

# A Componential Analysis of Kinship Terms in Thai

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## INTRODUCTION

It is an illusion to believe that the kinship systems in all cultures are the same and that kinship terms can be translated easily from one language to another. Thai speakers learning English or doing some translation from English to Thai often have a little difficulty finding a perfect English equivalent of พี่ /phîi/ and น้อง /nóng/ in Thai. The first word means ‘elder brother or sister’ and the second one means ‘younger brother or sister.’ There is no single word in English that means exactly the same as /phîi/ or /nóng/. On the other hand, the words *brother* and *sister* have no equivalent in Thai. Paraphrastic translations of the two words into Thai sound awkward: พี่ชายหรือน้องชาย /phîi chaay rîi nóng chaay/ or พี่ผู้ชายหรือน้องผู้ชาย /phîi phûu chaay rîi nóng phûu chaay/ meaning ‘elder male sibling or younger male sibling’ for *brother* and พี่สาวหรือน้องสาว /phîi sǎaw rîi nóng sǎaw/ or พี่หญิงหรือน้องผู้หญิง /phîi phûu yîng rîi nóng phûu yîng/ meaning ‘elder female sibling or younger female sibling’ for *sister*.

More examples that illustrate problems arising from the discrepancy between the kinship terms in English and Thai are the words *grandfather* and *grandmother* in English on the one hand, and ปู่ ย่า ตา ยาย /pûu, yǎa, taa, yaay/ in Thai on the other. The word *grandfather* in English can be translated to /pûu/ ‘father’s father’ or /taa/ ‘mother’s father’. Similarly, *grandmother* could be /yǎa/ ‘father’s mother’ or /yaay/ ‘mother’s mother.’ This may create problems when the context is not clear. The translator often has to decide by himself/herself whether he/she is dealing with a paternal or maternal grandfather or grandmother.

Kinship terms may be divided into two major categories: basic and non-basic. Basic kinship terms are those that designate blood or consanguineous relationships. They are mostly single words, such as พ่อ /phǎw/ ‘father,’ แม่ /mǎe/ ‘mother,’ ลูก /lûuk/ ‘child’<sup>1</sup> in Thai. Non-basic kinship terms are those that designate relationships by marriage, such as *husband*, *wife*, *son-in-law*, *mother-in-law* in English. Scholars tend to pay more attention to basic kinship terms because they show significant relationships in the family and they are more frequently used.

Each particular language has its own kinship terms, which reflect the culture with which it is associated. The meanings of kinship terms reflect the relationships among kin in each particular society. Universally, it has been found that kinship terms may be differentiated by various features,<sup>2</sup> e.g., by **sex**, as *father* and *mother*, *son* and

<sup>1</sup> Child as someone’s offspring, not as a member of the class **children** ‘little human beings.’

<sup>2</sup> The feature “parental side” is taken from my studies on Thai and Zhuang kinship terms

*daughter*; by **generation**, as *mother* and *daughter* in English, ลูก /lûuk/ ‘child’ and หลาน /lǎan/ ‘grandchild’ in Thai; by **lineality**, as *father* and *uncle* in English; by **relative age**, as พี่ /phîi/ ‘elder sibling’ and น้อง /nóŋ/ ‘younger sibling’ in Thai; by **parental side** (father’s or mother’s side) as ปู่ /pùu/ ‘father’s father’ and ตา /taa/ ‘mother’s father’ in Thai; and by the **sex of the speaker**, as in some Melanesian languages, which have two terms signifying the same relative—each term used exclusively by the male or female speaker. In addition, in some languages, kinship terms are differentiated by the fact that the relatives they designate are living or dead; in others, two kinship terms may be distinguished from each other by the fact that one signifies a relative that belongs to the “in-group” and the other signifies one in the “out-group,” as in Japanese.

From the dimensions of contrast mentioned above, different languages select different combinations of some of them to distinguish one kinship term from another. For example, English makes use of sex, generation, and lineality to distinguish one kinship term from another, whereas Thai adds two more dimensions to the three; i.e., relative age and parental side. Besides the difference in the dimensions of contrast, different languages also place a different degree of importance in each of the dimensions. In some languages, generation is the most important factor that differentiate the kin. In others, sex of the speaker is the most decisive factor. Thus, considering the large number of various combinations and the order of importance of the dimensions of contrast that each language can choose from, we may say that each kinship system is unique and should be dealt with individually.

An explicit analysis of kinship terms in a particular language yields a clear picture of the kinship system in the culture with which the language is associated. To understand and show explicitly the denotative meanings of a system of kinship terms, ethnosemanticists turn to an approach to lexical study known as **componential analysis**, which was introduced into ethnosemantic studies by Conklin (1955), Goodenough (1956), and Lounsbury (1956, 1964). The approach has been used with other lexical fields but seems to suit best an analysis of kinship terms. This may be due to the fact that kinship terms are of an appropriately limited number and clear-cut denotations.

In this paper, I will present a componential analysis of the basic and non-basic kinship terms in Thai. The approach adopted here is based on the principles put forth by Goodenough (1956), Lounsbury (1964), Katz & Fodor (1963), and Nida (1975). In explaining the meanings of some kinship terms in Thai, I may allude to some kinship terms in other languages, especially English. This, I hope, will help the reader understand better the meanings of the kinship terms in Thai and thus obtain a clear picture of the kinship system in Thai culture.

## PREVIOUS STUDIES OF THE THAI KINSHIP SYSTEMS

Two publications in Thai on the Thai kinship system are based on anthropologists' observations of Thai norms reflected in Thai people's behaviors. Sanit Samakkarn (1976) states that in Thai society, blood kin is more important than affinal kin (pp. 5–6). In other words, consanguineal relationship is more emphasized than affinal relationship. Concerning inheritance, he claims that Thai parents do not favor either sons or daughters, or elder or younger children. There are no clearcut rules of inheritance. To which child the parents will leave most of their estate depends on their own decision based on different criteria, including emotional reasons (pp. 177–178). Niyaphan Wanasiri (1985) points out that ideally Thai society is monogamous, but in practice, some Thai men have more than one wife. (Only one wife is legal.) She asserts that this polygamous practice is a traditional Thai cultural trait (pp. 49–53). Concerning the relationship among family members, she concludes that Thais depend very much on their relatives. Some adults still depend on their parents in matters of economy and residence. Most wives depend on their husbands, who are mostly older than they are, and are regarded as their elder brothers, as evidenced in the wives' addressing their husbands as /phîi/ 'elder sibling' (p. 72). After marriage, there is no fixed rule as to where the couple will live. However, according to Wanasiri, if the bride and groom live in the bride's home, their family life will be more stable than the opposite, because both will get support from the bride's blood relatives, especially her mother, who will take good care of her son-in-law, as if he were her own son. On the other hand, if the woman lives with her husband's family, she tends to have conflicts with her husband's mother, who competes with her rather than accepting her as her own daughter (p. 80).

Other studies on Thai kinship were done by linguists including me. My paper on "Certain Significant Socio-cultural Characteristics as Evidenced in the Use of Kinship Terms in Thai" (Prasithrathsint, 1990) shows how Thai kinship terms are used as pronominals, terms of address, and parts of compound words. The terms used as pronominals and terms of address when a Thai person speaks to non-kin people are limited to those signifying the kin who are on the mother's side and older than the person. This suggests an emphasis on **matrilineality** and **seniority** in Thai society. This point is also supported by the favorable metaphorical meanings of the term /mæ̌æ/ 'mother' and /phîi/ 'elder sibling' in compound words, such as /mæ̌æ-tháp/ 'commander of an army' and /phîi-lían/ 'one who takes care of a younger or weaker person.' The morpheme /mæ̌æ/ seems to suggest 'leadership and importance,' and the morpheme /phîi/ seems to imply 'strength and experience.' I found that in this paper of mine, which deals only with the basic kinship terms, the explanation of the denotative meanings of the terms is not complete and explicit. In another paper by me (Prasithrathsint, 1996), I compare the Zhuang and Thai kinship systems. My conclusion is that Zhuang kinship terms in the generations below EGO's are cognate with the Thai terms, such as /lúuk/ 'child,' /lǎan/ 'grandchild,' and /lěen/ 'great-grandchild,' and that the terms for kin in older generations are borrowed from

Chinese. The implication is that the Zhuang kinship systems seem to be shifting from a matrilineal to a patrilineal system. In that paper, no detail of the approach was given and non-basic kinship terms were excluded.

A study by Vipusarin Prapuntasiri (1992) on “Kinship Terms in Kham Muang: An Ethnosemantic Analysis” makes use of componential analysis, which enables her to compare and show clearly the difference in the kinship terms in four dialects of Northern Thai: Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lampang, and Lamphun. The findings show that In Chiang Rai and Lampang dialects, there is no differentiation as to the mother’s or father’s side, whereas such a trait exists in the Chiang Mai and Lamphun dialects.

It should be noted that none of the above-mentioned studies on Thai kinship systems cover non-basic kinship terms. In addition, the analysis of the basic kinship terms in those studies lacks an explanation of the methodology used and details of the denotative meanings. Therefore, in the present paper I will analyze both basic and non-basic kinship terms in Thai as explicitly as possible. The data are based partly on the findings in previous studies and partly on new data from interviewing ten native speakers of Bangkok Thai. My analysis covers only Standard Bangkok Thai.

### THAI BASIC KINSHIP TERMS

In Thai, there are 17 basic kinship terms. They are listed here with their meanings:

Kinship terms	Meanings <sup>3</sup>
พ่อ /phǎw/	Fa <sup>4</sup>
แม่ /mæ̌æ̌/	Mo <sup>5</sup>
ปู่ /pùu/	FaFa, FaFaBr, FaMoBr <sup>6</sup>
ย่า /yǎa/	FaMo, FaFaSi, FaMoSi <sup>7</sup>
ตา /taa/	MoFa, MoFaBr, MoMoBr
ยาย /yaay/	MoMo, MoFaSi, MoMoSi
ทวด /thúat/ <sup>8</sup>	FaFaFa, FaFaMo, FaMoFa, FaMoMo, MoFaFa, MoFaMo, MoMoFa, MoMoMo, FaFaBrFa, FaMoBrFa, FaFaSiFa, FaMoSiFa, FaFaBrMo, MoFaBrFa, etc.
เทียด /thîat/ <sup>9</sup>	FaFaFaFa, FaFaFaMo, MoMoFaFa, MoMoMoMo, MoFaMoFa, etc.

<sup>3</sup>The denotative meanings listed here are in abbreviated notations adapted from Wallace and Atkins (1960).

<sup>4</sup>Fa means ‘father.’

<sup>5</sup>Mo means ‘mother.’

<sup>6</sup>Br means ‘brother.’

<sup>7</sup>Si means ‘sister.’

<sup>8</sup>Some use the word ชวด /chúat/ instead of ทวด /thúat/.

<sup>9</sup>This term is rarely used today, especially among young people.

ลูก /lûuk/	So, Da <sup>10</sup>
พี่ /phîi/	+Br, +Si, Fa+BrSo, +(FaBrSo), Mo+BrSo, +(MoBrSo), Fa+BrDa, +(FaBrDa), Mo+BrDa, +(MoBrDa), +(FaFaBrSoSo) +(MoMoBrSoDa), +(MoMoSiDaDa), etc. <sup>11</sup>
น้อง /nóng/	-Br, -Si, Fa-BrSo, -(FaBrSo), Mo-BrSo, -(MoBrSo), Fa-BrDa, -(FaBrDa), Mo-BrDa, -(MoBrDa), -(FaFaBrSoSo), -(MoMoBrSoDa), -(MoMoSiDaDa), etc. <sup>12</sup>
ลุง /luŋ/	Fa+Br, Mo+Br, Fa+(FaFaBrSo), Fa+(FaMoSiSo), Mo+(MoMoSiSo), Mo+(MoFaBrSo), etc.
ป้า /pâa/	Fa+Si, Mo+Si, Fa+(FaFaBrDa), Fa+(FaMoSiDa), Mo+(MoMoSiDa), Mo+(MoFaSiDa), etc.
น้า /náa/	Mo-Br, Mo-Si, Mo-(MoMoSiDa), Mo-(MoMoSiSo), Mo-(MoFaBrDa), etc.
อา /aa/	Fa-Br, Fa-Si, Fa-(FaFaSiDa), Fa-(FaMoSiSo), Fa-(FaFaBrDa), etc.
หลาน /láan/	SoSo, SoDa, DaDa, DaSo, BrSo, BrDa, SiSo, SiDa, FaBrSoSo, FaBrSoDa, FaSiSoSo, FaSiSoDa, MoBrSoSo, BrSoSo, BrSoDa, BrDaSo, BrDaDa, SiSoSo, SiSoDa, etc.
เหลน /lěen/	SoSoSo, SoSoDa, SoDaSo, SoDaDa, DaDaSo, DaDaDa, DaSoSo, DaSoDa, BrSoSoSo, SiSoSoSo, BrSoSoDa, SiDaSoDa, SiSoSoSo, etc.
โหล่น /lŏon/	SoSoSoSo, SoSoSoDa, DaDaDaSo, DaDaDaDa, DaDaSoDa, BrSoSoSoSo, SiSoSoSoSo, BrDaSoDaSo, etc.

### The Semantic Components of Each Basic Kinship Term in Thai

In doing a componential analysis of the above kinship terms in Thai, I followed these procedures. First, I tried to find out in what dimensions all the terms are in contrast. Secondly, I identified the semantic features in each of the dimensions of contrast. Then, I defined the meaning of each kinship term by a bundle of semantic components drawn from all the semantic features.

<sup>10</sup> So means 'son' and Da means 'daughter.'

<sup>11</sup> The symbol + is used here to signify 'older.' At the beginning of a configuration of meaning, it means 'older than EGO'; e.g., "+Br" means 'elder brother.' +(Mo+BrDa) means 'mother's elder brother's daughter who is older than EGO.' Otherwise, it means 'older than the preceding; e.g., "Fa+BrSo" means 'son of the elder brother of father.' "Fa+(FaFaBrSo)" means 'father's father's brother's son who is older than father.'

<sup>12</sup> The symbol - is used here to signify 'younger.' At the beginning of a configuration of meaning, it means 'younger than EGO'; e.g., "-Br" means 'younger brother,' -(MoBrSo) means 'mother's brother's daughter who is younger than EGO.' Otherwise, it means 'younger than the preceding,' e.g., "Fa-BrSo" means 'son of the younger brother of father,' "Fa-(FaFaBrDa)" means 'father's father's brother's daughter who is younger than father.'

### Dimensions of Contrast

I found that all the basic kinship terms in Thai contrast with one another in five dimensions:<sup>13</sup>

- |               |                  |
|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Generation | 4. Sex           |
| 2. Lineality  | 5. Parental side |
| 3. Age        |                  |

### Semantic Features

Semantic features are characteristics representing meanings. Those representing meanings of kinship terms in Thai are shown as opposing each other by means of a binary +/- notation. In each of the above dimensions of contrast, the following semantic features are identified:

#### *Generation*

In this dimension I identify eight semantic features: G0, G+1, G+2, G+3, G+4, G-1, G-2, G-3, G-4, meaning Ego, one generation above ego, two generations above Ego, three generations above Ego, one generation below Ego, two generations below Ego, three generations below Ego, and four generations below Ego, respectively.

#### *Lineality*

For this, I identify two semantic features. One is “lineal” ‘in the direct line of descent’ is represented by [+L], and the other is “collateral” or “non-lineal” ‘descended from a common ancestor but in a different line’ and is represented by [-L].

#### *Age*

This is divided into [+A] ‘elder sibling of Ego or of some other relative’ and [-A] ‘younger sibling of Ego or of some other relative.’

#### *Sex*

This is identified as either [+M] ‘male’ or [-M] ‘female.’

#### *Parental side*

In this dimension, I use [+P] and [-P] to represent ‘on the paternal side’ and ‘on the maternal side,’ respectively.

### Meanings of the Basic Kinship Terms in Thai Represented by Semantic Components

Following are the basic kinship terms in Thai with their meanings in the form of semantic components. We can see how each contrasts with all the rest. Here, I remove all the redundant features.

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<sup>13</sup> In this paper, “Generation,” “Lineality,” and “Sex” have the same meanings as in Wallace and Atkins (1960), Lounsbury (1964), and Nida (1975, p. 33).

/phôw/	[G+1, +L, +M]	/phîi/	[G 0, -L, +A]
/mææ/	[G+1, +L, -M]	/nôw/	[G 0, -L, -A]
/pùu/	[G+2, +M, +P]	/lun/	[G+1, -L, +M, +A]
/yâa/	[G+2, -M, +P]	/pâa/	[G+1, -L, -M, +A]
/taa/	[G+2, +M, -P]	/náa/	[G+1, -L, -P, -A]
/yaay/	[G+2, -M, -P]	/aa/	[G+1, -L, +P, -A]
/thûat/	[G+3]	/lăan/	{[G-1, -L], [G-2]}
/thîat/	[G+4]	/lěen/	[G-3]
/lûuk/	[G-1, +L]	/lôn/	[G-4]

As can be seen, some terms above require only one semantic feature to make them contrast with all the rest; for example, /thûat/ [G+3] is the term signifying anyone in the third generation from Ego, no matter which sex, which side (paternal or maternal), and whether lineal or collateral.

All the above system of kinship terms represented by semantic components can be displayed in tree diagrams (Figures 1a-1g), starting from Generation +3 (G+3) downward to Generation -3 (G-3).

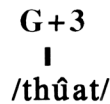


Figure 1a. Kinship term for kin in the third generation above EGO.

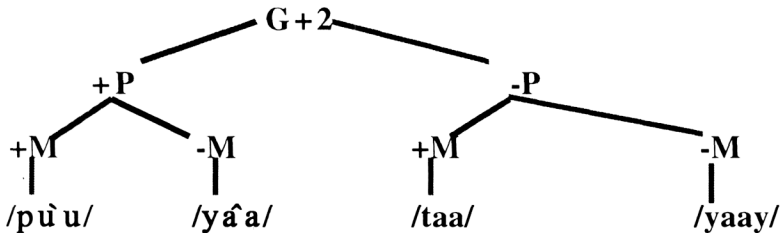


Figure 1b. Kinship terms for kin in the second generation above EGO.

There is another way to show the whole system of Thai basic kinship terms; i.e., to arrange them in a five-dimension table as in Table 1. This kind of table is very handy and useful when we compare one system with another.

It should be remarked that in Thai culture, all relatives outside the lineal line seem to be grouped into the same category, as evidenced in the use of /phîi/ and /nôw/ to refer to either one's own siblings or one's cousins. However, this does not mean that Thais do not realize the difference between their real /phîi/ or /nôw/ that share the same parents with them and those /phîi/ and /nôw/ who are children of their father's or mother's brothers and sisters. The point which I would like to emphasize here is that

even though they can perceive such a difference, they do not see it as significant or “emic” in their world; they use the same terms to designate both types of /phîi/ and /nɔɔŋ/.

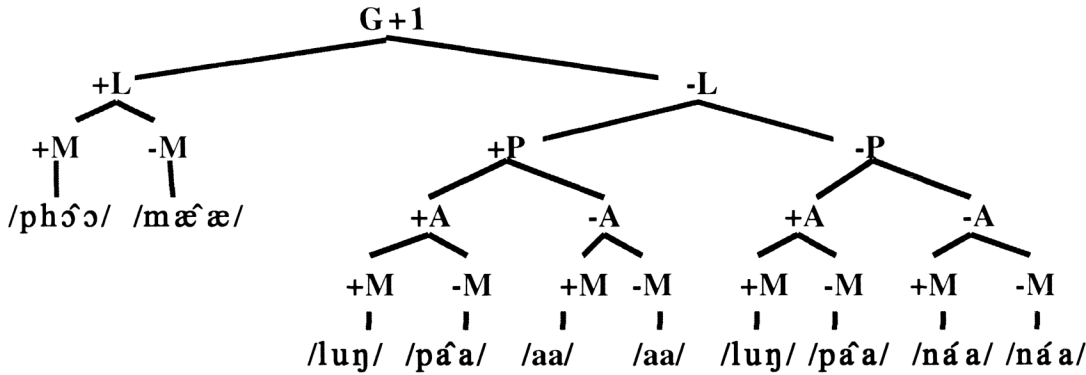


Figure 1c. Kinship terms for kin in the first generation above EGO.

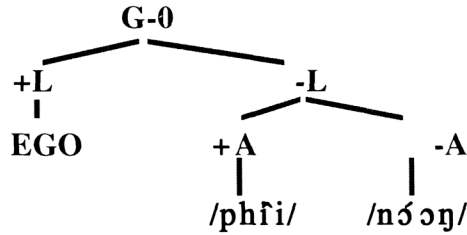


Figure 1d. Kinship terms for kin in EGO’s generation.

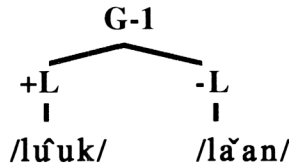


Figure 1e. Kinship terms for kin one generation below EGO.

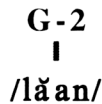


Figure 1f. Kinship term for kin two generations below EGO.



G-3  
I  
/lěen/

Figure 1g. Kinship term for kin three generations below ego.

Table 1. Thai basic kinship terms

GENERATION	PAR. SIDE	AGE	LINEALITY			
			Lineal (+L)		Collateral (-L)	
			+M	-M	+M	-M
G+3			thuat			
G+2	+P		pùu	yâa	pùu	yâa
	-P		taa	yaay	taa	yaay
G+1	+P	+A	phôo	mææ	luŋ	pâa
		-A			aa	
	-P	+A			luŋ	pâa
		-A			náa	
G 0		+A	EGO	phîi		
		-A		nóoŋ		
G-1			lúuk	lăan		
G-2			lăan			
G-3			lěcn			
G-4			lőon			

Another remarkable characteristic is that a Thai distinguishes between the kin on his father's side and on his mother's side; e.g., /pùu/ and /yâa/ 'paternal grandfather and grandmother' versus /taa/ and /yaay/ 'maternal grandfather and grandmother.'

Finally, relative age plays an important role in distinguishing relatives in Thai, whereas it is not significant in some other languages, such as English. For example, the terms /phîi/ and /nóoŋ/ are distinguished by age, not by sex, as *brother* and *sister* in English are.

It may also be interesting to note that age not only distinguishes Ego's siblings as older or younger than Ego but also the siblings of Ego's parents; for example, /lɯŋ/ 'father's elder brother' vs. /aa/ 'father's younger brother.' What is more complicated is that some Thais who were born before 1950 tend to regard their father's or mother's *elder* sibling's son or daughter as their /phîi/ 'elder sibling,' even though he/she is younger than they. Similarly, they regard their father's or mother's *younger* sibling's son or daughter as their /nɔ́ŋ/ 'younger sibling' even though he/she is older than they. This means that a person's real /phîi/ and /nɔ́ŋ/ are older and younger than he/she, respectively, but the status of the person's cousin-like /phîi/ and /nɔ́ŋ/ may also be based on the age of the person's uncle or aunt compared to his/her father's or mother's.

## NON-BASIC KINSHIP TERMS IN THAI

Non-basic kinship terms designate relationship by marriage. In Thai, as in most languages, they are mostly compound words. Considering EGO as the center of the relationships as in the analysis of the basic kinship terms shown above, I found that all the non-basic ones can be differentiated from one another by eight dimensions of contrast. The first five are the same as those that differentiate the basic kinship terms, namely, *generation*, *lineality*, *age*, *sex*, and *parental side*. The other three are **sex of the speaker**, **euphemism**, and **new marriage**. They are explained below with the distinctive features in each of the dimensions.

### *Sex of the Speaker*

This is needed in differentiating such terms as those meaning 'wife's mother' and 'husband's mother'. Unlike in English, which has one term referring to both ("mother-in-law"), Thai needs both, one used by a man for referring to his wife's mother and the other by a woman referring to her husband's mother. Here, I use the features [+MS] and [-MS] to signify 'male speaker' and 'female speaker,' respectively.

### *Euphemism*

This feature is used to separate terms that are euphemistic from common ones, such as /sǎamii/ 'husband' and /phanrayaa/ 'wife' from /phǔa/ 'husband' and /mia/ 'wife.' The former are used in formal situations and are considered to be more polite than the latter, which are considered vulgar if used among the educated and in formal situations. Besides, Thai people use /phǔa/ and /mia/ to refer to 'common-law husband' and 'common-law wife,' respectively, but the other pairs can only refer to a legal husband and a legal wife. Therefore, the terms /phǔa/ and /mia/ have negative connotations of something illegal, sexual, dirty, and sinful. When using the euphemistic counterparts, the speaker can avoid those pejorative meanings. Here, I use the symbol [+Eu] to signify 'euphemism'; the opposite symbol is [-Eu].

### *New marriage*

Some terms differ from others in that they refer to kin that are a result of a new marriage of EGO's father, mother, or the EGO himself or herself, such as /mææ liɑŋ/ 'stepmother,' /phɔ́ŋ liɑŋ/ 'stepfather,' and /lûuk liɑŋ/ 'stepson/daughter.' I use the symbol [+N] to signify kin resulting from *new* marriage. Actually, this is not a

necessary distinctive feature in dealing only with the non-basic kinship terms, but adding it to the components makes the meanings of some terms clearer when compared to the basic kinship terms.

Following are non-basic kinship terms in Thai listed with denotative meanings and their semantic components. Note that they are treated here as another system separate from the basic kinship terms dealt with earlier.

Kinship term	Meaning	Semantic components
สามี /sāmii/	Hu (euphemistic)	[G 0, +L, +M, -MS, +Eu]
พี่ /phǔa/	Hu (common, colloquial)	[G 0, +L, +M, -MS, -Eu]
ภรรยา /phanrayaa/	Wi (euphemistic)	[G 0, +L, -M, +MS, +Eu]
เมีย /mia/	Wi (common, colloquial)	[G 0, +L, -M, +MS, -Eu]
แม่ยาย /mæ̌æ yaay/	WiMo	[G+1, +L, -M, +MS]
พ่อตา /phǔw taa/	WiFa	[G+1, +L, +M, +MS]
แม่สามี /mæ̌æ sāmii/	HuMo (euphemistic)	[G+1, +L, -M, -MS, +Eu]
แม่พี่ /mæ̌æ phǔa/	HuMo (common, colloquial)	[G+1, +L, -M, -MS, -Eu]
พ่อสามี /phǔw sāmii/	HuFa (euphemistic)	[G+1, +L, +M, -MS, +Eu]
พ่อพี่ /phǔw phǔa/	HuFa (common, colloquial)	[G+1, +L, +M, -MS, -Eu]
ปู่ /pùn/	HuFaFa, WiFaFa	[G+2, +M, +P]
ย่า /yāa/	HuFaMo, WiFaMo	[G+2, -M, +P]
ตา /taa/	HuMoFa, WiMoFa	[G+2, +M, -P]
ยาย /yaay/	HuMoMo, WiMoMo	[G+2, -M, -P]
ทวด /thúat/	HuFaFaFa, WiFaFaFa, HuFaMoMo, WiFaMoMo, HuMoFaFa, WiMoFaFa, etc.	[G+3]
ลุง /lun/	HuFa+Br, WiFa+Br, HuMo+Br, WiMo+Br	[G+1, -L, +A, +M]
ป้า /pāa/	HuFa+Si, WiFa+Si, HuMo+Si, WiMo+Si	[G+1, -L, +A, -M]
น้า /náa/ <sup>14</sup>	HuMo-Si, WiMo-Si	[G+1, -L, -A, -P]
อา /aa/ <sup>15</sup>	HuFa-Si, WiFa-Si	[G+1, -L, -A, +P]
ลูกเขย /lúuk khǔay/	DaHu	[G-1, +L, +M]
ลูกสะใภ้ /lúuk sapháy/	SoWi	[G-1, +L, -M]

<sup>14</sup> Some Thais use the term /náa khǔay/ 'a male who is married to mother's sister' and /náa sapháy/ 'a female who is married to mother's brother' instead of this term, which is identical with the basic term. However, such usage seems to be less common than /náa/.

<sup>15</sup> Similar to /náa/, this term has variants: /aa khǔay/ and /aa sapháy/, which are used by some to signify affinity.

หลานเขย /lǎan khǎy/	DaDaHu, SoDaHu, BrDaHu, SiDaHu	{[G-2,+M],[G-1,-L,+M]}
หลานสะใภ้ /lǎan sapháy/	SoSoWi, DaSoWi, BrSoWi, SiSoWi	{[G-2,-M],[G-1,-L,-M]}
พี่เขย /phîi khǎy/	+SiHu, +(FaSiDaHu), +(MoBrDaHu), etc.	[G 0, -L, +M, +A]
น้องเขย /nǎw khǎy/	-SiHu, -(FaSiDaHu), -(MoBrDaHu), etc.	[G 0, -L, +M, -A]
พี่สะใภ้ /phîi sapháy/	+BrWi, +(FaSiSoWi), -(MoBrSoWi), etc.	[G 0, -L, -M, +A]
น้องสะใภ้ /nǎw sapháy/	-BrWi, -(FaSiSoWi), -(MoBrSoWi), etc.	[G 0, -L, -M, -A]
แม่เลี้ยง /mæi líang/	FaWi ('stepmother')	[G+1, -M, +N]
พ่อเลี้ยง /phǎw líang/	MoHu ('stepfather')	[G+1, +M, +N]
ลูกเลี้ยง /lûuk líang/	HuSo, HuDa, WiSo, WiDa ('stepson or stepdaughter')	[G-1, +N]
พี่ /phîi/	+(FaWiSo), +(FaWiDa), +(MoHuSo), +(MoHuDa)	[G 0, +A, +N]
น้อง /nǎw/	-(FaWiSo), -(FaWiDa), -(MoHuSo), -(MoHuDa)	[G 0, -A, +N]

It is noticeable that many of the non-basic kinship terms above are the same as basic ones, i.e., the terms referring to kin in the generations above EGO, except those lineal ones. Also, the terms /phîi/ 'older sibling' and /nǎw/ 'younger sibling' are also used to refer to 'half brother or half sister'. Table 2 displays a multi-dimensional array of all the non-basic kinship terms in Thai and how they are related to one another.

The non-basic kinship terms in Thai are not as complicated as those in some other Asian languages, such as Taechiu and Cantonese. However, compared to English non-basic kinship terms, those in Thai are complex in several aspects. First, there are terms that are considered polite and impolite; e.g., terms for 'husband' and 'wife'. Secondly, the sex of the speaker is important in differentiating affinal kinship terms in Thai. A man and a woman use different terms to refer to his and her father- and mother-in-law. Finally, the other in-laws in Thai are differentiated by sex. The morphemes /khǎy/ and /sapháy/ signify 'male or female who is married into EGO's family,' respectively. They mean almost the same as *in-law* in English but are more limited in meaning. In English the sister of a man's wife is his "sister-in-law," the same as his brother's wife. However, in Thai only the latter is a /nǎw sapháy/ 'younger brother's wife,' not the former, for which Thai does not have a term. Some use a paraphrastic term like /nǎw (khǎy) phanrayaa/ or /nǎw mia/ 'wife's sister' to signify such a relationship.

Table 2: Non-basic kinship terms in Thai

GEN.	SEX OF SP	LINEALITY							
		Lineal (+L)				Collateral (-L)			
		+M		-M		+M		-M	
G+3		thuat							
G+2		+P    pùu		yáa		+P	pùu		yáa
		-P    taa		yaay		-P	taa		yaay
G+1	+MS	phôw-taa		mææ-yaay		+P	+A	luŋ	páa
						+P	-A	aa	
	-MS	-EU	phôw-phũa	mææ-phũa		-P	+A	luŋ	páa
		+EU	phôw-săamii	mææ-săamii		-P	-A	náa	
		+N	phôw-lĩaŋ	mææ-lĩaŋ					
G 0	+MS	-EU	EGO	mia		+A	phii-khốy	phii-sapháy	
		+EU	EGO	phanrayaa		-A	nốŋ-khốy	nốŋ-sapháy	
	-MS	-EU	phũa	EGO		+A	+N	phii	
		+EU	săamii	EGO		-A	+N	nốŋ	
G-1		lũuk-khốy		lũuk-sapháy		lăan-khốy		lăan-sapháy	
		+N	lũuk-lĩaŋ						
G-2		lăan-khốy		lăan-sapháy		lăan-khốy		lăan-sapháy	

## CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages, I have presented an analysis of kinship terms in Thai. In order to show the meanings of the terms clearly, I used the componential analysis approach. I have found that basic kinship terms in Thai contrast with one another in five dimensions: generation, sex, lineality, age, and parental side. The results of the componential analysis enable us to see clearly what the standard Bangkok Thai kinship system is and to compare it with other systems, such as the Kham Muang systems found in Prapantasiri (1992). From this I can conclude that the Bangkok kinship system is like the Chiang Mai and Lamphun system but differs from that of Chiang Rai and Lampang, in which the kin on the father's side and mother's side have merged. This may suggest ongoing change in the Chiang Rai and Lampang system, which may lead to a shift to a patrilineal system under the influence of Chinese, which I have also found to have happened in Zhuang.

The five crucial features mentioned also differentiate non-basic kinship terms from one another. In addition, I have found that the terms also contrast in three more dimensions: sex of the speaker, euphemism, and new marriage. In the future this finding of the affinal kinship system in standard Bangkok Thai may be used as a basis of further studies of the non-basic kinship terms in other Thai dialects and languages.

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