A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY IN CINA BENTENG AND HAKKA (KHEK)
Analisis kontrastif terhadap sistem kekerabatan Cina Benteng dan Hakka (Khek)

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Kinship terminology is a way of addressing someone who is bound to themselves because of blood, descent, and marriage. Kinship terminology is culturally bounded. Kinship systems are widely discussed in different areas of humanity studies, such as linguistics studies. Terminologies in the kinship system of both Cina Benteng and Khek will be used as the linguistic evidence of this research. Since it is an ethnolinguistics study, this research attempts to analyze the kinship terminology of two similar ethnic communities, Cina Benteng and Hakka (Khek) in Tangerang through the ethnolinguistic point of view. It aims to provide the kinship terminology in Cina Benteng and Khek and also to contrast the similarities and differences between the term of address and term of reference in the chosen communities. This research will utilize the kinship theory from Nanda, Burling, and Lounsbury. The data of this research are being collected by doing interviews, recording the interview, taking notes, dan observe the site. This research revealed that even though Cina Benteng and Khek communities belonged to the same root, they have some contrast in their referring and addressing system of kinship.
Keywords: **Cina Benteng***; ethnolinguistics;* **Khek***; kinship*

Abstrak
Istilah kekerabatan adalah kosakata yang digunakan untuk menyebut seseorang yang terikat dengan diri/penutur karena hubungan darah, keturunan, dan perkawinan. Istilah kekerabatan dalam sebuah bahasa terikat oleh budaya. Sistem kekerabatan dibahas secara luas dalam berbagai studi humaniora, termasuk linguistik. Istilah kekerabatan dalam sistem kekerabatan Cina Benteng dan Khek akan digunakan sebagai data atau bukti linguistik penelitian ini. Penelitian ini mencoba menganalisis terminologi kekerabatan dua komunitas etnis Tionghoa, yaitu Cina Benteng dan Hakka (Khek), di Tangerang dari sudut pandang etnolinguistik. Tujuan penelitian ini ialah mendeskripsikan istilah kekerabatan di Cina Benteng dan Khek serta untuk membandingkan persamaan dan perbedaan dari istilah kekerabatan dan sapaan di komunitas itu. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori kekerabatan dari Nanda, Burling, dan Lonsburry. Data penelitian ini dikumpulkan dengan melakukan wawancara, perekaman, pencatatan, dan pengamatan di lokasi. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa meskipun berasal dari akar yang sama, komunitas Cina Benteng dan Khek memiliki beberapa perbedaan dalam sistem kekerabatan baik, dalam fungsi merujuk maupun memanggil.
Kata kunci: Cina Benteng; etnolinguistik; Khek; sistem kekerabatan

INTRODUCTION

Ethnolinguistics is an interdisciplinary study between anthropology and linguistics. It is a study of the people and the culture related to the community's language function, which includes a broader field of study. It encompasses all human behavior and activity that create cultural phenomena. It views language through the core prism of anthropological concepts and culture to find the meaning behind the use of the language, its different forms, register, or even styles (Foley, 2001). Linguistic anthropology focuses on the relationship between language and culture in a community, such as a kinship and color concepts.

Kinship terminology is a way to address someone who is bound to an Ego (ourselves) because of blood, descent, and marriage. Ego plays a vital role in kinship study because it is the respondent through whom a relationship is traced. Kinship in the ethnolinguistic study focuses on the anthropological factors that cause kinship variation in each community, more than a social context. It essentially functions for the continuation of a community because it provides in-depth information on human relationships and alliances, including those who can and cannot marry, the family creation mechanisms, and how social and economic resources are dispersed within a community. In a specific community, kinship is used as the symbol of respect and politeness. Chaer (2011) mentioned kinship as a name to address someone bound to us through family relationships. Kinship is an intangible cultural product that is used in daily life and indicates how we refer to our relatives, like the father, the mother, and the sister. It is also used to address the person we refer to, for instance, to address a father, someone might have special terms, or

usually, they will address the father as dad or daddy in English.

Tionghoa in Indonesia has a variety of cultures that have blended with the place where they live. The languages and culture that exist nowadays are the results of the combination of the cultural heritage of the Chinese ancestors assimilated with the local wisdom. Hokkian, Khek, Tio Ciu, Konghu, Cina Benteng, and Cina Jawa are a few examples of *peranakan* Tionghoa that live in Indonesia yet are located in different regions.

Suryadinata (1984) concludes that the Chinese ethnicity in Indonesia is divided into two groups. There are *totok* and *peranakan*. This occurred because of the assimilation of the indigenous people from China to the indigenous people in Indonesia. Suryadinata claimed that *totok* is a Chinese or Tionghoa ethnicity born in China mainland and has fluency in speaking China's mother tongue. *Peranakan*, known as *babah*, is a Chinese ethnicity born in Indonesia to mixed parents and usually uses the local language instead of Chinese. *Totok* and *peranakan* are recognized as Tionghoa in Indonesia because of their physical appearance and the daily language they use for living. The researcher is interested in investigating the kinship between Cina Benteng and Khek since they are categorized in Sundanese kinship, which explains in detail about addressing relatives because it has a different term for each relative based on the genealogical distance from ego and the side of the family yet this community has a distant kinship to address their relatives because of the applied language in their daily life.

There are several previous studies about kinship. The first is conducted by Kristanti (1999). It is purposed to provide a real example of different kinship terminology between English and Chinese and find the differences and similarities using Lado's concept by distinguishing the semantic features. The second previous study is about

the kinship system in Kluet of South Aceh by Essi (2011). This study aimed to analyze the kinship systems in the Kluet community by its cultural understanding (ethnolinguistic) which applied patrilineal and matrilineal kinship terms, specifically searching their role according to the take calls in a larger community than family. The researcher collects the data with the observation method through direct interviews with the Kluet people. The third previous study is about contrastive analysis from Wati Ode (2017) which figured out the two language groups, but have specific kinship pattern terminologies. She contrasts the kinship terms in English and Korean by using Lado's concept. She adapted the idea of kinship term from Murdock's book Social Structure. The data of English were collected through several relevant books, the internet, and a previous thesis about kinship terms, whereas the Korean data was collected from the native Korean participants. She concluded that kinship terms in English and Korean have similarities regarding sex, generation, and decadence. The differences between the two languages can be found in the semantic meaning. In Korean, kinship term has a semantic meaning, but in English, kinship terms have no semantic meaning. Last but not least, the third previous study is from Ruriana (2018) who analyzed kinship in the Banyuwangi community in East Java. She tried to find out the usage of kinship and its function by using the elicitation method to collect the data (Wardhaugh, 2006) from a sociolinguistic perspective. This research became interesting because Madura's culture influences the village. She found that kinship in Banyuwangi is grouped by direct line descent, indirect line descent, and also marriage. The kinship in Banyuwangi is used to claim the family relationship between one another in that society. The goal of this research is to identify the kinship terminologies in Cina Benteng and Hakka (Khek) communities and also to contrast the kinship between them.

Moreover, there are also some previous journals that discussed similar topics. The first is being done by Azis et al. (2020) who analyzed kinship terminology in the Tamiang language. Tamiang language is a Malay variety spoken in eastern Aceh, Indonesia. Some other research also focused on multicultural ethnicities in Indonesia, such as the kinship system in Kebumen (Pujiyanto, 2009), Batak Toba (Sihombing, 2020), Sangihe language (Patimbano et al., 2019), Melayu Bangka ethnic in Pangkalpinang (Muhidin, 2019), Melayu Palembang (Muhidin, 2017), Melayu Kutai (Rusbiyantoro, 2011), Tontemboan language used by Minahasa people (Perutu, 2019), Sasak (Haerudin, 2017), and Minangkabau Tapan in contrast to Kerinci Penuh (Rina, 2018).

All of those previous studies investigated the kinship system in various ethnic cultures in Indonesia. However, there are still a few research that explored the Tionghoa community's kinship system. However, there are also some previous researches that explored Tionghoa as the object, such as narrative and place naming related to Cina Benteng Tangerang (Kumala, 2021; Kumala & Lauder, 2021), Chinese existence in Kalimantan Barat (Utami, 2019), Chinese Khek ritual and tradition (Riski, 2020), social dan cultural acculturation (Haryani, 2020), and diaspora's situation (Alkadrie et al., 2017).

Linguistic anthropology, well known as ethnolinguistic, is a subfield of linguistics study concerned with the place of language in its broader social and cultural context and its role in forging and sustaining cultural practices and social cultures (Foley, 2001).

> Anthropological linguistics views language through the prism of the core anthropological concept, culture, and, as such, seeks to uncover the meaning behind the use, misuse, or non-use of language, its different forms, registers, and styles. It is an interpretive discipline peeling away at language to find cultural understandings (p. 3).

Linguistic anthropology is an interpretive discipline that analyzes language to discover

cultural understanding. The former study of linguistic anthropology is a study of a speech community. The speech that occurs in a community is an integral interpretation and representation of the societies and conditions marked by change, diversity, and increasing technology as previously treated conventionally. It is to understand human language and meaning-making because it is a product of prolonged interaction among the shared beliefs and norms regarding their cultural value and language history as communication tools with others. This interdisciplinary study examines the structure and the community relationship through kinship, color concepts, parenting patterns, and how the member of the community communicate with each other in such conditions as traditional ceremonies, which will be correlated with the cultural concepts. Through the linguistic anthropology approach, the behavior in a community through the languages and utterances they used, the gestures, and the context of its appearance can be examined (Duranti, 2004). In this research paper, the ethnolinguistic study functioned to elaborate on the meaning of the language variation in the kinship of the Cina Benteng community and the Khek community because each community's anthropological factors influence the use of dialects in the two communities.

Language and culture are related one to another. A culture cannot be developed without language and vice versa. Language reflects the society perceives and conceptualizes the world. Culture is defined by Goodenough (1957) below.

> A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe to operate in a manner acceptable to its members. Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them (p. 167).

The culture is not only about the concrete forms, such as art, music, or anything included as high culture, but it also examines the abstract forms like life's perspective and way of thinking in a community as Goodenough stated above. To live in a society, someone is not required to have a certain knowledge about what they believe to operate good manner, but they learned it daily with the people around them, mainly with their family. Language and culture become the support theory of this research since linguistic anthropology correlated to the cultural value that lives in each community. It shaped language development like accent and vocabulary through the cultural perspective and interpretation as the reflections of the high cultural form from each community. The study of kinship is central to anthropology and language in a community; it indicates by the use of vocabulary such as father, mother, brother, and sister in English. It provides in-depth information on human relationships and alliances, including those who can and can not marry, the family creation mechanisms, and how social and economic resources are dispersed within a group.

Chaer (2011) mentioned kinship names as a name to address someone wound to ourselves through family relationships. It is drawn from the blood bond and marriage. Family through descent or blood ties has different kinship relationships with kinship relationships in marriage. Both are still called kinship, but because there is an additional factor in the interrelationship between the formation of kinship groups, the development of kinship ideology, the behavior of varying kin toward one another, and the kinship terminology of a society, anthropologists refer to kinship system (Nanda, 1991).

The ego plays a vital role in kinship studies. The respondent through whom a relationship is traced is called an ego. It can be a male or a female. For example, if the ego is (C) the son of a person (A), then all relations, in this case, would be traced through C. For better understanding, please

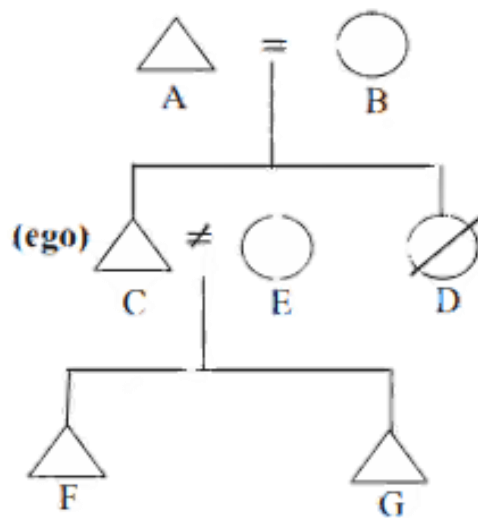refer to the diagram below showing ego (C's) family genealogy.

Figure 1 Ego
(Kinship e-Gyankosh IGNOU (Nanda, 1991)

Keyword
Δ: Male
O: Female
=: Marriage
#: Divorce
⊥: Offspring couple/siblings
∅: Death

As stated above in the diagram, the ego is C son of A. Let's see how the relations would be traced in this situation if we start from the ego. Ego is A's son, which means A is the father, his mother is B, and D is his sister (sibling). E is ego's wife, and F and D are his two sons.

As quoted by Essi (2011), there are two kinship terminologies: terms of reference and terms of address. Terms of reference are the words used to describe the relationships between the individual in a family, such as *father, grandmother, sister*, or *mother's sister* with ego. While on the other hand, terms of address are the terms that ego uses to speak directly to their kin, such as *kode*, *engkong*, and *emak* in Cina Benteng's language or mom and dad in English. Foley (2011) stated that kinship had been studied from two different perspectives, universalist (Goodenough, 1957); relativist (Jonsen, K., Maznevsji, M. L., & Schneider, 2010; Leech,

1974). Lounsbury in Leech (Leech, 1974) stated that analyzing kinship can be started by identifying the range of reference of a term by a list of denotata or the terms of a specific relationship that are expressed by a symbol, such as FB for father's brother, MB for mother's brother, and FSH that stands for father's sister husband. He stated that kinship also could be grouped based on gender, lineage, and generation. Gender is used to determine kinship based on the sex of the relatives, man or woman.

For example, people use the term address *dad* to refer to their father and *mom* to refer to their mother. Lineage determines kinship through its descents, divided into direct descent (lineal descent) and indirect descent (collateral descent). Lineal descent is a kinship that refers to a blood descent-vertical relationship in a family, such as grandmother, mother, ego, and ego's children. Collateral descent or indirect line descent is a kinship that traces relatives through the blood descent of horizontal relationships in the family. For instance, aunt, uncle, and cousin are collateral descent to ego. Last, kinship by the generation level from ego is used to discover relatives who are in line with ego sort as brother or sister, relatives who are above the ego as well as the parents, and relatives who are below ego such as the ego's children.

Burling (1970) classifies kinship as consanguineal kinship, affinal kinship, the generation above and below ego, and the kinship addresses step-brother and step-sister. Consanguineal kinship is a kin relation based on blood descent. Usually, all nuclear families are considered consanguineal. Affinal kinship is the kin relation created through marriage, such as mother-in-law and father-in-law. In terms of addressing and referring to the relatives, Nanda (1991) said that there are seven principles to classifying kinship according to Nanda, such as generation, relative age, lineal vs collateral, gender, consanguineal vs affinal kin, sex of linking relative, and side of the family (bifurcation).

RESEARCH METHOD

The object of this research is the Cina Benteng community and the Khek community which have been living in Tangerang for many years and has different cultural backgrounds. This research will use the theory of anthropology from Duranti (2004) and Foley (2011) to analyze the data based on anthropological views. In addition, as a supporting theory for this research, the researcher will use the language and culture theory from Goodenough (1957). For the main theory, kinship, the researcher will classify kinship with the theory from Nanda limited to the bifurcation (side of the family) theory that distinguishes the term of address and term of reference to the relatives from the mother's side and the father's side. Furthermore, the researcher will divide kinship into two more categories to Burling (1970), such as consanguineal and affinal kin. Last, the researcher will distinguish it into smaller categories from Lounsbury's theory which are gender, lineage, and generation.

The researcher used a qualitative descriptive approach that attempts to describe and interpret the terms of reference and the term of address in kinship in the Cina Benteng and Khek communities. To contrast both dialects, the researcher will use the theory from Lado (1957). He stated that contrastive analysis is one of the ways to compare two elements of languages and their distribution to find out the differences and similarities between the two chosen languages. This contrastive ethnolinguistics analysis purposed to find the similarities and differences as together with the cultural meaning found in the kinship terminology of the chosen languages descriptively as a cultural language phenomenon.

Primary data is defined as data collected for the research directly from the source. Usually, primary data can be obtained through direct observation, community group discussion, and direct interviews with informants. The second is known as secondary data. Secondary data is data collection that has been collected through primary sources and made readily available

for the next researchers to use for their research. To obtain secondary data, the researcher can get it from the previous study, surveys, and some books. The data type that the researcher applied for this research is primary data. Therefore, the primary data of this research is kinship, both the terms of address and the term of reference of Cina Benteng and Khek from the three-generation above ego and three-generation below ego limited to consanguineal and affinal kin.

The data were obtained directly through different interview sessions on every five participants (informants) from each community that qualify the following requirements.

a. Male or female minimum 25–50 years old located in Tangerang city that is mostly friends and office colleagues of the researcher.
b. They came from Cina Benteng or Khek.
c. They know the kinship terminology in their family based on the given question during research.
d. They are able to speak their native language either *bahasa* Benteng dialects or Khek dialects.

The informants of the Cina Benteng community are all indigenous people that were born in Tangerang to mixed parents of *peranakan* who still use the *bahasa* Benteng dialect as the daily language and implemented Cina Benteng's culture. The informants from the Khek community are all indigenous people of the Khek community in Kalimantan and have now lived in Tangerang for more than five years. Yet, they still use the Khek dialect in their daily conversation at home. The researcher also uses record and note-taking techniques in obtaining the data. Therefore, the researcher is the owner of the data, and thus collected data must be unique and original. After all the data are obtained, the researcher would like to analyze the kinship terminologies in Cina Benteng and Khek as the chosen object of this research with the ethnolinguistic concept from Duranti (2004) and Foley (2011). The analysis will be limited to the bifurcation anthropology

theory by Nanda (1991) and consanguineal and affinal kin by Burling (1970). It will be grouped into gender, lineage, and generation of three-generation above and three-generation below Ego using Lounsbury's theory (Leech, 1974).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Tionghoa Tangerang or famous as Cina Benteng is a native *peranakan* community that lives in Tangerang, Banten. The first coming of their ancestor began with the arrival of Admiral Chen Ci Lung in the 1407's, that came from Fujian or southern China (Hokkien) as written in *Babad Tina Layang Parahyang's* book (told by Cina Benteng cultural practitioner, Achonk Lim), he and his crews that are part of Admiral Zheng He's expedition were stranded in Pangkalan village, Banten (Teluk Naga) (Kumala, 2021; Kumala & Lauder, 2021). All the ship's crew stayed, lived, and married the indigenous woman. The cultural tradition of Cina Benteng is closely similar to Betawi and Sundanese traditions. It can be seen through the marriage tradition, culinary tradition, and many others since it is all the assimilation of the original culture of *totok* people (from the Chinese immigrants) to their indigenous partner. *Bahasa* Benteng is used for daily communication of the Cina Benteng community also inclined from Hokkien to *bahasa* Indonesia and Sundanese language.

On the other side, Khek (Hakka), has lived in Singkawang, Kalimantan, Indonesia, since the 17th century. Most of them came from Guangdong, Guangxi, and Sichuan in China, which came to West Kalimantan to do gold mining.

Based on Ikhsan Tanggok (2015), the augment in the Chinese population specifically in Singkawang was caused by *Pemberontakan Gerakan Rakyat Sarawak (PGRS)* in 1967 where at that time the Chinese community was rumored as the part of the communist community (PKI). Chinese community who lived in Monterado (West Kalimantan) was expelled by Dayak military and moved to Singkawang. Since most immigrants are men, they married the indigenous women from Dayak community when they chose to live in Kalimantan. This phenomenon successfully created significant cultural assimilation between both communities. The original language from Guangdong, which is Khek dialect slowly integrated with the local language. Even so, those people still applied the native language in daily conversation.

So, the kinship terms built, according to Goodenough as stated in the theory above, one does not need such knowledge to live, but to adjust theirselves to the daily living patterns. Since marriage holds the main role in kinship, it grows when the expatriate people from China married local women, and built families and other new relatives. Thus, the way of addressing each other is commonly different from what local people do. They adapt words from their dialects to local ones and create new calling terms to facilitate their communication with the local people. The following table below is the kinship terminology of each chosen ethnic community, Cina Benteng and Hakka (Khek).

Table 1 Kinship Terminology in Cina Benteng and Khek

English Term	Kinship Terminology in Cina Benteng		Kinship Terminology in Khek	
	Term of Reference	**Term of Address**	**Term of Reference**	**Term of Address**
Great Grandfather (+3)	Buyut	Kongco	Athai	Kung-Thai
Great Grandmother (+3)	Buyut	Oco/Emak		Pho-Thai

Grandfather (+2)	Engkong	Engkong	Chin-Akung	A-Kung
Grandmother (+2)			Chin-Apho	A-Pho
Grandfather (+2)	Emak	Emak	Ngoi-Kung	A-Kung
Grandmother (+2)			Ngoi-Apho	A-Pho
Grandfather's Brother & Spouse (+2)	-Pekong & Kimpo (Older) - Cekong & Cimpo (Younger)	- Tua-Pekong & Tua-Kimpo - Ji- Pekong & Ji-Kimpo - Sa-Pekong & Sakimpo - Cekong & Cimpo - Pekong & Kimpo	Akung	- Pak-Kung & Pak-Pho - Suk-Kung & Suk-Pho
Grandfather's Sister & Spouse (+2)	-Tuopo & Tiokong (Older) - Opo & Tiokong (Younger)	-Tuopo & Atiokong - Jiopo & Jitiokong - Saopo & Satiokong - Opo & Tiokong	Ku-pho	- Thai-Ku-Pho & Thai- Ku-Chong-Kung - Ku-Pho & Ku-Chong-Kung
Grandmother's Brother & Spouse (+2)	- Kukong & Kimpo (Older & Younger)	- Akukong & Akimpo - Jikukong & Jikimpo - Sakukong & Sakimpo - Kukong & Kimpo	Khiu-kung	- Thai-Khiu-Kung & Thai-Khiu-Pho - Khiu-Kung & Khiu-Pho
Grandmother's Sister & Spouse (+2)	- Aipo & Atiokong (Older) - Ipo & Tiokong (Younger)	- Aipo & Atiokong - Jiipo & Jitiokong - Saipo & Satiokong - Ipo & Itiokong	Jie-pho	- Thai-Jie-Pho & Thai-Ku-Chong-Kung - Jie-Pho & Jie-Chong-Kung
Father (+1)	Papa	- Papa - Papi	Asu	Papa
Mother (+1)	Mama	- Mama - Mami	Mama	Mama
Father's brother & Spouse (+1)	- Mpek & Aem (Older) - Encek & Encim (Younger)	-Tuape/Ape & Tuaem/Aem - Jipe & Ji em - Sa Pe & Sa Em - Ji Cek & Ji Cim - Sa Cek & Sa Cim - Encek & Encim	Apak (Older) & Asuk (Younger)	- Thai-Pak & Thai-Pak-Me - Nyi-Pak & Nyi-Pak-Me - Sam-Pak & Sam-Pak-Me ' Thai-Asuk & Thai-Suk-Me - Nyi-Asuk & Nyi-Suk-Me - Shei-Suk & Shei-Suk-Me
Father's sister & Spouse (+1)	Oo & Kotnio	- O De & Otnio - O Ngah & Kotnio - O Cing & Kotnio - O Cit & Kotnio - Oo & Kotnio - A Koh & Atioh * - Ji Koh & Jitio * - Sa Koh & Kotnio *	Aku	- Thai-Ku & Thai-Ku-Chong - Kuku & Ku-Chong

Mother's brother & Spouse (+1)	- Kuku & Ngkim (Older & Younger)	- Ku De & Ngkim - Ku Ngah & Ngkim - Ku Cing & Ngkim - Ku Cit & Ngkim - Tua Ku & Tua Kim * - Ji Ku & Ji Kim * - Sa Ku & Sa Kim * - Kuku & Ngkim *	Akhiu	- Thai-Khiu & Thai-Khiu-Me - Nyi-Khiu & Nyi-Khiu-Me - Sam-Khiu & Sam-Khiu-Me - Si-Khiu & Si-Khiu-Me - Khiu-Khiu & Khiu-Me
Mother's sister & Spouse (+1)	- Ai & Atnio (Older) - Iie & Itnio (Younger)	- Ai & Atnio - Ie Ngah & Itnio - Ie Cing & Itnio - Ie Cit & Itnio - Iie & Itnio	Ajie	- Thai-Ajie & Thai-Jie-Chong - Nyi-Ajie & Nyi-Jie-Chong - Sam-Ajie & Sam-Jie-Chong - Ajie & Jie-Chong
Ego's Brother & Spouse (+0)	- Koko & Nsoh (Older) - Dede & Mue Hu (Younger)	- Ko De & Nsoh - Ko Ngah & Nsoh - Ko Cing & Nsoh - Ko Cit & Nsoh - Koko & Nsoh	- Koko & Soso (Older) - Lo-Thai & Lo-Thai-Sim-Ku (Younger)	- Thai-Ko & Thai-So - Nyi-Ko & Nyi-So - Sam-Ko & Sam-So
Ego's Sister & Spouse (+0)	- Cici & Ci Hu (Older) - Dede & Te Hu	- Ci De & Ci Hu - Ci Ngah & Ci Hu - Ci Cing & Ci Hu - Ci Cit & Ci Hu - Cici & Ci Hu	- Jiejie & Ci-Chong (Older) - Lo-Moi & Lo-Moi-She (Younger)	- Thai-Jie & Thai-Ci-Chong - Nyi-Jie & Ci-Chong - Sam-Jie & Ci-Chong
Cousin (+0)	Piaw	-	Piauw	-
Daugther (-1)	Anak	-	Ngamoi	-
Son (-1)	Anak	-	Ngalai	-
Son-in-Law (-1)	Sunsai	-	Sim-Ku	-
Daugther -in-Law (-1)	Nyamantu	-	Selong	-
Niece & Nephew from Brothers(-1)	-	-	Cit-Ji	cece/koko
Niece & Nephew from Sisters(-1)	-	-	Ngoi-Sang	cece/koko
Grandchild (-2)	Cucu	-	Sun	-
Great Grandchild (-3)	Cicit	-	Set	-
Ego (0)	-	- Yayah (Female) - Oweh (Male)	Ngai	Ngai
Husband (0)	Laki	-	Lo-Kung	-
Wife (0)	Bini	-	Lo-Pho	-
Step Father	-	-	Kifusu	Papa
Step Mother			Sheme	Mama
Father-in-Law	Entia	Papa	Ciakung	Papa
Mother-in-Law	Nio		Ciapho	Mama

There are several terms of address in Cina Benteng and Khek regarding the birth sequences of relatives. This functioned to account for the eldest or younger relatives. In Cina Benteng, there are three ways of addressing relatives using additional words, such as *-de, -ngah*, and *-cing*. To address the eldest person in the family, Cina Benteng community usually adds *-de* after the calling terms. It stands for *gede* which is adapted from the Sundanese language. To address the person between the eldest person and the younger person in the family is usually affixed with *-ngah* which stands for *tengah.* The words *tengah* is adapted from *bahasa* Indonesia. Last, to address family the youngest family member, the kinship terms will be affixed with *-cit* which stands for *doncit 'the last'* which is a word adapted from *bahasa* Benteng.

This community also addresses the relatives using the number of sequences in Hokkien dialect like *tua*, *ji*, and *sa* which means the first, the second, and the third. If they got more than three older relatives from ego, they usually use the name to address each of them. In Khek community, they also applied the birth sequence for the term of address using Khek dialect, the researcher found two types of term of address in Khek community, using *thai*, *nyi*, and *sam* which means the first, the second and the third. Same as Cina Benteng community, if a person in this community got more than three older relatives from ego, they usually use the name after the term of reference to address each of them to avoid mistakes and this is allowed because does not violate the norms applied in the community.

To find the similarities and differences between the kinship terminology of each community, the researcher categorized it by the relationship whether it is consanguineal or affinal, then breakdown it by the generation descriptively as follows.

The Similarity in the Consanguineal Kinship from Mother's and Father's Lineage

Generation +3 Above Ego (+3)

Buyut (BCB) and Athai (BK)

It is a term that refers to female and male relatives of consanguineal lineal descent at three levels above ego. The term *buyut* and *athai* is used to refer to the great-grandfather and great-grandmother from paternal and maternal lineal. To address the great-parents generation, the ego must follow the existing term as shown in the table 1.

Generation +2 Above Ego (+2)

Pekong (BCB) and A-Kung (BK), Cekong (BCB) and Suk-Kung (BK)

It is a term that refers to male relatives of consanguineal collateral descent at two levels above ego. The term *pekong* and *a-kung* is used to refer to the elder grandfather's brother, and the term *cekong* and *suk-kung* is used to refer to the younger grandfather's brother. Both communities used the birth sequence to address grandfather's brother from the eldest to the youngest.

Generation +1 Above Ego (+1)

Papa (BCB) and Papa (BK)

This term is used to refer to and to address the male relatives of a consanguineal lineal descent at one level above the ego, the father of the Ego.

The Similarity in the Affinal Kinship

Generation +2 Above Ego (+2)

Kimpo (BCB) and Pak-Pho (BK), Cimpo (BCB) and Suk-Pho (BK)

This term is used to refer to the female relatives of affinal collateral kin at two-level above ego, which is the spouse of

242

grandfather's brother. *Kimpo* and *Pak-Pho* refer to the wife of the eldest grandfather's brother. *Cimpo* and *Suk-Pho* refer to the wife of the younger grandfather's brother. Both communities used the birth sequence to address the spouse of the grandfather's brother from the eldest to the youngest.

Generation +1 Above Ego (+1)

Entia (BCB) and Ciakung (BK)

This term is used to refer to the male relatives of affinal kin at one level above ego, the father-in-law of ego. To address a father-in-law, ego will use the same term of address that their spouse uses to address the parents.

The Differences in the Consanguineal Kinship from Mother's and Father's Lineage

Generation +2 Above Ego (+2)

Engkong (BCB) and Chin-Akung/Ngoi-Kung (BK)

The first difference that really contrasts between the two kinship terminology is the term of reference for the +2 lineal generation above ego, grandfather. There is no differentiation term of reference to grandfather from paternal and maternal lineage, this community will refer to grandfather as *engkong*. But, people from Khek community distinguish the term of reference for grandfather from paternal and maternal lineage. *Chin-Akung* is a term of reference that Khek people use to refer to the grandfather on the paternal side. Meanwhile, *ngoi-kung* is a term to refer to the grandfather of the maternal side. To address grandfather, ego from Cina Benteng community will address grandfather as *engkong* and ego from Khek community will address both grandfathers from the paternal and maternal sides with *akung*.

Generation -1 Below Ego (-1)

Ponakan (BCB) and Cit-Ji/Ngoi-Sang (BK)

In this generation, the difference that can be found in the term of reference for nephew and niece which are the male-female relatives of consanguineal collateral kin at one level below ego. Khek community distinguishes the reference from the parents of the children either it is the brother or the sister of ego. *Cit-ji* is used to refer to the nephew and niece of ego's brother. *Ngoi-sang* is used to refer to the nephew and niece of ego's sister. While in Cina Benteng, there is no such differentiation even to the term of reference itself, Cina Benteng tends to follow the term in *bahasa* Indonesia, which is *ponakan.* To address nephew and niece, usually, ego will address them by their name or to their preferences.

The Differences in the Affinal Kinship

Generation +1 Above Ego (+1)

Ki Pusu (BK)

The next difference that can be found between the two kinship terminology is the term of reference for the male relatives at +1 affinal generation above ego, stepfather. Khek community has a term of reference for the mentioned relatives, but Cina Benteng community has no term to refer to stepfather. Khek community refers stepfather as *ki pusu.* The term of the address of this relative is based on ego's preferences. Some people from both communities can address stepfather with the same term as the biological father.

She-Mu/Kimu (BK)

Khek community has a term of reference for Stepmother. While Cina Benteng has no term to refer to stepmother. The term of the address of this relative is based on ego's preferences. Some people from both

communities can address stepfather with the same term as the biological mother.

CONCLUSION

After analyzing data which are taken from transcripted interview results, the researcher finds similarities and differences in kinship terminology between cina Benteng and Khek communities. As the result, the researcher collected kinship terminology of Cina Benteng and Khek communities from three-generation above ego and three-generation below ego for consanguineal and affinal kin relations concluded as follows.

Both communities had the same kinship terminology, Sundanese. This explains in detail about addressing relatives because it has a different term for each relative based on the genealogical distance from ego and the side of the family.

They have several kinship similarities from the consanguineal relationship in three-generation above and below ego. Then, from the affinal relationship, they got the similarities in two-generation above ego and one generation below ego. For instance, both communities had their own term of reference to refer to grandfather without distinguishing it from the paternal or maternal lineage.

Both communities had a term of addressing variations in order to address the relatives by their birth sequence with each community's languages. *Kode, kongah,* and *kocit* are the following example of terms of address in Cina Benteng community to address ego's brother by the birth sequence. *Thai-ko, nyi-ko,* and *sam-ko* are the following example of the term of address in Khek community.

The differences between both communities lay in the consanguineal relationship on the +2 lineal generations above ego, which are ego's grandfather and ego's grandmother. Khek community differs in terms of reference for grandfather and grandmother from the paternal and maternal sides. *Chin-akung* and *chin-apho* (paternal side) and *ngoi-akung* and *ngoi-apho* (maternal side). Meanwhile, in Cina Benteng community, they did refer to grandfather and

grandmother with the same term, *engkong* and *emak*.

There are also several terms of reference that cannot be found in Cina Benteng community for the step-relationship such as step-father and step-mother, but Khek community has a term of reference for both of it.

Moreover, the contrast difference lies in the language itself. Even though both community's ancestors are from China mainland, they came from different regions so they brought different languages and cultures which further influence their language and cultural development.

The current research suggests that future researchers to conducts more ethnolinguistic studies, especially in kinship terminology since this is part of our cultural identity that is slowly forgotten. For insight, the researcher also suggests the next researcher develop a study specified to the term of address or the term of reference only from a community to make a better understanding of the function of kinship in a community.

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