PERFECT EDUCATION FAIRY
Volume 4, Number 3, 2026

A Comparative Analysis of Forms of Swear Words in Balinese and Mandarin

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Abstract
This study aimed to describe the similarities and differences of swear words in Mandarin and Balinese focusing on their structural forms: words, phrases, and clauses. This descriptive qualitative study applied a comparative analytical approach to describe the forms. The primary data were collected through semi-structured interviews with native Mandarin and Balinese speakers living in Bali, while the secondary data were obtained through in-depth document analysis. The results of this show as follows: In terms of similarities, the swear words in both languages show the forms of monomorphemic and polymorphemic words. In the forms of phrases, both languages share similar noun phrases, adjective phrases, and verb phrases. Both languages also use swear words in forms of clauses. In terms of differences, Balinese swear words are primarily formed through affixation, including prefixes, suffixes, and derivational processes, whereas Mandarin swear words are mainly formed through compounding. Furthermore, noun phrases are more frequently found in Balinese, while verb phrases are more common in Mandarin. At the clause level, Balinese clauses primarily structured to label the target's negative traits. Meanwhile, Mandarin swear clauses rely heavily on directive intensifiers.

Keywords: *swear words; forms; words; phrases; clauses*

DOI: https://doi.org/10.56442/pef.v4i3.1598

1. Introduction

Language is a fundamental means of human communication that enables individuals to exchange information, express thoughts and emotions, establish relationships, and participate in social life (Yani et al., 2017). In sociolinguistics, language is therefore examined in relation to the social conditions in which it is produced and interpreted. This relationship between language and society is particularly important in examining expressions that are socially marked, including swear words. McEnery (2004) explains that swear words are associated with offensive, insulting, socially unacceptable expressions, and swearing can communicate emotional information such as anger, frustration, surprise, or excitement more strongly than ordinary vocabulary and can consequently achieve various personal and social goals. In actual communication, swear words are frequently interpreted as inherently negative and inappropriate. Such an interpretation can overlook the fact that speakers from particular communities may use swear words as a conventional component of informal interaction (Fanny, 2014). According to Fanny (2014), notes that swearing may occur among different genders and age groups in everyday communication. Indriani et al. (2020) indicate that swearing can acquire different meanings depending on context and intention, while Suryadi et

al. (2021) demonstrate that swearing may be produced spontaneously or intentionally and may carry either negative or positive social meanings. Thus, the actual use of swear words challenges the assumption that all forms of swearing necessarily function as direct insults.

The phenomenon is particularly evident in Balinese society. The use of swear words is found in everyday informal communication in Bali, including Buleleng Regency. Previous research has demonstrated that Balinese swear words are not simply expressions of aggression but may have different forms. Senaputra (2025) investigated Balinese swear words in Buleleng, and identified swear words in the forms of forms, references, and functions of swear words such as *pirata* 'ancestor', *naskleng* 'male genitalia', *tai* 'excrement', *cicing* 'dog', and *lengeh* 'stupid'. These findings support the view that swear words constitute an established component of informal Balinese communication. Similarly, Hayuni et al. (2025) carried out descriptive qualitative research, in order to investigate the forms, references, and purposes of Mandarin swear words used by Chinese speakers. Their study emphasizes the different ways that swear words are used in Mandarin to convey sociolinguistic significance and communication goals. Meanwhile, the phenomenon of swearing is not unique to Balinese. Mandarin Chinese also contains a wide range of swear expressions whose meanings are influenced by Chinese cultural values and social relationships. Li and Thompson (1977) demonstrate that tonal distinctions are fundamental to Mandarin, as syllables with identical segmental forms can represent different meanings when pronounced with different tones. Kasap and Yuzuncu (2024) similarly emphasize cultural differences in the domains to which insulting expressions refer. Expressions such as *tā mā de* and *cào nǐ mā* demonstrate how references to family members, particularly the mother, can carry strong offensive meanings in Mandarin. Such expressions may be used to convey intense emotional states (Murtadhoh and Arini, 2023).

According to Budasi (2012), communication between speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds may involve misunderstanding when an expression carries different connotations, levels of offensiveness, or social functions in the two languages. This issue is especially relevant to swear words because their social meanings are highly culture-specific. As indicated in the original research, differences in linguistic connotations and meanings may create miscommunication when Balinese people and Chinese speakers interact, particularly in contexts involving tourism and service encounters. The distinction between universal and culture-specific aspects of swearing represents an important theoretical issue. According to Sarnika (2018), a swear word does not possess a universally fixed social meaning independent of its cultural environment. Its interpretation is constructed through shared cultural knowledge and social expectations. This perspective is consistent with the sociolinguistic principle that language reflects social norms and values and that linguistic forms need to be interpreted according to the communities in which they are used.

Despite the growing body of research on swear words, a gap remains in comparative sociolinguistic studies involving Balinese and Mandarin. Existing studies above of Balinese swear words have generally focused on particular communities or locations within Bali, including Buleleng Regency. These studies have provided valuable analysis of Balinese swear-word forms. Meanwhile, studies concerning Mandarin swearing have generally concentrated on the linguistic characteristics, cultural meanings, or sociocultural implications of Chinese swear expressions. The existing body of research therefore provides important knowledge about the two languages separately, but comparatively little attention has been given to examining Balinese and Mandarin swear words within the same analytical framework. This gap is particularly significant because comparative research can reveal not only differences but also

similarities in how communities use offensive expressions. Therefore, examining Balinese and Mandarin together can provide a more comprehensive understanding of swearing as both a universal communicative phenomenon and a culturally situated linguistic practice.

The novelty of the present study lies in its comparative sociolinguistic analysis of swear words in Balinese, specifically the variety spoken in Buleleng and Mandarin by integrating analytical dimension such as forms. The innovation is also relevant from a practical perspective. Understanding swear words comparatively can contribute to intercultural communication awareness among Balinese people, Mandarin speakers, students, educators, language learners, tourism workers, and other individuals who interact across the two linguistic communities. Rather than encouraging the use of offensive expressions, knowledge of their sociolinguistic meanings can help language users recognize when particular expressions may be inappropriate, humorous, intimate, aggressive, or potentially insulting. Such awareness is especially valuable in tourism and other professional environments in which successful communication depends not only on grammatical accuracy but also on pragmatic and cultural competence. The study specifically focuses on their forms to address the limited comparative research between these two linguistic systems. Ultimately, the study seeks to bridge cultural and linguistic differences by increasing awareness of how swear words operate in Balinese and Mandarin, by helping language users interpret such expressions appropriately within their respective cultural contexts. Thus, the similarities and differences between Mandarin and Balinese forms of swear words were the research questions of this study.

2. Method

This study employed a descriptive qualitative research design with a comparative analysis approach. This approach follows the comparative perspective proposed by Croft (2003). The research design is consistent with the original methodological framework, which explicitly identifies the study as descriptive qualitative research using comparative analysis to examine the forms. The data were obtained from primary data that consisted of information collected through semi-structured interviews with selected native speakers of Balinese and Mandarin. Secondary data were obtained through document analysis of relevant academic theses concerning swear words in the two languages. The primary data involved six informants consisting of three native Balinese speakers and three native Mandarin speakers. Both were male and female informants without treating gender as a separate analytical variable. Informants' age, gender, occupation, and social background were considered for their selection and description, only as contextual information for interpreting the use of swear words. The informants were selected purposively using criteria based on the informant-selection principles adopted from Samarin (1967) and supported by Lincoln and Guba (1985). The secondary data consisted of two academic theses selected purposively according to their relevance to the research topic. The documents were required to have been published within the five-year period from 2020 to 2025. The two documents selected were The Analysis of Swear Words Used by the Children in Poh Bergong Village by Saniada et al. (2023), which discusses Balinese swear words, and Mandarin Swear Words Used by Chinese and A Descriptive Qualitative Study by Hayuni et al. (2025), which discusses Mandarin swear words. The documents were used to complement the interview data, particularly when primary information required additional evidence or clarification.

The objects of this study were swear words in Balinese spoken in Buleleng and Mandarin, particularly their forms. The study analyzed the linguistic expressions identified as swear words and analyzed how they are used in different communicative situations. The comparison

was conducted to identify both shared and distinctive characteristics of swear words in Balinese spoken in Buleleng and Mandarin. The role of the researcher as the primary instrument follows the qualitative research principles discussed by Lincoln and Guba (1985), in which researchers are directly involved in understanding phenomena within their natural contexts. Interview guides were used to collect primary data through direct interviews with Balinese and Mandarin native speakers as research informants. Interview sheets recorded the informants' answered, while checklist tables verified whether the identified data from interviews and document analysis were still used within the community.

The collected data were analyzed qualitatively through several systematic stages such as data extraction, categorization of swear words, and comparative descriptive analysis. In data extraction, the information gathered through interviews and in-depth document analysis was extracted into an organized table. In categorization of swear words, the category of forms was suggested by Carstairs-McCarthy (2002), Wijana (2004), Delahunty & Garvey (2010). In comparative descriptive analysis, it highlighted the similarities and differences. Primary data were interpreted from the perspectives of the selected informants, following the qualitative principles associated with Lincoln and Guba (1985). Meanwhile, secondary data were analyzed using document analysis following Bowen (2009), who conceptualizes document analysis as a systematic process of reviewing and evaluating documents. Document analysis can also be combined with other qualitative methods as a form of methodological triangulation (Denzin, 2017). The study applied triangulation based on the framework of Lincoln and Guba (1985). It employed methodological triangulation by comparing information obtained through semi-structured interviews with information obtained through document analysis.

3. Results

Swear Words in the Form of Words

Based on their morphological composition, the findings show that the swear words identified in both languages were classified into two main categories, namely monomorphemic words and polymorphemic words. Monomorphemic swear words consist of a single free morpheme, whereas polymorphemic swear words consist of two or more morphemes. In Balinese, the polymorphemic forms were mainly created through affixation, while the Mandarin forms identified in the data were formed through combinations of multiple free morphemes.

The findings indicate a substantial difference in the number of swear words identified in the two languages. Balinese contained 32 monomorphemic and 17 polymorphemic swear words, while Mandarin contained 3 monomorphemic and 15 polymorphemic swear words. Thus, the findings consisted of 67 swear-word forms altogether. The data demonstrate that monomorphemic swear words were considerably more numerous in Balinese, whereas the numbers of polymorphemic swear words in the two languages were relatively closer.

Monomorphemic Words

Table 1. Monomorphemic Swear Words in Balinese and Mandarin

Language	Word Class	Number of Forms
Balinese	Noun	22
Balinese	Verb	5
Balinese	Adjective	5
Mandarin	Verb	2
Mandarin	Adjective	1

The first category consists of swear words in the form of monomorphemic words. These forms consist of a single free morpheme. The Balinese data contain 32 monomorphemic swear words. The noun category represents the largest group, comprising terms referring to animals, body parts, bodily substances, people or social identities, supernatural beings, and other objects or concepts. Examples include *cicing* 'dog', *tai* 'shit', *bojog* 'monkey', *pletan* 'male genital', *teli* 'female genital', *bangsat* 'bastard', *kaung* 'pig', *jit* 'ass', and *gamang* 'ghost'. Other noun forms include *bungut* 'mouth', *tenas* 'head', *ubuan* 'pet', and *berung* 'scar'.

The Balinese monomorphemic data also contain five verbs: *katuk* 'fuck', *amah* 'eat', *pete* 'talk', *medem* 'sleep', and *bangke* 'die'. In addition, five adjectives were identified, namely *buduh* 'crazy', *lengeh* 'stupid', *belog* 'fool', *bengkung* 'obstinate', and *bodo* 'ugly'. Therefore, the Balinese monomorphemic forms demonstrate that swear words can occur across several grammatical categories rather than being restricted to nouns. In contrast, only three monomorphemic swear words were identified in the Mandarin data. They are *gǔn* 'get lost' and *cào* 'fuck', which function as verbs, and *sǒng* 'coward', which functions as an adjective. Thus, unlike the Balinese data, the Mandarin monomorphemic forms identified in this study did not include nouns.

Polymorphemic Words

Table 2. Polymorphemic Swear Words in Balinese and Mandarin

Language	Morphological Process	Number of Forms	Structural Pattern
Balinese	Suffixation	9	Free morpheme + bound morpheme
Balinese	Prefixation	6	Bound morpheme + free morpheme
Balinese	Prefixation + suffixation	2	Bound + free + bound morphemes
Mandarin	Compounding	11	Two and three free morphemes

The findings show a clear structural distinction between the two languages. The Balinese data consist of 17 polymorphemic swear words. Nine forms were identified as involving suffixation. These include *pirate-ne* 'ancestors', *mata-n* 'eyes', *goba-ne* 'face', *nani-ne* 'you coarse', *cicing-ene* 'you dog', *cicing-e* 'dog', *gamang-e* 'ghost', *bojog-ene* 'you monkey', and *polo-ne* 'brain'. In these forms, a free morpheme is combined with a bound morpheme. For example, *piratane* consists of *pirata* as the free morpheme and *ne* as the bound morpheme, while *cicingene* consists of *cicing* as the free morpheme and *ene* as the bound morpheme.

Six additional Balinese polymorphemic forms were identified as involving prefixation. These are *me-medi* 'ghost', *me-pete* 'talk', *ng-amah* 'eat', *ng-angkuk* 'fuck', *ny-undel* 'doing prostitute', and *me-katuk* 'fuck'. Their morphological structures consist of a bound morpheme attached to a free morpheme. For instance, *memedi* consists of *me* as a bound morpheme and *medi* as a free morpheme, while *mepete* consists of *me* and *pete*. Similarly, *ngamah* contains *ng* and *amah*, and *mekatuk* contains *me* and *katuk*. Two other Balinese forms, *ng-amah-in* 'eat' and *me-katuk-an* 'fuck', contain both prefix and suffix elements. *Ngamahin* consists of *ng* as a bound morpheme, *amah* as a free morpheme, and *in* as a bound morpheme. Meanwhile, *mekatukan* consists of *me* as a bound morpheme, *katuk* as a free morpheme, and *an* as a bound morpheme. These forms demonstrate that Balinese swear words may undergo more than one affixation process within a single word.

The Mandarin data contain 11 polymorphemic swear words. Unlike the Balinese forms, these expressions are formed through the combination of free morphemes. The identified forms are *rén zhā* 'human trash/scum', *nǎo cán* 'mentally retarded/stupid', *èr bī* 'fucking idiot', *gǒu shǐ* 'bullshit', *bèn dàn* 'idiot/fool', *shǎ quē* 'idiot, moron', *shǎ guā* 'Idiot', *shǎ bī* 'stupid cunt,

asshole', *wángbā dàn* 'son of a bitch', *èr bǎi wǔ* 'stupid, idiot', *jiàn rén* 'bitch'. Most of the Mandarin polymorphemic forms contain two free morphemes. For example, *rén zhā* consists of *rén* + *zhā*, *nǎo cán* consists of *nǎo* + *cán*, and *gǒu shǐ* consists of *gǒu* + *shǐ*. Similar two-morpheme structures occur in *bèn dàn*, *shǎ quē*, *shǎ guā*, *shǎ bī*, *wángbā dàn* and *jiàn rén*. One form contains more complex combinations of morphemes. Like, *èr bǎi wǔ* contains three free morphemes, namely *èr* + *bǎi* + *wǔ*. These forms demonstrate that Mandarin swear words may consist of more than two morphemes and can therefore have relatively complex morphological structures.

Swear Words in the Forms of Phrases

Table 3. Distribution of Swear Words in the Forms of Phrases

Language	Noun Phrases	Adjective Phrases	Verb Phrases	Total
Balinese	24	11	5	40
Mandarin	4	2	9	15
Total	28	13	14	55

Noun Phrases

The findings identified 24 Balinese swear words in the form of noun phrases. These expressions combine nouns with other nouns, determiners, pronouns, adjectives, or other nominal elements. Examples include *nas pletan* 'dick head', *sien teli* 'vagina excrement', *piratane to* 'that ancestor', *dakin teli* 'vagina excrement', *naskelenge to* 'that head dick', *cicinge to* 'that dog', *piratane to* 'that ancestor', *kuluk berung* 'wounded dog', *kuluk rabies* 'rabid dog', *mue jit* 'ass face', *panak gamang* 'son of the ghost', *panak medi* 'son of the ghost', *bungut nanine* 'your coarse mouth', *bungut gebuh* 'big mouth' *cicing cai* 'you dog', *naskleng cai* 'you dick head', *bangsat cai* 'you bastard', *bangkaan nani* 'you coarse are corpse', *bungut gebuh* 'big mouth', *bungut gebuh nani* 'you coarse are a big mouth', *nas pletan cai* 'you dick head', *bangsat nani* 'you bastard', *barang bangke ti jelema ne* 'you're so useless', *i mue jit* 'ass face'. All of these forms were classified as noun phrases in the source data.

Meanwhile, the Mandarin data contain 4 noun phrases. Examples include *tā mā de* 'damn it', *mā de* 'damn it', *jiàn nǚ rén* 'whore', *nǎo zi jìn shuǐ le* 'you're stupid'. These forms contain nouns and determiners. The source data classify all 4 expressions as noun phrases. The noun-phrase findings therefore demonstrate that both languages use nominal constructions to express swear words, although Balinese provides a substantially larger number of identified forms in this category.

Adjective Phrases

The second phrase category consists of adjective phrases. In Balinese, 11 adjective phrases were identified. These include *belog gati* 'so stupid', *lengeh gati* 'so stupid', *bodo gati* 'so ugly', *buduh gati* 'so crazy', *bengkung* gati 'so stubborn', *olog ti* 'so stupid', *lengeh celenge* 'stupid pig', *bodo gati nani* 'so ugly you coarse', *belog gati nani* 'so stupid you coarse', *lengeh gati nani* 'damn stupid you coarse', *bengkung gati nani* 'damn obstinate you coarse'. The first several forms combine an adjective with an adverb, whereas *lengeh celenge* combines an adjective with a noun. Meanwhile, *bodo gati nani* and *belog gati nani* combines an adjective with an adverb and a noun. Also, *Lengeh gati nani* and *bengkung gati nani* combines an adjective with an adverb and a subject. Despite these internal differences, all 11 expressions are categorized as adjective phrases in the findings.

Only 2 Mandarin adjective phrases were identified: *chòu bù yao lian* 'shameless' and *bù yào liǎn* 'shameless'. The former consists of adjective elements together with a noun, while

the latter combines an adjectival element with a noun. Both expressions were categorized as adjective phrases in the source data. Thus, adjective phrases represent a smaller category in both languages compared with noun phrases. However, the Balinese data contain considerably more adjective-phrase forms than the Mandarin data.

Verb Phrases

The third category consists of verb phrases. The findings identified 5 Balinese verb phrases, namely *mepete deen* 'talk too much', *ngamah dogen* 'always eating', *medem deen* 'always sleep', *bangke muh* 'just die', *medem deen nani* 'you coarse always sleep'. These expressions consist of a verb followed by an adverb and are categorized as verb phrases, but *medem deen nani* consist of a verb followed by an adverb and a subject. Meanwhile, in Mandarin, 9 forms were identified in the verb-phrase category. They include *qù nǐde* 'screw you', *bì zuǐ* 'shut up', *măn zuǐ pēn fèn* 'talking bullshit', *cào nǐmā* 'fuck your mother', *cào nǐ zǔzōng shíba dai* 'fuck your ancestors', *cào tāmā de bī* 'fuck that damn cunt', *fàng pì* 'bullshit', *gǔn dàn* 'get lost', *gǔn kai* 'go to hell'. The source data identify these expressions as verb phrases, although some of the listed internal structures contain nominal components. Thus, the comparison shows that verb phrases are the only phrase category in which the Mandarin data contain more identified forms than the Balinese data. This contrasts with the noun-phrase and adjective-phrase categories, where Balinese has more examples.

Swear Words in the Forms of Clauses

Table 4. Distribution of Swear Words in the Forms of Clauses

Language	Number of Clausal Forms	General Structural Characteristics
Balinese	5	Combinations of subjects, nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs
Mandarin	13	Combinations of pronouns, nouns, adjectives, intensifiers, conjunctions, subjects, verbs, determiner, measure words, noun phrases, and verb phrases
Total	18	

The findings identified swear words functioning as clauses in both languages. The data contain 5 Balinese clauses and 13 Mandarin clauses, resulting in 18 clause-level expressions. Mandarin contains more clause expressions than Balinese. The Balinese clauses demonstrate considerable variation in their structures. Examples include *cai ngamah deen* 'you always eat', *kuluk berung cai* 'you are wounded dog', *kuluk rabies cai* 'you are rabid dog', *panak gamang nani* 'you coarse are son of a ghost', *panak medi nani* 'you coarse are son of a ghost'. These examples demonstrate that Balinese swear-word clauses may combine different types of constituents including subjects, nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs.

The Mandarin data contain 13 swear words in the form of clauses. The identified expressions include *nǐ zhēn ta ma chǔn* 'you're damn stupid', *nǐ zhēn shi yige feiwù* 'you're loser', *nǐ naozi yǒu bìng* 'are you insane?', *nǐ qù sǐ ba* 'go to hell', *nǐ gěi wǒ gǔn* 'get lost', *bié gēn wǒ huchě* 'no fucking baloney', *bì shang nǐ de chòu zuǐ* 'shut your stinky mouth', *nǐ shìge hunqiu* 'you're a douchebag!', *nǎozi jìn shuǐ le* 'you're stupid', *wǒ cǎo* 'fuck me!', *nǐ tā mā de* 'damn you!', *nǐ ge chǔn huò* 'you idiot', *nǐ ge bai chi* 'you moron'. The Mandarin clause data contain a variety of constituent combinations including pronouns, nouns, adjectives, intensifiers, conjunctions, subjects, verbs, determiner, measure words, noun phrases, and verb phrases. The findings therefore show that Mandarin swear words more complex clausal expressions.

4. Discussion

The findings reveal that Balinese and Mandarin swear words share similar structural forms, namely words, phrases, and clauses. From a sociolinguistic perspective, this indicates that swearing can be expressed through various grammatical structures, although the processes used to construct these expressions differ between the two languages. This finding is consistent with Carstairs-McCarthy (2002), Delahunty and Garvey (2010), and Wijana (2004), who discuss the morphological and grammatical structures of language. It also supports Holmes and Wilson's (2022) view that meaning is influenced by social context and language use.

At the word level, both languages contain monomorphemic and polymorphemic swear words. Monomorphemic forms consist of a single free morpheme, such as Balinese *cicing* 'dog', *tai* 'shit', *bangsat* 'bastard', and *buduh* 'crazy', as well as Mandarin *gǔn* 'get lost', *cào* 'fuck', and *sǒng* 'coward'. These examples demonstrate that a single lexical item can convey an offensive meaning depending on its use in interaction. However, the languages differ in their morphological processes. Balinese primarily employs affixation, including prefixes, suffixes, and derivational processes, as illustrated by *bojogene* 'this monkey' and *nyundel* 'whore'. In contrast, Mandarin mainly uses compounding, as seen in *gǒu shǐ* 'bullshit' and *èr bī* 'fucking idiot'. These differences reflect the distinct morphological systems available in each language.

At the phrase level, both languages use noun, adjective, and verb phrases to express insults. Examples include Balinese *dakin teli* 'vagina excrement' and *cicinge to* 'that dog', and Mandarin *tā mā de* 'damn it/fucking hell' and *cào nǐ mā* 'fuck your mother'. Adjective phrases include *belog gati* 'so stupid' in Balinese and *bù yào liǎn* 'shameless' in Mandarin, while verb phrases include *mepete deen* 'talk too much' and *mǎn zuǐ pēn fèn* 'talking bullshit', respectively. Nevertheless, the data show that Mandarin more frequently uses verb phrases, particularly action-oriented expressions and commands such as *bì zuǐ* 'shut up', *gǔn dàn* 'get lost', and *qù nǐde* 'get lost/fuck you'. Conversely, Balinese more frequently employs noun and adjective-related expressions to label or describe a person's characteristics, behavior, or social identity. These patterns demonstrate how each language uses its grammatical resources to convey negative evaluations.

At the clause level, both languages integrate swear words into more complete grammatical structures involving verbs, adjectives, and nouns. Balinese examples include *cai ngamah deen* 'you always eat', while Mandarin examples include *nǐ zhēn ta ma chǔn* 'you are damn stupid' and *nǐ nao zi yǒu bìng* 'are you insane?'. However, Balinese clauses tend to describe the target's condition or behavior, whereas Mandarin clauses more frequently function as direct insults or verbal actions toward the listener. Thus, despite sharing similar structural categories, the two languages differ in their grammatical patterns and communicative functions. Furthermore, the findings demonstrate that Balinese and Mandarin share similarities in the forms of swear words, including words, phrases, and clauses, as proposed by Wijana (2004). Both languages also employ monomorphemic and polymorphemic forms. However, Balinese displays greater variety in the word classes found among monomorphemic expressions and relies more heavily on affixation, whereas Mandarin primarily uses compounding. Differences also appear in phrase and clause constructions, with Balinese more frequently using noun- and adjective-related expressions and Mandarin favoring verb-based expressions. These findings highlight that swear words are not merely linguistic structures but also socially situated expressions shaped by the grammatical systems and communicative practices of their respective language communities.

5. Conclusions

This study concludes that Balinese and Mandarin swear words share similarities and differences in terms of their forms. In terms of words, both languages contain monomorphemic and polymorphemic words. In terms of differences, it appears that Balinese swear words formed through affixation including prefix, suffix and derivational. Meanwhile Mandarin swear words formed through compounding processes. In the forms of phrases, both languages share similarities in the use of noun phrases, adjective phrases, and verb phrases. In the terms of differences of phrases, Balinese tends to form swear phrases using its own grammatical patterns which create offensive meanings through description of a target, while Mandarin uses different combinations of offensive expressions that can directly indicate an action, or personal character. Both languages share similarities in the forms of clauses which consists of subject and predicate. Both languages have similarities of dependent clauses and independent clauses such as: [i.e Balinese (cai ngamah deen 'you always eat', etc.), Mandarin (nǐ zhēn ta ma chǔn 'you are damn stupid', etc.)]. In the terms of differences of clauses, Balinese clauses of swear words are primarily structured to describe or label the target's negative traits or behaviors using descriptive patterns. Meanwhile, Mandarin swear clauses rely heavily on directive constructions, intensifiers, and imperative structures that command or directly attack the listener.

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