

receives two different designations from his elder and younger brothers and one and the same designation from both his elder and younger sisters. Similarly, a female Lolo receives two different designations from her elder and younger sisters and one and the same designation from both her elder and younger brothers. The following diagram will illustrate the use of these terms:—

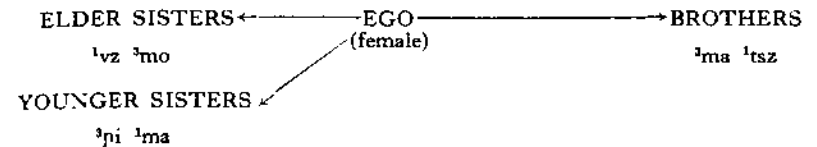
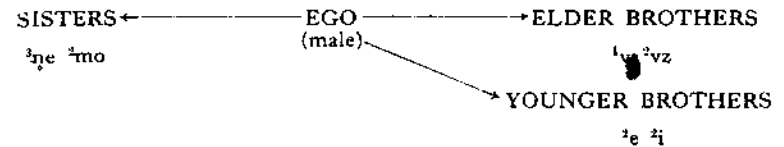
THE LOLO KINSHIP TERMS AS AFFECTED BY THE SEX OF THE SPEAKER

by MAO-CHI FU

Of the eight categories of relationship distinguished by Dr. A. L. Kroeber,¹ the Lolo people who live in the Sikang province of China express the following: I. The difference between persons of the same and of a separate generation. II. The difference between lineal and collateral relationship. III. The difference of age within one generation.² IV. The sex of the relative. V. The sex of the speaker. VI. The sex of the person through whom relationship exists, and VII. The distinction of blood relatives from connections by marriage.³

A detailed account of V only will be given in this article, as the terms for the other categories have been fully discussed by Dr. Y. H. Lin,⁴ who overlooked the existence of V though I myself had noted the appropriate terms in my *Sikang Lolo Conversation*.⁵ I have found these terms in use in the dialects spoken by the Lolo who live both in and around the Ta-liang mountains. The pronunciation adopted in this article is based on the "sz ndza" dialect⁶ and the phonetic symbols used are those of the International Phonetic Association. Arabic numerals are employed to indicate the tones of the syllables, viz., ¹ high-level, ² mid-level, and ³ mid-falling.

The kinship terms in Lolo which are affected by the sex of the speaker are confined to persons of the same generation. A male Lolo employs one designation for his elder brother and another for his younger brother, but a single designation for all his sisters, whether older or younger than himself. For a female Lolo the opposite is the case. In other words, a male Lolo



When a speaker addresses or refers to a person of the opposite sex within the same generation he need not consider the person's age, but when he addresses or refers to a person of the same sex within the same generation he must do so. This rule applies not only to persons who are descended from the same parents, but also to those who are descended from the father's brothers. We should notice that a male Lolo must employ "1v 2vz" (elder brother) for all his cousins who are sons of his father's eldest brother no matter whether they are older or younger than he. A married woman should address her husband's elder brother "1v 2vz" and her husband's younger brother "2e 2i" just as her husband does, but use "3a 1za" for all her husband's sisters. The husband, however, calls his wife's brothers "3o 2pi 1mo 2a 2bo 2zu" (parents-in-law's son) and his wife's sisters "3o 1ie 3a 1za" (woman-cousin) generally without distinction of age.

Every Lolo has two names besides his surname. One is his ordinary name, "2mi", given five, seven or nine days after his birth. The other is the "2mi 1dzo", "style" which is generally given when he begins to speak. When addressing one's younger brothers, younger sisters or any member of a younger generation, the ordinary names are used. Elder brothers and sisters, friends, and strangers are called by their styles, but one must remember to call one's younger cousins also by their styles if their father is the eldest paternal uncle. Indeed, among brothers, sisters and cousins these names are more frequent than the proper designations (like "1v 2vz").⁷

⁷ One can call one's uncles by their styles, but generally replaces the first syllable of the styles by the particle "a" in the case of paternal uncles and "2ma" or "3o" in the case of maternal uncles.

¹ *Classificatory Systems of Relationship*. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XXXIX (1909), pp. 78-79.

² This difference is not expressed in English. A Chinese example would be "cyŋ" or "ka-ka" (elder brother) contrasted with "ti" or "ti-ti" (younger brother).

³ As "ku" (father's sister) and "i" (mother's sister) in Chinese.

⁴ *Kinship System of the Lolo*. Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. IX, No. 2 (1946), pp. 81-100.

⁵ *Sikang i-yü hui-hua*. Sichang (1944), p. 21.

⁶ Spoken in the area extending from the Ta-tu river in the north to the main road between the city of Yen-yüan and Pao-k'ou-liang-tzû in the south and from Pao-k'ou-liang-tzû in the east to Chiu-lung in the west.

I may add a few words about Dr. Kroeber's eighth category, namely, the condition of life of persons through whom relationship exists. The Lolo people do not change any designations after separation or death. They retain the old terms even when a new relationship is established as between a widow and other members of the same family. According to Lolo common law, if a married man dies, his wife should be remarried to one of his unmarried brothers. When her husband's brothers are all married or her husband has no brothers, she cannot refuse marriage with any unmarried member of the family except her own son unless she can refund all that her husband had paid to her parents on their marriage. Thus a widow is sometimes remarried to her father-in-law, or her husband's father's brother, or her husband's grandfather; at other times to her husband's brother's son or even her husband's son not of her issue. As no designations are changed after this kind of remarriage, a widow must refer to her second husband as "1e 3po" or "2o 3pi", "father-in-law" if she unfortunately remarries her husband's father.