

## Necronym as Cultural Identity in Batak Toba: An Anthroponymy Perspective

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### ABSTRACT

This study explores the clan names in cemeteries, called necronyms, in Samosir Regency to identify the cultural identity of the Batak Toba people in Samosir Regency. Furthermore, the study explains the role of the boru clan name in cemeteries because the Batak Toba are known for their patrilineal system, which places men at the center of the lineage. The presence of the boru clan name is an interesting phenomenon requiring further investigation. This study used descriptive qualitative methods with data collection techniques in the form of interviews and documentation of the cemetery. Data sources were obtained from the clan names contained in Family Cards from the Samosir Civil Registry Office and the clan names contained in the cemetery. Data was analyzed using an anthroponomic approach in onomastics studies. The clan names from the family cards and cemetery were analyzed semantically based on etymology and presuppositional meanings. The results show that the cultural identity of the Batak Toba can be reflected in the clan names in the cemetery because they are in accordance with the character and personality of the community. Moreover, the dominant clan's name in the family card does not necessarily dominate the clan names in the cemetery. The Batak Toba cultural identity in necronyms considers the boru clan names so that women are not completely ignored in the family tree. The boru clan names in the cemetery clarify the clan of the tulang or maternal brother. In terms of their meaning, the clan names in the cemetery are dominated by the etymological meaning of circumstances and the categorical meaning of activities. Additionally, the associative meaning of clan names in the cemetery is dominated by connotations of power and royalty. The emotive meaning of clan names in the cemetery is also predominantly positive, although some have negative connotations.

**Keywords:** Cultural Identity, Necronyms, Anthroponyms, Batak Toba, Semantics

### INTRODUCTION

Cultural Identity Cemeteries are important to the Batak Toba people of the Samosir Regency, North Sumatra Province, Indonesia because cemeteries can serve as markers of the social status of the surviving clan and family. The high or low social status of a surviving clan and family can be observed in the size of the family's cemetery. This condition has led to Samosir Regency having many cemeteries called "tambak" (see Figure 1). However, not all family members can be buried in a "tambak". According to Tindaon et al. (2018), only family members who meet customary criteria can be buried in a tambak (e.g., those who are married and have male descendants). This condition also adds to the prestige of the cemetery because all those buried in the cemetery must also receive official recognition through the traditional "mangain" ceremony. This makes the clan's name within the cemetery important; therefore, each cemetery has a nameplate that identifies the clan of the cemetery owner. This is in accordance with Napitupulu (2015), who explains that clan names function as individual or family identifiers and reflect social ties, origins, and hierarchies in the structure of society.

The importance of clan names in this cemetery is interesting because their existence is also evident in the cemeteries. The more repeated the clan names are in the cemetery, the stronger the social network and the continued existence of the cultural heritage. This also gives the surviving holders of the clan names a higher social status in the community. Langendonck (2007)

claims that clan names facilitate social interactions and act as instruments that regulate customary rules and norms governing interfamily relations within society. Therefore, clan names that adhere to customary rules, such as those related to cemetery construction, have higher social standing. This is in line with Barth (1969), who assumed that the clan's name maintains solidarity and social reproduction, as well as the integrity of the cultural group. In the Batak Toba culture, clan names build identity and determine customary rights, inheritance, and social status, allowing people to discover their ancestral lineage and history. This condition also aligns with Bourdieu (1991) in that names can reproduce social structures and legitimize status through symbolic power so that the placement of clan names in official documents and cemetery reflects the social position inherited from customary authorities.



**Figure 1.** Cemetery called a tambak and the clan nameplate as an identity marker

Interestingly, some cemeteries use the *boru* clan name or the maternal clan's name. This finding is even more compelling for further research because, as is commonly known, the Batak Toba emphasize a male-centered or paternal lineage system, known as patrilineal. The *boru* clan names in this cemetery seem to dispel the notion that women are not always neglected in Batak Toba culture. Furthermore, the burial system has undergone changes due to the numerous cemeteries in the Samosir Regency. This change is evident in the shift in burial procedures. According to local accounts, the coffin should first be buried in the ground until the body inside becomes bones. Subsequently, the coffin is moved to the cemetery to be reunited with other family members. However, because of large number of cemeteries, the high cost of the ceremony, and the long time required to move the body from the ground to the cemetery, the coffin is immediately placed on the ground floor of the cemetery to await decomposition. Once the body has become bones, the coffin is moved upstairs to join the other family members. This practice symbolizes respect for ancestors and aims to reunite Batak people who come from the same clan in *Banua Ginjang* "heaven".

In this regard, this study explores clan names in cemeteries (necronyms) in Samosir Regency to identify the cultural identity of the Batak Toba people in Samosir Regency clan names serve as markers of personal identity and represent social status and kinship institutions (Hough, 2016). In this study, cultural identity is viewed from the perspective of the clan names listed on the cemeteries using an onomastic approach. According to Vakhidova (2025), the use of clan names in cemeteries can reflect the complex dynamics of identity negotiation, code switching, and prestige so that onomastics can contribute as linguistic evidence of this cultural identity. This study also explains the role of the *boru* clan name in cemeteries. This is in accordance with Dora et al. (2025), who emphasize that *boru* functions as a marker of kinship relations and is connected to certain social roles in rituals, customs, and symbols that contribute to balance and integration in society; thus, the role of *boru* in cemeteries deserves further exploration.

In this regard, this research is novel because no one has previously discussed clan names in cemeteries in the Samosir Regency. Existing research on Batak Toba culture focuses on wedding ceremonies (Nababan et al., 2021), socio-cultural values (Napitu, 2022), symbolic representations of ulos (Hariati & Purwarno, 2024), and traditional practices (Sinurat & Rumapea, 2024). However, research discussing the cultural identity of naming in a way that connects it with onomastics has been scant. Previous research examining the cultural identity of naming has been viewed from other approaches, such as social semiotics (Simungala & Banda, 2024), sociolinguistics (Budiono et al., 2023), and discourse analysis (Raheem & Akande, 2019). In terms of research on necronyms, previous studies have not discussed cemeteries in Samosir Regency. Prior research has focused on necronyms in Jakarta (Suratminto, 2007), Simalungun (Perdana, 2019), Rembang (Taturia & Lauder, 2023), and Tangerang (Kumala et al., 2025). Thus, this study adds to the existing literature on necronyms and the exploration of anthroponymy within the framework of onomastics in Indonesia.

## **METHODS**

This study used a descriptive qualitative method. According to Creswell (2014), descriptive qualitative methods explore complex phenomena by collecting and analyzing non-numerical data to identify patterns and meanings. Key aspects include a focus on participants' perspectives, data collection through methods such as interviews, and the use of an inductive analysis process to move from specific observations to broader themes. Kim et al. (2017) explained that descriptive qualitative methods aim to provide a comprehensive summary of events by, focusing on describing phenomena using categorical analysis. Descriptive qualitative methods are suitable for this research because it focuses more on explaining the phenomenon of clan names in cemeteries to identify patterns and meanings categorically.

### **Data Collection**

Data collection comprised three stages: documentation, interviews, and field observations. The documentation involved collecting family card lists and photographic evidence of clan names in the cemeteries to obtain factual linguistic data. Interviews were conducted with several informants specifically selected to explore the etymological and presuppositional meanings contained in clan names in the cemeteries. The field observation was conducted to observe the practice of naming within a socio-cultural context, particularly during traditional ceremonies and funeral processions, to enhance the contextual understanding of the documentation and interview data.

### **Location And Informants**

Pangururan District, Samosir Regency, North Sumatra Province, Indonesia, was chosen as the research location because it is considered the original settlement of the descendants of the Batak King. Furthermore, Pangururan District has some of the oldest tombs and cemeteries, making it suitable for examining cultural identity through clan names in cemeteries for the Batak Toba people. According to BPS-Statistics Indonesia (2020), there are 118 recorded cemeteries with a total population of 36,550 based on population census results. This number is sufficient as a data source for this study. This study selected informants from among traditional leaders, community elders, and family members responsible for family card administration, and cemetery management. Local maestros experienced customary values and the historical meaning of clan names in the socio-cultural context of the Batak Toba were also interviewed in this study. All informants were interviewed to gain a comprehensive understanding of the clan names in cemeteries in Samosir Regency.

### **Data Analysis**

This study used an onomastic approach for data analysis. The data sources—clan names from cemeteries and family cards obtained from the Samosir Civil Registry Office—are more suitable for viewing from an anthroponomic perspective. Tent (2015) classifies onomastics into toponymy and anthroponymy. Toponymy studies place names, whereas anthroponymy studies proper names such as clan names. In this case, clan names from family cards and cemeteries were analyzed semantically based on their etymological and presuppositional meanings. This study identified names through a linguistic analysis of the semantic field according to the National Agency for Language and Cultivation (2021), which explains that research related to names must be connected to linguistic analysis units so that it can become a linguistic analysis with linguistic evidence. For semantic analysis, this research is based on Ngubane (2013), who distinguished the semantic levels of names—the lexical, associative, and onomastic levels. The lexical level can be interpreted as the dictionary meaning of a word or words that constitute the names. Certain lexical elements are used in the naming process at the associative level, which can also be said to be the connotative level. The onomastic level is the denotative meaning of the name. Nevertheless, the etymological meaning in this study is based on information from informants, not dictionaries.

However, the meaning of presupposition in this study refers to Nyström (2016), who distinguishes meaning into three aspects: categorical, associative, and emotive. Categorical semantic meaning refers to the meaning that we assume when we hear a certain name, which causes us to conclude that the name refers to a certain category. For example, the word “dog” can be categorized as an animal name. An associative or connotative meaning, is the meaning deciphered when we hear a certain name, causing us to recall something related to that name, such as the name of a place, person, or school. This associative or figurative meaning is closely related to the emotive meaning of the name. Emotive meaning can be either positive or negative.

## RESULTS

The results are presented in several sections. First, the findings of clan names in family cards obtained from the Samosir Civil Registry Office determine the frequency and distribution of clan names in Pangururan District, Samosir Regency. Second, the findings of clan names in cemeteries along with a map of their distribution, compare clan names on family cards. Third, the findings of the *boru* clan names in cemeteries in Pangururan District, Samosir Regency, reveal differences in the meanings of clan names in cemeteries and family cards. All clan name findings are accompanied by their etymological meanings so that their cultural identity can be identified. This is in accordance with Alderman (2010), who found that family names in the context of burials symbolize the continuity of life and ancestral heritage in the cultural landscape. Bankier-Karp (2023) added that the formation of a cultural identity is often related to community participation. Thus, the tendency of etymological meanings based on the highest-frequency clan names can be a marker of the cultural identity of the Batak Toba, in addition to the presumed meanings in the discussion section.

### Clan Name in Family Card

Although this study focused on clan names in cemeteries, it also examined clan names on family cards, data obtained from the Samosir Civil Registry Office. This allowed for comparisons between existing clan names and those in the cemeteries. Furthermore, the frequency of occurrence of clan names on these family cards was calculated. The higher the frequency, the higher the significance of the family name. Table 1 shows a list of clan names on family cards in Pangururan District, Samosir Regency.

**Table 1.** List of clan names in family cards in Pangururan District

Clan name	Etymological Meaning	Frequency
Simbolon	<i>Bolon</i> 'big'	812
Sitanggang	<i>Takkang</i> 'stubborn'	776
Naibaho	<i>Rain Babo</i> 'heavy rain lightning dissertation'	631
Sinurat	People who come from the Urat area in Samosir	305
Malau	Derived from the name of the ancestor Malauraja	243
Sinaga	Derived from the word dragon	239
Situmorang	Comes from the word <i>sitorang</i> or <i>torang</i> 'bright'	206
Simarmata	Those with eyes or having eyes	191
Nainggolan	The area of origin comes from the Nainggolan area, Samosir	177
Sihaloho	A place surrounded by <i>gelanggang</i> 'fence'	171

In the list of clan names recorded on the family card above, the ten most dominant clan names were Simbolon, Sitanggang, Naibaho, Sinurat, Malau, Sinaga, Situmorang, Simarmata, Nainggolan, and Sihaloho. This finding indicates a significant distribution pattern of key kinship groups in Pangururan District. The presence of these clan names quantitatively reflects the dominance of genealogical groups in the social structure of the Batak community in Pangururan District. For example, Simbolon, Sitanggang, and Naibaho are the three most dominant clan names in Pangururan District, with a significant difference compared to other clan names. This finding indicates that these clan names have extensive social networks and are likely to have a significant influence on local social, economic, and cultural aspects. This is in line with Xiaoya Li et al. (2025), who state that cultural identity influences individual self-awareness and is closely related to well-being and a sense of belonging to the local community. Nonetheless, the three dominant clan names do not include their sub-clan names on family cards. This finding contrasts with the clan names recorded in the cemeteries, which include sub-clan names.

Based on their etymological meanings, the most dominant clan names have meanings related to conditions, place names, or expressed characteristics. Clan names with etymological meanings about conditions include Simbolon, Naibaho, Situmorang, Simarmata, and Sihaloho. However, the conditions referred to vary, starting from physical conditions, conditions of the surrounding environment, or

conditions in metaphorical form. Clan names that include physical conditions include Simbolon. Although it is not yet known what large is meant to refer to, but large here can refer to large or numerous clan members. The clan names that include conditions of the surrounding environment are Naibaho and Sibaholo. For the clan's name Naibaho, the natural condition refers to heavy rain with lightning, whereas the natural condition in the clan's name Sibaholo refers to a place surrounded by a fence. These conditions reflect the situation and conditions in Pangururan District. Additionally, the clan names that express place names are Sinurat and Nainggolan. Most informants believe that Sinurat originates from the Urat area and Nainggolan originates from the Nainggolan area, the exact meaning of which is unknown because of differing opinions and versions. Furthermore, only one clan name represents the characteristic, Sitanggung. The characteristic in this clan name means stubbornness. This reflects the Batak Toba character, which is dominated by stubbornness. The distribution of clan names based on family cards in Pangururan District is shown in Figure 2.

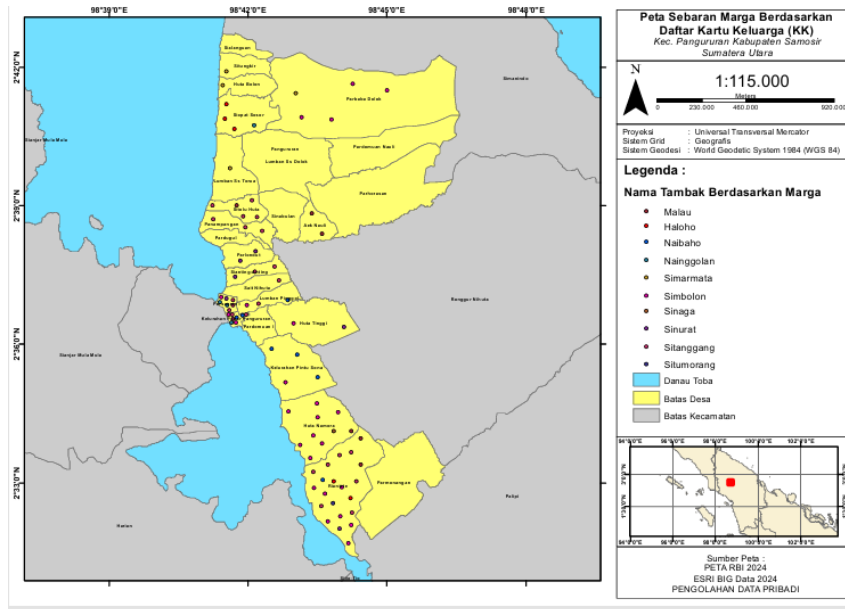


Figure 2. Distribution of clan names based on family cards in Pangururan District

### Clan Names In Tambak

After identifying the clan names on the family card, the next step is to investigate the clan names in the cemeteries in Pangururan District because they reflect the clan groups that maintain their cultural heritage. According to Cantillon, Z., & Baker (2022), cultural identity and heritage are closely linked to a sense of place. Furthermore, Pangururan District is considered the original home of the Batak Toba; therefore, a sense of place should be more strongly associated with each clan group, especially with the dominant clan's name. Table 2 shows a list of clan names in the cemeteries in Pangururan District, compiled based on field observations.

Table 2. List of clan names in cemetery in Pangururan District

Clan name	Etymological Meaning
Simbolon	<i>Bolon</i> 'big'
Tamba	Increase, add, grow, double
Simarmata	Those with eyes or having eyes
Lobak	Name of the empress of Simalungun
Mengatakan	Competition, resistance, race
Sijabat	Doing a job with a position or title
Sitanggung	<i>Takkang</i> 'stubborn'
Simanihuruk	The person who digs
Sigalingging	<i>Girging-girging</i> , a <i>Crotalaria Retusa</i> plant which is used as green manure and its leaves are used as thatch for roofing.
Sidauruk	A person of feeling; from <i>Uruk</i> 'hills'

From the list of clan names in the cemeteries above, only three clan names on family cards remain dominant in the cemeteries—Simbolon, Simarmata, and Sitanggang; they also maintain cultural traditions in terms of cemetery construction. This differs from other clan names in the cemeteries, which mostly do not originate from the dominant clan names on family cards. This condition indicates that not all dominant clan names maintain their collective cultural identity through the cemeteries. Some reasons for the dominant clan names on family cards no longer being dominant in the cemeteries include migration, individualism, social change, and shifts in cultural context (Goldstein & Stecklov, 2016; Waldispühl, 2024). The Batak Toba have a tradition of wandering or migrating to cities; therefore, the dominant clan's name may not return home to be buried in a cemetery in their hometown. Furthermore, the high number of intermarriages with other cultures can prevent the dominant clan's name on family cards from continuing the cultural heritage of the cemetery because not everyone can be buried in a cemetery, and there are specific traditional ceremonies surrounding it. Additionally, the considerable cost of constructing a cemetery can be a contributing factor to the dominant clan's name on family cards not continuing this cultural heritage.

In terms of their etymological meaning, most dominant clan names in the cemetery have meanings related to conditions, occupations, or names of people or plants. The clan names that have etymological meanings related to conditions are Simbolon, Tamba, Simarmata, and Mengatakan. The meaning of conditions dominates the clan names in the cemeteries. This is like the clan names in family cards, although the clan names are different. Physical conditions dominate the clan names in the cemeteries, such as Tamba, which means increase, and Mengatakan, which means competition. Both reflect the condition of the Batak Toba people who struggle in competition to survive, both as a group and as individuals. Next, the clan names that are classified as occupational meanings are Sijabat and Simanihuruk. The clan's name Sijabat means to do a job with a position or title, whereas the clan's name Simanihuruk means a person who digs. The occupational meanings of the clan names in the cemetery show the dedication of the Batak Toba people to their work, such that many of them who are successful in their travels still return to their ancestral lands to build the cemetery. Furthermore, the meanings of these names and the names of these plants are inextricably linked to the situation and conditions in Samosir Regency, giving rise to the clan names Lobak and Sigalingging. Lobak represents the name of the Simalungun empress, while Sigalingging refers to a plant used as green manure and its leaves for thatching roofs.

### Name of the Boru Clan in Tambak

Another finding of this study is the presence of *boru* names in the cemeteries, which is interesting because the clan's name recognized as the lineage is the father's clan name. However, the name of the *boru* clan is written in the cemetery. Some of these *boru* clan names are the same as those on family cards and in the cemetery. Nevertheless, the discovery of the *boru* clan names in the cemetery adds a new name that is not dominant on family cards or in the cemetery. Based on the testimony of several informants, the *boru* clan names in the cemetery reflect the Batak Toba social structure, which also values the presence and contribution of the female lineage to family heritage and site management. More specifically, the *boru* clan name is also written in the cemetery to clarify the "*tulang*" clan. In this case, *tulang* refers to the maternal brother. This is important because the Batak Toba people consider him a god on earth. Therefore, the inclusion of the *boru* clan name in the cemetery serves as a tribute to the maternal family. Table 3 shows a list of the names of the *boru* clans in the cemeteries found in Pangururan District, Samosir Regency.

**Table 3.** List of names of the boru clan in the cemeteries in Pangururan District

Boru clan name	Etymological Meaning
Ambarita	<i>Barita</i> 'news'
Habeahan	Heritage things
Sihaloho	<i>Halobo</i> 'a place surrounded by a <i>gelanggar</i> or fence'
Malau	Originated from the ancestors of Malauraja
Manurung	Derived from the word <i>turun</i> 'down'
Naibaho	Baho rain 'torrential rain lightning dissertation'
Siahaan	<i>Habaan</i> 'eldest brother or eldest son'
Sitangkarean	Comes from the word <i>tangkar</i> 'tank'
Nainggolan	Originating from the Nainggolan area
Parhusip	Comes from the word <i>husip</i> 'whisper'
Purba	East (cardinal direction)

Sagala	All of it
Saing	Opponent or competition
Siboro	<i>Boro</i> 'caterpillars in bananas' or the name of a place in the Simalungun area
Siburian	<i>Burian</i> 'washing place'
Sigiro	<i>Giro</i> 'difficulty or hardship'
Sijabat	Doing work or holding a position
Silalahi	<i>Lalahi</i> 'man'
Simarmata	Those with eyes or having eyes
Simbolon	<i>Bolon</i> 'big'
Sinaga	Derived from the word dragon
Sinurat	People who come from the Urat area in Samosir
Siringo-ringo	Noisy or noisy
Sitanggang	<i>Takkang</i> 'stubborn'
Sitohang	Comes from the word <i>botang</i> 'rotan'
Situmorang	Comes from the word <i>sitorang</i> or <i>torang</i> 'bright'
Tamba	Multiply
Tungkir	Comes from the word <i>tingkir</i> 'visit'
Turnip	Name of person "Turnip King"

Based on the list of *boru* clan names, many are not dominant among the clan names on family cards or in cemeteries—many clans do not necessarily guarantee the preservation of cultural heritage in the cemetery. Conversely, having a small number of clans does not necessarily mean that cultural heritage will easily disappear. Dominant clan names may not be buried in cemeteries because they do not meet the requirements. Similarly, many non-dominant clan names, including the *boru* clan names, meet the requirements for burial in cemeteries. This is a unique phenomenon because *boru* clan names are often found in cemeteries. This condition reflects the fact that Batak Toba culture, commonly known for its highly patriarchal culture, does not necessarily ignore the role of *boru* or mothers. Although some dominant clan names remain on the list of *boru* clan names, such as Sihalohe, Naibaho, Nainggolan, Simarmata, and Sitanggang, most are classified as non-dominant clan names on family cards and cemeteries, as mentioned in the previous section.

In terms of their etymological meaning, most of the dominant *boru* clan names in the cemetery have meanings related to conditions, place names, and the names of people or ancestors. The *boru* clan names that have etymological meanings related to conditions are Manurung, Sitangkarean, Parhusip, Sigiro, Siringo-ringo, Situmorang, and Tungkir. Manurung means to descend, Sitangkarean means to hold, Parhusip means to whisper, Sigiro means difficulty, Siringo-ringo means noisy, Situmorang means bright, and Tungkir means to visit. These clan names show the condition of the Batak Toba people, who have difficulty pursuing careers in the village; thus, they come down from settlements located on the hills and choose to migrate to achieve success or follow a bright path. This is closely related to the identity of the Batak Toba in the migration area, which is known for being hardworking, tenacious, and successful. Additionally, *boru* clan names with etymological meanings of place names include Purba, Siburian, and Sinurat. Purba means east, Siburian means washing place, and Sinurat means people from the Urat region. This indicates that a person's place of origin is important from a Batak Toba cultural perspective. Furthermore, the *Boru* clan names, which have the etymological meaning of a person's name or ancestral name, are Malau and Turnip. Malau means someone who is descended from the ancestor Malauraja, and Turnip means a person's name (Turnip Raja). This further reinforces the importance of a person's name, in addition to their place of origin, for the Batak Toba people.

## DISCUSSION

This section emphasizes the presuppositional meaning of clan names in family cards and cemeteries. The *boru* clan names are also included for analyzing their presuppositional meanings, starting from their categorical, associative, and emotive meanings. This study illustrates the cultural identity of Batak Toba through their necronyms. The categorical meanings in this study provide an overview of the dominant categories of clan names in cemeteries in Pangururan District. These categories in clan names can reflect the cultural identity of the Batak Toba people. Moreover, the associative meanings in this study provide other types of categories contained in clan names in cemeteries in Pangururan District because clan names are inseparable from the connotations and denotations of their meanings. In this study, the associative or connotative meanings of clan names are also considered to obtain a comprehensive picture of Batak Toba's cultural identity. Furthermore, this study discusses the emotive meanings of clan

names in cemeteries in Pangururan District. This study identifies the positive and negative connotations of clan names in cemeteries. Thus, the meanings of clan names in the cemeteries can comprehensively reflect the cultural identity of Batak Toba.

### Category Meaning

**Table 4.** List of names and their categorial meanings in Pangururan District

Meaning of Category	Clan name
Information	Ambarita
Goods	Habeahan, Simarmata, Sitangkarean
People name	Lobak, Malau, Turnip
Activity	Manurung, Parhusip, Sijabat, Simanihuruk, Tungkir
Competition	Mengatakan, Saing
Weather	Naibaho
Place	Nainggolan, Siburian, Sidauruk, Sinurat
Compass	Purba
Condition	Sagala, Sigiro, Sihaloho, Simbolon, Siringo-ringo, Tamba
Kinship	Siahaan,
Animal	Siboro, Sinaga
Plant	Sigalingging, Sitohang
Gender	Silalahi
Characteristic	Sitanggang, Situmorang

In Table 4, the dominant meaning categories of clan names in the cemeteries of Pangururan District indicate activities, places, conditions, and objects. Some meanings that indicate activities include going down, whispering, holding a position, digging, and visiting. Some of these meanings can be linked to the Batak Toba cultural identity of being hardworking, tenacious, holding strategic positions, and being renowned as migrants. This is common knowledge among people other than the Batak Toba. For example, the Medan City is dominated more by the Batak ethnic group than the Malay ethnic group, which is a local ethnic group in the region because the Batak ethnic group works predominantly in the government (Syarfina et al., 2023). This indicates that the meaning of a clan name reflects the true cultural identity. Other dominant meanings refer to place. Some meanings refer to places, such as washing places, hills, or places like the clan's name, such as the Nainggolan area or the Urat area of the Sinurat clan. This indicates that the residence of the clan's name was largely hilly. Therefore, the meanings of activity and place are important to the Batak people, as both are used in clan names.

### Associative Meaning

**Table 5.** List of clan names and their associative meanings in Pangururan District

Associative Meaning	Clan name
Kingdom	Lobak, Malau, Turnip
Resistance	Mengatakan
Tree	Naibaho
Place	Siboro, Sihaloho
Feeling clean	Siburian
Village Name	Sigalingging
Sadness	Sigiro, Siringo-ringo
People name	Sijabat
Strength	Simanihuruk, Simarmata, Simbolon, Sinaga
Letter	Sinurat
Character	Sitanggang
Family	Tungkir
Hope	Tamba

As shown in Table 5, the associative meanings of clan names in the cemeteries fall into different categories. This is because these associative meanings are more directed towards the connotative meaning of clan names in cemeteries. This differs from the meanings in the previous section, which were more directed towards denotative meanings. In this case, the dominant associative meanings of clan names in the cemeteries in the Pangururan District are those that convey strength, kingdom, place, and sadness. Concerning the meaning of strength, clan names with this meaning are almost the same as those with the meaning of activity. According to the informants, the activities contained in these clan

names were interpreted as strong. This is what makes many Batak Toba people successful while traveling and has strong convictions, which also leads to a high work ethic. Another dominant associative meaning of clan names in the cemeteries of the Pangururan District is the meaning that conveys the kingdom. Here, kingdom means that the clan's name is taken from the name of an ancestor related to the name of a queen or king. This also indicates that the Batak Toba people have a history of a monarchical system, resulting in the roles of kings and queens, which were later adopted as clan names. Therefore, it is not surprising that the origin of clans was also important for the Batak Toba people.

### Emotive Meaning

**Table 6.** List of clan names and their emotive meanings in Pangururan District

Emotive Meaning	Clan name
Positive	Ambarita, Habeahan, Lobak, Malau, Manurung, Mengatakan, Nainggolan, Parhusip, Purba, Sagala, Saing, Siahaan, Siboro, Sibirian, Sidauruk, Sigalingging, Sihaloho, Sijabat, Silalahi, Simanihuruk, Simarmata, Simbolon, Sinaga, Sinurat, Sitangkarean, Sitohang, Situmorang, Tamba, Tungkir, Turnip
Negative	Naibaho, Sigi, Siringo-ringo, Sitanggang

Table 6 shows that clan names in the cemetery area have positive and negative emotive meanings. Most clan names in the cemeteries have a positive emotive meaning. However, several clan names in the cemetery area had negative emotional meanings. Some of these clan names include Naibaho, Sigi, Siringo-ringo, and Sitanggang. The negative meanings of some of these clan names are directed towards their emotive meanings because some clan names refer to places, characters, or personalities. Clan names that refer to the situation of the place include Naibaho, meaning heavy rain accompanied by lightning, and Sigi, meaning difficulty. It is possible that the areas where the clan names reside often experience heavy rain accompanied by lightning, and the community experiences difficulties. Although the nature of these difficulties is unknown, they are viewed negatively by communities. Furthermore, clan names that refer to traits or personalities and have negative motives are Siringo-ringo and Sitanggang. In this case, Siringo-ringo means noisy, whereas thile Sitanggang means stubborn. These two traits reflect a clan. Although these traits or characteristics are negatively motivated, this does not mean that the two clans are treated differently from other clans. These traits are largely shared by the Batak Toba people. However, only these two clans take names based on dominant traits or characteristics. Therefore, the emotive meaning of clan names in cemeteries does not influence inter-clan social relations, although they have negative motives. Therefore, not all clan names have positive meanings.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation in the previous section, it can be concluded that the cultural identity of the Batak Toba is reflected in the clan names of the cemeteries in Pangururan District, Samsir Regency, North Sumatra Province, Indonesia because the meaning of a clan's name is in accordance with the character and personality of the community. Moreover, it can be concluded that the dominant clan's name does not necessarily maintain its cultural heritage in the form of cemetery construction. This is evident from the fact that the dominant clan's name on the family card did not dominate the clan's name in the cemetery. Many factors caused the dominant clan's name in the family card not to be dominant in the cemetery. Some factors that cause the dominant clan's name in the family card to no longer be dominant in the cemetery are due to factors of migration, individualism, social change, and shifts in the cultural context. Additionally, not all can be buried in a cemetery because there are several conditions that must be met, which can be the basis for the dominance of the dominant clan's name in the family card and different cemeteries.

Furthermore, this study revealed that the Batak Toba cultural identity in the cemetery still considers the *boru* clan name. Therefore, women are not completely ignored in the family tree. The *boru* clan name in the cemetery serves to clarify the *tulang* clan or maternal brother. This emphasizes that the Batak Toba culture still values the role of women despite its very strong patriarchal culture. In terms of meaning, clan names in cemeteries are dominated by the etymological meaning of the state and the categorical meaning of the activity. Moreover, the associative meaning of clan names in the cemeteries is dominated by the connotative meanings of strength and kingdom. Furthermore, the emotive meanings of clan names in cemeteries are also dominated by positive meanings, although some have negative

connotations. Thus, the exploration of cultural identity can be done through clan names in tombs or necronyms because the results of this study state that cultural identity is directly proportional to the character and personality of its people.

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### Credit Author Statement

All authors declare that they have contributed to the manuscript as follows: the first author is the main contributor in conducting the research analysis; the second author is a co-contributor in conceptualizing the method; the third author is the co-contributor in conceptualizing previous studies; and the fourth author is the co-contributor in conceptualizing the introduction. All authors have agreed to and approved the final version of the manuscript.

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### Declaration Of Competing Interests

The authors declare that they have no competing financial interests or personal relationships that may have influenced the work reported in this study.

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