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Analysis of Semiotic Meaning of *Sirih* and *Rokok* in Minangkabau Wedding Invitation Spoken Text

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the semiotic meanings of *sirih* (betel leaf) and *rokok* (cigarette) in the spoken texts of Minangkabau wedding invitations. These two items, often overlooked in formal linguistic research, serve as important cultural symbols representing respect, hospitality, and the intention of invitation within the Minangkabau community. Using a descriptive qualitative method, this study relies exclusively on interviews for data collection. The participants consist of members of Sei Jariang Village, particularly *Ninik Mamak* (clan uncles) from the Koto and Tanjung tribes, as well as individuals from different generations, to capture a variety of perspectives on the meanings and functions of *sirih* and *rokok* in traditional ceremonies. The spoken texts gathered through interviews were analyzed using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and a multimodal semiotic framework. The SFL analysis revealed that relational and mental processes were dominant in the interview texts, indicating a focus on relationships, perception, and cultural values. Logically, the use of hypotactic enhancement ($\alpha \times \beta$) was found to be the most frequent, reflecting the complexity and layered nature of the spoken wedding invitation discourse. From a multimodal semiotic perspective, *sirih* and *rokok* function as communicative signs that go beyond their literal meanings, serving as culturally coded tools of social interaction and ceremonial engagement. This study fills a gap in the existing literature by providing an in-depth analysis of these traditional elements, highlighting how language and cultural objects intertwine to convey meaning in Minangkabau wedding practices.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background of Study

The Minangkabau people uphold a foundational cultural philosophy expressed in the maxim *Adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah*, which translates to "custom is based on religion, and religion is based on the Book of God." This guiding principle establishes a profound connection between cultural practices and Islamic values. One such cultural expression influenced by this philosophy is the use of *sirih* (betel leaf) and *rokok* (cigarette), particularly evident in the traditional practice of *manyiriah*—a ceremonial act involving the offering of *sirih*, which has long been integrated into both daily interactions and formal rituals such as *mammanggia* (wedding invitation ceremonies).

Historically, *manyiriah* was a deeply rooted practice within Minangkabau society. However, its prevalence began to decline in the early 19th century, coinciding with the emergence of Islamic reformism inspired by Wahhabi ideology from the Arabian Peninsula. This movement, introduced by Haji Miskin, aimed to purify Islamic teachings in Minangkabau and marked the beginning of what is often referred to as the first wave of Islamic youth renewal. The reformists took a rigid stance toward customary practices deemed inconsistent with Islamic principles.

One of the earliest and most notable cases of reform implementation occurred within the family of Tuanku Nan Renceh. He reportedly killed his maternal aunt after discovering that she had secretly chewing betel leaf, despite prior warnings. This extreme act served as a symbol of the movement's uncompromising enforcement[1]. It is presumed that fear of such violence led to a widespread decline in the *manyiriah* tradition. Consequently, the ritual use of *sirih* in customary practices diminished significantly during this reformist era, a shift that continued to affect subsequent generations.

The problem facing the Minangs today, especially for the younger generation and those born outside of West Sumatera, is that they are almost ignorant of their cultural heritage. This occurs because other cultures from outside Minangs have influenced the younger generation over time. As a result, many shifts in the Minangs culture have taken place. This implies that a thorough study needs to be conducted. The Minangs are not familiar with the traditions of Minang culture, especially the use of *Sirih* and *Rokok* in inviting relatives and communities to weddings in Minangkabau, especially in *Sei Jariang* village. *Ninik Mamak* delivers these tokens for wedding invitations and serves as the determinant group in every decision that concerns many in society[1]. When a *Ninik Mamak* or a man from the community becomes elderly and reaches the status of "*tampek baiyo dan bamolah*," he participates in consultation, even though he is still relatively young.

Manyiriah in inviting the public to hold a *baralek* has transformed with the use of cigarettes. This is reflected in the terms *kaganti siriah nan sahalai dan kaganti pinang nan sakapua.* This implies that the use of *sirih* 'betel leaf' in Minang has been largely replaced by *rokok*. However, *rokok* for *mamanggia* in Minang only appeared recently. Aswir Dt Panjang says that "In *adat* (custom) there is no proverb for *kaganti rokok nan sabatang*[2], the habit is just an addition that came later."

Sirih dan *Rokok* are used to invite relatives and communities of different genders and ages (the deliverer is an older person who he has been married). *Sirih* is used as an invitation wedding from the bride's side and also when inviting the woman's family. *Rokok* is used as an invitation wedding from the bridegroom's side and the bridegroom's family. Many younger generations do not understand this tradition and are thus ignorant of it, causing the shift from the tradition. To make the invitation process easier, invitation cards are used because they are simple and less complicated than using *sirih* or *rokok*, which require more complicated procedures.

For the Minang community, *Sirih* is not only a medicine but also a symbol of togetherness, a symbol of small talk, and of brotherhood[1]. As *Petatah Petitih* Minang stated, *mako dilicak siriah jo pinang dipalik sadah jo gambia diupam manjadi satu dimakan bamerah bibia, sarinyo naiak kaparoman lamaknyo tingga dirangkuangan ganti ambalau baso-basi silaturahim salamonyo.* (then grind the betel with

areca nut, add lime and gambir, mix them, eat it, and your lips will turn red; the juice will rise, and the taste will stay in your throat). *Petatah Petitih* Minang stated that the function of *Sirih* 'betel leaf' is very important because Sirih is likened to a pure blend among groups of people as a symbol of intimacy that must not be shaken. *Rokok* or Cigarettes are part of the *Petatah* and *Petitih* culture and serve as family symbols. The cigarette narrative is contained in the traditional Minangkabau literature. According to Djamaludin Umar in the book *Mereka yang Melampaui Waktu* says that *"Datuak baringin sonsang, baduo jo pandeka kilek, hisoklah rokok nan sabatang, supayo rundiangan nak nyo dapek"* [2], which that when the cigarette has been burned and smoked, negotiations or deliberation can begin. Cigarettes in this case become a marker of the start of the traditional meeting.

Using *Sirih* (betel leaf) is very important in India. A well-prepared betel quid is still regarded as an excellent mouth freshener and mild vitalizer, routinely served on social, cultural and religious occasions like marriage, *Puja* (religious festivals), and *Sraddha* ceremony (religious function performed after cremation) etcetera [3]. It is also used as a special item offered to the guests to show respect and for such traditional use of betel leaf in Indian society. The importance of betel leaf in India since ancient times and how it became an important part of the culture at the Mughal court has been documented [4]. Betel leaf formed an inseparable part of the menu at feasts, marriage ceremonies etc. It was also used as an offering to Hindu deities. The medicinal importance of betel leaf was also well recognized. Different types of betel leaf were grown in Mughal India and its production yielded also generated revenue.

1.2. Problem Statement

When individuals want to convey their opinions or ideas to others, they rely on language—either spoken or written—as a primary tool to do so [5]. Language serves as the central medium of communication, enabling people to exchange thoughts and share information. It is essential for human interaction and plays a vital role in how individuals engage with one another. Three language meta-functions are Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual. There are six types of processes. They are Material, Behavioral, Mental, Verbal, Relational, and Existential [5].

A study about Interpretation is part of the Systemic Functional Language (SFL). Gerot and Wignell [6] define an identifying process as a process that establishes an identity and an attributive process as a process that assigns a quality. The identifying process has two participants, they are Token and Value, which are used to analyze spoken and written sentences [6]. Related to the problems and the scope of the study, the researcher must limit the scope of the study to avoid wider analysis. For the Minangkabau Community, especially the young generation in *Sei Jariang* Village, West Sumatera, why *niniak mamak* (usually the older generation) use *Sirih* and *Rokok* as the media for inviting their relatives to weddings? This study aims to investigate the cultural meanings and linguistic realizations of *sirih* (betel leaf) and *rokok* (cigarette) as symbolic tokens in Minangkabau wedding invitations, particularly within the Sei Jariang Village community. It explores how these items are expressed in spoken forms and examines the underlying reasons for their use through the lens of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).

The symbolic meanings and expressions of *Sirih* (betel leaf) and *Rokok* (cigarette) in Minangkabau wedding invitations, particularly within the Sei Jariang Village community, remain underexplored. Understanding how these cultural symbols are linguistically and semiotically realized, and the reasons behind their specific representations, is essential for deepening insights into Minangkabau cultural practices and communicative traditions.

1.3. Research Objectives

1) To identify and interpret the meanings of *Sirih* (betel leaf) and *Rokok* (cigarette) in wedding invitations of the Minang community, focusing on Sei Jariang Village.
2) To analyze how *Sirih* and *Rokok* are linguistically and semiotically realized in the expressions used by the Minang community in Sei Jariang Village wedding invitations.
3) To investigate the cultural and communicative reasons behind the specific realizations of *Sirih* and *Rokok* in these wedding invitations.

1.4. Research Questions

1) What are the meanings of *Sirih* (betel leaf) and *Rokok* (Cigarette) for invitation weddings of Minang Commu-

nity especially in Sei Jariang Village?

2) How are *Sirih* and *Rokok* realized in the expression of Minang Community especially in Sei Jariang Village?

3) Why are *Sirih* and *Rokok* realized in the way they are?

2. Literature Review

2.1. Semiotic Signs

As the study of meaning is frequently associated with the broader discipline of semiotics or semiology, it provides a useful foundation for exploring visual signs. One of the most well-known pioneers of this field was Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913). In his lectures, later published posthumously as *Cours de Linguistique Générale*, he distinguished between two main categories of writing systems: phonographic and ideographic[7].

Phonographic writing is assumed to represent speech sounds in their units, while ideograms show full ideas. While these categories arose before Saussure (traceable to earlier in the 19th century with the discovery of Egyptian hieroglyphics), they fit perfectly into his analysis of the "linguistic sign," which represents the inseparable relationship between a sound image and a concept of a signifier and a signified[7].

Figure 1 illustrates Saussure's concept of the "sign" described the connection between the sound of a word and the idea it represents. This connection is considered arbitrary because the words in any language do not have an inherent link to their meanings; instead, the link exists through social agreement or convention. As a result, the phonographic and ideographic forms of writing naturally reflect the dual structure of the linguistic sign. He writes, "The system [which is] often called 'phonetic', [is] intended to represent the sequence of sounds as they occur in the word. Some phonetic writing systems are syllabic. Others are alphabetic, that is to say, based upon the irreducible elements of speech"[6]. This easily maps to the sound image aspect of his binary pair, while "the ideogram and the spoken word are of equal validity as signs for an idea"[6].

To achieve these aims, it is useful to bring in the work of another major figure of semiotic theory, the work of American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce[7]. Peirce initially developed his theory to offer a foundational framework for the logic of science. However, his classification of semiotic types has since been adapted for use in language and communication studies. Although Peirce himself did not specifically examine writing or visual symbols in his work, his ideas will still influence and guide the approach taken here, even though they will not be used as a rigid theoretical framework.
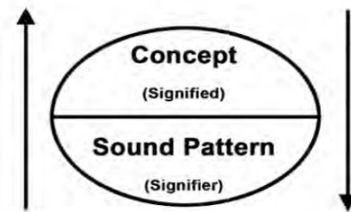
Figure 1. de Saussure Linguistic sign.

According to Peirce, a "sign" is anything that conveys meaning to someone, involving a triadic relationship as **Figure 2**. This includes the sign itself (also called the representamen), which is the form that represents meaning; the object, which is the actual thing or concept in the real world that the sign refers to; and the interpretant, which is the understanding or mental concept that arises in the mind of the interpreter[8].
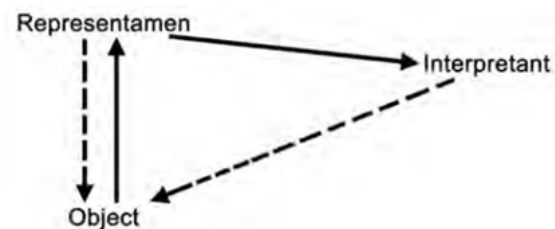
Figure 2. Pierce's sign.

2.2. Multimodal

The multimodal framework applied in this analysis is based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), a theory developed by Halliday. According to Halliday, every linguistic analysis is guided by a particular approach, meaning that no study of language is completely neutral or without underlying principles[9]. From the SFL perspective, language is viewed as a system of meaning that operates alongside other systems, including form and expression, which together help convey meaning. This study rests on two key ideas that set SFL apart from other linguistic theories: (a) language is a social construct, functioning as a form of social semiotics, and (b) language is realized through text, which is always linked to its social context. Therefore, analyzing language cannot

be separated from understanding the social environment in which it is used[10].

Stöckl[11] describes multimodality as "the late discovery of the obvious," suggesting that it is not a new concept, but rather a fundamental aspect of communication that has long existed alongside the idea of representation. Multimodality plays a key role in helping us understand nearly all forms of communication. It functions as both a theoretical framework and a practical approach[12], referring to the field where semiotic analysis occurs, the scope of study, and the various resources that contribute to the creation of meaning[13]. Traditionally, different modes—such as writing or imagery—were studied within separate disciplines, like linguistics for text or art history for images. However, the multimodal perspective treats all modes as part of a unified system, viewing them as cultural tools that work together to form meaning within complex semiotic constructs. Nevertheless, Kress[13] emphasizes that anyone engaging in multimodal analysis must clearly identify the theoretical framework they are using and make their perspective explicit.

Multimodality is closely linked to social semiotics because the creation of meaning within social contexts is also shaped by the use of different modes. In this context, a mode is defined as a culturally and socially developed resource used to convey meaning. As Bezemer and Kress explain, "a mode is a socially and culturally shaped resource for making meaning"[14]. The choice of mode in any given situation reflects the intentions and interests of the sign maker, which means it is not random or arbitrary. This aligns with the view of Boistrup and Selander, who state that "the modes that are 'chosen' in a specific situation reflect the interest of the sign maker, and they are therefore not arbitrary"[15].

Multimodality, as an approach to communication analysis, emphasizes the use of multiple semiotic systems, not just spoken or written language. It highlights the significance of non-verbal forms of communication, such as visual, gestural, and kinetic modes. Within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), multimodality is based on the adaptability of linguistic principles to other forms of meaning-making. It involves analyzing the range of options available within different semiotic resources, sometimes using SFL-based terminology or, when more appropriate, a different set of terms tailored to specific modes.

Multimodal semiotics focuses on how different forms of communication—such as speech, visuals, gestures, and sounds—interact and depend on one another in a given context[16]. According to Kress, this field examines communication across a dynamic interaction of audio, visual, verbal, and gestural elements[17].

According to Sinar[18], discourse involves the use of language in a broad sense—not just language itself, but also how it extends into various forms of interpretation and interaction. This includes different types of speech, genres, literary and scientific texts, educational materials, children's and adults' writing, textbooks, translations, language registers, conversations, interviews, plays, and television programs. Furthermore, discourse analysis today has expanded to include multimodal approaches that examine semiotic elements such as illustrations, films, symbols, comic strips, colors, and other visual components.

Multimodal analysis arises because linguists previously had only the single-modal focus, which was on the study of spoken and written language. Language is produced by combining verbal and non-verbal information as various modes to achieve communication[19]. According to Ruiz-Madrid and Fortanet Gómez[20], a multimodal analysis is only performed when both linguistic and non-linguistic features are jointly analyzed.

2.3. Language as the Social Semiotics

Semiotics has its roots in the scientific examination of physical symptoms caused by certain illnesses or bodily conditions. It was Hippocrates (460–377 B.C.), regarded as the father of Western medicine, who introduced *semeiotics* as a medical discipline focused on the study of symptoms—where a symptom functions as a *semeion*, or a "mark" or "sign" that represents something beyond itself. According to Hippocrates, a key role of the physician is to interpret what a symptom indicates. For instance, a bruise might suggest a broken bone, a rash could signal an allergic reaction, and a sore throat might point to a cold. The central medical challenge lies in determining what the symptom signifies. In essence, medical diagnosis is a form of semiotic analysis, grounded in the idea that a visible or felt symptom represents an underlying internal condition. Several centuries later, the physician Galen of Pergamum (A.D. 139–199) further reinforced the role of *semeiotics* in clinical practice.

Social semiotics is the study of not only what we com-

monly call "signs" but also anything that represents or stands for something else[21]. In this context, signs can take many forms, including words, images, sounds, gestures, and objects. Modern semioticians do not examine signs individually but as parts of larger semiotic systems, such as specific media or genres. Their focus is on how meanings are created and how reality is portrayed. Thomas A. Sebeok, a leading figure in semiotics alongside Peirce and Saussure, offered a simpler explanation when addressing the public or the media: he described semiotics as the study of the distinction between illusion and reality. Social semiotics focuses on those who create meaning and the processes through which meaning is produced. It explores the channels and methods of communication that people use and develop to express their perceptions of the world and to influence relationships of power with others. This approach relies on detailed, qualitative analysis of various records of meaning-making—such as artifacts, texts, and transcripts—to study how discourse is created and spread within different social and cultural settings where meaning is constructed.

In *Language as Social Semiotic*, Halliday suggests that the semiotic resources of language are shaped by how people use them to create meaning, specifically the social purposes they serve[22]. He argues that every sign performs three functions at the same time: it conveys information about the world (the 'ideational metafunction'), establishes relationships between people (the 'interpersonal metafunction'), and links with other signs to form a coherent message or text (the 'textual metafunction'). Similar to Pragmatics, Social Semiotics focuses on meaning within its context. Whether regarded as distinct fields or viewpoints, both adopt a functional approach to understanding meaning. They also both emerged as responses to earlier traditions that largely overlooked the social, cultural, and power-related aspects involved in meaning-making.

2.4. Token and Value in Language Semiotics

The relationship between Token and Value is clearly reflected in the semiotics of language. According to Halliday[4], this Token-Value connection appears within the relational process, which is part of the experiential function—one of the key metafunctions. A relational process involves states of existence and possession. It can be understood as a process of being, which includes having. The defining feature of a relational process is that it connects a participant to its identity or description. Essentially, these processes express that something **is**, **was**, or **will be**, which is why they are often called processes of being. Additionally, other verbs like seem, become, look, appear, remain, have, and feel can link a participant to a description.

A Token is "decoded" while a Value is "encoded." When the Token is seen as the Identified and the Value as the Identifier, the clause functions as decoding, such as in "Tom is the treasurer." Conversely, when the Value is the Identified and the Token is the Identifier, the clause acts as encoding, like in "Tom is the tall one." In other terms, the identity either decodes the Token by referring to the Value or encodes the Value by referring to the Token. These two types, decoding and encoding, are structurally different, which is why sentences like "Tom is the tall one and the treasurer" or "The tall one and the treasurer is (are) Tom" sound unusual. Since "the tall one" is interpreted as the Token and "the treasurer" as the Value, they cannot be combined or coordinated in this way.

Figure 3 illustrates 'identifying' clauses select for voice; they have an 'operative' and a 'receptive' variant. The difference is entirely systematic, once we recognize the structure of Token and Value: the 'operative' voice is the one in which the Subject is also the Token (just as, in a 'material' clause, the 'operative' is the variant in which the Subject is also the Actor. The reason why identifying processes have an additional variable regarding the functions of the participants is that these processes not only have an entity that identifies another, but what the Identifier identifies can be either the Token by which it is represented (decoding direction), or the Value which it represents (encoding).
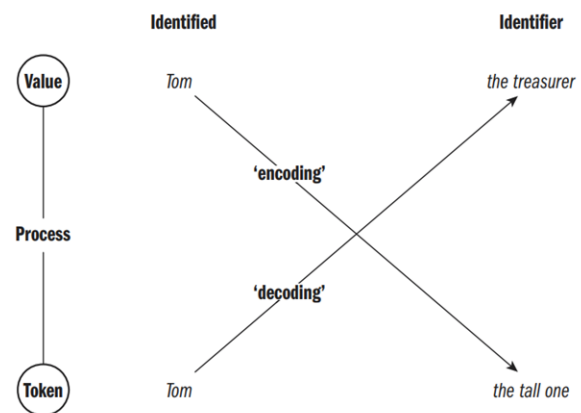

Figure 3. 'Identifying' clauses: direction of coding.

According to Eggins[23], relational processes can be described as processes of "being," but not in the sense of mere existence. Their primary function is to connect a participant to their identity or attributes. Essentially, relational processes express that something **is**, **was**, or **will be**, which is why they are often referred to as processes of being. However, this type of process also includes other verbs that link a participant to a description, such as seem, become, look, appear, remain, have, feel, and so on. As noted by Saragih[24], relational processes represent states of being and relationships among entities through three key aspects: identification, attribution, and possession. These processes can occur both within and outside the human experience. Typically, they are expressed using the verb *be* or other similar verbs (commonly referred to as copular verbs), like seem, appear, or become, and sometimes through verbs such as have, own, or possess.

Relational processes necessarily involve two participants; in a finite clause, it's not possible to have a relational process with just one. These processes deal with states of being, ownership, or transformation. Unlike other processes, relational processes typically do not occur in the progressive (continuous) tense. There are two main types of relational processes: identifying and attributive. The distinction between them is as follows:

Identifying: "a" is the identity of "X" | Attributive: "a" is an attribute of "X"

An identifying process permits the participants to be reversed, together with a corresponding change in grammatical function. The participants can be reversed in one of two ways—by the mere swapping of positions, or through passivisation:

In the sentence *"That man is my father,"* the phrase *"that man"* functions as the subject, while *"my father"* acts as the complement. When the sentence is reversed to *"My father is that man,"* *"my father"* becomes the subject, and *"that man"* takes the role of the complement. Similarly, in *"The exam takes up the whole day,"* *"the exam"* is the subject, and *"the whole day"* is the complement. But when rephrased as *"The whole day is taken up by the exam,"* *"the whole day"* shifts to become the subject, and *"the exam"* is now part of the prepositional complement. This shows how subject and complement can switch places depending on sentence structure.

In general, an attributive process does not permit the reversal of its participants. However, there are occasional exceptions where reversal seems possible. The key point to remember is that, regardless of whether the elements can be switched, their grammatical roles—such as subject and complement—stay the same. Additionally, it's important to note that attributive processes cannot be transformed into the passive voice.

He is blessed ~ Blessed is he. (There is no change in the grammatical function of the participants—"he" remains the subject in both clauses, and "blessed" remains the complement in both as well).

The sentences *"My name is Taro"* and *"I am 12 years old"* illustrate the use of **relational processes**, function to either **identify** or **characterize**[6]. These two types are known as **identifying** and **attributive** relational clauses. For instance, *"My name is Taro"* is an **identifying** clause because it establishes the specific identity of the person called Taro. On the other hand, *"I am 12 years old"* is **attributive**, assigning the characteristic of being 12 years old to the speaker.

A key distinction between the two is **reversibility**. Identifying clauses can typically be reversed without altering the meaning (e.g., *My name is Taro ↔ Taro is my name*). In contrast, attributive clauses **cannot** be reversed in the same way (e.g., *I am 12* ✘ *12 am I*). This structural difference is a core feature separating the two types of relational processes. Here are additional examples demonstrating attribution and identification in various forms of relational processes.

Relational Process of possessive attribution

Emma	Has	a Wii console
Carrier	Process: Relational: possessive attribution	Attribute

Relational Process of possessive identification

That Wii console	Is	Emma's
Token/Possessed	Process: Relational: possessive identification	Value/Possessor

Relational Process of circumstantial attribution

The deadline	Is	on Tuesday.
Carrier	Process: Relational: circumstantial attribution	Attribute

Relational Process of Circumstantial Identification

Tuesda	is	the deadline for the blogpost.
Token	Process: Relational: circumstantial identification	Value

2.5. Spoken Language and Written Language

Language operates in a functional, semantic, contextual, and semiotic manner[23]. This means the systemic perspective views language through a functional-semantic lens. As such, language users can decide how best to express their ideas—whether in spoken or written form—based on their communicative needs. In Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), every text, whether spoken or written, exists within a particular situational context. This context can be identified through three register variables: field, tenor, and mode[6].

The mode, in particular, helps distinguish between spoken and written forms of communication.

Table 1 describes some characteristics of spoken language are things not found in written language, and vice versa. Spoken language is characterized by the absence of certain features that are found in writing[25]. Halliday also explains that spoken language has short silences (unfilled pauses) and all other types of hesitation—false starts, repetitions, and filled paused[25]. These characteristics make people misunderstand and think that spoken language is formless.

Table 1. Mode: Characteristics of Spoken and Written Language Situations[23].

Spoken	Written
Interactive (2 or more participants)	non-interactive (one participant)
face-to-face (in the same place at the same)	not face-to-face (time on her own)
language as action (using language to accomplish some task)	not language as action (using language to reflect)
spontaneous (without rehearsing what is going to be said)	not spontaneous (planning, drafting and rewriting)
Casual (informal and everyday)	not casual (formal and special occasions)

It is true that spoken language is spontaneous and contains errors in doing so, but that does not mean it is formless. This is supported by Halliday's opinion that speech is tentative, spur-of-the-moment, but not formless[25]. He also explains that the spoken language is, in fact, no less structured and highly organized than written lanuage, since both are manifestations of the same system. Therefore, in conclusion, even though it looks messy, spoken language is still a language that has structure and has a form. Even so, written and spoken language cannot be equated.

Spoken and written language serve different things. Spoken language is meant to be used in direct communication, whereas written language is intended for documentation, such as in books. Spoken language, when written down, does not make good writing, because it was not meant to be written, and most written English is not well-suitedd for speech[25]. This can be proven by reading a book out loud, as if it were a conversation; it will not be pleasant to hear. From the points presented above, these are general characteristics of spoken and written language where what is in spoken language is not in written language. However, there are also general characteristics that distinguish spoken and written language and are shared by both.

One key difference between spoken and written language lies in lexical density and grammatical complexity. Gerot and Wignell explain that spoken language is typically more grammatically complex (grammatically intricate), while written language tends to have a higher concentration of content words (lexically dense). Halliday supports this by noting that the main contrast is in the density of information: written texts are information-dense, whereas spoken language is more loosely packed[25]. Another key distinction is the way information is structured—spoken language shows greater structural complexity. Thus, we can infer that written language generally exhibits high lexical density with less grammatical complexity, while spoken language shows the opposite—low lexical density but high grammatical intricacy.

People primarily use spoken and written language to communicate their ideas, emotions, and viewpoints. While spoken language has often received more focus because of its spontaneous and natural nature, growing interest has emerged in understanding how both spoken and written forms relate to each other. In recent years, this relationship has drawn increasing attention from scholars across various fields such as linguistics, anthropology, education, and psychology [24–26].

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the difference between written and spoken language lies in their features. Written language involves planning, drafting, and rewriting, whereas spoken language involves interaction, spontaneity, rehearsal, false starts, repetition, and filled pauses. However, there is also a single generalization that distinguishes written and spoken language but exists in both, namely lexical density and grammatical intricacy.

In the Minangkabau culture, an invitation to the wedding ceremony is indicated by the use of *sirih* or betel leaf. Thus, semiotically, the betel leaf function as a token for the invitation form a male to a young lady. In the same manner, cigarettes are indicators of the conflict. Thus, betel leaf serves as a female indicator, and there are numerous indicators that encode the situation.

2.6. Sirih and Rokok for Sei Jariang People as Mamanggia or Wedding Invitation

In Minangkabau, *manyiriah* is not just a woman's habit. However, *manyiriah* is also a method used to invite people to an event. In other words, *manyiriah* is a substitute for invitations as we know them today. The tradition of *manyiriah* is used to invite the public to party activities, such as weddings, *akikah* (*mangarek rambuik*/down bathing), and the inauguration of a *datuak* tiltle. This work is carried out by the elder in the family in the tribal environment, who is holding parties. In practice, one of those who goes must be *ninik mamak* in the tribe of people who have the intention.

Cigarettes are very familiar to the Minang community, wherever and whenever there are events such as weddings, birthdays of children, thanksgiving or even death, we will find cigarettes. Even at government events, we will find cigarettes. *Sirih* and *rokok* should be offered to people we will invite if we have an event. It is consider rude if we invite verbally only if there are no *sirih* and rokok and they are also offended. *Sirih* and *rokok* are required when there is an event.

It doesn't matter whether the person is small or big, the important thing is to invite him or her with cigarettes. Although until now cigarettes and betel nut have been a must-have when inviting the public, their history origin is not known for certain

In Minangkabau society, the month of Ramadhan is not only identified with fasting – as in other Muslims. However, during this month, people are busy with preparations for Eid al-Fitr, as one of the most prominent things in the Minang tradition is holding a *baralek* (wedding party). Many people say that the Eid al-Fitri moment is the season of *baralek*. *Baralek* invitations are also received in the form of betel leaf (*Sirih*), which is equipped with areca nut and gambier. This invitation via *Sirih* (betel) is only intended for women's weddings. For invitations to the groom at the *baralek* at the groom's house, the invitees bring and hand over cigarettes. It is only on the invitation to *baralek* at the bride's house that the *sirih* (betel) is used.

Usually, in traditional invitations, there is a thing called *manyiriah* (serving betel leaf complete with *gambir*, areca nut, and *sadah*). Then the serve when you want to invite it transforms into a cigarette, this is more recommended for men. Starting from the *manyiriah* tradition in Minangkabau society, this habit has been embraced by the Minang community for a long time, both in personal life and in traditional processions such as *mamanggia*. However, this habit faded with the development of Islamic reformism in Minangkabau in the early 19th century.

Generally, the wedding Ceremony in *Sei Jariang* village is held after Eid Mubarak, in order to finalize the wedding ceremony on that day, various preparations are made. Starting from the preparation in the form of materials, even to the traditional procession before the main event of the party, will be held. However, the most important and basic thing that gets my attention is when the host family *baralek* (wedding party) will *mamanggia* (invite) relatives, close friends, colleagues, acquaintances and so on. Invitations to the groom at the *baralek* at the groom's house, the invitees bring and give *rokok* or cigarettes. It is only on the invitation to baralek at the bride's house that the *sirih* (betel) is used.

At the time of the invitation, the caller did not just give the betel and cigarettes. However, there were words that he had to say, namely *"kami dilapeh inyiak datuak.........maimbau apak, ibuk, ipa, bisan, karik, kabia, sarato saisi*

rumah nanko untuk pai baralek ka rumah etek.. .... pado hari ...." It means: "We were released by the inyiak datuak .... inviting father, mother, in-laws, in-laws, close friends, relatives and all the residents of this house to be able to attend the house of mother .... on the day ...."" These words are spoken when inviting women and men who are outside the tribe of people who have intentions or alek.

In Sei Jariang Village, the use of *sirih* and *rokok* is important, especially in wedding invitations. Based on the elder in Minang, using *sirih* and *rokok* as an invitation to a wedding is very important. Usually, the member of the family who is holding the wedding has to invite people using *Sirih*. *Sirih* is given to the person who receives it if that person is the bride's mother's family. While cigarettes are handed over when the invitation is given to the bride's male family. The *Niniak Mamak* must give *Sirih* or *Rokok* (cigarettes) to their relatives when they invite them to come to the wedding ceremony. The spoken invitation is that his nephew will get married, so as *Ninik Mamak*, he invites his relatives to come to his nephew's wedding.

The procedure for giving *sirih* (betel leaf) or *rokok* (cigarettes) as a means of inviting also has its own rules; two people must carry it out, namely the older and younger generations. Those who must hand over the betel or cigarettes directly to the host must be the older ones and the younger generations as companions. The goal is that learning in the future will be transferred to the younger generation. But suppose the older generation is unable to do so. In that case, the younger generation must carry out the tradition provided that the younger generation is married and has a traditional title, which is *Sutan*.

3. Methods

This research employed a descriptive qualitative approach. Qualitative research focuses on interpreting meanings that arise from the data, typically conveyed through written or spoken words[26,27]. The main objective of this method is to uncover patterns that surface through the processes of observing, documenting, and analyzing the subject matter. Similarly, Hancock[28] explains that qualitative research seeks to provide insights and explanations about social phenomena.

Descriptive qualitative research typically uses observation, interviews, and data documents to collect the data. The research has to answer the phenomena there are connected with the researcher's research. This approach suited the aim of the research since the data obtained from the field are more based on respondents' utterances and behavior. This research, then, is aimed at answering the question of the phenomena from using token, spoken and written language in the invitation Minangkabau wedding ceremony in *Sei Jariang* village.

This study employs a descriptive qualitative research design, which is well-suited to explore phenomena through respondents' utterances, behaviors, and cultural practices. The focus is on examining the use of *Sirih* (betel leaf) and *Rokok* (cigarette) as symbolic tokens in Minangkabau wedding invitations within Sei Jariang Village. Data are primarily derived from spoken and written language embedded in these invitations, analyzed through multimodal semiotics and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG).

3.1. Participant Characteristics

The participants in this study are members of the Sei Jariang Village community, including *Ninik Mamak* (traditional leaders) of the Koto and Tanjung tribes, who hold cultural authority in the wedding ceremonies. These participants provide expert insight into the symbolic use of *Sirih* and *Rokok* as tokens in Minangkabau wedding invitations.

3.2. Sampling Procedures

Purposive sampling was employed to select participants who are knowledgeable and directly involved in the cultural practices being studied, ensuring the credibility of the findings. The sample includes *Ninik Mamak* from both the Koto and Tanjung tribes, as well as other community members.

3.3. Data Collection Techniques

Data collection involved multiple complementary techniques:

a) **Observation:** The researcher observed the rituals and practices where *Sirih* and *Rokok* are used as tokens during the wedding invitation process.

b) **Interviews:** Semi-structured interviews were con-

ducted with the *Ninik Mamak* and other participants to gather in-depth verbal explanations and interpretations regarding the significance and use of these tokens. Interviews were held both face-to-face and via WhatsApp video calls, depending on participant availability.

c) **Document Analysis:** Copies and samples of wedding invitations from Sei Jariang Village were collected to analyze the written representation of *Sirih* and *Rokok*.

3.4. Data Analysis Techniques

The collected data were analyzed in two main stages:

a) **Multimodal Semiotic Analysis:** This approach was used to interpret the meanings of *Sirih* and *Rokok* as cultural symbols based on observations and interview data. It focused on how visual, linguistic, and cultural modes interact in the wedding invitations.

b) **Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) Analysis:** The researcher applied SFG to examine the relationship between spoken and written language in the invitations, analyzing the linguistic structures and how they represent the cultural tokens.

Together, these methods provided a comprehensive understanding of the symbolic roles and linguistic expressions of *Sirih* and *Rokok* within Minangkabau wedding invitations.

4. Results

4.1. The Meaning of *Sirih* and *Rokok* toward Minang Community in *Sei Jariang* Village

According to the first informant, he told about the utterances he used when he gave *Sirih* and *Rokok* when he delivered those tokens to the receiver. And also, the utterances had the implicit meaning based on linguistics. He said, *"Iko rokok si A…… ka nikah hari minggu, Maringani mamak pado hari minggu untuak mananti jo malapeh urang manjampuik."* [This is A's cigarette..... who is going to get married on Sunday, may you have a chance on Sunday, to wait and to see them off]. The meaning of this text is: With the cigarette, it is hoped that it would take time on Sunday to come home waiting for the woman's family to pick up the groom and at the same time to send off the bridegroom to be taken to the woman's house by the woman's family (uncle, brother-in-law, man's family from the father's woman side).

"Iko rokok si B/ siriah si B…. ka baralek hari minggu ko…….. Maringani Uda/ Pak Naro (gelar) untuak datang baralek hari minggu di rumah si C……" [This is B's cigarette / B's betel…. who is going to hold the wedding party on Sunday……. may uncle have a chance to come to the party on Sunday at C's house]. The meaning of this text is: With giving this *sirih/ rokok* as the tool of invitation, it is hoped that the invites, including neighbor and other villagers can come to C's wedding party ceremony.

After interviewing another informant, the researcher could analyze what he told about using *Sirih* and *Rokok* for the process of wedding ceremony invitations. He said, *"Adiak kami ka baralek/ dunsanak kami ka baralek, kami disuruah ninik mamak mangiket janjang ka rumah gadang untuak maminto bapak datang untuak malapeh urang mananti jo manjampuik urang ka surau."* [Our sister/ brother will be going to hold a party, we were told by *Ninik Mamak* to climb the stairs to the big house to ask Father to come and to send off the people to wait and pick up the people to *Mushola*]. The meaning of this text is: Sumando or brother-in-law comes to invite the relative from the men's side of the bride to ask her uncle to come to leave the groom, who will come to his house to deliver the groom to *Mushola*. *"Ado siriah/ rokok di salekkan di ateh pintu…. Sia ka baralek hari minggu ko/ Sia ka baralek?"* [There is a betel/ a cigarette slipped on above the door… who will be getting married this Sunday?/ who will hold the party?]. The meaning of this text is: The betel/cigarette was slipped above the door because the host did not meet the person who delivered the invitation. After all, the house was empty when the invitee came to hand over the wedding invitation.

After analyzing the meaning of *sirih* and *rokok*, it was found that in linguistics, the multimodal meaning of the tokens serve as the tools for the deliverer to explain his purpose, which was as an introduction for the receiver. Betel and cigarettes have the meaning of opening words to invite the recipient when the person delivering the tokens hands them over.

4.2. The Analysis of Realized Expression Based on Ideational Function

After analyzing Semiotics of the sentences that use tokens Sirih and Rokok as the Minangkabau wedding ceremony. Then, the researcher analyzed the sentences using

realized expressions based on Ideational function (Experiential and Logical Function).

> "Iko rokok si A…… ka nikah hari minggu,

> *Maringani mamak pado hari minggu untuak mananti jo malapeh (keluarga perempuan) urang manjampuik"*

4.2.1. Logical Function Aalaysis

"*Iko rokok si A*"

	Iko	*(real)*	*rokok si A*
Experiential Function	Token	Process: Relational	Value

"*ka nikah hari minggu*"

	Ka	*nikah*	*Hari minggu*
Experiential Function	Process: Relational	Process: Mental	Circumstance: Location-Temporal

"*Maringani mamak pado hari minggu*"

	Maringani	*mamak*	*Pado hari minggu*
Experiential Function	Process: Mental	Phenomenon	Circumstance: Location-Temporal

"*untuak mananti jo malapeh (keluarga perempuan) urang manjampuik.*"

	Untuak mananti	*Jo malapeh (keluarga Perempuan)*	*Urang*	*manjampuik*
Experiential Function	Process: Mental	Phenomenon	Actor	Process: Material

4.2.2. Logical Function Analysis

First Clause

1. *Ini rokok si A*   α
   'This is a's cigarette'
2. *ka nikah hari minggu*   = β α
   'Who is going to get married'

Second Clause

1. *Maringani mamak pado hari minggu*   α
   'may you have a chance on Sunday'
2. *untuak mananti*   xβ 1
   'to wait'
3. *jo malapeh urang manjampuik.*   +2
   'and to see them off '

After analyzing the sentence based on the Experiential and Logical functions, it was found that betel and cigarettes function as tokens because the two objects have a multimodal semiotic function, namely a wedding invitation. and the meaning of betel and cigarettes themselves in linguistics is as an opening word for the real purpose of the token, namely as a means of inviting people to a wedding in Minangkabau.

4.3. The Reason for the Use of *Sirih* and *Rokok*

Based on the observations and interviews by the researcher, the analysis found the following. The first informant and the second informant said that the meaning of *Sirih* and *Rokok* was "The meaning of betel and cigarettes in Minangkabau tradition as a means of inviting marriage is as an opening word that there will be a wedding in a family." Their statements were: (a) *Sirih* and *rokok*, as the tokens of invitation wedding were given to men or women who have been married, (b) For woman: *sirih* must be placed in Kampia (a bag which is made from bamboo leaf) before being used as a media for the invitation to a wedding party; (c) For man: to give the wedding invitation to the male family menmbers, so cigarette and betel are used as a means of inviting marriage and both tokens must be placed in a handkerchief. Based on the explanation, there are some conclusions about using *Sirih* and *Rokok* as social elements in the Minangkabau Culture, especially in the Wedding ceremony. They are:

1. As an introduction: The use of Sirih or betel leaf for an invitation token is mainly as an introduction. Similarly, using *Rokok* or cigarettes as a token of invitation becomes an important object in Minangkabau custom for inviting someone accompanied by spoken [27]. The following interviews indicate that the token of introduction is ready. it could be seen from the Minang

proverb *"Untuak manyambuik tamu nan datang. setiok rundiang akan dimulai, setiok kato akan disebuik, katangahkan siriah dahulu".*

2. Willingness to receive the gift: In Minangkabau culture, *Sirih* (betel leaf) and *Rokok* (cigarette) in wedding invitations symbolize the host's willingness to receive gifts and guests. *Sirih* represents respect, hospitality, and social bonding, signaling a sincere and honorable invitation. *Rokok* conveys camaraderie and acceptance, reinforcing openness to visitors. Together, these tokens reflect the cultural values of mutual respect and reciprocity, emphasizing that accepting gifts and attendance is a heartfelt act, not just a formality. They embody the host's genuine readiness to welcome guests, fostering harmony and strengthening social ties within the community.

3. To prevent misunderstandings from becoming gossip: For the Minangkabau people, guests who come to an activity or traditional ceremony are not only greeted with a friendly smile. There is a performance that has become a culture, namely betel. Betel symbolizes simplicity, because whoever is welcomed and welcomed, still uses betel, and nothing else.

4. Eating betel, the deficiencies that occur can be understood: Betel and cigarettes must be offered to the people we invite if we have an event. It will be impolite if we only invite verbally, if there are no betel and cigarettes and they will also be offended. It doesn't matter whether the person we invite is small or big, the important thing is that they must use a cigarette

5. Symbolizes the acceptance of guests by the host: The host will serve betel to the guests who come as shown during the *pasambahan* dance, then the guests will tear off a few betel leaves and then chew them. This chewing of betel and smoking the cigarette process also means or symbolizes the reception of the guest by the host and the guest also respects the host. (https://www.rri.co.id/index.php/bukittinggi/daerah/633255/filosofi-siriah-langkok-dalam-adat-minangkabau). Betel and cigarettes are mandatory items for any event. Why do Minang people use *sirih* (betel) and *rokok* (cigarette) for their lives? Some reasons are essential. They are:

    (1) Reporting from yankes.kemenkes.go.id betel leaves have many health benefits, including: a healthy digestive tract, healing wounds, maintaining oral and dental health, preventing infections, preventing cancer, and overcoming feminine problems.

    (2) The utilization of betel with the highest percentage, namely as medicine, is the part of the leaves that is boiled by the Minang Indigenous people[28].

    (3) Betel leaves are believed to have properties that strengthen teeth and prolong life.

    (4) Betel is a natural symbol representing humility, mutual love and respect for each other. This philosophy is derived from the way betel trees grow which spread upwards without damaging the place where they live or their host. (https://www.saribundo.biz/tradisi-mengunyah-sirih.html).

    (5) Betel and cigarettes have a sedative or relaxant effect[29]. Betel and cigarettes are thought to have similar sedative effects to relieve tension, pain and hunger, while stimulating the mood. Betel is also believed to strengthen teeth so that men who chew it usually have healthy teeth intact, nothing toothless, even up to the age of eighty years. Those who *Nyirih* have a fragrant breath[30].

5. Discussion

The Discussion of the analysis reveals the meaning derived from the transcription of the texts, after the researcher analyzed them was how the inviter played the sentences with the implicit meaning to the receiver. When the inviter invites the receiver, empolying *sirih* and *rokok* as tokens. From the interviews, the researcher identified that mental and relational processes are dominant throughout the sentences.

After examining the transcription texts, it became clear that the texts were analyzed based on Semiotics. In analyzing the texts, the transcriptions from the interview were used. Based on the analysis of the Experiential Function of the texts, it is classified the dominant process identified are mental and relational, as indicated in **Table 2**:

Table 2. Percentage of the Experiential Function analysis of the texts.

No	Process	Total	Percentage
1.	Material	5	12.5%
2.	Mental	13	32.5%
3	Relational	13	32.5%
4.	Behavioural	2	5%
5.	Verbal	1	2.5%
6.	Existential	6	15%
Total		40	100%

The table presents the distribution of different process types found in the linguistic data, totaling 40 occurrences. Mental and Relational processes are the most frequent, each appearing 13 times (32.5%), indicating a strong focus on perception, cognition, and states of being or relationships.

Material processes occur 5 times (12.5%), reflecting actions or physical events. Existential processes appear 6 times (15%), suggesting the presence or existence of certain elements. Behavioural processes are less frequent, with only 2 instances (5%), and Verbal processes are the least represented, occurring just once (2.5%). This distribution highlights a dominance of internal and relational meanings. The use of Mental and Relational processes is evident in this text because someone requested through *sirih* and *rokok*. In other words, Semiotically *sirih* and *rokok* have been used to substitute for the persons of the inviter.

After the texts were analyzed for experiential, then the texts were analyzed in logical function. It discusses the data analysis recapitulation of the logical function analysis of the texts. The recapitulation is shown in **Table 3**:

Table 3. Percentage of Logical Function analysis of the texts.

No	LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION		Total Taxis		Percentage
			Paratactic 1, 2, ...	Hypotactic α, β ...	
1.	Expansion				
	- Elaboration	=	-	9	36%
	- Extension	+	5	1	24%
	- Enhancement	x	-	10	40%
2.	Projection				
	- Locution	"	-	-	
	- Idea	'	-	-	
Total			20%	80%	100%

The table presents the distribution of **logico-semantic relations** based on types of **taxis**—*paratactic* and *hypotactic*. The analysis reveals that **expansion** is the only relation type present, accounting for 100% of the total, while **projection** is entirely absent. Within expansion, **enhancement** is the most frequently used relation (40%), followed by **elaboration** (36%) and **extension** (24%). A significant majority of these relations (80%) are hypotactic, indicating a preference for dependent clause structures that add depth and complexity to meaning. This suggests that the language used tends to explain, add information, and provide circumstantial details in a more embedded, subordinate manner. The dominant use of α × β is because the inviter's utterances are related to the temporal and causal relations, as shown in the following:

5.1. Temporal

"Maringani mamak pado hari minggu untuak malapeh urang" [May you have a chance on Sunday to send them off]

"Maringani mamak pado hari minggu untuak malapeh urang manjampuik marapulai samo mananti marapulai laki-laki dirumah." [May you have a chance on Sunday to send them off and pick up the bridegroom, also to wait and to see him in the house.]

"Maringani Uda/ Pak Naro (gelar) untuak datang baralek hari minggu di rumah si C...." [May uncle has a chance to come to the wedding party on Sunday at C' house.]

From these utterances, it is clear that they provide temporal information regarding the invitation. This time information is given to ensure that the recipient can attend the event.

5.2. Causal Effect

> *"Ado rokok/ siriah ditingga kan (sign), si A ka baralek".* ['There is a cigarette/ a betel leaf, A will be getting married.]
> *"Ado siriah/ rokok disalekkan di jendela…. Sia ka baralek ko?"* [There is a betel leaf/ a cigarette slipped on above the door… who will be getting married this Sunday?]
> *"Ado siriah/ rokok di salekkan di ateh pintu…. Sia ka baralek hari minggu ko?"* [There is a betel/cigarette is slipped above the door… who will be getting married this Sunday?]

Based on the explanation in the sentences above, it can be concluded that giving *sirih* or *rokok* as a wedding invitation elicits a response from people to attend the wedding invitation. Because they explained the tokens as the wedding invitation and it also the sign there is a wedding party if the people cannot accept the tokens directly.

The interviews indicates the dominant taxis are hypotactic enhancement with a percentage of 40%. This is because the dominant relation is a mental process. It is concerned with a clause complex comprised of two or more clauses logically connected. Enhancement shows the meaning of another clause by qualifying it with the adverbial clause in traditional grammar.

In the Results section, it explains the results of the research that the researcher found after she observed and interviewed the interviewees. She interviewed two informants with basic knowledge of Minang culture, especially about using *Sirih* and *Rokok* as tokens for the Minangkabau wedding invitation. The first thing, She changed the interview into a transcription of the texts. Then, the texts were analyzed based on The Experiential Function and Logical Function. The last analysis found the meaning and function of using *Sirih* and *Rokok* for Minang society.

The researcher's interest in studying the use of *sirih* (betel leaf) and *rokok* (cigarette) as mediums for delivering wedding invitations stems from the lack of in-depth research specifically focused on this practice. While *sirih* and *rokok* have been mentioned in broader studies on Minangkabau marriage customs, limited scholarly attention has been given to their specific communicative functions. In particular, there is a noticeable gap in research regarding the actual expressions or spoken sentences that accompany the offering of *sirih* and *rokok*. Although some studies have referenced the presence of these items in cultural rituals, they do not explore the linguistic or semiotic aspects in detail. This gap in the literature forms the basis for the present study.

This research aligns closely with Minangkabau custom in Wedding ceremonies regarding the use of *sirih* and *rokok* for wedding invitations. There are similarities in using betel and cigarettes in traditional weddings; however, in Minangkabau customs, *sirih* and *rokok* used as a means of inviting weddings, especially when the invitation is intended for the main family. Besides that, the use of *sirih* and *rokok* for wedding invitations has been minimally discussed, as it is considered part of wedding customs. There is no explanation in depth about it, especially the utterances when invited to use *sirih* and *rokok*.

After all the explanations from other research about the use of *sirih* and *rokok* above, it can be concluded that the researcher is interested in researching sirih and *rokok* in Minangkabau wedding invitations because, there is a lack of continued and in-depth research, especially concerning the expressions used during the process of giving *sirih* and *rokok* as a Minangkabau wedding invitation. The limitation of the study is that the data are suspicious.

6. Conclusions

The Minangkabau people represent one of the largest ethnic groups in Indonesia and continue to uphold a matrilineal kinship system. Within this social structure, the roles and statuses of women are deeply rooted in both everyday life and broader communal functions. Based on observations and interviews with informants from Sei Jariang Village, this study draws several key conclusions. Three major findings emerged: (1) the cultural significance and symbolic meanings of *sirih* (betel leaf) and *rokok* (cigarette) for the Minangkabau community, particularly in Sei Jariang Village; (2) the identification of linguistic patterns in the interview data, analyzed through the Systemic Functional Linguistics

(SFL) framework; and (3) the underlying reasons why *sirih* and *rokok* continue to play a vital role in the traditional practice of delivering wedding invitations.

The interview data were transcribed and analyzed using semiotic theory and the metafunctions of SFL, with particular focus on the experiential and logical components. The analysis revealed that within the experiential metafunction, mental and relational processes were the most dominant, each accounting for 32.5% of the total, indicating a focus on cognition, perception, and states of being. Within the logical metafunction, hypotactic enhancement emerged as the most frequently used structure (40%), highlighting the importance of temporal and causal relationships in the discourse. These findings suggest that *sirih* and *rokok* function as symbolic proxies for the person extending the invitation. They convey intention, respect, and adherence to tradition on behalf of the inviter. The prevalence of mental and relational processes reflects the indirect representation of the speaker through these tokens, while the dominance of hypotactic enhancement underscores the embeddedness of temporal and causal logic in the structure of the invitations.

This research addresses a notable gap in the literature. While previous studies have acknowledged the cultural role of *sirih* and *rokok* in Minangkabau customs, few have conducted in-depth linguistic or semiotic analyses of the expressions associated with these tokens in the context of wedding invitations. This study contributes to filling that gap by offering a detailed linguistic and cultural interpretation of these enduring traditions.

Author Contributions

Y.U. wrote the manuscript, conducted the investigation, and analyzed the data. S.A.G. revised the manuscript and provided advice on the research, especially in the Introduction, Methods, and Discussion sections. M.S. completed the revision of the Introduction, Methods, and Discussion sections.

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Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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