

The Dynamics of Madurese Words: A Semantic Study on Madurese Kinship Terms

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ABSTRACT

Madurese language is one of the major regional languages in Indonesia, with a rich linguistic system that makes it an intriguing area of study. It is an interesting language to study because it has a unique way of expressing meaning. In Madurese, one word can have several different meanings, and eventually different words can mean the same thing. Moreover, when it comes to talking about family relationships in Madurese language, things get even more interesting. The words used by the people in Madura to describe family members can change depending on the situation or who is speaking. On the basis of such issues, this article explores Madurese language with a specific focus on investigating the meaning relations within Madurese kinship terms dealing with three aspects: synonymy, antonymy, and ambiguity. The research aims to explore and classify the various kinship terms in Madurese into these distinct categories. By examining synonymy, antonymy, and ambiguity within Madurese kinship terms, this study seeks to uncover the underlying patterns and relationships that exist among these terms.

Accordingly, the research design employed in this study was descriptive qualitative. In addition, to collect necessary research data on the meaning relations within Madurese kinship terms, a combination of observation, depth interviews, and questionnaires was employed. In analyzing the data, an interactive model of data analysis was applied, which includes data reduction, data display, and data verification/claim. The results of this study indicate that the three categories of meaning relations – synonymy, antonymy, and ambiguity – are prevalent within various family relationships in the Madurese community. Those categories of meaning relations exist almost in all Madurese kinship relation system, including in the upward lineages, downward lineage, upward oblique lineage, downward oblique lineage, and lateral lineage.

Keywords: Madura, Madurese Kinship Terms, Semantics, Meaning Relations.

BACKGROUND

Madurese language which is primarily spoken by the Madurese people who live mainly in the island of Madura, Indonesia, as well as parts of Java, is an interesting language to study because it has a unique way of expressing meaning. It is worth mentioning that Madurese is one of the major regional languages in Indonesia, with a rich linguistic system that makes it an engaging area of study. In Madurese, one word can have many different meanings, and eventually different words can mean the same thing. Moreover, when it comes to talking about family relationships in Madurese language, things get even more interesting. The words used by the people in Madura to describe family members can change depending on the situation and who is speaking. In other words, the same word can have different meanings depending on the context of the communication. In this regard, the context of communication covers linguistic context and non-linguistic context. The linguistic context, co-textual context, is understood to refer to “the words and sentences surrounding a word” in a text; it is “the prior and upcoming text; what has just been said, what was earlier said, and what comes next” (Neyole et al., 2023). It is associated with the language system concerning the context in terms of what people know about the words they are saying (Paltridge, 2022). In addition, the non-linguistic context refers to “locations, times, participants, and purposes” in which language is used (Canning & Walker, 2024). Thus, language and context work together to create meaning (Politt, 2024).

One notable feature of Madurese language is its complex semantic structure, which pertains to “the relationships between concepts, such as the connections between entities and their characteristics within a semantic field or semantic domain” (Feist, 2016). It is known for its extensive lexical diversity and semantic subtlety, which add depth to its communication patterns. In the phenomenon of kinship terms, Madurese language presents an interesting case where a single word can carry multiple meanings depending on the context of use. This variation in meaning can be influenced by factors, such as age, gender, social status, the relationship between the speakers, culture—which is understood as “ideas, beliefs, and understandings that are shared by speakers of a particular language in a certain locality” (Gladkova, 2024), or even the system of language itself. Furthermore, the Madurese language exhibits instances where different terms might share similar meanings. This phenomenon, which is well-known as synonymy, poses intriguing questions regarding the semantic relationships between these kinship terms. Thus, exploring the meaning relations of Madurese kinship terms allows us to dig into the intricacies of how Madurese speakers conceptualize and classify kinship relationships within their language and cultural context. In addition, understanding the complex meanings associated with Madurese kinship terms provides valuable insights into the cultural values and social dynamics of the Madurese people. Moreover, exploring the semantic relationships between these terms can contribute to the broader understanding of linguistic categorization and how humans assign meaning to words in different cultural and linguistic contexts.

In relation to those phenomena, researches on the Madurese language are still limited and have primarily focused on aspects, such as phonology and syntax in a general context. However, there is a notable research gap when it comes to exploring the meaning relations within Madurese kinship terms. Specifically, there has been limited investigation into areas, such as synonymy, antonymy, and ambiguity dealing with the Madurese kinship. The existing studies have not explored these crucial aspects of Madurese semantics concerning kinship terms. Of course, there are many researches

regarding the study of meaning relations, such as Taher & Salih (2024) who studied meaning relations on image schema, Maulidya et al (2024) who studied lexical relations on a text of Surah Al-Khaf, Ortega-Martín et al (2023) who studied linguistic ambiguity in ChatGPT, Simorangkir et al (2024) who studied meaning relations in Bahasa Indonesia, Zuikaningsih et al (2024) who studies relations of word meaning, etc. However, none of those researches deals with Madurese language, mainly Madurese kinship terms. Therefore, this research aims to fill this gap by examining the meaning relations within Madurese kinship terms, particularly focusing on synonymy, antonymy, and ambiguity.

To address the identified gap in the research on Madurese kinship terms from the perspective of semantics, it is also essential to explore the theoretical frameworks on meaning relations, in which this research focuses particularly on synonymy, antonymy, and ambiguity. In linguistics, semantics is well known as the study of meaning in language focusing on the relationship between linguistic form and meaning in the level of words and sentences in which (Aijmer, 2023) concerns in its literal meaning, but not in the level of utterance or speaker meaning (Kroeger, 2018; Yule, 2020). Accordingly, (Lee, 2023) classifies semantics into lexical semantics and compositional semantics, and with this regard the current research is dealing with lexical semantics. Theoretically, the lexical semantics concerns in the meanings of individual words and how they relate to one another, whereas compositional semantics looks at how the meanings of phrases and sentences come together through established grammatical rules and principles. In this case, lexical semantics play a significant role in signaling explicit and implicit discourse relations, with different parts of speech contributing differently to the semantic relations (Reig Alamillo et al., 2023).

Dealing with such meaning relations in Madurese kinship terms as the concern of this research, it is essential to look at the concepts of synonymy, antonymy, and ambiguity. Synonymy occurs when “different words convey similar meanings” (Kroeger, 2018) and are “mutually hyponymous” (Cann, 2019). Such understanding on synonymy is relevant with the perspective of paradigmatic relations that “two words are synonymous (for a specific sense of each word) if substituting one word for the other does not change the meaning of a sentence” (Kroeger, 2018). In contrast, antonymy highlights the relationships between words with opposite meanings, which in the view of Kroeger (2018) can have similar collocations as well as express a value of the same property or attribute. Accordingly, Cann (2019) segmented antonymy into complementary or binary antonymy, gradable (scalar) antonymy, and converse. Binary antonymy, simple antonym (Kroeger, 2018), is characterized by its non-gradable nature, where the presence of one concept inherently implies the absence of the other. In this relationship, negating one term necessarily affirms the existence of its counterpart. The key characteristic of simple antonyms is that substituting one term in the pair with the other results in sentences that are contradictory.

On the other hand, gradable (scalar) antonymy represents a case of contrary which implicitly or explicitly refers to a standard of comparison. In this case, Kroeger (2018) proposed diagnostic properties to identify scalar antonyms: (1) that scalar antonyms typically have corresponding intermediate terms; (2) that scalar antonyms name values which are relative rather than absolute; (3) that scalar antonyms are often vague; (4) that comparative forms of scalar antonyms are completely natural; (5) the comparative forms of scalar antonyms form a converse pair; and (6) that one member of a pair of scalar antonyms are often felt to be more basic. Further, the other dimension of antonymy is converse. Converse involves words that name an asymmetric relation

between two entities; it refers to relational terms where the argument positions involved with one lexeme can be reversed with another and vice versa (Cann, 2019).

Furthermore, ambiguity exists when a word or phrase has multiple sense or interpretation with distinct extensions and senses. It is “a phenomenon that one form may carry more than one meaning”, and is termed lexical ambiguity (Zimmermann & Sternefeld, 2013); (Kroeger, 2018); (Yule, 2020); (Hurford et al., 2007). Regarding such a lexical ambiguity, Cann (2019) introduced syntagmatic relations of meaning on homonymy and polysemy, and in the view of Kroeger (2018) both are two types of lexical ambiguity. Basically, both polysemy and homonymy involve words that are pronounced the same way; they are identical both in the pronunciation and spelling. However, in homonymous pairs, the various meanings are unrelated at all, while polysemous pairs necessitate a strong semantic connection between the different meanings of the word. In other words, homonymy deals with “different words that happen to sound the same”, while polysemy deals with “one word with multiple meaning” (Hikmah, 2022).

Accordingly, the primary objective of this research is to identify the meaning relations within Madurese kinship terms, with a specific focus on three aspects: synonymy, antonymy, and lexical ambiguity. The research aims to explore and classify the various kinship terms in Madurese into these distinct categories. By examining synonymy, antonymy, and ambiguity within Madurese kinship terms, this study seeks to uncover the underlying patterns and relationships that exist among these terms.

Therefore, by examining the meaning relations embedded in the Madurese kinship terms, this study can contribute to the broader field of semantics and linguistic categorization. It offers wider insights into how Madurese speakers construct meaning and how these meanings are shaped by both cultural and linguistic contexts. A deeper understanding of the semantic phenomena within kinship terms, particularly in Madurese, is crucial for comprehending the cultural values, social structures, and familial relationships that characterize Madurese society. By addressing this research gap, this study not only extends knowledge of Madurese semantics but also enriches the field of linguistics more broadly, particularly in understanding the dynamics of meaning construction and the cultural significance of kinship terminology.

RESEARCH METHOD

Adopting the research design and instrumentation of research by Miles et al (2014), to collect necessary data on the meaning relations within Madurese kinship terms in this research, a combination of observation, depth interviews, and questionnaires was employed. The indigenous Madurese individuals who regularly use the Madurese language were engaged through observation and in-depth interviews to gain insights into their language usage and cultural perspectives. Additionally, questionnaires were distributed to a wider range of Madurese speakers to gain diverse perspectives. The research was conducted in 2023, in some areas of Madura regencies, including Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep.

The data collected was analyzed by classifying it into relevant categories based on the research focus of synonymy, antonymy, and ambiguity. This helped organize the data for further analysis. Displaying and discussing the data from an argumentative perspective allowed for the identification of patterns and connections between kinship terms. Finally, the research findings were claimed based on the analysis and

interpretation of the data, providing valuable insights into the meaning relations within the Madurese kinship terms.

By employing these methods, this research was able to comprehensively explore the meaning relations of Madurese kinship terms. The combination of observation, depth interviews, and questionnaires facilitated a deeper understanding of how these terms are used and interpreted by the Madurese community.

DISCUSSION

The research findings indicate that the three categories of meaning relations – synonymy, antonymy, and ambiguity – are prevalent within various family relationships in the Madurese community. Those categories of meaning relations exist almost in all Madurese kinship relation system, including in the “upward lineages, downward lineage, upward oblique lineage, downward oblique lineage, and lateral lineage” (Rifai, 2007), in which basically kinship terminology and structure vary widely across cultures, shaped by marriage, descent, and language (Li et al., 2024; RÁCZ et al., 2019). In this case, the presence of these meaning categories underscores the richness and complexity of kinship terminology in the Madurese culture. Within the upper lineage, for example, the research reveals the existence of synonymy, in which multiple kinship terms are used interchangeably to refer to the same familial relationship. This linguistic diversity and variation in vocabulary reflect the nuanced ways in which Madurese people express and perceive family connections. In addition, the findings also highlight the presence of antonymy in Madurese kinship terms. The antonymous terms possess opposite or contrasting meanings, adding complexity to the understanding of familial relationships. Furthermore, the research also uncovers instances of ambiguity within Madurese kinship terms, dealing almost with all lineages. This ambiguity arises when a single term can have multiple possible meanings or interpretations, and based on the research findings, it deals particularly with polysemy and homonymy.

A. Synonymy within Madurese Kinship Terms

Within Madurese upward lineage kinship terms, a range of synonymous kinship terms have been identified. For the category of male parents (*rèng towa lakè'*), some terms such as *bapa'*, *eppa'*, *rama^(h)*, *emma'*, *kajhi*, and *bhupa'* are used interchangeably to refer to the male parent. Semantically, in sentence “*Sengko' entara ka tang bapa'.*” (I want to go to my father), for instance, the word *bapa'* is replaceable with the word *eppa'* or *rama^(h)* or *emma'* or *kajhi* or *bhupa'* without changing the meaning of the sentence: “*Sengko' entara ka tang eppa'/ rama^(h)/ emma'/ kajhi/ bhupa'.*” As a result, these terms reflect the linguistic diversity and variation within Madurese kinship terminology, emphasizing the various ways in which individuals in the Madurese community address their fathers. In this case, of the four terms referring to *rèng towa lakè'* (male parents), *bapa'*, *eppa'*, and *rama^(h)* are three terms mostly employed by today's community in Madura and remain exist. The others, such as *emma'*, *kajhi*, and *bhupa'* are getting rarely used nowadays to refer to the male parent. Out of 40 people have been interviewed, only informants aged 50 and above understand the term *kajhi* and *emma'* to refer to the male parent. Most of them are not familiar with the term *kajhi*, and they acknowledge the term *emma'* to mean mother. This will be discussed further in the case of ambiguity.

Similarly, within the category of female parents (*rèng towa binè'*), some synonymous kinship terms such as *èbo'*, *emma'*, *èbhu*, *mama'*, and *embo'* are employed to refer to the female parent. As the case of Madurese kinship terms referring to the male parents, the five terms (*èbo'*, *emma'*, *èbhu*, *mama'*, and *embo'*) can replace one another to refer to the female parents for they are synonymous. These terms demonstrate the linguistic richness of Madurese kinship terminology and provide insight into the various ways in which individuals express their relationship with their mothers. Unlike the kinship terms for male parents, these four Madurese kinship terms (*èbo'*, *emma'*, *èbhu*, *mama'*, and *embo'*) have persisted to the present and are still widely used by the majority of the community in Madura.

Moving to the category of male grandparents (*emba lakè'*), some synonymous kinship terms such as *emba*, *kaè^(h)*, *kai*, *bapa'*, *ba lake'*, and *aghung lakè'* are used to refer to male grandparents. The six words are interchangeably replaceable in their uses. However, of these six kinship terms, in their daily communication, the Madurese people mostly employ the term *ba lake'* and *kai* to address their male grandparents. The existence of these synonymous terms also suggests the presence of linguistic variation and cultural differences in Madurese kinship terminology, shedding light on the complexity of familial relationships within the community. Along with it, regarding female grandparents (*emba binè'*), the kinship terms such as *emba*, *emma'*, *nyae^(h)*, *embo'*, *ba binè'*, *nyai*, and *aghung binè'* are synonymous and employed to refer to female grandparents. These synonymous terms provide insights into the linguistic diversity and cultural practices surrounding the way Madurese individuals address their paternal grandmothers.

In addition, the category of male great-grandparents (*bhuju' lakè'*), Madurese language has eight kinship terms existing to be synonymous. It includes the word *juju'*, *kaèh*, *enju'*, *emba*, *ato'*, *uwan*, and *ba enju'*, and are used to address the male great-grandparents. The presence of these synonymous terms, of course, also reflects the complexity and depth of the Madurese kinship system, allowing for nuanced expressions of ancestral connections and lineage. Besides, within the category of female great-grandparents (*bhuju' binè'*), synonymous kinship terms such as *juju'*, *nyae^(h)*, *embo'*, *ba bhuju'*, *emba*, *enju'*, *juju' binè'*, *ato'*, and *ba enju'* are employed to refer to female great-grandparents. These synonymous terms highlight the linguistic resources available to Madurese individuals when addressing their paternal great-grandmothers, revealing the complex dynamics of familial relationships and ancestral connections.

Of course, when it comes to the usage, a perfect synonymy rarely exists in any languages, even some linguists like Kroeger (2018) and Zimmermann and Sternefeld (2013) stated it would never occur. In Madurese language, replacing *eppa'* with *emma'*, sometimes changes the meaning of a sentence because the word *emma'* also exists to refer to female parents, as illustrated in the following.

- a. *Eppa' mangkat ka sabâ.*
(A **father** leaves for the rice field.)
- b. *Emma' mangkat ka sabâ.*
(A **mother** (or **father**) leaves for the rice field.)
- c. *Eppa' bân emma' mangkat ka sabâ.*
(A **father** and a **mother** leave for the rice field.)

In (a), the term *eppa'* clearly understood to refer to a male parent. It's like, in English, to say "A father leaves for the rice field." In (b), replacing the word *emma'*

with *eppa* ' can potentially change the meaning of the sentence because it can have two interpretations; either *emma* ' in (b) refers to male parent or female parent. Unlike in (b), the example (c) can be more understood that *eppa* ' and *emma* ' potentially have different references; one refers to a 'father' and the other refers to a 'mother'. It is strengthened by the existence of conjunction *bân* which is equivalent to 'and' in English.

In the case of Madurese downward lineage kinship, three pairs of synonymous terms are identified: ***kacong*** and ***ana*** ' for son (*ana* ' *lakè* '), ***chebbhing*** and ***ana*** ' for daughter (*ana* ' *binè* '), ***kompoy*** and ***kacong*** for grandson (*kompoy lakè* '), and ***kompoy*** and ***chebbhing*** for granddaughter (*kompoy binè* '). In this case, the synonymous terms provide insights into how Madurese individuals conceptually and linguistically understand and represent these specific familial relationships. From the paradigmatic perspective on meaning relations, the existence of these synonymous kinship terms reflects the linguistic flexibility and variation within the Madurese kinship system. It suggests that the Madurese language recognizes the possibility of expressing kinship relationships through different lexical choices while maintaining the same underlying meaning.

However, this linguistic phenomenon allows for diverse ways of addressing family members, indicating the cultural and social complications of Madurese kinship practices. Such complications appear when some words, which are priorly understood identical in meaning, come to have different references in their practical uses. It can be noticed through how the Madurese people use the term *ana* ' to refer to both son and daughter, and the term *kompoy* to refer to both grandson and granddaughter. Even, sometimes *kacong* is used to refer to any male relatives within downward lineage family members, as well as *chebbing* to refer to any female relatives within downward lineage family members. Notice the following samples.

- d. *Ajuah tang ana* '.
(That is my **child** (son or daughter).)
- e. *Ajuah tang kompoy* .
(That is my **grandchild** (grandson or granddaughter).)
- f. ***Cong*** (*kacong*), *ya* ' *kanna* ' !
(**Son**, comer here!)
- g. ***Bhing*** (*chebbhing*), *ya* ' *kanna* ' !
(**Daughter**, come here!)

Each of the bold words in (d), (e), (f), and (g) can potentially have more than one meaning when used in the practice of communication. In (d) the term *tang ana* ' can indicate either 'my son' or 'my daughter'. In (e) the term *tang kompoy* can indicate either 'my grandson' or 'my granddaughter'. In (f) the term *cong* (*kacong*) can refer to any male relatives within downward lineage family members, such as son, grandson, the son of the son, the son of the grandson, the son of siblings, etc. Similarly, in (g) the term *bhing* (*chebbhing*) can refer to any female relatives within downward lineage family members, such as daughter, granddaughter, daughter of the daughter, daughter of the granddaughter, the daughter of siblings, etc. Such cases strengthen the paradigm that a perfect synonymy rarely exists in any languages because sometimes the synonymous words appear to be ambiguous when it comes in the practice of use.

Moreover, synonymy in kinship terms can also have cultural and social implications. It may reflect the importance given to specific family members or the dynamics of gender roles within the society. For instance, the presence of synonymous

terms for sons and daughters, such as *kacong* and *ana'* for son, and *chebbhing* and *ana'* for daughter, suggests a recognition of gender equality in the linguistic representation of offspring. Additionally, the synonyms for grandchildren, such as *kompoy* and *kacong* for grandson, and *kompoy* and *chebbhing* for granddaughter, indicate a linguistic flexibility that allows for different expressions of the same kinship relationship within the Madurese culture. This reflects the cultural significance placed on the role of grandchildren and their place within the family structure.

In Madurese culture, there are also several synonymous terms used to refer to the male sibling of a parent (*majhâdi' lakè'*). These terms include *anom*, *paman*, *ghuttèh*, *obâ' lakè'*, and *om*. The existence of these synonymous terms also suggests linguistic variation within Madurese kinship terminology, allowing individuals to express their relationship with the male sibling of a parent through different lexical choices. Viewing from the paradigmatic standpoint, the concept of synonymy plays a crucial role in understanding how languages represent kinship relations. Theoretically, synonymy refers to the relationship between words or expressions that share similar meanings. In the case of *majhâdi' lakè'* kinship, the synonymous terms *anom*, *paman*, *ghuttèh*, *obâ' lakè'*, and *om* all convey the same meaning, that is the male sibling of a parent. In line with the previous ideas, the existence of these synonymous terms reveals the linguistic richness and flexibility within the Madurese kinship system. It suggests that the Madurese language recognizes the possibility of expressing kinship relationships through multiple lexical choices, while maintaining the same underlying meaning. This linguistic phenomenon allows for diverse ways of addressing or referring to the male sibling of a parent, reflecting the cultural and social subtleties of Madurese kinship practices. Of those four synonymous terms, the term *ghuttèh* and *obâ' lakè'* are rarely used by nowadays Madurese people, especially the youth. Even, the use of *ghuttèh* by the young people nowadays can mean another thing. The young people appear to use the word *ghuttèh* to refer to their male close friends.

- h. *Ambu tèh (ghuttèh), jhâ' aghâjâ'!*
(Oh, **man**! Stop it!)

Even though the basic meaning of *ghuttèh* refers to male sibling of a parent in the family relation system, and it has synonyms of *paman*, *anom*, *om*, etc, in (h) *ghuttèh* can potentially have different meaning. Commonly, such a sentence is used by the young when they are joking with their male close friends. In English, it's like saying "Oh, man! Stop it." Again, understanding synonymy cannot exclude the cultural practice of its use in daily communication.

Similarly, when addressing the female sibling of a parent (*majhâdi' binè'*), Madurese culture employs synonymous terms such as *bhibbhi'*, *onèng*, *emmo'*, *bebe'*, *odâh*, *obâ' binè'*, *nyenyah* (*nyannyah*), *elle'*, and *tante*. These synonymous terms reflect the linguistic richness available to Madurese people when expressing their relationship with the female sibling of a parent. The presence of these multiple synonymous terms for the sibling of a parent highlights the linguistic diversity and variation within Madurese society. Moreover, the usage of synonymous terms for the sibling of a parent may have cultural and social implications. It can reflect the significance given to the sibling relationship and the role of extended family members within Madurese society. Of those ten synonymous terms, the term *onèng*, *odâh*, and *obâ' binè'* get presently rarely used by nowadays Madurese people, especially the youth.

Furthermore, there are several synonymous terms used to refer to a male sibling. These terms include *kaka'*, *alè'*, *mas*, *abang*, *aghus*, and *ka' towan* or *lè' towan*. Each of these terms conveys the same underlying meaning: a male sibling. The presence of these multiple synonymous terms also reflects the linguistic richness and flexibility within the Madurese kinship system, allowing individuals to express their relationship with a male sibling through different lexical choices. The concept of synonymy, plays theoretically a fundamental role in understanding how languages express kinship relationships. In the case of lateral lineage kinship within Madurese culture, the synonymous terms for male siblings exemplify linguistic phenomenon of meaning similarities. Accordingly, it suggests that the Madurese language recognizes different ways of referring to a male sibling, while maintaining the same essential meaning. This linguistic flexibility allows for a diverse range of expressions, reflecting the cultural and social complexities of Madurese kinship practices.

In the same way, when referring to a female sibling, Madurese culture employs synonymous terms such as *embhuk*, *ajuh* (*enjuh*), *alè'*, *enèng*, *iyu*, *kaka'*, and *emba'*. These terms all convey the same meaning; that is a female sibling. They can be used interchangeably in a sentence. The existence of these synonymous terms demonstrates the linguistic resources available to Madurese individuals when expressing their relationship with a female sibling. The synonymous terms for siblings reveal the linguistic diversity and variation within Madurese society, emphasizing the importance of context and cultural factors when studying kinship terminology. It theoretically suggests the linguistic and cultural complexities of Madurese kinship terminology. Moreover, the usage of synonymous terms for siblings may have cultural and social implications. It can reflect the significance placed on sibling relationships and the roles assigned to siblings within the Madurese society. Unfortunately, in today's society, the term *enjuh* is rarely used, and it almost extinct.

B. Antonymy within Madurese Kinship Terms

The antonymy found within Madurese kinship terms are binary antonymy and converse. Binary antonymy and converse are two primary types of opposition meaning relations in linguistics that have become focal points of study across languages and disciplines (Koptjevskaja-Tamm et al., 2024). Surprisingly gradable antonymy does not exist within the Madurese kinship terminology. It is because all the kinship terms of Madurese language are nouns, while gradable antonymy commonly deals with adjectives. Based on the research findings, several antonymous kinship terms were found in Madurese upward lineage kinship. Theoretically, binary antonymy refers to the relationship between two expressions that represent contrasting concept of meaning. It refers to pairs of words that mutually exclude each other without a middle ground (Nguyễn Thị, 2024). In Madurese upward lineage kinship, binary antonyms are found in pairs, such as *eppa'* (father) and *emma'* (mother), *bapa'* (father) and *mama'* (mother), *rama^(h)* (father) and *èbhu* (mother), *emma'* (father) and *embo'* (mother), *kaèh* (grandfather) and *nyaèh* (grandmother), *kai* (grandfather) and *nyai* (grandmother), *ba lake'* (grandfather) and *ba binè'* (grandmother), *aghung lakè'* (grandfather) and *aghung binè'* (grandmother), and *juju' lakè'* (great-grandfather) and *juju' binè'* (great-grandmother). These pairs of antonymous terms reflect the contrasting roles, relationships, or characteristics within the Madurese kinship system. For example, the binary antonyms *eppa'* (father) and *emma'* (mother) represent the contrasting parental roles within the family.

- i. *Mama' èntar ka pasar.*
(A **mother** goes to the market.)
- j. *Bapa' èntar ka pasar.*
(A **father** goes to the market.)

The word *mama'* and *bapa'* in (i) and (j) cannot be used to replace each other because each denotes a different family member. If the two words, *mama'* and *bapa'*, are used interchangeably, they will create a new meaning in both sentences that are not align with the original one.

In the downward-lineage kinship terms of Madurese culture are notable instances of binary antonymy. The analysis reveals three salient pairs, including *kacong* (son) which is contrasted with *chebbhing* (daughter), *kompoy lakè'* (grandson) which is opposed to *kompoy binè'* (granddaughter), and *piyo' lakè'* (great-grandson) which is against *piyo' binè'* (great-granddaughter). The primary contrast observed within these three pairs of terms lies in the differentiation between male and female designations. The terminology thus foregrounds the gendered structure of the downward line, illustrating how Madurese speakers circumscribe patrilineal and matrilineal relationships through lexical distinction. The use of different terms for males and females foregrounds the cultural significances assigned to gender as it shapes obligations, identity, and placement in the family structure. These binary antonymies indicate the ways in which Madurese culture conceptualizes and expresses the relationships within the downward lineage.

Our ongoing analysis of binary opposition among Madurese kinship terms now directs attention to upward oblique lineage relationships. Within this context, we encounter several pairs of terms that exhibit binary antonymy. These pairs include *paman* (uncle) and *bhibbhi'* (aunt), *paman* (uncle) and *odâh* (aunt), *ghuttèh* (uncle) and *onèng* (aunt), and *obâ' lakè'* (uncle) and *obâ' binè'* (aunt). These antonymous pairs indicate the distinction between male and female relatives within the upward oblique lineage. The use of different terms to refer to uncles and aunts emphasizes the gender-specific roles and relationships within this kinship category. It indicates the Madurese cultural norms and the roles assigned to individuals within the extended family structure. Yet, the presence of these binary antonymies within upward oblique lineage kinship terms allows us to appreciate the linguistic and cultural values of Madurese society. Simply, the differentiation between male and female relatives reflects the significance placed on gender-specific familial roles and responsibilities in the society.

Besides, the final binary antonymies within Madurese kinship terms appear in the lateral lineage. In this context, several pairs of terms exhibit binary antonymy. These pairs include *kaka'* (older brother) vs. *embhuk* (older sister), *kaka'* (older brother) vs. *alè'* (younger sibling), and *embhuk* (older sister) vs. *alè'* (younger sibling). The first pair represents a contrast based on gender, distinguishing between an older brother and an older sister. The second and third pairs, on the other hand, indicate a contrast based on age, contrasting an older sibling with a younger sibling. These binary antonymies underscore the significance of both gender and age in Madurese kinship terminology. In this perspective, these antonymous pairs present insights into the complex interplay between gender roles and age hierarchies within Madurese lateral lineage. The use of different terms to distinguish between older and younger siblings reflects the cultural values and expectations associated with sibling relationships. This linguistic distinction allows individuals to express and navigate their roles and responsibilities within the familial structure. Yet, these binary

antonymies within lateral lineage kinship terms offer a deeper understanding of the social dynamics and cultural values within Madurese society.

Further, converse antonymy in Madurese kinship terms appears on the basis of relational order, distinguishing it from binary antonymy, which primarily revolves around gender distinctions. While conceptually similar to binary antonymy, converse antonymy differs in terms of the relational order it represents. In Madurese kinship terminology, converse antonymy can be observed within upward lineage, downward lineage, upward oblique lineage, and downward oblique lineage. Examining the various instances of converse antonymy within Madurese kinship terms reveals the significance placed on different generational relationships. For instance, we have the contrasting terms *rèng towa* (parent) and *ana'* (child), which highlight the reciprocal relationship between a parent and a child. Similarly, the terms *emba* (grandparent) and *kompoy* (grandchild) represent a complementary relationship between different generations. Expanding further, we encounter converse, such as *bhuju'* (great-grandparent) and *piyo'* (great-grandchild), *ghârubhek* (great-grandparent's parent) and *kareppek* (great-grandchild's child), *majhâdi'* (parent's sibling) and *penakan* (sibling's child), *emba majhâdi'* (grandparent's sibling) and *kompoy penakan* (sibling's grandchild), *bhuju' majhâdi'* (great-grandparent's sibling) and *piyo' penakan* (sibling's great-grandchild), and *ghârubhek majhâdi'* (sibling's great-grandparent's parent) and *kareppek penakan* (sibling's great-grandchild's child). These instances of converse antonymy within Madurese kinship terms reflect the intricate web of familial relationships and the importance placed on generational connections. The presence of converse antonymies allows individuals to articulate and navigate the complex network of kinship ties within their culture. By acknowledging and employing these terms, Madurese people can express the reciprocal and complementary nature of relationships across different generational levels. Thus, converse antonymy within Madurese kinship terms operates on the basis of relational order, distinguishing it from binary antonymy that primarily revolves around gender distinctions.

C. Ambiguity within Madurese Kinship Terms

Basically, ambiguity deals with an expression that has multiple meanings. It can be categorized as structural ambiguity and lexical ambiguity. Click or tap here to enter text. The distinction between them is that structural ambiguity deals with sentence, and the multiple meaning are resulted from its ambiguous structure. On the other hand, lexical ambiguity deals with word or phrase with multiple meaning. Concerning the case, the ambiguity found within Madurese kinship terms in this research deals with lexical ambiguity, exactly **polysemy** and **homonymy**. A case of polysemy involves an ambiguous word whose different meanings are naturally related one another from the perspective of the native speaker of the language. In the context of Madurese kinship terms, polysemy adds an intriguing layer of complexity to the language used to describe familial relationships. It highlights the versatility and adaptability of language, allowing for nuanced expressions of kinship ties.

Madurese kinship terms frequently exhibit polysemy, with a single term embodying multiple related meanings within the realm of familial relationships. For instance, the term *bhibbhi'* can refer to both the sister of parent and the female cousin of parent, depending on the specific context. Similarly, the term *embhuk* can encompass the meanings of both an older sister and an older female cousin. Such polysemous kinship terms reflect the complexities of family connections within

Madurese culture and the diverse roles and responsibilities associated with different familial relationships. This polysemous term showcases the semantic overlap between these two familial roles, highlighting the shared characteristics of a female relative. It demonstrates the semantic extent and flexibility of Madurese kinship terms. These examples emphasize how polysemy enriches the linguistic repertoire available for expressing familial relationships within Madurese culture. In addition, the polysemous nature of Madurese kinship terms can be attributed to various factors. Cultural norms, social dynamics, and the specific roles and responsibilities associated with different familial relationships all contribute to the semantic versatility of these terms. The fluidity of kinship roles within Madurese society necessitates the existence of polysemous kinship terms to accurately reflect the nuances and complexities of these relationships. Thus, it reflects the cultural values, social dynamics, and kinship structures that shape Madurese society.

- k. *Bhibbhi' èntar ka mantan ngangguy kalambhi anyar.*
(My parent's female sibling goes to the wedding party wearing a new dress.)
(My parent's female cousin goes to the wedding party wearing a new dress.)
- l. *Bhibbhi' sakè'.*
(My parent's female sibling is sick.)
(My parent's female cousin is sick.)
- m. *Sèngko' kerrong ka embhuk.*
(I miss my older sister.)
(I miss my older female cousin.)
- n. *Embhuk dhâddhi mantan.*
(My older sister is the bride.)
(My older female cousin is the bride.)

In (k) and (l), the word *bhibbhi'* in Madurese kinship is ambiguous because without knowing the real context of use of the sentence, the word can mean two things. One can refer to the female sibling (sister) of parent (either father or mother), and the other can refer to the female cousin of parent. Likely, in (m) and (n), the word *embhuk* is considered ambiguous, for it can also mean two things: older sister and older female cousin. Since the word *bhibbhi'* in both (k) and (l) means different things but is still related in some ways, it is categorized as polysemy. Further, since the word *embhuk* in (m) and (n) means different things but is still related in some ways, they are also categorized as polysemy. Basically, it is because in the Madurese culture people have strong familial relations among relatives. They don't really matter the distinction between the female sibling of parent and the female cousin of parent, as well as between older female sibling and older female cousin.

Other case of lexical ambiguities occurring within Madurese kinship terms is homonymy. It occurs withing upward lineage kinship relation, including the term *emma'* which can refer to either male parent or female parent, and the term *emba* which can refer to either male grandparent or female grandparent. The other ambiguity occurs within lateral lineage kinship relation, that is *alè'* which can refer to either younger male sibling or younger female sibling. In this case, the ambiguous meaning of the word *emma'* has been discussed in previous discussion about synonymy. It can be outlooked in sample (b) and (c). Now, let's take a look at the case of the ambiguity concerning the word *emba* and *alè'*.

- o. *Lè' (alè'), emba bâdâ^(h)?*
(Is grandmother at home?)

- (Is **grandfather** at home?)
 p. *Ēmba ghi' tēdung e kamara.*
 (My **grandmother** is sleeping in her bedroom.)
 (My **grandfather** is sleeping in his bedroom.)
 q. *Alè' rèya èntar kamma^(h) yâ?*
 (Where does my **little sister** go?)
 (Where does my **little brother** go?)
 r. *Bapa' ngater alè' asakolah.*
 (My father takes my **little sister** to the school.)
 (My father takes my **little brother** to the school.)

Essentially, the key difference between polysemy and homonymy found in the Madurese kinship terms is that homonymy in the context of Madurese kinship emphasizes the gender of family members, rather than solely focusing on family relationships as is the case with polysemy. In (o) and (p) the word *emba* is considered homonymy because it can refer to both male grandparent and female grandparent. Likely, in (q) and (r) the word *alè'* is considered homonymy for it can mean younger male sibling or younger female sibling. Even in the practical use, it can also be addressed to younger male cousin or younger female cousin. As a result, it can be considered polysemy in some ways when seen solely from the context of family relations, and excludes the gender of the family member.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, examining the meaning relations within Madurese kinship terms provides valuable insights into the nature of familial relationships within Madurese culture. It strengthens the understanding of Madurese culture, language, and the dynamics of family connections. The meaning relations within Madurese kinship terms mostly cover synonymy, antonymy specifically dealing with binary antonymy and converse, and lexical ambiguity dealing particularly with polysemy and homonymy. Thus, by addressing the meaning relations (**synonymy, antonymy, and ambiguity**), this study is believed to contribute to the understanding of semantic dynamics within Madurese kinship terms and provide wider insights on the linguistic and cultural aspects of familial relationships within the Madurese community.

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