

Bynames in the Baduy Dalam as a Conception of Family Relationships

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Abstract—The Baduy people of the Banten Province in Western Java are one of many peoples that make up the larger Sundanese ethnic group in Indonesia. The life of the Baduy Dalam (the Inner Baduy people) is interestingly bound to their customary rules and norms including those regulating their naming system. This research discusses the Baduy naming system which has a unique concept of naming a child using part of his/her parents' byname. In the research, 493 people and their bynames were selected from a total population of 1,202. The names were collected from the Family ID Cards of those living in three Baduy Dalam villages — Cibeo, Cikeusik, and Cikartawana. The study also utilized interviews with informants who have considerable knowledge about the bynames of the Baduy people. These interviews were conducted to see when and how the names of *Ayah*, *Ambu*, *Ki*, and *Ni* were formed. In Baduy tradition, parents are called *Ayah* (male) and *Ambu* (female) followed by the name of their child. Similarly, grandparents are called *Ki* (male) or *Ni* (female) followed by their grandchild's name. It is not always the first child or a male child whose name is taken for his/her parents' or grandparents' byname. The choice is taken based on agreement among family members. The research was informed by the study of personal names known as anthroponomastics, and more specifically, by Eva Brylla's anthroponomastic theory of the byname (Brylla, 2018).

Index Terms—Baduy Dalam tribe, bynames, anthroponomastics, Sundanese, traditional society

I. INTRODUCTION

The Baduy people have been an interesting topic of scholarly discussions in various disciplines. For instance, there is Ardan's (2008) research on determining whether the Baduy people are Protomalay or Deuteromalay based on both their Upper Integumentary Lip Profile (PUIL) and the research of Purba et al. (2018) on the implications of the Baduy Dalam tribe's closure on Indonesia's rank in the World Economic Forum. Furthermore, The preservation of farming traditions carried out by the Outer Baduy community has been examined (Iskandar et al., 2018) and elements of the local authority of the Baduy tribe regarding environmental conservation through customary law and culture have been examined (Asteria et al., 2021). Moreover, research on the Baduy community concerning character education was carried out (Arif et al., 2021). Indeed, the unique existence of the Baduy tribe as an indigenous community has attracted the attention of many people including both ordinary people and researchers. Still, only the most basic information known by the general public is the division of the Baduy area into Baduy Dalam (Inner Baduy) and Baduy Luar (Outer Baduy).

According to Permana (2006, 2010), however, the Baduy community is divided into three sub-groups: Tangtu, Panamping, and Dangka. Tangtu and Panamping people occupy the Kanekes Village region while the Dangka people live outside of the region. Among the three, the Tangtu people are considered the highest in terms of degree of sanctity and adherence to customs. They are followed by the Panamiping and Dangka people, respectively. Other sources mention that the term Tangtu refers to Baduy Dalam people, while Panamping and Dangka refer to Baduy Luar people. Moreover, some scholars also believe that the word *tangtung* is derived from the Sanskrit noun meaning “thread/yarn”, “heredity/family tree”, and a Sanskrit adjective meaning “certain”. The Baduy people, however, understand Tangtu as the place of origin of their ancestors and the founders of their community (Danasasmita & Djatisunda, 1986).

The Baduy area is divided into three Tangtu settlements: Cikeusik (*Tangtu pada ageung*), Cibeo (*Tangtu parahiyang*), and Cikartawana (*Tangtu kujang*). The three Tangtu are often called *telu Tangtu* (the “three Tangtus”). Other names for *Tangtu* people are Baduy Jero, Urang Kajeroan, or the most commonly known, Baduy Dalam. Such naming may have been based on the fact that the Tangtu area lies in the ‘interior’, surrounded by Panamping areas. The soil on which the Tangtu people live is considered sacred because it is protected. In addition, not just anyone can enter and do as they

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please. This inner area is also referred to as *tanah larangan* or “the prohibited land”.

Just as it is in nearly every other culture in the world, everyone in the Baduy Dalam culture must have a name whether it be one of good meaning or bad (Chiwanga & Mkiramweni, 2019), and one intriguing cultural aspect of the Baduy Dalam people is their naming system.

Those who have been to Baduy may have often heard the forms of address *Ayah* and *Ambu* meaning “father” and “mother”, respectively. These generic forms of address are often followed by a child’s name. Thus, a father who has a child named Marno would be called *Ayah Marno* (“Marno’s father”). In the same fashion, the byname *Ambu Jana* (Jana’s Mother) refers to a mother who has a child named *Jana*.

If Nath (2023) thinks that the state of consciousness and unconsciousness of a particular community finds verbal recourse only through the metaphorical tool of language, then the researcher argues that another way out of language tools is through the use of bynames.

Naming systems are a universal phenomenon in every culture (Peterson, 2019), and the Baduy society is no exception. It is of particular interest to those who study onomastics, a subject that includes toponymy and anthroponymy (Ainiala & Ostman, 2017). Toponymy refers to the study of how the name of a place is derived (Bala Muhammad et al., 2020) while anthroponymy is the study of given names. The convention by which the Baduy people choose which child whose name is to be affixed to the forms of address *Ambu* and *Ayah*, as well as the philosophy behind the practice, is interesting to study.

This convention in Baduy is interesting to examine more deeply how the choice of the child’s name will be juxtaposed with the calls *Ambu* and *Ayah* and also the philosophy behind it. The naming system of a culture always takes into account the traditions and unique values of its people (Khoá, 2022). Names, it can be posited then, carry social meaning – affective, emotive, connotational meaning (Heyd, 2022). Ideology and religion is also an important consideration when naming (Sabet & Zhang, 2020). For instance, in Finland, the naming system can open up Christianisation processes that have occurred in the past (Frog, 2020). As such, the proper name is very important for the identification of one’s self (Aksholakova, 2014).

This study is a continuation of Sobarna’s interest in the naming system of the Baduy people as his first demonstration of this interest was his observation of the names of the Baduy Luar people (2020). Sobarna first studied the concept of the use of *Ayah* and *Ambu* in parents’ names. Then, he observed how a daughter took a part of her father’s name, and particularly, the first syllable of his name. Likewise, Sobarna states that a son is usually named by taking a part of his mother’s name. The philosophical ground for the practice is that children and their parents must protect each other. In this research, Sobarna expanded his scope to the Baduy Dalam people. Thus, the article discusses the concept of naming that is prevalent among the Baduy Dalam people, particularly the practice related to the use of the forms of address *Ayah*, *Ambu*, *Ki*, and *Ni*.

To begin with, the terms “byname” and “nickname” shall first be defined. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online, “byname” refers to a secondary name, while “nickname” refers to a descriptive name given instead of, or in addition to, the one belonging to a person, place, or thing. It can be distinguished by the address form meaning how people address someone with first names, nicknames, etc. (Silaban & Afriana, 2020). In many cultures, a personal name is a person’s given name which is usually followed by his or her surname.

Eva Brylla (2016) also explains that bynames can have positive, negative, or neutral meanings and nicknames are limited to the traits of their bearers. Brylla further emphasizes that bynames are more of an inclusive expression, while nicknames are more of a subcategory. Bynames are official names that are added or attached to that person with the intent to specialize, identify, and distinguish themselves from others with similar names (see also Akramy & Aiyaz, 2022; Khudhir & Salo, 2019; Wang & Kałużyńska, 2019). Wang and Kałużyńska (2019) also highlight the fact that bynames differ from given names.

Indeed, bynames differ from given names (or first names) and surnames or long/family/surnames. Bynames are personal names and are handed down. Bynames, like any other self-name, have syntactic rules, one of which is that it can stand on its own, for example:

1. Bynames are used in addition to self-names or official names, such as “Twiggy” (the model, actress, and singer from England born Lesley Lawson), “The Boss” (Bruce Springsteen), “Der Bomber der Nation” (Gerd Müller, German national footballer), and “The Iron Lady” (Margaret Thatcher).
2. Bynames are used with self-names or legal names such as “Tricky Dick” Nixon (Richard Nixon).

Bynames are also mentioned as nicknames or self-names that indicate relationships within a family. Citing McKinley (2014), Brylla mentioned an example of a practice common in England before 1069 when the Latin word *filius* (son) was used to identify a person as someone’s son such as Johannes *filius* (son) Edwardi for “Johannes son of Edward”. Along those same lines, in later eras, bynames were often derivative names such as Robertson and Harrison.

Hudson and van Langendonck, as presented in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* (2016), explain that the concept of syntactic-semantic naming always revolves around two elements: the head and the modifier. Examples are Bill Clinton and President Clinton. Both personal names have a fixed structure, and semantically, the head (Clinton) describes a single name. The modifier (Bill/President) became the modifier for Clinton. Similarly, the family name modifies the first name.

Other linguists examine nicknames in terms of interdisciplinary science, especially discourse and pragmatics (Imayo et al., 2022). Nicknames are analyzed based on, among other things, their linguistic, semantic, and sociological elements. One of the conclusions is that the division of official and unofficial names is based on primary-secondary opposition.

A recent study was conducted by Kaziaba and Burkova (2022) which examined the German people's use of internet media, especially among adolescent girls. The results show that the characteristics of gender and age also determine the choice of name as embodiments such as individual needs, the formation of self-concept, and the need to be accepted as members of a particular group. In other countries, bynames are still in use within some communities, including some areas of Scotland (Bramwell, 2011).

There are quite a lot of studies on names in Indonesia. Widodo's (2013) study reveals that Javanese names are speech forms with exciting forms and meanings. Based on the analyzed data, it seems clear that current names tend to be composed of more than one word. However, single names with only one element can still be found. Through Widodo's study, one can assert that understanding the construction process of the Javanese name is very important to understanding how the Javanese society's cultural tastes, desires, hopes, and ideals constantly change over time.

In a study on Balinese names, Temaja (2018) explains that three things influence the naming system of Balinese people: name markers that distinguish gender such as *I* and *Bagus* to mark a man's name, and *Ni*, *Ayu*, *Istri*, and *Luh* to mark a woman's name. Naming is based on birth order, such as *Wayan*, *Putu*, and *Gede* for the first child and *Made*, *Nengah*, and *Kadek* or *Kade* for the second child. Naming is based on four caste systems, such as *Ida Bagus* for men and *Ida Ayu* for women (Brahmins); *Anak Agung*, *Cokorda*, *Gusti*, and *Dewa* for men and women, but specifically *Dewa Ayu*, *Desak*, and *Sagung* are used for women (royals); and so on.

Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck (1978), a Dutch scholar of the Javanese, also touched on the issue of names in terms of morphology. Uhlenbeck explained that a Javanese person's name was syntactically characterized by its possibility to be combined with the so-called personal article *si* (the coarse/crude speech level) or *pun* (the refined speech level) which is morphologically characterized by the absence of a suffix. Furthermore, Uhlenbeck (1978) explained that, in Javanese society, the name had a unique and clear position in the morphological system of the Javanese language. This was possible because naming was differentiated according to the type and class of society. Based on the class of society, the names of the Javanese people could be distinguished by (1) a name that indicated a low social class and (2) a name that did not solely indicate a specific class of society. In addition, other provisions applied specifically to male names. A male name consisted of a first name (a "diminutive name") or a second name (an "old name for an adult"). The father usually gave the first name to the baby at the naming ceremony (*slametan*) five days after the baby's birth. A son usually handpicked his second name after he grew up, which thus replaced the first name. Sometimes, a person's name is changed after an important event such as marriage, getting a job, or recovery from illness.

Meanwhile, in Sundanese society in general, as in Javanese culture, Sobarna (1993) mentions that a name reflects not only a person's social class (*somah* "lower", *santana* "middle", *menak* "upper, noble") but also his/her geographical background. For example, the name *Suria* reflects that the owner is from the Sumedang region; *Wirakusumah* is from Bandung, and *Tanu* is from Cianjur. Sobarna's explanation concurs with Thomas and Samjose (2022) who state that a name could also describe the position of individuals in a community or cultural space. Furthermore, Sobarna (1993) explains that nowadays, the Sundanese people tend to refer to religion, public figures, unique features, and current trends as the basis of naming their children.

II. METHOD

In this descriptive-qualitative research, the data were collected from 493 people with bynames who were selected from a total of 1,202 people. The bynames data were obtained from the Family ID Cards of people who were from the three Baduy Dalam Villages, namely Cibeo, Cikeusik, and Cikartawana.

In Kanekes Village, demographic records only began being recorded in 2015. Issuing Family ID Cards and ID cards for Baduy people proved to be difficult. It was not easy to make Baduy people, especially those from the inner villages, understand the importance of having an identity card. The difficulty had a lot to do with the strong belief that they should avoid involvement with worldly affairs. It is their traditional belief that violation of their customary laws would result in a punishment from nature.

Thanks to the persistence of the village officials and Baduy representatives of the Baduy spokespeople, Family Cards and Identity Cards were eventually issued to Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar residents. Another challenge ensued when they were requested to have their names listed on the Family Card (*KK*) and Identity Card (*KTP*). The reported names typically began with the generic *Ayah*, *Ambu*, *Ni*, and *Ki*. When asked to mention their original or birth names, the Baduy Dalam people could not answer with certainty. Such a phenomenon could not be separated from their local wisdom. Figure 1 below shows the Family Card of a family in Cibeo Village. Hardly can such a naming custom be found in other ethnic groups in the world. As an illustration, a reverse, patronymic pattern is found in Russia, where it is customary to give a name by taking the name from the father (Crystal, 2010). For example, a child born to a father named Ivan would be named Ivanovich if the child is a boy or Ivanovna if the child is a girl. What is practiced in Baduy is called teknonymy, a practice by which parents are referred to by their children's names. Teknonymy is also widely practiced by Arab ethnic groups.

No	Nama Lengkap	NIK	Jenis Kelamin	Tempat Lahir	Tanggal Lahir	Agama	Pendidikan	Jenis Pekerjaan
1	AYAH ARTINAH	360206	L	Lebak	26-09-1968	-	-	Petani
2	AMBU ARTINAH	360206	P	Lebak	20-07-1970	-	-	Petani
3	ARTINAH	360206	L	Lebak	16-06-2003	-	-	
4	SARNATA	360206	L	Lebak	17-06-2005	-	-	
5	PULUNG	360206	P	Lebak	20-07-2010	-	-	
6								
7								
8								

No	Status Perkawinan	Status Hubungan dalam keluarga	Kewarganegaraan	Dokumen Imigrasi		Nama Orang Tua	
						Ayah	Ibu
1	Kawin	Kepala Rumah Tangga	WNI			AYAH NARPAH	AMBU NARPAH
2	Kawin	Istri	WNI			AYAH PENDEK	AMBU PENDEK
3	Belum Kawin	Anak	WNI			AYAH ARTINAH	AMBU ARTINAH
4	Belum Kawin	Anak	WNI			AYAH ARTINAH	AMBU ARTINAH
5	Belum Kawin	Anak	WNI			AYAH ARTINAH	AMBU ARTINAH
6							
7							
8							

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Figure1. Family Card. Source: RT (Neighborhood Association) 001/RW (Community Association) 0011

Bynames data that have been collected are then classified, summarized, and finally turned into percentages. Data analysis in the form of bynames and their number is presented in tabular form accompanied by a description.

Interviews were also conducted with informants considered to have some knowledge about bynames in Baduy. Based on Creswell's (2014) and Sudaryanto's (2015) views on the interview technique, the in-depth interviews were directed toward exploring the reasons for using bynames as well as when and how the forms of address *Ayah*, *Ambu*, *Ki*, and *Ni* were used. Individual interviews were recorded upon informed consent. The conversations were guided by a list of questions. The interviews were conducted in Sundanese in the presence of a village official from Baduy Luar.

Interviews took place at the house of each Baduy Luar informant. Baduy Dalam informants, however, were interviewed at the village secretary's house since the use of modern technology (digital recorder) was prohibited inside the inner Baduy area. During each interview, information was gathered through a Q&A process based on a prepared list of questions. Supporting documents include newspaper articles, minutes of meetings, activity reports, and personal documents such as personal notes, letters, or emails. The data collected from these supporting documents were used to complement the research. This study is important considering the current lack of studies and scholarly writings on the Baduy tradition of using bynames.

III. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Baduy Dalam, also commonly called Baduy Jero, is the nucleus of the indigenous Baduy community. Sitting on the slopes of Indonesia's Mount Kendeng in Banten, the Baduy Dalam area is divided into three villages: Cibeo, Cikeusik, and Cikartawana. The Baduy Dalam community still upholds its customary laws. The three villages have various rules for managing life and interaction with both natural and social environments. Studies by Sam and Suwandi (1986), Sihabudin and Kurnia (2010), Permana (2006) and others are mostly concerned with the environment. Therefore, they explore the Baduy people's customary rules regarding food, dress, weddings, marriages, house construction, building materials and village population.

The Baduy people speak Sundanese - the same language spoken by Sundanese living outside Baduy in West Java and the Banten Provinces. The difference is that the Sundanese language spoken by the Baduy people belongs to the Baduy dialect, and while the Banten dialect of Sundanese is influenced by Javanese, the Baduy dialect is not. Moreover, the Baduy dialect does not recognize speech levels, has its own accent, and has its own basic indigenous vocabulary. The Baduys know no writing system except the old Javanese/Sundanese *hanacaraka* script which they use to calculate bad or good days. Due to their oral culture, all information related to customs, religions, stories of ancestors, and others is recorded through their speech. The Baduy Dalam people believe that nature will punish them if they violate their customs.

A. The Concept of a Name With the Initials *Ayah*, *Ambu*, *Ni*, and *Ki* on the Family Card and Its Hierarchy

Names beginning with *Ayah*, *Ambu*, *Ni*, and *Ki* on the Family Card are personal names attached to the Baduy people who have a family. *Ayah* and *Ambu* are bynames for parents. *Ni* and *Ki* are bynames for those who have grandchildren. The conception of changing one's name to *Ayah*, *Ambu*, *Ni*, and *Ki* followed by the names of children/grandchildren in the Baduy indigenous people can be seen on the collected Family Card. The number of Family Cards in Cibeo is the highest in Baduy Dalam. The change of a personal name to a combined name consisting of the initial *Ayah*, *Ambu*, *Ni*, and *Ki* and the name of a child or grandchild could be seen from the Family Cards collected. The highest number of Family Cards was collected from Cibeo Village.

(a). Cibeo Village (Place Name, Number of Residents, Name in the Family)

Demographically, Cibeo Village has a population of 539 people. Based on the 134 family cards collected from the total population, 294 are male and 244 female. Categorized by age, 77 people are between 0 to 10 years old; 158 belong to the 11 to 20 years old group; 81 people fall into the 21 to 30 years old age group; 63 are in the 31 to 40 years age group; 61 people to the 41- to 50-year-old group. Interestingly, it then skips 51- to 70-year-old groups to 8 people falling into the 71 to 80 years of age group and 11 people in the 81 to 121 years of age group. The following table classifies Cibeo residents based on their personal names and bynames.

TABLE 1
CIBEO VILLAGE RESIDENTS' BYNAMES AND PERSONAL NAMES

No.	Name	Number (People)
1	<i>Ambu</i> + child's name	103
2	<i>Ayah</i> + child's name	97
3	<i>Ki</i> + child's/grandchild's name	14
4	<i>Ni</i> + child's/grandchild's name	17
5	<i>Pulung</i>	7
6	Personal name (one word)	302

As shown in Table 1, the byname constructions *Ayah* + child's name and *Ambu* + child's name are still widely used in Cibeo Village (37%). The byname constructions *Ki* + child's/grandchild's names and *Ni* + child's/grandchild's names are insignificant in number (5%) because it can already be seen from the age group that about 56% of the total population still uses personal names. As evidenced by Family Card data, the naming of *Ayah* + child's name and *Ambu* + child's name in Cibeo Village is based on the name of one of the biological children they have. As illustrated in Figure 1, the head of the family bears the byname *Ayah Artinah* and is married to *Ambu Artinah*. They are the father and mother of Artinah, their first child. According to the Family Card, *Ayah Artinah's* parents are referred to as *Ayah Narpah* and *Ambu Narpah*, meaning *Narpah's* Father and Mother (*Narpah* being the name of their first child.) The bynames of *Ayah* and *Ambu Narpah*, however, do not change to *Ki* and *Ni*. This is because the Baduy Dalam people mostly adopt the first-degree *Abah* and *Ambu* byname initials. *Ki* and *Ni* are rarely used in Baduy Dalam. Another example is shown in the following Family Card. The head of the family is *Ayah Ardalim* and his wife is *Ambu Ardalim*. *Ardalim* is the name of their first child. As the card shows, *Ayah Ardalim's* parents are called *Ki* and *Ni Enok*, after their first daughter.

No	Nama Lengkap	NIK	Jenis Kelamin	Tempat Lahir	Tanggal Lahir	Agama	Pendidikan	Jenis Pekerjaan
1	AYAH ARDALIM	360206	L	Lebak	18-10-1990	-	-	Petani
2	AMBU ARDALIM	360206	P	Lebak	11-07-1992	-	-	Petani
3	ARDALIM	360206	L	Lebak	17-02-2011	-	-	
4	RASIDI	360206	L	Lebak	16-01-2013	-	-	
5								
6								
7								
8								

No	Status Perkawinan	Status Hubungan dalam keluarga	Kewarganegaraan	Dokumen Imigrasi	Nama Orang Tua	
					Ayah	Ibu
1	Kawin	Kepala Rumah Tangga	WNI		KI ENOK	NI ENOK
2	Kawin	Istri	WNI		KI AWIR	NI AIR
3	Belum Kawin	Anak	WNI			
4	Belum Kawin	Anak	WNI			
5						
6						
7						
8						

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Figure 2. Ayah Ardalim's Family Card Source: RT (Neighborhood Association) 001/RW (Community Association) 0011

Unfortunately, the bynames *Ki* and *Ni* and the names of children/grandchildren still cannot be clarified. Only the constructions *Ayah's* byname and *Ambu's* + the child's name follow the genealogical line in the family.

(b). Cikeusik Village

Based on the 2015 demographic data, Cikeusik Village had a population of 504 people, all of whom were listed in a total of 125 Family Cards. Of the total population, 241 were male and 259 female. The distribution of the population based on age group is as follows: 33 people were 1 to 10 years old; 128 people were 11 to 20 years old; 94 people were 21 to 30 years old; 62 people were 31 to 40 years old; 64 people were 41 to 50 years old; 53 people were 51 to 60 years old; 22 people were 61 to 70 years old; 35 people were 71 to 80 years old; and 5 people were 81 to 100 years old. The following table classifies Cikeusik people's personal names and bynames:

TABLE 2
CIBEO VILLAGE RESIDENTS' BYNAMES AND PERSONAL NAMES

No.	Name	Number (People)
1	<i>Ambu</i> + child's name (<i>Am/Amb/Amu</i>)	83
2	<i>Ayah</i> + child's name (<i>Ay/Ayh</i>)	78
3	<i>Ki</i> + child's/grandchild's name	16
4	<i>Ni</i> + child's/grandchild's name	26
5	<i>Pulung</i>	3
6	Personal name (one word)	298

As shown in Table 2 above, the use of the bynames *Ayah* + child's name and *Ambu* + child's name in the village of Cikeusik is almost the same as that in Kampung Cibeo. The pattern is still widely used (32%). The bynames *Ki* child's/grandchild's name and *Ni* + child's/grandchild's name are scarcely used (8%) because about 59% of the total population still retain their personal names, such as *Arsa*, *Cardi*, and *Jamin*. The formation *Ayah* + child's name and *Ambu* + child's name is based on the name of their biological child. For example, on a Family Card with *Ayah Sadun* as the head of the family, his wife is called *Ambu Sadun*, meaning the mother of *Sadun*, their second child. *Ayah Sadun*'s parents are *Ki Darma* and *Saiti*. The byname *Ki Darma* is based on their other child, *Darma*. The bynames *Ayah* and *Ambu Sadun*, however, do not change to *Ki* and *Ni* because the Baduy Dalam people mostly adopt the first-degree *Abah* and *Ambu* byname initials. *Ki* and *Ni* are still used randomly in Baduy Dalam. Some married couples do change their names to *Ki* and *Ni* only after they have a grandchild and the name that follows *Ki* and *Ni* does not have to be that of their first grandchild. For example, a Family Card lists *Ki Awit* as the head of the family. *Ki Awit* is married to his wife *Ni Awit*. They are called so because one of their grandchildren is named *Awit*. *Ki Awit* was born to parents *Ki Narkin* and *Ni Narkin*. The bynames *Ki* and *Ni Awit* are based on the name of one of their grandchildren, who is listed on another Family Card.

(c). Cikartawana Village

Based on the 2015 data, Cikartawana Village is inhabited by 159 people who are listed separately in 37 Family Cards. Of the total population, 86 were male and 73 were female. In terms of age, 13 people were in the 0 to 10 years old group; 45 people were in the 11 to 20 years age group; 24 people in the 21 to 30 years age group; 13 people were in the 31 to 40 years age group; 20 people were in the 41 to 50 years age group; 26 people were in the 51 to 60 years age group; 4 people were in the 61 to 70 years age group; 10 people were in the 71 to 80 years age group; and 4 people were in the 81 to 100 years age group. Age grouping was used to see the change in the naming of the Baduy people on the Family Card. The pattern of personal and byname use among Cikartawana Village residents is shown in the following table:

TABLE 3
CIKARTAWANA VILLAGE RESIDENTS' BYNAMES AND PERSONAL NAMES

No.	Name	Number (People)
1	<i>Ambu</i> + child's name (<i>Am/Amb/Amu</i>)	26
2	<i>Ayah</i> + child's name (<i>Ay/Ayh</i>)	22
3	<i>Ki</i> + child's/grandchild's name	4
4	<i>Ni</i> + child's/grandchild's name	7
5	<i>Baby</i>	6
6	<i>Pulung</i>	1
7	Personal name (one word)	93

As the table indicates, the byname pattern *Ayah* + child's name and *Ambu* + child's name is widely used in Cikartawana Village (30%). The pattern *Ki* + child's/grandchild's name and *Ni* + child's/grandchild's name, however, is scarcely used (7%) because, as seen from the age group, nearly 58% of the total population still uses self-names such as *Sarda*, *Calip*, and *Nasim*. From the Family Card data, the naming of *Ayah* + child's name and *Ambu* + child's name in Cikartawana Village is based on the name of the biological child they have. Another example is the Family Card with the head of the family named *Ayh Arinah* and *Am Arinah* as the wife and mother of *Arinah*, their first child. *Ayah Arinah*'s parents were named *Ayah Caiti* and *Ambu Caiti*. *Ayah* and *Ambu Caiti*'s bynames come from the name of their other child, *Caiti* (their first child). The bynames of *Ayah* and *Ambu Caiti* do not change to *Ki* and *Ni* when viewed from the conception of the naming of *Ki* and *Ni*. This is due to the conception of *Ayah* and *Ambu* alone, which the Baduy Dalam tribal community must use. Moreover, the bynames *Ki* and *Ni* are rarely used.

Many of the names of *Ayah* and *Ambu* are not followed by the names of their first or biological child. For example, *Ayh Damin* and *Am Damin* as wives. Their children's names on the Family Card are *Armin* and *Arni*. *Ayh Damin*'s parents were named *Jaro Anteu* and *Ambu Anteu*. *Ayh Damin* was a descendant of *Jaro*, the traditional leader of the Baduy Dalam tribe. *Am Damin*'s parents were named *Ayah* and *Ambu Nasinah*. *Ayah* and *Ambu Caiti*'s bynames come from the name of their other child, *Caiti* (their first child).

Names beginning with the *Ambu*, *Ayah*, *Ki*, and *Ni* are substitute names or bynames for those with a family, children, and grandchildren. The concept of renaming this became the customary law of the Baduy people. For Baduy Dalam, this concept is still firmly held. They are conscientious that their names will automatically be *Ayah* A and *Ambu* A and *Ki* A and *Ni* A. They no longer use or even remember their personal or birth names because retaining their old name violates customs and, therefore, is taboo.

B. Naming Shifts in Baduy Dalam (Age Group)

Generally, a byname consists of a first/personal name + a surname/byname. The byname *Ambu* (*Amb/Am*) is a substitute name that will always be used. It even becomes a woman's official name and is registers as such on the Family Card if she already has a child or children. Furthermore, it is the name of the first child that usually follows *Ambu*. Similarly, the byname of *Ayah* (*Ay/Ayh*) replaces a father's personal name. He will continue to use that byname

as his official name as printed and registered on the Family Card. Usually, the byname *Ayah* is followed by the name of the first child. The following table shows the pattern of bynames for married men and women.

TABLE 4
AYAH AND AMBU BYNAME PATTERNS

Village	Child's Name	Father	Mother
Cibeo	<i>Artinah</i>	<i>Ayah Artinah</i>	<i>Ambu Artinah</i>
	<i>Yana</i>	<i>Ayah Yana</i>	<i>Ambu Yana</i>
	<i>Karmah</i>	<i>Ayah Karmah</i>	<i>Ambu Karmah</i>
	<i>Jama</i>	<i>Ayah Jama</i>	<i>Ambu Jama</i>
	<i>Asid</i>	<i>Ayah Carsah</i>	<i>Ambu Carsah</i>
Cikeusik	<i>Ambu Karwi</i>	<i>Jaro Bongkok</i>	<i>Ni Pongkok</i>
	<i>Sadun</i>	<i>Ayah Sadun</i>	<i>Ambu Sadun</i>
	<i>Yalis</i>	<i>Ayah Yalis</i>	<i>Ambu Yalis</i>
	<i>Caniti</i>	<i>Ayah Caniti</i>	<i>Ambu Caniti</i>
	<i>Nadip</i>	<i>Nadip</i>	<i>Nadip</i>
	<i>Yaipah</i>	<i>Ayah Yaipah</i>	<i>Ampu Yaipah</i>
Cikartawarna	<i>Nani/Pulung/Nana</i>	<i>Ayah Ena</i>	<i>Ambu Ena</i>
	<i>Dalkin</i>	<i>Ayah Dalkin</i>	<i>Ambu Dalkin</i>
	<i>Arinah</i>	<i>Ayh Arinah</i>	<i>Am. Arinah</i>
	<i>Sarwati/Heni</i>	<i>Jaya</i>	<i>Asinah</i>
	<i>Armani/Sanip/Heni</i>	<i>Ayah Kasiti</i>	<i>Ambu Kasiti</i>
	<i>Jasih</i>	<i>Ayah Jasih</i>	<i>Ambu Jasih</i>
	<i>Yama/Yana</i>	<i>Ayah Yaldi</i>	<i>Ambu Yaldi</i>

Instead of the most commonly used byname pattern *Ayah/Ambu* + first child's name, some Baduy Dalam people also use another byname pattern, namely *Ayah/Ambu* + other names. In Cibeo Village, for example, a married couple uses the bynames *Ayah Carsah* and *Ambu Carsah* which would usually mean that they are the parents of their first child, *Carsah*. However, their first son is *Asid* and their second child is *Sangsang*. Another case was found in Cikeusik, where a married couple chose to use the bynames *Ayah Ena* and *Ambu Ena*, but their children's names are *Nani*, *Pulung*, and *Nana*. Similarly, in Cikartawana Village, *Ayah Yaldi* and *Ambu Yaldi* do not have a child named *Yaldi*. They do have sons, but their names are *Yama* and *Yana*. Such a naming pattern occurs in all Baduy Dalam villages, though not significantly (>10%). Based on the interviews, in a case where *Ayah* and *Ambu* are not followed by a child's name, the name occurring after *Ayah* and *Ambu* usually refers to a birth or given name.

The byname initials *Ki* and *Ni* are substitutes that will be used and registered on the family card once a married couple becomes grandparents. Usually, *Ki* and *Ni* are followed by the name of the first grandchild. In one family, however, the parents retain the initials *Ayah* and *Ambu* even after they became grandparents, but the name that follows was changed to that of their first grandchild. The following table shows the patterns of grandparents' bynames:

TABLE 5
KI AND NI BYNAME PATTERNS

Village	Child's Name	Grandfather	Grandmother
Cibeo	<i>Ayah Nadi</i>	<i>Ki Nadi</i>	<i>Ni Nadi</i>
	<i>Ambu Nadi</i>	<i>Ayah Sadi</i>	<i>Ambu Sadi</i>
	<i>Nadi</i>	<i>Ayah Nadi</i>	<i>Ambu Nadi</i>
	<i>Ambu Cipot</i>	<i>Ki Jarki</i>	<i>Ni Jarki</i>
	<i>Ambu Sarka</i>	<i>Ki Buntung</i>	<i>Ni Buntung</i>
Cikeusik	<i>Ni Amir</i>	<i>Ki Pendek</i>	<i>Ni Pendek</i>
	<i>Kata</i>	<i>Ki Kata</i>	<i>Ni Kata</i>
	<i>Ayah Caniti</i>	<i>Ki Caniti</i>	<i>Ni Caniti</i>
	<i>Ambu Caniti</i>	<i>Ki Cardi</i>	<i>Ni Cardi</i>
	<i>Arman</i>	<i>Ki Dakin</i>	<i>Ni Dakin</i>
	<i>Armain</i>	<i>Ki Sarda</i>	<i>Ni Nardi</i>
Cikartawarna	<i>Yadip</i>	<i>Ki Nolip</i>	<i>Ni Nadip</i>
	<i>Ayah Sali</i>	<i>Ki Sali</i>	<i>Ni Sali</i>
	<i>Ambu Sali</i>	<i>Ki Sana</i>	<i>Ni Sana</i>
	<i>Sarda/Dalis/Sala</i>	<i>Ayah Sali</i>	<i>Ambu Sali</i>
	<i>Ayah Yaldi</i>	<i>Ayah Tarisah</i>	<i>Ambu Tarisah</i>
	<i>Ambu Yaldi</i>	<i>Ki Yaldi</i>	<i>Ni Yaldi</i>
	<i>Sarikah</i>	<i>Ki Surman</i>	<i>Ni Surman</i>

Ki and *Ni* are generally used in extended families with three existing generations. As indicated in Table 5 above, *Ki Nadi* has a son who already has his own family and a son called *Nadi*. *Nadi's* father, therefore, chose the name *Ayah Nadi*, while *Nadi's* grandfather calls himself *Ki Nadi*. Furthermore, a couple who call themselves *Ki* and *Ni* do not have to pick the name of someone from two generations after them. For example, there is a married couple who has a son called *Yadip*, but *Yadip's* parents are called *Ki Nolip* and *Ni Nadip*. However, because the Baduy naming system for *Ki* and *Ni* involves three generations and several children and grandchildren in the extended family, the initials *Ki* and *Ni* need further study.

Drawn according to the analysis above, the chart below visualizes the concept based on which the bynames *Ayah*, *Ambu*, *Ki*, and *Ni* are used.

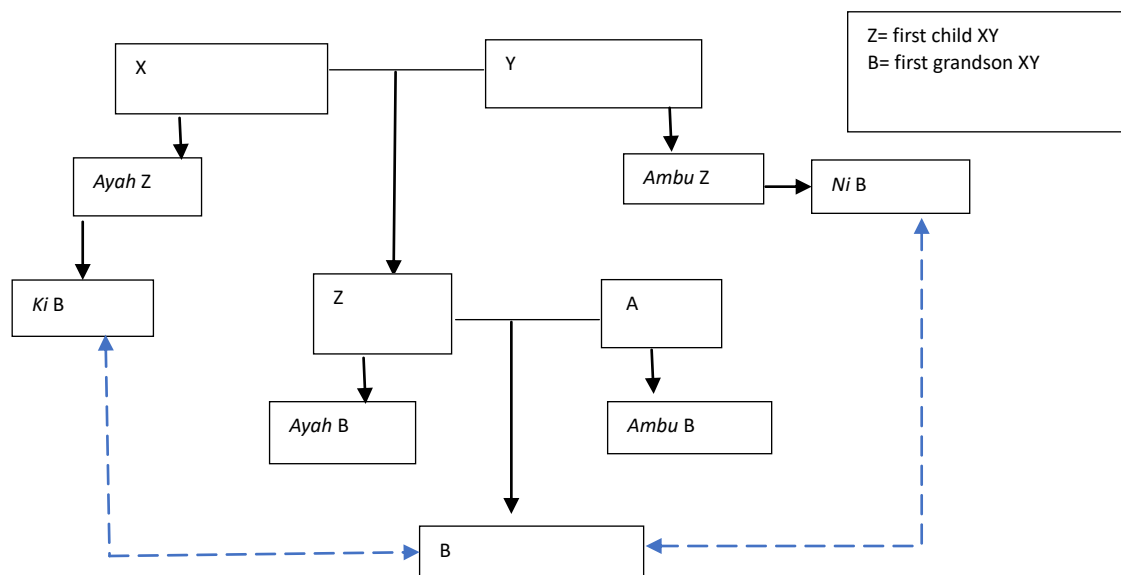


Chart 1. Baduy Dalam Byname Scheme

The majority of those living in the three Baduy Dalam Villages, namely Cibeo, Cikartawana, and Cikeusik, adopt bynames that reflect a span of three coexisting generations. The bynames *Ayah* and *Ambu* are usually followed by the name of a child while *Ki* and *Ni* are followed by the name of a grandchild. It is usually the name of the first child or grandchild that is picked as part of the parents' or grandparents' bynames. However, *Ayah* and *Ambu* do not always have to be followed by the name of the first child. Similarly, grandparents do not always pick the name of their first grandchild to follow the initial *Ki* and *Ni*. It is also possible for parents and grandparents to pick the name of their daughter and granddaughter. The unique naming system, however, does not span beyond three generations.

IV. CONCLUSION

The naming system discussed in this article is specific only to the Sundanese sub-ethnic group of Baduy. The Baduy people, and particularly the Baduy Dalam people, have an intricate concept of personal names and bynames, and the unique naming system of the Baduy people is a part of their unique local wisdom. Moreover, the life of these indigenous people is based on a traditional principle that does not allow them to violate their sacred customs.

The Baduy Dalam people are referred to by their personal or birth names if they are not yet married. Based on the Baduy Dalam naming system, the initial *Ayah* and *Ambu* are followed by the name of a child, while *Ki* and *Ni* are followed by the name of a grandchild, regardless of birth order or sex. The bynames *Ayah* and *Ambu* are used only by those who are married and already have a child. The byname formation *Ayah* and *Ambu* plus the name of their child will continue to be used until they have a grandchild. The birth of a grandchild marks a shift from *Ayah* and *Ambu* to *Ki* and *Ni*, followed by the name of their child or grandchild. The decision regarding which name will be picked is subject to agreement in the family.

Unfortunately, incomplete demographic data made it difficult to trace the family lineage of those living in Kanekes Village, especially those living in Baduy Dalam and Baduy Luar. The local administration, therefore, is advised to consider the three-generation span when filling out a Family Card.

Further studies about Baduy people and customs are needed as part of the measure to protect and preserve the Baduy culture in particular and the Sundanese culture in general. Further study is also needed to trace personal names that are discarded or taboo to mention.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper is the output of research fully funded by DIKTI (Directorate of Research and Community Service, Directorate General of Research and Development, Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education, the Republic of Indonesia) through the National Competitive Research Basic Research scheme, number: 1207/UN6.3.1/PT.00/2021.

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