

An Exploration of kinship terms of Hokkien Chinese-Indonesians in Surabaya

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Abstract

This study explores the kinship terms used by the first and second generation of Hokkien Chinese Indonesians in Surabaya Indonesia. It further examines the changes in the kinship terms used between the two generations. The lineal and collateral kinship terminologies represent the basic taxonomy of kinship relations in every society and culture. This study uses Sociolinguistics by looking into the correlation between kinship terms and Hokkien Chinese Indonesians in Surabaya. Based on the data collected through a questionnaire, the study identifies 38 kinship terms used in Hokkien Chinese Indonesian family including relatives. The study also shows that as social conditions change, the kinship terms of the first and second generation have slightly changed. The findings of the study particularly help understand the kinship terms used in the Hokkien Chinese Indonesian context. Moreover, the study emphasizes the importance of kinship terms in social relationships that determines family line relationships, establishes the relation between two or more generations, and assigns guidelines for interactions between people.

1. Introduction

The study of kinship terms has always been a popular topic within sociolinguistics. It is because throughout history people have sought to identify themselves via the act of naming which holds great social significance for them (Trenholm & Jensen, 1992 as cited in Huang & Jia, 2000). It is believed that our name connoting our uniqueness sets us apart from every other person within society, so do the kinship terms. Moreover, kinship terms establish the relative power and distance in a family and relative relations in society (Wood & Kroger, 1991). Through kinship terms, all languages distinguish at least three characteristics in relatives: generation, blood relationship and sex (Chaika, 1982). Therefore, kinship terms as part of a language and society are so intertwined that it is impossible to understand one without the other (Chaika, 1982).

Kinship terms, defined as words used in a community to identify relationships between individuals in a family and relatives, can be extremely important conveyors of social information (Keesing, 1975). According to Leach (1958, p. 143) kinship terms are “category words by means of which an individual is taught to recognize the significant grouping in the social structure into which he is born.” Kinship terms are unique terminological systems labelled with a distinctive social and cultural nature. Therefore, there must be different systems of kinship terms in different societies and cultures. The kinship term *uncle* in one culture may carry a different address of *uncle* in another culture. For example, the English *uncle* refers to one’s father and mother’s brother, carrying no paternal and maternal relations and age. While the Chinese uncle is *bo fu* (father’s elder brother), *shu fu* (father’s younger brother), *jiu fu* (mother’s brother). In Hokkien-Chinese dialect uncle is *peh* (father’s elder brother), *cek* (father’s younger brother), *ku* (mother’s brother). Therefore, the study of kinship terms particularly in Chinese language and/or dialects has always been an interesting topic to explore and investigate.

1.1 Brief overview of Chinese immigrants in Indonesia

Chinese Indonesians are ethnic Chinese people living in Indonesia, as a result of centuries of overseas Chinese migration. Chinese immigrants came to Indonesia in several waves. In the mid-nineteenth century, there was a mass exodus Chinese people mainly from the southeastern provinces of Fujian (Fukien/Hokkien) and Guangdong (Kwantung), and most of them went to Southeast Asia (Ooi, 2004). “In general, mercantile communities of Hokkien and Teochew tend to predominate urban centers such as Rangoon (Yangon), Bangkok, Saigon-Cholon (Ho Chi Minh City), Singapore, Penang, Surabaya, Kuching and Manila” (Ooi, 2004, p. 342). “The motivating force behind immigration appears to have been adversity at home, political oppression under the Manchurian Qing Dynasty, and the economic hardships following the Opium Wars” (Kong, 1987; Jones, 1996 cited in Lim & Mead, 2011, p. 6).

“According to the Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission of R.O.C Taiwan, there are more than seven million Chinese Indonesians” (Ji, 2008 as cited in Lim & Mead, 2011, p. 7). Currently, there are roughly nine million Chinese Indonesians spread throughout the archipelago (National Statistics, 2010). The largest population of Chinese Indonesians are Hokkien who are mostly in the cities of Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan Pekanbaru, Semarang, Pontianak, Makassar, Palembang and Bandung (Lim & Mead, 2011). In 2010, there were 244.393 Chinese Indonesians living in East Java including Surabaya (National Statistics, 2010). Surabaya has some china towns and two big and famous traditional Chinese markets where the Chinese Indonesians, mostly Hokkien descendant, live and do some business as merchants (Airan, Wordpress 19 February 2012).

1.2 Rationale and review of literature

Oetomo (1987), discussing the Chinese Indonesians of Pasuruan in his study of language and identity in minority community in transition, says that ethnic, sub-ethnic and class identity in the Chinese community interrelate with language behavior and attitudes. Different identities are reflected in different linguistics repertoires as well as different functions assigned to the same codes in the same repertoire. Chinese-Indonesians have some aspects of family (background) cultures containing elements from the local Indonesian culture, the Totok culture (original Chinese culture) and the culture of the colonial era (some Dutch culture still remains). Therefore, further in his study, Oetomo (1987) explains that Chinese Indonesians who grow up in different backgrounds have differentiation. Chinese Indonesians who have Dutch background use Dutch loan-words among themselves. For example: they address their grandparents by *opa* (grandfather) and *oma* (grandmother). Chinese Indonesians who have a dominant Chinese background address their father as *papa* and mother as *mama*. It is obvious that there are some natural links between one aspect of language, kinship terms, and culture. As stated by Yotsukura (1977, p. 270 as cited in Huang & Jia, 2000, p. 5), “language and culture are fused as denotation and connotation of words. Thus, when linguists try to analyze language in *toto*, they cannot avoid referring to the culture behind the language. Analyzing language requires analyzing culture.” In the Chinese context, Huang and Jia (2000, p. 5) assure that behind the kinship terms in Chinese language, there must be some relevant influential factors of Chinese culture.”

In Chinese culture, people value the close family relationship and they prefer living together with or near their families. Family members are labeled with specific kinship terms according their age, generation, sex, and other factors such as marriage (Huang & Jia, 2000). Consequently, the Chinese language and/or dialects have a large number of kinship terms. Regarding the value of respect, it is a general rule that the younger generation must respect the older generation. Kinship terms such as grandparents, uncles, uncles, elder brothers and sisters represent authority and superiority (Huang & Jia, 2000). Further, Wang (2003 as in Qin, 2008) ascribes that seniority and age are considered important factors in determining the choice of

kinship term in Chinese society. It is taboo (inappropriate) for younger members in the family to address elder ones by names (Huang & Jia, 2000). For example, a younger brother addresses his elder brother as *ko* and his elder sister as *ci*, the speaker is polite and shows respect to his elder siblings in Chinese culture and society. It is because of the cultural concepts of the family ties, kinship terms are still used by family members and relatives.

In Chinese culture and tradition, kinship terms also play a very important role in society. These kinship terms are usually known as the social function of the Chinese kinship terms (Huang & Jia, 2000). Social kinship terms are used to call non-family (or non-relative) members, applying to any person according to sex and age, to show respect and politeness (Zhang, 2011). For example, Chinese-Indonesians in Hokkien society also use kinship terms, such as *peh* or *cek* (uncle), *i* (aunt) to address parents' friends who are in the same generation (or age) as their parents, and *ko* (elder male) and *ci* (elder female) to address their elder colleagues and friends. Huang and Jia (2000, p. 7) emphasize that "addressing others by kinship terms helps one initiate communication and gain compliance."

Undeniably that the development of the kinship terms systems is first and foremost influenced by the family, particularly parents. "The single most vital factor in language maintenance is the ability and desire of parents to transmit the ancestral language to their children" (Greenberg, 1965, p. 55 as cited in Gupta & Siew, 1995, p. 302). Beck and Lam (2008, p. 6) also emphasize that "a key factor in language loss is the failure of parents to transmit the language to their children." "Many factors inhibit this transmission and one of them is lack of support from government and school" (Romaine, 1989, p. 42f as cited in Gupta & Siew, 1995, p. 302). "The use of English (in this study Bahasa Indonesia) is reinforced through government and educational institutions, television and radio, and private business" (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2010, p. 1).

In Indonesia, the official language, Bahasa Indonesia, is formally used in offices and schools. Bahasa Indonesia and local languages (dialects) (e.g. Javanese for people from Central and East Java) are informally used in daily conversation in the society. A recent study by Lim and Mead (2011) describes that most Chinese Indonesians use Bahasa Indonesia in their daily life nowadays. They (2011) also point out that Chinese Indonesians who live in Semarang, Central Java, speak Bahasa Indonesia and local language Javanese in their daily activities (both formal and informal context). Moreover, in West Java (e.g. in a city of Bandung), Chinese Indonesians primarily use Sundanese, a local language, in everyday communication. As social context has changed, kinship terms used among the Chinese Indonesians in both Semarang and West Java may also change. Inevitably, the young generation will undergo language loss or show refusal to learn the ancestral language.

"Language loss and language endangerment are most frequently discussed in terms of the forced or forceful extinction of a minority language under pressure from a dominant majority language" (Beck & Lam, 2008). Language loss is also caused by loss in minority and migrant communities (Gupta & Siew, 1995). As Paulston (1994, p. 11 as cited in Gupta & Siew, 1995, p. 306) explains that "migrant subordinate groups are the only groups likely to show rapid rates of mother-tongue shift." In the case of Chinese people as minority in Indonesia, Lim and Mead (2011) in their study describe that the young generation of Chinese-Indonesians do not speak any Chinese language and/or dialect (i.e. Hokkien). This means that the domains of the minority language are being taken over by the majority language (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2010).

This study explores the kinship terms of Hokkien Chinese Indonesians in Surabaya and to what extent the kinship terms differ from the first and second generation. The first generation, in this study, describes Hokkien Chinese Indonesians who are the first descendant in the family born in Indonesia (meaning their parents were born in China). The second generation describes Hokkien Chinese Indonesians who are the second descendent in the

family born in Indonesia (meaning their parents were born in Indonesia). Therefore, the purpose of this study is (a) to investigate the kinship terms used in family and relative relations; and (b) to examine the differences of kinship terms used by the first and second generation of Hokkien Chinese Indonesians in Surabaya.

2. Data and methodology

This study used a questionnaire and short interview for collecting the data. The questionnaire has three sections. The first section asks demographic questions (e.g. age, sex, generation; occupation); the second section asks 10 questions related to kinship terms in the family (e.g. how do you address your father?; how do you address your elder brother? and so on) and the third section asks 36 questions related to kinship terms in family relations both paternal and maternal relations (e.g. how do you address your father's elder brother?; how do you address your mother's elder brother?; how do you address your father's elder brother's son?; how do you address your mother's elder brother's son? and so on). The questions use an open-ended question approach, meaning respondents can provide their own answer based on the stated questions (Babbie, 2010). The advantage of this approach is that researchers will be able to get and collect exact answers as they would like to have for the research and to investigate the meaning of the responses directly (Babbie, 2010). However, no single approach is without flaws. The limitation of this approach is that it consumes much time to collect the data. In a conversation, when completing a questionnaire, the respondents were interviewed (if necessary) about the given answers. The questions in the interview were mostly about the reasons the respondents used different kinship terms than the other respondents. For example: "why do you address your mother's parents as *gua-kong* and *gua-ma*?" "Why don't you address your elder cousins from your father side as *dang-ko* or *dang-ci*?" Open-ended questions in the interview session are also helpful in finding out more about the kinship terms related to Hokkien Chinese Indonesian society and tradition.

The target groups are Hokkien Chinese Indonesians in Surabaya. As mentioned in the previous section (see section 1), many Hokkien Chinese traders and merchants came to Surabaya in the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, china towns with traditional Chinese markets are the best place to distribute the questionnaire and to collect the data. There are two main traditional Chinese markets in Surabaya, that is, "Pabean" and "Kapasan" traditional markets (Airan, Wordpress 19 February 2012). The challenge was to find which stores owned by Hokkien people. The only way was to ask owners of one store to other stores. Due to time limitation, 50 questionnaires were distributed to the targeted group of the study. From the 50 Hokkien respondents, 20 people were from the first generation and 30 people were from the second generation. It was a challenge to find the respondents from the first generation because most of them are pretty old, age between 60 and 66 years old. While distributing the questionnaire, the respondents were guided to fill out the questionnaire correctly. Then, the interviews took place. For the study, there were only 12 respondents being interviewed since they had different answers in the kinship terms. Mostly, data collection took around 10 to 15 minutes per respondent. The data were completely collected in twelve weeks, starting from October 1, 2016 to December 18, 2016.

The methods of classifying were used to firstly explore the kinship terms used by the first and second generation of Hokkien Chinese Indonesians and secondly compare the kinship terms used between them. The classification was based on the kinship relations, namely, nuclear family, paternal and maternal relations. The additional information from the interview was used to support the results from the questionnaire.

3. Results and discussion

Of the 50 respondents, 62% are male and 38% female. The majority of respondents are between 40 and 66 years old. 40% of the respondents are from the first generation and 60% from the second generation. All respondents are Hokkien Chinese Indonesians. Most of them are merchants (owners of grocery stores; household appliance stores; glassware stores).

From the 46 questions related to kinship terms, the study identifies 38 kinship terms of address. The 38 forms of kinship terms found are grouped under the three categories identified in the following three tables. They are expressed as 1) the relationship within family; 2) the relationship between paternal relations; 3) the relationship between maternal relations. The three tables depict the kinship terms used between first and second generation.

Table 1. Kinship terms used within family

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>First generation</i>	<i>Second generation</i>
Parents		
Father	<i>papa</i> or <i>a-pa</i>	<i>papa</i>
Mother	<i>Mama</i> or <i>a-ma</i>	<i>mama</i>
Siblings		
Elder brother	<i>ko-ko</i> or <i>a-hia</i>	<i>ko-ko</i>
Elder sister	<i>ci-ci</i>	<i>ci-ci</i>
Younger brother	<i>ti</i>	<i>first name</i>
Younger sister	<i>me</i>	<i>first name</i>
In-laws		
Elder brother's wife	<i>so</i>	<i>so</i> or <i>ci+first name</i>
Elder sister's husband	<i>ci hu</i> or <i>first name+ko</i>	<i>first name+ko</i>
Younger brother's wife	<i>ti fu</i>	<i>first name</i>
Younger sister's husband	<i>me fu</i>	<i>first name</i>

Table 1 shows the kinship terms used within family such as father, mother, brothers and their wife, sisters and their husband. In terms of differences between the first and second generation, it is found that age is an important factor that influences the choice of kinship terms (Huang & Jia, 2000; Qin, 2008; Zhang, 2011). For example, *first name* is used by the second generation to address a younger brother or sister in the family while *ko* and *ci* are used to address an elder brother and sister. As can be seen the kinship terms differ in addressing brother's wife and sister's husband. The first generation still uses "so" for calling a wife of elder brothers but the second generation might call her by *ci* and first name (e.g. *ci Jenny* instead of *so Jenny*). The first generation uses *ti fu* for calling a wife of younger brothers but the second generation might call her directly by first name (e.g. *Jenny*). Interesting layers underlie these differences of terms of address. Some respondents from the second generation reported that they mostly knew the elder brother-in-law or elder sister-in-law before marriage and they addressed them as *ko* or *ci*. They just continued addressing them as *ko* or *ci* after marriage. Further, they said that they addressed the younger-brother-in-law or younger sister-in-law as his/her name because they were older. These show some changes in the forms of kinship address used by different generations (Gupta & Siew, 1995). This is due mainly to a modern and mixed tradition that the second generation experience (Oetomo, 1987; Lim & Mead, 2011). The Hokkien Chinese tradition in the family still exists but it is not strong anymore (Lim & Mead, 2011).

In Table 1, the term *hia* is an old kinship term addressing elder brothers in family or in male relations. This is interesting. Some Hokkien families usually use *hia* for biological brother. Others use *hia* for addressing elder male relation usually by marriage. For example, the husband of a younger sister calls the elder sister's husband by *first name + hia*. Nowadays,

the term *hia* is seldom used or it disappears by time. The term *first name + ko* is the most commonly used term replacing *hia* (see also Table 1 elder sister's husband).

Beside age, "ranking" is an important factor within the nuclear family. Ranking system is *tua* (first), *ji* (second), *sa* (third), *si* (forth) so on. A man does not take his rank from his wife (e.g. the third elder sister's husband would NOT be called *sa-ko* even though his wife is called *sa-ci*). Instead he would be addressed as *first name + ko* (e.g. *A-Ming ko*). A woman takes her rank from her husband (e.g. the second elder brother's wife would be called *ji-so* because the second elder brother is *ji-ko*).

Interesting term of addressing rules were found in the study. A particle *a* is usually added to the kinship terms such as *a+kong* (grandfather); *a+ma* (grandmother); *a+pa* (father); *a+ma* (*mother*); *a+ko* (aunt); or *a+peh* (elder uncle). The adding of the particle *a* is usually added to terms of address for grandparents, uncles, and aunts.

Table 2. Kinship terms used within paternal relations

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>First generation</i>	<i>Second generation</i>
Grandparents		
Father's father	<i>a-kong</i>	<i>a-kong</i>
Father's mother	<i>a-ma</i>	<i>a-ma</i>
Uncles and aunts		
Father's elder brother	<i>peh*</i>	<i>peh</i>
Father's elder brother's wife	<i>a-em</i>	<i>a-em</i>
Father's elder sister	<i>a-ko</i>	<i>a-ko</i>
Father's elder sister's husband	<i>ko-tiu**</i>	<i>ko-tiu</i>
Father's younger brother	<i>cek</i>	<i>cek</i>
Father's younger brother's wife	<i>en-cim</i>	<i>en-cim</i>
Father's younger sister	<i>a-ko</i>	<i>a-ko</i>
Father's younger sister's husband	<i>ko-tiu**</i>	<i>ko-tiu</i>
Cousins		
Elder male cousin	<i>ke-pak ko</i> or <i>dang ko</i>	<i>ko</i>
Elder female cousin	<i>ke-pak ci</i> or <i>dang ci</i>	<i>ci</i>
Younger male cousin	<i>ke-pak ti</i> or <i>dang ti</i>	<i>first name</i>
Younger female cousin	<i>ke-pak me</i> or <i>dang me</i>	<i>first name</i>

Note: *some respondents pronounce it as *pek*. **No distinction is made between the father's elder and younger sister's husband; they are addressed as *tiu*. Sometimes *tiu* is pronounced as *tio*.

Table 2 shows the kinship terms used within paternal relations. The kinship terms used in the patrilineal system address grandparents, uncles and aunts, and cousins. In terms of differences between the first and second generation, it is found that they address their cousin by using different kinship terms. The first generation use *ke-pak* (across the stomach or of the same blood) to indicate their cousins from their father's side. Some families address their paternal cousins as *dang*. In terms of blood relations, cousins from paternal relations are stronger than those from maternal relations. In the Chinese (Indonesian) tradition, patrilineal system plays a very important role in the society (Oetomo, 1987; Huang & Jia, 2000; Lim & Mead, 2011). For example, a father's children and the father's brother's children are *ke-pak* or *dang* cousins. The fathers and children (both sons and daughters) have the same family name, for example, Wu family.

While the second generation do not use this term of address. They call their cousins by *ko* (elder brother), *ci* (elder sister), and only *first name* (younger brothers and sisters). This is

very interesting that no distinction appears to differentiate brothers and sisters in the nuclear family and in cousins. Some respondents reported that they were not taught or informed by their parents to call their paternal cousins with either *ke-pak* or *dang*. They learn from the family tradition that they have to address them as *ko* (elder male cousins) or *ci* (elder female cousins) to show respect and politeness. Moreover, some of the respondents explained that by calling elder cousins by *ko* or *ci*, they felt closer, no gap between paternal and maternal cousins. The statement is in line with that of Lim & Mead (2011) saying that young generation of Chinese Indonesians do not really speak their Chinese dialect (in this study, Hokkien) anymore. However, the Chinese family tradition regarding respects to elder members still remains (Huang & Jia, 2000; Lim & Mead, 2011).

Obviously, similarities of kinship terms are found between the first and second generation. They address the same kinship terms as for grandparents, uncles and aunties. No changes are found. In Chinese family, the ranking system in the family particularly higher (elder) ranks is important (Qin, 2008). Age and seniority influence the choice of kinship terms to show respects (Zhang, 2011). Again, a modern and mixed tradition that the second generation experience may be one of the strongest factors influencing the change in the kinship terms used among cousins (Lim & Mead, 2011).

Term of addressing rules are found. Uncles of one's parents are called with the additional word *-kong* after the term of address. For example, if one's father has a third brother, he addresses his third uncle as *sa-cek kong*. If one's father has a second aunt's husband and he will call him *ji tiu*, then the aunt's husband will be addressed as *ji-tiu kong*.

Interestingly, two respondents from the first generation addressed their grandfather as *dai-kong*. While, the rest used *a-kong*. The two respondents explained that both terms were the same. As explained earlier, the particle *a* is usually added to the kinship terms such as *a+kong* (grandfather). Their parents taught them to address their grandparents from the father's side as *dai-kong* to differentiate with the term used to address their grandparents from the mother's side, *gua-kong*. However, in their family, they just taught their children to call the paternal grandfather *a-kong*.

Interesting term of addressing rules revealed in the mother's side family system. Aunts of one's parents were called *i* with the word *-po* or *-ma* added. For example, if one's mother has a fourth aunt, this aunt will be addressed as *si-i-po* or *si-i-ma*.

Table 3. Kinship terms used within maternal relations

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>First generation</i>	<i>Second generation</i>
Grandparents		
Mother's father	<i>gua-kong</i>	<i>gua-kong</i>
Mother's mother	<i>gua-ma</i>	<i>gua-ma</i>
Uncles and aunties		
Mother's elder brother	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>
Mother's elder brother's wife	<i>kim</i>	<i>kim</i>
Mother's elder sister	<i>i*</i>	<i>i</i>
Mother's elder sister's husband	<i>i-tiu**</i>	<i>i-tiu</i>
Mother's younger brother	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>
Mother's younger brother's wife	<i>kim</i>	<i>kim</i>
Mother's younger sister	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
Mother's younger sister's husband	<i>i-tiu**</i>	<i>i-tiu</i>
Cousins		
Elder male cousin	<i>piau-ko</i>	<i>ko</i>
Elder female cousin	<i>piau-ci</i>	<i>ci</i>

Younger male cousin	<i>piau-ti</i>	<i>first name</i>
Younger female cousin	<i>piau-me</i>	<i>first name</i>

Note: Note: *some respondents pronounce it as *ik*. **No distinction is made between the mother's elder and younger sister's husband; they are addressed by *tiu*. Sometimes *tiu* is pronounced as *tio*.

Table 3 shows the kinship terms used within maternal relations. The kinship terms used in the matrilineal system address grandparents, uncles and aunts, and cousins. In terms of differences between the first and second generation, it is found that they address their cousin by using different kinship terms. The first generation use *piau* to indicate their cousins from their mother's side. While the second generation do not use this term of address. They call their cousins by *ko* (elder brother), *ci* (elder sister), and only *first name* (younger brothers and sisters). This is very interesting that no distinction appears to differentiate brothers and sisters both in the nuclear family and in cousins. The second generation consider it common not to use *piau*; nevertheless, they show respects by addressing them as *ko* or *ci* (Huang & Jia, 2000; Mead & Lim, 2011). These findings show that there is a loss of the kinship term *piau* in the second generation which may be caused by Chinese culture loss (Huang & Jia, 2000).

In the matrilineal systems, it is found that the first and second generation address their grandparents by *gua* meaning outer. This term *gua* indicates that the grandparents are the parents from a mother's side. As can be seen in Table 3, both generations use the same kinship terms for grandparents, uncles and aunts. No changes are found. Again, the ranking system, age, and seniority play a very important role in the family (Oetomo, 1987; Qin, 2008; Zhang, 2011). The terms of address are used for elder relatives in higher ranks in the family (Wood & Kroger, 1991; Huang & Jia, 2000). Relatives with the same ages, and ranks are called by *ko*, *ci*, and *first name* (younger cousins). Respects are reflected in this context (Huang & Jia, 2000; Zhang, 2011).

In the Chinese (Indonesian) tradition, matrilineal system plays minor roles in the society (Oetomo, 1987; Mead & Lim, 2011; Zhang, 2011). A woman in one's family (sisters, daughters, aunts) will marry a man from another family. their husband's family. This means that the woman will also marry her husband's family and be part of the husband's family. Her children will carry her husband's family name. Therefore, a mother's children and a mother's sister's children are *piau* (maternal cousins). They are cousins from different patrilineal system.

4. Conclusion and future study

There are 38 kinship terms of Hokkien Chinese Indonesian identified in this study. A number of factors – such as generation, rank, age, sex, patrilineality and matrilineality – have a significant influence on the use of kinship terms. For example, in a Hokkien community, one addresses someone else as *dang-ko*, other people know that these two persons are paternal cousins (*dang*) and one is an elder male relative (*ko*). Another example, one addresses an elderly male person as *gua-kong*, the Hokkien Chinese Indonesia community understands that they are family; their relationship is between a grandson/granddaughter and a grandfather; the grandfather is from his/her matrilineal line.

The study indicates some changes on the use of kinship terms. The kinship term *dang* for addressing a paternal cousin and *piau* for addressing a maternal cousin are not used anymore. Chinese Hokkien Indonesians from the second generation address their younger cousins from both paternal and maternal relations as first name (personalized name). Although they do not use the term of address *dang* or *piau*, they still use the terms of address *ko* and *ci* for addressing elder cousins. These express respects and politeness. The change shows intimacy among cousins. On the other hand, the change also creates ambiguity, meaning that

it is difficult to understand the term *ko* refers to whether one's blood elder brother or one's elder male cousin from paternal or maternal line.

In terms of limitations, the study explored and examined the kinship term systems used by only 50 respondents from the first and second generation of Hokkien Chinese Indonesians in Surabaya. As a pioneering study of the kinship terms of Hokkien Chinese Indonesians in Surabaya, some challenges were faced in collecting the data. However, this study provides the importance of kinship terms in a family and relatives (both paternal and maternal relations) which assign guidelines for interaction in the Hokkien Chinese Indonesian community in Surabaya.

Another expansive investigation, obtaining more than 50 respondents, is expected in the future. It will be interesting to expand the targets not only in Surabaya but also in other cities in Java. A comparative study will be remarkable. Another topic for further study is the extent to which the third generation of Hokkien Chinese Indonesians in Surabaya has changed the kinship term of address. It is assumed that the use of kinship terms will disappear by time because of a modern mixed community in Indonesia.

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