

- 都大学文学部紀要 *Kyotodaigaku Bungakubu kiyō*. [*Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters Kyoto University*] 25: 1-116. This paper is also available in Nishida (1997) pp.112-205.
- Nishida, Tatsuo 西田 龍雄 (1989). “西夏語. Seikago.” 言語学大辞典 *The Sanseido Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. Vol. II. 三省堂 Sanseido. 408-429. This paper is also available under the title of “西夏語の構造と系統. Seikago no kōzō to keitō. [The structure and genealogy of the Tangut language.]” in Nishida (1997) pp. 46-111.
- Nishida, Tatsuo 西田 龍雄 (1997). 西夏王国の言語と文化 *Seika ōkoku no gengo to bunka*. [*The Language and Culture of the Xixia State*]. 岩波書店 Iwanami shoten.
- Shī Jīnbō 史 金波. (1983). “西夏語的存在動詞. Xīxià yǔ de cúnzài dòngcí. [The existential verbs of the Tangut language.]” 語言研究 *Yǔyán yánjiū*. [*Studies in Language and Linguistics*.] 1983.2: 215-228. This paper also available in Shi (2005) pp.73-97.
- Shī Jīnbō 史 金波 (2005). 史金波文集 *Shī Jīnbō wénjí*. [*Selected works of Shi Jinbo*]. Shànghǎi: 上海辭書出版社 Shànghǎi Císhū chūbǎnshè.
- Sofronov, Mikhail Viktorovich (1968). *Грамматика тангутского языка. Grammatika Tangutskogo Jazyka*. [*Grammar of the Tangut Language*.] 2 vols. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka'.
- Sūn Hóngkāi 孫 宏開, ed. (1981). 羌語簡誌. *Qiāngyǔ jiǎnzhì*. [*A brief description of the Qiang language*]. Běijīng: 民族出版社 Mínzú chūbǎnshè.
- Sūn Hóngkāi 孫 宏開 (1983). “六江流域的民族語言及其係屬分類. Liùjiāng liúyù de mínzú yǔyán jí qí xìshǔ fēnlèi. [The Nationality Languages in the Six Valleys and Their Language Branches.]” 民族學報 *Mínzú xuébào*. [*Journal of Nationality Researches*] 1983.3: 99-273.
- TBL: Huáng, Bufan 黄 布凡, ed. (1992). 藏緬語族語言詞彙. *Zàng Miǎn yǔzú yǔyán cíhuì*. [*A Tibeto-Burman Lexicon*]. Běijīng: 中央民族學院出版社 Zhōngyāng mínzú xuéyuàn chūbǎnshè.
- ZMC: Biānxiězú 編寫組, ed. (1991). 藏緬語語音和詞彙. *Zàng-Miǎn yǔ yǔyīn hé cíhuì*. Běijīng: 中國社會科學出版社 Zhōngguó shèhuìkēxué chūbǎnshè.

8. THE TANGUT KINSHIP SYSTEM IN QIANGIC PERSPECTIVE¹

Guillaume JACQUES (CNRS, CRLAO)

Tangut has been a dead language since the sixteenth century.² In spite of its complex logographic script, it is relatively well understood. Its basic kinship system has been described in relative detail by Kepping (1986, 1990, 1991), relying data from a collection of short Tangut stories illustrating family virtues (such as filial piety).³

In this paper, after a quick introduction to general issues about kinship terminology, we describe the kinship system of a language closely related to Tangut, Rgyalrong. Then, we analyze the Tangut kinship system, on the basis of Tangut texts and insights taken from the modern Rgyalrong system.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In order to simplify the analysis of kinship terminology, ethnologists usually use a set of standard abbreviations to represent kinship relations. Since the present paper is primarily addressed to Sino-Tibetan linguists and Tangut philologists, it is necessary to introduce these conventions.

The anthropologists' metalanguage is based on the first letter of the basic term in English, except for 'sister' which is represented by the letter Z to avoid ambiguity with 'son'. In this system, more complex relationships are represented by combining these terms with one another. For instance, 'maternal uncle younger than the mother' would be MyB (mother's brother), the English term 'brother-in-law' could be either HB (husband's brother) or WB (wife's brother), etc. Although this metalanguage does not encode several distinctions relevant in some kinship systems, it will be more than enough for the present work. It is usual to present kinship systems in Tables, where males are indicated with a triangle, female with a circle (a square is used when sex is not relevant). This kind of scheme will be used several times in the present article (see for instance Table 8.5).

¹ I am indebted to Alexis Michaud, Katia Chirkova, Niè Hóngyīn 聶鴻音, Vyacheslav Zaytsev and an anonymous reviewer for comments on earlier versions of this article. I remain responsible for any remaining error and inconsistency.

² Tangut forms use Gong Hwangcherng's reconstruction (Li 1997).

³ This text has been subsequently edited and translated into French (Jacques 2007).

The terms 'man speaking' and 'woman speaking' are extremely misleading. They do not really reflect the sex of the speaker, but reflect instead the sex of the person linked to the kin in question. For instance, in Japhug (see section 3), the term *-snom* 'sister (man speaking)' (Z^{MS}) is used in the following sentence because the 'possessor' (the demon) is male, even though the narrator of the story was a female:

- (1) β dut yu u-snom t̥su ku-ndɔ̃m p̥ɣ-ŋu
 demon GEN 3SG.POSS-sister road IMPF-hold[3] MEDIMPF-be

The demon's sister was guarding the road (Gesar 241)

The sex of the speaker is only relevant when the given kinship term has a first person possessive affix or possessive pronoun (depending on the language). For instance, the form *a-snom* 'my sister' (again with the noun Z^{MS}) with a first person singular possessive prefix, can only be uttered by a male in Japhug. We will keep the terms MS and FS in the present paper, as they are widely used by linguists and anthropologists, but the reader should bear in mind that this terminology is problematic.

Kinship systems are classified into six major categories (Morgan 1880) based on their terminologies for uncle and aunts, as presented in Table 8.1. The Crow and Omaha systems have a so-called 'skewing' rule according to which a member EGO's generation is called by the same term as a member of EGO's parent's generation. In Omaha systems, which are usually associated with patrilinear societies, the cross-cousin in the mother's side (MBS) 'ascends' one generation, as he is called by the same term as his father (MB). Now, we have to bear in mind that in all kinship systems, kinship terms like 'uncle' have a reciprocal term 'nephew', MB vs. ZS for instance. If MB and MBS are equated, this means that by this rule of reciprocity, ZS and FZS will be equated too. Therefore, the 'ascending' skewing rule $MB=MBS$ always comes along with the descending one $ZS=FZS$ according to which a cross-cousin is called using the term for 'nephew'.

Crow systems are the exact inverse of Omaha systems: FZD is equated with FZ (and FZS with FZH), and similarly, $MBS=BS$. Here, the matrilinear cross-cousin MBS 'descends' one generation.

In the Sino-Tibetan family, various terminologies are found, including Iroquois, Sudanese and Omaha (Benedict 1941). In the present paper, we will show that in the Qiangic subbranch, both Omaha and Iroquois terminology are attested. As for the Tangut kinship system, the available evidence

M	mother	F	father
Z	sister	B	brother
D	daughter	S	son
W	wife	H	husband
CH	child	Sp	spouse
MS	man speaking	WS	woman speaking
e	elder	y	younger
G^0	Ego's generation	G^1	Ego's parents' generation
		G^{-1}	Ego's children's generation

Table 8.1: Standard abbreviations used to represent kinship relationships.

Category	Characteristics	Type
Hawaiian	$F = FB = MB$, $M = MZ = FZ$	no distinction between parents and uncles / aunts
Eskimo	$FB = MB \neq F$, $MZ = FZ \neq M$	distinction between parents and uncles / aunts, but not between paternal and maternal uncles / aunts (French, English)
Sudanese	$FB \neq MB \neq F$, $MZ \neq FZ \neq M$	paternal and maternal uncles and aunts are distinguished (Chinese, Latin, Old Russian)
Iroquois / Dravidian	$(F = FB \neq MB)$, $(M = MZ \neq FZ)$	Paternal uncles and maternal aunts are called by the same terms as father and mother respectively.
Omaha	$MB = MBS$	The maternal uncle's son is called by the same term as his father (it ascends one generation)
Crow	$FZD = FZ$	The reverse situation of the Omaha system

Table 8.2: Major kinship categories.

is ambiguous as to exactly which type it belongs to, but we will try to propose several plausible solutions.

The study of kinship from the point of view of terminology is only partial and reductionist; it is well-known among anthropologists that kinship terminology categories do not necessarily correlate with marriage rules and prohibitions. This is especially true of the Omaha systems, which interest us particularly since Tangut possibly had Omaha skewing elements.

In the original Omaha society (whose members used to speak a language which belongs to the Siouan family), marriage prohibitions were fairly widespread and complex. First-degree cousins were banned from marriage, and males from the same patrilineage of succeeding generation could not take wives from the same group (see for instance Barnes 1984: 157), that is, father and son could not marry women from the same clan. Various theoreticians of anthropology have tried to account for Crow/Omaha kinship systems using functional explanations. McKinley (1971) in particular, has argued that skewing systems serve to disperse affinal alliance.

However, in other societies with Omaha kinship terminologies, a considerable variety of marriage practices has been documented (Barnes 1976: 386), including cross-cousin marriage. Similarly, McConvell and Alpher have mentioned that "Omaha skewing and matrilineal cousin marriage may go together, not because they have a logical connection with each other, but because they both function in similar ways in expanding systems" (2002: 174). Therefore, there is no *a priori* obstacle in having a society with both Omaha kinship terminology and cross-cousin marriage.

This fact is important for the present article, as we will propose the hypothesis that Tangut kinship terminology had an Omaha skewing rule while it is well-known, as will be explained in section 3, that cross-cousin marriage was widely practiced in Tangut society. Before analyzing Tangut data, we will describe attested kinship systems of modern Qiangic languages closely related to Tangut: Rgyalrong and Pumi.

RGYALRONG

The Rgyalrongic languages⁴ belong to the Sino-Tibetan family,⁵ but their precise affiliation within the family is the object of a controversy. Although these languages are only very remotely related to Tibetan, their speakers are officially considered by both the PRC government and Tibetan intellectuals to belong to the 'Tibetan' nationality (Chinese: *zàngzú* 藏族, Tibetan: *bod-rigs*). The considerable influence of Tibetan on these languages (see the study of Tibetan loanwords in Japhug in Jacques 2004: 83-200), lead to the mistaken idea that the Rgyalrongic languages are Tibetan dialects. Although speakers of Rgyalrong are deeply influenced by Tibetan culture, they maintain distinct characteristics, in particular in their kinship system, which is entirely different from those found in Tibetan dialects.

In the present study, only kinship *terms* will be presented. A comprehensive study of kinship among the Rgyalrong would have to include an analysis of preferential marriages and genealogies, but these issues remain for future research. Despite the limitations of this work, we believe that substantial information on the history of kinship can be drawn by analyzing the use of terminology alone.

Consanguines in the Japhug kinship system

All Japhug kinship terms except for the siblings (see below) can be summarized in the following table (Jacques 2008: 42). All kinship terms must appear with a possessive prefix or the neutral *tu-* / *tx-* prefix,⁶ and they are here indicated with the first person singular *a-* prefix (meaning 'my father', 'my brother' etc.). Among these terms, no Tibetan loanword can be

⁴ This term was coined by Sun (2000). There are at least seven Rgyalrongic languages: Eastern Rgyalrong, Japhug (Chabao), Tshobdun (Caodeng), Zbu (Showu, Ribu), Lavrung, Rtau (Daofu) and Shangzhai. These languages are spoken in the Rngaba (Aba) and Dkarmdzes (Gänzi) districts of Sìchuān. Only Japhug data will be presented in this paper.

⁵ We do not believe that a 'Tibeto-Burman' clade exists within the Sino-Tibetan family, as no phonological or morphological innovation common to these languages all has been discovered up to now.

⁶ All the kinship terms can appear with the prefix *tu-*, and it is in this form that they were recorded in Jacques (2008). However, *tu-* is here a reflexive possessive prefix, not the neutral (absolute prefix). For instance, *tx-rpu* means 'a/the uncle', whereas *tu-rpu* means 'one's uncle'. This distinction was overlooked in my former work.

detected, which shows that Tibetan influence on Rgyalrong kinship must have been weak.⁷

In this system, the maternal uncle is designated by the same term as his son *tx-rpu* (MB = MBS = MBSS). Symmetrically, the sister's children have the same name *tx-ftsa* as the father's sister's children (ZS = FZS = ZD = FZD). This skewing rule is the defining feature of Omaha kinship systems (see Table 5). This rule is illustrated in more detail in Table 8.6. The terms *tx-ftsa* and *tx-rpu* are in a symmetrical relationship one to another. As we have mentioned in part 1, whoever I call *a-ftsa* will call me *a-rpu* in return, and whoever calls me *a-ftsa*, will be called *a-rpu* by me.

The *tx-ftsa* / *tx-rpu* opposition appears in two types of kinship relations: MBS/FZS and MB/ZS. These two sets of opposed relations are symmetrical (I am a MBS to my FZS, as FZS to my MBS, a ZS to my MB and a MB to my ZS), but not reciprocal (I am not a MB to my MB etc.). In Table 8.7, we present for the terms that would be used by each person in Table 8.6 to call Ego and the term used by Ego to call each of them.

In the Japhug system, the MBS (2) 'ascends' to G¹, while the FZS 'descends' to G⁻¹. This is the defining characteristics of a Omaha kinship system. This system seems to be widespread among languages of western Sichuān. During a recent consultation with Nan Kejin, a speaker of Northern Qiang from Heishui (Khro-chu), I was able to ascertain the presence of the same skewing rule MBS = MB.

Another conspicuous characteristic of Japhug kinship is that two distinct systems are used to designate siblings. In the first system (the one included in Table 8.5), only relative age between Ego and his siblings is coded: *ta-bi* means younger brother or sister, while *tx-pi* is used for siblings older than Ego. In the second system (the one included in Table 8.3), four terms are employed, relative age is not coded, but the sex of Ego and his sibling's are coded.⁸

	Brother	Sister
Man speaking	<i>tx-xtxy</i>	<i>tx-snom</i>
Woman speaking	<i>tx-wxmu</i>	<i>tx-sqhyj</i>

Table 8.3: The second system for siblings in Japhug.

⁷ There are also three honorific terms *u-pa* 'father', *u-ma* 'mother' and *u-ja* 'elder sibling', used mostly in traditional stories. *u-ma* could be argued to come from Tibetan, but not the other two; *u-pa*, if a loanword from Tibetan *pha*, would have aspirated initial.

⁸ The word *tx-wxmu* was incorrectly transcribed as **-wxmu* in some of my former publications.

The terms in Table 8.3 can only be used with true siblings, whereas *ta-bi* and *tx-pi* have a much wider range of meanings (see below).

It should be noted that the terminology for siblings in other Qiangic languages is derivable from the one found in Rgyalrong. In Pumi, as described by Ding (2008), we find the following system:⁹

	Mudiqing Pumi	Cognate Japhug form
B ^{WS}	<i>mẽ³</i>	<i>tx-wxmu</i>
Z ^{MS}	<i>hnyẽ¹</i>	<i>tx-snom</i>
eB ^{MS} , eZ ^{WS}	<i>pei³</i>	<i>tx-pi</i>
yB ^{MS} , yZ ^{WS}	<i>kuẽ³</i>	<i>ta-bi</i>

Table 8.4: Pumi and Japhug sibling terms.

As pointed out by Ding, in Pumi cross-siblings B^{WS} and Z^{MS} distinguish the sex of the sibling but not his/her relative age, whereas siblings of the same sex as the speaker are distinguished according to their relative age, not their sex. The Pumi system basically looks like a conflation of the two sibling systems found in Japhug: we can obtain the Pumi system by suppressing the special terms for B^{MS} and Z^{WS} found in Japhug, keeping only four terms instead of six. With the loss of special terms for siblings of the same sex, the only terms left to call those sibling is by using the generic sibling terms that distinguish relative age. Japhug and Pumi sibling terms in Table 8.4 are probably cognate, except perhaps for *kuẽ³* / *ta-bi*.

For cousins, the situation is quite complex. The mother's brother's children (MBCh), as indicated above, are called by the same terms *tx-rpu* and *tx-ftsa* as their parents, and belong to the ascending generation. The father's brother's children (FBCh) are designated by the terms *ta-bi* and *tx-pi* as siblings—however, they cannot be called by the terms in Table 8.3. The father's sister's children (FZCh) are called *tx-ftsa* as the nephews (sister's children). Finally, the mother's sister's children (MZCh) have a special name, *tx-mxsa*, which must be etymologically analyzed as *-mu-* + *-ftsa*, literally 'mother's nephews (sister's children)'.⁹

At G¹, there are six different terms as in a Sudanese system. (F ≠ FB ≠ MB and M ≠ MZ ≠ FZ) Parents have special names distinct from uncles and aunts (*tx-wa* 'father', *tx-mu* 'mother'), and siblings of the father and

⁹ The forms given here are from the present author's own fieldwork in 永寧 Yǒngníng, Yúnnán (Mùdīqing 木底箐 dialect), very similar to Ding's data.

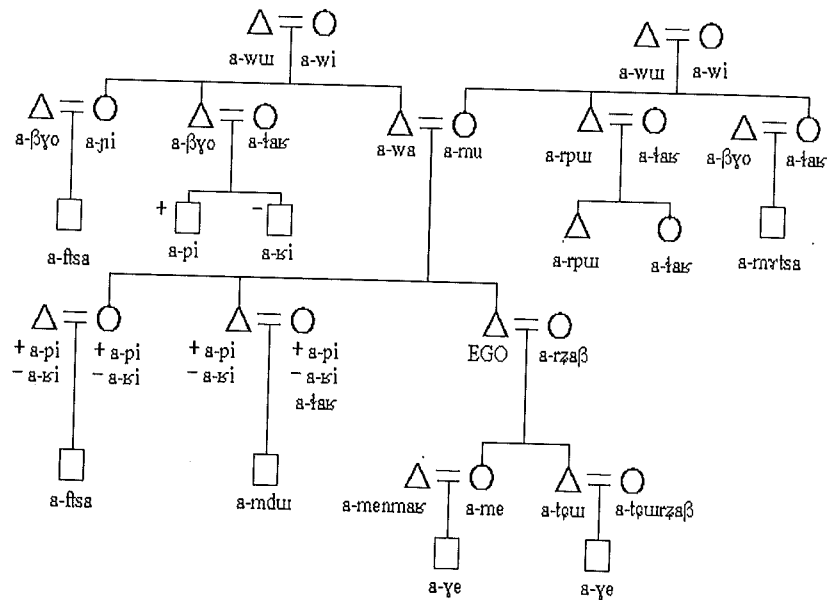


Table 8.5: Japhug basic kinship terms.

the mothers are all distinguished. However, only the father's sister (FZ) *tr-ji* has no other usages, the other terms *tr-βyo* and *tr-ʔak* can be used for various affines (respectively FZH, MZH and FBW, MBW). At G², the terminology is limited; *tr-wuu* and *tr-wi* are uniformly used for all persons belonging to this generation.

Apart for the terms for siblings in Table 8.3, the sex of Ego is not relevant in the kinship system of Japhug.

Affines and the extended use of kinship terms

As mentioned previously, there are no special terms for affines in the Japhug kinship system. For the son's wife and the daughter's husband, the compound terms *tu-me-nmas* and *tr-ʔuu-rzaβ* (respectively *daughter + husband* and *son + wife*) can be used respectively, but it is also possible to call them as if they were one's real children. For affines belonging to Ego's generation, that is the husbands of sisters, and wives of brothers, the terms *ta-ki* and *tr-pi* are used, although if the brother's wife is significantly older than Ego, she can also be called *tr-ʔak* (MZ).

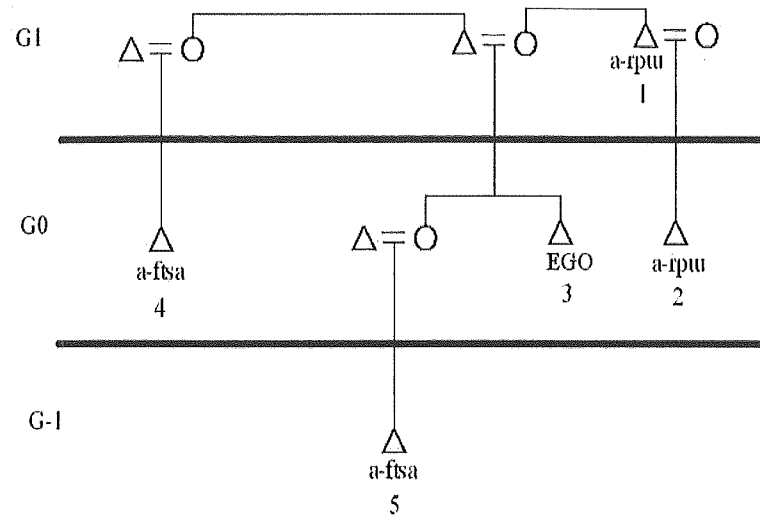


Table 8.6: An Omaha skewing rule in the Japhug kinship system.

Opposition	Kinship relation	Kinship term
4 to Ego	MBS	<i>tr-ʔuu</i>
Ego to 4	FZS	<i>tr-ʔsa</i>
Ego to 2	MBS	<i>tr-ʔuu</i>
2 to Ego	FZS	<i>tr-ʔsa</i>
5 to Ego	MB	<i>tr-ʔuu</i>
Ego to 5	ZS	<i>tr-ʔsa</i>
Ego to 1	MB	<i>tr-ʔuu</i>
1 to Ego	ZS	<i>tr-ʔsa</i>

Table 8.7: MBS / FZS and MB / ZS in the Japhug kinship system.

At G¹, *tr-βyo* and *tr-ʔak* are used for the uncles and aunts' wives and husbands (MZ = MBW = FBW and FB = FZH = MZH). As for the members of Ego's spouse's family, they are usually addressed by Ego by the same term as the one used by his or her spouse, as if they were his own family.

The six terms *tx-pi* (eB = eZ), *ta-ki* (yB = yZ), *tx-βyo* (FB), *tx-tak* (MZ), *tx-wuu* (MF = FF) and *tx-wi* (FM = MM) can be applied to people outside the family, as generic calling terms. Conversely, *tx-pi* (FZ), *tx-tpuu* (MB),¹⁰ *tx-mu* (M), *tx-wa* (F) and the terms for siblings in Table 8.3 are never applied to strangers.

TANGUT

The Tangut language was a close relative of the modern Rgyalrongic languages, and its kinship system present many similarities with the Rgyalrong one. In this section, we shall attempt at ‘filling’ the gaps left by previous researchers such as Kychanov (1987), Kepping (1990, 1991) and Shi et al. (2000) in their analysis of the Tangut kinship system, especially the terms designating cousins and nephews, and link our analysis of the kinship system with the marriage rules of the Tangut society.

This study was based on the same body of data as Kepping, and a new translation of the Tangut legal documents pertaining to the kinship system, a chapter on the ‘Degrees of Mourning’, is provided as an addendum to this paper.¹¹ To facilitate the reader comparison of our translation to Kepping’s, we reproduced the same rule numbering as she. This numbering is also used in our discussion to cite examples for the chapter in question.

The Tangut kinship system according to Kepping

As stated in the introduction, Kepping’s seminal work on the Tangut kinship system (1990, 1991) was based on her analysis of the Tangut text ‘Newly gathered notes on Maternal Love and Filial Piety’ on the Tangut Legal text 天盛律令 *Tiānshèng lǜlìng*, as well as several excerpts from the encyclopedia 聖立義海 *Shènglì yihǎi*.

She managed to determine with certainty the meaning of the following kinship terms (taking here only consanguines into account):

¹⁰ I have witnessed the case of a young child who called me using the MB term *a-tpuu* instead of the correct *a-βyo* ‘father’brother’ for non-family members and was laughed at by elder members of his family.

¹¹ This text is of great importance to understanding Tangut kinship terminology, but it has the drawback of being too closely modeled after Chinese legal texts (see Sun and Song 1999), so that it is not a faithful reflection of Tangut social structure.

Tangut term	Meaning	Japhug cognate
蕪 wja ¹	F	<i>tx-wa</i>
蕪 mja ¹	M	<i>tx-mu</i>
繡 ljo ²	eB ^{MS}	X
繡 tjo ²	yB ^{MS}	X
𪛗 niq ¹	Z ^{MS}	<i>tx-snom</i>
𪛗 mju ¹	B ^{WS}	<i>tx-wymuu</i>
𪛗 kiej ¹	Z ^{WS}	<i>tx-sqhrj</i>
繡 wjij ²	FB	<i>tx-βyo</i>
𪛗 nji ¹	FZ	<i>tx-pi</i>
𪛗 yji ¹	MB	X
𪛗 la ²	MZ	<i>tx-tak</i>
𪛗 nji ²	BS ^{MS}	<i>tx-mduu</i>
𪛗 zji ¹	S	X
𪛗 mjij ¹	D	<i>tu-me</i>
蕪 𪛗 wja ¹ o ¹	FF	X
蕪 𪛗 mja ¹ wji ¹	FM	<i>tx-wi</i>
𪛗 lhji ¹	SS	X
繡 zjwi ¹	BS ^{WS} , ZS ^{MS}	(<i>tx-ftsa</i> ?)

Table 8.8: Tangut kinship terms and Japhug cognates.

Her identification of the terms presented in the table above is correct and almost all Tangut scholars agree on them. However, given the fact that Tangut is a dead and imperfectly known language, it is inevitable that her analysis did not account for all possible kinship relationships and that some of her conclusions might require revision. Rather than proposing here a complete reanalysis of the whole kinship system, it seemed more interesting to select a series of topics worthy of discussion and propose new interpretations that sometimes differ from Kepping and Kychanov’s work on the Tangut kinship system.

A very well attested marriage institution in Tangut society was cross-cousin marriage; even though the purpose of this article is to reconstruct Tangut kinship terminology, not analyzing marriage institutions, this fact cannot be eluded. The compound 𪛗 𪛗 yji¹ zjwi¹ ‘marriage, to get married’, was coined from two syllables that are homonymous and probably etymologically identical to 𪛗 yji¹ ‘mother’s brother’ and 繡 zjwi¹ ‘sister’s son’ (ZS^{MS}).¹² Likewise, the term for ‘mother-in-law’, 𪛗 𪛗 nji¹ wji¹, has a first

¹² Marriage is defined here not by the relationship between the spouses, but by the

syllable homonymous with 姪 *nji*¹ FZ. In the case of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage (MBD with FZS), the identity of the terms ‘mother-in-law’ with FZ present the point of view of the bride, who marries the son of her FZ; therefore, her FZ actually becomes her mother-in-law after marriage.

It is not entirely sure that patrilineal cross-cousin marriage was also possible in Tangut society. The following sentence found in Kychanov (1974: 102 [134], 172) could be understood to imply this:

(2)	驸	姪	驸	姪	翁
	<i>nji</i> ¹	<i>tshjaa</i>	<i>nji</i> ¹	<i>nji</i> ¹	<i>dzuu</i> ²
	near	on	near	FZ	sit
	姪	姪	驸		
	<i>tshjaa</i>	<i>zjwi</i> ¹	<i>jar</i> ¹		
	on	<i>BS</i> ^{WS}	bride		

However, it is not entirely clear how this proverb ought to be translated, as it is not a full sentence with a conjugated verb. One possible translation would be: ‘The kin (has to marry) with the kin, the nephew’s *BS*^{WS} bride (is) on the paternal aunt’s *FZ*^{MS} seat’. However, we will see that other interpretation of this proverb are possible.

The following three topics will be discussed in this section: the terms for siblings, for mother’s sister and a detailed analysis of terms for cousins and nephews. The analysis of other problematic terms is left for future investigations.

Siblings

As is obvious from Table 8.8, many Tangut kinship terms have Japhug cognates that are conform to the basic phonetic correspondences presented in Jacques (2006), and these are not Chinese or Tibetan loanwords.¹³

relationship between the son-in-law and his father-in-law. There are no evidence that 驸 *zjwi*¹ meant ‘bride’, as suggested by Kepping (1990: 136).

¹³ The names for father and mother are probably recreated in both languages and are not direct descendants from proto-Qiangic. The relationship between 姪 *nji*¹ and *tx-snom* *Z*^{MS} might not be obvious. However, the correspondences are almost perfect: Japhug –o (proto-Japhug *-am) corresponds to Tangut –o, the dot underneath the vowel marks a tense vowel that indicates the presence of a preinitial consonant in proto-Tangut corresponding to the s- preinitial in Japhug. The reconstruction *diow*² given in Li (1997) is inconsistent with the *fānqiè* of this character in the dictionary *Wénhǎi*. Borrowings from the Chinese terms for

Moreover, the functions of these terms as indicated in the table are almost identical in both languages, at least when limited to consanguines:

	Tangut	Japhug
<i>B</i> ^{WS}	姪 <i>mju</i> ¹	<i>tx-wɣmu</i>
<i>Z</i> ^{WS}	驸 <i>kiej</i> ¹	<i>tx-sqhxj</i>
<i>B</i> ^{MS}	驸 <i>tjɔ</i> ²	<i>tx-xtry</i>
<i>Z</i> ^{MS}	姪 <i>niɔ</i> ¹	<i>tx-snom</i>

Table 8.9: Sibling terms in Japhug and Tangut.

Only the term for ‘brother’ (man speaking) is probably not related between Japhug and Tangut, as we found no other instance of a Tangut –o corresponding to Japhug –ɣɣ.

This is a remarkable fact, in particular regarding the terms for siblings that probably can be considered a common innovation of Tangut and Rgyalrong (Jacques 2007: 7), as no such system is found elsewhere in Sino-Tibetan, it is unlikely to have arisen independently and is certainly not a retention from proto-Sino-Tibetan preserved only in Tangut and Rgyalrong. Among the four names of the siblings in Table 8.3, only the sister (man speaking) *tx-snom* has cognates in non-Qiangic languages (Burmese *hna-ma*¹ etc.). Other Qiangic languages such as Pumi, whose kinship system can be derived from the Japhug one, also share this innovation.

Mother’s sister

The term 姪 *la*² MZ appears many times in the chapter Degrees of Mourning. However, the compound form 姪 驸 *mja*¹ *jij*¹ *kiej*¹, literally ‘mother’s sister’, also appears in rule [52]. In Kepping’s translation, 姪 *la*² in rules [10], [23], [34] and [36] and 姪 驸 *mja*¹ *jij*¹ *kiej*¹ in rule [52] are both translated as MZ, but a serious contradiction arises: in rule [10], it is stated that the 姪 *la*² has to be mourned for one year, while the 姪 驸 *mja*¹ *jij*¹ *kiej*¹ only deserves a five-months mourning: it cannot refer to the same person.

siblings *āgē* 阿哥 and *ājiě* 阿姐, however, also exist in Tangut (Kepping 1990: 135).

Another interesting fact is that 𪛗 la^2 is included among the 𪛗 $mə^2$ relatives in rule [36], i.e. relatives from the father's side: it cannot be question of a parallel aunt on the maternal side. A straightforward explanation offers itself: since 𪛗 la^2 always appears after 姐 $\cdot wji^2$ FB in all four rules, it is logical to assume that the intended meaning is not MZ, but FBW. In Rgyalrong, the cognate of 𪛗 la^2 , $tx-lak$, means both MZ and FBW, and such equivalence would be expected in the kinship system of Tangut too. The authors of the Tangut Law code used the compound form 𪛗 𪛗 mja^1 $\cdot jji^1$ $kiej^1$ precisely to avoid a misunderstanding between MZ and FBW. If the analogy with the Rgyalrong kinship system is valid, we would expect 𪛗 la^2 to be used also for the MBW, also this is mere speculation.¹⁴

Cousins and nephews

The terms for parallel/cross cousins¹⁵ and nephews are only imperfectly understood. Without them we have no way to know whether the Tangut kinship system was closer to the Rgyalrong one or the Pumi one.

Kepping (1990: 120) proposed that parallel cousins (FBCh and MZCh) were called like brothers and sisters, and that cross-cousins (MBCh^{MS} and FZCh^{FS}) were called by the same term 𪛗 zjw^1 as cross-nephews. To prove her point, she drew an example from the *Tiānshèng lùlìng* (see appendix, 6A.2, rule 34):

(3)	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗
	5305	4	3894	3361	355	2134	724
	$\cdot wji^2$	la	nji	$kiej$	mju	zjw^1	nji
	2.32	2.14	1.30	1.60	1.03	1.67	2.28
	FB	MZ	FZ	Z ^{WS}	B ^{WS}	ZS	etc.
							Dat

In this example, Kepping proposes that of the six terms enumerated, the last three would not be the brothers, the sisters and the cross-nephews,¹⁶ but the

¹⁴ Rather than the term for FZ 𪛗 nji^1 for instance. If this hypothesis is true, then it implies that 𪛗 $\cdot wji^2$ FB was used for MZH and FZH.

¹⁵ Cross-cousins are the children of one's father's sister or one's maternal uncle (FZCh, MBCh). Parallel cousins are the children of one's father's brother or one's mother's sister (FBCh, MZCh).

¹⁶ Cross-nephews are children of one's sibling of the other sex (sister's children for a male, brother's children for a female).

children of the three former parents, that is, parallel cousins and cross-cousins. The terms for brother and sister 𪛗 $kiej^1$ and 𪛗 mju^1 would also be used for parallel cousins, while 𪛗 zjw^1 would mean both cross-nephews and cross-cousins (MBCh^{MS} and FZCh^{FS}). She translates this passage in the following way (Kepping 1991: 53):

(Nine-months mourning should be observed by) married daughters for brothers of father, mother's sisters, father's sisters (and their children, respectively), brothers and cross-cousins.

This interpretation is not without difficulty, although it is not entirely impossible. We will now analyze her claims about parallel cousins and cross-cousins separately.

Parallel cousins

Let us first discuss the first aspect of Kepping's argument: her claim that the terms for siblings could be used for parallel cousins. We should bear in mind first that even in Kepping's translation of the Degrees of mourning, the MZS, parallel cousin on the mother's side, is treated in rule [52] where it is stated that he deserves a five-months mourning duration, a much shorter one than the duration prescribed in rule [34]. Therefore, even granted that terms for siblings *could* be used for parallel cousins, it is clear that in rule [34], the term 𪛗 mju^1 is certainly not intended to mean MZS, it could mean only B or FBS.

Is FBS treated anywhere else in the text? This all depends on the interpretation of a very peculiar term: 𪛗 𪛗 $\cdot wji^2$ zji^1 ljo^2 . This term first appears in rule [24], line 5B.6:

(4)	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗
	5305	1085	2447	4444	2019	1139
	$\cdot wji^2$	zji	ljo	$lj\dot{i}$	$thja$	$\cdot jji$
	2.32	1.11	2.44	1.69	1.20	1.36
	FB	S	eB ^{MS}	and	this	GEN
	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗		
	549	5689	5399	3099		
	$ni\dot{o}$	γa	$khju$	$d\dot{z}ji^1$		
	1.71	1.17	1.03	1.39		
	Zms	home	under	live		

(Nine-month mourning should be observed) [24] for brothers of ·wji² zji¹ and sisters of ·wji² zji¹ living at home.

Kepping (1991: 32-44) devotes a lengthy discussion to this term, and concludes that it means a parallel cousin of the first degree, that is FFBS. According to her, this explains the fact that (1) this cousin, though a close kin, only deserves a nine-months mourning duration and (2) 𣪗𣪗𣪗 ·wji² zji¹ ljo² occurs just after:

(5)	𣪗	𣪗	𣪗	𣪗
	100	4739	5305	4
	lew	tsewr	·wji ²	la
	1.43	1.87	2.32	2.14
	one	grade	FB	MZ

(Nine-month mourning should be observed) [24] for father's brothers and mother's sisters of the first degree. (this would mean FFBS).

Although Kepping's argument is logical and could have been valid, we can however still interpret 𣪗𣪗𣪗 ·wji² zji¹ ljo² as FBS without contradicting the rest of the text.¹⁷ This means that in rule [34], sentence (3), the terms for siblings 𣪗 kiej¹ and 𣪗 mju¹ probably ought to be translated simply as B and Z, not as B/FBS and Z/FBD as Kepping proposes.

Cross-cousins and nephews

We turn on to the second part of her argument: the term for cross-cousins and cross-nephews.

In the chapter on the Degrees of Mourning of the *Tiānshèng lǐlìng*, from which sentence (3) is taken, we observe that married women and unmarried women must observe a different duration of mourning for parents of her original home. Unmarried women respect the same degree of mourning as men, but married women follow a shorter mourning duration less than men or married girls. Therefore, we would logically expect to find exactly same list of kinship terms in the previous section on the same chapter (one year mourning). Not all the sentences in the section one one-year mourning are relevant for comparison with sentence. Some treat of the husband/wife, parents/children relations, which are not present in the sentence that we are

¹⁷ Of course, this has consequences for the rest of the analysis. The second and third-degree 𣪗𣪗𣪗 ·wji² zji¹ ljo² treated in rule [40] and [58] would have to be changed accordingly.

interested in. We have extracted here the relevant sentences from lines 5A6-8 of the text.¹⁸ We reproduce Kepping's translation (1991: 51):

(6)	𣪗	𣪗	𣪗	𣪗	𣪗	𣪗
	2447	605	5305	4	1561	1543
	ljo	tjə	·wji ²	la	nji	mjor
	2.44	2.64	2.32	2.14	2.60	1.90
	eB ^{MS}	yB ^{MS}	FB	MZ	BCh	own

(One-year mourning should be observed) [09] for all brothers (including the sons of one's father's brother) [10] for father's brothers and mother's sisters,¹⁹ [11] for clan nephews.

(7)	𣪗	𣪗	𣪗	𣪗	𣪗
	3894	549	5689	5399	3099
	nji	niə	ya	khju	džjiij
	1.30	1.71	1.17	1.03	1.39
	FZ	Z ^{MS}	home	under	live

[13]for father's sisters and sisters living at home.

As expected, the term for FB, MZ and FZ are found in both in the section on one-year mourning (applied to men and unmarried women) and in the section on the nine-months mourning (sentence 3). The terms for sibling are different for the simple reason that rules [9] to [11] normally apply to men, whereas rule [34] only applies to women. Since, as previously noticed, the terms for siblings distinguish the sex of both members of the relationship (male's brother vs. female's brother, etc.), this is the expected situation. Basically, the only real difference is the term 𣪗 zjw¹ which only appears in rule [34] (in fact, the only occurrence of this character in the whole chapter), and 𣪗 nji², which does not appear in rule [34]. The logical conclusion of this is therefore that these two terms should also be equated: 𣪗 zjw¹ is the 'female speaking' equivalent of 𣪗 nji² BS, and can only be translated here as "brother's son", not as "cross-cousin".

In fact, a complete reading of the chapter reveals that MBS and FZS are actually much lower on the mourning scale: they only deserve a three-

¹⁸ The reader who wants to verify our claim can check the fully-analyzed Tangut text of this chapter in the addendum.

¹⁹ The correct translation of this term in this context will be presented in section 3.3, but let us provisionally keep a translation closer to Kepping's.

month mourning duration (rule [75] and [76]); it would be somewhat a paradox if the cross-cousins were treated in two different places in the same text. Even if we wanted to play the devil's advocate and argue that rules [75] and [76] only applied to a male, not to a female, this would still not be a valid explanation, as (married) female always have a shorter mourning duration than male, never a larger, but such a claim would imply the opposite: a nine-months mourning duration for married female to their cross-cousin, but only a three-months one for males.

Now, let us examine this issue from the point of view of the structure of the system. The word 纒 *zjwɿ*¹ certainly means 'cross-nephew' *BS*^{WS} / *ZS*^{MS}, as it is explicitly defined this way in the Tangut dictionary *Wénhǎi*:

(8)	纒	纒	纒	纒	纒	纒	纒
	<i>zjwɿ</i> ¹	<i>tja</i> ¹	<i>mju</i> ¹	<i>niɔ</i> ¹	<i>jij</i> ¹	<i>tjɿ</i>	<i>gji</i> ²
		TOP	<i>B</i> ^{WS}	<i>Z</i> ^{MS}	GEN	boy	

A *zjwɿ*¹ is the son of one's brother (for a female) or of one's sister (for a male).

纒 *zjwɿ*¹ forms a dyadic relationship with the terms 纒 *yji*¹ "mother's brother" on the one hand and with 纒 *nji*¹ "father's sister" on the other hand. Therefore, whoever I call 纒 *zjwɿ*¹ should call me 纒 *yji*¹ if I am a male and 纒 *nji*¹ if I am a female. Now, this implicates that if 纒 *zjwɿ*¹ truly meant *MBCh*^{MS} and *FZCh*^{FS} as Kepping claims, by the rule of reciprocity explained in section 1, 纒 *yji*¹ should also be applied not only to MB, but also to *FZS*^{MS} and 纒 *nji*¹ not only to FZ, but also to *MBD*^{FS}.

In Kepping's reconstruction, the Tangut system had a mix of Omaha and Crow skewing features. Although this kind of system is not unthinkable altogether, it might be valuable to try to account for Tangut data in a simpler way. Besides, Kepping's solution involves several problems in view of Tangut social structure.

First, if one called his MBD (the preferential marriage partner) 纒 *zjwɿ*¹, the same way as his sister's daughter, this should indicate that marriage with one's ZD should be as important an institution in Tangut society as cross-cousin marriage. This kind of marriage, though not impossible in principle²⁰ is not documented in any source on Tangut society at my disposition.

Second, two pieces of evidence not mentioned by Kepping may lead to propose different solutions. However, these evidence are contradictory; the

²⁰ Marriage with (eZD)y, the elder sister's daughter (when the daughter is younger than EGO) is common in some societies, for instance Tamil (Good 2006).

first piece would lead to reconstruct an Omaha skewing system, while the second suggests the existence of a Crow one. therefore, rather than proposing one solution to the problem investigated here, we prefer to propose competing ideas and wait until additional data from Tangut texts becomes available before giving a definite reconstruction

Omaha skewing

Although Kepping's solution may require revision, we believe that there is some degree of truth in her insight that the term 纒 *zjwɿ*¹ could be used to designate cross-cousins. However, we disagree on *which* cross-cousins. In the *Shènglì yìhǎi* (p. 66. line 6-7, Kychanov 1997: 150; 264), we read the following account about paternal aunt and sister's sons:

(9)	纒	纒	纒	纒	纒	纒	纒
	3894	1567	549	1085	605	3361	706
	<i>nji</i>	<i>gji</i>	<i>niɔ</i>	<i>zji</i>	<i>tjo</i>	<i>kiej</i>	.we
	1.30	2.10	1.71	1.11	2.64	1.60	2.07
	FZ	son	<i>Z</i> ^{MS}	boy	<i>yB</i> ^{MS}	<i>Z</i> ^{FS}	place
	纒	纒	纒				
	4681	5022	1278				
	<i>nju</i>	<i>lji</i>	<i>ji</i>				
	1.03	1.09	2.28				
	ear	prestige	say				

The son of the father's sister and the boy of a sister (for a male) are close like brothers (for a male) or sisters (for a female). They enjoy a high prestige.

纒	纒	纒	纒	纒	纒
3229	4508	981	1332	2412	5993
<i>ɲwəə</i>	<i>tji</i>	.war	<i>deej</i>	<i>dzjo</i>	<i>kha</i>
1.31	1.67	2.73	1.37	2.44	1.17
chanting	food	goods	transmit	poem	in
纒	纒	纒	纒	纒	
5612	3894	1567	549	1085	
<i>tshjiij</i>	<i>nji</i>	<i>gji</i>	<i>niɔ</i>	<i>zji</i>	
1.39	1.30	2.10	1.71	1.11	
<i>say</i> [1]	FZ	son	<i>Z</i> ^{MS}	boy	

One shares food and possessions with them. According to a poem: "Sons of father's sisters and boys of sisters

𪛗	鞞	鞞				
981	5346	5346				
.war	.ju	.ju				
2.73	2.02	2.02				
goods	search[1]	search[1]				
𪛗	鞞	鞞	𪛗	鞞	鞞	鞞
5504	1195	1598	4519	585	2777	2731
mjo	khie	gji	bji	sj̥	ɲewr	soo
2.44	2.08	1.14	2.10	2.60	1.87	1.52
sheep	yak	pure	cry	grass	cry	sound

always²¹ look for presents, just as sheep bleat and yaks moo for grass."

This passage implies that the relationship of a male to his sister's son and to his father's sister's son is of the same kind. Interestingly, if we now turn back to the Tangut law code, we observe that according to rules [51] and [76], both FZS and ZS have the same mourning duration of three months. These two pieces of evidence strongly suggest that FZS^{MS} and ZS^{MS} had the same status in the Tangut kinship system, and this could indicate that they were called by the same term 𪛗 zjw̥i¹. If this is true, then it entails that by reciprocity both MB^{MS} and MBS^{MS} were called by the same term 鞞 yji¹. This does not tell us how the MBD^{MS} was called, though it could suggest that a G⁺¹ term would be used to designate her (probably 𪛗 nji¹ FZ).

We would then obtain an Omaha skewing system almost exactly like the one described for Japhug in Table 8.5 and Table 8.6, just by replacing *a-ftsa* and *a-rpu* by 𪛗 zjw̥i¹ and 鞞 yji¹ respectively. The resulting system is the exact opposite of Kepping's reconstruction (she thought that MBS^{MS}, not FZS^{MS} was called 𪛗 zjw̥i¹). In view of this hypothesis, the sentence 8 could be interpreted not as a clue that one can marry the FZD, but that the preferred bride MBD is called by the same term as the FZ, 𪛗 nji¹.

These data seem therefore to indicate that Tangut, like Rgyalrong and Qiang, had an Omaha-type skewing system, although the exact structure of these systems may differ, especially as far as female relatives are taken into account. We have no way of knowing if a similar rule existed for female, as the term 𪛗 zjw̥i¹ is always applied to males in Tangut texts.

We wish to emphasize that the reconstruction proposed in this section is tentative, as we only have indirect clues of the existence of the skewing rule proposed here.

Crow skewing?

In the previous section, we have discussed the terms for cross-nephews in Tangut, and have proposed that Tangut kinship had an Omaha skewing system. If this hypothesis is true, then the term for MB 鞞 yji¹ was also applied to MBS, as in Rgyalrong.

Incidentally, an entirely different piece of evidence suggests that a skewing system existed in Tangut. In the bilingual dictionary *Pearl in the Palm* (番漢合時掌中珠 *Fān-Hàn Héshí Zhǎngzhōngzhū*), line 204 (Li 1994: 64), we find the following glosses:

(10)	鞞	鞞	鞞	鞞	鞞	鞞	鞞	鞞
	597	3443	2134	2254	5305	4	3894	355
	yji	po	zjw̥i	mo	wjij	la	ɲji	mju
	1.29	1.49	1.67	2.42	2.32	2.14	1.30	1.03
	阿	舅	外	甥	叔	姨	姑	舅
	MB	MB	ZS	ZS	FyB	MZ	FZ	MB

We see that the character 鞞 mju¹ B^{WS} unexpectedly corresponds to Chinese 舅 'MB'. This contradicts the normal use of 鞞 mju¹ in Tangut texts, where no other meaning than B^{WS} is attested. Given the care with which Gǔlè Mào cái (骨勒茂才), the author of '*Zhǎngzhōngzhū*', wrote this dictionary, it is unlikely that this is an error. It is also impossible to argue that he chose the character 舅 'MB' because the characters for 'brother' 兄弟 had already been used to gloss 鞞 ljo² eB^{MS} and 鞞 tjo² yB^{MS} on line 203: there was clearly no constraint against using the same Chinese (or Tangut) gloss several times in a row. For instance, we clearly see in example (10) that 舅 'MB' is used two times to gloss two distinct Tangut characters. Therefore, this gloss is to be taken seriously in any study of the Tangut kinship system.

However, if we take this sentence at face value, we have to suppose the existence of a Crow-type skewing rule. The fact that female call their MB as 鞞 mju¹ 'brother' would imply the equation MB^{FS} = B^{FS}. By extension, 𪛗 zjw̥i¹ would designate both MBS^{FS} and BS^{FS}. In other words, it would equate the fathers of the parents whom she calls by the same term 𪛗 zjw̥i¹.

²¹ The reduplication of the verb here indicates either iterative or intensive meaning.

Another logical consequence would be that since $MB^{WS} = B^{WS}$ then $ZD^{MS} = Z^{MS}$, in other word a male would call his cross-niece a 'sister'.

In this theory, female would have a Crow skewing system. This could be reconciled with the Omaha skewing system postulated in the previous section by assuming Crow-rule for female speakers and Omaha rule for male speakers, a solution that involves the same intrinsic problem as Kepping's, though in a different way.

However, concerning the Tangut expression for ZD^{MS} , however, we should point out that Xu (2009) has proposed to interpret the term 蕪鞞 $no^2 \acute{s}jo^2$ which appears in rule [78] precisely as ZD^{MS} . Previous research on the text of the *Tiānshèng lǚlìng* have either left this term untranslated, or as Sun and Song (1999), proposed that it meant 乳娘 'wet nurse', based on the correspondence with Chinese legal texts. Nevertheless, as Xu pointed out, another term for 'wet nurse' is already attested in the *Shènglì yìhǎi*: 蕪鞞 nju^2mja^1 , making Sun and Song's idea less probable. Xu's idea, however, is only a conjecture too, and the available Tangut texts do not seem to allow a definite solution to the question of how ZD^{MS} was called.

We will not try to give any definite explanation for example (10), and leave it to future investigations on the Tangut kinship system.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have presented a description of the kinship system of Japhug Rgyalrong, a modern Qiangic language, and attempted to go further in the reconstruction of the Tangut kinship terminology. We have shown that Rgyalrong and Tangut share a strikingly similar terminological system for siblings. Besides, we have suggested the existence of traces of an Omaha-type skewing rule in Tangut, similar to the one observed in Rgyalrong.

Nevertheless, although Tangut data on kinship are abundant, they are also extremely ambiguous and have the strong problem of being male-centered, so that many aspects of the kinship system on the female side are difficult to ascertain. In this article, we have tried to set out facts clearly, but have encountered apparently insurmountable contradictions in Tangut data. Only more research on Tangut texts can reveal data that can allow us to answer these questions.

REFERENCES

- Barnes, R. H. (1976). "Dispersed alliance and the prohibition of marriage: Reconsideration of McKinley's explanation of Crow-Omaha terminologies." *Man* 2: 384-99.
- Barnes, R. H. (1984). *Two Crows Denies It, A History of Controversy in Omaha Sociology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Benedict, F. K. (1942). "Tibetan and Chinese kinship systems." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 6.3/4: 313-37.
- Ding Sizhi (2008). *Sibling Terminology in Prinmi*, Paper presented at the 41st International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 18-21 September.
- Fêng H. Y. (1937). "The Chinese Kinship System." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 2.2: 143-275.
- Good, Anthony (2006). "On the non-existence of « Dravidian Kinship »." *Edinburgh Papers in South Asian Studies* 6.
- Jacques, Guillaume (2004). *Phonologie et morphologie du Japhug (rGyalrong)*. Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris VII – Denis Diderot.
- Jacques, Guillaume (2006). "Les rimes du tangoute et du rGyalrong." *Medieval Tibeto-burman languages II*. C. Beckwith, ed. Leiden: Brill: 121-154.
- Jacques, Guillaume (2007). *Textes tangoutes I*. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Jacques, Guillaume (向柏霖 Xiàng Bólín) (2008). 嘉絨語研究 *Jiāróngyǔ yánjiū*. Běijīng: 民族出版社 Mínzú Chūbǎnshè.
- Kepping, Ksenia. B. (1986). "Термины родства тангутов Terminy rodstva tangutov." *Письменные памятники и проблемы истории культуры народов Востока / Pis'mennye pamjatinki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* 20.1: 33-35.
- Kepping, Ksenia. B. (1990). *Вновь собранные записи о любви к младшим и почтении к старшим / Vnov' sobrannye zapisi o ljubvi k mladshchim i pochtenii k starshchim*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Kepping, Ksenia. B. (1991). "Tangut (Xixia) degrees of mourning." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 14.2: 1-63.
- Kryukov, M. V. (1990). "Вновь собранные записи о любви к младшим и почтении к старшим" и проблемы реконструкции системы терминов родства тангутов. *Vnov' sobrannye zapisi o ljubvi k mladshim i pochtenii k starshim i problemy rekonstruktsii sistemy terminov rodstva tangutov.*" Kepping (1990): 139-148.
- Kuchanov, Je. I. (1974). *Вновь собранные драгоценные парные изречения / Vnov' sobrannye dragotsennye parnye izreceniya*. Moscow: Наука Nauka.
- Kuchanov, Je. I. (1987). *Измененный и заново утверждённый кодекс девиза царствования небесное процветание / Izmenennyj i заново utverzhdenyj kodeks deviza tsarstvovaniya nebesnoe protsvetanie*. Moscow: Наука Nauka.
- Kuchanov, Je. I. (1997). *Море значений, установленных святыми / More znacenij, ustanovlennykh svjatyimi*. St. Petersburg: Петербургское Востоковедение Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie.
- Lǐ Fàn wén 李范文 (1994). 宋代西北方音 *Sòngdài Xīběi Fāngyīn* [The northeastern dialect

- in the Sòng dynasty]. Běijīng: Zhōngguó Shèhuìkēxué Chūbǎnshè. Zhōngguó Shèhuìkēxué Chūbǎnshè.
- Lǐ Fàn wén 李范文 (1998). 夏漢字典 *Xia-Hàn zìdiǎn* [Tangut-Chinese dictionary]. Běijīng: Zhōngguó Shèhuìkēxué Chūbǎnshè
- McConvell, Patrick and Barry Alpher (2002). "On the Omaha trail in Australia: Tracking skewing from east to west." *Anthropological Forum* 12.2: 159-173.
- McKinley, Robert (1971). "Why do Crow and Omaha kinship terminologies exist? A sociology of knowledge interpretation." *Man* 6: 408-26
- Shǐ Jīnbō 史金波, Niè Hóngyīn 聶鴻音, Bái Bīn 白濱 (2000). 西夏天盛改舊新定律令 *Xīxià Tiānshèng gǎijiù xīndìng lǜlìng*. Běijīng: Fǎlǜ Chūbǎnshè.
- Shǐ Jīnbō 史金波 (2001). 中國風俗史-遼金元卷 *Zhōngguó fēngsúshǐ - Liáo Jīn Yuán juàn* [History of customs in China: Liáo, Jīn and Xīxià dynasties]. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Wényì Chūbǎnshè.
- Sūn Hóngkāi (1983). "六江流域的民族語言及其係屬分類 *Liùjiāng liúyǔ de mínzú yǔyán jí qí xìshǔ fēnlèi*. [Languages of the 'ethnic corridor' of Western Sichuan and their classification]. 民族學報 *Mínzú xuébào* 3: 99-274
- Sun, Jackson T.-S. (2000). "Parallelisms in the verb morphology of Sidaba rGyalrong and Lavrung in rGyalrongic." *Language and Linguistics* 1.1: 161-190.
- Wolfenden, Stuart N. (1936). "Notes on the Jyarung dialect of Eastern Tibet." *T'oung Pao* 32: 166-204.
- Sun Yingxin, Song Lulu (1999). 西夏 "天盛律令-親節門" 辨證 *Xīxià "Tiānshèng lǜlìng - Qīnjiémén" biànzhèng*. 民族語文 *Mínzú yǔwén* 5: 63-67.
- Thurgood, Graham (2003). "A subgrouping of the Sino-Tibetan languages: the interaction between language contact, change and inheritance." Randy LaPolla and Graham Thurgood, eds. *The Sino-Tibetan languages*. London: Routledge. 3-20.
- Xu Weiwei (2009). "天盛律令-親節門" 對譯與考釋 "Tiānshèng lǜlìng - Qīnjiémén" duìyì yǔ kǎoshì." 西夏學 *Xīxiàxué* 4: 78-83.

APPENDIX: DEGREES OF MOURNING

4B.5	脛	肱	髀
	213	4739	5689
	njjj	tsewr	ya
	1.36	1.87	1.17
	近	節	門

Degrees of kinship.

4B.6	脛	雜	脛	脛	脛	脛	脛	脛	脛
	5285	2888	1965	4027	5932	213	4739	3791	1890
	lji	mə	dzjj	njii	mə	njjj	tsewr	bji	bjij
	1.29	2.25	1.42	1.32	2.25	1.36	1.87	2.10	2.33
	也	族	姻	二	種	近	節	下	高
	脛	脛	脛	脛	脛	脛	脛	脛	脛
	433	1999	5932	28	5598	4906	535	5419	5419
	bjj	ɲwə	mə	lhjuu	gjwi	gjwi	sjjj	do	do
	1.03	1.27	2.25	1.07	2.10	2.10	1.35	2.42	2.42
	INSTR	五	種	喪	衣	着1	順	異	異

There are five different ways of wearing mourning clothes, depending on the relative proximity of the kin, and whether he or she belongs to one's paternal, or maternal lineage.

4B.7	脛	脛	脛	脛	脛	脛
	4342	3576	749	2019	5993	243
	dja	sjwij	phji	thja	kha	sjj
	2.17	1.36	1.11	1.20	1.17	2.10
	D1	明	使1	此	中	W

襴	纈	纈	纈	纈	纈
28	4906	535	3583	4945	2455
lhjuu	gjwi	šjij	tja	·wə	gji
1.07	2.10	1.35	1.20	1.27	2.10
喪	着1	順	者	H	

Having explained this, (we should add that) a wife wears mourning clothes

4B.8	縗	縗	縗
4950	2219	1608	
rjir	kjij	ləw	
2.72	1.36	2.38	
COMIT	D2	同	

the same way as her husband does.

4B.9	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗
5865	3305	28	4906	1274	
sə	kjiw	lhjuu	gjwi	·wo	
1.07	1.45	1.07	2.10	2.45	
三	年	喪	着1	應	

One has to wear mourning clothes for three years (in the following cases):

5A.1	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗
1567	5049	92	1139	2455	2129	4945	2455	1139	
gji	·wja	mja	jij	gji	bjij	·wə	gji	jij	
2.10	1.19	1.20	1.36	2.10	2.33	1.27	2.10	1.36	
S	F	M	DAT	W		H		DAT	

[01] A son to his father or mother, [02] a wife to her husband

5A.2	縗	縗	縗	縗
5049	769	239	1633	
·wja	ljwij	lhji	pə	
1.19	1.36	1.30	2.51	
F	亡	GrS	長	

縗	縗	縗	縗	縗
5049	154	92	4893	1139
·wja	·o	mja	·wji	jij
1.19	1.49	1.20	1.29	1.36
GrF		GrM		DAT

[03]The eldest grandson to his grand-father or grand-mother if his father had already passed away.

5A.3	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗
147	1085	147	3818	5049	92	1139	
šjij	zji	šjij	mjiir	·wja	mja	jij	
2.32	1.11	2.32	2.68	1.19	1.20	1.36	
請	S	請	者	F	M	DAT	

縗	縗	縗	縗
1567	2983	4	1139
gji	·u	la	jij
2.10	2.01	2.14	1.36
S	中	MZ	DAT

[04]An adopted son to his adopted father or mother. [05] A son to his father's wives (嫡母).

5A.4	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗
960	1543	4444	147	960	724	
mji	mjor	lj̄	šjij	mji	nji	
1.61	1.90	1.69	2.32	1.61	2.28	
D	親	及	請	D	等	

縗	縗	縗	縗	縗	縗
1064	2904	4469	5689	5399	3099
mji	·jar	šji	ya	khju	džjiij
2.33	2.74	2.09	1.17	1.03	1.39
未	嫁	往1	門	下	住

[06] (The same applies to) unmarried non-adopted and adopted daughters who live at home.

5A.5	糝	紱	禩	窶	縻
	5981	3305	28	4906	1274
	.a	kjiw	lhjuu	gjwi	·wo
	0	1.45	1.07	2.10	2.42
	一	年	喪	着1	應

One has to wear mourning clothes for one year (in the following cases):

5A.6	蕪	禩	蕪	蕪	緇	緇
	5049	154	92	4893	2447	605
	·wja	·o	mja	·wji	ljo	tjə
	1.19	1.49	1.20	1.29	2.44	2.64
	FF		FM		eB ^{MS}	yB ^{MS}
	糝	蕪	禩	緇		
	5305	4	1561	1543		
	·wjij	la	nji	mjor		
	2.32	2.14	2.60	1.90		
	FB	MZ	BCh	親		

[07]To one's grandfather or [08] grandmother, [09] to one's elder or younger brother (for a male), [10]to one's father's brother or his wife,²² [11]to one's brother's non-adopted son (for a male).

5A.7	蕪	蕪	禩	縻	縻
	5049	92	960	1085	1139
	·wja	mja	mji	zji	·jij
	1.19	1.20	1.61	1.11	1.36
	F	M	D	S	DAT
	縻	縻	紱	紱	縻
	3894	549	5689	5399	3099
	nji	niə	ya	khju	džjiij
	1.30	1.71	1.17	1.03	1.39
	FZ	Z ^{MS}	門	下	住

²² It is better to translate here 蕪 la¹ by "father's brother's wife" rather than by "mother's sister". Our translation differs here from Kepping (1990: 51). Mourning for mother's sister is treated in. 6B.9.

[12]Father or mother to their son or daughter. [13]To one's father's sister or one's sister (for a male) who still live at home.

5A.8	禩	禩	緇	紱	紱	縻
	960	1561	1543	5689	5399	3099
	mji	nji	mjor	ya	khju	džjiij
	1.61	2.60	1.90	1.17	1.03	1.39
	BD		親	門	下	住
	縻	縻	縻	縻	縻	
	4945	2455	2455	2129	1139	
	·wə	gji	gji	bji	·jij	
	1.27	2.10	2.10	2.33	1.36	
	H		W		DAT	

[14] To one's brother's non-adopted daughter still living at home (for a male).

[15] A husband to his wife.

5A.9	蕪	縻	蕪	縻	蕪	縻	蕪	縻
	5049	769	92	2904	4481	1139	5049	154
	·wja	ljwij	mja	jar	jar	·jij	·wja	·o
	1.19	1.36	1.20	2.74	1.29	1.36	1.19	1.49
	F	亡	M	嫁	往2	DAT	FF	
	縻	縻	縻	縻	縻	縻		
	1567	2893	769	239	1633	1139		
	gji	khwej	ljwij	lhji	pu	·jij		
	2.10	2.30	1.36	1.30	2.51	1.36		
	S	大	亡	GrCh	長	DAT		

[16] (A son) to his mother if his father died and she remarried. [17] A grandfather to his eldest grandchild if his eldest child has already passed away.

5B.1	穉	穉	弄	諫	循	弄	諫	循
	5049	92	147	1085	1139	147	1085	1139
	·wja	mja	šjij	zji	jij	šjij	zji	jij
	1.19	1.20	2.32	1.11	1.36	2.32	1.11	1.36
	F	M	請	S	DAT	請	S	DAT

	穉	穉	穉	穉	循
	2104	5746	5645	5049	92
	šji	gjwi	tji	·wja	mja
	1.10	1.30	2.60	1.19	1.20
	先	割	處	F	M
				DAT	DAT

[18] A father or a mother to their adopted son, [19] an adopted son to his original father and mother.

5B.2	穉	穉	穉	穉	穉
	5049	769	2983	4	2904
	·wja	ljwij	·u	la	·jar
	1.19	1.36	2.01	2.14	2.74
	F	亡	中	MZ	嫁

	穉	穉	穉	循
	1897	1567	4481	1139
	pha	gji	šji	jij
	1.17	2.10	1.29	1.36
	隨	S	往2	DAT

[20] A wife remarried after her first husband's death to her children if they have followed her (in her new husband's home).

5B.3	穉	穉	穉	穉	穉
	92	2904	4481	2104	3126
	mja	·jar	šji	šji	džjij
	1.20	2.74	1.29	1.10	2.32
	M	嫁	往2	先	有1

	穉	穉	穉	穉	循
	1794	5447	1326	2537	1567
	·o	do	kji	rjir	gji
	1.49	2.42	1.30	2.72	2.10
	主	DAT	PRF	遺	S
				DAT	DAT

[21] A remarried mother to her son whom she has left at her former's husband's home.

5B.4	穉	穉	穉	穉	穉
	960	1543	4444	147	960
	mjj	mjor	lji	šjij	mjj
	1.61	1.90	1.69	2.32	1.61
	D	親	及	請	D

	穉	穉	穉	穉	穉	循
	2904	4481	1906	3349	5049	92
	·jar	šji	niow	rjir	·wja	mja
	2.74	1.29	1.57	2.68	1.19	1.20
	嫁	往2	後	LOC	F	M
					DAT	DAT

[22] A non-adopted or adopted daughter to her father and mother after she got married.

5B.5	穉	穉	穉	穉	穉	穉
	3113	2814	3749	0028	4906	1274
	gji	lhji	phow	lhjuu	gjwi	·wo
	1.32	2.60	1.54	1.07	2.10	2.42
	九	月	月	喪	着1	應

One has to wear mourning clothes for nine months (in the following cases):

5B.6	穉	穉	穉	穉	穉	穉
	100	4739	5305	4	5305	1085
	lew	tsewr	·wjij	la	·wjij	zji
	1.43	1.87	2.32	2.14	2.32	1.11
	一	節	FB	MZ	FB	S
						eB ^{MS}

緦	緦	循	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳
4444	2019	1139	549	5689	5399	3099
lj̥	thja	ˈjij	niɔ	ya	khju	dʒij̥
1.69	1.20	1.36	1.71	1.17	1.03	1.39
及	此	DAT	Z ^{MS}	門	下	住

[23] To one's father's male parallel cousins and their wives of the first degree, [24] to one's father's brother's son and his sister (father's brother's daughter) if she still lives at her parent's home.

5B.7	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳
1085	239	960	239	5689	5399	
zji	lhji	mjj̥	lhji	ya	khju	
1.11	1.30	1.61	1.30	1.17	1.03	
GrS		GrD		門	下	
	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	
3099	3894	549	960	2904	4481	
dʒij̥	nji	niɔ	mjj̥	ˈjar	ʃji	
1.39	1.3	1.71	1.61	2.74	1.29	
住	FZ	Z ^{MS}	D	嫁	往 2	

[25] To one's grandson or [26] granddaughter if she still lives at her parent's home, [27] to one's married father's sister or one's married sister²³ (for a male).

5B.8	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳
960	1561	2904	4481	147	1085	
mjj̥	nji	ˈjar	ʃji	ʃjij	zji	
1.61	2.60	2.74	1.29	2.32	1.11	
BD		嫁	往 2	請	S	

²³ The parallelism of this passage with the one in 5A.7 indicates that translating "one's sister" rather than "one's sister's daughter" is preferable, though the word 𦉳 mjj̥¹ is left unaccounted for.

緦	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	緦	循
2590	2373	5645	3894	549	2447	1139
ˈwji	ljij	tji	nji	niɔ	ljo	ˈjij
2.27	2.54	2.60	1.30	1.71	2.44	1.36
D1	來	處	FZ	Z ^{MS}	eB ^{MS}	DAT

[28] To one's married brother's daughter, [29] An adopted son to his father's sister, his sister and brother from his original home.

5B.9	𦉳	循	繼	緦	緦	𦉳	𦉳
1561	1139	2455	2129	2447	1561	724	
nji	ˈjij	gji	bji	ljo	nji	nji	
2.60	1.36	2.10	2.33	2.44	2.60	2.28	
BS	Gen	W		eB ^{MS}	Bch	等	
	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	
4574	147	1085	795	5113	1139		
mji	ʃjij	zji	rjir	ˈwji	ˈjij		
1.30	2.32	1.11	2.77	1.10	1.36		
他	請	S	PRF	為 1	DAT		

[30] To one's brother's son's wife, [31] to brothers or brother's children who were adopted in another home.

6A.1	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	繼	𦉳	緦
92	2104	4945	2455	4950	2590	
mja	ʃji	ˈwə	gji	rjir	ˈwji	
1.20	1.10	1.27	2.10	2.72	2.27	
M	先	H		COM	D1	
	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳	𦉳
5163	1160	5447	960	3099	1139	
dʒjow	ka	do	mjj̥	dʒij̥	ˈjij	
1.56	2.14	2.42	1.61	1.39	1.36	
分	離	DAT	D	住	DAT	

[32] A mother who divorced from her former husband to her daughter who lives (at her father's home).

6A.2	儼	絳	羸	儼	羸	儼	羸	羸	羸
	1894	1543	960	2904	4481	1906	3349	5305	4
	jar	mjor	mjjj	jar	šji	niow	rjijr	·wjij	la
	1.82	1.90	1.61	2.74	1.29	1.57	2.68	2.32	2.14
	SW	親	D	嫁	往2	後	LOC	FB	MZ
	𪗇	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸
	3894	3361	355	2134	724	1139			
	nji	kiej	mju	zjwi	nji	·jij			
	1.30	1.60	1.03	1.67	2.28	1.36			
	FZ	Z ^{WS}	B ^{WS}	ZS	等	DAT			

[33] To one's (non-adopted ?) son's wife. [34] A married girl to her father's brothers and their wives, father's sister, sister, brother, brother's son.

6A.3	𪗇	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸
	1999	2814	3749	28	4906	1274
	ɲwə	lhji	phow	lhjuu	gjwi	·wo
	1.27	2.60	1.54	1.07	2.10	2.42
	五	月	月	喪	着1	應

One has to wear mourning clothes for five months (in the following cases):

6A.4	羸	羸
	2888	213
	mə	njj
	2.25	1.36
	族	近

Kin from the father's lineage.

6A.5	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸
	263	5049	92	4027	4739	5305	4	3894
	tju	·wja	mja	njii	tsewr	·wjij	la	nji
	2.52	1.19	1.20	1.32	1.87	2.32	2.14	1.30
	Gr	F	M	二	節	FB	MZ	FZ

[35] To one's great-grandfather and great-grandmother and [36] to one's father's male parallel cousins and their wives²⁴ and sister of the second degree.

6A.6	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸
	5049	154	1139	2447	549	4444
	·wja	·o	·jij	ljo	niq	lj̄i
	1.19	1.49	1.36	2.44	1.71	1.69
	GrF		GEN	eB ^{MS}	Z ^{MS}	及
	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸
	2455	2129	2447	1139	239	
	gji	bjij	ljo	·jij	lhji	
	2.10	2.33	2.44	1.36	1.30	
	W		eB ^{MS}	GEN	GrCh	

[37] To one's grandfather's brothers, sisters and wives,²⁵ [38] to brother's grandsons,

6A.7	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸
	5305	1085	1561	4027	4739	5305	1085	2447	549
	·wjij	zji	nji	njii	tsewr	·wjij	zji	ljo	niq
	2.32	1.11	2.60	1.32	1.87	2.32	1.11	2.44	1.71
	FB	S	BCh	二	節	FB	S	eB ^{MS}	Z ^{MS}

[39] To one's father's brother's grandchildren,²⁶ [40] to one's father's brother's children of the second degree.

6A.8	羸	羸	羸	羸	羸
	5305	1085	549	2904	4481
	·wjij	zji	niq	jar	šji
	2.32	1.11	1.71	2.74	1.29
	FB	S	Z ^{MS}	嫁	往2

²⁴ It would be illogical here to translate 羸 la¹ by "mother's sister" (cf. 6B.9). We suggest that, as in Rgyalrong, MZ=FBW (equivalence between parallel affines and consanguines). Although, as Kepping (1990: 23-4) proposes, this may be related to a rule of sororate or sororal polygyny, this need not be the case either.

²⁵ Probably the grandfather's brothers' wives.

²⁶ One's nephews from the parallel paternal line.

羸	聃	攸	蕘	繼
960	239	2904	4481	2859
mjjj	lhji	jar	šji	lhio
1.61	1.30	2.74	1.29	2.63
GrD	嫁	往2	GrGrCh	

[41] To one's married father's brother's daughter. [42] To one's married granddaughter. [43] To one's great-grandson.

6A.9	緡	循	繼	繼
	2447	1139	2455	2129
	ljo	·jij	gji	bjij
	2.44	1.36	2.10	2.33
	eB ^{MS}	GEN	W	

[44] To one's brother's wife.

6B.1	聃	攸	蕘	繼	繼	繼
	147	1085	2590	2373	5645	3894
	šjij	zji	·wji	lji	tji	nji
	2.32	1.11	2.27	2.54	2.60	1.30
	請	S	D1	來	處	FZ
	繼	攸	蕘	循	繼	繼
	549	2904	4481	1139	4444	5305
	niq	jar	šji	·jij	lj̄i	·wjij
	1.71	2.74	1.29	1.36	1.69	2.32
	Z ^{MS}	嫁	往2	DAT	及	FB

[45] An adopted son to his married father's sister and his married sister from his original home

6B.2	攸	緡	鞞	循
	1085	2447	724	1139
	zji	ljo	nji	·jij
	1.11	2.44	2.28	1.36
	S	eB ^{MS}	等	DAT

and his father's brother's son.

6B.3	羸	聃	攸	繼	繼	繼
	5049	154	92	4893	1567	2893
	·wja	·o	mja	·wji	gji	khwej
	1.19	1.49	1.20	1.29	2.10	2.30
	GrF		GrM		S	大

	緡	循	攸	繼	繼	循
	769	239	1633	2455	2129	1139
	ljwij	lhji	pu	gji	bjij	·jij
	1.36	1.30	2.51	2.10	2.33	1.36
	亡	GrCh	長	W		DAT

[46] A grandfather or a grandmother to their eldest son's wife if they son passed away.

6B.4	羸	攸	蕘	繼	繼	繼	繼
	960	2904	4481	1245	355	4444	355
	mjjj	jar	šji	·jij	mju	lj̄i	mju
	1.61	2.74	1.29	1.36	1.03	1.69	1.03
	D	嫁	往2	自	B ^{WS}	及	B ^{WS}
	循	攸	攸	聃	攸	繼	繼
	1139	1567	4574	147	1085	795	5113
	·jij	gji	mji	šjij	zji	rjir	·wji
	1.36	2.10	1.30	2.32	1.11	2.77	1.10
	GEN	S	他	請	S	PRF	為1

[47] A married girl to her brothers and brother's sons if they have been adopted in another home,

6B.5	循	攸	繼	繼	鞞	循	繼	繼
	1139	1906	355	1567	724	1139	2455	2129
	·jij	niow	mju	gji	nji	·jij	gji	bjij
	1.36	1.57	1.03	2.10	2.28	1.36	2.10	2.33
	DAT	後	B ^{WS}	S	等	GEN	W	

and to her brothers and (brother's) sons's wives.

6B.6	𠵹	蕪	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹
2904	4481	960	5305	1085	355	1139	
jar	ʃjɿ	mjjj	·wjjj	zji	mju	·jjj	
2.74	1.29	1.61	2.32	1.11	1.03	1.36	
嫁	往2	D	FB	S	B ^{WS}	DAT	

[48] A married girl to her father's brother's son.

6B.7	𠵹	𠵹
1965	213	
dzjjj	njjj	
1.42	1.36	
姻	近	

Kin from the mother's lineage.

6B.8	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹
92	1139	5049	92	597	549	1139	1567	
mja	·jjj	·wja	mja	·yji	niq	·jjj	gji	
1.20	1.36	1.19	1.20	1.29	1.71	1.36	2.10	
M	Dat	F	M	MB	Z ^{MS}	GEN	S	

[49] To one's mother's father or mother, [50] to one's mother's brother and [51] to one's sister's son (for a male)

6B.9	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹
0092	1139	3361	4444	1906	1567	
mja	·jjj	kiej	ljɿ	niow	gji	
1.20	1.36	1.60	1.69	1.57	2.10	
M	GEN	Z ^{WS}	及	後	S	

[52] To one's mother's sisters²⁷ and their sons.

7A.1	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹
92	3370	5049	1918	3370	857	549	
mja	gu	·wja	mji	gu	mə	niq	
1.20	2.01	1.19	1.11	2.01	2.25	1.71	
M	共	F	不	共		Z ^{MS}	

²⁷ The term used for mother's sister is the explicit form 𠵹𠵹𠵹 rather than 𠵹 la¹, which is ambiguous, as it also means FBW (cf. 5A.6).

[53] To a half-sister from the same mother but a different father (for a male)

7A.2	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹
2983	4	1139	5049	92	355	3361	
·u	la	·jjj	·wja	mja	mju	kiej	
2.01	2.14	1.36	1.19	1.20	1.03	1.60	
中	MZ	DAT	F	M	B ^{WS}	Z ^{WS}	

[54] To one's father's wife's father, mother, brother or sister.

7A.3	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹
5865	2814	3749	28	4906	1274	
sɔ	lhji	phow	lhjuu	gjwi	·wo	
1.70	2.60	1.54	1.07	2.10	2.42	
三	月	月	喪	着1	應	

One has to wear mourning clothes for three months (in the following cases):

7A.4	𠵹	𠵹
2888	213	
mə	njjj	
2.25	1.36	
族	近	

Kin from the father's lineage.

7A.5	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹
2099	263	5049	92	5865	4739	5305	4444	3894	
no	tju	·wja	mja	sɔ	tsewr	·wjjj	ljɿ	nji	
2.42	2.52	1.19	1.20	1.70	1.87	2.32	1.69	1.30	
太	Gr	F	M	三	節	FB	及	FZ	

[55] To one's great-great grandfather or grandmother, [56] to one's father's parallel cousin of the third degree.

7A.6	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹
263	1139	549	4444	2447	1906	2455	2129
tju	·jjj	niq	ljɿ	ljo	niow	gji	bjjj
2.52	1.36	1.71	1.69	2.44	1.57	2.10	2.33
Gr	DAT	Z ^{MS}	及	eB ^{MS}	後	W	

[57] To one's great grandfather's sister, brother and brother's wife.

7A.7	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛
	5865	4739	5305	1085	2447	549
	sɔ	tsewr	·wji	zji	ljo	niɔ
	1.70	1.87	2.32	1.11	2.44	1.71
	三	節	FB	S	eB ^{MS}	Z ^{MS}
	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛			
	2447	1139	2859			
	ljo	·ji	lhio			
	2.44	1.36	2.63			
	eB ^{MS}	DAT	GrGrCh			

[58] To one's father's brother's son or daughter (parallel cousin on the paternal line) of the third degree. [59] To one's brother's great-grandchild.

7A.8	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛
	5049	154	1139	5305	1085	2447
	·wja	·o	·ji	·wji	zji	ljo
	1.19	1.49	1.36	2.32	1.11	2.44
	FF		GEN	FB	S	eB ^{MS}
						及
	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛		
	2455	2129	1906	549		
	gji	bjij	niow	niɔ		
	2.10	2.33	1.57	1.71		
	W		後	Z ^{MS}		

[60] To one's grandfather's father's brother's sons and their wives, as well as their sisters.

7A.9	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛
	5305	1085	2447	1139	239
	·wji	zji	ljo	·ji	lhji
	2.32	1.11	2.44	1.36	1.30
	FB	S	eB ^{MS}	GEN	GrS

[61] To one's father's brother's great grandsons.

7B.1	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛
	4027	4739	5305	1085	1561	4444	960	1064
	nji	tsewr	·wji	zji	nji	lji	mji	mji
	1.32	1.87	2.32	1.11	2.60	1.69	1.61	2.33
	二	節	FB	S	BCh	及	D	未
	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛			
	2904	4469	5689	5399	3099			
	·jar	·ji	·ya	khju	dzji			
	2.74	2.09	1.17	1.03	1.39			
	嫁	往 1	門	下	住			

[62] To one's father's brother's grandsons of the second degree, as well as unmarried granddaughters.

7B.2	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛
	5948		5305	1085	960	1561	2904
	ljwji		·wji	zji	mji	nji	·jar
	2.54		2.32	1.11	1.61	2.60	2.74
	GrGrGrCh		FB	S	GrCh		嫁
							往 2

[63] To one's great-great-great grandson and [64] to one's father's brother's married daughter.

7B.3	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛
	2447	1139	960	239	2904	4481
	ljo	·ji	mji	lhji	·jar	·ji
	2.44	1.36	1.61	1.30	2.74	1.29
	eB ^{MS}	Gen	GrS		嫁	往 2

[65] To one's brother's married granddaughter.

7B.4	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛	𢇛
	960	2904	4481	5049	154	1139	5305
	mji	·jar	·ji	·wja	·o	·ji	·wji
	1.61	2.74	1.29	1.19	1.49	1.36	2.32
	D	嫁	往 2	GrF		GEN	FB

醜	緡	繼	緡	峴	𡗗
1085	2447	2455	2129	1906	549
zji	ljo	gji	bjij	niow	niq
1.11	2.44	2.10	2.33	1.57	1.71
S	eB ^{MS}	W		後	Z ^{MS}

[66] A married woman to her grandfather's father's brother's son,²⁸ to their wives and to her grandfather's father's brother's daughter.

7B.5	緡	𡗗	緡	醜	緡	𡗗	緡
239	1894	5305	1085	2447	1139	2455	2129
lhji	jar	·wjij	zji	ljo	·jij	gji	bjij
1.30	1.82	2.32	1.11	2.44	1.36	2.10	2.33
GrS	SW	FB	S	eB ^{MS}	GEN	W	

[67] To one's grandson's wife, [68] to one's father's brother's son's wife.

7B.6	緡	𡗗	緡	繼	緡	𡗗	𡗗
2447	1139	239	2455	2129	2904	4481	
ljo	·jij	lhji	gji	bjij	·jar	·sjj	
2.44	1.36	1.30	2.10	2.33	2.74	1.29	
eB ^{MS}	Gen	GrS	W		嫁	往 2	

醜	𡗗	𡗗	緡
960	355	1139	239
mjjj	mju	·jij	lhji
1.61	1.03	1.36	1.30
D	B ^{WS}	GEN	GrS

[69] To one's father's brother's grandson's wife. [70] A married woman to her brother's grandson.

7B.7	𡗗	𡗗	醜	緡	𡗗	𡗗	𡗗
2904	4481	960	5305	1085	355	1139	1567
·jar	·sjj	mjjj	·wjij	zji	mju	·jij	gji
2.74	1.29	1.61	2.32	1.11	1.03	1.36	2.10
嫁	往 2	D	FB	S	B ^{WS}	GEN	S

[71] A married woman to her father's brother's grandson.

7B.8	𡗗	峴	𡗗	醜	𡗗
92	1906	4507	1567	2503	
mja	niow	·sio	gji	kū	
1.20	1.57	1.50	2.10	1.55	
M	後	發	S	後	

𡗗	𡗗	𡗗	𡗗	𡗗
5049	4950	5689	3601	1608
·wja	rjir	ya	khew	lāw
1.19	2.72	1.17	2.38	2.38
F	Com	門	口	同

[72] A remarried mother's son (from the first marriage) is like other members of his stepfather's home.

7B.9	𡗗	𡗗
1965	213	
dzjjj	njjj	
1.42	1.36	
姻	近	

Kin from the mother's lineage.

8A.1	醜	𡗗	醜	緡	𡗗	緡
960	1139	1567	3361	724	3212	
mjjj	·jij	gji	kiej	njjj	·tjjj	
1.61	1.36	2.10	1.60	2.28	1.69	
D	GEN	S	Z ^{WS}	等	童	

醜	𡗗	𡗗	醜
1567	549	597	1567
gji	niq	·yjjj	gji
2.10	1.71	1.29	2.10
S	Z ^{MS}	MB	S

[73] One's daughter's son, [74] one's sister's son or his sister (for a female), [75] one's mother's brother's son.

²⁸ Here the masculine form 緡 ljo¹ is used, as he is the grandfather's cousin: his relationship to the woman is indirect, so the feminine form 𡗗 mju¹ cannot be used.

8A.2	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	繼	繼	𠵹
	3894	1139	1567	2455	2129	1139
	nji	ʃij	gji	gji	bjij	ʃij
	1.30	1.36	2.10	2.10	2.33	1.36
	FZ	GEN	S	W		GEN

𠵹	𠵹	𠵹	𠵹
5049	92	276	5872
wja	mja	no	ʃjo
1.19	1.20	2.42	2.64
F	M	子	遮

[76] To one's father's sister's son, [77] one's wife's father or mother, [78] ?²⁹

8A.3	𠵹	繼	𠵹	𠵹	繼	繼
	960	3212	1567	1139	2455	2129
	mjj	tʃj	gji	ʃij	gji	bjij
	1.61	1.69	2.10	1.36	2.10	2.33
	D	童	S	GEN	W	

𠵹	繼	𠵹	𠵹	繼	繼
549	3212	1567	1139	2455	2129
niq	tʃj	gji	ʃij	gji	bjij
1.71	1.69	2.10	1.36	2.10	2.33
Z ^{MS}	童	S	GEN	W	

[79] To one's daughter's son's wife, [80] to one's sister's son's wife (for a male),

8A.4	𠵹	繼	𠵹	𠵹	繼	繼
	4820	3361	1567	1139	2455	2129
	mą	kiej	gji	ʃij	gji	bjij
	1.63	1.60	2.10	1.36	2.10	2.33
	DH	Z ^{WS}	S	GEN	W	

[81] To one's daughter's husband and [82] to one's sister's son's wife (for a female).

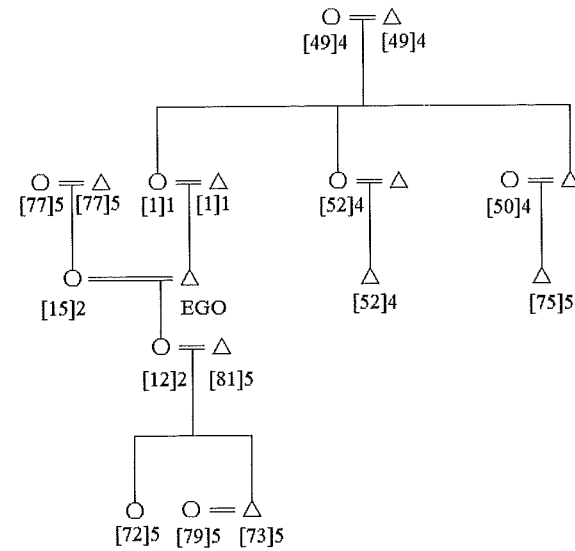


Figure 8.1: Mother and wife's relatives.

²⁹ The exact meaning of 𠵹 𠵹 no² ʃjo² is not known with certainty. Sun and Song (1999), based on Chinese legal texts, argue that it corresponds to 乳娘 'wet nurse', while Xu (2009) translates it as 'ZD (MS)'.

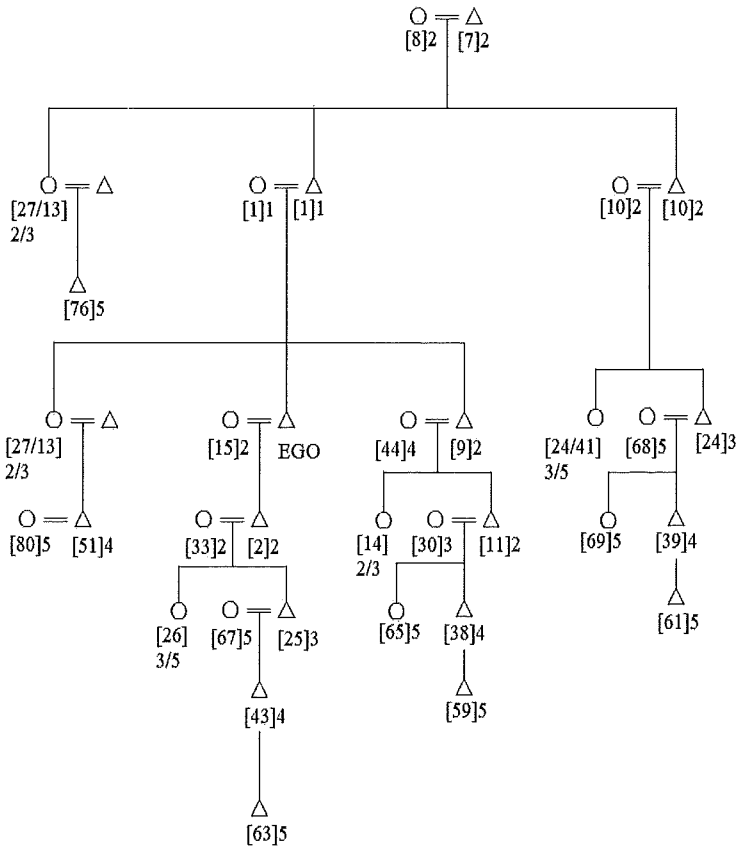


Figure 8.2: Siblings and first degree cousins.

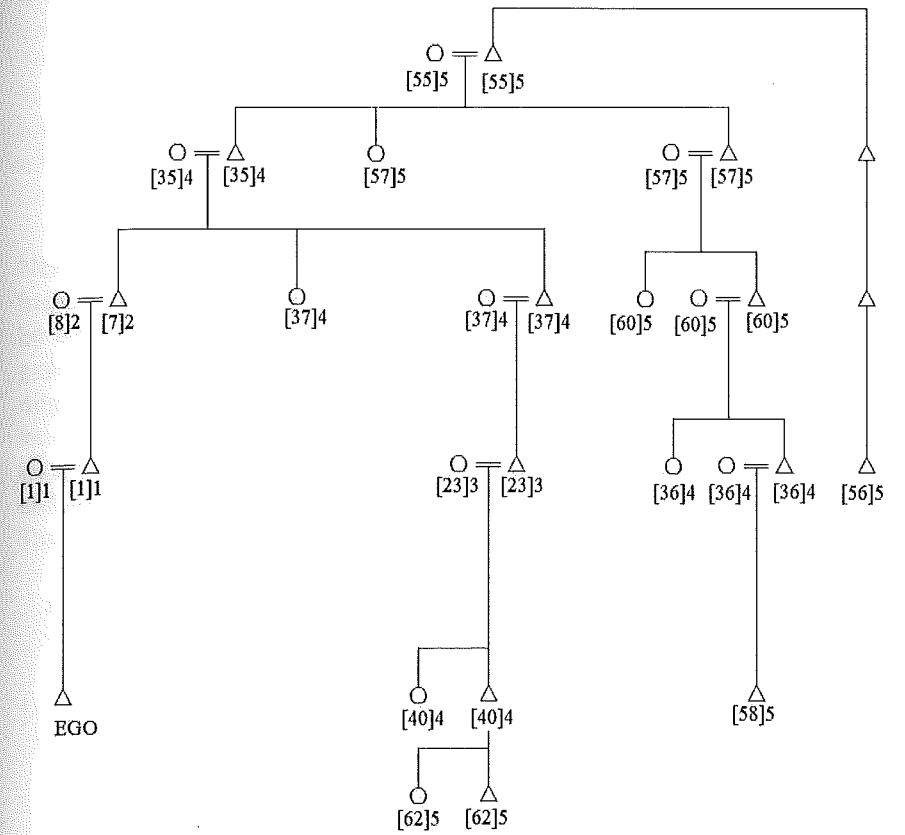


Figure 8.3: Patrilineage.