



Faculty of Education, Language and Communication

**A Comparative Study on Knowledge of Euphemism Between Two
Generations of the Bidayuh Biatah of Sarawak**

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A Comparative Study on Knowledge of Euphemism Between Two Generations
of the Bidayuh Biatah of Sarawak

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of Universiti Malaysia Sarawak. Except where due acknowledgements have been made, the work is that of the author alone. The thesis has not been accepted for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature of any other degree.



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ABSTRACT

Euphemism is a linguistic phenomenon often intrinsically linked with culture, reflecting or mirroring the values and norms of a particular language speaker's community. This study addresses the insufficient research on euphemisms, particularly among the Bidayuh Biatah speakers. Additionally, there is a linguistic variation between the older and younger generations within the Bidayuh Biatah community, with older speakers often seen as preservers of their language, while the younger speakers are described as speakers of 'youth language'. This study aimed to analyse euphemisms and compare the Bidayuh Biatah euphemism phenomenon among younger and older generations, highlighting aspects, strategies, and functions as well as the speakers' understanding of the cultural influences on Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms to a certain extent. The research employed an ethnographic research design, comprising qualitative approach. The qualitative approach involved collecting data through open-ended, in-depth interviews with 16 informants from Kampung Quop: eight older and eight younger speakers, selected based on specific criteria. A word list based on Allan and Burridge (1991) was created as a guide to elicit euphemism in Bidayuh Biatah from the informants. The conceptual framework of this study includes the nine aspects of euphemism as per Allan and Burridge (1991), euphemism strategies in Warren's Model as suggested by Yetkiner (2006), and the functions of euphemisms outlined by Burridge (2012). The study found that the younger speakers use all nine aspects of euphemism, while the older speakers used eight, excluding referrals of gods. In terms of the strategies, the older generation employed strategies like phonemic replacement and vague reduplication, which were not used by the younger speakers. Conversely, younger speakers used strategies such as borrowing from Malay, which the older speakers did not use. Nevertheless, circumlocution is a common strategy and was often used by both generations. In terms of the euphemism functions based on Burridge (2012), this study revealed the

presence of protective, underhand, uplifting, cohesive, and ludic euphemisms, excluding provocative euphemism. These functions reflected the Bidayuh Biatah cultural beliefs and practices through the euphemisms and their functions. Each of the existing euphemism functions provides insight into the complex relationships between cultural influences and euphemistic language use in daily communication among the Bidayuh Biatah community.

Keywords: Euphemism, Bidayuh Biatah, Bidayuh culture, generational differences, ethnographic

Kajian Perbandingan Pengetahuan Eufemisme Antara Dua Generasi Bidayuh Biatah di Sarawak

ABSTRAK

Eufemisme merupakan fenomena linguistik yang sering kali berkait rapat dengan budaya mencerminkan nilai dan norma komuniti penutur Bahasa tertentu. Kajian ini mengenalpasti dan mengutarakan kekurangan kajian berkaitan eufemisme, terutamanya dalam kalangan penutur Bidayuh Biatah. Selain itu, terdapat variasi linguistik antara generasi tua dan muda dalam komuniti Bidayuh Biatah, iaitu penutur tua sering dilihat sebagai pemelihara bahasa mereka, manakala penutur muda digambarkan sebagai penutur 'bahasa belia'. Kajian ini bertujuan menganalisis eufemisme dan membandingkan fenomena eufemisme Bidayuh Biatah antara generasi muda dan tua, menyoroti aspek, strategi, dan fungsi serta pemahaman penutur tentang pengaruh budaya terhadap eufemisme Bidayuh Biatah. Kajian ini bersifat etnografi yang merangkumi pendekatan kualitatif. Pendekatan kualitatif melibatkan pengumpulan data melalui temu bual terbuka dan mendalam dengan 16 orang informan dari Kampung Quop: lapan penutur tua dan lapan penutur muda yang dipilih berdasarkan kriteria yang telah ditetapkan. Senarai perkataan berdasarkan Allan dan Burrridge (1991) telah diwujudkan sebagai panduan untuk mendapatkan eufemisme dalam Bidayuh Biatah daripada informan. Kerangka konseptual kajian ini merangkumi sembilan aspek euphemism menurut Allan dan Burrridge (1991), strategi eufemisme dalam Model Warren seperti disarankan oleh Yetkiner (2006), dan fungsi eufemisme yang digariskan oleh Burrridge (2012). Kajian ini mendapati bahawa penutur muda menggunakan kesemua sembilan aspek eufemisme, manakala penutur tua menggunakan lapan, kecuali rujukan kepada Tuhan. Dari segi strategi, generasi tua menggunakan strategi penggantian fonemik dan penggandaan samar, yang tidak digunakan oleh penutur muda. Sebaliknya, penutur muda menggunakan strategi seperti peminjaman dari bahasa Melayu, yang tidak digunakan oleh penutur tua.

Walaupun bagaimanapun, strategi pembelitan kata adalah strategi umum yang sering digunakan oleh kedua-dua generasi penutur Bidayuh Biatah. Dari segi fungsi eufemisme berdasarkan Burridge (2012), kajian ini mendedahkan kehadiran eufemisme perlindungan, terselindung, menggembirakan, kohesif, dan kelucuan, kecuali eufemisme provokatif. Fungsi-fungsi ini mencerminkan kepercayaan dan amalan budaya Bidayuh Biatah melalui eufemisme dan fungsinya. Setiap fungsi eufemisme yang wujud memberikan pandangan tentang hubungan kompleks antara pengaruh budaya dan penggunaan bahasa eufemisme dalam komunikasi harian dalam kalangan komuniti Bidayuh Biatah.

Kata kunci: *Eufemisme, Bidayuh Biatah, budaya Bidayuh, perbezaan antara generasi, etnografi*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

In languages, speakers are often aware that words cannot alter their sense or meaning on their own and that the speaker meticulously chooses the words, builds up sentences that result in meanings, arouses diverse emotions, and serve various purposes and contexts (Carroll, 1964). For instance, in mitigating linguistic taboos, speakers resort to euphemisms as a means to deliver what is intended without breaking the linguistic taboo.

The origin of the English term ‘taboo’ can be traced back to the Tongan word *tabu*, which encompasses forbidden behaviours, including restrictions on naming dangerous animals, limitations on certain foods, prohibitions against touching or communicating with individuals of high social status, and regulations related to aspects of birth, death, and bodily function (Burridge, 2010). Due to the perception of taboo that is deemed menacing or evil and offensive to supernatural powers, Burridge (2010) described that violating taboos could impose harm on the perpetrators, as per Allan (2019), “the degree of harm can fall anywhere on a scale from a breach of etiquette to real fatality” (p. 1). Another branch of taboo is linguistic taboo; while taboo encompasses broader societal norms and behaviours considered unacceptable, linguistic taboo, on the other hand, precisely addresses restrictions on language use within cultural contexts.

Linguistic taboos refer to prohibited or discouraged words and meanings associated with sensitive aspects of reality. These taboos involve topics of sexuality, ethnicity, religion, economic status, aging, death, illness, or bodily functions (Allan & Burridge, 1991; Pedraza, 2018). In English, examples of taboo words and phrases include terms like ‘die’, ‘to have

sex', and curse words such as 'fuck' or 'hell' (Gao, 2013). However, speakers often attempt to mitigate the harshness of these expressions by employing alternative terms. For instance, phrases like 'pass away' and 'answer the call of God' were used instead of 'die', while 'to sleep' or 'to make love' substitute 'to have sex'. Similarly, curse words may be softened, as seen in the modification of 'fuck' to 'FCUK' or 'hell' to 'heck' (Gao, 2013). This linguistic strategy, designed to avoid unpleasant or offensive language, is known as euphemism.

Euphemisms serve as substitutes for disfavoured expressions, aiming to prevent offense or loss of face, whether for the speaker or the audience (Allan & Burridge, 1991). Euphemisms are typically characterised by their indirectness, politeness, and relative comfort in discourse. Burridge (2012) describes euphemisms as "sweet-sounding, or at least inoffensive, alternatives for expressions that speakers or writers prefer not to use in executing a particular communicative intention on a given occasion" (p. 1). Examples include the medieval Dutch physicians' use of 'figs in the secret passage' to refer to 'piles', and terms like 'community charges', 'levies', and 'voluntary contributions' replacing 'taxes' or 'tolls'. However, it is important to note that what is considered taboo, and thus requires euphemism, varies across languages and cultures.

Euphemism is deeply intertwined with culture, to the extent that it forms part of a community's cultural identity (Chi & Hao, 2013; Miller, 1986). Euphemisms reflect cultural perspectives by indicating what is considered taboo or sensitive. For example, while the owl symbolizes wisdom in many Western cultures, evident in phrases like "as wise as an owl" and its use as the mascot for Duolingo (Giannoutsos, 2023; Lei, 2016), it often carries negative connotations in China, where it is associated with bad luck and misfortune (Lei, 2016). According to Chinese belief, hearing an owl's call in the woods is a harbinger of death in the family, prompting the use of the euphemism. In doing so, the phrase '猫头鹰' (māotóu

yīng), meaning ‘cat-headed eagle’ was used instead, to avoid mentioning the owl directly (Kunstler, 1994). This example illustrates how cultural perceptions shape attitudes toward linguistic taboos.

In concordance with that, Irvine (2011) also emphasises the importance of studying cultural aspects of language, such as taboos and euphemisms. Irvine (2011) suggests that this is to better understand the belief systems and linguistic practices that dictate what is deemed inappropriate and why certain words provoke strong reactions. In her own words, Irvine (2011) states:

Understanding the system of beliefs, the regimes of language, truth, and knowledge regarding the immorality or inappropriateness of what cannot be said, and why these topics (or particular words) produced strong reactions in some speakers. (p. 2)

Consequently, Irvine (2011) suggested that this also means understanding the linguistic resources for veiling or disguising the forbidden. Inversely, speakers may choose to *emphasise* the taboo by the persistence of using its influential affective meanings for diverse purposes.

Research shows that linguistic taboos and euphemisms exist across languages, with variations observable not only between languages but also between generations of speakers. For example, Abi-Esber et al. (2018) examined linguistic taboos among Australian Lebanese speakers and found that older speakers tend to use euphemistic language when discussing taboo topics. In contrast, younger speakers were more likely to adopt direct or explicit language, influenced by factors such as peer pressure and exposure to video games. Similarly, Pervaiz et al. (2021) observed that while older Urdu speakers in Pakistan regarded certain topics as taboo, younger generations were less likely to perceive them as such. These

findings highlight how perceptions of taboo language evolve over time, across different generations, which highlights the fluid and shifting cultural attitudes of language.

In considering that, the current thesis is motivated by an interest in how generational differences influence language use, specifically in relation to euphemism. The generational gap is one key factor that can influence language patterns. Numerous studies have explored how generational differences affect linguistic phenomena, particularly the use of euphemisms among younger speakers (Morsalin & Adnan, 2022; Shukor et al., 2021; Yildiz, 2021). Previous research has identified that younger generations often adopt a distinct style of communication referred to as “youth language”. This term describes the linguistic practices of young speakers, who draw from a variety of languages and dialects to express their identities within their peer groups and navigate changing social contexts (McKay & Wong, 1996; Mendoza-Denton, 2007).

1.2 Problem Statement

This study examines the use of euphemisms among two generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers in Sarawak. While previous research on native language euphemisms has often focused on older speakers, fewer studies have explored how younger speakers engage with euphemistic language. Given that youth language is shaped by trends, social media, and external cultural influences, it is important to investigate how these factors interact with the longstanding cultural practice of euphemism among Bidayuh speakers. The Bidayuh community provides an ideal multilingual case study, as younger speakers are more likely to be multilingual and exposed to various linguistic influences. Unlike older generations, whose euphemistic practices are more deeply rooted in tradition, Bidayuh youth navigate both cultural expectations and contemporary linguistic trends, such as those encountered in

media and video games. Examining these differences will offer valuable insights into how multilingualism and modern influences shape euphemism across generations. The Bidayuh, formerly referred to as the "Land Dayak" during the Brooke and Colonial administrations, are one of Sarawak's major indigenous ethnic groups (Atar et al., 2017). The term "Bidayuh" derives from the Bidayuh language itself: Bi- meaning "people of" and Dayuh meaning "land", thus translating to "people of the land." This reflects their deep-rooted connection to the land, and by implication, the interior regions of western Sarawak, particularly areas such as Serian, Siburan, Padawan, Kuching, Bau, and Lundu. Historically, the Bidayuh were among the earliest inhabitants of Sarawak, with early records noting their presence before the arrival of other indigenous groups (Staal, 1940; Roth, 1869) as cited in Chang, 2002). Migration patterns suggest movement from West Kalimantan into the Lundu region, followed by inland settlement expansion. In terms of demographics, the Bidayuh population reached approximately 167,756 in 2010 and rose to about 205,900 in 2014, maintaining their status as the fourth largest ethnic group in Sarawak (Coluzzi et al., 2013). Significant migration for work, education, and intermarriage has also led to Bidayuh communities forming across Malaysia.

Linguistically, the Bidayuh language belongs to the Austronesian family, specifically the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch (Asmah Haji Omar, 1993; Rensch, Rensch & Noeb, 2006), and is marked by considerable dialectal diversity. Dialects such as Biatah, Bau, and Serian are often not mutually intelligible due to differences in phonology, lexicon, and syntax. This variation frequently corresponds to geographic and village-based divisions within the Bidayuh population (Coluzzi et al., 2013). Multilingualism is increasingly prevalent, particularly among younger Bidayuh speakers, who often shift between Bidayuh, Sarawak Malay, and English depending on context and interlocutor (Coluzzi, 2010).

Within the Malaysian setting, studies on euphemism were conducted studying euphemisms used by Malaysian students (Yusoff et al., 2017), euphemism and dysphemism among Malaysian students (Shukor et al., 2021), and taboo words and euphemism among Malaysian students (Morsalin & Adnan, 2022). This shows that the studies on euphemism usually focus not only on euphemism alone but are often closely related to taboos and dysphemism. While this study focuses on the euphemism within the native language of Sarawak, briefly, there were studies already conducted on euphemism of Sarawak's native language, such as by Wahab et al. (2016) on death euphemism among Sarawak Malay community, Daud et al. (2017; 2018) on euphemism used by the Iban community, as well as Ritos and Daud (2020) on euphemism and dysphemism in Bidayuh Bau community. This shows that the interest in studying euphemisms used by the native speakers of indigenous languages in Sarawak is present.

The Bidayuh language is identified to be of the Austronesian family under the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch with a variety of dialects belonging to the Bidayuh language (Bongarra et al., 2017; Omar, 2004; Rensch et al., 2012). A study by Bonggara et al. (2017) recognized six variations of the Bidayuh dialects altogether – Salako, Rara, Bidayuh Bau, Bidayuh Biatah, Tringgus/Sembaan, and Bidayuh Serian which may be defined by their geographical boundaries, or even by village boundaries (Coluzzi et al., 2013). At present, scholarly insight into euphemisms in other Bidayuh dialects remains minimal to nonexistent.

Despite the rich linguistic diversity within Sarawak, attentive research on euphemisms among specific indigenous languages remains limited. In particular, the Bidayuh language which itself comprises several distinct main dialects such as Bidayuh Bau, Bukar-Sadong, and Biatah has not received sufficient scholarly attention in this regard.

Existing studies, such as that by Ritos and Daud (2020), have explored euphemism use within the Bidayuh Bau dialect. However, due to notable lexical, phonological, and accentual differences across dialectal groups, findings from this single dialect cannot be assumed to represent euphemism usage across the wider Bidayuh-speaking community.

According to Ritos and Daud (2020), within the Bidayuh Bau community, euphemism functioned as a tactic to soften speech, be respectful, and hide something that is deemed shameful or embarrassing. For instance, the study resulted in alternative ways to talk about bodily parts, such as the private parts of a body – male and female genitals, which were perceived as the most sensitive topics to discuss or directly mention. Among the Bidayuh Bau speakers, to say it directly, such as *sisun* ‘breast’, *tuloi* ‘penis’, and *tobiet* ‘vagina’, are rather dysphemistic and disrespectful. Instead, more euphemistic alternatives were used, such as *nenen* for ‘breast’, *yoyoi* for ‘penis’, and *pepeng* for ‘vagina’. Again, dysphemistic words that contain rudeness and obscenity among the Bidayuh Bau speakers are considered an act of being disrespectful, which could cause interlocutors involved in certain discourses to feel uncomfortable or embarrassed (Ritos & Daud, 2020). The Bidayuh Bau speakers emphasized practising the aspect of speech politeness, regardless of age, but especially towards those who are older than them.

Apart from using euphemisms in practising speech politeness, it is also an approach for the Bidayuh Bau speakers to respect other speakers in a particular discourse. For example, when talking about something regarding bodily effluvia, instead of using the direct words *masing* ‘to urinate’ and *moki* ‘to defecate’, the speakers used more comfortable terms such as *sa’at pi’in* ‘waste water’ and *betapok* ‘hiding’ instead (Ritos & Daud, 2020). In this case, euphemisms were used to excuse themselves to the toilet and avoid other interlocutors from feeling disgusted, especially during events where most people are talking over food.

Another example that can be provided is the way the Bidayuh Bau speakers describe death. Instead of directly using the term *kobos* ‘die’, the Bidayuh Bau speakers were found to resort to a more respectful way of saying it by using the term *doik* ‘no more’ or ‘gone’. The study by Ritos and Daud (2020) stated that using dysphemistic terms such as *kobos* may make other people uncomfortable and even cause the deceased's family members to feel sadder. Therefore, using the euphemistic term, such as *doik*, could help comfort or lessen the grief of the deceased's family members.

Ritos and Daud (2020) also observed that Bidayuh Bau speakers employ euphemisms to protect the feelings of their interlocutors. Rather than using direct or potentially hurtful expressions, even those that are not necessarily vulgar, speakers tend to soften their language out of politeness and cultural sensitivity. For instance, instead of saying *budua* (‘stupid’) when criticizing someone, they use the euphemistic expression *dek ponai*, meaning ‘less clever’. While *budua* is not inherently vulgar, it is considered impolite and insulting, as it may cause the listener to feel demeaned. Furthermore, some Bidayuh Bau speakers believe that uttering such terms directly, especially words like *budua*, could have harmful effects, such as causing the person to become what they are labeled, almost like invoking a curse. In this way, euphemism also functions as a means to avoid social and spiritual taboos.

While the previous study by Ritos and Daud (2020) provided insights into the euphemism phenomenon within the Bidayuh Bau community, however, it is still insufficient and unable to clarify whether the other Bidayuh dialects are experiencing similar euphemism phenomena or whether there are differences in different Bidayuh dialects. As previously mentioned, Bidayuh is not a single uniform language but a complex grouping of dialects that can be broadly classified into six variations of the Bidayuh dialects altogether – Salako, Rara, Bidayuh Bau, Bidayuh Biatah, Tringgus/Sembaan, and Bidayuh Serian (Bonggara et al.,

2017). Each of these clusters includes several subdialects with significant lexical and phonological variation. Rensch et al. (2012) identified approximately 25 distinct Bidayuh dialects, primarily spoken in the districts of Kuching, Bau, Lundu, and Serian in Sarawak, with some varieties extending into West Kalimantan, Indonesia. Furthermore, although the Salako language is often culturally associated with Bidayuh groups in modern Sarawak, it is linguistically part of the Malayic branch and closer to Iban and Malay than to Bidayuh itself. Given this extensive linguistic diversity, it is clear that further research is required to explore euphemism use across the broader spectrum of Bidayuh dialects. The current understanding, based solely on Bidayuh Bau-Jagoi speakers, does not adequately capture the complexity or variability of euphemistic expressions within the larger Bidayuh-speaking population.

It is accepted that linguistic behaviours and language patterns are affected by various social factors, including the generational gap involving younger and older speakers, considering the language shift visible among the Bidayuh speakers (Norahim, 2010). Hulsen et al. (2002) characterised language shift as the phenomenon of intergenerational language loss, indicating that a language is transmitted from one generation to the next with imperfections. Several studies have investigated the influence of generational groups on linguistic phenomena, such as the previous studies on euphemism as a linguistic phenomenon used by younger speakers (Morsalin & Adnan, 2022; Shukor et al., 2021; Yildiz, 2021).

Christmann (2004) in Yildiz (2021) mentioned that the variability of euphemisms are considered more dynamic in languages spoken by younger speakers; in other words, youth language is a universal linguistic variety regarded as unique that only young speakers use among themselves. Among the previous studies mentioned, Yildiz (2021) is identified to observe the euphemisms in youth language used by Turkish students, focusing on forming

euphemisms and their function among younger Turkish speakers; Shukor et al. (2021) has their focus on euphemisms and dysphemism in students' school communication, concluding that students are aware of the situations that require the usage of euphemisms and when not to use dysphemism; and Morsalin and Adnan (2022) have studied the usage of social media's taboo words and euphemisms used by Malaysian students. According to Tattersal (2003) in Yildiz (2021), all languages are influenced by different forms of language usage and context, resulting in the awareness of language choices within communication (Yildiz, 2021). These previous studies were identified employing younger speakers, mostly students, to understand the euphemism, dysphemism, and linguistic taboo phenomena among the younger speakers that speak Turkish, English, and Malay (Morsalin & Adnan, 2022; Shukor et al., 2021; Yildiz, 2021). However, these studies were found to be less focused on the participants' understanding of the euphemisms of the commonly spoken language among the participants as these studies did not specify whether the euphemisms are of their native language or other languages but instead focused on the euphemisms generally used such as in school or classroom settings, and social media. Besides that, not many studies have been found to focus on the phenomenon of euphemism among older language speakers.

Older speakers are often deemed knowledgeable in their native languages. The pattern of the previous studies shows that older speakers were often employed in native language studies as they are deemed to have extended knowledge and understanding of their language and culture compared to younger speakers. Previous studies (Daud et al., 2017; Ringit et al., 2019; Ritos & Daud, 2020; Wahab et al., 2016) were conducted where older speakers of Sarawak Malay, Iban, and Bidayuh were employed to understand the euphemism phenomenon within the mentioned languages. The participants or informants of these studies were explicitly mentioned to be older speakers, meaning there was no participation of

younger speakers at all. Therefore, through these previous studies, it is understood that the employment of older speakers allows the studies to gain insights into the relationship between a language phenomenon and culture. In comparison, the previous studies that employed younger speakers were found to be more focused on euphemisms in a more general setting such that it is not focused on the native language but rather the usage of euphemisms in settings like schools, classes, and universities, in communication among peers unlike the previous studies that employed older speakers were identified to focus more on native languages and cultures. The contrast between studies involving older and younger speakers suggests a need for a study that addresses the linguistic and cultural dynamics of euphemism usage among both generations within the native language contexts.

Therefore, with the acknowledgement that the generational gap can influence the euphemism phenomenon (Morsalin & Adnan, 2022; Shukor et al., 2021; Yildiz, 2021), this study has employed both younger and older generations in comparing the euphemism phenomenon among the Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

1.3 Research Aim

The research aims to compare the use of the Bidayuh Biatah euphemism among the younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

1.4 Research Objectives

The research has constructed three research objectives as follows:

- i. To identify the euphemisms used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers according to the nine aspects of euphemisms suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991).

- ii. To study the euphemism formation method used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers based on Warren's Model suggested by Yetkiner (2006).
- iii. To relate the functions of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms with their cultural understanding.

1.5 Research Questions

This research is conducted to answer the following research questions:

- i. What euphemisms are used by the younger and older speakers of Bidayuh Biatah?
- ii. What are the euphemism formation method used by the younger and older speakers of Bidayuh Biatah?
- iii. How does the function of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms relate to their cultural understanding?

1.6 Operational Definitions of Terms

This section defines the key terms used in the study, including the operational definition of euphemism as per Allan and Burridge (1991) and Goffman (1967), the Bidayuh Biatah speakers consisting of younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers, and cultural understanding within this study.

1.6.1 Euphemism

Allan and Burridge (1991) identified euphemism as an alternative or a substitute to dispreferred expressions to avoid the possibility of losing face, especially through being

offensive to any discourse participants. Goffman (1967) described euphemistic use to enhance social harmony in communication while simultaneously preserving the interlocutors' image; hence, euphemism, face, and politeness are interrelated phenomena pursuing a common objective, which is to foster social harmony in communication. Therefore, euphemism in this study is defined by the understanding that euphemism by Allan and Burridge (1991) and Goffman's (1967) seminal concept of Face Theory, which describes euphemism as a word, phrase, or any other forms of naming that are alternatives to unpreferred expressions in expressing politeness and avoiding the possibility of losing face to promote social harmony within a speech community.

This study also acknowledges that euphemism can be divided into nine aspects altogether, namely, bodily parts, gender, sex, anger, hatred, illness, death, fear, and referral to gods, as suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991). Thus, in this study, euphemisms are collected according to the nine aspects of euphemism as proposed by Allan and Burridge (1991). Table 1.1 shows the list of the nine aspects of euphemism, the description of each aspect, and examples of euphemistic expressions under each aspect.

Table 1.1: Nine Aspects of Euphemism by Allan and Burridge (1991).

Aspects	Descriptions
Bodily parts	Male and female private parts and sex organs, <i>e.g., cojones (testis), schmuck (penis), titties (breast)</i>
Gender	Circumcision matter, menstruation, pregnancy, infertility, and marital status, <i>e.g., flying the red flag (menstruating), removing (getting abortion)</i>
Sex	Sex-related lexical, sexual intercourse, and erectile dysfunction, <i>e.g., bonk, riding, do it (sex), innocence (virgin)</i>
Anger	Invectives insults out of anger and curse words, <i>e.g., shoot (shit), eff off (fuck off), blessed (damned)</i>

Table 1.1 continued

Hatred	Devaluing or belittling someone or something, <i>e.g.</i> , <i>old girl (unmarried woman)</i> , <i>shameful business (prostitution)</i> , <i>yellow (coward)</i>
Illness	Mystical illness, in delivering one's illness news to others, and mental illness, <i>e.g.</i> , <i>special (mentally ill)</i> , <i>disturbed (mystical illness)</i>
Death	In delivering one's death news to others, in delivering the news of one's critical state that might die soon, mentioning someone/someone's name that has died, dead body, grave, and afterlife, <i>e.g.</i> , <i>not much time left (dying)</i> , <i>passed away (die)</i> , <i>heaven (afterlife)</i>
Fear	Of animals such as snakes, crocodiles, scorpions, and of spirits and mystical creatures, <i>e.g.</i> , <i>four-legged creature (crocodile)</i> , <i>something (ghost/spirit)</i>
Referral of gods	Of a god's name in religious beliefs and of gods/deities according to ancestral beliefs, <i>e.g.</i> , <i>He, Father (God in Christianity)</i>

Allan and Burrige (1991) identified nine aspects to which euphemism is applied, with the first being bodily parts. In this aspect, euphemisms are used to discuss bodily effluvia and tabooed body parts for both males and females. The second aspect involves sex, requiring *euphemisation* when discussing matters related to R-ratings-related matters. Gender, identified as the third aspect, encompasses discussions about gender-oriented topics such as menstruation and pregnancy for women and infertility-related matters for both men and women. The aspects of bodily parts, sex, and gender are closely related. Allan and Burrige (1991) provided an example by mentioning that, especially men, perceive menstrual blood as highly revolting, leading to the tabooing of the vagina. However, the strongest motivation for this tabooing is that the vagina is a female sex organ.

Moving forward, the fourth and fifth aspects identified by Allan and Burrige (1991) are anger and hatred, respectively. Euphemisms, including insults, epithets, expletives, blasphemy, and profanity, are often applied when expressing anger and hatred. The sixth aspect is illness, where euphemisms are employed to describe disease or 'misfortunes',

including mystical and mental illnesses. According to Allan and Burridge (1991), in many cultures, illnesses and diseases are often discussed euphemistically, attributing them to the doings of malicious spirits, persons, or in consequence of their association with death or simply due to their fundamental horridness. Death is listed as the seventh aspect of euphemism, considered an instrument for denial, as in most societies, death is commonly acknowledged as a fear-based taboo. Allan and Burridge (1991) elaborated on death taboos that are motivated by four types of fear: the fear of losing loved ones, the discomfort and disintegration of the body, the uncertainty surrounding the end of life and what lies beyond as there can be no first-hand experience of death for the living, and the fear of malevolent spirits or departed souls.

The eighth aspect of euphemism, as suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991) is fear. Within this aspect, fear can be categorized into two types: fear of animals and fear of spirits. In numerous communities, euphemisms are employed to mention dangerous animals to avoid conflict with the spirit world (Allan & Burridge, 1991). Allan and Burridge then further explain that the fear humans harbour for animals and spirits is often intertwined, as many communities believe that animals possess souls and spirits capable of understanding human language, and upon being mentioned or called, they could impose harm towards the speakers. Euphemisms are also used to mitigate human fear of spirits, particularly in the context of fearing of being haunted by the spirits of the deceased. This fear is, however, closely connected to euphemisms employed within the aspect of death, which is also ubiquitous in all communities worldwide.

Finally, the ninth aspect of euphemism, according to Allan and Burridge (1991), is the referral of gods, where euphemisms are used for the name of god, “taboos on the names of gods seek to avoid metaphysical malevolence by counteracting possible blasphemies

(even perhaps, profanities) that arouse their terrible wrath” (Allan & Burrige, 1991, p. 48). The ninth aspect involves a fear-motivated taboo on naming gods. Euphemisms are used in religious or ancestral beliefs within specific communities instead of directly mentioning the god’s names. This practice aims to prevent potential offence to spirits or gods and to show respect towards the omnipotent entities within one’s belief system. In summary, the nine aspects of euphemism proposed by Allan and Burrige (1991) include bodily parts, sex, gender, anger, hatred, illness, death, fear, and references to gods.

Within the scope of this study, euphemisms are measured by the euphemism glossary and expressions used and provided by the younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers in their daily language usage within their speech community based on the nine aspects of euphemism suggested by Allan and Burrige (1991).

1.6.2 Bidayuh Biatah Speakers

In this study, Bidayuh speakers refer to individuals who speak Bidayuh, specifically the Bidayuh Biatah dialect. Bidayuh Biatah is a dialect of the Bidayuh language that is spoken mostly by the Bidayuh speakers in the Kuching area, whose main settlement is in Siburan, a sub-district of Kuching, the capital city of Sarawak (Chang, 2002).

Considering that age plays an important role in influencing the language pattern of an individual (Konig, 1991), the Bidayuh speakers in this study consist of two generations: younger and older speakers. The universal experience of younger speakers in their tendency to use youth language could lead to the variation of euphemisms among speakers of their generation (Christmann, 2004 as cited in Yildiz, 2021). Meanwhile, according to the pattern of previous studies (Daud et al., 2017; Ringit et al., 2019; Ritos & Daud, 2020; Wahab et al., 2016), older speakers were seen to be knowledgeable and have an extended understanding

of their native languages and cultures. In this study, the Bidayuh speakers refer to two categories of Bidayuh Biatah speakers: younger Bidayuh Biatah speakers are speakers between the ages of 18 to 29 years old, and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers are speakers 50 years old and above.

1.6.3 Cultural Understanding

While the existence of euphemisms are universal, it does not imply that they are identical across all languages (Eni, 2018). Eni (2018) further described that euphemisms are closely tied to cultural values, beliefs and social norms, which vary according to different cultures. This in turn, influences how euphemisms are understood and applied in each language. Culture, as described by Kress (2010), includes the values, beliefs, and knowledge that a group of people share. These cultural elements shape how individuals view and assign meaning to language. Kramsch (2014) added that the relationship between language and culture goes beyond words, extending to the use of symbols and the way conversations are structured within a society. This shows that the way people understand language is deeply influenced by their cultural background.

Therefore, the foundation of cultural understanding in this study is established by the definitions by Eni (2018), Kress (2010), and Kramsch (2014) where cultural understanding refers to the ability to interpret language, specifically euphemistic language used by the Bidayuh Biatah speakers based on their cultural norms and values that shape meaning. Operationally, this involves assessing how well the Bidayuh Biatah speakers understand the use of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms within the cultural context, taking into account the structures, and practices that are specific to their culture.

1.7 Significance of Study

Euphemism is a linguistic phenomenon that is continuously evolving, considering that new words and phrases are constantly created to replace old ones (Linfoot-Ham, 2005). Studying euphemisms allows researchers to gain insight into how language changes over time and how social and cultural factors influence language use (Kramsch, 2014). The study is expected to offer better knowledge within the Sociolinguistic field. As euphemisms are closely tied to social and cultural factors, euphemism studies are able to provide an understanding of the social dynamics of language use, which includes the knowledge of how language reflects and reinforces the social norms of a particular cultural community. Regarding linguistic relativity, euphemism studies also allow an understanding of how languages shape cultural values and beliefs through euphemisms to express taboo topics in different cultures and languages.

In this context, the Bidayuh community presents a culturally ideal case for the generational differences in euphemistic use. The Bidayuh worldview reveals a close link between spirituality, subsistence, and language. Paddy, for example, is not merely a staple crop but a sacred entity believed to embody life itself. As Minos (2000) described, Bidayuhs treated paddy with reverence and took care not to curse it or discard rice wastefully. Rituals such as offerings to *semengi pedi* (paddy spirits) were common after a bountiful harvest, expressing gratitude and maintaining spiritual harmony (Minos, 2000; Pawi & Unggang, 2021). This reverence shaped a carefulness in language, where euphemism and respect are intertwined. As Pawi and Unggang (2021) note, rituals and customary practices were embedded with implicit norms of avoidance, especially in reference to sacred beings or

important natural resources. Language thus served both a communicative and spiritual function.

These traditional beliefs are increasingly shaped by Christian influences. Missionary activities during the Brooke era targeted non-Malay indigenous groups, and over time, the Bidayuh became predominantly Christian. Today, denominations include Catholic, Anglican, SDA, SIB, and Baptist churches (Coluzzi et al., 2013). Consequently, cultural celebrations such as Gawai, which was once a spiritual thanksgiving, are now framed as social or cultural rather than religious events (Campbell & Mikeng, 2019; Minos, 2000). This religious shift potentially informs new euphemistic norms, particularly around death, the afterlife, and divine reference. Coluzzi (2010) also highlights how this transformation accompanies broader shifts in linguistic behavior, especially among the younger generation who mediate between inherited customs and modern Christian frameworks.

Practically, studying euphemisms could allow the research to expand the knowledge on euphemisms, especially in minority communities such as the Bidayuh language speakers. This study could also enhance the awareness of cultural differences in language use, which allows effective cross-cultural communication with people from different cultures, especially when it is well-known that euphemisms can differ significantly across cultures. Therefore, this study will allow further understanding of the euphemisms used by the Bidayuh speakers, further providing insight into their culture mirrored through euphemisms. This study also could expose the values and beliefs of the Bidayuh community, as well as the social and cultural factors that shape their language use which are deemed to be closely tied to euphemisms.

Although this study is not able to provide general insight into the euphemism phenomenon of other Bidayuh dialects or other languages, this, however, allows room for the understanding of Bidayuh euphemism, which is considered specific only within this language and that the euphemism phenomenon is also very unique and could vary across cultures.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of relevant literature on euphemisms across languages, with a focus on their use, strategies, and functions. It highlights the limited research on euphemisms in the Bidayuh language, especially in the Biatah dialect, and identifies existing gaps. The review is organized into three main thematic sections: (1) the use of euphemisms across various cultural and linguistic contexts, (2) the strategies employed to form euphemisms, and (3) the communicative functions of euphemisms in society. Key theoretical frameworks used in this study, such as those by Allan and Burridge (1991), Warren (1992), and Burridge (2012), are also introduced, as they form the analytical basis for examining euphemisms among Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

2.1 Language

The need to maintain a sense of identity is a fundamental aspect of human experience, and one of the most significant components of this identity is group membership. Language plays a central role in reinforcing group affiliation, as it provides a shared medium for communication and the expression of common identity and values (Trask, 2003). Through linguistic markers and cultural transmission, language fosters social cohesion and symbolizes the distinct characteristics of a group.

Although language is commonly viewed as a communication tool, this perspective, while not inherently incorrect, oversimplifies its role, as, in reality, language serves a multifaceted purpose extending beyond communication alone. As per Martin (2007), "...language as our primary tool of communication, offers an endless coded stream of

information which mysteriously and simultaneously mirrors and shapes current social dynamics and prevailing attitudes” (p. 60). Trask (2003) outlined the diverse functions of language, which include conveying information, entertaining ourselves and others, expressing individuality, asserting and affirming group membership, persuading others, fostering positive or negative relationships, and articulating emotions.

The linguistic ability fundamental in human beings constitutes a profoundly astonishing trait. Sapir-Whorf came up with several hypotheses on human language; some are perceived as controversial, but some are less controversial and, perhaps, were accepted by the linguist community. But one hypothesis suggested by Sapir-Whorf is that “the structure of our language in large measure affects the way we perceived the world” (Trask, 2003, p. 46). According to Pour (2010), language communities shaped by distinct cultural backgrounds tend to perceive the world differently. These differences stem from variations in historical perspectives, social customs, values, religious beliefs, and moral standards. Sapir (1949) further described how language is a guide to social reality:

It powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes... the ‘real world’ is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. (p. 68-69)

Within a language or a culture setting, there are numerous subjects that speakers find rather difficult to mention directly. Although, as per Sapir (1949), no two languages are ever sufficiently similar to represent the same social reality, most languages, however, do share a common list of things that are deemed difficult to be spoken directly. Waard (1971) listed that the main ones are often those related to sexual acts, sexual organs, menstruation,

pregnancy, bodily organs and functions – such as excretion, disease and death, and supernatural powers. While language is often used freely, society sometimes prohibits and constrains the use of certain terms, expressions, or behaviours, also known as *taboos* (Niraula et al., 2022).

2.2 Linguistic taboo

According to Wardhaugh's (2011) perspective, taboos represent elements frequently forbidden or consciously avoided within any society of behaviour. The violation of taboos in a cultured community can potentially disrupt the social, religious, or ethical equilibrium, leading to feelings of anxiety, embarrassment, or shame for offenders. There are two primary categories of taboos: non-verbal or behavioural taboos, which limit the use of behavioural patterns deemed offensive to societal norms, and verbal taboos, also known as linguistic taboos (Niraula et al., 2022).

Due to social constraints, linguistic taboo impedes the use of particular words or parts of a language in public discourse (Niraula et al., 2022). Linguistic taboos persist within the mindset of superstitious individuals, enduring into the modern era despite technological advancements (Gomez, 1996). The origin of linguistic taboo is in the principle of a word that holds its fundamental or magical power, which was adept for causing exactly what it designated (Benveniste, 1977; Gomez, 1996).

Studies on linguistic taboos have been conducted ever since the early 1920s (Douglas, 1966; Frazer, 1922; Leach, 1964; Pound, 1936). Definitions of linguistic taboos were given by various scholars, such as described by Pedraza (2018), "linguistic taboo is the study of forbidden or dispreferred meanings and words (Allan & Burridge, 1991:12) that refer to the problematic area of reality such as sexuality, ethnicity, religion, economic status,

ageing, death, illness, or bodily functions, among others” (p. 1). Mbaya (2002) defined linguistic taboo as words or expressions often avoided due to their indecency, shocking character or immorality. Troike (2003) added that the attitude of a particular language community towards their linguistic taboo is exceptionally strong, in which taboo violation may be sanctioned by the imputation of immorality, social ostracism, and even illness or death.

Linguistic taboos can be classified into four categories: the first one being the swear or curse words – words uttered involve damnation, misfortune, or disrespect of the targeted object or person, the second one is obscene words – words referring to sexual organs and acts, the third one is four-lettered words – words such as ‘cunt’, ‘fuck’, ‘shit’, and ‘cock’, such words only having four letters in their spellings, and the fourth one is dirty words – words referring to sexual organs, acts, and scatological substances (menstruation, urine, faeces, spittle) (Apte, 1994). Even so, the sense of linguistic taboo is not only of words concerning obscenity alone. There are also sacred languages, which can be tabooed and often avoided outside the context of sacred rituals.

While being a universal linguistic phenomenon, the linguistic taboo is also culture-specific. The linguistic taboo phenomenon varies from one culture to another – what is deemed taboo in one culture may be a norm in another. As per Le and Le (2006), the extent of taboo avoidance in a language is culture-specific, as taboo is established according to a particular language community's cultural values and beliefs towards certain topics. For instance, mentioning topics regarding human excretion and sexual intercourse is often avoided in polite conversation, while talking about someone's age and salary is often avoided in English conversation. However, according to Gao (2013), in China, Chinese speakers avoid the topics of human excretion and sexual intercourse. However, they are more tolerant

when talking about age and salary, which are often openly mentioned and discussed regardless of the ‘seriousness’ level of the conversation.

Therefore, to speak on matters related to linguistic taboos, speakers often employ a rather unique technique, or the ‘roundabout’ technique called euphemism. In this sense, euphemism is defined as a figure where a harsh or disagreeable expression is substituted for a more affable one – offensive expressions are substituted for a gentle one or an indelicate word for a modest word (Ellingworth & Mojola, 1986). The exploration of linguistic taboos reveals how language usage is shaped by cultural norms and values, emphasizing the role of euphemistic strategies in mitigating sensitive subjects. Researchers highlighted that linguistic taboos vary across cultures, emphasizing the need to consider cultural nuances and societal attitudes, which are particularly relevant to the study of euphemism, as it highlights the importance of understanding how cultural factors influence language use.

This study focuses on how euphemism helps navigate linguistic taboos among a specific language speakers’ group, which is the Bidayuh Biatah of Sarawak, therefore providing insights into the communication practices within the Bidayuh Biatah community and sheds light on broader patterns or relationships of linguistic taboos and euphemism in different cultures.

2.3 Euphemism

The interest in euphemism studies started a long way back then; as per Mocanu (2017), systematic euphemism study dated from the eighth decade of the 20th century with the first linguist to ever show their interest in euphemism study belonged to the Anglo-Saxon which the Romanic languages. Mocanu (2017) then further described the early interest in euphemism within the Romance languages as euphemism on stylistic approaches. France

paved the way for the eccentric language phenomenon with a dictionary publication, '*Dictionnaire historique d'arhot et des excentricités du langage*' by Larchey (1859). In 1949, an additional milestone in the modern research of euphemisms was established by the publication of the research '*Euphemismes anciens et modernes*' authorised by Emile Benveniste. Spain then followed up after two decades, in 1969, where issuance of a dictionary on euphemisms, dysphemism, and '*cacophemism*' – structured according to their taboo conceptual areas, titled '*Diccionario secreto*' was published by Camilo Jose Cela (Mocanu, 2017). Mocanu (2017) asserted that after the end of the 20th century, research on euphemism predominantly focused on exploring the interplay between language as an expression of cultural norms and euphemism, rather than emphasizing studies on euphemism through lexicographic and stylistic approaches.

Researchers and scholars provided several definitions of euphemism, but in a general sense, euphemism serves the purpose of fulfilling the needs of manipulating reality: naming a somewhat threatening realism without violations of prohibitions; without instigating, in this way, the erratic and undesirable effects of the manifestation of the reality (Mocanu, 2017). On the other hand, Alexandru (2008) suggested that euphemisms are indirect expressions used to refer to something without naming it – aim to soften or reinterpret the meaning by emphasizing positive aspects, often altering or generalising the original essence or content (in Mocanu, 2017). Therefore, it would generate other effects, such as changes in reality or words and the creation of a new reality that, per Chi and Hao (2013), euphemism represents a form of expression that lacks authenticity, with its most extreme form being equivalent to outright lie. Even so, euphemism also cannot be associated with lying as it is considered the very least an economical way of facing reality through naming something more acceptable or changing the focus on particularly less distressing detail, allowing one

to speak of uncomfortable subjects while not simply leaving them out or replace them by their opposites (Chi & Hao, 2013). Euphemism as a cognitive process is defined by Gomez (2009):

In conclusion, what we propose, more precisely, is to define euphemism or dysphemism as the cognitive process of conceptualization of a forbidden reality, which, manifested in discourse through the use of linguistic mechanisms including lexical substitution, phonetic alteration, morphological modification, composition or inversion, syntagmatic grouping or combination, verbal or paralinguistic modulation or textual description, enables the speaker, in a certain 'context' or in a specific pragmatic situation, to attenuate, or, on the contrary, to reinforce certain forbidden concept or reality. (p. 738)

Euphemism is fundamentally tied to the conventions of politeness and social that are anticipated in interpersonal communication. Pragmatically, euphemism violates the cooperative principle while it concerns the politeness principle and face theory, which involves human emotions. From a semantic and pragmatic standpoint, euphemism's function varies from being polite, gloss-over, and avoiding taboo to disguising (Pan, 2013). Euphemism is used in expressing politeness where when something unpleasant is referred to, people prefer to engage with milder, implicit, and euphemistic expressions, which indicates the need to respect others and avoid hurtful conversation while forming a festive communication atmosphere and establishing a harmonious social relationship. Chi and Hao (2013) suggested the essential functions of a euphemism: concealing – deliberately hiding or leaving out some facts or topics of the discourse interaction, and veiling – using a subtle form of words with inaccuracy or distortion of the truth. Meanwhile, Burridge (2012) categorised euphemism into six categories with respective functions, which are the

protective euphemism – to shield and to avoid offence, the underhand euphemism – to mystify and to misrepresent, the uplifting euphemism – to talk up and to inflate, the provocative euphemism – to reveal and to inspire, the cohesive euphemism – to show solidarity and to help define the gang, and the ludic euphemism – to have fun and to entertain.

2.3.1 Euphemism Studies

Numerous studies have been conducted to delve into the phenomenon of euphemisms, spanning global languages, foreign languages, Asian languages, Malaysian languages, and even indigenous languages in Sarawak. The interest in studying euphemism often stems from its role in communication, specifically in addressing sensitive or taboo topics using figurative language. Euphemisms play a crucial role in understanding cultural nuances, societal norms, and the dynamics of language use, making them a subject of interest in linguistic and cultural studies. This section explores the previous studies conducted on euphemisms from languages across the globe to the Bidayuh language, an indigenous language in Sarawak.

Nyakoe et al. (2012) studied the death euphemism used in the EkeGusii language, a Bantu language spoken in the Western part of Kenya. In EkeGusii, death is a taboo topic, prompting the use of euphemisms. According to their culture, direct discussion of the deceased or dying is frequently avoided in adherence to cultural norms, as deviating from these customs is viewed as disrespectful, leading to the utilisation of alternative ideas when referring to death within the AbaGusii community. The study resulted in that death in EkeGusii is treated with great care, often expressed using euphemisms rooted in conceptual metaphors such as “DEATH IS A JOURNEY” and “DEATH AS REST”, carrying religious connotations. These metaphors help the bereaved in coming to terms with death by instilling

the belief that the deceased is embarking on a journey to heaven, offering consolation particularly to Christians. EkeGusii's euphemisms are observed to prioritize depicting life rather than focusing on death, with the concept of death being linked to finding rest from worldly obligations.

Another euphemism study was conducted by Cecilia and John (2019), which focused on the role of euphemisms in the Nzema language and culture. Although the study focuses on the Nzema language, a language spoken in the Western Region of Ghana, the study also discussed examples alongside the Akan language, a sister language of Nzema. The study discussed two roles of euphemism in the Nzema language, the first one being euphemisms as a taboo preventer in Nzema. Nzema speakers resort to euphemisms when taboo matters are involved and need to be mentioned. For instance, in the Nzema and Akan languages, sexual organs are euphemised as 'inside of man' and 'man' respectively, as according to the speakers of these languages, the connection between a man and his penis is a defining characteristic of masculinity, thus the euphemisms are employed. Direct mention of sexual organs using straightforward terms is discouraged, with individuals who do so being perceived as shameless and lacking in morality. The second role of euphemism in Nzema is that euphemism acts as a stylistic marker. Euphemism in this role is used to maintain politeness in conversations; for instance, instead of using 'cripple', the Nzema and Akan speakers used terms that translate into 'difficult to walk' instead. In this sense, euphemism functions by 'clothing', a vulgar language to maintain politeness and not embarrass others.

Euphemism studies were also carried out within the Asian languages, such as the study conducted by Yildiz (2021), which focuses on the use of euphemisms in youth language – a language used by university students in Turkey. The study discovered novel strategies used in the youth language by the Turkish students, such as employing “rhetorical

questions” and using terms like ‘like’ or ‘as’. Noteworthy observations included a visible shift in euphemistic language patterns, especially among the youth, as shown in the expressions used in the context of going to the toilet, death, and weight gain. The study also acknowledged that the common motivation for euphemisms is politeness, whereas gender has rather a low impact on euphemism formation strategies differences. Yildiz (2021) then further suggested future research to broaden its scope by collecting data from diverse societal sections, considering variables like age, education, socioeconomic status, and professional groups to produce more inclusive results to determine the variables of the changes in euphemisms.

Malaysia, an Asian country, is renowned for its conservatism, emphasizing values, morals, and politeness in communication. A prior study has studied how euphemism serves as a reflection of the socio-cultural values within Malaysian society. Zulkifli et al. (2019) aimed to explore the role of language in shaping Malaysian civilization and to examine the connection between language politeness and the sociocultural values of Malaysian society. The study stated language politeness mirrors the thoughts and behaviours of speakers, shaped by time and space, thereby highlighting the Malay language's significance as the official language in the development of Malaysian civilisation. From a sociocultural perspective, the Malay language significantly fosters unity and strengthens social relationships among diverse ethnicities and cultures in Malaysia. The study concluded that Malaysians use euphemisms to express shame, respect, and language courtesy, which are deeply ingrained and date back a long time. It is shown through the connection between euphemism, politeness, and etiquette in conversations, which aims to prevent misunderstandings among speakers. The view of euphemism as a mirror of sociocultural

values in Malaysian society emphasizes the need for further research on euphemism, considering the diverse cultures and languages that are present in Malaysia.

Another study into euphemism in the Malaysian context was conducted by Shukor et al. (2021). Their study focused on euphemism and dysphemism in students' communication based on the Leech Politeness Principle. The research aimed to explain the use of euphemism and dysphemism among students at a school in Selangor. According to Leech's Politeness Principle, the study revealed that euphemisms adhered to two principles: approbation and modesty maxims. However, the study also identified that the students failed to adhere to four principles – agreement, tact, generosity, and sympathy maxims, due to the dysphemistic language used by the students. Even so, the students demonstrated an awareness of appropriate situations for using euphemisms and recognizing when it is not suitable to use dysphemism. Morsalin and Adnan (2022) conducted a study on the use of euphemisms and taboo words among Malaysian students specifically focusing on social media platforms. The findings indicated that Malaysian students employed more taboo words than euphemisms on platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. The study also further highlighted the cultural influence, noting that in Malaysia, children are usually raised by their parents with the guidance only to speak good things and refrain from using not only curse words but any language that might cause harm to others; hence, euphemisms are used more in daily conversations than it is used in social media platforms.

In the context of Sarawakians, research has been conducted to explore euphemisms in languages spoken in Sarawak, such as Sarawak Malay, Iban, and Bidayuh. Wahab et al. (2016) delved into death euphemisms within the Sarawak Malay community, aiming to investigate the cognitive processes behind the use of death euphemisms by the Sarawak Malay speakers. The study found that euphemisms describing death in Sarawak Malay are

shaped by the Malay culture, where soft expressions are employed to convey courtesy and emphasize politeness in communication, influenced by their Islamic beliefs. On the other hand, Daud et al. (2017) carried out a euphemism study focusing on the Iban language in Kampung Lebor, Serian. The research concluded that euphemisms used by the Iban community stem from the influence of customs and beliefs passed down through generations.

Previous studies have shown a diverse range of studies conducted on euphemisms, from global languages, Malaysian languages, and indigenous languages in Sarawak. These studies highlight the crucial role of euphemism in communication, particularly in addressing sensitive topics and navigating cultural nuances. They highlight the richness of euphemistic language use across diverse linguistic and cultural contexts. However, there exists a noticeable research gap regarding the Bidayuh language, with only one study conducted by Ritos and Daud (2020). This study specifically concentrated on Bidayuh Bau, a dialect prevalent among Bidayuh speakers in the Bau area. The study aimed to investigate the presence of dysphemism and its substitution with euphemism in oral communication within the Bidayuh community. The findings revealed five categories of replacement, encompassing topics such as referencing limbs, femininity, hygiene, diatribes, and matters related to death. Moreover, the study also identified the multifaceted functions of euphemism within the Bidayuh Bau, which is to soften speech, be respectful, and conceal elements perceived as embarrassing or shameful, to respect and comfort others in particular discourse, to protect the feelings of other speakers, and avoiding taboos.

The present study is conducted within a different Bidayuh dialect group, which is the Bidayuh Biatah, as, as of now, no study has been conducted to explore the euphemism phenomenon used by the Bidayuh Biatah speakers. Moreover, the present study compares

the usage of euphemism between two generations, which is not the case in the previous study on Bidayuh euphemism by Ritos and Daud (2020). Comparing euphemism phenomena offers insights into how linguistic practices evolve across generations within the community. Understanding the differences in euphemistic language usage between younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers can illustrate shifts in cultural norms, values, and attitudes towards sensitive subjects over time.

2.3.2 Cultural Role of Euphemisms in Indigenous Communities

This section highlights relevant studies that have applied the Allan and Burridge (1991) nine-aspect framework, particularly in Malaysian contexts, including among Iban and Bidayuh-speaking communities. Among these aspects, some are common among euphemism studies, such as the studies on death euphemism (Almoayidi, 2018; Al-Ayahdib et al., 2017; Galal, 2013; Nyakoe et al., 2012; Ongrarora, 2012; Swear & Amber, 2016; Tajgozari & Sahragard, 2018) and studies on sex euphemism (Almoayidi, 2018; Al-Ayahdib et al., 2017; Kusumah, 2019; Ruiz, 2015; Swear & Amber, 2016; Tajgozari & Sahragard, 2018). However, Allan and Burridge (1991) suggested that there are nine aspects altogether, yet the number of studies exploring these aspects remains relatively limited. A study by Daud et al. (2017) served the purpose of determining the existence of euphemisms in the Iban language among the Kampung Lebor Iban community. The findings revealed that all nine aspects of euphemism are observable in the Iban language, emphasizing the influence of customs and beliefs that have been perpetuated through generations (Daud et al., 2017). Another study that applied the nine aspects of euphemism suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991), also on the Iban language speakers, was conducted by Daud et al. (2018), which aimed to determine the frequency of euphemism used among the Iban community based on their age and investigate the factors that influence the use of euphemism in the community.

The study resulted in the younger people using the least euphemism, followed by adults, and the elderly recorded the highest usage of euphemisms. The factors that influenced the usage of euphemisms include the mind of the listener's feeling when one is angry, ensuring respect for customs, beliefs, and the deceased, being aware of harm from the disturbance of ghosts or dangerous animals, and of matters that could bring embarrassment, which are all mentioned among the nine aspects of euphemism suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991).

Another study, following a similar framework on the nine aspects of euphemism, was conducted among the Bidayuh speakers' community. Ritos and Daud (2020) conducted a study to examine dysphemism and its replacement with euphemism within the oral communication of the Bidayuh Bau community. Even so, in their study, Ritos and Daud (2020) managed to cover five aspects – bodily parts, gender, hatred, anger, and death which were present in the Bidayuh Bau dialect. Ritos and Daud (2020) then further suggested that future research examine euphemism and dysphemism related to other euphemism aspects – sex, illness, fear, and referral to gods within oral communication of the Bidayuh Bau community. The Bidayuh language consists of a variation of dialects across Sarawak, ranging from four to six dialects known altogether (Bonggara et al., 2017; Omar, 2004) with ranging from 25 to 29 subdialects identified (Chang, 2002; Rensch et al., 2012). Considering the wide variation of the Bidayuh dialects, and the previous study was conducted only within the Bidayuh Bau dialect, the present study focuses on a different Bidayuh dialect, the Bidayuh Biatah, where this study examines the presence of all nine aspects of euphemism suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991) within the euphemisms used by two generations of the Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

2.3.3 Euphemism Strategies

There are many ways in which euphemisms can be formed. Warren (1992) introduced Warren's Model to understand the different types of euphemism strategies. According to Warren (1992), euphemism can be formed through four devices of euphemism strategies consisting of 17 strategies altogether. The first one is the word-formation device with the strategies of compounding, derivation, onomatopoeia, acronyms, and blends. The second device is phonemic modification, which consists of back slang, rhyming slang, phonemic replacement, and abbreviation strategies. The third device is the loan word, where words are borrowed from other languages and are used as euphemisms. The fourth device is semantic innovation with particularization, implication, metaphor, metonym, reversal, understatement, and overstatement strategies.

Prior research has explored euphemism strategies across various contexts and languages, such as in Al-Haq and Al-Smadi's (2020) study, which identified euphemistic strategies employed by Jordanian students. The findings revealed that the most frequently used strategies included understatement, deletion, implication, metonym, overstatement, loan words, and metaphor, while onomatopoeia and phonemic replacement were used the least. Similarly, Khodashenas and Karimnia's (2016) study discovered that Iranian speakers formed their euphemisms through figurative expression, implication, overstatement, understatement, and particularisation strategies. Another study conducted by Salih (2017) has compared the euphemism strategies used in Arab and English languages, using Warren's Model (1991) as a framework. The findings revealed that different languages employ different methods to construct euphemistic expressions. In Arabic, the metonym strategy, within the semantic innovation device, is the most prevalent for euphemising taboo subjects, while using strategies under the phonemic modification device is relatively low. Unlike the

Arabic language, the English language predominantly resorted to borrowing words from other languages, especially in addressing taboo areas related to health, sex, and bodily excretions. Salih (2017) also identified additional strategies used in Arabic, such as antonomasia under the word-formation device, ellipsis under the phonemic modification device, personification, idioms, naming, and addressing under the semantic innovation device, which is not listed in Warren's Model.

Warren (1992) suggested the four devices with 17 euphemism strategies in Warren's Model, to which a few strategies were later added to this model by Yetkiner (2006). Yetkiner (2006) named three additional strategies added under the semantic innovation device: ellipsis, circumlocution, indexical expression, and one strategy, vague reduplication, added under the phonemic modification device. By using the recent version of Warren's Model suggested by Yetkiner (2006), Yildiz (2021), in his study, aimed to describe in detail the daily euphemism used by Turkish university students. The study revealed that the youth language incorporates novel ways not listed in Warren's Model, such as the use of 'rhetorical questions' and the words 'like' or 'as' for euphemistic expression. However, according to Warren's Model, the study identified that euphemisms among Turkish university students are formed using metonym, metaphor, and loan word strategies, particularly prevalent in discussions related to matters concerning going to the toilet and death. Meanwhile, when addressing topics related to weight gain, speakers were identified to form their euphemisms using the implication strategy.

Previous studies have predominantly encompassed larger scope and foreign languages, such as Salih (2017) comparative study of Arabic and English euphemisms, Yildiz's (2021) study of euphemism strategies in Turkish youth language, and Al-Haq and Al-Smadi's (2020) study on euphemism strategies among Jordanian speakers, as well as

Khodashenas and Karimnia's (2016) study of Iranian euphemisms. Conversely, the scope of research on euphemism strategies, particularly in the context of Malaysian speakers, has been limited, especially regarding the strategies proposed in Warren's Model. A study by Wahab et al. (2016) focused on death euphemisms among Sarawak Malay speakers, employing conceptual metaphor analysis. Another study by Wahab et al. (2020) examined two specific euphemism strategies, metaphors and metonyms, employed in euphemisms related to divorce among Sarawak Malay speakers.

Considering that Malaysia is a multiethnic country with multiple languages and dialects spoken in different parts of the country, existing studies on euphemism are considered lacking, mainly because each language has its own cultural background that could influence the use of euphemistic language. It is rather difficult to ignore the impact of religious values, norms, and beliefs on the use of euphemistic expressions since one rarely does encounter a euphemistic expression devoid of direct or indirect reference to these religious norms, values, or beliefs (Mofarrej & Al-Haq, 2015). The previous studies mentioned in this section did not focus on any euphemisms used in the Bidayuh dialects, especially across or between generations, as per the scope of the present study. The present study focuses on a specific Bidayuh dialect, the Bidayuh Biatah, where the study compares the euphemism strategies used between the younger and older generations of the Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

2.3.3 Euphemism Function

Burridge (2012) described euphemism in a broader light as sweet-sounding or at least inoffensive and, therefore, identified the six different tasks performed by euphemism. The first one is the protective euphemism, which aims to shield and avoid offense. Within this

function, Burrridge (2012) described euphemisms as like verbal hatches in response to taboos, such as mentioning the private parts, bodily functions, sex, anger, and so on. Next is the underhand euphemism, which function is to mystify and misrepresent. This type of euphemism is usually not so much used in concealing offence as it is used more to deliberately disguise a topic and deceive, which is a form of double-speaking (Burrridge, 2012). Doublespeak is a language that deliberately obscures, disguises, distorts, or reverses words' meaning, often used to mislead, deceive, and manipulate. The third one is the uplifting euphemism, which functions to talk up and inflate. The uplifting euphemism provides a prestigious feeling in a certain context to the speaker, often involving technical and professional jargon (Ardhan & Syukri, 2018).

The fourth euphemism type listed by Burrridge (2012) is the provocative euphemism, whose function is to reveal and inspire. Burrridge (2012) describes euphemisms as not merely as 'fig-leaves' but rather akin to 'diaphanous lingerie', suggesting that they provide only a subtle covering, enhancing their titillating effect. The function of provocative euphemism extends beyond straightforward politeness and the maintenance of face (Ardhan & Syukri, 2018; Burrridge, 2012). Additionally, the cohesive euphemism functions to show solidarity and to help define the gang, linking members through shared taboos and practices where their common taboos and practices that accompany their euphemistic behaviour eventually increase their group identity and strengthen the social fabric (Burrridge, 2012). Essentially, euphemism works as in-group trademarks in this type of euphemism. Lastly, the sixth type of euphemism, ludic euphemism, serves the purpose of having fun and entertainment, often employed in the daily verbal play to which ordinary speakers express their inventiveness in manipulating language, putting them to extraordinary use in their constructed euphemized expressions.

Studies were conducted to identify the functions of euphemism in different languages worldwide, whether spoken or written. A study by Ardhan and Syukri (2018) conducted a study using Burrridge's (2012) functions of euphemism in studying the euphemism used by two speakers in the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election Debate 2017. The study resulted in the first speaker, Anies Baswedan, extensively employing underhand euphemism in refuting other candidates' utterances while also incorporating provocative euphemism and cohesive euphemism, mainly aiming to foster a sense of inclusion among the audience, portraying them as his fellow Jakarta people. The second speaker, Sandiaga Uno, also used provocative euphemisms and uplifting euphemisms. Sandiaga Uno primarily sought to create an engaging atmosphere related to his statements, aiming to captivate the audience's interest. Another previous study, conducted by Yildiz (2021), primarily centred on the strategies of euphemism. However, towards the end of the paper, Yildiz (2021) highlighted the functions of euphemism used by the youth in a Turkish university. The study, which focused on university students of different backgrounds and received other language influences, resulted in the youth language speakers frequently using protective, cohesive, and provocative euphemisms.

In conclusion, euphemisms, as described by Burrridge (2012), serve different functions in language use – protective euphemism acts to shield and avoid offense, underhand euphemism, or double-speaking, acts to mystify and misrepresent, uplifting euphemism is used to talk up and to inflate, provocative euphemism acts to reveal and to inspire, cohesive euphemism acts to show solidarity and define the gang, and ludic euphemism is to have fun and entertain. Previous studies, such as those conducted by Ardhan and Syukri (2018) and Yildiz (2021), have explored these functions in the context of reality, revealing how speakers use euphemisms to navigate social dynamics and convey nuanced

meanings. Within the Bidayuh language, the research by Ritos and Daud (2020) has shed light on euphemism functions within the Bidayuh Bau dialect, but comprehensive research akin to the six functions outlined by Burridge (2012) is notably lacking. This gap is further complicated by Bidayuh's dialect variation where there are four distinct dialects of Bidayuh altogether, with Ritos and Daud (2020) focusing only on Bidayuh Bau. Additionally, each dialect may or may not exhibit variations in the usage and functions of euphemisms. Hence, exploring other dialects could potentially reveal diverse functions of euphemism across Bidayuh linguistic and cultural contexts, addressing the research gap.

2.3.5 Euphemism and Cultural Understanding

Given the close relationship between euphemism and culture, where they often influence each other, it is reasonable to suggest that studying the use of euphemisms within a language can provide valuable insights into the culture of a particular language community.

This understanding provides the foundation to explore various cultural contexts where euphemisms play a significant role. For instance, Bayisa (2017) suggested that euphemistic expressions offer opportunities to gain insights into the cultural and psychological aspects of language use, including sensibilities, and how to address sensitive topics in ways to reduce the risk of offence. This was followed by the study of the Oroma society, where euphemisms functioned to avoid taboo topics and also to prevent offence among speakers (Bayisa, 2017). Another example that shows how euphemism functions contribute to cultural understanding is the study by Nasution et al. (2023) on the Acehnese language. They studied the use of verbal taboos among Acehnese speakers and identified that euphemistic expressions functioned to avoid these verbal taboos. For instance, in the Acehnese language, the word *cacar*, which means ‘smallpox’ is considered a taboo term, as

the Acehnese speakers believed that uttering the term could worsen the condition of the sufferer. As a result, the speakers use euphemistic terms such as *saket mangat* which means ‘it feels good’ instead (Nasution et al., 2023). Such studies allow an understanding of the culture of the Acehnese language speakers through their verbal taboos and the function of euphemistic expressions used.

Additionally, Altrey and Albarakati (2019) also mentioned how Chinese speakers commonly used resistance euphemisms, a euphemism function that is not listed in Burrige’s (2012) six functions of euphemisms. Resistance euphemism functions to refer to forbidden or sensitive topics in a roundabout manner, helping speakers navigate cultural, social, or political restrictions. For example, in Chinese culture, where they have great concern for old people, they would use rather mild euphemisms when referring to them, such as ‘old worker’, ‘old boss’, and ‘old brother’ (Altrey & Albarakati, 2019). Similarly, within the Arabic speakers, euphemisms also commonly functioned as resistance euphemisms, especially in the aspect of death where to console the grieving, to face death is to be brought to a better place by God which Galal (2014) has identified with up to ten different connotations of Arabic euphemisms in the aspect of death.

These studies demonstrate that a further exploration of the functions of euphemisms can reveal important cultural insights. Although the insight of cultural understanding could be gained from the study of the functions of euphemisms, there is a still lack of research that investigates the cultural aspects of euphemisms within a language, especially using Burrige’s (2012) six functions of euphemism as a framework. Therefore, this study aims to provide insights into the cultural understanding of the Bidayuh Biatah speakers through the analysis of euphemism functions as outlined by Burrige (2012).

2.3.6 Bidayuh Spiritual Worldviews and Euphemism

Language use among the Bidayuh is deeply influenced by both ancestral belief systems and more recent Christian values. Traditionally, the Bidayuh viewed nature as imbued with spiritual agency. Rivers, hills, forests, and mountains were thought to host unseen forces that could either bless or harm. Rituals and offerings were seen as ways to avoid catastrophe or spiritual punishment (Pawi & Unggang, 2021; Nais, 1989; Minos, 2000). This spiritual worldview shaped how the Bidayuh approached language. Euphemistic expressions served not only to soften speech or show politeness but also to avoid invoking dangerous or sacred consequences. Terms referring to death, bodily effluvia, or deities were often veiled in indirect phrasing; both to show respect and to avert misfortune (Pawi & Unggang, 2021; Campbell & Mikeng, 2019).

The introduction of Christianity layered a new moral framework over these traditions. With a shift toward Christian religious practice, euphemism began to reflect Christian taboos and values. For example, ancestral rituals involving spirits or gods have largely disappeared, replaced by church-based rites and biblical terminology. Nonetheless, the tendency toward speech avoidance in sensitive matters persists, particularly among older generations (Coluzzi et al., 2013; Coluzzi, 2010). This generational divide between traditional beliefs and Christian influence offers a critical lens for understanding variation in euphemism use across Bidayuh Biatah speakers today.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter provides a review of previous studies on euphemisms across various languages and contexts, where it is identified that euphemism studies focusing on the Bidayuh Biatah dialect are still lacking. While studies have explored euphemisms in global

languages like EkeGusii and Nzema, Asian languages such as the study on euphemisms used by Turkish students and within Malaysian and Sarawakian contexts, including context such as among Malaysian students and Sarawak Malay and Iban languages. Only one study has centred on Bidayuh euphemisms, specifically in the Bidayuh Bau dialect. Even so, this has left a gap in which this study, therefore, has chosen to explore the usage of Bidayuh Biatah euphemism among the Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

In this study, euphemisms are outlined to be within the nine aspects which are commonly explored in euphemism studies, with death and sex being the most prominent subjects in previous research, but research studying all nine aspects remains limited. Considering this, this study has adopted the nine aspects of euphemisms into the framework of this study, which function is to identify the euphemisms used by both younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah.

Previous research has explored euphemism strategies across different languages and contexts, revealing nuances in how different languages form their euphemisms differently. Even so, considering Malaysian speakers, the research scope has been limited. Malaysia's diverse linguistic landscape, influenced by different cultural backgrounds and religious values, suggests a need for more extensive research on euphemism strategies within the Malaysian context. Considering this, this study utilizes Warren's Model in studying the euphemistic strategies used by the younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

Euphemism functions serve various purposes, from shielding and avoiding offence, to mystifying, inflating, revealing, fostering solidarity, and having fun and entertainment. Within the Bidayuh language, particularly considering that there are four to six dialects

altogether, comprehensive research on the function of euphemism is still lacking. Studies on the functions of euphemisms within a particular language are not only to uncover the functions of euphemisms but also to delve into the cultural contexts in which this study has chosen to study; as per the third objective of this study, which is to discover the Bidayuh Biatah speakers' understanding of the cultural influences of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter details the methodology employed in investigating the use of euphemisms among younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers in Kampung Quop, Sarawak. The study adopts an ethnographic research design that combines both qualitative and quantitative approaches to provide a culturally grounded and comprehensive analysis of euphemism use. Data was collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with purposefully selected participants divided into two generational groups. Kampung Quop was selected as the research site due to its historical and linguistic significance within the Bidayuh Biatah-speaking community. This chapter presents the research design, sampling techniques, participant selection criteria, research location, and theoretical frameworks guiding the analysis—namely, Allan and Burrridge’s (1991) nine euphemism aspects, Warren’s Model as modified by Yetkiner (2006) for euphemism strategies, and Burrridge’s (2012) framework for euphemism functions and cultural interpretation. Together, these frameworks support a multidimensional understanding of how euphemisms are formed, used, and interpreted within the Bidayuh Biatah cultural context.

3.1 Research Design

In conducting the research, an ethnographic research design consisting of both qualitative and quantitative methods was applied. As outlined by Hammersley (1990), this approach involves studying people’s behaviour in everyday situations rather than controlled experimental contexts. (remove Schensul & LeCompte, Wolcott). An ethnographic research design chosen for this study on Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms was chosen to explore the

natural social environments where language is used. By immersing in everyday situations within the Bidayuh Biatah community, this method enables a thorough exploration of how language, particularly euphemisms, is employed across different generations. As the ethnographic approach emphasizes the significance of culture in shaping language use, this research design also offers valuable insights into the dynamic of Bidayuh Biatah's linguistic practices across generations, aligned with the objectives of the study.

The qualitative method in this study was applied to describe the phenomenon of euphemism among the younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah in Sarawak. The research specifically focused on one dialect speakers' group, aiming to provide a more profound understanding of the linguistic phenomenon that is intertwined with their culture. In this study, the sampling was divided into two focus groups representing the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers, where open-ended, in-depth interviews were conducted individually, guided by a semi-structured interview guideline. The quantitative element in this study was incorporated to count and quantify the occurrences of euphemisms used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers. This quantitative approach would provide insights into patterns, occurrences, and variations, completing the qualitative richness of ethnography (Hassan, 2024; Reeves et al., 2008).

This section describes the research design components, including sampling criteria, participants' criteria, research location, theoretical and conceptual frameworks, instruments, data collection, and data analysis procedures.

3.2 Participants

The participants in this study were chosen carefully using a purposeful sampling technique with their own sample size deemed sufficient to provide data for the study. As per

Magilvy and Thomas (2009), the appropriate number of participants in a qualitative sampling range from three to 20 participants. In this study, participants were divided into two groups: younger and older Bidayuh speakers, and each participant was carefully chosen according to the criteria set by the researcher.

In total, 16 informants were involved in the research, eight of each age group consisting of four males and four females in each group. Magilvy and Thomas (2009) suggested that the minimum sample size for qualitative sampling should be three to five participants, ranging up to 20; one or two focus groups of four to six participants could also be considered. Even so, if the data collected has not yet reached saturation, the researcher can recruit additional informants while ensuring adherence to the criteria. Chambers and Trudgill (1980) and Omar (2012) suggested that native language studies have a balanced number of both males and females, as this allows the data to be balanced as both males and females are identified to have different speech patterns.

3.2.1 Purposeful Sampling Technique

The purposeful sampling technique selects participants who are capable of providing valuable insights into the research problem rather than relying on random samples to generalise data. This technique involves choosing informants or participants considered information-rich and relevant cases that could contribute to a deeper understanding of the research problem and the phenomenon of the study (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Palinkas et al., 2015; Patton, 2015). Hence, a purposeful sampling technique was used to identify informants who were fit to participate, establishing specific criteria based on the needs of the research objectives. This method was chosen because it is considered as a more helpful method to

obtain broad insights and rich information in qualitative descriptive research (Neergaard et al., 2000; Sandelowski, 2000).

3.2.2 Sampling Size

A total of 16 informants, eight of each age group consisting of four males and four females in each group, were chosen for this study. Magilvy and Thomas (2009) suggested that the minimum sample size for qualitative sampling should be three to five participants, ranging up to 20; one or two focus groups of four to six participants could also be considered. Even so, if the data collected has not yet reached saturation, the researcher can recruit additional informants while ensuring adherence to the criteria. Chambers and Trudgill (1980) and Omar (2012) suggested that native language studies have a balanced number of both males and females, as this allows the data to be balanced as both males and females are identified to have different speech patterns.

3.2.3 Participants' Criteria

In this study, there were two groups of participants, which consisted of younger Bidayuh Biatah speakers and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

3.2.3.1 Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers

The older speakers in this study were chosen based on the NORM/F criteria, which stands for non-mobile, older, rural, male, and female. Chambers and Trudgill (1980) introduced the NORMs criteria for choosing participants in a native language study, which initially excluded the participation of females in the criteria. As per Chambers and Trudgill (1980) and Orton et al. (1978), females tend to encourage the social upgrading of the speech of their family even though they are native speakers, and both parents are also natives. However, Stoddart et al. (2014) suggested that having male-only informants is considered

disadvantageous as it lacks the counterbalancing of data to which female informants might have contributed. Furthermore, especially in rural areas, women were described as more familiar with daily activities, such as on the farms and with the natural world; therefore, they are also equally knowledgeable of their local terminology (Stoddart et al., 2014). Omar (2012) also recommended that native language studies have a balanced number of males and females to allow the data to be balanced, as both males and females are described as having different speech patterns. Therefore, considering the mentioned aspects, this study has adopted a more enhanced NORMs criteria, NORM/F by Chambers and Trudgill (1980), which was utilized in previous studies (Daud et al., 2017; Daud et al., 2018; Ringit et al., 2019; Ritos & Daud, 2020) that includes the participation of a balanced number of males and females participants to ensure balance in the data and results.

The first criterion is the informants' mobility, in which, in this research, the informants are preferably non-mobile. Stoddart et al. (2014) argue that being non-mobile contributes to the stability and conservatism in the speech of native language speakers. Therefore, older informants in this study must be permanent residents who have not moved away from the research location, which is, in this study, Kampung Quop. The second criterion is age, with a preference for informants aged 50 and above, aligning with Easson's (1998) suggestion that speakers within this age range are well-qualified to participate. Daud et al. (2017; 2018) have also recognised individuals aged 50 and above as suitable informants in euphemism studies. To maintain authenticity in dialect features, informants should be 'native' residents from Kampung Quop who speak fluent Bidayuh Biatah. In other words, residents who are borned and resides consistently within Kampung Quop. In terms of gender, a balanced number of both males and females is needed to ensure data balance. Orton et al.

(1978) suggest that informants should possess good mouths, teeth, and hearing to ensure accurate pronunciation and mutual understanding between the informant and the researcher.

This study was participated by eight older informants consisting of four males and four females, all meeting the NORM/F criteria.

3.2.3.2 Younger Bidayuh Biatah Speakers

This study identified the age range for younger speakers as 18 to 29 years old, following the guidelines of Abi-Esber et al. (2018). The upper limit of 29 years old aligns with Yildiz's (2021) classification of speakers aged 30 and above as adult speakers. Setting the starting age for younger speakers at 18 ensures they are at their legal age and can provide consent independently.

To fulfil the study's objectives, the younger speakers must be a Bidayuh proficient in the Biatah dialect spoken in Kampung Quop. It is essential that at least one of the speakers' parents is a Bidayuh Biatah from Kampung Quop, ensuring a connection to the local dialect. Additionally, the younger speakers must be from the targeted area, Kampung Quop; native residents who have resided in the area for at least 10 years to guarantee the relevance of the collected data. Most importantly, these speakers need to be conversationally fluent in Bidayuh Biatah, implying that they can engage in fluent conversations, meaning that they have been exposed to the language and have been using it regularly. Following a similar approach to the criteria set for the older speakers, the selection of younger speakers also consists of a balanced number of males and females. This approach was adopted to maintain balance in the data collected from the younger generation.

3.2.4 Demographics of Informants

This section described the demographics of informants who participated in this study, including their age, gender, years of residency in Kampung Quop, and their labels. In this study, the identity of informants such as names and occupations are kept confidential, therefore, labels are given to each informant according to their criteria. The labels represent each informant according to their demographics where O refers to ‘Older’ informant, Y refers to ‘Younger’ informant, M refers to ‘Male’ informant, F refers to ‘Female’ informant, and the numbers are to differentiate informants in each category. Table 3.1 summarised the demographics of informants who participated in this study, including their age, gender, years of residency in Kampung Quop, and their labels.

Table 3.1: Demographics of Informants

Category	Gender	Age	Years of residency in Kampung Quop	Labels
Older speakers	Male	55	55 years	OM1
		69	69 years	OM2
		79	79 years	OM3
		72	72 years	OM4
	Female	60	60 years	OF1
		55	55 years	OF2
		59	59 years	OF3
		55	55 years	OF4
Younger speakers	Male	25	25 years	YM1
		27	25 years	YM2
		25	25 years	YM3
		28	28 years	YM4
	Female	25	17 years	YF1
		22	22 years	YF2
		24	24 years	YF3
		29	25 years	YF4

In summary, this study involved 16 participants, including eight older speakers, with an average age being 63 years, and eight younger speakers age of 26 years in average. The balanced representation of both genders among the participants ensured balanced data collection. The number of years the participants had lived in Kampung Quop ensured the relevance of the collected data, with all participants having resided in Kampung Quop for a minimum of 17 years. Two female participants, aged 25 and 29, had lived in Kampung Quop for 17 and 25 years respectively, due to their families relocating and work circumstances. However, they mentioned that they still regularly visited Kampung Quop as their family members and extended families remained residents there.

3.3 Research Location

This study has identified a Bidayuh Biatah settlement area in Sarawak, which is Kampung Quop, as the research location for this study. Participants were chosen from the population of Kampung Quop according to the participants' criteria set for the research.

3.3.1 Kampung Quop as the Research Location

The focus of the study is Kampung Quop, alternatively spelt as Kampung Kuap, a Bidayuh settlement located in Sarawak. Figure 3.1 shows the map of Sarawak, a state in Malaysia, with Kuching City as its capital city.

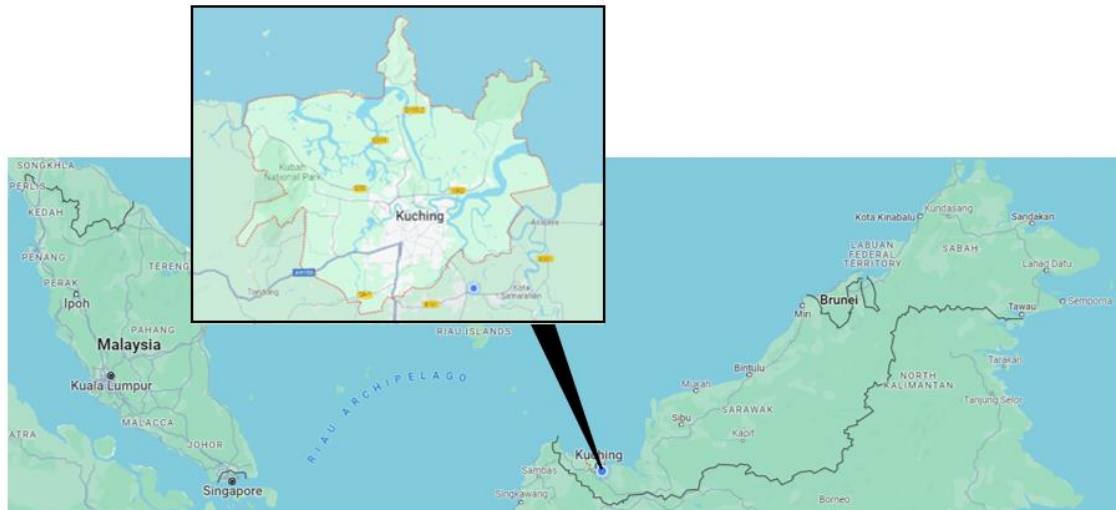


Figure 3.1: Map of Sarawak and Location of Kuching City

The Bidayuh are an indigenous ethnic group residing in the Western part of Sarawak, Malaysia, known for its rich cultural and linguistic diversity (Coluzzi et al., 2013). The Bidayuh are distributed across Sarawak and are mostly found living in the Lundu, Bau, and Kuching districts (Kuching Division) and the Serian district (Samarahan Division). Figure 3.2 shows the map of the distribution of Bidayuh dialects in Sarawak, sourced from Rensch et al. (2012).

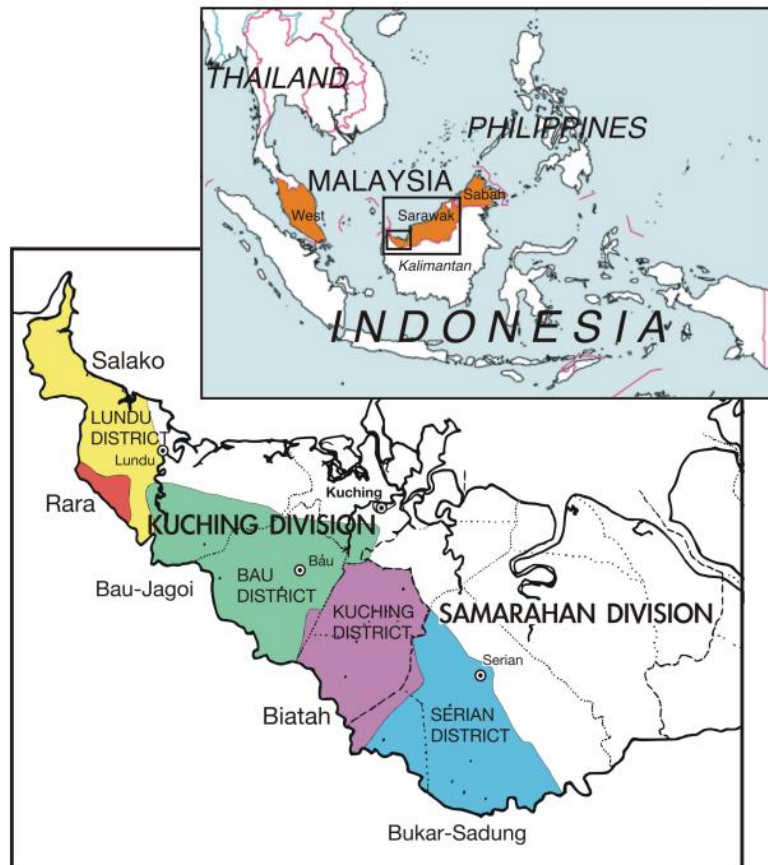


Figure 3.2: Bidayuh Dialects Distribution Across Sarawak

As shown in Figure 3.2, the Bidayuh dialects differ across Sarawak, with Bidayuh Salako-Rara spoken in Lundu district, Bidayuh Bau-Jagoi in Bau district, and Bidayuh Biatah in Kuching district for the Bidayuh in Kuching Division, and Bidayuh Bukar-Sadung/Bukar-Sadong spoken in Serian district for Samarahan Division (Rensch et al., 2012). However, this study only focuses on one Bidayuh dialect, which is the Bidayuh Biatah spoken in Kuching district, where this study has chosen Kampung Quop as the research location.

Kampung Quop was selected in this study due to its status as the largest settlement and its significant population of Bidayuh Biatah speakers, which is 4,490 according to the Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission (MCMC) as of 2019. Hence, the Bidayuh Biatah community in Kampung Quop serves as a representative sample of the larger

Biatah community. Additionally, the selection of Kampung Quop is also influenced by its proximity to the capital city of Sarawak, Kuching City. According to Norahim (2010), while the Bidayuh speech community in this area remains intact, its close proximity to the capital city exposes them to outside influences and significant social pressures to assimilate with other major groups. Therefore, this study acknowledges that the proximity of the Bidayuh Biatah settlement area to the capital city may result in the Bidayuh Biatah speakers being influenced by other major languages, such as Sarawak Malay and English, potentially leading to bilingualism or multilingualism. Figure 3.3 shows the proximity of the Kampung Quop area to the capital city of Sarawak, Kuching City, which is at 24.2km away.

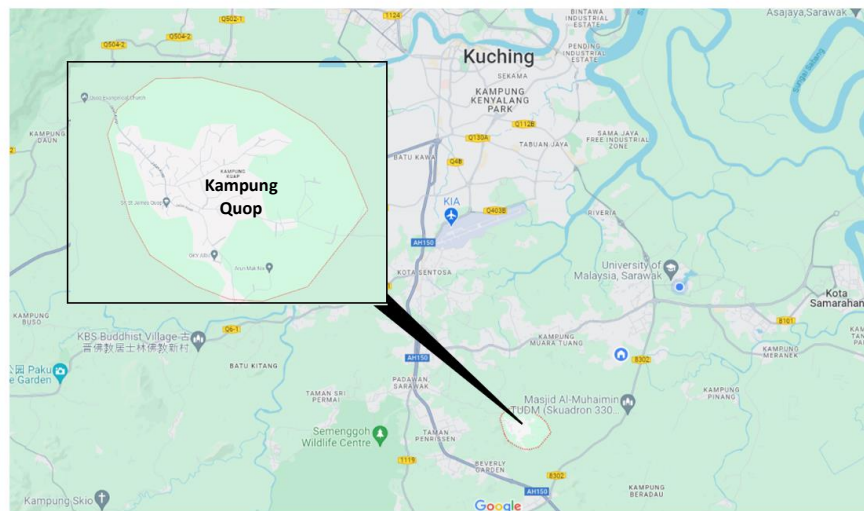


Figure 3.3: The Proximity of Kampung Quop Area to Kuching City

As per Chang (2002), Kampung Quop was the first settlement established by the Bidayuh Biatah of Siburan in 1835. History mentioned that the establishments of these settlements were caused by disease outbreaks happening in their parent settlement, Durud Sintah (Sintah Mountain), where all of the Bidayuh Biatah of Siburan resided together but then moved away in groups to the lowlands and established new settlements (Chang, 2002). Among other settlements are Kampung Duras, established in 1838, Kampung Skrak/Seratau in 1918,

Kampung Tijirak in 1939, and many more. The Bidayuh Biatah speakers residing in Kampung Quop share a common dialect and accent with their counterparts in adjacent settlements like Kampung Duras, Kampung Seratau, and Kampung Tijirak. These locations represent significant branches of the Bidayuh Biatah settlement areas, with Kampung Quop as the first and largest settlement, all conversing in the Bidayuh Biatah Siburan dialect. Kampung Quop is located near the 10th Mile Bazaar, with the 10th Mile Bazaar being the nearest town to Kampung Quop, which is at 7.9km away. Figure 3.4 shows the proximity of Kampung Quop to the 10th Mile Bazaar.

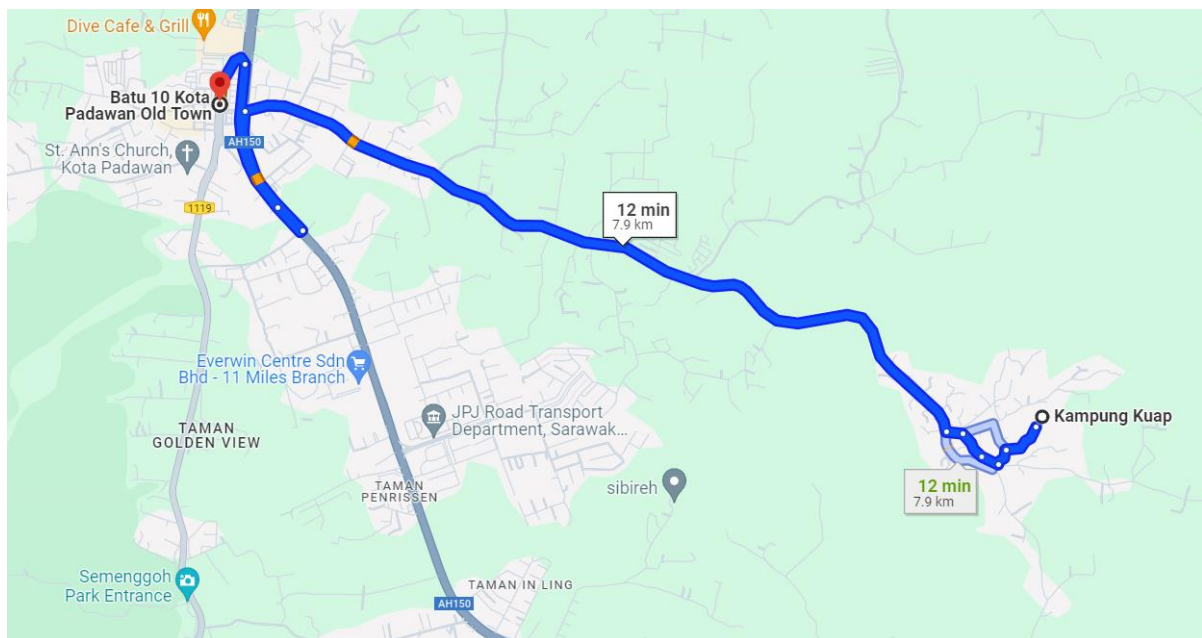


Figure 3.4: The Proximity of Kampung Quop to the 10th Mile Bazaar, Kuching

In summary, this study focuses on Kampung Quop, a prominent Bidayuh settlement in Sarawak, selected for its population of Bidayuh Biatah speakers to represent the larger Bidayuh Biatah community. The choice of Kampung Quop is also influenced by its proximity to Kuching City, exposing the Bidayuh Biatah speakers to external influences and potential bilingualism and multilingualism. The participants of this study were chosen from the population of Kampung Quop.

3.4 Theoretical Frameworks

In this study, three theoretical frameworks are involved: 1) the nine aspects of euphemism as proposed by Allan and Burrridge (1991), 2) euphemism strategies derived from Warren's Model as outlined by Yetkiner (2006), and 3) the cultural understanding of Bidayuh Biatah speakers on Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms, assessed through their understanding of the Bidayuh culture and the functions of euphemisms as suggested by Burrridge (2012).

3.4.1 Nine Aspects of Euphemism (Allan & Burrridge, 1991)

In this study, occurrences of euphemisms are identified based on the nine aspects suggested by Allan and Burrridge (1991), encompassing bodily parts, gender, sex, anger, hatred, illness, death, fear, and referral of gods.

The Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms examined in this study are limited to the nine aspects of euphemisms proposed by Allan and Burrridge (1991). These aspects maintain an organized uniform pattern of data collection and guide the identification of euphemisms, contributing to the production of a wordlist for identifying euphemisms used by the Bidayuh Biatah speakers. This theoretical framework is employed to achieve Objective 1: identify the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

3.4.2 Euphemism Strategies Based on Warren's Model (Yetkiner, 2006)

This study analysed the formation of euphemisms based on Warren's Model, initially introduced by Warren (1992) and later modified by Yetkiner (2006) through the addition of several euphemism strategies to the existing model.

Warren (1992) claimed that language constantly generates new meanings for words, emphasizing that this process is context-dependent and not random, governed by rules and prerequisites for adopting new meaning, or ‘novel meaning’. Warren (1992) then further proposed two criteria for accepting a novel term: linking the novel word and its referent and ensuring that the novel word serves as a ‘desirable alternative’ for its referent, laying the foundation for the conception of euphemistic terms. Warren (1992) suggested that Warren’s Model has four devices: semantic innovation device, word formation device, phonemic modification device, and loan words. Under the devices, there are 17 euphemism strategies altogether. Figure 3.5 shows the euphemism strategies suggested in Warren’s Model (1992).

Semantic innovation	Formal innovation		
	Word formation devices	Phonemic modification	Loan words
Particularizations	Compounding	Back slang	
Implications	Derivation	Rhyming slang	
Metaphors	Acronyms	Phoneme replacement	
Metonyms	Onomatopoeia	Abbreviation	
Reversals	Blends		
Understatements			
Overstatements			

Figure 3.5: Euphemism Strategies Suggested in Warren’s Model (1992)

Yetkiner (2006) expanded Warren’s Model (1992) by introducing four additional strategies: ellipsis, circumlocution, and indexical expression under the semantic innovation device, and vague reduplication under the phonemic modification device. This modification enriched the framework for understanding the diverse mechanisms through which euphemisms are formed. Figure 4.6 shows the modified version of Warren’s Model by Yetkiner (2006).

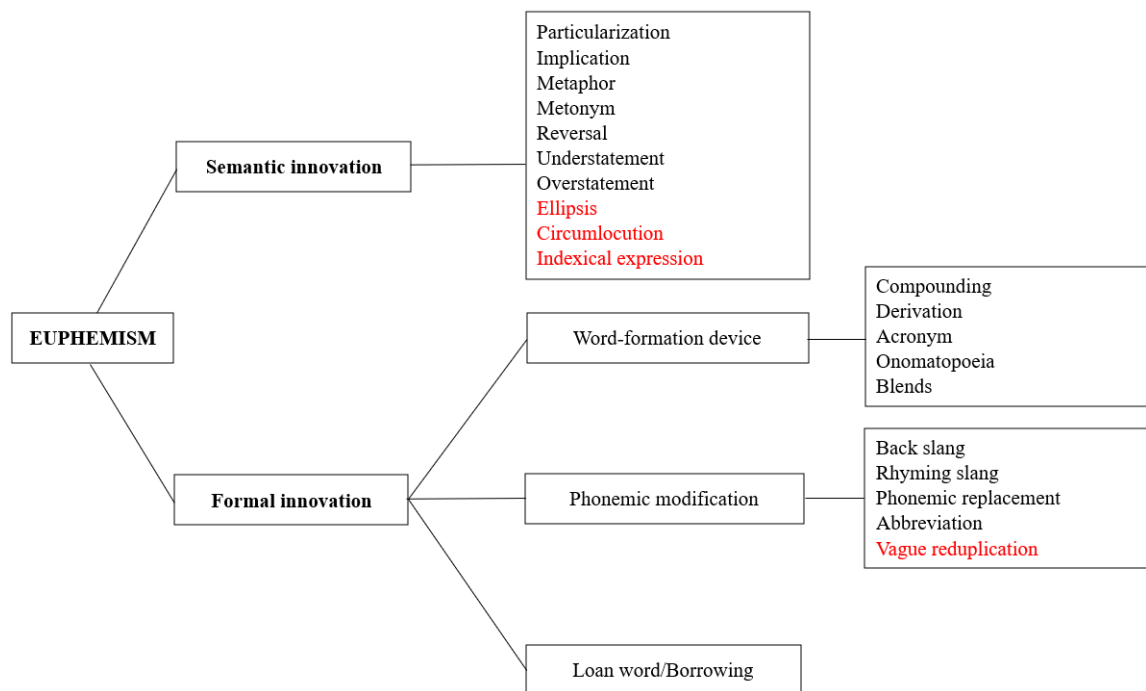


Figure 3.6: Modified Version of Warren's Model by Yetkiner (2006)

Warren's Model (Yetkiner, 2006) consists of two types of formation strategies, which are semantic innovation and formal innovation. The semantic innovation device comprises 10 strategies: particularization, implication, metaphor, metonym, reversal, understatement, overstatement, ellipsis, circumlocution, and indexical expression. The first device under formal innovation is the word-formation device, which involves strategies such as compounding, derivation, acronym, onomatopoeia, and blends. The second device is the phonemic modification device, encompassing strategies such as back slang, rhyming slang, phonemic replacement, abbreviation, and vague reduplication. The third device of formal innovation is loan words, in which euphemisms are formed through borrowing words from other languages.

Objective 2 of this research involves analysing the formation of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms using the strategies outlined in Warren's Model, as modified by Yetkiner (2006). This framework is selected for its precise categorization of each strategy, providing a comprehensive approach to studying the methods employed in forming euphemisms by both younger and older speakers of Bidayuh Biatah. The use of this framework enhances the understanding of the euphemism formation method in native language studies such as on the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms.

3.4.3 Cultural Understanding

The cultural understanding in this study is measured by considering the Bidayuh Biatah speakers' collective understanding of the role of euphemism, drawing insights from the functions of euphemism as suggested by Burrige (2012). Additionally, the evaluation incorporates an exploration of the cultural practices and beliefs within the Bidayuh Biatah speakers' community. This approach aims to capture a better understanding of how euphemisms function within the Bidayuh Biatah cultural context while exploring the cultural influences on the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms. Figure 3.7 shows the connection between cultural understanding that comprises the function of euphemisms and cultural practices that influence the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms.

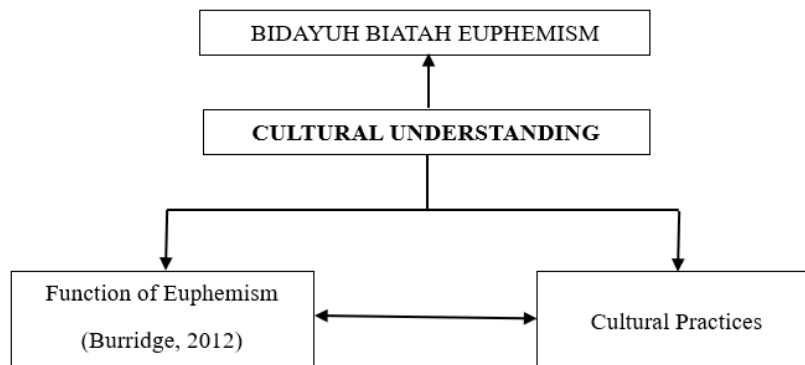


Figure 3.7: The Connection Between Cultural Understanding, the Function of Euphemisms, and Cultural Practices

3.4.3.1 Functions of Euphemisms

Burridge (2012) defined euphemisms as sweet-sounding or at least harmless substitutes employed to replace avoided terms. Burridge (2012) then further identified six different tasks performed by euphemisms which are 1) the protective euphemism to shield and avoid offence, 2) the underhand euphemism to mystify and misrepresent, 3) the uplifting euphemism to talk up and to inflate, 4) the provocative euphemism to reveal and inspire, 5) the cohesive euphemism to show solidarity and to help define the gang, and 6) the ludic euphemism to have fun and entertain. Table 3.2 shows the six functions of euphemisms suggested by Burridge (2012) and examples of each function.

Table 3.2: The six functions of euphemisms suggested by Burridge (2012)

Function	Description
The protective euphemism	To shield and avoid offence - created when facing tricky problems on how to talk in different contexts about things that for one reason or another one would prefer not to speak of unrestrainedly in the

Table 3.2 continued

	prevailing context; euphemism as verbal escape hatches created in response to taboo
	Examples: <i>thing</i> means 'penis' or 'vagina'
The underhand euphemism	To mystify and misrepresent - euphemism is used not so much to conceal offence but to disguise a topic deliberately and to deceive or to play down the negativity of something: double-speak or dishonest euphemism
	Examples: <i>get snotty</i> means 'to use heroin', <i>lipton tea</i> means poor quality drugs
The uplifting euphemism	To talk up and to inflate - euphemistic expressions presumably have more pleasing connotations than alternative ways of speaking simply by virtue of their being jargon: euphemisms that are used to promote something by saying good things
	Examples: <i>person</i> means 'penis', <i>preowned cars</i> means 'used cars'
The provocative euphemism	To reveal and to inspire - euphemistic expressions that are more involved than straightforward politeness and the maintenance of face, however, even the more mainstream face-saving euphemism often do more cover-up abhorrent reality: euphemism not to disguise or conceal the unpleasant reality
The cohesive euphemism	To show solidarity and to help define the gang - taboos and euphemisms become a sign of social cohesion and only people of the group would know and understand the euphemistic expressions
	Examples: <i>the 100-year betrayal</i> is a term understood only by the Kurdish people despite sharing geographical overlap with the Arabs or Turks
The ludic euphemism	To have fun and entertain - euphemism mainly created to amuse and as a part of everyday verbal play
	Examples: <i>belly laugh</i> and <i>hysterical</i> means 'laughing loudly and deeply'

The functions of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms are analysed according to Burrridge's (2012) suggestion of six functions of euphemism.

3.4.3.2 Cultural Practices

In this study, cultural practices refer to how culture influences language and shapes the interpretation of meaning within a society of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. According to Kress (2010), culture encompasses socially constructed values, tools, meanings, knowledge, and resources, while society is the context where interactions occur, group practices are enacted, and the influence of power is evident. Kramsch (2014) emphasizes that the connection between culture and language occurs semiotically, linguistically, and discursively. Meaning, the interplay between culture and language extends beyond mere words, encompassing symbols, linguistic structures, and the broader discourse within a community. Different cultures have different meanings for many things, and to define a ‘meaning’ in a particular culture, one needs to understand the interplay between their language and culture (Hill & Mannheim, 1992).

Hence, the cultural understanding in this study is evaluated through the Bidayuh Biatah euphemism functions, aligned with the functions outlined by BurrIDGE (2012). Additionally, the foundation for understanding cultural practices is established by the definitions proposed by Kress (2010), Kramsch (2014), and Hill and Mannheim (1992). BurrIDGE (2012) categorises euphemisms into six functions, each serving a different purpose: protective euphemism shields and avoids offence, underhand euphemism mystifies and misrepresents, uplifting euphemism talks up and inflates, provocative euphemism reveals and inspires, cohesive euphemism shows solidarity and defines the group, and ludic euphemism is used for fun and entertainment.

3.5 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework in this study comprises three components of theoretical frameworks, which are 1) the nine aspects of euphemism as proposed by Allan and Burridge (1991), 2) euphemism strategies derived from Warren's Model as outlined by Yetkiner (2006), and 3) the cultural understanding of Bidayuh Biatah speakers on Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms, assessed through their understanding of the Bidayuh culture and the functions of euphemisms as suggested by Burridge (2012). Figure 3.8 shows the conceptual framework utilised in this study.

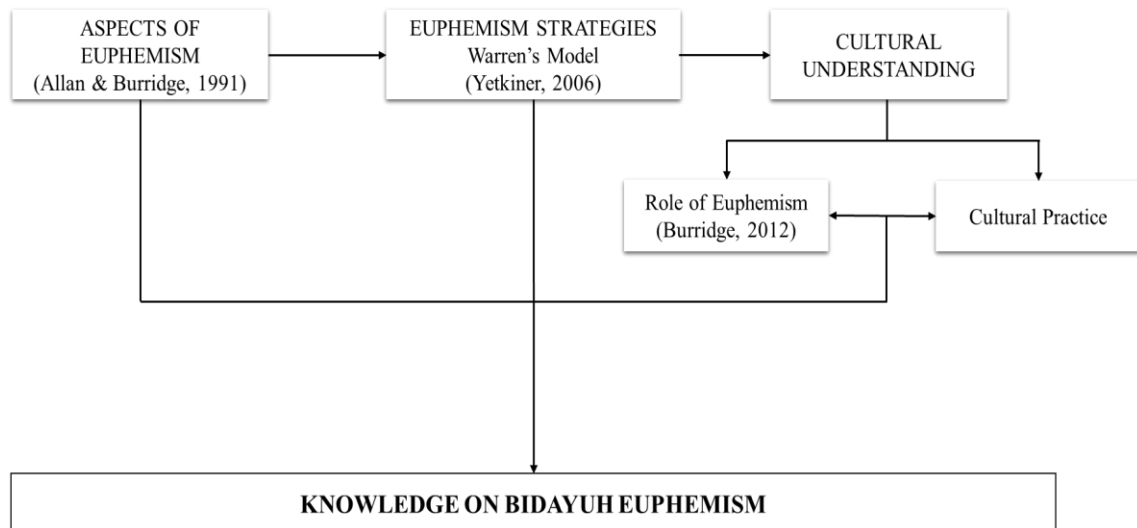


Figure 3.8: Conceptual Framework of Knowledge on Bidayuh Biatah Euphemism

Therefore, in this study, the knowledge of Bidayuh Biatah euphemism was measured by the occurrences of euphemisms according to Allan and Burridge's (1991) delineation of nine aspects of euphemisms, exploring euphemism strategies as proposed by Yetkiner (2006) in Warren's Model which involves four devices and 21 strategies altogether, and considering the cultural understanding built from the six functions of euphemism according to Burridge

(2012) and the definitions contributing to the understanding of cultural practices as presented by Kress (2010), Kramsch (2014), and Hill and Manheim (1992).

Allan and BurrIDGE (1991) suggested nine aspects of euphemism: bodily parts, gender, sex, anger, hatred, illness, death, fear, and referral to gods. These aspects were used to identify the euphemisms used by the Bidayuh Biatah speakers, aligned with Objective 1 of the study, which aimed to identify euphemisms used by both younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers. Objective 2 aimed to study the euphemism formation methods used by the Bidayuh Biatah speakers, utilizing Warren's Model (Yetkiner, 2006), which suggested four devices encompassing 21 strategies, which are particularisation, implication, metaphor, metonym, reversal, understatement, overstatement, ellipsis, circumlocution, indexical expression, compounding, derivation, acronym, onomatopoeia, blends, vague reduplication, back slang, rhyming slang, phonemic replacement, abbreviations, and borrowing words from other languages as a strategy to form euphemisms.

The study's understanding of Bidayuh Biatah euphemism explored the cultural understanding of Bidayuh Biatah speakers, as per Objective 3, which seeks to relate the functions of the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms with their cultural understanding. This cultural understanding aligned with the functions of euphemism among Bidayuh Biatah speakers and their cultural practices. The functions of euphemism were based on the six functions suggested by BurrIDGE (2012): protective euphemism, underhand euphemism, uplifting euphemism, provocative euphemism, cohesive euphemism, and ludic euphemism.

3.6 Instruments

Two instrument were employed to achieve the objectives of this study: the open-ended guide questions for an in-depth interview with the informants and the euphemism

wordlist. The interviews were incorporated by a euphemism word list designed based on the nine aspects of euphemisms proposed by Allan and Burrridge (1991) and semi-structured open-ended interview questions in guiding the flow of the interviews.

3.6.1 Open-Ended Interview

An open-ended interview is described as a free-flown conversation (Burns, 2000). Even so, in this study, open-ended interviewing involves using a pre-structured set of questions to cover specific topics with each participant. These questions serve as guidelines, addressing various subjects related to the focus of the study. Unlike oral surveys, open-ended interviews consist of follow-up questions throughout the interview, with some pre-structured questions and others based on the informants' responses. By enabling the informant to elaborate on any questions or even shift to entirely different topics, the researcher can enhance the quantity of collected data and improve the study's validity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

3.6.1.1 Euphemism Word List

The euphemisms in this study are only within the nine aspects of euphemism proposed by Allan and Burrridge (1991), which include bodily parts, gender, sex, anger, hatred, illness, death, fear, and referral to gods. These aspects ensured a standardised approach to data collection and served as a guide for identifying euphemisms used by the Bidayuh Biatah speakers. A word list, derived from Allan and Burrridge's (1991) aspects, served as the data collection instrument. Data is then collected through open-ended interviews with selected informants. Table 3.3 illustrates the euphemism word list categorised based on the nine aspects suggested by Allan and Burrridge (1991).

Table 3.3: Euphemism Word List Based on the Nine Aspects of Euphemism Suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991)

Aspect	Division/Part	Word list
Bodily parts	Male sexual organ	Penis
	Female sexual organ	Vagina Breast
Gender	Menstruation	Menstruating Menstruation blood
	Pregnancy	Pregnant Pregnant before marriage Abortion
		Miscarriage
		Infertile
	Infertility Marital status	Divorced Widow Widower
Sex	Sexual intercourse	Legal (with a spouse)
		Illegal (with other than spouse)
Anger	Insult	Stubborn Stupid Fat Short
	Curse words	(any relevant curse words used)
Hatred	Devaluing and belittling someone	Unmarried woman Unmarried man Child out of wedlock Poor
Illness	Mystical illness	Possessed by mystical creatures or spirits
	Mental illness	Illness of unknown causes
	News on someone's illness	Crazy Mild illness
		Life-threatening illness
Death	News on someone's death	He/she has died
	News of a dying person	He/she is dying
	Mentioning the name of a dead person	(anything relevant)
	Dead body	Corpse
	Grave	Burial site Coffin

Table 3.3 continued

	Afterlife	Afterlife in religious belief Afterlife in the ancestral belief
Fear	Of animals Of spirits	Naming animals in certain situations Naming spirits or ghosts
Referral of gods	In religious belief In ancestral belief	Naming Gods and spirits Naming gods, deities, and spirits

During the interview, the researcher used a form consisting of the euphemism word list created by the researcher based on Allan and Burrige's (1991) nine aspects of euphemisms to write down the answers and information provided by the informants. Refer to the Appendix A for a sample of the form.

3.6.1.2 Open-Ended Interview Questions

Prior to the open-ended interview, pre-constructed interview questions were prepared beforehand. These questions are divided into three parts: Part A focuses on collecting demographic information about the informants, Part B is on the euphemism data collection, and Part C delves into the informants' opinions on the Bidayuh language. Note that the demographic is in the first part of the interview, particularly to accommodate older informants with potential literacy difficulties. Part A includes the fundamental demographic information and details about the informants' language background. Table 3.4 shows Part A which is constructed as follows.

Table 3.4: Part A of the Pre-Constructed Interview Questions on the Demographic Information and Language Background

1. Age	2. Highest education level	3. Occupation
4. Language Background:		
a.	Are both of your parents Bidayuh?	
b.	What languages do you speak?	
5. Bidayuh language background:		
a.	Which language do you use at home?	
b.	Which language do you use with your Bidayuh friends and extended family?	

Part B of the open-ended pre-constructed interview questions were incorporated with the euphemism word list, and the questions were asked according to the word list. For each word in the word list, similar questions guided by Part B of the pre-constructed questions were asked until the data covered all nine aspects of euphemism suggested by Allan and Burrridge (1991). The questions are constructed as shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Part B of the Pre-Constructed Interview Questions on the Euphemism Word List

No.	Question	Remark
1.	What is the word that you use for (word list) in your language?	Use words from the word list
2.	What is the literal meaning of it?	Follow-up questions on meaning and backstory
3.	Can you provide an example of how to use the word in a sentence?	
4.	Is (answer from Q1) acceptable to use when talking to others?	If YES, proceed to 4a, if NO, proceed to 4b
a.	Are there any other words that are not acceptable to be used when talking to others?	
b.	Is there any other way that may be more acceptable to be used when talking to others?	
5.	Why do you think that it is unacceptable or prohibited for the Bidayuh speakers to say it?	Ask only if there is any unacceptable word given
6.	Why is (euphemism) used instead of (answer from Q4)?	

Table 3.5 continued

7.	Do you think that the Bidayuh culture or beliefs influenced the usage of it?	
8.	Is this a way of expressing politeness when speaking Bidayuh?	
9.	Which one is used more in daily language usage?	Ask for questions with multiple answers
10.	Are these words still used in your daily language usage, or have they fallen out of use?	
11.	Are these words familiar to everyone or only used by specific groups in your language, for example, among older speakers only or among younger speakers only?	

Part C of the pre-constructed interview questions concerns the informants' opinions of the Bidayuh language. This part of the interview allows the study of the informants' opinions on the Bidayuh language usage among the younger and older speakers of Bidayuh.

Table 3.7 shows the Part C of the pre-constructed interview questions.

Table 3.7: Part C of the Pre-Constructed Interview Questions on the Informants' Opinions of the Bidayuh Language

No.	Question	Remark
1.	Do you think that older speakers are more conscious of using euphemisms than younger speakers?	
2.	Do you think that the Bidayuh language spoken by the older speakers is the same as that spoken by the younger speakers?	If YES, proceed to 2a, if no, proceed to 2b
a.	Why do you think so?	
b.	How is it different?	
3.	Do you think that a speaker's background – education, social class, financial status, occupation, and other language exposure, influences their language use?	

As the interview is in-depth, open-ended, the pre-constructed questions were used as guidelines during the interview. Questions that are not within the pre-constructed questions but relevant to the research were also uttered during the interview session due to the nature of an open-ended interview, which is described as a free-flown conversation (Burns, 2000). This ensures that the participants are more comfortable and able to voice their insights and knowledge on the linguistic phenomenon without feeling restricted within the pre-constructed interview questions.

3.7 Data Collection

The data collection for this study was carried out in three main phases, namely a pilot study, participant sampling, and the actual data collection process. Participants were selected using a purposeful sampling technique, guided by specific criteria to ensure the relevance of data. A total of sixteen informants were divided into two groups: younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers, with selection based on age, language background, and familiarity with euphemistic expressions.

Participants were recruited through community networks and personal referrals. Some were recommended by acquaintances familiar with the research, while others responded to informal outreach efforts. Once participants confirmed their interest and met the required criteria, interviews were scheduled at their convenience, often in their own homes or, in cases involving university affiliates, in the faculty's postgraduate room.

Before each interview, participants were briefed on the study's objectives and procedures. They were asked to read and sign a consent form outlining their rights, including confidentiality and the voluntary nature of their participation. Personal identifiers such as names and occupations were omitted from the final analysis. However, demographic data

such as age, gender, and language background were collected unless the participant requested otherwise.

Due to the researcher's limited spoken proficiency in the Biatah dialect, an interpreter was included in the data collection process. The interpreter was a fluent Biatah speaker, well-versed in the dialect, and fully briefed on the research aims and methodology. All interviews were conducted in the presence of both the researcher and the interpreter, with the interpreter facilitating the conversation. The interpreter sat directly across from the participant to maintain natural face-to-face interaction, while the researcher guided the session by providing questions and prompts.

To foster a relaxed and open atmosphere, particularly given the socially sensitive nature of euphemism, a short rapport-building conversation was held before the formal interview began. Each session was audio recorded using the researcher's smartphone, with explicit permission obtained beforehand. Interviews ranged in length from approximately 30 minutes to two hours, depending on the participant's willingness to share and elaborate on the subject matter. The inclusion of the interpreter was instrumental in ensuring accurate and culturally sensitive communication, and their role is acknowledged as an integral contribution to the success of the data collection process.

3.7.1 Recording Device

As the data were collected through open-ended interviews with the informants, the study then required the researcher to audio record the interview session, which later the recorded audios were transcribed, and the transcriptions were considered the primary data for the study. Therefore, this study acknowledged the usage of these recording devices: Huawei Nova 5T voice recorder, Samsung S22 Ultra voice recorder, and Huawei D15

Matebook audio recorder, throughout the interview sessions with all informants and no video-tapping/video recorder was used to ensure informants' privacy. All informants were well-informed on the usage of the listed audio recording devices and consented to them throughout their interview sessions.

Therefore, in order to be able to audio record the interview, the researcher required written consent from all informants before the interview.

3.7.2 Consent Matter

This study describes the minimum age for a younger participant as 18 years old due to them being in their legal age to provide consent on their own. Prior to this study, the researcher prepared a consent form outlining all necessary conditions, which the informants reviewed and agreed to before participating in the research. The consent form was prepared in English. The content of the consent form began with an introduction of the researcher and the research title, information on the usage of an audio recording device during the interview, explaining the necessity for informants to provide personal identification details such as name, identification card number, and signature, ensuring security by assuring that the researcher would maintain confidentiality, and would not disclose other information except age and gender in the thesis or to any third party. The consent form outlined the study's objectives, procedures, and participants' rights, including confidentiality and the option to withdraw at any time. Participation proceeded only after informants reviewed the information and gave their voluntary, informed consent. The second page required informants to fill in their personal details and signatures, while the researcher pledged to uphold confidentiality and agreed to the terms, finalising the mutual agreement. Refer to the Appendix B for a sample of the consent form.

3.7.3 Pilot Study

A pilot study refers to a small-scale study that is conducted priorly in preparation for a main study, that intends to ensure that the methods would work in practice (Jariath et al., 2000; Prescott & Soeken, 1989; van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2002). A pilot study usually involves a small sample, in which the pilot study in this research is participated by two informants who are not part of the primary informants: a 55-year-old female and a 25-year-old male. These informants did not fully meet the criteria of the actual research participants as the 55-year-old female, due to marriage, has moved away from the research location, Kampung Quop, for more than 20 years, regardless of her frequent visitations, and the 25-year-old male, although was a fluent Biatah speaker, but from another nearby location. Even so, the primary purpose of a pilot study is to test and refine research procedures and identify potential issues before conducting the full-scale study; therefore, the participants of a pilot study do not necessarily need to match the exact criteria of the actual participants.

Prior to the data collection procedure, the pilot study was conducted involving the two informants. The informants were interviewed guided by the interview materials and the pre-constructed interview questions. The pilot study was conducted to ensure that the instruments were solid and sufficient to provide adequate data according to the needs of the research objectives. The data from the pilot study revealed that minor changes are needed in terms of the word list and the pre-constructed questions, which are not satisfactory to the research objectives in the first phase. The pilot study also allows the researcher to estimate the time to complete an interview. This is a vital part of the data collection procedure as it allows the research team to brief the informants on the estimation of the time allocation for

the interview to reach a mutual agreement on the date and time for the interview to take place.

A pilot study also enables adjusting and revising instruments to take place before the main study (Kim, 2010). Questions that do not benefit the research are removed from the instruments. Meanwhile, additional questions that provide data according to the needs of the research objectives are added. After finalising the word list and pre-constructed questions based on the pilot results, the instruments were prepared to be used in the main interview session with eligible informants.

Following the pilot study, modifications were made to the initial instruments. These modifications included revising word choices and adding extra questions to the semi-structured interview questions to enhance the instruments and produce more comprehensive data during the interview. Among the changes made to the instruments included replacing the word ‘polite terms,’ which is used to represent euphemism in the initial instrument, with ‘more acceptable term.’ This adjustment was made due to the characteristic of euphemism revealed in the pilot study’s responses, indicating that Bidayuh euphemisms do not necessarily need to be polite. Other than that, extra questions were introduced, requesting informants to provide examples of the euphemisms’ usage within a sentence in Bidayuh Biatah. This additional question was deemed crucial, especially in analysing the usage of the term, other than providing examples for later data elaboration.

3.7.4 Data Collection Procedure

The data collection procedure consists of identifying potential informants before the data collection procedure begins. Identifying potential informants in this study involves gathering information about a potential research location prior to the fieldwork visit.

Kampung Quop was selected based on the predefined criteria for a suitable research location. To identify informants, the researcher and the interpreter communicated with residents, compiled a list of potential informants, and contacted them for a briefing beforehand before agreeing to participate in the interview. Upon agreement to participate, informants were given the option of either an in-person interview or a phone call interview, the latter being available to accommodate the scheduling constraints of some informants. The research team and informants then mutually agreed on a suitable date for the interview, considering their preferred interview mode. Three phone calls with the older speakers and four with the younger speakers were made to conduct the interview. Meanwhile, five face-to-face interview sessions with the older and four with the younger speakers were arranged.

On the scheduled interview date, for phone call interviews, the researcher and interpreter briefed the informants on the research topic, its purpose, objectives, and consent procedures through WhatsApp. Consent letters were shared via WhatsApp or email, and upon agreement, informants completed and returned the consent form to the researcher. The actual phone interviews commenced only after this process was completed.

For face-to-face interviews, the researcher provided similar verbal briefings and physical consent forms were distributed to informants to be filled out. The interview commenced once the informants agreed, signed the forms, and provided consent. Since the consent form was in English, the interpreter was assigned to convey the content to the informants.

After settling matters regarding consent and briefing, the interpreter started the interview using the word list and guidelines prepared by the researcher while the researcher took notes and ensured that the interview went according to the research ethics. Informants

who agreed to participate but did not consent to audio recording were presented with two options: they could either choose to withdraw from the interview without prejudice or proceed with the interview without using an audio recording. For those opting for non-recording interviews, consent letters were still provided to confirm and document their willingness to participate without audio recording. The interviews were then conducted following the guidelines, with the researcher taking detailed notes to gather information obtained during the session in the absence of an audio recording device.

The interview started with Part A, during which the interpreter gathered basic demographic information related to the research, including age, highest education level, occupation, language background, and Bidayuh language proficiency. Then, the interview proceeded to Part B, which focused on obtaining information about the euphemisms used by the informants. Part B employed a euphemism word list, with the researcher and interpreter carefully discussing and designing the interview flow beforehand to ensure that the interview flow sounded rather conversational than repetitive. The final part of the interview, Part C, involved seeking the informants' insights and opinions on the Bidayuh language, allowing the researcher to gauge their perceptions and thoughts. Before concluding the interview, informants were encouraged to share any additional relevant information or comments relevant to the research topic, which the researcher noted and recorded as part of the research data.

In summary, the data collection in this study consists of three procedures: the pilot study, the sampling procedure, and the data collection procedure. Figure 4.9 shows the summary of the data collection procedure.

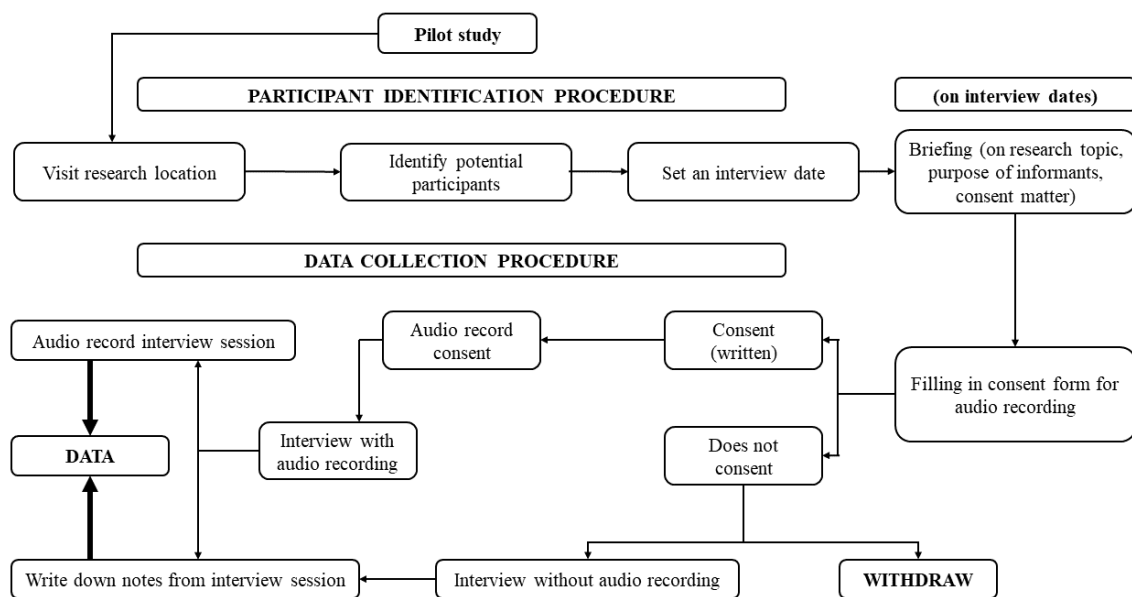


Figure 3.9: Summary of the Data Collection Procedure

Before the sampling and data collection procedures, a pilot study was undertaken to ensure the readiness of the research instruments intended for use in the main interviews with the main informants. After the pilot study, minor and major changes were made to the instruments to ensure the data collection aligned with the research objectives. Following the completion of the pilot study, the researcher and the interpreter visited the research location to identify suitable informants for participants. The researcher then contacted the potential informants to arrange interview dates, either through face-to-face meetings or phone calls. Ahead of the interview sessions, informants were briefed on the research topic, the purpose, and their roles, and consent matters were discussed, considering the preferred usage of a recording device during the interview. Those who consented to audio recording verbally affirmed their consent at the beginning of the recording before the interview started, guided by the pre-constructed interview questions. Informants who declined audio recording were given the option to withdraw from the interview or proceed without recording, with the

researcher noting down all information provided during the session as the primary data source for later reference.

The information gathered from the interview sessions through audio-recorded interviews, non-audio-recorded interviews, and the researcher's notes are then compiled as the primary data source. The data is then extracted from the source to be analysed according to the research objectives. The interview duration varied from 30 minutes to three hours for different informants.

3.7.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations in qualitative research involve avoiding ethical breaches. Arifin (2018) outlined important ethical issues in their study including informed consent and voluntary participations and anonymity and confidentiality, in which this study has adhered to.

In this study, potential informants were briefed adequately about the research, covering topics, objectives, participant roles, and the use of recording devices. They were granted the autonomy to decide whether to voluntarily participate in the research or decline participation. Those choosing to participate voluntarily were provided with a consent form detailing all aspects of the study, which they were required to complete with written consent. Regardless of giving consent, the participants were assured of their right to withdraw from the research at any time without consequences if they ever felt uncomfortable or for any other reasons. Before starting the interview, participants verbally reaffirmed their consent for the recording to start.

All informants were guaranteed the anonymity and confidentiality of their identification information, including names and identification card numbers. The consent form required informants to provide details such as names, gender, age, and identification card numbers to validate the consent. Nevertheless, informants were informed that their age and gender would be used as manipulation variables in the study, while their names and identification card numbers would be kept confidential by the researcher.

3.8 Data Analysis Procedure

The data analysis procedure in this study is divided into two phases. The first phase involves transcription, data extraction, and data coding before proceeding to the second phase, where the data gathered from the first phase are analysed by utilising the framework to provide research findings for each objective.

3.8.1 Data Analysis Procedure: Phase 1

Phase 1 of the data analysis procedure encompasses transcribing the interview audio recordings, followed by extracting data from the transcriptions and notes collected during the interviews. The final step involves coding the data according to the research objectives. Note that all spellings of the transcribed data follow the spellings in the Dayak Bidayuh-English Dictionary Second Edition, compiled by William Nais (2017).

3.8.1.1 Data Transcription

Transcription involves converting spoken words, such as those captured in an audio interview recording, into written text (Halcomb & Davidson, 2005). Verbatim transcription, specifically used for the interview audio recordings, entails reproducing spoken words

exactly as they are in the recording, preserving each word meticulously and in written form, following the original spoken content word-for-word (Poland, 1995).

In this process, the researcher, as the transcriber, listened to the audio recordings and meticulously documented the speech, ensuring data appropriate for the research is fully extracted. After this process in this research, the resulting transcripts served as the foundation for the data analysis to take place after data extraction. The results after transcription are identified as the primary raw data for the research. In this study, there was no need for the interview transcription to be translated. Translations were only done for the euphemism word list and examples of sentences that were included in the findings.

3.8.1.2 Data Extraction

In this procedure, data extraction involves collecting relevant data aligned with the research objectives from interview transcriptions and the researcher's notes. The use of written field notes, whether taken during the interview or promptly afterward, have been reported to be more effective compared to relying solely on audio recordings that are later verbatim transcribed (Fasick, 2001; Wengraf, 2001). Additionally, a guideline form labelled with the informant's age and gender was prepared for use during the interview, and supplementary notes, although audio recorded, were also documented in the guideline form to ensure comprehensive data collection.

In the data extraction phase, the researcher conducted cross-checking between the information noted during the interview and the transcribed recording to ensure consistency and accuracy, avoiding any potential misinformation or confusion. The raw data were then organized and segmented according to the research objectives before proceeding with further analysis. Creswell (2013) recognised this process as the first round of coding, before refining

the labels to smaller pieces for the next round of coding. Refer to Appendix F for the completed raw data of the study. The organised and categorised data then underwent the coding process, during which each piece of data was assigned specific codes corresponding to the sections in the data analysis aligned with the research objectives.

3.8.1.3 Data Coding

In studying the usage of euphemisms among the older and younger Bidayuh Biatah speakers, a systematic approach to data coding is important, where this study has integrated both deductive and inductive coding. Tobi (2016) describes deductive coding as applying predefined codes based on the theories gathered beforehand from the literature review, which contributed to the frameworks within this study; Allan and Burrridge's (1991) nine aspects of euphemism, Yetkiner's (2006) version of Warren's Model on euphemism strategies, and cultural understanding involving Burrridge's (2012) six functions of euphemism. In this part, deductive coding functions to capture specific instances of euphemism usage related to the categories derived from the frameworks. For example, if a younger speaker refers to death using euphemistic terms like 'pass away' or 'gone', this occurrence would be coded under one of the aspects of euphemism suggested by Allan and Burrridge (1991), which is death.

On the other hand, inductive coding involves the creation of codes while exploring the source or raw data (Tobi, 2016). In this research, inductive coding functions to identify new themes or patterns emerging from the data, allowing for flexibility to capture other findings or nuances in euphemism usage that is outside the codes from the frameworks in deductive coding. For instance, as the data were collected using an open-ended interview, speakers could utter additional information, which, if the researcher perceived as useful, new codes would be created to label the instances.

Once the coding process was complete, both deductive and inductive coding outcomes were integrated to provide comprehensive data for the analysis of each objective of the research. By comparing and contrasting the coded data between older and younger Bidayuh Biatah speakers, similarities, differences, and patterns of euphemism usage were identified and presented in the findings.

3.8.2 Data Analysis Procedure: Phase 2

The second phase of the data analysis procedure was structured based on the research objectives. Following the data coding for each objective, the analysis was conducted using the respective framework to derive findings for each objective.

3.8.2.1 Data Analysis Objective 1

Objective 1 of the study is to identify the euphemisms used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers. In the data analysis procedure for Objective 1, information was extracted from Part B of the interview. The collected data were then analysed and categorised based on the euphemism word list derived from the nine aspects of euphemism proposed by Allan and Burridge (1991). The data were organised based on the aspects of euphemism, with the inclusion of euphemism examples in the table for presentation. The examples provided in the table are a subset taken from the rawdata. Refer to the Appendix F for the full data. Table 3.8 illustrates the table used for data presentation for Findings 1.

Table 3.8: Table Used for Data Presentation Findings 1

Euphemism Aspects	Younger speakers		Older speakers	
	Euphemism examples	Number of occurrences	Euphemism examples	Number of occurrences
Bodily parts				
Sex				

Table 3.8 continued

Gender				
Anger				
Hatred				
Fear				
Illness				
Death				
Referral of gods				

The table for Findings 1 presents the findings for the euphemisms used by both younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers. Further elaboration follows the table, which includes examples of the usage of Bidayuh Biatah euphemism in sentences between both younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

3.8.2.2 Data Analysis Objective 2

Objective 2 of the study is to study the euphemism formation methods used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers according to Warren's Model (2006). In the data analysis process for Objective 2, data were extracted from Findings 1, and additional data were collected through Part B of the interview instruments. The word list obtained from the raw data of Findings 1 served as the primary data for analysing the formation strategies of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms, utilizing Warren's Model (2006). This involved a meticulous examination and understanding of the definitions and mechanisms of the formation strategies proposed by Warren (1992) and Yetkiner (2006) within Warren's Model, alongside the data extracted from Part B to accurately identify the formation strategies of euphemisms used by the Biatah speakers. Similar to the presentation table in Findings 2, the presentation table for Findings 2 includes only examples of euphemisms for each strategy, used by each group of Bidayuh Biatah speakers, extracted from the raw data. For the complete raw dataset of Findings 2, refer to the Appendix F. Table 4.8 shows the table used for data presentation for Findings 2.

Table 3.9: Table Used for Data Presentation Findings 2

Strategies	Euphemism examples	
	Younger speakers	Older speakers
SEMANTIC INNOVATION DEVICE		
Particularisation		
Implication		
Metaphor		
Metonym		
Reversal		
Understatement		
Overstatement		
Ellipsis		
Circumlocution		
Indexical expression		
WORD FORMATION DEVICE		
Compounding		
Derivation		
Acronym		
Onomatopoeia		
Blends		
PHONEMIC MODIFICATION DEVICE		
Back slang		
Rhyming slang		
Phonemic replacement		
Abbreviation		
Vague reduplication		
LOAN WORD DEVICE		
(insert languages)		

The table of data presentation for Findings 2 combined the euphemism strategies employed by both older and younger Bidayuh Biatah speakers. The table allows a clear presentation of the similarities and differences in the euphemism strategies used by these two groups of speakers. The elaboration following the table first defines the euphemism strategies of each device before describing the occurrences of these strategies in the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms. Additionally, the justification includes a comparison of the strategies employed by the older and younger Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

3.8.2.3 Data Analysis Objective 3

Objective 3 of the study aims to relate the functions of euphemism with the Bidayuh Biatah speakers' cultural understanding. For this objective, data were gathered from Findings 2 and Part B of the interview. Understanding the cultural influences of Bidayuh Biatah euphemism required, first, the analysis of the function of euphemism in the culture based on Burrige (2012) six functions of euphemism, and second, the analysis of the speakers' understanding of their cultural practices and belief system that influenced their euphemisms. The functions of euphemism in the Bidayuh Biatah community were analysed according to the six functions of euphemism proposed by Burrige (2012), which were then correlated with the speakers' cultural practices and belief system. The findings, labelled as Findings 3, are presented in sections according to the functions of euphemism as per Burrige (2012). The table of presentation includes the aspects of euphemism, subjects from the word list, and examples of euphemism extracted from the raw data. Refer to the Appendix F for the full set of raw data. Table 3.10 shows the table used for data presentation for Findings 3.

Table 3.10: Table Used for Data Presentation Findings 3

Subjects	Younger Biatah speakers	Older Biatah speakers
BODILY PARTS		
Male sexual organs		
Female sexual organs		
GENDER		
Pregnancy		
Infertility		

The table is repeated until the elaboration of Findings 3 covers all euphemism functions present in the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms. This is done to provide a clear presentation of the euphemism functions used by two different generations of the Bidayuh Biatah speakers. Each table is followed by elaborations, starting with the definitions and descriptions of each euphemism function as suggested by Burrige (2012). The elaboration includes the explanation and correlation of the cultural practices and beliefs gathered from the informants and correlates them with euphemism functions according to each generation.

3.9 Summary

In summary, the data analysis procedure was conducted in order, to align with the importance of the findings for the following objectives. In this study, the second phase of the data analysis involves analysing data extracted from the first phase to derive findings for the objectives of the study. Consequently, the data analysis procedure follows the order of the objectives. The summary of the second phase is illustrated in Figure 4.10.

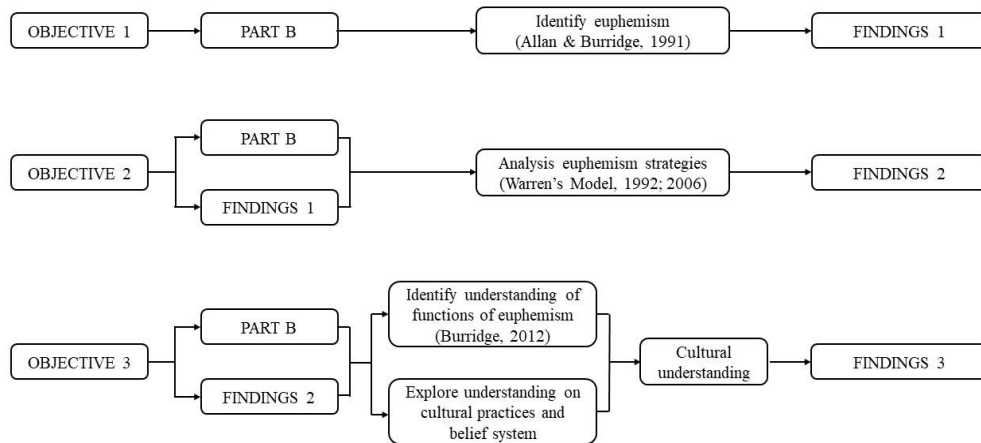


Figure 3.10: The Summary of the Data Collection Procedure Phase 2

Figure 3.10 shows the overview of the second phase of the data analysis procedure that results in the primary findings of this study.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

The research aims to analyse the use of euphemisms among the younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers. This section presents the findings for each objective, which are 1) to identify the euphemisms used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers according to the nine aspects of euphemism as suggested by Allan and Burrige (1991), 2) to study the euphemism formation method used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers according to Warren's Model (2006), and 3) to relate the functions of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms with the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers' cultural understanding of the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms.

4.1 Euphemisms Used by The Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers

This section presents the findings for Objective 1 of the research, which compared the euphemisms used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers according to the nine aspects of euphemism as suggested by Allan and Burrige (1991). The data were gathered from interviews with the informants according to a list created using Allan and Burrige's (1991) nine aspects of euphemism: bodily parts, gender, sex, anger, hatred, illness, death, fear, and referral of gods.

The interview data revealed that the Bidayuh Biatah speakers, both the younger and older informants, used euphemistic expressions in all nine aspects of euphemism which shows that regardless of the generational gap of the Biatah speakers, these nine aspects are the topics and matters requiring euphemisms in the language. Specifically, the younger informants used euphemisms in all nine aspects, whereas the older informants used

euphemisms in only eight aspects of euphemisms, excluding the aspect of referral of gods.

Table 4.1 shows the euphemism aspects used by each generation and examples of euphemisms according to the data. Refer to the Appendix F for the complete data.

Table 4.1: Euphemisms Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers

Euphemism aspects	Younger speakers		Older speakers	
	Euphemism examples	Number of occurrences	Euphemism examples	Number of occurrences
Bodily parts	<i>manuk</i> ‘bird’, <i>kăyuh</i> ‘thing’, <i>kăyuh dayung</i> ‘female thing’	12	<i>buat dari</i> ‘male’s property’, <i>kăyuh</i> ‘thing’, <i>sido</i> ‘chest’	14
Sex	<i>beūs samah</i> ‘sleep together’, <i>ndai kăyuh spedin</i> ‘doing weird thing’	7	<i>bisamah</i> ‘together’, <i>nyibeūs</i> ‘put to sleep’, <i>nayung</i> ‘to woman’	12
Gender	<i>măndüğ kăis</i> ‘come dirty’, <i>bayuh gi nasib</i> ‘not yet have luck’, <i>bipisah</i> ‘going apart’	18	<i>kăis</i> ‘dirty’, <i>berisi</i> ‘pregnant’, <i>dũh biyũn petek</i> ‘does not have rubber sap’	25
Anger	<i>turah</i> ‘karma-like’, <i>dũh dingah itong</i> ‘does not listen to advice/count’	11	<i>deras</i> ‘strong flow’, <i>jaga pũrũng</i> ‘take care of (your) body’	16
Hatred	<i>bujang nyamba</i> ‘old bachelor/bachelorette’, <i>dũh mampu</i> ‘could not afford’	7	<i>bujang tibũn</i> ‘unblemished bachelor’, <i>anak sebak</i> ‘wind’s child’	13
Fear	<i>dang</i> ‘animal’, <i>kăyuh anũ</i> ‘that thing’	7	<i>teris sinjang</i> ‘pants’ string’, <i>ngera</i> ‘they/them’	12
Illness	<i>dog ngaso</i> ‘disturbed’, <i>dog nguri</i> ‘healed’	12	<i>dog sebak</i> ‘get hit by the wind’, <i>dũh betur</i> ‘not right’, <i>babo</i> ‘forgetful/senile’	21

Table 4.1 continued

Death	<i>mbũh meting</i> ‘already gone’, <i>mbũh penu</i> ‘already walked, <i>arũn bauh</i> ‘new home’	28	<i>penu tingge ong</i> ‘walked left the world’, <i>ayũh</i> ‘him/her’, <i>tebũn asũng</i> ‘at the end of life’	26
Referral of gods	<i>bai di sãmbu</i> ‘old man above’	1	N/A	N/A
	TOTAL	103		139

The data in Table 4.1 shows that the older speakers knew more Biatah euphemisms than younger speakers. Even so, the older speakers only used euphemisms for eight aspects, as suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991), which are the bodily parts, gender, sex, anger, hatred, fear, illness, and death. However, the younger speakers used euphemisms for all nine aspects, as suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991), which includes the aspect of referral of gods - the aspect that is not present among the older speakers.

According to the data, only the younger Biatah speakers have euphemisms used to refer to God. Table 4.2 shows the euphemistic expressions used by the younger speakers to describe God.

Table 4.2: Euphemism Used by the Younger Speaker to Describe God

To refer to God	
Biatah euphemism	Translation
<i>bai di sãmbu</i>	Old man above

The term *bai di sãmbu*, which means ‘old man above’, is only used by younger speakers when there is a need to mention God without the conversation being serious-sounding. Although most, if not all, the younger speakers were born and brought up as Christians, they seemed more lenient with their beliefs. The term *bai di sãmbu* is a euphemism as it does not

contain any disrespectful or offensive aspect towards religion but only describes God according to the image of God in Christianity familiarised to the younger speakers. It is used to playfully deliver a prohibition on doing something prohibited in the religion. For instance, Sentence (1) shows an example of how the term is used by younger speakers.

- (1) *berani* *ù* *minyu* *sà* *anũ* *tè* *bai* *di*
dare you speak like that later **old man** **at**
sãmbu *tiwas*
above angry

“You dare to speak like that, later the **old man above** gets angry”

(Informant YF1)

According to an informant, this term is only used when talking with Biatah speakers of their age groups due to the possibility of sounding disrespectful in front of the older speakers, who are more conservative and stricter with their religious practice, as shown in the interview excerpt below:

Perkataan ati kieh sebut kamũ meting nyamba adũ, mai ngera nũ an rebis ‘strict’ bah, jadi bara nyamba an nang yang ati dũh bisa sebut walaupun meting perkataan ‘sensitive’ atau ‘disrespectful’ dărũm-i.

[This word we only use when there are no older people around because they are stricter, so they would say that we should not say this even though there are no sensitive or disrespectful words in it].

(Informant YF3)

God in Biatah is *Tepà*; therefore, while referencing God's name, *Tepà*, is not considered offensive or taboo, it is important to note that in the playful context where younger speakers use the term *bai di sǎmbu*, they are refraining from using God's name in vain.

Some differences can be seen in the euphemisms that are only used by each of the generations. For instance, only the older speakers have euphemisms to describe infertility, a topic within the aspect of gender. Table 4.3 shows the euphemistic expressions used by the older speakers to describe infertility.

Table 4.3: Euphemism Used by the Older Speakers to Describe Infertility

To describe infertility	
Biatah euphemism	Translation
<i>beyuh</i>	barren
<i>Dǔh biyǔn petek</i>	Does not have sap

The older speakers provided euphemistic expressions to describe infertility – a topic within the gender aspect, which are *beyuh* and *dǔh biyǔn petek*, which respectively means ‘barren’ and ‘does not have sap’. These expressions are only used by the older speakers, whereas the younger speakers have no euphemistic expressions to describe infertility. According to the younger informants, the topic of infertility is considered highly sensitive, resulting in the subject being less spoken of among the speakers’ community, and the younger speakers are less exposed to the Biatah terms used to describe infertility. When discussing infertility, the younger speakers are found to be more comfortable in using the Malay term *mandul*, which translates into ‘infertile’; a direct and non-euphemistic term that is also commonly used and heard among the younger speakers. On the other hand, among the older speakers, the term *dǔh biyǔn petek*, which translates into ‘does not have sap’, is

used only by older male speakers when talking among themselves. The reason it is used by male speakers is because they find it to be disrespectful towards female speakers if it is said within their presence. Other than that, this term involves mutual experiences of the male speakers, making it easier to discuss among themselves only, as per an informant: there a

...pak atì bara dari dũ pùan maksud-i, kieh dũh gũh nang atì kamũi agi bara dayung... dũh paũh sopan gũh nyam-i.

[...but this is only known to the men, we do not say this when there is women around... it feels not very respectful to say too].

(Informant OM4)

In the expression, *dũh biyũn petek*, being infertile is associated with not being able to produce semen, which is euphemised as ‘sap’, like rubber sap.

Among the Biatah informants, some terms are used by both generations, but the definitions of the expressions are only known by the older speakers and not by the younger speakers. For instance, the terms *turang dawu* or *bidawu*. These terms are old terms, which means ‘the bone of the long dead’, and are only used to refer to the posthumous title used before the name of someone who has died. According to the Biatah informants, the names of the deceased should not be mentioned directly, and this knowledge has been passed to the younger generations. The younger informants believed that these titles were used to adhere to the taboo and to be respectful towards the deceased. Even so, some older informants stated that these terms are used to differentiate between the deceased and the living:

*Bah, kan yũn membezakan ‘status’ dayà babũ mudip ayo dayà mbũh meting...
dà ngeranũ pùan dũh ngaso urusan dayà babũ mudip.*

[*Bah*, it is used to differentiate the status of the living and those already gone... so that they know not to intervene in the matters of the living].

(Informant OF1)

According to the informant, the Bidayuh speakers emphasized the significance of distinguishing between the status of the deceased and the living. They believe that although the spirit of the deceased may still linger around their homes and families after death, assigning such titles to them serves to remind both the deceased and the living of their new status, discouraging the deceased from intervening in earthly matters and encouraging them to peacefully continue their journey to the afterlife. Hence, titles such as *turang dawu* and *bidawu* are used before the name of the deceased. Sentence (2) shows the usage of the title in Biatah:

- (2) *jà* *atà* *samah* *smayang* *ngen* ***turang dawu*** *Ropit*
let us together pray for **the late** Ropit
“Let us pray together for **the late** Ropit”.

(Informant OM4)

In the sentence, the term *turang dawu* has similar usage to the English term ‘the late’ or the Malay term *mendiang*, which is also a posthumous title used before the name of the deceased. The younger speakers, however, are taught the importance and usage of the terms but not their literal meaning. Nevertheless, even among the older generation, it was quite a challenge to find individuals who could articulate the precise definition of the phrase, given that it is an old phrase and the limited knowledge of its etymology among many Biatah speakers. The younger speakers were also found to use the Malay term, *mendiang*, due to their familiarity with the term and its usage outside of the Bidayuh Biatah community.

Other than that, there were also subjects that both generations euphemised, but the euphemistic expressions differ between the two generations, such as the terms used to describe a child that is born out of wedlock. Table 4.4 shows the euphemisms used by the speakers in describing a child born out of wedlock.

Table 4.4: Euphemisms Used by the Speakers in Describing a Child Out of Wedlock

	To describe a child born out of wedlock	
	Euphemism	English translation
Younger speakers	<i>anak luar nikah</i> (Malay)	child outside marriage
	<i>anak sebayuh suwan</i>	child before marriage
Older speakers	<i>anak saruh</i>	weird child
	<i>anak sebak</i>	wind's child

According to the data, the younger speakers are seen to either use terms derived from Malay, '*anak luar nikah*' or euphemised using the descriptive phrases '*anak sebayuh suwan*', which translate into 'child outside marriage' and 'child before marriage', respectively. Meanwhile, the older speakers used terms such as *anak saruh* and *anak sebak*, which means 'strange child' and 'wind's child' respectively. The term *anak saruh* describes the child as 'strange occurrences', or an occurrence that is outside their norms. The Bidayuh living in the location of study, Kampung Quop, are mostly if not all, Christians. The history of Christianity among the Bidayuh people started in Kampung Quop, one of the few early Bidayuh settlements to ever receive the influence of Anglicans in the 1950s (Ansley & Bala, 2018). Since then, generation after generation, the practice of Christianity has become widespread among the Bidayuh living there. Most of them closely follow Christian practices; therefore, what is taught and normalised in their religion has become part of their lifestyle and is considered normal, but some actions and behaviours that defy the teaching of religion

are considered strange. This includes having a child that is born out of wedlock due to the pre-marital sexual intercourse that leads to the birth of the child, which is considered a sin in Christianity. As the Biatah speakers' faith and belief find that it is not 'normal' to have a child born before marriage, the child is then described as 'strange', hence the term *anak saruh*. An excerpt taken from the interview describing the situation is as follows:

Mun kù nang te-jah, kamüi anak anũ dog branak pak sindũ samà-i, 'marriage'-i dũh 'properly solemnised by the priest and the church' atau bara 'elders' kapong, ayũh 'illegitimate' lah, dayà kapong dũh 'recognise' ... mun saruh dayà tingà anak anũ.

[Like I have said earlier, if the child is born but the mother and father's, their marriage, is not properly solemnised by the priest and the church or the elders of the village, it is illegitimate, and the people in the village would not recognise... like they would see the child as strange].

(Informant OM3)

This phrase is, however, not to be used directly to those related to the child but rather often used in a gossiping manner - talking behind someone's back or *sotto voce* (quietly), as per OM3.

Regardless of the differences, both younger and older generations show similarities in the terms used in some subjects, such as the term *kăyuh*, which means 'thing' and *berisi*, which translates into 'with flesh' or 'with contain'. Both generations use the term *kăyuh* to refer to many things, such as male and female sexual organs, female breasts, and naming animals and spirits. While already quite general in usage, the term *kăyuh* in Biatah meant (and still means) specifically the physical concepts related to wood, such as sticks, wooden

poles, and planks. However, due to the abundance and prevalence of wood in the daily interactions of the Bidayuh, the usage of the word *kăyuh*, which means ‘wood’, has been widened to include an extensive range of physical objects, typically objects that can be picked up or lifted – similar to the English word ‘thing’. The matter was discussed in the interview by an informant:

Maksud kăyuh ati dŭ, ‘wood’ adŭ ayŭh bah, bara dayà babŭ tinan ‘word’ anŭ kamŭi an ‘refer’ kăyuh mun kayu ka papan... Pak, maksud-i mbŭh makin luas mai madin ‘word’ anŭ bisa pakai gŭh kamŭi an nang kăyuh beken, seraru-i yang ‘general’ lah... Kăyuh adi peris an nang bisa gŭh pakai ‘word’ kăyuh anŭ pak pandai-pandai adŭp-i faham maksud-i lah.

[The meaning of *kăyuh* here just means ‘woods’, people still use the word when referring to things like sticks (in Malay) or planks (in Malay)... But, the meaning has widened because these days, the word can also be used when referring to other things, often the general ones... Things that are tabooed to say also can be referred to with just the word *kăyuh*, but people should know their own of the context and meaning].

(Informant OM2)

Meaning, the usage of *kăyuh* as a generalised term for a wide range of things provides social and metaphysical cover for taboo terms to conceal specificity within generality. In euphemism, *kăyuh* has been used to euphemise taboo words, either too vulgar for social interactions or words that are deemed spiritually dangerous if invoked, such as spirits and ghosts. This term is widely used by both generations and is usually understood by speakers

according to the context of the conversation. Sentences (3) and (4) are examples of the usage of the term referring to different contexts.

- (3) *ngu kǎyuh mù da bisig*
 wash **thing** your make clean
 “Wash your **thing**, make it clean”.

(Informant OF1)

- (4) *ayũh mudar dog ngaso kǎyuh masa ayũh metak ke tǎrun*
 he feverish get disturb **thing** while he going to forest
 “He is feverish because he got disturbed by **thing** while going to the forest”.

(Informant OF1)I

In Sentence 3, the term *kǎyuh* refers to the sexual organs. In contrast, the term in Sentence 3 refers to ghosts or spirits. Given the context, the Biatah speakers, regardless of their generation, often understood the meaning of the term according to the context of the sentences.

The term *berisi*, which translates into ‘with contain’ or ‘with flesh,’ is also a general term that is used to euphemise different things - pregnancy and the size of a person. The excerpt below shows an explanation given by an informant during the interview:

*Berisi ati agi duwũh cara atà pakai-i, ‘first one’ ka kamũi an minyu pasar
 ‘pregnancy’ dũ, ayũh bemaksud dayung anũ agi kǎyuh diang tǎin-i, itè-i
 bah... kamũi gemuk dũ, atà nang berisi mun pũrũng-i bǎgũ isin-i sebab kan
 an nang pũrũng-i bǎgũ isin, wai arap bunyi-i bah, nang berisi ayũh lembut
 lagi lah bunyi-i.*

[*Berisi* has two ways in which we can use them, the first one is when we are talking about pregnancy, it means that the woman has something inside her

stomach, her baby... if describing fatness, we say *berisi* like their body has a lot of flesh, but to say that their body has a lot of flesh sounds bad, if we use *berisi* it sounds softer].

(Informant OM3)

Pregnancy falls under the aspect of gender, and the term *berisi* is among the euphemisms used to describe pregnancy. As described by the informant, within the context of pregnancy, the term *berisi*, literally translates into ‘with contain’, referring to the condition of a pregnant woman that has ‘contain’ in their body. The same term is also a form of insult, which falls under the aspect of hatred. The term is used to describe the physique of a person who is considered bigger or fatter. Within this context, the term *berisi* means ‘with flesh’, referring to the flesh of the person that caused them to be rather big. Even so, according to the informants, back in the olden days, among the Bidayuh people, individuals with bigger physiques were considered healthy, as the bigger their physiques, the more energy they had for working and sustaining their lifestyles. However, in modern days, the Biatah speakers are aware that being overweight is associated with having an unhealthy Body Mass Index (BMI) and is often the root cause of multiple health complications, such as obesity.

In conclusion, this study has identified that all nine aspects of euphemisms, as suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991), were present in the euphemism phenomenon of the Bidayuh Biatah speakers. Even so, in comparison, the younger speakers were found to use all nine aspects – bodily parts, gender, sex, anger, hatred, fear, illness, death, and referral of gods. Meanwhile, among the older speakers, they were identified to use eight aspects only, where the usage of the euphemisms for referral of gods was not identified.

4.2 Euphemism Formation Method in The Bidayuh Biatah Euphemisms

This section presents the findings for Objective 2 of the research, which is to study the euphemism formation method used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers according to Warren's Model (2006) as suggested by Yetkiner (2006). Warren's Model consists of four euphemism formation devices: semantic innovation device, word formation device, phonemic modification device, and loan word, with 17 strategies altogether. Table 4.5 shows the euphemism strategies used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers, along with the euphemism examples from the data.

Table 4.5: Euphemism Strategies Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers

Strategies	Euphemisms Examples	
	Younger speakers	Older speakers
SEMANTIC INNOVATION DEVICE		
Particularisation	<i>manuk</i> 'bird', <i>susah</i> 'difficult', <i>ong beken</i> 'other world'	<i>buat dari</i> 'male's property', <i>berisi</i> 'with contain/flesh', <i>ayüh</i> him/her
Implication	<i>mändög andu</i> 'come day', <i>ndai käyuh spedin</i> 'doing weird thing'	<i>bisamah</i> 'together', <i>kajün andu</i> 'waiting days', <i>tedah</i> 'pity'
Metaphor	<i>mändög buran</i> 'come Moon', <i>re patüd asüng</i> 'almost severed life/soul'	<i>bu badeng</i> 'went away like a beetle', <i>deras</i> 'strong flow', <i>anak sebak</i> 'wind's child'
Metonym	<i>sekawà</i> 'region between the legs', <i>sit</i> 'small'	<i>purok</i> 'short in length'
Reversal	<i>dog nguri</i> 'given medication'	<i>dog nguri</i> 'given medication'
Understatement	<i>düh sukup buran</i> 'not enough months', <i>bipisah</i> 'going apart', <i>beüs samah</i> 'sleeping together'	<i>sidò</i> 'chest', <i>nyibeüs</i> 'put to sleep', <i>bidengan ayo dayà saruh</i> 'befriending with a strange person'

Table 4.5 continued

Overstatement	<i>măndüğ kăis</i> ‘come dirty’, <i>meting skura</i> ‘no school’	<i>kăis</i> ‘dirty’, <i>dűh paűh mereti</i> ‘not very understand’, <i>anak saruh</i> ‘strange child’
Ellipsis	<i>dűh betul</i> ‘not right’, <i>mbűh dűh tui</i> ‘already not long (time)’	<i>mbűh ruwai</i> ‘already very’, <i>reű buran</i> ‘waiting months’
Circumlocution	<i>bitè sbayuh kawen</i> ‘pregnant before marriage’, <i>ndai kăyuh di birit</i> ‘doing things in the room’	<i>bu sò banuh/sawun-i</i> ‘going away from their husband/wife’, <i>diang dűh kena</i> ‘inside not right’
Indexical expression	<i>anű</i> ‘that’, <i>ong ajeh</i> ‘that world’	<i>anű</i> ‘that’, <i>kăyuh ajeh</i> ‘the thing there’
WORD FORMATION DEVICE		
Compounding	<i>bujang nyamba</i> ‘old bachelor/bachelorette’	<i>dayung/dari tibűn</i> ‘unblemished woman/man’, <i>apű terun</i> ‘belonging of the forest’
Derivation	<i>turah</i> ‘tulah - karma-like’	<i>turah</i> ‘tulah - karma-like’
PHONEMIC MODIFICATION DEVICE		
Rhyming slang	<i>loloi (turoi)</i> ‘penis’, <i>momo (muod)</i> ‘ghost’	<i>lelew (turoi)</i> ‘penis’, <i>momong (muod)</i> ‘ghost’
Phonemic replacement	N/A	<i>setatak (seratak)</i> ‘poor’
Vague reduplication	N/A	<i>tingge-tingge</i> ‘remaining-remaining’
LOAN WORD DEVICE		
Borrowing from English	the late	paradise, scandal
Borrowing from Malay	<i>terlanjur</i> ‘accidentally already’, <i>mendiang</i> ‘the deceased’	N/A
Greek	N/A	<i>Hades</i> ‘Greek god of the underworld’

The data shows that, in comparison, there are euphemism strategies used by the older speakers but are not present in the euphemistic strategies of the younger speakers, such as phonemic replacement, vague reduplication, and borrowing from Greek. The absence of these strategies is identified due to the terms being unfamiliar to the younger speakers, such as the term *setatak*, derived from '*seratak*' which means 'poor', and *tingge-tingge* which translates into 'remaining-remaining' to euphemise 'dying'. Instead of using these terms, the younger speakers used euphemisms of other strategies to euphemise similar matters, such as *dūh mampu*, which means 'could not afford' to describe 'poor', and *mbuh duh tui* which translates into 'already not long (time) left' to euphemise 'dying'.

Likewise, there are also euphemism strategies used by the younger speakers that are not utilised by the older speakers in forming their euphemisms, such as borrowing terms from Malay. This study also identified the occurrences of terms borrowed from other languages, such as Malay, which is prevalent among the younger speakers but not among the older speakers. Terms such as *mendiang*, which translates into 'the deceased' referring to a posthumous title before the name of the deceased, and *terlanjur*, which means 'accidentally already', to refer to sexual intercourse with other than a spouse, are both Malay terms commonly used by the younger speakers. According to the younger speakers, these are the terms that they are more familiar with as they use them often when communicating with their peers outside their Biatah circle. Thus, this shows the influence of other languages into their ethnic language.

The study has also discovered that both generations of Biatah speakers used a wide range of circumlocution strategies under the semantic innovation device to form their euphemisms. According to the data, both speakers showed more usage of euphemisms derived from circumlocution.

4.2.1 Semantic Innovation Device

Both younger and older Biatah speakers derived their euphemistic expressions from all 10 strategies under the semantic innovation device. The semantic innovation device consists of strategies in which senses are established by words or a combination of words (Warren, 1992). Semantic innovation device comprises 10 strategies altogether: particularisation, implication, metaphor, metonym, reversal, understatement, overstatement, ellipsis, circumlocution, and indexical expression (Warren, 1992; Yetkiner, 2006).

4.2.1.1 Particularisation

Particularisation strategy is a frequently used strategy in forming a euphemistic expression by using a general term where the context needs to be particularised in order for it to make sense, often referring to taboo words (Warren, 1992; Yetkiner, 2006). An example of the euphemisms derived from particularisation is the term ‘innocent’, which euphemistically means ‘virginal’, that requires contextually based inference by the interlocutors for it to be comprehensible (Linfoot-Ham, 2005). Table 4.6 shows the examples of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms given by the informants which derived from the particularisation strategy taken from the data.

Table 4.6: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Derived from Particularisation

SEMANTIC INNOVATION DEVICE		
Particularisation	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>manuk</i> ‘bird’, <i>susah</i> ‘difficult’, <i>ong beken</i> ‘other world’	<i>buat dari</i> ‘male’s property’, <i>berisi</i> ‘with contain/flesh’, <i>ayũh</i> him/her

The data reveals that both younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers commonly employ euphemisms derived from the particularisation strategy, especially when discussing sensitive topics like sexual organs.

Among the Biatah speakers, both speakers' generations show a prevalent use of the term *kăyuh*, which translates into 'thing', a general term that can be used to refer to various taboo subjects in Biatah, such as sexual organs. According to Biatah speakers, direct terms for sexual organs are considered taboo, and it is uncommon to hear them mentioned directly. The term *kăyuh* in Biatah has been associated with the 'unmentionable', and when additional context is needed, the speakers would add the term *dari* for 'male', and *dayung* for 'female' when referring to the sexual organs. Sentence (5) shows the usage of the term to refer to the sexual organ.

- (5) *ayũh nang kăyuh-i mendam*
 he said his **thing** painful
 "He said that **his thing** is painful"

(Informant OM1)

The younger speakers also used the term *kăyuh dayung* not only to euphemise a female's sexual organ but also to describe the female's breast. Sentence (6) shows the usage of the term to refer to the female's breast.

- (6) *băjuh ayũh wai jarang tateng kăyuh dayung-i*
 shirts her very shear visible her **female**
thing

"Her shirts is very shear, her **female thing** is visible".

(Informant OM1)

To understand the context better, the speakers often add hand gestures to the chest to differentiate the context where the term is used as *kăyuh dayung* is also used to refer to the female sexual organs.

Like the term *kăyuh*, the term *berisi*, which means ‘with flesh’ or ‘with contain’, is also a broad term in the Biatah dialect as it can be used to euphemise different things according to the contexts. Both younger and older speakers show similar usage of this term, where it is used to refer to pregnancy and also used as a form of insult to a person who has a bigger body (fat). When referring to pregnancy, the term *berisi*, meaning ‘with contain’, is used to describe the condition of a pregnant mother carrying a child within her. This term serves as a euphemism for both pregnancy within marriage and pregnancy outside of wedlock. Employing a more neutral term to mitigate the negativity associated with a sensitive topic is a common strategy among Biatah speakers, as demonstrated by the use of *berisi* to describe pregnancies occurring outside of marriage. Sentence (7) provides an example of the term’s usage according to the context.

- (7) *kù dingah ayŭh mbŭh **berisi** madin*
 I hear she already **with contain** now
 “I hear that she is already **with contain** now”.

(Informant OF1)I

Sentence (7) is a relevant example of how the term is understood according to the subject and context of the conversation. Usually, when the subject is a married woman, it signifies a pregnancy that happened within a marriage. Conversely, when the subject is an unmarried woman, the term implies pregnancy outside of wedlock.

Additionally, Sentence (7) can also be used when using the term *berisi* as an insult to describe a person with a larger body size, translated as ‘with flesh’. Even so, the

interlocutors must have subconsciously agreed on their subject and the context of the conversation. For example, Sentence (7) is used to describe someone whose body has gotten bigger or fatter recently. While having flesh is a natural aspect of the human body, in this context, it suggests that the individual has ‘extra’ or ‘additional’ flesh, giving the perception of a larger body size. Discussing someone’s weight or body size can be offensive; hence, the use of a neutral term helps mitigate negative feelings. Although describing someone as *berisi* may not be ideal, Biatah speakers suggest that it is a more euphemistic and acceptable choice compared to the direct term *gemuk*, meaning ‘fat’, which is considered harsher and more offensive.

4.2.1.2 Implication

Unlike particularisation, implication is a strategy that can entail secondary senses (Yetkiner, 2006). Understanding the euphemistic meaning behind a term derived through implication requires several steps to grasp the intended meaning (Linfoot-Ham, 2005). For instance, Linfoot-Ham (2005) offered an example where the term ‘loose’ implies ‘unattached’, which consequently leads to the interpretation of someone being sexually easy or sexually available. Figure 4.1 shows the process of ‘euphemisation’ through implication.

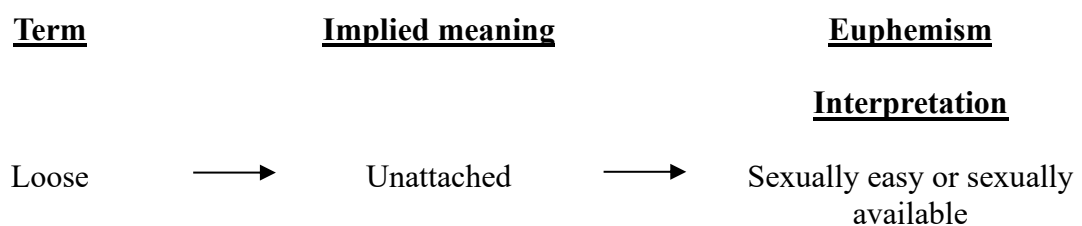


Figure 4.1: The Implication Process of the Term ‘Loose’

Among both younger and older Biatah speakers, implication is a strategy they commonly employ in forming their euphemisms. Table 4.7 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the informants which were derived from the implication strategy.

Table 4.7: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers
Derived from Implication

PARTICULARISATION		
Implication	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>mändüğ andu</i> ‘come day’, <i>ndai</i> <i>kăyuh spedin</i> ‘doing weird thing’	<i>bisamah</i> ‘together’, <i>kajün andu</i> ‘waiting days’, <i>tedah</i> ‘pity’

The study observed that both younger and older Biatah speakers utilise implication as a strategy to create euphemisms when discussing sexual intercourse. Topics related to sex, including sexual organs or sexual intercourse, are often avoided or discussed indirectly among the Biatah speakers due to their highly taboo and sensitive nature. Consequently, euphemisms are commonly employed when the need arises to broach such subjects. For instance, younger speakers use the term *ndai kăyuh spedin*, which translates to ‘doing weird thing’, to refer to sexual intercourse outside of marriage. Figure 4.2 illustrates the implication process in forming the euphemism *ndai kăyuh arap*.

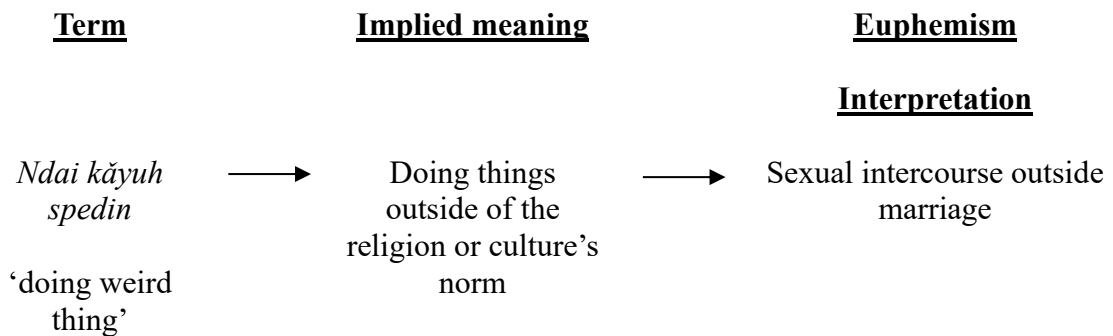


Figure 4.2: The Implication Process of the Term *Ndai Kăyuh Spedin*

The established meaning of the euphemism is ‘doing weird things’, for example, the unusual behaviour of climbing a roof or lying down in the middle of the road. However, the euphemistic term is deduced into a term used to describe sexual intercourse outside marriage which is considered ‘illegal’ among the Biatah speakers. The ‘legality’ and ‘normality’ that

define this act are the norms where most Biatah speakers were brought up following Christian beliefs. In Christianity, sexual relationship outside marriage is forbidden and a sin. This belief has become a norm among the Biatah speakers, to which sexual intercourse outside marriage is describe as ‘weird’, something that is done outside the norm.

On the contrary, older speakers use the term *ndai arap*, literally means ‘doing bad’ to refer to sexual intercourse outside marriage. Like *ndai kăyuh spedin*, this euphemism carries its own established and euphemistic connotations. Its established meaning pertains to ‘engaging in something evil or immoral’, such as stealing money from a neighbour or committing a crime. Moreover, due to their adherence to Christian beliefs, where adultery or premarital sexual intercourse is considered sinful, this act is viewed as morally wrong. It is therefore described as ‘doing something bad’, deviating from the societal norms of the Bidayuh Biatah.

Another term the older speakers use, derived from the implication strategy, is *anak teku*, which translates to ‘stolen child’. Figure 4.3 illustrates the implication process in forming the euphemism *anak teku*.

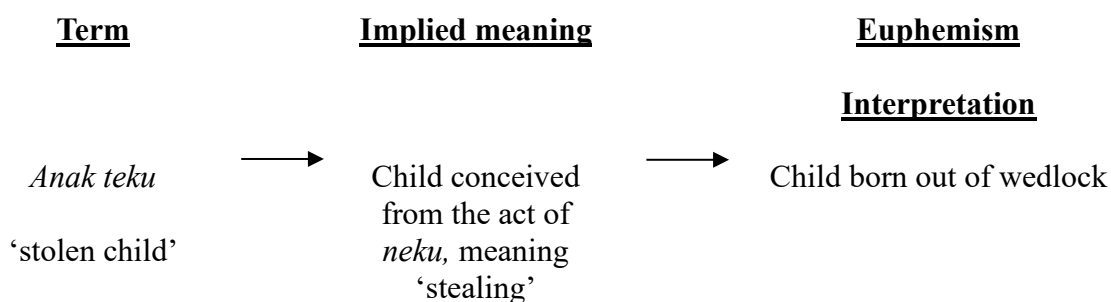


Figure 4.3: The Implication Process of the Term *Anak Teku*

Older speakers use this term to describe a child born out of wedlock. The term carries multiple senses, as it can also refer to a child taken away from someone else, which is its established meaning. However, when used in the context of a child born out of wedlock,

anak teku signifies a child conceived through the act of *neku*, meaning ‘stealing’. The term *neku* is used euphemistically to describe sexual intercourse outside marriage, associated with stealing the joy that a married couple should experience. Therefore, a child born from such an act is described as *anak teku*. It is worth noting that this term is familiar only to older speakers and not the younger generation.

4.2.1.3 Metaphor

Metaphor is a strategy consisting of metaphorical transfer in creating a concept, usually euphemistic for a tabooed subject through comparison and creating a wide variety of rhetorical effects (Warren, 1992). For example, in English, death is delineated as a journey of departure, where there are metaphorical euphemisms in English such as ‘to leave’ or ‘to depart’ while the deceased is described as being ‘no longer with us’ (Galal, 2013). Figure 4.4 shows the illustration of the process of euphemism derived from metaphor.

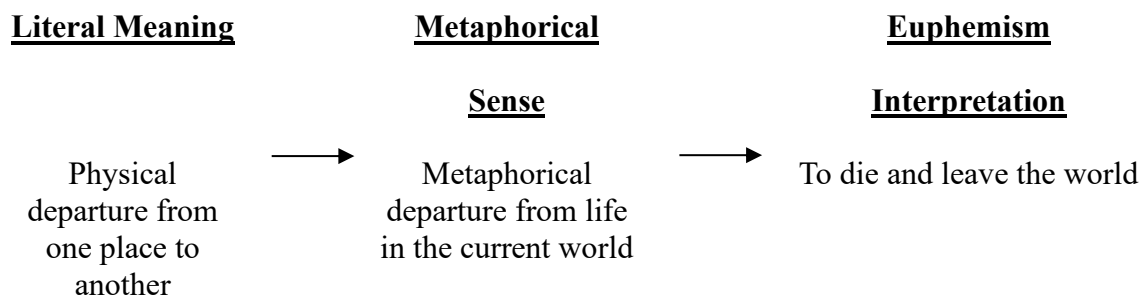


Figure 4.4: The Metaphorical Transfer in the Term ‘To Depart’ as ‘To Die’

The findings of this study identified that both younger and older speakers use metaphor for several taboo subjects; the younger speakers - menstruation, miscarriage, illness, and death, meanwhile the older speakers - menstruation, marital status, insults, a child born out of wedlock, illness, death, and mentioning animals. Table 4.8 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the informants which were derived from the metaphor strategy.

Table 4.8: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers
Derived from Metaphor

PARTICULARISATION		
Metaphor	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>măndŭg buran</i> ‘come Moon’, <i>re patŭd asŭng</i> ‘almost severed life/soul’	<i>bu badeng</i> ‘went away like a beetle’, <i>deras</i> ‘strong flow’, <i>anak sebak</i> ‘wind’s child’

Among the subjects that the speakers have in common, the metaphors used to euphemise death are found to be significant. The younger speakers provided terms such as *mbŭh tingge ong*, which means ‘already left the world’ and *mbŭh pănu*, which means ‘already walked’, meanwhile the older speakers used terms such as *pănu tingge ong* which translates into ‘walked leaving the world’ and *mbŭh mead ke sămbu* which means ‘already go back to above’.

Euphemisms used to describe death here illustrate the beliefs of the Biatah speakers, where the deceased is believed to leave this world and go to another world instead. To be deceased is metaphorically conceptualised as walking away from the world as in the terms *mbŭh pănu*, *mbŭh tingge ong*, and *pănu tingge ong*. For example, Figure 4.5 shows the illustration of the euphemism process through metaphorical transfer of the term *mbŭh tingge ong*.

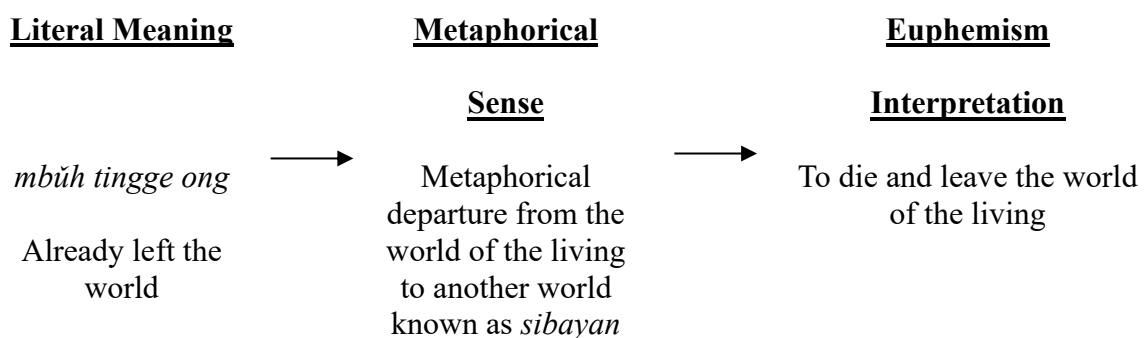


Figure 4.5: The Metaphorical Transfer in the Term *Mbüh Tingge Ong* as ‘To Die’

In the beliefs of the Biatah speakers, there is an afterlife after death, where the soul of the deceased would go after death. According to the informants, the Bidayuh of the olden days believed that after living in the current world, their souls would go to *sibayan*, which is neither hell nor heaven, just another world where the deceased would pursue their new life. In the modern days, as most of the Biatah speakers are Christian, they believe that after death, there is a new life in Heaven or might as well as in Hell.

The placement of the afterlife is described as being above the current world; hence, the term *mbüh mead ka sãmbu* translates into ‘already going back to above’. In summary, death in the Biatah culture is conceptualised as a ‘journey’ from their current life into their new life in another realm after life. To acknowledge that their loved ones have not completely vanished from the world provides comfort to the family members regardless of whether it was in the olden Bidayuh culture or the modern Bidayuh culture, as in both times, the existence of the afterlife is entrenched deeply in their culture. The evidence correlates with the use of posthumous titles in Bidayuh Biatah, such as *turang dawu*, which translates into ‘the bone of the long dead’. According to the informants, this title is used to differentiate the living and the deceased, to prevent the deceased from intervening in worldly matters among the living, hence proving that they believed that the deceased is not completely vanishing from their world even after death.

The euphemistic expressions used by the Biatah speakers portray life as akin to a string, with a discernible beginning at birth and an inevitable end at death, as portrayed in the definition of the word *tebũn*, which is a placement identifier for the end of an object. The word is usually used to identify the end of a tangible object, like a string. This concept is

evident in phrases used by both younger and older speakers, such as *rè patūd asǔng* ‘almost severed life/soul’, *tebŭn asǔng* ‘at the end of life/soul’, *tebŭn tukuk* ‘at the end of the mouth’, and *stengah asǔng* ‘half a life’. Even so, the soul or life itself is not a tangible thing with a discernible physical ‘start’ or an ‘end’ to it or a thing that can be severed or cut into half. However, within the euphemistic expressions provided by the speakers, the abstract concept of life is metaphorically conceptualised into a concrete concept, where life has its start and end and could be severed into half, very much like a string, as shown in the terms *rè patūd asǔng* and *tebŭn asǔng*. Life is also perceived as something that could spill and run out, like water in a glass, as shown in the terms *tebŭn tukuk* and *stengah asǔng*. Being on the verge of death is described as running out of life, although life cannot be measured, unlike age.

4.2.1.4 Metonym

Metonym is also known as the general-for-specific strategy where a general term is used to refer to something specific (Warren, 1992). Yetkiner (2012) considered a metonym as a “name change” for one thing that is closely related to another is used in the place of it. For instance, the general term ‘thing’ is used to refer to the sexual organs (Linfoot-Ham, 2005). Table 4.9 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the informants which were derived from the metonym strategy.

Table 4.9: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Derived from Metonym

PARTICULARISATION		
Metonym	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>sekawà</i> ‘region between the legs’, <i>sit</i> ‘small’	<i>purok</i> ‘short in length’

The data of this study identified that younger speakers employ more euphemisms utilising metonymy compared to older speakers, with four occurrences noted among the younger speakers and only one among the older speakers. However, both speakers commonly use the term *purok*, meaning ‘short’ in length, to describe individuals who are short in height. According to Lakoff and Turner (1990), a metonym allows the reference of one entity in a schema by using another entity in the same schema. Although *purok* has a slightly different sense, it is preferred over the term *rapat*, which directly means ‘short’ in height and is considered harsher. Similarly, younger speakers also employ another term, *sit*, meaning ‘small’, as a euphemism for ‘short’. While being short is not equivalent to being small, it is common to observe that small things are often also short. Table 4.10 shows the differences in the meaning of each term.

Table 4.10: Differences in the Meaning of the Bidayuh Terms Used to Refer to ‘Shortness’

BIDAYUH TERMS	MEANING
<i>Rapat</i>	‘short’ in height
<i>Purok</i>	‘short’ in length
<i>Sit</i>	‘small’ in size

Although all three terms were used to describe ‘shortness’ in height, these three terms have different “levels” of reference when used. The term *rapat* is a direct term, which sounds harsher when uttered to an individual. The term *purok* refers to length. According to the informants, *purok* and *sit*, which means ‘short in length’ and ‘small’ are the terms more commonly used to describe a short person as they sound more acceptable and less harsh compared to the term *rapat*.

4.2.1.5 Reversal

Reversal is also known as the irony strategy where the euphemisms are the opposite of the offensive taboo terms (Yetkiner & Aktener, 2022). For example, the term ‘blessed’ is used to convey the context of being ‘damned’, and ‘enviable disease’ is the term used instead of ‘syphilis’ (Stern, 1931; Linfoot-Ham, 2005). Figure 4.6 shows the reversal process in deriving the euphemism.

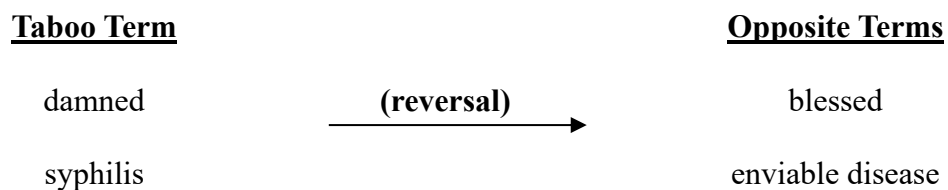


Figure 4.6: Reversal Process of Deriving Euphemism

In Figure 4.6, the opposite terms of the taboo terms ‘damned’ and ‘syphilis’ which are ‘blessed’ and ‘enviable disease’ respectively are used as euphemisms instead of the taboo terms. Table 4.11 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the informants which were derived from the reversal strategy.

Table 4.11: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Derived from Reversal

PARTICULARISATION		
Reversal	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>dog nguri</i> ‘given medication’	<i>dog nguri</i> ‘given medication’

In Biatah, both younger and older informants used the reversal strategy to euphemise mystical illness, where the term *dog nguri*, which translates to ‘healed’ or ‘given medication’ is used. The term refers to the condition of an illness that could not be medically proven which the Biatah speakers associate with the supernatural where the root cause of the illness

could be the spirits or witchcraft hexes. According to the Biatah informants, they believed that mystical illnesses are ‘sent’ by those with ill intentions through the means of witchcraft hexes. Although the term itself consists of the word ‘medication’, it is evident that the ‘senders’ are not giving ‘medication’ to the victim but rather the illness that is often difficult to cure. In this case, the euphemistic expression *dog nguri* is used to downplay the negativity and harshness of the condition. Sentence (8) shows an example of the usage of the term *dog nguri*.

- (8) *agik madis ku dog nguri dayà pak madin*
have relative my **get medication** people but now
ayũh mbũh muak
he/she already better

“A relative of mine was **given medication** by someone, but now he/she is already better”

(Informant YF2)

Sentence (8) implies that the said relative has recovered from a mystical illness, often illness caused by witchcraft hexes ‘sent’ by someone, usually with ill intentions. According to the Biatah speakers, there are even some cases that these mystical illnesses lead to death when not treated promptly, or if the witchcraft hexes are too strong, quoting Informant OM4, “*agi gũh dayà di kăbũs dà kăyuh mun atì, rebis gi kamũi dũh dog teban brurì atau ayũh rambat dog teban, an-ì gũh*” (translation: there are people that died because of things like this, moreover if they are not brought for treatment or they are brought too late (for the treatment), which also could cause death).

4.2.1.6 Understatement

Understatement, also known as litotes, is a euphemism strategy where the euphemistic terms minimise the effect of taboo and unpreferred terms, hence, euphemised them (Yetkiner & Aktener, 2022). Understatement is also described as the occurrences that downgrade undesirable features where the euphemistic expressions are in terms of denying the opposite (Warren, 1992). For instance, death is referred to as ‘sleep’, and the phrase ‘this guy I am seeing’ means ‘a regular sex partner’. Understatements and litotes work by expressing something ‘bad’ with something less bad, like twisting the truth by saying too little (Hassanein, 2019; Leach, 1969). Figure 4.7 shows the understatement process of producing euphemisms for taboo concepts such as ‘death’ and ‘regular sex partner’.



Figure 4.7: Understatement Process of Euphemising ‘Death’ and ‘Regular Sex Partner’

Both younger and older Biatah speakers resort to the understatement strategy when euphemising matters regarding abortion, infertility, female body parts, sexual intercourse, and illnesses. Table 4.12 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the informants which were derived from the understatement strategy.

Table 4.12: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers
Derived from Understatement

PARTICULARISATION		
Understatement	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>dũh sukup buran</i> ‘not enough months’, <i>bipisah</i> ‘going apart’, <i>beũs samah</i> ‘sleeping together’	<i>sidò</i> ‘chest’, <i>nyibeũs</i> ‘put to sleep’, <i>bidengan ayo dayà saruh</i> ‘befriending with a strange person

The data shows that the younger speakers used understatement to euphemise infertility, where the term *kurang subur*, which translates into ‘less fertile’ is used instead of *dũh subur*, which means ‘not fertile’. The subject of infertility is considered sensitive and is not often talked about among the Biatah speakers. Therefore, whenever there is a need to mention it in a conversation, the term *kurang subur* is more acceptable than *duh subur* as using ‘less fertile’ could provide comfort to the individual facing the condition. The Biatah speakers recognised a child as a blessing, and anyone could bear a child when the time comes despite being medically diagnosed as infertile.

Both younger and older Biatah speakers have similar terms used to refer to chronic illnesses, which is the term *brandam*, that translates into ‘with illness’. The term *brandam* is commonly used by the Biatah speakers where often the speakers could understand the intended meaning of the term according to the context and tone of the conversation. This term is an understatement, as without being euphemistic, the condition of being critically ill could be described as *mendam kronik*, which means ‘chronically ill’ or directly mentioning the illnesses such as *gik kanser* ‘with cancer’. The euphemistic sense of the term *brandam* is similar to another understatement term used by the older speakers which is the term *tui mudar*, which means ‘fever for a long time’, to refer to the condition of being chronically ill.

Sentences (9) and (10) show the usage of the terms *brandam* and *tui mudar* as understatement euphemisms.

- (9) *masik tingà ayŭh samà-i babŭ brandam*
 pity looking her her father still **with illness**
 “Pity her, her father is still **with illness**”

(Informant YM4)

- (10) *masik tingà ayŭh samà-i mbŭh tui mudar*
 pity looking her her father already **fever for a long time**
 “Pity her, her father is already **fever for a long time**”

(Informant YM3)In

Both Sentence (9) and (10) imply that the father is chronically ill using two different understatement euphemisms. Although having a chronic illness is not equivalent to a fever as shown in Sentence 9, the term *tui mudar* is used similarly to the term *brandam*, as shown in Sentence 8, where these terms functioned to downgrade the undesirable, in this case, the names of the chronic illnesses.

4.2.1.7 Overstatement

Overstatement, on the other hand, is the opposite of understatement, where this strategy upgrades a desirable feature of the referent and presents a taboo subject using exaggerated language to make an emotional effect (Warren, 1992). Overstatement is also known as the hyperbole strategy. Yetkiner and Aktener (2022) described euphemisms derived through the overstatement strategy as terms that maximize the effect of dispreferred terms. For instance, the term ‘visual cleaner’ refers to a ‘window cleaner’, and ‘fight for

glory’ is a euphemism for ‘death’ (Linfoot-Ham, 2005). Figure 4.8 shows the euphemism process of the terms ‘window cleaner’ and ‘death’ through an overstatement strategy.

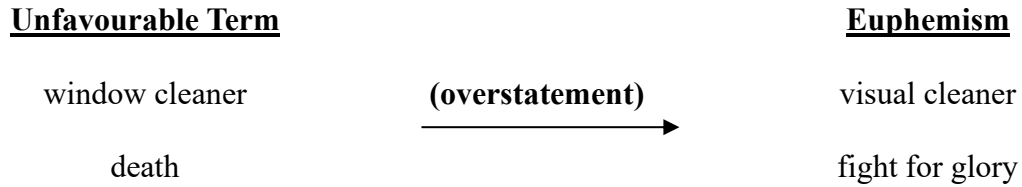


Figure 4.8: Euphemism Process through Overstatement Strategy

Table 4.13 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the informants which were derived from the overstatement strategy.

Table 4.13: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Derived from Overstatement

PARTICULARISATION		
Overstatement	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>māndŭg kăis</i> ‘come dirty’, <i>meting skura</i> ‘no school’	<i>kăis</i> ‘dirty’, <i>dŭh paŭh mereti</i> ‘not very understand’, <i>anak saruh</i> ‘strange child’

The findings show that both younger and older speakers derived their euphemistic expressions through the overstatement or hyperbole strategy, such as when describing menstruation-related matters where the terms *māndŭg kăis* ‘come dirty’ and *dăyà kăis* ‘dirty blood’ are commonly used. Figure 4.9 shows the euphemism process of the terms *māndŭg kăis* and *dăyà kăis*.

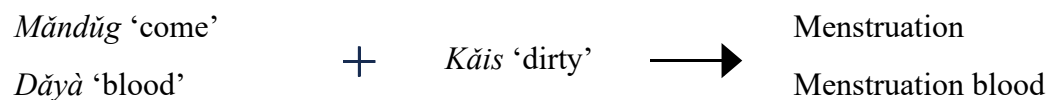


Figure 4.9: Overstatement Process of Biatah Euphemism

The figure indicates that among the Biatah speakers, ‘menstruation’ is perceived as dirty in which the term *kāis* is used with the euphemisms that are associated with menstruation – *māndüğ kāis* and *dāyà kāis*. Scientifically, menstruation blood is one of the bodily effluvia discarded from a woman’s body (Dahlqvist, 2018). However, the association between menstruation and being dirty is deeply rooted in the Biatah culture, where there are even activities in which menstruating women are prohibited from taking part, as taking part could bring unfavourable consequences to the women or the community, such as plucking fruits or flowers, going into the forests, and going out at night, as listed by the informants.

4.2.1.8 Ellipsis

Ellipsis is a euphemistic strategy that stands for grammatically incomplete expressions where readers need to add concepts and context upon finishing the thought. This strategy involves a process that deliberately leaves out or neglects some aspects which are found unpleasant or distasteful from a taboo subject, allowing speakers to get rid of the burden of using the unpleasant and distasteful aspects which could trigger the inference mechanism of the hearers (Yetkiner, 2006). Therefore, euphemisms derived from the ellipsis strategy allow some sort of ‘guesswork’ between the interlocutors for the communication to be handled smoothly (Yetkiner, 2006). Salih (2018) provided examples where language users often replaced spellings with asterisks such as in the term, F*** instead of ‘fuck’, other than using incomplete sentences such as “Do you mean she’s a...?”, in which the unfavourable terms ‘bitch’ or ‘slut’ is not included in the sentence, but hearers could understand the intended meaning and context.

Ellipsis is identified to be one of the strategies used by both younger and older Biatah speakers in deriving their euphemistic expressions, such as when describing the mental state

of someone, the condition of being on the verge of death, and a life-threatening illness. Table 4.14 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the informants which were derived from the ellipsis strategy.

Table 4.14: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Derived from Ellipsis

PARTICULARISATION		
Ellipsis	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>dũh betur</i> ‘not right’, <i>mbũh dũh tui</i> ‘already not long (time)’	<i>mbũh ruwai</i> ‘already very’, <i>reĩ buran</i> ‘waiting months’

The condition of a person being on the verge of death is euphemized as *mbũh dũh tui*, which literally translates as ‘already not long’, where ‘long’ here refers to time. Although it sounds like a grammatically incorrect and incomplete sentence in Bidayuh, this phrase provides a sufficient context in which guesswork could easily occur among the Biatah speakers. This strategy allows for a more indirect and nuanced expression, aiding in the thoughtfulness of discussing sensitive topics such as death. Figure 4.10 shows the complete sentence and the euphemisms derived from the ellipsis strategy.

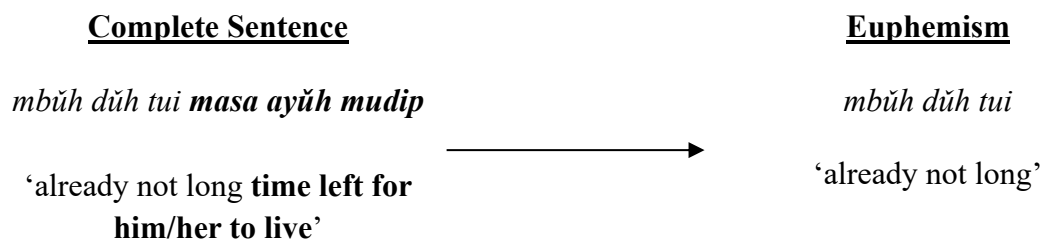


Figure 4.10: Biatah Euphemisms Derived from the Ellipsis Strategy to Describe ‘Dying’

The complete sentence does sound harsh as it explicitly describes the ‘length’ of someone’s life. Therefore, given the discomfort associated with explicitly describing the short length of

someone’s life, the Biatah speakers prefer to avoid this unpleasant aspect and instead allow hearers to infer the context through guesswork.

There are also other terms used by the older Biatah speakers to describe life-threatening illness, such as the term *mbũh ruwai* which means ‘already very’. Figure 4.11 shows the complete sentence and the euphemism derived from the ellipsis strategy.



Figure 4.11: Biatah Euphemisms Derived from the Ellipsis Strategy to Describe ‘Life-Threatening Illness’

Although sounding excessively incomplete, this term is commonly used among the Biatah speakers, and the intended meaning of the phrase is often understandable to the hearers regardless of the subject being abandoned in the phrase.

4.2.1.9 Circumlocution

Circumlocution is the euphemistic strategy of “talking around” something by providing descriptive phrases instead of a name and is often used in conversations, usually to hint at something without explicitly saying it (Yetkiner, 2006). For example, the phrase ‘the place between two legs’ is a descriptive phrase used to refer to the genitals. Figure 4.12 shows the process of euphemising genitals using circumlocution.

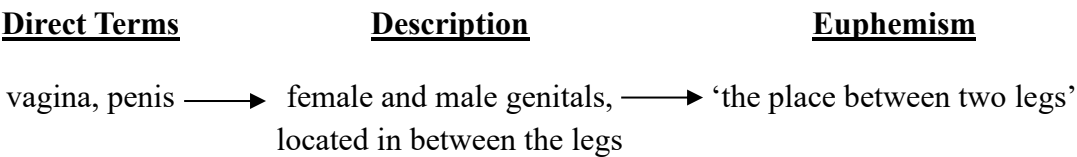


Figure 4.12: Process of Euphemising ‘Genitals’ Using Circumlocution Strategy

In Bidayuh Biatah euphemism, the data shows that both younger and older speakers have higher usage of the circumlocution strategy in forming their euphemisms. Table 4.15 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the informants which were derived from circumlocution.

Table 4.15: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Derived from Circumlocution

PARTICULARISATION		
Circumlocution	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>bitè sbayuh kawen</i> ‘pregnant before marriage’, <i>ndai kăyuh di birit</i> ‘doing things in the room’, <i>dũh biyũn duit</i> ‘not really with money’	<i>bu sò banuh/sawun-i</i> ‘going away from their husband/wife’, <i>diang dũh kena</i> ‘inside not right’, <i>dũh biyũn kăyuh</i> ‘not really with things’, <i>bai di sãmbu</i> ‘old man above’

The data shows that both younger and older generations of speakers employ similar euphemistic expressions when describing poverty. Rather than using direct terms like *misakin* or *miskin* for ‘poor’, both groups prefer descriptive phrases such as *dũh biyũn duit* ‘not really with money; or *dũh biyũn kăyuh* ‘not really with things’. According to the informants, financial status is a topic which is often not discussed by the Biatah speakers; however, whenever there is a need to describe the poor financial status of someone, descriptive phrases are used instead of the direct term in playing down the negative impact of the term which sounds rather harsh and offensive.

Both younger and older Biatah speakers also show the usage of circumlocution in deriving euphemisms to describe a widow or a widower. A widow or a widower is an individual who has lost their spouse due to death and has not remarried. The direct terms in

Biatah are derived from Malay words, which are *janda* ‘widow’ or *duda* ‘widower’. These terms, however, are not preferred to be used by the Biatah speakers as they could sound offensive to some hearers. Therefore, to minimize the negative effects and sound less offensive, descriptive phrases such as *meting tia bănũh/săwũn* or *meting bănũh/săwũn*, which mean ‘no more husband/wife’ or ‘no husband/wife’, and *spouse mbũh meting*, which means ‘spouse already gone’ are used instead. In these euphemistic expressions, the younger speakers show the tendency to include terms from languages other than Biatah in their euphemisms, such as the usage of the English word ‘spouse’, whereas the Biatah terms are *bănũh* or *săwũn*. Sentence (11) shows an example of the usage of the term in a sentence.

- (11) *ayũh reũ sadì mai spouse-i mbũh meting*
 he lives alone because his spouse already gone
 “He lives alone because his **spouse already gone**”.

(Informant YF1)

Sentence (11) describes the condition of a man who has lost his wife and is living alone. Using descriptive phrases like *spouse mbũh meting* is described to be more preferable by both younger and older speakers and rather euphemistic compared to using the direct Malay term for a widower, which is *duda*.

Among younger speakers, there is a playful term they use, *bai di sãmbu anũ*, which literally translates to ‘the old man above’ to refer to God. God in Christianity is perceived as a wiser being depicted as an older man or fatherly figure. The name that is commonly used to refer to God in Biatah is *Tepà*. However, among the younger speakers, when there is a need to mention God without the discussion being in a serious tone, describing God as *bai di sãmbu* is a common strategy they resort to. This phrase also does not contain any disrespectful or offensive aspect towards religion but only descriptive phrases that describe

God according to the image of God in Christianity that the younger speakers are familiar with. According to Informant YF3, this term is used in a playful context, hence, considering the context, which is rather playful than serious, it is important to note that the younger speakers are being respectful as they are refraining from using God's name in vain.

On the other hand, older speakers use a term that younger speakers do not: *tǎrun yǔn nà pǔrǔng-i*, which means 'the place to put their body', referring to the grave or *kubur* in Biatah. Although *kubur* is a neutral term, Biatah speakers often prefer euphemisms to provide comfort to the deceased's relatives. Hence, instead of using the direct term, they find it easier to employ descriptive phrases for the grave, especially during times of mourning when emotions are vulnerable. Apart from offering comfort, this practice also demonstrates respect for the deceased and their family members.

4.2.1.10 Indexical Expression

Indexical expressions are euphemisms in which the references depend on time, place, and the local circumstances in situations to they are mentioned and/or those to which they apply (Garfield & Sacks, 1970; Yetkiner, 2006). In the Biatah dialect, there are euphemistic expressions that are also indexical expressions. These expressions are often vague, using the more general demonstrative pronouns that are used to indicate locations or directions. Yetkiner (2006) provided an example from a Turkish corpus, translated into English, in a sentence "...then I had had my period. I went to the toilet, and I realised that 'there/that place' was bleeding...". In this sentence, 'there' is used to indicate the 'vagina'. Indexical expressions were also found in the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms. Table 4.16 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the informants which were indexical expressions.

Table 4.16: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers
Derived from Indexical Expressions

PARTICULARISATION		
Indexical expressions	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>anũ</i> ‘that’, <i>ong ajeh</i> ‘that world’	<i>anũ</i> ‘that’, <i>kăyuh ajeh</i> ‘the thing there’

The data shows that the younger Biatah speakers tend to use indexical expressions more than the older speakers, especially in aspects such as mentioning the sexual organs and body parts, describing the afterlife, naming animals or spirits, and describing sexual intercourse. The term *anũ*, which means ‘that’ is more common to be used where multiple subjects can be referred to, such as the term *anũ* for male or female sexual organs, where the older speakers also using similarly, *kăyuh anũ* ‘that thing’ for naming animals or spirits in situations where the names of the animals or spirits are prohibited from being mentioned, and *ndai anũ* ‘doing that’, to describe sexual intercourse. Sentence 11 shows an example of the usage of the term *kăyuh anũ* ‘that thing’ in a sentence.

- (12) *dũh ne-ũh sibarang ndai anũ kambũi bayuh benan*
do not one self haphazardly **do that** if not yet with husband
“one self should not haphazardly **do that** if (one self) is not yet married”
(Informant OM2)

Sentence (12) is some advice usually given to young and unmarried people, where the message is that a person that is not yet married should not haphazardly have sexual intercourse. Although the terms are rather general, according to the Biatah speakers, the usage of these expressions is common, and the context or the subject to which these terms are referring is often understood by the speakers.

4.2.2 Word Formation Device

Word formation device consists of euphemism strategies that modify words into euphemistic expressions on the word level. Under the word formation device, there are five strategies altogether: compounding, derivation, acronym, onomatopoeia, and blend (Warren, 1992; Yetkiner, 2006). Even so, only two strategies are used by the Biatah speakers in forming their euphemisms: the compounding and derivation strategies.

4.2.2.1 Compounding

Compounding refers to the euphemistic strategy, which combines two or more individually innocuous words to form a euphemistic expression for unpreferred terms (Linfoot-Ham, 2005; Yetkiner & Aktener, 2022). For instance, the term ‘hand job’ is a combination of two harmless words ‘hand’ and ‘job’ to euphemize the unpreferred term ‘masturbation’ (Linfoot-Ham, 2005). Figure 4.13 shows the process of compounding two words into a euphemism, ‘hand job’.

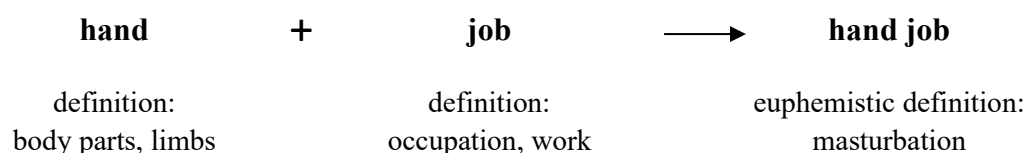


Figure 4.13: Process of Euphemising ‘Masturbation’ Using Compounding

Euphemisms derived from the compounding strategy were found in the data of Bidayuh Biatah euphemism. Table 4.17 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the informants which were derived from compounding.

Table 4.17: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers
Derived from Compounding

WORD FORMATION DEVICE		
Compounding	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>bujang nyamba</i> ‘old bachelor/bachelorette’	<i>dayung/dari tibŭn</i> ‘unblemished woman/man’, <i>apù terun</i> ‘belonging of the forest’

The results identified that the older speakers used more compounding strategies in their euphemisms, whereas the younger speakers only used one compounding euphemism. The euphemisms derived from the compounding strategy are used to refer to unmarried men or women, where the younger speakers used the term *bujang nyamba*, which literally translates into ‘old bachelor/bachelorette’. The euphemism *bujang nyamba* combines two words which has meaning on their own; *bujang*, means ‘bachelor’ or ‘bachelorette’, and *nyamba* means ‘old’. Figure 4.14 shows the process of compounding to form the euphemism *bujang nyamba* in Bidayuh Biatah.

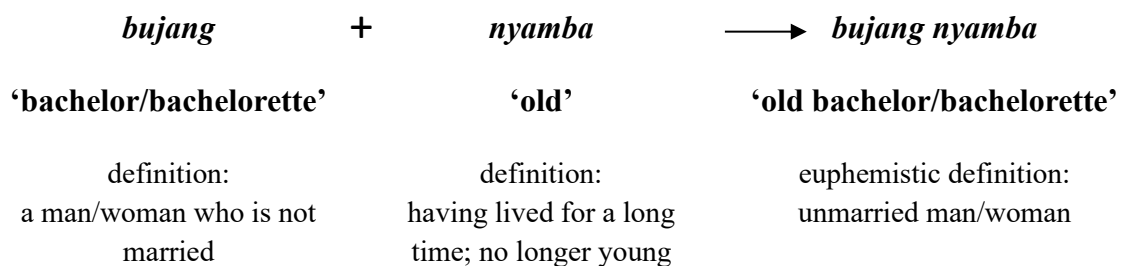


Figure 4.14: Process of Euphemising *Bujang Nyamba* Using Compounding

Often, someone who is considered a *bujang* is a young, grown-up individual who has not yet married, while *nyamba* is a term that is used to refer to someone who is old. The combination of the two words resulted in the term *bujang nyamba*, which is used as an insult to someone who is not yet married at an older age. Although a euphemism, this term is

offensive and could impose negative emotions on the individual involved. Therefore, this term is only used by the Biatah speakers in a gossiping manner, as shown in Sentence (12).

- (13) *ayũh mbũh bujang nyamba sindè an benan*
 she already bachelorette old when want getting husband
 “She is already an **old bachelorette**, when is she going to get a husband”.

(Informant OF3)

On the other hand, the older speakers provided more than one euphemistic expression derived through compounding to refer to unmarried man or woman, such as the terms *bujang tũuh* ‘old bachelor/bachelorette’, *dayung/dari tibũn* ‘unblemished woman/man’, and *bujang tibũn* ‘unblemished bachelor/bachelorette’. Among the euphemistic expressions provided, this section highlights the terms *dayung* or *dari tibũn* as euphemisms to describe an unmarried woman or man. The terms *dayung* and *dari* literally mean ‘girl’ or ‘woman’, and ‘boy’ or ‘man’. Meanwhile, the term *tibũn* means ‘unblemished’. In this expression, combining the terms *dayung* or *dari* and *tibũn* resulted in an expression that equates a man or woman who is not yet married as ‘unblemished’ or ‘brand new’. Similarly, these terms are rather offensive to be directed to individuals who are not yet married at an older age. Therefore, these terms are only used in a gossiping manner when the subject of the topic is not around.

4.2.2.2 Derivation

Another strategy under the word-formation device that is used by the Biatah speakers is derivation. The derivation strategy involves altering a foreign term from another language to form a standard word in another language (Yetkiner, 2006). For instance, Linfoot-Ham (2005) provided the word used to refer to ‘oral sex’, *fellatio*, which is an alteration of the

Latin term *fellare* ‘to suck’. Figure 4.15 shows the process of altering a Latin term into euphemism.

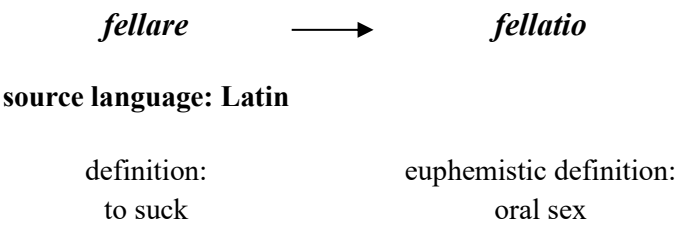


Figure 4.15: Process of Euphemising ‘Oral Sex’ Through Derivation Strategy

In the Biatah dialect, both generations of speakers derived their euphemistic expressions from words of other languages. Table 4.18 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the informants which were derived from compounding.

Table 4.18: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Derived from Derivation

WORD FORMATION DEVICE		
Derivation	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>turah</i> ‘similar consequences’	<i>turah</i> ‘similar consequences’, <i>sot</i> ‘crazy’

The term *turah* is derived from the Malay word *tulah*, which is a curse word that, in the Biatah understanding, refers to the consequences that a person would face upon their wrongdoings. Informant OF3 described the phenomenon as such, “...*gik kăyuh ne-ũh dũh bisa rasu nang, dũh gũh bisa rasu ndai, contoh-i ka, kambũi agi dayà anũ, nak-i dũh sempena tibũ-i, ne-ũh dũh bisa nang ayũh cacat ka dũh, tè turah bah, parì di dũp-i*” (translation: ...there are things that should not just simply say, or should not simply do, for example, if there’s a person, and their child is not physically perfect, we cannot simply say that they are disabled, because later it could cause *turah*, it comes back to the one saying).

In the excerpt from the interview, the informant used the word *cacat*, which means ‘physically disabled’. However, although in English ‘physically disabled’ does not sound condescending, but in Biatah or Malay, the word *cacat* is considered harsh and should not be said haphazardly to others, especially to those with disabilities. The term *turah* was meant to say that if the utterer pointed out or made fun of someone’s disability and used the word *cacat*, there would be consequences where they would face being physically disabled themselves. But instead of saying “*tè ù dingè cacat*” (translation: later you also will become physically disabled), the Biatah speakers would just say “*tè turah pari di ù*” (translation: later, *turah* will come back to you). In this sense, *turah* is used to euphemise taboos or conditions that should not be made fun of among the Bidayuh Biatah speakers. While this term is a derivation from the Malay word, *tulah*, due to the nature of the Biatah phonological structure, where the liquid /r/ and /l/ have fallen together as /r/ (Rensch et al., 2012), the Biatah speakers have adapted the liquid /l/ in the Malay term *tulah* into /r/, in which this phenomenon is referred to as the loan word adaptation.

The younger speakers also derived an expression from another language, which is the term *sot*, referring to the mental state – ‘crazy’. This term has multiple layers to it, as the original term is in English ‘short’, as in ‘short circuits’. In Malay, a person who is not mentally sound is described as having damages to their ‘brain-wiring’, which is equated with the condition of damaged electrical circuits, hence, short circuits. The derived term of the word ‘short’ in Malay is *sot*, which the younger Biatah speakers also use to describe the condition of someone who is not mentally sound. This term also could be used playfully. An example is shown in Sentence (14).

- (14) *anih ndai ù wai ù sot*
 what doing you why you **short**
 “what are you doing, why are you **short**”

(Informant YF2)

Sentence (14) shows an example of how the term *sot* is used playfully, often used within a friend group or with relatives that are of the same age. Within the context of the sentence, the speaker indicates that their friend is behaving ridiculously, hence, describing their doings as *sot*. According to the younger informants, the term *sot* is not offensive and is commonly used among them.

4.2.3 Phonemic Modification Device

The phonemic modification device involves strategies that modify and alter offensive words into euphemistic terms on a phonemic level (Warren, 1992). Under the phonemic modification device, there are five strategies altogether: back slang, rhyming slang, phonemic replacement, abbreviation, and vague reduplication (Warren, 1992; Yetkiner, 2006). However, among the five strategies, only three are found as euphemistic strategies in Biatah euphemisms: rhyming slang, phonemic replacement, and vague reduplication.

4.2.3.1 Rhyming Slang

Rhyming slang refers to the euphemisms formed through words that rhyme with unpleasant expressions (Yetkiner, 2006). For example, Nguyen and Zuckermann (2012) provided an example of euphemism derived from rhyming slang, which is the term ‘Donald duck’ to euphemism ‘fuck’ or to substitute ‘luck’ due to the rhyming sound at the end of the words. In Biatah, euphemisms derived from rhyming delete the first syllable of the taboo words and rhyme the end sound of the words. Table 4.19 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the Bidayuh Biatah informants which were derived from rhyming slang.

Table 4.19: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers
Derived from Rhyming Slang

PHONEMIC MODIFICATION DEVICE		
Rhyming slang	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>loloji (turoi)</i> ‘penis’, <i>momo (muod)</i> ‘ghost’	<i>lelew (turoi)</i> ‘penis’, <i>momong (muod)</i> ‘ghost’

The data shows that both younger and older Biatah speakers used euphemistic terms derived through rhyming slang to mention sexual organs and ghosts or spirits, and as a form of insult. The direct terms for sexual organs in the Biatah dialect sound harsh and dysphemistic, where most speakers avoid using the direct terms *turoi* for male sexual organs and *dambè* for female sexual organs. Therefore, a variety of euphemisms derived through the rhyme play of the direct words are used instead, such as *loloji* and *lelew* for the male sexual organs and *bibit*, *papè*, and *tatè* for the female sexual organs. Figure 4.16 shows the rhyming process of the dysphemistic terms into the euphemistic terms.

Direct terms

Euphemisms

Turoi

Loloji, lelew

Dambè



Papè, bibit, tatè

Figure 4.16: Rhyming Process of the Biatah Dysphemistic Terms into Euphemisms

Figure 4.16 shows the rhyming of the last syllable of the direct terms to produce euphemisms. Although there are various ways that the Biatah speakers used to refer to the sexual organs, the expressions derived from the rhyme play are used more when communicating and educating children on their sexual organs.

4.2.3.2 Phonemic Replacement

replacement is also known as “euphemistic mispronunciation” where offensive words are altered using phonemic replacement, omission, and/or insertion (Yetkiner, 2006). Linfoot-Ham (2005) described that phonemic modification are formed through the replacement of a sound in the unpreferred or dysphemistic term (Yetkiner & Aktener, 2022). For example, the unpreferred term, ‘shit’, is euphemised as ‘shoot’, where the ‘i’ sound in the offensive term is replaced with another sound, ‘oo’ (Linfoot-Ham, 2005). Table 4.20 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the Bidayuh Biatah informants which were derived from phonemic replacement.

Table 4.20: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Derived from Phonemic Replacement

PHONEMIC MODIFICATION DEVICE		
Phonemic replacement	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	N/A	<i>setatak</i> (<i>seratak</i>) ‘poor’

The findings identified that only the older Biatah speakers derived their euphemistic expression using phonemic replacement strategy, in which the term *setatak* is used to refer to ‘poor’ instead of *seratak*, which also means ‘poor’. This term undergoes a replacement of the /t/ sound in the beginning of the third syllable into /r/ which rhymes with the sound in the beginning of the second syllable. As mentioned by informant OM2, although only changing one sound from the direct term, it is sufficient to euphemize and play down the negative impact of the direct term. Moreover, this term is not to be used in front of the individual with the condition but rather to discuss it with others.

4.2.3.4 Vague Reduplication

Vague reduplication refers to the immediate repetition of a word or part of the word (Hatiboglu, 1981 in Yetkiner, 2006). Yetkiner (2006) provided an example in Turkish, which the usage of a vaguely reduplicated phrase *şöyle şöyle*, which means ‘like this’ or ‘in this way’ is used in a conversation to avoid describing intimate moments on a wedding night. Table 4.21 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the Bidayuh Biatah informants which were derived from vague reduplication.

Table 4.21: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Derived from Vague Reduplication

PHONEMIC MODIFICATION DEVICE		
Vague reduplication	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	N/A	<i>tingge-tingge</i> ‘remaining-remaining’

The data shows that only one euphemistic expression is derived from the vague reduplication strategy and is used by only the older speakers. The term *tingge-tingge* which means ‘remaining remaining’ refers to the condition of a person who is at the verge of life – dying. In Biatah, *tingge* means ‘leaving behind’ or ‘remain’. In this expression, the condition of someone being on a deathbed is described as having only their remaining life left in them, hence the term *tingge-tingge*. Sentence (15) shows an example of the usage of the term *tingge-tingge* in the Biatah dialect.

- (15) *di ka tinga ayũh mbũh tingge-tingge gaya-i*
 go to see him/her already **remaining-remaining** his/her looks

“Go and see him/her, he/she looks like already **remaining-remaining**”

(Informant OM2)

This term is however, not commonly used among the Biatah speakers in which the younger speakers are not familiar with the term or the usage of the term.

5.2.4 Loan Word Device

Warren (1992) described a loan word as a device where the strategy of euphemizing a dysphemistic or unpreferred term is through the borrowing strategy. The borrowing strategy involves borrowing words from other languages to be used by the speakers of other languages who do not speak the ‘exporting’ language (Hassanein, 2019). Although having similarities with the derivation strategy, a strategy under word formation device, there are differences in the ways the foreign words are used – loan words adopt the whole foreign euphemism without changing any structure, while derivation involves alteration in the terms for it to be a euphemism in a particular language (Warren, 1992). In Biatah, euphemisms of the loan word device consist of expressions that are borrowed from languages such as English, Malay, and Greek.

4.2.4.1 Borrowing from English

Among the Biatah speakers, there are euphemistic expressions that are borrowed from the English language. Table 4.22 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the Bidayuh Biatah informants which were loan words from English.

Table 4.22: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Borrowed from English

LOAN WORD DEVICE		
Borrowing from English	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	the late	paradise, scandal

The younger speakers provided the term ‘the late’, a prefix used for mentioning the name of someone who has died. According to informant OM3, this term is commonly used in churches during English and Bidayuh Biatah mass services, even during home prayers. This term has a similar sense and meaning with the Biatah terms *turang dawu* and *bidawu*, where the function of the terms is similar – to differentiate the status between the deceased and the living and to show respect to the person who has passed away.

On the other hand, the older speakers use English words such as ‘paradise’ to refer to the afterlife. According to informants OM2 and OF1, the usage of the term ‘paradise’ to refer to the afterlife, in general, is due to their religious practices, whereas in the prayer books, although written in the Biatah dialect, the afterlife is referred to using an English term. Even in their prayer songs, the term ‘paradise’ is also used multiple times, influencing the language used by the older speakers. An excerpt was taken from a hymnal lyric in *Kitab Sambahyang: Darūm Piminyu Daya Biatah*, a service book with hymns (p. 478):

O Paradise, O Paradise!

Aku awang raru,

Kiris yŭn-ku adi samu,

Nga Jesus,, Tuhan-ku.

O Jesus, Rajah Paradise,

Kudip aku babŭ,

Nguru aku ka sanang anŭ,

[O Paradise, O Paradise!

My soul really wants,
 Show me Him who is above,
 Jesus, my Lord.
 O Jesus, King of Paradise,
 Keep on preserving me,
 Lead me to that peace]

(*Kitab Sambahyang: Darŭm Piminyu Daya Biatah*, p. 478)

Informants OM2 and OF1 further added that the term ‘paradise’ is commonly used during house prayers by the priest-in-charge despite delivering the whole service in Bidayuh Biatah. Even so, ‘paradise’ refers to the ‘afterlife’ in general and does not specify ‘heaven’ or ‘hell’, as the Bidayuh Biatah speakers do have a word to refer to ‘heaven’, which is *shorga*.

4.2.4.2 Borrowing from Malay

Among the Biatah speakers, only the younger speakers derived their euphemisms from borrowing Malay words and terms. Table 4.23 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the Bidayuh Biatah informants which were loan words from Malay.

Table 4.23: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Borrowed from Malay

LOAN WORD DEVICE		
Borrowing from Malay	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	<i>terlanjur</i> ‘already’, <i>mendiang</i> ‘the deceased’	N/A

The term *terlanjur* is a Malay euphemism which literally translates into ‘already’ and is used to euphemize pregnancy before marriage. The usage of the term is similar in the Sarawak Malay dialect in Sarawak, where the term *terlanjur* is used to describe having a child outside marriage, or *anak luar nikah*’ (Wahab et al., 2020). In Malay, this term is derived from the ellipsis strategy, where the grammatically incomplete phrase is used as a euphemism. However, this term itself has gained its established meaning in Malay, where whenever the term *terlanjur* is used, the speakers often understand the meaning of it without needing additional context. The Biatah younger speakers also used the term in a similar context even when speaking fully in Biatah dialect. Sentence (16) shows an example of the usage of the term *terlanjur* in a fully Biatah sentence.

- (16) *aku* *dingah* *ngera-nũ* *duwũh* *mbit* *dingan-i* *mai*
 I heard they two take each other because
 ngera-nũ *mbũh* ***terlanjur***
 they already **already**

“I heard that they took each other because they already **already**”

(Informant YM2)

In this sentence, *mbit dingan-i* means to get married which implies that the couple is obliged to marry each other due to societal pressure of being pregnant. The word *terlanjur* means ‘already’, which brings the implicit meaning of what is already done is beyond acceptable norms and standard in a particular society.

Another term that this section would like to highlight is the term *andartu* which is used to refer to unmarried woman or ‘spinster’ in Malay (von Flotow, 2011). The term *andartu* is an abbreviation for *anak dara tua*, which translates into ‘old virgin bachelorette’. Similar to the term *terlanjur*, this term also has gained its established meaning in Malay

where the euphemistic sense of the term also has begun to evolve. This means that when the term is used, some speakers treat the expression as euphemisms, however, being described as *andartu* could offend the hearers. This term also has been used widely among the younger Biatah speakers in their spoken Biatah dialect, meaning, language mixing occurs among the younger Biatah speakers.

4.2.4.3 Borrowing from Greek

Not only English and Malay, but there is also a euphemistic expression which is borrowed by the older Biatah speakers from the Greek language. Table 4.24 shows the examples of euphemisms given by the Bidayuh Biatah informants which were loan words from Greek.

Table 4.24: Euphemism Used by the Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Speakers Borrowed from Greek

LOAN WORD DEVICE		
Borrowing from Greek	Younger speakers	Older speakers
	N/A	<i>Hades</i> ‘Greek god of the underworld’

In Greek mythology, Hades is known as the Greek God of the underworld (Jung, 1944), in which in the Christian holy book, the Bible, the term Hades is used to solely refer to the underworld. In Greek mythology, Hades is one of the three brothers who were each allocated ruling three different realms of the Earth and Hades’ role is described by Jung (1944) as:

Hades is allotted the realm of darkness, the domain of shades, that which lies under the earth in the realm of the unknown. He is the brother that will be the regent of the underworld, the Lord of death and rebirth. He is the silent and invisible brother who

removes himself from the affairs of the family yet senses the life of the family at its deepest levels (p.1).

Jung (1944) described the roles of the Greek gods as delivered by the poet Homer in the *Iliad*, in which Hades is introduced as a god himself. However, within the knowledge of the older Biatah informants, *Hades* is used to generally refer to the afterlife. In the New Testament Bible, Hades means ‘the unseen world’, ‘the nether world’, and ‘the realm of the death’ (Pearson, 1938). Pearson (1938) further added that in Luke 16 verses 19 to 31, Hades is described as a representation of a place where the wicked were tormented after death.

Revisiting Objective 2 of the study, which is to study the euphemism formation method used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers according to Warren’s Model (2006) as suggested by Yetkiner (2006), this study has concluded that, in comparison, there are strategies that were utilised by the younger speakers which were not used by the older speakers and vice versa. For instance, the older speakers derived their euphemisms from phonemic replacement, vague reduplication and borrowing from Greek strategies which were not used by the younger speakers. Meanwhile, the younger speakers were found to form their euphemisms through borrowing words from Malay, a euphemism formation strategy that was not identified among the euphemisms used by the older Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

4.3 The Relationship Between the Functions of Bidayuh Biatah Euphemisms with Their Cultural Understanding

This section describes the findings for Objective 3 of the study which is to relate the functions of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms based on Burridge’s (2012) six functions of euphemism with the cultural understanding of the Bidayuh Biatah speakers. Burridge (2012)

suggested that there are six functions of euphemisms altogether: the protective euphemism, the underhand euphemism, the uplifting euphemism, the provocative euphemism, the cohesive euphemism, and the ludic euphemism.

The study identified that there are five functions of euphemism of the Biatah euphemism which are the protective euphemism, the underhand euphemism, the uplifting euphemism, the cohesive euphemism, and the ludic euphemism. The functions of euphemisms in this study were identified through the analysis of the interview with the informants where informants provided information on the function of each euphemisms given. Through the functions of euphemisms, the study also has identified the Bidayuh Biatah cultural influences on the Biatah euphemisms according to the Biatah speakers' understanding. This section is presented according to the functions of euphemisms identified in the Biatah dialect.

4.3.1 Protective Euphemism

The protective euphemism functions to shield and avoid offense (Burridge, 2012). In languages, there are always aspects that the speakers, for one reason or another, would prefer to avoid mentioning unrestrainedly, creating euphemisms as 'verbal hatches' to these unspeakable tabooed topics. For instance, among the Bahdini speakers, there is an expression that translates into 'be it far from you' which is used before mentioning their lexical for 'cancer' as according to their belief; by uttering the phrases, God would provide protection to them from the mentioned illness (Majeed & Mohammed, 2018). As per Keyes (2010, p.1), "we all rely on euphemisms to tiptoe around what makes us uneasy and have done so for most of the recorded history", which Hamilton and Foltzer (2021) have agreed is the nature of euphemism. In Biatah, some euphemisms function as the protective euphemism. Table

4.25 shows examples of protective euphemisms used by the younger and older Biatah speakers.

Table 4.25: Protective Euphemisms Used by the Biatah Speakers

Subjects	Younger Biatah speakers	Older Biatah speakers
BODILY PARTS		
Male sexual organs	<i>Manuk</i> ‘bird’, <i>seگان dari</i> ‘male’s under’, <i>kăyuh</i> ‘thing’	<i>Buat dari</i> ‘male’s property’, <i>manuk</i> ‘bird’, <i>pinyiresà dari</i> ‘male’s shame’
Female sexual organs	<i>Seگان dayung</i> ‘female’s under’, <i>kăyuh</i> ‘thing’	<i>Buat dayung</i> ‘female’s property’, <i>kăyuh</i> ‘thing’, <i>anũ</i> ‘that’
DEATH		
Dying	<i>Neman asũg</i> ‘life/body/soul in pain’, <i>mbũh dũh tui</i> ‘already not long (time) left’	<i>Tebũn asũg</i> ‘the end of life’, <i>tebũn tukuk</i> ‘at the end of the mouth’, <i>stengah asũg</i> ‘half a life’
Afterlife	<i>Ong ajeh</i> ‘that world’, <i>dijeh</i> ‘there’, <i>ong beken</i> ‘other world’	<i>ong anũ ndi</i> ‘that one other world’, <i>ong adũp</i> ‘own world’, <i>ong bauh</i> ‘new world’

According to the informants, sexual organs and death-related are subjects that are considered highly taboo or sensitive, which results in using a wide range of different terms to euphemise these subjects, as per Majeed and Mohammed (2018), protective euphemisms are used by changing the literal names containing frightening connotations that speakers often avoid mentioning with other terms that are more acceptable to the interlocutors. For example, as shown in Table 4.25, the term *kăyuh*, which translates into ‘thing’ is used mutually by both younger and older Biatah speakers to refer to male and female sexual organs. This term is a rather general term that is used not only to refer to the sexual organs but also to other subjects, like the spirits or animals. When it is used to refer to sexual organs, it provides a protective sense as it is used to shield the shame of mentioning the direct terms,

turoi ‘penis’, or *dambè* ‘vagina’, which sounds rather obscene. The Biatah speakers, regardless of their generation, often avoid mentioning the direct terms for sexual organs and resort to euphemisms when there is a need to mention them.

Table 4.25 shows the protective euphemisms used by the older speakers to describe the state of someone who is dying such as *tebũn asũng* ‘at the end of life’, *tebũn tukuk* ‘at the end of the mouth’, and *stengah asũng* ‘half a life’. The euphemisms show that the older speakers perceived life in the current world as something with an end. In these euphemistic expressions, life is associated with something abstract with a start and an end, like a string. When someone is dying, according to the euphemistic meaning, it is described as being at the end of their mouth or the end of their life; although life is not a concrete thing with an apparent physical end, the abstract perception of life is metaphorically conceptualized into a concrete concept, very much identical to the end of a string. Even so, these euphemisms and interpretations of the meaning describe a life that is lived in this world as the Biatah speakers do believe that after the life in the current world ends, the soul would pursue another life in the afterlife, as evident in their euphemistic expressions used to refer to the afterlife, such as the term *ong bauh*, ‘new world’. Sentence (17) shows an example of the usage of the term *stengah asũng* in Biatah.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| (17) | <i>dà</i> | <i>bara</i> | <i>madis-i</i> | <i>sedia</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>ayũh</i> | <i>mbũh</i> |
| | let | them | his relatives | ready | because | he | already |
| | <i>stengah</i> | <i>asũng</i> | | | | | |
| | half | life | | | | | |

“Let his relatives be ready for he is already **half a life**”

(Informant OM1)

Death is an event that could impose strong negative emotions on the relatives of the deceased. Even so, the Biatah speakers, nowadays, who are mostly Christians, believe that there is life after death. Even the traditional Bidayuh also believed that there is a new life after death. To believe that the soul of someone who had died is going to ‘another place’ could provide emotional comfort, especially to the relatives of the dead. The younger Biatah speakers provided a few terms to refer to the afterlife, such as *ong ajeh* ‘that world’ or *ong beken* ‘other world’. This shows that the younger speakers do acknowledge that there is another world for the dead after their current life.

Similarly, older speakers have similar terms used to describe the life of the dead after death, where *ong anũ ndi* ‘that one other world’, *ong adũp* ‘own world’, and *ong bauh* ‘new world’ are the terms used to refer to the afterlife. This shows that the older speakers do believe that the dead are going to live a new life in a new world outside the world that they are currently living in. Although not being in the same world, acknowledging that the dead could live a life in another world is relatively comforting, knowing that the life of the dead does not end in this world alone. Apart from providing comfort, such euphemistic terms are also used to avoid being offensive, especially to the relatives of the dead whose emotions are vulnerable during the times of death.

4.3.2 Underhand Euphemism

Underhand euphemism functions to mystify and misrepresent, in which euphemism is not so much of concealing offense but rather advertently veiling a topic to serve the purpose of deceiving or playing down the negativity of a particular topic (Burridge, 2012). For instance, within the subject of drugs, ‘get snotty’ means ‘to use heroin’, ‘candy sticks’ is the euphemism for ‘marijuana cigarettes’, and ‘Lipton tea’ refers to ‘poor quality drugs’

(Halliday, 1978). These euphemisms used to refer to the mentioned drugs are, to a degree, considered dishonest and deceiving. Similarly, in Biatah, there are also euphemisms that perform the underhand function. Table 4.26 shows the examples of Biatah euphemisms that perform the underhand functions taken from the data.

Table 4.26: Underhand Euphemisms Used by the Biatah Speakers

Subjects	Younger Biatah speakers	Older Biatah speakers
GENDER		
Miscarriage	<i>Bayuh gi nasib</i> ‘not yet had luck’, <i>bayuh gik rezeki</i> ‘not yet had blessing’	<i>Asa</i> ‘disappointment’
SEX		
Sexual intercourse	<i>Beūs samah</i> ‘sleep together’, <i>ndai anũ</i> ‘doing that’, <i>ndai kayuh spedin</i> ‘doing weird thing’	<i>Beūs samah</i> ‘sleep together’, <i>mbũh jadi</i> ‘already become’, <i>bidengan ayo daya saruh</i> ‘be friend with a strange person’, <i>neku</i> ‘stealing’, <i>ngen mengũh</i> ‘give shame’
FEAR		
Naming spirits	N/A	<i>Dayà</i> ‘person/people’

There are various Biatah terms to describe miscarriages that function as underhand euphemisms. As provided by the younger speakers, the frequently used terms are *bayuh gi nasib*, which means ‘not yet have luck’ or *bayuh gi rezeki*, which translates as ‘not yet have blessing’. The term *bayuh* literally means ‘not yet’, functioning to misrepresent the concept of ‘loss’. To experience a miscarriage is an overwhelming experience for the mothers. Instead of saying *meting nasib* ‘no luck’ or *meting rezeki* ‘no blessing’, the Biatah speakers prefer to say *bayuh*. A child is considered a blessing from God; therefore, having a child is to be lucky enough to be blessed. In Christianity, children epitomize divine blessing and are celebrated as the name bearers and the future of a family (Caroll, 2001). Upon the news of a

pregnancy, the parents-to-be are often celebrated and prayed for upon their healthy pregnancy journey. However, when miscarriages happen, it is inevitable to talk about, especially when delivering the news of the miscarriage to other relatives and friends. Therefore, euphemistic terms are used instead. Although having a miscarriage is literally ‘losing’ the child, the euphemistic terms containing the word *bayuh* are found to be more suitable and comforting in misrepresenting the concept of *meting*, thus, the underhand euphemism.

Underhand euphemisms are also used when describing matters related to sexual intercourse within the Biatah community, regardless of the generational gap. Both younger and older Biatah speakers employ similar euphemistic expressions, such as the term *beŭs samah*, which translates to ‘sleep together’, to describe sexual intercourse. Sexual intercourse can be divided into two subcategories; the first one is the intercourse that happens within a marriage and between spouses, and the second one is the intercourse that happens outside marriage, involving individuals outside the marital bond or with a party other than the spouse. Although sexual intercourse involves sexual intimacy beyond mere sleep, the euphemistic expression used to describe it is rather general, that is, the term *beŭs samah*, which means ‘sleep together’. It is misrepresented as such to tone down the explicitness of the direct term, thereby performing the underhand function. Even so, there are expressions that the older Biatah speakers often use, but the younger speakers are somehow unfamiliar with, such as the term *neku*, which literally means ‘stealing’. This term is used only to specifically describe sexual intercourse with a person other than the spouse. Although ostensibly unrelated to theft, ‘stealing’ in this context means doing something discreetly with others. This term serves the function of underhand euphemism due to the vague notion of the term in mystifying the described matter – illegal sexual intercourse.

As shown in Table 4.26, the older Biatah speakers used underhand euphemisms to name spirits, such as using the term *dayà*, which translates into ‘person’ or ‘people’. According to informants OM3 and OF3, the Biatah speakers consider themselves as being close to nature, where they respect nature and also have imposed beliefs associated with nature, such as bird sounds to bring messages and warning signs, align with the statement by Chua (2009), where birds in the *adat* Bidayuh were believed to be able to ‘let them know’, or in Bidayuh, *da yŭh pu’an* about incoming dangers that the Bidayuh people often obliged to adhere. There are also names prohibited from being mentioned in places like forests, orchards, and farms, and mentioning the names of animals and spirits is also forbidden. Not adhering to these could impose harm to the individual, the individual’s family, or the whole community. The Biatah believe that the names of the spirits should not be mentioned directly, as mentioning the names is considered calling the spirits to approach. Therefore, other terms are used instead of the literal names, resulting in the term *dayà* to misrepresent the names of the spirits. Sentence (18) shows the example of the usage of the term *dayà* in Biatah.

- (18) *manyah nang kăyuh masam-masam tek gik dayà*
do not say things weird later there is **person**
nguru ù pari ayo ayŭh
leading you home with him/her
“do not say weird things, or later there will be a **person** leading you home with him/her”.

(Informant OM3)

Within the context of Sentence (18), the speaker means to advice another person to not speak recklessly otherwise the spirits would take them to their ‘home’. The older speakers mentioned that referring to the spirits using *dayà* is common among them, that in a certain

place, with a particular tone, other speakers would instantly understand the context of the term used.

4.3.3 Uplifting Euphemism

Euphemisms that perform the uplifting function have more gratifying connotations as means to talk up and inflate, which are often used to promote something by saying something good (Burridge, 2012). Uplifting euphemisms upgrade a desirable feature of a referent; for example, in America, car dealerships market ‘used car’ as ‘preowned cars’ due to ‘ownership’ having a better connotation than ‘use’ (Majeed & Mohammed, 2018; Hamilton & Foltzer, 2021). Among the Biatah speakers, there are also euphemisms that performed the uplifting euphemisms. Table 4.27 shows the examples of Biatah euphemisms that performed the uplifting function which is taken from the data.

Table 4.27: Uplifting Euphemisms Used by the Biatah Speakers

Subjects	Younger Biatah speakers	Older Biatah speakers
GENDER		
Pregnancy	<i>Berisi</i> ‘with contain’, <i>ngandang</i> ‘suspect’, <i>agah</i> <i>kena</i> ‘good news’	<i>Berisi</i> ‘with contain’, <i>rèũ buran</i> ‘waiting months’
ANGER AND HATRED		
Insults	N/A	<i>Berisi</i> ‘with flesh’
Unmarried man/woman	N/A	<i>Dari/dayung tibũn</i> ‘unblemished man/woman’, <i>bujang tibũn</i> ‘unblemished bachelor/bachelorette’

The table shows that both older and younger Biatah speakers use uplifting euphemism to describe pregnancy such as using the term *berisi* ‘with contain’, *ngandang* ‘suspect’, *agah kena* ‘good news’ and *reũ buran* ‘waiting months’. Pregnancy is often good news, where the younger speakers use euphemistic expressions like *agah kena*, which means ‘good news’ when delivering the news of someone’s pregnancy. Other expressions like *berisi* which means ‘with contain’, and *ngandang* which means ‘suspect’ are also commonly used among the speakers when delivering the news of someone’s pregnancy. Similarly, the older speakers also have euphemistic expressions with positive connotations commonly used when describing pregnancy, such as the term *reũ buran* which translates into ‘waiting months’. These euphemistic expressions contain positive connotations and function to say pleasant things using euphemisms, hence, uplifting euphemisms. However, these euphemistic terms are only used to describe a pregnancy within a marriage and are not applicable when describing pregnancy outside marriage as pregnancy outside marriages is often considered an unfavourable occurrence.

Older speakers, however, show the tendency to use uplifting euphemisms to describe other matters too, such as physically shaming someone, where the term *berisi* which means ‘with flesh’ is used instead of ‘fat’. Although the term is similar to the uplifting euphemism used to describe pregnancy, within a different context, the meaning of the term could change. The term *berisi* in the context of shaming the physique of someone means ‘with flesh’, instead of ‘with contain’. This term is classified as an uplifting euphemism due to the ‘standard’ of what the Bidayuh community perceived as healthy, quoting an informant:

*Jah-i, daya mun bagà pürũng anũ lah sehat, mai maksud-i ayũh sukup man,
sukup nok, bisa ke matì ke manũ ndai kerja kena kudip dũp-i ayo rawang-i.*

[Long ago, a person with bigger body is the healthy one, because it means that they ate enough, drank enough, they can go here and there to work to preserve themselves and their families].

(Informant OM3)

As described by informant OM3, long ago, those individuals with bigger physiques were considered healthy, as the bigger their physiques, the more energy they had for working and sustaining their lifestyle, meanwhile, skinny individuals were considered weak and could not work as much. However, in the modern days, the Biatah speakers are aware that being overweight is associated with having an unhealthy Body Mass Index (BMI) and is often the root cause of multiple health complications, such as obesity. Regardless, the topic concerning one's weight is rather sensitive, and one should not address others' weight idly. Therefore, within this context, the speakers resort to uplifting euphemisms, which have favourable connotations in preserving the speaker's and the hearer's dignity (Sari, 2020).

Other than that, the older speakers also have their euphemistic expressions which are widely used to describe the unmarried status of a man and of a woman who is already past the marrying age. Terms such as *dayung* or *dari tibŭn* and *bujang tibŭn* are the euphemisms commonly provided by the older informants. The word *tibŭn* in the terms means 'unblemished', usually used to describe something brand new. However, in the context of the Biatah speakers, these terms are used to describe someone who is not married at an older age. Regardless of their age, which the Biatah speakers perceived as 'old', as they have yet to marry at that age, they are considered as 'new' – untouched. Sentence (19) shows an example of the usage of the term *dayung tibŭn* in Biatah.

- (19) *umur-i mbũh sindũk pat purũ sawa pak babũ dà*
her age already nearing forty years old but still letting
adũp-i jadi dayung tibũn
herself to be **woman unblemished**
“her age is already nearing 40 years old, but she is still letting herself be an
unblemished woman”

(Informant OM2)

Sentence (19) shows an example on how the term *dayung tibũn* is used to describe someone who is not yet married despite her age being almost forty years old. Although the terms, *dayung tibũn*, *dari tibũn*, and *bujang tibũn* sound to have rather pleasing connotations, these terms are more commonly heard and used in a gossiping manner. Interlocutors usually immediately understand the meaning of the term when is used in a discussion. It is identified that uplifting euphemisms have pleasant connotations but are often used in the opposite context such as in the Biatah dialect, where the uplifting euphemisms are used as insults towards one’s body weight or unmarried status.

4.3.4 Cohesive Euphemism

Cohesive euphemisms are euphemisms containing common values that bond a community where the values in the euphemistic terms are used as a sign of social cohesion (Burridge, 2012). This means that euphemisms that perform the cohesive function are only understood by the speakers’ group as they share similar beliefs and understanding of their own society’s taboos and euphemisms (Burridge, 2012; Majeed & Mohammed, 2018). An example of a cohesive expression is shown by the famous term among the Kurdish people, which is the term “the 100-year betrayal” where this term is only understood by the Kurdish people but not by the Arabs or Turks regardless of sharing geographical overlap in the Middle

East region (Majeed & Mohammed, 2018). This study also has identified Biatah euphemisms that performed cohesive functions. Table 4.28 shows the examples of Biatah euphemisms that performed the cohesive function which are taken from the data.

Table 4.28: Cohesive Euphemisms Used by the Biatah Speakers

Subjects	Younger Biatah speakers	Older Biatah speakers
REFERRAL OF GODS		
God	<i>Bai di sǎmbu</i> ‘the old man above’	N/A
GENDER		
Pregnancy out of wedlock	N/A	<i>bitè sebak</i> ‘wind’s pregnancy’
ANGER AND HATRED		
Child out of wedlock	N/A	<i>Anak sebak</i> ‘wind’s child’
ILLNESS		
Mystical illness	N/A	<i>mendam sebak</i> ‘wind’s illness’, <i>dog sebak</i> ‘get hit by the wind’
DEATH		
Posthumous title of the deceased	<i>Turang dawu</i> ‘bone of the long dead’, <i>bidawu</i> ‘the long dead’ <i>turang madis</i> ‘bone of the long dead relative’	<i>Turang dawu</i> ‘bone of the long dead’, <i>bidawu</i> ‘the long dead’ <i>turang madis</i> ‘bone of the long dead relative’

As per Table 4.27, the younger Biatah speakers used the term *bai di sǎmbu* which means ‘the old man above’ to refer to God in a playful manner. Although most if not all the younger speakers are born and brought up as Christians, they seem to be more lenient with their beliefs. According to informant YF1, this term is not used with older Biatah speakers, but only among themselves as the older speakers show a tendency to be more conservative and

stricter with their religion and only use the direct term *Tepak*, which means ‘God’ to refer to God. Even so, the term *bai di sǎmbu* is not offensive but rather used as a way to playfully deliver a prohibition on wrongdoings such as talking recklessly or physically shaming someone. Sentence (20) shows an example of the usage of the term *bai di sǎmbu* to refer to God among the younger Biatah speakers.

- (20) *manyah* *nang* *mun* *anǔ* *tè* *bai* *di*
 do not say like that later **old man** **at**
 sǎmbu *anǔ* *nang* *ù*
 above there scold you

“do not say like that, later the **old man above** there would scold you”

(Informant YF1)

Although the phrase can mean to refer to someone older living on a slightly higher land, among the younger informants, informant YF1 described that they – the younger speakers in her circle, cohesively agreed that this phrase refers to God.

Among the Biatah speakers, both younger and older speakers provided the term *turang dawu*, which means ‘the bone of the person who long died’. This term is used as a prefix when mentioning the name of someone who has died. According to informant OF1, in the Bidayuh culture, the name of someone who has died is prohibited to be mentioned directly and the need of the posthumous title for the deceased is to differentiate the status of the living and the dead. For those who are not their relatives, the Biatah speakers would often use *turang dawu* or *bidawu*. However, when the deceased is a relative, the Biatah speakers would use *turang madis* which means ‘the bone of the relative who long died’ instead. *Madis* means ‘relative’, hence, regardless of the relations, be it close or not-so-close relatives, the term *turang madis* still applies when referring to the names of the deceased. Although both

generations – younger and older Biatah speakers use this phrase a lot, only the older speakers are aware of the meaning. The older speakers consider that the term *turang dawu* is an old Bidayuh phrase, meaning, it has been used since a long time ago and it is rather difficult to find speakers that know the definition of it, as only the oldest informant, OM3 was the only informant that could define the terms. On the other hand, the younger speakers are not aware of the meaning, as none of the younger informants managed to deliver the definition or the meaning of the term. They were taught the usage and the purpose of using the terms but were not taught the definitions of it. Mostly because of their parents who also know little about the meaning of the term – some of the older informants in the study consider themselves as younger speakers, due to them acknowledging their lack of understanding of difficult terms.

Based on the recurring and identifiable patterns, the older Biatah speakers displayed an adherence to the belief that the wind acts as a conduit or ‘carrier’ for numerous matters and many of them bear an apparent unpleasant connotation or at least a sense of uncertainty or the unknown, as shown in the usage of the term *sebak* which means ‘wind’ in the Biatah euphemisms, such as in the term *mendam sebak* which translates into ‘wind’s illness’. According to the older Biatah speakers, long ago, the Bidayuh resided in higher lands nearby. However, they moved away from the higher lands due to a ‘mystical’ illness that was believed to be brought by the wind, which later, was identified as the cholera disease. Hence, the term *dog sebak* ‘get hit by the wind’ is used to refer to the mysterious cause of an illness; meanwhile, the illness itself is referred to as *mendam sebak*, which means ‘the wind’s illness’.

Correspondingly, a pregnancy that occurs to a woman known to have no matrimonial spouse is referred to as *bite sebak* ‘wind’s pregnancy’ where according to the older informants, the pregnancy was brought by the wind to the mother. When the child is later

born, the child is referred to as *anak sebak* which means the ‘wind’s child’. Usually, the community does acknowledge the presence or the identity of the father. However, the Biatah community believed that the relationship between a man and a woman must be solemnized through proper marriage for the child’s status to be clear and for the father to not be disregarded by the community. BurrIDGE (2012) described cohesive euphemism is when an object in a particular language becomes a ‘recognition device’ to the speakers’ community, as seen in the Biatah community where the older speakers cohesively agreed and understood the term *sebak* implies the source of anonymity, be it in illness, diseases, pregnancy, and other things that sources are not known to them.

4.3.5 Ludic Euphemism

Ludic euphemisms are often euphemisms that function to have fun and entertain, meaning that euphemisms are primarily formed to amuse and be part of daily verbal play in communication (BurrIDGE, 2012). By definition, the speakers of a language, from childhood to adulthood, usually play with sounds, letters, words, and phrases to have fun (Majeed & Mohammed, 2018). For example, the terms ‘killing’, ‘hysterical’, and ‘belly laugh’ are used as funny euphemisms for laughing loudly and deeply. However, in the Biatah dialect, ludic euphemisms are used in different contexts. Table 4.29 shows the examples of Biatah euphemisms that performed the ludic function taken from the data.

Table 4.29: Ludic Euphemisms Used by the Biatah Speakers

Subjects (Direct words)	Younger Biatah speakers	Older Biatah speakers
BODILY PARTS		
Male sexual organs (<i>turoi</i> ‘penis’)	<i>Loloi</i>	<i>Loloi, lelew</i>

Table 5.29 continued

Female sexual organs (<i>dambè</i> ‘vagina’)	<i>Bibit, papè</i>	<i>Tatè, papè</i>
FEAR		
Ghost (<i>muod</i> ‘ghost’)	<i>Momò</i>	<i>momong</i>

Table 4.29 shows that both younger and older Biatah speakers have similar ludic euphemisms, performing similar functions in their verbal communication, such as the terms *loloi* and *lelew*, both are the rhyming sounds of the direct term, *turoi*, the direct word to refer to the male sexual organs, and *bibit, papè*, and *tatè* are the rhyming sounds derived from the direct word, *dambè*, to refer to the female sexual organ. The older speakers mentioned that the direct terms are vulgar-sounding and offensive; therefore, they are often prohibited from being mentioned, especially to children. However, when there is a need to mention the sexual organs, such as when educating children about hygiene, as per informant OF3, the older Biatah speakers prefer to use terms like *loloi* and *lelew* for the male sexual organ and *bibit, papè*, and *tatè* for the female sexual organs. Although there are many other euphemisms used to refer to sexual organs, the informant stated that it is preferable if they could teach their children using the terms that sounds are closer to the direct words, especially when involving matters regarding sexual organs. Other euphemistic lexical in which the literal meaning is not close to the direct word, such as the terms *manuk* ‘bird’, *kăyuh*, ‘thing’, and *buat* ‘property’, are avoided to cause less confusion among children. The ludic euphemisms, although playful, still imply the seriousness of the original words without being abrasive to children to which Crespo-Fernandez (2022:16) has stated that the ludic euphemisms are good for “diffusing the seriousness of taboo subjects”.

Another ludic euphemism that both generations of speakers used is the term for ‘ghost’, which is *momok* and *momong* where both terms are derived from the direct word for

ghost, *muod*. According to the Biatah speakers, the direct term, *muod* is usually avoided from being mentioned, hence, the various euphemistic expressions that are used to refer to ghost and spirits, like *kăyuh* ‘thing’ and *dayà* ‘people’. However, these terms are not used when talking to children due to the attempt of getting more straightforward with children. The Biatah speakers often use the presence of ghosts and spirits to instill fear in children, especially in warning them from doing unfavourable things. However, there is an overlap between their spiritual belief system and the attempt to discipline, causing the instillation of fear to be diluted to a more playful tone while avoiding the actual term in fear of invoking them, hence the derivation of playful-sounding terms like *momok* and *momong*, from the direct term, *muod*. This shows that ludic euphemisms used by Biatah speakers are not only to have fun and entertain but also to educate and discipline children while sounding fun and entertaining.

In conclusion, this section has provided insights into the relationship between the functions of euphemisms as suggested by Burrige (2012), and the cultural understanding of the Bidayuh Biatah speakers that influenced the euphemisms. Burrige (2012) suggested that there were six functions of euphemisms. Even so, this study has identified five functions altogether, which are the protective euphemism, the underhand euphemism, the uplifting euphemism, the cohesive euphemism, and the ludic euphemism. The Bidayuh Biatah speakers’ understanding of their cultural aspects provided insights into the function, where the meaning and usage of each euphemism revealed both the cultural aspects that influenced the usage of the euphemisms, hence, resulting in the functions of each euphemism.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the phenomenon of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms among two generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers, namely the younger and older generations. The section division includes an overview of the findings, identifying universal concepts in Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms, addressing hypotheses raised in the initial thesis chapter, and outlining the research limitations.

5.1 Overview of The Research Findings

This research aims to analyse the use of euphemisms and draw comparisons between the phenomenon of Bidayuh euphemisms among the younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers. Limited studies have studied Bidayuh euphemisms, with Ritos and Daud (2020) being the sole contributors, focusing on a different Bidayuh dialect – Bidayuh Bau. They studied five aspects of euphemism among the Bidayuh Bau speakers, including bodily parts, gender, hatred, anger, and death. In contrast, the present study broadens the scope, identifying all nine aspects of euphemisms present in the Bidayuh Biatah, another variant of Bidayuh dialects, encompassing bodily parts, sex, gender, anger, hatred, illness, death, fear, and referral of gods, as well as the strategies of euphemisms used by both younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers, and the functions of euphemisms based on BurrIDGE (2012) which correlate with their Bidayuh Biatah cultural understanding. This study has employed an ethnographic research design using a qualitative approach where open-ended interviews were conducted with all 16 informants – younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers of specific set of criteria.

As per the first objective of this study, which is to identify the euphemisms used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers, this study has identified the presence of all nine aspects of euphemisms—bodily parts, gender, sex, anger, hatred, fear, illness, death, and referral of gods, in the Biatah euphemisms used by the younger informants. Meanwhile, in comparison, the older informants used euphemisms in eight aspects, excluding the referral of gods. However, regardless of the generational gap, the study has concluded that all nine aspects of euphemisms, as suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991), are the topics that often need euphemisms when discussed among the Biatah speakers.

Revisiting Objective 2 of this research, which is to study the euphemism formation method used by the younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers according to Warren's Model as suggested by Yetkiner (2006). In comparison, the study identified that there are euphemism strategies utilized by the older speakers but are not utilized by the younger speakers in forming their euphemisms, such as phonemic replacement, vague reduplication, and borrowing from Greek. Even so, there are also strategies used by the younger speakers but are not used by the older speakers such as borrowing from Malay. The findings also identified that both younger and older generations of Biatah speakers used a wide range of circumlocution strategy in forming their euphemisms. The study identified that some euphemisms similarly used by both younger and older Bidayuh Biatah speakers were derived from the same strategies, such as the euphemisms for sexual organs were commonly derived from particularisation, circumlocution was commonly used when talking about divorce and sexual intercourse, the state of being unmarried was euphemised using compounding strategy, and so on. Even so, there were also differences such as when the younger informants used metaphors to euphemise menstruation and dying, meanwhile, the older informants used metaphors to euphemise divorce and a child out of wedlock.

As per Objective 3 of this research, which is to relate the functions of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms based on Burrridge's (2012) six functions of euphemism with the cultural understanding of the Bidayuh Biatah speakers, this study has identified the presence of five euphemism functions according to the functions of euphemism as suggested by Burrridge (2012) which then later leads the study to relate the patterns of cultural influences on the Biatah euphemisms. Although Burrridge (2012) suggested that there are six functions of euphemism altogether, which are protective euphemism, underhand euphemism, uplifting euphemism, provocative euphemism, cohesive euphemism, and ludic euphemism, the present study identifies the presence of five functions in the Biatah euphemisms which are protective euphemism, underhand euphemism, uplifting euphemism, cohesive euphemism, and ludic euphemism. In this objective, each function has revealed the cultural aspects of the Bidayuh Biatah speakers that influenced their euphemisms and the functions of the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms. For instance, the term *bayuh gi rezeki*, which means 'not yet have luck' was used to euphemise 'miscarriage'. In this term, the word *rezeki*, which means 'blessing' imposed that a child is considered as a blessing to the Biatah speakers. Instead of describing the miscarriage as 'does not have blessing', the Biatah speakers used the term *bayuh*, which means 'not yet' to tone down the negativity on the term miscarriage, hence, performing the underhand function, as the function in Bidayuh Biatah aligns with the description of the underhand euphemism proposed by Burrridge (2012).

The findings of this study showed a trend or pattern relating the components of euphemisms: aspects, strategies, and functions. Table 5.1 shows the patterns identified from the study's findings.

Table 5.1: Patterns of the Bidayuh Biatah Euphemisms

Bidayuh Biatah Euphemisms			
Aspect	Strategy	Function	Examples
Bodily Parts	Particularisation, Metonym, Rhyming Slang	Protective, Ludic	<i>manuk</i> ‘bird’, <i>kăyuh</i> ‘thing’, <i>sekawà</i> ‘region between legs’, <i>loloji</i> ‘penis’
Gender	Particularisation, Metaphor, Overstatement, Circumlocution	Protective, Underhand, Uplifting	<i>măndüğ buran</i> ‘come Moon’, <i>bujang tibŭn</i> ‘unblemished bachelor’, <i>rebù</i> ‘fallen’
Sex	Implication, Understatement, Circumlocution	Underhand	<i>beŭs ayo</i> ‘sleeping together’, <i>ndai arap</i> ‘doing bad’, <i>nyibeŭs</i> ‘put to sleep’
Anger	Particularisation, Metonym, Circumlocution, Overstatement	Protective, Underhand	<i>bagà pŭrŭng</i> ‘big body’, <i>dŭh sedar diri</i> ‘not self- aware’, <i>pikir kira-i rusak</i> ‘damaged mind’
Hatred	Particularisation, Metaphor, Compounding, Overstatement, Circumlocution	Protective, Cohesive	<i>anak saruh</i> ‘strange child’, <i>dayung tibŭn</i> ‘unblemished woman’, <i>dŭh paŭh duit</i> ‘not with money’
Illness	Particularisation, Metaphor, Circumlocution, Understatement	Protective, Underhand	<i>brandam</i> ‘with illness’, <i>dog ndai dayà</i> ‘illness made by people’, <i>mbŭh</i> <i>gurin adŭ</i> ‘very sick’
Fear	Circumlocution, Indexical, Particularisation, Metaphor	Protective	<i>binatang di ambu anŭ</i> ‘that long animal’, <i>kăyuh</i> <i>masam-masam</i> ‘different kind of things’
Death	Particularisation, Metaphor, Implication, Circumlocution	Protective, Underhand, Cohesive	<i>mbŭh tingge ong</i> ‘already left the world’, <i>arŭn bauh</i> ‘new home’, <i>sebayan</i> ‘realm after life’
Referral of Gods	Circumlocution	Cohesive	<i>Bai di sămbu</i> ‘the old man above’

Table 5.1 suggests that the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms predominantly serve as protective devices, particularly when discussing sensitive topics such as bodily parts, illness, fear, and death. This is evident from the wide range of different terms used to euphemise these topics. However, the euphemisms that function as protective devices do not necessarily stem from the same euphemism strategies. For example, the terms *manuk* ‘bird’ and *kăyuh* ‘thing’, which both refer to sexual organs, are derived from the particularisation strategy. Yet, there are also protective euphemisms for sexual organs that stem from indexical expressions, such as the term *anũ*, which means ‘thing’. Overall, the study identified that protective euphemisms are often conveyed through strategies like circumlocution, metaphor, and indexical expressions, which aim to avoid direct references to potentially offensive or sensitive topics.

The pattern in Table 5.1 also shows that particularisation and circumlocution are the most commonly used euphemistic strategies, as both strategies were used in most if not all, aspects of euphemism. Bidayuh Biatah speakers use euphemisms derived from particularisation to euphemise matters concerning bodily parts, gender, anger, hatred, illness, fear and death, which excludes sex and referral to gods. While euphemisms derived from particularisation primarily serve protective functions, in some aspects, these euphemisms also serve other functions. For instance, in the aspect of gender and anger, euphemisms derived from particularisation are uplifting euphemisms, and on the other hand, some of the death-related euphemisms serve as cohesive devices.

Circumlocution is a strategy found in all nine aspects of euphemisms except for bodily parts. However, the Bidayuh Biatah can resort to circumlocution when describing bodily parts, as this strategy involves using descriptions to euphemise a topic instead of using direct words. For instance, in the aspect of death, the Bidayuh Biatah term for a coffin or a

casket is *peti*, which translates to a rectangular box for storing items. In the context of death, *peti* refers specifically to a coffin or casket. Nevertheless, some speakers may struggle to find the appropriate term to describe it, or they might consider the word *peti* to be *peris* or ‘taboo’ to say. In such cases, they may use descriptions to euphemise it, such as *tărun yŭn nà pŭrŭng-i* which translates into ‘the place to put their body’. The findings indicate that this commonly used strategy functions as mostly a protective and underhand euphemism in all aspects except for the referral of gods, where circumlocution is used as a sign of cohesion among the younger Bidayuh Biatah speakers.

As shown in Table 5.1, there is frequent use of both overstatement and understatement strategies of the semantic innovation strategy in the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms. Overstatement tends to exaggerate certain conditions, such as illness or expressing anger but still avoids the direct expressions, serving a similar protective function. Understatement, on the other hand, often appears in euphemisms related to illness or sexual topics, likely to minimise discomfort.

In this study, euphemisms functioning as underhand euphemisms are predominantly, if not entirely, derived from the understatement strategy. The understatement strategy, falling under the semantic innovation device, is a commonly employed euphemistic approach in Biatah euphemisms, particularly addressing gender-related aspects such as pregnancy miscarriages and marital status, as well as topics related to sex, which includes sexual intercourse. These subjects carry a relatively higher sensitivity, such as miscarriages representing an unfortunate occurrence that can significantly impact expecting mothers. Similarly, discussions about sexual intercourse are also perceived as highly taboo. The euphemistic choices used by the Biatah speakers reflect this sensitivity, portraying miscarriages as a ‘disappointment’ through the term *asa* and associating sexual intercourse

with the metaphorical reference of sleeping, such as in the terms *beŭs samah*, which means ‘sleeping together’.

Other than that, it was observed that euphemisms serving uplifting functions were more commonly associated with the aspect of gender and hatred, where precisely, the younger speakers use uplifting euphemisms to describe pregnancy. In comparison, the older speakers use uplifting euphemisms as insults. The younger Biatah speakers conveyed positive connotations through euphemisms like *agah kena*, which means ‘good news’, when referring to pregnancy. On the contrary, the older speakers demonstrated different dynamics in using euphemisms for uplifting functions. These euphemisms were employed to express both positive and negative emotions. For example, the term *reŭ buran*, meaning ‘waiting months’ was used positively to describe pregnancy, whereas the term *dayung tibŭn*, meaning ‘unblemished woman’, was used negatively to insult unmarried women.

In this study, metaphor is among the strategies employed by younger and older Biatah speakers in the semantic innovation device. The study’s findings indicate that euphemisms formed through the metaphor strategy serve as cohesive euphemisms due to the intricate metaphorical senses created by the Biatah speakers. These metaphorical nuances are exclusive to the Biatah community, such as the older Biatah speakers that displayed adherence to the belief that associate uncertainties with being something carried by the wind, such as describing pregnancy out of wedlock as *bitè sebak* or ‘wind’s pregnancy’, a child born out of wedlock as *anak sebak* or ‘wind’s child’, and attributing mystical illnesses or illnesses of unknown causes to *mendam sebak* or ‘wind’s illness’ and *dog sebak* or ‘get hit by the wind’. The historical roots of linking wind with uncertainties trace back to a time when Bidayuh residing in higher lands had to relocate due to a perceived ‘mystical illness’ believed to be brought by the wind, which was later identified as cholera disease.

While metaphors in Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms are commonly found to serve a cohesive function, euphemisms based on particularisation, specifically those related to body parts and fear aspects, predominantly serve a protective function. For instance, terms like *kăyuh dayung* or *kăyuh dari*, meaning ‘female’s thing’ or male’s thing’, are used to refer to sexual organs, avoiding the direct terms to protect the interlocutors from the discomfort or shame associated with them. In the context of fear, the word *kăyuh*, meaning ‘thing’, is similarly used to refer to spirits or animals. In such cases, these euphemisms offer protection to Bidayuh Biatah speakers, particularly in situations where directly naming the spirits or animals is believed to invoke or summon them.

The study found that Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms functioning as ludic euphemisms are primarily used to reference bodily parts, particularly sexual organs. In this context, rhyming slang is employed for playful or ludic purposes, softening the seriousness of the subject matter through humour and creativity. For Bidayuh Biatah speakers, ludic euphemisms derived from rhyming slang serve as a strategy to educate children about sexual organs in a way that is both entertaining and engaging. This strategy allows for the formation of euphemisms that rhyme with the direct terms without explicitly stating them, thereby toning down the seriousness of the topic. The speakers also suggested that this method helps avoid confusion among children, as other euphemisms for sexual organs often have literal meanings in different contexts.

In conclusion, the data suggests that euphemisms in Bidayuh Biatah culture serve a variety of functions, predominantly as protective devices to soften the impact of sensitive topics, protect social propriety, and maintain cultural cohesion. Protective strategies dominate euphemism usage across several domains, such as bodily parts, illness, fear, and death, reflecting cultural values of discretion and sensitivity. The Bidayuh Biatah

euphemisms also serve uplifting and underhand purposes, depending on the context and age group, with metaphors playing a cohesive role by connecting historical and cultural beliefs to modern expressions. Additionally, ludic euphemisms, through rhyming slang, especially around taboo topics like sexual organs, provide a playful way of approaching such issues, indicating a balancing act between expressing humour and maintaining both cultural sensitivity and engagement. The usage of metaphors also further reveals how Bidayuh euphemisms reflect their cohesive functions while preserving cultural identity.

5.1.1 Universal Concepts in Bidayuh Biatah Euphemism

Within the Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms, certain concepts extend beyond the Bidayuh Biatah community and find resonance among speakers of other languages. An example is the euphemism *mandüğ buran*, meaning ‘come Moon’, used to describe menstruation. This term associated the timing of menstruation with the phases of the Moon. This concept transcends the Bidayuh Biatah community, as evidenced by its presence in other languages. Malay speakers, for example, use the term *datang bulan*, also translating to ‘come Moon’ (Abdullah & Rahman, 2019), while the Yurok Californian speakers, an indigenous American tribe, similarly refer to menstruation as ‘Moontime’ (Knight, 1985). The idea of menstruation being aligned with cosmic rhythms, particularly lunar phases, is quite convincing with the menstrual cycle in humans closely approximates the synodic cycle of the Moon, which is at 29.5 days per cycle (Tan et al., 2016). This alignment is further reflected in the etymology of the term ‘menstruation’ or ‘menses’, derived from the Latin term *mensis*, meaning ‘month’, connected to the Greek term *mene*, meaning ‘Moon’ – both contributing to the root words of ‘month’ and ‘Moon’ (Reinberg et al., 2016).

Another universal concept present in Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms is the term *turah*, a curse word with a meaning of the return of something terrible upon an individual's bad behaviour in the first place. The term *turah* is derived from the term *tulah*, embodying a concept widely believed in by various cultures, including the Iban, Penan, Malay, and Bajau communities in Malaysia (Adam et al., 2023; Husin, 2017; Rozaimie et al., 2023; Sarina et al., 2019), as well as the Uut Danum community of West Kalimantan (Couderc, 2012). The fundamental concept of it, wherein undesirable consequences may return to someone who engages in wrongful actions, such as disrespecting their ancestors or elders, violating culture-imposed rules, or breaking taboos. In the Bidayuh Biatah euphemism, this term is used as euphemism where they would say that something bad, similar, or worse, could return to the doers. Instead of directly describing or mentioning the wrongful actions, they would just use *turah*, to avoid mentioning and describing them.

The association of the male sexual organ with a bird is not unique to the Bidayuh Biatah speakers but is a widespread phenomenon in various languages worldwide. In Biatah, the term *manuk*, which translates into 'bird', is frequently used as a euphemism for the male sexual organ. A similar euphemistic concept is observed in Malay and Indonesian languages, where the term *burung*, meaning 'bird', is used to refer to the sexual organs. Similarly, in English, 'cock', although denoting a bird, has become a well-known euphemism for the penis, evolving into a slang term that some may find vulgar (Allan, 2012). Allan (2012) further added that Italian includes terms such as *ucello* and *passerotto*, which respectively means 'bird' and 'sparrow', while Latin uses *passer*, also meaning 'sparrow'. In German, *Vogel*, meaning 'bird' serves as the root word for the verb *vögeln*, meaning 'to have sexual intercourse' (Allan, 2012; Barolsky, 1978; Jongh, 1869). Allan (2012) further explains that

the association of birds with penises often stems from the ‘birdlike’ actions of the organ in use and physical resemblances to some bird features.

Despite the languages being scattered all over the world, it is interesting to observe similarities in euphemistic expressions used to describe comparable concepts. These euphemisms not only highlight the linguistic creativity within the Biatah community, but also emphasize broader cultural connections and shared human experiences that surpass linguistic boundaries. This has opened up an interesting scope for future research, inviting exploration into the connection between shared human experiences across different languages and cultural backgrounds and linguistic phenomena, such as euphemisms.

5.1.2 Comparison on The Bidayuh Biatah Euphemisms Used by The Older and Younger Generations

In terms of the aspects of euphemisms, the younger speakers used euphemisms for all nine aspects suggested by Allan and Burridge (1991), which includes the aspect of referral of gods. The younger speakers do use euphemisms to refer to God among themselves. On the other hand, the older speakers were found to use euphemisms for eight aspects, which exclude referral to gods. According to the younger informants, they described the older speakers to be more conservative and stricter when talking about matters regarding religion, hence the usage of only direct terms by the older speakers, such as *Tepà* ‘Creator’, *Tepà Samà* ‘Father Creator’, and *Samà di sorga* ‘Father in heaven’. Under the aspect of gender, the older speakers provided euphemisms to describe infertility, such as the terms *beyuh* which means ‘barren’, and *dũh biyũn petek*, which means ‘does not have sap’. Although the younger speakers do use euphemisms for all nine aspects, but this particular topic, infertility, no euphemism was used by the younger speakers. When interviewed, most younger speakers

provided the direct Malay term, *mandul*, which means ‘infertile’ which was a neutral term for them and could be used directly. Other than that, both younger and older speakers have similar topics in that they use euphemisms.

The older speakers also know more euphemisms compared to the younger speakers. It is evident in the data where during the analysis process, the younger speakers seemed to use more direct words, either Bidayuh Biatah words or words from other languages to refer to some matters, such as when describing infertility. Even so, in some topics that highly require euphemistic expressions, both younger and older speakers were found to provide descriptive phrases to euphemise the terms. This strategy is also known as the circumlocution strategy, as listen in Warren’s Model. Circumlocution, defined by Yetkiner (2006) as a strategy that involves “talking around” something through descriptive phrases rather than the explicit names, emerged as a commonly used euphemism strategy in both generations. Instead of using alternative names or phrases to euphemise, both generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers prefer to provide descriptive phrases in Biatah without sounding vulgar and dysphemistic. For instance, while the older speakers were familiar with the term *bite sebak* ‘wind’s pregnancy’ to describe pregnancy out of wedlock, younger speakers, being less familiar with the term, employed descriptive phrases such as *bite sbayuh kawen* ‘pregnant before marriage’. Similarly, in describing a mystical illness, older speakers commonly used *mendam sebak* ‘wind’s illness’, whereas the younger speakers used descriptive terms like *andam dūh puan* which translates into ‘illness that is not known’ instead. These examples reveal that although the younger speakers may be unfamiliar with the metaphorical euphemisms employed by the older speakers, they tend to adopt the circumlocution strategy, utilising descriptive phrases in Biatah for euphemistic expressions.

The study also identified that younger speakers indeed demonstrated the tendency of utilising the loan word strategy. Both age groups were observed to integrate words or euphemisms from languages like Malay, English, and Greek into their Biatah communication for euphemistic purposes. However, the younger speakers were identified as having a higher usage of Malay euphemisms, a trend not as prevalent among the older speakers. For instance, the term *terlanjur*, meaning ‘accidentally’ in Malay, frequently employed to describe unintentional pregnancies before marriage, found usage among the younger speakers. Other than that, it is also noticeable that the younger speakers tended to include terms from other languages to their euphemistic expressions in Biatah, extending beyond straightforward borrowed euphemisms. For example, the term *meting tia pregnant*, meaning ‘no more pregnant’, incorporates both English terms, ‘pregnant’ and Biatah phrases in forming their euphemisms.

In this study, the older Biatah speakers exhibit an understanding of cultural influences on some of the Bidayuh euphemisms unfamiliar to the younger Biatah speakers. This is evident in their consistent usage of metaphorical senses, such as in the term *sebak*, meaning ‘wind’, a cultural element not prevalent in the euphemisms used by the younger speakers. Moreover, other culturally significant terms, such as *bu badeng*, meaning ‘going away like a beetle’ and *dayung/dari raru* meaning ‘ripe woman/man’, are notably absent from the euphemistic expressions used by the younger speakers, further emphasizing the richer cultural understanding embedded in the language usage of the older speakers.

5.2 Future Direction and Suggestion of Research

In concluding this research on Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms used by the older and younger Bidayuh Biatah generations, it is crucial to consider directions for future research

along with its theoretical and practical implications. As this study has provided insights into how euphemisms could differ across generations among the Bidayuh Biatah speakers' community, future research could consider extending past the limitations of generational analysis to involve dialectal variations within the Bidayuh language; Bidayuh Bukar-Sadong, Bidayuh Biatah, Bidayuh Bau, and Bidayuh Salako-Rara, and explore how sociocultural factors shape or mirror the usage of euphemism. As this study did not cover the language attitudes of the Bidayuh Biatah speakers, it is suggested that future research could consider conducting their research for a deeper understanding of language attitudes and identity among the Bidayuh speakers as this could shed light on perceptions of euphemisms and their role in language maintenance or even language shift.

Within this study, theoretical frameworks were applied, such as Allan and Burridge's (1991) on the nine aspects of euphemism, Warren's Model as modified by Yetkiner (2006) for euphemism strategies, and the understanding of culture through the cultural practices and functions of euphemism suggested by Burridge (2012). Therefore, theoretically, it is necessary to expand upon these frameworks in future research where they could explore the applicability of these frameworks across different linguistic and cultural contexts. This could enhance the understanding of euphemism usage beyond the Bidayuh Biatah.

In practical terms, the researcher suggests that future research could document and preserve traditional euphemisms, particularly considering language revitalisation initiatives. The insights gained from this study also should be able to initiate interest in making strategies to safeguard the Bidayuh Biatah linguistic heritage, such as through integrating the findings into language teaching materials and community-based revitalisation programs.

By addressing these future directions within their practical and theoretical implications, this research could contribute not only to the academic discourse on linguistic theories, language variation, and language change but also to the broader goal of preserving and promoting linguistic diversity within the Bidayuh community. The researcher is also hopeful that this research could serve as a reference or guideline for future research involving euphemisms and the Bidayuh community.

5.3 Research Limitation

The research limitation is that this study solely facilitates an understanding of euphemisms within the Bidayuh Biatah dialect and cannot be used to assume the euphemism phenomenon within other Bidayuh dialects. The study specified that the younger speakers must be conversationally fluent in the Biatah dialect, as the study is unable to control the extent of usage of other languages among the speakers, considering that individuals may vary in their levels of second or other language acquisition.

This study established specific criteria for selecting informants eligible to participate, with non-mobility being one of the mentioned criteria. However, owing to the proximity of the sampling area to the city, nearly all residents, if not all, have been exposed to other languages, such as English and Malay, as most of them have worked or are currently working in the city or outside the research location.

Another limitation lies in the methodology of this research, in which this study has constructed a conceptual framework incorporating multiple understandings, drawing from works such as Allan and Burrige (1991), Warren's Model by Warren (1992) and Yetkiner (2006) and euphemism functions outlined by Burrige (2012). However, as these frameworks were originally developed within specific linguistic and cultural contexts, their

effectiveness in portraying the nuances of Bidayuh Biatah euphemisms might be restricted. The frameworks may not fully account for the unique cultural and linguistic features of the Bidayuh community.

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has aimed to compare euphemisms used by the younger and older generations of Bidayuh Biatah speakers, where this study has identified all nine aspects of euphemisms among the younger generation, while the euphemisms used by the older speakers comprised of eight aspects, excluding the aspect of referral of god, showing that these are the aspects needed euphemisms within the Bidayuh Biatah discourse. Regarding the euphemism formation methods, which includes semantic innovation device, word formation device, phonemic modification device, and loan word, all four methods were observed in the current study. The older generation employed strategies like phonemic replacement and vague reduplication, not utilised by the younger speakers, whereas the younger speakers use strategies such as borrowing from Malay, which the older speakers do not utilise. Even so, circumlocution is the most used strategy in forming euphemisms by both older and younger speakers. Finally, analysing cultural influences on Bidayuh euphemisms revealed the presence of protective, underhand, uplifting, cohesive, and ludic euphemism functions, reflecting Biatah cultural beliefs and practices through the euphemisms and their functions. While Burridge (2012) suggested six euphemism functions, this study identified five present within the Biatah euphemism, providing insight into the complex relationship between cultural influences and euphemistic language use in daily communication among the Bidayuh Biatah community.

In this research, the researcher and the interpreter could not control the informants' language usage. Despite conducting the interviews in Biatah and informing the informants beforehand, it was observed that some younger and older speakers occasionally switched to English mid-interview, with the majority of interviews with younger speakers being conducted entirely in Biatah. However, the Biatah euphemisms provided by the older speakers, regardless of mixing languages during the interviews, exhibited less incorporation of other languages compared to the younger speakers. The younger speakers tended to blend languages in their euphemistic expressions, irrespective of conversing entirely in Biatah during the interview.

Moreover, both older and younger speakers incorporated foreign terms into their euphemisms. The older speakers noted that using foreign terms mitigates the negativity associated with certain terms in their language, offering an escape when a term feels vulgar in the Biatah dialect—a language more familiar to them. On the other hand, the younger speakers expressed varied opinions on euphemisms derived from other languages, suggesting that these terms are used due to their familiarity in daily interactions with people in their surroundings.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Word List Form (For Researcher's Use Only)

	Informant:	Category: Younger / Older []	Gender: M / F
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BODILY PARTS

Male sexual organs	Penis	
Female sexual organ	Vagina	
	Breast	

GENDER

Menstruation	Menstruating	
	Menstruation blood	
Pregnancy	Pregnant	
	Pregnant before marriage	
	Abortion/Miscarriage	
Infertility	Infertile	
Marital status	Divorced	
	Widow/Widower	

SEX

Sexual intercourse	Legal (with spouse)	
	Illegal (other than spouse)	

ANGER

Insults	<i>(any relevant insults/curse words)</i> <i>e.g., stupid, stubborn, fat, short, etc.</i>	
Curse words		

HATRED

Devaluing/Belittling someone	Unmarried woman	
	Child out of wedlock	
	Poor	

ILLNESS

Mystical illness	Possessed by mystical creatures/spirits	
	Illness of unknown causes	
Mental illness	Crazy	
News on someone's illness	Delivering mild illness' news	
	Delivering life-threatening illness' news	

DEATH

News of someone's death	He/She has died/is dead	
News of a critically ill person (dying)	He/She is dying	
	He/She will die soon	
Name of a dead person	<i>(anything relevant – mentioning the name of someone who has died)</i>	
Dead body	Corpse	
Grave	Burial site	
	Coffin	
Afterlife	<i>(in religious beliefs)</i>	
	<i>(in ancestral beliefs)</i>	

FEAR

Of animals	Naming animals in certain situation	
Of spirits	Naming spirits/ghosts	

REFERRAL OF GODS

Of religious belief	Naming Gods/Spirits	
Of ancestral belief	Naming gods/deities/spirits	

Appendix B: Consent Form



CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO RECORDING

In fulfilling the purpose of data collection for the master's degree Thesis, under the title "*EUPHEMISM: A Comparative Study on Euphemism used by Two Generations of the Bidayuh Biatah of Sarawak*", I. ANGELIA MARJORIE FABIAN, would like to access your consent/permission to audio record the interview session. Your consent is essential and necessary to ensure that you understand the purpose of your participation and that you agree to the conditions of your participation. The audio recording from the interview session will be utilized as the primary source of data for the research which later on will undergo transcription and data extraction before analysing the data. Note that neither the name, nor any other identification factors of the informant, which might cause harm if exposed, will be subjected to any third party or in presentation of the results and will only be kept safe and confidential by the researcher only. All recordings will be kept safely and will be used only for academic purposes. Although I do not anticipate that there are any risks associated with your participation, but as an informant, you are allowed to withdraw your involvement in this research or stop the interview without prejudice and any following consequences.

This interview will take about **ONE HOUR 30 MINUTES** to complete. If you agree with the accompanying conditions and wish to participate, do sign accordingly to certify your approval of the following conditions:

1. *I agree that my participation in this research is voluntary. There is no explicit or implicit coercion in my participation.*
2. *I am aware and understand that the researcher will need my personal identification details to validate my consent to participate in the interview. However, such details are not to be exposed or distributed to third parties and must be kept confidential.*
3. *I allow the audio recording of the interview session and the researcher to take down notes during the interview. I am aware that if I do not wish to be audio recorded, I can withdraw from the participation any time.*
4. *I understand that the audio recording will be kept safe by the researcher and will only be used for academic purposes only.*
5. *I have carefully read and fully understood the conditions regarding my participation as an informant in this research and I voluntarily agree to participate and provide the researcher with the data needed w my knowledge.*

Upon consent and agreement of the conditions mentioned above, informant is required to fill in the details accordingly in the following page.

Informant's Identification

Name:

Gender: M / F

Age:

IC Number:

Signature:

Date:

As the researcher, I, **ANGELIA MARJORIE FABIAN**, understand that, with due respect to the informant's privacy, the audio recordings will only be used to serve the research purposes. Informants' identification factors will not be exposed anywhere and will only be kept by the researcher as a valid consent record. Informants are allowed to withdraw from their involvement if they wished to without penalties or any following consequences. Every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality along the research study.

Research Title and Researcher's Identification

Name: ANGELIA MARJORIE FABIAN

IC Number: 980102-13-5640

Research Title: EUPHEMISM: A Comparative Study on Euphemism used by Two Generations of the Bidayuh Biatah of Sarawak

Signature:

Date:

Appendix C: Interview Guidelines

ANGELIA MARJORIE FABIAN (2023)

TOPIC BRIEFING

EUPHEMISM: A comparative study on euphemism used by two generations of the Bidayuh Biatah of Sarawak

Aim:

The research aims to analyze the use of euphemisms and compare the Bidayuh euphemism phenomenon among the younger and older generations of the Bidayuh Biatah speakers of Sarawak.

Roles of informants:

To provide euphemisms for the list of words that are deemed taboo in the researcher's wordlist. Interviewer will be asking questions according to the guidelines provided and informants will provide relevant information and answers to the questions. Informants are also allowed to add any relevant information during the interview session, or discussions within the study are also allowed.

Topic exposure:

Euphemisms are words or phrases or sentences that are used as alternatives to any form of words or phrases that are prohibited to be mentioned, either the topic is taboo (*peris*) or disrespectful to say directly or harsh - substitute to the unsayable things according to the beliefs, culture, or speech politeness. Words that are acceptable if mentioned/discussed within the speakers.

Example:

For example, in Malay language, when someone died, they would say that the person "*kembali ke rahmatullah*". Or they also would say that the person "*sudah pergi*". Words that are often not used, but we all know, for example, "*mati*", are not used as this is considered as harsh or unacceptable or impolite to be used to refer to someone's death.

Other examples, especially when expressing anger or hatred, instead of saying that someone is "*bodoh*", we would say words like "*kurang cerdas*", "*ordo*", etc. It can be slang words, unfamiliar to other people but most importantly, are used by the speakers in your speech.

Interview Session Guidelines

PART A: DEMOGRAPHIC

1. Age
2. Highest education level
3. Occupation

Language background:

1. Are both of your parents Bidayuh?
2. What languages do you speak?

Bidayuh language background:

1. Which language do you use at home?
2. Which language do you use with your Bidayuh friends and extended family?

PART B: EUPHEMISM

Questions will be asked according to the wordlist. (Note to researcher/interviewer: **DO NOT emphasize that their answer should be only in Bidayuh language, informants should be giving answers based on their daily language usage, whether the answer is in Bidayuh or in other languages**)

1. (according to the wordlist) What is the word that you use for (insert element from wordlist) in your language?
2. What is the literal meaning of it (Follow up question: meaning, backstory)
3. Can you provide an example on how to use the word in a sentence.
4. (from answer Q1) Is it acceptable to be used when talking to others? → *who?* *older people?* *family?*

Follow up (if no): Is there any other way, that may be more acceptable to be used when talking to others?

Follow up (if yes): Are there any other words that are not acceptable to be used when talking to others?

5. (if given an unacceptable word) Why do you think that it is not acceptable/prohibited for the Bidayuh speakers to say it?

6. Why is (euphemism) used instead of using (answer from Q4)?

OR: Do you think that the Bidayuh culture or beliefs influenced the usage of it? *Or is this just a way to express politeness when speaking Bidayuh?*

8. For questions with multiple answers: Which one is used more in daily language usage?

• (when you go to places like forest [kobun, dusun, etc.], is there any animal/insects ~~those~~ that should not be mentioned directly?)

• if yes, can you name the animals/insects?

• then, how do you ~~say~~ mention them (e.g. to warn others) about it.

9. Are these words still used in your daily language usage or have fallen out of use? (**follow up:** or are these words only used by specific groups in your language - for example, among older speakers only)

PART C: INFORMANT'S OPINION ON BIDAYUH LANGUAGE

This part of the interview allows the researcher to study the informant's opinion on the Bidayuh language usage among the younger and older speakers of Bidayuh.

1. Do you think that older speakers are more conscious of using euphemism (find other ways to word it for them to easily understand this term) than the younger speakers? *Yes*
2. Do you think that the Bidayuh language spoken by the older speakers is the same as spoken by the younger speakers? *Yes*

Follow up (if yes): Why do you think so? *Vocabs / words - different*

Follow up (if no): How is it different? Do you think a speaker's background influences their language usage?

*consent letter ^{will} ~~can~~ be sent to you
after this*

EUPHEMISM WORDLIST

Aspect	Division/Part	Elements
Bodily parts	Male sexual organ Female sexual organ	Penis Vagina Breast
Gender	Menstruation Pregnancy Infertility Marital status	Menstruating Menstruation blood Pregnant Pregnant before marriage Abortion/Miscarriage Infertile Divorced Widow/Widower
Sex	Sexual intercourse	Legal (with spouse) Illegal (with other than spouse)
Anger	Insults Curse words	(any relevant insults and curse words used) <i>e.g. stubborn, stupid, fat, short, etc.</i>
Hatred	Devaluing/Belittling someone	Unmarried woman Child out of wedlock Poor
Illness	Mystical illness Mental illness News on someone's illness	Possessed by mystical creatures/spirits Illness of unknown causes Crazy Mild illness Life-threatening illness
Death	News on someone's death News of a critically ill person (dying) Name of a dead person Dead body Grave Afterlife	He/she has died/is dead He/she is dying (anything relevant) Corpse Burial site Coffin Afterlife in religious beliefs Afterlife in ancestral beliefs
Fear	Of animals Of spirits	Naming animals in certain situation Naming spirits/ghosts
Referral of gods	Of religious beliefs Of ancestral beliefs	Naming Gods/Spirits Naming gods/deities/spirits

Appendix D: Sample of Interview Transcription 1

Duration: 24 minutes 43 seconds

(Introduction – consent matter 40 seconds)

Interviewer:	Ku collect data tik untuk ninga mung ki nga pakai bahasa lain ataupun bahasa lain untuk explain benda yang taboo ataupun peris dalam bahasa bidayuh, so kalau gik yang u doh puan kan, tiek u boleh kata yang u doh puan and boleh skip. Pak contohlah, kalau dalam Bahasa Melayu, kalau gik Dayak kebos, Dayak doh terus nang mati, pak Dayak akan nang meninggal atau Kembali ke rahmatullah. Jadi ieh akan siken dalam konteks Bidayuh I mung ki nga nang tiek lah.
Informant:	Okay.
Interviewer:	Okay, so tak mula dengan beberapa aspect lah. So maybe mbuh gik daan nang atik kan benda peris so akan agi soalan yang pelek pelek lah kan, okay. So boleh u daan di ku umor mu.
	(self introduction by informant)
Interviewer:	Adakah duweh duweh parents mu Bidayuh?
Informant:	Ya duweh duweh Bidayuh. Sinduk ku so Quop, Samak ku so Padawan.
Interviewer:	Jadi di aron nga sraru pakai bahasa ani?
Informant:	Minyu Biatah.
Interviewer:	Jadi kalau ayo kawan Bidayuh u, u minyu bahasa anih?
Informant:	Kalau yang area macam ku puan, area rong tak tik. Kalau Biatah, Biatah lah. Kalau bahasa Serian ku doh puan, minyu Melayu lah.
Interviewer:	Kalau ayo madis madis?
Informant:	Kalau ayo madis madis, minyu biQuop dok lah, minyu Biatah.
Interviewer:	Jadi ku akan siken beberapa kayuh atik lah, yang pertama adalah 'male sexual organ', kalau bahasa halus atau sopan- I mun ki?
Informant:	Ah sorry ah, setau ku lah bara mi nang 'turoi'. Anu lah yun ku puan.
Interviewer:	Adakah atik macam direct kah?
Informant:	Direct lah setau aku. Aku sik pasti juga lah. Anu jak lah yang ku puan.
Interviewer:	Jadi adakah u rasa atik boleh pakai kalau ayo family ka ataupun ayo sudek madis?
Informant:	Macam duh semengoh guh gaya-i.
Interviewer:	Jadi kalau u yok pakai yoh softly gik ka bahasa halus-I pakai kira cover or doh poh direct?
Informant:	Mungkin bisa cover nang segan dari, something like that.
Interviewer:	Jadi sterus-I kalau female sexual organ?
Informant:	Female? Jap. Ku confuse sama ada skawa or.. anu du lah yang ku puan. Skawa kot.
Interviewer:	Jadi bagi duwoh aspect tik kan, male and female sexual organ, adakah u rasa perlu dog dihaluskan kalau minyu ayo Dayak ataupun doh?
Informant:	Perlu dihaluskan lah, sebab macam harsh sikit, terlalu kasar. Mungkinlah agik perkataan yang lebih halus tapi aku yang duh mendalami.
Interviewer:	Kalau dengah dengah family u pakai pernah kah yang lebih halus.
Informant:	Family ku pun, random guh bara nu minyu sraru-i.

Interviewer:	Under female sexual organ kan, kalau breast?
Informant:	Breast? Dayung ka? Aa.. nenen.
Interviewer:	Ati perlu ka di..
Informant:	Mungkin, sisuh?
Interviewer:	So antara sisuh ayo nenen, aki ndi yang u rasa lebih diterima, ataupun lebih soft.
Informant:	Sisuh.
Interviewer:	Okay sterus-I ku akan siken pasal menstruation, atau period. Atik mun ki began, bahasa halus atau bahasa sopan-i?
Informant:	Kalau bara mi nang, dog keis.
Interviewer:	Kalau deya?
Informant:	Diya... Diya lah.
Interviewer:	Menstruation blood, period blood.
Informant:	Um.. diya keis sraru-i.
Interviewer:	Okay thank you. Jadi kalau... kalau... pregnant?
Informant:	Pregnant, bite.
Interviewer:	Adakah u rasa kalau dayak pregnant ayuh perlu halus kah ataupun boleh jak sebut mun nok?
Informant:	Um, boleh jak sebut.
Interviewer:	Kalau pregnant before marriage?
Informant:	Um... Before marriage.. Aa ku duh pasti.
Interviewer:	U rasa kalau dayak macam pregnant sbayuh kawen tik, adakah boleh pakai bite terus ataupun perlu cover sikit halus halus sikit.
Informant:	Ku rasa boleh jak terus terus pakai bite.
Interviewer:	Okay okay, sterus-i macam abortion, ataupun miscarriage.
Informant:	Miscarriage.. Uh, ku duh puan.
Interviewer:	Sterus-i kalau infertile, mandul mandul.
Informant:	Mandul... (long pause) jap ah. Uh ku duh puan.
Interviewer:	Kalau cerai?
Informant:	Cerai.. Uh duh puan. Anu aku sraru (inaudible) language-i. Macam Bahasa Melayu dengan Bidayuh.
Interviewer:	Oh so u akan kalau u ngak kalau dayak bercerai, u akan daan nang bara nuk bercerai jak lah?
Informant:	Macam, mbuh bercerai bara-i. Mun nuk lah ataupun mbuh duh bisamah kira-i lah.
Interviewer:	So, mun nok lah yang ku macam cari kira-i dalam research tik, macam cara untuk sebut perkara supaya doh poh direct. So u kan nang cerai, duh bisamah.
Informant:	Duh bisamah lah yuh.
Interviewer:	Kalau dayak anu, macam ayuh tiada pasangan, janda ataupun duda. Mun ki?
Informant:	Um jap. Janda kah? Atau pun duda?
Interviewer:	Ya.
Informant:	Ku rasa directly kieh sebut janda ataupun duda anu jak lah yang ku tauk.

Appendix E: Sample of Interview Transcription 2

Duration: 1 hour 7 minutes

(Introduction and briefing – 2 minutes)

Interviewer:	The next one adalah.. um, pregnant.
Informant:	Pregnant, you mean the euphemism? Or just the real name? Bite.
Interviewer:	Ah so bite tik, neutral lah duh perlu di euphemise?
Informant:	Ya ya.
Interviewer:	Mun ki mun ayuh pregnant sbayuh kawen?
Informant:	Uh, kami mbuh berisi. Whether married or not, ayuh mbuh berisi. I mean uh, she has contain in the womb. Berisi.
Interviewer:	Seterus-i, um. Gugur. Miscarriage.
Informant:	Um miscarriage. Um, what was it? What was the one.. Miscarriage. (long pause) Um, the word for that is bubuk. But uh, euphemism, I don't think we have that.
Interviewer:	Do you think it need to be euphemised, or you can just say it directly?
Informant:	Can, can. But uh, no, wait a minute. Hold on. (long pause) Asa, asa also. But not quite direct lah, asa is disappointed. Some mothers feel asa, feel disappointed, but uh, depends on your sentence construction. Aku muh ko, aku kira-i mbuh asa madin amai ire biyun anak pak duh jadi, asa du ku and that implies miscarriage.
Interviewer:	So asa, maksud-i macam expecting something but duh dapat.
Informant:	Ya ya. Its not quite, not quite uh direct actually. Usually, when we talked about miscarriage, very often ladies talk directly, nowadays. But in the olden days, because they have their own expressions, they just say it in the context of the discussion, for example they say aku asa.
Interviewer:	Am rasa, masa zaman anu perlu pakai da halus kah?
Informant:	Um, depends. Depends. Sometimes they have to be direct in the old days.
Interviewer:	Okay Seterus-i, infertile.
Informant:	Infertile... (long pause) Infertile.. There is a word actually. Agik dun-i, agik dun-i. Infertile.. Ayuh also applies to plants. Plants that are supposed to bear rambutan fruits then turn out to be just flowers, you know. We have that thing. Skip.
Interviewer:	Okay, okay. We'll get back to this later. What about abortion? Adakah different from miscarriage?
Informant:	Teran anak-i.
Interviewer:	Is that considered harsh or..
Informant:	A little bit harsh, a little bit harsh. But there's no word for it. (long pause) Hold on. Kadi anak. Kadi anak. Teran mun terok word-i, kadi anak.. I don't know.
Interviewer:	Um, divorced?
Informant:	Hm.. (long pause) skip.
Interviewer:	Um kalau widow, ataupun widower? Janda?
Informant:	Janda? (long pause) dayung uban. Uban. Mun dari, dari uban.
Interviewer:	Dayung ataupun dari uban. So anih literal meaning, uban.
Informant:	Uban means uh, alone. Alone or separated. Detached from the uh, once you have a partner, you separated by (inaudible)

Appendix E: Sample of Primary Data Taken During Interviews

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11	Informant: [REDACTED]	Category: Younger / Older [69]	Gender: M / F
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BODILY PARTS

Male sexual organs	Penis	buat dari
Female sexual organ	Vagina	buat dayung
	Breast	sudo' dayung

GENDER

Menstruation	Menstruating	ka'is (low vowel a)
	Menstruation blood	deyak ka'is
Pregnancy	Pregnant	bitek (neutral)
	Pregnant before marriage	mbuh berisik / agopang → disappointed
	Abortion/Miscarriage (maksud sebenar)	bubuk / asa'
Infertility	Infertile	beyuh (plants but can use) abon (lady) → cannot give birth
Marital status	Divorced	→ direct. → tingge sawun ik → teron sawun
	Widow/Widower	dayung / uban → alone or davi → separated from partner
		(to glance) kimat → flirting (gerek) → mendakwa SEX → (put baby to sleep)
Sexual intercourse birangbang / bisik et	Legal (with spouse)	nyibeas (kata kerjo)
	Illegal (other than spouse)	nyibaes (neku) → stealing
		→ hayung (direct) / mowah (visiting) boy 'visiting' girl
Insults	(any relevant insults/curse words)	ANGER budo, babo, bawak, ba's u' → caka-p → direct, belakong → not so smart
Curse words	e.g., stupid, stubborn, fat, short, etc.	mbuh duk tak ngeya (fired) dawah (dagil-direct), berisin (have flesh) heavier.
		rapat. (short) ngaseng kiris (breathe) look terrible sinner (mbuh menyep) → lost. dayek
		ba' u' → ngeremin (tinggal sama) eblm kawen

HATRED

Devaluing/Belittling someone	Unmarried woman	bujang tu'uh (for male and female)
	Child out of wedlock	anak apang / anak tambak strange child. not intended.
	Poor (miskin) miskin	sewata (have nothing)

ILLNESS

Mystical illness	Possessed by mystical creatures/spirits	dog bovet mod.
	Illness of unknown causes	mendam
Mental illness	Crazy	gila
News on someone's illness	Delivering mild illness' news	diang duh kenak (iang - internal)
	Delivering life-threatening illness' news	sai - pregnancy (almost due) mbuh ruwai (too) cudam mbuh ruwai (too/very)

DEATH - pingimeting

News of someone's death	He/She has died/is dead	ayuh mbuh meting.
News of a critically ill person (dying)	He/She is dying	mbuh ruwai mandam
	He/She will die soon	mbuh guring achi' (hanya karing)
Name of a dead person	(anything relevant - mentioning the name of someone who has died)	turang dawu → the person turang pimas (family) machis (peer)
Dead body	Corpse	tedang // purung ik (his body)
Grave younger ppl - housing estate	Burial site	kubur.
	Coffin	peti tedang // peti
Afterlife	(in religious beliefs)	ang anuk ndi
	(in ancestral beliefs) adat nyomba (paganism)	"

FEAR

fierce /
- dangerous

Of animals	Naming animals in certain situation	keyuh mangah
Of spirits	Naming spirits/ghosts	low momong - young ppl say keyuh 'api' keyuh'

(cannot mention, if mention, it will appear)

REFERRAL OF GODS

Create

Of religious belief	Naming Gods/Spirits	Tepak / Pinapak
Of ancestral belief	Naming gods/deities/spirits	Tepak <u>Bary</u> etuh

Yang - fairy
Mod - spirit

kinship - older ppl - k'eam

①

Informant: [redacted]	Category: Younger / Older [25]	Gender: M / F
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BODILY PARTS

Male sexual organs	Penis	loloi / tunoi	direct
Female sexual organ	Vagina	bibit / dambek	
	Breast	nenen / susu	

if about washing / more

GENDER

Menstruation	Menstruating	mendeg keis / mendeg buru
	Menstruation blood	diak keis
Pregnancy	Pregnant	bitek / anak diang tein
	Pregnant before marriage	bitek sebayuh kenen
	Abortion/Miscarriage	gugur
Infertility	Infertile	Duh subur
Marital status	Divorced	Duh tiak besameh (no longer together)
	Widow/Widower	daung anak mbah ting tiak beulahik

SEX

Sexual intercourse	Legal (with spouse)	beus sumah / cot - direct harsh
	Illegal (other than spouse)	daung anak beus ayon dari anak Pak bayuh kenen

ANGER

Insults	(any relevant insults/curse words)	stupid - meting skura (doesn't have school)
Curse words	e.g., stupid, stubborn, fat, short, etc.	stubborn - mangyah brawan (halangan) fat - wai bagak short - genak muk

doem emphimize

puruk

HATRED

Devaluing/Belittling someone	Unmarried woman	dayung anak mbuh nyamba pak banyuh kanon
	Child out of wedlock	nyamba anak banyuh kanon
	Poor	nyamba bujang

duh pañh beguk duit / gik duit / beduit
sangat

ILLNESS

Mystical illness	Possessed by mystical creatures/spirits	dik raiuk / duk ngaso m direct diganggu
	Illness of unknown causes	andam duh pun "sentence" doh pun andam ik maha ki
Mental illness	Crazy	doh ketur betur doh pa betur
News on someone's illness	Delivering mild illness' news	teo an brandam / doh punn sehat (sick) not really healthy
	Delivering life-threatening illness' news	sane

DEATH

euphemism

News of someone's death	He/She has died/is dead	kebas (direct) death meting mbok bu ong
News of a critically ill person (dying)	He/She is dying	mbek re meting
	He/She will die soon	mbek tenuk
Name of a dead person	(anything relevant – mentioning the name of someone who has died)	mendiang / arwah cited commonly
Dead body	Corpse	genan dargak kebas / tedang – corpse usually used
Grave	Burial site	Kubur / no need to soften
	Coffin	Keranda
Afterlife	(in religious beliefs)	syurga / ong ajeh (that world)
	(in ancestral beliefs)	ong ajeh / ong beken

tiger
jipch
buaya

FEAR

jipch - binatang da ambu anak

Of animals	Naming animals in certain situation	- describing sm saying the name directly
Of spirits	Naming spirits/ghosts	kizuh anak / can be used but less common mindu (direct)

REFERRAL OF GODS

(man above)

Of religious belief	Naming Gods/Spirits	Tepak (direct), bai di simbu	joke
Of ancestral belief	Naming gods/deities/spirits		

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Informant: [REDACTED]	Category: Younger / Older [79]	Gender: M F
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BODILY PARTS

Male sexual organs	Penis	Buat
Female sexual organ	Vagina	Buat. based on context
	Breast	susu

direct, not offensive.

GENDER

Menstruation	Menstruating	keis / mandeg bulan
	Menstruation blood	degak keis
Pregnancy	Pregnant (not kasar)	bitek / teban itek
	Pregnant before marriage	duh beran, pak mbuh bitet (gesture/body language)
	Abortion/Miscarriage	kadi nak ik / gugur, bubuk
Infertility	Infertile	buh, aboh (neutral)
Marital status	Divorced	besevey, mbuh bu, bu badeng
	Widow/Widower	janda - for both male/female

uban - partner meting tiak

don't talk freely
not discuss everyday

SEX

Sexual intercourse	Legal (with spouse)	bier agn dengan ik.
	Illegal (other than spouse)	" (pak duh banuh-ran un)

ANGER

Insults	(any relevant insults/curse words)	bukei, budo, gemerch, arnh ² / annh ²
Curse words	e.g., stupid, stubborn, fat, short, etc.	jadi: puring (baby), beking (stubborn)

bak samak / tedang
vapat / puruk (not acceptable)
comparison - bare kakak ik
caulik byatung.

word that is not used openly (descriptive)

HATRED

Devaluing/Belittling someone	Unmarried woman (not recognize) Child out of wedlock Poor tedah (lazier)	fresh / virgin bujang tabün? tibün? → illegitimate anak apang (not nice) ~~anak~~ bing bigun anak temang (orphan) sendok samak miskin (out of pity) include tedah.
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ILLNESS

Mystical illness	Possessed by mystical creatures/spirits Illness of unknown causes	mun dayak ~~go~~ rasok, dog rasok sickness ndar, mudar, ~~and~~ mudar dunpuan ani lebab sick do thing out of ordinary
Mental illness	Crazy	babo, sasau, gira, mamau ↳ inexplicable action do something unacceptable
News on someone's illness	Delivering mild illness' news biasa = not serious Delivering life-threatening illness' news	teban agah, kidaan — brandam mudar/ndar alen — fever, flu. biara tui mudar — prolonged sickness brandam

DEATH

News of someone's death	He/She has died/is dead	mbuh tiye ang. mbuh meting ayuh, tui meting.
News of a critically ill person (dying)	He/She is dying He/She will die soon	nyawa-nyawa ikan. (commonly use in bpj) mbuh di tabün ainy ik
Name of a dead person	(anything relevant — mentioning the name of someone who has died)	by context ... ~~this~~ ~~for~~ ~~dog~~ ~~ndai~~ — mata gila? refer tayang dawu — jah ~~curse~~ ~~ward~~ ~~curse~~
Dead body	Corpse	tedong
Grave	Burial site Coffin	kubur. peti tedong.
Afterlife	(in religious beliefs) ~~never~~ ~~sorge~~ ~~Chercher~~ ~~Chell~~ (in ancestral beliefs)	afterlife. / ong adap. sbayan (hell) ~~ong adap.~~ ~~use in a very~~ ~~loose manner,~~ ~~due to Christianity.~~

FEAR

↳ relatif tergantung ke mana!

Of animals	Naming animals in certain situation	Generalize. apuk turun — ambience/vibe.
Of spirits	Naming spirits/ghosts	↳ apuk turun ↳ cannot see, cannot hear, but can feel.

REFERRAL OF GODS

Of religious belief	Naming <u>Gods</u> /Spirits	Tepak Samak, Tepak Anak, Tepak
Of ancestral belief	Naming <u>gods</u> /deities/spirits	Roh Kudus.

(17)	Informant: [REDACTED]	Category: Younger / Older [28]	Gender: M / F
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BODILY PARTS		
Male sexual organs	Penis (usually avoided)	(younger) → bebird, tutut (older) → can direct
Female sexual organ	Vagina Breast (using gestures / signal)	atik → this, keyuh, anuk segan (bawah), anik (ngu' ani' muk) nenen, susu (not harsh)

GENDER		
Menstruation	Menstruating	period, mending bulan
	Menstruation blood	bisak (basah)
Pregnancy	Pregnant	agah tenak (good news)
	Pregnant before marriage	bitek, mistake, ~~bitek~~
	Abortion/Miscarriage	meting tiak anak, abah tiak anak anuk, mbuh meting tiak ayuh pregnant
Infertility	Infertile	duh dapud biyun anak
Marital status	Divorced	duh re'usamah tiak
	Widow/Widower	meting ~~sewa~~ sewa / beruh

SEX		
Sexual intercourse	Legal (with spouse)	be'us samah (can negative / positive)
	Illegal (other than spouse)	"

ANGER		
Insults	(any relevant insults/curse words)	clumsy → diti nak beteh diti nak ~~et~~ etek
Curse words	e.g., stupid, stubborn, fat, short, etc.	→ bah dingah itong → ~~kat~~ cuba kurang man, makin bagak → rapat, boleh direct, sapan pukok → kasar

HATRED

Devaluing/Belittling someone	Unmarried woman	sumbuk
	Child out of wedlock	duh anak betur it
	Poor	duh mampu, ting duit

ILLNESS

Mystical illness	Possessed by mystical creatures/spirits	prumod (karar) dog ngaso
	Illness of unknown causes	dog ngurik
Mental illness	Crazy	duh betur
News on someone's illness	Delivering mild illness' news	sungoh
	Delivering life-threatening illness' news	mbuh terok

DEATH

News of someone's death	He/She has died/is dead	mbuh meting / penu / tinggo tak
News of a critically ill person (dying)	He/She is dying	mbuh duh dapud / mbuh duh dapud ayuh
	He/She will die soon	
Name of a dead person	(anything relevant – mentioning the name of someone who has died)	(Bidayuh have no specific word for mendiang) "the late", babai / sumbuk jon it
Dead body	Corpse	tedang, ^{sensitive} genan, ayuh
Grave	Burial site	kubur, "jat tak tinga' ayuh" (melawat kubur)
	Coffin (angkat coffin) "teban ayuh"	anuk "piruah ayuh sok 'anuk'"
Afterlife	(in religious beliefs)	heaven = sorqa, hell = tempat arap "di sembu"
	(in ancestral beliefs)	~~not~~ not familiar w/ shayan) (lisan we) a lot

FEAR

Of animals	Naming animals in certain situation	"kiyuh" di stek "kiyuh maram-masam" ^{→ pelik}
Of spirits	Naming spirits/ghosts	"nakit nuh nga bebat tak" (warn) kiyuh

REFERRAL OF GODS

Of religious belief	Naming Gods/Spirits	Tepak (direct) samak, samak tak di sembu
Of ancestral belief	Naming gods/deities/spirits	~~Samak tak~~ ayuh tibudo - direct.

Appendix F: Full Data

DATA 1

1) Euphemism Data According to Nine Aspects of Euphemism (Allan & Burridge, 1991) for Older Bidayuh Biatah Informants

Euphemism Word List	Biatah Euphemism	Meaning in English
BODILY PARTS		
Penis	<i>Buat dari</i>	Male's property
	<i>Loloi</i>	Penis
	<i>Lelew</i>	Penis
	<i>Kăyuh</i>	Thing
	<i>Manuk</i>	Bird
	<i>Pinyiresà dari</i>	The male's shame
Vagina	<i>Buat dayung</i>	Female's property
	<i>Kăyuh</i>	Thing
	<i>Tatè/Pepè</i>	Vagina
	<i>Anũ</i>	That
	<i>Pinyiresà dayung</i>	Female's shame
Breast	<i>Nenen</i>	Drink milk from a mother
	<i>Sidò</i>	Chest
	<i>Sidò dayung</i>	Female's chest
GENDER		
Menstruating	<i>Keis</i>	Dirty
	<i>Măndũg keis</i>	Come dirty
	<i>Măndũg buran</i>	Come Moon/month
Menstruation blood	<i>Diyà keis</i>	Dirty blood
	<i>Diyà adung</i>	Unwanted blood
Pregnant	<i>Rěũ buran</i>	Waiting months
	<i>Berisì</i>	With contain
	<i>Teban itè</i>	Bringing child inside
Pregnant before marriage	<i>Bitè sebak</i>	Wind's pregnancy
	<i>Bitè sbayuh benan</i>	Pregnant before marriage
	<i>Mbũh berisì</i>	Already with contain
Abortion	<i>Tekadi</i>	Removed
	<i>Rebũ</i>	Fallen
	<i>Bubũ</i>	Fallen
Miscarriage	<i>Rebũ</i>	Fallen

	<i>Bubù</i>	Fallen
	<i>Asà</i>	Disappointed
	<i>Bitè/Anak-i dũh jadi</i>	Her child did not become
Infertile	<i>Beyuh</i>	Barren
	<i>Dũh biyũn petek</i>	Does not have rubber sap
Divorced	<i>Bu sok bãnũh/săwũn-i</i>	Went away from his/her husband/wife
	<i>Dũh rèũ samah</i>	Not living together
	<i>Bu badeng</i>	Went away like a beetle
	<i>Papek</i>	Detached (like tree bark)
Widow/Widower	<i>Meting săwũn/bãnũh</i>	Does not have a wife/husband
	<i>Mbũh sadì</i>	Already alone
SEX		
Legal (with spouse)	<i>Bisamah</i>	Together
	<i>Mbũh beũs nga dengan-i</i>	Already sleeping with their partner
	<i>Beũs samah</i>	Sleeping together
	<i>Mbũh jadi</i>	Already become
	<i>Nyibeũs</i>	Put to sleep
Illegal (with other than spouse)	<i>Skendel</i>	Scandal
	<i>Bidengan ayo dayà saruh</i>	Be friend with a strange person
	<i>Nyibeũs</i>	Put to sleep
	<i>Neku</i>	Stealing (doing something in secret)
	<i>Nayung</i>	To woman
	<i>Ndai arap</i>	Doing bad
	<i>Ngen mengũh</i>	Giving shame
ANGER		
Stubborn	<i>Dũh dingah itong</i>	Does not listen to advice/count
	<i>Beking</i>	Stubborn
	<i>Deras</i>	Strong flow (like river)
Stupid	<i>Dũh pandai</i>	Not clever
	<i>Dũh paũh mereti</i>	Not really understand
	<i>Bakũ/Bàũ</i>	Stupid
	<i>Babo</i>	Forgetful/Senile
	<i>Bawak</i>	Dumb/Mute
	<i>Dayà mbũh menyap</i>	Lost person
Fat	<i>Bagà</i>	Big
	<i>Jaga pũrũng</i>	Take care of (your) body
	<i>Berisì</i>	With flesh
Short	<i>Purok</i>	Short (in length)
Ill-mannered	<i>Ngaseng kiris</i>	Sighing when seeing

Curse words	<i>Turah</i>	Karma-like
	<i>Bak samà</i>	Father's head
HATRED		
Unmarried man/woman	<i>Bujang tùuh</i>	Old bachelor/bachelorette
	<i>Dayung/Dari tibŭn</i>	Unblemished woman/man
	<i>Bujang tibŭn</i>	Unblemished bachelor/bachelorette
	<i>Dayung/Dari raru</i>	Overripe woman/man
Child out of wedlock	<i>Nak sebak</i>	Wind's child
	<i>Anak saruh</i>	A strange child
	<i>Anak dŭh biyŭn samà</i>	A child without father
	<i>Anak teku</i>	Stolen child
Poor	<i>Setatak</i>	Poor
	<i>Dŭh biyŭn kăyuh/harta</i>	Without thing/property
	<i>Susah</i>	Difficult
	<i>Dŭh tungang</i>	Cannot afford
	<i>Tedah</i>	Pity
ILLNESS		
Possessed by mystical creatures/spirits	<i>Dog sebak</i>	Get hit by the wind
	<i>Dog ndai dayà</i>	Made by people
	<i>Dog nguri</i>	Healed/Given medication
	<i>Mendam</i>	Ill
Illness of unknown causes	<i>Brandam ndai dayà</i>	Sick made by people
	<i>Mudar</i>	Fever
	<i>Dog kăyuh beken</i>	Get hit by different thing
	<i>Mendam sebak</i>	Wind's illness
Crazy	<i>Pikir kira-i rusak</i>	Damaged mental faculties
	<i>Dŭh betur</i>	Not right
	<i>Babo</i>	Forgetful/Senile
	<i>Dŭh normal</i>	Not normal
	<i>Dŭh sehat akal</i>	Unhealthy mind
	<i>Dŭh sedar diri</i>	Not self-aware
Mild illness	<i>Diang dŭh kena</i>	Inside not good
Life-threatening illness	<i>Brandam</i>	With illness
	<i>Ndam dŭh dapŭd nguri</i>	Illness that cannot be cured
	<i>Dŭh kena iang</i>	Inside (the concept of it) not good
	<i>Tui mudar</i>	Fever for a long time
	<i>Benà</i>	Strong/With force
	<i>Mbŭh ruwai</i>	Already very
DEATH		
He/She has died	<i>Penu tingge ong</i>	Walk leaving the world
	<i>Mbŭh meting</i>	Already gone

	<i>Mbüh mead ke sãmbu</i>	Already go back to above
He/She is dying	<i>Tebün asüng</i>	The end of life
	<i>Tebün tukuk</i>	The end of lips
	<i>Mbüh benà brandam</i>	Already sick with force/strongly
	<i>Mbüh düh tui</i>	Already not long (time) left
	<i>Kajün andu</i>	Waiting for days
	<i>Stengah asüng</i>	Half a life
	<i>Mbüh gurin adũ</i>	Already laying down only
	<i>Tingge-tingge</i>	Remaining
	<i>Nyawa-nyawa ikan</i>	Fish lives
Referring to the name of a dead person	<i>Bidawu/Turang dawu</i>	The bone of a person who has long died
	<i>Pimas</i>	
	<i>Turang madis</i>	
Corpse	<i>Pürüng</i>	Body
	<i>Ayüh</i>	Him/Her
Burial site	<i>Terun yün nà pürüng-i</i>	Place to put his/her body
Coffin		
Afterlife in religious beliefs	<i>Paradise</i>	Heaven
	<i>Apui pingusuk</i>	Cleansing fire
	<i>Ong anũ ndi</i>	That one other world
	<i>Ong adũp</i>	Own world
	<i>Ong bàuh</i>	New world
Afterlife in ancestral beliefs	<i>Sebayan</i>	A realm after death/cemetery/mythical paradise
	<i>Alam beken</i>	Other world
	<i>Hades</i>	Underworld
FEAR		
Naming animals	<i>Teris sinjang</i>	Pant's string (belt)
	<i>Kăyuh</i>	Thing
	<i>Kăyuh derem pìn</i>	Thing in the water
	<i>Kăyuh ajeh</i>	That thing
	<i>Ngera</i>	They/Them
	<i>Kăyuh masam-masam</i>	Different kind of things
	<i>Apu terun</i>	Belonging of the forest
Naming spirits/ghosts	<i>Kăyuh</i>	Thing
	<i>Ngera</i>	They/Them
	<i>Momong</i>	Ghost
	<i>Apù terun</i>	Belonging of the forest
	<i>Dayà</i>	Person/People

2) Euphemism Data According to Nine Aspects of Euphemism (Allan & Burridge, 1991) for Younger Bidayuh Biatah Informants

Euphemism Word List	Biatah Euphemism	Meaning in English
BODILY PARTS		
Penis	<i>Loloi</i>	Penis (derived from the direct word – <i>turoi</i>)
	<i>Manuk</i>	Bird
	<i>Segan dari</i>	Male's under (lower part)
	<i>Käyuh</i>	Thing
	<i>Anü/Ati</i>	That/This
Vagina	<i>Bibit</i>	Vagina (derived from the direct word – <i>dambè</i>)
	<i>Skawà</i>	The region between the legs
	<i>Papè</i>	Vagina (derived from the direct word – <i>dambè</i>)
	<i>Käyuh</i>	Thing
	<i>Anü/Ati</i>	That/This
Breast	<i>Nenen</i>	Drink milk from the mother
	<i>Käyuh dayung</i>	Female thing
GENDER		
Menstruating	<i>Mändüg ke-is</i>	Come dirty
	<i>Mändüg buran</i>	Come Moon
	<i>Mändüg andu</i>	Come day
Menstruation blood	<i>Deyà ke-is</i>	Dirty blood
Pregnant	<i>Berisi</i>	With contain
	<i>Ngandang</i>	Suspect
Pregnant before marriage	<i>Bitè sbayuh kawen</i>	Pregnant before marriage
	<i>Terlanjur</i>	Already (accidentally)
Abortion	<i>Meting tià pregnant</i>	No more pregnant
Miscarriage	<i>Bayuh gi nasib</i>	Not yet have luck
	<i>Düh sukup buran</i>	Not enough months
	<i>Kurang subur</i>	Less fertile
	<i>Bayuh gi rezeki</i>	Not yet have blessing
Divorced	<i>Bipisah</i>	Going apart
	<i>Düh bisamah</i>	Not together

	<i>Dũh rèũ samah tià</i>	Not living together anymore
Widow/Widower	<i>Meting tià</i> <i>bănũh/săwũn</i>	No more husband/wife
	<i>Spouse mbũh meting</i>	Already no more spouse
SEX		
Legal (with a spouse)	<i>Beũs samah</i>	Sleep together
	<i>Ndai anũ</i>	Doing that
	<i>Ndai kăyuh di birit</i>	Doing thing in the room
	<i>Ndai anũ</i>	Doing that
Illegal (with other than a spouse)	<i>Ndai kăyuh spedin</i>	Doing weird thing
	<i>Beũs ayo dayà beken</i>	Sleep with another person
	<i>Beũs samah</i>	Sleep together
ANGER		
Stubborn	<i>Dũh dingah itong</i>	Does not listen to advice/count
Stupid	<i>Meting skura</i>	No school
	<i>Bakũ</i>	Stupid
	<i>Diki nà etek</i>	Where (did you) placed (your) brain
Fat	<i>Wai bagà</i>	Very big
	<i>Bagà pũrũng</i>	Big body
	<i>Cuba kurang man</i>	Try eating less
Short	<i>Purok</i>	Short (in length)
	<i>Sit</i>	Small
Ill-mannered	<i>Dũh bradat</i>	Uncultured
Curse words	<i>Turah</i>	Karma-like
HATRED		
Unmarried man/woman	<i>Andartu</i>	Old virgin (woman)/ <i>Anak dara tua</i>
	<i>Bujang nyamba</i>	The old bachelor/bachelorette
Child out of wedlock	<i>Anak luar nikah</i>	A child outside marriage
	<i>Anak sbayuh suwan</i>	A child before marriage
Poor	<i>Dũh paũh/biyũn duit</i>	Not really have money
	<i>Susah</i>	Difficult
	<i>Dũh mampu</i>	Could not afford
ILLNESS		
Possessed by mystical creatures/spirits	<i>Dog ngaso</i>	Disturbed
	<i>Dog ndai dayà</i>	Made by people
	<i>Dog kăyuh anũ</i>	Got (in contact) with that thing
Illness of unknown causes	<i>Andam dũh puan</i>	Unknown illness
	<i>Dog nguri</i>	Healed/Given medication
Crazy	<i>Dũh betul</i>	Not right
	<i>Sot</i>	Short
Mild illness	<i>Dũh brapa sehat</i>	Not so healthy

Life threatening illness	<i>Brandam</i>	With sickness
	<i>Mbũh dũh tui</i>	Already not long (time) left
	<i>Mbũh terok</i>	Already worse
	<i>Agì mandam kronik</i>	With chronic illness
DEATH		
He/She has died	<i>Mbũh meting</i>	Already gone
	<i>Mbũh tingge ong</i>	Already left the world
	<i>Tingge tà</i>	Left us
	<i>Mbũh penu</i>	Already walk (away)
He/She is dying	<i>Mbũh rè meting</i>	Already almost gone
	<i>Mbũh terok</i>	Already worse
	<i>Neman asũng</i>	Life/Body/Soul in pain
	<i>Mbũh dũh tui</i>	Already not long (time) left
	<i>Kajũn andũ</i>	Waiting days
	<i>Rè patũd asũng</i>	Almost severed life/soul
	<i>Mbũh dũh dapũd</i>	Already cannot
Referring to the name of a dead person	<i>Bidawu/Turang dawu</i>	(definition unknown)
	<i>Pimas</i>	(definition unknown)
	<i>Babai/Sumuk/Tuak jah-i</i>	Grandfather/Grandmother/Aunty/Uncle long ago
	<i>Mendiang</i>	
	<i>The late</i>	
Corpse	<i>Genan</i>	Body
	<i>Ayũh</i>	Him/Her
	<i>Pũrũng-i</i>	His/Her body
Burial site	<i>Arũn bàuh</i>	New home
	<i>Ayũh</i>	Him/Her
Coffin	<i>Remin bàuh</i>	New house
Afterlife in religious beliefs	<i>Ong ajeh</i>	That world
	<i>Dijeh</i>	There
	<i>Udip da bàuh</i>	New life
	<i>Tepat arap</i>	Bad place
Afterlife in ancestral beliefs	<i>Ong ajeh</i>	That world
	<i>Ong beken</i>	Different/Other world
FEAR		
Naming animal in certain situation	<i>Binatang da ambu anũ</i>	That long animal
	<i>Binatang/Dang</i>	Animal
	<i>Kăyuh anũ</i>	That thing
	<i>Kăyuh di steku</i>	Weird thing
	<i>Kăyuh anũ</i>	That thing

Naming spirits or ghosts	<i>Semengi beken</i>	Other spirit
	<i>Momok</i>	Ghost
REFERRAL OF GODS		
Naming Gods and spirits in religious beliefs	<i>Bai di sǎmbu</i>	The old man above

DATA 2

1) Euphemism Strategies According to Warren's Model (Yetkiner, 2006) for Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Informants

A) SEMANTIC INNOVATION DEVICE

i. Particularisation

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Segan dari</i> 'male's under', <i>manuk</i> 'bird', <i>kǎyuh</i> 'thing'	Male and female sexual organs	<i>Buat dari</i> 'male property', <i>buat dayung</i> 'female property', <i>kǎyuh</i> 'thing', <i>manuk</i> 'bird', <i>pinyiresà dari</i> 'male's shame', <i>pinyiresà dayung</i> 'female's shame'
<i>Kǎyuh dayung</i> 'female's thing'	Female's breasts	N/A
<i>Berisi</i> 'with contain/flesh', <i>ngandang</i> 'suspect', <i>agah kenà</i> 'good news'	Pregnant	<i>Berisi</i> 'with contain/flesh'
<i>Berisi</i> 'with contain/flesh'	Fat	<i>Berisi</i> 'with contain/flesh', <i>bagà</i> 'big'
<i>Susah</i> 'difficult'	Poor	<i>Susah</i> 'difficult'
N/A	With chronic illness	<i>Mendam</i> 'ill'
<i>Mbũh meting</i> 'already gone', <i>tingge tà</i> 'left us'	Death	<i>Mbũh meting</i> 'already gone'
<i>Genan</i> 'body', <i>ayũh</i> 'him/her', <i>pũrũng-i</i> 'his/her body'	Corpse	<i>Pũrũng</i> 'body', <i>ayũh</i> 'him/her'
<i>Ayũh</i> 'him/her'	Grave	<i>Sebayan</i> 'realm after life'

<i>Ong beken</i> ‘other world’	Afterlife	<i>Ong anũ ndi</i> ‘another world’, <i>alam beken</i> ‘other realm’, <i>sebayan</i> ‘realm after life’
<i>Dang</i> ‘animal’, <i>semengi beken</i> ‘other soul’	Animals and spirits	<i>Kăyuh masam-masam</i> ‘different kind of things’, <i>dayà</i> ‘person’

ii. Implication

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Măndüğ andu</i> ‘come day’	Menstruation	N/A
	Menstruation blood	<i>Deyà adung</i> ‘unwanted blood’
<i>Beūs ayo dayà beken</i> ‘sleeping with other person’, <i>ndai kăyuh spedin</i> ‘doing weird thing’	Illegal sexual intercourse	<i>Bisamah</i> ‘together’, <i>neku</i> ‘stealing’, <i>nayung</i> ‘to woman’, <i>ndai arap</i> ‘doing bad’, <i>ngen mǎngũh</i> ‘giving shame’
N/A	Legal sexual intercourse	<i>Bisamah</i> ‘together’, <i>mbũh jadi</i> ‘already become’
<i>Cuba kurang man</i> ‘try eating less’	Fat	N/A
<i>Mbũh rè meting</i> ‘already nearly gone’, <i>kajũn andu</i> ‘waiting days’, <i>mbũh dũh dapũd</i> ‘already cannot anymore’	On the verge of death	<i>Kajũn andu</i> ‘waiting days’
N/A	Child out of wedlock	<i>Anak teku</i> ‘stolen child’
N/A	Poor	<i>Tedah</i> ‘pity’
N/A	Animals or spirits	<i>Pengaso</i> ‘disturber’
N/A	Abortion or miscarriage	<i>Rebũ</i> ‘fallen’

iii. Metaphor

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Măndüğ buran</i> ‘come Moon’	Menstruation	<i>Măndüğ buran</i> ‘come Moon’
<i>Bayuh gĩ nasib</i> ‘not yet have luck’, <i>bayuh gĩ rezeki</i> ‘not yet have blessing’	Miscarriage	N/A

N/A	Divorced	<i>Bu badeng</i> ‘went away like a beetle’, <i>papek</i> ‘detached like a tree bark’
N/A	Stubborn	<i>Deras</i> ‘strong flow’
N/A	Child out of wedlock	<i>Nak sebak</i> ‘wind’s child’
<i>Dog ndai dayà</i> ‘made by people’	Mystical illness	<i>Dog sebak</i> ‘get hit by the wind’, <i>brandam ndai dayà</i> ‘illness made by people’, <i>mendam sebak</i> ‘wind’s illness’
<i>Mbũh tingge ong</i> ‘already left the world’, <i>mbũh penu</i> ‘already walked’	Death	<i>Penu tingge ong</i> ‘walked leaving the world’, <i>mbũh mead ke sãmbu</i> ‘already going back to above’
<i>Neman asũng</i> ‘soul/life in pain’, <i>rè patũd asũng</i> ‘almost severed life/soul’	On the verge of death	<i>Tebũn asũng</i> ‘at the end of soul/life’, <i>tebũn tukuk</i> ‘at the end of mouth’, <i>stengah asũng</i> ‘half a life’
N/A	Afterlife	<i>Apui pingusũ</i> ‘cleansing fire’, <i>ong adũp</i> ‘own’s world’, <i>ong bauh</i> ‘new world’
<i>Arũn bauh</i> ‘new home’	Grave	N/A
<i>Remin bauh</i> ‘new house’	Coffin	N/A
<i>Turang dawu</i> ‘bone of a person who has long died’	Prefix to mention the name of a person who has died	<i>Turang dawu</i> ‘bone of a person who has long died’, <i>turang madis</i> ‘bone of a relative who has died’
N/A	Animal (snake)	<i>Teris sinjang</i> ‘pants’ string’

iv. Metonym

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Sekawà</i> ‘the region between the legs’	Sexual organs	N/A
<i>Bagà pũrũng</i> ‘big body’	Fat	N/A
<i>Purok</i> ‘short in length’, <i>sit</i> ‘small’	Short	<i>Purok</i> ‘short in length’

v. Reversal

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Dog nguri</i> ‘given medication’	Mystical illness	<i>Dog nguri</i> ‘given medication’

vi. Understatement

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Dũh sukup buran</i> ‘not enough months’	Abortion or miscarriage	N/A
<i>Kurang subur</i> ‘less fertile’	Infertile	N/A
<i>Bipisah</i> ‘going apart’	Divorced	N/A
	Female’s breasts	<i>Sidò</i> ‘chest’, <i>sidò dayung</i> ‘woman’s chest’
<i>Beũs samah</i> ‘sleeping together’	Sexual intercourse	<i>Beũs samah</i> ‘sleeping together’, <i>nyibeũs</i> ‘put to sleep’
N/A	Illegal sexual intercourse	<i>Bidengan ayo dayà saruh</i> ‘befriending with a strange person’
N/A	Mild illness	<i>Mudar</i> ‘fever’
N/A	Crazy	<i>Babo</i> ‘forgetful/senile’
<i>Brandam</i> ‘with illness’	Chronic illness	<i>Brandam</i> ‘with illness’, <i>tui mudar</i> ‘fever for a long time’

vii. Overstatement

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Mändũg keis</i> ‘come dirty’	Menstruation	<i>Keis</i> ‘dirty’, <i>mändũg keis</i> ‘come dirty’
<i>Deyà keis</i> ‘dirty blood’	Menstruation blood	<i>Deyà keis</i> ‘dirty blood’
<i>Meting skura</i> ‘no school’, <i>diki nà etek</i> ‘where (did you) put (your) brain’	Stupid	<i>Dũh paũh mereti</i> ‘not very understand’, <i>babo</i> ‘forgetful/senile’, <i>bawà</i> ‘dumb/mute’
<i>Dũh bradat</i> ‘uncultured’	Ill-mannered	N/A
N/A	Child out of wedlock	<i>Anak saruh</i> ‘strange child’

viii. Ellipsis

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Dũh betur</i> ‘not right’	Crazy	<i>Dũh betur</i> ‘not right’
<i>Mbũh dũh tui</i> ‘already not long (time)’	On the verge of death	<i>Mbũh dũh tui</i> ‘already not long (time)’
<i>mbũh terok</i> ‘already worse’	With life-threatening illness	<i>Mbũh ruwai</i> ‘already very’
N/A	Animals or spirits	<i>Ngera</i> ‘they/them’
N/A	Pregnant	<i>Reũ buran</i> ‘waiting months’

ix. Circumlocution

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Bitè sbayuh kawen</i> ‘pregnant before marriage’, <i>anak sbayuh suwan</i> ‘child before marriage’	Pregnancy out of wedlock	<i>Bitè sbayuh benan</i> ‘pregnant before with husband’, <i>teban itè</i> ‘bringing pregnancy’, <i>anak dũh biyũn samà</i> ‘a child without a father’
<i>Meting tià pregnant</i> ‘no longer pregnant’	Abortion or miscarriage	<i>Bitè/anak-i dũh jadi</i> ‘the pregnancy/child did not become’
<i>Dũh bisamah</i> ‘not together’, <i>dũh reũ samah tià</i> ‘not living together anymore’	Divorced	<i>Bu sò bãnũh/sãwũn-i</i> ‘going away from their husband/wife’
<i>Meting tià bãnũh/sãwũn</i> ‘no more husband/wife’, <i>spouse mbũh meting</i> ‘spouse already no more’	Widow/widower	<i>Meting bãnũh/sãwũn</i> ‘no husband/wife’
<i>Ndai kãyũh di birit</i> ‘doing things in the room’	Sexual intercourse	N/A
<i>Dũh dingah itong</i> ‘not listening to advice (count)’	Stubborn	<i>Dũh dingah itong</i> ‘not listening to advice (count)’
N/A	Stupid	<i>Dayà mbũh menyap</i> ‘lost person’
N/A	Fat	<i>Jaga pũrũng</i> ‘take care of your body’
<i>Dũh paũh/biyũn duit</i> ‘not really with money’, <i>dũh mampu</i> ‘cannot afford’	Poor	<i>Dũh biyũn kãyuh/harta</i> ‘not really with things/wealth’

<i>Dog kăyuh anũ</i> ‘get hit by that thing’, <i>andam dũh puan</i> ‘sickness that is not known’	Mysticall illness	<i>Dog kăyuh beken</i> ‘get hit by other things’
<i>Dũh brapa sehat</i> ‘not very healthy’	With life-threatening illness	<i>Diang dũh kena</i> ‘inside not right’, <i>ndam dũh dapũd nguri</i> ‘illness that cannot be healed’, <i>mbũh benà brandam</i> ‘already very with illness’, <i>mbũh gurin adũ</i> ‘already laying down only’
N/A	Crazy	<i>Pikir kira-i rusak</i> ‘damaged mental faculties’, <i>dũh sehat akal</i> ‘unhealthy mind’, <i>dũh sedar diri</i> ‘not self-aware’
<i>Udip da bauh</i> ‘life that is new’	Afterlife	N/A
<i>Binatang di ambu anũ</i> ‘that long animal’, <i>kăyuh di steku</i> ‘thing that is weird’	Animals or spirits	<i>Kăyuh derem piin</i> ‘thing inside the water’
<i>Bai di sâmbu</i> ‘the old man above’	God	N/A
N/A	Grave	<i>Tărun yũn nà pũrũng-i</i> ‘the place to put his/her body’

x. Indexical expression

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Anũ</i> ‘that’, <i>atì</i> ‘this’	Sexual organs, female’s breasts	<i>Anũ</i> ‘that’
<i>Ong ajeh</i> ‘that world’, <i>dijeh</i> ‘there’	Afterlife	N/A
<i>Kăyuh anũ</i> ‘that thing’	Animals or spirits	<i>Kăyuh ajeh</i> ‘the thing there’
<i>Ndai anũ</i> ‘doing that’	Sexual intercourse	

B) WORD FORMATION DEVICE

i. Compounding

Younger speakers		Older speakers
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<i>Bujang nyamba</i> ‘old bachelor/bachelorette’	Unmarried man/woman	<i>Bujang tùuh</i> ‘old bachelor/bachelorette’, <i>dayung tibũn</i> ‘unblemished woman’, <i>dari tibũn</i> ‘unblemished man’, <i>bujang tibũn</i> ‘unblemished bachelor/bachelorette’, <i>dayung raru</i> ‘overripe woman’, <i>dari raru</i> ‘overripe man’
N/A	Animals or spirits	<i>Apù terun</i> ‘belonging of the forest’

ii. Derivation

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Turah</i> ‘tulah’	Curse word derived from Malay	<i>Turah</i> ‘tulah’
<i>Sot</i> ‘short’	Crazy	N/A
N/A	Illegal sexual intercourse	<i>Skendel</i> ‘scandal’

C) PHONEMIC MODIFICATION DEVICE

i. Rhyming slang

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>loloì</i> ‘penis’	<i>Turoi</i> ‘penis’	<i>Loloì, lelew</i> ‘penis’
<i>bibit, papè</i> ‘vagina’	<i>Dambè</i> ‘vagina’	<i>Tatè, papè</i> ‘vagina’
<i>Bakũ</i> ‘stupid’	<i>Bakò</i> ‘stupid’	<i>Bakũ, baũ</i> ‘stupid’
<i>Momò</i> ‘ghost’	<i>Muod</i> ‘ghost’	<i>Momong</i> ‘ghost’
N/A	<i>Rebù</i> ‘fallen/miscarriage’	<i>Bubù</i> ‘fallen’

ii. Phonemic replacement

Younger speakers		Older speakers
N/A	<i>Seratak</i> ‘poor’	<i>Setatak</i>

iii. Vague reduplication

Younger speakers		Older speakers
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N/A	Dying	<i>Tingge-tingge</i> ‘remaining remaining’
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D) LOAN WORD DEVICE

i. Borrowing from English

Younger speakers		Older speakers
The late	Prefix for mentioning the name of someone who has died	The late
N/A	Afterlife	Paradise

ii. Borrowing from Malay

Younger speakers		Older speakers
<i>Terlanjur</i> ‘accidentally already’	Pregnancy before marriage	N/A
<i>Andartu</i> ‘old virgin bachelorette’	Unmarried woman	N/A
<i>Anak luar nikah</i> ‘child outside marriage’	Illegitimate child	N/A
<i>Mendiang</i> ‘the deceased’	Referring to someone who has died	N/A

iii. Borrowing from Greek

Younger speakers		Older speakers
N/A	Afterlife	<i>Hades</i> ‘underworld’ ‘Greek God of the underworld’

DATA 3

1) Euphemism Functions According to Burridge (2012) for Younger and Older Bidayuh Biatah Informants

A) Protective Euphemisms

i. Protective Euphemisms Used by Older Informants

Euphemism (Biatah)	Literal meaning (English)	Euphemistic meaning
<i>Buat dari</i>	Male’s property	Penis

<i>Manuk</i>	Bird	Penis
<i>Pinyiresà dari</i>	Male's shame	Penis
<i>Kāyuh</i>	Thing	Penis/Vagina
<i>Pinyiresà dayung</i>	Female's shame	Vagina
<i>Buat dayung</i>	Female's property	Vagina
<i>Anū</i>	That	Vagina
<i>Sidò</i>	Chest	Breast
<i>Sidò dayung</i>	Female's chest	Breast
<i>Keis</i>	Dirty	Menstruating
<i>Māndūg keis</i>	Come dirty	Menstruating
<i>Māndūg buran</i>	Come Moon	Menstruating
<i>Deyà keis</i>	Dirty blood	Menstruation blood
<i>Deyà adung</i>	Unwanted blood	Menstruation blood
<i>Rebù</i>	Fallen	Abortion/Miscarriage
<i>Bitè/Anak-i dūh jadi</i>	Her child did not become	Miscarriage
<i>Bu sò bānūh/sāwūn-i</i>	Went away from his/her wife/husband	Divorced
<i>Dūh reū samah</i>	Not living together	Divorced
<i>Meting sāwūn/bānūh-i</i>	Does not have a wife/husband	Widow/Widower
<i>Dūh dingah itong</i>	Does not listen to advice/count	Stubborn
<i>Dūh pandai</i>	Not clever	Stupid
<i>Dūh paūh mereti</i>	Not really understand	Stupid
<i>Babo</i>	Forgetful/Senile	Stupid
<i>Bawak</i>	Mute/Dumb	Stupid
<i>Dayà mbūh menyap</i>	Lost person	Stupid
<i>Ngaseng kiris</i>	Sighing when seeing	Ill-mannered
<i>Jaga pūrūng</i>	Take care of (your) body	Fat
<i>Anak saruh</i>	Strange child	Child out of wedlock
<i>Anak dūh biyūn samà</i>	A child without a father	Child out of wedlock
<i>Dūh biyūn kāyuh/harta</i>	Without thing/property	Poor
<i>Susah</i>	Difficult	Poor
<i>Dūh tungang</i>	Cannot afford	Poor
<i>Tedah</i>	Pity	Poor
<i>Dog ndai dayà</i>	Made by people	Mystical illness
<i>Dog nguri</i>	Healed/Given medication	Mystical illness
<i>Mendam</i>	Ill	Mystical illness
<i>Brandam ndai dayà</i>	Illness made by people	Mystical illness
<i>Mudar</i>	Fever	Illness of unknown causes
<i>Dog kāyuh beken</i>	Get hit by different thing	Illness of unknown causes

<i>Pikir kira-i rusak</i>	Damaged mental faculties	Crazy
<i>Babo</i>	Forgetful/Senile	Crazy
<i>Dũh sehat akal</i>	Not healthy mind	Crazy
<i>Dũh sedar diri</i>	Not self aware	Crazy
<i>Tebũn asũng</i>	The end of life	Dying
<i>Tebũn tukuk</i>	At the end of the mouth	Dying
<i>Mbũh benà brandam</i>	Already sick with force/strongly	Dying
<i>Mbũh dũh tui</i>	Already not long (time) left	Dying
<i>Kajũn andu</i>	Waiting days	Dying
<i>Stengah asũng</i>	Half life	Dying
<i>Mbũh gurin adũ</i>	Already laying down only	Dying
<i>Pũrũng</i>	Body	Corpse
<i>Ayũh</i>	Him/Her	Corpse
<i>Tãrun yũn nà pũrũng-i</i>	Place to put his/her body	Coffin
<i>Ong anũ ndi</i>	That one other world	Afterlife
<i>Ong adũp</i>	Own world	Afterlife
<i>Ong bauh</i>	New world	Afterlife
<i>Teris sinjang</i>	Pants' string (belt)	Snake
<i>Kãyuh</i>	Thing	Animals/Spirits
<i>Kãyuh derem piin</i>	Thing in the water	Water animal
<i>Kãyuh ajeh</i>	That thing	Animal/Spirits
<i>Ngera</i>	They/Them	Animal/Spirits
<i>Kãyuh masam-masam</i>	Different kind of things	Animal/Spirits

ii. Protective Euphemisms Used by Younger Informants

Euphemism (Biatah)	Literal meaning (English)	Euphemistic meaning
<i>Manuk</i>	Bird	Penis
<i>Segan dari</i>	Male's under (lower part)	Penis
<i>Kãyuh</i>	Thing	Penis/Vagina
<i>Anũ/Ati</i>	That/This	Penis/Vagina
<i>Skawà</i>	The region between the legs	Vagina
<i>Kãyuh dayung</i>	Female thing	Breast
<i>Mãndũg keis</i>	Come dirty	Menstruating
<i>Mãndũg buran</i>	Come Moon	Menstruating
<i>Mãndũg andu</i>	Come day	Menstruating

<i>Dũh dingah itong</i>	Does not listen to advice/count	Stubborn
<i>Meting skura</i>	No school	Stupid
<i>Cuba kurang man</i>	Try eating less	Fat
<i>Purok</i>	Short (in length)	Short (in height)
<i>Sit</i>	Small	Short
<i>Dũh paũh/biyũn duit</i>	Not really have money	Poor
<i>Susah</i>	Difficult	Poor
<i>Dũh mampu</i>	Could not afford	Poor
<i>Dog ngaso</i>	Disturbed	Possessed by mystical creature/spirits
<i>Dog ndai dayà</i>	Made by people	Possessed by mystical creature/spirits
<i>Dog kãyuh anũ</i>	Got (in contact) with that thing	Possessed by mystical creature/spirits
<i>Neman asũng</i>	Life/Body/Soul in pain	Dying
<i>Mbũh dũh tui</i>	Already not long (time) left	Dying
<i>Kajũn andu</i>	Waiting days	Dying
<i>Mbũh dũh dapũd</i>	Already cannot	Dying
<i>Genan</i>	Body	Corpse
<i>Ayũh</i>	Him/Her	Corpse
<i>Pũrũng-i</i>	His/Her body	Corpse
<i>Ong ajeh</i>	That world	Afterlife
<i>Dijeh</i>	There	Afterlife
<i>Ong beken</i>	Other world	Afterlife
<i>Binatang da ambu anũ</i>	That long animal	Snake
<i>Binatang/Dang</i>	Animal	Animal
<i>Kãyuh anũ</i>	That thing	Animal/Spirit
<i>Kãyuh di steku</i>	Weird thing	Animal/Spirit
<i>Semengi beken</i>	Other spirit	Spirits

B) Underhand Euphemisms

i. Underhand Euphemisms Used by Older Informants

Euphemism (Biatah)	Literal meaning (English)	Euphemistic meaning
<i>Mbũh berisi</i>	Already with contain	Pregnancy before marriage
<i>Asà</i>	Dissappointed	Miscarriage
<i>Beyuh</i>	Barren	Infertile
<i>Bisamah</i>	Together	Sexual intercourse

<i>Mbũh beũs nga dengan-i</i>	Already sleep with their partner	Sexual intercourse
<i>Beũs samah</i>	Sleep together	Sexual intercourse
<i>Mbũh jadi</i>	Already become	Sexual intercourse
<i>Nyibeũs</i>	Put to sleep	Sexual intercourse
<i>Bidengan ayo dayà saruh</i>	Be friend with a strange person	Sexual intercourse (with other than spouse)
<i>Neku</i>	Stealing	Sexual intercourse (with other than spouse)
<i>Nayung</i>	To woman	Sexual intercourse (with other than spouse)
<i>Ndai arap</i>	Do bad	Sexual intercourse (with other than spouse)
<i>Ngen mengũh</i>	Give shame	Sexual intercourse (with other than spouse)
<i>Dũh betur</i>	Not right	Crazy
<i>Diang dũh kenà</i>	Inside not good	Mild illness
<i>Brandam</i>	With illness	Life-threatening illness
<i>Dũh kena iang</i>	Inside (the concept of it)not good	Life-threatening illness
<i>Tui mudar</i>	Fever for a long time	Life-threatening illness
<i>Benà</i>	Strongly/With force	Life-threatening illness
<i>Mbũh ruwai</i>	Already very	Life-threatening illness
<i>Penu tingge ong</i>	Walk leaving the world	Has died
<i>Mbũh meting</i>	Already gone	Has died
<i>Mbũh mead ke sãmbu</i>	Already go back to above	Has died
<i>Apui pingusuk</i>	Cleansing fire	Afterlife
<i>Dayà</i>	Person/People	Spirits

ii. Underhand Euphemisms Used by Younger Informants

Euphemism (Biatah)	Literal meaning (English)	Euphemistic meaning
<i>Bayuh gi nasib</i>	Not yet had luck	Miscarriage
<i>Dũh sukup buran</i>	Not enough months	Miscarriage
<i>Kurang subur</i>	Less fertile	Miscarriage
<i>Bayuh gi rezeki</i>	Not yet had blessing	Miscarriage
<i>Bipisah</i>	Going apart	Divorced
<i>Dũh bisamah</i>	Not together	Divorced
<i>Meting tià bãnũh/sãwũn</i>	No more husband/wife	Widow/Widower
<i>Spouse mbũh meting</i>	Spouse already no more	Widow/Widower
<i>Beũs samah</i>	Sleep together	Sexual intercourse

<i>Ndai anũ</i>	Doing that	Sexual intercourse
<i>Ndai kãyuh di birit</i>	Doing thing in the room	Sexual intercourse
<i>Beũs ayo dayà beken</i>	Sleeping with another person	Sexual intercourse (with other than spouse)
<i>Ndai kãyuh spedin</i>	Doing weird thing	Sexual intercourse (with other than spouse)
<i>Dog ngurì</i>	Healed/Given medication	Illness of unknown causes
<i>Dũh betur</i>	Not right	Crazy
<i>Mbũh meting</i>	Already gone	Has died
<i>Mbũh tingge ong</i>	Already left the world	Has died
<i>Tingge tà</i>	Left us	Has died
<i>Mbũh penu</i>	Already walked (away)	Has died
<i>Mbũh re meting</i>	Already almost gone	Dying
<i>Mbũh terok</i>	Already worse	Dying
<i>Rè patũd asũng</i>	Almost severed life/soul	Dying
<i>Arũn bauh</i>	New home	Burial site
<i>Remin baũh</i>	New house	Coffin
<i>Tepat arap</i>	Bad place	Afterlife

C) Uplifting Euphemisms

i. Uplifting Euphemisms Used by Older Informants

Euphemism (Biatah)	Literal meaning (English)	Euphemistic meaning
<i>Reũ buran</i>	Waiting months	Pregnant
<i>Berisi</i>	With contain	Pregnant
<i>Teban itè</i>	Bringing child inside	Pregnant
<i>Berisi</i>	With flesh	Fat
<i>Dayung tibũn</i>	Unblemished woman	Unmarried woman
<i>Dari tibũn</i>	Unblemished man	Unmarried man
<i>Bujang tibũn</i>	Unblemished bachelor/bachelorette	Unmarried man/woman

ii. Uplifting Euphemisms Used by Younger Informants

Euphemism (Biatah)	Literal meaning (English)	Euphemistic meaning
<i>Berisi</i>	With contain	Pregnant
<i>Ngandang</i>	Suspect	Pregnant

D) Cohesive Euphemisms

i. Cohesive Euphemisms Used by Older Informants

Euphemism (Biatah)	Literal meaning (English)	Euphemistic meaning
<i>Bite sebak</i>	Wind's pregnancy	Pregnancy before marriage
<i>Dũh biyũn petek</i>	Does not have rubber sap	Infertile
<i>Bu badeng</i>	Went away like a beetle	Divorced
<i>Papek</i>	Detached (like a tree bark)	Divorced
<i>Anak sebak</i>	Wind's child	Child out of wedlock
<i>Dog sebak</i>	Get hit by the wind	Mystical illness
<i>Mendam sebak</i>	Wind's illness	Illness of unknown causes
<i>Turang dawu/Bidawu</i>	The bone of a person who has long died	Referring to the name of a dead person
<i>Turang madis</i>	The bone of a relative who has long died	Referring to the name of a dead relative
<i>Apu terun</i>	Belonging of the forest	Animals/Spirits

ii. Cohesive Euphemisms Used by Younger Informant

Euphemism (Biatah)	Literal meaning (English)	Euphemistic meaning
<i>Dũh bradat</i>	Uncultured	Ill-mannered
<i>Turah</i>	Karma-like	Curse words
<i>Turang dawu/Bidawu</i>	The bone of a person who has long died	Referring to the name of a dead person
<i>Bai di sãmbu</i>	The old man above	God

E) Ludic Euphemisms

i. Ludic Euphemisms Used by Older Informants

Euphemism (Biatah)	Original word (Biatah)	Euphemistic meaning
<i>Loloi</i>	<i>Turoi</i>	Penis
<i>Lelew</i>	<i>Turoi</i>	Penis
<i>Tatè</i>	<i>Dambè</i>	Vagina
<i>Papè</i>	<i>Dambè</i>	Vagina
<i>Momong</i>	<i>Muod</i>	Ghost

ii. Ludic Euphemisms Used by Younger Informants

Euphemism (Biatah)	Original word (Biatah)	Euphemistic meaning
<i>Loloi</i>	<i>Turoi</i>	Penis
<i>Bibit</i>	<i>Dambè</i>	Vagina

<i>Papè</i>	<i>Dambè</i>	Vagina
<i>Bakũ</i>	<i>Bakò</i>	Stupid
<i>Momok</i>	<i>Muod</i>	Ghost

DATA 4

Discussion Table

Bidayuh Biatah Euphemisms	Strategies (DEVICE)	Function
BODILY PARTS		
<i>Segan dari</i> ‘male’s under’, <i>manuk</i> ‘bird’, <i>kăyuh</i> ‘thing’ <i>Kăyuh dayung</i> ‘female’s thing’ <i>Buat dari</i> ‘male property’, <i>buat dayung</i> ‘female property’, <i>kăyuh</i> ‘thing’, <i>manuk</i> ‘bird’, <i>pinyiresà dari</i> ‘male’s shame’, <i>pinyiresà</i> <i>dayung</i> ‘female’s shame’	Particularisation (SI)	Protective
<i>Sekawà</i> ‘the region between the legs’	Metonym (SI)	Protective
<i>Anũ</i> ‘that’, <i>atì</i> ‘this’	Indexical expression (SI)	Protective
<i>loloì</i> ‘penis’ <i>bibit</i> , <i>papè</i> ‘vagina’ <i>Loloi</i> , <i>lelew</i> ‘penis’ <i>Tatè</i> , <i>papè</i> ‘vagina’	Rhyming slang (PHONEMIC MOD.)	Ludic
GENDER		
<i>Berisi</i> ‘with contain/flesh’, <i>ngandang</i> ‘suspect’, <i>agah</i> <i>kenà</i> ‘good news’	Particularisation (SI)	Uplifting
<i>Măndũg andu</i> ‘come day’ <i>Deyà adung</i> ‘unwanted blood’ <i>Rebù</i> ‘fallen’	Implication (SI)	Protective
<i>Măndũg buran</i> ‘come Moon’ <i>Bayuh gî nasib</i> ‘not yet have luck’, <i>bayuh gî rezeki</i> ‘not yet have blessing’ <i>Bu badeng</i> ‘went away like a beetle’, <i>papek</i> ‘detached like a tree bark’	Metaphor (SI)	Protective, Underhand, Cohesive

<i>Dũh sukup buran</i> ‘not enough months’ <i>Kurang subur</i> ‘less fertile’ <i>Bipisah</i> ‘going apart’	Understatement (SI)	Underhand
<i>Măndũg keis</i> ‘come dirty’ <i>Deyà keis</i> ‘dirty blood’ <i>Keis</i> ‘dirty’, <i>măndũg keis</i> ‘come dirty’	Overstatement (SI)	Protective
<i>Reũ buran</i> ‘waiting months’	Ellipsis (SI)	Uplifting
<i>Meting tià pregnant</i> ‘no longer pregnant’ <i>Bitè/anak-i dũh jadi</i> ‘the pregnancy/child did not become’ <i>Dũh bisamah</i> ‘not together’, <i>dũh reũ samah tià</i> ‘not living together anymore’ <i>Bu sò bãnũh/săwũn-i</i> ‘going away from their husband/wife’ <i>Meting tià bãnũh/săwũn</i> ‘no more husband/wife’, <i>spouse mbũh meting</i> ‘spouse already no more’ <i>Meting bãnũh/săwũn</i> ‘no husband/wife’	Circumlocution (SI)	Underhand, Protective
<i>Bujang nyamba</i> ‘old bachelor/bachelorette’ <i>Bujang tũuh</i> ‘old bachelor/bachelorette’, <i>dayung tibũn</i> ‘unblemished woman’, <i>dari tibũn</i> ‘unblemished man’, <i>bujang tibũn</i> ‘unblemished bachelor/bachelorette’, <i>dayung raru</i> ‘overripe woman’, <i>dari raru</i> ‘overripe man’	Compounding (WORD FORM.)	Cohesive
<i>Bubũ</i> ‘fallen’	Rhyming Slang (PHONEMIC MOD.)	Ludic

<i>Andartu</i> ‘old virgin bachelorette’	Borrowing from Malay (LOAN WORD)	Cohesive
SEX		
<i>Beūs ayo dayà beken</i> ‘sleeping with other person’, <i>ndai kăyuh spedin</i> ‘doing weird thing’ <i>Bisamah</i> ‘together’, <i>neku</i> ‘stealing’, <i>nyung</i> ‘to woman’, <i>ndai arap</i> ‘doing bad’, <i>ngen mǎngũh</i> ‘giving shame’ <i>Bisamah</i> ‘together’, <i>mbũh jadi</i> ‘already become’	Implication (SI)	Underhand
<i>Beūs samah</i> ‘sleeping together’ <i>Beūs samah</i> ‘sleeping together’, <i>nyibeūs</i> ‘put to sleep’ <i>Bidengan ayo dayà saruh</i> ‘befriending with a strange person’	Understatement (SI)	Underhand
<i>Ndai kăyũh di birit</i> ‘doing things in the room’	Circumlocution (SI)	Underhand
<i>Ndai anũ</i> ‘doing that’	Indexical Expression (SI)	Underhand
ANGER		
<i>Berisi</i> ‘with contain/flesh’, <i>bagà</i> ‘big’ <i>Berisi</i> ‘with contain/flesh’, <i>bagà</i> ‘big’	Particularisation (SI)	Uplifting
<i>Cuba kurang man</i> ‘try eating less’	Implication (SI)	Protective
<i>Deras</i> ‘strong flow’	Metaphor (SI)	Protective
<i>Bagà pũrũng</i> ‘big body’ <i>Purok</i> ‘short in length’, <i>sit</i> ‘small’	Metonym (SI)	Protective
<i>Babo</i> ‘forgetful/senile’	Understatement (SI)	Protective
<i>Meting skura</i> ‘no school’, <i>diki nà etek</i> ‘where (did you) put (your) brain’	Overstatement (SI)	Protective

<i>Dũh paũh mereti</i> ‘not very understand’, <i>babo</i> ‘forgetful/senile’, <i>bawà</i> ‘dumb/mute’		
<i>Dũh bradat</i> ‘uncultured’		
<i>Dũh betur</i> ‘not right’	Ellipsis (SI)	Underhand
<i>Dũh dingah itong</i> ‘not listening to advice (count)’ <i>Dayà mbũh menyap</i> ‘lost person’ <i>Jaga pũrũng</i> ‘take care of your body’ <i>Pikir kira-i rusak</i> ‘damaged mental faculties’, <i>dũh sehat akal</i> ‘unhealthy mind’, <i>dũh sadar diri</i> ‘not self-aware’	Circumlocution (SI)	Protective, Underhand
<i>Turah</i> ‘tulah’	Derivation (SI)	Cohesive
<i>Bakũ</i> ‘stupid’	Rhyming Slang (PHONEMIC MOD.)	Ludic
HATRED		
<i>Susah</i> ‘difficult’	Particularisation (SI)	Protective
<i>Anak teku</i> ‘stolen child’	Implication (SI)	Cohesive, Protective
<i>Tedah</i> ‘pity’		
<i>Nak sebak</i> ‘wind’s child’	Metaphor (SI)	Cohesive
<i>Anak saruh</i> ‘strange child’	Overstatement (SI)	Protective
<i>Dũh paũh/biyũn duit</i> ‘not really with money’, <i>dũh mampu</i> ‘cannot afford’ <i>Dũh biyũn kãyuh/harta</i> ‘not really with things/wealth’	Circumlocution (SI)	Protective
<i>Bujang nyamba</i> ‘old bachelor/bachelorette’ <i>Bujang tũuh</i> ‘old bachelor/bachelorette’, <i>dayung tibũn</i> ‘unblemished woman’, <i>dari tibũn</i> ‘unblemished man’, <i>bujang tibũn</i> ‘unblemished bachelor/bachelorette’, <i>dayung raru</i> ‘overripe	Compounding (WORD FORM.)	Cohesive

woman', <i>dari raru</i> 'overripe man'		
<i>Setatak</i>	Phonemic Replacement (PHONEMIC MOD.)	Protective
<i>Andartu</i> 'old virgin bachelorette'	Borrowing from Malay (LOAN WORD)	Cohesive
<i>Anak luar nikah</i> 'child outside marriage'		
ILLNESS		
<i>Mendam</i> 'ill'	Particularisation (SI)	Protective
<i>Dog ndai dayà</i> 'made by people'	Metaphor (SI)	Cohesive, Protective
<i>Dog sebak</i> 'get hit by the wind', <i>brandam ndai dayà</i> 'illness made by people', <i>mendam sebak</i> 'wind's illness'		
<i>Dog nguri</i> 'given medication'	Reversal (SI)	Protective
<i>Mudar</i> 'fever'	Understatement (SI)	Underhand
<i>Babo</i> 'forgetful/senile'		
<i>Brandam</i> 'with illness', <i>tui mudar</i> 'fever for a long time'		
<i>mbũh terok</i> 'already worse'	Ellipsis (SI)	Underhand
<i>Mbũh ruwai</i> 'already very'		
<i>Dog kăyuh anũ</i> 'get hit by that thing', <i>andam dũh puan</i> 'sickness that is not known'	Circumlocution (SI)	Protective
<i>Dog kăyuh beken</i> 'get hit by other things'		
<i>Dũh brapa sehat</i> 'not very healthy'		
<i>Diang dũh kena</i> 'inside not right', <i>ndam dũh dapũd nguri</i> 'illness that cannot be healed', <i>mbũh benà brandam</i> 'already very with illness', <i>mbũh gurin adũ</i> 'already laying down only'		

FEAR		
<i>Dang</i> ‘animal’, <i>semengi beken</i> ‘other soul’ <i>Kăyuh masam-masam</i> ‘different kind of things’, <i>dayà</i> ‘person’	Particularisation (SI)	Protective
<i>Pengaso</i> ‘disturber’	Implication (SI)	Protective
<i>Teris sinjang</i> ‘pants’ string’	Metaphor (SI)	Protective
<i>Ngera</i> ‘they/them’	Ellipsis (SI)	Protective
<i>Binatang di ambu anũ</i> ‘that long animal’, <i>kăyuh di steku</i> ‘thing that is weird’ <i>Kăyuh derem pîn</i> ‘thing inside the water’	Circumlocution (SI)	Protective
<i>Kăyuh anũ</i> ‘that thing’	Indexical expression (SI)	Protective
<i>Apũ terun</i> ‘belonging of the forest’	Compounding (WORD FORM.)	Cohesive
<i>Momò</i> ‘ghost’ <i>Momong</i> ‘ghost’	Rhyming slang (PHONEMIC MOD.)	Ludic
DEATH		
<i>Mbũh meting</i> ‘already gone’, <i>tingge tà</i> ‘left us’ <i>Genan</i> ‘body’, <i>ayũh</i> ‘him/her’, <i>pũrũng-i</i> ‘his/her body’ <i>Ayũh</i> ‘him/her’ <i>Ong beken</i> ‘other world’ <i>Sebayan</i> ‘realm after life’ <i>Ong anũ ndi</i> ‘another world’, <i>alam beken</i> ‘other realm’, <i>sebayan</i> ‘realm after life’	Particularisation (SI)	Underhand, Protective, Cohesive
<i>Mbũh rè meting</i> ‘already nearly gone’, <i>kajũn andu</i> ‘waiting days’, <i>mbũh dũh dapũd</i> ‘already cannot anymore’	Implication (SI)	Protective, Underhand
<i>Mbũh tingge ong</i> ‘already left the world’, <i>mbũh penu</i> ‘already walked’	Metaphor (SI)	Underhand, Cohesive

<i>Penu tingge ong</i> ‘walked leaving the world’, <i>mbũh mead ke sãmbu</i> ‘already going back to above’ <i>Neman asũng</i> ‘soul/life in pain’, <i>rè patũd asũng</i> ‘almost severed life/soul’ <i>Tebũn asũng</i> ‘at the end of soul/life’, <i>tebũn tukuk</i> ‘at the end of mouth’, <i>stengah asũng</i> ‘half a life’ <i>Apui pingusũ</i> ‘cleansing fire’, <i>ong adũp</i> ‘own’s world’, <i>ong bauh</i> ‘new world’ <i>Arũn bauh</i> ‘new home’ <i>Remin bauh</i> ‘new house’ <i>Turang dawu</i> ‘bone of a person who has long died’ <i>Turang dawu</i> ‘bone of a person who has long died’, <i>turang madis</i> ‘bone of a relative who has died’		
<i>Udip da bauh</i> ‘life that is new’ <i>Tãrun yũn nà pũrũng-i</i> ‘the place to put his/her body’	Circumlocution (SI)	Protective
<i>Tingge-tingge</i> ‘remaining remaining’	Vague reduplication (PHONEMIC MOD.)	Underhand
The late Paradise	Borrowing from English (LOAN WORD)	
<i>Mendiang</i> ‘the deceased’	Borrowing from Malay (LOAN WORD)	
<i>Hades</i> ‘underworld’ ‘Greek God of the underworld’	Borrowing from Greek (LOAN WORD)	
REFERRAL OF GODS		
<i>Bai di sãmbu</i> ‘the old man above’	Circumlocution (SI)	Cohesive