Euphemistic Representations of Death in Armed Criminal Group Eradication Discourses in West Papua

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
   How to cite: Wijana, I.D.P., & Yoga, A. (2025). Euphemistic representations of death in armed criminal group eradication discourses in West Papua. *International Journal Linguistics of Sumatra and Malay (IJLSM)*, 4(1), 14-24.	This article is intended to describe various forms and strategies used by video clip narrators in creating death euphemistic expressions during eradication processes of Armed Criminal Group rebellion in West Papua. All data are collected from discourses of video clips narration concerning soft and hard approaches carried out by Indonesian police and Indonesian National Army. Based on careful analysis of the collected data, it is found that there are considerable differences regarding motivations between common or conventional death euphemistic expressions and ones used to described death in the separatist eradication. Most of death euphemisms found in video clips narration are motivated by ludic communicative functions of a language s be set in by the imbalance power of the two fighting parties. The linguistic forms of euphemistic expressions can be differentiated into words, phrases, and clauses. Finally, various strategies exploited to create them include figurative, remodeling, circumlocution, abbreviation, metonymy, hyperbole, and understatement. **Keywords:** Euphemism, Death, Discourse, Conflict, Linguistic Strategy

1. Introduction

The Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) Constitution is a fixed price. Everything and everyone intending to separate from The Republic of Indonesia must be eradicated no matter what the risk or cost that should be paid. To keep the constitution and the territory, the Indonesian government has carried out various development programs to prevent the emergence of separation movements in the country. Since its Independence Day, Indonesian government has eradicated a lot of separation movements, such as DI/TII (Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia 'Indonesian Islamic Country/Indonesian Islamic Soldier'), GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka 'Acehnese Separation Movement'), RMS (Republik Maluku Selatan 'South Moluccas Republic'), and TPNPB (Tentara Pembebasan National Papua Barat 'National West Papuan Liberation Army'). Regarding the National West Papuan Army, its members claimed that in 1961, the Dutch colonial government gave them independence. However, in the meantime, Indonesian President Soekarno seized West Papuan through the Tri Komando Rakyat Military Operation, abbreviated Trikora Operation, because all Indian Dutch colonies belonged to Indonesia. This event was followed by an opinion poll won by Indonesia and ended with the United Nations Resolution.

On the other hand, the National West Papuan Army Liberation Movement and its proponents claimed that Indonesia had annexed and colonized West Papua to be included in Indonesian territory. Until now, the West Papuan Movement has continuously struggled against all kinds of Indonesian government's efforts to develop

West Papua. The rebellion of the Liberation West Papuan Soldiers was up and down. As such, the Indonesian government, through its police, backed up by its army, must carry out a territory approach and security operation to eradicate the rebellion. Regarding this military operation, many people create video clips containing narration of the eradication acts done by Indonesian police and army. The narrations are very rich in data, particularly viewed from linguistics. From a linguistic viewpoint, there are various significant aspects regarding the "discourse" of the military operation. One uses "euphemism" to soften the meaning of impolite or uncomfortable eradication actions taken by the Indonesian security apparatus to maintain the Indonesian sovereign. Those euphemistic expressions cover things such as war, death, ammunition used to kill, the killing action, human body organs, and so on. For a more precise understanding, consider the following five expressions.

(1) *Rambo **K**elompok **K**ekerasan **B**ersenjata (KKB) Papua   apes.   **Kena door** sniper.*
Rambo group   criminal   armed   Papua unlucky. To be shot   sniper.
'Papuan armed criminal group's Rambo was unlucky. He **was shot** by a sniper.'

(2) *Melarikan diri ke arah   yang salah. Tiba-tiba saja disambut **kembang api** TNI.*
Running   self to direction that wrong, suddenly just welcome flower   fire Indonesian Army.
'Running to wrong direction, they were suddenly welcomed by Indonesian Army **gun shots.**'

(3) ***Paket   cod dengan nenas-nenas kecil   di dalamnya.***
Package cod with   pineapple pineapple small inside
'Small cash on delivery package with small pineapples inside.'

(4) ***Pemetikan   bule   asing   pemasok senjata KKB Papua***
Picking up of albino foreign supplier weapon KKB Papua
'**The killing** of foreign albino, the supplier of Papuan Armed Criminal Group weapon'

(5) *Sniper membidik **lato-lato** KKB Papua*
Sniper targeted on Armed Criminal's claker balls.'
'Sniper targeted on Papuan Armed Criminal's **testicles'**

Example (1) constitutes a discourse containing killing action in which the action is more polite using a clause containing the onomatopoeic sound of a gun *kena door* 'to be shot.' Meanwhile, discourse (2) describes the eradication war. Part of the war, i.e., the spattering of fire from the gun, politely resembled compound *kembang api* 'firecracker.' In (3), the bomb, the weapon used to kill the armed criminal group, is described metaphorically as the phrase *paket COD* 'Cashed on Delivery Package or COD package' for short, and the phrase softens the grenade it contains nanas-nanas kecil 'small pineapple.' In (4), the murdering action is softened using the phrase pemetikan bule asing which means 'picking, cropping,' in which the human body is considered identical to 'leaf or fruit.' Finally, in (5), part of the male genital organ, i.e., testicles, are compared their similarities with the reduplicated word lato-lato 'clicker balls' for gaining a more polite expression. From the (5) examples above, various euphemistic expressions are used to utter unpleasant events in Papua's armed criminal group eradication process. Accordingly, as the title suggests, this paper will discuss euphemistic expressions related to eradicating the KKB troops. Two issues will become the focus of this study. Those are forms of expression used to convey euphemism and various ways exploited by the video clip YouTube creators or narrators in creating euphemistic expressions in the discourse of the Armed Criminal Eradication group in West Papua.

The study of euphemism is rooted in the existence of taboo in human life. The term of taboo itself is coming from Polynesian introduced by Captain James Cook then entered English and other European languages (Ullmann, 1972; Wijana, 2006). This word has a very broad meaning, but it commonly refers to 'something forbidden'. It is also said that the appearance of taboo is at least caused by three matters. Those are something scary (taboo of fear), something uncomfortable (taboo of delicacy), and something inappropriate (taboo of propriety). To avoid mice attack, Javanese farmers and Balinese merchants are not allowed to use word tikus 'rat' and bikul 'rat'. They must change them with den baguse 'handsome nobleman' and jro ketut 'little nobleman'.The use of word ular 'snake' and and harimau 'tiger' are also forbidden by anyone walking in the forest or jungle in many parts of Malay communities. They must use their metaphorical equivalents *akar* 'root' and *datuk* 'grandfather'. The Jewish people are forbidden to say directly the name of their God. The use of animation character *Jimmy Cricket* for replacing *Jesus Christ* during fishing expedition is a good instance for taboo of fear, and the replacement of God into *the Lord* and *Seigneur* in English and French are the other

examples for taboos of fear. Meanwhile, various human beings' efforts to avoid direct calls for various human diseases and death belong to taboo of delicacy. For example, the use *imbecile* borrowed from Latin *imbecillus* through french a euphemistic expression that means 'weak'. The use of word *cretin* in french is a Swiss dialectal form of chretien 'christian' for referring to dwarf or stunted people. Meanwhile, there are various terms can be used to avoid directly saying mati 'dead' in Indonesian, such as *meninggal* 'leave the world', *berpulang* 'return to the place of god', *wafat* or *mangkat* 'pass away for king or great people', *kembali ke alam baka* 'return to eternal nature', etc. Finally, the use of swear words for attacking someone, such as fuck, damn, shit, etc. constitutes taboo of propriety, and English speakers have several terms for avoiding them. The term to sleep with can be used to replace fuck, and faeces can be done for shit. In line with this matter Allan (1986) states a lot of things can be softened by euphemistic expressions, such as God, diseases, accidents, professions, sexual activities, bodily excrement and human action related to them, etc.

The most comprehensive study on euphemism has been done by Allan and Burridge (1991). Beginning their discussion by separating the use of language as shield and weapon and using a wide range of examples from various languages, they present very comprehensive accounts on euphemism and dysphemistic matters metaphorically represented by weapon and shield. Among topics becoming its discussions are synonymous variation used to express euphemism and dysphemism; exploitation of euphemism for addressing and naming; bodily effluvia, sex, and body parts lexicons as taboo terms; the use of taboo terms as insults, Epithets, and expletive; avoidance to say die: dying, and killing, the difficulties of talking about disease, how to differentiate jargon, style, and euphemism, and dysphemism; and artful euphemism. Burridge (2012) try to describe the functions and strategies of creating euphemism in the use of modern English in the era of Shakespeare. Meanwhile, Adam's work (1992) concerns sexual euphemism in Latin. Euphemism has also been research topics of many Indonesian scholars.

The use of euphemism in Tempo Co's articles attracts Nusri's attention to consider this problem and found that there are various ways of creating euphemism, such as metaphors, hyperbole, idiom, association, personification, circumlocution, jargon, acronym, abbreviation and litotes. The functions of euphemistic expressions as instrument for promoting harmony and conflict mitigation are found by Kusmiatun and Bow (2021) through their comparative study between Indonesian and Mandarin. Meanwhile, regarding foreign language learning, the use of euphemism can help the learners to master the second or target language they are studying. Using theory has been proposed by Allan and Burridge (1991), a study carried out by Jayanegara and Wijana (2023) is successful in revealing forms, types, and functions of euphemism found in obituary discourses. Regarding the form, obituary euphemism can be constructed by words, phrases, and clauses. Based on the types, those forms can further be classified into metaphors, substitution, abbreviation, acronym, pronoun, specific terms, circumlocution, hyperbole, understatements, and borrowing. Finally, the use of them is intended to serve various communicative functions, such as protecting, under-handing, uplifting, provoking, building social cohesion, and creating jokes.

The use of euphemism in politics has attracted Ridwan et al's attention (2020). Using Republika online mass media as source of data, he found the same result as Jayanegara & Wijana (2023). A study of euphemism using literary work as source of data has been done by Jumino et al. (2021). They found that euphemistic expressions in Putu Wijaya's short story entitled "Guru" (Teacher) are exploited for serving three functions, i.e. speech refinement, means of diplomacy, and keeping something secret. Meanwhile, sexual euphemistic expressions are becoming research topics of many linguists, such as Kusumah (2019), Anita et al. (2019), Sutaji and Nugroho (2024), and Wijana (2024). Kusumah focuses her study on pop and hip-hop song lyrics, Anita et al. on Indonesian translated English novel written by Elosia James, Sutaji and Nugroho on English translated Indonesian novel written by Eka Kurniawan, and Wijana on sexual euphemism found in Indonesian narrated English film video clips. Based on the facts described above and the differences that holds between obituary and rebellion eradication discourses, the choice of topics on euphemism of armed criminal group eradication in West Papua seems still relevant to reveal how the death in that rebellion extinguishing processes are euphemistically expressed.

Politeness is one of the most important matters in both verbal and nonverbal human interaction. Even, speaking politely is considered more important than clear, logical, and ordered utterances. In Leech's (1983) pragmatic theory, politeness maxim in many cases is placed in the first rank preceded rhetorical maxim which related to the truth and clearness of utterance. According to this theory, speech participants should maximize the benefit of their interlocutors by not flouting politeness maxims which consist of six principles, i.e. tact, approbation, modesty, generosity, agreement, and sympathy maxim. According to Foley (2001), politeness is a battery of social skills whose goal is to ensure everyone affirmed in social interaction. In every verbal interaction, all participants try to make their interlocutors for not losing "face" (Brown & Levinson, 1978). Face in this matter is "self-image" of communicative participant that must be carefully considered by anyone

involved in verbal interaction. The face needed to be recognized could be different depending on the speech situation (Allan, 1986). At least there are two kinds of faces that can be offered, those are positive faces and negative faces. Therefore, there are two strategies that can be used by speech participants to save the loss of face, i.e. positive strategy and negative strategy. Positive strategy is done by exploiting friendship, solidarity, and compliment statements. Meanwhile, negative strategies are carried out in such ways, so the interlocutors will feel comfortable and keep their rights and interest undisturbed (Verschueren, 1999; Wijana, 2005).

In sociolinguistics perspective, politeness also constitutes important considerations. The abilities to construct grammatical and correct sentences is part of communicative competence (Hymes, 1974, Richards et al. 1985) that includes:

1. Knowledge of the grammar and vocabulary of the language.
2. Knowledge of rules of speaking (i.e. knowing how to start and end conversations, knowing what topics to talk about in different speech events, which address forms should be used with different people one speaks to and in different situation.
3. Knowing how to use and respond to different types of speech acts, such as apologies, thanks, invitation, etc.
4. Knowing how to use language appropriately.

The knowledge of using vocabulary in the first item implies that the ability to use euphemistic expressions cannot be neglected in verbal interaction including how to avoid expressions which are tabooed in the speaker's speech community. According to Allan and Burridge (1991) death taboos are motivated by several kinds of fears, such as (1) fear of the loss of loved ones; (2) fear of corruption and disintegration of the body, the body with which someone has been for long time familiar becoming abhorrent; (3) death is the end of life, and this will be causing fears because no one ever experience death while they are living; and (4) fear of the soul of the dead. These four fears finally will cause people's horror of death, and to avoid mentioning death directly. As far as euphemisms of death and related matters are concerned, ones found in armed criminal group eradication seem interesting to account because in war context the indirect death mentioning is not motivated by 4 kinds of fear Allan and Burridge have stated above but buy other motives that are related with ludic or humorous functions of language use. In rebellion eradication processes, the dead people are not considered as the people the killers love, so the corruption and the disintegration of body, the end of someone's life, and the soul of the dead are not regarded as something causing fear, but something that brings happiness and joy. Despite various forms, this in turn will arise specific euphemistic expressions that are interesting to investigate, and so far, have not been seriously studied by linguists.

2. Method

This research deployed the qualitative descriptive method to analyze all data presented in this paper that were collected from narrations and titles of YouTube video clips of various channels. As commonly understood, YouTube has become a popular social media platform influencing the cultural shift and driving to digital society. YouTube offers public accessibility and representativeness which has influences in shaping current public discourse. The video clips show the scenes how the Indonesian Armed forces together with Indonesian police eradicating separatism movements in West Papua. The data constituted euphemistic expressions of how "death" or "dead" and related matters are expressed in more polite expressions. The collected euphemistic expressions were further classified according to their forms and how those expressions are created by the video clips' creators. In addition, linguistic frameworks and previous studies also underlined the euphemistic classification. As the data could be analyzed from various perspectives, some of them would possibly appear more than once with different numbers. The data presentations were carried out in three stages, i.e. the narrator's utterance, its word-to-word translation, and free translation. The euphemistic expressions were written in bold.

3. Research Findings

In eradication contexts, it is certainly not all "death" and anything associated with it are expressed euphemistically, many narrations are also possible to be expressed in impolite ways, such as the use of word koit 'dead' in (6), mati 'dead' in (7), and tewas 'dead' in (8). All of them are synonymous and none of the three have more polite meanings:

(6) *Tujuh anggota* **koit**, *markas   dikuasai   TNI.*
    Seven member dead, headquarter   to be mastered Indonesian Military.
    Seven members of criminal armed group **are dead**, the headquarter is occupied by Indonesian Military.

(7) *Oknum TNI membelot gabung KKB   ditembak **mati** Satgas Damai Cartenz.*
      TNI member betrayal   join KKB   shoot   dead Damai Cartenz taskforce.
      One Indonesian army staff joint armed criminal group was shot **dead** by Damai Carten's
      Task Force'

(8) *Markas   KKB   hancur lebur,   satu pleton KKB   **tewas**.*
      Headquarter armed criminal group destructed   one platoon Armed Criminal Group dead
      'Armed Criminal Group's headquarters were badly destructed one platoon of Armed Criminal Group
        was dead.'

The following are my research findings concerning the forms of euphemistic expressions of West Papua Criminal Armed Group eradication and how those expressions are created.

3.1. Forms of Euphemistic Expression

A careful examination toward the collected data shows that there are various forms that may be used for expressing euphemistic expressions in the eradication actions. The forms can be words such as (9), (10), (11), and (12) below.

(9) *KKB   **sekolah** 100 meter lewat perbatasan, bukti   kecerdasan*
      Armed Criminal Group school   100 meter pass border   evidence intelligence
      TNI   Bukan lawan   KKB   TPNPB
      Indonesian National Army not   enemy   Armed Criminal Group West Papua Liberation Army
      'Armed Criminal Group went to **school** one hundred passed the border, This proves that Indonesian
        Armed forces is not an equal opponent for Armed Criminal Group West Papua National Liberation
        Army.'

(10) *Suara burung lenyap. KKB   hilang arah.   Berakhir **merah** di satu dua*
       Sound bird   ceased. Armed Criminal Group lost   direction end   red   in one two
       hantu rimba
       ghost forest
       'The bird crow ceased. Armed Criminal Group lost orientation. Ended **dead to be shot** by
        the jungle ghost'

(11) *Sniper TNI   berhasil   **tumbangkan** KKB*
       Sniper Indonesian National Army successful fell down   Armed Criminal group
       dari atas   pohon
       from above tree
       'Indonesian National Army's sniper was successful to **shoot down** Armed Criminal Group
        from above the tree.'

(12) *Tak sadar   dikuntit tim hantu rimba, anggota KKB   **diborong***
       Not aware followed tim ghost forrest, member Armed Criminal Group in to be bought
       dalam gelap
       in   Dark
       'Unaware of being followed by the jungle ghost team, one member of Armed Criminal group
        was killed in the darkness,'

In (9) the death or the journey of the soul is replaced by understatement euphemistic word *(ber)sekolah* 'went to school'. In (10) the death is euphemistically expressed by word referring color *merah* 'red' which in Indonesian metonymy is generally used to represent danger, badness, and the like'. In (11) the fall of dead body is perceived to be similar as "a tree" and the shot action done by the Indonesian Army is like to chop down it. Meanwhile in (12) the opponent being shot is resembled to "merchandise" and the killing action is compared to the good buying process. Different from (9) to (12), examples (13) to (15) below utter their euphemistic death expressions through phrases.

(13) *Missi   serangan KKB   amblas.   KKB*
    Mission attack   Armed Criminal group   vanished. Armed Criminal Group
    *sukses   rebut pos   hantu rimba. Sayang   tak ada **bisa Kembali.***
    successful master headquarter ghost forrest. Unfortunately no one **can return.**
    'Armed Criminal group attack vanished. Armed Criminal group was successfully take the forest
    ghost's headquarter, but unfortunately **no one can return.'**

(14) *Melarikan diri ke arah yang salah,   tiba-tiba saja disambut*
     Escaping   self to direction that wrong, suddenly just to be welcomed
     kembang api* *TNI
     flower   fire Indonesian National Army.
     'Escaping to the wrong direction, (they) was suddenly welcomed by Indonesian National
     Army's **firecracker.'**

(15) *Tanpa   menimbulkan suara gaduh, **acara   ramah tamah** pun selesai.*
     Without appearing   sound noisy, program friendly   finished.
     'Without producing a noisy sound, **the friendly meeting** was over'

In (13) the verbal phrase *bisa kembali* 'can return' implied that none of the Armed Criminal Group members were still alive after they are successful mastering the headquarters. In (14) the fire coming out from the gun during the war resembles the spraying of *kembang api* 'firecrackers'. In (15) the war is euphemistically described as friendship meeting. Euphemistic death expressions were formed by clauses.

(16) *Intel TNI   nyamar   jadi   anggota KKB,*
    Intelligent Indonesian National Army under covered become member Armed Criminal Group,
    *tiga pentolan TPNPB   **sekolah gratis**.*
    three head   West Papua National Liberation Army school free.
    'Indonesian National Army Intelligent agent under covered becoming member of Armed
    Criminal group. Three heads of West Papuan National Liberation Army sent to **school free**.

(17) *Dua instruktur KKB   **hijrah ke alam ghoib.***
    Two instructor Armed Criminal group move   to nature mysterious
    Two-Armed Criminal group instructors went to **a mysterious world.**

(18) *8 anggota   KKB OPM   disergap   satgas.*
    8 member   Armed Criminal Group of Papua Freedom organization be ambushed by the task force.
    2   orang ***dihadiahi   timah panas.***
    Two people was awarded tin hot
    'Eight members of the Armed Criminal Group of Papua Freedom Organization. Two people
    were **awarded hot tins.'**

(19) *Satu lagi   anggota KKB   **berangkat mengejar kemerdekaannya**.*
    One again   member Armed Criminal Group depart   chase   freedom   he
    'One more Armed Criminal Group's member **was gone chasing his freedom.'**

In (16) the death is expressed using clause containing predicate *(ber)sekolah* and adverb of manner *gratis* 'free'. In (17) it is done through *hijrah ke alam ghoib* containing verb *hijrah* 'moved' and *ke alam ghoib* 'to mysterious world'. In (18) the clause used to express is containing verb *dihadiahi* 'to be awarded' and noun phrase *timah panas* 'hot tin'. Finally (19) the euphemistic clause is expressed by verb *berangkat* 'depart' and noun phrase *mengejar kemerdekaannya* 'chasing his freedom'.

3.2. Various Ways of Creating Euphemism
    Allan and Burridge (1991) mention various ways of creating euphemism in general. Those ways are figurative expressions, re-modelling, circumlocution, clippings, acronyms, omissions, one for one substitution, general for specific and part-for whole substitution, hyperbole and understatement, technical jargon, and common terms. For example, the use of *the cavalry's come for* 'I have got my period', *go to the happy hunting grounds for* 'die', etc. belong to figurative types. The use of English words *sugar, shoot,* or *shucks* for replacing

their similar form 'shit', or *darn, dang,* and *drat* for 'damn' belong to re-modelling. The euphemistic forms for 'toilet' in English can be constructed through circumlocution becoming *little girl's room*, 'lie' becoming categorical inaccuracy or terminological in exactitude. Meanwhile the use of end clipped Jeeze and bra for respectively refer to 'Jesus' and 'brassiere', and fore clipped nation for 'damnation' belong to clipping, and commfu for 'complete monumental military fuck up' includes in acronym. Abbreviation can also be effective devices to create euphemism, such as SOB for 'son of a Bitch', and P(ee) for 'piss', and f for 'fuck'.

In fewer cases, the euphemism can also be created by full or quasi omission, such as the clause I need to go is euphemism for I need to go to the lavatory. The use of bottom to replace its impolite counterpart 'ass' and inexpressible for 'under cloth' belong to one for one substitution. In legal contexts, the use of word person for replacing 'penis', go to bed for 'fuck', etc belongs general and specific strategy. In contrast, the use of expression like spend a penny for 'go to the lavatory' and I've got a cough which includes the other accompanying effects or symptoms, such as stuffed up nose, postnasal drip, and running eyes belong to specific and general strategy. Euphemism can also be created using hyperbole and understatement. 'Death' can be expressed in hyperbolic way as fight to glory, and personal assistant for secretary for 'cook', etc. Contrary, if 'die' is replaced by sleep, and deed for 'act of murder', companion, friend, and these guys I am seeing, etc. for regular sexual partner, the strategies used are called understatement. Finally, the use of period for substituting 'menstruation' and feces for replacing 'shit', etc. belongs to technical jargon exploitation.

After examining the data collection, there are various ways or strategies used by the narrators of Armed Criminal Group eradication to create death euphemistic expression. Those strategies are figurative, re-modelling, circumlocution, abbreviation, metonymy, hyperbole, and understatement.

3.2.1. Figurative

Figurative expressions are closely related to metaphors in which actions and states related to eradication process are expressed in such ways so there are certain similarities held between the euphemistic expressions used (source domain) and the meaning intended by the speakers (target domain) (Lakoff, 2003). The source domains are generally more common than the target domains (Foley, 2001). Consider (20) to (23) below:

(20) *Sniper TNI berhasil   **tumbangkan** KKB*
Sniper   Indonesian National Army fell down   Armed Criminal group
dari   atas   gunung
from   above mountain
'Indonesian National Army's Sniper **fell** Armed Criminal Group **down** from above the mountain.'

(21) *Klasifikasipun saya berikan dengan isyarat tangan **tebang   rata.***
Classification I   give   with   sign   hand fell down flat
'I gave classification using hand sign, **all dead.**'

(22) *Dendam informan hebat,   **rontokkan** KKB   saat menaikkan*
revenge   informan extraordinary, fall of   Armed Criminal group   when raised up
bendera bintang kejora
flag   star   morning
'The informant revenge was extraordinary, to **the fall of** Armed Criminal Group when they tried to raise up the morning star flag.'

(23) ***Pemetikan*** *bule asing   pemasok senjata KKB   Papua.*
Picking up   foreign albino, supplier   weapon Armed Criminal group Papua
'**The shot** of foreign albino. The weapon supplier of Papuan Armed Criminal Group'

To soften the shooting expressions, in (20) and (21) the Armed Criminal Group members are metaphorically resembled to tree trunks that must be fallen down, while in (22) and (23) they are resembled to the tree fruits and leaves. The figurative expressions can also be created by resembling the killed bodies with package (24), merchandise (25) and goods (26):

(24) *Buronan KKB   paling dicari tamat.   Buronan KKB*
Fugitive Armed Criminal Group   most   wanted finished. Fugitive Armed Criminal Group
*paling dicari   berhasil **dikirim ke neraka.***
most   wanted was able to be sent to hell

'The most wanted Armed Criminal group fugitive was dead. The most wanted Armed
Criminal Group was successfully **sent to hell.'**

(25) *Tak sadar   dikuntit   tim   hantu rimba, anggota KKB*
    Not aware to be followed team ghost jungle member Armed Criminal Group
    diborong   dalam gelap
    to be bought up in dark
    'Unaware of being followed by forest ghost hill, Armed Criminal Group members were
    bought up in the darkness.

(26) *Diserang   dari tiga arah,   KKB   down. Satu persatu*
    To be attacked from three direction, Armed Criminal Group down. One by one
    *anggota **hilang   raib.***
    member   disappeared mysterious.
    'Attacked from three directions, Armed Criminal Group was down. One by one, the
    members **disappeared mysteriously'**

Finally, *darah* 'blood' lost yielded by the shooting is equalized with *pelumas* 'oil'. See (27) below:

(27) *Karena   banyaknya **pelumas** yang dikeluarkan, Basako Lawiya akhirnya roboh.*
    Because a lot   oil   that   coming out, Basoka Lawiya finally   collapsed
    'Because he lost a lot of **blood**, Basoka Lawiya finally fell down.'

3.2.2. Re-modelling

Re-modelling is euphemistic softening strategy implemented by changing impolite expressions into others having phonologically similar forms. In the data collection, the use of impolite *ditembak* 'to be shot' is replaced by *ditombak* 'is speared' or *ditembok* 'to be enclosed by wall', and setan 'satan' is modified into *seytan* without significant different meaning. Consider (28), (29) and (30) below:

(28) *Anggota KKB   yang mengendap-endap tak sadar   dirinya   mau **ditombak.***
    Member Armed Criminal Group who move stealthily   not aware   their selves will be speared
    Armed Criminal group member who moved stealthily were not aware that they will be **shot**.'

(29) *Beberapa anggota KKB   **ditembok**   dari jarak   1200 meter*
    Several   member Armed Criminal group to be enclosed by wall from distance 1200 meter.
    'Several members of Armed Criminal group **were shot** from 1200 meter'

(30) *3 anggota KKB   disekolahkan   **seytan** Papua dalam 5 menit.*
    3 member Armed Criminal Group was sent to school satan Papua in   5 minute.
    'Three members of Armed Criminal Group was sent to school by **satan** of Papua in five minutes'

Kepala 'head' as the shooting terget can also be said *kelapa* 'coconut', such as in utterance *Tembakan menyasar kelapa* 'the shot hit coconut', *instead of Tembakan menyasar kepala* 'the shot hit a head'.

3.2.3. Circumlocution
Circumlocution is euphemism creating a strategy carried out by saying something indirectly in a roundabout way. For example, the fight situation is said *acara ramah tamah* 'friendship program' (31). *Nyangkut di pohon* 'hang on the tree' is used indirectly to express "dead body" after being shot (32), and *dihadiahi timah panas* 'to be awarded hot thin' is roundabout expression for "shooting action" (33).

(31) *Tanpa   menimbulkan suara gaduh, **acara   ramah tamah** pun selesai.*
    Without causing   sound noisy, program friendship   finished
    'Without causing noisy sound, the **eradicating war** was finished'

(32) *Penambang pasir pun di embat,   dua sniper KKB **nyangkut di pohon**.*
    Miners   sand also to be thrown, two sniper Armed Criminal group

'Sand miners were also thrown, Two Armed Criminal group snipers was **hanging on the tree.**'

(33) *8 anggota KB OPM   disergap   satgas.   2 orang **dihadiahi   timah panas***
8 member Armed Criminal Group to be ambushed task force. 2 people to be awarded   tin hot.
'Eight members of Armed Criminal Group were ambushed by the task force, two people **were awarded hot tin.'**

3.2.4. Abbreviation

So far, there are only two abbreviations found to be used to soften the complete expressions that are regarded as euphemism strategy. The abbreviation of *KKB* is possibly created to avoid the complete expression 'Kelompok Kekerasan Bersenjata' (Armed Criminal Group), and *OPM* is done to avoid 'Organisasi Papua Merdeka' (West Papua Liberation Organization), *TNPB* for 'Tentara Nasional Pembebasan Papua Barat' (West Papua Liberation National Army).

3.2.5. Metonymy

Metonymy is semantic relations that hold between linguistic expressions based on closeness (Riemer, 2010). Cruse (2004) claims that the semantic relation of metonymy is associated with character. The associations can be related to the place, function, part-whole, as well as generic and specific relations. The data collection shows the use of the whole relation. Consider (34) to (36) below:

(34) *Suara burung lenyap, KKB   hilang arah.   Berakhir **merah***
Sound bird   ceased Armed Criminal Group lost direction. End   red
di   satu dua hantu rimba.
given one   two ghost forest.
'The bird crow ceased, Armed Criminal Group lost direction. Ended with **shot dead** by ghost forest.'

(35) *5 Anggota KKB **terbungkus   merah.***
5 member Armed Criminal Group to be wrapped red
'5 members of Armed Criminal Group **were deadly shot.'**

(36) *Rambo KKB   Papua apes,   **kena door** sniper*
Rambo Armed Criminal Group Papua unlucky, was banged sniper
'West Papua Armed Criminal Group's Rambo was unlucky, he **was shot** by a sniper.'

In (33) and (34) 'dead', through part whole relation, is associated with *red*, the color closely related to human blood. Meanwhile, in (35) the shooting action is represented by the onomatopoeic sound of gun *door* 'bang' . The meaning of foreign word to *handle* 'to treat something' are semantically much broader than 'to shot' or 'to kill'. This generic-specific relation is exploited in (37) below:

(37) ***Dihandle** hantu rimba dari jarak   1200 m.*
Handled ghost forest from distance 1200 m
'Shot by forest ghost from a distance 1200 m'

3.2.6. Hyperbole and Understatement

Hyperbole is any strategy used by the speaker through exaggerating or overstating something more than their real condition. For example, the soul of the dead is described *hijrah ke alam ghoib* 'moving to mysterious nature/world' (38), *berangkat mengejar kemerdekaannya 'going to chase its freedom'* (39), *melayang* 'flying' (40), and *dikirim ke neraka* 'to be sent to hell (41).

(38) *Dua instruktur KKB   **hijrah ke alam ghoib.***
Two instructor Armed Criminal Group move   to nature mysterious
'Two Armed Criminal Group instructors **moves to a mysterious world.'**

(39) *Satu lagi anggota KKB   **berangkat mengejar kemerdekaannya**.*
One again member Armed Criminal Group depart   to chase   freedom   his
'One more Armed Criminal Group member went ***chasing his freedom***'

(40) *KKB   ceroboh. Memaksa diri   menyerang pos   elit TNI,*

Armed Criminal Group careless. Force themselves attacking   headquarter elite TNI,
*tiga   anggota KKB   **melayang.***
three member Armed Criminal group flying.
'Armed Criminal Group were careless. Forcing themselves attacking Indonesian National
Army elite headquarter, three members of Armed Criminal Group **were flying.**'

(41) *Buronan KKB paling dicari **tamat**.   Buronan KKB*
Fugitive Armed Criminal Group most wanted end. Fugitive Armed Criminal Group
*paling dicari   berhasil   **dikirim   ke neraka**.*
most   wanted successful to be sent to hell
'Most wanted Armed Criminal Group fugitive died. He was **sent successfully to hell.**'

Different from hyperbole**,** understatement is a strategy carried out by understating facts less than their real condition. There are many simpler semantic expressions used to replace 'die', such as *selesai* 'finished' (42), *tamat* 'end' (43), *sekolah* 'goes to school' (44), *berakhir* 'end' (45), and *terjungkal* 'fall' (46). Consider (42) to (46) below:

(42) *Hanya dalam waktu sekian   detik,   target sasaran **selesai**.*
 Only in   time   that amount second, target object finished
'Only in a few second, the goal target is **finished.**'

(43) *Sniper KKB   intai   pekerja bangunan. Hantu rimba pamer nyali.*
Sniper Armed Criminal Group spy on worker building.   Ghost forest show   bile.
*KKB   **tamat**.*
Armed Criminal Group end.
'Armed Criminal group's sniper spied on construction workers. Armed Criminal Group
 showed bravery. Armed Criminal group **was dead.**'

(44) *Satu anggota KKB   yang lebih muda   berhasil meloloskan diri,*
One member Armed Criminal Group that   more young was able escape   self
*dua anggota lain   yang memegang   senjata laras panjang **tamat   sekolah**.*
two member other that hold   weapon barrel long   finished school
'One younger Armed Criminal group's member was able to escape. Two other members
 holding long rifles were **shot dead (finished schooling)**.'

(45) *Purpa   dengan elit   KKB TPNPB,*
Competing with   elite Armed Criminal Group West Papua National Liberation Army,
*strategi   tak   jalan. KKB **berakhir di jurang**.*
the strategy does not work. Armed Criminal Group ended falling into a canyon'
'Competing with Armed Criminal Group of West Papua National Liberation Army, the strategy did
 not work. Armed Criminal group were **finished falling into a canyon.**'

(46) *Sniper KKB   incar pejabat tinggi, **terjungkal** di tangan*
Sniper Armed Criminal Group aimed official high   tumbled   in hand
sniper TNI   saat detik   paling kritis.
sniper Indonesian National army   in   second most critical.
"Armed Criminal Group's sniper targeted an important official, and **dead** by Indonesian National
 Army's sniper in the most critical moment.'

4. Conclusion

Any language used by human beings to communicate with others undeniably constitutes the most important device to build corporation among them. As such, all languages are full of politeness rules for maintaining harmonious relation among the community members. One of those rules is the necessity of a language speaker to master the use of polite forms the language they used to communicate. The mastery of using euphemism is essentially a representation of one of those capabilities. More specifically speaking, death and everything related with it, are matters that should be avoided, and replaced by euphemistic expressions. According to Allan and Burridge there are at least four reasons motivated why "death" and related matters are tabooed in

the use of language. However, regarding death and related matters of rebellion eradication in West Papua, none of those four motivations are matched with the death and killing processes. Be set in the imbalance power of Indonesian National Army and West Papuan Armed Criminal Group, most of death euphemistic expressions during the eradication are motivated by ludic functions of language instead of fear motivations outlined by Allan and Burridge. The ludic functions are mostly related to the easiness of the fight won by the Indonesian army. Euphemistic expressions are created through various forms of either word, phrases, as well as clauses. Meanwhile, the strategies exploited include figurative, remodeling, circumlocution, abbreviation, metonymy, hyperbole, and understatement.

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