

# THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TABOO CONTEXT ON *SUROBOYOAN* LANGUAGE AS AN ETHNIC IDENTITY IN “GRAMMAR III VIDEO”

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**Abstrak:** Penelitian ini menekankan pada implementasi konteks tabu dalam bahasa Suroboyoan sebagai identitas etnik pada video *Grammar III*. Terkait dengan hal tersebut, penelitian ini memiliki fokus penelitian, yang mencakup (1) deskripsi pencerminan bahasa suroboyoan sebagai identitas etnik Surabaya di dalam video Grammar III, (2) interpretasi konteks tabu bahasa Suroboyoan yang mencerminkan karakter etnik Surabaya di dalam video *Grammar III*. Selain itu, metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini ialah pendekatan etnografi melalui pemotretan, transkripsi, pendeskripsian, dan penginterpretasian data utama berupa ujaran-ujaran yang terdapat dalam dialog video *Grammar III*. Pada akhirnya, diperoleh hasil penelitian sebagai berikut; (1) karakteristik bahasa *Suroboyoan* memiliki logat atau dialek Jawa ngoko yang tidak sehalus bahasa Jawa ngoko Jogjakarta atau Solo. Dalam hal ini, bahasa *Suroboyoan* cenderung lebih kasar. Penyampaian ucapan baik dialek maupun intonasi penutur Bahasa *Suroboyoan* biasanya cenderung lugas, langsung pada pokok persoalan dan terkesan kasar. Intonasi ucapan mereka memiliki nada-nada yang tinggi. (2) Bertolak dari logat *Suroboyoan* yang cenderung kasar dan memiliki nada tinggi dalam intonasinya, terdapat banyak kata-kata tabu yang terucap di dalamnya, mencakup kata-kata tabu yang mengarah pada alat kelamin, seks dan organ tubuh serta aktivitasnya yang menjijikan, misalnya kata “Jancuk” atau “Cuk”, kata “Pek”, kata “Silit”, kata “Nelek” dan kata “Entut”; kata-kata tabu yang berdasarkan kata-kata umum (common word), misalnya kata “Rai-mu” dan “Guaplek” atau “Guapleki”; dan kata tabu yang bertentangan dengan agama, misalnya kata “Asu”. Kata-kata tabu yang terucap disertai dengan logat *Suroboyoan* yang kasar dan memiliki nada tinggi dalam intonasinya menunjukkan penggambaran dari kelas sosial rendah.

**Keywords:** Taboo Context, *Suroboyoan Language*, and Ethnic Identity

## BACKGROUND

Language is an arbitrary symbol of sound used by a group of community members to interact and identify them. As a tool of verbal communication, language has an important role in the formation of the characteristics of an area. In line with this thinking,

De Saussure (1916) mentions that language is one of the social institutions, similar to other social institutions, such as marriage, the inheritance of heritage has signaled the importance of attention to the social dimension of language.

However, awareness of the close relationship between language and society only emerged in the middle of this century (Hudson 1996: 2). Linguists begin to realize that the study of language without linking it with society will set aside some important and interesting aspects, perhaps even narrowing the view of the language discipline itself. This argument has been developed by Labov (1972) and Halliday (1973). Hence, speech has a social function, both as a communication tool and as a way of identifying social groups. If studying the language without referring to a society that uses it the same as removing the possibility of finding social explanation for the structure used. One aspect that is realized is the nature of language usage as a constantly changing phenomenon. A language usage is not a way of speaking used by all people, for all situations in the same form, otherwise the use of language varies depending on various factors, both social, cultural, and others. Referring to it, the usage of language in a region or region is always different from each other. The language used in a particular society usually reflects the identity or character of the area itself. It becomes the characteristic of ethnicity between certain areas with other areas or most people termed the term *oak dial*, for example the language *Suroboyoan*. *Suroboyoan* language has its own characteristics and characteristics that are different from other regional languages. Language *Suroboyoan* commonly used in daily conversations among fellow people of Surabaya. The language serves as a communication tool and adhesive togetherness among fellow ethnic or regional origin of the same.

Actually, the basic concept of taboo is "prohibition" remained unchanged. However, the elaboration on the taboo is the substance, source, and type of sanctions. The taboo concept on Polynesians contains the following elements: a prohibition which in turn imposes "automatic" sanctions without outside mediation because of influence it has, for instance; by a leader or pastor; and disobeying restrictions will not bring judgment that exceeds the continuous anxiety (*anxiety*) and shame.

Thus, the types of prohibitions distinguished by linguistic linguistics are not known before the taboo tab is used in different meanings. After the word taboos spread outside his homeland, Polynesia, people then linked sanctions / penalties for taboo offenses with supernatural powers. Robertson Smith is the first scholar to state such a thing, as Frazer

cites in his work *The Golden Bough* (1955), which was later alluded to by Douglas (1966/1992), as follows.

' Over twenty years earlier Robertson Smith had used the word taboo for restriction on' man 's arbitrary use of natural things, enforced by dread of supernatural penalties .

In addition, according to Ronald, taboo is a prohibition that develops in a particular society and is considered as something shameful and dangerous that is believed to cause sin. With the development of the study of religion, man began to believe in the power of the gods and demons (sorcery) that the punishment for taboo offenses is expected to come from the power of the gods and demons. The study was presented by Frazer in his monumental work, *The Golden Bough* (1911/1955). In the volume of "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul", Frazer composed a taboo concept based on the view of society he calls "primitive", which generally includes the Austronesian language family. According to Frazer, primitive people still confuse the real thing considered "holy" (*holy*) with the "dirty" (*unclean*). Thus, in primitive societies the rules of holiness are determined by kings, chieftains, religious leaders, wholly in the event of death, mourning, women in labor, menstruation, hunters and anglers, and on other matters.

Commonly, the concept of taboo can be divided into two kinds of tendencies, as follows:

1. Taboo assessment of the corner "belief system" (*belief-systems*)
2. A taboo study from the "language behavior" angle (*linguistic behavior*).

The application of the above two trends in the field of anthropological linguistics studies, as conducted in this study, makes the research more complete. Therefore, this study does not weigh into one of those trends. Both tendencies represent the language taboos of the beliefs: magic and religion (religion) which violates its prohibitions can cause danger (sin), and the taboo of language from the point of abstinence (language) that the offense against the prohibition does not cause sin , but in the form of sanctions social (only cause contamination).

According to Frazer, gave birth to the so-called "taboo ambivalence". Hence, taboo is understood as something to be feared, it contains supernatural powers, and therefore avoided contact with it, or so as not to be tainted by human touch so that its essence of holiness is influenced; and on the other hand, the taboo is understood as something dirty, and therefore it is forbidden to be touched so as not to infect humans with their own evil

nature. Thus, from a single root (taboo) is sourced not only impurities (*uncleanness*), but also *holiness*.

Characteristics of taboos according to the primitive tribe's view, certainly difficult to analyze how the process of taboo, because it is static, like a circle, there united dirty and holy things. However, regarding sanctions / penalties for taboo offenses, what Frazer proposes, coming from the power of the gods and the influence of witchcraft or demonic, is widespread not only in Austronesian culture, but also in the culture of ethnic groups in America, Europe , Africa, and Australia.

The Frazer's taboo language study demonstrates the internal validity, the taboo domain it expresses broadly and variably, and also contains external validity; its findings can be compressed into phenomena beyond its scope of research. Perhaps Frazer is the only researcher who systematically makes the classification of taboo words into several types:

1. Taboo for personal name
2. Taboo for people who have passed away
3. Taboo for the name of the king and the sacred person
4. Taboo for the name of God
5. Taboo for *common words*

Otherwise, the use of language *Suroboyoan* could cause a variety of meanings when viewed from the eyes of native speakers. A concrete example is the use of the word "koen" and "rai" in the language of Suroboyoan. Both words when used in a conversation between people of the same age or younger are reasonable and do not seem rude, but, when used in conversation with an older person, it will seem rude and disrespectful. Based on the above phenomenon, the researcher has an interest to analyze and interpret the usage of Suroboyoan language depicted in Grammar III video, viewed from language as ethnic identity and the context of certain syllabic words in the language of Suroboyoan itself. In this case, there are two main problems, as follows: (1) How is the reflection of Suroboyoan language as the ethnic identity of Surabaya in Grammar III video? (2) How is the taboo context of the Suroboyoan language reflecting the ethnic character of Surabaya in Grammar III video?

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This study uses ethnography approach in focusing many utterances of Suroboyoan language in Grammar III video as the main data. Basically, definitions of ethnography and participant observation are very difficult to distinguish. Both deal with the participant observer or ethnographer immersing him or herself in the culture of a group for an extended period of time, observing the behavior of that group, listening to what is said within the group and asking questions. Ethnography seeks to answer key anthropological questions concerning the ways of life of human beings. Ethnographic questions generally concern the link between culture and behavior and/or how cultural processes develop over time. Ethnography will be taken to mean a research methodology where the researcher: (1) Is immersed in a social setting for an extended period of time, (2) Makes regular observations of the behavior of members of that group, (3) Listens to and engages in conversations with group members, (4) Interviews group members on issues that are not directly observable, (5) Collects documents about the group, (6) Develops an understanding of the culture of the group and their behavior, (7) Writes up a detailed account of the group and its culture.

Through observing, listening, conversing and engaging with groups of people ethnographers seek to gain what is called an "emic" perspective, or the "native's point(s) of view" without imposing their own conceptual frameworks. The emic world view, which may be quite different from the "etic", or outsider's perspective on local life, is a unique and critical part of ethnography. Through observing and listening, ethnographers record detailed field-notes, conduct interviews based on open-ended questions, and gather whatever site documents might be available in the culture as data.

## **RESEARCH FINDING AND DISCUSSION**

### **The Description of the Suroboyoan Language as the Ethnic Identity of Surabaya in Grammar III Video**

Language is an important factor or even an essential feature of ethnic membership in the life of every human social interaction. Each person is created with its own unique and distinct language. Between people with each other have different languages in each region. Indeed, individual ethnic differences can be differentiated or recognizable by language. As well as people living and living in Surabaya, they automatically use the language of *Suroboyoan* as the language of everyday communication, as it is depicted in Grammar III video. Video Grammar III is an independent video created by a group of

creative young people who want to preserve their own local language of Suroboyoan. This video tells the story of two thick friends named Suro Sujane \* k and Boyo Digdoyo who were chatting at a "Cak Wawan" food stall. While waiting for their food order to come, they fill the leisure time with a friendly chat using the language *Suroboyoan*, because they both come from the same area, namely Surabaya. From here comes the various types of words that concern the language of *Suroboyoan* as seen in the following conversations:

*Suro lan Boyo lagi lungguh-lungguh nang warunge Cak Wawan.*

*Boyo* : "Warung nang kene panganane gak cuman gorengan karo mie instant tok, 'cuk'! Tapi panganan macem-macem khas suroboyo. "

*Onok cewek lewat nang ngarepe Suro lan Boyo.*

*Suro* : "Ceweke sing lewat yo ayu-ayu. "

*Boyo* : "Tapi kadang onok sing 'asu'!"

*Asu moro-moro teko (guk...uguk).*

*Asu* : "Opo rek, celuk-celuk jenengku".

*Pak Waw* : "Opo rek!"

### **Meaning:**

'Suro and Boyo are sitting around in Cak Wawan's shop

*Boyo* : Warung here the food is not just fried and instant noodles only, 'cuk'! but, various typical foods of Surabaya.

There's a girl passing in front of Suro and Boyo.

*Suro* : The girl who passes pretty-pretty huh?

*Boyo* : But sometimes there are 'dogs'!

Assa SuAsemabada suddenly arrives (uhugh ... woof)

*Asu* : Why are you calling my name?

Mr. Waw: What's rek?

Based on the above conversation, it appears that the language of *Suroboyoan* serves as the regional ethnic identity of Surabaya. Basically, a language is said to be the ethnic identity of an area, if the language has characteristics and characteristics that are different from other regional languages, and the language is always used in certain communities where people are from the same region. The characteristics and characteristics of the

*Suroboyo* language reflected in the Grammar III video can be seen from the tendency of more frequent use of vocabulary in speaker conversation with the opponent. This is reflected in the above conversation. It is seen that the speakers like Suro and Boyo who are gathered in Warung Pak Wawan, can speak freely and without burden by using the language *Suroboyoan* which is their daily language. Boyo can speak to Suro with delicious, free, loose freedom using dialect and *suroboyoan* pronunciation as their regional language. The vocabulary they use, as the word "Rek" suggests a familiarity among them as a fellow native of *Suroboyoan* and is the hallmark of the language of *Suroboyoan*. The word "Rek" comes from the word "arek" meaning *child*. The word "Rek" is a typical designation meaningful *Suroboyoan* same as the word "Cah" in the language of the people of Kediri, which is used to greet someone of both men and women of the same age. This shows that the language of *Suroboyoan* has its own identity characteristic with other regional languages either in terms of vocabulary, pronunciation, or dialect or dialect. The language of *Suroboyoan* has its own characteristic and distinct character and is not owned by other regions.

Instead of the word "Rek", there are also other typical words *Suroboyoan* appearing in the Grammar III video, the words are an important factor that characterizes the ethnic membership of *Wong Suroboyo*, as it has linguistic features that are the limiting criteria of *Wong Suroboyo's* ethnic membership. The word "Cak" uttered by Pak Waw's first and second grandsons in the Grammar III video is a typical word *Suroboyoan* has the same meaning as the word "mas" of the Javanese term or "bang" from the term Jakarta, usually used to honor those who age with older brother. In the language of *Suroboyoan*, the word "Cak" is used along with the name of the man of male gender, as spoken by the first and second Pak Waw's grandchild, "Cak Boyo" and "Cak Suro" in the phrase "Well, iki Lontong Balape Cak Boyo" and "Lah, sing iki Lontong Balape Cak Suro". Couples from the word "Cak" are "Ning" ("Cak and Ning") usually used to honor people who are equal to sister, have the same meaning as "mas and mbak" or "abang none".

The term "Boyo" in the Grammar III video is also a typical word *Suroboyoan*, which means crocodile. Crocodile is one of the icons of the city of Surabaya. For Surabaya nitizen, the word "Boyo" is taken together with the word "Suro" which means shark. "Suro" is also an icon of the city of Surabaya. "Suro" and "Boyo" were made into one "Suroboyo" which eventually became the name of this hero city of *Surabaya*. In addition

to the words "Cak", "Boyo" and "Suro", in the video Grammar III also put forward the term "Lontong Balap". "Lontong Balap" is a typical culinary *Suroboyoan*.

Most people who speak the language *Suroboyoan* always speak with a dialect or dialect rude Javanese, but not as smooth as rude Javanese Jogjakarta or Solo. The language of *Suroboyoan* tends to be more violent. The delivery of both dialect and intonation of the language speakers of *Suroboyoan* usually tend to be straightforward, directly on the subject matter, and impressed roughly. Native speakers of *Suroboyoan* always speak with their opponents, with high notes and quick pronunciation. Most native speakers of the language like *Suroboyoan* are proud if they can speak to fellow-speaking opponents using their own local language. Therefore, it can be said that the local language, especially the language of *Suroboyoan* can serve as the ethnic identity of Surabaya. *Suroboyoan* dialect has a high tone intonation while giving an emphasis on the word spoken to the spokesperson, is revealed in the video Grammar III, where the second grandson of Pak Waw gives emphasis the word "Matane" in the phrase "nang ngarep matane sampeyan iku opo cak!" he pointed k's an intent to Suro and Boyo to be aware that they are asking for drinks in front of their eyes. Intonation of the high notes in the *Suroboyoan* dialect is also contained in the word "Matek" spoken by Boyo in the phrase "Oh, I want to go to sample!" At that moment, Boyo wants to emphasize to Suro to be careful when driving the car, not too tight so as not an accident occurred. The emphasis of the word in a high note is also spoken by Boyo at the time Suro throws wind beside him, on the word "Buadek" in the phrase "Entutmu buadek not ilok". Emphasis is high-pitched and loud on the word "Matane", "Matek", and "Buadek" in Video Grammar III shows that bahasa *Suroboyoan* characterized or its own characteristics that is in terms of tone intonation high spoken by the grandchild of Pak waw ya ng both and Boyo who made a special characteristic of *Suroboyoan* language.

In addition, *Suroboyoan* language has many variations that show social class, for example; *Suroboyoan* language spoken by the Chinese people in Surabaya, it usually indicates a high social class. But the language used in *Suroboyoan* video Grammar III shows a low social class. As described in the previous example that niggers are more aware of the fact that they are niggers than have to care whether the language they use shows a low social class. Similarly, it is done by Boyo or other characters in the video Grammar III. Boyo often form the word "Cuk" as a prefix and suffix sentence that he said. The word "Cuk" is often spoken by the people of Surabaya from the lower classes, although



sometimes some people from the middle and upper classes say it when they are angry or disappointed. Similarly, the word "Pek" uttered by Suro in his sentence "Ealah, ngono ta, sek ero bag I pek!" Said "Pek", is synonymous with dialogue *Suroboyoan* people in rural Surabaya slum. Although the words "Cuk" and "Pek" indicate a low social class, but for the inland people of Surabaya, the words are the words commonly spoken by them when gathering while eating a drink, the words refer to the context of intimacy for their group.

According to the Grammar III video, the *Suroboyoan* language criteria that characterize its own identity from other ethnic groups are:

1. Often the letter "o" appears to replace the letter "a" in each of the spoken words, such as the word "Opo" derived from what word, "kiro-kiro" derived from the word "sopo" derived from who said, "koyok" derived from the word kayak, "percoyo" which comes from the word believe, "Suroboyo" which comes from the word Surabaya.
2. The emergence of the letter "e" as a word suffix replaces its suffix, for example the words "Lontong balape", "Es batune", "Rasane", "Biasane" and "Emange".
3. The appearance of the letter "k" in the final letter in a word is usually used as an emphasis, for example "Nelek", "Matek", "Buadek", and "Ojok".
4. The emergence of vowel pairs in words that have more or more context, such as "Ue" in the word "Uenak" which means very good, "Ue" in the word "Suegere" which means very fresh, "Buadek" which means smell once.
5. The number of words or phrases that are often included in a sentence:
  - a. The phrase "rek" in the phrase "Saaken rek, wong deso."
  - b. The phrase "wes" in the phrase "Yo..yo, percoyo wes." The phrase "wes" refers to the meaning *already* .
  - c. The phrase "Iki" in the phrase "Well, iki Lontong Balape Cak Boyo." The phrase "Iki" refers to *this* meaning .
  - d. The phrase "iku" in the phrase "Age biyen, lek adol lontong iku bears." The phrase "iku" refers to *that* meaning .
  - e. The phrase "lah" in the phrase "Lah, sing iki Lontong Balape Cak Suro."
  - f. The phrase "lek" in the sentence "Sing dodol lek mlaku rodo banter." The phrase "lek" refers to the meaning *that* .

- g. The phrase "Sek" in the phrase "Sek-sek, biasane pesen opo iki?" The phrase "Sek" refers to the word *briefly*.
  - h. The phrase "ta" in the phrase "sing dodolan lontong Valentino Rossi ta?"
  - i. The phrase "yo" in the phrase "Kiro-kiro petis iku ditemokno sopo yo?"
6. The existence of first, second or third successor words of Suroboyoan such as "rek", "sampeyan" and "Koen".

### **Description of the Tabu Context in Suroboyoan as the Ethnic Character perspective of Surabaya in Video Grammar III**

Selection or use of a particular vocabulary in the language is an important factor in a conversation or dialogue between the speaker and the speech partner. It is realized that there are certain words that should not be used, and there also could be used k speakers discuss a regional ethics talk with a partner he said. Certain words that should not be used in daily conversations or communications with others are commonly categorized into taboo. In general, each language has rules or agreements for certain words that are considered taboo or taboo. This is in line with Ronald Wardhaugh's concept of taboo in his book *An Introduction to sociolinguistics* (2006). Ronald states that taboo is a prohibition that develops in a particular society and is considered as a shameful and dangerous thing that is believed to cause sin. The concept of taboo also applies to all the developed regional languages in Indonesia. Each local language has certain words that are considered taboo and unfit to be spoken. Each taboo language developed in one area with another area is different, including those applicable in the language of *Suroboyoan*. In the language of *Suroboyoan* there are certain words that are tabled or considered forbidden to be spoken.

In general, the concept of taboo can be divided into two; the first is the study of taboos from the point of belief systems and the study of taboos from the angle of language behavior (linguistic behavior). The following are the taboo words contained in the Grammar III video, based on language behavior. The first is the word "Jancuk" or "Cuk". In Chapter II it has been explained that the word taboo is not only about the fear of the supernatural spirit as described by Robertson Smith or the purity of the gods (religion) as Frazer says, but also with respect to social manners and social intercourse. In Indonesia, words related to genitals or sexes are often considered taboo, as are the words "Jancuk" or "Cuk". The word is considered taboo because it has meaning and context that intersect with

genitals and sex. "Jancuk" is derived from the word "dancuk" and is a derivative of the word "crushed" and "punched" which means *making love*. Literally, *making love* refers to the acts of sexual relations conducted by couples who in the context of the word 'karma' that contains the meaning, not appropriate to be spoken in a straightforward manner in daily life. Therefore, when viewed from the language behavior, the word "Jancuk" or "Cuk" is considered taboo and inappropriate to say because it indicates to something that contains dirty or disgusted elements so that it is considered a crude language.

Besides "Jancuk" or "Cuk", there are other taboos related to the meaning of genitals and sex in the Grammar III video, the word "Pek" uttered by Suro in the phrase "Ealah, ngono ta, my ero bag pek. "As described in the previous example that a wife in the Zulu region of Africa should not mention words that contain sounds because of referring to the context of the genitals, for example in the word" amanzi "which means water, changed become amandabi. So also the word "Pek" spoken by Suro, has the same sound as a word that has the meaning of female genitals. Therefore, the word "Pek" is considered a taboo word.

The words "Nelek, Silit and Entut" are in the phrase "Koen iku lok, 'cuk!' urip kok mangan, nelel, gak mbois blas, 'cuk!' "And" Silitmu dua dak boros, 'cuk!' Entutmu buadek ilok" are also a taboo word contained in the video Grammar III. The word "Nelek" means a *bowel movement*, the word "Silit" has a *butt* meaning and the word "Entut" has the meaning of *waste of wind*. They are classified as taboo word, because they have the meaning of the body organ that is near the genitals and has a repugnant context that contrasts with the norms of modesty that exist in Indonesia.

Other language behaviors, which are considered taboo, such as sex context are the words "Rai-mu" and "gaplek'i" or "Guaplek". According to Frazer in his classification of taboos, the words "Rai-mu" and "gaplek'i" or "Guaplek" include the common word grain. Actually the word "Rai-mu" has a meaning that does not contain significant dirty words. The word "Rai-mu" if it means, has the meaning of *your face*. Similarly, the word "gaplek'i" or "Guaplek" actually has the origin of the word cassava, which means a typical Surabaya food derived from cassava is cut, and then dried. But the word "Rai-mu", "Gaplek'i" or "Guaplek" into words taboo because of a change in context, which had the word "Gaplek'i" or "Guaplek" has the meaning typical food into the meaning of a curse word. The word "Rai-mu" means *your face* becoming a disrespectful word to be said now.

After explaining taboo words based on the angle of language behavior (linguistic behavior), the following is a taboo word based on the belief-systems. The word "Asu" spoken by Boyo at the beginning and end of the video is a taboo word that is very contrary to the belief system and religion. If one speaker says word "Man" will lead to sin and the anger of the hearer. The word "Asu" means *dog*. This is related to certain religious teachings such as, Islam. D the religion of Islam which is the largest religion in Indonesia, the dog is an animal that can cause a large unclean and if exposed to dog saliva, it is required to wash the soil about seven times and perform ablution becoming clean and holy. Therefore, the word "Asu" is a taboo word that is very contrary to religion. Besides having unclean context, "Asu" also has a context as wild animals which disgusting and have lower castes, such as those expressed by Sindhunata in his poem entitled *The Curse of Asu* and Anwar in his poem entitled "Aku".

## CONCLUSION

The language of *Suroboyoan* has own characteristic and there is not in other languages. Most people who speak the language of *Suroboyoan* always speak with the accent or dialect rude Javanese that is not as smooth as rude Javanese of Jogjakarta or Solo. The language of *Suroboyoan* tends to be more violent. The delivery of speech either dialect or intonation of the language of *Suroboyoan* usually tend to be straightforward, directly on the subject matter and roughly impressed. The tone of their speech has high notes.

Starting from the *seemingly* rude and high-pitched *Suroboyoan* dialect of his intonation, there are many taboo words spoken in it, including taboo words that point to the genitals, sex and organs and disgusting activities, such as the word "Jancuk" or "Cuk", "Pek", "Silit", "Nelek" and "Entut"; taboo words based on common words, such as the words "Rai-mu" and "Guaplek" or "Guapleki"; and taboo words that are contrary to religion, such as the word "asu".

The spoken words of the taboo accompanied by a rough and high-pitched *Suroboyoan* dialect in its intonation show the depiction of a low social class. Even so, the people of Surabaya do not necessarily realize it, because according to them it is the usual things that become their daily habits and have a context of intimacy when done when gathered together. Speaking freely without having to pay attention to norms of decency and eliminating taboo words can reduce awkwardness in their social interactions.

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