

# Terms of Kinship in the Sundanese Society

Retty Isnendes

Linguistics Department, School of Post Graduates, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Bandung, Indonesia  
Corresponding author. Email: retty.isnendes@upi.edu

## ABSTRACT

The Indonesian nation consists of hundreds of tribes. There is a traditional knowledge that stores information, values, and intelligence that is unique but universal. Knowledge of kinship is stored in the local language with the terms used by each tribe. Likewise, it applies to the Sundanese tribe. In the Sunda Priangan society, there is a term kinship called *pancakaki*. The purpose of this paper is to describe the term *pancakaki* found in the Sundanese Priangan society and describe the efforts of its affirmation in the nation's cultural literacy. The data analysis followed literature studies from the perspective of ethnolinguistic studies. The results show that in the Sundanese *Priangan* society there are special levels and terms used in *pancakaki* or kinship relationships. These terms imply that there are special and widespread meanings that can be used regardless of territory. Furthermore, the term *pancakaki* in the level of literacy is inherited and preserved in educational efforts, which is accommodated into teaching materials in the local content curriculum. Thus, future generations indicate the unique relationship and the term of the Sundanese kinship as the pride and knowledge that holds the cultural wealth. Besides, the younger generation of Sunda continues to use the term *pancakaki* in their life.

**Keywords:** Cultural literacy, Kinship terminologies, Pancakaki, Sunda Priangan

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country supported by hundreds of ethnic groups that have a unique culture. This culture is found in the ethnic groups in Indonesia with various reflective characteristics. However, this reflective characteristic as a cultural identity can also be generally recognized as a characteristic of ethnic identity living in the same area.

A very diverse culture with very diverse, specific, and exotic names, in each ethnic group, makes those cultures (in the form of ideas, activities, artifacts (Koentjaraningrat, 2009) as sources of knowledge. These sources of knowledge are stored and empowered in ethnic language.

Ethnic languages, also known as regional languages, contain cultural records and philosophical values of their ethnic life. These languages are rooted and grounded in the areas where the ethnic groups live like residents. In it, the inner wealth, spirituality, values, norms, information, insights, perspectives, and human intelligence are integrated into knowledge with the community and have a very important function in the interactions of life.

In ethnic groups in Indonesia, there is a genealogy designation which is a common characteristic in recognizing a family. Lineage in the Big Indonesian Dictionary (1997) is defined as the origin of a family (which) is a list or lineage (descent). Perhaps the ethnic group is known by the special mention of this in their ethnic language. In the Sundanese ethnic group, the term is known as *sarsilah*; *salsilah*; *salasilah* (Danadibrata, 2006).

The purpose of writing this study is to describe the term of *pancakaki* found in the Sundanese Priangan society. Apart from that, it describes the efforts to strengthen the nation's cultural literacy.

### 1.1 Pancakaki or Kinship Terminologies

Other words are more specific than simply describing the origin of the family, namely, the terms that emphasize the relationship of one person to another. This term is called *pancakaki*. According to Rosidi (1996), the word genealogy does not exist in the Sundanese language, it is *pancakaki* which was mentioned earlier. If so, there is a possibility that the word *sarsilah*; *salsilah*; *salasilah* which Danadibrata mention is a form of absorption from Indonesia.

In other ethnic groups, it may also be known by designations in their respective ethnic languages. As in Java, it is referred to as a family tree which later became common in Indonesian, or the term *ranji* in the family tree in Minangkabau (Padusi, 2011). In English, this is similar to kinship terminologies in addition to the description of the family tree.

However, all of these terms refer more to blood relations, in contrast to the Sundanese term *pancakaki*. *Pancakaki* apart from being a system that depicts family relationships by blood, also describes the de-intimacy of association in a warm and open Sundanese society, as well as recognition as Sundanese, although not bloodied.

The *pancakaki* that is being studied is the *pancakaki* found in the Priangan Sundanese Society with the *lulugu* Sundanese language. This needs to be explained because in the Sundanese language there are several sub-cultures of the Sundanese language that are used in certain areas. This means that even though politically the term West Java Province is used with the dominant Sundanese ethnic group, but culturally, the region determines the language as well. For example, in Priangan (Ciamis, Garut, Tasikmalaya, Sumedang, Bandung, Cianjur) the *lulugu* Sundanese language is used. As for the northern region (Subang, Karawang, etc.), the Sundanese language *Pakaléran* dialect is used. Besides, the Sundanese language of the Bogor dialect (partly Cianjur, Sukabumi, Bogor), Banten (Banten) dialect and, the Baduy sub-language is used by the Sundanese Baduy society.

Research on the Baduy *pancakaki* has been written (See Alrawafi, Kurniawan, & Isnendes, 2017). It is stated that the Sundanese terms used in the *Pancakaki* of the Baduy community are different from the terms in the Sundanese Priangan community. However, the kinship system is almost the same as using the seven levels up and down.

## 1.2 Ethnolinguistic Studies

Ethnolinguistic studies are also called linguistic anthropology because only humans are considered having and producing a dynamic culture with language as the medium. Culture is an integral part of the interaction of language and thought (Brown, 2008). In linguistic anthropology, the study of kinship or *pancakaki* (in Sundanese) is highly recommended to be researched and analyzed in many domains and paradigms (William, 1997).

In ethnolinguistic studies, the kinship system has also been researched (e.g., Duranti, 1997; & William, 1997). Examples are also developed in the general system of kinship (Koenig & Michelson, 2010; Lounsbury, 1959; Nainggolan, 2014; Pavel, 2011; Wilson, 2013), family

names (Borges, 2013), children and kinship (Howell, 2009).

## 2. METHOD

The writing method used is descriptive qualitative with literature review techniques with the perspective of ethnolinguistic studies. Ethnolinguistics is the study of language and its function, as well as its use in the context of socio-cultural situations. In ethnolinguistics, there is a relationship between language and the world view of its speakers, as said by Anna Wierzbicka that each language ... contains a characteristics worldview. Ethnolinguistics is a part of applied linguistics.

## 3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Previously, it has been discussed the dictionary meaning of the *pancakaki* term according to two types of meaning in general. Furthermore, the two types of *pancakaki* are discussed, namely *pancakaki* which is bound by blood relations, and *pancakaki* which is bound by the brotherhood.

### 3.1. *Pancakaki is bound by blood relationship.*

In the Sundanese Dictionary (Danadibrata, 2006), *pancakaki* is interpreted freely as follows. *Pancakaki* originates from two words, namely *panca* (five) and *aki* (grandfather), the subjects of which are ourselves and our wives who are one (in marriage), so he explains: (1) our grandfather, (2) maternal grandfather, (3) the grandfather of the father, (4) the grandfather of the mother-in-law, and (5) the grandfather of the son-in-law, so *Pancakaki* is a benchmark in determining the brotherhood of oneself and wives how to place them in others (Rosidi, 1996). Rosidi stated that in one dictionary, *Pancakaki* is defined as the position of humans with other humans in one family.

*Pancakaki* is bound by blood to up and down is manifested in the following words (terms).

As can be seen in Table 1, the terms used are very unique. In terms of generation above and below ego, there are the same terms. Apart from that, there is a term *kaitsiwur*. *Siwur* is a subtle word for a dipper made from coconut shells. This term is compared to the household. *Kait* is a language, *Kaitsiwur* is defined as a dipper. It is stated that the kinship is very far away (the 7th generation of the child), just because there is a hook, then it is still a relative. Above *kaitsiwur* there are *karuhun* or ancestors. The funny thing is that this ancestor has not been identified, the Sundanese sometimes juxtaposes the *karuhun* with supernatural spirits. They are believed to be alive, helping to protect their descendant from discarnating.

**Table 1.** The term of *pancakaki* based on generational kinship system.

No	Mention System	Term	Meaning
0		<i>karuhun</i> 'common ancestor'	The origin is unknown
1	Generation Above Ego	<i>kait siwur</i> 'kait siwur'	grandfather/grandmother from <i>canggihwareng</i>
2		<i>udeg-udeg</i> 'udeg-udeg'	grandfather/grandmother from <i>dari bao</i>
3		<i>canggihwaréng</i> 'canggihwareng'	grandfather/grandmother from <i>uyut</i>
4		<i>bao</i> 'bao'	grandfather/grandmother from grandfather/grandmother
5		<i>uyut</i> 'buyut'	grandfather/grandmother from father/mother
6		<i>aki/nini</i> 'grandfather/grandmother'	grandfather/grandmother from son/daughter
7		<i>bapa/indung</i> 'father/mother'	They give birth to child
8	Standard/Criterion	Son/daughter	
9	Generation Below Ego	<i>incu</i>	Grandson/granddaughter from father/mother
10		<i>Buyut</i>	Grandson/granddaughter from son/daughter
11		<i>bao</i>	Grandson/granddaughter from Grandson/granddaughter
12		<i>canggihwaréng</i>	Grandson/granddaughter from <i>buyut</i>
13		<i>udeg-udeg</i>	Grandson/granddaughter from <i>bao</i>
14		<i>kait siwur</i>	Grandson/granddaughter <i>canggihwareng</i>
15		<i>seuweu-siwi</i>	Grandson/granddaughter from <i>udeg-udeg</i>

Besides, there is the term *canggihwaréng*. *Canggih* is defined as *senggeh* or shoot, while *waréng* is a type of grass plant that grows very fast. So *canggihwaréng* are new generations that grow so fast. Because they getting much older it is often difficult to recognize, even great grandfather/grandmother are difficult to remember because of age distances. Another interesting term is *seuweu-siwi*. This term is very popular in *Tatar Sunda*. The term is often used in connection with genealogical searches of Sundanese people who believe that they are one of the descendants of *Prabu Siliwangi*. Therefore, it is always called *seuweu-siwi Siliwangi* as seen in table 2. All these terms are still used by the Sundanese people today.

### 3.2. *Pancakaki is not bound by blood relationship.*

*Pancakaki* in addition to being a kinship between one person and another can also be interpreted as a brotherly relationship in a broad network, or it is also called a way of tracing the position (*perenah*) of kinship (Satjadibrata, 1954). So *Pancakaki* is here looking for a position or an effort to find kinship by extending the kinship by offering affection as a Sundanese.

In general, Sundanese people have the habit of seeking kinship with new people through *Pancakaki*. If it turns out that there are no family relationships, other relationships will also be sought (Rosidi, 2000). It is not strange then that Sundanese people everywhere are always *mancakaki* (the verb for *pancakaki*). This was done to get closer and connect the kinship and brotherhood ties.

With *mancakaki* also, there is recognition of kinship with people brought overseas, both locally and

nationally. If those who are invited to the *mancakaki* are welcomed, they will not be happy. They are like having relatives overseas. Relationships that are far away become close even full of intimate and mutual affection. For example, Sundanese people (from Sukabumi) go to Riau, they will do *pancakaki* with the Sundanese people (from Garut), so they will feel like brother and sister.

The mention system for *pancakaki* which is used, like: *bapa* (father), *ibu* (mother), *saderek* (greeting for the person who is invited to speak), *ayi* (younger sister or brother), *kaka* (older sister or brother), *akang*, *engkang* (the mention for older brother), *ujang*, *otong* (man), *asep* (handsome boy), *euis* (beautiful girl), *eneng* (noble lineage for girl), *adang* (noble lineage for boy), *nyai*; *ai* (most of the girls), *euceu*; *ceuceu*; *eteh*; *aceuk* (the mention for older sister), *ua*, *bibi* (aunt), *emang* (uncle), *alo* (cousin), *nini* 'grandmother', *aki* (grandfather), *uyut* (great-grandmother or grandfather), *ente*, *sia*, *silaing*, *di dinya* (you), etc.

Mispronunciation of doing *pancakaki* is the result of not knowing the context, rules and situation of the spoken language. In the end, it will not be favored by the interlocutors. Therefore, it must have skill in doing *pancakaki*.

**Table 2.** The table is to mention who is bound to ourselves because of descent, blood, marriage, and child.

No	Mention System	Term	Meaning
1	blood ties	<i>lanceuk</i>	elder sister/brother
2		<i>adi</i>	younger sister/brother
3		<i>uwa</i>	elder sister/brother from father or mother
4		<i>paman/emang</i>	younger sister/brother from father or mother
5		<i>bibi</i>	younger sister from mother
6		<i>alo</i>	elder brother/sister's Child
7		<i>suan</i>	younger brother/sister's Child
8		<i>aki ti gigir</i>	elder sister from grandfather or grandmother
9		<i>nini ti gigir</i>	elder brother from grandfather or grandmother
10		<i>kapilanceuk</i>	cousin
11		<i>Kapiadi</i>	cousin
12		<i>incu ti gigir</i>	younger sister/brother's grandchild
13		<i>emang ti gigir</i>	son from grandfather/grandmother
14		<i>bibi ti gigir</i>	daughter from grandfather/grandmother
15	bound by marriage	<i>salaki/ carogé</i>	<i>husband</i> is a male in a marital relationship, who may also be referred to as a spouse or partner.
16		<i>pamajikan/ istri</i>	<i>wife</i> is a female partner in a continuing marital relationship.
17		<i>mitoha</i>	Parents-in-law is a term in the relationship/kinship system which refers to the parents of the wife or husband.
18		<i>minantu</i>	Son-in-law is a term in the relationship / kinship system which refers to the wife or husband of the child. The wife of a son is called daughter-in-law, while the husband of a daughter is called son-in-law. The husband or wife of a nephew can also be referred to as a son-in-law of a nephew / nephew.
19	child	<i>lanceuk dahuan</i>	elder brother/sister from husband or wife
20		<i>adi beuteung</i>	younger brother/sister from husband or wife
21		<i>tunggal</i>	Single-child
22		<i>cikal</i>	First child
23		<i>panengah</i>	the middle son between first child and third child
24		<i>pangais bungsu</i>	elder brother/sister of the last child
25		<i>bungsu</i>	The last child
26	bound by kinship (distant) or not at all	<i>lanceuk sabrayna</i>	Cousin in one grand parents
27		<i>adi sabrayna</i>	Cousin in one grand parents
28		<i>dulur pet ku hinis</i>	sibling
29		<i>dulur sabaraya</i>	still a close relative of your uncle/aunt's child
30		<i>dulur teges</i>	Sibling of same father and mother
31		<i>indung téré</i>	stepmother
32		<i>bapa téré</i>	stepfather
33		<i>anak téré</i>	stepchild
34		<i>dulur patétérean</i>	stepsibling of stepfather/stepmother's child
35		<i>baraya laér</i>	Distant relative
36		<i>teu hir teu walahir</i>	No kinship
37		<i>bau-bau sinduk</i>	still a relative even though they are far away
38		<i>baraya</i>	all that is included in the <i>pancakaki</i>
39		<i>bésan</i>	mother/father's son-in-law
40	<i>dahuan</i>	husband/wife's elder brother/sister	

### 3.3. Efforts to Affirm Pancakaki in National Cultural Literacy

*Pancakaki* as Sundanese ethnic inner wealth should be preserved. Thankfully, the revised 13th edition of the curriculum in elementary school contains materials on the family. For more details, it is described as follows.

=====  
=====  
**Class 1**

Lesson 4 – The Family

**Basic Competencies**

- 3.4 Recognizing and understanding simple texts about family, verbally and in writing and writing through pictures, family photos and / or part of the family tree (theme 4)
- 4.4 Saying the right vocabulary for introducing families based on family photos / pictures (theme 4)

**Learning Objective**

After finishing studying the material in this section, students are expected to be able to explain, recognize and understand simple text about my family verbally and in writing through pictures, family photos and / or family tree charts and be able to pronounce the right vocabulary in introducing family based on family photos / pictures.

(Regional Government of West Java Province-Education Office, 2017)

=====  
=====  
From the guidelines in the Sundanese subject curriculum at Elementary School, it can be compiled as interesting as possible textbooks about *Pancakaki*. *Pancakaki* material, of course, is not heavy and many, it is enough to introduce a few terms, for example in the core family, namely: *bapa* ‘father’, *indung* ‘mother’, *aki* ‘grandfather’, *nini* ‘grandmother’, *ua istri*, *ua pameget*, *bibi* ‘aunt’, *mamang* ‘uncle’, juga *misan* ‘cousin’. This material is very close to the student's family environment, and students are invited to get acquainted with the term *Pancakaki* and the flow of the family tree.

In junior and senior high school learning, descriptive articles about *Pancakaki* Sundanese culture may be compiled, or indirectly invited to read literature that provides *Pancakaki* material. Apart from that, they were assigned to make a diagram of their family tree from their family until *buyut* or grandparents who are still alive.

With such demands, students are invited to know; a Sundanese culture which is part of student life. This introduction not only fulfills learning objectives but even higher goals; awareness of the language and ethnicity of the people, awareness of brotherhood togetherness and affection, awareness of social life in the family environment.

Thus, efforts to strengthen *Pancakaki* in the nation's cultural literacy can take place and be passed on to the younger generation, who are the next generation of Sundanese culture. The recognition and understanding of Sundanese *pancakaki* will also strengthen the position of students and awareness of their identity as a meaningful part of the family, ethnic group, and state environment.

## 4. CONCLUSION

Sundanese *pancakaki* is a source of pride and knowledge that stores cultural wealth and should be preserved. *Pancakaki* as a product of a Sundanese culture with its ethnic language contains cultural records and philosophical values of ethnic life. *Pancakaki* terms are rooted and grounded in the Sundanese landscape, especially in the Sunda Priangan area, an area where Sundanese people who use *Pancakaki* live. In the terms of *pancakaki* and *mancakaki*, there are the inner wealth, spirituality, values, norms, information, insights, perspectives, and intelligence of Sundanese people which are integrated into knowledge with the Sundanese people and have a very important function in their life.

Sundanese *pancakaki* also continues to be inherited as an effort to strengthen it in national literacy. Inheritance and enforcement are carried out in primary and secondary education institutions which are regulated in the curriculum. As for its implementation, *Pancakaki* material is compiled in such a way that there is awareness of self-determination and identity within the family, ethnic group, and state.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer would like to express the highest gratitude to all, especially the student of Sundanese Culture and Language Education, School of Post Graduates UPI, M. Rifki Rizaldin who already helped the writer during the data collection process and during analyzing the data. Hopefully this writing will be useful for the people.

## REFERENCES

- Alrawafi, A. Kh., Kurniawan, E., & Isnendes, R. (2017). The semantics of kinship terminologies of Baduy, Indonesia. In *2nd International Conference on Sociology Education - Volume 1: ICSE* (pp. 5-11). 2017. Bandung, Indonesia.
- Borges, R. (2013). Linguistic archaeology, kinship terms, and language contact in surname, *Anthropological Linguistics*, 55(1), 1-35.
- Brown, D. (2008). *Prinsip pembelajaran dan pengajaran bahasa*. Jakarta: Kedutaan Besar Amerika Serikat.
- Danadibrata, R. A. (2006). *Kamus Basa Sunda*. Bandung: Panitia Penerbitan Kamus Basa Sunda.
- Duranti, A. (1997). *Lingistic anthropology*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Howell, S. (2009). Adoption of the unrelated child: Some challenges to the anthropological study of kinship. *The Annual Review Of Anthropology*, 38, 149-66.
- Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*. (1997). Jakarta: Depdikbud.
- Koentjaraningrat. (2009). *Ilmu antropologi*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Koenig, J.-P., & Michelson, K. (2010). Argument structure of Oneida kinship terms. *IJAL International Journal of American Linguistics*, 76(2), 169-205.
- Lounsbury, F. G. (1959). A semantic analysis of the pawnee kinship usage. *Language*, 32(1), 158-194.
- Nainggolan, F. (2014). Language and culture: Kinship system of Batak Toba-Samosir ethnic. *GSTF International Journal on Education*, 2(1), 51-55.
- Padusi. (2011). *Pohon keluarga Minangkabau*. Bundo Kandang. Retrieved from <https://bundokandang.wordpress.com/2011/05/20/pohon-keluarga-minangkabau>
- Pavel, R. (2011). The system of kinship and affinity terms in Middle Mongolian. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung*, 64(1), 25-47.
- Regional Government of West Java Province-Education Office. (2017). *Kurikulum tingkat daerah muatan lokal mata pelajaran bahasa dan sastra Sunda berbasis kurikulum 2013 Revisi 2017 Jenjang SD/MI*.
- Rosidi, A. (1996). *Pancakaki*. Bandung: Girimukti Pasaka.
- Rosidi, A. (2000). *Ensiklopedi Sunda: Alam, manusia, dan budaya, termasuk budaya Cirebon dan Betawi*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- Satjadibrata, R. (1954). *Kamus Basa Sunda*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Perguruan Kementrian.
- William A., F. (1997). *Anthropological linguistics: An Introduction*. China: Blackwell Publishers.
- Wilson, R. A. (2013). Kinship past, kinship present: Bio-essentialism in the study of kinship. *American Anthropologist*, 118(3), 570-584.