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Kinship terms in Stau

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This paper presents a comprehensive synchronic study of Stau kinship terms, offering a detailed analysis of their classifications and characteristics. Stau kinship terms are categorized into vocative and referential/possessive forms. Vocative kinship terms follow the intonation pattern of other vocative phrases, particularly barytonesis, which involves stress and intonation shifting from the second syllable to the first. The paper explores the distinctions within younger sibling relationships, dividing kinship terms into male Ego and female Ego categories based on the sex of the connecting relative. The kinship prefix æ-, commonly found in Qiangic languages, is exclusively used in vocative and referential/possessive kinship terms referring to older kin (both male and female). The study also identifies specific vocative and referential kinship terms that describe dyads of kinship relationships, similar to Tibetic languages like the Amdo dialects spoken in Stau-speaking areas. Stau maintains a sex-based distinction for kinship terms across all generations. Referential/possessive kinship terms in Gen^{-1} and Gen^{-2} differentiate between lineal and collateral relationships, while in vocative terms, only Gen^{-1} distinguishes between lineal and collateral relatives. Gen^{+1} consanguineal vocative kinship terms exhibit distinctions for lineal/collateral and matrilateral/patrilateral relationships. However, the matrilateral/patrilateral distinction is neutralized in Gen^{+1} affinal vocative kinship terms. Gen^{+1} affinal referential/possessive kinship terms differentiate matrilateral and patrilateral relationships when using a possessive phrase, but not when using the simple base term. Age relative to Ego plays a distinct role in Gen^{0} kinship terms, both vocative and referential/possessive. Sibling terms are differentiated from cousin terms in Gen^{0} referential/possessive terms using the *tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)* 'is a relative' copula phrase. Regarding cousin kinship typology, Stau aligns with the Hawaiian type in the vocative and the Eskimo type in the referential. The Hawaiian type serves as the foundational basis due to shared roots in both vocative and referential contexts. For Gen^{+1} terms, Stau follows the Sudanese system, each consanguineal kin with their own term. Gen^{-1} terms follow the Eskimo system.

Keywords: Stau, Qiangic, kinship terms, vocative, referential

1.   Introduction

This article presents a comprehensive examination of Stau kinship terms from a synchronic perspective, making it the first in-depth analysis of its kind to date. It should be noted that the study referenced in this article (Gates 2021) is a preliminary and unpublished investigation, forming the foundation of this research. While the paper's focus is limited to the Stau kinship system and does not include a comparative analysis with genetically or areally related languages, future work will delve into the diachronic analysis of Stau kinship terms. Notably, this study draws inspiration and guidance from analyses conducted on other Gyalrongic languages, such as Japhug Gyalrong (Jacques 2012), Geshiza (also a Horpa language) (Honkasalo 2019), and Bragbar Gyalrong (Zhang & Fan 2020).

The introductory section of this paper provides crucial information encompassing various aspects. Firstly, Section 1.1 sheds light on the geographical location, offering insights into the contextual backdrop. The genetic affiliation of Stau is explored in Section 1.2, highlighting its relationship with other languages. Previous research on Stau is discussed in Section 1.3, providing a foundation for further analysis.

In Section 2, a comprehensive introduction is given to the kin type notation and distinctions utilized throughout this article, enhancing the clarity of the subsequent discussions. Moving forward, Section 3 presents a detailed analysis of Stau kinship terminology, offering a comprehensive overview of the entire system in Section 3.1.

The paper then delves into the examination of key phonological and morphological features. For instance, the vocative form is scrutinized in Section 3.2.1, focusing on the phenomenon of barytonesis. The usage of the prefix æ- for kin older than Ego is explored in Section 3.2.2, while the collateral consanguineal marker $t^h\varepsilon v$(=$g\partial$ $\eta\partial$-$r\partial$) is investigated in Section 3.2.3, shedding light on its significance.

By structuring the paper in this manner, the reader is provided with a systematic and comprehensive understanding of the various components related to Stau kinship terminology.

Section 3.3 delves into the exploration of dyadic kinship relationships, while Section 3.4 focuses on the analysis of distinctions and neutralizations based on each generation relative to Ego. Notably, an intriguing generalization is observed in Section 3.4, revealing that Stau differentiates kinship terms by sex in all generations.

Further examination in Sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.2 demonstrates that referential/possessive kinship terms for Gen^{-1} and Gen^{-2} distinguish lineal from collateral, while vocative terms for the same generations only exhibit lineal/collateral dis-

tinctions in Gen⁻¹. The investigation in Section 3.4.3 uncovers that consanguineal vocative kinship terms for Gen⁺¹ manifest both lineal/collateral and matrilateral/patrilateral distinctions, whereas affinal vocative kinship terms neutralize the matrilateral/patrilateral distinction. Section 3.4.4 demonstrates that affinal referential/possessive kinship terms for Gen⁺¹ maintain the matrilateral/patrilateral distinction when using a possessive phrase, but this distinction is absent when utilizing the simple base term (with syllable-final stress).

In Sections 3.4.5 to 3.4.6, the study unveils that age relative to Ego is distinctly reflected in Genº terms, both vocative and referential/possessive. Notably, siblings are differentiated from cousins in Genº referential/possessive terms by employing the *tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)* 'is a relative' copula phrase.

Furthermore, kinship terms for younger siblings can be categorized based on the sex of the connecting relative, employing distinct terms for 'man-speaking' and 'woman-speaking'.

Finally, Section 4 serves as the conclusion of this article, providing a recap of the key findings and engaging in a discussion regarding the position of Stau kinship terminology within Murdock's (1949) kinship term typology.

1.1   Location

Stau, a language belonging to the Horpa group (< West Gyalrongic < Gyalrongic), is primarily spoken by approximately 27,000 individuals. The majority of Stau speakers reside in Dàofú County (道孚县, Rta'u Rdzong) within Gānzī Prefecture (甘孜州, Dkarmdzes Khul) in Sìchuān Province (四川省), China. There is a possibility of finding additional Stau speakers in Dānbā County's (丹巴县, Rongbrag Rdzong) Dǎnglíng Village (党龄村) and Èrkǎi Village (二楷村, G.yurong) of Èrè Township (俄热乡, 'obzi Shang) in Jīnchuān County (金川县, Chuchen Rdzong), although further research in dialectology is required to confirm this.[1]

Although Lúhuò County (炉霍县, Bragmgo Rdzong) is home to Horpa lects resembling Stau, they are considered a distinct language for the purpose of this article. Tunzhi (2017) and Tunzhi (2019) refer to this language as "Bragmda' rTa'u". For a visual representation, refer to Figure 1, which depicts a map of Sichuan Province, China. The yellow area highlights Ganzi Prefecture, and the red polygons represent the areas where Stau is spoken.

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1. With the exception of Èrkǎi Village (二楷村, G.yurong), all mentioned locations in this paragraph are situated in Gānzī Prefecture (甘孜藏族自治州, Dkarmdzes Khul), Sìchuān Province (四川省). Èrkǎi Village (二楷村, G.yurong), Èrè Township (俄热乡, 'obzi Shang), Jīnchuān County (金川县, Chuchen Rdzong) belongs to Ābà Prefecture (阿坝羌族自治州, Rngaba Khul).

Figure 1. Sichuan Province 四川省 [2]

1.2 Genetic affiliation

The classification of Gyalrongic languages within the Trans-Himalayan (Sino-Tibetan) language family remains a subject of ongoing debate. However, it is evident that Gyalrongic forms a distinct and cohesive branch separate from Tibetic or Ngwi. In recent years, compelling proposals have emerged suggesting that Gyalrongic should be classified under the "Burmo-Qiangic" group (Jacques & Michaud 2011; Sagart et al. 2019). The exact inclusion of languages within the Gyalrongic branch is still under discussion, and it is possible that languages like Queyu and Qiang may also be incorporated.

Gyalrongic can be further divided into two subbranches: East and West Gyalrongic. Stau, as one of several Horpa languages, falls within the West Gyalrongic branch. Figure 2 provides a Stammbaum illustrating the classification of Gyalrongic and Stau's position within this linguistic framework.

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2. This map is based on a Wikipedia Creative Commons map found at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Location_of_Danba_within_Sichuan_(China).png.
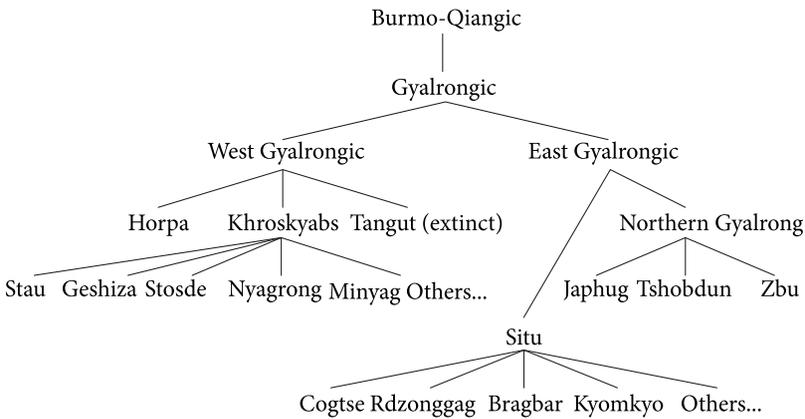
Figure 2. Gyalrongic Stammbaum

1.3 Previous research

The exploration of Horpa languages traces its roots back to the mid-nineteenth century, with the pioneering work of Hodgson (1853, 1874). Subsequent contributions from Rosthorn (1897); Laufer (1916), and Edgar (1933) further enriched the early research in this field.

In more recent times, a number of scholars have conducted in-depth studies on Stau. Noteworthy among them are Wang (1970–1971), Huang Bufan (1990, 1991; Huang et al. 1992), Sun and Tian (2013), Tian and Sun (2016, 2019), Jacques et al. (2014); Jacques et al. (2017); Vanderveen (2015), Honkasalo (2017, 2020), Tian (2019), Gates (2017, 2021), Gates and Kim (2018), and Gates et al. (2019, 2022). Additionally, Lai et al. (2021) conducted a historical comparative analysis that explored the connections between Tangut and the West Gyalrongic languages Khroskyabs and Stau. Tunzhi (2019) provided an outline of the grammar of the Horpa variety spoken in Zhāngdá Township, Lúhuò County, referred to as "Brag-mda' rTa'u" by Tunzhi.

Collectively, these studies have significantly contributed to our understanding of Stau and the broader Horpa linguistic landscape.

1.4 Stau residence patterns, marriage customs, and family structure[3]

Traditionally, Stau speakers adhered to patrilocal residence patterns after marriage. However, in contemporary times, there has been a shift towards bilocal

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3. The information in this subsection is based on the author's fieldwork observations and interviews in Dàofú County (道孚县, Rta'u Rdzong) and Chengdu from 2021–2023.

residence, and there is a growing but still relatively uncommon trend towards neolocal residence.

Stau speakers predominantly practice monogamy, although there are instances of polygamy, albeit among a minority of households. According to speaker reports, polygamy was more prevalent in the past before the communist revolution of 1949. Both polyandry and polygyny exist but are rare phenomena. For instance, in Xinjiang Valley of Mazur Township, among approximately 60 households, only 3–4 households (5–7% of the population) practice polyandry. However, it is unclear if this sample is representative of the entire population of Stau speakers. Polygyny is even rarer but has been reported. It is important to note that this discussion primarily focuses on living and economic arrangements rather than solely sexual practices, as it is not uncommon for men (and occasionally women) to have multiple sexual partners while being in an officially monogamous marital relationship. The scarcity of polygyny provides evidence of past patrilocality, as it tends to disrupt matrilocality since it becomes challenging to establish a household among the families of each wife.

In the case of polyandry among Stau speakers, there are two primary reasons. Firstly, if two brothers, for example, are interested in the same woman, practicing polyandry serves as a way to preserve the relationship between the brothers. Secondly, if one brother (X) is financially successful but unmarried, while another brother (Y) is financially struggling but has a wife, polyandry can provide financial security for brother Y and offer a wife to brother X. In rare cases, a male who is not a brother or even a non-kin male may become part of a polyandrous relationship. It is worth mentioning that issues and discontentment can arise within polyandrous relationships when the female favours one male over the others.

Regarding consanguinity, Stau allows marriage with kin at the fifth degree of consanguinity or beyond, while any closer degree of consanguinity is considered taboo for marriage.

Stau follows a consanguineal family structure where fathers, mothers, and children heavily rely on grandparents for child-rearing. Since Stau speakers are bilocal, the involvement of either the father's parents or the mother's parents in child-rearing depends mainly on the established side of the family residence. In most families, the father serves as the primary breadwinner, while the mother takes care of the children. However, there is a shifting dynamic in the primary caregiver role due to more women pursuing work outside the home. In families with dual incomes, it is common for grandparents to take on the responsibility of raising children, and it is rare, if not unheard of, for the mother to be the sole provider while the father assumes the role of raising the children.

2.   Kinship terminology and notation

This section is divided into two subsections that elucidate the framework employed in this kinship study: Section 2.1 provides an overview of kin type notation and abbreviations, and Section 2.2 delves into the distinctions in kinship terminology.

2.1   Kin type notation and abbreviations

To facilitate the discussion of kinship terms, I will utilize a system of abbreviations commonly employed in the field of cultural anthropology (Barnard & Good 1984). This system follows a straightforward approach, where the first letter of the corresponding English term is chosen as the abbreviation. However, to avoid confusion, I have made a few modifications. For instance, 'sister' is abbreviated as 'Z' to distinguish it from 'son' ('S'). Moreover, 'G' is used to represent siblings (in analogy with 'Gen' for 'generation').

Abbreviations are combined to denote complex relationships. For example, 'HBW' signifies 'husband's brother's wife' (or 'sister-in-law'). To visually represent genders, a triangle denotes males, a circle denotes females, and a square is employed when sex is not specified.

The terms 'man-speaking' (^{MS}) and 'woman-speaking' (^{WS}) may be slightly misleading, but they are utilized in anthropological literature, and I will adopt them for consistency. Regardless of the speaker's sex, 'man-speaking' indicates that the connecting relative is male, while 'woman-speaking' signifies that the connecting relative is female. Thus, for instance, in Stau, the kinship term for 'yZ^{MS}' ('younger sister man-speaking') is *sno*. However, even a female speaker may use the term *sno* to refer to a man's younger sister, stating *tʰiji sno* ('his younger sister', spoken by a woman in reference to a man's younger sister), as the connecting relative is male.[4]

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4. The potential confusion arising from the use of 'man-speaking' and 'woman-speaking' was highlighted by Jacques (2012).

Table 1. Kin type notation

F	Father	M	Mother
B	Brother	Z	Sister
S	Son	D	Daughter
G	Siblings	C	Child
H	Husband	W	Wife
MS	Man-speaking	WS	Woman-speaking
e; +	elder	y; −	younger
Gen^{+1}	Ego's parents' generation	Gen^{0}	Ego's generation
Gen^{-1}	Ego's child's generation	□	Sex non-distinguished
△	Male	○	Female

2.2   Kinship distinctions

When examining kinship systems in cultural anthropology, various types of distinctions are employed. Notably, Kroeber (1909) identified eight classificatory relationships, namely generation, blood or marriage, lineal or collateral, sex of relative, sex of connecting relative, sex of speaker, age in generation, and condition of connecting relative. Kroeber's distinctions lacked considerations such as relative versus absolute sex and bifurcation, as well as a systematic typology; these concepts emerged later in the field of anthropology (Barnard & Good 1984:60). Despite their antiquated nature, many of Kroeber's distinctions remain valuable for analyzing Stau kinship terminology. In the subsequent paragraphs, I will elaborate on the relevant distinctions and terminology that I have found significant in the analysis of Stau kinship terms.

Generational distinctions are made when there is a difference in terminology from one generation to the next, e.g., using a kinship term for Ego's FF that differs from Ego's F (Kroeber 1909:78). An interesting idiomatic structure found in English, the 'ordinal number cousin multiplicative number removed' schema, exemplifies this generational distinction, while resulting in a certain level of terminological overlap. For instance, Ego's father's cousin is denoted as the same as Ego's F/MGC, that is, 'first cousin once removed'. The emphasis here lies primarily on the degree of removal across generations rather than distinguishing between the older and younger generations.

Sex distinctions come into play when kinship terms vary based on the sex of the relative. English differentiates between 'brother' and 'sister', whereas 'cousin' encompasses both males and females. On the other hand, relative age serves as a distinguishing factor within a single generation, separating individuals into 'older' and 'younger' age groups (Barnard & Good 1984:37). This distinction can even possess finer nuances, as observed in Chinese terminology. For instance, the des-

ignations 大伯 'oldest FB', 二伯 'second oldest FB', 三伯 'third oldest FB', and so on, capture the nuances of relative age within the same generation.

The distinction between matrilateral and patrilateral kinship divides individuals based on their affiliation with the mother's or father's side, respectively (Keesing 1975: 150). Kinship terms that embody this matrilateral/patrilateral distinction, also known as bifurcation (Barnard & Good 1984: 60), employ distinct terminologies for relatives on the father's side as opposed to the mother's side. For instance, terms for FB (father's brother) differ from those for MB (mother's brother). It is crucial to note that matrilateral/patrilateral differs from matrilineal/patrilineal systems, as the former merely delineates the side of the parental relationship, while the latter focuses on the presence of male or female lines of descent and the inheritance, power, or social leadership transmitted to males or females in subsequent generations (Keesing 1975: 150).

The consanguineal vs. affinal classification distinguishes kinship based on blood relations versus relations established through marriage (Keesing 1975: 147–148; Morgan 1871). The cross-cousin vs. parallel cousin differentiation identifies cousins based on the sex of their parent's sibling (Kroeber 1909: 78; Fox 1983: 185). Cross-cousins are the children of an opposite-sex sibling of Ego's parent (e.g., FZC or MBC), while parallel cousins are the children of a same-sex sibling of Ego's parent (e.g., FBC or MZC). This distinction becomes apparent when a language employs distinct terms for the children of uncles on the mother's side (MBC) compared to those on the father's side (FBC). Lineal kin refers to individuals directly linked in the line of descent, encompassing grandparents, parents, children, grandchildren, and so on (Kroeber 1909: 79; Keesing 1975: 150). The sibling vs. cousin distinction differentiates between the children of Ego's parents and the children of Ego's parent's siblings, respectively.

In this article, the term "distinction" is utilized to refer to contrasting kinship terms within the aforementioned categories, while "neutralization" signifies the absence of differentiation among terms within a particular category.

3.   Stau kinship terminology

3.1   Overview

In Figure 3, a comprehensive kinship diagram for the Stau kinship system is presented, specifically from the viewpoint of a female Ego in the vocative form. Further examination of the stress and tonal melody patterns for the vocative will be provided in Section 3.2.1. It is important to note that stress marking is not explicitly indicated, although it is consistently placed on the first syllable in the vocative

form. Throughout this paper, unless emphasizing a stress contrast, stress marking will generally not be utilized.

One noteworthy distinction between the male and female perspectives of Ego lies in the kinship terms employed for 'younger brother' and 'younger sister' in both male- and female-speaking contexts. This variation is depicted in detail within Table 2.

Table 2. Male vs. female connecting relative

	Younger brother	Younger sister
Man-speaking	*ɕeɲe*	*sno*
Woman-speaking	*mə*	*sqʰi*

Table 3 displays possessive forms for Stau male and female kinship terms alongside the vocative forms from both male and female Ego perspectives. The following provides glosses for otherwise unglossed terms in these tables: *ŋiji* 'my' (first person singular genitive pronoun), *vɛ* 'father', *mɛ* 'mother', =*ji* 'genitive enclitic', *ɣdzəvə* 'husband', *vədæ* 'wife', *tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)* 'is a relative' (*tʰɛv=gə ŋə-rə* 'relative=INDF COP-SENS').

I use the term 'possessive', even though more accurately these are forms that occur in possessive nominal phrases, and are the possessed nominal of a possessor. Also, examples of the possessive in Table 3 are with a first-person possessor, but no change can be observed for second or third-person possessors, except for the change in the possessor pronoun. Referential (or declarative) forms for kinship terms are identical to the possessive, but without the preceding possessive nominal; alternatively, referential forms are identical to the vocative forms, but have primary stress on the last syllable and not on the first syllable.[5] The first person possessive pronoun has been excluded from most possessive kinship terms except for F, FB, MB, eB, yB, H, S, GS, FF, MF, and their female counterparts, to save table space; thus, *ŋiji æne=ji ɣdzəvə* is simplified to *æne=ji ɣdzəvə*.

Table 3 demonstrates the variation in possessive forms compared to vocative forms. Apart from the distinction in stress (discussed in Section 3.2.1), possessive forms necessitate the use of the genitive case enclitic =*ji* for close kinship terms. For example, we have expressions like F *ŋiji æpæ* meaning 'my father' and yB[MS-] *ŋiji ɕeɲe* meaning 'my younger brother'. However, when referring to distant cousins, uncles, aunts, and others (e.g., FFGS/D, FMGS/D, MFGS/D, MMGS/D, MBS/D[+], FBS/D[+], MBS/D[MS-], FBS/D[MS-], MBS/D[WS-], FBS/D[WS-], FGS/D, MGS/D, FFB/S, FMB/S, MFB/S, and MMB/S), the copula phrase *tʰɛv=gə ŋə-rə* meaning 'is a relative' must follow the kinship term (to be discussed in Section 3.2.3).

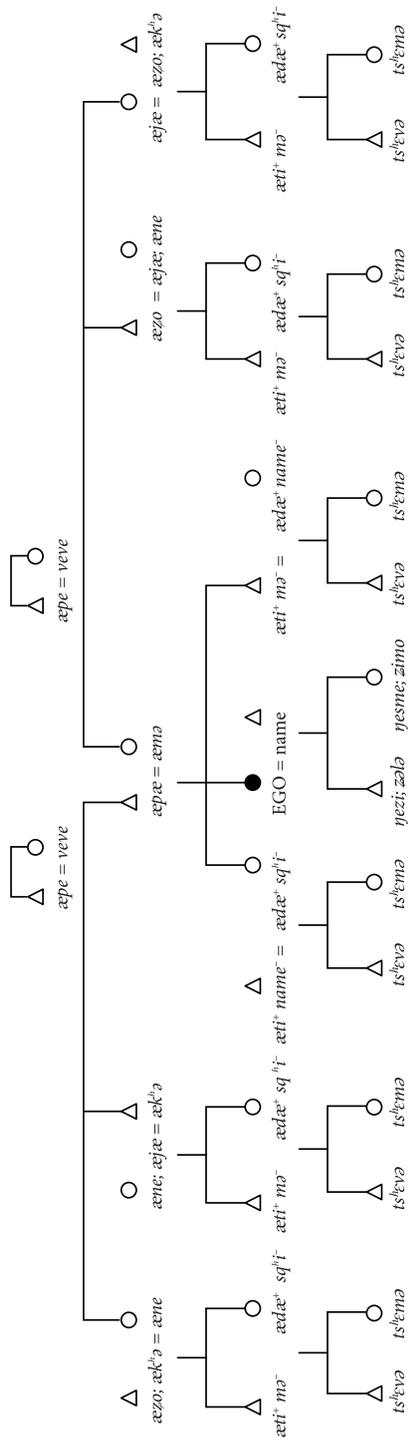**5.** For the purposes of this paper, 'referential' will include 'declarative'.

Figure 3. The Stau kinship system, female Ego, vocative

Table 3. Male vs. female kinship terms, vocative vs. possessive

Male vocative	Male possessive (1SG)	Female vocative	Female possessive (1SG)
ˈæpæ 'F'	ŋiji æˈpæ, ŋiji vɛ	ˈæmə 'M'	ŋiji æˈmə, ŋiji mɛ
ˈækʰə 'FB'	ŋiji æˈkʰə	ˈæne 'FZ'	ŋiji æˈne
ˈækʰə 'FZH'	æˈne=ji ɣdzəˈvə	ˈæne 'FBW'	æˈkʰə=ji vəˈdæ
ˈækʰə 'MZH'	æˈjæ=ji ɣdzəˈvə	ˈæne 'MBW'	æˈzo=ji vəˈdæ
ˈækʰə 'FFGS'	ækʰə ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ˈæne 'FMGD'	æne ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
ˈækʰə 'FMGS'	ækʰə ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ˈæne 'FFGD'	æne ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
ˈæzo 'MB'	ŋiji æˈzo	ˈæjæ 'MZ'	ŋiji æˈjæ
ˈæzo 'FZH'	æˈne=ji ɣdzəˈvə	ˈæjæ 'FBW'	æˈkʰə=ji vəˈdæ
ˈæzo 'MZH'	æˈjæ=ji ɣdzəˈvə	ˈæjæ 'MBW'	æˈzo=ji vəˈdæ
ˈæzo 'MFGS'	æzo ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ˈæjæ 'MFGD'	æjæ ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
ˈæzo 'MMGS'	æzo ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ˈæjæ 'MMGD'	æjæ ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
ˈæti 'eB'	ŋiji æˈti	ˈædæ 'eZ'	ŋiji æˈdæ
ˈæti 'MBS[+]'	æti ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ˈædæ 'MBD[+]'	ædæ ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
ˈæti 'FBS[+]'	æti ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ˈædæ 'FBD[+]'	ædæ ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
ˈæti 'eZH'	æˈdæ=ji ɣdzəˈvə	ˈædæ 'eBW'	æˈti=ji vəˈdæ
ˈɕeɲe 'yB[MS]'	ŋiji ɕeˈɲe	sno 'yZ[MS]'	ŋiji ˈsno
ˈɕeɲe 'MBS[MS]'	ɕeɲe ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	sno 'MBD[MS–]'	sno ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
ˈɕeɲe 'FBS[MS–]'	ɕeɲe ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	sno 'FBD[MS–]'	sno ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
mə 'yB[WS]'	ŋiji ˈmə	sqʰi 'yZ[WS]'	ŋiji ˈsqʰi
mə 'MBS[WS–]'	mə ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	sqʰi 'MBD[WS–]'	sqʰi ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
mə 'FBS[WS–]'	mə ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	sqʰi 'FBD[WS–]'	sqʰi ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
name 'H'	ŋiji ɣdzəˈvə	name 'W'	ŋiji vəˈdæ
name 'yZH[MS]'	sno=ji ɣdzəˈvə	name 'yBW[MS]'	ɕeˈɲe=ji vəˈdæ
name 'yZH[WS]'	sqʰi=ji ɣdzəˈvə	name 'yBW[WS]'	mə=ji vəˈdæ
ˈŋezi; ˈzələ 'S'	ŋiji ˈzi	ˈŋesme; ˈzimo 'D'	ŋiji ˈsmi
ˈtsʰɛvə 'GS'	ŋiji tsʰɛˈvə	ˈtsʰɛmə 'GD'	ŋiji tsʰɛˈmə
ˈtsʰɛvə 'FGS/MGS'	tsʰɛvə ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ˈtsʰɛmə 'FGD/MGD'	tsʰɛmə ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
ˈæpe 'FF'	ŋiji æˈpe	ˈveve 'FM'	ŋiji veˈve
ˈæpe 'MF'	ŋiji æˈpe	ˈveve 'MM'	ŋiji veˈve
ˈæpe 'FFB'	æpe ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ˈveve 'FFZ'	veve ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
ˈæpe 'FMB'	æpe ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ˈveve 'FMZ'	veve ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
ˈæpe 'MFB'	æpe ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ˈveve 'MFZ'	veve ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
ˈæpe 'MMB'	æpe ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ˈveve 'MMZ'	veve ˈtʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)

Upon examining Table 3, we can discern the relationship between these terms and the structure of Stau families. The consistent differentiation between males and

females in all categories reflects the roles assigned to each gender within the family and broader society. The emphasis on distinctions of relative age reflects the hierarchical importance of age within the family.

Table 3 presents alternative forms for some kinship terms, which are discussed below. The term 'husband' can be expressed interchangeably as *ɣdzəvə, vdzi*, or *ndzuvdzə*, while *pətʰõ* specifically denotes a husband under 40 years of age. Similarly, 'son' can be represented by *zi* or alternatively as *zələ, dɛvdə*, or *dɛvdəze* in possessive noun phrases. 'Wife' can be indicated as *vədæ, jovə*, or *ndzuvdzə*, while *lɛjɛ* specifically refers to a wife under 40. For 'daughter', the possessive noun phrase can use *smi* or alternatively *zimo* and *smeze*. Additionally, an alternative vocative form for *veve* meaning 'grandmother' is *mæmæ*. The kinship terms *rməsti* meaning 'brothers' and *sməsqʰi* meaning 'sisters' are general possessive kinship terms applicable to both male and female Egos.

3.2   Main phonological and morphological features

3.2.1   *Barytonesis for vocative*

One prominent feature of kinship terms and proper names in Stau is the distributional patterns of stress and tonal melody. In declarative, referential, and possessive clauses, kinship terms (and all proper names) have stress on the final syllable and the tonal melody of the final syllable is higher than the preceding syllable(s) (LH). However, in vocative clauses the reverse is true; the first syllable is stressed and has a higher tonal melody than the proceeding syllables (HL). Thus, the declarative *æˈmə* 'mother' becomes the vocative *ˈæmə* 'mother!' (Gates 2021: 145). This type of stress/tone inversion is often referred to as barytonesis and is a common feature for kinship terms and proper names in Gyalrongic languages, e.g., Khroskyabs (Lai 2017: 138) and Tshobdun (Sun 1998: 133). The link between barytonesis and vocatives is not typologically unusual; barytonesis was a feature in Proto-Indo-European with some fossilized examples found in Ancient Greek (πατήρ→πάτερ; Donati 2013).

3.2.2   *æ- used for kin older than Ego*

As is seen in the data found in Figure 3 and Table 3, many kinship terms begin with historic kinship prefix *æ-*, which is now no longer functional but is fossilized. The kinship prefix *æ-*, is nearly ubiquitous in Qiangic languages and reconstructable to *ᵃa-* in Proto-Burmo-Qiangic. In Kyomkyo Situ Gyalrong, Prins (2016: 176–177) calls the *a-* prefix a vocative prefix, while referential kinship terms take the nominal prefix *ta-*.

For Stau, a generalization can be made about when æ- is attached to a kinship term: it attaches to kinship terms for kin that are older than Ego. One term *æŋæ ze* 'baby' (most likely a lexicalization of the kinship prefix *æ-*, the first person singular pronoun *ŋæ*, and the diminutive suffix *-ze*), not included in the present lists of kinship terms but possibly a candidate for inclusion, could also potentially have this prefix *æ-*, albeit breaking the generally observed pattern.[6]

In general, rules of politeness require that any consanguineal kin (collateral or lineal) who are older than Ego are to be addressed with their kinship term, and kinship term plus the name for cousins. The affinal kin by way of Ego's parent's siblings (Gen[+1]) can be addressed by either their kinship term or kinship term plus name. Those younger than Ego can be addressed by using their name. These same politeness rules are found in Kyomkyo Situ Gyalrong: "Within the family younger siblings are addressed by their names, but older siblings, as well as any older relative, will be addressed by their kinship terms…" (Prins 2016:108).

Written below are additional usage rules for the Stau kinship system presented in Figure 3 and Table 3.

1. *æne*: father's sister and father's brother's wife. The kinship term *æne* can be used alone for addressing Ego's father's sister but must have a given name following it for addressing the wife of Ego's father's brother or mother's brother.
2. *æjæ*: mother's sister and mother's brother's wife or father's brother's wife. The kinship term *æjæ* can be used alone for addressing Ego's mother's sister but must have a given name following it for addressing the wife of Ego's mother's brother or Ego's father's brother.
3. For FMB or MMB it is possible to use either *æzo* for vocative and *æzo tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)* for possessive, or *æpe* for vocative and *æpe tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)* for possessive. For FMZ or MMZ it is possible to use either *æjæ* for vocative and *æjæ tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)* for possessive, or *veve* for vocative and *veve tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)* for possessive. FFB, MFB, FFZ, and MFZ do not have alternative kinship terms.
4. For FBD[+], FZD[+], MBD[+], MZD[+], Ego uses *ædæ* plus the name of the individual in forms of address (vocative).
5. For FBS[+], FZS[+], MBS[+], MZS[+], Ego uses *æti* plus the name of the individual in forms of address (vocative).
6. For FBD[MS−], FZD[MS−], MBD[MS−], MZD[MS−], Ego uses *sno* or only the name of the individual in forms of address (vocative), but never *sno* plus the name of the individual.

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6. Thanks to Won Ho Kim, p.c. April 6, 2021, for suggesting this as a potential kinship term.

7. For FBD^{WS-}, FZD^{WS-}, MBD^{WS-}, MZD^{WS-}, Ego uses *sqʰi* or the only name of the individual in forms of address (vocative), but never *sqʰi* plus the name of the individual.

8. For FBS^{MS-}, FZS^{MS-}, MBS^{MS-}, MZS^{MS-}, Ego uses *ɕeɲe* or only the name of the individual in forms of address (vocative), but never *ɕeɲe* plus the name of the individual.

9. For FBS^{WS-}, FZS^{WS-}, MBS^{WS-}, MZS^{WS-}, Ego uses *mə* or the only name of the individual in forms of address (vocative), but never *mə* plus the name of the individual.

3.2.3 *Collateral consanguineal marker tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)*

Gen^{+2}, Gen^{0}, Gen^{-1}, Gen^{-2} collateral consanguines (except G and GC) in referential/possessive form take a postposed modifier *tʰɛv* or the copula phrase *tʰɛv=gə ŋə-rə*. Note that Gen^{+1} collateral consanguines (i.e., uncles and aunts) do not take this modifier. The modifier *tʰɛv* was borrowed from the G.yukhog Tibetan *tʰov* (WT: thov) phrase *tʰov-nə-ret*, but in G.yukhog Tibetan =*nə-ret* is not optional.

3.3 Kinship dyads

Like in Tibetic languages such as G.yukhog Tibetan spoken in the vicinity of Stau-speaking areas, there are specific kinship terms (vocative and referential but not possessive) that refer to certain kinship dyads. These terms are given and explained below.

1. *vɛmɛ*: mother and father.
2. *məsno*: brothers and sisters.
3. *ʁzæpæ/ʁzɛtsʰõ*: husband and wife.
4. *mæzə*: mother and her children.
5. *væzə*: father and his children.
6. *vədæmæzə*: widowed mother and her children.
7. *kʰəmtsʰɛn:* *ækʰə* and his *tsʰɛvə* 'BS/ZS' and *tsʰɛmə* 'BD/ZD'. This is a borrowing from G.yukhog Tibetan.
8. *zõmtsʰɛn:æʐo* and his *tsʰɛvə* 'BS/ZS' and *tsʰɛmə* 'BD/ZD'. This is a borrowing from G.yukhog Tibetan.
9. *nemtsʰɛn:* *æne* and her *tsʰɛvə* 'BS/ZS' and *tsʰɛmə* 'BD/ZD'. This is a borrowing from G.yukhog Tibetan.
10. *jæmtsʰɛn:* *æjæ* and her *tsʰɛvə* 'BS/ZS' and *tsʰɛmə* 'BD/ZD'. This term does not exist in G.yukhog Tibetan because the term *æjæ* does not exist as there is no distinction between father and mother's sister in G.yukhog Tibetan kinship terms (both are *æne*).

Kinship dyads 1–2 are straightforward simple compounds from monomorphemic kinship terms that we have already discussed. More research is needed to understand the origin of kinship dyad 3, ʁzæpæ/ʁzɛtsʰõ 'husband and wife', but the first syllable ʁzæ/ʁzɛ seem to be related to Tibetan *gza'* 'planets' and *tsʰõ* to *tshang* 'household'. The kinship dyad ʁzɛtsʰõ 'husband and wife' is a loanword from G.yukhog Tibetan ʁzætsʰə̃ 'husband and wife', and ʁzæpæ is a further Stau nativization of the loanword. The vowel change from æ to ɛ in the loanword ʁzɛtsʰõ from Tibetan ʁzætsʰə̃ is a regular compound stem (status constructus) vowel change (Gates 2021: 175–176).

For 4–6, *mæzə* 'mother and her children', *væzə* 'father and his children', and *vədæmæzə* 'widowed mother and her children', the final morpheme *zə* most likely originates from *zi* 'son'. The terms *væzə* and *mæzə* are also examples of compound stems originating from the possessive/referential kinship terms *vɛ* 'father' and *mɛ* 'mother', respectively, with the vowel changing from *ɛ* to *æ* (Gates 2021: 175–176). Term 6, *vədæmæzə* 'widowed mother with her children', is the only dyad with more than two syllables; the disyllabic morpheme *vədæ* means 'wife' or 'old woman' and *mæzə* has been explained above.

The kinship dyads 7–10 follow a pattern: each term involves a guardian and child relationship and removes the kinship æ- prefix of the term for the guardian in the grouping and adds a final morpheme *mtsʰɛn*). The final morpheme *mtsʰɛn* is of uncertain meaning but comes from G.yukhog Tibetan. In *zə̃mtsʰɛn*, the *-o* originally in *æzo* 'uncle' has nasalized and changed to *-ə̃*, changing first in G.yukhog Tibetan before being borrowed into Stau.

Kinship dyads are common in Gyalrongic languages (Honkasalo 2019; Lai 2017). Kinship dyads are similar to the "family group classifiers" of Yi languages (Bradley 2001) and Ersu (Zhang 2013: 176). One major difference is that while family group classifiers in Ersu and Yi languages are a subset of classifiers, obliged to follow a numeral (Zhang 2013: 176), kinship dyads in Stau are not classifiers and it is ungrammatical to place a numeral directly before a kinship dyad. Kinship dyads take their own classifier (counted noun), ʁe, which is a counted noun for humans, and follow the same pattern for all counted noun phrases in Stau: noun + numeral + counted noun.

3.4   Distinctions and neutralizations

3.4.1   *Gen⁺², Gen⁻¹, Gen⁻² vocative*

As seen in Table 4, for the Gen⁺² and Gen⁻² vocative forms there is a neutralization of lineal vs. collateral, matrilateral vs. patrilateral, and affinal vs. consanguineal distinctions, but sex distinction is maintained (albeit merely by the sex

distinction of the given name for Gen⁻²). There are no specific kinship terms for CC, GCC, F/MGCC, etc. in the vocative; only the name of the kin is used. (In Tables 4 and 5, the red font is for lineal relationships, and the black font is for collateral relationships.) In addition, the sibling/cousin distinction is lost in Gen⁻².

Table 4. Gen⁺², Gen⁻² (vocative) lineal/collateral, etc. neutralizations

Gen⁺²	FF, MF, FFB, FMB, MFB, MMB, FFZH, etc.	*æpe*
	FM, MM, FFZ, FMZ, MFZ, MMZ, FFBW, etc.	*veve*
Gen⁻²	CC, GCC, F/MGCC	name

As displayed in Table 5, Gen⁻¹ siblings' children and cousins' children are distinguished from Ego's children, thus maintaining the lineal/collateral distinction, but matrilateral/patrilateral is neutralized. Stau also has the distinction of sex for GC and F/MGC (also true for the referential/possessive).

Table 5. Gen⁻¹ (vocative) lineal/collateral distinction

Gen⁻¹	S	*ŋezi; zələ*	male
	D	*ŋesme; zimo*	female
	GS, F/MGS	*tsʰɛvə*	male
	GD, F/MGD	*tsʰɛmə*	female

The terms *ŋezi* 'son' and *ŋesme* 'daughter' are compound stems from *ŋiji* 'my' + *zi* 'boy' and *ŋiji* 'my' + *smi* 'daughter', respectively (Gates 2021:176).

3.4.2   *Gen⁺², Gen⁻¹, Gen⁻² referential/possessive*

As in the vocative, sex remains distinct, and matrilateral/patrilateral, lineal/collateral, and affinal/consanguineal distinctions are neutralized for Gen⁺² referential/possessive. These lineal/collateral, matrilateral/patrilateral, and affinal/consanguineal neutralizations are displayed in Table 6.

Table 6. Gen⁺² (referential/possessive) lineal/collateral, etc. neutralizations

Gen⁺²	FF, MF, FFB, FMB, MFB, MMB, FFZH, etc.	*æpe*
	FM, MM, FFZ, FMZ, MFZ, MMZ, FFBW, etc.	*veve*

In Table 7, we can observe that there is a lineal/collateral distinction for Gen⁻¹ and Gen⁻². However, the sibling vs. cousin distinction is neutralized, as is for the

Gen⁻¹ and Gen⁻² vocative. Beyond the lineal/collateral distinction, and except for sex, all other distinctions are also neutralized. Like the vocative, there are also no specific CC, GCC, F/MGCC, etc. referential/possessive kinship terms; instead, Stau speakers use a long relational phrase, e.g., 'niece's daughter' or when needing to be more specific 'older brother's daughter's daughter' to distinguish from 'cousin's daughter's daughter', etc.

Table 7. Gen⁻¹, Gen⁻² (referential/possessive) lineal/collateral distinction

Gen⁻¹	S	*zi; ʑələ*; etc.
	D	*smi; zimo*
	GS, F/MGS	*tsʰɛvə*
	GD, F/MGD	*tsʰɛmə*
Gen⁻²	SS	*zi=ji zi; ʑələ=ji ʑələ*; etc.
	DS	*smi=ji zi; zimo=ji zi*; etc.
	SD	*zi=ji smi; zi=ji zimo*; etc.
	DD	*smi=ji smi; smi=ji zimo*; etc.
	GSS	*tsʰɛvə=ji tsʰɛvə*
	GDS	*tsʰɛmə=ji tsʰɛvə*
	GSD	*tsʰɛvə=ji tsʰɛmə*
	GDD	*tsʰɛmə=ji tsʰɛmə*
	F/MGSS	*tsʰɛvə=ji tsʰɛvə*
	F/MGDS	*tsʰɛmə=ji tsʰɛvə*
	F/MGSD	*tsʰɛvə=ji tsʰɛmə*
	F/MGDD	*tsʰɛmə=ji tsʰɛmə*

One could argue that there is a sibling vs. cousin distinction for Gen⁻¹ and Gen⁻² referential/possessive, e.g., Ego may say *æti=ji zi=ji zi* for eBSS to distinguish from F/MGSS *tsʰɛvə=ji tsʰɛvə*, a pattern which may be followed for all GC terms. However, these patterns are only used to further clarify a lineage distinction and are not the default in conversation.

3.4.3   *Gen⁺¹ vocative*

There is no overt distinction between Gen⁺¹ vocative consanguineal collateral and affinal kinship terms. However, as seen in Table 8, Gen⁺¹ consanguineal vocatives maintain lineal vs. collateral, matrilateral vs. patrilateral, and sex distinctions; whereas, as seen in Table 9, the matrilateral vs. patrilateral distinction for Gen⁺¹

affinal kin is neutralized, and either *ækʰə* or *æzo* can be used for FBW and MBW, and either *æzo* or *æne* can be used for FZH and MZH.

Table 8. Gen⁺¹ vocative consanguineal kinship terms

	Lineal	Collateral			
		FB	**FZ**	**MB**	**MZ**
F	*æpæ*				
M	*æmə*	*ækʰə*	*æne*	*æzo*	*æjæ*

Table 9. Gen⁺¹ vocative affinal kinship terms

FZH	**MZH**	**FBW**	**MBW**
ækʰə, æzo	*ækʰə, æzo*	*æne, æjæ*	*æne, æjæ*

For affinal parents (parents-in-law), typically the same terms as collaterals are used (*ækʰə, æzo, æzo, æne*); however, there is a trend in Daofu County Town to use lineal terms *æpæ* 'father' and *æmə* 'mother'.

3.4.4 *Gen⁺¹ referential/possessive*

The same distinctions for Gen⁺¹ vocative terms exist for referential/possessive terms, with the addition of the matrilateral vs. patrilateral distinction for affinal terms, displayed in Table 10. The matrilateral vs. patrilateral distinction occurs for Gen⁺¹ affinals in the terms *ækʰə=ji vədæ* 'wife of uncle' or *æne=ji ɣdzəvə* 'husband of aunt', etc. Gen⁺¹ affinal referentials and possessives share the same terms, as seen in Table 10, but there is also a referential option of simply using the base term (identical to the vocative but with syllable-final stress). As for the vocative, when just using the base term the matrilineal vs. patrilineal distinction is neutralized.

Table 10. Gen⁺¹ referential/possessive consanguineal kinship terms

Lineal		Collateral patrilateral consanguineal		Collateral matrilateral consanguineal	
F	*æpæ*	FB	FZ	MB	MZ
M	*æmə*	*ækʰə*	*æne*	*æzo*	*æjæ*
		Collateral patrilateral affinal		Collateral matrilateral affinal	
		FBW	FZH	MBW	MZH
		ækʰə=ji vədæ	*æne=ji ɣdzəvə*	*æzo=ji vədæ*	*æjæ=ji ɣdzəvə*

3.4.5 *Genᵒ vocative*

As mentioned in Section 3, and displayed in Table 11, there is a distinction that is made for Genᵒ younger sibling/cousin kinship terms based on the sex of the connecting relative (the so-called 'man-speaking' vs. 'woman-speaking' distinction). In addition to the sex of connecting relative (^MS & ^WS), the sex of kin and age relative to Ego are all distinct. However, sibling/cousin, cross/parallel, and matrilateral/patrilateral distinctions are all neutralized.

Table 11. Gᵒ vocative kinship terms

	yB, FBS⁻, MBS⁻	yZ, FBD⁻, MBD⁻	eB, FBS⁺, MBS⁺	eZ, FBS⁺, MBD⁺
Man-speaking	ɕeɲe	sno	æti	ædæ
Woman-speaking	mə	sqʰi	æti	ædæ

3.4.6 *Genᵒ referential/possessive*

For Genᵒ referential/possessive terms, siblings are distinguished from cousins by using the *tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)* 'is a relative' copula phrase discussed in Section 3.2.3, as displayed in Tables 12 and 13. Otherwise, all the other distinctions and neutralizations are identical to Genᵒ vocatives.

Table 12. Gᵒ sibling referential/possessive kinship terms

	yB	yZ	eB	eZ
Man-speaking	ɕeɲe	sno	æti	ædæ
Woman-speaking	mə	sqʰi	æti	ædæ

Table 13. Gᵒ cousin referential/possessive kinship terms

	FBS⁻, MBS⁻	FBD⁻, MBD⁻	FBS⁺, MBS⁺	FBS⁺, MBD⁺
Man-speaking	ɕeɲe tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	sno tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	æti tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ædæ tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)
Woman-speaking	mə tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	sqʰi tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	æti tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)	ædæ tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)

4.   Conclusion

In this section, I present a concise overview of the key findings from our study on Stau kinship terminology and provide insights into its position within kinship

terminological typology. Stau kinship terms can be classified into two categories: vocative and referential/possessive. Vocative kinship terms adhere to the stress and intonation pattern observed in other vocative phrases, specifically barytonesis, which involves shifting the stress and intonation from the second syllable to the first syllable.

The kinship prefix *æ-* is exclusively employed in vocative and referential/possessive kinship terms that pertain to older relatives of Ego, irrespective of their gender. As a matter of politeness, it is customary to address any consanguineous kin who are older than Ego by their kinship term, while elder cousins are referred to using both their kinship term and name. Affinal kin, i.e., relatives through Ego's parents' siblings, can be addressed either by their kinship term alone or by combining it with their name. On the other hand, individuals younger than Ego can be addressed simply by using their name. Notably, Stau incorporates specific kinship terms (vocative and referential, but not possessive) that denote dyads of kinship relationships. For instance, *mæzə* signifies 'mother and her children', while *v æzə* represents 'father and his children', and so on.

Stau distinguishes sex for kinship terms in all generations. Gen^{-1} and Gen^{-2} referential/possessive kinship terms distinguish lineal/collateral, but for Gen^{-1} and Gen^{-2} vocative terms only Gen^{-1} distinguishes lineal/collateral.

Gen^{+1} consanguineal vocative kinship terms have lineal/collateral and matrilateral/patrilateral distinctions, but the matrilateral/patrilateral distinction is neutralized for Gen^{+1} affinal vocative kinship terms. Gen^{+1} affinal referential/possessive kinship terms have the matrilateral/patrilateral distinction when using a possessive phrase (e.g., *æne=ji ɣdzəvə* 'husband of aunt'), but do not have this distinction when using the option of the simple base term (identical to the vocative but with syllable-final stress).

Age relative to Ego is distinct for Gen^{0} terms, both vocative and referential/possessive. For Gen^{0} referential/possessive terms, siblings are distinguished from cousins by using the *tʰɛv(=gə ŋə-rə)* 'is a relative' copula phrase. Younger sibling relationship kinship terms can be divided into the categories of male Ego vs. female Ego because of the distinction based on the sex of the connecting relative ('man-speaking' vs. 'woman-speaking').

All other possible distinctions are neutralized for kinship terms in each generation, including the neutralization of Gen^{0} vocative sibling/cousin terms and cross/parallel cousin terms.

According to Murdock's (1949) cousin kinship typology (Gen^{0}), Stau follows the Hawaiian type (B = FBS = MZS = FZS = MBS; Z = FZD = MZD = FZD = MBD) in the vocative and the Eskimo type (B ≠ FBS = MZS = FZS = MBS; Z ≠ FZD = MZD = FZD = MBD) in the referential. However, even in the referential,

Stau has the same roots for B, FBS, MZS, FZS, and MBS and the same roots for Z, FZD, MZD, FZD, and MBD, so it can be argued that the Hawaiian type is the base system for Gen⁰. For Gen⁺¹ terms, Stau follows the Sudanese system, each consanguineal kin with their own term. Gen⁻¹ terms follow the Eskimo system (S ≠ BS = ZS = FBSS = FZSS, etc.) and Gen⁺² terms follow the Hawaiian system (one term for male kin and one term for female kin). As is typical of languages that have the Hawaiian type of terminology, Stau-speaking people are also bilateral in tracing relatives. Stau lacks Omaha skewing (MB = MBS = MBSS; M = MZ = MBD = MBSD, etc.; Barnard & Good 1984:63), which has been reported in other Gyalrongic languages e.g., Bragbar (Zhang & Fan 2020), Japhug (Jacques 2021), and Tangut (Jacques 2012) and must have existed in Proto-Gyalrongic.

Future research and articles will compare kinship terms in Stau with other Gyalrongic languages (including Tangut) and relevant Tibetic languages, working towards understanding Gyalrongic kinship terms from a diachronic perspective.

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