

KINSHIP VARIATION AMONG VIETNAM LANGUAGE GROUPS

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MON-KHMER STUDIES 15 :21-86(1989)

1. Introduction

Basic vocabulary, phonological systems and pronoun sets of related Vietnam languages have lent themselves to fruitful comparative study. It has become increasingly more tempting to compare the kinship systems of these same languages. The paucity of published information on the kinship systems of Vietnam ethnic groups demands a presentation of material that has been gathered. The differences in kinship terminology that have been noted through the years did not betray the extreme diversity in both terminology and kinship distinctions that are found in these societies. As the Sedang have stressed their many phonological dialects by saying "Every village speaks a little different," so it can be said that "Every Vietnam ethnic group speaks of their kin a little different."

Seven of Kroeber's eight criteria are found operating in a multitude of ways among these groups: different versus same generation, lineal versus collateral relation, relative age within same generation, sex of relative, sex of speaker, sex of linking relative, and consanguine versus affinal.

It is the purpose of this study to compare 17 kinship systems of Vietnam ethnic groups (elements of the systems of 15 other groups are also included) by considering in turn the following aspects of their basic structure: successive ascending generations and reciprocal terms (Section 1), first ascending generation with collateral, affinal and reciprocal terms (Section 2), sibling and cousin terminology with their spouses (Section 3), and spouse, spouse's parents and reciprocal terminology, and child's spouse's parents (Section 4).

This study lacks indication of the extended use of basic kinship terms and of social action related to the basic kinship system. It is, therefore, a linguistic comparison of the basic kinship terminology and a presentation of the kinship patterns found in these languages.

Whereas the text presents in each section only a part of each kinship system, the several sections include discussion of every basic kin term in each system. Further, an Appendix presents each of these systems as a whole in terms of reciprocal relationships.

The data are culled from a few published articles but most have been supplied by the author's colleagues, whose extended residence among the people, familiarity with the language, and observation of the cultures represented here speak well for its quality.¹

The languages included here represent all three basic linguistic stocks in Vietnam; full kinship systems are included here for the numbered languages below and unstructured data is included from the unnumbered languages. As a beginning indication of the variation within these kinship systems, following each numbered language is the approximate number of basic unmodified kin terms in that language according to the data (English has 13).

I. Austroasiatic, Mon Khmer

Vietnamuong

1. Vietnamese (26)

Katuic

2. Bru (30)
3. Pacoh (27)

Katu

Bahnaric

North Bahnaric

4. Cua (20)
5. Halang (21)
6. Hre (15)
7. Jeh (17)
8. Rengao (22)
9. Sedang (28, 30)

Katua

Central Bahnaric

10. Bahnar (21)

South Bahnaric

11. Chrau (16)
- Mnong Preh, or Central Mnong
Mnong Ralam
Koho Chil
Koho Lach
Koho Sre
Stieng

II. Austronesian, Chamic

Haroi

Plateau Chamic

12. Rade (26)
- Jarai

Coastal Chamic

13. Chru (20)
14. Western (ChauDoc, Cambodian) Cham (18)
15. Eastern (PhanRang) Cham (24)

Northern Roglai
Southern Roglai

III. Tai

16. Black Tai (Tai Dam) (13 single terms, 22 modifiers)
 17. Nung Fan Slihng (Tai Nung) (10 single terms, 20 modifiers)
- White Tai
Tho

But the linguistic stock, as will be seen, is no basis for kinship similarity--except possibly for the Tai languages. Borrowing of terminology and kinship distinctions between linguistic stocks is very evident.

The word chau 'grandchild' is perhaps the most common kin term, occurring in its various cognate forms in all Vietnamese languages except those of the Tai family. The Austroasiatic word kon 'child' is well-known, but mon 'nephew, niece' is more widespread in that it also occurs in the Chamic languages. All Bahnaric languages have oh 'younger sibling'--but no non-Bahnaric languages. Here the similarity and familiarity stop, and the fun begins!

Kinship abbreviations used are as follows. Specific kin terms are capitalized, modifiers are not; thus the number of capitals in a given relationship frequently indicates the number of links (exceptions are the use of inclusive terms like uncle, aunt, or English compounded forms like grandparent or grandchild):

Au	aunt	Sib	sibling
Br	brother	Sn	son
Ch	child	Sp	spouse
Csn	cousin	Ua	unclaunt
Da	daughter		(see Section 2.1)
Fa	father	Un	uncle
Hu	husband	Wi	wife
Lw	-in-law		
M	modifier	crs	cross
Mo	mother	e	elder
Npc	niece	f	female
	(see Section 2.3)	gd	grand-
Pa	parent	gdPhc	grandpiece
Si	sister		(see Section 2.3)
		gt	great-
		fs	female speaking
		m	male
		ms	male speaking

os	opposite sex
par	parallel
ss	same sex
y	younger

= is used to connect alter terms seen by Ego to be mates, husband to the left, wife to the right (for example: Un=Au); / is used to connect alter terms seen by Ego to differ only by sex (for example: Sn/Da). /= is used to connect alter terms only sometimes seen by Ego to be mates (cf. Cua ok/=amduy). = is used if the above left-right mates convention does not necessarily hold (as PaSib=PaSibSp for English uncle=aunt). ∅ is used to indicate the absence of a reciprocal term (cf. Vietnamese has gtgtgdCh but not gtgtgdFa.)

1. Grand- and great-

All language groups in Vietnam have terminology for grandfather, grandmother, and grandchild distinct from father, mother, and child. These languages do not necessarily distinguish the same number of ascending and descending generations. Of the seventeen languages compared for this feature, seven distinguish the same number of ascending and descending generations, whereas nine distinguish one or two more descending generations than ascending generations. Only Chru distinguishes more ascending than descending generations, a consequence of Chru cosmology.

1.1 Classification by ascending generation terminology

With respect to ascending generations among 17 languages,

- 2 languages distinguish only 1 level (Chrau, Rengao),
- 4 languages distinguish 2 levels,
- 7 languages distinguish 3 levels,
- 2 languages distinguish 4 levels (Bru, Western Cham),
- 1 language distinguishes 5 levels (ECham), and
- 1 language distinguishes 6 levels (Chru).

Of the 15 languages that distinguish two or more levels, eleven have only one basic pair of words for 'grandfather=grandmother' (the = sign is used throughout this paper to associate terms for alters whom Ego views as spouses; husband to the left, wife to the right) and achieve further ascending distinctions by the use of modifiers following these basic terms. Except as noted for Black Tai, the same modifiers are used with both sexes. Chart 1 presents the ascending generation terminology.²

Nung and Black Tai distinguish paternal and maternal grandparents in their basic terminology as indicated in Chart 1. Specific paternal and maternal modifiers for ascending generations also occur in the following languages:

	1st level	2nd level	3rd level	4th level
One level distinguished				
Chrau	cô=un			
Rengao	bô=yă			
Two levels distinguished				
Sedang	poa=ja	noa=vóng		
Jeh	boô=yă	M dradra		
Rade	aê=aduôn	M khua		
Nung	tâ=tai (mat)	M chồ		
	cóhng=lão (ùhm) (pat)			
Three levels distinguished				
Bahnar	'bok=yă	M i	M ach	
Hre	boac=yac	M co	M chi	
Halang	bô=yă	M kochĩ	M kră	
VNese	ông=bà	cụ	M sô*	
Cua	kôy=amooq	M kô	M dwaat	
Pacoh	avôq=acáq	achuaih=acheh	achoh=achôn	
BTai	? ai='ém	*	*	
Four levels distinguished				
Bru	achuaih=ayoag	achê=ayê	achúc=ayo	achiac=aya
WCham	ông=may, muk	M tũk	M kők	M kút
Five levels distinguished				
ECham	ông=chők	kők	kút	yot *
Six levels distinguished				
Chru	kôi=mò	M kô	M kuah	*
Unlimited levels distinguished				
English	M grand-	M great-grand	M gt-gt-gd-	M gtgtgtgd-

Chart 1 Ascending generation terminology
(*see the following notes)

Notes for Chart 1:

1. VNese modifier sơ follows ông, bà

2. Black Tai, 2nd level:

ải pú=[?]ém 'da, 'ém [?]ủ 'FaPa'
 ải thầu=[?]ém thầu, 'ém 'nái 'MoPa'

3rd level

ải pẩu=[?]ém 'da 'chủa 'FaFaPa'
 ải pú 'chủa=[?]ém 'da 'chủa 'FaMoPa'
 ải thầu 'chủa=[?]ém thầu 'chủa 'MoPaPa'

4th level

ải pón=[?]ém 'da pón, limited to 'FaFaFaPa'

3. Eastern Cham, 5th level:

tào *

4. Chru

M tónah rōya 'gtgtgtgd-, of the land'

M kǒ kùt 'gtgtgtgtgd-, at the head of the
 graveyard'

M akha rǒlàng tǒlàng kǒbàu 'gtgtgtgtgtgd-, root
 of the thatching grass and the bones of the
 buffalo'

5. English: the English kinship terms are included in the charts of this paper to orient the reader to the notation, but rarely should its forms be thought of as exact glosses for the parallel terms in the Vietnam languages.

Vietnamese nội (pat), ngoại (mat)
 Cua nôôy, ngwaay (borrowed from Vietnamese)
 Bru ông, muq (borrowed from Chamic 'Hu, Wi',
 'see Section 4.1)
 Black Tai pú (pat m), 'da (pat f), thau (mat)

1.2 Classification by descending generation terminology

In grandchild terminology no Vietnam language specifically specifies sex, although the distinction can usually be noted by suffixing sex terms. With respect to descending generations among 17 languages:

1 language distinguishes only 1 level (Chrau),
 2 languages distinguish 2 levels (Rengao, Nung),
 3 languages distinguish 3 levels,
 10 languages distinguish 4 levels, and
 1 language distinguishes 5 levels.

Of these, only five resort to the use of modifiers. Chart 2 presents the descending generation terms. The pervasive use of cognates of chau 'gdCh' as well as the initial consonant ch/s in the various other forms and modifiers is very evident. Chrau sinau 'gdCh' is an infixed form of Chrau sau 'ChSp' (Section 4.2); this latter form is clearly cognate with chau, sau 'gdCh' of other languages.

*

2. *Unclaunt, niece and grandphiece*

Diversity of nomenclature and system occurs in three classificatory areas when considering the first ascending collateral generation: (1) parents' sibling relations, (2) spouses of parents' siblings, and (3) reciprocal 'child-nephew-niece' terminology. These areas will be considered separately in the following three subsections.

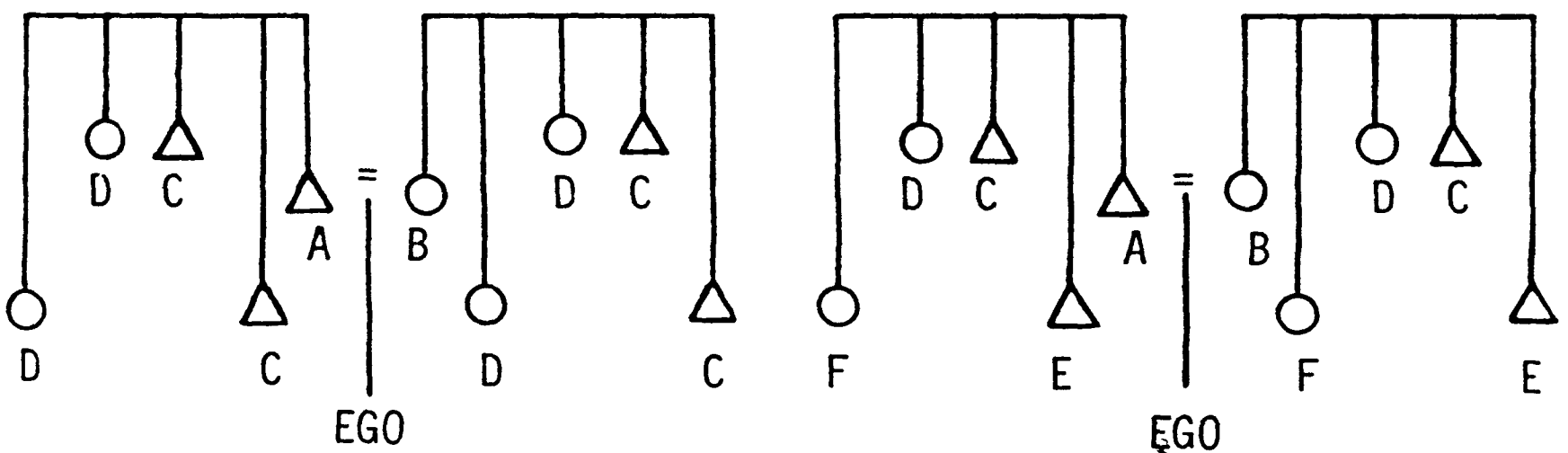
2.1 *Classification by parent's sibling terminology*

Traditional kinship classification by first ascending generation identifies lineal, generational, bifurcate merging, and bifurcate collateral systems. Black Tai is generational; Pacoh is bifurcate merging; and Chru is bifurcate collateral. Otherwise (complete or partial) age-grading of parents' siblings and (sometimes restricted) parallel and cross sibling distinctions attribute to ten other, mostly unique (within Vietnam) categories, cited by the language(s) in which they occur, are explained and charted below (charting conventions: raised siblings are older, lowered siblings are younger than linking parent; parallel siblings are adjacent, cross siblings are away from linking parents; paternal relatives to the left, maternal to the right). The number of distinct terms ranges from 2 (Black Tai, not counting 5 optional modifiers) to 8 (Nung, Pacoh and Kon Kòlo Sedang).

Where sex is not a terminological discriminant for parents' siblings and their spouses, that is, where an uncle and aunt are both called by the same term, the gloss 'unclaunt' (Ua) has been coined for convenience. See, for example, (3) Hre-Western Cham below. This parallels the use of the asexual 'parent' for 'father and mother'.

(0) *English*

(1) *Bahnar*



	1st level	2nd level	3rd level	4th level	5th level
One level distinguished					
Chrau	sináu				
Two levels distinguished					
Rengao Nung	chau lán	chí M lèhn			
Three levels distinguished					
Jeh Bahnar Pacoh	chau sâu achau	M chek M i che	M chi M ach chat		
Four levels distinguished					
Sedang Cua	cháu sau	chéi, héi suul sau sel sel	chá iil sel sal suul	chia seel sal suul iil	
Hre Halang Bru VNese Rade WCham Chru BTai	sau chao châu cô cho cho lan	M co M chěk chê chăt cě tachěk chě, tởchě lên	M chi M chi cho chít rě narěk lởně lon	M chô M koni blak cha chút riào narai lỏnuãi 'lọk	
Five levels distinguished					
ECham	tacho	tachěk	nủrěk	nủrah	nủrai
Unlimited levels distinguished					
English	M gd-	M gtgd-	M gtgtgd-	M gtgtgtgd-	M gtgtgtgtgd-

Chart 2 Descending generation terminology

Cua: three reported sets of terms for the 2nd-3rd-4th levels are included

ECham: tacho jěk ("near gdCh") 'SnCh'; parSibgdCh'; tacho phĩk 'DaCh'; tacho atah ("far gdCh") 'crsSibgdCh'

(0) English (lineal)

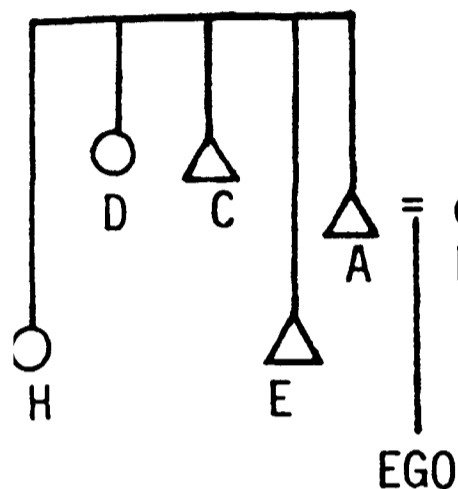
A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ Un, D ↔ Au.

(1) Bahnar (age-graded lineal)

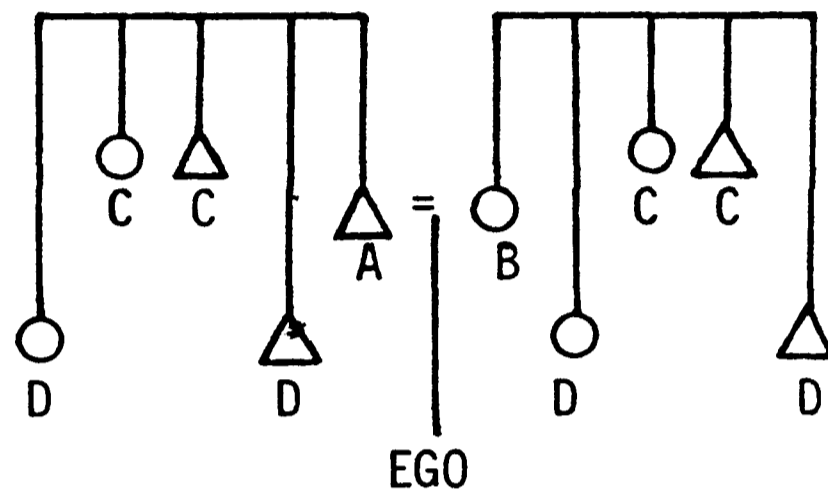
Parents' elder and younger siblings have distinct pairs of otherwise lineal terms.

A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ eUn, D ↔ eAu, E ↔ yUn, F ↔ yAu.

(2) Nung



(3) Hre--Western Cham



(2) Nung (age-graded lineal with PaySib modifiers)

With use of modifiers (indicated in chart by -M₁, etc.) in compound terms this system is like (1) above except all parents' younger siblings are discriminated as in bifurcate collateral systems.

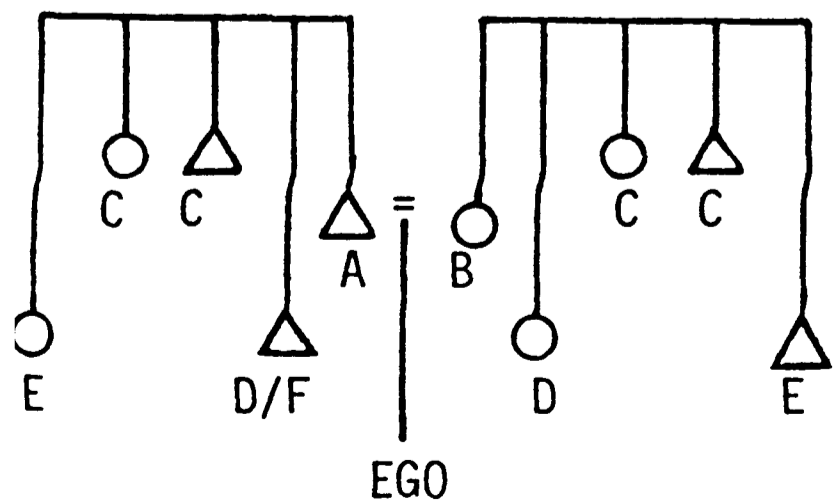
A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C (C -M₁) ↔ eUn, D (D -M₁) ↔ eAu,
 E (M₁-M₂) ↔ FayBr, or ypatUn, F (M₁-M₃) ↔ MoyBr, or ymatUn,
 G (D -M₄) ↔ Moysi, or ymatAu, H (D -M₅) ↔ FaySi, or ypatAu.

(3) Hre--Western Cham (age-graded asexual lineal)

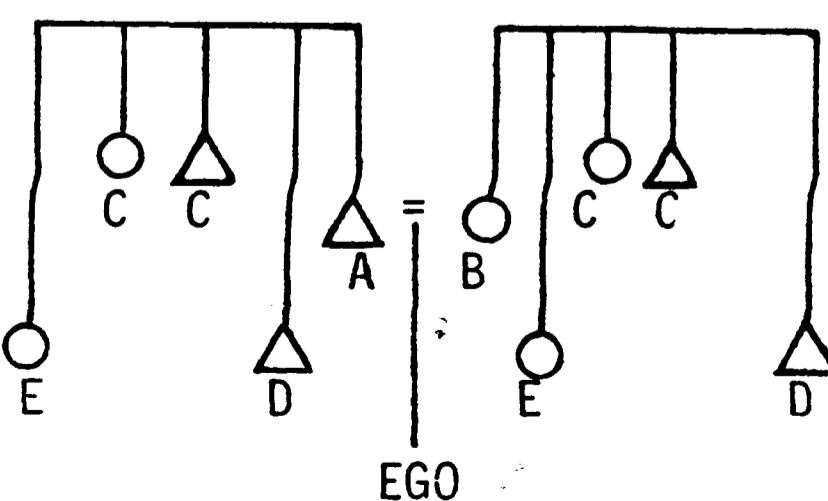
Age-grading but no sex discrimination of parents' siblings.

A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ eUa ('unclaunt', sex not being a discriminant), D ↔ yUa.

(4) Eastern Cham



(5) Jeh--Cua--Chrau--Halang



(4) *Eastern Cham* (age-graded elder asexual, younger parallel/cross distinction)

Like (3) above except parallel/cross distinctions for parents' younger siblings; terminological variation for FayBr occurs in some dialects.

A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ eUa, D ↔ yparUa, E ↔ ycrsUa
 A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ eUa, D ↔ matyparUa, E ↔ ycrsUa,
 F ↔ patyparUa

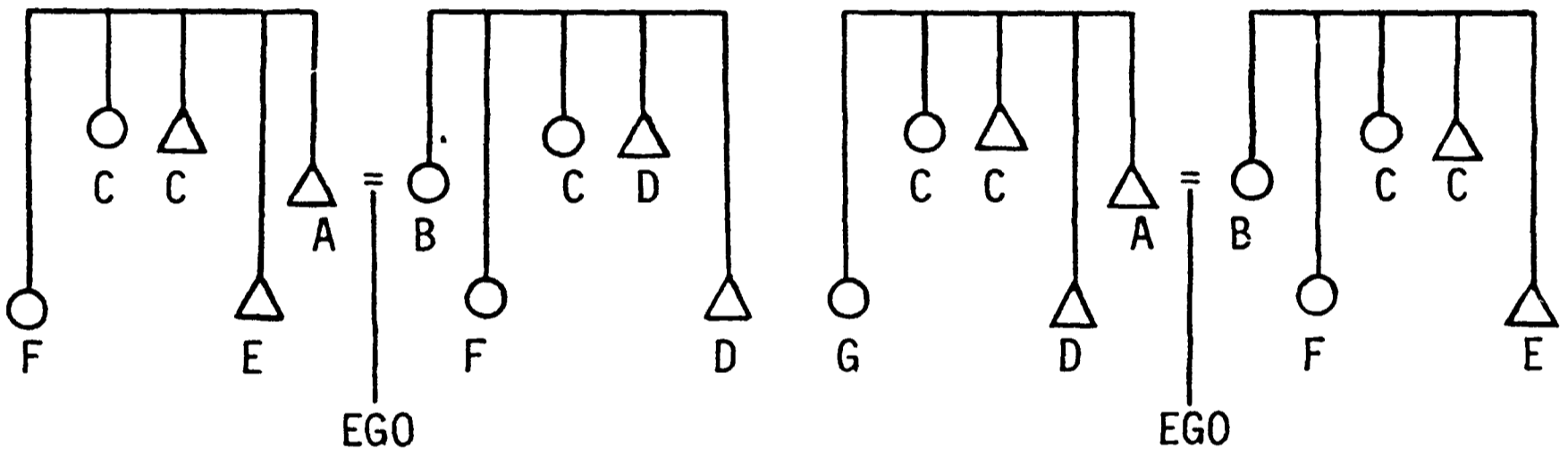
(5) *Jeh--Cua--Chrau--Halang* (age-graded elder asexual lineal)

Also like (3) above except sex discrimination for parents' younger siblings.

A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ eUa, D ↔ yUn, E ↔ yAu.

(6) *Bru*

(7) *Rengao*



(6) *Bru* (age-graded elder asexual lineal except unrelated MoeBr same as MoyBr)

Like (5) above except mother's brothers, without age-grading, are distinct.

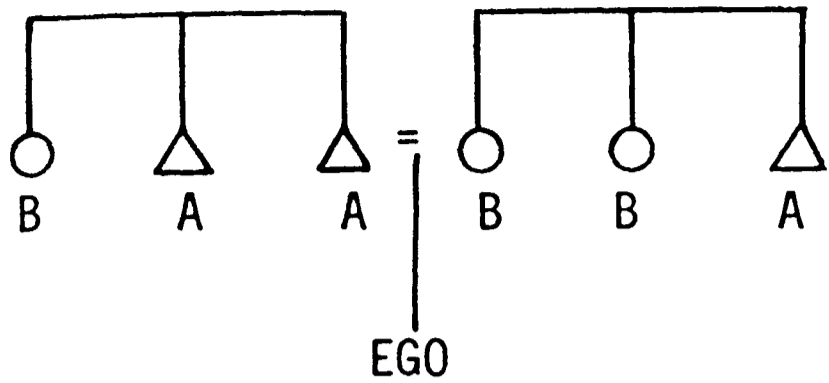
A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ eUa, D ↔ MoBr, E ↔ yUn, F ↔ yAu.

(7) *Rengao* (age-graded elder asexual lineal, younger unrelated bifurcate collateral.)

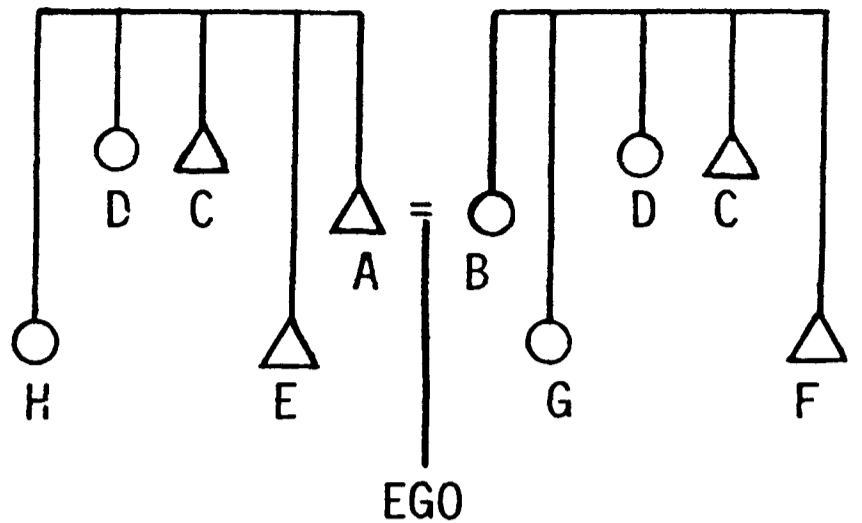
Also like (5) above, except father's younger siblings are distinct from mother's younger siblings, i.e. parents' younger siblings are classified as bifurcate collateral.

A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ eUa, D ↔ yFaBr, or ypatUn, E ↔ yMoBr, or ymatUn, F ↔ yMoSi, or ymatAu, G ↔ yFaSi, or ypatAu.

(8a) Black Tai-unmodified



(8b) with modifiers



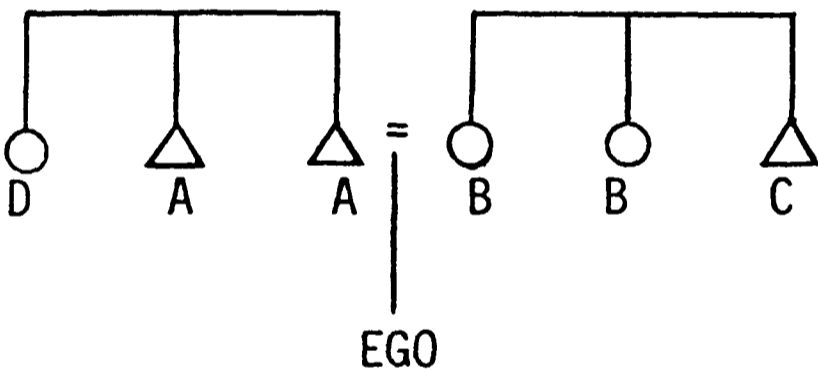
(8) Black Tai (generational, if modifiers are not considered)

$$A \leftrightarrow Fa, B \leftrightarrow Mo.$$

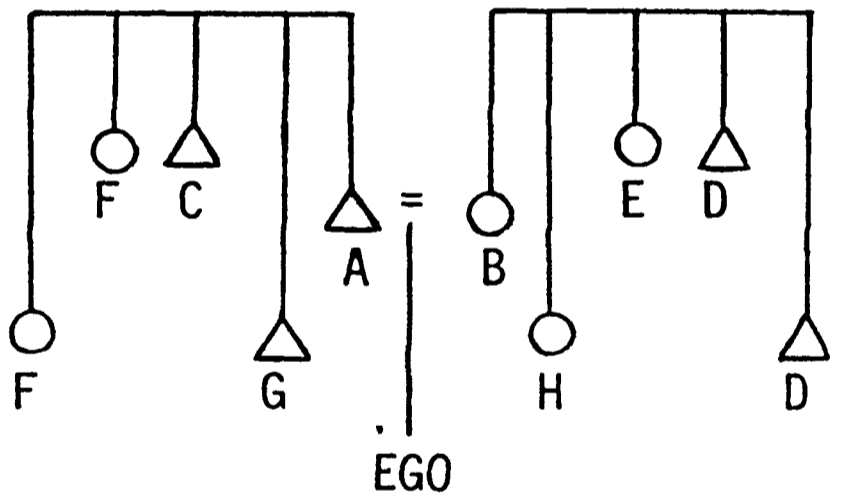
With modifiers the system is as follows and does not correspond to any of the other classifications here. *

$$A \leftrightarrow Fa, B \leftrightarrow Mo, C (A-M_1) \leftrightarrow eUn, D (B-M_2) \leftrightarrow eAu, E (A-M_3) \leftrightarrow yFaBr, F (A-M_4) \leftrightarrow yMoBr, G (B-M_4) \leftrightarrow yMoSi, H (B-M_5) \leftrightarrow yFaSi.$$

(9a) Pacoh-unmodified



(9b) with modifiers

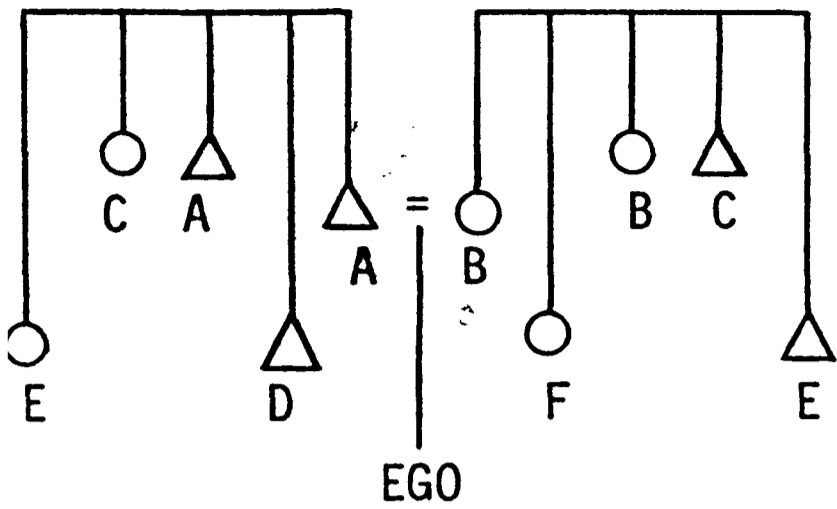
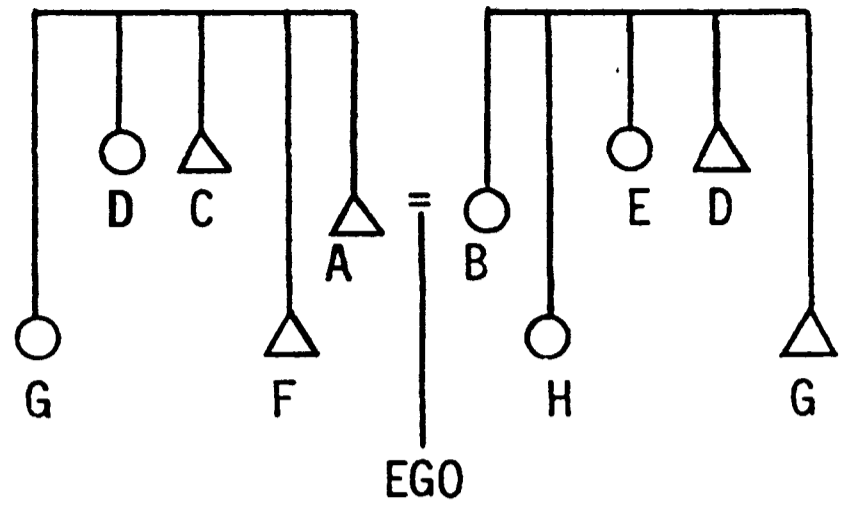


(9) Pacoh (bifurcate merging)

$$A \leftrightarrow Fa, B \leftrightarrow Mo, C \leftrightarrow Un, D \leftrightarrow Au.$$

Optional modifiers may be used to age-grade parents' parallel siblings and to distinguish them from parents; the resulting configuration with modifiers is as follows.

$$A \leftrightarrow Fa, B \leftrightarrow Mo, C (A-M_1) \leftrightarrow eparUn, D \leftrightarrow crsUn, E (B-M_1) \leftrightarrow eparAu, F \leftrightarrow crsAu, G (A-M_2) \leftrightarrow yparUn, H (B-M_2) \leftrightarrow yparAu.$$

(10) *Sedang*(11) *Kon Kôlo Sedang*(10) *Sedang* (age-graded cross asexual bifurcate merging)

Parents' elder siblings are bifurcate merging without sex discrimination of the cross siblings, younger siblings have distinct terms also without sex discrimination of the cross siblings.

$A \leftrightarrow Fa$, $B \leftrightarrow Mo$, $C \leftrightarrow ecrsUa$, $D \leftrightarrow yparUn$, $E \leftrightarrow ycrsUa$, $F \leftrightarrow yparAu$.

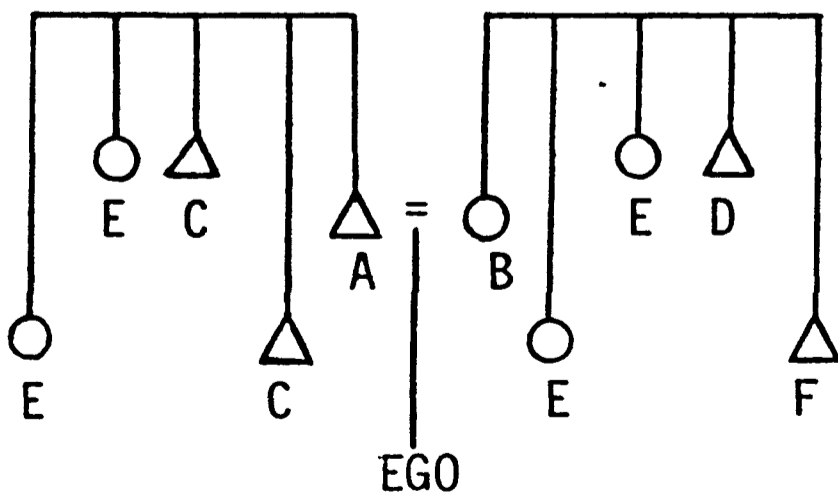
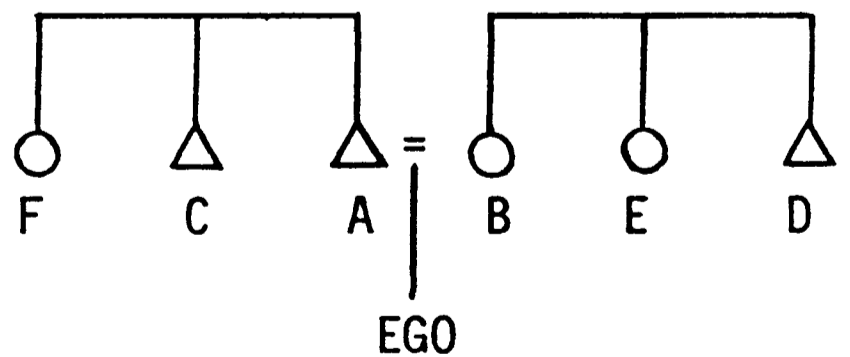
(11) *Kon Kôlo Sedang* (age-graded cross asexual bifurcate collateral)

Like (10) above except elder parents' siblings are not termed 'parents'; thus parents' elder siblings are bifurcate collateral without sex discrimination of the cross siblings; younger siblings have distinct terms also without sex discrimination of the cross siblings. Kon Kôlo is a representative village of the southern Sedang area where this divergent aspect of Sedang kinship terminology is found.

$A \leftrightarrow Fa$, $B \leftrightarrow Mo$, $C \leftrightarrow eparUn$, $D \leftrightarrow ecrsUa$, $E \leftrightarrow eparAu$, $F \leftrightarrow yparUn$, $G \leftrightarrow ycrsUa$, $H \leftrightarrow yparAu$.

(12) *Rade*

*

(13) *Chru*

(12) *Rade* (lineal with distinct age-graded MoBr's)

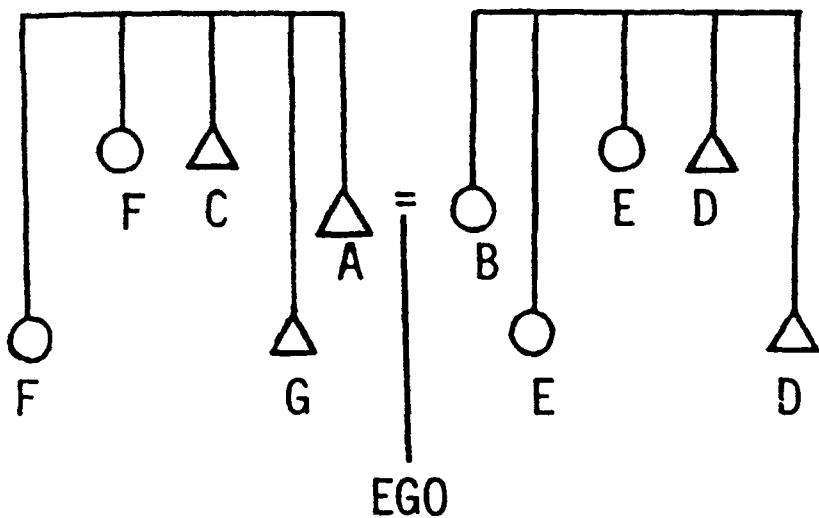
Lineal terminology except age-grading and distinct terms for mother's elder and younger brothers.

A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ Un, D ↔ MoeBr, E ↔ Au, F ↔ MoyBr.

(13) *Chru* (bifurcate collateral)

A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ FaBr, or patUn, D ↔ MoBr, or matUn, E ↔ MoSi, or matAu, F ↔ FaSi, or patAu.

(14) *Vietnamese*



(14) *Vietnamese* (bifurcate collateral with distinct age-graded FaBr's)

Lineal terminology like (12) above, except age-grading and distinct terms for father's elder and younger brothers, instead of for mother's brothers.

A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ FaeBr, or epatUn, D ↔ MoBr, or matUn, E ↔ MoSi, or matAu, F ↔ FaSi, or patAu, G ↔ FayBr, or ypatUn.

Chart 3 gives the specific terms for each kin type of this category in each of these languages; whereas the above fourteen types are listed in an order of approximate increasing complexity, the languages are listed in this Chart in an order to permit optimal recognition of cognate forms. That this latter ordering follows the linguistic groups of North Bahnaric (with Bahnar of Central Bahnaric placed within North Bahnaric), South Bahnaric, Vietnamese, Katuic, Austronesian, and Tai indicates that this kinship terminology has been more stable than the specific kinship relationships originally denoted by these terms. Terminological comparison of parental and collateral terms shows the following:

- (a) vaq, bǎ, pa, ba, mpoaq 'Fa' spread throughout all the Austroasiatic languages excepting only Pacoh;

	Fa	Mo	FaeBr	MoeBr	MoeSi	FaeSi	FayBr	MoyBr	MoySi	FaySi
English	father	mother	uncle	uncle	aunt	aunt				
Cua	vaq	miq	wa	wa	wa	wa	nhu	nhu	mư	mư
Jeh	baă	uũ	mih	mih	mih	mih	nhù	nhù	ma	ma
Halang	bă	mĩ	mih	mih	nă	mih	nhò	nhò	ma	mă
Bahnar	'bă	mě	mih	mih	mih	nă	ma	ma	duch	duch
Hre	baq	miq	mih	mih	mih	mih	dòch	dòch	dòch	dòch
Rengao	bă	mĩ	mih	mih	mih	mih	mík	nhô	yăng	đut
SedangKK	pa	nôu	pônhóng	meh	mónhóng	meh	tăm	mie	xang	mie
Sedang	pa	nôu	pa	meh	nôu	meh	tăm	mie	xang	mie
Chrau	vap	mé	mih	mih	mih	mih	déq	déq	yông	yông
VNese	cha, ba	mẹ, mé	bác	cậu	dì	cô	chủ	cậu	dì	cô
Bru	mpoaq	mpiq	bac	cũq	bac	bac	anhi	cũq	avia	avia
Pacoh	a-âm	a-i	a-âm	anhi	a-i	ama	a-âm	anhi	a-i	két
	a-âm	a-i	a-âm	anhi	a-i	ama	két	anhi	két	ama
WCham	yah, mư	măk, mek	wa	wa	wa	wa	miúk	miúk	miúk	miúk
ECham	amư	amek	wa	wa	wa	wa	chay/mĩk	chay	chay	nai
Rade	ama	amĩ	mneh	awa	aneh	aneh	mneh	amiêt	aneh	aneh
Chru	ama	mẹ	wa	miă	me	tómhă	?	?	?	?
Nung	cô	mệ	pô	pô	mệ	mệ	ké	ké	mệ	mệ
BTai	ai?	'êm	ai	ai	'êm	'êm	?	?	'êm	'êm
	ai?	'êm	ai	ai	'êm	'êm	?	?	'êm	'êm

Chart 3 First ascending generation collateral terminology
(last four columns are left blank if age-grading is not a discriminate)

(b) Austronesian ama 'Fa' appears to be the source of Pacoh a-ám and Katu ama 'Fa';

(c) forms like mě 'Mo' are in many cases clear cognates, in others the association may be coincidental;

(d) Sedang nôu 'Mo': cf. Halang nau, Sedang na 'eSi' (Section 3.1), Bahnar nă 'PaeSi'.

(e) All Bahnaric languages have mih 'PaeSib' except:

(1) Sedang in which two separate sets of terms for parents' elder parallel sibling have been introduced. The pa-nôu set is an innovation to extend parental terminology to parents' elder parallel siblings; the ponhóng=monhóng set is an innovation assimilating pa 'Fa' and nôu 'Mo' to unstressed presyllables pơ- and mơ- (nơ- is not a permitted presyllable type) with -nhóng which occurs elsewhere in Sedang only in the phrase nhóng o 'relatives' (literally, with a borrowing from Bahnar or Jarai 'nhǒng 'eBr' plus Sedang o 'ySib', means 'older and younger siblings'); and

(2) Cua, in which wa has been borrowed from the Austronesian languages.

(f) Austronesian wa (Western Cham 'PaeSib', Rade 'MoeBr', Chru 'FaeBr') is the source for Cua wa 'PaeSib', Katu ava 'Un', Koho wa 'eUa', and Mnong waa 'MoBr, MoSi, FaBr, FaSi, all members of mother's sib older than mother' (LeBar, Hickey and Musgrave 1964,155).

(g) Bru has borrowed from Vietnamese for two terms: Bru bac 'FaeSib, MoeSi', Vietnamese bác 'FaeBr'; Bru cũq 'MoBr', Vietnamese câu 'MoBr'.

(h) Austronesian miak 'PaySib' (Western Cham miak 'PaySib', Eastern Cham mik 'ypatUn', Rade amiêt 'MoyBr') is the source for Bahnaric forms: Halang miak 'PaySibSp' (Section 2.2 (2)), Rengao mik 'FayBr', Sedang mie 'PaycrsSib' (note that Sedang front glide ie is a reflex from Proto-North-Bahnaric tense register words with final stop, most commonly -t), Cua mú 'PaySi', Jeh and Halang ma 'PaySi' (though this form in Halang was introduced through a different route than the form miak 'PaySibSp' noted above), and Bahnar ma 'PayBr'.

(i) nhù is North Bahnaric for 'PayBr' (Cua nhò, Jeh nhù, Halang nhò 'PayBr', Rengao nhô 'MoyBr'); cf. Rengao nhô 'ySiSp' (Section 3.2).

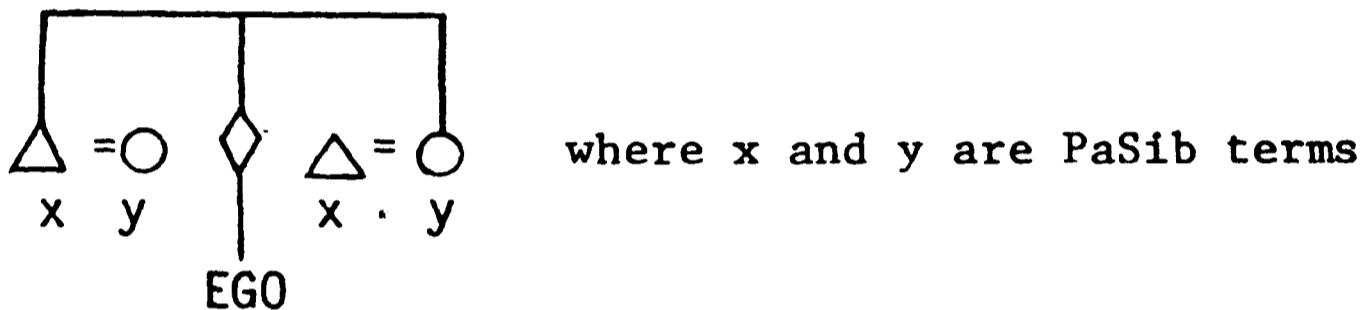
(j) doch is Bahnaric for 'PaySib' or 'PaySi' (Bahnar duch 'PaySi', Hre dòch 'PaySib', Rengao đut 'FaySi', and Chrau dêq 'PayBr').

(k) three related Bahnaric forms are Rengao yǎng, Sedang xáng 'MoySi', Chrau yông 'PaySi'. Possibly also related are Bahnar and Halang 'nhǒng, Rade ayǒng 'eBr' and the above mentioned Sedang pónhóng, mónhóng 'PaeparSib'; cf. also Western Cham modifier sang as in ai sang 'eSibSp'.

2.2 Classification by parent's sibling's spouse terminology

Section 2.1 above does not define spouses of parents' siblings. In the English lineal system the male and female terms for PaBr and PaSi are the terms for PaSiHu and PaBrWi, respectively, with full sex differentiation. In the Vietnam languages there is a continuum from full sex differentiation of spouses to no sex differentiation--with a middle ground of mixed some-yes, some-no differentiation.

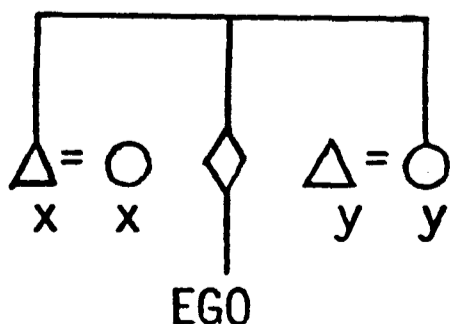
(1) Full sex differentiation



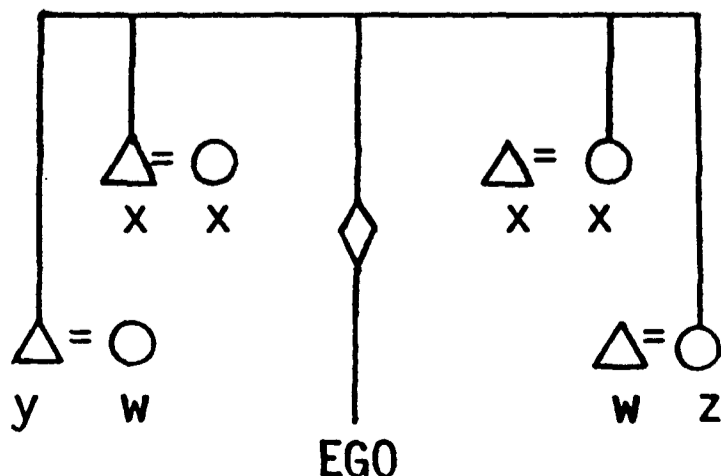
(1) Full sex differentiation of parents' siblings' spouses

- English (uncles and aunts have aunts and uncles, respectively, as spouses)
- Bahnar (similarly, with two sets by age-grading)
- Chru (similarly, with two sets by parallel versus cross distinction)
- Pacoh (similarly, with two sets by parallel versus cross distinction, though the parallel uncles and aunts are referred to by modified parental terms)
- Nung (PaSib terms used for spouses of PaeSib and MoySib; special terms and modifiers are used to designate spouses of FayBr and of FaySi)
- Black Tai (special terms and modifiers for MoySibSp ('na khúoi/'paú), FaySiHu (ao khúoi) and FayBrWi ('ém 'lua'))

(2a) No sex differentiation



(2b) Halang



(2) No sex differentiation of parents' siblings' spouses

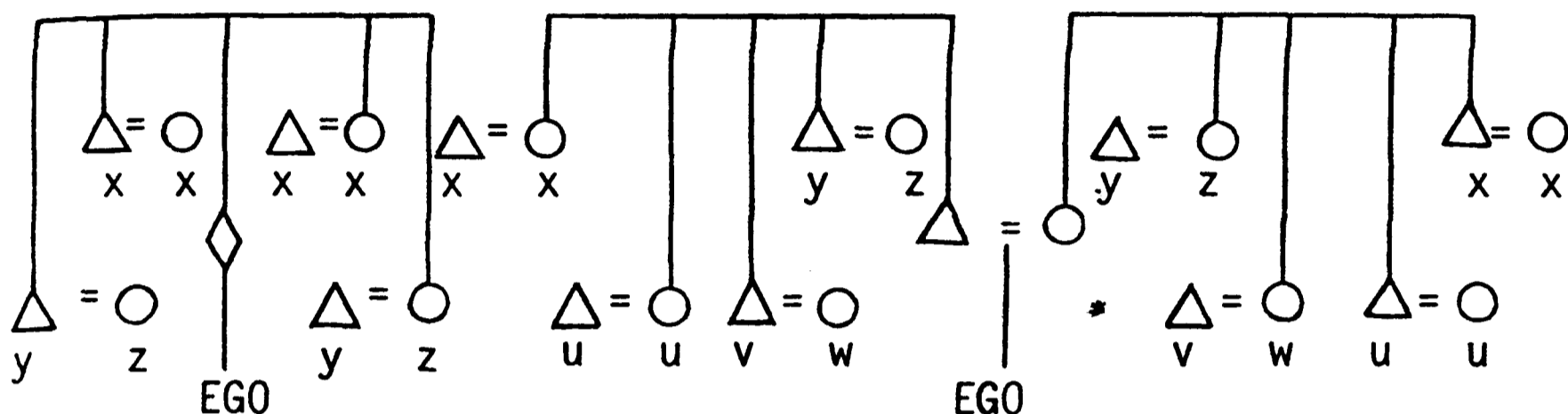
--Hre (age-graded unclaunts have age-graded unclaunts as spouses)

--Western Cham (similarly)

--Halang (similarly for PaeSib, but the sex-differentiated younger siblings both have as spouse miak 'PaySibSp' as shown in the above diagram)

(3a) Mixed

(3b) Mixed (Sedang)



(3) Mixed sex differentiation of parents' siblings' spouses

(a) No sex discrimination for PaeSibSp, full sex discrimination for PaySibSp:

--Jeh

--Cua

--Chrau

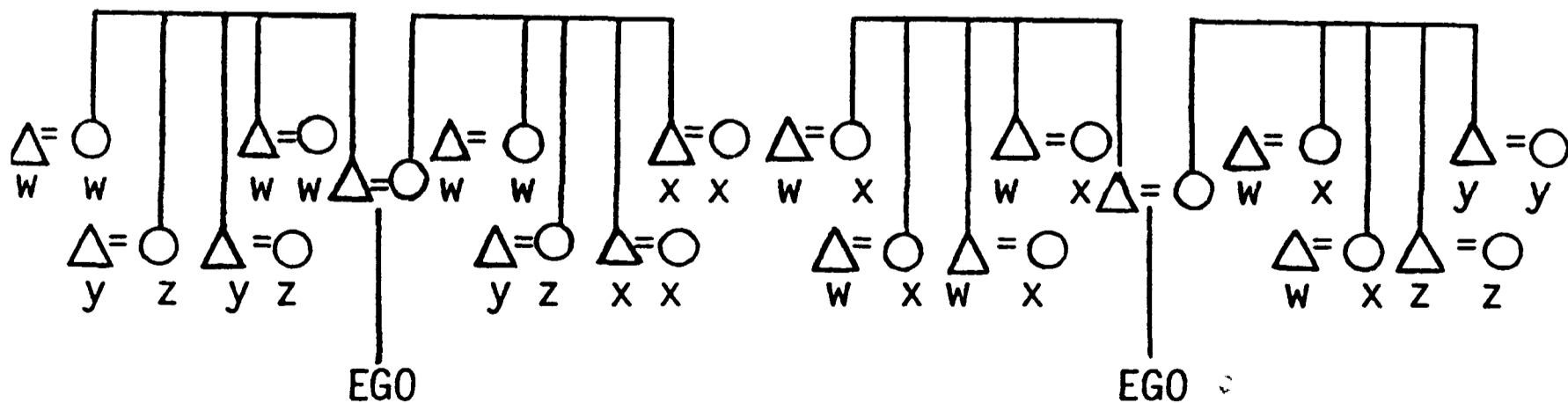
--Rengao (though PayparSib and their spouses are distinct from PaycrsSib and their spouses)

(b) No sex discrimination between PacrsSib and their spouses, full sex discrimination between PaparSib and their spouses:

--Sedang (age-grading nevertheless is distinguished)

(3c) Mixed (Bru)

(3d) Mixed (Rade)



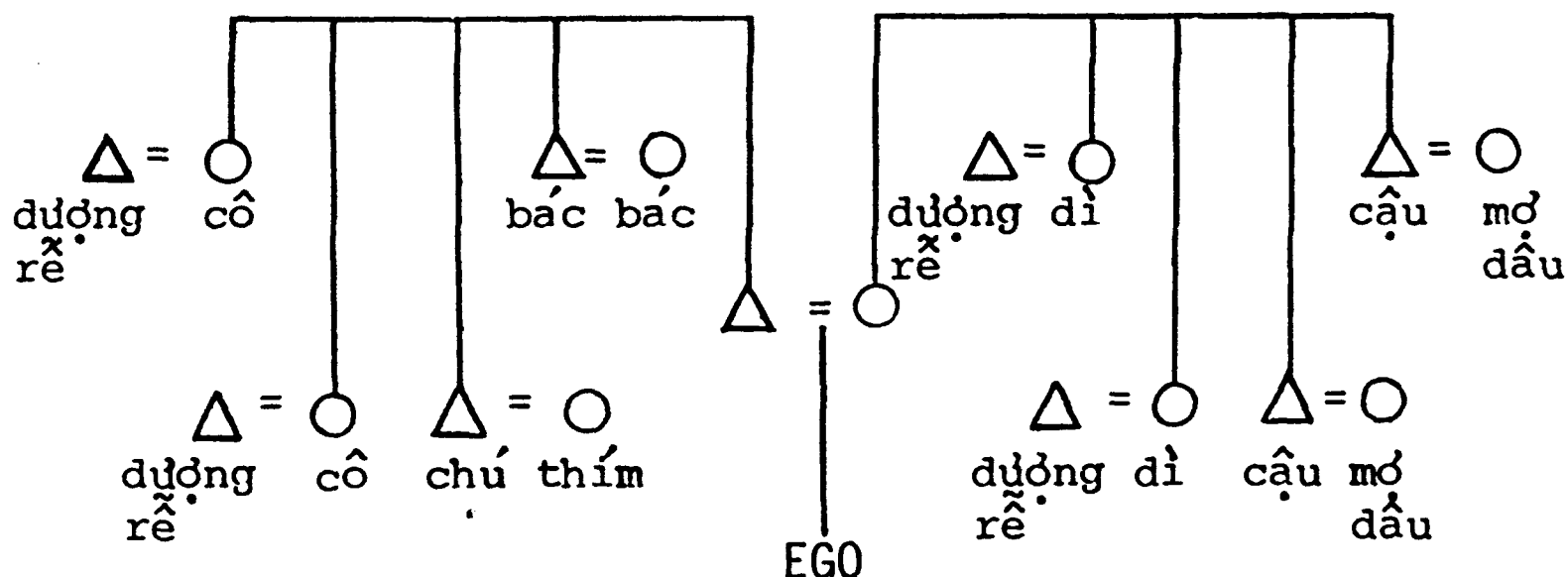
(c) No sex discrimination (unless modifiers are used) between PaeSib or MoyBr and their spouses, full sex discrimination for all others (i.e. MoySi, FaySib and their spouses)

--Bru

(d) No sex discrimination between either the elder or younger MoBr and his spouse, full sex discrimination for all others (i.e. MoSi, FaSib and their spouses)

--Rade

(3e) Mixed (Vietnamese)



(e) No sex discrimination between FaeBr and his spouse, full sex discrimination for all others (i.e. FayBr, FaSi, MoSib and their spouses)

--Vietnamese

bác	FaeBr, FaeBrWi
thím	FayBrWi
đượng rề	PaSiHu
mợ dâu	MoBrWi

2.3 Classification by reciprocal 'child-nephew-niece' terminology

In most Mon-Khmer languages of Vietnam there are distinct reciprocal relations father=mother vis-à-vis child and uncle=aunt vis-à-vis nephew/niece. There is no son/daughter differentiating terminology without use of sex modifiers, thus kon 'Ch'. Similarly there is no nephew/niece differentiating terminology without use of sex modifiers, thus mon 'nephew, niece'. In that sex is not a terminological discriminant differentiating nephews and nieces, the gloss 'nephiece' (Npc) has been coined for convenience. This parallels the use of the asexual 'child' for 'son and daughter'. Reciprocal relations then are:

'Fa=Mo'	_____	<u>kon</u>	'Ch'
'Un=Au'	_____	<u>mon</u>	'Npc'

These specific reciprocal relations are found in Bahnar, Jeh, Kon Kôla Sedang, Hre, Rengao, Halang, Cua, Chrau, Bru and Kôho. The exceptions to this Mon-Khmer grouping are (standard) Sedang and Pacoh, as noted below.

Similarly in Eastern Cham and Western Cham there are these distinct reciprocal relations:

'Fa=Mo' _____ nưk 'Ch'
 'Un=Au' _____ kamuan 'Npc'

(In each of the above languages the term for 'gdCh' is distinct from that for 'Ch' and 'Npc'.)

The exceptions to these constitute three other types of reciprocal relations found in Vietnam:

(1) Merged niece and grandchild--or 'grandphiece' (gdPhc) (despite distinct terms for uncle=aunt and grandparent, the alter for each is 'gdPhc'):

--in Vietnamese

'Fa=Mo' _____ con 'Ch'
 'Un=Au' _____
 'gdFa=gdMo' _____ cháu 'gdPhc'

(a following modifier ruột may distinguish Npc from gdCh)

--in black Tai and Nung

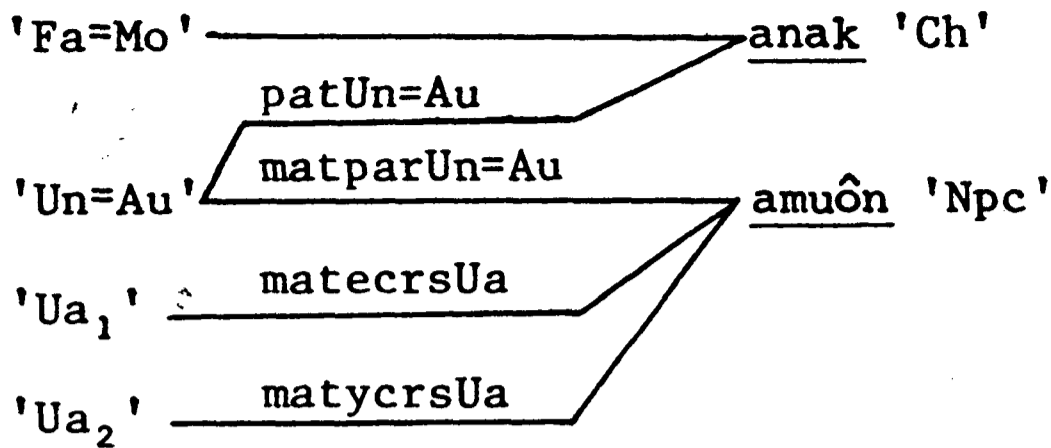
'Fa=Mo' _____ 'lưk, lưc' 'Ch'
 'Un=Au' _____
 'gdFa=gdMo' _____ lan, lân 'gdPhc'

(2) Extended 'child' (the alter for certain PaSib is 'Ch' in two Chamic languages):

--in Chru alter for PaparSib is 'Ch'

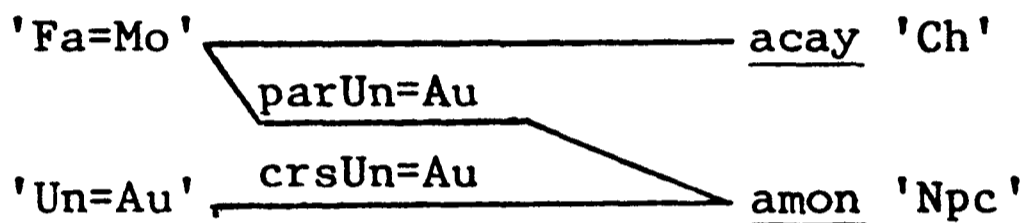
'Fa=Mo' _____ anà 'Ch'
 'Un₁=Mo' parUn=Au _____
 'Un₂=Au' crsUn=Au _____ kômuan 'Npc'

--in Rade alter for FaSib is 'Ch'

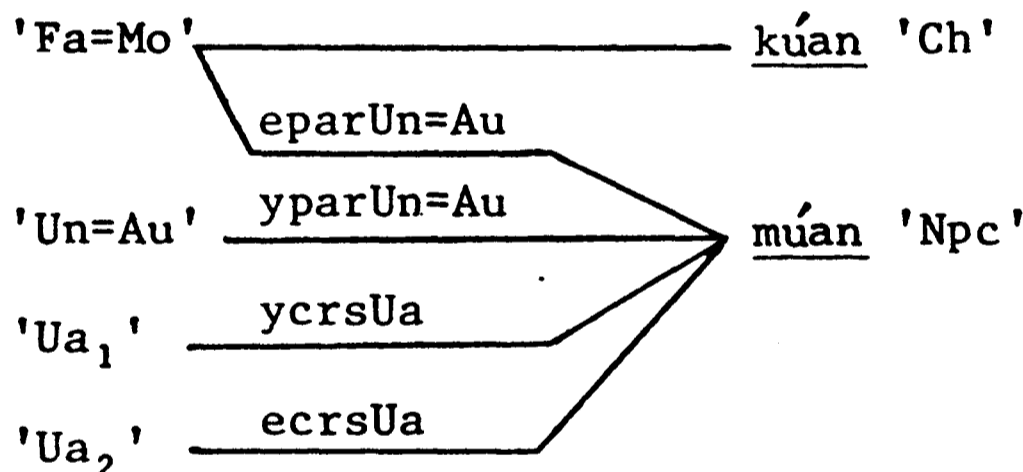


(3) Extended 'parents' (despite the extension of parent terms to certain PaSib, alter for such PaSib is nevertheless 'Npc' in two Mon-Khmer languages):

--in Pacoh alter for (unmodified) 'Pa' who are actually PaparSib is 'Npc'



--in (standard) Sedang alter for 'Pa' who are actually PaeparSib is 'Npc'



3. *Sibsin, siblaw, spib and spibspouse*

This section presents classification by sibling and cousin terminology (3.1), by sibling's spouse terminology (3.2), and by spouse's sibling and spouse's sibling's spouse terminology (3.3).

3.1 *Classification by sibling and cousin terminology*

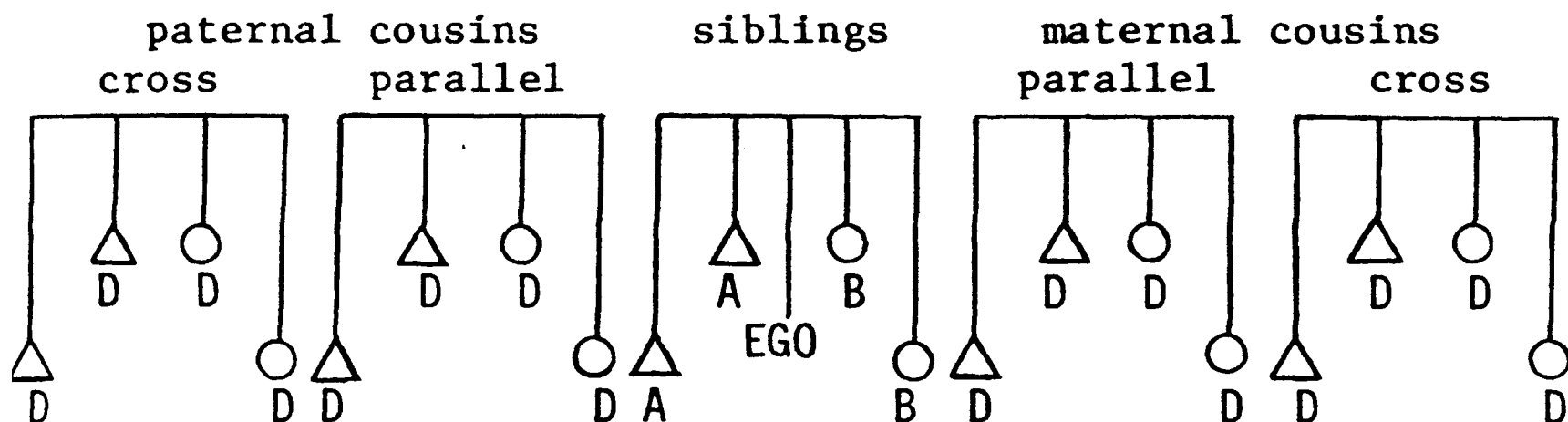
Traditional kinship classification by cousin and sibling terminology identifies Iroquois (parallel cousins same as siblings), Eskimo (cousins distinct from siblings), Hawaiian (all cousins same as siblings), Sudanese (paternal and maternal, parallel and cross cousins--four groups--each distinct from siblings), Crow and Omaha (parallel cousins same as siblings,

paternal cross cousins raised and maternal cross cousins lowered one generation in Crow, the opposite in Omaha). Concurrent presence and absence of age-grading and sex discrimination as well as some other asymmetries restrict the utility of these classifications for Vietnam kinship systems.

Five classificatory types of cousin and sibling terminology occur in these kinship systems (for orientation to the charting conventions English is presented first).

(0) English type (Eskimo less sex discrimination among cousins)

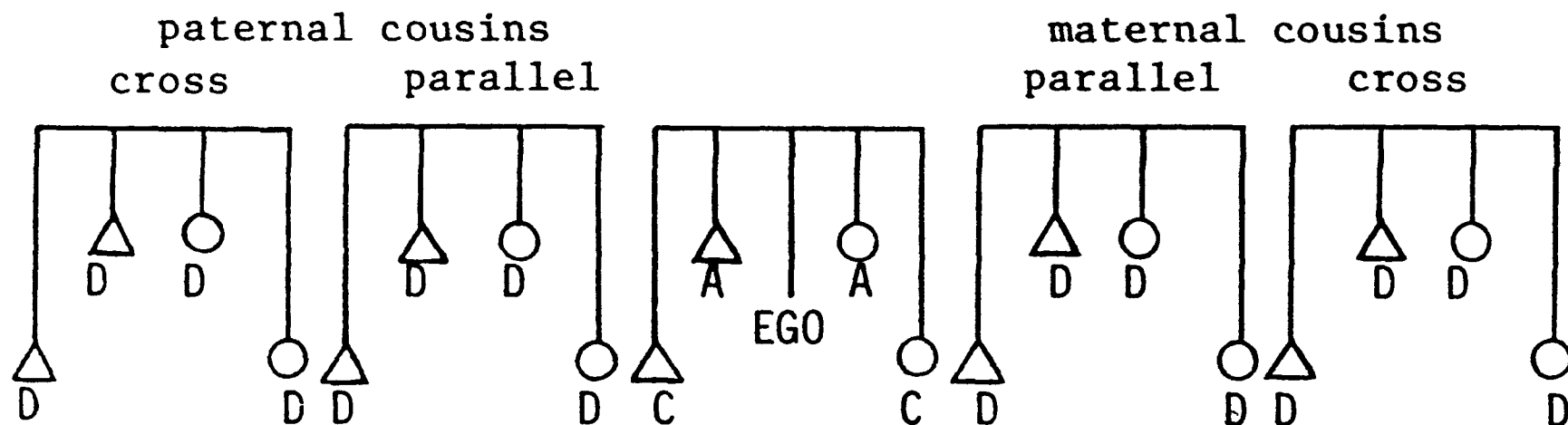
Cousin terminology is without sex discrimination and distinct from siblings. (Raised alters in chart are older than Ego, lowered alters younger than Ego; paternal cousins are to the left, maternal cousins to the right; parallel cousins are adjacent to Ego's siblings, cross cousins on the outer sides.)



A ↔ Br, B ↔ Si, D ↔ Csn

(1) Western Cham--Eastern Cham--Black Tai (Eskimo less sex discrimination anywhere plus age-grading in nuclear family)

Cousin terminology is like English but siblings are denoted for relative age instead of sex. (In Black Tai sex modifiers are possible, but not required, for all three terms.)



A ↔ eSib, C ↔ ySib, D ↔ Csn

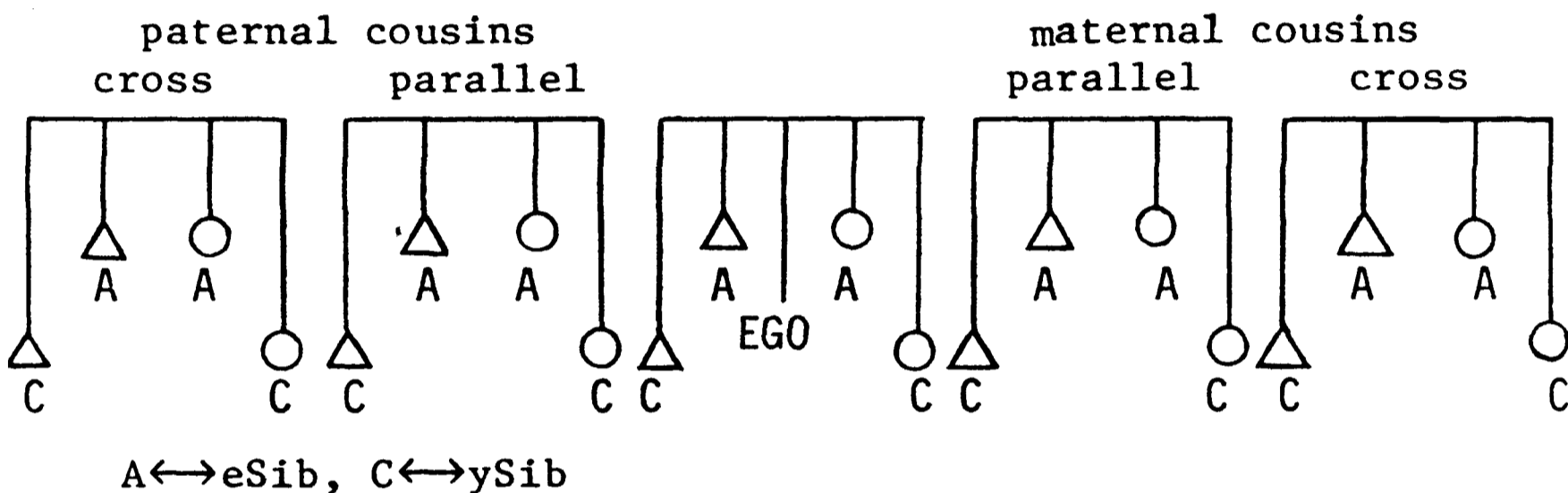
(2) Jeh--Hre--Rengao--Cua--Chrau (Bahnaric languages) and Nung (Hawaiian plus age-grading less sex discrimination)

All cousins are as siblings with age-grading but no sex discrimination. Nung is included here only if modifiers are not considered.

For these kin the term 'sibsins' has been given (with tongue-in-cheek) in the section heading, although the term 'couslings' seems more affectionate!

In Hre a following modifier sèm 'source' may distinguish siblings from cousins; in Cua klaak 'intestines' functions similarly.

In all of these languages a sex modifier may be used to distinguish brother and male cousin from sister and female cousin.

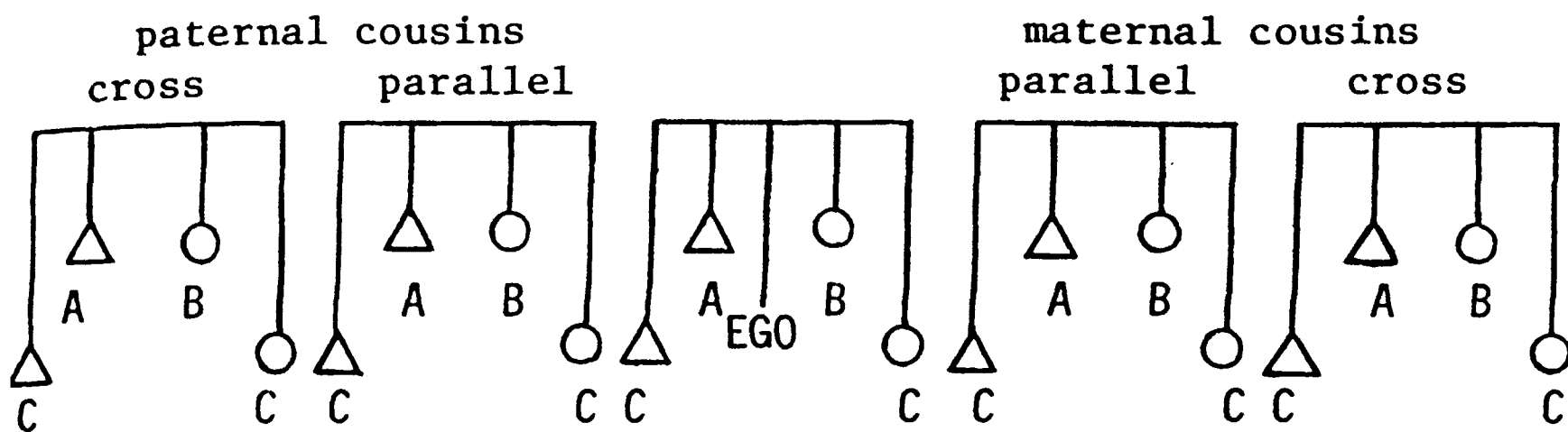


(3) Bahnar--Halang--Sedang--Bru--Vietnamese (Austroasiatic languages) and Nung (Hawaiian plus age-grading though no sex discrimination among younger siblings and cousins)

Like (2) above, except sex discrimination for older siblings and cousins (Nung is included here only if the sex modifier bào/sláo are considered for the elder but the sex modifiers khù/nà are disregarded for the younger siblings and cousins; else add sex discrimination to the younger set too, unlike any other system presented here)

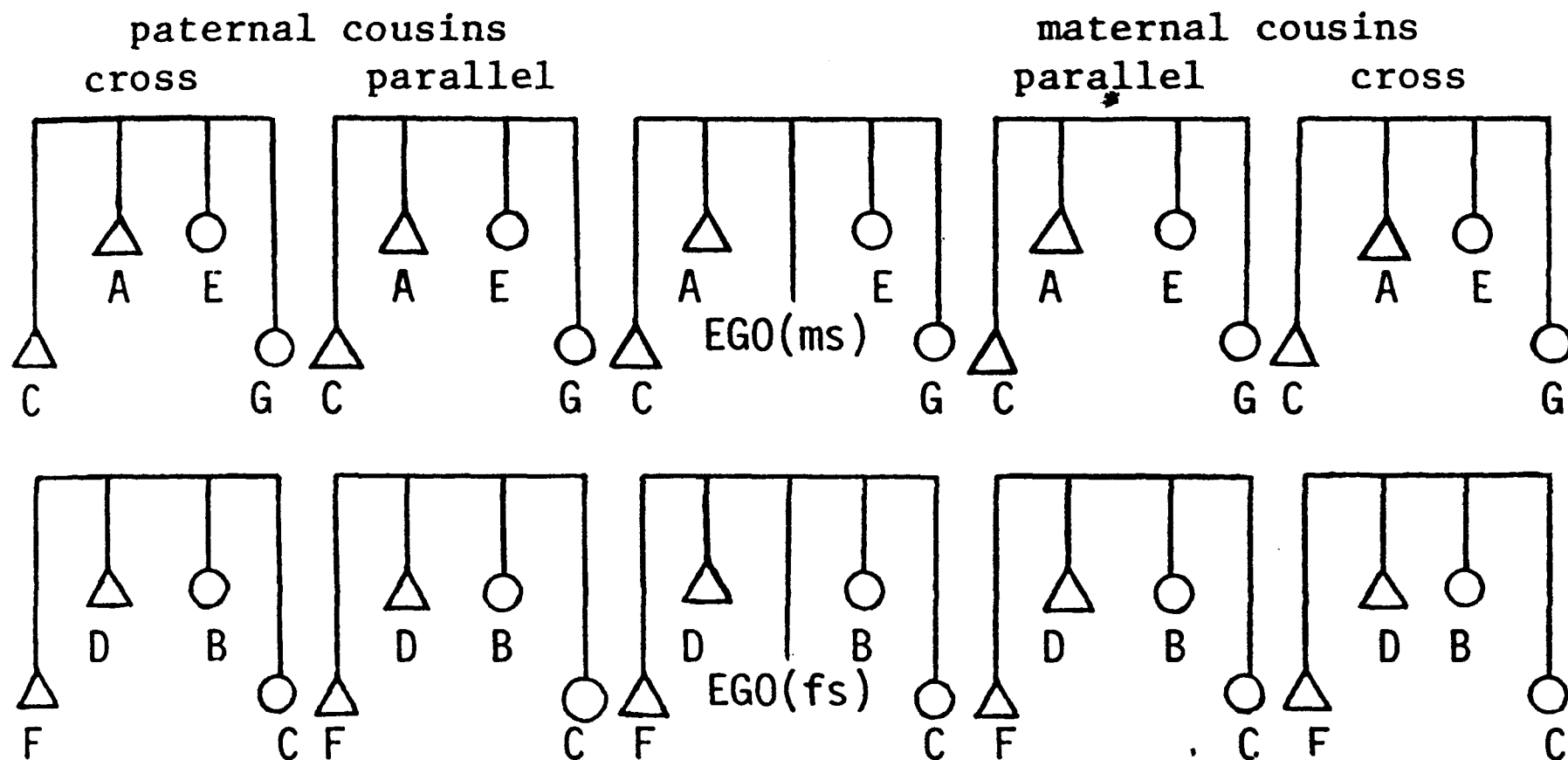
In Vietnamese a following modifier ruột 'intestine' may distinguish siblings from cousins; in Sedang xiam 'source' functions similarly.

In Vietnamese age-grading is determined by the relative age of the parents, whereas in all other groups (here and elsewhere in this paper) age-grading is determined by Ego and Alter.



A ↔ Br, B ↔ Si, C ↔ Sib

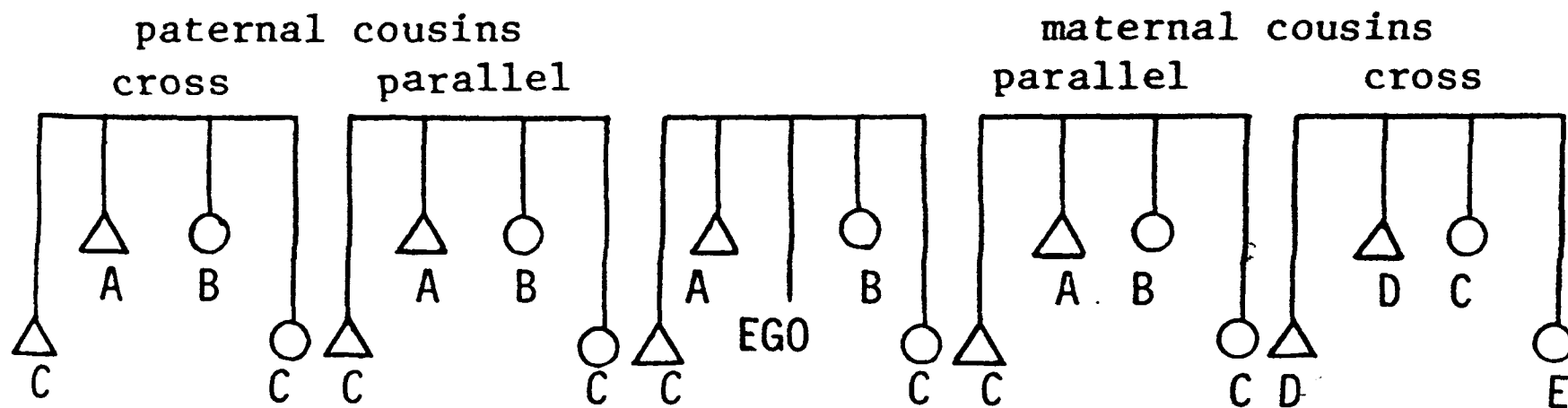
In Bru a following modifier amiang/amuaq may distinguish cross siblings and cousins from the (unmodified) parallel siblings and cousins; thus:



A ↔ Br, B ↔ Si, C ↔ Sib, D (A-M₁) ↔ crsBr, E (B-M₂) ↔ crsSi, F (C-M₁) ↔ crsSib (fs), G (C-M₂) ↔ crsSib (ms).

(4) Rade (modified Iroquois with only maternal cross cousins distinct)

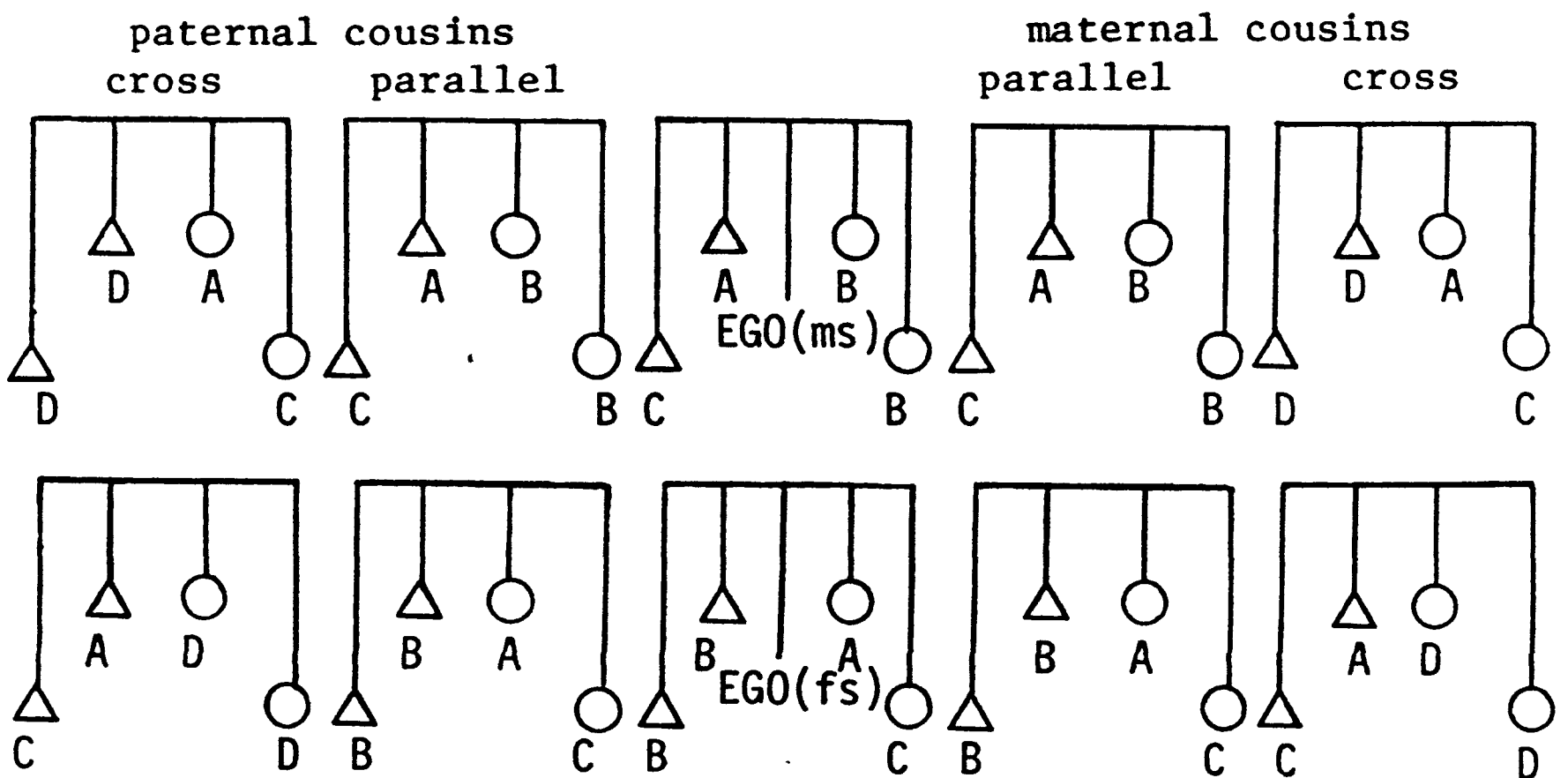
Like (3) above, except maternal cross cousins are distinct and marked for sex but not for age.



A ↔ Br, B ↔ Si, C ↔ Sib, D ↔ mCsn, E ↔ fCsn.

(5) Chru

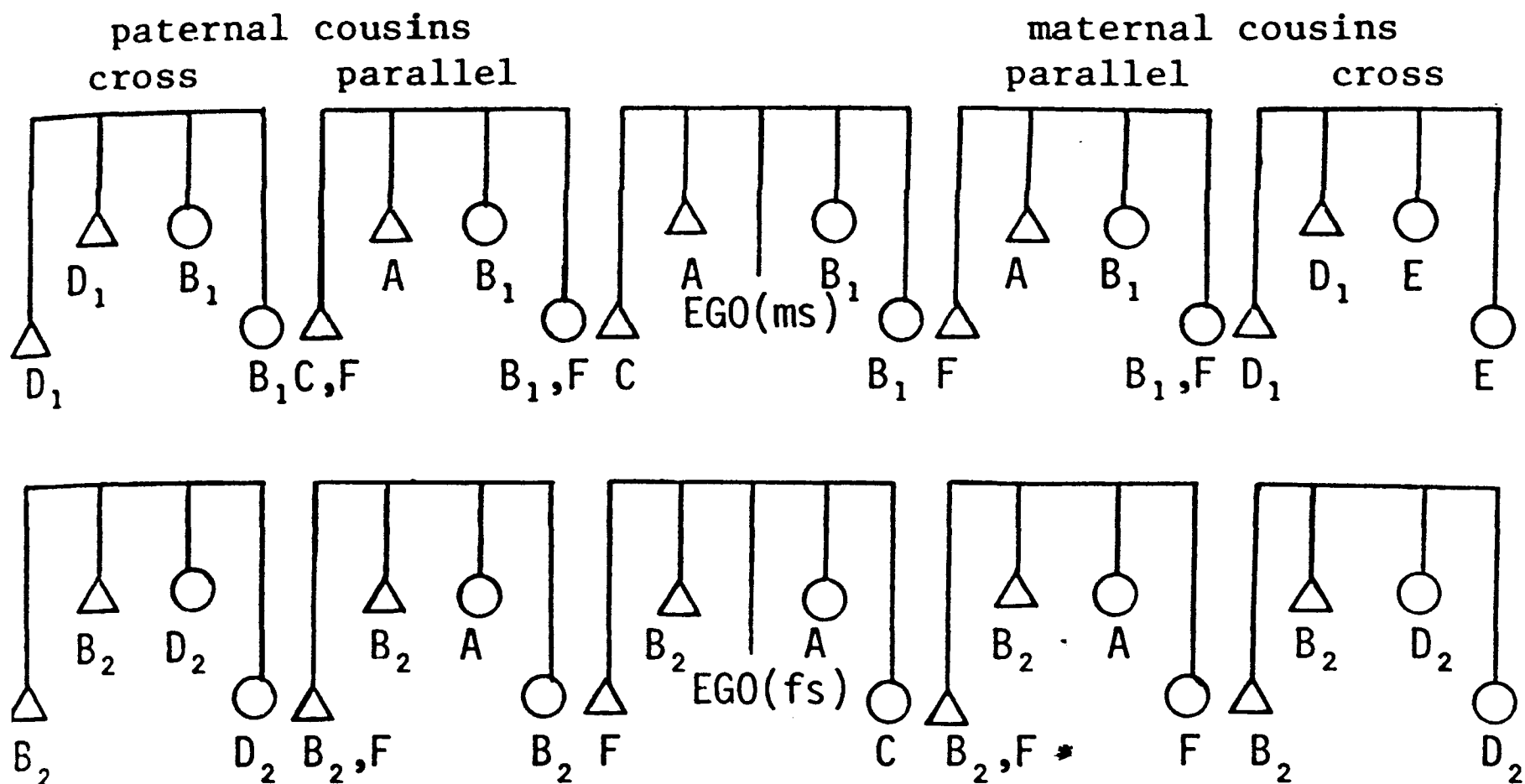
For Ego (ms) term for elder brother applies to elder parallel male cousin and cross female cousin; sister and parallel cousins are the same without age-grading; younger brother, younger parallel male cousin and younger cross female cousin are the same. One term for cross male cousins without age-grading. For Ego (fs) the reversal occurs. Consequently the two terms which men and women use to refer to their siblings of the same sex also refer to parallel cousins of the same sex but cross cousins of the opposite sex. The "double cross" from Ego (Ego crosses with alter and Pa crosses with PacrsSib) results in a "parallel" relationship.



A ↔ eparSib, B ↔ crsSib, C ↔ yparSib, D ↔ Csn.

(6) Pacoh

Like (5) above, except; for ms paternal cross female cousins are as sisters; maternal cross female cousins are distinct; and maternal parallel younger cousins are distinct. Or, to restate it independently: for ms elder brother and older parallel male cousins are the same; sisters, paternal female cousins, and maternal parallel female cousins are the same; younger brother and younger paternal parallel male cousins are the same; one term for cross male cousin; one term for maternal cross female cousins; and one term for maternal parallel younger cousins regardless of sex. (The data allows for some fuzziness in the distinctions as indicated by the alternate forms for younger cousins.) A reversal occurs for fs.



A ↔ eparSib, B_1 ↔ crsSib (ms), B_2 ↔ crsSib (fs),
 C ↔ yparSib, D_1 ↔ crsCsn ss (ms), D_2 ↔ crsCsn ss (fs),
 E ↔ matcrsCsn os, F ↔ yparCsn.

Chart 4 gives the specific term for each cousin and sibling kin for each of these languages. Whereas the above six classificatory types of cousin-sibling terminology and the languages in which they occur are listed in an order of approximate increasing complexity, the languages are listed in the Chart in an order to permit optimal recognition of cognate forms. The languages thus grouped place Chrau (South Bahnaric) adjacent to the group of North Bahnaric languages (Jeh through Halang), which is adjacent to Bahnar (Central Bahnaric), adjacent to the Austronesian languages (Rade through Chru), adjacent to Vietnamese, adjacent to the Katuic languages (Bru and Pacoh). Without any shared cognates with the above languages, the two Tai languages, Nung and Black Tai, occur adjacent to each other at the bottom.

Terminological comparison of sibling and cousin terms shows the following:

(a) Hre and Rengao, both North Bahnaric, share the form daq 'eSib'.

(b) Cua ay, Western Cham ai, Eastern Cham sơ-ai 'eSib', Chru sơ-ai, Vietnamese anh, and Bru ai and possibly Pacoh achai 'eBr' are related. With a scattering through Bahnaric, Katuic, Austronesian, and including Vietnamese, the source is indiscernible. Cf. also Black Tai ái 'Fa' (Section 2.1).

	siblings † cousins			cousins		
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Chrau	pôp		õh			
Jeh	meě		oh			
Hre	daq		oh			
Rengao	dă		oh			
Cua	ay		oh			
Sedang	ngoh	na	o			
Halang	'nhõng	nau	oh			
Bahnar	'nhõng	mómay	oh			
Rade	ayõng	amai	adei	damknai	juktô	
WCham	ai		day	samuk		
ECham	sở-ai		atày	thàmuk		
Chru	sở-ai	gõũ kỏmỏi (ms) gõũ lỏkỏi (fs)	addi	prui		
VNese	anh	chị	em			
Bru	ai	õi	a-ẽm			
Pacoh	achai	amoq(ms) amiang(fs)	a-em	alên, carlai(ms) a-õm(fs)	alep,	amon
Nung	pị(bạo)	pị(sláo)	nõng (khù/nạ)			
BTai	'pi		'nọng	lan		
English	brother	sister		cousin		

Chart 4 Sibling and cousin terminology
(Note: lettered columns correspond to letter designations of kin in the charts of the text.)

(c) Bahnar nhǒng, Halang nhǒng 'eBr' are borrowed from Austronesian; cf. Rade ayǒng 'eBr'. The term has further inroads in Bahnaric: Sedang pǒnhǒng 'FaeBr', mǒnhǒng 'MoeSi'; possibly also related: Rengao yǎng, Sedang xǎng 'MoySi', Chrau yǒng 'PaySi' (Section 2.1).

(d) Sedang na, Halang nau 'eSi' are related; perhaps more distantly also Sedang nôu 'Mo' and Bahnar nǎ 'PaeSi' (Section 2.1).

(e) Bahnar mǒmay 'eSi' is borrowed from Austronesian; cf. Rade amai, Chru gǒu kǒmǒi 'eSi(ms)'; the North Bahnaric mai 'BrWi' may come from the same source (Section 3.2).

(f) Nung has two eSib terms with modifiers corresponding to Black Tai pi 'eSib'.

(g) All Bahnaric languages--howbeit no*others--have oh 'ySib'.

(h) All Chamic languages--howbeit no others--have forms like day 'ySib'.

(i) Bru a-ěm, Pacoh a-em 'ySib' are borrowed from Vietnamese em 'ySib'.

(j) Nung and Black Tai have obvious similarities except Nung lán 'gdPhc' is not extended to cousins as Black Tai lan.

(k) Western Cham samuk and Eastern Cham thàmuk 'Csn' are related to Chamic miak 'PaySib' (Section 2.1(h)).

(l) Chru prui 'crsCsn ss' is borrowed from the areawide prui 'ChSpPa' (Section 4.3).

(m) Kǒho shares the Bahnar A, B, C type classification bi, ruh, oh.

(n) Pacoh amiang 'Br(fs), etc.' is same as 'ChSpFa(fs)' (Section 4.3).

(o) Pacoh aléh 'PacrsSibSn(ms)' is same as 'SiHu(ms)' (Section 3.2), 'WiBr(ms)' (Section 3.3), and 'ChSpFa(ms)' (Section 4.3).

(p) Pacoh a-ǒm 'PacrsSibDa(fs)' is same as 'BrWi(fs)' (Section 3.2), 'HuSi(fs)' (Section 3.3), and 'ChSpMo(fs)' (Section 4.3).

(q) Pacoh alep 'MoBrDa(ms)' is same as 'eBrWi(ms), SiHu(fs)' (Section 3.2), and 'WiSi(ms), HuyBr(fs)' (Section 3.3); cf. Bru alêp 'WiySi'.

(r) Pacoh amon 'ymatparCsn' is same as 'Npc'.

To summarize sibling classification and to provide a basis for the discussion of the next subsection, the four siblings in order (eBr, eSi, yBr, ySi) are shown in Chart 5 (English would be ABAB).

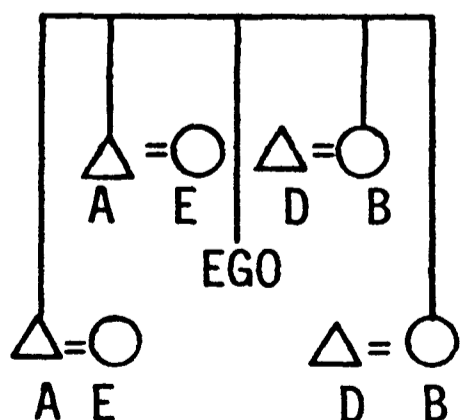
Classi- fication	Austroasiatic				Austro- nesian	Tai
	Vietna- muong	North Bahnaric	Central & South Bahnaric	Katuic		
AACC		Jeh, Hre Rengao, Cua	Chrau		WCham ECham	Nung ₁ , BTai
ABCC	VNese	Halang, Sedang	Bahnar	Bru ₁	Rade	Nung ₂
ABCD				Bru ₂		Nung ₃
ABCB(ms) BABC(fs)				Pacoh	Chru	

Chart 5 Sibling classification (eBr, eSi, yBr, ySi)

3.2 Classification by sibling's spouse terminology

Frequently omitted from kinship discussion is the terminology of related spouses; specifically, for this section, siblings' spouse. Again, variation in terminological systems is the rule.

If English has a sibling terminology pattern of ABAB (Section 3.1, Chart 5), siblings' spouses are D and E--distinct, sex discriminated but not age-graded. Thus:

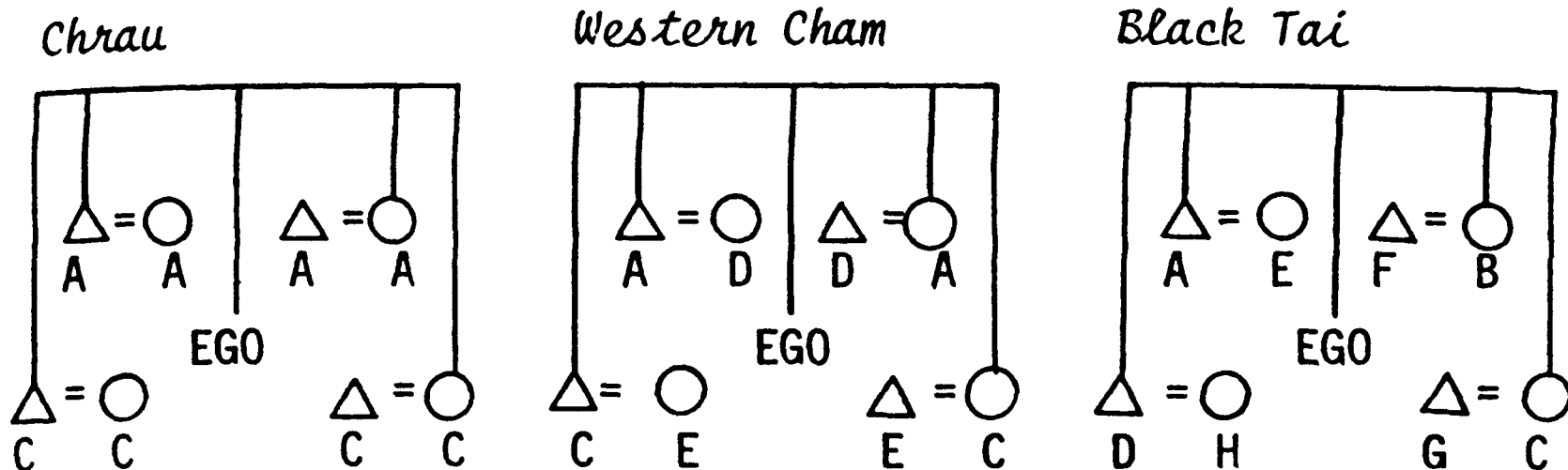


$A \leftrightarrow Br$, $B \leftrightarrow Si$, $D \leftrightarrow BrLw$, $E \leftrightarrow SiLw$

The various types are grouped here by sibling patterns of AACC, ABCC, ABCB, and ABCD (Nung with all modifiers).

(1) Spouses of siblings AACCC

(a) Chrau--Western Cham--Eastern Cham--Black Tai



SibSp is same as Sib, without sex discrimination

A ↔ eSib, C ↔ ySib.

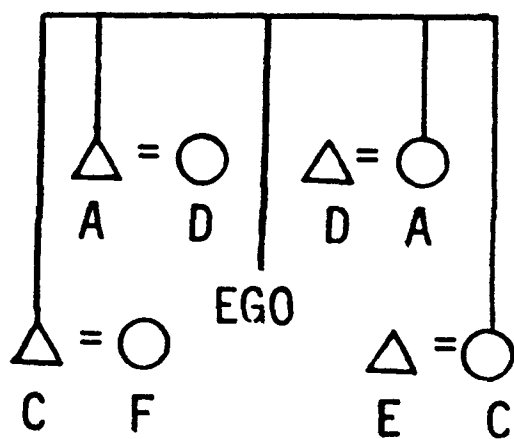
Chrau and Western Cham with modifiers adopt the following scheme:

A ↔ eSib, C ↔ ySib, D (A-M₁) ↔ eSibSp, E (C-M₂) ↔ ySibSp.

Black Tai with modifiers adopts the following scheme:

A (A-M₁) ↔ eBr, B (A-M₂) ↔ eSi, C (C-M₂) ↔ ySi,
 D (C-M₁) ↔ yBr, E (A-M₃) ↔ eBrSp, F (A-M₄) ↔ eSiSp,
 G (C-M₄) ↔ ySiSp, H (C-M₃) ↔ yBrSp.

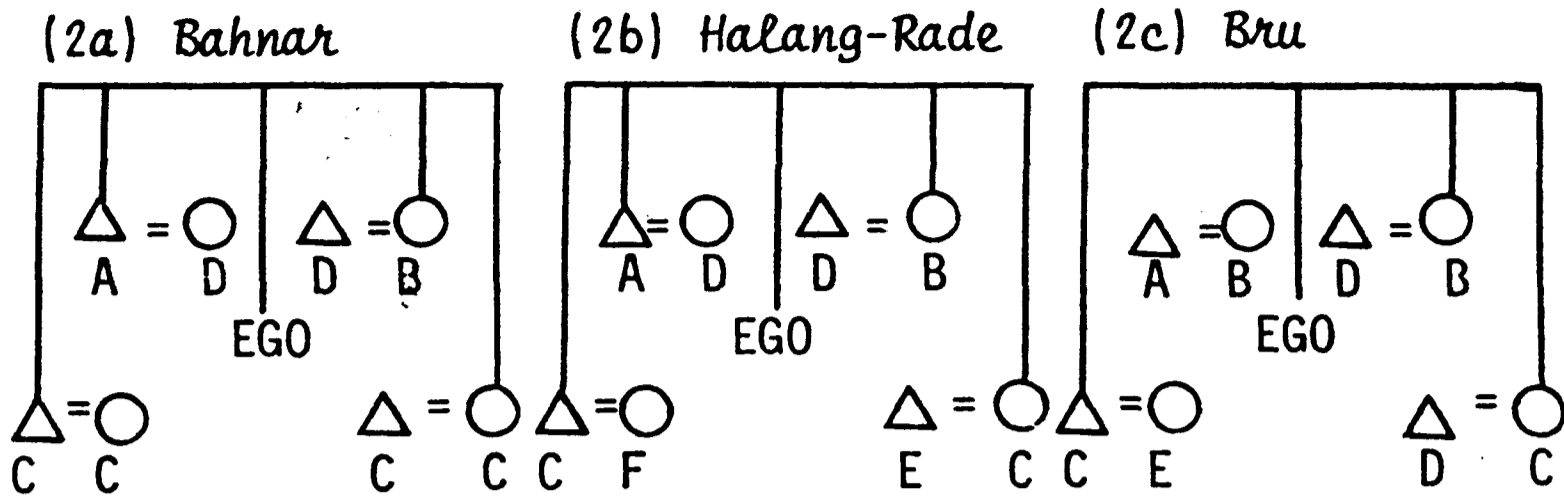
(b) Jeh--Hre--Rengao--Cua



Distinct terms, no sex discrimination of eSibSp

A ↔ eSib, C ↔ ySib, D ↔ SibLw, E ↔ BrLw, F ↔ SiLw.

(2) Spouses of siblings ABCC



(a) Bahnar

Distinct terms for eSibSp though without sex differentiation, ySibSp same as ySib

$A \leftrightarrow Br$, $B \leftrightarrow Si$, $C \leftrightarrow Sib$, $D \leftrightarrow SibLw$.

(b) Halang--Rade

Same spouse pattern as Jeh--Hre--Rengao--Cua above; terms E and F are compounds Hu/Wi plus ySib

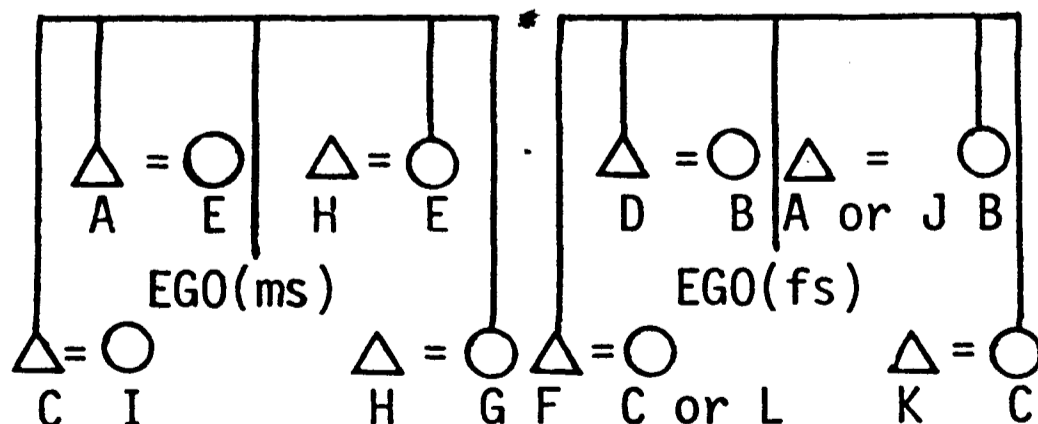
$A \leftrightarrow Br$, $B \leftrightarrow Si$, $C \leftrightarrow Sib$, $D \leftrightarrow SibLw$, $E (Hu-C) \leftrightarrow BrLw$,
 $F (Wi-C) \leftrightarrow SiLw$.

(c) Bru

Distinct spouse terms, but no age-grading of SiSp

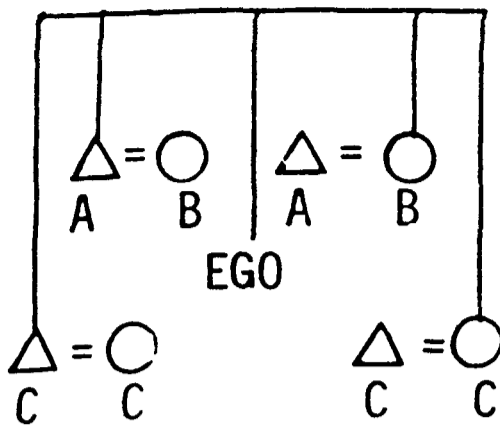
$A \leftrightarrow Br$, $B \leftrightarrow Si$, $C \leftrightarrow Sib$, $D \leftrightarrow BrLw$, $E \leftrightarrow SiLw$.

In the foregoing section it was shown that with modifiers Bru sibling classification would be the ABCD type; corresponding sibling's spouse terminology make most distinctions as shown in the following chart.

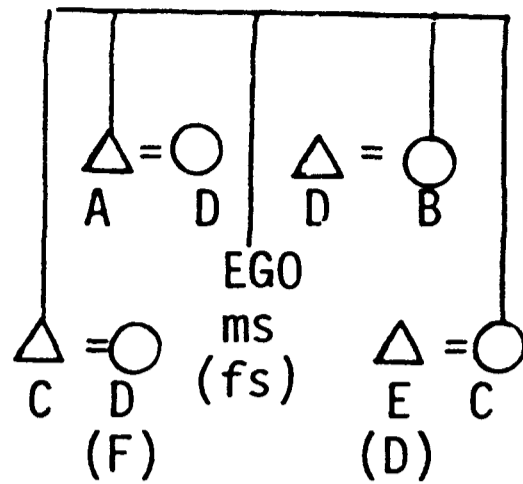


$A \leftrightarrow ai$, $B \leftrightarrow \tilde{o}i$, $C \leftrightarrow a-\tilde{e}m$, $D \leftrightarrow A-amiang$, $E \leftrightarrow B-amuaq$,
 $F \leftrightarrow C-amiang$, $G \leftrightarrow C-amuaq$, $H \leftrightarrow mahai$, $I \leftrightarrow cum\hat{a}n amooq$,
 $J \leftrightarrow sai$, $al\hat{e}p$, $K \leftrightarrow aplai (s\tilde{e}m)$, $L \leftrightarrow ra-\tilde{o}p$.

(2d) Vietnamese



(2e) Sedang



(d) Vietnamese

eSib term for eSibSp, retaining sex discrimination;
ySib term for ySibSp without sex discrimination. Modifiers may be used to distinguish siblings' spouses from siblings as shown in parentheses.

A ↔ Br anh (rê), B ↔ Si chị (dâu), C ↔ Sib em (rê/dâu).

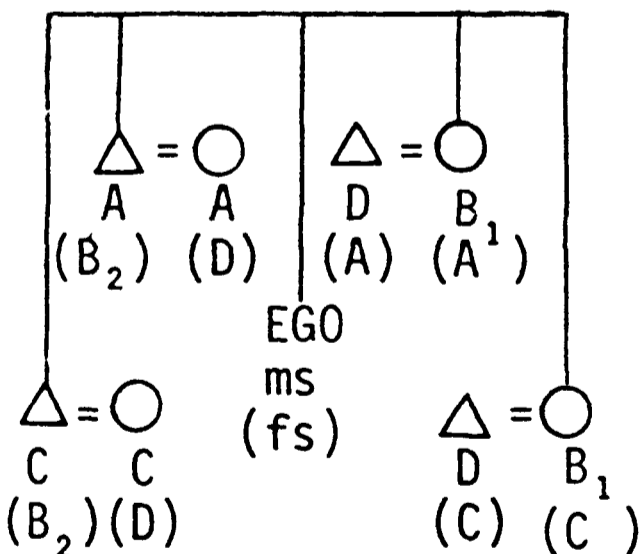
(e) Sedang

Two distinct spouse terms, with only ySiSp (ms) being unique; if fs only yBrSp is unique.

A ↔ Br, B ↔ Si, C ↔ Sib, D ↔ SibLw, E ↔ BrLw (ms),
F ↔ SiLw (fs).

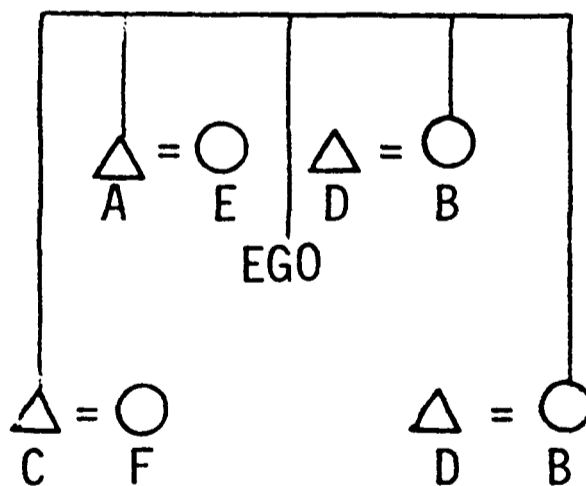
(3) Spouses of siblings ABCB

(3a) Chru



(a) Chru

(3b) Pacoh



For ms sibling terms used for BrSp and the cross cousin--same sex term for SiSp; a reversal occurs for fs.

A ↔ eparSib, B ↔ crsSib, C ↔ yparSib, D ↔ Csn.

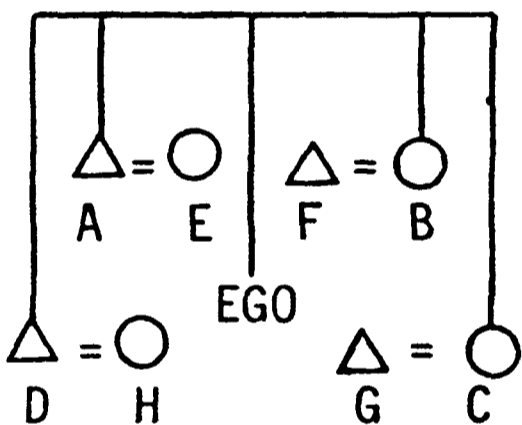
(b) Pacoh

Distinct term for spouses of each distinguished sibling with age-grading following same pattern as with siblings

$A \leftrightarrow eBr$, $B \leftrightarrow Si$, $C \leftrightarrow yBr$, $D \leftrightarrow mCsn$, $E \leftrightarrow eCsn$, $F \leftrightarrow yCsn$.

(4) Spouses of ABCD: Nung

In the context of SpSib, all modifiers should be used for Nung sibling terminology so the pattern ABCD is used rather than AACC or ABCC as presented in the foregoing section. All spouses are distinct.



A (A-M₁) $\leftrightarrow eBr$, B (A-M₂) $\leftrightarrow eSi$, C (C-M₃) $\leftrightarrow ySi$,
 D (C-M₄) $\leftrightarrow yBr$, E (A-M₅) $\leftrightarrow eBrSp$, F (A-M₆) $\leftrightarrow eSiSp$,
 G (C-M₆) $\leftrightarrow ySiSp$, H (M₃ -M₇) $\leftrightarrow yBrSp$.

Chart 6 gives the specific terms for each SibSp kin in these languages, repeating the sibling terminology of Chart 4. Three Bahnaric terms are evident from these data:

(1) Rengao, Bahnar, Jeh, Hre, Halang mi, mì 'eSibLw', Sedang mai (by normal sound shifts and not to be confused with, for example, Jeh mai--see below) 'eSibLw, BrS (ms), SiSp (fs)'.

(2) Cua ok, Jeh, Hre, Sedang, Halang õng 'ySiSp'; for Sedang Ego must be male (the data do not indicate whether this is necessary or not for the other languages though this writer strongly suspects it is so); this term is also used for daughter-in-law (see Section 4.2); this term may be from Austronesian (cf. Rade ung 'Wi' (see Section 4.1); cf. Hre ong 'Hu'; Cua ok

Siblings + spouses			Spouses		
A	B	C	D	E	F
Chrau	póp	Ồh	póp po	Ồh asai	
Cua	ay	oh	neu	ok	amúy
Bahnar	'nhóng	oh			
Rengao	đã	oh	mì	nhô	dut
Jeh	meế	oh	mì	ong	mai
Hre	đaq	oh	mì	ong	mai
Sedang	ngoh	o	mai	ong (ms)	me (fs)
Halang	'nhóng	oh	mì	ong	mai
Rade	ayông	adei	iê	ung adei	mô adei
WCham	ai	day	ai sang	day sang	
ECham	sa-ai	tày	ai thang	atày thang	
Chru	só-ai	addi	prui		
VNese	anh	em			
Bru	ai	a-êm	mahai	cumân amooq	
Pacoh	achai	a-em	alêh	alep	tamai
Nung	pị bạo	C nōng nạ	E pị nang	F pị khủi	G nōng khủi
BTai	'pi 'chái	D nōng khù	E 'pi 'paủ	* F 'pi khủi	H nạ lu
English	brother	C 'nong 'nhính	brother-in-law		G 'nong khủi
	sister	D 'nong 'paủ			H 'nong 'paủ

Chart 6: Sibling and sibling's spouse terminology
 (Asterisks on right half of chart identify noncontiguous boxes with cognate forms;
 lettered columns correspond to letter designations of kin in the charts of the text.)

is cognate in that Proto Bahnaric final nasals become voiceless stops in Cua.

(3) Cua amúdy, Jeh, Hre, Halang mai, Sedang mé (by normal sound shifts) 'yBrSp'; for Sedang Ego must be female; this term is also used for son-in-law (see Section 4.2); cf. Hre mai 'Wi'.

Additionally also note:

(4) Rengao nhô 'ySiHu' is same as MoyBr (see Section 2.1).

(5) Rengao dut 'yBrWi' is same as FaySi (see Section 2.1).

(6) Pacoh SiHu is same as WiBr is same as mcrsCsn aléh.

(7) Pacoh eBrWi is same as WiSi is same as HuyBr is same as fcrsCsn alep.

3.3 Classification by spouse's sibling and spouse's sibling's spouse terminology

Terminology for spouse's siblings and spouse's sibling's spouses arises variously from the terminology used for parent's siblings, siblings, sibling's spouse, as well as special nomenclature. Most North Bahnaric languages (but no other languages) use, at least in part, parent's sibling terminology; these will be discussed first. Then follow those which use only sibling and/or sibling's spouse terms, which includes the other Bahnaric languages (except only Halang which has no specific terms for these), Vietnamese, and Western Cham. Lastly the Katuic, other Chamic, and Tai languages which use some distinct terms are presented.

- | | |
|------------|---|
| (1) Jeh: | SpeSib - SpeSibSp - PaeSib - PaeSibSp <u>mih</u>
SpySib - ySib <u>oh</u>
SpySibSp - ySibSp <u>õng/mai</u> |
| (2) Rengao | SpeSib - PaeSib <u>mih</u>
SpySib - ySib <u>oh</u>
SpSibSp <u>gop</u> ' ? ' |
| (3) Sedang | SpecrsSib - PaecrsSib <u>meh</u>
SpeparSib - SpySib - SibSp <u>mai</u>
SpSibSp <u>ngoh, na, o</u> (sibling terms) |
| (4) Hre | SpeSib - PaeSib <u>mih</u>
SpySib - eSibSp <u>mì</u>
SpSibSp <u>tómay</u> 'outsider' |
| (5) Bahnar | SpeSib - eSibSp <u>mì</u>
SpySib - ySib - ySibSp <u>oh</u>
SpSibSp <u>'nhõng, mómay, oh</u> (sibling terms) |
| (6) Cua | SpeSib - SpeSibSp - eSibSp <u>neu</u>
SpySib - SpySibSp - ySibSp <u>ok/amúdy</u> |

- (7) Chrau SpSib - SpSibSp - SibSp pôp po/õh asai
(sibling terms plus modifiers)
- (8) Western Cham SpSib - SibSp ai/day sang
SpSibSp - Sib ai/day
- (9) Eastern Cham eSibSp - SpeSib ai thang
SpySib - ySibSp atây thang
- (10) Halang SpSib kôdra 'in-laws'
SpSibSp braih bân
- (11) Vietnamese SpSib - Sib (with optional following modifier nhac) - SpSibSp - SibSp anh/chi/em rê
/em dâu
- (12) Chru SpcrsSib - SiHu (ms) - BrWi (fs) prui
SpparSib - SpparSibSp - parSib (from Sp's sex orientation) sơ-ai/ađoi
SpcrsSibSp - crsSib (from Sp's sex orientation) gõu kômỏi/lỏkỏi
- (13) Rade WiBr damdei
other SpSib terms are literal compounds eBr/
eSi plus Hu/Wi
WiSiSp reh tô; cf. Rade juk tô 'fmatcrsCsn'
other SpSibSp - Sib ayõng/amai/adei
- (14) Bru WiBr - SiBr mahái
WieSi plâi sai
HueBr lỏi bac
HueSi - Si đi
WiySi alêp; cf. Pacoh alep 'matcrsfCsn'
HuyBr ralõh
HuySi lõh
SpcrsSibSp plâi yaih
SpparSibSp - Sib ai/õi/a-ẽm, but additionally
WiparSibSp mpual
- (15) Pacoh WiBr - mcrsCsn - SiHu alén
WiSi - HuyBr - fcrsCsn - eBrWi alep
HueBr - MoBr anhị
HuSi a-õm
WiBrWi - yBrWi - SnWi tarmai
HuSiHu - DaHu tarmõt
SpparSibSp - Sib achai/amoq/a-em
- (16) Nung WiSib, WiSibSp, HueBr, HueBrWi, and HuSiHu:
Ego uses spouse's sibling terminology for these alters
HueSi sláo pô
HuySi nõng a
HuyBrWi a lu

- (17) Black Tai --without modifiers SpSib are as Sib; else:
- SpeBr - SpeSiHu 'pi 'lúng
 SpySi - SpeBrWi 'pi pá
 WiySib 'nong 'na
 HuyBr 'nong ao
 HuySi 'nong a
- without modifiers SpeSibSp and HuyBrWi are as
 as Sib; else:
- WiyBrWi - MoyBrWi 'na 'paú
 WiySiHu - MoySiHu 'na khúoi
 HuyBrWi 'nong 'lúa
 HuySiHu - FaySiHu ao khúoi

4. Mate and inlaw

This section groups together presentation of terminology used for spouse (4.1), spouse's parents and the reciprocal child's spouse (4.2), and the mutually reciprocal child's spouse's parents (4.3).

4.1 Spouse

Chart 7 lists the husband-wife terminology used in thirty-two languages. Most Bahnaric languages use male/female terminology for husband/wife. The only exception is Hre (terms correspond to ySibSp; ong 'Hu' parallels three Chamic languages, like neighboring Haroi ông 'Hu'). Rengao kódrăng 'Hu' seems unlike most other Bahnaric forms until compared with Bahnar drănglo 'male' which ties Rengao kódrăng 'Hu' to Bahnar klo 'Hu'. Bahnar akăn 'Wi' seems unrelated to the other North Bahnaric forms like kadri 'Wi', unless the initial syllable of Bahnar drăkan 'f' betrays the source of the latter through metathesis. Katua, Sedang, and Cua kanou are related to klou through (inexplicably) nominal infixation: kl-ón-ou becomes kónou with typical reduction of the consonant cluster in the presyllable. Chart 8 shows the typical predominant forms for the various language groups.

4.2 Spouse's parents and child's spouse

Chart 9 lists spouse's parents and child's spouse terminology.

Spouse's parents terminology is unique within the kinship system only in Bahnar, Sedang, Bru (?), and the Chamic languages Rade, Western Cham, and Eastern Cham. Cross uncle and cross aunt terminology is used in Chru and Pacoh. In all other languages parent or grandparent terminology is used, sometimes with a modifier.

	Hu	Wi	Comments
Hre	ong *	mai	cf. ySibSp and ChSp in most other North Bahnaric languages
Katua	kónqu	kóji **	m/f
Sedang	kónôu	kódrai	m/f
Cua	kanau	kadri	m/f
Rengao	kódrăng	kódrì	m/f
Halang	kólô, bónklô	bündray, móndray	m/f
Jeh	klou	dri, tri	cf. lou-lou/dridri 'm/f'
Bahnar	klo	akăn	cf. drănglo/drăkan 'm/f'
Chrau	siklô	si-ur	cf. klô/ur 'm/f'
Kóho	bao klau	bao ur	
Chil	bô klo	bo ur	cf. cro [*] klo/ur 'm/f'
Lach	bô klô	bô ur	cf. čô klô/ur 'm/f'
Srê	bau klou	bau ùr	cf. klou/ùr 'm/f'
MnongRôlam	sai	ur	cf. tlô thau/u-ur 'm/f'
CentralMnong	say	ur	cf. bu klôw/bu ur 'm/f'
Stieng	sai-lau	sai ur	cf. clau/dô-ur 'm/f'
Bru	cayac	lacuoi	
Pacoh	cayâq	campay	
Katu	kayiik	kadiêl **	cf. padruuih/padiil 'm/f'
NRôglai	pisac	sidiuq	
Chru	pôsàng	sódiũ	
WCham	pasang	diuk	
ECham	pathang	hatiup	
Haroi	ông *	athiuq	
SRôglai	oq	muq	
Rade	ung	mô ^x	
Jarai	rókoi	bónai	m/f
VNese	chông	vô	
Nung	pô, khôi	mê (lu)	
BTai	phua	'mía	
WTai	phô	mê	
Tho	p'ô	mê	
English	husband	wife	

Chart 7 Husband--wife terminology

	Hu	Wi
Hre	ong	mai
North Bahnaric	klou	kódrì
South Bahnaric		sai
Katuic	cayac	∅
Chamic	pasang	sidiuq
	ông	
Jarai	rỏkỏi	bónai
Vietnamese	chông	vợ
Tai	phô	mê

Chart 8 Typical predominant husband--wife forms.

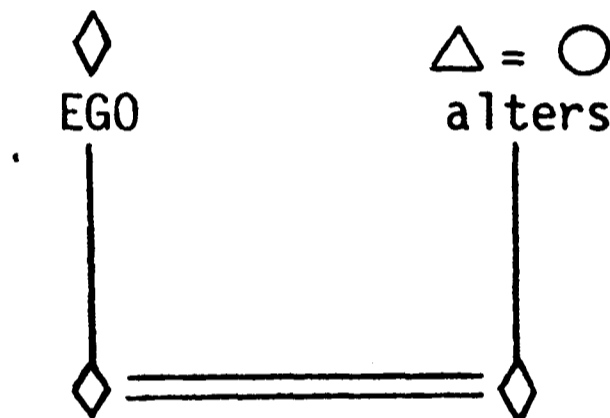
	Spouse's parents	Comment	Child's spouse	Comment
Bahnar	tóněi=tóněi		ống/mỗ, mai	
Sedang	va=sa		ống/mế	yCrSibSp
Jeh	boõ=yã	gdPa	ống/mai	ySibSp
Hre	boac=yag	gdPa	ong/mai	ySibSp
Rengao	bô=yã	gdPa	ống/mai	
Halang	bã=mĩ kớdra	gdPa M	ống/mai	ySibSp
Cua	kỏy=amooq	gdPa	ok/amúy	ySibSp
Chrau	vap po=mế po	Pa M	sau/sau	
Bru	yacun=yacan		partiam/cumân	
Chru	miã=tómhã	crSUn/Au	mỏrtou/mỏrtou	
Rade	kmha=kmha (êkei/mniế)		mtáo/mtáo (êkei/mniế)	
WCham	mủ=mek tamaha		nủk matau (lakay/kamay)	
ECham	thuma (likay/kamay)		anủk mủtau (likay/kamay)	
VNese	ống=bà	gdPa	(con) rế/(con) dẫu	
Pacoh	anhi=ama	crSUn/Au	tarmỏt/tarmai	tarmai also yBrWi (ms)
Nung	có=mế	Pa		
BTai	ai ta='ếm 'nái (ms) ai pủ='ếm ú (fs)	Pa M	lủc khỏi/lủc lu, mế lu 'lủk khủđi/'lủk 'pủ	
English	father-in-law=mother-in-law		son-in-law/daughter-in-law	

Chart 9 "Spouse's parents and child's spouse terminology (comments refer to other meanings of the terms).

In other descending generation terminology (i.e. 'Ch', 'gdCh', 'Npc' and 'gdNpc') there is no sex discrimination in the basic terminology. More than half of the languages compared here, however, do distinguish between son-in-law and daughter-in-law. The ong/mai pair in Bahnaric is frequently also used for ySibSp (Section 3.2); note also Hre ong/mai 'Hu/Wi' (Section 4.1). Chrau sau is cognate with chau 'gdCh' as found in most other languages; cf. Chrau sinau 'gdCh' (Section 1.2). The Pacoh forms tarmöt/tarmai by metathesis could be from Chamic, as in Chru mörtou.

4.3 Child's spouse's parents

Without parallel in English, at least ten of these languages have specific terminology identifying child's spouse's parents. The term is self-reciprocal if it does not distinguish sex.



The forms for nine of these languages are cognate (Bahnar and Chrau less evidently so than the North Bahnaric and Chamic forms):

Chamic	Rade, WCham ECham	prui parui
North Bahnaric	Hre Rengao * Halang Sedang	proi rui ruy roi
Central Bahnaric	Bahnar ³	pō ^{x4}
South Bahnaric	Chrau	pi

Chru uses sibling and sibling's spouse terms for this relationship. Chru prui 'crsCsns' is obviously cognate with the above forms. Nung uses the special compounded terms ké sahn, da sahn. Jeh uses grandparent terms boō=yā. Pacoh uses three sibling or sibling's spouse terms and a fourth distinct term:

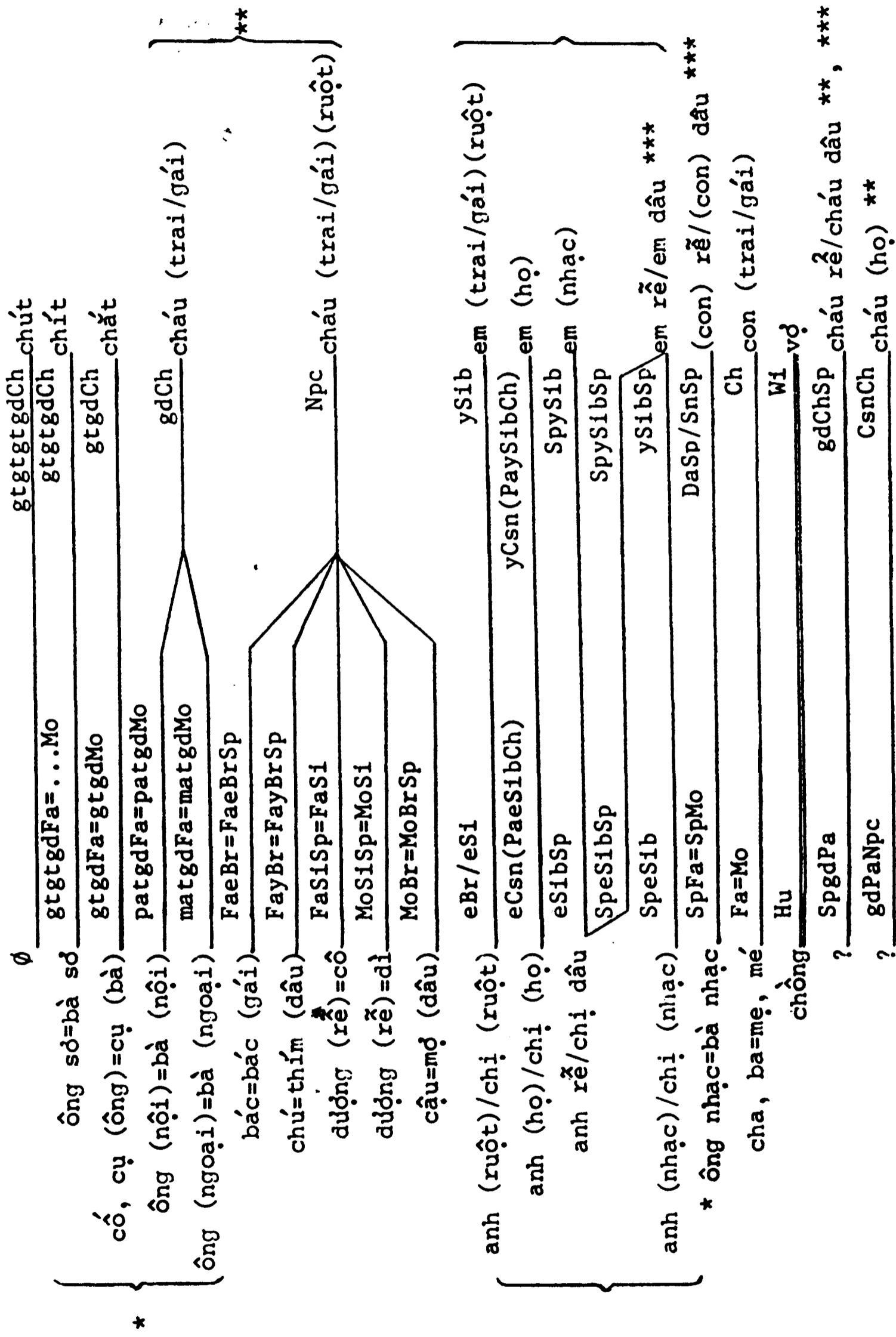
(ms) <u>alêh</u> (WiBr; ySiHu)	=	<u>tardyaih</u>
(fs) <u>amiang</u> (Br)	=	<u>a-ōm</u> (HuSi, BrWi)

Consequently alêh is self-reciprocal, men with men; a-ôm is self-reciprocal, women with women; and amiang is reciprocal with tardyaih, men with women. The last is one of three Pacoh terms with the presyllable tar-; each of these is an "in-law" term (tarmöt 'DaHu, HuSiHu', tarmai 'SnWi, WiBrWi, yBrWi (ms)').

APPENDIX : Reciprocal kinship terminology charts for 17 Vietnam languages

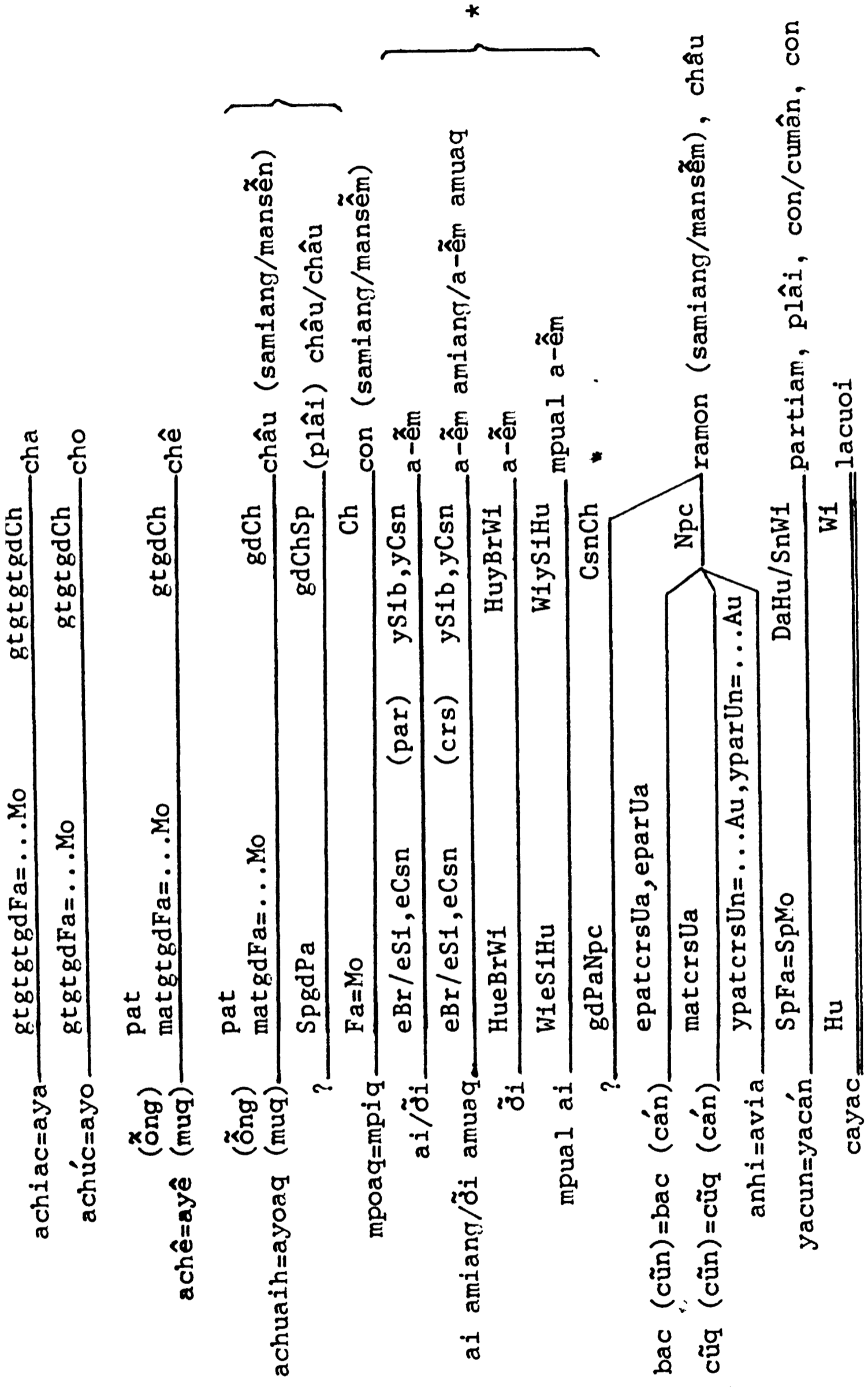
Each of the following charts is intended to portray the basic kinship system for the given language and includes all known reference kinship terminology of that language. The charting highlights reciprocal kinship terminology; that is, for example, if B calls A 'uncle' then A calls B 'nephew' or 'niece' depending upon the sex of B. Thus, in English, 'uncle=aunt' are the reciprocal of 'nephew/niece' and the two sets of terms would be connected by a horizontal line in the charting. Unlike English (which could be charted as having eight single-line reciprocal relations--without including the "great-" categories), some of the Vietnam languages have two or more reciprocal terms or sets of reciprocal terms for a given alter; for these two or more horizontal lines merge at the alter term used in common.

Brackets or asterisks identify a basic term repeated elsewhere with a modifier(s). A centered designation is equally applicable to both reciprocal terms or sets of terms (as PaSib-Ch for English 'cousin' is equally applicable for both Ego and alter).



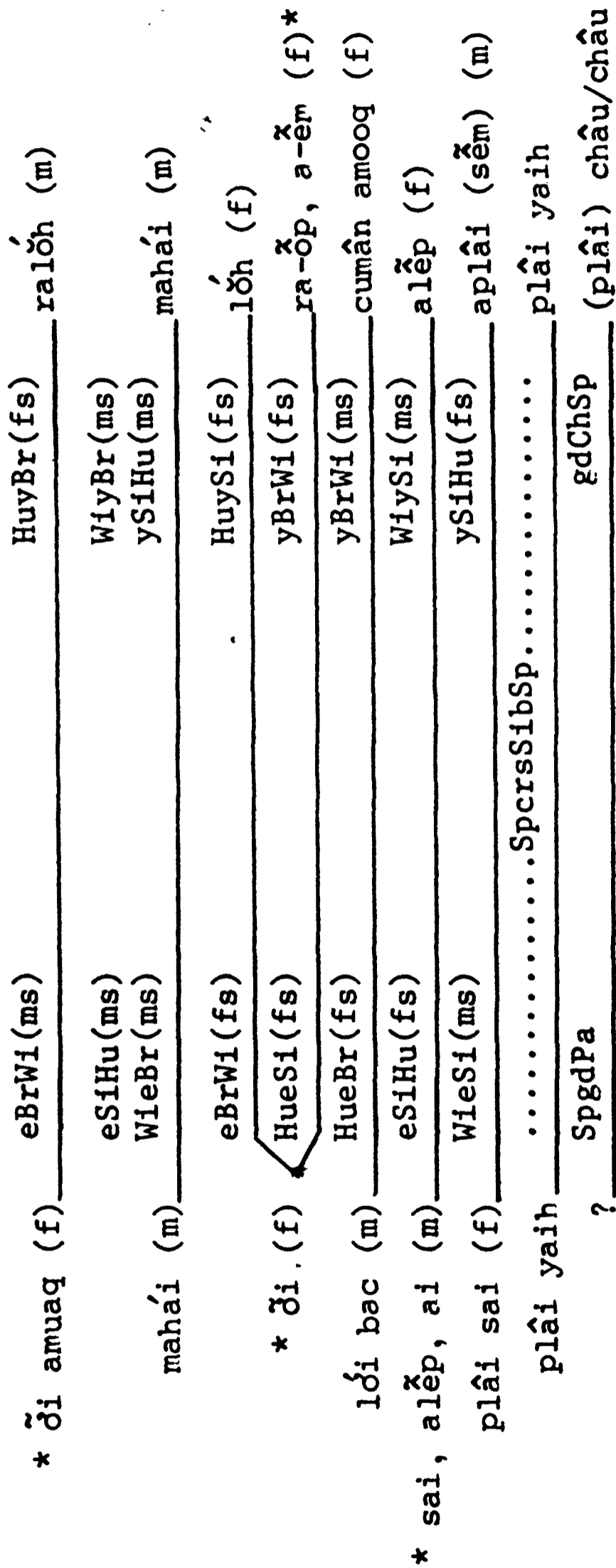
Note: cố pertains only to FaFaFa

Chart A.1. Reciprocal kinship relations in Vietnamese (Austroasiatic)



Cahrt A.2. Reciprocal kinship relations in Bru (Katuic, Mon-Khmer)

Chart A.2. (continued)



Note: 1) brother of ayoag ǒng or ayoag muq is called achuaih nô; his wife is ayoag nô.
 All other siblings of achuaih and ayoag are also called achuaih and ayoag

2) before marriage cũq (cũn) is known as cũq loh.

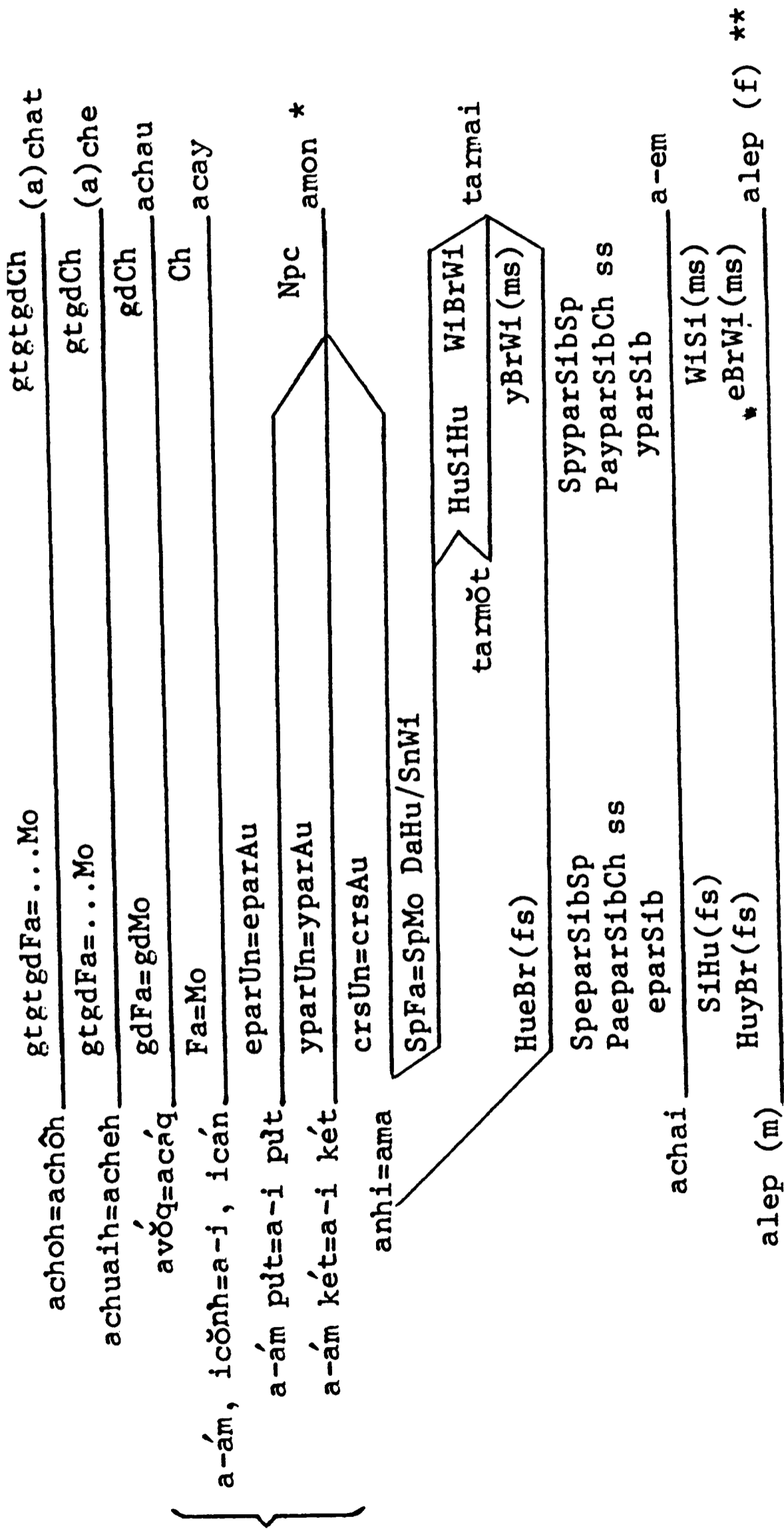
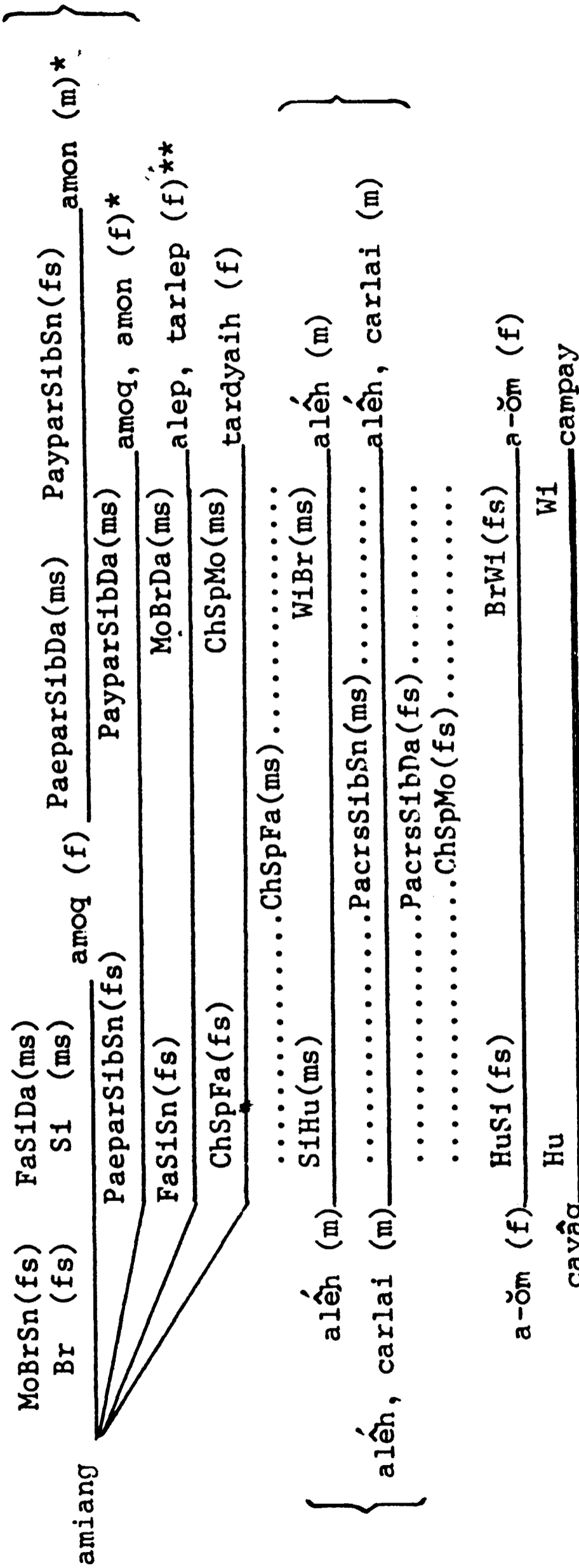


Chart A.3. Reciprocal kinship relations in Pacoh (Katuic, Mon-Khmer).

Chart A.3. (continued)



Notes: Differences of the Pahi dialect:

acheh=aye gtgtgdFa=...Mo
 acaq gtgdMo
 apây gdMo

Question: on cousins it is not clear whether age-grading is determined Ego vs. cousin, or parent vs. parent's sibling?? (cf. achai, a-em, amiang, etc.); there seems to be indistinctness with amon and amoq.

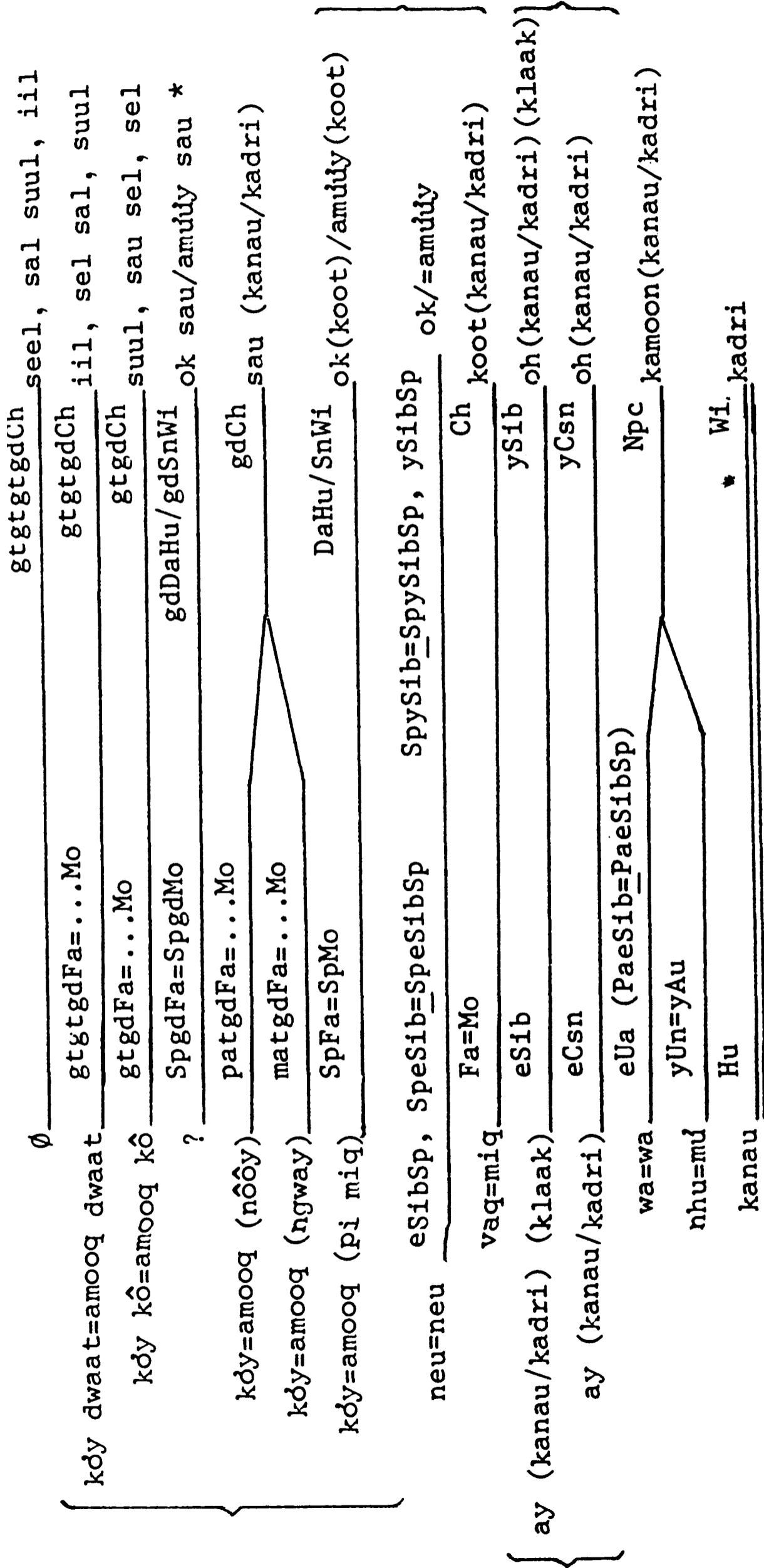
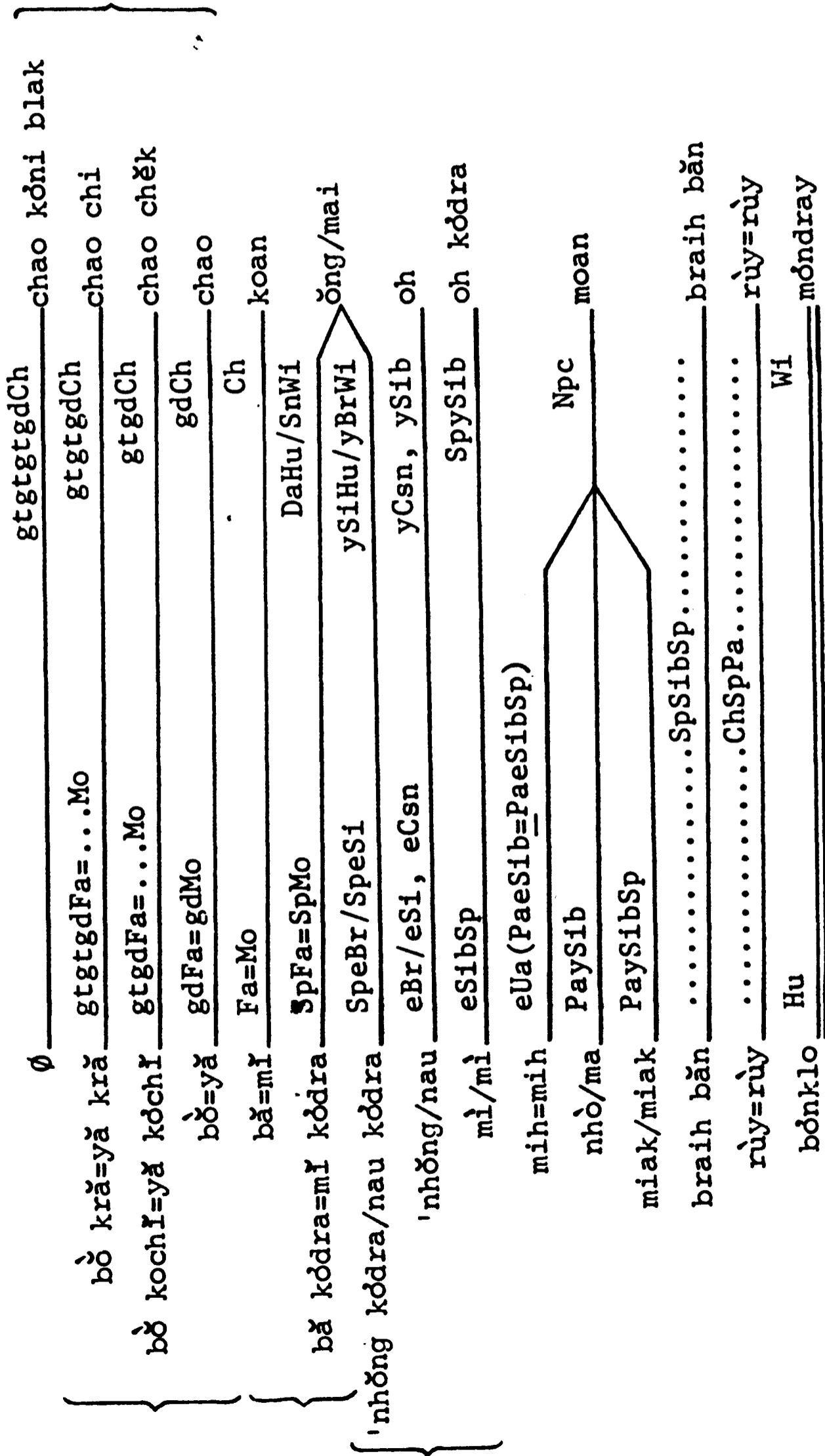


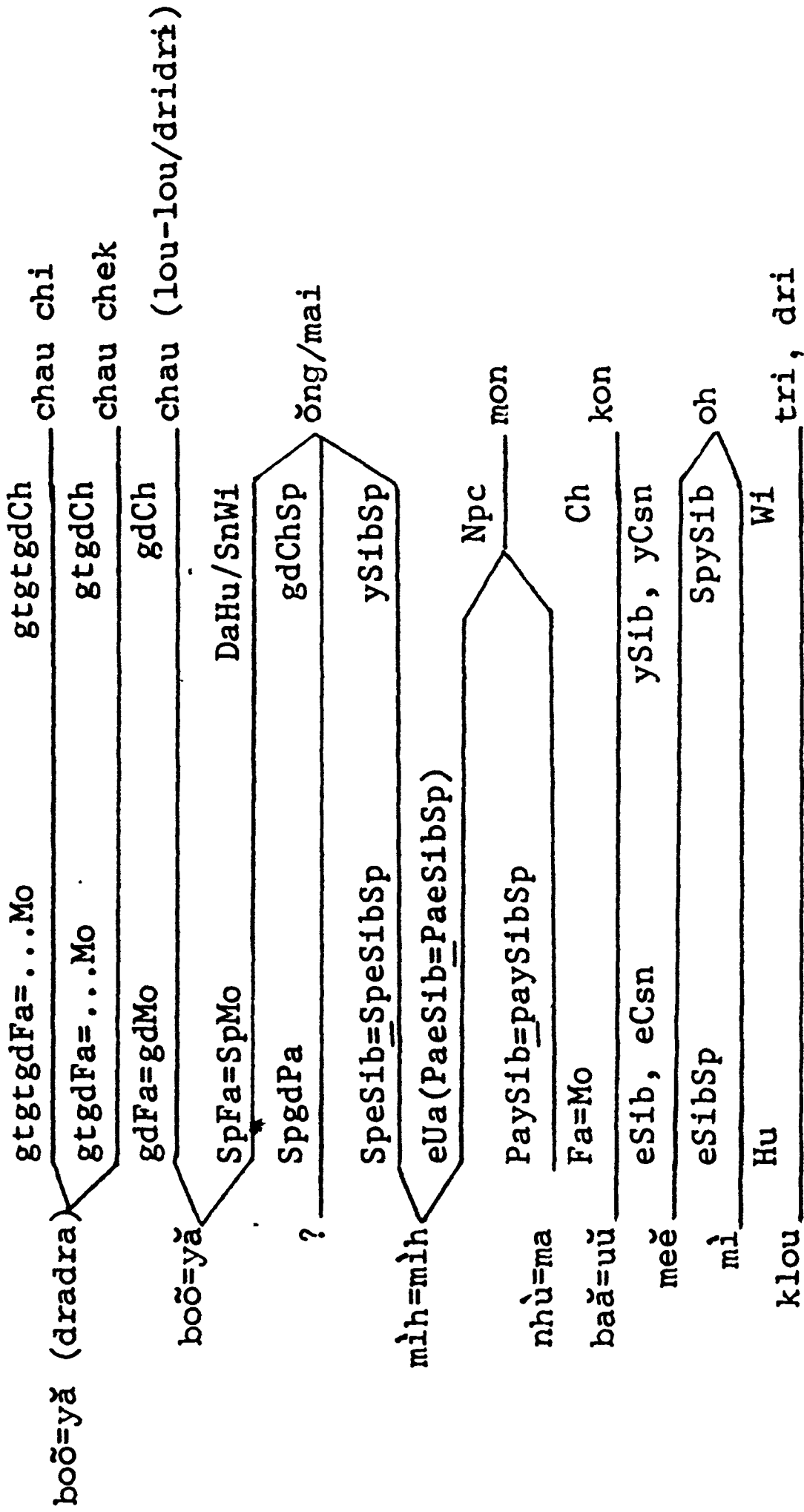
Chart A.4. Reciprocal kinship relations in Cua (East Bahnaric, Mon Khmer).

5. Reciprocal kinship relations in Halang (North Bahnaric, Mon-Khmer)

Halang

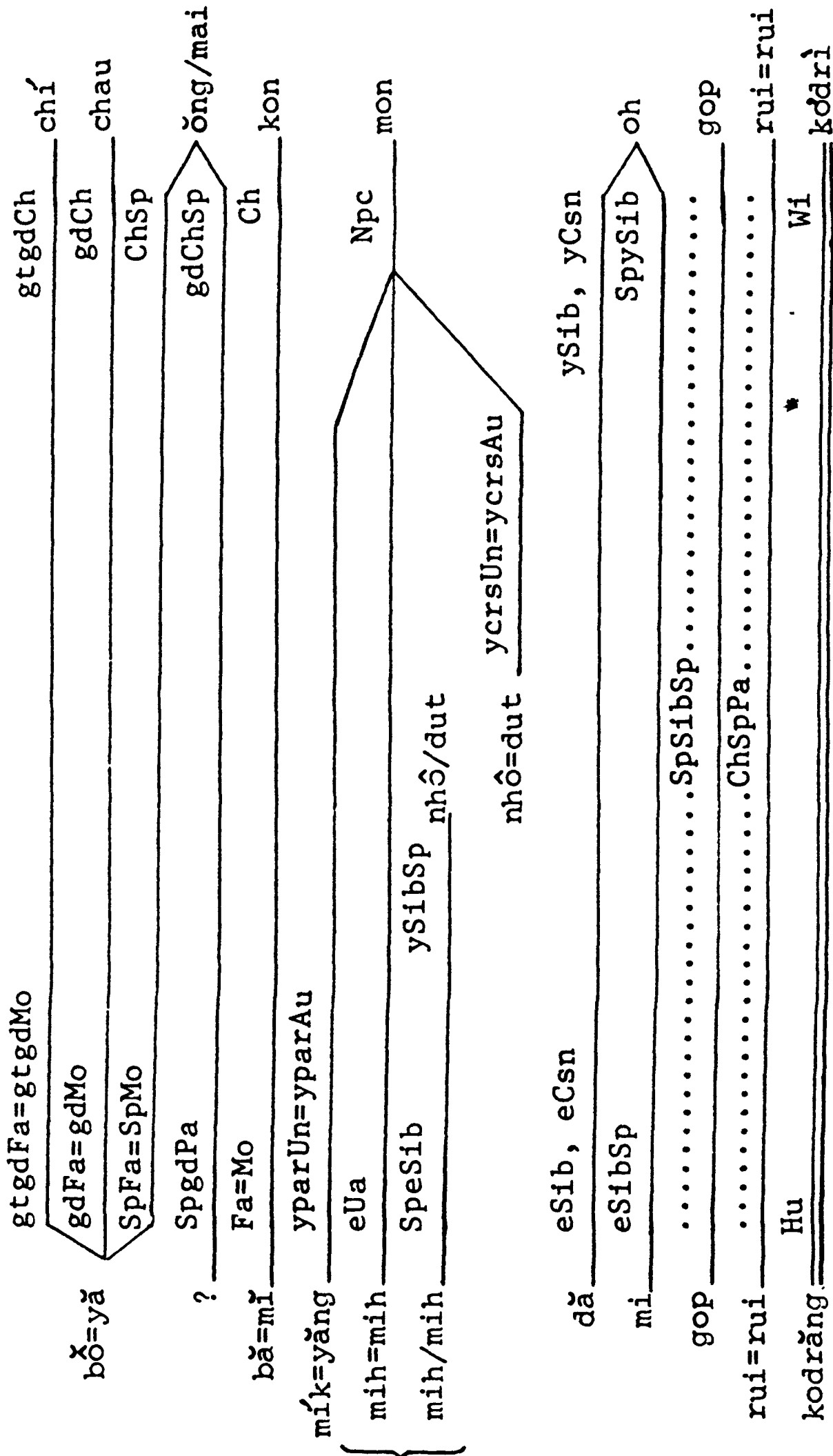


7. Reciprocal kinship relations in Jeh (North Bahnaric, Mon-Khmer)



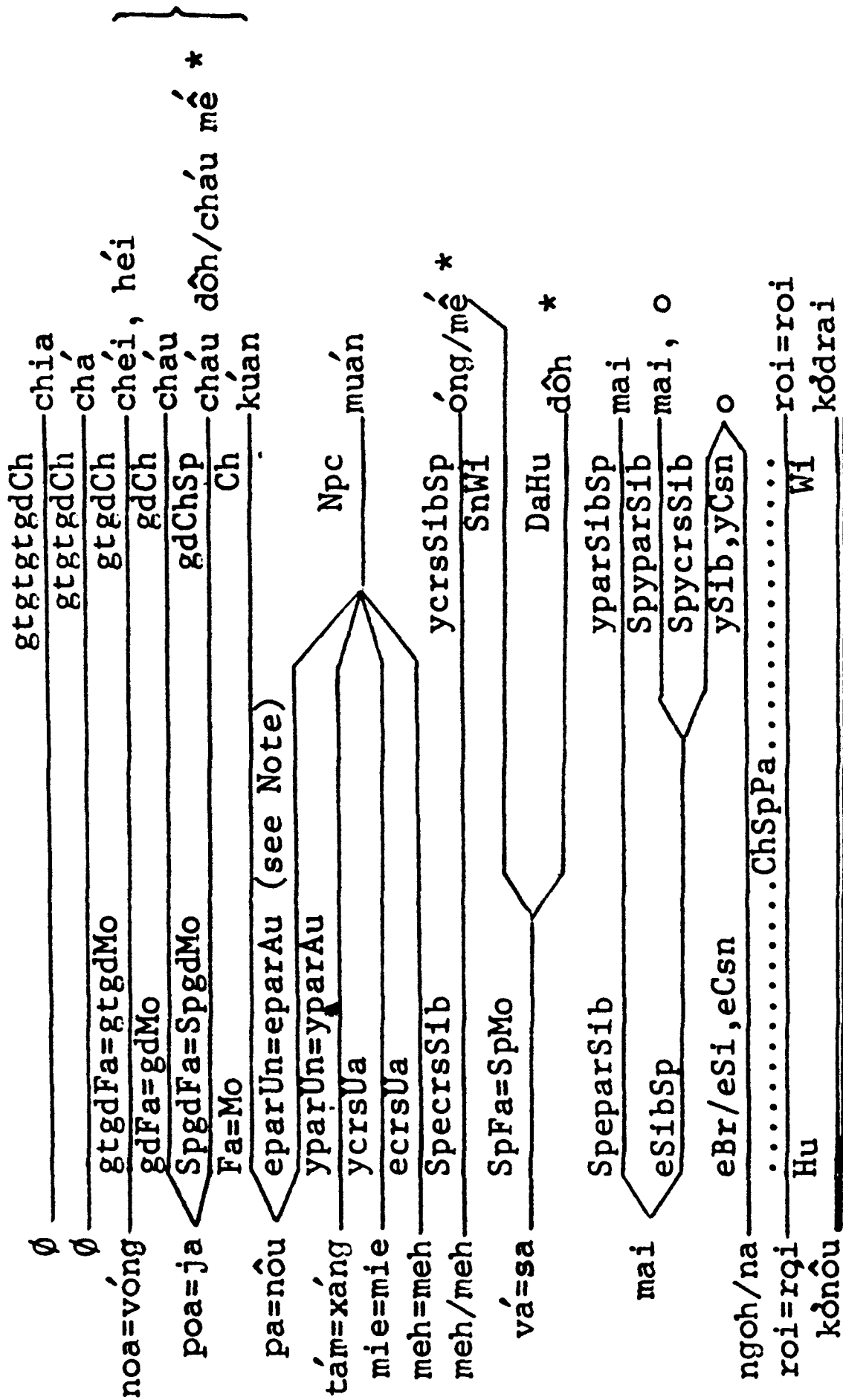
8. Reciprocal kinship relations in Rengao (North Bahnaric, Mon-Khmer)

Rengao



9. Reciprocal kinship relations in Sedang (North Bahnaric, Mon-Khmer)

Sedang



Note: In Kon Kôla Sedang: pôn'hóng=món'hóng 'eparUn=eparAu'.

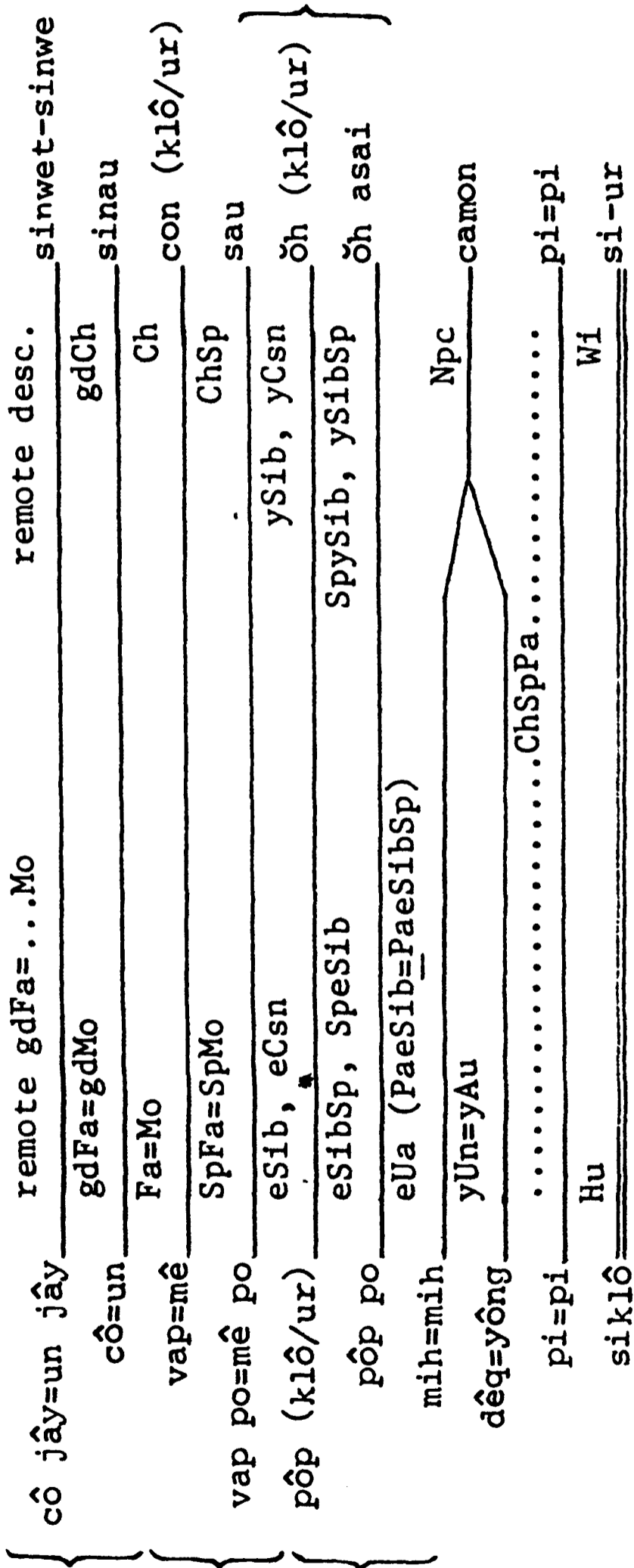
10. Reciprocal kinship relations in Bahnar (Central Bahnaric, Mon-Khmer)

Bahnar

'bok ach=yă ach	gtgtgdFa=gtgtgdMo	gtgtgdCh	sâu ach
'bok i=yă i	gtgdFa=gtgdMo	gtgdCh	sâu i
'bok=yă	gdFa=gdMo	gdCh	sâu
'bă=mě	Fa=Mo	Ch	kon (drănglo/drăkăn)
'nhõng/mõmay	eBr/eS1, eCsn, SpeSibSp ySib, yCsn, SpysibSp		
mí	eSibSp, SpeSib	Spysib, ySibSp	oh
mih=nă	eUn=eAu, SpeUn=SpeAu	Npc	mon
ma=duch	yUn=yAu, SpyUn=SpyAu		
tõněi=tõněi	SpPa	DaHu/SnWi	õng/mõ, mai
põ=põChSpPa.....		põ ^x =põ ^x
	Hu	Wi	akăn
klo			

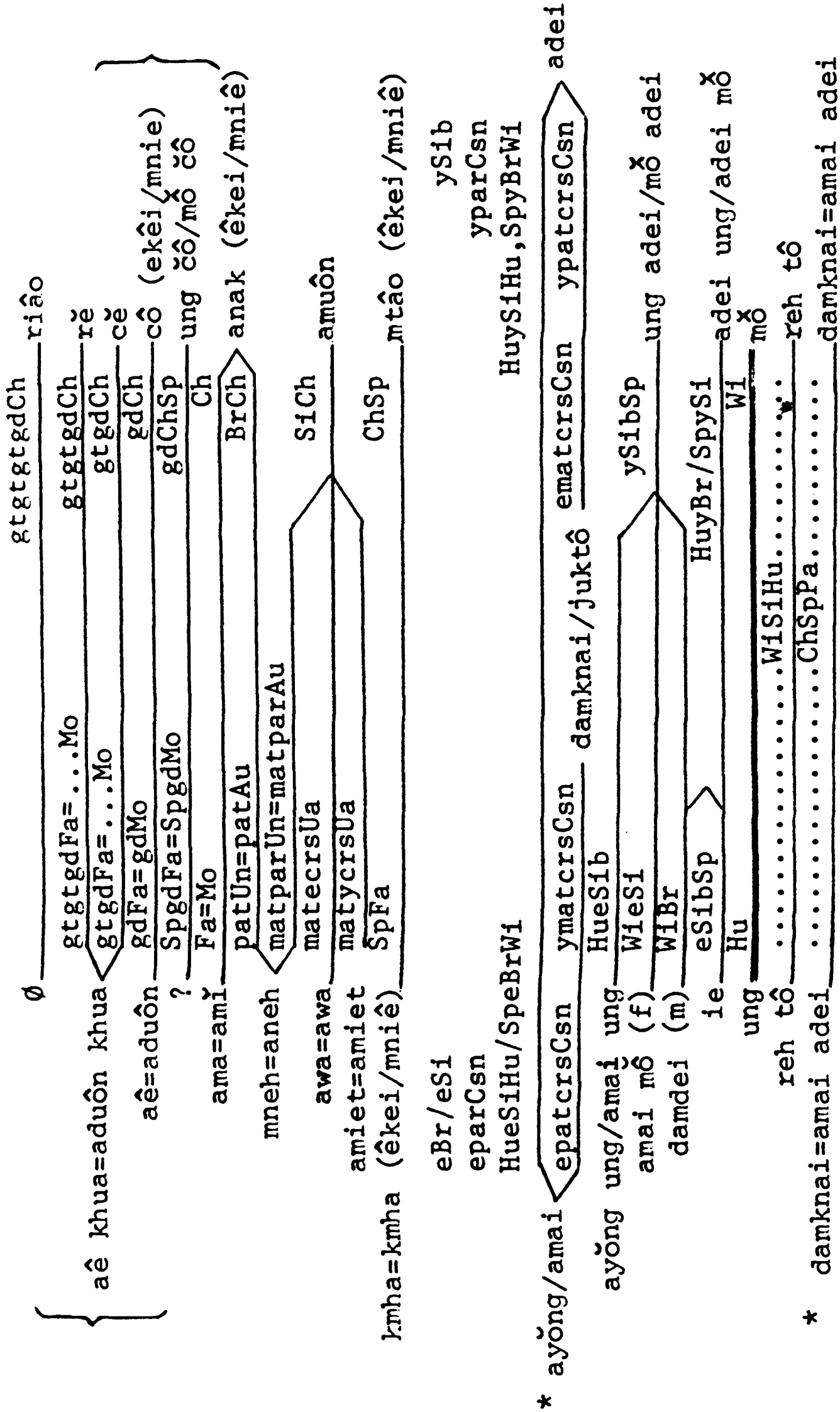
11. Reciprocal kinship relations in Chrau (South Bahnaric, Mon-Khmer)

Chrau



12. Reciprocal kinship relations in Rade (Chamic)

Rade



13. Reciprocal kinship relations in Chru (Chamic)

Chru		gtgtgtgtgdFa=...Mo	∅
{	kdi...=mò akha rólàng tólàng kóbàu	gtgtgtgdFa=...Mo	∅
	kdi...=mò kǒ kút	gtgtgtgdFa=...Mo	lónuāi
	kdi...=mò tónah róya	gtgtgdFa=...Mo	lóně
	kdi kuah=mò kuah	gtgdFa=...Mo	tóchě, chě
	kdi ko=mò kǒ		
		gdFa=gdMo	SibgdCh,gdCh
	kdi=mò	Fa=Mo	cho
	ama=me	parUn=parAu	Ch
	wa=me	crsUn=crsAu	parSibCh
	miǎ=tómhǎ	SpFa=SpMo	crsSibCh
	par Csn ss (Sp).....	kómuan
	crsCsn os (Sp).....	mǎrtóu
	sǎ-ai=sǎ-ai	e.....(Sp)parSib (Sp).....y	addi=addi
		...parCsn os.....	
		...crsSib.....	
		...prui Sp: SpcrsSibSp	
		m crsCsnssSp/SpcrsCsnss...f	gǒ kǒmǎi
	gǒ lǒkǎi	...crsCsnss.....	
		...gǒ Sp: crsSibSp/SpcrsSib	
		f parCsnosSp/SpparCsnos...m	
	prui	Hu	prui
	pǎsàng	Wi	sǎdiǔ

Notes: (Sp) indicates designation applies with or without spouse(s)

sǎ-ai as cousin is the preferred mate for the female Chru;

addi as cousin is the preferred mate for the male Chru.

14. Reciprocal kinship relations in Western Cham (Chamic)

Western Cham

<p> { ông kút=may kút ông kők=may kők ông tük=may tük ông=may, muk ? yah, (a)mú=măk, mek mú tamaha= mek tamaha } </p>	<p>gtgtgdFa=...Mo</p>	<p>gtgtgdCh</p>	<p>narai</p>
	<p>gtgtgdFa=...Mo</p>	<p>gtgtgdCh</p>	<p>narək</p>
	<p>gtgdFa=...Mo</p>	<p>gtgdCh</p>	<p>tachək</p>
	<p>gdFa=gdMo</p>	<p>gdCh</p>	<p>(ta)cho(lakay)/cho(kamay)</p>
	<p>SpgdFa=SpgdMo</p>	<p>gdChSp</p>	<p>yacho matau (lakay/kamay)</p>
	<p>Fa=Mo</p>	<p>Ch</p>	<p>núk (lakay/kamay)</p>
	<p>SpFa=SpMo</p>	<p>ChSp</p>	<p>núk matau (lakay/kamay)</p>
	<p>SpeSibSp</p>	<p>SpSibSp</p>	
<p> { ai/ai (kamay), chək ai sang (lakay/kamay) } </p>	<p>eBr/eSi</p>	<p>ySib</p>	<p>day (lakay/kamay)</p>
	<p>eSibSp</p>	<p>SpSib</p>	
	<p>SpeSib</p>	<p>ySibSp</p>	<p>day sang (lakay/kamay)</p>
	<p>eUa, SpeUa</p>	<p>Npc</p>	<p>kamuan</p>
	<p>yUa, SpyUa</p>		
	<p>.....Csn.....</p>		<p>samuk</p>
	<p>Hu</p>	<p>Wi</p>	<p>diuk</p>
	<p>.....ChSpPa.....</p>		<p>prui=prui</p>

16. Reciprocal kinship relations in Black Tai

Black Tai

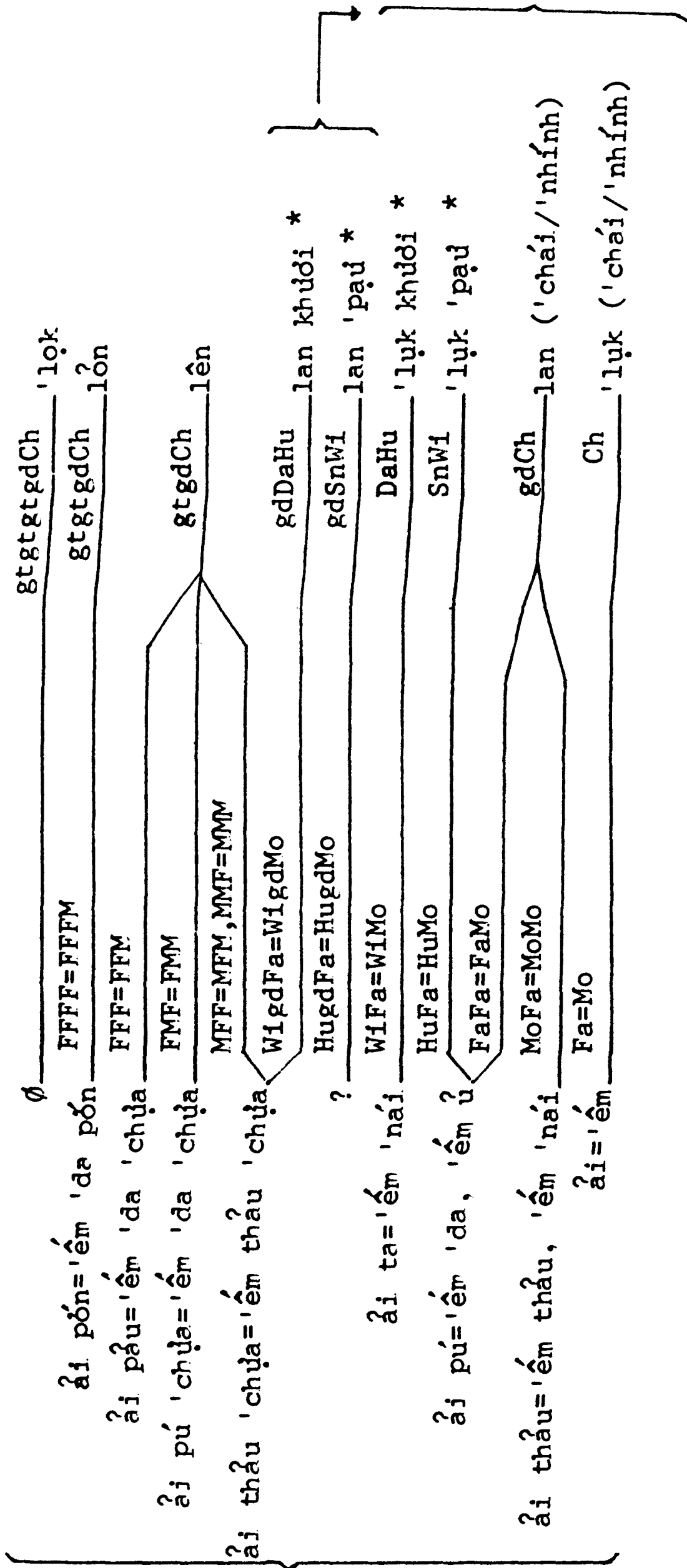
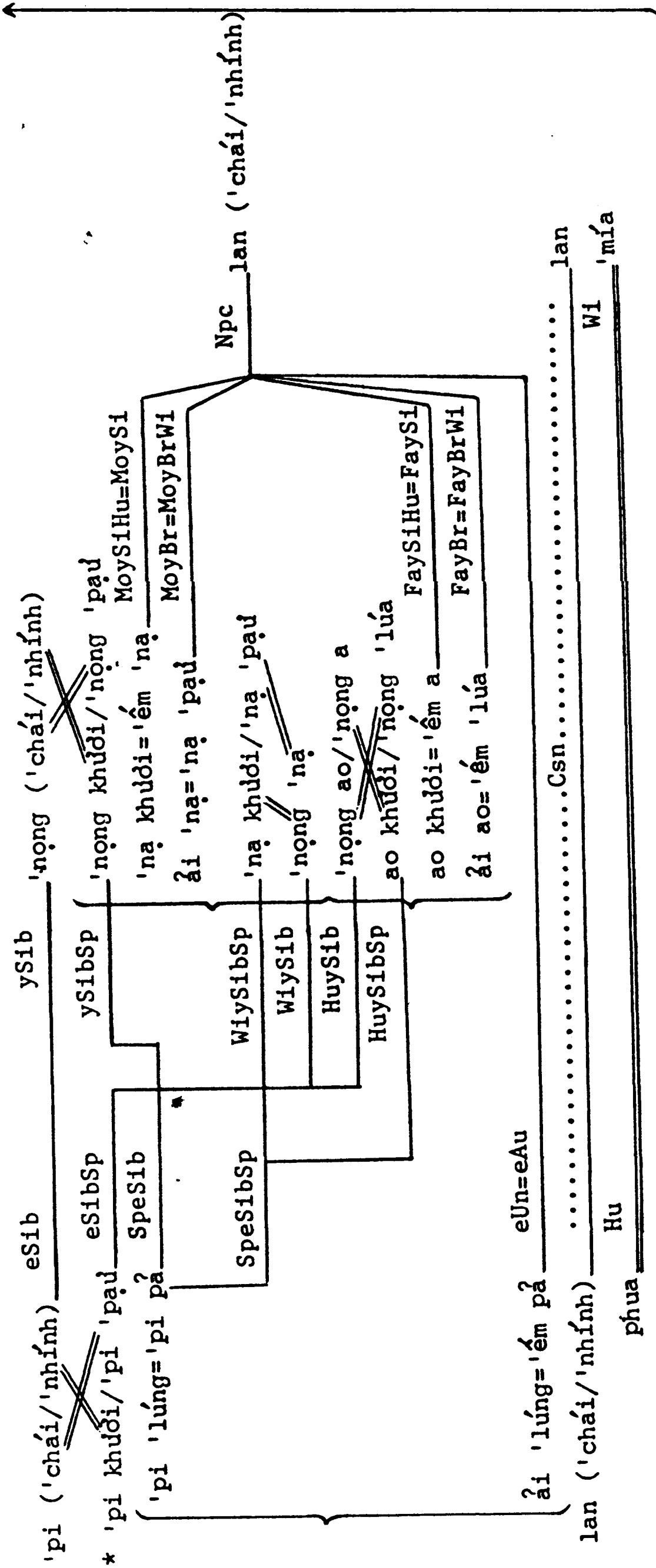
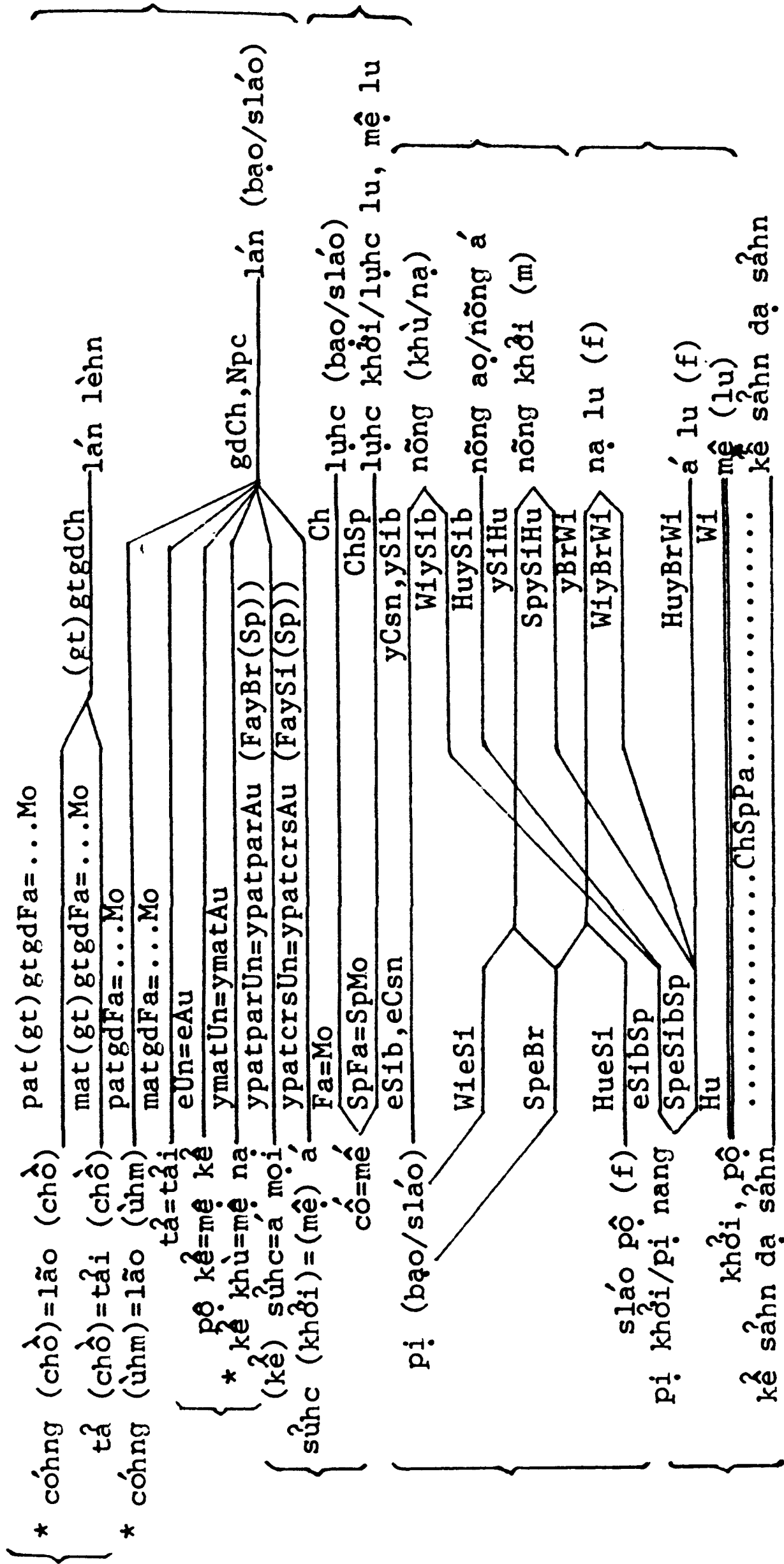


Chart A.16. (continued)



17. Reciprocal kinship relations in Nung Fan Slihg (Tai Nung)

Nung Fan Slihg



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NOTES

* This paper was first presented at the 18th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Bangkok 1985.

1. a. Principal published sources: Black Tai: Fippinger (1971); Bru: Miller (1972); Chrau: Thomas (1972); Jeh: Gradin (1972); Vietnamese: Thompson (1965);

b. Personal resources (all are SIL members unless noted otherwise except the non-western names indicate local assistants): Bahnar: John and Betty Banker; Black Tai: Jay and Dorothy Fippinger; Bru: John and Carolyn Miller; Chrau: David and Dorothy Thomas; Chru: Eugene Fuller; Cua: Eva Burton and Jacqueline Maier; Eastern Cham: David and Doris Blood, Thiên Sanh Cảnh; Halang: Nancy Cooper; Hre: Oliver and Joyce Trebilco (Bethany Literature Fellowship); Jeh: Patrick Cohen and A-Thông; Kôho: Ha Bul; Mngong Ralam: Henry and Evangeline Blood and Y-Tang Hmok; Mngong Preh: Richard L. Phillips (Christian and Missionary Alliance) and Y-Kem Kpôr; Nung: Nancy Freiburger Wilson and Janice Saul; Pacoh: Richard and Sandra Watson; Rade: Y-Chang niê Siêng; Rengap: Kenneth and Marilyn Gregerson; Sedang: this writer and Hmôu; Western Cham: Timothy and Barbara Friberg;

c. Other published sources: Katu: Costello (1971); Jarai: Leuz et al. (1976); Mngong Ralam: Blood (1976), Blood et al. (1976); various languages: LeBar, Hickey and Musgrave (1964), S.I.L. Vietnam Word Lists.

2. English translations are approximate and are provided here only as a heuristic.

3. "Bahnar^{*} rui indicates a relationship one step removed from the regular kinship system....Phuih called another young man about his age rui because they were related through marriage to the same third person....A more inclusive, generic term is rui ra." John Banker in personal correspondence.

4. "p^x is also used in a special type relationship between two close friends (who have) performed some contract before they can call each other p^x or p^x b^xn." John Banker in personal correspondence. Consider also p^h langik 'God' in ECham.