Tampere University

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CONVEYING SENSITIVE TOPICS

TikTok's coded language of death, sexual assault and violence

Faculty of Information Technology and Communication Sciences
Bachelor's Thesis
December 2025

ABSTRACT

Stella Hautio: Conveying Sensitive Topics: TikTok's Coded Language of Death, Sexual Abuse and Violence
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Tampere University
Bachelor's Programme in English Language, Literature and Translation
December 2025

The topic of this thesis is how social media users talk about certain sensitive subjects, and how some users have invented entirely new ways of discussing these topics. Social media is everywhere nowadays and speaking of sensitive topics is discouraged via censoring and removing posts. Many people think that there is still a need to talk about those subjects and so they have found ways to convey messages without using the so-called 'trigger words.' What morphological methods and expressive ways do social media (specifically TikTok) users employ to invent new ways of speaking about those topics? This thesis aims to answer that question through a collection of video data and the analysis thereof.

Tässä teesissä tutkitaan sitä, miten sosiaalisen median käyttäjät puhuvat tietyistä arkaluonteisista aiheista, ja miten jotkut ovat keksineet täysin uusia tapoja keskustella niistä. Sosiaalinen media on kaikkialla ympärillämme, ja arkaluonteisista aiheista puhumista yritetään estää sensuroimalla ja sisältöjen poistamisella. Monet kuitenkin ajattelevat, että näistä aiheista tulisi puhua, joten he ovat keksineet tapoja keskustella käyttämättä ns. ”laukaisusanoja.” Mitä morfologisia menetelmiä ja muita ilmaisukeinoja sosiaalisen median (eritoten TikTokin) käyttäjät ovat käyttäneet keksiessään uusia tapoja puhua niistä? Tämä teesi pyrkii vastaamaan tähän kysymykseen tarkastelemalla ja analysoimalla kerättyä videoaineistoa.

Keywords: TikTok, social media, morphological methods, death, rape, sexual abuse, violence, coded language

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin Originality Check service.

USE OF AI IN THESIS

I have utilised AI tools in my thesis:

- ☒ No
- ☐ Yes

I acknowledge that I am fully responsible for the entire content of my thesis, including the parts generated by AI, and accept accountability for any violations of ethical standards in publications.

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1 Introduction

There is a relative lack of literature on language used in social media when talking about sensitive subjects. This thesis aims to bridge that gap by looking at a few example videos and analyzing the words and morphological methods used.

The main point of discussion in this thesis will be the inventions of new words and phrases that are widely used by TikTok users to talk about topics deemed unsuitable for watchers. For example, death, sexual assault and abuse are some of those words that may be flagged by TikTok's algorithm, i.e. the 'trigger words,' and many videos that use these words will be taken down or demonetized. In response to this, some TikTok users have invented ways of circumventing this algorithm and so continue to converse about those subjects.

I will claim that people use the 'easiest' word formation processes to invent new ways to speak about 'taboo' subjects. The 'easiest' process is also the simplest: abbreviations.

2 Previous research

Two articles by Grieve et al. analyze lexical processes found in American Twitter posts. "Analyzing lexical emergence in Modern American English online" (Grieve et al. 2016) "introduces a quantitative method for identifying newly emerging word forms" and "describes an analysis of lexical emergence in American social media using this method" (99). The method itself is not what we will be looking at in this thesis, but the article is useful for the analysis of the lexical processes taking place in the videos we will be discussing.

"Mapping Lexical Innovation on American Social Media" (Grieve et al. 2018) discusses lexical diffusion and "mapping individual and common patterns of lexical innovation in large time-stamped and geo-coded corpora" (293). The data from the formation and usage of slang words that this paper provides will be very useful. However, given that the article only deals with common words and phrases used on Twitter, it still leaves open as to how Twitter users talk about sensitive subjects.

This thesis deals exclusively with TikTok videos, but nearly all social media platforms are interconnected, so the findings in this paper will most likely apply to Twitter (now X) too.

Stage and Hougaard investigate the usage of affective language when Facebook users talk about illnesses and death. In the book *The Language of Illness and Death on Social Media : An Affective Approach* (2018) chapter 3.5 "Hearts and crying faces – emojis of caring collectives" discusses emojis and the way people perceive them, and this is crucial to our research, as emojis are a significant way people convey meaning without saying the words themselves explicitly. This is the only chapter of the book I will reference in this thesis. On the topic of emojis, I will also refer to a paper by Cohn et al. when examining the uses of emojis. The paper is called "The grammar of emoji? Constraints on communicative pictorial sequencing" (2019).

An article by Kalukar et al. (2023) deals with posters on Instagram and the types of word formation used therein. The article gives examples of different types of morphological processes used to create the words in the data set. For example, derivation is used mostly to transform a word into a noun (Kalukar et al. 2023, 1553). The article gives many examples of this; one of them being *humanity*, in which human (adj) + -ity (suff) = humanity (n) (Kalukar et al. 2023, 1553). Another example from this paper is abbreviation, which will be explained later in this paper. The types and their processes are useful for the topic of this thesis.

2.1 Gaps in research

There are many papers and articles discussing different social media languages and the reasons for utilizing them. However, there are very few studying the topic of this paper; the ways new words are invented to convey 'taboo' topics, so that the videos or posts are not taken down by an algorithm. This thesis will start to reach that gap by analyzing the videos from TikTok. This paper aims also to incentivize others to also study the coded language of violence and the linguistic and the possible social ramifications of it.

2.2 Related literature and definitions

LEXICOLOGY - Zeki Hamawand tells us that lexicology is "investigating the use and meanings of words or word groups" (2011, 10). A lexical item is one lexical unit or word that "has semantic interpretation and embodies a distinct concept" (Hamawand 2011, 10). Lexicology studies the lexicon—the words—of a language. For the purposes of this study, we will mainly look at lexical change. There are two types of lexical change: onomasiological and semasiological change.

ONOMASIOLOGICAL AND SEMASIOLOGICAL CHANGE – Grieve et al. state that "onomasiological change involves change in the way that concepts are named, including the formation of new words" (2016, "Lexical Emergence" 99). Semasiological change deals with the change in the meaning of the words (Grieve et al. 2016, "Lexical Emergence" 99), for example how *button* used to only mean a circular piece of plastic holding a piece of clothing closed but nowadays can also mean anything that can be pressed to elicit an action on an electrical device like a remote control.

MORPHOLOGY - "Morphology is the study of how words are built of form-meaning units" (Hamawand 2011, 10). Morphology deals with the grammatical processes that are used in arranging morphological units (morphemes) to change a word and thus its meaning. It studies the forming of words and the word structures (Hamawand 2011, 9). Kalukar et al. state that: "There are many word-formation processes; inflection, derivation, conversion, backformation, compounding, abbreviation, acronym, blending, clipping, reduplication, borrowing, and coinage" (2023, 1552).

3 Why are new words needed?

Several of these words are used to talk about topics that people on TikTok deem important. Many TikTok creators defy the Community Guidelines by conversing about sexual abuse and violence to bring awareness to them, to support the survivors, and to help others in trying to prevent future

incidents from happening. Many have adopted the stance that “just because people don’t want to talk about it, doesn’t mean it’s not happening.”

3.1 TikTok’s Community Guidelines

TikTok has a Community Guideline that states: “we remove content -- whether posted publicly or privately -- when we find that it violates our rules.” The rules are listed on the Community Guidelines page, and videos that are found to have violated these rules are promptly taken down. Given that there are millions of videos posted every week, TikTok has developed “automated moderation technology” to help manage the workload, and to detect the breaking of the rules. On their page Community Guidelines Enforcement, TikTok says: “automated technology now removes 80% of violative videos, up from 62% a year ago.” There is no clear answer as to which technologies exactly they use but a quote from their Terrorist Content Online Regulation- page says: “We use text-based technologies, including keyword lists and natural language processing (NLP), to detect language used to promote extremist ideologies or hate groups.” Therrefore it is safe to assume that these NLPs are also deployed to detect Community Guideline violations. TikTok users have undoubtedly noticed that the videos that use certain words or phrases, have been either taken down or, if they are a content creator, demonetized and banned. Many TikTok users still believe these topics are important to talk about, so they have developed different ways to convey the meaning of the original word(s).

4 Original words and their etymology

Here I will explain the origins of the words chosen. These are some of the words banned by TikTok’s algorithm.

RAPE – The word ‘rape’ means “unlawful sexual activity and usually sexual intercourse carried out forcibly or under threat of injury against a person's will or with a person who is beneath a certain age or incapable of valid consent because of mental illness, mental deficiency, intoxication, unconsciousness, or deception” (“rape” def. 1). The origins of the word in this context come from Middle English, "violent seizure, abduction of a woman with the intent of sexually assaulting her,"

which in turn is “borrowed from Anglo-French *rap, rape,* probably borrowed from Medieval Latin *rapum,* noun derivative of *rapiō, rapere* "to seize and carry off, abduct a woman with the intent of sexually assaulting her” (“rape” etymology).

SEXUAL ASSAULT – Sexual assault is defined as “illegal sexual contact that usually involves force upon a person without consent or is inflicted upon a person who is incapable of giving consent (as because of age or physical or mental incapacity) or who places the assailant (such as a doctor) in a position of trust or authority” (“sexual assault”). This term was first used in 1971.

DEATH – Merriam-Webster defines ‘death’ as “a permanent cessation of all vital functions **:** the end of life” (N. def 1a). It is borrowed from “Middle English *deeth*, from Old English *dēath*; akin to Old Norse *dauthi* death, *deyja* to die” (“death” etymology).

KILL – ‘To kill’ as a verb is defined by Merriam-Webster as “to deprive of life **:** cause the death of” (V. def. 1a) and ‘a kill’ as a noun is “an act or instance of killing” (N. def. 1a). The origin is from Middle English, first perhaps from “Old English *****cyllan*; akin to Old English *cwellan* ‘to kill’ or from Dutch *kil* (“kill” etymology).”

ABUSE – Merriam-Webster defines ‘abuse’ as “a corrupt practice or custom, physical maltreatment” (N. def. 1 and 4). Merriam-Webster describes the etymology of the word; the noun is from “Middle English, borrowed from Anglo-French, borrowed from Latin *abūsus* ‘misuse, waste,’ noun derivative from *abūtī* ‘to exhaust, use up, misuse,’ from *ab- ab-* + *ūtī* ‘to use,’” and the verb form of ‘abuse’ is from “Middle English *abusen*, borrowed from Anglo-French *abuser*, verbal derivative of *abuse*” (“abuse” etymology).

VIOLENCE – ‘Violence’ is “the use of physical force so as to injure, abuse, damage, or destroy” (“violence” N. def. 1a) or “an instance of violent treatment or procedure” (N. def. 1b). The first known use of *violence* was in the 14th century.

5 Research and data collection

5.1 Research question and hypothesis

Which morphological and lexical methods and expressive ways do social media (specifically TikTok) users employ to invent new ways of speaking about ‘banned’ subjects? What are the most prevalent word formation techniques used? The hypothesis for this study is that the word formation processes used in this context are simple and easy to accomplish. I will claim that the easiest and the most frequently used is most likely abbreviation.

5.2 Data collection method

The data was gathered directly from TikTok. The data consists of over 100 videos from the FYP (For You -page) that have been compiled over the course of two days in July 2024. The account used was made specifically for this study, so that the videos shown on the FYP were those that the TikTok algorithm has deemed appropriate to show to new users. The videos were ‘favorited’ (or ‘liked’), and the words and phrases used were written down. Each different word or phrase was then compiled into their own categories, and one video was chosen as an example of that category. Next, the words and phrases were broken down into their smallest morphological units. The morphological processes to form the words were then also written down and analyzed as to why these processes were used in each individual case.

5.3 Analysis of the data

Over the course of those two days mentioned, there were over a hundred videos that qualified for this study, 132 to be exact. Most of them used the same kinds of words, and so the collection was organized into tables. There was some overlap in the videos, since some of them used expressions of multiple words on our list, for example both ‘rape’ and ‘sexual assault’ and even ‘death.’ Therefore, I made the decision to count a single video for only one category, and only one expression. In all of the tables ~ (circa) is used to show that the percentages have been rounded to whole numbers for ease of understanding.

Table 1.

	Number of videos	**Percentage out of all 132 videos**
Words and expressions for 'rape' and 'sexual assault'	63	~48%
Words and expressions for 'death' and 'kill'	47	~35%
Words and expressions for 'abuse' and 'violence'	22	~17%

The videos mentioned are used merely for analysis of the words and expressions, and their content otherwise is not discussed. I have chosen one video for every new type of expression to show as an example.

The first example of a word concerning 'rape' is from username @chasitysoules. In the video, the first thing she says is: "Trigger warning, GRAPE." This gives our first lexical unit to analyze: *grape*. *Grape*, originally, is an innocuous word, meaning "a smooth-skinned juicy light green or deep red to purplish black berry eaten dried or fresh as a fruit or fermented to produce wine" ("grape" N. def. 1). However, in the video, *grape* is used as a codename for *rape*. This process is called semasiological change. Semasiological change means that an already existing word changes its meaning over time. It is also worth to note that *grape* and *rape* are phonetically similar, and this may have been a factor for choosing *grape* as the new codeword.

The next video has the next example to look at. Username @azis.lonlyfans uses text to tell us: "being SA isn't only being r4ped--." I categorized this video for the use of an expression for 'rape' only. The word, *r4pe*, is a bit complicated. We can infer that the original word is *rape*, and the *a* in the word has been replaced by the number *4*. This is an example of leetspeak. Leetspeak "is a method of typing words using alternate characters" (TechTerms.com). It is when a letter in a word,

or the whole word, is replaced by a number or symbol that resembles the letter. This means that while the words are written with numbers or symbols replacing some letters, the words are pronounced the same way the original word is. As such, whether this is a morphological or lexical process, or another type of process entirely, is up for debate. For the purposes of this study, I have merely labeled it as 'leetspeak.'

The next video combines two methods: semasiological change and the visual language. The video by @catslover1029 has a slideshow of three pictures with text over them. The first picture has text that says "—after being 🍇 d –". The grape emoji represents the fruit grape and therefore the word *grape*. And as I earlier discussed, *grape* is also a codeword for *rape*. Therefore, the 🍇 in this context represents the word *rape*. This double process indicates that a prior knowledge of the word *grape* is needed to understand the emoji's place in the sentence and the inferred meaning. "Emojis contain implicatures, which means that what is meant goes beyond what is said and that they are open to interpretation depending on contextual factors" (Stage and Hougaard 2018, 59). Emojis are also used to mitigate "the risk of choosing unsuitable words," and in this case the unsuitable word would be 'rape' (Stage and Hougaard 2018, 59). Emojis come from emoticons in the 1990's, "a set of pictorial signs were -- created in Japan deemed 'emoji'—picture (*e*) character (*moji*)" (Cohn et al. 2019, 2). I will call this use of emojis in place of words visual language. And as stated in the earlier example, *grape* is an example of semasiological change.

We get the next example from a video by @mable_in_green. She starts the video with the text "he sa'd me." Here, *sa* is an abbreviation for *sexual assault.* We notice that the abbreviation is not capitalized. Perhaps this abbreviation is already considered a word of its own, like *laser* is nowadays. The expression may be written down as *sa*, without any capitalization, but it is still pronounced like the abbreviation. Which is where we get the next example.

SA is pronounced like *essay*. An example of this is in a video by @mamakatie.childsafety. She has the text "childhood essay" in the start of the video, and she also says these words out loud.

Here, *essay* is another way of writing the abbreviation *SA*. This expression is a case of semasiological change. Like with the word *grape*, the already existing word *essay*, meaning a paper or writing, gets a new meaning. *SA* and *essay* are pronounced nearly identically, and that must be why *essay* has been chosen to represent the abbreviation and therefore the phrase.

Table 2.

Words and expressions for 'rape' and 'sexual assault'	**Morphological and/or lexical process(es)**	**Number of videos using the expression**	**Percentage out of all videos with 'rape' and 'sexual assault' expressions**
grape	semasiological change	17	~27%
r4pe/r@pe etc.	leetspeak	15	~24%
🍇 (grape emoji)	semasiological change + visual language	14	~22%
sa/SA	abbreviation	10	~16%
essay	abbreviation + semasiological change	7	~11%

The next video talks about a true crime story and uses a new word for someone being killed. Username @truecrime_central tells us in text: " – Aileen Wuornos the day before she was unalived." The word *unalived* was formed by taking the already existing word *alive*, adding the *un-* prefix to it. This morphological process is called derivation. *Alive* is an adjective and by adding *un-* prefix to it, it changes the meaning to 'opposite of *alive*,' *dead*. *Unalive* is therefore still an adjective, describing a state of non-being. *Unalive* was then turned into a verb and adding the *-ed*

suffix for the verb to be in the past tense. This morphological process of taking an adjective and using it as a verb is called conversion. Consequently, *unalived* means 'someone's state of being was changed from *alive* to *unalive*, dead.' The word *unalived* is another way of saying *killed*.

The fourth video has an emoji in the text to represent death, while the creator still says the original word out loud. @daturajonez posted a video that has a caption "Haha I'm gonna 💀." The 💀 is therefore representative of the word *die*. As stated in an earlier example, emojis can be used in place of words that are unsuitable. This means that the word *die* has been deemed unsuitable to be written down in the caption of the video. *Die* has therefore been replaced by the emoji that represents death. Stage and Hougaard state that "emojis are primarily deployed in order to create a certain emotional atmosphere and, in doing so, direct the reader toward one particular way of understanding an instance of communication" (2018, 58). The use of emoji instead of the word is an example of visual language. The 💀 already has connotations with death and dying, so using this as a replacement for the word *die* is not unexpected and does not change the emoji's meaning in any way.

Table 3.

Words and expressions for 'death' and 'kill'	**Morphological and/or lexical process(es)**	**Number of videos using the expression**	**Percentage out of all videos with 'death' and 'kill' expressions**
unalived	double process of derivation + conversion	31	~66%
💀(skull emoji)	visual language	16	~34%

Next is an example for another use of abbreviation. @singlemom.squared posted a slideshow of pictures. The first picture contains the text “When you escape DV.” DV is simply an abbreviation of *domestic violence*. Domestic violence is a form of violence where the perpetrator and victim are related or in a relationship.

The last video contains examples of many different words that have numbers and symbols in place of letters. @alexxiaaaaaa (the account has since been made private) posted a video that has of the words “abu$ive,” “vi0lenc3” and “abus3d” in it. I have counted this video for the use of an expression for ‘abuse’ only. “abu$ive” is another example of leetspeak. The word *abusive* is written with some letters replaced by numbers.

Table 4.

Words and expressions for ‘abuse’ and ‘violence’	**Morphological and/or lexical process(es)**	**Number of videos using the expression**	**Percentage out of all videos with ‘abuse’ and ‘violence’ expressions**
DV	abbreviation	8	~36%
abu$ive/abus3 etc.	leetspeak	14	~64%

5.4 Results

Table 5.

Morphological and/or lexical process(es)	**Number of videos using the process(es)**	**Percentage out of all collected videos**
abbreviation	18	~13.5%
double process of derivation + conversion	31	~23.5%
leetspeak	29	~22%

semasiological change	24	~18%
semasiological change + visual language	14	~10%
visual language	16	~12%

According to these numbers, leetspeak change is the most frequently used process. It is not a word formation technique, but it is a way to make new expressions that bypass the filters yet still maintain the original meaning. However, leetspeak only works in writing; when the words are said out loud, they have not changed even if the writing of the words have. Therefore, I would argue that these words are not new forms of expressions, just a new way to write them.

The second most used process was semasiological change. People are extremely innovative when it comes to using already existing words and changing their meaning to something new. Another interesting thing to note is that simple emojis have garnered new meanings through the use in social media. Through the semasiological change process, seemingly innocent emojis have garnered new, darker meanings.

Simple abbreviation is also a popular method, especially of the intended meaning contains several words.

6 Conclusion

Part of my hypothesis was validated, in that abbreviations are used. on the other hand, there were many that utilized leetspeak. The prevalence of leetspeak is on the rise. However, this doesn't mean that those words are new or all that different from their original forms. As stated earlier, whether the use of leetspeak counts as a morphological or lexical process is up for debate. It seems that the use of leetspeak is only meant to fool the TikTok censorship algorithm in the of writing of words, it does not affect the spoken word. But it does show that there are many other ways of creating new

expressions than just the traditional morphological or lexical processes. More study is needed to study this phenomenon.

The lexical process of semasiological change is also not a new concept, but in this case, it has not occurred over a long period of time, but abruptly and somewhat unnaturally. For example, the word 'awful' used to literally mean 'full of awe' and impressive but nowadays means extremely bad. This change did not happen overnight, it took centuries. But with the word 'grape,' the change in meaning happened in a few years or months. That is a relatively short time for a linguistic change to happen. It must be mentioned, however, that the word 'grape' in ordinary conversation still means the fruit. It is only in the context of social media that the meaning has changed. There is precedent of expressions from social media making their way into day-to-day language, but with *grape* this has not happened yet.

And since social media, as well as the technology that we use, is always evolving, this means that language and the processes within are evolving too.

Censoring and banning those that talk about 'taboo' topics does not really work as intended; as this thesis shows, people will find a way to discuss sensitive topics. My hypothesis was partly validated but more research into this topic is needed.

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