

Categories and Context of Taboo Words in Denpasar (How Words Are Classified as Taboo)

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Abstract-Taboo expressions are part of a language that is produced by culture. Every language in an area certainly has taboo expressions, including Denpasar City. Denpasar City is an industrial center that attracts everyone from various regions to settle and survive. With the phenomenon of immigrants with various backgrounds, there is an intensity of multi-language. On the other hand, technological advances slowly change language norms, especially the use of taboo words. This study aims to examine taboo words and analyze the context of an utterance that becomes taboo. This study uses a qualitative approach. Data was obtained through field studies and literature. This study also employs the theory of ethnographic and anthropological linguistics approaches. The results show that taboo expressions in Denpasar are divided into four categories: language level of taboo, naming taboo, context-specific taboo words, and general taboo words. In addition to the context, an utterance that becomes taboo is not only influenced by the word but is the result of a combination of performance and participants in the process of its expression. Thus, an utterance becomes taboo or inseparable from several elements, namely what utterance is used, how the utterance is used, where the utterance is used, who is involved, and what is meant by the said utterance.

Keywords: Taboo, Denpasar, Balinese Language, Context

I. INTRODUCTION

Denpasar's popularity as a migration center for people from over Indonesia has rapidly diversified the city into a melting place of diverse cultures, languages, and ethnicities. Recently, the number of people migrating to Denpasar has increased dramatically. According to official statistics, the push and pull factors are the two main causes of migration (full factors) (Anom Kumbara & Kartika Dewi, 2018). Denpasar-the capital city of Bali-as one of the tourism destinations, has the potential for development resources, and providing large

employment opportunities is estimated to be the main attraction of migration. Now, Denpasar is the center of government, trade center, education center, tourism center, and industrial center, absolutely inviting people from other cities to seek a job and settle down. These migrants come from outside the city of Denpasar, Bali, and abroad. With the phenomenon of the arrival of migrants who have diverse backgrounds, the intensity of multi-languages, and the increasingly rapid advancement of technology, the shifts and dynamics of changes in the Balinese language are changing slowly.

Language has an important role for humans; for example, in daily communication, language is needed to carry out all activities, especially research, counseling, reporting, and conveying ideas and feelings. Similarly, Wardaugh (2006) said that language is expressed and used by a group of people. The Encyclopaedia Britannica defines language as a system of conventional or written symbols that humans use to communicate as members of social groups and participants in their culture (Robins, 2018). Language is dynamic, always following the changes and developments of the times. Along with the nature of language, people who use language always try to find, create, and form words customized to users' needs. Meanwhile, Kridalaksana (2009) points out that language has several characteristics, one of which is having a role because it is used by humans, each of whom has its own features for different purposes. This function depends on who, what, to whom, about whom, where, how much, how long, for what, and what language is used (Kridalaksana, 2009). Language has an important function in communication in interactions with others.

Speakers and languages are always associated with activities in society; in other words, language is not seen as an individual phenomenon but also as a social phenomenon. As a social phenomenon, language and speakers are not only determined by linguistic factors but also by non-linguistic factors, viz, social factors. Social factors that can affect the use of language such as social status, education level, age, economic level, gender, and others. As Suwito said in Kurniawati (2019), situational circumstances affect language use, such as who speaks in what language, to whom, when, where, and on what issues it is used.

Thus, a situational circumstance (context) influences speech in language. For example, when slandering someone else, the utterance could be categorized as taboo based on who is speaking, where it is used, and in what context. The swearing "*nas bedag*" was one of the most controversial taboo expressions when the elections in 2018. I Wayan Koster, at that time, was a candidate for governor of Bali and made this statement clearly when responding to the "Bali Rejects Reclamation" demonstration. *Nas bedag* is one of the words that has experienced a shift in meaning. Literally, *Nas Bedag* is interpreted as *kepala kuda* (horse's head).

However, the meaning will change if it is used to slander. As well known, Indonesian society adheres to the norms of politeness, so the expressions of *nas bedag* should not be uttered in public. Cited from Radarbali.id, I Nyoman Subanda, a political observer, explains that the events would affect the electability and public perception of the figure of Koster, a potential leader in Bali (Tabelak, 2018). On the other hand, many content creators used this phenomenon as content on social media, which at that time became hits and trending, so that the utterances of insulting *nas bedag* spread throughout social media platforms that became a place for entertainment as well as inappropriate content (pros/cons).

In general, *nas bedag* is a taboo word, but for some people, the word is normal and classified as non-taboo. Whether or not an expression is taboo is determined by norms that apply to society and under agreements that a community has approved of speakers of a language (I. M. A. Mahayana et al., 2022). It is in line with Gao (2013) that society does not simply accept and perceive something taboo or not taboo because what applies in society A does not necessarily apply the same as what exists in society B. Ullmann (1977) explained that there are three reasons taboo words appear: the existence of something scary (fear taboo), something that does not carry feelings (delicacy taboo), and something impolite or inappropriate (property taboo). Generally, expressions are considered taboo if there is a desire to attack and humiliate the other person. However, in Denpasar, taboo can describe the closeness between interlocutors in a conversation. Taboo words are words that are considered offensive language that are unacceptable and used by speakers in certain contexts. They implement it in ways inconsistent with society's social, cultural, and religious norms. Taboo terms in written or spoken discourse are usually governed by various social, cultural, religious, and psychological characteristics. Many researchers have examined taboos or profanity in previous studies. These researchers usually exclusively look at types and functions in films or novels. In addition, earlier studies have only focused on words/phrases classified as taboo without elaborating more on how these expressions can be classified as taboo and how they are classified as not taboo and vice versa.

II. METHODS

This research employed a descriptive qualitative approach involving field studies and literature studies. Descriptive qualitative research provides maximum space for researchers to describe the studied variables. Qualitative research states the problem formulation, not the research objectives (i.e., the final results to be obtained) or hypotheses. In addition, this study aims to obtain answers related to opinions, responses, or perceptions of a person, so the discussion must be qualitative or use descriptive words (Creswell, 2013). Thus, in this study, the researchers themselves acted as data collectors. After collecting data, the researchers analyze it and make conclusions. As Moleong (2006) states that qualitative research is a procedure that produces descriptive data in which the data is in the form of written or non-written words obtained directly from the community. After that, the data were analyzed in depth by the researchers directly.

In addition, this study also uses an ethnographic approach. According to Duranti (1997), in analyzing linguistics and cultural practices, a set of techniques is needed to support these needs. The ethnographic method is considered sufficient in terms of exploring the principles and norms regarding taboos or abuse because taboos are not only discussed on the meaning of words or phrases but how the communication process is, by whom, to whom, in what way, and under what circumstances the communication occurs. Besides that, this method shows two things that strengthen the results of this study, namely objectivity, which is defined as an interpretation of the condition of the object without any bias or influence from the perspective and culture of the researcher. It shows the researcher's perspective, called an emic view, namely the tendency to obtain sufficient identification or empathy with a group to provide the researchers' perspective.

This current research is focused on analyzing the context of using slander language expressions by youth in Denpasar City. The object of this study is the expression of swear words (taboo) in Balinese. The subjects were the native people of Denpasar City, especially young people from Denpasar, as well as comments on the *@infodenpasar* account on Instagram. Data is a source of information obtained through research conducted. The data used are curse expressions (taboo) in Balinese

obtained from the people of Denpasar City and the Instagram account *@infodenpasar*, as well as documents regarding taboo expressions.

Generally, methods are defined as processes, methods, or procedures used to solve a problem. Qualitative research emphasizes data collection by observation, interviews, and documentation. Researchers visited the field, then observed, recorded, and noted-taking the events found in the field, especially the taboo expressions used by young people in Denpasar City. The observation strategy used in this research is non-participant observation. This strategy is a strategy that does not involve researchers to participate directly in collecting data. Researchers only observe and record events found in the field (Williams, 2008). The selected locations are Veteran Coffee, Tan Panama, and Korean Tukad. These three locations were chosen as research locations because many young people visited these places.

After observation, the researchers conducted interviews. Sugiyono (2010) said that an interview is used as a data collection technique if the researchers want to conduct a preliminary study to find problems that must be investigated. The type of interview used is an open interview. In determining informants, this study used the interview method initiated by Spradley (1979). Several requirements are applied to determine informants, namely: 1) understand Balinese language and culture well; 2) residing in the Denpasar area, as a place for Balinese culture development; 3) have sufficient time; and 4) not analytical (providing information as it is). People of productive age selected the informants with an age scale of 15-39 years. Based on statistical data for 2021, the productive age population is 40% (Statistics of Denpasar City, 2022).

In this research, the informants interviewed were 20 people aged 15 to 30. This interview focused on exploring in-depth the informants' understanding of culture, especially taboo or curse expressions in the form of words, phrases, and expressions in certain contexts. After the interview, then the data transcription process uses a laptop device. Then, the documents used as data sources are manuscripts, books, social media, and journals. In this case, related to Balinese curse expressions.

Then, the data was analyzed in the following stages: selecting data to select truly valid data, describing all taboo expression data

that was truly valid, classifying the data based on its category, and conducting data analysis to conclude. In conducting data analysis, this study adopted two ethnographic stages initiated by Spradley (1979), namely domain analysis and taxonomic analysis. It is used to classify predefined categories and determine how these expressions become taboo/non-taboo. After that, the research results are presented formally in the form of tables and charts, as well as informally; the results are described in sentences so that they are easier to understand.

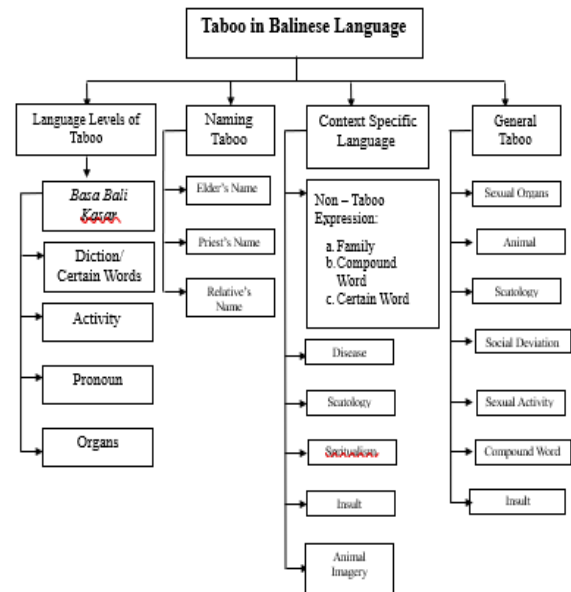
III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

As mentioned, this research focuses on the context of using swear words or taboo expressions used by young people in Denpasar City. Swearing or taboo expressions found in Denpasar City differ from those used by native English speakers, such as in America and England. There are swear words within a certain context, such as calling people names and using inappropriate diction when talking to certain people. Each utterance has its own level, known as the swear words category, namely strong and weak swear words proposed by Lakoff (1975). Further, she stated that the difference between strong and weak swear words depends on how people express their feelings. The strong identical with the words used to abuse others by words and these words have the most impolite character. Weak Swear Words are also used to harm, but their characters are more irregular than the strong ones and usually reserved for women. Further information on the taboo words in Kota Denpasar and how an utterance can be classified as taboo is described below.

3.1 Domain Cultural Basic Element

Based on the analysis results, there are three categories of taboo expressions in Denpasar City, namely language level taboo, specific context taboo, and general taboo. In this study, each data was analyzed by domain analysis. Domain analysis plays a role in determining the semantic meaning of the data obtained in research. In this case, these data are taboo expressions in words or phrases. After domain analysis, the next step is taxonomic analysis which is then categorized based on similarity of characteristics, features, and uses. It is done to simplify classifying swearing categories, as shown in the pictures below.

Figure 01. Taboo in Balinese Language diagram



Based on the taxonomic analysis above, grouping can be done based on biological similarities and their uses. This grouping and the classification of taboo words used by the community, especially the youth in Denpasar City, can be explained as follows.

3.2 Language Level of Taboo

Balinese, specially the Denpasar people, use Balinese in their daily communication. The Balinese language has several levels of language known as *Sor Singgih basa Bali*. This level regulates norms, namely procedures for how the Balinese should be known to use Balinese as a means of communication with fellow Balinese. Therefore, these rules must be applied according to the prevailing norms in Balinese society, both the natives and immigrants who live in Bali. According to Suwija (2014), the stratification or social stratification of Balinese people who speak Balinese, both traditional and modern, has a big and strong influence on politeness in communicating. Using *sor singgih* will represent their identity and social status as speakers and interlocutors. The levels of Balinese language applied in Bali, especially in Denpasar City, are as follows:

1. *Basa alus* (most polite Balinese language) is polite words or sentences that are generally used to respect someone, someone who deserves respect, and can be used for unknown people.
2. *Basa mider* is a neutral language. In other words, expressions at this level do not have

- equivalent words at the subtle or gross level (can be used at all levels).
3. *Basa andap*. *Andap* comes from word *endep* ‘low’. Expressions at this level are not subtle but not too harsh.
 4. *Basa kasar* are harsh words that are used in situations where people are angry or irritated or are often used in quarrels (Adnyana, 2014).

The levels of Balinese language above shows complication of social dialects in Bali and the ways in which Balinese speakers signal their social background. When one would talk to a different person, one should choose exactly the appropriate words. Some words are different and they fit together in patterns or levels, depending on who the listener(s) is as shown on the table below:

Table 01. Some words are different and they fit together in patterns or levels

Ratune	Kari	Merem	3a; High	Basa Alus
Ragane	Kari	Mekolem	3	Bahasa Mider
Ragane	Kari	Sirep	2	Bahasa Andap
Nyai	Nu	Pules	1a	Bahasa Kasar
Nyai You	Nu Still	Medem Sleep	1; Low	

Each sentence on the table above is ordered from the most formal ‘high’ style’ (level 3a) to the least formal ‘low’ style (level 1). The selection of the right words must be based on the participants involved in a discourse. When one of the *wangsa* communicates with higher-level *wangsa*, he/she must use and apply *sor singgih*. The caste outside Triwangsa, namely the Sudra caste, must speak politely and use *sor singgih* or *Basa Bali Alus* (most polite Balinese language) in communicating with Triwangsa. On the other hand, if they neglect to apply the *sor singgih basa Bali* or use offensive language to the *Triwangsa* or higher caste(s), he/she will be considered impolite or taboo (Mahayana et al, 2022).

With the development of time, the norms that have been applied began to change slowly. Based on the results of an interview with one of the respondents, he said that he did not mind if someone from the Sudras addressed the pronominal *ci* ‘you’ to him. In fact, the person is

a descendant of Kshatriya. The results of the domain analysis performed show that the word *ci* ‘you’ is a type of coarse variety pronoun in Balinese. Based on the prevailing norms, the highest caste is allowed to use harsh Balinese language, for example the pronoun *ci* ‘you’. However, for the Shudras, this is contrary to the norms prevailing in society, as in the example below:

A: *Gung, ci ade kije petengne?*

Gung, are you free tonight?

B: *Rage free sih. Engken?*

I think so. Why?

The conversation above is the conversation of a friend who is a descendant of Sudra (A) and Kstria (B). It can be seen that the use of the word “ci” spoken by the Sudras (A) is inappropriate for someone who has a high caste. In this case, (B) is a descendant of Kshatriya whose first name is Anak Agung. In addition, (B) uses the term rage “I” which belongs to the *basa mider* ‘neutral Balinese language’ type. For some high-caste people, it is still normal (non-taboo), however, some others still consider it as taboo word.

Besides pronouns, those words in *basa Bali kasar* (rude Balinese language) are classified as taboo words, as described in the examples below:

A: *Liak cai. Neh amah cang jani!*

You bastard. Take me on!

B: *Amah cang matan ci e!*

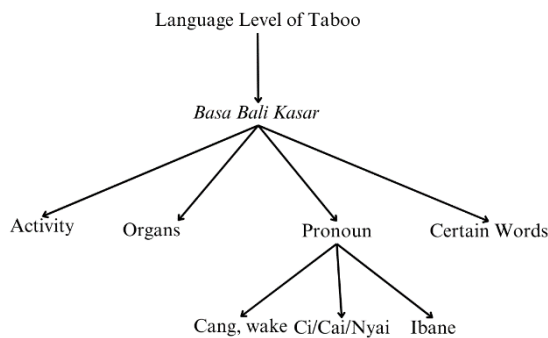
I will. Starting from swallowing your eyes first!

Besides the word *cang* “I”, there is also the *amah* “eat” and *mata* “eyes” which are harsh language. Based on the domain analysis, the word *amah* is an eating activity in a variety of coarse language. The word *ngamah* is used for animals. Meanwhile, the word *mata* is a part of the body which also includes a variety of harsh language. Those words had an impolite meaning, let alone addressed to just anyone in such a high tone. It is better if these words are avoided, unless there is a clear motive why these words must be said. The expression above is a joke expressed by two relatives who are arguing. For them, these words are not taboo because they have a close relationship and there is no intention of condescending. They said these words as a joke to entertain friends who were outside the conversation.

Thus, the use of the rough variety of Balinese language is one of the classifications of taboo expressions found in the city of Denpasar.

Based on domain analysis, which was carried out in this study, apart from pronouns and activities, there are other types of coarse language that are included in the taboo category such as body organs and certain words, such as *bungut* “mouth” and *nah* “yes”. The results of the taxonomy of taboo expressions at the language level category are as follows:

Figure 02. The results of the taxonomy of taboo expressions at the language level category



3.3 Naming Taboo

According to the Academic Dictionary and Encyclopedia, the Naming Taboo is a cultural taboo that prohibits speaking or writing the given names of noble persons in China and neighboring countries in the field of ancient Chinese culture. The Balinese have the same concept. According to Darma Laksana (2009), the Balinese have a culture that prohibits speaking or writing one’s real name or words that pose a danger called *ketulah*. It aligns with Allan and BurrIDGE’s statement that one’s name is an inalienable part of one’s identity; it is the essence of self and a means by which one is known to one’s fellows. An assault on one’s name is treated as comparable with, or even worse than, an assault on one’s body (Allan & BurrIDGE, 2006).

The Balinese divided a naming taboo into three categories, 1) a naming taboo of parents, 2) a naming taboo of priest, 3) a naming taboo of relative. The purpose of a Naming Taboo of parents is depend on being disorderly and avoiding dangerous situations called *ketulah*.

Balinese believe that it is taboo when the speaker calls the parents’ real names because they are considered to bring harm to the speaker. In addition, if the listener is from the triwangsa caste and violates the norms of politeness. This prohibition also aims to protect someone from the influence of magic that can harm them.

Usually, to address parents, they change their father’s and mother’s real names to Pan Ani and Men Ani.

I Wayan Predana → Pan Ani
 Ni Ketut Lubet → Men Ani

Pan Ani is used to replace the father’s original name, I Wayan Predana, and Men Ani is used to replace the mother’s original name, Ni Ketut Lubet. Changing the original name aims to avoid bad effects on the speaker. It is a substitution form of the Sudra caste. In the past, people abstained from mentioning their parents’ last names; usually by first name. However, it has been changed. Mentioning the name begins non-taboo due to external cultures that influence Balinese culture, for example:

I Wayan Lodra → Pak Lodra

Addressing term above is still polite to do as long as you adhere the word *pak* behind someone’s name. On the other hand, mentioning parents’ names without using *pak* is considered impolite and violates the norm.

Further classification of Naming taboo is Naming Taboo of Priest. The priest is a ceremonial leader who has a high position. In Balinese, the priest is known as *Pedanda* or *peranda* (Darma Laksana, 2009). Definitely, as a priest is not only revered but also sacred. Therefore, the title given to the priest is the *ratu peranda*, i.e.,

Ida Peranda Timpag → Ratu Peranda

Using word *ratu* as a addressing is likened to calling the king in long time ago. The word *ratu* associates with a priest the same as God. A priest in his metaphor is also called the *surya*. Ida Pedanda Timpag is a baptismal name which can also be replaced by *surya*.

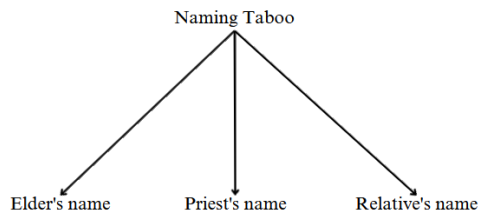
For the relative’s names, usually the real names of the speakers’ relatives are replaced with certain terms. It aims to avoid harmful effects to the speaker, as shown in the following data.

Wayan Lejeh → Pekak Yange
 A.A. Ngurah Gede → Turah Gede
 Dharma

Changing the name of Wayan Lejeh to Pekak Yange was done to avoid the bad effects of the plague on the speaker. Meanwhile, the name of A. A. Ngurah Gede Dharma’s relative became Turah Gede, as a sign of a Kshatriya. Thus, greeting the person use Gede or Dharma without using the word Turah is considered taboo for the people of Denpasar City. The results of the taxonomic analysis of a naming taboo are as

follows:

Figure 03. The results of the taxonomic analysis of a naming taboo



3.4 Context-Specific Taboo Words

Classification of the taboo words are different from the previous. The words meant refer to a certain context which if spoken at certain times will become taboo. In Balinese, there are some words that literally means normal, not related to the realm of sacredness and profanity, but in certain contexts it is often used by youth to insult, mock, or give a bad effect on other people. This sub-category of non-taboo in specific context can be divided into several parts, namely family, compound words, special expression in particular terms, disease, spiritualism, insult, and animal imagery.

3.4.1 Family

In particular, mother is someone who is highly valued in the family. Usually, in a certain conversation, the speaker mentions a mother as an object to be looked down upon. The speaker believes that pertain a mother or family will definitely create bad sentiments for the other person. The word that is often used by the youth in Denpasar is the *meme* 'mother', as shown below.

A: *Kaden ci emen ci ngelah jalan ne?*

You think your mother owns this street?

B: *Ae, emen cang e!*

Of course!

In the conversation above, the word *emen* is a variation of the *meme* 'mother'. Lexically, a *meme* is a greeting to parents, mother. The use of *meme* in the conversation above aims to express feelings of annoyance or anger. In other words, the speaker intends to corner the interlocutor by inserting the word *meme*. Basically, the word *meme* is not taboo. However, if it is used in specific context-used as swearing purpose shown on the example above-the utterance will be considered taboo (weak swear word).

3.4.2 Compound Word

The other category that can be taboo in a specific context is particular Balinese compound words. A compound word is a union of two or more words, either with or without a hyphen. It conveys a unit idea that is not as clearly or quickly conveyed by the component words in unconnected succession. The compound word that is often used by the younger generation in Denpasar is *amah leak* 'evil's curse', *sakit gede* 'fatal disease' and *bangken dongkang* 'don't give a fuck', as the following example:

Sing ngerambang bangken dongkang

'I don't give a fuck'

Similar to the previous example, both words *bangke* and *dongkang* are not necessarily taboo. However, if it is used to swear not in the right place and situation, it will be considered impolite or taboo. Looking at the swear level, this utterance can be categorized as weak swear words. Therefore, the compound word *bangken dongkang* is considered as taboo in specific context.

3.4.3 Specific Expression

Specific expression is any expression (words, phrases, clauses, or sentences) considered taboo in certain context. In other words, those expressions have no taboo meaning semantically. Still, they can cause harm, misfortune, or disharmony if uttered carelessly, even if the speaker does not intend to utter such an expression. For example, a person who encounters someone they know going to *tajen* 'cockfighting' arena, is prohibited to ask a question like *kel kije* 'where are you going' or perform some pleasantries, such as inviting him to come over to their house. It is believed that it can cause misfortune or bad luck for him.

Other examples are certain expressions in trading. If there is someone who asks *kengken warung e? Man medagang?* 'How's it going? Fluent? In this case, the interlocutor should not respond carelessly. Even though, in fact, his business was selling well and there were many buyers, he could not say that *ae liu man medagang* 'yes, there were many buyers'. It is believed that this will bring bad luck to the speaker. Therefore, the answer that should be said is well, *nah, ade gen* 'well, thankfully there are buyers (who come)'. Those utterances are taboo in particular contexts; thus, they can be classified as weak swear words regarding the level.

3.4.4 Disease/Death

It is defined as component of human misfortune for those who experience it. Humans do not want any disease to infect them; however, many people knowingly or unknowingly invite disease to them. People infected with a disease can be referred to as sufferers; thus, it is possible to say that a person is suffering. Therefore, the victim will feel offended when others refer to it explicitly in front of them. One of the words that is forbidden to mention is the word *mandul* 'infertile' for addressing, especially for someone who is trying to have a child. It will cause the person feel sad.

3.4.5 Scatology

This scatology class includes obscenity words and words related to excrement, for example *to tain kuluk amah* 'eat that shit'. The phrase *tain kuluk* in the sentence means animal dung. It consists of two words: *tai* 'feces' and *kuluk* 'dog'. The utterance shows that the speaker expresses his dislike of the other person by equating it with animal dung. Furthermore, it shows that the phrase can be taboo if it is used as swearing in certain context.

3.4.6 Spiritualism

Spiritualism refers to the types of taboo words related to supernatural beings or activities related to the supernatural that are believed by the Balinese. Some of these words are not appropriate to be used carelessly because they can have the effect of hurting the listener. There are several words related to spiritualism in the city of Denpasar which are often used to vent the speaker's anger at his interlocutor, such as *leak*, *pelih agulikan* 'being head over heels in', and *setan* 'satan'. Basically, the above phrase has a meaning that is not taboo. However, when used to swear, it will bring a negative meaning to the other person and of course it will become a taboo expression. These statements can be seen as follows:

Leak ci! 'you evil!'

Pelih agulikan jeleme ento 'he is too excited (to learn spirituality) and now he's out of mind'

Panak setan cai 'you son of evil'

In general, Balinese people know that the terms above are not only literal, but also the meanings that are created in a context when these utterances are used. These utterances have a negative meaning when used to curse. Based on the analysis of semantic relationships, *leak* is known as someone who studies *pengeleakan* 'black magic'. According to the Balinese, it has a

negative connotation. *Pelih agulikan* is an utterance for someone who goes deep into spirituality excessively. These words are usually addressed to someone who is seen as over-religious in carrying out spiritual practices. Society considers these people as people who are illogical and less rational in thinking in a healthy way. Meanwhile, the word *setan* is a familiar term because the word *setan* is also Indonesian with the same lexical meaning. Thus, when this taboo utterance is used to swear, it definitely has a negative meaning. Usually, people use this term to corner the other person and show dislike, as well as trying to create disharmony.

3.4.7 Insults

Insult means to act in a way or say something that is offensive or rude to someone. There are several ways for people in Denpasar to insult someone verbally. One of them is by using bad words regarding abnormal physical, psychological, or social deviations/characteristics of someone (I. M. A. Mahayana et al., 2020). According to Jay (1996) the power of insult is gained when real or imagined negative traits of the victim is highlighted. There are some words which can be classified as insults in Denpasar, such as *buduh* "crazy", *nyem* "weird", *lengh* "fool", *lacur* "poor", *bancih/homo* "wink/homosexual" and *soleh* "weirdo". Again, those words cannot be used carelessly as it can cause harm to others.

3.4.8 Animan Imagery

The younger generation in Denpasar often uses several names of animals or animal substances as swearing. This swearing allows the speaker to vent his displeasure at the other person. There are some words used as swearing, namely: *buron*, *cicing*, *kuluk*, and *bedag*. These words are basic lexical and are included in the category of nouns. Those words are classified as strong swearing if used to insult someone.

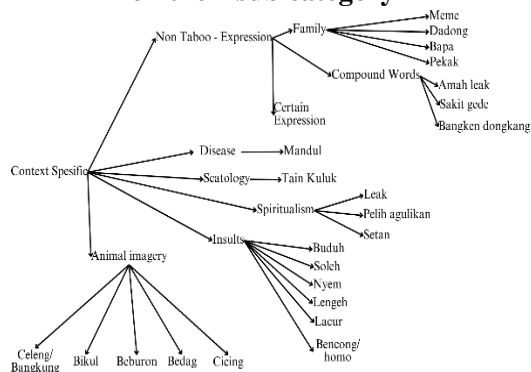
Buron or *beburon*, according to the Balinese dictionary, means "animal". If this word is used to insult or swear, it has a negative meaning. In this case, a person is compared to an animal. This comparison can be formed because there are similarities in nature or characteristics between the two entities (I. M. A. Mahayana et al., 2019). Animals are not able to think and reason. In addition, animals cannot solve problems and learn like humans do; therefore, if a person is compared to a *buron* meaning that the person is stupid, useless, and disgraceful. Similar

to the word *buron*, the taboo words *cicing*, *kuluk*, and *bedag* also have negative meaning if compared to human beings. *Cicing* means “dog/bitch”, while *kuluk* means “puppy.” Meanwhile, *bedag* or *bebedag*, according to the dictionary, means foal. If they are used to swear, it can cause shock to the listener. Besides, it can also be used to insult or express anger. Therefore, those words can be taboo in particular contexts and cannot be used carelessly.

Besides the Balinese animal names mentioned above, there is also an animal name that should be carefully uttered in a particular event or place, namely *bikul*. *Bikul* is defined as a “rat”. If someone suddenly encounters a rat passing by before him/her, or when someone feels annoyed angry over a rat due to its disturbance (especially at home), it is forbidden to mention its name, such as *ihh, ade bikul* ‘look, it’s a rat.’ Moreover, the Balinese believe that they cannot swear at *bikul* or known as *memisuh*, like following swearing *kleng bikul ento* ‘curse you, fucking rat.’ They are believed to be back in even greater numbers with such disturbance and harms. Therefore, using the word *bikul* in a particular context is taboo, especially used as swearing.

Based on the findings, the data related to Context-Specific Taboo Words can be classified based on their sub category as follows:

Figure 04. The data related to Context-Specific Taboo Words can be classified based on their sub category



3.5 General Taboo

Each society has its perception and agreement to determine if a word or utterance is considered taboo. In general some topics such as sex substance, blasphemy, excretion, and any other particular topics are taboo (Barus et al., 2018; I. M. Mahayana et al., 2022). This research shows that there are some topics

considered taboo whose words are mostly strong in the term of their swearing level. In addition, the words regarding such topics are commonly forbidden to use, especially in public. The further information about the topics and their expressions is described below.

3.5.1 Sex Organs

The term sex or intimate organs is something that is often used as material for swearing by the people of Denpasar. Sex organs are parts of the body that are not worthy of being discussed which can be discussed freely and openly (Barus, 2018). However, almost all societies use words related to sex organs to swear or show certain expressions (anger, frustration, shocked, etc.). Commonly used words include *тели/pek* ‘vagina,’ *celak* ‘dick,’ *kelet/keleng* ‘cock.’ These words are Balinese terms that can be found in several young people’s conversations. In addition, there are other non-Balinese terms for sex organs that can currently be used to swear, such as *kontol* ‘dick,’ *memek/puki/itil* ‘cunt.’

3.5.2 Animal Imagery

In Denpasar, animal names that are always used to swear are those that are considered the dirtiest and are thought to have negative connotations. The intention of someone who swears by an animal’s name is to put another person in the same situation as that animal or to equate him with the animal to which he refers. Animal names that are often used in this category are *anjing* ‘dog’ dan *bangsat* ‘bitch.’

Anjing ‘dog’ is not a Balinese language. It is one of the Indonesian words used to swear. It is similar to word *cicing*, which has the same swearing function, as mentioned in the previous sub-chapter above. Meanwhile, *bangsat* is a Balinese swear word that has a similar meaning to asshole in English. According to the Indonesian dictionary, *bangsat* (noun) is similar to “vermin.” Not only do Indonesian language society use this word to swear, but the Balinese also use it to swear and express their respective feeling.

3.5.3 Scatology

Scatology includes obscenity words related to human posterior, excrement or any words related to any dirt or entity that comes out from our body (Ljung, 2011). According to Jay (1992) terms like these are among the first words that youngsters hear and use while they are being instructed on how to use the toilet. In Denpasar, scatological words are used in swearing like

others. The words in this category are *tai* “shit” and *jit* “ass.”

The word *tai* is one of the words used as an expletive interjection and an expletive epithet as in the utterance of *jeleme tai* “he is a regular shit”. Meanwhile, the word *jit* is often used as an expletive interjection, such as *songjit cai* ‘you’r asshole’, and can also be used to show disagreement with the other person, such as *celek jit cang malu* ‘kiss my ass.’

3.5.4 Insults

As mentioned previously, this category refers to verbally offensively insulting someone. Such taboo words or insults in Denpasar cannot be uttered freely or publicly, such as *sundel* and *tolol/idiot*.

The word *sundel* similarly means “prostitute/slut”. This word can be used to insult someone, especially if addressed to a woman. It contains strong swear word as it can cause disharmony. It also works for the word *tolol* and *idiot*. *Tolol* is an Indonesian word meaning “fool” or “stupid,” while *idiot* is both Indonesian and English lexicon referring to a person behaving stupidly. These words are categorized as abnormal psychological characteristics of someone used to insult others.

3.5.5 Sexual References

Many languages base some of their most common swearing constructions on the prohibited words for sexual intercourse. Jay, who used “obscenity” as such a term, stated that obscene words are considered the most expensive. Those words are restricted to public or media use (Jay, 1992). In Denpasar, it was found that some words related to sexual activities are more powerful than other types of taboo categories: *katuk*, *entot*.

The word *katuk* and *entot* have a similar meaning to “have sex”. What makes them different is *katuk* is a Balinese word. Meanwhile, *entot* is a common Indonesian term for sexual intercourse. Those two words are strong language; they have a strong swearing level. Therefore, they cannot be uttered carelessly, let alone spoken loudly in public.

3.5.6 Compound Words

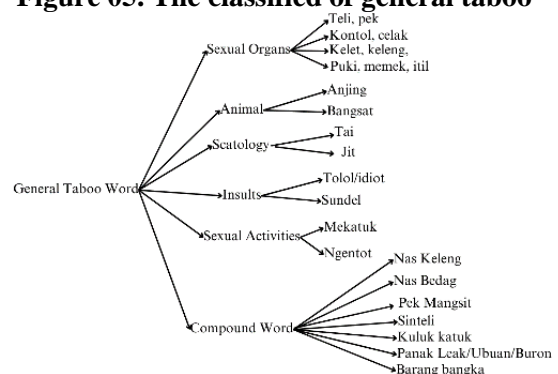
The last type of General Taboo is compound words. Compounding is a word consist of two words combined into single form (Yule, 2020). It can be in the form of one word, hyphenated word, or two independent words (Matiello, 2008). This research found several compound words of general taboo used by

young generation in Denpasar: *nas keleng*, *nas bedag*, *sinteli*, *kuluk katuk*, *panak leak/ubuan/buron*, *pek mangsit* and *barang bangke*.

The word *nas* comes from *basa Bali kasar* word *tendas* “head.” In this case, *nas keleng* and *nas bedag* are exocentric compound nouns. The word *nas* (first member) on both compounds denotes “a despicable person,” which is commonly used to swear. Meanwhile, the word *panak* in compound noun *panak leak* “evil’s child”, *panak ubuan* “child of lowly creature”, and *panak buron* “son of a bitch”, is categorized as endocentric compounds. It can be seen from the word *panak* “child/children of”, serving as a semantic head inside the compound. The next compound noun of the taboo word is *sinteli*. The word *sinteli* comes from *dakin* “dirty” and *teli* “vagina”. The word *dakin* is then shortened and adjusted into *sin*. The last compound noun found in this research is *barang bangke* “dead loss”. This compound is categorized as endocentric where the word *barang* is the head (first member) denoting as “unanimated thing.”

Besides compound nouns, this research found other compounds, namely *pek mangsit* “stinky vagina” and *kuluk katuk* “fuck a dog”. *Pek mangsit* and *kuluk katuk* are compound words that can be classified as noun-adjective compound and noun-verb compound respectively. Least but not least, the taxonomy of General Taboo Words can be classified based on their sub category as follows:

Figure 05. The classified of general taboo



3.6 Context of Taboo Words

Generally, a word doesn’t just become something taboo. A word is said to be taboo when the word is deemed inappropriate, impolite, or not in accordance with prevailing social norms. Taboo words are often related to topics that are considered sensitive, vulgar, or contain content that is insulting or offensive to

others. Taboo words can vary across cultures and societies. In an anthropological view, an utterance that becomes taboo is not only influenced by words, but is the result of a combination of performance and participants in the process of its expression (Barus, 2018), as follows:

3.6.1 Taboo Word Performance

Language is a linguistic element that cannot be separated from cultural elements. This is because language activities are a cultural product created by a society that is collectively agreed upon in society, including taboo expressions regulated by social norms that apply to society.

The use of taboo in the category of the taboo level of language and naming taboo shows *sor singgih basa bali* system in communicating that applies in Bali, especially Denpasar City. The level of this language has been created since and regulated in such a way by the ancestors maintained since the royal era. Balinese speakers must pay attention to ethics and manners in interacting socially with other speakers. Every message you want to convey must be considered carefully. If it is spoken carelessly and does not pay attention to the correct words (diction) and situations in communication, then a speaker will be considered unethical and inconsequential (Suweta, 2020).

Regarding the use of specific-context and general taboos, words that are classified as harsh and can hurt the other person's feelings can be done in terms of swearing and mocking. It can be done by using harsh words (taboo) indiscriminately and with high intonation, as well as gestures that corner the other person intentionally or unintentionally (especially in the context of a joke). In general, words related to sexual crimes, harassment, race, and harsh words that insult or demean a particular person or group can be considered taboo and should be avoided.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the results, four types of taboo expressions were found in Balinese: language level of taboo, naming taboo, context-specific taboo, and general taboo. A word can be considered taboo or non-taboo depending on the word is said to whom, where the word is said, and then when the word is said.

Language-level taboos are taboo words because they violate the rules of using language with the Tri Wangsa, but that is also influenced

by the speaker's familiarity with the interlocutor. Taboo words in the naming taboo are used to minimize the harmful effect on the speaker. Certain words are taboo because, if said carelessly, they can harm listeners.

The use of certain words is not enough to answer whether the utterance is considered taboo or not. The combination of performance and participation in an anthropological view can help determine how these utterances become taboo. Thus, a word becomes taboo related to what utterance is used, how the utterance is used, where the utterance is used, who is involved, and what is meant by the utterance used.

4.1 Participant Role

A participant is a person involved in communication. What theme, who, with whom, to whom, what, and how an utterance is expressed can affect an utterance. In this case, the participant's role has a high role in determining the taboo/non-taboo of an utterance. Regarding the rough Balinese language, a speaker is not allowed to use harsh words, especially addressed to someone with a higher caste, especially with the aim of swearing. However, in the current era, for a small part of the people of Denpasar, this is still considered normal, especially in the context of a joke. Nevertheless, this should be avoided to maintain good ethics and communication, as well as the creation of miscommunication. Thus, speakers should communicate with fellow Balinese to use subtle Balinese language and appropriate intonation.

In addition, the role of third parties outside the discourse also determines the taboo/not taboo of an utterance, as in the example of two friends who are members of the Sudra caste at the Griya for *memendak pedanda*. They usually use coarse Balinese language in communication will be considered unethical when using coarse Balinese language in front of Ida Pedanda, located at the Griya. Even though Ida Pedanda was not directly involved in a conversation between the two friends.

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