

NAMING TRADITION IN LEWOKLUOK COMMUNITY WITHIN LAMAHOLOT SOCIETY OF DEMON PAGONG SUB-DISTRICT EAST FLORES REGENCY

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KEYWORDS

*Analysis,
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ABSTRACT

This article presents an analysis of naming tradition practiced in Lewokluok community within Lamaholot society of Demon Pagong Sub-district, East Flores regency. The analysis is based on research conducted upon the subjects (community members) living in Lewokluok community. The aim is to analyze the naming tradition including name components and patterns of personal name used among the people within the community. It also analyzes cultural and religious values contained in a name as the factors influencing parents' decision in giving their children's names and identifies the common names used throughout the community which have been practiced from generation to generation. The study used descriptive qualitative method and the subjects were taken from the native people living in the community. Data were gathered through interviews using open-ended questions, and recordings were conducted when the interviews were in progress. Documentation and note-taking were also used as techniques for data collection. In this case, official documents in forms of certificates and baptism letters of the subjects were cautiously noticed to get the data on formal names, while note-taking was applied to highlight important matters related to the naming tradition. The result of data analysis shows that a complete name used in Lewokluok community consists of three main components: local name, clan name and baptism name. It was also found that the way of personal naming tradition in the community comprises five patterns, viz: (1) *child's Local Name + Father's Local Name*; (2) *child's Local Name + mother's Local Name*; (3) *Child's Local Name + Clan Name*; (4) *Baptism Name + Local Name*; and (5) *Child's Baptism Name + Local Name + Clan Name*. Cultural values are reflected through local names and clan names while religious values are reflected through baptism names.

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INTRODUCTION

Naming tradition, in broad sense, is understood as common practice or way of giving names to persons, places or things. The study of names is commonly known as "onomastics", which views names based on linguistics, history, anthropology, psychology, sociology, philology. It might even be touched from more points of view depending on one's perspective from which the matter is viewed, such as from the perspectives of law, religion, history, etc.

This analysis is approached from the perspectives of linguistics and sociology which converge on sociolinguistics with slices and tangents with culture and religion. The reason is naming tradition has become a complex concept influenced by various aspects including socio-cultural and religious aspects. Due to such influences, the concepts of naming tradition may differ from place to place. Name giving is not only used for identifying persons but also places, things and even ideas or concepts as stated by Snae, C. & Diaz, B. M. (2006). In this study,

however, the focus has been paid to name giving to person in Lewokluok Community within Lamaholot society of Demon Pagong sub-district, East Flores regence in Eastern Nusa Tenggara province, Indonesia. The aim is to analyze personal name components and patterns of naming used among the people within the community. It also looks at socio-cultural, and religious values contained in a name as the factors influencing parents' decision in giving their children's names. It also identifies the common names given to the people of Lewokluok community which have been inherited from generation to generation.

With respect to naming tradition, especially personal naming tradition in general, it is a fact that everybody has name and the process of name giving to a person normally starts at birth when mother gives birth to a baby. A name given to a new born baby is profoundly important for all individuals in any society and culture for it is a self-identity that distinguishes a person from other people. A personal name according to Croft, J. B. (2009: 149) is a complex series of connection for many deeply important concepts and feelings about being a person and having a place in the world in relation to other people. By a name one can be called and recognized easily in every day communication. We can imagine if a person living his or her life without name. Though there is no evidence as such, it is predictable that the person might be expelled in public intercourse or excluded from interactional group during his or her lifetime. Names are then properties of individuals which are important in any society or community.

Personal name as an identity is also a symbol of pride for parents since it represents their expectation and desire. All parents will certainly select a good name for their children by taking into account of essential aspects, such as their physical and spiritual growth and their good fortune in the future. The selection of name with particular considerations may be different among parents, but in many cases, decision to give name to a child basically has the same considerations in terms of structure of name, whether it has one or more components in a name.

However, the practice of name giving is at any rate, different from culture to culture. In the context of Indonesia which is made up of various ethnic groups, the naming tradition is largely influenced by the culture and belief of the people within particular ethnic group even though they are parts of the same nation. This is also true to the naming tradition practiced among the different ethnic groups in Indonesia including personal naming tradition practiced in *Lewokluok* community within Lamaholot society in east Flores. The concepts of naming tradition in this community have been influenced by some aspects, such as inherited name from ancestor in the family, environment recognition i.e., common local names used in the society and religious attributes. On the one hand studies on the name system and practices of naming tradition in general have been significantly conducted elsewhere across nations and the world, and have provided much information about the case, on the other hand, investigation of the same issue is rarely found in a particular culture and society such as in Lewokluok community. Therefore, the study on naming tradition in Lewokluok community may become a bridge for such a gap.

Lewokluok may refer to name of a village, that is, *Desa Lewokluok*. It is located in Flores and the capital of Demon Pagong sub-district, East Flores regency of Eastern Nusa Tenggara province, Indonesia. It may also refer to the people living in three villages, that is, people living in Lewokluok village and those in two other villages: *Bama* and *Blepanawa*. People of Lewokluok community speak Lewokluok dialect of Lamaholot language.

Administratively, the three villages are now known as independent villages where each has its own border and governmental structure. Each of the villages has its own administration

led by its head of village. However, traditionally and culturally, the people of the three villages are tied up together as a community. The fact is that in the past time, the people of *Lewokluok* were spread out within its territory due to the influence of colonialism of the Dutch. As a result, they established their own residences which are now known as *Bama* and *Blepanawa*.

To be more exact, during the colonialization era in the past time until the independence of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, even before the establishment of new governmental administration known as New Order era under the president Soeharto's Regime in 1960s, both *Bama* and *Blepanawa* were sub-villages of *Lewokluok*, each of which was locally called "*Riang*" (sub-village) in *Lamaholot* language, because the people living in these two places basically came from the same ancestors and clans as those in *Lewokluok* village. Thus, they came from *Lewokluok* as the place of their origin. Due to the forming of the new governmental system of village in Indonesia as recognized at present, both *Bama* and *Blepanawa* have become independent villages. In other words, the two villages are, historically and culturally, tied up to *Lewokluok* as their main village as it is the place where most of their relatives live and their traditional houses exist.

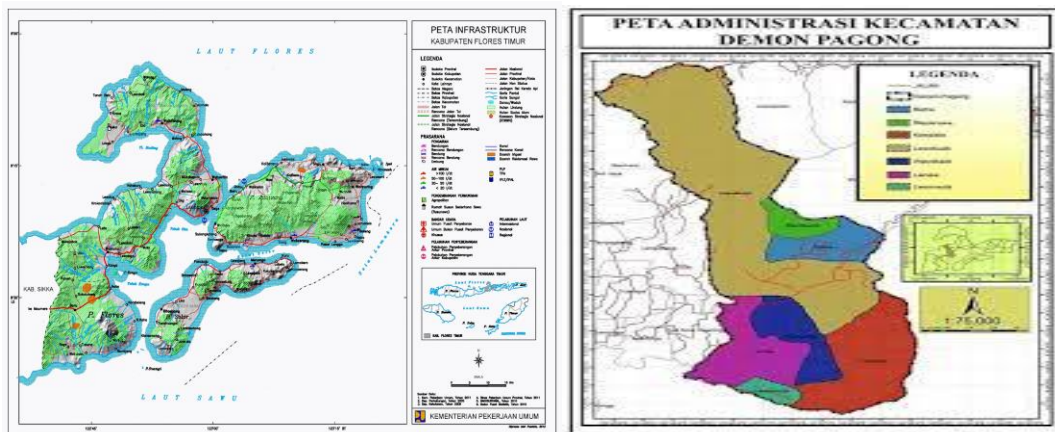


Figure 1. Map of East Flores Regency (adopted from Google) Figure 2. Map of Demon Pagong sub-district (adopted from Google)

The maps provided show the locations of Lamaholot society residing throughout the regency of East Flores which consists of the easternmost tip of Flores Island, Adonara island and *Solor* island (Figure 1). The other map shows the location of *Demon Pagong* sub-district in which *Lewokluok* is included. The brownish colored area which is the largest one belongs to *Lewokluok* while the blue and green colored areas belong to *Bama* and *Blepanawa*. The three makes up *Lewokluok* community. While the other colored areas are four other villages: *Wolo*, *Kawalelo*, *Lamika* and *Lamuda* villages which are included in *Demon Pagong* sub-district (Figure 2).

With respect to *Lewokluok*, *Bama* and *Blepanawa* on the basis of tradition and culture, there is no boundary of land possession by the people living in these three villages, except the governmental administrative area i.e., the administrative border of each of the villages. Soil belonging and cultivating system on farm throughout the community's territory become collegial belonging of clans within the community and collectively cultivated among clan members under the approval of clan leaders who are recognized as landlords. Traditional consensus on the soil cultivation has long been practiced involving people of recognizably different clans within the community under a negotiable approval among the clan leaders of the community.

By such a description on the community, the study on naming tradition meant here is limited to the analysis of personal naming that has been practiced so far denoting the way of name giving to people in the three villages: *Lewokluok*, *Bama*, *Blepanawa* which make up *Lewokluok* community.

As has been stated previously that naming tradition is a common practice or way of giving names to persons, places or things. The study of names is commonly known as “onomastics”, which views names based on linguistics, history, anthropology, psychology, sociology, philology, etc. It might even be touched from more points of view depending on one’s perspective from which the matter is viewed, such as from the perspectives of law, culture, religion, history, etc.

With regard to the study of name, there have been cross-cultural studies focusing on various aspects of naming in different societies. Alford (1988) in Lawson, E. D. (2016) searched the literature from 1871 to 1980 to report on forty-seven naming practices in sixty societies. Among those included were *Ashanti* (a matrilineal society), *Kurds* (a mountainous ethnic group related to Iran in western Asia), and *Blackfoot* (the term for wife is extended to all of her sisters), which were non-industrialized societies. The reports show the tremendous range of practices with regard to forms of address, titles, nicknames, change of name, patronyms, and many other aspects of naming. Lawson, E. D. (2016) further pointed out another study by Caffarelli and Gerritzen (2002) which focused on first name popularity in forty nations and autonomous communities to examine the theory of fashionable name-giving.

Another work on cross-cultural naming is that of Teresa Norman (2003). She listed names and their meanings in thirty-one language categories including African-America, Chinese, Irish, American Indian, and Scottish. Presentations there have information that is not found elsewhere. The coverage of first names is excellent but the inclusion of family names is variable. According to Lawson, E. D. (2016) there have been many studies that are cross-cultural but only involve one or two groups. Among them are the work on Ashanti (Jahoda 1954), Truk (Goodenough 1965), and Ojibway (Rogers and Rogers 1978).

Lawson, E. L further stated that all of those studies certainly contributed to our knowledge of the naming tradition in different societies with different culture even in different parts of the world. They have contributed to the first two methods of the scientific approach to a subject: Description and Classification. Some other studies need to be acknowledged here to show that there are rich interests of scholars in investigating name system and practices in naming tradition across nations and the world as interesting phenomena.

In the research report on Javanese names by Uhlenbeck in Wibowo, R. M. (2001: 45) it was found out that there is no particular pattern in Javanese name system. All parents are free to give their children’s names. They can give only one name or more to their children’s names, for example: Bambang, Retno, Sugeng, Bambang Sugiarto, etc. In other words, Javanese names do not have any concept of first names, second names and surnames. In her investigation on Chinese names, Irmayani (2012: 46) identified that Chinese names consist of three main components. They are family name which always becomes the first name, generation name and personal name also known as individual name. For example: Lie Tjut Siang, Bong Lan Lie, Ng Tian Na. In Chinese naming, Lawson, E. D (2016) noted that the family name is placed before the given name. The leading position of the family name reveals the importance of the idea of the family in the individual’s identity as well as the early appearance of the family name in history.

The format of a typical Chinese name is: family name + given name (consisting of one or two characters, or even more).

In making a comparison between Chinese names and Batakese names, Irmayani further stated that the two are the same in the case of family recognition. The difference is Batakese place the family name or surname at the end, and there are only two parts names used in Batakese, that is, the personal name and family name; for example, Tika Panggabean, Ruhut Sitompul, Petra Sihombing, etc. Moore, K. (2017) confirmed that in Chinese name, the family name or surname, known as *xing*, comes first. The order of family name followed by given name is commonly referred to as the Eastern order. In China, approximately 100 of the most common Chinese surnames make up 85% of the population.

Moore, K. (2017) further analyses Zulu names of South Africa and finds out that Zulu names, like most indigenous names in Southern Africa, are often given regarding the situation of the family when a child is born. This is also referred to as the 'home name.' For example, names can denote expectations and encouragement for a baby, reflect how the family relates to others in the community, or describe the weather or setting in which the baby was born.

The naming traditions practiced in various countries or ethnic groups as presented above show that the concepts and patterns of name may share similarities in certain aspects or differences in other aspects. Snae, C. & Diaz, B. M. (2002) noted that naming from the past to the present has been continuously developed and has evolved into a variety of patterns. Each pattern has its own rules depending on local belief and language that has been developed until the present. The basic goal of naming is to provide a good fortune and progress during life.

With respect to naming tradition in Lewokluok community, it is to be acknowledged that the community is part of Lamaholot ethnic group residing the easternmost tip of Flores in East Flores regency of Eastern Nusa Tenggara province and due to this it has some similarities with other communities within Lamaholot society. The similarities are among others: they share some common local names and baptism names. However, the spread out of society members throughout Lamaholot areas of settlement and the adjustment to a new environment with various local traditions and influence of other factors such as religion with different religious attributes can determine the difference in naming tradition. It appears that such a phenomenon confirms what Snae, C. & Diaz, M.B. M. (2002) believed that naming traditions practiced elsewhere may share similarities in certain aspects or differences in other aspects. This will certainly enhance scholars to pay much attention to conduct their studies on the matter in the years to come.

METHOD

Data on naming tradition were obtained from the research subjects, ie. parents who are the native people of Lewokluok community living in three villages: Lewokluok, Bama and Blepanawa. Five informants were taken from each of the villages making up to 15 subjects altogether. The choice of the research subjects from these three villages was due to a consideration that the three villages are strongly tied up both genealogically and culturally in which Lewokluok is regarded as the main cultural village while Bama and Blepanawa are subcultural villages and the practices of naming tradition are due for people living in these villages. Besides, the three villages are, historically and culturally, not separated one and another. Lewokluok serves as the main village since it is the place where most of the relatives of the other two villages live and their traditional houses exist.

The instruments used for data collection were interview, recording, documentation and note-taking. In the interview, data were gathered through an in-depth interview with time allocation for each informant was ten minutes and each of them was given open-ended questions. Recordings were conducted while the interviews were taking place between the researcher and the subjects (interviewees), and the interviewees realized that they were being recorded during the interviews since an agreement had been made in advance before the data were collected. In addition, all the subjects have good relationship with the researcher and there was no distance in communication between the subjects and the researcher because they have known each other well for a long time.

Apart from the interviews and recordings, documentation was also conducted. In this case, official documents in forms of certificates and baptism letters were traced and cautiously noticed to get the data on formal names used and written in those documents. Finally, note taking was also applied to highlight important matters related to the naming tradition which was widely practiced by members of the community. It was also applied when confirmations with the research subjects were necessarily made on the acquired data.

The obtained data were analyzed in descriptive-qualitative manner, which means the data were described in words instead of figures employing statistical computation for answering the research questions: The problems raised in this research, that is: (1) the common practices in naming tradition in terms of ways of framing the structures of personal name (name patterns of people) in Lewokluok community (2) the cultural and religious values forming the perceptions of people in Lewokluok community in giving their children's names, and (3) the common names used by people in Lewokluok Community. By this technique of data analysis, the data on naming tradition were identified and classified according patterns or structures of names. Moreover, cultural and religious values were portrayed based on the name components including local name, clan name and baptism name.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Personal Naming Tradition in Lewokluok Community

Personal naming tradition practiced in Lewokluok community follows certain system depending on the situations where a person is engaged. In certain situation personal naming is influenced by cultural values but in other situations it is influenced by religious attributes affecting on name components and name patterns. Unlike the Javanese name system as reported by Uhlenback in Wibowo, R. M. (2001: 45) that there is no particular pattern in Javanese name system, personal naming tradition in Lewokluok Community is identified to have its own components and patterns. The result of data analysis shows that name components of people consist of three major categories: Local Name, Baptism Name, and Clan Name. However, the way of naming tradition of the people in Lewokluok community comprises 6 patterns *namely*: (1) *Child's Local Name + Father's Local Name*; (2) *Child's Local Name + mother's Local Name*; (3) *Child's Local Name + Clan Name*; (4) *Child's Baptism Name + local Name*; (5) *Child's Baptism Name + Local Name + Clan Name*.

It was also found out that cultural values are reflected through local names and clan names which are given after ancestors' names, while religious value is reflected through baptism names given after catholic saints' names when children receive the sacrament of baptism. Local names are variously given to children, such as, *Sadibau, Homenara, Home, Nara, Dosi, Sedu,*

Belang, Dalu, Pati, etc. (for men), and *Tonu, Barek, Sabu, Hingi, Bota, etc.* for women (Table 1). While clan names are given according to the clans existing in the community, such as *Kabelen, Lein, Beribe, Hera, Kumaniren, Goran, etc.*, for both men and women (Table 2). Baptism names are given after Catholic saint's names; some among others are: *Alexander, Lukas, Petrus, Yohanes, Yakobus, Fransiskus, etc.* for man, and *Maria, Yohana, Yuliana, Elisabet, Benedikta, Fransiska etc.* for women (Table).

Name Components

As previously stated, personal names in Lewokluok community are classified into three major components: Local Name, Baptism Name and Clan Name. The followings are the concepts of naming traditions in Lewokluok community regarding the three name components.

1. Local Name

A local name, in this perspective, refers to a name given after one's ancestor's name. According to the participants (research subjects), local names are inherited by people in Lewokluok community from their ancestors. All parents in the community have good knowledge of their ancestor's names since they are inherited from generation to generation and always use them in their families. Grandparents' and parents' names as well as children's names are all given after their ancestors' names. Therefore, local names are obligatorily used and given after when a child is born. If the child is a boy, his name is, for sure, given after his grandfather's name whose name is also inherited from the ancestor's name, but if the child is a girl, her name is given after her grandmother's name according to patrilineal system.

Since the community adheres to patrilineal system, the consideration of naming a person is made accordingly. This means the name given to a child, either a boy or girl is based on father's lineage. Within the community, local names are regarded as a representation of the ancestors in terms of expectation, desire, attitude and characteristics, as stated by the research subjects, "*Kami kasih nama anak sesuai dengan nama nenek moyang kami sehingga kami tetap ingat mereka dari generasi ke generasi. Selain itu sifat-sifat baik dan keberanian mereka bisa diturunkan kepada anak-anak kami*". (*We give our children's names according to the names of our ancestors so that we keep remembering them from generation to generation. Besides, their good characteristics, attitude and behavior and their bravery can be inherited to our children*). This practice is inherited from generation to generation. The local names are not only recognized by a single family but also all the families throughout the community.

It is obvious that every member of family has a local name which is given after father's parent's name depending on parents' consideration and approval. The common local names of people in Lewokluok community can be seen in the following table.

Table 1. Common Local Names of People in Lewokluok Community

No.	Local Names		Distribution Areas within Community		
	Male	Female	Lewokluok	Bama	Blepanawa
1	Sadibau	Peni	✓	✓	✓
2	Homenara	Bunga	✓	✓	✓
3	Home	Wulen	✓	✓	✓
4	Nara	Bota	✓	✓	✓
5	Sedu	Nini	✓	✓	✓

6	Lawe	Barek	✓	✓	✓
7	Dalu	Bare'	✓	✓	✓
8	Rape	Bahi	✓	✓	✓
9	Igo	Belela	✓	✓	✓
10	Dadu	Hingi	✓	✓	✓
11	Suban	Tonu	✓	✓	✓
12	Talu	Sipa	✓	✓	✓
13	Deket	Beto	✓	✓	✓
14	Botaama	Roya	✓	✓	✓
15	Rea	Lepan	✓	✓	✓
16	Kerowe	Lito	✓	✓	✓
17	Pama	Boleng	✓	✓	✓
18	Teron	Lodan	✓	✓	✓
19	Siku	Semoi	✓	✓	✓
20	Tolan	Dayang	✓	✓	✓
21	Mige	Doweina	✓	✓	✓
22	Pati	Kili	✓	✓	✓
23	Dosi	Nogo	✓	✓	✓
24	Nabu	Sabu	✓	✓	✓
25	Kewisa	Sabudora	✓	✓	✓
26	Lado	Lelo	✓	✓	✓
27	Kemeko	Wule'	✓	✓	✓
28	Pehan	Nuli	✓	✓	✓
29	Buto	Jia	✓	✓	✓
30	Regi	Bao	✓	✓	✓
31	Regi	Bao	✓	✓	✓
32	Sina	Letek	✓	✓	✓
33	Sani	Waituan	✓	✓	✓
34	Doni	Sura	✓	✓	✓
35	Sorge	Belaong	✓	✓	✓
36	Puru	Olaina	✓	✓	✓
37	Nama	Bongi	✓	✓	✓
38	Saba	Bagi	✓	✓	✓
39	Purunama	Yedo	✓	✓	✓
40	Kopong	Kelogo	✓	✓	✓
41	Pain	Horet	✓	✓	✓
42	Luit	Dike	✓	✓	✓
43	Semai	Beleet	✓	✓	✓
44	Malik	Posa	✓	✓	✓
45	Doweng	Wina	✓	✓	✓
46	Baka	Bakang	✓	✓	✓
47	Werong	Ninidayan	✓	✓	✓
48	Ola	Wata	✓	✓	✓
49	Lino	Bewa	✓	✓	✓
50	Keloden	Nuli	✓	✓	✓
51	Leki	Yawa	✓	✓	✓
52	Nebo	Golan	✓	✓	✓
53	Bato	Kebewa	✓	✓	✓
54	Guruwadan	To'i	✓	✓	✓
55	Resi	Uto'	✓	✓	✓
56	Semai	Edo	✓	✓	✓

57	Kelale	Hulo	✓	✓	✓
58	Mai	Golang	✓	✓	✓
59	Wuring	Waha	✓	✓	✓
60	Kewisa	Kedola	✓	✓	✓
61	Pora	Romat	✓	✓	✓
62	Mado	Wale	✓	✓	✓
63	Kelake	Hadun	✓	✓	✓
64	Ludok	Sabudora	✓	✓	✓

As shown in Table 1 above, all the local names are distributed in the three villages: Lewokluok, Bama and Blepanawa which make up Lewokluok community. This is due to a fact that people in these three villages are traditionally tied up together. Those living in Bama and Blepanawa recognized that they came from Lewokluok as their main village long time ago when Indonesia was under the control of the Dutch in colonialization era. This is why the local names used by people in the two villages are the same as the ones found in Lewokluok because they come from the same ancestors and the names are continuously inherited from generation to generation.

2. Clan Name

Collins Dictionary gives the meanings of clan name as follows: (1) a group of people interrelated by ancestry or marriage; (2) a group of families with a common surname and a common ancestor, acknowledging the same leader. In the context of this study, both meanings of clan name are taken into account for they reflect the concept of clan name practiced in Lewokluok community. For the people in the community, clan name cannot be omitted from one's full name. Parents always tell their children to keep using their clan name in whatever situation and wherever they are. The clan name may not loose from a person's name because it becomes basic identity of clan to be acknowledged.

People in the community are aware of the importance of clan name in daily communication. The use of the clan name cannot be neglected for two reasons. First, by using clan name a person is easily recognized from which clan the person belongs to. Second, in social relationship and interaction it becomes an attribute used for addressing people and make a person know to whom he or she speaks to and establish relationship. Knowing a person's clan will make the interactants use appropriate terms of address as polite markers. In addition, recognizing and using clan name can avoid young men and young women from being engaged in special relation for marriage. Every community member realizes about their relationship since marriage system is regulated among clans. For example, *Kabelen* clan can only serves as wife giver to *Lein* clan while *Lein* clan only serves as wife taker to *Kabelen* clan, and not in the other way round. In addition, misusing the clan name and being unable to recognize the status of clan relationship in social interactions and communications by an individual as a community member will have negative impacts and cause bad judgment from other community members. It can also have psychological effect on the individuals due to such case.

The result of interviews with the research subjects shows that people in the community really recognize all the clan names and take much care of using correct clan names either in establishing social relationship or in building up communication among members of the community, as cited by the interviewees: "*Nama suku itu tidak boleh hilang, harus pake terus. Kalau tidak orang tidak kenal kita padahal kita satu kampung. Semua orang harus tahu nama suku, kalua tidak anak-anak kita buat salah*". Walaupun kami pergi kemana-mana bahkan

tinggal di kota kami harus tetap pake nama suku arena itu adalah identitas suku kami”. (Clan name may not loose, we must keep using it. If not, people do not recognize us though we are in the same village. All people must know the clan name. If not, our children will do wrong things. Although we go anywhere even, we live in cities we have to use the clan name because it is the identity of our clan.)

The common clan names in Lewokluok community can be seen in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Clan Names found in Lewokluok community

No.	Clan Names	Areas of Distribution within Lewokluok Community		
		Lewokluok	Bama	Blepanawa
1	Kabelen	✓	✓	✓
2	Lein	✓	✓	✓
3	Beribe	✓	✓	✓
4	Kumaniren	✓	✓	✓
5	Hera	✓	✓	✓
6	Goran	✓	✓	✓
7	Tobi	✓	✓	✓
8	Lewati	✓	✓	✓
9	Tukan	✓	✓	✓
10	Terong	✓	✓	✓

It is a fact that everybody in the community has a clan and it is recognized by his or her own family but all the community members. As seen in Table 2 above, there are ten clans living in the community, and they are distributed in Lewokluok, Bama and Blepanawa villages. It is also possible to find other clans but they are not the native clans of the community. They live in this community because of marriage in which men from other communities within Lamaholot society come and marry to women from certain clans in Lewokluok community.

3. Baptism Name

A baptism name is a name given at Christening or Confirmation. Baptism, according to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, is a ceremony marking a person's admission into the Christian Church either by dipping a person in water or by scattering a few drops of water on him or her, and often giving him or her a name or names. It is a fact that all the people in Lewokluok community are Rome catholic, and therefore, all children in the community obligatorily are given the sacrament of baptism, in which they are baptized by a priest or priests by scattering drops of water on them while giving their names. The names are taken from catholic saints' names. Parents may choose a saint's name for their child rested on their own desire or let the priest choose it for their child at the moment of baptism.

In fact, all the parents in the community believe that by being baptized their child becomes a child of faith who has always believed in God and in His Son and His Holy Spirit, as stated by the research subjects: *“Nama permandian itu penting sekali karena kami mau anak kami jadi anak Tuhan dan iman mereka tetap kuat. Biar pengaruh bagaimanapun mereka akan tetap kuat. Nama permandian ini mungkin pengaruh Portugis yang dulu jajah Indonesia dan tinggal di Flores Timur. Menurut ceritera, sebelum Belanda datang Portugis sudah duluan. Mungkin dari pastor Portugis yang datang duluan baru ada juga pastor Belanda yang datang. Mereka adakan sakramen permandian dan memberi kami (nenek moyang kami) nama permandian itu. (The baptism name is very important because*

we want our children become the children of God and their faith is strong. Whatever influences they may get, they will keep strong. Maybe the baptism names were influenced by the Portugesa that came to occupy and live in East Flores. According to history, Before the coming of the Dutch the Portuguese had already come first. Maybe the names were given by Portuguese Catholic priests who came first then followed by Dutch priests. They carried out baptism sacrament and gave us (our ancestors) the catholic names").

In this context, naming tradition is largely influenced by religious values. Parents within the community absolutely believe and expect that the catholic religious values may govern their children's attitudes and behavior during their life time.

Table 3. *Common Baptism Names of People in Lewokluok Community*

NO	Baptism Name		Distribution Areas within Community		
	Male Names	Female Names	Lewokluok	Bama	Blepanawa
1	Lukas	Maria	✓	✓	✓
2	Yohanes	Yohana	✓	✓	✓
3	Fransiskus	Elisabeth	✓	✓	✓
4	Petrus	Benedikta	✓	✓	✓
5	Benediktus	Marta	✓	✓	✓
6	Damianus	Bergita	✓	✓	✓
7	Alexander	Barbara	✓	✓	✓
8	Paulus	Petronela	✓	✓	✓
9	Markus	Rosalina	✓	✓	✓
10	Mateus	Monika	✓	✓	✓
11	Kornelis	Fransiska	✓	✓	✓
12	Stefanus	Juliana	✓	✓	✓
13	Clemens	Etc.	✓	✓	✓
14	Simon	Maria	✓	✓	✓
15	Aloysius	Yohana	✓	✓	✓
16	Etc.	Etc.			

As seen in Table 3 above, baptism names are all the Catholic names. The choice of a baptism name can be by parents and gave it to priest before Confirmation or by priest based on the parents' request.

Patterns of Personal Naming Tradition

Knowledge of name components as have been discussed previously will lead us easily to understand another aspect of naming tradition, that is, the pattern of naming tradition practiced in Lewokluok community. The result of data analysis shows that naming tradition in this community absolutely has five patterns along with cultural and religious values contained in it. The patterns are as follows:

Pattern I. Child's Local Name + Father's Local Name

Pattern 1 comprises child's local name followed by his or her father's local name. This name pattern is used by people in the community in informal situations to show close relationship among the community members for they know whose child a person is or who the child's father is.

Examples: (a). *Home Belang*
(b). *Sipa Tolan*

In (a), *Home* is a male child's name and *Belang* is his father's name. The child's name as in (a) is actually *Home*, which was the name given by his parents when he was born. *Home* is his grandfather according to patrilineal system. Like example (a), example (b) shows the same pattern. *Sipa* is a female child's name and *Tolan* is her father's name. The name *Sipa* was given at birth while *Tolan* is the name used to show that *Sipa* is *Tolan*'s daughter.

The choices of such names as in (a) and (b) have been under the consideration and approval of both father and mother in terms of using the local names representing the children's grandparents' names. Desire of memorizing the grandparents (father's father and father's mother) including their characteristics has become a main consideration of parents in giving the names to their children.

On the other hand, either *Home* or *Sipa* grow up within the community and each of them has been recognized by people around them that *Home* is the son of *Belang*, and *Sipa* is the daughter of *Tolan*. Therefore, in daily communication *Home* is called *Home Belang* and *Sipa* is called *Sipa Tolan* by people within the community. These meet the first name pattern: *One's Local Name (Home; Sipa) + Father's Local Name (Belang; Tolan)* which become *Home Belang* or *Sipa Tolan*. This naming tradition is only used in daily interaction among family and community members. The name is not used in formal documents of any kind, such as population card, certificate, baptism letter, etc.

Pattern 2: Child's Local Name + mother's Local Name

This name pattern is used in daily interaction among the community members in informal situations when children in the community meet and call each other by name using one's local name followed by his or her mother's local name.

Examples: (a) *Dalu Lodan*
(b) *Golan Yawa*

In example (a), *Dalu* is a male local name given by parents when their child (a son) was born. The name is given after his grandfather's name (his father's name: *Dalu*) that has been prepared long before the birth of their son, while *Lodan* is his mother's name (child's mother). In (b), *Golan* is a female local name given by parents to their daughter. The name is given after her grandmother's name (her father's mother's name) and *Yawa* is her mother's name. Both names: *Dalu* and *Golan* are two local names given to children, each of which is inherited either from the son's grandfather's name (*Dalu*) or the daughter's grandmother's name (*Golan*). Since *Dalu* is the son of *Lodan*, and *Golan* is the daughter of *Yawa*, in daily interaction among the community members, *Dalu* is called *Dalu Lodan* and *Golan* is called *Golan Yawa*. Such naming tradition only applies to community members in daily communication and is never used in legal documents such as certificate, Letter of Confirmation, etc.

Pattern 3: Child's Local Name + Clan Name

This pattern is commonly practiced in calling a child's local name followed by his or her clan name. For example: (a) *Igo Kabelen*

(b) *Lawe Lein*

Examples (a) and (b) consist of two-name components: local names i.e., (*Igo* and *Lawe*), clan names (i.e., *Kabelen* and *Lein*). This is why *Igo* is called *Igo Kabelen*, and *Lawe* is called *Lawe Kabelen*. Like the two other name patterns that have been previously discussed, pattern 3 is also

used in non-formal situations. Both *Igo* and *Lawe* are the names given by parents but *Kabelen* and *Lein* are used by community members to acknowledge that *Igo* belongs to *Kabelen* clan and *Lawe* belongs to *Lein* clan. This name pattern is not used in legal documents.

Pattern 4: Child's Baptism Name + Clan Name

Using baptism name followed by clan name as in pattern 4 is also another phenomenon found in *Lewokluok* community. There are two name components used: baptism name clan name.

Examples: (a) *Lukas Kabelen*

(b) *Maria Goran*

In example (a), the name *Lukas* is a baptism male name, and *Kabelen* is a clan name, while in (b), *Maria* is a female baptism name and *Goran* is a clan name. Baptism name as previously mentioned is a name given at Christening or Confirmation. Since people and families in the community are all Catholic, consequently, name giving to children in the community use catholic names, especially catholic saints' names. Parents in the community can choose a baptism name by themselves or ask priest to name their child at the moment of Confirmation.

Clan name is a surname showing that a child comes from a certain clan in the community. *Kabelen* and *Goran* in the examples (a) and (b) above are both clans' names. Each of the clans is recognized by people in the community. That is why *Lukas* is called *Lukas Kabelen* meaning *Lukas* belongs to *Kabelen* clan and *Maria* is called *Maria Goran* which means *Maria* belongs to *Goran* clan. Such name pattern is recognized and used not only by the child's family but also by all the people throughout *Lewokluok* community.

Pattern 5: Child's Baptism Name + Local Name + Clan Name.

Unlike the other four patterns discussed previously, which only use two name components, Pattern 5 uses three name components: baptism name, local name and clan name. It is a complete name pattern practiced in the community.

Examples: (a) *Fransiskus Wuring Beribe*

(b) *Damianus Pehan Hera*

If the other four patterns are only used in informal naming tradition, pattern 5 is absolutely used in formal documents such as population card, certificate, Letter of Confirmation or baptism letter and legal documents of any kind. It is hard to find the use of this pattern in every day interaction and communication, except a quotation of name from any formal document is being made during an informal communication among people within the community. As previously mentioned, that the choice of baptism name is under consideration of parents in the family whether they have to choose by themselves a name among Catholic saints' names for their child or they have to let priest give their child a name at Confirmation.

Unlike the baptism name, only parents give the name to their child. The local name is given after the child's grandparent's name or the child's father's parent's name. While clan name is automatically attached to either a local name or baptism name rested on what clan the child belongs to. Parents do not necessarily give the clan name for either parents or community members recognize every clan within the community and acknowledge that the clan name is automatically used or attached after baptism name and local name as seen in example (a) and (b) in pattern 5 above.

CONCLUSION

The result of data analysis shows that a complete name used in *Lewokluok* community consists of three main components: local name, clan name and baptism name. Cultural values are reflected through local names and clan names while religious values are reflected through baptism names.

It was also found that the way of naming tradition in the community comprises five patterns, viz: (1) *child's Local Name + Father's Local Name*; (2) *child's Local Name + mother's Local Name*; (3) *Child's Local Name + Clan Name*; (4) *Baptism Name + Local Name*; and (5) *Child's Baptism Name + Local Name + Clan Name*. Such patterns are used by people in three villages: Lewokluok, Bama and Blepanawa villages, which make up Lewokluok community within Lamaholot society of East Flores regency.

The use of a child's local name followed by his or her parents' names or the child's name plus clan name is only found in everyday interactions and communications but they are not used in formal documents. Both local names and clan names are given and called by parents and community members because they are well recognized by the community members, but baptism name may be chosen by parents or priests at Confirmation or Sacrament of Baptism.

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