Urban Toponymy as a Cultural Identity Marker: An Onomastic Study of the Cina Benteng Community in Tangerang, Indonesia

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Abstract
Toponyms of the Cina Benteng community in Tangerang, Indonesia are embedded with cultural identity and historical legacy, to show a geographical and social differentiation. This study examines the toponymic practices of this Cina Benteng community, focusing on how place names reflect and maintain cultural identity in an urban minority context. Through a multidimensional approach combining historical documentation, linguistic analysis, and social investigation, the research analyzed 45 toponyms across five districts in Tangerang. The study employed qualitative methods, including structured interviews with 20 informants representing various community stakeholders, to explore both lexical meaning and presuppositional meaning (categorical, associative, and emotive) of the toponyms. The findings reveal complex patterns of language contact and cultural preservation in naming practices. The lexical analysis identified five languages (Indonesian, Chinese/Hokkien, Sundanese, Sanskrit, and Javanese) in both monolingual and bilingual configurations. The categorical meaning analysis revealed 14 distinct semantic categories, while the associative meaning analysis showed a predominance of positive associations (72%) over negative ones (28%). The emotive meaning analysis identified strong positive emotional connections to place names, particularly expressions of joy, happiness, and pride in community achievements. These findings demonstrate that Cina Benteng toponyms function as sophisticated repositories of cultural memory, social history, and community identity, providing valuable insights for urban planning and cultural preservation. This research contributes to understanding how urban minority communities maintain cultural identity through toponymic practices while adapting to broader social contexts.

Introduction

Language communities across all regions globally use language as an important identity marker because it determines social relationships; as the language choice is driven by practical communication and symbolic

function. The ethnolinguistic identity refers to cultural identity reflected in a community's language use, while language is used as a primary identifier, inherently involved in socialization (Katubi & Tondo, 2005), and both a communication tool and a marker of group membership (Edward, 1985; Liebkind, 2006). Toponymic studies are good examples of the use of language for highlighting cultural identities as toponym structures utilize morphemes and language element distribution as ethnographic tools (Abdrakhmanov, 2010). An interesting cultural identity to study is the toponyms of the Cina Benteng community in Tangerang, Indonesia. This community has a long history in the region, with early Chinese arrivals in Indonesia for trade dating back to the early centuries. The Cina Benteng have been an integral part of Tangerang's history, and the term "Cina Benteng" itself has historical origins related to their geographical and social differentiation from other Chinese communities.

Several studies have contributed to outlining the correlation between toponyms and the socio-political and cultural events. Stebelsky (2015), for example, studied Ukrainian toponyms, revealing how political regimes influence naming, categorizing city names based on Soviet, Russian, or indigenous Ukrainian influence. This showed how toponym modification was used for territorial claims and cultural dominance, with areas of stronger Ukrainian identity resisting external influences. Mamvura & Marowa (2023) analysed decolonization in Zimbabwe, examining how the post-Mugabe government used place naming for legitimization, demonstrating systematic renaming to establish authority and rewrite historical narratives (Mamvura, 2020). Qian, Kang, & Wang (2016) used advanced quantitative methods (GIS, historical maps, census data) to study ethnic toponyms (Zhuang, Cantonese, Hoklo, Hakka) in Guangdong, China. Their findings correlated toponymic patterns with environmental conditions and ethnic settlement histories, showing how geography influenced naming and preserved evidence of migration and cultural contact. Bijak (2021) provided a framework for landscape-toponym relationships in Poland, examining natural and cultural landscape influences (landforms, flora, settlement patterns, infrastructure) using visual analysis to show how toponyms reflect physical geography and human modification, preserving historical information. Salazar & Riquelme Maulén (2022) used ethnographic methods for Mapuche toponyms in Patagonia, revealing how they encode relationships between geography, environmental knowledge, cultural values, spiritual beliefs, and historical events, serving multiple functions from preserving knowledge to marking territory. These studies show toponyms as more than geographical markers, serving as indicators of political transformation, cultural resistance, and ethnic identity maintenance, providing a rich foundation for understanding toponymic research's multifaceted nature. These studies also globally demonstrate the intricate connections between place naming, political power, cultural identity, and social change. While these research offers significant insights, a gap remains in understanding how urban minority communities maintain toponymic heritage amidst rapid social change, particularly integrating lexical analysis, presuppositional meaning, and emotional attachment. Existing studies have thus focused on either historical documentation or contemporary linguistic analysis, lacking a combined approach that includes emotional and associative meanings in toponymic preservation.

In the Indonesian context, too, while onomastic studies are globally extensive, significant gaps still exist concerning minority communities in urban settings. Previous studies on Cina Benteng have often used single methodological approaches or have not fully explored the intersection of multiple linguistic and colonial influences on their toponyms. These studies were restricted to only the unique Betawi Ora dialect used by this community, although current language documentation in Banten Province has been ignored. Thus, there is a recognized need to preserve the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Cina Benteng. Furthermore, mechanisms of toponymic preservation in rapidly urbanizing environments and the socio-economic factors influencing this, especially for younger generations, remain under-researched. The current study addresses these gaps through a multidimensional approach to Cina Benteng toponyms in Tangerang. This study aims to address these gaps by investigating Tangerang's toponyms with a focus on the Cina Benteng, employing an onomastic approach to analyze place names for both their informational meaning and social function as symbols of community, ultimately seeking to understand and document the cultural identity and existence of this ethnic group. Methodologically, this research specifically describes and analyses toponyms related to Cina Benteng, focusing on how these names embody cultural memory and community identity, capturing both complexity and specificity.

Literature Review
Toponymy and Linguistics Studies

Toponymy, the study of place naming, is an interdisciplinary field involving geography, linguistics, and cultural studies (Basik, 2022; Hough, 2009; Motschenbacher, 2020). The signification process in toponymy occurs in two stages: direct, where toponyms serve as practical geographical identifiers, and indirect, where they carry deeper cultural, historical, and ideological meanings (Turaevich, 2021). Rose-Redwood, Alderman, & Azaryahu (2018) affirm this dual nature, emphasizing place names as both geographic reference points and repositories of cultural memory. The evolution of toponymic studies involves linguistic analysis, understanding social context, and recognizing these direct and indirect significations. The linguistic dimension of toponymy includes both denotative and connotative meanings. Eco (1979) noted that place names denote specific locations while simultaneously carrying connotations shaped by local culture and society. Puzey & Kostanski (2016) examine how toponyms are complex linguistic signs encoding geographical and cultural knowledge, bridging physical space and social memory. Contemporary toponymic research has moved beyond simple nomenclature, examining broader social and political contexts. Vuolteenaho & Berg (2017) demonstrate that toponyms are powerful symbols of

collective memory and social ideology, especially during cultural and political transformations, reflecting an understanding of place names as active participants in constructing social identity.

Methodologies in toponymic studies, as outlined by Tent (2015), include etymological analysis (investigating linguistic origins and historical evolution) and spatial distribution analysis (examining patterns within social spaces). Etymological approaches involve detailed examination of morphology, historical documents, and linguistic change. Modern toponymy challenges the Saussurean concept of arbitrary linguistic signs in spatial naming (Ferdinand de Saussure, 2004). Radding & Western (2010) argue that place names emerge from specific historical and social processes creating meaningful connections between linguistic forms and geographical locations, a significant departure from classical linguistic approaches. Contemporary toponymy emphasizes the historical processes shaping both form and meaning. Toponym structure is analysed via morphemes and language element distribution, revealing how forms reflect linguistic constraints and cultural preferences. The meaning dimension is linked to the phenomenological experience of users, "lived toponymic space" the intersection of physical location, social practice, and cultural memory. The relationship between toponyms and users is central, with meanings dynamically constructed through ongoing social interaction and cultural practice, not fixed or static. This understanding highlights how toponyms function within networks of social, political, and cultural relationships, participating in identity formation and cultural maintenance.

Semantic Meaning of Names

The complexity of toponymic meaning includes multiple layers of presupposed meanings (Hough, 2016). Nyström (2021) posits that proper names, in specific contexts, carry one or more presupposed meanings, classified into categorical, associative, and emotive types. Categorical meaning reflects the human cognitive tendency to organize and classify. Language users instinctively categorize names within existing mental frameworks, consciously or unconsciously. In onomastics, users automatically classify names (e.g., "Washington" as a city or personal name depending on context). The UCREL Semantics Analysis System (USAS) offers a structured approach for analyzing semantic domains, including categories like buildings, agriculture, government, geography, arts, emotions, and technology, applicable to studying Cina Benteng toponyms (Utley, 1963). Associative meaning, also known as connotative meaning, emerges from cognitive associations beyond the primary denotative meaning. Anderson (2005) explains these associations develop through mental processes linking concepts based on experience, co-occurrence frequency, and emotional impact, heavily influenced by historical events, cultural practices, and social experiences. Positive associations arise from favourable outcomes (e.g., achievement, success, cultural pride) strengthened by social recognition or cultural importance. Negative associations often stem from unpleasant experiences, historical traumas, or social conflicts. Emotive meaning operates at a personal and emotional level, tied to psychological and emotional responses evoked by names, often linked to memories, historical events, or cultural significance. Goleman's (2005) classification of emotions helps understand these responses. Positive emotions (e.g., pride, belonging, happiness) can strengthen community bonds and reinforce identity through place names associated with achievements or significant sites. Negative emotions (e.g., anger, sadness, fear) can arise from historical traumas or social struggles. Environmental and social changes can transform emotional associations, as seen in the Angermanland example cited by Nyström (2021). The interaction and dominance of these meanings vary by context and user perspective, creating a dynamic system of semantic interpretation. The interplay of these meanings creates a complex web of significance beyond simple geographical reference, evolving over time and varying across user groups. Understanding these layers is essential for comprehending how Cina Benteng toponyms function as repositories of cultural memory, identity markers, and indicators of social change.

Methodology

Research Design

This study employs a qualitative descriptive research design to understand the meaning and value individuals or communities ascribed to social issues, particularly suitable for delving into the cultural and social contexts shaping toponymic practices. Qualitative research enables the examination of how social experience is created and given meaning, fitting for studying the complex relationships between community identity and place names. Naming practices show that names, as language components, interact with the social environment within specific socio-historical contexts, reflecting power relations, cultural values, and community identity.

Sample and Population

Twenty informants were selected using purposive sampling, ensuring representation across community roles. These included eight local community members, four religious leaders, four community figures, and four kampong officials. Participants were from five districts in Tangerang City (Tangerang, Karawaci, Benda, Neglasari, and Batuceper) to ensure comprehensive coverage of areas with significant Cina Benteng presence and historical significance, each district having unique characteristics.

Research Instrument and Data Collection

The primary tool for data collection were structured interviews, followed by observations, and note-taking.

Interviews are crucial methods for accessing data, especially in historical context and with community perspectives. The structured interview format followed Kvale's (1999) guidelines, ensuring systematic collection while allowing detailed exploration. Techniques included active listening, digital recording, field note-taking, and systematic documentation of physical features. A total of 45 toponyms of Cina Benteng kampongs were identified, representing significant historical and cultural markers. All these toponyms were human-made: kampong names, street names, religious site names, cultural landmark names, commercial area names, and community gathering places.

Data Analysis

This study specifically describes, and analyses toponyms associated with Cina Benteng, focusing on how these names embody cultural memory and community identity, capturing complexity and specificity. This data was analyzed using the principles of lexical and propyl (presuppositional) meanings of toponyms, following Nyström's framework (Nyström, 2021). Lexical meaning refers to denotative meaning, while propyl meaning encompasses broader historical, cultural, and social associations, providing a comprehensive understanding. The analysis integrated synchronic (current usage and meaning) and diachronic (historical development) approaches, alongside cultural analysis (toponyms and community identity) and spatial analysis (geographic distribution and naming patterns). This comprehensive approach ensures thorough documentation and analysis, acknowledging the interplay between official and unofficial naming in maintaining cultural identity. Data verification employed triangulation methods, including cross-referencing interview data with historical documents, comparing information across informant groups, community feedback sessions, and consulting official records and maps.

Result
Toponymic Landscape of Cina Benteng Kampongs

Table 1: *Toponymic Mapping of Kampong Names in Selected Districts of Tangerang.*

District	No.	Kampong Name
Tangerang	1	Kampong Pasar Lama
	2	Kampong Benteng Makassar
	3	Kampong Kalipasir
	4	Kampong Kedaung
	5	Kampong Sewan Kokun
	6	Kampong Sewan Tanah Pasir
	7	Kampong Koang
	8	Kampong Petak Sawah
	9	Kampong Kebon Jati
	10	Kampong Gerendeng
Karawaci	11	Kampong Pasar Anyar
	12	Kampong Kebon Jahe
	13	Kampong Mpek Bandung
	14	Kampong Karawaci Kamp
	15	Kampong Karawaci Ilir
Benda	16	Kampong Baru
	17	Kampong Rawa Kompeni
	18	Kampong Bende Lama
	19	Kampong Gandasari
	20	Kampong Pintu Air
	21	Kampong Sewan Kokun
	22	Kampung Sewan Kongsi
	23	Kampong Kebon Nanas
	24	Kampong Kedaung Irian
	25	Kampong Kedaung Baru
	26	Kampong Sewan Asin
	27	Kampong Sinar Hati
	28	Kampong Sewan Tangga Asem
Neglasari	29	Kampong Gerendeng Ilir
	30	Kampong Jurumudi
	31	Kampong Kapling
	32	Kampong Sewan Rawa Kucing
	33	Kampong Kebon Baru
	34	Kampong Prambang
	35	Kampong Bansin
	36	Kampong Ciodeng
	37	Kampong Benda Blega
	38	Kampong Bedeng
	39	Kampong Ciracas
	40	Kampong Ceper Utan
	41	Kampong Panda
Batuceper	42	Kampong Penjual
	43	Kampong Batu Ceper
	44	Kampong Wihara Yang Sen Bio
	45	Kampong Wihara Benteng

Extensive field research across Tangerang City identified 45 toponyms (See Table 1) of Cina Benteng kampongs, representing significant historical and cultural markers. These toponyms evidence the long-standing presence and cultural influence of the Cina Benteng community. While some kampong names may not be officially recorded, they hold significant cultural relevance within the Cina Benteng community; unofficial toponyms often carry important cultural meanings. The presence of religious sites within these kampongs serves as tangible evidence of community practices. The research revealed two categories of kampong toponyms: officially recognized administrative names and informal yet culturally significant toponyms vital in daily life and cultural practices. Both are treated with equal significance for this study's analytical framework, contributing to understanding the community's cultural and linguistic landscape. These toponyms reveal complex mapping patterns of settlement, cultural interaction, and linguistic evolution across 5 sub-districts in Tangerang City, as presented in Table 1. These toponyms reveal intricate linguistic and cultural development reflecting the Cina Benteng community's historical presence and evolution. The linguistic analysis shows complex interactions with various cultural and linguistic influences over time, manifest in language use and social aspects. The analysis also reveals distinct patterns through examination of semantic meaning of Toponyms, highlighting the lexical and presuppositional meaning.

Semantic Meaning of Toponyms

The data of this study comprised 45 Cina Benteng kampong names from 5 sub-districts in Tangerang City. Semantic meaning analysis included lexical semantic meaning and presuppositional meaning analysis.

Lexical Semantic Meaning

Lexical meaning analysis, via dictionary examination, shows a rich linguistic tapestry from the community's migration and settlement. The predominant Sundanese background was enriched by Javanese (from plantation laborers), Indonesian (Malay influences, proximity to Jakarta, administrative/commercial roles), Sanskrit (reflecting Buddhist practices), and significantly, Chinese (Hokkien dialect, linking to ancestral heritage, now more oral). The analysis of lexical meaning in the 45 toponyms reveals language distribution, historical language contact, cultural integration, and identity maintenance. Three potential language distribution categories were considered: monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual as shown in Table 2; however, no multilingual toponyms were found.

Table 2: *Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Language Sources in Cina Benteng Kampong Toponyms.*

Language Category	Language	Frequency	Percentage
Monolingual	Sanskrit	10	25%
	Indonesian	8	23%
	Chinese	5	13%
	Sundanese	3	5%
	Javanese	1	1%
Bilingual	Indonesian – Sundanese	5	10%
	Chinese - Sanskrit	4	8%
	Indonesian – Javanese	4	8%
	Indonesian – Chinese	2	4%
	Sundanese - Javanese	1	1%
	Chinese – Javanese	1	1%
	Indonesian - Sanskrit	1	1%
Total		**45**	**100%**

The five distinct languages (Indonesian, Hokkien/Chinese, Sundanese, Sanskrit, Javanese) demonstrate a rich multilingual heritage reflecting centuries of cultural contact and integration. In the monolingual category, Sanskrit is the most frequent with 10 instances, suggesting strong historical Buddhist connections. Indonesian appears in 8 toponyms, reflecting adaptation to national norms and practical communication needs. Chinese/Hokkien appears in 5 toponyms, representing direct ancestral links and migration memories. Sundanese (3) and Javanese (1) are less common as standalone forms, appearing more frequently in bilingual combinations. The bilingual category shows Indonesian-Sundanese as the most common combination with 5 toponyms, demonstrating national-local interaction. Chinese-Sanskrit combinations (4 toponyms) suggest intersections between cultural heritage and religious practices. Indonesian-Javanese (4 toponyms) points to broader regional influences. Other combinations appear less frequently but remain significant: Indonesian-Chinese (2), and single instances of Sundanese-Javanese, Chinese-Javanese, and Indonesian-Sanskrit.

Key phenomena emerging from this linguistic distribution demonstrate several important patterns. Indonesian's role is particularly significant, with substantial presence in both monolingual and bilingual forms, showing successful adaptation to the national linguistic context. It serves as a bridge language, reflecting pragmatic integration and active participation in national culture. Sanskrit's prominence, appearing both standalone and in combinations, indicates enduring Buddhist importance in the community. The sophisticated combinations, especially with Chinese, reveal cultural synthesis processes where religious identity is maintained through creative linguistic integration. Chinese (Hokkien) retention demonstrates conscious efforts to maintain ancestral links. Its appearance both independently and in combinations with Sanskrit, Indonesian, and Javanese shows flexible

adaptation strategies and balanced heritage preservation. The incorporation of Sundanese and Javanese, primarily in bilingual forms, reflects deep integration with local linguistic and cultural traditions, suggesting long-term cultural exchange and adaptation processes.

Presuppositional Meaning

Presuppositional meaning analysis offers insights into how these toponyms function within community cultural and cognitive frameworks. This type of analysis encompasses categorical, associative, and emotive dimensions. Categorical meaning analysis reveals diverse semantic classifications based on universal semantic categories.: personal names, geographical descriptors (agricultural heritage), historical currency/trade references, local folklore, and other cultural markers. Associative meaning is classified as positive or negative based on community perceptions. Associative meaning analysis shows predominantly positive connections, reflecting pride, achievement, and cultural continuity rather than negative experiences, indicating how the community-maintained identity while adapting. Emotive meaning similarly categorizes emotional responses as positive or negative; however, this type of analysis demonstrates a strong tendency towards positive emotional responses (joy, admiration, gratitude, happiness), suggesting toponyms as powerful symbols of community identity and resilience. The prevalence of positive emotions, despite historical challenges, indicates their crucial role in maintaining cohesion and pride, reflecting complex socio-cultural dynamics and serving as repositories of historical memory and contemporary identity. Let us examine each dimension with examples of toponyms.

Categorical Meaning

The analysis of categorical meaning group toponyms by semantic category, revealed complex relationships between naming practices and cultural memory. The categories identified spanned from personal names to geographical features, each carrying specific cultural significance. Table 3 demonstrates the categories and examples.

Table 3: *Categorical Classification Found in Cina Benteng Toponyms.*

Category	Representative Toponym(s)	Etymology / Meaning
A. Personal Name	Kampung Sewan Kokun, Kampung Mpek Bandung	Engkoh Kun (local figure); Mpek (uncle) Bandung (wealthy respected member)
B. Place	Kampung Pasar Anyar, Kampung Petak Sawah, Kampung Sewan Kongsi	New market; historical rice field plots; gathering place for fighters/soldiers
C. Geographical Term	Kampung Rawa Kompeni	Swamp area avoided by Dutch soldiers ("Kompeni")
D. Plant	Kampung Koang	Named after the long-living Koang tree
E. Folklore	Kampung Karawaci Ilir, Kampung Bansin	Derived from Rawa Cina/Kurawa Cina; related to wealthy landowner Tan Oen Long and flooded money
F. Building	Kampung Sewan Tangga Asem, Kampung Benteng Makassar, Kampung Pintu Air	Pier ladder & tamarind trees; former Dutch fort; water gate dam infrastructure
G. Speech Act	Kampung Gerendeng	Distinctive grumbling, high-pitched, rapid speech of inhabitants
H. Light/Natural Phenomenon	Kampung Sinar Hati	"Sinar" (light) from paint factory name
I. Time	Kampung Baru	"Baru" (new) indicating newer settlement
J. Animal	Kampung Panda	Named after a Chinese-owned cinema
K. Material	Kampung Sewan Tanah Pasir	Distinctive sandy soil composition
L. Area Measurement	Kampung Kapling	Land division practice ("Kapling" - plot)
M. Profession	Kampung Jurumudi	Concentration of drivers ("jurumudi")
N. Geographical Name	Kampung Kedaung Irian	Using "Irian" (Papua) for differentiation

These categories demonstrate the diverse sources of toponymic inspiration within the Cina Benteng community. Personal names honor respected community members and preserve memory of significant individuals. Place-related names document historical land use patterns and community gathering spaces. Geographical terms describe physical features that shaped settlement patterns. Plant names reflect environmental awareness and local ecology. Folklore categories preserve community narratives and cultural stories. Building names document infrastructure development and historical structures. Speech act categories capture distinctive linguistic characteristics. Natural phenomena names show observation of environmental features. Time-related names indicate settlement chronology. Professional names document economic activities. The diversity of these categories illustrates how toponyms serve as comprehensive cultural archives.

Associative Meaning

Associative meaning explores cognitive links which the community forms with toponyms, based on distinctive characteristics or images, following Anderson's (2005) classification framework. This analysis reveals deep

connections between toponyms and community experience, showing how places acquire meaning through lived experience while reflecting history, values, and social dynamics. Table 4 presents the frequency and percentage of positive and negative associative meanings in Cina Benteng Kampong Toponyms.

Table 4: *Frequency and Percentage of Positive and Negative Associative Meanings in Cina Benteng Kampong Toponyms.*

No	Associative Meaning Category	Data (No. of Toponyms)	Percentage
1.	Positive: Strengthens	24	53%
2.	Positive: Uniqueness	8	19%
	Total Positive	**32**	**72%**
3.	Negative: Unpleasant things	5	12%
4.	Negative: Unpleasant experience	8	16%
	Total Negative	**13**	**28%**
	Overall Total	**45**	**100%**

The data reveals that among 45 toponyms, 32 (72%) elicited positive associations, suggesting strong community pride and cultural attachment. Only 13 toponyms (28%) carried negative associations, indicating specific areas of challenge. This distribution, visualized in Table 4 with positive associations (72%) and negative (28%), demonstrates overall positive community sentiment toward their living spaces. Positive associations dominate the cognitive landscape, revealing cultural pride, historical significance, and community achievements. Kampung Pasar Lama (Petak Sembilan) exemplifies this pattern, associated with the historical Chinatown, cultural heritage tourism, and vibrant night culinary activities. These associations are reinforced by historical architecture and the presence of Boen Tek Bio Temple, the oldest in Tangerang. Kampung Pasar Anyar links to city landmarks including Alun-alun, Tangerang Station, and Sabar Subur supermarket, reflecting urban development and modernization processes. Social values manifest in toponyms like Kampung Koang and Kampung Karawaci Kamp, known for their tolerant residents. Cultural practice maintenance appears in Kampung Mpek Bandung's association with Silat Beksi preservation. Negative associations, while less prevalent, highlight community challenges primarily related to urban development issues. Kampung Kebon Jahe and sections of Kampung Pasar Anyar suffer from damaged roads, traffic congestion, and accessibility problems that have become deeply ingrained in community consciousness. Kampung Kalipasir, despite its central location, is known for dense population and prevalence of rental housing, illustrating how demographic pressures shape place associations.

Emotive Meaning

Emotive meaning emerged through analysis of emotional responses from local community members and expert informants during detailed interviews, utilizing Goleman's (2005) emotional classification framework. Table 5 presents the frequency and percentage of positive and negative emotive meanings in Cina Benteng Kampong Toponyms.

Table 5: *Frequency and Percentage of Positive and Negative Emotive Meanings in Cina Benteng Kampong Toponyms.*

No	Emotion Category	Number of Toponyms	Percentage
	Positive Emotions		
1	Joy	15	34%
2	Happiness	7	16%
3	Admiration	6	14%
4	Gratitude	2	4%
	Total Positive	**30**	**68%**
	Negative Emotions		
1	Disgust (discomfort)	8	18%
2	Anger	4	9%
3	Sadness	2	4%
4	Fear	1	1%
	Total Negative	**15**	**32%**
	Total Emotive Meanings	**45**	**100%**

The analysis identified 30 positive and 15 negative emotive meanings from 45 toponyms. The predominance of positive emotions, with positive emotions at 68% and negative at 32%, suggests strong community attachment and successful social integration. Positive emotive meanings encompass a spectrum of joy, happiness, admiration, and gratitude. Joy, the most prevalent emotion, links closely to social conditions. Kampung Jurumudi, Kampung Gerendeng Ilir, and Kampung Sewan Rawa Kucing evoke joy through their associations with tolerant residents, strong communal work traditions (gotong royong), and vibrant social gatherings. These emotional responses symbolize successful community integration. Infrastructure quality also generates joy, as seen in Kampung Kebon Jati's association with good facilities and affordability. Happiness, representing deeper contentment, manifests in toponyms like Kampung Baru (valued for proximity to public facilities), Kampung Batu Ceper (pleasant living conditions), and Kampung Panda (economic opportunities). Admiration, reflecting pride and respect for significant cultural or social achievements, appears in connection with Wihara Yang Sen Bio, Kampung Sewan Kokun, and Kampung Kedaung Baru. These toponyms embody cultural preservation success, religious harmony, and community prosperity.

Negative emotive meanings provide crucial insights into community challenges. Discomfort dominates negative emotions, stemming from infrastructure problems including damaged roads, flooding, and poor waste management. Social issues contributing to discomfort include informal settlements, conflicts with newcomer behaviour, and general urban disorder. Anger relates to unresolved infrastructure issues and perceived governmental neglect. Sadness connects to loss of traditional community character, while fear, though minimal, relates to safety concerns in certain areas. The emotional landscape reveals complexity in community experience. Predominant positive emotions suggest successful community development and strong social cohesion. However, negative emotions highlight areas requiring attention, offering valuable insights for urban planning that considers both physical infrastructure and social needs. The emotional mapping of toponyms thus serves as a diagnostic tool for understanding community well-being and identifying intervention priorities.

Discussion

The findings of this study reveal profound insights into how the Cina Benteng community has maintained and negotiated their cultural identity through toponymic practices in Tangerang's urban landscape. The complex patterns emerging from the analysis of 45 toponyms across five districts demonstrate that place naming serves as a sophisticated mechanism for cultural preservation, adaptation, and identity construction in multicultural urban contexts. This discussion examines the theoretical implications, practical significance, and broader contributions of these findings to understanding minority community dynamics in rapidly urbanizing environments.

Linguistic Hybridity and Cultural Negotiation

The linguistic composition of Cina Benteng toponyms reveals a remarkable pattern of cultural negotiation and adaptation. The presence of five distinct languages in the toponymic landscape Indonesian, Chinese/Hokkien, Sundanese, Sanskrit, and Javanese represents more than mere linguistic diversity. It embodies a complex history of cultural contact, power relations, and community strategies for maintaining distinctiveness while achieving integration. The predominance of Sanskrit in monolingual toponyms (25% of all names) initially appears surprising for a Chinese-descended community. However, this phenomenon reflects the deep integration of Buddhist practices into Cina Benteng identity, demonstrating how religious affiliation can transcend ethnic boundaries and become a core component of community identity.

The strategic use of Indonesian in both monolingual (23%) and bilingual forms represents a conscious adaptation to national linguistic norms without abandoning cultural roots. This pattern aligns with Berry's (1997) acculturation model, specifically the integration strategy where minorities maintain their cultural identity while participating in the larger society. The Indonesian language serves as a bridge, facilitating communication and integration while the retention of Chinese elements (13% monolingual, plus various bilingual combinations) ensures continuity with ancestral heritage. This dual linguistic strategy exemplifies what Bhabha (1994) termed the "third space" a hybrid cultural zone where new identities emerge from the intersection of different cultural traditions.

The bilingual toponyms are particularly revealing of cultural synthesis processes. The Chinese-Sanskrit combinations (8% of toponyms) represent a unique fusion of ethnic heritage and religious identity, creating toponyms that are distinctly Cina Benteng rather than simply Chinese or Buddhist. This linguistic creativity demonstrates agency in cultural production, where the community actively constructs new forms of expression rather than passively receiving external influences. The Indonesian-Sundanese combinations (10%) show successful negotiation with local indigenous culture, while Indonesian-Javanese pairings (8%) reflect broader regional integration. These patterns support recent scholarship on urban multiculturalism that emphasizes creative adaptation over simple assimilation or cultural preservation.

Toponyms as Memory Archives

The categorical analysis reveals how toponyms function as comprehensive archives of community memory, preserving diverse aspects of historical experience and cultural knowledge. The 14 semantic categories identified span from personal names honoring community leaders to geographical descriptions preserving environmental history. This breadth demonstrates that toponymic practices extend beyond simple place identification to encompass what Nora (1989) termed "lieux de mémoire" (sites of memory) spaces where collective memory crystallizes and persists. Personal name categories preserve not just individual memory but social hierarchies and respect systems. Names like Kampung Sewan Kokun (honoring Engkoh Kun) and Kampung Mpek Bandung (recognizing a wealthy community member) embed social relationships and community values into the landscape. These toponyms function as distributed monuments, creating what might be called a "memorial landscape" that requires no physical structures yet persistently reminds community members of their social history and obligations.

The folklore category, including names like Kampung Karawaci Ilir and Kampung Bansin, demonstrates how toponyms preserve narrative traditions. The story of Tan Oen Long's flooded money embedded in Kampung Bansin's name serves multiple functions: entertainment, moral instruction about wealth and fate, and historical documentation of early Chinese settlers' economic activities. These narrative toponyms align with Finnegan's

(1992) work on oral traditions, showing how place names can function as mnemonic devices for preserving and transmitting cultural stories across generations. Geographical and environmental categories (plants, materials, natural phenomena) document the community's relationship with their physical environment. Names like Kampung Koang (after a long-living tree) and Kampung Sewan Tanah Pasir (sandy soil area) preserve ecological knowledge and environmental history. This environmental memory becomes increasingly valuable as urbanization transforms the landscape, with toponyms serving as the last records of disappeared natural features. The persistence of these environmental references contradicts assumptions about urban communities losing connection with nature, suggesting instead a continued awareness and valuation of environmental features even in densely urban settings.

Emotional Landscapes and Community Well-being

The predominance of positive associative (72%) and emotive (68%) meanings attached to toponyms reveals a generally successful community adaptation and strong place attachment. This positive emotional landscape contradicts common narratives about minority communities in urban settings experiencing primarily alienation or marginalization. Instead, the Cina Benteng community has developed strong positive associations with their living spaces, suggesting successful place-making strategies and community resilience. The specific positive emotions identified joy (34%), happiness (16%), admiration (14%), and gratitude (4%) create what might be termed an "emotional geography" of community well-being. Joy, the dominant emotion, links primarily to social conditions such as tolerant neighbours and strong communal traditions (gotong royong). This suggests that social capital, rather than physical infrastructure, primarily drives positive emotional connections to place. The emphasis on social harmony aligns with both Chinese cultural values of community cohesion and Indonesian concepts of rukun (harmonious social relations), demonstrating successful cultural synthesis at the emotional level.

However, the negative emotions identified (32% of emotive meanings) provide crucial diagnostic information about community challenges. Discomfort (18%) dominates negative emotions, primarily linked to infrastructure deficiencies damaged roads, flooding, poor waste management. This infrastructure-emotion link suggests that physical environment quality directly impacts community well-being and identity. The presence of anger (9%) related to perceived governmental neglect indicates political dimensions to toponymic meaning, where place names become sites for expressing grievances about urban governance and resource distribution. The emotional mapping revealed through toponymic analysis offers a novel methodology for assessing community well-being. Traditional urban planning often relies on objective measures income levels, housing quality, infrastructure provision while neglecting subjective emotional experiences of space. This study demonstrates that toponyms can serve as accessible indicators of community emotional health, providing planners and policymakers with valuable insights into lived experiences of urban space.

Cultural Resilience and Adaptation Strategies

The patterns revealed in this study demonstrate sophisticated strategies for cultural resilience in the face of urbanization pressures. The Cina Benteng community has not simply preserved traditional culture nor fully assimilated into mainstream Indonesian society. Instead, they have developed what might be termed "adaptive resilience" maintaining core cultural elements while flexibly incorporating new influences and responding to changing circumstances. The retention of Chinese linguistic elements in 13% of monolingual toponyms and various bilingual combinations represents selective cultural preservation. Rather than attempting to maintain all aspects of Chinese culture, the community has strategically preserved elements most central to identity particularly family names, commercial traditions, and religious practices. This selective preservation aligns with recent theories of cultural sustainability that emphasize strategic choices over wholesale preservation.

The incorporation of Sanskrit through Buddhist religious practices demonstrates adaptive expansion of cultural identity. Rather than maintaining a narrow ethnic Chinese identity, the Cina Benteng have embraced Buddhism as a complementary identity component, creating a unique Chinese-Buddhist-Indonesian synthesis. This religious adaptation provided both spiritual resources and social legitimacy, as Buddhism is one of Indonesia's recognized religions. The prominence of Sanskrit in toponyms thus represents not cultural dilution but strategic enrichment of community identity. The positive emotional associations with multicultural place names suggest successful psychological adaptation to hybrid identity. The community has developed what psychologists' term "bicultural competence" the ability to function effectively in multiple cultural contexts. The toponyms both reflect and reinforce this competence, creating a landscape that validates hybrid identity rather than forcing choices between different cultural affiliations.

Implications for Urban Planning and Heritage Management

The findings have significant implications for urban planning and cultural heritage management in multicultural cities. Traditional heritage preservation often focuses on physical structures temples, traditional houses, historical buildings. However, this study demonstrates that intangible heritage embedded in toponyms may be equally or more important for community identity maintenance. Place names require no physical preservation yet carry deep cultural significance, suggesting the need for policies protecting culturally significant toponyms from arbitrary administrative changes. The emotional mapping revealed through toponymic analysis

provides planners with valuable diagnostic tools. Areas associated with negative emotions particularly infrastructure-related discomfort can be prioritized for improvement. More importantly, understanding the sources of positive emotions (primarily social rather than physical factors) suggests that community development programs focusing on social capital may be more effective than purely infrastructure-focused interventions. The multilingual nature of toponyms raises questions about official recognition and signage policies. Currently, many culturally significant toponyms exist only in oral tradition or informal usage, lacking official recognition. Formalizing these names through official bilingual or multilingual signage could validate community identity while preserving linguistic heritage. However, such formalization must be sensitively handled to avoid freezing dynamic cultural practices or imposing standardized forms on variable community usage.

Conclusion

Based on the results and discussion above, it can be concluded that this study makes several theoretical contributions to toponymic studies and urban anthropology. First, it demonstrates the value of combining lexical and presuppositional meaning analysis for understanding place names in multicultural contexts. Traditional toponymic studies often focus on etymology or single meaning dimensions. The multidimensional approach developed here reveals complex layers of significance that single-dimensional analyses would miss. Second, the study contributes to theories of urban multiculturalism by demonstrating how minority communities create hybrid cultural spaces through naming practices. The Cina Benteng toponyms exemplify what might be termed "productive hybridity" not mere mixing of cultural elements but creative synthesis producing new, distinctive cultural forms. These finding challenges both assimilationist models expecting minority culture disappearance and multicultural models assuming separate but equal cultural maintenance.

Third, the emotional dimension of toponymic meaning opens new avenues for understanding place attachment and community well-being. The systematic analysis of emotional responses to place names provides a methodology for accessing community sentiment that could be applied in various urban contexts. This approach bridges qualitative cultural analysis with potential quantitative applications in urban planning and community assessment. Future research should explore several directions emerging from this study. Longitudinal analysis could track how toponymic meanings change over time, particularly as younger generations may develop different associations with traditional names. Comparative studies of other minority communities' toponymic practices could reveal whether the patterns identified here are specific to the Cina Benteng or represent broader phenomena in urban multicultural contexts. Action research partnering with communities to develop toponymic preservation strategies could translate academic insights into practical cultural sustainability initiatives.

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