LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF NAMING PRACTICES AND CULTURAL VALUES OF BATAK TOBA RESTAURANTS

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Abstract: This research aimed at the naming practices of traditional Toba restaurants located in Jakartaand identifying the strategy of naming them. The technique used in collecting the data were observing and note taking. All the data obtainedhave been classified into two speech accomodation strategies carried out by Giles et al (1991). Then, by the writer's language intuition as a Toba native speaker, all the data were analyzed by using cultural perspectives in order to get the cultural values behind them. The first result of this research shows that the naming practices were derived from clan, family member, honourable person, friendship, places and plant, delicious flavour and good value, advice and wish, togetherness, solidarity and philopsophy, religion and possession, welcoming and serving. It can be seen that the basis of the naming refers to concepts reflecting the values, local wisdom and world views which belong to Toba people. The second result was thatdivergence strategy using Bahasa Toba in the naming was found tobe dominant, while convergence strategy found used English, Bahasa Indonesia or even the combinations between Bahasa Indonesia-English and Toba Language-English as the basis of naming the restaurants.

Keyword: Convergence, Divergence, Linguistic Lanscape, Speech Accomodation Theory, Toba Restaurant

INTRODUCTION

As a multicultural country, Indonesia contains heterogeneity in cultures. One of the seven components of culture based on Koentjaraningrat (1985) is the language. Each ethnic has their own local languages as their primary identitity, hence most Indonesian people are billinguals (Nababan, 1985). They use Bahasa Indonesia as the national language to communicate with intraethnics and their local languages to interract with those who have the same ethnics. A "balanced" bilingual is usually described as someone who has full a mastery of two languages and can use the languages interchangeably in any situation. In point of fact, most bilinguals may use either language in a given situation, but typically the choice of language is affected by at least the situation and addressee(s), along with a variety of other factors.

Language and cultures are dynamic. It means that they can change in a slow and fast movement. Foley (2001: 382) stated that " No society is truly isolated, no matter how nomadic and seemingly remote its people may be. All societies engage in relations with other societies, no matter sporadic this may be, and the type of contacts individuals may have with other societies is a major source of social inequality." What Foley said has already proven to be true. With its diversity, Indonesia has three languages establishments; Bahasa Indonesia, traditional languages and the foreign languages. Foreign languages, such as English is used as the international language and can be found in academic or even official events, such as seminars, symposiums, meetings and any other ceremonial activities.

In order to maintain Bahasa Indonesia as the national language and the local languages as the traditional heritage, Indonesian government declared the policies regarding to the language position in Indonesia. The adoption, establishment, and development of Indonesian as the national language of Indonesia were accomplished through government policy, with the establishment of the Pusat Bahasa dan (UU RI No. 24, thn. 2009). Before, the establishment of Bahasa Indonesia had been actually sounded by The first proclamation of Indonesian (a dialect of Malay that had been used throughoutthe archipelago as a *lingua franca*) as the future national language of Indonesia took place in 1928 at the

2nd Indonesian Youth Congress: Sumpah Pemuda. Their pledge was to acknowledge "one motherland" and "one nation" and to uphold one "language of unity, the Indonesian language.

However, men, as social creatures, must interract with each other. In the way they interract, especially in a-two-way-communication, a man tends to adapt himself either verbally or nonverbally to his partner. James (1988) called these as the term "linguistic accomodation" which refers to the tendency we have as speakers to make our speech either more or less like that of our interlocuters; if we emphasize our linguistic distinctive from that of our interlocuter we speak of divergence, while attempt to approximate linguistically to the speech characteristics of our conversational partners as known as convergence. Giles (1979:267) said that speech accomodation theory (SAT) where he mentioned the two terms as well-divergence is there defined as "the manner by which speakers accentuate voval differences between themselves and others, while converse is describe as a linguistic strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's speech by means a wide range of linguistic factors. Bourhis (1979) said that a phenomenon similar to divergence is maintenance whereby a person persists on his or her original style, regardless of the communication of the interlocuter.

Giles and Ogay (2007) examine some of the principal motives that lie behind the strategies of convergence and divergence. One of the important motives for convergence is the desire to gain approval from one another (similarity attraction). It means that the more similar someone is to another's conversational partner, the more she or he like or respect another's. The second motive of converging si also to improve the effectiveness of communication, this in turn, has been associated with increased predictability of the other and hence lowering of uncertainty, interpersonal anxiety, and mutual understanding (Gudykust, 1995). The motive of conducting divergence is precisely the desire to emphasize distinctiveness from one's interlocuter, usually on the basis of group membership. However, divergence can also be adopted inorder to shape receivers' attribution and feelings. Divergence can also be an attempt to entice an interlocutor to adopt a more effective communicative stance. All in all, it appers that satisfying communication requires a delicate balance between convergence to demonstrate willingness to communicate and divergence to incur a healthy sence of identity (Cargile & Giles, 1996)

Bahasa Batak is one of many local languages in Indonesia. It is uttered by Batak Tribe coming from North Sumatera. There are six groups of Batak, such as the Angkola, the Mandailing, the Toba, the Pak-Pak, the Simalungun and the Karo. Living on highland of Sumatera, precisely on Tapanuli, Batak Toba people have tough characteristics. They tend to have loud voices and rough attitude, but actually kindhearted. One of other common characteristics of Batak People is their wandering to new places to earn their lives and stay permanently there. That is why, it is not difficult to find Batak people in any parts of Indonesia, even in overseas. They become lawyers, doctors, drivers or even entrepreneurs.

With their wandering characters, the writer would like to know if Batak people still persist on their original styles wherever they stay, especially in running their bussiness. Regarding the writer's curiosity, this paper would like to raise questions:

1) How is Toba people's attitude toward their language used and ethnicity in order to adapt their identities in new places during globalization especially in naming their restaurants they are running in Jakarta?

2) What are the words used as the basis of naming the restaurants refering to various concepts reflecting values and world views of Batak people?

There are previous research concerning to language maintenance and language contact. Holmes (1995) found observed many different groups in a community. He obserbed that there are linguistic clues to a person's ethnicity, and closely related to all linguistic features which reflect the regular

interactions people have. He also found that there's a relevance of ethnicity and social networks in accounting for people's speech pattern. Salzman (2007) found that that the lingustic features can be related to to the factors of wealthy, occupation, social status, region and the language attitude. Wijana (2016) analyzed about the naming practices of Padang Restaurant in several cities, such as Yogyakarta, Klaten, Surakarta, Malang and otehr cities. Wijana found that semantically, the words used by the Minangese as the basis of naming refer to various concepts reflecting values and world views of Minangkabau people. Adinatha and Hemas (2017) observed the variation of naming bussiness in Java language as a strategy of language maintenance in Semarang. They found that business using Javanese language consist of one until three words. Some of the names are written in the wrong structure rules caused by the misunderstanding of the people about the linguistics system of Java language or even some the owners consider about the misunderstanding in naming the business because of the language creativity in maintaining the particular characteristics in order to be different from others'.

Method

This is a qualitative descriptive research whose all the data collected were in the form of words. All the data found consisted of the names of *lapo-* the traditional of Toba restaurants. The location of this research was limited only in Jakarta due to the efficiency and time. In order to collect the data, the writing technique (note taking) had been applied. The data were obtained by the experiences of the writer when having the meal there, besides the writer also searched the information from the internet and then was validated by the *Komunitas Batak Perantau*, a Batak community who stay in Jakarta temporarily for any purposes, to make sure if the names really exist.

After the data have been already collected, the writer then classified them into two groups. The first group consisted of names which were written in Bahasa Batak, while the second one consisted of names written in Bahasa Indonesia and foreign languages. The names which were in Bahasa Batak Toba were considered as the divergence, while the restaurants written in Bahasa Indonesia or even in foreign languages were considered as the convergence. After that, the writer as a Toba native speaker, also tried to descibe the semantic components of the data in order to know the correlation between the names given to the restaurants with the world views of Batak people.

Result and Discussion

The Toba's LanguageAttitude in Naming the Restaurants with Their Referents Based on the Toba's Value and World View

1) Divergence Classification

As what has been explained in the research methodology, there have been two groups classified. The first group used divergence category. In this first group, it can be seen that all the names of the "lapo" – restaurants are written in Bahasa Batak Toba. The data served below shows us that although Batak people wander to big cities or even live there permanently, they usually keep their identities in themselves. Based on the data found, it can be seen that Batak people have been keeping maintaining and displaying their cultural distinctiveness by using their own linguistic varieties by naming their business in Bahasa Batak Toba, and in this case, the writer focused in the naming of traditional restaurant or "lapo".

No	Name of Lapo	No	Name of Lapo	No	Name of Lapo
1	Opung Boru	29	Toba Tabo Lapo Batak	57	Aek Sibundong
2	Batak Tondongta	30	Unang Lupa	58	Dongan Beta Hita Mangan
3	Batak Situngkir	31	Padao Holso	59	Batak Tobasa
4	Batak Sitanggang	32	Batak Partukoan	60	Robema

5	Hotdaina	33	Pos Rohana	61	Roma	
6	Tuson	34	Partopi Tao	62	Mardapot	
7	Parna	35	Haradongan	63	Asido	
8	Roma Hita	36	Sagala	64	Batak Horas	
9	Batak Borbor Marsada 3	37	Sianjur Mula-Mula	65	Sopo Mardai	
10	Sabas	38	Batak Dongan	66	Toho do	
11	Tabo bah	39	Horas Martabe	67	Marpadot be	
12	Ni Tondongta	40	Tapian Nauli	68	Sipayung	
13	Siangkangan	41	Rap Olo	69	Gabe	
14	Dainang	42	Soala Gogo	70	Siagian Boru Tobing	
15	Parsaoran	43	Siraja Oloan	71	Maduma	
16	Namboru	44	Parapat	72	Tobasa	
17	Bintatar	45	Marsada	73	Natabo	
18	Lassio	46	Tambun	74	Siagian	
19	Partoguan	47	Siagian Semarang	75	Marroan	
20	Tapian Nauli Bang Ucok	48	Hasian	76	Lae Purba	
21	Lapo Hita	49	Ondihon	77	Natama Ro	
22	Laponta	50	Siregar	78	Siboto dai	
23	Lissoi	51	Pinukka	79	Habinsaran	
24	Nataboi	52	Natama Ro	80	Ni Donganta	
25	Ni Huta	53	Tarhilala	81	Nauli Basa	
26	Raja Nauli	54	Dalihan Natolu	82	Balata	
27	Haleluya	55	Marsiurupan	83	Parsaulian	
28	Parhobas	56	On Do Lapota	84	Pasu-pasu	

Based on the data found above, it can be seen that the owners of "lapo" titled their restaurants in Bahasa Batak Toba. Besides keeping their identities as Toba people, the naming also becomes one of the ways how the owners introduce their ethnicity through the traditional food to others who do not belong to Batak community. As addition, it also automatically can attract the consumers especially the Toba people who wander and miss their traditional flavour in big cities. In conclusion the naming of Restaurants in Bahasa Batak actually has become a kind of trade mark with some purposes that relate to language attitude.

In order to lift up the trade mark, the naming of the restaurants has the referents which are close to Batak culture. In conclusion, the naming can be semantically analyzed and it represents the value and world view of Toba people. The referents of the naming relate to:

 2) Clan, Family Member, Honourable Person, and Friendship

The clan system in Toba culture acts as individual identity and functioned as the strong kindship in interacting between society members. It plays an important role to guide how the Toba people interact each other in the community. The clan system is patrilineal so when someone is born, her father's clan inherits to him. The belief that all Batak Toba people came out of one womb (marga) is constructed by the patrilineal lineage, therefore all Batak people are considered to have close relationship one another. Consequently, the writer found that the basis of naming refer to clan like the data found in the tables above;

(3) Batak Situngkir   (43) Siraja oloan

(4) Batak Sitanggang   (47) Siagian Semarang

(7) Parna   (70) Siagian boru Tobing

(8) Batak Borbor   (76) Lae Purba

(36) Sagala

Besides clan, the basis of naming the "lapo" is also taken from the family such as in data (1) opung boru as grandmother (14) dainang as mother and (16) namboru as aunty. Naming the "lapo" with the member of family especially the female kinship will make the consumers or the visitors feel like in

their own family or home, however in Toba culture, skill in cooking is a must for women to have, therefore, the naming is closely related to women who play many important roles in the family. The naming is also adapted from respected person as seen in data (26) raja nauli. This referent is used as the basis of naming since the consumers or the guests are considered as the king or *raja nauli* so they have to be well served like the people serve their king.

The semantic domains are also referred to friendship. There is a proverb or *umpasa* in Toba language, *"Jonok dongan partubu jonokan do dongan parhundul"* (Simbolon, 1986). That *umpasa* represents a philosophy that we should always maintain good relations with neighbors, because they're the closest friends. The semantic domains are taken from;

(2) batak tondongta – The Batak friend
(12) ni tondongta – Our family
(23) lissoi- good frieds
(35) haradongan – bring your friends
(38) Batak dongan – Batak's friends
(58) Dongan do hita mangan – We are friends, then we eat together
(80) Ni Donganta – (Our friends)

3) Name of Places and Plant

One of the characteristics of Toba people is *mangaranto* or wandering. They go to different destinations to get better lives. One of Toba's principles is "No Success, No Going to Hometown. At present, many Toba people live in any other places outside North Sumatera. Their children even go to get better education and even better job or business. Being homesick is often felt by the wanders. So, the names of places can't be separated from their lives. This can be seen from the way they name their bussiness. By naming so, other Toba people will know that the owner comes from that names of places. Again, this becomes one of the identities of Toba people in far away places. The data below show us that the domains represents the places are there in North Sumatera.

(20) Tapian Nauli	(57) Aek Sibundong
(25) Ni Huta	(59) Batak Tobasa
(32) Batak Partukoan	(82) Balata
(34) Partopi Tao	
(37) Sianjur Mula-Mula	
(44) Parapat	

The names above are the names of places in North Sumatera. Like the writer said, the naming not only functions as the identity where the owner comes from but also become trade mark which can't be separated. Therefore, by having meal there, the consumers can remember feeling or imagining as if they were there. Besides places, plants are also taken as the semantic domains, like data; (17) Bintatar. *Bintatar* not only has strong and big trunk but also leafy. It is suitable for a shelter. Based on that semantic feature, the restaurants are expected to have similar characteristics to it.

4) Delicious Flavour and Good Value

Since this research focuses on the basis of naming restaurants, the naming also must collocate with the description of flavour. The semantic components found are positive, delicious, cause enxiety to taste and persuasive, therefore, the writer found that the semantic components are also represented in the food that the restaurants sell. Those referents can be seen in these data below;

(5) hot naida / delicious
(10) sabas/ satisfying
(11) tabo bah/ tasty

(24) nataboi / the taste
(31) padao holso/ relieving
(53) tarhilala/ beneficial
(66) Toho do/ the truth
(78) sopo mardai / the place having the delicious
(73) natabo/ delicious
(78) siboto dai / delicious

Besides describing about flavour, the good values also become the referent of naming the restaurants. The referents are below;

(18) lassio/ the shady
(19) partoguan/ the role model
(62) mardapot/ dilligent
(71) maduma/ the success
(79) habinsaran/ bright
(81) nauli basa/ kind hearted
(83) parsaulian/ successful

There are similarities that (18, 19, 62, 71, 17, 81, 83) have in common. Based on the lexical meaning, they all have goodness and positive value. Therefore, they are the things that everyone expect to have and so do the owners. So, if someone has his meal in one of these places, the owner hopes that his customers will feel or experience good values as the names of the *lapo*.

5) Advice and Wish

The writer also found that the referents of the restaurants' names are from advice, wish and order. Based on KBBI, advice means *ajaran atau pelajaran baik; anjuran (petunjuk, peringatan, teguran) yang baik*. It can be seen advice is constructed by something good to be taught containing warning and guidance or enticement.

The basis of naming using advice in the form of suggestion can be seen in datum; (7) roma hita/ let's go there/. It is suggested that the the object 'us' is suggested to go there. While the advice forming the orders are found in data; (6) tuson /come here/, (42) soala gogo/power is ain't enough/, (49) ondihon/ just keep, just remember!/, (60) robema/you all come!/, (61) roma/ just come!/ (69) gabe / let it be!/ Both the data of advice and orders found have the action of moving, coming, and visiting. The owners hope that due to the basis of naming from advice and orders, the consumers could go there. The referent of wishing also can be seen in data (30) unang lupa/ don't forget and (52) natama ro/ come the goodness/ and (75) marroan/ come/ . Based on KKBI, wish – *harapan* contains expectations, something happening in the reality, something reliable. Those semantic feature are reflected in data (30) and (52).

6) Togetherness, Solidarity and Philopsophy.

The basis of naming taken from the referent togetherness, solidarity and philosophy od Toba people can be seen in these data below:

(15) parsaoran/ unity
(41) rap olo/ together
(45) marsada/ Oneness

(54) dalihan na tolu/ Batak's philosophy
(55) marsiurupan/ coorporation

One of signs which is inevitable in Toba's life is clan system that establishes a blood relationship, however, those who do not have the same clans are also considered to be connected in one of Toba's philosophy- that is Dalihan Natolu. The various aspects of social life as well as many important things such as happiness and well-being of the Batak Toba greatly influenced relations kinship ties the *Dalihan Natolu*, including the control of land rights controlled by Indigenous Batak Toba, as expressed in the phrase "marga do nampuna tano" meaning that the land belongs to the clan which is a fundamental principle of customary law of the land in the patrilineal system (C. Vergouwen, 1986: 133).

For that explanation, the aspect of Toba's social life is not far from togetherness and solidarity. However, how they act in the society will be ruled by the *Dalihan Natolu*. Every Toba person will have their turn to be; hula-hula, that is wife's family who occupies the higher position in social life and in Bataknese's customs and traditions ; dongan tubu, that is *Sabutuha* is brothers in the same clan ; and *Boru* is family who takes wife from one clan (other family). Semantically, the solidarity and togetherness contain; the same quantity, unseparated, and the same feeling.

7) Religion and Possession

Other basis of naming the *lapo* is adapted from the domain religion and possession. Pasaribu (2008) stated that the first missionary who visited Land Batak in 1824 were Burton and Ward. Religion also takes an important role in the way of Toba people live. The local church which is closely related to Toba people is HKBP which stands as *Huria Kristen Batak Protestan*. Therefore, parts of religion also decorate Toba's business like the writer found below: (63) asido/ love, (84) pasu-pasu/ bless. The basis of naming from possession are (21) lapo hita, (22) laponta, dan (56) On do laponta. The three data show the possession "hita or –ta" or in English, it can be changed with "our". The possession attached to the naming is also using the possession of first plural person which means that the restaurants belong to everyone.

8) Welcoming and Serving

The basis naming is also taken from the aspect of welcoming and serving. As this is a sevice business, it is important to include traditional way of welcoming, like in data (39) horas martabe and (64) batak horas. The word 'horas' means joy and gratitude, and also the hope of salvation and the blessing of God Almighty. It is usually said as a greeting and closing. For that, this kind of naming is suitableto welcome the guests. While the basis of naming taken from serving is in data (28) parhobas. *Parhobas* is someone who usually serves the guest in parties or in cultural ceremonies. In this case, the owner acts a *parhobas* who serves the guests.

Convergence Classification

The second classification is discussing basis of naming taken from other languages or even the combination between Toba language and Bahasa Indonesia or even English. This table below shows the data found.

No	Name of Restaurant		
1	Ondo Grill	9	Lapo Nusantara
2	Khas Batak Evi	10	Lapo Filipi
3	Batak Terang Bulan	11	Toba Dream
4	Danau Toba	12	Panggang Butet
5	Gloria	13	Tiga Serangkai
6	Tesalonika	14	Tanggo Pork
7	Masakan Medan Bakmi Siantar	15	Horas Food
8	Pinukka Catering & Resto		

The data found above are the forms of convergence. The basis of naming are written in Bahasa Indonesia or even the combination of Bahasa Toba and English. This phenomenon is actually inevitable. In this case, as Toba people wander to other regions, they are influenced by other cultures. For that reason, toba people will resemble closely the language variation or adapt others' communicative behaviour in terms of wide range of linguistic. Atually this can not be only seen as negative language attitude, but it also becomes the positive one since it create solidarity and similarity in the society.

Based on the data above, it can be seen the basis of naming in convergence group consists of Bahasa Indonesia, English, Bahasa Batak or even their combinations. The referents are also nearly same like the divergence one, like data (2, 5, 12) are adapted from name. Data (6, 10) refer to religion- those are the parts of Holy Bible. Other referents are taken from places or names of places like data (4) danau toba, (9) nusantara, and (11) Toba dream. Data (11) is the combination between Bahasa Batak and English. The referent collocates to food are in data (1) Ondo grill, (7) Masakan Medan Bakmi Siantar, (8) Pinukka Catering & Resto, (12) panggang Butet, (14) tanggo pork, and (15) Horas food. The datum refers to plants also can be seen like in datum (16) baringin which means pohon beringin. Besides, the referent taken from unity can be seen in datum (13) tiga serangkai. The last referent found is in data (3) Batak terang bulan. Semantically, datum *terang bulan* consists of two words- *terang* and *bulan*. *Terang* is something bright and shining, while *bulan* something which is up in the sky. For those features, the restaurant is expected to be the same like *terang bulan.*

Conclusion

One of the characteristics of Toba people is their fond of wandering. They wandered for some certain reasons, and one of them is to get a better life in new places either by running their own bussiness or working in institutions. In running their bussiness in big cities, Toba people tend to show their identities, especially in culinary business. The identity is usually shown in the way they name their restaurants. In addition to maintain their identities, the naming also becomes a way of trade mark which makes them different from others' culinary ones. Based on this research, it can be seen that most Toba people apply divergence strategy- most of the basis of naming are from Bahasa Toba. The basis of the restaurants' naming are from Clan, Family Member, Honourable Person, and Friendship; Name of Places and Plant; Delicious Flavour and Good Value; Advice and Wish; Togetherness, Solidarity and Philopsophy; Religion and Possession; Welcoming and Serving. Semantically, the bases of namings found during this research actually relate to concepts reflecting the world's view, values as well as the local wisdom which belong to Toba people. While as social human who must interract and adapt to their environment, the basis of namings are also taken from Bahasa Indonesia, English or the combination between Toba language-English and Bahasa Indonesia- Toba language. In this part, the strategy used is the convergence. The namings used refer to name, religion, place, plant and food.

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