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A New Critical Approach to the History of Palestine
Palestine History and Heritage Project 1
*Edited by Ingrid Hjelm, Hamdan Taha, Ilan Pappé, and
Thomas L. Thompson*

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7 The cultural and linguistic background of the naming of objects and agricultural installations in Palestine

Issam K. H. Halayqa

Introduction

The daily life of Palestinians and their exchange with their topographic and agricultural environment have produced a large number of names for artifacts (tools and objects) and agricultural installations. These names have been used in the agricultural and the domestic domains in the Palestinian colloquial. They have been passed down from older linguistic strata of Semitic and non-Semitic languages, as a result of the vast number of cultures and peoples that have inhabited the area throughout its history. The names were handed down partially from older generations or they were created over time. In both cases, they have been preserved in the local popular memory and they express the shape and function of the objects and installations. The studied names and terms exist in the geographical sphere of pre-1948 Palestine. To ensure sufficient coverage of these names a survey was made in ethnographic literature (e.g. Canaan 1916: 164–178; Dalman 1928–1942, 2001; Behnstedt and Woidich 2012). In addition, I gathered some names through interviews with elderly native people in the area around Hebron. The artifacts (618 tools and objects) are all traditional instruments, compound tools, vessels, and containers, which have been used in agricultural and/or domestic contexts.

The agricultural installations have played an effective role in the economy of the area due to their varied uses. They were used for local and commercial food production; the protection of crops from birds, animals, and thieves; the facilitation of harvesting and threshing; the storage of produce after the harvests; and the ensurance of proper water storage and use, and as land division markers. Some of the installations are still in use with the traditional working method of animal labor. However, many farmers have incorporated modern technologies in their operations, replacing animals with mechanical equipment. About 127 terms have been used by locals to express indoor or outdoor agricultural constructions and installations utilized in agricultural production.

The naming of the artifacts and agricultural installations was influenced by many natural and cultural factors. It is clear that the etymological and

lexical counterparts of these names originated in many ancient Semitic and non-Semitic linguistic strata. This article offers no ethnographic descriptions of the form, material, or function of each of these artifacts and agricultural installations, nor does it trace their etymologies, lexical counterparts, meanings, and origins in ancient languages. I focus, rather, on the cultural and natural factors that motivated the people to name them as they did, and present briefly their lexical origin (ancient Semitic languages and non-Semitic languages), based on the quintessence of my previously published works (Halayqa 2013–2016). My main study (Halayqa 2014) had the purpose of investigating:

- 1 The anthropological background that contributed to the naming of the artifacts and installations and exploring the factors that affected the names of the tools, and motivated the people to create these nomenclatures.
- 2 The linguistic strata these names refer to and exploring any connection between the dominant ancient Near Eastern languages in the area with the current spoken colloquial. This, in turn, will contribute to the preservation of cultural continuity as a result of the transmission of these ancient linguistic features.

The ancient languages reflected in the textual material are the non-Semitic languages (Egyptian [Coptic], Greek, Latin, Persian, and Turkish) and the Semitic languages divided into:

- Northwest Semitic: Canaanite with its subdivisions (Phoenician, Punic, Ammonite, Moabite, Edomite, Hebrew), and Aramaic with its subdivisions (Old Aramaic, Official Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrenean and Syriac)
- East Semitic: Akkadian (Babylonian and Assyrian)
- South Semitic: Ethiopian, Old South Arabic, and Classical Arabic.

The study, at large, displays the interference of the languages of the area with historically mixed communities reflected in the tool names, as well as cases of multilingualism in that many Semitic and non-Semitic languages had been used in small geographical loci. In the following, I present a survey and categorization of some of the 618 tools and objects analyzed in detail in Halayqa (2014).

The usage of tools and installations

The instruments, vessels, objects, and agricultural installations in the study are only those used in domestic contexts and agricultural activities. They are categorized according to fields of usage.

Domestic usage: furniture and objects

The tools and objects in this section include those used as furniture on a daily basis in all types of dwelling places: houses in the cities, in villages, and the tents of the Bedouins. Other types of tools included here are those which were used in domestic spinning, matting, and embroidery for the needs of the community.

Household utensils and domestic tools

This section includes the utensils, containers, vessels, and tools that were used to hold dry substances; to store grain and dried fruits; to cook with and serve food in; to serve drinks such as water, tea, and coffee; to transport and provide water; to produce food; or to hold liquids (like oil, vine syrup, wine, honey, and milk).

Equipment for light, fires, and ovens

The tools and instruments used to produce fire for cooking, warmth, and light, as well as all kinds of ovens associated with each community are contained in this section.

Water installations and tools

Although rain and underground water sources in the area are relatively scarce, they were tapped into and used. This resulted in an urgent need to simultaneously utilize and maintain all available water sources. Aiming to have continuous access to water in order to provide it to man, animals, and plants, the inhabitants were forced to adapt to their environments. Thus, they developed many methods for water use, through which many tools as well as water installations were employed. A general overview of the cultural contexts of these water sources has resulted in categorizing them into natural water sources, artificial water sources, and irrigation facilities.

Natural water sources

This category includes water resources, which were naturally formed without human intervention and provided water for man, animals, and plants. This includes permanent water sources, such as *šrīʿa*, *nahr* 'rivers' and *ʿidd*, *ʿēn*, *nabʿ(a)* 'springs', and seasonal water sources, such as *šallālale* 'waterfalls'; *wād* 'seasonal brooks'; *sēl* 'torrents'; and *ghūr* 'natural rock cavities', which temporarily held rainwater.

Artificial water sources

The first artificial water source is made up of natural hollows and cavities which were modified to become water reservoirs for human and animal use

(*hrubbale*). The second consists of pits, which were dug in the ground to catch rainwater, thereby ensuring water availability throughout the year (*miṣna'a*, *ḡilubb*, *bīr* 'well'); these man-made pits are common since each traditional house has one of these pits. The third artificial water source is made up of water installations of different sizes, composed of stones and mortar or cement (*būrka* 'pool', *ḥazzān*, *sihrīg* 'reservoir'), constructed almost above ground.

Irrigation facilities

The irrigation system was mostly used in flat areas and consisted of three mechanisms. First, channels were either dug or constructed to carry water from nearby water sources to irrigate fields and provide water for inhabitants (*qanā* 'channel', *mizrāb* 'gutter'). Second, an irrigation apparatus was installed to draw water from underground wells to irrigate fields (*nāfūrale* 'fountain', *sāqiyale*, *nā'ūrale* 'waterwheel'). The third mechanism was an installation established by a religious institution as an act of goodwill so that water was given freely to the public, members of the community, and travelers (*sbīl*, *mašarbiyyale* 'watering installation').

Animal breeding and animal products

Animal breeding and animal-related equipment

Animals have also played a pivotal role in the agricultural communities and were extensively used in all domestic and agricultural activities. Working animals such as cows, camels, horses, mules, and donkeys were used to plough, thresh grain, and transport man and his crops. The milk- and meat-producing animals had been extensively utilized and they yielded foodstuffs and other animal by-products for consumption. Animal farmers developed many methods to ensure the continuous and healthy breeding of their livestock. One method was the construction of seasonal or permanent establishments, as was the case with farmers of plant-based goods. In this sense, many tools and animal-related objects were used to enable people to benefit from their animals.

Bee and bird farming

The products of bees and birds were in high demand; thus, they were very lucrative for trading purposes. Wild birds such as doves, partridges, and sparrows among others were hunted, while chickens and geese were raised domestically. The protection of these birds against thieves and predatory animals was ensured through the construction of special installations built of mud, wood, and small stones. Clay coops were built for birds (*burḡ*, *ḥumm*, *qlkilunn*, *ʿiṣṣ* 'bird coop, nest') and niches were built in the walls of houses or carved in rocks (*tāqlka* 'columbarium'). Clay hives were built for bees (*minḥalale* 'beehive').

Animal breeding and animal products

Regardless of whether their animals were used for labor or food production, farmers had to take various measures to ensure the regular and healthy breeding of their animals. It was essential that they protected their animals from thieves and predators and kept them safe and warm during the cold winter months. For these reasons, three different types of installations were constructed. The first type included indoor or outdoor enclosures built of dry stones, wood and sometimes clay and straw (*ḥazīr(ale)*, *ḥuššale*, *xanūnale*, *zrībale*, *ṣṭabl*, *sqḥkīfale*, *šīrale*, *kufra*, *yāḥūr* 'stable'). The second type of installation was formed in natural rock cavities that were modified by the addition of walls and doorways (*šqlkīf*, *ʿiriqlk* 'rocky shelter'). This type of installation could also be dug and used seasonally (*mḡāra*). The third type of installation was in the form of a booth in which one could turn milk sour, churn butter, and produce cheese (*kīušḥ* 'booth').

Hunting and weapons

The tools and objects listed here are those used as domestic weapons or in the outdoors to protect one's produce from thieves, animals, and birds during the maturation and harvest periods. They were also used as a means of self-defense and protection as well as for hunting, slaughtering, and skinning wild and domestic animals.

Agricultural activities

The plough and its harness: sowing and tilling

The plough played a continuous role in the cultivation of the area, because the farmer performed two terms of ploughing annually: winter tilling (once or twice in November/December) to plant seeds, and summer tilling (two or three times from March to May) to plant vegetables and trees. When planting grain, handfuls of the seeds were usually scattered on the ground and then covered by earth, thus resulting in ploughing furrows. However, when planting corn or chickpeas, a special tool called *būḡ* 'trumpet' was fixed to the plough, which enabled the seeds to descend into furrows, thus simultaneously planting and ploughing. This section covers the names given to the ploughing utensils as well as all of its equipment, whether being a yoke pulled by a pair of animals, or a plough pulled by a single animal.

Farming and gardening

This section includes the terms for objects and tools, which were used to clear and remove stones from rugged areas. It also includes the terms for tools, which were used to prepare soil for planting, or to transport soil to the poorer areas in order for the inhabitants to enlarge the size of their land for cultivation.

Tree supports, pruning, weeding, and chopping

Contained in this section are the names of the wooden or metal tools that were used to keep vines and olive trees, among others, standing upright to avoid heat and insects. Included are the instruments that were previously used to prune trees and weed out grass and thorny plants, as well as tools used to chop firewood.

Digging and cutting

This sub-section contains the names of the tools and objects used in digging pits for planting trees and vegetables, for preparing seedbeds, as well as those used in the digging, constructing, and plastering cisterns as water reservoirs.

Harvesting and gathering

All instruments that have been used during harvesting are given in this section. The wheat and barley harvests began in May/June and were performed by hand or with tools. A bunch of wheat or barely stems tied together with straw was called *šmāl*. With specific harvests like those of lentils (called *qaṭānī*) no *šmāl* was needed to be produced. A group of *šmāls* was called *gimir* 'sheave', and many sheaves heaped or gathered on a field was called *hīla*. The harvested grain was gathered on the ground of the cultivated fields or transported to an earthy or rocky threshing floor (*ḡurun/bēdar*) in or outside the fields. The harvest of fruits and vegetables was carried out in the summer, while the olive picking season was in October-November. Both these activities involved every member of the family. In harvest, one might use one's hands, tools and vessels to pick and gather the produce.

Threshing, winnowing, sifting, and grinding

All members of the family took part in the harvest and threshing processes by using different tools to complete their respective duties. The harvest was piled up on the threshing floor in heaps called *kōlēma*. Each heap was taken to be threshed; the process in which the dry wheat or barley was threshed is called *ḡsār*. A heap of wheat or barley after it had been threshed is called *tarḥa*. A pair of work animals was brought to trample on the heap for hours. Sometimes the animals were harnessed to a threshing tablet *noraḡ*; this was another threshing method.

The winnowing stage came after the threshing was completed. It was a process in which a threshed heap of hay and grain is continuously tossed into the air by using a five-pronged wooden fork. In doing this, the lighter particles of hay were detached and carried away by the wind, whereas the heavy seeds would fall to the ground, separating the seeds from the hay. Winnowing took place in the early mornings or in the evenings depending

on the movement or direction of the wind. This process was called *tyāb*. After being winnowed, the outcome was a heap of grain, *salībā*, with small particles of stones and soil. This heap was then sifted further to remove the small particles from the grain. In the next stage came the grinding in which hammers, pestles, and grinding stones made of wood or stone were used to produce flour and groats for private and commercial needs.

Produce measuring, weighing, and distribution

In regard to the trading or distribution of produce between harvesters, portions of crops and products were allocated to family members, tenants, debtors, and money lenders. This was done by using standard sized domestic vessels and containers as measuring units made up of a very rustic, self-made metrological system rather than metric or imperial measuring systems. Tools and body parts were also used to weigh quantities or measure distances.

Agricultural installations***Establishments for agricultural production***

As the Palestinian economy was mainly dependent on agriculture, farmers were motivated by food consumption needs to create and adopt many methods of food production and storage. This gave rise to the construction and continual reuse of many agricultural establishments in order to facilitate and accelerate the production process. By applying these methods, the farmers' chances of regular and sufficient crop production increased significantly.

Post-harvest food production

Many of the constructions used in agricultural production had been in use also in earlier periods and their specific functions were later modified and reused (*bōbariyye* 'store'). The topographical nature of the area played an important role in the interaction between man and nature. The flat, rocky surfaces located on hilltops and mountains were often selected as places where farmers and fieldworkers could carry out the post-harvest food production and storage processes (*bēdar*, *ḡurilun* 'rocky/earthy threshing floor', *mihušṭāh* 'drying floor'). Naturally, the areas with adequate water sources and fertile soil played an unquestionable role in food production (*mištal*, *miškabale* 'seedbed').

Transportation and storage of land produce

After the crops were harvested, threshed, pressed, or processed¹ and transported to the dwelling place, they were usually put in vessels and storage

facilities. This ensured their availability for local consumption and trading. In addition, it served the purpose of permanent or temporary storage for surplus grains, other foodstuffs, and liquids in each house to assure food security; the stored food could be consumed throughout the year. Therefore, many implements, containers, and vessels were used in the transportation and storage of grains.

For such purpose, tools were invented to be used in the transport, storage, and division of the dry and liquid products. Farmers had to observe strict measures to protect the fruits of their labor. For such purpose, farmers either built new constructions of stones, mud bricks, and mortar (*šūnale*, *hāšil*, *bāykih* 'store') or dug pits in the ground, in which they stored their produce (*šōma'a* 'store', *malīṭmara* 'silo'). The majority of these constructions were built as small detached buildings near the dwelling places, or as buildings annexed to the house or sometimes even occupying part of it (*hōš* 'courtyard', *rāwiyale* 'store house/box', *mitban* 'store of hay'). In addition, the farmers also made use of the ancient ruined sites located near the agricultural fields in order to store and protect their produce. They could either reuse the existing silos, wells, walls, and ancient agricultural buildings for permanent or temporary storage (*bniyyale* 'unroofed building'), or reuse the stones found at these ancient ruined sites (*hīrbale*) to build new installations. Also utilized were some buildings that were erected on the commercial routes connecting the cities and villages (*hān* 'caravansary').

Land markers and protective establishments of land produce

These installations were erected either inside buildings or in the fields of the countryside, and they were either of a permanent nature and operated continuously from harvest to harvest or seasonally built, used, and then dismantled. Their construction was carried out by peasants, craftsmen, and shepherds, whose lives were dependent on the agricultural and pastoral economy.

Land markers and partitions

These measures, taken by landowners to affirm their ownership and divide the land between their respective inheritors, were communicated by the use of dry stones as markers. These stones were the principal material used to build rough walls to indicate land borders (*hēt*, *rab'a*, *ras(li)m*, *rāmāle* 'border marker'). The stones were either piled on top of each other in a manner similar to a cairn (*ruḡi(lu)m* 'crain', *qa'qūr'a*, *qinlunṭara* 'piled up stones'), or a single large stone was used occasionally (*ilammāyale*, *taḥuḥm*, *hādād* 'stone as border marker'), and sometimes marks were simply carved in the stone (*alāmāle*, *nimrale* 'mark'). In areas where large stones were relatively rare, trees, shrubs, and thorny plants were used to construct fences and mark ownership.

Preventive measures against soil erosion

The natural and geological composition of the area determined the materials used to build the protective structures. On mountains, where slopes are common topographical features, stony walls were erected transversely. This created agricultural terraces for plantation, prevented soil erosion, and ensured rainwater retention (*ḡidār*, *sūr*, *sinsalale* 'stone wall'). In addition, these walls were often used as land markers. In flat areas, fences built of shrubs and thorny plants (*syāḡ* 'fence') were used simultaneously to indicate the borders of the land and as means of protection against animals and thieves.

Protection of crops during maturation and harvest

The harvesting process usually lasted one to two months in the summer and it required the continuous presence of workers in the fields. Several protective measures were carried out in order to guard the ripe crops from thieves, birds, and animals, thereby ensuring a fruitful harvest. One of these protective measures was to build temporary (*qašer* 'tower', *kūḥ* 'hut', *minṭara* 'guarding tower') and permanent simple agricultural constructions such as huts, booths, and tents (*hārbūš(ale)*, *huṣṣ*, *irzānll*, *iršale* *šattāra* 'booth', *hēmāle* 'tent')² in the fields during harvest time. These establishments were useful in that they offered a temporary living space for the landowner or fieldworkers, while also ensuring that the harvest was completed in a timely manner as the fieldworkers' traveling time was greatly reduced.

Cultural and natural factors that have influenced the naming of tools and installations

My study has disclosed that natural and cultural factors have created specific names, which represent various linguistic strata. Some lexemes have been adopted into the current vernacular from different languages and employed with the same meaning. Others have been loaned and phonetically modified to indicate an exact, a close, or a derived meaning. It is not possible to know the period in which these words were incorporated into the Palestinian vernacular. The output from my study resulted from studying the interference of the languages in areas with historically mixed communities and divergent oral or written cultures. Multilingualism in many Semitic and non-Semitic languages has been present and used in small geographical loci, where many linguistic influences were consciously or subconsciously adopted by the locals such as it is reflected in the tool names. Studying the influence of social and economic contact, political relationships between the ancient kingdoms, commercial routes, religious affiliations, and other ways of interaction, it became clear that such communication influenced the

linguistic features of the naming of tools. Finally, the different topography, the fauna and the flora of the areas, influenced the creation of factors that affected the naming.

*Cultural factors:*³ *word list*

Cultural factors such as the various daily domestic (cooking, baking, etc.) and agricultural activities (irrigation, cleaning, ploughing, and harvest) and ownership of land (division, selling, buying, as well as renting out the land) that were performed by the inhabitants affected the names. The functions of tools and installations also influenced their names.

Domestic activities

Kneading, baking: e.g. *mila^cganale* 'kneading trough', *tannūr* 'baking oven', *miluqlā^c* 'iron or wooden rod short hook', *qile^c* '(weight) stone', *mraq* 'wooden rolling pin, make thing thin'.

Cooking, frying, roasting: e.g. *dallale* 'copper coffee pot', *ṭabbāḥ* 'movable hearth or stove', *miḥmāsale* 'round roasting pan, roasting', *miqla* 'metal pan, frying pan'.

Scooping out, scraping: e.g. *miḡrafale* 'wooden ladle for dishing up, scooping out', *mali^claqale* 'wooden or metal spoon', *minšalāl* 'fork or ladle, scooping out'.

Spinning, neighing: e.g. *miḡzal* 'spindle', *milassalale* 'large metal needle', *seriḡale* 'double basket designed for pack animals', *sarḡ* 'horse's saddle'.

Tying, wrapping: *ḥabil* 'rope', *ribiq* 'cord with a number of loops used to tie sheep during milking', *zurtale* 'looped rope or thread or tab', *ṭmāq* 'wrinkle, rumple'.

Setting fire, lightening: e.g. *banūra* 'ceramic or tin lamp', *srāḡ* 'ceramic or metal lamp', *qaddāḥa* 'lighter, a piece of steel', *miṣbāḥ* 'ceramic or glass lamp', *mōqadale* 'hearth or an outdoor fireplace', *nawwāsale* 'small glass lamp with a soft light'.

Sitting and seeing: e.g. *siḡḡādale* 'rug on which one prays', *ṭarrāḥa* 'cushioned seat', *kursi* 'chair or seat', *wsādale* 'pillow', *qu^cud* 'ceramic cooking vessel', *mrā* 'mirror', *šawwāfale* 'blinker, wooden board'.

Physical activities

Shutting, opening: e.g. *zarāqale* 'horizontal bolt which locks a door', *qalufil* 'metal or wooden lock', *laluqqāṭa* 'short wooden bar', *sukkara* 'simple lock', *miskār* 'shutter', *miftāḥ* 'key made of iron'.

Leading, directing, dragging: *missās*, *minsās* 'goad', *miqra^ca* 'whip used with working animals', *nāḥūz* 'sting, head of oxen goad', *nūr* 'yoke', *nayāra* 'cross-beam', *ḡārūr* 'pulling pole'.

Carrying, transporting: *hiḡ(i)l* 'child's cradle, a small carpet', *ḥammālale* 'carrier', *kārra* 'chariot, cart', *s/ṣaḥḥāra* 'rectangular wooden box',

miṅqalale 'circular plate, transmitting', *maleštīl* 'double basket made of reed or straw'.

Riding, swinging, rotating: e.g. *rulakkābale* 'three wooden forked poles', *rkāb* 'stirrup', *milurḡēḥa* 'hammock, or a movable or immovable cradle for children', *bakara* 'pulley', *dūlāb* 'water wheel'.

Filtering, drying: e.g. *ḥarīṭa* 'sack made of cotton', *miršaha* 'worn-out cloth made into collar-like, absorbing sweat', *mišfā(yale)* 'strainer, filter, or colander', *minšafale* 'large towel, drying'.

Marking: *mīsam*, *wasm* 'branding iron, marking', *nimrale*, *alāmale* 'border mark in land'.

Instruments

māris 'rope, a narrow rectangular piece of land', *ḥabalale* 'rope, walled cultivated terrace', *qaṭ'a* 'piece of anything, any piece of land', *nūr* 'yoke beam, one row of trees equal to the yoke beam in width'.

Architecture

Buildings and remains indoor and outdoor (ancient or modern): used in harvest and storage such as *burḡ*, *kufra*, *s/qlkīfale*, *bniyyale*, *ḥirbale*, *ḥān*, *qaṣer*, *ḥuṣṣ*, wall: *ḡidār*, *taluhm*, *ḥēt*, *rab^ca ruḡi(lu)m*, *sinsalale*, *sūr*.

Agricultural activities

Hiring of land: *škāra* 'hired land'.

Watching of fields: *miṇṭara* 'watching tower'.

Burning of thorns: *ḥarīqa* 'locus of land resulted after burning the thorny plants to gain more space for cultivation'.

Cultivated/uncultivated land: *māra* cultivated piece of land with grain, *amār* cultivated land, *mizra^ca* farm, sown land, *ḥarāb*, *šilf(a) būrl(a)* 'uncultivated/empty land'.

Storing of grain and fruits, dug pits, or small constructions built above the ground: *mitban* 'store of hay', *šōma^ca*, *ḥāšil*, *rāwyale*, *bāykih*, *'anbar*, *šūnale* 'store of grain'.

Irrigation installations and activities: *nāfūrale* 'fountain', *nā^cūrale* 'water-wheel', *nahr* 'river', *sēl* 'torrent', *šallāl(ale)* 'waterfall', *qanā* 'channel', *iššrī^ca*, *nab^c(a)*, *'idd* 'spring', *sāqiyale*, *mizrāb* 'gutter', *saqī* 'artificial irrigated land', *bayyāra* 'watered orchard', *ba^cl* 'rain-watered land'.

Watering, drinking, feeding: e.g. *dalelo* 'water bucket, pail', *raššāš* 'water tube', *šarbale* 'drinking vessel', *šallāf* 'counterpoised lever implement for drawing water for irrigation', *miluhqān* 'goblet or metal funnel', *alīqale* 'nosebag', *mi^clafale* 'feeding trough'.

Constructions for storing rainwater: *sbīl*, *ḥazzān*, *mašarbiyyale*, *mišna^ca*, *birkale*, *šahrīḡ*, *ḥazzān*; dug pits for storing water: *būr*, *ḡilubb* 'well, cistern', *hrubbale* 'cavity transformed to well' *ḡhīr* 'basin'.

- Tilling and digging: e.g. *raddād* 'steering rope of the plough', *rayyāh* 'plough's double steering rope', *sahhāb* 'pulling chain', *kābūsale* 'presser or the grip of plough's handle', *mihvāt* 'plough', *baḥḥāsale* 'narrow hoe with pointed edge', *harrāra* 'small shovel', *fahhāra* 'digger, digging tool', *man-kūš* 'small pickaxe', *nakkāsale* 'small double-headed hand axe'.
- Breaking, drilling: e.g. *berrimale* 'drill', *ḥasīm(ale)* 'pointed end of the ploughshare', *šāqūf* 'rock, stone breaker', *atalale* 'crowbar', *kammāsale* 'pair of pliers', *mismār* 'nail', *miqdaḥ* 'drill or borer', *mhaddale* 'large hammer', *nuḥul* 'iron crowbar', *yazmīl* 'chisel'.
- Cleaning: e.g. *ḡārūf* 'hoe', *qāḥūf* 'scraper, hoe', *qawāsale* 'pick with a metal fork', *miḡrafale* 'spade or hoe with broad plate', *zaqa* 'hoe', *miqašatale* 'mop, or a stick with a rubber scraper, polisher or scraper', *miknasale* 'broom made of a bundle of straw'.
- Harvesting, picking, catching: e.g. *harrāta* 'wooden stick used to pick olives', *šuršāra* 'iron sickle', *qatafale* 'small lunate sickle', *milqaṭ* 'iron tongs', *miṅgal* 'unserrated large sickle', *ḡaddādale* 'thin wooden stick for picking olives', *šanklḡal* 'metal hook', *ḥattāf* 'snatcher, metal or wooden hook'.
- Cutting, pruning of trees: e.g. *halūs(ale)* 'kind of knife', *šafra* 'sharp metal blade', *šātūr(a)* 'cleaver', *m(i)qass* 'pair of scissors', *qattā'a* 'wood cutter', *munšār(a)* 'saw', *šarḥ* 'cleaver', *mihlāḡ* 'sheep shearer or shearer of cotton', *mišrat* 'sharp serrated knife'.
- Threshing, beating, winnowing, sifting: *ḡurilun*, *bēdar* 'threshing floor', *mišraq* 'thin branch of oak for beating wool or driving animals', *šārūt* 'wooden stick', *mulihbāt* 'wooden stick for beating', *sarūdale* 'coarse cereal sieve', *ḡurbāl* 'sifter', *kurbāl* 'coarse sifter', *midldrā(yale)* 'winnowing fork', *mu(n)ḥil* 'kitchen sieve'.
- Grinding, crushing: e.g. *irḥā* 'rubbing stone to grind, hand-mill', *ḡurun* 'mortar', *ḡulḡul* 'roller, cylindrical stone for grinding', *ḡārūsale* 'hand-mill', *durdās* 'cylindrical basalt stone for grinding', *tāḥūnale* 'hand-millstone', *mdaqa* 'pestle, hammer', *hāwin* 'mortar', *mihbās* 'wooden pestle'.
- Weighting, measuring of grain: e.g. *qabbān* 'scale, steelyard', *kēlale* 'cylindrical metal vessel', *mizān* 'cast iron balancing scale', *mikyāl* 'metal vessel for weighting'.
- Storing of food: e.g. *ḥābyale* 'clay container, box', *ḥilazānale* 'wooden cupboard, cabinet attached to wall', *qiniyyale* 'glass bottle for storing', *kīs* 'medium sack', *malisfat* 'arched niche, cupboard or closet', *malitwa* 'niche, a cupboard to put mattresses'.
- Supporting of trees: e.g. *rkizale sānūdale* 'support, wooden pole', *alāmūd* 'pole, column', *mismāk* 'forked pole'.

Food production

- Product: e.g. *malisara* 'press oil and grapes', *midbase* 'molasses', *mištal*, *miškabe* 'seed bed', *miluṣṭāḥ* 'drying of fig, tomatoes product', curdling, churning, *ḥaḍāḍale* 'churn, churning', *mirwab* 'large goat skin'.

- Hunting: *bēraq* 'rectangular cotton sheet', *ḥarbale* 'wide spear or lance', *šar-akale* 'snare or trap for birds', *fahh* 'tarp, snare', *ṭabar* 'pointed double-edged axe', *mišyadale* 'snare, trap', *muqle'a* 'catapult, slingshot', *nuqēfale* 'slingshot'.
- Animal breeding: booths, wooden constructions for animals, *kilušk*, *yāḥūr*, *zrībale*, *štabl*, *ḥuššale*, *xanūnale*. Pens, *šīrale*, *ḥazīr(ale)*, birds *izš* 'nesting place', *qlkitunn* 'bird coop'. Breeding bees: *minḥalale*, 'dwelling place for livestock' *izib*.

Manufactured material

- Organic: *ḥēšale* 'canvas, big sack made of canvas', *qartūs* 'paper, cornet made of thick paper'.
- Inorganic: e.g. *baḥsale* 'stones', *tanaka* 'yellow brass, petroleum tin', *ḥadīdale* 'iron, piece of iron', *rašāšale* 'lead, bullet, shot', *šam* 'wax, candle', *šāḡ* 'tin, baking sheet of tin', *qzāzale* 'glass, glass vessel'.
- The material that the tool temporarily or permanently contain food stuff: e.g. *zulubdiyyale* 'butter, bowl', *sukkariyyale* 'sugar, sugar can', *as(a) liyyale* 'honey, honey jar', *mimlaḥa* 'salt, salt can', *mikḥalale* 'stibium, small glass/ceramic bottle to hold *kohl*'.

Sheets or cloths

- dibbiyale* 'fringed carpet woven of wool', *s/šufra* 'sheet, dining table, dining mat', *ḡafra* 'carpet, shaggy woolly sheet or carpet', *sifla* 'lower curtain of the tent', *rwāq* 'the back curtain of the tent', *ḡlāl* 'sheet or worn-out cloth used as cover or beneath an animal's saddle'. Sheets, covering, or shading material for booths used as agricultural installations: *ḥēmale*, *rīšale*, *šattāra*, *irzānll*, *ḥarbūs(ale)* 'booth', *kūḥ* 'hut'.

Numbers and fractions

- faddān* 'pair of oxen, yoke', *farid* 'one, single plough', *fardale* '(single) large sack', *rub^ediyyale*, *rub^a* 'one quarter, cylindrical metal vessel', *sidsiyyale* 'one sixth, cubic tin vessel', *ošr* 'one tenth, cylindrical vessel', *nušsiyyale* 'one half, metal cylindrical vessel'.

Natural factors:⁴ word list

Many natural features found in surrounding areas affected the tool names. Man's personal acquaintance with the landscape and his daily contact with it led him to describe the state of the land he dealt with in order to differentiate it (rugged or plain, high or low, fertile or poor, cultivable or non-cultivable; with deep or poor soil, the surface of soil, covered by stones, rocks or vegetation). Therefore, specific terminology was created to describe the

land. In addition, it has been noticed that the users of the names borrowed names from animals, trees, and things, which existed in the surrounding landscape and applied them to their tools because of similarity in shape and function between the tools and animals.

Topographic features

Hollowed: *baq'albqā'* 'piece of land in wide valley', *nuqra* 'hollowed out area or land'.

Narrow: *mizrablzarb* 'narrow terrace, small piece of land with irregular shape'.

Flat/rugged: *shal* 'flat, plain', *wa'ar* 'rugged surface with rocky masses'.

Pebbled land: *kurkār*, *ṣarār/muṣrāra*, *buhṣa* 'land with poor soil and covered with pebbles'.

Free stones: *ilammāyale*, *ḥadd*, *ras(i)m*, *rāmāle* 'single stone as border mark', *qa'qūr*, *qinlunṭara* 'piled up stones'.

Rocky shelters: *šqlkīf*, *ʿiriqlk*, *mġāra* '(natural) cave'.

Soil character

Thickness: *simḥa*, *smīna*, *ʿlġmīqa* 'land with deep soil'.

Thinness: *rqīqa*, *qarqabāš* 'land with poor soil'.

Surface: *mšaqāqa*, *mfall'a* 'creviced land', *rabad* 'hard massed soil, clods', *mōfra*, 'dry soil', *mōḥlalwahel*, *mṭayanalfīn* 'wet soil'.

Flora

The names of some plants were borrowed by people to refer to the tools that are made of those plants.

Trees: e.g. *ġōzale* 'walnut, wooden or copper pot', *ḥēzarānale* 'bamboo, bamboo stick', *zānale* 'terebinth, the wood of the beech, poker, fire stoker', *karmiyale* 'vine, circular wooden bowl', *merġūne* 'coral, straw basket', *mīl* 'oak, small, thin wooden stick used to apply kohl', or land famous for some plants – *ḥrāš*, *hīs* 'woodland', *karim* 'vineyard'.

Branches: e.g. *lōlab* 'pith of the date palm, shoot, large wooden screw', *ʿabāra* 'branch, wooden bar', *ʿibbiyye* 'branch, long wooden stick for harvesting olives and almonds', *ʿarūs* 'wooden branch, large press beam', *ʿašā* 'wood, wooden stick', *ʿūd* 'branch, wood, wooden plough', *qurmiyyale* 'tree stump'.

Leaves: *ġrīd* 'fresh palm branch, metal chain', *ḥūša* 'palm leaves, kitchen knife'.

Vegetation: e.g. *bustān* 'orchard', *ġnēna* 'small garden', rows of trees – *šōra*, *ʿāriz* 'part of land between two rows of vegetables or trees', *miqta* 'field of vegetables often cucumber'.

Herbs: e.g. *ḥašīrale* 'grass, herb, leek, mat woven', *ḥaššāšale* 'grass, herbage, small toothless sickle', *ʿaššābale* 'grass, herbage, small hand axe for weeding', *fiġlale* 'radish, pointed end of the shank', *qanwale* 'reed, stick with various purposes'.

Thorny plants: *šabbāra* 'cactus, can used in picking its fruits', *šabriyyale* 'cactus, ceramic container', *mintāš* '*Poterium spinosum*, double pickaxe', *šōkale* 'thorn, prickles, fork'.

Straw: *qaššāšiyale* 'straw an axe', *maqššale* 'broom made of a bundle of straw'.

Seed: *bizrale* 'seed, shot, cartridge', *ḥartōš* 'cartridge, cartouche, shot'.

Fauna

Mammals: *ġaḥiš* 'young donkey, wooden carrier'.

Birds: e.g. *baṭṭa* 'duck, a small jug', *ḥamāmāle* 'dove, grip of the plough's handle', *šūš* 'chick, metal peg nailed into a press beam', *ʿašfūr(a)* 'sparrow, wooden pin tied to the end cord of the yoke'.

Reptiles: *kurkā'* 'turtle, copper bell', *šalbūt* 'tortoise, rounded or oval stone'.

Insects: e.g. *dabbūra* 'wasp, pointed large hammer', *namiyyale* 'ant, low table or closet against ant', *nāmūsiyyale* 'mosquito, mosquito net'.

Human and animal anatomy

The names of the human and animal body parts were extensively used and given to tools, because of their similarity in shape or because that tool was made of a material taken from the body.

Body parts: e.g. *iġir* 'foot, leg', *baṭāniyyale* 'belly, woolen blanket, cover', *burk* 'knee, plough beam', *ġanīb* 'man's side, oil basin on the side (lateral)', *dān* 'ear, wooden pins which compress the shank', *ʿēn* 'spring'.

The physical shape of the tools

The physical appearance of the items expressed by adjectives or substantives is borrowed to refer to some of the tools like:

Flat: e.g. *bsāṭ* 'carpet, sheet', *balāṭale* 'rectangular or circular stone slab', *balṭale* 'hatchet', *taḥit* 'bed', *daffale* 'rectangular wooden tablet', *ṭabliyyale* 'rectangular wooden board', *lōḥ* 'wooden tablet', *mēdale* 'dining table'.

Hollowed: e.g. *būq* 'trumpet, funnel', *ġūnale* 'round bowl', *ḥōḍ* 'basin', *mīl uqur* 'circular or rectangular portable stone basin'.

Pointed, sharp: e.g. *ʿibrāle* 'iron needle', *zaqqūt* 'pointed end of the oxen goad', *sīḥ* 'metal spit with pointed end', *sikkale* 'ploughshare', *sikkānale* 'knife', *sēf* 'sword, saber', *fās* 'axe', *bēnsa* 'small crowbar', *kazmale* 'double-headed axe'.

Circular, rounded: e.g. *iḥwā* 'collar', *ḥālūq* 'ring', *ṭōq* 'ring', *ṣiḥurwale* 'loop', *qalāwale* 'collar composed of a pair of sacks stuffed with straw', *klīl* 'collar, crown'.

Hooked (crooked, forked): e.g. *ḥanaṣṣiyale* 'water tube or pipe', *ʿaqafale* 'wooden V-shaped hook', *miḥḡānāle* 'stick made of oak with horizontal grip', *šāʿūb(e)* 'wooden two-pronged fork'.

Pierced: e.g. *ḥurrāmale* 'perforated stone', *ḥarazle* 'single bead', *ḥlāl* 'pointed wooden pin', *miḥraz* 'large needle, awl or punch', *miḥlā* 'small bag with two handles'.

Fragmented: e.g. *ḡāzeri* 'wooden bar', *qartīḏale* 'cylindrical piece of wood', *qaṭmlbale* 'wooden cross-bar', *kāsir* 'wooden side poles'.

Twisted, spiral: e.g. *ḡōdalle* 'mattress stuffed with wool', *ftīlale* 'wick of lamp', *(i)rša* 'rope of a bucket', *zemām* 'cord, horse halter', *zīlunnār* 'belt', *znāq* 'short cord or band, nose rope', *ḡār* 'band tied on a camel's head as part of its halter'.

Transparent: *šāšiyale* '(rectangular) cotton sheet', *šāf* 'cylindrical glass vessel', *šīšale* 'glass bottle-like'.

The linguistic strata of the words

I have attempted to trace the influence of ancient Semitic and non-Semitic languages in defining the linguistic strata of these names. As mentioned, some terms have been borrowed in the current vernacular from different languages and periods and employed with the same meaning, while others have been borrowed and phonetically modified to indicate an exact or a close meaning. It is impossible to say precisely when these lexemes were incorporated into the colloquial. The study of the names of the tools, objects, and installations showed a considerable contribution and a large percentage of loaned words from Semitic languages such as Akkadian (Akk), Canaanite (Can), Aramaic (Aram), Arabic (Ar), and Ethiopian (Eth) or common Semitic, while non-Semitic languages like Egyptian (Eg), Greek (Gr), Latin (Lat),⁵ Persian (Per) and Turkish (Turk) have made a small contribution.

Semitic languages

Tools	Akk	Can	Aram	Ar	Eth	Common Semitic	Unknown Semitic (?)	Total
618	43	29	78	159	4	101	40	454
100%	6.9%	4.7%	12.6%	25.7	0.6%	16.4%	6.5%	73.4%
Installations								
127		15	35	37	1	19		107
100%		11.8%	27.5%	39%	0.8%	15%		84.3%

Non-Semitic languages

Tools	Eg	Per	Turk	Gr	Lat	Fr	It	Eng	Unknown	Total
618	6	55	26	35	10	8	3	1	20	164
100%	0.10%	9%	4.2%	5.7%	1.6%	1.3%	0.5%	0.1%	3.2%	26.6%
Installations										
127	2	12		4	4	1			1	20
100%	1.7%	9.4%		3.1%	3.1%	0.8%			0.8%	15.7%

Notes

- 1 This included olive pressing, cooking molasses, producing wine and sweets, or drying plant products, such as raisins and figs to have them as food reserve during the winter.
- 2 The main building materials used to construct the temporary establishments were wooden branches for the walls, canvas for the roofs, and rugs and worn-out cloth for the rooms. In contrast to this, the permanent establishments were built of dry stones and sometimes with mortar.
- 3 Halayqa (2014: 201–206).
- 4 Halayqa (2014: 206–212).
- 5 Including French (Fr) and Italian (It).

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8 The production of alternative knowledge

Political participation of Palestinian women since the 1930s – a case study¹

Faiha Abdulhadi

Introduction

While mainstream history is written by the victorious (Sayegh 1980), social history is the story of ordinary people who make history. It is the history of marginalized women and men. When history is written from a popular and democratic perspective, it documents the experiences of ordinary people overlooked by formal history, and involves people in formulating their own history, highlighting the voices of the voiceless. In this way, another narrative emerges alongside the official one, in agreement with the recorded narrative at times, and disagreeing with it at other times. As it adds its stories, the narrative contributes to the production of an alternative knowledge of reality, the events and the men and women who created those events.

This study aims to rewrite history from a perspective that discloses and documents the effective participation and experience of women who played a major part in history, but did not participate in the act of writing history. Narrating women's experiences challenges and leads to an interaction with dominant discourses' stereotyping portraits of female vulnerability and subordination. It contributes to the production of an alternative discourse, which makes women visible and gives them a voice.

A feminist oral history makes space for women to express their views and to touch base with their feelings and emotions. This is accomplished through an interview that is attentive, participatory and characterized by empathic listening. A feminist approach to oral history is grounded in a deep understanding of women. It approaches women through women, to listen consciously to their voices and make them heard. As a multidisciplinary perspective, it makes use of a wide range of disciplines, revealing the artificiality of the separation between academic disciplines, which prevents a deep knowledge of women (Tonkin 1995). This research approach provides freedom and flexibility for both female researchers and female narrators, rendering a deeper knowledge of the psychological nature of women (Gluck and Patai 1991) and deconstructing the predominant values which traditionally befall women as a major component in history making. Thus, a new set