

Research Article

Women' Deixis in Trade Interaction of West Sumatra Traditional Market

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The Minangkabau language has richness in female deixis, which provides an overview of the value of women's roles and social position in society. For many people, the fluctuating calls for women in the trade are only mere persuasion from traders to buyers. Meanwhile, from a pragmatic study, this call has deep social meaning. This study was aimed at finding the categories, positions, and social meanings of women based on their deixis in trade interactions in the traditional market of West Sumatra. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation. Focus group discussions were used for confirmation and triangulation with 26 informants. From the analysis of all deixis and their meanings, it was found that there were social categories of traders and buyers. The social position of women still dominated both as traders and buyers. There are social meanings of women's power, respect, and various positive meanings, and almost no negative meanings of women's deixis in *Pasa Bawah*. This study concludes that *Pasa Bawah* is an example of a traditional Minangkabau market that still keeps holding the custom and upholds the dignity of women. There are high positions and strong power of a woman on trader social structure in the traditional market. Each deixis shows the position of women in trade in *Pasa Bawah*, which indicates a role of power, respectability, and determination, or the role of the ordinary people under the power of others. Sometimes, the wrong use of deixis can have serious consequences.

1. Introduction

The native language of West Sumatra, the Minangkabau language, has a richness of women's deixis. The richness of the deixis also provides an overview of the value of women's social role and position in the Minangkabau society [1, 2]. Each deixis describes a person's category, position, and social meaning [3–6]. Each deixis preserves the secret of the inner philosophy of society in treating members of society, especially in this case, women.

According to [7], Minangkabau women are divided into *harok* and *cameh* [hope and worry]. *Harok* [hope] is divided into (a) *Bungo Padi* [rice flower], meaning

flowers that are elegant and bring benefits to others but are far from being arrogant. (b) *Ramo-Ramo* [butterfly] means intelligent, polite, generous, and good at keeping a distance, so it is difficult to catch. *Cameh* [worry], divided into (a) *Barau-barau* [singing bird], is a type of noisy animal. (b) *Anai-anai* [termites] is a type of nocturnal animal whose work is crazy looking for light. *Anai-anai* women are women who go out at night and have fun. (c) *Lawah-lawah*, *lawah* in Indonesian, is also called a spider, calm but savage, looks calm and quiet, but only a cover. (d) *Alang-alang*, in Indonesian, are also called kites. The kite woman is a woman who likes to look up.

Traditional markets are the same with women. In any traditional market, especially in Indonesia, as much as 85% of trade is controlled by women, even buyers in conventional markets are mostly 90% women, and of course, the merchandise sold is also related to women or related to domestic needs [8, 9]. [10] even showed that the Minangkabau trade culture seen in Indonesia is even in various countries, as in Singapore, but some traders still maintain traditions.

Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi is a traditional market mutually established by the traditional leaders of Kurai V Jorong with the head of 40 Nagari Agam as the community market. According to the local government of Bukittinggi, Decree of the mayor of the City of Bukittinggi No. 188.45-177 (1988), the market was established on December 22, 1784, when a meeting of the traditional leaders of 40 villages, *Niniak Mamak 40 Nagari Agam* took place at the United Market. The deliberation decided to change the name of the market location from “*Bukik Kubangan Kabau*” [the buffalo bath puddle] to “*Bukik nan Tatinggi*” [the highest hill]. Referring to the data, *Pasa Bawah* is a Minangkabau traditional market almost 240 years old.

The Dutch East Indies government in 1896 renovated the market by building *loods*, large buildings with roofs without walls. The word *loods* then underwent a sound change to become *los*. In the subsequent periods of classification and specialization, people have established five markets: *Pasa Bawah* [down market], *Pasa Ateh* [uphill market], *Pasa Lereang* [middle market], *Pasa Banto* [grass market], and *Pasa Taranak* [cattle market].

Pasa Bawah survives as a traditional market. *Pasa Ateh* is relatively a wholesale market and a modern market. *Pasa Lereang* has changed its function from a wet market to a culinary and garment market. *Pasa Banto* was initially a wagon and cart terminal, bus terminal, and a modern market. *Pasa Taranak* was moved in the 1970s. As a traditional market that is almost two and a half centuries old, *Pasa Bawah* still carries its original characteristics: meeting of sellers and buyers, bargaining events, lots of informal sector jobs, trading of daily household goods, nine essential commodities, and as Fujiati stated, dominated by the majority of women, both as sellers and buyers.

Trade interactions in traditional markets, in this case, a traditional market in Minangkabau, all the characteristics of these traditional markets provide an overview of the actors' categories, positions, and social meanings. It even provides an overview of trader's and buyers' categories, roles, and economic positions [11–14]. Social deixis is a reference expressed based on social differences that affect the roles of speakers and listeners. The difference can be shown in the choice of words. In some languages, differences in social level between speakers and listeners are manifested in word selection and/or morphological systems of certain words [15–18].

Deixis is words that have to change or move referents [19, 20]. According to [21], deixis is a way to refer to a particular essence by using language that can only be interpreted according to the meaning referred to by the speaker and influenced by the situation of the conversation. Deixis can also be interpreted as the location and identification of

people, objects, events, processes, or activities that are being discussed or are being referred to concerning the dimensions of space and time when spoken by the speaker or being spoken to [22–24].

Through the critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach, a text can be understood in terms of “social cognition, “ and social cognition is in the “context” that gave birth to the text (Al Ayub [25, 26]). When a text [deixis = greeting] is used continuously, the meaning becomes a convention among communicators in the market, either between traders or between traders and buyers. Based on this explanation, this research focuses on the analysis of deixis of women in *Pasa Bawah*, categories, positions, and social meanings of women deixis of traders and buyers in the trade interactions of Minangkabau traditional market in *Pasa Bawah*, Bukittinggi. This study was aimed at finding an explanation of the variation and uniqueness of the use of deixis and its relationship with the position and role of women in trading in traditional markets, and the position and role of women in Minangkabau society.

2. Literature Reviews

Cruse [27] discussed semantics as the study of meaning in a language. There are two categories of meaning, namely, conceptual meaning and association meaning. The conceptual meaning is also called the denotative meaning, namely, the natural meaning, the primary meaning, the meaning that appears first, or the meaning in accordance with reality. This is the type of meaning in the dictionary to explain something [28, 29]. According to [30], the meaning of association is similar to the concept of connotation according to [31]. The basic meaning gets different feelings, particular, specific values, and stimuli, varied and unpredictable. [32] divided meaning into denotative meaning, contextual meaning, grammatical meaning, compositional meaning, associational meaning, thematic, interpretative, idiomatic, and cognitive.

So, semantics is the study of the meaning of the language, which includes the meaning of words and meanings in sentences. Semantics has two aspects of the study: word semantics and sentence semantics. According to [33], efforts to uncover the nature of language will not bring the expected results without understanding pragmatics, namely, how language is used in communication. [34] also defined pragmatics as the study of meaning in relation to speech situations.

There are four areas explored by pragmatics: (a) deixis, (b) presupposition, (c) speech acts, and (d) conversational implicature [35–37]. Social deixis, or greeting words used by the community, is a reference based on social differences that affect the roles of speakers and listeners. The difference can be shown in the choice of words. In some languages, differences in social level between speakers and listeners are manifested in word selection and/or morphological systems of certain words [38–40].

Deixis is words that have to change or move referents [41–44]. Deixis is a way to refer to a particular essence by using language that can only be interpreted according to the meaning referred to by the speaker and is influenced by the situation of the conversation. Deixis can also be

interpreted as the location and identification of people, objects, events, processes, or activities that are being discussed or are being referred to in relation to the dimensions of space and time, when spoken by the speaker or being spoken to [4, 45–47].

According to [48], deixis points to something closely related to the speaker. Furthermore, [49] revealed that deixis is a thing or function of pointing out something outside of language. [50] explored deixis as a form of language whose reference depends on the speaker's point of view. There are three types of deixis: personal, spatial, and temporal.

[51] discussed deixis as a tool to refer to speakers in three situations: space or place, time; person; and social situations owned by each language. [32] also suggested three categories of deixis: personal, time, and discourse deixis. In contrast to the experts mentioned above, [52] classified deixis into five types: person, place, time, discourse, and social deixis. The explanation above shows that deixis is a linguistic unit that refers to a word or group of words in an utterance or a sentence that can be recognized and understood based on the characteristics of the context. Deixis can be in the form of personal, temporal, locational, discourse, and social characteristics. The discussion of deixis here focuses on place or layout, persona, and social deixis.

Social deixis involves markers of social relations in the form of linguistic expressions with direct references, or there is a tendency to use references to social status or the role of participants in a speech event [39, 53–55]. Furthermore, the concept of social deixis is further explained by Levinson as quoted by Stapleton, who suggests that the pronoun systems of several languages grammatically provide information about participants' social identity or relationships in a conversation called social deixis.

The process of meaning, according to [56], occurs in communication between humans, where meaning is a "social product" or "creation that is formed in and through defining human activities when they interact." The meaning of women's deixis, which is also produced and used by most women, becomes significant, especially to find the meaning it contains.

2.1. Relevant Studies. There are many previous studies on women in relation to traditional markets. An example is Fujiati, who looked at Women Traders and Traditional Markets. This research concludes, among other things, that women traders as key actors who have power and dominance in traditional markets, and of course, become central in building the pattern of relations with various other subjects, which play a role in the market.

There is also much research on Minangkabau women's deixis, such as [57], who discussed that the *Piramida Deixis Perempuan Minangkabau* [Minangkabau Women's Deixis Pyramid] of the Minang language has so many vocabularies. This means that Minangkabau society is rich in words that treat women with respect, warmth, and egalitarianism.

Other studies on the deixis of Minangkabau women are [7] who looked at Minang women in Kaba Cindua Mato Kaya Syamsuddin St. Rajo Endah, and Marah Rusli. This study concluded that there are two categories of women's

depiction: harok and cameh. Harok is divided into (a) *Bungo Padi*, which is clever and benefits others. (b) *Ramo-Ramo* [butterfly] means graceful, polite, generous, and not easily caught. Cameh, divided into (a) *Barau-barau*, is a noisy animal. (c) *Anai-anai* is a kind of crazy night animal looking for light. (d) *Lawah-lawah* looks calm quiet, but this is only on the surface. (e) Reeds or kites, which are pleasant to look up at, forget about the ground used to stand and only follow the direction of the wind.

No research has focused on women's deixis by market participants in the context of trading in traditional markets in Minangkabau. The conceptual framework behind this study is presented in Figure 1.

3. Methods

3.1. Research Design. Qualitative research was used in this study, where the data was taken from interviews, observation, documents, and focus group discussions (FGDs). The study sought to determine the categories, positions, and social meanings of traders and buyers in the trading interaction of the Minangkabau traditional market in Pasar Bawah, West Sumatra.

3.2. Place of the Research. Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi is a traditional market that retains its initial form, with the main characteristics: buying and selling process price bargaining between buyers and sellers. Pasar Bawah was founded on December 22, 1784. Pasa Bawah is a Minangkabau traditional market that is almost 240 years old. The Lower Market is one of five markets with specific characteristics. The five markets are shown in the following table (Table 1):

The types of traders in Pasa Bawah, by the Bukittinggi Market Management Office [59], are divided into four categories based on the procedures for collecting local retribution. The number of Lower Market traders fluctuates based on market days. On a market day called "Feed Day," every Wednesday and Saturday, the number of traders increases. The increase occurred in the types of street vendors, which in the Bukittinggi Market Management Service category were divided into street vendors without umbrellas and street vendors using umbrellas (Table 2).

Every Wednesday and Saturday, there is an increase in the number of street vendors, as many as 405 plots, both using umbrellas or not using umbrellas. The four hundred street vendors are scattered on the streets of Lower Pasa and the roads that surround Pasa Bawah, namely, Soekarno-Hatta Street, Independence Pioneer Street, Sheikh Jamil Jambek Street, and Sulaiman Arrasuli Street.

4. Research Results

The results showed that women's deixis in Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi varies. The deixis variations can be grouped based on several things, namely, the following:

- (i) Variations of deixis due to the relation of the deixis user with the deixis object

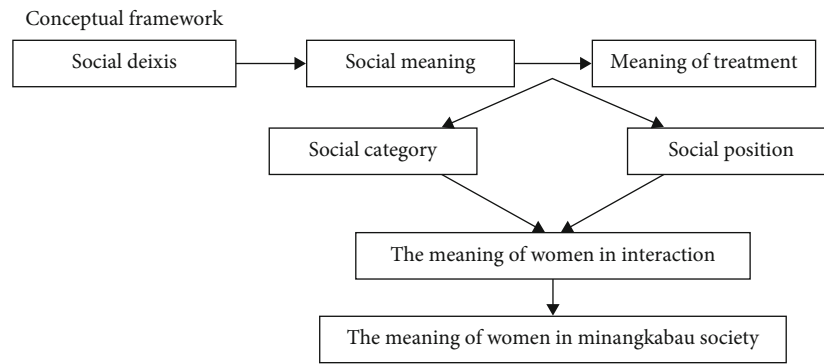


FIGURE 1: Conceptual framework.

TABLE 1: Characters of Five Markets in Bukittinggi City.

Market	Main character
Pasa Ateh	This market is close to the character of a modern market for supporting shopping tours that provide items for embroidery, embroidery, handicrafts, and culinary.
Pasa Bawah	Traditional markets that provide various basic needs of the community, necessities, food ingredients, agricultural products, and crafts, as interpreted by the Bukittinggi Regional Government that “Traditional markets are places of business in the form of stores, kiosks, stalls, tents, and courtyards provided by the regional government for holding a process of buying and selling merchandise with a bargaining process.”
Lereang Pasa	This market was originally part of a traditional market for agricultural commodities, then changed to a culinary market and a retail garment market, and relatively still has the character of a traditional market
Banto Pasa	This market was originally a terminal remodeled into a modern market but to no avail and now used by street vendors of agricultural commodities.
Pasa Aua	This market was established in 1985. This market functions as a convection market with large-scale (wholesale) and several small-scale (retail) trades.

Note: Adapted from Bukittinggi City Planning, Research and Development Agency [58].

TABLE 2: Fluctuations in the number of Lower Market Traders on ordinary days and feed days.

Trader type	Ordinary day	Feed day
Store/kiosk	622 plots	622 plots
Monthly field	709 plots	709 plots
Street vendors	200 plots	520 plots
Umbrella	19 plots	94 plots
Amount	1540 plots	1945 plot

Note: Bukittinggi Market Service Report 2015 [59].

- (ii) Deixis variation due to the social structure of the deixis object
- (iii) Variations of deixis due to the situation/context of the use.

4.1. Variations of Deixis Due to the Relation between the User and the Deixis Object. User relations and deixis objects in Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi can minimally be categorized into the following forms:

4.1.1. Permanent Deixis between Traders and Buyers. Deixis from traders, including service sellers, as users of deixis to buyers as objects of deixis, can be seen in two conditions: temporary and permanent. The relationship between traders

and temporary buyers means that the two parties do not know each other. The relationship between a trader and a permanent buyer implies that both parties already know each other, either because they have become regular customers or because of relationships outside the buying and selling process, such as kinship, acquaintances at the place of domicile, and the like.

Trader-buyer deixis in a permanent relationship generally becomes deixis which is also permanent. The research found relatively permanent deixis from traders to buyers in permanent relations, generally in honorific deixis (award) and television distinction patterns.

Deixis, as a female first-person pronoun in Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi, is *Den* or *Waden*. In this deixis, there is the meaning of the existence of “I” and an expression of the open and genuine nature of the Bukittinggi people. In certain circumstances, it also shows intimacy. For relationships that show respect, the first-person substitute deixis is *Ambo* and *Awak*. For the plural deixis is *Kami*, *Kito*, and *Crew* (Table 3).

As a second-person pronoun, there are variations in Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi. Deixis *Gau*, *Kau* is a greeting that shows the relationship between seniors and juniors, both in terms of age and assets. Traders who are older or have more assets than permanent buyers [customers] use the deixis as a statement of established relationships. If the relationship between the two is not yet established, the type of deixis used is

TABLE 3: Deixis of female first-person pronouns in Pasar Bawah Bukittinggi.

Deixis	Equivalent	Unequal and honorific
Single	<i>Waden, Aden, and Den</i>	<i>Ambo, Awak, and Denai</i>
Plural	<i>Kami and awak</i>	<i>Kito and awak</i>

nonpermanent deixis. Deixis *Wa-ang* is a greeting for boys. *Wa-ang* deixis is a greeting that reflects the closer relationship of senior traders to junior buyers. The use of this deixis also shows respect for the junior buyer.

In the relationship between wholesalers and buyers with smaller assets, there is deixis other than *Gau, Kau, Wa-ang*, namely pronouns referring to the third person of the *anggota, nakbuah, and anak jojo*; on the other hand, greetings from customers are *induk samang, boss, and toke*. This deixis shows the patron-client relationship in trade relations in Pasa Pawah.

Deixes *Mai, Amai, Amak, Mak, Mandeh, Etek, Tek, Ni, Uni, Kak, Akak, Kakak, and Atiak* are greeting words for older women and are used generally in Bukittinggi and its surroundings. *Mai Amai, Amak, Mak, Mandeh, Etek, and Tek* are standard greetings for married women, or middle-aged women, over the age of 40, who are nationally called *Ibu*. *Ni, Uni, Kak, Akak, Kakak, and Atiak* are common greetings for all women. The greeting contains the meaning of respect for elders or more seniors (Table 4).

There are two general variations of female third-person pronouns in Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi: equivalent deixis and honorific. Deixes showing equality are as follows: *No, Ano, and Inyo*, and honorific deixes are *liau and baliu*. There is deixis that connotes insulting and demeaning or contains anger, including *Paja tu* and *Kalera tu*. But in an equivalent situation, this deixis also means a show of intimacy between the user and the object of the deixis.

The above categorization has not been able to separate the position of using permanent deixis. There are distinct television distinction patterns in each category, as in the examples of the use of *Den, Waden, Kau, Gau, Wa-ang, ano, no, inyo, Paja tu, and Kalera tu* deixis as a T pattern, and *Ambo, Awak, Kito, and Ambo* deixis. *Liau and Baliu* as pattern V.

The direction of the use of deixis is needed, from traders to buyers, and vice versa, also from every category of relations between traders and buyers. From the results of the analysis and merging of the three categories of permanent deixis between traders and buyers who are also—relatively—permanent, a combined table is obtained as shown in the following table (Figure 2).

The amount of deixis in each category has variations that give rise to new data; there is the highest variation of deixis in greeting words from permanent buyers (customers) who have younger or smaller assets to senior traders or traders with more considerable assets.

There are 43 variations of V pattern deixis, consisting of 27 variations of deixis from customers with smaller assets, then 16 variations of deixis from younger customers. In contrast, there are only 15 variations of the T pattern deixis

from more senior traders to their customers. This data can be interpreted as meaning that customers as clients have more deixis to respect their patrons, more senior or older traders.

4.1.2. *Temporary Deixis between Merchants and Buyers.* Trader-buyer deixis in a temporary relationship generally becomes temporary deixis. Temporary deixis is intended to explain greeting words not permanently attached to someone. The greeting word only appears once, suddenly, often changing among users, traders, and buyers in Pasa Bawah. This greeting occurs between a merchant who greets a buyer he meets for the first time, or vice versa, the greeting of a buyer to a merchant he meets for the first time.

This temporary deixis often refers to the condition of the object being addressed, especially the condition of age and appearance. The following table shows the temporary deixis of women in Pasa Bawah based on the object of deixis and honorific of the television distinction pattern. There are more variations of temporary deixis from traders to buyers' objects and fewer variations of temporary deixis from buyers to traders (Table 5).

4.1.3. *Social Structure in Deixis Between Traders.* Some groups of traders have certain relations with each other, a kind of group or community that is relatively well established with a certain social structure. These groups or communities have special relationships with certain structures. It is found two-layers and three-layers structure of traders.

(1) *Two-Layer Structure.* The two-layer group structure is found in many garment and culinary traders. There are traders with larger capital in the upper layer, commonly called *Induk Samang, Toke, Tongkang, or Boss*. The second layer is addressed as *Anak Buah, Anak Jojo, Upiak X, Anggota, or Ujang X*,

Induk Samang is a big seller with several people or *Anak Jojo*. *Induk Samang* has her own store. *Anak Buah* or *Anak Jojo* generally sell goods in different locations, with their own small stores. The goods and capital of *Anak Jojo, Anggota, or Anak Buah* are owned by *Induk Samang*,

Toke, Tongkang, or Boss are big sellers with several people, like *Anak Jojo, Upiak X, or Ujang X*. *Toke, Tongkang, or Boss* do not have their own place or store. They are just financiers for *Anak Buah* or *Anak Jojo*. There is a variety of *Toke* that also has a store in which there are subordinates as workers (Figure 3).

(2) *Three- and Four-Layer Structure.* Three-level and four-level group or community structures were found. These levels were found in four communities: flour traders, peanut traders, rice traders consisting of women, and the meat merchant community consisting of men.

Flour merchant groups consist of three to four layers of interrelated structures. The lowest tier consists of young traders or newcomers called "si *Upiak X*," where X is the original nickname, for example, si *Upiak Ani*, si *Upiak Eli*,

TABLE 4: Deixis of the second-person female pronouns in Pasar Bawah Bukittinggi.

Deixis	Equivalent		Not equal	
	Normal	Honorific	Normal	Honorific
Single	<i>Kau, Gau, Kanti, Nti, Konco, Nco, Ang, and Wa-ang</i>	<i>Uni, Akak, Atiak, Kak, and Kakak</i>	<i>Kau, Gau, Wa-ang, Anggota Nak Buah Nak jojo, Ano, inyo, Paja tu, and Kalera tu</i>	<i>Amak, Mak, Mandeh, Etek, Tek, Uni, Ni, Akak, Kakak, Kak, Atiak, toke, boss induak samang, Uwo, and Anduang</i>
Plural	<i>Ano, no, and inyo</i>	<i>Liau and baliau</i>		<i>Liau and baliau</i>

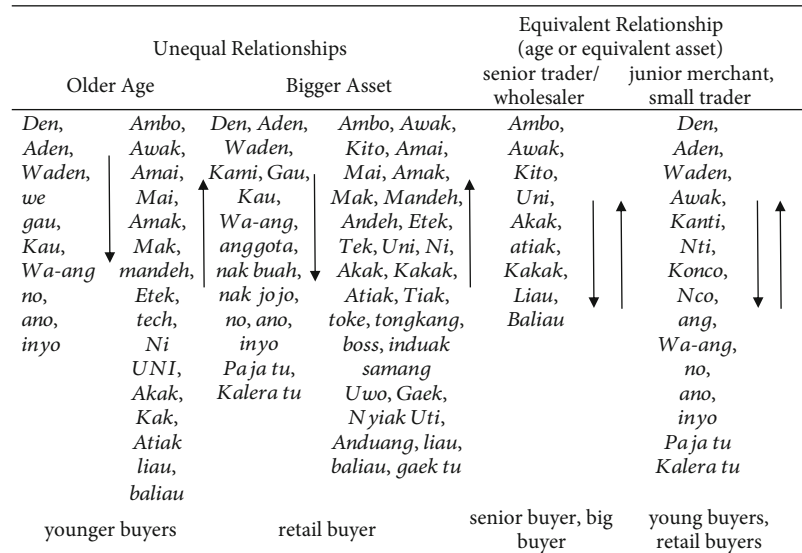


FIGURE 2: Variations of honorific deixis and television distinction pattern in the permanent. Relationship between buyers and traders in Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi. Note: Research data and analysis. Arrow is the direction of using deixis.

TABLE 5: Temporary deixis from traders to women buyers in Pasar Bawah.

(1) Younger buyers	Buyers of the same age or older and meaning
<i>Diak/Adiak, Ananda, Dinda, Sayang, and Mintu</i>	<i>Uni, Tek/Etek, Buk, Mak, Mai, Mandeh, and Bundo Buk Haji, Rangkyo, Mintuo, Bunda, and Ibunda [respectness and politeness]</i>
(2) Cooperative buyers	Fussy buyer
<i>Diak/Adiak, Ananda, Dinda Sayang Minantu, Uni, Buk, Mandeh, Bundo, Buk Haji, Rangkyo, Mintuo, and Ibunda</i>	<i>Ananda Sayang, Diak Sayang, Tek/Etek, Mai, Amai, Sayang, Santiang, and Barau-barau, Rinuak, Palasik, and Saku Bajaik [variation of anger level]</i>

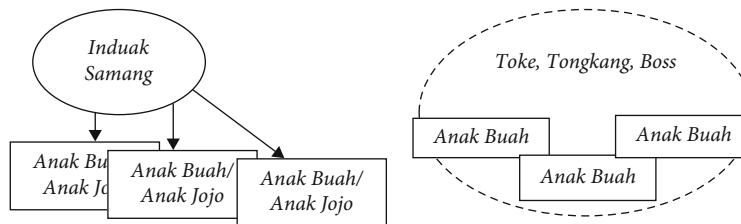


FIGURE 3: *Induak Samang* usually has its store separated from *Anak Jojo*'s small store. *Tongkang, Toke, or Boss* usually have a store where *Anak Buah* in it.

and the like. They are generally young and have only one type of flour trade, with only one or two ketiding/sacks. In the same deixis category, the second layer, *Upiak X*, a more senior merchant assistant, does not have his merchandise

but becomes a front office of a senior trader. *Upiak X*'s category in the flour merchant community is a trader who actively greets temporary storekeepers who pass by at the flour booths.

The third layer is “*Amai X*,” “*Etek*,” or “*Uni X*,” where X is the original nickname, for example, *Amai Caya*, *Amai Kamidar*, and the like. They are generally aged 50 years and over, have a store that consists of three types of *ketiding* or more, and have one or two helpers, the *Upiak*. *Amai*, *Etek*, or *Uni* have customers, more permanent relationships with buyers. Not too active in greeting potential buyers because they generally have assistants who do these tasks. Around ten stalls or stalls in the flour store are dominated by *Amai*, *Etek*, or *Uni* stores.

The fourth layer is not seen as a trader because it only appears at certain times, accompanying the “*tukang angkek*” expedition service that delivers goods. This fourth layer is more senior, usually called “*Anduang X*,” where X is a nickname. *Anduang* is a supplier trader for *Amai*, *Uni*, or *si Upiak* and wholesale buyers. *Anduang* does not have *lapak* or store or *ketiding/bakul* held in the market. He only came for a limited time, interacting with *Amai*, *Etek*, *Uni*, and *Upiak*.

Anduang is the determinant of price policy and flour supply and relations with the market service. The resolution of conflicts between flour traders internally or with the third player is determined by *Anduang*. When *Amai* becomes a supplier or wholesaler, his greeting will gradually change to *Anduang*.

The four categories of *deixis* were found in flour, peanut, rice, and meat traders. The fourth relationship shows a relatively massive social structure. The surviving structures are located in the flour traders (women) and meat traders (men). For male traders, his nickname is *Inyiak*, a call of respect for *datuk/penghulu*/customary leader in Bukittinggi and its surroundings. *Anduang* as senior female traders or *Inyiak* as senior male traders (especially fresh meat traders) do not have their store. They exist as suppliers to the lower-layer traders. (Figure 4).

Peanut traders have been exhausted since the late 1990s when imported peanuts flooded the market, and the structure of traders was disbanded as traders switched professions. The structure of wholesalers lost the role of “*Anduang*” because *Amai*, *Etek*, and *Union* took on the role of suppliers, wholesalers, and retailers.

4.2. Variation of Deixis Due to Context of Usage Situation. It was found that there were variations of *deixis* used by traders against buyers based on the context of the situation when an interaction occurred or after an exchange occurred. The most prominent situation is when the merchant persuades the buyers with a distinctive greeting. The greeting has become an icon trader use for certain types of characters of buyers. Another situation is the “post-conflict” condition between the merchant and the buyer when an interaction is not satisfactory when the bargain turns into a verbal attack between both. After a conflict occurs, traders will buy specific labels for the buyer with distinctive *deixis* that only traders understand (Table 6).

5. Discussion

5.1. Shifting Power of Women. This study about the structure of traders reconfirmed the conclusion of Fujiati [60], who

found that traditional markets in Indonesia are synonymous with women, where women control trade. The existence of *Anduang* as senior traders or wholesalers is a decisive layer of traders in making market management policies, such as maintaining and changing market infrastructure. *Anduang* is also in control in turmoil among *Amai*, *Etek*, and *Uni*. *Anduang* and *Biye* have decreased in the last four decades since several agricultural commodities were flooded with imported goods, such as peanuts and onions. The number of traditional peanut and onion traders has dwindled drastically since the 1990s and will no longer exist in late 2021. “In the 1970s, there were two *Anduang* who became central figures in the peanut trade, starting from the peanut skin market [peanuts that are still wrapped in a pen-shell] to the market for *Kacang bakubak* [peanuts that have been peeled]. He became a figure among the 20 or so peanut traders,” said informant *Amai Inau*, a former peanut trader from Jangkak Village, Mandiangin District, Bukittinggi.

The power of women as leaders of traders’ groups has shifted from group traders who have a social structure/layer to individual traders. There are still women traders who have power in trade interactions in Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi. “They become traders with large assets and have several *Anak Jojo* or subordinates. They become *Induak samang* [leader] or *toke* [boss] but no longer influence other groups of traders as the role of *Anduang* and *Biye* in the past. Their calling has also changed, no longer *Anduang* and *biye*, because they are seen as individual traders” (FGD, 2021). An old group structure still survives, namely, flour traders and rice traders. The proportion of female traders in Pasa Bawah is dominant, except for fresh meat commodities, which men specifically manage. Women traders generally manage all traditional market commodities in Pasa Bawah.

5.2. Respect for Women. This study confirms previous research on Minangkabau women’s *deixis*, as stated by [57], that the Minangkabau language is very rich in *deixis* that rewards women but is very poor (little *pen.*) *deixis* that demeans or insults women. Women as traders or buyers are respected with *deixis*, good greetings, and elevated degrees. There is very little and almost no *deixis* that is demeaning or humiliating, even though there is conflict. The number of *deixes* collected confirms Yazan’s findings on the *Deixis Pyramid of Respect for Minangkabau Women*. The focus group discussion which took place all day at Simpang Raya restaurant Bukittinggi with 16 participants concluded that “Pasa Bawah is a traditional Minangkabau market, because all the *deixis* of respect for women are there, and almost no *deixis* can be interpreted as harassment, let alone insults” (FGD, 2021).

There are some differences in perceptions from buyers or visitors at Pasa Bawah regarding *deixis*, which is generally interpreted as seduction or respect. Certain *deixes*, which have the denotative meaning of respect, are sometimes captured and perceived as *deixis* of ridicule. This perception was obtained from informants of buyers or visitors at Pasa Bawah and confirmed in the focus group discussion on September 18, 2021 (Table 7).

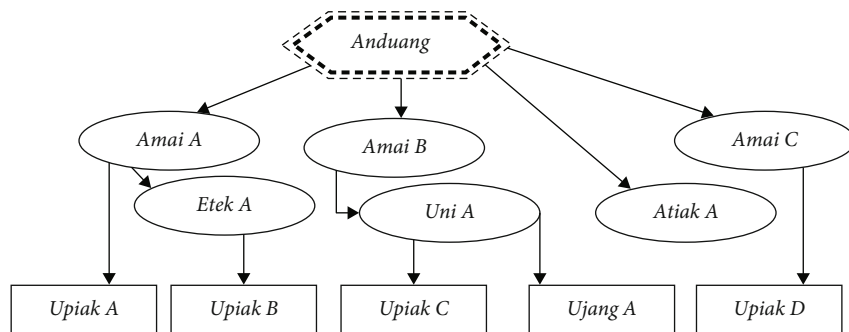


FIGURE 4: The structure of the four layers of traditional market traders in Pasa Bawah.

TABLE 6: Situational deixis from traders to women buyers Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi.

Appeal to buyers	Meaning
°Ananda, Dinda/Adinda, and Minantu	Relatively young buyers
°Bunda/Ibunda, Buk Haji, and Mintuo	Buyers are relatively old
.... sayang, santiang	All kinds of buyers
°Tongkang	Wholesale buyer
Postconflict deixis	Retail buyers/for personal
°Paja	Meaning (buyer type and character)
°Paja santiang	[= child, or childish]
°Barau-barau	[= “great”]
°Rinuak	[= birds chirping, talkative]
°Balak eseh	[= small,]
°Palasik	[= empty, have no money]
°Saku bajaik [plow pocket]	[= horror]
°Kalera	[= stingy]
	[= swearing]

Note: Confirmation of research data on informants in focus group discussions on September 18, 2021.

TABLE 7: Deixis with different meanings.

Deixis	General meaning	Other meaning
Buk haji [woman hajj]	Respect and rich benefactor	(taste) ridicule
Sayang, Santiang, Rancak, and Manis	Compliment and familiar, Warm and seduce	(feel) being scolded (with teeth clenched)

This communication confirms that spoken language, especially the Minangkabau language, contains a wealth of meaning with the presence of paralinguistics: tone, intonation, pause, rhythm, and others.

In this case, women in Pasa Bawah are seen as persons with high intelligence in metalanguage, in figurative language, so that there is no vulgar deixis to scold or insult because of a conflict. Informants from Pasa Bawah traders stated that disputes between traders or between traders and buyers are common. But “however hot” the conflict is, the deixis used is always customary. Deixis that insults women will get protests from generally UN traders.

5.3. The Implication and Limitation of This Research. The results of this study have implications for the following:

- (1) Development policy makers. Market development, especially traditional markets, needs to pay attention to the role and strategic position of women
- (2) Understanding of deixis towards women in trading in traditional markets is very crucial for a stakeholder as well as for traders
- (3) For traders, buyers, or market visitors: Mistakenly using deixis and treating its subject matter can have serious consequences

The limitations of this research are as follows:

- (1) It applies only to the use of women’s deixis in the Minangkabau traditional market, specifically in Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi. It cannot be generalized to

modern markets or traditional markets outside Minangkabau

- (2) This research only applies to people who use traditional markets who know the Minangkabau language and vocabulary specifically for Bukittinggi and its surroundings, which cannot be generalized to people outside of it

6. Conclusion and Recommendation

Researchers concluded that data on women's deixis used in trade interactions in the traditional market of Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi are all Minangkabau women's deixis that describes women's power in traditional markets giving an illustration of respect for women. There are social categories in the deixis of women in trade interactions in the traditional market of Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi. There are categories and social levels of traders and categories and social groups of buyers.

There was a change in the social category of women in several groups of traders. The social position of women in the traditional market of Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi is still dominant, both as traders and as buyers. There are social meanings of power, respect, and various positive meanings for women, and relatively small, there is almost no minor or negative meaning of women's deixis in Pasa Bawah, so it can be stated that Pasa Bawah is an example of a traditional Minangkabau market that is still traditional and upholds the dignity of women.

A traditional market as Pasa Bawah Bukittinggi is the center of a society's culture, primarily indigenous peoples like Minangkabau. The study and research of actors in traditional markets, which women still dominate, is an effort that needs to be continued to understand a culture. It is necessary to appreciate the role of women in traditional markets, which have opened up employment opportunities and built the economy. Further research is needed on the role of women in the economy of Bukittinggi City.

Data Availability

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

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