Kinship terms in Shehret and Mehri

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This paper examines the semantics, patterning and morpho-syntax of kinship terms in Shehret and Mehri, two Modern South Arabian languages (MSAL) spoken in Southern Arabia. Comprising data and expertise from native speakers, field linguistics, and linguistic anthropology, this paper describes semantic patterning and interesting morphological blending shared by the two languages, as well as a preliminary discussion of the pragmatics of kin terms in both languages. Sets of terms for Mehri and Shehret repeat across degrees of relational distance, but pattern in complex ways depending on cross or parallel gender of intervening parent and generational relation in ways that differ from patterning in Arabic. Kinship terminology are highly salient and highly conserved lexemes, particularly in these speech communities where they play a daily role in conversation and identification, and as this paper emphasizes, are sources for insights into morphological processes that hold more broadly in the language and that may indicate future questions for historical linguistic research.

Keywords: Modern South Arabian languages, Kinship semantics, morphological blending.

1. Introduction[1]

This paper examines the semantics, patterning and morpho-syntax of kinship terms in Shehret and Mehri, two Modern South Arabian languages (MSAL) spoken in Southern Arabia. While some work has been conducted on individual lexemes relating to kinship in Shehret, Mehri and other MSAL, and on the typology of kinship terms for Soqotri,[2] the semantics of these terms has yet to be analysed,

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[2] For example, Ibriszimow and Porkhomovsky (2001) on the typology of kinship terms in comparison to West Chadic, Morris (2023) on spouse name avoidance, and individual lexemes for different MSAL in Johnstone (1981, 1987), Porkhomovsky and Naumkin (1981, 1993), al-Mashali (1997), al-Ma'shani (2014), Kogan (2011, 2014) and Watson *et al.* (2020).

particularly in relation to features such as polysemy and auto-hyponomy. Furthermore, the ways in which consanguineal kinship terms pattern has yet to be explored. Certain of the kinship terms in Shehret and Mehri also exhibit morpho-syntactic complexity, including morphological blending, a feature of the languages that has not been examined to date. Examining data from Central Dhofari Mehri and Central and Eastern Shehret, this paper aims to fill these gaps.

The paper begins by situating our approach to these data within anthropological approaches to kinship. In section 2, we look at Shehret and Mehri terms for consanguineal (blood-related) kin and affinal (non-blood-related) kins, elucidating these in kin diagrams. Consanguineal kin can be categorised as either direct lineal (vertical) or lineal (horizontal)—the latter also termed in the literature 'indirect collateral.' As we show, indirect collateral kinship terms can be shared by more immediate and less immediate kin. In section 3, we examine the semantics of kinship terms, showing both the importance of parallel and cross-gender terms, and how consanguineal kin terms can be used both for affinal and honorary relations. In section 4, we examine the morpho-syntax of kinship terms: noun–noun annexion, which occurs with a limited number of head terms in both Shehret and Mehri; definite-noun–definite-noun attribution, which is far more common in the languages; and morphological blends, which, to the best of our knowledge are attested in the languages only among the kinship terms for paternal cousins, in Mehri, and cousin and niece/nephew terms in Shehret. In appendix 1, we provide a text on kinship terms in Mehri and a text in Shehret in transcription, with annotated English translations. This is followed by appendices 2 and 3 which present the full lists of kinship terms in each language.

2. The anthropology of kinship

The study of kinship terminology in anthropology originated in evolutionist paradigms (Morgan 1871). This means that past debates about how to study kinship terminology, what patterns in kinship systems are or mean, and what kinship as an overall domain is 'about' have often approached kinship as the stuff of, crudely, pre-modern social organization (Radcliffe-Browne 1941). Was it the spirit of care and affiliation assumed to inhere between 'natural' blood relatives that allowed social groups to cohere and cooperate on the model of lineage groups (Evans-Pritchard 1951)? Did kinship terminology emerge out

of the need to regulate sexual relations or the economically weighted transfer of women (Levi-Strauss 1969[1941])? Was kinship about emergent and changing structures of affiliative feeling or literal biological relatedness (Schneider 1980)? These debates abounded, and with varying degrees of empirical grounding. Yet, they produced a set of terminology for mapping variations in the way different social and linguistic groups referred to familial and wider social relations, some of which we employ below. When we discuss kinship terminology in this paper, it is grounded not in a theoretical paradigm that makes assumptions about the link between naming relatedness and social organization, but instead in the authors' experiences as native-speaker and non-native-speaker linguists and ethnographers researching family life in the region. This follows key literature on kinship in the SWANA region that foregrounds lived and historical relationships rather than structural rules and has benefitted from a broadening of kinship theory to consider affiliative relationships in all kinds of social contexts (Joseph 1999; Shryock 1997; Abu Lughod 1986). We are inspired as well by recent work on the sociolinguistics and pragmatics of kinship terminology that shifts focus from structural interpretation of kin-term semantics and towards the differing registers of relational conduct, address, and avoidance that define and distinguish relations between various kin (Fleming 2024). This paper provides only provisional notes on the latter subject and largely dwells on morphological insights.

In the Shehret and Mehri speaking communities of Dhofar, kinship relations are very important to everyday life and interaction. This general statement has two immediate corollaries for our purposes here. First, that people are very aware of who is related to them and how. Across the Arabian Peninsula, affiliation with a tribe, or lineage group traced through one's patriline, is a pillar of self-identification, social networking, and even a state's relation to its citizenry (c.f. Rabi ed. 2016). In Dhofar, tribe (Arabic, *qabīla,* Shehret *ḳeyl*, Mehri *ḳbaylət*) is how people identify themselves to one another, and provides structures of economic and social support, broad moral affiliation, and contours but does not overdetermine the important role that kinship plays in shaping social networks. Families regularly socialize with their relatives and acquaintances at their homes; these visits thus can be across tribe. Social acquaintances and affinities within the kin group and tribe are often rooted in intergenerational patterns of visiting and socializing, while relations outside these groups may be intergenerational, some must be built. Furthermore, the boundary between marriageable and non-marriageable kin in Islam (the *maḥram*)[3] governs conduct between men and women, including whether they greet one

[3] The *maḥram* is the group of unmarriageable kin. It includes siblings and direct lineal relatives like parents and grandparents, as well as the siblings of one's parents and grandparents. These are people with whom cross-gender sociality is freer and can include touch and interaction in more intimate spaces and scenes. The *maḥram* also includes siblings by suckling, who are

another in ways that involve touch and degrees of informality, as well as what kinds of contexts and spaces relatives can meet in. It is a given to know how to act around whom. Marriages frequently occur within the set of a family's existing relations who visit one another often, whether on the mothers' side or fathers' side. Not everyone who visits a house, and certainly not everyone who men socialize with away from the home are of the kin-group. But, people speak of a given closeness, trust, and sense of protective care inhering within the set of known kin. It is common for both men and women to suggest they prefer to spend time and make relations with people they already know for this reason.

Secondly, people refer to and address kin with the proper term and try to identify those they are not sure how to label. News that names and precisely locates family relations is a common topic of conversation, within families and when visiting with related guests. When a relative is mentioned, it can spark side conversations in which someone reviews the names and numbers of their children or asks after a sibling or cousin by name and relation. There are no practices of politeness or honorification that mandate the use of kin terms instead of personal names except for parents. It is most common to hear someone referred to with a kin term and their name (e.g., Shehret *edíti fúṭmət* 'my maternal aunt, Fatmut,' Mehri *əxxayli ālay* 'my maternal uncle, Ali'). Though it is fine and common in both Mehri and Shehret to address someone by name, with elder relatives it is regarded as polite to address them with the kin term and sometimes also their name. As in many other languages, including Arabic and English, terms for consanguineal kin function for the honorary inclusion of non-blood relatives. Thus, a male of a woman's children's generation could say to the woman in Mehri 'consider me *ḥəbrayš* (*ibriš* Shehret) 'your f.s. son,'' and perfectly correctly, the woman could say in response 'I am *ḥādətk* (*āditk* Shehret) 'your m.s. maternal aunt.'' As a partial joke, a young man could call a woman with daughters of marriageable age *xxəláwti* (*exxolóti* Shehret) 'my paternal aunt/mother-in-law,' and a man with daughters of marriageable age *ḥədaydi* (*edídi* Shehret) 'my paternal uncle/father-in-law.' Out of respect, the paternal aunt/uncle terms may also be used in both languages to address women and men from middle-age and above to whom one is not related. It is thus pragmatically marked to address people other than parents and honoured elders with only the kin term. For example, to call to a related or non-related person of the same generation with the vocative *a-* and the term for 'sister' or 'brother' in Mehri or Shehret, particularly with a sly look and a characteristic gesture of quickly stroking one's chin is a way to make a pleading, slightly whiny, and comical request. Similarly, to make

children from other parents who your mother has breast-fed (or children of women who have breast-fed you). Dhofaris report that this practice is declining, but that in prior times of greater hardship it was more prevalent (cf. El Guindi 2020).

a request in a joking or at least familiar manner of someone of a younger generation, the terms *ḥəbray* (M), *ibrí* (Sh) 'my son' and *ḥəbrayti* (M), *ibríti* (Sh) 'my daughter' may be used.

It is common for families to be regularly visited and to regularly visit kin who are more distantly related, but who have longstanding history of relations (from earlier in life, with one's parents, from a previous marriage that has now ended, etc.), and though it is most expedient to address such a person with the appropriate aunt or uncle term (see section 2.3 below), someone around is likely aware (and ready to explain to those less in the know) precisely what this guest's relation is within one degree of separation from a better-known family member (e.g., 'that's my mother's parallel cousin Fatmut's cross-niece,' see first text in Appendix 1). Or, if unsure, to say 'they are something to' that known family member (Shehret: *ekín hiš śe* 'is he anything to you f.s.?'). When referring to someone in the 3rd person, it is usual in Shehret and Mehri to use their first name + *ēr / bər* + their father's first name (see footnote 6, below). Kinship terminology is core vocabulary and kinship relations are cognitively and socially salient. This makes terminology interesting for historical linguistics, and in our case, may help understand the relationship between Shehret and Mehri and Semitic languages spoken much further afield, such as Neo-Aramaic and Hebrew.

3. Shehret and Mehri kin terms

Kinship terms are typically divided into consanguineal (blood-related) and affinal (relatives by marriage) kin, each of which can be sub-divided, as follows:

A. Consanguineal kin terms

- Lineal kin—direct descendants in vertical line (Section 2.1.)
- Siblings—kin in horizontal line, children who share one or two parents (Section 2.2.)
- Collateral kin—complex kin, not related in single vertical or horizontal line rather related indirectly through a linking relative, such as father's brother or brother's daughter (Section 2.3.)

B. Affinal kin terms

Affinal kin relations (relatives through marriage) are described in both Shehret and Mehri largely using consanguineal kin terms (Section 3.). We also discuss terms for siblings in law (Section 3.3.), which have the same root consonants in both Mehri and Shehret.[4]

[4] And in the other MSAL, including Soqotri (Ibriszimow and Porkhomovsky 2001).

3.1. Lineal kin terms

In the family trees below, where the defined term takes an unpredictable form vis-à-vis the indefinite, we present the indefinite form followed by the definite separated by a forward slash, as in Mehri *bərt / ḥəbrīt* 'daughter / the daughter.' The children-in-law terms are given in the definite form. We present consanguineal kin terms in partial family trees, for Mehri (Fig. 1.) and for Shehret (Fig. 2.). Lineal kin terms are provided from grandparents at the top through the base generation ('me'/ego) to grandchildren. Unlike Arabic and Neo-Aramaic, for example, specific lexemes for 'grandchild' do not exist. In contrast to most Arabic dialects, MSAL lexemes for 'son/daughter' involve the consonants /b-r/ for the singular, /b-n/ (Mehri) and /m-n/ (Shehret) for the plural, with the /b-r/~/b-n/ singular~plural forms also found in the Arabic variety of Rijāl Almaʿ, spoken in southern Saudi Arabia (Asiri 2009), and Neo-Aramaic (e.g., Khan 2016: 17). Plural forms and forms with the first singular possessive suffix for all lexemes are provided in the appendices.

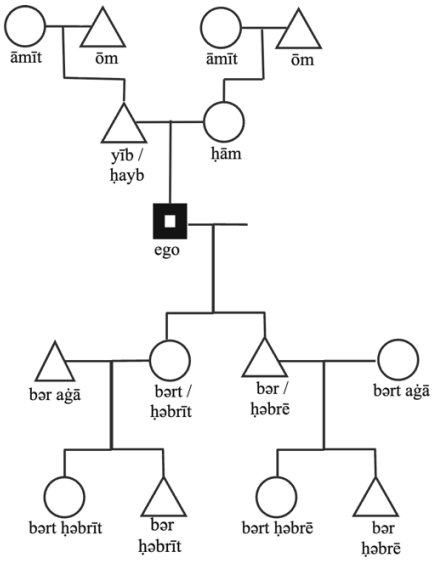

Fig. 1. Mehri Lineal Kin Terms.

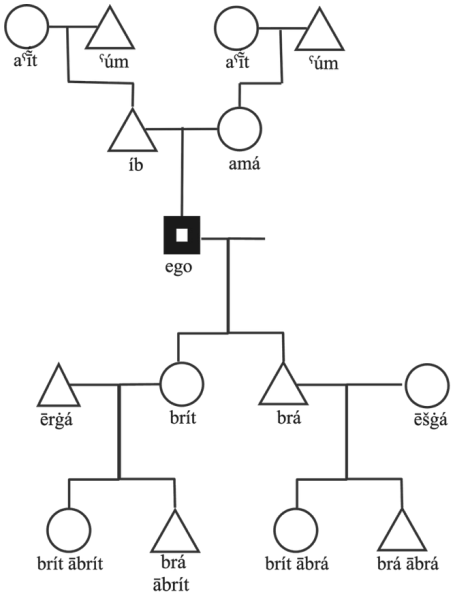

Fig. 2. Shehret Lineal Kin Terms.

3.2. Siblings

Consanguineal siblings include full- and half-siblings, who are very common among Mehri and Shehret-speaking communities due to the frequency of polygamy and re-marriage after divorce. The phenomenon of half-siblings is reflected in the presence of terms involving the consonantal root /r-b-ṣ/, denoting sharing the same mother, but not necessarily the same father.[5] We omit these terms (Mehri m. *rbáyṣ*, mpl. *rbəṣṣ̄*, f. *rbáyṣət*, fpl. *rbəṣáytən*; Shehret m. *rīṣ*, mpl. *rbṓṣ*, f. *rīṣət*, fpl. *rbṓṣta*) in Figures 3. and 4. due to the complications of linkage, but include them in the appendices. In Shehret, the common expression for half-sibling is *ġá / ġít man fróś,* literally 'brother / sister of the (marital) bed.' One of our Mehri consultants from Bit Yishōl gives the term *mən gōnəb* [lit. from the side] for half-siblings, but this is not accepted by Mehri consultants in Central Dhofar. In the figures below, half-brothers and half-sisters could be linked to either the father or the mother node. To avoid creating over-noisy figures here, we attach half-brother to the father node and half-sister to the mother node.

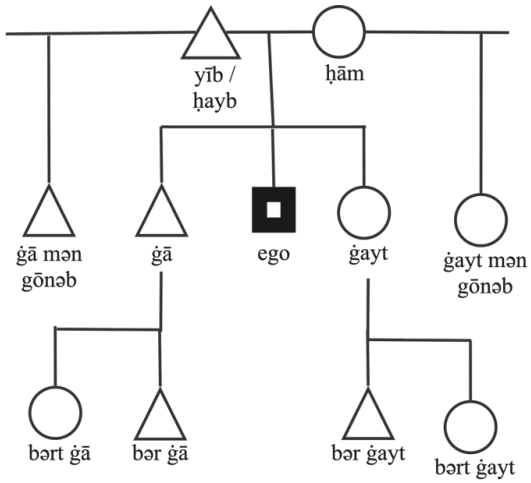

Fig. 3. Mehri Sibling Terms.

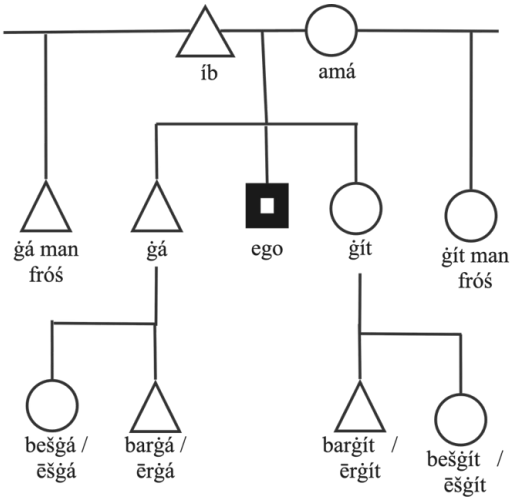

Fig. 4. Shehret Sibling Terms.

3.3. Collateral kins

Most strikingly, collateral kin terms in both Shehret and Mehri are sensitive, across generations, to whether the relative is the same gender (called 'parallel') or opposite gender (called 'cross') as the intervening parent. They are presented, as for lineal kins, in partial family tree diagrams below. We start by showing direct collateral kin. We then look at more complex relations which correspond to

[5] Note that many of our Mehri and Shehret consultants, and not only from the younger generation, interpret *rbáyṣ / rbáyṣət* (M) and *rīṣ / rīṣət* (Sh) as full siblinghood.

English terms such as 'first cousin once removed,' 'second cousin once removed,' 'great aunt,' 'great uncle.'

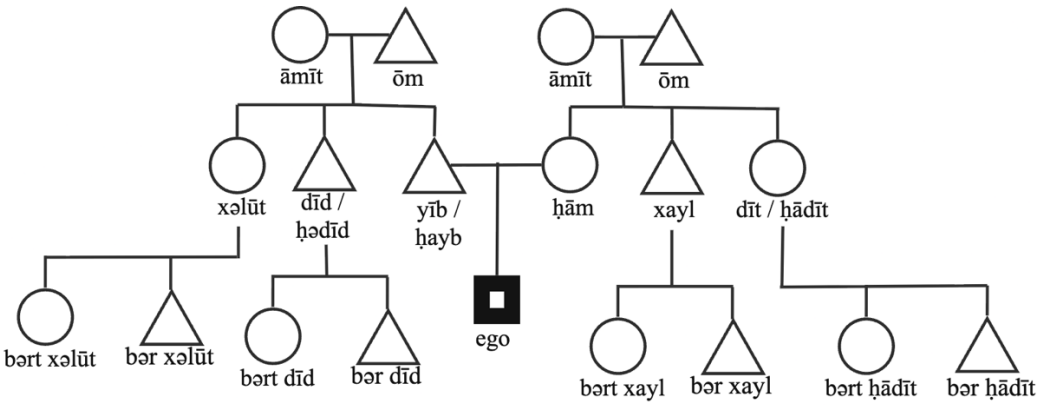

Fig. 5. Mehri Direct Collateral Terms.

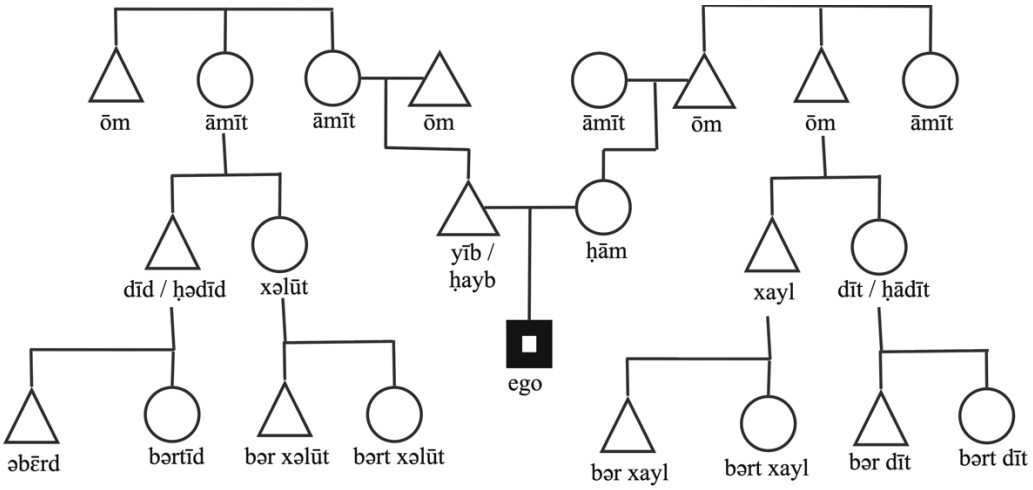

Fig. 6. Mehri Complex Collateral Terms.

Comparing Figure 5. with Figure 6., and Figure 7. with Figure 8. we see that complex collateral kin are described through terms that are used for more direct lineal and collateral kins, with the horizontal generational layer determining the term. Apart from a person's mother and father, there is no lexical distinction between closest kin and further kin. In both Shehret and Mehri, one's grandmother's sister, for example, is referred to by the same term as that for their grandmother; one's maternal grandfather's child's son is referred to by the same term as that for their maternal uncle, being of the same generation as their direct maternal uncle; and the child of one's paternal grandfather's child's son is referred to by the same term as that for their direct paternal cousins.

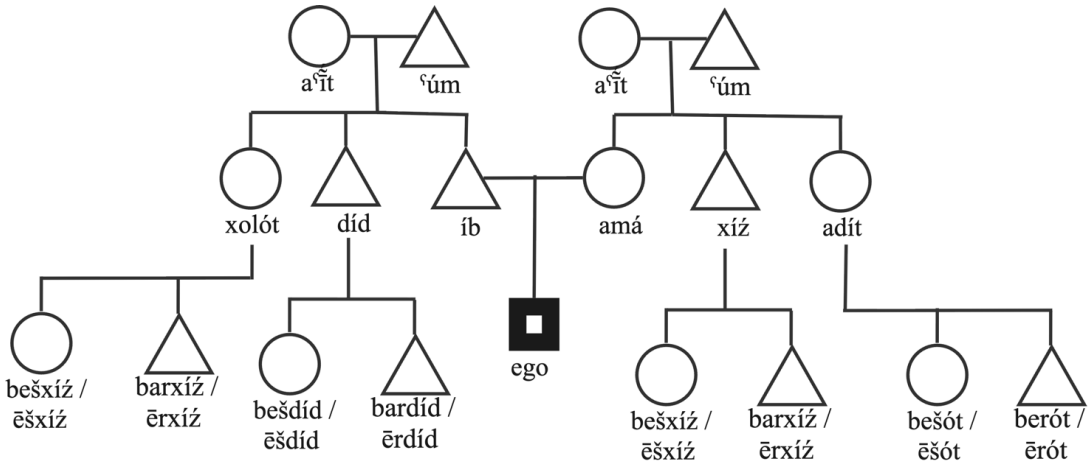

Fig. 7. Shehret Direct Collateral Terms.

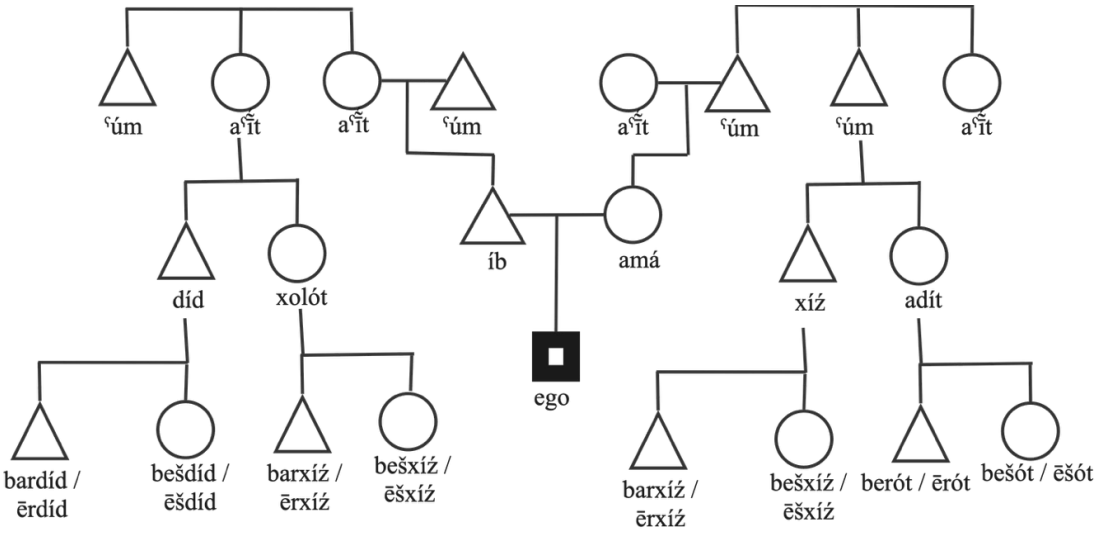

Fig. 8. Shehret Complex Collateral Terms.

The significant point of reference here is whether we are describing relations on the mother's side or on the father's side: for the mother's side, her male cousin in relation to me is *xxáyli*[6]*~exxíźi* (M~Sh) otherwise 'my maternal uncle,' her female cousin is *ḥādáyti~edíti* (M~Sh) otherwise 'my maternal aunt,' irrespective of whether they are the children of the mother's paternal or maternal uncle or aunt; for the father's side, his male cousin in relation to me is described as *ḥədáydi~edídi* (M~Sh) otherwise 'my

[6] In contrast with Arabic, nouns with possessive pronoun suffixes take the definite article. Impressionistically more salient in Mehri than in Shehret, this is realised as gemination of a nominal-initial voiceless (breathed) consonant with an optional prosthetic vowel, prefixation of a vowel in the case of a nominal-initial emphatic or voiced (unbreathed) consonant, and, in Mehri in a closed set of items, prefixation of /ḥ/ or /h/ (c.f. Simeone-Senelle 1997, 2011; Sima 2002; Dufour 2016; Rubin 2018; Watson *et al.* 2020).

paternal uncle,' his female cousin as *xxəláwti~exxolóti* (M~Sh) otherwise 'my paternal aunt,' depending on the gender of the parent, but again irrespective of whether the referents are the children of my father's paternal or maternal uncle or aunt.

4. The semantics of Shehret and Mehri kin terms

In this section, we examine semantic similarities across basic Shehret and Mehri kin terms. We then consider polysemy and the phenomenon of auto-hyponymy among certain plural kin terms. Finally, we consider the metaphorical use of kin terms.

4.1. Semantic similarities across Mehri and Shehret kin terms

In contrast to Arabic, MSAL kin terms relating to one's parent's siblings show cross and parallel gender: thus, while the brother of one's father (parallel) is *did* in Shehret, *dīd* in Mehri, the sister of one's father (cross) is based on a different root, /x-w-l/, *xolót* in Shehret, *xlūt* in Mehri. *did* (Sh) and *dīd* (M) 'paternal uncle' pattern with cross-gender *adít* (Sh) and *dīt* (M) 'maternal aunt,' and *xolót* (Sh) and *xlūt* (M) 'paternal aunt' pattern with cross-gender *xiź* (Sh) and *xayl* (M) 'maternal uncle.' The spouses of one's direct uncle and aunt usually take the cross-gender forms: thus, my paternal uncle's wife is *exxolóti* (Sh), *xxəláwti* (M) and my maternal uncle's wife is *adíti* (Sh), *ḥādáyti* (M). Note, however, that according to the third author language change may be taking place in the Shehret term for affinal kin, where the wife of my maternal uncle may be referred to as *exxolóti* as opposed to expected *adíti*, the wife of my paternal uncle as *adíti* as opposed to expected *exxolóti*, the husband of my maternal aunt as *edídi* as opposed to expected *exxíźi*, and the husband of my paternal aunt as *exxíźi* as opposed to expected *edídi*.

4.2. Polysemy

Within the semantics, several kin terms are polysemous, making suggestive relation to social custom and organisation. Thus, terms for son- and daughter-in-law in both Mehri and Shehret are the same as terms for ego's brother's child, e.g., *bərt ġā́~bešġá* 'daughter-in-law/son's daughter' (M~Sh). This reflects a general idea, though hardly a norm in practice, of marriage preference to one's father's brother's child.[7] Similarly, terms for mother- and father-in-law are the same as terms for paternal aunt

[7] Much ink has been spilled on the topic of parallel cousin marriage (or Father's brother's daughter marriage) in the SWANA societies: is it or is it not a rule, what structural-functional purposes does it serve, or what cultural ideologies of family reputation or honour underly it (c.f. Reilly 2013 for a cogent survey of these debates and an attempt to advance a genetic advantage

and paternal uncle, as in Mehri *xxəláwti* 'my mother-in-law/paternal aunt' and *ḥədáydi* 'my father-in-law/paternal uncle,' Shehret *exxolóti* 'my step-mother' and *edídi* 'my step-father.' Specific in-law terms are found only for brother- and sister-in-law, with the same consonantal root /ḥ-y-m/ for both Mehri and Shehret.

In Shehret, but not in Mehri, 'son/daughter of paternal aunt' takes the same form as 'son/daughter of maternal uncle' (*ērxízi* / *ēšxízi*), despite the fact that 'paternal aunt' (*xolót* pl. *xaléta*) does not take the same lexical form as 'maternal uncle' (*xiź* pl. *xel*).

Where a child's parents are from different tribes, the terms *bər ġayt* lit: 'son of sister' and *bərt ġayt* lit: 'daughter of sister' in Mehri, *barġít* / *bešġít* in Shehret describe someone whose mother is from the same tribe as oneself, although the mother is not one's blood sister.

4.3. Auto-hyponymy

Auto-hyponymy is a form of polysemy where the denotation of one sense of a word is properly included within the denotation of another sense of the same word, the former sense thus being a hyponym of the latter (Becker 2002). In our kin terms, auto-hyponymy is more prevalent in Mehri than it is in Shehret; however, it is found in both languages.

In Mehri, *əʿámya* (Shehret *ʿĭyī*) has the generic sense of 'my forebears' and the specific sense of 'my grandfathers;'[8] *ḥábīhəm* has the generic sense of 'their m. parents' and the specific sense of 'their m. fathers;' *xxálīsən* (Shehret *exxelĕ́sən*) has the generic sense of 'members of their f. maternal tribe' and the specific sense of 'their f. maternal uncles;' *ḥədádya* has the generic sense of 'older members of my father's [and hence my] tribe' and the specific sense of 'my paternal uncles;' *ḥəbánya* has the generic sense of 'my family,' including, for a man, his wife, and the more specific senses of 'my children' and 'my sons;' *bani daydi* has the generic sense of 'my tribe members' and the specific sense of 'sons of my paternal uncle;' *əḥḥámya* (Shehret *ḥĭ̆yī*) has the generic sense of 'the tribe into which I am married' and the specific sense of 'my brothers-in-law.' In Shehret, *ēmítī* (lit. 'my mothers') has the generic sense of 'the sisters of my mother and grandmother.'

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hypothesis)? Again, these literatures presume a more universalizing scope than we take up here. And as noted above, the communities the authors have worked with and are from will state explicitly that marriage with those closely known to the family (whether specifically paternal parallel relatives or not) is preferred for reasons of trust and wellbeing. There is no right to marriage of the father's brother's daughter in Dhofar, in general marriages are not pre-arranged, and brides themselves play a role in proposals and partner choice.

[8] Mehri and Shehret also have general terms for 'forebears,' which are only used in the sense of 'forebears,' namely Mehri *mūgṓr* and Shehret *megár*.

5. The morpho-syntax of complex kin forms

Noun modification in Mehri and Shehret most commonly involves attribution, and otherwise apposition or annexion. Complex kin forms comprising a head term and a second term involve either annexion, attribution or morphological blend. Of these, morphological blend has yet to be described for any of the MSAL.

5.1. Annexion

Annexion involves a basic undefined head term followed by a definite or indefinite following term, as in Mehri: *bər ġayt* 'son of sister,' *bani dīd* 'sons of paternal uncle,' *bər ḥādayti* 'son of my maternal aunt,' *bit iḵhōr* 'the tribe of Khor,' *bayt ibrāhīm* 'Ibrahim's family,' *bāti ṭīb* 'the daughters of Tib [camel line],' *bāl abayt* 'the owner of the house' and *bʿəli bēr* 'owners of camels; camel herders.' And as in Shehret, *br ābríti* 'the son of my daughter,' *brit ābrī* 'the daughter of my son,' *min saʿīd* 'the sons of Saʿīd/the tribe of Saʿīd,' *bet al-maʿšanī* 'the tribe of al-Maʿšani,'[9] *mut mižnáʿ* 'the daughters of Mižnaʿ [camel line]' and *baʿl ẽnzél* 'the owner of the house.'

Annexion in Mehri and Shehret, as shown in Watson (2009, 2012) and elsewhere (e.g., Simeone-Senelle 1997, 2011; Rubin 2014, 2018), is almost wholly restricted to kin terms relating to tribe or family (Mehri *bayt~bit*, Shehret *bet*), son (Mehri *bər* pl. *bani*, Shehret *bra* pl. *min*) or daughter (Mehri *bərt* pl. *bāti*, Shehret *brit / beš* pl. *mut*), or owner (Mehri *bāl* pl. *bʿəli*, Shehret *baʿl* pl. *bʿeʰl*), as shown above, and the metaphorical use of these terms, as in Mehri: *bit bḵərēt* '[animals] such as cows,' *bit faṭx* '[injuries]

[9] Whether the term *min* 'lit. sons' or *bet* 'lit. house, tribe' are used in reference to a particular sub-tribe in Shehret appears to depend on whether the second term is a personal first name, in which case *min* is used, as in: *min saʿīd*, *min ḳaṭan* and *min ʿiyā̃r*, where *saʿīd*, *ḳaṭan* and *ʿiyā̃r* are someone's first name, as opposed to *bet al-maʿšanī* 'the sub-tribe of al-Maʿšani' and *bet kšōb* 'the sub-tribe of Kšōb' where al-Maʿšani and Kašōb are not personal first names. The Shehret-speaking Ḥakli sub-tribe *min saʿīd* is distinguished from the Mehri sub-tribe *bet saʿīd*. Mehri *bər / bərt* and Shehret *bar / beš* 'son / daughter' are used in personal names, preceded by the person's first name; *bər / bar* is traditionally followed by the name of the mother and *bərt / beš* by the name of the father. In Shehret, the indefinite term, *bar*, follows a few first names ending in *-ī* or *-m*, namely *ʿalī/sālim/musalm~musallam bar ṭfol*, but not, however, *ʿazī*, a Shehret variant of *ʿalī*. In all other cases, the definite form, *ēr*, follows the first name, as in: *saʿīd/mbūrək/ʿāmir ēr ṭfōl*. According to our consultants and the native-speaker co-authors, the definite term *eš~š* is apparently used to express 'daughter of' after any female name, irrespective of the final consonant in the name, as in: *ṭfol eš-xālid*. In Arabic-based script, *eš~š* is written together with the following name, while Shehret *bar / ēr* and Mehri *bər* and *bərt* are written as separate words.

such as head wounds,' *bāti ndēt* 'the region around Ndet,' *(mdīt) bālīt abaṭḥ* '(a sea wind) that lifts up the earth;' and in Shehret: *mut ṣōb* 'the region around Sob,' *(šudər) baʿlit ḥfɛr* '(a termite hill) with holes.'

5.2. Attribution

Attribution is the most common means of noun modification in Mehri and Shehret, and involves either a noun–adjective structure or a noun–noun structure. In the case of noun–adjective structures, the attribute agrees with the head noun in number, gender and definiteness (Watson 2009, 2012; Rubin 2018), as in Mehri:

1. *ġīgēn ḳənnawn* [boy.m.s. small.m.s.] 'a small boy'
2. *ḥaybīt ərḥaymət* [camel.def.f. beautiful.def.f.s.] 'the beautiful camel'

And in Shehret:

3. *mbērɛ nīṣan* [boy.m.s. small.m.s.] 'a small boy'
4. *eyyet erhĩ̄t* [camel.def.f.s. beautiful.def.f.s.] 'the beautiful camel'

In the case of noun–noun attribution, nouns are linked by *ḏə-* in Mehri, *ɛ-* for singular and *źə-* for plural in Shehret, with the two terms agreeing in definiteness, but taking independent number and gender, as in Mehri:

5. *ḥaybīt ḏə-xxayli* [camel.def.f. ḏə-maternal.uncle.def.m.] 'my maternal uncle's camel'
6. *ḥəbūn ḏə-xxəlawti* [children.def.m. ḏə-paternal.aunt.def.f.] 'the children of my paternal aunt'

And in Shehret:

7. *eyyét ɛ-xxíźi* [camel.def.f. ɛ-maternal.uncle.def.m.my] 'my maternal uncle's camel'
8. *ĩ̄n źə-xxolóti* [children.def.m. źə-paternal.aunt.def.f.my] 'the children of my paternal aunt'

In Mehri, noun–noun attribution can be used in some complex kin terms as an alternative to annexion. In the following examples, the annexion variant is followed by ~ and the attribution alternative:

9. *bərt ḥādayti~ḥəbrīt ḏə-ḥādayti* 'the daughter of my maternal aunt'
10. *bər aġī~ḥəbrē ḏ-aġī* 'my brother's son'
11. *bāti xxayli~ḥəbəntən ḏə-xxayli* 'the daughters of my maternal uncle'

In Shehret, noun–noun attribution in kinship terms is typically confined to denoting grandchildren. Both terms are definite, linked by the plural attributor, *źə-*, as in:

12. *ǖnta ź-ēbrít* '[daughter.f.pl.def. *źə*-daughter.f.s.def.] 'the daughters of the daughter (granddaughters)'
13. *ǐn ź-ēbrá* '[son.m.pl.def. *źə*-son.m.s.def.] 'the sons of the son (grandsons)'

5.3. Morphological blends

Morphological blends involve combining part of two, or occasionally more, terms into a single phonological word – i.e. a word that takes a single primary stress. In some cases, blends can involve the whole of one term, but not both terms. Morphological blends are common in English and Arabic, but have yet to be described for MSAL. Examples of morphological blends in English include: *brunch*, which takes the onset of the first syllable of 'breakfast' and the rhyme of 'lunch;' *smog*, which takes the onset of 'smoke' and the rhyme of 'fog;' *motel*, which takes the onset of the first syllable of 'motor' and all but the first consonant of 'hotel;' *blog*, which takes the coda of 'web' and the full word 'log.' Examples of morphological blends in Arabic include: *basmala* 'to say *b-ismi llāh*,' which places the consonants from the phrase *b-ismi llāh* in a four-radical verbal stem, *taḥbaḥri* 'undersea,' taking the first part of the preposition *taḥt* and the whole of the denominal adjective *baḥri* 'sea adj.,' and *baysaṭri* 'interlinear,' taking the first part of the preposition *bayn* 'between' and the denominal adjective *saṭri* 'lineal' (Al-Jarf 2023).

Morphological blends are both more systematic and more common in Shehret than in Mehri. The two morphological blends we have found in Mehri are also dialect specific—they are attested in Mehri dialects spoken to the north of the monsoon mountains, but not in dialects spoken in western Dhofar or in Yemen. According to some speakers, they are more commonly used by women than men. They also appear to be more common with a pronoun suffix than as independent non-suffixed nouns. The Mehri co-authors believe that the presence of morphological blends for the children of one's paternal uncle in Central Dhofar may be partially due to the proximity of Shehret speakers in the region. The social importance of the children of one's paternal uncle means that these terms are heard more often than other terms. The forms themselves are not similar to those found in Shehret, but the fact of the commonality of morphological blends in Shehret may have led speakers to produce morphological blends for paternal cousins specifically as the preferred marriage partner. Blends in Mehri are used to denote the male or female child (but not children, in the plural) of one's paternal uncle—meanings which may also be expressed by annexion or attribution:

14. *əbɛ̄́rdi* 'my male paternal cousin' – definite article /ə/ on the initial element, *ḥədaydi* 'my paternal uncle' reduced to /di/, stress on the medial syllable.
15. *bərtáydi* 'my female paternal cousin' – *bərt* 'daughter of,' *ḥədaydi* reduced to *-aydi*, stress on the

medial syllable.

Shehret morphological blends are mandatory for all terms that involve the son or daughter of an uncle, aunt or sibling. In contrast to Mehri, these cannot be alternatively expressed by either annexion or attribution. We start with the example of (the) son/s of a brother:

16. *barġá / ērġá* 'son of brother / the son of the brother'
17. *barġóha / ērġóha* 'sons of brother / the sons of the brother'

Several features of Shehret complex consanguineal kin terms lead to an analysis of morphological blending rather than either annexion or attribution:

First, when defined, the definite article /e-/ occurs on the initial term (**e-barġá* > *ērġá* due to intervocalic elision of /b/), thus ruling out an annexion analysis, which requires the first term to be indefinite.

Secondly, in the plural, it is the stressed vowel of the second term (in the above case, 'brother') that expresses plurality (here, *-óha*), although the referent relates to the initial term (here, 'sons'). Compare Mehri *bani ġā* [son.pl. brother.sg.] 'sons of brother' where the initial term, *bani* 'sons,' takes the expected plural form.

Thirdly, the second element which expresses plurality is not identical to the simple plural form of the word. While, in the case of 'children of brother,' the second element is almost identical to the simple form *ġóha* 'brothers,' in the case of 'child of uncle/aunt/sister,' the second element takes a rounded vowel where the simple plural forms of 'paternal uncle,' 'paternal aunt,' 'maternal uncle,' 'maternal aunt' and 'sister' take non-rounded vowels:

18. *díd* pl. *déd* 'paternal uncle' cp. *bardód* 'sons of paternal uncle'
19. *xíź* pl. *xél* 'maternal uncle' cp. *barxól* 'sons of maternal uncle'
20. *xolót* pl. *xaléta* 'paternal aunt' cp. *barxól* 'sons of paternal aunt'
21. *adít* pl. *ādéta* 'maternal aunt' cp. *brōt* 'sons of maternal aunt'
22. *eġít* pl. *ġatéta* 'sister' cp. *barġót* 'sons of sister'

Fourthly, in the case of the daughters of uncles, aunts and sisters, the feminine gender of the referent is expressed on both the initial element (*beš* 'daughter of') and the second element of the blend.[10] The examples below highlight in **bold** the feminine gender on the second element:

23. *bešdód**ta*** 'daughters of paternal uncle' cp. *bešdíd* 'daughter of paternal uncle'
24. *bešxól**ta**~bešxóź**ta*** 'daughters of maternal uncle/paternal aunt' cp. *bešxíź* 'daughter of maternal uncle/paternal aunt'
25. *bešġó**ta*** 'daughters of sister' cp. *bešġít* 'daughter of sister'

Fifthly, in the case of 'child of maternal aunt,' the second element is a heavily reduced form (*-t*) of the lexeme 'maternal aunt:'

26. *berót / ērót* pl. *brṓt / ebrṓt* '(the) son/s of maternal aunt' cp. *adít* pl. *ādéta* 'maternal aunt'

The fact that 'cousin' is frequently used classificatorily for people of one's generation who are not the birth sons or daughters of one's father's brother has led to the term *laḥ* (cf. *ləḥḥ* 'to be close' Mehri) for disambiguation in both languages, as in:

27. *əbḗrdi laḥ / bərtáydi laḥ* (M), *ērdídi laḥ / ēšdídi laḥ* (Sh) 'my close paternal cousin (the child of my paternal uncle)'

A cousin in the sense of the child of both one's father's sister and one's mother's brother can be specified by addition of the phrase *menmún xiź bə-xolót* in Shehret, and *mān xxayl wə-xxəlūt* in Mehri, as in Shehret: *ērxíźi / ēšxíźi menmún xiź bə-xolót* 'my male / female cousin between maternal uncle and paternal aunt.'

6. The figurative use of kin terms

As discussed above (Section 4.1), terms relating to 'son' or 'daughter' also have metaphorical functions: Shehret *mut* and Mehri *bāti* 'daughters' frequently occur as the first term in an annexion phrase to describe geographical areas: e.g., Mehri *bāti ndēt* 'the area of Ndēt,' Shehret *mut sadḥ* 'the area around Sadh.'

[10] In Modern Hebrew cousin and step-child/sibling terms, gender is expressed on both the initial element and the following element, as in: *baa**t** dod**a*** 'female cousin' as opposed to *be**n** dod**e*** 'male cousin,' *baa**t** khoreg**et*** 'step-daughter' as opposed to *be**n** khoreg* 'step-brother,' and *akh**ot** khoreg**et*** 'step-sister' as opposed to *akh khoreg* 'step-brother' (Hebrew family and genealogy terms - B&F: Jewish Genealogy and More, Noam Faust p.c.).

In the expression of age, Mehri *bər* 'son of' and *bərt* 'daughter of,' Shehret *bra* 'son of' and *beš* 'daughter of' typically occur as the first term in an annexion phrase followed by the numeral: e.g., *bər xaymah* (M) *bar xĩš* (Sh) '[boy of] five [years],' *bərt hitt* (M) *beš šɛt* (Sh) '[girl of] six [years].'

7. Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined Shehret and Mehri consanguineal kin terms in terms of their patterning, their semantics, including polysemy and auto-hyponomy, and the morpho-syntax of complex kin terms. In terms of the patterning of collateral kin terms, the gender of one's parent and the generational layer rather than the closeness of the relation is of crucial relevance: thus, my grandparents' siblings (of my grandparents' generation, equivalent to English 'great aunt,' 'great uncle') are referred to by the same terms as those for 'grandmother' or 'grandfather,' my parent's cousins are referred to by the same terms as those for 'aunt' or 'uncle' (of my aunt's or uncle's generation, equivalent to English 'second cousin or first cousin once removed'), and my parent's cousins' children are referred to by the same term as 'cousin' (of my generation, equivalent to English 'second cousin once removed'). In Shehret, my parent's cousin's children's children are referred to by the same terms as those for 'niece' or 'nephew' (of the generation below mine, equivalent to English 'second cousin twice removed'). Thus, it is not the number of kinship terms that creates complexity in Shehret and Mehri kin terms, but rather the way in which they pattern and the persistence of polysemy and auto-hyponymy.

In contrast to Arabic in which blending involves shortening of one or both lexemes or extraction of a root from two lexemes, morphological blending in Shehret typically creates lexemes that cannot be concatenatively split into two shortened elements or reduced to an underlying root: *ēšxóztī* 'the daughters of my maternal uncle/paternal aunt' comprises the definite article, *beš* 'daughter of,' /o/ to indicate the plural of the whole term, and /t/, which combines with the initial element to express feminine gender of the referent.

We have two residual questions in the case of Shehret, which we have not yet solved, but, from preliminary conversations with scholars of Neo-Aramaic and Hebrew around kinship terms, may be solved at least partially by examining morphological similarities between these northern Semitic languages and Shehret:

First, given that 'daughter' takes the form *brit* in isolation, as the expression of 'my daughter' (*ibríti*) and as the expression of 'my child's daughter (*ibrít ābrī* 'my son's daughter'), what is the source of /š/ for other annexion (e.g., *beš mu^{h}n* 'whose daughter?') and morphological blend forms (e.g., *ēšóti* 'the daughter of my maternal aunt') involving 'daughter of'?

Secondly, what is the source of the round vowel in the second element of plural complex forms, irrespective of the vowel of the simple plural, as shown in examples 28–30) below? Amir Al-Kathiri suggests the round vowel appears here due to being a common marker of plurality in other nominals, although it does not appear in the simple plurals of the nouns we examine. This, however, is an issue we will leave for future work, or for future researchers:

28. *did / ded* 'paternal uncle/s' > *edídi / edédī* 'my paternal uncle/s' > *ērdídi / ērdódī* 'my paternal male cousin/s'

29. *xíź / xel* 'maternal uncle/s' > *exxíźi / exxélī* 'my maternal uncle/s' > *ērxíźi / ērxólī* 'the son/s of my maternal uncle or the son/s of my paternal aunt'

30. *ġít / ġatéta* 'sister/s' > *eġíti / eġatétī* 'my sister/s' > *ēšġít / ēšġótī* 'my sister's daughter/s'

Appendix 1. Kinship texts in Shehret and Mehri

Limitations

In collecting data for this paper, we had initial difficulty in eliciting some of the non-suffixed terms due to fact they most frequently take pronoun suffixes, in eliciting some plural forms, due to fact the singular is more common, and, in the case of Shehret, in eliciting indefinite forms, due to the fact the definite forms of kinship terms are more common. In this paper, we have not considered all possible affinal kin terms here, nor have we examined in detail the use of *bər* (M) *bar~bra* (Sh) and *bərt* (M) *beš* (Sh) in naming conventions. These issues will be the subject of future research.

Shehret

The audio of the Shehret text below can be accessed from Borealis at: https://doi.org/10.5683/SP3/FBRHSW. This is a description of kinship terms. The speaker is a male from Sadḥ in his early thirties at time of recording. The text is of interest partially because of the periphrastic ways in which the speaker describes terms before or after presenting them. Periphrastic phrases are given as NOUN źə-NOUN attribution phrases, highlighted in **bold** below:

ērġóhi / źan ***ỹn ź-ēġī́*** 'my nephews, they are **the sons of my brother**'

*yikin hini oʿ ̃y / **ī ē-mī́*** '(he) will be my grandfather, **the father of my mother**'

***ỹn źe-xxízi** / … / ebréš / yikin ērxízi* '**the sons of my maternal uncle**, his son will be my maternal cousin'

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nāṣáh ḥalū́ṭəl leš̃ b-iśēnjéta / nāṣán ɛlfénɛ / śenejək īk / b-ēmək / b-aġóhēk / b-eġatetɛ́́k

Now, I'm going to tell you about kinship terms. Now, first your kinship to your father and your mother and your brothers and your sisters.

ṭit tkin eġíti / mɛ́kɛn ġatéti / bə-ṭad yikin aġák / b-mɛ́kɛn aġohɛ́́k / ỉ̃n ź-aġóhī / yikin ērġī́ / bra ēġī́ / b-īkin ērġótī / yikin ēšġótī / ēšġótī ỉ̃n ź-aġíti / ṭit ēšġíti / mɛ́kɛn ēšġótī

One is my sister, many are my sisters. And one is your brother and many are your brothers. The children of my brother will be my brother's son, my nephew, and will be my sister's son. They will be my niece, my niece, the (female) children of my sister. One is my niece and many are my nieces.

bə-ỉ̃nɛ́́š yikin ērġóhī / ṭad yikin ērġī́ / bə-mɛ́kɛn ērġóhī / źan ỉ̃n ź-ēġī́

And his sons are my nephews: one is my nephew, and many are my nephews. Those are the sons of my brother.

ỉ̃n ź-ēġíti / ỉ̃n ź-ēġíti / źánu ỉ̃n / ỉ̃n ź-ēġíti / yikin ērġíti / her kun ɛmbērá / be-he ykin xxízhum / ēġē móhum / ỉ̃n ʿibārah[11] *yikin ērġíti / mɛ́kɛn ērġótī*

The sons of my sister. The sons of my sister. Those are the sons, the sons of my sister. [One] is my sister's son, if he's a boy, and I would be their maternal uncle, the bother of their mother. That is to say, he will be my sister's son and many are my sister's sons.

zayn[12] */ ġajiníti tkin ēšġótī / ēšġótī / ỉ̃n ź-ēġíti / ṭit tkin ēšġíti / be-mɛ́kɛn her kun mɛ́kɛn ēšġótī*

zayn ḏ́ánun ỉ̃n ź-āgohɛ́́k b-ỉ̃n ź-aġatetɛ́́k

Okay. Girls will be my sister's daughters, my sister's daughters, the children of my sister. One is my niece, and many, if there are several, my nieces. Okay, that is the children of your brothers and the children of your sisters.

zayn ēmɪ́́ / aġíts / tkin ēdíti / b-ēġás yikin híni xxízi

Okay, my mother, her sister is my maternal aunt and her brother is my maternal uncle.

īs / yikin híni oʿṳ̃́y / ī ɛ̄-mɪ́́ / b-ēmés tkin āʿḭ̃́ti / ēmɛ ēmɪ́́

Her father will be my grandfather, the father of my mother, and her mother is my grandmother, the mother of my mother.

zayn aġóhɛ ź-ēmɪ́́ / ỉ̃n źe-xxízi / ỉ̃nɛ̄š / ebrɛ́́š / yikin ērxízi / b-ēbrítš tkin ēšxízi

eġāj her mɛ́kɛn / yikin ērxólī / b-īnɛ́́ṯ tkin ēšxóztī

[11] Arabic. See also below.

[12] Arabic. See also below.

Okay, the brothers of my mother, the children of my maternal uncle, his children, his son will be my maternal male cousin and his daughter will be my maternal female cousin. The men, if there are several, are my maternal male cousins and the women are my maternal female cousins.

fhaməs̃ / ḏan ĩ̃n ź-exxízi / ĩ̃n ź-ēdíti / ġit ēmí / tkin ēšóti / teṯ / bə-her mɛ́kɛn tkin ebšə́́tī

b-ērśə́́t / yikin ĩ̃n ź-ēdíti / yikin ēróti / b-iḏ kun mɛ́kɛn yikin ebrə́́tī

Have you got it? That is the children of my maternal uncle. The children of my maternal aunt, my mother's sister, (one) is my female cousin, (if they are) a woman and if there are several they are my female cousins, and boys, they are the sons of my maternal aunt, one is my cousin, and if there are several they are my male cousins.

ḏanú ĩ̃n ź-eġátet.. / ĩ̃n ź-ēdíti / b-ĩ̃n ź-exxízi / eġohɛ́́ ź-ēmí

That's the children of the sisters [sic] .. the children of my maternal aunt and the children of my maternal uncle, my mother's siblings.

ḏanún eḳṭɛ́́ṣ kin ēmɛ ʾananka ʿ tal īb nah / ī oġohɛ́́š / aġáš edídi / b-ēġitš xxolóti / ʿibārah / b-oġohɛ́́š her mɛ́kɛn dédī / b-eġatetɛ́́š tkin xalétī / ġatét ēź-ī

That is it from my mother's side. Now I'll get on to the father, my father, his brothers, his brother is my paternal uncle and his sister is my paternal aunt, that is to say, and his brothers if there are several are my paternal uncles and his sisters are my paternal aunts, the sisters of my father.

zayn ī ɛ-ī ʿõ̃y / b-ēm ɛ-ī / a ʿĩ̃ti a ʿĩ̃ti kin ī

Okay, the father of my father is my grandfather and the mother of my father is my grandmother, my grandmother from my father('s side).

... nāṣanún / aġohɛ́́ .. ĩ̃n źe ... edídi aġa ɛ-ī / ibréš / yikin ērdídi / b-ēbrítəš ēšdídi / her kun mɛ́kɛn aġāj / yikin ērdódī / b-īnɛ́́ṯ tkin ēšdódtī / fhaməs̃ / īźán ĩ̃n ź-ēdíd

Now the brothers of .. the children of .. my paternal uncle, the brother of my father, his son is my cousin and his daughter is my female cousin. If there are several men, they are my male paternal cousins and women are my female paternal cousins. Have you got it? They are the children of the paternal uncle.

amma[13] *ĩ̃n ź-exxolót / ġit ɛ-ī / yikin ērxízi / ebrés / b-ēbríts tkin ēšxízi / lēbre ĩ̃n ź-exxíź / her kun mɛ́kɛn / yikin ērxólī / ĩ̃n ź-exxolóti / b-īnɛ́́ṯ tkin(en) ēšxóztī / ĩ̃n ź-exxolóti*

In terms of the children of my paternal aunt, the sister of my father, one is my male cousin, her son, and her daughter is my female cousin like the children of the maternal uncle

if there are several, they are my maternal cousins, the children of my paternal aunt, and the women are my paternal female cousins, the children of my paternal aunt.

[13] Arabic.

ḏan eśśináj ṭan šɛh / b-īkin aḥĩyɛ́k / ġohɛ́ ź-ettiṯk / ī e-ttéṯ / yikin dídək / b-ēmɛ̄ ɛ-ttéṯ / tiṯk ʿibārah tiṯk hɛt / ī ɛ-ttíṯk yikin edídək / b-ēmɛ̄ tteṯ / tkin xolótk

That is it for consanguineal kinship terms. There are (also) your relations by marriage, the siblings of your wife, the father of your wife is your father-in-law, and the mother of your wife, your wife, I mean your wife. The father of your wife is your father-in-law, and the mother of your wife is your mother-in-law.

tkin men mḥāramēk[14] *təḳór bes ar bə-karféf o tijiz hek lo / fhaməs̃ / ol-ēmes b-ol āʕĩ̃ts / b-ol ġatetɛ́s mḥaramēt mwaḳḳat*[15] */ tkínən / fhaməs̃ / zayn aġohɛ́s aġóhɛ ź-etteṯ / ḥĭ̃yī / b-aġatetɛ́s ḥĩ̃tī / tkin ḏanún śinéj*

She is forbidden to you in marriage, you can just greet her on the face. She is not permitted for you (to marry). Have you got it? Neither her mother nor her grandmother nor her sisters. They are forbidden to you for a certain period. Have you got it? Okay, her brothers, the brothers of the wife. They are my brothers-in-law and her sisters are my sisters-in-law. That is it for kinship terms.

Mehri

The audio and transcribed and translated ELAN file of the Mehri text below can be accessed from Borealis at: https://doi.org/10.5683/SP3/FBRHSW. The speaker is a male from Rabkut who was in his early twenties at the time of recording. This text describes terms of endearment that can be used by parents or grandparents towards their children.

20161109_MehriRabkut_M001_paternalendearmentterms

hənīn ḥābū / wət ḥaybək / wəlā ʾōmək / wəlā məṭṭawr ḥāmēk tʾawmər hūk ḥāgawri / ā ḥāgawri āmōl ūṭoh / wəlā yʾamrəm ləfrēḥ hōh bə-ḥāgawri / yaxah ləfrēḥ būk / ā ḥāgawri / yʾamrəm hūk ḥāgawri / wə-hēt tftxayrən / l-hoba-l .. mən kēṯər hōbak / txawdəm hīhəm wə-təlḥōḳ līhəm / yaxah hēt ḥāgūr

With us, people when your father or your grandfather or sometimes your mother says to you my slave, ah, my slave, do such and such, or they say, let me delight in my slave: that is, I should be happy with you, my slave. They call you my slave. And you are proud because of the amount that you work for them and help them, it is as if you are a slave.

[14] Arabic.

[15] Arabic.

mġōrən hēm yʾamrəm hūk / hēt ḥāgawri / lagrē hōbak hēt / wə-hēt tftxayrən / wət āmūr hūk ūṭōmah / wət … wə-yʾamrəm hūk / arībay / wəlā rbāʾāni[16] */ wəlā ḥagawri / wəlā ḥāgērēni*[17]

wəṭōmah yʾamrəm ūṭōmah

Then they say to you, oh my slave! So that you, you are proud that they call you that when… and they can also call you my friend, or my little friend, or my slave or my little slave. Like that, they can say such and such.

Appendix 2. Shehret kinship terms

In Appendix 2., definite forms of unsuffixed singular and plural terms are given in all cases due to the relative unpredictability and optionality of the definite article in Shehret.

Gloss	*Singular*	*Plural*	*Suffixed Singular*	*Suffixed Plural*
Grandfather	*ʿum*	*ʿim*	*oʿúī*	*ʿĭyī*
Grandmother	*aʿĭ̃t*	*aʿĭ̃ti*	*áʿĭ̃ti*	*áʿĭ̃tī*
Forebears		*megár*		*ɛ̃̄gárī*
Mother	*amá*	*amíti*	*ɛ́mī*	*ɛ̄mítī*
Father	*íb*	*éta*	*ī*	*étī*
Daughter	*brít*	*mut*[18] */ ŭ̃nta*	*bríti~ibríti*	*ŭ̃ntī*
Son	*brá*	*min / ĭ̃n*	*ibrí*	*ĭ̃nī*
Children	—	*min / ĭ̃n*	—	*ĭ̃nī*

[16] Diminutive.

[17] Diminutive.

[18] Note *mut* ‘daughters’ as opposed to Johnstone’s (1981) incorrect *bontə* (repeated in Kogan 2011: 235). *ʿim* is translated in al-Mashali (1997) as Arabic *ʿamm* ‘paternal uncle.’

Granddaughter (daughter of son)	*brít ābrá*	*mut / ŭ̃nta (ŭ̃nta ź-ēbrá)*	*brít ābrí / ibrít ābrí*	*ŭ̃nta ź-ēbrí*
Granddaughter (daughter of daughter)	*brít ābrít*	*mut / ŭ̃nta (ŭ̃nta ź-ēbrít)*	*brít ābríti*	*ŭ̃nta ź-ēbríti*
Grandson (son of son)	*brá ābrá*	*min / ĭ̃n (ĭ̃n ź-ēbrá)*	*brá ābrí*	*ĭ̃n ź-ēbrí*
Grandson (son of daughter)	*brá ābrít*	*min / ĭ̃n (ĭ̃n ź-ēbrít)*	*brá ābríti*	*ĭ̃n ź-ēbríti*
Father's brother	*díd*	*déd*	*edídi*	*edédī*
Mother's brother	*xíź*	*xél*	*exxíźi*	*exxélī*
Mother's sister	*adít*	*ādéta*	*adíti*	*ādétī*
Father's sister	*xolót*	*xaléta*	*exxolóti*	*exxalétī*
Brother	*ġá*	*ġóha*	*aġí*	*aġohḯ*
Sister	*ġít*	*ġatéta*	*eġíti*	*eġatétī*
Brother from mother	*rīṣ́*	*rbo̅ṣ́*	*erḯṣ́i*	*erbo̅ṣ́ī*
Sister from mother	*rḯṣ́ət*	*rbo̅ṣ́ta*	*erḯṣ́ti*	*erbo̅ṣ́tī*
Brother's son	*barġá / ērġá*	*barġóha / ērġóha*	*ērġí*	*ērġóhī*
Brother's daughter	*bešġá / ēšġá*	*bešġóha / ēšġóha*	*ēšġí*	*ēšġóhī*
Sister's son	*barġít / ērġít*	*barġót / ērġót*	*ērġíti*	*ērġótī*
Sister's daughter	*bešġít / ēšġít*	*bešġóta / ēšġóta*	*ēšġíti*	*ēšġótī*
Sister's husband or Wife's brother	*ḥim*	*ḥĭ̃ʔ~ḥəmŭ́t*	*ḥĭ̃y*	*ḥĭ̃̆yī*
Brother's wife or Husband's sister	*ḥĭ̃t*	*ḥĭ̃̆ti*	*ḥĭ̃̆tti*	*ḥĭ̃̆tī*
Father's brother's son	*bardíd / ērdíd*	*bardód / ērdód*	*ērdídi*	*ērdódī*
Father's brother's daughter	*bešdíd / ēšdíd*	*bešdódta / ēšdódta*	*ēšdídi*	*ēšdódtī*
Mother's brother's son	*barxíź / ērxíź*	*barxól / ērxól*	*ērxíźi*	*ērxólī*
Mother's brother's daughter	*bešxíź / ēšxíź*	*bešxólta~bešxózta / ēšxólta~ ēšxózta*	*ēšxíźi*	*ēšxóltī~ ēšxóztī*

Mother's sister's son	*berót / ērót*	*brṓt / ebrṓt*	*ēróti*	*ebrṓtī*
Mother's sister's daughter	*bešót / ēšót*	*bšṓt / ebšṓt*	*ēšóti*	*ebšṓtī*
Half-brother	*ġá man fróś*	*ġóha man fróś*	*aġí man fróś*	*aġóhī man fróś*
Half-sister	*ġít man fróś*	*ġatéta man fróś*	*eġíti man fróś*	*eġatétī man fróś*

Appendix 3. Mehri kinship terms

In Appendix 3., definite forms of the unsuffixed singular and plural terms are given after a forward slash only where they have unpredictable forms, as in: *bər / ḥəbrē* 'son,' *dīt / ḥādīt* 'maternal aunt.'

Gloss	*Singular*	*Plural*	*Suffixed singular*	*Suffixed plural*
Grandmother	*āmīt*	*āmūtən*	*āmayti*	*āmətya*
Grandfather	*ōm*	*awm*	*ōmi*	*aʿəmya*
Forebears		*mūgōr*		*əmūgarya*
Mother	*ḥām*	*ḥāmūtən*	*ḥāmay*	*ḥāmətya*
Father	*yīb / ḥayb*	*ḥawb*	*ḥaybi*	*ḥəbya*
Daughter	*bərt / ḥəbrīt*	*bāti / ḥəbəntən*	*ḥəbrayti*	*ḥəbəntya*
Son	*bər / ḥəbrē*	*bani / ḥəbūn*	*ḥəbray*	*ḥəbənya*
Children		*ḥəbūn*		*ḥəbənya*
Daughter of daughter	*bərt ḥəbrīt*	*bāti ḥəbrīt*	*ḥəbrīt ḏə-ḥəbrayti*	*ḥəbəntən ḏə-ḥəbrayti*
Son of daughter	*bər ḥəbrīt*	*bani ḥəbrīt*	*ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥəbrayti*	*ḥəbūn ḏə-ḥəbrayti*
Daughter of son	*bərt ḥəbrē*	*bāti ḥəbrē*	*ḥəbrīt ḏə-ḥəbray*	*ḥəbəntən ḏə-ḥəbray*
Son of son	*bər ḥəbrē*	*bani ḥəbrē*	*ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥəbray*	*həbūn ḏə-ḥəbray*
Sister	*ġayt*	*ġawtən*	*aġayti*	*aġətya*
Brother	*ġā*	*ġayw*	*aġī*	*aġawya*
Brother from mother	*rbayṣ*	*rbəṣā*	*ərbayṣi*	*ərbəṣāya*
Sister from mother	*rbayṣat*	*rbəṣawtən*	*ərbəṣti*	*rbəṣətya*
Half-brother	*ġā mən gōnəb*	*ġayw mən gōnəb*	*aġī mən gōnəb*	*aġawya mən gōnəb*
Half-sister	*ġayt mən gōnəb*	*ġawtən mən gōnəb*	*aġayti mən gōnəb*	*aġətya mən gōnəb*

Mother's sister	*dīt / ḥādīt*	*dūtən / ḥādūtən*	*ḥādayti*	*ḥādətya*
Mother's sister's daughter	*bərt ḥādīt*	*bāti ḥādīt*	*ḥəbrīt ḏə-ḥādayti*	*ḥəbəntən ḏə-ḥādayti*
Mother's sister's son	*bər ḥādīt*	*bani ḥādīt*	*ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥādayti*	*ḥəbūn ḏə-ḥādayti*
Father's brother	*dīd / ḥədīd*	*ḥədūd*	*ḥədaydi*	*ḥədədya*
Father's brother's daughter	*bərt dīd*	*bāti dīd*	*bərt ḥədaydi / bərtaydi*	*bāti daydi*
Father's brother's son	*bər dīd*	*bani dīd*	*bər ḥədaydi / əbērdi*	*bani daydi*
Mother's brother	*xayl*	*xawl*	*xxayli*	*xxəlya / xxēya*
Mother's brother's daughter	*bərt xayl*	*bāti xayl*	*bərt əxxayli / ḥəbrīt ḏə-xxayli*	*bāti xxayli / ḥəbəntən ḏə-xxayli*
Mother's brother's son	*bər xayl*	*bani xayl*	*bər xxayli / ḥəbrē ḏə-xxayli*	*bani xxayli / ḥəbūn ḏə-xxayli*
Father's sister	*xlūt*	*xəwātən*	*əxxəlawti*	*əxxəwātya*
Father's sister's daughter	*bərt xəlūt*	*bāti xəlūt*	*bərt əxxəlawti / ḥəbrīt ḏə-xxəlawti*	*bāti xxəlawti / ḥəbəntən ḏə-xxəlawti*
Father's sister's son	*bər xəlūt*	*bani xəlūt*	*bər xxəlawti / ḥəbrē ḏə-xxəlawti*	*bani xxəlawti / ḥəbūn ḏə-xxəlawti*
Daughter of brother	*bərt aġā*	*bāti (a)ġā*	*bərt aġī / ḥəbrīt ḏ-aġī*	*bāti ġī / ḥəbəntən ḏ-aġī*
Daughter of sister	*bərt ġayt*	*bāti ġayt*	*bərt ġayti / ḥəbrīt ḏ-aġayti*	*bāti ġayti / ḥəbəntən ḏ-aġayti*
Son of brother	*bər ġā*	*bani ġā*	*bər (a)ġī / ḥəbrē ḏ-aġī*	*bani ġī / ḥəbūn ḏ-aġī*
Son of sister	*bər ġayt*	*bani ġayt*	*bər (a)ġayti / ḥəbrē ḏ-aġayti*	*bani ġayti / ḥəbūn ḏ-aġayti*
Sister-in-law	*ḥəmīt*	*ḥəmūtən*	*əḥḥəmayti*	*ḥəmətya*
Brother-in-law	*ḥaym*	*ḥawm*	*əḥḥaymi*	*əḥḥəmya*
Co-wife	*śrayt*	*śwarra*	*aśrayti*	*aśwarraya*

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