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Notes

(1) In general, the transcription is the simplest possible consistent with the objective of suggesting a suitable pronunciation of the lexemes used in this research. The transcription is used by Yushmanov, 1961 and the IPA, 1975.

(2) This sound is similar to the Scottish /ch/ in 'loch' (or the German 'ach') but produced with a more raping, guttural sound.

(3) The consonants /ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, ḥ/ are often referred to as 'emphatic' consonants corresponding to non-emphatic /s, t, d, z, h/ respectively.

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APPENDIX
KEY TO ARABIC TRANSCRIPTION[1]

1. The consonants Orthographic Symbols		Transcription	Phonetic Values
1.	ء	/ʔ/	glottal plosive (stop)
2.	ب	/b/	voiced bilabial plosive
3.	ت	/t/	voiceless dental fricative
4.	ث	/ɵ/	voiceless dental plosive
5.	ج	/dʒ/	voiced palato-alveolar affricate
6.	ح	/ḥ/	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
7.	خ	/x/	voiceless velar fricative[2]
8.	د	/d/	voiced dental plosive
9.	ذ	/ð/	voiced dental fricative
10.	ر	/r/	voiced alveolar trill
11.	ز	/z/	voiced alveolar fricative
12.	س	/s/	voiceless alveolar fricative
13.	ش	/ʃ/	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
14.	ص	/ṣ/	voiceless alveolar fricative 3
15.	ض	/ḍ/	voiced dental plosive
16.	ط	/ṭ/	voiceless dental plosive
17.	ظ	/ẓ/	voiced dental fricative
18.	ع	/ʕ/	voiced pharyngeal fricative
19.	غ	/ɣ/	voiced velar fricative
20.	ف	/f/	voiceless labiodental fricative
21.	ق	/q/	voiceless uvular plosive
22.	ك	/k/	voiceless velar plosive
23.	ل	/l/	voiced alveolar lateral
24.	م	/m/	voiced bilabial nasal
25.	ن	/n/	voiced alveolar nasal
26.	ه	/h/	voiceless glottal fricative
27.	و	/w/	voiced bilabial glide
28.	ي	/j/	voiced palatal glide

2. The Vowels Orthographic Symbol	Transcription	Phonetic Values
1. ـــَـــ	/i/	short closed front unrounded
2. ي ـــِـــ	/i :/	long closed front unrounded
3. ـــَـــ	/a/	short open central unrounded
4. ا ـــَـــ	/a :/	long open central unrounded
5.. ـــُـــ	/u/	short closed back rounded
6. و ـــُـــ	/u :/	long closed back rounded

to by using single lexemes. Arabic thus resorts to non-lexicalized expressions to describe some of the semantic areas in the field of «killing» e.g. the use of the expression /dʒari : mat qatl / (lit.«killing somebody») to render the meaning of the English lexeme *murder*. However, we agree with Lehrer (1974 : 105-7) that while we can talk about lexical gaps in a language, we cannot talk about semantic gaps as it is usually the case that a phrase or a definition is used for a specific meaning. This is very true about the field of «Killing» in Arabic.

We may conclude that if a comparison is to be made of the lexicons of two (or more) languages, it is then more revealing to contrast the systems, or at least the subsystems (i.e. the fields) to which the lexical items belong rather than making a comparison of one lexeme with another. This suggests a new approach to contrastive lexical analysis - an approach based on contrasting lexis in fields rather than as *atomistic units* as has been the traditional practice. The new approach has at least the advantage of *comprehensiveness* ; the meaning of a lexical item can be seen and contrasted as a unit in a system rather than in isolation.

As a general conclusion to be drawn from the contrastive lexical analysis carried out in this paper is the confirmation that «the semantic *map* of each language is different from those of all other languages» (Weinreich, 1963 : 114).

* * *

Notes

1. **Arabic** here refers to modern written Arabic, viz. the form of the language which, throughout the Arab world from Iraq to Morocco, is found in the prose of books. newspapers, etc. and is employed in formal public address. It provides a medium of communication over the vast geographical area whose numerous and widely diverse local dialects it transcends.
2. Functionally, kinship terms can be divided into two categories : addressive and referential. Addressive terms are used vocatively i.e. in direct addressing. In usual circumstances Ego might say **father** instead of the referential term **father-in-law**.
3. See, for example, Goodenough, 1965 : 267.
4. There is something interesting about the term /ʒawdzat/ :Wi. It is socially unacceptable for the majority of non-educated, and even some educated Arabs, to use /ʒawdzat/ as a referential term ; the term /ʕa : ?ila/ (literally «family») is used instead. The term is also replaced by /ʕaqi : la/ in formal occasions when the reference is to a personality's wife such as the President's, the Governor's etc. On the other hand, the term /zawdʒ/ (No. 30) (:Hu) may also be used to refer to one's wife in formal literary Arabic.
5. These are : LDOCE, LLOCE, WNDOS, OALDOCE, and CMGTS.
   LDOCE : Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.
   LLOCE : Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English,
   WNDOS : Webster's New Dictionary of Synonyms,
   OALDOCE : Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English.
   CMGTS : Cassell's Modern Guide to Synonyms,

comparison of the ways in which aspects of extralinguistic reality are lexically divided up in different languages. It is a general observation by many linguists, as well as by others, that the semantic spaces of many fields cannot be brought into a one-to-one relationship with one another when these fields are contrasted in two (or more) languages (e.g. Lyons, 1963, 1968, 1977 ; Lehrer, 1974 ; and Hartmann, 1975). In this paper we have compared two semantic fields, or more precisely subfields, in English and Arabic : «Kinship» and «Killing Human Beings».

The field of «Kinship», a highly culture-specific field, has been extensively studied with illuminating results (e.g. Lounsbury, 1956, 1964, 1969, Wallace and Atkins, 1960 ; Romney and D'Anrade, 1964 ; Goodenough, 1965 ; Romney, 1965 and Brown, 1976). As for the field of «Killing», we know of no semantic analysis done in terms of the field approach advocated here.

We have discussed the field of «Kinship» at some length because it is so often used as an example to demonstrate the way in which the same substance may have a different form imposed upon it by different languages. It has been shown that the field in English differs sharply from that in Arabic. The difference is both in terms of the number of lexemes used to denote kinship relationships and in terms of the range of relationships each lexeme is used to describe. A striking example is the semantic area covered by the lexeme *cousin* in English and the same area covered in Arabic by the use of eight non-lexicalized expressions. This may be represented as follows :

cousin							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ibn ʕamm	ibnat ʕamm	ibn ʕamma	ibnat ʕamma	ibn xa : l	ibnat xa : l	ibn xa : la	ibnat xa : la

Figure 9 : The Semantic Area of *cousin* in English and Arabic

English Kinship is an example of the kind of kinship system found in a modern, western society. It is notably different from the Arabic system which operates in an oriental society different in its culture, social norms and traditions. The cultural gap between English and Arabic societies is reflected clearly in the kinship system. Let us take an example. The father's brother in the Arabic society occupies a special place. He is entitled, by tradition, to assume *family authority* in the absence of the *real father* and take decisions concerning the welfare of the family members. For instance, when a person is deprived of his father for any reason, e.g. by death, his father's brother usually takes him into his care. A girl is usually expected to marry her father's brother's son (if there is one) and she rarely refuses to do so if requested. In the Arabic kinship system, the father's brother takes the place next to the *real father* in importance. This seems to have given the term /ʕamm/ : FaBr a prominent place in the Arabic kinship system. In the English culture, on the other hand, the father's brother does not occupy the same place it occupies in the Arabic culture. The use of the term *father-in-law* for SpFa in English may be regarded as *logical* since the reference is to a *father* rather than an *uncle*. In the Arabic culture it is inconceivable for someone to have a *second father*. The father's brother, because of his *family importance*, takes the place of the *second father* ; hence the use of the term /ʕamm/ for SpFa in Arabic. This supports Lyons' (1968 : 432) remark that the language of a particular society is an integral part of its culture.

However, as there are differences between the two kinship systems, there are also similarities as most of the terms referring to the *immediate family* e.g. *father* : /ʔab/ ; *mother* /ʔumm/; *brother* : /ʔax/ etc. can easily be seen to correspond to one another as has been shown.

As for the field of «killing» we may say that the analysis has been more limited - perhaps too limited. Yet, the field does show, though in a general way, that English and Arabic do differ in the semantic mapping of reality even if this reality is the same for both societies. Arabic is characterized by a large number of lexical gaps to describe what English refers

For the lexemes *kill assassinate* and *execute*, there are Arabic equivalents which have exactly the same applicability.

English	Arabic
Kill	/jaqtul/
assassinate	/jaɣta : l/
execute	/jaʕdum/

For the English lexemes *murder* (v), *butcher* (v) (human beings), *slaughter* (v) (human beings) and *massacre* (v) there are lexical gaps in Arabic, i.e. there are no Arabic lexemes to refer to what English refers to by single lexemes. Instead, Arabic uses non-lexicalized expressions to convey the meanings of these lexemes. Thus we have :

English	Arabic
murder (v)	/jartakib dʒari : mat qatl/ (lit. «commit the crime of killing») - non-lexicalized expression
butcher (v) slaughter(vi)	/jartakib madz zara/ (lit. «carry out a butchery or slaughter») - non-lexicalized expression
massacre (v)	/jartakib maðbaḥa/ (lit. «carry out a massacre») - non-lexicalized expression

Let us analyse the first non-lexicalized expression that stands for the lexeme *murder* i.e. /jartakib dʒari : mat qatl/. The verb /jartakib/ is equivalent to the English verb *commit* or *carry out* ; the noun /dʒari : mat/ is equivalent to the lexeme *crime* in English. The non-lexicalized expression /jartakib dʒari : mat qatl/ can easily be manipulated in Arabic by substituting the last component/ qatl/ («killing»). Thus we have :

/jartakib dʒari : mat qatl/	(lit. "commit the crime of killing")
/jartakib dʒari : mat sariqa/	(lit. "commit the crime of theft")
/jartakib dʒari : mat xja : na/	(lit. "commit the crime of treason")
/jartakib dʒari : mat tazwi : r/	(lit. "commit the crime of forgery")

etc

If we move to the field of «Killing» (nouns), we also find a number of lexical gaps in Arabic. We can show the semantic mapping of the subfield in the two languages by starting with the English lexemes which have Arabic equivalents with exactly the same applicability as follows :

English	Arabic
killing	/qatl/
assassination	/iɣtja :l/
execution	/iʕda :m/
suicide	/intiḥa :r/

The semantic area covered in English by the lexemes *massacre, slaughter, butchery* and *carnage* are denoted by two synonymous lexemes in Arabic. Thus :

English	Arabic
massacre, slaughter, butchery, carnage	/madʒzara/ or /maðbaḥa/

One can hardly find any diagnostic semantic features to distinguish the senses of these lexemes in Arabic when they are used as nouns.

There are no Arabic lexemes for *pogrom, manslaughter* and *holocaust*. Arabic refers to what these lexemes refer to in English in the following way :

English	Arabic
Pogrom	/maðbaḥa munaẓama/ (lit. «organized massacre») -non-lexicalized expression.
manslaughter	/dʒari : mat qatl ɣajer muta ʕamad/ (lit. «the crime of unintentional Killing»)- definition
holocaust	/iba: da ka : mila bil iḥra : q / (lit. «complete destruction of human beings by using fire») - definition.

4 • Conclusion

One of the most promising areas for the application of field theory would seem to lie in the

lexeme *execute* has been added to broaden the analysis in terms of contrasting features.

3-2 • Field Analysis

Basing the analysis of the subfield chosen on the dictionary definitions of the lexemes, we have been able to construct the following componential grid:

	deprivation of life	deliberateness	judicial sanction	illegality	importance of victim	large number of victims involved
Kill	+			+		
murder	+	+		+		
assassinate	+	+		+	+	
massacre	+	+		+		+
slaughter	+	+		+		+
butcher	+	+		+		
execute	+	+	+	+		

Figure 7 : Componential Analysis of Part of the Field of «Killing Human Beings»

If we add new lexemes to the subfield, we need then a new set of features in addition to the features already used. Thus if we nominalise the lexemes in the subfield and add some other lexemes e.g. *pogrom, manslaughter, holocaust, suicide and carnage,* we may need at least the following set of features in addition to those used in the componential grid above :

	long duration	not intentionally	organized process	official connivance	killing of oneself
pogrom	+		+	+	
manslaughter		+			
holocaust	+		+		
suicide			+		+
carnage	+		+		

Figure 8 : Additional Semantic Features (needed when Figure 7 is expanded)

3-3 • Semantic Mapping

Thus far we have discussed the subfield of «Killing Human Beings» and analysed it componentially in English. No analysis has yet been made of the subfield in Arabic. We could follow the same procedure as we did with the field of «Kinship», viz. to analyse the subfield in English and Arabic in turn and then contrast the two analyses for points of similarities and differences. However, this does not seem necessary with the subfield of «Killing» here as there appear to be no significant differences in the set of semantic features needed for the analysis. We can easily make a new table with more or less the same semantic features as those used for the English subfield and plot into it the Arabic lexemes and non-lexicalized expressions. Such an exercise does not seem to yield any significant results. What we need to do instead is to contrast the subfield as analysed in English with its counterpart in Arabic in terms of the lexemes or lexical gaps it contains. It is hoped this semantic mapping of the subfield will enable us to see how the two languages divide up the semantic space of the field. We shall start with the verbs.

used by a male Ego are replaced, when Ego is female, by /ḥamu/ and /ḥamat/ respectively. As a result, the English terms *brother-in-law* and *sister-in-law* have four conterparts in Arabic : /nasi : b/ ; /nasi : ba/ ; /ḥamu/ and /ḥamat/ depending upon the sex of Ego.

Another point of difference is the way the two languages refer to spouse's father and mother. English refers to spouse's father and mother as *father-in-law* and *mother-in-law* dealing with the affinity through **father** and **mother**, which may be regarded as logical since we are dealing with fathers and mothers. Interestingly enough, Arabic deals with the relationship through «paternal uncle» and «paternal aunt» using the consanguineal terms /ʕamm/ «paternal uncle» and/ ʕamma/ «paternal aunt» to refer to the spouse's father and mother respectively (see 4. for an explanation of such a use).

English has two separate lexemes for *husband* and *wife* functioning as co-hyponyms to the lexeme *spouse* which itself functions as a superordinate. Arabic also uses two terms /zawdʒ/ : Hu and /zawdʒat/ : Wi but the latter is often replaced by /ʕa : ʔila/ (lit. «family»). There is no Arabic superordinate for these terms.

3 • Field of killing

The field of «Killing» to be discussed here will be restricted to the killing of human beings and will thus include such lexemes as *assassinate* and *execute* which are not normally used to refer to the killing of other sorts of creatures. Further, the discussion will be limited, for brevity, to two parts of speech : verbs and nouns.

3-1 • Delimitations of the Field

One of the main difficulties with semantic field analysis is the delimitation of any particular field to be analysed. With the field of kinship discussed in the previous Section we have confined ourselves to those members which fit into a syntactically-controlled context in reference to some consanguineal and affinal relatives. Here with the field of «killing» we have consulted a number of English dictionaries and thesauri[5]. The result is a collection of a number of lexical items belonging to the field of «Killing Human Beings» such as :

verbs :

Kill, slay, murder, assassinate, massacre, slaughter, execute, butcher, suffocate, asphyxiate, strangle, martyre, hang, dispatch, garrotte, decimate, gibbet, behead, decapitate, guillotine, exterminate, eliminate, liquidate, etc.

Nouns :

killing, slaying, murder, assassination, massacre, slaughter, execution, butchery, suffocation, asphyxiation, strangling, martyrdom, hanging, dispatch, decimation, etc.

To these we can add another set of lexemes which are not used as verbs e.g. *pogrom, manslaughter, holocaust, suicide, carnage,* etc.

It has been found that, unlike the field of «Kinship» which is a rather closed field, the field of «Killing» is open-ended in the sense that any lexeme or lexical unit which is used to refer to the killing of human beings (whether it is basic, peripheral, metaphorical, euphemistic, etc.) can be included in the field. In addition to those mentioned above, we can thus add such lexical units as *put to death, commit suicide, wipe out, make (do) away with,* etc.

The aim of the contrastive lexical analysis being carried out here is rather **limited**. It is not to show in detail all the similarities and differences existing between semantic fields, or some fields, in English and Arabic. Rather, it is to show, in a general way, some of the similarities and differences between the two languages in dividing up the semantic spaces of some fields or subfields. In the light of this limited aim, it seems reasonable to restrict the treatment of the field of «Killing» to only a subfield consisting of some basic lexical items. This seems sufficient to show how the two languages divide up the same semantic area within the broader field. The subfield chosen for this purpose is the one given by LLOCE (1981) based on a well-known EFL dictionary, viz. LDOCE (1978). The subfield includes *Kill, murder, assissinate, massacre, slaughter, butcher.* The

In both languages there is one lexeme to refer to FaFa and MoFa - the sex of the linking relative is ignored ; English uses *grandfather*, Arabic /dʒadd/. We find the same similarity with FaMo and MoMo for which English uses the lexemes *grandmother* and Arabic /dʒadda/. The same applies also to English *grandson* (SoSo ; DaSo); *granddaughter* (SoDa; DaDa) and Arabic /ḥafi : d/ (SoSo ; DaSo) and /ḥafi : da/ (SoDa : DaDa) respectively.

Another similarity is observed in the relationships of the *immediate family* where some of the English and Arabic lexemes can be put into a one-to-one correspondence as follows :

English	Arabic
father	/ʔab/
mother	/ʔumm/
brother	/ʔax/
sister	/ʔuxt/
son	/ibn/
daughter	/ibnat/

More striking, however, are the differences in the way the two languages deal with the consanguineal relationships. For these relationships, English uses 15 terms whereas Arabic makes use of 14 lexemes and 12 non-lexicalized expressions. For the English lexeme *uncle* there are two Arabic lexemes : /Xa :l/ referring to MoBr and /ʕamm/ for FaBr ; for the English lexeme *aunt* there are two Arabic conterparts : /Xa : la/ which is used to refer to MoSi and /ʕamma/ to FaSi. For each of the English lexemes *nephew* and *niece* **there are two Arabic non-lexicalized expressions** : for *nephew* there are /ibn ʔaX/ : BrSo and /ibn ʔuXt/: SiSo; and for *niece* there are also two /ibnat ʔ aX/ : BrDa and /ibnat ʔ uXt/ : SiDa. These differences may be presented as follows :

uncle < /xa : l/ (No. 10)
uncle < /ʕamm/ (No. 14)

aunt < /xa : la/ (No. 7)
aunt < /ʕ amma/ (No. 15)

nephew < /ibn ʔax/ (No. 52)
nephew < /ibn ʔuxt/ (No. 55)

niece < /ibnat ʔax/ (No. 51)
niece < /ibnat ʔuxt/ (No. 53)

The matter gets more coumplicated when we compare the semantic area covered by the English lexeme *cousin* with how the same area is dealt with in Arabic. There are eight Arabic non-lexicalized expressions dividing up the semantic area that is divided by the English lexeme *cousin* :

cousin < /ibnat xa : la/ (No. 21)
cousin < /ibn xa : la/ (No. 24)
cousin < /ibnat xa : l/ (No. 25)
cousin < /ibn xa : l/ (No. 28)
cousin < /ibnat ʕamm/ (No. 35)
cousin < /ibnʕamm/ (No. 38)
cousin < /ibnat ʕamma/ (No. 39)
cousin < /ibn ʕamma/ (No. 42)

In the cases where Arabic uses non-lexicalized expressions to refer to consanguineal relationships we may speak of lexical gaps in the Arabic consanguineal system. However, Arabic may be regarded as more specific than English in referring to these relationships as it uses a non-lexicalized expression for each relationship. English, on the other hand, uses one term to refer to a number of relationships as it is the cas with the term *cousin*.

English makes use of the suffix *-in-law* functioning as a second element in many compound lexical items e.g. *father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law*, etc. Arabic, on the other hand, makes a similar use of two terms/zawdʒ/ : Hu and /zawdʒat/ : Wi added to a number of consanguineal terms forming non-lexicalized expressions referring to affinal relationships e.g. /zawdʒat ibn ʕamm/ FaBrSoWi ; /zawdʒat ibn Xa : la/ MoSiSoWi.

Compared with Arabic, English uses a very limited number of terms to describe the affinal relationships. While English uses (11) terms, Arabic uses (22) terms and non-lexicalized expressions to describe the same set of relationships. In English the same affinal terms are used regardless of the sex of Ego e.g. *brother-in-law, sister-in-law*. In Arabic, on the other hand, the two lexemes /nasi : b/ *brother-in-law* and /nasi : ba/ *sister-in-law* which are

There are three ways of referring to affinal relatives in Arabic : the first is by using special kin terms which are used exclusively for affinal relatives :

/zawdʒ/ (No. 29)(m) .. : Hu
/zawdʒat/ (No. 29)(f) . : Wi
/nasi :b/ (male Ego) ..... : SpBr (No.20) and SiHu (No. 34)
/nasi : ba/ (male Ego) ... : SpSi (No. 18) and BrWi (No. 31)
/ḥamu/ (female Ego) .... : SpBr (No. 20) and SiHu (No. 34)
/ḥamat/ (female Ego) ... : SpSi (No. 18) and BrWi (No. 31)
/ṣihr/ (No. 48) ..... : DaHu
/kanna/ (No. 49) ..... : SoWi

The second way is to use terms which are also employed for consanguineal relatives. This category includes :

ʕamm/ (No. 6) SpFa; (No. 16) FaSiHu (The term is also used to refer to FaBr cf. No. 14 Figure 4)
ʕamma (No. 5) SpMo; (No; 13) FaBrWi (also used for FaSi cf. No. 15 Figure 4)
./xa : l/ (No. 8) MoSiHu (also used for MoBr cf. No. 10 Figure 4)
/xa : la/ (No. 9) MoBrWi (also used for MoSi cf. No. 7 Figure 4)

It is interesting to note here that the consanguineal lexeme /ʕamm/ : FaBr (No. 14, Figure 4) and /ʕamma/ : DaSi (No. 15, Figure 4) are also used to refer to spouse's father and mother respectively, i.e. the affinal relationship in which the spouse's father and mother are involved is dealt with through uncle and aunt rather than through father or mother as it is the case in English.

The third way of referring to affinal relatives in Arabic is by the use of the term /zawdʒ/ : Hu(No. 29 (m),Figure 4)and /zawdʒat/ : Wi(No. 29 (f),Figure 4)plus consanguineal terms. This category includes :

/zawdʒ ibnatʕamm/ ..... (No. 36): FaBrDaHu
/zawdʒat ibn ʕ amm/ ... (No. 37): FaBrSoWi
/zawdʒ ibnat ʕamma/ ... (No. 40): FaSiDaHu
/zawdʒat ibn ʕ amma/ .. (No. 41) : FaSiSoWi
/zawdʒ ibnat xa :la/ ..... (No. 22): MoSiDaHu
/zawdʒat ibn xa : la/ .... (No. 23): MoSiSoWi
/zawdʒ ibnat xa : l/ ..... (No. 26): MoBrDaHu
/zawdʒat inb xa : l/ ..... (No. 27): MoBrSoWi

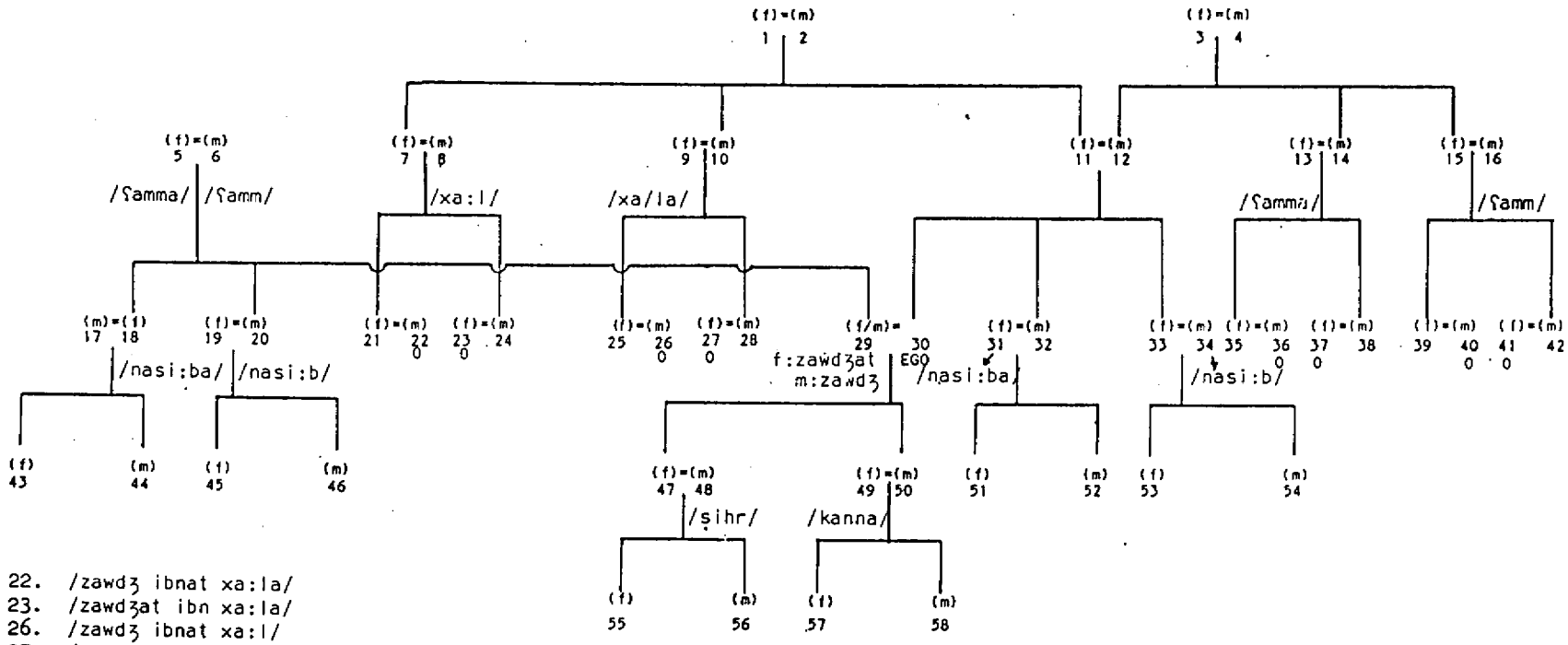
These are to be regarded as non-lexicalized expressions since they can easily be manipulated through the productive (syntactic) rules of the language as the element /zawdʒ/ : Hu and /zawdʒat/ : Wi can be added to all the consanguineal terms and the relationship is still that of kinship e.g. /zawdʒ ʕ amma/ to refer to FaSiHu instead of the normal term /ʕamm/ No. 16, /zawdʒat xa : l/ to refer to MoBrWi instead of /xa : la/ No.9 etc.[4]

2-3 • Points of Similarities and Differences

It should be clear by now that there are some similarities as there are striking differences in the way English and Arabic divide the semantic space of kinship. Let us start with the consanguineal relationships and compare English and Arabic terms used to refer to them. Figure 6 compares these terms :

Relationships	English	Arabic Terms (non-lexicalized expressions between brackets)
MoMo; FaMo	grandmother	/dʒadda/
MoFa; FaFa	grandfather	/dʒadd/
MoSi; FaSi	aunt	/xa : la/;/ʕamma/
MoBr; FaBr	uncle	/xa : l/;/ʕamm/
Mo	mother	/ umm/
Fa	father	/ ab/
MoSiDa		(/ibnat xa : la/)
MoSiSo		(/ibn xa : la/)
MoBrDa		(/ibnat xa : l)
MoBrSo	cousin	(/ibn xa : l/)
FaBrDa		(/ibnatʕamm/)
FaBrSo		(/ibnʕamm/
FaSida		(/ibnatʕamm/)
FaSiSo		(/ibnʕamm/)
Br	brother	/ ax/
Si	sister	/ uxt/
Da	daughter	/ibnat/
So	son	/ibn/
BrDa; SiDa	niece	(/ibnat axl;) (/ibnat uxt)
BrSo; SiSo	nephew	(/ibn ax;) (/ibn uxt l)
SoDa; DaDa	granddaughter	/ḥafi : da/
SoSo; DaSo	grandson	/ḥafi : d/

Figure 6 : English and Arabic Consanguineal Terms



22. /zawdʒ ibnat xa:la/
23. /zawdʒat ibn xa:la/
26. /zawdʒ ibnat xa:l/
27. /zawdʒat ibn xa:l/
36. /zawdʒ ibnat ʕamm/
37. /zawdʒat ibn ʕamm/
40. /zawdʒ ibnat ʕamma/
41. /zawdʒat ibn ʕamma/

Figure 5

Kinship System in Arabic: Affinal Relationships

Notes: 1. The symbol (0) indicates a lexical gap.

2. For lack of space, non-lexicalized expressions are not written under the relevant numbers.

The terms are :

1. /ʤadda/	: MoMo	32. /ʔax/	: Br
2. /ʤadd/	: MoFa	33. /ʔuxt/	: Si
3. /ʤadda/	: FaMo	35. /ibnat ʕamm/	: FaBrDa
4. /ʤadd/	: FaFa	38. /ibn ʕamm/	: FaBrSo
7. /xa : la/	: MoSi	39. /ibnat ʕamma/	: FaSiDa
10. /xa : l/	: MoBr	42. / ibn ʕamma/	: FaSiSo
11. /ʔumm/	: Mo	47. /ibnat/	: Da
12. /ʔab/	: Fa	50. /ibn/	: So
14. /ʕamm /	: FaBr	51. /ibnat ʔax/	: BrDa
15. /ʕamma/	: FaSi	52. /ibn ʔax/	: BrSo
21. /ibnat xa:la/	: MoSiDa	53. /ibnat ʔuxt/	: SiDa
24. /ibn xa : la/	: MoSiSo	54. /ibn ʔuxt/	: SiSa
25. /ibnat xa : l/	: MoBrDa	55. /ḥafi : da/	: DaDa
28. /ibn xa : l/	: MoBrSo	56. /ḥafi : d/	: DaSo
		57. /ḥafi : da/	: SoDa
		58. /ḥafi : d/	: SoSo

Arabic consanguineal terms given above can be divided into two types according to whether they consist of lexemes or *non-lexicalized* expressions :

Lexemes e.g. /?ab/ (No. 12) : Fa

Non-lexicalized expressions e.g. /ibn ʕamm/ (No. 38) : FaBrSo

Terms of the first type are indivisible, i.e. they cannot be analysed into parts with kinship meanings. Non-lexicalized expressions consist of two lexemes to denote a specific relationship, for example /ibn/ (No.50 :So) and / ʕamm/ (No. 14 : FaBr) will give the non-lexicalized expression /ibn ʕamm/ (No. 38 : FaBrSo). We can here talk about lexical gaps in the Arabic kinship system since the non-lexicalized expressions are formed by combining two lexemes according to the productive (i.e. syntactic) rules of the language. The rules can be generalized to all other kin terms so that we may have /ibn ibn/ : SoSo instead of /ḥafi:d/ (No. 58) ; /ibnat ibn/ : SoDa instead of /ḥafi:da/ (No. 57). The non-lexicalized expressions in the above diagram are Nos. 21, 24, 25, 28, 35,38, 39, 42, 51, 52, 53 and 54.

The question concerning such lexemes as /ʤadd/ (Nos. 2, 4 referring to MoFa and FaFa) and /ʤadda/ (Nos. 1,3 referring to MoMo and FaMo) is whether to regard them as one lexeme with /ʤadda/ as derived from /ʤadd/ with the addition of the suffix /-a/ which is regularly associated with feminine gender in Arabic, or to regard them as two separate lexemes. Certainly, a pair like /?ab/ (No. 12 : Fa) and / ʔumm/ (No.11:Mo) does differ morphologically from /ʤadd/ (Nos. 2, 4: MoFa, FaFa) and /ʤadda/ (Nos. 1,3: MoMo, FaMo). There is no morphological similarity between the two lexemes in the first pair whereas there is obvious morphological one in the second. However, semantically /ʤadd/ and /ʤadda/ are to be regarded as two separate lexemes used to refer to two different affinal relatives as the suffix /-a/ is not generalizable to all kin terms. The same holds true with other pairs e.g.

/ʕamm/ (No. 14 : FaBr)	/ʕamma/ (No. 15 : FaSi)
/xa : l/ (No. 10 : MoBr)	/ xa : la/ (No. 7 : MoSi)
/ḥafi : d/ (Nos. 56, 58 : DaSo, SoSo)	/ḥafi : da/ (Nos. 55, 58 : DaDa, SoDa).

2.2.2. Arabic Affinal Terms

Before analysing the Arabic terms for affinal relatives, it may be helpful to present the Arabic affinal terms first in a diagram (Figure 5). The terms are used for reference by a male or female Ego except terms No. 20 /nasi :b/ : WiBr and No.18 /nasi : ba/ :WiSi which are replaced, for a female Ego, by /ḥamu/ and /ḥamat/ respectively.

The affinal terms presented here are assumed to have been collected using the same syntactically-controlled context as that employed in obtaining the other kin terms discussed so far.

5. /ʕamma/ : SpMo
6. /ʕamm/ : SpFa
8. /xa : l/ : MoSiHu
9. /xa : la/ : MoBrWi
13. /ʕamma/ : FaBrWi
16. /ʕamm/ : FaSiHu
18. /nasi : ba/ : WiSi > (male Ego) /ḤamuḤamat/ > (female Ego)
20. /nasi : b / : WiBr
22. /zawdʒ ibnat xa : la/ : MoSiDaHu
23. /zawdʒat ibn xa : la/ : MoSiHuWi
26. / zawdʒ ibnat xa : l/ : MoSiDaHu
27. /zawdʒat ibn xa : l/ : MoBrSoWi
29. (f) /zawdʒat/ : Wi
(m) /zawdʒ/ : Hu
30. Ego
31. /nasi : ba/ : Br Wi
34. /nasi : b/ : SiHu
36. /zawdʒ ibnat ʕamm/ : FaBrDaHu
37. /zawdʒat ibn ʕamm/ : FaBrSoWi
40. /zawdʒ ibnat ʕamma/ : FaSiDaHu
41. /zawdʒat ibn ʕamma/ : FaSiSoWi
48. /ṣihr/ : DaHu
49. /kanna/ : SoWi

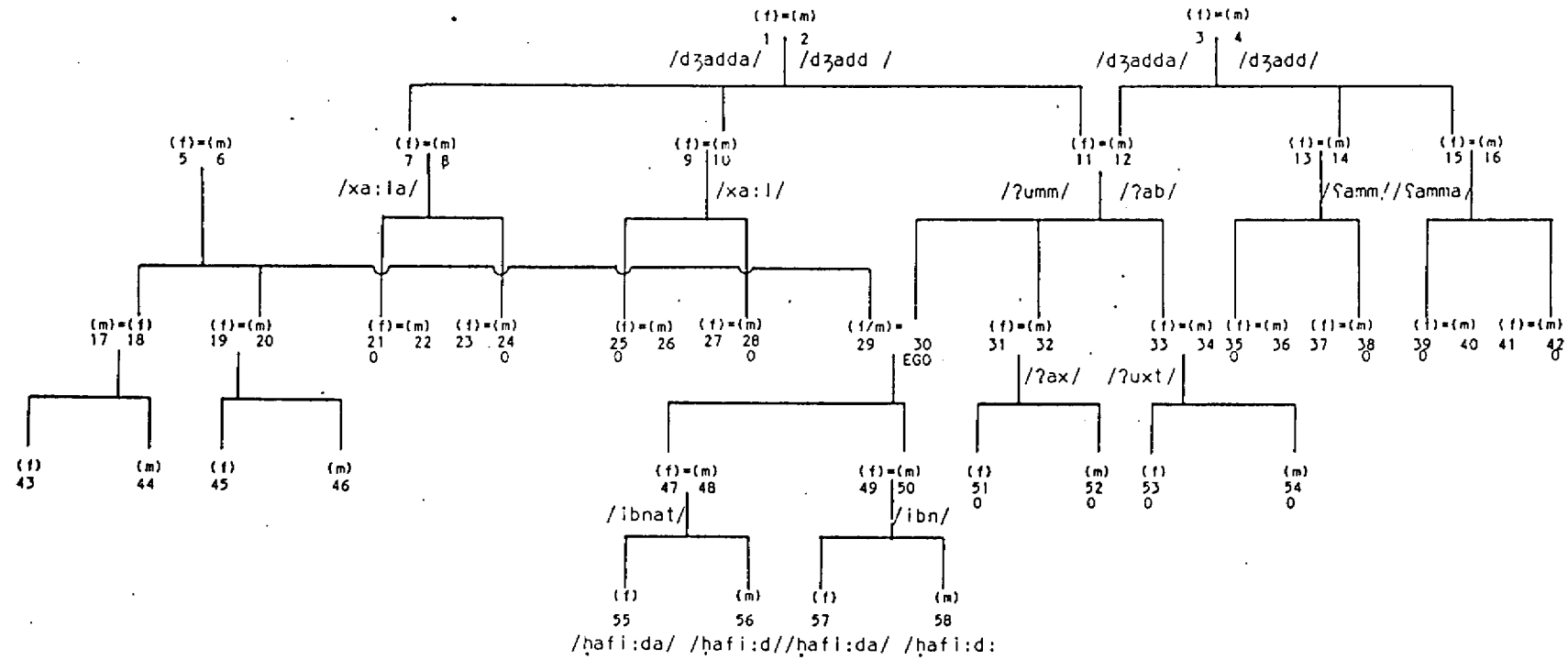


Figure 4

Kinship System in Arabic: Consanguineal Relationships

(The symbol (0) indicates a lexical gap; viz. there is no lexeme denoting the relative indicated)

To start with, the matter seems clear enough. There are at least the following distinguishable classes which can be referred to as *relatives by marriage*. First, there is Ego's own spouse, for whom there are basic kin terms, *wife* (No. 29-f) and *husband* (No. 29-m). Second, there are the closest blood relatives of Ego's own spouse, namely, *mother-in-law* (No.5), *father-in-law* (No.6), *sister-in-law* (No.18) and *brother-in-law* (No. 20) respectively. Also among this class are the spouses of Ego's own close consanguineal relatives, viz. *sister-in-law* (No.31), *brother-in-law* (No.34), *son-in-law* (No.48) and *daughter-in-law* (No. 49).

All these are derived lexemes consisting of a basic kin term functioning as a stem and the suffix - *in-law* to indicate the affinal relationship. These derivative kin terms are to be regarded as single lexemes since the suffix - *in-law* is not generalizable to all basic terms. We do not, for example, have *aunt-in-law* or *uncle-in-law*. Third, there are spouse's sibling's children for whom two consanguineal terms are used, *niece* (Nos.43,45) and *nephew* (Nos. 44,46). Fourth, there are those who are the spouses of any of the remainder of Ego's blood relatives, i.e. all those except daughter's husband and son's wife. This would include, for instance, cousin's spouses. For some of these relatives, consanguineal terms may be used such as *uncle (Nos. 8, 16), aunt* (Nos. 9,13); or derivative kin terms such as *cousin-in-law* (Nos. 22, 23, 26, 27, 36, 37, 40, 41). The term *cousin-in-law* is to be regarded as a single lexeme for the same reason that we regard **brother-in-law** as one lexeme. As for the relationships symbolized by (17) and (19) there seem to be no lexemes to stand for them.

The ambiguities of the phrases *in-laws* and *relatives by marriage* begin to appear when we consider the fact that different ways of tracing connections by marriage are possible. Difficulties start from the fact that a son's wife and daughter's husband, for example, are *daughter-in-law* and *son-in-law*, but uncle's wife and aunt's husband do not take the *-in-law*. They are *aunt* and *uncle* and are not distinguished from the consanguineal relatives referred to by these terms. *Aunt* can refer to FaSi, FaBrWi, MoSi and MoBrWi; *uncle* can be FaBr, FaSiHu, MoBr or MoSiHu.

Death, divorce and remarriage all raise special problems which further complicate matters. Here again the problem of the uncle or aunt married to a blood relative can be a source of some uncertainty. It is sometimes the case that the husband of an aunt or the wife of an uncle are *uncle* and *aunt* only as long as they remain married to Ego's blood relatives. This follows from the fact that they are uncle and aunt just because they are the husband of an aunt or the wife of an uncle. When they are no longer related by marriage, that is, when their marriage is over because of, for example, divorce, they are no longer strictly *uncle* or *aunt*. Nevertheless, if Ego has developed a special relationship such as that of affection with an aunt's husband or an uncle's wife, then Ego may cease to refer to this person as *uncle* or *aunt* even if the marriage breaks up. For some people an uncle is an *uncle* when a special relationship obtains directly with him, and so too an aunt[3]. But these are complications which we shall regard as irrelevant for our present purpose.

2-2. Kinship in Arabic

Following the same procedure used in the analysis of English kinship terms, we shall start here with the consanguineal Arabic terms used for reference and then deal with those used for affinal relatives.

2-2-1. Arabic Consanguineal Terms

For convenience of reference, Arabic kin items are given below in a diagram (Figure 4) prior to their analysis. The semantic features involved in labelling these relations here are the same as those for English, viz. their [Sex] e.g. /ʔax/: Br vs. /ʔ uxt/: Si ; [Generation] e.g. /ʔ ab / Fa vs. /dʒadd/: FaFa ; MoFa and [Lineality] e.g. /xa:l/: MoBr vs. /ʕ amm/: FaBr. The same terms are used whether Ego is male or female (see Appendix for: Key to Arabic Transcription).

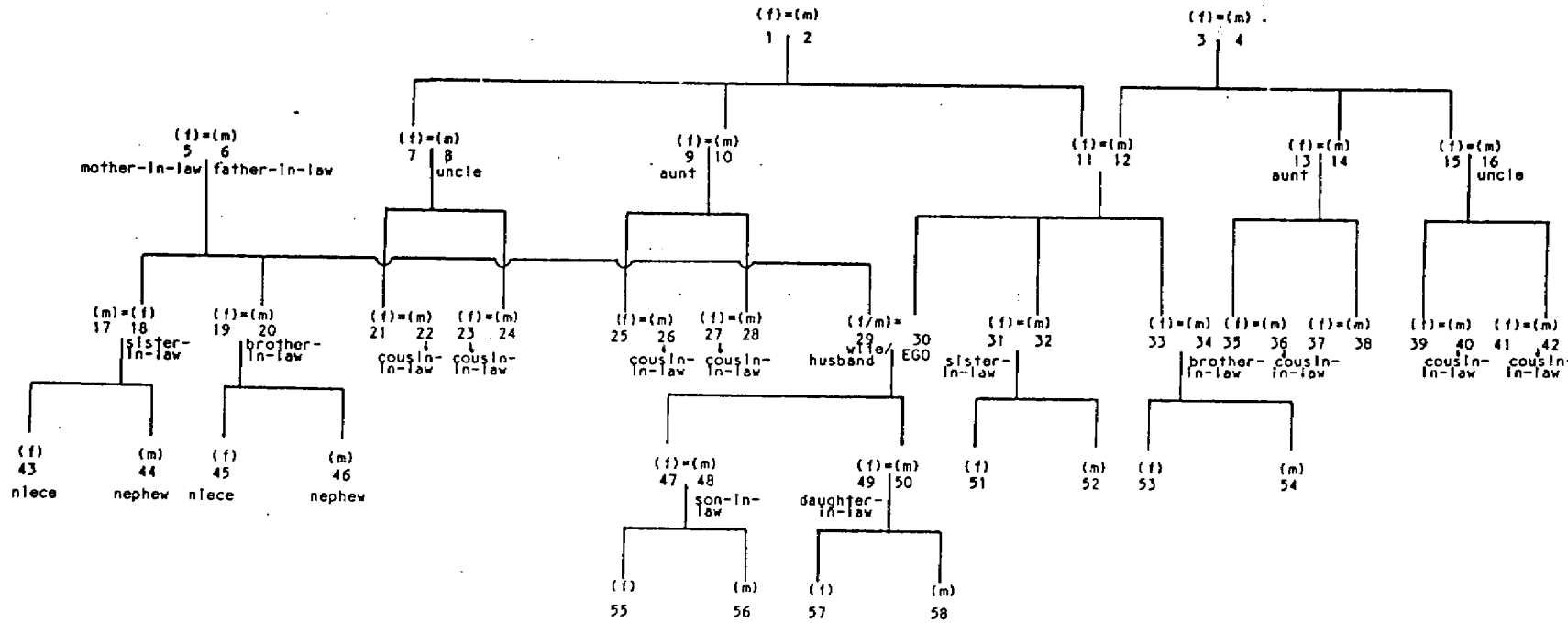


Figure 3

Kinship System in English: Affinal Relationships

(Terms referring to Consanguineal relations are omitted as these are not under consideration here)

2-1-2 • English Affinal Terms

As with consanguineal terms, the description and analysis here deals with affinal terms used for reference. Using the same syntactically-controlled context as that used for consanguineal relatives, we may arrive at the following list for English affinal relatives. Obviously, it is a restricted list but it is, we believe, sufficient for our purpose here.

1) Own spouse

29. (f) Wi ..... (wife)
    (m) Hu ..... (husband)

2)(a) Spouse's closest consanguineal relatives

5. SpMo ..... (mother-in-law)
6. SpFa ..... (father-in-law)
18. SpSi ..... (sister-in-law)
20. SpBr ..... (brother-in-law)

(b) Spouses of Ego's own closest consanguineal relatives

31. BrWi ..... (sister-in-law)
34. SiHu ..... (brother-in-law)
48. DaHu ..... (son-in-law)
49. SoWi ..... (daughter-in-law)

3) Soupe's sibling's children

43. SpSiDa ..... (niece)
44. SpSiSo ..... (nephew)
45. SpBrDa ..... (niece)
46. SpBrSo ..... (nephew)

4) (a) Soupses of aunts and uncles

8. MoSiHu ..... (uncle)
9. MoBrWi ..... (aunt)
13. FaBrWi ..... (aunt)
16. FaSiHu ..... (uncle)

(b) Spouses of cousins

22. MoSiDaHu .... (cousin-in-law)
23. MoSiSoWi ..... (cousin-in-law)
26. MoBrDaHu ... (cousin-in-law)
27. MoBrSoWi .... (cousin-in-law)
36. FaBrDaHu .... (cousin-in-law)
37. FaBrSoWi ..... (cousin-in-law)
40. FaSiDaHu ..... (cousin-in-law)
41. FaSiSoWi ..... (cousin-in-law)

These relationships may be presented in a diagram as follows :

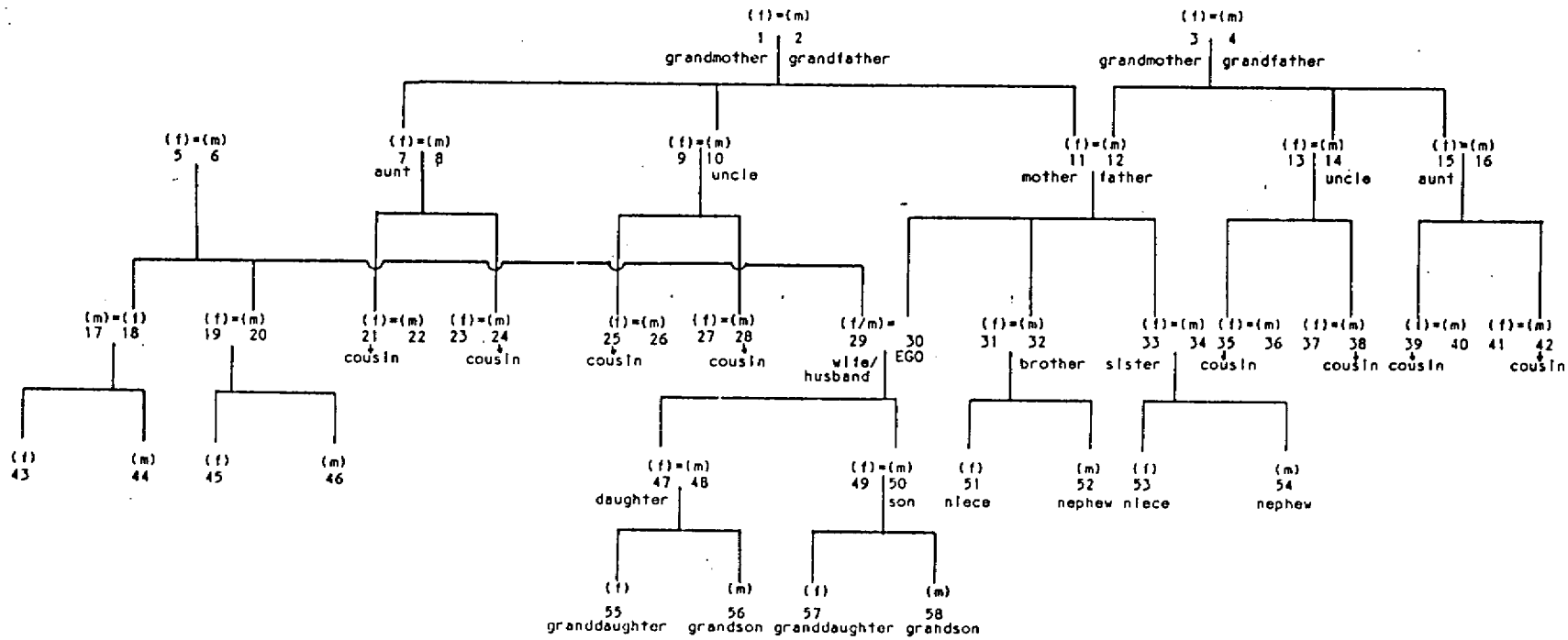


Figure 2

Kinship System in English: Consanguineal Relationships

(Terms referring to affinal relations are omitted as these are not under consideration in this diagram)

29 (f) ..... wife .....: Wi (for male Ego)
29 (m) ..... husband .....: Hu (for female Ego)
32. ..... brother..... : Br
33. ..... sister ..... : Si
47. ..... daughter ..... : Da
50. ..... son ..... : So
51; 53. ..... niece ..... : BrDa; SiDa
52; 54. ..... nephew .....: BrSo; SiSo
55; 57. ..... granddaughter : DaDa; SoDa
56; 58. ..... grandson .....: DaSo

These kin terms may be presented in Figure 2 ; terms referring to relationships not under consideration are omitted.

The semantic features involved in the labelling of the above relatives are their [Sexe] e.g. **brother** vs. **sister**, [Generation] e.g *father* vs. *grandfather*, and [Lineality] e.g. *sister* vs. *cousin*. The diagram symbolizes these relatives as they would appear for Ego's generation, two ascending generations and two generations below Ego. The terms are the same whether Ego is male or female.

In order to perform a contrastive analysis of kinship in English and Arabic, it seems useful to see first how each language divides the semantic space of this field and then compare them together for points of similarities and differences.

2-1 • Kinship in English

A relative is a person who is related to someone else (Ego) by blood or by marriage. Those related by blood are called *consanguineal relatives* and those by marriage *affinal relatives*. Two blood relatives are related by the fact that they share in some degree the stuff of a particular heredity. Each has a portion of the natural, genetic substance. Relative by marriage, on the other hand, is defined with reference to the relative by blood. Marriage is not a material thing in the same sense as biogenetic heredity is. It is terminable by death or divorce. It is sometimes the case, however, that people may be related by both blood and marriage.

For simplicity of exposition, we shall deal first with consanguineal kin terms and then with those for relations by marriage.

2-1-1 • English Consanguineal Terms

The description and analysis presented here are concerned with consanguineal terms used in reference only[2]. Futher, the data analysed have only to do with the situation in which someone inquires of another in the absence of the person referred to by the kinship term. *What kin relationship, if any, is he (she) to you* ? This invites the answer *He (She) is my....* or *He(She) is not a relative*. The importance of controlling the context in which data are elecited is obvious when one considers how personal considerations affect the use of kinship terms in address. Using the syntactically-controlled context above, we obtain the following list for English consanguineal terms :

1. grandmother . : MoMo
2. grandfather ... : MoFa
3. grandmother . : FaMo
4. grandfather ... : FaFa
7. aunt ..... : MoSi
10. uncle ..... : MoBr
11. mother ..... : Mo
12. father ..... : Fa
14. uncle ..... : FaBr
15. aunt ..... : FaSi
21. cousin ..... : MoSiDa
24. cousin ..... : MoSiSo
25. cousin ..... : MoBrDo
28. cousin ..... : MoBrSo
32. brother ... : Br
33. sister ..... : Si
35. cousin ..... : FaBrDa
38. cousin ..... : FaBrSo
39. cousin ..... : FaSiDa
42. cousin ..... : FaSiSo
47. daughter . : Da
50. son ..... : So
51. niece ..... : BrDa
52. nephew ... : BrSo
53. niece ..... : SiDa
54. nephew ... : SiSo
55. grand daughter... : DaDa
56. grandson . : DaSo
57. granddaughter: SoDa
58. grandson . : SoSo

It is obvious that some lexemes are used to refer to more than one relative. The above list, therefore, can be summarized as follows :

1,3. ..... grandmother .. : MoMo ; FaMo
2,4. ..... grandfather .... : MoFa ; FaFa
7,15. ..... aunt ..... : MoSi ; FaSi
10,14. ..... uncle..... : MoBr ; FaBr
11. ..... mother ..... : Mo
12. ..... father ..... : Fa

21; 24; 25; 28; 35; 38; 39; 42. ..... cousin ..... : MoSiDa ; MoSiSo ; MoBrDa ; MoBrSo ; FaBrDa ; FaBrSo ; FaSiDa ; FaSiSo

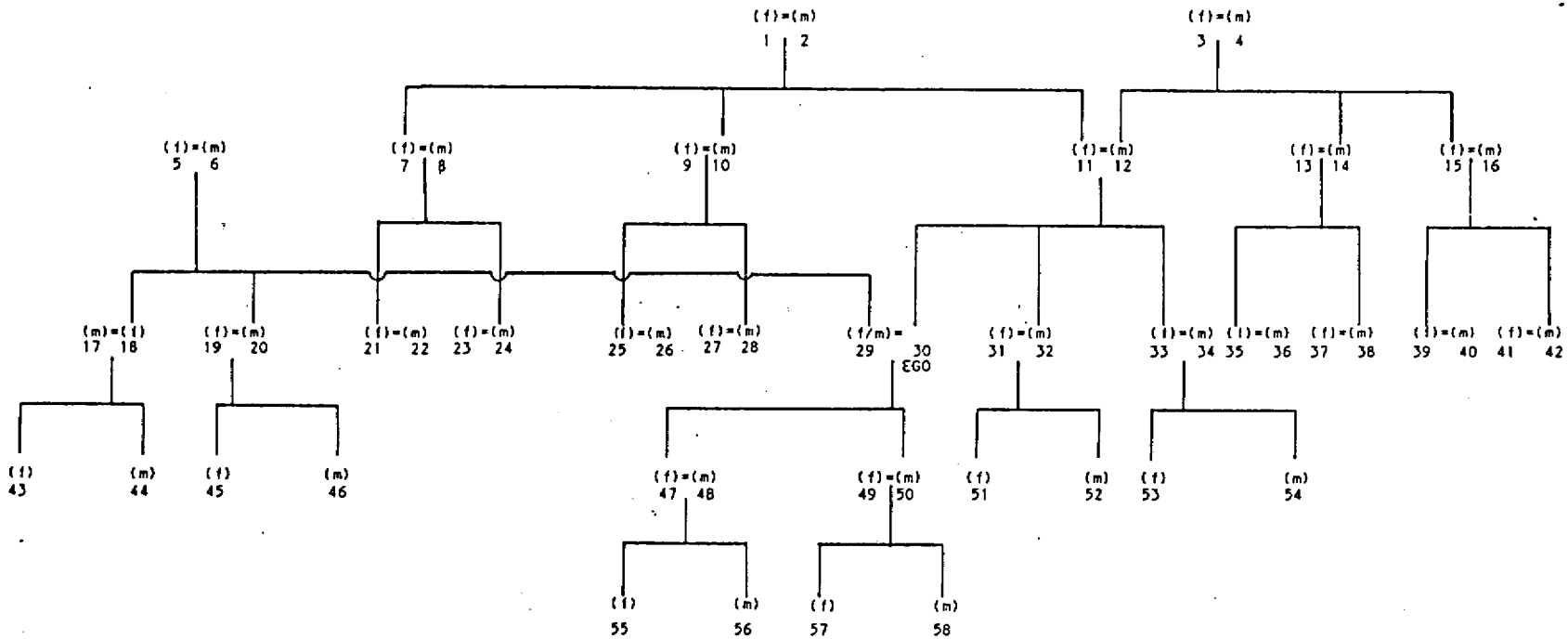


Figure 1

Kinship System: Language Independent —

Consanguineal and Affinal Relationships

(f) means "female" (m) means "male" = means "married to"

19. SpBrWi ..... (spouse's brother's wife)
20. SpBr ..... (spouse's brother)
21. MoSiDa ..... (mother's sister's daughter)
22. MoSiDaHu ..... (mother's sister's daughter's husband)
23. MoSiSoWi ..... (mother's sister's son's wife)
24. MoSiSo ..... (mother's sister's son)
25. MoBrDa ..... (mother's brother's daughter)
26. MoBrDaHu ..... (mother's brother's daughter's husband)
27. MoBrSoWi ..... (mother's brother's son's wife)
28. MoBrSo ..... (mother's brother's son)
29. Sp(f)Wi(m)Hu ..... (spouse : *wife* or *husband*)
30. Ego ..... (the person from whom the relationship is traced)
31. BrWi ..... (brother's wife)
32. Br ..... (brother)
33. Si ..... (sister)
34. SiHu ..... (sister's husband)
35. FaBrDa ..... (father's brother's daughter)
36. FaBrDaHu ..... (father's brother's daughter's husband)
37. FaBrSoWi ..... (father's brother's son's wife)
38. FaBrSo ..... (father's brother's son)
39. FaSiDa ..... (father's sister's daughter)
40. FaSiDaHu ..... (father's sister's daughter's husband)
41. FaSiSoWi ..... (father's sister's son's wife)
42. FaSiSo ..... (father's sister's son)
43. SpSiDa ..... (spouse's sister's daughter)
44. SpSiSo ..... (spouse's sister's son)
45. SpBrDa ..... (spouse's brother's daughter)
46. SpBrSo ..... (spouse's brother's son)
47. Da ..... (daughter)
48. DaHu ..... (daughter's husband)
49. SoWi ..... (son's wife)
50. So ..... (son)
51. BrDa ..... (brother's daughter)
52. BrSo ..... (brother's son)
53. SiDa ..... (sister's daughter)
54. SiSo ..... (sister's son)
55. DaDa ..... (daughter's daughter)
56. DaSo ..... (daughter's son)
57. SoDa ..... (son's daughter)
58. SoSo ..... (son's son)

consist of individuals related to one another in families and in a wider circle of relations. The set of lexemes specifying the consanguineal and affinal positions of one's own kin in relation to oneself can be regarded as constituting a semantic field. The structure imposed on this field by conventional usage of kinship terminology varies greatly from society to society. This is why the field of «Kinship» has often provided linguists and anthropologists with scope for the airing of relativist ideas. But there is also scope for the universalists as kinship terminology can be presented in terms of a universal set of symbols from which each language or culture draws its system (Leech, 1981 : 236). Although we do not wish to take either position in its extreme form, it seems useful to have a grid or a language-independent set of symbols, that is, a *reference language*, to describe the field of «Kinship», independent of its treatment in a particular society. The type of reference language we shall use here is the traditional anthropological notation of kin terms and relative products as used by Wallace and Atkins (1960). According to this notation, the first two letters of eight primitive terms (*father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, husband, wife*) are used as the *primitive symbols* (Fa, Mo, Br, Si, So, Da, Hu, Wi) ; other kinship terms are conceived of as *relative products* of these primitives e.g. FaBr for *father's brother* ; MoSi for *mother's sister*. Additional primitives (e.g. younger and older) are added as required. Each primitive term and each relative product denotes a kin-type. For simplicity, we introduce here an additional primitive term SP in order to avoid the complex term Hu/Wi which we have to use to refer to such a relationship as that of No. 5 (Figure 1 below) SpMo referring to Hu/WiMo. That is, instead of using HuMo or WiMo or the combined term Hu/WiMo, we have introduced the term Sp to refer to both Hu and Wi so that No. 5, for instance, will read SpMo to refer to HuMo or WiMo.

Using the above notation and the operator (:) (meaning *refer to*) we may present those kinship relationships which will concern us here in the following language-independent diagram and set of symbols. The numbering, from left to right, will be used throughout, with each relationship given a certain number. The numbers given to the terms are only for reference ; they are not indices of psychological saliency ; that is, if a occurs in the beginning of the list, it does not mean that it is more salient than the others.

1. MoMo ..... (mother's mother)
2. MoFa ..... (mother's father)
3. FaMo ..... (father's mother)
4. FaFa ..... (father's father)
5. SpMo ..... (spouse's mother)
6. SpFa ..... (spouse's father)
7. MoSi ..... (mother's sister)
8. MoSiHu ..... (mother's sister's husband)
9. MoBrWi ..... (mother's brother's wife)
10. MoBr ..... (mother's brother)
11. Mo ..... (mother)
12. Fa ..... (father)
13. FaBrWi ..... (father's brother's wife)
14. FaBr ..... (father's brother)
15. FaSi ..... (father's sister)
16. FaSiHu ..... (father's sister's husband)
17. SpSiHu ..... (spouse's sister's husband)
18. SpSi ..... (spouse's sister)

man [+Human] (to distinguish it from **bull**)
[+Male] (to distinguish it from **woman**)
[+Adult] (to distinguish it from **child**)

The relevant sense of the lexeme *man* (as opposed to that of *bull, woman, and child*)can thus be represented by the three features : [+ Human], [+ Male], [+ Adult] and these features are said to constitute the componential definition of one sense of the lexeme *man* which is, to some extent, a formalized dictionary definition. A minus sign is often used to indicate the absence of a feature. The lexeme *bull* will thus have, in one of its senses, the features [– Human] [+ Male], [+ Adult], and so on. In the case of such lexemes as *child* which is unmarked for sex and *man* (in the sense of *human* being) which is unmarked for both sex and adulthood, we can represent his *unmarking* by the combined mark ± to indicate that a certain feature may or may not be part of the sense of that lexeme depending upon the context. Thus the lexeme *child* will have the features : [+ Human], [– Adult], [± Male] ; *man* will have [+ Human], [- Adult], etc.

The use of the binary feature notation ± as exemplified above raises some methodological difficulties. First of all, it has been claimed that the use of the minus sign is rather inconsistent. Sometimes it is used to indicate a positive feature as in the case of the feature [– Male] representing [+ Female]. In other cases, it is used to indicate that a certain feature is nonapplicable as in the feature [– Human]. Lehrer (1974 : 61) suggests that the minus sign should not be used for positive specification, i.e. to use, for instance, the feature [+ Female] rather than [– Male].

A further difficulty is that if we use the minus sign to indicate a lack of the feature, then it will be equally correct to say, for instance, that *woman* and *girl* lack the feature [Male] as to say that *man* and *boy* lack the feature [Female]. In order to avoid such problems in the analysis of the fields to be used in this paper we shall adopt the notation used by Rudska et al. (1981) in which the plus sign is used to indicate that a given feature is part of the sense of a lexeme, and a *blank* sign (not a minus sign) to indicate that the feature is either nonapplicable or insignificant. The minus sign will not be used.

To the extent that the meanings of one language cannot be brought into a one-to-one correspondence with those of another we will say that the two languages are semantically non-isomorphic, that is, they have different semantic structures (Lyons, 1968 :55). The degree of semantic isomorphism between two languages is usually taken to be dependent upon the amount of overlap there is in the culture of the two societies employing these languages.

As far as English and Arabic are concerned, we shall see that the semantic spaces of many semantic fields in the two languages cannot be brought into a one-to-one corespondence with one another[1]. In line with the assumptions of the semantic field theory, the practice of making a contrastive study of lexemes belonging to certain fields in two (or more) languages is thought to be more revealing than contrasting a number or unrelated lexemes. That is, instead of taking a number of semantically unrelated lexemes in one language (e.g. *uncle, murder, obvious*) and looking into how they correspond to, or differ from, their counterparts, if there are any, in another language, we assume that it is more revealing to compare a whole field, or at least, a subfield, in one language with the corresponding field, or subfield, in another language. Adopting this constrastive approach, we shall compare some semantic fields in English and Arabic and attempt to show the semantic anisomorphism between the two languages.

For this purpose, two fields have been chosen : the field of «Kinship» and that of «Killing». They are entended to provide two fields differing in the degree of cultural specificity - the first is more culturally specific than the second and, therefore, the semantic anisomorphism is expected to be greater.

2 • Field of Kinship

It is reasonable to assume that kinship terms occur in all natural languages as all human societies

Russian Language» 1973, which was written in Russian and awarded the rate of