



Language As A Cultural Practice in The Peutrön Aneuk Tradition: An Anthropolinguistic Perspective on the Reproduction Of Cultural Identity of Acehen Society

Mukramah¹, Sediken Tara Munthe², Fajrinur³, Zurina Zora⁴

^{1,2,3,4}Universitas Islam Kebangsaan Indonesia

mukramam.uniki@gmail.com, sediken.tara14@gmail.com, fajrinur14@gmail.com,

zurinazora@gmail.com

Abstract: *The Peutrön Aneuk tradition is a life cycle ritual of the Acehnese people that is still maintained today as a form of gratitude for the birth of a child and a medium for passing on cultural values. Previous studies on Peutrön Aneuk generally focus on historical aspects, stages of implementation, social functions, and the religious values contained within it. However, studies that view this ritual as a linguistic practice from an anthropolinguistic perspective are still relatively limited. In fact, each stage of the ritual is constructed through the use of language, traditional speech, prayers, advice, and cultural lexicons that represent the knowledge system of the Acehnese people. This study aims to analyze how language functions as a cultural practice in the Peutrön Aneuk tradition and explain the role of this linguistic practice in reproducing the cultural identity of the Acehnese people. The study uses a qualitative approach with an anthropolinguistic perspective. The analytical framework combines Alessandro Duranti's theory of language practice, Clifford Geertz's interpretive anthropology, and Stuart Hall's concept of cultural identity. The results of this study indicate that language in the Peutrön Aneuk ritual functions not only as a means of communication, but also as a medium for transmitting values, legitimizing customs, forming social relations, and reproducing cultural identity. Ritual utterances, prayers, advice, and the lexicon of Acehnese culture form a system of meaning that connects individuals to the community, customs, and Islamic teachings. Thus, Peutrön Aneuk can be understood as an anthropolinguistic arena where language, symbols, and cultural practices interact to maintain the continuity of the cultural identity of the Acehnese people amidst the dynamics of social change.*

Keywords: *anthropolinguistics; Peutrön Aneuk; linguistic practices; cultural identity; Acehnese society.*

I. Introduction

Language serves not only as a means of communication but also as the primary medium for shaping, transmitting, and maintaining culture. From an anthropolinguistic perspective, language is viewed as a social practice that is constantly present in a society's cultural activities. Through language, a community builds knowledge systems, conveys values, constructs social relationships, and reproduces its collective identity. Therefore, every cultural practice is essentially a linguistic practice imbued with social and symbolic meaning.

The Acehnese people are known for their rich cultural heritage, which grew alongside the development of Islamic civilization in the Indonesian archipelago. The close relationship between custom and sharia is reflected in the philosophy of *hukôm ngon adat lagee zat ngon sifeut*, which positions custom and religion as two complementary elements. In daily practice, this principle is embodied in various traditional rituals that accompany the human life cycle, from birth and marriage to death. One such ritual that still persists is Peutrön Aneuk, a

tradition of introducing babies to the social environment through a series of traditional ceremonies containing religious, social, and cultural values.

Until now, Peutrön Aneuk has been more often understood as a birth thanksgiving ritual or a procession when a baby is first taken outside the house. While this understanding is not incorrect, it tends to view this tradition merely as a series of ceremonial activities. In fact, each stage of the ritual is constructed through complex linguistic practices, ranging from prayers, advice, traditional expressions, greetings, to the use of Acehnese cultural lexicon, which has a specific symbolic function. Language in this context not only conveys messages but also performs social actions, validates customary norms, builds solidarity, and affirms the baby's position as a new member of the Acehnese cultural community.

In anthropolinguistic studies, ritual is one of the richest spaces for understanding the relationship between language and culture. Every utterance uttered in a ritual has a performative dimension, meaning it involves more than just saying something, but also doing something. Prayer becomes a medium for asking God, advice becomes a means of transmitting values between generations, and cultural lexicons serve as markers of a community's collective identity. Thus, language in ritual cannot be separated from the social and cultural context that gave rise to it.

The development of globalization and modernization has brought changes to various cultural practices in Aceh. Urbanization, the development of digital technology, and changing patterns of social interaction have caused some traditional rituals to be simplified, even abandoned. This phenomenon has not only resulted in the loss of cultural practices but also in the reduced use of lexicons, customary expressions, and traditional forms of speech that have served as media for transmitting cultural knowledge. If these linguistic practices are no longer passed down, the process of reproducing cultural identity will also shift.

Research on Peutrön Aneuk has been conducted from various perspectives, including cultural anthropology, character education, Islamic law, and tradition preservation. However, most studies still position language as a complementary element in rituals, rather than as the primary focus of analysis. However, from an anthropolinguistic perspective, language is the primary medium through which cultural symbols are understood, negotiated, and passed on. In other words, the survival of a tradition depends not only on the existence of its rituals, but also on the continuity of the linguistic practices that accompany them.

Based on these conditions, this study views Peutrön Aneuk as an arena of linguistic practice that represents the relationship between language, culture, and the identity of the Acehnese people. This approach allows the ritual to be understood not merely as a cultural heritage, but as a social process that continuously reproduces cultural identity through the use of language, symbols, and communicative actions. Therefore, this study uses an anthropolinguistic perspective to examine linguistic practices in the Peutrön Aneuk tradition by integrating Alessandro Duranti's theory of language practice, Clifford Geertz's interpretive anthropology, and Stuart Hall's concept of cultural identity.

Theoretically, this research offers a new perspective by placing language at the center of analysis in the study of the Peutrön Aneuk tradition. Unlike previous studies that emphasized rituals and cultural values, this study reveals how linguistic practices serve as a mechanism for reproducing the cultural identity of the Acehnese people. Thus, this research is expected to

contribute to the development of Indonesian anthropolinguistic studies, while enriching studies on the relationship between language, culture, and identity in local communities.

Theoretically, this research is expected to enrich the study of Indonesian anthropolinguistics, particularly regarding the relationship between language, ritual, and cultural identity. Practically, the results are expected to benefit local governments, traditional institutions, academics, and the community in efforts to preserve the Peutrön Aneuk tradition as an intangible cultural heritage of Aceh.

II. Review of Literature

Anthropolinguistics is a branch of science that studies the reciprocal relationship between language, culture, and society. This discipline starts from the assumption that language never exists as an autonomous system, but is always used within specific social and cultural contexts. Therefore, anthropolinguistics studies not only language structure but also how language is used as a cultural practice that reflects a community's knowledge system, values, ideology, and identity. From this perspective, language is seen as an integral part of social life, both shaping and being shaped by culture.

The development of anthropolinguistics is rooted in the tradition of linguistic anthropology in America, pioneered by Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, and Benjamin Lee Whorf. Boas emphasized that every language reflects a society's perspective on reality and cannot be separated from the culture of its speakers. This view was later developed by Sapir and Whorf through the linguistic relativity hypothesis, which explains that the structure of language influences how humans categorize experiences and understand the world around them. Although this hypothesis continues to be developed and criticized, the idea of a close relationship between language and culture remains a central foundation of contemporary anthropolinguistic studies.

Over time, modern anthropolinguistics has expanded its focus. Language is no longer understood merely as a representation of culture, but as a social action that actively shapes people's lives. One figure who has made a significant contribution to this development is Alessandro Duranti. According to Duranti (1997), language is a cultural practice, a set of communicative actions that always occur within a specific social context and serve the function of building interpersonal relationships, maintaining cultural norms, and reproducing collective identity. Thus, the meaning of language lies not solely in its lexical or grammatical elements, but in how language is used in social activities and interpreted by those who engage in them.

The concept of language as a cultural practice shifts research focus from the analysis of language structure to the analysis of language use in social life. Language is understood as an activity that not only conveys information but also carries out social actions. When someone says a prayer, gives advice, conveys counsel, or utters a traditional expression in a ritual, they are not merely producing speech but also building social relations, reinforcing cultural norms, and transmitting values recognized by their community. Therefore, every linguistic practice always has interconnected social, cultural, and ideological dimensions. This perspective aligns with Dell Hymes's thinking through the concept of ethnography of communication. Hymes criticized linguistic studies that focused solely on grammatical

competence without considering the social context of language use. According to him, a person's language ability is determined not only by mastery of grammar, but also by knowledge of when, to whom, in what situation, and for what purpose a speech act is used. Hymes's concept of communicative competence positions language as part of a social practice that is always linked to the cultural norms of the community of speakers. Therefore, analysis of a communication event must consider elements such as participants, communication goals, speech forms, communication channels, interaction norms, and the type of speech event.

In the context of cultural rituals, Hymes's approach provides an analytical framework for understanding that every traditional procession is a speech event with its own communicative rules. The prayers, advice, traditional greetings, and symbolic expressions that emerge during rituals are not spontaneous utterances, but rather part of a cultural communication system that has been passed down from generation to generation. Through these speech events, communities not only convey messages but also strengthen social structures, affirm relationships between actors, and reinforce prevailing cultural values.

Anthropological studies are also enriched by Michael Silverstein's thinking through the concept of language ideology. Silverstein explains that language use is always influenced by a set of beliefs, values, and social assumptions held by a society regarding language itself. Language ideology determines the forms of speech considered polite, sacred, or legitimate within a community. In traditional rituals, the choice of lexicon, speech style, and forms of address are not neutral, but reflect cultural views regarding human relationships with God, family, and society. Thus, language becomes a means of maintaining and reproducing a community's cultural ideology.

In the *Peutrön Aneuk* tradition, language is present in various forms, from religious prayers, parental advice, greetings between relatives, to the use of a distinctive cultural lexicon. All of these linguistic practices form a ritual communication system that not only regulates the procession but also transmits religious values, social solidarity, respect for family, and the harmonious relationship between custom and Islamic law. Thus, language in *Peutrön Aneuk* cannot be understood merely as a means of communication, but as a cultural practice that functions to produce and reproduce social meaning in the lives of Acehnese people.

Ritual is one of the most complex forms of cultural practice because it involves the interaction of symbolic actions, language, values, and a society's belief system. From an anthropolinguistic perspective, ritual is not seen solely as a series of ceremonial activities, but rather as a speech event in which language functions as the primary medium for constructing meaning, transmitting values, and strengthening social structures. Therefore, the language used in ritual cannot be understood solely based on its lexical meaning, but must be analyzed within the social, cultural, and ideological contexts that underlie it (Hymes, 1974; Duranti, 1997).

The concept of the speech event, developed by Dell Hymes, positions communication as a social activity that always occurs within a specific cultural context. Unlike the structural linguistic approach, which focuses on language form, Hymes emphasizes that language use must be understood through the relationship between the speaker, the speech partner, the purpose of communication, the norms of interaction, and the social situation in which the speech occurs. Thus, the meaning of an utterance is determined not only by the sentence structure but also by the social function it fulfills in society (Hymes, 1974).

Conceptually, the implementation of the SPEAKING model in the *Peutrön Aneuk* tradition can be described in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Speaking Model in the *Peutrön Aneuk* Tradition

Component	Implementation in the <i>Peutrön Aneuk</i> Tradition
Setting and Scene	The family home, yard, or <i>meunasah</i> as a social space for carrying out rituals.
Participants	Babies, parents, grandparents, extended family, <i>imeum</i> , <i>teungku</i> , <i>keuchik</i> , and the surrounding community.
Ends	Expressing gratitude to Allah SWT, asking for blessings, introducing the baby to the community, and confirming the baby's presence as a member of the cultural community.
Act Sequence	Opening, reading of prayers, <i>peusijuek</i> , <i>peucicap</i> , procession of lowering the baby to the ground, giving advice, and feasting together.
Key	Sacred, solemn, full of respect, familial and religious.
Instrumentalities	Acehnese as the main language, Arabic in religious prayers, and Indonesian in certain situations.
Norms	Acehnese customary norms, Islamic values, respect for elders, and community communication ethics.
Genre	Prayers, advice, advice, traditional expressions, ritual conversations, and reading verses of the Koran.

Based on this model, it is clear that communication in *Peutrön Aneuk* takes place within a highly structured cultural framework. The language used is not spontaneous, but rather follows social norms and customary rules that have been passed down through generations. The choice of greetings, lexicon, order of prayer, and even who is authorized to convey advice are all part of a cultural communication system that reflects the social structure of Acehnese society.

To understand how these linguistic practices occur in rituals, this study uses the concept of speech events from Dell Hymes (1974). Through the SPEAKING model, the study analyzes the relationship between communication context, participants, goals, forms of speech, interaction norms, and types of discourse that emerge during the *Peutrön Aneuk* procession. This analysis allows researchers to identify that ritual language is not merely a medium for conveying information, but rather a social mechanism that regulates relationships between individuals and validates cultural norms in Acehnese society.

III. Research Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach with an anthropolinguistic perspective and is based on a constructivist paradigm, which views social reality as the result of the construction of meaning through community interaction. This study integrates Alessandro Duranti's theory on language as cultural practice, Clifford Geertz's theory on symbols as a system of cultural meaning, Dell Hymes's theory on ethnography of communication and the SPEAKING model, and Stuart Hall's theory on the representation and reproduction of cultural identity. The study was conducted purposively in Gampong Lhook Puuk, Trienggadeng District, Pidie Jaya (Meureudu) Regency, Aceh, because the community still maintains the Peutrön Aneuk tradition and uses the Acehese language in ritual processions. Informants were selected using purposive sampling, including traditional leaders, religious leaders, parents of traditional practitioners, traditional elders, women who understand rituals, and community members involved, with the number of informants following the principle of data saturation. At this research stage, data were obtained from two main informants who are family members of traditional practitioners, while expanding the number of informants is a further research agenda.

The object of this research is the linguistic practices in the Peutrön Aneuk tradition, which include prayers, advice, traditional expressions, greetings, Acehese cultural lexicon, ritual conversations, verbal and nonverbal communication, and accompanying cultural symbols. The research data consists of primary data, in the form of ritual speech, observation results, in-depth interviews, prayers, and traditional expressions, as well as secondary data in the form of books, journals, traditional documents, cultural archives, photos, videos, and regulations related to cultural advancement. Data collection was carried out through participatory observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and documentation, with the researcher as the human instrument supported by observation guidelines, interview guidelines, field notes, recording devices, cameras, and lexicon and cultural symbol identification sheets.

Data analysis refers to the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) which includes data condensation, data presentation, as well as drawing conclusions and verification. Interpretation is carried out by integrating the perspectives of Duranti (language as cultural practice), Dell Hymes (speech events), Clifford Geertz (cultural symbols), and Stuart Hall (representation and reproduction of cultural identity) to explain the relationship between linguistic practices, cultural symbols, and the reproduction of cultural identity of the Acehese people in the Peutrön Aneuk tradition. Data validity is guaranteed through the criteria of Lincoln and Guba (1985) which include credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, with the application of triangulation of sources, techniques, and time, member checking, auditing the research process, and documentation of all stages of analysis so that interpretation remains based on empirical data.

IV. Conclusion

The data for this study were collected through interviews with two informants from the researcher's family who had direct experience with the *Peutrön Aneuk* tradition: Informant 1 (a senior family member/the researcher's grandmother) and Informant 2 (the researcher's sibling who had undergone the procession). Both informants provided information regarding the meaning of the tradition, the stages of implementation, and the parents' expectations contained in each stage of the ritual. The results of the initial interviews are summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Summary of Interview Results with Informants

Question	Informant's Answer
What does <i>Peutrön Aneuk</i> mean to Acehnese people?	Lower the baby to the ground when it is old enough.
What do you do during <i>Peutrön Aneuk</i> ?	Peusijuek, peucicap, pajoh pha manok, pebalek hate manok, phok u.
What are the parents' expectations when performing the <i>Peutrön Aneuk</i> tradition?	Hopefully in the future the child will become a responsible child and be devoted to his parents.

According to informants, the *Peutrön Aneuk* tradition is carried out when the baby is 44 days old, often in conjunction with the akikah ceremony, as a form of announcement to the community that the family has been blessed with a child. Its implementation is based on gratitude to Allah SWT and also serves as a means of strengthening ties between family, relatives, and local residents. This finding confirms that *Peutrön Aneuk*, from the beginning, is an event that is not only private-family, but also a social event involving the community — in line with Duranti's (1997) view that linguistic practices and family ritual actions are always connected to broader social structures.

Field findings indicate that each stage of the *Peutrön Aneuk* procession is accompanied by utterances or spoken expressions uttered as prayers or hopes from parents for their child. These utterances, as conveyed by informants, are not merely ceremonial complements, but rather performative speech acts (Austin, 1962) that contain illocutionary functions in the form of requests, hopes, and prayers directly addressed to the infant undergoing the ritual. The sequence of utterances is summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Performative Speech in the *Peutrön Aneuk* Ritual Stages

No	Ritual Stages	Speech Quote (Informant)	Function/Meaning Contained
1	<i>Peusijuek</i> (plain flour)	Not quoted verbatim by the informant; interpreted as a request for blessings and safety.	Request for blessings, safety and good conditions for the baby.
2	Drink Zamzam water	"With this drop of Zamzam water, Father and Mother entrust a sacred hope. May one day, when you grow	Long-term religious hopes — the dream of going on the Hajj,

		up, your footsteps reach the Holy Land. May Allah call you to be His guest."	closeness to Allah SWT.
3	<i>Pajôh pha manok</i> (giving chicken thigh)	"With love and prayer, we give you chicken thighs, hopefully you will grow up to be an intelligent and wise child in seeking sustenance... may you also become an obedient and devoted child to your mother, like a chick that always follows its mother."	Expectations of intelligence, independence in seeking sustenance, and obedience/devotion to parents.
4	<i>Pebalek hate manok</i> (flipping chicken livers)	"With love and prayers, we give you a chicken heart, may you grow up with a smart heart and a brilliant mind... may you have the spirit and courage to achieve your dreams."	Hope for intelligence, mental strength, and courage to pursue ideals.
5	<i>Phok bob u / shoot bude</i> (breaking coconut)	"By breaking this coconut, we pray that you will grow into a strong child and be brave in facing life's challenges... may you also have a strong soul and not be afraid to face difficulties."	Hope for mental toughness and courage to face life's difficulties.
6	Sweeping (for baby girls only)	"Just as a broom sweeps away dirt, may you also cleanse your heart and mind of laziness."	Expectations of cleanliness of heart/mind and diligent attitude (gender values: neatness, domestic tenacity).
7	<i>Ceumeucab</i> (especially for baby boys)	"With the swing of this machete, we pray that you will grow into a young man who is persistent in seeking sustenance... that you will also be able to overcome obstacles and difficulties, so that you will become a strong and successful person."	Expectations of tenacity and persistence in earning a living (gender values: men's economic roles).
8	Putting the baby's feet on the ground	"With your first steps on this land, we pray that you will grow into a strong and independent child... may you also have a strong foundation in your life, and step confidently towards a bright future."	The hope of independence and the strength of the foundation of life — the symbolic culmination of the entire series of rituals.

9	Recitation of prayers	Read throughout the event (not quoted verbatim by the informant).	Request mercy and blessings from Allah SWT for the baby.
---	-----------------------	---	--

The data in Table 3 shows a consistent linguistic pattern: each utterance is constructed through the structure of “symbolic action + expression of hope,” where the objects or movements used (zamzam water, chicken thigh, chicken liver, coconut, machete, soil) become metaphorical references for the values being prayed for. This pattern confirms Duranti’s (1997) view that language in cultural practices does not stand alone, but is always attached to the physical actions and material objects that accompany them—language and actions mutually activate each other’s meaning.

From the perspective of speech acts (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969), all the utterances quoted by the informants are classified as expressive-directive speech acts: expressive because they express feelings of love and gratitude from parents, and directive because they implicitly direct children towards expected behavior (diligent, devoted, brave, independent). The illocutionary power of these utterances does not depend on their literal meaning, but rather on the socio-religious legitimacy of the *Pentrön Aneuk* event as a space where parents' words are believed to bring blessings to the child's future.

Referring to the data obtained, the components of speech events in the implementation of *Pentrön Aneuk* according to the informant's version can be mapped as follows.

Table 4. Mapping of Speaking Components Based on Field Data

Component	Findings Based on Informant Data
Setting and Scene	The family home page, held when the baby is 44 days old, often coincides with the <i>akikah</i> ; an atmosphere full of gratitude and family.
Participants	The baby is the main subject, the parents are the ones who speak the prayers/hopes, and four people are holding white cloths made of coconut (showing the involvement of relatives/neighbors).
Ends	Announcing the birth of a child to the community, expressing gratitude to God, strengthening ties of friendship, and praying for the child's responsibility and independence.
Act Sequence	<i>Peusijuek</i> → drink zam-zam water → <i>pajôh pha manok</i> → <i>pebalek hate manok</i> → <i>phok boh u/shoot bude</i> → sweep (women)/ <i>ceumeucab</i> (men) → step on the ground → shalawat (recited throughout the event).
Key	Full of love and prayer (“with love and prayer...”) — personal and affective tone, not just formal-ceremonial.
Instrumentalities	The speech quoted by the informant was conveyed in a narrative-poetic variety of Indonesian; The term ritual stages still use the Acehnese lexicon (<i>peusijuek</i> , <i>pajôh pha manok</i> , <i>pebalek hate manok</i> , <i>phok u</i> , <i>ceumeucab</i>).

Norms	The differentiation of speech and actions based on the baby's gender (sweeping for girls, <i>ceumencab</i> for boys) shows social norms that link gender to the life role that is prayed for.
Genre	The parents' prayers and hopes were conveyed metaphorically, combined with prayers as a closing/accompaniment throughout the event.

A comparison between Table 1 (the conceptual SPEAKING model) and Table 4 (the field findings) shows agreement in most components, particularly in Ends, Act Sequence, and Genre. However, a specificity was also found in the Norms component, namely the differentiation of speech and actions based on the baby's gender—a finding not explicitly discussed in the initial conceptual framework, but consistent with Silverstein's (1976) view of language ideology: speech choices in rituals are never neutral, but rather reflect cultural views about social roles attached to gender.

Referring to Geertz (1973), each symbolic act in Table 3 can be read as both a “model of” and a “model for” the social reality of Acehnese society. Zamzam water represents the highest religious ideal of Acehnese families, namely performing the Hajj pilgrimage, while also serving as a guideline for directing children towards a religious life from an early age. Chicken thighs and livers represent intelligence and obedience, with chickens chosen as metaphors because of their close connection to the daily lives of Acehnese agrarian society—chicks following their mothers serve as concrete models for the devotional behavior expected of human children.

The coconut broken over the child's head, with a white cloth held by four people, is an interesting collective symbol: the strength and courage prayed for the child (through the breaking of the hard coconut) is literally supported by four community members holding the cloth underneath. This symbol represents that the independence and resilience expected of the child are not formed in a vacuum, but are supported by family and community networks—a unique cultural paradox: the individual is prayed for to be independent, but that independence itself is born from and witnessed by the collectivity.

The distinction between sweeping (for baby girls) and *ceumencab*/swinging a machete (for baby boys) is the most explicit symbol of the construction of gender roles in this tradition. Sweeping is associated with purity of heart and tenacity in the domestic sphere, while *ceumencab* is associated with persistence in earning a living in the public sphere. Within the framework of interpretive anthropology, this distinction is not merely a technical practice, but rather a web of significance that socializes children—even as young as 44 days old—into the division of social roles prevailing in Acehnese society. This finding is important to note critically, not to judge, but rather to demonstrate that birth rituals also serve as the starting point for the construction of gender identity in local culture.

The culmination of the entire symbolic sequence is the procession of the baby's feet being placed on the ground, which informants explicitly interpret as a hope for independence and a “solid foundation in life.” Land, in this case, functions as a fundamental symbol of life (Geertz, 1973), connecting the child physically and philosophically to the earth where he or she will live, work, and take on responsibilities.

The most prominent finding from the field data and explicitly conveyed by informants as the main goal of implementing *Peutrön Aneuk* is the expectation that children “become

responsible and devoted to their parents.” This finding shifts and enriches the initial conceptual framework of the study: if the literature review emphasizes the reproduction of cultural identity in general (Hall, 1990; 1997), the field data shows that the reproduction of this identity, in the case of *Peutrön Aneuk*, is concentrated specifically on instilling the values of responsibility and independence from an early age.

From Stuart Hall's perspective, this tradition can be understood as a representational practice that presents the values of responsibility and independence not as abstract concepts, but as sensory experiences directly experienced by the baby (being given a drink, being touched by the chicken's thigh and liver, being stepped on the ground) and witnessed by the family present. It is through this collective experience that these values begin to be "implanted" into the family's memory, even though the baby himself cannot yet understand them cognitively — the instillation of values here is symbolic-anticipatory, preparing a meaningful environment that will continue to be reinforced throughout the child's upbringing. Language plays a central role in this process. The phrases quoted by the informants (“may you grow up to be an intelligent and wise child in seeking sustenance,” “may you have a strong foundation in your life”) are not simply spontaneous prayers, but rather oral formulas that appear to have been passed down relatively consistently from generation to generation demonstrated by the fluency with which both informants quoted them back to the researcher. This repetition of oral formulas is the concrete mechanism for the reproduction of cultural identity as Hall intended: identity is not inherited as a static fact, but rather reproduced each time the formula is uttered in a new ritual.

Compared to the general framework of cultural identity reproduction, these field findings indicate that the anthropolinguistic functions of *Peutrön Aneuk* are most prominent in two areas: (1) the transmission of individual character values (responsibility, independence, intelligence, courage, devotion to parents) through metaphors familiar to the daily lives of Acehnese people (chicken, coconut, soil, machete, broom); and (2) the initial construction of gender identity through the differentiation of actions and speech between male and female infants. These two processes occur simultaneously in the same ritual event, demonstrating that ritual language operates on multiple layers of meaning at once—personal, familial, and cultural—as predicted by the conceptual framework in Chapter II.

V. Conclusion

Based on data obtained from two family informants, this study shows that the *Peutrön Aneuk* tradition is built through a series of performative utterances that accompany each stage of the ritual starting from *peusijuek*, drinking *zam-zam* water, *pajôh pha manok*, *pebalek hate manok*, *phok boh u*, sweeping/*ceumeucah*, to setting the baby's feet on the ground. Each utterance is not merely a ceremonial complement, but rather an expressive-directive speech act that conveys the prayers and hopes of parents directly to the child through metaphors of objects and actions familiar to the lives of Acehnese people.

Analysis of speech events (SPEAKING) shows that communication in *Peutrön Aneuk* takes place in the context of a loving family and community, with norms that specifically differentiate speech and actions based on the baby's gender. From an interpretive anthropological perspective, ritual symbols such as *zam-zam* water, coconuts, chickens, and soil represent the values of religiosity, intelligence, courage, and

independence, while also serving as "models for" the behavior expected of the child in the future.

The most prominent and explicitly stated finding by informants is that the primary purpose of Peutrön Aneuk is to instill a sense of responsibility, independence, and devotion to parents. From Stuart Hall's perspective, the instillation of these values occurs through the repetition of oral formulas that are passed down relatively consistently between generations, so that each new ritual becomes a moment of cultural identity reproduction as well as the reproduction of individual character values within Acehnese families.

Thus, this study confirms that Peutrön Aneuk has a dual function: as an anthropolinguistic space that reproduces Acehnese cultural identity collectively, as well as a family mechanism to instill the values of responsibility and independence in children from an early age through language rich in metaphors and symbolic actions.

The results of this study provide theoretical implications that an anthropolinguistic approach can be used to understand traditional rituals not only as cultural practices but also as linguistic practices that play a role in constructing and reproducing cultural identity. The integration of the theories of Alessandro Duranti, Dell Hymes, Clifford Geertz, and Stuart Hall demonstrates that language, symbols, and representation are interrelated elements in maintaining the continuity of local culture.

Practically, the results of this study are expected to serve as a reference for local governments, traditional institutions, academics, and the community in efforts to preserve the Peutrön Aneuk tradition as an intangible cultural heritage of Aceh. Furthermore, this research can serve as a basis for developing local culture-based educational programs that strengthen the use of the Acehnese language and local wisdom values among the younger generation.

This study has limitations that need to be openly communicated. First, the primary data were only obtained from two informants within one family, so they do not yet represent the diversity of informant categories planned in the initial research design (traditional leaders/keuchik, religious leaders/imeum-teungku, traditional elders outside the family, and the general public). As a result, findings regarding variations in ritual implementation between families or between regions in Aceh, including possible differences in prayers, procession sequences, or symbolic meanings between villages, cannot yet be comprehensively described.

Second, the ritual utterances quoted by the informants were delivered in a narrative variety of Indonesian, so it is not certain whether they were spontaneous translations of the original Acehnese utterances or whether they were actually spoken in the informants' current family practices. Further research would ideally record the ritual utterances directly in Acehnese and document the translation process to maintain the authenticity of the linguistic data.

Third, direct participant observation of ritual practices has not been conducted; the data used are sourced from retrospective interviews with informants regarding past experiences. This has the potential to introduce recall bias and refinement of meaning by informants.

Therefore, further research is recommended to: (1) expand the number and categories of informants according to the initial design, especially traditional and religious figures outside the family circle; (2) conduct direct participatory observation in the implementation of the upcoming Peutrön Aneuk to obtain original speech data and complete nonverbal context; (3) conduct comparative studies between regions in Aceh to map variations in linguistic and symbolic practices in this tradition; and (4) specifically explore the findings regarding speech differentiation based on the baby's gender, which in this study has only been identified but has not been discussed in depth from the perspective of gender and cultural studies.

References

- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford University Press.
- Bauman, R. (1977). *Verbal Art as Performance*. Waveland Press.
- Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Basic Books.
- Geertz, C. (1983). *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. Basic Books.
- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. Dalam J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (hlm. 222–237). Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. Sage Publications.
- Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Koentjaraningrat. (2009). *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*. Rineka Cipta.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage Publications.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge University Press.
- Silverstein, M. (1976). Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description. Dalam K. H. Basso & H. A. Selby (Ed.), *Meaning in Anthropology* (hlm. 11–55). University of New Mexico Press.
- Turner, V. (1969). *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Aldine Publishing.