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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF FAMILY NAMES IN JORDAN

1. INTRODUCTION

Linguists and anthropologists have long recognized the importance of studying first names to the exclusion of family names in various socio-cultural contexts. (See Akinnaso 1980; Kimenyi 1978; Mehrotra 1979; Bean 1980; and Abd-el-Jawad 1985).

This situation requires a slight modification in the sense that further studies on family names are needed to supplement or reinforce our understanding of the socio-cultural factors which determine the selection of names within the framework of naming systems. This study is an attempt in this direction.

It will show to what extent they reflect the dominant attitudes and socio-cultural values of the community. In addition, it will show what other kinds of information, if any are encoded in the family system.

In a typical situation of communication between two strangers in the Jordanian context, a favorite topic which surfaces subsequent to a few social exchanges is the inquiry about the family name. One interlocutor asks the other conversant who responds unhesitatingly about his family name; a situation which is typically followed by the other interlocutor asking about the family name of his partner. Knowledge of a family name of an interlocutor makes one then inquire further about friends, acquaintances, administrators or public figures bearing the same name.

In addition to reflecting the dominant attitudes and the socio-cultural values of the community, family names serve as an index of the individual's membership in a large group (the family or the tribe) and consequently in a larger entity which is the community at large. Family names derived from place names and geographic areas reinforce the name bearer's feelings of originality and rights of settlement which are derived from close or distant relatives inhabiting the area.

Well-known family names are a source of pride to their bearers regardless of the social role and status of individual family members. The use of such names has an almost magical power as it helps the name bearers to climb high on the ladder of social mobility, secure better job opportunities, and even win in parliamentary or municipal elections. Even individuals who barely get to the point of self-realization boast about the accomplishments of their kin and relatives and their mobility or high standing. This conforms to a culturally

loaded statement /saʕ u raʔ/; /saʕ/ meaning lineage that can be traced far back in history, and /raʔ/ 'head', implies repute, esteem, and respectable social status.

This explains why the majority of higher positions in the public administrative hierarchy requires in addition to outstanding abilities and academic certification, the bearing of family names which have been recognized nationwide. Sometimes individual credentials alone may not qualify competent people to occupy their potential positions within the system.

Although people have been known to stick firmly to their family names regardless of their semantic referents, in some cases and due to security factors, one does not hesitate to abandon or change his family name. Prior to the establishment of a centralized government in Jordan tribes were constantly engaged in hostilities, attacks and counter-attacks. It was therefore usual for someone who murdered or slaughtered an enemy from another tribe to flee and seek refuge and protection in far-off land. As further protection, he would not reveal his first name, family name or identity, lest the deceased fellow's relatives discover his whereabouts and avenge his death.[1]

The data for this study is based on a large collection of names representing all social and geographic areas in the country. A list of names of students enrolled at Yarmouk University for the first semester 1996/1997, totaling about 14.500 comprised the data for this study.

The author conducted a survey in which a random sample of family names was chosen. The survey aimed at finding the family names' histories, the occasions motivating their use and the socio-cultural meaning attached to them.

2. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

In Arabic nouns are either deverbal, that is, they can be derived from verbs such as /muftaH/ 'key' derived from the triliteral root /f-t-H/, or denominative, that is they can be derived from nouns such as /kulaib/ 'small dog', derived from /kalb/ 'dog'. Family names in Jordan, however, are derived from nouns, verbs or adjectives. The family names /kleib/ 'small dog' derived from /kalb/ 'dog', /jarraH/, 'Surgeon' derived from the triliteral root /J-r-H/ 'injured', and /9urah/ pl., and the one-eyed derived from /?a9war/ are some instances of family names derivation in Jordanian colloquial Arabic.

Prior to discussing in detail the various forms that Arab family names can take in Jordan, it is worthwhile to pinpoint two aspects which are intrinsic to most of them; namely the use of the definite article /-?al/, and the use of the *nisba* adjectives, sometimes referred to as relative adjectives. The use of the definite article /-?al/ is optional amongst members of the

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[1]   Al-Abbadi (1985: 98) reports that "someone who sought protection stayed with a tribe leader for 30 years, without having to reveal his true name or identity".

same family or tribe; it is not, therefore, unusual to find one cousin using /ʔal/ and the other dropping it in their use of family name.

When the definite article is used, however, the /l/, is pronounced and is not assimilated to the first consonant if the initial consonant of the family name belongs to this group, (b, m, f, g, x, w, k, q, H, h, 9); the /l/ assimilates when preceding any of the following consonants (d, t, s, z, S, T, n, j, r, š). Here, we have a case of regressive assimilation.

> "Regressive assimilation, in which one segment influences another that precedes it, is somewhat more common than progressive assimilation." (Langacker 1972: 270)

The *nisba* adjective, sometimes known as the relative adjective is used "to indicate something characteristic of, or having to do with what the underlying word designates" (Qafisheh 1977: 149). It is formed by suffixing *-i* to the word, sometimes with appropriate stem changes.

The following examples of family names derived from first names with no stem changes:

Omari	derived from Omar
xalidi	derived from xalid
maliki	derived from malik

Likewise, family names can be derived from collective nouns referring to nationality or town with the addition of the /-i/ suffix:

/ʔarmani/	derived from /ʔarman/ 'Armenians'
/šarkasi/	derived from /šarkas/ 'Circissians'
/ʔalbahi/	derived from /ʔalban/ 'Albanians'
/SalTi/	'Somebody coming from the town of Salt'.
/karaki/	'Somebody coming from the town of Kerak'.

Some other family names derived from town or village names ending with /-a/, by lengthening this ending and adding a /-w-/ before the /-i/ ending as in the following:

miska   miska   miskawi   ('Somebody coming from the village of Miska')

Other family names that follow the same pattern are:

/silawi/	'Somebody coming from the village of Sila'.
/gazzawi/	'Somebody coming from the Gaza strip'.
/Heifawi/	'Somebody coming from Haifa'.

Family names derived from compound names of towns or villages are exceptions to the above. For instance, /bajjali/ which is derived from Beit Jala, a town in the West Bank, and

/saHuri/ derived from Beit Sahur in the West Bank, and finally /talHami/ derived from Bethlehem.

Family names can take one of the following forms:

1) Some family names are in the form of sound feminine plural with the suffix ending /-at/ as in /wardat/ 'roses', /jaradat/ 'locusts', /bšarat/ 'good omens'.

2) A second group of family names takes the *broken plural*[2] pattern /f9ul/, which is derived from the masculine singular pattern /fi9il/ or /fa9il/, with the addition of the definite article /?al/ as is shown by the following:

/?an-nsur/	pl. 'eagles', derived from /nisir/
/?aš-šbul/	pl. 'cubs', derived from /šibil/
/?aS-Squr/	pl. 'hawks', derived from /Saqir/

Some family names are derived from adjectives of the /fa9lan/ pattern; these are taken from the verb patterns /fa9ila/ as shown below:

/sakrah/	'drunk', derived from the verb /sakira/ 'got drunk'.
/šab9ah/	'full', derived from the verb /šabi9a/ 'became full'.
/farHah/	'happy', derived from the verb /fariHa/ 'became happy'.

Other family names are derived from the adjectives of defect having the broken plural pattern /fu9lan/, which is derived from the masculine singular adjectives of defect with the pattern /?af9al/ as shown in the following:

/?aT-Turšah/	pl. 'The deaf', derived from /?aTraš/
/?al-9urjah/	pl. 'The lame', derived from /?a9raj/
/?al-qur9ah/	pl. 'The bald', derived from /?aqra9/
/?al-9urah/[3]	pl. 'the-one-eyed', derived from /?a9war/

3) Some family names of the pattern /fa99al/ are derived from verbal adjectives of the form /fa9il/. The former adds the idea of intensiveness or habit. "Hence, it is called the noun of intensiveness" (Wright 1981: 137), or intensive participle form. Many family names

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2   Broken Plurals are formed from the singular by changing the internal structure of the word, not by adding suffixes as in the case of sound plurals. There are a number of pluralizing patterns, a few of which can be predicted from the singular pattern. Wright, however, believes this plural is called broken "because it is more or less altered from the singular by the addition or elision of consonants, or the change of vowels" (1981: 192).

3   These family names with the defect pattern /fu9lan/ are used exclusively in the town of Tafileh, South of Jordan.

associated with certain professions have the /fa99al/ pattern, with the definite article /-?al/ being added as in the following

/?az-zammar/	'he who plays the flute'
/?as-sabbak/	'The Plumber'
/?al-HaTTab/	'The wood-cutter'
/?al-9aTTar/	'The perfume-seller'
/?al-xayyaT/	'The tailor'

4) The fourth group of family names is derived from diminutives which are used to indicate affection or endearment. Two patterns are common here: /fa9il/ which is turned into /fwe9il/ in the diminutive, and /fa9l/ which becomes /f9el/ in the diminutive. In the /f9eil/ pattern, however, the feminine plural ending /-at/ is suffixed, in some family names as shown below:

/salim/ prop. noun	/sweilim/ dim. sg.	
/xalid/ prop. noun	/xweilid/ dim. sg.	
/kalb/	/kleib/[4]	
/mahd/	/mheid/	/mheidat/
/baHr/	/bHeir/	

5) Another category of family names is formed by noun constructs which consist of two noun phrases. The first element consists of the indefinite noun phrase /?abu/ 'father of', or /bani/ 'children', and a second element which is usually a proper noun as shown in these names:

/?abu-Haydar/
/?abu-xaTir/
/?abu-9isa/

/?abu/ can also precede feminine proper nouns to form family names as shown below:

/?abu sara/	'the father of Sara'.
/?abu layla/	'the father of Layla'.
/?abu raHmi/	'the father of raHmi'.
/?abu su9ad/	'the father of su9ad'.

/?abu/ can also be followed by masculine dual nouns in the accusative or genitive case, or masculine singular nouns as shown below:

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[4] /kleib/ is used in Jordanian Colloquial Arabic, but in Modern Standard Arabic /kulaib/ is used instead as in the pattern /fu9ail/. The same is true of /Hjeir/.

/?abu 9aqlein/	lit. 'the father of two brains'.
/?abu rasein/[5]	lit. 'the father of two heads'.
/?abu 9inein/	lit. 'the father of two eyes'.
/?abu 9aqil/	lit. 'the father of one brain'.
/?abu ras/	lit. 'the father of one head'.
/?abu 9ein/	lit. 'the father of one eye'.

Finally /?abu/ can be followed by collective or uncountable nouns denoting animals or plants as in the following:

/?abu ga9ud/	lit. 'the father of young camel'.
/?abul 9adas/	lit. 'the father of lentils'.
/?abu bagar/	lit. 'the father of cattle'.
/?abul HummuS/	lit. 'the father of chick peas'.

As mentioned earlier /bani/[6] means 'children' or 'family' of, and is therefore always followed by first names to form family names as in the following:

/bani xalid/	'the children of Khalid'
/bani Hasan/	'the children of Hasan'.
/bani hani/	'the children of Hani'
/bani 9aTa/	'the children of 9aTA'

6) The last group of family names takes the form of the first name of a great grandfather with or without the prefixing of the definite article /?al/ as shown in the following:[7]

> /Hussein/
> /xalīl/
> /?al-kayid/
> /?al-manSur/
> /?an-naSir/

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3. SOCIO-CULTURAL AND CONTEXTUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FAMILY NAMES

The analysis of data shows that family names in Jordan reflect the social and cultural atmosphere and atmosphere and also reveal the dominant values of the community at large. Family names in the Jordanian context fulfill a variety of functions; first, they express social values and reflect religious affiliations and beliefs. Secondly, they pinpoint the original habitation of ancestors, be it a hamlet, town, village, or even a foreign country; besides this, they reflect the natural environment or objects from nature, such as animals, birds, insects, plants or flowers. Thirdly, They can shed some light on the social status of the family and the type of jobs that may have been peculiar to a certain family. Family names derived from profession names may indicate the past standing of the family and the social class that family members belonged to. Also, they can shed light on the cultural group (Pastoral, rural or urban) to which the family belonged in the past. Finally, they specify favourable bodily features or physical defects that may have been peculiar of a distant relative or common amongst some ancestors.

3.1. Names Expressing Social Values and Religious Attitudes

Some family names express (reflect) socially acceptable values and religious affiliations of the community. The following are the most common.

1) 'Beauty', in all names derived from the root /Hsn/ or /jml/ as in /mHeisin/, /Hasanat/, /maHasni/.

2) 'Guidance and religiousness', in all names derived from the root /hdy/ as in /?al-muhtadi/, /?al-hadi/ and /?al-mahdī/.

3) 'Happiness and joy', in all names derived from the roots /s9d/, /frH/, as in /Sa9adah/, /sa9adat/, /?abu sa9id/, /s9eidah/, /ifreiHat/, /?abu-farHa/, and /?al-faraH/.

4) 'Honor', in all derived from the root /šrf/ as in /?aš-šarīf/, /aš-šurufat/, /?aš-šurafa/.

5) 'Justice', in all names derived from the root /9dl/ as in /?abul-9adil/, /?al-9adil/, /?abu-9adīla/.

6) 'Luck and good omen', in all names derived from /bšr/ as in /bšarat/, /bašaireh/, /?al-bašīr/.

7) 'Kindness and mercy', in all names derived from /rHm/ as in /rHeimat/, /?abu-raHma/, /raHaymeh/.

8) 'Peace, security, and safety', in all names derived from /slm/ as in /assleimat/, /salaymeh/, /?al-maslamahi/.

9) 'Piety and righteousness', in all names derived from /SlH/ as in /SawalHa/, /maSalHa/, /SalaHat/, /?aS-SaliH/, /?aS-SalaH/.

10) 'Sincerity', in all names derived from the root /Sdq/ and /wfy/ as in /?aS-Sadiq/, /?abus-Sadiq/ and /?abul-wafa/.

11) 'Success', in all names derived from the root /flH/ as in /?al-faliH/, /fleiHat/, /?al-mifliH/, /?al-flayyiH/.

12) 'Thankfulness and gratitude to God', in all names derived from the root /Hmd/ as in /?al-Hamid/, /?al-maHumud/, /?al-Hmeidi/, /Hmeidat/, and /Hamaydeh/.

13) 'Wisdom', in all names derived from the root /Hkm/ and /ršd/ as in /?al-Hakim/, /?abu-Hakmi/, and /ar-rašdah/, /rawašdi/, /iršeidat/, and /ar-rašid/.

"Religious feelings and affiliations often reflect on the lifestyle, patterns of thinking, and consequently the linguistic behavior including naming."   (Abd-el-Jawad 1985: 80)

The use of religious family names is in line with the above quotation. The following are some of the names that are derived from the root /9bd/ 'to pray': /?al-9abid/, /?al-9abidi/, /9beidat/, /9abbadi/ and /9awabdi/.

Furthermore, there are some family names which are derived from the word /?al-Hajj/, pilgrimmage (to Mecca), such as /?al-Hajjaj/ m., 'the pilgrim', /?al-Hjuj/ m., 'the pilgrims', and /Hajjat/ f., 'pilgrims'. Other family names are directly related to Christianity and the Clergymen and this is obvious in names such as /?al-xuri/ 'the priest', /qissis/ 'pastor', and /qsus/ 'pastors'.

3.2. Names with Contextual Significance

In this category we will discuss how some family names have been derived from town or village names or other well-known places of historical or geographical significance. Furthermore, we will show how other names have been derived from the natural environment, and objects from nature, such as animals, birds, insects, plants and flowers. The following family names are derived from place names:

/?al-xalili/	derived from /?al-xalil/ 'Hebron';
/?al-Hurahi/	derived from /Hurah/ the border area between Jordan and Syria;
/?al-m9ahi/	derived from /Ma9ah/ a town in the south of Jordan;
/?aš-šubaki/ and /?aS-SalTi/	derived from /?aš-šubak/ and /?aS-SalT/ respectively, two towns in Jordan;
/?an-nabulsi/	derived from /nablus/, a town in the West Bank of Jordan;
/?ar-rabaDi/	derived from Al-rabad Castle in the north of Jordan.

As stated earlier some family names refer to natural phenomena and objects from nature as the following:

/ʔal-waɖi/	'the valley'
/ʔal-widyah/	'the valleys'
/ʔal-maTar/	'the rain'
/ʔal-Hajar/	'the stone'
/ʔabu-hlaɫ/	'the father of (having the quality of a crescents)'
/ʔabu-nijim/	'the father of (having the quality of a star)'
/bani-Saxr/	coll. noun, 'the children of rock'
/ʔat-tal/	'the hill'
/ʔas-sahlī/	adj., 'related to the plain'
/ʔar-r9uɖ/	'the thunders'

Another category of names is directly associated with ferocious animals or birds of prey. One interpretation for the adoption of such names is to deter would-be "trespassers" or intruders from attacking those names bearers. Prior to the establishment of a centralized Government in Jordan, tribes were constantly engaged in a form of aggressive behavior. One tribe under the leadership of a *sheikh* 'leader' would attack another tribe over territorial rights and water resources, steal sheep and cattle and kill male fighters. The notion of /ʔal-gazw/ 'tribal assault' was very common amongst powerful tribes. For instance, the Bani Sakhr tribe was constantly hostile and belligerent to the Balqa tribes; also the Bani Attaya would occasionally attack members of /Ass9idiyin/ (for further details see Al-Abbadi 1985: 133). In view of this hostile atmosphere it was imperative to use such family names to arouse feelings of fear and non-belligerence amongst potential enemy.

The following family names are derived from animal and bird names:

/ʔal-ʔasad/	'the lion'
/ʔal-HiSah/	'the horse (steed)'
/ʔan-nimir/	'the lion'
/ʔal-waɫwi/	'the coyote'
/ʔaj-jamal/	'the camel'
/ʔaš-šibil/	'the lion's cub'
/ʔaš-šbuɫ/	'the cubs'
/ʔal-baɀ/	sg., 'the falcon'
/ʔaS-Squɼ/	pl., 'the hawks'
/ʔan-nsuɼ/	pl., 'the eagles'

Other family names are, however, related to less ferocious or to domesticated animals and birds and insects:

/?al-xaruf/	sg., 'the sheep'
/xurfah/	pl., 'sheep'
/?al-bis/	sg., 'the pussey cat'
/?abu-gazalla/	'the father of gazelle'
/guzlah/	'gazelles'
/Hamam/	coll. noun, 'pigeons'
/Habaš/	'turkey'
/?abu-dyak/	'the father of roosters'
/?az-zaglul/	'the young pigeon'
/?al-farx/	'the young bird'
/?S-SarSur/	'the cockroach'
/?al-far/	'the mouse'
/jaradat/	pl., 'locusts'

Some family names are related to plants, flowers, fruit, and vegetables as shown by the following:

/?al-lawzi/	rel. adj., 'of or related to almond'
/?al-xarrub/	coll. noun, 'the carob'
/?bul-bandura/	coll. noun, 'having the quality of (lit. father of) tomatoes'
/?abul-HumuS/	'having the quality of (lit. father of) chick peas'
/?abut-tīn/	'having the quality of (lit. father of) figs'
/?abul-9adas/	'having the quality of (lit. father of) lentil'
/?abur-rummah/	'having the quality of (lit. father of) pomegranates'
/?abu-9innab/	'having the quality of (lit. father of) berry'
/?abu-zahra/	'having the quality of (lit. father of) a flower'
/?ar-riHani/	rel. adj., 'of or related to basil'
/?as-sa9afīn/	pl., 'palm-leaves'
/fleifil/	dim. coll. noun, 'green pepper'
/za9tara/	sg., 'thyme'
/z9eitir/	dim. noun, 'thyme'
/wardat/	fem. pl., 'roses'
/tuffaHa/	'an apple'

Another group of family names is directly related to colors:

/ʔal-ʔaSfar/	masc. adj., 'the yellow'
/ʔal-ʔaHmar/	masc. adj., 'the red'
/ʔal-ʔazraq/	masc. adj., 'the blue'
/ʔal-xaDra/	fem. adj., 'the green'
/zreiqaʔ/	dim. adj., 'blue'
/ʔaz-zurqah/	pl., 'the blue'

3.3. Names with Social and Cultural Implications

Some family names are derived from certain work or a profession that one of the forefathers had in the past as a permanent or temporary job. In a closely-knit family structure such as the one in Jordan, children generally grow up to adopt their fathers line of work or business, especially if the father is self-employed. It is not, therefore, surprising to forecast the future careers of children by knowing their fathers' line of work. This connection between families and the type of enterprise (business) they conduct reinforced a family naming system which is based on professional or business names. The following family names are derived from professional names and take the form of /Sigat al mubalaga/ intensive partitiple forms:[8]

/ʔal-bawwab/	sg., 'the gatekeeper'
/ʔal-gannam/	sg., 'the shepherd'
/ʔal-9aTTar/	sg., 'the perfume vendor'
/ʔal-Haddad/	sg., 'the blacksmith'
/ʔal-Hajjar/	sg., 'the stone cutter (mason)'
/ʔal-HaTTab/	sg., 'the wood cutter'
/ʔad-daqqaq/	sg., 'the flour merchant'
/ʔad-dahhah/	sg., 'the painter'
/ʔas-sammah/	sg., 'the grocer'
/ʔaz-zayyat/	sg., 'the oil dealer'
/ʔaz-zammar/	sg., 'the piper'
/ʔaS-Sabbag/	sg., 'the dyer'
/ʔaS-Sawwaf/	sg., 'the wool merchant'
/ʔaT-TaHHah/	sg., 'the miller'
/ʔaT-Tayyah/	sg., 'the mortar carrier'

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8   In intensive participle forms the adjective is intensified by a change in form which is done mainly by geminating the second root consonant.

/ʔan-najjar/	sg., 'the carpenter'
/ʔan-naqqaš/	sg., 'the sculptor'
/ʔan-naHHaš/	sg., 'the copper dealer'
/ʔaj-jallad/	sg., 'the leather merchant'
/ʔaj-jammal/	sg., 'the camel driver'
/ʔaj-jazzar/	sg., 'the butcher'
/ʔaj-jarraH/	sg., 'the surgeon'

The following are other family names which are formed from professional names but do not take the form of /Sigat al mubalaga/ the intensive participle form

/ʔal-banna/	sg., 'the builder'
/ʔal-bundugji/	sg., 'the gunman'
/ʔal-mufti/	sg., 'the official expounder of Islamic Law'
/ʔal-qahwaji/	sg., 'the cafe owner'
/ʔal-qaDi/	sg., 'the judge'
/ʔal-Halawahi/	sg., 'the confectioner'
/ʔaS-Saqqa/	sg., 'the water carrier'
/ʔaj-jawhari/	sg., 'the jeweller'
/ʔar-ramaHi/	sg., 'he who makes javelins'
/ʔar-raϑi/	sg., 'the shepherd'

Other family names may have been derived from physical appearances, defects or disliked hereditary attributes of one of the forefathers as shown in the following:

/ʔal-9urah/	pl., 'the one-eyed'
/ʔal-Turšah/	pl., 'the deaf'
/ʔal-9umyah/	pl., 'the blind'
/ʔal-qur9ah/	pl., 'the bald'
/ʔal-ʔaxras/	sg., 'the mute'
/ʔaš-šayib/	sg., 'the gray-haired'
/ʔaš-šiyyab/	pl., 'the gray-haired'
/ʔal-bahlul/	sg., 'the idiot'

What is interesting about these family names is that listeners do not necessarily associate the family name which is derived from physical defects with the inherent meaning of the word. A family name, such as /ʔal-9urah/ pl., 'one-eyed', does not in this context evoke the image of someone who has lost an eye, but rather of a family name which is known to the majority

of population in Jordan. It can, therefore, be said that the word /?al-9uraħ/ has been extended in meaning to encompass a new semantic category namely, naming.

Another set of names whose primary function is to evoke feelings of fear and awe among those inclined to trespass other people's rights and which may have started as nicknames are the following:

/?al-guḷ/	'ghoul, a desert demon'
/?al-9udwaħ/	'the aggression'
/?al-Harbi/	'the militant'
/?al-waHš/	sg., 'the savage'
/?al-wHuš/	pl., 'the savage'
/?abul-leil/	'having the quality of (lit. father of) night'
/šaraṛ/	'sparks'
/?abu-šaraṛ/	'having the quality of (lit. father of) sparks'

Favorable physical attributes are also reflected in family names as shown in the following:

/?al-?akHal/	masc., 'one with dark and large eyes'
/?al-?aššqar/	masc., 'the blonde'
/?al-?ašmar/	masc., 'the dark-skinned'
/?abu-Hilu/	'having the property of beauty'
/?abu-šaqra/	'having the property of (lit. father of) a female blonde'
/?abu-zeina/	'having the property of (lit. father of) beauty'
/?aš-šalabi/	masc., 'the handsome'

Another group of names can be viewed as being neutral; no one knows whether these names were originally used as markers of beauty or traits of defective physical anomalies.

/?abuš-ša9ar/	'having the property of (lit. father of) (the) hair'
/?abu-šanab/	'having the property of (lit. father of) moustache'
/?abu-iSba9/	'having the property of (lit. father of finger)'
/?abu-9ein/	'having the property of (lit. father of eye)'
/?abu-raṣ/	'having the property of (lit. father of head)'

A family name can serve as an index of the cultural group to which a family or family members belong. The nomadic life-style and values which require constant movement from place to place in search of abundant grazing land and water resources have their reflection in the Bedouin system of family naming as shown in the following derived from the root /r-H-l/ 'to depart', or 'leave'.

/?ar-raHHaḷ/

/ʔar-rHayyil/
/ʔar-raHaĦli/

Family names related to farming, agriculture or livestock indicate that the family members have descended from grandparents who sowed, plowed the land and harvested crops, and consequently belong to the Fallahi (rural) cultural group. This is shown in the following:

/ʔal-Haɬiθ/	'the plowman'
/ʔal-Haɬiθi/	'related to the plowman'
/ʔal-bustanji/	'the gardener'
/ʔan-naⱱTuɬ/	'guard (esp. of plantations and vineyards)'

Finally, family names associated with cities or urban centers indicate that the forefathers must have come from the city prior to settling amongst other cultural groups. The following are some family names derived from city names:

/ʔal-qudsī/	coming from Jerusalem
/ʔaš-šaɬmi	coming from Damascus
/ʔal-Halabi/	coming from Aleppo

The continued use of such names was reinforced by two factors; the children of the original bearers of the name who in doing so expressed pride and loftiness in belonging to the "Madani" cultural group, which is assumed to be superior to other cultural groups; the members of other groups, who wished to emphasize the fact that the offspring of those families did not belong to their cultural group, and were thus viewed with mistrust and skepticism since they were strange and alien.

4. CONCLUSION

Family names in Jordan can be derived from a variety of sources; from social or religious beliefs and values, from geographical locations or known places with historical or social significance. The natural phenomena and objects from nature are evident in these names. Also the names of wild and domesticated animals, birds, insects and colors, and the names of professions or careers are reflected in the family names used in Jordan.

This study concludes by recommending further studies be conducted on the use of family names in other Arab geographical milieus far from Jordan, Morocco or Tunisia, for instance, to see to what extent the family naming systems there differ from those used in Jordan.

APPENDIX: TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM FOR ARABIC

Consonants

Arabic Symbols	Specifications	Roman Symbols
l	Voiceless glottal stop	?
[	Voiced bilabial stop	b
\	Voiceless alveolar stop	t
]	Voiceles interdental fricative	θ
_	Voiced alveopalatal affricate	j
a	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative	H
b	Voiceless uvular fricative	x
d	Voiced alveolar stop	d
e	Voiced interdental fricative	Ä
f	Voiced alveolar flap	r
g	Voiced alveolar fricative	z
i	Voiced alveolar fricative	s
j	Voiceless alveopatal fricative	š
k	Voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative	S
l	Voiced alveolar emphatic stop	D
m	Voiceless alveolar emphatic stop	T
n	Voiced interdental emphatic fricative	z
o	Voiced pharyngeal fricatice	9
p	Voiced uvular fricative	g
q	Voiceless labio-dental fricative	f
r	Voicless velar stop	q
t	Voiceless velar stop	k
v	Voiced alveolar lateral	l
w	Voiced bilabial nasal	m
x	Voiced alvealar nasal	n

| • | Voiceless glottal fricative | h |

Vowels

	Arabic Symbols	*Specifications*	*Roman Symbols*
Short Vowels	Fat<u>h</u>a <u>d</u>ama Kasra	Front half-openunrounded Back close rounded Front open spread	a u i
Long Vowels	ò ZZ~ åʕ	Front open unrounded Back close rounded Front close unrounded	a u i
Semi-Vowels	å Z	Non-syllabic Palatal Approximant Non-syllabic Labio-Velar approximant	y w
Dipthong	å~ ä ~ Z~		ai ei aw

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