

## Verbal Taboos in Acehese Language: Meaning, Function, and Euphemism

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47175/rielsj.v4i1.642>

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### ABSTRACT

*This research is aimed to list verbal taboo of Acehese language and to explain reasons behind then to create a model of language revitalization as well as to propose the pattern of euphemism in maintaining norms and values to minimize language conflict. The research is qualitative description in which the data was taken by recording technique, note-taking technique on the conversations of residents at the location in Banda Aceh. The findings of the research are taboo words in Acehese language, they are: 1) Bodies and their effluvia (toh èk replaced to jak u likôt, lagèe èk leubô should be unsaid/unspoken); 2) The organs and acts of sex, micturition and defecation (boh krèh, aneuk tèt should be unsaid/unspoken, mik/mom replaced gunong); 3) Diseases, death and killing including hunting and fishing (maté replaced to meuninggai, ka geutinggai geutanyoe, ka geuwoe bak Allah, lé that eungkôt replaced to na rezeki uroe nyoe, cacar replaced to sakét mangat) ; 4) Naming, addressing, touching and viewing persons and sacred beings, objects and places (du replaced to ayah/abu/abi/bapak, ma relapced to mak/umi/mami/bunda, kah replaced to kak/cupo/da, nan replaced to aduen/abang/bang, macut/makcék, mawa, deumi Allah should be unsaid/unspoken, aneuk haramjadah should be unsaid/unspoken, buya replaced to teungku waki, tikôh replaced to nyak ti/po ti, rimueng replaced to nèk/yah nek/rumpoe tempat, gajah replaced teungku rayek); and 5) Food gathering, preparation and consumption (it is not found). This study implies to create the euphemism formulas in avoiding language conflict, then the study of taboo is not seen just only from linguistical aspect but also from culture and human's habit by discussing taboos from sociolinguistic as well as pragmasemantic.*

### KEYWORDS

*Acehese language; taboo; euphemism*

## INTRODUCTION

Taboo in Acehese language is called 'tabu', which is something that cannot be done or said. For example, in the Acehese language, a tiger will be taboo and forbidden to be uttered in the forest, then this word is replaced with the word 'rumpoe tempat' which means 'territorial's owner'. Therefore, taboo here means something or things that are avoided from use in a certain society, violations of things that are considered taboo can result in a person being sanctioned or punished (Affini, 2017). The punishment or sanction is usually given by a community leader, in this case a religious leader (if the violation is related to religion) or a traditional leader (if the violation is related to customs). Taboos can be in the form of words (saying something that is forbidden), and action (performing something that is forbidden).

Cultural differences are important things that affect the way people talk and act in their daily lives. Some of the words they use can differ semantically or pragmatically compared to other cultures. For example, in the Batak language, speakers often say ‘bagudung’ which means ‘rat’ to mock someone because of their ignorance, laziness, or dislike of other people. The word ‘bagudung’ or ‘rat’ has become a taboo for the Batak language uttered, but it has no special meaning rather than animal names for other languages. Another example is the word ‘pregnant’ will have a rough impression if used in Javanese society. It is used to label a woman who is pregnant before legal marriage. But for people, for example, in the Betawi tribe, this word is a term commonly used to refer to women who are pregnant (Husda, 2021).

One of the local languages in Indonesia that has a lot of taboos both verbal and nonverbal is Acehnese language. Aceh is a province in Indonesia located on the Sumatra Island. Acehnese language is a language spoken by Aceh people who live in coastal areas, remote areas, and in the islands of Aceh province. The Acehnese language belongs to the Chamik language family, a branch of the Malayo-Polynesian language family, a branch of the Austronesian language family (Tiani, 2018).

One of the cultures that is still believed by the Acehnese and gave birth to various rituals, myths and magic in social life they are Acehnese ureung knowledge of taboo, *hana roeh* or *hamme* (Hurgronje, 2020); (Chaizir, 2021). It is also because most of Aceh people are Muslim who believe in Islam religion which arranges morality of people themselves.

There are some researches that had been done before relating to taboos. The research title “Don’t Sweep the Floor!” Verbal and Nonverbal Taboo in Nagan Raya, Aceh in 2019 concluded that there was a verbal taboo used as swearing. This article explained that the main reason taboo is since someone wanted to show his/her anger. For the nonverbal taboo was correlated to the activities that were prohibited in some particular time of a day. Most of this type of prohibition was highly related to religion of Islam. Then the underpinning reason was to make youth be more obedient for parents as well as to God (Syahputri et al., 2019).

However, the research of Nasution and Mulyadi (2021) about verbal taboo in daily communication of Padang Bolak language in North Sumatra explained that the reasons using taboos vary. Taboo is used when someone wanted to take an oath, convinced or trusted others, and showed intimating fellowship (Nasution & Mulyadi, 2021). Various studies before have revealed that taboo language was the prohibition of saying words related to certain contexts. The taboo words are an expression which is prohibited because of something magical, sacred or respected. For example, the prohibition of mentioning sexual activity, animal names, and spirits. On the other hand, research results of Barus (2018); Sunandar (2018); and Junaidi (2019) also stated that taboo languages are actually functioned to educate, maintain good relations, and create peace by choosing the right language. Therefore, this study tries to fill in the gaps of previous research. This is possible because the location, object, and scope of this research are different from previous studies (Barus, 2018); (Sunandar et al., 2018); (Junaidi & Wardani, 2019).

Based on the explanations above, this research is trying to analyze the taboos in Acehnese language. This research also tries to categorize the verbal taboo based on the classification of Alan and Burridge (2006) work in taboo. Having classified taboo of Acehnese language, this research also discovers the form of euphemism of taboo in Acehnese language. Verbal taboo gathered as data are presented by showing the euphemism in which people of Aceh should communicate.

The previous researches explained that taboo words uttered when swearing, taking oath, convincing, and mostly in anger. For Acehnese people, verbal taboos can be categorized as a way in honoring others. Naming is taboo in which it can be different to other cultures and

language. The gap here occurs then becomes novelty of this research which is its purpose and draw of euphemism model as a way to minimize the language conflict.

The purpose of this research is to list the verbal taboo of Acehese language, give explanation and reasons behind to minimize conflict communication. By knowing verbal taboo, this research is expected to be a model of language revitalization of Acehese language. This is also to propose the pattern of euphemism to maintain norms and values of Aceh people, and give contribution for other researches of taboos in local language.

Taboo is generally defined as a prohibition, and the idea of taboo is widespread in human culture as well as in religious systems. The ideas of taboo are often associated with sacredness or holiness. On the other hand, taboo is also often associated to the idea of obscene, dirty, and unclean/bad words.

The word taboo was firstly introduced by the sailor, Captain James Cook in 1777. 'Taboo' is taken from the word 'tapu' which means 'not allowed'. This word is used in Tonga, Polynesian Islands (Ullman, 2007).

In society, something is prohibited to say or to do named taboo. Somehow it is written tabu, it is a ban on something ordinarily against a word, utterance or even behavior based on a culture. Taboo is excessively repulsive, sacred, or allowed only by certain persons (Britannica, 2004). The taboo is such the prohibitions are being in all societies in which it has many kinds or names. Taboos, of course, are explicitly not allowed by customs and also religions. Taboo language is one of the areas of offensive language use that is a matter of 'adding aggravating affront to impoliteness' (Leech, 2014). When people say something that is considered as taboo, they try to speak softly by make it to be euphemism. Tabooed words are typically dysphemistic, think of insults and swearing; tabooed language is avoided through various kinds of euphemism (Burrige & Benczes, 2019).

When people deliver their ideas, they have to give attention to the situation and conditions where they are. Misusing the language is probably people surrounding being misunderstood, then it triggers the conflict. By complying with language norms, it is hoped that the community will also pay attention to the choice of words used in communicating. However, violations of linguistic norms in certain societies can occur for various reasons; For example, language habits, speaking styles, or even culture between speakers, one of which is the use of these taboo languages and words.

The use of taboo words and swear words is a common attitude in informal language and conversation. For example, people often use taboo words and swear words in traditional markets. People use taboo words and swear words to indicate close relationships and strong feelings for others and feelings of anger. Research of Megika (2018) revealed that taboo words are words/phrases that are generally considered blasphemous, obscene, vulgar, or offensive. Swear words are also known as swear words, obscenities, obscene words, obscenities. Meanwhile, swear words are taboo words used to express feelings. It can be concluded that taboo is "a prohibition due to habit or social reluctance" while swearing is a word that is considered rude or offensive. Swear words are usually used when people are angry and taboos arise out of social constraints on the individual's behavior where it can cause discomfort, harm or injury. People are at metaphysical risk when dealing with sacred persons, objects and places; they are at physical risk from powerful earthly persons, dangerous creatures and disease (Fajri Megika, 2018); (Allan, 2006).

Timothy Jay (1996) categorizes taboo words into 7 kinds, namely: 1) Cursing; 2) Profanity; 3) Blasphemy; 4) Obscenity; 5) Sexual Harassment; 6) Vulgar Language; and 7) Name-Calling and Insult. The reason a person uses or does not use taboo words depends on the purpose of the speaker's conversation. Then Timothy Jay (2009) also wrote in his

research that swearing or taboos are like using a car horn, which can be used to signal a number of emotions, such as anger, frustration, joy, and surprise (Jay, 2009).

Alan and Burridge in their book entitled *Forbidden Words* (2006) reveal that taboo is a proscription of human behavior that affects them in life every time. Taboos that they consider in the course of their book include: 1) bodies and their effluvia (e.g., sweat, snot, feces, menstrual fluid, etc.); 2) the organs and acts of sex, micturition and defecation; 3) diseases, death and killing (including hunting and fishing); 4) naming, addressing, touching and viewing persons and sacred beings, objects and places; 5) food gathering, preparation and consumption (Allan, 2006).

In order to erase the harshness of taboo words, when making conversation, people have created euphemisms, words supplanted language considered too unpleasant or to make utterance softer and polite. Just like the research Birhanu Takele Bayisa (2017) concluding that the Oromo people of the research areas applied euphemistic expressions to avoid taboo words so as not to offend the people in communication. Therefore, in their daily interaction, to avoid taboos and to protect their faces and politeness they create certain strategies. Consequently, the expressions of euphemistic offer possibilities to gain insights into cultural and psychological aspects of language use, including sensibilities, and how to communicate about these issues linguistically to minimize the risk of offence (Bayisa, 2017).

Zhuo Jing-Schmidt in *Handbook of Pragmatics* by Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren explain that euphemism serves as a substitute for some other usage that is deemed unspeakable and undesirable, variously characterized as negative, unpleasant, distasteful, offensive, harsh, and embarrassing and crucially associated with taboo. It means that euphemism is functioned to replace some word uses when it's no coveted. The words consist of something negative, unpleasant, alluded, rude, humiliating, dan taboo-correlated (Verschueren & Östman, 2022). These ideas consider that euphemism is a way in avoiding taboos.

Euphemism is a way of language that refines the meaning of words that are felt or considered taboo by speakers of that language. This euphemism term is used to replace/cover words and phrases that are categorized as taboo, rude, and inappropriate to say (Sutarman, 2017). When the speaker speaks with a more subtle expression instead of an expression that is felt uncomfortable, embarrassing, or hurtful and this is called a euphemism (Moeliono, 1989); (Apte, 1994); (Darma Laksana, 2003).

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

Qualitative descriptive research tries to reveals what, how, and why taboo words appear and are used in daily conversation of Acehnese language. The data was taken by recording technique, note-taking technique on the conversations of residents from housing settlement of a village in Aceh Province in order to maintain its original and natural information from some the old. Primary data is from explanations of some informants, i.e.: 1) Mr. Iskandar Husen (52 years); 2) Mrs. Nurhayati (60 years); 3) Mr. Sabirin (52 years); and 4) Mr. Haji Nawi (52 years). For secondary data is from notes of folklore of Acehnese language.

As one of the qualitative data processing techniques, triangulation plays important role in qualitative research. Triangulation is defined as a technique that combines various data collection techniques and existing data sources (Sugiyono, 2011). To obtain the correctness of the right information and certain information, researchers used triangulation method. It means that triangulation is done by collecting data with other methods and researchers use interviews, observations, and surveys. Researchers used interviews and observations to check the truth from explanations of informants above. The researchers use their understanding of Acehnese language as the intuitive data for giving more explanations. Then

the research problem is concluded by categorizing the types of taboo words that appear according to the categorizations of Alan and Burridge theory (2006). The scheme of this research is collecting data then displaying them, and finally giving conclusions (Miles, 2014). It is done to show the reasons of speakers' utterances and in what condition that the taboo and swearing words appear.

The approach of the research is socio-semantics (sociolinguistics and semantics). This approach tries to find the meaning and perspective of the use of taboo words in society from the Acehese local language.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the results of research that has been carried out, one of the taboos in the Acehese language is the taboo of words or verbal taboos. Verbal taboos are prohibited from being spoken because their meaning is very harsh, vulgar, or some people still think that if they are said it will result in bad luck or disaster.

People of Acehese language who are mostly Moslem use their language and tending to increase the value of their beliefs. Therefore, the use of euphemistic expressions is a way to replace taboos in their words. Actually, people in Indonesia generally use euphemisms in the example of 'clothing' being changed to the word 'pakaian' then replaced to 'sandang'. To call people in brothels or prostitutes called 'pearls in the mud' (Jalaluddin, 2012). And even then, that word can be replaced into 'commercial sex workers. Giving something in the form of money or goods to officials with the aim of smoothing a project or business is called 'gratification' (Sutarman, 2017). These methods aim to smooth out words or expressions that are considered inappropriate, inappropriate, rude or taboo. It can be found as well in Acehese language when a word categorized taboo then is replaced to another word. For example, *buya* (crocodile) is replaced to *teungku waki*. Mouse '*tikôh*' is replaced to word *nyak ti/po ti*. *Rimueng* (tiger) is replaced to *nèk/yah nek/rumpoe tempat*, and *gajah* (elephant) is replaced to *teungku rayek*.

Therefore, verbal taboos must be replaced with other words that are more suitable so that it will create comfort between the speaker and the speech partner in communication. Verbal taboos are divided into several aspects, the following is their description of them.

### **Taboo Language Regarding Parent's Names**

Taboo language relating to parent's names is the prohibition of mentioning the name of parents directly or with certain greetings. In Acehese society, this is considered impolite and disrespectful to the parents. The words that are being taboo in mentioning directly the names of parents or certain greetings in Acehese society are *du* 'parent male' and *ma* 'old woman'.

Parents are the people that every child should respect them. A good child, of course, will maintain the good name of his parents wherever he is. Therefore, a person will be angry if his parents are asked as *du* by others. Such a designation is a rude designation or greeting and can hurt someone's feelings. The person referred to, for example, is the child of the parents who are called as *du*. Because it is considered rude and can hurt others, the term *du* to ask about someone's parents in Acehese society is prohibited. For example, one should not ask another person;

- 1) Du            kah    ho    geujak?  
Father        2Sg    where 3-go  
                  'Where did your father go?'

The more subtle expression to replace the taboo word is *ayah*, *abu*, *abi* or *bapak*. The sentence avoiding taboo should be “Ayahkah ho geujak?” means “Where did your father go?”.

Calling parents by direct name or greeting *ma* by a child to his mother is an action that is not praiseworthy and is prohibited. Someone asking as *ma* about someone’s parents in Acehnese society is considered rude and impolite. It is similar to word *du*, for example:

- 2) Ma kah ho?  
Mother 2Sg Inter-where  
‘Where is your mother?’

The sentence above is considered taboo and disrespectful. Even in religion, this is also prohibited because it does not have etiquette to parents. Therefore, in Acehnese society, when a child calls a woman's parents, she must be called *mak*, *umi*, *mami*, or *bunda*. Therefore, it can be said that *du* as a term for male parents and *ma* as a term for female parents are verbal taboos in Acehnese language.

### **Taboo Language Regarding Relatives**

Taboo language relating to relatives’ names in family includes the prohibition of directly mentioning the names of elder relatives, both blood relatives and non-blood relatives. One of the names of the taboo relatives is *kah* means ‘you’.

The greeting used to call or greet older brothers and sisters is considered taboo in Acehnese society. For Aceh people, brother is a respected person. Therefore, someone who is younger cannot arbitrarily call his brother *kah* because it is considered rude and even taboo. For example, when someone wants to ask where his/her brother is, it is not a good way to use the word *kah*, such as in the sentence:

- 3) kah pat jinoe?  
2Sg Inter-dimana sekarang  
‘Where are you (brother) now?’

To address elder sisters or women in Acehnese society, it is recommended to use the words *kak*, *cupo* and *da*. Likewise with older brothers, words that are considered polite are *abang*, *aduen*, *bang*, *cut*, *keukanda*, and *lem*.

Another example of verbal taboo is *nan*, naming someone who are actually respected due to his/her age. In Acehnese society, one is not allowed to mention names directly to people who are older or respected due to age, whether they have family relationships or not. This is a form of respect and ethics in communication in Acehnese society. To mention or greet the name of a relative who is related by blood, the greetings used include *abang* means ‘brother’, *cutda* means ‘sister’, *apa* means ‘uncle’, *macut/makcék* means ‘aunt’, and *mawa* as a call for an older sister of father or mother. The kinship taboo also for the relatives who are not related by blood in the family, such as relatives by marriage or marriage in the family.

In addition, all people who are older must be addressed in accordance with the prevailing greetings in society, for example, to greet an older brother even though they are not related by blood, they are still addressed as *aduen/abang/bang* means ‘brother’.

### **Taboo Language Regarding the Dead**

The taboo language regarding the dead is the prohibition against mentioning the word *maté* means ‘dead’ or someone who passed away, as seen in the following sentence:

- 4) Jak tajak bak ureueng nyang ka mate!  
Ayo 2-go Prep-of human Pro-who Art dead  
'Let's visit the place of the dead.'

Saying *Jak tajak bak ureueng nyang ka maté!* is an utterance to invite someone to visit to the house of someone who passed away. Talking about death, of course, everyone doesn't like it and tends to avoid it. Death is a scary thing, since it is so scary, death and things related to death are avoided by society to talk about. The word *maté* for the people of Aceh is considered rude and disrespectful. Therefore, the word *maté* must be replaced with the word *meuninggai* which means 'died' or passed away. The sentence should be "Jak tajak is like ureueng meuninggai!" (Let's go where people die).

- 5) Nan ureung meninggal Murni  
Name human V-died Name-Murni  
'Name of the dead is Murni.'

In Acehese society, it is taboo for people directly mention the name of the person who died/passed away. This is a belief that has been passed down from generation to generation. Even if there is a title of a person's name for someone who died, it is usually preceded by words such as: *almarhum* (form man) and *almarhummah* (for woman). For example, when mentioning the name of a person who died in the name of Murni, it must be preceded by the title that the *almarhumah Murni* has passed away.

- 6) ka mate  
already died  
'died/passed away'

Saying *ka maté* to someone who has passed away is an uncomfortable speech to be heard. For example, one should not say to a dead person with the words, *Ka maté ureueng nyan* which means 'That person is dead'. Such words seem to associate the dead people just like animals, not human. To replace *ka maté* addressed to people who already passed away, Acehese people tend to use other utterance, more polite forms of speech, namely *ka abeh umu* if translated literally becomes 'expired', or *ka geutinggai geutanyoe* 'already left us' and *ka geuwoe bak Allah* 'has passed away to the mercy of Allah'.

### **Taboo Language Relating to Animal Names**

The names of animals, especially some of wild animals, should not be spoken directly in Acehese society. For example, when we are in the jungle, rivers and other outing places, one of them is *buya* means 'crocodile'.

Calling *buya* is one of the verbal taboos in Acehese society. Crocodiles are a type of reptile that lives in watery swamps, rivers, and estuaries. Crocodiles are fierce creatures and attack anyone who tries to get close to them. In Acehese society, the call of *buya* is considered to be a disaster. *Buya* is seen as a sacred animal. This is evidenced by the prohibition of torturing and killing, as well as mentioning haphazardly its name. For example, by saying;

- 7) Inoe na buya  
Here there is crocodile  
'There is a crocodile here.'

It is taboo especially when washing, bathing, and other activities in the river. People of Aceh believe that it would bring the anger from the crocodile, consequently, it must be replaced with *Teungku Waki* in order to avoid catastrophe. Beside the word crocodile, the word *tikôh* means ‘rats’ is taboo as well.

Rats are also rodents that are sacred in Acehnese society. The animal is considered ‘holy’ and has a subtle understanding of humans. If one is in a field or in a bean garden, one is not allowed to mention *tikôh*, even curse it, especially when one sees when the rice or peanut plant is being attacked by the animal. For example, it is forbidden to say;

- 8) *Tikôh paléh kabéh kapajôh padé lôn.*  
Mouse damn over 2-eat rice 1Sg  
‘Damn to all the mice you eat my rice.’

People of Aceh believe that the word should not be uttered. However, on the other hand, if the farmer sees his rice being attacked by rats, the farmer must say it in polite language by calling the animal’s name *nyak ti* or *poti*. For example, *Kajeuet nyak ti meutuwah, beklé kapajôh padé lôn* translated to be ‘It’s okay, don’t disturb/eat my rice again’. Therefore, in Acehnese society it is taboo to say harsh words to the rats.

The next verbal taboo of animal is *rimeung* means ‘tiger’. There is a folklore in Southwest Aceh, especially in Kuta Tinggi, which is a village at the foot of Mount Killa, Southwest Aceh. Once upon a time, there was a charismatic cleric named Teungku Nyak Dikilla, he once said that there were tigers on Mount Killa unhappy if there were people climbing Mount Killa and then see a tiger and call it the word ‘tiger’. In ancient times the tiger on Mount Killa often guarded the gardens and nature on the mountain. One day the tiger on Mount Killa had a dialogue with Tengku Nyak Dikilla, a charismatic Acehnese cleric. In the dialogue, the tiger said that he did not like being called by the word ‘tiger’. However, the tiger asked to be called as *yah nek*. Therefore, the people of Southwest Aceh call the tiger on Mount Killa as *yah nek*. In other areas, especially in South Aceh, the word *rimueng* (tiger) is also taboo, especially at night because it is considered to be calling the wild animal to come. Therefore, the word must be replaced with *nèk* to trick the animal.

Animal’s name as taboo is *gajah* means ‘elephant’ in the Acehnese community is a word that should not be said carelessly because some Acehnese people believe when they say the word *gajah*, the animal will get angry and run amuck. Therefore, it must be replaced with a more suitable word, namely *teungku rayek*.

### **Taboo Language Relating to the Name of God**

The majority of Acehnese are Muslim, believed in Islam religion. Therefore, generally the people of Aceh understand how to give thanks to Allah (God). There are certain utterances related to God which are taboo in Acehnese society. For example, it is forbidden to mention the name of God when committing a sin, in a dirty place, or when the body is dirty. It means that, it is not permissible to take the name of Allah in vain. For the people of Aceh, the name of God must be mentioned in a holy, gentle, and in a good context.

- 9) *deumi Allah*  
for God  
‘for the sake of Allah’

Saying *deumi Allah* in an inappropriate place is a taboo in Acehnese society as well as forbidden in Islam religion. Saying *deumi Allah* means swearing in the name of God. Therefore, it must be said in a holy place. Otherwise, it is believed that someone will get

catastrophe because ones carry God's name carelessly. However, the most important and believed by the people of Aceh why it is taboo, is when it will cause sins for those who say it.

### **Taboo Language about Sex**

Taboo language relating to certain words is meant to say rude or disrespectful words in certain activities, situations, and contexts. When someone utters, it is believed that it will bring misfortune to those who say it.

Mentioning the name of the genitals is a taboo subject in Acehese society, both male genitalia and female genitalia such as *boh krèh* (testicles) or *aneuk tèt* (clitoris). *Boh krèh* is part of the male genitalia. Saying *boh krèh* when communicating is taboo and impolite in Acehese society, for example;

- 10) Göt that rayek boh krèh agam nyan  
Adv-Very Adj-big testicles man Art  
'The man's testicles are very big.'

This sentence often appears when someone is angry, however, this is considered taboo in Acehese society. Similar to *boh krèh*, the word *aneuk tèt* is also a taboo subject in Acehese society. This utterance also often appears when someone is angry so that someone utters "*Kreuh that aneuk tèt si dara nyan*" means "The girl's genitalia is hard".

Then the word *mik/mom* means means 'breasts' are parts of the body that are owned by humans. For women, the breast is a part of the body that produces breast milk. In Acehese society, it is forbidden to say *mik/mom* because those words are considered impolite. For example, one is prohibited from saying;

- 11) That rayek mik/mom inöng nyan  
Adv-Very Adj-big breast woman Art  
'That woman's breasts are very big.'

To be sounded politely, the words *mic/mom* must be replaced with *gunong*. As seen in the following sentence, *That rayek gunong inong nyan* should be That woman's mountain is huge.

### **Taboo Language Relating to Certain Situations**

The taboo language relating to the profession here is the prohibition of saying certain words because it is believed to be unlucky or considered rude (disrespectful). For example, the phrase *lé that eungkôt* means 'a lot of fish'. Saying *lé that eungkôt* is a taboo expression in Acehese society if someone says;

- 12) Ayah lé that meuteumèe eungkôt.  
Father a lot V-catch fish  
'Father caught a lot of fish.'

This should not be said because it is believed by the people of Aceh as they will have bad luck. The bad luck here means that the fish caught firstly will not be as much as before when going to sail or even less than what they had gotten before. Therefore, in Acehese society it is very taboo to say these words. It's better if someone replaces the words *lé that eungkôt* with *na rezeki uroe nyoe* which means 'There is sustenance today'.

The next verbal taboo is *tôh èk* which means ‘defecate’. In Acehnese society, this word should not be said carelessly, especially in front of other people or in public because it is considered disgusting just as in the sentence;

- 13) Lôn lônjak tôh èk dilèe beh!  
 1Sg 1-go out defecate first Int  
 ‘I’m going to go (out) defecate!’

In order to sound polite, the phrase *toh èk* must be replaced with phrase *jak u likôt* which means ‘going to the back (toilet)’. Some verbal taboos in Acehnese language is *cacar* means ‘smallpox’. The word smallpox in Acehnese society should not be uttered because the people of Aceh believe when they utter the word *cacar*, the sufferer of this disease gets worse. Therefore, the word smallpox must be replaced with another word that is considered more comfort, namely *sakét mangat* means ‘it feels good’.

The other verbal taboo is *aneuk haramjadah* means ‘illegitimate child’ as well as means ‘bastard’. The word *Aneuk Haramjadah* in Acehnese society are taboo because it is considered rude and disrespectful. This utterance is usually used to mock or curse. *Aneuk Haramjadah* can be interpreted as a child whose descendants are not clear. Therefore, in Acehnese society it is forbidden to say it because it can hurt other people’s hearts.

Then the phrase *lagèe èk leubô* means ‘like poop of butt’ is a verbal taboo as well. Because it contains a crude meaning, this expression is also taboo in Acehnese society. This expression is often used by someone when they are angry or mocking others. The meaning of this expression is disgusting that can hurt other people’s heart. Therefore, this expression should be avoided as a taboo in Acehnese society.

Based on the explanations above, it results and can be drawn that the taboo in Acehnese language is line with the theory Alan and Burridge (2006). Explanations of them can be seen in table 1 below;

**Table 1.** Theory, Findings, and Euphemism

No	Theory of Alan & Burridge (2006)	Taboo Words in Acehnese Language (Findings)	Forms of Euphemism by Acehnese People
1	Bodies and their effluvia	<i>tôh èk</i>	<i>jak u likôt</i>
		<i>lagèe èk leubô</i>	unsaid/unspoken
2	The organs and acts of sex, micturition and defecation	<i>boh krèh</i>	unsaid/unspoken
		<i>aneuk tèt</i>	unsaid/unspoken
		<i>mik/mom</i>	<i>gunong</i>
3	Diseases, death and killing (including hunting and fishing)	<i>maté</i>	<i>meuninggai, ka geutinggai geutanyoe, ka geuwoe bak Allah</i>
		<i>lé that eungkôt</i>	<i>na rezeki uroe nyoe</i>
		<i>cacar</i>	<i>sakét mangat</i>
		<i>du</i>	<i>ayah, abu, abi, bapak</i>
		<i>ma</i>	<i>mak, umi, mami, bunda</i>
		<i>kah</i>	<i>kak, cupo, da</i>
4	Naming, addressing, touching and viewing persons and sacred beings, objects and places	<i>nan</i>	<i>aduen, abang, bang, macut/makcék, mawa</i>
		<i>deumi Allah</i>	unsaid/unspoken
		<i>aneuk haramjadah</i>	unsaid/unspoken
		<i>buya</i>	<i>teungku waki</i>
		<i>tikôh</i>	<i>nyak ti, po ti</i>
		<i>rimueng</i>	<i>nèk, yah nek, rumpoe tempat</i>
		<i>gajah</i>	<i>teungku rayek</i>

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5 Food gathering, preparation and consumption -

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Taboo language is all expressions in the form of lexemes, phrases, or sentences that cannot be spoken directly. If violated, it will bring disaster, anger, hostility, or being hated by others. The people of Aceh are those still believe in prohibitions or taboos on the names of parents, taboos on the names of relatives, taboos on the names of the dead, taboos on animal names, and taboos on the name of God, taboos on certain words, and taboos related to certain situations.

The result of this study is line with the taboo's category from Vogel (2014). Taboo emerges from the extremities of human value systems and properly speaking taboo includes: 1) sacred or unclean character of persons/things; 2) the kind of prohibition which arises from this character; and 3) the sanctity (or uncleanliness) which results from a violation of the prohibition (Vogel, 2014).

In addition, sometimes taboo expressions are used to insult or demean others. The results of previous research, for example in Karonese people in North Sumatera by Jumat Barus (2018), it indicates that in people in Karo believe that taboo expressions mean insulting, demeaning honor, arrogance, adding to the sadness of others, triggering disgraceful acts, exposing disgrace, and harassing people who are glorified. Taboo rules serve to maintain relationships, show equal rights and desires, educate to be humble, and keep people from fighting. The taboo value in the Karonese language is "peace", while the norm is to maintain self-respect and create a peaceful life by using the chosen method and language (Barus, 2018).

On the other hand, research from Sunandar (2018) about taboos in the Bekaeh Dayak language is classified into several groups, namely the taboo on parents' names, taboo on the name of relatives, taboo on the name of the deceased, taboo on animal names, taboo on certain words, and taboo on sexual activity. It seems that Sunandar's research (2018) is similar to taboo research in the Acehnese language, only the difference is that Sunandar's research (2018) classified taboos more, namely taboos related to professions, taboos on bodily functions, taboos on mentioning spirits, taboos based on objects and circumstances, taboos the name of the disease, the taboo on asking activities, and the taboo on people's names referring to animals (Sunandar et al., 2018).

Furthermore, the results of this study are also in line with research (Junaidi, 2019) which states that in Pidie society, one should not arbitrarily say certain words for kinship such as brother, for example *Nyan a lôn*. 'That's my brother'. The use of the word 'a' in the sentence is taboo because a younger brother may not refer to his brother as a because it is considered to have no respect and is unethical. A more subtle and very respectable utterance regarding the mention of brother's name in Pidie society is to replace the word 'a' with *kak, cuda/cupo*. Likewise, the names of animals such as elephants and mice are taboo to pronounce. Must be replaced with *po meurah* 'the generous' and *nyakti* (Junaidi & Wardani, 2019).

People of Aceh believe that saying 'Deumi Allah' is one of taboo. Similar to the research of Xuelian Lei (2019) stating that most western countries believe in Christianity, people like reading the Bible in the West. Its religious taboo language related to Christianity. Jehovah is taboo language, when people mentioned God can not directly say "God", to say "Gosh" or "Goodman". The phrase "for Christ's sake", to say "for goodness sake" like "Jesus" or "Oh, my God" such interjections also cannot be used casually (Lei, 2019).

Another research from Nasution and Mulyadi (2022) explained that the reasons people use taboo in their communication are taking an oath, convincing/trusting others and intimating fellowship (Nasution & Mulyadi, 2021). One of these findings is line with the

result in this research as well, in which that people of Aceh say ‘deumi Allah’ for taking an oath since Allah is name of God. The result of Nasution and Mulyadi (2022), however, has the different point of view to this research in which their research found that the intimating fellowship, taking an oath, convincing/trusting others and culture were the reasons of people used taboo languages.

The research of taboo both verbal and nonverbal are various and being in multi fields. It is expected that the research of taboos creating the euphemism formulas in avoiding language conflict. Verbal taboos relating to religions should get considerations of scholars for maintaining tolerance in Indonesia. Researchers expect that taboo is not seen just only from linguistical aspect but also from culture and human’s habit by discussing taboos from sociolinguistic as well as pragmasemantic.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The researchers would like to gratefully acknowledge Mr. Iskandar Husen, Mrs. Nurhayati, Mr. Sabirin, and Mr. Haji Nawir for their help in giving data. Researchers also expressed their special thanks to some students who helped the researchers in collecting and recording data to some villages.

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