KINSHIP VARIATION AMONG VIETNAM LANGUAGE GROUPS

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9. 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. Bor-
rowing of terminology and kinship distinctions between linguist-
ic 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 grand-
child):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Au</td>
<td>aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Csn</td>
<td>cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lw</td>
<td>-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npc</td>
<td>nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sib</td>
<td>sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sn</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp</td>
<td>spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ua</td>
<td>unclauu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wi</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crs</td>
<td>cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gd</td>
<td>grand-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gdPhc</td>
<td>grandphiece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gt</td>
<td>great-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fs</td>
<td>female speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ms</td>
<td>male speaking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(see Section 2.1) (see Section 2.3)

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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/=amudy). = is used if the above left-right mates convention does not necessarily hold (as PaSib=PaSibSp for English uncle=aunt). Ø is used to indicate the absence of a reciprocal term (cf. Vietnamese has gtgtgtgdCh but not gtgtgtgdFa.)

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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st level</th>
<th>2nd level</th>
<th>3rd level</th>
<th>4th level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>One level distinguished</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhua</td>
<td>C0=un</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rengao</td>
<td>B0=yA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Two levels distinguished</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedang</td>
<td>Poa=ja</td>
<td>NOa=Vong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeh</td>
<td>Bo0=yA</td>
<td>M Dradra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rade</td>
<td>Ae=adu0n</td>
<td>M Khua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nung</td>
<td>Ta=tai(mat)</td>
<td>M cho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C0nh=la0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Uhm)(Pat)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three levels distinguished</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahnar</td>
<td>'Bok=yA</td>
<td>M I</td>
<td>M Ach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hre</td>
<td>Boac=yac</td>
<td>M Co</td>
<td>M Chi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halang</td>
<td>Bo=yA</td>
<td>M Kochi</td>
<td>M KrA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VNese</td>
<td>Ong=ba</td>
<td>Cu</td>
<td>M.Std*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cua</td>
<td>Kdy=amooq</td>
<td>M Ko</td>
<td>M Dwaat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacoh</td>
<td>Av0q=ca0q</td>
<td>Achuah=Acheh</td>
<td>Acoh=Acoh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTai</td>
<td>Ai='Em</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Four levels distinguished</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bru</td>
<td>Achuah=Ayoaq</td>
<td>Achê=Ayê</td>
<td>Achuc=Ayo</td>
<td>Achiac=Aya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCham</td>
<td>Ong=may, muk</td>
<td>M Tuk</td>
<td>M Kôk</td>
<td>M Kuf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Five levels distinguished</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECham</td>
<td>Ong=choK.</td>
<td>KoK</td>
<td>K0t</td>
<td>Yot*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Six levels distinguished</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chru</td>
<td>Kdi=m0</td>
<td>M K0</td>
<td>M Kuah</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unlimited levels distinguished</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>M Grand-</td>
<td>M Great-grand</td>
<td>M Gt-Gt-Gd-</td>
<td>M GtGtGtGd-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

1. VNese modifier so follows ông, bà

2. Black Tai, 2nd level:
   \(\ddot{a}i\ p\dot{u} = \ddot{e}m 'da, \ddot{e}m \ddot{y} 'FaPa\)
   \(\ddot{a}i\ th\ddot{a}u = \ddot{e}m th\ddot{a}u, \ddot{e}m 'n\ddot{a}i 'MoPa\)

3rd level
   \(\ddot{a}i\ p\ddot{a}u = \ddot{e}m 'd\ddot{a} 'chu\ddot{a} 'FaFaPa\)
   \(\ddot{a}i\ p\ddot{u} 'chu\ddot{a} = \ddot{e}m 'd\ddot{a} 'chu\ddot{a} 'FaMoPa\)
   \(\ddot{a}i\ th\ddot{a}u 'chu\ddot{a} = \ddot{e}m th\ddot{a}u 'chu\ddot{a} 'MoPaPa\)

4th level
   \(\ddot{a}i\ p\ddot{on} = \ddot{e}m 'd\ddot{a} p\ddot{on}, \text{limited to } 'FaFaFaPa\)

3. Eastern Cham, 5th level:
   \(t\ddot{a}o\)

4. Chru
   M t\d{o}n\a h r\d{d}ya 'gtgtgtgd-, of the land'
   M k\d{o} k\d{u}t 'gtgtgtgtgd-, at the head of the graveyard'
   M akha r\d{l}\d{a}ng t\d{l}\d{a}ng k\d{a}b\d{a}u '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 nội, ngoại (borrowed from Vietnamese)
Bru ông, muq (borrowed from Chamic 'Hu, Wi',
see Section 4.1)
Black Tai pu (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. Unclauent, nephiece 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 Kôlo 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 'unclauent' (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'.

---

**Diagram:**

- **English**
  - D
  - C
  - A
  - B
  - EGO

- **Bahnar**
  - D
  - C
  - A
  - B
  - EGO

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<th>1st level</th>
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<th>3rd level</th>
<th>4th level</th>
<th>5th level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One level</td>
<td>Chrau</td>
<td>sinau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two levels</td>
<td>Rengao</td>
<td>chau</td>
<td>chí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nung</td>
<td>làn</td>
<td>M lèhn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three levels</td>
<td>Jeh</td>
<td>chau</td>
<td>M chek</td>
<td>M chi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bahnar</td>
<td>sǎu</td>
<td>M i</td>
<td>M ach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pacoh</td>
<td>achauc</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>chat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four levels</td>
<td>Sedang</td>
<td>chău</td>
<td>chí, héi</td>
<td>chă</td>
<td>chia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cua</td>
<td>sau</td>
<td>suul</td>
<td>iil</td>
<td>seel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sau sel</td>
<td>sel sal</td>
<td>sal suul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hre</td>
<td>sau</td>
<td>M co</td>
<td>M chi</td>
<td>M chô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Halang</td>
<td>chao</td>
<td>M чĕk</td>
<td>M chi</td>
<td>M хони блӑк</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bru</td>
<td>chău</td>
<td>чӗ</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VNese</td>
<td>chău</td>
<td>chít</td>
<td>chít</td>
<td>чут</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rade</td>
<td>cő</td>
<td>cě̆</td>
<td>rě̆</td>
<td>riəó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WCham</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>tachě̆k</td>
<td>narěk</td>
<td>narai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chru</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>чě̆, tőčě̆</td>
<td>lőнě̆</td>
<td>lǒnuăi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BTai</td>
<td>làn</td>
<td>lĕn</td>
<td>lŏn</td>
<td>'lɔk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five levels</td>
<td>ECham</td>
<td>tacho</td>
<td>tachě̆k</td>
<td>nůrěk</td>
<td>nůrah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nůrai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlimited levels</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>M gd-</td>
<td>M gtgd-</td>
<td>M gtgtgd-</td>
<td>M gtgtgtgd-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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'; parSȋg̣dCh'; tacho phĩk 'DaCh'; tacho atah ("far gdCh") 'crsSȋg̣dCh'
(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 $-M_1$, 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 $-M_1$) ↔ eUn, D (D $-M_1$) ↔ eAu,
E ($M_1-M_2$) ↔ FayBr, or ypatUn, F ($M_1-M_3$) ↔ MoyBr, or ymatUn,
G (D $-M_5$) ↔ Moysi, or ymatAu, H (D $-M_5$) ↔ 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 ('unclautn', sex not being a discriminating), D ↔ yUa.

(4) **Eastern Cham**

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

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(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 (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 ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ ecrsUa, D ↔ yparUn, E ↔ ycrsUa, F ↔ yparAu.

(11) Kon Kolo 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 Kolo is a representative village of the southern Sedang area where this divergent aspect of Sedang kinship terminology is found.

A ↔ Fa, B ↔ Mo, C ↔ eparUn, D ↔ ecrsUa, E ↔ eparAu, F ↔ yparUn, G ↔ ycrsUa, H ↔ 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.

\[ A \leftrightarrow Fa, B \leftrightarrow Mo, C \leftrightarrow Un, D \leftrightarrow MoeBr, E \leftrightarrow Au, F \leftrightarrow MoyBr. \]

(13) *Chru* (bifurcate collateral)

\[ A \leftrightarrow Fa, B \leftrightarrow Mo, C \leftrightarrow FaBr, \text{ or } patUn, D \leftrightarrow MoBr, \text{ or } matUn, E \leftrightarrow MoSi, \text{ or } matAu, F \leftrightarrow FaSi, \text{ or } patAu. \]

(14) *Vietnamese*

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{F} \\
\text{G} \\
\text{A}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{C} \\
\text{E} \\
\text{D}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\triangle \\
\triangle
\end{array}
\]

(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.

\[ A \leftrightarrow Fa, B \leftrightarrow Mo, C \leftrightarrow FaBr, \text{ or } epatUn, D \leftrightarrow MoBr, \text{ or } matUn, E \leftrightarrow MoSi, \text{ or } matAu, F \leftrightarrow FaSi, \text{ or } patAu, G \leftrightarrow FayBr, \text{ or } ypatUn. \]

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, bã, pa, ba, mpoaq* 'Fa' spread throughout all the Austroasiatic languages excepting only Pacoh;
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>Fa</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>Fa</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>Fa</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>Fa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>svg</td>
<td>jpg</td>
<td>jpg</td>
<td>jpg</td>
<td>jpg</td>
<td>jpg</td>
<td>jpg</td>
<td>jpg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Cua</td>
<td>Hal</td>
<td>Han</td>
<td>Reng</td>
<td>Sed</td>
<td>Chau</td>
<td>Wha</td>
<td>Pacho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaBr</td>
<td>vaq</td>
<td>baq</td>
<td>baq</td>
<td>baaq</td>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>vaq</td>
<td>mepq</td>
<td>a-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoSi</td>
<td>bgh</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>bgh</td>
<td>bgh</td>
<td>bgh</td>
<td>bgh</td>
<td>bgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Moe</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Fa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Fay</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Fa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-am and Katu ama 'Fa';

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

(d) Sedang nǒu '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- nǒu set is an innovation to extend parental terminology to parents' elder parallel siblings; the ponhông = monhông set is an innovation assimilating pa 'Fa' and nǒu 'Mo' to unstressed pre- syllables pd- and md- (nd- is not a permitted presyllable type) with -nhông which occurs elsewhere in Sedang only in the phrase nhông o 'relatives' (literally, with a borrowing from Bahnar or Jarai nhông '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 'Moe-Br', Chru 'FaeBr') is the source for Cua wa 'PaeSib', Katu ava 'Un', Koho wa 'eUa', and Mpong 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 bac 'FaeBr'; Bru cõq 'Mo-Br', Vietnamese cau 'MoBr'.

(h) Austronesian miak 'PaySib' (Western Cham mih 'PaySib', Eastern Cham mĭk 'ypatUn', Rade amiêt 'MoyBr') is the source for Bahnaric forms: Halang miak 'PaySibSp' (Section 2.2 (2)), Rengao mĭk '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 md '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 nhô 'PayBr', Rengao nhô 'MoyBr'); cf. Rengao nhô 'ySiSp' (Section 3.2).

(j) doch is Bahnar for 'PaySib' or 'PaySi' (Bahnar duč 'PaySi', Hre doch 'PaySib', Rengao dut 'FaySi', and Chrau dêq 'PayBr').
(k) three related Bahnaric forms are Rengao yâng, Sedang xâng 'MoySi', Chrau yâng 'PaySi'. Possibly also related are Bahnar and Halang 'nhông, Rade ayông 'eBr' and the above mentioned Sedang pôn hông, môn hông '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 linear 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\Delta &= \bigcirc \\
x &= \bigcirc \\
y &= \bigcirc \\
\Delta &= \bigcirc \\
x \cdot y &= \bigcirc \\
\text{EGO}
\end{align*}
\]

where x and y are PaSib terms

(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 khudi/'pâu), FaySiHu (ao khudi) and FayBrWi ('êm 'luâ'))

(2a) No sex differentiation

\[
\begin{align*}
\Delta &= \bigcirc \\
x &= \bigcirc \\
\Delta &= \bigcirc \\
y &= \bigcirc \\
\text{EGO}
\end{align*}
\]

(2b) Halang

\[
\begin{align*}
\Delta &= \bigcirc \\
x &= \bigcirc \\
y &= \bigcirc \\
\Delta &= \bigcirc \\
w &= \bigcirc \\
z &= \bigcirc \\
\text{EGO}
\end{align*}
\]
(2) No sex differentiation of parents' siblings' spouses
   --Hre (age-graded uncles have age-graded uncles 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)
(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)

\[ \text{đường} \quad \text{cô} \quad \text{bác} \quad \text{bác} \]
\[ \text{đường} \quad \text{cô} \quad \text{chú} \quad \text{thím} \]
\[ \text{đường} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{câu} \quad \text{mộ} \quad \text{dâu} \]

(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 \quad FaeBr, FaeBrWi
thím \quad FayBrWi
dường rễ \quad PaSiHu
mộ dâu \quad 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 'nephew/niece' (Npc) has been coined for convenience. This parallels the use of the asexual 'child' for 'son and daughter'. Reciprocal relations then are:

'Fa=Mo' \[ \text{kon} \quad \text{'Ch'} \]
'Un=Au' \[ \text{mon} \quad \text{'Npc'} \]
These specific reciprocal relations are found in Bahnar, Jeh, Kon Kọlọ Sedang, Hre, Rengao, Halang, Cua, Chrau, Bru and Kọho. 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' —————— nuk '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 nephew 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' ———— châu 'gdPhc'
'gdFa=gdMo' —

(a following modifier ruot may distinguish Npc from gdCh)

--in black Tai and Nung

'Fa=Mo' ———— 'lụk, lụhc 'Ch'
'Un=Au' ———— lan, lán 'gdPhc'
'gdFa=gdMo' —

(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 —— kómuan 'Npc'
--in Rade alter for FaSib is 'Ch'

'Fa=Mo'
  patUn=Au
anak 'Ch'

'Un=Au'
  matparUn=Au
amuôn 'Npc'

'Ua$_1$'
matecsUsa

'Ua$_2$'
matycrSUsa

(3) Extended 'parents' (despite the extention 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'

'Fa=Mo'
  parUn=Au
acay 'Ch'

'Un=Au'
  crsUn=Au
aman 'Npc'

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

'Fa=Mo'
  eparUn=Au
kuân 'Ch'

'Un=Au'
  yparUn=Au
muân 'Npc'

'Ua$_1$'
ycrSUsa

'Ua$_2$'
ecrSUsa

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.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{paternal cousins} & \quad \text{parallel} & \quad \text{siblings} & \quad \text{maternal cousins} \\
\text{cross} & \quad \text{parallel} & \quad \text{parallel} & \quad \text{cross} \\
D & \quad D & \quad A & \quad EGO & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D \\
D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad A & \quad EGO & \quad B & \quad D & \quad D \\
D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D \\
\end{align*}
\]

A\leftrightarrow Br, B\leftrightarrow Si, D\leftrightarrow 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.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{paternal cousins} & \quad \text{parallel} & \quad \text{maternal cousins} \\
\text{cross} & \quad \text{parallel} & \quad \text{cross} \\
D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D \\
D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D \\
D & \quad D & \quad C & \quad A & \quad EGO & \quad C & \quad D \\
D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D & \quad D \\
\end{align*}
\]

A\leftrightarrow eSib, C\leftrightarrow ySib, D\leftrightarrow 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 sem '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.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{paternal cousins} & \text{parallel} & \text{maternal cousins} \\
\text{cross} & \text{parallel} & \text{cross} \\
A & A & A \\
C & C & C \\
\end{array}
\]

A\leftrightarrow eSib, C\leftrightarrow ySib

(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 bao/sláo are considered for the elder but the sex modifiers khu/ña 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 ruọt '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.
paternal cousins  
cross  

\[ \Delta \quad \triangleleft \quad B \quad \triangleright \quad C \]

maternal cousins  
parallel  

\[ \Delta \quad \triangleleft \quad A \quad \triangleright \quad C \quad C \]

\[ A \leftrightarrow Br, B \leftrightarrow Si, C \leftrightarrow Sib \]

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

paternal cousins  
cross  

\[ \Delta \quad \triangleleft \quad A \quad \triangleright \quad C \]

\[ A \leftrightarrow Br, B \leftrightarrow Si, C \leftrightarrow Sib, D (A-M_1) \leftrightarrow crsBr, E (B-M_2) \leftrightarrow crsSi, F (C-M_1) \leftrightarrow crsSib (fs), G (C-M_2) \leftrightarrow crsSib (ms). \]

(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.
(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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{paternal cousins} & \quad \text{parallel} & \quad \text{maternal cousins} \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{D} \\
\text{E} \\
\text{C}
\end{array} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{A} \\
\text{B} \\
\text{C}
\end{array} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{A} \\
\text{B} \\
\text{C}
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cross} & \quad \text{parallel} & \quad \text{cross} \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{D} \\
\text{E} \\
\text{C}
\end{array} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{A} \\
\text{B} \\
\text{C}
\end{array} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{A} \\
\text{B} \\
\text{C}
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{A} \\
\text{D} \\
\text{C}
\end{array} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{B} \\
\text{A} \\
\text{D}
\end{array} & \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{B} \\
\text{A} \\
\text{D}
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eparSib}, & \quad \text{crsSib}, & \quad \text{yparSib}, & \quad \text{Csn.}
\end{align*}
\]

(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.
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 Kautic 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 sd-ai 'esib', Chru sd-ai, Vietnamese anh, and Bru ai and possibly Pacoh achai 'eBr' are related. With a scattering through Bahnaric, Kautic, Austronesian, and including Vietnamese, the source is indiscernible. Cf. also Black Tai ãi 'Fa' (Section 2.1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>siblings + cousins</th>
<th>cousins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chrau</td>
<td>pôp</td>
<td>ơnh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeh</td>
<td>meế</td>
<td>ơh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hre</td>
<td>daq</td>
<td>ơh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rengao</td>
<td>dẳ</td>
<td>ơh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cua</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>ơh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedang</td>
<td>ngoh na</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halang</td>
<td>'nhỏng nau</td>
<td>ơh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahnar</td>
<td>'nhỏng mômay</td>
<td>ơh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rade</td>
<td>ayỏng amai</td>
<td>adei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCham</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECham</td>
<td>sô-ai</td>
<td>atay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chru</td>
<td>sô-ai godû kômđi(ms)</td>
<td>addi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>godû lôkđi(fs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VNese</td>
<td>anh chi</td>
<td>em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bru</td>
<td>ai đī</td>
<td>a-em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacoh</td>
<td>achai amoq(ms)</td>
<td>a-em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nung</td>
<td>pi(bào) pi(sláo)</td>
<td>nông</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTai</td>
<td>'pi</td>
<td>'nông</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>brother sister</td>
<td>cousin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 4 Sibling and cousin terminology
(Note: lettered columns correspond to letter designations of kin in the charts of the text.)
(c) Bahnar 'nhông', Halang 'nhông' 'eBr' are borrowed from Austronesian; cf. Rade ayông 'eBr'. The term has further inroads in Bahnaric: Sedang pònhông 'FaeBr', mônông 'MoeSi'; possibly also related: Rengao yảng, Sedang xàng 'MoySi', Chrau yông 'PaySi' (Section 2.1).

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

(e) Bahnar mömây 'eSi' is borrowed from Austronesian; cf. Rade amai, Chru gòu kómô 'eSi(ms)'; the North Bahnaric mài '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 aêm, Pacoh a-em 'ySib' are borrowed from Vietnamese em 'ySib'.

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

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

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

(m) Kôho 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 alên 'PacrsSibSn(ms)' is same as 'SiHu(ms)' (Section 3.2), 'WiBr(ms)' (Section 3.3), and 'ChSpFa(ms)' (Section 4.3).

(p) Pacoh a-ôm '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 alep '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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Austroasiatic</th>
<th>Austro-nesian</th>
<th>Tai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vietnam-muong</td>
<td>North Bahnaric</td>
<td>Central &amp; South Bahnaric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AACC</td>
<td>Jeh,Hre</td>
<td>Chrau</td>
<td>Bru&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABCC</td>
<td>VNese</td>
<td>Halang, Sedang</td>
<td>Bahnar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABCD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABCB(ms)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BABC(fs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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       E       D       B
  \  / \  / \  / \  / \
 A    E   D   B   EGO
  \  / \  / \  / \  / \
 A    E   D   B
```

A↔Br, B↔Si, D↔BrLw, E↔SiLw

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Chrau} & \quad \text{Western Cham} & \quad \text{Black Tai} \\
\triangle = \bigcirc & \quad \triangle = \bigcirc & \quad \triangle = \bigcirc \\
A & \quad A & \quad A & \quad D & \quad E & \quad E \text{ EGO} \\
D & \quad A & \quad A & \quad D & \quad F & \quad B \\
C & \quad C & \quad C & \quad E & \quad E & \quad C \text{ EGO} \\
C & \quad C & \quad C & \quad D & \quad G & \quad C
\end{align*}
\]

SibSp is same as Sib, without sex discrimination

A\leftrightarrow eSib, C\leftrightarrow ySib.

Chrau and Western Cham with modifiers adopt the following scheme:

A\leftrightarrow eSib, C\leftrightarrow ySib, D (A-M_1)\leftrightarrow eSibSp, E (C-M_2)\leftrightarrow ySibSp.

Black Tai with modifiers adopts the following scheme:

A (A-M_1)\leftrightarrow eBr, B (A-M_2)\leftrightarrow eSi, C (C-M_2)\leftrightarrow ySi,
D (C-M_1)\leftrightarrow yBr, E (A-M_3)\leftrightarrow eBrSp, F (A-M_4)\leftrightarrow eSiSp,
G (C-M_4)\leftrightarrow ySiSp, H (C-M_3)\leftrightarrow yBrSp.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{A} & \quad \text{D} & \quad \text{A} \\
\triangle = \bigcirc & \quad \triangle = \bigcirc & \quad \triangle = \bigcirc \\
\text{EGO} & \quad \text{E} & \quad \text{C} \\
\text{F} & \quad \text{C}
\end{align*}
\]

Distinct terms, no sex discrimination of eSibSp

A\leftrightarrow eSib, C\leftrightarrow ySib, D\leftrightarrow SibLw, E\leftrightarrow BrLw, F\leftrightarrow SiLw.
(2) Spouses of siblings ABCC

(2a) Bahnar

```
A = O  D = O  C = C  EGO
B = O  D = B  C = C
```

(a) Bahnar

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

A ←→ Br, B ←→ Si, C ←→ Sib, D ←→ SibLw.

(b) Halang–Rade

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

A ←→ Br, B ←→ Si, C ←→ Sib, D ←→ SibLw, E (Hu–C) ←→ BrLw, F (Wi–C) ←→ SiLw.

(c) Bru

Distinct spouse terms, but no age-grading of SiSp

A ←→ Br, B ←→ Si, C ←→ Sib, D ←→ BrLw, E ←→ 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 = O  H = E  C = I  EGO(ms)
B = O  H = E

D = O  A or J = B  EGO(fs)
G = O  C or L = K
F = O
```

A ←→ ai, B ←→ Si, C ←→ a-ěm, D ←→ A-amiang, E ←→ B-amuaq, F ←→ C-amiang, G ←→ C-amuaq, H ←→ mahái, I ←→ cumân amooq, J ←→ sai, alẹp, K ←→ aplái (sěm), L ←→ ra-ọp.
(2d) Vietnamese

\[
\begin{align*}
\Delta = & \bigcirc \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \\
A & \quad B & A & \quad B \\
E G O & & & \\
\Delta = & \bigcirc \quad \Delta = \bigcirc \\
C & \quad C & C & \quad (F) \\
& & & E \quad C
\end{align*}
\]

(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.

\[A \leftrightarrow Br \text{ anh} (\text{rê}), \quad B \leftrightarrow Si \text{ chi} (\text{đâu}), \quad C \leftrightarrow Sib \text{ em} (\text{rê/đâu}).\]

(e) Sedang

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

\[A \leftrightarrow Br, \quad B \leftrightarrow Si, \quad C \leftrightarrow Sib, \quad D \leftrightarrow SibLw, \quad E \leftrightarrow BrLw \text{ (ms)}, \quad F \leftrightarrow SiLw \text{ (fs)}.\]

(3) Spouses of siblings ABCB

(3a) Chru

(3b) Pacoh

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

\[A \leftrightarrow eparSib, \quad B \leftrightarrow crsSib, \quad C \leftrightarrow yparSib, \quad D \leftrightarrow Csn.\]
(b) Pacoh

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

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

(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.

![Diagram of kinship terms](chart6)

\[ A (A-M_1) \leftrightarrow eBr, \quad B (A-M_2) \leftrightarrow eSi, \quad C (C-M_3) \leftrightarrow ySi, \quad D (C-M_4) \leftrightarrow yBr, \quad E (A-M_5) \leftrightarrow eBrSp, \quad F (A-M_6) \leftrightarrow eSiSp, \quad G (C-M_6) \leftrightarrow ySiSp, \quad H (M_3 \rightarrow M_7) \leftrightarrow yBrSp. \]

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, mî '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 ông '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 ông 'Hu'; Cua ok
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Siblings + spouses</th>
<th>Spouses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong></td>
<td><strong>B</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrau</td>
<td>pôp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cua</td>
<td>ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahnar</td>
<td>'nhông</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rengao</td>
<td>dă</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeh</td>
<td>meĕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hre</td>
<td>daq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedang</td>
<td>nghí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halang</td>
<td>'nhông</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rade</td>
<td>ayông</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCham</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECham</td>
<td>sa-ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chru</td>
<td>so-ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VNese</td>
<td>anh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bru</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacoh</td>
<td>achoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nung</td>
<td>pi bao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTai</td>
<td>'pi 'chái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 amudd, 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 mcςCsn aĺh.
(7) Pacoh eBrWi is same as WiSi is same as HuyBr is same as fcςCsn aĺep.

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 - PaεSib - PaεSibSp mih
SpySib - ySib oh
SpySibSp - ySibSp ông/mai

(2) Rengao SpeSib - PaεSib mih
SpySib - ySib oh
SpySibSp gop ' ? '

(3) Sedang SpecrsSib - PaεcrςSib meh
SpeparSib - SpySib - SibSp mai
SpySibSp ngoh, nā, o (sibling terms)

(4) Hre SpeSib - PaεSib mih
SpySib - eSibSp ml
SpySibSp tɔmary 'outsider'

(5) Bahnar SpeSib - eSibSp mi
SpySib - ySib - ySibSp oh
SpySibSp 'nhông, mɔmary, oh (sibling terms)

(6) Cua SpeSib - SpeSibSp - eSibSp neu
SpySib - SpySibSp - ySibSp ok/amudd
(7) Chrau
SpSib - SpSibSp - SibSp ːpːŋ pɔŋ pɔ/ɔŋ asai
(sibling terms plus modifiers)

(8) Western Cham
SpSib - SibSp ːai/ːdai/ŋ sang
SpSibSp - Sib ːai/ːdai

(9) Eastern Cham
eSibSp - SpeSib ːai thang
SpySib - ySibSp ːtay thang

(10) Halang
SpSib kddrɔ in-\textquotesingle{}laws\textquotesingle
SpSibSp braiŋ bɔŋ

(11) Vietnamese
SpSib - Sib (with optional following modifier
nhac) - SpSibSp - SibSp anh/chi/em rɛ
\/em daŋ

(12) Chru
SpcriSib - SiHu (ms) - BrWi (fs) prui
SpparSib - SpparSibSp - parSib (from Sp's sex
orientation) sd-ai/adjɔi
SpcriSibSp - crieSib (from Sp's sex orienta-
tion) gɔŋ kɔmɔi/lɔkɔi

(13) Rade
WiBr damdei
other SpSib terms are literal compounds eBr/
esi plus Hu/Wi
WiSisSp reŋ tô; cf. Rade juk tô 'fmatcriCsn'
other SpSibSp - Sib ayɔŋ/amai/adei

(14) Bru
WiBr - SiBr mahai
WieSi plài sai
HueBr lɔdi bac
HueSi - Si ɔi
WiySi alɛp; cf. Pacoh alep 'matcriCsn'
HuyBr ralɔŋ
HuySi lɔŋ
SpcriSibSp plài yaih
SpparSibSp - Sib ai/ɔi/a-ɛm, but additionally
WirarSibSp mpual

(15) Pacoh
WiBr - mcirCsn - SiHu alɛŋ
WISi - HueBr - fcriCsn - eBrWi alep
HueBr - MoBr anhi
HuSi a-ɔm
WiBrWi - yBrWi - SnWi tarmai
HuSiHu - DaHu tarmɔt
SpparSibSp - Sib achai/amog/a-ɛm

(16) Nung
WiSib, WiSibSp, HueBr, HueBrWi, and HuSiHu:
Ego uses spouse's sibling terminology for
these alters
HueSi sîao pɔ
HuySi nɔng 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 ’pad
  WiySiHu – MoySiHu 'na khůdi
  HuyBrWi 'nong luà
  HuySiHu – FaySiHu ao khůdi

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 ong 'Hu'). Rengao kdrång 'Hu' seems unlike most other Bahnaric forms until compared with Bahnar drånglo 'male' which ties Rengao kdrång 'Hu' to Bahnar klo 'Hu'. Bahnar akåñ 'Wi' seems unrelated to the other North Bahnaric forms like kadri 'Wi', unless the initial syllable of Bahnar dråkan 'f' betrays the source of the latter through metathesis. Katua, Sedang, and Cua kanou are related to klo through (inexplicably) nominal infixation: kl–ån–ou becomes kônou 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hre</th>
<th>Hu</th>
<th>Wi</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Katua</td>
<td>kôngu</td>
<td>kōji</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedang</td>
<td>kōnû</td>
<td>kôdrai</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cua</td>
<td>kanau</td>
<td>kadri</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rengao</td>
<td>kōdrâng</td>
<td>kôdrî</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halang</td>
<td>kôlô,</td>
<td>bûndray,</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bônklô</td>
<td>mondray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeh</td>
<td>klou</td>
<td>dri, tri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahnar</td>
<td>klo</td>
<td>akân</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrau</td>
<td>siklô</td>
<td>si-ur</td>
<td>cf. lou-lou/dridri 'm/f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kôho</td>
<td>bao klau</td>
<td>bao ur</td>
<td>cf. klô/ur 'm/f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chil</td>
<td>bô klo</td>
<td>bo ur</td>
<td>cf. cro*klo/ur 'm/f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lach</td>
<td>bô kôlô</td>
<td>bô ur</td>
<td>cf. cô kôlô/ur 'm/f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srê</td>
<td>bau klou</td>
<td>bau ûr</td>
<td>cf. klou/ûr 'm/f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongodbam</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>ur</td>
<td>cf. tlo thau/u-ur 'm/f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CentralMong</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>ur</td>
<td>cf. bu klaw/bu ur 'm/f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stieng</td>
<td>sai-lau</td>
<td>sai ur</td>
<td>cf. clau/dô-ur 'm/f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bru</td>
<td>cayac</td>
<td>lacuoi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacoh</td>
<td>cayâq</td>
<td>campay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kû</td>
<td>kayik</td>
<td>kadiël*</td>
<td>cf. padruuih/padiil 'm/f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nrodglai</td>
<td>pisâc</td>
<td>sidiuq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>pdsâng</td>
<td>sódiû</td>
<td></td>
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<td>pasang</td>
<td>diuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>hâtìüp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haroi</td>
<td>òng</td>
<td>athiuq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srôdglai</td>
<td>oq</td>
<td>muq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rade</td>
<td>ung</td>
<td>mê</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarai</td>
<td>rôkôi</td>
<td>bônai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VNese</td>
<td>chông</td>
<td>vô</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nung</td>
<td>pô, khoi</td>
<td>mê (lu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTai</td>
<td>phua</td>
<td>'mía</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTai</td>
<td>phô</td>
<td>mê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tho</td>
<td>p'ô</td>
<td>mê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 7 Husband--wife terminology
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Hu</th>
<th>Wi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hre</td>
<td>ong</td>
<td>mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Bahnaric</td>
<td>klou</td>
<td>kŏdri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Bahnaric</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katuic</td>
<td>cayac</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamic</td>
<td>pasang</td>
<td>sidiuq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dng</td>
<td>muq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarai</td>
<td>rŏkŏi</td>
<td>bŏnai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>chòng</td>
<td>vô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tai</td>
<td>phô</td>
<td>mê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 8 Typical predominant husband--wife forms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spouse's parents</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Child's spouse</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bahnar</strong></td>
<td>tŏnēi=tŏnēi</td>
<td>ṭong/mõ, mai</td>
<td>ycrsSibSp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sedang</strong></td>
<td>va=sa</td>
<td>ṭong/mê</td>
<td>ycrsSibSp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jeh</strong></td>
<td>boō=yā</td>
<td>gdPa</td>
<td>ōng/mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hre</strong></td>
<td>boac=yaq</td>
<td>gdPa</td>
<td>ōng/mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rengao</strong></td>
<td>bō=yā</td>
<td>gdPa</td>
<td>ōng/mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Halang</strong></td>
<td>bā=mĬ kôdra</td>
<td>gdPa M</td>
<td>ōng/mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cua</strong></td>
<td>kōy=amoog</td>
<td>gdPa</td>
<td>ok/amûly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chrau</strong></td>
<td>vap po=mē po</td>
<td>Pa M</td>
<td>sau/sau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bru</strong></td>
<td>yacun=yacan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chru</strong></td>
<td>miĬ=tômha</td>
<td>crsUn/Au</td>
<td>partiam/cumân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rade</strong></td>
<td>kmha=kmha (ēkei/mniē)</td>
<td></td>
<td>môrtōu/môrtōu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WCham</strong></td>
<td>mū=mek tamaha</td>
<td></td>
<td>mtâo/mtâo (ēkei/mniē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ECham</strong></td>
<td>thuma (likay/kamay)</td>
<td></td>
<td>nuk matau (lakay/kamay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VNese</strong></td>
<td>ōng=bà</td>
<td>gdPa</td>
<td>anuk mutau (likay/kamay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pacoh</strong></td>
<td>anhi=ama</td>
<td>crsUn/Au</td>
<td>(con) rē/(con) dau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nung</strong></td>
<td>çō=mē</td>
<td>Pa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BTai</strong></td>
<td>ài tā=’ēm ’nâi (ms)</td>
<td>Pa M</td>
<td>luhn khôi/luhn lu, mô lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ài pū=’ēm ū (fs)</td>
<td>Pa M</td>
<td>’luhk khôdi/’luhk ’pâu’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
<td>father-in-law=mother-in-law</td>
<td></td>
<td>son-in-law/daughter-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tarmôt/tarmai by metathesis could be from Chamic, as in Chru mőrtçu.

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.

\[ \text{EGO} \quad \triangle = \bigcirc \text{ alters} \]

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: prui
  - ECham: parui

- **North Bahnaric**
  - Hre: proi
  - Rengao: rui
  - Halang: ruy
  - Sedang: roi

- **Central Bahnaric**
  - Bahnar: pōk

- **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 kê sähn, da sähn. Jeh uses grandparent terms boō-ya. Pacoh uses three sibling or sibling's spouse terms and a fourth distinct term:

\[
\text{(ms) alēh (WiBr; ySiHu)} = \text{tardyaih} \\
\text{(fs) a-miang (Br)} = \text{a-ōm (HuSi, BrWi)}
\]
Consequently a-h 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 (tarmôt '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).
Chart A.1. Reciprocal kinship relations in Vietnamese (Austroasiatic)
Cahrt A.2. Reciprocal kinship relations in Bru (Katuic, Mon-Khmer)
Chart A.2. (continued)

* ñi amuaq (f) eBrWi(ms) __________ HuyBr(fs) ralõh (m)
    eSiHu(ms) WiyBr(ms)
    WieBr(ms) ySiHu(ms) maháí (m)

maháí (m) __________ WiyBr(ms) __________
    eBrWi(fs) HuySi(fs) lõh (f)

* ñi (f) HueSi(fs) __________ yBrWi(fs) ra-őp, a-ēm (f)*
    yBrWi(ms) cumân amoog (f)
    HueBr(fs) yBrWi(ms) alõp (f)

lói bac (m) __________

* sai, alõp, ai (m) eSiHu(fs) __________ WiySi(ms) alõp (f)
    WieSi(ms) ySiHu(fs) aplái (sẽm) (m)

plái sai (f) __________

plái yaih __________ SpcrsSibSp __________ plái yaih

plái yaih __________

? SpgdPa __________ gdChSp __________
       (plái) châu/châu

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

2) before marriage cûq (cûn) is known as cûq lõh.
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
apay  gdMo

Question: on cousins it is not clear whether age-gradation 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).
6. Reciprocal kinship relations in Hre (North Bahnaric, Mon-Khmer)
9. Reciprocal kinship relations in Sedang (North Bahnaric, Mon-Khmer)

Note: In Kon Kòla Sedang: gònhong=mônho ng 'eparhun=eparAu'

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bahnar</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bok ach=yā ach</td>
<td>gtgtgdFa=gtgtgdMo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bok i=yā i</td>
<td>gtgdFa=gtgdMo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bok=yā</td>
<td>gdFa=gdMo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bā=mē</td>
<td>Fa=Mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nhông/mdmay</td>
<td>eBr/eSi, eCsn, SpeSibSp ySib, yCsn, SpySibSp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>eSibSp, SpeSib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mih=nā</td>
<td>eUn=eAu, SpeUn=SpeAu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma=duch</td>
<td>yUn=yAu, SpeUn=SpyAu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōnēi=tōnēi</td>
<td>SpPa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pō=pō</td>
<td>..........ChSpPa..........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klo</td>
<td>Hu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- sau ach
- sau i
- sau
- Ch kon (drānglo/drākān)
- oh
- nbi
- mon
- DaHu/SnWi
- öng/mō, mai
- pō=pō
- Wi akān
Chru

{kòi...=mò akha ròlàng tòlàng kòbàu} gtgtgtgtgtgdFa=...Mo
{kòi...=mò kò kùt} gtgtgtgtgdFa=...Mo
{kòi...=mò tònàh ròva} gtgtgdFdFa=...Mo  gtgtgdCh ldnúñi
{kòi kuah=mò kuah} gtgtgdFa=...Mo  gtgtgdCh ldnè
{kòi ko=mò kò} gtgdFa=...Mo  gtgdCh tòchē, chē
{kòi=mò} gdFd=gdMo  SibgdCh, gdCh
{ama=me} parUn=parAu  Ch
{wa=me} crsUn=crsAu  parSibCh
{mià=tòmhā} SpFa=SpMo  parSibChSp, ChSp
........................par Csn ss (Sp)............
........................crsCsn os (Sp)............
........................y addì=addì
sdc-ai=sdc-ai e.................(Sp)parSib (Sp)............
........................parCsn os.............
........................crsSib.................
........................prui Sp: SprsSibSp

gòú lòkdi m crsCsnssSp/SprsCsnss...f gòú kòmdì
/........................crsCsnss.............
\........................gòú Sp: crsSibSp/SprsSib
prui Hu
\........................f parCsnosSp/SpparCsnos...m
pdsàng Wi
sddìu

Notes: (Sp) indicates designation applies with or without spouse(s)
sdc-ai as cousin is the preferred mate for the female Chru;
addì as cousin is the preferred mate for the male Chru.
# Eastern Cham

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taô = Taô</th>
<th>gšt́gšt́gšt́gšdFa = ... Mo</th>
<th>gšt́gšt́gšt́gšdCh</th>
<th>nûrai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yôt = Yôt</td>
<td>gšt́gšt́gšdFa = ... Mo</td>
<td>gšt́gšt́gšdCh</td>
<td>nûrah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kôt = Kôt</td>
<td>gšt́gšdFa = ... Mo</td>
<td>gšt́gšdCh</td>
<td>nûrhék</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kôm = Kôm</td>
<td>gtdFa = ... Mo</td>
<td>gtdCh</td>
<td>tachêk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Øng = Chôk</td>
<td>gdFa = gdMo</td>
<td>gtdCh</td>
<td>tacho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amd = Amek</th>
<th>Fa = Mo</th>
<th>Ch</th>
<th>anuk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thuma = Thuma</td>
<td>SpFa = SpMo</td>
<td>ChSp</td>
<td>anuk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sô - Ai</th>
<th>eSib</th>
<th>ySib</th>
<th>atây</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ai thang</td>
<td>eSibSp</td>
<td>SpySib</td>
<td>ySibSp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa = Wa</td>
<td>eUa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chây = Chây</td>
<td>crsUa</td>
<td>Npc</td>
<td>kamon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nay = Nay</td>
<td>parUa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ai (Thâmuk)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Csn</td>
<td>atây (Thâmuk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathang</td>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>Wi</td>
<td>hâtìùp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parui</td>
<td></td>
<td>ChSpPa</td>
<td>parui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. Reciprocal kinship relations in Black Tai
Nung Fan Slihng

\[
\begin{align*}
* \text{ cónhng (cổ) = lão (chô)} & \quad \text{pat(gt)gtgdFa = \ldots Mo} \\
* \text{ tâ (chô) = tài (chô)} & \quad \text{mat(gt)gtgdFa = \ldots Mo} \\
* \text{ cónhng (uhm) = lão (ühm)} & \quad \text{patgdFa = \ldots Mo} \\
* \text{ tâ = tài} & \quad \text{matgdFa = \ldots Mo} \\
\text{ pô kê = mê kê} & \quad \text{eUn = eAu} \\
\{ \text{ kê khu = mê na} & \quad \text{yMatUn = ymatAu} \\
\} \quad \text{yPâtparUn = ypatparAu (FayBr(Sp))} \\
\{ \text{ sùhc = à moi} & \quad \text{yPatcrsUn = yPatcrsAu (FaySi(Sp))} \\
\} \quad \text{gdCh, Npc} & \quad \text{lân (bào/sláo)} \\
\text{ sùhc (khôi) = (mê) à} & \quad \text{Ch} \\
\text{ cô = mê} & \quad \text{SpFa = SpMo} \\
\text{ pî (bào/sláo)} & \quad \text{eSib, eCsn} \\
\{ \text{ sáo pô (f)} & \quad \text{WiySi} \\
\} \quad \text{WieSi} & \quad \text{HuySiB} \\
\text{ pî khiôì/pî nang} & \quad \text{ySiHu} \\
\} \quad \text{SpeBr} & \quad \text{SpySiHu} \\
\text{ kê sáhn đà sáhn} & \quad \text{yBrWi} \\
\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \text{ChSpPa} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \text{kê sáhn đà sáhn}
\end{align*}
\]
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Trebilco, Oliver, Joyce Trebilco and Dinh Nghia, 1976, Hre vocabulary: Hre--Vietnamese--English thesaurus, a computer printout. HB: SIL. 84 pp., mf (VD24-72, 3f). Especially pp. 60-62.

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 Cạnh; Halang: Nancy Cooper; Hre: Oliver and Joyce Trebilco (Bethany Literature Fellowship); Jeh: Patrick Cohen and A-Thông; Kôho: Ha Bul; Mnong Ralam: Henry and Evangeline Blood and Y-Tang Hmok; Mnong Preh: Richard L. Phillips (Christian and Missionary Alliance) and Y-Kem Kpôr; Nung: Nancy Freiberger Wilson and Janice Saul; Pacoh: Richard and Saundra Watson; Rade: Y-Chang niê Siêng; Rengao: Kenneth and Marilyn Gregerson; Sedang: this writer and Hmôm; Western Cham: Timothy and Barbara Friberg;


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....Phuïh 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. "pơ is also used in a special type relationship between two close friends (who have) performed some contract before they can call each other pơ or pơ bàn." John Banker in personal correspondence. Consider also pơ langik 'God' in ECham.