A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Kinship Forms in English and Iraqi Turkmen

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Abstract

Every language has its own kinship address forms that indicate some relations. Although these relations are universally the same, all languages do not uniformly employ kinship forms to them. As a matter of fact, 'Kinship Address Forms' is an interesting area in the field of sociolinguistics. The topic has been investigated in many languages by many researchers but Iraqi Turkmen has received no attention. To the best of our knowledge, however, the present research is designed to shed some light on kinship address forms in English and Iraqi Turkmen. The study reveals points of similarities and differences of kinship forms use in the languages under the investigation. The purpose of the study is to investigate kinship forms in both languages involved by analyzing data sociolinguistically.

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1. Kinship forms

An interesting phenomenon in the area of sociolinguistics is the use of kinship forms. These forms are used when speaking to or addressing a relative. They are defined by Trask (1997:122) as "words in a particular language for naming family member and relative". Kinship forms are usually seen as based on genealogy. This notion is stated by Rivers (1924:53) who asserts that kinship forms are determined by genealogical relationship, i.e., biological, cultural, or historical descent. Thawabteh (2012:114) explains that biological descent includes family ties by which someone is related to another by birth. Cultural descent refers to relationships made by marriage. Finally, historical descent refers to a wider kind of relationship which is based on race or religion.

2. Types of kinship forms

Kinship forms are seen by Farghal and Shakir (1994:242) as social honorifics used to show family relations among relatives. In fact, Relatives are divided into two types which are blood relatives and marriage relatives. Each group is addressed by certain kinship forms. Thus, Burling (1970:29) (cited in Al-Taii', 2004:125) makes a distinction between two types of kinship forms.

A/ Consanguineal kinships refer to relatives of descent with whom we created blood relationships or common ancestry. Such as father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

B/ Affinal kinships, also called relatives of marriage, those relatives are connected by one or more marital links. Husband, wife, daughter's husband, son's wife, etc. are good examples. Bean (1978:66-68) says that marriage relatives are given kinship forms as a way of showing them respect.

3 .English kinship forms

The English do not use kinship forms frequently in addressing their equals, e.g., brothers, sisters, husband, wife, and the like. They, instead, use other address forms like first name, diminutives, etc. In spite of that, some kinship forms are heard among English speakers in daily conversations. These include father, mother, uncle, etc   .

As far as addressing parents is concerned, Nadimpalli et al (2004:45) remarks that addressing a father by the term 'father' marks formality and respect and it is used to address Christian father. Whereas the term 'daddy' is a bit informal and 'dad' is totally informal. Concerning the term 'mother', it is used in reference rather than address and the term 'mummy' is widely used for addressing her. Some children call their mother as 'mom' and this is quite informal   .

Concerning addressing other blood relatives like uncle/aunt and cousins, it has been reported by Al-Taii' (2004:144) that Schneider and Homans (1955:1199) regard the nature of the relationship a determining factor in this case. Generally, uncles/aunts are addressed as uncle/aunt plus their first name but when the relationship is an intimate one, a person may use first name and sometimes diminutives. It is worth noting that male speakers tend to use first names more than females do. For cousins, the term cousin is only used when one's cousin is elder than him/her though it is not that common   .

Undoubtedly, husbands and wives usually exchange first names and/or endearment forms while addressing each other. However, sometimes parent terms are used by them, i.e., a husband may address his wife as mother, mom, or my old woman and the wife in return may address him as father, dad, or my old man, (ibid:125)   .

Kinship address forms system has what is referred to by Braun (1988:9) as fictive use of kinship forms. The fictive use includes addressing a non-relative by kinship forms. It also refers to addressing a relative with a form rather than the biological one or their name. This is usually occur while addressing a person who is a generation above the speaker. Gramley and Patzols (1992:300) cited in Ismail (2006:74) mention that in English, some children address their parents' friends as uncle/aunt plus first name and receive son/daughter in return. This is a good example on fictive kinship use.

4 .Kinship forms in Iraqi Turkmen

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In Iraqi Turkmen, there are two types of relatives, one is blood relatives used to address people with whom we share blood relations and the other type is for affine which are used to address people with whom the relation is formed by marriage .

During the last twenty years, children tend to address their parents as /baba/ (father) and /anna/ (mother) or /mama/ (mum) more than the traditional /dede/ (father) or /nene/ (mother) to cope with social changes that affect language as anything else in the society. This is due to the increase in the national culture especially after 2003 with the opening of schools that teach children the mother tongue, i.e., Turkmen. Iraqi Turkmen adds another dimension to some relations in which it has two different AFs for addressing brothers and sisters .

Brothers are often called /e:be/ (elder brother) or simply addressed by first name and sisters are addressed as /abla/ (elder sister) or /ba:dʒı/ (sister). Like any other community, Iraqi Turkmen family sitting is an informal one in which the focus is on relationships. Parents usually call their children by first names but sometimes to show affection and love they use terms that literary seem kinship formss but its indication is that of endearment, e.g., for males they use /babam baba:sı/ (my father's father) and /ʕemmim da:jım/ (my uncle), for females /nenem nene:si/ (my mother's mother), for both /ʕešre:tim/ (my tribe). This indicates the importance of blood relations in Iraqi Turkmen .

Iraqi Turkmen speakers call their grandfathers as /qödʒa/ (grandfather) or /bejjük baba/ (grandfather) and if he has been to the city of Mecca and done the requirements of Haj, they address him as /ḥadʒdʒı baba/. The same thing goes with grandmother but she is called /hadʒdʒie nene/. Other terms that are used for her are /qenne/ (grandmother), /bejjük nene/ (grandmother), /ḥebe/ (grandmother), and /bibi/ (grandmother) .

Iraqi Turkmen kinship forms show a distinction between maternal and paternal relatives in addition to the distinction between real relatives of blood and that of by marriage.

Term	Gloss
/9emmi/	Uncle (father's brother)
/da:jɪ/	Uncle (mother's brother)
/9ete/	Aunt (father's sister)
/dajza/	Aunt (mother's sister)
/xele/	Aunt (mother's sister)
/da:jɪ arwa:dɪ/	Uncle's wife (maternal)
/9emmi arwa:dɪ/	Uncle's wife (paternal)

Table (1) different terms for uncles and aunts in Iraqi Turkmen.

It is important to note that /9emmi/ (uncle) is used with the first person singular pronoun suffix that asserts the closeness and the term sometimes is pronounced as /9emmo/. Parkinson (1985:98) refers to the latter as having endearing suffix that asserts affection.

As there are two words for both uncle and aunt that show the relationship to one's father or mother side, the case is the same for cousins. In the same way, Iraqi Turkmen also use gender-referenced terms to call cousins. The terms used in addressing relatives on the father's side are certainly different from those used to address relatives on the mother's side. The following terms are commonly used, and they show solidarity in addition to focusing on the blood relations:

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Term	Gloss
/9emmi oġlu/	Male cousin / uncle's son (father's side)
/da:jı oġlu/	Male cousin / uncle's son (mother's side)
/9ete oġlu/	Male cousin / aunt's son (father's side)
/dajza oġlu/	Male cousin / aunt's son (mother's side)
/9emmi qızı/	Female cousin / uncle's daughter (father's side)
/da:jı qızı/	Female cousin / uncle's daughter (mother's side)
/9ete qızı/	Female cousin / aunt's daughter (father's side)
/dajza qızı/	Female cousin / aunt's daughter (mother's side)

Table (2) AFs denoting blood relations.

As a matter of fact, marriage widens the circle of relatives. It depends on the relations of solidarity and intimacy. So, the usual AF between husband and wife is the reciprocal exchange of personal name.

Within the nuclear family, it is observed that the husband calls his wife by her first name and the wife in return addresses him by first name too. In other families, husband and wife use a teknonymous mode of address in which they address each other by their first child's name like /filan baba:sı/ (father of) with /filan/ (someone) standing for the child's name or /filan nene:si/ (mother of) for the wife besides of using the term /arwad/ (woman). When the wife is not present, the husband may use terms to refer to her and these terms are not usually used in her presence, like /9aélem/ (my family), /ušaġlar nene:si/ (children's' mother), etc. the wife in return may use /ušaġlar baba:sı/ (children's father), and other terms like /ada:m/ (husband) or in possessive form /ada:mım/ (my husband), /kišim/ (my husband), etc. It is the context of situation that requires using address forms other than these. Concerning elder spouses, they usually tend to address each other by forms like /hadʒdʒi/ (male pilgrimage) or /ḥadʒdʒie/ (female pilgrimage) respectively. If they have not done the Haj rituals yet, they keep using teknonyms.

Men use /nene/ (mother), /9ete/ (aunt), /dajza/ (aunt) when addressing their wife's mother and /9emmi/ (uncle) to their wife's father. Women usually address their husband's mother as /nene/ (mother) and use /baba/ (father)

or /9emmi/ (uncle) for his father. Both instances show intimacy and politeness but /baba/ (father) and /nene/ (mother) indicate more closeness than /9emmi/ (uncle) and /9ete/ (aunt) do respectively.

In Iraqi Turkmen, kinship forms are widely used among address forms and it is known that they reflect blood relations and in-laws. More importantly, these forms are used among strangers because they are seen as social honorifics that reflect various degrees of politeness and respect. Obviously, this usage enhances solidarity interaction among participants in conversations. One may say to a local grocer:

/9emmi marḥaba/ (hello uncle).

The term /9emmi/ (uncle) is used to address one's father's brother but in the above sentence, it is used to address a local grocer or any other strange man or a friend of the family. Other terms like /da:jɪ/ (uncle) and /usta/ (craftsman) can also be used in such a context. When there is similarity of age between the addresser and that grocer from whom the former buys regularly, terms like /9emmi oġlu/ (cousin/uncle's son-father's side) and /da:jɪ oġlu/ (cousin/uncle's son-mother's side) are used. There is a special term that Iraqi Turkmen uses in addressing non-relatives which is /xisim/ (relative). This indicates that Iraqi Turkmen use kinship forms beyond their primary use with people whom they do not have a relationship with. This is according to other person's age, sex, physical appearance, etc. It is a way of showing respect for non-kins. /da:jɪ/ (uncle) and /9emmi/ (uncle) are for males and /9ete/ (aunt), /dajza/ (aunt) are for females. People may address a young non-relative male as /qardaš/ (brother) and the female as /ba:dʒɪ/ (sister). This has a symbolic meaning that shows Islamic beliefs. In addressing known older males who are distant relatives to the speaker, the speaker makes a distinction between relatives of father's side. The formers are addressed as /9emmi/ (uncle) and/or /9ete/ (aunt) respectively whereas the latter receive /da:jɪ/ (uncle) and/or /dajza/ (aunt).

Kinship forms is found to be dependent on the family relations and this is especially notable in reverse addressing or using kinship forms for non-relatives.

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5. Sociolinguistic analysis

The English kinship system like the Iraqi Turkmen one is divided into blood relatives and marriage relatives. English uses first name, multiple name, and diminutive name in addressing brothers and sisters. Iraqi Turkmen, unlike English, uses specific KFs for brothers and sisters when they are elder than the speaker. These forms are /eːbe/ (elder sister) for brothers and /abla/ (elder sister) or /baːdʒɪ/ (sister) for sisters. English parents usually call their children by first name, multiple name, and diminutive name but sometimes they use endearment forms like baby, honey, sweetie, etc. Iraqi Turkmen parents also use certain forms that are not that of kin but that of endearment in addressing their children. These forms include, /babam babaːsɪ/ (my father's father), /jeddi arxam/ (my seven ancestors), /9emmim daːjɪm/ (my uncle), etc.

Moreover, Iraqi Turkmen parents sometimes address their sons/daughters by their title of profession like /duxtur/ (male doctor) or /duxtuːra/ (female doctor), /ustat/ (sir) or /hodʒa/ (teacher), etc., to show how much they respect their profession or feel proud of their educational degree. In contrast, this does not frequently occur in an English society. English uses the same address forms for relatives of both father's and mother's side. For instance, they use the term uncle for both father's brother and mother's. The same is true for aunt. Iraqi Turkmen does not do so in which it shows differences between relatives from father's side and those of mother's side by using different address fomrs for each. For example, they use /9emmi/ (uncle) for father's brother and /daːjɪ/ (uncle) for mother's brother; and use /9ete/ (aunt) for father's sister and /dajza/ (aunt) for mother's. The case is identical for the term cousin. English has one term to refer to their cousins and does not use it in addressing. Whereas Iraqi Turkmen has eight different terms for cousins which are used in addressing and they are all gender-marked.

Complementary to this, uncle/aunt in English can be added to first names, e.g., uncle Sam and aunt Suzan. Sometimes the kinship forms uncle/aunt are dropped and only first names are used in addressing when the relationship is very close or when there is not an age difference between the person and

his/her uncle/aunt. This can be seen in Iraqi Turkmen but it is not frequent and it is not used among people.

Concerning husband and wife, in English, they exchange first names and endearment forms. In Iraqi Turkmen, they sometimes exchange first names but endearment forms are exchanged in private and not used in front of others. Furthermore, Iraqi Turkmen uses Teknonyms in addressing husbands and wives. They call each other and are called by others with the form /filan baba:sı/ (father of) for men and /filan nene:si/ (mother of) for women in which /filan/ (someone) is the name of their first male child and if they have only females then the name of the eldest is used.

The English use social forms in addressing their parents-in-law. They use Mr. and Mrs. and last name in addressing father-in-law and mother-in-law respectively. When the amount of intimacy is great, they use first names. Unlike English, the Iraqi Turkmen use kinship forms for this purpose. What is more, they do not put their parents-in-laws' names because it is regarded inappropriate in the society. Even when there is a close relationships between them, they never use first names. English does not use kinship forms for non-kin but Iraqi Turkmen does. They do so to enhance solidarity relations and show respect to the addressee. Terms like /ba:dʒı/ (sister), /qardaš/ (brother) and /e:be/ (elder brother) are used to indicate Islamic belief.

6. Conclusion

According to what has been mentioned earlier, it can be concluded that:

1. The actual usages of kinship forms in English and Iraqi Turkmen vary greatly. The system of kinship forms is more complicated in Iraqi Turkmen than that in English. The reason leading to these differences can be traced to the cultural background, historical development and social structure.

2. Kinship forms play an important part in Iraqi Turkmen address system. They show a strong bound between interlocutors who take priority over other titles or first names. They are used with non-kins. In contrast to this, some English kinship forms are limited to parents, grandparents and cousins.

3. Iraqi Turkmen kinship system shows difference between paternal and maternal forms. Each group has its own forms that cannot be used to address

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the members of other group. The forms /9emmi/ (uncle) for father's brother and /da:jɪ/ (uncle) for mother's brother are good illustrators.

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Appendix (1)

Turkmen Segmental Symbols

Turkmen segmental symbols and their descriptions are after (Lewis, 1975 and Benderoğlu, 1976), those used for English words are the ones used by their original writers.

1. The pure vowels

i a short high front unrounded vowel, e.g. /ip/ 'rope'

ü a short high front rounded vowel, e.g. /jüz/ 'hundred'

é a short higher-mid front unrounded vowel, e.g. /éw/ 'home'

é: a long higher-mid front unrounded vowel, e.g. /é:wi/ 'his/her home'

e a short lower-mid front unrounded vowel, e.g. /el/ 'hand'

ö a short lower-mid front rounded vowel, e.g. /göz/ 'eye'

ö: a long lower-mid front rounded vowel, e.g. /gö:zü/ 'his/her eye'

u a short high back unrounded vowel, e.g. /uzun/ 'tall'

ı a short high back unrounded vowel, e.g. /qıl/ 'pray'

o a short higher-mid back rounded vowel, e.g. /o/ 'that'

o: a long higher-mid back rounded vowel, e.g. /do:lu/ 'full'

a a short low back unrounded vowel, e.g. /axšam/ 'evening'

a: a long low back unrounded vowel, e.g. /a:ldi/ 'he/she bought'

2. The diphthongs

ij as in /sijmeġ/ 'to urinate'

éw as in /éw/ 'home'

ew as in /ewkele/ 'massage'

ej as in /qejmeg/ 'cream'

öj as in /köj/ 'village'

aw as in /aw/ 'hunting'

aj as in /aj/ 'moon, month'

oj as in /toj/ 'a wedding'

uj as in /qujju/ 'a well, a pit'

3. The Consonants

p a voiceless bilabial plosive, e.g. /paj/ 'share'

b a voiced bilabial plosive, e.g. /bir/ 'one'

t a voiceless denti-alveolar plosive, e.g. /ét/ 'meat'

ṭ a voiceless denti-alveolar emphatic plosive, e.g. /ṭa:wix/ 'a hen'

d a voiced denti-alveolar plosive, e.g. /dört/ 'four'

k a voiceless palatal plosive, e.g. /kösk/ 'chest'

g a voiced palatal plosive, e.g. /göz/ 'eye'

q a voiceless uvular plosive, e.g. /qujruġ/ 'tail'

f a voiceless labio-dental fricative, e.g. /fırlat/ 'throw'

s a voiceless denti-alveolar fricative, e.g. /ses/ 'voice'

ş a voiceless denti-alveolar emphatic fricative, e.g. /şol/ 'left'

z a voiced denti-alveolar fricative, e.g. /zehhir/ 'poison'

š a voiced palate-alveolar fricative, e.g. /boš/ 'empty'

x a voiceless velar fricative, e.g. /xax/ 'people'

ġ a voiced velar fricative, e.g. /oġlan/ 'boy'

ḥ a voiceless pharyngeal fricative, e.g. /ḥamam/ 'a bath'

9 a voiced pharyngeal fricative, e.g. /9edʒdʒi/ 'bitter/

h a glottal fricative, e.g. /baha/ 'expensive'

č a voiceless alveolar affricate, e.g. /ča:mır/ 'mud'

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dʒ a voiced alveolar affricate, e.g. /dʒam/ 'glass'

m a voiced bilabial nasal, e.g. /mum/ 'candle'

n a voiced denti-alveolar nasal, e.g. /nene/ 'mother'

l a voiced alveolar lateral, e.g. /lekke/ 'stain'

r a voiced alveolar flap, e.g. /burun/ 'nose'

w a voiced bilabial approximant, e.g. /wér/ 'give'

j a voiced palatal approximant, e.g. /jaz/ 'sammer'