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Title Names at *Sulinggih* in South Denpasar, Indonesia: An Ethnonym Study

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Abstract

Name is a linguistic feature that is universal. This is said to be the case because almost all languages use names to identify individuals or places. This paper examines the patterns of giving titles or bhiséka names to Hindu religious priests in Bali (*sulinggih*). These names are tabulated and classified based on gender and their clan groups. Data collection is done through observation methods. The data is analyzed using ethnonym theory, followed by interpretation by organizing linguistic units to interpret these title names. The research results show patterns used, such as gender elements, clan origins, the sequence of dwijati implementation, genealogical elements, and the use of natural elements and religious figures. On the other hand, when viewed based on the naming structure, a pattern is found: Honorific Article^Clan Title Marker^Gender I Marker^Gender II Marker (optional) ^Other Words^Gender III Marker (optional)^Dwijati Sequence^Clan/ Griya Name. Thus, the mandatory elements in the title naming system are honorific article^clan marker^gender marker. On the other hand, embedding words containing elements from puppetry/religious figures, natural elements, and flora elements implies motivation towards something considered good.

1. Introduction

Name is an inseparable aspect of human life. Individuals may lose everything, but something remains inherent to them, namely, their name and their place of birth (Kadmon, 2000), 2000). A personal name serves as a marker an individual owns to distinguish them from others. Similarly, Frazer (1955) expressed that a personal name is not just a label but also an identity. On the other hand, Zabeeh (1968) stated that a personal name is part of proper names, specifically consisting of

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patronym/matronym, given name, pen name, nickname, names based on mystical aspects, fictional names, and others.

The bestowal of a personal name depends significantly on the culture in which the naming system exists. Furthermore, each culture has distinctiveness in reconstructing a name semantically, morphologically, and phonologically (van Langendonck, 2007). Regarding van Langendonck's (2007) statement, it can be said that attributing a person's name depends on ethnographic aspects.

Koopman (2016) clearly explains that the branch of onomastics that examines naming within ethnography, encompassing race, nationality, population, government, ethnicity, clan, kingdom, tribal chief, and "ethnic group," is called an ethnonym. For example, in Bali, the inclusion of words like Putu, Wayan, or Gedé in a person's name may indicate that the user of such names is the firstborn or born after multiples of four (fifth child, tenth, and others), simultaneously providing information that the name user originates from the Bali ethnic group.

Geertz (1973) elucidates that almost all Balinese people carry a title name, such as Ida Bagus, Gusti, Pasek, Dauh, and others, which positions the bearer of the title name in the social strata of society. For the Balinese, title names are not only given at birth. However, it can also be conferred when a person changes societal status, such as transitioning from an ordinary person to a *sulinggih* 'spiritual leader/priest.' A person can be considered a *sulinggih* if they have undergone the dwijati process. Additionally, someone undergoing this process will change their welaka name 'before being ordained as a *sulinggih'* to a *bhiséka* name 'title.' The title name is bestowed by a nabé 'teacher' by their *nabé* school's lineage or clan symbol, making the bond between the *sulinggih* and their nabé inseparable due to the genealogical information in the title name.

In connection with this, Bramwell (2016) explains that names are given to people at various stages of life; names may change or remain constant; they may contain different elements, be connected to relatives or not, and be used freely or kept secret. Attributing a *bhiséka* name to replace the *welaka* name becomes an interesting phenomenon from the onomastic aspect, particularly in ethnonyms. Ethnonyms can be observed using natural elements, genealogical aspects, characters' names, and others. On the other hand, research on bhiseka titles in Balinese society has not received specific attention; primarily, previous studies have focused only on the order of birth names, names based on caste (cf. Bandana, 2015; Bandana & Sukaryana, 2012; Belo, 1936; Geertz, 1973; Geertz & Geertz, 1964; Temaja, 2018; Uhlenbeck, 1982; Widodo et al., 2010).

2. Materials and Methods

The study of names, known as 'onomastics,' can be considered both an ancient and a modern discipline. As an ancient discipline, onomastics has existed since ancient Greek times. This is evident in the names of great Greek philosophers such as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and others who were deeply interested in the relationship between names and references. On the other hand, onomastics can be viewed as a modern science because it investigates names within society, referring to sociolinguistic approaches (Hough, 2016).

Ethnonym falls under the broader category of the ethnonym onomastics. Koopman (2016) explains that ethnonyms, as a category of ethnonym onomastics, can be divided into two subcategories: individual names and group names. The subcategory of individual names includes personal names (Christian, first, and given names), nicknames, and baptismal names. The subcategory of group names consists of family names (surnames) and names for various groups (sports teams, performance groups, religious denominations, and others). Ethnonym refers to the types of groups known by various terms, such as race, nationality, population, government, ethnicity, clan, kingdom, tribal chief, and "ethnic group." Furthermore, according to the International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS), ethnonym is explained as follows:

> Ethnonym - *proper name of an ethnic group (a tribe, a folk, a clan, etc.), or a member of this group, e.g., Italians, Bavarians, Croat, Frenchman, Zulu. (NOTE: Ethnonyms are not treated as proper names in some languages and by some scholars, e.g., ingleses in Spanish. According to some theories, ethnonyms are proper names both in plural and singular, in other theories, ethnonyms in the plural are proper names, in the singular appellatives.)*

2.1 Methods

This research employs a qualitative descriptive method. Creswell & Creswell (2018) state that qualitative research begins with assumptions and interpretive/theoretical perspectives that shape or influence the study of research issues related to the meanings applied by individuals or groups to a social issue. Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (2017) assert that qualitative research studies objects in their natural environment, attempting to interpret or make sense of phenomena from the perspectives given by society. In other words, this research emphasizes a phenomenological approach, viewing ethnonyms as a linguistic, social, and cultural phenomenon.

Moreover, the research methodology is divided into three stages: (a) data collection methods and techniques, (b) data analysis methods and techniques, and (c) methods and techniques for presenting the results of data analysis. In the data collection stage, this research utilizes the observation method Creswell & Creswell (2018) outlined. Observations are conducted by observing the titles of *sulinggih* in the South Denpasar District, Denpasar City. The collected data are then analyzed using the ethnonym theory, analyzing the titles of *sulinggih* based on their marker systems (Croft, 2002; Dixon, 2010), and interpreting linguistic units by organizing them into broader abstract units to understand the meaning of these titles. The results of the data analysis are presented formally through tables and diagrams and informally by describing them in sentences and paragraphs. Some formal presentation methods include signs or symbols (Sudaryanto, 2015)

3. Results and Discussions

3.1 Results

Markedness can be associated with packaging information systems within a clause construction. The packaging of this information can be observed in clause patterns, such as the order of clause constituents. These differences indicate information variations semantically and pragmatically (Artawa, 2017). Croft (2002) states that markedness applied in linguistics is crucial; markedness in linguistic analysis can explain the characteristics of a language. Furthermore, Dixon (2010) asserts that markedness is useful in many linguistic descriptions and explanations. Thus, markedness can provide clues that features in a particular linguistic structure are basic.

Referring to the explanation above, syntactically, the titles of *sulinggih* are marked by the ability to combine with pronominal articles, and morphologically, they are generally marked by the absence of a suffix. Morphologically, these titles can provide a marker that distinguishes them according to the type and social group (cf. Uhlenbeck, 1982). On the other hand, the attachment of titles to *sulinggih* can be seen in how they are marked based on their phonological aspects. Therefore, based on this, the markedness system in the titles of *sulinggih* in this paper will discuss markers (a) based on their clan of origin, (b) based on gender, and (c) title markers based on the order of *dwijati*. The explanations of these categories are outlined below.

3.1.1 Clan-Based Title Markers

It has been mentioned earlier that the titles of *sulinggih* are marked by their combination with personal articles and morphologically are generally marked by the absence of a suffix (cf. Uhlenbeck, 1982). Regarding markedness, the titles of *sulinggih* can be distinguished based on the clan or origin of the community. Considering the societal groups, the discovered title names consist of several groups, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1
Title Markers Based on Clan/House of Origin

No	Personal Article	Title Markers	Wangsa
1.	*Ida*	*Pedanda*	*Brahmana*
2.		*Pandita Mpu*	*Sudra/ Pasek*
3.		*Sri Empu*	*Sudra/ Pandé*
4.		*Rsi Bhujangga*	*Bhujangga, Sengguhu*
5.		*Pandita Dukuh*	*Dukuh*
6.		*Rsi Agung*	*Ksatriya*
7.		*Pandita*	*Ksatriya*

The table above shows the differences in titles bestowed upon individuals who have undergone the *dwijati* process based on their clan or origin. The word "*ida*" in front of the title markers is attached to all clans. The word "*ida*" is a third-person singular personal article used as an honorific. Generally, the attachment of the word "*ida*" in the naming system in Bali is only bestowed upon the descendants of the Brahmana caste, such as *Ida Bagus*... and *Ida Ayu*...; for descendants of nobility from the *Kshatriya*, the attachment of the word "*ida*" is only for royal titles, such as *Ida Cokorda*..., and *Ida Dalem*….

3.1.2 Gender-Based Title Markers

In addition to societal groups, the bestowal of titles is also based on gender. As a comparison, in the Indonesian language, gender markers can be seen at the phonological and lexical levels. The explanations of these levels can be observed as follows.

a) Phonological Level

Linguistic units that mark the gender of title names for *sulinggih* at the phonological level can be seen using the phonemes /a/ and /i/ at the end of words. The /a/ phoneme is used as a marker for masculine gender, while the /i/ phoneme is a marker for feminine gender. Observe the examples below.

(3-1) ardhanareswara (+masculine)
ardhanareswari (+feminine)

(3-2) adnyana (+masculine)
adnyani (+feminine)

(3-3) danka (+masculine)
danki (+masculine)

(3-4) padma (+masculine, +feminine)
padmi (+feminine)

(3-5) *gira
giri (+masculine, +feminine)

When looking at examples (3-1) to (3-3) above, it is evident that the /a/ phoneme serves as a marker for masculine gender, while /i/ is a marker for feminine gender. However, in reality, the phonemes /a/ and /i/ cannot be generalized as markers for gender at the phonological level, given the lexical limitations of title names used as gender markers, as seen in (3-4) to (3-5). In (3-5), the word "*Giri*" ('mountain') does not collocate with the word **gira* because *gira is not accepted as a feminine gender marker, as semantically it already represents both masculine and feminine genders. On the other hand, the word "*Padma*" ('lotus') in (3-5) collocates with the word "*Padmi*" When viewed based on its semantic components, the word "*Padma*" ('lotus') has the meaning component +fragrant. The acceptability of the word "*Padma*" having meaning components +masculine and +feminine as gender markers is based on the fact that the title names for *sulinggih* reflect something inherently good.

The acceptability of the word "*Padma*" having meaning components +masculine and +feminine as gender markers is based on the fact that the title names for *sulinggih* reflect something inherently good.

b) Lexical Level

Gender markers at the lexical level can be observed in the use of the words "*gedé*" and "*putra*" as markers for +masculine and the words "*istri*" and "*patni*" as markers for +feminine, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2
Gender Markers

MARKERS	**GENDER**
Gedé	+maskulin
Putra	
Istri	+feminim
Patni	

The word "*gede*" and "*putra*" are usually attached to a male *sulinggih*, while the words "*istri*" and "*patni*" are attached to a female *sulinggih*. The word "*gede*" has the meaning component +masculine because semantically, it means a term for the eldest son, while "*putra*," derived from Sanskrit, means 'son,' confirming that the attachment of "*gede*" and "*putra*" in title names serves as a gender marker. On the other hand, the word "*patni*," derived from Sanskrit, meaning 'wife or lady,' and "*istri*," a

variation of the Sanskrit word "*strī*," meaning 'woman, wife,' both serve as markers for feminine gender.

3.1.3 Title Markers Based on the Order of *Dwijati* Implementation

In the order of performing *padhiksan*, the words "*raka*" ('older brother') and "*rai*" ('younger brother/sister') will be attached. The attachment of the words "*raka*" and "*rai*" in title names does not always follow family status. The word "*raka*" is attached to someone who undergoes *padhiksan* first, while "*rai*" is given to the person after. The attachment of the words "*gede-istri*; *raka-rai*" is generally applied to married couples aspiring to become *sulinggih*; the word "*raka*" is typically attached to males, while "rai" is attached to females. However, the word "*raka*" can also be attached to females. Furthermore, besides the attachment of "*raka*" and "*rai*" in the title names for *sulinggih*, there is also the attachment of the word "*wayahan*." The word "*wayahan*" can also be used as a marker for the order of *dwijati* implementation. The Balinese word "*wayah*" means 'adult, old'; with the suffix -an indicating 'more,' so "*wayahan*" can mean 'older or more mature.' The term "*Wayahan*" is often pronounced as "*Wayan*" and is commonly used in the naming system of the Balinese community. This term is typically used by the *Sudra* caste, for example, *I Wayan..., Ni Wayan*. However, the attachment of the word "*Wayan*" can also be found in individuals from the *Brahmana* caste, such as *Ida Wayan*...

3.2 Discussion

In addition to using markers as discussed above, the attachment or use of sulinggih title words can be divided into several groups: (a) the attachment of words containing genealogical elements, and (b) the attachment of words based on the names of significant figures in wayang stories or names that represent good qualities, and the attachment containing elements of nature. These classifications are explained as follows.

3.2.1 Names Containing Genealogical Elements

As known, genealogy is a branch of science that studies the tracing of lineages and their history or origin. In this context, the attachment of genealogical elements to *sulinggih* titles can be seen from the lineage, namely, where the *welaka* studied before becoming a *sulinggih*, and can also be seen from the clan and the origin of the *griya*. The attachment of specific words indicating the clan or origin of the *sulinggih* is common in the naming system. Examples of the use of genealogical elements according to the clan and the origin of the *sulinggih* can be observed as follows.

Table 3
Genealogical Elements of the Wangsa /Origin of the Griya

No	Honorific Article	Clan Title Marker	Gender Marker I	Gender Marker II	Other Words	Gender Marker III	Dwijati Order	Clan/ Griya	Clan/ Griya
1.	*Ida*	*Pedanda*	*Istri*	-	-	-	*Raka*	*Telaga*	G
2.			*Gedé*	*Putra*	-	-	-	*Manuaba*	W
3.			*Gedé*	-	*Oka*	-	-	*Manuaba*	W
4.			*Gedé*	*Putra*	-	-	-	*Wanasari*	G
5.			*Istri*	-	-	-	*Raka*	*Sindu*	G
6.			*Gedé*	*Putra*	-	-	-	*Sibang*	G
7.			*Gedé*	-	*Jelantik*	-	-	*Mas*	G/W
8.			*Istri*	-	*Oka*	*Patni*	-	*Keniten*	W

Referring to Table 3 above, it can be observed that there are elements used in conferring titles to sulinggih, namely Honorific Article^Clan Title Marker^Gender Marker I^Gender Marker II (optional) ^Other Words^Gender Marker III (optional)^Dwijati Order^Clan/ Griya Name. Thus, the essential elements in the title naming system are the honorific article^clan marker^gender marker. As seen in Table 3, naming patterns are commonly used by *sulinggih* from the *Brahmana* clan. The next conferment of genealogical elements is through the lineage or *panabéan* line. Similar to the conferment of genealogical elements based on clan or griya names, the conferment of genealogical elements based on lineage seems more complicated. This complexity arises from tracing historical traces or lineage from the *nabé*. Furthermore, Leibring (2016) explains that the conferment of genealogical elements is one way to commemorate ancestors who have passed away, bringing the hope that these genealogical elements can bring positive characteristics from the previous *nabé*.

3.2.2 Names Containing Elements of Pewayangan and Religious Figures and Natural Elements

Names are linguistic identifiers given to signify or individualize an object from other objects. Giving names to individuals is generally considered a way for parents to immortalize their beliefs, offer prayers, and serve as a medium of hope. For most people, the easiest way to give a name is by quoting names from various figures, such as those taken from religious teachings or natural elements. Furthermore, the use or conferment of elements of names from puppetry/religious figures and natural elements can be observed as follows.

a) Elements of *Pewayangan* and Religious Figure Names

One popular source used as a name element in Balinese society is characters from puppetry and religious elements. Puppetry or *Wayang* in Balinese culture is a form of entertainment containing complete and helpful guidance for living. The dichotomies represented by good and evil characters provide various teachings about Balinese society's way of life. Furthermore, examples of conferring elements of puppetry and religious figures in *bhisėka* titles can be seen as follows.

Table 4
Elements of Puppet/Religious Figures

No	Elements of Puppetry/ Religious Figures	Gloss
1.	*Laksmi*	'Vishnu's wife'
2.	*Brahma*	'Brahma'
3.	*Saraswati*	' Brahma's wife, Goddess of knowledge
4.	*Dhaksa*	'Son of Lord Brahma, Father of Goddess Sati'
5.	*Gangga*	'Goddess of Fertility, ruler of the Ganges river '
6.	*Agni*	'God of Fire'

b) Elements of Names Containing Natural Elements

Nature is a potential element that can be used as a source for giving names. Almost every naming system worldwide, including natural elements, is commonly practiced for humans or non-humans (Hough, 2016). In Chinese culture, for instance, the inclusion of natural elements in the naming system, as seen in the case of Zhonghua, has been recorded since around the 10th century BCE. On the other hand, Kohlheim explains that in German culture, including natural elements in someone's name is also widespread. Until the 12th century, German society usually carried only one name. Most names consisted of only two words, often associated with meanings related to victory, war, and strength, such as Wofl-hard, 'strong like a bear/wolf' (Lawson, 2016). The same phenomenon can be found in Javanese culture. Names associating meanings of nature have been used for centuries. In aristocratic titles, this is evident in using animal names like *Gajah* 'elephant,' *Lembu* 'ox,' and *Kuda* 'horse.' There is a sense of enduring connection between humans and nature in almost all cultures worldwide.

The same principle applies to the titles of *bhiséka sulinggih*. Including natural elements has become a widespread practice as a naming source. The inclusion of natural elements in *bhiséka* titles adheres to the principle of *dasanama*, which involves the equivalence of terms in a word with a nearly identical or synonymous meaning. Etymologically, *dasanama* comes from the words *dasa* 'ten' and *nama* 'name/mention'; so *dasanama* can be interpreted as ten names/mentions associated with an entity. Entities that have *dasanama* typically include names of characters from *pewayangan* stories, supernatural beings, animals, plants, places, and others. However, an entity with *dasanama* does not always have precisely ten synonyms. Natural elements with *dasanama* are presented here and included in the titles of *bhiséka sulinggih*.

Table 5
Natural elements

No	Element	*Dasanama*
1.	Water	*Telaga*
2.	Fire	*Agni* 'fire'
3.	Mountain	*Giri*
4.	Ornamental/ Flower Gardens	*Sari*
		Kusuma
		Padma
5.	Plant	*Intaran*
		Pidada
		Timbul

Using elements from characters in *wayang* (traditional Javanese/ Balinese puppetry) or religion, natural elements, and flora represents the truth of the motivation towards something considered "good." Therefore, it is reasonable for humans always to seek symbols that can convey their ideas and thoughts through language as a medium (Uhlenbeck, 1982; Widodo et al., 2010). As mentioned earlier, the utilization of such elements carries a meaning of hope, aiming for the name's owner to embody the meaning of their name (Sibarani, 2004).

4. Conclusion

As a linguistic feature, names cannot be separated from human beings and their lives. When viewed from the perspective of markedness, the names of *bhiseka* or titles for *sulinggih* exhibit specific patterns, such as markers based on the origin of the lineage, gender markers that can be observed from phonological and lexical aspects, and markers embedded as indicators of the sequence of performing *dwijati*. Additionally, in the naming system, markers of genealogical elements are found, closely related to the history from which the *welaka* originated and the lineage indicating the place/name of the *nabé* 'teacher' when the *welaka* studied before becoming a *sulinggih*.

On the other hand, using elements derived from characters in puppetry, natural elements, and flora indicates motivation towards something considered good. Thus, including these elements in the names of *bhiseka* or titles for *sulinggih* carries the hope that the *sulinggih* will always practice the teachings of goodness and be beneficial in communal life.

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