

The Dynamics of Using Euphemisms Related to Sexual Activity in Indonesian Online Social Media

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Abstract—This paper aims to explore the dynamics of using euphemisms related to sexual activity in Indonesian online social media reporting from 2022 to 2024. The unit of analysis consists of sentences containing expressions referring to sexual activity *bersetubuh* 'intercourse'. The results show that reporting on topics related to sexual activity in Indonesian online social media is dominated by the use of dysphemism rather than euphemism. In this context, the dysphemistic style is realized through five linguistic mechanisms, resulting in 48 (56.4%) patterns or variations of expressions. The euphemistic style is realized through four linguistic mechanisms, resulting in 32 (27.2%) patterns or variations of expressions. Meanwhile, the orthophemistic style is realized through two linguistic mechanisms, resulting in 5 (5.8%) patterns or variations of expressions. This indicates that the drive for politeness in reporting taboo sexual topics is outweighed by the urge to show a highly critical attitude towards unlawful sexual acts, in addition to sensational motives. The orthophemistic style is also used to reveal the actual (unambiguous) events.

Index Terms—sexual activity, euphemism, online social media, Indonesia

I. INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, almost every day, online social media such as newspapers and Facebook report cases of sexual violence suffered by women and perpetrated by men. For Indonesia, the topic of sexual violence is considered a taboo subject to be openly discussed in public spaces. In other words, vulgar discussions related to taboo sexual issues are seen as a major disgrace and receive social sanctions, such as being derided and considered to violate decency. On the other hand, the taboo topic of sexual violence is a very interesting news subject and becomes a selling point for newspapers. In this context, the creativity of journalists in using language is crucial so that sexual violence reporting can still be done without causing discomfort by exposing personal and family shame, as well as societal disgrace. In this regard, language provides the facility for using euphemistic styles.

In a broad sense, euphemism can be understood as a strategy for using words with meanings different from their denotative meanings (Warren, 1992). However, in reporting sexual activities in newspapers, journalists seem to face a dilemma. On one hand, journalists are driven by the desire to use euphemisms to avoid vulgarity. On the other hand, they feel compelled by the duty to convey information with high precision through the use of orthophemistic styles.

Furthermore, there are times when journalists feel the need to highlight the low moral dimension of sexual violence perpetrators on one side and the torn dignity of sexual violence victims on the other through the use of dysphemistic styles.

In the last decade, Warren (1992) explained that linguists have found the assumption that using words with fixed meanings is unsatisfactory. Therefore, it is suggested that the meaning of words be made dynamic and negotiable. Consequently, the next issue to address is how to negotiate the meaning of words in various contexts of use. In this regard, to interpret the meaning of words, it is not enough to know their dictionary definitions. We must also understand how to construct the intended communicative value when those words are used.

Based on this, this paper aims to explore the use of sexual euphemisms in newspapers. The research will reveal the intricacies of how euphemistic language forms interact with dysphemistic and orthophemistic styles in the reporting of ten newspapers in Indonesia, based on editions from 2022 to 2024. This will yield a systematic analysis of the disclosure of taboo subjects related to the mention of sexual activity content, such as *intercourse*. However, the mention of sexual organs, such as *penis*, *vagina*, *breasts*, and so forth; as well as the mention of sexual perpetrators and victims, and matters related to womanhood such as menstruation, underwear, are outside the scope of this study.

The next objective is to explore the thin boundary between the use of euphemism, dysphemism, and orthophemism by providing examples that illustrate the differences in linguistic variation among them. As an output, this research will produce a publication containing the codification of the latest variations of euphemism and dysphemism in contemporary Indonesian, both those that are clichéd and those that are the result of modifications. This study will provide not only descriptions, but also explanations of the necessity to develop skills in using euphemisms in reporting content on sexual violence, because on one hand, euphemisms can be used to obscure or even conceal the facts of moral violations, and on the other hand, language users may shift to using dysphemisms. The uncontrolled use of dysphemistic language will not only expose the disgrace of sexual violence victims openly to the public but also undermine efforts to foster a civilized manner of speaking.

II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Orthophemism, Euphemism, and Dysphemism Theory

There are three concepts of politeness that often interact dynamically in expressing taboo matters in society: orthophemism, euphemism, and dysphemism. Orthophemism derived from the Greek word *ortho*, meaning 'correct, straight, or normal' (cf. *orthodox*), denotes direct or neutral expressions that are neither sweet-sounding, evasive, nor overly polite (euphemistic), nor harsh, rude, or offensive (dysphemistic). In this regard, orthophemism is a more formal and direct (literal) expression, often used in scientific or medical context (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p. 31).

The term *euphemism* is derived from the Greek words *eu*, meaning 'good' or 'well,' and *pheme*, meaning 'speaking.' In this context, euphemism is characterized by colloquial and figurative (indirect) expressions, often used to avoid social discomfort. Meanwhile, *dysphemism* comes from the Greek *dys-*, meaning 'bad' or 'unfavorable,' and is rarely used in colloquial language. In this context, dysphemism refers to harsher and more offensive expressions, often employed in contexts intended to insult or mock. In other words, dysphemism involves the use of words or phrases that carry coarse or derogatory connotations to describe people, objects, or actions. For example, the term *carcass* can be used instead of *corpse*, and *bruised* can refer to *injured* (see Kövecses, 2006).

Next, Allan and Burridge (1991, p. 14) classify euphemisms into 16 types, namely (1) figurative euphemisms, (2) metaphorical euphemisms, (3) flippancy euphemisms, (4) remodeling euphemisms, (5) circumlocution euphemisms, (6) clipping euphemisms, (7) abbreviation euphemisms, (8) acronym euphemisms, (9) omission euphemisms, (10) one-for-one euphemisms, (11) general-to-specific euphemisms, (12) part-for-whole euphemisms, (13) hyperbolic euphemisms, (14) understated euphemisms, (15) jargon euphemisms, and (16) colloquial euphemisms.

On another occasion, Allan (2006) specifically discusses taboo words in various contexts in his book *Forbidden Words: Taboo and the Censoring of Language*. One chapter of this book particularly examines the use of language related to sex, gender, sexuality, sexual behavior, taboo bodily functions, and effluvia from sexual organs, urination, and defecation (SMD organs). Sexual activity is regarded as a taboo topic to be displayed publicly and is highly restricted in discussions. The exploration of language surrounding sexual lust and intercourse generates many verbal wordplays and figurative expressions. It is somewhat ironic that something intended for enjoyment also serves as a source of vile derogatory terms (dysphemisms); that is, all sexual content is considered impure, except when necessary for procreation between married couples. The menstrual taboo is also a topic that receives its own discussion in the book.

III. METHODOLOGY

The research method used is descriptive-qualitative. This study focuses on the linguistic mechanisms employed to express the content of sexual intercourse activities. For this analysis, primary data were collected from various online newspapers published from 2022 to 2024. The newspapers include *Jawa Pos*, *Kompas*, *Koran Jakarta*, *Koran Tempo*, *Koran Sindo*, *Liputan Indonesia*, *Media Indonesia*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, *Republika*, *Tribun Timur*, *Harian Fajar*, *Harian Kontan*, *Detik*, and others that serve as linguistic records on *Google*.

This research is a stylistic study conducted using the grounded theory research method. Instead of using data to test the validity of previous theories based solely on logic, grounded theory uses data as the source of theory. Therefore, the method used to collect data is observation, specifically reading all the sentences used in news articles about sexual violence in the newspapers. Sentences containing words or lexical items and variations of lexical equivalence related to sexual activities are recorded on pre-prepared data cards. Based on these linguistic expressions, data classification is carried out by focusing on the dynamics of the formation of various linguistic mechanisms that indicate the use of orthophemism, euphemism, and dysphemism.

IV. RESULT AND ANALYSIS

A. Dysphemism

The style of dysphemism is formed through five linguistic mechanisms, resulting in 48 variations of expressions (56.4% of the total): (1) lexical mechanisms with negative connotations, (2) lexical paraphrase mechanisms with negative connotations, (3) active transitive verbs prefixed with *meng-*, (4) passive verbs prefixed with *di-*, and (5) metaphor mechanisms. These will be explained one by one below.

(a). Lexical Mechanisms With Negative Connotations

Lexical elements with negative connotations are used to provide social sanctions that contain criticism or ridicule, indicating that sexual relations carried out by illegitimate partners are considered disgraceful, disgusting, indecent, forbidden, and so on. For this there are six terms, namely (1) *berzina* 'adultery', (2) *bermesum* 'commit lewd', (3) *bercabul* 'commit fornication', (4) *berselingkuh* 'had an affair', and (5) *beresek-esekek* 'engaging in illicit sex'. For example:

- (1) Istri mengakui *berzina* dengan rekan kerja suami.
- (1a) The wife admitted to *committing adultery* with her husband's co-worker.
- (2) Heboh di media sosial, diduga sepasang remaja berbuat mesum di dalam mobil.
- (2a) There was a stir on social media, it was suspected that a pair of teenagers *committed fornication* in a car.
- (3) Orang itu *bercabul* atau bersetubuh di luar perkawinan dengan orang ketiga.
- (3a) The person 'commits fornication' or has sexual intercourse outside of marriage with a third person.
- (4) Dia menyebutkan istrinya telah *berselingkuh* sejak dua tahun lalu dengan seniornya tersebut.
- (4a) He mentioned that his wife had been *having an affair* with his superior for two years.
- (5) Polisi menangkap Mujianto, istri, dan pria hidung belang saat *beresek-esekek*.
- (5a) The police arrested Mujianto, his wife, and a philandering man while they were committing an *obscene act*.

Actually, there is another sexual dysphemism expression that is used, namely (6) *bersundal* 'committing prostitution', but this word is only used to a limited extent in Christian religious texts. For example,

- (6) Perempuan seorang imam membiarkan kehormatannya dilanggar dengan *bersundal*.
- (6a) A female priest allows her honor to be violated by *committing prostitution*.

(b). Mechanism of Lexical Paraphrasing With Negative Connotation

Dysphemistic expressions are formed by paraphrasing lexicons with negative connotations, referring to sexual activities conducted by couples not bound by legal marriage. There are 12 such lexicon terms: (1) *mesum* 'obscene', (2) *cabul* 'lewd', (3) *porno* 'pornographic', (4) *asusila* 'immoral', (5) *tak senonoh* 'indecent', (6) *esekek-esekek* 'sleazy', (7) *vulgar* 'vulgar', (8) *erotis* 'erotic', (9) *nista* 'despicable', (10) *zina* 'adulterous', (11) *noda* 'stain', and (12) *tercela* 'reprehensible'. These lexicons are constructed into noun phrases with the headword: *berbuat* 'to do', *beradegan* 'do the scene', thus forming the following expressions: *berbuat/beradegan mesum* 'performing/engaging in lewd acts', *berbuat/beradegan cabul* 'engaging in/performing obscene acts', *beradegan cabul* 'obscene scenes'; *beradegan porno*, *beradegan asusila* 'performing immoral scenes', *berbuat/beradegan tak senonoh* 'acting indecently'/performing indecent scenes', *beradegan esek-esekek* performing lewd scenes; *beradegan vulgar* 'performing vulgar scenes', *beradegan erotis* performing erotic scene', *berbuat nista* 'committing disgraceful acts', *berbuat sundal* 'committing prostitution', *berbuat zina* 'committing adultery', *beradegan noda* 'committing a stain figuratively, a disgraceful act', and *berbuat tercela* 'behaving reprehensibly'.

(c). The Mechanism of Transitive Active Verbs With the Prefix Meng-

Sexual activities expressed with verbs prefixed with *meng-* consist of 18 dysphemistic expressions. These are (1) *menzinai* 'adulterate', (2) *mencabuli* 'ravish', (3) *memesumi* 'doing nasty things', (4) *menggagahi* 'ravish', (5) *merenggut* 'snatch', (6) *menjamah* 'touch', (7) *menggilir* 'take turns with', (8) *mempenetrasi* 'penetrate', (9) *memperawani* 'taking virgins', (10) *menodai* 'defile', (11) *memerkosa* 'rape', (12) *merudapaksa* 'force', (13) *menggenjot* 'pump', (14) *menghamili* 'impregnate', (15) *menggoyang* 'shake', (16) *melecehkan* 'harass', (17) *menggarap* 'work on', and (18) *melampiaskan hawa nafsu bejat* 'give vent to depraved desires'.

(d). The Mechanism of Passive Verbs With the Prefix Di-

Sexual activities expressed with verbs prefixed with *di-* consist of 11 variations, namely (1) *disetubuhi* 'to be

copulated', (2) *disebadani* 'to be copulated', (3) *dicabuli* 'treated obscenely', (4) *dimesumi* 'treated lewdly', (5) *digagahi* 'fucked', (6) *dinodai* 'defiled by', (7) *dipenetrasi* 'to be penetrated', (8) *diperkosa* 'to be raped', (9) *digilir* 'to be gang-raped', (10) *direnggut* 'to be seized', and (11) *dihamili* 'to be impregnated'. These passive variations are used to focus on the victim's helplessness in facing sexual violence perpetrated by the offender.

(e). *Metaphor Mechanisms*

The metaphor mechanism produces two variations of dysphemistic expressions, each based on the metaphor of horse behavior. This metaphor is formed by the similarity in behavior between human sexual activity and that of horses, specifically the use of a mounting position from behind the opposite sex. In this case, the construction of metaphorical style is formed by the use of active verbs: "playing horse" and "acting horse-like". For example:

(7) Kedua pasangan selingkuh yang masih tetangga itu, memanfaatkan waktu sholat untuk *bermain kuda-kudaan* di kamar.

(7a) The two cheating couples, who were still neighbors, used prayer time to play *horse style* in the room.

(8) Betapa terkejutnya NR saat melihat kakak beradik itu *beradegan kuda-kudaan* tanpa mengenakan sehelai baju.

(8a) NR was shocked when he saw the brothers involved in a *horse riding scene* without wearing any clothes.

B. *Euphemism*

The style of euphemism is formed through four strategies: (1) lexical mechanisms with positive connotations, (2) lexical mechanisms with vague meanings, (3) lexical paraphrase mechanisms that soften meanings, and (4) nominalization. These strategies will be explained one by one below.

(a). *Lexical Mechanisms That Have Positive Connotations*

Euphemistic expressions are formed using lexical mechanisms that carry positive connotations. For example, words like *bersenggama*, *bersetubuh*, and *bersebadan* are replaced with words that have similar meanings, but more positive connotations. Through this mechanism, six variations of expressions are produced: (1) *bercinta* 'to make love', (2) *berhubungan* 'relating', (3) *berasyik-masyuk* 'to enjoy each other's company (intimately)', (4) *bermesraan* 'to be affectionate', (5) *berduaan* 'to be together', (6) *nafkah batin* 'inner sustenance', and so on.

The lexicon considered the most polite is *berhubungan* 'to relate'. This is because, generally, the word *relate* is synonymous with *berkomunikasi* 'communicate'. However, in the context of sexual taboos, *berhubungan* is understood as a shortened form of expressions like *berhubungan seks* 'to have sex', *berhubungan badan* 'have physical contact', *berhubungan kelamin* 'contact genitals', *berhubungan suami-istri* 'contact between husband and wife', all of which mean *bersetubuh* 'intercourse'.

(b). *Lexical Mechanisms With Vague Meanings*

To reduce the explicitness of sexual expression, words that refer to intercourse are used, but in a vague manner. This mechanism produces 20 variations of expressions: (1) *berhubungan* 'relating', (2) *meniduri* 'bedding', (3) *menggauli* 'bedding down', (4) *mengajak ML* 'inviting for ML', (5) *mencampuri* 'intervening', (6) *melayani* 'serving', (7) *mendatangi* 'visiting', (8) *mencicipi* 'tasting', (9) *menikmati* 'enjoying', (10) *memadu kasih* 'making love', (11) *berbuat begituan* 'acting like that', (12) *beradegan begituan* 'acting like that', (13) *beraksi* 'taking action', (14) *bercampur* 'mixing', (15) *disentuh* 'touched', (16) *diajak tidur* 'invited to sleep', (17) *diajak ML* 'invited for ML', (18) *digituin* 'being treated like that', (19) *ngamar* 'being alone together in a room', (20) *ngeseks* 'having sex'.

(c). *Lexical Paraphrase Mechanisms That Convey Vague Meanings:*

The lexical paraphrase mechanism that disguises the meaning of sexual activity involves four main phrase words. These four main words are which produce four variations of euphemistic c expressions: (1) *berhubungan* 'relating', (2) *beradegan* 'do the scene', (3) *berbuat* 'doing', and (4) *melakukan* 'performing'. Each keyword is given an attribute that indicates sexual activity.

(d). *Nominalization*

Using the nominalization mechanism, orthophemism and dysphemism can be transformed into euphemisms. Two patterns are available for this: (1) *per-an* confixation and (2) noun phrase paraphrase. In this context, orthophemistic expressions with the verbs *bersanggama* 'to copulate', *bersetubuh* 'to have intercourse', and *bersebadan* 'to have intercourse' can be transformed into euphemistic expressions through nominalization. The prefix *ber-* is replaced with the confix *per-an*, resulting in the nominal words *persetubuhan* 'intercourse', *persanggamaan* 'copulation', and *persebadanan* 'intercourse'. For example:

(9) Wanita tidak suka *bersanggama* pada saat haid.

(9a) Women do not like to copulate during menstruation.

(10) Wanita tidak menyukai *persanggamaan* pada saat haid.

(10a) Women (generally) do not prefer intercourse during menstruation.

(11) Saya minta maaf sudah *bersetubuh* dengan anak bapak lima kali, karena dulu suka sama suka.

(11a) I apologize for *having intercourse* with your daughter five times, as it was mutually consensual in the past.

(12) Sebelum *melakukan persanggamaan* dengan pasangan, tidak ada salahnya untuk berkemih terlebih dahulu.

(12a) Before *having intercourse* with your partner, there's nothing wrong with urinating first.

Using the same linguistic mechanism, dysphemistic expressions can also be transformed into euphemistic expressions. For example, the verbs *berzina* 'to commit adultery', *bercabul* 'commits fornication', and *bermesum* 'commit lewd' are each changed into nouns: *perzinaan* 'adultery', *percabulan* 'lewdness', and *permesuman* 'obscenity'. For example:

(13) Seorang gadis bernama Linor, kepergok sedang melakukan *perzinaan* di ruang kelas.

(13a) A girl named Linor was caught *engaging in sexual misconduct* in the classroom.

(14) Ia melakukan *pencabulan* terhadap 11 anak di bawah umur di lingkungan sekitarnya.

(14a) He did *molestation* to 11 minors in the surrounding area.

(15) Sejumlah rumah kos di Kota Madiun jadi ajang *permesuman*.

(15a) A number of boarding houses in Madiun City have become venues for *obscenity*.

Another set of dysphemistic expressions includes: *memperkosa* 'raping', *merudapaksa* 'coercing', *berselingkuh* 'had an affair', *bersundal* 'committing prostituting', *memesumi/dimesumi* 'sexually harassed/was sexually harassed by', and so on. Each of these can be transformed into a euphemism through the nominalization mechanism: *pemeriksaan* 'rape', *perudapaksaan* 'coercion', *perselingkuhan* 'affair', and *persundalan* 'prostitution'. For example:

(16) Pelaku *memperkosa* korban hingga berkali-kali di kosnya.

(16a) The perpetrator raped the victim several times in her boarding house.

(17) Seorang pria tega melakukan *pemeriksaan* terhadap siswi berusia 13 tahun di kamar mandi sebuah pasar.

(17a) A man had the heart to commit rape on a 13-year-old female student in a market bathroom.

(18) Terakhir, SR *merudapaksa* korban yang masih berusia 8 tahun di sebuah rumah kosong.

(18a) Finally, SR raped the 8-year-old victim in an empty house.

(19) Menurut informasi, terpidana tersebut berusia 19 tahun dan ditangkap atas penganiayaan serta *perudapaksaan* anak di bawah umur.

(19a) According to the information, the convict is 19 years old and was arrested for assault and *coercion* of a minor.

(20) Imam Kampung (*ber*)*selingkuh* dengan janda 4 anak, langsung dinikahkan warga.

(20a) The Village Imam (had) an affair with a widow with 4 children, and the residents immediately married him off.

(21) Ipda Azis Lupi dipecat karena terbukti melakukan *perselingkuhan* dengan istri anggota TNI, Sertu AN.

(21a) Ipda Azis Lupi was fired because he was proven *committing adultery* with the wife of a TNI member, Sertu AN.

Beyond that, orthophemistic and dysphemistic expressions can each be transformed into euphemistic expressions through the linguistic mechanism of nominalization. In this process, nominalization is achieved through paraphrases based on head words such as *aktivitas* 'activity', *tindakan/perbuatan/aksi* 'act(on)', *praktik* 'practice', *adegan* 'scene', *hubungan* 'relation' *kasus* 'case', *lokasi* 'location', *dugaan* 'suspicion', *tuduhan* 'accusation', and so on. For example:

(22) Pasangan sejiro terpergok melakukan *aktivitas seksual* di tempat umum.

(22a) The lovebirds were caught engaging in *sexual activity* in a public place.

(23) Ketika itulah, pelaku melakukan *perbuatan pencabulan* ke bocah yang masih duduk di kelas tiga SD tersebut.

(23a) At that time, the perpetrator committed an act of *sexual immorality* on the boy who was still in the third grade of elementary school.

(24) AL (20) dipergok warga saat sedang melakukan *perbuatan cabul* bersama pacarnya di kebun.

(24a) AL (20) was caught by residents while committing *obscene acts* with his girlfriend in the garden.

(25) Seorang netizen meluapkan kekesalannya lantaran melihat pasangan melakukan *tindakan asusila*.

(25a) A netizen expressed his frustration because he saw a couple committing *immoral acts*.

(26) *Pasangan non halal* melakukan praktik zina.

(26a) A non-halal couple *commits adultery*.

(27) Keduanya tetap melakukan *adegan mesum* tersebut tanpa ragu dan begitu leluasa di *tempat umum*.

(17a) Both of them continued to carry out this *lewd scene* without hesitation and freely in public places.

(28) Laki-laki itu masih tidak bisa menghapus bayangannya akan dua sosok laki-laki yang sedang *melakukan adegan nista* di ranjang UKS.

(28a) The man still couldn't erase the image of two male figures carrying out was *doing a dirty scene* on the infirmary bed.

(29) Wulan Guritno minta Jefri Nichol mandi sebelum *adegan begituan* dengannya.

(29a) Wulan Guritno asked Jefri Nichol to take a shower before doing *this scene* with him.

(30) Sementara korban, mengakui bahwa dirinya sudah sering melakukan *hubungan seksual* dengan pelaku.

(30a) Meanwhile, the victim admitted that she had often had *sexual relations* with the perpetrator.

(31) Polisi olah TKP kasus persetubuhan di Desa Pai.

(31a) Police investigate TKP (the crime scene) of a sexual intercourse case in Pai Village.

(32) *Lokasi persetubuhan* berada di rumah pelaku dan dilakukan sampai tiga kali.

(32a) The location of the sexual intercourse was at the perpetrator's house and was carried out three times.

(33) Pelaku *dugaan cabul* di PT BTIIG ditetapkan tersangka.

(33a) The alleged perpetrator of obscenity at PT BTIIG was named a suspect.

(34) Kasus *dugaan mesum* janda dengan pria beristri & beranak empat di Aceh berujung pernikahan.

(34a) A case of alleged adultery between a widow and a married man with four children in Aceh ended in marriage.

The most widely distributed base word is *hubungan* 'relation' because it can be combined with attribute words such as *seks* 'sex', *intim* 'intimate', *badan* 'body', *tubuh* 'body', *fisik* 'physical', *kelamin* 'genital', *ranjang* 'bed', *suami-istri* 'husband and wife', *mesra* 'affectionate', *begituan* 'doing it', *gelap* 'illicit', *terlarang* 'forbidden', *tak wajar* 'unnatural', *asusila* 'indecent', *esek-esek* 'sexual services', *syahwat* 'lust', *persetubuhan* 'intercourse', *persebadanan* 'intercourse', *persenggamaan* 'coitus', *percabulan/pencabulan* 'indecency/obscenity', *permesuman* 'adultery', and so on.

C. Orthophemism

The style of orthophemism is used to express events as they are. This style is realized through two linguistic mechanisms: (1) the mechanism of synonym variation and (2) the lexical mechanism and specific word forms for concretization. From a politeness perspective, orthophemistic expressions are the least polite form of language use because they are direct or to the point (Brown & Levinson, 1987; see also Kamsinah et al., 2023b, p. 2893). To avoid direct expressions, in colloquial Makassar Indonesian, there is a lexical mechanism to replace second-person singular pronouns with plural pronouns (see Kamsinah et al., 2023a, p. 2287).

(a). Synonym Variation Mechanism

Orthophemistic expressions utilizing the synonym variation mechanism include four synonymous words: *bersenggama*, *bersetubuh*, *bersebadan*, and *berjimak*. The word *bersenggama* 'to copulate' is synonymous with *bersetubuh* 'to have intercourse' and *bersebadan* 'to have intercourse'. However, over time, the word *bersetubuh* has become more dominantly used. The words *bersenggama* 'to copulate' and *berjimak* 'to copulate' are used more restrictively in religious studies.

(b). Lexical and Specific Word Form Mechanism

In this context, the word *penetrasi* 'penetration' emerges as a specific word form of the generic term "bersetubuh" (to have intercourse). Its derived forms include the active/passive variations: *mempentrasi* 'to penetrate' and *dipenetrasi* 'to be penetrated'.

V. DISCUSSION

The word *bersenggama* is synonymous with *bersetubuh* and *bersebadan*. All three words express the meaning of physical union or the union between a man and a woman. This is in line with the definition of sexual intercourse, which consists of the union between a man and a woman through voluntary and natural relations that result in sperm ejaculation and the creation of a fetus, with the entire act accompanied by great pleasure (Baldwin, 1994, p. 175). Sexual intercourse requires physical union (*commixtio, coniunctio*) until ejaculation is achieved. For examples:

(35) Seorang perempuan yang pernah aktif *bercinta*, namun bertahun-tahun kemudian tidak lagi *bersenggama*, apakah kondisi miss V akan berubah? (Detikcom)

'A woman who was once sexually active, but years later no longer has *intercourse*, will her condition of miss V change?'

(36) Oknum guru SD nekat *bersetubuh* dengan seorang ibu rumah tangga (IRT) yang merupakan istri dari TKI yang bekerja di Taiwan (Tribunnews.Com).

'An elementary school teacher dared to have *intercourse* with a housewife whose husband works as a migrant worker in Taiwan.'

(37) Ternyata Mayor Inf Bagas Firmasiaga-Kowad Letda Caj Grace Ersi Rooman *bersebadan* suka sama suka (Karawangbekasi.Disway.id).

'It turns out that Mayor Inf Bagas Firmasiaga and Kowad Letda Caj Grace Ersi Rooman had consensual sex.'

The use of the orthophemistic expressions *bersenggama*, *bersetubuh*, and *bersebadan* in the above examples is intended to convey events as objectively as possible. Additionally, the specific word *penetration* with the derivations *mepentrasi/dipenetrasi* is used. This method aims to concretize and, of course, increase the level of objectivity of the actual activity. However, with these active/passive derivations, there is a shift from orthophemism to dysphemism. In this context, the active verb *mepentrasi* is used to focus on the perpetrator's responsibility, while the passive verb *dipenetrasi* focuses on the sexual violence victim to elicit empathy. For examples:

(38) Terdakwa B *mepentrasi* mulut, vagina dan anus Saksi A dengan penisnya (komnasperempuan.go.id).

(38a) The defendant B penetrated the mouth, vagina, and anus of Witness A with his penis

(39) Si anak tidak melaporkan, tapi organ sekresinya kesakitan, saat ditanyakan kenapa sakit, korban mengaku *telah dipenetrasi oleh pelaku* (Kompas.com)

(39a) The child did not report it, but their genital organs were in pain; when asked why it hurt, the victim admitted they had been penetrated by the perpetrator.

Furthermore, with the active/passive verb mechanism, dysphemistic expressions such as *mensenggamai/disenggamai*, *menyetubuhi/disetubuhi*, and *mensebadani/disebadani* 'to fuck/be fucked' are also formed. In this regard, both orthophemistic and dysphemistic expressions *can* be transformed into euphemistic expressions through pronominalization mechanisms. For this, there are two pronominalization strategies: (1) the use of the confix *per-an* and

(2) paraphrasing. Examples for (1): *persenggamaan* ‘intercourse’, *persetubuhan* ‘intercourse’, *persebadanan* ‘intercourse’, *percabulan* ‘fornication’, *permesuman* ‘fornication’, *pemeriksaan* ‘rape’, and so on. Examples for (2): *hubungan badan* ‘body contact’, *hubungan seks* ‘sexual contact’, *hubungan intim* ‘intimate contact’, *adegan seks* ‘sex scenes’, *adegan intim* ‘intimate scenes’, *adegan ranjang* ‘bed scenes’, and so on.

In summary, the formation of euphemisms is a semantic process that uses softer and less explicit words or phrases to replace harsh, vulgar, uncomfortable, or inappropriate words. This is possible because the meaning of words is dynamic and negotiable, not consistent and static. In other words, euphemisms are formed when words are used with a new contextual meaning, not their denotative meaning (Warren, 1992, p. 128; see also Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 227). Rawson (1981, p. 1) adds that euphemisms are a deeply embedded linguistic tool in our language, used by almost everyone to discuss sensitive or taboo topics like sex without causing anger or discomfort. This effort not only meets social needs but also emotional ones; it serves as a pressure release valve while maintaining politeness in communication. The analysis shows that the use of euphemisms in online social media reporting is not only to avoid impoliteness in language but is also a choice of linguistic variations to avoid monotony.

On the other hand, dysphemism is a style of language characterized by using harsher or more offensive terms to replace more neutral or polite words, intending to highlight the negative attributes of something considered taboo or sensitive. In Indonesian newspaper reporting, dysphemism is used to express dislike, hatred, or explicit disdain for sexual activities conducted by illegitimate couples.

VI. CONCLUSION

The research results show that reporting on sexual activity topics in Indonesian online social media is dominated by the use of dysphemism. This language style is realized through five linguistic mechanisms and produces 48 (56.4%) patterns or variations of expressions. In this context, lexical mechanisms, lexical paraphrases, and metaphors with negative connotations (immoral acts) are used to provide satire and strong criticism of sexual activities carried out illegally. Additionally, variations of active sentences are used to highlight the responsibility of the perpetrator, while passive sentences are used to evoke empathy for the victim as a weak and helpless party.

The euphemistic style is realized through four linguistic mechanisms and produces 32 (27.2%) expression patterns or variations. Even though they are not dominant, variations in euphemistic language expressions still have deep meaning because they demonstrate a strong concern for upholding language ethics in public spaces. Finally, the orthophemistic style is realized through two linguistic mechanisms and produces 5 (5.8%) expression patterns or variations. The use of this language style is driven by the need to provide objective reporting without hiding or disguising the occurrence of illegal sexual activity so that appropriate legal action can be taken immediately. However, through the mechanisms of variation in synonyms and nominalization, there is a transformation from orthophemism and dysphemism to euphemism, which indicating that there is indeed a spirit and effort to reduce vulgarity without the need to hide the facts.

The findings of this research indicate that on the topic of sexual activity, Indonesian online social media tends to use harsh or impolite language (dysphemism) more often than polite language (euphemism) or objective and neutral language (orthophemism). This means that the media has an ambivalent attitude. On the one hand, the media tries to avoid vulgar things and is responsible for revealing the true facts without any ambiguity, but also felt the need to use more sensational techniques to attract public attention for the sake of media continuity.

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