



# Signs and Meanings of *Pamali* Utterances in The Religiosity of Kampung Naga Indigenous Communities: A Semiotic Theory Perspective

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**Abstract:** This research is motivated by differences in people's beliefs regarding the *Pamali* (taboo) tradition, which is considered by some groups to represent wisdom, but by as a type of superstition that must be avoided. This results in the *Pamali* tradition beginning to be marginalised from modern life. However, in the Kampung Naga, one of the villages in Indonesia, the tradition is still maintained in the practice of religion and modernisation. The paper aims to analyse *Pamali* utterances based on the perspective of semiotic theory and their relationship with the religiosity of the Kampung Naga indigenous community. The qualitative research uses a phenomenological design that applies linguistic theory as an analytical tool. It was found that according to the theory of meaning, *Pamali* utterances are based on the relevance of the relationship between sign, referent, and interpretant. *Pamali* is interpreted as taboo by society, and therefore people do not violate it. The content of the message in *Pamali* utterances is in harmony with the content of the Islamic message, so the reflection is a crystallisation of the religious teachings adhered to by the village people.

**Keywords:** *pamali*, signs and meaning, religiosity, semiotic theory

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## A. Introduction

Culture cannot be separated from communication because it is the basis for the process (Rahmawati, 2023). It influences the way a person interprets a communication message. Cultural products are local cultural wisdom passed down from generation to generation, while, local wisdom shapes patterns of behaviour and habits in a society.

Local wisdom is a view of life and knowledge as well as various life strategies in the form of activities undertaken by local communities to address various problems in fulfilling their lives (Njatrijani, 2018). Disclosure of local wisdom has an important meaning in maintaining cultural continuity. Such wisdom has values that are always inherited, interpreted and implemented, together with the process of social change in society. Among the forms of local wisdom that have developed among the Kampung Naga community is the *Pamali* tradition.

This is a product of oral culture for expressing rules and norms; *Pamali* traditions act as rules in traditional society that regulate people's lifestyles apart from their religious beliefs (Qusyaeri & Azhari, 2019). For the community, the *Pamali* tradition is a form of commitment to practising and preserving the way of life inherited from their ancestors.

However, the *Pamali* tradition is starting to erode in line with the strengthening of modern culture. Local culture is starting to be transformed, affecting the sustainability of traditional cultural values. This shift in cultural values is related to the weakening of local culture, meaning that the legacy of ancestral traditions is beginning to be doubted. The *Pamali* tradition began as a way for parents to scare their children; it was considered a myth whose truth could not be accounted for; and in religion it was considered to be a form of superstition that should be avoided.

However, this situation is not occurring amongst indigenous communities; the *Pamali* tradition is still a strict rule that must not be violated. In Kampung Naga, it continues to be in dialectic amidst religion and the very strong current of modernisation. This fact kindled the authors's interest in conducting a more careful study than previous research.

In particular, many studies have been carried out on the *Pamali* tradition in Indonesia. The existence of the *Pamali* tradition is identified as having a positive correlation with values and norms, as well as their implementation in life (Syarubany et al., 2021). The form and meaning of *Pamali* have been analysed through cultural hermeneutical interpretation (Ratmawati, 2019). Apart from

analysis of its form and meaning, *Pamali* has been analysed based on its function in people's behaviour (Ramli, 2018). According to his research, *Pamali* functions to protect oneself, as well as having cultural functions.

Some researchers have specifically analysed certain *Pamali*; for example, that related to pregnancy (Amanda & Pindi, 2014); *Pamali* in marriage (Anam, 2020); *Pamali* in buying and selling (Syarif et al., 2019); and more specifically, selling on Thursdays (Putikadyanto & Sefrianah, 2019); having dreadlocks (Febriyanto et al., 2018); as well as the meaning and function of *Pamali* in a social system (Widiastuti, 2015). Other research has found that there is a dialectic between the *Pamali* myth and Islamic values (Qusyaeri & Azhari, 2019).

This research aims to describe *Pamali* utterances as signs; to show the meaning and characteristics of the relationship when the meaning is constructed; and to explain the dialectic of meaning in *Pamali* utterances with aspects of community religiosity in Kampung Naga.

Similar to previous research, this paper focuses on the study of *Pamali*. However, what is specific about it is that the researchers specialises in the research subject of the Kampung Naga indigenous community, which is analysed based on the perspective of semiotic theory. In theoretical terms, the study will contribute to expanding the map of cultural studies based on interdisciplinary studies. Practically, it can be input for future researchers.

## **B. Methods**

The research design employs a phenomenological approach, as the study of *Pamali* utterances is a linguistic one, and the study of language is not merely one of texts themselves, but also how texts are produced by the mind. According to Bogdan and Taylor (Moleong, 2006), phenomenology views human behaviour as a product of interpretations of the world. In this case, the *Pamali* utterances transmitted verbally and in the form of action by the people of Kampung Naga are the product of communal thought in interpreting the heritage of their ancestors, which is a phenomenological expression.

The research method uses a text analysis method, based on analysing the *Pamali* utterances found in the communication language of the Kampung Naga indigenous community. *Pamali* text is analysed using the perspective of text semiotic theory. Text semiotics is not confined to the analysis of individual signs, but also includes the selection of signs that are combined into groups or patterns of a text, which represent a belief (Piliang, 2004).

The research data comprise 33 *Pamali* utterances, which were then classified into four categories in the socio-ethical classification of the religiosity of the Kampung Naga community. The data were analysed based on Pierce's triadic semiotic model.

In semiotics, everything is a sign and all signs will signify something else. A sign is anything that can be used to denote something else (Berger, 2010; Kaelan, 2009; Noth, 1995). The study of signs involves three aspects: syntax, the study of the formal relationship between signs; semantics, the relationship between signs and the object of the sign; and pragmatics, concerning the relationship between signs and their interpreter (Levinson, 1983).

According to Paul de Man (Wolff, 1999), semiology is the study of signs as markers without questioning the meaning of words, but how a word becomes meaningful (Rusmana, 2014; Santoso, 1993; Sobur, 2013). Semiology itself refers to three domains: the sign itself; the codes or system in which the sign is organized; and the culture in which the codes and signs operate.

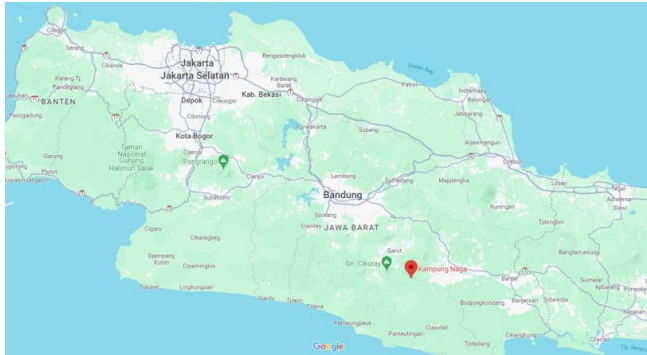
Each sign consists of a signifier and a signified. The signifier is the spoken or written word, while the signified is the concept. The relationship between the two, or signification, forms a sign. In this study, the *Pamali* utterances which is applied in Kampung Naga as a means of communication to convey the message of the ancestors to the next generation is interpreted as a sign. *Pamali* language is a sign. Language is a social fact as well as referring to social semiotics (Halliday, 1979). In this perspective, meaning does not result from a direct relationship between an object and its symbol, but arises from people's minds (Djawad, 2016).

The research employed text analysis methods, with analysis of various *Pamali* utterances found in the communication language of the Kampung Naga indigenous community. The *Pamali* text was analysed using the perspective of text semiotic theory.

In practical terms, the data analysis was performed in four steps: data collection, data reduction, data classification, and data interpretation and conclusions. Data collection points to expressions of community wisdom. These expressions were then reduced, leaving only the taboo expression known as *Pamali*, of which a total of 33 *Pamali* utterances were found. The utterances were then classified based on their relevance to sacred religious texts, both the main ones (the Koran and Hadith) and their derivatives (the opinion of Islamic scholars). Finally, the data were analysed based on Pierce's triadic semiotic model.

The research was conducted in Kampung Naga which is a traditional village located in 01 Neighbourhood, 01 Hamlet, Neglasari Urban Village, Salawu Sub-District, Tasikmalaya Regency, West Java Province, Indonesia. A location search on Google Maps would produce the following:

**Figure 1**  
*Kampung Naga Location on Maps*



Source: Google Maps

The research was conducted for two months, from December 2022 to January 2023. The selected research participants consisted of seven people, namely two tour guides (TG-1 and TG-2); the Chair of Hipana/the Kampung Naga Tour Guide Association (CH); a member of Hipana (MH); the Head of the Neighbourhood (HN); Punduh Adat or Regional Head (RH); and a society member (SM).

Geographically, Kampung Naga is in a valley surrounded by or close to cliffs, and subject to flows along the Ciwulan watershed. It has a land area of 1.5 hectares and comprises 112 buildings. To reach the village, it is necessary to climb 444 steps. Its environment is cool, fresh, and beautiful, and one is greeted by friendly residents.

The villagers of Kampung Naga are Muslim. The population consists of 298 people from 107 families, ranging from toddlers to the elderly, who live within a traditional environment with long-established rules. Togetherness is a habit of the people of Kampung Naga when performing social activities. They live simply, and in harmony, love each other, are friendly, and help each other.

## C. Results and Discussion

### Application of the Triadic Model in Pamali Utterances

Thirty-three *Pamali* utterances were found that were instilled into and held firmly by the people of Kampung Naga. A *Pamali* utterance, in Peirce's triadic model

of semiotic theory, is a sign integrated with two other elements, namely the interpretant and the object.

**Table 1**

*A triadic model analysis of Pamali utterances*

<i>Object/Referent</i>	<i>Interpretant</i>	<i>Sign</i>	<i>No.</i>
Abstain from entering the forbidden forest	Prohibition of entering the forbidden forest	Utterance: <i>Ulah asup ka leuweung larangan</i>	1.
Abstain from catching fish with poison	Prohibition of catching fish with poison	Utterance: <i>Ulah ngala lauk ku portas</i>	2.
Abstain from planting rice outside the specified time	Prohibition of planting rice outside the specified time	Utterance: <i>Ulah tandur lain dina poena</i>	3.
Abstain from harvesting rice not on good days	Prohibition of harvesting rice not on good days	Utterance: <i>Ulah ngala pare di poe apes</i>	4.
Abstain from telling stories at forbidden times	Prohibition of telling stories at forbidden times	Utterance: <i>Ulah nyaritakeun sejarah dina poe tabu</i>	5.
Abstain from playing at dusk	Prohibition of playing at dusk	Utterance: <i>Ulah ulin sareupna, bisi aya sandekala</i>	6.
Abstain from sleeping in the evening	Prohibition of sleeping in the evening	Utterance: <i>Ulah sare sareupna, bisi pikun</i>	7.
Abstain from waking up late	Prohibition of waking up late	Utterance: <i>Ulah hudang beurang bisi rezeki dibawa batur</i>	8.
Abstain from sitting in the doorway	Prohibition of sitting in the doorway	Utterance: <i>Ulah diuk dina bangbarung, bisi nongtot jodo</i>	9.
Abstain from sitting on a mortar	Prohibition of sitting on a mortar	Utterance: <i>Ulah diuk dina lisung, bisi keuna suudzon</i>	10.

Abstain from sitting on a winch	Prohibition of sitting on a winch	Utterance: <i>Ulah diuk dina nyiru, bisi ungh balawatangan.</i>	11.
Abstain from sitting cross-legged on the ground	Prohibition of sitting cross-legged on the ground	Utterance: <i>Ulah sila dina taneuh</i>	12.
Abstain from lying down in the yard	Prohibition of lying down in the yard	Utterance: <i>Ulah lalangkarakan di buruan, bisi katinggang baliung</i>	13.
Abstain from sitting on a pillow	Prohibition of sitting on pillows	Utterance: <i>Ulah diuk dina bantal, bisi bisul</i>	14.
Abstain from whistling at night	Prohibition of whistling at night	Utterance: <i>Ulah heheotan ti peuting, bisi disampeurkeun maung</i>	15.
Abstain from moving around eating	Prohibition of moving food around	Utterance: <i>Ulah tuang pipindahan, bisi loba salaki</i>	16.
Abstain from eating while standing	Prohibition of eating while standing	Utterance: <i>Ulah dahar bari nangtung, bisi bareuh bitis.</i>	17.
Abstain from yelling at his or her child	Prohibition of yelling at your child	Utterance: <i>Ulah sesentak ka budak, bisi tingar kalongeun</i>	18.
Abstain from facing the Qibla when urinating	Prohibition of facing the Qibla when urinating	Utterance: <i>Ulah kahampanagn mayun kibrat</i>	19.
Abstain from throwing his or her hair carelessly	Prohibition of throwing his or her hair carelessly	Utterance: <i>Ulah miceun buuk gagabah, bisi keuna wisaya</i>	20.
Abstain from wearing multiple headscarves	Prohibition of wearing multiple headscarves	Utterance: <i>Ulah ditiung rangkap, bisi kotokeun</i>	21.
Abstain from eating at <i>cobek</i>	Prohibition of eating at <i>cobek</i> (a stone or earthen plate for grinding chili, etc.)	Utterance: <i>Ulah dahar dina coet, bisi meunangkeun aki-aki</i>	22.

Abstain from eating while squatting	Prohibition of eating while squatting	Utterance: <i>Ulah dahar bari cingogo, bisi baheraan</i>	23.
Abstain from filling the water container too full	Prohibition of filling the water container too full	Utterance: <i>Ulah ngeusian cai leber teuing, bisi keuna fitnah</i>	24.
Abstain from changing containers repeatedly	Prohibition of changing containers repeatedly	Utterance: <i>Ulah guntaganti tobas, bisi loba dunungan</i>	25.
Abstain from feeding children with sticky rice	Prohibition of feeding children with sticky rice	Utterance: <i>Ulah mere ketan kabudak, bisi cadel</i>	26.
Abstain from daydreaming	Prohibition of daydreaming	Utterance: <i>Ulah ngahurun balung, bisi loba kabingung</i>	27.
Abstain from laughing out loud	Prohibition of laughing out loud	Utterance: <i>Ulah seuri nyakakak, bisi hideung ati</i>	28.
Abstain from bathing with water that is not evenly distributed throughout the body	Prohibition of bathing with water that is not evenly distributed throughout the body	Utterance: <i>Ulah mandi kurang lantis, bisi dipacok oray.</i>	29.
Abstain from cutting nails at night	Prohibition of cutting nails at night	Utterance: <i>Ulah neukteuk kuku ti peuting, bisi pondok umur</i>	30.
Abstain from washing his or her hair in the afternoon	Prohibition of washing your hair in the afternoon	Utterance: <i>Ulah diangir sore-sore, bisi maot di pangumbaraan</i>	31.
Abstain from bathing at a time preferred by spirit beings	Prohibition of bathing at a time preferred by spirit beings	Utterance: <i>Ulah mandi samalangsa</i>	32.
Abstain from stepping over the rice	Prohibition of stepping over rice	Utterance: <i>Ulah ngalengkahan pare, bisi keterap panyakit</i>	33.



The *Pamali* utterances, based on utterance analysis using Pierce's triadic perspective model, corresponds to the theory of meaning constructed by Pierce. In the *Pamali* utterances there, will be found equivalents in the form of signs, referents, and interpretants. For example, "*Ulah dahar bari nangtung Pamali, bisi bareuh bitis*, means "prohibition of eating while standing" so no one would dare eat while standing.

Until now, *Pamali* has become an oral tradition that was believed to represent taboos or rules that should not be violated. If they are violated, something bad will happen to the perpetrator. The *Pamali* tradition is used as a reference in the performance of activities and helps regulate the order of community life, such as regulating the relationship between a member of the community and other citizens; between humans and their God; between humans and their environment; and between humans and their natural surroundings.

With belief in luck or the consequences of *Pamali*, *Pamali* utterances become wisdom, or wisdom in the form of activities, which provide boundaries and becomes a method for conveying messages from the ancestors of Kampung Naga. *Pamali* guides and directs the community to act based the meaning of the *Pamali* message that it constructs.

### **The Context of Pamali Religiosity in the Kampung Naga Community**

There are values of the Prophet's hadith which applied in the Kampung Naga tradition. The *sunna* lives in various traditions in the village (Darmalaksana et al., 2022), which means that the reflection of local wisdom in Kampung Naga remains relevant to Islamic values.

The following are several verses from the Koran, hadiths, or statement by Islamic scholars that relate to *Pamali* utterances in Kampung Naga.

(1) *The Pamali of entering the forbidden forest or Pamali of catching fish by poisoning them can be interpreted as an effort to preserve the environment*

Islamic sharia positions forests as areas of public ownership (*al-milkiyah al-'ammah*) because they are the livelihood of many people (*min marafiq al-jama'ah*) based on the hadith narrated by Abu Dawud, Ahmad, Ibn Majah: "Muslims are united in three things: in water, pasture, and fire."

Forest management is only conducted by the state. This is based on a hadith narrated by Muslim: "The leader is like a shepherd and only he is responsible for the livestock he grazes." This management can be conducted by the government or by

appointing delegates. Furthermore, the state is obliged to supervise forests and their management. In the Koran, this effort is hinted at in surah al-Rum [30] verse 41.

(2) *The Pamali of planting rice and harvesting it outside a certain day can be aligned with the Prophet's taqdir, the attitude of the Prophet that justifies or condones an action, in relation to date palm farmers who are processing date palm pollination.*

In the hadith narrated by Anas bin Malik, the Prophet appreciated the farmers' knowledge about this process.

*"Once the Prophet passed by his friend who was pollinating dates. He then said: "Even if you didn't do that, the dates would still be good. "After he said that, they didn't marry any more dates, but the dates became bad. When He saw the results like that, the Prophet asked: "Why did the dates become ugly like this?" They said: "O Messenger of Allah, You have said to us such and such..." Then He said, "You know better the affairs of your world." (Sahih Muslim 2363)*

One of the factors that influences rice growth and production is rainfall. Therefore, farmers need to evaluate the optimisation of planting times based on rainfall analysis and water availability (Karim, 2018). For this reason, the people of Kampung Naga determine the planting time to be in January and July.

(3) *The Pamali of telling stories on the forbidden times can be aligned with the Prophet's agreement to convey something in a relevant context, even if that thing is good.*

In Islam, conveying information is not only related to the method of delivery, the language used, or the ethical values in the process of conveying the message but must also consider the context of the situation and conditions in which the message will be conveyed. This is hinted at in a hadith of the Prophet.

*Once, Umar bin Khathab met Abu Hurairah, then Umar asked: "Where are you going, O Abu Hurairah?", "I want to go to the market, I will announce what I heard from the Messenger of Allah," answered Abu Hurairah. "What did He say?" Umar asked again. "Everyone who says the utterances la ilaha illallah will go to heaven," said Abu Hurairah. "Wait a minute, O friend," said Umar. Then Umar bin Khathab went to the Messenger of Allah and asked: "O Messenger of Allah! Is it true that You said that (as said by Abu Hurairah)?" The Messenger also agreed. "But, O Messenger, I object to spreading your words to just anyone for fear that the interpretation will be misunderstood."*

On hearing Umar's objection, the Messenger pondered for a moment then agreed by forbidding him to announce it in the market.

(4) *The Pamali of playing at dusk is in line with the Prophet's prohibition of the same thing.*

The Prophet said: *"If it starts to get dark in the afternoon then hold back your babies because the devil starts to haunt you at that time. If a moment of night has passed then let them go, lock the doors of the house, and call on the name of Allah because Satan does not open closed doors."*

(5) *The Pamali of sleeping before sunset in line with the Prophet's prohibition of the same act.*

In a hadith narrated by Ad-Dailami, the Prophet said: *"Whoever sleeps after afternoon prayer time and then loses his mind, then never blame anyone but himself."*

(6) *The Pamali of waking up late corresponds to the Prophet's prohibition of the same.*

In a hadith narrated by Ahmad and Baihaqi, the Messenger of Allah said: *"Sleeping in the morning prevents the arrival of sustenance."*

(7) *The Pamali of sitting on the doorstep, on a mortar, on a winch, or on a pillow, or lying in the yard, can be compared with the prohibition on sitting on the wayside because it is related to violations of social etiquette.*

In a hadith narrated by Abu Sa'id Al-Khudriy, the Prophet said:

*"Do not sit on the wayside." They asked: "That's our habit that we're used to because it's a place where we hang out." He said: "If you do not want to leave a place like that, then exercise the right of way." They asked: "What is the right of way?" He answered: "Lowering your gaze, removing obstacles, answering greetings, and promotion of virtue and prevention of vice."*

(8) *The Pamali of whistling at night is categorised as bad behaviour.*

Reference can be made to Lajnah Daimah's fatawa about whistling at night: *"Whistling is prohibited, in fluent Arabic it is called al-Muka'. This is a Jahiliyah tradition and includes bad morals."*

(9) *The Pamali of eating while moving or standing can be compared with the Prophet's prohibition on drinking while standing.*

In a hadith narrated by Anas bin Malik, he said: *"The Prophet has prohibited drinking while standing."*

(10) *The Pamali of shouting at children is in line with the Prophet's advice to be gentle.*

The Prophet said: *"Affection will decorate a person's personality. If affection is absent, then his or her personality becomes bad."*

*(11) The Pamali of urinating when facing the Qibla corresponds to the Prophet's hadith which prohibits this.*

The Prophet said: "It was told to me by Malik, from Nafi, from a man from the Ansar, that Messenger of Allah forbade people when facing the Qibla to defecate or urinate."

*(12) The Pamali of throwing hair carelessly in line with the Prophet's recommendation to bury the hair that has fallen or has just been cut.*

The Prophet said: "Bury your hair, your nails, and your blood! So the sorcerers from among the sons of Adam do not play with the hair, nails, and blood."

*(13) The Pamali of wearing a double headscarf can be aligned with the Koran's statement regarding the appropriateness of dress and the prohibition of excess.*

The Koran also prohibits excessive behavior in terms of eating and drinking. From this, it can be concluded that the Pamali of lying down in the yard, eating in a *cobek*, eating while squatting, frequently changing containers, over filling containers, or laughing out loud, are considered Pamali for being excessive actions.

In surah al-A'raf: 31, it is stated: "O descendants of Adam! Wear your nice clothes every time you (enter) the mosque, eat and drink, but don't overdo it. Indeed, Allah does not like excessive people."

*(14) The Pamali of feeding children with sticky rice is related to the command to eat food that is not only halal but also good.*

Feeding sticky rice to children is not in accordance with their physical development needs.

In surah al-Baqarah: 168, it is stated: "O people! Eat the halal and good (food) found on earth, and do not follow the steps of Satan. Indeed, Satan is a real enemy for you."

*(15) The Pamali of daydreaming, is related to the Prophet's recommendation to maximise the very short time in the world for worship.*

Daydreaming relates to someone who spends time dreaming about waiting for tomorrow to come. The Prophet said:

*From Ibn Umar, he said: "One day the Messenger of Allah grabbed my shoulders and said: "Be in this world like a stranger or a wanderer." So Ibn 'Umar stated: "If you are in the afternoon, don't wait for tomorrow to come. If you are in the morning, don't wait for the afternoon to come. Use your health to face your illness, and your life to face your death." (narrated by Bukhari).*

(16) *Pamali not to laugh out loud is in line with the hadith of the Prophet which prohibits this act*

The Prophet said: "And don't laugh too much. In fact, laughing too much can kill the heart." (narrated by Tirmidhi)

(17) *The Pamali about bathing with water that is not evenly distributed throughout the body is in line with the Prophet's recommendation to maintain cleanliness.*

Bathing with an uneven distribution of water does not make the bodies of those taking the bath clean, because there are parts of the body that are not exposed to the water. Islam strongly recommends clean living; this is stated in the following two hadiths:

*"Indeed, Allah Ta'ala is good (and) loves goodness, clean (and) loves cleanliness, noble (and) loves glory, good (and) loves goodness. Therefore, clean your environment." (narrated by Turmudzi)*

*"Islam is a clean or holy religion, so you should maintain cleanliness. Indeed, no one will enter heaven except those who are pure." (narrated by Baihaqi)*

(18) *The Pamali of cutting nails at night is punished according to the context.*

There is no law specifically prohibiting nail clipping at night. If there is a prohibition, it needs to be seen from the context in which the prohibition is implemented, perhaps in terms of factors such as tradition, appropriateness and, caution. Research in the Belantik community of Siak Riau Regency regarding the same *Pamali* interpreted that the prohibition was in place because cutting nails at night could be wrong and cause injury. (Syahrir, 2016). From the Islamic perspective, cutting nails at night is seen in its context, so it is very likely to fall into the category of excessive actions or, categories of actions that might be dangerous.

Information about nail clipping is found in the book *Hasyiyah al-Jamal* by Sulaiman al-Jamal. The Syafi'i school of jurisprudence scholar who lived in the 12th century Hijrah outlined Islamic legal behavior from the generation of Imam Syafi'i up to the time he lived, including nail cutting. "The best time to cut your nails is on Friday, Thursday, or Monday" (Al-Jamal, 1996). However, the statement did not state the exact time, whether during the day or at night.

(19) *The Pamali of bathing, including washing one's hair, at a time preferred by spirit beings (samalangsa) is in line with the Islamic scholars's opinion which prohibit this act*

In public belief, *Samalangsa* is a time preferred by spirit beings; between 10 a.m. to 12 a.m., 14.30 p.m. to 15.30 p.m., and 16.30 p.m. to 18.00 p.m. In society, it is circulated that there are several times when it is forbidden to bathe, namely 30

minutes after Asr, Maghrib, and from Isha until midnight. However, no hadith has been found that specifically conveys this prohibition. However, some scholars consider it *makruh* to bathe when the sun is almost setting and between the two Isha' (between Maghrib and Isha'). This is contained in the book of *Mughni al-Muhtaj*: "And it is *makruh* to enter it (the bathroom) when the sun is almost setting and between the two Isha' (between Maghrib and Isha') because at that time the devil roams" (Syarbani et al., 2006).

(20) *The Pamali of not stepping over rice, is related to humans' ethical attitude toward nature.*

Rice is a staple human food. Food is God's gift to humans as a basic need to survive. The Prophet gave an example of how to honour food, such as not criticising it. Moreover, at a meal, the Prophet recommended taking the nearest food and not reaching hands out over other food. The analogy is that if the hands are prohibited from reaching out over food, then even more so one should not step over it. The Prophet's command not to reach out hand to take food further away is contained in the hadith received by 'Umar bin Abi Salamah.

*'Umar bin Abi Salamah said, "When I was little and under the care of Rasulallah, my hands crossed the tray while eating. So Rasulallah said: "O Ghulam, say the name of Allah (read bismillah), eat with your right hand, and eat the food that is in front of you." So that's my eating style after that (narrated by Bukhari and Muslim).*

From the several verses of the Koran, the hadiths of the Prophet, or statements of scholars relating to the *Pamali* utterances, the word *Pamali* has a sacred meaning for the indigenous people of Kampung Naga. It is a magical word that guides all citizens in obeying it and not violating it. No children will be found still playing before sunset; no one will catch fish using poison or enter the forbidden forest.

## D. Conclusion

Based on the application of the triadic model in *Pamali* utterances where *Pamali* is categorized into sign, interpretant, and referent, it appears that such utterances have harmony, in relation to these three aspects. This is in line with the semiotic principles of Peirce's perspective which interprets semiotics as the theory of meaning. *Pamali* utterances as a sign, in accordance with the interpretant, and its referent.

It was found that there was harmony between *Pamali* utterances and Islamic teachings. Therefore, Islamic values and teachings remain crystallised in traditions

in Kampung Naga. In other words, Islam is manifested through the medium of *Pamali* utterances. However, the fact that the people of Kampung Naga prefer the term *Pamali* and do not directly state that this taboo is part of Islamic teachings, needs further investigation.

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