



Analysis of Body-Shaming Speech in the Comments Column the @Lisamarianaana Account on Instagram

Nur'ain Lakoro^{1*}, Dakia N. Djou^{2*}, Nuramila³

¹²³Prodi Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia, Universitas Negeri Gorontalo, Gorontalo, Indonesia

*E-mail: lakoroaino@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study aims to describe the linguistic forms and associative meanings in the comment section of the Instagram account @lisamarianaana. This study uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive qualitative research type. The data source in this study is body shaming utterances found in the comment section of the Instagram account taken between April and August 2025. Data on linguistic forms and associative meanings in the comment section of the Instagram account @lisamarianaana were collected using reading, listening, note-taking, and documentation techniques based on non-test instruments, namely structured observation guidelines for the comment section of the account @lisamarianaana. Data on linguistic forms and associative meanings in the comment section of the Instagram account @lisamarianaana were analyzed in three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. The results of the study show that the linguistic forms of body shaming utterances found include four forms, namely words, phrases, and sentences. Furthermore, the associative meanings contained in body shaming utterances include connotative meanings, affective meanings, reflective meanings, and collocative meanings. These meanings indicate that body shaming utterances are not only descriptive, but also contain elements of judgment, emotion, and certain associations.

Keywords: body shaming speech, comment column, instagram

Analisis Ujaran Body Shaming pada Kolom Komentar Akun @Lisamarianaana di Media Sosial Instagram

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan bentuk linguistik dan makna asosiatif di kolom komentar akun Instagram @lisamarianaana. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan tipe penelitian kualitatif deskriptif. Sumber data dalam penelitian ini adalah ujaran body shaming yang terdapat di kolom komentar akun Instagram yang diambil antara April dan Agustus 2025. Data bentuk linguistik dan makna asosiatif di kolom komentar akun Instagram @lisamarianaana dikumpulkan menggunakan teknik membaca, mendengarkan, mencatat, dan dokumentasi berbasis instrumen nontes yakni pedoman observasi terstruktur terhadap kolom komentar akun @lisamarianaana. Data bentuk linguistik dan makna asosiatif di kolom komentar akun Instagram @lisamarianaana dianalisis dalam tiga tahap, yaitu reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan simpulan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa bentuk linguistik ujaran body shaming yang ditemukan meliputi empat bentuk, yaitu kata, frasa, dan kalimat. Lebih lanjut, makna asosiatif yang terkandung dalam ujaran body shaming meliputi makna konotatif, makna afektif, makna reflektif, dan makna kolokatif. Makna-makna ini menunjukkan bahwa ujaran body shaming tidak hanya deskriptif, tetapi juga mengandung unsur penilaian, emosi, dan asosiasi tertentu.

Kata kunci: body shaming, kolom komentar, instagram, semantik

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INTRODUCTION

In the context of human life, language serves as a communication tool utilized in daily activities. Language can forge strong bonds between individuals and create valuable relationships, both directly and indirectly. Language encompasses a wide range of communication tools, symbolizing ideas and concepts to convey meaning to others. Language as a communication tool can be expressed in various forms, such as writing, speaking, gestures, codes, symbols, art, and others (Romadhan et al. 2023: 227).

Technological advances and digitalization encourage people to utilize written language more frequently, especially on various digital platforms. One form of writing that is now widely used is social media. Nimda (in Rachmawati et al. 2021: 15) argues that social media is a tool that can be used to establish online communication between individuals via an internet connection. This allows people to interact with each other, exchange information, and build social relationships quickly and easily, anytime and anywhere.

In essence, social media is expected to be a healthy, polite, and educational communication space. Language used in social media comment sections should reflect ethical language, mutual respect, and avoid statements that demean others. Language used in digital public spaces is expected to foster positive interactions and have a positive impact on users.

However, in reality, these comment sections often contain tactless language. Many social media users use words without regard for norms and the consequences for others. One form of tactless language is *body shaming* (physical insults). *Body shaming* is a form of verbal abuse or bullying. *Body shaming* is the behavior of commenting on another person's physical flaws, often without people realizing it. Although it does not involve direct physical violence, *body shaming* is still classified as a form of verbal bullying (Rinaldi et al. 2022: 132).

In this context, semantic theory becomes relevant for understanding how language and

meaning play a role in communication on social media. According to J.W.M. Verhaar (in Rahman et al. 2024: 3), semantics is the study of meaning, a systematic branch of linguistics that specifically examines the meaning of linguistic elements such as words, phrases, and sentences. In other words, semantics focuses on how words, phrases, and sentences in a language acquire meaning, and how that meaning is perceived by speakers and listeners. Researchers are interested in examining body-shaming utterances that appear in comment sections due to the high number of body-shaming cases occurring on social media. Many people, unaware of the many problems with language use on social media, involve the public as speakers. This is due to speakers' tendency to use utterances that lead to ridicule or insults, especially those involving public figures or influencers. One account that has attracted attention is @lisamarianaaa, which is frequently the target of body-shaming utterances. Lisa Mariana is a fairly prolific influencer who frequently shares her various activities on Instagram. However, on every upload she makes, many negative comments containing body-shaming remarks appear from Instagram users.

Based on this phenomenon, the focus of this research includes: (1) what is the linguistic form of body-shaming utterances in the comments section of the @lisamarianaaa account on Instagram? (2) what is the associative meaning of body-shaming utterances in the comments section of the @lisamarianaaa account on Instagram? (3) how relevant are body-shaming utterances to Indonesian language learning in schools. In line with this focus, this research aims to describe the linguistic form and associative meaning of body-shaming utterances in the comments section of the @lisamarianaaa account on Instagram and to describe their relevance to Indonesian language learning.

This research is expected to provide benefits to various parties. For researchers, it is hoped that this research can broaden knowledge and broaden researchers' insights regarding language that



occurs on social media. For readers, it is hoped that this research can provide general knowledge in building awareness about the importance of maintaining good language, especially in digital public spaces such as Instagram's comments section.

Based on the researcher's review and observations of previous research, no research has been found that addresses the topic of "Body-shaming Speech in the Comments Column of the @lisamarianaaa Account on Instagram Social Media". However, the researcher has found studies that can be used as references to support the direction of this research, for example, research conducted by Raihanatuqalby B'taviananda (2021) which examines the associative meaning of tweets and comments indicated to contain *body shaming* on social media. Furthermore, research conducted by Tasya Febrianty (2025) which examines misogyny in comments on the Instagram account @claraandjavi. As well as research conducted by Riska Selgianita and Mixghan Norman Antono (2023) regarding netizen dysphemism in the comments column of the Instagram social media @kpiusat. The novelty of this research lies in its research object and focus.

METHOD

This research uses a descriptive method with a qualitative approach aimed at understanding a phenomenon in detail and depth. This approach is often used for matters related to research on the behavior, motivation, attitudes, perceptions, and actions of subjects, according to Moleong (in Ratnaningtyas et al., 2023: 10).

The data in this study include words or sentences containing body-shaming remarks in the comments section of the Instagram account @lisamarianaaa. The data source for this study was taken from the comments section of @lisamarianaaa's Instagram posts from April to August 2025.

The data collection techniques applied in this study were reading, listening, note-taking, and

documentation. Meanwhile, the data analysis technique refers to the three components proposed by Miles and Huberman (in Qomaruddin and Sa'diyah, 2024: 80), which include data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing.

RESULT

Based on the results of the data collection of *body shaming* utterances in the comments column of the @lisamarianaaa account on Instagram social media that has been carried out, the results of the *body shaming* utterance data consist of four lingual forms, namely 1) word form, 2) phrase form, 3) clause form, and 4) sentence form. Meanwhile, the associative meaning contained in the *body shaming* utterances in the comments column of the @lisamarianaaa account on Instagram social media was found to be four associative meanings, namely 1) connotative meaning, 2) affective meaning, 3) reflective meaning, and 4) collocative meaning. The following is a detailed explanation of this.

1. Lingual Form

Lingual forms are the linguistic forms speakers use to convey their utterances. These lingual forms consist of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. The following explains the lingual forms found.

1.1 Word

"Dugong" (Sea cow)

In the data, the speaker uses the word "dugong" as a form of mockery regarding someone's body. This remark is used to compare a person's body shape to a sea animal that is synonymous with large and fat bodies. The use of this term is not merely a joke, but also contains elements of insulting someone's physical appearance. The speaker uses the name of an animal as a comparison to highlight the victim's body shape, which is considered less than ideal. If someone receives such remarks, an angry reaction can arise because the speaker has attacked a personal physical aspect. Comparing the human body to a "dugong" can make the recipient feel

that their body is considered ugly, unattractive, or worthy of being joked about. This situation can lead to feelings of shame, offense, and discomfort, especially when the comment is read by other social media users. As a result, the victim may feel devalued and ultimately experience emotional responses such as anger or disappointment towards the speaker.

“Kunti” (Female Ghost)

Body-shaming remarks in the data are evident in the speaker’s use of the word “kunti” to mock the victim. This word choice is used to criticize someone’s appearance or face, deeming them scary, unattractive, or deviating from certain beauty standards. The use of this word indicates the speaker’s attempt to demean someone’s physical appearance through negative associations. When this remark is directed at someone in a social media comment section, the victim can feel hurt and angry because their appearance is equated with a figure synonymous with fear. In addition to being embarrassing, such comments can also make the victim feel disrespected and lose self-confidence. Especially if many other users respond to or laugh at the comment, the emotional impact on the victim can be even greater.

1.2 Phrase

“Kepompong gajah” (Pregnant tadpole)

The *body shaming* expressed in this data is manifested through the combination of two words, “elephant cocoon.” This phrase is used to demeaningly describe a person’s body by combining two identical objects with disproportionately large and disproportionate shapes. The speaker uses this phrase to create a physical image that is both humorous and embarrassing for the victim. In the context of body shaming, this utterance demonstrates an insult to a person’s body shape through exaggerated imagery. The use of this phrase constitutes a form of verbal abuse because the language is used to attack a person’s physical appearance on social media. These remarks can trigger anger in the

victim because their body is being joked about and compared to something negative. Furthermore, such comments can also cause embarrassment and lower the victim’s self-confidence, especially when read by many people in digital public spaces.

“Kecebong bunting” (Pregnant tadpole)

The use of the phrase “kecebong bunting” indicates an insult to someone’s appearance. This phrase is considered *body shaming* because it is used to mock someone’s body shape, particularly a stomach area that is considered large or prominent. When comments like this appear on social media, the victim not only receives the insult personally but also faces the possibility of being judged by many who read the comment. This situation can cause emotional distress because the victim feels humiliated about their appearance in a public space. Anger can arise in response to treatment perceived as disrespectful, especially because the speaker deliberately uses derogatory language to attract the attention of other users.

1.3 Clause

“Ondel ondel keliling” (Wandering Ondel-ondel)

In the data above, a person’s body is depicted in an exaggerated manner through the phrase “ondel-ondel keliling.” This utterance constitutes *body shaming* because it is used by the speaker to mock someone’s body or appearance, which is considered excessively large, striking, or attention-grabbing. The comparison to “ondel-ondel” suggests that the victim appears disproportionate and is being made a spectacle for others. When comments like this are directed at someone on social media, the victim can feel humiliated because they are being used as entertainment in a public space. The speaker not only judges the victim’s physique but also creates the impression that their appearance is worthy of ridicule. This situation can trigger feelings of anger, shame, and a lack of self-confidence, especially when the comment receives attention or a response from other users.



“Perut nya gede banget” (Her stomach is really big)

The phrase “her stomach is really big” indicates a direct comment about someone’s body shape, specifically their stomach, which is considered excessively large. This statement constitutes *body shaming* because the speaker openly highlights the victim’s physical flaws in a demeaning tone. The use of the word “really” also reinforces the sense of mockery by indicating an overestimation of someone’s body. This statement can have an emotional impact on the victim, as their body is subjected to judgment in a digital public space. The victim may feel embarrassed and offended because a private part of their body is being negatively commented on in front of many people. This situation can trigger anger, especially if the comments make the victim feel humiliated and disrespected.

1.4 Sentences

“Kingkong lagi upload foto masa kecil” (Kingkong is uploading a childhood photo)

In the data, the speaker mocks the victim’s changing body shape with the sentence “Kingkong is uploading a childhood photo.” This sentence is used to mock the appearance of someone who used to have an ideal body shape and now has the opposite. This is what triggers the speaker to compare him to a giant gorilla character, which is synonymous with a large body and a face considered scary. The speaker uses this statement as if it were a joke, but it actually contains an insult to the victim’s physique. The comparison suggests that the victim is considered unattractive and worthy of being ridiculed. This comment can be considered a form of veiled verbal attack because the insult is conveyed through sarcasm and humor. The victim can feel hurt because their appearance is used as entertainment on social media. Furthermore, when others laugh or respond to the comment, the victim can feel like they are being publicly humiliated. This situation can trigger anger and make the victim feel uncomfortable with themselves.

“Orang utan lagi podcast” (Orangutan doing a podcast)

Mocking someone’s appearance is evident in the use of the phrase “orangutan lagi podcast.” This phrase is a form of *body shaming* because it is used to mock someone’s appearance by comparing them to a primate. This comparison leads to insults about the victim’s physical appearance, such as their face, hair, or body shape, which are considered similar to an orangutan. The speaker deliberately uses this metaphor to create a humorous and demeaning impression in the eyes of other social media users. This statement demonstrates dehumanization, which occurs when someone is compared to an animal to undermine their self-esteem. This can make the victim feel treated undeservingly and lose their dignity as an individual. Anger can arise because the victim feels their identity has been openly insulted, especially since the comment has the potential to provoke other users to join in mocking or laughing at their appearance.

2. Associative Meaning

Based on the findings obtained, the associative meanings that appear in *body shaming* utterances in the comments column of the @lisamariana account on Instagram social media only represent four types of associative meanings, namely connotative, affective, reflective, and collocative meanings.

2.1 Connotative Meaning

Connotative meaning is a meaning that does not refer directly to the actual meaning, but rather contains additional meaning that is influenced by certain feelings, emotions and associations.

“Tronton” (Tow truck)

The use of the word “tronton” indicates a derisive connotative meaning. The word lexically refers to a type of large truck used to transport heavy loads. However, in the context of the body-shaming utterance in the comments section of Lisa Mariana’s Instagram account, the word “tronton” is not used literally. The word is used as a metaphor

to equate Lisa with the large vehicle. This equation leads to an image of a body that is considered very large, heavy, and disproportionate. Therefore, the use of the word “tronton” in the utterance indicates a connotative meaning. This is in line with the opinion of Fazalani and Saputra (2024:116) who stated that connotative meaning is meaning that has a mental link and can evoke certain feelings. In the context of the utterance “tronton” the word not only refers to a large vehicle lexically, but also gives rise to mental associations regarding large size and weight. This association then creates a certain feeling, namely the impression of belittling or mocking the physique that is compared to the vehicle, thus strengthening the fact that the utterance contains a connotative meaning that is derogatory, because it is used as a metaphor to describe a body that is considered large, heavy, and disproportionate, so it is included in the form of *body shaming* utterances.

“Dugong” (sea cow)

The word “dugong” in the data evokes a connotative meaning because it is used to describe a person’s body. In its true sense, “dugong” refers to a type of large marine mammal with a fat and slow body. However, in the context of the utterance, the word “dugong” is not used according to its denotative meaning, but rather as a metaphor to compare Lisa’s body to that of the animal. The use of this word carries a negative connotation because it aims to belittle and mock Lisa’s physical condition by associating it with the body shape of a large animal. This is supported by the theory put forward by Apyunita (2025: 25) that connotative meaning is an additional or figurative meaning that does not originate from the basic definition, but rather arises from emotional relationships, social norms, and cultural context. This association is used to belittle and mock physical conditions, thus reinforcing that the utterance contains a negative connotative meaning in the form of *body shaming*.

2.2 Affective Meaning

Affective meaning relates to the speaker’s feelings or emotional attitude, as reflected in an

utterance. This meaning arises from how the speaker expresses emotions such as anger, disgust, dislike, or insult through the choice of words used.

“Lu pikir lu cantik tong idung tuh bnerin” (You think you’re pretty? Fix that nose of yours)

The comment carries an affective meaning because it is used to express mockery of the victim’s body parts. The speaker questions beauty in a condescending tone, then highlights the body part (the nose) as the object of ridicule. The utterance does not use any specific metaphors or symbols, but rather conveys a blatant negative assessment. This harsh and direct choice of words indicates both dislike and a desire to humiliate. This is in line with Leech’s statement (1981: 15), which states that affective meaning is related to how language reflects the speaker’s personal emotions towards the listener or the topic being discussed. In the utterance “you think you’re beautiful, Tong Nod is right,” the speaker clearly expresses negative emotions, such as dislike and a desire to humiliate. This is reflected through the harsh choice of words and the direct delivery without metaphors. This utterance not only conveys information but also shows the speaker’s emotional attitude towards the object of the utterance. Because the meaning of this sentence arises from the speaker’s emotional attitude towards Lisa, this sentence reflects an affective meaning because it carries an emotional charge in the form of insulting the object of the utterance.

“Ga pernah sejijik ini sama perempuan” I’ve never been so disgusted by a woman)

The affective meaning in the above utterance is evident in the way the speaker expresses his emotions through insulting comments. The speaker uses this sentence to express his emotional feelings toward Lisa Mariana. The speaker not only expresses dislike, but also emphasizes a very strong feeling of disgust toward Lisa. The use of the phrase “never been this disgusted” shows the speaker’s blatant outburst of emotion toward Lisa. The speaker seems to feel excessive disgust



towards Lisa's appearance and behavior. This view is in line with the opinion expressed by Chasandra (2016:3) who states that affective meaning is meaning that shows the speaker's personal feelings, including their attitude toward the person being spoken to or toward the matter being discussed. Thus, this utterance contains affective meaning because its main focus is on the speaker's expression of insulting and demeaning emotions.

2.3 Reflektive Meaning

Reflective meaning is the meaning that arises when a word evokes another meaning that is "reflected" in addition to its basic meaning. This meaning often arises because the word used has more than one potential interpretation in the reader's mind.

"Yang seperti ini jadi simpanan..percaya amat kalian" (Someone like this ends up being a kept woman... you guys are so gullible)

The reflective meaning in the above utterance is evident in the use of the word "mistress." The word "mistress" in this sentence is not interpreted literally as something kept, but rather reflects another meaning related to informal relationships or negative values in the eyes of society. This utterance can be interpreted as an attempt by the speaker to demean someone's appearance by giving the impression that the victim is unsuitable or unworthy to be a primary partner and therefore only considered suitable as a mistress. This is in accordance with the opinion of Leech (1981:18) who stated that reflective meaning arises due to the dual concept of a word, which gives rise to other meanings in its use. In this utterance, the word "mistress" gives rise to a reflection of meaning that leads to a negative assessment of someone's physical appearance and self-worth. Therefore, this utterance is not only a casual comment, but also contains elements of sarcasm and insults toward the victim.

"Berat banget saingannya bu cinta" (Ms. Cinta's rival is a really weight)

The dual concept of the word "weight" in the above utterance creates a reflective meaning. The word "weight" in the sentence is no longer interpreted literally as a measure of an object's mass, but rather refers to a person's body shape. This aligns with Leech's (1981:18) opinion, which states that reflective meaning arises from the dual concept of a word, thus giving rise to suggestions of other meanings in its use. In this utterance, the word "weight" reflects another meaning related to body size. Therefore, the utterance "weight is really a rival for love" not only conveys its literal meaning but also contains sarcasm and a negative assessment of someone's physique.

2.4 Collocative Meaning

A collocative meaning is a meaning that arises from the habit of a word being used alongside a particular word in a linguistic context. This means that this meaning comes not only from its dictionary meaning, but also from the relationship or constant pairing that often occurs together in everyday usage.

"Bambu runcing" (Sharpened bamboo spear)

The use of the phrase "bambu runcing" has a common meaning in certain contexts. This is because the phrase arises from a combination of words that naturally pair in the language. The word "runcing" is generally associated with thin and sharp objects such as "bamboo," so when used to allude to the shape or body part, the meaning is immediately apparent without the need for additional explanation. In other words, readers automatically associate a thin body shape or a body part considered sharp with the phrase due to the habitual use of the word in the language. According to Rahman et al. (2024: 36), collocative meaning refers to the association or relationship formed between certain words and other words in everyday use that often appear together in natural language. Thus, the meaning that emerges comes from the habitual pairing of words in the language, thus reinforcing that the utterance contains collocative meaning.

“Tahu bulat” (Moon-shaped tofu)

The collocative meaning that emerges in the body-shaming utterance above is formed from the habit of using two words that frequently appear together in everyday language. The word “tahu” in a culinary context is often paired with the word “bulat” to refer to a certain type of food that is round in shape. The relationship between these two words is well-known in popular language usage, so that when the word “tahu” is mentioned in certain contexts, the word “bulat” is a common pairing. In the context of body-shaming utterances, this phrase is used as a form of comparison to describe a person’s body part that is considered round or large. The use of this phrase does not occur randomly, but rather utilizes the well-known association between the words “tahu” and “bulat” as a single expression. This is supported by the theory put forward by Butar-Butar (2021: 142) that collocative meaning is a meaning that arises from the relationship between several words that are usually used together in the same context or environment. Because its meaning is formed from the association of two words that are generally used together in language practice, the utterance “tahu bulat” can be categorized as a collocative meaning.

DISCUSSION

Lingual Form of *Body Shaming* Speech

Based on the research findings presented, body-shaming remarks in the comments section of the @lisamarianaaa account on Instagram demonstrate a variety of lingual forms, reflecting the diverse use of language to express physical insults or insults. Abidin (2021:226) states that lingual forms are linguistic structures that can be present in spoken language sounds or in legible written form. This statement emphasizes that lingual forms are the concrete realization of language in communication. Accordingly, in structural linguistics, lingual forms are understood not only as forms of language but also as units with specific structures and levels, ranging from the smallest to the most complex.

According to Abidin (2021:226), lingual forms are divided into 1) words, 2) phrases, 3) clauses, and 4) sentences. In line with this opinion, the data in this study demonstrates the existence of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. The word forms are usually nouns or adjectives that directly refer to specific physical characteristics. This form tends to be brief, but has a strong derisive power because its meaning directly addresses the target’s physical aspects. Furthermore, the phrases found in this study appear to be more dominant. Phrases allow speakers to construct comparisons without having to construct a complete predicative structure. Using phrases, speakers can compare the target’s body to animals, objects, or specific objects with distinctive characteristics. Meanwhile, in clause and sentence form, body-shaming utterances tend to contain more open judgments. The presence of predicates in these structures allows the speaker to directly evaluate the target’s physical condition, making the insult more pronounced and judgmental. In this form, the speaker goes beyond simply presenting a comparison, but also inserts opinions, emphasizes meaning, and even exaggerates. This suggests that the more complex the linguistic form used, the stronger the judgmental force or evaluative pressure it produces.

This diversity of linguistic forms demonstrates that body-shaming is not simply a random choice of words and is not conveyed through a specific pattern, but can be constructed in various forms according to the speaker’s intention. The choice of words, phrases, clauses and sentences reflects a rhetorical strategy to maximize the effect of insult in a digital space that is public and interactive.

2. Associative Meaning of *Body Shaming*

Based on data analysis, the majority of body-shaming utterances in the comments section of the @lisamarianaaa account on Instagram not only contain conceptual meaning but also demonstrate a dominance of associative meaning formed through social, emotional, and language habits. Leech (1981: 9) argues that associative meaning



consists of five types: 1) connotative meaning, 2) stylistic meaning, 3) affective meaning, 4) reflective meaning, and 5) collocative meaning. Based on the findings obtained, the associative meanings evident in body-shaming utterances only represent four types of associative meaning: connotative, affective, reflective, and collocative.

Connotative meaning arises when a word is understood not only based on its literal referent but also through the associated emotional value and social image. This aligns with Ilyas's (in Suhardi, 2015: 61) opinion, which explains that connotative meaning is a meaning that does not refer to the literal meaning of a word, but rather contains additional meanings formed through associations and society's social views of the word. The data found revealed many utterances comparing the target's body to certain animals or objects, such as "gentong" or "gajah." Connotatively, these words carry a negative connotation because they are associated with body size that is not ideal according to social standards. Thus, connotation becomes the primary means of constructing insults without having to directly mention physical conditions.

Affective meaning relates to the speaker's emotional attitude toward the object being discussed. This aligns with Leech's (1981: 14) argument that affective meaning relates to conveying information about the speaker's feelings and attitudes, reflected through their choice of language. Based on the data analysis, the affective meaning in body-shaming utterances in the comments section is evident through word choice that clearly demonstrates the speaker's emotional attitude toward the target. The utterances found don't simply mention physical conditions, but also contain expressions of disgust, disdain, contempt, and condescension. This suggests that the primary focus of the utterances isn't just on the physical object being commented on, but on the speaker's negative attitude, which they want to openly emphasize.

According to Leech (1981: 16), reflective meaning arises because a word has more than one conceptual meaning. Reflective meaning arises

because the word used has more than one potential interpretation in the reader's mind. When the word is directed at the target, the other, negative connotation becomes more dominant and "rebounds" toward the victim's physical assessment. As a result, the utterance becomes not only a form of comparison but also a means of affirming a negative image through the association of multiple meanings.

Collocative meaning, on the other hand, relates to the tendency of certain words to appear together in language habits. This aligns with what Chaer (in Rahman et al., 2024: 18) stated that collocative meaning is a meaning that arises because a word tends to be used side by side or paired with certain words in language usage. In the data obtained, there are body-shaming utterances that utilize established collocations in society. When these collocations are transferred to the human body, the derogatory meaning is immediately understood without further explanation. This connection of meanings occurs automatically because it has become a common habit in language use by society.

Overall, the research results indicate that body-shaming utterances in the comments section not only contain basic meanings, but are more often constructed through associative meanings. Thus, the phenomenon of body-shaming on social media can be understood as a form of language use laden with additional meanings, not simply conveying information about physical conditions. These utterances demonstrate how language is used to construct negative judgments through associations of meanings that have become embedded in people's language habits.

Based on the findings, the body-shaming utterances in the comments section of @lisamarianaaa's Instagram account are relevant to Indonesian language learning, particularly in relation to Phase D learning outcomes (CP) in the reading element. In the first CP, this relevance is evident in the data's connection to material on meaning in semantic studies, such as connotative, affective, reflective, and collocative meanings. The various utterances found demonstrate the use of

language containing implied meanings and specific emotional values, thus serving as concrete examples in Indonesian language learning..

CONCLUSION

Based on the research results and discussions outlined previously, it is concluded that *body shaming* utterances in the comments section of the @lisamariana account on Instagram social media have a variety of lingual forms and associative meanings that play a role in building the effect of humiliation. The results of this study also show that *body shaming* utterances are relevant to Indonesian language learning, especially in the learning outcomes of Phase D elements of reading and speaking. These utterances can be used as contextual teaching materials to train students in understanding explicit and implicit meanings, interpreting information, and fostering empathy and awareness in language. Thus, this research not only contributes to linguistic studies but also has practical benefits in supporting Indonesian language learning in schools.

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