



Research Article

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Customary Values and Daily Communication of the Baduy Community in Indonesia

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Abstract

This article describes how customary values have implications for communication practices in the daily life of the Baduy people, one of the famous indigenous communities in Indonesia. Utilizing the ethnography of communication method, this study describes how customary values in the Baduy community have contributed in establishing local-ecological consciousness and primordial outlook which is reflected in their communication on daily basis. Practically, the Sundanese language used by the Baduy people is different from the main Sundanese, especially in the context of dialect and structure as they do not have any concept of language level which is commonly found in mainstream Sundanese while their dialect is more loud and straight. Furthermore, in daily communication, they also apply language taboos through a sort of law and norm so-called "pikukuh" by prohibiting of certain words which philosophically related to their basic belief. Therefore, language taboos in the Baduy community can also be understood as symbolic messages based on their local-primordial outlook.

Keywords: *traditional values, Baduy community, pikukuh, language taboo, local-primordial outlook*

1. Introduction

Baduy is a indigenous community living in Kanekes village, Banten Province, Indonesia. Even though they call themselves "urang Kanekes" (Kanekes people) or "urang Rawayan" (Rawayan people), they are more popularly known as the Baduy. As indigenous people, customary norms and rules occupy the most important position and role in the structure and pattern of their daily life as can be found in other indigenous communities, especially in West Java. Baduy community does not isolate themselves from the outside, this limitation of interaction is an effort to maintain the values and cultural norms of their ancestors. Baduy people believe that these actions are part of the manifestation of ancestral mandates through the preservation of social forms and systems that are integral between customs, beliefs, and traditional political systems in daily life. These various characteristics make them referred to as the "authentic Sundanese" (Garna, 1987; Zanten, 1995). However, Bakels (1988) revealed that there are still several isolated communities in West Java but the Baduy is the only survived

Despite these obvious characteristics, there is no valid source related to the origin of the Baduy

people because there are no written documents or other physical evidence. This may also be due to the absence of a writing tradition among them. However, various sources suggested that the Baduy people are descended from people who fled from Pakuan Pajajaran, the center of the Hindu kingdom located near present-day Bogor, just before Islam entered in 1579 AD. However, van Tricht (1929: 63-71) pointed out that the Baduy are those who live in Banten, the northwest of Java. In line with this, Garna (1989) suggested that the Baduy people lived in Kanekes Village even before the Pajajaran Kingdom ruled in 1333-1579.

However, general information about the Baduy community is usually also related to the dichotomy between “*Baduy Tangtu*” (Inner Baduy) and “*Baduy Panamping*” (Outer Baduy) which according to Permana (2010) refers to their function and role as “guardians” of customary of the ancestors where “*Baduy Tangtu*” is a group those are strongly maintained customary norms and a taboo system, while “*Baduy Panamping*” is referred to as a group live in the outer area and is more flexible in maintaining ancestral customs.

The Baduy community has a simple lifestyle and meets their daily needs independently. This is inseparable from the role of the belief they have been maintaining across generations, namely the principle of “*tapa di mandala*”, which means that farming is not merely to fulfill their daily needs but is part of their teachings to live humble and do not make any trouble others because asking others for help is a taboo. Therefore, plant rice but sell their agricultural products and handicrafts to fulfill their daily needs.

To maintain such a lifestyle, especially for the Inner Baduy, they also then limit modern activities such as attending school formally, do not use electronic objects, and do not use tools made by modern technology. They are also prohibited from wearing footwear or using any vehicle when traveling, and more importantly, they are not allowed to dress like a common people but should wear clothes of customary provisions. However, the lifestyle of the Outer Baduy community is relatively loose, even the Outer Baduy community has adopted some of the lifestyles of common people, although in some cases their characteristics as Baduy people remain obvious.

They not only maintain the advice of their ancestors through their lifestyle but also by preserving them, namely the *Sunda Wiwitan* belief, which means original, principal, or substance (Enjang et al., 2020). Therefore, Rosidi (1984) revealed that the Baduy people’s religion is indigenous religion. But basically, this religion does not have any holy books and specific teachings about religious practices because this belief teaches more about harmony with nature. Besides, information regarding the religion and beliefs of the Baduy people is very lack due to their closeness to the outside world, especially related to their beliefs because the *Sunda Wiwitan* is only intended for them so this closure may be their strategy to maintain the belief to remain sustainable.

In other words, their efforts to isolate themselves were more due to maintaining the teachings of their ancestors so they made their territory as a *mandala*. In the context of the Sundanese point of view, a *mandala* is a kind of sacred place due to its historical value and the nobility of *Sunda Wiwitan* tradition and teachings. In general, the highest authority in the *Sunda Wiwitan* religion lies in Sang *Hyang Keres*a (the Almighty) who is called *Batara Tunggal* (The One), *Batara Jagat* (Ruler of Nature), and *Batara Séda Niskala*. According to Baduy people, all gods in Hinduism are subject to *Batara Séda Niskala* (Fadli, 2017; Rosidi, 1984).

The customs and beliefs are what dominantly influence all aspects of their social life to the prevailing spatial layout in their area through the division of Baduy areas according to the taboo principles determined by the north-south principle where the southern region has a higher level of taboo. One of their taboos can be seen in their clothes, especially for men (both children and adults) which are only allowed in two colors, namely black and white with a white headband. Meanwhile, at the bottom, they wore a dark and unstitched which combined with a white cloth that was coiled from the waist to the thigh. Both the leaders and the common people wore the same material quality.

These norms are also applied to the language system used in everyday life. Even though they are speakers of the Sundanese language as generally used by the Sundanese ethnic, their beliefs and customary systems have applied as well to their language style. Customary norms in the form of

pikukuh of *karuhun* (the ancestors) which are incarnated in the taboo system have shaped the communication system in their daily lives. Generally, the language they use tends to be considered harsh. In fact, the values of openness and egalitarianism taught in their customary norms have shaped the Sundanese language they use and do not recognize strata so that they do not recognize the harsh or subtle language terms. Some even argue that the Baduy version of the Sundanese language is the authentic version since they are the authentic Sundanese.

Unlike the other indigenous peoples, the Baduy people do not recognize social strata and the like. Their respect for others is not seen from the lineage or wealth they have, but because of the behavior and refinement of character which is often associated with obedience to the prevailing customary norms. *Pikukuh* is the customary norm that covers all aspects of their culture; how they think, feel, speak, and behave both socially and individually. Therefore, specifically, this paper seeks to reveal how the customary norms included in the *pikukuh* are manifested in their daily communication, especially in language patterns and dialects as well as language taboos.

2. Literature Review

Custom is often interpreted as a discipline or regulation mutually agreed upon by a particular community. This agreement usually has a long historical relationship as a practice that is believed to be inherited from the ancestors and therefore has the potential to become a rule that must be applied. In practical terms, this customary norm is manifested as local wisdom which is theoretically described by Hadi (2006) as a process of knowledge among traditional communities. Meanwhile, Kongprasertamorn (2007: 2) describes local wisdom as the indigenous knowledge coming from the experience of a community and is an accumulation of local knowledge. As a value that is believed and embraced by a particular community, local wisdom can also be in the form of certain principles and ways that are adopted, understood, and applied in their interaction with their environment and transformed into a system of values and customary norms (Zulkarnain & Febriamansyah, 2008: 72). Thus, local wisdom is a traditional view and knowledge that inspire behavior and has been practiced across generations. Local wisdom functions and is meaningful in society both in the preservation of natural and human resources, efforts to maintain a tradition, and is beneficial for life (Permana, 2011). In order to gain a broader picture of the specific study of the customs and traditional culture of the Baduy community, a mapping of several previous studies was conducted. First, is a study that discusses the local knowledge of the Baduy community about traditional landscapes (Iskandar & Iskandar, 2017). These types of landscapes are traditionally managed based on traditional ecological knowledge and beliefs. This pattern enables them to continue to practice shifting cultivation, despite population growth and the depletion of forests around them. The study highlighted how Baduy traditional knowledge has created a pattern of farming practices that can save them from a food crisis due to the lack of land. Furthermore, Suparmini et al. (2013) examined how customary has influenced efforts to conserve the environment of the Baduy community. As traditional communities, they are so dependent on nature and that is why they try to strictly manage natural resources by dividing the territory into three zones, namely the *reuma* (settlement), *heuma* (cultivated land), and *leuweung kolot* (old forest) (see further, Ichwandi & Shinohara, 2007).

One of the customary provisions summarized in the *pikukuh* is the expression “*lojor teu meunang dipotong, pondok teu meunang disambung*” (length should not be cut, short should not be exaggerated) which practically means that they are not allowed to make any change of nature. This also includes that they do not accept new things that are produced by modern industries. This is illustrated in a study conducted by Permana (2009) regarding their views on health behavior. When they fall ill, they always face the dilemma of choosing between modern medical treatments that are increasingly accessible but are seen as violating customary or using herbs that conform to the customs they believe, but even for themselves, it has become increasingly hard to find. However, their desire to remain consistent with customary rules remains strong they generally prefer traditional medicine using herbs even though it is difficult.

Elsewhere, Permana et al. (2011) and Suparmini et al. (2013) also provide an overview of the function of local wisdom of the Baduy community in disaster prevention. Permana explained that disaster prevention carried out by the Baduy people is based on *pikukuh* which guided and directed their thinking and acting. Similarly, Suparmini et al. (2014) also suggested how the power of *pikukuh* for Baduy in their daily life. Some of the disaster mitigation efforts carried out by the Baduy community are; preserving the tradition of farming with the rules for selecting the location of the field, time for farming, the procedures for clearing and burning land, and the equipment that is allowed to be used. *Pikukuh* is also used as the basis for building houses, bridges, barns, and so on using bamboo, palm fiber, and without nails. Also, each building is built according to the contours of the land to prevent earthquakes, landslides, floods, and fires.

Not only in their interactions with the environment, but their traditional way of life also affects their taste for music. Win van Zanten's (1995) sees that Baduy music reflects the historical development of music in the West Java region overall. Specifically, the music of the Baduy is closely related to their traditional way of life and in particular to the agricultural season. It is not only seen from the type of musical instrument they use, namely *angklung*, a set of shaken idiophones but also be seen from several genres of certain songs they play.

In Indonesian context, other studies involving local wisdom as traditional knowledge are also found in several other indigenous communities. These studies, among others, were conducted by Fajarini & Dhanurseto (2019) who examined the function of customary as a mechanism to maintain social order in the context of Kampung Kuta in Ciamis, West Java. Also, a similar study is shown in research that reveals how customary rules have a significant relationship with educational values and as a reflection of the religious-cultural identity of the Rejang indigenous people in Bengkulu (Hastati, 2019). In line with these two studies, Raodah (2019) examined how the daily behavior of Katobengke people in Southeast Sulawesi. However, other researchers also do not deny the existence of a struggle between customary and current globalization which is a threat to the existence of customs in Gunungkidul, Yogyakarta (Pratiwi, et al., 2018).

However, local wisdom as the manifestation of the customs of an ethnic group is also framed not only in the context of specific cultural activities but also as a communication context. In other words, local wisdom is continuously maintained through interaction and communication activities in everyday life, one of which is through the language used. Theoretically, language is understood as a medium for normalizing values through everyday use as an effort to circulate ideology in special communities. Even Jørgensen (2012) emphasized that language is seen as a means of building a sociocultural context that describes the ideologies.

One of the reasons for this is the arbitrary nature of language and its functions to unite the social groups that use the language, as explained by Bloch and Trager, "language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols employing which a social group corporate" (cited in Lyons, 1981). A similar suggestion is also proposed by Kridalaksana (2008: 17) that "language is a system of arbitrator symbols used by a community to cooperate, interact, and identify themselves." Not only constructing socio-cultural, but the language is also often seen as a cultural product and even an inseparable part of the culture itself which is represented through its use by the users. Therefore, Sumarsono (2009: 20) stated that language is a reflection of an era, meaning that language in a certain period has recorded what happened in society. This is what makes language ideological as emphasized by Jørgensen above, namely in the case that language carries out a function as a marker of the identity of a certain ethnic group or community.

3. Method

This paper uses the ethnography of communication method which was originally known as the ethnography of speaking which was initially proposed by Dell Hymes (in Sumarsono, 2009: 310). The ethnography of communication method is considered to be relevant as it can describe and analyze the hidden meanings of communication practices and the relationship with other cultural practices

in the Baduy community. Also, Schemet (2002) suggested that the ethnography of communication is closely related to social and cultural norms and rules as the focus of this study.

Tedlock as cited by Marvasti (2004: 36) explains that “ethnography involves an ongoing attempt to place specific encounters, events, and understanding into a fuller, more meaningful context.” Data obtained through observation, in-depth interviews, and literature study. Observations were made to explore how daily communication practices and their relationship with cultural practices and customs in the Baduy community. Observations were carried out for 4 months, namely from July to October 2017 but not consecutively due to customary rules that do not allow outsiders to stay for long, especially in the inner Baduy. Meanwhile, in-depth interviews were conducted with several key informants, especially the customary leaders of the Baduy community who are often referred to as *jaro*, a person who has position and mandate to implement all customary laws and provide explanations to visitors related to Baduy. Meanwhile, a literature study is carried out by accessing any written sources to complete the findings.

4. Findings and Discussion

The Baduy indigenous community lives in Kanekes Village, Leuwidamar District, Lebak Regency, Banten Province. This area is about 40 km from the capital of Lebak Regency, and about 95 km from the capital of the Banten Province. This village is quite far and can only be reached by foot according to the customary rules that prohibit modern development in the traditional Baduy area, including the prohibition of vehicles. Baduy people maintain the nature and customary rules. They obeyed *puun* as their leader as they were believed to be descendants of gods and rulers of the Sunda Wiwitan, their traditional belief. The principle of “ascetic” life has formed its awareness that work is part of their dedication to their faith.

The common characteristics of the Baduy people include; simple life, friendly with nature, and independent. They prefer to live by relying on natural resources around the environment, and because of that, they have the awareness to preserve the nature around them. Also, they independently weave cloth for them to wear, farm to fulfill their daily needs, and make their traditional farming tools. This independence makes them have never experienced food or economic crisis, even when Indonesia was struck by a crisis in the 1990s. This basic characteristic is due to the belief of the Baduy people about their origins that they are the people who were first created to inhabit the earth and their region is the center of the earth. This belief led to the principle of “*tapa di mandala*” which means that they live in a sacred area (*mandala*) with rules that cannot be violated. Their concept of “*tapa*” is different from the general understanding and is more understood as “do more and less talk.” However, some of their characteristics as the implication of this principle ultimately reflect people who deliberately “isolate” by choosing the customary path rather than following the modernization.

4.1 Daily Communication of Baduy People

In daily communication, Baduy people speak Sundanese language. However, their dialects, diction, and language expressions have some fundamental differences from the mainstream Sundanese. Garna (1987) considers that the current development of the Sundanese language used by the mainstream Sundanese people—which is then considered the standard for Sundanese language—has put the Baduy’s dialect of Sundanese language even further apart. The use of particles, word formation, word accents, and the use of phonemes that are increasingly different make the Sundanese dialect of the Baduy sounds like a different and specific language.

Some of the basic differences between the Sundanese language of the Baduy people compared to the general Sundanese, include: (1) the absence of a standard grammar in everyday conversation; (2) does not influence by the Javanese language, which is mostly influenced by standard Sundanese; (3) has some special vocabularies and dictions which are not used in standard Sundanese; and (4)

using accentuation that is rather high in the spoken language, especially in the middle of a sentence. These differences in the Sundanese language of the Baduy people does not only in isolation of the dialect but also in the pattern and structure of everyday language.

These differences seem caused by the geographical position and belief system of the Baduy people among the majority of Sundanese people. As mentioned earlier, the Kanekes area is in a remote area and almost isolated, causing them to involve to communicate in the same cultural space. In other words, because they never interacted with others who live outside their territory, the language they use remains sustainable and is still the same as the language used by their ancestors.

Also, this local-primordial outlook is determined by the strength of the local culture along with the balance of nature and seeing everything in harmony. In short, the measure of their thought and behavior is an effort to harmonize themselves as beings who live in the underworld (earth) and the gods in the upper world (heaven) which are represented by the figure of *Sanghyang Pohaci Asri*, the Goddess of Well-being. For the Baduy people, planting rice has never been an economic activity, but an effort to harmonize these two realms. The harmony between the two will give birth to a new life so planting rice for the Baduy people is a marriage of these two natural substances. This implies that the disharmony between the two realms will lead to the loss of the meaning of life.

This ecological-local awareness and primordial mindset are also represented through the understanding and implementation of their government system. Even though they run a traditional government system, power does not concentrate in one area or on a group but is exercised by the *telu tangtu* (three regions) philosophical system, namely the owner of power, the executor of power, and the guardian of power. This also confirms their identity as the ancient Sundanese because this system was also applied during the Pajajaran Kingdom in the past where each region and its inhabitants had equal authority to mutually protect the territory and customary norms. The division of power in the *telu tangtu*, namely in the villages of Cikeusik, Cikertawana, and Cibeo shows that there is an opposition pair that, if united, will give birth to a new pattern of power that supports and maintains harmony in the Baduy community.

This also confirms the opinion that language is one aspect of the local-primordial life of its speakers. Not only in the aspect of language level but Baduy people also have a different dialect from Sundanese people in general and this is also related to the local-primordial aspects. As explained by Sumarsono (2009: 22), dialect differences in a language are often determined by the geographical location of the user group so indirectly, the dialect of a language can characterize certain communities. Although the Baduy dialect can be classified as the Sundanese dialect of South Banten, some differences are still visible.

The independence of the Sundanese dialect of the Baduy people proves how the primordial mindset and local values are inherent in the way they communicate with each other. Moreover, the Baduy dialect is believed to be the original language of the old Sundanese people. This claim is based on the study on the Sundanese mythological figure “Si Kabayan” conducted by Coster & Wijsman (2009) which concluded that the language and dialect in the dialogue “Si Kabayan” show the Sundanese dialect used from South Banten and there is no Cirebon and Priangan dialect as the majority of Sundanese people.

As previously stated, this ecological-local and primordial mindset is further caused by their conception of the relationship between nature and humans as taught in their belief system, Sunda Wiwitan, which teaches that nature and humans have the same status so there is no more dominant each another. Nature and humans have their respective roles that are complementary and interdependent. According to the Baduy people, humans have the same position, no one is higher or lower than others. Their respect for customary leaders is due more to their role as people who carry out the ancestral mandate.

This principle of equality is what makes the Sundanese language used by the Baduy people have no level. They do not recognize the subtle or harsh language, and their speech is also flat. The hospitality they have is purely based on their beliefs, rather than any particular interests in others. For Baduy people, Sunda Wiwitan is not only a religion in academic terminology but a rule to ensure

the harmonization of life which then has implications for their mindset in daily social interactions.

In their daily interactions, both in their environment or with people outside their territory, although their appearance is in contrast to the surrounding community, they do not find any obstacles. Their differences do not make them feel inferior, and conversely, their belief as “guardians of Sundanese ancestral customary” does not cause them to be arrogant. This is due to their belief which teaches that humans are the same and are only distinguished by their hearts and deeds. This egalitarian nature also applies when they are dealing with *puun* and *jaro* (customary leaders). When they talk to each other, they will use the same vocabulary, diction, and dialect. For example, even when talking with *puun*, they still call themselves “*aing*.”

In common Sundanese, the word “*aing*” is generally assumed as a manifestation of arrogance and categorized as an impolite word, especially when talking to those who are older or have higher social status. However, this does not apply to Baduy people. The word “*aing*” does not have any connotation of arrogance or power but instead reflects an egalitarian nature. The egalitarian characteristic of the Baduy people does not only apply around them but is also seen when they interact with people from the outside of their territory. This proves that the customary values and norms have been internalized in their daily lives. Even though the *Baduy Panamping* (Outer Baduy) has a higher social status because of their wealth, they are completely unaffected. On the other hand, the people from *Baduy Panamping* still respect the people of the *Baduy Tangtu* (Inner Baduy) because they are believed to be people who are consistent with customary rules.

4.2 *Pikukuh and Language Taboo*

The variety and dialect of the Sundanese language of the Baduy people do not only reflect the natural mindset and geographical location but also become a medium in which local wisdom is manifested in the form of *pikukuh* which is inherited across generations. It can be said that all aspects of the life of the Baduy people are strongly determined by *pikukuh* and *buyut*, the rules and prohibitions related to their belief system in Sunda Wiwitan teachings. In Sundanese language, the term of “*buyut*” has two meanings. First, the term *buyut* is related to lineage, namely parents of grandparents or it can also be used to refer to descent, namely children of grandchildren. Meanwhile, the second meaning of *buyut* is sacred or taboo which is generated as prohibitions. In this article, the term of *buyut* uses the second definition. Both have reciprocal and complimentary relationships, which are complementary to each other which is manifested through language. As shown in Table 1, the *pikukuh* contained in the *buyut* (taboos) of the Baduy people (Permana, 2005).

In practical terms, *pikukuh* can be interpreted as a basic principle of life to ensure the harmony of human-nature relations as well as the relationship between the two realms. Thus, *pikukuh* not only function in shaping the ideal and psychological mindset but also as a catalyst for the behavior of the Baduy as a whole. *Pikukuh* itself are basic principles based on ancestral advice to maintain harmony in nature and should not make any changes. This is where the relationship between *pikukuh* and other concepts, namely *buyut*. *Pikukuh* is the local wisdom, while *buyut* is a mechanism to prohibit changes which are then operated through a taboo system.

Table 1: *Pikukuh and Buyut in Baduy Community*

<i>Buyut nu dititipkeun ka puun</i>	(taboos that are entrusted to puun [customary leaders])
<i>Nagara satelung puluh telu</i>	(States of thirty-three)
<i>Bagawan sawidak lima</i>	(Sixty-five rivers)
<i>Pancer salawe nagara</i>	(Center of twenty-five countries)
<i>Gunung teu meunang dilebur</i>	(Mountains must not be destroyed)
<i>Lebak teu meunang dirusak</i>	(The valley must not be ruined)
<i>Larangan teu meunang dirempak</i>	(Prohibition must not be broken)
<i>Buyut teu meunang dirobah</i>	(taboo should not be changed)

<i>Lojor teu meunang dipotong</i>	(Length should not be cut)
<i>Pondok teu meunang disambung</i>	(Short should not be connected)
<i>Nu lain kudu dilainkeun</i>	(Those who don't, it must be said no)
<i>Nu ulah kudu diulahkeun</i>	(What is prohibited, must still be prohibited)
<i>Nu enya kudu dienyakeun</i>	(What is right must be justified)

Thus, pikukuh and buyut manifest rules and prohibitions as well as myths through language. In this context, Lévi-Strauss's notion (cited in Ahimsa-Putra, 2001) about the important relationship between language and myth is confirmed well. He explained that the two have important similarities. *First*, language is a medium, tool, or means for communication, to convey messages from one individual to another, from one group to another. Likewise with myths that are perpetuated through language. The message in a myth is known through the process of how the myth is told, while messages conveyed through language are known by how it is pronounced.

Second, both myth and language are closely related to the past, particularly about how language and myths were created. The close relationship between the two lies in their function as a symbol of meaning and how they are complementarily related to each other. Myths are told and spread through language so that people know about them and at the same time, language also takes the advantage of being conserved together with these myths, which is why every cultural system has different myths even though they contain similar meanings.

In the context of the traditional community, myth is often assumed as a knowledge system that is generally related to the prohibition of something so that it is called taboo. Theoretically, Foley (quoted by Laksana, 2009: 61), revealed that taboo often involves prohibited behavior according to supernatural beliefs. Not only applies to certain behaviors, but some traditional community groups also impose taboos in language, namely the prohibition of not saying something in certain situations based on myths. Taboo words are rarely used in public (Sumarsono, 2009: 65) so other words—which already have specific meaning—are used.

Language taboo is a prohibition against using certain words or expressions because they are considered to endanger the speakers. To overcome this concern, speakers usually take the following actions: (1) circumvent the prohibition silently; (2) circumvent the prohibition by whispering it in a whisper; and (3) avoid taboo words or expressions by replacing the words with other words or expressions that are common in the community (Laksana, 2009: 65). Among these three methods, the third method is often used and is referred to as taboo words, namely the prohibition of mentioning words that can bring threats to the speakers. Likewise with the Baduy. They have some taboo words to say, either for mythical reasons or for other reasons. In general, in the Baduy community, language taboo is limited to everyday problems that are frightening or are seen as threatening the peace of the speakers. To avoid this, they then express it symbolically so that people do not use these words.

For the Baduy people, especially in their area, it is abstinence to say "*maung*" (Sundanese word for tigers) when they see a tiger or hear its voice. Instead, they will pronounce "*meong*" (Sundanese which literally means cats). Likewise, they will not say "*oray*" (Sundanese word for snakes) when they encounter snakes in their environment or fields. Instead, they use the word "*nu di handap*" (something on the ground). Saying the words "*maung*" or "*oray*" is something that is prohibited because it is considered to bring harm or a threat to the speakers. This understanding has become a myth that is passed on across generations.

However, according to the teachings of the Baduy people about the harmonization between humans and nature and their environment, ideally, the substitution words for tigers and snakes is a form of their recognition that these two entities are an integral part of their daily lives. These substitute words are meant to suggest that these two are not wild creatures. These two creatures became threats precisely when humans used common words. Therefore, the language taboo imposed by the Baduy custom is an attempt to domesticate these two creatures so that psychologically, they never feel threatened by the presence of two creatures.

The use of certain words as a manifestation of language taboos is precisely based on the pre-existing myths about tigers and snakes as a threat to their lives. Therefore, based on this myth, they seem to rebuild a new myth about the good relationship between the human environment and these animals. Thus, the language taboo has a very important function and role not only to maintain their beliefs but also in harmonious relations between fellow Baduy people and also with their environment.

In a certain sense, language taboo in the Baduy community is based on certain myths in their daily lives through which the Baduy can understand what happened in the past to serve as a guide in explaining what is happening now, then predict what will happen in the future. Thus the language taboo in the Baduy community is a manifestation of traditional values in the context of communication in their daily lives. Traditional values are manifested symbolically which need to be understood based on their local-primordial outlook.

5. Conclusion

One of the common characteristics of traditional communities is the strength of traditional values derived from ancestral beliefs that are maintained across generations. In the context of the Baduy community, values are incarnated in *pikukuh* which are inherent as principles in their daily lives through rules and prohibitions. These rules and prohibitions have been considered sacred and psychologically affected them. These traditional values are not only manifested in abstract principles of life but are also seen in their daily communication. The independence of the Sundanese dialect of the Baduy people is influenced by the primordial mindset and local values due to their conception of the relations between nature and human as taught in their belief which teaches that nature and humans have equal status. The egalitarianism of the Baduy people is more since all members of the community live in a similar milieu so there is no social class that usually arises due to differences in professions and other strata as in modern society.

As a traditional community that is still classified as mythical, they also have some words that are taboo to pronounce, especially in their environment, and replace those words with other ones that have their meaning. But on the other hand, related to the teachings of the Baduy people about the harmonious relationship between humans and nature and their environment, the use of substitute words for tigers and snakes is a form of recognition of these two entities as a common of their daily lives. In other words, the language taboo in the Baduy community is a kind of domestication to build psychological awareness so that they never feel threatened by the presence of these two creatures that are commonly considered dangerous. The taboo system in the language in the Baduy community has reflected their belief and customary value system so that this practice can be understood as a symbolic message based on their local-primordial mindset.

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