

## **Tangut (Xixia) degrees of mourning**

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1. Introduction
2. Reconstruction of the Tangut system of kinship on the basis of texts
3. The article "Degrees of Kinship" in the Tangut code
  - a) Preamble to the article  
"Degrees of Kinship" (the terms  $\frac{1}{2}$   $mə^2$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$   $ndzje^1$ )
  - b) The term 'mother's sister' and possible group marriage.
4. Analysis of kinship terms from the article "Degrees of Kinship" in the Tangut code
5. Verification of the results of analysis
6. Conclusion

*Appendix: Two Articles from the Law Code of the Tangut State  
Cited forms in Tangut or Chinese script  
References*

### **1. Introduction**

The law code of the Tangut state published recently by E. I. Kychanov<sup>1</sup> has an article,  $(a)nIn^1tsəw^1$  "Degrees of Kinship" (Article 41 in Kychanov's numeration), compiled, in all likelihood, on the model of the Chinese "Degrees of Mourning"  $(b)(Sāng Fū)$ . A list of kinship terms appears

\* Henceforth all Tangut and Chinese forms cited will be listed in their original script at the end of the article, immediately before the References. [Ed.]

<sup>1</sup> Of the four projected volumes devoted to the editing of the Tangut Codex, only two have been published at the moment of writing this article (April 1989). The text of the Codex itself has been published up to and including Article 456 (Kychanov 1987, 1988).

in this article, classified into five groups depending on the length of time that mourning was to be observed for one or another relative. The length of mourning was determined by the proximity of kinship, so that the mourning grades serve to group kin by closeness of relationship.

The article "Degrees of Kinship" in the Tangut code furnishes uniquely valuable material for Tangut research. Above all, the data in this article permit the reconstruction of the Tangut system of kinship, which up to the present time had remained a blank page in Tangut studies: all of our notions about Tangut kinship had been based on wholly unreliable data from Tangut dictionaries (see below), or on the chance use of one or another term in a text. By contrast, the article "Degrees of Kinship" offers a unique source where Tangut kinship terminology is presented as a system.

In addition, "Degrees of Kinship" appears to be crucial in the composition of the Tangut code itself. Without an understanding of it the interpretation of many other articles is difficult or impossible, e.g. Article 40, "Eight Judgments about Persons Having the Right to a Mitigation of Punishment" (Kychanov 1987:37-38), which refers to the grades of the emperor's relatives, as well as many articles concerned with the murder of relatives or theft committed against relatives. Thus, for a reconstruction of the social life of the Tangut state—an area virtually unknown to scholarship—it is clearly necessary to decipher the article "Degrees of Kinship" in the Tangut Codex.

It is hardly likely, however, that a specialist in the typology of kinship systems would learn the Tangut language in order to use "Degrees of Kinship" for reconstructing the Tangut kinship system. Therefore, in the present article I try to give my interpretation of "Degrees of Kinship," without by any means claiming it to be a definitive resolution of the problem—it is only another attempt to read a very complex text, itself a collection of enigmas. It is entirely possible that my proposed interpretation of Tangut kinship terms will someday not only be refined but even subjected to fundamental revision. For precisely that reason this study presents a detailed, step-by-step description of the process of analysis of "Degrees of Kinship," so that the line of argument will be clear to future students of the Tangut kinship system.

Before proceeding directly to an analysis of Article 41, let us briefly examine the current state of Tangut kinship studies.

## **2. Reconstruction from Texts of the Tangut Kinship System**

Up to the present it was considered as a matter of course that the

Tangut kinship system was typologically close to the Chinese. Such a notion was based on the sole source available to researchers that dealt with the Tangut kinship system: the Sino-Tangut list of kinship terms in the dictionary *The Tangut-Chinese Timely Pearl in the Palm* <sup>(c)</sup>(Zhǎng Zhōng Zhū) (preserved in St. Petersburg),<sup>2</sup> a list embracing three generations of blood relatives (the first ascending generation, the generation of ego, and the first descending generation). All information about kinship terms was drawn exclusively from this source. Thus, the well-known Tangutologists Nishida Tatsuo (Nishida 1964:207) and Shi Jinbo (Shi 1986:190) in the relevant sections of their works render Tangut kinship terms with the same glosses to be found in the Chinese portion of the dictionary *Pearl in the Palm*, without submitting them to further analysis.

Yet, while translating the Tangut version of an original Chinese text, *Newly Collected Notes on Compassion and Filiality*,<sup>3</sup> <sup>(d)</sup>(Xīn Jí Cí Xiào Jì), a work devoted to relations between close kin, I encountered an unexpected difficulty: the terms of kinship used in the composition of this text defied translation. Evidently the dictum, well-known since the time of L. H. Morgan,<sup>4</sup> that it is impossible to translate the kinship terms of one system by relying on the terms of another system that is typologically distinct from the first, is confirmed once again in this case. The conventional notion in Tangut studies positing the typological affinity of the Tangut and Chinese systems of kinship must thus be placed in doubt.

In order to translate *Newly Collected Notes on Compassion and Filiality*, it was first necessary to compile a list of Tangut kinship terms. To this end, I took as a base the list of kinship terms in the dictionary *Pearl in the Palm*, and checked them against the material in all the Tangut dictionaries and Chinese secular compositions in Tangut translation,<sup>5</sup> preserved in the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The result was a list of thirty-five Tangut kinship terms, primarily referring to three generations of blood relatives (see Kepping 1988):

<sup>2</sup> [RWD]: See Luc Kwanten's (unauthorized) publication of the manuscript in his *The Timely Pearl*, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 142 (Bloomington, Ind., 1982).

<sup>3</sup> [RWD]: This text, which has now been prepared for publication by Professor Kepping, is described in Z. I. Gorbacheva and E. I. Kychanov, "Tangutskie rukopisi i knizhnitsy" (Moscow, 1963), p. 56, #31.

<sup>4</sup> [RWD]: Lewis H. Morgan, known as "L. G. Morgan" in Russian transcription, was an American anthropologist of the nineteenth century whose studies on the family greatly influenced Marx and Engels, and whose work is well known among Russian scholars.

<sup>5</sup> By "Chinese secular compositions in Tangut translation" I have in mind those Tangut texts that form the basis of my study *The Tangut language: Morphology* (Moscow, Nauka Press, 1985).

## LIST I: BASIC TANGUT KINSHIP TERMS

## A. Blood Relatives

- |    |      |  |                               |
|----|------|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. | 𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰏 | v <sub>1</sub> a <sup>1</sup> o <sup>1</sup> | grandfather (father's father) |
| 2. | 𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰏 | ma <sup>1</sup> nI <sup>1</sup>              | grandmother (father's mother) |
| 3. | 𐰇𐰆𐰏  | v <sub>1</sub> a <sup>1</sup>                | father                        |
| 4. | 𐰇𐰆𐰏  | ma <sup>1</sup>                              | mother                        |
| 5. | 𐰇𐰆𐰏  | v <sub>1</sub> ei <sup>1</sup>               | father's brother              |
| 6. | 𐰇𐰆𐰏  | nI <sup>1</sup>                              | father's sister               |
| 7. | 𐰇𐰆𐰏  | ' <sub>1</sub> ə <sup>1</sup>                | mother's brother              |



8. 母  $la^2$  mother's sister
9. 叔  $? + via^1$  nephew's father (?)
10. 叔  $? + ma^1$  nephew's mother (?)
11. 兄  $li^o2$  brother (male speaking)
12. 妹  $mu^1$  brother (female speaking)
13. 兄  $t_{\dot{x}}on^2$  brothers, brother
14. 兄  $li^o2t_{\dot{x}}on^2$  brothers (all brothers of a family)
15. 妹  $ndon^2$  sister (male speaking)

- |     |    |                   |   |
|-----|----|-------------------|---|
| 16. | 姊  | kâi <sup>1</sup>  | sister (female speaking)                                |
| 17. | 姪兒 | zweï <sup>1</sup> | cross-cousin (male and female) or<br>cross-nephew/niece |
| 18. | 兒子 | zi <sup>1</sup>   | son   |
| 19. | 孫  | ngi <sup>2</sup>  | son; children   |
| 20. | 女兒 | mbɿe <sup>1</sup> | daughter  |
| 21. | 孫子 | ?                 | nephew (parallel; FaBrSo)                               |
| 22. | 孫子 | lhɿ <sup>1</sup>  | grandson (son's son)                                    |
| 23. | 孫子 | lhon <sup>2</sup> | great-grandson (son's son's son)                        |

24. 姪子 ndiə<sup>1</sup>lhI<sup>1</sup> grandson (daughter's son; lit. 'outside grandson')

B *Relatives by Marriage*

25. 女婿 və<sup>2</sup>ngI<sup>2</sup> husband
26. 媳婦 ngI<sup>2</sup>mbIn<sup>2</sup> wife
27. 丈人 kɪ<sup>1</sup>'oɪ husband's father
28. 丈母娘 nɪ<sup>1</sup>viə<sup>1</sup> husband's mother
29. 岳父 'iə<sup>1</sup>poɪ father of the bride (?)
30. 丈母娘 žvə<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>mo<sup>2</sup> mother of the bride (?; mother of cross-cousins?)

- |     |                |                                    |  |
|-----|----------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 31. | 子 <sub>母</sub> | 'iə <sup>1</sup>                   | son's wife   |
| 32. | 婿              | ma <sup>1</sup>                    | daughter's husband   |
| 33. | 新 <sub>婦</sub> | 'ə <sup>1</sup> ndzvi <sup>1</sup> | wives and concubines of brothers (tentatively)   |
| 34. | 新 <sub>婦</sub> | 'ə <sup>1</sup> sew <sup>1</sup>   | wives and concubines of brothers;<br>wives of one man (both meanings<br>are tentative) |
| 35. | 妻 <sub>兄</sub> | ʂwə <sup>1</sup>                   | husband's sister   |

*Analysis of this list of kinship terms shows that in the first ascending generation Tanguts distinguished relatives by paternal and maternal lines, as well as by lineal and collateral lines. In distinction to the then existing Chinese kinship system, the Tangut system did not observe the principle of relative seniority within the first ascending generation (compare the Chinese terms 'father's elder brother' (c) bō and 'father's younger brother' (n) shū. For brothers (and sisters), on the father's side as well as on the mother's, there existed only one term each, irrespective of age. The Tanguts had three terms for male blood relatives in the first ascending generation: v<sub>1</sub> a<sup>1</sup> 'father', v<sub>1</sub> e i<sup>1</sup> 'father's brother', and 'i ə<sup>1</sup> 'mother's*

brother', which coincides with the "Arabic" type of kinship system (Krjukov 1972:40).<sup>6</sup>

A distinctive characteristic of Tangut kinship terms in the generation of Ego is the relevance of the sex of the speaker and the person to whom the speaker refers. Males used one term to name their own brothers, whereas females called their own brothers by another term (age was not considered in either case). The same was true of women: a male called his sisters by one term, and a female used another in referring to her sisters; nor did these terms reflect the age of the speaker or referent. As we see, in contrast to what is asserted in the dictionary *Pearl in the Palm*, Tangut kinship terms in the generation of Ego are not divided into two series according to the principle of relative seniority. In the generation of Ego I was able to define two terms for male blood relatives: 'brother'  $l\dot{x}o^2$  (male speaking) and  $mu^1$  (female speaking), and 'cross-cousin'  $\dot{z}v\dot{e}i^1$ . Thus, the generation of Ego may be related to the "Iroquois" type (Krjukov 1972:40).

In the first descending generation are the terms for 'son'  $\dot{z}i^1$ , for 'parallel nephew' [reading unknown], and for 'cross-nephew'  $\dot{z}v\dot{e}i^1$ . Note that the Tangut kinship system is characterized by a so-called "generational slope," i.e., the presence of one term for members of different generations (the term  $\dot{z}v\dot{e}i^1$  indicated both cross-cousins and cross-nephews). However, as is evident from the above list, I was unable to identify the entire range of terms for blood relatives of three generations (thus, for example, the terms for parallel cousins [male and female] remain unidentified).

Of contemporary Tibeto-Burman kinship systems known to me, the Tangut kinship system reminds me most of the Lolo system, which has the following characteristics: (1) a difference between terms denoting members of different generations, (2) a distinction of lineal and collateral relatives, (3) pertinence of relative seniority within a generation, (4) pertinence of the sex of a relative, (5) pertinence of the sex of the speaker, (6) pertinence of the sex of a relative providing the connecting link, (7) the distinction between blood relatives and relatives by marriage (Fu Mao-chi 1951: 68-70).

As in the Tangut kinship system, among the Lolo the sex of the speaker is relevant only in the generation of Ego. However, in distinction to the Tanguts, a Lolo male used two terms in reference to his brothers, one for older and another for younger brothers, but only one term for his sisters, regardless of their age. The same applied to women: they referred to their older and younger sisters by different terms, while using only one term for their brothers, regardless of age.

As the cited studies show, historically in the Tangut language the following pairs of words are not distinguished: '[female] cross-cousin'

<sup>6</sup> In my work I use the classification of kinship systems proposed by M. V. Krjukov, who distinguishes the English, Hawaiian, Iroquois, and Arabic types (*op. cit.*, pp. 39-43).

(ʒwɛi<sup>1</sup>) and 'bride' (ʒwɛi<sup>1</sup>), 'father's sister' (ni<sup>1</sup>) and 'husband's mother' (ni<sup>1</sup>), 'mother's brother' (ʃəi<sup>1</sup>) and 'to marry' (ʃəi<sup>1</sup>). Each pair of words represents a pair of homonyms; in the dictionary *lǎ Wén Hǎi* (*The Sea of Characters*) these pairs appear in the same rhyme category and have the same *fanqie* reading (compare the analogous situation with the pronouns of the second person (h)na<sup>2</sup> and (l)ni<sup>2</sup> and their homophonous indicators of agreement, respectively (l)na<sup>2</sup> and (k)ni<sup>2</sup> (Kepping 1985:217, 226).<sup>7</sup> However, around the time of the creation of the Tangut script (ca. 1036) different graphs for these characters had already been devised: (l)ʒwɛi<sup>1</sup> 'cross-cousin' and (m)ʒwɛi<sup>1</sup> 'bride', (n)ni<sup>1</sup> 'father's sister', and (o)ni<sup>1</sup> 'husband's mother', (p)ʃəi<sup>1</sup> 'mother's brother' and (q)ʃəi<sup>1</sup> 'to marry' (Kepping et al. 1969, 1: #2076/2077, 1041/1042, 991/992). From this one may conclude that in the distant past Tangut society evidently practiced a unilateral type of cross-cousin marriage (which type of marriage was obligatory): a male married the daughter of his mother's brother, and a female married the son of her father's sister.

Presented here are charts of a partially reconstructed Tangut kinship system for three generations of blood relatives, based on texts (recall that just these generations are given in the dictionary *Pearl in the Palm*). Note that because the reading for the graph for 'parallel nephew' has not been reconstructed, we must cite the graph rather than the reading in Chart 2, "MALE EGO."

### 3. The Article "Degrees of Kinship" in the Tangut Code

Article 41, "Degrees of Kinship," in the Tangut code takes the form of a list of Tangut kinship terms without indication of their referents, prefaced by a preamble composed of two statements. The article establishes terms of mourning for three years, one year, nine months, five months and three months. It is quite obvious that the Tangut concept of degrees of mourning took the Chinese example as a model, although it remains unclear whether the grouping of relatives in the Tangut "Degrees of Kinship" corresponds closely to the grouping in the Chinese "Degrees of Mourning."

E. I. Kychanov responds to this question in the following way: "The Tangut listing of periods of mourning (Article 41) copied the Chinese. It does not reflect the Tangut kinship system, but even if it does in some measure, those particulars are not perceptible to us" (Kychanov 1988: 86).

<sup>7</sup> See also Prof. Kepping's three previous articles on verbal agreement in LTBA (1975, 1981, 1982). [Ed.]

# Male EGO

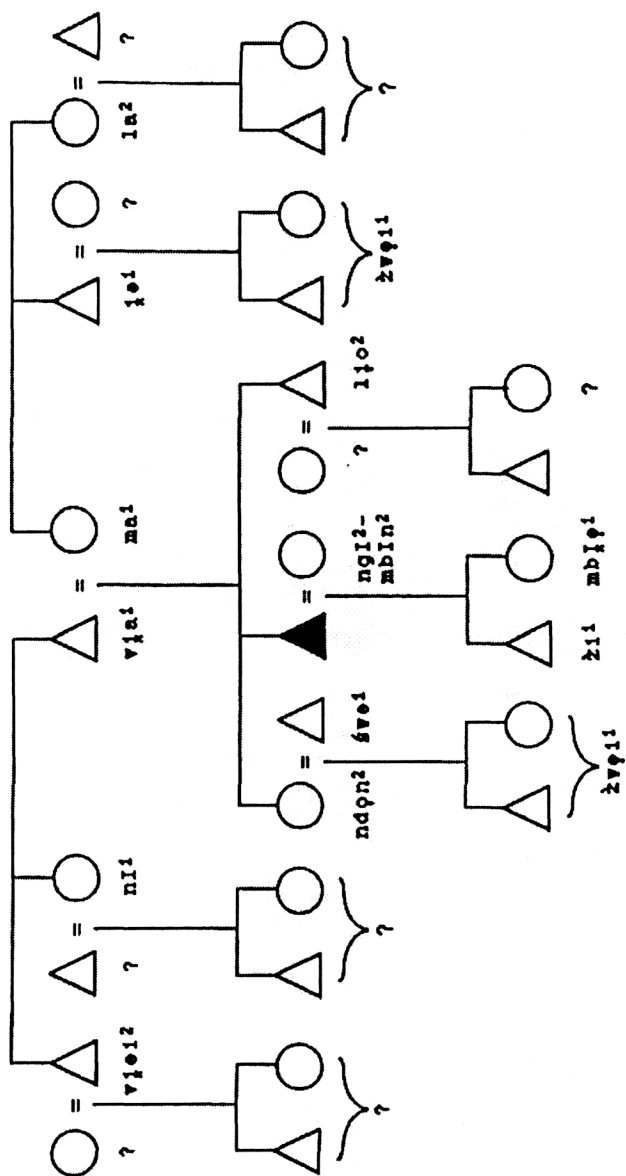


Chart 1





Thus, the following tasks confront us: first, to identify the referents of the kinship terms in the article "Degrees of Kinship"; and, second, to ascertain whether the grouping of relatives in the Tangut degrees of mourning coincide with the grouping to be found in the Chinese work.

Before turning to the solution of these problems, however, let us first examine the preamble to the article "Degrees of Kinship"; we will then proceed to discuss the key term 'mother's sister', since its use in the article raises some questions.

a) **Preamble to the Article "Degrees of Kinship"**  
(Terms  $m\ddot{o}^2$  and  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$ )

In the code the article "Degrees of Kinship" begins with a preamble composed of two sentences, to wit:

A. [Kychanov 1987:310]

$m\ddot{o}^2$   $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$   $ni\ddot{o}^1$   $m\ddot{o}^2$   $nIn^1$   $tsew^1$   $mbi^2mbin^2$   $mbu^1$   $ngv\ddot{o}^1$   
 $m\ddot{o}^2$   $lh\dot{\imath}vu^1$   $ngv\dot{\imath}^2ngv\dot{\imath}^2$   $\acute{s}\dot{\imath}e^1$   $ndo^2ndo^2$   $tha^2swin^1ph\dot{\imath}^1$   
 $tha\dot{\imath}kha^1$   $si^2ndz\dot{\imath}vo^2$   $lh\dot{\imath}vu^1$   $ngv\dot{\imath}^2$   $\acute{s}\dot{\imath}e^1$   $ta^1$   $v\ddot{o}^2ng\dot{\imath}^2$   
 $ri\dot{\imath}e^2$   $kIn^2l\ddot{o}w^2$

The five distinct [periods] for the wearing of mourning clothes are set forth in accordance with the affiliation [of the deceased relative] with  $m\ddot{o}^2$  or with  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$ , [and also] with the proximity of kinship. Likewise a woman will wear the same mourning as [her] husband wears.

Use of the terms  $m\ddot{o}^2$  and  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$  in the first sentence of the preamble has never before been subjected to special investigation. E. I. Kychanov translates them respectively as 'blood relatives' ( $m\ddot{o}^2$ ) and 'relatives by marriage' ( $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$ ), although he gives them no special consideration in his work.<sup>8</sup> In my opinion, these terms require particular scrutiny, since they are extremely important for an understanding of the entire system of kin relations in Tangut society.

In the list of relatives for whom one must observe the longest period of mourning (three years, one year, nine months), i.e. the list of closest

<sup>8</sup> [RWD]: Kychanov (1987:40) translates the preamble as follows: "The five distinct types of the wearing of mourning [for deceased relatives] is set forth in accordance with two categories of kinship—paternal blood and marriage—and with degree of kinship [lit. 'lower and higher degrees'; see Kychanov's footnote 11 at the top of p. 239]. [The period] of wearing mourning for concubines should be the same as that for wives." Kepping does not account for the significant discrepancies between her translation and Kychanov's.

relations, there is no indication as to which of the relatives refer to  $m\ddot{a}^2$ , and which to  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$ . But the lists of relatives for whom one must observe five- and three-month mourning are divided into two parts: before one group of relatives stands the compound  $m\ddot{a}^2 nIn^{(9)}$  'relatives by  $m\ddot{a}^2$ ', and before the other stands the compound  $ndz\dot{i}e^1 nIn^{(10)}$  'relatives by  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$ '.

Examining the lists of relatives distributed among  $m\ddot{a}^2$  and  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$ , I observed that among the kinship terms relating to  $m\ddot{a}^2$ , in addition to terms of consanguineal relationship there were also terms of affinal relationship; while among the kinship terms relating to  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$ , in addition to terms of affinal relationship there were also terms of consanguineal relationship. To determine whether the meanings of these two Tangut terms fit with the translations 'blood relatives' and 'relatives by marriage', or whether they had some other meanings, let us turn directly to the lists of Tangut kinship terms in the code.

Since the lists of terms relating to  $m\ddot{a}^2$  is rather large in number,<sup>11</sup> including many which require clarification of meaning, let us look first at the list of relatives by  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$  in five- and three-month periods of mourning; they number sixteen altogether.

Below appear in my translation the lists of relatives by  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$  from the article "Degrees of Kinship":

B *ndz\dot{i}e^1 for whom one mourns for five months*

[Kychanov 1987:314-15]

$ndz\dot{i}e^1 ts\ddot{a}w^1$

(1)  $ma^1 'In^1 v\dot{i}a^1 ma^1$  (2)  $'i\ddot{a}^1$  (3)  $nd\ddot{o}n^2 'In^1 ngi^2$  (4)  $ma^1 'In^1 k\ddot{a}i^1 ld\dot{i}\ddot{e}^1 nluo^1 ngi^2$  (5)  $ma^1 ngu^2 v\dot{i}a^1 mi^1 ngu^2 m\ddot{a}^2 nd\ddot{o}n^2$  (6)  $'u^2 la^2 'In^1 v\dot{i}a^1 ma^1 mu^1 k\ddot{a}i^1 F$

Mourning of five months must be observed for the following relatives by  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$ : 1) for parents of the mother, 2) for brothers of the mother, 3) a man<sup>12</sup> for sisters' sons, 4) for mother's sisters and their

<sup>9</sup> [RWD]: I have corrected Kepping's second graph from  $ts\ddot{a}w^1$ , which also has the meaning of kin relationship, after examining the original text of the article (Kychanov 1987:313, 315).  $nIn^1$  is the given form. See item (a) in the list of cited forms at the end of this article.

<sup>10</sup> [RWD]: This second graph has also been corrected as per the preceding footnote.

<sup>11</sup> First of all, these are evidently all relatives for whom one must observe mourning for three years, one year, or nine months (in any case these divisions do not give any indication as to which of the relatives refers to  $m\ddot{a}^2$  and which to  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$ ), and secondly they include those relatives on the lists of five- and three-month mourning for whom affinity to  $m\ddot{a}^2$  is especially stipulated.

<sup>12</sup> In translating into Russian [or English-RWD] the terms  $l\dot{i}o^2$  'brother (Ego is male)' and  $mu^2$  'brother (Ego is female)', and also  $nd\ddot{o}n^2$  'sister (Ego is male)' and  $k\ddot{a}i^1$  'sister (Ego is

sons, 5) a man for uterine sisters, 6) for a stepmother's parents, her brothers and sisters.<sup>13</sup>

C. *ndzɿə¹* for whom one mourns for three months

[Kychanov 1987:316-17]

*ndzɿə¹tsew¹*

(7) *mbɿə¹* 'In¹ *ngi²* (8) *kʰi¹* *ni²* *tɿə¹ngi²* *ndɔn²* (9) 'ɿə¹  
'In¹ *ngi²* (10) *ni¹* 'In¹ *ngi²* (11) *ngi²mbɿn²* 'In¹ *vɿa¹* *ma¹*  
(12) *no²* + ? (13) *mbɿə¹* *tɿə¹ngi²* 'In¹ *ngi²mbɿn²* (14)  
*ndɔn²* *tɿə¹ngi²* 'In¹ *ngi²mbɿn²* (15) *ma¹* (16) *kʰi¹* *ngi²*  
'In¹ *ngi²mbɿn²*

Mourning of three months must be observed for the following relatives by *ndzɿə¹*: 7) for daughters' sons, 8) for...<sup>14</sup> 9) for mother's brothers' sons, 10) for father's sisters' sons, 11) for wife's parents, 12) for wife's father's brothers (?)<sup>15</sup>, 13) for daughters' sons' wives, 14) a man for sisters' sons' wives, 15) for daughters' husbands, 16) a female for sisters' sons' wives.<sup>16</sup>

As we see, of these sixteen terms comprising the relatives by *ndzɿə¹*, eight (#1-5, 7, 9-10) are terms of consanguineal kinship, and six (#6, 11, 13-16) are terms of affinal kinship. We note that one term (#8) remains completely undefined and one term (#12) only tentatively defined.

female). I add the words 'male' and 'female', because the corresponding terms in Russian [or English] do not indicate sex of the speaker or referent.

<sup>13</sup> [RWD]: Kychanov (1987:41) translates this list as follows: "for mother's parents, for wife's father, for sisters' children; for mother's younger sisters and [their] offspring, for uterine sisters; for stepmother's parents, her maternal uncles and her sisters."

<sup>14</sup> The terms (or terms?) *kʰi¹* *ni²* *tɿə¹ngi²* *ndɔn²* elude my understanding and are left untranslated.

<sup>15</sup> I have nowhere else encountered term #12 *no²* + ?. Evidently it refers to relatives for a male, since the morpheme *no²* enters into the composition of such words as, e.g., *lɿngɔ¹no²* 'teacher'. The second morpheme in this compound I have never before encountered. Based on the position of this compound in the composition of the article "Degrees of Kinship," I tentatively identify the term as 'brother of wife's father'. E. I. Kychanov translates this term as 'wife's relations', with a note that "the exact meaning of the given term is unclear." (Kychanov 1987:41, 239)

<sup>16</sup> [RWD] Kychanov (1987:41) translates: "for daughters' children; for sisters' children; for wife's father's children; for children of paternal aunts; for wife's parents; for wife's relations; for daughters' sons' wives; for elder sister's sons' wives; for son-in-law; for younger sister's sons' wives." The Russian term *zjat'* 'son-in-law' may also mean 'brother-in-law'. It is possible that the Russian word *test'*, above translated as 'wife's father', also means 'wife's brother', as Kepping understands the original Tangut term. If that were the case, Kychanov would seem to be resorting to an ambiguous usage.

Thus, analysis of the terms concerning the relatives by  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$  for whom one must observe mourning for five and three months shows that they do not necessarily denote kinship by marriage and, correspondingly, the division of relatives into  $m\dot{e}^2$  and  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$  does not coincide with a differentiation of consanguineal/affinal relatives.

In order to ascertain the meanings of the terms  $m\dot{e}^2$  and  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$ , let us look at their usage in texts other than the legal code. The word  $m\dot{e}^2$  may be found in translations of Chinese texts as well as in original Tangut works.<sup>17</sup> In translations from Chinese texts, it normally corresponds to the word <sup>(s)</sup>xing 'family, clan name'. For example:

D. [Keeping 1983:423, sheet 277, column 4]

$svi^1 xew^1 m\dot{e}^2 t\dot{s}\dot{\imath}u^1 m\dot{\imath}e^1 'i^1 van^1 t\dot{s}h\dot{\imath}on^1 'i^1$

Sui-hou, [his] surname Zhu, name <Yuanchang>.<sup>18</sup>

E. [Keeping 1983:296, sheet 150]

$m\dot{e}^1 'In^1 m\dot{e}^2 a^1 t\dot{s}h\dot{\imath}e^1 nd\dot{\imath}u^1 'i^1 tsh\dot{\imath}en^1 mb\dot{\imath}e^2 khu^2 nda^2$   
 $nd\dot{\imath}u^1 m\dot{e}^2 lew^1 'i^1 lew^1 phi^1 m\dot{e}^1 z\dot{\imath}e^1 'i^1 tai^1 m\dot{e}^1 'In^1$   
 $ngi^2 li\dot{e}^1 lew^1 'i^1 ku^1 \dot{z}i\dot{e}^1 v\dot{\imath}a^1 m\dot{e}^2 ndo^2 tai^1 xva^2$   
 $nd\dot{\imath}u^1 'i^1$

[Zhang Wen asked Qin Mi:] "Does Heaven have a surname?" Qin Mi answered, "It does, the surname Liu. Liu Wei is called the son of Heaven, that means the name of the son of Heaven is Liu. And is it possible to distinguish the surname of the father from [the name of] his child?"

<sup>17</sup> By original Tangut texts I have in mind:

1. *Hymn to the Sacred Ancestors of the Tanguts*; abbreviated "Gimn." See Kychanov "Gimn svjashchennym predkam Tangutov", in *Pis'mennye pamjatniki vostoka* (1968; Moscow: Nauka [1970], pp. 217-231.

2. *Tangut Proverbs*; abbreviated "Izrechenija" with indication of the numerical sequence of the proverb in the text. See Kychanov, *Vnov' sobrannye dragotsennnye pamnye izrechenija*. Facsimile of the Tangut xylograph, translation, introductory essay and commentary (Moscow: Nauka, 1974).

3. The Tangut encyclopedia, *Sea of Meanings, Established by the Saints*; abbreviated *Sea of Meanings*. Preserved in the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, inventory nos. 143, 144, 145, 684, 2614. With the kind permission of E. I. Kychanov, who is at present preparing the text for publication, in this article I use ms. #145 from this encyclopedia and provide the translation of examples from it.

<sup>18</sup> In the brackets < > here is given an approximate transcription of the Chinese name, which I did not find in Chinese. A possible Chinese equivalent for <sup>(i)</sup>'i van<sup>i</sup> is <sup>(u)</sup>yuán; for <sup>(t)</sup>tsh<sup>i</sup>on<sup>i</sup> possibilities include <sup>(w)</sup>chāng and <sup>(x)</sup>zhōng.

In translations from the Chinese, the word  $mə^2$  is sometimes used in composition with the word  $lym_1ə^1$  'person'. This compound,  $miə^1mə^2$ , evidently also corresponds to the Chinese word (s)xing, for example:

F. [Keping 1983:191, sheet 45, column 3]

khwi<sup>1</sup> 'Ivan<sup>1</sup> tsh<sub>1</sub>u<sup>1</sup> lh<sub>1</sub>ə r<sub>1</sub>ə<sup>2</sup> miə<sup>1</sup>mə<sup>2</sup> lew<sup>2</sup>

Qu Yuan had the same surname as [the ruler] of the kingdom of Chu.

The Chinese text speaks of Qu Yuan being (z)tóng xing with the ruler of Chu.

G. [Keping 1983:247, sheet 101, column 3]

tsə<sup>1</sup>śan<sup>1</sup> miə<sup>1</sup>mə<sup>2</sup> kon<sup>1</sup>sven<sup>1</sup> m<sub>1</sub>ə<sup>2</sup> khe<sup>2</sup> tshe<sup>1</sup> lh<sub>1</sub>ə  
tha<sup>2</sup>mbi<sup>2</sup> ngu<sup>2</sup>

Zichan, his surname Gongsun, name Qiao, was an official in the kingdom of Zheng.

In the text *Newly Collected Notes on Compassion and Filiality*, the word  $mə^2$  occurs twice in composition with the word  $(a)viu^2$  'dwelling':  $mə^2 viū^2$ . This compound appears to mean 'house in which dwell relatives by  $mə^2$ '. So far I cannot offer a standard translation of the term; in each case below I translate it according to context:

H. [Keping, unpublished translation of *Newly Collected Notes on Compassion and Filiality*]

mə<sup>2</sup>viū<sup>2</sup> z<sub>1</sub>i<sup>2</sup> tha<sup>1</sup> kiu<sup>2</sup> ndzē<sup>1</sup> 'ôn<sup>2</sup>śia<sup>1</sup>

All members of the family [Azu] exalted her for such lofty behavior.

I. [Ibid.]

khva<sup>2</sup> ngw<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup> ngu<sup>2</sup> sva<sup>1</sup> r<sub>1</sub>ə<sup>2</sup> mə<sup>2</sup>viū<sup>2</sup> kha<sup>1</sup> lh<sub>1</sub>o<sup>2</sup>

Garbed in plain [i.e., simple, not silk—KK] clothes, the wife returned together with [Bao] Xuan to his home [i.e. to the husband's home—KK].

In original Tangut texts the following two compounds with the word  $mə^2$  are used, denoting 'relatives by  $mə^2$ ':  $mə^2 nIn^1$  (the very title headings in the article "Degrees of Kinship", under which relatives by  $mə^2$  are listed) and  $mə^2 tsəw^1 nIn^1$ . For example:

J.  $mə^2 tsəw^1 nIn^1 a^1 'o^1 ngi^2$

"Relatives by  $mə^2$  are sons of one womb."<sup>19</sup>

As far as the word  $ndzje^1$  is concerned, in texts translated from Chinese I have not encountered it at all, although it occurs in original Tangut texts, where in most cases it is used in parallel with  $mə^2$ , for example:

K. [Sea of Meanings, sheet 25a]:

$mə^2 ndzje^1 'lə^1 žvəi^1$

$mə^2$  and  $ndzje^1$  enter into marriage between themselves.

This last sentence is provided in the encyclopedia with the following commentary, whose meaning is not entirely clear to me:

L. [Ibid.]:

$ndzje^1 ži^1 mə^2 mə^1 mə^2 mbje^1 ndzje^1 'ja^2 mə^1 ti^1$   
 $ti^1 ə^1 ngi^2 su^2 ki^1 'o^1 ni^1 vje^1 mbje^1$

Youths from  $ndzje^1$  to  $mə^2$  become  $mə^1$  [i.e. daughter's husband—KK].<sup>20</sup> Girls from  $mə^2$  to  $ndzje^1$  become  $'ja^2$  [i.e. son's wife—KK]. The rules of conduct of the daughter's husband are like [the rules of behavior for the son]—he respects the wife's parents.

Another example:

M. ["Izrechenja" no. 337].<sup>21</sup>

$mə^2 ndzvi^1 ndzu^1 mie^1 ki^1 [?]$   
 $ndzje^1 ndzvi^1 ndzu^1 tha^2 'lə^1 žvəi^1$

<sup>19</sup> "Gimn" line 7 (cf. note 17 above for full citation).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Proto-TB \*s-mak 'son-in-law' [STC #324]. [Ed.]

<sup>21</sup> See note 17 above for full citation.

If [you] love [your] relatives by  $m\theta^2$ , then you settle next to them; if [you] love your relatives by  $ndzj\theta^1$ , then [you] celebrate a wedding.

And one more interesting example of the use of the word  $m\theta^2$ :

N. [Sea of Meanings, sheet 24b]:

$m\theta^2$   $lew^2$   $mi^1$  'j $\theta^1$

[Representatives] of the same  $m\theta^2$  do not enter into marriage among themselves.

To all appearances the examples given above testify to the existence in Tangut society of a dual-marriage organization of two exogamous groups, in which the kin unit representing the group of father was called  $m\theta^2$ , and the kin unit representing the group of mother was called  $ndzj\theta^1$ . According to M. V. Krjukov, a differentiation of relatives by virtue of belonging to an intermarrying collective is linked to the fact that such marriages were obligatory. The consequence of this was a terminological union of kinship and marriage relationships.

And indeed, historically the Tanguts did not distinguish a number of terms denoting kinship and marriage relationships. This circumstance permits the hypothesis that obligatory cross-cousin marriage was practiced in Tangut society in the distant past (see above).

Thus, it would appear that the terms  $m\theta^2$  and  $ndzj\theta^1$  originated in a dual-marriage organization, and  $ndzj\theta^1$  was a definite group only in the distant past, from which the other group regularly drew its wives. During the time of the Tangut state, in the 11th-13th centuries, such a strict limitation had already disappeared. Groups remained exogamous, but wives could be obtained from any other group.<sup>22</sup> As proof of this I cite an example from the encyclopedia, *Sea of Meanings*:

O. [Sea of Meanings, sheet 15b]:

$m\theta^2$   $ndzj\theta^1$   $ngv\theta^1$   $ndzvI^1$  'ju<sup>2</sup>

[Socially] equal  $m\theta^2$  and  $ndzj\theta^1$  seek one another.

Evidently, at the time when the Tangut script existed,  $m\theta^2$  still meant 'father's group', while  $ndzj\theta^1$  denoted already all people not in father's

<sup>22</sup> [RWD] There clearly were certain groups still practicing some limited form of the older marriage pattern, especially among the ruling elite of the Liao dynasty of the 10th-12th centuries, including the imperial family. Cf. the studies of the Khitan ruling elite groups Yelu and Xiao (Holmgren 1986, Rawski 1991, etc.).

group but not necessarily belonging to mother's group, i.e. more than likely this was a 'stranger's group'—mother's group, wife's group, the group into which sister married, etc.

Evidence for the social significance of the division of relatives into two groups—group  $mə^2$  and group  $ndzɿe^1$ —is provided by the exact differentiation of imperial relatives into these groups in Article 40 of the Tangut legal codex, "Eight Judgments [about persons] Having the Right to Mitigation of Punishment" (translation of the title of the article was done by Kychanov, 1987:37), and also by the measure of mitigation of punishment established for each of these groups of relatives. In this article of the code, before the enumeration of relatives belonging to the groups  $mə^2$  and  $ndzɿe^1$  stand the following headings (and subheadings in the case of  $ndzɿe^1$ ), each occupying a separate line in the composition of the article:

p. 306, column 2 (I):

$ndzvi^1 'In^1 mə^2 tsəw^1$

Relatives of the emperor by  $mə^2$

甥孫姑爺

p. 306, column 7 (II):

$ndzvi^1 'In^1 ndzɿe^1 tsəw^1$

Relatives of the emperor by  $ndzɿe^1$

甥孫叔爺

p. 306, column 8 (I):

$ngvə^1 lɿe^2 ndzvə^1 'In^1 nIn^1$

Relatives of the empress-mother<sup>23</sup>

兩叔嬪親不孫

p. 307, column 5 (2):

$ngvə^1 ndzvə^1 'In^1 nIn^1$

Relatives of the empress

兩叔嬪親不孫

Article 40 establishes the mitigation of punishment for *all* imperial relatives by  $mə^2$ ,<sup>24</sup> including those who were too distant to be counted relatives for whom one had to observe mourning;<sup>25</sup> according to the

<sup>23</sup> In Article 40, "Eight Judgments [about persons] Having the Right to Mitigation of Punishment," under the rubric "Relative of the Empress," three different terms for empress are used, namely:  $ngvə^1 lɿe^2 ndzvə^1$ ,  $phu^2 ngvə^1 ndzvə^1$ , and  $ngvə^1 ndzvə^1$ . Of these terms I have encountered in other texts only the last one, which means 'wife of the emperor; empress'. E. I. Kychanov translates the term  $phu^2 ngvə^1 ndzvə^1$  as 'widowed empress-grandmother', and the term  $ngvə^1 lɿe^2 ndzvə^1$  as 'widowed empress-mother'. Starting from the meanings given these terms by Kychanov, I conditionally translate them as 'empress-grandmother' and 'empress-mother'.

<sup>24</sup> My translation of part of Article 40 is included as an Appendix at the end of this article.

<sup>25</sup> The list of relatives for whom it was necessary to observe mourning, in my view, included four ascending generations, four descending generations, and four lateral lines.



closeness of kinship the punishment for these relatives decreased from four to two degrees by comparison with the legal norm. A special proviso was made for the closest relatives of the emperor by  $m\dot{a}^2$ , those for whom the mourning period was three years or one year. The crimes of these closest relatives were reported to the emperor, who himself decided the question of their fate; whereas, the mitigation of punishment for other relatives of the emperor by  $m\dot{a}^2$  was carried out by the "Left Bureau" [of Justice].<sup>26</sup>

Among the emperor's relatives by  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$ , those with the right to mitigation of punishment were only four lateral lines in the ascending generations of relatives of the empress-mother (possibly, the grandmother)<sup>27</sup> and three lateral lines in the ascending generations of relatives of the empress (an exception was made only for the generation of the empress' father—also four lateral lines). In these instances punishment could be decreased by one degree, so that relatives of the emperor by  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$  were on a par with all the other seven groups unrelated to the emperor but having the right to mitigation of punishment.<sup>28</sup>

So, by Tangut law all imperial relatives by  $m\dot{a}^2$  had the right to a mitigation of punishment by two to four degrees depending on the nearness of kinship; while only a portion of relatives by  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$  (like all other persons enjoying the privilege of mitigation of punishment) could count on a lessening of sentence by as much as one degree. From this one can conclude that imperial relatives by  $m\dot{a}^2$  enjoyed high social status, and consequently high status overall.

It is possible that the Tangut terms  $m\dot{a}^2$  and  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$  in some ways approximate the Tibetan terms *rupā-cik* and *scia-cik*,<sup>29</sup> about which the eighteenth century traveler Ippolito Desideri wrote the following (quoted in Benedict 1942:328):

*The Tibetans recognize two classes of kinship. The first are called relations of the Rupā-cik, or of the same bone; the second, relations of the Scia-cik, or of the same blood. They recognize, as relations of Rupā-cik, or of the same bone, those who descend from a common ancestor, however remote, even when they [the descendants—KK] have been divided into different branches during many generations. Relations of the Scia-cik, or the same blood, are those created by legitimate marriages. The first, though it may be exceedingly distant,*

<sup>26</sup> In translating the term  $(bb)1d\dot{\imath}e^1 r\dot{\imath}e^2$  as 'Left Bureau of Justice' I follow E. I. Kychanov (1987:39). [RWD] Kepping's understanding of portions of this article differ quite significantly from Kychanov's. For instance, the word that she translates 'emperor' is read by Kychanov as 'higher authorities' throughout the code.

<sup>27</sup> See note 23 above.

<sup>28</sup> For a list of these seven groups, see Kychanov, 1987:39.

<sup>29</sup> In Written Tibetan, *rus-pa cig* and *sa-cig*, respectively. [Ed.]

is looked upon as an absolute and inviolable bar to matrimony, and any intercourse between two relations of the *Rupá-cik*, or of the same bone, is regarded as incestuous, and they are shunned and loathed by everyone. The second is also a bar to marriage in the first degree of relationship; thus, an uncle may not marry his niece, but marriages [sic] with a first cousin on the mother's side is allowed, and frequently occurs.<sup>30</sup>

In this connection one should note that among the Tanguts there existed a notion about the paternal white bone and the maternal crimson flesh (not blood!):

P. [Sea of Meanings, sheet 13b]:

ngi<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> vɿa<sup>1</sup> 'In<sup>1</sup> riə<sup>1</sup> phôn<sup>1</sup> mai 'In<sup>1</sup> tšhie<sup>1</sup> nIn<sup>1</sup>  
ndzvon<sup>1</sup>ngve<sup>1</sup> ngi<sup>2</sup> lɿwɿ<sup>2</sup> tha<sup>2</sup>we<sup>2</sup>

The body of the child is obtained from the union of the paternal white bone and the maternal crimson flesh.

As for the second sentence in the preamble to Article 41, "Degrees of Kinship," in the Tangut code (see above), it is translated by Kychanov in the following manner: "[The term] of mourning for concubines should be the same as [the term of mourning] for wives" (Kychanov 1987:40).

It is evident from the translation that the compound (cc)si<sup>2</sup>ndzɿvo<sup>2</sup> is rendered into Russian with the word 'concubine', and the compound (dd)və<sup>2</sup>ngi<sup>2</sup> rendered by the word 'wife'. In the Tangut texts that I have read, however, the compound si<sup>2</sup>ndzɿvo<sup>2</sup> usually means 'woman' and the compound və<sup>2</sup>ngi<sup>2</sup> means only 'husband; spouse'. Therefore, I believe that the sentence should be translated as follows: "In addition a woman should wear the same mourning as [her] husband wears." In my opinion, the sentence should be understood to mean that in the observance of mourning a woman should completely follow her husband, i.e. if the husband, according to this article of the code, observes mourning for his relative for three years, then correspondingly his wife also must observe the same period of mourning for her husband's relative. Thus, the preamble to the article "Degrees of Kinship" in the Tangut code is, in my translation:

Five different [periods] for the observance of mourning are set forth in accordance with the affiliation [of the deceased

<sup>30</sup> The passage is quoted by Benedict from the translation by Filippo de Filippi, *An Account of Tibet: The Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia*, S. J. 1712-1727 [London, 1932], p. 192. [Ed.]

relative] with  $m\dot{a}^2$  and  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$ , [and also] with the proximity of kinship. Likewise, a woman should observe the same mourning as [her husband] observes.

b) *The term "mother's sister" and possible group marriage.*

The terminological expression for "mother's sister" in the article "Degrees of Kinship" provokes a series of bewildering questions. First of all, two terms are used here in this meaning: the basic term  $la^2$  'mother's sister' (regulations #10, 23, 36), which in all cases is cited in conjunction with the term 'father's brother' in one and the same rule<sup>31</sup>, and the descriptive term  $(ce)ma^1$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $k\hat{a}i^1$  'mother's sister' (regulation #52). An impression is created that the denotatum 'mother's sister' is referred to in two different ways in the article, which contradicts my conviction that each concrete relative can be mentioned only once (see below). Secondly, the basic term  $la^2$  'mother's sister' appears in the list of relatives by  $m\dot{a}^2$ , while the descriptive term  $ma^1$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $k\hat{a}i^1$  is included in the list of relatives by  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$ . Thirdly, the basic term ' $i\dot{o}^1$  'mother's brother' denotes relatives by  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$ , while the basic term  $la^2$  'mother's sister', as was already said above, denotes relatives by  $m\dot{a}^2$ .

Naturally, in this preliminary stage of the study of the Tangut kinship system, these questions cannot all be answered at once. But it is always possible to suggest that the presence of the basic term  $la^2$  among relatives by  $m\dot{a}^2$  points to the existence in Tangut society of group marriage (sororate). It is possible that together with the practice of sororate, in which the sisters of mother accompanied her in entering the  $m\dot{a}^2$  of her husband and were called  $la^2$ , another provision was also made whereby mother's sisters could have married into other  $m\dot{a}^2$ , and that these sisters of mother were called by the descriptive term  $ma^1$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $k\hat{a}i^1$  in the article "Degrees of Kinship" (cf. the situation with brothers, below).

<sup>31</sup> In all cases (with one exception, see below), the term  $la^2$  is cited in the same place parallel to the term  $v\dot{i}e^1$  'father's brother':

- No. 10: Mourning of one year should be observed for father's brothers and mother's sisters.
- No. 23: Mourning of nine months should be observed for father's brothers and mother's sisters of the first degree.
- No. 36: Mourning of five months should be observed for father's brothers and mother's sisters and father's sisters of the second degree.

Only in one instance is the term  $v\dot{i}e^1$  'father's brother' used without the term  $la^2$  'mother's sister', but in a context (as in No. 36) where it is parallel with the term  $ni^1$  'father's sister':

- No. 56: Mourning of three months should be observed for father's brothers and father's sisters of the third degree.

In the Tangut encyclopedia *Sea of Meanings Established by the Saints*, there is a statement, confirming my suggestion that it was precisely  $k\hat{a}i^1$  'sister[s]', who married men belonging to different  $m\hat{a}^2$ :

Q. [Sea of Meanings, sheet 23a]:

$k\hat{a}i^1\ ta^1\ v\dot{a}^1\ ma^1\ ngu^2\ lhi^2\ ndzi\theta\ tho^2\ 'In^1tvu^2$   
 $'i\dot{a}^2si\theta^1\ ndo^2\ m\hat{a}^2\ 'iu^2\ 'iu^2\ nd\dot{z}\dot{i}\theta^2ng\dot{i}\theta^1$

As for the [term]  $k\hat{a}i^1$ , [it is] what are called [sisters], born of the same parents. When they grow up, each of them in getting married finds her husband in different  $m\hat{a}^2$  [the translation of the last 4 graphs of the statement is tentative].

It must be emphasized, however, that this is only a working hypothesis, and the problem of the term 'mother's sisters' requires detailed research.

#### 4. Analysis of the Kinship Terms in Article 41, "Degrees of Kinship," of the Tangut Code.

As indicated above, Article 41 of the Tangut code (translated in the Appendix) presents a list of Tangut kinship terms without indicating their referents, divided into five subgroups according to the length of the mourning period. I believe that in Article 41 each concrete relative can only be mentioned once. Exceptions arise when the structural principles of the Tangut kinship system required the indication of a given referent twice; I have in mind the "masculine" and "feminine" series of terms in the generation of Ego.

Kinship terms within subgroups are separated from each other by blank spaces. The distance from one blank space to another I call a *rule*. If a rule cannot be contained in one column and runs on into a second column, then this second column is indented a little at the top (i.e. below the level of the first column). The statement indicates the object of mourning, i.e. the term(s) denoting the relative for whom one must observe mourning, and occasionally also the subject of mourning (the term denoting the relative who must observe mourning). In those cases when both object and subject are denoted, the order of their occurrence is: subject, object, postposition  $'In^1$  (object marker). Subject and/or object of mourning may be "direct" or "conditional." I call a conditional subject (object) of mourning one for whom separate conditions of mourning are especially stipulated (for example, in rule #47 the subject and object both appear as conditional: "Daughters who have married [must observe five-month mourning] for those

of their brothers and [brothers'] sons, who have gone to another [family] as adopted sons, and also for the wives of these brothers and [brothers'] sons'). All subjects and objects of mourning who are not conditional I call direct.

Altogether in Article 41 there are 82 rules (below for convenience in citation I number the rules), in each of which there are one or more objects of mourning. Naturally the question arises: how do I separate out kinship terms in a situation where in most cases the terms themselves (their boundaries and meanings) are unknown to me? To begin, I will limit the task: here I will try to distinguish only direct objects of mourning, representing masculine consanguineal relatives, i.e., those cases where the subject of mourning is a man, and the object of mourning a man by the line  $m\theta^2$ . There are 25 such terms.

The process of separating out these 25 terms was as follows. First of all, the list of 82 rules was shortened by 16 rules; since we are interested only in relatives by  $m\theta^2$ , I eliminated rules of five- and three-month mourning for relatives by  $ndz\dot{\imath}\theta^1$ .

From the remaining 66 rules I selected those terms whose referents were already known to me. These eleven terms are:  $v\dot{\imath}a^1$  'father' (rule 1),  $v\dot{\imath}a^1\theta^1$  'grandfather' (rule 7),  $l\dot{\imath}\theta^2t\dot{\imath}\theta n^2$  'brothers' (rule 9),  $v\dot{\imath}e\dot{\imath}^1$  'father's brother' (rule 10),  $? + ph\dot{\imath}u\theta^1$  'real nephew' (rule 11),  $z\dot{\imath}^1$  'son' (rule 12),  $z\dot{\imath}^1 l h\dot{\imath}^1$  'grandson' (rule 25),  $t\dot{\imath}u^2v\dot{\imath}a^1$  'great-grandfather' (rule 35),  $l h\theta n^2$  'great-grandson' (rule 43),  $phu^2t\dot{\imath}u^2v\dot{\imath}a^1$  'great-great-grandfather' (rule 55),  $l\dot{\imath}ve^2$  'great-great-grandson' (rule 63).

The remaining fourteen terms [out of the 25] were identified by a purely formal characteristic: their referents were not known to me previously. These are complex terms, consisting of two to six graphs. The right outermost border of the term served as the "signal" for their selection, representing an already familiar term which could be the following words:  $v\dot{\imath}e\dot{\imath}^1$  'father's brother',  $l\dot{\imath}\theta^2$  'brother' (Ego male), [reading unknown] 'parallel nephew',  $l h\dot{\imath}^1$  'grandson', and  $l h\theta n^2$  'great-grandson'. I call these words "signals." In this fashion, if we designate each of the unknown graphs in a term as X, and the signal graph as S, then all the rules can be written in the following form: X...XSX.... The term singled out occupies the entire first part of the rule all the way to and including the "signal" graph, i.e., in the text, everything which runs above S to the first blank space constitutes the selected term.

This method proved effective in all cases when in the beginning of a rule a relative/male is indicated. In the beginning of rule #57, however, sisters and then brothers are indicated:  $(m)t\dot{\imath}u^2$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $nd\theta n^2$   $ld\dot{\imath}\theta^1$   $l\dot{\imath}\theta^2$   $n\dot{\imath}u\theta^1$   $ng\dot{\imath}^2mb\dot{\imath}n^2$  ([three-month mourning must be observed for] the sisters of great-grandfather, and the brothers and their wives of great-grandfather). Therefore, here the term  $nd\theta n^2$  'sister' (Ego male) serves as the signal graph, with the help of which the term  $t\dot{\imath}u^2$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $nd\theta n^2$

'sisters of great-grand-father' (Ego male) is distinguished. But since we are now interested only in terms for a male, setting aside the graph  $nd\ o\ n^2$  'sister' (Ego male), and finding further in this rule the term  $l\ i\ o^2$  'brother', previously cited in the list of "signal" graphs, we get the term we need,  $t\ i\ u^2$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $l\ i\ o^2$  'great-grandfather's brothers' (Ego male).

The group of kinship terms isolated by this method displays a heterogeneous morphological structure:

1. Seven terms are descriptive kinship terms, composed of three to four graphs which yield intelligible translations (remember that the referents of these terms were unknown to me). These seven are:  $l\ e\ w^1$   $t\ s\ e\ w^1$   $v\ i\ e\ i^1$  'father's brother of the first degree' (rule 23);  $n\ i\ e^1$   $t\ s\ e\ w^1$   $v\ i\ e\ i^1$  'father's brother of the second degree' (rule 36);  $v\ i\ a^1\ o^1$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $l\ i\ o^2$  'grandfather's brother' (rule 37);  $l\ i\ o^2$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $l\ h\ i^1$  'brother's grandson' (rule 38);  $s\ o^1$   $t\ s\ e\ w^1$   $v\ i\ e\ i^1$  'father's brother of the third degree' (rule 56);  $t\ i\ u^2$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $l\ i\ o^2$  'great-grandfather's brother' (rule 57);  $l\ i\ o^2$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $l\ h\ o\ n^2$  'brother's great-grandson' (rule 59).

2. Seven terms are compound kinship terms, composed of three to six graphs which do not yield intelligible translations. Of these terms I translate only their "signal" graph, while the remaining part of the term—everywhere the same combination,  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$  'brother of father [and] son'—is given in transcription. These seven terms are:  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$   $l\ i\ o^2$  'brother of  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$ ' (rule 24);  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$  + ? 'nephew of  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$ ' (rule 39);  $n\ i\ e^1$   $t\ s\ e\ w^1$   $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$   $l\ i\ o^2$  'brother of  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$  of the second degree' (rule 40);  $s\ o^1$   $t\ s\ e\ w^1$   $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$   $l\ i\ o^2$  'brother of  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$  of the third degree' (rule 58);  $v\ i\ a^1\ o^1$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$   $l\ i\ o^2$  'brother of  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$  of grandfather' (rule 60);  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$   $l\ i\ o^2$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $l\ h\ i^1$  'grandson of brother of  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$ ' (rule 61);  $n\ i\ e^1$   $t\ s\ e\ w^1$   $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$  ? 'nephew of  $v\ i\ e\ i^1\ z\ i^1$  of the second degree' (rule 62).

Below is a list of the 25 terms extracted (in most cases by formal criteria) from Article 41, which I have identified as terms for male consanguineal relatives by  $m\ e^2$ . Those terms with known referents are marked with an asterisk. The terms are listed in the order in which they occur in Article 41, but their enumeration here does not coincide with the numbered sequence of rules from which they were extracted:

LIST II: MALE CONSANGUINEAL RELATIVES BY  $m\theta^2$ 

- 1. 微  $v_{\dot{x}}a^1$  father
- 2. 微 齋  $v_{\dot{x}}a^1'o^1$  father's father
- 3. 孖 解  $l_{\dot{x}}o^2t_{\dot{x}}\phi n^2$  brothers
- 4. 齋  $v_{\dot{x}}e^1$  father's brother
- 5. 齋 齋  $? + ph_{\dot{x}}\phi o^1$  brother's son
- 6. 齋  $z_{\dot{x}}i^1$  son
7. 孖 齋 齋  $l\phi w^1 t\phi w^1 v_{\dot{x}}e^1$  father's brother of the first degree
8. 齋 齋 孖  $v_{\dot{x}}e^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1 l_{\dot{x}}o^2$  brother of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$

- 9. 孫  $lhI^1$  son's son
- 10. 翁  $t_{\dot{u}}^2v_{\dot{a}}^1$  father's father's father
11. 叔  $ni^{\epsilon} tsəw^1 v_{\dot{e}}^1$  father's brother of the second degree
12. 翁  $v_{\dot{a}}^1 a^1 o^1 'In^1 l_{\dot{o}}^2$  grandfather's brother
13. 孫  $l_{\dot{o}}^2 'In^1 lhI^1$  brother's grandson
14. 叔  $v_{\dot{e}}^1 i^1 z_{\dot{i}}^1 + ?$  nephew of  $v_{\dot{e}}^1 i^1 z_{\dot{i}}^1$
15. 叔  $ni^{\epsilon} tsəw^1$  brother of  $v_{\dot{e}}^1 i^1 z_{\dot{i}}^1$  of the  
叔  $v_{\dot{e}}^1 i^1 z_{\dot{i}}^1 l_{\dot{o}}^2$  second degree
- 16. 孫  $lhən^2$  son's grandson
- 17. 翁  $phu^2 t_{\dot{u}}^2 v_{\dot{a}}^1$  great-great-grandfather



18. 叔歲類  $sɔ^1 tsew^1 v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}$  father's brother of the third degree
19. 類叔類  $t_{\dot{x}}y^2 'In^1 l_{\dot{x}}o^2$  great-grandfather's brother
20. 叔歲類  
類叔類  $sɔ^1 tsew^1$  brother of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}z^{11}$   
 $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}z^{11} l_{\dot{x}}o^2$  of the third degree
21. 類叔類  $l_{\dot{x}}o^2 'In^1 lhɔn^2$  brother's great-grandson
22. 叔歲類  
類叔類  $v_{\dot{x}}a^{1'o1} 'In^1$  brother of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}z^{11}$  of  
 $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}z^{11} l_{\dot{x}}o^2$  grandfather
23. 叔歲類  
類叔類  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}z^{11}$  grandson of brother of  
 $l_{\dot{x}}o^2 'In^1 lhI^1$   $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}z^{11}$
24. 叔歲類  
類叔類  $n_{\dot{x}}ə^1 tsew^1$  nephew of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}z^{11}$  of  
 $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}z^{11} + ?$  the second degree
25. 類叔類  $l_{\dot{x}}ve^2$  great-great-grandson

Using the terms whose referents are known, one may construct the following table for relatives of the direct line (in parentheses after the term is shown its numerical order in the above list):

great-great-grandfather	(17)	4th ascending generation	(+4)
great-grandfather	(10)	3rd ascending generation	(+3)
grandfather	(2)	2nd ascending generation	(+2)
father	(1)	1st ascending generation	(+1)

Generation of Ego

0

son	(6)	1st descending generation	(-1)
grandson	(9)	2nd descending generation	(-2)
great-grandson	(16)	3rd descending generation	(-3)
great-great-grandson	(25)	4th descending generation	(-4)

In addition to terms related to the direct line, the table contains terms for two lateral lines, of which at present three are known to us (for convenience in the table below the terms for direct line are omitted, leaving only the generational number):

II Lateral line	I Lateral line	
		+4
		+3
		+2
father's brother (4)		+1
	brothers (3)	EGO
	"real" nephew (5)	-1
		-2
		-3
		-4

Table 1.

The term 'father's brother' occurs in Article 41 in combination with the numerals 'one', 'two', 'three', which appear as determinatives to the

word  $t\text{sew}^1$  'degree; branch' (precisely this word  $t\text{sew}^1$  is used in the title of Article 41:  $(a)nIn^1t\text{sew}^1$  "Degrees of Kinship"):  $l\text{ew}^1 t\text{sew}^1 v\text{jei}^1$  'father's brother of the first degree' (term #7),  $n\text{je}^1 t\text{sew}^1 v\text{jei}^1$  'father's brother of the second degree' (term #11),  $s\text{o}^1 t\text{sew}^1 v\text{jei}^1$  'father's brother of the third degree' (term #18). In Article 41, however, there also occurs the term  $v\text{jei}^1$  'father's brother' without any determinative (term #4). Therefore one may hypothesize that terms #7, 11, and 18 denote respectively father's brothers in the third, fourth, and fifth lateral lines. Furthermore, we propose that terms #13 ('brother's grandson') and #21 ('brother's great-grandson') denote descendants of nephew (term #5). These five terms are displayed in Table 2:

5th lateral	4th lateral	3rd lateral	2nd lateral	1st lateral	
					+4
					+3
					+2
FB 3rd degree (18)	FB 2nd degree (11)	FB 1st degree (7)	FB (4)		+1
				brothers (3)	EGO
				nephew (5)	-1
				brother's grandson (13)	-2
				brother's great-grandson (21)	-3
					-4

Table 2.

In List II there are two descriptive terms, the meaning of whose component parts is entirely clear. They are  $v\text{je}^1 a^1 o^1$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $l\text{je}^1 o^2$  (#12) 'grandfather's brother' and  $t\text{je}^1 y^2$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $l\text{je}^1 o^2$  (#19) 'great-grandfather's brother'. One can propose that these are, respectively, the fathers of father's brothers of the first degree and the grandfathers of father's brothers of the second degree. In Table 3 they appear thus (showing only the ascending generations since no changes from Table 2 occurred in the descending):

5th lateral	4th lateral	3rd lateral	2nd lateral	1st lateral	
					+4
	great grandfather's brother (19)				+3
		grandfather's brother (12)			+2
FB 3rd degree (18)	FB 2nd degree (11)	FB 1st degree (7)	father's brother (4)		+1
				brothers (3)	EGO

Table 3.

Thus, of 25 terms 18 can be assigned to various positions in the table. Seven undefined terms remain: 'brother of  $v_{\dot{\lambda}}e_{\dot{\lambda}}i^1\dot{z}i^1$ ' (#8), 'nephew of  $v_{\dot{\lambda}}e_{\dot{\lambda}}i^1\dot{z}i^1$ ' (#14), 'brother of  $v_{\dot{\lambda}}e_{\dot{\lambda}}i^1\dot{z}i^1$  of the second degree' (#15), 'brother of  $v_{\dot{\lambda}}e_{\dot{\lambda}}i^1\dot{z}i^1$  of the third degree' (#20), 'brother of  $v_{\dot{\lambda}}e_{\dot{\lambda}}i^1\dot{z}i^1$  of grandfather' (#22), 'grandson of brother of  $v_{\dot{\lambda}}e_{\dot{\lambda}}i^1\dot{z}i^1$ ' (#23), and 'nephew of  $v_{\dot{\lambda}}e_{\dot{\lambda}}i^1\dot{z}i^1$  of the second degree' (#24).

Analysis of the seven remaining undefined terms shows that with the exception of the term 'brother of  $v_{\dot{\lambda}}e_{\dot{\lambda}}i^1\dot{z}i^1$ ' (#8), all the rest denote relatives for whom one must observe five- or three-month mourning, i.e., these are rather distant relatives. Meanwhile, our table has some unfilled positions for close relatives, for example the children of father's brothers. I think the question here is not one of incompleteness in the list of kinship terms that I have compiled, but rather of a structural peculiarity in the Tangut kinship system itself.

In Article 41 under the subheading for nine-month mourning there is the following rule (#34):

R     $mb_{\dot{\lambda}}\dot{\epsilon}^1 \ 'a_{\dot{\lambda}}s_{\dot{\lambda}}\dot{\epsilon}^1 \ n_{\dot{\lambda}}uo^1r_{\dot{\lambda}}\dot{\epsilon}^2 \ v_{\dot{\lambda}}e_{\dot{\lambda}}i^1 \ la^2 \ n_{\dot{\lambda}}i^1 \ k_{\dot{\lambda}}\dot{\epsilon}^1 \ mu^1 \ \dot{z}v_{\dot{\lambda}}e_{\dot{\lambda}}i^1$

Married daughters [must observe nine-month mourning] for brothers of father, sisters of mother, sisters of father [and for their children, respectively] sisters, brothers and cross-cousins.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> [RWD]: Kychanov translates this sentence as: "brides and daughters after marriage for paternal uncle, maternal aunt, paternal aunt, sisters, maternal uncle, and mother-in-law" (1987:40).

From this statement it is clear that a woman called the children of her father's brothers and the children of her mother's sisters by the same term that she called clan brothers and sisters, respectively  $\text{mu}^1$  'brother' and  $\text{k}\hat{\text{a}}\text{i}^1$  'sister' (i.e. blood brothers and parallel male cousins were not distinguished terminologically, likewise blood sisters and parallel female cousins). From this one might suppose that a man also called his parallel cousins by the same terms that he used for his clan brothers and sisters, respectively  $\text{l}\hat{\text{i}}\text{o}^2$  'brother' and  $\text{ndon}^2$  'sister'. Now it becomes clear why the term  $\text{l}\hat{\text{i}}\text{o}^2\text{t}\hat{\text{i}}\text{on}^2$ , denoting 'brothers' (plural number) is used in Article 41: it includes all the brothers in a family, blood brothers and parallel cousins.

Evidently, the descendants of brothers are also fused terminologically. The term  $\text{?} + \text{ph}\hat{\text{i}}\text{u}^1$  'actual nephew' meant not only children of a blood brother, but also children of a parallel male cousin; the term  $\text{l}\hat{\text{i}}\text{o}^2$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $\text{lh}\text{i}^1$  'brother's grandson' referred not only to the grandson of a blood brother, but also to the grandson of a parallel male cousin; and the term  $\text{l}\hat{\text{i}}\text{o}^2$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $\text{lhon}^2$  'brother's great-grandson' meant not only the great-grandson of a blood brother, but also the great-grandson of a parallel male cousin. Thus there took place a complete fusion of terms for brothers and their descendants with those for parallel cousins and their descendants. We can show this in Table 4.

Now let us return to the seven terms which we have not yet defined. As we have seen, each of them has the same element,  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$ , literally meaning 'brother of father-son' or, going by the rules of Tangut grammar, 'son of brother of father', i.e. , cousin. From this one may conclude that terms containing the element  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$  indicated the lateral line. To avoid a cumbersome translation of these terms, I propose to retain the transcription of this element. Thus, for instance, the first term with the element  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$  in Article 41 is term #8,  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$   $\text{l}\hat{\text{i}}\text{o}^2$ , which will be translated as 'brother of  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$ '. Article 41 has two other terms 'brother of  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$ ', which however have in front of them a determinative, expressed by compounds of a numeral and the word  $\text{ts}\hat{\text{e}}\text{w}^1$  'generation; degree':  $\text{n}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}^1$   $\text{ts}\hat{\text{e}}\text{w}^1$   $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$   $\text{l}\hat{\text{i}}\text{o}^2$  'brother of  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$  of the second degree',  $\text{so}^1$   $\text{ts}\hat{\text{e}}\text{w}^1$   $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$   $\text{l}\hat{\text{i}}\text{o}^2$  'brother of  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$  of the third degree'. Thus, there are altogether three such terms in Article 41: #8 'brother of  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$ ', #15 'brother of  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$  of the second degree', and #20 'brother of  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$  of the third degree'.

From a formal point of view, the row of terms with the element  $\text{v}\hat{\text{i}}\text{e}\text{i}^1\text{z}\text{i}^1$  is violated, to the extent that term #8 is missing the determinative that one might expect, expressing the numeral 'one'. Yet one can, all the same, propose that these terms point respectively to children of

5th lateral	4th lateral	3rd lateral	2nd lateral	1st lateral	
					+4
	great-grandfather's brother (19)				+3
		grandfather's brother (12)			+2
FB 3rd degree (18)	FB 2nd degree (11)	FB 1st degree (7)	FB (4)		+1
			brothers (3)	brothers (3)	EGO
			actual nephew (5)	actual nephew (5)	-1
			B grandson (13)	B grandson (13)	-2
			B great-grandson (21)	B great-grandson (21)	-3
					-4

Table 4.

5th lateral	4th lateral	3rd lateral	2nd lateral	1st lateral	
					+4
	great grandfather's brother (19)				+3
		grandfather's brother (12)			+2
FB 3rd degree (18)	FB 2nd degree (11)	FB 1st degree (7)	FB (4)		+1
v <sub>1</sub> ei <sup>1</sup> ži <sup>1</sup> B 3rd degree (20)	v <sub>1</sub> ei <sup>1</sup> ži <sup>1</sup> B 2nd degree (15)	v <sub>1</sub> ei <sup>1</sup> ži <sup>1</sup> B (8)	brothers (3)	brothers (3)	EGO

Table 5.

father's brothers of the first degree, second degree, and third degree. Let us place these terms in our table (here showing only the ascending generations since there is no change in the descending generations; see Table 5).

Judging by the characters which above I have called "signals," of the four remaining undefined terms with the element  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$  three terms point to the descending generation:  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1 + ?$  'nephew of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$ ' (#14),  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1 l_{\dot{x}}o^2$  'In<sup>1</sup> lhI<sup>1</sup> 'grandson of brother of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$ ' (#23), and  $n_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1 t_{\dot{x}}s_{\dot{x}}w_{\dot{x}}i^1 v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1 + ?$  'nephew of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$  of the second degree' (#24). It is obvious that here too, as in the case of brothers of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$ , there is no indication of nephews of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$  of the first degree; they are called simply 'nephews of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$ ' (term #14). Distributing these three terms on the table among the descending generations presents no special difficulty: 'nephew of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$ ' (#14) is 'son of brother of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$ ' (#8), 'grandson of brother of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$ ' (#23) is 'son of nephew of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$ ' (#14), and 'nephew of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$  of the second degree' (#24) is 'son of brother of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$  of the second degree' (#15). Only one term remains unidentified, #22  $v_{\dot{x}}a_{\dot{x}}i^1o_{\dot{x}}i^1$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1 l_{\dot{x}}o^2$  'brother of  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1z_{\dot{x}}i^1$  of grandfather'. It is perfectly clear that this is 'son of brother of great-grandfather' (term #19), for whom on the table there is still space. Let us show the entire table; together with enumeration of the generations in the direct lines are shown the numbers of the corresponding terms in List II (Table 6).

Analysis of Table 6 reveals, however, that somewhere I have made an error in determining the referents of the Tangut kinship terms from Article 41: two terms in the lateral line (#18 and #20) "drop out" of the table; they have no immediate link with the direct line and their numeration does not correspond to a position in the table. Thus, the impression arises of an extra generation of father's brothers and their sons.

Actually, in Article 41 four terms are cited with the meaning of 'father's brother': 1) father's brother (#4), 2) father's brother of the first degree (#7), 3) father's brother of the second degree (#11), 4) father's brother of the third degree (#18).

Recall that I have already mentioned the existence of two terms to denote 'mother's sister', the basic term  $l_{\dot{x}}a_{\dot{x}}^2$  and the descriptive term  $l_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}l_{\dot{x}}a_{\dot{x}}^1$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $k_{\dot{x}}\hat{a}_{\dot{x}}i^1$ , which I conditionally linked to the practice of group marriage ( $l_{\dot{x}}a_{\dot{x}}^2$  and  $ma_{\dot{x}}^1$  'In<sup>1</sup>  $k_{\dot{x}}\hat{a}_{\dot{x}}i^1$  are blood sisters, for whom different degrees of mourning were observed). By analogy (in Article 41 the term  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1$  'father's brother' is always used in conjunction with the term  $l_{\dot{x}}a_{\dot{x}}^2$  'mother's sister'). I propose that  $v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1$  'father's brother' (#4) and  $l_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}w_{\dot{x}}i^1 t_{\dot{x}}s_{\dot{x}}w_{\dot{x}}i^1 v_{\dot{x}}e_{\dot{x}}i^1$  'father's brothers of the first degree' (#7) are blood brothers,

5th lateral	4th lateral	3rd lateral	2nd lateral	1st lateral	
					(17)
	great-grandfather's brother (19)				(10)
	grandfather's (v <sub>1</sub> ei <sup>1</sup> ži <sup>1</sup> ) brother (22)	grandfather's brother (12)			(2)
FB 3rd degree (18)	FB 2nd degree (11)	FB 1st degree (7)	FB (4)		(1)
v <sub>1</sub> ei <sup>1</sup> ži <sup>1</sup> B 3rd degree (20)	v <sub>1</sub> ei <sup>1</sup> ži <sup>1</sup> B 2nd degree (15)	v <sub>1</sub> ei <sup>1</sup> ži <sup>1</sup> B (8)	brothers (3)	brothers (3)	EGO
	v <sub>1</sub> ei <sup>1</sup> ži <sup>1</sup> N 2nd degree (24)	v <sub>1</sub> ei <sup>1</sup> ži <sup>1</sup> N (14)	actual nephew (5)	actual nephew (5)	(6)
		v <sub>1</sub> ei <sup>1</sup> ži <sup>1</sup> B grandson (23)	B grandson (13)	B grandson (13)	(9)
			B great-grandson (21)	B great-grandson (21)	(16)
					(25)

Table 6.



for whom different degrees of mourning were observed. These blood brothers were differentiated through terminological fusion or non-fusion of their offspring with the offspring of Ego's brothers: (a) the offspring of father's brothers (#4) are fused terminologically with the offspring of Ego's brothers, while (b) offspring of father's brothers of the first degree (#7) are not fused terminologically with the offspring of Ego's brothers. For this reason father's brothers (#4) and their children were equal in mourning requirements to representatives of the direct line, whereas father's brother of the first degree (#7) and their children were considered as a lateral line and mourning for them was observed one degree less.

Confirmation for this differentiation of blood [clan] brothers comes from the following assertion by E. I. Kychanov:

*In ancient times Tangut clans were exogamous and each of them had specific marriage partners. To some degree this is reflected in the codex in the article stipulating that men of the Simi clan take in marriage at one and the same time no fewer than five women from the imperial ruling clan of Weiming: "If five sons or more of the Simi clan have moved into the [imperial] clan of Weiming, then the rest may take [girls] from other clans in marriage. If fewer than five sons of the Simi [clan] have moved in accordance with the law into the [imperial] clan, then for the rest to take brides from other clans and marry them is forbidden. If the law is violated, then [the guilty] will be sentenced the same as for marrying someone of the same clan as himself (Article 506)." (Kychanov 1988: 298)<sup>33</sup>*

It is possible that the offspring of those brothers who moved into one specific clan (in the given instance the Weiming clan) together with Ego, terminologically became fused with the offspring of the brothers of Ego, while offspring of those brothers who moved into other clans were regarded as representatives of lateral lines.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Article 506 is in the part of the Tangut Codex that has not yet been published, so I am here quoting only Kychanov's translation, and not the text of the article itself.

<sup>34</sup> [RWD]: This sentence is unclear to me; is the Ego referred to here a member of the 'brothers' clan or of the clan that they are marrying into? And couldn't the sons of clan A marrying into clan B be cousins rather than brothers? If Ego belongs to clan B, then the 'brothers' become his brothers-in-law whose offspring are treated the same as those of Ego's other brothers. But in reference to whom are the offspring of brothers who marry into other clans regarded as representatives of lineal lines? Does Kepping mean that the offspring of brothers of Ego's brothers-in-law stand in a lateral line relationship with Ego? Perhaps the desired meaning is 'became terminologically fused with the offspring of Ego...'

We insert this data (father's brother and father's brother of the first degree as blood brothers) into our table, and derive in consequence its final variant, Table 7.

Chart 3 presents the degrees of mourning, in which the various terms of mourning for different groups of relatives are denoted.

Preliminary results of the analysis of kinship terms from Article 41 shows that the Tangut system of mourning embraces four ascending generations, and four descending generations, with four collateral lines in each of which were four generations. Evidently, however, the Tanguts began the calculation of collateral lines only from the second line; the numeral  $lew^1$  is used for the first time only with term #7,  $lew^1 tsəw^1 v_{\dot{x}}ei^1$  'father's brother of the first degree', and in this way the enumeration of lateral lines for the Tanguts did not coincide with the actual sequence of lateral lines—it was one less.

It would seem that the Tanguts did not consider the lines of blood brothers as collateral. As indicated in Chart 3, the brothers of Ego and their children were equal in mourning period to the clan (blood) children of Ego.

In the Tangut scheme of things the first lateral line was called  $lew^1 tsəw^1$  'first degree'; this line begins with the term  $lew^1 tsəw^1 v_{\dot{x}}ei^1$  'father's brother of the first degree', and includes the terms  $v_{\dot{x}}ei^1 \dot{z}i^1 l_{\dot{x}}o^2$  'brother of  $v_{\dot{x}}ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ ' and  $v_{\dot{x}}ei^1 \dot{z}i^1 + ?$  'nephew of  $v_{\dot{x}}ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ '. These two terms are modified in subsequent lateral lines with the numeral 'two' (the second lateral line of the Tanguts) and 'three' (the third lateral line of the Tanguts) attached to the word  $tsəw^1$  'generation; branch', but, contrary to what might be expected, in the first lateral line these terms are not modified with the numeral 'one' and word  $tsəw^1$ .<sup>35</sup> It was the case, apparently, that the term 'father's brother' precedes the term 'father's brother of the first degree', while correspondingly the terms 'brother' and 'actual nephew' precede the terms ' $v_{\dot{x}}ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ 's brother' and ' $v_{\dot{x}}ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ 's nephew'.

The second (in fact the third) lateral line,  $n_{\dot{x}}ə^1 tsəw^1$  'second degree', begins with the term  $v_{\dot{x}}a^1 o^1$  'In  $l_{\dot{x}}o^2$  grandfather's brother', and contains terms with the marker 'second degree': 'father's brother of the second degree', ' $v_{\dot{x}}ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ 's brother of the second degree', and ' $v_{\dot{x}}ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ 's nephew of the second degree'.

<sup>35</sup> It bears noting, however, that in another article of the code, "Eight Judgments [of persons] Having the Right of Mitigation of Punishment," there occurs the term 'brothers and sisters of  $v_{\dot{x}}ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$  of the first degree of the empress-mother'. See the Appendix for a translation of this article; for the original text see Kychanov 1987:307, column 2.

**Male Relatives by  $m\phi^2$  for whom Mourning is Observed  
(Ego as Male)**

4th lateral	3rd lateral	2nd lateral		1st lateral	
3rd degree	2nd degree	1st degree			
					(17) +4
great-grandfather's brother (19)					(10) +3
grandfather's $v\lambda ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ brother (22)	grandfather's brother (12)				(2) +2
FB 3rd degree (18)	FB 2nd degree (11)	FB 1st degree (7)	FB (4)		(1) +1
$v\lambda ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ B 3rd degree (20)	$v\lambda ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ B 2nd degree (15)	$v\lambda ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ B (8)	brothers (3)	brothers (3)	EGO 0
	$v\lambda ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ N 2nd degree (24)	$v\lambda ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ N (14)	real nephew (5)	real nephew (5)	(6) -1
		$v\lambda ei^1 \dot{z}i^1$ B grandson (23)	B grandson (13)	B grandson (13)	(9) -2
			B great-grandson (21)	B great-grandson (21)	(16) -3
					(25) -4

**Table 7.**

## Prescribed Mourning Periods

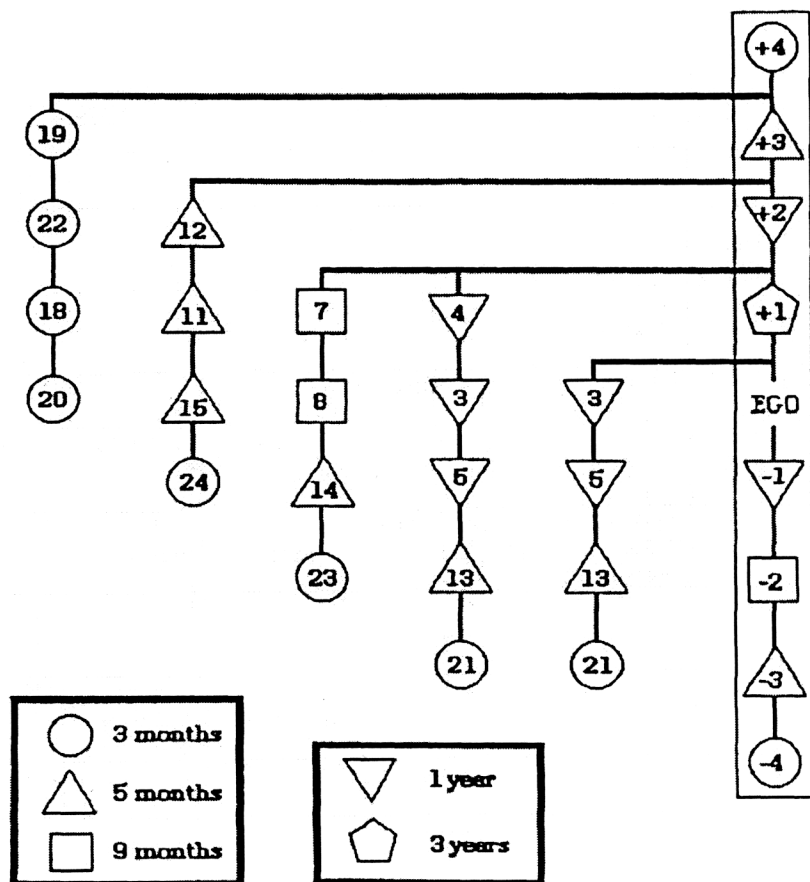


Chart 3

Each lateral line, beginning with relatives in the ascending generations all the way down to and including the generation of Ego, unites relatives sharing one and the same grade of mourning. Advancing downward through descending generations, the mourning grade of each subsequent generation becomes one degree less.

Evidently the Tanguts used a later Chinese (Han) model of grades of mourning,<sup>36</sup> yet inserted into it their own system of kinship with all of its peculiarities and distinctive traits.

### 5. Verification of the Results of the Analysis.

Below I will cite several arguments to support my analysis of Tangut kinship terms in Article 41 of the Tangut code. In part, I draw some conclusions about: (1) the meaning of the complex term  $v\dot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}i^1\dot{z}i^1$ , literally 'brother of father—son' and denoting, in my opinion, the lateral line; (2) the terminological fusion, among the Tanguts, of brothers and sisters with the sons and daughters of father's brothers and mother's sisters; and (3) several questions concerning the general scheme of mourning grades set forth in Article 41 of the Tangut code.

(1) One of the fundamental contentions of this analysis, the interpretation of the phrase  $v\dot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}i^1\dot{z}i^1$  (lit. 'brother of father—son') as part of a compound term denoting the lateral line, is presented as the result of purely speculative construction. Recall that E. I. Kychanov translates such compounds not as a single term but as a combination of terms, that is, he translates each term in these combinations separately.<sup>37</sup> Therefore it was very important for me to examine the actual occurrence in Tangut texts of terms with the element  $v\dot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}i^1\dot{z}i^1$ . Fortunately, an example was found in the encyclopedia *Sea of Meanings, Established by the Saints*. Appended to the basic text here (sheet 23b),  $(hh)nd\dot{o}n^2\ tsai^1\ van^1\ r\dot{a}i^2$  'Brothers should take care of their younger sisters' is the following commentary:

S.  $no^2r\dot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}^2\ lh\dot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}^2\ ng\dot{a}m^1kh\dot{e}^1\ kha^1\ v\dot{\imath}a^1\ ma^1\ tha^2xva^1\ mb\dot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}^2\ tsai^1\ k\dot{\imath}i^1r\dot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}^2\ v\dot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}i^1\dot{z}i^1\ mu^1\ khv\dot{e}i^2\ 'a^1\ 'i\dot{u}^1\ nd\dot{z}i\dot{\epsilon}\ th\dot{o}^2$

<sup>36</sup> M. V. Krjukov describes in detail the changes which occurred in Han times in the principle of calculating lateral lines in the Chinese system of mourning grades. The enumeration of lateral lines ceased to coincide with the degree of kinship (Krjukov 1972:196-7, 255-6).

<sup>37</sup> Thus, for example, the combination  $Wngv\dot{e}i^1\dot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}^1nd\dot{z}von^1\ v\dot{\imath}a^1\dot{o}^1\ 'In^1\ l\dot{e}w^1\ ts\dot{e}w^1\ v\dot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}i^1\dot{z}i^1\ l\dot{\imath}\dot{o}^2\ nd\dot{o}n^2$ , in my opinion means 'brothers and sisters of  $v\dot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}i^1\dot{z}i^1$  of the first degree of the grandfather of the empress-mother', i.e., one generation in the fourth lateral line (corresponding to term #22 in the tables), while in the code this combination is translated as 'relatives of the first generation—paternal uncles, sons, brothers and sisters of grandfather of the widowed empress' (i.e., this is at the very least three different generations; see Kychanov, 1987:38).

<ndzi<sup>1</sup> r<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> lh<sup>1</sup> lu<sup>2</sup> 'In<sup>1</sup> nd<sup>2</sup> su<sup>2</sup> ?? r<sup>1</sup>ew<sup>2</sup> mbIn<sup>2</sup>  
r<sup>1</sup>ew<sup>2</sup> 'I<sup>1</sup>>

In olden times in the country during a time of trouble [after] the death of parents a young daughter was left behind. *The older brother of v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> raised her. When [she] had grown up, <he married her off, having given more in dowry to her than to his own sister.>* [The brackets <> contain Tangut text which I do not completely understand and of which I was only able to render the general sense.]

In this text the term v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> mu<sup>1</sup> 'brother of v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> (woman speaking)<sup>38</sup> is used, modified by the adjective kh<sup>1</sup>vei<sup>2</sup> 'elder'. It follows that among the Tanguts there existed the term v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> mu<sup>1</sup> 'brother of v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>' (i.e., parallel cousin [woman speaking]), and this means that the principle of the relevance of the gender of the speaker and the others in the generation of Ego was extended also to parallel cousins of both sexes. From this one can suppose that a similar term existed also for the male, v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> li<sup>2</sup> 'brother of v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>' (parallel cousin [male speaking]).

Thus, Tangut texts confirm the accuracy of the discreteness of the element v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>, which entered into the composition of complex terms but could not be used independently. And although I have no real examples of the use of the terms shown below, it nevertheless appears proper to recognize the regular distinction among such terms as v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> + ? 'nephew of v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>' (contrasted with ph<sup>1</sup>uo<sup>1</sup> 'actual nephew', i.e., son of a clan brother) and v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> li<sup>2</sup> 'In<sup>1</sup> lh<sup>1</sup> 'grandson of brother of v<sup>1</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>', which indicated respectively nephews and grandsons of lateral lines.

I note, incidentally, that example Q confirms my earlier proposition that among the Tanguts brothers and sisters were not distinguished terminologically from sons and daughters of father's brothers and mother's sisters. The term used in this example, nd<sup>2</sup> 'sister', in the given instance does not mean 'clan sister', but rather 'parallel [female] cousin', at the same time that 'clan sister' here is called 'In<sup>1</sup> nd<sup>2</sup>, literally 'own sister'.<sup>39</sup>

(2) While working on the analysis of Tangut kinship terms in Article 41, on the basis of rule 34 of the article I proposed that clan [blood]

<sup>38</sup> [RWD]: Cf. the list of Tangut kinship terms at the beginning of this article: mu<sup>1</sup> is 'brother (female speaking)' and li<sup>2</sup> is 'brother (male speaking)'.

<sup>39</sup> [RWD]: but the term nd<sup>2</sup> appears only once that I can see in the example, in the latter meaning.

brothers and sisters were called the same as sons and daughters of father's brother and mother's sisters. This proposition was also confirmed in example Q above. Now further indirect confirmation is provided by the rules in Article 41 which relate to conditional mourning, for example, to mourning observed by a married woman. Here are these rules:

*Mourning for one year shall be observed by:*

rule 22: married clan and adopted daughters, for father and for mother.

*Mourning for nine months shall be observed by:*

rule 34: married daughters for father's brothers, mother's sisters, father's sisters [and their children, respectively] sisters, brothers and cross-cousins.

*Mourning for five months shall be observed by:*

rule 47: married daughters for those of their brothers and [brothers'] sons who have left for another family as adopted sons, and also for the wives of these brothers and [brothers'] sons.

rule 48: married daughters for brothers of  $v\frac{1}{2}e^{1\frac{1}{2}}i^1$ .

*Mourning for three months shall be observed by:*

rule 66: married daughters for brothers and sisters of grandfather's  $v\frac{1}{2}e^{1\frac{1}{2}}i^1$ , and also for wives of these brothers.

rule 70: married daughters for brothers' grandsons.

rule 71: married daughters for sons of  $v\frac{1}{2}e^{1\frac{1}{2}}i^1$ 's brothers.

One must keep in mind that in the hierarchy of familial relationships married daughters stood one degree lower than daughters who had not yet married and continued to live in the parents' home (the latter, as is clear from Article 41, were equal in mourning to sons).

From this list of terms of mourning to be observed by married women it is clear that the term  $mu^1$ , the "female" variant of the term  $l\frac{1}{2}o^2$  'brother', really includes both blood brothers as well as sons of father's brothers and sons of mother's sisters (above it was already noted that the term  $l\frac{1}{2}o^2$  includes both blood brothers as well as sons of father's brothers). I arrived at this conclusion on the following basis.

Use of the term  $mu^1$  in rule 34 creates the impression that it refers only to sons of father's brothers and sons of mother's sisters. In rule 47, however, mention is made of brothers who have left to another family as adopted sons, for whom five months of mourning was observed. According to the general rule in Article 41, adopted children stood one degree lower in the hierarchy of familial relationships in the family which they left (but in the family into which they entered, they were equal to the clan children).

and, consequently, mourning for clan brothers should have been mentioned under the nine-month mourning rubric, where only in rule 34 is mention made of  $\mu\dot{u}^1$  'brothers'. Thus, one can conclude that the term  $\mu\dot{u}^1$  'brother (female speaking)' unites clan brothers and parallel cousins. The same can also be said of the term  $l\dot{i}o^2$  'brother (male speaking)'.

In mourning requirements for a married woman,  $v\dot{i}ei^1\dot{z}i^1$ 's brothers ( $v\dot{i}ei^1\dot{z}i^1 \mu\dot{u}^1$ ) are united without distinction of degree in one rule #48 (recall that in mourning requirements for a male these brothers are distinguished by degree). It seems that this can also be considered as confirmation that I have correctly identified the referents of the terms 'brothers of  $v\dot{i}ei^1\dot{z}i^1$ ' (term #8), 'brothers of  $v\dot{i}ei^1\dot{z}i^1$  of the second degree' (term #15), and 'brothers of  $v\dot{i}ei^1\dot{z}i^1$  of the third degree' (term #20), as those who belong to the same generation but in different collateral lines.

(3) It is possible to verify the accuracy of my proposed system of degrees of mourning (four ascending generations, four descending generations, and four lateral lines) in another article of the Tangut code, where Tangut kinship terms are systematically set forth. I refer to Article 40, "Eight Judgments [about Persons] Having the Right to Mitigation of Punishment," in which the kinship terms by  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$  are enumerated. Although a translation of this article is included in the Appendix, to illustrate my point a portion of the translation of that article is repeated here:

- P. 306, line 7        Relatives of the Emperor by  $ndz\dot{i}e^1$ .  
           line 8        Relatives of the Empress-mother.  
           line 9 (1) Clan brothers and sisters of great-grandfather of the  
                       empress-grandmother and  
 p. 307, line 1        the empress-mother.  
           line 2 (2) Brothers and sisters of  $v\dot{i}ei^1\dot{z}i^1$  of the first degree of  
                       grandfather of the empress-mother.  
           line 3 (3) Brothers and sisters of  $v\dot{i}ei^1\dot{z}i^1$  of the second degree  
                       of father of the empress-mother.  
           line 4 (4) Brothers and sisters of  $v\dot{i}ei^1\dot{z}i^1$  of the third degree  
                       of the empress-mother herself.  
           line 5        Relatives of the Empress.  
           line 6 (5) Clan brothers and sisters of the grandfather of the  
                       empress.  
           line 7 (6) Brothers and sisters of  $v\dot{i}ei^1\dot{z}i^1$  of the second degree  
                       of father of the empress.



line 8 (7) Brothers and sisters of  $v\dot{x}e^{11}z^{11}$  of the second<sup>40</sup> degree of the empress herself.

From the above portions of Article 40 we extract terms indicating male relatives and for each term we show its sequential number in List II:

- 1) clan brothers of great-grandfather of the empress-grandmother and empress-mother (term #19).
- 2) brothers of  $v\dot{x}e^{11}z^{11}$  of the first degree of grandfather of the empress-mother (#22).
- 3) brothers of  $v\dot{x}e^{11}z^{11}$  of the second degree of father of empress-mother (#18).
- 4) brothers of  $v\dot{x}e^{11}z^{11}$  of the third degree of the empress-mother herself (#20).
- 5) clan brothers of grandfather of the empress (#12).
- 6) brothers of  $v\dot{x}e^{11}z^{11}$  of the second degree of father of the empress (#18).
- 7) brothers of  $v\dot{x}e^{11}z^{11}$  of the second degree of the empress herself (#15).

Our Table 7, showing the Tangut degrees of mourning for male relatives by  $m\ddot{o}^2$ , could be expanded to include terms denoting relatives of the emperor by  $ndz\dot{x}e^1$ , who according to the code were permitted mitigation of punishment. Since the descending generations are not included in this article, in the table they are entirely excluded.

As can be seen in Charts 4 and 5, terms for relatives of the empress-mother occupy in the scheme of Tangut degrees of mourning the entire last (fourth, or third according to the Tanguts) lateral line (see Chart 4), while terms for relatives of the empress occupy one lateral line less in this scheme (see Chart 5). Among the latter an exception is made only for father's brothers—they have one "extra" generation, whose representatives have the right to mitigation of punishment.<sup>41</sup> i.e., in this generation the rights of relatives of the empress were equal to the rights of relatives of the empress-mother.

In my opinion, Article 40, "Eight Judgments [on persons] Having the Right to a Mitigation of Punishment," shows only the generations most distant from Ego who have this right (possibly this was done for the sake of brevity of exposition, and not to enumerate all relatives embraced by this

<sup>40</sup> E. I. Kychanov thinks that there is a mistake here in the text. He writes, "In the text the word 'second' is mistakenly repeated" (1987:238, note 6 to chapter 2). Therefore in the translation of the article he writes, "relatives of the third generation" [KK's emphasis] (Kychanov, 1987:39).

<sup>41</sup> See previous note.

### Relatives of the Empress-Mother

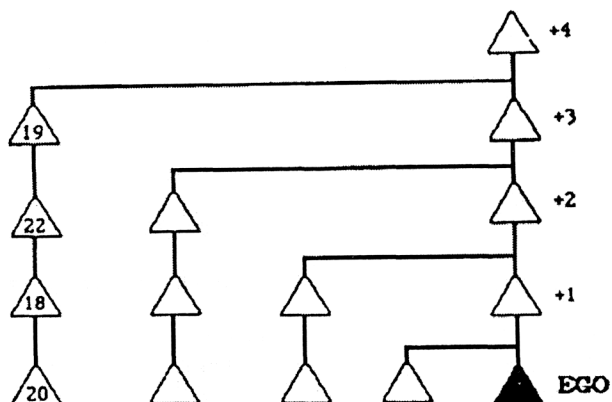


Chart 4

### Relatives of the Empress

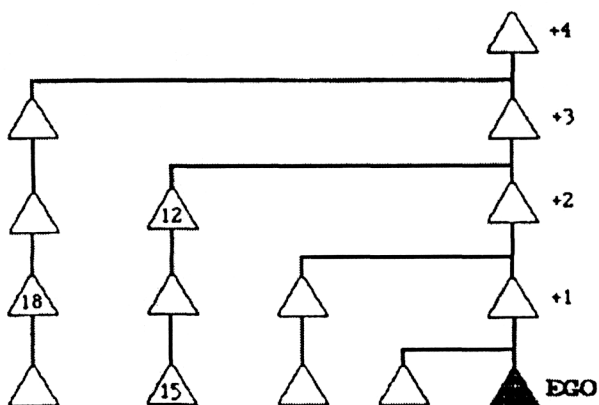


Chart 5

article). And this means that the privileged group of relatives of the empress-mother coincided with that group of male relatives by  $m\bar{a}^2$  in the ascending generations for whom it was required to observe mourning. Among relatives of the empress this group was one lateral line less, with relatives of the empress' father constituting the sole exception. Descending generations of the empress' relatives do not at all come under the rubric of Article 40.

In so far as I relied on the results of my analysis of kinship terms from Article 41 of the Tangut code to determine the referents of kinship cited in Article 40, one may therefore accept the rather logical system of kinship terms shown in Charts 4 and 5 as confirmation of the accuracy of the analysis.

## 6. Conclusion

Analysis of the Tangut kinship terms for male relatives by  $m\bar{a}^2$  (Ego-male) from the article "Degrees of Kinship" of the Tangut code has resulted in the determination of the referents of these terms, and also in a table showing degrees of mourning observed for these relatives. Mourning must be observed for representatives of four ascending lines, four descending lines, and four lateral lines. Since the Tanguts, however, evidently did not consider the line of brother as a lateral line, their reckoning of lateral lines began only with the line of father's brother (by  $l\bar{e}w^1$   $t\bar{s}aw^1$  first degree).

In composing the article "Degrees of Kinship," in all likelihood the Tanguts took as a model the Chinese degrees of mourning, according to which for direct relatives the degree of kinship corresponded to their generation, and for lateral relatives the generation of that person who was the closest common ancestor for both the given relative and Ego was taken into account (Krjukov, 1972: 254-55).

This situation was true also of the Tangut system of mourning, but only for those relatives for whom the shortest mourning was observed (five or three months): great-great-grandfather and the fourth lateral line (in Tangut reckoning the third lateral line), and great-grandfather and the third lateral line (in Tangut reckoning the second lateral line).

Father had a special status: for him the longest period of mourning of three years was observed (there were no other relatives for whom such a long mourning was required).

In determining the referents of kinship terms indicating male relatives by  $m\bar{a}^2$ , for whom the mourning periods were one year and nine months, complications arose. I have suggested that 1) brothers of Ego and their descendants became fused terminologically with the descendants of father's brothers, and 2) brothers of father were differentiated by the trait of

terminological fusion or non-fusion of their descendants with the brothers of Ego and their posterity.

The reason for this is not clear to me (possibly it had to do with the practice of group marriage), but I see no other way to define the referents of these terms.

All the same it bears noting that the Tanguts cannot be reproached for blindly copying the Chinese model. The Tanguts indeed used Chinese forms, but inserted into them their own system of kinship, the study of which has only just begun.

This article was written specially for the journal *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*. I hope that it draws the attention of American specialists and I will gladly entertain any criticisms or comments, as well as alternative solutions of the problem.

The appendix contains my translations of part of Article 40, "Eight Judgments [on persons] Having the Right to Mitigation of Punishment," and all of Article 41, "Degrees of Kinship," of the Tangut legal code.

**APPENDIX: TWO ARTICLES FROM THE LAW CODE OF THE TANGUT  
STATE**

**AMENDED AND NEWLY AFFIRMED CODE OF THE REIGN ERA OF  
HEAVENLY PROSPERITY  
(1149-1169)**

**Article 40**

**Eight Judgments about Persons Having the Right to Mitigation of  
Punishment**

*[There are lacunae at the beginning of the text of the article, so the following translation begins with the second column of page 305 (Kychanov, 1987). Before this, the article apparently speaks about those persons who lose their right to mitigation of punishment owing to the heinousness of the crimes they committed. To the left appear the page and column references to the text of Kychanov's published facsimile; slashes in the translation indicate the beginning and end of columns].*

- 305 2 //Among relatives of the emperor who have committed  
3 other crimes,/[those] having the same clan name as the emperor  
[i.e., relatives by  $m\bar{e}^2$ ], are considered separately below.  
4 //As for the remaining persons, beginning with relatives of the  
emperor by  $ndz\dot{x}e^1$   
5 up to eight groups of people, including guests, //in equal measure  
for all, in the event of [any committing] a crime punishable by  
death, the affair will be reported to the emperor and decided by  
him. In the event of commission of a crime, beginning with those  
crimes punished with lifelong exile to hard labor and below, then  
these persons [i.e., imperial relatives by  $ndz\dot{x}e^1$  and the remaining  
seven groups]  
6 //have the right to mitigation of  
7 punishment by one degree.//The first group having the right to  
mitigation of punishment are relatives, meaning relatives of the  
emperor by  $m\bar{e}^2$  and  $ndz\dot{x}e^1$ . Among them, cases involving  
imperial relatives by  $m\bar{e}^2$ ,  
8 for whom mourning is worn for one year or more, will be reported  
to the emperor and decided by him. As for the other relatives  
9 of the emperor, then//the degree of their mitigation of punishment  
is to be determined  
306 1 //by the Left Bureau of Justice according to the proximity of  
kinship, namely:

- 2 // [I] Relatives of the emperor by  $m\theta^2$   
 3 //For relatives, for whom mourning is observed for  
 4 five to nine months, the sentence //will be reduced by four  
 degrees.  
 5 //For relatives, for whom mourning is observed for three months,  
 the sentence will be reduced by three degrees.  
 6 //For relatives, for whom no mourning is observed, the sentence  
 will be reduced by two degrees.  
 7 // [II] Relatives of the emperor by  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$   
 8 // [1] Relatives of the empress-mother  
 9 //Clan brothers and sisters of the great-grandfather of the empress-  
 grandmother and  
 307 1 empress-mother.  
 2 //Brothers and sisters of  $v\dot{\imath}e^{11}z\dot{\imath}^{11}$  of the first degree of the  
 grandfather of the empress-mother.  
 3 //Brothers and sisters of  $v\dot{\imath}e^{11}z\dot{\imath}^{11}$  of the second degree of  
 father of the empress-mother.  
 4 //Brothers and sisters of  $v\dot{\imath}e^{11}z\dot{\imath}^{11}$  of the third degree of the  
 empress-mother herself.  
 5 // [2] Relatives of the empress  
 6 //Clan brothers and sisters of the grandfather of the empress.  
 7 //Brothers and sisters of  $v\dot{\imath}e^{11}z\dot{\imath}^{11}$  of the second degree of the  
 father of the empress.  
 8 //Brothers and sisters of  $v\dot{\imath}e^{11}z\dot{\imath}^{11}$  of the second degree of the  
 empress herself.

#### Article 41

#### 310 5 Degrees of Kinship

- 6 //Five different terms of mourning have been defined according to  
 affiliation with [deceased relatives] by  $m\theta^2$  or by  $ndz\dot{\imath}e^1$ ,  
 7 [and also] according to proximity of kinship.  
 8 //In addition a woman will observe//the same mourning as does  
 [her] husband.  
 9 Three-year mourning should be observed by  
 311 1 [1] a son for his father and mother, [2] a wife for her husband,  
 2 [3] in the event of father's death, the eldest grandson for his  
 paternal grandfather and grandmother,  
 3 [4] adopted sons for their adoptive fathers and mothers, [5] sons for  
 stepmothers,  
 4 [6] still unmarried and living at home clan [lit. "real"] and adopted  
 daughters [for fathers and mothers, for adoptive fathers and  
 mothers, and for stepmothers].

- 5 One-year mourning should be observed
- 6 [7] for paternal grandfather, [8] for paternal grandmother, [9] for all brothers,<sup>42</sup> [10] for father's brothers and mother's sisters, [11] for clan [lit. real] nephews,
- 7 [12] by father and mother for sons and daughters, [13] for father's sisters and sisters living at home,
- 8 [14] for clan [lit. real] nieces living at home, [15] by a husband for his wife,
- 9 [16] for a mother who has married after father's death, [17] by a grandfather after the death of his eldest son for his eldest grandson,
- 312 1 [18] by father and mother for adopted sons, [19] by adopted sons for their clan father and mother, whom they have left behind,
- 2 [20] by a stepmother, having married after the death of father, for children who have left with her [to go to her new husband's home?],<sup>43</sup>
- 3 [21] by mother, having married [for the second time], for children left by her first husband,
- 4 [22] by married clan [lit. real] and adopted daughters for their father and mother,
- 5 Nine-month mourning should be observed
- 6 23] for father's brothers and mother's sisters of the first degree, [24] for brothers of  $v\dot{i}ei\dot{z}i^1$  and sisters of  $v\dot{i}ei\dot{z}i^1$  living at home [lit. their sisters],
- 7 [25] for grandsons,<sup>44</sup> [26] for granddaughters living at home,<sup>45</sup> [27] for married sisters of father and sisters,
- 8 [28] for married nieces, [29] by adopted sons for father's sisters, sisters and brothers of that family [lit. "that place"] from which they came,
- 9 [30] for wives of nephews, [31] for brothers and nephews who have gone to other families [?] as adopted sons,
- 313 1 [32] mother for daughters living at home from a former husband from whom she has separated,

<sup>42</sup> The term  $l\dot{i}o^2t\dot{i}o^2n^2$  (List I, #14) means 'all brothers of the family' (plural) and seemingly has no meaning in the singular. Here this term denotes brothers of Ego and sons of father's brothers.

<sup>43</sup> The translation of rule #20 is provisional.

<sup>44</sup> The terms  $(u)\dot{z}i^1\ l\dot{h}i^1$  'grandson' and  $u\dot{m}b\dot{i}e^1\ l\dot{h}i^1$  'granddaughter' contain in their composition an element denoting gender, respectively  $\dot{z}i^1$  'son' and  $m\dot{b}\dot{i}e^1$  'daughter'.

<sup>45</sup> See previous note.

- 2 [33] for the actual<sup>46</sup> wives of sons, [34] married daughters for brothers of father, mother's sisters, father's sisters [and their children, respectively] sisters, brothers and cross-cousins.
- 3 Five-month mourning should be observed
- 4 for relatives by  $m\bar{a}^2$
- 5 [35] for great-grandfather and great-grandmother on the father's side, [36] for father's brothers, mother's sisters, and father's sisters of the second degree,
- 6 [37] for brothers of grandfather and their wives, and also sisters of grandfather, [38] for brothers' grand-sons,
- 7 [39] for nephews of  $v\bar{i}e\bar{i}^1\bar{z}i^1$ , [40] for brothers of  $v\bar{i}e\bar{i}^1\bar{z}i^1$  and sisters of  $v\bar{i}e\bar{i}^1\bar{z}i^1$  of the second degree,
- 8 [41] for married sisters of  $v\bar{i}e\bar{i}^1\bar{z}i^1$ , [42] for married grand-daughters, [43] for great-grandsons,
- 9 [44] for brothers' wives,
- 314 1 [45] by adopted sons for married sisters of father and  
2 sisters, and also brothers of  $v\bar{i}e\bar{i}^1\bar{z}i^1$  of that family [lit. "that place"] from which they came,
- 3 [46] by grandfather and grandmother on father's side in the event of the death of the eldest son for the wife of the eldest grandson,
- 4 [47] by married daughters for those of their brothers
- 5 and their sons who have left for another [family] as adopted sons, and also for the wives of these brothers and their sons,
- 6 [48] by married daughters for brothers of  $v\bar{i}e\bar{i}^1\bar{z}i^1$ .
- 7 For relatives by  $ndz\bar{i}e^1$
- 8 [49] for mother's parents, [50] for mother's brothers, [51] by a male<sup>47</sup> for sisters' sons,
- 9 [52] for mother's sisters<sup>48</sup> and their sons,
- 315 1 [53] by a male for uterine sisters [lit. for sisters of one mother and different fathers],
- 2 [54] for parents of stepmother, her brothers and sisters.
- 3 Three-month mourning should be observed
- 4 for relatives by  $m\bar{a}^2$
- 5 [55] for great-great-grandfather and great-great-grandmother on the father's side, [56] for brothers of father and sisters of father of

<sup>46</sup> The adjective  $ph\bar{i}u\bar{o}^1$  'real' (see, e.g., List II, item 5) was used earlier in the article "Degrees of Kinship" in the meaning of 'clan' (in contrast to adopted sons, nephew, etc.). It is unclear what this adjective means as a modifier of the word 'wife'—perhaps wives rather than concubines are meant here?

<sup>47</sup> Tangut kinship terms in the generation of Ego, as I have established, are differentiated by sex of the speaker, and in translating them I add 'male' and 'female' as appropriate.

<sup>48</sup> Here, the descriptive term  $(cc)m\bar{a}^1$  'I n<sup>2</sup>  $k\bar{a}^1$ '. Another, basic term for 'mother's sister' is  $la^2$ .



the third degree, [57] for sisters of great-grandfather, brothers of great-grandfather and their wives, [58] for brothers of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}\dot{z}^{11}$  and sisters of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}\dot{z}^{11}$  of the third degree, [59] for great-grandsons of brothers,

8 [60] for brothers of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}\dot{z}^{11}$  of grandfather, their wives, and also sisters of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}\dot{z}^{11}$  of grandfather,

9 [61] for grandsons of brothers of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}\dot{z}^{11}$ .

316 1 [62] for nephews of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}\dot{z}^{11}$  of the second degree, and also for nieces of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}\dot{z}^{11}$  of the second degree, who have not yet married and live at home,

2 [63] for great-great-grandsons, [64] for married nieces of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}\dot{z}^{11}$ ,

3 [65] for married granddaughters of brothers,

4 [66] by married daughters for brothers and sisters of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}\dot{z}^{11}$  of grandfather, and also for wives of these brothers,

5 [67] for wives of grandsons, [68] for wives of brothers of  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}\dot{z}^{11}$ ,

6 [69] for wives of grandsons of brothers, [70] by married daughters for brothers' grandsons,

7 [71] by married daughters for sons of brothers'  $v_{\dot{x}}e^{11}\dot{z}^{11}$ ,

8 [72] children, brought with mother to the family of her second husband, have the same status as the family members of their second father.<sup>49</sup>

9 For relatives by  $ndz_{\dot{x}}e^1$

317 1 [73] for sons of daughters, [74] for...,<sup>50</sup> [75] for sons of mother's brothers,

2 [76] for sons of father's sisters, [77] for wife's parents, [78] for brothers of wife's father (?).<sup>51</sup>

3 [79] for wives of daughters' sons, [80] a male for wives of sisters' sons,

4 [81] for daughter's husband, [82] a female for wives of sisters' sons.

<sup>49</sup> I have followed Kychanov's translation of this rule (#72).

<sup>50</sup> The phrase  $(kk)k\dot{x}^{11}nI^1tI^1ngi^2nd\dot{o}n^2$ , literally 'sisters' (Ego female), 'sons', 'sisters' (Ego male), I do not understand and have not translated.

<sup>51</sup> Judging by its position in the article, the term  $no^2 + ?$  is tentatively translated as 'brothers of wife's father'. See note 15 and Passage C.

## CITED FORMS IN TANGUT OR CHINESE SCRIPT

## I. Characters

(a) (p. 1) nIn<sup>1</sup> tsaw<sup>1</sup>

釋麻

(b) (p. 1) Sāng Fù  
(Degrees of Mourning)

喪服

(c) (p. 3) Zhǎng Zhōng Zhū  
(The Tangut-Chinese  
Timely Pearl in the Palm)

掌中珠

(d) (p. 3) Xīn Jī Cí Xiào Jì  
(Newly Collected Notes  
on Compassion and Filiality)

新集慈孝記

(e) (p. 8) bó

伯

(f) (p. 8) shū

叔

(g) (p. 10) Wén Hǎi  
(The Sea of Characters)

文海

(h) (p. 10) na<sup>2</sup>

𐰽𐰺𐰍

(i) (p. 10) ni<sup>2</sup>

𐰽𐰺𐰏

(j) (p. 10) na<sup>2</sup>

𐰽𐰺𐰐

(k) (p. 10) ni<sup>2</sup>

𐰽𐰺𐰏

(l) (p. 10) žwei<sup>1</sup> 'cross-cousin'

𐰽𐰺𐰏

(m) (p. 10) žwei<sup>1</sup> 'bride'

𐰽𐰺𐰏

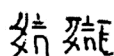
(n) (p. 10) nI<sup>1</sup> 'father's sister'

𐰽𐰺𐰏

(o) (p. 10) nI<sup>1</sup> 'husband's mother'

(p) (p. 10) 'iə<sup>1</sup> 'mother's brother'

(q) (p. 10) 'iə<sup>1</sup> 'to marry'

(r) (p. 15, note 15) ngo<sup>1</sup>no<sup>2</sup>


(s) (pp. 16, 17) xing


(t) (p. 16, note 18) 'Ivan<sup>1</sup>


(u) (p. 16, note 18) yuán


(v) (p. 16, note 18) tshion<sup>1</sup>


(w) (p. 16, note 18) chāng

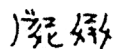
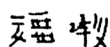
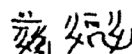


(x) (p. 16, note 18) zhòng


(y) (p. 17) miə<sup>1</sup>


(z) (p. 17) tóng xing


(aa) (p. 17) viə<sup>2</sup>

(bb) (p. 21, note 26) ldie<sup>1</sup> rie<sup>2</sup>

(cc) (p. 22) si<sup>2</sup>ndzIvo<sup>2</sup>

(dd) (p. 22) wə<sup>2</sup>ngi<sup>2</sup>


(ee) (p. 23) mǎ¹ 'In¹ kǎi¹

媽仔火

(ff) (p. 25) tǎu² 'In¹ ndon² ldǎ¹ liǎ² nǎu¹ ngI²mbIn²

頭仔教弟妹仔姊姊

(gg) (p. 41, note 37) ngwǎ¹liǎ¹ndzwon¹ vǎ¹'o¹ 'In¹ lew¹ tsǎw¹  
vǎi¹ 'zi¹ liǎ² ndon²

舅公娘婆叔母仔家親叔姪

(hh) (p. 41) ndon² tsai¹ wan¹ rǎi²

教妹嫁

(ii) (p. 51, note 44) ʒi¹ lhI¹

教妹

(jj) (p. 51, note 44) mbǎ¹ lhI¹

妹姊

(kk) (p. 53, note 50) kǎi¹ nI¹ tǎ¹ngi² ndon²

火教姊姊

## II. Tangut Text Passages

- A (p. 13) Kychanov 1987:310.

婦 伯 梳 髮 月 歲 婦 月 月 伯 髮 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏

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- B (p. 14) ndzie
- <sup>1</sup>
- for whom one mourns for five months:
- 
- Kychanov 1987:314-15.

伯 歲

(I) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 (2) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 (3) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 (4) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏

𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 (5) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 (6) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏

𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏

- C (p. 15) ndzie
- <sup>1</sup>
- for whom one mourns for three months:
- 
- Kychanov 1987:316-17.

伯 歲

(7) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 (8) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 (9) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏

(I0) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 (II) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 (I2) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏

(I3) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 (I4) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏

(I5) 伯 (I6) 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏 𐰇𐰣𐰆𐰏

- D. (p. 16) *Kepping 1983:423, sheet 277, column 4.*

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- E. (p. 16) *Kepping 1983:296, sheet 150.*

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- F. (p. 17) *Kepping 1983:191, sheet 45 column 3.*

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- G. (p. 17) *Kepping 1983:247, sheet 101, column 3.*

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- H. (p. 17) *Kepping, unpublished translation of Newly Collected Notes on Compassion and Filiality.*

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I. *Ibid.*

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J. (p. 18; see also note 17) "Gimn" line 7.

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K. (p. 18) Sea of Meanings, sheet 25a.

精 怕 羸 羸

L. *Ibid.*

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羸 羸 精 羸 移

M. (p. 18; see also footnote 17, 21) "Izrechenija" no. 337.

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怕 羸 羸 羸 羸 羸

- N. (p. 19) Sea of Meanings, sheet 24b.

婦 敵 敵 敵

- O. (p. 19) Sea of Meanings, sheet 15b.

婦 伯 列 列 敵 敵

- P. (p. 22) Sea of Meanings, sheet 13b.

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- Q. (p. 24) Sea of Meanings, sheet 23a.

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R (p. 32) Article 41, Rule 34.

贏 悔 規 悅 姪 甥 詘 姦 婦 姦 婦

S. (p. 41) Sea of Meanings, sheet 23b.

龍效歸龍死耕疾疾散龍龍

姑 婆 姪 孫 姪 女 甥 子 甥 女

〈懷歲紀慶<sub>三</sub> 裂<sub>三</sub> 曠<sub>三</sub> 蕭蕭<sub>三</sub> 瓶<sub>三</sub> 月

 $\frac{2}{x} + \frac{2}{y} = \frac{2}{z}$

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