# A Meaning of Dysphemistic and Euphemistic Spoken by Indonesian Politicians

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**Abstract**

The dysphemistic utterance is a linguistic phenomenon which politicians often use as a form of strategic communication for referring certain subject with a word or an expression which may have a different meaning. So research aims to analyze the meanings of Indonesian politicians' dysphemistic utterances during the Covid-19 pandemic. The design of this research is qualitative-descriptive and semantic-pragmatic approaches are used in this research. The data used in the research are dysphemistic utterances spoken by Indonesian politicians in several videos uploaded in YouTube during the pandemic era (March 2021 - April 2022). Utterance is analyzed using Allan and Burridge theories. The literature review method was carried out on dysphemistic utterances in the social media sites, guided by an instrument which is designed and developed by the researchers. The technique used in this research is note-taking. This research uses the theory and investigator triangulation techniques to verify the data based on validity and reliability criteria. The analysis of data is presented using formal and informal methods. With the formal method, research results are presented by providing semantic and pragmatic meanings of words and sentences which build dysphemistic utterances. The research results show that there are 6 meanings of dysphemistic utterances spoken by Indonesian politicians during the pandemic era (March 2020-April 2021) that consist of 40 connotative meanings, 33 stylistic meanings, 45 affective meanings, 27 reflected meanings, 39 collective meanings, and 41 thematic meanings. This article is written to explain the dysphemism and euphemistic spoken by Indonesian politician to gain political

**Keywords**: a study, dyspemistic, euphemistic, spoken, Indonesian politicans

## I. INTRODUCTION

Dysphemism has been used in political, social, religious, and cultural areas of life (Hasyim et al., 2020) . In the political area, the dysphemistic utterance is a linguistic phenomenon which politicians often use as a form of strategic communication for referring certain subject with a word or an expression which may have a different meaning. Dysphemism is used by a speaker to express his/her negative judgment upon something or someone and to create negative nuance through the language he/she uses.

Dysphemism can be identified through its context. By using dysphemism, a speaker has an intention to hurt his/her audience's feeling by expressing a reality directly. Generally, dysphemism is used by a speaker to talk about his/her opponent, things he/she disagrees with, and things he/she wants to underestimate. Moreover, (Allan, 2012) states that dysphemism is used by a political party to talk about its opponents. Dysphemism is also related to the use of taboo words which is intended to capture audience's attention, express disrespect, aggression or provocation, mock leaders, and persuade people verbally (Casas Gómez, 2009).

Lately, politicians have been found "attacking" their opponents and the government using speeches in mass media. Their actions were aimed at persuading the public that their opponents had negative or bad impressions. The speeches by politicians in a campaign may shape the public's opinion. Therefore, dysphemistic utterances spoken by Indonesian politicians are created to fulfill their political interest (Laili, 2017). Politicians' dysphemistic utterances have a "strategic" role in promoting their public image. Such utterances can have negative or positive influences, depending on responses from audiences (in this case, the public). The utterances will be responded positively or negatively by the public according to meanings they can grasp. Change in

meanings of politicians' utterances can be done to accommodate their interest in term of their attitude and point of view. Therefore, Indonesian politicians' dysphemistic utterances must be examined based on the context in which the utterances are produced. According to Leech (Arum et al., 2020; Verschueren, 1985), conceptual meaning is an important factor in delivering message because it covers a meaning which is logical, cognitive and denotative. Based on his explanation, an utterance is understood based on its conceptual meaning which is in line with its referent. However, politicians' dysphemistic utterances may have different meanings according to their motives/interests. In this case, an utterance can mean different things.

This research will examine the definition of language used by Indonesian politicians in 2020-2021. Because in 2020 Indonesia is still experiencing the Covid 19 pandemic, the implementation of politics is different from previous years. The government's protocols and policies regarding the public activity restriction have forced the public to spend more time at home. Politicians too have spent their time in-door and at certain places without engagement with the mass. Such circumstance is caused by the government's policies for handling the Covid-19 pandemic, especially the ones related to the budget for programs which was rerouted to social support and other Covid-19 related programs.

Several events occurred during the pandemic. Phenomena taken by the author's observations through the mass media Tribun Pekanbaru newspapers, especially newspapers. Dysphemism often appears in Political news column, Suara news from the Pekanbaru tribune, edition 1 to 30 November 2019 one example, the KPK cannot simply expect testimony in court which can be used as "ammunition" for further investigation. The example above of the word ammunition is an example of the use of dysphemism in political news in the newspaper tribune Pekanbaru. "Ammunition" is weapons or tools used as testimony in court. Based on this phenomenon, the writer is interested in researching usage dysphemism in the political news of the Pekanbaru tribune. there were several events which attracted politicians to voice their opinions such as the government's programs and policies regarding the Covid-19 pandemic, corruption cases, drug cases, Omnibus Law on Job Creation, violations on health protocols, and natural disasters. As members of society, politicians have control systems in the implementation of those programs. Politicians may give their voice or opinions through speeches as a proof of existence or a means to create a self-image in the eye of the public.

The choice of a successful rhetorical strategy in political discourse depends entirely on the different characteristics attached to the "Language behavior cannot be learned outside of the underlying social background because its meaning is governed by several social and cultural variables that are embedded outside, such as aspects of who is speaking, to whom, which party form of speech, purpose, context of the situation in which the interaction occurs (Giyoto et.al., 2020, p. 166). In contrast to socio-political texts, public speeches are distinguished by the presence of "factors based on social context", that is, it is not only the content of a politician's speech that determines their success, but also the situation of verbal interaction with people; purpose, time and place communication actions, as well as the socio-psychological characteristics of the audience – "In the era today's rhetoric, canons of style very often slip into the socio-political intent of the message.(Crespo-Fernández, 2013).

Handling the speeches of politicians, taking into account their goals and motives, is easy guess that the main "weapon" is language – words, which perform the main function - manipulation. The appeal is addressed to politicians, leaders, whose words are of great value to others, requires the speaker to be careful in using vocabulary that touches the topic subtle human traits (race, age, low standard of living of certain segments of the population) and military orientation (weapons, terrorist acts, migration, hostilities). Strengthen people with promises stability, prosperity, well-being, political leaders in their speeches embellish reality by hiding the negative facts, phenomena that cannot be ignored, but which can diminish and avoid any possible attention otherwise, focus on them. It is assumed that the material for such political speeches contains a large number of them a number of veiled concepts politicians use out of necessity.

Political discourse on the one hand requires tolerance towards other cultures, ideas and cultures. aspirations, which allows us to talk about the possibility of increasing the use of means of realization political correctness - euphemism; and on the other hand, aggressiveness, toughness, and assertiveness to gain and maintain power, desire for personal targeting to create trust and a supportive environment, which will be a prerequisite for the use of dysphemism in public speech. Prepared speeches of politicians contain many

rhetorical-strategic means of success affect mass consciousness, but the focus of our attention is on use euphemisms and dysphemisms by politicians in their speeches.

Desphemistic has been researched by several researchers, but there has never been a study on desphemistic and euphemistic conducted by Indonesian politicians in attracting sympathizers before the election during the Covid 19 pandemic. Therefore, Indonesian politicians' dysphemistic utterances during the pandemic era are worthy of study. Dysphemistic utterances are politicians' linguistic strategies which are designed in a way to influence the public and receive their sympathy. In this case, dysphemism is not always used according to its function. The phenomenon in which politicians attack each other using dysphemistic utterances in mass media during the pandemic era was interesting. Therefore, the study focuses on analyzing the meanings of dysphemistic utterances spoken by Indonesian politicians in social media during the pandemic era.

## II. METHOD

The research on dysphemisms in Indonesian politicians' speeches used a qualitative approach. A research with qualitative approach focuses on general principles which underlie the manifestation of phenomenal units in human's social life. A qualitative research aims to understand a problem of humanity by organizing a complex, comprehensive description according to detailed views from informants. The study is conducted in a natural setting. The qualitative research is simultaneously conducted with the activity of data analysis (Mahsun, 2005: 257). The aim of qualitative research is to analyze descriptive data in form of words or sentences in a given context. Qualitative analysis focuses on meaning, describing and explaining it in words.

The design of the qualitative research used was a literature review. Literature review is to provide a framework related to new findings and previous findings in order to identify indications of whether or not there is progress from the results of a study through comprehensive research and interpretation of the results of the literature related to a particular topic in which to identify research questions by searching and analyzing relevant literature using a systematic approach (Polanczyk et al., 2015; Weis, 2020). The method used in the literature review is through a systematic approach to analyzing data in a simplified approach.

Political language is a form of institutional language that has its own sublanguages (vocabulary, idiom), that is, it uses a certain system and words of professionally oriented signs (Karasik, 2004). Political language as the sum of all speech acts, which are used in political discussions. This definition reflects a very broad approach to the content of this concept including forms of communication, of which at least one component relates to scope political: the recipient, subject, or content of the message.

As is known, we live in an era of rapid media development, along with the rapid development of the media. Language, media and society continue to grow together. The language influenced by the media is also an important tool for understanding political phenomena. The media perceives information warfare differently which can be far from real hostility and violence, and which very often favors politicians. Often there is a substitution of concepts, that is, a hidden influence on cognitive activity and behavior of politicians who use linguistic means. Euphemism and dysphemism occupies a leading position in this list of ways. From a political point of view, the influence of language impacts is realized at a very high and very large level impact on mass consciousness as a means to achieve social approval, seek public sympathy and form massive politics views (Crespo-Fernández, 2013). In other words, the task of political speech consists not only of describing what happened, but also assuring the public of the fidelity of the words spoken, encouraged the masses to do the "right" in other words is to win the people's vote because it is very important for a politician to "touch hearts and voices" in mass elections.

This broader understanding of political discourse, which is public in nature, also includes growing media influence, expansion of globalization processes, new developments communication technology, and of course the process of political commercialization communication. In a narrower sense, political discourse is "verbal communication" in a special context in which the sender and receiver assign certain social roles according to their lives performance which is the subject of communication (Fernández, 2008).

## III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Dysphemism is a form of meaning transformation in language. While euphemism is used to soften meaning, dysphemism is used to coarsen meaning. Change in language may be undertaken to accommodate social, cultural, and technological developments in the society where the language is spoken. Gomez (Casas Gómez, 2009) describes euphemism and dysphemism as cognitive conceptualization processes which possess *countervalent* effects. They have one same original word but may have different goals. Both are used to state realities which are considered taboo in the society. Euphemism is used to avoid taboo meanings while dysphemism is used as a taboo language by speaker to reach certain goal.

Euphemism is used to soften taboo language while dysphemism is used to sharpen taboo language with a goal in mind. Theoretically, euphemism is used to avoid speeches that may be inappropriate to say or hurt listener's feeling. Conversely, dysphemism is a vulgar expression about something or aimed to hurt somebody (Hasyim et al., 2020). dysphemism cannot be separated from euphemism (Olimat, 2020). Dysphemism is a word or expression with negative connotation about something or someone, or both. This negative connotation is defined by Allan and Burridge as a semantic effect (nuance of meaning) which emerges because of the existence of encyclopedic knowledge regarding the spoken word or expression's denotative meanings as well as experience, belief, and context that are involved in the word or expression. In other words, dysphemism is used by speaker to express his/her negative judgment upon something or someone which incurs a negative nuance of meaning through the language he/she uses.

Euphemism in language may emerge in form of word and expression (Crespo-Fernández, 2013; Lestari & Asnawi, 2022). Word and expression are considered euphemisms if they are used to substitute or soften other word and expression which are considered taboo, vulgar, and inappropriate. Euphemisms are indirect and more likable compared to word and expression they substitute. Word "*berpulang*" (pass away) is a euphemism of "*meninggal*" (die). The word "*berpulang*" has a softer nuance compared to "*meninggal*" when spoken to family members of the departed.

Dysphemism can be used to talk about or mock speaker's opponent or something which is considered low, and to express speaker's disagreement. Dysphemism is used by speaker to express his/her negative judgment upon something or someone and to create a negative nuance around them. Word "*ditendang*" (to be kicked out) is a dysphemism from "*diberhentikan*" (to be fired). Word "*tewas*" (to be croaked) has coarser nuance compared to word "*meninggal*" (pass away) when it is addressed to a thief.

Dysphemism is a form of taboo language spoken by a speaker with a certain goal (Crespo-Fernández, 2013; Hasyim et al., 2020; Taber, 2018). Dysphemism is used by speaker to express his/her negative judgment upon something or someone which creates a negative nuance through the language he/she chooses. Meanwhile, word and expression which are used to soften meanings are called euphemisms (Allan, 2012; Fernández-martínez et al., 2019). Examining or giving meaning to a word is to understand the word in relation to its meaning which makes it different from any other word. Meaning only involves intra-language. In other words, meaning is an examination of the word itself and makes the word different from others. Meaning of a word can be identified through characteristics and function of the word. In certain context, a person can be asked to guess a word he/she forgets or has not known by mentioning characteristics or function of the word to him/her.

The speaker's intention, an influence of language unit upon perception or behavior of an individual or a group, a relation in term of equivalence and nonequivalence between language and the world outside language, and the way linguistic symbols are used (OLIMAT, 2020). Meaning is divided into two categories: lexical and grammatical. Lexical meaning is the literal, basic meaning found in dictionaries. Grammatical meaning is a meaning which is created by a grammatical event, such as addition of a prefix or a suffix to the base word, word to word, or phrase to phrase.

Leech (Arum et al., 2020; Laili, 2017; Sánchez Ruiz, 2017) categorizes meaning into two types: conceptual and associative. Conceptual meaning is related to a meaning which is inherent in a word or lexeme. Leech further explains that conceptual meaning is a meaning which is in accordance with its concept, referent, free from any kind of association or relation. Conceptual meaning is a meaning which is possessed by a lexeme and independent of any context or association. Meanwhile, associative meaning is an alternative meaning besides the conceptual meaning. Associative meaning is divided into six types: connotative meaning, stylistic meaning, affective meaning, reflected meaning, collocative meaning and thematic meaning. Associative

meaning is a meaning of a lexeme or word which is related to something outside language. Word "*melati*" (jasmine flower) has a conceptual meaning of "a type of small, fragrant white flower". It can also have an associative meaning of "purity".

Dysphemism can be identified according to the impact of its association of meanings in which the real meaning is known (Wardaugh, 20026). Association of meanings emerges because there is relationship between conceptual meaning and associative meaning. Leech (1981: 18) further describes associative meaning as a meaning which is created by a relationship between a word and something outside language. According to Leech (1981;18), there are six types of associative meanings. They are (1) connotative, (2) collocative, (3) affective, (4) social/stylistic, (5) reflected, and (6) thematic meanings.

Based on several explanations regarding the theories of meaning above, it can be concluded that meaning of dysphemism in speech can be identified with the theory of meaning by Leech (1976:19). This statement is supported by Leech (1981: 9-23) that meaning of dysphemism can be identified based on the impact of association of meanings in which the real meaning is known. Association of meanings happens because there is a relation between conceptual meaning and associative meaning. Leech explains that associative meaning is the meaning of word which is related to an association of the word with something outside language or context. This research aims to examine meanings of euphemisms and dysphemisms using Leech's theory of meaning which covers connotative, stylistic, affective, reflected, collocative, and thematic meanings.

The semantic-pragmatic approach was also used in this research. The approach can be used to reveal verbal meanings which are bounded in its action context. Speech belongs to the object of pragmatic research while its content belongs to the object of semantic research (Verschueren, 1985). It posits that what is said is a semantic object while how it is said is a pragmatic object.

The pragmatic approach is an analysis of functions of language which are stated concretely in speech act. This approach focuses on analyzing situation of speech which is oriented to a goal. It connects a set of speech principles and functions to theories of meanings. Pragmatic analysis is an analysis of language usage which is conducted to identify speaker's intent, either implicitly or explicitly behind the speaker's speech. With the pragmatic analysis, the intent of speech is identified by observing components of situation of speech which include speaker, listener, context of speech, aim of speech, and speech as an activity.

The research design used in this research was descriptive and qualitative. A descriptive research is conducted based on facts of language or empirical phenomena which provide data as they are. A descriptive research aims to describe facts being studied systematically, factually, and accurately. In this research, those facts were dysphemistic utterances spoken by Indonesian politicians. Qualitative research is based on existing facts or phenomena which empirically exist in speakers and are produced or recorded as data.

Research focus is established in a qualitative research to limit and distinguish which data is relevant and which one is not. Those limitations are determined based on the level of importance of the research aim. The focuses of this research are object and time. The objects of research were meanings of dysphemistic utterances spoken by Indonesian politicians during the pandemic era in social media. The data used in the research were snippets of Indonesian politicians' utterances which contained dysphemisms and were published in Youtube and Facebook sites during the pandemic era (March 2021 – April 2022). Each utterance was analyzed with the theoretical basis as previously. Every utterance is analyzed theoretically and based on gender i.e. on male politicians. Based on observations and the appearance of news in the mass media, male politicians use desphimism in language. While female politicians tend to use language euphemism.

**Table 1 Determining the Number of Politicians' Dysphemistic Utterances as a Source of Research Data**

| No. | Month | Social Media (transcription) YouTube | Number of Analyzed Utterances |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | March 2021 | 2 | 160 |
| 2. | April 2021 | 4 | 156 |

| 3. | May 2021 | 4 | 150 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | June 2021 | 5 | 153 |
| 5. | July 2021 | 3 | 170 |
| 6. | August 2021 | 4 | 149 |
| 7. | September 2021 | 3 | 140 |
| 8. | October 2021 | 2 | 165 |
| 9. | November 2021 | 4 | 150 |
| 10. | December 2021 | 6 | 237 |
| 11. | January 2022 | 5 | 235 |
| 12. | February 2022 | 5 | 240 |
| 13. | March 2022 | 3 | 200 |
| 14. | Appril 2022 | 2 | 143 |
| | **Total** | **47** | **2448** |

Data acquisition was conducted by the observation method. Sudaryanto (2015:203) defines observation method as a method for acquiring linguistic data by observing the use of language. In this research, the method was used to observe politicians' use of dysphemisms during the pandemic era in social media using an instrument which was designed and developed by the researchers.

Data selection was conducted after the data acquisition had been performed. In this phase, a set of criteria were used as a basis for selection. The criteria were (1) forms of Indonesian politicians' dysphemistic utterances, (2) meanings embedded in Indonesian politicians' dysphemistic utterances during the pandemic era in social media, and (3) the function of Indonesian politicians' dysphemistic utterances during the pandemic era in social media.

The research used the theory and investigator triangulation techniques to verify the data. According to Moleong (2013, p. 324), the criteria of data validity are credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability. The degree of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability are the validity techniques which are often used in non-quantitative studies.

In this research, confirmability is seen as a concept of inter-subjectivity or transparency, which is researcher's willingness to openly describes processes and elements of his/her research so that other researchers may assess his/her research results. This criterion ensures that something is objective and independent from a consensual agreement toward a person's view, opinion, or finding. The triangulation theory was performed by using several theories to validate the data. The triangulation of investigators or experts in this research was performed by conducting the research under the guidance of a promoter, co-promoter, and members of promoters.

Data analysis was performed using the direct element division method. In this method, its determinants are outside and not part of language under study. In this research, the determinants were contexts in which speeches were spoken. Therefore, speeches are part of and represent a culture (Sudaryanto, 2015: 15). This method was used to analyze language used in speeches and the speeches themselves in terms of meaning. The data analysis was presented using formal and informal methods. Formal method is used when research results are presented by providing semantic and pragmatic meanings of words and clauses which form dysphemistic utterances.

Meaning of dysphemistic utterance can be identified through the theory of meaning by Leech (1976, p.19). As stated by Leech (1981, p.9-23), meaning of dysphemism can be identified based on the impact of

association of meanings in which the real meaning is known. An association of meaning occurs when there is a relationship between conceptual meaning and associative meaning. Leech describes associative meaning as the meaning of a word which is related to the relationship of the word and something outside language or context. This research analyzed the meaning of dysphemism using Leech's theory which six covers: connotative, stylistic, affective, reflected, collocative, and thematic meanings. Throughout 2020-2021, Indonesian politicians used 225 dysfemistic words.



Bar chart 1. The Use of Dysphemism by Leech's Theory by Indonesian Politicians
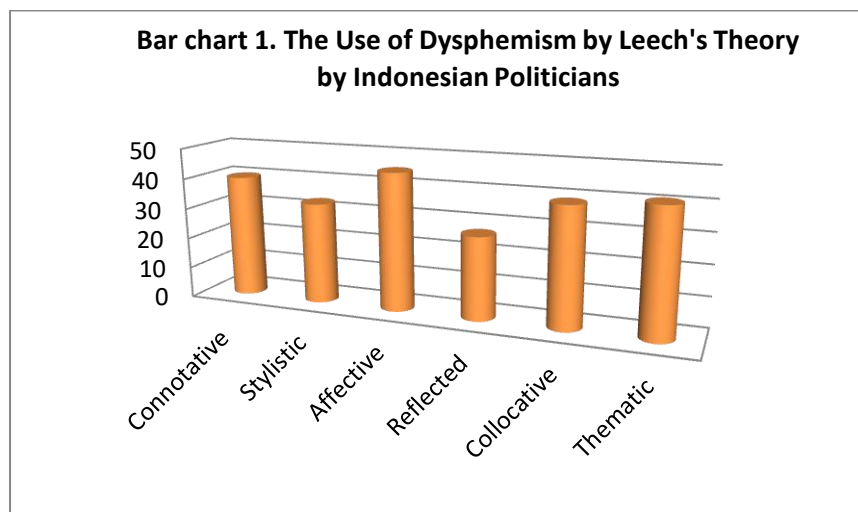
The first cover of dysphemism using Leech's theory is connotative meaning. It is a communicative value which is possessed by an expression based on what it means. Connotative meaning is related to the relationship between a word and an object it refers to. This type of meaning has three characteristics: (1) it has real word experience which is associated with expression during speaking about or listening to it; (2) it tends to be unstable; and (3) it is dynamic and open towards conceptual meaning. For example, word "*mampu*" (to be capable of) has the connotative meaning of" kaya*"* (rich) or having abundant wealth.

Tabel 1. Contaxt of Connotative Meaning

| THE CONTEXT: | THE PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN WAS REPORTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COVID-19 CASES |
|---|---|
| | "*si miskin* adalah orang yang serba kekurangan dalam memenuhi kebutuhan sehari hari saja sangat kesulitan." |
| | *("The poors are those who have difficulty in fulfilling their basic daily needs.")* |
| | (01/5/2020) |

In the snippet of speech above, there is an utterance "*si miskin"* (the poors). The utterance means people who possess little to no money. It belongs to a type of dysphemism which refers to taboo terms used to mock. The utterance has a connotative meaning, a communicative value which is possessed by an expression based on what the expression means. The connotative meaning is associated with the expression being spoken about or listened to. Therefore, the utterance "*si miskin"* possesses a connotative meaning which was uttered to soften the meaning of "not wealthy".

The second cover of dysphemism using Leech's theory is Stylistic meaning. It is related to speaker's social environment. A stylistic meaning can be identified from dialect, time, status, field of expertise, modality, and singularity. This type of meaning emphasizes more on experience as an expression or social context of its user (for example: villa, castle, home, and guest house). Stylistic meaning is a type of associative meanings which cannot be separated from the social context of speaker or speaking partner.

Table 2. The Context of Stylistic Meaning

| THE CONTEXT: | TWO COMPANIES HAD NOT FULLFILLED THE REQUIREMENTS BUT THEY RECEIVED PERMISSION TO EXPORT COOKING OIL |
|---|---|
| | "untuk menangani perkara-perkara yang lebih besar harus melibatkan PPATK terkait dengan *pencucian uang*" |
| | ("To handle bigger issues, such as money laundering, PPATK should be involved.") |
| | (02/yt/3/2022) |

In the snippet of speech above, there is an utterance "*pencucian uang*" (money laundering). The term is borrowed from another language. Money laundering is an attempt to hide or disguise money or fund from criminal act as valid wealth. The utterance has a stylistic meaning. Since this type of meaning emphasizes more on the experience as a social context in the political field, therefore, "*pencucian uang*" is a form of dysphemism with stylistic meaning which was uttered to embellish the meaning of taking money.

The third cover of dysphemism using Leech's theory is Collocative meaning. It is a meaning which contains an association. It is owned by a word whose various meanings are often expressed in speaker's environment.

Table 3. The Context of Collocative Meaning

| THE CONTEXT: | THE POLEMIC OF COMMUNIST DESCENDANTS WHO ENROLLED IN INDONESIAN NATIONAL ARMED FORCES |
|---|---|
| | "*bersih lingkungan* dari anak keturunan." |
| | ("Clean the environment from the communist descendants"). |
| | (03/yt/2/2022) |

The snippet of speech above contains an utterance "*bersih lingkungan*" (Clean the environment). "*Bersih lingkungan*" means "clear from dirt". In the snippet, the utterance means communist descendants who enrolled as soldier candidates should be clean from any influence of their families. The utterance "*bersih lingkungan*" is a dysphemism of taboo terms which is used to give people negative nicknames. The utterance also possesses collocative meaning. Collocative meaning contains an association which is owned by a word whose various meanings are often expressed in speaker's environment. Therefore, the utterance "*bersih lingkungan*" has a collocative meaning and it was uttered to soften the meaning of "to be clear of any influence of their families".

The fourth cover of dysphemism using Leech's theory is Affective meaning. It is a meaning which reflects personal feeling and attitude of speaker towards listener.

Table 4. The Context of Affective Meaning

| THE CONTEXT: | JOKOWI REPRIMANDED MINISTRIES REGARDING COOKING OIL AND PERTAMAX GASOLINE PRICE INCREASE. |
|---|---|
| | "Jokowi berpidato di depan menteri-menteri bahwa pernyataan yang kita sampaikan harus *sensitif* terhadap kesulitan-kesulitan yang dialami rakyat." |
| | ("Jokowi gave a speech in front of his ministries that the statement we are going to deliver must be sensitive towards our people's difficulties".) |
| | (04/yt/2/2022) |

The snippet of speech above contains the word "*sensitive*" (sensitive). The word "*sensitif*" in KBBI (Indonesian Dictionary) is defined as to receive stimulus quickly. In the speech, the word means that President Jokowi expected his ministries to be considerate regarding the price increase of basic necessities (such as cooking oil) and other difficulties faced by the people. The word "*sensitif*" is a type of dysphemism which is acquired from a degree of abnormality. The word has affective meaning. Affective meaning reflects speaker's personal feeling and attitude towards listener. Therefore, the word "*sensitif*" as dysphemism has affective meaning and it was uttered to embellish the meaning of "*peka*" (sensitive).

The fifth cover of dysphemism using Leech's theory is reflected meaning. It is a double conceptual meaning or a meaning which is created by a word due to multiple concepts the word possesses.

Table 5. The Context of Reflected Meaning

| THE CONTEXT: | CHAMPIONS OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2024 |
|---|---|
| | "tiga sosok golongan Capres dianggap sebagai pemimpin yang lahir dari *bawah* yang biasanya lebih bisa mengambil hari anak-anak muda" |
| | ("Three presidential candidates who are considered as leaders from *below* often are more likable to young voters".) |
| | (05/yt/2/2022) |

In the snippet of speech above there is utterance "*bawah*" (below). The word "*bawah*" in Indonesian Dictionary means a lower place, side, position, and part. In the snippet of speech, the three presidential candidates are leaders who come from below, or common families. They are Ganjar Pranowo, Anies Baswedan and Ridwan Kamil. The word "*bawah*" is a dysphemism of taboo terms which is used to give people or things negative labels or nicknames. The word "*bawah*" has reflected meaning. A reflected meaning is a double conceptual meaning which is possessed by a word so that the word can have multiple meanings. The word "*bawah*" is a dysphemism which has reflected meaning and was uttered to embellish the meaning of "common family".

The Last cover of dysphemism using Leech's theory is thematic meaning. It is a meaning which is delivered by speaker or writer according to the way it is delivered in terms of focus and emphasis.

Table 6. The Context of Thematic Meaning

| THE CONTEXT: | TVONE NEWS- PERTAMAX GASOLINE PRICE INCREASES TO IDR12.500 |
|---|---|
| | "Sebagian masyarakat menilai kebijakan kenaikan PPN tidak tepat karena akan membebani masyarakat yang baru bangkit dari *keterpurukan* ekonomi akibat pandemi." |
| | ("Some people consider the policy of value added tax (PPN) increase is not appropriate because it increases the burdens of the people who are just trying to rise from the economic recession due to the pandemic.") |

The snippet of speech above contains the word "*keterpurukan*" (economic downturn). The word "*keterpurukan*" means to sink. In the speech, the word means that the people object the policy of value added tax increase because they were just recovering from the economic downturn due to the pandemic. The word "*keterpurukan*" is a dysphemism which uses taboo terms to nickname person or thing. The word "*keterpurukan*" has a thematic meaning. A thematic meaning is a meaning which is delivered according to how speaker or writer organizes his/her message in terms of focus and emphasis. The word "*keterpurukan*" is an instance of dysphemism which has a thematic meaning and was uttered to soften the meaning of "*kekurangan*" (lacking of).

Allan and Burridge (2006, p. 53-54) defines deep politeness things that are not offensive, and Categorize orthophemisms and euphemisms inside it. While impoliteness and dysphemism is the opposite in terms negative. Such indifference can is also defined as an image as Dysphemism in the Perspective of Semantics, Sociolinguistics, and Discourse Analysis that everyone wants, or called the ideal public self-image. The topic of dysphemism is violation of principles politeness which is closely related to face and the resulting effects. Dysphemism too breaking taboo principles in the realm sociolinguistics, namely forbidden expressions on a society. Use of dysphemism make things taboo in the past become normal and normal expressed at the present time.

In the context of the words used in table 1, table 2, table 3, table 4 and table 5 are used dysphemistic, meaning authoritarian or unfriendly administration, stating insinuations and accusations. Here the word expresses accusations against that government misleading (as represented in the article) the population and set the task of denouncing the activity (Azizah & Rustono, 2020). However, both euphemistic and dysphemistic can be used as fallacies to mislead the audience. Although dysphemisms and euphemisms maintain a degree of cognitive accuracy, this misleading effect, at times, represents a disconnecting between objective reality and connotation.



Bar Chart 2. The Bar Chart of Dysphemistic and Euphemistic in Male and Female Politicans
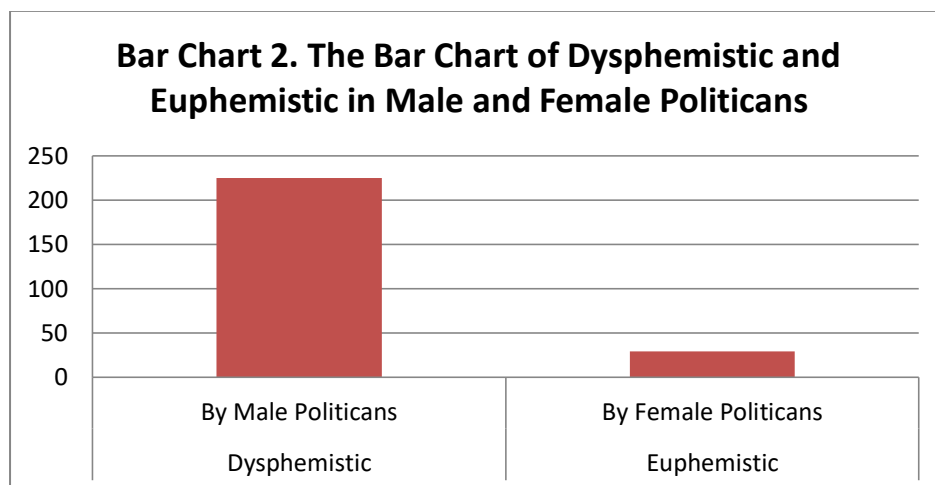
Indonesian politicians' speeches 225 dysphemistic and 29 euphemistic word during the pandemic era (March 2020 – April 2021) which consist of 40 connotative meanings, 33 stylistic meanings, 45 affective meanings, 27 reflected meanings, 39 collocative meanings, and 41 thematic meanings. The dysfemistic practice by Indonesian politicians is that all are male. and euphimistic is often done by female politicians.

As can be seen from the table, dysphemisms, like euphemisms, can formally convey the same thing information, only with a different evaluative interpretation. This unit of language is a means gives a negative evaluative coloring and focuses mainly on the negative impact of speech. Forming a negative attitude towards the subject of speech, actions and phenomena is the main task dysphemism. Through the tactic of insults and accusations, dysphemism employs strategy discrediting newspaper articles on political issues. As is clear from the chart above, social media/show business/Television remains the leading thematic group for unsavory criticism in Indonesia.

Literature review research provides an understanding and explanation of the use of the word dysphemism by Indonesian politicians. For this reason, linguists and political experts can develop similar studies that can contribute positively to the world of Indonesian politics.

In connection with this research, it takes limited subjects, namely only Indonesian politicians, material on desphimitism obtained via YouTube and is only limited in 2020-2021 with a simple method, namely research on literature reviews and only focuses on dividing six types of desphiminism based on Leech's theory as well as comparisons between men and women. men and women in the use of desfeminism and euphemism.

Based on these limitations, the researcher will carry out further research, namely with a broader subject, material that is not only obtained from YouTube but also from books, mass media and a television show, with more relevant methods and developing how to deal with people who too often uses desfeminism so that it can be generalized.

**Conclusion**

There are 6 types of meanings of dysphemisms in Indonesian politicians' speeches during the pandemic era (March 2020 – April 2021) which consist of 40 connotative meanings, 33 stylistic meanings, 45 affective meanings, 27 reflected meanings, 39 collocative meanings, and 41 thematic meanings. The dysphemistic utterances used by Indonesian politicians during the Covid-19 pandemic era appeared in several contexts as follows: the presidential spokesman's speech to provide information regarding the progress of Covid-19 in the television, a response of a member of the People's Representative Council towards nepotism in Indonesian National Armed Forces recruitment, and President Jokowi's response regarding the price increase of cooking oil.

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