Dialectologia 30 (2023), 71-101. ISSN: 2013-2247

Received 12 September 2020.

Accepted 3 April 2021.

Published 30 January 2023.

DOI: 10.1344/DIALECTOLOGIA2023.30.4

FOUR LETTER WORD IN HINDI: A STUDY OF TABOO IN SACRED GAMES

Himanshi Gupta & Amitabh Vikram Dwivedi *

Shri Mata Vaishno Devi University, India
aashagupta43@gmail.com / amitabhvikram@yahoo.co.in

ORCID 0000-0002-7779-2654

Abstract

The paper aims at studying the types, functions and micro-contextual factors of taboo words in the Netflix web series entitled *Sacred Games*. The researchers employed qualitative method while conducting the sociolinguistic analysis. The videos and their transcripts served as the primary linguistic data, while assorting them into taboo words, phrases, clauses and sentences types. The data was then classified into four categories: epithet, profanity, vulgarity, and obscenity. The functions of the taboo language were divided into four categories: to draw attention to oneself, to show contempt, to be provocative, and to mock authority. Lastly, the taboo language was distributed into four microcontextual factors that were responsible for characters to use taboo words in the web series, namely participants, purpose of conversation and participant's attitude, context, and setting in time and place. The conclusion indicates that the obscenity type was the most used one, and 'to show contempt' became the primary reason for the characters to use taboo language in the series.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, taboo words, *Sacred Games*, obscenity

PARAULA DE QUATRE LETRES EN HINDI: UN ESTUDI DEL TABÚ EN JOCS SAGRATS

Resum

L'objectiu d'aquest article és estudiar els tipus, les funcions i els factors microcontextuals de les paraules tabú a la sèrie web de Netflix titulada *Jocs sagrats*. Els investigadors van fer servir un mètode qualitatiu mentre feien l'anàlisi sociolingüística. Els vídeos i les seves transcripcions van servir com a dades lingüístiques primàries, i alhora els van classificar en paraules, frases, clàusules i tipus d'oracions tabú. A continuació, les dades es van classificar en quatre categories: epítet, blasfèmia, vulgaritat i obscenitat. Les funcions del llenguatge tabú es dividien en quatre categories: cridar l'atenció sobre un mateix, mostrar menyspreu, ser provocador i burlar-se de l'autoritat. Finalment, el llenguatge tabú es va distribuir en quatre microfactors contextuals que eren responsables que els personatges usessin

^{*} School of Languages & Literature, Shri Mata Vaishno Devi University, Katra, Reasi, Jammu & Kashmir, India 182320.



paraules tabú a la sèrie; és a dir, els participants, el propòsit de la conversa i l'actitud, el context i el lloc i el temps dels participants. La conclusió indica que el tipus "obscenitat" va ser el més utilitzat, i "per mostrar menyspreu" es va convertir en la raó principal per la qual els personatges van fer servir el llenguatge tabú a la sèrie.

Paraules clau: sociolingüística, paraules tabú, Jocs Sagrats, obscenitat

PALABRA DE CUATRO LETRAS EN HINDI: UN ESTUDIO DEL TABÚ EN *JUEGOS SAGRADOS*Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es estudiar los tipos, las funciones y los factores microcontextuales de las palabras tabú en la serie web de Netflix titulada *Juegos sagrados*. Los investigadores emplearon un método cualitativo mientras realizaban el análisis sociolingüístico. Los videos y sus transcripciones sirvieron como datos lingüísticos primarios, y al mismo tiempo los clasificaron en palabras, frases, cláusulas y tipos de oraciones tabú. A continuación, los datos se clasificaron en cuatro categorías: epíteto, blasfemia, vulgaridad y obscenidad. Las funciones del lenguaje tabú se dividían en cuatro categorías: llamar la atención sobre uno mismo, mostrar desprecio, ser provocador y burlarse de la autoridad. Por último, el lenguaje tabú se distribuyó en cuatro microfactores contextuales que eran responsables de que los personajes usaran palabras tabúes en la serie; a saber, los participantes, el propósito de la conversación y la actitud, el contexto y el lugar y el tiempo de los participantes. La conclusión indica que el tipo "obscenidad" fue el más utilizado, y "para mostrar desprecio" se convirtió en la razón principal por la que los personajes usaron el lenguaje tabú en la serie.

Palabras clave: sociolingüística, palabras tabúes, Juegos Sagrados, obscenidad

1. Introduction

Through language we express ourselves, and taboo words which are also a language-type, often enhance our expressions. This research paper aims at analysing the taboo words, their types and functions, and the factors that cause the language speakers to use them. For that, a popular and contemporary web series, *Sacred Games* ¹ was taken into consideration which was further followed up by a sociolinguistic analysis. As Wardhaugh states, "sociolinguistics is anxious with investigating the relationships between language and society with the goal being a more robust understanding of the structure of language and of how languages function in communication" (Wardhaugh 2005: 13). The information was in the utterances form, while the contexts of the information were the video of *Sacred*

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¹ Sacred Games is an Indian web television thriller web series on Netflix, based on Vikram Chandra's 2006 novel of the same name. It is one of best web series that can be examined through this research in terms of taboo words.

Games. The information was gathered by selecting the dialogues containing taboo words after watching and re-watching the video carefully, and utilizing transcript of the web series as extra reference. The study collected and elicited the linguistic data containing taboo words which were analysed using qualitative and content analysis. The collected data was differentiated on the basis of the types, functions and factors. The information was firstly classified under four types of taboo: profanity, vulgarity, obscenity and epithets, and it was concluded that out of these, the obscenity type is the most used one; the data then was categorized under the four functions of taboo words which were found in the series. These are: to draw attention to oneself, to show contempt, to be provocative, and to mock authority. Furthermore, the collected information was categorized under the four micro contextual factors that are responsible for the characters of the web series to use taboos: participants, purpose of conversation and attitude of participants, content or subject matter, and setting including place and time.

Language is for communication, and linguists believe that language has several functions (Dwivedi 2020a). The strongest way to express the feeling of dissatisfaction and frustration usually occurs through the use of taboo language, and also at times it emphasizes the real intention of a person. Also, language speakers subconsciously know what is a good language and bad language; what appropriate and inappropriate language is; what a taboo² word is and when to use it. This research studies the taboo words used in the web series *Sacred Games*, and reflects upon the present day use of taboo words by the Hindi speakers. This study applies sociolinguistic approach to identify the taboo words used in the series.

According to one assumption, people who belong to lower socio-economic status use taboo words in a very high rate, but this assumption is misleading (Permatasari, Mahyuni & Zamzam 2017: 3). It is reported that population whose education level and economic status is higher, also use taboo language (Permatasari, Mahyuni & Zamzam 2017: 3). Taking this into consideration, the study argues that the use of taboo words is

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² Taboo is a Tongan term that denotes a person, object or act which is dangerous and therefore it must be avoided.

contextual rather than a socio-economic phenomenon. In the popular web series *Sacred Games*, we find an overdose of offensive language. Since this web series represents the naturally spoken language by the characters, it serves as the synchronic language (Dwivedi 2020b) data for this study. Also, it becomes quite interesting to analyse the types, functions and factors in taboo language that the characters of the web series employ. They, in turn, provide a reflection to the context in which the taboo word is used. Therefore, the research urges for a sociolinguistic analysis of the taboo words used, for a better understanding of why they are used; what functions they perform; and how they add on more meaningfulness to conversation.

2. Research hypothesis

The use of taboo language is a sociolinguistic and contextual phenomenon rather than a socio-economic one.

3. Research questions

This research addresses the following research questions:

- 1. What are the various kinds of taboo words used by the characters in *Sacred Games* (Dwivedi 2020b)?
- 2. What are the major functions of taboo words in the web series?
- 3. What reasons may cause the use of taboo words by the characters in the series?

The remainder of the chapter is divided into the following headings: "Taboo words" (§ 4) provides a brief introduction of taboo language; "Theoretical Foundation" (§ 5) provides theoretical lens to this research; followed up by the heading "Research Methodology" (§ 6) that discusses the various methods that are used to analyse the taboo words; the heading "Data Analysis" (§ 7) indicates how the data is analysed

systematically, and the title "Conclusion" (§ 8) closes the research paper, and finally the "Limitations" (§ 9) mentions a few limitations of the study.

4. Taboo words

A taboo is defined as "a cultural or religious custom that does not allow people to do, use or talk about a particular thing as people find it offensive or embarrassing" (Hornby 1995: 1053). Taboo words are authorized or confined to both institutional and individual levels under the presumption that some harm will happen if a taboo word is verbally expressed. The exact nature of the harm to befall the speaker, listener, or society has never been entirely clear (Heins 2007). At the institutional level, taboos on specific types of speech emerge from authorities that have the ability to confine discourse and can act as judges of harmful discourse; a good example is law, religion, pioneers, instructors, and broad communications supervisors. According to Trudgill (2000: 18), taboo refers to something prohibited, and in terms of language, taboo "is associated with the things which are not said".

Allan & Burridge (2006: 9) inform that "taboos come out of social constraint on the individual's behaviour which can cause discomfort, harm or injury". Hughes (2006) adds that taboo is used in relation to religious, sexual harassment or racial topics that should be banned. However, these days the term 'taboo' is firmly connected with any social intercourse, both action, and speech, that ought not to be communicated. Associated with what is not supposed to be talked about, Brown & Attardo (2005) state that in most societies, the taboo words uttered are usually in the form of sexual and/or referring to reproductive organs and related behaviour, excretory organs and/or fluids, racial or ethnic slurs and blasphemy.

Jay (2009) uses the term 'cursing' to define taboo language and branches it into swearing, obscenity, profanity, blasphemy, name-calling, insulting, verbal aggression, taboo speech, ethnic-racial slurs, vulgarity, slang, and scatology. Jay concludes that nobody is born with innate knowledge of taboo words and swearing etiquette. These

are all accomplished as individuals become familiar with a language in the society through the socialization procedure. Individuals normally figure out how to separate what is taboo and what is not through the way towards being a part of society. They additionally attempt to comprehend what they ought to say and what they ought not to say in correspondence by considering the norms prevailing in their own living spot. Hayakawa (1978) says that stronger verbal taboos are beneficial when people feel very angry. Instead of expressing anger through violence, they may choose to utter taboo words that are harmless, rather than expressing a harsh physical action that may hurt someone or something physically (Hayakawa 1978).

5. Theoretical foundation

Taboo is a social or religious custom prohibiting a specific practice or forbidding association with a particular person, place, or thing (Speake 1997: 337). There are many taboos or forbidden words utilized in a ton of films these days. The creator of the web series utilizes taboo words purposively to represent the social reality of language. This research studies taboo words that are found in the web series through sociolinguistics. Having known the idea of taboo words including the kinds, functions and the micro-contextual factors, the speculations of Battistella (2005), Wardhaugh (2005) and Hongxu & Guisen (1990) are expected to respond to the research questions that are stated above. The researcher utilizes Batistella's (2005) hypothesis so as to portray the four types of taboo words that are: epithets, profanity, vulgarity, and obscenity. Each type of taboo word is explored in this section, followed by examples from the script of the series:

1) Epithet: Epithet is described by the presence of certain kind of slurs, for example, bitch and fag. Different references that are incorporated as designation are associated with race, ethnicity, sex, sexuality, one's appearance, and handicaps, for example, nigger, midget, retard, mother fucker and so on. Jay (1992) defines epithet as a short but strong blast of passionate language which is triggered by frustration or anger such as 'son of a bitch'.

- 2) Profanity: According to Batistella (2005: 72), "Profanity can be categorized as religious cursing because it usually includes the foul-mouthed use of what is considered to be sacred". Further, Jay (2009: 154) describes profanity as the "expression involving the use of religious terms in a profane, secular or uncaring manner". The point of the speaker is not to attack God or anything associated with religion, yet it might be utilized to communicate enthusiastic reaction to specific intentions. The words that find a place in this category are, 'Jesus Christ', 'heck', 'damn', 'goddamn', and alike.
- 3) Vulgarity: Vulgarity and obscenity have a similar reference particularly to words or articulations that contain sexual life systems and excretory capacity in an unpleasant way. The distinction among vulgarity and obscenity is generally identified with the degree of lasciviousness. In other terms, vulgarity exhibits the crude articulation of road language. Additionally, Jay (2009: 153) declares that vulgarity is used "to humiliate or bring down the thing or individual referred to or described". The words that belong to this type are: 'ass', 'tit', 'cock', 'dick', 'cunt', and alike.
- 4) Obscenity: Obscenity alludes to articulations that are precluded from open use since they include repugnance to the sense, are loathsome, inconsiderate and wretched to profound quality. Moreover, as per Batistella (2005: 73), obscenity is characterized as "words or articulation which includes sex separating life systems or sexual and excretory capacity that is generally expressed in a harsh way". The words that belong to this type are 'fuck', 'shit', and more.

Taboo words are generally articulated in light of the fact that there is a purpose behind using them. To exhibit the explanation of utilizing taboo words, the researchers apply the theory of Wardhaugh (2005). According to this author, taboo words are dismissed in specific events since they have several functions such as: to draw attention to oneself, to show contempt, to be provocative, and to mock authority.

1. To draw attention to oneself: Sometimes individuals articulate taboo words so as to get the consideration from the audience. McGuire (1973) explains that the speakers should gain the interest through use of strong, powerful language whose connotation can stimulate an instant reaction from the audience. Therefore,

individuals utilize taboo words which are expected to have power to capture the audience's attention in view of its solid meaning.

- 2. To show contempt: The usage of taboo words in discussion between two individuals can likewise aim to show contempt or scorn. As indicated by *Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionary*, contempt means the impression in which a person or an object is completely useless and cannot be regarded (Hornby 1995). In other words, when somebody attempts to show scorn by utilizing taboo words, the person will affront the recipient by expressing words that can wound their pride.
- 3. To be provocative: When somebody expresses taboo words, they may have an expectation to incite a specific reaction, for example, infringement or outrage from others. Rothwell (1973) says that verbal obscenity can be the most efficient symbolic process offered to protesters intended for inviting chaotic reaction. Taboo words are viewed as fruitful when the reaction is reasonable with the speaker's desire.
- 4. To mock authority: Sometimes individuals utilize taboo words when they are not happy with open pictures, for example, government and institutions. Rothwell (1973) asserts that verbal obscenity communicates a significant hatred for society's rule, a rebellion against power as well as impertinence for things that are considered sacred. In other words, individuals utilize taboo words since they need to communicate their mistake about reality that is not quite the same as what they have anticipated. In this manner, a few people may want to employ certain taboo words with the intent to deride the authority, in order to show their disbelief about administrative stuffs.

To account for the micro factors that led to the usage of taboo words by the characters, the researchers refer to the research paper of Permatasari, Mahyuni & Zamzam (2017), who in turn follows the hypothesis of Hongxu & Guisen (1990). According to this hypothesis, there are four factors that urge the characters to use slangs; these are: participants, purpose of conversation and participant's attitudes, content or subject matter, and setting including place and time.

- 1. Participants: Participants incorporate speaker and audience and their respective age, sex, society position and relationship to one another.
- 2. Purpose of conversation and participant's attitude: A speaker may utilize a verbal taboo to attract attention, to discredit the listener, to incite vehement

disapprovals, to make a solid relational distinguishing proof, or to invoke catharsis, which implies that the speaker expresses his/her dissatisfaction by means of taboo words.

- 3. Content or subject matter: Some non-taboo words might be considered as taboo words depending on the context in which they are used. For instance, 'death' is not a taboo word but discussing death in front of someone who has recently lost a close one would be viewed as a taboo since it might be hurtful for the listener.
- 4. Setting including place and time: Hongxu & Guisen (1990: 80) suggest that "location and time can be effective factors in the formation of taboo words too". For instance, individuals may abstain from discussing sexual activities out in the open or in every day correspondence with relatives, companions, or others, although they would have the option to speak transparently about the issues identified with sex and intercourses to a specialist in his/her office.

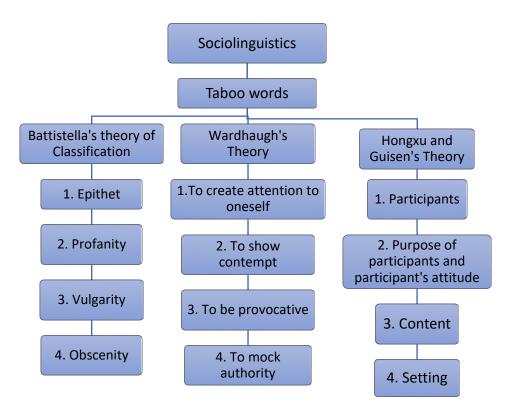


Figure 1. Theoretical framework diagram

6. Research methodology

The researchers adopted a qualitative approach to deal with the objectives of the paper, and for analysing the taboo language. Qualitative approach is a study of social and behavioural phenomenon like human behaviour (Ary, Jacobs, Sorenson & Razavich 2010). It seeks to understand and interpret human and social conduct as it is lived by participants in a particular social setting (Ary, Jacobs, Sorenson & Razavich 2010: 420). This research method describes a social phenomenon narratively with respect to its natural settings and human beings as the inhabitants of these settings (Berg 2001). Accordingly, in this research the information would normally reflect how the speakers use the taboo practices in their discussion. Besides this, the significance of adopting qualitative research is that this type of study is concerned with a small amount of data which enables the researcher to observe the phenomenon studied indepth according to themes (Vanderstoep & Johnson 2009: 7). In this situation, the profound perception on the linguistic phenomenon was required in light of the fact that the researcher could deliver a point-by-point investigation on the acts of taboo in *Sacred Games* as indicated by the hypothesis.

Furthermore, the way towards thinking from hypothesis to investigation describes that the researcher conveyed an inductive methodology which is one trait of qualitative research. Thus, the qualitative methodology was viewed as the most appropriate technique in looking at the taboo practices in the web series. In this study, the qualitative strategy is bolstered by the quantitative technique, while, the quantitative method is utilized so as to the show the recurrence of each taboo word as well as the percentage of each type, factor, and function in the series. This research further focuses on content or document analysis as this approach enables the researcher to study the human behaviour in a direct way through an analysis of their communication (Fraenkal & Nallen 2008: 472). Content analysis is a research method applied to written or visual materials for the purpose of identifying specific characteristics of the material such as textbooks, television programs, transcripts, web pages, advertisement and alike (Ary, Jacobs, Sorenson & Razavich 2010: 457). Since the source of information is in the form of recordings and transcripts, the researchers

apply this technique to break down the perplexity of taboo words as depicted in the series.

A) Form, context, and source of data: Linguistic units selected for examining the taboo practices in *Sacred Games* are in the form of words/phrases such as *bullshit*, *motherfucker* and so on; words like *crap*, *shit*, *fuck*, etc.; and phrases like *son of a bitch*, and alike, spoken by the characters of the web series. Since the information of this research is in words and phrases which indicate the taboo practices, the setting of the information is monologues and discourse between the characters. In terms of the source of information, *Sacred Games* has two seasons with eight episodes, each of which is about 45-50 minute in length, and these are used as the essential or primary source, and the optional source is the transcript of the series in Hindi & English which has been additionally utilized to elicit data. The auxiliary source, which is the informal transcript of the web series, is taken from a web annotator, namely *Springfield! Springfield!*, and the transcript has been approved by coordinating it with the dialogues and monologues in the web series.

B) Procedures of collecting data: Data collection is a way of collecting a piece of information from sources for understanding a phenomenon (Rouse 2017). In this research, the information is assembled through note-taking strategy. The various steps followed by the researchers in order to collect data are given below:

- 1. The researchers watched all the eight episodes of *Sacred Games* (season one), and carefully read its transcript downloaded from the web source, which is in Hindi & English. Since the main language of the web series is Hindi, the researcher collected all the taboo words in Hindi language first, and then translated all Hindi slangs into English language.
- 2. The researchers watched all the eight episodes of the series a number of times, and rechecked the transcript in order to assure the accuracy or whether it was trustworthy or not, by matching the character's utterances from the videos to the English transcript.

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³ Springfield! Springfield!, http://www.sprinfieldspringfield.co.uk/movie_scripts.php.

- 3. The researchers took notes on the articulations which showed taboo practices in the series with respect to the theories related to the taboo phenomenon; and
- 4. The researchers transferred the utterances as raw data into the research instrument.

C. Instrument of the research: Research instrument is a tool which is designed by a researcher to collect data (Wallace & Fleet 2012: 51). Under this sub-heading, the tool conveyed by the researchers was in the form of information or data sheet. The data or information sheet was utilized as an instrument for classifying the information into the types of taboo words, its functions, and the micro factors responsible for its appearance in the web series, in view of the various theories hypothesized by theorists which are discussed under the heading "theoretical foundation" in this chapter.

- D. Technique of data analysis: Bungin (2008) states that in qualitative research, "data collecting method and technique of data analysis are tied inseparably because the data analysis method and technique have actually started since the data collection has been conducted" (Bungin 2007: 167). After acquiring the information from the series, the various step of data analysis were recorded as follows:
- 1. Categorizing: After collecting the data from the web series and from the transcript of the series, the researchers firstly collected all the taboo words from the utterances, and then categorized each taboo word based on its meaning, and the frequency of each taboo word was also recorded. Now, the data was transferred into the categorization system which is drawn in the form of a table.
- 2. Classifying: The selected taboo words were then classified further on the basis of their types (profanity, obscenity, vulgarity and epithet), functions (to show contempt, to create attention to oneself, to be provocative and to mock authority), and micro contextual factors (participants, purpose of conversation and participant's attitude, content, and setting) that are responsible for their cause.
- 3. Analysing: After the completion of classification process, the collected data was ready to be analysed. The classified data in the table was broken down to depict the types, the factors and reasons in forming taboo words in the dialogues. The context appeared in the series was likewise associated with the procedure of analysis.

Besides, the quantitative analysis was also utilized to find a number of percentages forms of each taboo phenomenon to the data interpretation.

- 4. Discussing: The researchers affirmed the findings to the speculations that were utilized in the analysis. From that point forward, the researcher clarified and expounded the finding to answer the research objectives.
- 5. Reporting: The final stage was analysing the data and revealing the findings. Additionally, the researchers drew a conclusion in the end. A few recommendations managing the researcher's findings were further proposed by the researchers so as to boost the advantage of the research.

7. Data analysis

Sacred Games is an extremely controversial web series on Netflix and is best known for its abusive and vulgar language. The researchers believe that Sacred Games is a good example to study the types, functions and factors of taboo words. The data of the research was analysed through a number of steps. After watching all eight episodes of the series, the researchers firstly collected all the utterances in Hindi language. Then, the transcript is downloaded from the web source, which was in English. The researchers then matched the English transcript with the utterances in the Hindi language, which were actually spoken by the characters in the web series and collected the taboo words. There were approximately 261 taboo words that were used in the series. Beside the Hindi language, Marathi language is also used in this series, which was also first translated and then analysed. Taboo words that were collected by the researchers were then organized in a table.

The first column of the table consists of taboo words in the Hindi language, which was actually used in the series, the next column consists of English translation of all taboo words and the last column calculated the frequency of all. The list of taboo words that were collected from the web series are as follow:

S. No	Taboo words (Hindi)	Literal Translation	English translation (According to transcript)	Frequency
1.	ChutiyaBhenchodLundGhanta	 Fool or stupid Sister fucker Male reproductive organ Bell or an hour 	Fuck	102
2.	Madarchod	Motherfucker	Motherfucker	38
3.	Gaand	Ass	Ass, Asshole	37
4.	KachraNalliHagna	Garbage Useless or Worthless Egests	Shit	17
5.	Harami	Selfish	Bastard	14
6.	BhosadaLaand	Female reproductive organMale reproductive organ	Cunt, Dick	11
7.	Kutiya	Female dog	Bitch	9
8.	Bakwass	Rubbish or nonsense	Bullshit	6
9.	Dhandhe valee	Working girl	Escort	5
10.	Randi	Prostitute	Whore	5
11.	Narak	Hell	Hell	4
12.	Goti	Testicles	Balls	3
13.	Gandha	Dirty	Filthy	3
14.	Chusna	Suck	Suck	3
15.	Muth	Piss	Piss	2
16.	Dhamaka	Bang	Blast	1
17.	Balatkar	Rape	Rape	1
	Total			261

Table 1. List of taboo words along with their English translation and frequency

These taboo words were classified on the basis of their types, functions, and micro-contextual factors. The researchers find 261 taboo words from the utterances of each character of the web series, titled *Sacred Games*, that are listed in the given above Table 1 along with its translation and frequency. The researchers categorized these taboo words based on its types. In order to categorize the taboo words with respect to its types, the researchers employed Battistella (2005) classification of taboo. According to Battistella, there are four types of taboo words or offensive words, they are: Profanity, Obscenity, Epithet, and Vulgarity. To show the different types of taboo words and what type of taboo words fall under which category is well elaborate by the

researchers through the use of table. The table that discusses the classification of taboo words with respect to its type is given below:

S.no	Types of Taboo Words	Words that fall under the respective category	Quantity	Percentage (%)
	- 6 11	1.Hell(4)	_	
1.	Profanity	2.Blast(1)	5	1.91%
		1.Bitch(9)		
		2.Whore(5)		
		3.Escort(5)		
2.	Epithets	4. Motherfucker(38)	77	29.51%
		5.Bullshit(6)		
		6.Bastard(14)		
		1.Cunt(2)		
		2.Dick(9)		
3.	Vulgarity	3.Balls(3)	51	19.54%
3.	vulgarity	4.Asshole(22)	31	15.54/0
		5.Ass(15)		
		1.Filthy(3)		
		2.Shit(17)		
		3.Fuck(102)		
4.	Obscenity	4.Piss(2)	128	49.04%
		5.Suck(3)		
		6.Rape(1)		
	Total		261	100%

Table 2. Classification of taboo words based on their types

From the data above, the most dominant type of taboo words that is used by the characters in the web series is obscenity, which appears 128 times or 49.04% in the series. Then, the second type is epithet which occurs 77 times or 29.51%. Vulgarity occurs 51 times or 19.54%, while profanity appears only 5 times or 1.91% in the series. The use of taboo words is dominated by the characters, belonging to both classes, that is, the upper class or lower class.

1. Epithet: Epithet is depicted by the nearness of a different sorts of slurs, for instance, bitch, prostitute, escort and some more. Epithet is associated with "race", "ethnicity", "sex", "sexuality", "one's appearance", and "incapacity", for example, 'motherfucker', 'bastard', and the same. Associating someone to an animal can likewise be considered as epithet, for instance, dog, bitch, or bullshit. This type can be well explained through the examples taken from the web series:

Gaitonde: Hum Isa ka bahut time tak intezaar karte rahe aur tayar the ki kab vo badla lene aayega. Lekin vo kabhi aaya hi nahi kyuki vo Haramkhor tha. (Actual utterance)

We Isa's very time till waited keep doing and ready was when he revenges take came. But he ever come did not because he selfish was. (Literal translation)

We waited for a long time, ready for Isa to exact his revenge. But he never showed up. Because he was a bastard. (Translation)

(Episode 3; Duration: 31:47-31:53)

The next example of epithet can be seen from the monologue of Gaitonde (lead actor). Gaitonde takes Isa's girlfriend with him as they both fall in love with each other. Kukoo (Isa's ex-girlfriend) leaves Isa for Gaitonde and goes with him to his place. So, Gaitonde assumes that Isa will definitely come back to take revenge and get his girlfriend back, and then he (Gaitonde) with his gang will get a chance to kill him. But Isa never goes there for revenge. Gaitonde waits for him for a long time but he does not come, which makes Gaitonde suspicious and frustrated, and then he swears at Isa by calling him a bastard (Haraamkhor). This unquestionably doesn't mean an ill-conceived kid but an abuse flung towards an awful individual. In this situation, Gaitonde uses the taboo word "bastard" to show contempt or disrespect to Isa.

2. Profanity: This term is generally utilized by the individuals to disparage God or some holy entity. The objective of the speaker is to impart an energetic reaction to a specific development. Profanity happens when someone is using strict wording in a profane, mainstream, or merciless way, for example, "Jesus Christ", "hell", "damn", "blast", and "Goddamn". If it is ever expressed outside the religious setting, it is usually as a demonstration of a person's irreverence to God. From the web series, the researcher found some conversations containing profanity. The example of profanity can be seen as follow:

ISSN: 2013-2247

Gaitonde: Hey baby, chal mere sath. (Actual utterance)

Hey baby, walk my along. (Literal translation)

Hey baby, come with me. (Translation)

Kukoo: Kidr le jae ga tu mujhe? (Actual utterance)

Where take will you me? (Literal translation)

Where will you take me? (Translation)

Gaitonde: Jaanat par. (Actual utterance)

Heaven on. (Literal translation)

To paradise. (Translation)

Kukoo: Jannat toh mein hu. Jinko Jannat dekhna hota hai vo mere pass aate

hai. Aur vaise b tu narak se aaya hua lagta hai. (Actual utterance)

Heaven so me is. Those heaven to see they my near come. And otherwise also you hell from came seem to look. I am a paradise.

... I. I.

(Literal translation)

Those who want to see paradise they come to me. Besides, it looks like

you come from hell. (English translation)

(Episode 3; Duration: 22:53-23:09)

This conversation takes place when Gaitonde falls in love with Kukoo and he finds Kukoo alone in her car. Then, he goes to her and seductively asks her to come with him. Kukoo, in a seductively voice, asks him about where he would take her. Gaitonde says he would take her to paradise. Then, Kukoo praises herself by saying that she is very beautiful and people generally come to her to see paradise, and also, tells Gaitonde that he is very ugly just like the people of hell (Narak). In this situation, Kukoo casually uses the word 'hell' (Narak) in order to draw attention to herself. Hell is a spot reserved for mischievous individuals after death. In any case, when the character or conduct of somebody is contrasted to the character of fiendish individuals, who live in hell, at that point it turns into a taboo. According to Battistella (2005), the taboo word 'hell' can be categorized as religious cursing. If occasionally it is used in general, it tends to be vague for someone who does not comprehend the strict importance of the word 'Hell'.

3. Vulgarity: Vulgarity is not the same as the other two types that are talked about before, in light of the fact that it alludes to words or articulations that contain sexual and excretory references, for example, ass, dick, and cunt. The researcher finds that such words utilized by the characters are the fundamental explanation which makes the web series progressively striking and vulgar. The researchers now discuss some examples from the web series that briefly explain the use of such words in the utterances of the characters:

Bunty: Tu khudh ko devi samjhti hai? Agar tu devi hai na toh mein bhi danav hu! Danav! Kya kare gi ab tu? Tu kya sochti hai, maaregi mere ko? Saali bhosadike. (Actual utterance)

You yourself to goddess consider? If you a goddess then me also demon! Demon! What do will now you? You what do think, will beat me? Bloody cunt. (Literal translation)

You think you're a goddess? If you're a goddess, then I'm a demon! A demon! What are you gonna do? You think you can hit me? You cunt. (Translation)

(Episode 4; Duration: 34:38-34:48)

This conversation occurs when Bunty ran away from the trap that has been setup by Sartaj to catch him. Bunty also takes Zoya with him, who is an actress and his mistress. Zoya helps Sartaj in this mission, but unfortunately Bunty gets to know everything about her. So, he takes Zoya with him and hides in a small room where he thinks no one will find him. Bunty offers food to Zoya, but she refuses to eat it, then he beats her and utters the aforementioned lines. He abuses her and calls her 'cunt' (bhosadike), which is a taboo word and often used for insulting the female gender. The word 'cunt' is a vulgar term that generally refers to the human female genital organ. Bunty uses this word to show contempt and his main intention is to hurt her pride.

4. Obscenity: Obscenity is a term which that includes sexual or excretory functions in an unrefined manner, for example, 'fuck', 'piss' and 'shit'. Obscenity and Vulgarity have a similar reference, yet both are extraordinary. The qualification among vulgarity and obscenity are identified with the degree of prurience. Obscenity is accepted to be denied from open use since they include aversion to the sense,

loathsome, rude and awful to ethical quality. Some conversation containing obscenity from the series are given below, followed by its explanation:

Gaitonde: Chutiya Paritosh! Mujhe tera jaadu nahi dekhna. Mujhe tu chaiye. Mujhe tera pyar aur teri hasii chaiye. (Actual utterance)

Idiot Paritosh! Me your magic not to see. Me you want. Me your love and your happiness want. (Literal translation)

Fuck Paritosh! I don't want your magic. I want you. I want your love and laughter. (Translation)

(Episode 4; Duration: 45:13-45:27)

In the dialogue, Gaitonde utters the word 'fuck' to Paritosh, which can be categorized in obscenity type. The dialogue happens when Kukoo secretly hears the conversation of Gaitonde and Paritosh, in which Paritosh suggests Gaitonde to marry some other decent girl and leave Kukoo because she is a transgender. After hearing the conversation, Kukoo locks herself in a room. When Gaitonde gets to know about this, he runs towards her room, and requests her to open the door. Gaitonde tries his best to convince Kukoo that he stills loves her, and for that he uses the word 'fuck' (Chutiya) for Paritosh in order to disrespect him, so that Kukoo believes him. The word 'fuck' is one of the most grounded and most questionable taboo word in English since it alludes to the demonstration of sexual collaboration. Something that contains a sexual significance can be sorted in obscenity. The word 'fuck' is additionally considered as hostile and unsuitable in well-mannered circumstances since it represents a lack of ethical quality.

The data that the researchers collected from the web series is now analyzed according to the various functions of taboo words, proposed by Wardhaugh (2005). According to Wardhaugh, there are four functions of taboo words and these are: to create attention to oneself, to show contempt, to be provocative, and to mock authority. The researchers draw a table to show the various functions of taboo, along with its quantity in the series, and also calculated the percentage of each function. The table that shows the different functions of taboo words are given below:

S.NO	Functions of Taboo words	Quantity	Percentage
1.	To create attention to oneself	66	25.29%
2.	To show contempt	124	47.5%
3.	To be provocative	55	21.08%
4.	To mock authority	16	6.13%
	Total	261	100%

Table 2. List of the Functions of Taboo Words along with their percentage

From the above table, the most dominant function of taboo word is to show contempt. It occurs 124 times or 47.5% in the series. To draw attention to oneself appears 66 times or 25.29%, and to be provocative appears 55 times or 21.08%, while to mock authority appears only 16 times or 6.13 in the web series. To be more detailed about the explanation of the functions or purposes of taboo words, this part will get along with the examples that are taken from the conversation between the characters of the web series.

1. To create attention to oneself: The second most used motivation behind utilizing taboo words is to create attention. To seek attention, individuals can utilize a solid and enthusiastic language whose meaning inspires a prompt passionate reaction to the audience. The speakers for the most part need to get a lot of consideration from their audience. They can utilize a swearing articulation to educate something to their companions or to the individuals close by so as to hear consideration in communicating their point of view or emotions. The example below illustrated the swearing expression in which the purpose is to create attention.

Bunty: Bada ne Isa ke sath milke Mr. Paritosh ko marne ka plan banaya tha. (Actual utterance)

Bada Isa with reunites together Mr. Paritosh to killed planned had. (Literal translation)

Bada planned Mr. Paritosh's murder with Isa. (Translation)

Chotta: Kya gandh padh raha hai tu? (Actual utterance)

What dirty talking you? (Literal translation)

What shit are you talking about? (Translation)

Bunty: Mein gandh nahi sach bata raha hu. (Actual utterance)

Me dirty not truth telling. (Literal translation)

I am not talking shit. I am telling the truth. (Translation)

(Episode 6; Duration: 32:07- 32:14)

In this example, Bunty is confronting Chotta because Chotta's elder brother, who was also working for Gaitonde, defeated him by planning the murder of Paritosh with the enemy of Gaitonde, Isa. When Bunty tells the entire truth to Chotta, he refuses to accept it, and considered this truth as a piece of shit (Gandh). They both are then involved in a heated argument. Bunty claims that he is not talking shit, in fact now it's his time to die. 'Shit' is a taboo word that comes under the category of obscenity. In the above conversation, both the characters are using the word 'shit' to attract attention. Chotta uses the word 'shit' because he wants to seek the attention of Gaitonde, so that Gaitonde believes him, and does not kill him. On the other hand, Bunty uses such a strong word to draw everyone's attention and to prove Chotta wrong.

2. To show contempt: The primary motivation behind using taboo is 'to show contempt' which appears 124 times. This function occurs when individuals articulate taboo words to show their lack of respect or ill feeling towards the recipient. In such a scenario where these words are used, the point of the speaker is to outrage the listener's pride since. To make the definition clearer, there are three instances of this function that are elucidated below:

Bunty: Meri jamaanat karane ke liye kitne mardo ke sath soyi hai tu? (Actual utterance)

My bail to do how many men with slept you? (Literal translation)

How many men did you fuck to bail me out? (Translation)

Bunty's sister: Mein inn sab mein teri wajahse hu. Tune apni zindgi mein ek paisa bhi

kamaya hai? (Actual utterance)

Me these all in your because of. You your life have one paisa ever earned?

(Literal translation)

I got into this because of you. Have you even earned a penny in your life? (Translation)

Bunty: Tu kismat vali hai ki abi hum police station mein hai, kutiya. (Actual

utterance)

You lucky are that now we police station are at, female dog. (Literal

translation)

You are lucky that we are at police station, bitch. (Translation)

(Episode 3; Duration: 17:50- 18:03)

This conversation happens when Bunty gets bail from the police station because of her sister. Bunty is a small gangster, who is arrested by the police for triggering the Hindu-Muslim conflict. On the very moment, when he gets out of the jail, he insults his sister by using abusive words. He questions her character and asks her to tell him about the source of the money for his bail. He further questions her about the number of boys with whom she slept. Then, her sister angrily replies that because of him, she had to face this situation in her life. But instead of being thankful to his sister, he calls her a 'bitch' and with a warning, tells her that she is lucky that they are in a police station. Bunty aims to disrespect his sister by using foul words like 'bitch' that helps him let down her morale. In other words, Bunty's aim is to offend his sister's pride because he feels that his sister is completely worthless. In the above dialogue, Bunty calls her sister a 'bitch'. 'Bitch', which generally refers to the female prostitute who likes to change her sex partner.

3. To be provocative: Being in third position, 'To be provocative' happens 55 times in *Sacred Games*. It happens when an orator expresses taboos to incite a specific response from audience, for example, infringement. The use of taboos in somebody's articulation is accepted to be best technique for welcoming disordered response. A case of 'to be provocative' capacity appears in the accompanying datum:

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Unknown boy: Tu mujhe mare ga? Saale kutiya ka pilla! Dum hai tere mein itna?

Salaa chutiya! (Actual utterance)

You me hit will? Bloody female dog's son! Courage do you have alot?

Bloody fool! (Literal translation)

You are going to hit me? You son of a bitch! Do you have the courage?

You fucker! (Translation)

Gaitonde: Apni zubaan ko dekh ya phir maru tujhe. (Actual utterance)

Your mouth to watch or again hit you. (Literal translation)

Watch your mouth or I will hit you. (Translation)

(Episode 1; Duration: 19:47- 19:54)

In this situation, Gaitonde tells Sartaj about his childhood memories. He mentions one such situation when the other children of his village used to tease him for his mother. The above conversation takes place between Gaitonde, when he was a child, and an unknown boy from his village. Gaitonde was teased by a boy of his village, which made him so angry that he wanted to hit him. Then, the boy provokes him even more by using abusive language like 'fucker' and 'son of a bitch'. The boy calls him a son of bitch, in a way he calls his mother a 'bitch'. The word 'bitch' refers to a female prostitute and the phrase 'son of a bitch' refers to the son of a prostitute or 'bastard'. Gaitonde gets angrier on hearing such words and warns him to stay quiet, otherwise he would kill him. In the conversation, a boy utters taboo words to provoke a certain response from Gaitonde such as violation or anger, so that he gets a chance to hit him.

4. To mock authority: To mock authority has the most minimal recurrence than other functions of taboo words and appears 16 times in the web series. This function can happen when individuals express taboo words to show their unhappiness with public images, for instance, the administration and organizations. In this way, they articulate taboo words that are coordinated to ridicule expert to show their mistrust about administrative stuffs. To make it clearer, an example of conversation which shows 'to mock authority' function is presented below:

Gaitonde: Bhagwan ko maante ho? Bhagwan ko lund farak nahi padhta. (Actual utterance)

God believe in? God to it matter does not. (Literal translation)

Do you believe in God? God doesn't give a fuck. (Translation)

(Episode 1; Duration: 00:08-00:30)

This is the very first monologue of Gaitonde in *Sacred Games*. In this monologue, he expresses his dissatisfaction with the authority, that is God, and he suggests that no one is going to unintentionally help you in your entire life and you have to make your own destiny. In the above example, Gaitonde uses taboo word like *fuck* to destroy the public image of authority (God), in whom everyone has blind faith.

To explain the third research objective, that is, to explain the various microfactors that are responsible for the cause of taboo words, the researchers apply the theory of Permatasari, Mahyuni & Zamzam (2017). In the research paper, Permatasari Mahyuni & Zamzam further follows the Hongxu and Guisen's (1990) theory of macrocontextual and micro-contextual factors. Acoording to Hongxu & Guisen, there are a few variables which add to the taboo formation in a society. They believe that macrocontextual (cultural), and micro-contextual (situational) factors assume a key job in changing a non-taboo word into a taboo word and vice versa. But, in this research study, the researchers just talked about the micro-factors and broke down the gathered information just using these components, i.e. situational factors. As far as micro-contextual variables, Hongxu & Guisen (1990) recommended that there are five situational factors which influence the development of taboo words in public; however, the researchers just consider four factors in this study. The four microcontextual factors are: participants, purpose of conversation and attitudes of participants, content or subject matter, setting including time and place. These four situational factors are presented in the table, along with their quantity in the series, and the percentage of each factor is also calculated in this table:

S. No.	Situational Factors	Quantity	Percentage (%)
1.	Participants	75	28.73%
2.	Purpose of Participants and Participant's Attitude	146	55.93%
3.	Content or Subject Matter	32	12.27%
4.	Setting (Time And Place)	8	3.07%
	Total	261	100%

Table 4. List of micro-contextual factors, followed by their quantity and percentage

From the above table, in the series, there are four potential factors that influence the formation of taboo words. They are: participants (75 times or 28.73%), purpose of conversation and attitudes of participants (146 times or 55.93%), content or subject matter (32 times or 12.27%), and setting (8 times or 3.07%). In this research, the dominant factors that influence the forming of taboo words are purpose of conversation and attitudes of participants (146 or 55.93%) of the overall data as can be seen in Table 4.

1. Participants: Participants incorporate orator, and audience, and their "sex", "age", "economic wellbeing ", and "relationship to one another". According to Hongxu and Guisen (1990), a speaker has to pay attention to a listener's age, sex, occupation and social status, so as to avoid causing offense or irritation. The authors mention that a speaker should know whether the listener is sensitive to any word or expression or whether use of any word might cause disgust or embarrassment to the listener. For instance, when Gaitonde calls Sartaj to convey him a message about the attack, but before explaining it in detail he (Gaitonde) tells his life story to him which irritates Sartaj. Gaitonde talks to Sartaj in a very polite manner, may be because Sartaj is a police inspector or may be because of Sartaj's father, but Sartaj in return talks with him in a very rude and harsh manner which might cause him (Gaitonde) to feel humiliated. In *Sacred Games*, the characters are almost of same age, and male participants are more in number as compared to the female ones. The slang utilized by

the male client is clearly more inappropriate and disgusting, while those utilized by the female client appear to be less unseemly and less vulgar. In the *Sacred Games*, 'age' and 'social status' have no effect on the formation of taboo words since all the members in the series appear to be of the same age, and the economic wellbeing of the characters in the series may differ from higher to lower, yet, as the researchers previously referenced above that individuals who had a place with higher status likewise utilized taboo words in larger context, so it does not have any role in the formation of taboo words.

2. Purpose of conversation and participant's attitudes: An orator utilizes taboo "to seek attention", "to dishonor an individual", "to incite violence", "to make a solid interpersonal identification", or "to give purification" which implies the speaker discharges serious dissatisfaction by utilizing taboos. The characters of Sacred Game represent both lower class (Gaitonde, Bunty, etc.) and middle class (Sartaj, Anjali Mathur, Zoya, Paritosh) societies of Mumbai, prior to the end of the 20th century. The lower-class characters as well as the middle-class characters were surely battling with a lot of issues, for example, destitution, crime, and mistreatment. This is presumably the principal motivation behind why most of the taboo words distinguished were related with 'the need to render retribution' and 'murder'. Taboo words when utilized by the respective speakers may convey various purposes. The participants may have various explanations behind employing those taboo words in their discourse and in the above situation, taboo words were utilized by the particular characters to voice their disdain, outrage and disappointment. In some cases, the participants use taboo words intentionally to show their demeanour, such as aversion to a wrongdoing or improper conduct. The characters of the web series utter the taboo expressions, 'I will kill you', 'I will hit you', or 'I will chop you', to incite a big reaction from the audience. It is additionally conceivable that the taboo articulation was utilized by the characters as a method of indicating their traits, their disposition, as well as to empower them to assert their outrage towards the audience. For instance, when Gaitonde suggests Bunty to get her sister married with the Muslim guy whom she loves, Bunty gets furious and to show his anger towards that Muslim guy, he repeatedly declares: "I'll make him run like a dog for his life. I'll cut him into pieces. I'll cut him into pieces."

- 3. Content or subject matter: Some non-taboos considered as a taboo in a specific period, or spot. The topic or substance can be a significant marker of words getting tabooed. For instance, the word 'shit' is now a horrendous and impolite word in public. It, therefore, turns out to be commonly used taboo when the words 'eat shit' or 'look like shit' are spoken by a speaker, since nobody likes to be advised to 'eat shit' or told that they 'look like shit'. This model recommends that a taboo word can be framed dependent on the substance or topic. Let us take an example from the series to make this concept clearer. When Bunty kidnaps Sartaj and commands his fellows to check his pockets, the fellow finds a packet of drug from his pocket. Bunty suggests him to not to consume the drug as it shrinks a person's manhood, to which Sartaj states that to show his manhood he has to beat women. In return Bunty asks him if he is even a man. In the given example, calling someone a man is not a bad thing, but when someone questions a man about his manhood then it can be considered as a taboo.
- 4. Setting including place and time: Area or place, and time can be convincing variables in the arrangement of taboo words as well, Hongxu & Guisen (1990) recommends. Settings allude to the formal and casual circumstances where language is applied. Taboo words are destined to be utilized in informal settings, and most drastically averse to be utilized in conversational and hostile settings. Setting is another significant factor in the arrangement of taboo words that is found in the series. The entire story of *Sacred Games* revolves around the two main characters, Sartaj and Gaitonde, and both live in Mumbai. Hence, the story is entirely set up in the Mumbai city. Bars, pubs, slums, and police stations are the major areas in which most action in the web series takes place. Being in an informal location like bars, pubs and forest results in the heavy usage of the taboo words in varied ways, but police station being as a formal location, enables the characters to use taboo to a larger extent. For instance, when Gaitonde is arrested by the police and the policemen beat him, he utters a number of taboo words; in fact, he makes use of more severe slang than he normally does.

8. Conclusion

The researchers found that there are 261 taboo words articulated by the characters in the Netflix's web series *Sacred Games*. The characters in the web series show how upper-class society, middle class as well as lower class society utilize taboo words in both formal and informal settings, which can be deciphered as they are a part of their daily communication. Taboo words which are articulated by the characters have been characterized dependent on the three elements of taboo, they are: types, micro contextual factors and the supporting reasons why those words are used.

- 1. All the four types of taboo words that consist of obscenity, profanity, vulgarity, and epithet appear in the web series. The highest frequency of the type of taboo words is obscenity. Obscenity appears 128 times out of 261 total data (or 49.04% out of 100%). The lowest frequency is obtained by profanity which appears 5 times out of 261 (or 1.91%), whereas vulgarity appears 51 times or 19.54% and epithet appears 77 times or 29.51% in the series. Obscenity turns into the most habitually utilized taboo type since it is considered as the best way to affront somebody. In addition, obscenity type is much of the time utilized by the characters when they need to show their irreverence towards the recipient. By utilizing obscenity that contains sicken to the sense, horrendous, profane, and absence of ethical quality, the speaker can without much of a stretch degrade other's pride and their goal to hurt other's inclination will be effectively practiced. Profanity is the least frequently used taboo word among all other types. Therefore, it can be noticed that profanity type is not viable enough to be utilized as a hostile word to spoil other's pride.
- 2. The second objective of this research is to explore the functions of taboo words in the web series titled *Sacred Games*. There are four functions that show up in the series: to show contempt, to draw attention to oneself, to be provocative, and to mock authority. To show contempt gets the highest percentage with 47.5% and appears 124 times. The least used function of taboo word is to mock authority with only 16 occurrences (6.13%). To show contempt shows up as the most continuous capacity to happen in the series since it can represent the intention of the speaker of utilizing taboo words that is to show their lack of respect toward others. Also, it can be

the most effective function of taboo words to communicate contempt towards others since it is coordinated and planned to hurt somebody's pride. In the web series, the characters utilize taboo words when they need to show their aversion towards somebody. At last, to mock authority appears as the least function to occur in the web series.

3. The third objective of this research is to discuss the factors that are responsible for the formation of taboo words in the series. The potential factors that lead to the usage of the taboo words by the characters in the series have been grouped into four situational categories which can be found in Table 4. They are: participants (appears 75 times or 28.73%), purpose of conversation and attitudes of participants (appears 146 times or 55.93%), content or subject matter (appears 32 times or 12.27%), and setting (appears 8 times or 3.07%). Age and social status do not have any impact on the formation of taboo words in the series.

9. Limitations and suggestions

One of the limitations of this study is that there are few utterances containing taboo words which are spoken by the characters in Marathi language. Such words were first translated and then analysed only on the basis of the transcription of the series. Since Hindi is the most used language in the series, it is difficult to match the conversation between the characters with the transcript of the series which is in English. As per the English transcript, few taboo words have more than one meaning in Hindi language.

Based on the conclusions above, some suggestions can be stated as follows:

1. For linguistics students: Linguistics understudies ought to be encouraged to take up topics involving taboo words. This research also provides extra information about taboo words that ought not be utilized in day-to-day correspondences since it's not the norm of the society.

- 2. For English speakers: A film or web series which is the portrayal of our society can be a decent and fascinating medium to find out about taboo words. In addition, utilizing a film or web series as the medium of learning will be considerably more fun on the grounds that the students can appreciate the story just as study the taboo words that are expressed by the characters in the movie or web series.
- 3. For other researchers: This paper highlights the analysis of taboo words expressed by the characters in the web series. There are different issues, for example, sexual orientation, thought processes, and class divisions in a society that may impact the utilization of taboo words can be seen by different researchers. Besides, different motion pictures may be taken up and the issues discussed in them with respect to the taboo words may be analysed.

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