Taboo in Balinese Language Spoken in Puri Tukadmungga

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Abstract

This study explores the use of taboo language in the Balinese language spoken in Puri Tukadmungga, focusing on the identification and categorization of taboo words across different domains. The study successfully identifies 23 taboo words within the "pawongan" domain, associated with human-to-human relationships, and two taboo words within the "palemhan" domain, linked to human-environment relationships. The significance of triangulating theories and analytical models, particularly the interactive model adapted from Miles Huberman, is underscored, providing a profound understanding of the findings. The study proposes directions for future research, including exploring taboo words in other domains, examining social and cultural implications, and utilizing larger sample sizes and diverse theoretical perspectives. Overall, this paper offers in-depth interview into taboo language in the Balinese language at Puri Tukadmungga, differentiating taboo words across various domains, and emphasizes the importance of triangulating theories and analytical models. Recommendations for further research are presented to enhance understanding in this field.

Keywords: Taboo; Language; Balinese; Domain

INTRODUCTION

Language, a multifaceted phenomenon, becomes the focal point of scientific inquiry within the expansive field of linguistics. Delving into the intricate layers of language, scholars explore aspects such as form, function, value, and discourse, seeking to unravel the scientific essence of communication (Gao, 2013). Within the rich tapestry of linguistic inquiry, morphology, phonology, and syntax emerge as distinct types, each offering unique perspectives on language's structural intricacies (Maulana & Dharma Putra, 2021) . This study directs its attention to the morphology dimension, specifically examining the nuances of the taboo language within the intricate web of the Balinese language. The chosen locale for this linguistic exploration is the culturally rich 'Puri Tukadmungga' area.

Against the backdrop of linguistic exploration, the study navigates towards an intriguing challenge—the utilization of taboo language within the 'Puri Tukadmungga' community. The focus narrows onto instances where individuals lacking caste ('Jaba') inadvertently engage in impolite language while attempting respectful gestures (Laksana, 2003). The incident serves as a catalyst, propelling the study into the realm of understanding

linguistic taboos within this unique cultural context (Faizin, n.d.). As language erosion looms as a potential threat, this research assumes the crucial role of unraveling linguistic intricacies while simultaneously honoring and preserving the distinctive cultural identity encapsulated within 'Puri Tukadmungga (Allan & Burridge, 2006)'.

In its pursuit of linguistic understanding, this research confines itself to the exploration of the Balinese language as spoken in the enclave of 'Puri Tukadmungga' (Arnawa et al., 2022) By immersing itself in the linguistic intricacies of this locale, the study inherently contributes to the larger canvas of Bali's cultural diversity. As the research unfolds the meanings embedded in Balinese words and unravels the tapestry of taboo language, it endeavors to provide profound insights (Lawa Manuaba, 2021). These insights, in turn, contribute to a richer comprehension of Balinese culture, offering a nuanced perspective that could potentially assist in safeguarding cultural diversity from the perils of language extinction (Crystal, 2000).

Ecolinguistics, a subfield of sociolinguistics, delves into the intricate relationship between language and the environment, investigating how language serves as a connective thread between humans and their natural surroundings(Puspani, 2022). Applied in studies such as the analysis of Balinese lexicons related to silver and goldsmithing in Bali, ecolinguistic and sociolinguistic theories unveil various lexicons associated with materials, tools, products, and activities. Beyond this, ecolinguistics explores the interconnectedness of culture, language, and the environment, especially in the context of preserving regional languages facing modern challenges. For instance, research on the environmental beauty of Northern areas of Pakistan, utilizing ecolinguistics, investigates the use of rhetorical expressions in literature to understand characters' attitudes towards the natural environment(Forte, 2020). Additionally, ecolinguistics finds application in urban naming processes, as evident in the renaming of streets, lanes, boulevards, and parks in Ternopil, Ukraine. Driven by sociolinguistic and ecolinguistic needs, these changes aim to remove names of Soviet or Russian origin and standardize the toponymicon. Overall, ecolinguistics considers the intricate relationship between language and its environment, encompassing the connection between humans and non-human elements such as animals, plants, and minerals (Mufwene & Vigouroux, 2017).

Sociolinguistics, as highlighted by various scholars such as Spolsky, Hudson, and Bell, explores the intricate relationship between language and social factors like age, gender, and ethnicity. It serves as a vital tool for communication and contributes to the formation of social identity within communities(Grabe & Wardhaugh, 1988). Sociolinguistics has been applied in various areas such as the analysis of variation and language documentation, the study of language and religion, and the ethnography of speaking. It has also been used to examine language change, language variation, and language attitudes(John Emike et al., 2021).

Furthermore, the discussion on taboo, drawing on the works of Wardhaugh and Gu, reveals the cultural and social significance of language in controlling various aspects of life, including religious matters, sexual activity, and societal norms (Xavier, 2022). The form of taboo, as identified, encompasses a range of expressions, from avoiding certain names and words to the use of swearing and vulgarities. The review also touches on the importance of Tri Hita Karana in Balinese culture, highlighting its role in maintaining harmony between humans, God, and nature (Pradnyana, 2023).

The crux of this study revolves around unveiling the mystery of taboo words—deciphering their forms and understanding the references within the Balinese language as it resonates through 'Puri Tukadmungga.' The objectives extend beyond mere identification, seeking to analyze the multifaceted dimensions of these linguistic nuances (Paramarta, 2022). The significance of this endeavor transcends theoretical realms, permeating practical domains. Educators, researchers, the emerging generation, and the Balinese community all stand to benefit (Devi & Kasni, 2018). By fostering awareness and facilitating a nuanced understanding of linguistic intricacies, this research strives to become a cornerstone in the preservation of cultural identity through language (Widiatmika et al., 2023).

The primary focus of this study revolves around the prominent issue of employing taboo language within the Balinese dialect of 'Puri Tukadmungga'. The author's engagement with preliminary observations highlights the significance of avoiding specific expressions, such as "makan," especially when individuals without caste (Jaba) engage in conversations with 'puri' people, particularly the elderly, within the 'Puri' environment. This linguistic practice has acquired the status of a taboo within the 'Puri' community. The study aims to address this concern and prevent the erosion of taboo language, emphasizing the importance of its preservation in Puri Tukadmungga. The research endeavors to explore how the people of Puri can discern and appropriately use these taboos in their environment, contributing to the preservation of their cultural identity. Notably, Puri Tukadmungga boasts a captivating history, featuring 'I Gusti Anglurah Panji Sakti,' a Buleleng king, adding depth to the cultural context. The study will employ interviews as a method to unravel these linguistic nuances.

However, it is essential to acknowledge the constraints of this research. This study narrows its focus to the application of the Balinese language within Balinese culture, recognizing its pivotal role in preserving the diverse cultural tapestry of Bali. By delving into the meanings of less-known Balinese words, the research aims to provide a profound understanding of Balinese culture, characterized by its abundance and uniqueness. Taboo language, often overlooked, takes center stage in this research, intending to offer a profound comprehension of these linguistic nuances. This understanding, in turn, is expected to assist the Balinese people in safeguarding and perpetuating their cultural diversity. The research questions articulated in this study aim to unveil the specific prohibited words in the Balinese language of Puri Tukadmungga, comprehend the various forms of taboo expressions, and identify the references associated with these taboos within the linguistic landscape of Puri Tukadmungga.

METHOD

The research design employs a qualitative approach to comprehensively explore taboo language within the Balinese dialect of 'Puri Tukadmungga.' With the aim of identifying taboo words, understanding their forms, and analyzing references, the study embraces qualitative theory, emphasizing holistic insights and a deeper understanding of linguistic nuances (Gray, 2017). The choice of 'Puri Tukadmungga' as the research setting is motivated by its cultural richness and unique linguistic characteristics. The region's social dynamics, particularly the relationships between residents and the Tukad Mungga village, contribute to the study's

contextual richness (Pitman, 1998). Additionally, the caste distinctions, specifically the 'Anak Agung' title, introduce variations in language style and activities within the 'Puri.'

Carefully selected informants, consisting of religious and community leaders from 'Puri Tukadmungga,' play a pivotal role in providing real and factual information about taboo language. The study's subject, the Balinese dialect of 'Puri Tukadmungga,' becomes the focal point of exploration. The objective is to decipher the linguistic variables and their significance within this community, shedding light on the underlying structures of taboo language. With a set of criteria ensuring the reliability of informants, the study ensures a comprehensive and nuanced dataset for analysis (Firmansyah & Dede, 2022).

The research procedure involves obtaining necessary permissions, introducing the purpose of the study, conducting interviews, and analyzing the obtained data. To enhance trustworthiness, three triangulation methods, including data triangulation, theory triangulation, and meticulous research design, are employed (De Ridder et al., 2021). These methods contribute to the robustness of the study, reinforcing the reliability and validity of the findings (Sugiyono, 2018). To ensure the integrity of data, specific criteria for ideal informants are established, including native speakership, residency of over five years, a maximum age of 60, good knowledge and communication skills, sufficient time availability, friendliness, patience, honesty, and pride in language and traditions (Sugiono, 2015). The engagement of three informants, comprising one primary and two secondary informants, ensures a collaborative approach to data collection. The primary informant sheds light on taboo language in 'Puri Tukadmungga,' corroborated by secondary informants providing supplementary details. The culmination of collaboratively collected data is presented descriptively, aligning with the research objectives.

Primary data gathered through interviews conducted by the researcher in 'Puri Tukadmungga.' Employing a qualitative descriptive method and an interactive data analysis model based on Miles & Huberman's framework, the study uses semi-structured, in-depth interviews facilitated by a table sheet. The collected data is displayed and categorized according to Frazzer's and Montagu's theories, further classified based on the Tri Hita Karana domains. Tri Hita Karana is relathionship between Human and God, Human and Human, and Human and environment. The process involves data reduction to simplify and transform raw data, leading to the drawing of conclusions aligned with the research objectives. The research procedure encompasses obtaining necessary permissions, introducing the interview purpose, conducting interviews with supporting instruments, transcribing data, comparing and analyzing information, recapitulating taboo forms, references, and factors, grouping them according to research questions, and ultimately drawing conclusions.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS
Preserving Cultural Heritage through Language: A Linguistic Tapestry of Puri Tukadmungga

Nestled amidst the verdant landscapes of Bali, Indonesia, lies the village of Puri Tukadmungga, a cultural haven where linguistic norms and taboos play a pivotal role in shaping communication and preserving tradition. With a unique lexicon spanning three distinct

domains – Parahyangan, Pawongan, and Palemahan – the residents of Puri Tukadmungga adhere to the Tri Hita Karana philosophy, a harmonious balance between human, divine, and natural elements.

In this intricate linguistic tapestry, the village of Tukadmungga safeguards 30 taboo words, meticulously categorized into Parahyangan, Pawongan, and Palemahan. Parahyangan encompasses sacred words like 'cecek,' 'sanggah,' 'mayat,' and 'dupe,' each holding cultural and symbolic significance. Pawongan reveals 23 taboo words related to interpersonal relationships, urging a more refined choice of words, such as replacing the coarse 'cai' with the more polite 'ragane.' Meanwhile, Palemahan unfolds with 2 taboo words, 'bunge' and 'yeh,' showcasing the nuanced role of linguistic choices in human-nature interactions.

The Balinese language in Puri Tukadmungga exhibits two forms of taboo: names, encompassing terms like 'bape,' 'meme,' 'wayah,' 'dadong,' 'bli,' and 'mbok,' and swearing words, including 'naskeleng,' 'cicing,' 'cai,' 'pirate,' 'bojog,' 'teli,' 'muane,' 'kuluk,' 'leak,' 'bangkaan,' 'nasbedag,' 'kleng,' 'bangsat,' and 'ubuan.' Additionally, 11 taboo references cover a wide spectrum from parents' names to specific activities, each rooted in religious, polite, and local cultural considerations.

For instance, the word "cicak," associated with the Hindu goddess Dewi Saraswati, is considered taboo due to its religious symbolism. This cultural sensitivity is reflected in the meticulous linguistic choices of the community. The adherence to these linguistic taboos serves as a foundation for preserving traditional values and social cohesion within the rich cultural tapestry of Puri Tukadmungga.

Table 1. Taboo words related to *Tri Hita Karana* in Puri Tukadmungga

Taboo words related to *Tri Hita Karana*		
Parahyangan	*Pawongan*	*Palemahan*
cecek, sanggah, mayat, dupe. (4)	*cai, kuluk, ngamah, celeng, medaar, bape, mesu, meju, melali, kayeh, pules, menyama, megae, mati, ngenceh, gelem, mate, mekurnan, jukut, paon, cang, jit, mue. (23)*	*bungé, yeh. (2)*

Parahyangan: A Realm of Divine Reverence

In the realm of Parahyangan, one encounters a world steeped in cultural and symbolic nuances within the village of Puri Tukadmungga. Words like 'cecek,' the Balinese term for lizard, are not merely uttered with casual disregard; instead, they carry profound meaning. In Puri Tukadmungga, the lizard is revered as a symbol of Saraswati, the Hindu goddess of knowledge. Residents address the lizard as 'Sang Hyang Dewi Saraswati,' elevating the creature to divine status and emphasizing their deep respect for the sacred. This intricate linguistic choice exemplifies the community's commitment to preserving cultural heritage and maintaining a harmonious relationship with the divine.

Specific taboo words in Parahyangan hold cultural and symbolic significance, shaping communication norms in the 'Puri Tukadmungga' community. Firstly, 'Cecek,' translating to 'lizard' in English, is revered as a sacred symbol of the goddess Saraswati in Hinduism. Laid out in Saraswati offerings, the use of 'Cecek' symbolizes the ancestral belief that the lizard's voice is only heard in silence, emphasizing the importance of quiet contemplation in acquiring knowledge. In 'Puri Tukadmungga,' addressing the lizard as 'Sang Hyang Dewi Saraswati' reflects the community's respect for the goddess of knowledge. Secondly, the term 'Sanggah,' commonly used in other places for places of worship, is considered taboo or impolite in 'Puri Tukadmungga.' This deviation from the norm reflects the specific linguistic nuances and cultural practices unique to this community. Thirdly, 'Mayat,' referring to a deceased person's physical body, is delicately handled in Balinese, with 'Layon' being the preferred term in 'Puri Tukadmungga.' Using 'Mayat' to describe a corpse might be perceived as disrespectful, highlighting the cultural sensitivity embedded in linguistic choices. Lastly, 'Dupa,' a central element in Hindu rituals, is associated with deep philosophical meanings in Balinese culture. While 'Dupa' is commonly known as 'Dupè' in Bali, in 'Puri Tukadmungga,' it is referred to as 'Asèp' to maintain a higher level of courtesy and respect. This shift in terminology underlines the community's adherence to specific linguistic norms and cultural etiquettes. Overall, these taboo words in Parahyangan carry rich cultural connotations, influencing communication practices in 'Puri Tukadmungga.'

Pawongan: Navigating Interpersonal Relationships with Grace and Respect

In the realm of Pawongan, governing interpersonal relationships, a rich tapestry of linguistic etiquette unfolds within the village of Puri Tukadmungga. Words like 'cai,' a casual term for 'you,' and 'kuluk,' the common Balinese term for 'dog,' are not just considered impolite; they represent a deviation from the community's norms of respect. Instead, residents opt for more respectful alternatives like 'ragane' for 'you' and 'asu' for 'dog.' This linguistic sensitivity extends beyond formalities to daily activities, with 'ngamah,' the colloquial term for 'eating,' being replaced by 'medaar' for eating, and 'kayeh,' the common word for 'bathing,' being substituted with 'mesiram' for bathing. The emphasis on context and cultural norms underscores the meticulous approach to effective communication within Puri Tukadmungga. The following is a recapitulation of taboo words in Pawongan which can be seen in Table 1.

Within the concept of "Pawongan," governing interpersonal relationships, specific taboo words are identified, with 23 such words avoided in everyday communication within the 'puri tukadmungga' environment. These taboo words, including 'cai' (you), 'kuluk' (dog), 'ngamah' (eat with a rude tone), 'celeng' (pig), and others, are considered coarse or impolite, depending on the context and communication environment. For instance, the word 'cai,' meaning 'you,' is considered very rude in 'puri tukadmungga.' To avoid a negative impression, it is better to use the word 'ragane,' which has the same meaning but is considered more polite. Similarly, the word 'kuluk,' referring to a dog, while commonly used, is preferred to be replaced with 'bawi' to refer to a pig for more polite communication. In addition to words related to animals, some taboo words are also associated with daily activities such as eating and bathing. For example, the word 'ngamah,' referring to eating with a coarse tone, can be replaced with 'medaar' to reduce tension in communication. Similarly, the word 'kayeh,' referring to bathing, is advised to be replaced with 'mesiram,' which is considered gentler in the 'puri tukadmungga' environment. Understanding the context and adhering to cultural norms in the use of these

words becomes essential, as choosing the right words can create more effective and respected communication in interpersonal relationships.

Palemahan: Honoring Nature with Linguistic Refinement

In the domain of Palemahan, which governs interactions with nature, two taboo words, 'bunge' (flower) and 'yeh' (water), hold significant linguistic and cultural implications in Puri Tukadmungga. The substitution of 'bunge' with 'sekar,' a more refined term for 'flower,' signifies not only a linguistic choice but a cultural one as well. Similarly, 'yeh' is tactfully replaced with 'toya,' a more elegant word for 'water,' underscoring the community's commitment to maintaining a polite discourse within the Tri Wangsa caste. These subtle linguistic shifts not only demonstrate the intricate weaving of language into the fabric of cultural identity but also reflect environmental consciousness within the community.

Palemahan, the realm of human-nature interaction, reveals two taboo words in Puri Tukadmungga: "bunge" (flower) and "yeh" (water). The term "yeh," denoting water in Balinese, takes on a nuanced role depending on the linguistic context. While some in Bali casually use 'yeh' to refer to water, it falls within the 'andap' Balinese language category, lacking the refined tone of the 'alus' language preferred by the 'Tri Wangsa' caste, particularly in places like 'puri tukadmungga.' Here, 'yeh' is considered taboo, suggesting a lack of politeness. In this setting, people replace 'yeh' with 'toya,' a term considered part of the more polished 'alus' Balinese language. For instance, the sentence "Tityang jagi ngelungsur yeh tirta ring merajan" may be perceived as impolite, but substituting 'yeh' with 'toya' in "Tityang jagi ngelungsur toya tirta ring merajan" aligns with the refined 'alus' language, ensuring courteous communication. Similarly, the term "bunge," signifying flowers, is part of the 'andap' language category, leading some to use 'sekar' instead in refined settings like 'puri tukadmungga.' For example, "Tityang jagi ngerereh bunge anggen muspe" may be seen as less polite, but by replacing 'bunge' with 'sekar' in "Tityang jagi ngerereh sekar anggen muspe," the sentence adheres to the more polished 'alus' language, fostering a polite and respectful communication style in the 'puri tukadmungga' environment.

Familial Bonds and Linguistic Nuances

The intricate nuances of language extend to familial relationships, shaping the very core of interpersonal connections within Puri Tukadmungga. Addressing fathers as 'Ajik,' mothers as 'Biang,' and grandmothers as 'Atunini' showcases the community's dedication to using respectful terms within the family unit. Even the nuanced usage of 'Tuaji' and 'Atuak' for uncles and 'Wak,' 'Atuak,' or 'Tuibu' for aunts reflects the cultural intricacies embedded in family dynamics. This intentional choice of words contributes to the overall atmosphere of respect and harmony within the familial structure of Puri Tukadmungga.

In the realm of Puri Tukadmungga, certain Balinese language forms are considered taboo, particularly in the context of addressing family members. These linguistic taboos reflect societal norms and etiquette, influencing the choice of words used within the community, as per Frazer's theory.

Firstly, the term "Bapa," meaning father or male parent, is traditionally used to address fathers, particularly among the Sudra caste. However, in Puri Tukadmungga, individuals belonging to the Tri Wangsa caste prefer the term "Ajik" when addressing their fathers, considering it a more respectful form of address. For instance, using "bape" in a sentence like "Bape tiange mewasta Agung Bagus" is deemed inappropriate; instead, it should be replaced

with "Ajik tiange mewasta Agung Bagus" to adhere to the proper form of address in this context.

Secondly, the term "Meme," used to refer to mothers in Balinese, is commonly replaced with "Biang" in Puri Tukadmungga. "Biang" is considered a more respectful term for addressing mothers in this particular community. For instance, the sentence "Meme tiyange kari mesiram" should be corrected to "Biang tiyange kari mesiram" to maintain a respectful tone.

Next, the term "Dadong," signifying grandmother, is replaced with "Atunini" in Puri Tukadmungga. "Atunini" is considered a respectful way for grandchildren to address their grandmothers. The sentence "Dadong tiyange sampun lingsir" would be corrected to "Tunini tiyange sampun lingsir" to ensure a proper and respectful form of address.

The term "Wayah," meaning grandfather, is replaced with "Atupekak" in Puri Tukadmungga. This specific form of address is considered more respectful when addressing grandfathers in this community. For example, "Wayah tityange sampun seda" should be corrected to "Atupekak tityange sampun seda" for a more appropriate form of address.

Furthermore, the term "Mbok," referring to older sisters, is replaced with "Mbok Ayu" in Puri Tukadmungga to convey a sense of politeness. The sentence "Mbok tiyange mewaste Agung Putri" would be corrected to "Mbok Ayu tiyange mewaste Agung Putri" to enhance the courtesy of the expression.

The term "Bli," commonly used for addressing older brothers, is replaced with "Tubli" in Puri Tukadmungga. This replacement is considered more appropriate in addressing older brothers within this community. For example, "Bli tityange mekarya ring hotel" should be corrected to "Tubli tityange mekaryang ring hotel" for a more suitable form of address.

In Puri Tukadmungga, addressing a male uncle as "Om" is considered taboo. Instead, the terms "Tuaji" and "Atuak" are preferred for addressing older and younger uncles, respectively. For example, "Tityang medue Om kekalih" would be corrected to "Tityang medue Tuaji kekalih" for a more respectful form of address.

Finally, the term "Wè," used for aunts, is replaced with "Wak," "Atuak," or "Tuibu" in Puri Tukadmungga, depending on the aunt's age and caste. For instance, "Wè sampun ngajeng?" should be corrected to "Tuibu sampun ngajeng" for a more appropriate form of address in this cultural context. These linguistic nuances play a crucial role in maintaining respect and harmony within the community of Puri Tukadmungga. The following is a recapitulation of swearing words which can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Swearing Words

No	Word List	Classification
1	*Naskleng*	Swearing word expletive
2	*Cicing*	Swearing word expletive
3	*Cai*	Swearing word abusive
4	*Pirate*	Swearing word abusive
5	*Bojog*	Swearing word abusive
6	*Teli*	Swearing word obscenity
7	*Muane*	Swearing word abusive
8	*Kuluk*	Swearing word abusive
9	*Leak*	Swearing word abusive
10	*Bangkaan*	Swearing word abusive
12	*Nasbedag*	Swearing word abusive
13	*Kleng*	Swearing word abusive

14	*Bangsat*	Swearing word abusive
15	*Ubuan*	Swearing word abusive

Swearing Words and Cultural Sensitivity

Beyond familial ties, the meticulous categorization of swearing words and references reflects the community's commitment to maintaining social harmony. The dual nature of swearing words, categorized by context, demonstrates a nuanced approach to language use. For instance, the word 'asu,' while generally considered a derogatory term for 'dog,' takes on a playful context among close friends. This nuanced approach highlights the community's ability to balance linguistic norms with social interactions, showcasing a profound understanding of the multifaceted nature of language.

Cultural Taboos and Social Etiquette

In the intricate web of language used in Puri Tukadmungga, certain words are classified as taboo, encompassing a range of swearing words, references, and expressions deemed inappropriate within the cultural context. According to Montagu's theory, these linguistic taboos play a crucial role in maintaining social norms and etiquette. Starting with swearing words, a classification system has been established, categorizing words such as "Naskleng," "Cicing," and "Pirate" as expletive or abusive. This classification aims to highlight the intensity and nature of these words, considering their potential impact on communication within the community.

The references of taboo words in the Balinese language used in Puri Tukadmungga reveal a meticulous categorization based on various aspects of life. The references include parents' names, animal names, people's names, names of deceased individuals, names of relatives, mentioning genitals, sexual activities, bodily functions, wisdom of rules, personal pronouns, and specific activities. Each category encompasses specific words considered inappropriate within the cultural framework. Under parents' names, terms like "Meme," "Bape," "Wayah," "Dadong," and "We" are highlighted as taboo, emphasizing the significance of proper address and respect within the family structure. Similarly, animal names like "Cicing," "Bikul," "Bojog," "Lipi," and "Cecek" are identified as linguistic taboos. People's names, whether living or deceased, also hold specific taboo words. For instance, "Bracuk" and "Nyamprut" fall under the category of people's names considered inappropriate in certain contexts. Additionally, mentioning the names of deceased individuals in the same manner as when they were alive is identified as a linguistic taboo. The references continue with names of relatives, including "Meme," "Bape," "Nyame," "We," "Pak," "Mek," "Bli," "Mbok," "Wayah," and "Dadong," shedding light on the importance of respectful address within the extended family structure. Further categorizations involve the mention of genitals, sexual activities, bodily functions, wisdom of rules, personal pronouns, and specific activities. Each category aims to highlight the linguistic nuances that contribute to maintaining decorum and social harmony within the community. In conclusion, the extensive categorization of taboo words and references in Puri Tukadmungga's Balinese language underscores the cultural sensitivity and importance of linguistic etiquette in this tightly-knit community. These linguistic taboos serve as a foundation for preserving traditional values and social cohesion within the rich cultural tapestry of Puri Tukadmungga.

A Legacy of Cultural Preservation

This exploration of linguistic taboos in Puri Tukadmungga not only sheds light on the unique cultural practices of the community but also emphasizes their broader implications for Balinese language study. The rich cultural tapestry woven into these taboo words and references serves as a foundation for preserving tradition, social cohesion, and the unique identity of the community. Delving deeper into the intricate dynamics of language use in this context opens avenues for further research, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of linguistic nuances within the Bali community.

As we continue to unravel the intricate threads of language in Puri Tukadmungga, we gain valuable insights into the cultural underpinnings that define this remarkable community. The village stands as a testament to the profound influence of linguistic norms and taboos on shaping communication, preserving cultural heritage, and fostering a harmonious balance between human, divine, and natural elements. Through the lens of language, we witness the enduring legacy of Puri Tukadmungga, a community that cherishes its linguistic heritage and embraces its unique identity.

The discovery of taboo words reflects the cultural values of the Balinese community, emphasizing a strong appreciation for politeness and the preservation of traditional customs. These taboo words play a crucial role in maintaining decorum and cultural norms. Practical examples of their application can be observed in the daily lives of the residents of Puri Tukadmungga, where they actively avoid using taboo words and opt for more polite alternatives, as seen in the substitution of "cicak" with "sang hyang dewi Saraswati."

This research also holds broader implications for understanding the Balinese language. It reveals that the language exhibits extensive variations, notably in the realm of taboo words. Consequently, there is a pressing need for further research to delve deeper into comprehending and examining these taboo words within the Balinese language. Such exploration can contribute significantly to linguistic studies, shedding light on the intricate nuances and cultural intricacies embedded in the use of language in the Bali community.

In the context of using taboo words in Puri Tukadmungga, there are distinct forms of taboo words, including those that differ in form and those that share the same meaning as ordinary words. The first example involves substituting the word "cicak" with "sang hyang dewi Saraswati," illustrating a replacement that imparts a more refined tone. Meanwhile, the second example encompasses the word "cai", considered crude and avoided, with the alternative "ragane" chosen for its more courteous connotation. This linguistic phenomenon underscores the intricate dynamics of word usage and cultural sensitivity in the community.

Swearing words in the Balinese language exhibit a fascinating dual nature, manifesting in distinct categories based on their contextual usage. The first category encompasses words like "cai," considered coarse and thus relegated to everyday conversational taboos. On the other hand, the second category involves terms such as "kutut," strategically deployed in religious or ceremonial settings to describe animals perceived as impure. This linguistic duality underscores the intricate relationship between swearing vocabulary, cultural norms, and linguistic sensitivities, providing a nuanced understanding of how language is shaped and adapted within the intricate tapestry of Balinese society.

To dive deeper into the realm of taboo words in the Balinese language, a plethora of invaluable references can be consulted. Works such as "Pedoman Ejaan Bahasa Bali" by I Made Suwija, "Pedoman Tata Bahasa Bali" by I Wayan Suarjana, and "Tata Bahasa Bali Modern" by I Ketut Supartha serve as comprehensive guides. These references offer profound

insights into the rules and nuanced usage of taboo words within the intricate linguistic landscape of Bali which is represented in Table 3. Exploring these texts not only enriches one's understanding of linguistic norms but also provides a cultural perspective, unveiling the intricacies of language in the context of Balinese society.

Table 3. The References of Taboo Found in Balinese Language Used in Puri Tukadmungga

No	References	Taboo Words
1	Parents Name	1. *Memek* 2. *Bapa* 3. *Wayah* 4. *Dadong* 5. *We*
2	Animal Name	1. *Cicing* 2. *Bojog* 3. *Bikul* 4. *Lipi* 5. *Cecek*
3	People Name	1. *Bracuk* 2. *Nyamprut*
4	People Name who Died	name of people already died
5	Name of Relatives	1. *Meme* 2. *Bape* 3. *Nyame* 4. *We* 5. *Pak* 6. *Mek* 7. *Bli* 8. *Mbok* 9. *Wayah* 10. *Dadong*
6	Mentioning Genitals	1. *Celak* 2. *Teli* 3. *Jit* 4. *Nyonyo* 5. *Basang* 6. *Mate* 7. *Cunguh* 8. *Bungut* 9. *Mue* 10. *Batis* 11. *Lime* 12. *Sirah*
7	Sexual Activity	1. *Mekatuk* 2. *Mediman*
8	Bodily Function	1. *Mecpilakan* 2. *Meju* 3. *Ngenceh*

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		4. *Negak*
		5. *Ningalin*
		6. *Ningehang*
9	Wisdom of Rules	1. *Nyerod*
		2. *Nganten*
		3. *Mesangih*
10	Personal Pronouns	1. *Cai*
		2. *Nyai*
		3. *Sige*
		4. *Ibane*
		5. *Iye*
		6. *Ake*
11	Specific Activity	1. *Meju*
		2. *Kayeh*
		3. *Ngenceh*
		4. *Gelem*

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that there are various taboo words in the Balinese language used in Puri Tukadmungga, categorized into different domains such as pawongan (human-to-human relationships) and palemahan (human-environment relationships). A total of 23 taboo words were identified in the pawongan domain, including 'cai,' 'kuluk,' 'ngamah,' 'celengbangkung,' 'medaar,' 'bape,' 'mesu,' 'meju,' 'melali,' 'kayeh,' 'pules,' 'menyama,' 'megae,' 'mati,' 'ngenceh,' 'gelem,' 'mate,' 'mekurnan,' 'jukut,' 'paon,' 'cang,' 'jit,' and 'mue.' In the palemhan domain, two taboo words were found: 'bunge' and 'yeh.' The study also discusses the use of triangulation theory and emphasizes the importance of adopting multiple theoretical perspectives to interpret research findings. The analysis model employed in this study, adapted from Miles Huberman's approach, underscores the interdependence of processes in forming the analysis. Overall, the study provides insights into taboo words in the Balinese language in Puri Tukadmungga, categorizing them based on different domains and highlighting the significance of triangulation theory and analysis models in the research process. Overall, this paper suggests several avenues for future research, including exploring taboo words in different domains, investigating their social and cultural implications, expanding the sample size and informant groups, and utilizing diverse analysis models and theoretical perspectives.

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