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THE KINSHIP OF “DALIHAN NA TOLU” OF BATAK CULTURE IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Batak kinship (in Batak language called *partuturon*) are fundamental to determine one's position in Batak's culture custom called *DalihannaTolu*. This study portrayed the kinship systems of *DalihannaTolu* (three places in the Batak traditions consisting of *dongantubu*(the relatives with the patriarch surnames or of the identical family names/*marga*), *boru* (the relatives from sisters), and *hula-hula*(the relatives from wife's surnames). The purpose was to gain a robust and complete comprehending of the Batak kindships of *DalihannaTolu* in the context of Batak customs/tradition. It contributes to Batak kinship's knowledge of the relationship, the positions, and the proper terms of other people's addresses. Data for this research are the kinship and the standard terms of the address of *DalihannaTolu*. The procedures of data analysis: first, gathering the data from books, internet, and information from interviewing two Batak natives; next, identifying and classifying the data following the kinship systems of *DalihannaTolu*; and the last, writing the report of the research. Kinship of *DalihannaTolu* covers three positions in Batak society representing the three crucial positions in Batak kinship (*hula-hula*, *dongantubu*, and *boru*).

INTRODUCTION

Batak Toba refers to a collective name for people and the language which linguistically and culturally related to its group vernacular languages: Karo, Angkola, Simalungun, and Pakpak (Singarimbun, 1975); (Simon, 1984); (Pide, 2014). Batak, the short term of Batak Toba, is one of the six ethnic groups with the most populated North Sumatera and other Indonesia areas. People use the language to communicate among the Batak community in daily dialogues, literature, or cultural tradition (Sibarani, 2018) in the district of North Tapanuli of Sumatera island including Tarutung, Muara, Siborong-borong; the section of Toba Samosir including Balige, Parapat, Parsoburan; the community of Samosir including Pangururan, Samosir, Ambarita; the district of Dairi, including Sidikalang; the section of Humbang Hasundulan, including Dolok Sanggul and Pakkat. All are parts of North Sumatera province and are considered "home towns" for Batak people living far away from those in the region out of Northern Sumatera. Besides spoken in the hometowns, the Batak language is still used by a lot of Batak people residing out of the district of North Sumatera in Indonesia, for example, in Palembang, Jakarta, Bandung, Palembang, Ambon, Manado, etc. In other words, Batak people living in the hometowns or out of their hometowns in Indonesia or abroad still maintain and preserve the central values of Batak language and culture as the local wisdom (Sibarani, 2007). The Batak society performs their traditional customs almost in all aspects of life, starting from giving birth, marriage, and funerals. In this circle of life, Batak people committed to doing their custom culture together in the community. It reveals that Batak has a good teamwork in preparing those ceremonies. They work in harmony in all different roles to build a team effectively (Peter and Simatupang, 2019). Batak people participate in the tradition ceremony according to their roles in the gathering based on their kinship relations.

Generally speaking, kinship implies relationship and closeness between families and relatives. In the Cambridge dictionary, it means the relationship between members of the same family. It starts from a nucleus family consisting of father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, husband, and wife, which are called primitive terms to the outer or extended family (grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins). From semantic point of view, the features consist of [parent], [offspring], [sibling], and [spouse], together with [male] and [female] (Kreidler, 1998). Semantic distinctive features of Batak kinship can be viewed in appendix A and B.

Kinship terminology is universal to all languages and cultures, yet it differs in each society (Taşbaş, 2019). Mostly kinship relates to blood relations or descends (Howell, 1995), being born or married to one family (Weingart, 2019); intermarriage (Strohl, 2018). Nevertheless, it can also relate to non-kinship (Afful, 2006), donor family (Andreassen, 2017), people from the same village migrating to a city (Malefakis, 2018), identity from God (Barclay, 2017), and kinship relates to women (Uberoi, 2017). Furthermore, kinship relations are widely practiced and maintained so that relations among parties become closer as society needs to have close relation one to another, for

instance, kinship among people at the workplace (Xiaozhao and Yi, 2017). The closeness between relatives in the general sense is compulsory as we belong to a group of people, either agnatic, clans, or similar hometowns.

Kinship associated with blood and marriage has been primarily discussed by some scholars to justify the closeness and kinship relations (Ensor, 2003); (Dhofier, 1980); (Guzzi-Heeb, 2018); (Kuper, 2016). In Iranian traditions, marriage with a cousin is an ordinary situation (Spooner, 1966), and in west Sumatera, marrying a cousin (mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's son) has been practiced (Parkin, 2018).

This study discussed the kinship system called *DalihannaTolu* in a Batak culture where people based the relationship on the father's side or patrilinear descent. It indicates that the lineage is connected to another in the male line (Vergouwen, 1964). Unlike the previous research of kinship related to genealogy or agnatic, kinship in this study correlates with ancestry and marriage and the address of kinship association. It is very crucial since *DalihannaTolu* determines the position in Batak's culture custom. This system can be considered complicated (Siregar, 1981) and not easy to remember for some people, primarily residing out of the hometowns if they do not join the traditional ceremony from an early age. Furthermore, kinship in *DalihannaTolu* means the relation based on blood, marriage, and *marga* or family name (Nainggolan, 2014) in a traditional ceremony like a wedding party, a child baptized, or funeral ritual.

The research problems are first, how is the kinship system of *DalihannaTolu* in Batak culture? Second, how to determine the terms of address when greeting other people in the context of *DalihannaTolu*? The purpose of this research is to have a strong and adequate comprehending of the Batak kindships of *DalihannaTolu* in the context of Batak customs or ceremony. This study is significant since it contributes to Batak kinship's knowledge so that people recognize the relationship or the positions and employ proper terms of the interlocutors' address.

DalihannaTolu, literally translated as the out-of-date tripod furnace, is used as a cooking device in an old traditional kitchen. It means that there are three positions in Batak traditional ceremony that place someone as *hula-hula* (the relatives from wife's family name/*marga*); *boru* (sister's relatives); and *dongantubu* (relatives of the father's or husband's family name). Therefore, the kinship system of the Batak people is the aspect that cannot be separated and intertwined in the community. The kinship in this study consists of two parts: the kinship relations and the terms of addressing *DalihannaTolu*.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this study was descriptive qualitative. It means describing the facts or the characteristics of a population or certain places systematically, factually, and prudently (Soetriono and Hanafie, 2007). The research purpose was first to achieve a clear understanding of Batak kinship to know their status in *DalihannaTolu* in Batak ceremony or everyday interactions. The second purpose is to understand the greeting terms, especially

when people are doing their traditional festivals or rituals related to Batak traditional cultures.

This study's data were the kinship system and *DalihannaTolu* address, primarily from interviewing two Batak elders. One informant is TauhaposanPanjaitan, S.Pd., M.Pd., the leader of Panjaitan*marga* or family name in Siderejo Medan, North Sumatera from 2011 until now. The other informant is RamalaPasaribu, the wife of late DjuaraSimatupang, a former Simatupang clan leader in Palembang from 1984-2000. The questions about *DalihannaTolu* are: 1) How important the *DalihannaTolu* was to Batak society; 2) When is the starting point for Batak people to get involved in *DalihannaTolu*? 3) Please explain regarding *hula-hula*, *dongantubu* and *boru*.

The data then are categorized according to the Batak kinship of *DalihannaTolu*, with three sub division: *hula-hula*, *dongantubu*, and *boru*. The analysis consisted of a) in what position people will regard as *hula-hula*, *dongantubu*, or *boru*; b) how their status in traditional ceremony or custom celebration; and what the life philosophy is behind the status.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Kinship of DalihannaTolu

From Batak online dictionary, *DalihannaTolu* means the old-fashion tripod furnace on top of which the pot, pan, or other cooking utilities are placed or used for cooking conventionally. The tripod is symbolized three necessary arrangements in Batak kinship. Those three influential positions are solid interconnected that a ceremony cannot entirely administer unless all parties attend. The three parties are called *hula-hula*, *dongantubu*, and *boru*.

Batak people are the patriarchal community that takes the descendant into account from the sons, not from the daughters, and hence the kinship. A woman is considered as countless when talking about lineage. Her status, however, is following her husband's position. Batak people judge the husband's kinship's relations as the head of the family (patriarchal).

Concerning Batak ceremony or ritual, the three titles of *DalihannaTolu* should engage no matter how. The philosophy was that Batak people should help one another as a community if one family has a traditional celebration. For instance, if one family (a family refers to a man and his wife) has success, the others shared the joyful experience; on the contrary, if one family is in a grieve, the others will bear the sadness. It evokes the Batak family to participate in the traditional ceremony, most of the close relatives, like the wedding ceremony of an uncle's son, the funeral of a grandfather, etc. Every Batak family will recognize their position and realize their roles in the tradition. A family position in the ritual will be as *hula-hula* on one occasion, as *dongantubu* in another time, and as *boru* in some other opportunity. It designates that a family will never be as *hula-hula*, *dongantubu*, or *boru* all the time. It prevails the principle of equality, which means that one person will be in a high position as *hula-hula*. Still, he, likewise, is also in the lowest place as

boruon other occasions. Therefore, a Batak man should not be overconfident since he will accept reality in those three positions in different circumstances.

Hula-hula

In *DalihannaTolu*, *hula-hula* is the most honorable position or 'the upmost position.' The *hula-hula* groups are the relatives from the mother's brothers (called *tulang*), the wife's brothers (called *lae*), and the daughter in-law's brothers (called *tulang*) (Sinaga, 2004). Thus, a Batak man will always respect his *Hula-hula*, behave, and converse politely to them in the Batak ceremony or everyday interaction. In the ritual, the *hula-hula* groups will take the ceremony's proper place, mostly sitting at the right parts of the host (those who organize the ceremonial). Usually, the left part will be *boru*, and sitting together with the host will be *dongantubu*.

For the illustration is Petrus Sitompul, his father Salomo Sitompul, and his mother, Tina Sormin (see Illustration 1: *Hula-hula*). His mother has two brothers, Parlin Sormin and Jerico Sormin. So, all of Sormin's families are Salomo's *hula-hula* and so as Petrus's *hula-hula*. He called Parlin and Jerico Sormin *tulang* and their wives *nantulang*. Petrus Sitompul has a wife, Maria Simatupang, so his wife's father's relatives (Simatupang's prominent families) are *hula-hula* for Petrus Sitompul. He will call *amang* (father) or *amangsimatua* (father's in-law) to his father's in-law. *Inang* (mother) or *inangsimatua* (mother's in-law) is addressed to his mother-in-law. *Hula-hula* also includes his wife's brothers (Simatupang). Petrus Sitompul will call his wife's brothers as *lae*, and their wives as *inangbao*. Petrus's son (J) married Nancy Silaen. So, Nancy's father and brothers (Silaen's families) as J's *hula-hula* are also *Petrus's hula-hula*, called *hula-hula naposo*. Petrus addresses Nancy's father and mother as *lae* and *ito*; his wife called them *ito* and *eda*.

The popular expression dealing with *hula-hula* is *sombamarhula-hula*, which means respect to *hula-hula*. The main philosophy is that a man gets his blessing from the wife's prominent families. The biggest blessing is his wife as his companion for the rest of his life. The wife has a significant role in his house: taking care of her husband and children, managing finances, controlling the household, etc. Having such manageable households, the family will gain 3H blessings: *hagabeon*, *hamoraon*, *hasangapon* (prosperity, wealth, honor). The 3H prayers are the Batak philosophy of life. Nevertheless, the benefits are only for married couples, not for single ones.

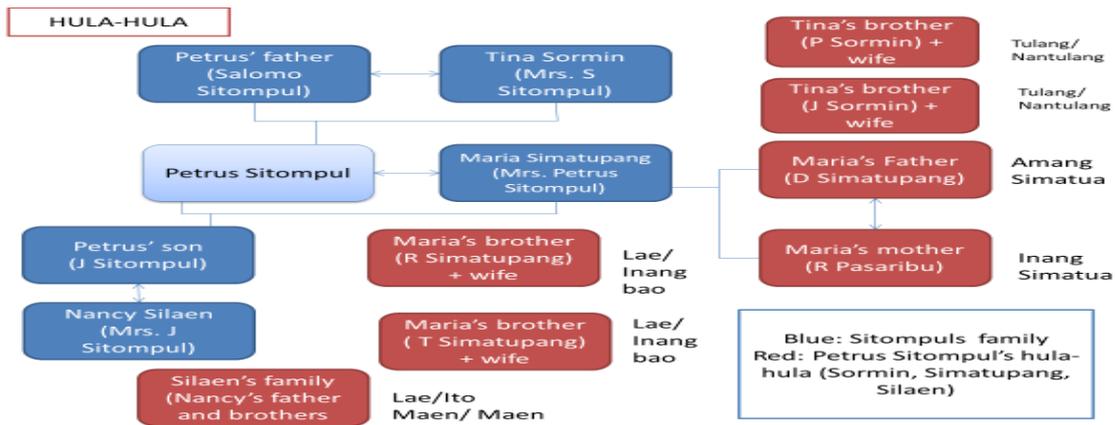
The first blessing, *hagabeon* (prosperity), means having offspring, especially the sons who will continue the nuclear or extended family's genealogy or family tree. Having married, a Batak man expects to have descendants or have a fruitful *hagabeon* or *gabe*. An elderly Batak man will be *gabe* (success) if all sons and daughters have gotten married and have grandchildren. His *hagabeon* will be fulfilled if he has great-grandchildren from his grandsons and granddaughters.

The second blessing is *hamoraon* (wealth). The wives' role in managing finance is very crucial to get rid of poverty and get wealth. Batak people believe that *hula-hula* on a particular occasion will give them the blessing of

hagabeon shortly. In return, they will honor and respect their *hula-hula* for spreading the blessing.

The third blessing is *hasangapon* or *sangap* (honor). Somebody will be called *sangap* if the family has sons and daughters, prosperous, educated, and familiar with Batak customs.

Illustration 1: *Hula-hula*

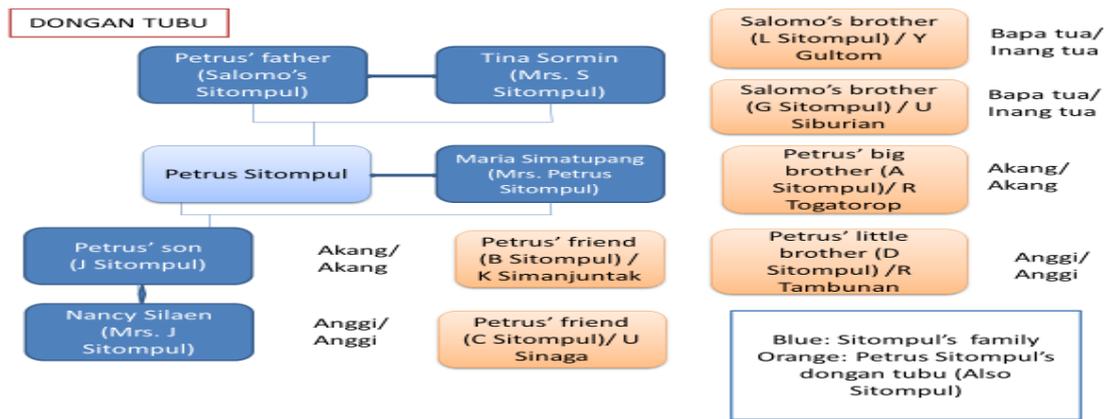


DonganTubu

DonganTubu, also called *donga sabutuha*, is Batak's menhaving the same clan (*marga*). As an illustration, see *Illustration 2: DonganTubu* about Petrus Sitompul. His father has two brothers, L and G Sitompul with their wives Y Gultom and U Siburian. His elder brother A Sitompul with his spouse R Togatorop and younger brother D Sitompul with his wife R Tambunan is Petrus' *donganTubu*. The other two friends B Sitompul with his wife K Simanjuntak and C Sitompul with his wife U Sinaga include Petrus' *donganTubu*. All of those Sitompul's families are Petrus' *donganTubu*. The closest ones are those of his blood brothers, then his father's brothers and his friends. Subsequently, if Petrus Sitompul has a celebration, all *donganTubu* will conduct as the hosts since their positions are similar to the host. In a traditional celebration, for instance, the 50 years birthday, one of the *donganTubu* will take his role as the spokesperson to all audiences as a representative of the host since the host will never speak up for himself.

The famous expression dealing with *donganTubu* is "*ManatmardonganTubu*," which means 'be careful to maintain the relationship of *donganTubu*' to avoid quarreling or disharmony. However, if there are problems among *donganTubu*, the *hula-hula* will advise solving the issues.

Illustration 2: *DonganTubu*

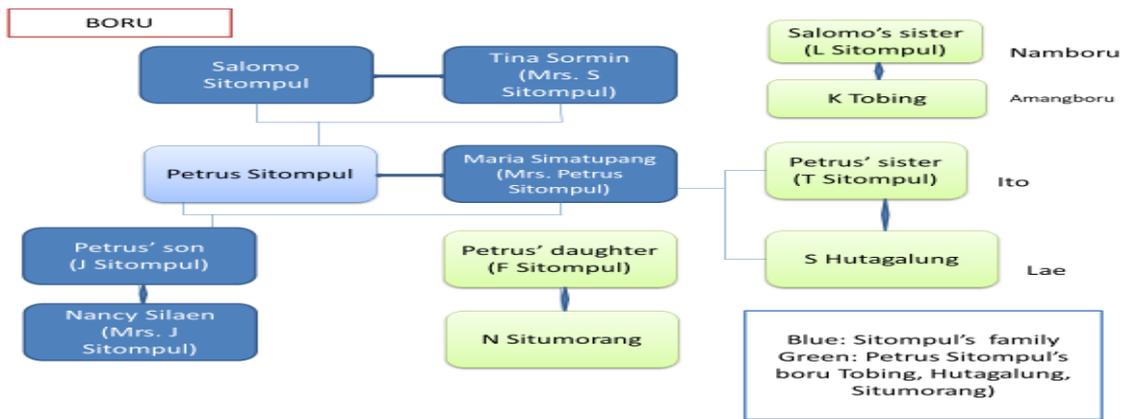


Boru

In *DalihannaTolu*, *boru* has the lowest position but cannot be regarded as the low-class groups since their roles are to prepare food to be delivered to all audiences in a ceremony. As helpers, their presence is demanded so that the host can organize the ceremony. For this reason, their participation is highly appreciated in every formal event or ritual. *Boru* belongs to the sister's relatives of a Batak man: his father's sister's clans, his sister's, and his daughter's surnames (Sinaga, 2004). See *illustration 3: Boru* to demonstrate the relationship with Petrus Sitompul's family. Petrus's father's sister is L Sitompul with her husband Pier Tobing; his sister T Sitompul married to S Hutagalung, and his daughter F Sitompul married to Niel Situmorang. From the illustration, Petrus Sitompul's *boru* are Tobing's family (his *amangboru* and *namboru*), Hutagalung's family (his *lae* and *ito*), and Situmorang's family (his son in law and daughter). To all his *boru*, Petrus is their *hula-hula*. In the role of *hula-hula* towards his *boru*, Petrus Sitompul plus his wife can ask all his *boru* to help him in organizing the food for the traditional ceremony held in his home, for example, celebrating his new house, his son's or daughter's wedding party, or other events.

The famous expression about *boru* is "*Elekmarboru* (persuade *boru*)," which means that Batak people should treat their *boru* persuasively or cheerfully; never make them offended. If *boru*'s families are happy, they will help *hula-hula* in the ceremony whole-heartedly. *Boru* is also called *parhobas*, which means busily doing the household in the kitchen: preparing, cooking, and delivering food to all people in the ritual. In other words, they have the responsibility for the food provided in the *hula-hula*'s celebration. Usually, in a traditional ceremony, *boru*'s position at the left is the host or close to the kitchen to check the compulsory utilities. At the same time, *hula-hula* will sit at the front part of the gathering people or the place of honor, mostly at the host's right side.

Illustration 3: Boru



DalihannaTolu consists of groups of people who have a high position (*hula-hula*), parallel position (*dongantubu*), and low status (*boru*). However, it does not reveal caste or level since all Batak people will occupy the posts based on their roles. A Batak man with his wife becomes *hula-hula* when they wed their daughter; as *boru* when there is a traditional ceremony in the wife's relative's house; as *dongantubu* if the formal ceremony is in the home of a family with a similar surname. In other words, *DalihannaTolu* employs Batak people in all positions so that no one will always stay in the high or the low place. It denotes Batak societies respect each other and live harmoniously in the community since they need and bound each other. Subsequently, the Batak people declare *DalihannaTolu* as their philosophy of life. Batak people realize that in *DalihannaTolu*, they have different positions to accomplish a traditional ceremony. The Batak people must recognize their cultures or customs to have high dignity and a degree in society. *DalihannaTolu* unites Batak people to value that every person will have different treatment and status in the community, but they need each other. Like the tripod furnace, the three-position should exist to support every traditional custom they maintain.

Terms of Address of DalihannaTolu

Kinship associate with terms of address, how we greet other people. In *DalihannaTolu*, it is compulsory to address people with correct salutation. Incorrect addressing indicates a person's low comprehending of *DalihannaTolu*.

Addressing Hula-hula

Hula-hula is the mother's brother's relatives, wife's brothers, and daughters' husbands' brothers. Since people should respect their *hula-hula*, the terms of address should be very polite (*Vous*). Here how the relation and the addressing. The greeting is from a man/husband. In table 1, a man calls his mother's brother as *tulang* and his wife as *nantulang*. The man's wife calls them as *amang* and *inang*. In table 2, a man calls his father and mother in law as *amang* and *inangsimatua*, and his wife gets them *bapak*(father) and *mamak* (mother). A man calls his wife's brother as *lae* and *inang* to the spouse. The

man's wife will call them *ito* and *eda*. Table 3 illustrates a man and his wife got their daughter-in-law as *inangparumaen* or just *inang*. Her parents as *lae* and *inangbao*, but his wife will call them *amangbao* and *eda*. A man gets his son's wife's brother as *bere* and the spouse as *inangbao* or just *inang*. The man's wife calls them *bere* and *eda*.

Table 1: Addressing the mother's brother

Kinship	Relation	A man's greeting	His wife's greeting
tulang	mother's brother	tulang	amang
nantulang	mother's brother's wife	nantulang	inang

Table 2: Addressing the wife's relatives

Kinship	Relation	A man's greeting	His wife's greeting
simatua	wife's parents		
♂ simatuadoli	father in-law	amang	bapak
♀ simatuaboru	mother in-law	inang	mamak
tunggane	wife's brother	tunggane or lae	ito
inangbao	wife's brother's wife	inangbao or inang	eda

Table 3: Addressing the son's wife's relatives

Kinship	Relation	A man's greeting	His wife's greeting
parumaen	son, spouse	inangparumaen/ inang	inangparumaen/ inang
bao	son, spouse, parents		
♂ amangbao		lae	amangbao
♀		inangbao	eda

inangbao			
bere	son, spouse, brother	bere	bere
inangbao	wife's brother's wife	inangbao or inang	eda

Addressing DonganTubu

Dongantubuis the relatives of having a similar family name or marga. In table 4, the senior one is the grandfather and mother called both as *opung*. The second layer is parents entitled *amang* and *inang*. Next is father's older brother called *amangtua* and *inangtua*. Different from her husband, she greets them *amang* and *kakak*. The father's younger brother is called *amanguda* and *inanguda*; the wife still called them the same as *simatua* (parent's in-law) since they are all included father and mother's in-law.

Table 5 shows *dongantubu* with a similar generation. A man's older brother and wife are called *akang/abang* and *akang/kakak*. His wife will call them *amang* and *akang*. The younger brother and wife are called *anggi* and *inang*. However, the man's wife calls both *anggi* or just uses their name or their first-born name.

Table 4: Addressing the father's *dongantubu*

Kinship	Relation	A man's greeting	His wife's greeting
ompungsuhot ♂ ompungdoli ♀ ompungboru	father's parents [male] [female]	ompung /opung/	ompung /opung/
♂ amangparsinuan ♀ inangpangitubu	parents [male] [female]	amang/ bapak mamak/ omak	amang inang
amangtua	father's elder brother	amangtua	amangsimatua/ amang
inangtua	the wife of father's elder brother	inangtua	inangsimatua/ inang
amanguda	father's younger brother	amanguda	amangsimatua/ amang

Table 5: Addressing brothers as *dongantubu*

Kinship	Relation	A man's greeting	His wife's greeting
angkang/ akkangbaoa	elder brother	akang/ abang	amang
angkang/ akkangboru	elder brother's wife	akang/ kakak	akang/ kakak
anggibaoa	younger brother	anggi/ anggia	anggi

anggiboru	younger brother's wife	inang	anggi
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Addressing Boru

Boru is the relatives of the father's sisters, sisters, and daughters. Table 6 starts with father's sister and husband called *naboru* and *amangboru*. A man's wife will also get them with similar terms. A man calls the son and daughter from *amangboru/naborulae* and *ito*. His wife calls them *amangbao* and *eda*. Table 7 displays how to greet sister's clans. A man will address his sister and spouse as *ito* and *lae*, while his wife calls them *eda* and *amangbao*. He salutes the son and daughter as *bere* and *ibebere* or just *bere* for short. Table 8 illustrates greeting daughter's relatives. A man calls his daughter as *inang* and the son-in-law as *amanghela* or *amang* for short.

Table 6: Addressing the father's sisters

Kinship	Relation	A man's greeting	His wife's greeting
Naboru	Father's sister	naboru	naboru
Amangboru	Father's sister's husband	amangboru	amangboru
lae	Father's sister's son	lae	Amangbao
ito	Father's sister's daughter	ito	eda

Table 7: Addressing the sister's relatives

Kinship	Relation	A man's greeting	His wife's greeting
ito	sister	ito	eda
lae	sister's husband	lae	amangbao/ amang
bere	sister's son	bere	bere
ibebere	sister's daughter	bere	bere

Table 8: Addressing daughters' family

Kinship	Relation	A man's greeting	His wife's greeting
boru	daughter	inang	inang
hela	daughter's husband	amanghela/ amang	amanghela/ amang

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion is that DalihannaTolu's kinship system in Batak culture as a life philosophy is unique and complex. Every Batak man has three positions as *hula-hula*, *dongantubu*, and *boru*. Therefore, the kinship system has a high value in Batak culture. If a Batak man meets another Batak man or woman for the first time, the frequent questions to ask are: what is your family name? And what is your mother's family name? They will then discuss their

DalihannaTolu position if they meet in a traditional ceremony to determine if each place is *hula-hula*, *dongantubu*, or *boru*. If the meeting is in an informal situation, they will discuss the applicable terms of address to call one another, also based on *DalihannaTolu*. In short, regarding kinship terms, Batak people should learn and know the precise terms of address when meeting other Batak people to avoid mistakenly greet each other. This research limits the scope only to Batak kinship relating to *DalihannaTolu* in terms of *hula-hula*, *dongantubu* and *boru*. It relates to the standard speech that people use when greeting other people. However, the terms of address in this study do not complete yet. The next researcher should continue with a speech from a married man and his wife to all his *hula-hula*, *dongantubu*, and *boru* completely.

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Appendix

Semantic distinctive features of Batak kinship can be viewed as follows:

Table A: Nucleus Family

No.	Terms	Distinctive features
1.	amang/ bapak	parent, male
2.	inang/ omak	parent, female
3.	ito	sibling, different sex
4.	akang/ angkang	sibling, older, same sex
5.	anggi	sibling, younger, same sex

Table B: Extended Family

No.	Terms	Distinctive features
1.	Opungdoli	Parent's parent, male
2.	Opungdoli	Parent's uncle
3.	Opungboru	Parent's parent, female
4.	Opungboru	Parent's aunt
5.	Amangtua	Father's brother, older
6.	Inangtua	Father's brother, older, spouse
7.	Amanguda / uda	Father's brother, younger
8.	Inanguda	Father's brother, younger, spouse
9.	namboru	Father's sister
10.	Amangboru	Father's sister, spouse
11.	tulang	Mother's brother
12.	nantulang	Mother's brother, spouse
13.	Inangtua	Mother's sister, older
14.	Amangtua	Mother's sister, older, spouse
15.	Inanguda, tante	Mother's sister, younger
16.	Amanguda	Mother's sister, younger, spouse