DISPARITY OF THE ARABIC NAME: THE SPOTLIGHT ON CHILDREN OF ENDOGAMOUS AND EXOGAMOUS MARRIAGES AMONG HADRAMI-ARABS IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This study explores the influence of endogamous marriage (Arab-Arab family) and exogamous (Arab-Javanese family) on the personal name of Hadrami-Arab who living in the *Kampong Arab* Pasar Kliwon, Surakarta. Endogamous marriage among Hadrami-Arab resulted in identity retention, especially ethnic identity. In contrast, exogamous marriages play a role in generating a hybrid entity that inherits the characteristics of each ethnic parent, including personal name. Utilizing Net Consolidation Data for the First Semester of 2017 – download as of February 23, 2018– managed by the Data and Statistics Division of the Population and Civil Registration Agency of Surakarta, the names of the residents of Pasar Kliwon Subdistrict were classified according to the ethnicities of both parents. The elements in name construction were then identified to formulize the naming system utilizing the socio-onomastics framework. From the analysis, it can be revealed that the endogamous marriage became the dominant marriage as an effort to maintain the lineage of their ancestors, especially the male line (patrilineal). This effort is followed by giving the newborn baby name by adopting the name of his/her father, grandfather's, or a combination of both. The attachment of surname after the personal name is also a characteristic of children who born from endogamous family. Meanwhile, families from exogamous marriages (Javanese mother and Arab fathers) prefer to name their child with a hybrid name through a combination of naming systems from their cultural background, Arabic-Javanese words and vise versa. The selection of Arabic names by Hadrami-Arabs is emphasized more highlight their ethnic identity, even though it also displays their religious status, Islam.

Keywords: *Arabic name, endogamous marriage, Hadrami-Arab, hybrid name, surname*

Introduction

Name has been agreed globally as a personal and social identity. Arabic names, for example, are widely used as markers for Muslims around the world. In addition to religious identity, the community also claims its membership as a member of a particular group through naming, such as ethnic identity. The Arabic name signifies

the membership of the owner as a Muslim, but can also indicate that the owner is an Arab (descendant) community.

In most cases in the world, naming is given by parents or close relatives to the newborn child. Name selection is very closely related to the sociocultural background of the family so that people who have different cultures also have different naming systems. However, when a family comes from two different cultural backgrounds, often show a mix in the naming system, as occurred to Hadrami-Arab in Surakarta.

Hadrami-Arabs in Surakarta are well-known as a community that holds fast to the cultural heritage of their ancestors, still adopting endogamous marriage (marriage in the same ethnic groups). This type of marriage is still often held even though in some cases exogamous or amalgamation –marriage between ethnic groups, especially with Javanese marriage– be run. These two types of marriage, in fact, have a significant influence on the names of their children. In endogamous marriage, many children of Arab descent named containing the surname, as opposed to the exogamous marriage which usually drops the surname. The *nasab* and lineage are the primary considerations in choosing a bride in a family of Hadrami-Arab.

Arabic names are indeed widely adopted in Muslim countries in the world, especially in Asian regions such as Indonesia, Pakistan, Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia.[1] In fact, there was an Islamization of names in Pakistan before 1988, a time when Pakistani society became Muslims.[2] Arabic names are also increasingly being adopted in Indonesia, especially by Javanese who are intended to display their religious identity.[3] Although studies on the names of Hadrami-Arab have been investigated,[4] but an in-depth analysis that explores the relationship between marriage and naming has never been conducted. In fact, in Pontianak, the people of Hadrami-Arab turned out to have experienced a mixture to their personal name even like the name of most Malays, even though endogamous marriages were still occurred.[5] Recent studies on personal names often lead to linguistic features,[6] the relationship between name and

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[1] Eric Kunto Aribowo and Nanik Herawati, "Pemilihan Nama Arab Sebagai Strategi Manajemen Identitas Di Antara Keluarga Jawa Muslim", in *International Seminar Prasasti III: Current Research in Linguistics*, 2016, 270–77; Eric Kunto Aribowo and Nanik Herawati, "Trends in Naming System on Javanese Society: A Shift From Javanese to Arabic", *Lingua Cultura,* Vol. 10, No. 2, 2016, 117–22; Lau-fong Mak, "Naming and Collective Memory in Malay Muslim World", *Taiwan Journal of Anthropology,* Vol. 2, No. 2, 2004, 81–114; Tariq Rahman, "Personal Names of Pakistani Muslims: An Essay on Onomastics", *Pakistan Perspectives,* Vol. 18, No. 1, 2013, 33–57; Sahid Teguh Widodo, "Modernization of Javanese Personal Names in the North Coastal Region of Java, Indonesia", *Asian Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities* 2, No. 4, 2013, 42–49.

[2] Tariq Rahman, "Personal Names of Pakistani Muslims: An Essay on Onomastics".

[3] Eric Kunto Aribowo and Nanik Herawati, "Pemilihan Nama Arab Sebagai Strategi Manajemen Identitas Di Antara Keluarga Jawa Muslim"; Eric Kunto Aribowo and Nanik Herawati, "Trends in Naming System on Javanese Society: A Shift From Javanese to Arabic".

[4] Eric Kunto Aribowo, "Selamatkan Perkawinanmu, Selamatkan Bahasamu: Catatan Mengenai Dampak Positif Perkawinan Endogami Terhadap Bahasa Masyarakat Keturunan Arab di Pasarkliwon Surakarta", In *Language Maintenance and Shift V,* 271–75, 2015.

[5] Syarifah Ema Rahmaniah, "Multikulturalisme Dan Hegemoni Politik Pernikahan Endogami: Implikasi Dalam Dakwah Islam," *Walisongo,* Vol. 22, No. 2, 2014, 433–56.

[6] Suharyo, "Pola Nama Masyarakat Keturunan Tionghoa", *Humanika,* Vol. 18, No. 2, 2013, 1–10; Sahid Teguh Widodo, "Modernization of Javanese Personal Names in the North Coastal Region of Java, Indonesia".

gender,[7] the relationship between name and identity,[8] name changes pattern[9] moreover, the presence of name acculturation.[10] This study aimed to reveal differences in the naming system of Hadrami-Arab as a result of the marriage of their parents, endogamy or exogamy.

Method

Data in the form of a list of names of Hadrami-Arab were collected from SIAK (Population Administration Information System) managed by the Surakarta City Population and Civil Registration Service (**Figure 1**). This data was retrieved from Net Consolidation Data for semester 1 of 2017 which were downloaded on February 23, 2018. This data is official data used on official state documents such as Birth Certificate, Identity Card, Family Card and Passport. Therefore, the names that emerge from SIAK are official names, not nicknames, daily calls, or titles.
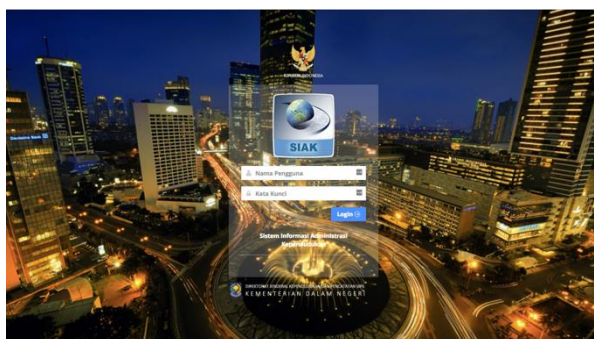

Figure 1 Screenshot of SIAK. Photo: Tri Wibowo (2018)

Data taken from SIAK includes Family Card Number, Population Registration Number, full name, place and date of birth, relationship status in the family, gender, religion, occupation, last education, the full name of mother, full name of the father and address. The data consist of 84,126 name entries recorded in Pasar Kliwon Subdistrict; then the Java names were eliminated[11] moreover, Chinese names[12]And

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[7] Abdul Wahed Qasem and Ghaleb Al-Zumor, "A Socio-Cultural And Linguistic Analysis of Yemeni Arabic Personal Names," *GEMA Online Journal of Language Studies,* Vol. 9, No. 2, 2009, 15–27.

[8] Eric Kunto Aribowo, "Selamatkan Perkawinanmu, Selamatkan Bahasamu: Catatan Mengenai Dampak Positif Perkawinan Endogami Terhadap Bahasa Masyarakat Keturunan Arab di Pasarkliwon Surakarta"; Eric Kunto Aribowo and Nanik Herawati, "Pemilihan Nama Arab Sebagai Strategi Manajemen Identitas Di Antara Keluarga Jawa Muslim"; Tariq Rahman, "Personal Names of Pakistani Muslims: An Essay on Onomastics"; Nurhayati, "Negosiasi Identitas Dalam Pemberian Nama," *Humanika,* Vol. 17, No. X, 2013, 21–39.

[9] Eric Kunto Aribowo and Nanik Herawati, "Trends in Naming System on Javanese Society: A Shift From Javanese to Arabic"; Syed Malik Khatib, "Personal Names and Name Changes", *Journal of Black Studies,* Vol. 25, No. 3, January 26, 1995, 349–53; Budi Kurniawan, "Penggunaan Nama Barat Oleh Etnis Tionghoa Di Surabaya", *Jurnal Lakon,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 2012, 12–20; Shahram Khosravi, "White Masks/Muslim Names: Immigrants and Name-Changing in Sweden", *Race Relations Race & Class,* Vol. 53, No. 3, 2012, 65–80.

[10] Sahid Teguh Widodo, "Personal Names as an Inter-Ethnic Model of Acculturation in Indonesia", *Asian Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities,* Vol. 4, No. 1, 2015, 126–33.

[11] following the naming pattern of studies by Sahayu (2014); Sulistyawati (2004); Uhlenbeck (1969); Wibowo (2001); Widodo (2013a); Widodo, Yussof, & Dzakiria (2010)

coded by Microsoft® Excel for Mac version 16.16.2 which produced 4,756 names of Hadrami-Arab. From the 4,756 names, these data were filtered based on the status of "Children" so that 2,111 children were found from endogamous and exogamous marriages.

The existing data were explored, elicited, sorted and filtered based on the specific elements that build a name, especially patronym and surname. Then the data were compared based on the ethnic of his/her parent to trace the marriage type of both parents: endogamous or exogamous. The personal names were then analyzed using the socio-onomastics framework. The final data in the XLSX format were then visualized using Tableau® Desktop Professional Edition Version 2018.1.3.

Result and Discussion

The composition of the number of children of Hadrami-Arab

Marriage tradition in the Arab community in the Middle East, in general, is a marriage held in one family, especially the consanguineous marriage.[13] This type of marriage is relatively high at 40—50% of the number of total marriages.[14] This type of marriage is also still held firmly by Hadrami-Arabs in Indonesia even though the boundaries are no longer family, but by ethnic or surname (endogamous marriage).
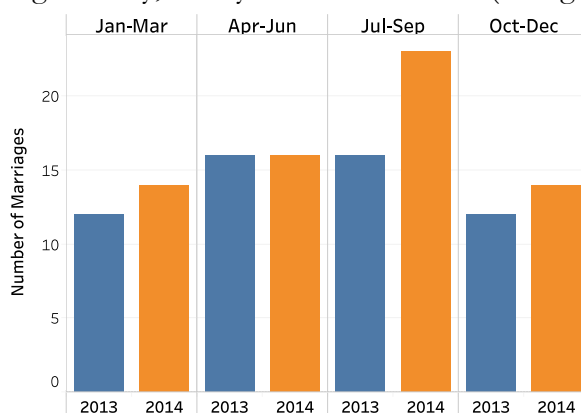

Figure 2 Numbers of Endogamous marriage in Pasar Kliwon, Surakarta 2013-2014

Endogamous marriage among Hadrami-Arabs is considered the most ideal marriage because it can preserve their family's lineage through *nasab*.[15] Data from the

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[12] based on the studies Dewi & Artono (2013); Gunawan & Karsono (2013); Kurniawan (2012); and Suharyo (2013)

[13] Hoda Rashad, Magued Osman, and Farzaneh Roudi-Fahimi, "Marriage In The Arab World", *Population Reference Bureau*, 2005; Hanan Hamamy, "Consanguineous Marriages", *Journal of Community Genetics,* Vol. 3, No. 3, July 22, 2012, 185–92; Alan H. Bittles, "Consanguineous Marriage, Past and Present", in *Consanguinity in Context*, 2012, 1–12.

[14] Aliceann Crandall et al., "Women's Age at First Marriage and Postmarital Agency in Egypt", *Sosial Science Research* 57, 2016, 148–60; L.I. Al-Gazali et al., "Consanguineous Marriages in The United Arab Emirates", *Journal of Biosocial Science,* Vol. 29, No. 1, 1997, 491–97.

[15] Fathurrahman Azhari, Zainal Muttaqien, and Sulaiman Kurdi, "Motivasi Perkawinan Endogami Pada Komunitas Alawiyyin di Martapura Kabupaten Banjar", *Mu'adalah: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak,* Vol. 1, No. 2, 2013, 85–102.

Office of Religious Affairs in Pasar Kliwon Subdistrict confirmed that in 2013, 56 endogamous marriages were held while in 2014, 67 marriages (**Figure 2**).

This data means that in the average, once a week marriage takes place between Arab families in Pasar Kliwon. Interestingly, because of adopting endogamous marriage, they often get partners who are not only limited to Hadrami-Arab in the *Kampong Arab* Pasar Kliwon but reach other *Kampong Arab* such as Surabaya, Jakarta, Pekalongan, Semarang, Malang, Cirebon, Gresik and Pasuruan. Unlike the views of the Javanese people who consider the month of Muharram (*Sura*) as a taboo month for organizing a marriage, Hadrami-Arab considers every month of the year to be an excellent time to hold marriage as a *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad.

**Table 1 The number of children of
Hadrami-Arab is based on marriage**

Village	Endogamous	Exogamous		Sum
	Arb-Arb	Arb-Jav	Jav-Arb	
Joyosuran	197	1	22	220
Kauman	17	0	3	20
Sangkrah	31	0	8	39
Baluwarti	7	0	0	7
Gajahan	7	3	0	10
Semanggi	771	8	133	912
Kedung Lumbu	271	5	27	303
Pasar Kliwon	539	2	59	600
TOTAL	**1,840**	**19**	**252**	**2,111**
Percentage	**87.16**	**0.90**	**11.94**	**100**

Source: Primary data

From the results of the analysis, it was found 2,211 children from marriages in Hadrami-Arab; 1,840 children from endogamous marriages and 271 children from exogamous marriages (**Table 1**). The data consists of 1,148 (54.38%) men and 963 (45.62%) women. The total number is from 1,088 families in Pasar Kliwon Subdistrict, Surakarta. Endogamous marriage with the formation of Arab mothers and Arab fathers was a dominating marriage with 1,840 children. Exogamous marriage couples with the formation of Javanese mothers and Arab fathers were in second place with a total of 252 people, while the number of children from exogamous marriages of Arab mothers and Javanese fathers was only 19 people.

The composition of this type of endogamous marriage indicated the existence of a social stratification system that applies to Hadrami-Arab.[16] This phenomenon can also be considered as an effort to maintain identity given the abundance of cultural diversity in Indonesia.[17] The high frequency of endogamous marriages is more or less influenced by the role of parents who have a big contribution in deciding their child

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[16] Frode F. Jacobsen, "Marriage Patterns and Social Stratification in Present Hadrami Arab Societies in Central and Eastern Indonesia", *Asian Journal of Social Science,* Vol. 35, No. 4/5, 2007, 472–87.

[17] Eric Kunto Aribowo, "Selamatkan Perkawinanmu, Selamatkan Bahasamu: Catatan Mengenai Dampak Positif Perkawinan Endogami Terhadap Bahasa Masyarakat Keturunan Arab Di Pasarkliwon Surakarta".

mate.[18] On the other hand, exogamous marriage contributes positively about the acculturation of multi-ethnic groups which manifests in the interaction of relationships, architecture of buildings, industry and culinary/cuisine.[19] Exogamous marriage practices are more commonly practiced by the men of Arab descent with the Javanese women than the Arab women with the Javanese men because of the patrilineal principle that applies in Hadrami-Arab community. The reasons for *kafâah* (equality) and religion are highlighted by the importance of marriage with women of Hadrami-Arab.[20] Because the Hadrami-Arabs adopted a patrilineal kinship system, children born to non-Arab father and Arab mother are not entitled to inherit Arabic *nasab* owned by the mother.

Some children of Hadrami-Arab were indeed born in the city of Surakarta or Sukoharjo as the place of domicile of their parents. Nevertheless, there were also found some people born in cities commonly found in Arab villages such as Jakarta, Pekalongan, Malang, Semarang, Surabaya, Bandung, Pasuruan, Tegal, Denpasar. This situation indicated that although the Arab community is no longer guided by the kinship pattern, especially inter-cousin marriage, they continue to carry out endogamous marriages, both from neighborhoods (local settlements) and close relatives family who are living in Arab villages scattered in big cities in Indonesia.

The naming pattern of endogamous marriage (Arab mothers; Arab fathers)

Lineage is the principal point that is upheld by Hadrami-Arab. The genealogy motivates the rise of endogamous marriages among them. By keeping their lineage, Hadrami-Arabs maintaining the purification of their community. Lineage becomes an important reason and is a matter of pride because some people of Hadrami-Arab who called by *sayyids* claim that they still have the same bloodline as the Prophet Muhammad.

One indication of someone including Hadrami-Arab is the presence of the surname at the end of the personal name. By presenting the surname in the personal name it means the parents try to display the child's social identity so that it forms the assumption of the child's family background.[21] According to the naming system, children from endogamous marriages have the following characteristics. (1) The attachment of patronym –name the father after the son/daughter. Some data also proves that sticking to the father's name is sometimes replaced by the name of the grandfather (from the father's line) and some even attach both. (2) Giving the

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[18] Syarifah Ema Rahmaniah, "Multikulturalisme Dan Hegemoni Politik Pernikahan Endogami: Implikasi Dalam Dakwah Islam"; Fathurrahman Azhari, Zainal Muttaqien, and Sulaiman Kurdi, "Motivasi Perkawinan Endogami Pada Komunitas Alawiyyin Di Martapura Kabupaten Banjar".

[19] M Masyhur Abadi, "Cross Marriage (Sebuah Model Pembauran Budaya Antar Komunitas Cina, Arab, India, Jawa Dan Madura Di Sumenep Kota)", *Karsa,* Vol. XII, No. 2, 2007, 149–60.

[20] Fathurrahman Azhari, Zainal Muttaqien, and Sulaiman Kurdi, "Motivasi Perkawinan Endogami Pada Komunitas Alawiyyin Di Martapura Kabupaten Banjar".

[21] H. Davies, "Sharing Surnames: Children, Family and Kinship", *Sociology*, Vol. 45, No. 4, 2011, 554–69.

surname at the end of the personal name is characteristic of children from the endogamous marriage.

From the data produced, endogamous marriage is the type of marriage with the highest number of 1,840 people (87.16%). Endogamous marriage is considered as the ideal marriage model among Hadrami-Arab due to *nasab* or patrilineal lineage. One of the characteristics of children born from this type of marriage is the widespread use of the name of the father, grandfather and a combination of both in their name. The male lineage which is considered as a prestige value is secured through sticking their *nasab* to the name. Given the importance of lineage –especially the men, the naming tradition always inserts the name of their ancestors.

From the results of the analysis found 379 names contained father's name (patronym); 38 names contained grandfather's name; and 17 names contained a combination of father and grandfather's name.

Table 2 Name of children from endogamous marriages that use the father's name

No	Children Name	Mother's Name	Father's name
1	Abdullah **Ali** Al Jufri	Jamilah	**Ali** Bin Muhammad Al Jufri
2	Basyir **Isa** Baraja	Zakiyah Ali Bahanan	**Isa** Iskandar Baraja
3	Faris **Fuad** Alkatiri	Muna Saleh Obed	**Fuad** Ghalib Alkatiri
4	Najib **Ali** Assegaf	Sakina Salim	**Ali** Assegaf
5	Zein **Amr** Sungkar	Feirza	**Amer** Sungkar
6	Aminah **Hasyim** Al Hasni	Kosidah	**Hasyim** Abdullah Alhasni
7	Faizah **Ali** Bamazruk	Nur Salim Sungkar	**Ali** Salim Bamazruk
8	Ibtisam **Yahya** Bayasud	Lubnah	**Yahya** Lutfi Bajasud
9	Karimah **Umar** Aidid	Aisyah	**Umar** Aidid
10	Yara **Syarif** Bajamal	Ahlam	**Syarif** Bajamal

In the tradition of Hadrami-Arab, the name often follows cultural conventions, the dominant trend that applies with a patronym naming system, in which the child is given the name of the father. This is used to show invisible kinship relationships that can be interpreted as biological relationships.[22] In other words, the patronym naming system shows the relationship of blood between the child and biological father.

Father's name is usually after someone's first name. From the name ABDULLAH ALI AL JUFRI in **Table 2** for example, it can be seen that ABDULLAH is the first name; ALI is the father's name; and AL JUFRI is the surname. The adoption of a father's name in a child's name is not only limited to boys like the five names at the beginning of **Table 2**, but also for girls like AMINAH HASYIM AL HASNI, FAIZAH ALI BAMAZRUK, IBTISAM YAHYA BAYASUD, KARIMAH UMAR AIDID, and YARA SYARIF BAJAMAL. Giving the father's name on the children's name serves to show which family they came from so that through the name, the origin of a person can be known.

Some families even give their children's names by inserting patronym element of *bin* 'son of' such as UMAR BIN SEGAF ASSEGAF and RIFKI BIN NASIR

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[22] Hassan Abd-El-Jawad, "A Linguistic and Sociocultural Study of Personal Names in Jordan", *Anthropological Linguistics,* Vol. 28, No. 1, 1986, 80–94.

ABDAT; and *binti* 'daughter of' for women, for example, BINTI ABDULLAH AL HADAD SILFIAH and BINTI HASAN ZAINAB. This *bin(ti)* element becomes a patronymic element which confirms that the name after the element is the father's name. Thus, when someone knows the name immediately, the father of that person can be known.

The personal names of Hadrami-Arab, in fact, are slightly different from the names of Arab communities in Yemen, the origin of their ancestors. The names of Yemeni people are generally associated with agriculture or weather, money and exchange rates, weapon names and names that refer to physical characteristics and habits of children at birth.[23] In addition to the father's name, the name of the grandfather is also often adopted as the first name of the son of an endogamy couple (**Table 3**).

Table 3 The child's name adopted from the name of the grandfather

No	Children Name	Mother's Name	Father's Name
1	**Ahmad** Rais	Zaenab	Faisal **Ahmad** Haidaroh
2	**Muhammad** Naser	Muniroh	Faisal **Muhammad**
3	**Said** Sidqi	Kimnyah Sobah	Yuslam **Said** Shahbal
4	**Saleh** Yafi Said	Helmiya Awud Sungkar	Said **Saleh**
5	**Umar** Alamsyah	Latifah Said	Said **Umar**
6	**Achmad Hisyam** Sungkar	Sa'diyah	**Hisyam Achmad** Sungkar
7	**Ali Umar** Musawa	Zakiyah Umar	**Umar Ali**
8	**Hasan** Bin **Muchsin**	Chadijah Mugebel	**Muchsin Hasan** Al Haddad
9	**Hasan Husni**	Jamilah	**Husni Hasan**
10	**Mubarak Mansyur** Sungkar	Ullya Rosyid Abdat	**Mansyur Mubarak** Sungkar

The names of AHMAD, MUHAMMAD, SAID, SALEH, and UMAR in number 1—5 are examples of grandfather's names adopted into personal names, specifically the first names of son from endogamy couples (**Table 3**). These names are also part of their father's name which also contains the name of his father (the child's grandfather). The adoption of grandfather's name is one way to show the genealogical importance of men in Hadrami-Arab. This naming also proves how powerful the patrilineal system's influence on the names of Hadrami-Arab. This is the reason, it is an easy job for Hadrami-Arab to mention their lineage; in fact, up to five of their ancestors upwards. The naming of these patronyms can be interpreted as a way to confirm and safeguard their lineage, especially for the *Sayyids* who still have the blood of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.

Even more interesting is the use of grandfather's name as a personal name followed by a father's name such as the names ACHMAD HISYAM, ALI UMAR, HASAN MUCHSIN, HASAN HUSNI, and MUBARAK MANSYUR on numbers 6—10 (**Table 3**). The initial part of the name itself, for example, ACHMAD is the name taken from the name of the grandfather, while the second part, HISYAM is the name of the father. Some respondents said this was performed to prove the strength of their family ties, especially among men although some respondents argue that the name of the child is given directly by his grandfather.

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[23] Abdul Wahed Qasem and Ghaleb al-Zumor, "A Socio-Cultural And Linguistic Analysis of Yemeni Arabic Personal Names".

**Table 4 Name of children from endogamous marriage
following by the father's and grandfather's name**

No	Children Name	Mother's Name	Father's Name
1	A'isyah **Khalid Amir** Hilaby	Nabilah Abdat	**Khalid Amir** Hilaby
2	Abubakar Bin **Anis Abubakar** Assegaff	Noor	**Anis Abubakar** Assegaf
3	Allia **Hasyim Abdulkadir** Alhabsyi	Zakiyah	**Hasyim Abdulkadir** Alhabsyi
4	Bilqis **Muhammad Syarif** Hassan	Asmien Yusuf Bawazir	**Muhammad Syarif**
5	Faisal **Fahmi Salim**	Laela Jakfar Abdat	**Fahmi Salim**
6	Husein **Hasan Abdurahman**	Chodijah Karimah	**Hasan Abdurahman** Hasan
7	Khodijah **Jafar Abdullah** Assegaf	Secha Muhammad Assegaf	**Jakfar Abdullah**
8	Sagaf **Muhammad Fahmi** Assagaaf	Khodijah	**Muhammad Fahmi** Assegaff
9	Samira **Zaki Amir** Abdat	Masturoh	**Zaki Amir** Abdat
10	Yusuf **Lukman Hakim** Sanad	Sukriyah Binti Saleh Hatras	**Lukman Hakim**

In addition to the father's name that follows the child's self name from the endogamy couple, often the father's name and grandfather's name (from the father's line) also follow their own names, such as A'ISYAH (first name) KHALID (father's name) AMIR (grandfather's name) HILABY (surname). In other words, Hadrami-Arab only have one name because the next names are the name of the father, grandfather, or surname. This means that hadrami-Arab can only be called by their first names, not like Javanese, for example, those who can be called by all names in their names such as UMMU HANY ALMASITOH.

Patronym system is a common in Arab societies in giving names.[24] Ancestor search or origin of Hadrami-Arab can be traced through their names. Attaching the names of fathers and grandfathers to their children's names is a reflection of the strength of the patriarchal system among Hadrami-Arab. This phenomenon indicates that the system of naming in Hadrami-Arab is indicated by the importance of maintaining the name of their ancestors. This practice is one simple way that can be performed to maintain a patriarchal system to establish the male lineage in each family.[25] This proves that boys of Hadrami-Arab are an invaluable treasure because boys are needed to carry lineage.

Another characteristic of the name of the child from the endogamy couple is the presence of the surname at the end of the personal name. In addition to its position at the end of the name, the surname can be identified by the following criteria. First, most surnames begin with {*al-*}, for example, AL HABSYI, AL KATIRI, and AL JUFRI. However, if the article is followed by certain letters then progressive assimilation occurs, the {*al-*} will change according to the letters in front of it, for example AS SEGGAF. Second, some surnames are also preceded by a combination of ABU + AL into BAL, such as BALAMASY, BALADRAF, and BALFAST. Third, in other cases, the surnames are found with BIN in the beginning, for example, BIN SYAHAB and BIN YAHYA.

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[24] Hanna Y Tushyeh, Edwin D Lawson, and George Rishmawi, "Palestinian First Names: An Introduction", *Names,* Vol. 37, No. 3, September 19, 1989, 245–64; Hassan Abd-El-Jawad, "A Linguistic and Sociocultural Study of Personal Names in Jordan."

[25] Karen Kow Yip Cheng, "Names in Multilingual-Multicultural Malaysia", *Names,* Vol. 56, No. 1, March 19, 2008, 47–53.

Table 5 The name of the children from endogamous marriage following by the surname

No	Child's Name	Mother's Name	Father's Name
1	Mahdi Bisyir **Sungkar**	Sultanah Salim **Sungkar**	Bisyir Achmad **Sungkar**
2	Harits Jundullah **Alkatiri**	Wardah Basyir **Alkatiri**	Quatly Abdulkadir **Alkatiri**
3	Hasan **Aljufri**	Zaenab **Aljufri**	Ahmad **Aljufri**
4	Nada Saleh **Abdat**	Djamilah Ali **Alhuraibi**	**Saleh Hasan Abdat**
5	Zacky Ziad **Baraja**	Hibah Saleh **Abdat**	Ziad Ahmad **Baraja**
6	Fatimah **Assegaf**	Faridah Umar **Baabud**	Segaf **Assegaf**
7	Farhan **Abdat**	Farah **Bawazir**	Faruk **Abdat**
8	Maimunah Anisah Shaleh **Aljufri**	Alwiyah Abdullah **Aljunaid**	Shaleh Muhammad **Al Jufri**
9	Mubarak Saleh **Bahfen**	Suraya Mubarak **Sanad**	Saleh Umar **Bahfen**
10	Muhammad Husin **Alaydrus**	Faizah Segaf **Assegaf**	Husin Alwi **Alaydrus**

Similar to blood relations, the interrelationship between family members can be displayed through the surname which is a symbol of the social system in certain position.[26] The surname, in general, can be used as an indication of lineage in the practice of modern culture today. The surname in the tradition of hadrami-Arab is in the end position of personal name, different from the Chinese surname which is at the beginning before the personal name.[27] The names in numbers 1—3 in **Table 5**, for example, MAHDI BISYIR SUNGKAR is an example of children's name from family partners in the same fam, SUNGKAR. Because of the patrilineal system, the surname is inherited from the father, not from the mother's side. As evidence, the names on numbers 4—10 are examples of children's names followed by their father's surname, not the mother's surname even though the surname is also owned by the mother (bold words).

The surname is a reliable source of showing the position of children in a family. The convention of the surname is similar to patronym; the child gets the surname from the father who also gets the surname from his father, and so on. This means that the process of naming Hadrami-Arab emphasizes the continuity of patrilineality.

Naming practices can also function as an attempt to show kinship. Surname functions as an invisible signifier kinship relationship that can offer extraordinary ways of revealing kinship relationships.[28] Personal name and surname can mark ethnic identities and can indicate the position of individuals in broader genealogical relationships.

Even though the children of the endogamous family has rights in the name of the family's surname, it seems that not all of this type of couple gave their children the name by attaching the surname. Giving names of children without using the surname tends to be carried out by couples with older age groups. Their children's names tend only to have one or two words, such as MUHAMMAD, SIFA, FAIZAH, ILHAM SYARIF and MACHMUD SYARIF as shown in **Table 6**.

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[26] H. Davies, "Sharing Surnames: Children, Family and Kinship".

[27] Gunawan and Karsono, "Pemberian Nama Tionghoa Keluarga Sub Suku Fúqīng di Banjarmasin 马辰福清人命名分析".

[28] H. Davies, "Sharing Surnames: Children, Family and Kinship".

Table 6 The name of the children from endogamous marriage without the surname

No	Children Name	Mother's Name	Father's Name
1	Ahmad Khakim	Jamilah Idrus **Habsyi**	Mohammad Zen **Al Habsyi**
2	Muhammad Helmi	Zaenah **Sungkar**	Abubakar **Sungkar**
3	Mustafa Amar	Aminah Taufik **Aljufri**	Abdullah **Aljufri**
4	Ahmad Rizal	Rosidah **Babher**	Zaenal Abidin **Bagazi**
5	Aisyah Helwa	Fadiyah Sulaiman **Bawazir**	Gasim Ali **Alkatiri**
6	Ali Zaenal Abidin	Jamilah Hasan **Ba'agil**	Idrus Isa **Mulachela**
7	Fadhillah Fahira	Aminah **Bajuber**	Muhammad Yunus **Babher**
8	Ilham Syarif	Hadijah Ali **Sanad**	Abas Salim **Abdat**
9	Machmud Syarif	Hamidah Muhammad **Sungkar**	Jamal Mahmud **Baraja**
10	Muhammad Nabil	Naimah Abubakar **Sungkar**	Fahmi Ali **Bamazruk**

Children born from family partners with the same fam also do not always attach surnames at the end of their names such as AL HABSYI, SUNGKAR, and AL JUFRI on numbers 1—3 (**Table 6**). The writing of surname on the official document does not appear to have been prioritized by older groups during the administration process. So that, many children from endogamous marriages are not written their surname on official population documents even though basically surname is their right. Even so, the daily activities of mentioning surname are very often performed considering that Hadrami-Arab has specific preferences regarding names, such as the name MUHAMMAD and ABDULLAH for men; FATIMAH and KHADIJAH for women. In this context, the surname can function to distinguish between people who have the same name; between MUHAMMAD AS SEGAF, MUHAMMAD ABDAT, MUHAMMAD AL HABSYI, or MUHAMMAD from another surname. This proves that personal name is a marker of group identity, lineage indicators, socio-economic class and level of modernization.[29]

The naming pattern of exogamous marriage (Javanese mothers; Arab fathers)

The right of attaching surname does not only apply to endogamous marriages. Children from a marriage between a Javanese mother and an Arab father also apply this model. Of the 252 children of Javanese mother and Arab father, 25 children (9.93%) who still have the surname at the end of their names (**Table 7**). On the other hand, 227 children (90.07%) renounced the surname. In other words, children from these marriages are more inclined to imprint the surname on the names of their children.

Table 7 The name of the children from exogamous marriage (Javanese mother and Arabian father) with the surname

No	Children Name	Mother's Name	Father's Name
1	Aisyah Fakhry **Ghuzie**	Rosda Elliya	Fakhry Abdullah **Ghuzie**
2	Ali Bin Umar **Baraja**	Tukinem	Umar **Baraja**
3	Farqana **Bamiftah**	Amalia Sari Hidayati	Thoriq **Bamiftah**
4	Haidar Soltan **Nahdi**	Sri Bandini	Sultan Saleh **Nahdi**
5	Ibrahim **Machrus**	Wiji Rahayu	Yusuf **Machrus**
6	Latifah Saleh **Bawazier**	Rustini	Saleh **Bawazir**
7	Layla **Mahdamy**	Sri Sugiarti	Mustafa **Mahdamy**
8	Mohammad Idrus Bin Mustofa **Sungkar**	Sumini	Mustofa Bin Abubakar **Sungkar**

[29] Tariq Rahman, "Personal Names of Pakistani Muslims: An Essay on Onomastics".

| 9 | Muhammad Hafidz Yusuf **Aljufri** | Hani Yusriati | Yusuf Bin Agil **Aljufri** |
| 10 | Salsabila Alwi **Bilfaqih** | Anisah Selviana | Alwi Ahmad **Bilfagih** |

Because the lineage is inherited from the father's side, the male is the key to the inheritance of the family culture. Hadrami-Arab married to non-Arab women have greater rights than Arab women who marry non-Arab men, including one of them in the surname. The names in **Table 7** prove that children born to Arab fathers inherit their father's surname, for example, ALI with the surname BARAJA, LATIFAH with the surname BAWAZIER, and SALSABILA with the surname BILFAQIH.

Table 8 The name of the children from exogamous marriage (Javanese mother and Arabian father) without the surname

No	Chilren Name	Mother's Name	Father's Name
1	Abdillah	Wardah Diana	Yahya Ahmad **Al Habsyi**
2	Chalimah	Sunarmi	Soelaiman Saleh **Sungkar**
3	Muhamad Sahil	Nur Mimik	Hasan **Mulachela**
4	Muhammad Ilham	Suwarsi	Faruk Ali **Bamazruk**
5	Muhammad Nizar	Hastin Sri Rejeki	Farchan **Baradja**
6	Nadiyah	Nur Ning	Yahya Said **Al Katiri**
7	Nafisah	Parinem	Amir **Al Abdat**
8	Reza Yanuar Annas	Amik Sutarmi	Mundor Muhamad **Assegaf**
9	Umi Solikhah	Sri Mulyani	Ahmad Hadi **Bafadhal**
10	Zaenab Aqilah	Sri Winarni	Sayyid Abdullat **Al'atas**

Although families from Javanese mothers and Arabian fathers have the right to include surname in the names of their children, most of them prefer to abandon the surname. As evidenced by 227 children from this marriage, they were not found the surname in their names. Even so, the parents of the exogamous marriage couple (Javanese mother; Arab father) almost entirely used Arabic words as their children's names, such as ABDILLAH, CHALIMAH, and NADIYAH in **Table 8**.

Arabic names given to children of couples with this type of marriage prove the magnitude of the father's role in controlling naming. These Arabic names not only facilitate ethnic identity from the father but also facilitate the religious background of both parents. Giving Arabic names is a representation of cultural heritage and collective affiliation in the form of religion. This is a strategy in bridging cultural differences between the two parties. In line with this, the study of[30] the selection of names of Arab men with Italian women also shows that there are negotiations on naming that accommodate the cultural heritage of the two couples who have identity duality. The names of their children, such as SAMIR-GIOVANI, OMAR-PAOLO, LUCIA-FATMA, and NADIA-MEYREM have symbols of their parents' identities.

Surname among the Hadrami-Arab is very secured as evidence of *nasab* purity from the results of Arabian endogamous marriages. This fact explained why this type of marriage continues to exist today. In contrast, children from exogamous or amalgamation marriages often abandon the surname in the names of their children. The family comes from Arabian mother and Javanese father are not allowed to put surname at the end of their children's name. As an alternative, they named their

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[30] Francesco Cerchiaro, "'In the Name of the Children': Mixed Couples' Parenting Analysed through Their Naming Practices", *Identities*, January 2, 2017, 1–18.

children with hybrid names as evidence of inter-ethnic marriage acculturation that occurred.

The naming pattern of exogamous marriage (Arab mothers; Javanese fathers)

This type of marriage is rarely performed by Hadrami-Arab. This marriage is common avoided because their marriage is considered to cut off the Arab lineage. The children from the marriage are not entitled to embed the mother's surname on their name (**Table 9**). Uniquely, this naming system in interethnic marriage accommodates both the cultures of both parents, Arabic-Javanese in the choice of words for names.

The Javanese name has two variants:[31] first name (Javanese term; *nama alit*, forename) and second name (*nama sepuh*, name for adult after marriage). The characteristics of the Javanese name were characterized by the presence of honorifics *sri-*[32], such as father's name SRIYANTO and SRIYADI (**Table 9** number 5 and 10). The last syllable in Javanese names is often vowel /a/ or /o/ such as PURBA, PURWANTO, SETIYOKO, SRIYANTO, WALOYO, YUNIANTO and PURNOMO (numbers 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9); or end with -*wan*[33] such as: HERMAWAN, IRAWAN, and KURNIAWAN (numbers 1, 4, 6 and 8). The characteristics of Javanese names are also marked by the suffix -*di* which has the type of male marker[34] for example, RASIDI and SRIYADI (number 2 and 10).

Table 9 The name of the children from exogamous marriage
(Javanese father and Arabian mother)

No	Child's Name	Mother's Name	Father's Name
1	Adeeva **Farhana**	Fikriya Fadhil **Basyarahil**	Irawan Purba Nirwana
2	**Ahmad Nafi** Rasidi	Hamidah	Taufik Rasidi
3	Dedy **Haekal** Revado	Fatmah	Edy Purwanto
4	**Fawwas** Kurniawan	Laila Muhammad Said **Sungkar**	Kurniawan Setiyoko
5	Intan **Yasmin**	Rahmah **Baasyir**	Muhammad Sriyanto
6	**Jihan** Kurniawan	Laila Muhammad Said **Sungkar**	Kurniawan Setiyoko
7	**Labib Farkhan** Syahputra	Aliyah	Waloyo
8	**Muhammad Saif Ahnaf** Hermawan	Wafa' Usman **Sungkar**	Sidik Hermawan
9	**Salman Al Farisi**	Suud **Assegaf**	Andri Cahyo Purnomo
10	**Su'ud** Ekaningsih	Seon **Baraja**	Umar Sriyadi

Children from Arab mother and Javanese father tend to be named with Arabic names combined with non-Arabic words, both taken from new names such as LABIB FARKHAN SYAHPUTRA and part of his father's name, for example, KURNIAWAN (**Table 9**). Some families also adopted a patronized system for their children due to the influence of mothers of Arab descent, although this is not a common event among Javanese families.

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[31] Uhlenbeck, "Systematic Features of Javanese Personal Names"; Sahayu, "Penanda Jenis Kelamin Pada Nama Jawa dan Nama Jerman", *WORD*, Vol. 25, No. 1–3, January 16, 1969.

[32] Sahid Teguh Widodo, "Konstruksi Nama Orang Jawa Studi Kasus Nama-Nama Modern Di Surakarta".

[33] Sahayu, "Penanda Jenis Kelamin Pada Nama Jawa Dan Nama Jerman"; Wibowo, "Nama Diri Etnik Jawa".

[34] Uhlenbeck, "Systematic Features of Javanese Personal Names"; Sahayu, "Penanda Jenis Kelamin Pada Nama Jawa dan Nama Jerman".

This fact is contrary to what happened to Hadrami-Arab in Pontianak, Kalimantan.[35] Although endogamy marriage is still maintained, naming their children no longer adopts an Arabic naming system. In other words, the assimilation that occurred between Hadrami-Arab and the local community is very good. Consequently, Hadrami-Arab in Kalimantan can no longer be identified by name, in contrast to Hadrami-Arab in Surakarta who still maintain their religious identity even though exogamous marriages are always held.

Exogamous marriage between Arab mothers and Javanese fathers is one of the causes of cultural acculturation. The results of this marriage give birth to mixed descendants that can be identified by his/her name. In contrast to marriages of Javanese mother with Arab fathers who still use their children's names in full Arabic words, children born from Arab-mothers and Javanese-fathers are named after mixed Arabic-Javanese or Javanese-Arabic. FAWWAZ KURNIAWAN, INTAN YASMIN, and SU'UD EKANINGSIH are some evidence of lexical acculturation in personal names, hybrid names. Hybrid names can be described that the name formed from a combination of several naming systems, especially first name, ethnicity and national identity.[36]

Hadrami-Arabs are people who adhere to a patriarchal system and a naming system that is strongly influenced by gender. In line with that, men have authority in the patriarchal system; women have less authority.[37] Among Hadrami-Arab, it can be seen that the fact that women are not entitled in the name of the family like men. When women of Hadrami-Arab choose to get married outside the ethnic community, they no longer carry their family names.

Table 10 Comparison of naming systems based on the marriage type of parents

Naming Feature	Arb-Arb	Jav-Arb	Arb-Jav
All Arabic name	v	v	
Partial Arabic name			v
Sticking father's name	v	v	
Sticking to grandfather's name	v		
Sticking to the name of father and grandfather	v		
Grandfather's name as a first name	v		
The name ends with the surname	v	v	

Minority communities tend to maintain their identity. In the New Order era, for example, a regulation was issued calling on Chinese descendants to change Chinese names to Indonesian names. However, after the rule was revoked in 1999 the Chinese descendants immediately renamed their children with Chinese names in order to maintain their ethnicity through names.[38] The same case occurs in Hadrami-Arab in maintaining their religious identity through a naming tradition. Despite the fact that

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[35] Syarifah Ema Rahmaniah, "Multikulturalisme Dan Hegemoni Politik Pernikahan Endogami: Implikasi dalam Dakwah Islam", 433–56.

[36] Karen Kow Yip Cheng, "Names in Multilingual-Multicultural Malaysia", 47–53.

[37] Karen Kow Yip Cheng, "Names in Multilingual-Multicultural Malaysia", 47–53.

[38] Fennylia Siska Gunawan and Ong Mia Farao Karsono, "Pemberian Nama Tionghoa Keluarga Sub Suku Fúqīng Di Banjarmasin 马辰福清人命名分析", *Century,* Vol. 1, No. 2, 2013, 1–11.

Arabic naming is also used by Muslim communities of the world,[39] Hadrami-Arab have a specific naming tradition, especially for families of endogamy couples. Their identity is not only marked by Arabic names or Islamic names that are used as personal names, but patronym naming (father's name and/ grandfather's name) and surname are their characteristics that cannot be found in exogamous couples (**Table 10**). Keeping surname through marriage is a way of the family to maintain the surname, as one of the inherited cultures. This shows that naming is one form of culture that is still maintained by Hadrami-Arab today, especially in order to represent their collective identity.

Conclusion

The personal name becomes an important issue, especially for minorities because it is a confirmation of the existence of their presence so that problems related to identity are crucial. One of the social identities of Hadrami-Arab can be traced by the presence of surname at the end of their name, as a confirmation of the carrier lineage from the family. Naming systems are owned by certain social and cultural systems in which they are lifed, especially in community. This system offers an indication of the social and cultural types adopted by a particular ethnic community. Interethnic marriages affect the presence of hybrid names which are evidence of acculturation that occurs from two different cultures.

Problems regarding personal name and surname among Hadrami-Arab, in fact, are not only fascinating issues but are complex studies that still need to be examined further. The available data shows that the use of the same Arabic name that is used massively by some people, for example, MUHAMMAD, AHMAD, ABDULLAH and ALI for men; FATIMAH, KHADIJAH, NUR and AISYAH for women. In everyday speech, calling someone with the same personal name is dealt with by giving the nickname as a differentiator between people of the same name. Both of these studies will provide a comprehensive onomastics study of naming among hadrami-Arab, as well as the use of larger samples considering that cities such as Jakarta, Pekalongan, and Surabaya are also inhabited by Hadrami-Arab communities.[]

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[39] Tariq Rahman, "Personal Names of Pakistani Muslims: An Essay on Onomastics"; Eric Kunto Aribowo and Nanik Herawati, "Trends in Naming System on Javanese Society: A Shift From Javanese to Arabic"; Lau-fong Mak, "Naming and Collective Memory in Malay Muslim World".

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