

WUYINGGA (UYANGA)

Introduction to the Mongolian Kinship Terminology in Inner Mongolia On the Example of Qarčın-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: *oboγ* 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.”³ 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 Јaran-nige’s *Mongolian*

¹ Farber 1981: 250.

² Dousset: 2011.

³ Владимирцов Б.Я. 2002: 354.

⁴ Karder 1963.

Kinship Terms written in 1981,⁵ Temürbaýan'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.'"⁹ 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 Temürbaýan 1984.

⁷ Namsirai 1987.

⁸ Qasbayatur 1994.

⁹ Qasbayatur 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. *Jāmi ‘al-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 *Jāmi ‘al-tawārīkh* consists of four main sections in which *Ta’rīkh-i 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 to 15th 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 table1, 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 Jianqi 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.

Affinal Kinship		
English Kinship Terminology	Contemporary Mongolian Kinship Terminology	Middle Mongolian Kinship Terminology
Wife of uncle (F)	ᠠᠪᠠᠭᠠ ᠪᠦᠷᠢᠨ ᠡᠬᠡ abay-a bergen ehe	-
Husband of aunt (F)	ᠠᠪᠠᠭᠠ ᠪᠦᠷᠢᠨ ᠠᠭᠤ abay-a kürgen abu	-
Wife of uncle (M)	ᠨᠠᠶᠠᠴᠤ ᠪᠦᠷᠢᠨ ᠡᠬᠡ nayaču bergen ehe	-
Husband of aunt (M)	ᠨᠠᠶᠠᠴᠤ ᠪᠦᠷᠢᠨ ᠠᠭᠤ nayaču kürgen abu	-
Wife of brother (+)	ᠪᠦᠷᠢᠨ ᠪᠦᠷᠢᠨ bergen	-
Wife of brother (-)	ᠠᠳᠦᠭᠢᠳᠤ ᠪᠦᠷᠢ degüü beri	-
Husband of sister (+)	ᠪᠦᠷᠢᠨ ᠠᠭᠠᠰᠤ kürgen aq-a	-
Husband of sister (-)	ᠠᠳᠦᠭᠢᠳᠤ ᠪᠦᠷᠢᠨ degüü kürgen	-
Father-in-law	ᠶᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠠᠭᠤ qadam abu	-
Mother-in-law	ᠶᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠡᠵᠢ qadam eji	-
Brother (+) in law	ᠶᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠠᠭᠠᠰᠤ qadam aq-a	-
Brother (-) in law	ᠶᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠠᠳᠦᠭᠢᠳᠤ qadam degüü	-
Sister (+) in law	ᠶᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠡᠭᠡᠴᠢ qadam egeči	-
Sister (-) in law	ᠶᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠠᠳᠦᠭᠢᠳᠤ ᠠᠳᠦᠭᠢᠳᠤ qadam ökin degüü	-
Son-in-law	ᠪᠦᠷᠢᠨ kürgen	-
Daughter-in-law	ᠪᠦᠷᠢ beri	-

Table 4. Comparison of Affinal Kinship Terminology

Kinship Terminology in a Contemporary Mongolian Dialect – Qarčïn-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 *Qarčïn-Tümed* dialect as an example to reveal the differences of kinship terminology in Mongolian dialects.

The *Qarčïn-Tümed* dialect belongs to the eastern dialects of Inner Mongolia.²³ The eastern dialects include *Qorčïn* and *Qarčïn-Tümed* dialects.²⁴ The characteristic feature of the *Qarčïn-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, Baryu Buryat dialect, Oirat dialect. Cf. Činggeltei. 1991: 1

²² Poppe 1965: 23.

²³ Тодаева В. X. 1985.

²⁴ Sečïnbayatur 2005: 354

Paternal side	FF	FM	F	FB+	F(B+) W	FB-	FB (-) W	FZ (+) (-)	FZ (+) (-) H
Standard (Colloquialism)	öbög	emeg	ečig/aab	abay	abay bergen ek	abay	abay bergen ek	abay eji	abay kürgen 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 (+) (-) W	MZ+	MZ (+) H	MZ (-)	MZ (-) H
Standard (Colloquialism)	nayač öbög	nayač emeg	ek	nayač	nayač bergen ek	nayač eji	nayač kürgen aab	nayač eji	nayač kürgen aab
Dialect	naya yeye	naya nænæ	mömö	jüjü	jümü	naya eeyi	naya aab	naya jej	naya aab
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 (+) W	B-	B (-) W	Z+	Z (+) H	Z-	Z (-) H	-
Standard (Colloquialism)	ah	bergen	düü	düü ber	egeč	kürgen ah	ökin düü	düü kürgen	-
Dialect	göög/aja/aje	bergen	angгаа/ düü	düü ber	jeje	kürgen ah	ikin düü	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 (Colloquialism)	küü	küü ber	ökin	ökin kürgen	ombol küü	ombol ökin	jee ombol küü	jee ombol ökin	-
Dialect	küü	ber	ikin	kürgen	ombol küü	ombol ikin	jee ombol küü	jee ombol 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 **ayu*, which is pronounced *ō*, while **uγu* has become *ū*.²⁵ It is also representative of a dialect most affected by Chinese. In the early studies, some scholars divided the *Qarčïn-Tümed* dialect into *Qarčïn* sub-dialect and *Tümed* sub-dialect. Later, some scholars divided it into *Qarčïn* sub-dialect, *Mongγoljin*

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 *Küriy-e* sub-dialect; these terms were borrowed and used in their dialect after Mongolization, such terms as *yeye* (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’, *naγ-a nainai* (vernacular terms) ‘grandmother on maternal side’, *naγ-a yeye* (vernacular terms) ‘grandfather on maternal side’ and so on. The Chinese word *Da* 大 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 *naγ-a nainai* and *naγ-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.

References

- Aigle, Denise 2014. *The Mongol Empire between Myth and Reality*. Studies in Anthropological History. Boston: Brill Academic Publication. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004280649>
- Владимирцов Б.Я. 2002. *Работы по истории и этнографии монгольских народов*. [Works on History and Ethnography of the Mongols]. Москва: Восточная литература РАН.
- Činggeltei 清格尔泰 1991. *Meng Gu Yu Yu Fa* 蒙古语语法 [Mongolian Grammar]. Hohhot: Nei Meng Gu Ren Min Chu Ban She 内蒙古人民出版社.
- Dousset, Laurent 2011: “Understanding Human Relations (Kinship Systems).” In: N. Thieberger (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Fieldwork*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 209–234. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199571888.013.0010>
- Fan lijun 范丽君 2004. *Nei Meng Gu Fang Yan Qin Shu Cheng Wei Ci Wen Hua Te Zheng Yan Jiu* 内蒙古方言亲属称谓词文化特征研究 [A Study of Features of Kinship Terminology in Mongolian Dialect in Inner Mongolia]. (MA dissertation, Inner Mongolia University).
- Fan lijun 范丽君 2005. “Meng Gu Yu Nei Meng Gu Fang Yan Qin Shu Cheng Wei Ci Zhong Han Yu Jie Ci Te Dian 蒙古语内蒙古方言亲属称谓词中汉语借词特点 [Characteristics of Chinese Loanwords in the Terminology of Kinship in Inner Mongolian Dialect].” *Zhong Yang Min Zu Da Xue Xue Bao* 中央民族大学学报 6.32: 139–142.
- Farber, Bernard 1981. *Concepts of Kinship*. New York: Elsevier.
- Hidasi, Judit 2014. “Kinship Terminology from a Cultural Perspective: Japanese versus? Hungarian.” *The Society for Gender Studies in Japanese* 14: 43–48.
- Ўран-ниге 1981. “Mongγol kelen-ü töröl sadun-u dayudaly-a. [Mongolian Kinship Terms].” *Mongγol kele bičig* 3: 2–8.
- Karder, Lawrence 1963. *Social Organization of the Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads* [Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series 20]. The Hague: Mouton.
- Namsirai 1987. “Mongγol kelen-ü töröl sadun-u dayudaly-a-in tuqai ögülekü ni. [Research on Mongolian Kinship Terms].” *Mongγol kele bičig* 9: 24–34.

- Pavel, Rykin 2011. "The System of Kinship and Affinity Terms in Middle Mongolian". *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64.1: 25–47. <https://doi.org/10.1556/AOrient.64.2011.1.3>
- Poppe, Nicholas 1965. *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Qasbayatur 1994: "Mongyol kelen-ü 'kürgen', 'beri', 'bergen' gekü dayudaly-a-in tuqai sudulaqu ni [Research on the Mongolian Kinship Terms of Son-in-law, Daughter-in-law, Sister-in-law]." *Öbör mongyol-un yeke suryayuli* 1: 25–38.
- Qasbayatur 1995: "Mongyol kelen-ü töröl sadun-u dayudaly-a 'eji', 'ekener' ba 'ökin' jerge-in egusgel yarul-in sudulul [On the etymology of the terms mother, wife and daughter in Mongolian kinship]." *Öbör mongyol-un yeke suryayuli* 3: 35–48.
- Qasungerel 哈申格日乐 2011. *Xian Dai Meng Gu Yu Chang Yong Qin Shu Cheng Wei Ci De Yu Yi Fen Xi* 现代蒙古语常用亲属称谓词的语义分析 [A Semantic Analysis of Kinship Terminology in Contemporary Mongolian]. (PhD dissertation, Zhong Yang Min Zu Da Xue 中央民族大学).
- Qin Xinlin 秦新林 1998. "Yuan dai meng gu zu de hun yin xi su ji qi bian hua 元代蒙古族的婚姻习俗及其变化 [Changes of Mongolian Marriage Customs in Yuan Dynasty]." *Yin Du Xue Kan* 殷都学刊 1998.4: 33–36.
- Rachewiltz, Igor de 2015. *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*. Canberra, AU: Brill
- Sárközi, Alice 2006. "Levirate among the Mongols." In: *Kinship in the Altaic World* (Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 150). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 259–267.
- Sečinbayatur 2005. *Mongyol kelen-ü nutuy-un ayalyun-u sinjilel-un uduityal* [Introduction to Mongolian Dialects]. Kökeqota: Öbör mongyol-un arat-un keblel-ün qoriy-a.
- Sodubayatur 曹道巴特尔 1999. "Nei Meng Gu Fang Yan Tu Yu Hua Fen He Ka La Qin Tu Mo Te Yu Yan Jiu 蒙古语方言土语划分和喀喇沁土默特语研究 [The Division of Mongolian Dialect and the Study of Qarčïn-Tümed]." *Man Yu Yan Jiu* 满语研究 2: 98–107.
- Tana 1992. "Shi lun 'meng gu mi shi' zhongde gu dai meng gu zu hun yin xing tai 试论“蒙古秘史”中的古代蒙古族婚姻形态 [On the Ancient Mongolian Marriage Forms in *The Secret History of Mongols*]." *Hei Long Jiang Min Zu Cong Kan* 黑龙江民族丛刊 3: 34–50.
- Temürbayan 1984. "Mongyol kelen-ü töröl sadun-u dayudaly-a-in tuqai ögülekü ni [Research on Mongolian Kinship Terms]." *Mongyol kele biçig* 3: 12–20.
- Тодаева В. Х. 1985. *Язык Монголов Внутренней Монголии: Очерк Диалектов*. [The Language of the Mongols of Inner Mongolia: Outline of Dialects]. Москва: Наука.
- Wenying 2003: "Shi Lun Min Zu Qin Chu Cheng Wei Suo Fan Ying De Min Zu Wen Hua Xian Xiang 论蒙古民族亲属称谓所反映的民族文化现象 [On the Ethnic Cultural Phenomenon Reflected in the Terms of Mongolian Kinship]." *Xi Bei Min Zu Xue Yuan* 西北民族学院 1: 30–37.
- Yu Dajun 余大均 – Zhou Jianqi 周建奇 1997. *Shi Ji* 史集 [World History]. Beijing: Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan.
- Zhang Zhiming 张志明 2007. *Meng Yuan She Hui Hun Yin Zhi Du Liu Bian Qian Xi* 蒙元社会婚姻制度流变浅析 [An Analysis of Mongolian Marriage System in Yuan Dynasty]. (MA dissertation, Xi Nan Zheng Fa Da Xue 西南政法大学).

Fieldwork

Wuyingga: Fieldwork in Udan tal-a yaçay-a, *Küriy-e qosiyu, Inner Mongolia, China*. From June to July 2019.

