



From Friendly to Flirty: A Semantic Pejoration of The Word 'Friendly' in Indonesian Social Media

Maulinda Dwi Mawardani ^{1*}, Badri ²

^{1,2} Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Universitas Terbuka, Indonesia

*Penulis Korespondensi : Mawardanisolo@gmail.com

Abstract. This study examines the phenomenon of semantic pejoration of the English word 'friendly' in Indonesian social media discourse. Denotatively, 'friendly' means 'ramah' (approachable/kind) and carries a positive connotation; however, in its actual usage on platforms such as Instagram and TikTok, the word has undergone significant semantic shift and is now frequently associated with flirtatious, unfaithful, or sasimo behavior. This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach, with data consisting of comments and content from social media collected through purposive sampling during the period of 2022–2026. A total of 18 data points were analyzed using the theory of pejorative semantic change. The results indicate that the word 'friendly' has undergone pejoration triggered by interpersonal and romantic relationship contexts, reinforced by the dynamics of Indonesian Gen Z digital communities. The study also notes the emergence of a semantic correction phenomenon toward the end of the research period, wherein some users have begun to restore the word's original positive meaning.

Keywords: Friendly; Pejoration; Semantics; Semantic Change; Social Media.

1. BACKGROUND

Language is a dynamic communication system that continuously develops alongside the social, cultural, and technological changes surrounding its users. Chaer (2014) asserts that language change is a natural and unavoidable linguistic phenomenon, since language is essentially a direct reflection of the dynamics of the society that uses it. One of the most easily observable forms of language change is semantic change, namely the process by which the meaning of a word gradually shifts from its original meaning toward a new and different meaning, either denotatively or connotatively.

In semantic studies, pejoration is a type of meaning change in which a word that originally carried a positive or neutral meaning shifts toward a more negative or lower-value meaning Chaer & Muliastuti (2022). This phenomenon is not new in the history of language; however, what is particularly noteworthy in the digital era is the speed and intensity with which pejoration occurs through social media platforms. Yule (2019) notes that digital communities possess a unique capacity to create, spread, and consolidate new meanings within an extremely short period of time, far surpassing the rate of language change within traditional speech communities. Shen (2024) reinforces this view by showing that social media has fundamentally transformed the process of semantic evolution in English. Meaning changes that previously took decades can now occur within a matter of months.

One of the most striking pejoration phenomena in recent Indonesian digital discourse is the semantic shift of the English word 'friendly'. Denotatively, this word means 'friendly', 'sociable', and 'easy to get along with', all of which are attributes regarded as positive qualities in any social norm (Yule, 2019). However, in its usage on social media platforms such as Instagram and TikTok, particularly among Indonesian Gen Z, the word 'friendly' is now frequently associated with what is locally termed 'sasimo' (suka sama siapa mau, roughly translatable as "likes whoever is willing"), excessive flirtatious behavior, and even infidelity in romantic relationships. Expressions such as "a friendly girl is usually 80% sasimo" or "infidelity begins with being friendly" appear repeatedly in the comment sections of various Instagram and TikTok content, indicating that this meaning shift is not merely a sporadic phenomenon but has become entrenched in Indonesian digital discourse. Traore (2024) reminds us that platforms such as Instagram and TikTok do not merely serve as communication media, but actively reshape the linguistic norms that govern their user communities.

Previous studies on pejoration in social media have been conducted by several researchers. Khalil & Shah (2025) examined semantic pejoration in social media discourse and found that digital platforms actively transform literally meaningful expressions into negatively figurative ones. Sitohang et al. (2025) found that Gen Z slang undergoes various semantic changes, including pejoration, driven by cultural and technological factors. Ratnasari & Yuanita (2025) specifically identified pejoration as one of six active types of meaning change occurring in the slang of Gen Z and Generation Alpha on TikTok. In a single-word case study, Ajurah (2018) demonstrated how the word 'idiot' underwent significant pejoration throughout its history, a model of study that most closely approximates the approach taken in this research.

However, none of these studies has specifically analyzed the pejoration of the word 'friendly' in the context of Indonesian social media. This gap is the research space that the present study aims to fill. This study aims to analyze: (1) the forms of pejoration experienced by the word 'friendly' in Indonesian social media discourse, and (2) the social and cultural factors driving this pejoration among Indonesian social media users.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Semantics and Semantic Change

Semantics is a branch of linguistics that studies meaning, whether of words, phrases, or sentences. Pateda (2010) distinguishes lexical semantics as the study of word meaning independently, without reliance on sentence structure, which is the most appropriate approach for analyzing the meaning shift of the word 'friendly' as a discrete lexical unit. Chaer (2014)

defines semantic change as a diachronic linguistic phenomenon occurring due to social, cultural, and technological influences, in which a word's meaning can broaden, narrow, improve, or deteriorate over time. Agustiana et al. (2024) add that within Indonesian Gen Z communities, this process of meaning change occurs more rapidly and in a more complex manner than in previous generations, owing to the intensity of digital interaction they engage in.

Pejoration as a Mechanism of Meaning Change

Among the various types of meaning change, pejoration is the most relevant process for examining the phenomenon of the word 'friendly' on Indonesian social media. Chaer & Muliastuti (2022) define pejoration as a change in a word's meaning from something positively valued to something negative or of lower value in the perception of its users. This process differs from arbitrary meaning change because pejoration always involves a decline in the social and moral value of a word within a specific usage context. Ajurah (2018) shows that pejoration does not always occur dramatically, but often through a gradual process of association, in which a word is repeatedly linked to negative contexts until the negative connotation becomes attached. Sandow et al. (2024) expand on this understanding by showing that adjectives, such as the word 'friendly', are highly susceptible to pejoration because of their context-dependent nature and their susceptibility to shifting social dynamics. Allan & Burridge (2009) further assert that words related to social norms and human behavior are the most frequently subject to pejoration, since their meanings cannot be separated from the values prevailing within their user communities.

Social Media as an Accelerator of Meaning Change

Social media platforms play a unique role in accelerating and reinforcing the process of meaning change. Siregar et al. (2025) assert that the viral nature of social media content allows a particular usage of a word to reach millions of users within a short period. When such usage receives high engagement, the meaning it carries indirectly gains legitimacy and normalization within the digital community. Marpaung et al. (2025) add that pejoration on social media does not occur in a social vacuum, but always reflects and reinforces the social norms prevailing within its user communities. Jayadi (2025) specifically identifies Indonesian social media as a space in which meaning change occurs very rapidly and dynamically, reflecting shifts in the values and culture of Indonesia's digital society.

Previous Studies

Several previous studies serve as important foundations for this research. Sitohang et al. (2025) analyzed semantic shifts in Gen Z slang across various platforms and identified

pejoration as one of the active mechanisms driven by cultural and technological factors. Khalil & Shah (2025) developed a framework for analyzing pejoration in social media discourse using Conceptual Blending Theory and demonstrated that digital platforms actively transform literal meanings into negative figurative ones. Ratnasari & Yuanita (2025) comprehensively identified six types of meaning change in the slang used by Gen Z and Generation Alpha on TikTok, with pejoration emerging as one of the most dominant types. Savitri & Dewi (2023) examined semantic change in imitative slang used by Indonesian internet users and found that local digital communities actively reinterpret the meanings of loanwords borrowed from English. Reyhan & Sudarwati (2025) investigated the misuse of the word 'slay' within the Indonesian TikTok community and identified a pattern strikingly similar to that occurring with the word 'friendly', namely a positively connoted word transforming into a negative label through usage within digital communities. Hutapea & Damanik (2025) and Napitu et al. (2025) both examined slang meaning change within Indonesian Gen Z communities and found that group social identity plays a significant role in driving such meaning shifts. Ajurah (2018) examined the pejoration of a single English word, 'idiot', and provides the methodological model most relevant to the present study.

The fundamental distinction between this study and all previous studies lies in three complementary aspects of novelty. First, in terms of the object of study, none of the previous studies has specifically focused its analysis on the word 'friendly' as a single lexical unit within the context of Indonesian social media. The study by Reyhan & Sudarwati (2025) does examine a single word, 'slay', within the Indonesian TikTok community, and Ajurah (2018) traces the diachronic pejoration of the word 'idiot'; however, neither addresses the word 'friendly', which possesses a unique characteristic as an English loanword whose meaning has undergone pejoration within the Indonesian-speaking community rather than within its language of origin. This phenomenon, namely cross-linguistic pejoration occurring within the context of digital loanword usage, has not previously been examined as a distinct subject in the existing literature.

Second, in terms of sociolinguistic context, this study explicitly identifies and analyzes the gender dimension as a structural factor in pejoration, an aspect that previous studies have only addressed implicitly. Sitohang et al. (2025), Marpaung et al. (2025), and Khalil & Shah (2025) do discuss pejoration within digital discourse, yet none systematically investigates how pejoration operates asymmetrically along gender lines, that is, how the negative label 'friendly' is attached almost exclusively to women, while men exhibiting similar behavior are rarely

given the same label. This dimension renders the findings of this study not only linguistically significant but also critically relevant to gender studies within Indonesian digital discourse.

Third, in terms of the time span and subsequent phenomena, this study not only documents the process of pejoration but also captures the emergence of a semantic correction phenomenon as a community response to the meaning shift that has occurred. No previous study has documented these two opposing processes, pejoration and the effort to restore the original meaning, simultaneously within a single study and within the same time frame. This makes the present study a more dynamic and comprehensive examination compared to studies that capture only one direction of meaning change.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach aimed at describing and interpreting the phenomenon of pejoration of the word 'friendly' in Indonesian social media discourse in a deep and contextual manner (Moleong, 2018). This approach was chosen because the data examined are textual in nature and require interpretation that cannot be captured through a purely quantitative approach.

Data Sources and Collection Techniques

The data sources for this study are comments, captions, and content from the social media platforms Instagram and TikTok that use the word 'friendly' in a negatively connoted context. Data were collected through purposive sampling based on the following criteria: (a) written by Indonesian users identifiable based on the language used, (b) using the word 'friendly' with a negative connotation or within a negatively toned interpersonal relationship context, and (c) published within the period of 2022–2026. Data collection was conducted through digital observation (digital ethnography), in which the researcher observed and documented the use of the word 'friendly' on social media without direct interaction with the users.

Data Analysis Technique

Data analysis refers to the theory of pejorative meaning change proposed by Chaer (2014) dan Pateda (2010), reinforced by the semantic change framework of Yule (2019) The analysis process follows the Miles and Huberman model in three sequential stages:

1. Data reduction, in which data is filtered and grouped based on context and usage patterns;
2. Data display, in which the meaning shift in each data point is described and analyzed;
3. Conclusion drawing, in which the pejoration patterns and their driving factors are summarized.

4. RESULTS

The Original Meaning of the Word 'Friendly'

Before analyzing the meaning shift, it is necessary to first understand the original meaning of the word 'friendly'. The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'friendly' as 'kind and pleasant', 'on good or affectionate terms', and 'favorably disposed; not hostile'. Etymologically, the word derives from the root word 'friend' with the suffix '-ly', transforming it into an adjective meaning 'behaving like a friend'. In its usage in Indonesia, 'friendly' is absorbed with the equivalent 'ramah', which also carries a positive meaning. Yule (2019) asserts that in standard linguistic contexts, there is no negative indication in this word's meaning. The shift away from this original meaning forms the core of this study's analysis.

Research Data

This study successfully collected 18 data points showing the use of the word 'friendly' with a negative connotation on Indonesian social media within the period of 2022–2026, in addition to 2 data points reflecting a semantic correction phenomenon. The primary data is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Data on the Negatively Connoted Use of the Word 'Friendly' on Indonesian Social Media (2022–2026).

No	Platform	Username	Date	Text Content (original Indonesian)	Context
1	Instagram	@kadekjuni666	±2022	"friendly sama murah itu sama, sama gampang dan gak ada mahalny"	Comment
2	Instagram	@kodereels	7 Feb 2022	"Cewek friendly? Binatang seperti apa itu?"	Reels
3	Instagram	@ikho__	7 Feb 2022	"Cewe friendly yang dimaksud kaum buaya itu SASIMO"	Comment
4	Instagram	@revinnacristy	9 Aug 2023	"Sumpah jiji bgt skrg liat cewe murahan berkedok friendly"	Reels
5	TikTok	@claudeshop.id	30 Jun 2023	"Pernah ngalamin, pokoknya pacaran sama cewe friendly tiap hari ngebatin wkwk"	Comment
6	TikTok	@Rivall	4 Jul 2023	"Emang salah ya kalo cewe friendly?"	Comment
7	Instagram	@david_a0901	±2024	"Perselingkuhan berawal dari friendly"	Comment
8	Instagram	@Sultan_132007	±2024	"Ya awal sasimo itu karena dia friendly, izin fakta"	Comment
9	Instagram	@true_boys04	±2025	"Sasimo berkedok relasi dan friendly"	Comment
10	Instagram	@teddy.criss	±2025	"Sifat friendly adalah sifat yang bisa merusak hubungan pertemanan, hubungan dengan sahabat, bahkan hubungan dengan pasangannya"	Comment
11	Instagram	@hndirhmt	±2025	"Friendly kan awal dari flirty faktanya begitu, katanya temen dekat ehh ketauan check in"	Comment
12	Instagram	@wahyunatural	±2025	"Betul, cewe friendly biasanya 80% Sasimo"	Comment
13	Instagram	@ridw_ice2002	±2025	"Iya gatal yang dibungkus dengan kata-kata friendly"	Comment
14	Instagram	@regiss4nnzar_	±2025	"Ya sama ajalah friendly dekat-deket cowo and cewe lu gabisa jaga hati buat cowo lu"	Comment

15	Instagram	@dualapan.insomnia	2 Dec 2025	"Hampa banget gaada cewe yang nyakitin, info cewe friendly, tukang selingkuh, banyak temen cowonya"	Reels
16	TikTok	@PvsNP	8 Mar 2026	"Gua gak friendly jadi gua anti cewe friendly"	Comment
17	Instagram	@aquila	7 Mar 2026	"Hidup cuma sekali, jadi jauhi cewe friendly yang gampang akrab sama cowo lain, malu-maluin"	Reels
18	Instagram	@_elyuta	±2026	"Ganteng-ganteng gini sangat rugi kalo pacaran sama cewek friendly, perselingkuhan berawal dari kata friendly"	Comment

Based on Table 1, it can be seen that the negatively connoted use of the word 'friendly' was found consistently across two main platforms, Instagram (15 data points) and TikTok (3 data points), within the period of 2022 to 2026. The data show a consistent pattern in which the word 'friendly' is always placed within a negative context related to interpersonal behavior, particularly in the context of romantic relationships and cross-gender friendships.

DISCUSSION

Analysis of the Forms of Pejoration

Pejoration through Association with Flirtatious Behavior

The most dominant form of pejoration is the association of the word 'friendly' with flirtatious behavior. The data from account @hndirhmt explicitly states that being friendly is, in fact, the starting point of being flirty. This statement positions 'friendly' as the initial stage of 'flirty', an association that directly links friendliness with seductive behavior. A similar pattern is found in the data from @teddy.criss, which states that being friendly is a trait capable of damaging relationships. Within the framework of pejoration, this phenomenon occurs because a word is repeatedly used in a negative context until that connotation becomes dominant (Ajurah, 2018).

Pejoration through Association with Infidelity

The second form of pejoration is the association of the word 'friendly' with infidelity. The data from account @david_a0901 states that infidelity begins with being friendly, reinforced by @_elyuta's statement that infidelity begins with the word friendly itself. Both data points position 'friendly' as a causal factor in infidelity, a meaning shift far removed from its original meaning. Chaer & Muliastuti (2022) explain that this type of pejoration occurs when the negative social value of a usage context gradually becomes attached to the word itself, causing the word to lose its neutrality.

Pejoration through Association with the Label 'Sasimo'

The third form of pejoration is the association of 'friendly' with the local term 'sasimo'. The data from @ikho__ directly equates the two, stating that what 'players' (kaum buaya) mean by a friendly girl is sasimo, while @wahyunatural states that a friendly girl is usually 80% sasimo. This association demonstrates a strong sociolinguistic dimension, in which pejoration occurs not only in the semantic domain but also reflects social constructions of gendered behavioral norms. This finding aligns with Marpaung et al. (2025) who argue that meaning change on social media is significantly influenced by the dynamics of social groups and the cultural norms of digital communities.

Driving Factors of Pejoration

The Context of Romantic Relationships

Almost all of the data place the word 'friendly' within the context of romantic relationships. Friendliness shown by someone toward the opposite sex is, within this context, directly interpreted as a threat or a signal of infidelity. This phenomenon reflects social anxiety regarding the boundaries of behavior within romantic relationships, which is then projected onto the meaning of the word 'friendly'. Pateda (2010) explains that psychological and social factors are the primary causes of meaning change, and in this case, jealousy and distrust within romantic contexts have colored the word's meaning negatively.

Viral Culture on Social Media

Social media platforms create an environment in which messages spread massively and repetitively. When content associating 'friendly' with negative behavior receives high engagement, the negative meaning it carries becomes reinforced and normalized within the digital community. Marpaung et al. (2025) assert that social media acts as an accelerator of meaning change due to its viral and repetitive nature. Comments that repeatedly reiterate the patterns 'friendly = sasimo' or 'friendly = infidelity' indirectly consolidate this negative meaning in the minds of the user community.

The Gender Dimension in Pejoration

The most striking finding is the strong gender dimension within the pejoration of the word 'friendly'. Of the 18 data points collected, 16 explicitly refer to women as the subject of the negatively connoted 'friendly' label. Expressions such as 'cewe friendly' (friendly girl) dominate the data, while almost no instances of 'cowok friendly' (friendly guy) were found in the same context. This indicates that the pejoration is gender-asymmetrical, in that women's friendliness is viewed as more suspicious than men's friendliness. Sandow et al. (2024) note

that the meaning shift of a word is often a product of unequal social relations, in which certain groups become targets of pejoration more than others.

The Phenomenon of Semantic Correction

Although not the main focus of this study, the researcher also found a phenomenon of semantic correction toward the end of the research period. Table 2 presents this data.

Table 2. Data on the Semantic Correction Phenomenon.

No	Platform	Username	Date	Text (original Indonesian)	Content	Context
1	Instagram	@devinafebriani6	±2025	"Friendly itu ramah, bedain friendly sama sasimo"		Komentar
2	TikTok	@ameliaa	27 Mar 2026	"Sekarang banyak banget orang yang salah mengartikan friendly dan malah menyamartakan friendly sama sasimo"		Konten

The data from @devinafebriani6 distinguishes friendly from sasimo and clarifies that friendly simply means kind, while @ameliaa points out that many people now misinterpret the word friendly. Both data points indicate that part of the digital community has begun to recognize and correct the pejoration that has occurred. Yule (2019) refers to this phenomenon as semantic correction, a process in which a speech community renegotiates the meaning of a word that has previously shifted. This opens up the possibility that the pejoration process can be halted or reversed through increased metalinguistic awareness among social media users.

5. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

This study concludes that the word 'friendly' has undergone significant semantic pejoration in Indonesian digital discourse. A word that denotatively means 'kind/sociable' and carries a positive connotation is now consistently associated with negative behaviors such as flirtatiousness, sasimo, and infidelity in romantic relationships. This pejoration occurs in three forms: association with flirtatious behavior, association with infidelity, and association with the label 'sasimo'. Two main factors drive it: the context of romantic relationships, in which friendliness is interpreted as a threat, and the viral culture of social media, which normalizes negative meanings through massive repetition.

Another important finding is the strong gender dimension, in which women are disproportionately the subject of the negatively connoted 'friendly' label. This indicates that this pejoration is not merely a linguistic phenomenon, but also reflects social constructions of gender norms within Indonesian digital society.

The emergence of a semantic correction phenomenon toward the end of the research period offers hope that this pejoration process can be halted through increased linguistic literacy among social media users. Further research is recommended to cover more platforms, involve direct interviews with users, and explore whether similar phenomena occur with other positive interpersonal words in the Indonesian digital context.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank Mr. Badri as the supervising lecturer for the guidance and direction provided throughout the research and writing process of this article. This article is part of the final assignment for the S1 English Literature Study Program, Universitas Terbuka.

Special appreciation is also extended by the author to herself, for the unwavering spirit maintained despite having to divide time between coursework and running a business. May this endeavor continue to grow and provide broader benefits.

REFERENCES

- Agustiana, L., Yuliani Sabilah, T., & Gloriani, Y. (2024). Changes and Shifts In The Meaning of The Indonesian Language In The Gen-Z Youth Community. In *Asian Journal of Social and Humanities* (Vol. 2). <https://ajosh.org/>
- Ajurah, N. (2018). *PERKEMBANGAN MAKNA PEYORATIF PADA KATA BAHASA INGGRIS "IDIOT": SEBUAH KAJIAN ETIMOLOGI*.
- Allan, Keith., & Burridge, Kate. (2009). *Forbidden words : taboo and the censoring of language*. Cambridge University Press. https://assets.cambridge.org/97805215/25640/excerpt/9780521525640_excerpt.pdf
- Chaer, A. (2014). *Linguistik Umum* (4th ed.). Rineka Cipta.
- Chaer, A., & Muliastuti, L. (2022). *Semantik bahasa Indonesia* (N. Hikmah, Ed.; 3rd ed.). Universitas Terbuka.
- Hosianna Napitu, N., Anggita, B., & Damanik, R. (2025). Semantic Analysis of Slang Expressions Among Medanese Generation Z on Instagram. In *Young Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (YJSSH)* (Vol. 1, Number 3).
- Jayadi, A. (2025). Analisis Perubahan Makna dalam Bahasa Indonesia Kontemporer di Media Sosial. *Journal of Language Studies, 1*(1). <https://doi.org/10.70716/jols.v1i1.27>

- Khalil, U., & Shah, I. A. (2025). 19.+From+Literal+to+Loaded+The+Semantic+Pejoration+in+Social+Media+Discourse . *Pakistan Languages and Humanities Review*. <https://ojs.plhr.org.pk/journal/article/view/1151>
- Kristina Hutapea, D., & Anggita Ristia Damanik, B. (2025). Changes in The Meaning of Words in Slang: A Synchronous Semantic Study. In *Young Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (YJSSH)* (Vol. 1, Number 3).
- Marpaung, T., Anggita, B., & Damanik, R. (2025). SEMANTIC CHANGE IN SOCIAL MEDIA : A STUDY OF SLANG TERMS ON TIKTOK. In *Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial dan Humaniora* (Vol. 4). <https://publisherqu.com/index.php/pediaqu>
- Moleong, L. J. (2018). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif* (38th ed.). PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Pateda, M. (2010). *Semantik leksikal* (2nd ed.). Pt. Rineka Cipta.
- Ratnasari, M., & Yuanita, A. (2025). Nomor 2 Tahun 2025 hlm. In *SAPALA* (Vol. 12).
- Reyhan, D. A. R., & Sudarwati, E. S. (2025). FROM COMPLIMENT TO INSULT: THE MISUSE OF ‘SLAY’ IN THE INDONESIAN TIKTOK COMMUNITY TO DERIDE FEMININE BOYS. *Lire Journal (Journal of Linguistics and Literature)*, 9(3), 463–479. <https://doi.org/10.33019/lire.v9i2.502>
- Sadow, R. J., Bailey, G., & Braber, N. (2024). Language change is wicked: semantic and social meaning of a polysemous adjective. *English Language and Linguistics*, 28(1), 135–156. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1360674323000515>
- Shen, Y. (2024). Impact of social media on the evolution of English semantics through linguistic analysis. *Forum for Linguistic Studies*, 6(2). <https://doi.org/10.59400/fls.v6i2.1184>
- Siregar, F. H., Anggita, B., & Damanik, R. (2025). SEMANTIC STUDY: THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON CHANGING THE MEANING OF SLANG WORDS AMONG TEENAGERS IN INDONESIA. In *Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial dan Humaniora* (Vol. 4). <https://publisherqu.com/index.php/pediaqu>
- Sitohang, D. P., Anggita, B., & Damanik, R. (2025). A Semantic Analysis of Slang Words Used by Gen Z on Social Media. In *Young Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (YJSSH)* (Vol. 1, Number 2).
- Traore, I. (2024). AND X ARE SHAPING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. In *Issoumaïla TRAORE Akofena / Varia n°13* (Vol. 5).
- Weddha Savitri, P., & Sagung Shanti Sari Dewi, A. (2023). *SEMANTIC CHANGE ON IMITATIVE SLANG USED BY INDONESIAN NETIZEN*. <https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/>
- Yule, G. (2019). The Study of Language. In *The Study of Language*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108582889>