
**Language of the underground: Openly-covert communication
around commercial sex in Malang nightlife community****Ibnuz Zaki***

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ABSTRACT

As something generally considered private, sex, and its surrounding activities are something rarely discussed, especially in a country like Indonesia where such is just taboo. This study undertakes the exact opposite of that, discussing how male “sex buyers” share their prostitution-related stories to their online community called Malang Nightlife. This study concerns how language is used by a certain community in their collective repertoire(s) as a representation of a proactive action showing a liking or support for prostitution. Accordingly, lexico-semantic analysis is the primary treatment given to the data, complemented with views on multilingualism and sociopragmatics to contextualise these intrinsic linguistic features in their naturally social settings. The findings suggest that 1) the community has quite strict rules regarding how members are allowed—and not—to share their story; 2) they often use four-way multilingualism in telling their stories (i.e. Indonesian, Javanese, English, and Basa Walikan Malang); 3) the members have several common tendencies and conventions in telling their stories; 4) these stories seem to be constructed from personal or collective repertoires each member has access to or have familiarity with. The conclusion drawable from this study is closely related to public’s stereotypes towards males and their sexual wrong-doings, up to the point of objectifications by these said males to the female prostitutes they refer to in their stories.

Keywords: Language as representation, language and prostitution, language repertoire, male sex buyer

Article history

Submitted:

7 June 2025

Accepted:

29 July 2025

Published:

31 July 2025

Citation (APA Style):

Zaki, I. (2025). Language of the underground: Openly-covert communication around commercial sex in Malang nightlife community. *LITERA*, 24(2), 88-97. <https://doi.org/10.21831/ltr.v24i2.74320>

INTRODUCTION

Even though not explicitly forbidden, prostitution is easily not a common topic to discuss in our society as Indonesian, be it in day-to-day conversations or in academic settings. One prominent reason for this is easily its underlying taboo nature in a general context, following people’s tendency to believe that no good outcome can be collected from talking about it, and as such avoiding it altogether is always the preferred action. However, an argument can be made that usefulness (of the topic) is not always the key or even sole driving reason an academic or scientific discussion is executed on one particular topic or theme. This is even truer in terms of sociolinguistic discussions regarding language and sexual activities, bearing in mind the two foundational roles of language itself in our lives: being a functional tool of communication (Oni-Buraimoh & Adeyelure-Macaulay, 2018) and a symbolic representation of certain parts of our social values (Hart & Day, 2020).

With this in mind, looking back at the discussion around what language is and how it is used, it is far too various to generalise upon, but one of these various uses—i.e. seeing it as one’s attitude’s representation—is arguably much more insightful into people and their language in general. The combination of this sociopragmatic aspect of human language and one of the most latent things in the rather darker side of society, commercial sex (Hallam, 2006:5), invites at least two ways of seeing things as a linguist seeing how people’s behaviours are represented through their language use. The one is how people object to prostitution through the use of their languages in public context, which supposedly is the case with most people. The other, meanwhile, is the lesser few portions of the society who take part in this taboo activity in a supportive manner, specifically as the consumers (Coy et al., 2011; Farley et al., 2017).

As to why the consumers specifically is brought upon by the fact that a number of these men willingly share their commercial sex encounters in an online public forum to other consumers or buyers in a language repertoire that I would describe as, at the very best, unique—if we are completely disregarding the taboo, and worse illegal, nature of what they are doing. An instance of this exchange of stories about male sex buyers happens in an online forum called Malang Nightlife Community (link: kaskus.co.id/thread/62a0623e67b5033b05739402), hosted under Kaskus, a major online forum provider in Indonesia. And as the name suggests, these encounters take place in Malang area in Jawa Timur (East Java), albeit not specific to Malang City, but rather covers the three areas of big Malang (Malang Raya), which are Malang City, Batu City, and Malang Regency.

From what is observable in related studies on the matter, the majority of topics covered seem to revolve around the language use within sex-related talk in a given community, similar to what this study is focused upon, albeit not in Indonesia. Despite this scarcity of studies discussing sexual behaviours in Indonesian context, its nature is still seemingly understandable or even to be expected, with one prominent study concerning such topic in this country with academically objective manner (i.e. a non-eliminating view on the matter) being presented by Winduwati (Winduwati, 2017) regarding language use as a representation of free sex. What is less easy to explain is the scarcity of language studies in relation to individual or social attitudes, especially remembering how Indonesia is a country with quite the high pride for well-followed rules or values in sociocultural attitudes, with the closest resemblance on this topic presented by Isodarus (Isodarus, 2020) regarding language use to represent one's attitude.

Winduwati's (2017) discussion on the matter is, for one, limited to the topic itself, a song about a one-night stand activity, which is arguably a small, rarely spoken encounter and vastly different from commercial sex. However, the act itself is the same to what this study focuses on, which is non-marital sex activity, and very likely done only once with one person (or in other words non-repeating encounters—thus the name, one-night stand). Her findings suggest that even though the words used in the lyrics are not strictly vulgar, the representation of the illicit action is still very much explicit, pleasurable and even somewhat inviting to some degree. Isodarus's (Isodarus, 2020) topic, meanwhile, is not merely about language and sex, but still relevant to the present discussion in that there he discusses how specific way of using a language (Javanese in this case) is "exploitable" for one's purpose or desire. In other words, his study shows the more functional side of language use in a given, specific situation for specific purposes that are quite different from what is shown on the surface structure or meaning. These two studies are the closest I could find on the topic of language as a means of representing one's attitude towards something, and at a glance give this present study somewhat of a combination of the two in this rather scarce field of sociolinguistic study in Indonesia.

The others talking about language use related to sexual activities (specifically outside of marriage) can be summarised into the creative approach people take to talk about it (Hart & Day, 2020; Spiess, 2013; Stewart, 2004; Winduwati, 2017), the direct output from the actors themselves, such as the buyers, advertisers or organisers (Burghart, 2018; Lahav-Raz, 2020; Tyler & Jovanovski, 2018; Vaughn, 2019), and the more humane side of the sex-related language use such as health or personality issues associated with it (Fitzgerald, 2018; Gilfoyle, 1999; Hallam, 2006; Hewer, 2022; Oni-Buraimoh & Adeyelu-Macaulay, 2018; Pigg, 2001; Young, 2005).

In more detail, the discussions on how people approached talking about sex "creatively" were centred around songs whose lyrics include sexual activities (Hart & Day, 2020; Winduwati, 2017) and art's depiction of sexual activities be it visual (Stewart, 2004) or literary (Spiess, 2013). Similarly, though more contextualised in an attitude-betterment point of view, the specific portion of non-marital sex being talked about often include the health problem associated with it (Pigg, 2001), (inter)personal matter (Gilfoyle, 1999; Hallam, 2006; Oni-Buraimoh & Adeyelu-Macaulay, 2018; Young, 2005), social issue (Fitzgerald, 2018), and even issued of violence coming from it (Hewer, 2022). One rather big similarity they pose is their inclusion of linguistic representation of these various free sex-related activities, though only through isolated individual cases—which, granted, would make a collective picture at the end. However, community-driven depictions, stories or reports were somehow lacking, which given the kind of data source I possess herein, would provide a complementary, different image on this supposedly very secretive—if not at all illicit or illegal—activity. On top of this, as we would see in the data later, pride is also a part of these stories which is quite contradictory to said secretiveness.

Looking at this discrepancy and the latent nature of prostitution in any place, I decided to offer an introductory look into the more modern side of prostitution, especially in Indonesian context, and

even more specifically that happens in the municipality of Malang. On top of this, I believe that us academics, especially a linguist that I am, should frame our thoughts from objective views on social phenomena at first and not moved by our inevitable biases towards one side of things over the other. In a sense this study tries to exemplify that intricacy and interesting findings—and thus discussion—in linguistic contexts are also present in some of the least likely places, even in the illegal or inhuman realms. As such, this study is concerned with (1) the formats or patterns observable in Malang Nightlife forum's use of their language repertoire, (2) the members' motives of sharing their commercial sex encounters, (3) the open yet secretive nature surrounding the discussion about this illicit, illegal series of activities, and (4) the rather harsh reality of these men treating their encounters with these female sex workers as trophies and the women themselves as objects for pleasure.

METHOD

To aid the qualitative nature of this study in seeing how a certain group of individuals codify their communication in discussing a particularly specific topic to their own group members (i.e. commercial sex and its buyers), methods of analysis on the lexico-semantic features (Jntema et al., 2012) of the data were the primary approach. Specifically, the discussions that follow would deal with how common word meanings (e.g. first-person pronoun I, sex, motorcycle) are framed in less common ways (in this example as *ane*, *ngetap oli*, *kuda besi* respectively), and consequently how morphological processes are used to alter or mask the common meaning of such a word or phrase.

Additionally, as the data demands, multilingualism approach is also employed following the use of many registers of multiple languages or language variations found in the data—presumably to either further mask the explicit nature of the topic or to provide a personal remark in the given stories. Finally, to address the contextual representativeness of the study's interest, Culpeper's approach to analysing pragmatics in a social setting (Culpeper, 2021) is employed, where the intrinsic, pragmatic elements of the given utterance is correlated with the immediate social condition of the provided meanings.

The data in this study were taken randomly from the [NEW] Malang Nightlife NL#275 Kaskus forum thread (kaskus.co.id/thread/62a0623e67b5033b05739402) by means of copy-pasting since it was already in a neatly written form. In addition, since it was publicly accessible, concerns regarding these posts being collected are seemingly minimised. The main type of data taken from the forum was utterances explaining, describing and/or accompanying explanations and descriptions of the members' nightlife activities. In other words, the main focus was what set the language of this community apart from the general public—that is, aside simply from their topic of discussion.

Another point to consider was that there were at least three categories of written posts in this forum: 1) field reports (FR) where members would share—or report as it were—their encounters or experiences in related nightlife activities to other members; 2) comments on FR's where members would give comments or questions on said field reports—although not every FR receives comments; and 3) general posts which might be a short question on asking for guidance or advice, or sometimes voluntary advice or even warnings on certain things. Seeing the source of data closer, the FR's were the category that had the highest possibility for containing the most varied words or terms, and therefore were chosen as the main dataset of this study.

Furthermore, due to the very active nature of the forum (to the point where it is now at its third iteration since it was first formed), purposive sampling was thus preferred with at least two main categories—i.e. the samples were FR's and were taken from the most recent ones. I did not, however, attach the whole collected data, which means for anyone interested in further discussing this forum specifically could head directly to its address I mentioned earlier.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Following the single premise of this study regarding the exchange or stories between male sex buyers in Malang through their online forum, the entirety of the forum itself (which in its latest iteration has been active from June 2022 to this day) would easily become the ideal, complete answer—i.e. what is in the forum is how they frame themselves as “enjoyers” of commercial sex in a publicly open but secretive manner. Additionally, the daily update given by various forum members would also give another side of a response to that initial premise in that not only prostitution is still very much alive in Malang, but also quite a lot of the consumers involved are confidently, voluntarily and proactively

telling about their encounters—albeit *only* to their like-minded friends with their own codes and repertoires.

However, linguistics-wise, there are certain things of interest observable from how these men write what they wrote. These include simple things like the language codes themselves which are a combination of real-life Indonesian people’s tendency for multilingualism, Kaskus’ unique vocabularies, along with sex-specific terms which can be both universal and private, to some socially-personally complex things such as showing a feeling of pride, limited openness or neediness. Let us then begin with the arguably simpler element, the code-mixing or multilingualism, as can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Examples of multilingualism and code-mixing in the forum

Excerpt	Direct Data	Translation/normalisation
1	<i>Ane adalah pendatang disini (single fighter), dan dulu menimba di ilmu di salah satu kampus di kota ngalam</i>	I’m a newcomer here, a single fighter, and previously a student in one of the campuses here in Malang City
2	<i>jadi sambil berangkat jujur ayas tidak berekspetasi lebih, cuma mbatin</i>	so, while on the way, I honestly didn’t expect much; I just had thoughts
3	<i>Sblmnya Matur nuwus dumateng suhu @mr.saitama</i>	Thanks in advance to master @mr.saitama
4	<i>dan di jawabnya TO dapet full tapi no CIM, cif</i>	and her answer was full [service] but no CIM (cum in mouth) or CIF (cum in face)
5	<i>3 menit wot sambil mikcu ternyata ane keluar duluan</i>	after 3 minutes of WOT (woman on top) while tit-sucking, turned out I came first

(note on the highlights: Indonesian [no highlight], Arabic-influenced, English, Basa Walikan, Javanese)

Granted, what is shown here is quite a small set of data, but its representativeness across the entire forum is rather big, meaning that people’s tendency in writing these are, however counterintuitively, variously monotone. They only go back and forth around the code-mixing patterns shown above. Similarly, certain codification rules and conventions also take place, as can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Examples of certain codification techniques performed in the forum

Excerpt	Direct Data	Translation/normalisation
6	<i>nubie nunut sambat, berawal tekan nub memantau app ungu</i>	I want to rant about something, beginning with me checking on the purple app
7	<i>nub langsung menjapri chanel lawang merah dan sejenisnya</i>	I quickly messaged my contact for RedDoorz and the likes
8	<i>meet up dengan miss S*lv* alias Hitomi KW</i>	Meet up with Miss S*lv* a.k.a. Hitomi’s fake copy
9	<i>nyari tempat kost di daerah simpang s****t</i>	looking for a boarding house around <i>Simpang Sulfat</i>
10	<i>cari pijit sekalian drain oli pelumas mesin</i>	looking for massage along with oil drainage service

These asterisks are used to censor some details that are either easily guessable such as names of areas within Malang, massage places that people in the forum collectively know without being mentioned clearly, or the “service providers” that can also be easily guessed from Indonesian conventional names’ rules. This is because despite the illegal nature of the activities they are involved in, the forum bans the mentioning of personal identification items such as full names, photos, and phone numbers—at least outside of private messages between two members.

From these rather simple, surface elements of the data, we can proceed to look into the more nuanced ones such as the implied interpersonal feelings by the men, the power position they like or dislike, and their openly-secretive gesture about what they share. Table 3 and 4 would illustrate these nuances, which we would also discuss further in the next section.

Table 3. Examples of showcasing the members' sexual needs or desires

Excerpt	Direct Data	Translation/normalisation
10	<i>cari pijit sekalian drain oli pelumas mesin</i>	looking for massage along with oil drainage service
11	<i>soale lagi pingin sensasi lapdance</i>	cause I wanted to try the sensation of lap dance
12	<i>agan berniat hati melemaskan diri sekalian ganti oli</i>	I intended on relaxing myself and “changing my oil”
13	<i>Muncul pikiran liar untuk membuat relax dan menenangkan diri</i>	I had the wild thought of relaxing and calming down myself

Table 4. Examples showing excessive details regarding sex positions in the members' story

Excerpt	Direct Data	Translation/normalisation
14	<i>pastinya sambil mikcu. Pokok tangan dan mulut gak lepas dari boobs wes</i>	of course it was accompanied by tit-sucking; thing is, hand and mouth never let go of her boobs
15	<i>akhirnya mulut ayas pun pindah ke bawah buat jilmek sambil miss hitomi rebahan</i>	at last I moved my lips down to pussy-lick her while miss Hitomi was laying down
16	<i>setelah itu nubi pinta tuk BJ, cukup nikmat dan membuat joni klomoh tak lupa ane jepitkan diantara 2 gunung besar nya, membuat nubi berasa menjadi pornstar JaV vs Rin kajika wkwkwkwkw</i>	after that I asked for BJ (blowjob), which was quite good and made my dick [here called Joni] really wet that of course I didn't forget to slip it between her massive mountains (breasts), making me feel like a JAV (Japanese adult video) pornstar vs Rin Kajika hahaha
17	<i>MOT grusak grusuk, kok liat asset e malah marai meledak, gnti gaya WOT rpm rendah, DG ndak nahan aw, crut</i>	after a rough MOT (man on top), looking at her asset (breasts) feared me that I would cum soon [explosively], so we changed position to WOT with low RPM (revolution per minute), DG (doggy) which I couldn't resist and, aw, splash (ejaculate)

Again, such data does seem small on the surface, but dealing with one particular activity, sex, yields only so many ways one could tell their story. These excerpts, particularly, are shown to illustrate the more personal side of the male sex buyers we are concerned with, though the linguistic envelope containing them are repeats of simpler things like analogies, simile, or some other figurative means. This is specifically why discussing one element together with the other is quite important in discovering their clear positions as sex buyers who would voluntarily share their supposedly secret, not to mention illegal, acts.

The single point of interest throughout the forum, that is being prostitution, together with the censorship rules, conventions, along with personal remarks demand rather creative ways of executing the available linguistic resources these men have, some of which are bound to be more complex than others. Further, more detailed look into these is of course necessary—given in next section—to correlate things better than just choice of words, but these findings should suggest that communities, of any kind, is both shaped by and simultaneously shaping their collective communication tool that is both strictly agreed upon and taken as norms.

Discussion

Patterns, Coding, and Themes

The most noticeable pattern when looking into the data is multilingualism, with the presence of at least four languages (or words from these languages, rather) being used—sometimes even five—with each having its own tendency to being used for certain parts in the story-telling posts. These four languages are mostly Indonesian, English, Javanese, Basa Walikan Malang (though arguably it is a subset of the East Java dialect specific to Malang municipality (Yannuar & Febrianti, 2021)), and sometimes Arabic-influenced words. The excerpts in Table 1 show the case of multilingualism in the forum's field reports (FR).

As mentioned, those small excerpts alone are already representative of the whole data in many ways. For one, Indonesian is the main carrier of the posts with words from several languages mixed

within at certain parts of the reports. This is likely caused by the “national” nature of the forum itself as opposed to it being Javanese-local, in addition to the grand scheme of Malang municipality being a destination point for job seekers from other places as well. In addition, if we look at the forum to see the data as a whole, Indonesian and Javanese are still the main two carrier languages of the members’ communication respectively. Such is, I think, easily relatable to the multilingual situation of the municipality of Malang itself whose topic has been quite often discussed (Kweldju, 2020; Yannuar & Febrianti, 2021).

As for English, its most prominent use in this forum is to mention most of the common sex positions that are relatable to porn sites (e.g. WOT for woman on top, MOT for man on top, CIM for cum in mouth, and so on). These terms are directly linked to tags or categories commonly found in descriptions for porn videos, again describing the action involved in the act. In contrasts, positions other than those commonly found in “international” porn videos are told in words of many languages up to the member, such as *mikcu* for *mimik cucu* (tit-sucking), *colmek* for *colek memek* (fingering) and *jilmek* for *jilat memek* (pussy-licking). In addition to porn-related reasoning, those English words for sex positions do not directly have noun equivalences in either Indonesian or Javanese, leading to the English words being taken explicitly. Meanwhile, the Indonesian-Javanese words for some sex acts like *jilmek*, *colmek* and *mikcu* are already established vocabularies in the Indonesian people’s national repertoire, negating the needs for English words to be used in their place.

In addition to the language categorisations, there are also other forms of coding being used, such as figurative languages, Kaskus’ own unique way of communication in the forum, as well as some methods of censorships for certain information. And much like the multilingualism case mentioned above, certain kinds of these coding are preferred to tell or show different parts of the field reports.

The five excerpts in Table 2 above show the kinds of code that are understandable most exclusively by those in the know of the nightlife activities in general, nightlife activities in Malang municipality, and those familiar with the language of communications in general Kaskus forums. As can be seen in (6), *nubie* or *nub* (the shorter version of *nubie*) is a common way of referring to first person singular (or to refer to oneself, or I) which is derived from “newbie” in English. While “newbie” in English is rarely used to replace “I”, *nubie*, *nub*, or sometimes parodied into *nubitol* (taken as a combination of *nubie* and *tolol* or stupid) is very common to be used as a replacement for I (or *aku*, *saya*, *gue*, etc.) in Kaskus forums in general.

There are also cases of hidden reference in plain sight, shown above as “*app ungu*” and “*lawang merah*”. Different from *nubie*, these two phrases, literally meaning “purple app” and “red door”, are not Kaskus-exclusive or habits taken from a specific community. These phrases use literal translation and common sense to not explicitly show what the person refers to in their FR, in this case “*app ungu*” referring to an online dating app called Badoo (which is aptly coloured purple) which is known to be a place for online prostitutes advertising themselves, while “*lawang merah*” (*lawang* is Javanese for door) referring to hotel provider called RedDoorz whose rooms are also notorious for being used as execution point for non-marital sex activities, be it commercial or not.

What is less apparent in terms of hidden intention in the excerpt above is “*drain oli pelumas mesin*” which translates to “to drain my engine oil”. Without any context provided, this phrase would refer to literal draining and replacement of one’s engine oil, be it a motorcycle or a car. In this case, however, “engine oil” is always used to refer to one’s sperm, and consequently, to drain it is to have an orgasm—by means of visiting a sex worker. Another term most commonly used to refer to one’s sperm is “*calon penerus bangsa*” or “the nation’s future generation” which is taken from the fact that a man’s sperm is essentially his offspring, and a drop of it contains not just one single sperm but many.

At a glance, none of these come as a surprise when seeing how a certain community communicates through their collective linguistic repertoire mainly because with the establishment of a certain social group, the norms and habits also follow (Culler, 2013), and even more so when said groups are comprised off of people from other already-established communities (Brock & Nagasaka, 2005). On this coding condition, what is observable from the forum is a case of communal familiarity, established conventions and very specific, contextualised topic of discussion.

Feeling the Needs for the Service

The most common opener for these FR’s are the mentioning of the members’ physical needs for having a massage or sex (albeit more commonly referred to as to ejaculate or have an orgasm). Such a

case can be seen in the excerpts shown in Table 3 in findings section. In English, these phrases would literally translate to “looking for massage and to drain my engine oil as well” (10), “cause I’m imagining lap dance sensation at the moment” (11), “I’m thinking of relaxing myself and change my engine oil too” (12), and “suddenly there’s this wild idea to relax and calm myself down” (13).

However, not all of their desires for self-relaxation through commercial sex service are realised in short, explicit wordings. Some are told in a lengthier sentence such as “*Karena sekarang sedang ngetren aliran CIPTO garis keras, maka nubs mencoba keluar dari zona nyaman dan mencoba geriliya PP yg jarang di FR disini..*” which demands multiple contextual clues to understand the meaning of. Literally speaking, it means something along the line of “since there has been a trend of hardcore CIPTO genre, I’m trying to get out of my comfort zone and go guerrilla to try rarely explored massage parlours in the FR’s here.” The one thing I have not been able to find the information about it “CIPTO genre” and its subsequent hardcore trend. Aside from this, this particular individual is more interested in exploring unknown places offering massage jobs (with extra) on top of his basic desire for sex job.

Even though they position themselves as “enjoyers” of the existing prostitution services in the area, they do not strictly show acts of support or encouragement towards it. The majority of these FR’s show only the person’s self-need for such services and not a collective support towards such business. In other words, as long as prostitution exists in the city, they would go for it—and sometimes explore less-known areas/places or exchange their exploration results with other members. This point is no better illustrated by their complete lack of interest towards a recent backlash from some local residents in Tlogomas on two guest houses in the area that were exploited for execution points for transactions on online prostitution (Ibrahim, 2023; Malang, 2023).

Granted, not all who partake as commercial sex consumers in said guest houses in Tlogomas are members of this forum, nor that those practicing their illicit sex acts there are sellers and consumers (i.e. their encounters do not root in sex trades, such as boyfriend-girlfriend or one-night-standers) (Ibrahim, 2023). However, their complete lack of mentioning this rather heated event at the moment further exemplifies their position as sole “enjoyers” and not the likes of human right activists or supportive groups for individuals involved in this fundamentally illegal business. Their acts, especially based on this point, can also be interpreted as rather egoistic as they continue their acts as usual and do not seem bothered in the slightest, or threatened by such harsh punishment towards these illicit acts as illustrated by said event in Tlogomas.

Open Yet Secretive

In addition to these people openly telling their community members their need for sex or massage through their own way of storytelling, they also show a lack of embarrassment when extensively describing their illicit encounters—though such a case is only observable from the longer FR’s, with the shorter ones are aptly referred to as “recaps” in the forum. This lack of embarrassment—or in another word, pride—to showing their supposedly private activity is very clearly shown from excerpts in Table 4.

From openness point of view, these lines explicitly show their exact series of activities during their commercial sex encounters, such as “*pokok tangan dan mulut gak lepas dari boobs wes*” or “my hands and lips were like glued to her boobs all the time” in English. They seem to be proud of doing these sexual activities even though they are consumers, which on the surface deserve the service, comparable to any other service jobs. Combined with their desire, struggle and expense to get to these actions, what they are showing they are doing through these words forms more as an achievement instead of a simple seller-buyer actions of transaction. The last bit of excerpt 17, “*DG ndak nahan aw, crut*” or “doggy was too good ouch, I came”, shows exactly this feeling of relief through the pleasure of orgasm from buying the sex service which can be further interpreted in many ways.

However, seen as an act of trial and success or error, these men also seem to be protective of some precious information, such as their exact way of getting to the women, their method of dealing with the price, and avoid putting themselves as inferior or even as mere customers. And as such, these FR’s act more as a show-off on top of them being reviews and overexplained sex stories.

Objectification Towards the Female Sex Workers

Despite the story-telling format or nature of these field reports posted in the Malang Nightlife forum, they are in essence more akin to being reviews for certain places or individuals offering

commercial sex services, massage, or a combination of the two. And in addition to reviews of places offering these services, they also indirectly review more about the female workers themselves as they are who physically do the job—that is, not a strict review of the place itself *per se*. On one hand, when we are talking about reviews of services in and of itself, they are arguably very common to say the least, comparable to reviews of barbers, tailors, mechanics, designers, etc. The “reviews” shown in this forum, meanwhile, is more numbered on a scale of 10 for whatever service the members want to show, get or not get which usually functions as a conclusion to their FR story.

Table 5. Examples of women objectification through rating scales regarding their bodies and services

Excerpt	Direct Data	Translation/normalisation
18	Face: 7,5 Mamah muda dengan Wajah Kemelon alias musex Bodi: 8 Pas menurut ane, gak kurus tp gak bbw Boobs: 9 iki sing nggarai nafsu memuncak FK: 8 ngelawan teruuss FJ: 8 langsung ko dalam 1 posisi GFE: 8 ramah, sabar, nyaman DC: open 5r ane nego jadi 2r1b, tp ane tambahin 1b lagi karena puas RO: yess, kalau pas mood touring ke kabupaten lagi	Face: 7.5, young mommy with a fuck-face Body: 8, the right fit for me; not too slim, not that big Boobs: 9, this is what made so horny FK: 8, she fights back [with her lips] FJ: 8, K.O.-ed me in a single position GFE: 8, humble, patient, comfy DC: start at Rp 500.000, which I got lowered to Rp 250.000, but I gave her extra 50.000 because I was satisfied RO: yes, if I am in the mood for touring to the regency
19	Skor Miss S3ll1n Face: 8 selera masing2 Body: 7 tambah menteg dan semok Boobs: 7 meski agak turun tapi tetep gede Pijet: 7,5 aslie enak pijet e, tp SOP e kyk 4lex4 pijet e dilut, tandang e sing suwe hehe BJ: 9 dragon ball kerumat FJ: 9 musex GFE: 9 ngobrol ngalor ngidul DC: Standar kota malang RO: CIPTO sik hehe	Score for Miss Sellin Face: 8, personal preference Body: 7, got bigger and squishier Boobs: 7, a bit saggy but still big Massage: 7.5, it was actually good, but the place's SOP (standard operational procedure) seemed to limit it, making the “main thing” longer BJ: 9, the balls got a treatment too FJ: 9, fuck-face GFE: 9, we talked a lot DC: Malang City standard RO: I want to try CIPTO first

note: FK (French kiss), FJ (fuck job), GFE (girlfriend experience), DC (down cash), RO (repeat order)

When seen from pure review of service, these numbers are understandable at best, but when the service being discussed is sex-related, they position the women less as human beings and more as objects that serve these numbered scores. Combined with the exchange of information nature in the forum, other members would see these scores and decide whether these women are worth going for or not. On top of this, as something that is never well-received to be offered, one's body, especially of a woman, is far from being seen as a mere object. There would be mixed views on this, but the forum's FR's almost always end in this scoring system, even for the shorter recap versions.

CONCLUSION

There is no denying that what is brought up in this study is something that is simply off—and in many ways at that. To a lot of people, the excerpts shown are, I believe, even disgusting and by extension not worth talking about. However, my argument was that for us linguists especially, we cannot simply disregard things with common reasons, and even more so regarding things that come from the smaller corners of our society which has potentials for rich linguistic data. Putting aside the taboo or disgusting views on this topic of showcasing one's sexual encounters, their way of doing so is no less interesting than some adult novels sold freely. The only difference is novels being fictional, while these field reports in the forum are real (to some degree at least, since the stories could also be faked).

Their way of communicating their nightlife encounters are unique and rich from sociopragmatic perspective, involving mixed language use, communal familiarity, established conventions and very specific, contextualised topic of discussion. On top of this, their exchanges are well-documented,

making any forms of analysis easy in both contemporary and retrospective views later down the line. In addition to this study being planned as one way of looking into how people see public sex talk in supportive manner, followed by a look on it in the discouraging way, I also took this to encourage others to explore less talked about social topics such as prostitution discussed herein which has a very long history in its whole existence.

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