

## Language Reflects Hate: Dysphemism Analysis of Incest Cases In Comments Column of CNN Indonesia's Instagram

Indra Purnawan Panjaitan<sup>1</sup>, Mhd. Pujiono<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Khairun University*, <sup>2</sup>*North Sumatera University*

[indra.purnawan@unkhair.ac.id](mailto:indra.purnawan@unkhair.ac.id)<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

*This study investigates the use of dysphemism in public reactions to news about incest cases posted on the Instagram account @CNN Indonesia. The purpose of this study is to identify and analyse the types of dysphemism employed by netizens, based on Allan and Burridge's (2006) theoretical framework. This study used a qualitative design with a descriptive model to analyze 155 comments posted on Instagram account @CNN Indonesia between January to May 2025. Data were collected through the observe and note method (Sudaryanto, 2015), then examined using Allan and Burridge (2006) framework of dysphemism types, applying both matching and distributional methods. The findings revealed seven categories of dysphemism: swearing and obscene language, non-derogatory profanity, comparisons between humans and animals, taboo terms, epithets, mockery of mental or physical conditions, and borrowed dysphemism. Among these, obscene language was the most prevalent type, comprising for 73.7% of the data, indicating that vulgar expressions serves as a primary channel for anger or resentment in public discourse regarding incest cases. This study shows that dysphemism is a crucial linguistic tool used by netizens to express anger and hatred in response to incest cases, which not only functions as verbal aggression but also as a social mechanism for channelling collective emotions in digital spaces. The results underscore the importance of fostering linguistic awareness through digital literacy initiatives, public awareness campaigns, and education programs in schools and universities, as well as by strengthening the role of media institutions in moderating public communication, particularly in societies with high social media engagement where language use profoundly shapes public moral and social norms.*

**Keywords:** Dysphemism, Incest Cases, Social-Media, Netizen's Comments Column

### 1. Introduction

The phenomenon of incest, or consanguineous relationships, has emerged as a major social issue that trigger strong emotional reactions from Indonesian society. This is because incest is perceived as a double violation: it transgresses moral, religious, and cultural norms, while simultaneously betraying the sacred trust within the family, a social unit regarded in Indonesian as the most respected and protected. Such act is considered deeply disturbing, shameful, and dishonorable, evoking widespread anger and disgust. Incest is prohibited by all religions. In Islam, the prohibition of incest is mentioned in the Quran in Surah An-Nisa (4:23), which forbids marriage among individuals with close blood relations such as mother, father, daughter, son, and siblings. When cases of incest are reported in online media, the comment sections often become saturated with offensive, derogatory, and verbally abusive language. For instance, comments such as SAKIT JIWAAA 💔💔💔 KEBIRIIII, Kebiri, potong kontol mereka 💔💔💔 (INSANE 💔💔💔 CASTRATE them, cut off their dicks\* 💔💔💔), dah miskin nyusahin. naudzubillah miris bgt ada berita kek gini 😢 (already poor and still causing

*trouble. Astaghfirullah, it's heartbreaking to see news like this* 😢, **GILAK GADA OTAK** (*CRAZY, BRAINLESS*). The language used in these comments not only reflects shock and anger, but also shows how the public expresses moral judgments through the medium of language. In the midst of a digital climate that promotes expressive freedom, these remarks reflect the tension between freedom of speech and ethical boundaries in online public spaces (Wodak, 2011). This observation aligns with Dewi (2022), who found that the comments section of the Instagram account @kompascom also contains dysphemism expressions in the form of insults and ridicule, creating a negative atmosphere in the digital public sphere.

In online surrounding sensitive criminal cases such as incest, dysphemism plays crucial role as it conveys public emotions, serves as a form of social sanction, and reflects the values, norms, and linguistic ideologies of society. According to Allan and Burridge (2006), dysphemism refers to the use of offensive, rude, or derogatory expressions in verbal communication. Similarly, Hughes (2006) emphasizes that dysphemistic language reflects broader societal taboos, functioning both as a marker of social boundaries and as a linguistic instrument of exclusion. Dysphemism often emerges from emotions such as fear, aversion, or hatred and serves as a means of expressing insult. It is commonly used to refer to individuals or situations that provoke frustration or annoyance, to convey disapproval and to belittle, humiliate and demean others.

According to Handayani (2020) dysphemism is commonly found in discourse involving opposing social or ideological groups, such as political factions or gender-based discussions, where it is used to delegitimize the opposing side. In the context of incest, dysphemism appears as a linguistic tool to show resistance toward moral transgressions and operates as a symbolic form of social punishment directed at the perpetrator. Recent studies confirm that euphemistic and dysphemistic expressions are not merely stylistic features, but are strategically employed to construct, negotiate, and contest sensitive social issues and conflicts across regional and global contexts (Campos-Delgado, 2024; Rohmatullah et.al., 2025).

The high intensity of hate speech in digital space underscores the importance of examining the types and functions of dysphemism. Online media comment sections often serve as open arenas where people channel their emotions, form opinions, and even construct group identities. However, these spaces are equally prone to becoming sites of symbolic violence and hate speech. This tendency is closely related to what Suler (2004) refers to as the “online disinhibition effect,” wherein anonymity and reduced social cues in digital interaction encourage users to express emotions without restraint. This tendency also has been observed by Agnibaya (2025), similarly observed that dysphemism in online news comment sections are directed not only at the main figures in the news but also at their supporters and fellow commenters, through curses, slurs, and insults. Thus, this study will reveal how harsh or insulting language functions as a form of moral positioning, to enable the public to voice and legitimize the values and moral judgements they believe in (Fairclough, 2013). Contemporary research indicates that online hate speech not only reshapes linguistic patterns and emotional expression but also intensifies insecurity feeling and social exclusion among its targets (Ghenai et.al., 2025; Dreißigacker et al., 2024). At a broader theoretical level, hate speech is increasingly defined as discourse grounded in social identity dynamics, and thus carries significant risks of legitimizing discrimination and violence (Ruscher, 2024).

In analyzing the phenomenon of offensive or derogatory speech in netizens' comments on incest cases, the theoretical framework used in this study is based on the concept of

dysphemism. This framework provides insight into the types of dysphemism used by the public in responding to sensitive moral issues. According to Allan and Burridge (1991), dysphemism refers to expression that carry connotations which are harmful to the speaker (second person), or the listener (third person), or both. As such, these expressions should ideally be substituted with more neutral or gentle expression. Dysphemism is typically used to refer to an opponent, object, or action that the speaker rejects in a way that degrades the intended recipient. These expressions often manifest through harsh and hurtful language and function as a means of attack to express negative emotions. Allan and Burridge (1991) caution against political and emotional abuse to advocate for the use of neutral alternative when possible.

Allan and Burridge (2006, as cited in Laili, 2017) identify eight distinct types of dysphemism:

- 1) Taboo terms: These are expressions used to hurt, mock, or curse, often referencing parts of the body associated with sexual arousal, urination, defecation, or related activities, as well as terms for death, disease, food or smell. Also included are terms used as nicknames or greetings.
- 2) Obscene cursing and swearing: Dysphemism include obscene language or blasphemy, particularly when directed at sacred terms or used to curse someone or something with the intention of causing harm. For examples include expression like "Fuck you!", "Fuck! I didn't steal your stuff!"
- 3) Comparison between humans and animals: These comparisons often carry negative connotations, such as labeling someone a pig for being impolite or rude, a snake for deceitfulness, a crocodile for womanizing, a donkey for stupidity, or a buffalo for laziness.
- 4) Dysphemistic nicknames or greetings: These are terms derived from visible physical characteristics, where the speaker uses the characteristics to label the person as abnormal. Example include: "Hey, Fat!" or "Hey, Bald!"
- 5) Swearing using terms related to mental abnormalities. Example include: "You idiot!" or "You're autistic!" or "You have a shrimp brain!"
- 6) Racial, Ethnic, or Cultural Slurs Used as insults: These include derogatory expressions directed at individuals or groups based on their race, ethnicity, or cultural background. Examples include terms such as "Chinese!", "Blacks!", or "Nigger!" which have historically been used to demean, marginalize, or dehumanize particular groups.
- 7) Terms conveying mockery or disrespect: These refer to expressions intended to demean or belittle others, even when not explicitly tied to racial or ethnic identity. Such terms include, for example, "whore", or "loser", which function primarily to insult or undermine the dignity of the addressee.
- 8) Derogatory borrowing from other languages: These are terms adopted from foreign languages that have been historically used to discriminate against specific racial, ethnic, or religious groups. Example include "skepsel" (meaning "creature") used to dehumanise Black people or individuals categorised under "Negro race," and "kriechend" ("creeping or "crawling"), a term used to stigmatise Jewish people during the NAZI era.

Studies on dysphemism in the comment sections of social media platforms have been carried out by several researchers with various focal points. Rohhayati, Basuki, and Diani (2020) examined the forms and functions of dysphemism on the Instagram account

@detikcom and found that dysphemism occurred at the words, phrases, and sentence levels. These forms were used to express irritation, exert pressure, emphasise meaning, and convey anger. Similarly, Reistanti (2022) investigated dysphemism on the Instagram account @lambe\_turah and associated it with hate speech, identifying dysphemistic utterances as insults, defamation, and incitement, often delivered with strong emotional overtones. Handayani (2020), in her study of the @officialkvibes account, revealed that dysphemism served functions such as mocking, expressing disapproval, or irritation, and even positive emotions like admiration, albeit through coarse language. Meanwhile, Siagian, Pujiono, and Harianja (2023) highlighted gender bias in the use of the term “pelakor,” showing through a sociolinguistic lens how dysphemism language is employed to demean women and reflect patriarchal dominance within digital culture.

Studies on netizens' responses to incest cases have predominantly been conducted from the perspective of media studies, social psychology, and legal analysis. While these perspectives provide valuable insights, they often overlook the linguistic dimension of public responses. Only a limited number of studies have examined the specific forms and types of dysphemism in incest cases, particularly on the Instagram account @CNN Indonesia, one of the most influential news outlets in Indonesia and high level of netizen interaction in the comments section, making it relevant for uncovering the forms and varieties of dysphemism used in digital public discourse. While previous studies have mostly emphasised functions or socio-cultural implications of dysphemism, detailed linguistic categorisations, especially those addressing responses to incest cases, remains scarce. This gap leaves a significant research gap in sociolinguistics, especially in understanding how language operates as a tool for expressing hatred, and moral outrage in digital discourse.

This study provides a comprehensive mapping and categorisation of dysphemism in netizens' comments on incest-related news in Indonesia, providing a more complete understanding of hateful language forms. It also serves as an initial step to encourage language literacy in digital spaces, especially in handling sensitive cases that strongly trigger public emotions. The novelty of this study lies in its focus on the types of dysphemism as a reflection of collective emotions in Indonesia's digital society. From an academic perspective, this research broadens the horizon of sociolinguistic studies by linking dysphemism with digital discourse on sensitive social issues. Practically, the findings contribute to the development of content moderation policies and enhancing public awareness of language ethics on social media. As Papacharissi (2015) argues, online communities often function as “affective publics,” where collective emotional expression such as anger or moral outrage are rapidly amplified and circulated. This study contributes to a clearer understanding of the linguistic strategies used by netizens when expressing condemnation and social judgment in response to actions considered as serious moral violations, such as incest.

Thus, by situating the phenomenon of incest-related comments within the framework of dysphemism theory and previous research, this study makes both descriptive and analytical contributions to sociolinguistics. The following section outlines the methodological approach used to collect, classify, and analyze the data, to ensure a systematic investigation of dysphemism in digital discourse.

## 2. Method

This study used a qualitative descriptive design to examine the types of dysphemism found in netizen comments related to incest news posted on the Instagram account @CNN Indonesia. The data consisted of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences containing

elements of dysphemism from January to May 2025. This timeframe was selected because several incest cases received significant public attention during these months, leading to a surge of comments that often contained harsh and offensive language. Therefore, this period was deemed the most representative for capturing the dynamics of dysphemism in online discourse.

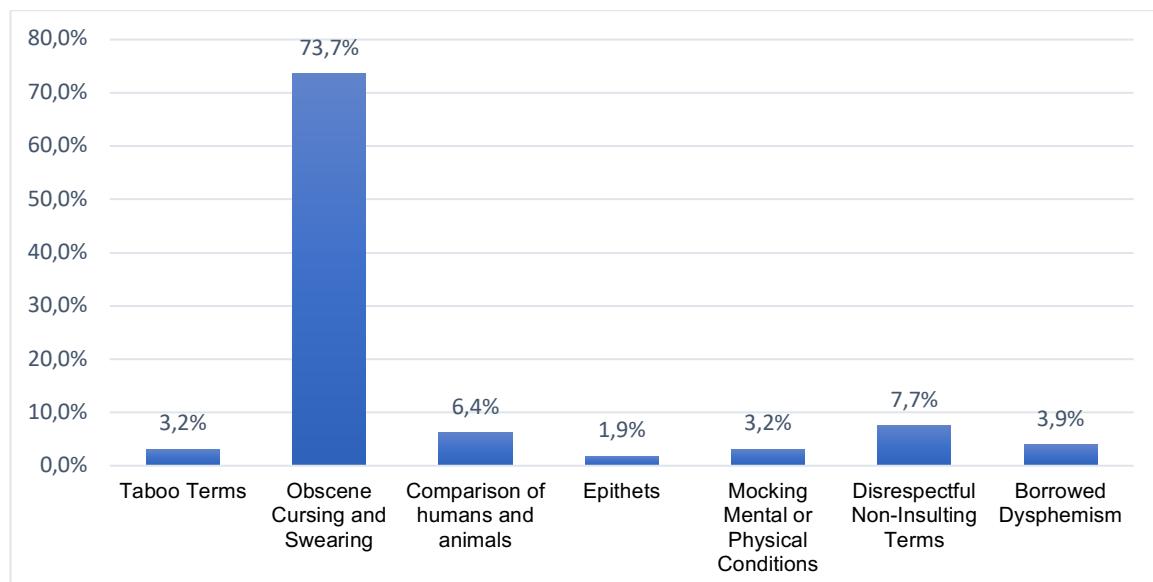
The data source comprised 155 comments retrieved from posts on @CNN Indonesia. This account was selected due to its large Indonesian audience and high engagement level in the comments section, making it relevant for uncovering the forms and varieties of dysphemism used in digital public discourse. The data were then classified based on the types of dysphemism, following Allan and Burridge's (2006) framework.

Data collection was conducted using the observe-and-note method (Sudaryanto, 2015), which involves carefully reading comments containing dysphemism and noting them on data cards. The data were then analyzed using the matching method and distributional method (Sudaryanto, 2015). The matching method was used to identify extra-linguistic references, while the distributional method was used to analyze the internal structure of the linguistic units. The results of the data analysis were presented informally to ensure clarity and ease of understanding.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Findings and Discussion

Based on the types of dysphemism proposed by Allan and Burridge (2006), in the comment column of the incest cases on the Instagram account @CNN Indonesia, there were 7 types of dysphemism were found as follows.



**Figure 1. Dysphemism types of Incest Cases in Comments Column of Instagram account @CNN Indonesia'**

Based on the data presented in the diagram, this study identifies seven types of dysphemism according to Allan and Burridge's classification, found in public comments on an incest case on comments column of Instagram account @CNN Indonesia. A total of 155 comments that contain of dysphemism

The findings reveal that Obscene Cursing and Swearing is the most prevalent type of dysphemism, accounting for 73.7% of the total data. This indicates a strong expression of

public anger and disgust toward the incest case, where language serves as an emotional outlet to convey moral outrage in a direct and vulgar manner. For instance, “B”n”h saaja pak. Dunia gak butuh orang orang kayak gini, tolong jgn dilepasin sampe koit” (Just kill them, sir. The world doesn’t need people like this, please don’t let them go until they’re dead). and “Terlaknat.. bakkarr ajaaa bisa gasi???

The second most frequent dysphemistic form is Disrespectful Non-Insulting Terms (7.7%), for example “Apapun keputusan hakim kita tunggu aja kabar meninggal nya dipenjara” (Whatever the judge decides, we’ll just wait to hear that they died in prison), then followed by Comparison of Humans and Animals (6.4%) “Si anjink emang. Cepet mati gak!!! 

crime.

The term (3) *Mampus kau di penjara!* (*You're doomed imprisoned!*) @raxxxx\_zuxxx does not use sexually vulgar words, but it is still included in the category of dysphemism because it contains a wish for death or extreme suffering. The word mampus is a crude form of the expression death that is usually considered inappropriate to say, especially in a public context. In this sentence, the user expresses a desire for the perpetrator to endure extreme suffering in prison, indicating that dysphemism can also function as a tool of social pressure to call for retribution or moral punishment.

For the excerpt (4) 🤢 *taiiiikkkk 15 taon doang ???* (🤮 *Shiiitttt only 15 years???*) @baxxnyexxxx is a combination of expressions of disgust and dissatisfaction with the justice system. The word tai (shit), extended through the repetition of letters and phonemes, indicates deep disgust, not only towards the perpetrator, but also towards the legal decision that is considered unfair. The addition of expressions such as *15 taon doang???* (*only 15 years???*) further indicates criticism of the light sentence. This utterance proves that taboo words are not merely used for insult, but also to convey broader social dissatisfaction with systemic inequality.

### 3.1.2. Obscene Cursing and Swearing

This is a type of dysphemism uses harsh, vulgar, and emotionally charged language to convey annoyance, hatred, or rejection towards someone or something. The characteristic of this form is the use of curses that not only violate the norms of politeness, but are also often accompanied by calls for violence, extreme curses, and expressions of death or punishment. In the context of social media, this type of dysphemism serves as a primary means for netizens to vent their moral anger against actions deemed highly deviant, such as cases of incest.

As in the following data (5) *Biadap bgtt! Temb\*k mat\* aja lgsg bisa gak si najisss* (*So inhuman! Just shoot him dead right away, filth!*) @selxxx\_yunxxx is a clear example of the use of vulgar curses accompanied by encouragement of violence. The term *biadap* (*inhuman*) and *najis* (*filth*) are used to totally degrade the perpetrator's dignity, both morally and spiritually. The call to shoot directly, although disguised in the writing "*tembk mat\* aja*" (*shoot him dead*), still conveys a very high intention of violence. This utterance shows how language is used to emphasize public anger that can no longer be contained by neutral words.

While the excerpt (6) *Rajam aja ga sih. Rajm ulang. Jgn boleh meninggoy. Rajam terus selama 15 tahun* (*Not just stoning. Stoning again. Don't let him die. Continue stoning for 15 years*) @nnalxxx shows dysphemism through the depiction of repeated and sadistic violence. *Rajam* (*stoning*) is a brutal method of execution, and the repeated mention of it in this utterance emphasizes the desire for long and non-instant suffering. The word *meninggoy* (*die*), which is a colloquial form of 'die', introduces a cynical and sarcastic tone. This utterance shows how dysphemism in the form of vulgar insults can turn into a symbolic narrative of cruel social punishment.

The next excerpt (7) "*B”n”h aja saajaan pak. Dunia gak butuh orang orang kayak gini, tolong jgn dilepasin sampe koit* (*Just kill them, sir. The world doesn't need people like this, please don't let them go until they're dead*) @Vlarxxx, dysphemism appears in the form of a death cry. The word kill is disguised to avoid algorithmic reporting, but the meaning and message of violence remain intact. This sentence implies radical social exclusion, namely the hope that the perpetrator will not only be punished, but also eliminated from life. This statement shows how public anger is manifested in language as a tool of existential rejection of the perpetrator, which signify a deep and irreversible condemnation.

The excerpt (8) *Terlaknat.. bakkarr ajaaa bisa gasi???* (Cursed.. burn them or aren't they???) @raxxxx\_u shows dysphemism in both spiritual and physical forms. The word *terlaknat* places the perpetrator in the lowest moral position, even in the eyes of spirituality. Meanwhile, the command *bakar* is uttered with phonetic elongation, emphasizing the intensity of emotion. Coupled with angry emoticons, this comment not only conveys insults, but also a visualization of violence that is explicitly desired by the speaker.

And for the excerpt (9) *Gausah di beritain lagi lah, suntik mati aja buang ketengah laut* (No need to report it anymore, just euthanize him and throw him into the sea) @henxxxxssal, dysphemism is seen in the form of a total elimination of existence. Not only the urge to kill by lethal injection, but also throwing him in the middle of the sea as a symbol of elimination from social and symbolic space. This statement implies that the perpetrator does not deserve space in public discourse, and they should not even be reported. This reflects dysphemism as a form of total condemnation of the perpetrator and the media system that is considered to provide space for them.

### 3.1.3. Comparison of Humans and Animals

Comparison of Humans and Animals is a type of dysphemism that involves equating humans with animals as a symbolic degradation strategy. In a linguistic term, this form is called animal metaphor dysphemism, a practice of equating humans with animals to degrade a person's moral, intellectual, or social value (Allan & Burridge, 2006). In Indonesian society, certain animals such as dogs, pigs, or wild animals are associated with disgusting, unclean, aggressive, or immoral traits. When this metaphor is used in public speech related to incest cases, it serves to emphasize that the perpetrator has fallen to the lowest point of humanity and deserves to be verbally dehumanized.

This excerpt (10) *Si anjink emang. Cepet mati gak!!!* (The damn dog. Die soon!!!) @unixx.sasxxx contains two forms of dysphemia at once: a comparison with an animal *anjink* and a cry for death (*cepet matik gak*). The word *anjink*, which is a phonetic variation of dog (*anjing*), is an animal that in Indonesian culture is often associated with insults and uncleanliness. The speaker not only equates the perpetrator with a dog, but also wants his death quickly. The combination of animal metaphors and violent impulses shows how dehumanization becomes a dominant mechanism of public hatred.

While the excerpt (11) short utterance *Ooooooooo celeng!* (ooooooooo pig!) @lagixxxxx shows the intensity of emotion in an expressive and spontaneous form. *Celeng* is a pig which in the context of Javanese culture symbolizes greed, dirt and immorality. By simply saying the word explosively, the speaker directly identifies the perpetrator of incest with an animal figure that is considered disgusting and uncontrollable.

The next excerpt (12) *NGAPAIN DI MASKERIN ANJINGGGG* (WHY WEAR A MASK DOGGG) @ratixxxxxnyanxxx combines social criticism of the actions of other parties (perhaps the media or authorities) who are considered to be protecting the perpetrator, with the animal curse *Anjingggg*. Phonetic elongation of *anjingggg* intensifies the speaker's anger. The speaker shows that the perpetrator does not deserve protection symbolised by wearing a mask, which is often considered a form of security or obscuring identity. By equating the perpetrator with a dog, the speaker rejects any symbolic efforts that protect a figure who is morally considered as being lower than humans.

### 3.1.4. Epithets

It a type of dysphemism that is a nickname or derogatory label intended to negatively identify someone based on their nature, behaviour, or identity. In linguistic practice, epithet dysphemism reduces an individual to a single characteristic that is offensive, and is often

used to reinforce stereotypes or mark someone socially as "deserving of exclusion" (Allan & Burridge, 2006). In the context of incest cases, epithets are used by netizens to provide insulting social stamps and designate the perpetrator as an object of collective moral punishment.

As the excerpt (13) *Sampah masyarakat. hukum mati!* (*The Scum of society. Death penalty!*) @popiewxxxxxx shows the use of a very strong epithet, namely *Sampah masyarakat* (*The Scum of society*). This phrase functions to position the perpetrator as something useless, dirty, and deserving of being removed from the social community. In public discourse, calling someone *Sampah* is a form of dehumanization that states that their existence has no social value. The call for the death penalty that follows emphasizes that the perpetrator must not only be excluded, but also legally eliminated. This combination shows the power of dysphemism as a tool to legitimize extreme punishment through language.

Same as the excerpt (14) *Si setan setan ini ternyata satu daerah sama gw ya. Duh pengen gw kebiri itu burungnya* (*These damned devils are actually from the same area as me, huh. Ugh, I want to castrate their dicks*) @tulxxxeee\_ contains the epithet devil, which culturally means an evil, immoral entity that is not worthy of interacting in human society. This epithet implicitly states that the perpetrator is beyond the limits of socially accepted humanity. The follow-up sentence stating the desire to commit sexual violence (castration) strengthens the dysphemism as verbal aggression, and makes the perpetrator an object of symbolic cruelty who is considered worthy of being punished without mercy.

For the excerpt (15) *HUKUM MATI LAH HRSNYA SIBAJINGANINI* (*THIS BASTARD SHOULD BE DEATH PENALTY*) @chxx\_aaa\_ contains the epithet *sibajingan* (*the bastard*), a very derogatory Indonesian curse word. This term is often used to refer to someone who is very despicable, and in this context, the epithet is written in capital letters to emphasize extreme anger. This epithet marks the perpetrator as an individual who is below the moral standards of society. The preceding call for the death penalty demonstrates the relationship between the label of contempt and the demand for severe punishment, indicating that the epithet serves to strengthen the social legitimacy of symbolic violence, even to the point of death.

### 3.1.5. Mocking Mental or Physical Conditions

Mocking Mental or Physical Conditions is a type of dysphemism that mocks or belittles a person's psychological, intellectual, or physical condition. In practice, this type reflects a form of ableist language—the use of terms that stigmatize individuals based on certain mental disorders or disabilities. Although often used metaphorically in public discourse, this type of language remains problematic as it reproduces negative stereotypes about individuals with certain conditions and reinforces social exclusion (Allan & Burridge, 2006). In the context of incest cases, such dysphemistic utterance is not only intended to insult the perpetrator, but also to revoke their human validity through association with mental or social disorders.

Let see the excerpt (16) *SAKIT JIWAAA* ❤️❤️❤️ *KEBIR!!!!* (*MENTALLY ILLNESS* ❤️❤️❤️ *CASTERING*) @06\_xxx9 combines insults about mental conditions with calls for symbolic violence. The phrase *sakit jiwa* directly refers to mental disorders and is used in this context as a form of condemnation of the perpetrator's behavior. Although in reality this term is a clinical diagnosis, in this utterance it functions as a stigmatizing label that equates immoral behavior with pathological conditions. The continued call for castration confirms that the perpetrator is considered not only mentally disturbed, but also deserves physical punishment. This statement shows the close relationship between labeling and

punishment discourse in public dysphemism.

The excerpt (17) *GILAK GADA OTAK (YOU'RE CRAZY BRAINLESS)* @\_anapxxxx contains two forms of mental insults: crazy and brainless. Both terms explicitly degrade the perpetrator's cognitive and mental capacity, implying that the act of incest was committed because the perpetrator lacked control or reason. This reflects a form of intellectual dysphemism that associates criminal acts to an inability to think rationally. This statement also shows that in public discourse, medical or biological terms are often used to delegitimize a person's moral and social integrity.

The same excerpt for (18) *Memang kumpulan orang2 gila (Really just a bunch of crazy people)* @ikx\_riskxxxx broadens the insult by targeting not only individuals, but also groups. This statement generalizes the perpetrators as part of a community that has a disturbed mental condition. The use of the word group makes this insult a form of collective stigmatization, which forms the perception that immoral behavior is an inherent characteristic of *orang gila*. This statement shows how dysphemism can function as a stereotypical mechanism that marginalizes certain groups socially and symbolically.

### 3.1.6. Disrespectful Non-Insulting Terms

Disrespectful Non-Insulting Terms is a type of dysphemism that conveys insults or rejection of someone without using explicit swear words or curses. Although lexically neutral, utterances in this category still contain strong negative evaluations, often through irony, cynicism, or contextual distortion of meaning. According to Allan and Burridge (2006), this type of dysphemism operates implicitly but remains insulting, because "the speaker chooses not an overt slur, but still implies moral condemnation or social exclusion." Thus, this form is often used in public communication to convey hatred covertly but remains socially and emotionally effective.

The excerpt (19) *Apapun keputusan hakim kita tunggu aja kabar meninggal nya dipenjara (Whatever the judge decides, we'll just wait to hear that they died in prison)* @mandixxxxx shows dysphemism through passive irony that contains negative expectations for the perpetrator. There are no harsh words, but there is an intention for the perpetrator to die in prison. This statement is included in the implicit presupposition strategy, where the speaker assumes death as something to be expected, making it a type of dysphemism that is subtle but strong in meaning. This utterance also reflects a form of verbal punishment intended as a substitute for legal justice that is considered inadequate.

The next excerpt (20) *BINATANG PUN TAK SEKEJAMINI 🐾 (EVEN ANIMALS ARE NOT THIS CRUEL 🐾)* @angxxxxxx uses a moral comparison with other living creatures, namely animals. In the context of Indonesian culture, comparing humans to animals negatively is a strong form of symbolic abuse. Although it does not directly call the perpetrator an animal, this utterance conveys that the perpetrator's behavior is even lower than that of an insensible creature, which implicitly revokes his human status. This is a form of implicit dysphemism that works through comparative dehumanization, namely lowering the perpetrator's status through moral comparison.

Further the excerpt (21) *Gak bisa disebut manusia sih ini ya Allah ya Allah 🥺 (This can't even be called human, oh God, oh God 🥺)* @liiasixxxxx conveys a rejection of the perpetrator's human identity. The phrase *gak bisa disebut manusia* signifies symbolic expulsion from the human community, while the emotional appeal to God reinforces the nuances of despair and moral condemnation. This dysphemism operates through moral exclusion, where individuals are excluded from the ethical community through utterances that explicitly reject their status as moral humans.

The next excerpt (22) *Mungkin ini salah satu sebab Negara kaya sumber daya*

*alamnya tapi rakyat nya banyak yang miskin. Tidak berkah jadinya* (Perhaps this is one reason why a country is rich in natural resources, but many of its people are poor. It's not a blessing, then) @enxxxoprxxxxxx is a form of dysphemism through moralizing narrative. This statement does not insult the perpetrator directly, but links his actions to the spiritual and social damage of the nation. In this context, the perpetrator is positioned as a symbol of the cause of social inequality and the loss of blessings, making the insult collective and religious in nature. This is a form of ideology-based dysphemism, where language is used to link individual moral deviations to widespread social misfortune.

### 3.1.7. Borrowed Dysphemism

Borrowed Dysphemism refers to the use of harsh words, offensive phrases, or forms of insulting expressions taken from a foreign language usually English and then absorbed into local language discourse. According to Allan and Burridge (2006), this type of dysphemism occurs when a speaker imports emotionally charged expressions from another language to express rejection or anger more intensely or dramatically. In the context of Indonesian social media, the use of borrowed dysphemism often appears in speech that mixes English and Indonesian, either to reinforce a global impression or because of the perception that swearing in a foreign language sounds more expressive, assertive, or free from restrictive local social norms.

As in the excerpt (23) *Are you crazy? 15 YEARS ONLY?!* @ajxxx.chronxxx is an expression of surprise, anger, and disbelief towards a sentencing decision. The phrase are you crazy? is a dysphemistic idiom in English that questions the sanity of someone, in this case a judge or the legal system. While it is a relatively mild form of derogatory, as it implies that the decision was so egregious that only have been made by someone who is mentally unstable. These words signal strong disagreement with the perceived flaws in the systemic justice.

The following excerpt (24) *No justice. What the heck!* @anxxl\_xxx07 displays social frustration in two layers of expression: a statement about injustice (no justice) and an expression of dissatisfaction with what the heck, a dysphemistic euphemism for what the hell. Although it sounds more refined than the vulgar version (what the f\*\*), this expression still functions as an emotional release and a form of disguised expression of anger. In this context, the speaker shows irritation directed at the legal system, but is delivered in a global or generic style that is more acceptable in the digital space.

The last excerpt (25) *GO TO HELL!!!!* @pxxu\_nyxx represents a clear form of English dysphemism marked by heightened emotional intensity through the use of capital letters and multiple exclamation marks. The expression conveys an extreme form of moral condemnation that direct a desire for perpetrator to "go to hell". Although it comes from a foreign language, the phrase go to hell has become quite common among Indonesian social media users, so its offensive effect remains strong. This shows that borrowed dysphemism can function fully as an insult even though the cultural context is different.

## 4. Conclusion

This study shows that dysphemism constitutes a crucial linguistic resources used by netizens to express moral outrage, and hatred in response to a reported incest case on @CNN Indonesia Instagram account. The 155 comments analysed using Allan and Burridge's (2006) framework; swearing and obscene language dominated, followed by profane and non-derogatory terms, comparisons between humans and animals, and several other types. These findings suggest that dysphemism functions not merely as an expression of verbal aggression but also as a socio-pragmatic mechanism through which collective

emotions are channelled and moral boundaries are reinforced within digital discourse. Consequently, increasing linguistic awareness is crucial, particularly through digital literacy programs, awareness campaigns, and education in schools and universities, as well as by strengthening the role of media institutions in moderating public communication. Such efforts are particularly needed in communities with high levels of social media engagement, where patterns of language use exert as a significant influence on public morality and social attitudes.

However, this study has several limitations. The dataset was limited to user comments responding to an incest case on the @CNN Indonesia Instagram account, thereby limiting the extension to which the findings may be generalised to other social media platforms or discursive context. Consequently, the patterns of dysphemism identified here may not fully capture the broader dynamics of linguistic aggression in digital interaction. Future research is therefore recommended to broaden the analytical scope by incorporating comparative data from multiple platforms such as Twitter, Tik-Tok, and Facebook, or by examining dysphemistic expressions in discussions of other sensitive issues such as corruption, gender-based violence, or political controversies. These future directions will help strengthen academic insights into sociolinguistics and practical efforts to promote ethical and responsible communication in online spaces.

## Acknowledgements

The author would like to express sincere gratitude to the English Department of Khairun University and the Linguistics Department of the University of North Sumatra for their academic support and guidance throughout the research process. Special appreciation is also extended to the reviewers and the editorial board of LETS Journal for their valuable feedback and contributions. Finally, the author acknowledges the online community whose comments, although emotionally charged, have provided rich linguistic data for this research.

## References

Agnibaya, R. (2025). Dysphemistic language and social cognition: An analysis in online comments on 2024 presidential election coverage. *Jurnal Lingue: Bahasa, Budaya, dan Sastra*, 7(1), 25–39.

Allan, K., & Burridge, K. (1991). *Euphemism and dysphemism: Language used as shield and weapon*. Oxford University Press.

Allan, K., & Burridge, K. (2006). *Forbidden words: Taboo and the censoring of language* (Reprinted ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Campos-Delgado, A. (2024). Euphemistic rhetoric and dysphemistic practices: Governing migration in Mexico. *Geopolitics*, 29(1), 64–89.

Culpeper, J. (2011). *Impoliteness: Using language to cause offence*. Cambridge University Press.

Dewi, M. (2022). *Disfemisme dalam akun Instagram @kompascom* (Undergraduate thesis). Universitas Islam Riau.

Dreißigacker, A., Müller, P., Isenhardt, A., & Schemmel, J. (2024). Online hate speech victimization: Consequences for victims' feelings of insecurity. *Crime Science*, 13(1), Article 4.

Fairclough, N. (2013). Critical discourse analysis and critical policy studies. *Critical Policy Studies*, 7(2), 177–197.

Ghenai, A., Noorian, Z., Moradisani, H., Abadeh, P., Erentzen, C., & Zarrinkalam, F. (2025). Exploring hate speech dynamics: The emotional, linguistic, and thematic impact on social media users. *Information Processing & Management*, 62(3), 104079.

Handayani, M. T. (2020). Fungsi penggunaan disfemisme dalam kolom komentar akun Instagram @officialkvibes. *Nuansa Indonesia*, 22(2), 134–146.

Hughes, G. (2006). *An encyclopedia of swearing: The social history of oaths, profanity, foul language, and ethnic slurs in the English-speaking world*. M. E. Sharpe.

Jane, E. A. (2015). Flaming? What flaming? The pitfalls and potentials of researching online hostility. *Ethics and Information Technology*, 17(1), 65–87.

Laili, E. N. (2017). Disfemisme dalam perspektif semantik, sosiolinguistik, dan analisis wacana. *Lingua*, 12(2).

Papacharissi, Z. (2015). *Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politics*. Oxford University Press.

Reistanti, A. P. (2022). Disfemia dalam akun Instagram @lambe\_turah. *Jurnal Pedagogy*, 15(1), 21–32.

Rohmatullah, M. A., & Degaf, A. (2025). Framing conflict through euphemism and dysphemism in Southeast Asian and Middle Eastern media. *JOALL (Journal of Applied Linguistics and Literature)*, 10(1), 218–246.

Rohhayati, F., Basuki, R., & Diani, I. (2020). Kajian bahasa disfemia pada kolom komentar netizen di Instagram. *Wacana: Jurnal Penelitian Bahasa, Sastra, dan Pengajaran*, 18(2), 143–150.

Ruscher, J. B. (2024). *Hate speech*. Cambridge University Press.

Siagian, B. A., Pujiono, M., & Harianja, N. (2023). Gender trend in “pelakor” dysphemia: A sociolinguistic study (Bias gender dalam disfemia “pelakor”: Tinjauan sosiolinguistik). *Jurnal Gramatika: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia*, 9(1), 1–14.

Sudaryanto. (2015). *Metode dan teknik analisis bahasa*. Sanata Dharma University Press.

Suler, J. (2004). The online disinhibition effect. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 7(3), 321–326.

Wodak, R. (2015). *The politics of fear: What right-wing populist discourses mean*. Sage.

Wong, S., & Chan, C. (2019). The role of dysphemia in online hate speech: An analysis of user comments. *Language & Communication*, 67, 10–22.