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DEIKSIS IN THE RITUAL SPEECH OF DEATH CEREMONY IN TORAJAN CULTURE: ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to explain deixis in ritual utterances in the *Rambu Soloq* ceremony, the death ceremony in Torajan culture, which indexes various meanings based on the context in which they are used. The data in this paper were taken from several utterances in the chant of *Badong* and *Mebala Kollong* of *Rambu Soloq* ceremonies in North Toraja Regency, South Sulawesi. The data were obtained through observation, recording, and note-taking methods. After that, they were transcribed and translated into English. The 2 samples selected purposively consist of 18 utterances containing three types of deixis, namely pronoun deixis, place deixis, and social deixis. They were then analyzed qualitatively using an anthropological approach from the point of view of performance, indexicality, and participants (Duranti, 1997) in disclosing the meanings of various types of deixis. The results of the analysis show that the types of deixis contained in the utterances of the chant of *Badong* and *Mebala Kollong* ritual speech are independent and dependent deixis in the form of prefixes and suffixes, collective inclusive, and collective exclusive deixis, as well as individual deixis. Meanwhile, place deixis contextually refers to both visible and invisible places. Social deixis refers to various social relations in the society where the different types of deixis are used. Those types of deixis index various referents or meanings based on their context including situational, cultural, social, and ideological context of the community related by co-text such as paralinguistics and prosody. The types of deixis in those utterances contain various values and norms such as religious values, kinship, brotherhood, mutual respect, praise, and law norms that can be a source of local wisdom in building the character of the society.

KEYWORDS

Badong;
Mebala Kollong;
deixis;
pronoun deixis;
place deixis;
social deixis;
index.

INTRODUCTION

South Sulawesi Province is inhabited by three major ethnic groups, namely Torajan, Buginese, and Makassar ethnic groups. Torajan inhabits two regencies, i.e Tana Toraja Regency and North Toraja Regency. Communities in both districts use Torajan language and still practice oral traditional culture as they do not have written heritage. The practice of the oral tradition has been passed down from generation to generation in various aspects of life such as religious, social, cultural, and literary aspects in various forms of ritual speech.

Some of these oral traditions become the main parts in the implementation of various traditional ceremonies spoken and sung as often performed in both *rambu tukaq* and *rabu soloq* ceremonies. *Rambu tukaq* 'ascending smoke' means thanksgiving ceremonies performed when the sun is rising in the east until noon such as wedding ceremony or the celebration of a new traditional house (tongkonan house), while and

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rambu soloq 'descending smoke' means a funeral/death ceremony performed when the sun is heading west until evening.

The forms of oral tradition in the performance of the death rituals in *rambu soloq* ceremony include the chant of *Badong* and *Mebala Kollong* ritual speech. *Mebala Kollong* literally means to fence the neck. If someone goes to someone's else house or to a party to get some rice, then people will say that he goes *mebala kollong* to fulfil the needs of his neck/life. In relation to the *rambu soloq* ritual ceremony, *Mebala Kollong* means a ritual speech delivered by a *tominaa* (customary expert) to ask for safety for the family members and even the whole people coming to the ritual ceremony. This is intended to prevent the whole people from all types of danger in the entire series of ritual processions.

Mebala Kollong is a ritual speech using the language of *todolo* (ancestors), i.e. a high language generally not used in everyday communication and can only be spoken by a *tominaa* and a certain M.C. who is proficient in using the *tominaa*'s language. Such a language is called *kada silopak* 'pair word/language' in the form of parallelism (Sandarupa, et al. 2016) since the language is mostly presented in the form of stanzas and contains cultural symbolic meanings.

Another oral tradition in the form of ritual speech is the chant of *Badong* as one of the typical oral cultural traditions performed by the community in Tana Toraja and North Toraja regions. This contains elements of high language and art, especially figurative languages as well as cultural symbolic meanings (Patiung, 2010).

Badong is performed in the context of death ceremony based on a person's social status, either belonging to a society with the status of *tanaq bulawan* 'golden stake or high nobility class', *tanaq bassi* 'iron stake or middle noble class', or *tanaq karurung* 'stake made from the hard core of the palm tree or common people', while the community of *tanaq kua- kua* 'stake of reed or the lowest caste/slaves or workers', does not performed *badong* (Sandarupa 2000). Thus, if the dead person comes from a high caste, then the *Badong Bangsawan* 'Badong of nobility' is performed. A *badong* is performed in the form a circle by commonly a group of men called *paqbadong* 'people who perform *badong*'. The chant of *badong* contains praise or flattery, despair, resignation, hope, even questions about the causes of death person whose *badong* is performed.

Since the language used in the two ritual speeches is generally high Torajan language having many forms of parallelism and containing metaphorical meanings, it is often difficult to understand, so it is an interesting topic to study. Thus, this study focuses on one linguistic aspect, that is, deixis including pronoun deixis, place deixis, and social deixis in the form of utterances where the three types of deixis are used. Such types of deixis can index various references/meanings based on the context in relation to co-text in which they are used. Thus, the aim of writing is to explain three kinds of deixis based on their forms, meaning/function, and cultural values/norms containing in the data using an anthropolinguistic approach.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Anthropolinguistics as the approach underlying this paper is the study of the meaning of a culture through linguistic/language studies or analyzing language to reveal the meaning of cultural aspects. According to Foley (1999), anthropological linguistics views language through the prism of anthropological core concepts, namely culture and the like which seek to reveal the meaning behind the use, misuse or non-

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³ use of language, its different forms, registers, and styles of language. Meanwhile, Duranti (1997) suggests that anthropolinguistics is the study of the relationship between anthropology as the study of humans and their culture, behavior, diversity, and others and linguistics as the study of language as the basis to study humans and their cultural aspects. He introduced three main aspects in studying linguistic anthropology, namely performance, indexicality, and participation. These three things have a very important role in a text or speech where the actor (participant) of the speech functions either as an animator, author, or principal (Goffman, 1981 in Duranti, 1997), performance as the real use of language in text/speaking, and indexicality as the reference/or meaning of utterances in a text based on a certain context (Duranti 1997).

Talking about indexicality, it is closely related to a deictic word as a type of index. Burks (1949 in Duranti 1997) proposed that an index is a sign that has an existential relationship with what it refers to. This relationship is easily associated with linguistic expressions involving demonstrative pronouns such 'this' and 'that', personal pronouns such as 'I' and 'you', temporal expressions such as 'now', 'then', and 'yesterday', and place expressions such as 'above', and 'below' all of which are called indexicality (Duranti 1997). Such linguistic expressions are called deixis.

Lyons (1977 in Duranti 1997) said that deixis means 'pointing' or 'indicating'. Similarly, Hurford et al (2007) claimed that deixis coming from Greek means 'pointing'. By deixis they said that all languages contain a number of words whose meanings vary systematically according to who uses them, where they are used, and when they are used. In other words, deictic words contain meanings based on their context which includes speakers, listeners, time, and place where the words are used. A similar opinion was also proposed by Fillmore (1966: 220 in Duranti, 1997) that deixis is a name given to the aspects of language whose interpretation is relative when it is uttered, i.e. the time of speech and before and after the time of speech; the place of the speaker, the time of speech; and the identity of the speaker and intended listener. This opinion is supported by Levinson (1983) that deixis basically concerns with the ways in which language signifies the characteristics of the context of speech events and ways of interpreting speech based on an analysis of the context of the speech.

Types of deixis found in the chant of Badong and Mabala Kollong ritual speech are the elements of semantic and pragmatic studies as the part of microstructure of a text. The patterns and rules of utterances that contain types of deixis are then formulated to find their semantic and pragmatic meanings. Furthermore, to interpret the text as an interactional text in a society, the text should be related to the context of its use through co-text. Sibarani (2015) suggests that the co-text includes stress, pitch tone, and intonation which is also called prosody (Gumperz 1992 in Duranti 1997), and speaker's gestures such as whispery, breathy, husky or creaky voice called paralinguistic signs (Gumperz 1992 in Duranti 1997), as well as materials used in the performance to accompany the text. The contextual meaning of a text through co-text can reveal the meaning of culture in a society by describing the patterns used interactionally, in this case the forms of deixis in an utterance.

Regarding context, Sibarani (2015) classifies it into four types, namely situational context, cultural context, social context, and ideological context. Context of situation relates to when, where, how, and who is involved in the performance of the text in this case utterances. Cultural context concerns with the purpose of the implementation of the text such as a text related to the ceremony of birth, marriage, or death. Social context is related to what social factors influencing a text or speech such as gender, social stratum, place

differences, and ideological context is a power affecting a text or speech such as beliefs, values, and norms held by the community. In other words, context greatly determines the meaning and function of deictic words in a text or speech. This context is always built continuously in a communication resulting in various kinds of deixis whose meanings should be interpreted in various ways.

In general, Cruse (2000) categorizes five types of deixis as presented below.

Person Deixis

In principle, person deixis includes the first person, the listener in the second person, other participants in the utterance, and the third person singular. In overall, person deixis can be categorized in the singular and plural. In English, this singular form includes I, you, she, he, and it, and plural forms such as we, you, and they as well as other forms that function as objects and possessive pronouns. There are two things to consider when using the plural form (Cruse, 2000):

- a. The existence of a domain relationship that binds it is that the first person dominates the second person and the second person dominates the third person in communication.
- b. There are things related to the use of personal pronouns in the plural. The word "we" is rarely uttered by several people in the plural form but normally the use of this deixis is represented by one speaker from the group. On the other hand, the word 'they' refers to a plurality of people referred to. Even if spoken by someone, the speaker is not part of the group in question so it is not representative.

Place Deixis

Place deixis is manifested in adverbs of place such as here (here) and there (there) as well as indicating words 'this' and 'that'. There are two types of deixis, namely deixis indexing places or objects that are close to the speaker (proximal) such as 'here', 'there', and 'this' and the one indexing places or objects that are far from the speaker (distal) such as 'there' and 'that'. The distance category used by the Turks is the meaning of sign/symbolic difference. This refers to the visible versus invisible place and the lower part of the line of sight versus the upper part of the line of sight (Cruse, 2000).

Temporal Deixis

Time deixis is related to the time when a speaker is speaking. This includes three things. The time before the utterance is spoken including 'yesterday', and 'last week', etc. The time at which the utterance is spoken using 'now', 'at present', etc. The time after the utterance is spoken indicated with tomorrow, 'next week', etc. Therefore, since deixis is related to time, temporal deixis is very dependent on the meaning of calendar (calendric notions) (Cruse, 2000).

Social Deixis

In some languages, the category of addresser deixis and other categories of deixis are described by signs. For example, interlocutors with higher social status and expressions indicating higher status are described as honorifics in the form of certain word classes or grammatical morphemes that indicate social deixis among the participants in a speech event to express respect/deference (Duranti 1992 in Foley 1997). The expressions indicating a higher status are known honorifics in the form of certain words or grammatical morphemes showing social deixis among the speakers/participants in an utterance to express a deference (Foley 1999). Similarly, Richards (1985) proposed that affixes such as prefix and suffix, words, or the structural elements of sentences may involve a honorific term to indicate politeness in a certain language.

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In a social context, when marking the difference between the social status of the speaker and the interlocutor, speakers with a higher status, older, or more powerful will be more likely to use the 'tu' version to address the interlocutor who is spoken to with a lower, younger, and higher status, and less powerful. Conversely, speakers who are lower, younger, and less powerful will be more likely to address the interlocutor with 'vous'. The basic parameter is a social status where 'vous' refers to down on scale of the social status. 'Tu' indicates the presence of intimacy, so that is proximal (close), while 'vous' indicates the presence of distance or less familiarity, so it is distal (far) (Cruse 2000).

Discourse Deixis

Discourse deixis is related to discourse elements such as the word 'this' which refers to what is being said such as 'This' is related to what my mother said' or 'that' the one referring to something that has been done such as 'That pleases me'. In these two examples, 'this' in the first example refers to something said by the speaker's mother, while 'that' in the second example refers to something that happened before that pleases the speaker. Other elements such as adverbs as conjunctions connect two discourses such as 'next', 'therefore', 'however', and others (Cruse, 2000).

METHOD

The data in this paper were obtained from several utterances used in the chant of Badong and Mebaka Kollong ritual speech in the funeral ceremonies in North Toraja Regency, South Sulawesi. The object of the research is deixis, and the data are the utterances in the two types of ritual speeches. Those data were obtained through observation, recording, and note-taking techniques. After that, they were transcribed, classified, and then translated into English. The selected sample consisted of 17 utterances containing three types of deixis (pronoun deixis, place deixis, and social deixis). The sample was selected purposively and analyzed using an anthropological approach from the view point of performance, indexicality, and participation (Duranti 1997) to describe the forms, functions, meaning and values implied in the three types of deixis based on the context.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Ritual speech in Torajan language greatly uses different types of deixis. Deixis in the Torajan language is based on three basic types of reference or index, namely speaker, listener, and speaker-hearer, and two relational characteristics, namely proximal (near) and distal (far). A semantic and pragmatic description of deixis in the Torajan language, especially in the chant of Badong and ritual speeches provide an understanding on how to connect a ritual speech that used to be delivered by ancestor to the context, and then recontextualize it in the current context viewed from anthropological approach.

The data under analysis are available in appendix.

Pronoun Deixis

In Torajan language, pronoun deixis is divided into inclusive pronouns and exclusive pronouns, both of which refer to collectivity and pronouns referring to individuality. These pronouns help the readers/listeners understand the structure of social groups in the ritual ceremonies and function to index various collectivities and individuals, relationship between the speaker and other social actors, those who are both present and absent at a ritual event. Independent pronouns that always precede nouns or verbs

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function as either subjects and objects, while bound pronouns in the form of prefixes and suffixes can function as a subject, possessive adjective, and object based on the context (Salombe in Sandarupa, 2004). Independent pronouns involve *kita* 'we', *kami* 'we', *kamu* 'you as singular and plural', *iko* 'you', *ia* 'he and she'; prefix pronouns are *ki-* 'we', *ta-* 'we', *mi-* 'you as singular and plural', *na-* 'they and he/she' (person, thing, animal), *ku-* 'I', *mu-* 'you as singular', dan suffix pronouns take their forms such as *-ko* 'you', *-naq* 'I', *-kiq* 'our', *-ta* 'our', *-i* 'he/she/it' (person, thing, animal) *-komi* 'you singular and plural', *-mi* 'you/your as singular and plural) dan *-kan* 'we' (Salombe 1982 dalam Sandarupa, 2004).

Deixis in Torajan language which is generally in the form of affixations (prefixes and suffixes) indicates that Toraja language is somewhat an agglutinative language, i.e. a language that uses various kinds of affixations that attach to basic words to indicate their grammatical functions and meanings (Richards et al. 1985). For example: *lakualliangko suraq*

la- ku- alliang -ko suraq
will I buy you book
'I will buy you a book'.

The data found in the chant of Badong and Mebala Kollong ritual speech show that there are three forms of pronoun deixis, namely (1) independent pronouns, for example, *kamu* 'you' (b), *kami* 'we' (c), *iko* 'you' (d), *komi* 'you' (l), *aku/angku* 'I' (m), *an-na* 'she' (2) prefixes such as *ki-* 'we' (h), *mi-* 'you' (k), *na-* 'she/it' (h, p), and (3) suffixes such as *-mu* 'you' (a), *-ki* 'we' (c) *-ko* 'you' (e, f), *-ta* 'our' (g), *-na* 'their/His/her/its' (i, m, n, o), and *-komi* 'you' (j).

The three forms of deixis have three different functions, namely (1) subjects such as *angku* 'I' (m) as the first singular pronoun, *kami* 'we' (c), *kamu* 'you' (b), *mi-* 'you' (k), and *komi* 'you' (j,) as the second singular pronoun, *komi* 'you' (l) as the second plural pronoun, and *-ko* 'you' (e) as the second singular pronoun, and *na-* 'he/she/it' (h, p) as the third person singular, (2) possessive adjective such as *-ki* 'our' (c, f) as the first plural pronoun, *-ta* 'our' (g) as the first plural pronoun, and *-na* 'their' (g, m) as the third plural pronoun, *-na* 'His' (i) the third singular pronoun 'God', *-na* 'its' (e, o), and *-na* 'his' (n) as the third singular and (3) objects such as *-ko* 'you' (e) as second singular pronoun.

The following analysis is based on 18 samples (a) to (r) of three types of deixis but the presentation is not completely alphabetically. This is because sometimes the presentation depends on the appearance of deixis in each data and some data have more than one type of deixis. The all data can be seen in the appendix.

Datum (a):

Anak-mu disanga Daeng, an-na daeng-daeng sugiq 'Your child is named Daeng, so that he/she can be wealthy.

Anak-ki disanga Rippung an-na rippung bala tedong 'Our child is named Ripung, so that he/she can have many buffaloes'.

In this datum, deixis *-mu* 'your' in the first line individually indexes the child of the death person, while deixis *-ki* 'our' in the second line collectively and exclusively indexes the child of singers of Badong. The use of the two different types of deixis in these two lines in the form of parallelism actually indexes an expectation and pray for the child of both sides to live prosperously. This is reflected in conjunction *an-* 'so that' combined with subject deixis *-na* 'he' indexing both *-mu* and *-ki*. Such a combination is derived from a process of assimilation in which *n* in *an-* is assimilated with *n* in *-na* as both of them are dental phonemes.

These two lines in the form of parallelism have a poetic function focusing on shape and sound of the message delivered (Jakobson 1960 in Duranti 1997).

Datum (b):

Kamu anggaq to untorroi rante kaluaq 'You who live in the wide field'

In contrast with deixis *-mu* in (a), deixis *kamu* collectively indexes all the mourners where the speaker 'tominaa' is not with them. As the one who has a power and responsibility to run the process of death ceremony, he takes a position a little bit far (distal) from the audience/mourners when addressing them by using deixis *kamu* 'you' not *kita* 'we' (indexing a proximal relation). Contextually, *rante kaluaq* in this utterance does not literally index a wide field, but it metaphorically indexes a big funeral ceremony as it is conducted for several days or even weeks in which the family sacrificing lots of pigs and buffaloes as well as building huts which resembles traditional tongkonan houses around *rante* 'field' to serve the mourners.

Datum (c):

Tibambang kami lambaq-ki, 'fall down our big tree'

songka kami baranaq-ki 'fall down our banyan tree.'

In this datum, deixis pronoun *kami* and *-ki* as possessive 'our' delivered by speaker/tominaa as the representation of the family members of the deceased in the procession of funeral ceremony exclusively indexes the extended family members while conveying the family condolences to the whole mourners. The presence of pronoun deixis *kami*, which can actually be absent in this context, emphasizes the existence of pronoun *-ki* 'our' as the owner of a dead person. Therefore, the use of deixis *kami* 'our' represented by tominaa both as the animator and author is one of the contextual cues, i. e. a lexical element (Gumperz 1992 in Duranti 1997). As this deixis in the two lines in the form of parallelism is given a stress when delivered, it is also one of the co-textual elements, i.e. stress called prosody (Sibarani 2015) functioning to relate the text to context. Both of them index an emphasis on the exclusive position and power of the family having the status of the noble woman called *tomakaka*. Such a status is metaphorically indexed with *lambaq* 'big tree' and *baranaq* 'banyan tree' and her death is identified with two metaphorical verbs, i.e. *tibambang* and *songka* 'fall down' meaning 'die'.

Datum (e):

Kedeng-ko la palutu tombang, la na-serok-ko tarangga sangpiak lako randan-na langiq

'If any of you muddy the buffalo puddle you will be gored with one side pointing up horn buffalo to the sky's end/end of the sky'.

The two types of deixis *-ko* 'you' indexes whoever (someone/unknown) violates the custom when the ceremony is taking place. Thus, the combination of the word *serok* 'gore' as a base verb and prefix *na-* as a marker of passive prefix simultaneously functioning as a subject indexing *tarangga sangpiak* 'one side pointing up horn buffalo' and *-ko* as an object indicates that anyone who causes trouble at that traditional funeral ceremony as depicted in *palutu tombang*, especially anyone among the family members, will be severely punished as symbolized by the buffalo's horn to gore him/her to the end of the sky. This is one of the sources of unwritten customary rules/laws in the Torajan community that needs attention since violating such rules will have a severe impact on the violators as having happened before.

Datum (g):

Indeq-ri kadan-na todolo-ta disedan sarong, ditokeq tambane baka.

This is really the words of **our** ancestors hung like sarong/big hut on the wall, hung by the straps of basket frame'.

Pronoun suffix **-ta** 'our' as a possessive pronoun in *todolo-ta* 'our ancestors' inclusively indexes the speaker/tominaa, the grieving family members, and the audience/mourners as the owners of *todolo* 'ancestors'. Suffix **-na** in *kadan-na* 'their' which is also a possessive pronoun indexes *todolo* 'ancestors' whose *kada* 'messages' were hung on the wall with the straps of basket frame. *Kadan-na disedan sarong, ditokeq tambane baka* literally means their/ancestors' words to be hung like a sarong on a wall, hung with the straps of basket frame'. In Torajan cultural context, this utterance actually metaphorically indexes messages from the Torajan's ancestors that they should always descend from generation to generation like a big hut used by women to a funeral ceremony that is always hung on the wall of the house after being used. Moreover, they should always tightly and well keep the ancestors' messages in their life like to keep something tightly in a big basket used by women to put foods and other materials needed when attending the funeral ceremony and others. *Sarong* 'big hut' indexes a protection and *baka* 'big basket as a container' indexes someone. Therefore, both things index Torajan people should always protect, bring, and keep the ancestors' messages in the people's heart in the whole aspects of their life. Co-textually, the big hut being held and sometimes waved here and there by the tominaa while delivering the messages in Mebala Kollong ritual speech indexes that the messages being delivered is expected to be well listened, understood, kept, and implemented well by the whole mourners/audiences in their life.

In relation to the above suffix **-na**, the one in (i) *pasakke-na Puang* 'God's blessing' indexing *Puang* 'God' whose *pasakke* 'blessing' was given to the people. This indicates that the whole things happening in that event is because of the blessing and protection of *Puang* 'God'. Thus, this utterance actually indexes a gratefulness to God. The other suffix **-na** is used in data (o) as in *puduk-na* 'their mouth' indexing 'customary holders' whose mouth was connected to the mourners', meaning tominaa as an intermediary presents the customary messages from the customary holders to both the family members and the mourners.

Meanwhile, in datum (h), prefix deixis *na-* 'she' in *Na-mammaq mentaqdu sauq* 'She is sleeping with head directed to the south' indexes the dead person who is lying with head directing to the south. In Torajan cultural context, someone who is dead but still waiting for the procession of his/her burial ceremony is called a 'sleeping person' with the head directed to the south.

Datum (q):

An-na songloq dao mai, She comes down from above
na-lao sambaliq mai 'she comes from across'

Deixis **na-** in the two lines in the form of parallelism index the dead person when the singers in the chant of Badong are chanting her birth as someone coming from above *songloq dao mai* and coming from across *lao sambaliq mai*. The use of **a-** in **an-** assimilated with dental consonant **n** in **-na** is different from the one in datum (a) as the one here is not a conjunction but the one used here at the beginning of the utterance indexes an emphasis on the message delivered, i. e. the existence/presence/birth of the noble women in the society. Thus, her birth in the world is considered as someone who comes from an unknown far place. These two lines in the form of parallelism has a poetic function focusing on shape and sound of the message delivered (Jakobson 1960 in Duranti 1997), i.e. to give emphasis to the birth of that person.

In datum (j) *Dadimo-komi salian dibatang* 'You were born from the womb' and datum (k) *Ussitimbangngi sanga la mi-pobiaq* 'To consider each other the name that you will make a torch/light', 15 SIMON SITOTO, NAOMI ATIUNG

pronoun deixis of both *-komi* and *mi-* as subject individually index the person in the process of giving and changing her names starting from the name given when she was born, adult, a father, a grandfather until the name given during the process of her funeral ceremony as in (k) as her eternal name. Such a name reflects what he has done during life as a role model in the society and what the people expect from her descendants later on in their life as what she has done.

It is different with the pronoun deixis *komi* 'you' in (l) in the utterance *Silele komi mekaioooo* 'All you say/answer yeeees'. In this context, deixis *komi* is independent which is collectively used by tominaa in the closing section to index all audiences both the family members and the mourners. In the last speech, tominaa asked that question to all audiences whether the new name of the dead person is clear to them. The answer is *Ioooo* 'Yeeees'. Tominaa asked them once again to confirm their answer by asking *Tolepüüü* 'once again' and the audience spontaneously responded *Ioooo... Yeeees....* The questions asked by tominaa with a long intonation indexes a strong request to confirm the new name given, and the audiences' response given also with a long intonation *Iyoooo* 'Yesssss' indexes their strong agreement with the new name given. This form of intonation is part of the co-text (Sibarani 2015), i.e. prosody which is also a part of contextualization cues (Gumperz 1992 in Duranti 1997) relating the language (text) and what is really happening (context), i.e. to give an emphasis on the message given. Moreover, it is also called metapragmatic discourse (Goffman (1981 in Duranti 1997) as a way to index a person's position (footing) at a time, place, with different spirits such as proximity/emotions versus distance between one person and another person. Such a metapragmatic discourse indexes tominaa's position as an animator and author in building communication between himself and both the grieving family and mourners as a way to get closer emotionally to them. The large number of families and relatives present indexes several values such as togetherness and involveness, mutual respect (*sianggaq*), mutual love (*sikamasean*), mutual support (*siangkaran*), and kinship among the whole family members and the relatives and mourners attending the funeral ceremony. This all indexes a close social relationship (proximity).

Datum (m):

Angku toppoq dao lakkean suraq, 'I am standing on the high carved hut'.
laussambungan puduk-na pangpalumbangan sangkaq 'will connect the mouth of traditional holders/will deliver the message from traditional holders.'

Pronoun deixis *Angku* derived from deixis *Aku* 'I' as a subject indexes the existence of tominaa as a representation/intermediary of customary stakeholders, i.e. the people who have a high position in the society as indexed in the noun phrase *pangpalumbangan sangkaq* 'traditional stakeholders'. The use of pronoun deixis *ang-ku* 'I' is a form of assimilation between velar consonant *-ng* in *Ang-* and *k* in *-ku*, similar to the assimilation between dental consonants *An-* and *-na* in *an-na* in data (a). This form of assimilation indexes an emphasis on the existence of tominaa as a person who has a very important role in the ceremony, i.e. an intermediary to deliver a very important message from traditional holders to all grieving family members and all mourners about the whole rules and sanctions implied in Mebala Kollong ritual speech. In this context, the speaker does not use the pronoun deixis *aku* or *ku-* 'I' since it does not index an emphasis.

In conjunction with this kind of pronoun deixis, Fitzgerald and La Fontaine (1993 and 1985 in Foley, 1997) claimed that a speaker with deixis 'I' who is performing a social interaction has two different identities, namely as 'self' and 'person'. This is then supported by Foley (1997) that 'self' concerns with a

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general human awareness of individual manifestation, while 'person' is a social concept formed from the role of a person's rights and obligations, so this varies from one culture to another.

This is also supported by Harre and Muhlhausler (1990, in Foley, 1997) who distinguish between these two different identities in which 'self' is defined as 'numerical identity' or identity based on numbers, while 'person' is 'qualitative identity'. This difference is supported by Foley (1997) claiming that this hypothesis has a consequence, i.e. 'double indexicality' of the pronoun "I". Such a pronoun indexes both the location, where the speaker in one utterance presents himself as someone who is bound with time and place (self) and a certain series of social responsibilities he is playing (person).

From the opinions above, it can be concluded that the presence of a person at a certain location and period as a 'self' is an embodiment based on the number of individuals or 'self' who are present, while his existence as an individual or a 'person' at a certain time and place is based on what qualities, traits, character, rights, obligations, roles and social responsibilities he plays.

Thus, pronoun deixis *angku* 'I' in the datum (m), performed by tominaa as an animator, sounding box, and author simultaneously (Goffman 1981 in Duranti, 1997) indexes a double indexicality, i. e:

- a. Tominaa indexes himself as a 'self', i.e. his position on a high place namely *lakkean suraq* 'carved deck/high carved hut' when addressing all the mourners while standing there. The combination of the verb *toppo* with the place deixis *dao* results in a hyperbole style of '*toppo*' 'standing/being above' and *dao* 'above'. Thus, such a combination contextualizes a high place and at the same time indexes the existence of 'self' or tominaa's existence of his identity called numerical identity of one's self (Harre and Muhlhausle, 1990 in Foley 1997).
- b. Tominaa indexes himself as a 'person', i.e. someone who has a role as an intermediary between the traditional stakeholders and the grieving family. He has a duty and obligation to perform a social responsibility to lead and control the entire series of traditional ceremonies in delivering Mebala Kollong ritual speech as seen in the expression *laussambungan puduk-na pangpalumbangan sangkaq* 'to connect the mouths of the traditional holders/to deliver the message from traditional holders'. Such the above existence and role are supported by Goffman's footing theory (1981 in Duranti 1997) which emphasizes the importance of the position played by a person in uttering a language expression.

Contextually, pronoun deixis *angku* 'I' in the above datum (m) functioning as a double indexicality actually indexes a social identity, i.e. the social status of the dead person. This social identity can be seen in the noun phrase *lakkean suraq* indexing a building that resembles a *tongkonan* house, carved artistically and built as high as possible. It functions as a place to lay the corpse during the funeral procession. The social identity indexed is a high social status or *tomakaka* 'nobility'. This social status is emphasized by the utterance in datum (d) *iko balian, tedong maqbulu aluk* 'You balian, traditional hairy buffalo' when tominaa is addressing the buffalo *balian* 'castrated buffalo' as the most important buffalo sacrificed for a noble indexing husband-wife couple in Torajan culture.

From the description above, the assimilation of the prefix *an-* and deixis *-na* 'dia' (q) and prefix *ang-* with deixis *-ku* (m) at the beginning of the speech indexes the emphasis of the message delivered, while the assimilation between prefix *an-* and the deixis *-na* in the word *an-na* in datum (a) functions as a conjunction that indexes the purpose/aim of the two connected utterances. In Torajan language, vowel *a-* assimilated with various consonants following and used as a prefix at the beginning of a sentence can also

function as a question word 'why' as in *Am-mu male John?* 'Why are you going John?' Therefore, in the above two data (q and m), both types of deixis **ang-ku** in (m) and **an-na** in (q) do not function as either conjunction like datum (a) or question word 'why'. Instead, both of them have a poetic function as an emphasis on the message proposed by Jakobson (1960 in Duranti 1997), i.e. to emphasize the existence of deixis **ang-ku** as 'self in a certain respectful place called *lakkean suraq* 'high carved hut' and 'person' having a certain obligation and responsibility as an intermediary (m) and the existence/birth of **An-na** 'she' as someone coming from a far and unknown place (q).

Place Deixis

In general, place deixis is manifested in the adverb of place indicating distal such as 'there' which is far from the speaker and proximal such as 'here' which is close to the speaker, and 'there' which is close to the listener. In addition, it can also be in the form of 'this' and 'that'. Place deixis in the chant of Badong and ritual speech includes several types of deixis as in the following utterances.

In datum (n), deixis *te* 'this' in *Ladirandukmo te adaq 'this custom will be started'* indexes 'traditional ceremony' which will take place around the speaker, namely tominaa and the entire mourners, so he uses the deixis word *te* to emphasize the word *adaq* 'custom' as an event. It is supported by Lyons (1977:637 in Ahearn, 1993:297) defining that "By deixes is meant the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes, and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatio-temporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee". This idea confirms that deixis also indexes an event as in the above datum, namely a customary event involving a speaker, i.e. tominaa and a great number of addressees, i.e. the mourners.

Meanwhile, deixis **indeq** 'this' in the utterance **indeq-ri** 'really this one' (g) contextually functions as a demonstrative pronoun indexing something near the speaker, i.e. *kadan-na disedan sarong neneq todolo-ta* 'the messages of our ancestors' being delivered by the tominaa. The suffix **-ri** is an assertion that this is really an ancestral message. In the dictionary of Torajan language, the word *indeq* 'this' can contextually function as a place deixis but it should be followed by other prepositions such as *indeq dao* 'above', *indeq te* 'here' etc.

In datum (m), the place deixis **dao** 'above' indexes *lakkean suraq* 'a high curved hut' as explained in the previous deixis in relation to person deixis, and **dao** 'above' in datum (o) indexes *panito* 'threshold of a barn'. Place deixis *dao* in both data index a higher place than the speaker. In datum (o), the speaker actually uses pars prototo (some for all) because the word *panito* as a noun contextually indexes the barn as a whole, i.e. the beautiful barn since it is decorated with various beautiful carvings indexed by the word *raraq* 'beautiful beads'. Deixis *dao* indexing these two places is close to the speaker and listener.

Meanwhile, the place deixis *dao* in speech (p) indexes a place that is far from both the speaker, i.e. tominaa who is delivering the utterance, and the listeners/mourners. The intended place in this context is *tangga-na langiq* 'the middle of the sky' as a distant place. Meanwhile, in data (r), deixis *dao* 'above' and *sambaliq* 'over there' index places far from both speakers (the singers of Badong) and listeners (family members and mourners). The word *mai* literally meaning 'go over here' that accompanies the two types of deixis to become *dao mai* and *sambaliq mai* indexes a movement, i.e. a movement from an unknown far place preceded by a non-deictic verb *songloq* 'go down' and *lao* 'go' to a place using a deictic verb 'come' in

songloq dao mai and *lao sambaliq mai* i.e. a movement towards the speaker. Such a deictic verb contains what is called psychological shifting (Cruse 2000; Hurford 2007). If deixis *dao* and *sambaliq* only stand alone, they both only index positions or places.

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the use of four types of deixis *dao* index different places. By referring to the theory of Cruse (2000), deixis 'dao' in utterances (**m**, **o**) indexes a place that is visible and below the line of sight, i.e. *lakkean suraq* 'a high carved hut' (**m**) and *panito* 'threshold of a barn' (**o**). On the other hand, deixis *dao* in utterances (**r** and **s**) indexes an invisible place or above the line of sight as the place in question is *langiq* 'sky' indexed as the place of *Puang Matu* 'Lord' (**p**) and *sambaliq* 'over there' are both indexed as the origin of a noble/king (**q**).

Data (**r**) *Lan te tandung kalonaran 'In here* wide field', shows that the combination of deixis *lan* 'in' and *te* 'this' which literally means 'in this' indexes a place close to both the speaker and the listeners. Contextually, the speaker, tominaa, who represents the grieving family, is in *tandung* 'broad yard', and the demonstrative pronoun *te* 'this' functions to emphasize his presence in that place with the family of the mourners. *Tandung kalonaran* 'a very wide field' indexed by deixis *te* 'ini' is not actually a very wide place but metaphorically symbolizes a big traditional ceremony. The presence of many people in this event contains a value of togetherness and mutual support of the grieving family members, the relatives, and friends.

Social Deixis

Social deixis in this writing is related to the one proposed by Cruse (2000). By using the theory of 'tu' used to greet someone either closely/proximally or downwards and 'vous' used to greet someone either far/distally or upwards, social deixis shows a harmonious relationship between humans and other human, and between humans and their environment like animals.

In the deixis of the Badong chant (**a**), pronoun *-mu* in *dadim-mu* 'your birth' is used as 'tu' to greet the deceased as a sign of equality as the person does not come from a noble family, but he is only an ordinary person instead. On the other hand, in the utterance of Mebala Kollong, tominaa as a representation of a grieving family greets the deceased with deixis *-komi* in *dadimo-komi* 'you were born' (**j**) and *mi-* in *mi-pobiaq* 'you make a torch' (**k**), as a 'vous', an upward greeting, to show a respect and inequality as an elderly person in society. Besides, it indexes that she comes from a family with a high social status or nobility. In utterance (**l**), pronoun *komi* 'you' is a collective pronoun and not individual pronoun since it is used by tominaa to greet listeners respectfully with the 'vous' greeting. Such a pronoun is distal since many of the family members, relatives, and friends are not closely recognized, but it is used to show a sign of respect to honor their presence conveying their condolences.

In datum (**d**): *Iko balian, tedong maqbulu aluk* 'You are castrated buffalo, traditional hairy buffalo', tomina is addressing the buffalo with deixis *Iko* 'You' which individually indexes 'balian', castrated buffalo, as if he is addressing a person. This is because buffaloes, particularly a *balian* buffalo, play an important role in the implementation of Torajan ritual ceremony especially funeral ceremony. Therefore, both man and animal (buffaloes) should maintain a subject – subject relationship not merely a subject – object relationship to avoid an exploitation of man on animal. Such a "humanizing" address uses 'tu' functioning as a reward before the buffalo is sacrificed in order that the it can give a blessing to the family sacrificing it. In addition, in Aluk Todolo, the 'ancestral religion' of the Torajan people, sacrificed buffaloes

function as a vehicle to take the spirits to the world of the dead people called *puya*, so they are treated in a special way by caring for them like humans.

All other sacrificed buffaloes mentioned in Mebala Kollong ritual such as *tedong bonga* 'male spotted buffalo, *tedong todiq* 'male buffalo with a white dot on head, *tedong puduq* 'male big black buffalo' etc. are addressed one by one using deixis *iko* 'you' (second singular). Such a deixis is also widely used in the ritual speech of *Passomba Tedong*, i.e. the speech of purifying and glorifying a buffalo spoken by tominaa in the *merok* ceremony (family thanksgiving feast) before it is sacrificed (Liku-Ada' 2014). Meanwhile, deixis -*ko* as discussed previously in datum (e) in *kedeng-ko* and *na-serok-ko* which indexes anyone who causes trouble *lapalutu tombang* 'muddy the puddle/clutter the ceremony' at a funeral ceremony is also addressed with 'tu' inferiorly to indicate that such a person does not deserve to be addressed with 'vous'.

Co-textually, when the utterance in data (d) is being uttered besides the buffalo, a community leader is pointing it using a spear which indexes that the dead person is a noble and brave person. Meanwhile, in data (e) the stress (a part of prosody) given to the affixed word *serok-ko* 'you is gored' indexes the serious punishment to anyone breaking the rule as the one given to the verb phrase *lapalutu tombang* 'to make trouble in the funeral procession'.

The use of such types of social deixis above is supported by Brown and Gilman (1960 in Duranti 1997) claiming that language socially having a distinction in second-person pronouns, for example the classic T/V differentiation type in many European languages, like tu/vous in French, take advantage of the indexical characteristics of the person pronoun as a contextually relevant indicator of social relations on equality vs inequality and solidarity vs power. In relation to this idea, the data indicate that equality can be seen in deixis -*mu* 'your' in (a) when performing the chant of Badong in the form of a prayer to the dead person; lower inequality (downward) is seen in deixis *iko* 'you' (d) when addressing *balian* 'castrated buffalo' and also in deixis -*ko* (e) when addressing anyone (unknown person) who causes trouble in a funeral ceremony, and higher inequality is found in deixis -*komi* (j) and *mi-* (k) when addressing people with a higher social status.

The types of deixis found in the chant of Badong and Mebala Kollong ritual speech as described above which have been recontextualized (Sandarupa 2004) in certain contexts have different meanings based on the structure emerging from the act of communication called emergent structure that indexes the on-going context (Silverstein 2001 in Sandarupa 2004). This is supported by Sibarani (2015) who argues that meanings arise based on the context consisting of the context of situation such as the one when tominaa delivers the ritual speech of Mebala Kollong and the singers in the chant Badong while performing the Badong as the animators and authors. Meanwhile, the implementation of the ritual speech and the chant of Badong performed in the death ceremony is a part of cultural context. The social context describes the social structure consisting of noble people called *tanaq bulawan* and ordinary people called *tanaq karurung*, besides *tanaq bassi* 'brave people' and *tanaq kua-kua* 'slaves' both not mentioned in this paper. The context of ideology is related to the embodiment of values such as religious values, togetherness, flattery, brotherhood, responsibility, respect, harmonization, and rules and sanctions as the source of local wisdom that can change the mindset, behavior, and actions of the community to become dignified human beings.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Conclusion

Based on the foregoing discussion, it can be concluded that:

- a. Torajan people as the users of Torajan language residing Tana Toraja Regency and North Toraja Regency performed various oral traditions such as ritual speech events in their daily lives as seen in wedding and thanksgiving ceremonies called *Rambu Tukaq* and death/funeral ceremony called *Rambu Soloq*.
- b. Ritual speeches in the chant of Badong and Mebala Kollong performed in the funeral ceremony have a number of types of deixis whose forms and functions vary based on the context, such as independent and affixation (prefixes and suffixes) functioning either as a subject, object, and possessive deixis and refer to individual (singular), collective (plural), inclusive, and exclusive referents. The most dominant forms of deixis are affixations (prefixes and suffixes) attached to both verbs functioning as a subject or object and nouns as a possessive deixis indicating a syntactic relation that characterizes the structure of Torajan language.
- c. The utterances used in the chant of Badong and Mebala Kollong ritual speech are mostly performed using high Torajan language and they generally take the form of parallelism and have metaphorical meanings. Those utterances performed by tominaa in Mebala Kollong and a group of people in the chant of Badong as both animator and author index tominaa himself, the whole members of the grieving family, the mourners, the deceased, and even the animals/buffaloes that all function as participants (participation) as indicated in various types pronoun deixis. Indexicality as indicated by three categories of deixis refers/indexes different kinds of meanings and values.
- d. In terms of social deixis, relationship among human beings and even between human and the nature or non-humans represented by animals particularly buffaloes can be performed using honorific forms (Foley 1999) as seen in the use affixation to index either proximity, downward, distant/unknown referents, and deference. Addressing non-human like the one given to animals especially buffalo with deixis *iko* 'you' is a particular greeting addressed to animals in Torajan culture that is frequently found in different ritual speeches in both *rambu tukaq* 'thanksgiving ceremony' and *rambu soloq* 'funeral ceremony'.
- e. The use of types of deixis in the discussed data in the form of parallelism which contains metaphorical meanings as in (data a, c, and s) indexes a poetic function, i.e. the emphasis on the shape and sound of each utterance in the data. This is supported by Fox (1971, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1988) and Kuipers (1990 both in Foley 1997) that poetic function is dominantly used in the ritual speech performed in the eastern Indonesian islands like the one in Asmat tribe in Papua. Such a phenomenon both functions to give an emphasize on the message being delivered and functions as a narrative that indirectly tells the history of the clan, such as the clan of a nobleman of her birth (data s), the history of giving and changing names (data j, k. l), and her role in the society (data c).
- f. The discussion above shows that the analysis of the three types of deixis in the chant of Badong and Mebala Kollong ritual speech as well as other types of deixis does not only focus on form, function, and meaning but also on the values containing in the data in relation to the co-text and context as a whole in one utterance/datum and even in their relation to other utterances where the types of

deixis are used. The aim is to indicate the harmonious relationship between humans and their creator, between humans and the others, and between humans and their environment represented by animal/buffalo, all of which are sources of local wisdom in building the nation character.

Suggestion:

Torajan people have various cultural aspects in the form of oral traditions, both using ordinary Torajan language as used in folklore and in everyday interactions (ordinary language) and high Torajan language generally used in the ritual ceremonies of *rambu tuka* 'thanksgiving ceremony', wedding ceremony, and the one used in the *rambu soloq* 'death/funeral ceremony'. As this is an interesting topic of research, it is hoped that academicians, researchers, and others, especially those dealing with language, culture, an anthropolinguistics in particular, are interested in conducting researches in this field as an effort to preserve Torajan language and culture as the sources of local wisdom to build the character of people concerned.

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