

LANGUAGE VARIATIONS BASED ON SOCIAL STRUCTURE: A CASE STUDY IN TOBA BATAK MARRIAGE

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Abstract

Language variations refer to regional, social, or contextual differences in the ways that a particular language is used. Every society or ethnic group has its own language patterns and rules that differ from other societies or groups. This thesis focuses on the appearance of language variation in the Batak Toba community based on social structure. Language variations that appear in the Batak Toba community are the result of the existence of a social structure in the Batak Toba, known as Dalihan Na Tolu. This thesis will explain why hula-hula, dongantubu, and boru do not speak in the same way. They have different language characteristic. Boru will not be able to use the language characteristic used by hula-hula or dongantubu, and vice versa. From some of the speech samples that I have been taken and analyzed, there are 29 verses spoken by hula-hula, which contain the giving of blessings, 16 verses spoken by dongantubu, which show cooperation or show a connection and unity with each other, and 16 verses spoken by boru, which show respectful and humble. If the verses used contain blessings, it is certain that the verses comes from hula-hula. If the content of the verses used cooperation or shows a connection and unity with each other, it is certain that the verses are used by fellow dongantubu. If the verses used are respectful and humble, it is certain that the verses come from boru.

Keywords: Language Variation, Social Structure, Dalihan Na Tolu.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Background of the Study

Language is an important part of society. According to Lyons (1981), languages are the principal communication systems used by particular groups of human beings within the specific society of which they are members. Language is the ability that humans have to communicate with others using words or perhaps with gestures. Humans will certainly never be separated from language while they are in a social environment. In her book, Janet Holmes (2001) says that sociolinguistics is the study of the relationship between language and society. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning. From the definition above, we can say that from the way someone speaks, we are able to know their social identity and what the function of the conversation is, and we know that society and language are inseparable units. Where there is society, of course, there is language, and vice versa. Each group, of course, has a language that is different from one another; this is because language has a function as an identity for a group.

According to Larry Trask (1997), the term linguistic variation (or simply variation) refers to regional, social, or contextual differences in the ways that a particular language is used. Variation between languages, dialects, and speakers is known as interspeaker variation. Variation within the language of a single speaker is called intraspeaker variation. All aspects of language (including phonemes, morphemes, syntactic structures, and meanings) are subject to variation. Variation in language use among speakers or groups of speakers is a notable criterion or change that may occur in pronunciation (accent), word choice (lexicon), or even preferences for particular grammatical patterns. Variation is a principal concern in sociolinguistics.

Indonesia is a country with many tribes, cultures, and customs. This cultural differences results in thousands of languages as well. Every custom has its own characteristics and rules. Every custom also has reasons for every point of view or rule they made. In this study, I will focus on one of the best-known tribes in Indonesia, namely the Batak tribe. Geographically in North Sumatra Province, the Batak tribe consists of five ethnicities, namely the Toba Batak (Tapanuli), Simalungun Batak, Karo Batak, Mandailing Batak (Angkola), and Pakpak Batak (Dairi). Even though all of them are Batak tribes, these five tribes have different languages from one another and also have different customs or traditions. In this study, I will only focus on the Toba Batak tribe.

The Toba Batak tribe is familiar with the term *Dalihan Na Tolu*. *Dalihan Na Tolu* is a structural pattern in Toba Batak culture that regulates the position of a person. Not only in traditional events but, this is made into a guideline in every part of everyday life for the Toba Batak people. *Dalihan Na Tolu* will regulate our actions as well as our speech style toward others. The composition of *Dalihan Na Tolu* is *hula-hula*, *dongantubu*, and *boru*. There are three rules applied in *Dalihan Na Tolu*, including *sombamarhula-hula*, *manatmardongantubu* and *elekmarboru*.

We are able to know the attitude of *somba*, *manat* and *elek* from the way someone speaks especially when they use verses or *umpasa*. *Umpasa* is a Toba Batak poem consisting of two, three, four or more arrays that can be compared with *karmina*, ordinary verses, and *talibun* types in old Indonesian Literature (Simbolon Apul, et al, 1986). *Umpasa* is a form of expression of thoughts and feelings of the Toba Batak people that always appears in various events of community life including joyful or sad events and big or small events.

Umpasa is one of the riches of the Toba Batak which has poetry, rhymes and rhythms, and is amplified again with a certain number of lines and syllables. The words composed contain poetic values, philosophy of life, polite ethics, and social norms within the tribe (Panggabean, 2007). *Umpasa* can be called cultural poetry because it contains the life ideals of every Batak Toba community such as *hagabeon* (happiness), *hamoraon* (wealth), *hasangapon* (happiness) and other cultural values that regulate and become the wisdom of the local community.

Dalihan Na Tolu, of course, related to the rules of how one should speak. How should *boru* talk to *hula-hula* and vice versa, and how should one talk to his brother (of the same clan). How a *boru* talks to *hula-hula* will certainly not be the same as how a *hula-hula* talks to *boru*. Even in terms of *mardongan tubu*, they don't have the same portion of the

language as one another. In this case, it is clear that we will witness a lot of language variations resulting from *Dalihan Na Tolu*. This is what prompted me to work on this study. To clarify why someone has to use different language characteristics in an event.

1.2 The Problems of the Study

Based on the background above, I formulate the problems of the study as follows:

1. What are the language characteristics of hula-hula as reflected in their umpasa?
2. What are the language characteristics of dongantubu as reflected in their umpasa?
3. What are the language characteristics of boru as reflected in their umpasa?

1.3 The Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are made due to the problems mentioned above, they are;

1. To know what are the language characteristics of hula-hula as reflected in their umpasa
2. To know what are the language characteristics of dongantubu as reflected in their umpasa
3. To know what are the language characteristics of boru as reflected in their umpasa

1.4 The Scope of the Study

In this study, I will focus on the content or purpose of *umpasa* used by *hula-hula*, *boru* and *dongantubu* in Batak cultural wedding ceremonies.

1.5 The Methods of the Study

1.5.1 The Sources of the Data

The sources of data for this study are wedding videos of Toba Batak people which were carried out according to the Toba Batak custom rules. The YouTube accounts that are used as the data sources are:

1. Maronfoto: The Wedding of Delon Sianipar and AxcelHutajulu.
2. Maronfoto: The Wedding of Michael Tambunan and Bella Lumbanraja.
3. Paul & Astrid; the Wedding of Astrid Hutapea and Paulus Sitorus.
4. CIPTA ARITONANG RG; the Wedding of YosepLumbanTobing and Dewi Raja Guk-Guk.
5. PH2 Parhuta-huta; The Wedding of FarulianSagala and MargarethaSilalahi.

1.5.2 The Way of Collecting the Data

All the *umpasa* found in the discourses in the five videos of the Toba Batak wedding party mentioned above are all transcribed and become the main source of the data in this research.

1.5.3 The Way of Analyzing the Data

The transcripts of the *umpasa* collected from the five videos of the marriage ceremonies are firstly classified into *hula-hula's*, *boru's* and *dongan sabutuha's* *umpasa*. Then all the *umpasa* of each group –of *hula-hula*, *boru* and *dongan sabutuha* are analyzed in order to determine the characteristics of the *umpasa* used by each group. This analysis is intended to see whether there is any relationship between the attitudes held by each group and the characteristics of the *umpasa* they use. It is done by providing an explanation as to whether the attitude of *elek* (persuasive), *manat* (careful) and *somba* (respect) appear in the *umpasa* or verses used by each group. This analysis will be based on two forms, the first being *umpasa* analysis (bolded) and sentence analysis (underlined). After the analysis completes, a conclusion regarding the language characteristics of *hula-hula*, *dongantubu* and *boru* are presented.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Language and Language Variation

Language is a part of culture, and culture can be displayed through language. According to Lyons (1981), languages are the principal communication systems used by particular groups of human beings within the specific society of which they are members. Every group and every society has its own language and symbols. Language is an important part of society. According to Bloomfield (1914), language focuses on the utterances produced by all the community's people and hence overlooks writing. Culture develops in a society, and there is no culture without society. Language, humans, and society are a unity that can never be separated.

The study of language in relation to society is called sociolinguistics. Janet Holmes (2001), states that sociolinguistics is the study of the relationship between language and society. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning. Examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community and the way people convey and construct aspects of their social identity through their language.

Sociolinguists are curious about why we speak differently in different social contexts, which causes language variation. Language variation is a situation where there are two or more ways to say the same thing, which is influenced by several factors. Variety is a sociolinguistic term referring to language in context. A variety is a set of linguistic forms used under specific social circumstances, i.e., with a distinctive social distribution. Variety is, therefore, a broad term that includes different accents, different linguistic styles, different dialects, and even different languages that contrast with each other for social reasons. It has proved a very useful sociolinguistic term because it is linguistically neutral and covers all the different realizations of the abstract concept of 'language' in different social contexts.

According to Randi Reppen (2002), linguistic variation is central to the study of language use. In fact, it is impossible to study the language forms used in natural texts without being confronted with the issue of linguistic variability. Variability is inherent in human language: a single speaker will use different linguistic forms on different occasions, and different speakers of a language will express the same meanings using different forms. Most of this variation is highly systematic: speakers of a language make choices in pronunciation, morphology, word choice, and grammar depending on a number of non-linguistic factors. These factors include the speaker's purpose in communication, the relationship between speaker and hearer, the production circumstances, and various demographic affiliations that a speaker can have.

2.2 Social Factors Affecting Language Variation

In each situation, certain social factors have been relevant in accounting for the particular variety used. Some relate to the users of language—the participants; others relate to its uses—the social setting and function of the interaction. Who is talking to whom (e.g., wife-husband, customer-shopkeeper, boss-worker) is an important factor. The setting or social context (e.g., home, work, school) is generally a relevant factor too. The aim or purpose of the interaction (informative or social) may be important. And, in some cases, the topic has proved an influence on language choice.

According to Janet Holmes, the things that affect language variations include regional, gender, ethnicity, and social structure. In this study the focus is on language variation based on ethnicity and social structure.

2.2.1 Regional

There are vocabulary differences in the varieties spoken in different regions. Australians talk of sole parents, for example, while people in England call them "single parents" and New Zealanders call them solo parents. South Africans use the term robot for British traffic lights. British wellies (Wellington boots) are New Zealand gummies (gumboots), while the word togs refer to very different types of clothes in different places. In New Zealand, togs are what you swim in. In Britain, you might wear them to a formal dinner.

Pronunciation and vocabulary differences are probably the differences people are most aware of between different dialects of English, but there are grammatical differences too. Speakers of US English tend to prefer do you have, though this can now also be heard in Britain alongside the traditional British English have you got. Americans say gotten where people in England use got. Many Americans use dove while most British English speakers prefer dived. Americans ask did you eat? While the English ask have you eaten? In New Zealand, where US forms are usually regarded as more innovative, younger New Zealanders say dove, while older New Zealanders use dived.

Intra-national or intra-continental variation refers to the different dialects of the same language in different places of use. In the USA, too, dialectologists can identify distinguishing features of the speech of people from different regions. Northern, Midland, and Southern are the main divisions, and within those three areas, several further divisions can be made. Different towns and even parts of towns can be distinguished.

Within the Midland area, for example, the Eastern States can be distinguished, and within those, the Boston dialect is different from that of New York City, and within New York City, Brooklynese is quite distinctive. The Linguistic Atlas Projects provide a rich source of information on the features of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary that distinguish different US dialects.

Cross-continental variation: dialect chains how different countries around the world use the same language differently in terms of vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. Though a map suggests the languages of Europe or India are tidily compartmentalised, in reality, they 'blend' into one another. The varieties of French spoken in the border towns and villages of Italy, Spain, and Switzerland have more in common with the language of the next village than the language of Paris. From one village and town to the next, there is a chain or continuum.

2.2.2 Gender

Women and men speak in different ways, and the reasons for this are mainly social and cultural. The linguistic forms used by women and men contrast, to different degrees, in all speech communities. There are other ways in which the linguistic behavior of women and men differs. It is claimed that women are more linguistically polite than men, for instance, and that women and men emphasize different speech functions.

Women and men do not speak in the same way as each other in any community. The Amazon Indians provide an extreme example. In any longhouse, the language used by a child's mother is different from her father's language because men must marry outside their tribe, and each tribe is distinguished by a different language. In this community, women and men speak different languages.

Less dramatically, there are communities where the language is shared by women and men, but particular linguistic features occur only in the women's speech or only in the men's speech. These features are usually small differences in pronunciation or word shape (morphology). In Montana, for instance, there are pronunciation differences in the Gros Ventre American Indian tribe. Where the women say [kʲajtsa] for 'bread' the men say [dfajtsa]. In this community, if a person uses the 'wrong' form for their gender, the older members of the community may consider them bisexual. In Bengali, a language of India, the women use an initial [l] where the men use an initial [n] in some words.

2.2.3 Ethnicity

People who come from different tribes or cultures must have different languages because each tribe has its language. When people belong to the same group, they often speak similarly. But there are many different groups in a community, and so any individual may share linguistic features with a range of other speakers. There are also linguistic clues to a person's ethnicity, and closely related to all these are linguistic features that are responsive to social pressure from those we interact with most frequently, our social networks. Individuals draw on all these resources when they construct their social identities.

Many ethnic groups use a distinctive language associated with their ethnic identity. Where a choice of language is available for communication, it is often possible for an individual to signal their ethnicity through the language they choose to use. Even when a complete conversation in an ethnic language is not possible, people may use short phrases, verbal fillers, or linguistic tags, which signal ethnicity. Interactions that appear to be in English, for example, may incorporate linguistic signals of the speakers' ethnic identity.

Italians in Boston use a particularly high percentage of vernacular pronunciations of certain vowels, such as the vowel in words like short and horse. Similarly, both first- and second-generation Italians in Sydney are distinguishable in different ways by their pronunciation of Australian English vowels. In New Zealand, as elsewhere in the world, Scots people tend to retain features of their Scottish English. The pronunciation of [r] in words like part and star is widely noted as a marker of Scottish ethnicity. American Jewish people often signal their ethnicity with a distinctive accent of English within any city in which they have settled. Studies of Jewish people in Boston and New York have identified distinctive pronunciations of some vowels. Jewish Americans also use ethnically marked linguistic tags such as *oy vay*, and occasional Yiddish vocabulary items, many of which, such as *schmaltz*, *bagel*, *glitch*, and *shlemiel*, have passed into general US English.

This is one of the countries with very diverse ethnicities and languages. Each ethnicity has its language and rules for the language itself. Some rules must be obeyed and guided when they use their language. Batak Toba in particular, a person's language is not determined by age or gender but by their social position. This position is regulated by the term *Dalihan Na Tolu*, which regulates how a person should act and speak.

2.2.4 Social Structure

There are several possible relationships between language and culture. One is that social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behaviour. Certain evidence may be adduced to support this view. For instance, given the evidence of the age-grading phenomenon (i.e., young children speak differently from older children, and, in turn, children speak differently from mature adults), we could argue that the social organization of age groups influences the language used in these groups. Another possible piece of evidence for this direction of influence is studies that show that the varieties of language that speakers use reflect such matters as their regional, social, or ethnic origin and possibly even their gender. In both cases, it might be that social structures account for or possibly even determine linguistic differences.

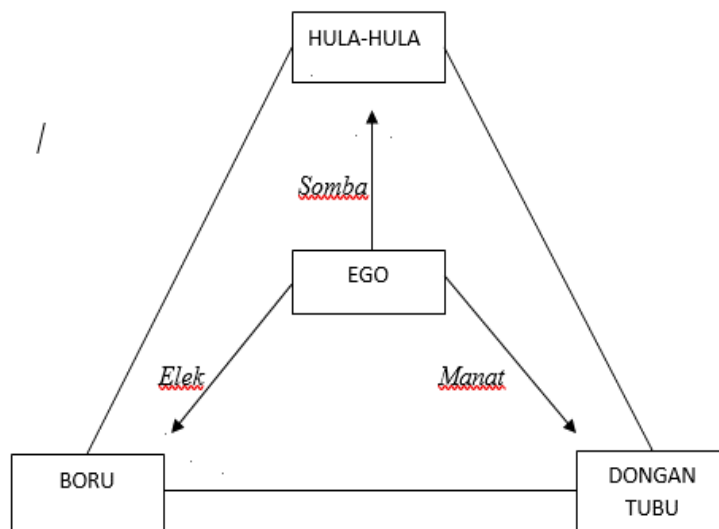
Gumperz (1971, 223) has observed that sociolinguistics is an attempt to find correlations between social structure and linguistic structure and to observe any changes that occur. Chambers (2002, 3) is even more direct: 'Sociolinguistics is the study of the social uses of language, and the most productive studies in the four decades of sociolinguistic research have *emanated* from determining the social evaluation of linguistic variants. These are also the area's most susceptible to scientific methods such as hypothesis formation, logical inference, and statistical testing.

Thus, the relationship between language and social structure is paramount in the development of the concept of the speech community, and this includes the idea that different levels of speech communities correspond to different types of social groups. Gumperz (1971, 115) discusses how linguistic forms can be grouped into dialects, styles, or registers. While we may be able to talk about a speech community of speakers of North American English, we can also identify smaller groups with their own norms for interaction related to specific regions, religious organizations, or occupational groups within this larger speech community.

2.3 Social Structure in Toba Batak: *Dalihan Na Tolu*

In Batak Toba society, the type of language used depends on its position in a situation or place. In Toba Batak society, every person is connected to three social functional groups, they are *hula-hula* 'wife-giver', *dongansabutuha* (same clan), and *boru* 'wife-taker'. According to Cunningham (1958), these three groups form a social structure called *Dalihan Na Tolu*.

The following figure shows how ego is connected to the three social functional groups.



Source: Jon PiterSitumorang, 2009

2.3.1 *Hula-hula*

Hula-hula refers to the giver of the girl (the giver of the wife). *Hula-hula* are the parents of the wife and every person who has the same clan as the wife has. *Hula-hula* have a higher and more honourable position, so they must be worshipped and respected by boru. This is in line with the following saying: "*Hula-hula i do debatananiida*" which means that

the giver of the girl is the visible representative of God. Because of that all the prayers and blessings from *hula-hula* are very influential on the life of *boru*. This above proverb suggests that Toba Batak people must treat their *hula-hula* like God. In other words *hula-hula* represent God to the life of *boru*. As Toba Batak people adore God they must, therefore, worship and respect their *hula-hula*.

Hula-hula, therefore, occupies an honourable position in Batak society. The attitude of respect towards *hula-hula* must always be shown in attitude, words, and deeds. Batak people must *somba marhula-hula*, which means that Toba Batak people must bow down, submit, and obey their *hula-hula*. The decision of *hula-hula* in the customary deliberation is difficult to oppose (Marbun and Hutapea, 1987: 61). A proverb states: "*Hula-hula mata ni mual si patio-tioon, mataniari so suharon*". Literally, this means that *hula-hula* is considered to be the source of water which must always be kept clear and as the sun which shine upon the life of people. We know people cannot live without water and sun. Toba Batak people believe that their *hula-hula* are the source of blessing in their life. There will be no life without sunshine. The Toba Batak people believe that they cannot live without their *hula-hula*.

Hula-hula is considered as a source of living water and a source of blessing. Finally, *hula-hula* is considered to be *pangalapan pasu-pasu dohot pangalapan tua*, which means that *hula-hula* is considered to be a source of blessings and maturity especially blessings in the form of children. Therefore, every word and order from *hula-hula*, who are also called "king" among the Batak people, must be obeyed.

2.3.2 DonganTubu

Dongan tubu literally means one's brothers, or those who are born from the same womb. *Dongantubu* are the family group of relatives based on the father's lineage. *DonganTubu* also covers those people who bear the same family name.

In daily life, *dongantubu* are like-minded and like-feeling friends in joy and sorrow. In daily life, all members of a *dongantubu* practise the same customary law. Toba Batak people say that those who belong to the same family name or *na mardongan tubu* or *dongan sabutuha* become *saparadatan*. (Practise one adat), so that when accepting and paying adat, they jointly face and bear all risks (Sitanggang, 2010: 40). So, to avoid conflict, Toba Batak people must be careful when talking to their *dongantubu*. *Dongantubu* is basically one and a cooperative partner, they will always be together in profit and loss so that each *dongantubu* has an interdependent attitude towards each other. There is a proverb of the Batak people that says, "*Hau na jonok do na boi marsiogoson*". The literal meaning of this proverb is "tree trunks that are close together can rub against each other". To prevent misunderstandings and disputes among those who belong to the same clan name, it is necessary for fellows of the same clan name to have a careful (*manat*) attitude among those of the same clan name. Since once there is a class between members of the same clan name, it will be very hard to find out the solution.

It is likened to water that is split with a knife; even though it is split, it remains united. However, all Batak people (Batak culture) are advised to be wise to relatives. The Batak youth who migrate to other areas always have confidence in themselves, knowing that their relatives overseas will provide assistance if they experience difficulties. Indeed, the sense of solidarity and brotherhood among the Batak people is very strong, even though they are far from their home area.

This is in accordance with the philosophy embraced by the Batak community, which is reflected in the following proverb:

"*Talipapaut, talipanggoman.*"

"*Tariparlaut, saitinanda do rupanidongan.*"

Meaning: Even though we cross the sea, we still recognize *dongansabutuha* (friends of the same family) or friends of the same family (Sihombing, T.M., 2000: 75).

2.3.3 *Boru*

Boru are those who take girls (wife-taker) to be their wives as well as those who have the same clan name as the wife-takers. Every *boru* must be respectful to his/her *hula-hula* (Sitanggang, 2010:41). *Boru* occupies the lowest position which is known as *parhobas*, or servants both in daily life and in every traditional ceremony. But even though they function as a servant, it does not mean that *boru* can be treated arbitrarily. Rather, *boru* must be taken to heart and persuaded, termed: *elekmarboru* (must always be persuasive towards the receiving party of the girl).

According to Batak custom, *boru* is obliged to help *hula-hula* in all matters, especially in traditional events. Batak custom allows *hula-hula* to receive donations from *boru*. Meanwhile, *boru* will always try to help *hula-hula*, sometimes even going into debt, as long as they can contribute to *hula-hula*. Meanwhile, *hula-hula* will give rewards to *boru* as a sign of affection (Sigalingging, 2000: 17).

Dalihan Na Tolu (translation: "three furnaces") is a philosophical concept or socio-cultural insight concerning Batak society and culture. *Dalihan Na Tolu* becomes a framework that includes blood relations and marital relations that tie one group together. In Batak custom, *Dalihan Na Tolu* is determined by the presence of three functional positions as a social construction consisting of three things that form the common basis. As for the rules that must be adhered to in *Dalihan Na Tolu*, they are;

1. *Sombamarhula-hula* (an attitude of worship/respect to the family of the giving wife/mother).

Sombamarhulahula. It is true that the word *Somba*, the emphasis on *som* means worship, but the word *Sombahere* emphasizes *ba* which is an adjective and means respect. *Sombamarhula-hula* means respect for *Hula-hula*. *Hula-hula* are the wife clan group, starting from our wives, the mother clan group (father's wife), the ompung wife clan group, and several generations; the clan of the wife of the child, the clan of the wife of the granddaughter, the clan of the wife of relatives, and so on from *dongantubu* group. We must respect our *hula-hula* because he has the highest position, and

according to the term "*Hula-hulaido debatananiida*," *hula-hula* is considered as God; he is the creator, protector and giver of blessings to his descendants (*boru*). In order for us to have good fortune, we must worship *hula-hula*. *Hula-hula* as a source of *hagabeon* or offspring. Without *hula-hula* there would be no wives so they are the givers of offspring. On the other hand, as the diagram illustrates, *hula-hula* is at the very top, which shows that we as *boru* are dependent on *hula-hula*.

2. *Elekmarboru* (attitude of persuading/protecting girls and those who accept girls).

Elekmarboru, in this case *elek*, can be translated as guarding or protecting. This means affection that is not accompanied by ulterior motives or self-interest. A gentle attitude towards *boru* is necessary because, in the past it was *boru* who could be expected to help work the fields and fetch and prepare food for the king, *hula-hula*. A *boru* is a servant to *hula-hula*, but that does not mean that *hula-hula* is arbitrary towards *boru*; instead, *hula-hula* must be gentle in ordering *boru*.

3. *Manatmardongantubu* (careful attitude towards family and friends).

Manatmardongantubu/sabutuha; *manat* in this case can be interpreted as being careful. This means a careful attitude towards fellow clans to prevent misunderstandings in the implementation of traditional events. Be careful with family and friends. The elders say,

"Haunajonok do naboimarsiogoson."

Which means that it is the wood that is close to it that can rub together. This illustrates that the relationship is so close and frequent that conflicts, conflicts of interest, positions, and so on are possible. Because *dongansabutuha* is also a rival for his brother, between brothers must also often experience misunderstandings and quarrels. The core teachings of *Dalihan Na Tolu* are moral principles containing the teachings of mutual respect with the support of moral principles: respect and help each other. *Dalihan Na Tolu* is a medium that contains objective legal principles.

Dalihan Na Tolu is a framework for tripartite relations, which include blood relations and marital relations that link one group. The *Dalihan Na Tolu* evolves due to two factors: descent grouping and the marriage system adopted by the Toba Batak people. The Toba Batak people adopt the patrilineal system, in which descent is traced through a line of ancestors in the male line. Members of a unilineal descent group from a certain ancestor use the name of their ancestor to distinguish them from members of other unilineal descent groups. All names of ancestors that become names of unilineal descent groups become clan names (*marga*). Persons of the same clan name consider themselves as brothers and sisters and they form a group called *namardongansabutuha* (lit. born from the same womb). Members of a *marga* cannot marry one another.

Concerning marriage, the Toba Batak people adopt an exogamous system: a requirement for marriage outside a particular group or range of kinship. The exogamy practiced in Toba Batak society is a cross-cousin marriage in which the ideal marriage is a man's marriage with mother's brother's daughter (MBD) which is called matrilateral cross-cousin

or *pariban*. This marriage is asymmetrical in which wife-givers cannot be wife-takers at the same time. Hence, the marriage system requires two distinct groups: the wife-giver groups and the wife-receiver groups.

In their everyday practices, Toba Batak people operate according to the principles of *Dalihan Na Tolu*. For those who have the same clan name (*marga*), they claim themselves to be brothers even though they cannot find the genealogical lineage. They use the terms *dongantubu* (lit. twin), *dongansabutuha* (lit. men born from the same womb), *dongan samudar* (lit. men of the same blood') and *dongan saina* (lit. men of the same mother) to describe their relationship-blood tie.

The three terms in *Dalihan Na Tolu* are attached to every Batak person. Every Batak person is not always positioned as *hula-hula*, *boru* or as *dongantubu*. It depends on his/her position in his/her social structure. For example, a man will be in the position of *hula-hula* for his sister and her family, but on the other hand, a man and his wife will be in the position of *boru* when they face the wife's brother and his family. And a man will be in the position of *dongantubu* when he meet relatives who has the same clan as his.

2.4 Umpasa

Umpasa is a formal language that is only used at traditional events in the Batak Toba culture. *Umpasa* is not commonly used in everyday conversation.

Umpasa is one of the riches of the Toba Batak which has poetry, rhymes and rhythms, and is amplified again with a certain number of lines and syllables. The words composed contain poetic values, philosophy of life, polite ethics, and social norms within the tribe (Panggabean, 2007).

Umpasa can be called cultural poetry because it contains the life ideals of every Batak Toba community such as *hagabeon* (having many offspring and have long life), *hamoraon* (wealth), *hasangapon* (kemuliaan, kewibawaan atau charisma) and other cultural values that regulate and become the wisdom of the local community. Sapir in Bonvillian (1997) states that the analysis of the vocabulary of a language is very important to reveal the physical and social environment in which the speakers of a language live. Language and culture are very closely related.

Language reflects culture, meaning that language is one of the cultural products of a nation. Most of the cultural products of a nation can only be observed through its language.

The variation of the language itself can appear through the swear words used by a speaker. In uttering an *umpasa*, the values in *Dalihan Na Tolu* are also a source that must be adhered to when a speaker throws out their verses. The content of the *umpasa* spoken by *boru* to his *hula-hula* will be different from the *umpasa* spoken by the *hula-hula* to *boru* and will also be different from the content spoken by fellow or *dongantubu*. There are rules that have been made for each party in using verses. Verses should not be used carelessly.

2.4 Social Properties in Cultural Ceremonies of Batak Toba

2.4.1 Ulos

Mangulosi is the process of putting *ulos* on the shoulders of the *boru*. It is done by *hula-hula*. *Mangulosi* is one of the traditions in the Toba Batak culture. *Mangulosi* is an event for giving a typical Batak woven cloth called *ulos*. This *ulos* has the meaning of providing protection from all bad weather and circumstances, as believed by the Batak tribe itself. Usually, those who are *mangulosi* are called *hula-hula* in Batak custom, which has the highest position in Batak culture.

Mangulos is a symbol of love and blessing from the giver to the receiver. Pinning *ulos* on the bride and groom is believed to be a way of delivering prayers for the bride and groom. *Ulos* is used as a "blanket when it's cold and used as an umbrella when it rains" which is the real function of *ulos* as cloth, but from this, it is expected that the giving of *ulos* is a form of protection in any situation as the beginning of this sacred process as an ancestral heritage, so that this becomes customary, which has stuck to this day. In this process, the *ulos* giver does not just pin the *ulos*, but also give an advice to the bride and groom to always get along well and be happy, as well as other marriage advice to be the best possible couple. However, it is not only giving advice and prayers, but also this *mangulosi* to show a sincere sense of joy to the bride and groom for the success of the blessing and the success of the customs carried out by both parties.

In *mangulosi* ritual, there are several rules that must be obeyed, one of which is that the giving of *ulos* can only be done by parents to children, but children cannot be *mangulosi* of their parents because it has become a tradition from their ancestors that has been passed down from generation to generation.

One of the ceremonies in which the *ulos* or *mangulosi* is given is in the traditional wedding ceremony, so that the Toba Batak tribe has a belief that if the marriage does not hold the *mangulosi* ceremony, then it means that the blessings, hopes, and prayers of both parents are not received.

2.4.2 Dekke or fish

One of the traditional Batak wedding possessions is *dekke* (fish) that is a goldfish. It has its own meaning and significance. The event is known as *mangalean dekke* (to give goldfish).

In every traditional event, *dekke* is always presented. If the *paranak* (male party) offers *namargoar ni juhut* to their *hula-hula*, then the *parboru* (*hula-hula* party) reciprocates with the gift of *dekke* (Sinaga, 2013, p.48).

While *hula-hula* is putting the tray containing the fish in front of *boru*, then *hula-hula* say some words which is known as *mandokhata* (saying the words). The *hula-hula* greet their *boru* and explain the intent and purpose of giving the fish.

Accompanied by a prayer of blessing. It was at that time that beautiful names were given to the fish in accordance with the hope of hula-hula and her prayer to God for the welfare of boru. (Sihombing, 2000, p.94-95):

Just like giving *ulos*, giving *dekke* can only be done by *hula-hula* to *boru*, where the *dekke* given is a symbol of blessing for *boru*.

2.4.3. Tudu-tudu ni sipanganon

Tudu-tudusipanganon are certain parts of the slaughtered animal that are placed in the center as a symbol of the *hasuhuton's* respect for his invitation, especially *hula-hula*. This means that to entertain *hula-hula*, the *hasuhuton* (host) does not buy kilo meat (*rambingan*) but is willing to sacrifice the life of one animal.

As mentioned in the previous explanation, the *paranak* must bring the meat that has been agreed upon to be distributed to the *parboru* family as *jambar*. In his submission, *raja parhata* from the two of them again threw verses with the intention that the meat that had been given to *parboru* would be blessed as a form of gratitude, and hopefully they would be happy. After being prayed for and the process of handing over the meat, the *parhobas*, or husbands of the women, include the brothers/sisters of the bride, who are then in charge of cutting the *jambar* meat and distributing it to the entire female family. With the parts that are determined and the amount that has been determined also according to custom.

The meat is then given to the wife-giver, and the wife-giver reciprocates with a *dekke* or goldfish for the man's family. This is with a note: the meat that is submitted is adjusted to the abilities of the *paranak's* family. The symbols contained in this exchange of meat and fish are meat as a symbol of pleasure and prosperity and as a sign that the bride and her whole family are happy, so that her heart is calm and that her daughter is now part of the *paranak*. While the giving of fish embodies mutual cooperation in the success of the event and has the meaning of giving to each other.

3. ANALYSIS OF DATA

In Toba Batak culture, how a person speaks is determined by their social position in the social structure they live in particularly at formal events. There are three positions in the social structure in Batak Toba culture, they are *hula-hula*, *dongantubu*, and *boru*, which have been explained in the *Dalihan Na Tolu* philosophy. Every Batak Toba person must have an occasion where he must act as *hula-hula*, as *dongantubu*, or as *boru*. A person cannot always be positioned as *hula-hula*, *dongantubu*, or *boru*.

The position of someone will be determined by the situation where and when an event he attends is held. If one's daughter holds a party, for example, he will be positioned as *hulahula*. And if an event organizer is a male relative of his wife or mother, then he will be positioned as *boru*. So, a person must be able to adjust the way he speaks according to the social status he holds. If he is being a *hula-hula*, he must apply the value of *elek* or *being persuasive*, if he is being a *dongantubu*, he must apply the value of *manat/careful*; and if he is being a *boru*, then he must apply the value of *somba* meaning being respectful.

3.1 Language Characteristic of *Hula-Hula*

Hula-hula or the wife giver has the attitude of *elek marboru* that is the attitude of being persuasive/protective towards the girl and the man who accepts the girl to be his wife. It is one of the contents of *Dalihan Na Tolu* that is *Elek marboru* which means being persuasive towards daughter and her family (*boru*). For Batak people, *hula-hula* has the highest position and is referred to as the king in every traditional ceremony. *Boru* must always place their *hula-hula* in the *halang ulu* (a place in a house in which they put their pillows and put their heads on it when they are sleeping) or in the *siamun* (in the right side of *boru*) which indicates that the position of *hula-hula* will always be in the highest position. *Boru* lexically means daughter but in this case *boru* does not only mean daughter but daughter here includes all family members of daughter's husband or members of a clan to which a husband belongs to. The *hula-hula's* position is considered to be the position that a king has. The *hula-hula* has the power to give blessings to their *boru*. Hence, the language or verses that *hula-hula* usually uses to *boru* are verses that contain blessings. It can be proven from the following data;

1. "Tu ho laeku naung gabe helaku. Jadi dison helahu ro do hami mamboan ulos hela. Ulos nahapal si ganjang rambu asa hapal-hapal pancamotanmu hela dohot ganjang umurmu hatop dililiti andor hamu. Asa dohonon ma tu hamu na songon nanidokni natua-tua: **Asa bintang narumiris ma tu ombun nasumorop, anak pe antong di hamu riris jala boru pe antong torop. Pinantikhon hujur ma tu topi ni tapian. Manang tudia pe hamu mangalakka tusima hamu dapotan parsaulian, dapotan parhorasan tumpahon ni Amatta namartua Debata. Sahat-sahat ni solu ma sahat tubontean. Nungnga sahat ulaon pamasu-masuon muna on dibagasan sadarion sahat ma hita on tupanggabbean sahat ma tu parhorasan tarlumobi ma di hamuna keluarga naimbaru.**" (*To my brother-in-law, we are here to deliver ulos to our son-in-law. A thick ulos that has a long tassel. So that your income is thick and you are given a long life and is quickly given offspring. So that as the old saying goes: Bintang narumiris ma tu ombun na sumorop anak pe antong riris jala boru pe torop (may be given to you many sons and daughters). Pinantikhon hujur ma tu topi ni tapian manag tudia pe hamu mangalakka sai tong ma dapot parsaulian (Stucking the spear on the seaside of the place where you take a bath, wherever you go, hopefully, there you get your fortune and get the prosperity given by God. Sahat-sahat ni solu ma sahat tu bottean, nungnga saut pamasumasuon mu di bagasan sadarion sai sahat ma hamu tu panggabbean dohot parhorason jala tibu dapot (The boat has arrived at the harbour and the blessing of your marriage has already been done, may we arrive at happiness and prosperity, especially for the newly blessed family).*)

In the data 3, the verse is, "**Asa bintang na rumiris ma tu ombun nasumorop, anak pe antong di hamu riris jala boru pe antong torop.**" This verse is giving blessing because it contains prayer and hope. The part of the verse that reflects the blessing is "**Anak pe antong di hamu riris jala boru pe antong torop**" which means may you *the boru* be blessed with many sons and daughters.

Another verse which is often used by hula-hula is “**Pinantikhon hujur ma tu topi ni tapian. Manang tudia pe hamu mangalakka, tusi ma hamu dapotan parsaulian dapotan parhorasan tumpahon ni amatta namartua Debata.**” Through this verse the hula-hula is giving blessing to their boru by expressing a prayer and hope. The parts of the verse that reflect the blessing are: (1) “**Tudia pe hamu mangalakka tusi ma hamu dapotan parsaulian**” which means wherever *boru* party goes, hopefully, they may always have good fortune there and the verse (2) “**Dapotan parhorasan tumpahon ni amatta nartua Debata**” which means *wherever boru party go may they always be safe.*

And another verse is “**Sahat-sahat ni solu ma sahat tu bontean, nungnga sahat ulaon pamasu-masuonmuna on dibagasan sadarion sahat ma hita on tu panggabbean sahat ma tu parhorasan tarlumobi ma di hamu na keluarga naimbaru.**” The verse above is giving blessing because it contains prayer and hope. The part of the verse that reflects the blessing are: “**Sahat ma hita on tu panggabbean**” which means may *boru* get offspring and happiness and “**Sahat ma tuparhorasan**” which means may *boru* get safety wherever they go.

Aside from those verses, there are some other verses from *hula-hula* containing blessing. For example: “Ulos na hapal siganjang rambu asa hapal-hapal pansamotan mu hela dohot ganjangumur mu hatop dililiti andor mu.” These sentences are reflecting the blessing. The part of the sentence that reflect blessing is “**Asa hapal pancamotan mu**” which means, through the giving of ulos, *boru* party will have a good income. The other verse, i.e. “**Dohot ganjang umurmu**” which means may *boru* party get a long life as well. And finally, the verse “**Hatop dililiti andor mu**” which means, may *boru* party soon get the offspring.

Therefore, from the explanation above, it can be concluded that the sentences and verses given by the *hula-hula* are verses containing the value of blessing. In Toba Batak culture, it is the *hula-hula* who have right to to give blessing.

3.2 Language Characteristic of *DonganTubu*

Dongantubu is a family group consisting of brothers based on the father's lineage. Meanwhile, according to Marbun, *dongantubu* are brothers of one clan. According to *Dalihan Na Tolu*, the law that regulates them is *manat*. *Manat mardongantubu* means to have a careful attitude towards fellow clans so that there is no misunderstanding in the implementation of traditional events. The elders say, “*Hau na jonok do na boi marsiogoson,*” which means that close trees can rub each other. This illustrates that those people who have close blood relationship frequently fall into conflicts, clashes of interests, jockeying for positions, and so on. To avoid conflict, Toba Batak people are advised to be careful when talking to their *dongantubu*. Members of *dongantubu* are basically considered as one and so each *dongantubu* has an interdependent attitude towards each other. The position of members of *dongantubu* is the same, and they can exchange positions. The language style commonly used by *dongan Tubu* is to show unity, mutual respect and cooperation. It can be seen from:

1. "Jadi songoni ma di hita na marhaha maranggi pomparan ni ompungta raja Sianipar. Songon nanidokni bona hasuhutonta, sada do hita songon daion mual. Si sada anak sisada boru sisada tahi sisada sakkap sisada ulaon. Didok natua-tua **molo tung pe dakkana rapping, na sada ma bonana. Pandohan ni hahana do pandohan ni anggina alai sada ma hatana. Asa dolok ni sipohol ma hatubuan ni si hupi dohot pinasa. Molo hahana manghasuhuthon ulaon, anggina ma antong nagabe raja parhata.**" So for us—elder brothers and younger brothers, descents of our grandfather King Sianipar. Like what our master of ceremony say: we are one just like the taste of water. The master of ceremony says we are one like the taste of water. My sons, daughters, plan, want, work are also yours and vice versa. Old people say "although the branches are cut off from its trunk, yet their tree trunk is one. What the elder brother says is similar to what the younger one says. (So to our brothers and sisters who are all descendants of King Sianipar. As the master of the house said, we are one like the spring. One child, one goal, one plan, and one event. Parents say **molo tung pe dakkana rapping na, sada ma bona na what a brother says is what his sister says and they are one. Asa di doloknisipoholhatubuannisihipidohotpinasa if the older brother is the host of an event then the younger brother will be the spokesperson).**

In the data 2, the verse is "**Tung pe dakkana rapping na, sada ma bona na. Pandohannihahana do pandohannianggina alai sada ma hatana.**" The verse above is showing unity between brothers. The part of the verse that show unity is, "**Pandohannihahana do pandohannianggina alai sada ma hatana.**" Which means what the brother says is what other brother say. Fellow *dongantubu* are always of the same mind in all circumstances.

Another verse is "**Asa di doloknisipoholhatubuannisihipidohotpinasa. Molo hahanamanghasuhuthonulaon, anggina ma antongnagabe raja parhata.**" The verse above is showing the attitude of cooperation between brothers. The part of the verse that show cooperation found in "**Molo hahanamanghasuhuthonulaon, anggina ma antongnagabe raja parhata.**" Which can be interpreted that if an older brother is having a celebration, then his younger brother is the spokesperson, and vice versa. This shows that brothers (*dongantubu*) should look out for each other. Help each other and able exchange positions according to the circumstances needed.

Aside from the verse or "Umpasa" the sentences from *dongansabutuha* show their unity: "Sada do hita songonnaionnimual" and "Si sadaanaksisadaborusisadatahisisadasakkapsisadaulaon." The sentence above is a sentence that shows the unity between fellow brothers. The sentence in English means we are one, like a spring. And shared responsibility for sons and daughters, as well as one heart, one plan, and one goal in all situations.

Therefore, from the explanation above, I conclude that sentences and verses above are from *dongan tubu*. Because the verses above contain the value of cooperation. And the person who will always be cooperated with in all events are *dongan sabutuha*.

3.3 Language Characteristic of *Boru*

Boru literally means daughter. But when we talk about social structure in Toba Batak society *boru* is the side that receives the girl (wife-taker). *Boru* is our daughter, or the clan group that takes our daughter. In the Toba Batak custom, the value that must be adhered to by *boru* to *hula-hula* is *somba*. *Sombamarhula-hula* means respect for *hula-hula*. *Hula-hula* is suspected of being a source of blessings. *Hula-hula* as a source of *hagabeon*/offspring. Offspring were obtained from a wife who came from *hula-hula*. Without *hula-hula* there is no wife, and without wife, there is no offspring. As *hula-hula* is considered the giver of blessings, *boru* is the one who asks for blessings from *hula-hula*, and when asking for blessings and worshipping *hula-hula*, *boru* must humble themselves. So, the language characteristic used by *boru* are respectful, worship, humble, adore, and asking for blessings/asking for guidance. Some reflections of these characteristics can be seen in the following data;

1. "Mauliatema raja nami. Songonhataninatua-tuanamandoknunggabissarinmataniaripoltakmatanibulan. Nungngamarsuru raja naingmamukkapakkataion, pasahatonnami ma pingganpanukkunan. Pingganpanukkunanasaanggiatjumpa tutu songonnanidokninatua-tuaasa baris-baris nigajainna di rurapangaloan. Molo marsuru raja, naikkon do oloan, molo dung nioloandapotan ma akkapangomoan." (Thanks to our king. As the saying goes nungngabincarinmataniaripoltakmatanibulan. The king has ordered us to start talking, so we will immediately deliver the pingganpanukkunan. So that as the proverb says asa baris-baris nigajainna di rurapangaloan if the king has ordered must be obeyed. If it is obeyed then we will get fortune).

In the data 3 the verse is, "Nungngabissarinmataniaripoltakmatanibulan. Nungngamarsuru raja naingmamukkapakkataionpasahatonnami ma pingganpanukkunan." The verse above is showing respect. The part of the verse that indicates respect is, "Nungngamarsuru raja naingmamukkapakkataionpasahatonnami ma pingganpanukkunan" Which means that when *hula-hula* has given instructions, it must be carried out properly. "Pingganpanukkunan" is a symbol of respect from *boru* to *hula-hula*. Which means that *boru* should not carelessly ask *hula-hula*, but *boru* first asks permission through the delivery of the *pingganpanukkunan*.

Another verse is "Asa baris-baris nigajainna di rurapangaloan. Molo marsuru raja, naikkon do oloan, molo dung nioloandapotan ma akkapangomoan." The verse above is showing a sense of respect from *boru* to *hula-hula*. The part that indicates respect are: "Molo marsuru raja, naikkon do oloan." Which can be interpreted as meaning that when the king has given instructions then the instructions must be carried out immediately. "Molo dung nioloandapotan ma akkapangomoan." Which means that if we carry out the king's instructions well then we will get good luck.

There is also a greeting like; "Raja" this term is used by *boru* to address *hula-hula* to show their respect as well as to show *hula-hula*'s identity that *hula-hula* is a king.

Therefore, from the explanation above, I conclude that the verses above are from *boru*. Because the verses above contain the value of respect. Basically, someone in a lower position should be respectful to those in a higher position. *Boru* positioned is lower than *hula-hula*, so they must be respect their *hula-hula*.

4. CONCLUSIONS

From some of the speech samples that I have been taken and analyzed, there are 29 verses spoken by *hula-hula* which contains blessings, 16 verses spoken by *dongantubu* which are cooperation or shows a connection and unity with each other, and 16 verses spoken by *boru* which are respectful and humble.

From the data that I analyzed before, I concluded that, the verses which contain blessings it is certainly come from *hula-hula*. Because *hula-hula* has the highest position in the social structure of the Batak Toba community, so they are the ones who have the power to give blessings to their *boru*. If the verses contain the cooperation or shows a connection and unity with each other, it is certainly come from fellow *dongantubu*. Because *dongantubu* is the partner that is always invited to cooperate in every event, so good cooperation between *dongantubu* is needed. If the verses used are respectful and humble, it is certainly come from *boru*. Because *boru* consider as servant to *hula-hula* and they are dependent on *hula-hula*, so *boru* should always be respectful to their *hula-hula*.

The values or provisions that have been regulated in *Dalihan Na Tolu* are provisions that can no longer be changed and have become rules that are used from generation to generation. *Boru* cannot use the language characteristics of *hula-hula*, and *dongantubu* also cannot use the type of language used by *boru* when they are speaking to each other. So, from the verses and sentences used by someone, we can find out the position of a person in a Toba Batak wedding ceremony.

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