Deixis in Hate Speech in the 2024 Presidential Election Campaign on Social Media X: A Cyber Pragmatic Study

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to analyze the systematic use of deictic expressions in hate speech targeting presidential candidates on platform X during Indonesia's 2024 election campaign period. This research seeks to understand how linguistic mechanisms, particularly deixis, function as strategic tools for constructing power relationships, facilitating dehumanization, and undermining democratic discourse in digital political communication. The study employs a descriptive qualitative design using a cyber-pragmatic approach to analyze hate speech on social media platform X during Indonesia's 2024 presidential election campaign, with data collected through observation and screenshot documentation of linguistic phenomena containing deictic expressions, followed by analysis using note-taking techniques to identify hate speech components and their linguistic patterns. Based on the analysis of 45 hate speech incidents targeting Indonesian presidential candidates on social media platform X during the 2024 election campaign, the study reveals that Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka received the highest targeting (44.4%), followed by Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar (37.8%), with insults and profanity comprising the dominant category (34.8%) of hate speech. The deictic analysis demonstrates that social deixis shows the strongest correlation with ethnic attacks and stereotyping, while systematic dehumanizing language patterns vary distinctly across candidate pairs, reflecting deep political polarization facilitated through strategic linguistic positioning mechanisms. The systematic distribution of hate speech through deictic linguistic strategies during Indonesia's 2024 presidential election campaign, which disproportionately targeted certain candidates through social deixis-facilitated ethnic attacks and dehumanization, necessitates the immediate implementation of AI-powered pattern recognition systems, real-time monitoring protocols, and comprehensive digital literacy programs to protect democratic discourse integrity and safeguard future electoral processes.

Key Words: *deictic expressions, hate speech, Indonesia 2024 election*

ABSTRAK

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis penggunaan sistematis ekspresi deiksis dalam ujaran kebencian yang menargetkan kandidat presiden di platform X selama periode kampanye pemilu Indonesia 2024. Penelitian ini berupaya memahami bagaimana mekanisme linguistik, khususnya deiksis, berfungsi sebagai alat strategis untuk membangun hubungan

kekuasaan, memfasilitasi dehumanisasi, dan merusak wacana demokratis dalam komunikasi politik digital. Penelitian ini menggunakan desain kualitatif deskriptif dengan pendekatan cyber-pragmatik untuk menganalisis ujaran kebencian di media sosial platform X selama kampanye pemilu presiden Indonesia 2024, dengan data dikumpulkan melalui observasi dan dokumentasi tangkapan layar fenomena linguistik yang mengandung ekspresi deiksis, kemudian dianalisis menggunakan teknik pencatatan untuk mengidentifikasi komponen ujaran kebencian dan pola linguistiknya. Berdasarkan analisis 45 insiden ujaran kebencian yang menargetkan kandidat presiden Indonesia di media sosial platform X selama kampanye pemilu 2024, penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka menerima serangan tertinggi (44,4%), diikuti oleh Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar (37,8%), dengan hinaan dan kata-kata kasar menjadi kategori dominan (34,8%) dalam ujaran kebencian. Analisis deiksis menunjukkan bahwa deiksis sosial memiliki korelasi terkuat dengan serangan etnis dan stereotip, sementara pola bahasa dehumanisasi sistematis bervariasi secara berbeda di antara pasangan kandidat, mencerminkan polarisasi politik yang dalam yang difasilitasi melalui mekanisme positioning linguistik strategis. Distribusi sistematis ujaran kebencian melalui strategi linguistik deiksis selama kampanye pemilu presiden Indonesia 2024, yang secara tidak proporsional menargetkan kandidat tertentu melalui serangan etnis dan dehumanisasi yang difasilitasi deiksis sosial, mengharuskan implementasi segera sistem pengenalan pola berbasis AI, protokol pemantauan real-time, dan program literasi digital komprehensif untuk melindungi integritas wacana demokratis dan menjaga proses elektoral masa depan.

Kata Kunci: ekspresi deiksis, ujaran kebencian, pemilu Indonesia 2024

INTRODUCTION

Social media plays an important role as a highly active digital campaign arena. Polarization of society is clearly visible on social media during political events in Indonesia. This has led to the rise of numerous hashtags endorsing each candidate, the quick dissemination of information, the appearance of political influencers, hate speech, and hoaxes and misinformation.

In digital interactions on social media, it is inevitable that supporters of other candidates will be stigmatized and abusive language will be used. Negative labels such as 'kadrun', 'cebong', or 'kampret' are linguistic phenomena that have existed in previous presidential elections and have penetrated politics through social media (Fauzi, 2022). Personal attacks resulting from such labeling target particular identities and provoke SARA (ethnic, religious, racial, and intergroup) conflicts. These personal attacks result in more negative than positive content, and they spread through various methods, including coordinated mass attacks on specific accounts (doxing) and the use of controversial hashtags related to popular subjects (Karimi et al., 2022).

"Buzzers" are a particular group of people who spread offensive content on social media.. They use anonymous, or "fake," accounts to generate and spread unfavorable news (Bodrunova et al., 2021). Additionally, the characteristics of social media sites like X promote hate speech.. X's tweet feature, for instance, makes it easy for people to spread hate speech in real time, which leads to its rapid spread among each candidate's supporters during political contests and creates an unhealthy political atmosphere (Bajari et al., 2021).

In the modern world, communication can take place both in person and virtually, for example, via the internet. Speech can be communicated through a variety of online applications that other people (speech partners) can access. X is one of the applications used for non-face-to-face communication. A new theory called cyber pragmatics is needed to examine the application's context because it is accessed via mobile signals (Pratama, 2022).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Pragmatics

Yule (2014) states that pragmatics is a study in linguistics that investigates how a language is used to communicate and how to correlate between language and the context in which it is contained, and he argues that there are four scopes in pragmatics. (1) Pragmatics is a study of the intent of speech, (2) pragmatics is a study that focuses on contextual meaning, (3) pragmatics is a study of how to make more meaning conveyed from a speech that has been delivered, and (4) pragmatics is a study that focuses on the expression of the distance of the relationship between speakers and speech partners.

In line with this definition, Levinson (1983) states that pragmatics is a field of linguistics that studies the ability to use language to connect sentences with context appropriately. In line with this understanding, Leech (1993) argues that humans cannot understand the nature of a language if they do not understand the nature and meaning of pragmatics, namely how language is used in communication. Pragmatics as a linguistic science certainly studies the use of language by humans, which is bridged by context in accommodating and providing the background for the language used. Social and societal contexts are included in this context. Social context is the context that arises due to interactions between members of a particular speech community and culture, while societal context is the context created due to the positions of members of a society in the social situations that exist within a particular speech community and culture.

Pragmatics and Social Media

The development of information and communication technology has brought about significant changes to the way humans socialize. Social media, being one manifestation of this development, has changed the way people communicate. Pragmatics, the branch of linguistics that studies the meaning and context of speech, therefore faces new challenges and phenomena in digital speech. These challenges arise when speech occurs on social media.

Social media has created a new dimension in language use involving multimodal elements. (Scott, 2022) notes that pragmatics provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how language is used and interpreted in digital communication contexts,

where misunderstandings frequently arise from the absence of suprasegmental elements (Holtgraves, 2021).

According to Emde & Evert (2022), deixis is the study of the connection between language and the circumstances surrounding language production. The guidebook distinguishes between three primary types of deixis: temporal, spatial, and personal. This aligns with the theory presented by Perkins (1992) in his book titled "Deixis, Grammar, and Culture", which suggests that deixis can be understood as a form of ostensive definition, where the meaning of the term contains variable elements dependent on spatial coordinates centered on the speaker as the source (p.100).

Deixis is categorized into several forms, personal deixis, temporal deixis, discourse deixis, and social deixis. These categories have several purposes, to find adjectives that can modify nouns or perhaps adverbs that modify the verbal elements of a sentence or the entire sentence. These categories have the possibility of affixes on nouns or verbs.

Deixis Person

Derived from the English pronouns for persons. The English pronoun system is divided into singular and plural, two genders (male and female), and three points of view (first, second, and third person). 'I' is the first-person singular form, 'he/she' is the second-person singular form, and 'we' is the first-person plural form (Perkins, 1992)

Indonesian personal pronouns follow a structured system that distinguishes between singular and plural forms across three grammatical persons, reflecting the culture's emphasis on social hierarchy and respect (Minkhatunnakhriyah et al., 2021). In first person singular, speakers choose between "aku" for intimate, informal situations with close friends or family, and "saya" for formal, respectful contexts with strangers, elders, or professional settings, while the plural forms become more nuanced with "kami" excluding the listener from the group and "kita" creating an inclusive "we" that encompasses both speaker and listener.

Second person pronouns carry similar social implications, where "kamu" and "kau" serve informal situations between peers or when addressing someone younger, while "Anda" maintains formal respect and appropriate social distance, with both informal and formal versions remaining unchanged in plural usage. Third person pronouns complete

the system with "dia" for neutral singular reference regardless of gender, "beliau" for respectful reference to someone of higher status or deserving special honor, and "mereka" as the universal plural form for "they" regardless of formality level, making mastery of these distinctions crucial for effective and culturally appropriate communication in Indonesian society (Suparno, 2020).

Temporal deictics correlate with temporal structure, also known as time expressions, which reveal the time distance between utterances or statements. Expressions that are being conveyed and are currently occurring use the pronouns 'now' and 'at this moment,' while expressions that have not yet been conveyed or will be conveyed later use the pronouns 'later,' 'tomorrow,' 'the day after tomorrow,' and 'in the future.' For times prior to the occurrence of the expression, the pronouns 'yesterday,' 'last week,' and 'formerly' are used (Levinson, 2006).

Discourse Deixis

Levinson (2006) argues that discourse deixis correlates with the use of expressions in an utterance or speech. It is used in speech events and discourse practices that refer to events before and after. Examples of discourse deictics include the words "this" and "that." Discourse deictics are divided into two types, namely anaphora and cataphora (Cummings, 2013). Anaphora refers to something or someone that has been mentioned previously, while cataphora refers to something that will be mentioned.

Social Deixis

Refers to social relationships or differences that exist in the social environment. The differences found in this deixis are differences between communities that exist in the roles of the speaker and the interlocutor, particularly social differences between the speaker and the interlocutor.

Social deictics are correlated with social relationships in linguistic expressions, with direct or indirect references to the social status or role of participants in speech events. Specific expressions exist in many languages, including greetings in Indonesian. It has been descriptively proven that it is important to distinguish several vocabulary words that define the existence of these relationships (Levinson, 2006). Walle (1993) explains that

many pronouns refer to politeness based on references viewed from a semantic perspective to explain the closeness of the relationship between the speaker and the addressee (p.41).

Hate Speech

Starting from the existence of fanaticism and stereotypes about isolated communities, which are used to incite hatred against them. Tsesis (2003), in his book entitled Destructive Messages, explains how misethnic discourse was used to defend the slave trade in America and the displacement of Native Americans. Misethnic discourse includes the practice of attributing undesirable characteristics to members of these groups (e.g., Native Americans are lazy) and using derogatory terms to describe these individuals. By portraying the objects of their hatred as subhuman or animal-like (e.g., as 'apes' or 'monkeys'), white violence against members of these groups became normalized and often expected Carlson (2021).

Hate speech is defined as a structural phenomenon in which individuals in positions of authority use insulting language and imagery to enforce their chosen status within the social structure. Offensive speech is not the same as hate speech. Legal or even informal definitions of hate speech do not apply to words or images that someone finds disturbing or offensive. It is not hate speech to say that you dislike someone's politics, personality, or both. The expression must specifically target an individual's unchangeable identifying characteristics, such as race, gender, or sexual orientation, to qualify as hate speech (Carlson, 2021).

Obrębska (2020) also defines hate speech as verbal abuse directed at minority groups. The emergence of hate speech is based on emotional conditions that manifest themselves in the form of insults, which cause anger and disgust. Therefore, 'hate speech and abusive language' are social phenomena that are on the rise and essentially cause a decline in attitudes towards minorities. Marques (2023) adds that hate speech is an expression of anger. This expression is also a form of emotional expression and sentiment.

This is in line with what was stated by Matamoros-Fernández et al., (2021) that hate speech refers to any expression that has the potential to convey hatred related to several issues of intolerance, including hatred of excessive nationalism, ethnocentrism, hatred of

a minority group, and even differences in political views, and that such speech is directed at specific individuals or organizations. Discrimination directed at a group, often a minority, can hinder their participation in the democratic process of a country and may offend and hurt their feelings.

Matsuda et al., (2018), in their book "Words That Wound: Critical Race Theory, Assaultive Speech, and the First Amendment", explain that hate speech is characterized as offensive speech that can have a long-term negative impact on specific individuals or groups who are targeted. Hate speech affects the targeted group by instilling a sense of inferiority based on the speaker's prejudices. Not only adults but also children are vulnerable targets in such attacks, and when children are exposed to hate speech continuously, it can lead to mental health issues, including depression.

Hate speech goes beyond its direct impacts and can affect individuals' engagement in politics according to Citron & Norton (2011). Their argument suggests that hate speech aims to limit public participation in political activities, especially on social media, potentially disrupting and even wrecking the political process. Victims of hate speech may find it challenging to engage actively, which   hinders certain groups from participating in politics, affect election outcomes, and influences the prioritised issues, as noted by (Carlson, 2021). The pervasive spread of hate speech not only interferes with political processes but also alters the landscape of political engagement and decision-making.

The emergence of hate speech is shaped by five factors: content, target, purpose, agent, and channel. Content-wise, hate speech expresses prejudice — opinions based on bias or discrimination (Susan, 2000; Paasch-Colberg et al., 2021). The target is typically an oppressed, marginalized, or minority group that suffers political, economic, or legal disadvantage (Ermida, 2023). The purpose is to discriminate, isolate, and demean, lowering the social status of targeted groups (Houston & Kramarae, 1991). The agent is often a dominant-group member using pseudonyms on social media, whose identity can nonetheless be inferred from linguistic patterns (Woods & Ruscher, 2021; Del Vigna et al., 2017). Finally, the channel encompasses social media platforms, pamphlets, and broadcasts, with hate speech also conveyed through images, cartoons, memes, and symbols (Ermida, 2023; Benesch, 2014).

Cyber Pragmatics

Cyberpragmatics is a new perspective in the study of pragmatics that falls within the scope of external language. Additionally, context, being a vital part of pragmatics, has also undergone a shift. This shift in the pragmatic paradigm has been present in Dell Hymes's tradition of thought. Hymes is regarded as a pioneer for focusing on context within the social dimension (Ivinson, 2011).

Francisco Yus is a figure who proposed the theory of cyber pragmatics. There is also another figure, Miriam (2010), who argues in her book Interpersonal Pragmatics that cyber pragmatics is also called internet pragmatics of the data and sources in the cyber pragmatics studies are utterances found on internet media, one of which is social media X. Technological advancements have led to the development of the internet, which in turn has given rise of virtual communities (known in sociolinguistics as social communities and speech communities). In cyber pragmatics, these communities are being eroded by technological advancements and replaced by new communities known as virtual communities.

METHOD

The study employs a descriptive qualitative design using a cyber-pragmatic approach, involving qualitative methods to gather linguistic data on deictic expressions in hate speech on social media X during the 2024 presidential election campaign. Qualitative methods involve collecting written word groups from linguistic phenomena, focusing on describing linguistic phenomena objectively without seeking true or false data. Researchers utilise this approach to interpret the meaning and context of hate speech, considering factors like the timing of statements, the individuals involved, and the circumstances of the hate speech. The chosen research design is based on linguistic phenomena and real facts, aiming to provide a comprehensive description of linguistic symptoms related to hate speech. This methodology allows for in-depth analysis and understanding of the linguistic aspects of hate speech in a social media context.

The researcher used the observation method to collect data. The observation method is a method of collecting data by observing how language is used in speech. In this study, the researcher observed how language was used in the delivery of hate speech on social

media X. The data in this study is limited to screenshots containing hate speech during the 2024 presidential election campaign on social media X, which was selected as the data source because it is one of the most frequently used platforms by Indonesians for political communication, with open access, hashtag features, and unrestricted reach enabling single posts to appear on millions of accounts (Rahardi, 2021).

The technique used in this study to collect data was the free listening technique related to the data sources in this study, which involved speech or utterances on social media X that contained hate speech. Free listening is a technique used in language research where the researcher does not participate directly and only acts as an observer (Mahsun, 2005).

Researchers observed hate speech on social media platform X and took screenshots of the hate speech. Researchers reviewed the screenshots and matched them with the components of hate speech. Researchers used a note-taking technique for words that met the criteria for hate speech components in Microsoft Word.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents and discusses findings on hate speech during the 2024 presidential election campaign on social media X, with data collected from 28 November 2023 to 10 February 2024. The analyzed data targets the three registered candidate pairs: (1) Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar, (2) Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and (3) Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud M.D. The distribution of hate speech across candidate pairs is shown in the table below.

Tabel 1. Hate speech on social media X against all candidates

	Candidates	Hate Speech
01	Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar	17
02	Prabowo Subianto – Gibran Rakabuming Raka	20
03	Ganjar Pranowo – Mahfud MD	8
	Total	45

Based on Table 1 above, between 28 November 2023 and 10 February 2024, the campaign period of the 2024 presidential election, there were 45 forms of hate speech that were not evenly distributed among the three candidates. Candidate 02 (Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka) experienced 20 cases, or 44.4% of the total. Candidate 01 (Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar) had 17 cases (37.8%), while Candidate 03 (Ganjar Pranowo- Mahfud MD) had 8 cases (17.8%). The targeting of Candidates 02 and 01 shows strong political polarisation, which can be attributed to the background of each candidate. Candidate 03, on the other hand, was the lowest target of hate speech, indicating more minimal negative exposure in the campaign dynamics.
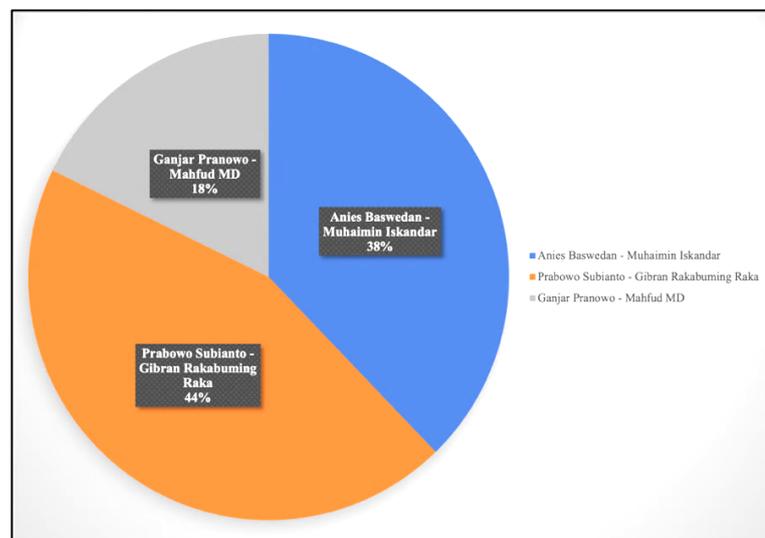
Figure 1. Hate Speech Distribution Among Three Presidential Candidate Pairs in 2024 Indonesian Election Campaign

With the hate speech that has been obtained, the data that has been obtained will be grouped based on the 10 components of hate speech and connected with deixis presented by Papcunová et al. (2023) as follows.

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Tabel 2. Deictic Expression Analysis in Hate Speech: Frequency Distribution
and Categorical Correlations Based on Papcunová et al. (2023) Framework

Deixis Type	Frequency	Primary Hate Speech Categories	Correlation Pattern
Social Deixis	4	Categories 1, 5, 7, 8	Strongest correlation with ethnic attacks and stereotyping
Second Person	2	Categories 3, 4, 7, 8	Direct confrontation leading to violence incitement
Third Person	2	Categories 3, 5, 6, 8	Distancing mechanism for dehumanization
Place Deixis	2	Categories 1, 2, 7, 8	Spatial-moral displacement for legitimacy attacks
Demonstrative	2	Categories 4, 6, 7	Temporal-spatial authority manipulation
Person Deixis	2	Categories 2, 7, 8	Identity manipulation and rights denial
First Person	1	Category 8	Personal opinion masking as objective judgment

Based on the deictic expression analysis framework, hate speech targeting political candidates can be systematically categorized through specific lexical markers that correspond to different types of deixis and their associated hate speech indicators. The analysis reveals that social deixis demonstrates the strongest correlation with ethnic attacks and stereotyping, particularly through lexicon related to identity politics, religion, and Islam when targeting specific ethnic groups associated with particular candidates.

Lexical markers indicating denial of human rights manifest differently across candidate pairs. For candidate 01, terms like "stupid" and "more suitable" emerge as key indicators, while candidate 02 faces lexicon such as "bastard child of democracy" and "bastard child of the constitution," which aim to delegitimize their participation in democratic processes. The prohibitive term "don't" appears strategically to discourage voter participation among candidate 02's supporters. Candidate 03 encounters rights-denial lexicon including "impossible" and "piye jal."

Direct confrontation patterns, associated with second-person deixis, appear through lexicon like "nurut" and "goblok bin tolol" for candidate 01, while "who voted" represents similar confrontational language targeting candidate 02's supporters. The use of hashtags, nicknames, and symbols as hate speech indicators includes "KADRUN" for candidate 01,

while electoral participation lexicon such as "milih," "supporter," "support," and "vote" create targeted harassment around democratic engagement.

The most extensive category of dehumanizing and demeaning lexicon shows distinct patterns across candidates. Candidate 01 faces terms including "talk nonsense," "(middle finger)," "talker," "presidential candidate," "stupid," "deceiver," "goat's arse," "moron," "no BECUS," "BACOT," "telek mborot," "halu," and "dumb." Candidate 02 encounters "murderer," "dumb," "brain slow," "lame, unbalanced," "brain minus," "drown," "bastard," "ruthless," "bastard dog," "moron," "imbecile," "trash," "idiot," "plonga plongo," "rotten," and "klemer." Candidate 03's associated hate speech lexicon includes "porno," "brain minus," "bokep," "goblok," "unclean," and "arrogant," revealing how deictic expressions facilitate systematic targeting through varied but consistently dehumanizing linguistic strategies.

Tabel 3. Classification of Deixis in Political Hate Speech Data on Social Media Platform X Targeting Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Category 8 (Insults & Profanity)	8	34.8%
Category 7 (Manipulative Text)	4	17.4%
Category 4 (Nicknames & Symbols)	3	13.0%
Category 6 (Irony & Sarcasm)	3	13.0%
Category 1 (Ethnic Attacks)	2	8.7%
Category 3 (Violence Incitement)	2	8.7%
Category 2 (Rights Denial)	2	8.7%
Category 5 (Negative Stereotypes)	2	8.7%

Person Deixis

Person deixis is one of the most important types of deixis in language, used to indicate or refer to people involved in conversation or text. Person deixis refers to words such as "I," "you," "he/she," "we," "they," and their derivatives, whose meanings depend on who is speaking, to whom, and about whom (Khalique , et.al., 2020; Abdulameer, 2019; Ingram, 1971).

The findings reveal that person deixis functions as a strategic linguistic mechanism that systematically constructs hierarchical power relationships, moral judgments, and social positioning, where first-person deixis establishes speaker authenticity and authority, second-person deixis creates confrontational intimacy through direct accusation and

dehumanization, and third-person deixis enables distancing strategies that facilitate moral condemnation while maintaining speaker superiority through religious, spatial, and contamination metaphors.

First Person

Data 7: "Yah gue pilih dia... Kenapa??? Karena praboro sama ganjar gak menjanjikan... Kebanyakan drama... Otaknya minus"

The opening sentence, 'Yah, gue pilih dia…. Kenapa?' establishes a clear deictic triangle. The informal first-person pronoun 'I' positions the speaker as a casual and direct communicator, while the third-person pronoun 'him' creates a deliberate distance from the chosen candidate. This distance is important: rather than naming their choice or claiming ownership of it, the speaker uses pronouns that imply the candidate exists in a separate space from both the speaker and the audience. Using "I" rather than the more formal "I" also establishes a persona of someone speaking honestly and authentically, rejecting political formality.

The evaluative phrases 'Kebanyakan drama... Otaknya minus' position the speaker as a pragmatic voter who rejects political spectacle. The metaphorical deictic 'drama' places political discourse in the realm of entertainment, while 'Otaknya minus' uses a spatial-mathematical metaphor to make blunt assessments of candidates' intellectual capacity.

Data 17: "Itu udh selesai dan sebelum acara atuh.. gua hadir disana jg kok.. gak Fitnah kalo bukan pendukungnya praboro yee.. mantan pembunuh si pelanggar HAM '98..."

The temporal deixis "Itu udh sesuai dan before the event" establishes the speaker's authority by placing the audience in a position of incomplete knowledge. The demonstrative "itu" presupposes the audience's awareness of the event, creating an insider-outsider dynamic where the speaker commands temporal authority. The casual "atuh" (a Sundanese discourse marker) adds intimacy while asserting the speaker's superior grasp of the timeline.

Second Person

Data 1: "kamu.ngutang aja enggak pernah bayar ngomongin etika sama.pak prabowo ingat hutang mu sama pak prabowo bro dasar penjelat tai kambing"

The opening "kamu.ngutang aja en nggak pernah bayar" establishes the second persona through direct personal accusation, where "kamu" creates immediate confrontational intimacy. The speaker constructs their audience as someone with a history of financial irresponsibility, using the informal "ngutang" rather than the formal "berhutang" to suggest casual, perhaps repeated borrowing behaviour. This particular choice of terminology serves to establish the addressee not only as a debtor, but as an individual whose very character is defined by their failure to honour their obligations. The temporal aspect "enggak pernah" (never) constructs the audience as habitually unreliable, thereby creating a persona of chronic moral failure rather than isolated incidents.

The closing "ingat hutang mu sama pak prabowo bro dasar penjelat tai kambing" completes the second persona construction. The imperative "ingat" frames the addressee as someone who forgets obligations, while the ironic shift from confrontational "kamu" to the seemingly amicable "bro" is followed by total dehumanization through "penjelat" (traitor) and "tai kambing" (goat shit), reducing the persona to less than human.

Data 2: "Ini LG IMIN MANUSIA PALING HALU DI KIRA RAKYAT TOLOL NIAT LU JAHAT BICARA OMONG KOSONG, BNGUN 30 KOTA KAPASITAS SEPERTI JAKARTA WOI HALU JNGAN TINGGI BEGO"

This utterance constructs aggressive multi-tiered second-person deixis. The opening "Ini LG IMIN MANUSIA PALING HALU" uses demonstrative and superlative deixis to position Muhaimin as an object of ridicule: "ini" creates presentational distance while "PALING HALU" (most delusional) constructs him as intellectually fractured. The phrase "NIAT LU JAHAT" (your intentions are evil) uses the informal "LU" for confrontational intimacy, constructing the addressee as morally corrupt. The comparative "SEPERTI JAKARTA" grounds political critique in shared spatial knowledge, while the closing "BEGO" (stupid) reduces the second persona to fundamental intellectual inadequacy, positioning them as unfit for serious political discourse.

Third Person

Data 4: "Ya Allah ampunilah pendukung praboro krn mereka tidak gunakan otak dan hati yg kau berikan"

The invocational "Ya Allah ampunilah pendukung praboro" establishes a triadic deictic relationship. In this relationship, the speaker addresses God directly while constructing supporters of Praboro as the indirect second person, requiring divine mercy. The religious deictic in question positions the supporters not as direct conversational partners, but rather as third parties whose spiritual condition necessitates intercessory prayer. The utilization of "ampunilah" (forgive them) establishes the second persona as sinners who have transgressed, yet this transgression is portrayed through the lens of pity rather than anger. The supporters are depicted as wayward individuals deserving of compassion rather than condemnation, a strategy that paradoxically renders the critique more devastating by denying them the dignity of conscious choice.

The causal phrase "krn mereka tidak diberitahukan otak dan hatinya yang kau berikan" creates sophisticated second-person construction through divine attribution. By referencing "otak dan hati yg kau berikan" (the brain and heart that You gave), the speaker positions God as the ultimate source of human faculties while constructing Prabowo's supporters as people who have voluntarily relinquished their God-given faculties of reason ("otak") and compassion ("hati"), with the pronoun "mereka" maintaining distance while the divine reference elevates the discourse beyond ordinary political disagreement.

Data 5: "Najis punya pemimpin arogan macam dia awowkwkk"

The utterance employs contamination deixis to establish its audience. "Najis" (ritually impure/filthy) positions the audience as spiritually and morally contaminated through their association with arrogant leadership. The possessive "punya" constructs the second persona as individuals who "possess" this contaminated leadership, rendering them complicit in the impurity. The demonstrative "dia" creates distance from the leader while "macam" (like/such as) suggests the leader represents a broader category of contaminating figures.

Demonstrative Deixis

Data 15: "Asli kek pake script anies ini"

The demonstrative "anies ini" creates proximity deixis positioning both speaker and audience as external observers of Anies's performance. The term "ini" (this) creates a shared observational space, establishing complicity between speaker and audience and framing political discourse as shared conspiratorial engagement. The casual use of "anies" without honorific positions the audience as insiders capable of seeing through political facades.

Data 17: "Itu udh selesai dan sebelum acara atuh.. gua hadir disana jg kok.. gak Fitnah kalo bukan pendukungnya praboro yee.. mantan pembunuh si pelanggar HAM '98..."

The text demonstrates layered demonstrative deixis through multiple spatial and temporal references. "Itu" (that) creates distance from a completed event, while "disana" (there) establishes a spatial reference point of the speaker's physical presence. The temporal deixis "sebelum acara" (before the event) creates a specific time frame requiring shared knowledge. 'Si pelanggar HAM '98' adds further complexity, with 'si' functioning as a definite demonstrative article and "98" anchoring the reference to 1998 historical events. This web of demonstratives functions not merely as spatial or temporal pointers, but as tools for ideological positioning within Indonesian political discourse.

Place Deixis

Data 2: "Ini LG IMIN MANUSIA PALING HALU DI KIRA RAKYAT TOLOL NIAT LU JAHAT BICARA OMONG KOSONG, BNGUN 30 KOTA KAPASITAS SEPERTI JAKARTA WOI HALU JNGAN TINGGI BEGO"

The text illustrates place deixis through 'Jakarta', which transcends its geographical location to serve as a benchmark for urban development. Place deixis operates literally as a city location, symbolically as the measure of Indonesian urban sophistication, and pragmatically as a shared reference that both speaker and addressee understand. Jakarta functions as a metonym for national development standards, making the spatial reference simultaneously concrete and abstract. The speaker uses this place deixis to challenge the

feasibility of building "30 cities with Jakarta's capacity," transforming geographical deixis into a tool for political critique.

Data 26: "Bocil Klemer koq dipilih.. penculik letaknya dipenjara bukan di istana negara.."

The text creates a spatial-moral divide between "dipenjara" (imprisoned) and "di istana negara" (at the state palace). These markers construct an ethical topography where prison signifies the appropriate destination for wrongdoing, while the presidential palace embodies governmental legitimacy. The negation 'bukan di istana negara' (not at the state palace) explicitly rejects an incorrect locational assignment, implying that certain individuals occupy the wrong institutional territories — converting locational references into instruments for challenging the legitimate distribution of authority and accountability.

Social Deixis

Data 17: "Itu udh selesai dan sebelum acara atuh.. gua hadir disana jg kok.. gak Fitnah kalo bukan pendukungnya praboro yee.. mantan pembunuh si pelanggar HAM '98..."

The phrase "mantan pembunuh si pelanggar HAM" (former killer, the HAM violator) demonstrates complex person deixis combining temporal, social, and political identity markers. The term 'si' serves as a definite person marker, while the temporal anchor "98" situates the referent within specific historical events. Rather than using proper names, this deixis identifies the individual through criminal categorization ('pembunuh'/killer, 'pelanggar HAM'/human rights violator) and temporal positioning ('mantan'/former), transforming person reference into a tool for political critique that relies on shared political memory.

Data 19: "Anak haram demokrasi."

The text demonstrates social deixis through 'anak haram demokrasi' (the illegitimate child of democracy), using a kinship metaphor to construct a political identity while delegitimizing democratic credentials. 'Anak' (child) creates a familial connection to democracy as an abstract political parent, while 'haram' (illegitimate/forbidden) marks this relationship as unauthorized. The construction transforms democracy into a personal genealogy, attacking the referent's legitimacy by positioning them as a corrupted

offspring who possesses a democratic connection but lacks authentic democratic authorization or moral standing.

Data 25: "Juga Anak HARAM Konstitusi.."

- "Anak HARAM" - penekanan melalui kapitalisasi, delegitimasi politik

Person deixis is exhibited through 'Anak HARAM Konstitusi' (illegitimate child of the Constitution), a metaphorical reference combining political legitimacy markers with familial terminology. Capitalizing "HARAM" intensifies the delegitimizing force, transforming the personal marker into a politically charged accusation of constitutional illegitimacy and positioning the referent as an unauthorized offspring of constitutional authority.

Data 28: "Turunan peka'i yang sok polos plonga plongo…pada sama busuk nya dg bapak nya"

Social hierarchy and authority are demonstrated through social deictics that classify individuals by generational and familial markers. The term 'turunan' (offspring/descendant) positions the referent within a generational hierarchy implying inherited moral characteristics, while 'bapaknya' (his/her father) operates as patriarchal social deixis establishing the father as the source of inherited traits. The comparative 'sama busuknya dengan bapaknya' (equally rotten as his/her father) creates a social equivalence establishing collective familial corruption as an inherited marker, transforming family relationships into categories that define identity and delegitimize the individual through patriarchal genealogy.

CONCLUSION

Based on the comprehensive analysis of hate speech during Indonesia's 2024 presidential election campaign, this study reveals that political discourse on social media platform X was characterized by systematic linguistic manipulation through deictic expressions that served to construct hierarchical power relationships and facilitate targeted dehumanization. The uneven distribution of hate speech among the three candidate pairs (44.4% targeting Prabowo-Gibran, 37.8% targeting Anies-Muhaimin, and 17.8% targeting Ganjar-Mahfud) demonstrates clear political polarization patterns, while the predominance of insults and profanity (34.8%) alongside manipulative text (17.4%)

indicates a deliberate strategy to undermine democratic discourse. The deictic analysis demonstrates that hate speech operators strategically employed person deixis to establish speaker authority through first-person authenticity, create confrontational intimacy through second-person accusations, and enable moral distancing through third-person condemnation, while social, place, and demonstrative deixis functioned as sophisticated tools for delegitimizing political opponents through contamination metaphors, spatial-moral displacement, and shared conspiratorial positioning. These findings collectively illustrate how hate speech in political contexts operates not merely as emotional expression but as a calculated linguistic weapon that exploits grammatical structures to systematically erode democratic norms, construct in-group/out-group dynamics, and transform political opposition into existential threats requiring moral, spatial, and social exclusion.

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