# AN ANALYSIS OF EUPHEMISM AND DSYPHEMISM ON JAKARTA POST NEWSPAPER

Thesis

Submitted by

**NOVIANI**
**NIM. 150203182**

Student of *Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan*

Department of English Language Education

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# THESIS

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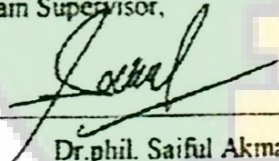The Bachelor Degree of Education in English Language Teaching.

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**NOVIANI**
**NIM. 150203182**

Student of *Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan*

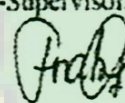Department of English Language Education

Approved by:

Main Supervisor,

Co-Supervisor,

Dr.phil. Saiful Akmal, MA

Fera Busfina Zalha, MA

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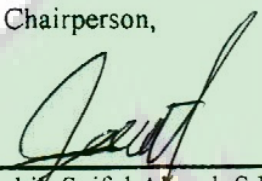for Bachelor Degree of Education in English Language Teaching

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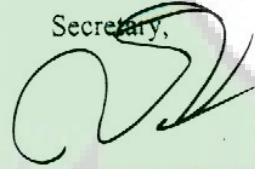                   29 Dzulhijah 1441 H

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Dr.phil. Saiful Akmal, S.Pd.I., M.A            Ikhwanna Dhivah, S. Pd


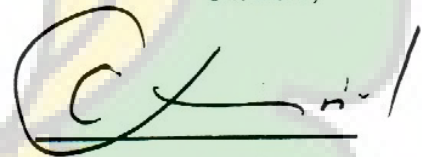Member,                                         Member,


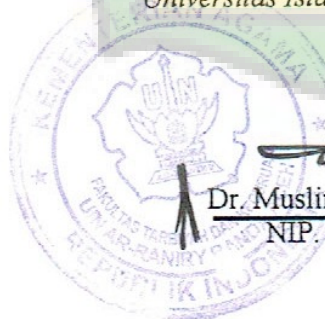Fera Busfina Zalha, M.A                        Khairiah Syahabuddin,
                                               MHSc.ESL.,M.TESOL.,Ph.D

Certified by:
The Dean *of Fakultas dan Keguruan*
*Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh*


Dr. Muslim Razali, S.H., M.Ag.
NIP. 195903091989031001

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Nama         : Noviani

NIM         : 150203182

Prodi       : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris

Fakultas    : Tarbiyah dan Keguruan

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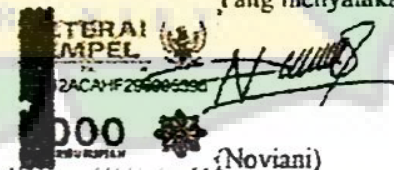
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**CHAPTER IV: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

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# ABSTRACT

This study is entitled "**An Analysis of Euphemism and Dysphemism on Jakarta Post Newspaper**". The analysis was carried out based on Allan and Burridge's theory which divided euphemisms into thirteen types, namely metaphor, idiom, circumlocution, acronyms and abbreviations, general-for-specific, hyperbole, litotes, learning terms or technical jargon, rejection, dysphemism, euphemism, metonymy, synecdoche and associative engineering. Allan and Burridge divide dysphemism into nine types, namely synecdoche, dysphemistic epithetism, euphemistic dysphemism, dysphemistic euphemism, "-ist" dysphemism, name dysphemism, name dysphemism, dysphemism, and homosexual dysphemism. Euphemisms and dysphemism published in March, 5 up to 12, 2020 became the unit of analysis. The results of this study indicate that the dominant euphemism used in rubric opinion is idiom, acronym and abbreviation. then the dominant dysphemism is dysphemistic euphemis

# CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents introduction of study which consists of background of study, previous studies, research question, research aim, significance of study, and research terminologies.

## A. Background of study

As a means of communication, language is used to convey ideas, messages, feelings, and opinions to others. There are many language styles that can be used for people to express themselves, one of which is figurative language. Figurative language or non-literal uses words in a way that deviates from their conventionally accepted definitions to convey a more complicated meaning or heightened effect. According to Turner (2002), figurative language is as special as it concerns emotional communication, which tightly reflects something about people's ordinary conceptualizations of their complex experience. The figurative language can be used in any form of communication such as in daily conversation, newspaper, magazine, novels, drama, song, and even movie. In linguistic perspective, figurative language is language that uses words or expressions with a meaning that is different from the literal interpretation (Harya, 2016. p47). There are many types of figurative language such as metaphor, simile, symbols, hyperbole, irony, euphemism, etc (Tia, 2018. p70). This study is concerned with euphemism and dysphemism.

Euphemism is a word or expression that is used when people want to find a polite or less direct way of talking about difficult or embarrassing topics like death or the bodily functions in conversation (Naorem 2014. p162). Hornby (2005). defines euphemisms as words or expressions that refer indirectly to some unsuitable, unpleasant or embarrassing issue in order to make it seem more acceptable. On the contrary, dysphemism is the opposite of euphemism. Gomez (2012) states that euphemism and dysphemism is a cognitive conceptualization process that has a countervailing effect, has one origin of the same word but has a different purpose. Both are used to express a taboo-like reality in society. Euphemism is used to smooth the language taboo with a specific purpose; on the other hand, dysphemism is used to sharpen the language taboo. Theoretically, Allan and Burridge (2012) state that euphemism is used to avoid utterances that hurt someone's heart or speech that is not worth saying, whereas dysphemism, by contrast, is a crude and painful expression of something or aimed at someone.

One of media that used euphemism and dysphemism is newspaper. Newspaper is a print media that publish information on current events and is often printed in black ink with a white or gray background. The Jakarta Post is one of the newspapers in Indonesia. It is an English-language daily newspaper that is owned by PT Bina Media Tenggara in Jakarta. As one of the settings in which euphemism and dysphemism are used, it is important to use euphemism and dysphemism in newspaper articles because they become interesting to persuade readers to read the news. In this case, euphemism and dysphemism represent an

important role in language to make readers more interested in reading news in newspapers.

This study used newspaper as its research subject. The newspaper used is The Jakarta Post since it is more contextual and deals directly with the social environment in Indonesia. Another reason is The Jakarta post written directly by Indonesians (non-native) .Therefore, it can present how Indonesian as a non-native uses euphemism and dysphemism in English language. Furthermore, it is one of the leading English-language newspapers in Indonesia. The data used for this research is rubric opinion. It seems interesting because it reflects someone's opinion about current political, social or current issues. This study attempts to analyze about euphemism and dysphemism in The Jakarta post newspaper specifically in rubric opinion.

## B. Previous studies

There are many studies that focus on analyzing the use of euphemism and dysphemism in newspapers. The first study was conducted by Dhika (2013) entitled *Euphemism and Dysphemism in the Movie Remember Me.* It was a study of euphemism and dysphemism in the movie. It aimed to make an explanation of types of euphemism and dysphemism expressions, revealed the intended meaning of euphemism and dysphemism and described euphemism and dysphemism expressions functions found in the movie Remember Me. Furthermore, there is also a research conducted by Mahmudah (2015). This research entitled *The Use of Metaphors in Business Articles Jakarta Post* on May 5, 2014 Edition. He used the

theory of Kovecses (2010) which divides metaphors into three types such as structural, orientation and ontological metaphors. Her research showed that there were 29 metaphors in The Jakarta Post Business article published on May 5, 2014. They were 7 structural metaphors, 8 orientation metaphors and 14 ontological metaphors. Ontological metaphors are a widely used metaphor in newspapers.

## C. Research Questions

Based on the background described above, this research focuses on the following problems ;

What are the types of euphemism and dysphemism found in The Jakarta Post newspaper?

## D. Aims of study

The research objectives in this study

To find the types of euphemism and dysphemism found in The Jakarta Post newspaper.

## E. Scope of the study

This study focuses on the type of euphemism and dysphemism found in The Jakarta Post newspaper especially in opinion rubric. The data source of this research is The Jakarta Post published from March, 5 up to 12, 2020. This study attempts to investigate euphemism and dysphemism in The Jakarta Post newspaper rubric opinion section.

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## H. Significance of study

This study is expected to benefit several parties.

1. For the students, this research is expected to encourage students to gain more knowledge about figurative languages especially euphemism and dysphemism.

2. For lecturers and teachers, this research enables lecturers to obtain additional material for linguistic and literary teaching in which figurative language is discussed because to teach using newspaper media and materials that are taught more variety.

3.  For researchers, this research is expected to help other researchers in investigating and looking for references related to this topic.

## I. Terminology

1.  Euphemism

    Harris (2000) claims euphemism is replacing mild and pleasant expression without a harsh and blunt one euphemistic word and expressions that allow us to talk about unpleasant disguise or neutralize unpleasantness. Hornby (2005) defines euphemisms as words or expressions that refer indirectly to some unsuitable, unpleasant or embarrassing issue to make it seem more acceptable. This research focused on several types of metaphor, idiom, circumlocution, acronyms and abbreviations, general-for-specific, hyperbole, litotes, learning terms or technical jargon, rejection, dysfemism, euphemism, metonymy, synecdoche and associative engineering.

2.  Dysphemism

    Dysphemism is an expression with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or to the audience, or both, and it is substituted for a neutral or euphemistic expression for just that reason (Allan,2012). Furthermore, it is said that dysphism in addition to having the value of rough taste also to strengthen certain meanings and contexts. For example, About 50 people were declared dead by the

train accident. Here, in dysphemism the word dead means to pass away.

3.  Jakarta post newspaper

    The Jakarta Post is daily English newspaper available in Indonesia. The Jakarta Post also has a Sunday and online edition, whose contents are not published in daily print editions. The goal of this daily reader is the foreign community and educated Indonesians, although the number of Indonesian readers from the middle class also continues to increase.The Jakarta Post has won numerous awards and is dubbed the most prominent English daily newspaper in Indonesia (Stefan, 2003). The Jakarta Post is a member of the Asia News Network.

    This newspaper features print and online editions aimed at foreigners and educated Indonesians. It also offers the latest information from news related to daily activities such as business, politics, entertainment, lifestyle and so on. The newspaper is used as material to be analyzed. In this study, the analysis is only carried out on the opinion of the newspaper published from March, 5 up to 12, 2020.

# CHAPTER II

# LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter discusses the definition of figurative languages, euphemism, dysphemism and the types of euphemism and dysphemism.

### A. Figurative Languages

Figurative language is often found in literature, such as articles in newspapers, advertisements, novels, poems, etc. The use of figurative language is one way to make literature more interesting to read. According to Araya (2008), the use of figurative language is an example to illustrate the process in which individuals are directly involved when using language. Meanwhile, Perrine and Thomas (1983, as cited in Marlinton 2018) stated that the figurative language is a way to add an extra dimension to language, which can catch the readers' attention. Thus, the figurative language is one of the important elements in literature where it can give more meaning to words or make certain linguistic points.

Based on Merriam-Webster's encyclopedia of Literature (1995, cited in Harya, 2016) figurative language or figures of speech can be classified into five categories :

1. Figures of resemblance on a relationship (e.g. simile, metaphor, kenning, conceit, parallelism, personification, metonymy, dysphemism, and euphemism).

2. Figures of emphasis or understatement (e.g. hyperbole, litotes, rhetoric, question, antithesis, climax, bathos, paradox, oxymoron, and irony).

3. Figures of sound (e.g. alliteration, repetition, anaphora, and onomatopoeia).

4. Verbal games and gymnastics (e.g. also and anagram).

5. Errors (e.g. malapropism, periphrasis, and spoonerism).

## B. Euphemism

The use of taboo words is likely to cause public shame and requires the use of more polite expressions to replace taboo words, namely euphemisms. As stated by Allan and Burridge (2006), Euphemism is terms or phrases used to substitute offensive sounds in order to avoid or protect the 'face' of the speaker, listener. Furthermore, in semantics, Euphemism is described as an alternate way of explaining something that makes something sound more fun than it really is (Murphy & Koskela, 2010). The word euphemism is used to replace words that are considered too harsh or something unpleasant or embarrassing. Euphemisms can be considered as better and more polite words or expressions that are applied to replace or offensive ones so that everyone can accept them.

Euphemisms are used in society, for giving information more politely. Abrams (2005) argues that euphemisms are used to replace words that are felt to be unpleasant. In addition, the euphemism described by Holder (2008) as a lighter term is used to replace incompatible or disrespectful expressions.

whereas according to Horny (2005) defines euphemism as words or expressions that refer indirectly to some inappropriate, unpleasant, or embarrassing problems to make it look more acceptable. Another example of sleep is the style of euphemism. This is for dead words because dead words are considered offensive and unpleasant, without the words he sleeps.

The definition of euphemism is a mild substitute for impolite expressions for those who may be offensive and unpleasant. Euphemisms are used to hide unpleasant ideas, even when the term for them is not always offensive (Sari, Refnaldi & Rosa (2013).

According to Fujita (2004), there are two types of euphemisms, positive and negative. Positive is expanding forward. It makes the euphemistic items look altogether more magnificent and more important than it really is. This includes imposing job titles adopted to support one's self-image or impress one's friends and acquaintances. For example, "region manager" as a salesman writer "a sales clerk to replace shopkeeper 'shopkeeper'. Meanwhile, negative euphemisms are deflated and faded. They are from the language that people prefer to use usage. They are also defensive, compensate the power of taboo terms  and denials eradicate from the language of everything that others are indirect. For example for "lame" and breathe fresh air as a free euphemism from prison.

On the other hand, Rosa, Refnaldi, and Sari (2013,p.33-34) classified euphemism into five types as follows:

a.  Shortening

1) An abbreviation of a condensed or shortened term or sentence structure Example: B.S. is bullshit, T.S. is transsexual. A shortened in this form is often included a simplified term such as Ladies' (Ladies' room).

2) Apocopation, Short or omit ultimate syllable. For example: Vamp for Vampire

3) Backformation is a word created by deleting an older word from a true prefix or suffix. Example: The term burgle, originating from a burglar, is a rob euphemism.

4) Diminutive. Shorting a name and inserting a suffix to indicate affection, the origin of a modern word. The term buttock is euphemised by heinie, for example, which is the diminutive of the hind end.

5) Omissions, such as "f---" for having sex, or "s---" instead of shit.

6) Clipping is removing portions of a phrase which have the same meaning. For instance: nation (damnation), bra (brassiere), jeez (Jesus).

b. Circumlocution.

For instance, Middle Eastern dancing sounds better than belly dance. A little girl's room means a toilet. Post-consumer secondary material is used instead of garbage.

c. Remodeling

1) Phonological Distortion is how euphemism can be created when the utterances intentionally distort the pronunciation of words. For example, the word "Christ" is pronounced by cripes, crust, and crockery.

2) Blending. It is formed by squeezing together two or more words that orthographically and phonetically. For example, the word "Gezunda" which derived from the object goes under the bed.

3) Reduplication. It is like a repetition of a syllable a word. Is particularly present in children's vocabulary. For example peepee (piss), tuzzy muzzy (vagina), and rantum-scantum(copulate).

d. Semantic Change

1) Semantic Shift. general-for-specific and part for-whole euphemisms. The general-for-specific strategy is a one-to-one substitution, such as the use of go to bed instead of having sex.

2) Metaphorical Transfer. This procedure is a comparison of things of one order to things of another. For example, the word pimple is euphemized as blossom.

3) Widening, omitting the specific features that would unequivocally identify the referent, for example, growth (cancer), foundation (girdle), and solid human waste (feces).

4) Litotes. Is created by replacing a word with the negative expression of its opposite For example, not bad for 'fair' and unwise for 'foolish'

5) Understatement. For example, a nuclear reactor that is said to be above critical is actually out of control, and an active defense means an attack.

6) Indirection. An assembly center is an indirect euphemism for prison.

7) Abstraction. For instance, an economic thing might refer to the state of a slump, recession, or depression.

e. Borrowing

1) External Borrowing. Most taboo words are usually rendered in French or Latin. For example, affaire, amour, and liaison are euphemisms for love; and lingerie for women's underwear.

2) Internal Borrowing. Euphemisms can also be from different sublanguages such as jargon or technical terms.

Additionally, in general terms, euphemism can be classified based on its issues. There are 13 euphemism types (Allan and Burridge(1999) in Astuti, 2014, p.9-15).

1. Metaphor. It suggests something more than the direct conceptual frameworks. For example, she is an old bag implies "she is a pretty, old guy.", when it is used in an appropriate context, Metaphor in this sense is not a tool or literary invention but it has been used as an everyday expression. Throughout everybody's life, metaphor is convincing, not only in words but also in thinking and practice (Lackoff in Rusman, 2000,p.18). A metaphor allows an unimplied contrast between two different entities possessing at least one similar attribute or feature. We can also compare an unpleasant to a pleasant or less pleasant one, to be euphemistic.

2. Idiom. This is a term that acts also as a device, the definition of which can not be figured out from its separate sections. Several idioms are euphemistic in adapting to unpleasant issues. Several instances of metaphorical Indonesian idioms are *Lengser ke prabon* (Step down), Arjuna (Playboy), *Politik jalan buntu* (Deadlock), *Jaksa mata hijau (*Bribery). In English or American euphemisms are for example: put one's foot in one's mouth (verbally blunder), shake a leg (hurry), pull someone's leg (deceive teasingly, make fun of, victimize), chew the fat (talk), shoot the breeze (talk), kick the bucket (die), roll in the hay (fornicate). Many though not all idioms are used as a euphemism for things that we find uncomfortable talking about directly (Chaika, 1982,p.200).

3. Circumlocution. It is a rhetorical device that can be defined as an ambiguous or paradoxical way of expressing things, ideas, or views. In fact, when somebody wants to stay ambiguous about anything and he does not want to say something directly, it means he is using circumlocution. Common features examining all the examples of circumlocution, one would find that they share the following features: 1) This is used where the speaker becomes unable to find the correct language to describe or tell anything, 2) it is used for social reasons to prevent utilizing offensive terms, 3) it is used in politics and law and often it is impossible to determine which viewpoint a politician or a lawyer would follow, 4) it is used to create a regular meter of poems and verses. Circumlocution also can be defined as saying what can be said in just a few words. For instance, for the blind, hearing impairment or hearing impairment deaf, mentally challenged, or special for retarded, sigh deprived, visual impairment, or visual disorder.

4. Acronym and abbreviation. The acronym is appropriate words produced by the initial letter and abbreviation is the appropriate words created by the initial sound when sounded in a letter series (Plag, 2003, p.123). Such as SNAFU means (the situation is not normal, all fouled up), a military euphemism for a possibly catastrophic event. By comparison, abbreviations do not show up from proper words, and so a series of letters are pronounced. For example, SOB (Son of a Bitch), MoU (Memorandum of Understanding). By using acronym and abbreviation, the whole purpose

can be achieved without necessarily knowing its process; since, mentioning the popular is preferable instead of mentioning a string of letters (Ichsan in Mazidah, 2007, p.17).

5. General-for-specific. It is a one-for-one substitute. There are separate subclasses of general-for-special the euphemism just described is whole-for-part; go to bed for 'shit' invokes the usual place where a particular occurrence happens. Rather than such as part of the whole is shown to spend a penny on 'go to the restroom' (from the days when loose women cost a penny to access); and I have a cough that can ignore the stuffed nose. For instance, in the form of a phrase, "I have never seen his nose tip"

6. Hyperbole. This utilizes dramatic claims to identify the statement (e.g. waves as high as Everest) from the actual meaning. Additionally, hyperbole (overstatement) can be found in euphemisms such as a flight to the glory which means death, villa in a prime location refers to a dilapidated artisan.

7. Litotes, which uses the inverse of negative form. Litotes is a type of understatement, often deliberate emphasize intention. It may also rely, in speech, on emphasized intonation; for instance, the phrase "not bad" can be said in such a way as to means anything from "mediocre" to "excellent". In another definition, This type of euphemism is created by replacing a word with the negative expression of its opposite (Brook, cite in Kaosa,2009) such as: she is not the nicest person I know (to indicate meanness), he is not exactly a rocket scientist (to indicate lack of

intelligence), organizing these records is no small task (to indicate difficulty).

8.  Learn terms or technical jargon. It applies to the use of acquired terms or technical jargon instead of popular terms and certain technical jargons are either borrowed from another language or built from English, such as the marriage of convenience (marriage to procure the material) and without let or hindrance (without any difficulty or obstacle). Allan and Burridge (1986,p.4) further stated that most languages seem to have some euphemisms based on borrowed words or morphs. For instance, hierarchial, mysterio, paradeigma. Those words are borrowed from Greek. It is characteristic of many languages to use words borrowed from other languages to function as a euphemism. Frazer (in Allan and Burridge, 1986,p.4) In addition, it claimed that borrowing is code swapping or a type of transition. And so is the use of the so-called 'special languages' such as Aboriginal Australia's 'mother in law' languages. Special languages are used for euphemistic purposes and can be regarded as an exaggerated form of borrowing within our classification of euphemism.

9.  Denial. Denial is a phrase or preposition utilized by anyone who tries to hide the true sense. Couldhard (1985, p.169) notes that the denial classes are twelve:

    1)  Denial of a background of information; that is, denials are used where the writer believes that the reader is collecting misguided ideas from background knowledge.

2) Denial of the text processed information, that is issued when the writer assumes the reader could derive a misconception from the text. There are two types of denials of the information processed in the text: First, denial used to prevent an erroneous inference from the text to come, for example in Indonesia: Gus Dur said: "tidak terlibat KKN tiga orang mentri dalam cabinet saya' and KKN is similar to menggelapkan uang meaning "taking graft" or "mengambil uang untuk keperluan pribadi" (Badudu in Rusman 2000,p.21); second, denials used to correct an idea already processed in the text.

3) Denial unfulfilled expectation that is a denial used when the writer wants to express an unfulfilled expectation on which he or she makes the reader to the participant.

4) Denial contrast that is a denial used to compare or contrast two or more items.

5) Denial modality, for example, "the Bali gate may not be so dangerous".

6) Denial apology, for example: Please apologize to my policy for bombing Saddam, Clinton said.

7) denial please as a refusal.

8) Denial comment as refusal, take the example from President Richard M. Nixon. Who shortly before resigning as President of the United States said at a press conference "I am not a crook" instead of saying "I am not an honest man".

9) Thanks as a denial.

10) Denial Condition as refusal, for example: Please, settle Bali gate scandal, if you want the fresh fund from IMF, Albright said.

11) Denial alternative as refusal. Algore can be a president of the USA, as long he is a green state, Clinton said, example in Indonesia such as Megawati masih bisa *menjadi* alat pemersatu sungguhpun tidak menjadi ketua umum PDI-P.

12) Denial correction. Clinton said I don't make love with Lewinsky. Denial and refusal can be both neutral and euphemistic. For example, A: would you vote for my party? B: No, I will not (neutral), sorry, I would not be next time would be OK(euphemistic). The second answer is milder. Therefore, the second answer will be a euphemistic refusal.

10. Euphemistic dysphemism. It shows the euphemism locution with the dysphemism illocution. For instance: Amin Rais said *"Pak Habibie akan menjadi tuna kuasa setelah pemilu 1999"*. Furthermore, dysphemic euphemism which shows dysphemic in locution while euphemism in illocution. For example, Teten said *"Pak Andi M. Ghalib masih melakukan pungli atau seorang jaksa bermata hijau"*.

11. Metonymy. It refers to how part of the whole is described, such as the owner 's creator as the context is strongly related. It also defined the cause for effect substitution, the proper name for one of its qualities, etc. For instance: He reads Pramudya Ananta Toer Pramudya Ananta Toer refers to the author of some books and the sense is that he is reading the book of Pramudya Ananta Toer.

12. Synecdoche, this is supposed to be general, specific and general. General for specific, for instance, some citizens voted for Golkar in the general election. "Golkar" refers to some party that follows in general elections. And specific to general, for instance, "specific becoming a democratic nation is not only in the hands of government but also in the hands of citizens residing in that community." "In hands" indicates the individual in control of.

13. Associative engineering. It shows how the words or phrases and meanings can be classified into the denotative meaning and connotative meaning by changing semantic or meaning. According to Allan and Burridge (2005,p.24) denotation is the relation between language expressions and things or events in the worlds, not just the world we live in, but any world and time (historical, fictional, and imagined) that may be spoken of. The connotations of word or longer expression are semantic effects (nuances or meaning) that arise from encyclopedic knowledge about the word's denotation and also from experience, beliefs, and prejudices about the context in which the word is typically used.

Leech (1974, p.9) clarified that the associative definitions are six types:

1. Connotative meanings referring to the meaning of what is referred to (for example, pro-choice to refer to pro-abortion).

2. Stylist meanings referring to the meaning of what is communicated in a social condition (for example, Madame, Professor Smith refer to the style of polite greeting).

3. Affective meanings referring to the meaning of what is reflected in the feeling and attitude such as "you are like stars in the sky" for the speaker or writer to express his feeling toward the reader or hearer.

4. Reflected meaning referring to the meaning of what is associated with the thing, such as cauliflower for the private parts of a woman.

5. Collocative meaning referring to the meaning which associates with other words, such as brilliant girl, bright boy.

6. Conceptual meaning referring to the definition of the denotative meaning, for instance: prevaricate meaning to lie.

## D. Dysphemism

Dysphemism is the opposite of euphemism, which means using words that mean harshly and expressing something that is not true. Chaer (1995) states that dysphemism is an attempt to replace words with subtle meanings or ordinary words with meanings.

Marcus (2011, p.82) revealed, "A dysphemism is the antonym of a euphemism. Whereas a euphemism is substituted for an offensive expression, a dysphemism substitutes a distasteful expression for a wholesome or desirable one as .... ". Attempts or symptoms of coarseness are usually carried out by people in unfriendly situations or to show irritation.

Dysphemism is the opposite of euphemism, which means using words which means rude or expressing something that is not true. Chaer (1995) states that dysphemism is replacing words with subtle meanings or ordinary words with meanings that are rude. Furthermore, it is said that dysphemism in addition to having the value of rough taste also strengthens certain meanings and contexts. Dysphemism is an expression with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or to the audience, or both, and it is substituted for a neutral or euphemistic expression for just that reason (Allan,2012).

Dysphemism is used as a style of language often found in newspapers. According to Fakhrurradzie (2004) that uses a variety that is interesting for anyone who reads. Dysphemism is used as a style of language often found in newspapers. According to Fakhrurradzie (2004) that uses a variety that is interesting for anyone who reads. The language used in the mass media reflects the user community. Leech (2003, p.27) states that language reflects the speaker's personal feelings, including his attitude towards the listener or his attitude about something he says.

Dysphemism has many types such as Synecdoche, Dysphemistic Epithetism, Euphemistic Dysphemism, Dysphemistic Euphemism, "-ist" Dysphemism, Name Dysphemism, Cross-Cultural Dysphemism, and Homosexuality Dysphemism (Alan & Burridge, 2001).

1. Synecdoche

One type of dysphemism is synecdochic, in which a part is used to represent a whole, such as What an asshole (Allan & Burridge, 2001). Kirszner, Laurie G. et. al (1983, in Miali & Ayu, 2016) argue synecdoche is a kind of figurative expression based on a partial-overall relationship. Synecdoche is a small part of the thing mentioned. A small part, but detailed and very important, can represent two whole. Based on the opinion above, the author states that synecdoche is a figurative language in which the part is used for the whole. As well as according to Keraf, (1980) synecdoche is a figure of speech that mentions part of something to suggest a whole. For example:

All eyes on me.

The mother buys spinach and carrot

The meaning of the first example is all peoples looking at her. The meaning of the second statement is mother buys two vegetables namely spinach and carrot. In figurative language only mention part of things that stand for the whole of it (Lubis,2017)

2. Dysphemistic nickname

Animal names are often used as dysphemistic nicknames. the speaker offends the listener by targeting his humanity. For example insulting someone by calling them "Chicken" because he is a coward or calling someone "Pig" to insult his weight (Allan & Burridge, 2002).

3. Name dysphemism

When someone uses someone else's name instead of the appropriate kinship term or address title. The speaker uses a more casual or inferior style than is appropriate given the social context. The use of this language may not constitute dysphemism if the choice of words used by the speaker is welcomed by the listener. In this case, it will attract the positive face of the listener rather than damage it, and thus it will not become dysphemism. Anger or dissatisfaction with the listener (or group of people) can force the speaker to use the name dysphemism or the term address dysphemism (Alan & Burridge, 2001, cited in Putri 2018).

Name dysphemy is often implied when someone's name or title is disused or substituted. For instance, someone named Teresa who made overstated claims for a company-paid trip could be described as "the little witch who charmed the boss into approving that phony expense report".Anger or dissatisfaction with the listener (or group of people) may compel a speaker to use a name dysphemism or term of address dysphemism and another example. the "Judas" name is embedded to someone whose behavior is as bad as the character Judas in the Bible story (winsantana,2018).

4. Euphemistic Dysphemism

A speaker may use a minced oath when wanting to swear (interjectionally) for emphasis without offending. The illocutionary act (expressive) is dysphemistic while the locution is euphemistic so it is not to offend others. The example of this type is, „she is freaking amazing". The speaker uses the word freaking instead of „fucking" because she wants to sound less harsh.

5. Dysphemistic Euphemism

Abusive language can be used as friendly greetings between friends or families, intended without animosity. This is indicative of friendship or familiarity. For example is, "You are a dumbass, but I love you anyway." The word dumbass can be considered as the harsh word but the speaker does not have the intended to insult the hearer because is a mockery used between friends or family.

6. "-ist" Dysphemism

Ethnic slurs are dysphemisms targeted at those of a particular ethnicity and may involve an element of stereotyping. Dysphemism for those of a particular biological sex, religion, political stance, sexual orientation, ability level, or any other personal trait may function likewise.

7. Homosexual Dysphemism

Homo-dysphemism here is a term used about homosexuality.

8. Cross-cultural Dysfemism

Various dysphemistic slang terms in one culture may not exist if they have different meanings in another culture, for example, the term fag. Fag means slur used for gay men in American, whereas, English is used for cigarettes.

**E. The Jakarta Post Newspaper**

Newspapers are periodical publications containing written information about current events and are often typed in black ink with a white or gray background. These newspapers can cover various fields such as politics, business, sports, and art, and often include material such as opinion columns, weather forecasts, local service reviews, obituaries, birth notifications, crosswords, editorial cartoons, comic strips, and column suggestion. There are various types of newspapers in Indonesia such as Kompas, Republika, Jakarta Post, etc.

The Jakarta Post Newspapers is one of Indonesia's most popular English-language daily newspaper operated by PT Bina Media Tenggara (Eklöf,2003). The Jakarta post because is contextual that deals directly with the social environment in Indonesia. Since 2016, The Jakarta Post has launched a new web page that is more active and has a variety of content. In addition to the news in the newspaper, the online version also includes coverage that is only available on the internet. new rubrics like Community, Academia, and long

reports called Longform. Readers who are not subscribed can also read premium news but have a limit of only 8 premium articles each month.

There have been many studies related to analyzing ephemismand dysphemism in newspaper. The first study is entitled "*Euphemism used in language of politic padang express Newspaper*". The study was conducted by Sari, Refnaldi, Rosa (pe of who attempts to knowing anything ty (٢٠١٣ S ;١٩٧٥Williams )euphemism from these words using theory hipley 1977; Rawson 1983; Neaman & Silver 1983; Allan & Burridge 1991). And also to find out the meaning from these euphemisms using Leech's theory (1975). This study found 4 types of euphemisms: semantic change (semantic shift, metaphorical transfer, litotes, understatement, indirection, abstraction), borrowing (external borrowing, internal borrowing,) and the meaning found is conceptual and affective. The second study is entitled "*Analisis terjemahan ungkapan eufemisme dan disfemisme pada teks berita online BBC*". The study was conducted by Meilasari(2016) this research tries to find out how the expression is translated from English into Indonesian Indonesian while expressions that are euphemistic or dysphemistic in one society are possible not euphemistic or dysphemistic in other societies. Therefore, 20 BBC online news texts in English and their translations in Indonesian have been collected for discussion. That euphemistic and dysphemistic expression was later identified from these texts. There are found 156 euphemistic and dysphemistic expressions in these texts. To ensure that the expressions in English and Indonesian that are identified are truly euphemistic or dysphemistic, validation

from native speakers of English and Indonesian is required. The analysis

showed that 34 of 156 expressions were translated by shifting the type of

expression. Expression all analyzed in the form of words and clauses. The

analysis shows that 13.5% of English euphemisms are translated into

dysphemism and 8.3% of English dysphemism is translated into euphemisms.
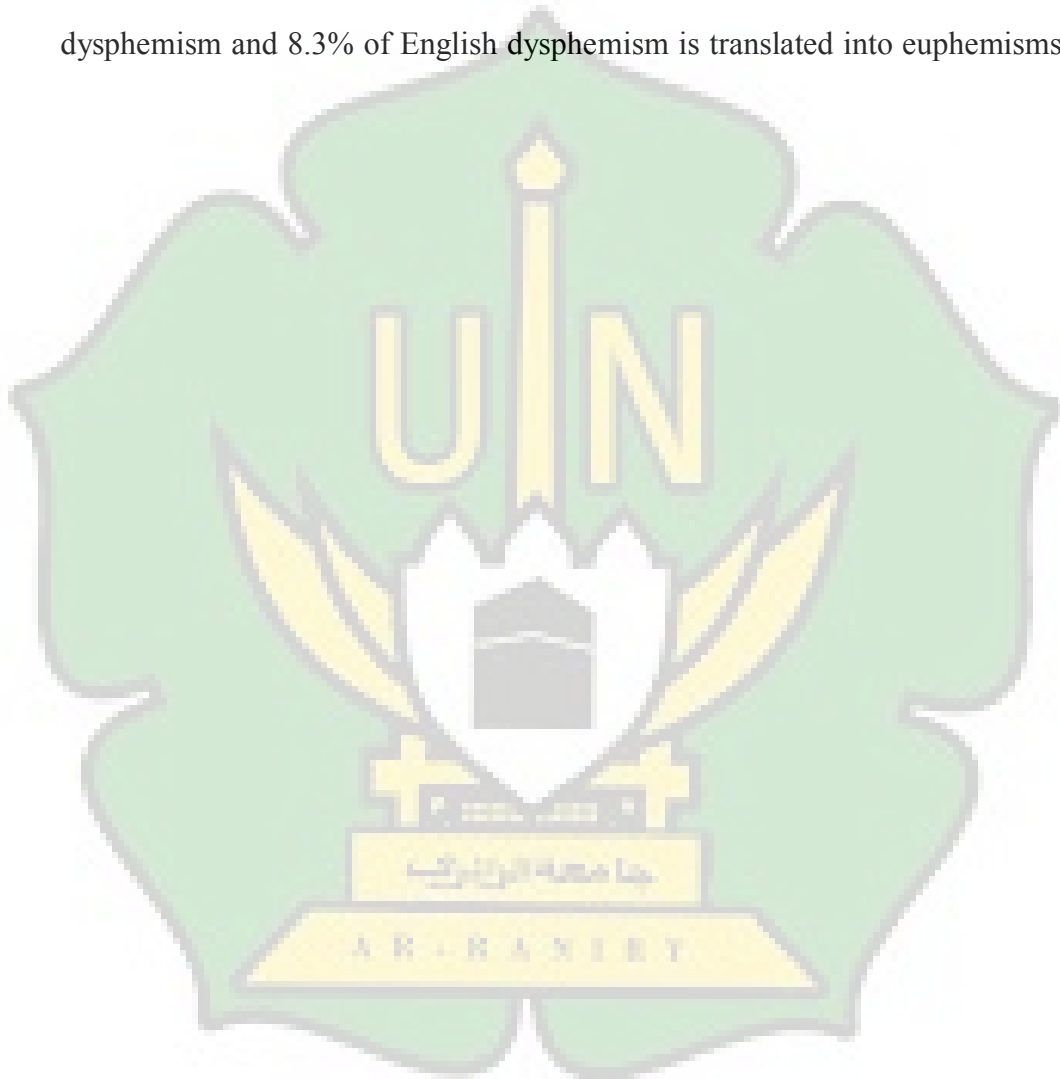
# CHAPTER III

# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses about the research design of this study. It highlights some aspects of the research design including the source of data, data collecting technique, and data analysis procedure.

## A. Research Designs

The approach used in this study was qualitative approach. Patton and Cochran (2002) state that qualitative approach is distinguished by its goals of understanding certain aspects of social life and its methods of producing words rather than numbers as analytical data. Qualitative approach refers to meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and description of things (Berg, 2007). Newman (2012) also gives his view on qualitative approach. He states that qualitative approach looks at interpretation or the creation of meaning in specific settings the researcher would like to conduct the research by using qualitative text study. Thus, this thesis tried to interpret the meanings of metaphorical words, in this case euphemism and dysphemism, based on its context.

## B. Material of Analysis

The subject analysis of this research is The Jakarta Post Newspaper, specifically the section of opinion rubric. The Jakarta Post newspaper is one of

English newspapers available in Indonesia. The owner of the newspaper is PT. Bina Media Tenggara. Tarrant (2008) explains that this newspaper is targeted for foreigners and educated Indonesian. This newspaper was selected as the source of data since it is one of the most popular English newspapers in Indoneia. I analyzed each sentence in opinion rubrics published on March, 5 up to 12, 2020. Furthermore, I choose a weeek edition of newspaper because it is enough for the data. The euphemisms and dysphemisms that were found in the rubric of opinion were the unit of analysis.

## C. Data Analysis Procedure

To analyze the data, I took several steps. First, I read the opinion rubric which is the subject of this study. Then, I classified data by the coding based on the type of euphemism and dysphemism. Next, the result of the coding are typed and sorted by type and find out the meaning of the word. Finally, the word is analyzed and discussed descriptively in the next chapter and also explains the result and conclusions.

**CHAPTER IV**
**RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

This chapter presents the research finding and discussion. The research results and the classification of the data are served in the findings which are then followed by the discussion.

**A. Research Findings**

After analyzing the extracted opinion rubric of The Jakarta Post newspaper published in March, 5 up to 12 a week, 2020 that contains euphemism and dysphemism. The data of each category is elaborated below:

1. Type of euphemism

    1.1. Acronym and abbreviation.

    Astuti (2014) stated that acronyms are expressions or words that are shortened and read in the form of full actual words. Abbreviation is usually interpreted as abbreviating one or two words that are still spoken the same way even if they are written as abbreviations.

    > "In a recent article published by ***UNICEF,*** one of TikTok's biggest stars said she gets hundreds of thousands of hate comments every week, often on her body and weight." (March 12, 2020. P.7)

    The expression euphemism is found in the text above is UNICEF. It was classified as an acronym and abbreviation. The acronym is right words made from the first one or two letters of words in a phrase that is pronounced like any other words. Abbreviations are not the right words, so they are pronounced as string letters. That UNICEF acronym

is used to refine the expression of the United Nations Children's Fund. UNICEF is an organization that provides assistance and welfare to children and governments in developing countries.

> " It is now time for bank, notably  the top 20 banks, which have enjoyed big profits over the past  five years and the highest net interest rate margins in ***ASEAN***, …" (March 11, 2020. P.6)

The acronym "ASEAN" can be categorized as acronym and abbreviation. The acronym "ASEAN" means Association of Southeast Asian Nations is a regional organization that facilitates the cooperation of 10 (ten) countries in Southeast Asia.

> "Moreover, pursuant to Article 123 of the ***UNCLOS***,…" (March 11, 2020. P.6)

From the sentence above, the word "UNCLOS" stands for United Nations Convention on The Law of the Sea or often called the PBB Convention on the Law of the Sea.

> "… while male farmers on average have 0,6 ***ha*** or three times the agricultural land area owned by women." (March 11, 2020. P.7)

The unit of "hectare" is an abbreviation of hectare, abbreviated as "ha", which is a unit of area that is commonly used to express the area of land. The basic unit of hectare is an acre, a unit of area defined as 100 square meters.

> "Europe has also led the way in regard to legal protectionist mechanisms for ***LGBTQI*** persons." (March 07, 2020. P.7)

Word LGBTQI belongs to the category of jargon and abbreviations. LGBTQI abbreviation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, questioning (or: queer), intersex. The term LGBT is very

much used for self-appointment. The term is also used by the majority of communities and media based on sexuality and gender identity in the United States and several other English-speaking countries.

1.2. Idiom

An idiom is an expression whose meaning cannot be defined directly. Some idioms are very subtle in adapting to unpleasant problems (Astuti, 2014).

> "Normally when I win or lose at Wimbledon, people will come up to me and say: "**_Well done"_** or **_"Bad luck"_** ". (March 12, 2020, p.20)

From the sentence above the phrase "Well done" or "Bad luck" is classified as idiomatic euphemisms: an expression that functions as a whole whose meaning cannot be worked on from separate parts. The phrase "Well done" is usually used to congratulate someone for what they have done or achieved and you are happy that they won. The phrase "Bad luck" is usually used when someone get misfortune, said as an expression of condolences to someone who lives or suffers misfortune.

> "Taking that nostrum seriously is a **_dead-end_** road, but Trump has traveled further down it than any other US political leader in memory." (March 12, 2020. P.7)

From the phrase "dead end" is classified as an idiomatic euphemism: an expression that functions as a whole whose meaning cannot be worked from separate parts. The phrase "dead end" is

usually used for a road or lane that has no exit at one end. So the dead end referred to here is a situation that is unlikely to succeed or for which there is no progress.

> "Willpower and prayers were useless in containing the **_Black Death_** in the Middle Ages." (March 12, 2020. P.7)

The phrase "black death" is classified as idiom. The meaning cannot be done from a separate part. This phrase refers to a pandemic state where the death rate is very high.

> "A strategy for a partial ban on plastics serves as a **_"wake-up call"_** for businesses that could be impacted by the ban." (March 06, 2020. P.7)

Based on the sentence above "wake up call" has a meaning something that surprises people, makes them understand how serious the problem is and makes them take an action to solve the problem. So the intention "wake-up call" takes serious action to solve the problem.

1.3. Metaphor

Metaphor is an implied simile, compares two different things but in metaphor does not use as or like to create the comparison (Lubis, 2017). Furthermore, according Astuti (2014), a metaphor allows an inexplicit contrast between two different entities possessing at least one similar attribute or feature. We can also compare an unpleasant to a pleasant or less pleasant one, to be euphemistic.

"This virus reminds us afresh that no ***person or country is an island*** unto itself." (p.7, March 10, 2017)

In the sentence above, we can see the word person or country is an island that describes life needing help from others because life cannot be independent there must be deficiencies that require help from others. As we know that the word island is land surrounded by water or ocean so between land and sea that are interconnected with each other is not called an island if it is not surrounded by ocean. In this sentence, it is used in the term island so we can conclude that the metaphor expression is "island is interdependence", so the island here is meant to be a sport or people cannot deal with the virus themselves, must help each other.

2.  Type of dysphemism

2.1.Euphemistic Dysphemism

A speaker may use a minced oath when wanting to swear (interjectionally) for emphasis without offending (Putri, 2018).

"Many ***transwomen,*** as a particularly vulnerable group, resort to attempt of suicide as an escape."

The data above uses the word "transwomen" usually call "waria" to express transgender who have a gender identity or gender expression that is different from the sex designated at birth. Sometimes

Transgender are also referred as transsexual if they want medical assistance to transition from one sex to another.

2.2. Dysphemistic Euphemism

Dysphemistic euphemism is an abusive language that can be used as a greeting of friendship between friends, intended without hostility to show friendship or intimacy. However, if the language is used for strangers or only for someone who is not close enough, it is as a real mocker (Putri, 2018).

> "Get the _f\*\*k_ out of my country, you piece of Chinese _s\*\*t_!"(March 10, 2020. P.7)
> "_F\*\*k_ off and leave him alone, you white racist piece of _s\*\*t!_" (March 10, 2020. P.7)

The word "fuck and shit" can be considered as the dysphemistic word, and it was indeed a mockery which thrown. Quoted from Wikipedia, Fuck is a word of English market language which, as a verb, means "to have sex with". This word is identical with the word to curse. Swear or dirty words fuck and shit is to denigrate others and to show anger.

2.3. Homosexual Dysphemism

Homosexual dysphemism here is the term used homosexuality.

> "Underground _sex-work_ is often the sole remaining option of employment." (March 07, 2020. P.7)

The word sex work means a person who works in the sex industry, for example, as a prostitute its mean someone who has sex for money. Sex work is a sexual service including physical contact. Sex work only refers to voluntary sexual transactions, so the term does not refer to human trafficking.

3. Discussion

The expression euphemism is found in the text above is UNICEF. It was classified as an acronym and abbreviation. The acronym is right words made from the first one or two letters of words in a phrase that is pronounced like any other words. Abbreviations are not the right words, so they are pronounced as string letters.

The researcher uses Allan and Burridge (1999) cite in Astuti, 2014, p.9-15 theory of euphemism to answer question number one. When the analysis is done then found five types that are, metaphor, idiom, acronym and abbreviation, general to specific and jargon. Meanwhile, Burridge Alan & Burridge (2001) Theory of dysphemism types that applied to answer research question number one. As the analysis has been conducted, it is found three types of dysphemism on The Jakarta Post. Those are Euphemistic Dysphemism, dysphemistic euphemism, and homosexuality dysphemism.

Types of euphemism not found in newspapers are Associative engineering, Synecdoche, Metonymy, Denial, Litotes, Hyperbole, and

Circumlocution. Meanwhile, the type of dysphemism that is not found is Synecdoche, Dysphemistic nickname, "-ist" Dysphemism, and Cross-cultural Dysphemism.

3.1. Types of Euphemism

The types of euphemism which appear most frequently in The Jakarta Post newspaper published in March, 5 up to 12 editions, 2020 are: one data belong to metaphor, four data belong to idiom, five data belong to Acronym and abbreviation, and one data belong to jargon. (1) Metaphor, it indicates something different from the literal meaning. It found in the opinion rubric. The phrase are person or country is an island that is interdependence. (2) Idiom, that is an expression functioning as a single unit whose meaning cannot be worked out from its separate part. It can be found in the phrase Well done, Bad luck, dead-end, Black Death, wake-up call. (3) Acronym and abbreviation. Acronyms are expressions or words that are shortened. Abbreviation is usually interpreted as abbreviating one or two words that are still spoken the same way even if they are written as abbreviations. It can be found in the phrase UNICEF, ASEAN, UNCLOS, ha, and LGBTQI. (4) Learn terms or technical jargon, found in acronym and abbreviation type that is LGBTQI.

3.2. Type of dysphemism

After analyzing all data published in March, 5 up to 12 editions 2020, the researcher have obtained five fixed data to analyze, from the first type of dysphemism euphemism, dysphemism euphemism, and Homosexual dysphemism. (1) euphemism, dysphemism, a speaker may use a minced oath when wanting to swear for emphasis without offending. The word found in the Jakarta post is transwomen. (2) dysphemism of euphemism, dysphemistic euphemism here is abusive language that can be used as a greeting of friendship between friends, intended without hostility to show friendship or intimacy. However, if the language is used for strangers or only for someone who is not close enough, it is as a real mocker. The word such as f ** k and s ** t. (3) Homosexual dysphemism, homosexual dysphemism here is the term used homosexuality. The word found is sex-work.

## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

After analyzing the research findings and discuss it in the preceding chapter, conclusion and some suggestions are given. The conclusion is drawn based on the data analysis, while suggestion is intended to give information to the next researchers who are interested in doing further researches relevance to this study.

4.1. Conclusions

Basically the existence of euphemisms is hiding unpleasant ideas to avoid losing face in communication. Furthermore, the use of euphemisms is used in words, phrases or sentences. Based on the analysis of the data stated previously, there are some euphemisms that formed in the Jakarta Post newspaper published in March, editions 5 through 12, 2020. In addition, this section concludes the discussion that was discussed in the previous section.

The types of euphemisms used in the newspaper are idioms, acronyms and abreviations, metaphors. In conclusion, the use of euphemisms especially in the news media is important and has many advantages, because users of euphemisms try to replace them unpleasant phrases or words to avoid violations. In addition, euphemisms not only constantly change the names of things and repackage them to make their voices better but also relate to language habits. In short, euphemism

is good Tools to avoid losing face and euphemism are not only useful for giving a good impression to the public, but also useful for hiding horrible facts.

## 4.2. Suggestions

In accordance with the research findings described earlier, there are a number of points that can be recommended for students, lecturers, teachers, and for researchers. For students, this research is expected to encourage students to gain more knowledge about figurative language especially euphemism and dysphemism. Next, for lecturers and teachers, this research allows lecturers to obtain additional material for teaching language and literature where figurative language is discussed because teaching uses newspaper media and the material taught is more diverse. The last, for researchers, this research is expected to assist other researchers in investigating and finding references related to this topic. The subject of study in PBI is having benefits from your study is the subject of linguistics, reading and vocabulary.

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TENTANG
PENYEMPURNAAN SURAT KEPUTUSAN DEKAN NOMOR Un.08/DT/TL.00/5970/2015 TENTANG
PENGANGKATAN PEMBIMBING SKRIPSI MAHASISWA FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN UIN AR-RANIRY

DEKAN FAKULTAS TARBIYAH DAN KEGURUAN UIN AR-RANIRY

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Menimbang | : | a. | bahwa untuk kelancaran bimbingan skripsi dan ujian munaqasyah mahasiswa pada Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, maka dipandang perlu meninjau kembali dan menyempurnakan keputusan Dekan **Nomor: B-6675/UN.08/FTK/KP.07.6/06/2019** tentang pengangkatan pembimbing skripsi mahasiswa Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh. |
| | | b. | bahwa saudara yang tersebut namanya dalam surat keputusan ini dipandang cakap dan memenuhi syarat untuk diangkat sebagai pembimbing skripsi. |

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| Mengingat | : | 1. | Undang-undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003, tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional; |
| | | 2. | Undang-undang Nomor 14 Tahun 2005, tentang Guru dan Dosen; |
| | | 3. | Undang-undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2012, tentang Pendidikan Tinggi; |
| | | 4. | Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 74 Tahun 2012 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Pemerintah RI Nomor 23 Tahun 2005 tentang Pengelolaan Keuangan Badan Layanan Umum; |
| | | 5. | Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 4 Tahun 2014, tentang Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Tinggi dan Pengelolaan Perguruan Tinggi; |
| | | 6. | Peraturan Presiden RI Nomor 64 Tahun 2013; tentang Perubahan IAIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Menjadi UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh; |
| | | 7. | Peraturan Menteri Agama RI Nomor 12 Tahun 2014, tentang Organisasi dan Tata Kerja UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh; |
| | | 8. | Peraturan Menteri Republik Indonesia No. 21 Tahun 2015, tentang Statuta UIN Ar-Raniry; |
| | | 9. | Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 492 Tahun 2003, tentang Pendelegasian Wewenang, Pengangkatan, Pemindahan dan Pemberhentian PNS di Lingkungan Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia; |
| | | 10. | Keputusan Menteri Keuangan Nomor 293/KMK.05/2011 tentang Penetapan Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh pada Kementerian Agama sebagai Instansi Pemerintah yang Menerapkan Pengelolaan Badan Layanan Umum; |
| | | 11. | Keputusan Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry Nomor 01 Tahun 2015, tentang Pendelegasian Wewenang kepada Dekan dan Direktur Pascasarjana di Lingkungan UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh; |

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|---|---|---|
| Memperhatikan | : | Keputusan Seminar Proposal Skripsi Program Studi Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan UIN Ar-Raniry Tanggal 31 Mei 2018 |

MEMUTUSKAN

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Menetapkan | : | |
| PERTAMA | : | Mencabut Surat Keputusan Dekan Fakultas Tarbiyah dan Keguruan UIN Ar-Raniry Nomor: **Nomor: B-6675/UN.08/FTK/KP.07.6/06/2019** tanggal 26 Juni 2018 |
| KEDUA | : | Menunjuk Saudara: |

1. Dr.phil. Saiful Akmal, S.Pd.I., M.A  — Sebagai Pembimbing Pertama
2. Fera Busfina Zalha, MA — Sebagai Pembimbing Kedua

Untuk membimbing Skripsi :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nama | : | Noviani |
| NIM | : | 150203182 |
| Program Studi | : | Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris |
| Judul Skripsi | : | An Analysis of Euphemism and Dysphemism on Jakarta Post Newspaper |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| KETIGA | : | Pembiayaan honorarium pembimbing pertama dan kedua tersebut diatas dibebankan pada DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh tahun 2019 dengan Nomor: 025.04.2.423925/2018 tanggal 5 Desember 2019; |
| KEEMPAT | : | Surat keputusan ini berlaku sampai akhir semester Ganjil Tahun Akademik 2020/2021 |
| KELIMA | : | Surat Keputusan ini berlaku sejak tanggal ditetapkan dengan ketentuan segala sesuatu akan diubah dan diperbaiki kembali sebagaimana mestinya apabila kemudian hari ternyata terdapat kekeliruan dalam penetapan ini. |

Ditetapkan di: Banda Aceh
Pada Tanggal: 29 April 2020
**An. Rektor**
Dekan,

**Muslim Razali**

**Tembusan**
1. *Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry (sebagai laporan);*
2. *Ketua Prodi PBI Fak. Tarbiyah dan Keguruan;*
3. *Pembimbing yang bersangkutan untuk dimaklumi dan dilaksanakan;*
4. *Mahasiswa yang bersangkutan;*
5. *Arsip.*

# NEWSPAPERS LINK

Thu, March 5, 2020
https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2020/03/05/making-omnibus-law-in-time-of-coronavirus.html

Fri, March 6, 2020
https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/03/06/government-expands-travel-restrictions.html

Sat, March 7, 2020
https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2020/03/07/family-resilience-bill-time-to-evaluate-gender-quota.html

Mon, March 9, 2020
https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2020/03/09/welcome-to-generation-equality-stop-child-marriage.html

TUE, March 10, 2020
https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/coronavirus-nationalist-response-fails-by-kevin-rudd-2020-03?barrier=accesspaylog