

A STUDY OF TABOO EXPRESSIONS IN SIMPANG LANGUAGE



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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Each language has its own ways in expressing ideas, willingness, requests, criticism, and so forth. The differences also include the areas such as phonology, syntax, and lexicon. (Jack C. Richard and Richard W. Schmidt, 1983: 61) In sociolinguistics, those aspects are involved. The different manner of expression causes the different manner of action or assumption. For example, in Simbang society, knocking at the door when someone wants to enter one's house is forbidden. The Simbang people believe that when they hear such a sound, it is considered as the act of ghost. In order to enter the house, they just come into it directly when they know that there is a person in it. If they do not see any one yet, they just say Modupm mbe kenak? The meaning is that "Is there any person here?"

Language is the central thing in human life. Every language is adequate to the needs of its culture insofar as the speakers of the language can communicate to each other the ideas and feelings present in their culture (E. Adamson Hoebel and Thomas Weaver, 1979: 583). People use their language to communicate, to interact with one another, to express feelings, to explain activities, cul-

ture, and such things. Bloomfield, in an important general text (1933) , says that "the whole working of human society is due to language." (Felix M. Keesing, 1966: 365) In accordance with the language and culture, Nelson Brook describes:

Language is the most typical, the most representative, and the most central element in any culture. Language and culture are not separable; it is better to see the special characteristics of a language as cultural entities and to recognize that language enters into the learning and use nearly all other cultural elements. (Nelson Brook, 1964: 85)

In Simpang, there are so many kinds of expressions which are used in daily activities. Those expressions are related to the manners of asking questions, giving orders inviting, expressing excuse, greetings, refusing, giving advice, criticizing, expressing gratefulness, and the taboo expressions which are considered to be powerful expressions or words. Even, when someone wants to enter one's house certain expression instead of knocking at the door. In this case, the expression used is Modupm mbe kenak? Meaning "Is there any person here?" (see page 1)

The use of the expression modupm mbe kenak is a must. When it is neglected by the speaker, he or she will be punished as an impolite person. It is also possible that the speaker will be regarded as a robber when

he or she does not mention such an expression. The expression is assumed to be a means of interaction. When the owner of the house hears the expression, he will directly answer modupm or odeh. Meaning "Yes I am here." The owner of the house is not hesitant to receive the guest, and he is sure that the guest has good intention. It is clear here, that the language is a means of expressing certain ideas among the speakers. The manner of the expression used refers to the culture of the society. Therefore, it is true what is stated by Edward Sapir :

Language is an essentially perfect means of expression and communication among every known people. Of all aspects of culture, it is a fair guess that language was the first to receive a highly developed form and that its essential perfection is a prerequisite to the development of culture as a whole (Nelson Brook, 1964: 86).

Because of my limitation of time and ability to discuss all the expressions existing in the Simpang language, I have decided to discuss one subject only that is the taboo expressions in Simpang. The taboo expressions themselves involve many aspects of Simpang life, as will discuss later.

A. Background

So far no linguist has studied the cultural ex-

pressions used in Simpang, especially the taboo words in Simpang. In my opinion, the knowledge about those expressions will make clear the understanding of the Dayak culture, because the culture is related to the language as M.A.W. Brouwer says :

Because the culture is the particular human phenomenon and because human being is defined as a creature that has a language, it is no wonder that the culture is really related to the language. Human being is not a supernatural nor natural phenomenon, but the cultural phenomenon that happens based on his language (M.A.W. Brouwer, 1986: 1).

Due to the culture in Indonesia, it is important to document the traditional expressions. It is meant to develop the values and the norms of its society for the sake of national development. On the other hand, the documentary of the traditional expressions will also be useful to find out its social background, especially the values that support the life of the nation (Agust Kafi-ar, M.A., et al., 1982/1983: 1-2). Through the documentary of Simpang taboo expressions, it is hoped that the other ethnic groups will understand the Dayak Simpang culture which includes the ways of thinking, acting and communicating, the social status and everything related to their lives.

The ideas of taboo according to Webster New World Dictionary are : among some Polynesian peoples, a sacred

prohibition put upon certain people, things, or act which makes them untouchable or mentionable, etc. The highly developed system or practice of such prohibitions. A social prohibition or restriction that results from convention or tradition. (David B. Guralnik, 1970: 1447) It is the avoidance of the use of certain words, and their replacement by euphemistic expressions, for superstitious moral, social, etc., reasons. (Mario Pei and Frank Gaynor ---: 213)

The taboo expressions are concerned with many aspects of culture. In Simpang, the expressions are related to the religion, etiquette, swear-words and so forth. The taboo is also due to the act or behaviour that must be avoided in Simpang. For example, it is forbidden to go outside the house when the members of one's family are eating. If one breaks it, he will receive a mystical sanction. But, in this thesis, the discussion is limited to the taboo words and expressions.

In accordance with the taboo expressions, Peter Trudgill explains :

Taboo expressions can be characterized as being concern with behaviour which is believed to be supernaturally forbidden, or regarded as immoral or improper; it deals with behaviour which is prohibited or inhibited in an apparently irrational manner.... taboo is associated with things which are not said, and in particular with words and expressions which are not used (Peter Trudgill, 1981: 29).

Furthermore, according to Peter Trudgill, those taboo expressions occur in most languages. The failure or maintaining the strict rules of their use will lead to punishment or public shame. Therefore, many people will never employ those words, most others only use them in certain situations. (Peter Trudgill, op cit., p. 30)

The taboo expressions in Simpang reflect the values of its society. As an illustration, the taboo expressions which are dealing with certain animals which are prohibited to speak about, describe that the life of the Dayak Simpang depends on the power of other things. They believe that in order to avoid the power, the expressions related to those names of animals must not be uttered. Because some of the names are not to be uttered while one is walking in a forest, I conclude that a forest is very important in the Dayak life, and it is also the place of dangerous animals. Therefore, they have to act and talk accurately in the forest.

From the expressions used in Simpang society, we can formulate a certain concept toward its culture. For example, the Simpang people are afraid of mentioning the names of ghosts. It shows that the life of Simpang people is really surrounded by the spirits, It is an evidence that our concept of social context really depends naturally on our concept of the language itself. (M.A. Hallady, 1984: 7).

There are some reasons that have motivated me to discuss this topic; first, I assume that the taboo expressions in Simpang influence the expressions used when Simpang people are talking to the English native speaker. Second, I am sure that by understanding those taboo expressions, the readers will know the values or norms of the Dayak culture. Third, I had a chance to do a research on this topic, and I was given an expert to be my supervisor. Fourth, there is not any person who has done a research on taboo expressions, especially these in Simpang.

The original word of Simpang is Simpakng. It is a name of a sub-tribe of Dayak that lives in Simpang Hulu district, Ketapang, Kalimantan Barat. The Simpang Hulu district with Balai Berkuak as its capital city, consists of 37 administrative units. The Simpang language is used by 31 administrative units-inhabitants. There is an administrative unit outside the Simpang Hulu district that also uses the Simpang language which is called Selangkut. It belongs to Our Kuning district. In Simpang Hulu itself there exists four other languages. They are Manyuke, Kandayan, Gore and Baya.

The majority of the inhabitants of Simpang Hulu district use the Simpang language in their daily life. This language is usually used by the teachers, too, at school, especially when they are talking to the students of elementary school. The distribution of the Simpang

language use can be seen on the map, figure 3. Figure 1 shows the area of Kalimantan Barat, and figure 2 shows the area of Ketapang district.

B. Aim of Study

Dealing with the teaching of English, in my opinion, it is important to compare some expressions exist in Simpang with the English expressions, because what is spoken in Simpang does not always exist in English and vice versa. This study is to find the taboo expressions in Simpang so that both the students and the teachers can understand what expressions should or should not be spoken when talking to the English native speakers. For the teachers of English, the knowledge about the taboo expressions is worth considering in his teaching.

C. Scope of Study

This study is limited to the taboo words and expressions in Simpang. It covers the following items :

1. Discussion on taboo expressions in terms of belief.

This item is divided into ;

- a. Taboo expressions in terms of names of animals.
- b. Taboo expressions in terms of God's name.
- c. Taboo expressions in terms of ghost's name.
- d. Taboo expressions dealing with traditional ceremonies.

- e. Taboo expressions in terms of names of persons.
 - f. Taboo expressions dealing with magic formula expressions.
 - g. Taboo expressions dealing with names of things.
 - h. Taboo expressions related to asking certain activities
2. Discussion on taboo expressions in terms of Simpang etiquette. This item is divided into ;
- a. Parts of human body.
 - b. Personal expressions.
 - c. Marriage life.
 - d. Expressions of names.
 - e. Personal pronouns.
3. Discussion on swear-words and expressions of anger. It is divided into ;
- a. Swear-words in Simpang.
 - b. The expressions of anger in Simpang.
 - c. Some taboo expressions in English as a comparison.
4. Conclusion and suggestion.

D. Method of Study

In writing this thesis, the method I used is the library research and interview. Some of books that I have read are: Language and Social Context (Pier Paolo Giglioli), Language and Society (Joseph Bram), Soci-

linguistics (Peter Trudgill), Cultural Anthropology
 (Felix M. Keesing), Language and Language learning
 (Nelson Brook), and still many others.

IN collecting the data, I interviewed some native speakers of Simpang. Then, in completing the data, I used my own experiences as one of the native Simpang speakers. In discussing some taboo expressions in English, I got the data from the research done by the students of semester eight of the English Department of IKIP Sanata Dharma.

E. Step of Study

In doing my study, I had the following steps. First, I read many kinds of books that talk about taboo expressions. The theories from the experts are used as the background of my discussion. Second, I did some interviews in order to get lists of taboo expressions. Third, I analyzed those expressions and found their distributions. Fourth, again, I went back to the informants to check my conclusions.

Then, I identified the taboo expressions in Simpang. The identification, as seen in the discussion, includes the division of areas where the taboo expressions belong. After that, I listed some taboo expressions in English as a comparison. Finally, I wrote all of them into

my thesis.

F. Plan of Presentation

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter I talks about the background of choosing the topic, scope of study, aim of study, method of study and step of study

In chapter II, the discussion focuses on taboo expressions in terms of belief. This part is divided into names of animals, name of God, names of ghosts, traditional ceremonies, names of persons, formula expressions, names of things and ways of asking certain activities.

Chapter III is about the taboo expressions in terms of etiquette. It deals with parts of human body, personal expressions, marriage life, expressions of names and personal pronoun.

In chapter IV, the discussion is related to the taboo expressions in terms of swear-words and expressions of anger. This chapter also consists of taboo expressions in English.

Finally, in chapter V, the discussion is concerned with the conclusion and suggestion. The conclusion refers to what has been discussed in the previous chapters and suggestion is due to the consideration of teaching planning and ways of understanding the Dayak culture.

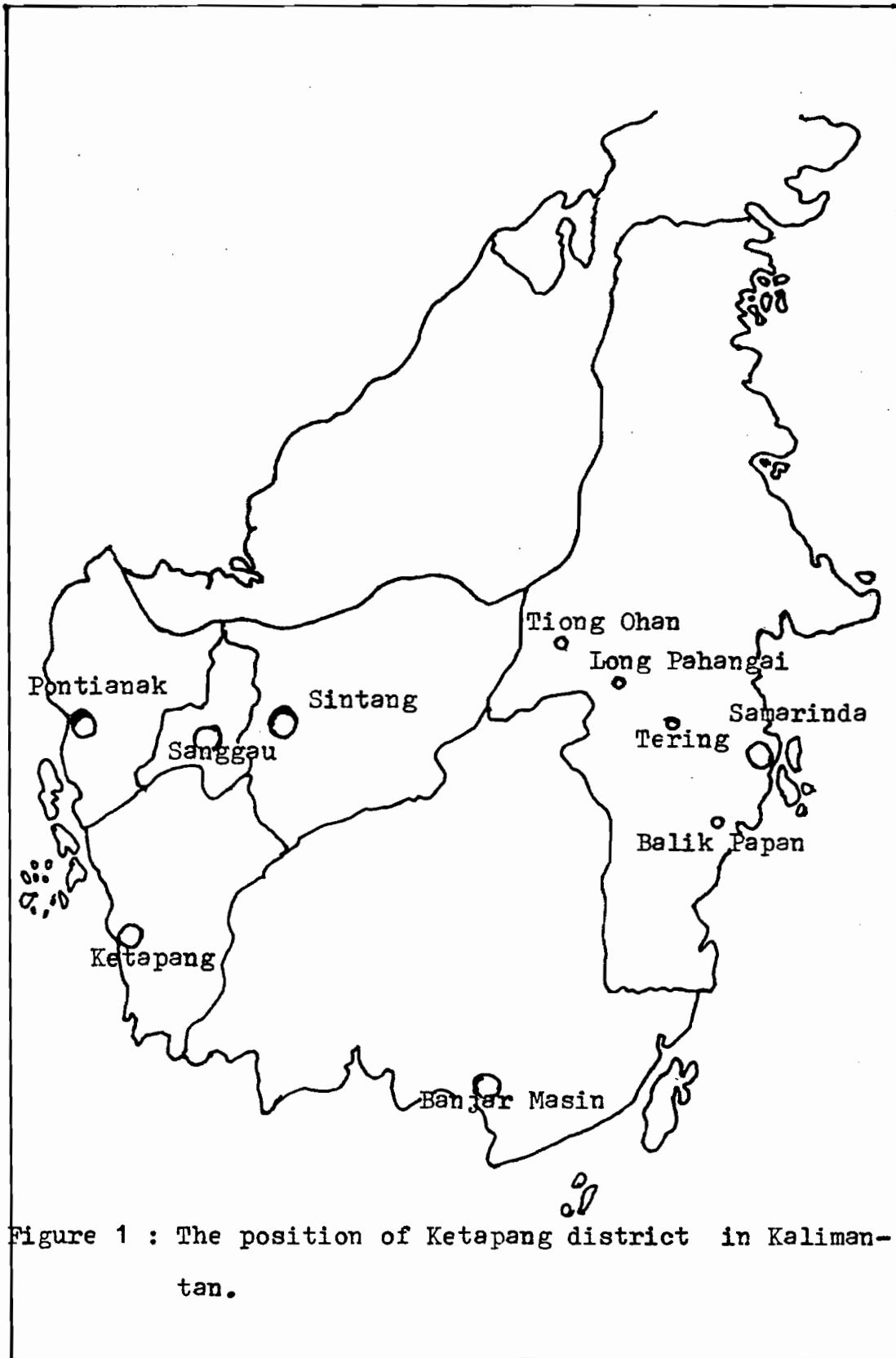


Figure 1 : The position of Ketapang district in Kalimantan.

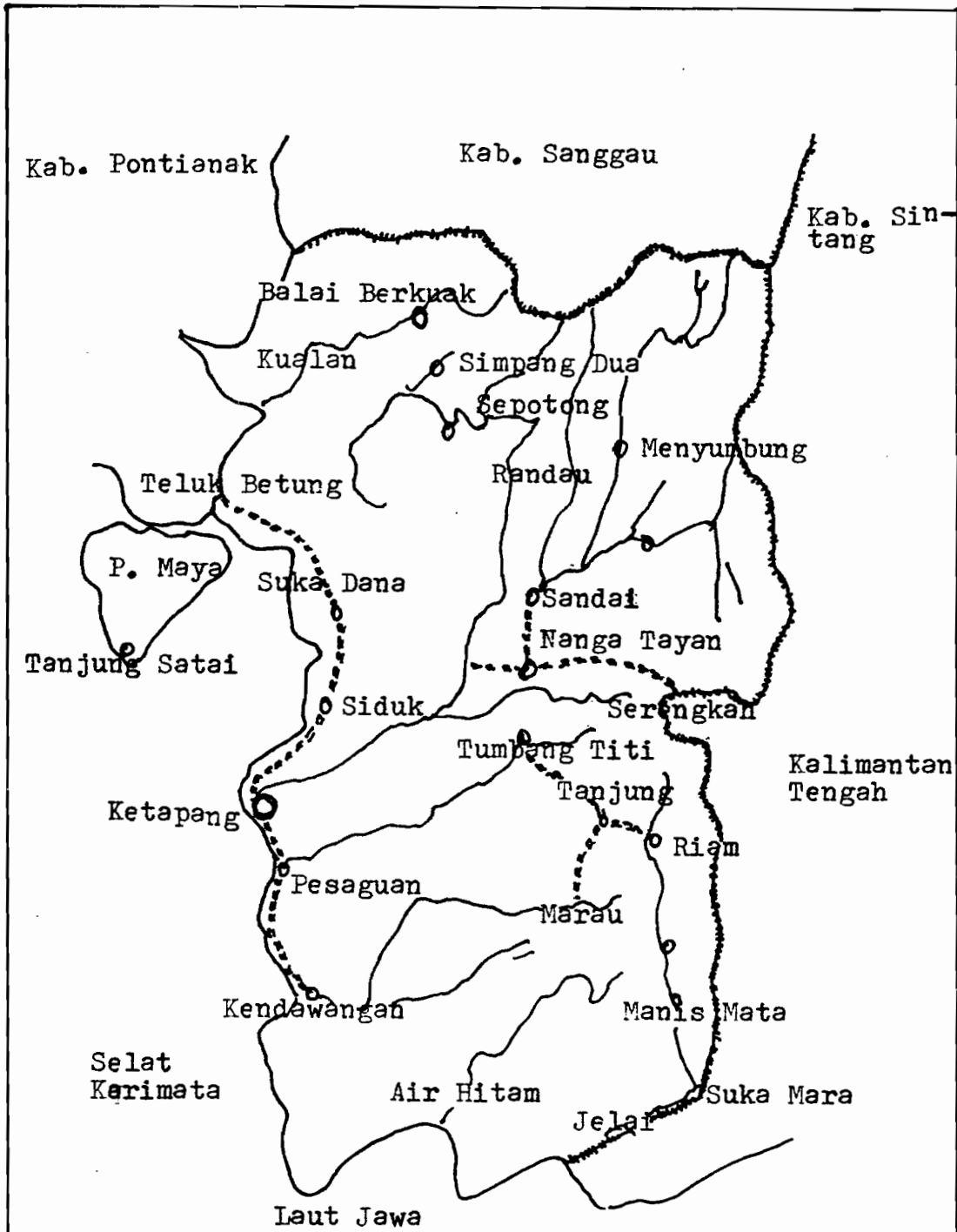
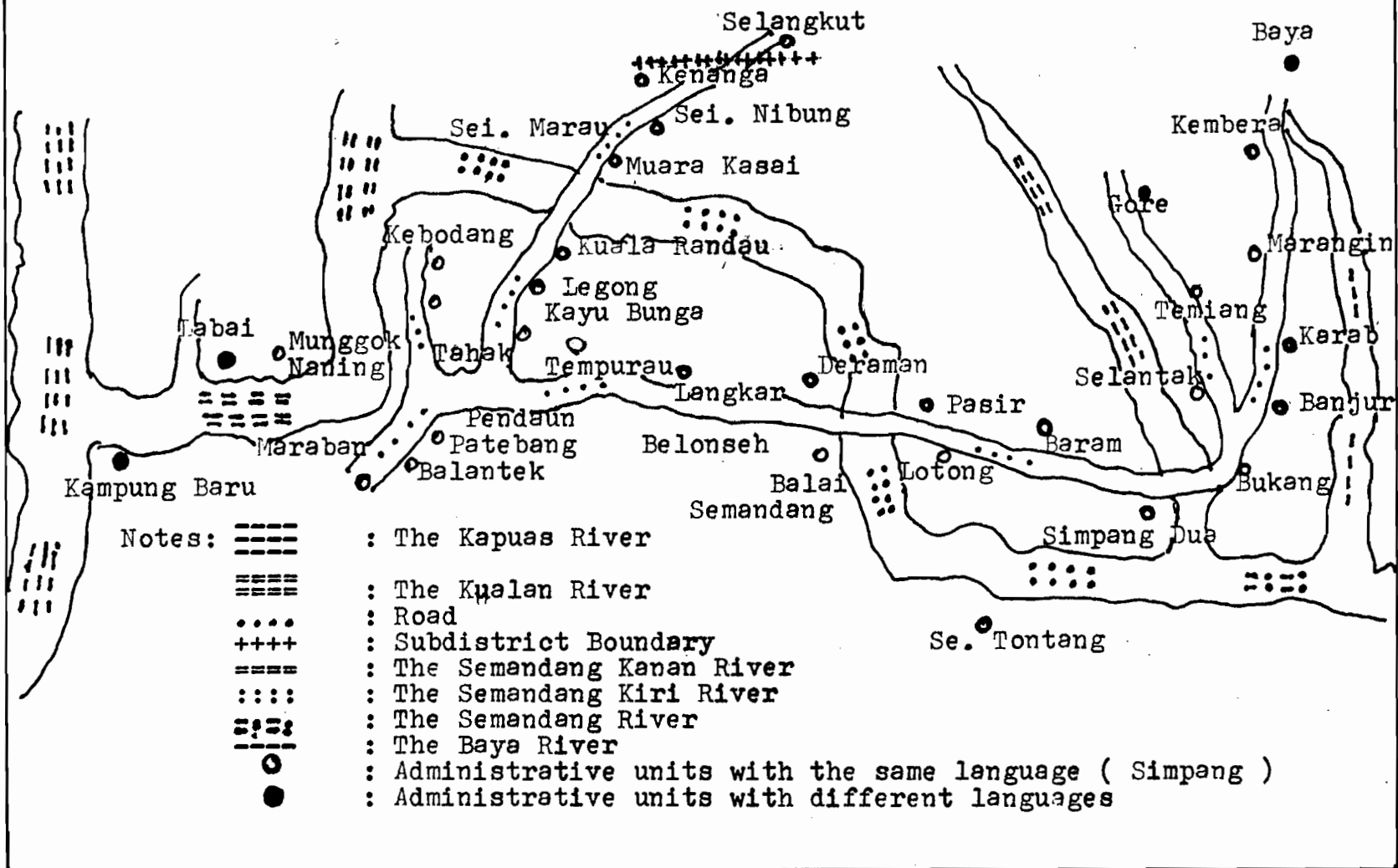


Figure 2 : The area of Ketapang district.

Figure 3 : The map of Simpang subdistrict



Chapter II

TABOO EXPRESSIONS IN TERMS OF BELIEF

There are so many taboo expressions which are related to the traditional belief in the Simpang language. Those expressions include the name of God, names of animals, names of persons, formula expressions and names of things. Some of the expressions are unspeakable because of their traditional belief which is supported by traditional stories of their ancestors' which are told from mouth to mouth and from generation to generation. This way of communicative pattern is considered as the important religious medium (Victor T. King, 1985: 186).

Talking about Simpang belief, it seems that there are many things which are difficult to comprehend. They perform a ceremony because of their belief and the habit of their ancestors. Sometimes, what they do with their belief is really illogical. For example, when I was six years, I often got ill. Although my father was a shaman, he did not know how to heal me. My parents were very panic. Then, he asked another shaman to help me. He came and held a certain ceremony. While he was reading his magic expressions, he touched my forehead with his right hand. there, he took a small piece of stone. He said that the stone was coming from a ghost that wanted to make me ill,

for there was something wrong with my family.

We can say that it is nonsense! But that is the real thing that we can find in Simpang. The religious belief does not need any argument whether it is right or wrong, as stated by Ilham Dilman as follows :

I have suggested that when we speak of 'belief' in connection with religion, we are not speaking of what becomes knowledge when justified and held with correction. It is not something we contrast with knowledge. We do 'however' distinguish between different ways in which a person may relate to such a belief (Ilham Dilman, 1981: 99).

The Dayak Simpang is known as a very obedient sub-tribe in performing his traditional belief. It can be seen that there are many ceremonies which are adorned with their belief. For example, each family has to celebrate gawe putn tobuh once in every seven years. Gawe putn tobuh is a ceremony held by a family in order to make the family safe and free from evil. In this ceremony, two shamans are invited to have ngkata which means "expressing certain magic formula expressions." The expressions may only be said when the gawe putn tobuh is held, because they are used to invite gods and ghosts to eat food provided by the family.

When the gods and ghosts come, they eat the food and keep the family from illness or misfortune. But,

when ngkata is expressed while there is not any gawe putn toguh, the gods and ghosts will come and make the family of the speaker ill, though he is a shaman.

In my opinion, the life of Dayak Simpang is closely concerned with the spirits of gods and ghosts. They believe that the spirits lounge about them. They know how to treat the spirits so that they do not want to disturb their lives. Each individual as well as the family and the whole society has the task and responsibility to maintain the magic balance of the cosmic harmony (Fridolin Ukur, 1971: 324).

In order to avoid the anger of gods and ghosts, there are many expressions in Simpang society which are taboo. Those taboo expressions are related to the names of gods and ghosts which will be discussed in this part.

To start with, I would like to quote J.M.Y. Simpson's statement which says :

Some taboos affect the names of gods or others which it is quite inappropriate to have power. Thus the personal name of (probably Yahweh) of the Deity in the Hebrew Bible was virtually forbidden to be spoken.... On the other hand, the power of a name may be so terrible that it become taboo (J.M.Y. Simpson, 1981: 4).

In this case, I agree with Simpson's, because in Simpang there are also many taboo expressions which are related to the names of gods.

Some of the taboo expressions are not strictly to be spoken. Even, people can call the names or the words directly. But, it is only in a certain situation, place, time and purpose. For example, Patara Guru is the name of God in Simpang. Actually, it is forbidden to call on the name, but a person can mention it when there is a certain traditional ceremony. The person who has a right to call the name is the leader of the ceremony, who is called dukutn which means "a shaman."

A. Names of Animals

Some names of animals, especially the wild one, are prohibited to be mentioned. The Simpang people believe that the animals have spirits that can incarnate into many things such as a person, strange voice, strong wind, and still many other peculiar events. When see or hear a strange event, they can predict what what will happen later. As an illustration, if they hear buntak padara sounds at night, that is the sounds of an animal like a grasshoper, they predict that there will be a dead person. It is true that the next morning, there is the news that a person dies in their village. For the following discussion, I try to explain the background of each animal that is considered to be taboo.

1. Ramaong

Ramaong is animal like a tiger that live in the forest. The Simpang people are sure that it can change into a ghost which they call macatn. When its voice is heard, people are not allowed to imitate it or mention its name, because it will come as aghost that can make people ill.

When people are walking in the forest, they are forbidden to mention the name of ramaong. If it is mentioned, it will come in the form of a real animal that will run after them. To express the name, people should say pongan bajangot, meaning " a thing that has a beard."

According to the traditional story, ramaong is the incarnation of human being. Therefore, it does not like to be mentioned as an animal because it was not his own will to become an animal. Now, look at the way how we talk about the ramaong.

A: Batotap kopih boh?

(Where are you going to hunt?)

B: Ka dorik Mantawa !

(To Mantawa mount.)

A: Je onya, dorik Mantawa bokah pongan bajangot.

(People say that there are a lot of ramaong in dorik Mantawa.)

From the conversation above we see that the speakers do not say ramaong directly. They avoid mentioning it even when they are at home, let alone when they are in the forest. Another word for mentioning ramaong is pongan mun tuh which means "the thing which is old."

Related to the voice, when it is heard, a family must take an iron and bite it for a moment and then say kur mindu manak, korikng mpah bosu, mbe mudah pota mbe mudah lomah. The idea of the sentence is that by biting the iron, the spirit of each person will be as hard as the iron so that it is not easy to be influenced by the spirit of the ghost.

2. Bui

Bui is "a crocodile." Based on Simpang belief, the origin of bui is a human being. It is known as a fierce animal. It often happens that bui eats people in Simpang. When the accident happens, it can be caused by the person's fault or the bui's.

It is forbidden to mention bui when someone is in a boat, taking a bath, at the bank of a river or when he is fishing, for bui will come. To express the bui, the word used is botakng which means "a tree trunk."

3. Buakng

Buakng is a fierce animal, in English it is called "a bear." It lives in the forest. The Simpang people believe that the ghosts can influence the bear so that it will run after everyone it meets. It is prohibited to mention buakng while one is in the forest or when one is planning to have a trip. In order to say buakng, people use pongan itapm, meaning "a thing that is black."

4. Munsakng Baradak

Munsakng baradak is "an animal like a cat." It lives in the forest. The Simpang people believe that it can be a ghost. The ghost is like a man. It is forbidden to mention the name in the forest or at night. And there is not any special name for it. Whenever people want to express it, they just say munsakng nyang aih meaning munsakng which is big.

5. Pangingent

Pangingent means "a bee." The bees like to make hives on the top of big trees. To get their honey, people must climb the trees at night. Besides that, they have to fulfil a certain requirement which is called barendek. Barendek means "songs that must be presented when people climb to get the honey of bees." The songs can be sung only on this situation. By singing the songs, the bees will not sting them. Here is an example of barendek:

Kait-kait kadingkakng kait, kait tandatn
balulok. Mesah diampatn bujakng ocakng
cak panait sek pabungkapm ba panundok.
Sampu landak sampu angkis, tikapm saro -
pang mata tiga. Sampu anak mesah nongis,
tinggal umat tangkap maniga.

It is difficult to translate this song word by word for some words are not in Simpang. The idea of this song is that the climbers tell the bees that they are clever to climb the tree. Before they start to climb, they also have to pronounce magic formula expressions, asking the ghost not to disturb them.

It is forbidden to say pangingent while they are flying over us. If they are called, they will stop and sting us. People just keep silent, for there is not any expression for it. When people plan to get its honey, they may not say muar pangingent which means "getting honey of bee," but just say muar. It is because the ghost will know and follow them to drink the honey. This is a way how people talk about planning to get the honey

A: Sampuatn oko bisek.

(There are bee-hives on my tree.)

B: Ndatn boh omo miak neh?

(When are you going to get them?)

A: Saburatn gek. Paji kalok dah parongkah neh mu-
ar, oko mondakng ka kenak.

B: Next month. I will tell you the time to get it

6. Nyipuh

The word nyipuh means "a snake." It is believed as the ghost's string. Some snakes are forbidden to mention, because they are poisonous. If they are called, they will come and bite people. The snakes may not be mentioned while one is in the forest or river. These are the names of snakes that should not be mentioned :

- a. Sawa : It is a kind of snake that lives in the tree holes, which is called sawa rumbakng, and it can live at the bottom of a river which is called sawa rondapm.
- b. Samonakng : It is a kind of snake that lives at the bottom of a river. It can move so quickly when seeing its enemy. When it bites a person, he or she can die at the moment. People believe that the ghost influence it.
- c. Todokng : Todokng is a snake that lives on the ground. It always hides in bushes which make it difficult for people to identify it.

In general, people are forbidden to say nyipuh which means "a snake." To talk about it, people usually

use the word akar which means " a string." People can also say nyipuh, when they find that the snake has died, or when they are at home.

7. Poyu

Poyu means " a deer." Farmers are afraid of this animal, for it likes to eat their rice. They also believe that it can be influenced by the bad spirit of a ghost. It is forbidden to mention its name while the farmers are cultivating their rice-fields, because the deer will know the place of the rice-fields and when the rice is growing, it will come and eat it.

In order to talk about the deer, they use the term pongan ombuh which means " a thing that is long." Now, look at the way people talk about poyu :

Alui: Odeh mbe pongan ombuh duok podi kenak?

(Is there any deer eating your rice?)

Teso: Ngopih nak madeh bah.

(Of course, there is.)

Mentioning the deer is also taboo for the hunters when they are hunting in the forest. Compare the conversation above with the following one :

Alui : Pak boh kaih poyu tembak le opak moh?

(How big was the deer that had been shot

by your father?)

Teso : Talimpe nem.

(It was very big.)

Alui : Poyu nyen dah lambat apm oko ngipa neh, tapi mbe kola batomu.

(In fact, I had waited for it for a long time, but I never met it.)

But, when the killed, it is even a must to call it poyu, so that the other deer will be afraid of coming to the rice-field. If it is not related to the rice-field that is being cultivated by a farmer, nor to the time of hunting, saying poyu is not forbidden.

8. Cis

Cis means " a wild boar " that lives in the forest. It also likes to eat whatever is grown in the rice-field. Farmers are afraid of this animal. Sometimes, wild boars which are in big groups come to the rice-field. Therefore, it is forbidden to say it in the rice-field and in the forest, except when it has been killed. In order to say cis, people use the expression pongan bakabatn which means "the things that are in groups."



9. Borok

Borok is an animal like a monkey. They are always

in big groups. They like to eat rice, or everything that is grown in the rice-field. The inhabitants are afraid of them because they are very greedy. The Simbang people are sure that they belong to ghosts. It is forbidden to say borok in the rice-field, because sooner or later the borok will come. But, if a person has seen the borok in the rice-field, he can say it.

B. Name of God

The Simbang people differentiate good spirits from bad spirits. The good spirit is considered as a god and the bad spirit is a ghost. There are some gods in Simbang, but the only one that is prohibited to mention is called Patara Guru.

Patara Guru is the highest god. It seems that he is everything. It means that He creates this world and its contents. But, He can also curse human beings. The Patara Guru is called only in a big ceremony, for example, in gawe putn tobu. Another word for Patara Guru is Denak Sombu, which means "those who are living over this world."

They believe that all bad ghosts are afraid of Patara Guru. Therefore, if a person is ill, patara Guru can be asked for help, but with a certain ceremony.

C. Names of Ghosts

The bad spirit is called munt which means "ghost." It is forbidden to say munt every time, for it will come and disturb us. The Simpang people believe that there are many ghosts around them. I can say that the life of Simpang people is in togetherness with the spirits. They always relate their experiences with the spirits. For example, when a person is ill, they believe that it is caused by a ghost. Furthermore, Mikhail Coomans states :

... in daily life, the spirits that influence their lives, though they are going to punish human-beings, the spirits get more attention (Mikhail Coomans, 1987: 88).

The way they pay attention to the spirits is by mentioning their names and giving food when a ceremony is held. In this case, when the spirit is forgotten, it will get angry, and if there is no reason to call it, it will also be angry. Here are the names of bad spirits.

1. Macatn

Macatn is the spirit of ramaong. It can transform itself into a manlike form or a strong voice. The Simpang people are sure that when it shows itself as a man, he brings a knife at his waist. When he sees a man who is careless, he cuts off the man's neck. The man can die while he is sleeping or when he is taking a rest.

It is forbidden to mention macatn, except in a certain ceremony, because it will really come. There is not any expression for it. The term used is similar to that of ramaong, that is pongan muntuh.

2. Komang Tujoh

They are very terrible ghost. According to the traditional belief, komang tujoh are seven men with seven pieces of yellow thread tied around their heads. They always go to and fro. They live on the top of a big and high mountain. Their weapons are swords. In fact, they do not like to disturb human-beings, but if a man is breaking a certain rule, they will kill him. It is forbidden to call komang tujoh whether inside or ~~out-~~side the house.

3. Buta

Buta is a ghost who usually lives in a grave. It is prohibited to mention because it can make a person ill. It can incarnate into white mouse-deer, orangutan, or white deer. If a person sees a white mouse-deer or others, that person will get ill, because the spirit of the person is taken by the buta.

4. Taragasi

Taragasi lives under a banyan tree. The Sim-

pang people are afraid of banyan tree, especially the big one. When they pass the banyan tree, they have to call their dogs by saying di... yeh...di... yeh untill they are far from the banyan tree. They believe that the tagagasi is afraid of the dogs. People avoid calling the taragasi because it can make them ill. The prohibition of mentioning it is particularly in the forest or near the banyan tree.

5. Pancanak

Pancanak is the spirit of a woman who dies in giving a birth to a child. People believe that it will run after a man it meets. The pancanak likes to eat the testes of a man. The characteristics of pancanak are : she has long hair, teeth that are spread wide apart, bad face and very funny laugh, which is called pancanak roge.

The pancanak is not always the spirit of a dead who dies in childbirth, but it can also be the spirit of a person who dies tragically, for example because he falls down from a tree, which is called pancanak doya which means "the blood pancanak." It is because it likes to drink people's blood. Sometimes, it attacks the chickens of the inhabitants. It is forbidden to call pancanak in order to hinder it.

6. Mode

The Simpang people believe that the oldest deer will become a ghost which is called mode after such a long period. If mode passes one's house, the house will collapse. Sometimes, there can be a real big deer that comes into a village. When it happens, there will be a dead person in the village. Mode is taboo to say, because it will come and disturb us.

7. Buakng karajak

Buakng karajak is a small bear which is considered as a ghost, because common people cannot see it. This ghost is very dangerous because it likes to make one ill by leaving out its teeth into one's body. It is a taboo to say it inside or outside the house.

8. Pulokng

Pulokng is a ghost that lives in a certain place in the ground, for example in a ravine. When a family is going to cultivate the area for their rice-field, a certain ceremony must be held. This ceremony is meant to ask the ghost for permission. If it is ignored, it will make the family ill.

9. Jitn

Jitn is a ghost that lives in a river. This ghost

is called jitn pikng. And jitn that lives in the ground is called jitn tonah. This ghost is also dangerous, because it can make people blind. Generally, this ghost makes one blind when that person makes a fault.

10. Kadidi

Kadidi is a ghost that likes to make a person mad. Usually, it is very difficult to heal the crazy person. Kadidi can belong to somebody. It means that a man can ask the kadidi to make someone crazy.

11. Roca

Roca is a ghost that lives at the bottom of a deep river. This ghost is like a small baby. It can pull a person down into the bottom of the river. Its name is for bidden to say at the river. The speakable expression of roca is cabiak ocek which means "a little baby."

12. Nabau

Nabau is a ghost that lives in a river. This ghost is called munt pikng, meaning "a content of a river." The expression used for its name is isek pikng which means "a ghost of a river." Nabau will disturb a person if he does something wrong, such as he fishes using poison. And since this disturbs nabau, it will take revenge on the man.

13. Kalabingkau

The Simpang people believe that there is a ghost that live in an old house. The ghost is considered as the waiter of the house. Children are afraid of that ghost. Actually, the ghost is not dangerous, but it has a bad appearance that makes a child afraid of it. Therefore, it is forbidden to say kalabingkau to a child.

From the explanations about ghosts, I can conclude that a ghost which is called munt in Simpang is taboo to say, except by a shaman in a ceremony. Mentioning the names of the ghosts means inviting them to attend a ceremony. Therefore, food is prepared for them, and it is only a shaman that gives it to them.

In presenting the food to the ghost, there is a promise between a shaman and the ghosts. The shaman begs the ghosts not to disturb the family who holds the ceremony, but to keep the family from any diseases. When it is a big traditional ceremony like gawe putn toguh, the shaman calls the names of the ghosts one by one. If one of the names is forgotten, it will disturb the persons who attend the ceremony. The spirit of the ghost comes into a person's body which is called kasarokng. It means that the spirit of ghost influences the spirit of the man.

D. Traditional Ceremony

There so many kinds of traditional ceremonies in Simpang society. They celebrate the ceremonies with various intentions. The ceremony which is held to cure a sick person is called batentak or baboretu; the ceremony of giving food to earth is called mokata tonah; the ceremony of marriage is called sabat, and there are still many other ceremonies.

Why should they do the ceremonies? The Simpang people believe that their sufferings are caused by ghosts. Therefore, they have to free themselves from the ghosts, as what is stated by Mikhail Coomans :

The Dayak people realize that their lives depend on another thing. They are sure that they are alive only in relation with devine world. Because of it, they pray, bring gift, celebrate a ceremony and pay attention to the taboos, in a such way, they will get salvation (Mikhail Coomans, 1987: 102-4).

In Simpang, the most important animal presented to the ghosts in a ceremony is a pig. When I was sick years old, my family held gawe putu tohu. There were seven pigs presented in the celebration. Then, The members of my family should take a bath with the blood of the pigs. I was afraid of the blood, but my mother

forced me, for it was a must. Taking a bath with the blood is meant to clean the bad luck and diseases of a family.

Related to the traditional ceremonies, there are some expressions which are taboo to talk about. The expressions are speakable only when a ceremony is held.

1. Ncaboh

Ncaboh is the unspeakable expression of gawe putn tobuh. Another expression that can be used is gawe aih. Here is the example how the ncaboh is spoken:

Damia : Kapikng koh kenak nak bagawe aih.

(I hear that your family will hold ncaboh.)

Bonang : Omat boh, tapi ntolah gek madeh pongan neh nam. Gawe aih pecetn sak odeh pongan gak apm.

(That right, but there is any preparation for it. Holding ncaboh, one must prepare enough thing.)

Damia : Kalok jodi, kenak samadi mondakng nam-bah? Ngijikng odakng nak ngaji neh nam.

(If it is accomplished, you may tell me, do not hope too much.)

From the conversation above, the first speaker (Da-

nia), and the second one, used the expression bagawe aih, because they do not know whether bagawe aih is certainly held or not. Although they know exactly when it is held, they also will not use the word ncaboh. They avoid to say ncaboh because the ghosts will hear, and they will claim if the ncaboh is postponed. Ncaboh is a familiar word of addressing the ghost. Compare the previous talk with this one;

Damia : : Ondu nto Lube denak ncaboh boh deh. Kanih omo, koih mbe?

(Today, Lube's family brings out ncaboh. What about you, are going there?)

Bonang : : Koih boh deh. Kalok mbe nengah denak peceta, mbe sompat.

(Of course! If they do not hold the ceremony, I have no time to go there.)

Damia : : Kalok peceta sama-sama bah ?

(What about going together ?)

In this situation, the word ncaboh can be used, because the ceremony is really performed by the family. If the ncaboh has been done by the family, ncaboh is again forbidden to be said by common people or shamans

2. Ntirok

The word ntirok is only used in a certain part of

a traditional ceremony, where a shaman gives food to the ghosts. It can be translated as a ceremony of giving food to the ghosts. For example, before a shaman starts to drink rice-wine which is called tuak (a traditional drink), he must give the drink to the ghosts first in a ceremonial situation. This activity is called ntirok. While pouring out the drink on the ground, he says :

Tirok... opm, nto paminum nak kadietn,
 nisokng obok lah, mesah ngararu manak
 gek, Suroh manak bagas-bagas, boka ra
 jeki, mbe ba panyakit, baranak babuah.

Meaning: Here is your drink, please drink until you are satisfied with it, do not disturb us, but keep us from evil, give us good luck, free us from any sufferings, and keep the members of our families.

Usually, the shaman can add any requirement based on the ceremonial intention. When the ceremony is held in relation to the cultivation of rice-field, the requirement is that their rice can grow well. When it is related to the marriage ceremony, the requirement is that the family can develop well, and so on.

Ntirok means inviting ghosts to eat or drink. Therefore, if we do not want to invite them, do not say ntirok, for the ghosts will come and claim us. It is not only a shaman that can say ntirok, but so can common people in case of ceremonial situation.

3. Nyabak

Nyabak means crying. But, the act of crying is done only when someone dies. For example, a mother weeps over her child who dies, it is called nyabak. It is forbidden to say nyabak to someone in common situation.

The Simpang people believe that when nyabak is done, the ghosts will come. According to them, there are ghosts of dead persons. It means that when a person dies certain ghosts come to join the ceremony of the dead person. Look at the conversation below :

Polo : Waktu akek moh madeh, nongis mbe omo?
(When your grandfather died, did you cry?)

Caolt : Nyen nyang eratn koh, oko takng ka mbe nongis nam.

(I was amazed that I did not cry.)

This conversation above, refers to the past event, the speakers do not use the word nyabak. Now, compare it

with the following conversation :

Polo : Kapikng bah denak nyabak opak neh. ?

(Dou hear them cry over their father?)

Caolt : Seja omat apm, oko manse ngopikng neh.

(Of course, I take pity on hearing them.)

In this conversation, the speakers use nyabak at the moment of a person who dies. When this word is expressed, one's mind must be focused on the death of a person. The expression of nyabak, must be avoided in common situation, because it is considered as a vulgar expression.

E. Names of persons

It seems funny when we hear that calling one's name is forbidden. But, it is a fact that we can find in Simpang. The prohibition of calling one's name is related to the situation in which he or she is involded.

1. In the Forest

When someone gets lost in the forest, then the other persons are looking for him, it is prohibited to call him name. Usually, they use the expression jone to substitute his name. So, when they are shouting, they say: Jone... ngopih boh omo? The meaning is " Alui, where are you?"

The reason not to call his name is that, if the name is (Alui) called, a ghost will hear. Whenever the ghost wants to disturb those who look for Alui, it will appear in Alui's appearance.

When Alui hears the voice calling him, he must not answer by saying: Oi, because a ghost will translate it as a voice calling it. Look at the expression below :

Ilon : O... Jone, ngopih omo ?

(Hi... (Alui), where are you?)

Alui : Onih...? Oko ngoto....

(What... ? I am here....)

When Ilon looks for Alui in the forest, he uses the expression jone for Alui's name, while Alui has to use the expression onih as the answer.

2. At Home

Name or term of address is taboo to mention even at home, when a man has gone outside his house for a day or more. If his name is called, the ghost will come in the appearance of the man. To describe this situation, I would like to write a popular story in Simpang.

In a village, there was a family. One day, the father went hunting. Before he left, he told his wife and his children that he would go for hunting for a day long. But, it had been a day already, and he had not come yet, His

children always asked their mother, "Nok, kopih opak madeh monik? Meaning, " Mom , where is father, why does not he come? " Suddenly, there came a man like their father. He did not talk, just kept silent came into their house, took a bath and then had some food. After that, the children asked him to sleep together. When the children woke up, there was no man, not even their father. Realizing that he was not their father, they were very afraid of the event.

This story is successful in underlying the behaviour not to mention one's name while she or he is going out. It does not mean to forget him, but it is just for the sake of family's security. In certain situation, they use another expression in mentioning one's name who is still going out. For example, when the members of a family are eating, since father is going out for a day or more, then they want to leave over some food for their father, they may not say " father " directly. Look at the conversation here :

Mother : Dah odeh gotn nasek rompah nak tit ?

(Is there any food for your father?)

A child : Gek madeh.

(No, there is not.)

Mother : Kalok pecetn, nto nak tit.

(If so, here is for your father.)

Actually, the meaning of tit is " tree-trunk " which is use to call father.

3. Names of dead persons

The Simpang people always avoid of mentioning a dead person. They believe that when it is called, his spirit will come and disturb the alive people. In order to call the name, they use padara which is put before the name. Padara is used only for the term of address of a dead person. Look at the conversation here :

Alui : Omo taok mbe, padara Tino nyen onak osih ?
(Do you know, whose child is Tino ?)

Jogat : Kalok mbe salah, padara nyen seh onak pak Nio.

(If I am not mistaken, Tino who has died is Mr. Nio's child.)

There are some reasons why they use the term padara :

- a. It is used to differ between the alive and that persons. The Simpang people believe that when the padara is put before the dead person's name, the spirit of the dead person will realize that he is different from the alive ones, therefore, he will not disturb the alive people.
- b. It is used to respect his family who is still alive. When someone talks about a dead person, while there

is his family listening to him, the term padara must be used . The use of padara shows that the speaker respecting the family or relatives of the dead person. When the speaker does not care about the term, the family will hate him.

F. Magic Formula Expressions

The magic formula expressions cannot be separated from the life of Simbang people. They think that evils and difficulties are caused by bad spirits. (Mikhail Coomans, 1987: 104) Therefore, magic expressions have an important role in their lives. By using the expressions, they are able to expel the bad spirits or even to invite them.

In my opinion, there are two groups of magic expressions in Simbang society. The first group refers to black magic and the second one to white magic. groups are prohibited to say without an intentions.

1. Black magic

The idea of black magic is that the magic expressions which are used to make another person ill or even die. In Simbang, the black magic is very dangerous, for there are so many old generations of black magicians. The black magic expressions themselves are still divided in-

to several parts such as :

a. Kemant

Kemant is a kind of black magic that is used to interest a girl or a boy. This expression cannot be used when it is based on one's will, but when one is insulted by a girl or a boy. If it happens to someone, he or she will think of the person who uses it until he or she becomes crazy. But, if the person uses it without any reasons, he or she himself will be crazy.

b. Pangolah

Pangolah is the most dangerous black magic. It is used to make a family, a group of people or someone ill. The expressions of pangolah are only owned by a certain shaman,

c. Paneras

It is used to make one's body strong. When he fights with another person, he uses the paneras.

d. Pananjak

It is used to make pepper tastes very hot. So when someone eats it, all his body is hot.

e. Kibakng

It is used to keep one's house or another thing

which is valuable. For example, when there is no one waiting to keep his house, kibakng is used to make robbers ill. When the robbers enter his house, cannot move, they just walk and round, doing nothing.

f. Sangga

It is used to make someone ill when he or she eats food or drink rice-wine.

g. Tuju

It is used to kill people through the movement of nails or sewing needles. The nails or the needles by the power of magic will fly toward the directed person and come into the person body. Then, he collapses at that time.

h. Kadidi

A person can use kadidi to make someone ill. Usually the person disturbed by kadidi becomes crazy.

Here, I would like to give some examples the expressions of black magic. Accidentally, it belongs to ke-mant. This black magic expression is coming from my own uncle, a very popular shaman in my district. In fact, it is taboo to mention it, but since I do not believe it anymore, there will be not any effects. The title of

this black magic expression is Kumang Anak.

Pinang kadadak pinang kadidi, upeh malayakng atas batu, bakumang anak babalu bini, tunjok kaseh kau pada aku. Kalok kau tidak makatn nasek nyang puteh, aek nyang jaroneh, maka kau tidak kaseh pada aku. Kalok kau tidak nginjak tonah nyang lembakng, awatn nyang ngambakng, maka kau tidak katn kaseh padaku. Kur... samangat dayakng sianu.

From the example above, there are some common words which are used in daily talk such as : pinang, upeh, mala-
yakng, tunjok, kaseh, kalok, makatn, nasek, nyang, puteh,
jaroneh, nginjak, tonah, awatn, ngambakng, katn, samangat,
dayakng. There are all Simpang words, while the rests are not. But, when the words are integrated with the other unknown words, and they are in context of magic, they become taboo to speak without any reasons.

Because there are many unknown words, it is difficult to translate it into English, even Indonesian. It very common, when someone learns a magic expression, he or she does not know its meaning, but only the intention of the magic. Memorizing the expression is very important in magic world. And that is amazing that a shaman, although he or she never goes to school can memorize all kinds of magic expressions. Now, compare the Kumang Anak with the paneras expression below :

Bisimilah.....
 Putn maraja angin, patah tiakng mangali-ali.
 Tanganku deras seperti angin, ngambek pane-
 ras sigindak Ali.

This expression looks very simple, but people who believe in it can use it. The Simpang people are sure that when those magic expressions are spoken openly, it will cause a bad effect to one's life.

2. White Magic

White magic is used to keep people from any kinds of diseases, evils or bad spirits of ghosts. It is also used to contradict the black magic. The white magic is taboo to pronounce without any reasons, for it will not have any powers against the diseases. Usually, a shaman tries not to tell anybody what he knows about the white magic. The white magic expressions are divided into some sorts such as :

a. Panawar Punan

This white expression is used to heal someone who suffers from illness that caused by punan. Punan is a result of carelessness that can make one's life fatal. The example of punan is that a family with a certain ceremony done by a shaman has promised to gods to kill two pigs and three chickens if their father gets well

from a terrible illness. But, after three months or more, the family forgets to do the promise. Then, the accident happens, one of the person in the family is getting ill. In order to heal that person, a shaman uses the expression of panawar punan.

b. Panguser Munt

It is used to expel ghosts. When hearing or feeling that there must be a ghost, for example by hearing the sound of ramaong, a shaman pronounces the white magic of panguser munt.

c. Pamulakng Pangolah

This expression is used to avoid pangolah. When a person suffers from pangolah, a special shaman uses pamulakng pangolah for it.

d. Palobor Kadidi

It is used to heal someone that suffers from kadidi. The expression is only known by a certain shaman.

e. Doa Manyaman

When someone gets a fever, a shaman uses doa manyaman to heal him.

f. Doa Ngijikn Toni

It is the expression pronounced by a shaman to cure a person who suffers from stomachache.

In short, the Simpang people believe that all kinds of diseases can be healed by a shaman who is expert in white magic expressions. The shamans act as doctors in Simpang society. To know the form of white magic, here are some examples:

Priok di tarumbu, misek iman padi. Turutn patara guru, nawar punan si anu. Turutn bisa naik tawar, hak katawar. Ngabollah.

This kind of white expression is used to heal someone who gets wounded because of punan. Now, compare it with the next magic expression :

Cator jeli rasolulah,
sifat satu sakeramlah.
Sifat satu manyadi satu, tanpa ula una saregi. Terang sabage bintakng, tujuh ari tujuh malapm. Tabukaklah ati oko, barekat oko make panerakng oti ngaji.

This white magic expression is used to make someone clever in memorizing, especially in learning magic expressions in general. Again, all magic expressions are taboo to pro-

nounce, except when they are needed.

G. Names of Things

Still, there are some expressions that I do not know exactly what class they belong to. Therefore, I tend to call them " things." These kinds of things are related to the Simpang belief. They are :

1. Oti Dori

The meaning of oti dori is " the heart of a pig " (a pet). The oti dori is the best presentation for gods and ghosts in a ceremony. Therefore, it is forbidden to say oti dori whenever there is not any ceremony, because then the gods and ghosts will come and look for it. If there is not any oti dori, they will get angry and will make people ill.

In order to mention the oti dori, they use oti pongan koja mpat, meaning the heart of thing that has four feet. In fact, the prohibition is the calling of the word dori, which means " a pig." Look at the example below :

Alui : Kapikng koh kenak nak ngobis pongan koja mpat.

(I hear that your family will kill a pig.)

Jogat : Nyen apm, kanih sangat madeh pongan neh nam

nak odi paji seh bah.

(That's true, you know that we really do not have any side-dishes for those who will work together in our rice-field tomorrow.)

Alui : Kalok odeh pongan neh, onih boh nih.

(If you have that thing, it would be alright.)

When planning to kill a pig, it is forbidden to say dori directly. Now, compare the dialogue above with the following conversation :

Alui : Mesah lupak miak oti pongan koja mpat
nyen te bah?

(Don't forget to take the heart of the pig.)

Jogat : Ek apm !

(Sure !)



After the pig has been killed, Alui reminds Jogat not to forget getting its heart. He does not say oti dori. Then compare it with the following talk :

Alui : Oti dori nto nak isek putn tohuh te.

(This heart of a pig is for putn tohuh presentation.)

Jogat : Pak kobekng neh?

(How much is it?

Alui : Samunyak neh.

(All of them.)

In this conversation, the oti dori can be mentioned when it is available and there is a ceremony.

Dori can be speakable when there is no plan to kill it. Look at the conversation below :

Alui : Pak boh kobekng dori kenak nto?

(How many pigs has your family?)

Jogat : Manak tautn nto seja mbe ba dori, jangkak dukah toruh ikok apm. Kenak kanih boh?

(This year, we do not have any pigs, only two or three pigs. What about your family?)

Alui : Dori manak okeh boh, tapi gek ocek-ocek.

(We have enough pigs, but still little ones.)

Jogat : Kalok pecetn, kenak deket ket dari manak.

Uleh manak mintek onak dori nyang gek ocek dukah toruh ikok?

(If so, you are better than us. Can you give us those little pigs about two or three?)

Alui : Odakng nak ngaji neh nam deh.

(Don't hope too much.)

2. Oti Manok

Oti manok means the heart of a chicken. It is prohibited to say oti manok in certain occasions. The reason and explanation are similar to those of the oti dori. In order to say oti manok, they use oti pongan koja dukah, which means the heart of a thing that has two feet.

3. Ancak

It is a thing that used to place the food of gods and ghosts in ceremonial celebration. It can be mentioned only when there is a ceremony. If it is said, while there is no food and a ceremony, the gods and ghosts will be angry. The ancak is made from bamboo. Customarily, the oti and oti manok are put into the ancak.

4. Katopokng

It is a kind of food which is presented to gods and ghosts in ceremonial celebration. The food is made from rice flour. It is permitted to call only in a ceremony. The katopokng is put into an ancak together with oti dori and oti manok.

5. Boras Kuning

Boras kuning means yellow rice which is used by a shaman to invite gods and ghosts in a ceremony. People

use turmeric to make the rice yellow. It is only called in a ceremony.

H. Asking a Certain Activity

When I was still a little boy, I liked fishing very much. One day, my father and I went fishing. On the way, we met a man. The man asked us directly, "Nak najor kopih boh kemak?" Meaning, "Where are you going fishing to?" My father did not answer by using the expression, "Manak nak najor ka Kandar," which means "we are going fishing to the Kandar River," instead he said, "Manak nak batotap," which means "we are going to take a walk."

If the man that asked us was a well-known person, it might be that my father got very angry with him. When the man left us, my father took some leaves, put them into his basket, then took them out, threw them on the ground by saying :

Óbullah padak sial, munt bokap. Mesah ngararu manak gek. Nyok rajeki ka manak. Kalok odeh onya kobis, mesah suruh mintek ka manak mintek ka manak, suruh io obu dari dito, gek manak lancar batotap, madeh nomu bahaya.

Meaning :

Go away ghosts of unlucky fortune, blind ghost. Don't disturb us. Give us any profits. If there

is a dead person, don't let his spirit ask anything from us, but let him go away, so that we do not find any difficulties or dangers.

Throwing away the leaves from one's basket is the symbol of expelling the unlucky fortune and blind ghosts. It seems that the unlucky fortune is caused by the expressions started by another person. The Simpang people believe that when someone asks the activity of fishing or hunting directly, the ghost will know will disturb them so that they will not get any fish or animal. Therefore, it is forbidden to ask about it.

Chapter III

TABOO EXPRESSIONS IN TERMS OF ETIQUETTE

In this part, the discussion is related to the expressions which are unspeakable because they are dealing with the social etiquette. According to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, etiquette means the formal rules of proper behaviour (Paul Procter, 1981: 373). It is the conventional rules of behaviour or conduct acceptable in a given society (Carter V. Good, 1973: 220).

In Simpang, there are some expressions which are forbidden to be spoken, because they are in contrary to the conventional rules or conduct of the society. Therefore, the language has its own rules that conform with the norms of the society. The speakers keep the rules in order to build up good interaction with the others. The rules here include the ways in which speakers associate particular modes of speaking, topics or message forms, with particular settings and activities (Gumperz, 1972 : 36). Furthermore, he states that the utterances used are selected in accordance with socially recognized norms and expectation (p. 115).

The appropriateness of using the expressions reflects the speaker's personality. When the speaker does not regard the social etiquette, he or she is considered a vulgar or impolite person. In Simpang, such person will

we kept away from his society. Therefore, it is true what Samsuri says here :

Language is a clear sign of personality, whether the personality is good or bad; a clear sign of family and nationality; a clear sign of human character. From one's talk we can catch not only his will, but also the motivation of it, the background of his education, his relation with the others, his customs, and so on (Samsuri, 1982: 4-5).

As stated before, a language has its own rules. I interpret the term " rules " from Gumperz not only in case of the language forms, but also its norms. The norms the language influence the forms of utterances used by its speakers. For example, in Simpang, its speaker must be careful in expressing personal pronouns. He has to understand the pattern of kinship to whom he speaks.

The word oko, meaning I is used when the speaker talks to a person whom according to the line of kinship is higher than him, or when the speaker talks to a person that comes from the same level of kinship. Related to the norms, Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo states :

In a society, a language often has a special norms. The norms of the language, finally, can influence the alternative forms of utterances that would be spoken... (Prof. Dr. Soenjono Dardjowidjojo, 1985: 98).

Furthermore, he adds that there are many things

which are forbidden to speak, and many things which have to be spoken in certain conversations. These patterns of prohibition and compulsory themselves influence the form of one's talk (p. 98). When a speaker breaks the language norms, it means that the speaker breaks the etiquette that exists in the society.

The Simpang people do not like to hear vulgar expressions. They are consistent with the etiquette and the norms of the language, especially the old and the uneducated persons. While the youngsters and educated persons are influenced by the patterns of their relationship that they get from outside their society. Parents often criticize their children for they ignore the etiquette and the norms of the language. In short, the native speakers of Simpang avoid using vulgar and taboo expressions in order to keep their good interaction with the others, as written by Lontaan :

Good manners predispose the Dayak people's life. They do not like hearing vulgar words. The revine language is a principle means of making friends with them (Simon, 1987: 33).

In discussing this topic, I divide it into five parts. The divisions include; parts of human body, personal expressions, marriage life, expressions of names and personal pronouns. I make the divisions so that I

can discuss them easily. Besides that, I feel that all expressions I analyzed are related to each division. Of course, the expressions are considered taboo in accordance with the social etiquette.

A. Parts of Human Body

It is regarded as a convention that some parts of human body are taboo to be spoken in Simpang. The expressions are, especially related to human genitals. The taboo is dealing with the feelings of shyness and respect. To talk about the taboo expressions, the Simpang people usually use euphemism. When a person likes to mention the expressions, he is called panyalumbakng and other people do not like him. He is considered to have no etiquette. Those taboo expressions are :

1. Ture

It is a man's genital which is called "pennis." Ture is strictly forbidden to say. Another taboo expression for it is purak. There is no exception for calling these words. In order not to be marked as panyalumbakng, people use other expressions which are acceptable such as balao which means "a kind of fish" or mpo bator which means "a thing belongs to someone." A word which is used among the older people, is called denak muntuh which means they are old."

2. Karongan

This word means testes. It is also forbidden to express, but sometimes it can be mentioned by the older people to the younger ones when the older people are annoyed with them. For example, while a man is working seriously, a boy comes to disturb him. In warning the boy, it can be that the man say, "Karongan moh, obu koih!" The meaning is, "Your testes, go away!" But, this expression is never uttered to the older people or among themselves at any situation, while among the younger people, it is still possible, especially when they are expressing their anger.

3. Konang

This word means the woman's genital. It is strictly forbidden to say, and there is no exception for it. To talk about it, people use the expression lalabi which means "a kind of turtle." It is usually used one talks to a little girl. Other acceptable expressions are denak muntuh and mpo bator as in the case of ture.

4. Kontet

It means clitoris. It is also taboo to say, but the older people can express it to a little girl when the older people get angry with them. For example, a little

does not obey her mother's command, when her mother gets angry with her, she may say, "Kontet moh, pamalas ngaru - atn ntah!" Meaning, "Your clitoris, what a lazy you person you are!" This expression is never said by a younger people to the older ones. It can be used among the younger people in expressing their angers.

Sisu

Sisu means a breast. It is taboo to say sisu to a woman, especially when it is said by a man to a woman. If a man says sisu, he uses the word dungkok which means "something that bulges." It does not matter if a child says sisu to his mother, when he wants to suck it. A mother can also say it she talks to her girls, or among the girls and the women in general.

B. Personal Expressions

In our daily life, we are dealing with feelings. To describe the feelings, we have to use certain words appropriately (Mansoer Pateda, 1986: 51). In Simpang there are some expressions which are considered to be personal. They concern with the feelings of respect. Those personal expressions are :

1. Coci

This word means feces. It is impolite to say coci in formal situation. Even in informal situation, the word coci is avoided to mention. When it is expressed, the feeling of filthiness will arise. The speaker himself feels bashful to say that word. Now, look at the conversation how the Simpang people express it :

Son : Nok, kopih opak?
(Mom, where is father?)

Mother : Idoh ka soba amun.
(He is having a move.)

The real meaning of ka soba amun is " going to the lower course of a river." But, it is used to substitute the word coci.

Another acceptable word is odeh onya nyopa oko to express coci. Look at the example below :

Niun : Timang, kopih boh omo?
(Timang, where are you?)

Timang : Odeh onya nyopa oko. Tonte nam bah?
(I have a move. Just wait for me, please?)

Ganjek : Kopih boh Timang seh?
(Do you know where Timang is?)

Niun : Io ka soba amun.
(He is having a move.)

The original meaning of odeh onya nyopa oko is " there is a person who is calling me on."

In a certain situation, the word coci can be expressed. For example, when giving comments that a village is very dirty whenever there is a lot of pig's filth. But, the talking is not at the time of eating. Look at the talk below :

Timang : Kampong Cekok nyen seja kotor.

(The Cekok village is very dirty.)

Niun : Kotor ntapm onih boh?

(Why is it dirty?)

Timang : Bokah coci dori.

(There is a lot of pig's filth.)

The word coci can also be used in terms of disease. In Simpang, there is a dangerous illness that can attack human beings. This disease is called coci kadoya that is the stomachache that causes a person's excrement mixed with blood. Here is an example :

Timang : Opak moh ngijikng onih boh?

(Why is your father ill?)

Niun : Idoh coci kadoya.

(He is suffering from coci kadoya.)

Timang : Mbe barobat?

(Does he take medicine?)

Niun : Dah apm, tapi nalar nam.

(Yes, but it does not make him better.)

Timang : Kapikng koh pak Luntengk taok nguri onya
coci kadoya. Ciba omo koih.

(I hear that Luntengk's father can treat
those who are suffering from coci kado-
ya. You may go there.)

2. Konak Jangkah

This expression means menstruation. When people want to talk about it, they use the expression buratn monik which means " the moon is coming" or panyakit denak dayokng which means " the woman's disease." Konak jangkah is never used even between a mother and her daughter. It is considered a vulgar expression that can make a woman feel embarrassed.

3. Kobis

It means die. This word is forbidden to use when it is related to human beings. For example, when asking the day of a dead person, the word kobis is not used. It is regarded a vulgar and unrespectful expression, especially when the family of the dead person is present at the time of talking. Look at the talk over :

Derupm : Oko takanyet ngopikng opak moh dah mori.
 (I was surprised when I heard that your
 father died.)

Logo : Nyen em, oko gak mbe nyangka idoh nak
tiatn apm.
 (That was a fact, I also did not know
 that he would die.)

From the conversation above, the expressions used are ; dah mori which means " have gone back " and tiatn apm which means " going in advance." Other acceptable words for kobis are dah madeh which means " have passed away ", dah lalu which means " have finished " and dah ngadap pongan sombu which means " have faced the thing above."

The word kobis can be used when there is not any member of the dead person's family involved in the talking. Look at the example here :

Derump : Pak Ganjek kobis ntapm onih?
 (What caused Ganjek's father to die?)

Logo : Je onya, idoh kobis tangkap bui.
 (People say that he died because he was
 caught by a crocodile.)

Derupm : Ndatn idoh kobis?
 (When did he die?)

Logo : Oko mbe taok koh.

(I do not know.)

The word kobis is also used for animals. Look at the example below :

Logo : Ngonih manok nto kobis?

(Why is this chicken dead?

Lota : Manok nto kobis sakal le Ganjek.

(The chicken is dead because Ganjek has hit it.)

4. Tanambak

Tanambak means be buried. When it is related to human beings and the family of the dead person is involved in the conversation, it is taboo to say tanambak. Usually, people use the expression mitak which means "throwing away" and the word marangkat which means "dispatching." Look at the example here :

Lota : Ndatn onya marangkat akek moh?

(When will people bury your grandfather?)

Logo : Ondu paji.

(Tomorrow morning.)

The word tanambak is not used in order to respect the family of the dead person.

5. Mondapm

The meaning of mondapm is " suffering from a serious disease." People are afraid of this word. Therefore, it is taboo to say it to someone. Usually, a person who is dying is called in condition of mondapm. Now, look at the way the Simpang people talk about mondapm.

Timang : Oko dah lambat mbe batomu ba omo. Kapikng
koh omo mbe baras buratn amis seh.

(I have not met you so long. I heard that
you were ill a month ago.)

Niun : Onih garua neh bah. Saburatn lobeh oko ngorapm di omak.

(Of course, I got ill more than a month.)

The acceptable words for mondapm are mbe baras which means " a little bit sick " and ngorapm di omak which means " staying on the mat." On the other hand, mondapm can also be used as the expression of feeling sick because of some diseases or something else. The example is :

Timang : Mondapm mbe bak moh ntapm bal atoh eh?

(Did the ball that hit your head brought
about pain?)

Niun : Mbe mondapm nam.

(No, I did not feel painful.)

Now, compare it with the acceptable talk below :

Son : Nok, toni koh mondapm.

(Mom, my stomach aches.)

Mother : Nindup obat nto.

(Just drink this medicine.)

C. Sexual life

The taboo expression in marriage life are very sensitive. Talking about the sex is really a taboo. People who are still young are forbidden to know them. These expressions are supposed to be taboo:

1. Bosau

The meaning of the word is having a sexual intercourse, done by human beings. This word is never expressed. While bakabelatn which means " having sexual intercourse done by animals " is alright to talk about. There is not any acceptable expression to substitute bosau.

2. Manang

It means an impotent woman. People of Simpang avoid saying it to a woman, because she will be insulted. So the avoidance of saying it, is to respect her. There is not any speakable word for this expression. The word manang

can be used when the impotent woman is not involved in the conversation.

3. Lomah

The meaning of this word is an impotent man. It is also a taboo to speak when the man or his family is involved in the conversation.

4. Biti

Biti means " getting pregnant." It is regarded to be vulgar and impolite to say biti to a woman who is expecting a baby. The acceptable expressions are ngandokng, meaning " pregnant ", and bisek which means " containing." Look at the example :

Jilon : Dah kudu buratn boh omo ngandokng eh?

(How have you been expecting a baby?)

Itim : Barok toruh buratn.

(It has been three months already.)

The talking about expecting a baby is usually done among women themselves, between a wife and her husband, or between parents and their children. It never happens that a man who is not her family asks her about expecting a baby.

D. Expressions of Names

The taboo of mentioning one's name is dealing with one's respect in Simpang. It is closely related to the pattern of kinship. Besides to show the sense of respect, it is also to show how far the relationship of the family according to the pattern of kinship.

In Simpang, there is a popular term busokng which means "boasting" or "self-assertive." It is a result of mentioning the names of those who are older based on the pattern of kinship. The Simpang people believe that because of his arrogance, he will fail in directing his own life. Besides that, he is also marked as vulgar, has no etiquette, impolite, and finally, he is avoided by the society. Therefore, the Simpang people should know exactly whether one has to mention another person's name, or has to use the term of address.

The pattern of kinship, as one of the institutions that exists in Simpang society, really influences the manners of communication to each other, at least in terms of address. The Simpang people strictly keep their relationships based on their patterns of kinships. Because of that, there are several kinds of kinship levels in Simpang society as I will discuss later. Related to the kinship, it is true what is stated by Joseph H. Greenberg :

It may also be pointed out that in the wider context of social sciences in general, among which linguistics must be numbered, a correlation involving kinship and social institutions is a universal connecting linguistic and non-linguistic social data, while a universal within terminologies connect linguistic with other linguistic data, and these are also in the broad sense social (Yoseph H. Greenberg, 1966: 87).

In this part, I will not discuss the process of giving a name to a child in Simpang, but I try to find out why it is a taboo to call one's name, why there are terms of address and when it is permitted to call one's name. I conclude that these all are the results of strong pattern of kinship. For further explanation, on the following page is a diagram of Simpang kinship terminology.

1. The Kinship Terms of Address

To discuss the kinship in Simpang, I divide it into three parts. The first is the level of kinship, the second is the terms of affinal kinship and the last is the consanguineal kinship terms of address.

a. The Level of Kinship in Simpang

The determination of the seven levels of kinship patterns in Simpang is very important. Because in their daily lives, for example in the marriage life, the level

of kinship will determine whether a girl can marry a man or not. If they get married, is there any customary punishment or not. If there is, how much is it. Related to terms of address, the levels of kinship patterns also influenced the terms to be used. In short, the levels of kinship must be traced.

b. The Terms of Affinal Kinship

It seems that the terms of kinship in Simpang are also influenced by the levels of kinship. The closer the level of kinship is, the better their relationships in daily life, and the stronger the terms to be used. Here are lists of terms of affinal kinship in Simpang.

1. Akek Iyakng : great-great grandfather
 2. Inek Iyakng : great-great grandmother
 3. Akek Boyak : great grandfather
 4. Inek Boyak : great grandmother
 5. Akek : grandfather
 6. Inek : grandmother
 7. Opak : father
 8. Indok : mother
 9. Onak : children
 10. Ucok : grandchild
 11. Icet : great grandchild
 12. Bonih : husband
- Onya Muntuh : parents

- 13. Osau : wife
- 14. Posik : brother or sister
- 15. Onak Ibatn : children-in-law
- 16. Dato : parents-in-law
- 17. Odek : younger brother or younger sister
- 18. Mbo : older brother or older sister
- 19. Odek Ipar : younger brother or younger sister -
in - law
- 20. Akak Ipar : older brother or older sister-in-law
- 21. Domar : uncle or aunt
- 22. Onak posik : nephew or niece

c. The Consanguineal Kinship Terms of Address

In Simpang society, there are terms of address which are related to the kinship pattern. In daily conversation, they have to call the other persons based on the terms of kinship address. Here are the terms of address :

- 1. Akek : grandfather
- 2. Inek : grandmother
- 3. Opak : father
- 4. Indok : mother
- 5. Omba : father's or mother's older brother or
sister
- 6. Tongah : father's or mother's younger brother
or sister.

7. Busu : father's or mother's youngest brother
or sister
8. Dayakng : daughter-in-law
9. Pangantikng : son-in-law
10. Akak : the older brother or sister-in-law
11. Odek : the younger brother or sister-in-law
12. Uco : the youngest brother or sister
13. Satn : the parents of son or daughter-in-law

Here are some example how the terms are used in conversation :

- Damai : Nok, okapm nak kopih?
(Mom, where are you going to go?)
- Indok : Mak nak ka rumah omba moh.
(I will go to your uncle's house.)
- Damai : Inek aba mbe?
(What about grandmother?)
- Indok : Mbe, idoh nungu odek moh.
(No, she is waiting for your little sister.)
- Damai : Kanih boh opak koh?
(What about my father?)
- Indok : Mesah kalut ka idoh.
(Don't worry about him.)
- Damai : Nok, kalok dah ka rumah omba te, odop ka

rumah tongah bah ?

(Mom, if we finish visiting uncle's house, can we visit your younger brother's house?)

Indok : Kalok gek okeh ondu, odop gak nak ka rumah busu moh.

(If there is time left, we will also visit my youngest sister's house.)

From the conversation above, it seems that the speakers never mention any names, but the terms of kinship address. The term of address omba also means " parents-in-law ".

When omba, tongah and busu have not any children, their nephews or nieces can mention their names, but the terms omba, tongah and busu should be put before their names. For example, omba Ganci means " uncle Ganci ", or tongah Sadi means " aunt Sadi ".

If omba, tongah and busu have children, the names of their first children must be put after the terms of the kinship address. For example, the name of omba's first child is Dobi, therefore the omba must be called omba Dobi, or if Dobi is the first child of busu, the address is busu Dobi. Now, look at the following example :

Pak Redi : Ndatn boh omo monah ka muh eh pangantikng?

(When are you going to go to the rice-



field son-in-law?)

Ilon : Oko gek monte akak koh.

(I am still waiting for my older brother-in-law.)

Niun : Yoh dek, odop tamonah.

(Come on my younger brother-in-law, we go right now.)

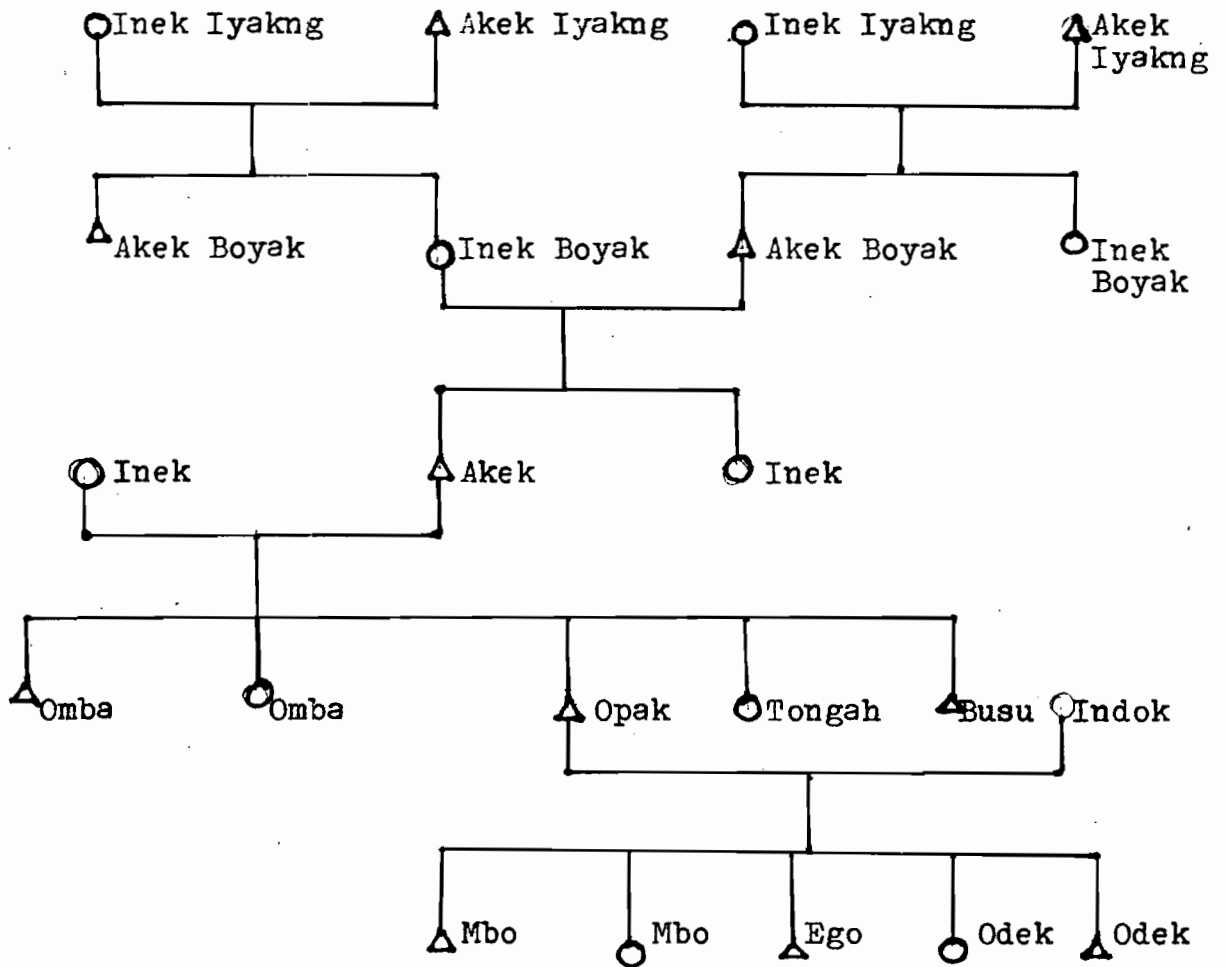
Ilon : Omba, oduh monah bah.

(Father-in-law, we go now.)

From the explanations above, I conclude that the names of persons in Simpang are rather inclusive. It means that they are rarely exposed. The name of the first child is to be the address of his or her parents. For example, in a family, Redi is the first child. Therefore, his father or his mother is called opak Redi which means Redi's father or indok Redi which means Redi's mother.

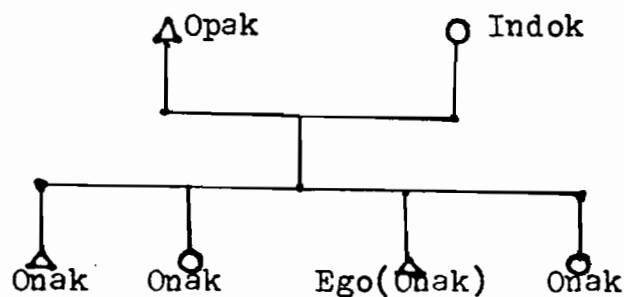
The terms of kinship address are not used to call a person who has no kinship relation. In this case, the Simpang people usually use the tittle of the person. For example, if the person is guru which means " a teacher ", the Simpang people call him guru which is put before his name. If the name of the guru is Injat, people will call him guru Injat. When a person has no tittle, the address to call him or her is the name of his or her first child. If he or she is still single, people just

a. Diagram of Consanguineal Relatives



The diagram above describes the positions of consanguineal relatives in Simpong society. It shows the members of ascending generations. The diagram is read from Ego up to Inek Iyakng.

b. Diagram of Nuclear Family



call his name.

2. The Unspeakable Expressions of Names

In this section, the discussion is about the names which are taboo to say. The discussion also includes the possible situation when people may mention a name of a person. The names which are forbidden to call are :

- a. Names of grandfather and grandmother
- b. Names of parents
- c. Names of uncle and aunt
- d. Names of parents-in-law
- e. Names of older brother and sister-in-law
- f. Names of son and daughter-in-law
- g. Names of son's and daughter's parents-in-law
- h. Names of grandfather and grandmother-in-law

It does not mean that the Simpang people strictly avoid to mention one's name. They may call one's name, but it must be based on the situation of communication. The situation here includes the purpose of mentioning the name. The problem is, how do they introduce each other? Now, look at the conversation here :

Alun : Isek mpih boh kenak nto?

(Where do you come from?)

Doge : Oko isek Cekok.

(I come from Cekok.)

Alun : Dah kola gotn okapm ka koto?

(Have you ever been here?)

Doge : Oko sitek nak koto nam.

(Yes, of course.)

Alun : Ngonih ka oko mbe kola batomu?

(Why did we never meet each other?)

Doge : Omo lupak ka oko?

(Do you forget me?)

Alun : Omat boh deh, oko mbe taok koh.

(Really, I do not know you.)

Doge : Oko seja mbe pacayak koh okapm mbe taok ka odatn koh. Oko nto Doge. Onak koh nyang muntuh nyen Dame.

(I do not believe that you forget my name.

My name is Doge. My first child is Dame.)

Alun : Carupm, mpah neh omo pak Dame bah. Kalok pecetn yoh opm odop lalu ka rumah manak?

(Oh... I see. You are Dame's father, aren't You? If so, would you please drop in my house?)

For the following talk, Doge is called pak Dame which means " Dame's father ". In my opinion, there is a feeling of respect when Doge is called pak Dame. It shows that he also has descendants and abilities in building up a family.

Now, compare with the following talk :

- Polo : Nak kopih boh omo seh?
(Where are you going?)
- Eto : Oko nak ka Randau.
(I will go to Randau.)
- Polo : Omo nto isek mpih?
(Where are you from?)
- Eto : Oko isek Pana.
(I am from Pana.)
- Polo : Osih-osih posik moh?
(Who are your brothers and sisters?)
- Eto : Oko onak nyang muntuh. Odatn koh Eto.
(I am the oldest child. My name is Eto.)
- Polo : Oh... mpah neh Eto omo bah.
(I see, your name is Eto.)
- Eto : Omo osih boh?
(What is your name?)
- Polo : Oko odek Teram. Io posik koh nyang muntuh.
Oko nto Polo.
(I am Teram's younger brother. He is my
oldest brother. My name is Polo.)

The conversation above is between two persons, they are Polo and Eto. They have not known each other yet. After they introduce each other, they may call one's name directly. The reasons are : first, they have not any kin-

ship relation. Second, they are still single. But, these two factors do not assure whether people can mention one's name or not. Here are the conditions in which the names are speakable :

- a. Father may call his wife's name and vice versa.
- b. Brother may call his siter's name and vice versa.
- c. Parents may call their children's names.
- d. Uncle or aunt may call their nephews or nieces' names.
- e. Grandfather or grandmother may call their grandchildren's names.

E. Personal Pronouns

I feel that it is important to discuss personal pronouns in Simpang, because they are related to the kinship pattern. From the use of personal pronouns, we can determine whether a speaker is coming from a higher or lower level baseb on the kinship pattern. It is true what is stated by Brown and Gilman :

Consistent personal style in the use of the pronouns of address does not reveal enough to establish the speaker's unique character, but it can help to place him in one or another large of category. (Pier Paolo Giglioli, 1980: 277)

The accurate use of personal pronouns is dealing with the affinal kinship and sense of respect. When a speaker does not pay attention to the personal pronouns that he has to use, he will be punished as a vulgar or an impolite person. The use of personal pronouns directly expresses a momentary shift of mood (p.279). Therefore, the Simpang people must know how and when they should use those personal pronouns.

According to their uses, there are two divisions of personal pronouns in Simpang. The first division is the higher level of personal pronouns and the second division is the lower ones. These two divisions are based on the levels of kinship pattern. The higher level of personal pronouns is for those who are in the higher levels of kinship pattern, while the lower level of personal pronouns is for those in the lower ones.

1. The Higher Level of Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns which are considered to be the higher level are :

- a. Mak : I (first person, singular)
- b. Okapm : You (second person, singular)
- c. Idoh : him/ her (third person, singular)
- d. Manak : we (first persons, plural)
- e. Kenak : you (second persons, plural)

- f. Denak : them (third persons, plural)
- g. Mak dukah : we (only two persons are involved),
first persons, plural
- h. Kemak : you (only two persons are involved),
second persons, plural
- i. Demak : them (only two persons are
involved), third persons, plural

2. The Lower Level of Personal Pronouns

These kinds of personal pronouns are :

- a. Oko : I (first person, singular)
- b. Omo : you (second person, singular)
- c. Io : him/her (third person, singular)
- d. Ome : we (first persons, plural)
- e. Kadietn : you (second persons, plural)
- f. Dieta : them (third persons, plural)
- g. Oduh : we (only two persons are involved),
first persons, plural
- h. Konduh : you (only two persons are involved),
second persons, plural
- i. Doduh : them (only two persons are
involved), third persons, plural

3. Neutral Level of Personal Pronoun

This kind of personal pronoun is odop which means " we ". It is used for first persons. The idea of neutral is that the personal pronoun odop can be used by all speakers who are coming from any levels of kinship pattern. Look at the example here :

Alui : Yoh odop ka rumah omba.

(Let's go to our uncle's house.)

Jogat : Osih-osih nyang aba eh?

(Who will join us?)

Alui : Indok, inek, odek bunso, Dame, pokok neh osih nyang ondak jak.

(Mother, grandmother, our youngest brother, Dame and those who are willing to go.)

Jogat : Kalok pecetn oko aba gak apm. Odop rame-rame.

(If so, I will go, too. We will go together.)

Alui : Kanih boh odop koih?

(How do we go there?)

Jogat : Odop koih ba orut.

(We go there by a small boat.)

Alui : Kalok ba orut, onya neh bokah gilak.

(There are too may people, we cannot go by a small boat.)

In the conversation, mother and grandmother are considered to be the older persons, while Alui, Jogat, Dame and their youngest sister are the younger ones. But the personal pronoun odop is used without any different kinship levels. Now, look at the following example :

Father : Doge, tondakng ka indok moh, mak nak barangkat ka muh.

(Doge, tell your mother that I will go to the rice-field.)

Doge : Aba osih boh okapm barangkat?

(Whom are you going with?)

Father : Dodop mak apm.

(I will go alone.)

Doge : Bia mbe oko aba okapm?

(Can I go with you?)

Father : Kemak diapm di rumah jak. Lap neh omba moh denak nak ka rumah odop.

(You just stay at home. Maybe, your uncle will come to our house.)

Doge : Ndatn denak nak koto?

(When will they come here?)

Father : Ondu nto.

(Today.)

Doge : Ndok, okapm mbe ba opak koh katn?

(Mom, you do not go with my father,

do you?)

Mother : Mak aba omo ngoto.

(You and I are staying here.)

From the conversation above, it is clear that the personal pronouns which are used by mother and father when they are talking to their child (Doge) are : mak which means " I " and odop which means " we ". When Doge speaks to his parents, the pronoun used is okapm which means " you ". When father talks to his wife and his child, the pronoun used is kemak which means " you ". And when they talk about Doge's uncle and his family, the pronoun used is denak which means " they ". The proper use of those personal pronouns is very important in daily conversation. Doge may not use the pronoun mak when he talks to his parents, while his parents may not use the pronoun okapm when they talk to Doge.

What kind of personal pronoun is used if there is not any kinship relation between two speakers? First of all, the first speaker must use the personal pronoun okapm if the second one is older than him; and the first speaker himself will say oko. The first time they meet each other, they usually use the personal pronoun okapm. This pronoun can be used directly when a person is talking to an old person, although there is not any kinship relation. Here is an example of a conversation between

Alui and Jogat. Alui is predicted to be 45 years old, and Jogat is 17 years old. They have not any kinship relation.

Jogat : Onih pongan tabik okapm nyen?

(What are you carrying about?)

Alui : Mak ngobik diatn.

(I am carrying some durians.)

Jogat : Ngopih okapm boleh neh?

Where did you get them?)

Alui : Oko boleh neh di dorik Sampelokng.

(I got them in mount Sampelokng.)

Jogat : Bokah mbe onya ngoih?

(Did you find any persons there?)

Alui : Kalok omo nak koih, nto gek ocit onya.

(If you want to go there, there are not many persons.)

Jogat : Marati nem, oko gek ngundah kabatn guek neh.

(Alright, I will go with my friends.)

Alui : Mesah ba kabatn apm.

(Don't go with your friends.)

Jogat : Golak koh dodop.

(I am afraid of going alone.)

In the conversation above, Jogat uses the pronoun okapm because he knows that Alui is older than him.

Chapter IV

SWEAR-WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS OF ANGER

In this chapter, I will discuss two kinds of unspeakable expressions in Simpang; they are swear-words and expressions of anger. At the end of this part, I will also discuss some taboo expressions in English.

A. Swear-Words in Simpang

Swear-word means a word used as a curse (Paul Procter, 1981: 1122). In simpang society, swear-words are considered as magic words or expressions. They believe that if someone curses a person who has done something wrong, for example, he has stolen one's money, the person will face a lot of difficulties in his life, such as suffering from a disease, becoming poor and poor or dying tragically. But, if someone curses a person, while the person has no fault, the one who swears will face the effect of his swear-word.

It seems that the swear-words influence the ways of Simpang people lives. The ways in which they have to be careful in communicating and acting. For example, they have no intention to steal, to fight or to deceive one another, because they are afraid of swear-words. If they are sworn, they will face many difficulties in their

lives. Those swear-words themselves are prohibited to say if there are not any important reasons. Sometimes, they are expressed when a person is really angry with another one.

To describe the power of words, I would like to quote what Otto Jespersen says :

When St. Lawrence was building the cathedral at Lund, he received supernatural assistance from a goblin ('troll') ... When the church was nearly finished, Lawrence heard a woman on a little hill outside the town hush her weeping children with the promise that their father Finn was soon coming with gifts for them. Lawrence could therefore hurl the name of the goblin, who on the instant lost her power and was turned to stone. (John A. Ryce-nga and Joseph Schwartz, 1963: 22).

Furthermore, Otto Jespersen states :

A similar magical power, according to popular belief, lies in various formulas, which, if spoken or merely written, are powerful (in this case to keep any evil away), to cure sickness, ... and cause harm to his enemy. Such formulas are often found in all countries: They often contain words or fragments of words which are not intelligible (p. 22).

What has been stated above, also exists in Simbang society. They believe that the swear-words have their own power that can make somebody's life is trouble.

When is a swear-word permitted to say in Simbang? Actually, no person dares to say it. When someone is

known that he swears a person, but the person or his family knows the one who has cursed, he can be punished according to customary law. Because if he swears it means that he does not want a person is alive. The words used seem to be irrational, but the power is undeniable (J.M.Y. Simpson, 1981: 4).

In Simpang, the swear-words are related to :

1. Animals

Not all names of animals are used to curse a person, but only those which are regarded to be dangerous ones. For example, a bear is a fierce animal which is called buakng. The word buakng will become a swear -word if it is combined with a verb tangkap which means " is caught ". Therefore, the expression becomes tangkap buakng which means " caught by a bear ". Here are lists of swear-words which are related to animals :

- a. Tangkap buakng : caught by a bear
- b. tangkap cis : caught by a wild boar
- c. Talatn bui : swallowed by a crocodile
- d. Pantok nyipuh : bitten by a snake
- e. Talatn sawa : swallowed by sawa.

Sawa is a kind of big snake that lives in the forest.

- f. Pantok samonang : bitten by samonang
- g. Tangkap ramaong : caught by ramaong

h. Pantok todokng : bitten by todokng.

Todokng is a kind of a small snake that lives in the bushes.

2. Trees

These kinds of swear-words are :

a. Jintok tunggu : hit by a dead branch of a tree

b. Jintok diatn : hit by a durian fruit

c. Jintok koyuh : hit by a tree-trunk

d. Purah botokng : have no descendant as botokng

Botokng is a kind of a big bamboo.

3. Marriage Life

The swear-words related to the marriage life are :

a. Kobis baranak : dying because of child-birth

b. Butakng : getting pregnant before legal marriage

c. Mate : have no descendant

4. Illnesses

Certain diseases are very dangerous. These kinds of diseases become swear-words if they are expressed to curse a person. Those swear-words are :

a. Sampar : attacked by pest

b. Coci kadoya : attacked by coci kadoya

- c. Bongkakng : attacked by leprosy
- d. Kadabakng : one's stomach becomes bigger and bigger.
- e. Gila : become crazy
- f. Kanang : a certain disease that attacks a woman's genital
- g. Burot : a certain disease that attacks a man's genital
- h. Kona pangolah : attacked by pangolah
- i. Batok kadoya : suffering from a blood cough

5. Ghosts

The swear-words related to god and ghosts are :

- a. Nas Patara Guru : eaten by Patara Guru
- b. Pancokng macatn : cut by macatn
- c. Pancokng komang : cut by komang
- d. Nas buta : eaten by buta
- e. Nas taragasi : eaten by taragasi
- f. Kasik pancanak : persued by pancanak
- g. Nas mode : eaten by mode
- h. Nas buakng
karajak : eaten by buakng karajak
- i. Nas pulokng : eaten by pulokng
- j. Nas jitn : eaten by jitn
- k. Kona kadidi : disturbed by kadidi

6. Condition

These swear-words are related to one's condition of life :

- a. Bansat : become very poor
- b. Biutn : have no food
- c. Pota koja : broken leg
- d. Karapm : sunk into water
- e. Kobis jotuk : dying because of climbing a tree
- f. Kobis : die
- g. Samar ka-
dundokng : caught bu thunderclap
- h. Tabok pote : stabbed by pote

Pote is an instrument which is made to kill a pig.

B. Expressions of Anger in Simpang

In this section, I will discuss the expressions which are used to criticize or to tease someone. Usually, the expressions are used to insult a person that we hate. They are never spoken to tease the older persons. The speakers must pay attention to what situation and to whom they communicate with. Many aspects of social situation, than can contribute to deciding which linguistic variety is to be employed on particular accosion (Peter Trudgill, 1981: 109).

When someone is insulted or criticized by a person, he will feel that he is not respected. Therefore, these kinds of expressions must be avoided to use. The expressions of anger are related to :

1. Activity of Eating

The expressions related to eating activity are used by a person when he gets angry with someone who eats too much, but he is lazy to work. A father may use these vulgar expressions to tease his children, especially his sons. Here are lists of the expressions :

- a. Nyekah : eating greedily
- b. Ngarudak : eating
- c. Nganadak : eating
- d. Ngisek pamantus : filling everything into stomach
- e. Mocah toni : breaking stomach
- f. Majoh : giving food to ghosts

2. Activity of Sleeping

When a person gets angry with someone who is lazy to work hard, while he likes to sleep much, these expressions are used :

- a. Mansot : sleeping much
- b. Mocah motih : breaking eyes
- c. Nganyujot : sleeping

The expressions of sleeping activity are usually used by parents to scold their children. Look at the example :

Father : Yoh odop monah ka muh. Mesah sitek mocah motih nam !

(Let's work in the rice-field. Don't break your eyes !)

Son : Keh koh !

(No !)

3. Stupidity

The expressions of stupidity are related to a slow way of thinking. Those expressions are :

- a. Karerekng : rather stupid
- b. Karibatn : rather stupid
- c. Bulo : very stupid
- d. Ngaribatn nate : rather stupid
- e. Bulo mbe nga-
ruatn ntah : stupid

Those expressions are often used by parents to scold their children. The most vulgar expression is bulo which means " very stupid ". Therefore, it is forbidden to say bulo to a person, especially a child. The Sim pang people believe that when bulo is expressed to a child, he or she will really become bulo. If bulo is expressed

4. Unability of Doing Something

In order to insult someone who has no ability in doing something, the Simpang people use the expressions :

- a. Kapak : completely have no skills
- b. Madeh botakng
neh nam : have no ability or power to do something
- c. Madeh taredak
neh nam : have no ability or power to do something

Those expressions are usually used by parents to scold their children, or the older persons to the younger ones. Look at the example here :

- Father : Jakng, dah gotn omo ngkoi bore seh ?
(My son, have you made your knife?)
- Son : Ogotn pak. Oko mbe taok koh kanih ngkoi neh.
(Not yet, dad. I do not know how to make it.)
- Father : Nciba guek neh.
(Just try, please.)
- Son : Seja mbe taok koh pak.
(Really, I do not know dad.)

Father : Memang kapak bonar omo toh. Dah batautn-tautn mantau onya ngkoi bore, madeh ta-redak neh nam. Ciba parati odek moh, mongunt dari omo dah pande ngkoi dodop opm. Omo toh seja madeh botakng neh nam. (You are so unskillful. You have seen how people make knives for years already, but you still have no skills. Look at your younger brother, he can make them by himself, while you have no ability and power.)

5. Sexual Behaviour

Some expressions related to the sexual behaviour are used remind those who like to make friends freely. The expressions include :

a. Dogak : a whore or a street-walker

These expressions are used for women only.

b. Kanjek : a naughty girl

It is a symptom of being dogak.

Look at the example here :

Mother : Yokng, bapadak ba onya ati-ati.

(My daughter, you must be careful

when you associate with other persons.)

Daughter : Mabok gak mbe bia somak onya dari?

(Am I not allowed to associate with boys?)

Mother : Kapikng apm, tanegur onya muntuh mala langa. Omo toh seja nak manyadi onya dogak ngar koh. Ciba kalok omo kanjek.

(How dare you are, you do not want to hear my advice. Sooner or later, you will be a whore. It can be a fact if you start making friends with boys.)

C. Taboo Expressions in English

In this section, the examples of taboo expressions in English are taken from the results of a research done by the students of semester eight of English Department of IKIP Sanata Dharma, 1988. The research was done to fulfil the subject of Linguistics III.

Basically, the taboo expressions in English are related to the personal activities or privacies. Some of the expressions are related to :

1. Age

The expression like " How old are you? " is un-

common to talk. This expression is spoken only in a certain situation, for examples, when women talk to women, men talk to men in a friendly situation, when a doctor talks to his patient, or when a man applies for a job in a formal situation. The age is considered to be personal so that it is not important to know one's age.

2. Address

Talking about one's address is regarded as too personal. Therefore, the expression like "Where do you stay?" must be expressed in an appropriate situation. For example, when a speaker has known another one, or if it is really important to have one's address.

3. Religion

Asking one's religion is also uncommon in English, because it is regarded to be a personal question. The expression like "What is your religion?" is used only in a certain situation.

4. Debt

Talking one's debt is too personal. Therefore, it is not important to know one's debt.

5. Sexual Life

There are some expressions which are related to

the sexual activity. Those expressions are :

- a. Making love
- b. Petting or necking
- c. Intercourse
- d. Masturbation

Those expressions are only used for certain purposes to express one's idea refers to the activity in sexual life. For example, when a person consults with a doctor, Other crude expressions related to the sexual intercourse are:

- a. Let's have her.
- b. Let's fuck her.
- c. She is a piece of ass.
- d. He is an ass man.
- e. She is an ass peddler.

6. Cursing

It is not a kind of personal expression, but the expression is used to curse someone when a person gets angry with him. There are many kinds of expressions which are used to curse :

- a. Come on bud.

This expression is only used by parents to curse their children.



b. You are mad.

It is only used in a friendly situation, for example to a close friend.

c. Damn you.

This expression is used when a person feels insulted. It shows the hostility.

It seems that what becomes a taboo in English is not always a taboo in Simpang and vice versa. In Simpang, most of the taboo expressions are related to their traditional beliefs, because they are strongly influenced by a mystical world. They always relate whatever they experience from their daily lives to the power of gods or ghosts. It is true what is stated by Soepmo Poedjosoedarmo :

... a nation that is underdeveloped in its scientific and technological tradition tends to orient itself to the use of a language which has an intensive influence of religious or mystical hues. It makes a lot of taboos, euphemism, "mysterious" idiom heavily loaded with connotation (Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo, 1984: 5).

Based on my own experience as a native speaker of Simpang, when I communicate with an English native speaker, I tend to express what is better according to my own culture. Therefore, I can ask one's address, age or one's

activity, while those subjects are too personal in English.

In my opinion, in teaching English to the Dayak students, a teacher must consider their cultural backgrounds. The students must also be introduced to those taboo expressions in English. Therefore, they can compare and then select the expressions to be spoken.

Chapter V

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

In this chapter, I intend to draw some conclusions from the previous chapters. Besides that, I also want to provide some suggestions.

A. Conclusions

From the previous discussions, there are some important points that I want to summarize here.

1. The taboo expressions in Simpang are related to the traditional beliefs. The Simpang people believe that if the expressions are spoken, they will cause mystical sanctions. Those taboo expressions are concerned with :

a. Names of Animals

The names of animals which are considered to be forbidden to speak are :

- 1) Ramaong
- 2) Bui
- 3) Buakng
- 4) Munsakng Baradak
- 5) Pangingent
- 6) Nyipuh

- 7) Poyu
- 8) Cis
- 9) Borok

b. Name of God

Patara Guru is believed to be the highest God in Simpang. Therefore, it is forbidden to mention the name.

c. Names of Ghosts

Ghosts are regarded as the bad spirits that always claim on human beings. In order to avoid the spirits, it is prohibited to call their names. Those names are :

- 1) Macatn
- 2) Komang Tujoh
- 3) Buta
- 4) Taragasi
- 5) Pancanak
- 6) Mode
- 7) Buakng karajak
- 8) Pulokng
- 9) Jitn
- 10) Kadidi
- 11) Roca
- 12) Nabau
- 13) Kalabingkau

d. Traditional Ceremonies

Some traditional ceremonies which are prohibited to say are :

- 1) Ncaboh
- 2) Ntirok
- 3) Nyabak

e. Names of Persons

In Simpang, names of persons are forbidden to mention in a certain situation. The prohibition is when :

- 1) A person is still in the forest
- 2) At home
- 3) Names of dead persons

f. Magic Formula Expressions

In Simpang, magic formula expressions still play an important role in their lives. The magic expressions are divided into black and white magic. The black magic is considered to be dangerous while the white one is not. There are many kinds of black magic expressions;

- 1) Kemat
- 2) Pangolah
- 3) Paneras
- 4) Pananjak

- 5) Kibakng
- 6) Sangga
- 7) Tuju
- 8) Kadidi

The white magic expressions are divided into :

- 1) Panawar punan
- 2) Panguser munt
- 3) Pamulakng pangolah
- 4) Palobor kadidi
- 5) Doa manyaman
- 6) Doa ngijikng toni

g. Names of Things

Certain things are prohibited to mention. Those things are :

- 1) Oti dori
- 2) Oti Manok
- 3) Ancak
- 4) Katopokng
- 5) Boras kuning

h. Asking a Certain Activity

Some expressions related to the activity of fishing or hunting are prohibited to mention. Some of the expres-

sions are :

- 1) Nak najor kopih boh kenak?
(Where are you going fishing to?)
- 2) Nak nganap kopih boh kenak?
(Where are you going hunting to?)

2. There are also some taboo expressions in terms of etiquette in Simpang. In order to build up good interactions among the speakers, the expressions should be used appropriately. Those expressions are related to :

a. Parts of Human Body

Some parts of human body which are taboo to say are :

- 1) Ture
- 2) Karongan
- 3) Konang
- 4) Kontet
- 5) Sisu

b. Personal Expressions

These expressions include :

- 1) Coci
- 2) Konak jangkah
- 3) Kobis
- 4) Tanambak

5) Mondapm

c. Marriage Life

Some expressions related to the marriage life are regarded too personal to be spoken. Those expressions are :

- 1) Bosau
- 2) Manang
- 3) Lomah
- 4) Biti

d. Expressions of Names

The taboo of mentioning one's name is related to the kinship pattern in Simpang. In order to address one's name, they have certain terms of address. They must know how to call their uncles, aunts, etc.

e. Personal Pronouns

The forms of personal pronouns also deal with the patterns of kinship. The Simpang people have to know how and when they have to use the personal pronouns. There are two divisions of personal pronouns in Simpang;

- 1) Higher level of personal pronouns
- 2) Lower level of personal pronouns

3. Swear-words still play an important role in Simpang society. Those swear-words are predicted to prevent someone from doing something out of social norms. These swear-words are related to :

- a. Names of Animals
- b. Trees
- c. Marriage Life
- d. Illnesses
- e. Ghosts
- f. Condition

4. The Simpang people have certain expressions in criticizing. Those expressions are used when a person is getting angry with someone. Parents often use the expressions to scold their children. The expressions are related to :

- a. Activity of Eating
- b. Activity of Sleeping
- c. Stupidity
- d. Unability of Doing Something
- e. Sexual Behaviour

5. In English, most of taboo expressions are related to the personal activities or privacies. It seems that what is a taboo in English is not always a taboo in Simpang, and vice versa.

In short, Simpang as a language which is used by a small number of Dayaks, also exists those unspeakable expressions. They are strictly obeyed by the Simpang people. When they are used inappropriately, they will cause mystical sanctions, sense of guilty, being offended or insulted. Even, the speaker is regarded as immoral or improper (Peter Trudgill, 1983: 28).

B. Suggestions

After drawing the study of taboo expressions in Simpang into conclusions, then I want to suggest some significant points here. The suggestions involve the study of Simpang language and its culture and also its relationship with the teaching of English to the Dayak students.

1. I feel that what I have done in my research is still not perfect yet. In order to know better about the Simpang culture, further research deals with its linguistic aspect is very important, because a language system may be regarded as a cultural " marker " which is far more reliable than other cultural markers (John B. Carrol, 1959: 112).

2. It is better for those who want to do research on Simpang culture to know or master its language. At

least, they have to understand some practical expressions which are related to its culture. As what is stated by Sapir here :

... the attempt to master a primitive culture without the help of the language of its society will seem as amateurish as the labours of a historian who cannot handle the original documents of the civilization which is describing (John B. Carroll, 1959: 162).

3. Related to the taboo expressions in English, those expressions must be introduced to the Dayak Simpang students. On the contrary, the students also have to know their own taboo expressions. Therefore, when they communicate with others, they know what kinds of expressions are to be spoken. For example, when they talk to an English native speaker, they understand what are unspeakable expressions and what are permitted to be spoken.

4. In teaching English, the teacher should take those taboo expressions into consideration. When I started to learn English, my teacher always asked: How old are you? Where do you live? What does your father do? And there were many other personal questions he asked. In fact, those kinds of questions are too personal when we talk to a native English speaker. In this case, the teacher must explain when and to whom those expressions are used.

Finally, I would like to suggest that since the Simpang is a local language, the users are limited to the Simpang people only, and the Simpang students themselves study together with the other ethnics, it is also important to take those taboo expressions in Indonesian into consideration in teaching English. Therefore, the Simpang students will be able to compare their own language with Indonesian and English. The Indonesian itself needs a particular research deals with taboo expressions.

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