KINSHIP TERMS IN PALESTINIAN ARABIC AND STANDARD ENGLISH: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY

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ABSTRACT: *This paper diagrams, classifies, and discusses the usage of kinship terms in Palestinian Arabic. First-of all, kinship terms are genealogically diagrammed from the Ego's perspective on   the bases of sex, generation, affinity and consanguinity. Secondly, kinship terms in PA are classified from structural, functional, and situational perspectives. Thirdly, the PA kinship system is shown to be descriptive, assigning a different term to each distinct relative. After that, PA and English are compared and contrasted, pointing out that whereas PA labels each member of the family with a distinct term, Eng1ish lacks such a distinction. This, in the case of PA, may be due to the importance of the family unit in the life of Arab societies; however, in the case of English it may be due to the lack of concern for the family as an extended unit. This point of view is consistent with the theory which advocates that people's needs determine the lexicon.*

KEYWORDS: Kinship Terms, Palestinian Kinship Terms, English,Palestinian Kinship Terms.

INTRODUCTION

Phonetic Symbols

-?	= glottal stop
TH	= voiceless dental fricative
H	= voiceless pharyngeal fricative
Th	= voiced alveolar velarized fricative
X	= voiced velar fricative
Sh	= voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
S	= voiceless alveolar velarized plosive
D	= voiced alveolar velarized plosive
T	= voiceless dental velarized plosive
9	= voiced pharyngeal fricative
G	= voiced velar fricative
Q	= voiceless uvular plosive
Ch	= voiceless affricate
Y	= semivowel(an approximate)
I	= kasrah =oblique case marker

A	= fatHa h= Accusative case marker
U	= Dammah= nominative case marker
:	= length
.	= syllable boundary

Arabic Words and Their English Glosses

Min	= from
?imm	= mother
?ab	= father
?ax	= brother
?uxt	= sister
?ibin	= son
Bint	= daughter
si:d	= grandfather
sit	= grandmother
xa:l	= uncle = mother's brother
xa.lih	= aunt = mother's sister
9amm	= uncle = father's brother
9ammih	= aunt = father's sister
zouj/jouz	= husband
zoujih/marah	= wife
9ala	= on/agains

Abbreviations and Symbols

F	= female
F	= father
M	= mother
P	= paternal
M	= maternal
=	= is married to
PA	= Palestinian Arabic

= married to

= siblings

= descendant

Background

Kinship terms are unique terminological systems that are used to identify groupings in the society in which one was born. Different societies and cultures group their relatives into a widely varying, indefinite number of classifications.

LITERATURE

Anthropologists have thoroughly studied kinship terms in many cultures and languages so that they can set out an objective list for people to whom each item applies (Burling, 1970). Once we list the relatives each term refers to across-languages, then searching for the universals of kinship system becomes amenable. Anthropologists have also observed that almost every culture has constructed a system that conforms to one of the six widely occurring basic patterns. These are designated as follows:

0-   Sudanese

1-   Hawaiian

2-   Eskimo

3-   Iroquois

4-   Omaha

5-   Crow

Palestinian Arabic Kinship system is an example of the Sudanese system mentioned above. The Palestinian kinship system of classification is completely descriptive and assigns a different term to each distinct relative.

Cross-linguistically, there are three characteristics in relatives: generation, blood, and sex relationship. Generation is kept apart: languages have different terms for parents, grandparents, children and grandchildren although they may use one term for all four grandparents or one term for father or father's brother. Furthermore, all languages distinguish between blood relatives and spouse's relatives (mother vs. mother-in-law; father vs. father-in-law). Finally, all languages distinguish the sex of at least some relatives (sister vs. brother) (Greenberg, 1966).

The aim of this paper is to genealogically diagram, classify, analyze and discuss the usage of kinship terms in Palestinian Arabic. It also aims at drawing a comparison and contrast between Palestinian Arabic and English for pedagogical purposes and in order to put PA in a cross-linguistic perspective.

METHODOLOGY

Genealogical Diagramming

PA kinship terms are analyzed according to sex, generation, consanguinal, and affinal factors. The diagram below represents kinship terms as they would appear for Ego's generation, the two ascending generations and two descending ones. The Ego distinguishes between his father, his father's brother and his mother's brother; between his mother, his mother's sister, and his father's sister. It is necessary to know the consanguinal connection between individuals in order to know who is related to whom for potential heritability and marriage purposes. Some offsprings are fully heritable, others are partially heritable. We should also know who we are allowed to marry , and who we are not.

The diagram below shows genealogical relations of Palestinian kinship terms.

Kinship Terms in Palestinian Arabic
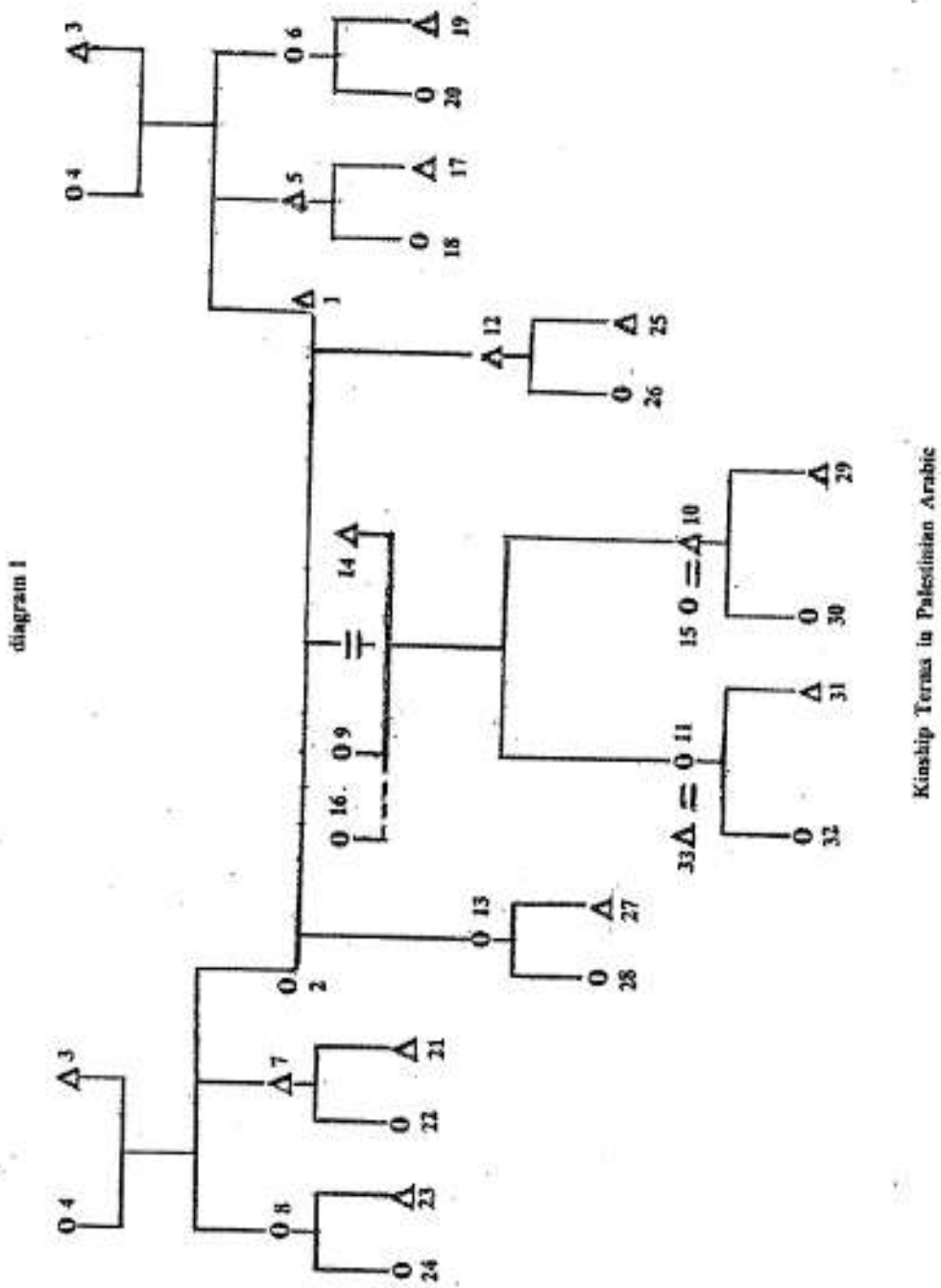
diagram 1

Blood or Consanguinal Relations:

"Figure.1"

Table (1): The terms in the diagram above are listed in table (1) along with their English equivalents.

1. ?abu:y   = my father

2. ?im.m-i   = my mother

3. si:d-i/jid-di   = my grandfather(p.& m.)

4. sit.ti/jid.di-ti   = My grandmother(p.& m.)

5. 9am.mi = my father's brother   =   Uncle

6. 9am. ti =my father's sister   =   Aunt

7. xa:l-I = my mother's brother   =   my uncle

8. xa:l-ti = my mother's sister   =   Aunt

9. mara-ti/zoujti   =   my wife

10. ?ibin-i   =   my sun

11. bint-i   =   my daughter

12 ?axu:y   =   my brother

13.?uxt-i   =   my sister

14. jouz-i[4]   =   my husband

15. kin.ti/chinti 3= my son's wife   =   my daughter-in-law

16. Durti [5]   =   my husband's wife

17.   ?ibin   9am-mi=my   father's   brother's   son   my cousin
=

18. bint 9am-mi=my father's   brother's   daughter my cousin
=

19. ?ibin 9am-ti= my father's sister's son   = my cousin

20. bint 9am-ti= my father's sister's daughter   = my cousin

21. ?ibin xa:l-i= my mother's brother's son   = my cousin

22.   bint xa:l-i =my   mother's brother's   daughter my cousin
=

23. ?ibin xa:l-ti =my mother's sister's son   = my cousin

24.   bint xa:l-ti =my   mother's   sister's   daughter my cousin
=

25. ?ibin ?axu:y= my brother's son   = my nephew

26. bint ?axu:y=my brother's daughter   = my niece

27. ?ibin ?ux-ti =my sister's son   = my nephew

28. bint ?ux-ti =my sister's daughter   = my niece

29. ?ibin ?ib-ni= my son's son   = my grandson

30. bint ?ib-ni= my son's daughter	=	my granddaughter
31. ?ibin bin-ti= my daughter's son	=	my grandson
32. bint bin-ti= my daughter's daughter	=	my granddaughter
33. zouj binti= my daughter's husband	=	my son-in-law

Affinal or Marriage Relations.

These will be listed according to, the male's Ego and female's Ego.

a Male's Ego

Table 2

l. marati/zoujti	=	my wife
2. marati i l ? u l a / is.sabqah	=	my former wife (divorced or dead)
3. 9ammi / Hamay= /?abu zoujti= my wife's father	=	father-in-law
4. 9am-ti/Hamati = ?irri zoujti= my wife's mother	=	mother-in-law
5. ?axu zouj-ti =my wife's brother	=	my brother-in-law
6.?uxt zouj-ti = my wife's sister	=	my sister-in-law
7. 9adi:l-i/zouj ?uxt marat-i	=	my wife's sister's husband
8. mart ?axu:y= my brother's wife	=	sister-in-law
9. nsi:bi / zouj ?ux-ti/= my sister's husband	=	my brother-in-law
10. nsi.bi=zouj binti = mu daughter's husband	=	my son-in-law
11. 9am.mi / jouz ?immi	=	mother's husband= step-father
12. xa.lti/mart ?abu:y=my father's wife	=	step-mother
13. ?ibin marati= my wife's son	=	step-son
14. bint marati=my wife's daughter	=	step-daughter
15. ?axu:y min ?immi=brother from my mother	=	step-brother
16. ?uxti min ?immi=sister from my mother	=	step-sister
17.. ?aXu:ymin ?abu:y= brother from my father	=	step-brother
18. ?uxti min ?abu:y= sister from my father	=	step-sister
19. kin.ti./chinti =my son's wife	=	my daughter-in-law
20. mart ?ibni=my son's wife	=	daughter-in-law

Female's Ego

Table (3)

1. zouj-i   =   my husband

2. zouji ?il.?aw.wal   =   my first husband (dead or divorced)

3. 9ammi-Hamay=?abu zouj-i=my husband's father   =   my father in-law

4. 9am-ti/Hamat-i=?im zouj-i= my husband's mother   =   my mother in-law

5. sil-fi/?axu zouj-i=my husband's brother   =   my brother-in-law

6. silif-ti=mart silfi/mart ?uxu zouj-i   =   my husband's brother's wife

7. Durti [6]   =   my husband's   wife

8. xa:lt-i/mart ?abu:y=my father's wife   =   step-mother

9. 9am.mi/jouz ?immi=my mother's husband   =   step father

10. ?uxt jouzi=bint Hamay= my husbans's sister   =   my sister in-law

11. nsi:bi/jouz ?uxti=my sister's husband   =   brother-in-law

12. nsi:bi/zouj binti=my daughter's husband   =   my son-in-law

13. ?ibn/jouzi=   my husband's son   =   step-son

14. bint jouzi=my wife's daughter   =   step-daughter

15. ?axu:y min ?immi-brother from my mother   =   step-brother

16. ?uxti min ?immi=sister from my mother   =   step-sister

17.. ?axu:y min ?abu:y= brother from my father   =   step-brother

18. ?uxti min ?abu:y= sister from my father   =   step-sister

19. kinti/chinti=my son's wife   =   my daughter-in-law

20. zouj binti=my daughter's husband   =   my son-in-law

Analysis and Classification:

PA kinship terms can be defined as lexemes or lexemes suffixed by the first person possessive pronouns /-i:/,/-u:y/,/-na/. Adding the suffix -i to most of the kinship terms in PA yields the first person possessive form. Most of the kinship terms I supply in this paper have this suffix, since these kinship terms are from Ego's perspective.

Analysis of PA kinship terms

Palestinian Kinship terms will be analyzed from structural, functional, and situational perspectives.

Structural. According to the number of lexemes, PA can be divided into:

Monolexic Terms: These consist of one lexeme or one lexeme plus a suffix, as in (1-16) in table (1) above. For instance, the monolexic terms ?abu:y "my

father", and ?im.mi "my mother", consist of the lexemes ?ab and ?im plus the suffixes -u:y and –i, the first person singular possessive pronouns. The first person plural suffix -na can also be added yielding ?abu:-na and ?im-na for our father and our mother , respectively.

Dilexic Terms: These consist of two lexical items, the first one being the head and the second being the modifier as (17-33) in table (1) above.

Example:

Bint 9am-mi=my father's brother's daughter=cousin

The above example consists of two monolexic terms to denote one relative, the first term bint is the head, and the second 9ammi, the modifier.

Trilexic Terms: These consist of a monolexic head and a dilexic modifier as in (1-12) below:

1. ?ibin 9amm ?abu:y= my father's uncle's son
2. bint 9amm ?abu:y= my father's uncle's daughter
3. ?ibn xa:l ?abu:y=my father's uncle's son
4. bint xa:l ?abu:y=my father's uncle' daughter
5. ?ibin xa:l ?immi =my mother's uncle's son
6. bint xa:l ?immi=my mother's uncle's daughter
7. ?ibin ?ibin ?axu:y=my brother's son's son
8.. bint ?ibin ?axu:y - my father's son's daughter
9. ?ibin ?ibin ?uxt-i=my sister's son's son
10. bint ?ibin ?uxt-i =my sister's daughter's son
11 ?ibn bint ?uxti=my sister's daughter's son
12. bint bint ?uxti-my sister's daughter's daughter

In n u m b e r (1) above, the trilexic term consists of the monolexic term ?ibin and the dilexic term 9amm ?abu:y. The first is the head and the second, the modifier. It is noteworthy here that dilexic and trilexic kin terms are in the construct state[7]. They consist of a head and a modifier. The head is the amplified noun, not the amplifying noun.

Functional. Functionally, Palestinian kinship terms are divided into addressives and appellatives. Addressives are used as terms of address, while appellatives are used as terms of reference[8]. Monolexic terms (1-16) are used as addressives and appellatives. Dilexic and trilexic are used as terms of reference. In both cases, the addressee is monolexic.

Table (4): .Terms of Reference and Address in PA.

Term of reference	Terms of Address
zouj ?immi	ya 9ammi
?im zoujti/Hamati	ya mart 9ammi
bint ?ibin ?axu:y	ya 9ammi ya X (name)
bint ?ibin ?uxti	ya xa:li ya X (name)
abu zoujti/Hamay	ya 9ammi
?ibin ?ibin ?axu:y	Ya 9ammi ya (name)
?ibin 9amm ?abu:y	ya 9ammi
mart ?abu:y[9]	ya xa:lti/ya mart abu:y
?abu:y	ya (name)
?ibin binti	ya (name)
?ibin ?ibni	ya (name)
sit-ti [10]	sit.ti
Durti	im fla:n or the first name
Silfi	?abu fla:n
?immi	Yamma

The age and status of the addressee is important in choosing the suitable term when addressing members outside the family. Palestinian Kinship' terms are used by the speaker in relation to others, provided that they are older than the speaker. If the addressee has a title, then, he will be addressed by that title, or by saying '?abu: fla:n[11]' (father of X. (e.g. Abu Mazin). Older men do not address younger ones with kinship terms regardless of the genealogical generation of the person. Instead, they use the personal name.

It is of great, importance to be aware of the family connection in Palestinian society since these relations allow members to discuss things which would not be polite to talk about in public. There is an understanding that it is alright to be oneself when in the family. These types are tolerated because of the intimacy of the family atmosphere.

This intimacy increases the behavioral expectations placed en each member. Grandchildren are expected to respect and obey their grandparents more than they would be expected to respect or obey strangers. An older child has to help regularly with household duties or take care of younger brothers and/or sisters.

As we can see, family relationships have a role in determining the behavior of an individual. It can be said that the social behavior of Arabs in general, and Palestinians in particular, agrees with Fortes' (1969) rule of amity, namely,

"One maintains an ideal code of behavior towards one's relatives." (p:ll0).

The husband[12] calls his wife using the name when with the family, but with ?im ful.an (her first son's name) outside the family. In polygamous households, co-wives and wives refer to their husband by saying ?abu flan, regardless of the number of (kids) children he has or may have. When referring to his wives, a husband uses the terms ? il-marah lij.di:dih/ ij.di:dih (the new wife, ?il.marah il.qadeemih (the old wife). In the instance of having more than two wives, then they will be referred to as ?il.marah ?il. ?u:la (the first wife), ?ilmarah iTHanyeh (the second wife) ... etc.

Situational. Situationally, Palestinian kinship terms are grouped according to their denotation and connotation. These terms have multiple meanings depending on the linguistic and non-linguistic context. These meanings are apparent even if we limit ourselves to the considerations of their genealogical usage. But we can't discard the usage of kinship terms as extended to interlocutors outside the family. The term 9ammi, for instance, is used within the family to address one'sfather's brother. It takes a set of meanings depending on the various roles that interlocutors play inside and outside the family. For instance, the kinship terms.

1. 9ammi [13] refers
1. my father's brother
2. any old person in the extended paternal family
3. a strange old person
4. an employer (used by his employees)
5. my mother's husband
6. wife's father

2- ?axu:y and ?uxti[14] refer to
1. brothers and sisters within the family.
2. close friends
3. union/faction/party's members.
4. any person to show anger or disagreement
5. strange person

3. xa:lti refers to
1. my mother's sister
2. my father's wife
3.any old woman outside the family

4. xa:Ii refers to
and to
1.my mother's brother
2. any old person on the mother's side older than the speaker

5. ?ibni refers to	1. my son	
	2. a pupil or student	
6. binti refers to	1. my daughter	
	2. a pupil or student	

There are collocational restrictions on the usage of kinship terms. For instance, the use of the vocative ya before xa:Ii or 9ammi indicates that the addressee is not the genetic mother's brother or father's brother. So, the terms xa:li and 9ammi should be used without the vocative ya when they refer to the genetic uncle.

This vocative ya can also be used in longer linguistic utterances to draw the attention of the listener while telling a story or to show indifference to the other partner, as in ya xu:y Hil 9an.ni ' leave me alone, my brother'.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Comparison and Contrast between Palestinian Arabic and English

The similarities and differences between PA and English are pinpointed for cross-linguistic and pedagogical purposes.

Before doing this, the one-tomany and many-to-one correspondences are demonstrated again for the ease of reference:

Table (5)

1.a. si:d-i/jid-di = my grandfather (p. and m.)

  b. sit-ti/jid-di-ti = = grandmother (p. and m.)

2. a. 9am.mi = my father's brother = uncle

  b. xa.l-I = my mother's brother = uncle

3.a. 9am-ti = my father's sister = aunt

  b. xa:l-ti = my mother's sister or my father's wife = aunt

4.a. ?ibin ?axu:y = my brother's son = nephew

  b. ?ibin ?ux-ti = my sister's son = nephew

5.a. bint ?axu:y = my brother's daughter = niece

  b. bint ?ux-ti = my sister's daughter = niece

6.a. ?ibin ?ib-ni= my son's son = grandson

  b. ?ibin bin-ti= my daughter's son = grandson

7.a. bint ?ib-ni= my son's daughter   =   granddaughter

   b. bint bin-ti= my daughter's daughter   =   granddaughter

8. bint 9am.mi=myfather's brother's daughter   =   cousin

9. ?ibin 9am.mi=my father's brother's son   =   cousin

10.?ibin 9am-ti= my father's sister's son   =   my cousin

11. bint 9am-ti= my father's sister's daughter   =   cousin

12. ?ibin xa.l-i= my mother's brother's son   = cousin

13. bint xa:l-i =my mother's brother's daughter   = cousin

14. ?ibin xa:l-ti =my mother's sister's son   =   cousin

15. bint xa:l-ti =my mother's sister's daughter   =   cousin

16. 9am.mi/ Hamay/ ?abu zoujti= my wife's/husband's father   =   father-in-law

17.9am-ti/Hamati/?im zoujti= my wife's/ mother   =   mother-in-law

18. ?axu marati/zoujti-= my wife's brother   =   my brother-in-law

19. ?uxt marati/zouj-ti= my wife's sister   =   my sister-in-law

20. nseebi/ jouz ?ux-ti= my sister's husband   =   my brother-in-law

21. 9adi:l-i/zouj ?uxt marat-i   = my wife's sister's husband

22. 9am.mi=mother's husband   =   step-father

23. xa:lti=my father's wife   =   step-mother

24. kin.ti/chinti =my son's wife   =   my daughter in-law

25..sil-fi/?axu zouj-i=my husband's brother   =   my brother-in-law

26.silif-ti=mart silfi/mart ?uxu zouj-i= my husband's brother's wife = my sister- in-law

27. Durti=my husband's wife =   = NA

28. ?uxt jouzi=bint Hamay   =   my husband's sister

The comparisons and contrasts are discussed below:

The English kinship term *grandfather* denotes the father of one's father or mother. In PA it is referred to as si:di or jiddi, using one word only.

The kinship term grandmother in English denotes the mother of one's father or mother. In PA it is referred to as si:t.ti or jid.diti., using one word only.

The kinship term uncle in English refers to husband of one's father's sister, and the husband of one's mother's sister, whereas in PA it applies to one's father's brother (9amm), and one's mother's brother xa:l. We notice that English, unlike PA, concentrates on the brotherly relation to one's parents and the husband of a parent's sister without giving attention to whether the uncle is a consanguinal or an affinal relative, or whether he is related to the father or the mother.

The kinship term aunt in English refers to one's father's sister or one's mother's sister, the wife

of one's father's brother or the wife of one's mother's brother. PA uses two different words to describe this kinship, namely, one's father's sister (9ammti) or one's mother's sister (xa:lti). English is concerned with depicting a parent's sister and the wife of a parent's brother without showing whether the aunt is a blood relative or a marriage relative, or whether the aunt is related to the father or the mother

The word cousin in English applies to one's uncle's or aunt's child. In PA it is expressed by eight different kin terms (see table 5 # 8-15).Here, whereas English unifies words by general relationship, PA distinguishes them by different relationships between both the sex and the brotherly relationship to either the father or the mother.

The word nephew in English refers to the son of one's brother or sister, and the son of one's brother-in-law or sister in law. PA, unlike English which uses one single term to describe this relation, utilizes two different words to express such a relation (table 5 #4 a-b).

The word niece in English refers to the daughter of one's brother or sister, the daughter of one's brother-in-law or sister in law. PA utilizes two different words to describe such a relation (table 5#5a-b)

The word father-in-law in English is defined as the father of one's spouse. In PA this relation is expressed by the word Hamay or 9ammi.

The word mother-in-law in English is defined as the mother of one's spouse. In PA this relation is expressed by the word Hamati or 9ammti.

The word grandson is defined in English as the son of one's son or daughter. PA uses two distinct words to denote such a relation (table 5 # 6 a-b).

The word grand daughter is defined in English as the daughter of one's son or daughter. PA uses two distinct words to denote such a relation (table 5 #7 a-b).

The kinship term brother-in-law denotes the brother of one's - husband or wife, the husband of one's sister, and the husband of the sister of one's wife or husband. PA utilizes five different words to denote this relation.

The kinship term sister-in-law denotes the sister of one's husband or wife, the wife of one's brother, and the wife of the brother of one's wife or husband. PA utilizes five different words to denote this relation.

The kinship term step-son denotes one's wife's or husband's son from a previous marriage. In PA, two kinship terms are used to indicate this relationship, namely, ?ibin marati and ?ibin zouji.

The kinship term step-daughter denotes one's wife's or husband's daughter from a previous marriage. The following two kinship terms in PA are used: bint marati and bint zouji. The kinship term step-brother denotes one's mother's or father's daughter from a previous marriage. In PA, we use the kinship terms ?axu:y min ?abu:y and ?axu:y min ?immi. The term step-daughter applies to one's mother's or father's daughter from a previous marriage. Palestinians use the terms ?xuti min ?mmi and ?uxti min ?abu:y. The kinship term step-father applies to one's mother's husband. In PA, this person is referred to as zouj ?immi. The kinship term step-mother applies to one's father's wife. This woman is referred to as mart ?abu:y in PA.

The word child in English refers to a young child, male or female. In PA, it is expressed by distinct word on the basis of the sex. These two words are Tifl (young male or walad=boy) and Tiflah (young female or binit=girl).

On comparison, one can say that

1- P A distinguishes the different relationship between all members of the family, whereas English unifies words by general relationships. This is in line with what Conklin (1955:340) maintains when he states that

> "requirements of specification   may differ from one culturally   defined situation to another".

For instance, Arabic has eight different terms to express the kinship term cousin. The question to be raised here is "why does PA distinguish the different relationships between members of the family?" In answer to this we can say that it is necessary to know the consanguinal connection between individuals in order to know who is related to whom for potential heritability   purposes, rights, responsibilities and marriage purposes. Some offsprings are fully heritable, others are partially heritable. We should know who we are allowed to marry, and who we are not. For instance, a father is not allowed to marry his sons ex-wife and vice versa We are allowed in Islam to marry our cousins. PA, which is influenced by Classical Arabic, the language of the Kor'an, labels each member of the family with a distinct term. This distinction is due to the importance of the family unit in the life of Arab societies. The absence of English distinction is/may be due to the lack of concern for the family as an extended unit. This point of view is consistent with the theory that advocates that people's needs determine the lexicon.

2- In PA and English paternal and maternal grandparents are labeled the same.

3- PA and English share the same semantic features of generation and sex.

4- Both use kinship terms as female, male, son and daughter to express family relation.

5- PA has two different words for each of the English terms uncle, aunt, step-sister, step-brother, step-son and step-daughter.

6- PA distinguishes two sexes of relatives ?ax, ?uxt, xa:l, xa:lih, 9amm, 9ammih ...etc.

DISCUSSION

PA, like many other languages, distinguishes three characteristics   in relatives: generation, blood relationship and sex. Gender is kept apart because PA has different terms for parents and grandparents.

PA favors males over females which are marked. The markedness of female is visible. Female terms are formed by adding the suffix -ah to the male, e.g., mudar.ris 'teacher', mudar.is-ah "female teacher". The male term neutralizes to cover both sexes. This is due to the fact that sexism has its roots in the society, and men have been viewed as dominant. Therefore, languages have developed simple terms to denote them. The dominance of men over women

varies with profession and the complexity of expression follows suit. Judges, governors, army officers, drivers, deans, clerks/ clerics, and imams are assumed to be men. The out of ordinary is marked in these professions, for instance qa.Diyah, DabiTah", and muHafiThah "woman judge", "woman officer" and "woman governor". The term "rajul qaDi" will never be used because there will be a change in the original meaning,

PA, like many other languages, treats relatives unequally. It favors ancestors over descendants, near relatives over far relatives, blood relatives over spouses relatives. The progression in Palestinian Arabic is from ?ab to si:d "?abu ?abu:y" to ?abu ?abu ?abu:y, the father of my father's father "great grandfather". As regards descendents the progression is from ?ibin (son) to ?ibin ?ibin "son's son" to ?ibin ?ibin ?ibni "the son of my son's son".

In Palestinian Arabic there is no complexity in the terms referring to children and other descendants and the terms referring to parents and other ancestors.

As for spouses relatives, they are marked with respect to blood relatives because when these terms are used they do not refer to the actual word. For instance the term 9ammi (my father's brother) vs. 9ammi (my wife's father). The latter is always referred to as ?abu marati or Hamay but addressed as 9ammi, in which case the term 9ammi does not refer to the actual kinship term, my father's brother Why do languages, including Palestinian Arabic, have such biases? According to Clark and Clark (1977), this is due to the fact that

Humans by their biological nature, have parents and grandparents, and -with the usual systems of stable marriage- they have brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, cousins, and children. It seems only natural to distinguish the care- taking generations from those being taken care of, and to give one's ancestors, who are necessarily there, priority over one's descendants, who aren't. (p.42-43)

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis and classification of Palestinian kinship terms, one can say that Palestinian Arabic labels each member of the family with a distinct term because it is of utmost importance in the Palestinian society to know whom we are related to for heritability purposes, rights, responsibilities, and marriage purposes. This distinction is congruent with Conklin's (1955:340) view point quoted above; it is also in line with the theory that advocates that peoples' need determine the lexicon.

A final conclusion that can be drawn from the data analysis is that Palestinian Arabic, like many other languages, treats relatives unequally, favoring ancestors over descendents, near relatives over far relatives, and blood relatives over spouse's relatives. In this regard, Clark and Clark's (1977) interpretation' quoted above, may be plausible. This distinction also stems from the following Palestinian saying ?ana wa xu:y 9al ?ibin 9ammi, w ?ana w-ibin 9amnli 9ala l-gari:b

I and brother-my on/against son father's brother-my and I and-son father's brother-my on the- stranger.

Literally it means 'I and my brother are against my cousin, and I and my cousin are against the stranger'.

Endnotes

1- The symbols used here are adopted from "A Basic Course in Spoken Arabic: First Part" by Farouq Bushnaq, Kuwait Educational Center, Kuwait, 1979.

2- The Variety of Arabic used here is Palestinian Colloquial Arabic and Standard English (Received Pronunciation).

3- Some Palestinians say marati, while others say zoujti.

4- Some Palestinians say jouzi, others say zouji (a process of metathesis).

5- These words are listed here because they are monolexie, although they do not belong to blood relation kinship terms.

6- The word Durti means my harm literally (the one who harmed me). A second wife caused harm to the previous wife by getting married to her husband.

7- The construct state in PA parallels the English genitive structure, e.g., Ali's father's son.

8- People avoid addressing women they do not know unless it is unavoidable, and it will be for a very short time.

9- The term of reference xalti applies to the mother's genetic sister, but the father's wife will be referred to as "mart ?abu:y".

10- Using the word sitti indicates that the addressee is the genetic grandmother of the speaker. If she is not, she will be addressed as mart si:di "my grandfather's wife".

11- Using the term of address Abu X is a sign of respect.

12- A husband does not adopt his wife's children from a previous marriage because it is their blood relatives' obligation to take care of them once their mother gets married. However, the husband's children, from previous marriage stay with him. In addition he will address her by using ?im fla:n his and her first son. However, he keeps his first son's name from the first marriage regardless of the number of sons he had and will be addressed ?abu fla:n inside and outside the family.

13- Palestinians resort to the addressive term 9ammi, a sign of respect, when they are in doubt about the status of the addressee.

14- The term ?axu:y refers to one person, my brother with whom I share the same father and mother. If a person has more than one brother or sister, then the term referred to has to be specified by using a set of adjectives, as in my

?axu:y likbi:r/lichbi;r = my eldest brother

?axu:y iz.gi:r/lizgi:r = my youngest brother

?axu:y min ?abu:y = my bother from my mother

?axu:y lichbi:r min ?abu:y = my eldest brother from my father

?uxti likbi:rih/lichbi:rih = my elder sister

?uxti iz.gi:rih/liz-gi:rih = my youngest sister

?uxti iz.gi:rih min ?immi = my youngest sister from my mother

?uxti lichbi:rih min ?immi = my eldest sister from my mother

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