



Swearing Words in Ambonese Malay and Batak Languages: Cross-Cultural Pragmatic Study

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ABSTRACT

The Batak and Ambonese ethnic groups are often perceived as distinct from other Indonesian communities due to their expressive communication style. Among them, the use of swearing is considered a normal part of social interaction, whereas members of other ethnic groups may perceive it as inappropriate. This study aims to identify the realization and types of swear words in the Batak language (Toba dialect) and Ambonese Malay within non-formal and family contexts, as well as to reveal the implicatures underlying these swearing speech acts. This study employed a qualitative descriptive design. The data consisted of swearing utterances collected from family and informal situations through direct interviews and the Discourse Completion Task (DCT) method. The

DCT questions were designed to elicit implicatures embedded in the use of swearing. The findings indicate that both Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba contain swearing terms categorized into animals, objects, body parts, kinship, supernatural beings, activities, professions, states, and interjections. However, Ambonese Malay exhibits a greater number and variety of swearing expressions than Batak Toba. The implicatures found across both languages mainly convey annoyance, anger, and disappointment. In some cases, swearing without referents functions as a conversational diversion as well as an emotional outlet.

Keywords: swearing; Melayu Ambon; Batak

Introduction

Swearing words are words that fall into the category of taboo words, particularly those related to sex (sexual taboos), bodily functions, and religion (dirty words) (Bryson, 1990; Montagu, 1967). Recent studies also show that taboo language continues to evolve in form and function across cultures (Mukhtorova, 2024; Usmani & Almashham, 2024). Words that are considered taboo are usually regarded as a form of impoliteness (Bousfield & Culpeper, 2008; Tanduk, 2023). However, not all taboo words are considered expressions of impoliteness. Swearing vocabulary is sometimes regarded as a way for a group of people to voice their freedom of expression and thought (G. & Read, 1979; Hughes, 1992; Rodgers, 2021).

The use of taboo vocabulary by one language user can have different meanings for other language users. In some users, the use of taboo words may be seen as a form of impoliteness, whereas in others, the use of taboo words may be considered a marker of polite solidarity, group membership, and even a source of humor (Gil, 2024). This difference highlights the cultural relativity of pragmatic meaning, a perspective emphasized in recent cross-cultural linguistic research (Hoogervorst, 2024; Usmani & Almashham, 2024).

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A speech community accustomed to using swearing vocabulary is usually identified as a group unwilling to be bound by prevailing norms. They are also able to express their emotions very frankly within their own group environment. However, it is considered unusual if members of such a group apply their habits when interacting with other groups. They may even face difficulty being accepted if they are unwilling to adapt to the environment or the practices of other groups (Soriente, 2024). Such intergroup differences in communicative norms are often linked to cultural values and historical language contact (Nasution et al., 2022; Rodgers, 2021).

As a nation with linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity, each region in Indonesia has its own distinctive characteristics. One prominent form of regional distinctiveness is in the expression of emotions (Gil, 2024). There are ethnic groups that tend to express their emotions more subtly, and others that do the opposite.

Many studies have been conducted on the theme of swearing words in the field of pragmatics. A study conducted by Ekawati (2018) examined expressions of anger found in the comment section of *The Washington Post* regarding news about the Rohingya. This study employed the anger maxim to classify expressions of anger. The results showed that there were eight purposes for using expressions of anger; the most frequent purpose was blaming, and two forms of implicature emerged in the expressions of anger. Another study was conducted by Wahyuni and Tri (2021), which explored the use of swearing in Javanese and Lampung languages using cross-cultural pragmatics theory. This study attempted to describe the types of swearing in Javanese and Lampung in non-formal situations and revealed the implicatures contained in swearing sentences in both regional languages. The findings indicated that Javanese has a greater variety of swearing types compared to Lampung. The implicatures in swearing sentences in both languages expressed annoyance, anger, and disappointment.

Similarly, Dawan (2019) compared taboo vocabulary in English and Buru, one of the regional languages in Maluku Province. The study revealed that English and Buru have different types of swearing sentences. There are words in English that are not considered taboo, but in Buru, these words are considered taboo. For example, the words *kamu* (you) and *hamil* (pregnant). In Buru, the word *kamu* cannot be addressed to an elder because it is considered disrespectful, whereas *hamil* is considered taboo if used for a woman who is pregnant but does not have a husband. Likewise, Hakim (2021) investigated the references of curse words in the Sasak language, E-E dialect. The results revealed that curse word references in Sasak refer to religion, supernatural beings, traits or conditions, body parts, animals, activities, low-status professions, remote areas, and diseases. Yelnim (2019) also analyzed swearing words (*bahaso jaek*) in the Siluak language in Kerinci and found three main functions: representative, directive, and expressive. The expressive function appeared most frequently, showing that swearing serves to help speakers convey deep emotions.

These previous studies reveal that swearing has varied pragmatic and cultural meanings across Indonesian languages. However, few have compared swearing across distinct ethnic groups such as the Batak and Ambonese, which have unique linguistic and emotional expressions.

The Batak and Ambonese ethnic groups are considered as ethnicities that commonly express their emotions in an overflowing manner. This sometimes causes these two ethnic groups to be feared by other ethnicities. Research conducted by Simbolon (2012) revealed that the reason the Batak experience difficulties communicating with other communities (particularly in Semarang) is the presence of ethnocentrism reflected in daily life. Therefore, mutual respect and understanding are required during the communication process (Tanduk, 2023; Usmani & Almashham, 2024).

As ethnic groups known for their strong character, the researcher considers it interesting to study and analyze the forms of swearing used by the Ambonese and Batak using cross-cultural pragmatics theory (Mukhtorova, 2024). Through this research, similarities and differences in the forms of swearing originating from these two ethnic groups can be identified (Hoogervorst, 2024; Soriente, 2024).

Based on the background above, the issues to be discussed in this study are how the use and types of swearing words are realized in Batak (Toba dialect) and Ambonese Malay in non-formal, family contexts, and what implicatures exist in swearing speech acts in both regional languages (Usmani & Almashham, 2024; Nasution et al., 2022).

Methods

This study is a qualitative study, employing a qualitative descriptive research design. The data used in this study consisted of swearing utterances used within the family domain and in non-formal situations. These data were obtained through direct interviews and the Discourse Completion Task (DCT) method. The number of interviewees consisted of two speakers of Batak (Toba) and two speakers of Ambonese Malay. The interviews were conducted to obtain the realization of the use of swearing words and to clarify the implicatures behind the use of these swearing words. Several criteria were applied in selecting respondents, namely: the speakers are of productive age, have fully functional speech organs, possess moderate competence, and do not have high mobility.

In addition to conducting direct interviews, the researcher also used the DCT (Discourse Completion Task) method as proposed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and Rintell and Mitchell (1989), to obtain data on utterances and types of swearing words. The data obtained through the DCT were distributed online using Google Forms to speakers of Batak (Toba) and Ambonese Malay. The form of DCT used by the researcher was very simple, consisting of short dialogues and brief descriptions of specific situations related to forms of swearing in Batak (Toba) and Ambonese Malay.

The swearing data from Batak (Toba dialect) and Ambonese Malay obtained through interviews and DCT were collected and categorized based on their forms and functions. Subsequently, the data were examined using pragmatic theory in order to identify the implicatures contained within. The presentation of the analysis results will be displayed using tables, accompanied by comprehensive explanations of the findings.

The questions presented in the DCT were as follows:

1. While walking on the sidewalk, suddenly a motorcycle speeds through a puddle of water. The water from the puddle splashes onto your clothes. What swearing sentence would you utter?
2. During Eid/Natal, your family gathers with the extended family. At that moment, they ask when you will get married, even though you do not yet have a partner/fiancée. What swearing sentence would you utter?
3. Your friend visits your house. They smell an unpleasant odor and accuse you of not having taken a bath. What swearing sentence would you direct at your friend?
4. While arguing with your enemy, your enemy provokes you by bringing up matters within your family. What swearing sentence would you utter?
5. While sweeping leaves scattered along the street, suddenly your friend rides past on a high-speed motorcycle, causing the leaves to fly. What swearing sentence would you utter?
6. You read an article reporting a corruption case committed by a regional head. What swearing sentence would you utter upon reading news about corruption?
7. You just finished tidying your room. Afterward, you take a shower. When you return, you find the room messy again due to the actions of your younger sibling. What swearing sentence would you utter?
8. While dining in a restaurant, you see a cockroach in your food. What swearing sentence would you utter?
9. While eating meatball soup (bakso), the soup accidentally spills onto your pants/skirt. What swearing sentence would you utter?

In addition to the above questions, the researcher also asked questions aimed at classifying the forms of swearing based on references.

Result

Based on the data collected through both interviews and DCT, the researcher will classify the forms of swearing in Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba into the swearing references categories arranged by Wijana (Wijana, 2006, p. 119). The forms of swearing are classified into animals, objects, body parts, kinship, supernatural beings, activities, professions, states, and exclamations. The following sections present examples of swearing utterances obtained. The utterances selected are those most frequently expressed by the informants.

a. Animal Names

Animal names are the most frequently found type of swearing in Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba. This can be seen in the example sentence containing swearing as follows: *While walking on the sidewalk, suddenly a motorcycle speeds through a puddle of water. The water splashes onto your clothes. What swearing sentence would you utter?*

Ambonese Malay speakers responded: *Anjing e, se seng lihat beta ini kah?* ('Damn dog, didn't you see me?').

The response given by the Ambonese Malay speaker is an expression of annoyance using the word *anjing* (dog) directed at the person riding the motorcycle. The word *anjing* carries a harsh meaning when addressed to someone. Other animal-based swearing words used by Ambonese Malay speakers include *babi*, *kusu potar* ('insolent dog'), *tusa piatu* ('orphan cat'), *kakarlak* ('cockroach'), *codot* ('goat'), *niri babi* ('large bee'), *karbou* ('buffalo'), *marsegu* ('bat'), *kes* ('monkey'), *yakis* ('monkey'), *binatang* ('animal'), *anjing cukar* ('scratching dog'), and *kambing moa* ('goat from Moa region').

The researcher also asked the same question to Batak Toba speakers. The response obtained was: *Ehhh si bodaton* ('Ehhh, you monkey').

Based on observation of the collected data, the word *monyet* (monkey) is the most frequently used word for swearing. The use of *bodaton* indicates annoyance. Other animal names frequently used by Batak Toba speakers include *babi*, *biang* ('dog'), *asu* ('dog'), *horbo* ('buffalo'), *huting* ('cat'), *manuk* ('chicken'), *pinahan* ('pig'), and *here* ('monkey').

b. Objects

The next category of swearing words asked to respondents refers to objects. The researcher asked questions that could indicate the use of swearing referring to objects.

During Eid/Natal, your family gathers with the extended family. They ask when you will get married, even though you do not yet have a partner/fiancée. What swearing sentence would you utter?

The response given by Ambonese Malay speakers was: *Tuang ngala, stop batanya do* ('Oh Lord, don't ask that yet').

The word *tuang ngala* is a noun referring to a form of address to God. Based on the context of the question, *tuang ngala* is considered a form of swearing that is still acceptable to say to older people.

Other object-based swearing words in Ambonese Malay include *batu sau* ('whetstone'), *pot bunga* ('flower vase'), *ember* ('bucket'), *panta tacu* ('bottom of a pan'), *tai tikus* ('rat feces'), *tai kucing* ('cat feces'), *lappet* ('rice cake wrapped in banana leaves'), *dalam muka kayak tembok* ('face like a wall'), *kapala batu* ('stubborn head'), *tai* ('feces'), *tai babi* ('pig feces'), *munta anjing* ('dog vomit'), and *hangsang* ('fish gill').

The researcher also asked the same questions to Batak Toba speakers. The most frequent response was: *Tai ni huting, na dipikir hamu do kawin i hera balap karung* ('Cat feces, do you think marriage is like a sack race?').

The swearing phrase *tai ni huting* ('cat feces') is considered acceptable in a family gathering context. Other swearing words considered harsher are not appropriate in family gatherings.

Other object-based swearing words in Batak Toba include *allangima gadong i* ('eat that tuber'), *te ni huting* ('cat feces'), *hurungmi* ('your cheek'), *tapo-taponi babi* ('pig fat'), *tena* ('feces'), *begu* ('ghost'), *lanteung* ('thorny plant'), *tai ni biang* ('dog feces'), *te ma ho* ('damn you'), and *hera bagudung na busuk bau ni patmu* ('like a rotten rat smell of your foot'), *ee tni biang* ('dog feces').

c. Body Parts

The next category of swearing words refers to body parts. Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba have similar body-part swearing lexicons. The researcher asked questions whose answers referred to swearing words based on body parts. The question was:

Your friend visits your house. They smell an unpleasant odor and accuse you of not having taken a bath. What swearing sentence would you utter toward your friend?

The response given by an Ambonese Malay speaker was: *Se pung idong tu yang bobo* ('your nose smells').

The body part used in this response is the nose. Other body-part swearing words include *puki* ('vagina'), *kalot* ('penis'), *panta lubang* ('anus'), *pukar* ('vagina'), *butu* ('penis'), *testa panoso* ('short forehead'), *testa tembok* ('prominent forehead'), *gigi tarasi* ('rotten teeth'), *biji butu* ('testicles'), *popo* ('outer vagina'), *idong panoso* ('flat nose'), *kuli karepu* ('wrinkled skin'), *tai gigi* ('tooth feces'), *muka rata* ('shameless'), *pukar* ('female genitalia'), *meme pung hangsang* ('vagina'), *otak bodo* ('stupid'), *otak mengong* ('crazy'), *tempang* ('cannot walk'), *buta* ('blind'), *bulu panta* ('buttocks hair'), *kapala ayam* ('chicken head').

The response given by a Batak Toba speaker was: *Usa jo ngingimi, hosam do ra na bau!* ('Brush your teeth first, I think your breath smells!').

The swearing word used in this response is *gigimu* ('your teeth'). Other taboo words in Batak Toba include *babami ma* ('your mouth'), *popo e* ('female genitalia'), *bulu panta* ('buttocks hair'), *kapala ayam* ('chicken head'), *matam* ('your eyes'), *ulum* ('your head'), *ngingimi* ('your teeth'), *babam* ('your mouth'), *heang* ('female genitalia'), *pukimak* ('elderly woman's vagina'), *ihur* ('buttocks'), *ulumi* ('your head'), *pat* ('leg'), *butuha* ('stomach'), *pinggol* ('ear'), *abujang inam* ('your mother's vagina'), *pepek* ('vagina'), *puki* ('vagina').

d. Kinship (Family Members)

The next category of swearing involves kinship relations. To understand the use of swearing referring to kinship, respondents answered the following question:

When you are arguing with your enemy, and they provoke you by bringing up issues in your family, what swearing sentence would you utter?

The response in Ambonese Malay was: *nene moyang e, se tutup se pung dalam prop sudah* ('By the ancestors, you shut up').

The word *nene moyang* means 'by the ancestors'. It is usually uttered to express annoyance and is considered very harsh. Other kinship-based swearing words in Ambonese Malay include *meme-meme* ('mothers'), *mai* ('mother'), *se pu mai* ('your mother'), *tete moyang* ('paternal ancestors'), *se pung bapa* ('your father'), *bodo sang bapa* ('stupid like your father').

The response in Batak Toba was: *Lae unang macam-macam ho da, Jolma na so hasea do ho, angka na jolo mdiingotingot ho!* ('Brother, don't mess around. You are a bad person, remembering past issues!').

Other kinship-based swearing words in Batak Toba include *oppungmu* ('your grandmother'), *omakmu* ('your mother'), *eh mamakmulah!* ('tell your mother'), *amangmu* ('your father'), *inangmu* ('your mother'), *inam* ('your

mother'), *natuatuam* ('parents'), *nasompu* ('same lineage'), *ibotom* ('younger/older brother'), *ompungmu so maradat* ('your ancestors were not proper').

e. Supernatural Beings

Another form of swearing frequently found in Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba refers to supernatural beings. The question posed to the respondents was:

While sweeping scattered leaves on the roadside, suddenly your friend passes by on a high-speed motorcycle, causing the leaves to scatter. What swearing sentence would you utter?

Most Ambonese Malay respondents answered: *Aow setang* ('Damn devil').

The word *setang* is an expression of annoyance using the name of a supernatural being. Other swearing vocabulary using supernatural beings in Ambonese Malay includes *setang* ('devil'), *nene moyang* ('devil'), *tete momo* ('male devil'), *nene jaganti* ('mythical being'), *botol manci* ('tuyul in a bottle'), *ana setang* ('child of the devil'), *setan alas* ('forest devil'), *suanggi* ('kuyang'), *iblis* ('devil'), *iblis tadampar* ('stranded devil'), and *anak iblis* ('child of the devil').

The response given by Batak Toba speakers was: *Begu ganjang, tudia di baen ho matam?* ('Tall ghost, where did you put your eyes?').

The word *begu ganjang* is a type of swearing using the name of a demon. Other swearing words referring to supernatural beings in Batak Toba include *begu ganjang* ('ghost'), *tuyul* ('tuyul'), *begunurnur*, *begugatjang* ('tall ghost'), *si bolis* ('devil'), *menggut* ('ghost'), and *ehe..botol lah kau begu lattuk* ('ehe, you really are a ghost').

f. Activities

Swearing in Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba using activity-based expressions can be seen in the following example:

You are reading an article reporting a corruption case committed by a regional head. What swearing sentence would you utter when reading about the corruption?

The response in Ambonese Malay was: *Tar tau diri, cake la mati lebe bai* ('You have no self-awareness, eating then dying is better').

The activity-based swearing in this sentence is *cake la mati* ('eat then die'). This expression conveys annoyance and is very harsh. Other activity-based swearing words in Ambonese Malay include *loco* ('masturbate'), *cuki* ('have sexual intercourse'), *anjing cuki* ('have sexual intercourse with a dog'), *cuki mai* ('have sexual intercourse with mother'), *baku nai* ('have sexual intercourse'), *balonte* ('selling oneself').

The response in Batak Toba was: *Angka siallang indahan sian toru ni rere* ('A person eating rice from under the mat, seeking profit by taking another's portion').

The activity-based swearing in this sentence is *siallang indahan sian toru ni rere* ('person eating rice under the mat'). This sentence is an expression of annoyance using a proverb, but carries a negative meaning. Other activity-based swearing words in Batak Toba include *martole* ('sexual intercourse'), *marsiummaan* ('kissing'), *ditopari* ('slapped'), *hu uttuti* ('I farted'), *marhallet* ('dating'), and *marollok* ('sexual intercourse').

g. Profession (Low-Status Professions)

Swearing in Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba also employs professional terms. This can be seen in the following example:

You have just finished tidying up your room. After that, you go to take a shower. Upon returning, you find your freshly cleaned room messy again due to your younger sibling's actions. What swearing sentence would you utter?

The response in Ambonese Malay was: *Woe parampuang kapista!, capat manyimpang ulang* ('Hey, coquettish girl, hurry and clean it again').

The swearing expression in this sentence, *Woe parampuang kapista* ('hey, coquettish girl'), conveys annoyance. Nevertheless, this word can still be directed at one's younger sibling. Although it is harsh in meaning, compared to other expressions, this sentence maintains a relatively good level of politeness. Other profession-based swearing terms in Ambonese Malay include *pancuri* ('thief'), *komburu* ('ship laborer'), *suanggi* ('shaman'), *pencuri* ('pickpocket'), *sundal* ('prostitute'), and *lonte* ('prostitute').

The Batak Toba response was: *Sirabun memang ho* ('You are such a dirty person').

The swearing term *Sirabun* ('dirty person') still maintains a sense of politeness, making it acceptable to use toward a younger sibling. Other profession-based swearing terms in Batak Toba include *lonte* ('prostitute'), *panakko* ('thief'), *pande bagas tenggen* ('drunkard'), *logo* ('dancing prostitute'), *panakko* ('thief'), *bokul* ('prostitute'), *jalang* ('prostitute'), *jamila* ('prostitute'), *pangintip* ('peeper'), and *jabir* ('bigmouth').

h. State/Condition

Swearing in Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba also utilizes terms describing states or conditions. An example question eliciting this type of swearing is:

You are in a restaurant when you notice a cockroach in your food. What swearing sentence would you utter?

The Ambonese Malay response was: *Rumah makang ini paleng badaki* ('This restaurant is very dirty').

This response indicates that the restaurant is dirty. The swearing word in this sentence is *badaki* ('very dirty'). Other state-based swearing words in Ambonese Malay include *mongo-mongo* ('stupid'), *mengong* ('dumb'), *nau-nau* ('stupid'), *nenu* ('stupid'), *pambodo* ('stupid'), *kambelu* ('stupid'), *lepu-lepu* ('weak'), *pisang rubuh-rubuh* ('inept'), *kerko* ('inept'), *mampos* ('dead'), *kalabor* ('careless'), *badaki* ('dirty'), *lepô* ('weak'), *kampret* ('criminal'), *tolol* ('stupid'), *mengong* ('crazy'), and *butahurup* ('stupid, illiterate').

The Batak Toba response was: *Bursik ma bah, dorum ma restoran on* ('Spit on it because the restaurant is dirty').

The swearing word in this sentence is *dorum* ('dirty'), directed at the restaurant. Other state-based swearing words in Batak Toba include *eh roa balang!* ('you are so ugly'), *babani amam* ('scoundrel'), *hurang ajar* ('immoral'), *haru mate maho* ('may you die'), *oto* ('stupid'), *jugul* ('naughty'), *parhuta-huta* ('rustic'), *hurang aja* ('immoral'), *oto oto* ('stupid'), *na rintik* ('crazy person'), and *sibolison* ('possessed').

i. Interjections (Swearing Without Reference)

Swearing in Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba also employs interjections. This can be seen in the following example:

You are eating meatball soup when, accidentally, the soup spills onto your pants/skirt. What swearing sentence would you utter?

The Ambonese Malay response was: *Pukar e! Calana baru lai baru* ('Damn it, these are new pants again').

This response indicates annoyance and an attempt to shift the focus of conversation. Other interjection-based swearing terms in Ambonese Malay include *frek*, *parek*, *epen*, *pukar*, *losnot*, *lastok*, *woi* ('hey'), *adoo* ('ouch'), and *wangala/wangana*.

The Batak Toba response was: *Agah nga motor be* ('Oh, dirty!').

This sentence demonstrates an expression of irritation. Although it lacks a specific referent, the speaker still attempts to convey their frustration. Other interjection-based swearing terms in Batak Toba include *Abago!* ('oh my!'), *jugul* ('naughty'), *loak* ('stupid'), *ago yamang* ('oh my goodness!'), *bursikk ma ho* ('spit in front of someone'), *mangan hatop* ('eat quickly'), *maup* ('uncultured'), and *buriapus* ('reckless').

The nine categories of swearing in Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba reflect the cognitive influence permeating the lives of Ambonese and Batak communities. The categorized swearing forms are presented in the following table.

Table 1. Comparison of the Number of Swearing Terms in Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba

No	Swearing Category	Ambonese Malay	Batak Toba
1	Animal Names	15	9
2	Objects	14	12
3	Body Parts	23	21
4	Kinship Terms	7	10
5	Supernatural Beings	11	7
6	Activities	7	7
7	Professions	7	11
8	States/Conditions	19	11
9	Interjections	9	9
Total		112	97

Based on the data collection, the researcher has documented the forms of swearing in Ambonese Malay (MA) and Batak Toba (BT). The results of this classification are presented in Table 1 above. The table shows that Ambonese Malay exhibits a more diverse range of swearing terms (112 words) compared to Batak Toba (97 words). This indicates that the expressive capacity of swearing in Ambonese Malay is greater than that in Batak Toba.

The swearing categories with the most notable differences in quantity are animal names and states/conditions. There are fifteen swearing terms based on animal names in Ambonese Malay, whereas Batak Toba contains nine terms in this category. The fifteen animal-based swearing terms in Ambonese Malay are *babi*, *kusu potar* ('rude dog'), *tusa piatu* ('orphaned cat'), *kakarlak* ('cockroach'), *codot* ('goat'), *niri babi* ('large bee'), *karbou* ('buffalo'), *marsegu* ('bat'), *kes* ('monkey'), *yakis* ('monkey'), *binatang* ('animal'), *anjing cukar* ('scratching dog'), *kambing moa* ('goat from Moa region'), *Anjing e*. The nine animal-based swearing terms in Batak Toba are *bodaton*, *babi*, *biang* ('dog'), *asu* ('dog'), *horbo* ('buffalo'), *huting* ('cat'), *manuk* ('chicken'), *pinahan* ('pig'), *here* ('monkey').

Another swearing category showing a prominent difference in quantity is states/conditions. In Ambonese Malay, there are nineteen swearing terms in this category, whereas Batak Toba has eleven. The state-based swearing terms in Ambonese Malay are *mongo-mongo* ('stupid'), *mengong* ('idiot'), *nau-nau* ('stupid'), *nenu* ('stupid'), *pambodo* ('stupid'), *kambelu* ('stupid'), *lepu-lepu* ('weak'), *pisang rubuh-rubuh* ('inept'), *kerko* ('inept'), *mampos* ('dead'), *kalabor* ('careless'), *badaki* ('dirty'), *mampos* ('dead'), *lepo* ('weak'), *kampret* ('villain'), *tolol* ('stupid'), *mengong* ('crazy'), *butahurup* ('stupid, illiterate'), *badaki* ('very dirty'). The state-based swearing terms in Batak Toba are *eh roa balang!* ('oh, you ugly!'), *babani amam* ('scoundrel'), *hurang ajar* ('ill-mannered'), *haru mate maho* ('may you die'), *oto* ('stupid'), *jugul* ('naughty'), *parhuta-huta* ('unsophisticated'), *hurang aja* ('ill-mannered'), *oto oto* ('stupid'), *na rintik* ('mad person'), *sibolison* ('possessed'), *dorum*.

Based on Table 1 above, it can be observed that Batak Toba has a greater number of swearing forms related to kinship and profession compared to Ambonese Malay. In the kinship category, Batak Toba has ten swearing forms, namely *oppungmu* ('your grandmother'), *omakmu* ('your mother'), *eh mamakmulah!* ('tell your mother'), *amangmu* ('your father'), *inangmu* ('your mother'), *inam* ('your mother'), *natuatuam* ('parents/elders'), *nasompu* ('one lineage'), *ibotom* ('younger/older brother'), *ompungmu so maradat* ('your ancestors did not follow customary law'), and *abang* ('older brother'). In contrast, Ambonese Malay has seven swearing forms, namely *nene moyang*, *meme-meme* ('mothers'), *mai* ('mother'), *se pu mai* ('your mother'), *tete moyang* ('paternal ancestor'), *se pung bapa* ('your father'), and *bodo sang bapa* ('as foolish as your father').

In the category of profession-based swearing, Batak Toba exhibits eleven variations, whereas Ambonese Malay shows seven variations. The profession-related swearing terms in Batak Toba are *lonte* ('prostitute'), *panakko* ('thief'), *pande bagas tenggen* ('drunkard'), *logo* ('prostitute dancer'), *panakko* ('thief'), *bokul* ('prostitute'), *jalang* ('prostitute'), *jamila* ('prostitute'), *pangintip* ('voyeur'), *jabir* ('big mouth'), and *Sirabun* ('filthy person'). The profession-related swearing terms in Ambonese Malay are *pancuri* ('thief'), *komburu* ('ship laborer'), *suanggi* ('shaman'), *pencuri* ('pickpocket'), *sundal* ('prostitute'), *lonte* ('prostitute'), and *Woe parampuang kapista* ('hey, flirtatious girl').

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the data, it can be concluded that Ambonese Malay and Batak Toba possess swearing vocabulary classified into the categories of animal names, objects, body parts, kinship, supernatural beings, activities, professions, states, and exclamations. Nevertheless, Ambonese Malay has a larger number of swearing words compared to Batak Toba.

The implicatures found across all forms of swearing in both languages express annoyance, anger, and disappointment. In the case of swearing without a specific referent, the implicature functions as a conversational diversion as well as an expression of displeasure.

Cross-cultural pragmatic research utilizing data from Indonesian cultures remains highly open for exploration. Many forms of swearing from other regional languages have yet to be investigated. By leveraging the linguistic and cultural data available across Indonesia, new findings regarding the functions of swearing in different regions can be uncovered.

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