

THE SEMANTICS OF TAGALOG KINSHIP TERMS OF HOKKIEN CHINESE ORIGIN

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1. Introduction

In a previous study, borrowings from Hokkien Chinese into Tagalog were subsumed under the category of direct loans or loanwords.¹ The Tagalog kinship terms used as data for semantic analysis in this paper are part of one hundred sixty-three Hokkien Chinese loanwords in present-day Tagalog.

In most studies made on loanwords, the treatment of the semantic aspect has largely been confined to determining what semantic processes (e.g. loss, restriction, or extension of the original meaning of a word) have occurred (McCarthy 1970, Sa'id 1967). Indeed, such a tendency can be justified in view of the pervading notion in linguistics that the study of loanwords is predominantly historical in dimension involving a comparison of the earlier and the later stages of the language involved (Haugen 1950). This paper deviates markedly from traditional studies in the sense that it subjects the Hokkien Chinese loanwords on kinship to a technique of formal semantic analysis rather than to historical treatment. The formal semantic analysis used here is popularly known as componential analysis.

The literature on Chinese influence as gauged through loanwords has always been one wherein the loanwords were listed under major semantic categories or domains. Conclusions have been drawn as to which semantic domain has received the greatest influence. In subjecting the loanwords on kinship to componential analysis, as is done here, it is likely that a comprehensive view of the nature of the borrowings would be gained.

Himes (1972:44-8) lists a total of forty kin terms in Tagalog, nine of which are definitely of Hokkien origin.² To subject just the loanwords to a componential analysis is not viable since this particular technique of semantic analysis is designed for the 'essentially natural subsets' of a language (Bendix 1966:3) and the Hokkien loanwords on kinship are merely terms within the natural subset of Tagalog kinship. In view of this, the entire Tagalog kinship system is considered in the treatment of the Hokkien loanwords on kinship. In addition, certain relevant aspects of the Hokkien kinship system are brought in by way of providing bases for a comparative study of the kinship systems. It is assumed that a comparative study of the kinship systems of both Tagalog and Hokkien Chinese cultures, together with their respective terminologies, will yield differences in the two cultures that can provide insights into the reasons behind the presence of certain Hokkien loanwords as opposed to the absence of others in the borrowing language.

2. Componential Analysis Applied to Kinship

In this section, a simple definition of the term 'componential analysis' will be given.³ The practitioners of componential analysis define it as 'an analytical technique by which terms at one taxonomic level in any lexical domain are arranged in their relation to each other according to definitions consisting of a fixed number of components' (Himes 1972:86).

Componential analysis is most applicable to such domains as kinship in which the 'various semantic dimensions crosscut one another in such a way that all, or at least, a high proportion, of the possible combination of components combine with one another to define a term' (Burlings 1970:39-40). For instance, Burmese kinship terminology can be defined in terms of seven semantic dimensions: (1) consanguinity, (2) generation, (3) lineality, (4) sex of kinsmen, (5) relative age, (6) sex of speaker, and (7) degree of collateral removal (Burlings 1965:109-11). Thus, the Burmese kinship terms *gap^hèi* 'father' and *gaméi* 'mother' share three semantic dimensions, i.e. consanguineal, one generation removed from Ego, and lineal; they are opposed only in the dimension of sex where the former has the component 'male' and the latter, the component 'female'.

The immediate goals of a componential analysis of kinship terminology are a 'set of symbolic notations capable of defining the various kin terms by specific combinations of the contrastive components' (Pospisil 1965:188),⁴ and 'a statement of the semantic relationship (usually in a diagrammatic form) among the terms and of the structural principles of the terminological system of a language' (Wallace and Atkins 1960:60).

3. Componential Analysis Applied to Tagalog Kinship Terminology

A sizable number of studies on the Tagalog kinship system include several componential analyses of the terminology,⁵ the most extensive of which is Himes' *Kinship, disease, property, and time in the Tagalog area, Philippines: A study in ethnoscience* (1972). A review of Himes' study at this point is essential as background to the investigation of the presence of certain Hokkien loanwords in the domain of kinship.

Himes made a componential analysis of the Tagalog kinship terminology used in Marilao, Bulacan, particularly in the following areas: Poblacion, or the town proper, Tabing Ilong, 'a contiguous barrio', and Loma de Gato, 'a more remote farming barrio'.⁶ The analysis yielded the following seven semantic dimensions:

1. consanguinity, which encompasses three kinds of relationship: consanguineal, affinal, and ritual,
2. generation, which applies to seven generations: that of Ego's, the two above him, and the four below him,
3. degree of proximity to Ego,
4. relative age, which encompasses two components: 'relatively older' and 'relatively younger',
5. birth order of Ego,
6. sex, which encompasses the components of 'male' and 'female',
7. generation of linking kinsman, which encompasses two components: 'a kinsman linked to Ego through someone of his own generation' and 'a kinsman linked to him through an inferior generation'.

The following paradigm of the terminology reproduced from Himes' study shows the semantic relationships among the terms.⁷

Table 1. Componential Analysis of the Kin Terms Recalled in Marilao (from Himes)

A. The Components	
A	<p>: Consanguinity :</p> <p>a₁ consanguineal a₂ affinal a₃ ritual</p>
B	<p>: Generation :</p> <p>b₁ two generations above Ego b₂ one generation above Ego b₃ Ego's generation b₄ one generation below Ego b₅ two generations below Ego and beyond</p>
C	<p>: Degree :</p> <p>c₁ direct (lineal, single-link affinal, participating ritual) c₂ close (first degree collateral, double-link affinal, non-participating active ritual) c₃ distant (second degree collateral and beyond, triple-link affinal and beyond, non-participating passive ritual)</p>
D	<p>: Relative age :</p> <p>d₁ elder (referent or linking kinsman older than Ego or referent older than linking kinsman) d₂ younger (referent or linking kinsman younger than Ego or referent younger than linking kinsman)</p>
E	<p>: Birth order :</p> <p>e₁ first e₂ second e₃ third e₄ fourth</p>
F	<p>: Sex of referent :</p> <p>f₁ male f₂ female</p>
G	<p>: Generation of linking kinsman :</p> <p>g₁ Ego's generation g₂ one generation below Ego</p>

B. Componential Definitions

1. <i>tátay</i>	a ₁	b ₂	c ₁	f ₁
2. <i>nánay</i>	a ₁	b ₂	c ₁	f ₂
3. <i>anáak</i>	a ₁	b ₄	c ₁	
4. <i>lóló</i>	a ₁	b ₁	c ₁₋₃	f ₁
5. <i>lólá</i>	a ₁	b ₁	c ₁₋₃	f ₂

6.	<i>apó</i>	a ₁	b ₅	c ₁₋₃			
7.	<i>káka</i>	a ₁	b ₂	c ₂₋₃	d ₁		
8.	<i>tíyo</i>	a ₁	b ₂	c ₂₋₃	d ₂		f ₁
9.	<i>tíya</i>	a ₁	b ₂	c ₂₋₃	d ₂		f ₂
10.	<i>pamangkín</i>	a ₁	b ₄	c ₂₋₃			
11.	<i>kapatíd</i>	a ₁	b ₃	c ₂	d ₂		
12.	<i>kúya</i>	a ₁	b ₃	c ₂	d ₁	e ₁	f ₁
13.	<i>áte</i>	a ₁	b ₃	c ₂	d ₁	e ₁	f ₂
14.	<i>díko</i>	a ₁	b ₃	c ₂	d ₁	e ₂	f ₁
15.	<i>dítse</i>	a ₁	b ₃	c ₂	d ₁	e ₂	f ₂
16.	<i>sangkó</i>	a ₁	b ₃	c ₂	d ₁	e ₃	f ₁
17.	<i>sansé</i>	a ₁	b ₃	c ₂	d ₁	e ₃	f ₂
18.	<i>déte</i>	a ₁	b ₃	c ₂	d ₁	e ₄	f ₂
19.	<i>pínsan</i>	a ₁	b ₃	c ₃			
20.	<i>asáwa</i>	a ₂	b ₃	c ₁			
21.	<i>biyenán</i>	a ₂	b ₂	c ₂			
22.	<i>manúgang</i>	a ₂	b ₄₋₅	c ₂			
23.	<i>siyáho</i>	a ₂	b ₃	c ₂	d ₁		f ₁
24.	<i>insó</i>	a ₂	b ₃	c ₂	d ₁		f ₁
25.	<i>bayáw</i>	a ₂	b ₃	c ₂	d ₂		f ₁
26.	<i>hípag</i>	a ₂	b ₃	c ₂	d ₂		f ₂
27.	<i>bilás</i>	a ₂	b ₃	c ₃			g ₁
28.	<i>baláe</i>	a ₂	b ₃	c ₃			g ₂
29.	<i>nínong</i>	a ₃	b ₂	c ₁			f ₁
30.	<i>nínang</i>	a ₃	b ₂	c ₁			f ₂
31.	<i>ináanak</i>	a ₃	b ₄	c ₁			
32.	<i>kumpádre</i>	a ₃	b ₃	c ₂			f ₁
33.	<i>kumádre</i>	a ₃	b ₃	c ₂			f ₂
34.	<i>kinákapatíd</i>	a ₃	b ₃	c ₃			

4. Hokkien Loanwords in the Domain of Tagalog Kinship

A strict count of the number of Hokkien loanwords in this domain yields only nine terms, and these are: *ingkóng*, *kúya*, *áte*, *díko*, *dítse*, *sangkó*, *sansé*, *insó*, and *siyáho*. Himes (29) lists *impó* 'grandmother' as being of Chinese origin, but this is doubtful for two reasons: (1) the Hokkien counterpart for *impó* is *â+mà*,⁸ and (2) its origin has already been traced to Dempwolf's **e(m)pu* 'forefather, grandson' (Mohring 1974:27).⁹ Other evidence (Chan-Yap 1974) indicates that the world has a Hokkien-related morpheme but is not a direct loan.

Déte 'fourth older sister' must be an analogical creation since the Hokkien form for this gloss is *si+ci*,¹⁰ which is not anywhere near *déte*; the *-te* in *déte* must have resulted from an analogy to *áte*; *de-* seems close to the first syllable in *dítse* and *díko* except that the vowel has undergone vowel lowering. How *déte* came to have its meaning of 'fourth older sister' remains an etymological mystery. While *impó* has been ruled out in this study as being of Hokkien origin, *déte* is not for the reason given above.

All but two of the loanwords constitute part of the consanguineal terminology: *siyáho* and *insó* are affinal terms. Of the consanguineal terms, *ingkóng* is the only term

that is substitutable by other kin terms all referring to the same kin type: *lolo* and *pápo* (Himes, 44).¹¹ As a matter of fact, *lolo* seems to be a more commonly used term than *ingkóng*. In connection with the use of *ingkóng*, no law of borrowing can be deduced except for the obvious observation that borrowing tends to take place where there is a heavy influence of the donor language.

Unlike *ingkóng*, the whole sub-set of kinship terminology referring to Ego's elder siblings is not substitutable by any other set. They are used as both referential and address terms. The affinal terms *siyáho* and *insó* are used as terms of address, while their respective counterparts *bayáw* and *hípag* are used referentially. The Hokkien loanwords are here used to fill in a function that cannot be fulfilled by the existing Tagalog kinship terminology; also, unlike *ingkóng*, they have no comparable substitutes.

5. Componential Analysis as an Index of Linguistic Acculturation

Linguistic acculturation refers to the process by which linguistic borrowings are integrated into the overall linguistic structure of the borrowing or receiving language. The degree of linguistic acculturation of loanwords can be measured in terms of the ability of the loanwords to participate in regular morphological processes, particularly those of derivation and inflection, of the receiving language (Lopez 1965, Sa'id 1967). Other means of measuring linguistic acculturation have been attempted by Dozier (1964), who correlated the Yaqui Indians' willingness to bring in Spanish linguistic borrowings with the fact that the Indians were not forced to acculturate by their conquerors, and by Lindenfeld (1971), who provided semantic reasons to account for the Yaqui Indians' grammatical borrowing from Spanish.

In the componential analysis of Tagalog kinship terminology, birth order has been shown to be one of the semantic dimensions. The presence of the sub-set of seven Hokkien loanwords for Ego's elder siblings within the domain of Tagalog kinship has necessitated the inclusion of the dimension of birth order consisting of four members: first, second, third, and fourth in order of birth. This finding has relevance for the Tagalog's cognitive process or cognition of his own kinship system, since it affects the way he conceptualizes the structural relationships of the system; this is further borne out by Himes (92), who determined the psychological validity of this component through a sorting test. The implication of all this is that componential analysis *can* be used as an additional technique to measure the degree of linguistic acculturation or integration of loanwords. Determining the degree or extent of linguistic acculturation can lead to a typology of loanwords or of linguistic borrowings and vice versa (see Section 4); thus, *ingkóng* can be viewed as *not* having the same degree of linguistic acculturation as *káiya*, *áte*, *díko*, *dirsé*, *sangkó*, *sansé* and *déte* since it is substitutable by other kin terms whereas the others are not.

In the case of the affinals *siyáho* and *insó*, componential analysis cannot help determine the degree of linguistic acculturation, as the dimensions that occur in these two terms also recur in others as a glance at Himes' componential definitions will show. There is no doubt though that these terms have become integrated into the kinship terminology as reflected by their participation in a componential analysis of such terminology. This is all that can be said about the affinal loanwords; further conclusions about them will be given in a later section.

6. Hokkien Kinship System

The entire Chinese kinship system is a complex one involving a terminological structure that is equally complex.¹² The Hokkien kinship system partakes of this complexity, although there are evident differences in terminology. This being the case, the discussion of the Hokkien kinship system in this section can be neither extensive nor exhaustive; only the salient structural principles of the system are given below.

6.1. Lineage. The Hokkien kinship system is patrilineal rather than matrilineal. Persons whose relationship or kinship can be traced to their fathers are considered kinsmen in the true sense of the word; agnatic relatives are the ones that really 'count'. If a woman remains unmarried, she is still considered as a member of the sib defined by Feng (1937:142) as 'a group of people possessing a common sib name (patronym), descended from a common male ancestor, no matter how remote, and characterized by a feeling of relationship'. Once she is married, she is considered as belonging to her husband's family and her membership in her father's agnatic line becomes merely marginal (Amyot 1973: 107); she now belongs to a non-sib group, that is, a group of relatives whose sib name is different from the one she carried before she got married.

The basic patrilineal system is reflected in the kinship terminology: on the grandparental generation, a distinction is made between *guā+kòng* literally meaning 'grandfather who is outside the patriliney' and *lai+kòng* 'grandfather who is inside the patriliney,' and between *guā+mà* "grandma who is outside" and *lai+mà* "grandma who is inside". *Lai+kòng* and *lai+mà* refer to paternal grandparents, *guā+kòng* and *guā+mà* maternal grandparents. Similarly, grandchildren are referred to reciprocally as either *lai+sūn* 'grandchildren who are within the patriliney' or *guā+sūn* 'grandchildren who are outside the patriliney', the former are the children of Ego's sons while the latter are the children of Ego's daughters (see Figures 1 and 2).

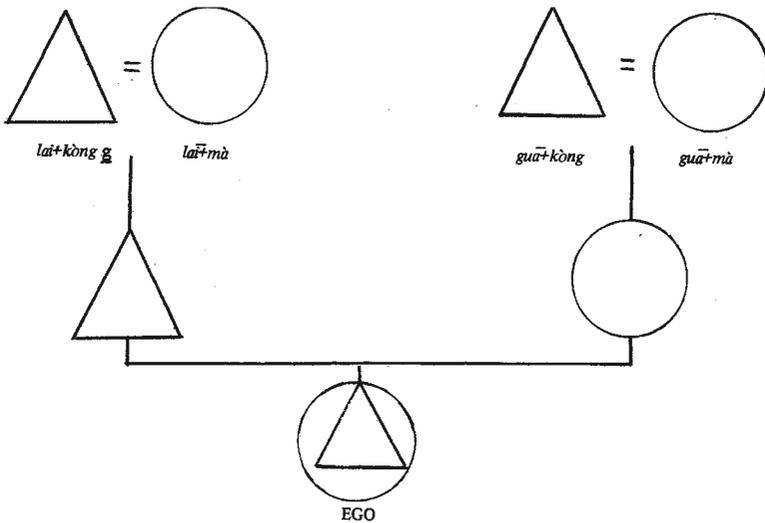


Figure 1. Ego's Parents' Parent Referential Terminology

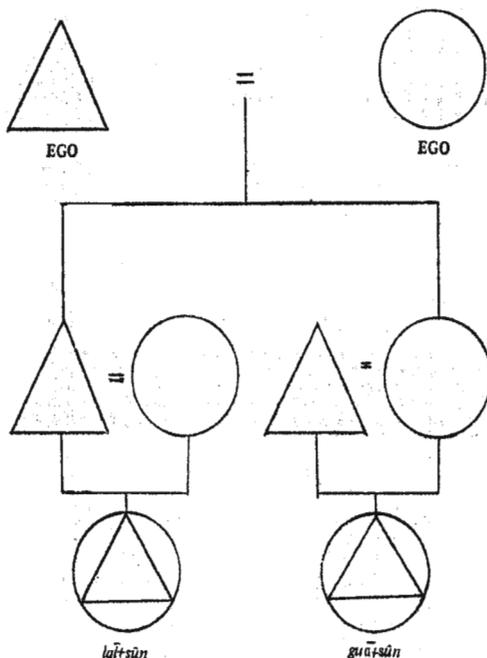


Figure 2. Ego's Children's Children Terminology

The dichotomy between kinsmen on the father's side and those on the mother's side is further reflected in the bifurcation of kinship terminology. Figure 3 gives a clear illustration of the distinction in terminology. Ego uses a different set of kinship terms when referring to or addressing his uncles and aunts on his father's side: $\hat{a}+p\bar{e}$ for 'father's elder brother', $\hat{a}+chi\bar{e}k$ for 'father's younger brother,' and $\hat{a}+k\bar{o}$ for 'father's elder or younger sister'. To address or refer to his uncles and aunts on his mother's side, Ego uses the following terms: $\hat{a}+k\bar{u}$ for 'mother's elder or younger brother', and $\hat{a}+i$ for 'mother's elder or younger sister'.

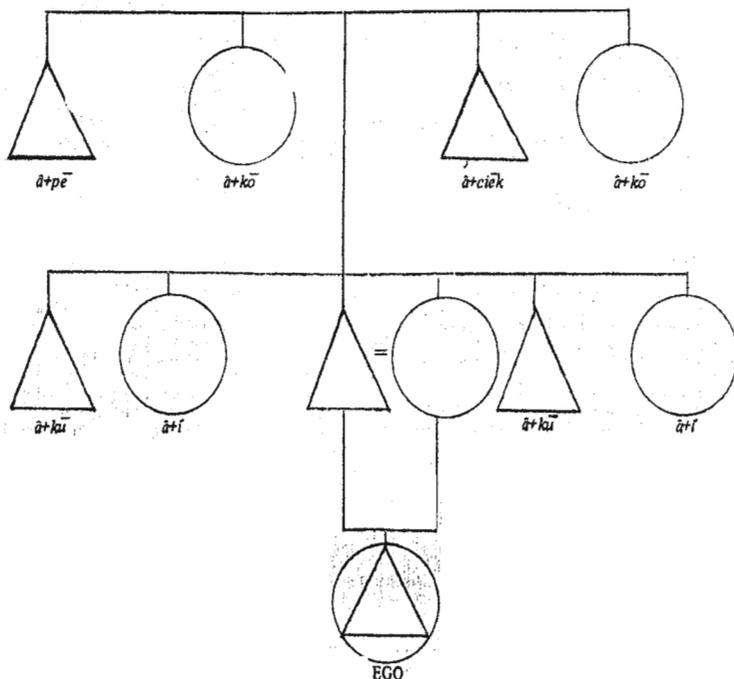


Figure 3. Ego's Parents' Siblings Terminology

The emphasis on patriliney is further evident in the terminology used to distinguish between father's elder and younger brothers, e.g., *â+pè* versus *â+cièk*. On the other hand, no such distinction is made for mother's elder and younger brothers, as both of them are known to Ego by the same kin term: *â+kū*. This is clear evidence that Ego's father's male siblings are more important than Ego's mother's male siblings in the sense that the former are members of the same sib as Ego, that is, they all have the same patronym and therefore, are 'true' kinsmen.

The terminology used to refer to Ego's kinsmen on the same generational level likewise reflects the distinction between sib and non-sib members. Ego's cousins, descended through females, regardless of the degree of proximity, are referred to as *piàð* 'outside', and, therefore, carry different patronyms from Ego, whereas Ego's cousins descended through males, regardless of the degree of proximity, are referred to as *kè+pàk*, and therefore, share the same patronym (see Figure 4).

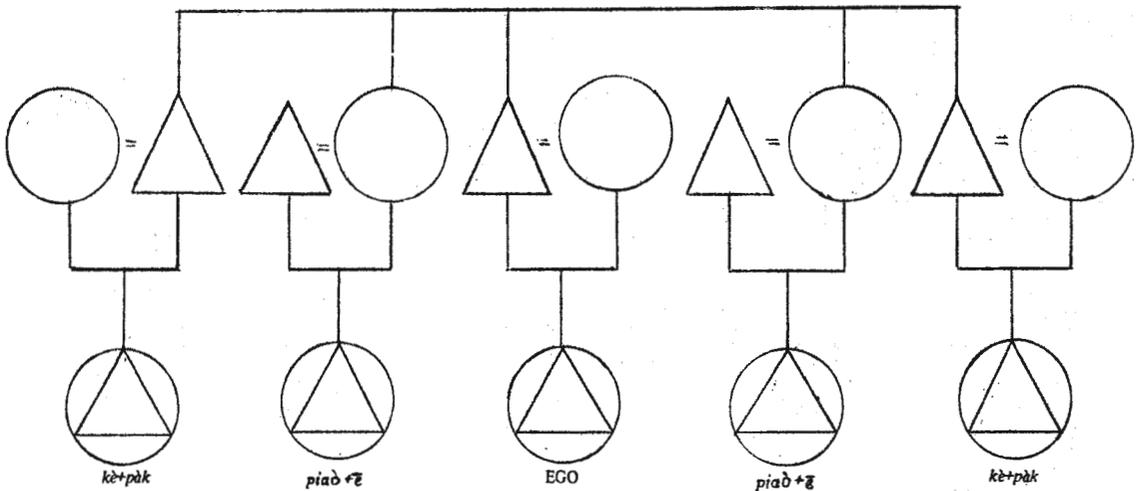


Figure 4. Ego's Parents' Siblings' Children Terminology

6.2. Sex. Closely interrelated to lineage is sex. Greater importance is given to the males of a family since it is through them that the sib name is perpetuated. This is reflected in the kinship terminology for the parental generation, where a distinction is made between the elder and the younger male siblings of the father, but not between identical siblings of the mother (Figure 3); thus, *â+pè* refers to 'father's elder brother,' and *â+cièk*, 'father's younger brother'; Ego's uncles on the mother's side are all *â+kū* to Ego. Furthermore, the terminology used for addressing and referring to both parents' female siblings do not make a distinction between the elder and the younger ones; the bifurcation of terminology is only to distinguish Ego's aunt on the father's side, e.g., *â+kō*, from Ego's aunt on the mother's side, e.g., *â+i*.

6.3. Seniority or Birth Order. Seniority or birth order implies 'an order of respect and authority' (Amyot, 107). It also implies an imposition of certain responsibilities and obligations on the part of the elder members of the family. It is both the responsibility

and the obligation of the eldest son to support his younger siblings in the event of the father's death. In return, he is given due respect by all those younger than he is; all important decisions are made by him, and he has the final word on all matters that concern the household and its members. In the case of the absence of an elder son, then it is the elder daughter that fulfills the role imposed on her by virtue of her order of birth within the nuclear family.

The emphasis on seniority or birth order is reflected in the terminology by the prefixation of the numeral modifiers, *dī* 'second', *sā* 'third', *sī* 'fourth', *gō* 'fifth', *lák* 'sixth', *chit* 'seventh', etc. to the nuclear terms in Table 2. The first order of birth is simply indicated by the nuclear term plus the particle *a* as in *kò+á* 'eldest brother', *kū+á* 'eldest uncle on mother's side' or the prefixation of the particle *a* to the nuclear terms as in *â+ci* 'eldest sister', *â+kō* 'eldest aunt on mother's side'.

Nuclear Term	English Gloss	Kin Type
kò	'brother'	Ego's elder male sibling
cì	'sister'	Ego's elder female sibling
kū	'uncle'	Ego's mother's male sibling
pèq	'uncle'	Ego's father's elder male sibling
cièk	'uncle'	Ego's father's younger male sibling
kō	'aunt'	Ego's father's female sibling
ĩ	'aunt'	Ego's mother's female sibling

Table 2. Hokkien Nuclear Terms for Ego's and Ego's Parents Generations

6.4. Generation. Interrelated with seniority is generation. Members of the generations above Ego address members of Ego's generation by their first names, but the latter must address and refer to the former by the appropriate kin terms (as outlined in Figure 3). Because aunts and uncles are one generation above Ego, they are considered as Ego's senior kinsmen and must be given the respect due them. Since Ego is considered as being senior to his nephews and nieces, he can address the latter by just their names.

All told, the Hokkien kinship terminology is so succinctly structured that it is easy to determine the relationship of the referent to Ego through the kin terms used. For instance, in the term *dī+pèq*, *pèq* can only refer to Ego's father's elder brother with the prefix *dī* 'second' indicating that the referent can only be Ego's cousin, regardless of degree of proximity, on his mother's side.

7. Comparison of Tagalog and Hokkien Kinship Terminologies

The Tagalog kinship system, reflected in its terminology, is much less intricate and complex than the Hokkien kinship system. In this section, the areas within the Tagalog kinship system wherein Hokkien loanwords are present are examined by comparing them with identical areas within the Hokkien kinship system. Certain conclusions about the nature of lexical borrowings can then be made.

7.1. Ego's Siblings Terminology

As stated in an earlier section, Tagalog has seven Hokkien loanwords which refer to the relationship between Ego and his elder siblings. This relationship is diagrammed in Figure 5, which also shows an identical relationship between Ego and his elder siblings within the Hokkien kinship system. The only difference is the kin term *déte* in Tagalog, which has a different equivalent in Hokkien. Hokkien kin terms are written in capital letters; those of Tagalog are written in lower case.

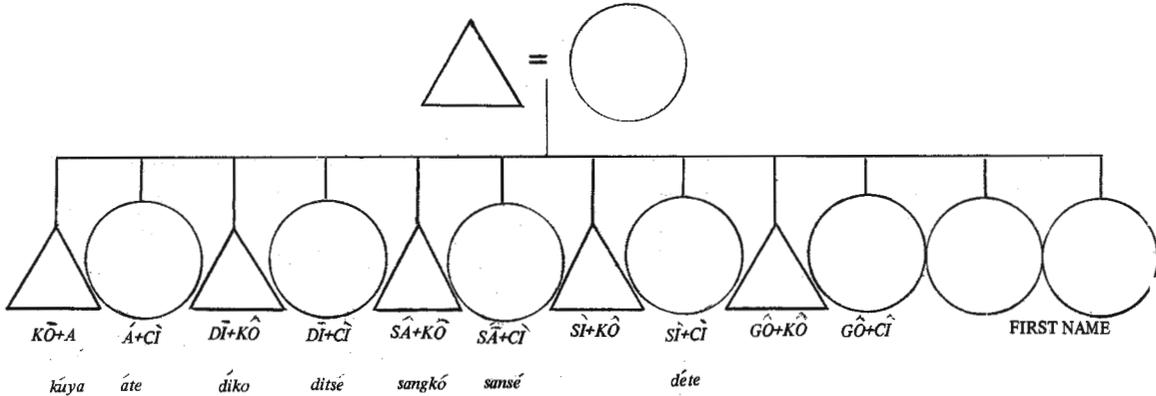


Figure 5. Tagalog and Hokkien Ego's Elder Siblings Terminology

Hokkien kin terms at this level can extend to as many elder siblings as there actually are in the nuclear family. It is a curious thing that Tagalog should borrow the kin terms that extend only to the third elder sibling, with the fourth term resulting from the process of analogical creation. Why this should be so can only be conjectured: One possibility may be that there probably was no need to borrow kin terms beyond the fourth-numbered sibling if Filipino families were small in size; a likelier possibility may be the infrequency of occurrence of Hokkien kin terms referring to the fourth-numbered siblings and those beyond, which could then have led the Tagalogs to create their own term based on existing ones, e.g. *déte*.

Within a more traditional Tagalog system, the use of the elder sibling loanwords is extended to first cousins who are the offsprings of one's parents' elder siblings, regardless of their own age relative to Ego (Himes, 64). This follows closely the Hokkien kinship system and terminology as indicated in Figure 6, which is reproduced from Himes, but superposed with Hokkien terminology. *Káka* is the term Ego uses when he addresses his father's elder brother, while *tíyo* is used for his father's younger brother. Ego uses the terms *kúya*, *díko*, or *sangkó* when he addresses his cousins who are the children of his *káka*. However, as Himes points out, this practice is becoming less and less frequent; the same thing likewise can be said of its practice among Hokkien speakers in the Philippines.

One can theorize that cultural considerations led to the borrowing of the sub-set of Hokkien kin terms for elder siblings. It is a basic trait among the Tagalogs to give due respect and deference to senior kinsmen, and since the Hokkien kinship terminology offers a means of expressing this cultural trait, it is a natural consequence that Tagalog should borrow the appropriate kin terms. It does not seem to be the case, therefore, that

the Hokkian loanwords were motivated by a 'tolerance for Chinese nationals in the Central Plain' (Himes, 15), nor by the fact that loanwords 'happen' to be there because of heavy Chinese influence.¹³ It is the thesis here that cultural considerations override such things as the proposed explanations. In relation to this, there is some negative evidence to support this thesis, and that is, the cultural difference brought about by the underlying principle of lineage present in both kinship systems. In the previous section, it was emphasized that the Hokkien kinship system distinguishes the patrilineal from the matrilineal line of descent (see Figures 1-3) manifested in the bifurcation of kinship terminology used for Ego's father's relatives as opposed to Ego's mother's relatives. On the other hand, the Tagalog society is strictly bilineal, with equal importance given to relatives on both father's and mother's sides, and a distinction in terminology, therefore, need not be made.¹⁴ This being the case, there was no necessity for the Tagalog system to borrow the Hokkien kin terms for Ego's parents' siblings; the Tagalog kin terms *tíyo* 'uncle' and *tíya* 'aunt' refer to both parents' siblings without further distinction.¹⁵

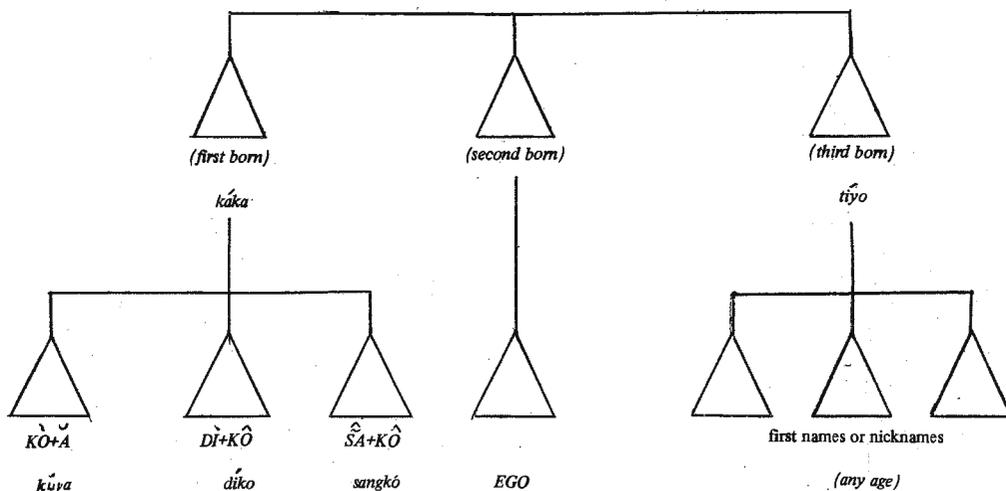


Figure 6. Hokkien and Tagalog First Cousin Address Terminology (traditional system)

In the Hokkien loanwords for elder siblings, the dimension of sex crosscuts that of birth order, thus *áte*, *ditsé*, *sansé*, *déte* all denote Ego's elder female siblings and *kúya*, *diko*, and *sangko* denote Ego's elder male siblings. According to the Himes' study of the entire Tagalog kinship terminology, 'sex distinctions are very common for senior kinsmen and equals' (61). In trying to establish the reasons for the presence of these loanwords as against that of others, e.g. the kin terms for father's elder siblings and mother's elder siblings, the following question can be asked: What was the Tagalog kinship system like before the entrance of these loanwords? What peculiarities did the kinship system have that led to these borrowings? The clue lies in a related conclusion of Himes, namely, that Ego's generation has the highest number of distinctions and that 'the terminology exhibits a generational bias, but it stresses the distinctiveness of the nuclear family' (84). While it may be so that Himes' conclusions were made after an analysis of the Tagalog kinship terminology including the loanwords, it is safe to say that the greatest factor that led to the borrowing of the kin terms for elder siblings was the Tagalogs' view of the nuclear family as the most important unit within their social structure.

7.2. Ego's Elder Siblings' Spouses Terminology

The Tagalog affinal kin terms of Hokkien origin, namely, *siyáho* and *insó*, are used strictly for addressing Ego's elder sister's husband and brother's wife respectively. The relationship reflected in this terminology is given in Figure 7, together with the Hokkien kin terms. It is clear from the diagram that the Hokkien kin term used to address a sister's husband is *ko+ǎ*, and that *ciū+hu*, from whence came Tagalog *siyáho*, is used as a referential term (see Figure 8). Although the referent remains the same, the function has been differentiated. It is clear that the principle of selective borrowing (Lindenfeld, 17) is at work here: the Tagalog kinship system needs a term of address for Ego's eldest sister's husband, but because the Hokkien equivalent yields *kò+ǎ* from whence came Tagalog *káya*, which is already being used for Ego's eldest male sibling, a different kin term had to be borrowed. This, again, reflects the importance of the nuclear family, where the kinship terminology must remain sacrosanct and invariable. Tagalog uses a different set of kin terms — *hípag* and *bayáw* — to refer to Ego's brother's wife and sister's husband respectively. These kin terms, however, refer to variable kin types as *hípag* can also refer to 'spouse's sister', or 'parents' sibling's son's wife', and *bayáw* to 'spouse's brother' or 'parent's siblings' daughter's husband'. On the other hand, *insó* and *siyáho* are used to address kinsmen belonging to invariable kin types.

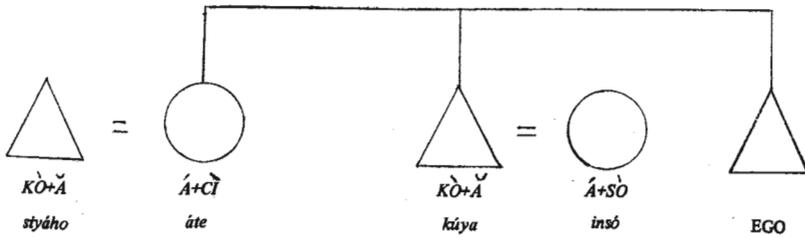


Figure 7. Hokkien and Tagalog Ego's Siblings' Spouses Address Terminology

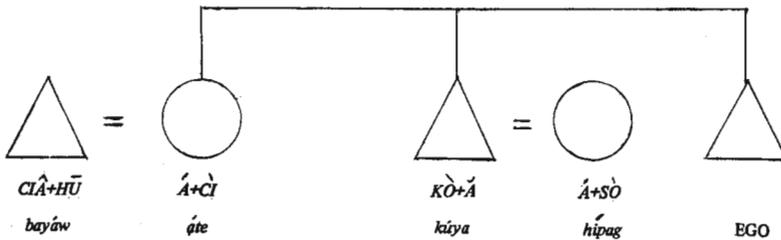


Figure 8. Hokkien and Tagalog Ego's Siblings' Spouses Referential Terminology

While it is true that a componential analysis of Tagalog kinship terminology assigns *siyáho* and *insó* to the affinal component, their referents are still members of the Tagalog immediate family,¹⁶ a psychological reality which can explain why these two Hokkien kin terms in particular, rather than others, have been borrowed into the language. The implication of this is that although a componential analysis of terminology which includes loanwords may at times help to determine the nature and kind of borrowing, at other times it is of no value since it cannot capture the psychological perception of the use of the terms as illustrated by the case of *siyáho* and *insó*.¹⁷

7.3. Ego's Parents' Parents

In the Hokkien kinship system described earlier, a distinction was made between maternal and paternal grandparents as reflected in the referential terminology (see Figure 1). However, in addressing grandparents on both parents' sides, Ego uses the same set of kin terms: *ân+kông* 'grandfather' and *â+mà* 'grandmother' (Figure 9). Obviously, Tagalog has borrowed only the Hokkien kin term for 'grandfather', using it as both an address and a reference term.

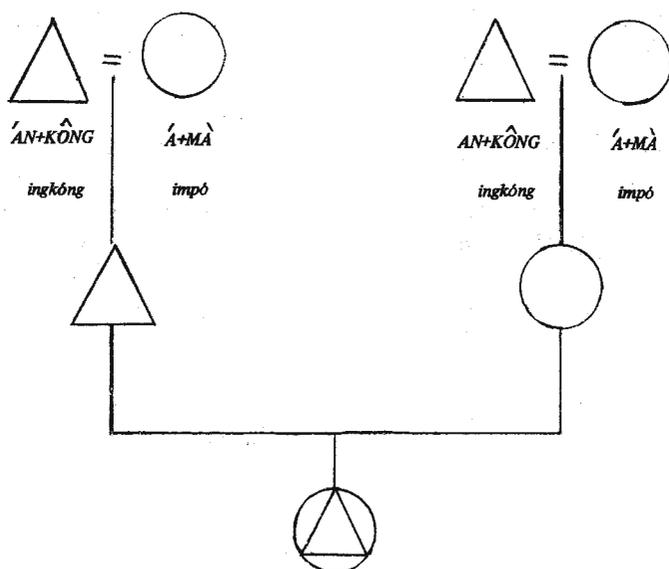


Figure 9. Hokkien and Tagalog Ego's Parents' Parents Address Terminology

The Tagalog kin term *ingkóng* is undoubtedly of Hokkien origin, and comes from Hokkien *în+ân+kông* 'his grandfather'; it then had to conform to the Tagalog morpheme structure condition on disyllabic structure resulting in the deletion of the middle morpheme, and finally, the phonological rules on nasal assimilation (Chan-Yap, Chapter 2).¹⁸

As to why Tagalog *ingkóng* should originate from Hokkien *în+ân+kông*, and Tagalog *insó* from Hokkien *în+â+sò* 'his eldest brother's wife', one can only conjecture; the kin terms must have resulted from a sociolinguistic context which involves a younger kinsman addressing an older kinsman, a situation parallel to one in which someone youngest would use *silá* instead of *ikáw* when addressing someone older as in 'sino ho silá?'. A situation like this calls for euphemistic kind of language which does not imply social distance but rather respect and deference due to a senior kinsman.

Anthropologists have often studied Tagalog kinship terminology in order to get a picture of the structure of its kinship system (Stoodley 1957, Murray 1973, Evangelista 1973). The foregoing discussion demonstrates that the study of loanwords that form part of a kinship terminology, specifically focussing on their nature and kind, can provide further evidence for the anthropologists' findings.

8. Summary

In the foregoing sections, attempts at a formal semantic analysis of Tagalog loanwords of Hokkien origin in the domains of kinship yielded certain significant findings of a cross-cultural nature.

Examining the Hokkien loanwords on kinship vis-à-vis the componential analysis previously made of the entire Tagalog kinship terminology revealed that the kin terms used by Ego to address and to refer to his elder siblings, i.e. *kúya*, *âte*, *diko*, *ditsé*, *sangkó*, *sansé*, and *déte* resulted from the inherent importance of the nuclear family within the Tagalog kinship structure. In a manner of speaking, a certain circularity surrounds this sub-set of kin terms; their presence in the Tagalog kinship terminology led to the addition of the dimension of birth order in the componential analysis that was made; in turn, it was through a componential analysis that this particular dimension was uncovered. In the case of the affinal kin terms, *insó* and *siyáho*, the borrowings did not lead to the creation of a new semantic dimension; as a matter of fact, componential analysis was viewed as not having any value since it could not capture the psychological perception of the user of these terms.¹⁹ The affinal terms were borrowed because they were necessary as structural indicators of the relationship inherent in them, i.e. they were used as address terminology for Ego's elder siblings' spouses of both sexes. In view of all this, the Hokkien loanwords on kinship, with the exception of the consanguineal kin term *ingkóng*, were borrowed because they could fill in certain structural gaps within the Tagalog kinship system, a conclusion contrary to the usual notion that their existence was due to a great tolerance for the Chinese.

NOTES

¹See Chan-Yap's doctoral dissertation, *Hokkien Chinese borrowings in Tagalog*, 1974.

²Himes (1967) notes that *impó* is Chinese.

³For a detailed description of the procedure involved in componential analysis, see Wallace and Atkins (1960).

⁴An example is provided by Himes (1967), Appendix C.

⁵See Stoodley (1957), Fox (1961).

⁶In an earlier study (1967), Himes had collected data on kinship terminology in the Greater Manila Area (Region I), in Bataan, Northern Cavite, Western Rizal, Eastern and Northern Bulacan, and Northern Nueva Ecija (Region II), Batangas, Southern Laguna, and Southwestern Batangas (Region III), and had found that Region II had a 'marked Chinese influence' (128).

⁷Himes defines *baláe* componentially as g_2 (one generation below Ego), which is

incorrect; the proper componential definition is g_1 (Ego's generation).

⁸Manuel's list (1948) includes *imá* which is closer to the Hokkien form although its meaning is 'mother' rather than 'grandmother'.

⁹In concluding that *impó* is Chinese, Himes has this to say:

Most individuals exhibit a high degree of consistency in pairing these terms. Thus a man who refers to his grandfather by the Chinese term *ingkóng* refers to his grandmother by the Chinese term *impó*. *Lólo* and *lóla* tend to co-occur, as do *tíyo* and *tíya*, *máma* and *nána*, *amá* and *iná*, *tátay* and *nánay* and *ináng* and *tátang*.

Elsewhere, he makes a similar observation (1967): 'The age grading among elder siblings found throughout this area and the preference for the grandparent terms *ingkóng* and *impó* suggests a marked Chinese influence.' While there is some logical basis to Himes' thinking, one must not forget that *impó* is not a direct loan like *ingkóng* although it is a word that may be related to Chinese (Hokkien); in Hokkien *pó* is used to refer to old ladies as in *lau+pó* 'old woman' but it is not used to refer to 'grandmother'.

¹⁰Manuel lists *sitsé* as a Tagalog borrowing; it is doubtful though that it is part of a Tagalog speaker's active vocabulary.

¹¹To determine this, Himes used a so-called cognitive saliency test described as follows (73):

A term which is recalled by a large number of informants is considered more salient than one which is recalled by only a few informants. Thus, the higher the frequency, the more salient a term is. If two terms are recalled an equal number of times, then the one which is recalled sooner in the list of terms is considered more salient than the one which is mentioned later.

¹²There is a dearth of literature written on it, but an extensive treatment is given by Feng (1937).

¹³Frank Lynch, S.J., through personal communication.

¹⁴Ruellos (1969) accounts for the non-differentiation of 'relatives on the maternal side' from those on the paternal side through a non-distinction of sex (25). It is obvious, however, that the underlying principle that accounts for this is bilineality rather than a non-distinction of sex.

¹⁵Himes points out that in a more traditional system, *káka* 'uncle' is used for parents' elder male siblings.

¹⁶Immediate family here refers to members of the nuclear family and the extended families.

¹⁷The finding here is parallel to Himes' regarding componential analysis in which 'the components enjoy a degree of psychological validity'. An alternative analysis was proposed by Himes called 'colloquial analysis' which 'approaches more closely the goal of psychological validity than does componential analysis'.

¹⁸The same rules must have applied to Tagalog *insó* which comes from Hokkien *in+á+sò* 'his eldest brother's wife'.

¹⁹The result of Himes' study indicates that componential analysis does not in every instance capture the speaker's psychological perception.

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