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ARTICLES

The Comparison of Kinship Terminology in the Yulin Dialect and in Cantonese

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The Yulin dialect is a sub-dialect of Cantonese, only used in Yuzhou and Fumian districts of the city of Yulin, located in the southeast of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, China. The kinship terms in Yue dialects include direct and indirect address terms, and usually are a combination of morphemes used to embody referential features (synthetic relation terms) and morphemes that distinguish the degree of kinship (ranking, collateral, spousal, generation and gender terms). This article offers a comparison, in terms of morphology, of kinship terms between the Yulin dialect and Cantonese. It is argued that the Yulin dialect and Cantonese have the same pattern of combining kinship terms, but approximately half of the compared kinship term logograms in the Yulin dialect are totally different from those in Cantonese as used in Canton, and the same terms are used in less than one-fourth of the cases.

Keywords: the Yulin dialect, Cantonese, kinship terms

1. Introduction

Kinship terms are terms to show “certain concrete elements, relations of blood and marriage or in terms of some set functional prerequisites to which those concrete elements are crucial” (Applebaum 1987: 502). Kinship terms are used to distinguish the “genealogical relationship” (Gladwin 1948: 73), classified and generated behaviors toward each other (Gladwin 1948: 73-94). Kinship terms, together with second-person pronouns, proper names, titles and nicknames are the five main elements of address terms (Fitch 1998: 34; Zhu 2010: 194). Braun defines address terms as “The totality of available forms and their interrelations in one language” (1988: 12; as quoted in Hao & Zhang & Zhu 2008: 41). Hao, Zhang and Zhu write that address terms not only show the biological relationship but can also indicate cultural differences (2008: 40-41) and the culture and social norms influence the usage of address terms (2008: 52).

As Fukuyama (2011: 101-104) wrote in his book, China has kept the traditional extended family structure for longer than the West. Since ancient times, *sì shì tóng táng*

四世同堂 (four generations under one roof) has been the ideal family model for Chinese people, and the concept of *duō zǐ duō fú* 多子多福 (the more sons, the more happiness) influenced the Chinese for thousands of years. Consanguinity helped the Chinese form big families.

The Chinese tend to consider the family as the fundamental unit and put it in the central position in human systems; there exist strong emotional ties among family members (Lam 1997: 102). The relationship of “ingroup and outgroup family members” (Lau 1981, as cited in Lam 1997: 102) must be clearly stressed by Chinese family, therefore kinship terms are the best way to study the ingroup relationship (Zhu 2010: 194). Cheung (1990) also argues that kinship terminology is very important for regulating individual behavior and formatting social groups and conventions in Chinese society.

Based on hierarchical order of family members, Chinese familism defines family relationships and, because of the influence of Confucianism, the “father-son relationship becomes the model structural unit” (Lam 1997: 102). Chinese has the old adage *Xuè nóng yú shuǐ* 血浓于水 (blood is thicker than water), which reflects the traditional Chinese attitude about the family relationship. Just as Sangren wrote, China is an agnatic corporation with the tradition of ancestor worship, and kinship terms are the best way to distinguish lineal family membership and trace back the same ancestors (1984: 400-401). Certain kinship terms must be used to show politeness or respect, and these kinship terms can also help the Chinese to distinguish “the core family group, close relative, distant relative or nonrelatives, and form the family safety net” (Lam 1997: 102-103). The Chinese kinship terms are “a set of ideas about relationship” (Sangren 1984: 393). Chinese languages are able to label paternal uncle and maternal uncle by using different kinship terms and reflect the distance of patrilineal and matrilineal connection, e.g. in Chinese *jiù* 舅, *bó* 伯 and *shū* 叔 both have the meaning of “uncle”, but 伯 and 叔 indicate patrilineal relationship, while 舅 indicates matrilineal relationship.

China offers a complicated kinship terminology system (Kroeber 1933: 151; Cheung 1990: 2) and constitutes a unique field for the study of relationship terms (Chen & Shryock 1932: 623-664; Cheung 1990: 2). Even though the modern Chinese family tends to be smaller, the kinship terms are still worth exploring.

In Southern China, the traditional Chinese family model is better kept than in other regions of China. There still exist the “lineage-villages”, also known as “localized lineages” (Santos 2009: 112). The kinship terms for the “extended family” (Santos 2009: 112) are well kept.

In comparison with the kinship terms in Mandarin Chinese and English, the Yue dialects have a more elaborate system of kinship terms. In the Yulin dialect and in Cantonese, *miàn chēng* 面称 (direct address) and *bèi chēng* 背称 (indirect address terms) both exist. A direct address is often used when the speaker is speaking directly to the family member, it is a “face to face address term” (Cheung, 1990: 13; Su 2006: 58), and can be used to show respect or closeness between family members. An indirect address term is often used to refer to the family member during the conversation with other people, it is a “behind-back address” (Cheung, 1990: 13; Su 2006: 58).

The Yue dialects, also known as Cantonese dialects, together with Xiang, Min, Gan, Wu, Hakka and Mandarin, form the seven main regional dialect groups in China (Ram-

sey 1987: 87), and are widely spoken in Guangdong province, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, and among overseas Chinese in South Asia and North America (Ramsey 1987: 98). According to the *Language Atlas of China* (Li Rong, Xiong Zhenghui & Zhang Zhengxing 1990: B13-B14), Yue dialects can be divided into the following groups: Guangfupian 广府片, Siyipian 四邑片, Gaoyangpian 高阳片, Wuhupian 吴化片, Gouloupian 勾漏片, Qinlianpian 钦廉片 and Yongxunpian 邕浔片, with each group containing several *fāngyán* 方言 (topolects). Even though Cantonese dialects were classified into seven subdialect groups, the topolect spoken in Canton City is generally considered as “the Cantonese” (Ramsey 1987: 98). For this reason, in this article kinship terms from Canton City are used for comparison. The Cantonese spoken in Canton City belongs to Guangfupian 广府片.

The Yulin dialect is a subdialect of Yue dialects, and it belongs to Gouloupian 勾漏片. The Yulin dialect is used in the Yuzhou district and in the Fumian district of Yulin city, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. Geographically, Yulin city is located at the border of Guangxi and Guangdong province, and about 380 km away from Canton city. The kinship terms in the Yulin dialect and in Cantonese have some similarities and differences.

2. Phonetic Variation

The phonetic research on the Yulin dialect is very limited, with only two Chinese linguists, Li Puying (1993) and Liang Zhongdong (2010) denote their effort in phonology study of the Yulin dialect. The pronunciation of the Yulin dialect in this article is based on Liang Zhongdong’s records (2010) where the International Phonetic Alphabet was used to record the phonetics of the Yulin dialect (2010: 6). There are seventeen initial and eighty-three finals in the Yulin dialect (Liang 2010: 7-8) (the relevant data is provided in Appendix B). The Yulin dialect is rich in tones: there are ten basic tones, marked by different numbers as superscript behind the last syllables of the phonetic notation (Liang 2010: 10):

- tone ⁵⁴ is upper even 阴平;
- tone ⁴² is upper going 阴去;
- tone ³³ is upper rising 阴上;
- tone ³² is lower even 阳平;
- tone ²⁴ is lower rising 阳上;
- tone ²¹ is lower going 阳去;
- tone ⁵ is high upper entering 上阴入;
- tone ³ is low upper entering 下阴入;
- tone ² is high lower entering 上阳入;
- tone ¹ is low lower entering 下阳入.

Besides the ten basic tones, there also exist changed tones in the dialect, e.g. ⁵⁴⁻³³ shows the tone change from upper even to upper rising, the changes of tones are shown by two numbers connected by a hyphen “-”.

Unlike the research on the Yulin dialect, the publications about Cantonese phonology are comparatively rich. Western scholars S. Robert Ramsey (1987), Robert S. Bauer and

Paul K. Benedict (1997) did systematic research into Cantonese phonetics; Chinese linguists also put a lot of effort into Cantonese phonology research. Among them, I consider the study of the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong to be the most up-to-date one, with the pronunciation and tones of Cantonese updated on the basis of the recent research results. For this reason, the pronunciation of Cantonese in this study is based on the results of the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong. However, the phonetics in this study has been recorded according to the Cantonese Romanization Scheme, also known as Jyutping, and the tones are marked with numbers 1 to 6. It is totally different from the Yulin dialect, but in order to show the respect to the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong and Liang Zhongdong, and in order not to confuse readers when they are checking back to the original research, it has been decided in this article to follow the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong and Liang Zhongdong's own way of recording pronunciation and tones, rather than unify the alphabets and tones. This has made the comparison harder but seems to be the best way to deal with the original pronunciation of these two language varieties.

Jyutping contains nineteen onset, nine nuclei, eight coda, two syllabic nasals (the relevant data is provided in Appendix B), and six tones. Unlike Ramsey's study of Cantonese tones (see also Ramsey 1987: 102-103), Jyutping only includes six tones:

- tone 1 is high level;
- tone 2 is high rising;
- tone 3 is mid level;
- tone 4 is mid-low falling;
- tone 5 is mid-low rising;
- tone 6 is mid-low level.

The other three tones Ramsey recorded as “entering tones” (Ramsey 1987: 102) are “only associated with syllables closed with /p/, /t/ and /k/” (Ramsey 1987: 103; Wong 2006: 1), their pitch is the same with tone 1, tone 3 and tone 6 though shorter, so they are classified into tone 1, 3 and 6, and use /p/, /t/ and /k/ as coda (Wong 2006: 1).

3. Morphosyntax

The morphological study of the kinship terms in the Yulin dialect and Cantonese focuses on “the words and the ways they were expressed” (Sun 2006: 45). Cheung (1990: 4-7) sees Cantonese kinship terminology as composition terms. According to him, Cantonese kinship terms are a combination of synthetic relational terms and correlative markers (1990: 4-5). Chinese words which are also known as *cí* 词 are the combination of *wénzì* 文字 (Sun 2006: 46); *wénzì* 文字 is “the minimal unit of the meaning” (Sun 2006: 46) and can be considered as a morpheme of Chinese.

According to Cheung's (1990) study, there are several types of morphemes in Cantonese: there are morphemes that are used to embody referential features, and morphemes to distinguish the degree of kinship. This article analyzes the Yulin dialect, which is a subdialect of Cantonese, therefore it contains the same types of morphemes. This article will use Cheung's (1990) definition and refer to these two types of morphemes as: synthetic terms and correlatives markers.

“Synthetic relation term” (Cheung 1990: 4) is the basic element of a compounded kinship term, and it contains information about siblings and age. The word *tɛ³³ / ze²* 姐¹ indicates an elder female. Most of the “synthetic relation terms” (Cheung 1990: 4) in the Yulin dialect and in Cantonese are the same (see Table 1). The differences are only in four words. First, the Yulin dialect only has one word to express the linear relation of paternal grandmother, whereas Cantonese includes two more words to express this relationship. Second, in the Yulin dialect there is no synthetic relation term for paternal younger uncle’s wife or paternal younger aunt, the spousal correlative marker *po³²* 婆 being added behind the synthetic relation terms *ʃok⁵* 叔 to form the kinship term for paternal younger uncle’s wife (the relevant data is provided in Appendix A), and the paternal older aunt and younger aunt share the same synthetic relation term; however, in Cantonese, *sam²* 孀 is used as the synthetic relation term. Third, in the Yulin dialect, *ko⁵⁴* 哥 and *ueŋ⁵⁴* 兄 are both synthetic relational terms for elder brother. As direct address term, *ko⁵⁴* 哥 is more often used, while *ueŋ⁵⁴* 兄 serves as an indirect address term. In Cantonese, *go¹* 哥 is used as both a direct and indirect address term. Finally, the Yulin dialect uses *ʃam³³* 婶 as an indirect address term to indicate younger brother’s wife, whereas this word is generally known as younger uncle’s wife in Mandarin Chinese. In Cantonese, *sai³* 媳 and *ʃu⁵* 妇 are used as indirect address terms to refer to the younger brother’s wife (the relevant data is provided in Appendix A).

Table 1: Synthetic relation terms

Meaning	Yulin dialect		Cantonese	
Father	<i>po⁵⁴</i>	爸	<i>baa¹</i>	爸
Mother	<i>mo⁵⁴</i>	妈	<i>maa¹</i>	媽
Paternal grandfather	<i>ie⁵⁴</i>	爷	<i>je⁴</i>	爺
Paternal grandmother	<i>po³²</i>	婆	<i>po⁴</i>	婆
	–	–	<i>maa⁴</i>	孀
	–	–	<i>naai⁵</i>	奶
Paternal elder uncle	<i>pa³³</i>	伯	<i>baak³</i>	伯
Paternal younger uncle	<i>ʃok⁵</i>	叔	<i>suk¹</i>	叔
Paternal younger uncle’s wife or paternal younger aunt	–	–	<i>sam²</i>	孀
Paternal aunt	<i>ku⁵⁴</i>	姑	<i>gu¹</i>	姑
Maternal grandfather	<i>koŋ⁵⁴</i>	公	<i>gung¹</i>	公

¹ The first is the pronunciation in the Yulin dialect; after the slash the pronunciation in Cantonese is provided.

Maternal grandmother	po ³²	婆	po4	婆
Maternal uncle	tʃau ²¹	舅	kau5	舅
Maternal uncle's wife	tʃam ²¹	妗	kam5	妗
Maternal aunt	i ³²	姨	ji4	姨
Elder brother	ko ⁵⁴	哥	go1	哥
	ueŋ ⁵⁴	兄	–	–
Younger brother	tai ²⁴	弟	dai6	弟
Elder sister	te ³³	姐	ze2	姐
Younger sister	mɔi ²¹	妹	mui6	妹
Elder brother's wife	lau ³³	嫂	sou2	嫂
Younger brother's wife	lau ³³ / ʃam ³³	嫂/婶	sai3 / fu5	媳/妇
Grandson	ʃyn ⁵⁴	孙	syun1	孫

Source: The table of the “synthetic relation terms” (Cheung 1990: 4) in the Yulin dialect is the author's own work, based on Liang's (2010) and Su's (2006) studies of kinship terms; the “synthetic relation terms” (Cheung 1990: 4) of Cantonese are based on Cheung's study (1990).

But in order to distinguish the degree of kinship, “correlative markers” (Cheung 1990: 5) need to be used. “Correlative markers” (Cheung 1990: 5) include words to show ranking. In the Yulin dialect and in Cantonese, the word *tɔi²¹ / daai6* 大 is used to indicate that the relative is the eldest one among others, e.g. *tɔi²¹ te³³ / daai6 ze2* 大姐 indicates the eldest sister. For other relatives ranking below the eldest, both language varieties use numerals to indicate the ranking of the relationship, e.g. *ŋi²¹ te³³ / ji6 ze2* 二姐 indicates the second eldest sister, *ʌm⁵⁴ te³³ / saam1 ze2* 三姐 – the third eldest sister. For the youngest one in the ranking, *lai⁴² / sai3* 细 is used, e.g. *sai3 mui6* 细妹 is the term in Cantonese for the youngest sister; *lai⁴²⁻³³ i³²* 细姨 or *lai⁴²⁻³³ ku⁵⁴* 细姑 are the words in the Yulin dialect for the youngest sister.

“Correlative markers” (Cheung 1990: 5) are also used to show the distance of the family members, e.g. the word *piu³³ / biu2* 表 refers to being cousins, *piu³³ te³³ / biu2 ze2* 表姐 is the kinship term for an aunt's daughter or a maternal uncle's daughter. *Tɔŋ³² / tong4* 堂 also refers to being cousins, but it means that the cousin is on the paternal uncle's side, e.g. *tɔŋ³² te³³ / tong4 ze2* 堂姐 is the kinship term for a paternal uncle's daughter.

The words to show marital relationship, as well as that of generation and gender, with their “correlative markers” (Cheung 1990: 5) are shown in table 2.

Table 2: Correlative markers

Meaning	Yulin dialect		Cantonese	
Ranking:				
Second ascending generation (only for indirect address terms)	fa ²⁴	上	–	–
Third ascending generation (only for indirect address terms)	taŋ ⁵⁴	曾	baak6	白
Eldest	toi ²¹	大	daai6	大
Second	ŋi ²¹	二	ji6	二
Third	lom ⁵⁴	三	saam1	三
Youngest	lai ⁴² nai ⁴² mi ³³ loi ⁵⁴	细 忸 尾孺	sai3 – –	细 – –
Collateral:				
Paternal aunt's children or maternal aunt's / uncle's children	piu ³³	表	biu2	表
Paternal uncle's children	toŋ ³²	堂	tong4	堂
Maternal grandparents or daughter's children	uoi ²¹	外	ngoï6	外
Grandparents	tu ³³	祖	–	–
Spousal:				
Paternal aunt's husband	tfa ²⁴ te ⁵⁴	丈 爹	zoeng6 fu1	丈 父
Maternal aunt's husband	fa ²⁴	丈	fu1	父
Paternal or maternal uncle's wife	po ³² me ³²	婆 □ ²	noeng4 mou5	娘 母
Sister's husband	fu ⁵⁴	夫	fu1	夫
Daughter's husband	loŋ ³²	郎	sai3	婿
Generation:				
Marker of the ascending generation: Male (in Cantonese only second ascending generation)	kon ⁵⁴	公	gung1	公

² The morpheme me³² has no written script, and □ is used to represent it.

Marker of the ascending generation: Female (in Cantonese only second ascending generation)	po ³²	婆	po4	婆
Marker of the fist ascending generation: Female sibling of the parent	none		maal	媽
Gender:				
Female	ny ²⁴	女	neoi5	女
Elder generation female	na ⁵⁴	娘	none	
Grandchildren: male (only used of daughter's children)	ja ⁵⁴	甥	sang1	甥

Source: The table of “correlative markers” (Cheung 1990: 5) of the Yulin dialect is the author’s own work, based on Liang’s (2010) and Su’s (2006) studies of kinship terms; the “correlative markers” (Cheung 1990: 5) of Cantonese are based on Cheung’s 1990 study.

By combining one or more “correlative markers” (Cheung 1990: 5) with a “synthetic term” (Cheung 1990: 4), a “compound kinship term” (Cheung 1990: 5) can express the relationship clearly. A compound kinship term has the following order of morphemes: ranking, collateral, synthetic relation term, spousal or generational and gender. The structure of a compound kinship term can be shown as Pattern 1. A synthetic relation term is necessary for the compound kinship term, and the other morphemes are added when they are needed, such as in example (1).

Pattern 1: (ranking) + (collateral) + synthetic relation term + (spousal / generation / gender)

(1)

	大	表	姐	夫
Yulin dialect	tɔi21	piu33	tɛ33	fu54
Cantonese	daai6	biu2	ze2	fu1
	Eldest	Paternal aunt’s child or maternal aunt’s /uncle’s child	Elder sister	Sister’s husband
	Ranking	Collateral	Synthetic relation terms	Spousal
“husband of elder cousin”				

4. Honorific terms and politeness in the Yulin dialect and in Cantonese

4.1. Honorific terms in the Yulin dialect and in Cantonese

In order to show high respect to parents on the husband's side, in both the Yulin dialect and in Cantonese, the word *ka*⁵⁴⁻³³ / *gaal* 家 (family) is added in front of the synthetic relation terms *koŋ*⁵⁴ / *gungl* 公 (male) and *po*³² / *po4* 婆 (female) to form the honorific terms (see 2a). In Cantonese, the word *gaal* 家 (family) is widely used to form honorific terms, e.g. *gaal ze2* 家姐 is the honorific term for elder sister, *gaal mou5* 家母 is the honorific term for mother. However, in the Yulin dialect, *ka*⁵⁴⁻³³ “家” (family) is used only in the case of parents-in-law on the husband's side.

The Yulin dialect and Cantonese have different honorific terms for parents-in-law on the wife's side. In the Yulin dialect, the word *tɔi*⁴²⁻³³ “再” (again) is added in front of the synthetic term *iɛ*⁵⁴ 爷 (grandfather) to form the honorific term for the wife's father, while for the wife's mother the word *tɔi*⁴²⁻³³ 再 (again) is combined with the local word *nɔ*³² □ (female, *nɔ*³² with no written script). In Cantonese, *ngko6* 岳 (parent-in-law) is added in front of the synthetic terms *fu6* 父 (father) and *mou5* 母 (mother) (see 2b).

(2)

a.	家	公	家	婆
The Yulin dialect	<i>ka</i> ⁵⁴⁻³³	<i>koŋ</i> ⁵⁴	<i>ka</i> ⁵⁴⁻³³	<i>po</i> ³²
Cantonese	<i>gaal</i>	<i>gungl</i>	<i>gaal</i>	<i>po4</i>
	Family	Male	Family	Female
	refix	Marker of the ascending generation: male	refix	Marker of the ascending generation: female
	Honorific term for “father in law from husband side”		Honorific term for “mother in law from husband side”	

b.	再	爷	再	□		岳	父	岳	母
Yulin dialect	<i>tɔi</i> ⁴²⁻³³	<i>iɛ</i> ⁵⁴	<i>tɔi</i> ⁴²⁻³³	<i>nɔ</i> ³²	Can- tonese	<i>ngko6</i>	<i>fu6</i>	<i>ngko6</i>	<i>mou5</i>
	again	grand- father	again	mother		parent in law	father	parent in law	mother
	prefix	syn- thetic term	prefix	syn- thetic Term		prefix	syn- thetic term	prefix	syn- thetic term
	“father in law on the wife's side”		“mother in law on the wife's side”			“father in law on the wife's side”		“mother in law on the wife's side”	

4.2. Politeness in the Yulin Dialect and in Cantonese

Both the Yulin dialect and Cantonese have the tradition of adding a^{33} / $aa3$ 阿 (prefix) in front of synthetic relation terms for the direct address terms. Generally, a^{33} / $aa3$ 阿 is added in front of a synthetic relation term of an elder family member to show closeness or politeness to the member you are talking to, as example (3a) shows.

In the Yulin dialect, a 阿 is often added in front of the elder family member's synthetic relation terms to show respect to the addressee, for example a^{33} $i\varepsilon^{54}$ 阿爷 is the honorific direct address term for the paternal grandfather, a^{33} po^{32} 阿婆 is the honorific direct address term for the paternal grandmother, a^{33} tu^{33} 阿祖 is the honorific direct address term for a paternal great-grandmother and great-grandfather. Besides being added in front of an elder family member, a^{33} 阿 can also be added in front of synthetic relation terms for younger members in the Yulin dialect, examples are given in (3b). When a^{33} 阿 is used in front of tai^{24} 弟 (younger brother) and $m\ddot{o}i^{21}$ 妹 (younger sister), it can be the direct kinship term for younger brother and sister, and very often these terms are used as direct kinship terms for calling one's own children or somebody else's children.

(3a)	阿	爸	阿	哥
Yulin dialect	a^{33}	$p\ddot{o}^{54}$	a^{33}	ko^{54}
Cantonese	$aa3$	$baa1$	$aa3$	$go1$
	–	Father	–	Elder brother
	Prefix	Synthetic relation term	Prefix	Synthetic relation term
	“Father”		“Father/ elder brother”	

(3b)	阿	弟	阿	妹
Yulin dialect	a^{33}	tai^{24}	a^{33}	$m\ddot{o}i^{21}$
	–	younger brother	–	younger sister
	Prefix	Synthetic relation term	Prefix	Synthetic relation term
	“younger brother / son”		“younger sister / daughter”	

Both in the Yulin dialect and in Cantonese there exist special direct address terms for father. According to the superstitions in Guangdong and Guangxi province, when a child is born, they have their unique five elements and these elements decide the child's destiny; if the child and the father's five elements prevail over each other, the child will die. Local people believe that by calling the biological father $a'shu$ 阿叔 (uncle) or $a'ge$ 阿哥 (brother) one can solve the problem caused by the prevalence of five elements, and thus help the child to survive.

5. Loanwords and classical kinship terms

Cantonese is the Chinese language variety most influenced by English (Bauer & Matthews 2003: 150), and it contains loanwords of foreign origin, shown as (4). The two kinship terms *de1 dei6* 爹哋 and *maal mi1* 妈咪 are phonetic loans from “daddy” and “mummy”, they have similar pronunciation to that of the respective terms in English, but are written in Chinese. Since 1660s, when foreigners started to live or work in Canton, this city has served as an important center for trading, therefore after three centuries of cooperation, the local dialect began to borrow foreign-language words. Not only these two kinship terms: there also exist other English loanwords in Cantonese, with their pronunciation similarly influenced (Bauer & Matthews 2003: 150).

Even though the Yulin dialect is considered a sub-dialect of Cantonese, there are no English loanwords in it. Some kinship terms in the Yulin dialect are very traditional and local, such as in example (5). *Lau²² ti³³* 老子 and *lau²² tau²¹* 老豆 are both indirect kinship terms for father. In Cantonese, *lou5zi2* 老子 refers to the founder of Taoism or a slang word for ‘ego’, but the word 老子 was the kinship term for ‘father’ in ancient Chinese. Its earliest record can be found in Song Dynasty: Lu You wrote *Wèi fù yuē lǎozǐ* “谓父曰老子” (call father *lǎozǐ*). The Yulin dialect preserved the ancient Chinese kinship term and uses it as the direct address term for father. *Kɔ²¹ mɛ³²* □□³ is the only indirect kinship term for ‘mother’, and this very local kinship term doesn’t have any written script.

(4) Cantonese

a.	爹	哋	b.	妈	咪
	de1	Dei6		maa1	mai1
	Dad	Phono-semantic matching		Mom	Phono-semantic matching
	“Daddy”			“Mammy”	

(5) The Yulin dialect

a.	老	子	b.	老	豆	c.	□□
	lau ²²	ti ³³		lau ²²	tau ²¹		kɔ ²¹ mɛ ³²
	Old	Sn		Old	Bean		Woman
	“Father”			“Father”			“Mother”

6. Local kinship terms

The local kinship terms are generally among the kinship terms for close family members, especially kinship terms for children. In the Yulin dialect, parents use the word *tai²⁴* 弟 (younger brother) to refer to their son, and the word *mɔi²¹* 妹 (younger sister) to refer to their daughter during a face-to-face conversation. These two terms in Mandarin

³ The kinship term *kɔ²¹ mɛ³²* is a local term without written script, □□ is used to represent it.

Chinese and Cantonese are only used among siblings. Parents distinguish the eldest and youngest child by adding *tɔi*² 大 ('big'), *nai*⁴² 𪗇 ('small'), *lai*⁴² 细 ('thin and tiny') in front of the word *tai*²⁴ 弟 or *mɔi*²¹ 妹, and sometimes the local term *mi*³³ *lɔi*⁵⁴ *noŋ*²⁴ 尾孺依 (last son), *mi*³³ *lɔi*⁵⁴ *ny*²⁴ 尾孺女 (last daughter) to call the youngest child. During behind-back conversation in the Yulin dialect, the word *noŋ*²⁴ 依 is used to represent son; however, the word *noŋ*²⁴ 依 is generally known as 'you' in the modern Wu dialect. In Cantonese, the name of the child is used as the direct address term, and the word *zai*² 崽 (also written as 仔), *sai*³ *lou*⁶ 细路 is used during indirect conversation to represent son.

7. Conclusion

Through a lexical comparison, this article highlights the fact that there are many similar synthetic relation terms in the Yulin dialect and in Cantonese. among the twenty synthetic relation terms being compared in the article, only four are different. Two of these different synthetic relation terms only have slightly different, e.g. in the Yulin dialect can use both *ko*⁵⁴ 哥 and *ueŋ*⁵⁴ 兄 to represent elder brother while in Cantonese *go*¹ 哥 is the only synthetic relational terms for elder brother; in Cantonese *po*⁴ 婆, *maa*⁴ 嬷 and *naai*⁵ 奶 are used to express the linear relation of paternal grandmother while in the Yulin dialect only *po*³² 婆 is used. The other two differences express the linear relation of paternal younger uncle's wife / paternal younger aunt and younger brother's wife: these two language varieties have totally different synthetic relation terms for them,

The correlative markers in the Yulin dialect and in Cantonese can be classified into words to show ranking, distance of family members, marital relationship, as well as that of generation and gender. There exist some similar correlative markers in these two language varieties, but differences are quite obvious, since each of the language varieties has its traditional own correlative markers.

Both of the Yulin dialect and in Cantonese have the same pattern of combining kinship terms. Approximately half of the compared kinship term logograms between the Yulin dialect and Cantonese as used in Canton were totally different, and the same terms were used in less than one-fourth of cases. One of the reasons is the differences of correlative markers, the other reasons are the existence of the local kinship terms and classical terms. There exist several local kinship terms in the Yulin dialect, some of which do not even have a written form and are not used in Cantonese or Mandarin Chinese at all. The existence of these local kinship terms can be regarded as the heritage of the local culture. Kinship terms in Cantonese are closer to Mandarin Chinese than Yulin dialect; especially honorific terms in Cantonese are the same as those in Mandarin Chinese. What is more, English also influenced Cantonese kinship terms.

The phonetic differences of the kinship terms are not fully compared in this research, but as the transcription of the pronunciation shows, the separation is not small. The phonetic research demand a further research to fully show the differences.

In spite of Cantonese being a culturally dominating language, its influence in the sphere of everyday communication words, as presented on the example of kinship terms in the Yulin dialect, seems rather weak.

Appendix A

Table 1: Kinship terms for parents

English	Yulin dialect		Cantonese	
	Direct Address	Indirect Address	Direct Address	Indirect Address
Father	pɔ ⁵⁴ 爸	lau ²² ti ³³ 老子	baa1 baa1 爸爸	baa1 baa1 爸爸
	pɔ ⁵⁴ pɔ ⁵⁴ 爸爸	lau ²² tau ²¹ 老豆	aa3 baa1 阿爸	aa3 baa1 阿爸
	A ³³ pɔ ⁵⁴ 阿爸	–	lou5 dau6 老窦	lou5 dau6 老窦
			de1dei6 爹哋	de1 dei6 爹哋
Special address term for father	a ³³ ʃok ⁵ 阿叔	–	aa3 suk1 阿叔	–
	a ³³ pa ³³ 阿伯		aa3 go1 阿哥	
	a ³³ ko ⁵⁴ 阿哥			
Mother	mɔ ⁵⁴ 妈	kɔ ²¹ mɛ ³² □□	maa1 maa1 妈妈	maa1 maa1 妈妈
	mɔ ⁵⁴ mɔ ⁵⁴ 妈妈		aa3 maa1 阿妈	aa3 maa1 阿妈
	a ³³ mɔ ⁵⁴ 阿妈		lou5 mou5 老母	lou5 mou5 老母
			maa1 mail 妈咪	maa1 mail 妈咪
Husband's father	a ³³ pɔ ⁵⁴ 阿爸	ka ⁵⁴⁻³³ kon ⁵⁴ 家公	baa1 baa1 爸爸	gaa1 gung1 家公
			gung1 gung1 公公	
			lou5 je4 老爷	
Husband's mother	a ³³ mɔ ⁵⁴ 阿妈	ka ⁵⁴⁻³³ po ³² 家婆	maa1 maa1 妈妈	gaa1 po4 家婆
			po4 po4 婆婆	
			naai5 naai5 奶奶	

Wife's father	a ³³ pɔ ⁵⁴ 阿爸	toi ⁴²⁻³³ iɛ ⁵⁴ 再爷 uɔi ²¹ fu ²¹ lau ²⁴ 外父佬	baa1 baa1 爸爸	ngko6 fu6 岳父
Wife's mother	a ³³ mo ⁵⁴ 阿妈	toi ⁴² no ³² 再□ uɔi ²¹ mu ²⁴ po ³² 外母婆	maa1 maa1 妈妈	ngok6 mou5 岳母

Table 2: Kinship terms for grandparents and great-grandparents

English	Yulin dialect		Cantonese	
	Direct address	Indirect address	Direct address	Indirect address
Paternal grandfather	a ³³ koŋ ⁵⁴ 阿公	fa ²⁴ tu ³³ koŋ ⁵⁴ 上祖公	je4 je4 爷爷	je4 je4 爷爷
	a ³³ iɛ ⁵⁴ 阿爷		aa3 je4 阿爷	aa3 je4 阿爷
Paternal grandmother	a ³³ po ³² 阿婆	fa ²⁴ tu ³³ po ³² 上祖婆	maa1 maa1 嬷嬷	maa1 maa1 嬷嬷
	po ³² 婆		aa3 maa1 阿嬷	aa3 maa1 阿嬷
Maternal grandfather	uɔi ²¹ koŋ ⁵⁴ 外公	uɔi ²¹ koŋ ⁵⁴ 外公	ngoï6 gung1 外公	ngoï6 gung1 外公
			gung1 gung1 公公	
Maternal grandmother	uɔi ²¹ po ³² 外婆	uɔi ²¹ po ³² 外婆	ngoï6 po4 外婆	ngoï6 po4 外婆
			po4 po4 婆婆	
Great-grandfather	a ³³ tu ³³ 阿祖	taŋ ⁵⁴⁻³³ tu ³³ koŋ ⁵⁴ 曾祖公	taai3 gung1 太公	taai3 gung1 太公
			baak6 gung1 白公	baak6 gung1 白公
Great-grandmother	a ³³ tu ³³ 阿祖	taŋ ⁵⁴⁻³³ tu ³³ po ³² 曾祖婆	aa3 taai3 亚太	aa3 taai3 亚太
			baak6 po4 白婆	baak6 po4 白婆
			aa3 po4 阿婆	aa3 po4 阿婆

Table 3: Kinship terms for uncles and aunts

English	Yulin dialect		Cantonese	
	Direct address	Indirect address	Direct address	Indirect address
Elder paternal uncle	pa ³³ koŋ ⁵⁴ 伯公	pa ³³ koŋ ⁵⁴ 伯公	baak3 baak3 伯伯	baak3 baak3 伯伯
			baak3 fu1 伯父	baak3 fu1 伯父
			aa3 baak3 阿伯	aa3 baak3 阿伯
Elder paternal uncle's wife	pa ³³ 伯	pa ³³ po ³² 伯婆	baak3 noeng4 伯娘	baak3 noeng4 伯娘
			baak3 mou5 伯母	baak3 mou5 伯母
Younger paternal uncle	foj ⁵ koŋ ⁵⁴ 叔公	foj ⁵ koŋ ⁵⁴ 叔公	suk1 suk1 叔叔	suk1 suk1 叔叔
			aa3 suk1 阿叔	aa3 suk1 阿叔
Younger paternal uncle's wife	foj ⁵ po ³² 叔婆	foj ⁵ po ³² 叔婆	sam2 sam2 孀孀	sam2 sam2 孀孀
			aa3 sam2 阿孀	aa3 sam2 阿孀
Elder paternal aunt	toi ²¹ ku ⁵⁴ 大姑	toi ²¹ ku ⁵⁴ 大姑	gul maa1 姑妈	sam2 sam2 孀孀
Younger paternal aunt	lai ⁴² ku ⁵⁴ 细姑	lai ⁴² ku ⁵⁴ 细姑	gul gul 姑姑	aa3 sam2 阿孀
			gul ze2 姑姐	sam2 sam2 孀孀
Paternal aunt's husband	ku ⁵⁴⁻³² tfa ²⁴ 姑丈	ku ⁵⁴⁻³² tfa ²⁴ 姑丈	gul zoeng6 姑丈	gul zoeng6 姑丈
	ku ⁵⁴⁻³² te ⁵⁴ 姑爹	ku ⁵⁴⁻³² te ⁵⁴ 姑爹		gul ful 姑父

English	Yulin dialect		Cantonese	
	Direct address	Indirect address	Direct address	Indirect address
Elder maternal uncle	toi ²¹ tfa ²¹ loŋ ³² 大舅郎	toi ²¹ tfa ²¹ loŋ ³² 大舅郎	kau5 fu1 舅父	kau5 fu1 舅父
Elder maternal uncle's wife	toi ²¹ tfa ²¹ me ³² 大舅□	toi ²¹ tfa ²¹ me ³² 大舅□	kam5 mou5 姪母	kam5 mou5 姪母

Younger maternal uncle	tʃau ² koŋ ⁵⁴ 舅公	tʃau ² koŋ ⁵⁴ 舅公	kau ⁵ kau ⁵ 舅舅	kau ⁵ kau ⁵ 舅舅
Younger Maternal uncle's wife	tʃam ²¹ po ³² 妯娌	tʃam ²¹ po ³² 妯娌	kam ⁵ mou ⁵ 妯母	kam ⁵ mou ⁵ 妯母
Elder maternal aunt	toi ²¹ i ³² po ³² 大姨婆	toi ²¹ i ³² po ³² 大姨婆	aa ³ ji ⁴ 姨妈	ji ⁴ maa ¹ 姨妈
Younger maternal aunt	i ³²⁻²¹ po ³² na ⁵⁴ 姨婆娘	i ³²⁻²¹ po ³² na ⁵⁴ 姨婆娘	ji ⁴ maa ¹ 阿姨	aa ³ ji ⁴ 阿姨
Maternal aunt's husband	i ³²⁻²¹ tʃa ²⁴ 姨丈	i ³²⁻²¹ tʃa ²⁴ 姨丈	ji ⁴ fu ¹ 姨父	ji ⁴ fu ¹ 姨父

Table 4: Kinship terms for siblings and their spouses

English	Yulin dialect		Cantonese	
	Direct address	Indirect address	Direct address	Indirect address
Elder brother	ko ⁵⁴ 哥	lau ²⁴⁻²¹ ueŋ ⁵⁴ 老兄	go ¹ go ¹ 哥哥	go ¹ go ¹ 哥哥
	a ³³ ko ⁵⁴ 阿哥		aa ³ go ¹ 阿哥	aa ³ go ¹ 阿哥
			daai ⁶ lou ² 大佬	daai ⁶ lou ² 大佬
Younger brother	tai ²⁴ 弟	lau ²⁴⁻²¹ tai ²⁴ 老弟	dai ⁶ dai ⁶ 弟弟	dai ⁶ dai ⁶ 弟弟
	a ³³ tai ²⁴ 阿弟		sai ³ lou ² 细佬	sai ³ lou ² 细佬
Elder sister	tɛ ³³ 姐	toi ²¹ tɛ ³³ 大姐	ze ² ze ² 姐姐	ze ² ze ² 姐姐
			gaa ¹ ze ² 家姐	gaa ¹ ze ² 家姐
Younger sister	mɔi ²¹ 妹	lau ²⁴⁻²¹ mɔi ²¹ 老妹	mui ⁶ mui ⁶ 妹妹	mui ⁶ mui ⁶ 妹妹
		lai ⁴²⁻³³ ku ⁵⁴ 细姑	aa ³ mui ⁶ 阿妹	aa ³ mui ⁶ 阿妹
		lai ⁴²⁻³³ i ³² 细姨	sai ³ mui ⁶ 细妹	sai ³ mui ⁶ 细妹
Elder brother's wife	lau ³³ 嫂	toi ²¹ lau ³³ 大嫂	sou ² sou ² 嫂嫂	sou ² sou ² 嫂嫂
			aa ³ sou ² 阿嫂	aa ³ sou ² 阿嫂

Younger brother's wife	lau ³³ 嫂	lai ⁴²⁻³³ jam ³³ 细婶	dai6 mui6 弟妹 (or Address by name)	dai6 sai3 弟媳 dai6 fu5 弟妇
Elder sister's husband	te ³³ fu ⁵⁴ 姐夫	te ³³ fu ⁵⁴ 姐夫	ze2 fu1 姐夫	ze2 fu1 姐夫
Younger sister's husband	mɔi ²¹ fu ⁵⁴ 妹夫	mɔi ²¹ fu ⁵⁴ 妹夫	Address by name	mui6 fu1 妹夫

Table 5: Kinship terms for paternal cousins

English	Yulin dialect		Cantonese	
	Direct address	Indirect address	Direct address	Indirect address
Paternal uncle's elder son	Last name+ko ⁵⁴ Last name+哥	tɔŋ ³²⁻²¹ ueŋ ⁵⁴ 堂兄	tong4 go1 堂哥	tong4 go1 堂哥
				tong4 daai6 lou2 堂大佬
Paternal uncle's younger son	Address by name	tɔŋ ³²⁻²¹ tai ²⁴ 堂弟	tong4 dai6 堂弟	tong4 dai6 堂弟
				tong4 sai3 lou2 堂细佬
Paternal uncle's elder daughter	Last name+te ³³ Last name+姐	tɔŋ ³²⁻²¹ te ³³ 堂姐	tong4 ze2 堂姐	tong4 ze2 堂姐
			tong4 gaa1 ze2 堂家姐	tong4 gaa1 ze2 堂家姐
Paternal uncle's younger daughter	Duplicate the last word of the name	tɔŋ ³²⁻²¹ mɔi ²¹ 堂 妹	tong4 mui6 堂妹	tong4 mui6 堂妹
Paternal aunt's elder son	piu ³³ ko ⁵⁴ 表哥	piu ³³ ueŋ ⁵⁴ 表兄	biu2 go1 表哥	tong4 biu2 go1 堂表哥
Paternal aunt's younger son	piu ³³ tai ²⁴ 表弟	piu ³³ tai ²⁴ 表弟	biu2 dai6 表弟	tong4 biu2 dai6 堂表弟
Paternal aunt's elder daughter	piu ³³ te ³³ 表姐	piu ³³ te ³³ 表姐	biu2 ze2 表姐	tong4 biu2 ze2 堂表姐
Paternal aunt's younger daughter	piu ³³ mɔi ²¹ 表妹	piu ³³ mɔi ²¹ 表妹	biu2 mui6 表妹	tong4 biu2 mui6 堂表妹

Table 6: Kinship terms for maternal cousins

English	Yulin dialect		Cantonese	
	Direct address	Indirect address	Direct address	Indirect address
Maternal uncle's elder son	piu ³³ ko ⁵⁴ 表哥	piu ³³ ueŋ ⁵⁴ 表兄	biu2 go1 表哥	biu2 go1 表哥
Maternal uncle's younger son	piu ³³ tai ²⁴ 表弟	piu ³³ tai ²⁴ 表弟	biu2 dai6 表弟	biu2 dai6 表弟
Maternal uncle's elder daughter	piu ³³ te ³³ 表姐	piu ³³ te ³³ 表姐	biu2 ze2 表姐	biu2 ze2 表姐
Maternal uncle's younger daughter	piu ³³ mɔi ²¹ 表妹	piu ³³ mɔi ²¹ 表妹	biu2 mui6 表妹	biu2 mui6 表妹
Maternal aunt's elder son	piu ³³ ko ⁵⁴ 表哥	piu ³³ ueŋ ⁵⁴ 表兄	biu2 go1 表哥	biu2 go1 表哥
Maternal aunt's younger son	piu ³³ tai ²⁴ 表弟	piu ³³ tai ²⁴ 表弟	biu2 dai6 表弟	biu2 dai6 表弟
Maternal aunt's elder daughter	piu ³³ te ³³ 表姐	piu ³³ te ³³ 表姐	biu2 ze2 表姐	biu2 ze2 表姐
Maternal aunt's younger daughter	piu ³³ mɔi ²¹ 表妹	piu ³³ mɔi ²¹ 表妹	biu2 mui6 表妹	biu2 mui6 表妹

Table 7: Kinship terms for children and grand-children

English	Yulin dialect		Cantonese	
	Direct address	Indirect address	Direct address	Indirect address
Son				zai2 崽
	tai ²⁴ 弟	noŋ ²⁴ 依	Address by name	zai2 仔
				sai3 lou6 细路
Eldest son	tɔi ²¹ tai ²⁴ 大弟	tɔi ²¹ noŋ ²⁴ 大依	—	—

Youngest son	nai ⁴² tai ²⁴ 忸弟	nai ⁴² noŋ ²⁴ 忸侖		
	lai ⁴² tai ²⁴ 细弟	—	—	—
	mi ³³ loi ⁵⁴ noŋ ²⁴ 尾孺侖	—		
Daughter	mɔi ²¹ 妹	ny ²⁴ 女	Address by name	neoi ⁵ 女
				sai ³ neoi ⁵ 细女
Eldest daughter	tɔi ²¹ mɔi ²¹ 大妹	tɔi ²¹ ny ²⁴ 大女	—	—
Youngest daughter	nai ⁴² mɔi ²¹ 忸妹	nai ⁴² ny ²⁴ 忸女		
	lai ⁴² mɔi ²¹ 细妹	—	—	—
	mi ³³ loi ⁵⁴ ny ²⁴ 尾孺女	—		
Daughter in law	a ³³⁺ last word of the name 阿+ last word of the name	lan ⁵⁴⁻³³ fu ²⁴ 新妇	Address by name	sam ¹ pou ⁵ 心抱
				ji ¹ sik ⁴ 儿媳
				sik ⁴ fu ⁵ 媳妇
Son in law	Address by name	ny ²⁴⁻²¹ loŋ ³² 女郎	Address by name	neoi ⁵ sai ³ 女婿
Grandson (son's son)	Address by nickname	lyn ⁵⁴ 孙	syun ¹ 孙	syun ¹ 孙
Granddaugh- ter (son's daughter)	Duplicate the last word of the name	lyn ⁵⁴⁻³³ ny ³³ 孙女	syun ¹ neoi ⁵ 孙女	syun ¹ neoi ⁵ 孙女
Grandson (daughter's son)	Address by nickname	uɔi ²¹ lyn ⁵⁴ 外孙 uɔi ²¹ ka ⁵⁴ lyn ⁵⁴ 外家孙	ngo ⁶ syun ¹ 外孙	ngo ⁶ syun ¹ 外孙

Granddaughter (daughter's daughter)	Duplicate the last word of the name	uoi ²¹ lyn ⁵⁴ ny ²⁴ 外孙女	ngoi6 syun1 neoi5 外孙女	ngoi6 syun1 neoi5 外孙女
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Appendix B

Table 8: the Yulin dialect onsets

p	p ^h	-	-	m	f	-	-
t	t ^h	-	-	n	-	l	ɬ
-	-	tʃ	tʃ ^h	-	ʃ	-	-
-	-	-	-	ŋ	-	-	-
k	k ^h	-	-	ŋ	h	-	-
ø							

Table 9: the Yulin dialect finals

a	ai	au	am	an	aŋ	ap	at	ak	ia	ua
ɛ	-	ɛu	ɛm	ɛn	ɛŋ	ɛp	ɛt	ɛk	iɛ	uɛ
œ	-	-	-	-	œŋ	-	œt	œk	-	-
ɔ	ɔi	ɔu	ɔm	ɔn	ɔŋ	ɔp	ɔt	ɔk	iɔ	uɔ
o	-	-	-	-	oŋ	-	-	ok	ioŋ	uo
-	-	əu	ɱ	-	ŋ	-	-	-	-	-
i	iai	iau	iam	ian	ieŋ	iep	iat	iak	iɔp	ip
-	iɔi	iu	im	in	ioŋ	-	it	iok	-	-
u	uai	ui	-	uan	ueŋ	-	uat	uak	un	ut
-	iou	uɔi	-	uɔn	uɔŋ	-	uɛt	uɛk	-	-
-	ui	-	-	-	-	-	uɔt	uɔk	-	-
y	-	-	-	yn	-	-	yɔt	-	-	yt

Table 10: Cantonese onsets

b	p	m	f	-
d	t	n	-	l
g	k	ng	h	-
gw	kw	-	-	w
z	c	-	s	j

Table 11: Cantonese nuclei

aa	i	U	e	o
yu	oe	-	+	-
a	eo			

Table 12: Cantonese codas

p	t	k
m	n	ng
-	i	u

Table 13: Cantonese syllabic nasal

m	ng
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