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## CHINESE INFLUENCE ON BOUYEI BASIC KINSHIP TERMS<sup>1</sup>

Attasith BOONSAWASD

Mahidol University, Thailand

boonsawasd\_78@hotmail.com

### Abstract

The purposes of this research were to compare the systems of Mandarin Chinese and Bouyei basic kinship terms and investigate whether Chinese has an influence on the Bouyei basic kinship terms. All data were collected from relevant documents and the native Chinese and Bouyei informants in China, and analyzed with the componential analysis approach. The results revealed that the basic kinship terms in both languages distinguished between generations, linealities, families, ages, genders, and parental sides. The Bouyei basic kinship terms appeared to be less complicated than Chinese. They made no distinction between linealities, families, ages, genders, and parental sides for the third generation above ego (G+3) and the second and the third generation below ego (G-2, G-3) as same as other languages in Kam-Tai groups. There were just three terms in Bouyei borrowed from Chinese. This was shown that the Chinese influence on the Bouyei basic kinship terms were minimal though they have language contact.

### Keywords

Bouyei basic kinship terms, Chinese kinship terms, Chinese loanwords, Language contact, Bouyei language

### LA INFLUENCIA CHINA EN LOS TÉRMINOS DE PARENTESCO BÁSICOS EN LA LENGUA BOUYEI

### Resumen

En esta investigación se ha pretendido comparar los sistemas del chino mandarín y del bouyei con relación a los términos de parentesco básicos e investigar la influencia que el chino sobre estos

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términos. Los datos se han obtenido a partir de documentación relevante y de informantes chinos y del bouyei nacidos en China, y se han estudiado aplicando un análisis componencial. Los resultados revelaron que los términos de parentesco básicos en ambas lenguas se distinguían en función de las generaciones, las linealidades, las familias, las edades, los géneros y las relaciones parentales. Los términos de parentesco básicos de la lengua bouyei parecían ser menos complejos que los del chino. Esos no distinguen entre linealidades, familias, edades, géneros, y relaciones parentales para la tercera generación posterior (G+ 3) y la segunda y la tercera generaciones anteriores (G-2, G-3), igual que otros idiomas de los grupos de Kam-Tai. Hay sólo tres términos en Bouyei tomados del chino. Así se ha demostrado que la influencia de China en los términos de parentesco básicos del bouyei fueron mínimos aunque existe contacto lingüístico.

### **Palabras clave**

términos de parentesco básico en bouyei, términos de parentesco en chino, préstamos chino, contacto lingüístico, lengua bouyei

## **1. Introduction**

Kinship terms, the systems of familial relationships, play an important role in human daily life. All human groups have the kinship terms reflecting both culture and tradition in each society. For example, one can or cannot marry one's siblings, one can or cannot joke with a superior, one is or is not allowed to call the superior by name, etc.

Kinship terms, according to *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia*, are the systems of social organization between people who are biologically related or who are given the status of relatives by marriage, adoption, or other rituals. They were first studied by the father of kinship studies in anthropology, Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881). Morgan (1871) conducted the surveys of kinship terminologies in use around the world. He discovered that kinship terms reflect different sets of distinctions, such as sex, generation, and relatives by blood and marriage.

In different societies and cultures, the kinship terms may vary. The kinship patterns in a culture are not always the same as those of another culture and are reflected in its vocabulary. The kin terms of Bouyei and Chinese also differ from one another because of the differences in culture and societal norms. That is, Tai social structure is maternal. In contrast, the majority of Chinese have a paternal structural

system. Therefore, the Bouyei people living in China may be influenced by the majority culture.

Most Bouyei speakers live in China and are sometimes identified as Chinese. Although they are required to study Mandarin Chinese and use it in their daily life following the language policy of China, for most children, their earliest cultural and social concepts are learned both in their homes and cultural milieu of Bouyei villages before they begin formal education and are then exposed to the broader Chinese majority culture. The purpose of this study is to determine whether Chinese has an influence on the Bouyei basic kinship terms and whether the kin terms system in both languages are the same or different and to what degree they may differ.

### 1.1 Bouyei people

Ramsey (1941) states that most Bouyei speak Chinese, wear Chinese clothes, and think of themselves as close relatives of the Chinese. In some localities other non-Han ethnic groups consider them to be Chinese, especially those Bouyei working in towns as tradesmen. The 2,120,000 members of this minority, except for a few thousand in northern Yunnan, all live in southern Guizhou. They form the northern continuation of the Tai-speaking population of Guangxi.

According to Snyder (1995), the Bouyei people live in south central China, primarily in Guizhou Province. Some Bouyei are also found in Yunnan and Sichuan Provinces to the southwest of Guizhou. The population of Bouyei is around 2.5 million. The autonymes of the Bouyei are *pu<sup>4</sup>jai<sup>3</sup>*, *pu<sup>4</sup>ɣjai<sup>3</sup>*, *peu<sup>4</sup>ji<sup>4</sup>*, and *pu<sup>4</sup>ɣjoi<sup>4</sup>*. They were known as *Zhongjia* during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties. The phonology of Zhong (Bouyei), Zhuàng (Tai people of Guangxi), and Dong (Kam) are all the same or differed only by aspiration in early Middle Chinese.

Zhou *et al.* (2001) claims that the Bouyei are a Tai ethnic group in South China with a population of more than 2,500,000. They are mainly distributed over the south, the southwest, and the central parts of Guizhou Province. A small number also lives in scattered communities throughout Yunnan, Sichuan and the mountainous areas of northern Vietnam. Over centuries, the Han majority called them Tujia (the natives), Bendi (the natives), Shuijia (people of the river banks) and Zhongjia (Zhong people),

whereas the Bouyei (Buyi) people call themselves  $pu^4\gamma ja\dot{i}^4$  or  $pu^4\gamma ji^4$ . This name is pronounced differently from place to place, with other variants being  $pu^4\gamma jo\dot{i}^4$ ,  $peu^4\gamma ji^4$ ,  $pu^4ja\dot{i}^4$ , according to the local vernacular. In Thailand Bouyei are known by the name Tai Dioi (Tai Yoi) which refers to the Bouyei people residing in Vietnam.

It should be noted that what Ramsey (1941), Snyder (1995) and Zhou *et al.* (2001) said about Bouyei are similar. They stated that most Bouyei live in Guizhou with a population of more than two million and are likely to increase over time. Besides, it is found that the Bouyei people contact the Chinese in their daily life. This may cause the language and culture of Bouyei to change.

### 1.2 Bouyei language

Based on three types of evidence, namely the distribution of vocabulary, the distribution of certain special phonological features and specific phonological developments, Li (1960) placed the Bouyei language as a sister in the Northern Tai branch. This classification has been widely accepted by Tai-Kadai linguists over the years since then. The closest related languages to Bouyei are the other Northern Tai languages, Northern Zhuang in neighboring Guangxi province, Saek in Thailand and Laos, and Yay in Vietnam. Ramsey (1941) states that the Bouyei is not clearly distinguishable from the Northern Zhuang either linguistically or culturally because linguistic differences between the Bouyei and the Northern Zhuang are slight. By Chinese standards, the Bouyei language could be called a dialect of Northern Zhuang. Zhou *et al.* (2001) and Zhang & Fang (2005) consider the Bouyei language to be a part of Sino-Tibetan, Zhuang-Dong family, Zhuang-Dai branch. Snyder (1995), following Li (1960), placed the Bouyei language in the Northern Tai branch of Kadai as well as Edmondson & Solnit (1997), Thurgood (1988), and Ostapirat (2000). See Figure 1.

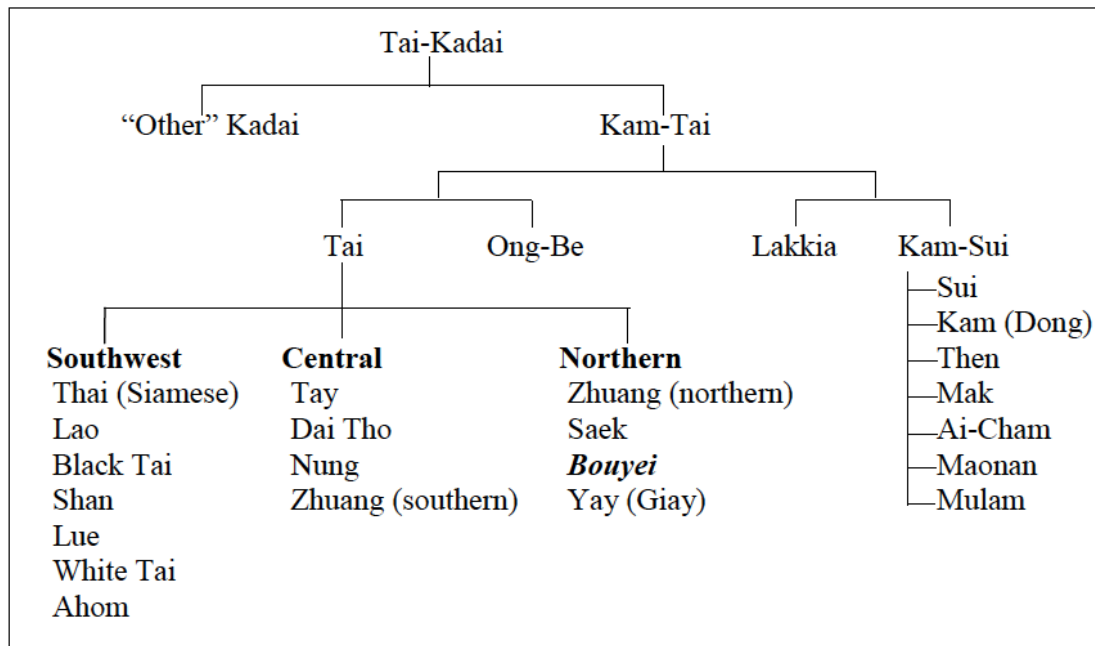


Figure 1. Relationship of Bouyei to other Tai languages (adapted from Snyder 1995: 13)

The Bouyei language, according to Zhou *et al.* (2001), is divided into three vernaculars as follows:

1) Qiannan vernacular (southern part) is spoken in Wangmo, Anlong, Luodian, Zhenfeng, Xingyi, Cheheng, Dushan, and Libo, and some parts of Huishui, Changshun, Xingren, Ziyun, Guanling, Pingtang, Duyun and Zhenning;

2) Qianzhong vernacular (central part) is spoken in Guiyang, Guiding, Qingzhen, Longli, Pingba, Anshun, Zhijin, and Qianxi, and large parts of such counties as Huishui, Changshun, Duyun, and a small part of Dushan County; and

3) Qianxi vernacular (southwestern part) is spoken in Pu'an, Qinglong, Liuzhi, Puding, Shuicheng, and large parts of Zhenning, and Guanling counties and small parts of Ziyun, and Xingren counties.

Even though there is a variety of Bouyei lects, the Wangmo lect of the first vernacular is considered to be the standard language because of a large percentage of all speakers. The Bouyei speakers of other lects understand Wangmo, while the speakers of Wangmo lect do not understand the others. The distribution of Bouyei lects is shown in Figure 2.

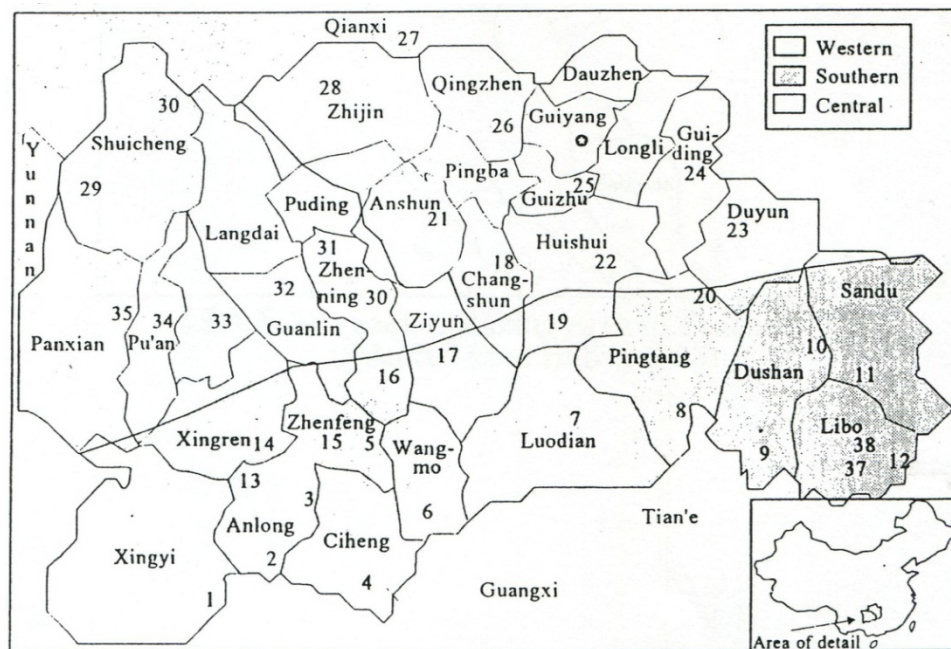


Figure 2. Bouyei areas (Edmondson & Solnit 1997: 28)

## 2. Scope of the study and methodology

In this paper, the researcher first developed the rationale for the study; second, compared and described the systems of Bouyei and Chinese basic kinship terms; and third, investigated whether Chinese has an influence on the Bouyei basic kinship terms.

Though kinship terms include the terms of address and the terms of reference used to identify the relationship of the relatives to ego or to each other, the researcher focuses on the latter only. The Chinese data is drawn from English-Chinese dictionaries, papers on Chinese kinship terms, and native Chinese speakers. For the Bouyei data, they are the data from two sources: first, the Bouyei-Chinese-English-Thai *dictionary* (Zhou *et al.* 2001); and second, the native speakers of the Bouyei vernacular of Qiannan, Guizhou province, Zhou Guoyan and Huang Zhengbang. Zhou is a professor from the Kam-Tai Institute, Central University for Nationalities and Huang was an M.A. student from the same institute. The data from the second source was collected through the medium of English which was known to both informants. A list of

101 kin terms was prepared in English. To prevent misunderstanding, a table of Kinship terms created by the author was also used when eliciting data.

The componential analysis approach developed by Lounsbury (1964) and Goodenough (1956) was used in this study. The approach is a semantic study of kin terms (and also other areas of the vocabulary of a language) by which meaning is analyzed in terms of atomic components in such a way that, for every term, different values are given to a group of semantic features or dimensions (Jonsson 1999: 8). The symbols representing each feature in this paper were adapted from Prasithratsint (2001: 266).

### 3. Comparison between Bouyei and Chinese basic kinship terms

The following tables show the comparison between some Bouyei and Chinese basic kinship terms. They were ordered from high downward to low generations as follows: third generation above Ego, second generation above Ego, first generation above Ego, Ego, first generation below Ego, second generation below Ego, and third generation below Ego.

<i>Relation to ego</i>	<i>Bouyei terms</i>	<i>Chinese terms</i>
1. father's father's father (FFF)	taiqjees [t <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>53</sup> tɕe <sup>35</sup> ]	zeng zu fu
2. father's father's mother (FFM)	taiqjees [t <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>53</sup> tɕe <sup>35</sup> ]	zeng zu mu
3. father's mother's father (FMF)	taiqjees [t <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>53</sup> tɕe <sup>35</sup> ]	zeng zu fu
4. father's mother's mother (FMM)	taiqjees [t <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>53</sup> tɕe <sup>35</sup> ]	zeng zu mu
5. mother's father's father (MFF)	taiqjees [t <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>53</sup> tɕe <sup>35</sup> ]	wai zeng zu fu
6. mother's father's mother (MFM)	taiqjees [t <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>53</sup> tɕe <sup>35</sup> ]	wai zeng zu mu
7. mother's mother's father (MMF)	taiqjees [t <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>53</sup> tɕe <sup>35</sup> ]	wai zeng zu fu
8. mother's mother's mother (MMM)	taiqjees [t <sup>h</sup> ai <sup>53</sup> tɕe <sup>35</sup> ]	wai zeng zu mu

Table 1. Third generation above Ego (G+3)

<i>Relation to ego</i>	<i>Bouyei terms</i>	<i>Chinese terms</i>
1. father's father (FF)	baus [pau <sup>35</sup> ]	zu fu
2. father's mother (FM)	yah [ja <sup>33</sup> ]	zu mu
3. mother's father (MF)	dal [ta <sup>24</sup> ]	wai zu fu
4. mother's mother (MM)	daais [ta:i <sup>35</sup> ]	wai zu mu

Table 2. Second generation above Ego (G+2)

<i>Relation to ego</i>	<i>Bouyei terms</i>	<i>Chinese terms</i>
1. father (F)	boh [pɔ <sup>33</sup> ]	fu qin
2. mother (M)	meeh [me <sup>33</sup> ]	mu qin
3. father's elder brother (F+B)	boh laaux [pɔ <sup>33</sup> la:u <sup>31</sup> ]	bo fu
4. father's younger brother (F-B)	aaul [ʔa:u <sup>24</sup> ]	shu fu
5. father's elder sister (F+Z)	bac [pa <sup>53</sup> ]	gu mu
6. father's younger sister (F-Z)	guex [k <sup>w</sup> u <sup>31</sup> ]	gu mu
7. mother's elder brother (M+B)	boh lungz [pɔ <sup>33</sup> lun <sup>11</sup> ]	jiu fu
8. mother's younger brother (M-B)	boh nax [pɔ <sup>33</sup> na <sup>31</sup> ]	jiu fu
9. mother's elder sister (M+Z)	bac [pa <sup>53</sup> ]	yi mu
10. mother's younger sister (M-Z)	nax [na <sup>31</sup> ]	yi mu

Table 3. First generation above Ego (G+1)

<i>Relation to ego</i>	<i>Bouyei terms</i>	<i>Chinese terms</i>
1. elder brother (+B)	bix [pi <sup>31</sup> ]	ge ge
2. younger brother (-B)	nuangx [nuan <sup>31</sup> ]	di di
3. elder sister (+Z)	sej [se <sup>53</sup> ]	jie jie
4. younger sister (-Z)	nuangx maix mbegt [nuan <sup>31</sup> mai <sup>31</sup> ʔbuk <sup>35</sup> ]	mei mei
5. father's brother's son: elder (FB+S)	bixnuangx [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> ]	tang ge
6. father's brother's son: younger (FB-S)	bixnuangx [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> ]	tang di
7. father's brother's daughter: elder (FB+D)	bixnuangx [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> ]	tang jie
8. father's brother's daughter: younger (FB-D)	bixnuangx	tang mei



	[pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> ]	
9. father's sister's son: elder (FZ+S)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	gu biao ge
10. father's sister's son: younger (FZ-S)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	gu biao di
11. father's sister's daughter: elder (FZ+D)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	gu biao jie
12. father's sister's daughter: younger (FZ-D)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	gu biao mei
13. mother's brother's son: elder (MB+S)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	jiu biao ge
14. mother's brother's son: younger (MB-S)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	jiu biao di
15. mother's brother's daughter: elder (MB+D)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	jiu biao jie
16. mother's brother's daughter: younger (MB-D)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	jiu biao mei
17. mother's sister's son: elder (MZ+S)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	yi biao ge
18. mother's sister's son: younger (MZ-S)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	yi biao di
19. mother's sister's daughter: elder (MZ+D)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	yi biao jie
20. mother's sister's daughter: younger (MZ-D)	bixnuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	yi biao mei

Table 4. Ego (G0)

<i>Relation to ego</i>	<i>Bouyei term</i>	<i>Chinese term</i>
1. son (S)	legsaaɪ [lʉk <sup>33</sup> sa:i <sup>24</sup> ]	er zi
2. daughter (D)	legmbegt [lʉk <sup>33</sup> <sup>2</sup> bʉk <sup>35</sup> ]	nǚ er
3. elder brother's son (+BS)	laanɪ [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	zhi zi
4. elder brother's daughter (+BD)	laanɪ [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	zhi nǚ
5. younger brother's son (-BS)	laanɪ [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	zhi zi

6. younger brother's daughter (-BD)	laanl [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	zhi nü
7. elder sister's son (+ZS)	laanl [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	wai sheng
8. elder sister's daughter (+ZD)	laanl [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	wai sheng nü
9. younger sister's son (-ZS)	laanl [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	wai sheng
10. younger sister's daughter (-ZD)	laanl [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	wai sheng nü

Table 5. First generation below Ego (G-1)

<i>Relation to ego</i>	<i>Bouyei term</i>	<i>Chinese term</i>
1. son's son (SS)	laanl [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	sun zi
2. son's daughter (SD)	laanl [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	sun nü
3. daughter's son (DS)	laanl [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	wai sun
4. daughter's daughter (DD)	laanl [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	wai sun nü

Table 6. Second generation below Ego (G-2)

<i>Relation to ego</i>	<i>Bouyei term</i>	<i>Chinese term</i>
1. son's son's son (SSS)	lanc [lan <sup>53</sup> ]	zeng sun zi
2. son's son's daughter (SSD)	lanc [lan <sup>53</sup> ]	zeng sun nü
3. son's daughter's son (SDS)	lanc [lan <sup>53</sup> ]	zeng wai sun
4. son's daughter's daughter (SDD)	lanc [lan <sup>53</sup> ]	zeng wai sun nü
5. daughter's son's son (DSS)	lanc [lan <sup>53</sup> ]	zeng wai sun
6. daughter's son's daughter (DSD)	lanc [lan <sup>53</sup> ]	zeng wai sun nü
7. daughter's daughter's son (DDS)	lanc [lan <sup>53</sup> ]	zeng wai sun
8. daughter's daughter's daughter (DDD)	lanc [lan <sup>53</sup> ]	zeng wai sun nü

Table 7. Third generation below Ego (G-3)

From the above tables, it is seen that there are just three terms in Bouyei borrowed from Chinese. They include *taiqjees* [t<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>53</sup> tɕe<sup>35</sup>] 'great-grand parents', *sej* [se<sup>53</sup>] 'elder sister,' and *bixnuangx biaoj* [pi<sup>31</sup> nuan<sup>31</sup> piao<sup>53</sup>] 'cousin.' Each term can be explained as follows:

1) **Taiqjees** [t<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>53</sup> tɕe<sup>35</sup>] is a complex word consisting of *taiq* [t<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>53</sup>], a bound morpheme borrowed from Cantonese, referring to 'great-grandparents' and *jees* [tɕe<sup>35</sup>], a bound morpheme, referring to 'elderly.'

2) **Sej** [se<sup>53</sup>] is borrowed from the word *jie* in Chinese by integrating phonetic features of Chinese into the phonetic system of the local Bouyei language.

3) **Bixnuangx biaoj** [pi<sup>31</sup> nuan<sup>31</sup> piao<sup>53</sup>] consists of a Bouyei term, *bixnuangx* [pi<sup>31</sup> nuan<sup>31</sup>] ‘cousin,’ and a Chinese loan word, *biaoj* [piao<sup>53</sup>] ‘cousin’. *Biaoj* [piao<sup>53</sup>] is borrowed from the word *biǎo* in Chinese by integrating phonetic features of Chinese into the phonetic system of the local Bouyei language as well.

We can see that the kinship terms in both languages distinguish between generations, linealities, families, ages, genders, and parental sides. Besides, the distinction between mother’s siblings can be found in Chinese only. Examples are shown in the following table.

	<i>Bouyei</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>Kin type</i>
Generation	boh [pɔ <sup>33</sup> ] - legsaail [lɯk <sup>33</sup> sa:i <sup>24</sup> ]	fu qin - er zi	father – son
Lineality	legsaail [lɯk <sup>33</sup> sa:i <sup>24</sup> ] - laanl [la:n <sup>24</sup> ]	er zi - zhi zi	son – son’s son
Family	bixnuangx [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> ] - binuangx biaoj [pi <sup>31</sup> nuan <sup>31</sup> piao <sup>53</sup> ]	tang ge - gu biao ge	father’s brother’s son: elder – father’s sister’s son: elder
Mother’s sibling	(No Bouyei term for this relationship)	jiu biao ge - yi biao ge	mother’s brother’s son: elder – mother’s sister’s son: elder
Age	bix [pi <sup>31</sup> ] - nuangx [nuan <sup>31</sup> ]	ge ge - di di	elder brother – younger brother
Gender	boh [pɔ <sup>33</sup> ] - meeh [me <sup>33</sup> ]	fu qin - mu qin	father – mother
Parental side	baus [pau <sup>35</sup> ] - dal [ta <sup>24</sup> ]	zu fu - wai zu fu	father’s father – mother’s father

Table 8. Examples of Bouyei and Chinese basic kinship terms distinguishing between generations, linealities, families, mother’s siblings, ages, genders, and parental sides

So, we can identify the semantic features from these dimensions of contrast as follows:

### *1) Generation*

This is divided into seven semantic features: Ego, first generation above ego, second generation above ego, third generation above ego, first generation below ego, second generation below ego, and third generation below ego. Such features are represented by G0, G+1, G+2, G+3, G-1, G-2, and G-3, respectively.

### *2) Lineality*

In this dimension, the researcher identifies two semantic features: lineal and non-lineal. Lineal represented by [+L] refers to in the direct line of descent. Non-lineal, collateral, represented by [-L] refers to descended from a common ancestor but in a different line.

### *3) Family*

This dimension is divided into [+F] 'in the same family' and [-F] 'from other families.'

### *4) Mother's sibling*

In this dimension, it is divided into [+B] 'male sibling' and [-B] 'female sibling.'

### *5) Age*

The researcher divides this dimension into [+A] 'elder sibling' and [-A] 'younger sibling.'

### *6) Gender*

The author uses [+M] and [-M] to represent 'male' and 'female,' respectively.

### *7) Parental side*

This is identified as either [+P] 'on the paternal side' or [-P] 'on the maternal side'.

#### 4. Bouyei and Chinese basic kinship term systems

The systems of both basic kinship terms can be explicitly shown as the following tables.

Generation	Parental side	Relative Age	Lineality					
			+L			-L		
					+F		-F	
			+M	-M	+M	-M	+M	-M
G+3			taiqjees					
G+2	+P		baus	yah	baus	yah	baus	yah
	-P		dal	daais	dal	daais	dal	daais
G+1	+P	+A	boh	meeh	boh	bac	boh	bac
		-A			laaux		laaux	
	-P	+A			boh	bac	boh	bac
		-A			lungz		lungz	
G 0	+P	+A	bix	sej	bixnuangx	bixnuangx biaoj		
		-A	nuangx	nuangx maix mbegt				
	-P	+A	bix	sej	bixnuangx biaoj			
		-A	nuangx	nuangx maix mbegt				
G-1			legsaail	legmbegt	laanl			
G-2			laanl					
G-3			lanc					

Table 9. Bouyei basic kinship term system

From the table above, it is seen that the Bouyei basic kinship terms are not complicated. Each term can be explained with the form of semantic components as follows:

taiqjees	[G+3]	boh laaux	[G+1, -L, +P, +A, +M]
baus	[G+2, +P, +M]	bac	[G+1, -L, +A, -M]
yah	[G+2, +P, -M]	aaul	[G+1, -L, +P, -A, +M]
dal	[G+2, -P, +M]	guex	[G+1, -L, +P, -A, -M]
daais	[G+2, -P, -M]	boh lungz	[G+1, -L, -P, +A, +M]
boh	[G+1, +L, +M]	boh nax	[G+1, -L, -P, -A, +M]
meeh	[G+1, +L, -M]	nal	[G+1, -L, -P, -A, -M]
bix	[G0, +L, +A, +M]	bixnuangx	[G0, -L, +P, +F]
sej	[G0, +L, +A, -M]	bixnuangx biaoj	[G0, -L, +P, -F], [G0, -L, -P]
nuangx	[G0, +L, -A, +M]		
nuangx maix mbegt	[G0, +L, -A, -M]		
legsail	[G-1, +L, +M]		
legmbegt	[G-1, +L, -M]		
laani	[G-1, -L], [G-2]		
lanc	[G-3]		

In the direct line of descent column, the first generation above ego (G+1) and the first generation below ego (G-1) distinguish between genders only, whereas ego generation (G0) distinguishes between genders and ages, and the second generation above ego (G+2) distinguishes between genders and parental sides.

For the indirect line or collateral relations, the distinction between ages and parental sides can be found in G+1 and G0. Nevertheless, G+1 and G0 differ in that G+1 distinguishes between sexes but G0 does not. Furthermore, G0 makes a distinction between families, e.g., the difference between a father's brother's son: elder and a father's sister's son: elder.

It should be noted that in both direct line and indirect line of descent column, the third generation above Ego, the second and the third generation below Ego make no distinction between linealities, families, ages, genders and parental sides. They use only one term, *taiqjees* (great-grandparent), *laani* (grandchild) and *lanc* (great-grandchild), respectively.

Gener- ation	Parternal side	Relative Age	Mother's sibling	Lineality								
				+L				-L				
				+F		-F		+F		-F		
				+M	-M	+M	-M	+M	-M	+M	-M	
G+3	+P			zeng zu fu	zeng zu mu							
	-P					wai zeng zu fu	wai zeng zu mu					
G+2	+P			zu fu	zu mu							
	-P					wai zu fu	wai zu mu					
G+1	+P	+A		fu qin	mu qin			bo fu	gu mu			
		-A	shu fu									
	-P		jiu fu					yi mu				
G 0	+P	+A		ge ge	jie jie			tang ge	tang jie	gu biao ge	gu biao jie	
		-A		di di	mei mei			tang di	tang mei	gu biao di	gu biao mei	
	-P	+A	+B		ge ge	jie jie					jiu biao ge	jiu biao jie
			-B									
		-A	+B		di di	mei mei					jiu biao di	jiu biao mei
			-B									
G-1				er zi	nü er			zhi zi	zhi nü	wai sheng	wai sheng nü	
G-2				sun zi	sun nu	wai sun	wai sun nü					
G-3				zeng sun zi	zeng sun nü	zeng wai sun	zeng wai sun nü					

Table 10. Chinese basic kinship term system

From Table 10, each term has the form of semantic components as follows:

zeng zu fu	[G+3, +P, +M]	bo fu	[G+1, -L, +P, +A, +M]
zeng zu mu	[G+3, +P, -M]	shu fu	[G+1, -L, +P, -A, +M]
wai zeng zu fu	[G+3, -P, +M]	gu mu	[G+1, -L, +P, -M]
wai zeng zu mu	[G+3, -P, -M]	jiu fu	[G+1, -L, -P, +M]
zu fu	[G+2,+P, +M]	yi mu	[G+1, -L, -P, -M]
zu mu	[G+2,+P, -M]	tang ge	[G+0, -L, +P, +F, +A, +M]
wai zu fu	[G+2,-P, +M]	tang jie	[G+0, -L, +P, +F, +A, -M]
wai zu mu	[G+2,-P, -M]	tang di	[G+0, -L, +P, +F, -A, +M]
fu qin	[G+1, +L, +M]	tang mei	[G+0, -L, +P, +F, -A, -M]
mu qin	[G+1, +L, -M]	gu biao ge	[G+0, -L, +P, -F, +A, +M]
ge ge	[G0, +L,+A, +M]	gu biao jie	[G+0, -L, +P, -F, +A, -M]
jie jie	[G0, +L,+A, -M]	gu biao di	[G+0, -L, +P, -F, -A, +M]
di di	[G0, +L,-A, +M]	gu biao mei	[G+0, -L, +P, -F, -A, -M]
mei mei	[G0, +L,-A, -M]	jiu biao ge	[G+0, -L, -P, -F, +B, +A, +M]
er zi	[G-1, +L, +M]	jiu biao jie	[G+0, -L, -P, -F, +B, +A, -M]
nü er	[G-1, +L, -M]	jiu biao di	[G+0, -L, -P, -F, +B, -A, +M]
sun zi	[G-2, +F, +M]	jiu biao mei	[G+0, -L, -P, -F, +B, -A, -M]
sun nü	[G-2, +F, -M]	yi biao ge	[G+0, -L, -P, -F, -B, +A, +M]
wai sun	[G-2, -F, +M]	yi biao jie	[G+0, -L, -P, -F, -B, +A, -M]
wai sun nü	[G-2, -F, -M]	yi biao di	[G+0, -L, -P, -F, -B -A, +M]
zeng sun zi	[G-3, +F, +M]	yi biao mei	[G+0, -L, -P, -F, -B, -A, -M]
zeng sun nü	[G-3, +F, -M]	zhi zi	[G-1, -L, +F, +M]
zeng wai sun	[G-3, -F, +M]	zhi nü	[G-1, -L, +F, -M]
zeng wai sun nü	[G-3, -F, -M]	wai sheng	[G-1, -L, -F, +M]
wai sheng nü	[G-1, -L, -F, -M]		

We can see that there are more specific kinship terms in Chinese than in Bouyei. The Chinese kinship system is more complex as well. In the direct line of descent column, the second and the third generation above ego (G+2, G+3) and the second and the third generation below ego (G-2, G-3) distinguish between genders and families. The words *wai* and *biao* which mean 'outside' are used to represent the relatives from other families such as mother's father, daughter's son, son's daughter's daughter, etc. However, G-2 and G-3 make no distinction between parental sides. The most complex system is found in Ego generation, G0, in the indirect line of descent. The distinction



between families, mother's siblings, relative ages, genders, and parental sides is made in such generation.

## 7. Conclusion

In this study, the researcher presents a componential analysis of the basic kinship terms in Bouyei and Chinese. The study shows that there are just three terms in Bouyei borrowed from Chinese including *taiqjees* [t<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>53</sup> tɕe<sup>35</sup>] 'grand parents,' *sej* [se<sup>53</sup>] 'elder sister,' and *bixnuangx biaoj* [pi<sup>31</sup> nuan<sup>31</sup> piao<sup>53</sup>] 'cousin.' The reason why the Bouyei speakers must borrow these terms from Chinese is that the Bouyei basic kinship system appears to be less complex than Chinese. The distinction between linealities, families, ages, genders and parental sides is not made in the third generation above Ego, the second generation below Ego and the third generation below Ego. It is still similar to other Tai language systems. So they do not have enough terms to call their relatives and need to borrow some words from Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese influence on the Bouyei basic kinship terms is not much even though they have language contact.

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