



# Expressions Language of Saro Eating Ritual Ternate Ethnic Nurbaya<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nurbaya. STKIP Kie Raha Ternate. [nurbayaby199@gmail.com](mailto:nurbayaby199@gmail.com)

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p><b>Keywords:</b> Saro eating ritual, ternate, traditional wedding</p> <p><b>DOI:</b> <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.22437/jssh.v7i2.21293">http://dx.doi.org/10.22437/jssh.v7i2.21293</a></p> <p><b>Received:</b> October 30, 2022</p> <p><b>Reviewed:</b> December 3, 2023</p> <p><b>Accepted:</b> December 4, 2023</p>	<p><i>Food as a cultural identity of an ethnic. Cultural identity is a distinguishing feature between one society and another. The ritual of eating saru is a traditional food ritual at the traditional wedding ceremony of Ternate, North Maluku. This article examines the ritual language of eating saru in the context of a traditional Ternate wedding from a literary and ethnographic perspective. This article describes the form and style of using the ritual language of eating saru, which is encoded in certain cultural messages. The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative with ethnolinguistic approach. The results of this study reveal that the expression of the ritual language of eating saru is in the form of a welcome expression in which there are proverbs, proverbs and metaphors. In addition, material symbols were found in the ritual of eating saru. The form of language expression is generally solemn, poetic, and conveyed using figurative language.</i></p>

## 1. Introduction

Ternate ethnicity is a group of indigenous Ternate people known as Ternate indigenous peoples (Dero, 2015). These ethnic groups were initially grouped into four social groups, namely Tubo, Tobona, Tabanga and Toboleu. Ethnic identity is characterized by cultural similarities in certain historical, social and political contexts based on the same mythology (Barker, 2004:205). The Tubo and Tobona ethnic groups are a social group that inhabits the northern and southern slopes of the island of Ternate. Meanwhile, the Tabanga and Toboleu ethnic groups are residents who inhabit the northern coastal areas and the eastern coastal areas of Ternate. This group then split into a clan group called Soa (Amal, 2010). They then formed a traditional community led by a king or sultan.

Indigenous people of Ternate use the local language of Ternate in communicating. Ternate's regional language is the mother tongue of various regional languages in North Maluku. The spread of the Ternate language covers a very wide area, even its influence reaches the islands of Mindanao, the Sulu and Sabah Islands in North Kalimantan, along the coast of North-Central-Southeast Sulawesi, Banggai Island, Sula Islands, Waigeo Island, the west and north coasts of Halmahera Island and Morotai Island and its surroundings (Soelarto, 1978; 55). In the past, the people of Ternate or those from outside the island always used the Ternate regional language as a daily conversation language, even the Ternate language at that time was declared the language of instruction (*lingua franca*). This is in line with the statement of Siokona, et al (1994; 2-3) which states that the Ternate language functions as the language of

the 'state' in the territory of the sultanate of Ternate with the Moluccan confederation of Kie Raha 'Maluku four mountains'.

Ternate is a city that has a variety of cultures. This is reflected in the various customs that are still carried out by the people of Ternate. One form of customs that is still carried out from generation to generation until now is the ritual of eating saru in marriage. Marriage is one of the most important events in human life, because marriage is a very old institution that is as old as the history of mankind. A marriage also has a function and purpose as stated by Wignydipoero (1987) namely to obtain offspring and also to live together in the community in a family event.

The ritual of eating a traditional Ternate wedding saru is very interesting and unique. The ritual is carried out with the aim of being a symbolic form for the bride and groom in the household. The ritual of eating saru is served with offerings called ngogu adat 'traditional food'. Food has the characteristics of a particular society, as well as a cultural identity (Kimura, 2016). Eating saru as a cultural identity of the people of Ternate. This identity is a marker for the same or different socio-cultural background from one community to another, which makes them proud (Misztal, 2003). Thus, the food in the saru-saru ritual is the cultural identity of the Ternate people as well as a form of their pride for the existence of the food.

Eating saru or also called saru-saru is a form of ritual with dishes that are served symbolically with philosophical meanings from the indigenous people of Ternate (Hasan, 2001; 158). In line with this statement according to Chudova (2011; 128), in the context of wedding rituals, food serves as an integrating symbol that aims to unite both parties, creating a new group of relatives. The fertility and wealth of young couples are modeled with the help of culinary codes. Thus the function of food in the saru ritual is as an integrating symbol which aims to unite the bride and groom, especially the families of the bride and groom. As well as a source of wealth and fertility in fostering a household.

## **2. Research Methodology**

The research data were recorded in the Ternate Island District and West Ternate District. Data recording was done through audio and video recording of the Ternate ethnic wedding saru eating ritual. The digital data is then transcribed and translated into Indonesian. There were 10 informants involved in the interview consisting of traditional leaders, the bride and groom, and *yaya se goa* 'mothers'. Participant observation was also carried out in the data collection process with the aim of obtaining the validity of the authenticity of the data. The approach used in this research is ethnolinguistics to analyze ethnographic data. Ethnolinguistics, according to Baehaqie (2013), is the science of linguistics related to elements or cultural problems of ethnic groups and communities living in an area around the world. In line with this statement, according to Suhandano (2011), ethnolinguistics or anthropological linguistics is a branch of linguistics in which linguists can study language in relation to the culture of its speakers, culture in a broad sense. Meanwhile, according to Foley (1997), anthropological linguistics views and studies language from the point of view of language and culture to find the meaning behind its use. Staal (1968) stated that like stones and trees, ritual actions and sounds can provide meaning. In other words, ritual actors play a role through language expressions in performances that can produce cultural meaning.

### **2.1 Expression**

An expression is a group of words or a combination of words that express a special meaning (KBBI, 2002; 1247). This is in line with the opinion of Yuzar (2005; 9) which states that an expression is a special word or group of words to express something with a figurative meaning. Meanwhile, according to Kridalaksana (2001; 22), expression is the construction of a language

unit whose meaning exceeds the lexical meaning and even the grammatical meaning contained in the language. From the several definitions of the expression above, it can be concluded that an expression is a group of words that have a special meaning, namely containing a figurative meaning.

According to Yuzar (2005; 9) traditional expressions according to their type are divided into six parts:

- a. Custom words; contains the provisions that must be met by customary stakeholders which are delivered in complete sentences.
- b. proverb; expressions that contain (suggestions, essays, criticisms, and satire) delivered in one short sentence.
- c. Parable; directly likens the behavior or condition of humans to the animals-plants-nature around which are expressed in a complete sentence and preceded by the words: as-bak-as-and like.
- d. Imagery (like); an expression in the form of a parable that is equipped with a description and is expressed in a single sentence that is combined into one sentence.
- e. Metaphor; an expression consisting of a group whose contents describe the nature, behavior and condition of humans by comparing them with the nature of nature, plants or animals.
- f. Memeo; group of words or sentences that contain ridicule or encouragement.

From the explanation of the expression, it is concluded that the expression of Ternate ethnic language in the ritual of eating saru has a special meaning that is used to express certain intentions. These traditional language forms have figurative meanings that must be interpreted.

## **2.2 Language and Culture**

Language as a communication system is the most important part of culture. Such is the close relationship between language and culture, so that language becomes the most important means of understanding the culture of a community. The relationship between language and culture is a symbiotic relationship. Language is a vehicle for the expression of cultural values, beliefs, customs, and worldviews, while culture provides a mirror through which speakers understand their language. Each language has a unique system of rules (grammar) that guides speakers to speak and understand their language fluently (Mensah & Silva, 2016; 63). Meanwhile, according to Masinambuw (1985) quoted by Chaer and Agustina (2004; 165) states that language (language) and culture are two systems inherent in humans. Culture is a system that regulates human interaction in society, while language is a system that functions as a means of ongoing interaction. This close relationship can be interpreted that culture is a system that regulates human interaction, while language is a system that functions as a means of sustaining that interaction.

This is in line with Silzer's (1990) statement that the relationship between language and culture is like conjoined twins, two closely related phenomena, such as the relationship between one side of the other on a coin. One side is the linguistic system and the other side is the cultural system. This opinion states that language and culture are two different phenomena, but their relationship is very close, so it can be said that they cannot be separated. In this case, culture can be interpreted as something that is produced from thoughts or thoughts. From the explanations of several previous experts, it was concluded that the relationship between language and culture cannot be separated. For the people of Ternate, the Ternate language is their cultural heritage. Cultural materials, values, philosophies, oral and written literature of the Ternate people can only be expressed in the Ternate language.

## **3. Results and Discussion**

### 3.1 Form of Language Use

This study identifies the use of language expressions as an important component in the ritual of eating saru ethnic Ternate. Based on research data in the field, researchers can identify several language expressions in the ritual of eating saru. The next step, researchers carry out an ethnolinguistic interpretation, revealing the meanings formed in the context of the saru eating ritual which involves a Ternate traditional wedding as a communication event.

### 3.2 Use of proverb

Based on the findings of the study, it was found the use of proverbs in the ritual of eating saru traditional weddings in Ternate. Mensah (2013) states that proverbs are rooted in the cultural traditions of the people and reflect their way of life. The proverb is used from generation to generation which is passed down from the previous generation or the previous generation. In general, maxims function as social control mechanisms because they are used to protect the institution of marriage, sanction ethically upright behavior, and encourage the cultivation of social values and virtues such as patience, prudence, tolerance, hard work (Mensah 2013). This study identifies several proverbs and parables as well as ethnolinguistic interpretations. Some research data are used to maintain harmonization in the lives of the people of Ternate, especially for the lives of the bride and groom:

1. a) *Ogo moju fo matadu*  
'Silence' 'again' 'take shelter'  
While we are silent, we take shelter
- b) *Kore fo matai side*  
'Wind' 'each' 'sail'  
The wind is coming, prepare the sails
- c) *Kore na hara kati ua*  
'Wind' 'disturbing' 'no'  
The wind doesn't bother
- d) *Hoa si no tabalai*  
'Blowing' 'so that' 'split'  
The breath is scattered

This expression means that in a husband and wife relationship and in one family and in social life in quiet times we always remain silent, when a problem or trial comes in life, then look for a joint solution to solve the problem. Proverb 1 a) implies that as long as we are silent in the face of something then we will be protected. Silence does not mean cowardice, in this case silence has a positive meaning and has a good impact on everything. Proverb 1 b) reveals that a strong wind comes immediately prepare the sails. Humans will never know what will happen in the future. This expression implies to always be vigilant in all things. Proverbs 1 b) and 1 c) imply that problems that come will be resolved with positive thoughts. The proverb is a life advice that is taught to always strive and always remember God as the creator, don't give up easily when trials come.

2. a) *Kore in fati an*  
'Wind' 'east' 'block' 'west'  
The east wind against the west wind
- b) *Ni lego afa*  
'Rejoice' 'don't'  
Don't rejoice
- c) *Ni simore afa*  
'Happy' 'don't'  
Don't rejoice

- d) *Maruku la fo tiba*  
'Submit' 'so that' 'we' arrive'  
Bow down to arrive

The expression of language 2 a) implies to the public to stay alert to natural disasters, the east wind blocking the west wind also means the problems of life that will be faced. Furthermore, the language expressions 2 b) and 2 c) imply not to rejoice and not to rejoice. But still be aware of all kinds of natural disasters and other problems. Phrases 2 d) describe to remain calm and patient with it.

3. a) *Dufutu ogo mudiri kore*  
'Tomorrow' 'silence' 'the day after tomorrow' 'wind'  
Tomorrow is silent the day after tomorrow
- b) *Dingo maugasa korea*  
'Delivery' 'carrying' 'wind'  
Posts bring the wind
- c) *Nyofu kore waro-war*  
'Unless' 'wind' 'knowing'  
Except the wind knows

- d) *Maha-maha Kore afa*  
'Later' 'wind' 'don't'  
Don't wait for the wind

- e) *Kore waro demo ua*  
'Wind' 'know' 'word' 'no'  
The wind knows no words

This expression means that the problems given by God to mankind come unexpectedly both from the East and from the West, so let us as humans have to submit and think not to rejoice because today our situation is fine but tomorrow nothing will happen. know if we are still as good as today or maybe we will have an accident or some other trial. Problems given by God are like warnings to mankind to always remember, indeed the problem itself cannot speak or say but through that problem we must realize it. This phrase is an advice to stay calm and alert.

### 3.3 Use of Imagery

1. a) *Saro biraro manyoka gudu afa*  
'Canda' 'sayur biraru' 'married' 'far' 'don't'  
Don't get married too far
- b) *Ni ngofa dofu-dofu*  
'Having' 'children' 'many'  
Get lots of kids
- c) *Saro biraro manyoka gudu afa*  
'Canda' 'sayur biraru' 'married' 'far' 'don't'  
Don't get married too far
- d) *Ni ngofa ma dofu doka bairere ma ngofa*  
'have' 'children' 'have' 'many' 'like' 'spiders' 'have' 'children'  
His children are a lot like spiders

The expression 1a) implies for the people of Ternate who have hopes and desires for their children, both male and female, not to marry a distant person, which means a foreigner but marry a close relative. The expressions 1 b) and 1 c) are meaningful as expressions of hope and desire for the bride and groom after marriage is to have many offspring, which is likened

to blue seeds 'a type of plant that has many seeds'. The bride and groom are likened to a spider that makes its nest to be occupied with its children. The bride and groom will build a household and live happily with their children.

2. a) *I si tede-tede se I saha-saha*

'Have' 'tede' 'lift' and 'have' 'saha' 'palm'

*tede-tede* 'lift-lift' *saha-saha* brought something -  
with palms'

Lifting and carrying things with the palm of the hand

b) *Doka manuru marau parada*

'Like' 'jasmine flower' 'leaves' clean or holy'.

Like a pure white jasmine flower'

Language idiom 2 a) implies that both hands are used to pray to God for protection and health. In addition, both hands are used to earn a lawful living to support the family. On the other hand, these two expressions mean that the bride and groom are always praised and praised by many people, including family, relatives and friends of the country and country, such as the white jasmine flower which symbolizes the holiness of the bride and groom. Expression 2 b) pray and work hard with a clean and sincere heart like the color of white jasmine flowers. The fragrance of flowers is like the kindness that a person instills when working hard and sincerely in social and household life.

3. a) *Saya ngambe mabou pagoro Gam enanee*

'Flower' 'flower jasmine' 'smell' 'notice' 'village' 'this'

The smell of jasmine flowers spreads in this village

Expression 3 a) implies that a marriage will be spread throughout the village. I am like a jasmine flower that emits a fragrant smell throughout the room to the entire village or village. Flowers are like a wedding event, the smell of flowers is likened to the delivery of news by word of mouth until it spreads throughout the village so that people can know that there will be a wedding in the near future.

4. a) *Saya jangi saya dopolo*

'Flower' 'beautiful' 'flower' 'head'

Beautiful flower head flower

b) *Mabunga sigololi ino*

'Flowers' 'around' 'here'

The flower grows like a circle

c) *Dopolo malaha koa*

'Head' 'goodness' 'what'

What good do leaders have?

d) *Si ni lego ma kawasa*

'So that' 'he' 'joy' 'power'

We're having fun like this

Language expressions 4 a) and b) imply the meaning that a beautiful flower as a head decoration is like a round crown around the head. The expressions in data 4 c) and d) imply the goodness of a leader who makes him have power and is respected by his community. In the case of marriage, a man is expected to have good manners and language to be appreciated by his wife and relatives. A husband as a leader in the household is expected to have a good attitude, hard work, discipline and a helping spirit. Kindness is the basis for proposing to a woman who will be used as a wife and kindness is used as a foundation in marriage

5. a) *Fo pili namo bisa-bisa*  
'Choose' 'bird' 'venomous'  
Choosing a venomous bird
- b) *Rimoi luri romdidi siba*  
'One' 'striped bird' 'two' 'green parrot'  
One luri, two green parrots
- c) *Kaka tua ma tango kokotu*  
'Stuttering bird' 'green' 'cache' 'black'  
Old sis with black cache
- d) *Fo ma rugi ma kawasa*  
'We' 'loss' 'power'  
We feel lost
- e) *Sababu jangi nyinga masuka*  
'Cause' 'beautiful' 'heart' 'love'  
Because the heart is happy

Language expression 5 a) means that a man and woman who want to get married must be good at choosing a good wife or husband, not to find people who are not good and of course have noble character. A man must have money saved to propose to a woman so that the marriage ceremony is accomplished. Wrong in choosing will result in not good in the household means feeling aggrieved. The choice of the right bride and groom has an impact on a happily ever after marriage. This expression implies that choosing a prospective husband or prospective wife requires several considerations, including those related to morals and goodness.

### 3.4 Material Symbolism in the Ritual of Eating Saro

An interesting communication event in the ritual of eating saru is the existence of verbal and non-verbal communication during the ritual. The analysis of the components of verbal communication has been analyzed previously, then the nonverbal components will be analyzed in the context of Ternate traditional marriages. When communicating, a person will bring meaning through what he creates in his thoughts, feelings and actions to others. The meaning given to symbols is a product of social interaction and describes an agreement to apply certain meanings to certain symbols. Meaning exists when people have the same interpretation of the symbols they exchange. The existence of symbols that construct meaning in the ritual of eating saru as a form of symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1986). The symbolic action is carried out by the traditional Ternate community in the ritual of eating the traditional Ternate wedding saru.

Based on the findings in the field, saru food in the context of Ternate marriage as a symbol of community identity that symbolizes fertility and prosperity. The use of this symbol as an expression of hope and prayer for the bride and groom in building their household. Hopes and prayers for the bride and groom to have a good attitude are reflected in the use of this symbol.

The buffalo symbol called the kobo ketupat, in the form of this diamond, is presented as many as four pieces in a plate decorated with flags. Buffalo is one of the animals that has a strong energy and has a diligent and loyal nature.



Source: Nurbaya 2022

The ketupat symbol in the form of a buffalo is likened to a man whose status as a husband is expected to have strong energy like a buffalo. Strong energy is used to earn a living to support his family. Diligent nature is expected from the bride and groom to have a diligent nature, in the sense of being diligent in cleaning the house, diligently taking care of husband and children in the future, diligently visiting relatives and diligent in various other things. Then the loyal nature is likened to a husband and wife who must have a loyal nature so that they are far from infidelity. Husbands and wives are expected to be able to apply these three attitudes in fostering a household in order to create a sakinah, mawaddah and warahman family.

The symbol of the pineapple fruit is called the ketupat pineapple in the form of this diamond, which is served as many as four pieces in a decorated plate. Pineapple is one type of sweet fruit, the skin is thick and has many thorns but the curves are neatly arranged.



Source: Nurbaya 2022

The meaning of the pineapple diamond symbol is that its leaves and thorny skin are neatly arranged. Pineapple fruit grows between the thorny leaves, like an empress who is on a majestic and crowned throne. Leaves full of thorns are described as in domestic life which is sometimes sweet but sometimes full of thorns. These thorns are like misunderstandings in marriage, differences of opinion in discussions and other differences. Pineapple fruit that looks attractive, sweet and tastes good is expected to be the nature of the wife who is faithful to take care of the household, resists temptation and is loyal to her husband. The four pineapple and buffalo diamonds served on one plate symbolize brotherhood among the four North Maluku sultanates consisting of the kingdoms of Ternate, Tidore, Bacan and Jailolo.

The bird symbol is called namo-namo in the form of a diamond decorated and placed in a decorated bowl.





Source: Nurbaya 2022

The symbol of a bird in married life is addressed to a husband who makes a living out of the house leaving his wife. But will return to the nest or home to meet his family. Traveling long distances to earn a living in the form of money or other goods for the welfare of his household life. Money is a basic need in the household, a husband is obliged to earn a living for his family. Food symbols such as yellow rice and eggs in the Ternate language are called *dada se boro*. Yellow rice made from rice mixed with turmeric and coconut milk. The chest is made to resemble a cone and is topped with an egg. For the people of Ternate, the symbolic chest of *se boro* symbolizes the kingdom of Ternate with an upright and authoritative power. Yellow rice symbolizes the people while the egg is the sultan. The people of Ternate support and uphold the orders of the king. In a family the chest symbolizes a wife and children while the egg symbolizes a husband, while in a marriage bond the chest or steamer symbolizes a wife while the egg is a husband. The meaning of a white egg symbolizes the holiness of the bride and groom. Eggs are a symbol of life and prosperity, and are believed to produce new life when hatched (Mensah & Silva, 2016). In line with this statement according to Wigington (2010), eggs as a symbol of fertility and perfection in life, in fact there will be a new life cycle. According to our respondents, eggs are a source of blessing and fertility for the bride. Mensah & Silva (2016) added that when the eggs hatch and bring life in their numbers, the bride will become pregnant and give birth to children for the welfare of her family. From this statement, eggs in the context of the sultanate as a symbol of the perfect king, able to provide prosperity and protect the people. Meanwhile, in the context of domestic life, eggs are symbols for the new life of the bride and groom which will bring new life. The eggs that have hatched become children, thus bringing new life that is expected from the bride and groom to have offspring of a child.

The symbol of fish and eggplant dishes as a symbol of togetherness between the bride and groom. The people of Ternate advocate a harmonious life with togetherness and mutual love. The symbols contained in the fish and eggplant symbolize the lives of men and women in the Ternate traditional community. These men and women symbolize the groom and bride who will move forward, namely marriage. Fish and eggplant which are placed together means that in marriage, it is hoped that they will always be together in joy and sorrow. Hope for the bride and groom to have an attitude of togetherness in joy and sorrow when married.

The symbol of prosperity and well-being of the people of Ternate and the bride and groom in particular is depicted in the *sirkaya* porridge and mung bean porridge. *Sirkaya* porridge is made from pandan leaf juice, chicken eggs, sugar and coconut milk. The combination of these three types of ingredients produces *sirkaya* porridge. The taste of the porridge is sweet and soft. Tenderness as a symbol of character that is expected from the bride and groom and becomes a trait and character for the bride and groom in household, family and community life. In other

words, sweet srikaya means that in navigating the household, one must love and understand each other. Eggs are also a source of fertility and perfection.



Source: Nurbaya 2022

Meanwhile, green beans are made from green beans, coconut coconut, granulated sugar and brown sugar as a symbol of prosperity in agriculture. Green beans are believed to provide fertility for women. Hope for the bride when consuming green beans in large quantities will give fertility to the reproductive system. Fertile women will soon give new life, give new offspring for their household life.



Source: Nurbaya 2022

The symbol of victory is depicted in colorful flags which are placed together with diamonds as a symbol which means the victory of the bride and groom. During the courtship period, there are obstacles that must be passed and after they are officially married, it is necessary to display a flag as a sign of victory. As a symbol of the victory of the bride and groom.

## **Conclusion**

This article identifies the form and style of the ritual language of eating saru in the context of a traditional Ternate wedding. The use of language used by ritual actors is based on knowledge related to the history and culture of Ternate. This study analyzes the language expressions of the eating saru ritual which can be identified in the form of parables and proverbs as well as advice. The expression of the ritual language of eating saru as a symbolic representation that expresses ideas, knowledge, emotions and attitudes and behaviors that lead to the Ternate cultural system. There is harmonization between humans and nature, humans with humans and humans with God as creator. As well as the prayers and hopes of the community for the bride and groom in navigating the household ark. Many prayers are tucked into every strand of prayer that is said. Prayers and hopes conveyed through verbal and non-verbal speech are togetherness, mutual love, sharing in joy and sorrow.

## **References**

- Amal, Adhan. M. 2010. *The Spice Islands: The History of North Maluku 1250-1950*. Jakarta: PT. grammar.
- Baehaqie, I. 2013. *Ethnolinguistics: Theoretical and Practical Studies*. Surakarta. Publisher Yuma Pressindo
- Barker, Chris. 2004. *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. Translation by Nurhadi. Yogyakarta: Discourse Creation.
- Blumer, H. (1986). *Symbolic interactionism: perspective and method*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.
- Chaer, A and L. Agustina. 2004. *Sociolinguistics*. Jakarta: PT. Rineka Cipta.
- Chudova, T.I. 2011. Food symbolism in The Context of Komi (Zyrians) Wedding Ritual. *Journal of Archeology Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 39/3 (2011) 128–134.
- Dero Ridwan. 2015. *Moral Teachings, Customs and Culture of the Ternate People*. Ternate: Khairun University Publishing Institute (LEPKHAIR).
- Folley, W. A. 1997. *Anthropological Linguistics: An Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell publisher.
- Hasan, H. A. 2001. *Aroma History and Culture of Ternate*. Jakarta. Between Main Libraries.
- Kimura, M. 2016. Food, national identity and nationalism: from everyday to global politics. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2016.1161813
- Kridalaksana, H. 2001. *Linguistic Dictionary*. Jakarta: Third Edition.
- Mensah, Eyo. 2013. Proverbs in Nigerian Pidgin. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 69(1): 87–115.
- Mensa, Eyo & Silva, Ekawan. 2016. The language of libation rituals among the Efik. *Journal of ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTEBOOKS* 22 (1): 59–57.
- Silzer, P. J. 1990. *Language and Culture of Siamese Twins*. Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Siokona, Ibrahim and Abdulrahman. 1994. *Ternate Language Structure*. Research Reports from the North Maluku Provincial Government, the Kie Raha Cultural Institute of North Maluku Province and the Khairun University of Ternate.
- Soelarto, B. 1978. *A Little Monograph of the Ternate Region*. Jakarta: Center for Cultural Media Development, Ministry of Education and Culture.
- Staal, Frits. 1968. The sound of religion. *Numen* 33(2): 185–224.
- Suhandano. 2011. *Anthropological Linguistics*. Gadjah Mada University Lecture Handout Yogyakarta.
- Wigington, Patti. 2010. Egg magic and folklore. <http://paganwiccan.about.com/od/ostaramagic/a/Egg-Magic-And-Folklore.htm>. Access January 2022
- Wignyodipero, S. 1987. *Introduction to the Principles of Customary Law*. Bandung. Alumni.
- Yuzar, P. 2005. *Inventory and Analysis of Traditional Expressions in Tasilmalaya Regency*. Bandung: Jarahnitra Study Center.