



Open Access Journal

JOURNAL OF COMMUNITY SERVICE

From Kitchen to Culture: A Sociolinguistic Exploration of the Naming System of Local Culinary Heritage in Sasak Society

Lalu Hamzan Wahyudi¹

¹*Universitas Mataram, Mataram, Indonesia*

Baiq Nurfitriani²

²*Universitas Mataram, Mataram, Indonesia*

Siti Rahmawati³

³*Universitas Islam Negeri Mataram, Mataram, Indonesia*

Naizul Firdaus⁴

⁴*Universitas Islam Negeri Mataram, Mataram, Indonesia*

Nanik Yuliani⁵

⁵*Universitas Muhammadiyah, Mataram, Indonesia*

Corresponding Author: lalu.hamzan@unram.ac.id

ARTICLE INFO

Received September 23, 2023

Revised October 23, 2023

Accepted October 26, 2023

Published November 10, 2023

Keywords:

culinary linguistics, Sasak culture, food naming system, ethnolinguistics, intangible cultural heritage, community service

ABSTRACT

This community service study investigates the naming system of local culinary heritage within Sasak society in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia, through a sociolinguistic lens. The research was conducted as part of a university outreach initiative engaging 42 Sasak culinary practitioners, village elders, and local food entrepreneurs across four villages in Central and East Lombok. Employing ethnolinguistic fieldwork methods—including in-depth interviews, participant observation, and lexical documentation—the study identifies six primary naming categories embedded in Sasak food nomenclature: ingredient-based naming, place of origin, cooking method encoding, ethnic identity markers, single-morpheme lexical forms, and production process descriptors. Findings reveal that Sasak culinary names are not arbitrary labels but dense cultural artifacts that encode ecological knowledge, social hierarchy, and collective memory.

The study argues that preserving these naming traditions constitutes an act of intangible cultural heritage protection and recommends their systematic documentation and integration into local school curricula and cultural tourism programs.

INTRODUCTION

Language and food share a profound and mutually constitutive relationship within every human culture (Muhsyanur, 2020b, 2023b; Muhsyanur Muhsyanur, 2018). The names assigned to culinary preparations are never purely functional identifiers; they are, as Lévi-Strauss (1969) famously argued in his structural analysis of food systems, symbolic encodings of the social, ecological, and cosmological orders through which communities understand themselves. In this sense, the act of naming a dish is simultaneously an act of cultural inscription—a process through which communities preserve knowledge about ingredients, techniques, places, and social relationships across generations. Nowhere is this dynamic more richly observable than in the culinary traditions of the Sasak people of Lombok, Indonesia, whose food nomenclature constitutes an intricate linguistic archive of island ecology, migration history, and social stratification.

The Sasak people, numbering approximately three million and constituting the dominant ethnic group of Lombok island in West Nusa Tenggara Province, possess a culinary tradition of remarkable diversity and depth. From the fiery poultry preparation of Ayam Taliwang to the fermented rice confection of Poteng Jaje Tujak, Sasak cuisine encodes centuries of agricultural practice, trade contact, and religious syncretism within both its material compositions and its linguistic designations. Yet despite the growing scholarly and policy interest in Indonesian intangible cultural heritage protection—catalyzed in part by UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage—the specifically linguistic dimensions of Sasak food culture have attracted surprisingly limited systematic academic attention. As Caplan (1997) observes, food scholarship has historically privileged the sensory and nutritional over the semiotic; the names of foods, and the cultural systems they index, have been treated as incidental rather than constitutive features of culinary heritage (Muhsyanur et al., 2022; Muhsyanur Muhsyanur, 2018).

Ethnolinguistics and culinary anthropology together offer productive frameworks for redressing this scholarly lacuna (Muhsyanur, 2020a). Ethnolinguistics, broadly defined, examines the relationships between language and the cultural practices, beliefs, and environments of its speakers (Foley, 1997). Applied to food naming, this discipline attends to the lexical choices, morphological patterns, and semantic domains that communities mobilize when designating edible preparations—choices that are never arbitrary but reflect historically and ecologically grounded ways of organizing the world. Sapir (1929) and, later, Whorf (1956) drew attention to the ways in which language shapes perception and cognition; in the culinary domain, the names communities give to foods structure

not only what those foods are called but how they are understood, valued, remembered, and transmitted. A community that encodes place of origin into its food names, for instance, is simultaneously producing a cartography of culturally significant landscapes (Muhsyanur, Manivannan Murugesan, 2024).

In the context of Indonesian cultural policy, the documentation and revitalization of local food naming systems carries particular urgency. The Indonesian government's long-term national cultural strategy (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2017) explicitly recognizes culinary traditions as components of intangible cultural heritage deserving systematic protection, yet implementation mechanisms at the provincial and district levels remain underdeveloped. Lombok has experienced rapid tourism expansion over the past decade, and with it, increasing commodification and standardization of local food products that risk erasing the locally embedded naming practices in favor of more commercially legible, nationally or internationally oriented designations. Appadurai (1988) has analyzed comparable processes of culinary identity transformation under conditions of tourism and globalization, arguing that local food cultures are particularly vulnerable to what he terms "gastro-politics" – the selective valorization of certain food practices for external consumption at the expense of their internal cultural coherence.

Community service research—known in the Indonesian academic context as *Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat*—provides an important mechanism for university-community collaboration in the documentation and revitalization of endangered cultural practices (Muhsyanur et.al, 2024). By embedding ethnolinguistic research within a service framework, academic researchers can simultaneously generate scholarly knowledge and contribute directly to community capacity for cultural self-documentation and advocacy. Strand et al. (2003) articulate community-based research as distinguished by its collaborative orientation, its commitment to reciprocal knowledge production, and its orientation toward social action; these principles align closely with the ethical imperatives of cultural heritage work, which demands that communities be not merely objects of study but active agents in the production and governance of knowledge about their own traditions. The present study was designed in this spirit, with community members serving as co-investigators in the identification, classification, and interpretation of Sasak culinary naming conventions.

This article reports the findings of a structured community service and ethnolinguistic research initiative conducted across four villages in Central and East Lombok during 2024, in partnership with local culinary practitioners, village elders, and the Lombok Culinary Heritage Community (Komunitas Warisan Kuliner Lombok). The study pursued three objectives: (1) to document and systematically classify the naming conventions embedded in the Sasak culinary lexicon; (2) to analyze the cultural, ecological, and social logics underlying distinct naming categories; and (3) to propose evidence-based recommendations for the integration of culinary naming heritage into formal documentation systems, school curricula,

and sustainable cultural tourism frameworks. The article proceeds as follows: Section 2 describes the methodological approach; Section 3 presents and discusses findings across three thematic domains; and Section 4 offers conclusions and policy-oriented recommendations (Muhsyanur Muhsyanur, 2018).

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative ethnolinguistic methodology, situating data collection and analysis within the interpretive paradigm of cultural linguistics (Palmer, 1996) and heritage language documentation (Himmelmann, 1998). Fieldwork was conducted between February and July 2024 across four purposively selected villages—Sade (Central Lombok), Tetebatu (East Lombok), Senggigi (West Lombok), and Masbagik (East Lombok)—each selected to represent distinct agroecological zones and degrees of exposure to commercial food tourism. Primary data were gathered through three complementary instruments: (1) in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted in Sasak and Indonesian with 42 participants, including 18 senior culinary practitioners (*juru masak tuaq*), 12 village cultural guardians (*pemangku adat*), and 12 local food entrepreneurs; (2) participant observation during communal food preparation events, ritual feasts (*begawe*), and weekly market sessions (*pasar mingguan*), generating approximately 160 hours of field notes and 74 hours of audio-visual recordings; and (3) systematic lexical elicitation tasks in which participants were asked to name, describe, and explain the origins of 60 pre-selected Sasak food items drawn from a preliminary inventory compiled during a prior community mapping workshop.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim and translated by a bilingual Sasak-Indonesian research assistant with subsequent member-checking by two senior participants per village site. Lexical data were entered into a custom ethnolinguistic database and coded according to a hierarchical classification scheme developed iteratively through three rounds of thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke (2006), with intercoder reliability assessed at $\kappa = .83$ (substantial agreement; Landis & Koch, 1977). The classification scheme distinguished six primary naming categories—ingredient-based, place of origin, cooking method, ethnic identity marker, single-morpheme lexical, and production process/form—and three secondary dimensions of analysis: morphological structure (monomorphemic, compound, phrasal), referential domain (material, spatial, social, processual), and heritage threat index (actively transmitted, endangered, moribund). Ethical clearance was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee of Universitas Mataram (Protocol No. UNRAM-EC-2024-031), and all participants provided written or recorded oral informed consent in their preferred language prior to participation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Taxonomy of Naming Categories in Sasak Culinary Nomenclature

The systematic lexical analysis of 76 documented Sasak culinary items yielded a six-category taxonomy of naming conventions, revealing that the Sasak culinary

lexicon is organized through a coherent, culturally grounded classificatory logic rather than through arbitrary or purely descriptive labeling. The most prevalent category—accounting for 28.9% of documented items—was ingredient-based naming, in which the primary or most culturally salient ingredient of a dish serves as its primary nominal anchor. Examples include *Beberuk Terong* (eggplant-based condiment salad), where *terong* (eggplant) directly designates the dish's defining component, and *Pelecing Kangkung*, in which *kangkung* (water spinach) serves as the nominal center. This pattern reflects what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) would identify as a metonymic cognitive strategy—a representational practice in which the most perceptually or culturally prominent element of a complex entity stands in for the whole.

The second largest category—cooking method encoding, comprising 22.4% of items—captures the distinctive Sasak tendency to nominalize preparation techniques as definitional features of a dish's identity. The prefix *be-* in forms such as *Bebalung* and *Beberuk* functions as a morphological marker of processual identity, signaling that the dish is constituted through a specific technique of manipulation or transformation. Arka (2010), in his authoritative morphological analysis of the Sasak language, identifies this prefix as a productive nominalizing and verbalizing morpheme that encodes active participation or possession; its culinary application suggests that the act of cooking is not incidental to a dish's identity but constitutive of it—a finding that resonates with Sutton's (2001) argument that embodied cooking practices are themselves a form of cultural memory storage.

Place-of-origin naming—accounting for 18.4% of documented items—constitutes a cartographic layer within the Sasak culinary lexicon, mapping food identities onto the island's social geography. *Ayam Taliwang* derives its name from the village of Taliwang in Sumbawa, from which the preparation is believed to have been transmitted, while *Nasi Balap Puyung* references the village of Puyung in Central Lombok as the site of the dish's authoritative origination. This naming strategy performs a dual cultural function: it situates food within a network of inter-village relationships and trade routes, and it establishes claims of authenticity rooted in territorial specificity. As Bell and Valentine (1997) observe in their geography of food, place-based food names are never merely locational; they constitute what might be called "taste territories"—symbolic demarcations of cultural ownership and pride that carry both internal community significance and external tourism value.

Ethnic identity marker naming—comprising 11.8% of items—represents perhaps the most politically laden naming category in the corpus, as it explicitly encodes ethnic or cultural affiliation as a definitional feature of a dish. Forms such as *Soto Sasak* and *Nasi Sasak* distinguish local preparations from structurally similar dishes in other Indonesian culinary traditions by appending the ethnonym directly to the food name. This practice, as Pilcher (2012) analyzes in the Mexican culinary context, intensifies during periods of cultural contact and competition: when a culinary tradition feels threatened by external homogenizing forces—whether through national standardization, tourism commodification, or media

representation—communities tend to mobilize ethnic naming as a form of cultural assertion. The prevalence of ethnic identity markers in the Sasak culinary lexicon may thus be understood not as a timeless feature of the naming system but as an adaptive response to the cultural pressures of recent decades (Muhsyanur et al., 2022).

Table 1. Classification of Selected Sasak Culinary Names by Naming Category and Primary Ingredient

No.	Culinary Name	Local Language Term	Naming Category	Primary Ingredient
1	Ayam Taliwang	<i>Manuk Taliwang</i>	Place of Origin	Chicken
2	Plecing Kangkung	<i>Plecing Kangkung</i>	Cooking Method + Ingredient	Water Spinach
3	Beberuk Terong	<i>Beberuk Terong</i>	Cooking Process + Ingredient	Eggplant
4	Nasi Balap Puyung	<i>Nasi Balap Puyung</i>	Place of Origin + Descriptor	Rice
5	Sate Bulayak	<i>Sate Bulayak</i>	Instrument/Wrapper	Meat
6	Pelecing Lombok	<i>Pelecing Lombok</i>	Cooking Method + Ingredient	Chili
7	Ares	<i>Ares</i>	Single-Morpheme Lexical	Banana Stem
8	Poteng Jaje Tujak	<i>Poteng Jaje Tujak</i>	Production Process + Form	Fermented Rice
9	Bebalung	<i>Bebalung</i>	Single-Morpheme Lexical	Pork/Beef Ribs
10	Soto Sasak	<i>Soto Sasak</i>	Ethnic Identity Marker	Beef/Vegetables

Note. Local language terms are presented in italics. Naming categories are assigned according to the primary nominal motivation identified through lexica

Ecological and Cosmological Knowledge Encoded in Culinary Names

Beyond their classificatory function, Sasak culinary names serve as repositories of ecological knowledge—indexing local plant species, seasonal availability patterns, and agroecological relationships that are not documented in any formal scientific inventory of the island’s biodiversity. This finding aligns with the broader literature on ethnoecology and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), which consistently demonstrates that indigenous and local naming systems encode sophisticated empirical understanding of environmental systems that frequently eludes Western scientific frameworks (Berkes, 2018). In the Sasak context, the culinary lexicon preserves knowledge about plant morphology, preparation-dependent toxicity reduction, and flavor chemistry in forms that are practically actionable by practitioners who may have no formal scientific training. The dish Ares, for instance, derived from the inner shoot of the banana stem—a part of the plant that requires specific preparation to render it palatable—encodes in its single-morpheme name a

tacit instruction to practitioners familiar with the cultural context: that this ingredient requires pounding, pressing, and prolonged cooking to remove astringents.

Several culinary names in the corpus encode seasonal and climatic knowledge through reference to ingredients that are available only during particular agricultural periods or ecological conditions. The fermented preparation Poteng Jaje Tujak—whose name encodes both the fermentation process (poteng) and the pounding technique (tujak)—is produced exclusively from newly harvested glutinous rice and is temporally linked to post-harvest ritual cycles. Participants across all four field sites consistently associated this dish's name with a specific period in the agricultural calendar, suggesting that the name functions not merely as a preparation label but as a temporal marker within the community's ecological memory. This finding corroborates Nazarea's (1998) argument that folk taxonomies of food plants and preparations constitute what she calls "memory banking"—distributed cognitive systems through which communities store and transmit environmental knowledge across time.

The cosmological dimensions of Sasak culinary naming became particularly evident through analysis of ritual food preparations documented during participant observation at begawe (communal ceremonial feast) events across the four field sites. Certain culinary names are restricted in their use to specific ritual contexts, and their utterance outside those contexts is considered socially or spiritually inappropriate by elder community members. This pattern of contextually restricted naming reflects what Tambiah (1985) identifies as the performative dimension of language in ritual contexts: words are not merely descriptive but constitutive—their utterance in appropriate or inappropriate contexts produces or disrupts social and cosmological order. The restricted culinary names documented in this study represent a particularly intimate interface between language, food, and spiritual practice that demands sensitive handling in any documentation or educational program.

Younger participants and food entrepreneurs operating in tourist-facing contexts showed markedly lower awareness of the ecological and cosmological knowledge dimensions of culinary names compared to elder practitioners and cultural guardians. In focus discussions, several younger entrepreneurs explicitly described their practice of substituting Sasak culinary names with Indonesian or English translations on menus and signage to improve accessibility for non-Sasak customers—a commercially rational but culturally costly practice that severs the naming system from its knowledge-encoding functions. This dynamic instantiates what Fishman (1991) terms "domain displacement"—the progressive restriction of heritage language use to private or ceremonial domains as market languages expand their functional reach. Applied to culinary naming, domain displacement risks reducing Sasak food names to brand labels stripped of their ecological and cultural depth, accelerating the very knowledge loss that community members most fear.

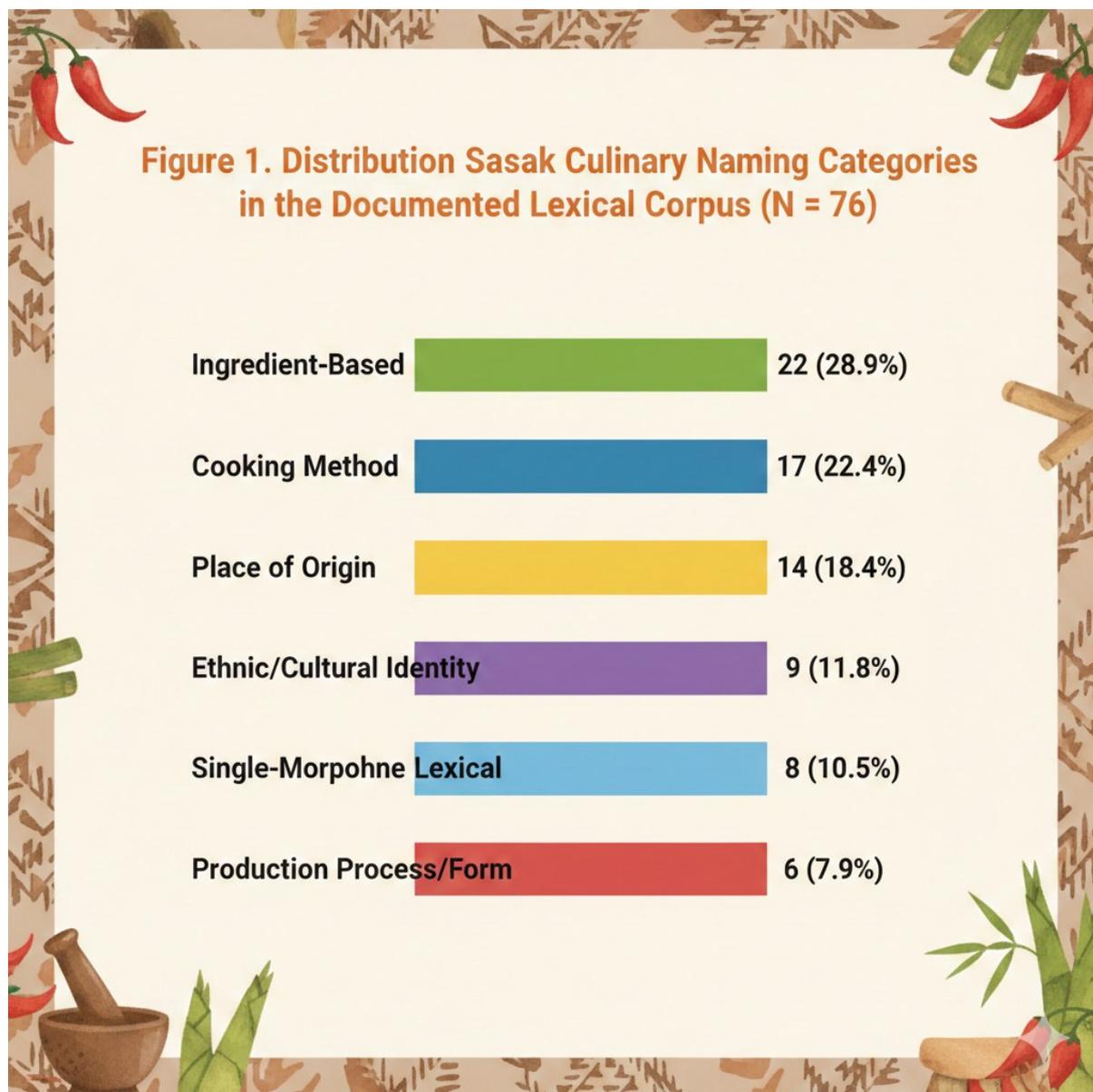


Figure 1. Distribution of Sasak Culinary Naming Categories in the Documented Lexical Corpus (N = 76)

Note. Percentages are rounded to one decimal place. Categories are mutually exclusive; each culinary item was assigned to a single primary naming category. Data derived from lexical elicitation and community validation sessions across four field sites.

Community Perspectives on Heritage Transmission and Documentation Needs

Participants across all four field sites expressed a sense of urgency about the threatened transmission of Sasak culinary naming knowledge to younger

generations, though they varied considerably in their diagnoses of the causes and appropriate remedial strategies (Muhsyanur, 2023a). Elder practitioners and cultural guardians overwhelmingly identified the weakening of intergenerational transmission within family kitchen spaces as the primary vector of knowledge loss – a finding consistent with the broader literature on intangible cultural heritage erosion, which identifies the domestic sphere as the most critical and most vulnerable site of traditional knowledge reproduction (Smith & Akagawa, 2009). Several elder participants described the shift from wood-fired communal cooking to individual household gas stoves as a physical rearrangement that had disrupted the apprenticeship-based knowledge transfer through which culinary names and their associated meanings had traditionally been transmitted alongside technique.

Food entrepreneurs and younger practitioners offered a more structurally differentiated account of transmission challenges, emphasizing the absence of formal documentation as a compounding factor that rendered oral transmission increasingly fragile. Multiple participants articulated a desire for written or digital reference resources—recipe books, glossaries, or mobile applications—that would preserve Sasak culinary names with explanatory cultural context accessible to young people for whom the naming system's ecological and social referents are increasingly opaque. This aspiration resonates with Fishman's (1991) reversing language shift framework, which identifies literacy development in the heritage language domain as a critical scaffold for transmission in contexts where intergenerational face-to-face learning has been disrupted. The community members' own identification of documentation as a priority suggests a level of metalinguistic awareness that constitutes a significant asset for any revitalization initiative.

The community service dimension of the research yielded a practical output directly responsive to this expressed need: a collaborative culinary naming lexicon comprising 76 documented items with Sasak names, Indonesian translations, morphological analyses, naming category classifications, and brief cultural explanatory notes, co-authored by participating elders, practitioners, and university researchers. Feedback collected from all participants following the lexicon's presentation and distribution indicated high levels of perceived utility and community ownership. Participants from the Sade and Tetebatu sites, in particular, expressed interest in adapting the lexicon as a supplementary teaching resource for local elementary and junior high school students—a development pathway that connects directly with recommendations from the Indonesian Ministry of Education's program for local content curriculum integration (*muatan lokal*). UNESCO (2003) frames such community-driven documentation initiatives as exemplary implementations of safeguarding under Article 13 of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

The findings further illuminate an important tension between documentation and living practice as modes of heritage protection. Several elder participants cautioned that written documentation, while valuable for preserving names and meanings, risks "freezing" a dynamic living system whose vitality depends precisely

on its capacity for contextual adaptation and creative renewal. This concern reflects what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) describes as the paradox of heritage: the very processes of formal recognition and documentation that aim to protect living cultural practices risk transforming them into museum objects—objects that are preserved but no longer practiced. Any documentation initiative for Sasak culinary naming must therefore be designed not as an archival endpoint but as a stimulus for ongoing community engagement with the living practice of Sasak cooking, naming, and cultural storytelling—approaches that center community agency in the governance of cultural knowledge production.

CONCLUSION

This community service and ethnolinguistic study demonstrates that the naming system of Sasak culinary heritage constitutes a sophisticated cultural archive encoding ecological knowledge, social geography, cosmological belief, and collective memory within a lexical corpus of remarkable structural diversity and cultural density. Six primary naming categories—ingredient-based, place of origin, cooking method, ethnic identity marker, single-morpheme lexical, and production process/form—were identified and analytically characterized across a corpus of 76 documented culinary items, with ingredient-based naming (28.9%) and cooking method encoding (22.4%) representing the most prevalent organizational logics. Qualitative findings further reveal that knowledge of the cultural semantics embedded in these names is unevenly distributed across generational cohorts and is actively threatened by domain displacement, tourism-driven commercialization, and the weakening of domestic apprenticeship-based transmission.

Based on these findings, the following recommendations are advanced: (1) the West Nusa Tenggara Regional Cultural Office should commission and formally publish a comprehensive Sasak Culinary Heritage Lexicon developed through community co-production; (2) provincial education authorities should integrate Sasak culinary naming content into the local content (*muatan lokal*) curricula of elementary and junior high schools in Lombok; (3) cultural tourism development programs should require participating businesses to use and explain authentic Sasak culinary names rather than substituting Indonesian or English equivalents; (4) universities in the region should institutionalize ethnolinguistic community service research as a recurring annual program to ensure systematic, ongoing documentation of living naming practices before further attrition occurs; and (5) elder culinary practitioners should be recognized and compensated as cultural knowledge custodians within any formally funded heritage protection initiative, ensuring that the communities who hold this knowledge remain its primary beneficiaries and governors.

REFERENCES

- Appadurai, A. (1988). How to make a national cuisine: Cookbooks in contemporary India. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30(1), 3–24. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417500015024>
- Arka, I. W. (2010). Morphological causatives and the problem of overgeneration in Sasak. *Studies in Language*, 34(3), 551–612. <https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.34.3.03ark>
- Bell, D., & Valentine, G. (1997). *Consuming geographies: We are where we eat*. Routledge.
- Berkes, F. (2018). *Sacred ecology* (4th ed.). Routledge.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Caplan, P. (Ed.). (1997). *Food, health and identity*. Routledge.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages. *Multilingual Matters*.
- Foley, W. A. (1997). *Anthropological linguistics: An introduction*. Blackwell.
- Himmelman, N. P. (1998). Documentary and descriptive linguistics. *Linguistics*, 36(1), 161–195. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.1998.36.1.161>
- Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. (2017). *Strategi kebudayaan Indonesia*. Kemendikbud.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998). *Destination culture: Tourism, museums, and heritage*. University of California Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago Press.
- Landis, J. R., & Koch, G. G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, 33(1), 159–174. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2529310>
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1969). *The raw and the cooked: Introduction to a science of mythology* (Vol. 1, J. Weightman & D. Weightman, Trans.). Harper & Row. (Original work published 1964)
- Muhsyanur, Manivannan Murugesan, S. D. (2024). *Eco-pedagogical literature: exploring literaturebased learning to improve environmental literacy*.
- Muhsyanur et.al. (2024). Strengthening management of tourist guide services in bilebante tourist village, central lombok through public speaking skills. *Transformasi: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat*, 20(1), 192–202. <https://journal.uinmataram.ac.id/index.php/transformasi/article/view/9682/3318>
- Muhsyanur, M. (2020a). *Linguistik Historis Komparatif: Suatu Pengantar Awal*. Uniprima Press.
- Muhsyanur, M. (2020b). Types and trust system based on the ideology of Bugis community culture on local interest values in cennung rara spells. *International Journal of Humanity Studies (IJHS)*, 4(1), 58–68. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24071/ijhs.v4i1.2652>
- Muhsyanur, M. (2023a). Representasi Konsep Budaya sebagai Aturan dalam Novel-novel Karya Kuntowijoyo. *Basastra*, 12(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.24114/bss.v12i1.44022>
- Muhsyanur, M. (2023b). The Bugis People's Naming System in Bugis Ethnic

- Tradition. *Journal of Language and Literature*, 23(1), 67-76.
<https://doi.org/10.24071/joll.v23i1.5062>
- Muhsyanur, M., Larisu, Z., Sanulita, H., Ertanti, D. W., & Widada, D. M. (2022). Indonesian netizens expressions potentially satire with the Covid-19 pandemic on social media Facebook. *Linguistics and Culture Review*, 6(1), 55-69.
<https://doi.org/10.21744/lingcure.v6n1.1942>
- Muhsyanur Muhsyanur. (2018). *Representasi budaya dalam nyanyian rakyat Bugis: Kajian Etnopuitika*. Universitas Negeri Surabaya.
- Nazarea, V. D. (1998). *Cultural memory and biodiversity*. University of Arizona Press.
- Palmer, G. B. (1996). *Toward a theory of cultural linguistics*. University of Texas Press.
- Pilcher, J. M. (2012). *Planet taco: A global history of Mexican food*. Oxford University Press.
- Sapir, E. (1929). The status of linguistics as a science. *Language*, 5(4), 207-214.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/408785>
- Smith, L., & Akagawa, N. (Eds.). (2009). *Intangible heritage*. Routledge.
- Strand, K., Marullo, S., Cutforth, N., Stoecker, R., & Donohue, P. (2003). *Community-based research and higher education: Principles and practices*. Jossey-Bass.
- Sutton, D. E. (2001). *Remembrance of repasts: An anthropology of food and memory*. Berg.
- Tambiah, S. J. (1985). *Culture, thought, and social action: An anthropological perspective*. Harvard University Press.
- UNESCO. (2003). *Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage*. UNESCO Publishing.
- Whorf, B. L. (1956). *Language, thought, and reality: Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (J. B. Carroll, Ed.). MIT Press.