

Sangihe Family Vocative : An Adapting Tradition

Fierenziana Getruida Junus¹ *, Regina Florida Junus²

¹ Universitas Hasanuddin

² Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana

*Corresponding author. Email: fierenziana@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The Sangihe language is one of the regional languages of Indonesia that is almost extinct [1]. The decline in the number of speakers and public awareness to use this language in daily communication weakens the vitality of this language. Even so, the Sangihe people who live in the Sangihe Islands and those who live in other areas still maintain some Sangihe traditions, one of which is the use of vocatives in the family. This article is based on vocative research in the Sangihe family, especially those who speak in the Manganitu dialect. From the analysis, it was found that the vocative form used in data is the term kinship and endearment. These vocatives are distinguished by sex, age and level in the family tree. The tradition has been inherited from generation to generation and has undergone some changes, such as the change of rules and forms. These changes are adjustment efforts that aim to maintain the existence of this vocative tradition as one of the identities of the Sangihe people.

Keywords: *Adaptation, Sangihe, Tradition, Vocatif*

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays speakers of regional languages in Indonesia are decreasing in number. Some regional languages in Indonesia have difficulty maintaining their existence due to the decrease in speakers of these languages. Sangihe language is one of the languages that is also almost extinct [1] because the number of speakers is declining and they are over 20 years old. Even though, according to Makasangkil [1], many older generations no longer use regional languages, both in communicating among themselves and with younger generations. However, the Sangihe people, both those living in the Sangihe Islands and those overseas, still adhere to several traditions that have been existed for a long time. One of the traditions still used by the Sangihe people is that of family vocatives.

The vocative is one of the three language functions in the organon model of Bühler [2] namely 'call functions', in addition to expressive language functions and referential language functions. The vocative function of language or better known as the conative function is a language function that is intended to appeal to the attention of the interlocutor and determine their behaviour. One form of language that performs this function is the terms of address. In his book 'Terms of Address', Braun [3] states that terms of addressee have 3 forms, namely pronouns, verbs, and nouns.

In this study, the data used as terms of address in noun form. Verbe and pronoun forms are not discussed. The term used in this research is vocative which refers to

the definition by Schaden [4]. According to Schaden [4] vocatif is a nominal phrase used to identify or describe the interlocutor or to whom the speech is addressed. So it can be said that a vocative is a form of address term which is not a pronoun or a verb but as a noun.

Research on the vocative topic has not been done much, because the term vocative is still not widely used. The research that is most frequently conducted in the research of address term which is mostly conducted in the Batak Toba language, as done by Pengasih et al. [5] who examined the use of Batak Toba address terms at PT Pamor Ganda in Bengkulu Utara. In the study, it is found 4 variables of address terms, namely the kinship variable; non-kinship relationship; based on situation and place variables; and the age variable. Meanwhile, research on vocative topics has been carried out previously by researchers [6] with the topic "French Vocative in Facebook Communication". In this study, 9 vocative categories were found, namely, kinship terms, endearment, social terms, first names, changes in first names, honorific, nicknames, and FB account. The last category is a typical category that only exists in FB conversations. Another study was also conducted by Hirayanti et al [7] with the topic Vocative en Bandes Dessinées «Les aventures de Tintin». Through this research, it was found that 6 vocatives were used in the comic Tintin's Adventure, namely, endearment, based on personal names, physical characters, ethnic names, profession or occupation, and a combination of physical and psychological characters. The research that is very relevant to this research is the research conducted by Patimbano et al [8] with the title "Kinship Terms in

Sangihe Language (Anthropological Linguistic Study)". This study discusses the term kinship and the meaning of these terms in the life of the Sangihe people. There are several terms of the same kinship, which are also discussed in this study. The difference is that in this study the term is seen as a vocative function.

Sangihe language is the language used by people living in the Sangihe Islands. The Sangihe Islands are located in the north of North Sulawesi. This language is used in various dialects. According to Bawole et al. [9] Sangihe language is divided into 8 dialects, namely Tabuhan, Tahuna, Kendahe, Kolongan, Manganitu, Tamako, Siau and Tagulandang. This study aims to identify and classify vocatives used in the Sangihe community with the Manganitu dialect. Those who live in the Sangihe Islands and other areas in Indonesia.

2. METHODOLOGY

The research method used is the descriptive qualitative method, by presenting and describing the analyzed data. Data collection for this study was carried out by conducting observations and interviews. Observations were made by participating in the Sangihe language communication carried out in the Sangihe family. The data is based on observations of 22 families who live in Manganitu, Tahuna, Makassar, Kendari, Jakarta, Surabaya and Manado. Meanwhile, interviews were conducted with several resource persons to find out more about the vocative of the Sangihe Language. In this study, all data collected were identified, classified, and interpreted based on research questions with the appropriate theory. Data identification is done by applying the vocative definition described by Schaden [4] while for data classification and interpretation, several theories developed by Zwicky [10] Chaika [11], and Braun [3] are used.

3. ANALYSIS

3.1 Sangihe Family Vocatives: A Tradition

The Sangihe tradition in vocatif is based on the level in lineage, gender, and age. According to lineage and gender, on the top is vocatif *opa* "grandfather" and *oma* "grandmother". The vocative *opa* is used for males and *oma* for females. For the next lineage, the vocative *papa* "father" is used for male and *mama* "mother" for females. For the lower lineage, *opo* or *ungke* used either for son or grandson, *wawu* or *momo* for daughter or granddaughter

According to age, the vocatives used in Sangihe family, as follows :

1. Vocative *akang* is used for the eldest children, both male or female.

2. Vocative *ara* used for children who are in second place or the middle after *akang*, for both male or female
3. Vocative *ari* used for the third child in the family, after *ara*, both male and female.
4. Vocative *hembo is* used for the youngest child in the family, both male or female.
5. Vocative *mbau is* used for an only child in a family, both male or female. The word *mbau* is the result of the apheresis process or the truncation of first element of the word *sembau* 'one'.

The vocative above is used to be polite and respectful. Sangihe people avoid mentioning names because for them mentioning someone's name in a conversation is a form of impoliteness. For that reason in their conversation, they avoid mentioning the name of the interlocutor as much as possible. Sometimes in conversation, they use the word *anu* 'something' as a term to avoid mentioning their interlocutors' names.

This study discusses vocatives used in the Sangihe family, therefore the majority of vocatives used are kinship term, and the rest are endearment terms.

3.1.1 Kinship term

This vocative is used for people who have blood relations with locutors (kinship) or relationships formed by marriage [3]. There are 2 types of vocative data found in this study, namely (1) vertical relationships and; (2) horizontal relationships.

Vertical kinship relationships are relationships based on levels in the lineage from top to bottom, or vice versa. For example father to child or child to father, and so on. Meanwhile, horizontal kinship relation is a kinship relationship at the same level in the family tree, namely the relationship between siblings.

The vocatives used for vertical relationships in Sangihe are as follows

Table 1. Sangihe vocative

opa	'grandfather'
oma	'grandmother'
opa akang/ara/ari/hembo/ade	'grandfather/ grandmother's brother'
oma akang/ara/ari/hembo/ade	'grandfather/ grandmother's sister'
papa	'father'
mama	'mother'
papa akang/ara/ari/hembo	'uncle'
mama akang/ara/ari/hembo	'aunt'
opo/ungke	'son'
wawuk/momo	'daughter'

From the table above, it can be seen that there are various vocatives for grandparents, uncles, aunts, sons, and daughters. It can also be seen that the vocative *opa* or *oma*, *papa* or *mama* is followed by additional vocatives such as *akang*, *ara*, *ari*, and *hembo*. These four additional vocatives indicate the interlocutor's relationship with the father or mother of the locutor. As previously explained, this vocative is based on birth order and gender. For example, the vocative *papa akang*, refers to the eldest brother of the father or mother. Likewise, *mama akang*, addressed to the eldest sister of the father or mother.

An interesting case is that if there is a marriage between people with different birth orders, for example, a third boy in a family is married to a second daughter in another family, then their nephew or niece must use vocative based on the order of birth in each family. Therefore the vocative used by the uncle's nephew is *papa ari* and *mama ari* to the uncle and aunt. Meanwhile, the nephew of the aunt uses the vocative *mama ara* and *papa ara*. Thus the vocative use can also show the blood relationship a locutor has with his interlocutor, whether he is a nephew who has blood relations with the uncle or the aunt.

For vocatives with a vertical relationship from parents to children or grandchildren, the vocative *opo* or *ungke* and *wawu* or *momo* are used. The vocative *Ungke* or *Opo* is used for the sons in the family, either as children or as grandchildren. *Opo* and *Ungke* vocative, can be used interchangeably. Like the vocative *Opo* and *Ungke*, the vocative *Wawu* and *Momo* can also be used interchangeably. However, the vocative *Opo* and *Wawu* are used in polite conversations, gentle, and respectful to the interlocutor. Vocative *Ungke* is also applied to Sangihe men of all ages, which are used with love or respect [12]), as well as vocative *Momo* to the women. The use of vocative *Opo*, *Wawu*, *Ungke*, and *Momo* is also attached to children in the Sangihe family and becomes their nickname. This vocative has even become their identity as Sangihe people.

For horizontal relationships, the use of vocative *Akang*, *Ara*, *Ari*, and *Hembo* is not as a determinant as in vertical relationships but as a substantial vocative. This vocative is used by a lokutor to his/her brother or sister. As previously stated, the vocative application is based on birth order and gender. In addition to the vocative used for siblings, other vocatives are used for cousins or brothers/sisters-in-law. The use of vocatives is also based on birth order and gender, namely *Bu* [buʔ] 'older brother' and *Zus* 'older sister'. The vocative *zus* [zəs] 'sister' is an adapted form of Dutch. The vocatives for the younger brother or younger sister are not found in the data.

For horizontal relationships, the use of vocative *Akang*, *Ara*, *Ari*, and *Hembo* is not a determiner as in a vertical relationship but as a head. This vocative is used by a lokutor for his brother or sister. As mentioned

earlier, vocative applications are based on birth order and gender. Apart from the vocative that is used for siblings, there are also vocatives that are used for cousins or brother-in-law. These vocatives are also based on birth order and gender, namely *Bu* [buʔ] 'older brother' and *Zus* [zəs] 'older sister'. The vocative *zus* is a borrowed form of the Dutch language. Vocative for younger brother or sister was not found in the data.

3.1.2. Endearment term

Endearment is a vocative used by a locutor to show affection for the interlocutor. Vocative with this function in Sangihe society is manifested in several vocatives, such as *opo* and *wawu* which are generally used for sons and daughters. These vocatives are also used for grandparents, instead of *opa* or *oma*, to express the affection of the grandchildren to their grandparents. These vocatives are reciprocal because grandchildren and grandparents can call each other using these vocatives, as in the following conversation

bou kumaeng, opo? [boʔu kumaəŋ, opoʔ]
'Have you eaten, grandpa/grandson?'

kere apa habarə, momo? [kere apa habarə momoʔ]
'How are you, grandma/granddaughter?'

Other vocatifs that express affection are *ninaung* 'mother' and *amang* 'father'. The vocatives *ninaung* and *amang* are commonly used to greet "mother" and "father" in conversations within the family. However, this vocative is also addressed to daughter or granddaughter, son or grandson to express the affection of parent or grandparent. For this purpose, they often add a possessive form for the first person singular 'ku' to the vocative such as *ninaungku* or *amangku*

Damahiko ninaungku [damahiko ninauŋku]
'come here, my baby'

Pakarəmasəko amangku [pakarəmasəko amaŋku]
'be patient, my son'

3.2. Vocative in Sangihe Language: An Adapting Tradition

The use of vocatives in the Sangihe language is a tradition that is still practised by the Sangihe community, both those living in the Sangihe Islands and overseas. This tradition is practised by some people as it is, but some use it with some adaptations according to the conditions. From the analysis of the data, we found that there are two types of adaptation that have occurred. The first is in the form of changes in the rules, and the second is in the form of changes in pronunciation.

3.2.1. *The change of rules*

The rule changes that occur in Sangihe family vocatives take the form of additions and simplifications.

3.2.1.1. Addition

As explained previously, the use of vocatives following the traditions of the Sangihe community has been passed down from generation to generation. The use of vocative is intended to avoid mentioning the name of interlocutors for the sake of politeness and respect. However, recently in the Sangihe family, it was found that the vocative had changed, namely the addition of a person's name. The addition of a personal name is done to distinguish vocatives given to the person with the same vocative. For example, C is the second daughter of a family. In her family, she is called *ara* by her family. Then, C married O, they are called *mama ara* and *papa ara* by their nephews and nieces. Likewise, what happened to the second son of the same family, namely D who also get the vocative *ara*. He married F, then they would be also called *papa ara* and *mama ara*. Therefore, to distinguish their vocatives, their name is added after their vocatives, for example, *mama ara C* and *papa ara O*; or *papa ara D* and *mama ara F*, as well as for the vocatives *opa* or *oma*, *opo* or *wawu*, *ungke* or *momo*, *bu* or *zus*, and so on.

For this addition, in our data we found some vocatives such as *opa akang Budi*, *oma akang Tres*, *Papa Ari Gried*, *Mama Ari Ning*, *Opo Darrel*, *Wawu Iska*, *Ungke Alden*, *Momo Dela*, *Bu John*, *Zus Adri*, etc. Of course, this adds no longer conforms to the original intention of this vocative. However, the Sangihe community does it for a better intention, which is to keep using this vocative and maintain the tradition.

In data, we also found another addition, namely the vocative *ade* [adeʔ]. This vocative did not exist in the tradition of family vocative in Sangihe. The addition of this vocative occurred when there is a special case. For example, in a family the fifth child is a girl, then the girl should receive vocative *ade*. Especially, when the youngest in the family was a boy and he already received the vocative *hembo*. To avoid the same vocative to two different people, the girl receives vocatives *ade* instead of *Hembo*. Because *hembo* is only given to the youngest in the family. In another case, the vocative *ade* is given to the fourth daughter who should have received the vocative *hembo*. Since in the same house there was already an aunt who received the vocative *hembo*, so to distinguish them, the vocative *ade* was used for the girl.

The purpose of adding another vocative is to avoid similarities with other vocatives. From the results of data analysis, it was also found that vocatives for vertical relationships always use nominal phrases that are more complex than vocatives for horizontal relationships. Vocatives for vertical kinship relationships become more

complex because they consist of at least 2 nominals and some even consist of 3, namely 2 common nouns. and 1 personal name, for example, *papa akang Gerry* or *mama ari Anne*, while for horizontal relationships, consist of one common noun and one personal name, for example, *Akang Valy* or *Ari Wilda*. While the vocative in the form of an expression of affection is much simpler because it only consists of a noun.

3.2.1.2. Simplification of Rules

Recently, the use of the vocative in some families has changed. This is since the number of children in a family was not as many as 30 or 40 years ago, so that various adjustments were made in the application of the rules for the use of vocatives. In the observed families, adjustments were found are as follows:

(1) If in the family there are only 4 children of different sexes, then the order by age is used, not by gender. The order is *akang*, *ara*, *ari*, and *hembo*.

(2) If there are 3 children in a family, then they will use *akang*, *ara*, and *hembo*, not based on gender, only considering birth order.

(3) If there are only two children, they use *akang* and *hembo*, regardless of gender. However, some families use the vocatives *akang* and *ari*. The vocative *ara* is not used because it is only used for the middle child.

3.2.2. *The change of pronunciation*

The pronunciation changes found in the data occurred in the form of truncation, elision, substitution, and hypocoristic.

3.2.2.1 Truncation

The truncation that occurs is the beheading of the initial or final element in the vocative, namely *mama* or *papa* to *ma* or *pa*, for example, *ma kang*, *pa ara*, and so on. Another vocative that undergoes truncation is the vocative *ninaung*. The vocative undergoes a syncope or a truncation on the element in the middle of the word namely the sound [u]. The syncope changes the vocative *ninaung* becomes *ninang*

3.2.2.2. Elision

Elision occurs by omitting the aspirated sound [h] in the vocative *hembo* [hembo] so that the vocative becomes *embo* [embo].

The substitution which occurs is the replacement of the glottal consonant [ʔ] with the consonant [ŋ] in the vocative *bu*. For some Sangihe speakers who live overseas, instead of using the vocative *bu*, they use the vocative *Bung* [buŋ] more often. According to some respondents, this was done to avoid the similarity with

the vocative 'bu' [buʔ] for *Ibu* 'mother/ma'am' in Indonesian.

3.2.2.3. Hypocoristic

Hypocoristic or 'baby talk', is an imitation of children's pronunciation. This phenomenon is due to the limited ability of children to pronounce certain sounds. Like the sound [r] at the pronunciation of *ara* which becomes *aya* or *ari* which turns into *ayi*. Likewise, the sound [k] and [ŋ] for *will* [akaŋ] changes to *atan* [atan]. Another hypocoristic is found in vocative *hembo*. The sound changes that occur are the elision of the aspirated sound *h* [h] and also the change of sound [e] to [i], so the vocative *hembo* turns into *imbo*. In some families, these hypocoristic vocatives are used not only by children but also by all the members of the family including the adults.

Another phenomenon found in the data is the diminished use of some vocatives in the Sangihe family. For example the vocative *bu* or *zus*, these two vocatives are now rarely used in the Sangihe family. They prefer to use vocatives that are often used commonly by Indonesian people, such as *kakak* [kakaʔ] 'elder brother/sister' or *adek* [adeʔ] 'younger brother/sister'. The Sangihe community still uses the vocatives *bu* and *zus*, not for their siblings but for their relatives or acquaintances who are Sangihe people.

4. CONCLUSION

The majority of the vocatives used in the Sangihe family are kinship vocatives, the rest are expressions of affection. This vocative is formed based on the level in lineage, birth order, and sex. Over time, this Vocative underwent a process of adaptation. The adaptation is carried out to maintain a tradition that has long been practised by the Sangihe community and has become a very inherent feature not only for the people living in the Sangihe islands but also for those living overseas. As stated by Williams [13] that the language that survives is the language that can adapt.

The form of adaptation that occurred to the Sangihe family vocatives, namely the changes of rules and changes of pronunciation. The changes of the rules occur in the form of additions and simplifications. The changes of pronunciation occur in the form of truncation, elision, substitution, and hypocoristic. The change of the rules which occur by adding personal names is no longer following the original intention of this vocative formation, that is to avoid mentioning one's name for the sake of politeness. From the results of the interview, it is known that the changes that occurred were caused by the Sangihe community's need for a vocative that is simpler, easier to understand and use. This fact reinforces what Coulmas [14] said that a language will adapt if it is no

longer able to meet the communication needs of its speakers.

One of the reasons why the number of vocatives usage in Sangihe families decreased is the existence of multicultural marriages. This marriage caused a compromise with other cultures, especially those that have their vocative traditions. Another reason is the ignorance of the younger generation about this family vocative rule. Therefore, this article aims to increase the spirit of reviving this tradition, and of course, bring pride to the local language in the younger generation.

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