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Kinship Terms in Northern Kurmanji/ Bahdinan Area with Reference to English

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Abstract:

As a universal familial relationship in all communities, kinship is based on biological aspects while kinship terms are cultural-bound elements that show variations across communities. The current work is an academic study of kinship terms in Northern Kurmanji/ Bahdinan area. Not only these terms are accounted for from a semantic perspective, but also their interpretation and functions are demonstrated from the Kurdish culture standpoint. There were three basic assumptions put forward as hypotheses of the work of which the first two are verified in the sense that (1) kinship terms come into practice primarily from a biological outlook, seen as a major role; and (2) these terms can serve social functions like addressing relatives, family members, and strangers or they are employed to refer to them as a matter of politeness and to show in case one's humbleness. Contradicting but marginal employment of kinship terms can also come to surfaces, i.e. they are utilized to belittle others, but such a case can only be salient in the situational context where pragmatics plays a seminal role. The third hypothesis (3), on the other hand, has been refuted in the sense that it is possible to make a comprehensive account of kinship terms in Northern Kurmanji/ Bahdinan area.

Keywords: Kinship Terms, Generation, Ego, Binomials, Descriptive Terms

Kinship Terms in Northern Kurmanji/ Bahdinan Area with Reference to English

Research Questions:

1. What are the types of kinship terms?
2. What are the functions of kinship terms?

Objectives of the Study

The study attempts to:

1. identify Northern Kurmanji kinship terms,
2. view kinship terms from the Kurdish community perspective,
3. show functions of the kinship terms.

HYPOTHESES

It is hypothesized that:

1. native speakers of Northern Kurmanji almost always interpret kinship terms from a biological perspective;
2. kinship terms can perform some social functions as being honorifics to show respect, as devices of endearment, and humiliation.
3. It is almost impossible to give an exhaustive account of kinship terms in the Kurdish language as there are some relationships that cannot be referred to by exact lexicons, so the technique of

paraphrasing is an indispensable method for the demonstration of such relationships.

DATA COLLECTION AND PROCEDURE

Data collected for this study is in the form of a questionnaire as it appears in the appendix. The questionnaire is a combination of open and closed-ended questions as a suitable tool to get data to be analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. It is given to native speakers of Northern Kurmanji, and after eight days they could hand in the questionnaire. The importance of giving time to the subject is vital as s/he can feel comfortable in thinking about the answer, and this makes the data more reliable and authentic. Many expressions have also been collected by the researchers themselves through experiencing different situations in which they could have natural observations to get the raw material from different subjects.

For the sake of the validity of the questionnaire, a number of specialities have been consulted. Face validity of both the English and Kurdish versions of the questionnaire was established by experts who reviewed the items in the questionnaire and agreed that the test is a valid measure of the concept which is being evaluated. Following such steps is to judge the contents of the questionnaire, i.e. the acceptability of the items and the coverage by the questions and language clarity. This procedure, called **Face Validity**, can be defined as the appearance of the test at face value to measure questions what they are intended for (Scott and Morrison, 2005, p. 256). Consequently, the suggestions and comments provided by the jury members are taken into consideration by the researchers in terms of adding/removing new items and modifying the existing ones.

LIST OF THE JURY MEMBERS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Table NO. 1: Jury Members from the Department of English

Name	Academic Status and Specialty	University
Wahab Khalid Mwsa	Prof./PhD in Kurdish Linguistics	University of Zakho
Baheiz Omer Ahmed	Asst. Prof./ PhD in Kurdish Linguistics	University of Duhok
Vian Ibrahim Ali	PhD in Kurdish Linguistics	University of Duhok
Huda Abdulqader Qasim	PhD in Kurdish Linguistics	University of Duhok

Table NO. 2 Jury Members from Department of Kurdish

Name	Academic Status and Specialty	University
Abdullatif Al- Jumaily	Prof./ PhD in Linguistics	University of Baghdad
Susan Gass	Prof./ PhD in Linguistics	Michigan State University
Lazgin Kheder Barany	Asst. Prof/ PhD in Linguistics	University of Duhok
Aveen Mohammad Hasan	Asst. Prof./ PhD in Linguistics	University of Zakho

MODEL

This study adopts a combination of models:

1. A modified version Morgan's typology (1871) of kinship terms has been adopted by the researchers;, instead of having two types of kinship terms, namely **classificatory** and **descriptive**, the researchers expand the taxonomy to make them three, adding another type of **descriptive phrases**.

2. Componential Analysis Theory proposed by Manfred Bierwisch. 1969. 'Strukturelle Semantik', Cited in Bussmann, 1998.
3. Lexical Fields Theory (also known as Semantic Fields) proposed by Jost Trier (1931) (Semantic Fields).

THE POPULATION AND SAMPLE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

As for the target subjects, people from Duhok Governorate and its suburbs are taken as samples. There are sixteen subjects for the current work; half males and half females. All of them are Northern Kurmanji native speakers from Bahdinan area; they are also from different statuses in the Kurdish community.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was distributed among subjects between 1st March and 18th March^h 2019. The researchers have explained the questionnaire to the subjects, and only those who expressed their cooperation to respond to the items are taken as subjects. Any queries on their part were welcomed by the researchers and answered on the spot. They had been asked to take the matter seriously as the data is for academic purposes. The subjects got the choice to take the questionnaire with them at home for eight days in order not to rush out and to provide as many reliable data as possible. However, two subjects apologized, and they returned the questionnaires empty for personal reasons. As a result, the researchers had to distribute the questionnaires to two other subjects. In such cases where subjects were reluctant to talk about their familial issues and because of the sensitive situation, the

researchers determined to conduct an interview with the specialist in Northern Kurmanji language and linguistics (Ahmed, 2019) to get data related to the steps.

DATA ANALYSIS

Northern Kurmanji Kinship Terms are translated into English, and they are transcribed according to **International Phonetic Alphabet**. Points of similarities and differences are identified between English and Kurdish in connection with the kin terms, and three main features are put as criteria for analysis, namely: **generation**, **sex** and **side**. **Generation** shows the distance between the ego and a certain relative; **sex** pertains to the biological gender while **side** shows whether the relative is from the father's side or the mother's side. Besides, the terms are also analyzed in accordance with the **Lexical Fields Theory** and **Componential Analysis Theory**. A thorough account of Northern Kurmanji kinship system is given in terms of definition, taxonomies, and vocabulary utilized to address relatives. Additionally, a pragmatic stance of the terms is of the essential importance as they are used to address non- relatives as well besides bearing some additional and /or opposite literal meanings that are most importantly viewed in society and they are wholly dependent on the physical context of interaction. However, the present work is an eclectic study that utilizes a mixture of models of analysis: semantics, pragmatics and culture to get a comprehensive understanding of kinship terms in Northern Kurmanji/ Bahdinan area.

SCOPE OF WORK

Native speakers of Northern Kurmanji/ Bahdinan area are given a questionnaire to get the primary repertoire of the kinship

terms. The work restricts itself to three aspects culture, semantics, and pragmatics. The integration of the three is of vital importance to provide an academic account of kinship terms in Northern Kurmanji/ Bahdinan area.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

What might make the study reliable and valid is that there is a logical relationship between the kinship terms and the actual relationships among people; that is, the relationships are scientifically authentic based on some biological factors. This study counts as a humble contribution to the Northern Kurmanji Kurdish and can be taken as a good source for those who are interested in the Kurdish language and culture, both experts and amateurs.

KINSHIP TERMS: DEFINITIONS

Kinship designates a family relationship that shows the existence of a close feeling that develops as a consequence of common origins, attitudes, biology, etc. Wardhaugh (2010, p. 238) states that kinship terminology shows how people from all over the world refer to their relatives by blood, descent, and marriage. He highlights the significance of kinship in social organizations and that it is treated as a universal phenomenon. Despite the idea that some languages are richer than the others in their kinship systems, all of them make use of sex, age, gender, generation, marriage and blood as decisive factors for the interpretation of the terms.

Kinship is not a mere description of the relationships among people from a biological perspective, but it is also a social and cultural observable fact that is the crux of the work in sociolinguistics and anthropology (Schneider 1984, p. 97).

In a nutshell, kinship terms can be employed to refer to blood ties and also marriage ones. They can also have other social functions when addressing strangers.

KINSHIP TERMS AND COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS THEORY

Crystal (2008, p. 261) defines kinship terms as lexical items, denoting personal relationships within the family, in both narrow and extended outlooks. Semantically speaking, kinship terms can be given a formal account within the theory of **Componential Analysis** (also known as **Semantic Feature Analysis**) where lexicons have binary features (lexemes⁽¹⁾) using the mathematical symbol + (plus) for the existence of the feature and the symbol – (minus) for the absence of the feature. It is an account of the internal structure of the word with reference to some structured semantic features. Below is a representation of kinship terms with respect to Componential Analysis Theory:

Table NO.3: Componential Analysis of Kinship Terms

Features	Relative	Father	Mother	Siblings	Brother	Sister	Child	Son	Daughter	Uncle	Aunt	Cousin (M)	Cousin (F)	Nephew	Niece
ANIMATE ⁽²⁾	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
HUMAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
RELATED	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DIRECTLY (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
SAME GENERATION	0	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
OLDER	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	-	-	+	+	0	0	+	+
MALE	0	+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
FEMALE	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+

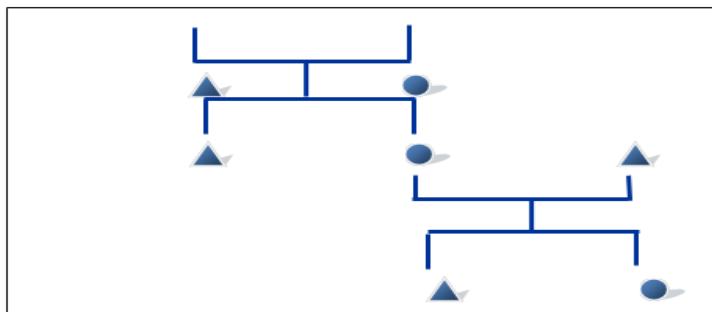
Adapted: Manfred Bierwisch. 1969. 'Strukturelle Semantik', Cited in Bussmann, 1998, p. 219

Besides the **Componential Analysis theory**, the **Emic- Etic Model** by Harris (1968) also demonstrates kinship terms. The terms are adopted as research approaches, and they relate concepts to culture- a complex and a holistic system of behaviours learned from the social environment, like customs, beliefs, and overall ways of life. Any different experience with strange people from other areas can result in culture shock, disorientation and much of misunderstanding. The term **emic** is equivalent to the term **insider** and is a **culturally- bound notion**, while **etic** to the **outsider**. Emic is confined to a single specific culture that one can see how its people think, perceive, and understand their ways of life whereas etic is restricted to general assumptions and observations made by the researchers that are to be applied to all cultures. Despite relevant literature making a dichotomy between emic and etic

approaches, these are not mutually exclusive models of analysis, yet they are complementary to each other. Therefore, both can be adopted for any specific cultural phenomenon as almost all speech communities are heterogeneous and individuals are certainly influenced by neighbouring and contacted societies (Emic and Etic Approaches in International Research, 2014). **Emic** is an intrinsic component of one specific culture, while **etic** is an extrinsic one common in all cultures and is usually useful for comparisons and universalities (Emic vs Etic, 2013).

Different methods of analysis have been adopted by experts to conduct research on kinship terms. For example, Foley (1997, p. 132) applied **Lexical Fields Theory** to kinship terminologies where he claims that the analysis of the terms is based on the nuclear family categories which are a universal entity in all cultures. Certain symbols are used in the demonstration of the relationships; for example, stands for a male person, for a female, a marriage bond, a parent-child relationship, and a sibling relationship. The following figure shows nuclear family relationships:

Figure NO. 1: Lexical- Fields Theory of Kinship Terms



(After Foley, 1997, p. 132)

It can be claimed that the above figure is not out of shortcomings as it is not comprehensive in establishing the whole familial relationships through the symbols introduced as they are limited symbols and need to be extended to incorporate all familial relationships.

TYPES OF KINSHIP

TPOLOGY (1)

Kinship, as a relationship among people, can be of two major types: **Ordinary** and **Pseudo**. While the former is a general and intuitive understanding of the relationship in terms of genealogy and biology, the latter is a social and cultural construction of the relationship, being both spiritual and metaphorical (Fox, 1998 cited in Al- Sahlany and Al- Hussein, 2010, pp. 3- 4)

ORDINARY KINSHIP

Anthropologists, both social and cultural, have labelled **ordinary kinship** in terms of two major theories (Fox, 1998 cited in Al- Sahlany and Al- Hussein, 2010, pp. 3- 4) and (Good, 2002, p. 471):

1. **Descent Theory**- an approach to kinship, demonstrating relationship among people by blood, referred to as **Consanguine Relations**.
2. **Alliance Theory**- a method of relationship explanation by marriage, known as **Affine Relations**.

PSEUDO KINSHIP

It is a kin term, socially speaking, but it falls outside the scope of kinship relations when thinking about its literal meaning. Such an assumed relationship is not genealogically compulsory, but it is totally optional and lies entirely on one's own will. Pseudo kinship relations are of three types as distinguished by Pit- Rivers (2016, International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences).

TAXONOMIES OF PSEUDO KINSHIP

1. **Figurative Kinship**: It is used to indicate a contextualized social status. For instance, children may address their parents' friends as uncles and aunts even if there is no genuine kinship relationship between them. Children may also address an elderly as grandpa to show respect, age, and intimacy while the latter can address them son and daughter to show seniority and also intimacy and endearment (Pit- Rivers (2016, International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences).

2. **Fictive (Artificial Kinship):** It is by attribution rather than birth entitlement to a person to get the kinship. From the term, one can recognize that the kinship tie is imaginary but is assumed in accordance with some social customs. The phenomenon of adoption, though prohibited in Islam, is an example that best illustrates this type. An individual is treated like a real son when adopted by a certain family. Similarly, there is a tradition in Japan that they consider the husband of their daughter their son when they don't have a son biologically, or they don't have a responsible one to whom patrimony can be ensured. The Japanese expression **mukoyōshi**, translated into **groom- foster son**, is used for this individual (Pit- Rivers (2016, International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences).
3. **Ritual Kinship:** Institutions by analogy resemble kinship, but with a distinct status and nature. It is a conventionalized privileged social connection such as godparents and fraternal orders (Oxford Reference, 2018). The term **Comadrazgo** is employed in relation to ritual kinship. It is derived from **Compadre** - a combination of Spanish **Com** /kom/, meaning "Co" and Portuguese **Padre** /pa:dre/, literally meaning co-father, co-parent, or co- parenthood.

It is to be noted that these types sometimes merge into one another as a community is a complicated notion in which many social factors intersect and many interpretations and employments of relations can be conjectured. However, the following figure gives a

visual representation of the types of kinship:

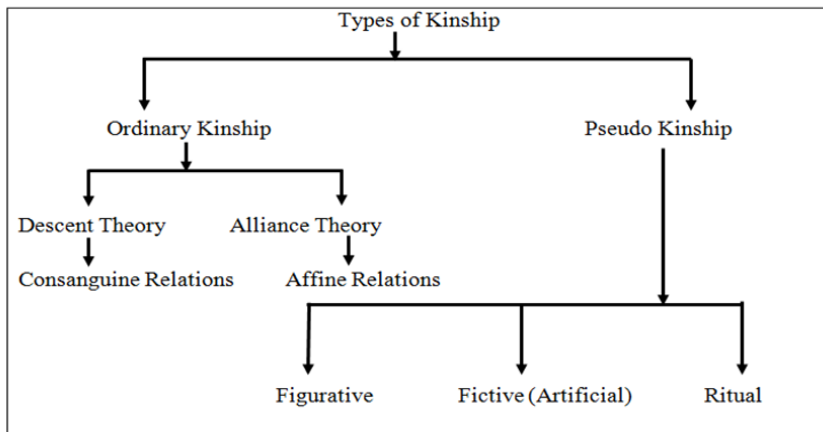


Figure NO.2: Taxonomy of Kinship: Typology (1)

TYPOLOGY (2)

The kinship relationship can be near or distant among people in a certain community, and based on this, these relations are categorized into the following (Shah, 2017, pp. 1-2):

1. **Primary:** They are direct relationships and regular in a nuclear family like husband-wife, father-son, sister- brother, etc.
2. **Secondary:** They are not members of a nuclear family but very near members of a nuclear family member, like father's brother, sister's husband, etc. In other words, they are primary kin of one's primary kin.
3. **Tertiary:** It is the reciprocal relation between the primary kin and one's secondary kin, and the secondary kin and one's

primary kin. Notably, one's brother- in- law's wife is his/her tertiary kin because the brother- in- law is one's secondary kin and his wife is his primary kin, i.e. brother's- in- law.

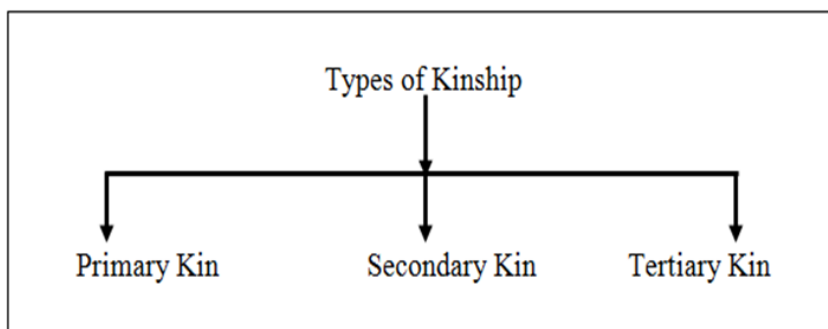


Figure NO. 3 Taxonomy of Kinship: Typology (2)

TAXONOMY OF KINSHIP TERMS

Morgan (1871) is considered the pioneer in the study of kinship terms, and he came up with the conclusion that social systems are reflections of kinship ones. Estaji (2016, p. 2) suggests two types of kin terms: **canonical** and **non- canonical**. The former refer to the basic genealogical relationships while the latter is concerned with distant social relations.

As kinship can be categorized into many types, so are kinship terms. According to Trautmann (1871, p. 262), Morgan is of the view that languages exhibit discrepancies in the exact use of kinship terminologies and thus divides kinship terms into the following:

1. **Classificatory:** It refers to many kinds of relationships; one kin term can be used to identify many kinship relations. For example, in English, within the same sex, the term "uncle" can be used to refer to the father's and the mother's brother, a case not found in many other languages. Similarly, the term "aunt" can both identify the father's and the mother's sister. However, there are some kinship terms that can be used to refer to the opposite sexes; for instance, the term "cousin" can be used to designate both uncle's and aunt's son and daughter. Therefore, one can claim that terms in the classificatory system can be put into service as general expressions as hypernyms to incorporate more specific meaning designated with the same terms as hyponyms.
2. **Descriptive:** This system shows that each kinship relation has its own term, and it demonstrates the exact relation of one person to another.

The following figure illustrates the taxonomy of kinship terminologies:

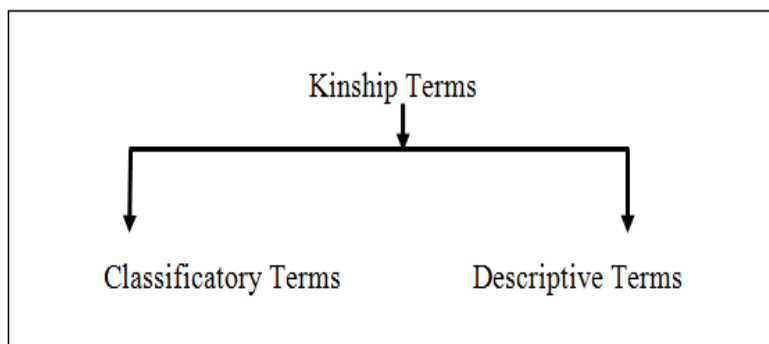


Figure NO.4: Taxonomy of Kinship Terms

However, the researchers suggest another term and thus can make a demarcation line between the terms: **descriptive** and **descriptive phrases** in that the first is the exact terminology of the relationship like grandfather while the second is a paraphrased one the **ego's father's father**. One is a matter of **lexicalization** while the other is a **non-lexicalized expression** that needs demonstration, using the syntactic construction of possession. Thus, one can draw a difference between the term **descriptive** that means the exact vocabulary that has its own dictionary entry for the kin term and the term **descriptor (descriptive phrase)** that paraphrases the familial relation without having specific vocabulary- so viewed a **circumlocution of the kin term**.

Such a paraphrase is of worth to use in anthropology for two central reasons: for referring to kinship relations that lack a specific terminology like **my aunt's husband**; also, for giving more details in relation to gender and maternal and paternal sides (Bistoon et al., 2013, p. 4).

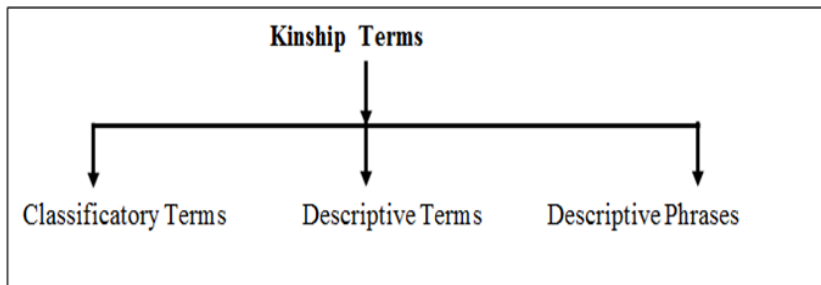


Figure NO.5: Taxonomy of Kinship Terms: Modified

A further categorization of kinship terms can be illustrated by the close and far relationship of the members of a family to the ego. Notably, the direct relationship of a different generation is

known as **lineal**, the direct relationship of the same generation is called **colineal**, while the far relationship of the ego to relatives of the same generation is called **bilineal** (Larson, 1984 cited in Al-Sahlany and Al- Hussein, 2010, p. 8). The following table gives a visual representation to the claim:

Table NO.4: Larson's Categorization of Kinship Terms

	Lineal		Colineal		Bilineal
Previous Generation	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Cousin
	Grandfather	Grandmother	Uncle	Aunt	
	Father	Mother			
Same Generation	Ego		Brother	Sister	
Next Generation	Son	Daughter	Nephew	Niece	
Second Generation Following	Grandson	Granddaughter			

After: Larson 1984, Cited in Al- Sahlany and Al- Hussein, 2010, p. 8.

IMPORTANCE OF KINSHIP

This universal concept has a number of seminal significances in society: Maintaining, cooperation, unity and harmony among individuals, setting guidelines for communication, identification of rights and obligations among family members and assigning political power in tribal societies. Kinship terms can also divide

individuals into generations (Kinship: Definition in the Study of Sociology).

KINSHIP USAGES

Kinship shows that the relationship that reflects a distinct behaviour; son to father is of respect while husband to wife is of love. These usages of kinship are manifested below (Shah, 2017, p. 6):

- **Avoidance:** In some cultures, relatives must avoid each other as the father-in-law should avoid the daughter-in-law.
- **Joking Relationship:** This usage stands in sharp contrast with the first. It shows a close relationship between relatives, and it is normal to tease each other or make fun of each other.
- **Teknonymy:** It means not mentioning the name but the child's name, like the father of Ahmed.
- **Avunculate:** In some cultures, the maternal uncle is given a prominent position in the life of his nephews and nieces, and he has some commitments that exceed those of father.
- **Amitate:** In some communities, the father's sister should get more respect than the mother.
- **Couvade:** In distinct primitive communities like Khasi and Toda, the husband should experience the life of his wife whenever she gives birth to a child; he refrains from work and takes sick diet.

ENGLISH KINSHIP TERMS ⁽³⁾

English kinship terms system, in particular, is a bilateral scheme in that there is no distinction between father's and mother's relatives (Sills, 1968, pp. 390- 399), but it does make a distinction almost among generation, sexes, and collateral kinship- members of one's family not closely related to. In nuclear family terms- father, mother, sister, brother, daughter, and son only one kin type is applied for, but for more extended familial relationships- aunt, uncle, and cousin; there is a process known as **collateral merging** in which kin terms form more comprehensive categories (Schwimmer, 1998, cited in Qadir et al., 2016, p. 10).

FUNCTIONS OF KINSHIP TERMS

Kinship terms occupy a great space within the basic vocabulary of a language, and their study is an interdisciplinary field which is of great interest for both anthropologists and sociologists (Bussmann, 1998, p. 618). As a result, they are important not only in linguistics but also in anthropology where they are connected with the logic of life in terms of life and death, personality and identity, legacy (property control), face in politeness theories (i.e. honour and shame), and throne getting in politics especially in past where succession of positions was primarily based on kinship relations (Good, 2002, p. 469).

Kinship terms can be used for religious purposes. For example, Father is employed for God or priest, Mother as ahead of female orders, Brother and Sister, for members of a religious order. Particular to the Roman Catholic Church, Brother and Sister are followed by the first name while Father by the last name (Gramley and Patzold, 1992, p. 299).

KINSHIP TERMS IN NORTHERN KURMANJI

Kurdish community, like any other, pays significant attention to kinship terms due to two foremost factors: **maintaining familial relations both close and distant**, and **expanding social relations** (Ali, 2020, Personal Interview 7th February).

NORTHERN KURMANJI CULTURE

The notion of kinship is somehow complicated in some cultures, and Kurdish is one of them. Its application seems to be bizarre, and its conception seems to vary in accordance with the social organization of the speech community. Drawing discrepancy is necessary between the biological and sociological parenthood. For instance, in some communities, the father is not the actual begetter of a child. It is every so often for a younger brother to get married to the widow of his deceased elder brother, as stated by Morgan Trautmann (1871, p. 440- 448).

KINSHIP AND ADOPTION IN ISLAM

The phenomenon of adoption, though prevalent in many cultures, is forbidden in Islam. It is illegal, with regard to jurisprudence, for a person, who is not the biological father, to adopt a son or a daughter. Therefore, simply by declaration, a foreigner cannot be a relative. However, taking care of orphans is a distinct case, and it does not come under the umbrella of adoption. The person can feed, educate, and love the orphans, but they are attributed to their biological parents; therefore, they do not enjoy the legal rights reserved to natural children, like inheritance (The Islamic Adoption of Islam).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS OF NORTHERN KURMANJI KINSHIP TERMS

INVENTORY OF NORTHERN KURMANJI KINSHIP TERMS

Table 5 exhibits Northern Kurmanji kin terms. The terms are transcribed into the International Phonetic Alphabet and provided with English glosses. Some terms are expressed by **single lexical items**, others by **compound terms**, yet still others by **paraphrased ones**.

Table NO.5: Kinship Terms in Northern Kurmanji

Northern Kurmanji Kin Terms		English Glosses	Kurdish Extra Terms
Kurdish Orthography	IPA		
بایەر <i>ba:pe:ɾ</i>	/ba:'pi:ɾ/	Grandfather	None
دایەر باب دەیک مەر ژن ژنک	/da:'pi:ɾ/ /ba:b/ /deɪk/ /mɛɾ/ /ʒm/ /ʒi'nik/	Grandmother Father Mother Husband Wife	پیری /pi:ɾ/ بابو /ba:bu: / بابی /'ba:be/ دادی /da:de/ دا /da: / زەلام /zæ'lam/ خیزان /xɛ'zan/ (Family) کابانی /ka:ba:ni:/ (Housewife) بچیک /bi'tʃi:k/ (Children) هەقۆین /hæv'ʒi:n/ (Spouse)
کور کچ برا خیشک خوشک مام ژرمم خال ژن خال مەت	/kɔɾ/ /kɪtʃ/ /bi'ra: / /ʒi'ʃk/ /ʒɔʃk/ /ma:m/ /ʒi'rma:m/ /xɑ:l/ /ʒm'xɑ:l/ /mæ:t/	Son Daughter Brother Sister Paternal uncle (Father's Brother) Father's Brother's Wife Maternal uncle (Mother's Brother) Mother's Brother's Wife Paternal aunt (Father's Sister)	None None None None مامو /ma:'mu: / ژن مام /ʒm'ma:m/ خالو /xɑ:'lu: / None مەتی /mæ'tɛ/

بیگ	/bi:k/	1- Daughter- in- Law 2- Bride 3- Doll	None
خه‌زیر	/xæ'zi:r/	Father- in- Law	مام /ma:m/ خال /xɑ:l/ باب /ba:b/
خه‌سی	/xæsi:/	Mother- in- Law	ژرمام /ʒir'ma:m/ خاله‌ت /xɑ:læt/ دادی /da:de/ دا /da:/
دش	/dɪʃ/	Husband's Sister Wife's Sister	None
خزم	/xɪzɪm/	In law	None
ژن برا	/ʒmbr'a:/	Brother's Wife	None
هه‌قنگ	/hævɪŋg/	Wife's sister's husband	None
تی	/tʰi:/	Husband's Brother	None
ژن تی	/ʒm'tʰi:/	Husband's Brother's Wife	None
برازا	/br'a:za:/	Nephew, niece	None
خارزا	/xɑ:rza:/	Nephew, niece	None

زه‌لامی مه‌تن	/zæ'la.me 'mæth'e/	Father's Sister's Husband	None
خاله‌ت	/xɑ:læt/	Maternal aunt (Mother's Sister)	None
زه‌لامی خاله‌تی	/zæ'la.me 'xɑ:lætʰe/	Mother's Sister's Husband	None
زاقا	/za:va:/	1- Son- in- Law 2- Bridegroom	None

کچ مہت	/kɪtʃ'mæt/	Cousin (Father's Sister's Daughter)	None
کور خالہت	/kʊr'χɑ:læt/	Cousin (Mother's Sister's Son)	None
کچ خالہت	/kɪtʃ'χɑ:læt/	Cousin (Mother's Sister's Daughter)	None
نہ قی	/næ'vi:/	Grand Children	None
نہ قی چرک	/næ'vi: 'tʃɪrk/	Grand Grand Children	None
نہ قی چرچرک	/næ'vi: 'tʃɪr 'tʃɪrk/	Grand Grand Grand Children	None
نہ خری	/næχɹi:/	The First Child	بچیکن ٹیکن /br'tʃi:ke eke/
ٹیکانہ	/e'ka:næ/	The only Child	None
پیکھورک	/peɪr'huɾk/	Exchanged	None

زرباب	/zɪr'ba:b/	Step Father	باب /'ba:b/
ژن باب	/ʒm'ba:b/	Step Mother	دہیک /'deɪk/ دادی /da:de/ دا /'da:/
نہ قسی	/nævisi:/	Husband's/ Wife's Children	None
ہہ وی	/hæ'wi:/	Husband's Wife	None
پسمام	/pɪs'ma:m/	Cousin (Father's Brother's Son)	None
دوتام	/dʊt'ma:m/	Cousin (Father's Brother's Daughter)	None
دوہنام	/dʊhm'ma:m/		
کورخال	/kʊr'χɑ:l/	Cousin (Mother's Brother's Son)	None
کچ خال	/kɪtʃ'χɑ:l/	Cousin (Mother's Brother's Daughter)	None
کورمہ ت	/kʊr'mæt/	Cousin (Father's Sister's Son)	None

Features	نەروێژ / naru:v(3)	باب / bab/ Father	دەدە / dade/ Mother	خۆشک و برا / xosk o bras/ siblings	برای / bras/ Brother	خۆشک / xosk/ Sister	خۆشک / za:'m:ik/ Child	گەور / 'kor/ Son	دەدە / 'de/ Daughter	مام / 'ma:m/ Paternal Uncle	خال / 'xu:' Maternal Uncle	مام / 'ma/ Paternal Aunt	خۆشک / xosk/ maternal Aunt	کۆنە / kon/ Cousin (M)	کۆنە / kon/ Cousin (F)	نەپەو / nepew	نەپە / nepie
ANIMATE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
HUMAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
RELATED	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DIRECTLY (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SAME GENERATION	0	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
OLDER	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+
MALE	0	+	-	0	+	-	0	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
FEMALE	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+

Table NO.6: Kinship Terms in Northern Kurmanji:
Componential Analysis

CLASSIFICATION OF KURDISH KINSHIP TERMS

The kinship terms can be classified into **Classificatory** and **Descriptive**, according to Morgan's typology (Trautmann, 1871, p. 262). However, based on the results of the questionnaire, such a model put forward by Morgan is not comprehensive; it should be modified to account for an additional type of kinship term, namely

descriptive phrases, as suggested by the researchers of the current study. Consider the following table:

Table NO.7: Kinship Terms in Northern Kurmanji: Modified Typology

Classificatory	Descriptive	Descriptive Phrases
باپیر /ba:'pi:r/ Grandfather	باپ /'ba:b/ Father	زەلامی مەتی /zæ'la:me 'mæthē/ Father's Sister's Husband
دایپیر /da:'pi:r/ Mother	دەیک /'deik/ Mother	زەلامی خالەتی /zæ'la:me 'χa:læthē/ Mother's Sister's Husband
خەزیر /χæ'zi:r/ Father-in-Law	میر /'mer/ Husband	کوری /کچا تی /ku're/kr'tʃa: tʰi:/ Husband's Brother's Son/ Daughter
خەسی /'χæsi:/ Mother-in-Law	ژن /'ʒm/ Wife	کوری /کچا دشی /ku're/kr'tʃa: dr'ʃe/ Husband's Sister's Son/ Daughter
دش /'dɪʃ/ Husband's Sister Wife's Sister	کور /'kur/ Son	زەلامی دشی /zæ'la:me dr'ʃe/ The Husband of the Husband's or the Wife's Sister
خزم /'χɪzm/ In law	کچ /'krɪʃ/ Daughter	
برازا /br'ra:za:/ Nephew, niece	برا /br'ra:/ Brother	دایپیرا مەن یا دەیکی /da:'pi:ra: 'mɪn ja: 'deike/ The grandmother on the side of my mother
خارزا /'χa:ra:za:/ Nephew, niece	خیشک /'χi:ʃk/ Sister	دایپیرا مەن یا بابی /da:'pi:ra: 'mɪn ja: 'ba:be/ The grandmother on the side of my father
نەقسی /'nævisi:/ Husband's/ Wife's Children	مام /'ma:m/ Paternal uncle	بابیری مەن یان دەیکی /ba:'pi:re 'mɪn je 'deike /
نەفی /næ'vi:/ Grand Children	ژرمام /ʒr'ma:m/ Father's Brother's Wife	بابیری مەن یان بابی /ba:'pi:re 'mɪn je 'ba:be/

Grand Grand Children	خال /'χa:l/ Maternal uncle	کورئ برایی من /'kure b'ra:je 'min/ My brother's son
'tʃɪrk/ Grand Grand Grand Children	خال ژن خال /ʒm'χa:l/ Mother's Brother's Wife	کچا برایی من /'kɪtʃa: b'ra:je 'min/ My brother's daughter
	تی /'tʰi:/ Husband's Brother	
	ژن تی /ʒm'tʰi:/ Husband's Brother's Wife	
	زریاب /zɪr'ba:b/ Step Father	
	ژن باب /ʒm'ba:b/ Step Mother	
	هوی /hæ'wi:/ Husband's Wife	
ئیتیم /e'tʰi:m/ (Orphan) The child who lost his father	مەت /'mæt/ Paternal aunt	کورئ خیشکا من /'kure 'χi:fka: min/ My sister's son
سیوی /se'wi:/ (Orphan) - The child who lost his mother	خالەت /'χa:læt/ Maternal aunt	کچا خیشکا من /'kɪtʃa: 'χi:fka: min/ My sister's daughter
	زاقا /'za:va:/ Son – in- Law	
	بیگ /'bi:k/ Daughter- in- Law	
	برا /ʒmbr'a:/ Brother's Wife	
	هه ڤلنگ /'hævɪŋg/ Wife's sister's husband	

	پسمام /pis'ma:m/ Father's Brother's Son	
	دوتمام /dɒt'ma:m/ Father's Brother's Daughter	
	کورخال /kur'χa:l/ Mother's Brother's Son	
	کچ خال /kɪtʃ'χa:l/ Mother's Brother's Daughter	
	کورمه ت /kur'mæt/ Father's Sister's Son	
	کچ مه ت /kɪtʃ'mæt/ Father's Sister's Daughter	
	کور خالەت /kur'χa:læt/ Mother's Sister's Son	
	کچ خالەت /kɪtʃ'χa:læt/ Mother's Sister's Daughter	

Like many other languages, Northern Kurmanji has specific kinship terms that make the distinction between males and females of the cousin, aunt, and uncle. Plus, Northern Kurmanji shows the distinction between patrilineal and matrilineal terms. These two features do not exist in the English language. This division can be shown either by specific kinship terms or descriptions of the expressions like **the son of, the daughter of**, etc.

Some terms can be used to refer to a single person and also to the whole family, tribe, and clan. For example, خزم /'xizim/ (in-law), and برازا /bɾa:za:/(nephew and niece) can function as collective nouns that indicate one and many as well. Similarly the kin term خیشک /'xi:ʃk/ and خوشک /'xuʃk/ (sister) exhibit a phonological difference and this is due to individuals' social backgrounds that some clans and areas use the former while others use the latter, so-known as sociolinguistic variations.

Historically, **endogamy**, the obligation of marrying within the same tribe, was a dominant commitment in the Kurdish community. More precisely, the priority was for the paternal male cousin پيسام /pɪs' ma:m/ who had the social right to marry his paternal female cousin دوتام /dot' ma:m/ (Ali, 2020, Personal Interview 7th February). However, in case somebody proposed to the girl, he would definitely take the permission of the paternal male cousin before asking her hand. According to International Encyclopedia of Marriage and Family (2016), this situation can be justified economically and socially; that is, keeping the property in the family and reinforcing tribal and patriarchal solidarity by patrilineal cousin's marriage.

The tradition of marrying within the limits of the community is becoming a common feature of the current Kurdish social practice.

That is, marriage is not only achieved within kin relations but also enhanced to be practised with other people as well even if they are from different clans, areas, etc., so-known as **exogamy**. Another custom, dominant in the past, is exchange marriage where the father gives his daughter to the son of a family and in return demands their daughter for his son; hence, the term پینگهورك /peŋr'hu:rk/ (exchange) is used (Ali, 2020, Personal Interview 7th February).

Another term to point out is كريف /'kiri:v/ which is used for a Muslim to form blood brotherhood with people of another distinct religion, namely Yezidi where Yezidis choose a Muslim man to comfort a young Yezidi boy during his circumcision. However, such a tradition is practised among two distinct Yazidi families as well where these cultural traditions go beyond the biological bonds; the two families become too close to each other, and their children become brothers and sisters and marriage is prohibited between them (Ottoman, 2019, Personal Interview, 24th January).

Northern Kurmanji Consanguinal Kinship Terms

Basically, Northern Kurmanji Consanguinal kin terms are classified into sundry groups on the basis of five generations: **two above ego's generation, three below, and ego's own generation**. Other far generations, whether above or below, are rare in use and when indispensable to mention usually done in the form of paraphrase.

FIRST GENERATION ABOVE THE EGO

باپير/ba:'pi:r/ (Grandfather)

دایپر/da:'pi:r/ (Grandmother)

In the first generation, **دایر** /ba:'pi:r/ (grandfather) and **دایر** /da:'pi:r/ (grandmother), there is no distinction but in sex. While in English, the term "grand" means "big" the equivalent term **"پیر"** /pi:r/, in Kurdish means "old". So, metaphorically speaking, the adjective in English has more social value than in that of Kurdish. To add more, there is no indication of side to show whether the kin term is paternal or maternal. Alternatively, a paraphrase of possession is employed when to talk about the side, like **دایر** /da:'pi:ra: 'mɪn ja: 'deɪke/ (the grandmother on the side of my mother) and **دایر** /da:'pi:ra: 'mɪn ja: 'ba: be/ (the grandmother on the side of my father), the same can be applied for the grandfather. Additionally, the "grandmother" term in Kurdish can have the short form of **پیری** /'pi:re/ for the ease of pronunciation and use employed basically by children.

One can draw a distinction between the two terms **دایر** /da:'pi:r/ (grandmother) and **دایرک** /da:'pi:rk/ (midwife), in which one letter gives a quite different meaning from the original word, the woman who helps the pregnant to deliver her baby.

SECOND GENERATION ABOVE THE EGO

(Mother)	/' deɪk/	دهیک
(Mum)	/'da:de/	دادی
(Mother	/' da:/	دا
(Father)	/'ba:b/	باب
(Father)	/'ba:bu:/	بابو
(Father)	/'ba:be/	بابی

(Paternal Uncle)	/ˈma:m/	مام
(Maternal Uncle)	/ˈχa:l/	خال
(Paternal Aunt)	/ˈ mæt/	مەت
(Maternal Aunt)	/ˈχa:læt/	خالەت

Despite the fact that Northern Kurmanji has the gender marker /u:/ for masculine and /e/ for the feminine, the kin term باب /ˈba:b/ "father" can be inflected by the vocative devices /e/ and /u:/ by children and even adults in some families. Such a phenomenon can be seen as language variation within sociolinguistics that concerns what can be described; what is said, not what can be prescribed; what should be said. Sometimes the term باب /ˈba:b/ (father) is used as a ritual kinship term as in the case of بابی مەزن /ˈba:be mæ'zɪn ba: r'za:ni/, the great father Barzani, who is a political figure in the Kurdish community- the one who sought the Kurd's quest for freedom. For "mother" the expressions دادی /ˈ da:de/ and دا /ˈ da:/ are used to have the vocative function of language and also for referring. These diverse forms of pronunciation for the same term are examples of sociolinguistic variations in the Northern Kurmanji.

The second-generation above the ego's inherently shows sex and side, like مام /ˈ ma:m/ (paternal uncle), خال /ˈχa:l/ (maternal uncle), مەت /ˈ mæt/ (paternal aunt), and خالەت /ˈχa:læt/ (maternal aunt); therefore, one can see that in this generation there is more use of descriptive kinship terms than in any other.

For the use of the terms as vocatives and/or making oneself endeared to the uncle, the Kurdish forms مامو /ma: 'mu:/ and خالو /χa:'lu:/ are commonly used in which the gender marker /u:/ is

attached to the word, and also there is stress shift from the first syllable to the next. A similar case can be noted in the kin term مەتی /mə't^he/ for aunt, yet the only discrepancy is in the use of female gender marker ە /e/. To add more, culturally speaking, in the Kurdish community, traceable relatives from the father side are closer and are the source of support for children.

EGO'S GENERATION

In ego's generation, the following kinship terms are available in Northern Kurmanji:

/br'ra:/ برا –
(Brother)

/ 'χʊʃk/ خوشک /'χi:ʃk/ خېشک –
(Sister)

(Cousin) (Father's Brother's Son) /pɪs'ma:m/ پىسمام –

(Father's Brother's Daughter) /dɒt'ma:m/ دوتمام –
(Cousin)

(Cousin) (Father's Sister's Son) /kor'mæt/ کور مەت –

(Father's Sister's Daughter) / kɪtʃ'mæt/ کچ مەت –
(Cousin)

(Cousin) (Mother's Brother's Son) /kor'χa:l/ کور خال –

(Mother's Brother's Daughter) /kitʃ'χa:l/ کچ خال –
(Cousin)

(Cousin) (Mother's Sister's Son) /kor'χa:læt/ کور خالەت –

(Mother's Sister's Daughter) /kitʃ'χa:læt/ کچ خالەت –
(Cousin)

In this generation, Northern Kurmanji manifests discrepancies in both side and sex. In the first four terms, sex is inherently incorporated into the single terms while in the rest, Kurdish shows sex in the form of compound words in which the first part shows sex whereas the second indicates side.

The word **cousin** in English can have many meanings: it may refer to the father's brother's son or daughter, the father's sister's son or daughter, the mother's brother's son or daughter, and the mother's sister's son or daughter. As a result, "cousin" is regarded as a classificatory term that incorporates many, and the term can be described as a homonym that one word has many meanings. In contrast, in this regard, the Kurdish system is descriptive that assigns a distinct term for almost every distinct relative. For such relations, Northern Kurmanji identifies diverse terms for male or female and matrilineal and patrilineal cousin.

From the aforementioned discussion, it can be said that many Kurdish kinship terms in ego's generation need to be pragmatically interpreted depending on the situational context and they also can be demonstrated in the context in which one relies on the preceding and following sentences, i.e. the linguistic context to determine the appropriate meaning.

As for خوشك /'xʊʃk/ and خیشك /'xi:ʃk/, meaning "sister", the variation is mainly related to areas, the first is usually used in Zakho and Sorani while the second is used in Duhok and its suburbs.

To add more, the first three terms in the ego's generation can be used as forms of address to strangers, as indications of respect.

ONE GENERATION BELOW THE EGO

In one generation below the ego, one can find the following terms:

- | | | |
|--|---|--------------------------------|
| (Son) | - | کور /'kur/ |
| | - | کچ /'kitʃ/ |
| | | (Daughter) |
| | - | نیتیم /e' t ^h is:m/ |
| (Orphan) | - | The child who lost his father |
| (Orphan) | - | The child who lost his mother |
| Nephew/ Niece (Brother's Son or Daughter) | - | برازا /bɪ'ra:za:/ |
| (Sister's Son or Daughter) | - | خارزا /'xɑ:rza:/ |
| | | Nephew/ Niece |

While the first two terms inherently show sex, the second two terms inherently show side but no characteristic of sex. Thus, the only decisive criterion is likely to be presupposition (the background assumptions and beliefs that affect communication) whether semantic, i.e. sentence or pragmatic that is utterance presupposition. The term کچ /'kitʃ/ is a homonym that means girl and/or daughter.

However, Northern Kurmanji also uses the paraphrased terms like کچا برایی /'kore b'ra:je 'min/ (My brother's son), کورئ خیشکا من /'kitʃa: b'ra:je 'min/ (My brother's daughter), کورئ خیشکا من /'kore 'xi:ʃka: min/ (My sister's son), and کچا خیشکا من /'kitʃa: 'xi:ʃka: min/ (My sister's daughter). Such terms are descriptive and also paraphrased ones. Young aunts and uncles tend to use such paraphrased (non-lexicalized) terms rather than the descriptive (lexicalized) ones برازا /b'ra:za:/ and خاززا /χa:za:/. The terms bolded in عیالی برایی من /ʕæ'ja:le b'ra:je 'min/ and زاروکنیت برایی من /'za:ru:ket b'ra:je 'min/ /, meaning "**the children** of my brother, are superordinate terms usually used to refer to the children of the ego's brother/ sister irrespective of their sex. However, the first term is borrowed from Arabic while the second is originally from Kurdish.

SECOND GENERATION BELOW THE EGO

In the second generation below the ego, the kin terms نمفی /næ' vi:/, represents the children of the son or daughter and in the last two generations, the same vocabulary is out into work but attached by the word چرک /tʃɪrk/ once in the first and twice in the second; thus to be identified as نمفی چرک /næ' vi: 'tʃɪrk/, meaning "grand grandchild", and نمفی چرچرک /næ' vi: 'tʃɪrk 'tʃɪrk/, meaning "grand grandchild", respectively.

Northern Kurmanji Affinal Kinship Terms

The affinal terms can be manifested below:

(Mother- in- Law)	/ 'χæsi:/	خەسی	-
(Father- in- Law)	/χæ'zi:r/	خەزیر	-

The above two terms illustrate distinction of sex but no diversity inside; the first may refer to the husband's mother or wife's mother while the second may refer to husband's father or wife's father. Daughters- in- law usually address their fathers and mothers in law as باب / 'bɑ:b/, father and دادی / ' dɑ: de/, mother and this is to soothe the situation as they are counted as intruders to the new family, and it is almost universally known that there is no good relationship between the mother- in- law and the daughter – in- law. Such terms can be considered as honorifics since the speaker gives a highly elevated status to the parents of her husband; that is, of her parents. This identifies a social stratification between the daughter – in- law and her husband's parents. Consequently, some kinship terms can have the pragmatic function of addressing especially the consanguine ones. They can be used to indicate formality and respect when addressing a person older than, the opposite sex, or a foreign one, or to indicate endearment and intimacy. However, according to (Hentschel, 2012, pp. 3) some specific kinship terms can have the function of humiliation to belittle the person they refer to specifically with some affinal kin terms like a mother – in- law and stepmother. Such a case occurs in a situation when a lady judges another in a negative way, so the later would usually say "Are you, my mother – in- law?" "ما تو خەسیا" / ma: tʊ χæs' ja: m'i:ni:/, or if somebody takes one's right but is fair with others, the second may utter "Am I the son/daughter of the stepmother?" "ما ئەز کورئ/کچا ژن بابی مە؟" / 'ma: æz ku're/kr'tʃɑ: 'ʒɪn 'bɑ:be 'mæ/. Such utterances are fixed expressions that lie within the domains of semantics and pragmatics and inherently contain a negative connotation. However, there are some utterances that can acquire a negative implication only in the context of situation; otherwise, when neutralized, can have just their literal meaning. Therefore, the utterance, خەسیا من یا هات /χæs'ja: 'mɪn ja:

'ha:t/ (My mother – in- law came) can be just an informative sentence, having its propositional content, or it can be a speech act of warning to keep quiet, and to portray a downbeat attitude towards the mother – in- law (Ali, 2020, Personal Interview 7th February).

(Father's Brother's Wife)	/ʒɪr'ma:m/ ژرمام -
	(Uncle's Wife)
(Mother's Brother's Wife)	/ʒɪn'χa:l/ ژن خال -
	(Uncle's Wife)

Notice that in the first term, the /n/ is replaced by /r/ for the ease of communication, so, the word basically is ژن مام /ʒɪn'ma:m/. Because of the Kurdish convention that the brother's son is likely to marry the brother's daughter, both مام /'ma:m/ , meaning "paternal uncle" and ژرمام /ʒɪr'ma:m/, meaning "the wife of paternal uncle" are used as vocatives and referring expressions by the daughter – in- law even if they are not her real mentioned relatives. Besides, these expressions count as polite expressions and elevating ones to give a higher status to the addressees. However, both خال /'χa:l/ (maternal uncle) and خالعت /χa:'læt/ (maternal aunt) are used for the same social function (Ali, 2020, Personal Interview 7th February).

In **ego's generation**, below kinship terms are available in Northern Kurmanji:

(Husband/ man)	/zæ'la:m/ زهلام , /'mer/ مێر -
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Here, the phoneme /z/ in زهلام /zæ'la:m/ has the phonetic form of pharyngealization- a type of secondary articulation in which the production of the phoneme is simultaneously accompanied by the retraction of the root of the tongue towards the pharynx. Such a secondary articulation does not affect the meaning of the words (Trask, 2006, pp. 262).

-	ژن /'ʒɪn/ , ژنك /ʒɪ'nɪk/ , خيزان /χe'za:n/ , كاباني
(Wife)	/brɪ'tʃi:k/ بچيك , /ka:ba:'ni:/
(Spouse)	/hæv'zi:n/ ههڤزين
(Brother's Wife)	/ʒɪnbɪ'ra:/ ژن برا
(Husband's Sister/ Wife's Sister)	/dɪʃ/ دڤش
(Husband's Brother)	/'tʃi:/ تى
(Wife's brother, father, her whole family and/or clan)	/χɪ'zɪm/ خزم
(Sister's husband's father, his family and/or clan)	/χɪ'zɪm/ خزم
(Husband's Brother's Wife)	/ʒɪn'tʃi:/ ژن تى
(Wife's Sister's Husband)	/'hævɪŋg/ ههڤڤڤنگ
(Husband's Wife)	/hæ'wi:/ ههوى

A simultaneous experience of more than one marriage by a man, i.e. he has two wives)

(The Husband of	/zæ'la:me mæ'tʰe/ زهلامى مهتى	-
Paternal Aunt)		
(The Husband of	/zæ'la:me 'χa:læ'tʰe/ زهلامى خالهتى	-
Maternal Aunt)		
	/zæla:'me dɪ'ʃe/ زهلامى دڤشى	-
(The Husband of the Husband's or the Wife's Sister)		

While in English "husband" and "wife" have only one term for each and spouse for both, in Kurdish one can find two terms for husband and five terms for a wife; two having the exact denotational meaning while the rest having a social meaning that is of euphemism- softening the literal meaning of the word to be socially more acceptable. زهلام /zæ'la:m/, man/husband, when decontextualized, has the dictionary entry of the lexicon "man" yet it also means "husband". The term خيزان /χe'za:n/ means "family" a collective noun but socially referring to one person; that

is the wife, کابانی /ka:ba:'ni:/ means "housewife", the one who takes care of the household work, بچیک /br'tʃi:k/ means "children" but has the social meaning of "wife". As for the term همسرین /hæv'zi:n/, meaning "spouse", it can be seen as a formal and polite term to refer to husband and or wife. Such diversity in terms has only one social function that is of respect and to elevate the status of the individual in the community.

The kinship term خزم /xɪ'zɪm/, meaning (in-law) does not incorporate sex and side, and it can be used to refer to one person or a group of people. One can also notice from the above terms, that sometimes there is no exact lexical term for the familial relation; therefore, paraphrasing is a means for enhancing the terms to indicate further kinship relations, as in the case of زهلامن مەتی /zələ:'me mət'hə/ (the husband of paternal aunt).

Besides the core function of the kinship terms to primarily indicate familial relations, some other linguistic and social functions can be attributed to kinship terms. They can be used as terms of referencing and addressing. Some of them can be used as terms of respect as honorifics, yet some others can be used as devices of humiliation; such functions can be well illustrated when the terms occur in the context whether linguistic or situational (Ali, 2020, Personal Interview 7th February).

ONE GENERATION BELOW EGO

In **one** generation below ego, one can find the following terms:

Daughter's Husband (Son- in –		زاڤا /za:'va:/	
		Law)	
Son's Wife	(Daughter – in-	بیك /'bi:k/	-
		Law)	

The above two terms, can have additional meanings: "bridegroom" and "bride", respectively. Additionally, the word بیک /bi:k/ (bride) can also mean "doll" in Northern Kurmanji and thus can be counted as a polysemous word. As for the daughter of the husband's brother or sister, the technique of paraphrasing is employed since there are specific labels for them, as it is clear below:

- کورئ/کچاتی /ku're/ki'tʃa: t^hi:/ **(Husband's Brother's Son/Daughter)**
- کورئ/کچا دشی /ku're/ki'tʃa: di'ʃe/ **(Husband's Sister's Son/Daughter)**

STEP KINSHIP TERMS

- ژن باب /ʒɪn'ba:b/ **(Step Mother)**
- زرباب /zɪr'ba:b/ **(Step Father)**
- نه‌فشی /nævi'si:/

(Husband's children from the first wife or from the second wife)

- بیژن /'bi:ʒɪn/ **(Widow)**
- به‌ردای /bær'daɪ/ **(Divorced)**

The term نه‌فشی /'nævi'si:/ **(Husband's children from the first wife or from the second wife)** can be found in communities where Polygamy is prevalent due to religious and/or social and cultural values. It is only the wife who can have the term, not the husband; hence, a woman when gets divorced or her husband dies, she either takes care of her children and remains unmarried or she gets married and leaves her children with her husband or his family.

This is a social convention practised in the Kurdish community irrespective of legal affairs. In most situations, the term "step" is not used because it has a negative connotation; the steps may not be as good as biological parents; therefore, "father" and "mother" are employed to show respect and endearment towards them.

As for the term بیژن /'bi:ʒɪn/ (widow), it can be employed just for women; there is no such a term in Northern Kurmanji for men. Such a case can be justified sociolinguistically in the sense that language is shaped by society navigating the male-dominated social landscape. An alternative expression can be a paraphrased one of ژن مری /'ʒɪn mɪ'ri:/ (the one whose wife has passed away); however, the employment of such an expression is rare in everyday conversations (Ali, 2020, Personal Interview 7th February).

KINSHIP TERMS AS BINOMIALS

Some kinship terms can come together in a fixed order to form **binomials**- they are joined lexical items of the same word- class which do not have transcendence of syntactic boundaries (Molin, 2014, p. 7). They are in practice conjoined by conjunction and can be counted within the framework of formulaic expressions (Sauer and Kopaczyk, 2017, p. 1). The following are suitable examples:

- دایر و باپیر /da:'pi:t ʊ ba:'pi:t/ (Grandmother and Grandfather)
- دهیک و باب /'deik ʊ 'ba:b/ (Mother and Father)
- دهی باب /'dei 'ba:b/ (Mother Father) (Parents)

In the above binomials, we find that the third does not contain the coordinating conjunction و (and) and this can be justified

semantically in the sense that the binomial that has the conjunction is the equivalent of the English "Mother and Father" while the one that lacks the conjunction has the meaning of "parents", though literally written (Mother Father).

(Sister and Brother) /'χi:ʃk ʊ 'bɪrɑ: / خیشک و برا -

/χɑ:l ʊ 'χɑ:rza:/ خال و خارزا -

(Maternal Uncle and Maternal Nephew/ Niece)

/dɒt'mɑ:m ʊ pɪs'mɑ:m/ دوتمام و پسمام -

(Father's Brother's Daughter and Father's Brother's Son)

(Bride and Bridegroom) /'bi:k ʊ zɑ: 'vɑ:/ بیک و زافا -

(Wife and Children) /'ʃærz ʊ ʃæ'jɑ:l / عمرز و عیال -

(Wife and Husband) /' ʒɪn ʊ 'mer/ ژن و میر -

The binomial /'χi:ʃk ʊ 'bɪrɑ: / (sister and brother) خیشک و برا can have a singular meaning, but it also has the meaning of "siblings" when having a plural meaning.

The binomial that contains عمرز /'ʃærz/, meaning "wife" is a lexical item that has the connotation of the kinship term "wife", and the second term is the kin one عیال / ʃæ'jɑ:l/, meaning "children".

The sequence /' ʒɪn ʊ 'mer/ (wife and husband) ژن و میر is considered impolite and are usually avoided in daily conversation, /zæ'la:m ʊ 'ʒɪn/ (man and woman) زهلام و ژن are used instead.

Sometimes kinship terms are used with the addressees who are not kin by any criteria; that is, there is the recurrence of some kin

terms to mark diverse relationships. For example, when meeting a stranger in the street and one asks him/her about say directions, the kinship terms مام /'mɑ:m/ (paternal uncle), خال /'χɑ:l/ (maternal uncle), خالعت /'χɑ:læt/ (maternal aunt), برا /br'ɑ:/ (brother), خوشك /χi:ʃk/ (sister) and پسمام /pɪs'mɑ:m/ (father's brother's son) are used as address terms.

Two terms can be added to kinship terms that are affinal ones in the period of engagement. The term دزگر /dæz'gɪr/ (fiancé) is used for both males and females while the term خاستي /'χɑ:sti:/ (the proposed to) is used just for the female because it is the male who proposes to the female.

Concerning the question of whether the subject pays attention to kinship relations or not, 100% said that they do care about kinship relations because they strengthen these relations and promote coexistence and love among relatives. As for the question whether their relatives care about these relations, 86% complained and said their relatives are delinquent towards promoting their familial relations, as the following pie chart illustrates:

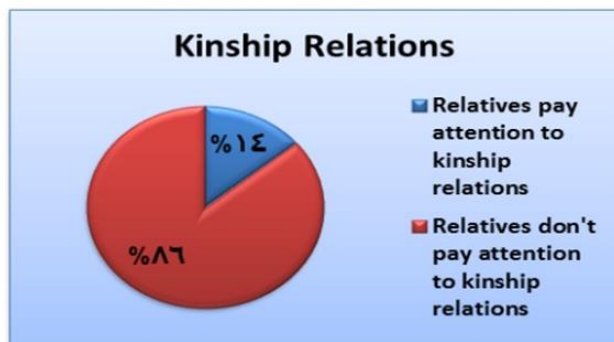
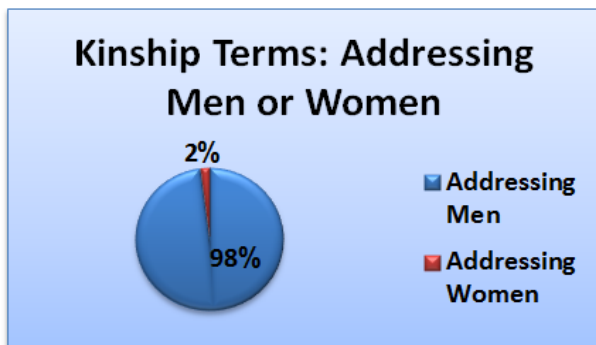


Chart NO.1: Promotion of Kinship Relations

The employment of the kinship terms in addressing men is more significant than with women as the data shows 98% of the subjects prefer using kinship terms in addressing men as a strategy of showing respect towards them.

Chart NO.2: Kinship Terms: Addressing Men or Women



The preference of using kinship terms as forms of address more than personal names is a common convention in the Kurdish community in everyday conversations, and this depends on the nature of the relationship between the interlocutors: the low from high is a matter of respect, the high to low is of endearment and intimacy, whereas between the equals is for familiarity.

CONCLUSIONS

As this research investigated the kinship terms in Northern Kurmanji, below points summarize the major conclusions the study has arrived at:

1. Despite the fact that kinship terms are less in function than decades ago, they remain an integral part of the Kurdish-speaking community where there is a linkage between individuals. Kinship creates a sense of affiliation of the individual as s/he acquires his/her social status from the network s/he belongs to.
2. Kinship terms are integral for referencing and addressing in language.
3. Whether descriptive, classificatory, or paraphrased kinship terms, Northern Kurmanji, being rich in kinship terminologies, shows the Kurds' inclination towards maintaining and enhancing familial relations.
4. Northern is more descriptive than being classificatory. This language uses more terms to show familial relationships. This is a contrasting point to English in which one kinship term

incorporates many and thus to be interpreted appropriately from the context of the situation.

5. Some kinship terms in Kurdish do not make a clear-cut distinction between the male and the female; therefore, sex is absent in indicating the gender of the kinship terms like a cousin in English and خازرا /χa:rza:/ and برازا /br'ra:za:/ (nephew and niece), in Kurdish.
6. The Kurdish language shows more tendencies towards the side of kin terms, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, a very contrasting point to English. In other words, most Northern Kurmanji kinship terms show diversity with respect to patrilineal kin terms and matrilineal ones; the descriptive term itself shows whether the relative is from the father's side or the mother's side.
7. Kinship terms are not only biologically interpreted but also socially and culturally. Kinship terms are those terms that are universally used by all communities to indicate familial and relative relations, but they culturally and socially vary with respect to the identification of the nature of the relationships and the terms employed linguistically. Besides conveying their literal meaning, kinship terms can be used for pragmatic purposes, like being terms of address, vocatives, mitigating expressions, and as honorifics. The context of the situation is vital in the interpretation of such terms as they sometimes can be put into service as reprimanding terms. They are basic elements of social contexts rather than institutional ones; that is, they are common expressions in daily conversations rather than terms employed at the workplace.

8. Because they are limited in number, one can make an inventory of almost all kinship terms that can be taught and explained for Foreign Learners of Kurdish.
9. Kinship terms can be explained within the framework of the **Semantic Field Approach** by disentangling the terms into component parts. They can be viewed, borrowing the syntax terminology for function words, as closed- system items that can be learned by heart and no extra lexical words can be added to the system.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Further research of kin terms can be conducted following riddles methodology by making some ambiguous statements and asking the subjects to guess the exact term. For example, "What kin term can you give for the sister of your maternal uncle?" the answer is: "Mother".
2. Another research can be conducted about kinship terms in idioms and sayings common in the Kurdish culture

NOTES

1. A lexeme is a minimal unit or smallest component of a lexicon in a language. It is an abstract entity in the language which is realized by a concrete entity, namely a word (Khullar, 2018, 1).

2. The semantic features in Componential Analysis are written with capital letters to refer to the abstractness of the words as lexemes that are mental entities and concepts in human beings' minds and to be distinguished from the words themselves as concrete entities realized in human speech and interactions.
3. It is to be noted that, in the course of the analysis of the data, referring to English kinship terms is an indispensable procedure as the language of researching is English, and the Kurdish terms are always translated into English.
4. This is a homonym that means human and also relative.

QUESTIONNAIRE

رأپرسیڼ



وهزارهتا خاندنا بالا و ڤه کولینین زانستی

زانکویا سه لاهه ددین

کولیزا زمان

به شی زمانی ئینگلیزی

فورمین خزمایه تی (خیزانی و مروڤانی) د کرمانجیا ژووری دا/ گوڤه را
به هدینان

پیناسینا که سایه تی

به ژداری هیژا ...

ناڤی من (پروین سعدی عبدالعزیز) ه , قوتابیا دکتوراییمه ل زانکویا
سه لاهه ددین / کولیزا زمان/ پشکا زمانی ئینگلیزی. ئەز یا ڤه کولینه کی
ئه نجام ددهم ل سهر فورمین خزمایه تی (خیزانی و مروڤانی) د
کرمانجیا ژووری دا/ گوڤه را به هدینان. ئەز داخاز ژ هه وه دکهم کو ب
ریکا پرکرنای ڤی راپرسینی دا پشکه ک بن دڤه کولینا من دا و دهاریکاربن
بو بده سته ئینانا ئه نجامین زانستی. پشکداریکرنا هه وه ل دویف ئاره زوویا
وهیه و به رسقین هه وه دی د نهینی بن و بتنی بو مه ره مین زانستی بن. ژ

ههژی گوتهی یه دگهل که سین نه خویندهوار، قه کولهر دی راپرسینی بو
خوینیت و دی پر کهت ل دیف بهرسقیت وان.

کودین رهوشتی

ناسناما قهشارتی

ناسناما ههوه ناهیهته دیارکرن و ههر چ پیزانین هین بدهن بو ههوه
نازقرین و قه کولهر ههوه پشت راست دکهت کوچ ناڤ نیشان دئی
قه کولینی دا ناهینه ئاشکرا کرن.

نهینی

ئهو پیزانینن دهینه کۆمکرن دی د نهینی بن و بو لایهکی دیتر
ناهینه دیارکرن.

مافی رادهربرینی

ئهو پیزانین ژ ههوه دهینه کۆمکرن دی قه کولهر ژلایی سیمانتیکی و
کهلتوری زمانقانیقه دی هیته شلوقه کرن. پیشنیارو رادهربرینین ههوه دی
ب بهرچاف هیته وهرگرتن د ههر قوناغه کا نفیسینا قی قه کولینی دا بیت.

راپورتا دوماهی

ئهف قه کولینه ب ههمی قه دی یا بهردهست بیت بو ههمی تهخین
جفاکی ب تاییهت بو زانکویین کوردستانی. ههر پشدارهکی دئی
راپرسینی ئه گهر بقیت، قه کولهر دشیت دانهیه کا ئه لکترونی یا قی قه کولینی
بدهتی لدویف داخازا وی.

پاراستنا پیزانینان

پیزانین دئ هیئنه پاراستن. قه کوله ر دئ ب شیوه کی بیلایه ن و یاسایی دان و ستاندن ل گه ل پیزانین به شدار بوویان که ت لدویف بریارا پاراستنا پیزانینا یا سالا ۱۹۹۸.

پیزانین ته یین که سایه تی (به رسقی بکه د بازنه کی دا)

ناف (ل دویف ئاره زوویا ته یه تو دشیی بیژی (بنقیسی) یان نه:

.....

ره گه ز: نیئر می

ته مه ن:

	21-18
	29-22
	39-30
	49-40
	59-50
	60- و زیدمتر

ئاستى خاندنى:

ناقجى ئامادىي نەخويندەوار سەرەتايى

ماستەر دكتورا دىلوم بىكالورىوس

كار

كرمانجىيا ژوورى/ گوڤهرا بەھدىنان
زمانى دايكى : كوردى
دىالېكت:

پسپار (پسپارېن دوماھىك گرتى و پسپارېن دوماھىك ڤهكرى)
تو گرنگى ددەيە پەيوەندىن خو يىن خزمایەتیی (خیزانى و
مروڤانىي)؟

نەخیر
بەلى

ئەگەر بەلى ، بوچى؟ وئەگەر نەخیر ، بوچى ؟

مروڤىن تە گرنگى ددەنە پەيوەندىن خزمایەتیی (خیزانى و
مروڤانىي) ؟

بہ لے

نه خیر

ئەگەر بەلى ، بۆچى؟ وئەگەر نەخىر ، بۆچى؟

تو چه وا گازی دکه‌یه ئەندامین خێزانا خو ومروفتین خو؟ تو گازی
دکه‌به وان ب:

ناقضين وان ؟

په یوه نډیا خزمایه تیا وان و مروغانیا وان ب ته څه ؟

- ئەگەر بناقین وان بیت ، بوچی؟ و ئەگەر په یوه ندیا خزمایه تیا وان و مروغانیا وان ب ته قه بیت ، بوچی؟

۱. تو پتر فورمین خزمایه‌تیی (خیزانیی و مروقانیی) ب کار دئینی دگهل ره‌گه‌زیی؟

١. نَيْرَ يان مآ

۲. لیسته‌کا ناڤین ئەندامین خیزانا خو و مروڤین خو و په‌یوه‌ندیا وان یا مروڤانی و خزمایه تیی بته ڤه و په‌یوه‌ندیا ته ب وان ڤه چیکه و هه که تو پتر ژ په‌یڤه‌کا مروڤانی ب کار دئینی بیژه (بنڤیسه) و هه‌که مروڤین ته و په‌یوه‌ندین خزمایه تیی و مروڤانی پتر ژ ریژین

خشته ی بن، تو دشی ریزین خشته ی زیده که ی و به رسقی بده ی.
هیقیدارم پشت راست بی کو ناف دی د نهینی بن بهس هه که ته
نه قیت نافین دروست بکاربینی تو دشی نافا ژ دهف خو بدانی.

په یوه ندیا مروغانی یا وی بته فه	په یوه ندیا مروغانی یا ته ب ویغه	نافه
خوشک	برا	بزار

زور سوپاس بو به ژداریا هه وه

قوتابیا دکتورایی

سه رپه رشتیار

پروین سعدی عبدالعزیز

پروفیسورئ هاریکار د. عزالدین رجب محمد

QUESTIONNAIRE

Ministry of Higher Education
and Scientific Research
Salahaddin University
College of Languages
Department of English



Kinship Terms in Northern Kurmnaji/ Bahdinan Area

Self Introduction

Dear subject,

My name is Parween Saadi Abdulaziz, a PhD student at Salahaddin University, College of Languages, Department of English. I am conducting research on **Kinship Terms in Northern Kurmanji/ Bahdinan Area**. I invite you to contribute to my study by filling out this questionnaire. Your participation is completely voluntary, your responses will be confidential and they will serve only academic purposes. For the illiterate subjects, the researchers are going to read the questionnaire for them and she is going to fill it in accordance with their responses.

Code of Ethics

1- Anonymity

Please note that your identity will not be revealed and the information you provide will not be traced back to you. The researchers guarantee that no names and addresses will be mentioned in the research.

2- Confidentiality

Data collected from you will be kept private. The data will not be disclosed to a third party.

3- Right to Comment

The information gathered from you will be analyzed by the researchers in terms of semantic and cultural perspectives within the frame of linguistics, particularly the perspectives aforementioned. Your comments and suggestions will be taken into consideration at any stage during the progress of my study.

4- Final Report

The study as a whole will be on public display, especially in universities of Kurdistan. If any subject is interested in having one, the researchers can provide him/her with a soft copy free of charge upon request.

5- Data Protection

Data will be kept secure. The researchers will act fairly and lawfully in dealing with the information provided by the subjects according to the **Data Protection Act 1998**.

Your personal information (You can circle the answer)

Name (Optional):

Gender: Male

Female

Age:

Level of Study: Illiterate Primary Secondary High School

 Diploma B.A. M.A
PhD.

Job (Occupation): -----

Mother Tongue: Kurdish **Dialect:** Northern Kurmanji/
Bahdinan Area

Questions (Closed-ended and open-ended questions)

1- Do you pay attention to your familial relationships (kinship relationships)?

Yes

No

If yes, why? If no, why?

18- 21	
22- 29	
30- 39	
40- 49	
50- 59	
60 and above	

2- Do your relatives pay attention to familial relationships (kinship relationships)?

Yes

No

If yes, why? If no, why?

3- How do you address your family members and your relatives? Do you address them by:

Their names?

Their relationship to you?

If it is by their names, why? If it is by their relationship to you, why?

4- Do you use kinship terms more with?

Males

or

Females

5- Give a list of names of your family members and your relatives and their relationship to you and your relationship to them. If you use more than one term for the same kinship relation, you can mention them, and in case you need more columns, you can add them. Please note that the names are to be confidential, but in case you are not fine with mentioning real names, you can use borrowed names instead.

Thank you very much for your cooperation

PhD Student

Supervisor

Parween Saadi Abdulaziz

Assist. Prof. Dr.

Izzuddin Rajab Mohammad

Name	Their relationship to you	Your relationship to them
Bizhar	Brother	Sister

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ملخص:

كصلة اسرية عالمية في جميع المجتمعات، القرابة مبنية على جوانب بايولوجية أما مصطلحاتها فهي عناصر اساسيه مرتبطه بالثقافات و تختلف من مجتمع لآخر. هذا العمل عباره عن دراسه اكاديمية حول مصطلحات القرابة في الكرمانجية الشمالية / منطقة بهدينان. تم شرح هذه المصطلحات ليس فقط من منظور دلالي ولكن أيضًا تم تفسيرها من جانب الثقافة الكردية و إظهار وظائفها. كانت هناك ثلاث فرضيات للبحث حيث تم التحقق من الفرضيتين الاولى و الثانية حيث أنه (١) يتم توظيف مصطلحات القرابة من منظور بايولوجي كدور أساسي لها. (٢) وهذه المصطلحات يمكن أن تخدم الوظائف الاجتماعية مثل التعامل مع الغرباء أو الإشارة إليهم كمسألة كياسة ، مما يدل على تواضع المرء. و لكن يمكن لوظيفة هامشية متناقضة أن تظهر فيما يتعلق بمصطلحات القرابة ألا و هي التقليل من شأن الآخرين و هذه الحالة تتجلى فقط من خلال السياق الظرفي حيث أن علم اللغة التداولي يلعب دورا اساسيا. و تم دحض (٣) الفرضية الثالثة حيث أنه من الممكن وضع جدول شامل لمصطلحات القرابة في الكرمانجية الشمالية/ منطقة بهدينان.

پوخته:

وهك په يوه نډييه كا خيزاني يا جيهاني دهه مي جفاكا دا مروقياني (خزمايه تي) يا راوه ستايه ل سهر لايه ننن بايولوي به لي زاراقين وي پيكهاتين سهره كي نه نه وژي دگر يداينه ب كه لتورا څه و دجودانه ژ ههر جفاكه كي بو يي دي. نه ف څه كولينه خاندنه كا نه كاديميه ل سهر زاراقين مروقياني د كرمانجيا ژووري دا/ گوځه را به هدينان. نه ف زاراقه بيت هاتينه شلوځه كرن نه بتني ژلايي سيمانتيكي څه به لي ههر وهسا ژ لايي كه لتوري كوردي څه و دگهل ديار كرنا نه ركين وان. سي پيشبيني دځي څه كولين دا هه بوون كو يا نيكې و دوو يهاتنه په سه نكرن كو (۱) زاراقين مروقياني نه ركې خو يي سهره كي يي بايولوجي دبين و زيده باري (۲) خزمه تكرنا وان بو نه ركين جفاكي وهك سهره دري دگهل بيان يا يان ژي ثاماره ب وان دان وهك شيوازي ريژليني و نه څه ژي خو چه ماندنا كه سي دگه هينيت. به لي چيدبيت نه ركه كي لوه كي ژي يي دژي ځي چه ندي ده ركه قيت ده ربه ري تيرمين مروقياني نه و ژي شكاندا كه سانه كو ديار دبيت بتني د ده را ځي دا كو پراگماتيكي رولي خو سهره كي دبينيت. به لي پيشبينا سي (۳) هاته ره تكرن كو چيدبيت خسته كي هه ميشه يي بهيته دانان بو زاراقين مروقياني دكرمانجيا ژووري دا/ گوځه را به هدينان.

