Journal of East Asian Cultures 2021/1: 293–303

DOI: 10.38144/TKT.2021.1.18

https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6941-0823

uyanga@imu.edu.cn

WUYINGGA (UYANGA)

Introduction to the Mongolian Kinship Terminology in Inner Mongolia On the Example of Qarčin-Tümed Dialect

Introduction to the Mongolian Kinship System

Kinship is one of the main organizing principles of a society,¹ and is one of the most basic social institutions, one which establishes relationships between individuals and groups. People in all societies are bound together by various bonds. The most basic bonds are those based on marriage and reproduction. Kinship refers to these bonds, as well as all relationships resulting from them. Thus, the institution of kinship refers to a set of relationships and relatives formed thereof, based on either the consanguineal or affinal.² Consanguineal kinship refers to the relationships based on blood, for example, relationships between parents and children and those between siblings, which are the most basic and universal kinship. Affinal kinship refers to the relationships formed on the basis of marriage.

Detailed research on the Mongolian kinship system in western countries started with the epochal works of B. Ya. Vladimirtsov. According to him, the Mongolian kin: oboy was "the typical union of relatives by blood, based on the principle of agnate and exogamy, the patriarchal unit, with a few features of the former cognate relationships, the union tied by the institute of revenge and a special cult." Later on, L. Karder investigated the topic through anthropological studies in his work Social Organization of the Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads.⁴

Research on Mongolian kinship terms started in the late 20th century in China. The research during this period includes amongst others jaran-nige's *Mongolian*

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¹ Farber 1981: 250.

² Dousset: 2011.

³ Владимирцов Б.Я. 2002: 354.

⁴ Karder 1963.

Kinship Terms written in 1981,⁵ Temürbaγan's Mongolian Kinship Terminology (1984),⁶ Namsirai's Research on Mongolian Kinship terms (1987).⁷ However, only the terms of Mongolian kinship are briefly described and introduced in these articles.

Since the 1990s, there has been more research on Mongolian kinship terms, which has expanded on these descriptions of Mongolian kinship terms and their standardization. It has extended the discussion to the etymology of kinship terms, such as in Qasbayatur's (1994) "The Origin of Mongolian kinship terms 'Son-in-law', 'Daughter-in-law', 'Sister-in-law'"8 and "The Origin of Mongolian kinship terms 'Mother', 'Sister', 'Wife' and 'Daughter.'" The relationship between kinship terms and national culture, and the regional differences of kinship terms was researched by Fan Lijun A Study of Features of Kinship Terminology in Mongolian Dialect in Inner Mongolia, written in 2004. Wenying explored Mongolian cultural relics by the analysis of contemporary Mongolian kinship terms. 10 Furthermore, there is research that mainly discusses the Mongolian marriage system, such as Tana's work, "Research on the Mongolian Marriage Form in The Secret History of the Mongols", 11 which retrieves and researches the kinship terms of Middle Mongolian. Qasungerel analyzed the contemporary Mongolian kinship terminology from the perspective of semantics in 2011.

Compared to the kinship terminology of some other languages, as for example Hungarian or English (vernacular terms in today use), 12 contemporary Mongolian kinship terminology is more complex and detailed. The Mongolian terminology has a corresponding term for almost every family member, differentiating between the maternal and paternal family relationships. For example, the grandfather on the maternal side has a different name from the grandfather on the paternal side; *Ebüge* means grandfather on the paternal side in the contemporary Mongolian, and *nayaču ebüge* means grandfather on the maternal side in the contemporary Mongolian. This contrasts with Hungarian or English (vernacular terms in today use) where the same term is used for both, e. g. *nagyapa* refers to both the maternal and paternal grandfather in Hungarian (vernacular terms in today use) as does *grandfather* in English (vernacular terms in use today). Like any other society, the Mongolian kinship system is classified

⁵ Jaran-nige 1981.

⁶ Temürbayan 1984.

⁷ Namsirai 1987.

⁸ Oasbayatur 1994.

⁹ Oasbayatur 1995.

¹⁰ Wenying 2003.

¹¹ Tana 1992.

¹² Hidasi 2014: 43-48.

as consanguineal and affinal. However, consanguineal kinship is further divided into collateral consanguinity and lineal consanguinity. Lineal consanguinity is the relation in a direct line – such as between parent, child, and grandparent. Furthermore, it is also determined either upwardly – as in the case of son, father, grandfather – or downwardly – as in son, grandson, great-grandson. Collateral consanguinity is a more remote relationship describing people who are related by a common ancestor but do not descend from each other – such as cousins who have the same grandparents.

Comparison of the Kinship Terminology of Middle Mongolian and Contemporary Mongolian

By the 13th century, Mongolian kinship terminology had already formed. *The Secret History of The Mongols*, the earliest and most important literary monument of the Mongol-speaking people, is the native account of the life and deeds of Chinggis Khan and his successors. Linguistically, it is the richest source of pre-classical Mongolian and Middle Mongolian.¹³

Indeed, *The Secret History of The Mongols* is regarded internationally a work of classic literature. It describes the formation, development, and growth of the Mongol empire, and the earliest existing historical literature of the Mongols. Both the marriage system and the kinship terminology have been recorded in this source. *Jāmiʿal-tawārīkh* is a work of literature and history, produced in the Mongol Ilkhanate in three volumes, written by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlullāh Hamadānī at the beginning of the 14th century. It describes many cultures and major events in world history from China to Europe. Mongolian history, the life of the Mongols, wars, family and marriages were also recorded. The *Jāmiʿal-tawārīkh* consists of four main sections in which *Taʾrīkh-ī Ghazānī* is the most extensive part, and which includes the history, genealogies and legends of Mongolian and Turkish tribes.¹⁴

According to these records, the Mongolian marriage system was polygamous.¹⁵ Men could have multiple wives. For example, the father of Chinggis Khan had many wives from different tribes.¹⁶ Chinggis Khan himself and his brothers also

¹³ As a spoken medium, the language of the historical Mongols is known as Middle Mongol, or Middle Mongolian. Middle Mongol is documented in a variety of written sources using several different systems of script (Janhunen 2012: 4). Written Mongol has ever since remained in use as the principal literary language of the Mongols. Evolving successively through stages termed Pre-Classical (13th to15th centuries), Classical (17th to 19th centuries) and Post-Classical (20th century).

¹⁴ Cf. Aigle 2014.

¹⁵ Yu Dajun – Zhou Jianqi 1997: 6.

¹⁶ Yu Dajun – Zhou Jianqi 1997: 64.

had more than one wife.¹⁷ Additionally, there was also the takeover-marriage: if the father died then his son could marry his wife, providing she was not his biological mother.¹⁸ If a man had brothers and one of the brothers died, then he could marry his wife as well.¹⁹ Due to these circumstances it was difficult to form a consistent kinship terminology.

Through historical developments, the marriage system has changed from being polygamous to being monogamous and has led to changes in kinship terminology over time. Regarding the study of the system of kinship in the Middle Mongolian period, Pavel Rykin's (2011) work is of the utmost importance.

Pavel examined thoroughly the use of kinship and affinity terms in Middle Mongolian, basing his research on all Middle Mongolian monumental works which were accessible to him, such as *Beilu kao*, *Huayi Yiyu* and so on, as the sources of linguistic material. Hence, the kinship and affinity terms appearing in the monumental works were selected and categorised according to their morphological structures: 'elementary' (independent words not dissolved into meaningful components), 'complex' (kinship or affinity terms modified by other kinship or affinity terms in the form of a stem), 'composite' (stems in combination with any determinative which it is not by itself a kinship or affinity term) and 'descriptive' (formed by the combination of several elementary or composite terms where the modifying element is expressed by the genitive) Simultaneously, he indicated the most extensive category is composed by the elementary terms, which is consistent with the following research conclusions.

In order to compare the historical changes of the Mongolian kinship terminology, twenty words for kinship terminology that are found in *The Secret History of The Mongols* and *Huayi Yiyu*, ²⁰ are compared with the contemporary Mongolian (20th century) kinship terminology. I prepared tables 1, 2, 3, and 4 on the basis of the sources mentioned above. In the table 1, letters F, M, B, Z, S, D represent father, mother, brother, sister, son, and daughter. Symbols (+) and (–) represents elder and younger. The letter L represents *Lineal consanguinity kinship*. As shown in table 1, 2, 3, 4.

¹⁷ Yu Dajun – Zhou Jianqi 1997: 64, 67, 70, 71, 73, 85.

¹⁸ Yu Dajun – Zhou Jiangi 1997: 268–269.

¹⁹ Sárközi 2006.

²⁰ Huayi yiyu (1407) is a general term from the late Ming (1368–1644) and early Qing (1644–1911) period as a designation of multi-language dictionaries for officials confronted with one or more languages of the multi-ethnic empire and with foreign languages.

F	father	Z sister	(+) elder
M	mother	S son	(-) younger
В	brother	D daughter	L Lineal consanguinity

Table 1. Explanation of abbreviations

Consanguineal Kinship						
English Kinship Terminology	Contemporary Mongolian Kinship Terminology	Middle Mongolian Kinship Terminology				
Great great grandfather (FL)	مان مهر المعنود	करण borqai				
Great great grandmother (FL)	سنسار ۴۸۶ qulunča emege	-				
Great grandfather (FL)	ಗಿದ್ದಾ∤ 1 8 05 elünče ebüge	المعار elünče				
Great grandmother (FL)	শিল্প শি€) elünče emege	-				
Grandfather (FL)	¹€∩ ebüge	₩ŋ ebüge				
Grandmother (FL)	™ emege	₩ŋ emege				
Father (L)	ᡆᡢᠠ/ ᠠᡆ ečige/ abu	भागि) ečige				
Uncle (F) (+)	(マペワ (ユヤロヤヤイン) ih) abay-a	16√ ebin				
Uncle (F) (-)	ንሙሲን abay-a	ነውሃ) abaγ-a				
Aunt (F) (+)	(পেণ্) শ্রুপ্র স্প(ih) abay-a eji	-				
Aunt (F) (-)	শ্লপ্র ৯ abaγ-a eji	-				
Grandfather (ML)	ים איים איים איים האיים naγaču ebüge	-				
Grandmother (ML)	יישי ^{ב או} naγaču emege	-				
Mother (L)	ਝ eji	ห _า eke				
Uncle (M) (+, -)	ोणच्च naγaču	nayaču				
Aunt (M) (+, -)	יישיי אי naγaču eji	-				

Table 2. Comparison of Consanguineal Kinship Terminology

Mongolian kinship terminology has changed considerably not only in number but also concerning the word structure over time. It can be seen from the tables that all of the kinship terms in the Middle Mongolian consist of one single word, and some of these words are still maintained in contemporary Mongolian, while some have changed their meanings or are used for the opposite gender and some are no longer used. For instance:

1. Terms existing both in Middle Mongolian and contemporary Mongolian with the same meanings are *elünče* 'great grandfather', *ebüge* 'grandfather', *emege* 'grandmother', *ečige* 'father', *abaγ-a* 'uncle', *naγaču* 'maternal kinship term', *aq-a* 'elder brother', *degüü* 'younger brother', *egeči* 'elder sister', *ökin* 'daughter', and *jige* 'nephew'.

	Consanguineal Kinship			
English Kinship Terminology	Contemporary Mongolian Kinship Terminology	Middle Mongolian Kinship Terminology		
Brother (+)	ᠬᠠ᠈ aq-a	ጐ/ን aq-a		
Brother (-)	କଙ୍କ degüü	બલ degüü		
Sister (+)	ጥቱን egeči	ਅਤਾ egeči		
Sister (-)	ખ્તમ∕ બલ્લ ökin degüü	^{9चर} düi		
Cousin (FBS)	कार्यकर्थ क्लीर्थ üyelün aq-a/degüü	-		
Cousin (FBD)	भारति भारति भारति अधि üyelün egeči/ökin degüü	-		
Cousin (FZS) (M(B/Z) S)	ಈ ™/ು/ ಇಡಿ bülü aq-a/degüü	-		
Cousin (M(B/Z) D)	ಈ ೧೯/ ৮೧√ ಇಡಿ bülü egeči/ökin degüü	-		
Son (L)	લ્ન küü	क्कि kübegün • ज़ज़्र nuyun • क्कि keöken		
Daughter (L)	¹ज्रां√ ökin	ਾਅ√ ökin		
Nephew (BS)	ਾਜ਼ਾ ^{ਰਜ਼} ači küü	-		
Niece (BD)	भन्द भन्त√ ači ökin	-		
Nephew (ZS)	സ്വ ^{ലോ} jige küü	π ⁰ n Jige		
Niece (ZD)	ייתין שייתייל Jige ökin	-		
Grandson (SSL)	ालकर व्यक्त ombol küü	ਾੜਾ ači		
Granddaughter (SDL)	ᢣᢒᠯ ᠳᠬᠠ ombol ökin	-		
Grandson (DSL)	જા પ્રાંતિ Jige ombol küü	-		
Granddaughter (DDL)	ಗ್ರಾ ಕ್ಷಮ್ ಕ್ಷಗಳ jige ombol ökin	-		

Table 3. Comparison of Consanguineal Kinship Terminology

- 2. Terms existing in Middle Mongolian, but replaced in contemporary Mongolian are, for example, the word *köken* used to refer to son in the Middle Mongolian, but in contemporary Mongolian the term is used to refer to a girl or a daughter. The word *düi* once used to refer to a younger sister is today replaced by *ökin degüü*. *Ači* used to refer to grandchildren but today refers to children of brothers and the term referring to the son changed from *köbegün* and *nuyun* to the *küü*.
- 3. Terms that exist in both Middle Mongolian and contemporary Mongolian but have different meanings. For example, there were different terms to differentiate elder uncle and younger uncle in Middle Mongolian, but term *ebin* which refers to elder uncle has not been passed down, only *abay-a* remains in contemporary Mongolian, which refers to both elder and younger uncle now.

Affinal Kinship						
English Kinship Terminology	Contemporary Mongolian Kinship Terminology	Middle Mongolian Kinship Terminology				
Wife of uncle (F)	ਅਰੰਜ਼ੀ) ਰਿਵਨੀ ਅੰਨ੍ਹ abaγ-a bergen ehe	-				
Husband of aunt (F)	არი√ა იოი√ не abaγ-a kürgen abu	-				
Wife of uncle (M)	אס פאניין nayaču bergen ehe	-				
Husband of aunt (M)	भागन किस्से भे nayaču kürgen abu	-				
Wife of brother (+)	ಕಿಸ್√ bergen	-				
Wife of brother (-)	બાલ ભા degüü beri	-				
Husband of sister (+)	هرما ساع kürgen aq-a	-				
Husband of sister (-)	भक्ष क्रांभ degüü kürgen	-				
Father-in-law	ೂಫ್ № qadam abu	-				
Mother-in-law	ीच्री ५८ qadam eji	-				
Brother (+) in law	راسة المسائم qadam aq-a	-				
Brother (-) in law	ीक्कर अल्ल qadam degüü	-				
Sister (+) in law	ीक्त√ भा≒ qadam egeči	-				
Sister (-) in law	ાન્ત્ર√ ખત્તન qadam ökin degüü	-				
Son-in-law	ಾಗ್ kürgen	-				
Daughter-in-law	ಿಸ್ beri	-				

Table 4. Comparison of Affinal Kinship Terminology

Kinship Terminology in a Contemporary Mongolian Dialect – Qarčin-Tümed Case Study

The Inner Mongolian dialect²¹ is composed of multiple sub-dialects and there are great phonetic differences between these dialects.²² Some are mixed with Chinese loanwords due to their geographical location and historical background. This article focuses on the *Qarčin-Tümed* dialect as an example to reveal the differences of kinship terminology in Mongolian dialects.

The *Qarčin-Tümed* dialect belongs to the eastern dialects of Inner Mongolia.²³ The eastern dialects include *Qorčin* and *Qarčin-Tümed* dialects.²⁴ The characteristic feature of the *Qarčin-Tümed* dialect is the vowel *u of the initial syllable, which has become in certain positions a diphthong ua or wa, and the

²¹ Mongolian in China can be divided into three dialects: Inner Mongolian dialect, Barγu Buryat dialect, Oirat dialect. Cf. Činggeltei. 1991: 1

²² Poppe 1965: 23.

²³ Тодаева В. Х. 1985.

²⁴ Sečinbayatur 2005: 354

Paternal side	FF	FM	F	FB+	F(B+) W	FB-	FB (-) W	FZ (+) (-)	FZ (+) (-) H
Standard	öbög	emeg	ečig/aab	abay	abaγ	abaγ	abaγ	abaγ eji	abay kürgen
(Colloquialism)					bergen ek		bergen ek		aab
Dialect	yeye	nænæ	abaa	daya	damöm	šü šü	sinse	gügü	guya aab
Chi. pinyin	ye ye	nai nai	ba ba	da ye	da ma	shu shu	shen zi	gu gu	gu fu
Chi. hanzi	爷爷	奶奶	爸爸	大爷	大妈	叔叔	婶子	姑姑	姑父
Maternal side	MF	MM	M	MB (+)	MB (+) (-)	MZ+	MZ (+) H	MZ (-)	MZ (-) H
				(-)	W				
Standard	naγač öbög	naγač	ek	naγač	пауаč	пауаč	пауаč	naγač eji	naγač
(Colloquialism)		emeg			bergen ek	eji	kürgen		kürgen aab
							aab		
Dialect	naγa yeye	naγa	mömö	jüjü	jümü	пауа	naya aab	naγa jej	naγa aab
		nænæ				eeyi			
Chi. pinyin	wai gong	wai po	ma ma	jiu jiu	jiu ma	yi ma	yi fu	xiao yi	xiao yi fu
Chi. hanzi	外公	外婆	妈妈	舅舅	舅妈	姨妈	姨夫	小姨	小姨夫
Ego	B+	B (+)	B-	B (-) W	Z+	Z (+) H	Z-	Z (-) H	-
		w							
Standard	ah	bergen	düü	düü ber	egeč	kürgen	ökin düü	düü	-
(Colloquialism)						ah		kürgen	
Dialect	göög/aja/aje	bergen	anggaa/	düü ber	jeje	kürgen	ikin	düü	-
			düü			ah	düü	kürgen	
Chi. pinyin	ge ge	sao zi	di di	di xi	jie jie	jie fu	mei mei	mei fu	-
Chi. hanzi	哥哥	嫂子	弟弟	弟媳	姐姐	姐夫	妹妹	妹夫	-
Affinal kin	S	SW	D	DH	SS	SD	DS	DD	-
Standard	küü	küü ber	ökin	ökin	ombol küü	ombol	jee ombol	jee ombol	-
(Colloquialism)				kürgen		ökin	küü	ökin	
Dialect	küü	ber	ikin	kürgen	ombol küü	ombol	jee ombol	jee ombol	-
						ikin	küü	ikin	
Chi. pinyin	er zi	er xi	nv er	nv xu	sun zi	sun nv	wai sun	wai sun	-
								nv	
Chi. hanzi	儿子	儿媳	女儿	女婿	孙子	孙女	外孙	外孙女	-

Table 5. Comparison of Contemporary Written Mongolian and Küriy-e Sub-dialect (Wuyingga 2020)

group * $a\gamma u$, which is pronounced \bar{o} , while * $u\gamma u$ has become \bar{u} . It is also representative of a dialect most affected by Chinese. In the early studies, some scholars divided the $Qar\check{c}in$ - $T\ddot{u}med$ dialect into $Qar\check{c}in$ sub-dialect and $T\ddot{u}med$ sub-dialect. Later, some scholars divided it into $Qar\check{c}in$ sub-dialect, $Mong\gamma ol\check{j}in$

²⁵ Poppe 1965: 21.

sub-dialect and *Küriy-e* sub-dialect.²⁶ In order to show the differences between kinship terminology in Mongolian dialect and contemporary written Mongolian, the following comparison was made. *Küriy-e* sub-dialect is selected for comparison. As shown in Table 5.

As mentioned above, letter F refers to father, here FF refers to the father of father, FM refers to the mother of father (which are the paternal grandparents), H refers to Husband, W refers to wife, SW means wife of son, DH means husband of daughter. Due to the geographical location and historical background, the Mongolians living in this area have always had linguistic and cultural contact with the Han populations and Manchus. As such, the appearance of Chinese loanwords in their dialects is an inevitable result.

As we can see from the table, some Chinese loanwords appeared in the kinship terminology of Küriv-e sub-dialect; these terms were borrowed and used in their dialect after Mongolization, such terms as yeve (vernacular terms) 爷爷 'grandfather on paternal side', nainai (vernacular terms) 奶奶 'grandmother on paternal side', daya (vernacular terms) 大爷 'elder brother of father', gügü (vernacular terms) 姑姑 'elder sister of father', göög (vernacular terms) 哥哥 'elder brother' and so on. Some kinship terminologies are the combinations of Chinese and Mongolian words, such as damöm (vernacular terms) 'wife of elder uncle', yuya abu (vernacular terms) 'husband of aunt', nay-a nainai (vernacular terms) 'grandmother on maternal side', *nay-a yeye* (vernacular terms) 'grandfather on maternal side' and so on. The Chinese word Da \pm means big and elder; the da being borrowed from the Chinese and Mongolian word mömö (vernacular terms) 'mother' has been added to refer to wife of elder uncle. Similarly, guye 姑爷 borrowed from Chinese and pronounced as yuya and then Mongolian word abu 'father' has been added to refer to husband of aunt. It is the same with nay-a nainai and nay-a yeye.

The combination of Chinese loanwords and Mongolian words as kinship terminology distinguishes the *Küriy-e* subdialect from other dialects. This phenomenon not only appears in the kinship terms, but also in their daily life. Through field investigations I have found that, since people speaking in Küriy-e sub-dialect have in the majority of cases been neighbours with the Han populations, they have been in contact with Han cultures earlier, and the impact of Han cultures has often led to the phenomenon of mixed language in daily conversations. They borrowed Chinese words and used them after mongolization.²⁷

²⁶ Sodubayatur 1999: 99

²⁷ E. g. *dianhua da-y-a (dian hua* 电话 is telephone in Chinese, *da* 打 means call in Chinese, *y-a* is a Mongolian suffix refers to future time) means "I will call you".

Conclusion

Language is not only a communication tool, but also a carrier of culture. Local characteristics in culture are largely reflected and inherited by language. Kinship terminology is a language carrier that reflects human relation and is a primitive vocabulary of humans and belongs to basic terminology. By comparing the terminology of Mongolian kinship of the Middle Mongolian with contemporary Mongolian, most of the terms are still used now and they are all composed of one single word. With the development of society, intercultural interactions are becoming more and more influential, therefore, some terms with a compound-word structure appeared. Mongols living in Eastern Inner Mongolia are neighbours with the Han populations since the establishment of the Qing dynasty (1636–1912) and the fact that some Chinese loanwords appear in their dialects is inevitable.

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Fieldwork

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