AN ANALYSIS ADDRESS TERMS OF TOLAKI LANGUAGE

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Abstract

The research focused on address term of Tolaki language which is conducted among the people who include in family. Which, the main objectives of the research namely (1) to find out the data about the address terms of Tolaki language (2) to describe the use of every address terms of Tolakinese society in their daily social interaction. This research uses qualitative descriptive analysis by applying some techniques of collecting data namely (1) Observation and participation (2) Noting. After the data being collected, the writer analyzes them through the following steps: (1) Transcribing the data, (2) Making classification of gathered data relating to address terms, (3) Making description for last generalization objectively based on the script of data will be gotten in the field of the research. The result of this research shows that there are thirty kinds of address terms of Tolaki language gathered in this research namely pue, mbue, ina, ama, naina, ma’ama, awo, awo langgai, awo ndina, ma’ama awo, naina awo, ama awo, ina awo, ka’aka awo, hai awo, pue awo, wali baisa, Ela, hine, bea, asa, sege, bio, wuto, tina, tie, mburi, ana, ka’aka and hai.

Key Words: Tolaki, Address Term, Language

Abstrak
Penelitian ini difokuskan pada istilah sapaan dalam bahasa Tolaki yang digunakan dalam keluarga. Tujuan utama penelitian ini adalah: (1) menemukan data tentang istilah sapaan dalam bahasa Tolaki, (2) mendeskripsikan penggunaan istilah sapaan pada masyarakat Tolaki dalam interaksi sosial mereka sehari-hari. Penelitian ini menggunakan analisis deskriptif kualitatif dengan menerapkan beberapa teknik pengumpulan data, yaitu: (1) pengamatan terlibat, (2) pencatatan. Setelah data dikumpulkan,
penulis melakukan analisis dengan langkah-langkah sebagai berikut: (1) menjelaskan data, (2) membuat klasifikasi data yang berhubungan dengan istilah sapaan, (3) membuat gambaran umum akhir secara objektif berdasarkan catatan lapangan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat tiga puluh jenis istilah sapaan dalam bahasa Tolaki yaitu: pue, mbue, ina, ama, naina, ma’ama, awo, awo langgai, awo ndina, ma’ama awo, naina awo, ama awo, ina awo, ka’aka awo, hai awo, pue awo, wali baisa, Ela, hine, bea, asa, sege, bio, wuto, tina, tie, mburi, ana, ka’aka and hai.

Kata Kunci: Tolaki, Istilah Sapaan, Bahasa

Introduction

The cultural diversity found in Indonesia archipelago reflects that our beloved country is a rich one. However, the real fact shows that this country consists of several ethnics with hundreds local language extent from Sabang to Merauke. As a sub part of cultural aspect, the existence of local language is very useful because it reflects the characteristics of speech community as the part of Indonesian nation. We can not negate that language is the important aspect of people life. We can recognize and understand the way of life of group of people by learning their language.

In line with the importance of language, Brown, et.al.¹ divide two views of language functions, namely transactional view and interactional one. Based on the transactional view means suppose that language may be used to perform many communicative functions, they nonetheless make the general assumption that the most important is communication of information. Based on the interactional view the suppose that language is used to establish and maintain social interaction. In this case, language is used to negotiate role-relationship, peer-solidarity, the exchange of turns in conversation, the saving of face of both speaker and hearer.

Furthermore, the writer interesting in carrying out an investigation on the local language. The local language that will be investigated in this study is Tolaki Language. Tolaki Language is one of local language in South East Sulawesi. It is still kept and maintained

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by its speech community in daily communication and interaction each others.

The Tolaki language consists of two major dialects, they are Konawe dialect and Mekongga dialect. The Konawe dialect is use as a main tool for communication by its speech communities who live in Kendari city, South Konawe regency, and Konawe regency. While Mekongga dialect is used by its speech communities who live in Kolaka regency and North Kolaka regency south east sulawesi.

Besides as a device of communication, the Tolaki Language is used as a means to support the development of community culture, such as arts, wedding, parties, and other traditional ceremonies. According to its status, the Tolaki Language is still classified as secondary language because the number of its speech community are less than one billion but more than one hundred thousand According to the function, the Tolaki Language is a language of ethnic group (group language) that used as a device of communication intra-tribe. And according to its using the Tolaki Language as an educational language, particularly used at elementary school level and junior high school.

The researcher believes that every language has different terms used by the speakers of its speech community in giving and address to their interlocutors. The use of address terms in the speech community will be happened when someone carries out an interactional with others. This process can be happened in their family, their society, their institution or office, moreover in the educational institution. Therefore, the communicative situation and relationship between speaker and interlocutor has an important role in determining the address term should be used.

There are several reasons of doing this study. First, the writer is a native speaker of Tolaki Language. It is therefore, she has a responsibility for improving and developing her vernacular as part of Indonesia cultures. Secondly, as far as the writer’s knows that there is none researcher who has ever conducted an investigation of Tolaki Language of address terms particularly. The writer thinks that the greeting system is one of important language elements should be mastered by the learners and the users of the language since it often used in daily communication.

Finally, the writer hopes that the result of this study will be very useful for native speakers of Tolaki Language. The main
objective of the research is to describe the use of the address term in Tolaki Language.

**Review Of Related Literature**

The research of greeting belongs to sociolinguistic aspect. In this chapter, the writer provides the theory of language, function of language, sociolinguistic, term of address, factors that influence address terms, from of term, term use in family and term use out of the family.

**A. Language**

Language is a deviceses of interaction or member communications socialize that is individual as human being thinking to feel and have a mind, feeling and the desire would be exist if express, and the tool to express that desire is Language. Other side, Finochiaro in Alwasilah² having a notion that, Language is an arbiter system of vowel symbol which enable everybody in one the culture to communicate or have interaction. So the language is a symbol of speech sound system that allows people to communicate or interect as social beings.

Other linguist, Trager in Sibarani³ proposes that language can also be define as system of symbol of speech sound which arbiter use by member of society as a means of interaction that appropriate to their cultural custom, entirely. In linguistics dictionary propose that Language is symbol system which arbiter utilize by a society to cooperate, interact, and identify self.

Based on opinions which given by all linguists above, can be concluded that Language is symbol system used by human being group or society to communicate their idea, mind, and order.

**B. Address terms**

Address in Indonesia language is “sapaan”. This word comes from a base “sapa” add by suffix –an. Furthermore, Kridalaksana in

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³ Sibarani, Robert, *Hakikat Bahasa*, (Bandung: PT. Citra Aditya Bakti, 1992)
Kamal\(^4\) states that Address is morphemes words, or phrase uses to refer to someone base on the situation of conversation and relationship between the speaker and the hearer or interlocutor.

Every language have different forms of greeting terms use by its speech community in their daily communication. Tanner in Supriyanto\(^5\) states that naturally the speaker of a certain language has to decide indetermining a certain terms in language behavior.

The address term forms used by native speakers of language are affect by some factors, such as; age, genders, social status, family relationship, etc. This statement is in accordance with Coort’s opinion in Kamal who states that “Sistem tata krama mempengaruhi hubungan pembicaraan dengan pendengar dalam menentukan istilah-istilah atau sapaan yang akan digunakan dalam kekeluargaan maupun dalam masyarakat”\(^6\).

Furthermore, Kridalaksana in Muzamil explains that:

Satuan bahasa mempunyai sistem tutur sapa, yakni system yang mempertautkan seperangkat kata-kata atau ungkapan-ungkapan yang dipakai untuk menyebut dan memanggil para pelaku dalam suatu peristiwa bahasa. Tutur sapa sebagai suatu sistem untuk menyampaikan maksud mempunyai peranan penting karena sistem sapaan yang berlaku dalam bahasa-bahasa tertentu berbeda dengan sistem sapaan yang berlaku dalam bahasa lain\(^7\).

Based on the opinion above, the writer can conclude that address terms are words or a set of words which are use to greet or to call the interlocutor as the second person and someone as the third person. Someone can choose the address terms base on the ages, genders, job position, social status, family relationship, moreover the situation and topic of conversation.

The form of address is determined by several factors such as genders, social status or position, precise, norm, and family relation. The use of address form is adjusted with the conventions that exist in

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\(^6\) Kamal, *op.cit*, p. 3
\(^7\) Muzamil, *Sistim Sapaan Bahasa Melayu Sambas*, (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 1997), p. 3
that community. Every language has a set of address form and the use of it only for the certain community. Then, Aslinda and Noviantry in their study about Address Terms in Minangkabau of Agam Regency stated that there are some factors that influence the address word are (a) education, (b) gender or sex, (c) profession and (d) age.

C. Forms of Address Term

As has explained previously that every language has different forms of address terms to address someone either as interlocutor or someone who are talk about as the third person. It is in line with Kridalaksana’s opinion in Kamal that:

Sapaan adalah morfem, kata atau frase yang digunakan untuk saling merujuk dalam situasi pembicaraan dan yang berbeda-beda menurut sifat hubungan antara pembicara itu. Sedangkan bentuk sapaan adalah seperangkat kata-kata atau ungkapan yang dipakai untuk menyebut dan memanggil para pelaku disini adalah pembicara (pelaku satu), yang diajak bicara (pelaku dua), dan yang disebut dalam pembicaraan (pelaku ketiga). Bentuk sapaan itu dapat berupa kata ganti, nama diri, kata-kata deiksis atau penandaan nominal dan tanujud (ciri zero atau not). In addressing father, for example, the Tolaki Language uses “ama” and in addressing mother, for example, Tolaki language uses “ina” and addressing father is “Ama”. It may also be happened in some languages that occur in Southeast Sulawesi province particularly.

Method Of The Research

In this research, the writer use analysis descriptive qualitative design it mean. It used by consideration that writer wants to analysed to Address Term in Tolaki Language their daily communication. The data of this research had been taken from informants as native speakers of Tolaki language in the field of the research. The informants are the people who live at Lalohao Village of Wonggeduku district in Konawe regency. And In this research used field method

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9 Kamal, *op.cit*, hlm. 7
through interview and asking some question relating to the address term usually use in the family of Konawe Dialect of Tolakinese. In means that the data will only take form informants in the field of the research. Here the data had been taken daily in the form of dialogue used by family members within the scope of family.

The writer had been apply some techniques in collecting data of this research are as follows: Interview, Note, and Elicitation.

**Findings Of The Research**

In this chapter, the writer presents kinds of Address Terms in Tolakali community that usually used by every person to address each other in which all of them have relational family.

**Findings Table**

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<td>Ka’aka</td>
<td>Kakak</td>
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</tbody>
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**A. Pue, Mbue**

*Pue* which means grandmother, grandfather and grandchild. In Tolaki Language there was not difference in their mention, become known only later in the conversation between the grandfather and grandmother. As an example the following conversation.

- **Pue**
  - Tina, embee ariamu?
  - Tina, where go you
  - “Tina, where are you going?”
  - Tina: Arilako mo’oli osampo
  - from go buy shampo
  - “I’m going to buy a shampo”

- **Tina**
  - Hawo laa pinesuko akomiu, mbue?
  - Of the above piece of conversation we can see that “pue” there means grandmother of grandfather who was pronounced by the grandchild. Tina said “mbue” means the Tina the grandchild who greet grandma or grandpa called “mbue”.

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For the division “pue” (grandfather) consists of several parts, namely (a) pue langgai is grandfather, (b) pue ndina is grandmother, (c) pue mbu’u mba’a is grandfather and grandmother siblings, (d) pue mboteha is grandparents and cousins, (e) pue ndonia is grandparents young and young grandmother (younger that the grandchilden), (f) pue tuko is father and mother from the grandparents (piut and biut), (g) pue sele is father and mother of the great-grandfather, (i) pue mbinesukoako is father and mother from father and the mother of the great- (j) matembue is ancestor.

While the division’s grandson is (a) mbue tuko is “cici” (son of grandchildren), (b) mbue sele is “cece” (son of cici), (c) mbue motuo is old grandson (older age grandchildren of grandparents).

B. Ina

Tolaki language in reference to “ina” is a boy who calls her mother, but when mother calls her child it will call the child. As an example the following conversation.

Tina :Ina, humbee bukunggu?
Mother, where book-Me
“Mother, where my books?”
Ina :Hia’a okiku torike’e
No, I not know
“No, I dont know”

C. Ama (Father)

Tolaki Language in reference to “ama” is a greeting his father by his son. As an example to following conversation.

Sege :Langgu opio tolako nonton ogolu, ama?
O’clock what we-go watch ball, father?
“What time we will go to watch football playing, father?”
Father :Ninggiro langgu oruo
Moment a’clock two
“A moment at two o’clock”

D. Maama

In Tolaki language mention of “ma’ama” is a greeting to his uncle by his nephew. As an example the following conversation.

Nephew :Maama, ku’onggo mosaru motoro miu
Uncle, I will borrow motorcycle-your
“Uncle, I want to borrow your motorcycle”

Uncle : Mano iamo menggau
But not long
“Ok, but do not take a long time”

Of the above piece of conversation we can see that “maama” is a term for his uncle by his nephew. Children of siblings of cousins. But sometimes we find in society Tolaki, sometimes use the term “ma’ama” to people who are considered older than his age, although there is not family relationship.

Maama here is divided into several sections, namely (a) maama nggotukombo is uncle bladder (male siblings of the father and mother), (b) maama mboteha is uncle’s cousin (cousin of the father and mother) and (c) maama ndonia is young uncle (younger age than the nephew).

E. Naina

In Tolaki language the mention of “naina” is the term that is used to his aunt’s nephew. Sister of the father and mother or wife of the brother of the father or mother. As an example in the following conversation.

Nephew : Naina, humbe nggolako amiu?
Aunt, where go-your
“Aunt, where are you going?”

Aunt : Nggolako idaoa
will go at market
“I’m going to market”

Naina is divided into several types, namely (a) naina nggotukombo is biological aunt (sister of the father and mother), (b) naina mboteha is aunt’s cousin female cousin of the father and mother) and (c) naina ndonia is young aunt (younger age than the nephew aunt).

F. Awo

In tolaki language the mention of “awo” is half, the mean kinship of other families. “Awo” here consists of several kinds, namely (a) awo ndina, (b) awo langgai, (c) ma’ama awo, (d) naina awo, (e) ama awo, (f) ina awo, (g) pue awo.
1. Awo ndina and awo langgai

For “awo ndina” and “awo langgai” in a conversation will be known whether it is awo ndina or awo langgai if face to face. But in conversation in not called for example “awo ndina’ or “awo langgai” but only “awo”. As an example in the following conversation.

Tina : Awo, ohaowo niroongo miu?
    Awo, what upheld-your
    “Awo, what is your upheld?”

Awo : Aulaa mesuko uki’ito lamobeanggu
      why-ask you-see weight
      “why you ask, can you see it si very heavy”

“Awo” here depends if they’re talking to is female then the conversation is called “awo ndina”. Meanwhile if the man then the conversation is called ‘awo langgai’.

The word “awo ndina” and “awo langgai” was not found on term Indonesian or English language.

2. Maama awo

In Tolaki language the mention “maama awo” is stepuncle, that where the brother of a stepmother or a stepbrother of the stepfather.

3. Naina awo

In Tolaki language the mention “naina awo” is stepaunt, that where the sister of stepmother or a sister of the stepfather.

4. Ama awo

In Tolaki language the mention “ama awo” is stepfather, which occurs ties or marriage to the woman’s real father.

5. Ina awo

In Tolaki language the mention “ina awo” is stepmother, which occurs ties or marriage to the woman’s father other than the biological mother.

6. Ka’aka awo

In Tolaki language the mention “ka’aka awo” is stepbrother, which child of the marriage stepmother or stepfather before the ore
7. Hai awo

In Tolaki language the mention “hai awo” is stepsister, which child of the marriage stepmother or stepfather before the younger siblings of children, or a biological child younger than step-son.

8. Pue awo

In Tolaki language the mention “pue awo” is step grandfather or step grandmother. Which the second wife of the grandfather of grandmother’s second husband.

The mention “pue awo” which means step grandfather or step grandmother in a conversation can not be distinguished but should occur diteractly meeting.

G. Wali

In Tolaki language the mention “wali” is husband or wife. Called the “wali” when the existing bonds of marriage.

When a wife calls a husband or vice versa then the husband and wife call is heard the word “walinggu” means there is not mention distiction between “walinggu” for a husband of wife. But in everyday conversation husband and wife sometimes called “mamano” or vice versa wife called him “papano”.

“Mamano” here means to his mother’s and usually added to the first child’s name. As are the word “papano” is means her father’s. As in the word “papano” and ‘mamano” here is also commonly added to the first child’s name. As an example in following conversation.

Wife : Papano Tina, leundo ato pongga, sadia ito!
Father-herTin let we-eat, ready has!
“Tina’s father, let’s eat, It has been ready!
Aunt : Amole’esu aku pebahopo
moment, I bath
“wait a moment, I want to get bath first”

H. Baisa

In Tolaki language, the mention “baisa” is father in law, morher in law, daughter in law and son in law. Which in law her is
father and mother from a husband or wife. While the law is the
husband or wife of the child.

“Baisa” for in law was made up of “baisa langgai” and “baisa
ndina”. That in The Indonesian language is “mertua laki-laki” and
“mertua perempuan”, in English “father in law” and “mother in law”.

When the mention of “baisa” here is indistinguishable means
“baisa” meaning father in law, mother in law or son in law, daughter
in law. To distinguish them in when the conversation directly. As an
example in the following conversation.

Son in law: Humbe nggolako amiu, baisa?
where go-your, father in law
“Where are you going, father in law?”

Father in law: Nggolako ighu
will-go field
“I’m going to field rice”

Of the above piece of conversation we can see that the word
“baisa” in question is father in law.

Baisa consists of several kinds, namely (a) baisa langgai is
man-in-law, (b) baisa ndina is women-in-law, (c) baisa mbu’u mba’a
is sibling-in-law (husband of the biological child, the wife of the
child’s birth), (d) baisa mboteha is in-law cousin (uncle and aunt of
the wife, uncle and aunt of the husband); son-cousin (husband of the
niece, the wife of nephew), (g) baisa awo is stepdaughter-in-law
(stepfather and stepmother of his wife, stepfather and stepmother of
the husband); stepdaughter-law (husband and wife from the
stepdaughter of a stepchild), (h) baisa mbue is grandfather-in-law,
grandmother-in-law (wife’s grandfather and grandmother, grandfather
and grandmother of the husband).

I. Ela

In Tolaki language the mention “ela” is brother in law, which
the male siblings of the wife or husband of the female siblings. As an
example in following conversation.

Mburi :Ela, nololaha komiu hae papano iTina
Ela, you searched with her father Tina”
“Ela, his father’s Tina looking for you”

Ela :Mbako’i?
Why
“Why”
Ela here is divided into two kinds, namely (a) ela nggotukombo is law of men (male siblings of wives, husband of female siblings), (b) ela mboteha is man-in-law’s cousin (cousin of the wife, the husband of the woman’s cousin).

J. Hine

In Tolaki language the mention “hine” is sister in law. Which is the sister of the wife, or sister of the husband, or brother in law which brother of the husband, the husband of the sister who called and called by the sister of wife. As an example in following conversation.

Bio : Hine, mbelako’ano papano iTie?
     Hine, where-go father’s Tie
     “Hine, where his father’s Tie going?”

Hine : Laika hae ilaika
     In home
     “There are still home”

Hine here consists of two kinds, namely (a) hine nggotukombo is the female bladder in-law (sister of the wife), male siblings-in-law (male siblings of the husband, the husband of the sister who called and called by the sister of the wife), (b) hine mboteha is woman-in-law’s cousin (female cousin of the wife, cousin of the husband’s male), male cousin-in-law (husband of the woman’s cousin called and called by the sister of the wife).

K. Bea

In Tolaki language the mention “bea” is sister of the husband, the wife of the brother who called and called by the sister of the husband. The term “bea” has not meaning in English. As an example in following conversation.

Tina : Bea, pokowali aku lako idaoa
      Bea, accompany my go market
      “Bea, accompany me to go to market”

Bea : Ie
     Yes
     “Yes”

Bea is divided into two kinds, namely (a) bea nggotukombo is the sister of the sister of the husband, the wife of the brother of the man who accosted and called by the siblings of the husband, (b) bea
mboteha is female cousin of the husband, the wife of a cousin of the man who accosted and called by his cousin’s husband.

L. Asa

In Tolaki language the mention “asa” is husband of the sister of the wife of the wife of the brother of the husband.

The term “asa” is not found to have significance for English and Indonesian. The word “asa” can only be interpreted or understood by the public Tolaki. As an example in following conversation.

Tina :Mbee nggolako amiu asa?
       “Where go-your asa?”
Asa :Igalu
     In field rice
     “Go to the field rice”

Asa hese is divided into two kins of address, namely (a) asa nggotukombo is husband of the sister of the wife, the wife of the siblings of the husband, (b) asa mboteha is husband of female cousin of the wife, the wife of the male cousin of the husband.

M. Bio, Sege, Wuto, Mburi, Tie and Tina

In Tolaki language the mention “bio, sege and wuto’ is intended only for boys, while “mburi, tie and tina” for girls.

The word sege, bio, wuto, mburi, tie and tina has not meaning for the Indonesian and English, may be exist in the English the word “wuto”(male genitalia). But that is not what the preference because of taboo language. Even when used in ordinary people to insult, ridicule or contempt for the person.

Sege, bio, wuto, mburi, tie and tina belonging to the preference, as commonly used by parents as the child’s name as a child as a pet name. Even carried over into adulthood. As an example in following conversation.

Father :Bio, lako poalo iwoi!
       Bio, go take water
       “Son, go to taken the water!”
Son :Ie ama
    yed dad
    “Ok dad”
N. Ana

In Tolaki language the mention “ana” is child. Used by parents, father or mother to greet her son. “Ana” divided into several types, namely (a) ana langgai is boy, (b) ana ndina is girl, (c) ana iliwua is the firstborn, (d) ana iliwua langgai is firstborn male, (e) ana iliwua ndina is firstborn girl, (f) ana i’uhu is youngest child, (g) ana i’uhu iliwua is the youngest male, (h) ana i’uhu ndina is the youngest women, (i) ana’i tongo is middle child, (j) tinda iliwua is second child, and (k) tinda ana i’uhu is the second son of the youngest. In everyday conversation, the word ‘ana’ suffix can be added right –nggu to complete a conversation. As an example the following conversation.

- Ino ananggu
  This son–my
  “This my son”
- Ino ana kooruonggu
  This child to-two–my
  “This my second child”

O. Kaaka

In Tolaki language the mention “kaaka” is brother. People who are considered more mature than users of this term.

“Kaaka” is used to greet his brother’s sister. The word ka’aka we usually find in community Tolaki not only younger brother who greet his brother using the term “kaaka” but many of use have encountered in the surrounding communities who use the word “ka’aka” to greet his interlocutor who is considered more mature.

Kaaka is divided into several sections, namely (a) kaaka langgai is brother, (b) kaaka ndina is sister, (c) kaaka nggotukombo is older sibling, and (d) kaaka mboteha is older cousin.

P. Hai

In Tolaki language the mention “hai” is sister. Commonly used to greet her older sister.

Hai devided into several sections, namely (a) hai langgai is younger brother, (b) hai ndina is younger sister, (c) hai nggotukombo is younger sibling (kakak kandung), and (d) hai mboteha younger cousin.
The using of this term can be seen in the following dialogue which is conducted by older sister and her younger sister when the older sister asked her younger sister whether her younger sister saw her book or not.

**Older**: Hai, ki’oki ukii’ikona bukunggu?

**Younger**: not you-look book-my

“Younger sister, do you see my book?”

**Younger**: Inggiro laa iwawo meda

That is above table

“That is on the table”

**Conclusion and Suggestion**

Based on the data above, the language greeting Tolaki we can conclude as follows:

1. To distinguish the word “Pue” meaning father in law, mother in law or son in law, daughter in law conversation or dialogue must occur directly.
2. The word “awolanggai” can not be distinguished in Indonesia and in English.
3. The word “awondina” likewise do not exist in Indonesia and in English.
4. The word “bea” in Tolaki language which means sister in law calling women are not in Indonesia and in English.
5. The word “asa” in Tolaki language which meanings common-law husband called a “lago” are not in Indonesian and in English.
6. The word “sege, bio and wuto” means the boys small, but the parents of the children where they have been unable to change his name again to that the name was attached to the termite’s sel into adulthood. The word “sege, bio and wuto” are not in Indonesian and in English.
7. The word “mburi, tie and tina” means girls as a child, but parents of children now could not longer change its name so the name was attached to the child until adulthood. Word “mbuti, tie and tina” are not in Indonesian and in English.

From the above explanation can be suggested to other researchers would be able to continue to search for words that exist in the language greeting Tolaki to enrich the language. To the user Tolaki language and observers, would be able to socialize the younger
generation so that they know the words of greeting in order to maintain their extinction.

References