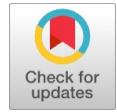# Name System Based on Birth Order as A Balinese Ethnic Identity in Bali, Indonesia

Nengah Bawa Atmadja, I Nyoman Raka, I Nyoman Wija, Ni Kadek Melda Lestari

Abstract: This article is based on field research that describes a naming system, specifically Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut, as Balinese ethnic identities. Data analysis involves an interaction cycle comprising various activities: data collection, data reduction, data display, drawing conclusions and verifying them. The research objective is to describe the meaning of the naming system and its evolution over time. The results of the study show that this naming system is not only a manifestation of Balinese ethnic identity but also holds social, cultural, psychological, and religious-magical meanings for the owner of the name. This meaning prompts the Balinese to recognise the life cycle ritual of giving a name, specifically nelubulanin. *This ritual is a requirement for parents in Bali.*

Keywords: Naming System, Balinese Ethnic Identity, Multi-Meanings.

I. INTRODUCTION

A naming system is a form of ethnic identity [1]–[3]. This phenomenon is observed in the Balinese ethnic group. Balinese men use the words I Wayan (Putu), I Made (Nengah), I Nyoman, and I Ketut in front of their names. Women use the words Ni Wayan (Putu), Ni Made (Nengah), Ni Nyoman, and Ni Ketut in front of their names. Women's names can also be added with the word Luh or Ayu, thus giving birth to the term Ni Luh Wayan or Ni Luh Ayu Wayan. The words I Wayan, I Made, I Nyoman, and I Ketut for men or Ni Wayan, Ni Made, Ni Nyoman, and Ni Ketut for women are a naming system based on the birth order of a person in a family. This system is a Balinese ethnic identity for addressing and greeting when communicating in society [4], [5]. The Balinese are powerful in maintaining the identity of their ancestral naming system. They feel proud if the words Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut are listed before their names. Although they are proud of the naming system based on birth order, observations show that the Balinese's knowledge of it is minimal. They took the naming system for

granted as a tradition. This condition makes the naming system very interesting to study, bearing in mind that any form of language, including words for names, must contain meanings related to the ideas communicated in society [6]–[9]. Studies of the Balinese naming system have been conducted by various experts, including Korn (1932), Segara (2015), Panetja (2004), and Antara (2015), among others. They explained the peculiarities of the Balinese naming system, which is based on differences related to sex, birth order, and caste classification. Likewise, Geertz & Geertz [10] studied the technical names in Balinese society. Covarrubias [11] suggests beliefs, processes, structures, names, and nicknames in the daily life of Balinese people. These studies are critical because they can enrich our understanding of the naming system in Bali as a key aspect of Balinese ethnic identity.

However, this study still needs to be completed. For example, the meanings behind Balinese names have yet to be studied in depth, broadly, and holistically. The link between this naming system and the religious-magical aspect has not received much attention. Even though the Balinese always think in terms of sekala-niskala (the real and unreal worlds). This weakness makes the study of the naming system as a component of Balinese ethnic identity fascinating and essential. Apart from increasing understanding, the goal also contributes to developing awareness to maintain one's identity. This is very important, considering that if more and more Balinese people ignore their identity, socio-cultural death will occur. This condition must be prevented because it can make the Balinese people sick; rectification is not possible.

II. METHOD

The approach to studying the naming system of Balinese ethnic identity is qualitative research. The research location is in North Bali. Informants were selected purposively, considering that they had a thorough understanding of the problem under study. Informants represent various social groups, including caste, clan, and educational background. Informants also included traditional and religious leaders, humanists, Hindu scholars, and heads of formal organisations, such as traditional villages and the Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI).

Data collection employed in-depth interviews with informants who were appointed positively. Another data collection method is observation aimed at cultural actors using the naming system in everyday life. The study of documents is no less important; for example, lontar and other related documents are available at the Gedong Kirtya Lontar Library in Singaraja City. The survey on ejection was conducted using the hermeneutic method.

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This way, both implicit and explicit meanings can be understood in depth, breadth, and thoroughness. Various types of data collection methods can be carried out separately and combined in the context of data triangulation, thereby ensuring the validity of the data is more guaranteed.

The overall data analysis followed the Miles & Haberman[12] model. As for the steps, first, data collection, followed by the activity of performing verbatim data transcription. Second data reduction (data reduction). This step includes various activities, namely selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the data that has been transcribed verbatim. In this way, the data that helps answer the research problem is visible. Third, data presentation (data display). This step takes the form of data presentation activities, namely describing the main ideas in a clear and organised manner, combining abstracted information to facilitate conclusions. Data is presented in themes, summaries of propositions, and narratives of themes, grouped and accompanied by emic and ethical interpretations regarding the theoretical framework. Fourth, making conclusions and verification. Conclusions are drawn in the emic and moral meanings of the patterns that emerge during data analysis. The conclusion is in the form of a proposition about the phenomena studied, namely regarding the Balinese naming system and its various aspects. The findings obtained are preliminary and temporary. This conclusion is the result of the verification process. The conclusion is the answer to the problem under study, namely the Balinese naming system, regarding the outer and internal structures in the form of ideas.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Hinduism is the core of Balinese culture [13]. Hindu religious traditions in Bali differ from those in India due to their localisation. This condition has resulted in Hinduism in Bali being called the Balinese Hindu Religion [14]. Localisation is evident in the naming system for Balinese, which not only utilises Sanskrit but also incorporates Balinese elements.

A. Naming System Based on Birth Order

The Balinese ethnic naming system is unique, which refers to the birth order of children in the family: *Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut*. This idea can be observed in Table 1.

Table 1: Naming System as Balinese Ethnic Identity

Names based on birth order	Men	Women
Birth in the first order	*I Wayan*, *I Putu* atau *I Gede*	*Ni Wayan*, *Luh Putu* atau *Luh Gede*
Birth in the second order	*I Made*, *I Nengah* atau *I Kadek*	*Ni Made* atau *Ni Luh Made*
Birth in the third order	*I Nyoman* atau *I Komang*.	*Ni Nyoman* atau *Ni Luh Nyoman*
Birth in the fourth order	*I Ketut*	*Ni Ketut* atau *Ni Luh Ketut*

Referring to Table 1, it can be explained that the letter I (derived from the word Cai, changed to Ci, then developed into I meaning male) in front of the name of the birth order for males, namely Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut is a sign to mention that concerned is male. The syllable "Ni" (derived from the word "Nyai" and subsequently changed to "Ni," meaning "woman") preceding the birth order names for

women, namely Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut, is a term referring to women. So, *"I" and "Ni" in front of the* names of male and female birth order are to signify masculinity and femininity. The syllable "Ni" for women can also be replaced with the word "Luh," which means woman. The word Wayan comes from the word Wayahan, which means "oldest." The word Wayan has the same meaning as Putu or Gede. The word "Made" comes from the word "Madya," which means "middle," that is, situated between Wayan and Nyoman. This position causes Made to be called Nengah, which means the person concerned is in the middle. The word Nyoman comes from Noman, which means younger than Made or Nengah. Ketut comes from the word Kitut, which means a child born last or following three siblings who preceded him: Wayan, Made, and Nyoman. If a family has more than four children, the name of the next-born child is filled with the additional name of the word *tagel* or *balik*. The word *tagel* means folding, namely the folding of the four children born earlier. The word *balik* means that the person concerned returns to using the four birth names of the previous child. For example, the fifth child is Wayan Tagel, followed by Wayan Balik, Made Tagel, and Made Balik, and so on. *Tagel or Balik* can be officially included in someone's name – a formal name, or it can only be in the form of memory – an informal name. Some families apply different rules; that is, regardless of the number of children born outside of the four children who were born earlier, all of them are called Ketut [15].

B. System of Birth Order Tied to the Teaching of Kanda Pat

The number of birth order names in one *leading layer group, that is, must be four people (Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut)*. The determination of the number four has a religious-magical dimension, which refers to the teachings of *Kanda Pat* or *Catur Sanak*. The teachings of *Kanda Pat* believe in the four brothers who accompany the birth of each person, namely *yeh nyom* (amniotic fluid), blood, placenta, and tabunan (spirit) (Manuaba, 1994; Tonjaya, 1981, 1987; Acri, 2022). *In* terms of modern obstetrics, Kanda Pat is the parts of the product of conception that have a substantial function in intra-uterine life. *Kanda Pat* helps the growth and safety of the baby from the moment it is created in the womb until it is born (Manuaba, 1994). This condition causes humans to respect Kanda Pat by personifying him in the form of four supernatural beings, namely Ratu Wayan Tebeng, Mede Jelaung, Nyoman Pengadangan, and Ketut Petung. These four brothers function to protect someone from danger[16]. If it is looked closely, it appears that the names of *Kanda Pat*, namely Ratu Wayan Tebeng, Mede Jelaung, Nyoman Pengadangan, and Ketut Petung, contain elements of a naming system based on birth order, namely Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut. The names are associated with Balinese names based on birth order. Kanda Pat collaborated with the four guardian gods of the four winds, namely, first, Iswara, who is positioned in the east. Second, Lord Brahma is placed in the south. Third, Mahadewa is placed in the west.

Fourth, Lord Vishnu is positioned in the north. At its centre point is Lord Shiva. This idea implies that humans who are at the centre point unite with Lord Shiva as the supreme deity in Balinese Hinduism [16]–[19].

The collaboration between *Kanda Pat* and the four guardian gods of the four directions protects humans

from the disturbance of various demonic creatures and destructive magical powers. This is related to the belief that humans are always under real (*sekala*) and not real (*niskala*) threats[20]. This threat creates fear, so humans ask for protection from *Kanda Pat*, collaborating with the four gods in Hinduism.

C. Names Ending with *a* (Men) and *i* (Women)

The Balinese naming system can also use the letters' a and 'i behind their names to differentiate between men and women. For example, men named I Wayan Dharma, I Ketut Sila, I Nyoman Sura, and so on. The letter *a* at the end of Sila, Dharma, and Sura is a male symbol. Women named Ni Wayan Dharmi, Ni Ketut Asri, Ni Nyoman Purnami, and others. The letter i at the end of the words Dharmi, Asri, and Purnami is a symbol for women. This pattern is analogous to the words "gods" and "goddesses" in Old Javanese or Sanskrit.

D. Naming Functions for Genderization

When a mother gives birth, her child is always divided into two sexes, namely male and female. This sorting is essential, as evidenced by the fact that if a mother gives birth to a child, the first thing to ask is the gender. Similarly, boys and girls are often given nicknames regarding their genitals. For example, boys are called *kocongan, kocong, kacir, lecir,* and in need. These words are denotatively and connotatively related to the phallus (*lingga*). Girls are called k*ebeng, mongkeg or mentul*. These words are denotatively and connotatively associated with the vagina (*yoni*). This pattern also applies in Java, as explained by Geertz (1961). Boys are called tole (short for *kontole*), and girls are called *nduk*. *Tole* and *nduk* refer denotatively and connotatively to the phallus and vagina. Boys and girls must be formed socially and culturally through genderization to have an ideal societal status and role. This thinking is in line with the opinion of De Beauvoir (2015) That men and women are not born but are constructed by parents, society, schools, and even the state. Construction is done through the gendering process. That is, men's and women's bodies are constructed socio-culturally by belief, social, economic, and political structures through discipline and normalization of the body so that a person can play a gender role in society [21], [22]. Gender, as a result of social construction, is a set of unique roles that differentiate between men and women. This behaviour encompasses appearance, attitude, personality, work both inside and outside the household, sexuality, and responsibility to the family, among other aspects. Genderisation requires segregating children based on sex. Sex determines how a child is formed socio-culturally to become a boy or a girl. Balinese society is very thick with patriarchal ideology [5]. Walby [23] states that patriarchal ideology must be perpetuated through education, including family education. This activity is not only carried out by parents but also by older siblings. This condition resulted in the children being positioned according to their birth order, namely Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut, who could play a role in accompanying their parents in carrying out family education. Birth order names have a hierarchical position and are bound by power relations. Wayan is in the top position, following Made, Nyoman, and Ketut. Older boys were called brother or *beli.* Meanwhile, the younger brother is called the *adi*. Girls who are older siblings are called *mbok*. Girls who are younger siblings are called younger siblings or *adi*. The term calling and greeting *beli* and *mbok* implies that they have the right to control their younger siblings and are obliged to participate in genderization through parenting in the family. Parents control it by using the power they have.

E. Naming Refers to *Homo Esparans*

Fromm [24] states that humans are homo esparans who always hope for goodness. This idea aligns with Krishna's opinion[25] that a name is a tool to express parents' expectations or to reveal the person's potential with the name. For example, a child named I Wayan Suharta may indicate that he is the first child in a family who is expected to become reasonably and adequately wealthy. The hope in the name can also be that the child will remember caste, clan, etc. For example, the name Ida Bagus Nyoman Dharma. Ida Bagus refers to the caste, specifically the Brahmins, as exemplified by people such as I Gusti Ngurah Made Setiawan. I Gusti Ngurah said that he was a knight caste. Someone named I Ketut Pasek Suharta. The word pasek is a clan name in Balinese society. There is a person named I Ketut Pande Artana. The word P*ande* refers to the *Pande* clan.

F. Naming Rituals

Danesi [3] and Thornborrow[2] show that naming rituals often accompany naming practices. This idea applies to Balinese ethnicity, namely the nelubulanin ritual [26]. In this ritual, the child's name is inaugurated as sekala and niskala. Inauguration regularly means the child's name is announced to the public. Noetic inauguration implies that the child's name is officially recorded by the secretary of the God of Death (Dewa Yama), Sang Suratma. The Suratma not only records all human practices but also supervises them. This recording is significant for determining the acquisition of heaven and hell in one's soul after death [27], [28]. The official name of the *nelubulanin* ritual is significant, as evidenced by the case presented by an informant, I Gede Marayana (75 years), regarding an incident in the Banjar Buleleng area. At the time of Nelubulanin, the ancestors of a family, who belonged to the Jaba people (Sudra caste), used birth order names, such as Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut. The family seeks a caste (*ngalih soroh*) and then experiences vertical social mobility from the *jaba* to the *ksatrya* caste, so they have the right to use the title god. This change in social status resulted in the family's *ngaben* (cremation), changing their ancestors' names, and adding the title of god. This resulted in the names of his ancestors changing, namely I Wayan to I Dewa Wayan, I Made to Dewa Made, I Nyoman to I Dewa Nyoman, and I Ketut to I Dewa Ketut. After the Ngaben ritual, the family performs a spirit-summoning ritual through a shaman to determine whether the Ngaben ritual has successfully taken their ancestors to heaven. The ancestors summoned them and came down and protested because the purpose of the cremation had failed. The reason is that the name of the cremated ancestor differs from the name in Sang Suratma's notebook.

The Sang Suratma's notebook contains the name at the time of the *nelubulin*, so it does not include the title I Dewa. The Suratma could not determine the gift of heaven because the record of his name was invalid. As a result, the family returned to Ngaben by including the names of their ancestors, according to which they were

at the time of *nelubulanin*. The cremation ritual went well.

IV. CONCLUSION

Referring to the explanation above, it can be concluded that the naming system is based on birth order, with Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut being Balinese ethnic identities that have proper names accompanying them, forming a unit. This unity not only functions as a term of addressing and greeting, but also as a self-identity. Balinese names have social, cultural, psychological, and religious-magical meanings. This condition causes the Balinese to sacralize their name through a naming ritual, namely nelubulanin. This ritual is part of one of Balinese society's most significant life-cycle rituals.

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It is optional. The preferred spelling of the word "acknowledgement" in American English is without an "e" after the "g." Use the singular heading even if you have many acknowledgements. Avoid expressions such as "One of us (S.B.A.) would like to thank ..." Instead, write "F. A. The author thanks " Sponsor and financial support acknowledgements are placed in the unnumbered footnote on the first page.

DECLARATION STATEMENT

Authors are required to include a declaration of accountability in the article, including review-type articles, that stipulates the involvement of each author. The level of detail differs; some subjects yield articles that consist of isolated efforts that can be easily detailed, while other areas function as group efforts at all stages. It should be after the conclusion and before the references.

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Nengah Bawa Atmadja is a professor in Anthropology and Sociology. Actively conducting research related to cultural and historical topics using a critical social theory approach. Produced many research results, articles published in scientific journals, popular scientific magazines, mass media (newspapers), papers, and wrote dozens of books, either written alone or in collaboration with other authors. He adheres to the philosophy of life that a good scholar is like a coconut tree, not like a banana tree. Life is not only the pursuit of physical happiness, but also intellectual happiness, and even higher, spiritual happiness. Books that have been written include Bali, Banten Island, Sociological Perspective of the Commodification of Religion (2017), Hinduism, Pancasila, and Local Wisdom, Foundations of Character Education (2017), Media Sociology, Critical Theory Perspective, Basic Social and Cultural Sciences Oriented to National Integration and Social Harmony Based Tri Hita Karana (2018), and Historical Philosophy from Hindu Religious Perspectives and Other Thoughts (2018), and Sociology of Corruption (2019).

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of Cultural Interviews at Dharma Murti Higher Education in the City Denpasar 2015, Commodification of Tri Mandala Ubud Tourism Village 2016, Initiating Humane Sanskrit Learning through the application of Brain-Based Learning, Comparative Study of Fire in Texts and Ritual Contexts, Agnihotra and Catur Brata Penyepian.

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Ni Kadek Melda Lestari is an outstanding student currently pursuing a master's degree in the Primary School Teacher Education (PGSD) program at STAHN Mpu Kuturan. The author is active in lecturing and organisational activities. , research and social activities. The author is one of the best graduates with the title Cum Laude at Bachelor's level. Currently, the author is pursuing a Master's degree (S2) at the Mpu Kuturan Singaraja State Hindu Religious College, specifically in the Master's Program for Primary School Teachers. The author is also active in writing articles and a book entitled "Concise in Words, An Anthology of Reflections on Reality".