yield four notable advantages, namely, the enhancement of linguistic skills, the broadening of cultural understanding, the stimulation of creativity and emotional engagement, and the refinement of character development (Widiastuti et al., 2022).

This also includes swearing in films spoken by the characters within them and can be observed as a social reality phenomenon occurring in society (Sabarani et al., 2020). Even in film translation, translators face difficulties when dealing with swearing vocabulary, as many words and expressions in films are seen as taboo, such as those used to describe sex, the human body and its functions, and those used to insult others (Abdelaal & Al Sarhani, 2021). The complexity of the swearing issue in films is not just a linguistic phenomenon but has dimensions that lead researchers to cross the boundaries of previous film translation studies to strengthen the argument that this study is strategically discussed. Also, considering that swearing is a part of the linguistic taboos held by every society, community, and ethnic group in the world.

The film "*Yowis Ben 2*," hereafter referred to as YB2, is notable for its abundant use of swearing language. YB2 (2019) is the second film by Fajar Nugros and Bayu Skak, released on March 14, 2019, following the success of their first film, "*Yowis Ben*" (2018), released on February 22, 2018 (Agustina & Pristiwati, 2019; Handayani, 2021). YB2 (2019) falls under the genre of teenage comedy while

retaining its distinctiveness by using regional languages. However, unlike the first film, where almost the entire film is in Javanese and set in the city of Malang, YB2 (2019) brings a fresh atmosphere. In addition to using Javanese and being set in Malang, this film also incorporates Sundanese and is set in Bandung. The songs featured in the film are presented in Javanese, Sundanese, and Indonesian. The film provides entertainment to the audience with light-hearted comedy that heavily relies on the distinctive swearing language of East Java and Sundanese regions (Fredy, 2021; Santo & Ghofur, 2021). Some examples of swearing language used in the film "Yowis Ben 2" (2019) include "jancuk," "jaran," "borokokok," "ontobod," and others.

This research is conducted by referring to several previous studies that are relevant to the topic under consideration. A study conducted by Nisa & Damayanti (2022) aimed to examine the references and functions of swearing language in a sociolinguistic context, using the film "Bumi Manusia," directed by Hanung Bramantyo, as the object of analysis. This research found instances of swearing in Indonesian, Javanese, and Dutch with five references and three functions of swearing. Furthermore, a study by Hunt et al. (2022) sought to identify swearing as a form of verbal aggression by patients in inpatient facilities in Australia. The results of this research revealed differences in patterns and levels of swearing between male and female patients. Other studies are related to code-switching and code-mixing. Both Mahalli et al. (2021) and Nuryanih et al. (2023) examined code-switching and code-mixing in the film YB2 (2019). Mahalli et al. (2021) focused on the forms of code-switching and code-mixing in character dialogues, including inner code mixing, outer code mixing, and hybrid code mixing. Meanwhile, Nuryanih et al. (2023) described the forms of code-switching and code-mixing to be subsequently used as teaching material for anecdotal texts in grade X. Lastly, Cerina & Indrawati (2021) conducted a study on the same film, YB2 (2019), but with a different research focus, which was to examine the types of sociolects and factors contributing to the formation of sociolects in the film YB2 (2019).

The references to previous research in this study facilitate the identification of several points of novelty. Firstly, there are not many teenage comedy films that represent social reality through swearing language in every dialogue along with gestures and facial expressions, as demonstrated by (Agustina & Pristiwati, 2019; Ayomi, 2021; Majid, 2020). Secondly, research that examines swearing in two different languages, particularly Javanese and Sundanese swearing, has been relatively scarce. Thirdly, research articles that discuss the forms, references, functions, and implicatures of swearing speech acts in Javanese and Sundanese languages juxtaposed together are limited, especially when employing films as their subject of analysis.

This study aims to investigate the sociopragmatic aspects of Javanese and Sundanese swearing languages found in the film YB2 (2019). Gunawan, as cited in Prasetyo et al. (2018), explains that sociopragmatics is a discipline focused on the analysis of language usage within the context of a society in specific social situations, in contrast to research that emphasizes language usage in a general sense. Furthermore, Leech, as mentioned in Ridho'i (2021) and Triana (2019), provides information that sociopragmatics essentially constitutes pragmatics occurring within specific social and cultural contexts. Additionally, the principles governing pragmatics can vary across different social and cultural situations, as well as among different social classes and statuses.

Swearing serves as one of the manifestations of cultural diversity, illustrating Indonesia's richness in linguistic variations. The scope of this study is limited to the swearing language in East Javanese and standard Sundanese within the film "Yowis Ben 2" (YB2). This choice is made to analyze the references, functions, and implicatures of swearing speech acts in both of these languages. Swearing in Javanese and Sundanese languages is the primary focus of this research, based on several considerations. Swearing in Javanese and Sundanese is more prominently utilized within YB2 compared to other languages. Additionally, Javanese and Sundanese are two of the most widely spoken languages in Indonesia, with approximately 40% of the population being Javanese speakers and 15% being Sundanese speakers (Bulan, 2019), according to the data from the Central Statistics Agency (Statistik, 2010). Hence, this research aspires to shed light on the notion that swearing language is not exclusively crude and impolite in all cultural contexts but rather is context-dependent. This study, by

examining this film, also aims to contribute to the enrichment of linguistic knowledge (Cerina & Indrawati, 2021) and potentially influence the teaching of the Indonesian language in educational settings.

## METHOD

This study employs a qualitative descriptive research method, which involves the description and interpretation of data from the film "Yowis Ben 2" (YB2). Qualitative research is used for social research and the study of societal aspects (Rahmayanti et al., 2021). YB2 serves as the primary data source for this research due to the presence of Javanese and Sundanese swearing languages within it. These swearing expressions are examined based on classifications that exhibit semantic proximity in Javanese and Sundanese, subsequently identifying their forms, functions, and speech context within their reference framework. The primary data in this study consist of Javanese and Sundanese swearing language in the form of words, phrases, sentences, and scenes spoken by the characters in the film YB2. The secondary data comprises previous studies related to swearing languages in Javanese and Sundanese. Swearing speech acts in these two regional languages are the main focus of this research to uncover their implicatures as a crucial aspect of pragmatic analysis.

Data collection techniques involve documentation, listening, note-taking, and content analysis. This technique is commonly used in studies that use films as data sources, as demonstrated by Cerina & Indrawati (2021); Mahalli et al. (2021); Nisa & Damayanti (2022); Nuryanah et al. (2023). Data on swearing language in the two regional languages is collected, recorded, and categorized based on their references and functions within the dialogues of the film YB2. Data analysis techniques are conducted in accordance with methods employed by Miles & Huberman (1992); Sayekti (2019); Setiawan et al. (2022), including data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. The data analysis technique also utilizes pragmatic equivalence analysis to reveal the implicatures of swearing speech acts in the two languages (Andriyani, 2022; Wahyuni & Suryadi, 2021). Pragmatic equivalence takes into account the context as a crucial element in interpreting the swearing expressions used by the characters in the film YB2. After the classified data has been analyzed, the results of this data analysis are presented using plain language to ensure clarity and understanding for readers.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The speech act implicatures discussed in this research pertain to Javanese and Sundanese swearing language in the film YB2. Swearing is categorized into three forms: single words, phrases, and clauses (Fredy, 2021; Wahyuni & Suryadi, 2021). Additionally, swearing is classified based on its references, which include references to conditions, animals, objects, body parts, kinship, supernatural beings, activities, and professions (Wahyuni & Suryadi, 2021; Wijana & Rohmadi, 2007). Furthermore, the functional categories of swear words are used to identify the context of their usage, which includes integrative, aggressive, regressive, and expressive contexts (Bolton & Hutton, 1997; Fredy, 2021). Swearing in an integrative context is used as a group habit to strengthen boundaries and differentiate the group from others. It is uttered when there are no outsiders present or when outsiders accidentally overhear their conversation. Swearing in an aggressive context is deliberately used to insult, threaten, disturb, or harm others with the intention of temporarily removing social obstacles and disrupting an individual's social integrity. Swearing in a regressive context is used in jest and typically involves vulgar or indecent language. Swearing in an expressive context is used to vent strong emotions such as surprise, or one may even be swearing without a reference.

The Javanese language recognizes "*undha usuk*," or social stratification based on social class, which includes "*krama*" (polite/formal), "*madya*" (middle), and "*ngoko*" (informal) varieties (Wahyuni & Suryadi, 2021). Swearing, known as "*pisuban*" in Javanese (Cahyani & Setiawan, 2019), is usually found in the "*ngoko*" form (Wijana, 2008). Sundanese also has a similar social stratification called "*undak usuk*," which includes "*lemes*" (polite/formal), "*loma*" (middle), and "*garibal*" (informal) varieties. However, the concept of "*undak usuk*" in Sundanese was introduced when the Mataram Kingdom of Java invaded the Priangan region in the mid-17th century, influencing the lives of the Sundanese

people, including language (Kulsum, 2020; Zakiyah et al., 2020). Prior to this influence, the Sundanese people were familiar with Sundanese Buhun, which was characterized by familial relationships and did not recognize social strata (Kulsum, 2020).

In this discussion section, the researcher will present swearing data based on classifications with semantic proximity in Javanese and Sundanese. The forms, functions, and speech contexts of swearing in the film YB2 will be identified. Several typical swearing references from both Javanese and Sundanese will also be presented for analysis.

**Table 1**  
**Frequency of Swearing in the Film YB2**

Jv	Snd	Ind	Total
85	17	6	109
77,98%	15,60%	6,42%	100%

Ket: Jv Javanese Swear Words  
Snd Sundanese Swear Words  
Ind Indonesian Swear Words

From the table above, it is evident that in the film YB2, a total of 109 instances of swearing speech acts were identified. These comprised 85 occurrences of Javanese swearing, accounting for 77.98% of the total; 17 instances of Sundanese swearing, representing 15.60% of the total; and 6 instances of Indonesian swearing, making up 6.42% of the total. Subsequently, the researcher narrowed the discussion to focus solely on Javanese and Sundanese swearing speech acts. Additionally, the discussion was limited to the appearance of swearing vocabulary based on the most frequently occurring references, namely references to conditions, animals, body parts, and activities, as illustrated in the table below.

**Table 2**  
**Frequency of Swearing References in the Film YB2**

Klasifikasi Referen	Frekuensi	(%)
Reference to Conditions	15 words	43,18
Reference to Animals	9 words	20,45
Reference to Body Parts	9 words	20,45
Reference to Activities	4 words	9,09
Reference to Supernatural Beings	1 words	2,27
Reference to Objects	1 words	2,27
Reference to Professions	1 words	2,27
Reference to Kinships	1 words	2,27
TOTAL	44	100

### Reference to Conditions

Swear words used in reference to conditions typically point to an unfavorable situation (Fredy, 2021) and are the most frequently utilized. Researchers subdivided this reference into two aspects related to unpleasant conditions, namely the mental state and the unfavorable situation itself. Please observe the following excerpt of swear word utterances.

#### Data 1

In data 1, the term "elek" was found in Javanese and "goreng" in Sundanese. In the Javanese-Indonesian dictionary, "elek" means "ugly" (Nardiati et al., 1993). Similarly, in the Sundanese-Indonesian dictionary, "goreng" means "ugly" (Djamiludin et al., 1985). The word 'jelek' in the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian Dictionary) means not pleasant to look at; bad (Pusat Bahasa, 2008).

(1a) *elek (ugly)*

Cak Jon : "Kon iku wes **elek**, ngelamun, prengat-prengut. Ojo mikir sing abot-abot!"  
You are already **ugly**, dreamy, sullen. Don't think too hard!

(YB2, 2019, 00.12.37)

(1b) *goreng (ugly)*

Ceu Edoh : "Prett! Haha.. *ganteng timana? Goreng, ujang! Neng teh geulis, pek teh dibobodo.*"

Prett! Haha.. handsome? He is **ugly**! You're beautiful, don't even be fooled.

(YB2, 2019, 01.18.48)

If we look at the first data, both the terms "*elek*" and "*goreng*" are basic forms of swearing, which are monomorphemic words or the smallest grammatical units consisting of only one morpheme. Data 1a was uttered by Cak Jon, who observed Bayu lost in thought on the rooftop terrace of their house, contemplating how to help his mother pay the five-month overdue rent. Cak Jon's swearing "*elek*" towards Bayu was not intended for an aggressive context, such as insulting, threatening, surprising, disturbing, or hurting someone. Instead, it was in a regressive context, merely as banter to divert Bayu from his constant worries, refer to Phillip & Lombardo (2017) and Jay in (Pamungkas et al., 2022). Cak Jon was, in fact, encouraging Bayu to enjoy life and promote their band. The swearing "*elek*" emerged within the context of their close social relationship. This finding differs from the research results of Twenge et al. (2017), which showed that American culture has become more accepting of taboo words, including swearing, consistent with higher cultural individualism.

Subsequently, data (1b) was uttered by Ceu Edoh, who found it amusing to be in the same public transportation vehicle (*angkot*) with Bayu and Asih. Ceu Edoh noticed Bayu trying to flirt with Asih. Because she found it amusing, Ceu Edoh attempted to advise Asih in Sundanese not to be fooled by the man's sweet talk. Bayu, who didn't understand Sundanese, inquired about the meaning of Ceu Edoh's words to Asih. Asih didn't want to hurt Bayu's feelings and said something different from what Ceu Edoh had advised, namely that Bayu was handsome according to Ceu Edoh. This led Ceu Edoh to become annoyed and utter the word "*goreng*," as seen in data (1b). The term "*goreng*" spoken by Ceu Edoh, was a swearing with an aggressive context, intentionally meant to mock, insult, threaten, surprise, disturb, or harm someone.

(1c) *elek (ugly)*

Cak Jon : "Ora ono foto *prewedding*, iki mesti **elek** calonne."

There are no pre-wedding photos, this must be an **ugly** bride.

(YB2, 2019, 00.17.25)

(1d) *teu baleg (bad)*

Gibran : "Teuing, *lieur*, Teh. **Teu baleg** geb!"

Whatever, I don't care. **Bad** guy!

(YB2, 2019, 00.58.20)

In data (1c), the term "*elek*" is used again as a swear. This time, Cak Jon uttered the term "*elek*" while attending the wedding ceremony (*akad nikah*) of Yayan and Mia. During the ceremony, Mia's face was still covered by a veil. Cak Jon used this swearing because he felt envious and challenged by Yayan, who got married first. This feeling was exacerbated by Mia's concealed appearance. Therefore, in Cak Jon's discourse, the swearing "*elek*" served an aggressive context (Fredy, 2021; Nugraha et al., 2022; Pamungkas et al., 2022), as it was intentionally meant to mock, insult, threaten, surprise, hurt, and disturb Yayan's self-confidence.

Moving on to data (1d), there's the use of the Sundanese phrase "*teu baleg*," which is a swear. The word "*baleg*" carries the meaning of "*balig*" in Islam, signifying 'having reached the age of maturity to distinguish between good and bad.' However, in the context of the phrase "*teu baleg*" within the discourse, it is interpreted as a situation or someone who is 'not right' or 'not good' or 'bad.' This phrase was spoken by Gibran, who played the role of a waiter at a martabak outlet owned by Asih. At that moment, Bayu and his friends were seeking Gibran's recommendation for a delicious martabak menu. When Gibran responded that all the martabak menus were highly recommended, Bayu and his friends became frustrated. Gibran did not respond to their frustration until Asih approached and inquired about the situation. Gibran replied in Sundanese, as shown in data (1d). This reference was spoken in an expressive context to vent his emotions.

If observed closely, the meaning of the phrase "*ten baleg*" closely aligns with the term "*jelek*." In the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian Dictionary), "*jelek*" not only means unpleasant to look at or bad but also refers to an unpleasant situation or unfavorable character or behavior (Pusat Bahasa, 2008).

(1e) *gendheng* (crazy/insane)

Si Mbah : "*Yo warung wong gendheng kabeh lah gendheng kabeh.*"  
The seller is already **crazy**, ofcourse everyone are going **crazy**.  
(YB2, 2019, 00.10.38)

(1f) *edan* (crazy/insane)

Abah Kosasih : "*Sengaja bikin lagu buat Asih? Edan!*"  
Did you deliberately make a song for Asih? That was **insane!**  
(YB2, 2019, 01.25.35)

Next, we encounter the terms "*gendheng*" and "*edan*" in data (1e) and (1f). Both of these terms carry the same meaning, which is 'crazy' or 'insane.' The term "*gila*" is a swearing reference that pertains to the mental state of someone experiencing a psychological disturbance. In data (1e), the term "*gendheng*" is combined with "*wong*," resulting in the derived word "*wong gendheng*." A derived word is a term that is formed as a result of morphological processes, including affixation, reduplication, compounding, acronymization, or abbreviation, and absorption (Chaer, 2008; Wijana & Rohmadi, 2007).

In data (1e), the term "*gendheng*" is uttered by one of the elderly men who frequently gather at Mrs. Bayu's *pecel* (a traditional Javanese salad) stall. At that time, Mrs. Bayu's *pecel* stall was mocked by the owner of a neighboring *seblak* (a traditional Sundanese dish) stall for having been in the *pecel* business for a long time. The elderly man, feeling annoyed, expressed this swearing. The swearing reference was uttered in an aggressive context due to irritation and the intent to insult and threaten the owner of the *seblak* stall for mocking Mrs. Bayu's *pecel* stall.

In contrast, the use of the swear word "*edan*" in data (1f) presents a different scenario. Despite "*edan*," meaning 'crazy' or referring to someone's disturbed mental state, in data (1f), this swearing serves an expressive context, expressing strong emotions, but not for insulting or threatening purposes. Instead, it is used for admiration. In data (1f), the term "*edan*" is uttered by Abah Kosasih when he learns that the song just sung by Bayu was his own composition dedicated to Asih. Abah Kosasih is impressed and praises Bayu by using the expletive "*edan*" as an expression of admiration.

(1g) *borokokok* (stupid)

Abah Kosasih : "*Eh si borokokok, teu ngarti pisan!*"  
Oh, **stupid** one, you don't understand it at all!  
(YB2, 2019, 01.02.33)

(1h) *cilepyuh* (disappointing)

Preman Drajat : "*Pake atuh polo! Pake! Ini teh sudah peuting. Meuni cilepyuh kamu teh semua teh!*"  
Please use your brain! Told ya! It is late. How **disappointing** you guys are!  
(YB2, 2019, 00.48.10)

In another dialogue, Abah Kosasih utters another colloquial term specific to Sundanese culture, namely "*borokokok*." This swearing is paired with the term "*si*," which refers to the essence of something or someone. In data (1g), the term "*borokokok*" means 'stupid' or 'not understand.' "*Borokokok*" gained popularity through the character Kabayan in the Si Kabayan film series. Besides meaning 'stupid,' it can also be interpreted as 'annoying.' The reference to this swearing is uttered not with the intent to insult or mock but rather as an expression of strong annoyance by Abah Kosasih toward Bayu. Abah Kosasih becomes frustrated when explaining the meaning of the Sundanese word "*naon*," which means 'what,' but Bayu mistakenly interprets it as Abah Kosasih asking him a question in return.

Furthermore, in the data (1h), the term "*cilepyuh*" is encountered, which is a play on the word "*culeupeuh*," meaning "disappointing" in Sundanese. Additionally, "*culeupeuh*" can also be interpreted as

"stupid." This Sundanese swearing takes the form of a basic word and is used in an aggressive context when uttered by Drajat, a local tough guy in Bandung city. He feels disturbed by Yowis Ben's band activities at the inn. The swearing is uttered with a sense of annoyance, deliberately intended to mock, threaten, disturb, and harm others.

### Reference to Animals

Swear words employing animal references are expressed indirectly by associating certain attributes of animals that share similarities with a person or situation targeted for criticism. This association is often used to convey disgust, such as the use of "dog" as a swearing, or to indicate something repulsive or forbidden, as in the case of the swearing "pig." Additionally, it can be employed to insult or demean someone's physical appearance, like comparing them to a monkey, among other uses (Fredy, 2021; Wijana & Rohmadi, 2007). Here, we present several Javanese and Sundanese swear words from the movie YB2 that employ animal references as their basis.

Swearing using animal referents is expressed indirectly by associating certain traits of animals that have something in common with a person or condition to which they are targeted. These associations include showing something disgusting such as *dog swearing*, *disgusting or haram such as pig swearing*, insulting or degrading someone's physical condition such as *a monkey*, and so on (Fredy, 2021; Wijana & Rohmadi, 2007). Here the author presents some Javanese and Sundanese swear words in the YB2 film that use animal references.

### Data 2

In Data 2, several swear words in the film YB2 were found to employ animal references. Javanese swear words with animal references include "*asu*" (dog), "*jangkrik*" (cricket), and "*wedbus*" (bull). Meanwhile, Sundanese expletives using animal references comprise "*anjrit*," "*anying*," "*araranjay*," "*araranjing*," and "*ontobod*."

#### (2a) *asu* (dog)

Nando : "*Adob-adob lungo Bandung, diklambeni kostum buah-buahan, cuk!*"  
Going all the way to Bandung, wearing a fruit costume, damn it!

Bayu : "*Tampil kok ngunu, asu jancuk!*"  
What a performance, **dog**, damn it!  
(YB2, 2019, 00.57.20)

The term "*asu*" is a familiar swear commonly used by Javanese people. "*Asu*" is a swear with an animal reference, specifically referring to a dog. In the dialog data (2a), Bayu utters the term "*asu*" out of frustration because he feels deceived when his band is made to perform in fruit costumes. This swearing is not directly targeted at anyone but rather serves as an expression of Bayu's emotional outburst and annoyance. Therefore, the context of the swearing "*asu*" in this dialogue leans more towards the expressive context. Another Javanese swearing that uses "*anjing*" (dog) as a reference is "*kirik*," which means 'puppy,' and it can be found in the film YB1 (Fredy, 2021). Sundanese language also features swearing that uses "*anjing*" (dog) as a reference. Please refer to the following data sets:

#### (2b) *anjrit* (dog/damn)

Mang Engkos : "*Anjrit! Edan.. edan eny!*"  
**Damn!** That was insane!  
(YB2, 2019, 00.40.10)

#### (2c) *anjir* (dog/damn)

Preman Drajat : "*Anjir! Eta awewe wanian!*"  
**Damn!** What a brave girl!  
(YB2, 2019, 00.48.42)

#### (2d) *anying* (dog/damn)

Mang Engkos : "*Ngomong naon maneh? Nganterkeun maneh? Aing nganterkeun maneh*"



*kamana-mana, anying! Aing susah ditinggalkeun.”*

What did you say? Pick you up? I'll take you everywhere, **damn** it!

But when I'm in trouble, you guys abandoned me.

(YB2, 2019, 01.30.34)

(2e) **araranjay araranjing (dogs/bastards)**

Preman Uus : *“Meuni araranjay araranjing jelema teh nya!”*

You guys **bastards**!

(YB2, 2019, 00.48.04)

If observed closely, data (2b), (2c), (2d), and (2e) above provide an illustration of how the Sundanese community is exceptionally creative in creating swearing vocabulary from the same reference. It can be observed that from the animal reference 'anjing' (dog), various swearing terms like "anjrit" in data (2b), "anjir" in data (2c), "anying" in data (2d), and "araranjay" and "araranjing" in data (2e) have emerged. The difference lies in the context of the usage of these swearing terms. In data (2b), the swearing "anjrit" is uttered not in an aggressive context with the intention of insulting or mocking but rather in an expressive context as an expression of strong admiration, as seen in Mang Engkos's (Ibda, 2019) excitement when welcoming Yowis Band to Bandung.

In contrast to data (2c), (2d), and (2e), the words "anjir," "anying," and "araranjay araranjing" are uttered in an aggressive context as expressions of frustration, disappointment, dissatisfaction, and anger. The term "anjir" in data (2c) is spoken by a thug named Drajat to mock Mia, who at the time was confronting the thugs. Then, the term "anying" uttered by Mang Engkos in data (2d) stems from his disappointment with Bayu, who was only concerned about himself. When Mang Engkos needed help, Bayu was indifferent. Lastly, the term "araranjay araranjing" in data (2e) is spoken by a thug named Uus, who was irritated and angered because he was disturbed by the noisy sound of Bayu and others practicing music in the inn's room. "Araranjay araranjing" consists of two words, formed as a result of compounding (Fredy, 2021), with the infix /-ar-/ inserted into the words "anjay" and "anjing." The function of the infix /-ar-/ is a marker for plural forms (Maemunah et al., 2022; Munandar, 2016).

(2f) **jaran (horse/damn)**

Mia : *“Jaaran! Eh, astaghfirullahalazhim.”*

**Damn** it! Eh, God please forgive me.

(YB2, 2019, 00.44.07)

(2g) **jangkrik (cricket/damn)**

Doni : *“Jangkrik! Pesawat goyang gak unvenak ngene kok iso turu iki wong-wong?”*

**Damn**! The plane is shaking so uncomfortably like this, how can people sleep?

(YB2, 2019, 00.38.17)

(2h) **ontohod (bear/stupid)**

Penumpang : *“Eh, ontohod! Maneh teh, (keuring bade) ka Cihampelas!”*

Oh, **stupid**! Hey you, (I want to) go to Cihampelas!

(YB2, 2019, 01.00.52)

Another set of animal-referenced swearings in Javanese are "jaran" and "jangkrik," as observed in data (2f) and (2g). "Jaran" refers to a horse or an animal commonly used as a mount, while "jangkrik" is a ground insect that produces a "krik, krik" sound (Pusat Bahasa, 2008). "Jaran" is associated with someone who is troublesome because they are always whining like a horse (Jadmiko & Damariswara, 2022). Similarly, "jangkrik" is associated with someone who is annoying because they are always making noise, similar to the loud sound produced by crickets. However, some argue that the words "jaran" and "jangkrik" are forms of euphemism or softening of the swearing "jancuk" (Permita, 2020; Satiti & Ma'shumah, 2021; Sungkowati, 2016). The swearings "jaran" and "jangkrik" in data (2f) and (2g) lean more towards being euphemisms for "jancuk" because they are uttered in a state of irritation but are limited to the context of emotional expression

and are synonymous with "*sialan*" (damn). In data (2f), after uttering the term "*jaran*," Mia immediately seeks forgiveness, and in data (2g), Doni uses the term "*jangkerik*" to avoid sounding too harsh because he was sandwiched between two large and fierce-looking individuals at the time.

Next, in data (2h), there is the term "*ontobod*," which means bear in Sundanese (Djamiludin et al., 1985). A bear is a large-bodied carnivorous mammal. Sundanese people use the word "*ontobod*" to express irritation, disappointment, anger, and so on. As depicted in data (2h), a passenger is annoyed because the angkot they are riding in is not following its usual route. Mang Engkos, the angkot driver, instead takes Bayu and others to the guesthouse first. This is what frustrates the female passenger, leading her to utter the swearing in an aggressive context with the intention of insulting, threatening, or hurting.

### Reference to Body Parts

Swearings using references to body parts are typically related to sexual activities or topics considered taboo for public discussion. Swearing with references to body parts is also used to insult someone by implying that their body part is dysfunctional or not being used properly (Fredy, 2021; Wijana, 2008). Below, we will present some Javanese and Sundanese swearing in the film YB2 that use references to body parts.

### Data 3

In data 3, several swearings in the film YB2 were found to use references to body parts. Javanese swearings with references to body parts include "*lambe*" and "*endhas*." Meanwhile, Sundanese swearings with references to body parts include "*beungeut*" and "*polo*." Please observe the following data for further details.

(3a) *lambe* (mouth)

Bayu : "*Jancuk, lambene Doni!*"  
Damn! Watch your **mouth**, Doni!  
(YB2, 2019, 01.35.53)

(3b) *endhas* (kepala)

Doni : "*Trouble, endhasmu! Gak titik yo!*"  
Trouble, **your head!** (This problem) is not a small one, you know!  
(YB2, 2019, 01.17.36)

In data (3a) and (3b), there are swearings in the form of phrases due to the addition of the clitic "-ne" in the word "*lambene*" and the clitic "-mu" in the word "*endhasmu*" (Fredy, 2021; Wijana, 2008). The use of "*lambe*" as a swear is because someone cannot control their speech properly or tends to spread the shortcomings of others. The term "*lambe*" in data (3a) is uttered by Bayu in an aggressive context as an expression of his displeasure with Doni's behavior, who spoke carelessly about Tante Jeje, a professional dangdut singer, saying that Doni would give her a tip if she became Nando's stepmother.

Similarly, the term "*endhas*" in data (3b), spoken by Doni to Bayu, falls into an aggressive context due to Doni's frustration and disappointment with Bayu when Doni experienced an unpleasant incident. At that time, Doni accompanied Bayu to Asih's house with the intention of bringing martabak manis (sweet pancakes) for Mia, who was craving them. However, while Bayu was meeting with Asih, Doni waited in the angkot (public minivan) with Mang Engkos and a female passenger who worked as a nurse. The nurse commented that Doni's face resembled that of her husband, who neglected his family. Doni became the target of the nurse's anger. Doni considered this a significant issue, so he used the word "*endhasmu*" when Bayu mentioned that it was only a minor problem. Furthermore, the nurse occasionally directed swearing at Doni, as seen in the data below.

(3c) *beungeut* (face)

Perawat : "*Titah turun! Saya gens kebeul ningal bebeungeutanana! Siga salaki aing pisan ieu teh!*"  
Tell (him) to get out! I'm already annoyed seeing his **face**, looks like to my husband!  
(YB2, 2019, 01.16.03)

It is evident that in data (3c), the nurse used the swearing "*bebeungentanana*" in an aggressive context with the intention of attacking, hurting, threatening, and insulting Doni due to his resemblance to her husband. This swearing takes the form of a compound word formed through compounding and affixation (Fredy, 2021). The term "*bebeungentanana*" is derived from the base word "*beungeut*," with the addition of the prefix "/be-/" indicating plurality (reduplication), the suffix "/-an/," and "/-nana/" indicating possession (Maemunah et al., 2022; Munandar, 2016). Swearing using the term "*beungeut*" can also be observed in the following data.

(3d) *beungeut* (face/looks)

Abah Kosasih : "*Ab, teu kabeungentan sia mah! Seuseuh beungeut tah, masa pamain band gini?*  
Ah, you **don't have** that **looks!** Wash your **face**, do band players look like this?  
(YB2, 2019, 01.13.49)

In data (3d), there is a clause, "*teu kabeungentan sia*," which literally means "you have no face" or contextually implies "indecent or inappropriate or don't have those looks." Abah Kosasih uttered this clause in an aggressive context, mocking Bayu, who claimed that his purpose for coming to Bandung was to become a band member. The term "*beungeut*" itself means "face" in a vulgar expression. In contrast, the polite term for "face" in Sundanese is "*raray*," equivalent to "rai" in Javanese. In data (3d), there is also a phrase commonly used as a swearing in Sundanese society, "*seuseuh beungeut*," which means instructing someone to wash their face or reflect on their actions.

(3e) *polo* (brain)

Preman Drajat : "*Pake atuh polo! Pake! Ini teh sudah peuting!*"  
Use your **brain!** Use it! It is late!  
(YB2, 2019, 00.48.10)

The next Sundanese swearing found in the film YB2 is "*polo*," which means "brain." As previously explained, swearings with references to body parts are used when someone is not using that body part's function properly (Fredy, 2021; Wijana & Rohmadi, 2007). In data (3e), the thug Drajat uttered this swearing because he was irritated by Bayu and his group's behavior of practicing their band without considering the time. Drajat asked them to use their brains to determine an appropriate time for practice. In other words, this swearing was spoken in an aggressive context to threaten, insult, and hurt.

## Reference to Activities

Swearings using references to activities are related to certain actions. Swearing with references to activities can also be related to sexual activities (Fredy, 2021; Wijana & Rohmadi, 2007). Here, we will present some Javanese and Sundanese swearings found in the film YB2 that utilize references to activities.

### Data 4

In this data (4), several swearings were found in the film YB2 that utilize references to activities. Javanese swearings with references to activities include "*mbadoken*" and "*jancuk*." Additionally, there is a Sundanese saying with a reference to an activity, which is "*lebok*." Please refer to the following data for details:

(4a) *mbadoken* (eat it/fall to it)

Mbah 1 : "*Eh, kon iku gak mageri njuklaki gapit. Gak nyegeri marai penyakit.*"  
Hey, instead of protecting it, you are destroying it. Instead of sharing healthiness, it's actually a disease.  
Mbah 2 : "***Mbadoken!***"  
**Fall to it!**  
(YB2, 2019, 00.48.10)

The term "*mbadoken*" in data (4a) originates from the Javanese word "*mbadok*," which means 'to eat' in a coarse Javanese discourse context. In the context of the data above, "*mbadoken*" can also be interpreted

as an interjection 'fall to it.' This term was uttered by Mbah 2 to respond to the rhymes recited by Mbah 1 directed at the owner of the seblak food stall and its customers, who were mocking the pecel food stall owned by Bayu's mother. The usage of "*mbadoken*" refers to a swearing discourse with an aggressive context, intentionally used to insult, disturb, or harm others (Bolton & Hutton, 1997). This swearing uttered by Mbah 2 in this context is also intended to disrupt the social integrity of the individual, namely the owner of the seblak food stall and its customers. An equivalent expletive in Sundanese that corresponds to "*mbadoken*" is "*lebok*," as seen in the following data (4b).

(4b) *lebok (eat it/fall to it)*  
 Abah Kosasih : "Heehh.. *lebok siab!*"  
 Heehh.. fall to it!  
 (YB2, 2019, 01.03.05)

The term "*lebok*" in data (4b) also means 'to eat' in the context of coarse Sundanese discourse. Vocabulary related to 'eating' in the Sundanese language has different levels and uses. The term "*dhahar*" in Javanese is a commonly used term to refer to the activity of eating. In contrast, "*dabar*" in Sundanese can only be used when addressing peers. If addressing someone older, the terms "*tuang*" or "*neda*" must be used. When speaking to a young child as an expression of affection, the term "*emam*" is used. The coarse term for eating is "*nyatu*" and is usually used for animals, whereas "*lebok*" is interpreted as excessive eating or gluttony. In data (4b), the term "*lebok*" is spoken by Abah Kosasih to Bayu, who has just realized that the person he has been talking to from the beginning is Asih's father. Bayu feels embarrassed, and Abah Kosasih expresses his frustration using the term "*lebok*" within an aggressive context, emphasizing it with "*siab*," which means 'you' in a coarse sense. This swearing uttered by Abah Kosasih in this context is also intended to disrupt the social integrity of someone, namely the owner of the seblak food stall and her customers.

Next is the most commonly found and used swearing by the Javanese people, especially the Arekans, as represented by the characters in the film YB2. This swearing is "*jancuk*" in all its various forms and pronunciations. The term "*jancuk*" is a derived word that originates from the prefix "/di-/" added to the word "*ancug*", which means 'sexual intercourse.' Other variations of "*jancuk*" include "*dancuk*," "*jancik*," "*ancik*," "*cuk*," "*jamput*," and "*damput*." To delve deeper into this, please refer to the following data:

(4c) *jancuk (fucked)*  
 Bayu : "*Kon mentang-mentang sugih iso kuliah ning endi wae kon yo! Jancuk kon ni!*"  
 I know you do have enough money so you're able to study anywhere! **Fuck** it!  
 (YB2, 2019, 00.06.00)

The term "*jancuk*" in data (4c) is uttered in an aggressive context and is synonymous with 'damn/fuck'. Bayu uses this swearing when expressing his anger, disappointment, and frustration towards Roy, who can study abroad with Susan, while Bayu, the child of a pecel seller, feels powerless. The term "*jancuk*" typically emerges when someone is in a state of anger, disappointment, or feeling threatened (Fredy, 2021; Hanggraito, 2021; Santo & Ghofur, 2021). Additionally, the term "*jancuk*" can be used in other contexts, as seen in data (4d) below.

(4d) *jancuk (fucked/damn)*  
 Doni : "*Jancuk, temenan! Akeu sing luweh ganteng gake payu-payu!*"  
**Damn** it, really! I'm the prettier one, but no one is interested in me!  
 (YB2, 2019, 00.15.47)

In addition to being uttered as an expression of anger, disappointment, and frustration, the swearing "*jancuk*" can also be used when someone is surprised, amazed, or astonished by something. As seen in data (4d) above, the term "*jancuk*" can also mean 'damn,' but in a different context. In this case, Doni uses the term "*jancuk*" when he is surprised to learn that Yayan is getting married. Doni believes that he, being more handsome, is less fortunate than Yayan, who has found a partner and is about to get married. Thus, it is

evident that the term “*jancuk*” uttered by Doni is used in an expressive context as an outburst of surprise (Ibda, 2019). In another dialogue, the character Bayu explains the use of the term “*jancuk*” to Asih as follows:

(4e) *jancuk (fuck)*

Bayu : “No, **jancuk** is not directly (interpreted) as rude. But sometimes joking can be hyperbolic, just to express feelings.”  
(YB2, 2019, 00.41.20)

From the dialogue above, the character Bayu in the film YB2 tries to provide an understanding of the use of the term “*jancuk*”, which is not just for expressing anger but can also serve as a way of self-expression or exaggeration of something. Swearings are also uttered to show solidarity within their community (Laili, 2017). The term “*jancuk*” holds its own value as a strengthener and unifying factor for the people of East Java, serving as a form of greeting and a sign of camaraderie (Hanggraito, 2021), as seen in the following data (4f).

(4f) *jancuk (fucked/dude)*

Bayu : “**Cuk**, *ngomong opo sib?*”  
Dude, what are you talking about?  
(YB2, 2019, 00.41.20)

Swearings are not only uttered when the speaker is angry, happy, surprised, or impressed (Ibda, 2019) but also to express relationships, strengthen kinship, and address someone (Hanggraito, 2021; Revita & Fathiya, 2020; Satiti & Ma’shumah, 2021; Ulfah, 2021), as evident in the data (4f). The use of the term “*jancuk*” by Bayu represents another variation in the form of abbreviation, becoming “*cuk*”. Bayu uses this term not with the intention to insult but as a form of friendly greeting commonly practiced by the people of East Java. It can be said that the word “*cuk*” can be equated with the colloquial greeting “*dude*”. Bayu's utterance with the swearing “*cuk*” is used in an expressive context only, with no intention of attacking, insulting, or mocking. This finding confirms previous research (Pamungkas et al., 2022) that swearing also serves a positive social function. Swearings with a positive social function are used to strengthen social cohesion among friends. The four categories of swearing in Javanese and Sundanese languages discussed above interpret the cognitive influence within Javanese and Sundanese societies. The references to swearing in both regional languages can be observed in the following table.

Table 3  
Reference of Swearings in the Film YB2

No	References	Javanese	Sundanese
1	Conditions	<i>Elek</i>	<i>goreng, teu baleg</i>
		<i>Gendheng</i>	<i>edan</i>
		-	<i>borokokok</i>
2	Animals	<i>Asu</i>	<i>anjrit, anjir, anying, araranjay</i>
		<i>Jaran</i>	-
		<i>jangkrik</i>	-
3	Body Parts	-	<i>ontobod</i>
		<i>endhas</i>	<i>beungeut, teu kabeungentan</i>
		<i>lambe</i>	<i>polo</i>
4	Activities	<i>badoken</i>	<i>lebok</i>
		<i>jancuk, cuk</i>	-
		-	-

The table above illustrates the references to swearing in both the Javanese and Sundanese languages. Both languages exhibit a diverse range of swearing expressions. The most dominant references are related to conditions. These include "*elek*" and "*gendheng*" in Javanese and "*borokokok*", "*edan*", "*goreng*", and "*teu baleg*" in Sundanese. The term "*borokokok*" is frequently used by Sundanese-speaking characters in the film YB2. "*Elek*" and "*goreng*" share similar meanings, indicating an unpleasant or undesirable condition. Similarly, "*gendheng*" and "*edan*" are closely related, both referring to a state of mental instability or madness.

Another set of references involves animal-related swearing. In Javanese, we find terms like "*asu*," "*jaran*," and "*jangkrik*," while in Sundanese, there are terms like "*anjrit*," "*anjir*," "*anying*," "*araranjay*," "*araranjing*," and "*ontobod*." "*Asu*" shares some semantic similarities with "*anjrit*," "*anjir*," "*anying*," "*araranjay*," and "*araranjing*." However, it's evident that Sundanese exhibits more variability in producing swearing forms related to the animal "dog." Some of these forms are intended to soften the original meaning of a swear. Similarly, "*jaran*" and "*jancuk*" represent a form of euphemism, aiming to make the swearing sound less coarse.

Furthermore, references to body parts in the Javanese language in the film YB2 include "*endhas*" for 'head' and "*lambe*" for 'mouth', while in the Sundanese language, there is "*beungeut*" for 'face' in its various forms and "*polo*" for 'brain'. Swearings related to activities include "*mbadoken*" for 'eating' in Javanese, which is semantically close to "*lebok*" for 'eating' in Sundanese. Then there's the term "*jancuk*" for 'having sexual intercourse,' along with its various forms. "*Jancuk*" is the most frequently uttered expletive by Javanese-speaking characters in the film YB2.

As a film, YB2 certainly underwent the censorship process by the Indonesian Film Censorship Board (LSF). The swear words that appeared in the film YB2 may have been subject to censorship, or even before that, they could have undergone a negotiation and adjustment process when the film's script was being developed. Screenwriters faced challenges similar to those encountered by television series scriptwriters in the United States (US) since swear words are related to language, including language ideology, communicative norms in society (such as politeness norms), narrative norms (such as how a story is told), genre norms (such as sci-fi elements), and legal norms (Bednarek, 2019). Furthermore, this research has significant implications for understanding how swearing is used within specific cultural and social contexts, such as in teenage comedy films. Further research can explore how film translators work to translate swearing vocabulary from regional languages into Indonesian or foreign languages, providing deeper insights into the process of cultural adaptation in the film industry.

## CONCLUSION

Swearing is categorized based on its form, namely single words, phrases, and clauses, and classified according to its references, such as references to states, animals, body parts, and activities. Additionally, swearing is analyzed based on the context of its usage, including integrative, aggressive,

regressive, and expressive contexts. In the film “YB2”, the use of Javanese swearing is more dominant than Sundanese. Javanese swearing is generally used in the “*ngoko*” form and has stratifications based on social class, such as “*kruma*”, “*madya*”, and “*ngoko*”. Meanwhile, Sundanese swearing, influenced by Javanese culture, recognizes “*undak usuk*” varieties, namely “*lemes*”, “*loma*”, and “*garibal*”. In terms of usage context, integrative swearing is used to strengthen bonds within specific groups. Aggressive swearing is used to insult or disrupt others. Regressive context swearing is used in jest, while expressive context swearing is used to vent emotions. The selection of the context for using swearing is highly relevant to the situations and relationships among characters in the film. Thus, this research reveals the complexity of swearing usage in Javanese and Sundanese within the context of the film “YB2”. The use of swearing reflects cultural, social, and linguistic aspects in Javanese and Sundanese societies, and it serves various functions and usage contexts that influence the dynamics of conversations among characters in the film.

Pragmatic research in this context is fascinating and relevant. Indonesia's cultural diversity provides a rich source of data that can be analyzed through the lens of contemporary pragmatic studies. The opportunity to write about the forms, references, and functions of swearing and connect them to cross-linguistic and cross-cultural pragmatic theories remains open and can contribute to new findings in the field of functional linguistics. Further research is needed to investigate how film translators work to translate regional language swearing into Indonesian or foreign languages. In the context of Indonesian language and literature education in secondary schools, this research is recommended as reference material, particularly in the appreciation of films focusing on language taboo phenomena.

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