

THE SEMIOTIC MEANING OF ANGKA IN THE DEATH CEREMONY OF THE TO LIMOLA SOCIETY IN NORTH LUWU REGENCY

TAUFAN JAYA ^{1*}, ERY ISWARY ², TAMMASSE ³ and ABDUL KADIR ⁴

^{1,2,3} Post Graduate Linguistic Study Program, Faculty of Cultural Science, Hasanuddin University, Indonesia.

⁴ Puangrimaggalatung University, Indonesia.

*Corresponding Author Email: jayataufan32@gmail.com

Abstract

The To Limola society in Sassa Village, Baebunta District, North Luwu Regency has a unique tradition of death ceremonies for their community. This uniqueness can be seen from the provision of special food for traditional leaders named Angka. The traditional food is given as a form of respect to the traditional leaders who have carried out a series of death ceremony activities. In this regard, this study seeks to identify the semiotic meaning of numbers in death ceremonies. This research aims to preserve the traditional identity of the To Limola society so that the younger generation knows the meanings and messages contained in these traditional foods. The research method uses qualitative methods with a semiotic approach from Hjelmslev. Data collection was carried out by interviewing traditional leaders of To Limola society. As a result, Angka as the traditional food of the To Limola society have substance in expression and content aspect. Substances of the expression include chicken eggs (*tulu manu*), rice cake (*walundaka*), local chicken (*paja*), and curved cork fish (*tekko*). In addition, the substance of the content is in the form of a social context about leadership personality and the realm of thought about openness and confidence. All of these things become one of the identify markers of the To Limola society which is different from other societies.

Keywords: Semiotic Meaning; Traditional Food; Death Ceremony; the To Limola Society; Language and Culture

INTRODUCTION

The To Limola society in Sassa Village, Baebunta District, and North Luwu Regency has a uniqueness in the tradition of death ceremonies for its community. This uniqueness can be seen from the provision of traditional food called Angka to local traditional leaders. This traditional food is a form of respect for the local traditional leaders who have carried out a series of ceremonial activities for the death of the To Limola society member. This is because local traditional leaders have a big role in a series of death ceremonies. The traditional leaders of the To Limola society in the Limola language are usually called *to musai pesa*. After all the processes of the death ceremony are completed, the traditional leaders are given traditional food called Angka by the family that organizes the death ceremony.

This traditional food named Angka is a distinctive identity of the To Limola society because this food has a meaning and message contained in it. In this case, not all traditional leaders receive traditional food in the form of Angka. There are five traditional leaders of the To Limola society who get Angka from the family that organizes the death ceremony. Starting from the customary leader (*balailo*), deputy customary leader (*tomenawa*), customary spokesperson (*wola*), mosque imam (*ima*), and hamlet head (*kapala*). Even so, the traditional food named this Angka is not only given at the time of the death ceremony tradition, but also during the tradition of birth ceremonies, weddings, and other thanksgiving ceremony traditions. Each of

these ceremonies has the uniqueness of traditional food in the form of Angka from the ingredients and the procedure for serving each part of Angka.

The unfortunate thing about the uniqueness of this traditional food from the To Limola society is that there has never been written documentation about this before. All this local knowledge has only been embedded in the minds of the people verbally. The absence of written documentation is a particular concern. This is because many of the younger generation of the To Limola society in Sassa Village, Baebunta District, North Luwu Regency have tried their luck outside cities such as Morowali Regency, Central Sulawesi Province and Kendari City, Southeast Sulawesi Province. In addition, the Limola language is the language of the To Limola society (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, 2019) has also been abandoned. This condition is known from the results of the Limola language vitality (Agus, 2019) which states that the vitality status of the Limola language is shifting. This is because the younger generation, such as children and teenager, rarely use the Limola language. Only the older generation, such as parents and grandparents, still use the Limola language in the family environment.

Apart from that, the speakers of the Limola language also have a relatively small number. This is because there are only around 100 speakers of the Limola language (Pemerintah Kabupaten Luwu Utara, 2018). This number can be categorized as endangered languages. What's more, the situation and condition of the Limola language, which is only spoken by the older generation, makes this category of endangered status deserve to be pinned on the basis of UNESCO (2003) nor Eberhard et al. (2021). In fact, the scope of the use of the Limola language is only spoken in two hamlets in Sassa Village (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2018). This making the situation and conditions of the Limola language even more apprehensive. If this situation and condition is left alone, it is not impossible that the Limola language, with all its cultural richness, could become extinct. Before this bad thing happens, there needs to be written language documentation related to Limola's language and culture

In this regard, this study seeks to identify the semiotic meaning of the To Limola traditional food called Angka in death ceremonies. The semiotic meaning is the focus of this research because this traditional food called Angka has an interesting meaning and message for the public to know, especially the younger generation of the To Limola society. This aims to preserve the traditional and cultural resources of the To Limola society so that the younger generation can know the meaning and messages contained in these traditional foods. In addition, this research also aims to add written language documentation material from the Limola language and culture so that its existence will always be there in the future. That why, this research has novelty, both in terms of data, methods, and types of traditions.

The novelty in terms of data because a traditional food named Angka has never existed before. Research related to traditional food, among other Shapira (2014), Baehaqie (2017), and Hestiyana (2020). Study Shapira (2014) tracing the lexicon in the Wuku Taun traditional ceremony in the Cikondang Traditional Village, Bandung Regency with an ethnosemantic approach. Study Baehaqie (2017) describe the name of the food in the *mitoni* or *tingkeban* offerings in Dukuh Palem, Watangrejo, Pracimantoro, Wonogiri with an ethno-semantic

approach. Study Hestiyana (2020) describes traditional food in the ritual of the maritime influence of the Dayak Halong society with an ethnolinguistic approach.

The novelty in terms of method because this research uses Hjelmslev's semiotic method. This is different from previous research which mostly uses Pierce's semiotic method, such as research Nurfani (2016), Dellatama (2019), and Subahri (2020). Study Nurfani (2016) uses Pierce's semiotic analysis to reveal the symbols and meanings of the *Balia Baliore* traditional ceremony belonging to the Kaili society in Palu City, Central Sulawesi Province. Study Dellatama (2019) using Pierce's semiotic analysis with the meaning trichotomy in the mantra of the book *Jampe-Jampe* Ki Joko Bodo. Study Subahri (2020) used Pierce's semiotic analysis with the trichotomous concept consisting of representamen, interpretant, and object to reveal messages from the tradition of eating *tabheg* in Islamic boarding schools.

The novelty in terms of the type of tradition can also be seen because this research takes the type of tradition of death ceremonies. This is different from previous research which mostly took the traditions of wedding ceremonies and other traditions. Several previous studies related to this matter are research from Arini (2013), Adilia & Said (2019), and Agustina & Syaifudin (2021). Study Arini (2013) describes the type of food, the meaning of the food, the serving utensils, to the food serving techniques at the Central Javanese traditional wedding ceremony in Sungai Jambu Village, Kayu Aro District, Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province. Study Adilia & Said (2019) explains the implementation of the *pingitan pusuo* ritual in the Butonese community. Study Agustina & Syaifudin (2021) reveals the cultural meaning in the tradition of offering pairs of *tarub* in Javanese weddings in Tembi Hamlet, Sewon District, Bantul Regency, Yogyakarta Special Region Province.

METHODS

This research method uses qualitative methods. This is because this research seeks to identify semiotic meanings in traditional food called Angka. Disclosure of phenomena, social symptoms, and meaning in an event can be done through qualitative methods (Afrizal, 2016). This study does not use quantitative methods in the analysis. This is because this research does not involve anything related to calculating numerical data or statistics. The instrument of this research is a list of food names in Angka in the death ceremonies tradition. What is meant here is that some of the food names in these Angka contain meanings and messages, so this research focuses on expressing these meaning and messages. Data collection about the meaning and message of the Angka was carried out by means of interviews and direct observation of traditional leaders (*to musai pesa*). Data analysis uses semiotic theory from Hjelmslev (Chandler, 2022).

In this case, Hjelmslev is the founder of the Copenhagen School of Semiotics, Denmark. Hjelmslev provides new ideas in understanding the framework of form and content. In the old framework of Ferdinand de Saussure, the signifier is seen as form and the signified is seen as content. This is in contrast to Hjelmslev who stated that there is no content without expression. Hjelmslev offers a framework to facilitate analysis which is divided into four categories, namely substance of expression, form of expression, substance of content, and form of content.

This Hjelmslev model was also adopted by Umberto Eco (Hoxha, 2022). This model is not limited to natural language and allows us to analyse text in any medium as long as it has potential meaning. An explanation of the four categories of analysis in this study can be seen in table 1 below.

Table 1: Four categories of Hjelmslev’s semiotic analysis

<i>Expression Substance</i>	<i>Expression Form</i>	<i>Content Substance</i>	<i>Content Form</i>
The medium or modality (e.g. spoken or written words, graphic images) and the format can be novels, films, etc.	Linguistic elements, stylistic features and techniques, design elements (e.g. certain colours, lines, shapes or sounds)	The realm of thought, the sociocultural world, the social context, the textual world, to the subject matter	Specific ideas, concepts, values, ideologies, codes, genres, narratives, semantic and thematic structures

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study has results and discussion which consists of three subsections. Some of these subsections are (1) an explanation of the To Limola death ceremony, (2) Angka: traditional food of the To Limola society, and (3) Hjelmslev’s semiotic analysis component. The three subsections are related to one another. It is also intended to be able to find out the overall context of the traditional food named Angka in the death ceremony of the To Limola society.

The explanation of the death ceremony of the To Limola society aims to provide an overview of the role of traditional leaders (*to musai pesa*) in the death ceremony. This is important because the traditional food called Angka is only given to the traditional leaders of the To Limola society after the series of death ceremonies are over. In addition, an explanation of the To Limola traditional food named Angka is also important to discuss. This is because this traditional food consists of several foods, so it is necessary to know the description of the manufacture and presentation of Angka. What’s more, different ceremonial traditions have different processes for making traditional food called Angka. Of course, everything is adjusted to the traditions of the ceremony that takes place. Some of the food described in this subsection also form the basis for further discussion. The third subsection discussed in this section is Hjelmslev’s component of semiotic analysis. The traditional food named Angka which has been explained in the previous subsection is grouped and analysed based on Hjelmslev’s semiotic theory. The grouping consists of substance of expression, form of expression, substance of content, and form of content.

Cultural Meaning of Traditional Food

To Limola Death Ceremony

In the structure of the To Limola society community, traditional leaders have a big role in every community activity. Starting from birth ceremonies, marriages, deaths, to other traditions. The great role of traditional leaders for the To Limola society community can be seen from their involvement in every community activity. In fact, community activities will not be able to run

without notification and intervention from traditional leaders. This makes the To Limola society give traditional food called Angka to traditional leaders in every community activity. Giving this number is a symbol of respect for traditional leaders who have contributed to the smooth running of the ceremony. These traditional leaders consist of (1) customary leader (*balailo*), (2) deputy of customary leader (*tomenawa*), (3) customary spokesperson (*wola*), (4) the imam of the mosque (*ima*), and (5) the head of the hamlet (*kapala*). Nonetheless, the customary leader (*balailo*) becomes the leaders of the To Limola society community.

In death ceremonies, traditional leaders have a role starting from the beginning to the end of the activity. The bereaved family must notify the customary leader (*balailo*) about the death of family member. This also applies to the other ceremonies, such as birth ceremonies, marriages, and so on. Then, the traditional leader and other traditional leaders bring plates containing betel (*sirih*) and areca nut (*pinang*) to the funeral home. The plate containing betel and areca nut is a sign that the traditional leaders have allowed the various activities of the death ceremony to take place. This is because the funeral ceremony cannot take place without instructions and the symbol of the plate containing betel and areca nut. The plate containing betel and areca nut is not eaten, but only placed in the funeral home.

On other hand, the people of the To Limola society believe that betel and areca nut can prevent people from negative things during the death ceremony. The meaning fo negative things here is more to various obstacles that can disrupt the smooth process of the death ceremony. This also indicates that the To Limola people always associate everything that happens with the myths that develop in society. This local knowledge actually makes the To Limola society have limits and not do as they please. These boundaries keep society from negative things. Apart from that, various local knowledge of the local community also indicates that the To Limola society still upholds their customs. This condition is due to the fact that the customary structures still being carried out today. The meaning and message that can be drawn from this local knowledge is that the To Limola society has a one-way social structure from the customary leader to the community. A social system like this makes the To Limola society more orderly and avoids internal conflicts.

The death ceremony for one of the To Limola society, which can already be carried out when there are betel and areca plates marked as permission from the traditional leaders, consists of several processes. Starting from (1) adult males can go to collect firewood in the forest, (2) adult females can cook in the kitchen, (3) corpses can be bathed, (4) coffins for corpses can be made, (5) the tents at the funeral home have been put up, until (6) the graves have been dug up. Adult men have a tradition of taking firewood in the forest, both in funerals and other ceremonies. The firewood is used as an ingredient for cooking food for the people who help with the ceremony and cooking food of Angka for traditional leaders. Meanwhile, adult women have the responsibility of cooking in the kitchen. While the adult males collect firewood, the adult females prepare food. Apart from that, corpses can also be bathed with the instructions of traditional leaders. The difference here is that washing the corpse is not like washing in general. The bodies that were washed were not seen just like that, but were covered with a cloth so that the person washing the corpse could not directly see the body parts of the corpse. This indicates

that the To Limola society takes great care of privacy and avoids corpse from bad news or slander that could disturb the peace in the grave in the future.

Not only that, one of specialties of the To Limola death ceremony is the making of a coffin. This is because the coffins here are different from the coffins in general. The coffins in Sassa Hamlet and Makumpa Hamlet are made of bamboo, while the coffins in general are usually made of iron. This bamboo casket is also used only once, so every time one of the To Limola people dies, a special coffin is required to be made. This coffin was made by the community on instructions from traditional leaders or people who are experienced in their field. Another unique thing about the coffins here is that the coffins that have been made and used cannot be brought home, but left in the grave area until they decay by themselves. The coffins left in this grave indicates that a member of the To Limola society who recently died. It is also a reminder that the To Limola people recently lost a relation.

Furthermore, the process of the death ceremony which can be carried out after obtaining permission from the traditional leaders is the erection of a tent in front of the funeral home. The erection of this tent is not an ordinary thing for the To Limola people. This is because the establishment of the first tent had to be carried out by the traditional leaders. In this case, not all traditional leaders must be present in every process because some traditional leaders may be unable to be attend. Even so, at least there are representatives from traditional leaders so that tent construction can proceed. This gives the meaning that the To Limola people prioritize their parents. Without guidance and direction from parents, young people cannot do everything. The intention of the parents here is the traditional leaders, while the intention of the youth here is the community. Just like babies who cannot walk without the help of their parents, the To Limola people also cannot carry out the ceremonial process without the presence of traditional leaders. This condition can also be seen from the process of digging graves. Traditional leaders must carry out the first dig from the grave as a sign that the excavation can be carried out.

Angka: Traditional Food of the To Limola Society

The To Limola society in Sassa Village, Baebunta District, North Luwu Regency has a tradition of making traditional food called numbers in every community ceremony. This traditional food is made at ceremonies, such as birth ceremonies, weddings, deaths, and other thanksgiving ceremonies. The naming of the Angka for this traditional food is due to the way in which the food is served to the traditional leaders by being lifted using trays as a form of respect. This is because the traditional leaders have launched a ceremonial procession so that the family holding the ceremony gives a tribute dish named Angka. Some of the traditional food given included (1) chicken eggs (*tulu manu*), (2) rice cake (*walundaka*), (3) chicken (*paja*), and curved cork fish (*tekko*). Each food has a different way of making it depending on the type of ceremony being held. Thus, each food from the traditional food named this Angka will be explained one by one along with its characteristics, especially in the death ceremony of the To Limola society.



Figure 1: Chicken eggs (*tulu manu*)

One of the traditional foods named the simplest Angka is chicken eggs (*tulu manu*). Chicken eggs are boiled using water as usual until cooked. There is no special treatment for cooking chicken eggs. The container used to boil the chicken also still uses an ordinary pot in general. It's just that the To Limola society still maintains cooking using firewood and not using a gas stove. This is because cooking using firewood has a different taste than cooking using a gas stove. Apart from that, the To Limola society also has special traditions every time there is a ceremonial tradition, be it death, birth, marriage, and so on. This special tradition is the tradition of taking firewood in the forest. The collection of firewood is only carried out by youths and adults of the male only. Children are not yet allowed to carry out this tradition of taking firewood. This is because this tradition requires strong physical and energy so that this tradition is considered heavy for children to do.

Meanwhile, women from the To Limola society are also not allowed to carry out the tradition of collecting firewood in the forest. This is because the women of the To Limola society spend more time in the kitchen cooking. It can be said, most of the women of the To Limola society can cook. This is because every time there is a certain ceremonial tradition, the To Limola women help each other or work together to cook in the kitchen in turn, so the To Limola women have the habit of cooking in the kitchen. Heavy work is usually done by youths and adults of the male. From this, it can be seen that the To Limola society has local knowledge that everyone has their own role. The division of this role is adjusted to the abilities and characteristics of the person. Nevertheless, there are several parts of cooking that can also be done by men, such as roasting curved cork fish (*tekko*) and boiling rice cake (*walundaka*) which requires a lot of energy. The role of men in the cooking process is only carrying out the burning process. Meanwhile, the preparation of curved cork fish (*tekko*) and rice cake (*walundaka*) is still being done by women.

Furthermore, chicken eggs that have been boiled are then placed on neke leaves (*tawe todingi*). The leaves are shaped like a container with a stick pierced as a binder for the leaves. The stick referred to here is the bone of a coconut leaf that the To Limola people took themselves. Neke

leaves were chosen because neke leaves grow a lot around Sassa Village, especially Sassa Hamlet and Makumpa Hamlet where the To Limola society lives. In addition, neke leaves were chosen because these leaves grow in a family. In other words, neke leaves grow close to each other but each stalk has only one leaf. This is also in accordance with the local knowledge of the To Limola society. That is, the To Limola people live close to one another among their people. However, everyone has they're on responsibilities and stand for life. People from the To Limola society must be able to live with their own hands like neke leaves, each of which has only one leaf.



Figure 2: Rice cake (*walundaka*)

The next food from the Angka is rice cake (*walundaka*). This rice cake has a specific material a method of preparation compared to rice cake in general. This uniqueness can be seen from the material in the form of neke leaves, bamboo (*suke*), wooden tree trunks (*langa*), and sago leaf fronds (*belopa*). These materials become identity markers for the To Limola society who live in Sassa and Makumpa Hamlets, Sassa Village, Baebunta District, North Luwu Regency. This is because the people of the To Limola society only use these materials. Of these materials, only neke leaves are used as rice wrappers. Meanwhile, bamboo (*suke*), logs (*langa*), and sago leaf (*belopa*) are used as part of the rice cake (*walundaka*) burning process. The way to make rice cake (*walundaka*) is white rice that has been washed clean wrapped in neke leaves without being tied. In terms of size, rice cake (*walundaka*) is longer and thicker than burasa (*lontong* which is usually eaten daily). Several packs of rice that have been made are arranged into bamboo (*suke*). The placement of the rice packets does not open, bearing in mind that the packets are not tied with rope or any object. Inside one bamboo, there are usually 12—16 of rice which are adjusted to the size of the bamboo. Several packs of rice that have been made are arranged into bamboo (*suke*). The placement of the rice packets is not arbitrary. This is because each pack of rice cake must be placed facing each other so that rice packets do not open, bearing in mind that the packets are not tied with rope or any object.

Even though the traditional food named Angka is only addressed to traditional leaders (*to musai pesa*), the Angka given to the traditional leaders must be complete consisting of chicken eggs (*tulu manu*), rice cake (*walundaka*), chicken (*paja*), and curved cork fish (*tekko*). People can still eat Angka, but only rice cake (*walundaka*). Apart from that, there is also cooking food beyond Angka such as bandeng fish, fried chicken with soy sauce, and so on which can be distributed to the public. Thus, cooking rice cake (*walundaka*) can reach 80—100 bamboos because this amount is not limited to traditional leaders but also to the people who have assisted in the process of making the Angka. This is because there are many parties who help in the process of cooking the Angka, so those who help in the process of cooking this Angka also need to be given. This gift is intended as a substitute for food at home because the women help cook the Angka so that the women do not have time to cook at home. This indicates that mutual cooperation activities within the To Limola society still maintain order in the house, it is this balance that makes this mutual cooperation tradition still applied today.



Figure 3: The process of cooking rice cake (*walundaka*)

After the bamboo is filled with rice wrappers and ready to be cooked, youths and adults of the male prepare for the burning process outside the home. The materials that need to be prepared are logs (*langa*) and sago leaf (*belopa*). The purpose of the wooden tree trunk (*langa*) is to support the bamboo when it is burned, while the sago leaf (*belopa*) is intended to be a substitute fuel for firewood. The use of fuel for cooking rice cake (*walundaka*) uses sago leaf (*belopa*) because there is not much availability of firewood in the forest. What's more, if the death ceremony takes place during the rainy season, the search for firewood becomes more difficult and has a limited amount. In addition, the firewood that had been searched for earlier was used for cooking in the kitchen. If firewood is also used for cooking rice cakes, then the amount of

firewood needed is very large. To get around the limited supply of firewood, the To Limola society replaces firewood with sago leaf (*belopa*) only for cooking rice cake (*walundaka*). This is because the amount of bamboo that is cooked is quite large, so it requires a lot of fuel too. Sago leaf (*belopa*) are very easy to find around Sassa Hamlet and Makumpa Hamlet so the process of cooking rice cake becomes easier and faster. The burning process of bamboo filled with rice packets can be seen in Figure 3.



Figure 4: Chicken (*paja*)

Furthermore, traditional food called numbers that are no less important is chicken (*paja*). The chicken referred to here is more chicken breast. This is because this chicken breast has an important meaning for traditional leaders (*to musai pesa*). Explanation of the meaning of this open chicken breast is in the next section. The chicken presented in this number must also be a whole tail with the breast split open so that the chicken breast becomes open as shown in Figure 4 above. The type of chicken used is free-range chicken by cutting off the head and neck. The two sections are presented separately but are not included in the Angka. In addition, there are no spices in the process of cooking this chicken. Free-range chicken that has been slit in its breast is smoked or grilled over wood in a bamboo container. What is unique here is that the smoking or roasting process is carried out by men. The fire in the process of smoking or roasting is quite large, so it requires male power to carry out the process. However, the cooking process is different from cooking large quantities of rice cake (*walundaka*). Free-range chicken that is smoked or roasted is only for traditional leaders. This is because the free-range chicken, which is split in its chest, is only devoted to the traditional leaders of the To Limola society.

Meanwhile, people are not allowed to eat this free-range chicken. The people who have assisted in the process of cooking the Angka are provided with chicken side dishes in a different way of serving. The chicken that people are allowed to eat is broiler chicken. More specifically, the chicken provided to the public is more chicken that is cut into small pieces with spices, such as chicken with soy sauce, chicken with rica spices, and so on. In this case, the family organizing the ceremony does not only make traditional food named Angka but also has to

make other complementary foods for the community who have assisted in all the ceremonial processes. This is based on the tradition of this death ceremony involving many people so that people also need to be given appreciation in the form of food as a substitute for food at home. Moreover, the people who help must have been willing to leave their daily activities and have no more time to cook for their families.



Figure 5: Curved cork fish (*tekko*)

The last traditional food which is also the essence of Angka is the cork fish (*tekko*). The way of serving cork fish also has a specificity that is different from other Angka foods. The first thing to do is the women clean the cork fish before the cooking process. In this case, cork fish is cooked by smoking or roasting it. Although the cooking process is smoked or roasted like chicken (*paja*), the cooking method is different. The process of smoking or roasting the chicken (*paja*) is simply placed in a bamboo container over hot firewood. However, the process of smoking or roasting cork fish uses a special smoking or roasting tool made of bamboo. The smoking or roasting equipment has a height of about one meter. The cork fish that has been cleaned by the women is then smoked or roasted by the men. This is because the smoking or roasting process is quite complicated because the cork fish has to be curved slowly during the cooking process over hot fire so that the cork fish can be bent until the curves become stiff.

On the other hand, the Angka of cork fish presented in figures for traditional leaders is not limited to just one. What is meant here is that curved cork fish (*tekko*) can be given in Angka with more than one fish. Based on the experience in Sassa Hamlet, the family hosting the death ceremony gave a maximum of three curved cork fish (*tekko*). The number of curved cork fish is adjusted to the ability of the family hosting the ceremony. This is because cork fish is a fish that is difficult to get. Cork fish is one of the best-selling fish in the traditional market, so the family hosting the ceremony must go to the traditional market at dawn so they don't run out of cork fish. What you need to know here is that Sassa Village does not have a traditional market, so the nearest market is in Masamba City, about 11 km away. Masamba City is the capital of North Luwu Regency. Thus, this is cork fish includes a lot of cost, especially when it is difficult to get it.

Component of Hjemslev's Semiotic Analysis

In this section, the previously mentioned traditional food called Angka is analysed with Hjemslev's semiotic theory (Chandler, 2022). This semiotic analysis forms the basis of the categories of meaning and messages contained in the Angka. In this case, the four foods contained in the Angka are categorized into four groups, namely (1) substance of expression, (2) form of expression, (3) substance of content, and (4) form of content. The following is a table of grouping the substance and form of the expression and content of traditional food called Angka which can be seen below.

Table 2: Substance and Form of Expression and Content

No	Expression Substance	Expression Form	Content Substance	Content Form
1	Chicken eggs (<i>tulu manu</i>)	Boiled chicken eggs	The social context of personality	The value that emerges from a boiled egg is that the leader of To Limola must have (1) a firm determination like an egg, (2) a clean or pure heart like egg white, and (3) a noble heart like the golden yolk in a boiled egg.
2	Rice cake (<i>walundaka</i>)	White rice is wrapped in neke leaves (<i>tawe todingi</i>) without being tied and put in a bamboo.	The realm of thought about togetherness	The value of rice cake (<i>walundaka</i>) is that To Limola leaders must have a sense of unity among their people so they can be strong in facing life.
3	Chicken (<i>paja</i>)	Free-range chicken slit in its breast	The realm of thought about openness	The value of the free-range chicken that is slit open is that the leader of To Limola must have an attitude of openness and mutual understanding so that it is hoped that a very deep sense of kinship will be established between the leader and fellow community members.
4	Curved cork fish (<i>tekko</i>)	The cork fish is curved so that the fish tail meets the fish head	The social context of leadership	The value of the cork fish which is curved so that the tail of the fish meets the head of the fish is that the To Limola leader cannot have a leadership style like a cork fish. This is because the cork fish is a type of small fish predator. This means that the leader of To Limola must nurture and protect small community groups.

In table 2 above it can be seen that each food in Angka has a different substance and form of expression and content. Nonetheless, all of them have a meaning that is addressed to the To Limola (*to musai pesa*) traditional leaders. This is reasonable because the traditional food of this Angka is indeed given to the traditional leaders of the family that organizes the death ceremony. The hope is that the traditional leaders who are given this Angka will always remember the meaning of each food. This is because the meaning of this Angka has a good message to the traditional leaders of the To Limola society. The discussion of the table above

is distinguished based on the substance of the expression. Starting from chicken eggs (*tulu manu*), rice cake (*walundaka*), chicken (*paja*), curved cork fish (*tekko*). First, the substance of expression of chicken eggs (*tulu manu*) has the form of expression of boiled chicken eggs and the content is in the form of social context about personality. This can be seen from the form of the form of values that appear are unanimous determination, clean or pure heart, and noble heart. This round determination value is symbolized by a round egg shape. The value of a clean or pure heart is symbolized by the white colour of boiled egg. The noble-hearted value is symbolized by the golden yellow colour found in boiled eggs. All of these values are the hope of the community so that the traditional leaders of the To Limola society have positive values.

Second, the substance of the expression rice cake (*walundaka*) has the form of white rice wrapped in neke leaves (*tawe todingi*) without being tied and put in a bamboo. From this, the substance of the content is in the realm of thoughts about togetherness. This can be seen from the form of content in the form of values that emerge is a sense of unity among fellow To Limola society. The value of this unity is symbolized by white rice has a large quantity collected together in a pack of neke leaves so that it becomes a single unit in the form of rice cake (*walundaka*). The union of white rice into rice cake is the result of burning bamboo inside. This reflects that the existence of obstacles and challenges in life must actually make the To Limola traditional leaders become strong and unite with community.

Third, the substance of expression of chicken (*paja*) has a form of expression in the form of a free-range chicken that has its breast cut open and the substance of the content is in the form of realm of thought about openness. This can be seen from the form of content in the form of values that emerge, namely the attitude of openness and mutual understanding between the traditional leaders of the To Limola society and their people. The value of openness and mutual understanding is symbolized by a chicken breast that is split open so that the chicken breast becomes open. It also has the hope that there will be a deep sense of kinship among the To Limola people. Apart from that, this also reflects a message to the traditional leaders of the To Limola society to always be honest, open, and give deep concern to the To Limola people.

Fourth, the expression substance of the curved cork fish (*tekko*) has the form of the expression of the cork fish being curved between the head and tail to be unidirectional. From this, the substance of the content is in the form of a social context about leadership. This can be seen from the form of content in the form of values that emerge, namely the similarity of direction between the traditional leaders of the To Limola society and their people. The value of similarity in direction is symbolized by the head and tail of the cork fish which are curved in the same direction. It can be said that the traditional leaders of the To Limola society must have the same perceptions, goals, and views as the community. The message is in line with the selection of cork fish. This is because the cork fish is classified as a small fish predator. By curving the cork fish, the hope is that traditional leaders of the To Limola society do not oppress small communities like cork fish. This means that the traditional leaders of the To Limola society must protect their people.

CONCLUSION

This study has a conclusion that consists of several parts. *First*, traditional leaders (*to musai pesa*) have a big role in the To Limola death ceremony and other ceremonies. Without the role of traditional leaders, various processes of death ceremonies, such as searching for firewood in the forest, cooking in the kitchen, washing the corpses, making bamboo coffins, erecting tents, and digging graves cannot be carried out. *Second*, the big role of these traditional leaders makes the community give traditional food called Angka as a form of respect because the traditional leaders have carried out and launched the process of the death ceremony.

This also applies to other ceremonies, although there are some differences in the tools, materials, and ways of presenting the Angka according to the ceremony being held. The traditional food of the To Limola society named Angka consists of (1) chicken eggs (*tulu manu*), (2) rice cake (*walundaka*), (3) chicken (*paja*), and (4) curved cork fish (*tekko*). This traditional food is only given to traditional leaders.

Third, the four traditional foods of the To Limola society are categorized into four groups based on Hjelmslev's semiotics, namely (1) substance of expression, (2) form of expression, (3) substance of content, and (4) form of content. The substance of expression in the form of a chicken eggs (*tulu manu*) has the form of boiled expression and the substance of the content is in the form of a social context about personality. This can be seen from the form of the content in the form of values that appear are unanimous determination, have clean days, and have a noble heart.

The substance of the expression rice cake (*walundaka*) has the form of expression of white rice wrapped in neke leaves without being tied and put in bamboo with the substance of the content in the form of the realm of thoughts about togetherness. This can be seen from the form of content in the form of a sense of unity. The substance of expression of chicken (*paja*) has a form of expression in the form of a free-range chicken that has its breast cut open and the substance of the content is in the form of a realm of thought about openness.

This can be seen from the form of content in the form of the value of openness. The expression substance of the curved cork fish (*tekko*) has the form of the curved cork fish expression between the head and tail to be in the same direction. The substance of the content is in the form of social context about leadership. This can be seen from the form of the content in the form of value of the similarity of direction between traditional leaders and the To Limola society community.

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