

Semantic Change in Javanese Kinship Term of Address: A Case Study in Gedang Kulut Village, Gresik District

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SUBJECT

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Abstract

Within the development of the era, the meaning of the words also developed and changed. One of the word-meaning conversions in society is the conversion of the term of address, particularly in kinship relationships. A case study in Gedang Kulut Village revealed that the word of speech Cak (Old Brother) and Mbak (Old Sister) is not only used to call the old brother and sister but also refers to the Man (Uncle) and Bebek (Aunt). The other conversion uses Pak De (Uncle) and Mak De (Aunt) to substitute the term of address for grandmother and grandfather. The paper aims to analyse the representation of speech in the Javanese language used in Gedang Kulut Village, Gresik District. The methodology uses a descriptive qualitative method that also emphasises the semantics approach. The result shows a unique word-meaning conversion in the Javanese term of address used in Gedang Kulut Village. Moreover, the mutation appearing in the word of speech causes the social marks to change either up or down.

1. Introduction

Language, as a cultural product, evolves with the passage of time and its speakers. As it continues to develop, the meanings of words also become. Chaer (2013) reveals that diachronic changes in the definition of a word are possible. One of the words that can undergo a shift in meaning and usage within a society is a term of address. The conversion of the term of address can impact their usage. Since words of address are hierarchical or graded, the shift in their meaning also affects the level of speech used. A case study in the village of Gedang Kulut proves that the conversion purpose of the term address also leads to the disappearance of some terms of address within the society. In connection with this, the researchers attempt to analyze how the meaning of the term address changes in the Javanese language used in Gedang Kulut village, Gresik Regency, along with other unique findings.

Gedang Kulut Village is chosen as the research location because the term address has unique uses, particularly in kinship terms. This phenomenon may occur in other places since the diachronic changes in the meaning of the words can happen elsewhere.

However, to focus the research, the writer restricts the discussion on the semantic change in the kinship term used in Gedang Kulut village.

This research is expected to positively contribute to the study and documentation of regional languages in Indonesia, especially the Javanese language. Thus, it is hoped that the development and usage of regional languages can be recorded. Furthermore, through this research, the local community is expected to become more aware of the use of their regional language. The threat of language extinction, which can start with the loss or shift in the meaning of the term of address, is real. This research aims to foster wise thinking in the community to preserve the terms of speech used and passed down through generations.

Previous research on semantic change was conducted by Ketriyawati in 2019, who studied "Bentuk dan Faktor Penyebab Perubahan Makna Bentuk Peyorasi dan Ameliorasi dalam Berita Kriminal" (The forms and factors causing meaning changes in defamation and amelioration in criminal news). A similar study was conducted by Aprilia Cipta Ningtyas et al. in 2018, analyzing "Pergeseran Makna pada Istilah Penunjuk Fauna di Media Sosial Twitter: Kajian Semantik". (The conversion meaning in fauna terms on the Twitter social media platform: A semantic study). In addition, the research carried out by Surahmat and Eva Rofiqoh in 2018, titled "Repräsentasi Perubahan Hubungan Kekerabatan dalam Penggunaan Kata Sapaan pada Masyarakat Pantai Utara Jawa: Studi Kasus di Kabupaten Kendal". (Representation of Kinship Relationship Changes in Addressing Terms in the North Coast of Java Community: A Case Study in Kendal Regency) focuses more on using the term of address in the research location. Undeniably, these studies serve as important references for researchers to present a more comprehensive analysis of semantic change, especially in the context of the term of address.

2. Theoretical Foundations

Definition of Meaning

Meaning is one of the subjects of study in the field of semantics. According to Dewi (2018), symbols or linguistic forms have concepts. These concepts in human minds are what we call meaning. A more specific definition of meaning can be found in the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), which is (1) n meaning and (2) n speaker's or writer's intention, the meaning given to a linguistic form.

Based on the definition, we can conclude that meaning has two interpretations: as a form of information translation (1) and as the intention of a linguistic form (2), whether a word, phrase, clause, or sentence. As a form of information translation, meaning is often used to translate information into another language or to explain a meaning. Examples of using the word "meaning" in interpretation (1) include sentences like "What is the meaning of Buku in English?" or "What is the meaning of euphemism?" Moreover, meaning interpretation (2) views linguistic units as having a purpose or intention to be achieved. For example, the Indonesian sentence *Pulang kau ke rumah orang tuamu*, spoken by a husband to his wife, is not only seen as a series of words providing information to return to her parent's home but also carries the meaning of expulsion or divorce. In the study of semantics, meaning has various definitions. Therefore, Tarigan in *Pengajaran Semantik* (2021; 12) tries to simplify the description of meaning into two significant parts based on its attachment or dependence on context: (a)

Context-free meaning, also known as semantic meaning; (b) Context-dependent meaning, also known as pragmatic meaning.

From the definitions above, it is understood that the concept of semantic meaning (context-free meaning) corresponds to the interpretation (1) of the meaning found in KBBI. This concept focuses on meaning as an element within language. Meanwhile, the idea of pragmatic meaning (context-dependent meaning) corresponds to the interpretation (2) represented in KBBI, which focuses on relating and connecting meaning to external factors, one of which is context.

Thus, the definition of meaning can be understood as a concept existing in the human mind, whose definition depends on whether it is understood as meaning (1) or purpose (2), classified as semantic or pragmatic meaning. Moreover, the study of meaning in language is called Semasiology or Semantics. Hecht, 1888 and Geeraets, 2010 stated that semantics is an approach that assumes a psychological conception of meaning in which the linguistic phenomena under study are seen as revealing characteristics of the human mind.

Causes of Semantic Change

As mentioned earlier, the meaning of a word can change diachronically due to the evolution of time and its speakers. Several factors can cause this change or shift. Suwandi in Kustriyono (2016) mentions 12 factors that cause meaning changes. These factors can be categorized into internal and external language factors. Internal factors pertain to all meaning shifts from within the language, while external factors relate to all factors created outside the language.

Internal language factors include (1) Linguistic factors, which involve the formation of meaning at the level of phonemes, morphemes, words, and sentences. (2) Need for new words, which is closely related to the need for words not yet found in the dictionary. (3) The influence of foreign languages involves borrowing vocabulary from foreign languages. (4) Abbreviation.

On the other hand, external language factors include (1) Historical factors related to lexemes' development. (2) Societal factors are related to the development of lexemes within the community. (3) Psychological factors caused by an individual's psychological state. (4) Development of science and technology related to the emergence of new vocabulary due to technological advancements. (5) Differences in the usage field of the environment. (6) Association factors involving similarities between two words with the same meaning. (7) Exchange of sensory responses related to human senses. (8) Differences in language response, where some words speakers use do not have the same value.

Types of Semantic Change

According to Yuniarto (2013), the type of semantic change can be divided into two categories: conceptual meaning and association meaning. Abstract definitions include widening, narrowing and shifting. Meanwhile, the association meaning includes amelioration and pejoration.

1. Widening (Generalization)

Semantic change by generalization occurs when a linguistic form, whether a word, phrase, clause, or sentence, becomes wider without leaving the previous meaning (Chaer, 2013). For example, the word saudara in Indonesian originally meant the same

womb or sibling, but it has broadened to mean relative in general due to a shift. With this new meaning of saudara, even a cousin, which initially might not have been included as a sibling, can now be referred to with this term. Today, saudara is also used to address the listener, even if there is no blood relationship in formal situations.

2. Narrowing (Specialization)

Semantic change by narrowing occurs when a linguistic form, whether it be a word, phrase, clause, or sentence, becomes more specific. For instance, the term orang pintar in Indonesian initially means knowledgeable individuals in a particular field or occupation. However, now the word has undergone narrowing and is used in a more specific sense, meaning a psychic or paranormal.

3. Shifting (Total Change)

Semantic change can be categorized as shifting if the new meaning differs entirely from the original. Some words may still have some distant connection to their original meaning, but the relationship has become very distant. Examples of words that have undergone a total meaning shift are *ceramah* (speech/lecture), *seni* (art), *pena* (pen), and *canggih* (chatterbox), where their original meanings are far different from the meanings we know now, namely *cerewet* (chatty/talkative), *air kencing* (urine), *bulu* (feather), *bawel* (chatterbox), and respectively.

4. Amelioration (Euphemism)

Amelioration is a type of semantic change resulting from the influence of social norms of politeness in society. Some words are considered more polite and used to replace the original meanings. Some examples of meaning shifts using euphemisms are *pembantu* (servant) becoming *asisten rumah tangga* (household assistant), *pelayan* (waiter) becoming *pramusaji* (waiter/waitress), and *pelacur* (prostitute) becoming *pekerja seks komersial* (commercial sex worker).

5. Pejoration (Pejoration)

In contrast to euphemism, pejoration involves assigning a new meaning to a word with less politeness or a lower emotional value than the original word. For example, the word *perempuan* (woman) is seen as having a lower emotional value than the word *wanita* (woman). This word relates to the use of *perempuan* in phrases like *perempuan pekerja seks komersial* (commercial sex worker) and *wanita karir* (career woman) in society, where one word is considered to have a higher emotional value, even though they are synonymous and interchangeable.

Definition of Term of address

According to Chaer (1998), address terms can be used to greet, address, or refer to the second person or anyone being spoken to. In addition, Kridalaksana (1982:43) states that address terms are morphemes, words, or phrases used to refer to each other in a conversational situation and vary according to the nature of the relationship between the speakers.

Based on the definitions above, address terms are pronouns or second-person references used to greet, address, or refer to the person being spoken to in a communication process. As for what is meant by the term address, they are a type of address that uses the term address to replace the second person pronoun. The term of address used can be general or specific.

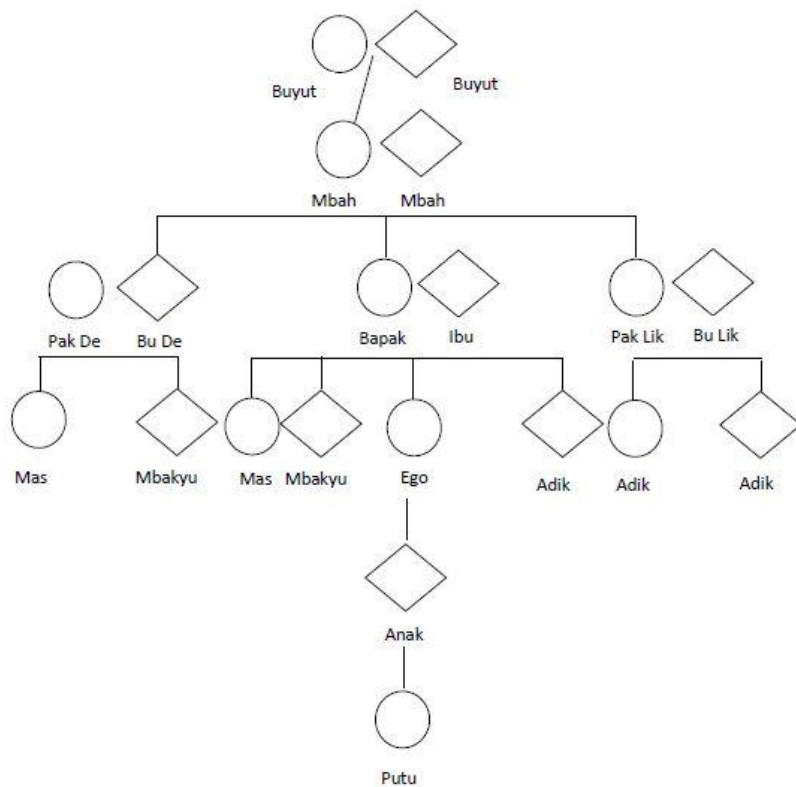
Moreover, Based on Bale (2006), semantics change may affect the set of words or word-file, which could be found in kinship terms. For example, in Javanese, the term

Mbah (grandfather or grandmother) was initially used to call either grandfather or grandmother, but currently, Javanese people have two words of Mbah to distinguish between Mbah Lanang (grandfather) and Mbah Uti (grandmother).

Term of address in Javanese Kinship

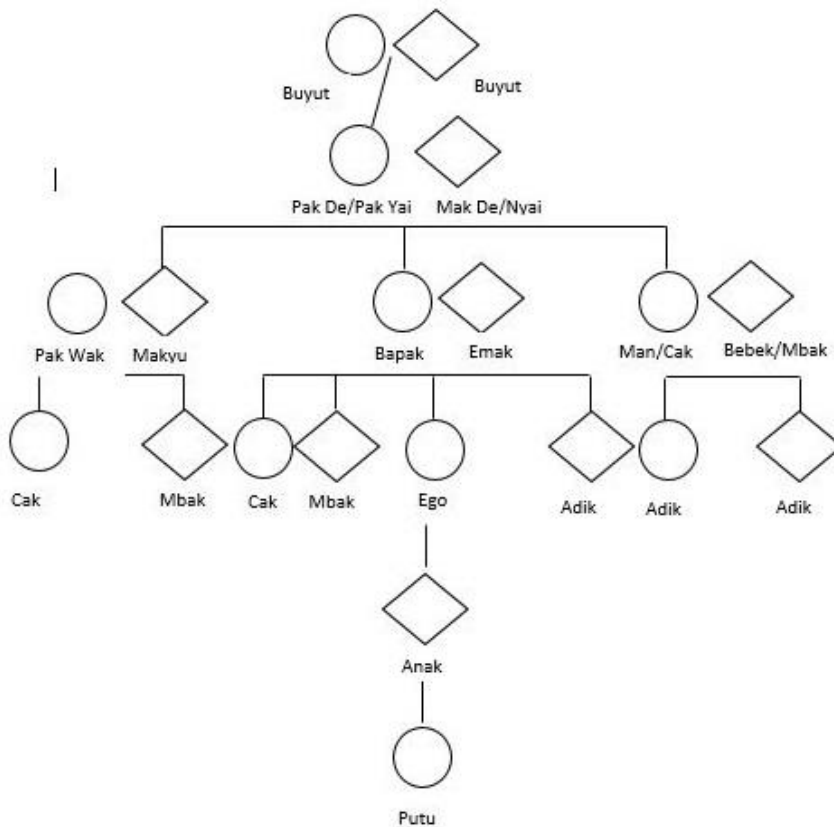
To understand the term address in the Javanese language, paying attention to the family relationships commonly used by Javanese people is necessary. Family relationships, which also indicate the kinship relationships between family members, are closely related to the address terms used in daily communication. The following graph shows the family relationships used in Gedang Kulut Village to compare the representation of address commonly used in Javanese society to the term of address used in Gedang Kulut Village.

Graphich 1 : Kinship Relationship in Javanese Family



Personal grapich based on Yuwono :2005

Graphic 2 : Kinship Relationship in Gedang Kulut Village



Personal graphic based on interview.

3. Research Methodology

The research method used in this study is a descriptive qualitative method. According to Bogdan and Taylor (in Moleong, 2013), qualitative methods are research procedures that produce descriptive data in written or spoken words. The approach used in this research is semantic, focusing on the semantic changes of a comment. Data was collected through direct observation and interviews. The research design is a case study; Creswell (in Raco, 2010) defines a case study as an exploration of bounded systems or cases that are interesting to study because they have distinctive characteristics and hold significance, at least to the researcher. A case study focuses on the specification of a case in an event, whether it involves an individual, cultural group, or a snapshot of life.

The writer limits the discussion to the term of address using three generations above the ego mainly used in Gedang Kulut Village. The informants was collected through interviews with Gedang Kulut citizens. Ten people come from different

professions (students, farmers, housewives, teachers, employees, etc.), educational backgrounds, and ages. Then, it was analyzed in-depth and compared with the term of address commonly used in Javanese society based on Yuwono (2005). The research began with data collection of the word of speech used in Gedang Kulut Village, Gresik District. The second stage involved organizing the collected data through classification, compression, and compiling the data into a manageable and accessible file. Finally, the last stage is the writing of the case study report.

4. Result and Discussion

In this data description, the writer gathers the kinship term used by the society to address relatives in Gedang Kulut Village. From the grand-grandfather/mother at the top of the family tree to the kid at the bottom (Look at graphic 1). The information is written as (I); the following year shows their birth years. The symbol (x) on the table indicates no kinship term to address them. The data from informants 1 (who was born in 2018) was collected from how the parent calls the child's relatives. The result of the data can be seen in the table below;

Table 1 : Semantic Change in Kinship Term in Gedang Kulut

Term	I1 (2018)	I2 (2010)	I3 (2006)	I4 (2000)	I5 (1996)	I5 (1991)	I6 (1984)	I8 (1978)	I9 (1970)	I10 (1961)
Buyut (Grand-Grandfather/Grandmother)	Uyut	Buyut	Buyut	Buyut	Buyut	Buyut	Buyut	Buyut	Buyut	Buyut
Mbah (Grandfather)	Bapak	Pak De	Pak De	Pak De	Pak De	Pak De	Pak Yai	Pak Yai	Pak Yai	Pak Yai
Mbah (Grandmother)	Emak	Mak De	Mak De	Mak De	Mak De	Mbok	Mbok	Mbok	Mbok	Mbok
Bapak (Father)	Papa	Ayah	Ayah	Ayah	Bapak	Bapak	Bapak	Empak	Empak	Empak
Ibu (Mother)	Mama	Mama	Ibu	Ibu	Ibu	Emak	Emak	Emak	Mbok	Mbok
Pak De (Uncle)	Om	Pak Wak	Pak Wak	Pak Wak	Pak Wak	Pak Wak	Wak Gus	Wak Gus	Wak Gus	Wak Gus
Bu De (Aunt)	Tante	Mak Yu	Mak Yu	Mak Yu	Mak Yu	Mak Yu	Nyai	Nyai	Nyai	Nyai
Pak Lik (Uncle)	Lik	Lik	Cacak	Cacak	Cacak	Man	Man	Man	Man	Man
Bu Lik (Aunt)	Tante	Mbak	Mbak	Mbak	Mbak	Bebek	Bebek	Bebek	Bebek	Bebek
Mas (Old brother)	Mas	Mas	Mas	Mas	Cacak	Cacak	Acak	Kakak	Kakak	Kakak
Mbak Yu (Old Sister)	Mbak	Mbak	Mbak	Mbak	Mbak	Mbak	Yu	Yu	Yu	Yu
Adik (Little brother/sister)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Saya (Ego)	Aku	Aku	Aku	Aku	Aku	Aku	Aku	Aku	Aku	Aku
Anak (Kid)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Based on the findings above, the writer analyzes them based on the semantics change and type of change of the term, as well as its unique result.

Semantic Change of Term Mbah

The term mbah at the prior time (Yuwono, 2005) was used to address either grandfather or grandmother, but currently, we found two terms for Mbah: Mbah Lanang and Mbah Uti. Both words have several varieties in Gedang Kulut Village, such as Bapak, Pak De and Pak Yai (for Grandfather) and Emak, Mak De, and Mbok (for Grandmother).

The terms Bapak and Emak emerged due to the impact of the total semantic change from addressing father and mother to grandfather and grandmother. It also happened for Pak De and Mak De, initially used to address uncle and aunt. It is used by people born in the 2018s until the '90s. Meanwhile, the older generations use Pak Yai and Mbok. The comparison of the semantic change can be seen in the following table.

Table 2. Semantic change in the term *Mbah*

Term	Previous Meaning	Change	Type
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<i>Mbah</i>	Father of the Father or Mother (Grandfather)	Bapak	Shifting
		Pak De	Shifting
		Pak Yai	-
	Grandfather's older brother or younger brother.	-	-
<i>Mbah</i>	Mother of our Father or Mother (Grandmother)	Emak	Shifting
		Mak De	Shifting
		Mbok	-
	Grandfather's older sister or younger sister.	-	-

Semantic Change of Term Bapak

The term Bapak is used to address one's biological father, both in the family lineage of Javanese culture and in the family relationships within the Gedang Kulut Village. Over time, the address Bapak has undergone various variations, including Empak, Ayah, and Papa. The use of the term Empak is generally employed by the older generation, while the younger generation uses Ayah and Papa. These variations are a result of the influence of the Indonesian language.

The shift in the meaning of the term Bapak becomes apparent when it is no longer used solely to address one's biological father but is also used as a replacement for the term Pak De (Grandfather). This shift is due to Bapak being gradually replaced by Ayah, resulting in a vacancy in its usage. Subsequently, it is then utilized as a replacement for Pak De (Grandfather). To observe the shift in the meaning of Bapak, please refer to the following table.

Table 3. Semantic changes in the term *Bapak* (father)

Term	Previous Meaning	Change	Type
<i>Bapak</i>	Father	Father of our Father and Mother (Grandfather)	Shifting

Semantic Change of Term Emak

The term Emak is used to address one's biological mother, both in the family lineage of Javanese culture and in the family relationships within the Gedang Kulut Village community. The address Emak has several variations, including Mbok, Emak, Ibu, and Mama. Mbok is commonly used by the older generation, those born in the < 70s. The following generation, born in the 70s to early 90s, tends to use the address Emak. Meanwhile, Ibu is used by those born from the late 90s to the 2000s. The variation Mama

is evidence of the influence of the Indonesian language on the local term of address, and it has become quite common among those born in 2010 and onwards.

The shift in the meaning of the address Emak becomes apparent when the current generation increasingly uses it to replace the term Mak De (Grandmother). Similar to the transformation of the address Bapak into Pak De, the address Emak is now being used to address grandmothers because it is no longer used to address mothers. To observe the shift in the meaning of the address Emak, please refer to the following table.

Table 4 : Semantic Changes in Term *Emak*

Term	Previous Meaning	Change	Type
<i>Emak</i>	Mother	Mother of our Father and Mother (Grandmother)	Shifting

Semantic Change of Term Pak De

The address term Pak De is an acronym for Bapak Gede, commonly used to address the older brother of the father or mother (uncle). However, in Gedang Kulut Village, the term Pak De refers to grandfather. The address term Pak De also has another variation: Pak Yai. Additionally, Pak De is usually used by the younger generation, while the older generation or those above them tend to use the term Pak Yai.

The semantic changes in the term Pak De began when the people of Gedang Kulut Village massively used this term to replace the term Mbah (grandfather) instead of being used to address the older brother of the father or mother (uncle) as is commonly found in Javanese kinship. The community of Gedang Kulut Village does not use the term Mbah to refer to the grandfather. To see the shift in the meaning of the address term Pak De, please refer to the following table.

Table 5 : Semantic Changes in Term *Pak De*

Term of Address	Previous Meaning	Change	Type
<i>Pak De</i>	Father's or Mother's older brother (Uncle)	Father of the Father or Mother (Grandfather)	Shifting
		Grandfather's older brother or younger brother	Shifting

Semantic Change of Term Mak De

The address term Mak De is an acronym for Mak Gede, another variation of Bu De. In Javanese kinship, the term Mak De or Bu De is commonly used to address the older sister

of our father or mother (aunt). However, in Gedang Kulut Village, Mak De refers to our grandmother. The address term Mak De also has other variations, such as Nyai and Mbok. The older generation generally uses both, while the younger generation has started using the term Mak De.

The shift in the meaning of the address term Mak De began when this term was used to replace the term Nenek (grandmother) or Mbah instead of being used to address the aunt, as is common in other Javanese families. Like the address term Pak De, the address term Mak De is also used to address all younger and older sisters of our grandfather or grandmother. Gedang Kulut Village does not use the term Mbah to refer to the grandmother. The shift in the meaning of the address term Mak De can be seen in the following table.

Table 6 : Semantic Changes in Term *Mak De*

Term of Address	Previous Meaning	Change	Type
<i>Mak De</i>	Older sister of father or mother (aunt),	Mother of our Father or Mother (Grandmother)	Shifting
		Brother or Sister of Grandfather or Grandmother	Shifting

Semantic Change of Term Cak

Cak is an acronym for Cacak, commonly used to address older brothers who still have a familial relationship, such as blood brothers and all male children of our uncle and aunt (cousins). The term Cak has several variations, including Kakak and Mas. Generally, the older generation born between the 70s and 80s use the term Kakak or the acronym Kak. The generation below them, born in the 90s, started using the term Cacak or Cak. And it is only the generation below them that begins to use the term Mas.

Cak's shift in meaning (generalization) begins to emerge when it is used to address all older males, regardless of whether they have a familial relationship. In the case study in Gedang Kulut Village, the term Cak is also used to address the younger male. This word is usually used by parents who want to teach kinship terms and politeness to their children. For example, a father will address his eldest son with Cak to make his younger son call the elder brother with the same address. The term Cak is also starting to replace the term Man (Uncle). The comparison of the meaning shift of the term Cak can be seen in the following table.

Table 7 : Semantic Changes in Term *Cak*

Term	Previous Meaning	Change	Type
		All of the older male	Generalization

Cak	The old brother	A young male who still have family ties	Amelioration
	The older-male cousin	A younger brother of father or mother, (Uncle)	Shifting

Shift in the Meaning of the Address Term Mbak

The term Mbak is used to address older sisters who still have a familial relationship, such as blood sisters and female children of our uncle and aunt (female cousins). In Gedang Kulut Village, the term Mbak has another variation: Yu. The term Yu is usually used by the older generation, born in the 1970s and 1980s, while the younger generation tends to use Mbak.

The shift in meaning (generalization) of the address term Mbak begins to emerge when it addresses all older females, regardless of their familial relationship. Like Cak, the term Mbak is also used to address younger females who still have a familial relationship to teach and educate the children. Lastly, the address term Mbak has shifted from its original meaning as older sister to aunt – the semantic changes in the term Mbak can be observed in the table below.

Table 8 : Semantic Changes in Term *Mbak*

Term of Address	Previous Meaning	Change	Type
<i>Mbak</i>	The older sister	All of the older female	Generalizzation
		A young female who still have family ties	Amelioration
	The older-female cousin	A younger sister of father or mother, (aunt)	Shifting

Unique Findings on Kinship Term

The Emergence of Term Pak Wak and Mak Yu

In the family relationships of Gedang Kulut Village, the terms Pak Wak and Mak Yu are used to address the elder brothers and sisters of our father and mother (uncles and aunts). Pak Wak is an acronym for Bapak Wak. Within the Gedang Kulut community, the term Wak is typically used to address someone older than our father. The concept of Wak is similar to the term Uwa used by the Sundanese, which also carries the same meaning. As a result, the address Bapak Wak or Pak Wak is considered to hold the same status as Pak De in the Javanese kinship with different usage (look at graphic 1).

On the other hand, the address Mak Yu originates from the words Emak and Yu. The term Emak means mother, and Yu means older female. Thus, the term Mak Yu addresses females older than our mothers. This concept aligns with Bu De in Javanese family relationships or Tante in Indonesian. The emergence of the variations Pak Wak and Mak Yu for addressing uncles and aunts makes Pak De and Bu De less familiar

among the people of Gedang Kulut, leading to a shift or change in their usage and meanings.

The Emergence of Term Man and Bebek

In the family relationships of Gedang Kulut Village, the terms used to address younger brothers and sisters of one's father and mother are Man and Bebek. Man is an acronym for Paman (Uncle), while Bebek is linked to Bibi in Indonesian (Aunt). In the Gedang Kulut community, Man holds the same position and function as Paklik, while Bebek shares the same status and function as Bulik in Javanese family relationships. However, the use of Paklik and Bulik seems less familiar, and these terms are rarely heard or used as usual (see Table 1).

No Usage of Term Nak and Adik

In Javanese family relationships, Nak and Adik are commonly used to address children, younger siblings, or younger individuals. However, these terms are rarely used in the family relationships of Gedang Kulut Village. This condition is related to the local habit that older individuals do not necessarily have to use formal Javanese language when speaking to younger individuals, creating the same perception that older individuals also do not need to use the term address to address younger ones.

For instance, a father rarely addresses his child as Nak but directly uses their name instead. Similarly, an elder sibling, even though their younger siblings may use terms of address like Mas or Mbak to call them, would hardly respond by using Dik or Adik (younger sibling).

No Usage of Term Mbah

As depicted in graph (2), the address Mbah is not used for both grandparents in Gedang Kulut Village. This is because the older or younger generations do not use the term. Instead, to address their grandparents, they prefer to use Pak De and Mak De, which result from a shift in meaning from the previous terms. This shift in meaning has rendered Mbah ineffective usage and has gradually caused other variations like Pak Yai and Nyai to fade away.

Semantic Change and Its Influence on the Hierarchy of Term of Address

The semantic change has resulted in changes in the hierarchy of the term of address, either moving up or down. For example, the initial meaning of Pak De and Mak De, which referred to the uncle and aunt, has shifted up to denote grandparents. Similarly, the shift in the meaning of the terms Cak and Mbak, which originally meant elder siblings, has elevated their hierarchical status to become Man and Bebek (Uncle and Aunt). These shifts might confuse some individuals, especially those outside Gedang Kulut Village, as they differ slightly from the widely known Javanese kinship hierarchy.

5. Conclusion

The case study on the semantic change of Javanese kinship term of address in Gedang Kulut Village, Gresik Regency, reveals the presence of the term of address used by the

local community. Three types of semantic change occur in the kinship term used in Gedag Kulut village: generalization, amelioration and shifting. Several terms of address that have undergone shifts include Cak, Mbak, Pak De, Mak De, Bapak, and Emak. Additionally, some terms of address are found in Gedang Kulut village, such as Empak, Mak Yu, Pak Wak, Man, Bebek, Pak Yai and Nyai.

The shift in meaning is closely related to the variations in terms of address. This phenomenon leads to another term of address experiencing a void, which allows for the exchange or adoption of unused terms as new ones with different meanings. The shift in the meaning of the term address also significantly impacts the hierarchical position of family relationships. Specific shifts caused the kinship term's hierarchy to move up or down one or several levels in the family tree.

Overall, this study demonstrates how language and culture constantly evolve and adapt, resulting in changes in address and usage within the community. The unique findings in Gedang Kulut Village exemplify the dynamic nature of language and its connection to cultural practices and social structures. For the next research, it will be more comprehensive to not restrict the formats only from one village or place because the semantic change in the kinship term may not only occur in one village or region. It is also beneficial to get the changing track of the term from one region to another region.

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