

SECTION VII
LINGUISTICS

COGNATES AND LOANS AMONG ASLIAN KIN TERMS

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The Aslian languages are those Austroasiatic languages spoken in West Malaysia and southernmost Thailand, mostly in the mountainous jungles of the centre and north (none are found south of the Endau river in Johore). Apart from Nicobarese they form the smallest of the four sub-families into which Austroasiatic is generally divided, the other two being Munda (in central India) and Mon-Khmer (in the rest of Southeast Asia). Aslian languages are grouped into three branches, Jahaic in the north, Senoic in the centre, and Semelaic in the south. The Jahaic groups are very small and speakers number only about 2,000 altogether. The other two branches number a little above 30,000 and 20,000 respectively. The grand total of perhaps 55,000 is less than one percent of the total population of West Malaysia.¹ The constituent languages of the three branches are as follows:

| Jahaic | Senoic | Semelaic |
|---------------|---------|-------------|
| Tonga and Mos | Jah Hut | Maq Betiseq |
| Batek | Lanoh | Semelai |
| Jahai | Temiar | Temoq |
| Kensiu | Semai | Semoq Beri |
| Kintak Bong | | |
| Mendriq | | |
| Mintil | | |
| Chewong | | |

There is a sufficient if not complete body of data on Aslian kin terms to permit academic analysis and enquiry. The principal purpose of this article is to identify some cognate sets and Malay loans in this body of lexis.² However, I will start with some general remarks on the terminologies as a whole.

None of these terminologies are prescriptive, i.e. have the sorts of equation and pattern associated with the continuous operation of positive marriage rules (commonly if not really adequately known as cross-cousin marriage), which all these societies lack; indeed, they are all cognatic in both kinship terminology and their usual mode of kin reckoning.³ Their terminologies all resemble instead the common type of lowland Southeast Asian terminology. They are less

thoroughly generational than the Malay terminology and make slightly more distinctions, especially in ascending levels. They are perfectly symmetric in that they do not distinguish between matrilineal and patrilineal kin, between cross and parallel kin or between wife's parents and husband's parents. It is also uncommon for the same term to be applied in more than one genealogical level.⁴ The remoter levels, both ascending and descending, mostly have only one term each, which are perhaps better considered generational markers than kin terms in the strict sense. The +2 to -1 levels are all more differentiated, however, especially the ascending levels. It is in +2 and +1 that sex is relevant, for this is not typically distinguished in ego's or the -1 level. Consanguines and affines are distinguished in all four levels, though minimally in +2. Only +1 and -1 distinguish lineal from collateral kin to any degree, this being the main departure from Malay, which is generational in all levels. Relative age is significant in +1 and occasionally in the -1 level, but it is absolutely regular in ego's level, where the two terms for consanguines always denote elder and younger (not male and female or same-sex and opposite-sex). Thus the levels with the greatest degree of differentiation are +1 (the level of jural control for ego) and his own level (the one into which he marries). Generally it is Semelaic, and especially Semelai itself, that has the least differentiation of consanguines and is therefore, like Malay, the most generational. This befits the greater degree of acculturation of the speakers of this branch generally, for they live furthest south and in less remote parts of the interior.

I will list first the main cognate sets of Aslian lexis among kin terms, and secondly the Malay loans that have been adopted.

Aslian Cognates

A number of cognates common to two or more branches of Aslian can be established, some of them extending into other Austroasiatic also.

1. *bah*. Parent's sibling in Batek Deq, Chewong; Jah Hut *ibah* parent's younger sibling, Semai *ba(h)* id.

2. *ber, beh*. Younger sibling in Jahaic; also Lanoh, Temiar *pəq* id.?
3. *cnǎq* (Temiar, Semai), *cěǎq* (Semoq Beri), *chenuq* (Semelai), grandchild.
4. *dodn* (Jahai), *dōtn* (Semai), great-grandparent.
5. *doq*. Father in Batek, Lanoh, Temiar.
6. *gadoq* (Semelai, Temoq), *ga(n)deq* (Maq Betiseq), *qideq* (Jah Hut), mother.
7. *kedol* (Batek), *kěđǎy* (Lanoh), *ködöl* (Temiar), *kěđǎh* (Maq Betiseq), wife.
8. *kancoq* (Batek Deq), *kancho* (Jahai), *kenchok* (Mendriq), *kanchau* (Lanoh), grandchild. Possibly the Jahaic for 3 above, which is found only in Senoic and Semelaic.
9. *ken(d)eh*. Wife in Jahaic; Jah Hut, Semai, Semelai *kěnah* id.
10. *kěsiu*. Husband in Jahaic (Kensiu *gěsiu*); Jah Hut *kěsǎr*, Semai *gěngsǎr*.
11. *kodn*. Parent's elder brother in Kensiu, Mendriq; also Semai *kujǎ* id.?
12. *kon*. Child in Lanoh. Jahai *ken*, Semai, Semelaic *kěǎn* id. Common Austroasiatic root.
13. *kuman* (Temiar), *kemun* (Lanoh), sibling's child.
14. *mensaw*. Child's spouse in Batek Deq, Jahai; child's spouse, younger sibling's spouse in Senoic.
15. *naq*. Mother in Jahaic (not Jahai, Batek Nong), Lanoh, Temiar, Semelai.
16. *qawpaq*. Child, sibling's child in Batek Deq, Mintil; Semoq Beri *qewpaq*, Jah Hut *qiwǎq*, possibly Temiar *kěwǎt*, *kěwǎs*, id.
17. *qey*. Father in Jahaic (not Mintil, Chewong); also Temiar *qayaq*, Semoq Beri *qeypaq* id.?
18. *taq*. Grandfather in Jahaic and Senoic. Common Austroasiatic root.
19. *teq*. Husband in Chewong, Lanoh; also Temiar *toh* id.?
20. *wong*. Child in Jahaic (not Batek Deq, Mintil); also Lanoh *kěwǎn* id.?
21. *yaq*. Grandmother in Jahaic and Senoic. Common Austroasiatic root.
7. Semelai *bapaq sedaraq* uncle, *maq sedaraq* aunt; from Malay *bapak*, *emak* plus *saudara* collateral relative.
8. Semelai *bapaq tiriq* step-father, *maq tiriq* step-mother; from Malay *bapak*, *emak* plus *tiri* step-kinsman.
9. Chewong *besan*, Temiar *bisat*, Semelai *bisan* child's spouse's parent; from Malay *besan* id.
10. Chewong, Semelai *biras* spouse's sibling's spouse; from Malay *biras* wife's sister's husband, husband's brother's wife.
11. Batek Nong *bǎq*, Jahai *běq* mother; possibly from Malay *embuk* id.
12. Maq Betiseq *budek* child; from Malay *budak* young boy or girl.
13. Mendriq *chichid*, Batek Deq *cucid*, Jah Hut, Semai *cicit*, Semelai *chichet* great-grandchild; from Malay *cicit* id. Temiar *chichid*, great-grandparent of great-grandparents, may be connected.
14. Kensiu *chuchuq*, Jah Hut *cuk*, Semelai, Temoq *chuchu* (sibling's) grandchild; from Malay *cucu* id.
15. Chewong *cu* grandchild; from Malay *cucu* id. or possibly *chu* youngest.
16. Semelai *datok*, *tok* grandparent; from Malay *datok* grandfather.
17. Semai *ibu* mother; from Malay *ibu* id.
18. Semelai *ipar* spouse's sibling; from Malay *ipar* sibling-in-law.
19. Temoq *kakak* elder sister, possibly Semelai *ga'ek*, Semoq Beri *gaqoq* id.; from Malay *kakak* id.
20. Jahai *lamin* brother-in-law; possibly from Malay *lamin*, used in terms for bridal accoutrements, e.g. *pelamin* bridal dais.
21. Chewong, Semelai, Temoq, Semoq Beri *maq*, Semai *qameq* mother, possibly Maq Betiseq *aměh* mother; from Malay *emak* id.
22. Jah Hut *mentuha* parent-in-law; from Malay *mentua* id.
23. Jah Hut *moyang* great-great-grandparent, *yang* great-grandparent, Semelai *moyang* (great-) great-grandparent, Maq Betiseq *moyang* great-grandparent, *yang* great-great-grandparent; from Malay *moyang* great-grandparent.
24. Chewong *moyet* great-grandparent, great-grandson, Semelai *moyet* great-great-grandparent; from Malay *moyot* great-great-grandparent.
25. Semelai *nenik* great-grandparent; from Malay *nenek* id.
26. Semelai *nenik* father's mother, Maq Betiseq *ninik* grandparent, great-uncle, Temoq *nenik* grandmother; from Malay *nini* grandmother, old lady.
27. Temoq *nga* younger sibling; from Malay *ngah* middle one of a family.
28. Kensiu *nyang* great-grandparent, great-grandchild; from *nyang* (connected with *moyang*, 23 above, according to Rahman op. cit.) great-grandparent.
29. Maq Betiseq *oneng* great-great-great-grandchild; possibly from Malay *onang-aning* great-great-great-great-great-grandchild.
30. Jah Hut *paran* wife's younger sibling; possibly from Malay *ipar* sibling-in-law.
31. Jah Hut *paran tuhak* wife's brother; possibly from Malay

Malay Loans

1. Chewong *adi*, Jah Hut *qadǎg*, Maq Betiseq, Semelai *qadiq*, Temoq, Semoq Beri *qadeq* younger sibling; from Malay *adek* id. Also Jah Hut *adeq* wife's elder brother's child.
2. Kintak Bong *adik ipar* younger brother-in-law; from Malay *adik ipar* younger sibling's spouse.
3. Semoq Beri *qakih* grandfather; from Malay *aki* grandparent, great uncle.
4. Kintak Bong *qaneg* child, Chewong *aneg* sibling's child, Jah Hut *anake* elder sibling's child, parent's sibling's child's child; from Malay *anak* child.
5. Semai *apá*, Chewong, Maq Betiseq *bap*, Semelai, Temoq, Semoq Beri *bapaq*, father; from Malay *bapak* id.
6. Semelai *bapaq mentuhaq* father-in-law, *maq mentuhaq* mother-in-law; from Malay *bapak*, *emak* plus *mentua* parent-in-law.

ipar sibling-in-law plus *mentua* parent-in-law.

32. Finally, three Jah Hut kin terms for descending generations seem to have been taken, for some reason at present hard to understand, from Malay words for particular gestures:

cuīt great-great-grandchild; cf. Malay *mencuit* to poke with one's finger;

gamīt great-great-great-grandchild; cf. Malay *menggamit* to beckon, invite;

cangah great-great-great-great-grandchild; cf. Malay *mencangah* to point with two fingers.

Temiar has itself loaned kin terms to the Jahaic language Mendriq, viz. *atouh* (Temiar *qatow* 'son') for son, sibling's son, and *aleh* (Temiar *qaleh*, 'daughter') for daughter, sibling's daughter.

NOTES

1 For fuller details, see Robert Parkin, *An Introductory Guide to Austroasiatic-speaking Populations*, ch. 4 (in manuscript).

2 The data in this article were originally assembled and analysed in my thesis (R.J. Parkin, 'Kinship and Marriage in the Austroasiatic-speaking World: A Comparative Analysis', Oxford D. Phil. 1984) and were drawn mostly from already published material; the sources are too numerous to be mentioned here but are listed in an Appendix to my thesis. I wish to thank M-A. Couillard and Kirk Endicott for allowing me to consult unpublished

data of their own on Batek and Jah Hut respectively; and the Economic and Social Research Council (then Social Science Research Council) of the United Kingdom and Dr N.J. Allen for funding and supervising the original research respectively.

For a view of Malay kinship and details of terms, I have consulted David J. Banks, 'Malay Kinship Terms and Morgan's Malayan Terminology: The Complexity of Simplicity', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 130, pt. 1 (1974), pp. 44-68, and Haji Abdul Rahman, *Malay-English Dictionary*, London etc.: Collins. In the data

below, initial and final *q* stands for the glottal stop; I have not otherwise altered the spelling of the original sources for this article. There are at least some kin-term data for all Aslian groups except the Tonga and Mos, nomadic groups found in southernmost Thailand.

3 See my thesis for a summary of these matters.

4 Ego's level is conventionally numbered 0 (zero), that of his parents +1, that of his children -1, that of his grandparents +2, that of his grandchildren -2, and so on.

