

TERMINOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE MIAO KINSHIP SYSTEM

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The Miao, or Miaotzü, is one of the very widely distributed tribespeople in Southwestern China. They are interspersed among the Han-Chinese in Szechuan, Kueichow, Yunnan, Hunan, Kwangsi Provinces and Hainan Island, and some of them have migrated southward to the mountainous regions of Northeastern Burma, Northern Thailand, Northern Laos, and Northern Tongking, Vietnam. The total population has been estimated at two to three million souls.

The Miao studied are those inhabit the mountainous regions on the sources of the Yungning River, Southern Szechuan, and number approximately ten thousand souls. They are called by themselves as Hmong Ntsü, but by some of the Chinese as Yachio Miao, "Magpie Miao", and by others as Han Miao, "Sinicized Miao", who are one of the various affiliated ethnic groups collectively, but not accurately, called by D. C. Graham¹ as the Ch'uan Miao or the Miao of Szechuan Province.

I. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The following charts (I-IV) illustrate the terminological structure of the Miao Kinship system and all the Kinship terms with meanings used for designating kin will be found in table I. The materials for this study were gathered by the writer from an ethnographic survey in Southern Szechuan in 1943. The kinship terms, as listed in the table, are of exclusively terms of reference which consist of twenty-four elementary terms with two or more of which all descriptive terms are combined and from which all derivative terms are compounded together with three lexical elements. They are more specific and complete in their application than terms of address. For this reason as well as for lack of space, terms of address, though forming an integral part of culturally patterned relationship between kinsmen, are not dealt with except for the discussing of some affecting factors in section III of the present paper. With the aid of the charts and the list the system may be conveniently described in the following paragraphs.

1. D. C. Graham, "The Customs of the Ch'uan Miao", *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, Vol. IX, 1937, pp. 13-70.

Terminological Structure of the Miao Kinship System

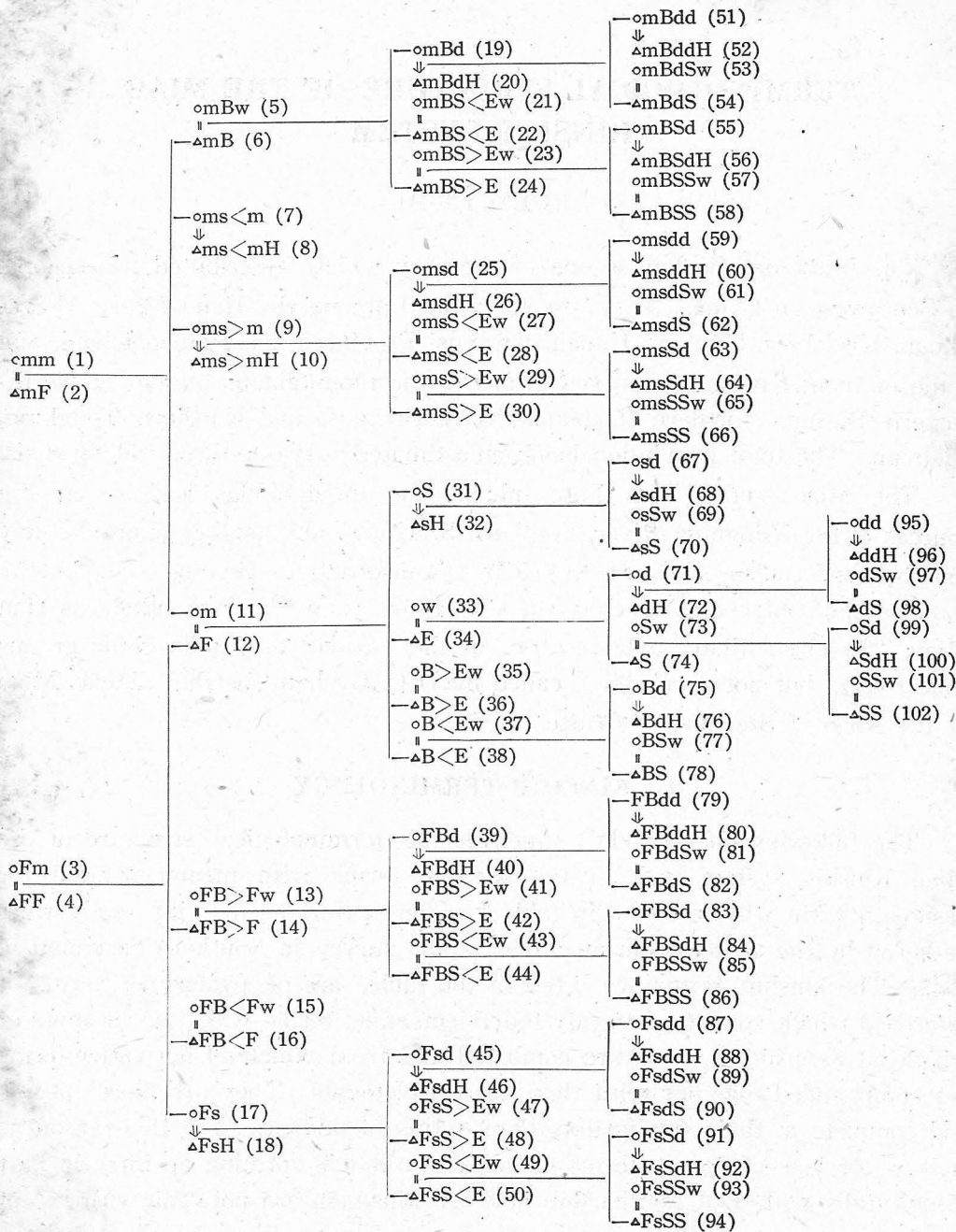


Chart I. The Miao Kinship System. Ego=male. Including consanguineal relatives with their respective spouses or affinal relatives group A.

Δ=male; ○=female; I=marriage; ↓=married to;
 >=older than; <=younger than; B=brother, brother's; d=daughter, daughter's;
 E=male ego; e=female ego; F=father, father's; H=husband, husband's;
 m=mother, mother's; s=son, son's; s=sister, sister's; w=wife, wife's.

Terminological Structure of the Miao Kinship System

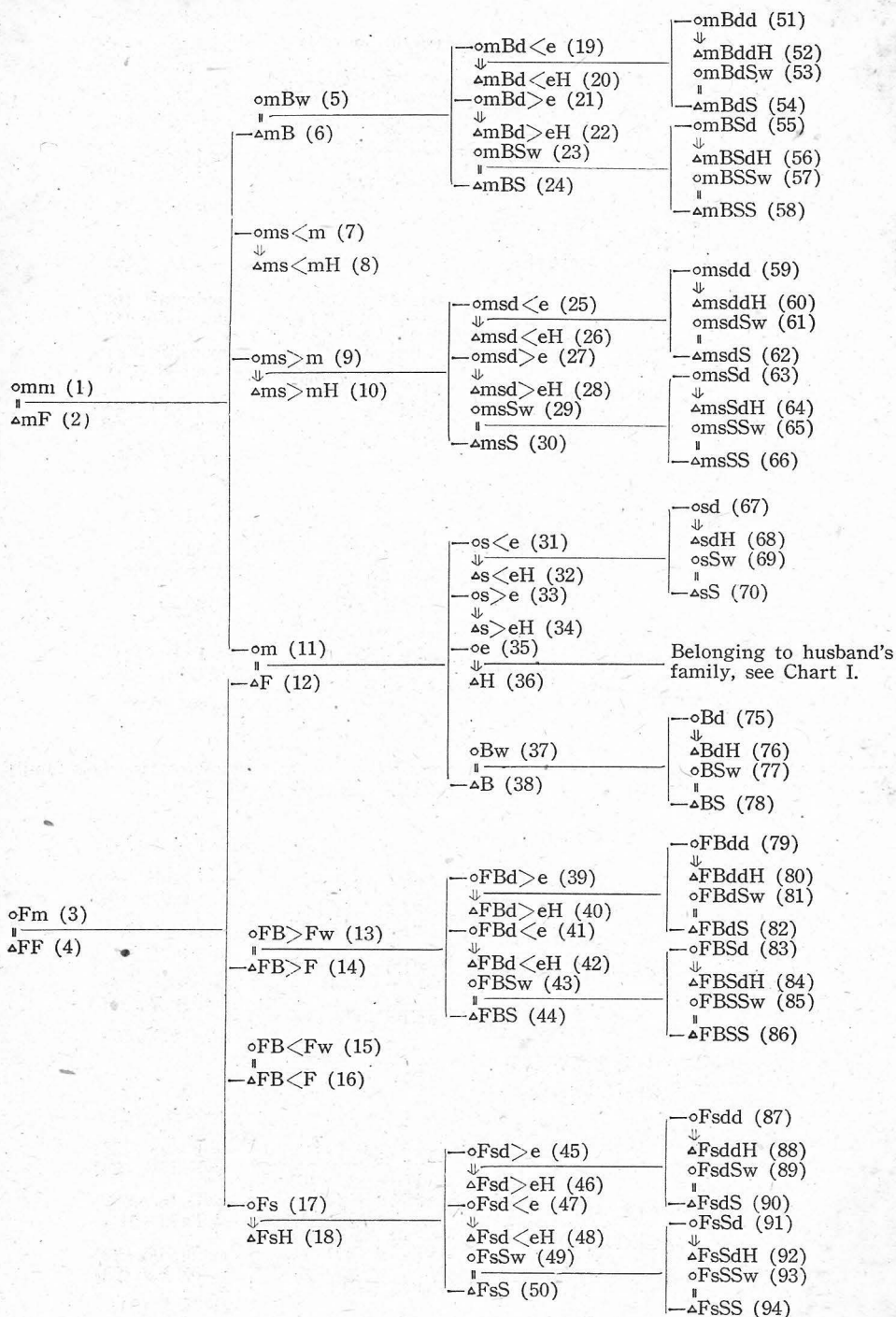


Chart II. The Miao Kinship System. Ego=female. Including consanguineal relatives with their respective spouses or affinal relatives group A.

Terminological Structure of the Miao Kinship System

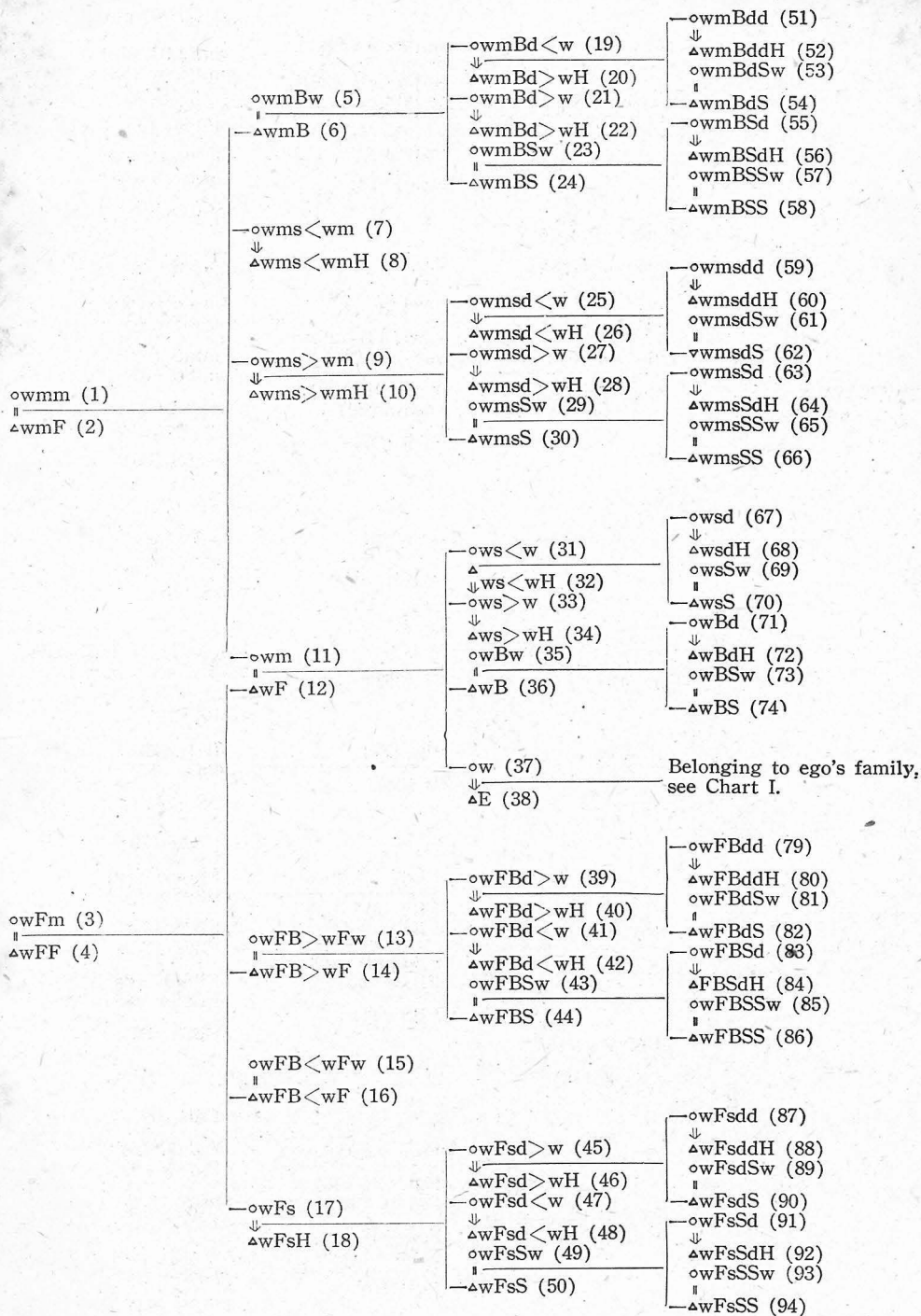


Chart III. The Miao Affinal Relatives. Ego=male. Including spouse's consanguineal relatives or affinal relatives group B and spouses of spouse's consanguineal relatives or affinal relatives group C.

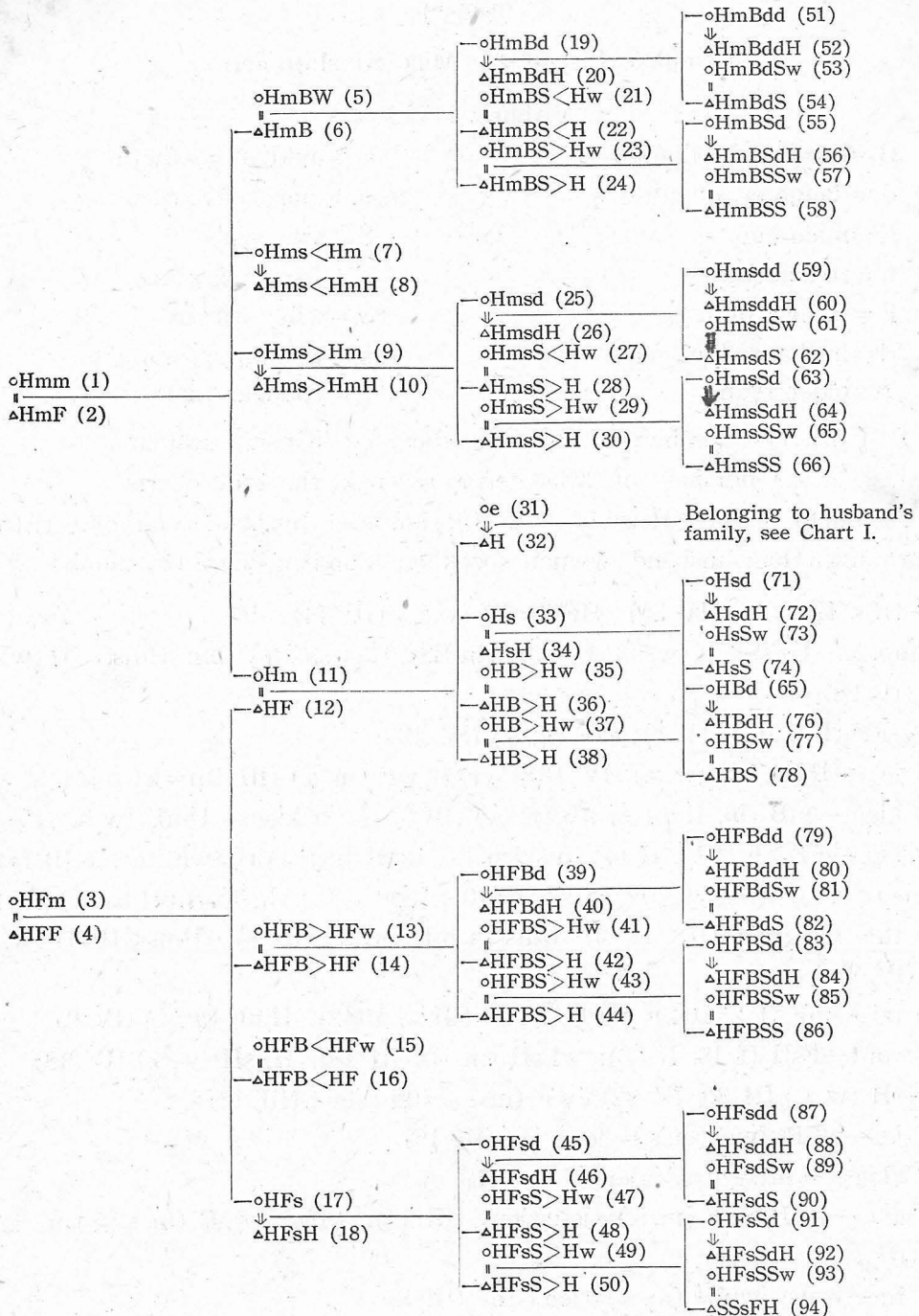


Chart IV. The Miao Affinal Relatives. Ego=female. Including spouse's consanguineal relatives or affinal relatives group B and spouses of spouse's consanguineal relatives or affinal relatives group C.

Table I
Complete List of the Miao Kinship Terms

Abbreviations

B = brother, brother's	m = mother, mother's
d = daughter, daughter's	m. s. = man speaking
E = male ego	S = son, son's
e = female ego	s = sister, sister's
F = father, father's	w = wife, wife's
H = husband, husband's	w. s. = woman speaking
> = older than	< = younger than

I, II, III, IV—numbers of charts of the Miao Kinship system

1, 2, 3, ...—numbers of Miao terms given in the four charts

Example: HF_sS<H (w. s.) (IV 50) signifies husband's father's sister's son younger than husband, woman speaking, found in chart IV, number 50.

jeu₁—HB<H (w. s.) (IV 38); HFBS<H (w. s.) (IV 44)

jeu₁ mpeu₁—HF_sS<H (w. s.) (IV 50); HmBS<H (w. s.) (IV 22); HmsS<H (w. s.) (IV 28)

jeu₁—FF (I 4, II 4, IV 4); HF (w. s.) (IV 12)

jeu₁ jeu₁—HFB<HF (w. s.) (IV 16); wFB<wF (m. s.) (III 16)=jeu₁ jeu₁;

jeu₁ klay₁—mB (I 6, II 6); wmB (m. s.) (III 6)=jeu₁ klay₁; HmB (w. s.) (IV 6)

jeu₁ lau₁—FB>F (I 14, II 14); ms>mH (I 10, II 10); wFB>wF (m. s.) (III 14)=jeu₁ lau₁; wms>wmH (m. s.) (III 10)=jeu₁ lau₁; Hms>HmH (w. s.) (IV 10)

jeu₁ ɬa₁—ms<mH (I 8, II 8); wms<wmH (m. s.) (III 8); Hms<HmH (w. s.) (IV 8)

jeu₁ tai₁—mF (I 2, II 2); wFF (m. s.) (III 4, III 2); HmF (w. s.) (IV 2)

jeu₁ vau₁—FsH (I 18, II 18); wFsH (m. s.) (III 18); HF_sH (w. s.) (IV 18)

jeu₁—H (w. s.) (II 36, IV 32); wF (m. s.)=tai₁ jeu₁ (III 12)

jeu₁ jeu₁—wFB<wF (m. s.)=jeu₁ jeu₁ (III 16)

jeu₁ klay₁—wmB (m. s.)=jeu₁ klay₁ (III 6)

jeu₁ lau₁—wFB>wF (m. s.)=jeu₁ lau₁ (III 14); wms>wmH (m. s.)=jeu₁ lau₁ (III 10)

jeu₁ ɬa₁—wms<wmH (m. s.)=jeu₁ ɬa₁ (III 8)

jeu₁ vau₁—wFsH (m. s.)=jeu₁ vau₁ (III 18)

ki₁—SS (I 102); dS (I 98)

klay₁—mB=jeu₁ klay₁; wB (m. s.)=no₁

- ku_N—B<E (m. s.) (I 38); FBS<E (m. s.) (I 44)
- ku_N mpeu_┘—FsS<E (m. s.) (I 50); mBS<E (m. s.) (I 22); msS<E (m. s.) (E 28)
- lau_┘—HB>H (w. s.) (IV 36); HFBS>H (w. s.) (IV 42)
- lau_┘ mpeu_┘—HFSS>H (w. s.) (IV 48); HmBS>H (w. s.) (IV 24); HmsS>H (w. s.) (IV 30)
- ta_┘—ws<w (m. s.) (III 31)=mi_┘ la_┘; wFBd<w (m. s.) (III 41)=mi_┘ ta_┘; HB<Hw (w. s.) (IV 37)=mi_┘ ta_┘; HFBS<Hw (w. s.) (IV 43)=mi_┘ ta_┘
- ta_┘ mpeu_┘—wFsd<w (m. s.) (III 47)=mi_┘ ta_┘ mpeu_┘; wmBd<w (m. s.) (III 19)=mi_┘ ta_┘ mpeu_┘; wmsd<w (m. s.) (III 25)=mi_┘ ta_┘ mpeu_┘; HFSS<Hw (w. s.) (IV 49)=mi_┘ ta_┘ mpeu_┘; HmBS<Hw (w. s.) (IV 21)=mi_┘ ta_┘ mpeu_┘; HmsS<Hw (w. s.) (IV 27)=mi_┘ ta_┘ mpeu_┘
- ma_┘—s (m. s.) (I 31); FBd (m. s.) (I 39); Hs (w. s.) (IV 33); HFBd (w. s.) (IV 39)
- ma_┘ mpeu_┘—Fsd (m. s.) (I 45); mBd (m. s.) (I 19); msd (m. s.) (I 25); HFsd (w. s.) (IV 45); HmBd (w. s.) (IV 19); Hmsd (w. s.) (IV 25)
- ma_┘ va_┘—sH (m. s.) (I 32); FBdH (m. s.) (I 40); HsH (w. s.) (IV 34); HFBdH (w. s.) (IV 40);
- ma_┘ va_┘ mpeu_┘—FsdH (m. s.) (I 46); mBdH (m. s.) (I 20); msdH (m. s.) (I 26); HFsdH (w. s.) (IV 46); HmBdH (w. s.) (IV 20); HmsdH (w. s.) (IV 26)
- me_┘ na_┘—see na_┘
- mi_┘ ta_┘—See ta_┘
- mi_┘ ta_┘ mpeu_┘—See ta_┘ mpeu_┘
- ma_┘—m (I 11, II 11)
- na_┘ lau_┘—ws>w (m. s.) (III 33); wFBd>w (m. s.) (III 39); HB>Hw (w. s.) (IV 35); HFBS>Hw (w. s.) (IV 41);
- na_┘ lau_┘ mpeu_┘—wFsd>w (m. s.) (III 45); wmBd>w (m. s.) (III 21); wmsd>w (m. s.) (III 27); HFSS>Hw (w. s.) (IV 47); HmBS>Hw (w. s.) (IV 23); HmsS>Hw (w. s.) (IV 29)
- na_┘ ta_┘—FB<Fw (I 15, II 15); ms<m (I 7, II 7); wms<wm (m. s.)=tai_┘ ta_┘ (III 7); Hms<Hm (w. s.) (IV 7)
- na_┘ tai_┘—wm (m. s.)=tai_┘ (III 11)
- no_┘—B (w. s.) (II 38); FBS (w. s.) (II 44); wB (m. s.) (III 36); wFBS (m. s.) (III 44);
- no_┘ ku_┘—sS (m. s.) (I 70); BS (w. s.) (II 78); FBdS (m. s.) (I 82); FBSS (w. s.) (II 86); wBS (m. s.) (III 74); wFBSS (m. s.) (III 86); HsS (w. s.) (IV 74); HFBdS (w. s.) (IV 82)
- no_┘ ku_┘ mpeu_┘—FsdS (m. s.) (I 90); mBdS (m. s.) (I 54); msdS (m. s.) (I 62); FsSS (w. s.) (II 94); mBSS (w. s.) (II 58); msSS (w. s.) (II 66); wFsSS (m. s.)

- s.) (III 94); wmBSS (m. s.) (III 58); wmsSS (m. s.) (III 66); HFsdS (w. s.) (IV 90); HmBdS (w. s.) (IV 54); HmsdS (w. s.) (IV 62)
- no₁ mpeu₁—FsS (w. s.) (II 50); mBS (w. s.) (II 24); msS (w. s.) (II 30); wFsS (m. s.) (III 50); wmBS (m. s.) (III 24); wmsS (m. s.) (III 30)
- ntu₁—See nts'ai₁ ntu₁, to₁ ntu₁
- ntəu₁—s<e (w. s.) (II 31); FBd<e (w. s.) (II 41)
- ntəu₁ mpeu₁—Fsd<e (w. s.) (II 47); mBd<e (w. s.) (II 19); msd<e (w. s.) (II 25)
- nts'ai₁—d (I 71)
- nts'ai₁ ki₁—Sd (I 99); dd (I 95)
- nts'ai₁ ki₁ vau₁—SdH (I 100); ddH (I 96)
- nts'ai₁ ku₁—sd (m. s.) (I 67); FBdd (m. s.) (I 79); Bd (w. s.) (II 75); FBSd (w. s.) (I 83); wBd (m. s.) (III 71); wFBSd (m. s.) (III 83); Hsd (w. s.) (IV 71); HFBdd (w. s.) (IV 79)
- nts'ai₁ ku₁ mpeu₁—Fsdd (m. s.) (I 87); mBdd (m. s.) (I 51); msdd (m. s.) (I 59); FsSd (w. s.) (II 91); mBSd (w. s.) (II 55); msSd (w. s.) (II 63); wFsSd (m. s.) (III 91); wmBSd (m. s.) (III 55); wmsSd (m. s.) (III 63); HFsdd (w. s.) (IV 87); HmBdd (w. s.) (IV 51); Hmsdd (w. s.) (IV 59)
- nts'ai₁ ku₁ mpeu₁ vau₁—FsddH (m. s.) (I 88); mBddH (m. s.) (I 52); msddH (m. s.) (I 60); FsSdH (w. s.) (II 92); mBSdH (w. s.) (II 56); msSdH (w. s.) (II 64); wFsSdH (m. s.) (III 92); wmBsdH (m. s.) (III 56); wmsSdH (m. s.) (III 64); HFsddH (w. s.) (IV 88); HmBddH (w. s.) (IV 52); HmsddH (w. s.) (IV 60)
- nts'ai₁ ku₁ vau₁—sdH (m. s.) (I 68); FBddH (m. s.) (I 80); BdH (w. s.) (II 76); FBSdH (w. s.) (II 84); wBdH (m. s.) (III 72); wFBSdH (m. s.) (III 84); HsdH (w. s.) (IV 72); HFBddH (w. s.) (IV 80)
- nts'ai₁ ntu₁—Bd (m. s.) (I 75); FBSd (m. s.) (I 83); sd (w. s.) (II 67); FBdd (w. s.) (II 79); wsd (m. s.) (III 67); wFBdd (m. s.) (III 79); HBd (w. s.) (IV 75); HFBSd (w. s.) (IV 83)
- nts'ai₁ ntu₁ mpeu₁—FsSd (m. s.) (I 91); mBSd (m. s.) (I 55); msSd (m. s.) (I 63); Fsdd (w. s.) (II 87); mBdd (w. s.) (II 51); msdd (w. s.) (II 59); wFsdd (m. s.) (III 87); wmBdd (m. s.) (III 51); wmsdd (m. s.) (III 59); HFsSd (w. s.) (IV 91); HmBSd (w. s.) (IV 55); HmsSd (w. s.) (IV 63)
- nts'ai₁ ntu₁ mpeu₁ vau₁—FsSdH (m. s.) (I 92); mBSdH (m. s.) (I 56); msSdH (m. s.) (I 64); FsddH (w. s.) (II 88); mBddH (w. s.) (II 52); msddH (w. s.) (II 60); wFsddH (m. s.) (III 88); wmBddH (m. s.) (III 52); wmsddH (m. s.)

- (III 60); HF_sSdH (w. s.) (IV 92); HmBSdH (w. s.) (IV 56); HmsSdH (w. s.) (IV 64).
- nts'ai-₁ ntu-₁ vu-₁—BdH (m. s.) (I 76); FBSdH (m. s.) (I 84); sdH (w. s.) (II 68); FBddH (w. s.) (II 80); wsdH (m. s.) (III 68); wFBddH (m. s.) (III 80); HBdH (w. s.) (IV 76); HFBSdH (w. s.) (IV 84)
- nts'ai-₁ vu-₁—dH (I 72)
- naŋ-₁—Sw—to₁ naŋ (I 73)
- naŋ ki-₁—SSw (I 101); dSw (I 97)
- naŋ ku-₁—B<Ew (m. s.) (I 37); FBS<Ew (m. s.) (I 43)
- naŋ ku-₁ mpeu-₁—FsS<Ew (m. s.) (I 49); mBS<Ew (m. s.) (I 23); msS<Ew (m. s.) (I 27)
- naŋ no-₁—Bw (w. s.) (II 37); FBSw (w. s.) (II 43); wBw (m. s.) (III 35); wFBSw (m. s.) (III 43)
- naŋ no-₁ ku-₁—sSw (m. s.) (I 69); FBdSw (m. s.) (I 81); BSw (w. s.) (II 77); FBSSw (w. s.) (II 85); wBSw (m. s.) (III 73); wFBSSw (m. s.) (III 85); HsSw (w. s.) (IV 73); HFBSw (w. s.) (IV 81)
- naŋ no-₁ ku-₁ mpeu-₁—FsdSw (m. s.) (I 89); mBdSw (m. s.) (I 53); msdSw (m. s.) (I 61); FsSSw (w. s.) (II 93); mBSSw (w. s.) (II 57); msSSw' (w. s.) (II 65); wFsSSw (m. s.) (III 93); wmBSSw (m. s.) (III 57); wmsSSw (m. s.) (III 65); HFsdSw (w. s.) (IV 89); HmBdSw (w. s.) (IV 53); HmsdSw (w. s.) (IV 61)
- naŋ no-₁ mpeu-₁—FsSw (w. s.) (II 49); mBSw (w. s.) (II 23); msSw (w. s.) (II 29); wFsSw (m. s.) (III 49); wmBSw (m. s.) (III 23); wmsSw (m. s.) (III 29)
- naŋ ti-₁—B>Ew (m. s.) (I 35); FBS>Ew (m. s.) (I 41)
- naŋ ti-₁ mpeu-₁—FsS>Ew (m. s.) (I 47); mBS>Ew (m. s.) (I 23); msS>Ew (m. s.) (I 29)
- naŋ to-₁ ntu-₁—BSw (m. s.) (I 77); FBSSw (m. s.) (I 85); sSw (w. s.) (II 69); FBdSw (w. s.) (II 81); wsSw (m. s.) (III 69); wFBdSw (m. s.) (III 81); HBSw (w. s.) (IV 77); HFBSSw (w. s.) (IV 85)
- naŋ to-₁ ntu-₁ mpeu-₁—FsSSw (m. s.) (I 93); mBSSw (m. s.) (I 57); msSSw (m. s.) (I 65); FsdSw (w. s.) (II 89); mBdSw (w. s.) (II 53); msdSw (w. s.) (II 61); wFsdSw (m. s.) (III 89); wmBdSw (m. s.) (III 53); wmsdSw (m. s.) (III 61); HFSSw (w. s.) (IV 93); HmBSSw (w. s.) (IV 57); HmsSSw (w. s.) (IV 65)
- naŋ-₁—Fs (I 17, II 17); HF_s (w. s.) (IV 17)=me-₁ naŋ
- po-₁—w (m. s.) (I 33, III 37)
- po-₁ je-₁—HFB<HFw (w. s.) (IV 15)

- po₁ klaŋ₁—mBw (I 5, II 5); HmBw (w. s.) (IV 5)
- po₁ lau₁—FB>Fw (I 13, II 13); ms₁>m (I 1, II 9); HFB>HFw (w. s.) (IV 13);
Hms>Hm (w. s.) (IV 9)
- po₁—Fm (I 3, II 3); Hm (w. s.) (IV 11); HFm (w. s.) (IV 3)
- po₁ tai₁—mm (I 1, II 1); wmm (m. s.) (III 1); Hmm (w. s.) (IV 1)
- tai₁—mm (I 1, II 1)=po₁ tai₁; wm (m. s.) (III 11)=na₁ tai₁; wFm (m. s.) (III 3);
wmm (m. s.) (III 1)=po₁ tai₁; Hmm (w. s.) (IV 1)=po₁ tai₁
- tai₁ je₁—wFB<wFw (m. s.) (III 16)
- tai₁ jeu₁—wF (m. s.) (III 12)=jeu₁
- tai₁ klaŋ₁—wmB (m. s.) (III 5)
- tai₁ lau₁—wFB>wFw (m. s.) (III 13); wms>wm (m. s.) (III 9)
- tai₁ ɬa₁—wms<wm (m. s.) (III 7)
- tai₁ naŋ₁—wFs (m. s.) (III 17)
- ti₁—B>E (m. s.) (I 36); FBS>E (m. s.) (I 42)
- ti₁ mpeu₁—FsS>E (m. s.) (I 48); mBS>E (m. s.) (I 24); msS>E (m. s.) (I 30)
- to₁—S (I 74)
- to₁ ntu₁—BS (m. s.) (I 78); FBSS (m. s.) (I 86); sS (w. s.) (II 70); FBdS (w. s.)
(II 82); wsS (m. s.) (III 70); wFBdS (m. s.) (III 82); HBS (w. s.) (IV 78);
HFBSS (w. s.) (IV 86)
- to₁ ntu₁ mpeu₁—FsSS (m. s.) (I 94); mBSS (m. s.) (I 58); msSS (m. s.) (I 66);
FsdS (w. s.) (II 90); mBdS (w. s.) (II 54); msdS (w. s.) (II 62); wFsdS (m.
s.) (III 90); wmBdS (m. s.) (III 54); wmsdS (m. s.) (III 62); HFSS (w. s.)
(IV 94); HmBSS (w. s.) (IV 58); HmsSS (w. s.) (IV 66)
- to₁ naŋ₁—Sw (I 73)
- tsi₁—F (I 12, II 12)
- tsi₁ je₁—FB<F (I 16, II 16)
- tsi₁ lau₁—s>eH (w. s.) (II 34); FBd>eH (w. s.) (II 40); ws>wH (m. s.) (III 34);
wFBd>wH (m. s.) (III 40)
- tsi₁ lau₁ mpeu₁—Fsd>eH (w. s.) (II 46); mBd>eH (w. s.) (II 22); msd>eH
(w. s.) (II 28); wFsd>wH (m. s.) (III 46); wmBd>wH (m. s.) (III 22);
wmsd>wH (m. s.) (III 28)
- tsi₁ ɬa₁—s<eH (w. s.) (II 32); FBd<eH (w. s.) (II 42); ws<wH (m. s.) (III 32);
wFBd<wH (m. s.) (III 40)
- tsi₁ ɬa₁ mpeu₁—Fsd<eH (w. s.) (II 48); mBd<eH (w. s.) (II 20); msd>eH (w.
s.) (II 26); wFsd<wH (m. s.) (III 48); wmBd<wH (m. s.) (III 20); wmsd
<eH (m. s.) (III 26)

vaun—dH=nts'ai⁺ vaun (I 72)

vaun mpeu₁—See ma⁺ vaun mpeu₁

ve₁—s>e (w. s.) (II 33); FBd>e (w. s.) (II 39)

ve₁ mpeu₁—Fsd>e (w. s.) (II 45); mBd>e (w. s.) (II 21); msd>e (w. s.) (II 27)

N.B. (1) The forms of the Miao terms are strict phonetic renderings. The phonetic alphabet is that of the International Phonetic Association and the symbols suffixed to the terms are tone-letters invented by Dr. Chao Yuen Ren to signify tonemes. (see his article entitled "A System of Tone Letters", *Le Maître Phonétique*, 1930).

(2) ki₁, ku₁, no₁, and ti₁ become ki₁, ku₁, no₁, and ti₁ respectively when preceded by a short high-falling-tone term na₁ except that no₁ is combined with ku₁ to denote a specific relative.

(3) je₁ and lau₁ become je₁ and lau₁ respectively when preceded by a short low-falling-tone term po₁.

In ego's own generation a male has three elementary terms² for his siblings: (1) ti₁, "older brother"; (2) ku₁, "younger brother"; and (3) ma⁺, "sister" without distinction between older and younger. These terms are extended to his paternal parallel-cousins, i. e., they are applied to paternal older male parallel-cousin, younger male parallel-cousin, and female parallel-cousins without distinction between older and younger respectively. For paternal cross-cousins, maternal parallel-and cross-cousins, three derivative terms³ compounded from the elementary terms, ti₁, ku₁, ma⁺ and the lexical element mpeu₁, meaning "outside", i. e., ti₁ mpeu₁, ku₁ mpeu₁ and ma⁺ mpeu₁, are used. They are applied to older male cousin, younger male cousin, and female cousins without distinction between older and younger respectively except paternal parallel-cousins.

A female has three different elementary terms for her siblings: (1) ve₁, "older sister"; (2) ntəu₁, "younger sister"; and (3) no₁, "brother" without distinction between older and younger. These three terms are also extended to her paternal female parallel-cousins older and younger, and male parallel-cousins without distinction between older and younger respectively. For paternal cross-cousins, maternal parallel-and cross-cousins, there are also three derivative terms compounded in the same way as those used by a male, i. e., ve₁ mpeu₁, ntəu₁ mpeu₁ and no₁ mpeu₁, and applied to the said cousins in a similar way.

As for spouses a male refers to his wife as po₁, "woman" and a female to her husband as je₁, "man". For the spouses of consanguineal relatives (or affinal relatives group A) in ego's own generation, a male uses two elementary terms combined with the three elementary terms: ti₁, ku₁, ma⁺ and

2. See G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 1949, p. 98.

3. Ibid.

the three derivative terms: $ti_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$, $ku_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$, $ma_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$ to form a set of descriptive⁴ and descriptive-derivative terms: (1) $vu_{\downarrow}$, meaning originally "daughter's husband" or "son-in-law", when combined with $ma_{\downarrow}$ and $ma_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$, forms the descriptive term $ma_{\downarrow} vu_{\downarrow}$ and the descriptive-derivative term $ma_{\downarrow} vu_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$. The former is applied to his brothers-in-law and extended to paternal male parallel-cousins-in-law and the latter to his paternal male cross-cousins-in-law and maternal male parallel- and cross-cousins-in-law. (2) $na_{\downarrow}$, meaning originally "son's wife" or "daughter-in-law", when combined with $ti_{\downarrow}$, $ku_{\downarrow}$ and $ti_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$, $ku_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$, forms the two descriptive terms: $na_{\downarrow} ti_{\downarrow}$, $na_{\downarrow} ku_{\downarrow}$ and the two descriptive-derivative terms: $na_{\downarrow} ti_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$, $na_{\downarrow} ku_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$. The former two are applied to his older and younger sisters-in-law and extended to paternal female parallel-cousins-in-law, older and younger, and the latter two to his paternal female cross-cousins-in-law and maternal female parallel- and cross-cousins-in-law, older and younger respectively.

A female uses the same elementary term $na_{\downarrow}$ combined with the elementary term $no_{\downarrow}$ and the derivative term $no_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$ to form the descriptive term $na_{\downarrow} no_{\downarrow}$ and the descriptive-derivative term $na_{\downarrow} no_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$. The former is applied to her sisters-in-law and extended likewise to paternal female parallel-cousins-in-law and the latter to paternal female cross-cousin-in-law and maternal female parallel- and cross-cousins-in-law respectively. In addition, she uses two descriptive and two descriptive-derivative terms: (1) $tsi_{\downarrow} lu_{\downarrow}$, meaning literally "older father"; (2) $tsi_{\downarrow} fu_{\downarrow}$, "younger father". These two terms are applied to her older and younger brothers-in-law and extended likewise to paternal male parallel-cousins-in-law, older and younger respectively. (3) $tsi_{\downarrow} lu_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$, meaning literally "outside older father"; (4) $tsi_{\downarrow} fu_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$, "outside younger father". These two terms are applied to her paternal male cross-cousins-in-law and maternal male parallel- and cross-cousins-in-law, older and younger respectively.

With regard to affinal relatives group B, i.e., spouse's consanguineal relatives in ego's own generation, a male uses the same elementary term $no_{\downarrow}$ to refer to his wife's brother and her paternal male parallel-cousin and the same descriptive term $no_{\downarrow} mpeu_{\downarrow}$ to his wife's paternal male cross-cousin and maternal male parallel- and cross-cousins as the two used by his wife referring to them. Besides, he uses two descriptive terms and two descriptive-derivative terms:

4. Ibid.

(1) na₁ lu₁, meaning literally "older mother"; (2) mi₁ fu₁, "little younger female". These two terms are applied to his wife's older and younger sisters and her paternal female parallel-cousins, older and younger respectively. (3) na₁ lu₁ mpeu₁, meaning literally "outside older mother"; (4) mi₁ fu₁ mpeu₁, "outside little younger female". These two terms are applied to his wife's paternal female cross-cousins and maternal female parallel- and cross-cousins, older and younger respectively. For his affinal relatives group C, i. e., the spouses of wife's consanguineal relatives, the same terms are applied by husband to his wife's brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, and cousins-in-law respectively as those used by his wife referring to them.

A female uses three elementary terms for her husband's consanguineal relatives in ego's own generation: (1) lu₁, meaning literally "older male", (2) je₁ "younger male" and (3) mu₁, "sister". These three terms are applied to her husband's old brother, younger brother, and sister without distinction between older and younger and extended to husband's paternal male parallel-cousins, older and younger, and female parallel-cousin without distinction between older and younger respectively. And, she uses also three derivative terms: (1) lu₁ mpeu₁, meaning literally "outside older male"; (2) je₁ mpeu₁, "outside younger male"; and (3) mu₁ mpeu₁ "outside sister" to refer to her husband's male and female paternal cross-cousins and maternal parallel- and cross-cousins respectively. For her affinal relatives group C, i. e., the spouses of husband's consanguineal relatives, the same descriptive term mu₁ vu₁ is applied by the wife to her husband's brother-in-law and extended to husband's paternal male parallel-cousin-in-law, and the same descriptive-derivative term mu₁ vu₁ mpeu₁ to her husband's paternal male cross-cousin-in-law and maternal male parallel- and cross-cousins-in-law. Also, the two same descriptive terms na₁ lu₁ and mi₁ fu₁ are applied by the wife to her husband's older and younger sisters-in-law and extended to paternal female parallel-cousins-in-law, older and younger, and the two same descriptive-derivative terms na₁ lu₁ mpeu₁ and mi₁ fu₁ mpeu₁ to her husband's paternal female cross-cousins-in-law and maternal female parallel- and cross-cousins-in-law, older and younger, respectively as those used by her husband referring to them.

In the first ascending generation one, male or female, has four elementary terms and four descriptive terms for the consanguineal relatives: (1) tsi₁, "father"; (2) na₁, "mother"; (3) na₁ ŋ₁, "paternal aunt" without distinction between older and younger to which the lexical element me₁ meaning "complimentary"

is usually prefixed in actual use; (4) *klay*, “maternal uncle” without distinction between older and younger to which the term *jeu*, “grandfather”, is always prefixed in actual use; (5) *jeu lou*, “paternal uncle older than father”; (6) *tsi je*, “paternal uncle younger than father”; (7) *po lou* “maternal aunt older than mother”; and (8) *na fa* “maternal aunt younger than mother”.

For the spouses of the collateral consanguineal relatives (or affinal relatives group A), while the term *jeu lou* referring to paternal uncle older than father is applied to maternal uncle-in-law older than mother and the two terms *po lou* and *na fa* referring to maternal aunts, older and younger, are applied to paternal aunts-in-law, older and younger. Only three additional terms are used; (1) *jeu vu*, “paternal uncle-in-law” without distinction between older and younger; (2) *jeu fa* “maternal uncle-in-law younger than mother” and (3) *po klay*, “maternal aunt-in-law” without distinction between older and younger.

For spouse's consanguineal relatives (or affinal relatives group B), a male refers to his wife's father as *tai jeu*, meaning literally “mother-in-law's husband” or, when elliptically used, simply *jeu* which is the same term as that used by a female referring to her husband. He refers to his wife's mother as *na tai*, “mother-in-law” or simply *tai*, meaning literally “-in-law” used for ascending generations which is the same term as that used for maternal grandmother or mother's mother. For his wife's collateral consanguineal relatives there are six descriptive terms: (1) *jeu lou*, “wife's paternal uncle older than wife's father”; (2) *jeu je*, “wife's paternal uncle younger than wife's father”; (3) *tai naj*, “wife's paternal aunt” without distinction between older and younger; (4) *tai lou* “wife's maternal aunt older than wife's mother”; (5) *tai fa*, “wife's maternal aunt younger than wife's mother”; and (6) *jeu klay*, “wife's maternal uncle” without distinction between older and younger.

For spouses of wife's consanguineal relatives (or affinal relatives group C), the term *jeu lou* referring to wife's paternal uncle older than wife's father is applied to the husband of wife's maternal aunt older than wife's mother, and the term *tai lou* referring to wife's maternal aunt older than wife's mother is applied to the wife of wife's paternal uncle older than wife's father. Besides, there are another four descriptive terms: (1) *tai je*, “wife of wife's paternal uncle younger than wife's father”; (2) *jeu vu*, “husband of wife's paternal aunt” without distinction between older and younger; (3) *jeu fa*

“husband of wife’s maternal aunt younger than wife’s mother”; and (4) tai₁ klaŋ₁, “wife of wife’s maternal uncle” without distinction between older and younger.

The jeu₁ and tai₁ combined each to form the twelve descriptive terms stated above are usually replaced by jeu₁ and po₁ respectively in actual use.

A female refers to her husband’s father as jeu₁, “grand-father” and to husband’s mother as po₁, “grandmother”. She applies all the same terms to her husband’s collateral consanguineal relatives as well as their spouses in the first ascending generation as those used by her husband referring to his collateral consanguineal relatives as well as their spouses in the same generation with the sole exception of tsi₁ je₁ and na₁ ɬu₁ used by her husband referring to paternal uncle younger than father and his wife which are replaced by jeu₁ je₁ and po₁ je₁ respectively.

In the second ascending generation there are four terms, two elementary and two descriptive: (1) jeu₁, “grandfather”; (2) po₁, “grandmother”; (3) jeu₁ tai₁; “grandfather-in-law”; and (4) po₁ tai₁ or simply tai₁, “grandmother-in-law”. The former two are applied to relatives of paternal side and the latter two to those of maternal side. All the collateral relatives as well as relatives in higher ascending generations, lineal and collateral, are referred to as grandfathers and grandmothers among the paternal side and as grandfathers-in-law and grandmothers-in-law among the maternal side.

For the affinal relatives in the second ascending generation, a male refers to all his wife’s male relatives as grandfathers-in-law and all female relatives as grandmothers-in-law without distinction between paternal and maternal. A female applies the same terms to her husband’s relatives as those used by her husband referring to them. In the third ascending generation, which is as far as the Miao recognized relationship, the males are referred to as grandfathers and the females, grandmothers.

In the first descending generation one’s own son is referred to as to₁ and daughter, nts’ai₁. For sibling’s children there are four descriptive terms: (1) to₁ ntu₁, “parallel-nephew”, referring to male ego’s brother’s son as well as female ego’s sister’s son; (2) nts’ai₁ ntu₁, “parallel-niece” referring to male ego’s brother’s daughter as well as female ego’s sister’s daughter; (3) no₁ ku₁, “cross-nephew”, referring to male ego’s sister’s son as well as female ego’s brother’s son; and (4) nts’ai₁ ku₁, “cross-niece”, referring to male ego’s

sister's daughter as well as female ego's brother's daughter. These four terms are extended to paternal parallel-cousins' children, i. e., a male refers to his paternal male parallel-cousin's and a female her paternal female parallel-cousin's son as $\text{to}_\text{V} \text{ntu}_\text{V}$; daughter, $\text{nts'ai}_\text{V} \text{ntu}_\text{V}$; while a female refers to her paternal male parallel-cousin's and a male his paternal female parallel-cousin's son as $\text{no}_\text{V} \text{ku}_\text{V}$; daughter, $\text{nts'ai}_\text{V} \text{ku}_\text{V}$. When compounded with the lexical element mpeu_V , these four terms form four descriptive-derivative terms: (1) $\text{to}_\text{V} \text{ntu}_\text{V} \text{mpeu}_\text{V}$, "outside parallel-nephew"; (2) $\text{nts'ai}_\text{V} \text{ntu}_\text{V} \text{mpeu}_\text{V}$, "outside parallel-niece"; (3) $\text{no}_\text{V} \text{ku}_\text{V} \text{mpeu}_\text{V}$, "outside cross-nephew"; and (4) $\text{nts'ai}_\text{V} \text{ku}_\text{V} \text{mpeu}_\text{V}$, "outside cross-niece" which are applied in a similar way to paternal cross-cousins' and maternal parallel- and cross-cousins' children respectively.

For the spouses of the consanguineal relatives, $\text{nts'ai}_\text{V} \text{vu}_\text{V}$ refers to "son-in-law" and $\text{to}_\text{V} \text{na}_\text{V}$, "daughter-in-law." There are four descriptive terms for collateral relatives: (1) $\text{nts'ai}_\text{V} \text{ntu}_\text{V} \text{vu}_\text{V}$, "parallel-nephew-in-law", referring to male ego's brother's son-in-law as well as female ego's sister's son-in-law; (2) $\text{na}_\text{V} \text{to}_\text{V} \text{ntu}_\text{V}$, "parallel-niece-in-law", to male ego's brother's daughter-in-law as well as female ego's sister's daughter-in-law; (3) $\text{nts'ai}_\text{V} \text{ku}_\text{V} \text{vu}_\text{V}$, "cross-nephew-in-law", to male ego's sister's son-in-law as well as female ego's brother's son-in-law; and (4) $\text{na}_\text{V} \text{no}_\text{V} \text{ku}_\text{V}$, "cross-niece-in-law", to male ego's sister's daughter-in-law as well as female ego's brother's daughter-in-law. These four terms are similarly extended to spouses of one's paternal parallel-cousins' children. When compounded with the lexical element mpeu_V , they also form four descriptive-derivative terms: (1) $\text{nts'ai}_\text{V} \text{ntu}_\text{V} \text{mpeu}_\text{V} \text{vu}_\text{V}$, "outside parallel-nephew-in-law"; (2) $\text{na}_\text{V} \text{to}_\text{V} \text{ntu}_\text{V} \text{mpeu}_\text{V}$, "outside parallel-niece-in-law"; (3) $\text{nts'ai}_\text{V} \text{ku}_\text{V} \text{mpeu}_\text{V} \text{vu}_\text{V}$, "outside cross-nephew-in-law"; and (4) $\text{na}_\text{V} \text{no}_\text{V} \text{ku}_\text{V} \text{mpeu}_\text{V}$, "outside cross-niece-in-law" which are similarly applied to spouses of one's paternal cross-cousins' and maternal parallel- and cross-cousins' children. For affinal relatives group B and group C, the same terms are used and similarly applied to.

In the second descending generation a grandchild is referred to as ki_V , usually designating grandson, and granddaughter as $\text{nts'ai}_\text{V} \text{ki}_\text{V}$. While grandson's wife is referred to as $\text{na}_\text{V} \text{ki}_\text{V}$, "granddaughter-in-law" and granddaughter's husband, as $\text{nts'ai}_\text{V} \text{ki}_\text{V} \text{vu}_\text{V}$, "grandson-in-law". These four terms are extended to all the grandchildren, male and female, consanguineal and affinal, respectively. For relatives in lower descending generations the same terms are used as those used for relatives in the second descending generation.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE SYSTEM

It is evident from the foregoing that the Miao kinship system is of the so-called A type of Kirchhoff⁵ or bifurcate collateral type of Lowie⁶ in that, first, paternal and maternal uncles and aunts are terminologically differentiated both from parents and from one another in the first ascending generation; secondly, parallel- and cross-nephews and nieces are likewise differentiated both from own children and from one another in the first descending generation. Consequently, the former yields separate denotative terms for F/tsi₁/, FB/jeu₁ luu₁, tsi₁ je₁/, mB/klaj₁/, m/na₁/, ms/po₁ luu₁, na₁ tu₁/, and Fs/na₁/; and, the latter for S/to₁/, BS/to₁ ntu₁ (m. s.), no₁ ku₁ (w. s.)/, sS/no₁ ku₁ (m. s.), to₁ ntu₁ (w. s.)/, d/nts'ai₁/, sd/nts'ai₁ ku₁ (m. s.), nts'ai₁ ntu₁ (w. s.)/, and Bd/nts'ai₁ ntu₁ (m. s.), nts'ai₁ ku₁ (w. s.)/. It is also evident that the system, as shown by uncle-aunt terms as well as nephew-niece terms, recognizes both criteria of bifurcation and collaterality.

As for ego's own generation, however, all parallel- and cross-cousins are referred to by the same terms as those used for siblings except that a lexical element /mpeu₁/, meaning "outside", is suffixed to each of paternal cross-cousins and maternal parallel- and cross-cousins. This yields but classificatory terms for B>E/ti₁/, B<E/ku₁/, and s/mu₁/used by a male and for s>e/ve₁/, s<e/ntɕu₁/, and B/no₁/by a female. It reveals that the system, as viewed from cousin terms, is of the so-called C type of Kirchhoff or generation type of Lowie which is led by the ignoring of both criteria of bifurcation and collaterality instead of recognizing the two inherent distinctions.

Moreover, distinctions are made between older and younger parallel-uncles and aunts but not between cross-uncles and aunts in the first ascending generation. Consequently, a male differentiates between older and younger brothers as well as male cousins but not between sisters and female cousins. On the contrary, a female differentiates between older and younger sisters as well as female cousins but not between brothers and male cousins in ego's own generation. In other words, while one referring to his or her consanguineal relatives of the same sex in ego's own generation differentiates terminologically between older and younger, and referring to those of the opposite sex does

5. See P. Kirchhoff, "Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen und Verwandtenheirat", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, LXIV, 1932, pp. 46-49.

6. See R. H. Lowie, "A Note on Relationship Terminologies", *American Anthropologist*, n. s. XXX, 1928, pp. 265-266.

not. Thus, when ego is male, he uses the same terms for his brother's as well as male cousin's children/to₁ ntu₁, nts'ai₁ ntu₁/as those used by a female referring to her sister's as well as female cousin's children. When ego is female, she uses the same terms for her brother's as well as male cousin's children/no₁ ku₁, nts'ai₁ ku₁/ as those used by a male referring to his sister's as well as female cousin's children. Herein lies distinction between male and female ego in ego's own and the first descending generations, and partial distinction between older and younger age within one generation in ego's own and the first ascending generations. In short, the system recognizes the criterion of speaker's sex which is expressed by the terms used for the relatives in ego's own and the first descending generations, and partially recognizes the criterion of relative age within one generation in ego's own and the first ascending generations.

In view of the fact that a lexical element is suffixed to the terms for paternal cross-cousins and maternal parallel-and cross-cousins as well as for their children but not for paternal parallel-cousins and their children, we see that the Miao regard paternal parallel-cousins as siblings and their children as siblings' children somewhat like the Han-Chinese do.

In the second ascending and higher generations, distinctions are made but between paternal and maternal sides besides sex. This yields only four separate terms for FF/jeu₁/, Fm/po₁/, mF/jeu₁ tai₁/, and mm/po₁ tai₁/. There is no distinction being made between paternal and maternal, nor lineal or collateral, in the second descending and lower generations except that of sex of which, when it is necessary to distinguish female from male, distinction is made by prefixing the term for daughter to that for grandson to form the term for granddaughter. This yields only two terms for SS/ki₁/ and Sd/nts'ai₁ ki₁/.

The terminological structures for affinal relatives group A are shown in Charts I and II and groups B and C in III and IV. It will be seen that there are but five categories for a male or female:

(1) po₁, "wife" which is extended to uncle's wife when prefixed to terms like lau₁, "older male"; je₁, "younger male"; or klaŋ₁, "mother's brother" forming po₁ lau₁, po₁ je₁, or po₁ klaŋ₁ for relatives in the first ascending generation.

(2) jeu₁, "husband" which is extended to wife's father when elliptically used or suffixed to tai₁, "-in-law-", and to aunt's husband when prefixed to terms like lau₁; je₁; fa₁, "younger female"; klaŋ₁; or vu₁, "daughter's

husband" forming $jeu_{\Delta} lau_{\Delta}$, $jeu_{\Delta} je_{\Delta}$, $jeu_{\Delta} \dot{t}a_{\Delta}$, $jeu_{\Delta} kla_{\Delta}$ or $jeu_{\Delta} vu_{\Delta}$ for relatives in the first ascending generation.

(3) tai_{Δ} , "mother-in-law" which is extended to wife's aunt as well as her uncle's wife when prefixed to terms like lau_{Δ} , je_{Δ} , $\dot{t}a_{\Delta}$, kla_{Δ} or na_{Δ} , "father's sister" forming $tai_{\Delta} lau_{\Delta}$, $tai_{\Delta} je_{\Delta}$, $tai_{\Delta} \dot{t}a_{\Delta}$, $tai_{\Delta} kla_{\Delta}$ or $tai_{\Delta} na_{\Delta}$ for relatives in the first ascending generation. When suffixed to the terms jeu_{Δ} , "grandfather", or po_{Δ} , "grandmother", forming $jeu_{\Delta} tai_{\Delta}$ or $po_{\Delta} tai_{\Delta}$, it is thus applied to relatives in the second ascending generation.

(4) lau_{Δ} , "older male"; je_{Δ} , "younger male"; and $\dot{t}a_{\Delta}$, "younger female", the former two refer to husband's older and younger brothers as well as older and younger male cousins respectively, when used by a female, and the latter one refers to wife's younger sister as well as younger female cousin, when used by a male. All three are extended to relatives of a male or a female in ego's own and/or the first ascending generations when suffixed to terms like jeu_{Δ} , "grandfather"; po_{Δ} , "wife", tsi_{Δ} , "father"; and na_{Δ} , "mother" forming $jeu_{\Delta} lau_{\Delta}$, $jeu_{\Delta} je_{\Delta}$, $jeu_{\Delta} \dot{t}a_{\Delta}$; $po_{\Delta} lau_{\Delta}$, $po_{\Delta} je_{\Delta}$, $po_{\Delta} \dot{t}a_{\Delta}$; $tsi_{\Delta} je_{\Delta}$; $na_{\Delta} lau_{\Delta}$, $na_{\Delta} \dot{t}a_{\Delta}$ for relatives in the first ascending generation and $tsi_{\Delta} lau_{\Delta}$, $tsi_{\Delta} \dot{t}a_{\Delta}$, $na_{\Delta} \dot{t}a_{\Delta}$ for relatives in ego's own generation.

(5) vu_{Δ} , "daughter's husband" or "son-in-law" and na_{Δ} , "son's wife" or "daughter-in-law" both of which are extended to relatives in the first and second descending generations. The former, when suffixed to $nts'ai_{\Delta} ntu_{\Delta}$, "parallel-niece" or $nts'ai_{\Delta} ku_{\Delta}$, "cross-niece" forming $nts'ai_{\Delta} ntu_{\Delta} vu_{\Delta}$ or $nts'ai_{\Delta} ku_{\Delta} vu_{\Delta}$ for designating relatives in the first descending generation and to $nts'ai_{\Delta} ki_{\Delta}$, "granddaughter", forming $nts'ai_{\Delta} ki_{\Delta} vu_{\Delta}$ for relatives in the second descending generation; and the latter, when prefixed to $to_{\Delta} ntu_{\Delta}$, "parallel-nephew", or $no_{\Delta} ku_{\Delta}$, "cross nephew" forming $na_{\Delta} to_{\Delta} ntu_{\Delta}$ or $na_{\Delta} no_{\Delta} ku_{\Delta}$ for designating relatives in the first descending generation and $to_{\Delta} ki_{\Delta}$, "grandson" forming $na_{\Delta} ki_{\Delta}$ for relatives in the second descending generation. Furthermore, they are also extended to relatives in ego's own generation and one of the two is extended even to the first ascending^{ing} generation. Thus, when the former term suffixed to the term ma_{Δ} , "sister" used by a male forming $ma_{\Delta} vu_{\Delta}$ for designating brother-in-law as well as male cousin-in-law, and when suffixed to the term jeu_{Δ} "grandfather" forming $jeu_{\Delta} vu_{\Delta}$ for paternal uncle-in-law. The latter term, when prefixed to term ti_{Δ} , "older brother", ku_{Δ} , "younger brother", both used by a male, or no_{Δ} , "brother" used by a female, forming $na_{\Delta} ti_{\Delta}$, $na_{\Delta} ku_{\Delta}$, or $na_{\Delta} no_{\Delta}$ for designating relatives in ego's own generation.

This brief analysis of the Miao kinship system shows it to be a complicated and unbalanced system of classifying relatives for which the terms are extended mostly not in a logical way. Thus we see that first, it recognizes the biological differences between persons of the same and of separate generations, and between lineal and collateral relationship on the one hand, but uses single terms to designate several relatives of different generations and of separate lineages on the other. Secondly, it recognizes the social phenomena of marriage on the one hand, but uses several single terms to designate both consanguineal and affinal relatives on the other. Thirdly, it recognizes sex differences of the relatives referred to, of the speaker, and of the person through whom relationship exists, but these distinctions are expressed only partially and rather unbalancedly. Fourthly, it recognizes age difference within one generation, but this distinction is made only between older and younger relatives of the same sex to ego and not those of the opposite sex. In short, the Miao kinship system recognizes criteria of generation, collaterality, affinity, sex, speaker's sex, bifurcation, and relative age within one generation⁷, but carries them out inconsistently. It is generally accepted that they are of fundamental importance for analysis, though do not themselves explain differences in kinship terminology. In this connection consideration should be given to the question of interrelations between kinship terminology and kinship behavior. But it cannot be discussed here because of limited space as well as the scope of the present paper.

III. FACTORS AFFECTING THE SYSTEM

In a previous paper entitled "On the Original Type of Kinship Terminology Among the Maio Tribe in the Region on the Sources of Yunning River"⁸, the present writer has pointed out that "previously the Miao recognized bifurcation but ignored collaterality in the terminological designation of kinsmen in the first ascending generation. In the first descending generation they ignored both bifurcation and collaterality. Recognition of bifurcation combined with the ignoring of collaterality produces the so-called D type of Kirchhoff or bifurcate merging terminology of Lowie, while non-recognition of both bifurcation and collaterality leads to C type or generation terminology. With regard to the

7. See G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 1949, pp. 101-106; cf. also A. L. Kroeber, "Classificatory Systems of Relationship", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIX, 1909, pp. 77-85.

8. See *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology*, No. 3, 1954, pp. 1-13; English Summary, p. 66.

terminological designation of kinsmen in ego's generation, the Miao keep the original C type or generation terminology unchanging up to the present day except that a lexical element is added to each of the elementary terms for differentiating mother's brother's and sister's son or daughter as well as father's sister's son or daughter from brother and father's brother's son or daughter." But, in view of what have been described and analyzed above, the present system is of the so-called A type or bifurcate collateral terminology as shown by uncle-aunt and nephew-niece terms. This discrepancy between the original and the present system, and the inconsistency expressed by most of the terms in recognizing or ignoring various criteria demonstrate clearly that the original system had been subjected to a continuous state of change, and the present system is now still undergoing change. Here lies the crucial scientific problem of discovering the causal factors which have led the Miao to neglect severally their originally recognized criteria for differentiating kinsmen of some categories and equating others. Professor Kroeber concludes his controversial article with the suggestion that all students of kinship can "meet on the common ground that the determinants are multiple and variable."⁹ By a critical survey of the various theories of the determinism of kinship nomenclature proposed by Tylor, Rivers, Kroeber, Lowie, Sapir, Gifford, Radcliffe-Brown, Eggan, Tax and others, Professor Murdock has reinforced an important conclusion¹⁰ that "the causal factors actually operating in any particular situation are always multiple. No single factor or simple hypothesis can account for all observable effects. From this it follows that different determinants must often exert their pressure in opposite directions. What operates is therefore a sort of parallelogram of forces, and the phenomena which ensue represent, not the effects of particular forces but the resultant of them all". This conclusion corresponds closely to the fact that the causal factors operated in the Miao kinship system are validly multiple. There have been different determinants exerted their pressure in opposite directions to the recognized criteria operating in the original system and hence comes the present system. This section is an attempt to discuss the factors known to us.

1. Teknonymy. It is a common usage among many tribes intermediate between personal names and kinship terms and has been operative in the Miao kinship system, for example: *jeu*¹, originally referring to "grandfather" and

9. See A. L. Kroeber, *Kinship and History*, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., XXXVIII, 1936, p. 340.

10. See G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 1949, pp. 113-126.

po-ɿ, "grandmother", both are consanguineal relatives in the second ascending generation. These two terms are also used to designate, when a female adopts the terminology of her own children, father-in-law or husband's father and mother-in-law or husband's mother respectively, both of whom are affinal relatives in the first ascending generation. It is only because that the former is grandfather and the latter is grandmother to their grandchildren, i. e., her own children. It reveals that mother calls her parents-in-law or husband's parents after her own children. Again, klaŋɿ, originally referring to "maternal uncle" and naŋɿ, "paternal aunt" both are consanguineal relatives in the first ascending generation. These two terms are also used to designate, when parents adopt the terminology of their own children, brother-in-law or wife's brother (m. s.) and sister-in-law or husband's sister (w. s.) respectively both of whom are affinal relatives in ego's own generation. It is due to the fact that the former is maternal uncle to his own children and the latter is paternal aunt to her own children. It is evident that father calls his brother-in-law and mother her sister-in-law both after their own children.

The foregoing cases comprise the most significant anomalies where both the criterion of generation and of affinity are openly violated. We can find no interpretation applicable to this situation except teknonymy which seems to be the only satisfactory explanation.

2. Tekeisonymy. It is the reverse of teknonymy as has been pointed out by Lowie¹¹. This usage is prevalent among the Hupa, Yuki and Chuchansi in Northern California as discovered by Aginsky¹². I found it practised by the Han-Chinese as well as the Miao and have adopted tekeisonymy (Greek "tekeis", parent; "onuma", name, the calling of child after his parent) to connote the peculiar usage¹³. The following are some Miao examples: lauɿ, originally referring to "husband's older brother" (w. s.), jeɿ, "husband's younger brother" (w. s.) and tuɿ "wife's younger sister" (m. s.), all are affinal relatives in ego's own generation. These three terms are also used to designate, when children take over their parent's identifications, paternal uncle older than father or maternal uncle-in-law whose wife is older than mother, paternal uncle younger than father, and maternal aunt younger than mother or paternal aunt-in-law

11. See R. H. Lowie, *Social Organization*, 1948, p. 109.

12. See B. W. Aginsky, "The Mechanics of Kinship", *American Anthropologist*, n. s., XXXVII, 1935, p. 450.

13. See Ruey Yih-fu, "Parent-Child Identity Kinship Terminology", *Bulletin of the Ethnological Society of China*, Vol. I, 1955, pp. 51-57; English Summary, pp. 61-62.

whose husband is younger than father respectively, all of whom are relatives, consanguineal and/or affinal, in the first ascending generation. It is due to the fact that the former two are brothers-in-law and the latter one is sister-in-law to their parents. This indicates that children call their uncles and aunts after their parents. These cases comprise the same significant anomalies as those comprised in teknonymous usage and, in my opinion, only tekeisonymy can explain this anomalous phenomena satisfactorily.

3. Spousal identity. It is such a usage that a person takes over his or her spouse's identifications in addressing relatives, i. e., wife uses the same terms to call the members of her husband's family as those used by him and vice versa. Chen and Shryock say of the terms used by the Chinese wife for her husband's relatives that these "are not common today, for the wife generally uses the same terms as her husband in referring to members of his own clan."¹⁴ Kroeber has pointed out that "this is like our habit, especially perhaps among those of pious antecedents, of referring to a brother-in-law as brother, and so on."¹⁵ This usage is rather prevailing among the Miao, for example: *jeu*, "grandfather" and *po*, "grandmother" which are also used by a female to call her husband's grandfather and grandmother instead of *jeu tai*, "grandfather-in-law" and *po tai*, "grandmother-in-law" respectively. Again, *klay*, "maternal uncle" and *na*, "paternal aunt" are also used by a female to call her husband's maternal uncle and paternal aunt, and, by a male to call his wife's maternal uncle and paternal aunt as alternatives of *jeu klay*, "maternal uncle-in-law" and *tai klay*, "paternal aunt-in-law" respectively. Again, *no*, "brother" (w. s.) and *mu*, "sister" (m. s.), the former is also used by a male to call his wife's brother and the latter by a female, her husband's sister. It is clearly the result of the fact that a person takes over his or her spouse's identifications in calling affinal relatives which have thus been merged into consanguineal relatives.

4. Ellipsis. This is the elliptical use of several descriptive terms as found among the Miao kinship terms, for example: *jeu tai*, "grandfather-in-law", is customarily called, by omitting *tai*, "-in-law", simply *jeu*, "grandfather". Again, *tai jeu*, "father-in-law" or "mother-in-law's husband", is customarily called, by omitting *tai*, simply *jeu*, "husband". These have been perplexed

14. See T. S. Chen and J. K. Shryock, "Chinese Relationship Terms", *American Anthropologist*, n. s., XXXIV, 1932, p. 649.

15. See A. L. Kroeber, "Process in the Chinese Kinship System", *American Anthropologist*, n. s., XXXV, 1933, p. 157.

many a Han-Chinese visited the Miao people without knowing the elliptical use of them.

5. Deference. This is a sort of respectful behavior toward relatives in ascending generations. Sol Tax suggests the generation principle¹⁶ that "persons of one generation tend to respect those of the generation above, i. e., there is a relationship of sub- and superordination." Among the Miao the higher the generation a person stands, the more the respect is shown to him or her by his or her relatives in lower generations, just as a Han-Chinese traditionally does. Hence it follows the deferential use of several terms, for example: *klajN*, "maternal uncle", is suffixed to *jeuA*, "grandfather" forming *jeuA klajN* to designate maternal uncle, a consanguineal relative in the first ascending generation. Again, *lauJ*, "paternal uncle older than father; *jeJ*, paternal uncle younger than father; *ɬaJ* "maternal uncle-in-law whose wife is younger than mother"; and *vuN*, paternal uncle-in-law when tekeisonymously used, all four are suffixed also to *with* *jeuA*, "grandfather", forming *jeuA lauJ*, *jeuA jeJ*, *jeuA ɬaJ*, and *jeuA vuN* to designate the four categories of the relatives respectively in the first ascending generation. Again, *lauJ* (w. s.), "husband's brother older than husband" and *ɬaJ* (m. s.), "wife's sister younger than wife" both are suffixed to *tsiN*, "father" forming *tsiN lauJ* and *tsiN ɬaJ* to designate the two categories of brothers-in-law respectively in ego's own generation. From the foregoing, it will be seen that the Miao equate relatives in the first ascending generation with those in the second ascending generation as well as relatives in ego's own generation with those in the first ascending generation to be terminologically equivalent groups. In other words, they regard several relatives in the first ascending generation as those in the second ascending generation as well as some few relatives in ego's own generation as those in the first ascending generation.

According to the rule of terminological correlation suggested by Sol Tax, a kinship system regulates social behavior.¹⁷ Eggan says of the Cheyenne and Arapaho kinship systems¹⁸ that "The kinship system classifies relatives into socially recognized groups, on the one hand, and regulates their social behavior, on the other; toward each class of kindred there is a fairly definite relationship, expressed in terms of duties, obligations and attitudes, which serves to order

16. See Sol Tax, "Some Problems of Social Organization", *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. by Fred Eggan, 1955, pp. 21-22.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

18. See Fred Eggan: "The Cheyenne and Arapaho-Kinship System", *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

social life with a minimum of conflict." Empirically, I have not seen the Miao people, however, behave in the same manner toward all those whom they call by the same term *jeu*, on the contrary, they behave in different manners toward grandfather and uncles or uncles-in-law. Especially when a Miao man behaves in a quite different manner toward his father and brother-in-law and also a woman toward her father and brother-in-law. It is only because that, in order to show more respect toward their uncles or uncles-in-law as well as brothers-in-law, they raise one generation terminologically. It is evident that the overriding of the generation principle in using the terms stated above is due to a sort of respectful behavior or the factor of deference.

These factors are both as psychological and sociological as any thing in culture can be; they seem to be a striving toward interfering with the criteria of generation, collaterality, bifurcation, affinity, etc. for the sake of internal readjustment to new conditions of social and cultural life.

In addition to the five factors, a further one will be found affective.

6. The Influences of the Han-Chinese. What have the Han-Chinese influenced the Miao kinship system the most is the exogamous patrilineal sib and the extended family which have permeated the Miao social life and will be clearly seen in the dichotomy of relatives of the present kinship system. Relatives are divided, like the Han-Chinese, into two groups one of which is like the Han-Chinese sib relatives and the other is non-sib relatives, although the Miao have no sib organization. All the sib relatives belong to the same sib of ego and possess the same sib-name. Paternal relatives descended from females through males or females are non-sib relatives. Maternal and affinal relatives also belong to the non-sib group.

To conform this distinction between the sib and non-sib groups, the Miao kinship terminology has been bifurcated in such a way that the paternal relatives descended from males through males are differentiated from those descended from females through males. This carried out by differentiating the father's brother's children /*ku*, *ti* and *ma*-/ and their descendents from father's sister's sons /*ku* *mpeu*, *ti* *mpeu*, and *ma* *mpeu*-/ and their descendents; brother's children /*to* *ntu* and *nts'ai* *ntu*-/ from sister's children /*no* *ku* and *nts'ai* *ku*-/ and so on, ascendingly, descendingly, and collaterally. This bifurcation is necessary, since father's sister, sister, daughter, or any female sib relative who through sib exogamy has married into other sibs, and their descendents, belong, on account of patrilineal descent, to different sibs from ego. The nomenclature

of the non-sib relatives is also expressive of this dual division of relatives. The differentiation between paternal grandparents/*jeu* and *po* and maternal grandparents/*jeu tai* and *po tai*/, paternal uncle/*jeu lau* and *tsin je* and maternal uncle/*klaŋ* or *jeu klaŋ*/, paternal aunt/*naŋ* or *me naŋ* and maternal aunt/*po lau* and *na lau* is, of course, a regular feature of a system based upon exogamous social grouping. What is the more significant influence of the Han-Chinese sib or extended family organization is the phenomena that father's sister's, mother's sister's, and mother's brother's descendents are merged into a single lexical element/*mpeu*/, "outside", the same meaning as the Chinese lexical element "piao"¹⁹ used exactly in the same way. It is only because that the descendents of father's sister, and of mother's sister and brother, although consanguineal relatives of distinct affiliation, are all non-sib relatives, and hence their merging in the term "*mpeu*" is understandable.

The Miao, however, have no sib or clan, in the strict sense, but there is a sort of extended family organization, which, in a broader sense may be called a sib or a clan localized as a village. All male persons of the same surname whether they are related to each other by birth or not, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are all regarded as related. Persons having the same surname, are tabooed from marriage, although there is no known blood relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all those who have the same surname must participate; because they are regarded as the descendents of the same legendary ancestor. It shows clearly that the Miao have accepted or borrowed some features of the Han-Chinese sib or extended family organization which were brought into adjustment with pre-existing culture of the Miao by an acculturative process of modification and integration.

IV. CONCLUSION

Having discussed the Miao kinship system in its terminological and structural aspects, I shall here venture upon a few concluding remarks. It may be asserted that during the time past the system has undergone a series of changes both in terminological criteria and structural principles, not only as a result of internal readjustment to new conditions of social and cultural life, but also as a result of direct acculturative processes arising from contact with the Han-

19. See Han-yi Feng, *The Chinese Kinship System*, 1948, p. 10.

Chinese who have assimilated the Miao more or less during the last two or three centuries. They do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Han-Chinese whose sib organization, absolutely exogamous and strictly patrilocal with patrilineal descent in the transmission of the sib-name as well as office, property, etc. has survived from the ancient time to the present day though in a much attenuated and modified form.²⁰ The factors of teknonymy, tekeisonymy, spousal identity, ellipsis, and deference as stated above seem to be the peculiar inner development of the changes and the Han-Chinese sib or extended family organization has been the foreign influence to which the Miao kinship system as well as social structure have been subjected. Both of these factors may be important in the development of the Miao kinship system, but to no precise definition of their contribution can be ascribed as essential to the problems we have so far considered. Boas has stated²¹ that "each cultural group has its own unique history, dependent partly on the peculiar inner development of the social group, and partly upon the foreign influence to which it has been subjected." Kroeber gives the assertion²² that "Kin-term systems....are subject to modification from within and without". The Miao kinship system may provide an excellent example for the study of certain problems connected with the changing process of a cultural group. In the process there is a "strain toward consistency" as has noted by Sumner.²³ On the contrary, we see inconsistency in the present Miao kinship system as stated above. It indicates that this system has not yet been brought to approach an equilibrium for the ordering of social life with minimum of conflict. In other words, different determining factors are still exerting their pressure in opposite directions and have not come to a sort of parallelogram of forces. It is, therefore, a system still undergoing change.

20. Ibid., pp. 33-38.

21. See Franz Boas, "The Method of Ethnology", *American Anthropologist*, n. s., XXII, 1920, p. 317.

22. See A. L. Kroeber, "Yurok and Neighboring Kin term Systems", *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, XXXV, 1934, p. 21.

23. See W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, 1906, pp. 5-6.