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Clan names of the Simalungun Batak: The naming system of an Indonesian ethnic group

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Clan names of the Simalungun Batak:
The naming system of an Indonesian ethnic group

Abstract: Personal names in Indonesia almost exclusively consist of given names only. Family names are rare in the more than 700 ethno-linguistic groups in the country. However, clan names are used in a few groups, including the Batak Simalungun, a number of distinct, but related ethno-linguistic groups found primarily in North Sumatra, Indonesia. Clan names are different from family names in that the kinship and descent signified by the name may be perceived, rather than actual.

The Batak clan system is hierarchical, with clans structured into sub-clans, each with their own name. What is exceptional about Batak society is that, under some circumstances, individuals can change their sub-clan name. This study uses a

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qualitative approach to studying the person naming system in members of one of the clans who occupy the Simalungun area to the west of Lake Toba in Sumatra. There are four main clans in the Simalungun area. These are Sinaga, Saragih, Damanik, and Purba. The study looks at the Saragih clan.

The study explores the mechanisms and constraints governing the ability to change one's sub-clan name, what kind of phenomena underlie the concept of clan in Batak society, and how the concept of clan shapes identity. The data comes from 462 heads of Saragih households who were identified from official records. The study found that the clan and sub-clan name are related to names of places, jobs and local beliefs. This study on clan names in Batak society adds to our understanding of the nature of clans in different cultures.

Keywords: Clan name (*marga*), identity, Saragih clan, Simalungun Batak, Indonesia.

Noms de clan du les Batak de Simalungun :
le système d'appellation d'une groupe ethnique indonésien

Résumé : Les noms des Indonésiens sont composés exclusivement des prénoms. Le nom de famille est une rareté dans plus de 700 groupes ethnolinguistiques vivant dans ce pays. Cependant, le nom de clan est utilisé dans quelques groupes, tel que les Batak de Simalungun, un nombre de groupes différents mais de la même famille ethnolinguistique qui existent surtout à Sumatra du Nord, l'Indonésie. Le nom de clan est différent de celui de famille dans le sens que la parenté perçue dans le premier n'existe véritablement pas.

Le système clanique des Batak suit une hiérarchie : le clan est divisé en sous-clans et chacun a son propre nom. Les Batak sont exceptionnels puisque dans certaines circonstances un individu peut changer son nom de sous-clan. Cette recherche a appliqué une approche qualitative pour étudier le système d'appellation des membres des clans qui habitent aux alentours de Simalungun jusqu'à l'ouest du Lac Toba, Sumatra. Il existe quatre clans principaux dans la région de Simalungun: Sinaga, Saragih, Damanik, et Purba; mais seulement le clan Saragih qui est l'objet de cette recherche.

Cette étude explore le méchanisme et les contraintes du changement du nom de sous-clan, quel phénomène se trouve derrière le concept de clan chez les Bataks, et comment ce concept a modelé l'identité d'un individu. Les données sont rassemblées des 462 membres de la famille Saragih enregistrés à l'État civil. Cette étude a découvert que les noms clan et des sous-clan correspondent aux noms de lieu, de métier et de croyances locales, ce qui permet de comprendre la nature des clans dans les différentes cultures.

Mots-clés : Nom de clan (*marga*), Identité, Les Saragih, Batak de Simalungun, Indonésie.

Clannamen der Batak Simalungun:
Das System der Namensgebung einer indonesischen Volksgruppe

Zusammenfassung: Personennamen in Indonesien bestehen fast ausschließlich aus Vornamen. Nachnamen im Sinne eines Namens, den die Mitglieder einer Familie teilen, sind selten in den mehr als 700 ethnolingustischen

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Gruppen im Land. Allerdings gibt es bei einigen Gruppen Klan-Namen, etwa bei den Batak Simalungan, ein Volksstamm verschiedener, aber verwandter ethnolinguistischer Gemeinschaften, die hauptsächlich in Nordsumatra leben. Klan-Namen unterscheiden sich von familiären Nachnamen in der Hinsicht, dass Verwandtschaft und Abstammung, die mit den Namen angegeben werden, eher auf subjektiver Wahrnehmung beruhen können denn tatsächlichen Verhältnissen.

Das Klan-System der Batak ist hierarchisch strukturiert. Die Batak sind unterteilt in Sub-Klans, jeder mit seinem eigenen Namen. Außergewöhnlich an der Batak-Gesellschaft ist, dass unter bestimmten Umständen Individuen ihren Unter-Klan-Namen wechseln können. Die vorliegende Untersuchung benutzt einen qualitativen Ansatz, um das System der Namensgebung bei Mitgliedern eines der Klans zu untersuchen, die in der Simalungun Gegend im Westen des Tobasees leben. Es gibt vier Haupt-Klans bei den Simalungun: Sinaga, Saragih, Damanik und Purba. Die vorliegende Untersuchung widmet sich dem Saragih-Klan.

Sie erforscht die Mechanismen und Beschränkungen, die die Möglichkeit regulieren, den individuellen Sub-Klan-Namen zu wechseln; was für eine Art von Phänomen hinter dem Konzept des Klans in der Batak-Gesellschaft steht; und wie das Konzept des Klans die Identitätsbildung formt. Die Daten kommen von 462 Saragih-Familienoberhäuptern, die durch amtliche Unterlagen ermittelt wurden. Die vorliegende Untersuchung kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass der Klan – und Sub-Klan-Name verbunden sind mit Ortsnamen, Berufen und lokalen Glaubensvorstellungen. Die vorliegende Untersuchung von Klan-Namen in der Batak-Gesellschaft trägt zu unserem Verständnis des Wesens von Klans in verschiedenen Kulturen bei.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Klan-Name (*marga*), Identität, Saragih-Klan, Simalungun Batak, Indonesien.

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Clan names of the Simalungun Batak: The naming system of an Indonesian ethnic group

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1. Introduction

Personal names in Indonesia almost exclusively consist of given names. Family names are rare in the more than 700 ethno-linguistic groups in the country. However, clan names are used in a few groups, including the Batak Simalungun, a number of distinct, but related ethno-linguistic groups found primarily in North Sumatra, Indonesia. A classic naming system which is called *marga* has been practiced by Simalungun people for many centuries, from the oldest generation to the latest one (Agustono 2012: 17). *Marga* is a clan name which is added to someone's given name. When a baby is born in Simalungun family, he or she receives the same *marga* as his/her father. This *marga* is attached automatically to the baby's given name as his/her last name. However, only the father could give his *marga* to his children. Women cannot do the same, but every woman has the same right in owning a *marga* like her father. This is why Simalungun culture is patrilineal.

The cultural tradition of an ethnic group can be explained through *marga* (Sibarani 2004: 24). The clan name or *marga* is different to family names in that the kinship and descent signified by the name may be perceived, rather than actual. *Marga* plays an important role in Simalungun traditional life. It is used to distinguish someone's position in *adat* (tradition), *horja-horja* (traditional party, celebration, or ritual), and also *partuturon* (greeting or address). Usually, someone will be called using a certain form of address based on one's *marga* and position in *adat* such as *tulang* (uncle), *bou* or *atturang* (aunt), *ito* (brother/sister), *amboru* (mother-in-law) and *kela* or *makkela* (father-in-law).

The Batak clan system is hierarchical, with clans structured into sub-clans, each with their own name. There are four main clans in the Simalungun area. These are Sinaga, Saragih, Damanik, and Purba. However, in this research, the authors focus on the Saragih clan and sub-clans only. There are 14 sub-clans in Saragih that mostly used by Simalungun's ancestry. What is exceptional about Batak Simalungun society is that, under some circumstances, individuals can change their sub-clan name.

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From all 462 heads of Saragih households who were identified from official records, the authors found that 39 people changed their clan name. This clan-name change can be found in some official documents such as the letter of family identity (Kartu Keluarga/KK). In this research, the authors only analyzed names from official records in Kartu Keluarga published by *Dinas Kependudukan dan Catatan Sipil Kabupaten Simalungun* [Civil Registration and Population Affair Agency of Simalungun District]. The reason why we chose this official document is that every family has their KK which shows all the family members' names, covering 3 generations: father/mother, children, and grandmother/grandfather. Moreover, KK also shows complete data about the exact time and place in which someone was born. We can analyze people's mobility along their life from KK. This KK or letter of family identity is a legal document used by all Indonesians.

This paper will also discuss clan-name change and uniqueness of Simalungun society. At the same time, the authors categorize the anthroponymic pattern of Simalungun clan names, especially of the Saragih clan and its sub-clans. The study explores the mechanisms and constraints governing the ability to change one's sub-clan name, the kind of phenomena underlying the concept of clan in Batak society, and how the concept of clan shapes identity.

2. Method

This research uses qualitative methods supported by means of anthroponymic theory. The data comes from 462 heads of Saragih households who were identified from the official records taken from *Dinas Kependudukan dan Catatan Sipil Kabupaten Simalungun* [Civil Registration and Population Affair Agency] in the form of Kartu Keluarga (KK) or letter of family identity. The authors collected these names from 10 districts in Simalungun regency. These districts were chosen by using purposive sampling in order to find the exact description of this Saragih clan name and its users. From the data we learned that there are 14 sub-clans which belong to Saragih. All these clan names will be analyzed to reveal the anthroponymic pattern of Saragih while the change of clan name will be analyzed to see the real condition of its users in society.

The methods used consists of library research and interviews. Since the *marga* or clan name is a linguistic product made up of words, the analysis of every clan name also involved semantic and linguistic-historical aspects. The authors analyzed not only the word-formation of clan names but also their lexical meaning. The lexical meaning of each clan name was collected by using a dictionary as reference. At the end of the analysis, all clan names were categorized based on their meaning to find the anthroponymic pattern of the Saragih clan names.

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3. Discussion

In onomastics, the analysis of names is focused on their use. There are three basic elements in a personal name, which are called *praenomen* (given name), *nomen* (family name), and *cognomen* (nickname). This classification is based on ancient Roman names, but in the modern era, a personal name is divided into forename or given name and surname or family name (Hanks 2006: 52).

The analysis of personal names can be done by applying anthroponymic theories. Anthroponymic analysis does not simply imply a discussion about a name, but it may involve many aspects such as the history of a family, migration, the politic and socio-cultural condition of a people in a certain age. Linguistically, a name is a language product which consists of one word or several words. A name has a certain meaning and can be analyzed not only literally, but also historically (Lehrer 2006: 38). This research analyzes Simalungun clan names literally by referring to specific historical meaning:

> The etymological history of the main name class is involved in place and personal names cases. In most name classes, such as place and personal names, there are two cases: evolution names and bestowal names. As a rule, evolution names are primary, bestowal names secondary. Besides, every proper name consists of motivation attached mostly, but not always, to a group of words with a lexical meaning. (Van Langendonck 2014: 173–176)

The Batak language is divided into three groups: south language, middle languages, and north languages. Dairi, Alas, and Karo languages belong to the north group, while Angkola, Mandailing, and Toba languages are south languages. However, the Simalungun language or *Sahap Simalungun* belongs to the group of middle languages because the position of this language lies between south and north (Tarigan 1975: 11). Every Batak language is different although there are certain similarities shared by the languages. All Batak languages belong to the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) language family and every language has its own grammar and vocabulary (Voorhoeve 1955: 27). However, Simalungun is one of the developing languages with 1.200.000 speakers all around the world (*Ethnologue* 2010).

Marga or clan name symbolizes not only one's family history, but also clan identity. A person knows the hierarchy and history of the clan by means of a *marga*. Sinaga, Saragih, Damanik, and Purba are the main clans of the Simalungun, but each clan has different sub-clans. Saragih has 14 sub-clans, which can be seen in full in the following figure:

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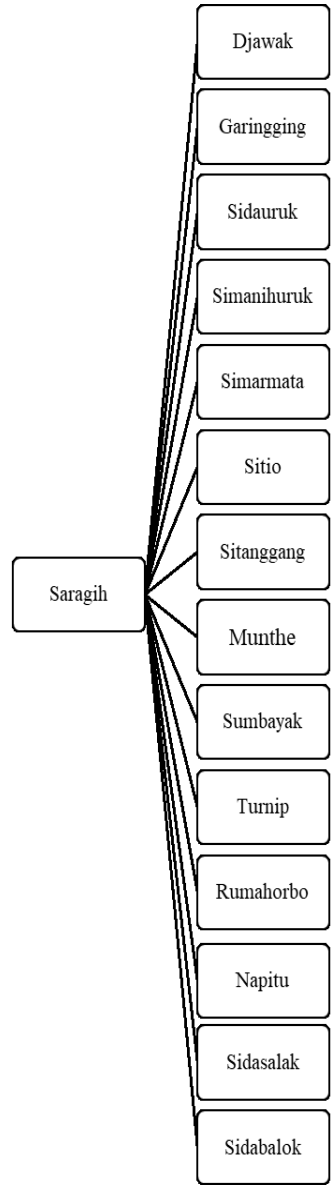


Figure 1: List of the Saragih clan and its sub-clans

3.1. The analysis of the Saragih clan

A name is a unit of language. The meaning of a name can be found by analyzing its etymology and meaning (Durkin 2009: 45). With respect to etymology, analyzing the formation of a name is important in order to find the root, history, and origin of that name.

The word *Saragih* is derived by attaching the affix *sa-* to the word *ragih*. In Simalungun, *ragih* means ‘rule’, whereas the prefix *sa-* is added as

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an article to show the singular form of this word. *Saragih* means 'rule' or 'one/a rule' in Simalungun. In Toba, the language of one of the Batak sub-ethnic group, *Saragi* is a clan name, while in Karo, another Batak sub-ethnic group, *Seragih* is also a clan name.

The word *ragih* has yet another meaning in Simalungun: it is a kind of design or pattern applied in *hiou* or *ulos*. *Hiou* is a traditional Simalungun fabric/cloth. This meaning is correlated to the word *ragi* in Malay and Old Javanese, while in Sanskrit *saragi* designates a bowl. The word *saragi* was printed on an ancient bowl in the province of Riau. This bowl is a phenomenal discovery related to the old civilization of Riau, and it was found by epigraphers Arlo Griffiths and Daniel Perret (see Griffiths 2012: 210). According to Griffiths (2012: 210), the inscription *saragi da lakhani* which was inscribed on that bowl means 'Lakhani's bowl'. This discovery has become a part of the Riau heritage and can be seen in the National Museum in Jakarta. Table 1 illustrates the comparison of the word *saragih* across several languages.

Table 1: The meaning of *ragih* or *saragih* in some languages

Source	**Word form**	**Meaning**
Bahasa Indonesia	–	–
Malay	*Ragi*	1. 'yeast'; 2. (Kedah Malay) 'color; color pattern; design'
Old Javanese	*Ragi*	'a part/kind of fabric or cloth'
Simalungun	*sa-*	prefix meaning 'a/an'
	Ragih	1. 'rule(s)'; 2. 'well organized, rules'; 3. '*ulos* (fabric, cloth)'
	Saragih	1. 'a rule'; 2. 'Simalungun main *marga*'
Sanskrit	*Saragi*	'bowl'
Toba	*Saragi*	'one of the *marga* in Toba'

The table shows that the word *ragih* can only be found in Simalungun language, while in other Austronesian languages such as Toba, Malay, Old Javanese the form *saragih* varies from *ragih* to *saragi*. In *Sejarah Etnis Simalungun* [History of Simalungun] (Agustono 2012), the name Saragih first appeared in Kerajaan Nagur, one of the oldest Simalungun kingdoms which was ruled by King Damanik. Unfortunately, there were many battles and much misunderstanding between the warlords of the kingdom. For many years, people of this kingdom lived in terror because of the civil wars between warlords. One day, because the war caused many tragedies, King Damanik finally asked his warlords to unite and stop the war. The king promised that he would divide his territory and give some of his land to the warlords. All the warlords agreed to stop the war and, eventually, every warlord received the land promised by the king. They were allowed to rule their land separated from Kerajaan Nagur. One of the warlords, Lord Banua Sobou Parnabolon Saragih, got his territory in Raya (Simalungun), Tebing Tinggi (Serdang Bedagai), and Tanjung Morawa (Deli

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Serdang). Later, these areas became another kingdom in Simalungun. The name of Lord Saragih subsequently became a family name; all his children received his name. Until now, the clan name *Saragih* is still used by most of his ancestry; it has become the identity for the whole Saragih family for many centuries. The appearance of the Saragih clan name relates to the theory that a family name originates in the ancestor's personal name (Sibarani 2004: 38). The authors of this paper also analyzed the lexical meaning of other 14 sub-clans pertaining to Saragih. The table below includes the list of the lexical meaning of Saragih sub-clan names based on *Kamus Bahasa Simalungun* [Dictionary of Simalungun] (Dasuha 2015).

Table 2: The meaning of the Saragih clan name and corresponding sub-clan names

No.	***Marga*/Sub-*marga***	**Meaning**
1.	*Saragih*	'rule; a rule'
2.	*Djawak*	Djawak/Jawa: 1. 'Javanese'; 2. 'flat, a flat and wide land'; 3. 'the name of Simalungun kingdom'
3.	*Garingging*	1. 'the name of a village'; 2. 'Saragih sub-clan'; 3. '*giring-giring,* the plant *Crotalaria retusa*, which is used as a green fertilizer. Usually, its leaves can be used as roof (*nipah*)'
4.	*Munthe*	'the name of a sub-clan of the Saragih clan in Simalungun'
5.	*Sidauruk*	'the one who comes from a hill (*uruk*)'
6.	*Simanihuruk*	'the one who digs'
7.	*Simarmata*	'the eyes'
8.	*Sitanggang*	'words from the spirit of a dead body'
9.	*Sitio*	'clear, pure'
10.	*Sumbayak*	'the richest'
11.	*Turnip*	'the name of Simalungun's empress'
12.	*Rumahorbo*	'goat's stalls'
13.	*Napitu*	'the seventh'
14.	*Sidasalak*	'by oneself, alone'
15.	*Sidabalok*	'limit, boundary'

Based on the analysis of the meaning of all Saragih sub-clans listed in the table above, the authors of this study found certain semantic patterns in the names of the Saragih clan and sub-clans:

1. Name of animals: *Rumahorbo*;
2. Name of plants: *Garingging*;
3. Name of places: *Djawak*, *Garingging*, *Sidauruk*;
4. Occupations: *Simarmata*, *Simanihuruk*;
5. Local beliefs: *Sitanggang*;
6. Numbers: *Napitu*.

At the same time, the authors analyzed the spread of the clan name and sub-clan names in ten districts in Simalungun regency. The ten districts chosen as the sample represent the real nature of Simalungun life.

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Table 3: The use of the Saragih clan name and sub-clan names in ten districts

No.	Districts	Name bearers
1.	Dolok Batu Nanggar	51 people
2.	Jorlang Hataran	9 people
3.	Purba	49 people
4.	Sidamanik	48 people
5.	Panombeian Panei	35 people
6.	Pematang Bandar	41 people
7.	Siantar	46 people
8.	Silimakuta	85 people
9.	Tanah Jawa	23 people
10.	Tapian Dolok	75 people
Total: 462 people		

From 462 name bearers, the authors found that there are 39 distinct cases of clan name change in official identity documents. Based on what the authors discovered in their legal documents, clan name change can be classified into:

a. Name change using the main clan name instead of a sub-clan name

There are 11 people who use *Saragih* as their clan name. People in this case prefer the clan name *Saragih* instead of the other sub-clan names to be written in their official identity document (see Table 4).

Table 4: Saragih clan name in official identity documents

No.	Name	Sex	Year of birth	Father's name
1.	*Rudi Maya Saragih*	male	1973	*Burhan*
2.	*Romi Faisal Saragih*	male	1988	*Idris Saragih Munthe*
3.	*Risda Tiarni Saragih*	female	1974	*Jolly Turnip*
4.	*Heri Saragih*	male	1972	*Karmen*
5.	*Abri Saragih*	male	1984	*Kasim Saragih Garingging*
6.	*Binarsius Saragih*	male	1980	*Loren Saragih Simarmata*
7.	*Kristina Saragih*	female	1984	*Loren Saragih Simarmata*
8.	*Nerli Saragih*	female	1989	*Loren Saragih Simarmata*
9.	*Masitah Saragih*	female	1964	*M. Rasyid*
10.	*Nurmala Saragih*	female	1963	*Selamat*
11.	*Sumardi Saragih*	male	1968	*Senen*

In the table above we can see that some of the people who chose *Saragih* as their clan name have different clan names from their fathers. For example, Rudi Maya Saragih (sample no. 1 in the table) used *Saragih* as his very last name, while his father, Burhan, did not use any clan name. The same situation can also be found in the case of the people whose names are listed under numbers 4, 9, 10, and 11: they all used the clan name *Saragih* as a part of their name, while their fathers only employ their given names. The question that comes to our mind is, why do these differences occur? After interviewing the

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people listed under numbers 10 and 11, the authors found that the reason why these people keep using their main clan name (*Saragih*) in legal documents while their parents did not is because the parents come from a Javanese family which never used clan names or clan system in their society. At the beginning, the people corresponding to numbers 10 and 11 did not belong to a Saragih family. However, they get their clan name or *marga* by observing the marriage tradition in Simalungun. In Simalungun old tradition or *adat*, when a man or woman coming from a family outside Simalungun marries a Simalungun individual, he or she can also get the *marga* or clan name of the Simalungun family into which he or she married. Nurmala Saragih (no. 10 in Table 4) uses *Saragih* as her clan name although she and her father come from a Javanese family. Her clan name was taken from her husband's clan. The same situation also occurs in the case of Sumardi Saragih (no. 11), who got the clan name because he married a Simalungun woman.

The second analysis refers to the people listed under numbers 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8. These people have different clan names from their fathers, but most of the fathers in question use both *Saragih* as the main clan name and their sub-clan name (for instance, see the people from numbers 6, 7, and 8). These people come from the same family and their father is Loren Saragih Simarmata. Saragih is their main clan, whereas Simarmata is the sub-clan. However, their father, Loren, did not give his sub-clan name to his children. He only gave the name of his main clan (*Saragih*) to his children for practical reasons. That is why some people of the same Simalungun family can have different clan names.

b. Name change using the sub-clan names instead of the main clan name

There are 7 people who use their sub-clan names instead of the main clan name (*Saragih*). In this case, people prefer their sub-clan name to the main clan name to be written in their official identity documents.

Table 5: Saragih sub-clan in official identity documents

No.	Name	Sex	Year of birth	Father's name
1.	*Agustina Rumahorbo*	female	1955	*A. Saragih*
2.	*Fitri Yanti Galingging*	female	1989	*Hotben Galingging*
3.	*Irma Trianita Galingging*	female	1991	*Hotben Galingging*
4.	*Wan Novalita Galingging*	female	1994	*Hotben Galingging*
5.	*Friska Juliana Sumbayak*	female	1983	*Jarudin Saragih*
6.	*Rusma Sigalingging*	female	1969	*Risman Sigalingging*
7.	*Gaiman Simarmata*	male	1937	*Sarmaraya Saragih*
8.	*Lilis Julianti Sidauruk*	female	1988	*B. Sidauruk*

The data above shows that some Simalungun people prefer their sub-clan name instead of the main clan name (*Saragih*) to be written in official identity

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documents. For example, in the case of Agustina Rumahorbo (no. 1), *Rumahorbo* is a sub-clan name. However, her father, A. Saragih, does not use his sub-clan name (*Rumahorbo*) in his official identity document, he only used *Saragih*. This difference makes up a uniqueness of the Simalungun clan name system. The same situation also occurs with people from numbers 5, 7, and 8.

Based on a special interview that the authors did with Lilis Julianti Siaduruk (no. 8), they discovered she received her sub-clan name (*Sidauruk*) when she was born, because her father and her grandfather also use *Sidauruk*, not *Saragih*. She also explained that her sub-clan name, *Sidauruk*, is originally from Samosir land. Her ancestor came to Simalungun land a long time ago and joined the Saragih clan because it was one of the legal clans in Simalungun at that time.

Similar examples are listed under numbers 2, 3, and 4. These people come from the same family, and they use the same sub-clan name (*Galingging*) as their father. *Galingging* is a variant of *Garingging*. Another variant of *Garingging* can be seen in number 6, *Rusma Sigalingging*. Thus, there are two variants found for the sub-clan name *Garingging*: *Galingging* and *Sigalingging*. However, the meaning of the word *Galingging* in Simalungun is not known. The use of *si-* in *Sigalingging* indicates direction – 'to point to someone, something, or to a specific place' (Dasuha 2015).

c. Name change using the main clan name (Saragih) and the sub-clan name

There are 8 people who use both their main clan name (*Saragih*) and the sub-clan name in official identity documents.

Table 6: Clan and sub-clan names in official identity documents

No.	Name	Sex	Year of birth	Father's name
1.	*Yuli Estella Saragih Sumbayak*	female	2013	*Hot Romar Ganda Tua Saragih Sumbayak*
2.	*Rizki Auxelia Saragih Sumbayak*	female	2015	*Hot Romar Ganda Tua Saragih Sumbayak*
3.	*Hot Romar Ganda Tua Saragih Sumbayak*	male	1990	*Kommen Saragih Sumbayak*
4.	*Rosinta Saragih Simarmata*	female	1981	*Marika Saragih*
5.	*Rama Hotni Saragih Sumbayak*	female	1981	*Marudin Sumbayak*
6.	*Loren Saragih Simarmata*	male	1954	*Nasip Saragih*
7.	*Jusnita Saragih S*	female	1990	*Osman Saragih*
8.	*Martin Saragih Simarmata*	male	1995	*Osman Saragih*
9.	*Irma Saragih Sidauruk*	female	1994	*J Saragih Sidauruk*

The people from numbers 1, 2, and 3 use both *Saragih* and the sub-clan name *Sumbayak*. These individuals have the same clan name as their father.

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There is no clan name change for father or children in this family. However, number 4 and 6 also use both the clan and sub-clan name in official documents, while their fathers use only the main clan name (*Saragih*). Another uniqueness of the use of clan or sub-clan names can be noticed in the case of number 5, Rama Hotni Saragih Sumbayak. She includes the main clan name (*Saragih*) and her sub-clan name (*Sumbayak*) in official documents, while her father, Marudin Sumbayak, uses only his sub-clan name (*Sumbayak*).

Based on an interview with Irma Saragih Siaduruk (no. 9), the authors found out that she uses the clan name and sub-clan name in her identity document. She said that her father and grandfather also use *Saragih Sidauruk*, but her grandmother comes from a different clan, Manik. She also explained that her sub-clan name, *Sidauruk*, is originally from Simanindo – Samosir. Her ancestor came to Simalungun a long time ago and joined the Saragih clan. However, in Samosir, her clan name is *Sidauruk*, while in Simalungun, it becomes *Saragih*. All her family members use both *Saragih* and *Sidauruk* in order to remember their origin and their future. From this case we can conclude that a name can be a self-reminder to trace back a family's history.

The people listed under numbers 7 and 8 come from the same Saragih family but they have different ways in writing their name in official documents. Besides, their father, Osman Saragih, only uses *Saragih*, without any sub-clan name added to his name. Jusnita Saragih S, daughter of Osman Saragih, uses *Saragih* plus *S* in her name, while Martin Saragih Simarmata, son of Osman Saragih, uses both the main clan name (*Saragih*) and the sub-clan name (*Simarmata*). At the beginning, it is difficult for us to understand what the letter *S* in the name *Jusnita Saragih **S*** stands for, but after seeing her brother's name, *Martin Saragih Simarmata*, we can tell that *S* stands for *Simarmata*, their sub-clan name. Here we can see the clan name change in a Simalungun family.

d. Name change without using any clan or sub-clan name

There are 13 people who do not use any clan or sub-clan name in their official identity documents. In Table 7, one can see that most people who do not use any clan or sub-clan name are women (9), while the rest are men (4). The authors see this phenomenon as an interconnection with the patrilineal system in Simalungun Batak: the clan name is transferred from the father's line. It is clear that most Simalungun men will keep their clan name and use that name in their identity card, while women have no special reason to do so. Men will pass on their clan name to their children, whereas women do not need to do that. That is why men rarely omit their clan name in legal documents.

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Table 7: Names without clan or sub-clan designations

No.	Name	Sex	Year of birth	Father's name
1.	*JR. Gabriel Deardo*	male	2010	*Jamerson Saragih*
2.	*Nina Wati*	female	1991	*Jamian Simarmata*
3.	*Ike Dwi Yanti*	female	2001	*Mahmud Saragih*
4.	*Rahmawati*	female	2004	*Mahmud Saragih*
5.	*Mutiara Julita*	female	1994	*Mangun Saragih*
6.	*Renka Petua*	male	1996	*Mangun Saragih*
7.	*Erlin S*	female	1980	*Horasman Sumbayak*
8.	*Mustika Sari*	female	2000	*Radol Saragih*
9.	*Samsul Bahri*	male	1992	*Radol Saragih*
10.	*Siti Halimah*	female	1998	*Radol Saragih*
11.	*Rahmadani*	female	1995	*Zul Aspan Sitanggang*
12.	*Sanimen*	male	1992	*Saman Saragih*
13.	*Tiurma*	female	1955	*Ludin Sitanggang*

The people in Table 7 do not use any clan designation in their names, while their fathers use a clan or sub-clan name. After interviewing the fathers from a number of families, the authors came to the conclusion that these fathers are not willing to use any clan name for their children. One of the reasons is the anxiety that *marga* will interfere with their children's social life. The authors found out that some people are comfortable with not using any clan name in legal documents. It seems that people do not want to show their cultural background in this modern era.

Meanwhile, if we look back at the data, most of the people in Table 7 are women. It is common for the Simalungun people not to give any *marga* to a Simalungun woman, because the woman could not pass it on to her children. Only a man or father can give a clan name to his children or descendants. A Simalungun woman who does not use any clan or sub-clan name may use her husband's clan if she wishes to employ it.

4. Conclusion

David Hey (2000: 52) claims that a family name relates to the names of places, ancestry, and local beliefs. This theory relates to Simalungun culture, in that the anthroponymic pattern of Simalungun clan name or *marga* is correlated to names of animals, plants, places, occupations, local beliefs, and numbers. Based on the authors' investigation, all clan names were taken from ancestors' names. The Simalungun people still preserve their cultural values through clan names. This is salient in the 462 official documents of Saragih people that we collected in Simalungun regency; most people use their clan designation as a part of their name. The anthroponymic patterns identified

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reflect Simalungun culture. We can conclude that some cultural value still exists among the Simalungun people especially those from the Saragih clan. Although there are some clan name changes among the Simalungun people, the existence of clans reunites all these people; regardless where they come from and what their religion is, they still belong to the Simalungun community. Although every Simalungun people have different sub-clans, they still belong to the same family: the family of Saragih descendants. This is how a clan name becomes an element of local wisdom and survives for many years.

Furthermore, the authors discovered that migration is one of the important factors that influence the use of a clan name in an area. Throughout Dutch colonial history in Sumatra, many people outside Simalungun came to this land as contracted employee working on new plantations. Those people were originally from Toba and Tapanuli which had different clan names from the Simalungun people. However, those immigrants were not kindly welcomed in Simalungun. Because of that, some of the newcomers decided to change their Toba clan name into a Simalungun name, so that they could be accepted by local people. They chose a Simalungun clan as their new clan. By contrast, other immigrants did not want to change their clan, because they thought that their own clan name or *marga* is sacred. Thus, they used their Toba *marga* for the rest of their lives, but they still wanted to be a part of Simalungun and claimed to be the new Simalungun people. That is why many Simalungun sub-clan names are not originally Simalungun.

Mobilization and the politic or social condition of the people in an area can also affect the use of a clan name. This relates to what Jacub Rais stated in his book: “di balik sebuah nama, ada sejarah yang panjang tentang pemukiman manusia” [behind a name, there is a long history of human settlement] (Rais 2008: 24, our translation). People can learn the story of a family’s movement from year to year, from a place to another by looking at a clan name. Nothing can force someone to use a certain clan name, but everyone has the right to use a clan name to mark his/her identity throughout one’s life. The Simalungun people are free to choose whether they want to use a clan or even their sub-clan designation in their legal name. The use of a clan name in formal documents such as identity cards, birth certificates, letters of family members’ identity, passports, etc. shows the sense of belonging and cultural awareness of the people. According to the data that the authors collected for this research, most Simalungun people are still willing to use their clan name as their clan identity and to pass it on to the next generations. This is an example of intercultural communication across generations. In conclusion, a clan name or *marga* is not only indicative of a clan’s identity, but it is also a matter of self-pride that reflects the authenticity Simalungun culture.

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