

# The Semantics of Kinship Terminologies of Baduy, Indonesia

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Abstract: From the sociolinguistic and anthropological linguistics' perspective, it has been claimed that every country, region, society, and people has its/their own culture, tradition, and roles. These factors are systems. One of these systems is the Indonesian kinship system and structure of the Indonesian culture. This is a descriptive anthropological linguistic study aims to reveal explicitly the semantic factors of the kinship terminologies of the Indonesian Baduy using the interview and observation techniques for obtaining the data. Hence, the data has been collected in the field, the study follows the steps recommended by the field linguistic research, namely recording the data, decoding the data, transcribing the data, analyzing the data, and writing the results. The study reveals that the kinship system is linearly structured and has terms that indicate the generation systematic structure. Semantically, there are two factors have been identified from the analysis of the data obtained from the field. One of these factors is regarding the generation system where each kinship term refers to a specific generation with a notable exception in the UP system in which there is a kinship term stands for three generations respectively. The other factor is regarding the kinship terms that refers to the 'sex' kinship terminologies in which one term stands for both masculine and feminine.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Baduy community in Indonesia consists of two groups, namely Inner Baduy and Outer Baduy, for more read (Iskandar and Ellen, 2000: 1-17). Interior or Inner **Baduy** community in Indonesia has their own culture, tradition, and roles. They are categorized as the strictest community among other **Baduy** communities. One of these traditions is the system of kinship terminologies, the main area of this paper. Research on **Baduy** kinship, generally, has identified that the system of kin terms in **Baduy** does not follow the Universal system by van Woudon known as 'a symmetric connubium', 'double descent', and 'cross-cousins marriage', but follows the isolation of **Baduy** community themselves. For example, Prawiro writes that 'there is special characteristic for *Suka Baduy* that resistance between brother and sister and location and marriage tradition plays a major role in shaping kin relations between **Baduy**', (Prawiro, 2016: 163:170). In line with what have just mentioned, the entire **Baduy** community stated that the entire area of **Baduy** Village is *Tangtu Teulu Jaro Tujuh*; the entire population in the *Baduy Kanekes* region is a relative who came from one ancestor called *Moyang*.

*Tangtu Teulu Jaro Tujuh*, means that the system of kinship traces back to what is called *Batara*; a family branch of the mother *Moyang*. *Batara* and location of marriage plays a basic role of the system of kin of **Baduy**. In other words, three villages constitute the *tangtu teulu jaro Tujuh*, namely *tangtu*, *Panamping*, and *pajaroan* villages. Meaning that, all the **Baduy** inhabitants in *kanekes* constitute one kin that belongs to one woman named *moyang*. Mother *moyang* had two branches, namely *Batara Cikal* and *Batara Patanjala*. *Batara Cikal* ended with no generations whereas *Batara Patanjala* produced what is called 'Third *Batara*,' which consists of seven generations, namely *Daleum janggala*, *Lagondi*, *Putih Seda Hurip*, *Cinagke*, *Sorana*, *Hujung Galuh*, and *Batara Bungsu*. In addition, based on the location, **Baduy** constitute three levels of communities, namely the interior **Baduy**, the external **Baduy**, and the **Baduy Dangka** (Prawiro, 2016: 163-164). This paper focuses only on one of these communities that is the Inner **Baduy** or *Baduy Dalam* (Indonesian Language) or in *Urang Tangtu* (**Baduy** language).

One of the hidden cultural uniqueness that has to be understood through the study of anthropological linguistics is concerning with the system of kinship

terminologies. The study of kinship terminologies is one of the keenest and most sustained interest topic within the anthropological linguistics, within it, semantics is the domain in which cognitive anthropologist like to demonstrate (Borges, 2013; Lounsbury, 1959; Gelaye, 1998; Wallace and Atkins, 1960). The analysis of kinship has been studied from two perspectives, namely Universalist and relativist. Anthropological linguistics used to recommend the Universalist domain in analyzing kin terminologies in any culture. Their claim is that the kinship relative in the society being derived from a process called 'extension' (William A., 1997).

Theoretically, in anthropological linguistics, kinship has been recommended to be studied and analyzed through many different domains and paradigms (William A., 1997; Duranti, 1997) and (Read, 2007). For example, the general system of kinship (Lounsbury, 1959; Gelaye, 1998; Koenig and Michelson, 2010; PAVEL, 2011; Nainggolan, 2014; Wilson, 2013), surnames (Borges, 2013), adapted children and fictive kinship (Howell, 2009), and suckling kinship (ELGuind and al-Othman, 2013). Besides, towards a new theoretical perspective of kinship terminology, Read (2007) developed a new paradigm for developing a typology of kinship 'terminologies based on differences in the structural equations and generating terms from which a terminology may be generated'. The new paradigm identifies 'the place of kinship terminologies in social and cultural systems'. The most influence theoretical perspective in the history of kinship studies has been conducted by Schneider's (1968-1980) who has studied American kinship as a cultural system, who argues that 'kinship is the blood relationship, the fact of shared biogenetic substances' (Schneider, 1968: 107).

Empirically, studies of structural analysis of kinship terms and affinity based on lexicographical have been found in many studies. Pavel (2011: 25–47) examines the structure of kinship and affinity terms in the Mongolian society which is a separate lexical group applying structural semantics based on componential analysis in analyzing the data. The system of kinship is determined by two factors gender and age "considered by some scholars to have had originally not kinship but gender/age or status meanings. In my view, the type of social organization is the system of gender or age groups or classes. The point of view that age classes were the primary form of social organization of the Mongols and, possibly, of other Altaic peoples actually becomes more and more widespread" (PAVEL, 2011: 44).

In combination of semantics of kinship terminologies with the phonological linguistics or argument structure of kinship terms, Koenig and Michelson (2010: 169–205) in their 'intensive' study state that kinship terms have both nominal and verbal properties, and the verbal nature of kinship terms explains why both arguments of the relation are morphologically expressed. Although kinship terms share properties with both verbs and nouns, they also have a more typical "nominal" function in that they semantically identify a member of the kinship relation as referent rather than denote the relation itself (169).

Study by Abbasi, Amer, and Kerstin (2013) on kinship based on the Islamic rules shows that consanguineal relations are regarded as more important than affinal relations based on an opinion that discriminates between spouse's relatives and ego's relatives in the Iranian culture. Regarding 'step' relations, "indicate the (negative) importance or discomfort of having step parents, uncles or aunts (Abbasi, Amer and Kerstin, 2013: 18). This is because there are some factors caused this kind of relations and considered by some Islamic societies in modern era as injustice such as "affected by demographic factors such as polygamy and re-marriage after the spouse's death or divorce" (18).

Different topics regarding kinship have been studied by many researchers in many disciplines such as suckling and adaption. EL Guind and al-Othman (2013) state that suckling kinship is a transform and dynamic system certainly in Qatar kinship. In other words, the suckling kinship is a feature of the universal human phenomenon of kinship in the sense that suckling has a transformative function in kinship relations, constructs new links, creates new relations, transforms existing ones, constitutes kin terms, intensifies and interlocks kin relations, creates incest taboo, prohibits some relations and creates others.

It can be stated that every language has a finite set of lexical terms describe everyone in one's kin group, and these lexical can be fully analyzed semantically, e.g. the kin terms of Baduy. Thus, semantically, the kinship system of the interior Baduy is rich and complex system and still one of the remaining issues that has to be analyzed, categorized, and documented as an academic references for further research. Therefore, the study will try to find answers to the following questions: How do the kinship terminologies of Baduy Indonesia systematically structured? What are the semantic aspects of kinship terminologies of Baduy, Indonesia?

## 2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

The study is a qualitative descriptive method. The subjects in this study are 10 Inner Baduy people, and because it is forbidden for the researcher to enter to Inner Baduy residence, they have been invited by the researcher to meet in a place in Outer Baduy for interviewing and recording the data. The process of data collection consists of two main techniques. First, the researchers conducted observation and interview a daylong by interaction directly (face-to-face) with the informants mainly Ayah Murshid, (55) and Ayah Karmain (50) regarding the kinship system of Inner Baduy. Many questions have been asked to the informants regarding the kinship terminologies such as how do you call your father, mother, son, daughter, siblings, etc. In order to document the data for further use, the researcher used the modern digital recording tools, e.g. Sonny Voice Recorders. Second, after the data being collected, they are transcribed, decoded, and classified according to the theoretical perspective of kinship terminologies such as (William A., 1997; Read, 2007), but many more of the analysis follow Gelaye's analyzing system (1998). The analyzed data aims to reveal one of the hidden cultural and social properties of the Indonesian **Baduy** by providing linguistic evidence. The results of the data may have a great contribution in the literature of Anthropological linguistic studies, social psychology, and language and culture.

## 3 DATA ANALYSIS

Anthropologists, who are interested in studying kinship terminologies, have identified two categories of kinship system (a universal system of kinship terms), namely **consanguineal** (relative by blood) and **affinial** (relative by marriage). On the other hand, Linguists have studied these two categories using the semantic perspective.

### 3.1 Classification of Kinship Terminologies of Baduy, Banten

The kinship system of **Baduy** community is a bilinear system. Meaning that **Baduy** follow the lineage system that is from father and mother, a relative by blood (a **consanguineal system**), in addition to a relative system by marriage (affinal). The study divides the kin terms into three categories, namely the semantic of **general kinship system**, the semantic of

**consanguineal system**, and the semantic of **affinial system**.

The first category shows the general kin terms, each consists of several lexical kinship terms with different meanings. The second category presents the major types of consanguineal system in which the researcher gave a particular emphasis because it consists of the main system of the kinship system of **Baduy**. The third category presents the affinal category of kin terms in which there is a transformation process of lexical terms from blood relative to affinal relative. The main semantic questions are what X means for Y, and what Y means for X.

Table 1: General Kinship Terms.

No	Baduy	English
1.	<i>Lelaki</i>	Male
2.	<i>Bikang</i>	Female
3.	<i>Kolot</i>	Parents
4.	<i>Budak</i>	Children
5.	<i>Ambu-ambu</i>	Old Ladies
6.	<i>Ayah-ayah</i>	Old men

Table 1 above shows six general references have been identified in the general kinship terms. It can be said that the general kin terms of Baduy community in Indonesia follow the universal category of kinship terms. The fact is that, by looking at the six terms given in table 1 above, we can conclude that they are the basic terms for the kinship system and are (semantically) 'references' for sex and generations.

#### 3.1.1 The Up and Down System of Consanguineal Kinship of Baduy

The first major and general classification is the system of kinship terms related to the generation system. The kinship terms of reference in *Sunda* and *Sundanese* culture in general traced up around seven generations. The seven generations are organized into two ways, namely backwards and forwards. The backwards is traced towards parents and forwards towards children. In line with the semantic opposition of up and down system, just only two different lexical concepts (*kolot*/parents and *embah* (*Aki dan Nini*)/ grandfathers and *Anak*/son and *Incu*/grandchildren) show the different between the old and young generations. The lexical differences are shown in table 2 below; 'X' represents the word for 'generation'.

Table 2: Sundanese Kin System.

<b>Keatas</b>	<b>up</b>
7 <i>Kolot</i>	Parents
6 <i>Embah (Aki dan Nini)</i>	Grandfathers
5 <i>Buyut</i>	Great-grand parents
4 <i>Bao</i>	*G-X-G Parents
3 <i>Janggawareng</i>	G-XX-G parents
2 <i>Udeg-udeg</i>	G-XXX-G parents
1 <i>Kakait Siwur</i>	G-XXXX-G parents
<b>Kebawah</b>	<b>Down</b>
1 <i>Anak</i>	son
2 <i>Incu</i>	Grandson
3 <i>Buyut</i>	Great-grand son
4 <i>Bao</i>	*G-X-G son
5 <i>Janggawareng</i>	G-XX-G son
6 <i>Udeg-udeg</i>	G-XXX-G son
7 <i>Kakait Siwur</i>	G-XXXX-G son

One of the main characteristics of the *Sundanese* people, in general, is the blood relation and culture (Isnendes, 2017: 17). The same case can be found in the consanguineal kinship terms of reference in **Baduy**, *Banten* in which each lexical concept represents and falls under generation, sex, and linearity order.

Table 3: Generation System of Baduy Kinship.

<b>Keatas</b>	<b>Up (ascend)</b>
1. <i>kolot</i>	Parents
2. <i>Aki/nini</i>	Grandfathers
3. <i>Aki/nini uyut</i>	Great-grand parents
4. <i>Wang/Wong Atuha</i>	*G-X-G Parents
5. <i>Luluhur</i>	G-XX-G parents
6. <i>Luluhur</i>	G-XXX-G parents
7. <i>Luluhur</i>	G-XXXX-G parents
<b>Kebawah</b>	<b>Down (descend)</b>
1. <i>Anak</i>	Son
2. <i>Incu/encu</i>	Grandchildren
3. <i>Umpi</i>	Great-grand children
4. <i>Cenggeh</i>	*G-X-G Children
5. <i>Wareng</i>	G-XX-G Children
6. <i>Ngagayang seureh</i>	G-XXX-G Children
7. <i>Ngagayang eunteung</i>	G-XXXX-G Children

As stated earlier that the culture and tradition of **Baduy** is *Sundanese* oriented, therefore, some consanguineal kin terms of the **Baduy** community are the same as in the *Sundanese*; such as the four lexical basic terms, namely *kolot*, *Aki/Nini*, *Anak*, and *Incu/Encu* refers to the same generation (ascend), and also refers to the same generation (descend)

respectively. In the ascend generation, the lexical *Aki/Nini uyut* (literally refers to ‘great-grand parents’ and originated from the Sanskrit word ‘*atua*’ means ‘old’ in English and ‘*tua*’ in Indonesian language) and *Wang/Wong Atuha* (literally refers to ‘great-great-grand parents’) refer to the third and fourth generations in the **Baduy** Kinship system. In addition, the concept *Luluhur* (literally refers to ‘great X... grand parents’) refers to the fifth, sixth, and seventh generation in the ascend orientation according to the informant. In the descend generation, four different lexical concepts refers to the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth generation, namely *Umpi*, *Lenggeh*, *Wareng*, *Ngagayang seureuh*, and *Ngagayang Eunteung*.

### 3.1.2 Kinship Terms of Older Family Members of Baduy

Semantically and culturally speaking, there are different lexical terms for the older generations of **Baduy**, they are mostly similar with the lexical terms in the *Sundanese* language spoken in Urban areas. E.g. **Bandung**.

Table 4: Kinship Terms Refers to Older Member of Relation

<b>Baduy</b>	<b>English Translation</b>	<b>Relation</b>
* <i>Ayah</i>	father	by blood
<i>Ambu</i>	mother	by blood
<i>Nini</i>	grandmother	by blood
<i>Aki</i>	grandfather	by blood
<i>Aki/Nini</i>	grandparent	by blood
<i>Ua bikang/teteh</i>	older sister	by blood
<i>Ua lalaki/Aka</i>	older brother	by blood
<i>Bibi</i>	aunt	by blood
<i>Paman</i>	uncle	by blood
<i>kolot</i>	Parent	by blood

On the **consanguineal** kinship category, there are ten lexical kinship terms that refer to the oldest members in the interior **Baduy** system of kinship. They are *Ayah*, *Ambu*, *Nini*, *Aki*, *Aki Lini*, *Ua Bikang/Teteh*, *Ua Lalaki/Aka*, *Bibi*, *Paman*, and *Kolot*.

### 3.1.3 Kinship Terms of Young Members of Baduy

Table 5 below presents the kinship terms or lexical of younger members of the **Baduy**.

Table 5: Kinship Terms Refers to Younger Member of Relation

Baduy	English Translation	Relation
Anak <i>bikang</i> → <i>enok</i>	daughter	By blood
Anak <i>lalaki</i> → <i>ongong</i>	son	By blood
Anak <i>bikang</i> →	granddaughter	By blood
Anak <i>lalaki</i> →	grandson	By blood
<i>Alo</i>	nephew	By blood
<i>Adi bikang</i>	younger sister	By blood
<i>Adi lalaki</i>	younger brother	By blood
<i>Dulur</i>	Sister	By blood
<i>Dulur</i>	Brother	By blood
<i>*Budak</i>	Children	By blood

In this category, ten kinship terminologies have been identified and classified into five terminologies, namely *Anak (bikang/lalaki)*, *adi (bikang, lalaki)*, *alo*, *dulur*, and *budak*. The first category has the variation of *enok* for daughter and *ongong* for son.

### 3.1.4 Affinal Kinship (marriage)

Ten kinship terminologies are used by **Baduy** for affinal kin relation. The ten kin affinal terms are listed in table 6 below.

Table 6: Affinal Terms.

Baduy	English Translation
<i>Ambu mitoha</i>	mother-in-law
<i>Ayah mitoha</i>	father-in-law
<i>Alo</i>	nephew
<i>Anak minantu</i>	daughter-in-law /
<i>Adi beuteung lalaki</i> <i>Dulur beuteung</i>	brother-in-law
<i>Dulur misan</i>	Cousin
<i>Batur saimah/batur sasamak</i>	Husband
<i>Saimah/Batur sasamak</i>	Wife
<i>Adi beuteung</i>	Sister-in-law
<i>Indung tere/bapa tere/ anak tere</i>	Stepmother

By looking carefully at the lexical terms of the affinal kin terms, it can be concluded that there are many terms that have been transferred from the

consanguineal relations to the affinal relations. For example, *ambu*, *ayah*, *anak*, *dulur*, *alo*, and *adi*.

### 3.1.5 Kinship of Marital Statues and Friendship

Table 7 shows that there are five lexical of the marital statues in the **Baduy** culture. These lexical are related with the childlessness, engagement, and marriage and presented in table 7 below.

Table 7: Kinship of Martial Staues.

Baduy	English Translation
<i>Batur</i> <i>a. Ambu-ambu.</i> <i>b. Kumaha manehna/batur.</i>	<b>Partner:</b> a. Have child. b. Don't have child.
<i>Bebene/calon</i>	Fiancé
<i>Bebene/calon</i>	Fiancée
<i>Panganten kolot/ Panganten gabug</i>	Married but no children
<i>Aki/Nini sorangan</i>	No married

The section above presents the variant categorizations of the kinship terms in the **Baduy** community in Indonesia. The following section presents the data discussion.

## 4 DISCUSSION AND SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF BADUY KINSHIP TERMS

This section will discuss the anthropological semantics of the **Baduy** kinship terms of address and reference in short description. In other words, the section will shed light into the social context in which **Baduy** use the different kinship terms. As pointed out by Murdock "a term of reference is one used to designate a relative in speaking about him to a third person" (37). It is thus not part of the relationship itself but a word denoting a person who occupies a particular kinship status. Kroeber (38), further added that it is the social situation including the presence of third parties that determines in large measure what term will be used, see (Gelaye, 1998: 82). In this regard, two dimensions of consanguineal kin terms of reference have been identified and determined by the social situation of Baduy, namely generation and sex.

Regarding the consanguineal system, like Sundanese, Interior **Baduy** have lexical terms for the seven generations in the up-down system.

In the up generation system, the Baduy have seven terms, namely *kolot*, *aki/nini*, *aki/nini uyut*, *wang/wong atuha*, *luluhur*, *luluhur*, and *luluhur*. Seven generations are also found in the 'down' system, namely *anak*, *incu/encu*, *umpi*, *cenggeh*, *wareng*, *ngagagang serwh*, and *ngagagang eunteung*.

In the 'up' orientation, the term *kolot* that refers to the first-parent-generation refers to the father and mother, the term *aki/nini* refers to the second-parent-generation in which *aki* refers to a male and *nini* refers to a feminine. The term *aki/nini uyut* refers to the third-parent-generation for both male and female, the term *wang/wong atuha* refers to the fourth generation, and the term *luluhur* refers to the fifth, sixth, and seventh generations. Interestingly, in the 'up' orientation, out of the seven terms, there are only four different terms refer to four different generations and three similar terms refer to three different generations. According to our informant that there are no specific terms for the sixth and seventh generation so, the lexical term for the fifth generation *luluhur* is used instead.

In the 'down' orientation, there are different kin terms indicate different generations, namely *anak*, *incu/encu*, *umpi*, *cenggeh*, *wareng*, *ngagagang seurwh*, and *ngagagang eunteung*. Regarding the seven terms, unlike the 'up' orientation, we can see that there is no lexical concepts refer to or indicate 'sex' but all the kin terms are general terms. In other words, they refer to both male and female. In conclusion, it can be said that the up/down system of Baduy generation is binary and linearly oriented.

There are ten kinship terminologies concerning the older people in the Baduy family that have been classified in this study. These kin terms are equal with the universal kinship system with some difference regarding the addressee system. For example, in comparison with the Arabic Baduy and their kinship system in the Arabic culture, there is a similarities regarding the lexical terms for father and mother that are *ayah* and *ambu* in Indonesian Baduy. The terms *ayah* and *ambu* are one of the most interesting linguistic features found in the system of kinship terms of Baduy with their semantic and pragmatic use. In Baduy community, the kinship term *ayah* (father) and its plural form *Ayah-ayah* (fathers) can be substituted for the fathers' name. For example, if X is a father of Y (and Y is the oldest child, even if the child male or female), then the X become *ayah-Y* (the father of Y), e.g. *ayah* Muhammad (Mohammed's father). The same thing can be applied to the term *ambu*. For example, if X has child Y and Y is the oldest), people call the mother *ambu-Y*, e.g. *ambu* Muhammad.

In addition to the older kinship terminologies found in the Baduy culture, there are another ten kinship terminologies have been identified and classified into five terminologies regarding younger relations (by blood), namely *Anak (bikang/lalaki)*, *adi (bikang,lalaki)*, *alo*, *dulur*, and *budak*. From the aforementioned categories, there are three semantic interpretations: the first category has the lexical variation terms that are *enok* for daughter and *ongong* for son. Regarding these two lexical variations, our informants confirm that the *enok* and *ongong* kinship lexical terms are widely used in the Baduy system of kinship. The two lexical refer to daughter and son respectively. The second category is, *alo*, (literally means; nephew) which refers to both female and masculine; and *dulur* (literally; sister and brother) refers to both sister and brother and they use the term *adi bikang/lalaki* instead.

The semantic of Affinal kinship terms is another interesting area in the kinship analysis of the kinship system of Baduy. As stated earlier that in the affinal system there is a transformation process from the relative by blood to the affinal relative. We can state that there are many kinship lexical terms have been transferred from the consanguineal relation to the affinal relation. For example, *ambu*, *ayah*, *anak*, *dulur*, *alo*, and *adi*. Another semantic factor that can be noticed from the kinship lexical terms of affinal in the Baduy is their equivalent translation into the English. Meaning that, the English concept X-in-law varies from one term to another. For example, in the Baduy system of kinship, there are three different terms for the English X-in-law kin term, namely *mitoha*, *minantu*, *beuteung lalaki/dulur beuteung*, and *adi beuteung*, each of them refers to specific 'sex'.

In addition to the X-in-law semantic factor, there is another factor regarding husband and wife. In the Baduy system of kinship there is only one kinship lexical term functions, semantically, for both husband and wife in English that is *batur saimah/batur sasama* in which *batur* (literally means; friend).

The final category is regarding the kinship of marital statues and friendship. Semantically, the reference kin term for a friend is *batur*, literally means partner. In this regard, the word partner varied in its usage. For example, if a partner has child then he/she can be called *ambu-ambu*, especially for (she) or *Ayah-ayah* for (he), literally means mother and father respectively, but if the partner does not have child then he/she can be called *kumaha manehna*, literally means a friend or a partner. Regarding kinship terms that refer to sex, the kinship term *Bebene/calon* refers to both the Fiancé and the Fiancée. *Pangatanten kolot/ panganten gabung* is a kinship term used to

refer to a married man or woman but has no children. Finally, *Aki Sorangan* refers to the unmarried man or woman.

## 5 CONCLUSION

This paper was about the kinship terminologies and the kinship system of the **Baduy**, Indonesia. The study was decided to answer the following two questions: how does the kinship terminology of **Baduy** Indonesia systematically and semantically structured. What are the semantic factors of the kinship terminologies of **Baduy**, Indonesia.

To answer the first question, the study has found four semantic categories of the kinship terminologies used in the **Baduy** system of kinship, namely general kinship terminologies, consanguineal kinship terminologies, affinal terminologies, and terminologies refer to martial statuses. Regarding the first category, the general kinship, the study has found that the system is equal to the universal system of kinship. The second category is lexically consists of 27 kinship terms divided into their subcategories, namely kinship refers to seven generations 'Up-Down' orientation system, kinship refers to older relation, and kinship refers to younger relation. The third category consists of ten affinal kinship terms, and finally the kinship terms regarding the martial statuses.

Semantically, there are two factors have been identified from the analysis of the data obtained from the field. One of these factors is regarding the generation system in which each kinship term refers to a specific generation with a notable exception in the UP system in which there are one kinship term stands for three generations respectively. Another factor is regarding the kinship terms that refers to the 'sex' kinship terminologies in which one term can stands for both masculine and feminine. In addition, culturally, the affinal system of kinship shows that the English kinship term X-in-law has many varieties in the Baduy kinship system.

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