



Acronymizing eponyms: Where socio-onomastic creativity outpacing morphological theory in naming male genitalia

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Received: January 21, 2026

Revised: April 4, 2026

Accepted: April 5, 2026

KEYWORDS

Acronym
Eponym
Male Genitalia
Morphological
Process
Socio-Onomastics

ABSTRACT

This study investigates how Indonesian Instagram users craft male genitalia eponyms through acronymization, arguing that this practice is governed not by morphological rules but by socio-onomastic constraints. Analysis of 62 distinct names which were collected via phenomenological netnography and coded against Kridalaksana's sixteen acronym categories reveals that only four categories are attested, with 83.8% of items clustering in the "difficult to formulate" category. This concentration is not a classificatory residue but the central site of linguistic creativity, where users bypass structural regularity in favor of phonological naturalness and cultural salience. Rather than applying morphological rules to construct names, users select a culturally recognizable personal name as a target and retroactively manipulate source phrases to fit that onomastic template which is a process termed here as retrofitted eponymic acronymization. This bidirectional, name-driven process produces irregular acronyms that simultaneously function as taboo euphemisms, in-group solidarity markers, and performances of masculine identity in digital vernacular. These findings expose a fundamental inadequacy in Kridalaksana's framework, which presupposes linear rule-governed morphology and proves insufficient for digital taboo onomastics. The study calls for a hybrid typological model that integrates structural categories with a socio-onomastic creativity index accounting for taboo, identity, and digital context.

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Introduction

The acronymizing eponym of the male genitalia in Indonesian displays a high degree of lexical creativity (Pos et al., 2023), particularly through the practice of turning eponyms into humorous, taboo, or euphemistic designations in digital sources (Manz & McCullough, 2025). This practice is not merely a linguistic game, but also reflects how Indonesian users negotiate sexual taboo, social intimacy (Zaytseva & Katyshev, 2023), and masculine identities in relatively informal communicative spaces (Nurazizah et al., 2024; Tur et al., 2025). Yet despite its cultural and linguistic richness, this phenomenon remains theoretically underexplored, sitting at the intersection of morphological theory, onomastics, and digital discourse.

Two bodies of scholarship are relevant here, though neither alone suffices. First, studies on abbreviation and acronyms in Indonesian are already well established, particularly through Kridalaksana's categorization of acronym-formation patterns (Deliani et al., 2023) and subsequent research on the forms, meanings, and functions of acronyms across various discourse domains (Saputra & Tur, 2025). Likewise, research on sexual lexis, euphemism, and taboo words referring to genital organs in Indonesian and in

translation has mapped strategies of lexical softening, obfuscation, and intensification of offensive force (Calista & Tur, 2025). However, these two lines of inquiry have developed in isolation: acronym studies rarely engage with taboo semantics, and euphemism studies rarely interrogate the morphological mechanics of creative naming. Neither has examined the specific practice of acronymizing eponyms as a generative strategy for naming male genitalia.

Second, research on community slang and the language of marginalized groups such as gay language, *waria*, and transgender communities demonstrates that creative naming is a critical means of building solidarity (Pilcher et al., 2024; Biagi & Suryadajana, 2025), disguising referents, and simultaneously outwitting outsiders (Tur et al., 2024; Tur & Sabrina, 2024). Sexual terms in these communities are formed through phonological play, code-mixing, and lexical borrowing. Yet these studies have not systematically examined acronym-formation patterns that use eponyms as a creative basis for genital naming (Stehnička et al., 2025), leaving the structural and socio-onomastic logic of this practice theoretically unaccounted for.

The convergence of these gaps points to a specific and significant problem that is no existing study explicitly connects acronym morphology with the socio-onomastics of eponym-based naming of the male genitalia (Rimawati et al., 2023). This absence is consequential. Using familiar personal names such as public figures, friends, or names perceived as humorous (Tur et al., 2023; Fiadotava, & Chłopicki, 2025) as the morphological base for acronyms referring to the penis is not a trivial wordplay. It constitutes a distinctive linguistic strategy that reveals how eponyms, the masculine body, humor, and symbolic power intersect in contemporary Indonesian digital culture. The research gap of this article lies precisely in the absence of studies that (1) specifically describe the morphological patterns of eponym acronymization used to name the male genitalia in Indonesian, and (2) analytically link these patterns to their socio-onomastic functions and the construction of masculine identities in digital discourse.

This article addresses this gap by examining the practice of acronymizing eponyms as a form of linguistic creativity among Indonesian users in naming the male genitalia. It draws on Kridalaksana's categorization of acronym morphology combined with socio-onomastic perspectives (Ainiala & Östman, 2017; Putri & Tur, 2024; Sabrina & Tur, 2025). The analysis pursues two objectives: (1) mapping the types and patterns of eponym acronymization that appear in the data, and (2) elaborating either socio-onomastic constraint or morphological freedom as strategies for managing taboo, humor, and the negotiation of masculine identity amid cultural change and the mediatization of language in the digital age. In doing so, the study contributes a novel analytical framework that is retrofitted eponymic acronymization through cultural context to scholarship on Indonesian morphology, while enriching broader debates on language, sexuality (Barrett & Hall, 2024), and digital popular culture.

Eponym within Socio-Onomastics

In linguistic and onomastic studies, an eponym refers to a proper name, usually a person's name, sometimes a place or fictional character, that is used to designate another entity, such as a concept, object, institution, or product (Ainiala, & Östman, 2017; Völkel, 2023). Eponymy signals the relationship in which a given term or new name "originates from" an existing name and thus carries the social, historical, or ideological associations attached to that name (Tur et al., 2023c; Li et al., 2024).

Within socio-onomastics, the extension of names into other domains, for instance to label body parts, slogans, or slang expressions, is viewed as a signifying practice rich in meanings of identity, power, and social intimacy (Putri & Tur, 2024; Sabrina & Tur, 2025). When existing names are used as a designation for the genitalia, it functions not only as a label but also as a device for joking, mocking, or building in-group solidarity, depending on who is named and how that name is selected (Tur et al., 2023a).

Acronym theory as an abbreviation process

Morphologically, an acronym is understood as one type of abbreviation, namely a process of shortening a string of words by taking letters, syllables, or other segments of its constituent elements to form a new lexeme that is pronounced as a word (Kovalchuk, 2022; Tur et al., 2023b). Unlike initialisms, which tend to be spelled out letter by letter, acronyms are pronounced as ordinary words (Mao, 2024) and follow the phonotactic rules of the language in question, such as the tendency towards two or three syllables (Mahayana et al., 2025).

In Indonesian morphological studies, acronyms are positioned as a productive word-formation process across a wide range of domains, from official terminology to slang, and thus represent a key locus of lexical creativity (Kragh, 2023; Sabrina & Tur, 2023). In slang and taboo registers, acronyms are often exploited to obscure sensitive meanings (Wibowo et al., 2024; Crespo-Fernández, 2025), for example sexual terms, while maintaining intelligibility among users who share the relevant contextual knowledge.

Acronymization patterns by Kridalaksana

Kridalaksana formulates a number of Indonesian acronymization patterns that explain how parts of a string of words are selected and combined to produce acronyms that are phonologically and morphologically acceptable (Deliani et al., 2023). In *Pembentukan kata dalam bahasa Indonesia*, he

identifies sixteen acronymization patterns which are essentially variations on retaining initial syllables, initial letters, combinations of syllables and letters, and positional variations (initial, medial, final) of the source-phrase elements.

The acronymization patterns proposed by Kridalaksana (Deliani et al., 2023) are (1) Retention of the first syllable from each component, (2) Retention of the first syllable of the first component and full retention of the second component, (3) Retention of the final syllable from each component, (4) Retention of the first syllable of the first and second components along with the first letter of the following component, (5) Retention of the first syllable of each component with omission of the conjunction, (6) Retention of the first letter from each component, (7) Retention of the first letter from each phrase component and retention of the first two letters of the final component, (8) Retention of the first two letters from each component, (9) Retention of the first three letters from each component, (10) Retention of the first two letters of the first component and the first three letters of the second component, accompanied by conjunction omission, (11) Retention of the first two letters of the first and third components and retention of the first three letters of the second component, (12) Retention of the first three letters of the first and third components and retention of the first letter of the second component, (13) Retention of the first three letters of each component accompanied by conjunction omission, (14) Retention of the first two letters of the first component and the first three letters of the second component, (15) Retention of the first four letters of each component accompanied by conjunction omission, and (16) Retention of various letters and syllables that are difficult to formulate into a rule.

Method

This study adopted a qualitative descriptive design (Tufford & Newman, 2010) grounded in Husserlian phenomenology (Thomas & Sohn, 2023; Bouzioti, 2023) to explore how Indonesian Instagram users articulate and experience eponyms for the male genitalia. In phenomenological research, the primary concern is the lived experience of participants rather than the objective verification of their statements (Az-Zahra et al., 2025). The phenomena are examined as they appear to consciousness, with the aim of describing their essential structures from the first-person perspective (Neubauer et al., 2019; Tavakol & Sandars, 2025; Bouzioti, 2023). This phenomenological orientation is complemented by a netnographic strategy, which utilizes naturally occurring social media interactions as qualitative data to understand cultural practices in digital environments (Addeo et al., 2019; Sadat et al., 2025). The integration of socio-onomastic analysis within this phenomenological framework allows examination of how social positioning and identity categories shape naming practices (Sampietro, 2024), while the morphological process focus reveals the structural mechanisms through which these names achieve their referential force (Rausová, 2017; Hysenaj, 2019). Together, these three layers—phenomenological, netnographic, and socio-onomastic—are not merely additive but mutually enabling: phenomenology provides the interpretive orientation toward participant meaning-making, netnography supplies the naturalistic data context, and socio-onomastic analysis anchors the interpretation in the structural and cultural dimensions of naming.

Data Source and Selection

Data were collected from the comments section of a single public Instagram account whose content explicitly invited other users to share alternative names for the male genitalia. Instagram has been widely employed in qualitative and phenomenological communication research as a site where users disclose experiences, identities, and meanings in a relatively spontaneous manner for studying lived experience in mediated contexts (Nazri & Latiff, 2019; Mediani et al., 2025; Tavakol & Sandars, 2025). Consistent with netnographic principles, the researcher did not intervene in or manipulate the interaction, but observed and documented an already-existing comment thread as a naturally occurring conversation (Addeo et al., 2019; Palupi, 2024; Sadat et al., 2025).

Data selection followed explicit inclusion criteria to ensure analytical focus and consistency. A comment was included if it contained at least one lexical item that (1) explicitly referred to the male genitalia, (2) took the form of a personal name or name-like string functioning as an eponym, and (3) was accompanied by or clearly implied an acronymic expansion within the same comment thread. Comments that contained only descriptive terms, metaphors without an onomastic dimension, or unrelated content were excluded. Each distinct lexical item meeting these criteria was treated as an independent data unit, yielding a final dataset of 62 items. This purposive selection strategy ensured that only items directly relevant to the morphological and socio-onomastic research questions were subjected to analysis, thereby enhancing the internal coherence of the dataset (Tufford & Newman, 2010).

Analytical Procedures

Data analysis proceeded in three sequential yet iteratively revisited stages, combining phenomenological reduction with systematic textual coding that integrated both socio-onomastic variables and morphological classification (Bouzioti, 2023).

In the first stage, all comments were repeatedly read to gain an overall sense of the dataset. During this stage, the researcher engaged in bracketing (*epoché*)—the deliberate suspension of prior assumptions about taboo language, correctness of usage, and moral evaluations—in order to attend as closely as possible to how the names appeared in the commenters' own terms (Neubauer et al., 2019; Tavakol & Sandars, 2025; Thomas & Sohn, 2023). This initial immersion also allowed the researcher to identify recurring naming patterns and culturally salient onomastic choices before any formal coding began.

In the second stage, each lexical item underwent dual coding. Morphological coding identified each item's structural formation process by analyzing its constituent morphemes, phonological transformations, and degree of semantic transparency, classified against Kridalaksana's sixteen acronymization categories (Deliani et al., 2023). Each item was first matched against each of the sixteen categories in sequence; items that could not be assigned to categories 1–15 was coded under category 16—retention of various letters and syllables difficult to formulate into a rule. Socio-onomastic coding then captured contextual variables including implied user demographics, the cultural salience of the name selected, and communicative function—whether humorous, euphemistic, solidarity-marking, or identity-performing—as these could be inferred from the immediate discursive context (Rausová, 2017; Hysenaj, 2019). Both coding passes were conducted independently and then cross-checked to ensure consistency of categorization across the full dataset.

In the third stage, this analytic process followed phenomenological guidelines for iteratively moving between parts and whole to identify meaning units and articulate thematic structures that capture the essence of participants' lived experience — in this case, the experience of naming and talking about the male genitalia in a public yet culturally constrained online space (Neubauer et al., 2019; Tavakol & Sandars, 2025; Sadat et al., 2025). Patterns emerging from the morphological distribution were interpreted against the socio-onomastic codes to explain why certain acronymization strategies predominate and what social work those strategies perform.

Validity and Reliability

To ensure the credibility and transparency of the analysis, several measures were employed. First, bracketing and reflexive notes were maintained throughout the data collection and analysis phases to minimize the influence of the researcher's preconceptions and to ensure that the resulting description remained faithful to how the names are given and taken up by participants in their own communicative practice (Tufford & Newman, 2010; Thomas & Sohn, 2023). Second, the dual coding procedure was subjected to inter-rater verification: a second coder independently classified a randomly selected 20% subsample of the dataset using the same Kridalaksana categories, and discrepancies were resolved through discussion until consensus was reached, yielding a final agreement rate that confirms coding reliability. Third, thick description of representative data items is provided in the findings section, allowing readers to evaluate the interpretive logic and assess the transferability of the analytical categories to comparable datasets (Neubauer et al., 2019). In line with phenomenology's emphasis on participants' own meaning-making, no further validation was sought from commenters regarding whether the terms were personally used or merely known; what is methodologically central is that commenters present these names as part of their experiential linguistic repertoire, accepted "as given" within the limits of their own experiential horizon (Neubauer et al., 2019; Bouzioti, 2023).

Results and Discussion

Result

The analysis of eponym-based names for the male genitalia, as produced by Indonesian social media users, demonstrates a strikingly uneven distribution across Kridalaksana's categorization of acronyms can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Morphological Category by Kridalaksana

No	Kridalaksana's Categorization	Amount (%)
1	Retention of the first syllable of each component	6 (9.67%)
2	Retention of the final syllable of each component	3 (4.8%)
3	Retention of the first two letters of the first component and the first three letters of the second component	2 (3.2%)
4	Retention of various letters and syllables that are difficult to formulate into a rule	52 (83.8%)

Out of sixteen structural patterns identified in his classification of Indonesian acronyms, only four were attested in the present dataset, with 52 out of 62 forms (83.8%) clustered in the category “retention of various letters and syllables that are difficult to formulate into a rule.” The remaining three categories appear only marginally, with, for example, 9.67% of items formed through the retention of the first syllable of each component, 4.8% through retention of final syllables, and only 3.2% distributed across more regular patterns such as keeping the first syllable of the first component plus the full second component, or systematically retaining the first two or three letters of each component. This profile suggests that social media users overwhelmingly favor structurally “irregular” or opaque clipping strategies when constructing genital-related eponymic acronyms, pushing the limits of codified Indonesian acronym-formation patterns in ways also observed in contemporary internet slang and youth registers more broadly (Djenar & Ewing, 2015).

This concentration in the “difficult to formulate” category invites a critical reconsideration of how creativity and normativity interact in present-day Indonesian acronym practices, especially when the target domain is taboo and heavily socio-indexical (Gede et al., 2024). Rather than simply violating morphological rules, these users appear to prioritize phonological salience, humorous effect (Maraev et al., 2021; Tur et al., 2023), and alignment with pre-existing eponymic person names in the social imagination over structural regularity, echoing observations that slang and internet-based formations often subordinate formal transparency to expressivity and in-group recognizability (Rausová, 2017; Hysenaj, 2019). In the case of genital eponyms, acronym formation frequently bends toward making the resulting string “look and sound like” a familiar personal name while retrospectively fitting a humorous or sexually explicit expansion to it, blurring the boundary between acronym and folk etymology (Wharton, 2021). This raises an important question for Indonesian morpho-semantics: are users becoming more “free” and less constrained by traditional acronymic templates, or does the pressure to match socially salient eponymic forms (Agus, Mulyono, Gibran, etc.) force acronymization into irregular patterns that existing typologies, including Kridalaksana’s, no longer adequately capture in the realm of digital taboo onomastics?

Discussion

Retaining the First Syllable of Each Component

The six eponymic forms under this pattern exemplify what, in Kridalaksana’s categorization, can be described as syllabic acronymization by retaining the first syllable of each component, a strategy that exploits Indonesian’s preference for open syllables and name-like phonotactics (Mendivil-Giró, 2021; Ubaidillah, 2022). Yet even within this relatively regular morphological pattern, the socio-onomastic logic of retrofitted eponymic acronymization is already operative: the syllabic output is not the incidental result of rule application but the deliberate approximation of a culturally recognizable personal name onto which a taboo expansion is then semantically anchored (Abdel-Raheem & Goubaa, 2025).

Alan (Alus Lancip) 🇮🇩

In Alan, the base descriptive phrase *alus lancip* ‘smooth and pointed’ is compressed by taking the first syllable of each adjective (*a-* from *alus*, *lan-* from *lancip*). Alan yields a bisyllabic form that is homophonous with a common masculine given name. Theoretically, what appears on the surface as straightforward syllabic acronymization is in fact a retroactive process: the onomastic target — a believable male name — constrains which source phrase can be selected and which syllabic segments are worth retaining. The phonological output is not the product of mechanical clipping but of name-driven selection, where morphological regularity is a coincidence rather than a goal.

Joko (Joran Kokoh)

A similar dynamic governs Joko, derived from *joran kokoh* ‘sturdy rod’, where the initial syllables *jo-* and *ko-* are combined into a highly frequent Javanese male name. Here the source lexemes metaphorically frame the penis as a fishing rod, while the output naturalizes that metaphor into an ordinary anthroponym. The resulting item functions simultaneously as an acronymic reduction and an eponymic label. Significantly, the choice of *joran kokoh* as the source phrase is itself motivated by the onomastic endpoint: the phrase is selected because its syllabic onsets yield *Joko*, not because it is the most transparent or culturally neutral descriptor available. This retroactive phrase selection is the defining mechanism of retrofitted eponymic acronymization.

Penyu (Peli Nyusahne)

Penyu follows the same structural template, clipping *peli* (a Javanese vulgar term for the penis) and *nyusahne* ‘causing trouble’ into *pe-nyu*, a sequence that coincides with the animal name *penyu* ‘sea turtle’.

The form thus layers a zoological metaphor onto a complaint about the organ's troublesome presence. From a socio-onomastic perspective, the animal name functions as a secondary eponym: it is not a personal name, but it carries culturally shared connotations that are slow, ancient, hard-shelled that add an additional layer of humorous commentary on the referent. The retrofitting here is doubly operative, first morphologically and then culturally.

Kuli Jawa (Kuat Lincih Jagoan Wanita)

Kuli Jawa condenses *kuat lincih jagoan wanita* 'strong, agile, a women's champion' into a four-syllable string by taking the initial syllables *ku-, li-, ja-, wa-*, then capitalizing it orthographically to foreground its status as an acronym. The output simultaneously evokes the existing lexeme *kuli Jawa* 'Javanese laborer', adding a layer of social stereotyping to the sexual bravado. This is analytically significant: the eponym activates a class-coded social identity, suggesting that genital naming in this register is not merely about physical description but about indexing masculine social archetypes. The retrofitted acronym becomes a vehicle for performing regional and class-inflected masculinity (Nurazizah et al., 2024; Tur et al., 2025).

Gatuso (Gagah Tusuk Sodok)

Gatuso reduces *gagah tusuk sodok* 'mighty, pierce, thrust' into *ga-tu-so*, producing a form reminiscent of an Italian surname (Gattuso, a strong-character AC Milan footballer), which enhances its masculine, globalized persona while preserving the violent penetration semantics from the source phrase. This case illustrates how retrofitted eponymic acronymization can operate transculturally: the onomastic target is not drawn from the Indonesian personal name pool but from globalized popular culture, suggesting that socio-onomastic capital in digital contexts extends beyond local name repertoires to encompass transnational masculine icons (Maraev et al., 2021; Tur et al., 2023).

Gundala (Gundul, Dawa, Lama)

Gundala compresses *gundul, dawa, lama* 'bald, long, enduring' through initial syllables *gun-, da-, la-*, yielding the name of a well-known Indonesian superhero. This aligns the penis metaphorically with a national masculine icon and exploits intertextuality from popular culture. The retrofitting here recruits not personal familiarity but narrative prestige: Gundala as an onomastic template lends the referent heroic connotations that purely descriptive language could not achieve. This demonstrates that the socio-onomastic pull in retrofitted acronymization is not limited to proper names of real individuals but extends to fictional and mythological figures whose cultural resonance makes them effective eponymic vessels.

Retaining the Final Syllable of Each Component

The three eponymic forms — Dewo Rengkong, Dewo Ringwo, and Dewo Rengku — illustrate a reverse-syllable acronymization strategy that retains the final syllable of each lexical component and recombines them into a name-like pattern. Within the framework of retrofitted eponymic acronymization, this reverse strategy is theoretically revealing: it demonstrates that the directional orientation of clipping — whether from the front or the back of each component — is subordinated to the onomastic objective of producing a string that approximates a plausible, culturally resonant personal name or title.

Dewo Rengkong (Gede Dowo Ireng Bengkong)

In Dewo Rengkong, the source phrase *gede dowo ireng bengkong* 'big, long, black, and bent' is decomposed into its constituent lexemes, and the terminal syllables are extracted: *ge-de, do-wo, i-reng, beng-kong*, yielding the sequence *de-wo-reng-kong*, which is then orthographically split into two prosodic words to mimic a formal title or noble epithet. This operation inverts the more common first-syllable retention pattern and its productivity in this dataset suggests that speakers deliberately exploit backward clipping to create phonologically dense, semantically compact forms that still sound like plausible personal names. Crucially, the formal, aristocratic register of the output, *Dewo* evoking Javanese nobility, is not an accidental by-product of the morphological process but its socio-onomastic objective. The source phrase is selected precisely because its final syllables can be recombined into a name that carries prestige and cultural gravity, illustrating how retrofitted acronymization operates bidirectionally: the desired onomastic endpoint shapes the source phrase selection as much as the morphological process shapes the output. Such irregular acronymic behavior aligns with recent findings that digital vernacular in Indonesian increasingly subverts canonical morphological rules in favor of phonological iconicity and humorous opacity (Tur et al., 2023; Sitaresmi et al., 2025).

Dewo Ringwo (Gede Dowo Miring Ngiwo) 🔥 🔥 🔥
Dewo Rengku (Gede Dowo Ireng Kaku)

The variation between Ringwo and Rengku further reveals how this reverse-syllable template is flexibly adapted to different semantic specifications while maintaining the same prosodic skeleton. Dewo Ringwo derives from *gede dowo miring ngiwo* 'big, long, tilting to the left', extracting final syllables *ge-de, do-wo, mi-ring, ngi-wo*. The output is orthographically downgraded to lowercase and written as two words, signaling a more colloquial, less ceremonial register than Dewo Rengkong. Likewise, Dewo Rengku compresses *ge-de do-wo i-reng ka-ku* 'big, long, black, and rigid' into *de-wo-reng-ku*. The systematic variation across this three-item paradigm that is *Rengkong, Ringwo, Rengku* demonstrates that retrofitted acronymization is not an isolated creative act but a generative template: once an onomastic mold (*Dewo* + descriptive epithet) is established, it can be productively instantiated with different source phrases, confirming that irregular acronymization generates its own productive morphological economy within the logic of eponymic naming. This systematic extraction demonstrates that users apply a consistent algorithmic rule that is nonetheless irregular relative to standard Indonesian acronym formation, which typically privileges initial segments for transparency (Deliani et al., 2023).

Retaining the First Two Letters of the First Component and the First Three Letters of the Second Component

Tegar, Kobra, and Gibran instantiate a highly regular clipping pattern that can be described, following Kridalaksana's typology, as retention of the first two letters of the first component and the first three letters of the second component. However, even here, analytical attention to the retrofitting dynamic reveals that morphological regularity is not the primary driver: these forms are regular because the onomastic targets they approximate happen to be achievable through regular clipping, not because the users are applying Kridalaksana's rule consciously.

Tegar (Tegak Garing) 🗣️

In Tegar, the base descriptive phrase *tegak garing* 'erect and lean/dry' is segmented into two lexical components whose onsets are *te-* and *gar-*. The resulting blend Tegar arises from concatenating the first two letters of the first adjective (*te-* from *tegak*) with the first three letters of the second (*gar-* from *garing*), yielding a bisyllabic form that coincides with a common Indonesian male name meaning 'steadfast'. The semantic resonance between the name's conventional meaning like steadfastness, reliability and the physical attribute encoded in the source phrase is not incidental. It suggests that the onomastic target is chosen partly for its semantic congruence with the taboo expansion, adding a layer of ironic commentary: the name that conventionally signals reliability is retrofitted to describe a body part that is humorously characterized as dry and lean. This semantic play is a hallmark of retrofitted eponymic acronymization.

*Kobra (Kont*l Brangasan)*

Kobra is formed from the vulgar base *kont*l brangasan* 'penis + ferocious/violent' by retaining *ko-* from *kont*l* and *bra-* from *brangasan*, producing Kobra, which is homophonous with the Indonesian spelling of cobra. This case is theoretically significant because the onomastic target is not a personal name but an animal eponym, yet the retrofitting logic is identical: the source phrase is selected because its initial segments yield a culturally resonant, phonologically striking output. The cobra's connotations that is dangerous, erect, hood-spread function as a second layer of metaphorical description that enriches the taboo meaning without requiring explicit articulation. Retrofitted eponymic acronymization thus achieves what direct description cannot: layered, deniable, culturally activated meaning.

Gibran: Gigih dan Brani 🗣️

In Gibran, the source phrase *gigih dan brani* 'persistent and brave' is reduced by taking *gi-* from *gigih* and *bran-* from *brani*, yielding Gibran, a recognizable male given name in contemporary Indonesian society with strong current sociopolitical salience. The choice of this particular onomastic target is far from arbitrary. By retrofitting a politically prominent name onto a genital descriptor, the user simultaneously performs linguistic creativity and sociopolitical commentary, using the eponym as a vehicle for humor that operates on multiple registers at once. This confirms Hysenaj's (2019) observation that names are chosen for their social indexicality first and structural regularity second (Neupane, 2024): the regularity of the clipping pattern in Gibran is a coincidence of the onomastic target, not its cause.

Retaining Random Letters and/or Syllables That Are Difficult to Systematize

The forms discussed in this section represent the analytical core of the dataset and the primary locus of retrofitted eponymic acronymization. With 83.8% of all attested items clustering here, this category is not a residual or catch-all classification but the space where the tension between morphological process and socio-onomastic constraint is most transparently resolved in favor of the latter. Each form in this category demonstrates that when no regular clipping rule can yield the desired onomastic output, users

abandon structural regularity entirely and deploy opportunistic, fragment-by-fragment extraction guided exclusively by the phonological requirements of the target name.

Burhan (Burung Hantu) 🦉🦉

In *Burhan*, the source *burung hantu* 'owl' is decomposed into *bu-rung* and *han-tu*. Rather than applying a consistent rule, for instance, first syllable of each word, which would yield *bu-han*, the formation extracts *bur-* from *burung* and *han-* from *hantu*, then merges them into *Burhan*, a common male name. The irregularity of dropping the final *-ung* and *-tu* is not random but phonologically motivated. *Burhan* maintains a CVC-CVC template that conforms to Indonesian anthroponymic preferences (Mendivil-Giró, 2021; Ubaidillah, 2022). This case most transparently illustrates the retrofitting mechanism: the onomastic target *Burhan* is selected first, and the source phrase *burung hantu* is then reverse-engineered to justify the acronym. The owl's nocturnal, predatory connotations add a further layer of cultural meaning, but the morphological irregularity exists solely to serve the name's phonological requirements.

Marsel (Meraba Sela-Sela)
Slamet (Salah Metu marai Mumet) 🦉🦉👤

Marsel and *Slamet* further demonstrate how prefixal deletion and syllable fusion create eponymic outputs that are only partially recoverable from their source phrases and that this opacity is a feature, not a flaw, of retrofitted acronymization. *Marsel* derives from *meraba sela-sela* 'groping the crotch', yet it discards the active-verb prefix *me-* entirely, keeping only *ra-* from *meraba* and *sel* from *sela-sela*, then smoothing the cluster to *mar-sel* to match the existing name *Marsel*. The prefix deletion is morphologically irregular by any standard account, yet socio-onomastically necessary: retaining *me-* would yield *Mesel* or *Mesel*, which fails to approximate a credible personal name. The irregularity is therefore a direct consequence of the onomastic constraint overriding morphological transparency (Rausová, 2017; Hysenaj, 2019).

Similarly, *Slamet* condenses *salah metu marai mumet* 'wrongly exiting causing problem' by extracting *sla-* from *salah*, *m-* from *metu*, and *-et* from *mumet*, then fusing them into *Sla-met*, a widely recognized Javanese given name meaning 'safe'. The ironic gap between the name's conventional meaning referring to safety, blessing and the source phrase's meaning referring to malfunction and frustration is precisely the humorous payload of the retrofitting operation. The name is chosen not despite this semantic incongruity but because of it: the greater the gap between what the name conventionally signifies and what its taboo expansion reveals, the more effective the humor and the stronger the in-group solidarity marker it generates (Maraev et al., 2021; Tur et al., 2023; Sinkeviciute, 2019).

Gatot Jago (Gede Atos Berotot Jarang Kanggo)
Dirjo (Dirogoh langsung kerjo)
Rucika (Runcing Panjang dan Perkasa)
Dodi (Dowo lan Gedi)
Mulyono (Mulai loyo gekno)
Amir (Agak Miring)

These six forms extend the opportunistic clipping principle to multi-word bases and collectively demonstrate the productive range of retrofitted eponymic acronymization as a naming strategy. Each deploys a unique extraction formula, yet all share the same underlying logic. Morphological decisions are made fragment by fragment, guided not by a consistent rule but by the phonological requirements of the target name. *Gatot Jago* takes the first letters or syllables of four descriptors — *Gede*, *Atos*, *Berotot*, *Jarang Kanggo* — but irregularly retains *gatot* as a fused chunk and adds *jago* as a separate epithet, creating a compound eponym that blends acronym and title. The resulting form indexes a specific social archetype such as the virile, boastful Javanese man demonstrating how retrofitted acronymization can activate class, gender, (Kibbey, 2024) and regional identity simultaneously through a single onomastic choice (Nurazizah et al., 2024; Tur et al., 2025).

Dirjo extracts *dir-* from *dirogoh* and the final syllable of *kerjo* 'work', producing *dirjo*, a name that phonologizes the verb phrase into a personal name while implying 'grasped and worked on'. *Rucika* retains *ru-* from *runcing* 'pointed', *ci-* from *panjang* through phonetic proxy, and *-ka* from *perkasa* 'mighty', then smooths the cluster to *ru-ci-ka*, matching an existing brand name for masculine reference. *Dodi* simply concatenates the first syllables of *dowo* 'long' and *gedi* 'big' (*do-di*), while *Mulyono* fuses *mu-* from *mulai* 'starts', *-yo* from *loyo* 'weak', and the emphatic suffix *-no* from *gekno* to create a name that indexes premature flaccidity such as a humorous subversion of the conventionally prestigious Javanese name *Mulyono*, which typically connotes prosperity and dignity. Finally, *Amir* takes *a-* from *agak* 'somewhat' and *mir-* from *miring* 'tilted', producing a name that means 'slightly crooked'. In each case, the semantic content

of the source phrase is carefully calibrated to the cultural associations of the target name: the more culturally loaded the name, the richer the humorous or critical commentary that the retrofitting operation can generate.

Across these variants, the shared principle is selective retention guided by name-likeness rather than mechanical rule-following, confirming that irregularity is itself a systematic feature of eponymic acronymization in Indonesian digital discourse (Rausová, 2017; Sitaresmi et al., 2025). Taken together, these forms constitute compelling evidence that retrofitted eponymic acronymization operates as a coherent, if theoretically uncharted, morphological strategy in Indonesian digital vernacular, one that demands analytical frameworks beyond what Kridalaksana's rule-based typology can accommodate.

Socio-Onomastic Constraint or Morphological Freedom? Toward a Retrofitted Eponymic Acronymization

The findings reveal that Indonesian social media users are far from morphologically "free" when crafting genitalia eponyms (Sun et al., 2021). Rather, they operate under a tight socio-onomastic constraint imposed by the pool of culturally salient names such as Dodi, Mulyono, Gibran, Slamet, and others. The overwhelming concentration of forms in Kridalaksana's "difficult to formulate" category (83.8%) is not a distributional accident but the empirical signature of a naming process that is fundamentally bidirectional and name-driven rather than linear and rule-governed. This is the central theoretical contribution of the present study: the concept of retrofitted eponymic acronymization, defined as a process in which the onomastic target is selected prior to — and as the generative constraint on — the morphological manipulation of the source phrase.

This bidirectionality has profound implications for how acronymization is theorized in Indonesian morphology. Kridalaksana's sixteen categories presuppose a linear process: a source phrase is submitted to a morphological rule, and an acronym is the output. Retrofitted eponymic acronymization inverts this sequence. The users select a target name and then manipulate the source phrase until it yields the desired onomastic string, rather than applying a morphological change rule as proposed by Kridalaksana. Hysenaj's (2019) account of onomastic choice is borne out in the data, which posits that names are chosen for their social indexicality first and structural regularity second (Neupane, 2024). The pressure to align with eponymic social capital overrides adherence to regular morphological processes. Consequently, the irregularity observed is not random deviation (Beratha, 2023) but a systematic by-product of socio-onomastic pull, where the prestige, humor, or familiarity of names dictates how far acronymic rules can be bent.

The functional payoff of this irregularity is equally significant and goes beyond mere morphological deviance. Irregular acronymization, far from being a failure of morphological competence, generates phonological salience and humorous ambiguity that are essential for taboo words to function as euphemisms and in-group solidarity markers. Dropping entire syllables, retaining idiosyncratic letter clusters, and fusing components in ways that sound right rather than follow a transparent algorithm produce outputs that are opaque enough to bypass platform censorship yet recognizable enough to trigger shared cultural knowledge. Djenaar & Ewing's (2015) longitudinal work on language varieties used by youth demonstrates that youth registers thrive on playful deviance by subverting standard affixation, clipping, and blending rules to achieve expressive punch (Sinkeviciute, 2019). In the present dataset, this principle is elevated to a systematic strategy. The irregularity of Burhan (from *burung hantu*), Slamet (from *salah metu marai mumet*), and Marsel (from *meraba sela-sela*) is not noise but signal: it marks the speaker as linguistically savvy, demonstrates the creative labor of retrospective etymologizing, and signals the capacity to navigate taboo through humor. The resulting phonological patterns and rhythmic echoes create a mnemonic and affective grip that regular acronyms lack, turning each name into a mini-performance of wit and social positioning.

At the level of digital discourse, the dominance of the "difficult to formulate" pattern reveals that digital vernaculars operate with a fundamentally different morphological economy than bureaucratic or media Indonesian. Where institutional acronyms such as Kemdiktisaintek, Komdigi, Dinsos must be transparent and replicable, genital eponyms prioritize opacity and exclusivity. The more unsystematic the acronym, the stronger the in-group boundary it erects, because only those who already know the onomastic target can decode the retrofitted expansion. This exclusivity is not a communicative failure but a deliberate socio-pragmatic achievement. This aligns with Rausová's (2017) broader argument that socio-onomastic creativity flourishes precisely where morphological theory is weakest that is at the intersection of personal identity, taboo, humor, and language change. The 83.8% cluster is therefore not a residual category but the core locus of innovation, where users deploy opportunistic extraction retaining whatever phonological chunk allows the output to approximate the known name and semantic retrofitting forcing a taboo expansion onto that name. This dynamic is consistent with findings from recent studies of Indonesian internet slang, which report that users frequently break established acronym rules to achieve phonological

naturalness and humorous effect, especially in domains marked by sexual or vulgar semantics (Palupi, 2024).

Ultimately, these findings expose a fundamental inadequacy in Kridalaksana's framework for theorizing digital taboo onomastics. The framework, designed primarily for formal institutional acronyms, assumes a linear, rule-governed morphological process and cannot accommodate the bidirectional, name-driven logic of retrofitted eponymic acronymization. The "difficult to formulate" residue is not a failure of categorization but the empirical space where socio-onomastic creativity systematically outpaces morphological theory. In this space, the selection of which letters or syllables to retain is dictated not by structural consistency but by a set of onomastic questions: Does the output sound like a credible personal name? Does it enable a humorous, taboo-laden back-formation? Does it index the right register of masculinity, humor, or regional identity? Recent research on digital nickname formation and neologism in Indonesian social media corroborates that such pragmatic pressures systematically override morphological regularity (Palupi, 2024; Sitaresmi et al., 2025), confirming the need for a hybrid analytical model. Such a model would integrate Kridalaksana's structural categories with a socio-onomastic creativity index that measures deviation driven by taboo, identity, and digital context — an index that takes retrofitted eponymic acronymization not as an exception to be tolerated within existing typology but as a productive morphological strategy that demands its own theoretical category. The present findings therefore call for expanding acronym typology to include retrofitted eponymic blends, acknowledging that in the space of Instagram comments, names are not built from the ground up but carved out of the existing onomastic landscape to house new, taboo meanings.

Conclusion

This study reveals that Indonesian genitalia eponyms on social media are not haphazard artifacts but rigorously patterned outputs of a name-driven, taboo-inflected morphological system where socio-onomastic creativity systematically override formal regularity. Rather than freely applying morphological change, the users operate within tight constraints by selecting a culturally salient names and retroactively manipulate semantic content to fit that onomastic template. Consequently, this produces morphologically irregular forms concentrated in Kridalaksana's category because they prioritize social indexicality, phonological naturalness, humorous opacity, and in-group recognizability over structural transparency. The irregularity documented here is not morphological failure but a strategic resource. It is opaque morphological change and opportunistic letter/syllable retention generate euphemistic cover, group boundary maintenance, and linguistic performances of wit that institutional acronym models were fundamentally not designed to capture. The overwhelming concentration of irregular forms in the "difficult to formulate" category reveals that Kridalaksana's categories is inadequate for digital taboo onomastics, where the acronyms consistently override structural regularity. These findings underscore the need for a hybrid model that treats opacity, cultural salience, and naming practice as central to understanding how Indonesian strategically transform names into vehicles for taboo expression, masculinity performance, and in-group solidarity on social media.

Declarations

- Author contribution** : Ajar Pradika Ananta Tur was responsible for the entire research project. He wrote the draft, submit it to the journal, revise it, and resubmit the revised draft.
- Funding statement** : This research did not receive any funding.
- Conflict of interest** : Both authors declare that they have no competing interests.
- Ethics Approval** : Information on Ethics Approval and informed consent statements are required for all articles published in BAHASTRA since 2026.
- Additional information** : No additional information is available for this paper.

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