



Orality-Based Persuasion in Karo Batak's Tradition of Cawir Metua Mortuary Ritual: Tact And Generosity Maxims

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ABSTRACT: *The objectives of this study are to explore some varieties of oral persuasion during the cawir metua mortuary ritual as well as to uncover the tact and generosity maxims. This research was mainly inspired by the term "message-based persuasion" which is commonly discussed in the Psychology. Since "message" can be interpreted as having several meanings, the authors are enthusiastic to modify and combine it with the term "orality" to show that the message is not written but specifically oral. The term "orality-based persuasion" is then linguistically oriented and refers to any persuasive messages which are communicated orally. These persuasive messages are discussed in terms of both maxims. "Cawir metua" (referring to cawir 'old' and metua 'old') literally means 'in the old age' and since this is significantly important in the Karo Batak tradition so a mortuary ritual is held to pay tribute the deceased and his/her parties, such as, sukut, kalimbubu, anak beru, senina, and teman meriah. We then personally propose a term for this whole ritual as cawir metua mortuary ritual although this is traditionally called nurunken kalak mate cawir metua. The empirical part of this study was conducted in Karo's Dolat Rayat village and the subjects were all speakers who were randomly selected as samples and interviews were recorded on videotape. In conclusion, this study argues that from the aspects of function and acts, the illocutionaries indicate value of tact (politeness) predominantly. Tact maxim of impositive (command) form appears dominantly, followed by statement (declarative) with "shall", with "can", and with the verb "want". Of the four forms, the first is characterized by the dominance of SPK SG/PL implicitly, the second with the words ate, pusuh, akap, and ukur, third with pagi or pepagi, seh, emaka, gelah, kari, and kupudi, and the fourth form with banci, ngasup, sangap, beluh and la banci lang.*

Keywords: *cawir metua, Karo Batak, orality, persuasion, tact and generosity maxim*

I. INTRODUCTION

The last cycle in human life is death that has an antagonistic relationship with the birth. The birth in some cultures is greeted with joy by the people around the babies; however, they cry to see the world soon after they are delivered. Manifestation of joy is realized with tradition, for example, the rituals of name giving, or of swinging a baby (*mengayunkan anak*). Unfortunately, death carries sad expressions among families and comrades, but no one knows whether the deceased greets his/her death with sadness and/or with excitement. The interesting thing is that the last two aspects - sadness and joy – are considered as a real phenomenon in the Batak Karo tradition when they are dealing with the separation caused by the death of one of their family members. The point is that death, such as the death of *kalak mate cawir metua (KMCM)* literally meaning 'death in the old age', always deals with two realities: sorrow and joy. Therefore, this study attempts to understand the oral persuasion delivered by some parties of mourners.

Davies (in Holm and Bowker, 2007:1) states "... human life is marked by the change."^[1] The change he meant, for example, occurs when a baby is conceived, born, grows, matures, produces offspring, and eventually dies; all is part of the biological reality in life. Davies considers all these changes as an "other dimension" because, for example, "the dead man is regarded as the ancestor or enters the world after death." Therefore, Davies stressed that "aid in supernatural power is often requested to provide power or protection to those who are undergoing these changes". The *nurunken kalak mate* 'bringing down the dead' is one of the cultural heritages of non-object (intangible) which still survives in Dolat Rayat village which is selected as the site of field study; this ritual is even carried out in Pamah village in the district of Deli Tua which only takes some

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minutes from the downtown. Although this village is quite close to Medan but this tradition is not eroded sharply by modernization and still runs with some reforms, for example, when the deceased is a Muslim the *nurunken kalak mate* is held after the deceased is buried in the graveyard.

This study is a systematic attempt to document the whole mortuary ritual in the Karo Batak tradition; therefore, the research and documentation can be used as evidence for protective purposes such as safeguarding or preservation and conservation in the current perspective. The results of this study can, in turn, be used as linguistic sources. Indeed, this research was inspired when in January 2010 the first author was, for the first time, invited to attend a funeral and burial rituals. The ritual was held in a *Jambur* (a traditional hall which is also called *losd*) in Dolat Rayat village and was dominantly communicated in Karo Batak language. The mourners, in turn, expressed their sad condolences which were orally spoken in public inside the *Jambur*. Speaking with this rhetorical style is called *persentabi* 'apology' in Karo Batak.

In the current perspective of oral tradition and language preservation three important aspects that should be noted are culture, indigenous knowledge (IK), and indigenous languages. UNESCO has rolled down substantial funds to conduct research in the world on these three aspects and UNESCO Jakarta as well as SIL Jakarta have been in cooperation with many local and international researchers to hold studies on the Indonesia's cultural wealths. Their efforts are aimed at conservation and protection/preservation; one of the targets is the minority ethnic groups in Borneo as what have been performed by Karin Czermak, Phillippe Delanghe, and Wei Weng. Efforts to preserve the culture of an ethnic is the embodiment of the Archipelago (or *Wawasan Nusantara*), especially on article 2, paragraph b. This concept also inspired this study because it can include intangible cultural preservation and maintenance of local cultural creativity. These last two elements can be used as one of the efforts in the National Security so that this country is not swayed by all not-certainty in national identity. Conflicts should be minimized when efforts on how to protect and conserve the ongoing tradition should become attention.

Several countries in South and Southeast Asia, such as India, Nepal, Burma, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Singapore, have proven themselves successful in retaining the important parts of their traditions and are even able to incorporate some elements of capitalism and democracy. If attention is directed to East Asia there are some countries, for example Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong, which have also managed to maintain the traditions of the native (indigenous traditions). They take pride in all of human civilization so that they are known to be self-sufficient in many ways. Positive jealousy needs presumably to be addressed to the United States who manages to create a national consensus on the six American Values and the six American Characteristics. Referring to the US consensus is very necessary in order Indonesian can, more or less, learn from them. Until now, efforts to create Indonesian values and characteristics are still in progress. A lengthy discussion on characters can be seen in Sibarani (2015:1-25) who based his ideas on 18 characters proposed by the Ministry of National Education. These characters need to be appreciated by all members of society because these will bring Indonesia into good governance and clean government.^[2]

The members of ethnics here propose various efforts to bring forth the values and characteristics of each ethnicity. With regard to this statement Smart (1989:22) argues "ethnic identity can sometimes be separated, or have a line of demarcation, by language and cultural heritage, sometimes religious, sometimes by both, and even sometimes by shared history".^[3] She mentions some countries like Germany which has shared language, Ireland that has enjoyed distinctive religion, Poland which is proud of both distinctive language and religion), and Singapore feeling at ease with the shared history between the Chinese, Malay and other linguistic groups. Indonesia actually has a plus value compared to the countries mentioned above because this country has hundreds of ethnic and cultural diversity of languages and the diversity of religions and beliefs; everything is bound by a unifying language, the Bahasa Indonesia.

Karo Batak as one of the indigenous ethnics in North Sumatra can be categorized as a small-scale society but it has unique tradition like the *nurunken kalak mate cawir metua* (NKMCM) which becomes one of the very exalted ceremonial events and which pays homage to both the dead and the dead's big family (*kalimbubu*, *anak beru*, *senina*, or *teman meriah*). One or two days before the mortuary ritual is held, invitations should be distributed to the big family. The invitation should specify the exact position of those who are invited. Errors in setting the position can cause family conflict. The name of the invitation is called *berita ceda* ate literally meaning 'news of death'. Karo Batak language lives together with other local languages, for example, Malay, Toba, Simalungun, Dairi, Gayo, and Alas as well as with regional languages, for instance, Javanese, Padangese, Acehnese, Chinese, and Indian.

This research was mainly inspired by the term "message-based persuasion" which is commonly discussed in the Psychology. Since "message" can be translated as having several meanings, the authors modify it with "orality" to show that the message is not written but oral. The term "orality-based persuasion" refers to any persuasive messages which are communicated orally. No written medium of communication is used when the *cawir metua* mortuary ritual (CMMR) ritual was held. All mourners who are grouped into specific parties send their oral messages to the *sukut* party whose family member is passed away. The *sukut* then responds

orally or hugs the mourners. When the mourners cry, the *sukut* should normatively cry to show that this party respect the mourners.

The ritual is filled with the orality-based persuasion which is then brought into discussion in terms of tact and generosity maxims. These maxims are chosen since the mourners deliver unique persuasive words which are full of local sensitive expressions. Then, three questions are raised: how are tact and generosity maxims of impositive (command) with the second person subjects, of statements with the verb "wish", and of declaratives with "will" and "can" communicated?

II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Orality and tradition

Finnegan (1992:5) defined *oral* from OED: 'uttered in spoken words; transacted by word of mouth; spoken, verbal'. With reference to *orality* Finnegan (1992:6) wrote that it is different with 'literacy'^[4] and in this case, Finnegan considers that orality can also be named as oral communication or oral culture, therefore, he argued orality exists in oral tradition since this tradition does not require written text. Finnegan also tried to define the word 'tradition' and his notion on this is much influenced by some experts, for example, Vansina, Henige, Ben-Amos, Shils, among others. Finnegan discussed that orality might be used, variously, of: 'culture' as a whole; any established way of doing things whether or not of any antiquity; the process of handing down practices, ideas or values; the products so handed down, sometimes with the connotation of being 'old' or having arisen in some 'natural' and non-polemical way (ibid:7).

Ong (1982:5-14) proposed the term *text of oral cultures*^[5] and indicated that oral cultures indeed produced powerful and beautiful verbal performances of high artistic and human worth. He also stated that such performances are no longer even possible once writing has taken possession of the psyche. What Ong thought is that orality of language or oral utterance has close relation with Goody and Watt's homeostasis or equilibrium (ibid:46). Therefore, words play a crucial role in the orality of language. About words, Ong (ibid:46-47) argued words acquire their meanings only from their always insistent actual habit ... but includes also gestures, vocal inflections, facial expression, and the entire human, existential setting in which the real, spoken word always occurs."

The quotation illustrates that when generations change and objects or institutions which are referred to by ancient words are no longer parts of life experiences nowadays so meanings of words of course undergo changes or such meanings disappears gradually although many of such ancient words have already been preserved in the midsts of conservatory efforts. Ong also tried to make his readers understand that oral cultures can actually produce regulations of oral memory, and complex, smart, and beautiful experiences are of course influenced by the operations of oral memory. Therefore, Ong (ibid: 66-67) concluded that oral memory is significantly different with textual memory because the first possesses high somatic component. In other words, oral words do not actually exist in the verbal context because words which are pronounced are always becoming the modified forms of total and existential situation which involves body. About the relation of orality, community and the sacral Ong (ibid:73) stressed "When a speaker is addressing an audience, the member of the audience normally become a unity, ...".

2.2 The tradition of *nurunken kalak mate*

Nurunken kalak mate literally meaning 'bringing down the deceased' becomes the cultural richness of Karo Batak in North Sumatera (Indonesia). It is addressed by the "mourners" who only speak *cakap Karo* 'Karo language'. Its uniqueness is that it is held during a whole day. In Karo Batak there are, in general, three types of death: (i) *cawir metua* 'old age' (polite word), (ii) *tabah-tabah galuh* (*tabah* 'cut down' and *galuh* 'banana tree'), and (iii) *mate nguda* (*mate* 'die' and *nguda* 'young'). Meanwhile, seen from its causes and condition, death is divided into (i) *batara guru* 'the highest god', (ii) *sabutara* or *guru batara*, (iii) *bicara guru* 'to treat as usual', (iv) *lenga ripen* (*lenga/langa* 'not yet' and *ripen* 'teeth'), (v) *enggo ripen* (*enggo* 'already'), (vi) *mate anak perana/singuda-nguda* 'die before marriage', (vii) *sirang ture* (*sirang* 'divorce/separation' and *ture* 'veranda'), (viii) *kayat-kayaten* 'sickly', and (ix) *sada wari* (*sada* 'one' and *wari* 'day') (Prints, 2004:131-134; Wiradnyana, 2011:160-161; Sinuraya, 2004:20-24).^{[6], [7], [8]} When a man is passed away in the old age, his death is classified as *cawir metua*. Other characteristics are that all his son(s) or daughter(s) should have already married, or that he has grandsons/daughters, or that he has left one son or daughter who is not yet married. When his death is brought into tradition, so such a tradition is traditionally termed *NKMCM*.

The *nurunken kalak mate* (Ginting 2010:104-105) proposed *percakapan kematian* or *simate-mate* takes place within a series of activities and becomes part of the customs belonging to the indigenous Karo people who live in their native Tanah Karo highland.^[9] As an oral tradition this *percakapan kematian* which is only performed before the deceased and before the funerals has specific chronology. The mourners are grouped into several parties, such as, (i) *sukut*, (ii) *kalimbubu*, (iii) *puang kalimbubu si mada dareh*, (iv) *anak beru*, (v) *adat debts*, and (vi) *kalimbubu*. The first party consists of close members of the deceased and the second is composed

of blood brother(s) of the deceased's mother. The third party constitutes the elder wife-giver or kalimbubu of the deceased's wife-giver and the fourth comprises the members of the wife-acceptor or anak beru. The fifth party includes an important ritual of paying adat debts which is performed by the deceased's close members. The sixth embraces all members of the wife-giver. Each party has three members or four who deliver their deep condolences which consist of persuasive words and common expressions. Ginting (ibid: 221) concluded that in the ritual the mourners exposed themselves as the deceased and this exposition created the unnatural communication between the mourners and the dead. In her Ph.D. dissertation Ginting (ibid:i) used the term *percakapan kematian* literally meaning 'death communication' instead of saying CMMR.

Since the first term can bring ambiguous meaning so I suggest the term CMMR. This last term means a communication which occurs during ritual when somebody whose age is above sixty five is passed away and before he/she is carried to a cemetery for a burial, he/she deserves to receive sympathy during such ritual. Thompson (2003:1) argued communication is a basic feature of social life, and language is a major component of it.^[10] Saragih (2011:3) reasoned language evolves at the same time as the society develops; consequently, social aspects such as values, attitudes, beliefs, customs and traditions, culture and ideology are realized in language and serve as the external context.^[11] I attempt to relate between communication which is held during the *cawir metua* mortuary ritual (CMMR) and the tradition of persuading the mourners including close members (*sukut*) of the deceased and his/her relatives and colleagues from the appointed parties.

Mortuary ritual is in this case approached in the paradigm of communication since all the activities are concerned with speaking and hearing. The ritual meets the basic models of communication such as (i) the sender, (ii) the receiver, (iii) the message, (iv) the channel, and (v) feedback (see Todd in online). Bloor and Bloor (1995:3) argued that when people use language to express meanings, they do so in specific situations, and the form of the language that they use is influenced by the complex elements of those situations.^[12] Mortuary ritual is an oral tradition and has specific situation; it consists of the mourners' complex problems. The complex problems that a mortuary ritual possesses have been predicted by Bloor and Bloor (ibid:4) as saying that "spoken conversation ... moves forward in time, and the basis of which speakers and listeners express and interpret meaning is constantly changing ...". They also argue that communication is an interactive process through which meaning is negotiated. Mortuary ritual, from the perspective of time, accumulatively proceeds for hours from morning to evening and even from one day to three.. Pudentia (2008:3) thought that oral tradition refers to all discourses which are spoken and can be oral or written.^[13]

Such ritual has several values, for instance, as the symbol of prestige for the *rakut sitelu* 'three stove' party consisting of kalimbubu 'wife-giver', *anak beru* 'wife-acceptor, and *senina* 'members of the same clan'. Other value relates to the symbol of togetherness among the members of all participants and this symbol is usually under the concept of *tutur siwaluh* 'eight hierarchy'. *Tutur siwaluh* is literally translated as 'eight kinship system' covering *puang kalimbubu*, *kalimbubu*, *senina*, *sembuyak*, *senina sipemerren*, *senina sipengalon* / *sedalanan*, *anak beru*, and *anak beru menteri*.

2.3 Persuasion And Social Psychology

Persuasion can be defined as the challenges to influence an individual, a small group of people, or a mass. What needs to be influenced from them is in relevance with their changes of cognitions, feelings, attitudes, or habits which become the targets of the persuader(s) who would propose ideas, news, objects, or persons. Persuasion is among the oldest of human experiences. It is the lubricant of social organization, the medium of interpersonal coordination. Because of this, the study of persuasion is at the core of social psychology, communication, rhetoric, advertising, and public relations (Knowles and Linn, 2004: 117).^[14] One model of attitude structure distinguishes three components: affective, cognitive, and behavioral (ibid: 5).^[15] Attitude change and persuasion research has a rich history in the use of individual difference variables (Shakarchi and Haugtvedt, 2004: 105).^[16] The prevailing view among psychologists studying attitudes is that an attitude is comprised of cognitions (facts, beliefs, and arguments), each of which can be weighted for its relevance to the attitude and for its importance to the individual holding the attitude (Fuegen and Brehm, 2004: 39).^[17] Knowing which process(es) leads to a persuasion outcome also equips one to predict which types of factors might influence when the outcome occurs, and how one might change or overcome that result. For example, if one finds that persuasion is the result of effortful processing, this implies that overcoming that persuasion would often be better accomplished through introducing substantive information that counters the implications of the message arguments rather than introducing a credible or attractive source that advocates an alternative position (Wegener, Petty, Smoak, and Fabrigar, 2004: 20).^[18]

In his book Cialdini (no year: 8) proposed six principles of persuasion: reciprocity, commitment and consistency, social proof, liking, authority, and scarcity.^[19] These principles are considered as "weapons of influence" since he terms persuasion as influence. Cialdini (ibid:16) argues "one of the reasons reciprocation can be used so effectively as a device for gaining another's compliance is its power. The rule possesses awesome strength, often producing a "yes" response to a request that, except for an existing feeling of indebtedness, would have surely been refused". The principle of reciprocity, therefore, states that when a person

provides us with something, we attempt to repay him or her in kind. About commitment Cialdini (ibid: 43) stated that “once we have made a choice or taken a stand, we will encounter personal and interpersonal pressures to behave consistently with that commitment”. In case of consistency Cialdini (ibid: 45) argued:

“To understand why consistency is so powerful a motive, it is important to recognize that in most circumstances consistency is valued and adaptive. Inconsistency is commonly thought to be an undesirable personality trait. The person whose beliefs, words, and deeds don't match may be seen as indecisive, confused, two-faced, or even mentally ill. On the other side, a high degree of consistency is normally associated with personal and intellectual strength”.

Consistency becomes an important aspect of persuasion because it is highly valued by society, results in a beneficial approach to daily life, and provides a valuable shortcut through the complicated nature of modern existence. While commitment is an effective persuasive technique, consistency allows the target to more effectively make decisions and process information. The concept of consistency states that when a person commits, either orally or in writing, he or she is more likely to honor that particular commitment. The principle of social proof as it is argued by Cialdini (ibid: 88) states “that one means we use to determine what is correct is to find out what other people think is correct”. Social proof is most effective when people are uncertain or when there are similarities in a situation. In uncertain or ambiguous situations, when there are multiple possibilities or choices that need to be made, people are likely to conform to what others do/are doing. We become more influenced by the people around us, in situations that cause us to make a decision. The other effective situation for social proofing is when there are similarities. We are more prone to change/conform around people who are similar to us. If someone who is similar to you is being controlling and a leader, you are more likely to listen and follow what it is they are saying. Therefore everyone is likely to see everyone else looking unruffled and failing to act”. Cialdini (ibid: 102) stressed “As a result, ... the event will be roundly interpreted as a nonemergency”.

Cialdini (ibid: 126) stated that “people would be surprised to learn that, as a rule, we most prefer to say “yes” to the requests of someone we know and like”. There are two factors in the principle of liking: the physical attractiveness and similarity. People with attractive physic appears to be more persuasive and is able to change others' attitude easily while people having similarity seem comfortably to be persuaded by each other. In case of the principle of authority, Cialdini (ibid: 163) asserted that “In the case of obedience to authority, even a brief consideration of human social organization offers justification aplenty. A multilayered and widely accepted system of authority confers an immense advantage upon a society”. People have to listen to those who are knowledgeable and trustworthy. In short, people are willing to bring pain upon others when they are directed to do so by some authority figure. Scarcity is a principle that people underestimate. When something has limited availability, people assign it more value. According to Cialdini (ibid: 199), “It is easy enough to feel properly warned against scarcity pressures; but it is substantially more difficult to act on that warning. Part of the problem is that our typical reaction to scarcity hinders our ability to think”.

The persuasion in this case looks at death ritual as social interaction. Rakhmat (2008:102-104) argues that condolences contain persuasive words and expressions.^[20] Each motive will be ended by one or more *motive appeals*, for instance, tiredness motive should be followed by recreation, plays, games, and the relaxation from tension. What we mean here is that motive appeals can be considered as the outcome of the motive(s). Any problem(s) that relate to motive should find its appeals so that the motive can be handled either biologically or psychologically. Wood (2000: 540) stated that in the persuasion paradigm, influence appeals typically include detailed argumentation that is presented to individual recipients in a context with only minimal social interaction.^[21] Social influence appeals, in contrast, usually consist solely of information about the source's position, but these are delivered in more complex social settings that may include interaction among participants. Wood's influence appeals and social influence appeals play significant role in this research. Wood argued that attitude change can be motivated by normative concerns for (a) ensuring the coherence and favorable evaluation of the self, and (b) ensuring satisfactory relations with others given the rewards/punishments they can provide, along with an informational concern for (c) understanding the entity or issue featured in influence appeals (Wood, ibid: 541).

For over 40 years, the central organizing perspective in this area [social influence research] has been a dual-motive scheme that differentiates between informational influence, which involves accepting information obtained from others as evidence about reality, and normative influence, which involves conformity with the positive expectations of “another,” who could be “another person, a group, or one's self” (Deutsch & Gerard 1955: 629).^[22] They distinguished between informational and normative conformity motivations, the former based on the desire to form an accurate interpretation of reality and behave correctly, and the latter based on the goal of obtaining social approval from others.

Cialdini and Goldstein's (2004: 592) work on social influence focuses on compliance and conformity.^[23] Compliance referring to a particular kind of response, such as acquiescence, to a particular kind

of communication, such as a request, may be explicit or implicit but in all cases, the target recognizes that he or she is being urged to respond in a desired way. They also stressed that conformity refers to the act of changing one's behavior to match the responses of others. Petty and Brinol's (2015: 509) work on processes of social influence through attitude change proved that successful influence is said to occur when the recipients' beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors are modified in the desired direction and they used ELM conceptual framework in conducting their research on automatic and deliberative attitude change through the operation of source variables (e.g. credibility), recipient variables (e.g., emotions), and context variables (e.g., scarcity); all are organized around the same fundamental processes of persuasion. Social influence always involves resistance on the part of the target of influence.^[24] Regardless of the pressures toward acceptance of the influence, there is always a countervailing force in the form of resistance that reduces the likelihood of persuasion being effective. Successful influence, then, will be achieved only when the forces toward acceptance are greater than the forces stemming from resistance (Sherman, Crawford, Allen and McConnell, 2004: 149).^[25]

2.4 Persuasion and Linguistics

The linguistic branch which studies persuasion is pragmatics. In pragmatics persuasion is delivered through somebody's speech act. This term was firstly pronounced by J.L. Austin when he delivered his William James Lectures at Harvard in 1955 and in 1962 he published the lectures in his *How To Do Things With Words*. Austin (1962: 102) used the utterance "He persuaded me to shoot her".^[26] What Austin failed to draw is that he did not have a consistent line between illocutionary and perlocutionary acts, so the persuasion remains in the problematic status in his framework. Bach and Harnish reviewed Austin's work and proposed Speech Act Schema (SAS) by refining some of Austin's characterizations; they excluded unintended perlocutionary effects from their framework (Bach & Harnish, 1979: 17-81).^[27] Their schema refers to layers of inferential reasoning (Ln), and displays how perlocutionary effects can result from each layer. Gu (1993) also reviewed Austin's (1962), Bach and Harnish's (1979) as well as Davis's (1980) discussions by offering significant analysis of the standard speech act of perlocutionary acts and its several key assumptions.^[28]

Kurzon reviewed the traditional speech act of Austin, and Bach and Harnish, and proposed syntactic and semantic tests. In syntactic test, the syntactic form of a perlocutionary verb has to reflect the agent/object relationship of the correlated perlocutionary act. In this case, if Gu is right and perlocutionary acts require two acts, this fact should be shown in the syntactic form of a perlocutionary verb such as "to persuade," which should receive conjoined subjects. However, this is not correct, as shown in Kurzon's examples (Kurzon 1998: 576).^[29] He then proposed two semantic tests with the verb "try to" in front of the perlocutionary verb. Meanwhile, Hornsby offered an interesting differences between speech acts and speech actions. In the former the speaker may perform several acts and produce different effects. Hornsby introduced the concept of "reciprocity" which "obtains between people when they are such as to recognize one another's speech as it is meant to be taken" (Hornsby 1994: 192).^[30] With this concept perlocutionary acts are performed within a speech action.

Searle (1969: 46) brought Grice's (1957) account of meaning into his three objections^[31]: (i) There are clear examples of illocutionary acts, such as greetings, that do not have any such perlocutionary effect; (ii) A speaker may "say something and mean it without in fact intending to produce that effect"; (iii) The speaker does not generally intend the hearer's reason for believing her utterance to be her own intention to get him to believe it (i.e. we all know that intending an audience to believe an utterance is not always sufficient to persuade that audience). Searle tries to prove the intended effect of the speaker's utterance is not aimed at inducing a belief or a response, but simply at inducing recognition of that intention, namely, an illocutionary effect.

Grice's works which were relevant to the study of persuasion are his theory of meaning appeared in his 1957 article "Meaning" (1989: 213),^[32] and his conversational theory which was based on the Cooperative Principle as he delivered in his William James Lectures (ibid: 22). The characterization that Grice built was that to meet her communicative intention, the speaker has at least produced one perlocutionary effect—that of persuading her audience of what she says. The Cooperative Principle and all its maxims might be related to persuasion since persuasion should consist of cooperative relationship among participants during communicative process.

The politeness principle has one single maxim, that is, the politeness maxim and this maxim is divided into six sub-maxims. Only two sub-maxims, namely, tact and generosity maxims, are chosen and used as a tool of analysis of the text NKMC tradition. The tact maxim (I) depends on two types of Searle's illocutionary, namely, directive and commissive illocutionary but Leech uses the term impositive to replace the directive. Leech (1983: 132) argues that tact maxim has two main propositions: (a) Minimize cost to *other*, and [(b) Maximize benefit to *other*].^[33] For the proposition b, he uses the square brackets [...] and he also argues that this maxim goes in pairs with generosity maxim. The generosity maxim (II) can be used in impositive and commissive illocutionary and has also two main propositions, namely (a) Minimize benefit to *self* and [(b) Maximize cost to *self*]. About these two sub-maxims, Leech (ibid) argues that ... (I) and (II) respectively concern the cost of benefit of future action to *other* and to *self*...

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III. METHODOLOGY

The research method, or the strategy of qualitative by Creswell (2009:12)^[34] or the research methodology by Martens (1998),^[35] is ethnography involving strategy of inquiry in which researchers studied the intact cultural group in a natural environment with the time period may be extended in relation to data collection, and in particular with data observation and interviews. The process of this method is flexible and typical characteristics are contextually evolved in connection with lived realities.

3.1 Type of research

The type of research, or research design, is qualitative in that it allows open questions and it approaches the object dynamically with textual data and image, and the condition of natural object. In addition, the trend in this type covers (i) collecting the meaning of the participants, (ii) focusing on one concept or phenomenon, (iii) bringing personal values into the research, (iv) examining the context, or setting, of participants, (v) validating the accuracy of the findings, (vi) interpreting data, (vii) creating an agenda for snowball, and (viii) and in collaboration with participants (see Sugiyono, 2010:24).^[36] Qualitative research is descriptive (Emzir, 2010:3)^[37] and becomes a tool to explore and understand the meaning of the speech of individuals or groups against social and human issues (Creswell, 2009: 4). Emzir adds data collection includes transcript interviews, field notes, photographs, videotapes, personal documents, memos, and other official records. Exploration is carried out to the individuals who are representatives of each party. This research does not have any flexibility; thus, this study has limitations to conduct a comparative study formally with the same tradition in other areas. The comparative study was not formally made except collecting some recordings from informants' personal collections.

3.2 Location and time of research

The research location is Dolat Rayat village which is administratively under Kecamatan Dolat Rayat (in Karo regency). This village has good access and many informants promised to provide information about the traditions. The ritual was carried out in Dolat Rayat jambur. The time of research was January 12-14, 2013. The climax ritual was held on January 14, 2013 at 08:00 AM up to 18:30 PM.

3.3 Research procedures and data source

About qualitative procedure Spradley (in Sugiyono 2010:254) offers 12 stages: 1. choose a social situation (where, actors, activities), 2. carry out participant observation, 3. note the observations and interviews, 4. descriptive observation, 5. perform domain analysis, 6. focus on the observations, 7. carry out taxonomic analysis, 8. observation selected, 9. componential analysis, 10. perform thematic analysis, findings, 11. culture, 12. write qualitative research report. In this study, the social situation is the mortuary ritual. The participants (actors) involved were the mourners who came from the sukut, kalimbubu, anak beru, senina, representatives of districts, villages and religious bodies, and festive friends. This ritual has only one major activity that is the customary rituals dedicated to the dead before the dead will be brought to burial. The research used the primary source (data) taken from mortuary ritual. Primary data is data collected from the first party (Sedarmayanti and Hidayat, 2011:73).^[38]

3.4 Data collection

Data collection was carried out through three techniques, i.e., participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The first technique was implemented during when the mortuary ritual happened while the second technique was mainly acted a few months after the entire transcription of the ritual as well as after the translation from Batak karo into Bahasa Indonesia were executed. Translation was done by two translators whose native language is Batak Karo. In-depth interviews used the snowball technique. The third technique (see Arikunto 2002:206; Bell 1987:88-89) was completed by direct video-shooting (live documentation) as well as by utilizing some private documents.^{[39],[40]} About data collection Usman (2009:83) proposed five dimensions: (i) room or area, (ii) actors referring to everyone involved in the situation, (iii) activities with respect to what people do in that situation, (iv) objects associated with people who are in that place and become the targets, and (v) emotional feeling that is felt and expressed by the actors, and objects which may cover (a) certain actions, (b) a series of activities, (c) the time or the sequence of events, and (d) the purpose.^[41]

3.5 Research instruments

The research instruments include notebooks, tape-recorder, camera, camcorder as well as the researchers themselves. Data taken from recordings contains live ritual, field notes, and words and actions of respondents. The population in this study is limited and homogenous. The research sample is non-purposive involving all parties, for example the sukut, kalimbubu, anak beru, senina, and others. The technique of

sampling is non-random. Relations with respondents are familiar or empathy in that researchers gain insight in the long term.

3.6 Data analysis

Model for data analysis follows Spradley (see Sugiyono, 2010: 255; 2012: 343) consisting of four stages: (i) the analysis of categories, (ii) classification analysis, (iii) componential analysis, and (iv) analysis of cultural theme. Analysis category (or domain analysis) is aimed at (i) finding ways to get a general overview and overall view of the social situation, (ii) throwing broader questions and make a brief visit (minitour), (iii) obtaining a variety of categories, (iv) defining certain categories in accordance with the title of the study.^[42] Analysis of classification (or sometimes called taxonomic analysis) is done after with regard to the elaboration of the predefined categories. Componential analysis looks for specific features on each internal structure by making comparison with the other elements. Comparison can be carried out by observation and interviews. Analysis of cultural themes (or discovering cultural theme) tries to get the relationship among the categories and then the theme of each category can be determined. Data is displayed using three typological procedures, for instance, source, gloss, and meaning.

3.7 Reliability and data validity

Gibbs (2007) in Creswell (2009:190) proposes four reliability procedures^[43] but three of them were used: 1. inspect all transcripts to ensure that they contain no real errors during transcription, 2. make sure that there are no irregularities in the definition of the code, namely a shift in the meaning of the code during the coding process, 3. Coordinate communication among informants with regular meeting and analysis sharing. Creswell (2009:191-192) argues eight validity strategies but six of them were involved: (i) used various sources of information to build a coherent justification by theme; (ii) used member checking to determine the accuracy of qualitative findings by returning the final report or a special description or theme to the participants and determine whether the participants squeeze that final report; (iii) used rich, thick descriptions to convey meaning; (iv) clarified all bias brought by the researchers; (v) presented negative information which did not fit the theme; and (vi) prolonged time in the field.

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Tact and generosity maxims go indeed in pairs or have a bilateral relationship. Tact maxim is divided into six parts: (i) impositive (command) with the subject in the second person singular [SPK SG] or in the second person plural [SPK PL]), (ii) statement with the verb 'wish', (iii) asking for (demand) with the 'will', (iv) asking for (demand) with 'can', (v) statement (declarative) with 'will', and (vi) statement (declarative) with 'can'. Discussion is also directed to the maxim of generosity, therefore, the descriptive discussion is blended between the two maxims. Either SPK SG or SPK PL is placed in triangular brackets [...] which are only used when the presence of a second person subject is classified as implicit and positioned just at the beginning of the sentence. Parentheses (...) are used when SPK SG or SPK PL appears explicitly that neither the SPK SG or SPK PL are limited by these parentheses. The two signs are only appended that these signs appear in the original text; the glossing does not receive such treatment and the "meaning" is primarily adapted in English.

4.1 Impositive (command) with the second person subject

The use of impositive or imperative or command commonly causes *t* (addressee) to have no choice but to obey the command of *n* (speaker); therefore, impositive is quite disrespectful or even can also be classified as a command sentence which are very impolite. Consider the following example.

- (1) [SPK SG] Jumpa Dibata simada kuasa. [SPK SG] Jumpa ras bapa tambar malem ndai. [SPK SG] Persada-sada kel arihndu, tambar malem mergana e, naku. [SPK PL] Ula teridah kari lanai i rumah bapa kena ndai, ... [SPK PL] kelengi turangndu e, ...
'See (your) God who has the power. Meet the father of tambar malem. Unite in your meeting, tambar malem, my son. Do not look behind at the former house from today ... you care for your brother/sister,'

From the aspect of function, the purpose of the illocutions in (1) is 'competitive command' while from the act, such illocutions are categorized as 'directive command.' The implicit subjects here precede the verbs *jumpa* 'to meet', *persada-sada* 'to unite', and *kelengi* 'to love'; in addition, these subjects are also present before the negation marker *ula* 'no'. In normal circumstances, the sentences in (1) require *t* to follow the wishes of *n* but since *t* died, then the condition changes and becomes one-way communication. Thus, *n* is not able to give orders to *t* and these illocutions are still considered unwise even if such illocutions are 'centered on the others' instead of the 'self.' As a result, the proposition violated in this case is correlated to the proposition of [(b) maximize benefit to *other*]. The illocutions in (1) can also be classified as 'not generous' because they do not point to 'self-

centered' but on 'other'; the proposition which is infringed is connected to [(b) maximize cost to *self*]. The relationship between *n* and *t* on the scale of benefit and cost becomes reversed because the role of *n* is not the 'donor' but the 'giver of orders.' The offers that can be grouped into generosity maxim are much related to the condition that the person who offers does not lose cost at all so the recipient does not feel objected to accept the offer.

4.2 Statement with the verb 'want'

Statement with the verb 'want' is considered more tactful than command (imperative), but this statement violates one of the characteristics of tact maxim, namely, such statement does not have other choice but to bow to the willingness of *n*. Unfortunately, the verb 'want' is not found in this study but, alternatively, the nouns referring to 'willingness' are available and appear in several variations, such as, *ate*, *pusah*, *akap*, and *ukur*. These four nouns pragmatically carry the same meaning, namely, the 'willingness' although semantically these nouns have slight differences in their meanings respectively. The noun *ate* meaning 'heart, feeling, thought, or will' is not commonly used as a verb; therefore, this word still appears as a noun. Consider the following sentence in (2):

- (2) *Enda nggo malem kel ate-ndu nggo jumpa ras mama tambar malem ndai ras anak sintua ndai... Kaka tua, nggo malem kel atendu....*

‘You want to say that you feel very satisfied because you have met your husband and your eldest son Eldest sister, you want to say you have been feeling very satisfied’

With regard to the aspect of function, the purpose of the illocutions in (2) is 'convivial with congratulations' while from the acts, such illocutions are categorized as 'commissive tending to entertain.' Such illocutions are considered tactful because they consist of no command but, unfortunately, *t* can not show the reaction of 'receiving the congratulations' or of 'happy feeling' expressed by *n*; moreover, the illocutions are against the proposition of [(b) Maximize benefit to *other*]. Thus, *n* does not give benefit at all. In contrast, the illocutions in (2) are also categorized as 'not generous' because they are not 'self-centered' but addressed on 'other'. The proposition infringed is [(b) Maximize cost to *self*]. The relationship between *n* and *t* on the scales of benefit and cost becomes reversed because the role of *n* is not the 'donor' but the 'giver of orders'; *n* does not offer anything to *t* so there is neither a giver nor a recipient of the generosity.

The Karo word *ate* 'heart' can appear with the possessive adjectives, for instance, *ku*, *-ndu*, *-ta*, or with compound words, for example, *ate kami* 'our heart' or *ate bibi* 'aunt's heart'. Syntactically, the word *ate* and all its possessive adjectives might act as the subjects even though they were placed in a position to follow the verbs, adjectives, or modalities, for example, the modality *nggo* 'have already'. The word *ate* is very special since it is widely used in everyday communication by Karo society and in terms of tact maxim this word is considered the most polite (or the most wise) which functions to express everything in the heart; however, the phrase *ate-ndu* 'your heart' is considered more polite because this phrase shows polite or wise attitude and even indicates an attitude of budge from the first to the second person. Then, the position of a speaker who uses the phrase *ate-ndu* might be more appreciated by his/her hearer(s) because he/she has actually put them more importantly. It is argued that the sentence in (2) shows the highest degree from the perspective of wise manners (wisdom) from a speaker to his/her listeners.

The word *pusah* which has several meanings such as feeling, deep heart, and conscience is still considered to have a correlation with willingness and based on its usages in the tradition of NKMC this word is ranked in the second; thus, it is considered more polite/wise compared with the words *akap* or *ukur* (these words have the same meaning as *pusah*). Consider the sentence in (3).

- (3) ... malem kel ate-ta kerna bibita e. Malem kel *pusah-ta* ibahana. Lanai akap-ndu lit? Maka nggo nge peseh-ndu kerina, pingko-pingko *pusah-ndu* kerina. (69)

‘... we feel satisfied with our aunt. She made our heart really satisfied. Is there nothing else you wanted to say? Then you have already said all the words you wanted to tell’.

The sentences in (3) demonstrate how the speaker is really sad with his/her aunt's death even though he/she thought his/her association with the dead is long enough and he/she rewarded the association with the expression *malem kel pusah-ta ibahana* 'she satisfies all our willingness'. The word *pusah* is an option to show the speaker's courtesy to his/her addressee (the dead) and deals with the mood experienced by the speaker when he/she attended the funeral ceremony.

In this study the expression with the word *akap* is considered tactful although the number of expressions with this word is very limited. This limitation can be caused by an uncomfortable feeling that speaker has when he/she has to express his/her condolences although semantically this word has the same

meaning as *pusuh* or *ate*. One sentence fragment like ... *aminna kuan-kuanen ate kami akap-ndu* 'however, what we think is the same as you want to feel' can be interpreted that the speaker expects his/her listeners not upset even though they have lost someone they loved very much. In addition, the speaker is actually sad with what happened in front of him/her. The sentence is also considered a sad expression but polite (wise) because the speaker tries to utter the same perception with what is perceived by his/her listeners.

In this case the total number of uses of the word *ukur* is the same as the word *akap*. From the perspective of tact maxim the word *ukur* is considered tactful (polite) and does not lead to any negative thinking from the speaker to the hearers, for example, the sentence *meriah kel ukur kami* ... 'We want to express our joy' is an expression of happiness that is tactful even though when the same sentence is used in other places with a similar situation may cause offense because it is not wise to express joy at the moment when there is misfortune. In the Karonese tradition, such expression is considered wise because *mate cawir metua* 'death in the old age' is really hoped by sons and daughters, children and grandchildren, the wife givers and other the dead's close parties.

4.3 Asking for (request) with 'will'

Asking for (request) using modality "will" is not found in the NKMCM tradition. Some informants argued that this modality is not common in the realm of Karo language, neither is it for positive, negative nor interrogative sentence. So, when a Karonese wants, for example, to declare "when are you going to come?" this sentence is replaced by the following: "When do you come?"

4.4 Asking for (request) with 'can'

Although the verb "can" is available in Karo language but this verb is not found in the request during the NKMCM tradition. Commonly, Karo speakers use "banci" 'can' in everyday communication.

4.5 Statement (declarative) with 'will'

Statement (or declarative) with modality "will" is a wise/polite statement; this form gives freedom to *n* to choose the response that he/she wants. Thus, *t* honours *n*, and the statement like this has impositive power. Statement (declarative) marker with "will" as modality is not available in Karo and instead, some adverbs, for example, *emaka*, *seh*, *pagi* or *pepagi*, *gelah*, *kari*, and *pudi* can serve to replace the modality "will". These adverbs have extensive roles in the formation of declaratives and these roles are shown by their variations of positions in the sentences. The word *emaka* 'therefore', is used to indicate a causal connection and may appear to follow the matrix clause.

Consider the following illocutionary in (4).

- (4) *Uga pe lanai nak-ku, adi sekali enda labo sirang ndai, emaka tatap rupaku e, nindu, nande*
'No, however, my son, if this time we are not separated, you will see my face, you ever said, mom.'

The subordinate clause preceded by *emaka* in (4) does not have subject except it has the verb *tatap* 'to see'. It is estimated the subject of the sentence with *emaka* refers to *nakku* 'my child' which is the subject of the matrix clause. In relation to tact maxim the clause with *emaka* is categorized as tactful since the *emaka* is used for the purpose of giving freedom to *n* so the *n* can choose the action he/she wants to perform. Moreover, the *emaka* also means that *n* pays respect to *t* although the sentence preceded by *emaka* still has impositive power. From the aspect of function, the purpose of illocutionary in (4) is 'competitive in command' while from the aspect of acts, this illocutionary is classified as the 'directive to govern' category. Such illocutionary is assumed to be impolite because it tends to govern but, unfortunately, *n* can not see *t*'s reaction to 'accept or reject the command' which is expressed by *n*. This illocutionary is against the proposition of [(b) maximize benefit to other]. Thus, *n* does not get benefit at all.

However, the illocutionary in (4) is categorized as 'not generous' because it is not 'self-centered' but on 'other'; the proposition infringed in this case is related to [(b) maximize cost to self]. Based on the cost-benefit scale the relation between *n* and *t* becomes reversed because the role of *n* is not as a 'donor' but as 'giver of orders'; *n* does not give an offer to *t* so there are not giver and recipient parties of the charity.

4.6 Statement (declarative) with 'can'

The statement (declarative) with "can" is signalling that *n* places him/herself at ease to find a reason to grant *t*'s request. This auxiliary verb is very commonly used by Karo speakers in everyday conversation. Thus, in terms of pragmatic tact (wisdom), it is reasonable at all to state that this verb shows a very wise behavior in which *n* has made himself to choose and find the ease of what he wants to do. This verb usually has other equivalent words used to express the capability or capacity and appears in five variations, for example, *banci*, *ngasup*, *sangap*, *beluh*, *la banci lang*; all of them have the same meaning 'able to'. Structurally, these words may precede or follow the sentence subjects. Note one example in (5) below.

- (5) *Bage pe nande, gelah kami ka pagi kerina banci cawir metua kerina; bage kam ija idah kami.*
'Same as you, my mother, tomorrow we all can live long; the same as your condition we see today'.

Of the aspect of function, the purpose of illocutionary in (5) is 'competitive to request' while of the acts, such illocutionary is classified as 'directive to beg' category. The reason why this illocutionary is considered very tactful is that it contains request or appeal but, unfortunately, *n* can not see *t*'s reaction to 'accept or reject the request or appeal' expressed by *n*. This illocutionary is contradictory with the proposition [(b) Maximize benefit to other]. Thus, *n* does not benefit from his/her demand and appeal to *t*.

Moreover, the illocutionary in (5) can be categorized as 'not generous' although 'self-centered' and not on 'other'; proposition infringed is [(b) Maximize cost to self]. On a cost-benefit scale, the relation between *n* and *t* is considered less fair or reversed because of the role of *n* is not a 'donor' but a 'recipient of request or appeal'; *n* does not send an offer to *t* but a request and *t* can not grant the request.

Here are two additional illocutionaries in (6)-(7) which become the supporting materials for the two maxims above.

- (6) *Kam pe puas akapndu geluh. Jadi ibas penadingken-ndu e ge kami anakndu kerina ras kempu-kempundu banci ka cawir metua.*
'So, when leaving you, we all your children and grandchildren can be also long-lived.'
- (7) *Enggo banci kam miser.*
'You have been able to move.'

Some typological characteristics of the auxiliary verb "banci" can be added although this study is not associated with this linguistic branch. This auxiliary may appear between the subjects and the verb "cawir metua" 'live longer'; the space between them is filled with preposition *ka* 'to/until', *pagi* 'tomorrow' and *kerina* 'all'. This auxiliary may also precede the subjects *kam* 'you (SG/PL)' or *kita* 'we (incl.)' but this verb appears after the auxiliary verb *enggo* 'to have already', the negation *lanai* 'no' or after the word *tetap* 'remain'. The verb *banci* may also precede the subject *kam* that has in this case an adjective of *sakit* 'sick'.

V. CONCLUSION

From the aspects of function and acts, the illocutionaries in this paper indicate value of tact (politeness) predominantly. Tact maxim of impositive (command) form appears dominantly, followed by statement (declarative) with "shall", with "can", and with the verb "want". Of the four forms, the first form is characterized by the dominance of SPK SG/PL implicitly, the second one with the words *ate*, *pusuh*, *akap*, and *ukur*, third one with *pagi* or *pepagi*, *seh*, *emaka*, *gelah*, *kari*, and *kupudi*, and the fourth form with *banci*, *ngasup*, *sangap*, *beluh* and *la banci lang*.

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