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**UKHTI VS UGHTEA: ARABIC KINSHIP ADDRESS TERM AS SLANG  
AND IDENTITY IN INDONESIAN TWITTER**

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## ABSTRACT

Microblogging has taken a quotidian position in the scope of internet usage. This research explores the pragmatic of *ughtea*, a slang form of *ukhti*, as a term of address slang and identity in *Twitter*'s prominent behaviour on virtual sphere: *tweeting*. Semantically, *ukhti* refers to “sister” of a possessive pronoun of the first person i.e. the speaker, both in biological and ideological contexts. For the last two years (2018—2019), the usage of the term *ukhti* has undergone the extension of its meaning through its use among Indonesian *Twitter* users by changing its form into *ughtea* as a slang with degenerative meaning, in order to insinuate the exclusivity of the use of the term *ukhti* among Indonesian conservative Muslims and the misbehavior of *ukhti*. As a result, the meaning of the term *ukhti* experiences pejoration. These certain Indonesian *Twitter* users, according to McCulloch's classification of Internet People (2019) are classified as Post Internet People. This research problem focuses on the analysis of the speakers, terms, and how both terms used in the context of pejoration. This study aims to analyze both terms in terms of shifting meaning in terms of speakers, speech, and usage by implementing corpus linguistic approach and Martin and White (2005)'s appraisal system. Data sources were obtained from *Twitter* users' tweets during a certain period (October 2019).

**KEYWORD:** *corpus linguistics; socio pragmatic; slang; term of address, identity; Twitter; ukhti.*

## INTRODUCTION

Microblogging in social media has become a standard communication practice in understanding identity (Zappavigna, 2014b). *Twitter* has taken a place as one of the popular microblogging platforms among post-internet people<sup>1</sup> or the youth generation. This media allows

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<sup>1</sup> E-residency or digital residency tends to start within the age of 9 to 14. Post Internet is a digital native generation (Prensky, 2001), i.e. a generation that is familiar with the use of the internet from an early age. Post internet is part of the classification of the Internet community by McCulloch

users to post text or media within 280 characters to the platform that can be noticed to other users, particularly those who follow their account i.e. 'followers'. Interaction between users emerges the existence of a virtual community<sup>2</sup> which is constructed on this platform. The product of microblogging, namely *micropost*, labelled as 'tweet' and presented as a feed to other users in reverse chronological order (Zappavigna, 2014a).

Language on social media tends to contain non-formal terms used by users (Liu et. Al., 2012). In general, language regulation in social media platforms is not precisely enforced to the users (Hidayatullah, 2015). The requirement of character limitations on microposts initiate most users to continually use various kinds of non-formal languages and tend to pay less attention to the components of language, such as typographical errors, incorrect spelling, word abbreviations, irregular grammatical structures, the use of emojis (Eisenstein, 2013; Ritter et. al., 2010), as well as code mixings.

As per April 2020, Indonesia ranked 9th most Twitter users in the world with 11.8 million active users (Clement, 2020). During the last two years (2018-2020), *ughtea* emerges as an address term commonly used by Indonesian Twitter users within their interaction. Based on Twitter's advanced search results, users initially used this term in October 2018. Specifically, *ughtea* is a form of slang adapted from *ukhti*, an Arabic term of address 'my sister', and is still widely used among post internet users until now. *Ukhti* is an Arabic kinship term that is used to refer to biological and ideological kinship between sisterhood. *Ughtea* in Indonesian Twitter is used as an address term among users, especially among post internet people. The proliferation of the usage of this address term in Twitter prompted *ughtea* being sporadic in other social media such as Instagram (e.g. hashtags *#ughtea*, *#ughteasantuy* 'relaxed *ughtea*', *#ughteaambyar* 'brokenhearted *ughtea*') as a form of speech act among post internet people. Nevertheless, does this term possess the equal pragmatic meaning and function as *ukhti* as the original fictive kinship term of address? How is the correlation between the pragmatic use *ughtea* and *ukhti* and the collective form of ambient identity among post internet people in Indonesian Twitter?

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(2019), namely the categorization of internet users based on their experience first getting to know and use the internet. this classification is influenced by the process of adaptation and age range. McCullough in *Because the Internet: Understanding the New Rules of Language* (2019) explains that the classification of internet society is an agent in the dynamics of language use on the internet and causes semantic changes and shifts in words. This categorization is divided into 3 waves, (1) the first wave covers the Old Internet People or the early internet community in the 1990s; (2) second wave, the era of internet social media in the 1990s until the early 2000s, covering Full Internet People or the internet community and Semi Internet People or semi-internet communities; (3) third wave, the era of internet use has become a daily consumption, including Pre Internet People or pre-internet people and Post Internet People or post-internet communities.

<sup>2</sup> See Zappavigna (2017).

## LITERARY REVIEWS

Prior research related to address terms in various languages and fields has caught the attention of many researchers during these last five years, such as the term of address and identities in Japanese-American work environment (Moody, 2019), on the social media of Cameroonian youth (Ebongue, 2018), South Korean housewives relation (Kim, 2015), in the academic situation (Parkinson, 2020), academic-religious environment (Nugraha and Triwinarti, 2019; Chamo, 2019), and spiritual kinship (Morozova, 2019). In terms of fictive kinship, especially among youth, including address terms of kinship as familiarizers among British youth (Martínez, 2018), South Korean pop culture (Brown, 2016), interaction between Javanese youth (Manns, 2015), and grime music community (Adams, 2018). Braun (1988) formulated address terms as a pronoun, noun, or any verbal form used in the dyadic interaction in order to refer collocutors. Braun (1988: 258) emphasizes the difference between literal meanings and social meanings in address terms. Social meanings in address terms expressed by two parties proceed social component which is unequipped in the literal meaning. The social component is influenced by the situation and background of both collocutors.

Kinship term is a verbal-linguistic unit used by interlocutors and related to components of social structure in groups (Leach, 1958: 143; Wardaugh, 2010: 238). Fictive kinship is a system that is not always attached to the structure of biological ties in society, but also ideological ties as well. Fictitious kinship is a form of pseudo kinship typically found in religious communities such as Muslim societies (Thawabteh, 2012) and involves an expansion of commitments and kinship relationships with individuals who are specifically not included in the kinship range (Abu-Abbas et al., 2010: 3), and commonly used in terms of address terms in religious practices (Abu Amsha, 2010). Thawabteh's research (2012) on the translation of the kinship address terms in the Qur'an states the use of the expression “*yā ukht*” (lit. 'O sister') in the Maryam verse 19 intended to show how a person feels a kinship connection with a woman over aspects of similarity race, religion, state, or profession.

In Arab culture, using kinship address terms provides a sense of closeness/intimacy between collocutors (Thawabteh, 2012). The socio-cultural use of the fictive kinship term *ukht* (lit. 'sister') can be used with non-kin (foreign) peer interlocutors (Larina and Khalil, 2018). In Saudi Arabia, *ukht* is used in school environments, neighborhoods, and addressing foreigners, as a fictive kinship address term which is considered polite and insinuated sense of solidarity (Alenizi, 2019). In addition, the use of the term *okhty* in Libya is used by the males to refer their female peer or the females to refer their female peer (Abugharsa, 2014), *ukhti* among Jordanians used as one of the kinship terms for referring their female colleagues in office environments (Ajoulouni and Abulhajja, 2015), address terms in religious groups (Abu-Abbas et al., 2010: 3), neighborhood, and *ukht* for unknown female students in the university environment (Al-Qudah, 2017). Whereas in Indonesian society, *ukhti* as a fictive kinship address terms possesses social function as intimacy and identity markers for women particularly among religious communities in the society (e.g. schools and universities). However, the implementation implies an exclusive impression and gives a

presumption of piety in its use (Herniti, 2014).

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Slang and Identity**

Identity through language is constructed from interactions with one another and is the result of socialization and experience with the outside world (Wardhaugh, 2010). Through this process, the use of language can be a marker of identity in the social interaction of each individual group. Slang is a temporary language and speakers depend on young people. In scope of identity, this provides social function by building social identity or intimacy, both with groups and trends or fashions in the wider community (Eble, 2006).

De Klerk (2006) provides three aspects of slang. First, as a form of a sense of equal belonging, showing certain individuals placed in the same social distribution. The use of slang provides comfort among peers or people of equal status, free from conventions and the pretensions of politeness and formality that require ideal standards for language use in society. Secondly, as a form of creativity, humor, and fashion, bringing up the humor aspect, making it less serious, and emerges a sense of "funky" and "cool" among its collocutors. Third, as a form of excluding non-members and labels to "other parties". This signifies a sense of exclusivity on a certain social group. Slang as a label can generate a sense of disagreement and disrespect for authority (such as relationships, norms, religion) and develop in groups that oppose the dominant culture, by emphasizing social identity and linguistic aspects (e.g. code-switching and code-mixing). This is frequently used in relinquishing norms, as a bluff, or showing disrespect to the authority.

### **Ambient Identity and Communion of Feeling through Microblogging**

The concept of collective identity in this study focuses on the surrounding identity that arises on social media which is constructed through the accumulation of the similarity of individual perspectives on a phenomenon and expressed through the process of microblogging. Zappavigna (2014b) explores how social media, especially microblogging, is used to construct identity and align it with other individuals in the community/group with similar values. Through her research, Zappavigna elaborates Firth's perspective (1964) towards the common perception (communion of feeling) as the core of the encouragement of social interaction and communication of values that indicates who we are through interaction encourages by microblogging. In using social media like Twitter to interact in conversations between individuals, microbloggers often only talk about the same topic at the same time. As result, this enacts virtual bonds of communion of feeling through microblogging. Zappavigna shows that microblogging can bring up an identity which is considered as a pattern of bonding in the social relationships they build, and as a pattern of values with approaches in the meaning they intend in discourse.

## METHODS

Some linguists argue corpus linguistics as a method and theory. However, the authors adopt the notion of corpus linguistics as an approach. Corpus linguistics is an empirical method with a research focus on linguistic description and analysis on the quotidian concept manifested in a form of language used by speakers and arranged as a corpus (Crystal, 1992; Jackson, 2007 in Cheng, 2012). Based on the object of research, pragmatic use of *ughtea* on Twitter, the authors use the case study method by analyzing through a corpus linguistic approach. First, the authors conduct data collection in microposts submitted by Twitter users. The data collection is subsequently sorted, processed, and analyzed. Data are obtained by accessing Twitter API Stream using Python's library *Tweepy*. Through this process, 9,288 microposts are gained from 28 September 2019 until 8 October 2019. The microposts are sorted by eliminating irrelevant microposts (e.g. repetitive microposts, microposts without *ughtea* context uploaded by the user with the username containing the word *ughtea*). Lastly, authors limit the number of words by sorting micro-posts based on the number of characters in each micropost (>7 characters).

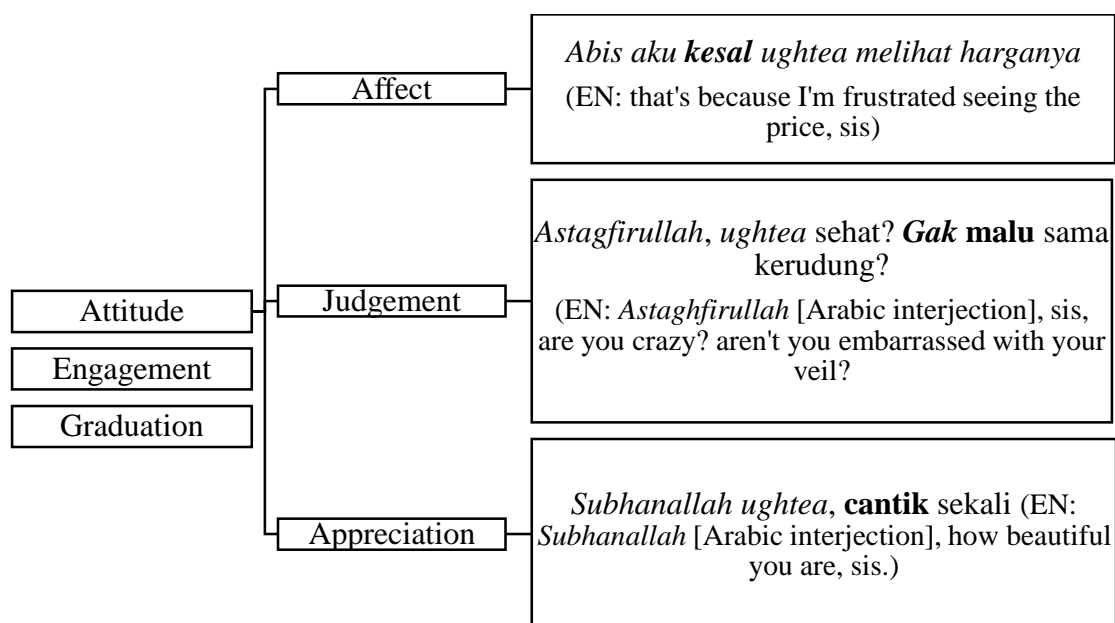
*Table 1.*  
Microposts before and after reduction

Indicator	Amount of microposts
Pre-reduction	9.288 tweets
Post-reduction	1,522 tweets

Considering the large size of microposts, the authors use the AntConc application software the SketchEngine for analysing the compiled data. The use of the two analytical tools aims to provide the results of supporting the analysis of the sorted *ughtea* corpus. As for the data analysis, the authors use corpus linguistic analysis websites, *Leipzig Corpora Collection* (<http://corpora.uni-leipzig.de>) and *SketchEngine* (<https://app.sketchengine.eu>). The Leipzig Corpora Collection collects and processes documents available on the internet and produces a corpus-based dictionary that is available in more than 250 languages. *Leipzig Corpora Collection* uses Indonesian mixed corpus based on material from 2013 with a total sentence of 74,329,815, type 7,964,109 words, and tokens of 1,206,281,985 words. *SketchEngine* is a corpus tool based on 400 text corpora with a capacity of 30 billion words and supports more than 90 languages. This platform uses the Indonesian Web (IndonesianWaC) web corpus. Both of these websites support the use of the word *ukhti* on the internet in Indonesian. These two are used to analyse the use of the word *ukhti* on the internet in Indonesian.

In order to analyse the data, the authors apply the *appraisal system* of Martin and White (2005) as an approach. The *appraisal* is an evaluative model of language used to explore discourse values (Martin and White, 2005) and developed in *systemic functional linguistics* (Zappavigna, 2014b). This system is associated with the evaluation of language, attitudes, and emotions, to

position intentions and argument texts interpersonally. There are three subtypes of the appraisal model, namely *attitude*, *engagement*, and *graduation*. *Attitude* related to the form of construction in the form of expressions of values and emotional responses to a phenomenon that arises in the discourse. *Engagement* is an affirmation of the position of the writer or speaker in a discourse. *Graduation* deals with focus and emphasis as evaluation and sharpening in discourse. As for the limit, the authors only use one of the *appraisal* subsystems, namely in the realm of *attitude* (*affect*, *judgment*, and *appreciation*) while analysing the data.



*Chart 1.*

The Appraisal System with micropost samples (adapted from Martin and White, 2005)

Martin and White (2005: 42) describes *affect*, *judgment*, and *appreciation* as elements of an attitude framework to map the emotional expressions that emerge in discourse. In the realm of attitude, affect emphasizes positive and negative feelings: sad or happy, confident or nervous, attracted or bored, Judgment is related to attitudes towards behaviour, and appreciation involves the evaluation of semiotic phenomena in a field.

## DISCUSSION

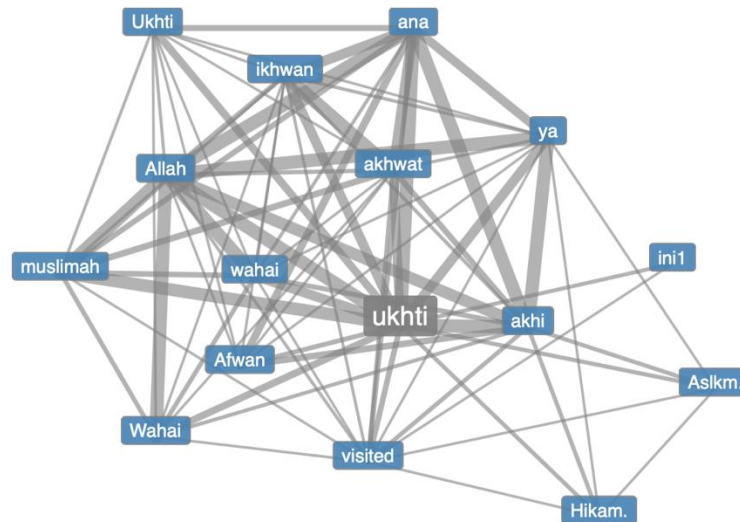
### Socio pragmatic Analysis of *Ukhti* Terms in Indonesian Social Media

According to several Arabic dictionaries (Dhaif, 2011; Wehr, 1966), أُخْتٌ /ukht/ (pl. أَخَوَاتٌ /akhawāt/) is a feminine form of أَخٌ /akh/ (lit. ‘brother’), translated as ‘sister’ and interpreted as a



feminine persona member in an organization. The term أُخْتِي /ukhtī/ consists of *ukht* and suffix {-i}. In Arabic, the {-i} suffix indicates possessive pronoun morpheme belongs to first-person singular. The attachment of {-i} suffix to the lexeme describes the relationship between speaker and addressee (Said and Hua, 2017). Semantically, *ukhti* in Arabic means ‘sister’ which refers to a first-person singular in biological and ideological contexts.

Based on the Leipzig Corpora Collection, the word search *ukhti* appears 1,153 times. Word similarity that often arises is *akhi* (lit. 'my brother'), *akhwat* (lit. pl. Ukht), and *antum* (lit. *you* [2.masc.pl]). Word co-occurrence is a word that often appears along with a keyword. The similarity of words based on co-occurrences consists of words that appear in the same context as the keywords. The distribution hypothesis assumes that these words are related or collocated. When two words collocate, the tendency of the two words appear together in the use of language naturally becomes frequency (Baker, 2010: 24). Collocation shows the idea that important aspects of the meaning of a word (or other linguistic units) are not contained in the word itself or are considered separate, but rather are in association with the characteristics that the word is related to other words or structures that often appear together (McEnery and Hardie , 2012: 123).



*Graph 2.*  
Cooccurrence Graph of *Ukhti* (Leipzig Corpora Collection, 2013)

Co-occurrence graph is the visualizations of sentence cohesion. The most significant word appears as a significant cohesion relationship among all possible words. The thickness of each node in the graph is an indicator of the strength of the significance of the word's coherence. The thicker the node, the stronger the collocation of meaning between the two words.

*Table 2.*

Word co-occurrences according to sentence, right, and left co-occurrences

No	<i>Sentence cooccurrences (1)</i>			<i>Right cooccurrences (2)</i>			<i>Left cooccurrences (3)</i>		
	<i>word</i>	<i>Co-occurrences</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>word</i>	<i>Co-occurrences</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>word</i>	<i>Co-occurrences</i>	<i>%</i>
1	akhi	830	16	wahai	426	8	muslimah	654	12
2	ana	673	13	Wahai	307	6	fitri	216	4
3	muslimah	549	10	ya	175	3	Arbay	208	4
4	ikhwan	382	7	seorang	129	2	Elly	207	4
5	akhwat	338	6	Afwan	96	2	endang	155	3

In table 2, the presented data are the most-five related keywords based on the sentence, right, and left cooccurrences. Sentence cooccurrences are words that often appear in one sentence with a keyword. Right cooccurrences are words that often appear after a keyword. Left cooccurrences are words that often appear before a keyword. In column 1, the top five-word list is an Arabic term that is often used in the religious realm on the Indonesian internet, for example:

(1) *Nah, itu dia **akhi**, **ukhti**, rangkuman dari pendapat beberapa ulama mengenai **akhwat** dan **ikhwan** dan syaitan ketika telah berada di antaranya.*

(EN: well, that's it *akhi* and *ukhti*, summary of some scholars opinions regarding devil's intervention between *akhwat* (males) and *ikhwan* (females) relationship.)

Sentence (1) is a form of a certain blog post of a religious explanation from an Islamic scholar, explaining the relationship between women and men in Islamic perspective. The term *ukhti* in question refers to Muslimah readers. The use of an Arabic fictive kinship address term implies a certain religious bond that can only be achieved while discussing a religious topic. The use of Arabic terms (*akhi*, *ukhti*, *ikhwan*, *akhwat*) in Islamic posts is induced by the position of Arabic as a liturgical language in the majority of Indonesian people (Versteegh and Veersteegh, 2014: 329).

In column 2, the results that appear show more Indonesian vocative forms such as 'o' and 'oh' particles. This form appears before the word *ukhti* in the sentence. The use of vocative particles appears as an address, as in the following example:

(2) ***Wahai ukhti**, jagalah suara kita agar tidak menjadi fitnah yang besar bagi kaum Adam.*

(EN: O *ukhti* (my sister), keep our voices [in public] so it won't become a slander towards the men.)

Sentence (2) uses vocative particles before *ukhti*. The term *ukhti* with vocative particles is used to convey advice, asking *ukhti* to lower her voice. One of the main functions of the vocative case in



Indonesian is the strengthening of intrapersonal relationships with speech partners (Djenar et. Al., 2018). Vocative use in sentence (2) emphasize the nuance of familiarity in the delivery of advice, in order to make the collocutor feeling less patronized.

In column 3, the use of the word *ukhti* + personal name (e.g. *Arbay*, *Endang*, *Fitri*) is a form of politeness in referring to the speech partner or the intended person, as an example in the sentence:

(3) *Mudah-mudahan di sekitar rumah tempat tinggal ukhti Aisyah ada ustadz yang bisa melakukan ruqyah untuk menyembuhkan tetangga ukhti Aisyah.*

(EN: Hopefully there's an *ustadz* [Islamic chaplain] around your neighborhood who can do *ruqyah* for healing Sister *Aisyah's* neighbour.)

Sentence (3) shows that the use of *ukhti* is not only used in the address terms of the *da'wah* (preaching) environment but also the address terms in the scope of daily life while referring to the Muslimah collocutors.

The use of *ukhti* as Arabic fictive kinship address terms indirectly enriches the variety of vernacular address terms in Indonesia on social media. As explained previously, the use of the term *ukhti* is not limited to biological kinship address term, but also as fictive kinship address term or noun. The close relationship between Islam and Arabic has a strong influence between Arabic and local languages in all Muslim-majority countries (Versteegh and Versteegh, 2014: 313). Indonesia, with the largest Muslim population in the world, provides a prominent position for Arabic as a religious language in its society. Unfortunately, the knowledge of the Indonesian people regarding Arabic, in general, is still limited as a liturgical language, thus emerges to the justification of all forms of Arabic languages occupying the same position as the Arabic language used in the verses of the Qur'an (Zaenuri and Yusuf, 2019).

During the last few years, the use of Arabic-language terms of kinship on Indonesian social media has gone pervasive (e.g. *abi*, *ummi*, *akhi*) and applied to *ukhti* as well. It cannot be denied the proliferation is supported by the *hijrah* trends among celebrities and microcelebrity<sup>3</sup> (Amna, 2019; Annisa, 2018). Using the Arabic word as an address term implies a consequence in the form of disciplinary values and self-realization, including in positioning themselves as an ideal Muslim (Nurani, 2019), namely obedience in carrying out Islamic law. The use of Arabic terms is a habit in the process of learning Arabic and is motivated by religious motives (Bakar et al., 2010).

The kinship term *ukhti* appears not only biologically, but also ideologically as well. As in *ukhti*, the kinship term is commonly used as a fictive kinship address term in Islamic preaching forums (both online or offline), especially among conservative Muslim groups. Instead of using Indonesian kinship terms, the preference for using *ukhti* as fictive kinship terms above implies an ideological identity. The limited use only to speakers and ideological speech partners indirectly

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<sup>3</sup> Microcelebrity is a term adopted from Marwick and Boyd (2010) for referring to the phenomenon of internet celebrities, namely users with a massive audience on social media.

raises the stigma of exclusivity in the use of the term. The religious function of the fictive kinship term in *ukhti* raises the stereotype of purity and respect for collocutor. In the case of *ukhti*, this term is often based on the particular reputation of the attributes of the speaker and the addressee, namely the veil/hijab and loose clothing.

#### **Sociopragmatic Analysis of *Ughtea* Slang in Indonesian Twitter**

*Ughtea* as slang is a form of a compound word i.e. a result of two-word amalgamation, *ugh* and *tea* in English. According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary, *ugh* is an interjection in a form of slang, used to indicate coughing or snorting sounds, or expressing disgust or fear. As for the *tea*, the meaning has undergone the extension beyond its literal meaning. These two meanings do not seem to possess any relation. However, the meaning of *tea* on *ughtea* can be traced to the expression of slang *spill the tea* which can be interpreted as an invitation to gossip. Phonologically, the term 'tea' /'tē/ is homophonic with the pronunciation of the letter 'T' /'tē/ in English. 'T' is interpreted as an acronym for 'truth' in the context of gossiping. This expression is classified as a form of AAVE (African American Vernacular English) slang, especially among the black homosexual community in the United States, which was popularized by the cable tv series 'RuPaul's Drag Race' (American transvestite race event) (Merriam-Webster.com, 2017).

The slang term *ughtea* appears as a label for *ukhti* or women who wear hijab (hijabi) and behave inappropriately in the scope of the internet and everyday life. Indonesian post internet users in Twitter use this term as a label while expressing complaints towards ones' attitude. This slang is used in internet conversation languages widely used by post internet users, as follows the following micropost:

(4) *Ughtea tuh ada dua spesies -kalo lihat taqi maliq rahimnya bakalan bergetar dan -kalo lihat cowo-cowo BEM bakalan bergejolak rahimnya.*

(EN: There are two types of *ughtea*, those who seen Taqi Maliq [Indonesian microcelebrity] and Student Union boys then feel their ovaries explode.)

(5) *Liat ini jadi inget cowok gue sampe dmention sama cewek yg ngajak dia nikah sampe berani wa cuma buat ngajak nikah ternyata **ughtea ughtea** gitu ngakunya hijrah tapi kelakuan masih gatel kayak koreng udah kering*

(EN: Looking at this [tweet] reminds me of my boyfriend who got mentioned by a girl who proposed him and text him personally and turned out she was an *ughtea*. [She] admitted already *hijrah* [became religiously devoted] yet still doing inappropriate behaviours.)

Microposts (4) and (5) are descriptive samples of certain behavior regarding *ughtea*. In micropost (4), the user gives *rahim bergejolak/rahim anget* ('exploding ovary') in order to judge the behavior of *ughtea*. *Rahim anget* is an internet slang that appeared in 2018 and is categorized as online sexual harassment against men (Primastika, 2018). This slang is a form of sexual expression that

is often used by female users, including users with hijabi users (post internet users with hijab on their avatar), by providing comments in the form of overly-admiration for looks or athletic body shapes of male microcelebrity or internet public figures. In micropost (5), the user uses the *ughtea-ughtea* as a label referring to *ughtea* behavior that is said currently in the process of *hijrah* but is still obsessive towards other males.

### Analysis of Ughtea N-grams

N-grams (or lexical clusters) are n-element sequences (usually words) that often occur sequentially in the corpus, where n is two or more words. This aspect is a multi-word sequence that very often appears in discourse and is used to capture the characteristics of the register as a whole (McEnery and Hardie, 2012: 247). Through N-grams, commonly used patterns can be known and analysed. In table 3, the frequency shows the number of patterns in the discourse.

*Table 3.*  
Top 5 ughtea n-grams.

No	N-gram	frequency
1	<i>Astaghfirullah ughtea / Ughtea astaghfirullah</i>	335
2	<i>Thirsty ughtea / ughtea thirsty</i>	190
3	<i>Subhanallah ughtea</i>	37
4	<i>Ughtea ughtea</i>	33
5	<i>Ughtea cringe</i>	29

### *Thirsty Ughtea*

The term *thirst* is an internet slang with a figurative meaning excessive desire or despair to get the attention, affection, or approval of other users on social media (Chocano, 2017). This behaviour is manifested by the behaviour of obsessively liking other users' posts, uploading selfies with contradictory captions (e.g. "ignore my ugly face"), comments that are excessively showing affective or possessiveness towards certain users, etc.

*Thirsty ughtea* as a label can be interpreted as a hijabi ("ukhti") with the context of possessing similar desires. The *thirst* context is related to the phenomenon of Indonesian post internet users behaviour (usually a user with hijabi avatar), especially Instagram, who often leave compliments in comment sections, yet those tend to be obsessive and possessive. This proliferation of behaviour is often found in the comments section of the Instagram photo of a certain male microcelebrity or public figure users. This reaction is expressed by Twitter users by attaching the *thirsty ughtea* label to "ukhti" on their microposts, as in the following example:

(6) *Ini cewe2 kurbel **thirsty ugthea** yuk deh temenan sama aku nanti aku kenal deh ke temen2 cowoku buanyak bgt anak teknik mesin banyak yg jomblo lagi mantap ga nggilani cewe2 begitu sampe kek gitu anjr kaya gapernah liat cowo aja sumpaaaaaaa cringeeeee*

(EN: Dear uneducated **thirsty ugthea** girls who obsessively crazy over boys as if you've never seen boys, let's be friends so I could introduce you to my single engineering students.)

In the micropost sample (6), the user expresses frustration towards *ugthea* behavior, i.e. leaving massive possessive comments on a certain micro-celebrity Instagram account, a young student figure who is considered charismatic by most post internet users in Indonesian social media. The user questions the *ugthea* behaviour who fights over one man as if they have never met a man at all before. *Kurbel* is an acronym for 'kurang belajar' (lit. 'lack of learning').

### ***Ugthea Cringe***

*Cringe* as an adjective in the context of internet slang refers to an object in the form of an individual, behaviour, or something that causes the speaker to feel ashamed and uncomfortable, especially clumsy, horrified, or even disgusted (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Twitter's post internet users use the term *ugthea cringe* as a slang label for "*ukhti*" with behavior that is deemed inappropriate and embarrassing, as the context of *thirsty ugthea* has been described previously.

(7) *Kadang gitu deh ngonten ngaco biar pamor tp tanpa sengaja malah ngerendahin martabat sendiri rip **ugthea** ava hijab cringe.*

(EN: RIP *ugthea* with hijab who loves to *sh\*tposts* and ended up self-deprecating.)

The slang term *ngonten* (lit. making a content) can be interpreted as a segmented microblogging process, i.e. published internet contents for a specific purpose. In micropost (7) the user refers *ngonten* as a form of *ugthea* behavior in seeking popularity, although the contents tend to be self-deprecating.

### ***Ugthea + Interjection***

Based on the data, the cooccurrence of n-gram pattern is dominated by *ugthea* + interjection (and vice versa). The previous n-gram pattern tended to use *ugthea* as a fictive kinship noun towards the third person. In this section, *ugthea* is more often used as fictive address term, both referring to other users or themselves. Generally, *ugthea* as a fictive kinship address term is used as a form of advice in a form of satire humor. As a result, its use tends to be self-deprecating or others.

(8) *Astaghfirullah **ughtea** awas enter wind itu auratnya keliatan*

(EN: *Astaghfirullah* [Arabic interjection] **ughtea**, your body parts are exposed.)

(9) *Astaghfirullah **ughtea** auratnya kemana mana giliran aku*

(EN: *Astaghfirullah* [Arabic interjection] **ughtea**. Watch out, body parts is exposed. If I were in your shoes...)

(10) *Kebanyakan replies nya bilang ``maaf nder aku masih berada di jalan setan''  
awkwaowkawo sama emang jalan setan tuh nikmat ye astaghfirullah **ughtea***

(EN: Most of the replies are stated "sorry guys, I'm still on the path of the Satan" lol can't agree more, path of satan is so tempting, *astaghfirullah* [Arabic interjection] **ughtea**.)

(11) *Gimana ya cara ngubah kata umpatan yang kasar ke bahasa yang lebih alus  
sedikit suer dah tiap gue ngumpat ga ketolong lagi astaghfirullah **ughtea** wkwk*

(EN: Wondering how to stop myself from uttering cursing words, really can't help myself stopping from cursing, lol *astaghfirullah* [Arabic interjection] **ughtea**.)

(12) *Iya v soalnya gibah emang nikmat sih astaghfirullah **ughtea***

(EN: That's right, V. that's why gossiping is so tempting. *Astaghfirullah* [Arabic interjection], **ughtea**.)

Through micropost (8) and (10), the user intends to warn *ughtea* through reprimands by keeping body parts (*aurat*) from being seen publicly. Slang *enter wind* (lit. 'colds') indicates the assumption that *ughtea* does not wear proper clothing that should be worn by an *ukhti*. Whereas in micropost (11), (12), and (13), the expression of *astaghfirullah ughtea* is used by the user as a joke to reprimand oneself while doing inappropriate behaviour, such as cursing, talking about the ugliness of others (gossiping), and other things that are considered improper to do by an *ukhti*.

## CONCLUSION

During the last few years, the increasing dependence of Muslims on social media in practicing their beliefs has become one of the most significant changes in Islamic practices in Indonesia. As a result, being pious in online interaction has become an assumption as one of the efforts to improve their religiosity (Slama, 2018). This is manifested by the proliferation of Islamic preaching in Indonesian social media and the preference of the use of Arabic terms on a massive scale. The emergence of the *ughtea* as a slang on Twitter was initially prompted by the widespread use of the Arabic fictive kinship term *ukhti* which implicitly bears an exclusive religious identity, especially among post internet conservative Muslim communities on social media. The frequency

of use of the term in the context of advice (some say tends to be coercive) in the form of worship and kindness, as in the phrase "sorry, just to remind". The force tendency indirectly produces sanctimonious and self-righteous stigma towards the speaker. Based on the analysis of the results of the study, there are two tendencies in the perception of the use of the *ughtea* label as an ambient identity constructed by the perception of the post internet group. First, as an expression towards the concept of the sanctimonious and piety carried by ukhti. Secondly, as a criticism of the phenomenon of hijabi users who are deemed to behave inappropriately (i.e. considered demeaning to women) both in the internet and daily life.

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