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# A preliminary Study on the Classification of Kinship Appellations in Uyghur\*

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Abstract—The Uighur relative appellation is a complex system, and a considerable part of the appellations is frequently used in daily communication. Relative appellations represent various kinship relationships. This paper describes and analyzes the various classifications of Uighur relatives.

Keywords—relative appellations; immediate relationship; collateral relationship

#### I. Introduction

The relative appellations refer to the title between relatives who are connected by blood and marriage. Anthropologists and linguists have always had a strong interest in the study of relatives. The so-called "relatives" and "Encyclopedia of China" are interpreted as "social relations arising from marriage, blood and adoption, with legal rights and obligations between them" <sup>1</sup>, "Modern Chinese Dictionary" says "people of pedigree or marriage relationship with oneself" <sup>2</sup>, "Uyghur Dictionary" defines relatives as "adäm yaki janliqlarnin qandašliq, uyuqdašliq wä ersiy ät jäh ättiki yiraq yeqinliq munasiwiti" <sup>3</sup>, meaning the close or distant blood, family, genetic relationship of human or biological creatures. "Appellation" is the way to call someone else. A relative's appellation is a way of calling a member of one's relatives.

Kinship is a social relationship that arises from marriage, blood and adoption and has legal rights and obligations. Immediate relatives and collateral relatives are two major categories of blood relatives. Human kinship can be divided into two major categories: immediate family members and collateral family members.

## II. IMMEDIATE RELATIONSHIP APPELLATION AND COLLATERAL RELATIONSHIP APPELLATION

### A. Immediate Relationship Appellation

The immediate relationship appellation refers to the relative name derived from the blood relationship, and also the appellation term for the immediate family relationship. The so-called immediate relationship refers to relatives who have direct blood relationship with themselves, regardless of the paternal line, maternal line and the relatives of the next generation. Such as: the relationship between ata-ana and p ärz änt, the relationship between bowa-moma and nawr ä, etc.

There are total of 29 immediate relatives in Uighur: uluy bowa, uluy moma, bowa, moma, dada, ata, ana, apa, bala, pärzänt, oyul, qiz, näwrä, awrä, čäwrä, qaŋ, ög, uri, oylan, aba, uma, biwastä qandaš tuyqan, qanqerindaš, enä, qurtqa, kök ana. känjika, ataqi, känč bala.

The order of the immediate family members is as follows: uluy bowa, bowa, dada, bala, näwrä, äwrä, čäwrä.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the Uighur immediate relationship relatives, the author has drawn an immediate relationship appellation map. (See Immediate Relationship Appellation "Fig. 1")

<sup>\*</sup>Project: Central University Projects; Phased Achievements of "Social and Cultural Studies of Uyghur Family Address Terms" (Project Number: 31920150136).

Mordern Chinese Dictionary (Version No.5). The Commercial Press, 2005, P1025.

Uighur Dictionary (5), Xinjiang Minority Language and Character Committee ed. Beijing: The Ethic Publishing House, 1996, p728.

 $<sup>^3\,</sup>$   $\,$  Hu Shiyun, Chinese Relative Appellations Research, The Commercial Press, 2007, p1.



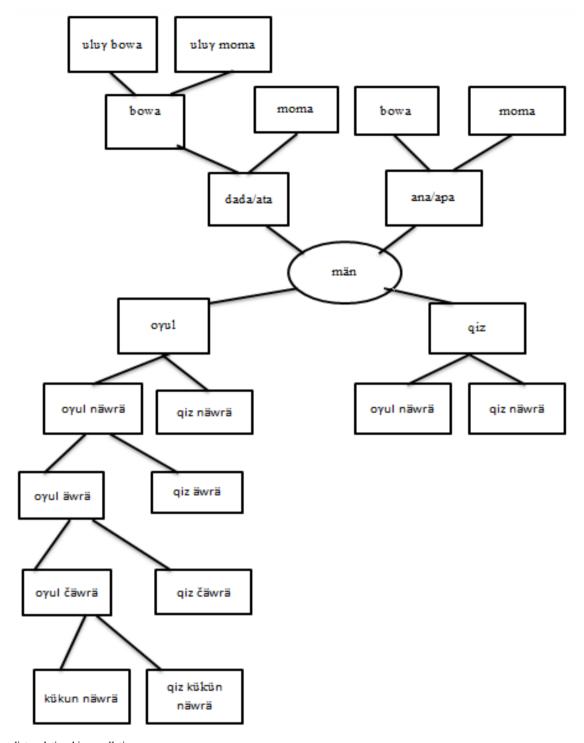


Fig. 1. Immediate relationship appellation map.

It can be seen from the above-mentioned immediate relationship appellation map that direct blood relatives are people who raise you, and people who raise your parents,

Pushing up, it also includes such as your parents, parents of parents, parents of parents' parents, or people you have raised, people you raise. Pushing down, it includes such as your children, children of your children, children of your children's children.



TABLE I.	IMMEDIATE RELATIONSHIP RELATIVE APPELLATIONS

Relative appellations	Named person
uluγ bowa	the man who raised your grandfather and grandmother
uluγ moma	the woman who raised your grandfather and grandmother
bowa	the man who raised your parents
mona	the woman who raised your parents
dada	the man who raised you
ata	the man who raised you
ana	the woman who raised you
apa	the woman who raised you
bala	the man and woman who raised you
p ärz änt	the man and woman who raised you
oγul	the man you raised
qiz	the woman you raised
n äwr ä	the man and woman raised by your children
äwr ä	the man and woman raised by your grandchildren
čäwrä	the man and woman raised by your grandchildren's children
qaŋ	the man who raised you
ög	the woman who raised you
uri	the man you raised
oγlan	the men you raised, plural form of uri
aba	the woman who raised you
uma	the woman who raised your mother
biwastä qandaš tuγqan	direct relatives (blood relation)
qan qerindaš	direct relatives (blood relation)
en ä	the woman who raised you (Rehoboam dialect)
qurtqa	the woman who raised your mother (Rehoboam dialect)
k ök ana	the woman who raised your mother
k änjika,	The youngest man in your family who is raised by the same parents with you
ataqi	pet name of the man who raised you
känč bala	The youngest child, the child who was born when parents were old in a family

As can be seen from the above "Table I", most of the relatives of the Uyghur language that represent the direct relationship are the basic relatives and the simple words.

### B. Collateral Relationship Appellation

The so-called collateral relationship is a relationship that arises from an indirect kinship relationship. Relatives who are born in the same blood as the source are kinship relatives. The collateral relatives include brothers and sisters and their children, their parents' brothers and sisters and their descendants. Ača/hädä/ayla, aka/aya, uka/ini, siŋil and other appellations are the appellations of my brothers and sisters. The appellations of jiy än and jiy än qiz are the appellations of the children who call your brothers and sisters. jiy än is a man, and jiy än qiz is a woman.

There are a total of 42 appellations in the Uyghur language that represent the collateral relationship: aka, ača, hädä, ayla, uka, ini, sinil, taya, hamma, igičä, kijk bowa, kičik moma, čon dada, čon ata, čon ana, čon apa, kičik dada, kičik ata, kičik ana, kičik apa, bir näwrä aka, bir näwrä ača, bir näwrä ini, bir näwrä sinil, jiyän qiz, jiyän oyul, iči, äčä, ačiq, aba, uya,čiqan näwrä qerindaš, qoš kezäk, üč kezäk, ikki tuyqan qerindaš, ikki tuyqan aka, ikki tuyqan ini,ikki tuyqan ača ikki, tuyqan sinil, tayay.

In the following, the author elaborates on the appellations of the collateral relationship in Uyghur. (See the side relationship relative appellations "Table II").

TABLE II. COLLATERAL RELATIONSHIP RELATIVE APPELLATIONS

Relative appellations	Named person
aka	the man who born with your parents and is older than you
ača	the woman who born with your parents and is older than you
h äd ä	the woman who born with your parents and is older than you
ayla	the woman who born with your parents and is older than you
uka	the man and woman who born with your parents and is older than you
ini	the man who born with your parents and is younger than you
siŋil	the woman who born with your parents and is younger than you
taγa	Parents' brothers, husbands of the parents' sisters
hamma	Parents' sisters, wives of the parents' brothers
igičä,	the woman who born with by your parents and is older than you
kijk bowa	Grandfather, grandmother's brothers, and their sisters' husband
kičik moma	Grandfather, grandmother's sisters, and their brothers' wifes
čoŋ dada	the man who raises a parent, (a parent's brother, the parent's sister's husband)



Relative appellations	Named person
čoŋ ata	a man who raises a parent, (a parent's brother, the parent's sister's husband)
čon ana	the woman who raises a parent, (a parent's sister, the parent's brother's wife)
čon apa	the woman who raises a parent, (a parent's sister, the parent's brother's wife)
kičik dada,	Parents' brothers, sisters' husbands
kičik ata	Parents' brothers, sisters' husbands
kičik ana	Parents' sisters, brothers' wives
kičik apa,	Parents' sisters, brothers' wives
bir n äwr ä aka	the man who is raised by a brother and sister of a parent who is older than you
bir näwrä ača	the woman who is raised by a brother and sister of a parent who is older than you
bir n äwr äini	the man who is raised by a brother and sister of a parent who is younger than you
bir näwrä siŋil	the woman who is raised by a brother and sister of a parent who is younger than you
jiy än qiz	the women who are raised by brothers and sisters
jiyän oγul	the men who are raised by brothers and sisters
iči	the man who is raised by your parents and is older than you
äčä	the woman who born with your parents and is older than you
ačiq	the man who born with your parents and is the oldest
aba	the woman who raised you
uya	all children who born with your parents
čiqan	the man who born with your parents' brothers and sisters
näwrä qerindaš	Parent's brothers' and sisters' children
qoš kezäk	Two children and twins born or raised at the same time by the same parents
üč kezäk	Three children and triplets born or raised at the same time by the same parents
ikki kiz äk	Two children and twins born or raised at the same time by the same parents
ikki tuγqan qerindaš	Parents' brothers' and sisters' children
ikki tuγqan ača	the woman who is raised by a brother and sister of a parent who is older than you
ikki tuγqan aka	the man who is raised by a brother and sister of a parent who is older than you
ikki tuγqan ini	the man who is raised by a brother and sister of a parent who is younger than you
ikki tuγqan siŋil	the man who is raised by a brother and sister of a parent who is younger than you
taγay	Parents' brothers, husbands of the parents' sisters

In order to more accurately describe the collateral relationship appellations, the author interprets the Uighur collateral relationship appellations into several appellation maps. There are three kinds of appellation maps: the first is the brothers and sisters and their descendant appellation map, the second is the parents' siblings and their descendant appellation map (the Uighur relatives are part of the paternal

and maternal, so both are the same), and the third is the appellation map of the grandfather's brothers and sisters and their descendants. (See the brothers and sisters and their descendants' appellation map, the brothers and sisters of their parents and their descendants' appellation map, and the grandfather's brothers and sisters and their descendants' appellation map in "Fig. 2", "Fig. 3", and "Fig. 4".)

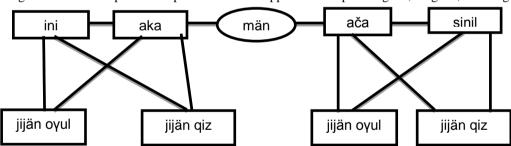


Fig. 2. Siblings and their descendants appellation map.



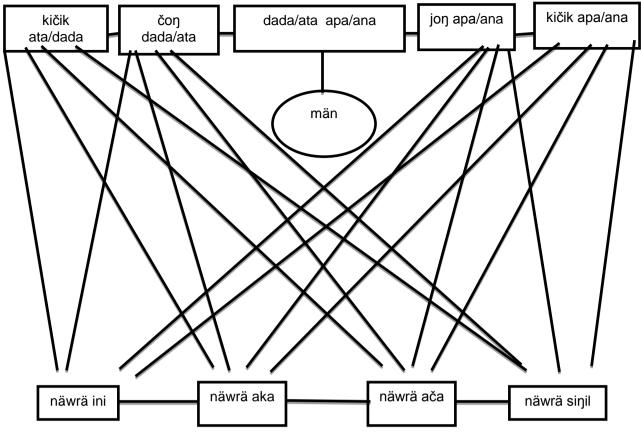


Fig. 3. The appellation map of the brothers and sisters of grandparents.

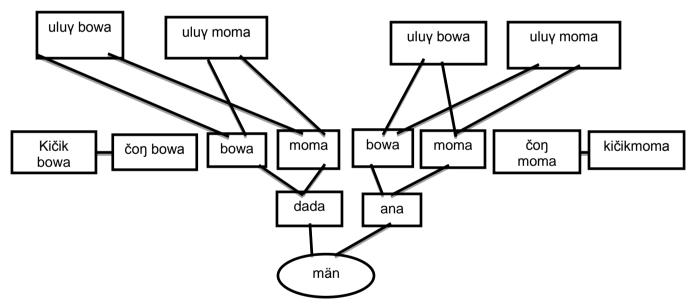


Fig. 4. The appellation map of grandfather's brothers and sisters.

From the above-mentioned collateral relationship tables and several appellation maps, it can be seen that other people who are related to you other than the direct line are collateral relatives, such as your brothers and sisters whether he or she is your brother, paternal cousin or maternal cousin, your father's younger and brothers, your father's sisters, your

mother's brothers, your mother's sisters, your nieces or nephews, and other relatives are all sideline.



## III. MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIP APPELLATIONS AND ADOPTION RELATIONSHIP APPELLATIONS

### A. Marriage Relationship Appellations

The so-called marriage relationship relative appellations are the appellations of the relatives arising from the marriage relationship. Of course, there is no blood relationship in this relationship, which can only be caused by marriage. There are legal powers and obligations between the two parties to the marriage. In other words, this relationship is a social relationship with legal powers and obligations.

Marriage relationship relatives are divided into direct marriage and collateral marriage. 4

Taking blood relatives as the standard:

The spouse of a direct blood relative is a direct in-law: Kelin (daughter-in-law), n äwr äkilin (granddaughter-in-law).

The spouse of the blood relative is a collateral in-law: Yängä (elder brother's wife), sinil, kelin sinil (younger brother's wife), yeznä (elder sister's husband), ini, uka (younger sister's husband).

Taking the spouse as the standard:

The immediate blood relatives of the spouse are direct inlaws: Qeyin ata, (paternal father-in-law, maternal father-inlaw), qeyinapa (paternal mother-in-law, maternal mother-inlaw), qeyinana (paternal mother-in-law, maternal mother-inlaw).

The spouse's parasitic blood relatives are collateral inlaws: Qeyin aka (husband's elder brother, wife's elder brother) qeyin ini (husband's younger brother, wife's younger brother).

There are a total of 55 marriage relative appellations in Uyghur. (See Marriage Relational Appellations "Table III")

TABLE III. MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIP APPELLATION TABLE

Relative appellations	Named person
qeyin ata	the man who raises your spouse
qeyin ana	the woman who raises your spouse
qeyin apa	the woman who raises your spouse
qeyin aka	wife's elder brother
qeyin ača	wife's elder sister
sqeyin siŋil	wife's younger sister
qeyin ini	wife's younger brother
qeyin uka	wife's brother's wife
yäŋgä	elder brother's wife
yezn ä	elder sister's husband
kelin	son's wife
kelin siŋil	younger brother's wife
kelin ača	elder brother's wife
baldiz	wife's younger sister
yuruč	wife's younger brother
küyoγul	daughter's husband
ičküyoγul	live-in son-in-law
är	Husband
ayal	Wife
xotun	Wife

 $<sup>^4\,</sup>$  Hu Shiyun, Chinese Relative Appellations Research, The Commercial Press, 2007, 9, p3.

Relative appellations	Named person
räpiqä	Wife
yoldaš	husband
xanim	Wife
baja	sister's husband
ipiyäŋgä	wife and husband's younger sister
bir kelin,	brother's wife
ärtäräp	husband's side (when married)
ayal t är äp	wife's side (when married)
togal	the second wife
küyü	husband
n äwr ä kelin	grandson's wife
näwrä küyoγul,	granddaughter's husband
quda	parents of one's daughter-in-law or
•	son-in-law
qoš quda	parents who marrying each other's
	childern
qayča quda	parents who marrying each other's
	daughter
k älin	son's wife
qudiγuy	mother of one's daughter-in-law or
	son-in-law
bäg	husband
qunčuy	second wife
tuŋur	wife's relatives
xanača	elder brother's wife
quda-baja	relation by marriage
kičik xotun	youngest wife
mur äbbi	husband
k üy ä quda	wife's parents' home for the husband's
	side
oγul täräp quda	husband's parents
qiz täräp quda,	wife's parents
kündäš	wives of a man
čoŋ xotun	first wife
üj ür ä	Spouse
qeyin-buyan	relation by marriage
köči	husband
bašdaqi köči	ex-husband
kilin-kit äk	daughter-in-law and daughter

In order to more accurately describe the marriage relationship appellations, the author divides the Uighur marriage relationship appellations into several appellation maps to explain. There are two appellation maps: the first is the husband and his relatives' appellation map (for the wife), and the second is the wife and his relatives' appellations map (for the husband). (See "Fig. 5" and "Fig. 6")



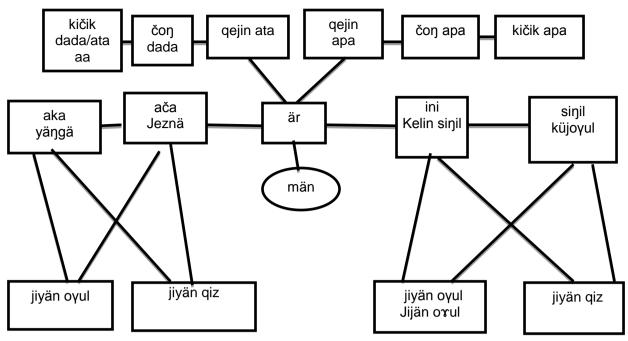


Fig. 5. Husband and his basic relative appellations map.

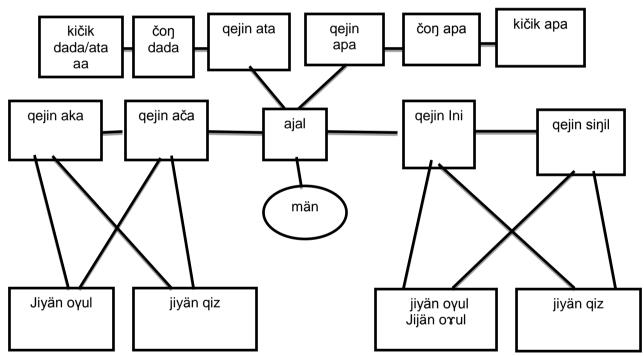


Fig. 6. Wife and her basic relatives appellations.

It can also be seen from the above table and the appellation map that all relatives of the husband's wife and wife's relatives of marriage are marriage relationship relatives. On the contrary, for the wife, all relatives of her husband and husband are relatives of marriage. The marriage appellations are also the same and the appellations of the above relationship is the marriage appellations.

### B. Adoption Relationship Appellations

Adoption relationship refers to the relationship caused by the law, for example, the relationship between adoptive parents and adoptive children. However, the scope of this kind of relatives is relatively wide. It includes not only the kinship appellations that indicate the adoption relationship, but also some kinship appellations that are related to the identification. The reason why author attributes these appellations related to the identification relationship to the



appellation relationship titles is because the relationship expressed by these appellations is not a blood relationship, but a similar relationship with the legal recognition. However, this relationship is not recognized by law and is the relationship recognized by both parties.

There are a total of 29 adoption relationship appellations in Uighur: ög äy dad, ög äy ata, ög äy ana, ög äy apa, ög äy bala, baqqan ata, baqqan apa, baqqan dada, baqqan ana, asrandi

oγul, asrandi qiz, hamiy, igidmis ana, yufγa, tutunču, tutunči oγul, qaŋsiq, qaŋsiq ata, qaŋsiq oγul, tuγut ana, imik ana, dada böläk bir tuγqan, ana böläk bir tuγqan, dada bir tuγqan, ana bir tuqyan, ataq ata, ataq ana, ataq aka, ataq ača.

The author explains in detail the relatives of the Uyghur adoption relationship. (See adoption relationship relative appellations "Table IV")

TABLE IV. ADOPTION RELATIONSHIP RELATIVE APPELLATIONS TABLE

Relative appellations	Named person
ög äy dad	the man who adopts you, mother's current husband / step-father
ög äy ata	the man who adopts you, mother's current husband / step-father
ög äy ana	the woman who adopts you, father's current wife / step-mother
ög äy apa	the woman who adopts you, father's current wife / step-mother
Ača	the woman who adopts you, father's current wife / step-mother
ög äy bala,	step-mother / step father's children, adopted children by yourself
baqqan ata	the man who adopts you
baqqan apa	the woman who adopts you
baqqan dada	the man who adopts you
baqqan ana	the woman who adopts you
asrandi oyul	the man adopted by you
asrandi qiz	the woman adopted by you
Hamiy	the man and woman who adopt you
igidmis ana	wet nurse
Yufγa	the man adopted by you
Tutunču	the man and woman adopted by you
tutunči oyul	the man adopted by you
Qaŋsiq	Adopted
qaŋsiq ata	the man who adopts you, mother's current husband
qaŋsiq oyul	the man adopted by you, the son of wife and her ex-husband, the son of husband and
	his ex-wife
dada böläk bir tuyqan	relatives of the same mother
ana böläk bir tuγqan	relatives of the same father
dada bir tuγqan	paternal half-blooded
ana bir tuqγan	maternal half-blooded
ataq ata	Self-identified father / adopted father
ataq ana	Self-identified mother
ataq aka	Self-identified elder brother
ataq ača	Self-identified elder sister
imik ana	wet nurse

From the above table, it can be seen that the adoption relationship includes the person who adopted you, the person you adopted, the person who identified you and the person you identified. Most of the adoption relationship appellations are compound words. These compound words are produced by the development of basic vocabulary. That is to say, most adoption relationship appellations are composed of modifiers indicating the adoption relationship before the general relatives' appellation.

There are some kinship appellations related to ög äy between the marriage relationship in the Uighur language and the appellation relationship. These relatives' appellations belong to both categories. When it is a marriage relationship appellation, it means the adoption of the man, the mother's current husband and the adopted man, the relationship between the wife and the son of the former husband, the husband and the son of the former wife, and the result of the remarriage of the husband and wife is the occurrence of "step" relationship. For example, the child of your wife (the child born to the former husband) is called ög äy bala' (the

man adopted by yourself), the son of your wife and her exhusband, the son of the husband and his ex-wife, this child calls his mother's post husband as ögäy ata/dada', who adopted him or her, or as his or her mother's current husband.

It refers to the relationship between the adoptive father and the adopted child when it belongs to the relatives of the adoption relationship. The relationship between the couple is ög äy under the condition that there is no child for various reasons or if they want to adopt the child. So this relationship is also an adoption relationship. The premise of the relevant ög äy appellation is the remarriage, and the premise of the appellation relationship is adopting and adopted.

### IV. CONCLUSION

Kinship is a social relationship that arises from marriage, blood and adoption and has legal rights and obligations. Immediate relatives and collateral relatives are two major categories of blood relatives. Human kinship can be divided into two major categories: immediate family members and collateral family members. Relative appellations represent



various kinship relationships. This relationship includes direct relationships, collateral relationships, marital relationships, and adoption relationships.

Relatives are the basic vocabulary of language. As a basic vocabulary of language, it has relatively stable features. There are not many Uighur relatives' appellations, and different kinships do not have the appellations of relatives corresponding to the referents. So how many Uighur relative appellations are there? In the Dictionary of Language, there are more than 30 items of ancient and modern appellations appearing in writing. Among them, 10 are relative appellations which express direct blood relationship, 9 are collateral blood relation appellations, and 9 are marriage relationship appellations. There are four items that express the relationship between adoption and being adopted. There are more than 120 relative appellations in the Uighur Dictionary. Among them, more than 30 relatives' appellations are simple word relative appellations, and more than 80 are compound term appellations.

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