



## **EUPHEMISTIC EXPRESSIONS IN BAJAWA LANGUAGE FOUND IN THE SOCIAL CONTEXT**

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**ABSTRAK:** Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menemukan tipe dan fungsi dari ungkapan eufemisme dalam bahasa Bajawa yang ditemukan dalam konteks social berdasarkan teori Nichol (2011), yaitu: abstraksi, tidak langsung, litotes, mispronunciation, modifikasi, personifikasi, dan slang. Dan penulis mendeskripsikan fungsi dari ungkapan eufemisme dalam bahasa Bajawa yang ditemukan dalam konteks sosial berdasarkan teori yang diajukan oleh Burridge (2012, 67-71), yaitu: pelindung, underhand, uplifting, provokatif, kohesif, and ludic. Subjek dalam penelitian ini adalah anggota masyarakat desa Rakalaba sebagai pengguna bahasa Bajawa dan objek penelitian ini adalah ungkapan eufemisme dalam bentuk kalimat, frasa, dan kata yang digunakan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Data dalam penelitian menggunakan metode interview, observasi, dan studi dokumen. Metode deskriptif kualitatif digunakan untuk memberikan deskripsi yang komprehensif dan menemukan tipe dan fungsi dari ungkapan eufemisme. Kemudian, data di analisis dengan mengelompokkan data ungkapan eufemisme dalam bahasa Bajawa yang ditemukan ke dalam tujuh tipe eufemisme dan mendeskripsikan fungsi dari eufemisme ke dalam enam fungsi eufemisme. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa di antara tujuh tipe eufemisme yang diajukan oleh Nichol (2011), hanya tiga tipe eufemisme dalam bahasa Bajawa yang ditemukan dalam konteks sosial, yaitu: (1) abstraksi, (2) tidak langsung, dan (3) slang. Dan juga penulis menemukan bahwa di antara enam fungsi eufemisme yang diajukan oleh Burridge (2012, 67-71), hanya lima fungsi eufemisme yang digunakan dalam bahasa Bajawa, yaitu: (1) pelindung, (2) underhand, (3) uplifting, (4) provokatif, dan (5) kohesif.

**Kata Kunci:** *Sosiolinguistik, Eufemisme, bahasa Bajawa*

**ABSTRACT:** This study aimed at finding the types and functions of euphemistic expressions in Bajawa language that are found in the social context. In this study, the writer determines the types of euphemisms in Bajawa language that are found in the social context based on theory proposed by Nichol (2011), namely: abstraction, indirect, litotes, mispronunciation, modification, personification, and slang. And the writer describes the functions of euphemisms in Bajawa language that are found in the social context based on the theory proposed by Burridge (2012, 67-71), namely: protective, underhand, uplifting, provocative, cohesive, and ludic. The subjects in this study were members of



the Rakalaba village community as Bajawa language speaker and the object of this study was the expressions of euphemistic in the form of sentences, phrases, and words used in everyday life.

The data in this study using interviews, observation, and document study methods. Qualitative descriptive methods are used to provide a comprehensive description and find the types and functions of euphemistic expression. Then, the data is analyzed by grouping data on euphemisms in Bajawa language which are found into seven types of euphemisms and describing the functions of euphemisms into six functions of euphemisms. The results of this study indicate that among the seven types of euphemisms proposed by Nichol (2011), only three types of euphemisms in Bajawa language were found in the social context, namely: (1) abstraction, (2) indirection, and (3) slang. And the writer also found that among the six euphemistic functions proposed by Burrige (2012, 67-71), only five euphemistic functions were used in Bajawa language, namely: (1) protective, (2) underhand, (3) uplifting, (4) provocative, and (5) cohesive.

**Key Words:** *Sociolinguistic, Euphemism, Bajawa language*

## **INTRODUCTION**

In every aspect of human life, language is the most effective means of communication. Human beings cannot express their ideas, feelings, and emotion. In addition, the use of language as the most effective tool for human to interact with each other has power or ability to serve the human needs as speaker. The use of language as a system of mediation is intended not just to uncover their mental image, world view, and self-perceptions, but also to construct their vision of the sociocultural reality. This implies that, as a medium for communication, language is closely related to culture (Palmer, 2007: 4). When we involved in a communication with someone, we must also use the appropriate words to avoid the unpleasant or offensive expressions. Then, the communicator must use the polite ways of communication and create a meaningful communication.

Language has been defined as "a systematic means of communicating ideas or feelings by the use of conventionalized signs, sounds, gestures, or marks having understood meanings" (Online Merriam-Webster Dictionary as quoted in Everett, 2012: 31). In terms of the language use in the society, it is possible to refer to sociolinguistics, the study of language in relation to the society. Wardhaugh (2006:12) states that sociolinguistics is concerned with investigating the relationship between language and society with the goal being a better understanding of the structure of language and how languages function in communication. Moreover, language and society have close relationship as members of particular society speak (Wardhaugh, 2006:1). One of parts of the language custom is euphemism and every culture develops its euphemisms.

Euphemistic expressions are used as a tool that helps people communicate politely and effectively. Ren and Yu (2013: 45) maintain "euphemism is a form of language intentionally created in social relations to achieve ideal communication. Without them, any language would seem to be vulgar and rude and void of politeness to some degree". Since euphemisms are essential parts of



## Journal of Language and Literature

p-ISSN 2502-5473 | e-ISSN 2808-0106- |

Vol. 8 Nomor 2 September 2022

<http://e-journal.uniflor.ac.id/index.php/lantern/index> |  
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most languages, sociolinguists find it necessary to understand and analyze the use of euphemistic expressions from different perspectives in order to understand the nature of communication in a certain society. In fact, every culture has its own euphemisms because language is definitely influenced by the culture. It is interesting if we can discuss more about any euphemism in one of the society.

Indonesia consists of many islands and very island has been occupied by a group of people which is called clan. This clan has own culture including language as called local language. One of the hundred thousand islands in Indonesia is Flores island that has eight districts such as West Manggarai, Middle Manggarai, East Manggarai, Ngada, Nagekeo, Ende, Sikka and Flores Timur. The location of this study is in Ngada, as one regency of East Nusa Tenggara Province located in the middle of Flores. Bajawa is the capital city of Ngada regency, East Nusa Tenggara province. People in this area, has their own local language as called Bajawa language spoken by people who lived in Bajawa sub-district, Aimere sub-district, Jerebu'u sub-district and Golewa sub-district. This research is focused in Golewa sub-district, especially in Rakalaba village. This language is part of the Austronesian language family. In reality, the people of Bajawa always speak politely. For example, when they ask for *si'e* means salt at night is forbidden. Therefore, the people there if they need *si'e* (salt) at night, it is possible to replace the word "*Si'e*" salt with "*Awu Bhara*". It means ash from kitchen. So when they want to get salt from others, they will say "*ti'i nga'o awu bhara*" means please give me ash. The term of *Awu bhara* refers to salt. In this case, salt is being a forbidden thing if someone asks for it directly at night time. The way of expressing their idea in the daily communication tends to speak politely is called euphemism and to understand euphemisms one needs to understand the culture of that language.

Based on the explanations as stated in the previous section, the writer chooses this topic for several reasons. People in Bajawa are very concerned with taboo. Therefore, they try to speak politely. So, this study is intended to describe the types of euphemistic expressions used in the daily communication and the functions of euphemistic expressions used in the daily communication.

### LITERATURE REVIEW

The word "euphemism" was originated from the Greek language, *euphemismos*. *Eu* means good and *phemism* means speech. Euphemism means to speak fairly or a good speech. In other words, a euphemism is a word or phrase that replaces a taboo word or serves to avoid frightening or unpleasant subjects (Victoria Fromkin, Robert Rodman, et al. as quoted in Azkiyah, (2008: 22). There are many concepts of euphemisms, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary; a euphemism is a vague expression that is used to conceal a harsh reality. In effect, euphemisms reduce precision of thought. The word euphemism, however, precisely names the phenomenon, so it does not conceal anything. Wardaugh (2010: 249) states that euphemism refers to certain things that are not said. Not because people do not talk about those things, or, if those things are talked about, they are talked in very roundabout ways. Linfoot-Ham (2005: 228), euphemisms are powerful



linguistic tools that “are embedded so deeply in our language that few of us, even those who pride themselves on being plain spoken, ever get through a day without using them”. The need for euphemism is both social and emotional, as it allows discussion of taboo subjects (such as sex, personal appearances or religion) and acts as a pressure valve whilst maintaining the appearance of civility. Moreover, Friedman (in Sari 2004: 12) claims that euphemism is a word or phrase that replaces taboo words or serves to avoid frightening or unpleasant subject. Speakers would claim that utterance of taboo term would offend their own sensibilities because of the supposed unpleasantness or ugliness of the taboo term themselves. Furthermore, Allan and Burridge (in Rusman 2000: 17) also state that euphemism is a word (a phrase) which people use in place of terms which more disagreeable or offensive to themselves to their audience. Euphemism is used to hide unpleasant ideas, when the term for them is not necessary offensive (Friedman in Sari, 2004: 9). In addition, euphemism is the substitution of mild or inoffensive expression for one that is used in place of a disagreeable or offensive term.

Furthermore, Friedman (in Sari, 2004: 9-10) states that “the process of coming euphemism is called taboo deformation. The method in historical euphemistic can reveal tracks of taboo deformation”. And then, Wardaugh (2006: 231) argue that Euphemism is endemic in our society; the glorification of the common place and the elevation of the trivial, we are constantly renaming thing and repackaging them to make them sound better, it is renaming of reality to fit a new order of the society. Euphemizing generally exists in almost every nation all over the world, no matter how civilized it is. In all natural languages both large families of languages and languages of minorities using euphemism is a common phenomenon. Nearly all cultures seem to have certain notions or things that people try to avoid mentioning directly, which means using euphemisms in order to avoid painful, offensive or unpleasant words. Thus, universality, which is something that is well known and accepted by all the people, is one of the characteristics of euphemisms (Samoškaitė, 2011: 10).

Another feature of euphemisms is localization. Various regions have differences in customs, culture, history which embody the localization of language. There are two causes of regional differences. First is a regional cultural difference. In different regions, the culture there will affect the development of euphemism. For example, ‘go to toilet.’ in the Balliol college of Oxford University, students call ‘go to toilet’ as ‘to visit Lady Periam’ because the toilets of that college were built on the land donated by Lady Periam.

The changes of language depend on the need and changes of the society. Euphemism is not an exception and it undergoes a process of metabolism too. It bears a marked brand of times which means that contemporaneity is also characteristic to euphemisms (Samoškaitė, 2011: 9). The words and expressions of English euphemism reflect the English speaker’s attitude, facts, beliefs ideas, values, and knowledge in communication. The use of English euphemism is also a symbol of English people’s social identity and culture (Azkiyah, 2008: 26). Nichol (2011) categorizes euphemistic into seven types. (1) *Abstraction*. Abstraction is an idea that develops by seeing or thinking about a number of different things. In connection with this abstraction, some euphemisms are used as a tool



to keep people away from unpleasant or embarrassing truths. For examples; "Passed away" for Died, "In the family way" for Pregnant, "Ethnic cleansing" for Genocide, "Put to sleep" for Euthanise, and "The big C" for Cancer; (2) *Indirection*. Indirection means sneakiness or lying, especially when it's deliberately meant to distract someone or divert his attention. (3) *Litotes*: Litotes is the use of language that creates literary effects but often without regard to literal significance. (4) *Mispronunciation*. Alteration of pronunciation is a form of euphemism, so as not to offend people by using profanity (figurative or literal). (5) *Modification*. A modification is a change or alteration, usually to make something work better. If you want to change something in other words modify it; (6) *Personification*. One form of euphemism is when people give personal names to things that they prefer not to mention openly, such as giving personal names to genitals. (7) *Slang*. Slang is an informal nonstandard variety of speech characterized by newly coined and rapidly changing words and phrases. A significant number of slang words are used as euphemisms for taboo words, and some produce a vocabulary exclusive to a social group.

Besides, Burridge (2012) mentions six different functions of euphemism in society, these functions are mainly based on the sociolinguistics approach, in short is about euphemism and its application, function and reflection in society. They are protective, underhand, uplifting, provocative, cohesive, and ludic. (1) *Protective euphemistic*. The first type of euphemisms is revealed in the idea that they are used "to shield and to avoid offense" (Burridge, 2012: 67). Such euphemistic expressions include the usual suspects such as private parts, bodily functions, sex, anger, dishonesty, drunkenness, madness, disease, death, dangerous animals, fear, God and so on. (2) *Underhand Euphemistic*. Euphemistic expressions are used not so much to conceal offense but to deliberately disguise a topic and to deceive. (3) *Uplifting Euphemistic*. The uplifting type refers to the idea that many euphemisms are simply alternatives for words and expressions speakers prefer not to use on a given occasion. In Burridge (2012: 69) state that, the euphemistic expressions used in this way are basically "to talk up and to inflate". (4) *Provocative Euphemistic*. These euphemisms are very common in satirical life situations, such as governmental institutions or organizations, or political parties, exploit euphemistic expressions to publicly expound taboo topics. (5) *Cohesive Euphemistic*. People in a society feel they belong to one social community where they share both euphemistic and tabooed words and expressions as a sign of social cohesion. (6) *Ludic Euphemistic*. Many words and expressions are sometimes euphemistically used to amuse, that is, "to have fun and to entertain" (Burridge, 2012: 71). The speakers of language, from their childhood up to adulthood, usually play with sounds, letters, words and phrases in order to have fun.

## METHODS

This study used descriptive qualitative approach. According to Creswell (2014:32), qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars





to general themes and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation. In addition, Lawson and Garrod quoted from David and Sutton (2004) argue that "in the descriptive qualitative research the collected data are in the form of words and pictures rather than numbers, then, the researcher who uses descriptive qualitative should analyze them with all richness as closely as possible to the form in which it is recorded or transcribed". This means that the data of the research are obtained through careful observation on the natural setting where the research is conducted. What truthfully happens like the condition in the research setting and languages employed by the community are recorded, identified, categorized, and analyzed. The data of this study were euphemistic expressions in Bajawa language spoken by Rakalaba people. The data were taken from the informants (Rakalaba people) in their daily life as the speaker that produces words, phrases or sentences. The collections of words, phrases or sentences spoken by them were collected as corpus of data. For example, *ti'i nga'o awu bhara* (give me ash) and *jou galo gha* (he has left). To make this study accurate, systematic and balanced, the subjects of the study (Rakalaba People) must meet following requirements (1) native people, (2) Male/female, (3) 30- 50 years old, (4) they can speak Indonesia language. To get the information, several ways were adopted, such as interview, observation, and study document. The interview is about the euphemistic expression in Bajawa language found in their daily life. Observation belonged to the activities of the people and their conversations in which the euphemistic expression are used. After collecting the data, this study applies several steps to analyze the data collection, such as classifying the data based on the types and functions of euphemistic expression, analyzing the types and functions of the euphemistic expression, and drawing conclusions based on the descriptions of the provided data.

## DISCUSSION

### *Types of Euphemistic Expressions in Bajawa Language*

This study attempts to identify the seven types of euphemistic expressions suggested by Nichol (2011), (1) abstraction, (2) indirection, (3) litotes, (4) mispronunciation, (5) modification, (6) personification, and (7) slang. There are three of the seven types of euphemistic expressions in Bajawa language; they are abstraction, indirection, and slang. To make it easy, preceeding the discussion of analysis, the writer provides the table of the types of euphemistic expressions found in Bajawa language:

### *Types of Euphemistic expressions in Bajawa language*

No	Bajawa language	English	Types of Euphemistic						
			T-1	T-2	T-3	T-4	T-5	T-6	T-7
1	<i>Ma'e beli ghe'o</i>	Do not give false testimony.							
2	<i>Ma'e uta bhale</i>	Do not cheat.							
3	<i>Ma'e pi'o riso</i>	Do not blabber.							
4	<i>Ma'e sena ana ngata</i>	Do not get mad with others.							
5	<i>Ma'e ghela ghe</i>	Do not look later							



# Journal of Language and Literature

p-ISSN 2502-5473 | e-ISSN 2808-0106- |

Vol. 8 Nomor 2 September 2022

<http://e-journal.uniflor.ac.id/index.php/lantern/index> |  
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6	<i>Lima ma'e lewa</i>	Hand do not long		
7	<i>Modhe ne'e soga woe,</i> <i>meku ne'e doa delu</i>	Good to friends clan, gentle to brother relatives.		
8	<i>Wiwi ma'e isi, lema</i> <i>ma'e sema</i>	Stop talking carelessly.		
9	<i>Dua wi uma, nuka wi</i> <i>sa'o</i>	Go to garden, back to house.		
10	<i>Ma'e peri polo ngata</i>	Do not blame others.		
11	<i>Ine ema kebo gha</i>	He/She Mother father hugging past	✓	
12	<i>Gazi la'a gha mula</i> <i>muku</i>	He/She go past planted banana.	✓	
13	<i>Jou galo gha</i>	He left past.	✓	
14	<i>La'a dhoru</i>	Go down.		✓
15	<i>La'a ruma raja</i>	Go house king.		✓
16	<i>La'a weka seda</i>	Go remove dirt.		✓
17	<i>Tua ka'e gha</i>	Alcohol older brother past.		
18	<i>Ine..mesi go ngedi, kita</i> <i>wi penga rewi, mesi go</i> <i>ngani, kita wi papa pa'o</i>	Mother...if that things, we help lift, if that work, we help each other.		
19	<i>Lewu kau, ja'o pengi</i>	Cage you, i peek.		
20	<i>Miu ka, resi-resi ne'e</i> <i>kami, wi tau wali ngawi</i>	You eat, remains with us, want do again hooks.		✓
21	<i>Go neka kita latu gha?</i>	Whether secret we had past?	✓	
22	<i>Bhole hae</i>	Cobs corn.	✓	
23	<i>Wae ngeta</i>	Water raw	✓	
24	<i>Bu'e mite</i>	Girl black	✓	
25	<i>Lako kedhi</i>	Dog small	✓	
26	<i>Lako saki</i>	Dog male	✓	
27	<i>Lako moka</i>	Dog female	✓	
28	<i>Awu bhara</i>	Ash white	✓	
29	<i>Wuku gego</i>	Shout out loud		
30	<i>Aro</i>	Tool for mashing	✓	
31	<i>Cia</i>	Eat		✓
32	<i>Ciu</i>	Drink		✓
33	<i>Ngesa</i>	Not good		
34	<i>Senu</i>	Stupid		
35	<i>Ate zua</i>	Heart two	✓	
36	<i>Coneng</i>	Stole		✓
37	<i>Koe lia</i>	Dig a hole		✓
38	<i>Kefe</i>	Drunk		✓
39	<i>Lako wa'i</i>	Go on foot		✓
40	<i>Suing</i>	Lie		✓
41	<i>Tepo</i>	Catch		✓
42	<i>Beku saku</i>	Dirt bag	✓	
43	<i>Ule toro</i>	Caterpillar red	✓	
44	<i>Mpo</i>	Coquettish		✓
45	<i>Redhe</i>	Crisp		✓
46	<i>Ngizu</i>	Nose		✓
47	<i>Na'a weki</i>	Save the body	✓	



48	<i>Ngesa dhidhi</i>	Not good	✓
49	<i>Kau da pe gha pa'a bhara, da se gha beke sese</i>	You've touched the white thigh, touched the yellow chest	✓

Based on the data presented, the explanations euphemistic expressions in Bajawa language found in the social context can be seen as follows:

#### Abstraction

Abstraction is an idea that develops by seeing or thinking about a number of different things. A number of euphemisms operate as a tool for distancing people from unpleasant or embarrassing truths. Referring to the theoretical statement, the writer determines the following data to group into abstraction type of euphemistic expressions found in Bajawa language. Those data are used to prove the statement can be seen as follows.

*Ine ema kebo gha*  
Mother father hugging past  
(She/he passed away)  
*Jou galo gha*  
He left past  
(He passed away)

These sentences are used to inform the bad news that is one of our family members has passed away. In general, if someone passed away, people in Rakalaba always say *Gazi Mata gha*, which means he or she has died. The two sentences above are very euphemistic expressions of saying that someone has died or to express the deepest sorrow to another family. Moreover, these expressions are used to avoid shock for those who listen too. Therefore, these expressions as stated previously can be categorized into abstraction type of euphemistic expression.

*Gazi la'a gha mula muku*  
He/she go past planted banana  
(He/she passed away)

This expression is often heard when we are in a funeral home, people who come to mourn usually express their sadness to the bereaved family with the expression *Gazi olo gha la'a mula muku* is to replace the expression *Gazi mata gha* 'He/she has died'. People in Rakalaba often use this expression in addition to express deep sorrow as well as to provide reinforcement or comfort to the bereaved family to convince them that the deceased is happy and he is preparing a place for families who are still on pilgrimage in the world.

*Na'a weki*  
Save the body  
(Pregnant)

The phrase *na'a weki* is used by people in rakalaba to express or inform others that someone is pregnant. The phrase *na'a weki* is to replace the phrase *tuka meze* means pregnant.

*Kau da pe gha pa'a bhara, da se gha beke sese*  
You've touched the white thigh, touched the yellow chest  
(Already having sex)





This expression is used in traditional wedding ceremonies. This expression is always used by people who is appointed as spokespersons for women with the aim of explaining the conditions that have occurred between women and men. This expression was delivered with the intention of sanctioning men for impregnating women prematurely, this is considered to have violated customary rules. Therefore, the spokesperson said *kau da pe gha pa'a bhara, da se gha beke sese*, this expression is to replace the phrase *papa saka* or *papa sage* 'already having sex' which is considered taboo to say.

### Indirection

Indirection means sneakiness or lying, especially when it's deliberately meant to distract someone or divert his attention. Nichol (2011) said that an euphemism may replace an explicit description of an action. Therefore, this type of euphemistic expression deals with replacing an explicit description of the action in daily communication found in Bajawa language. For this reason, the following data used to prove the argumentation above.

*La'a dhoru*  
Go down  
(Go to the bathroom)

This expression is often used in informal situations such as sitting relaxed or eating with friends. One of a friends asked permission to go to the washroom, he will say *Ja'o la'a dhoru ghe*, this expression is to replace the expression *Ja'o la'a kato ghe* means I go pee.

*La'a ruma raja*  
Go house king  
(Go to the bathroom)

This expression is often used in formal situations such as meetings between the community and the village head at the village office. when one of the people wants to ask permission to go to the bathroom, he will say *Ja'o la'a ruma raja*, this expression is to replace *Ja'o la'a wese* 'may i go to the toilet'.

*La'a weka seda*  
Go remove dirt  
(Go to the bathroom)

This expression is also often used in formal situation such as meetings between family members. When someone wants to go to the bathroom, he will say *ja'o la'a weka seda*, this expression is to replace the phrase *ja'o la'a ta'i* means *i go to defecate*. In general, these sentences are used to ask permission to someone else when we want to go to the bathroom. They are more polite to tell others and to reduce the unpleasant feeling of the person who is listening too. The usage of the sentences *la'a dhoru*, *la'a ruma raja*, *la'a weka seda* are used to replace the sentence *la'a wese*, it means going to defecate.

*Aro*

A tool for mashing  
(Withing)



This word is used to ask for something at night. People in Rakalaba, usually use different words to convey their intentions, because according to them if asking for something at night time, it is forbidden to mention that's name directly. Therefore, people in Rakalaba when asking for something, they use other words to mention that thing they want. For example, they want to ask *oka* 'whiting' at night time, they always replace the word *oka* with the word *aro* 'a tool for mashing'.

*Oka* 'withing' is a white powder that is usually mixed with betel leaves and betel nut. Old people there usually call it *weti*, it usually consumed by women either the old or the young. The word *aro* here is to replace the word *oka*.

*Neka*  
Secret  
(Debt)

This word is used to hide other intentions. People in Rakalaba, when they want to collect debts from people who are in debt, they say *neka kita latu gha?* 'our secrets already there?', the word *neka* 'secret' is to replace the word *sepu* 'debt'. The word *neka* 'secret' is used to maintain good relations between people who give debt and who owe and so that other people do not know.

*Bu'e mite*  
Girl black  
(Coffee powder)

This phrase is used at night time when they intend to ask *wu'u kopi* 'coffee powder' to the neighbor's house by asking *ai miu latu bu'e mite?*, to avoid unwanted things happening because asking at night, the people in Rakalaba always replace the phrase *wu'u kopi* 'coffee powder' with the phrase *bu'e mite* 'black girl'.

*Awu bhara*  
Ash white  
(Salt)

People in Rakalaba when they ask for *si'e* means salt at night time is forbidden. Therefore, the people there if they need *si'e* (salt) at night time, it is possible to replace the word "*Si'e*" salt with "*Awu Bhara*". It means ash from kitchen. So when they want to get salt from others, they will say "*ti'i nga'o awu bhara*" means please give me ash. The term of *Awu bhara* refers to salt. In this case, salt is being a forbidden thing if someone asks for it directly at night time.

*Wae ngeta*  
Water raw.  
(Kerosene)

The phrase *wae ngeta* is used by people in Rakalaba when they ask *mina tana* 'kerosene' to neighbors at night time. They always replace *mina tana* 'kerosene' with the phrase *wae ngeta* 'raw water'. According to them, if asking for something at night time by directly mentioning that's name can cause something undesirable for homeowners such as illness and prolonged misfortune. To avoid the things that is considered as taboo. So, they replace the name of the requested item with another designation.

*Bhole hae*  
Cobs corn  
(Genital)



This phrase is often used in everyday life, such as a greeting between close friends, as an expression of exasperation from the elderly to young people, as a compliment, as a joke, especially among men. This phrase might be considered rude and unpleasant for others who are not used to hearing it. This phrase is also often considered as taboo to mentioned. The phrase *bhole hae* is to replace the words *wola* or *lase* means genitals.

*Lako kedhi*  
Dog small  
(Toddler)

The phrase *Lako Kedhi* is used to replace the name of a toddler. in everyday life, especially at night time when someone talks about a toddler by directly mentioning the child's name, the toddler suddenly cries and sleeps uncomfortably. Therefore, people in Rakalaba when they want to talk about or talk about toddlers at night time. They always replace the child's name with the term *Lako Kedhi*.

*Lako saki*  
Dog male  
(Another term for men)

This phrase is commonly used to change someone's name. One of the habits of the people in the village is usually to talk about other people's names. For example, when they talk or gossip about a man, they always replace the name of the man being talked about with the term *lako saki*.

*Lako moka*  
Dog women  
(Another term for women)

This phrase is commonly used to change someone's name. One of the habits of the people in the village is usually to talk about other people's names. For example, when they talk or gossip about a woman, they always replace the name of the woman being talked about with the term *lako moka*. The phrase *lako saki* and *lako moka* are commonly used in daily life when they gossip. The use of these two phrases with the aim of distancing them from accusations of defamation and also they use these two phrases to make others who inadvertently hear their conversation confused with what they are talking about.

*Ate zua*  
Heart two  
(Supernatural powers)

The phrase *ate zua* is another term of the person who has supernatural power. People in Rakalaba always replace the word *polo* with the phrase *ate zua*, when they describe or explain about someone who has supernatural power. The phrase *ate zua* is often used by parents when it comes to advising their children to always be careful in associating and choosing friends or not to eat randomly in other people's homes. This expression is like prejudice against others, in giving advice, parents in Rakalaba always say *ma'e tolo ka ngia baru ata, kita da busa ngata ke'e ma'e de*

*ate zua* 'do not eat at any other house, we do not know maybe that person has supernatural powers'. The phrase *ate zua* is to replace the word *Polo* 'someone who has supernatural power'.

*Beku saku*  
Dirt pocket



(Money)

The phrase *beku saku* is often heard when someone wants to borrow money, he will say *beku saku kau latu, woli dhue ja'o* 'your pocket dirt have there, please borrow me'. The phrase *beku saku* is to replace the word *doi* means money.

*Ule toro*

Caterpillar red

(Troublemaker)

People in Rakalaba use the phrase *ule toro* when appointing someone who is a troublemaker or likes to talk about other people with bad intentions. The phrase *ule toro* is to replace the phrase *ngingi roi* means troublemaker.

*Ngesa dhidhi*

Not good

People in Rakalaba often express their dislike with the actions of someone who is unpleasant by using the phrase *ngesa dhidhi*. The phrase *ngesa dhidhi* here is to replace the phrase *lua sesi* means not good.

*Slang*

Slang is an informal nonstandard variety of speech characterized by newly coined and rapidly changing words and phrases. A significant number of slang words are used as euphemisms for taboo words, and some produce a vocabulary exclusive to a social group. This type of euphemism was found in euphemistic expression in Bajawa language.

*Cia*

(Eat)

The word *Cia* is used in informal situations, for example, in everyday life people in Rakalaba usually use the word *cia* to invite people to eat. Usually, this expression is often heard among young people. If in a formal situation, people there always used the word *Ka* 'eat'.

*Ciu*

(Drink)

The word *Ciu* is also used in informal situations, for example, in everyday life people in Rakalaba usually use the word *ciu* to invite people to drink together. Usually, this phrase is often heard among young people, when they are gathered to drink, they often use the word *Ciu*. If in a formal situation, people there always used the word *Inu* 'drink'. The words *Cia* and *Ciu* are formed by using a new word. People in Rakalaba used the word *cia* is to replace the word *wuta/jaka* 'eat'. The word *ciu* is to replace the word *nganga* 'drink'. These words *Wuta* and *nganga* may not be used in formal conversation. Why? Because they are categorized as impolite expressions.

*Coneng*

(Stole)

The word *coneng* is slang which means stole. For example, someone is losing his money and he tells a friend, he says *wala doi ja'o ata de coneng la*. The word *coneng* is to replace the word *naka* means stole.

*Koe lia*

Dig a hole



(Have sex)

The phrase of *koe lia* is a slang that arise as a suggestion to someone whose study has not yet been completed. People there always say *gazi bha'i la'a kulia wai la'a koe lia* 'he does not go to study but go to dig a hole'. This is euphemistic expression of saying that someone having sex. This phrase *koe lia* is to replace the phrase *papa sage* 'having sex' that is taboo and perceived more secret from the public hearing outside of Bajawa ethnic.

*Kefe*

(Drunk)

The word *kefe* is slang which means drunk. This word is often used by people there when someone drinks too much alcohol. for example, at a party there is someone who drinks too much alcohol which makes him start talking carelessly and makes a fuss at the party place, other people or invitations always say *gazi kefe gha* 'he is drunk'. The word *kefe* is used to ask for understanding from others so as not to respond to the actions of people who are already drunk. This word *kefe* is to replace the word *bu* which means drunk.

*Lako wa'i*

Dog foot

(Go on foot)

The phrase *Lako wa'i* is a slang means go on foot. For example, a friend told me that they came home from a party on foot because they could not get a vehicle. People there often abbreviate the phrase *lako wa'i* to the word *LW*.

*Suing*

(Lie)

The word *suing* is a slang word which means lie. This word *suing* is often used among young people, for example when someone is talking about something and another friend is refuting the story, his friend says *kau ma'e suing la* 'you do not lie'. The word *suing* here is to replace the word *jema* or *aka* means lie.

*Tepo*

Catch

(Play card)

The word *tepo* is a slang word which means play card. This word *tepo* is used by people there to invite others to play cards. For example, one friend invited another friends to play cards, he will say *mai si kita la'a tepo* 'let us go catch'. The word *tepo* is to replace the word *judi* means play cards.

*Mpo*

Coquettish

The word *mpo* is a slang word. This word is commonly used by people in Rakalaba when scolding someone who likes coquettish. The slang word *mpo* is to replace the phrase *ipo si'o* means coquettish.

*Redhe*

Crisp

(Puts on a brave face)





The word *redhe* is a slang word which means crisp. This word is used by people in Rakalaba when referring to someone who is puts on a brave face. The word *redhe* personality is equated with the word put on a brave face because it is owned by an object that bears the word crisp which is equally easily damaged or defeated. The word *redhe* is to replace the phrase *ghera de jago*.

*Ngizu*

Nose

The word *ngizu* is a slang word which means nose. The word *ngizu* is an expression to describe someone who likes to attend an event. For example, weddings and Reba traditional parties. People there say, if someone who likes to attend an event without invitation, they always say *kau ngizu la*.

## Functions of Euphemistic Expressions in Bajawa Language

In this section, it will be presented the function of euphemistic expression in Bajawa language found in daily life. According to Burridge (2012, 67-71), there are six functions of euphemistic. These functions are protective, underhand, uplifting, provocative, cohesive, and ludic. In order to provide a clear description of the findings of this section, the following table is to show the functions of euphemistic expressions found in this study:

No	Bajawa language	English	Functions of Euphemistic					
			F-1	F-2	F-3	F-4	F-5	F-6
1	<i>Ma'e beli ghe'o</i>	Do not give false testimony.				✓		
2	<i>Ma'e uta bhale</i>	Do not cheat.						
3	<i>Ma'e pi'o riso</i>	Do not blabber.						
4	<i>Ma'e sena ana ngata</i>	Do not get mad with others.				✓		
5	<i>Ma'e ghela ghe</i>	Do not look later						
6	<i>Lima ma'e lewa</i>	Hand do not long				✓		
7	<i>Modhe ne'e sogu woe, meku ne'e doa delu</i>	Good to friends clan, gentle to brother relatives.				✓		
8	<i>Wiwi ma'e isi, lema ma'e sema</i>	Stop talking carelessly.				✓		
9	<i>Dua wi uma, nuka wi sa'o</i>	Go to garden, back to house.				✓		
10	<i>Ma'e peri polo ngata</i>	Do not blame others.						
11	<i>Gazi lne ema kebo gha</i>	He/She Mother father hugging past						
12	<i>Gazi la'a gha mula muku</i>	He/She go past planted banana.		✓				
13	<i>Jou galo gha</i>	He left past.						
14	<i>La'a dhoru</i>	Go down.						
15	<i>La'a ruma raja</i>	Go house king.						
16	<i>La'a weka seda</i>	Go remove dirt.						
17	<i>Tua ka'e gha</i>	Alcohol older brother past.						
18	<i>Ine..mesi go ngedi, kita wi penga rew, mesi go ngani, kita wi papa pa'o</i>	Mother...if that things, we help lift, if that work, we help each other.					✓	
19	<i>Lewu kau, ja'o pengi</i>	Cage you, i peek.						
20	<i>Miu ka, resi-resi ne'e kami, wi tau wali ngawi</i>	You eat, remains with us, want do again hooks.	✓					
21	<i>Go neka kita latu gha?</i>	Whether secret we had past?			✓			
22	<i>Bhole hae</i>	Cobs corn.	✓					
23	<i>Wae ngeta</i>	Water raw						
24	<i>Bu'e mite</i>	Girl black		✓				
25	<i>Lako kedhi</i>	Dog small						
26	<i>Lako saki</i>	Dog male			✓			
27	<i>Lako moka</i>	Dog female			✓			
28	<i>Awu bhara</i>	Ash white	✓					



29	Wuku gego	Shout out loud
30	Aro	Tool for mashing
31	Cia	Eat
32	Ciu	Drink
33	Ngesa	Not good
34	Senu	Stupid
35	Ate zua	Heart two ✓
36	Coneng	Stole
37	Koe lia	Dig a hole
38	Kefe	Drunk
39	Lako wa'i	Go on foot
40	Suing	Lie
41	Tepo	Catch
42	Beku saku	Dirt bag
43	Ule toro	Caterpillar red
44	Mpo	Coquettish
45	Redhe	Crisp
46	Ngizu	Nose
47	Na'a weki	Save the body
48	Ngesa dhidhi	Not good
49	Kau da pe gha pa'a bhara, da se gha beke sese	You've touched the white thigh, touched the yellow chest

The data presented on the table above, shows that the functions of euphemistic expressions in Bajawa language have been found five functions, such as protective euphemistic, underhand euphemistic, uplifting euphemistic, provocative euphemistic, and cohesive euphemistic.

#### *Protective euphemistic*

The first function of euphemistic is to shield and to avoid offense. Euphemisms are known as avoidance language and evade expression. People create euphemisms to overcome the problem of how to talk in a different context about things that may be a different one from another. This theory matched with the following data.

*Bhole hae*  
Cobs corn  
(Genital)

The data above shows that the function of euphemistic as a protector, the euphemistic expression is used because no one wants to directly mention the words or expressions related to body parts. use this phrase *bhole hae* to protect the speaker from bad judgment from others who hear, because not everyone likes to hear or mention the words directly related to the body part.

Therefore, people in Rakalaba always used the phrase *Bhole hae* 'cobs corn' is to replace the word *Lase* or *Wola* which means genitals.

*Miu ka, resi-resi ne'e kami, wi tau wali ngawi*  
You eat, remains with us, want to do again hooks

The expression above is also a function of euphemistic as a protective because it is used to protect plants and also to hide anger. People in Rakalaba, when the plants in their garden were attacked by pests and eaten by rats, people there usually hide their anger by request expression *Miu ka, resi-resi ne'e kami, wi tau wali ngawi* 'You eat, remains with us, want to do again hooks'.



According to Mikael Wesa (as interviewed in 2020) said that this expression is more polite than having to show anger with rough words such as *ana mara saba ta'i, bhadhu resi-resi ne'e mori uma* 'you are a greedy basis, not left for the garden owner'. Because they are convinced that mice can hear their demand and pity man when conveyed with polite language.

*Ate zua*  
Heart two  
(Supernatural power)

This expression is a function of euphemistic which aims to protect speakers and those who hear from an excessive fear of mystical things and prevent speakers from defamation of someone's good name. Therefore the parents in Rakalaba use the phrase *ate zua* is to reduce the excessive fear of their children.

#### *Underhand euphemistic*

The second function of euphemistic is to misrepresent. There is a feeling when all euphemism is untrustworthy. Euphemism is not to say something directly in a certain context. Something that is forbidden can be accepted by not using a direct term of how to say it. Euphemism is used not to hide the topic but to camouflage the topic.

*Gazi la'a gha mula muku*  
He/She go past planted banana.

People in Rakalaba, if someone passed away, they always say *gazi la'a gha mula muku* 'he or she go past planted banana' is to replace *gazi mata gha* 'he or she has died'. According to Nikolaus Wede (as interviewed in 2020) said that this sentence above is very euphemistic expression to express the deepest sorrow to other families who are grieving.

*Awu bhara*  
Ash white

People in Rakalaba are very concerned with taboo. For instance, when they ask for *si'e* means salt at night is forbidden. Therefore, the people there if they need *si'e* (salt) at night, it is possible to replace the word "*Si'e*" salt with "*Awu Bhara*". It means ash from the kitchen. So when they want to get salt from others, they will say "*ti'i nga'o awu bhara*" means please give me ash. The term of *Awu bhara* refers to salt. In this case, salt is being a forbidden thing if someone asks for it directly at night time.

*Bu'e mite*  
Girl black

(Coffee powder)

People in Rakalaba use the phrase *bu'e mite* when they ask coffee powder from a neighbor's house at night time. People there like to replace the name of the requested item with another name, this is done with the aim of avoiding something untoward.

#### *Uplifting euphemistic*

The third function of euphemistic is used to talk up and to inflate. The uplifting function refers to the idea that many euphemisms are simply alternatives for words and expressions speakers prefer not to use on a given occasion. This theory was match with the following data.

*Go neka kita latu gha?*



Whether secret we had past?

In everyday life, people in Rakalaba, when they want to collect debts from people who have debt, they always say *neka kita latu gha?* 'our secrets already there?', the word *neka* 'secret' is to replace the word *sepu* 'debt'. The word *neka* 'secret' is to maintain good relations between people who give debt and who owe and so that other people do not know.

*Lako saki*

Dog male

(Another term for man)

People there, when they talk about someone's name or tell something about others, they usually change the name with another term. If they talked about a man, they always rename that man with the term *lako saki*. If they talked about a woman, they always replace the name of that woman with the term *lako moka*.

*Provocative euphemistic*

Burridge (2012, 70) states that such euphemisms are deliberately provoking in order "to reveal and to inspire". Many euphemistic expressions in different cultures are deliberately used to mainly function as a source of consolation and comfort. This theory was relevant to the following data.

*Dua wi uma, nuka wi sa'o*

Go to garden, back to house

This expression is usually used by parents to express their criticism or dislike towards young people who like to be lazy. They always say *ai dua wi uma, nuka wi sa'o gazi*, this expression is to replace *ai ma'e kama dae depa*.

*Modhe ne'e soga woe, meku ne'e doa delu*

Gentle to friends clan, gentle to brother relatives

This sentence means that contains a command or invitation. This expression is to inspire someone to always do well to anyone, without any favoritism. After doing well, someone is invited to not expect the slightest reward for what he has done.

*Lima ma'e lewa*

Hand do not long

This expression is conveyed by parents to their children to work hard so that later they can pay for their lives with appropriate results and so that their children do not become a thief. Because stealing is a very shameful act.

*Ma'e beli ghe'o*

Do not give false testimony

The function of this euphemistic expression is to ask someone to express something honestly. For example in a case, we are asked to be witnesses of the case; we must be honest witnesses to tell something that is by the actual events related to the case.

*Wiwi ma'e isi, lema ma'e sema*

Stop talking carelessly

This sentence inspires anyone, that in the end, someone will reap what he has planted. That way there is no reason for someone to do something bad because, in the end, it is certain that the



person will not be able to get happiness. Therefore, something obtained must be filtered first. The good can be stored while the bad is thrown away.

*Ma'e sena ana ngata*

Do not get mad with others.

This expression is used by parents to advise their children. For example, when faced with a problem that makes us angry. This expression is usually conveyed by parents to remind us not to vent anger on others.

Based on the explanation above, the euphemistic function as provocative. The writer finds that the euphemistic expressions in Bajawa language is more positive provocative, especially as an expressions to inspire young people as the next generation, that in social life we must do good to anyone both through words and actions. Thus our lives will change for the better.

#### *Cohesive euphemistic*

The fourth function of euphemistic is used to show solidarity in the group or help to define the gang. People use this euphemism to strengthen their relations among others. Also, this function of euphemistic is used to show the characteristic of one group. This theory was match with the following data.

*Ine, mesi go ngedi, kita wi penga rewi, mesi go ngani, kita wi papa pa'o*

Mother, if that things, we help lift, if that work, we help each other.

People in Rakalaba are very carefully between the one and the others. For instance, in the daily life of the community in Rakalaba, when there is a woman who is pregnant and she feels tired with her baby conceived, the parents in Rakalaba especially the women, show their solidarity by saying: *Ine..mesi go ngedi, kita wi penga rewi, mesi go ngani, kita wi papa pa'o* 'Mother...if that things, we help lift, if that work, we help each other'. According to Emirensiana Nango (as interviewed in 2020) said that this statement is very polite to provide supporting to the woman who is pregnant to keep the passion, rather than saying something that makes the woman's feeling is injured, like saying: *sey da bege kau wi hamil* 'who told you to get pregnant'.

## **CONCLUSION**

The term euphemism refers to polite expressions that replace the words and phrases that are considered rude and impolite or that are not pleasant to hear. This is a socio-cultural and linguistic phenomenon as well as a rhetorical device. This is the right language pattern that people make in social communication to make effective communication and it also plays an important role in our daily lives. To understand euphemism, firstly someone needs to understand the culture through which euphemistic expressions are associated. Based on the result of the analysis presented in the previous chapter, it can be summarized that the types and the functions of euphemistic expressions in Bajawa language are found in the social context that is in the forms of sentences, phrases, and words. From seven types, and six functions of euphemistic. The writer only found three types of euphemistic, namely (1) abstraction, (2) indirection, and (3) slang. In terms of function, the writer only found five functions of euphemistic, those are (1) protective, (2) underhand, (3) uplifting, (4) provocative, and (5) cohesive.





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## Journal of Language and Literature

p-ISSN 2502-5473 | e-ISSN 2808-0106- |

Vol. 8 Nomor 2 September 2022

<http://e-journal.uniflor.ac.id/index.php/lantern/index> |  
[lanternsasing@gmail.uniflor.ac.id](mailto:lanternsasing@gmail.uniflor.ac.id)



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