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## Early-Ottoman Palestinian Toponymy:

# A Linguistic Analysis of the (Micro-)toponyms in Haseki Sultan's Endowment Deed (1552)\*

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\* This paper is the collaborative product of Marom and Zadok. Marom first recognized the importance of the document, transcribed it from its manuscript, and carried out classification of the preservation of toponyms, including the conducting the relevant fieldwork (as part of the Palestinian Rural History Project, henceforth PRHP). Zadok is responsible for the core of the pre-Arabic Semitic linguistics and interpretation of the associated toponyms. The interpretation of Arabic-derived toponyms is the joined effort of both authors.

Abbreviations used in the article: BHeb. = Biblical Hebrew; CA = Classical Arabic; JAram. = Jewish Aramaic; JBA = Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; OSyr. = Old Syriac; QA = Qumran Aramaic. Other abbreviations are self-evident. The renderings of numerous lexemes below heavily rely on the dictionaries of Levantine Arabic by Barthélemy (1935–1954) and Denizeau (1960)

By Roy Marom and Ran Zadok

**Abstract:**

This article offers the first linguistic discussion of a Palestinian toponymic corpus from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It shows that the general outlines of the Palestinian nomenclature of space were well developed by that time, instead of being the more recent linguistic product of later centuries as previously thought. Many Arabic-language microtoponyms, traditionally regarded as the product of modern Palestinian rural society, reflect instead a long-lasting linguistic continuity of the country's Arabic speaking village communities. As our test case, we used the toponyms recorded in the endowment deed (*waqfiya*) of the 'Imāra al-'Āmira, the Jerusalem soup kitchen established by Roxellana (1502–1558 C.E.), Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent's favourite wife (Haseki Sultan), dated 958AH/1552 CE. The list of 195 toponyms reveals that the lowest levels of preservation are in the western part of Lod Valley (20–25%), while the highlands are characterized by higher preservation percentage of 40–60%.

**Keywords:** Palestinian toponymy; Arabic toponymy; microtoponyms; waqfiyya; Haseki Sultan

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## **Introduction**

This article is the first linguistic discussion of a Palestinian toponymic corpus from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to date. It shows that the general outlines of the Palestinian nomenclature of space were well developed by that time, instead of being the more recent linguistic product of later centuries as previously thought<sup>1</sup>. Many Arabic-language microtoponyms, traditionally regarded as the product of modern Palestinian rural society, reflect instead a long-lasting linguistic continuity of the country's Arabic speaking village communities.

As our test case, we used the toponyms recorded in the endowment deed (*waqfiya*) of the 'Imāra al-‘Āmīra, the Jerusalem soup kitchen established by Roxellana (1502–1558 C.E.), Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent's favourite wife (Haseki Sultan), dated 958AH/1552 C.E.<sup>2</sup>. The list of 195 toponyms was compiled from Manuscript Ms. AP Ar. 548, copied in 1927 and preserved in the National Library of Israel (see image 1). Transcription and textual corrections are based on Marom's annotated Hebrew translation of the text<sup>3</sup>. For convenience, the names are paginated according to al-‘Alamī's dilettante edition of the Arabic source text<sup>4</sup>. The linguistic analysis and classification scheme follows the conventions set up by Zadok<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> compare to Palmer 1881; Kabha 2020.

<sup>2</sup> Peri 1989; Myres 2000; Natshe 2000; Singer 2002; Muḥaybish 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Marom 2022b, 111–115.

<sup>4</sup> Al-‘Alamī 2001, 51–55.

<sup>5</sup> Zadok 1995–1997.

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وزاس شعب التور وشعب بين ارامينا وبيت حنينا وسما لاينجب  
البيض وعراقبه صليب وبركة قرية السحويل والدرج السالك الى قرية  
بدوا وغربا بالدرج المذكور يصعد منه الى ارجام بدوا والماروض وعين  
العليق والراحي بيت طلما ومن حقوقها التابعة لها مزرعة الخروب  
الداخلة في حدودها المذكورة ومنها ثمانية عشر قرية اطرافها من اربعة  
١٥ وعشرين قرية من قرية يقال لها الكفر جنس المستغنية عن التحديد  
لشهرتها في بطنها وكونها معلومة للحدود عند القريب والبعيد ومنها  
قرية يقال لها الكفر عازم المزرعة المعروفة بكفر طاب المستغنية من اربعة  
منها عن التحديد والتوصيف كونها معلومتين بحدودها عند وضع  
١٦ وسيف ومنها جميع قرية تقع الضان حدها القبلي سلوسا بالمكانة  
ووادى المغسل وعراقه مازن والشقي وادى السكة والدرج السالك  
الى عراق القنف وارض المنطار والطريق الى بئر الصفا ومغائر الفخوف  
والشمال الى العين ووادى الجراح وبئر جوزة شح وارض الزعفرانة

It must be stated that the renderings offered below are with various degrees of plausibility. In few obscure cases, we did not refrain from presenting purely explorative steps. Very few microtoponyms remain unexplained. The (micro-)toponyms are listed as in the source, i.e. in their Classical Arabic garb, but are followed (between strokes) wherever applicable by their pronunciation in the modern Palestinian Arabic vernacular (as testified, mostly, by oral transmission). We also indicated the perservation status of the toponyms<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Preservation status (Pr): U (unpreserved), SWP (Map of the Survey of Western Palestine, 1: 63,360, 1878–1879, and Palmer 1881), M (Survey of Palestine topo-castral maps from the 1920s–1940s, O

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(recorded in ethnographic fieldwork; for the theoretical, methodical and practical aspects of the fieldwork see Marom 2022a: 69–75).

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The cadastral list of endowed possessions is integrated into a larger, religious administrative-literary text extolling the virtues of the benefactor(s), praising God and the Prophet, and outlining specific terms of the administration of the *waqf*<sup>8</sup>. The composite nature of this document is evidenced by the existence of prior *Vorlagen*. The list is based on contemporary cadastral surveys of unencumbered imperial domains (*Ḥaṣṣ-i šāhi*) in the Levant, with clear preference for the area around the *ʿImāra*<sup>9</sup>. Generally, the fiscal units are arranged from east to west, and fiscal units subordinate to larger ones are counted together notwithstanding their geographical distance (e.g., Bayt kisā and Mazraʿat al-ḥarrūba<sup>h</sup>). Although most sites are situated between Jerusalem and Jaffa, the territorial coverage is neither fully continuous nor compact (see image 2).

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<sup>8</sup> Stephan 1945.

<sup>9</sup> For a detailed historical description of the selection and endowment process see Singer 2002, 48–54.



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their local names<sup>10</sup>. No toponyms are recorded within the boundaries themselves.

The compiler of the list was not a native speaker of Arabic, but versed of its literary style nonetheless. Therefore, his work is infused with archaisms and mistakes of rendition of Arabic colloquial forms into *fusha* Arabic. Some corruptions in the received text can be attributed to copyist mistakes in the placement of diacritical marks (like *r* for *z* in no. 140 or *ġ* for *q* in no. 178; other possible examples are nos. 99, 122, 125–126, 130 and 174). Other apparent 'mistakes' are actually the product of Ottoman writing conventions, like dropping the definite article (*al al-ta 'rīf*)<sup>11</sup>. However, some corruptions are the result of linguistic inproficiencies by the Turkish-speaking recorder of the names, reflecting the lack of certain consonants in Turkish, like his mistakes in distinguishing emphatic consonants (no. 79), and interdental (no. 141).

### **Linguistic Analysis of the (Micro-)toponyms**

The names are listed below according to their first occurrence in the document, and are numbered consecutively for reference.

1. (*al-*)*Ludd* [51, 54] (Pr: SWP, M, O: mostly *Lidd*, *il-Lidd*) < OT *Ld*, Greek Λύδδα (-α is a purely Greek insertion) reflects a *qull*-formation of L-D-D. However, this verbal root is so far not extant in Northwest Semitic, but only in Arabic ("to quarrel; withhold, hinder"). An Arabic etymology of such an ancient name is unlikely (the earliest attestation is from the Achaemenid period). It is aptly rejected by al-Hilou who also states that the root with the same meaning is extant in Ancient

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<sup>10</sup> Marom 2022b, 109–113.

<sup>11</sup> Nos. 1, 2; compare toponyms recorded in the 1596/7 *mufaṣṣal* defters by Hütteroth/Abdulfattah 1977.

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South Arabian<sup>12</sup>. However, such a root is not listed in Beeston *et al.*

1982. The Arabic derivation offered by Yaqūt from the causative stem with the meaning "strongly broken" is morphologically unlikely<sup>13</sup>. Thanks to the continuous occupation and scriptural references the Philippi's law, e.g. a vowel shift in Biblical Hebrew from \*i to \*a in closed, stressed syllables, did not apply here<sup>14</sup> (.

2. (*al-*)*Jīb* /*il-Jīb*/ [51]– the identity with OT *Gb' (wn)* (epigraphic Heb. *Gb'n*, LXX Γαβαών) is beyond doubt. This survival retains only the consonants of the 1<sup>st</sup> syllable of the ancient name. The omission of the suffix *-ōn* is a common phenomenon in Palestinian toponymy and the disappearance of the laryngeal has also several parallels in the same region, viz. *Lifta*, *Silwān* in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem as well as *Bēt 'Ūr* and *Qīla* of the outer circle<sup>15</sup>. More difficult is to explain the undeniable fact that the original /ǎ/ of the 1<sup>st</sup> syllable (as reflected in LXX Γαβαών) eventually has become /ī/<sup>16</sup>. This has no phonological motivation. Perhaps it was influenced by the presence of the toponym *Jīb* (Eusebius, Onomasticon Γηβά) more to the north which originates from BHeb. *Gb* (MT appellative *gēb* "pit, ditch, trench"<sup>17</sup>; the authentic form is Γηβ seeing that the final α is a purely Greek modification). It should be remembered that a (quasi-)homonym of *Gb* existed even much closer to Gibeon. The plural of the same lexeme is extant in the Biblical toponym *hGbym*, northeast

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<sup>12</sup> Al-Hilou 1986, 330–331, s.v. *al-Ludd*.

<sup>13</sup> Yaqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* 5, 15b.

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed treatment of Philippi's law see Suchard 2019, 141–167.

<sup>15</sup> See Elitzur 2009, 347.

<sup>16</sup> Re MT *Gib'ōn*, its *-i-*, which is due to attenuation, is not recorded before the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium CE and there is good reason for thinking that it cannot be considered one of the facts on the ground.

<sup>17</sup> As observed by Elitzur 1994 (cf. also Elitzur 2009, 27 with n. 11, 229–231, n.48; 330–331, 429; Zadok 1995–1997, 149:2.2.39, B).

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of Jerusalem (the penultimate stop of an itinerary from Ay (near the border of Judah with the Neo-Assyrian province of Samaria) to Jerusalem. It is very close to the capital as it is the next but one stop after Anatoth, in which case it is also not far from Gibeon. It is to be sought near modern Šuʿfāt according to Dalman<sup>18</sup>. On the other hand, the disappearance of the same laryngeal in names of places more to the West, viz. *il-Midya* (< *Mwdyʿyn/t*<sup>19</sup>) and *Salbīt* (< OT *Šʿlbyn/\*Šʿlbyt*) as well as, possibly,

*Niʿlīn* (apparently with ʿ < *h*), has no probative value in this case since this phonological phenomenon in their area was caused by the settlement of Samaritans there sometime in the late-Roman – early Byzantine period. The same may apply to *Bēt ʿArīf*. Ἀδασά in the Book of Maccabees (modern *Ḥirbit ʿAddāsi*<sup>20</sup>) is also devoid of probative value as the original initial consonant is masked by the Greek transcription which may render three different Semitic phonemes. *ʿAddāsi* may be a survival of either *Hdšh* or *ʿdšh* (*nomen unitatis* of Mheb. *ʿdšym* “lentils”) if the gemination of the *-d-* and the lengthening of *-a-* are secondary. The disappearance of the laryngeals in the above-mentioned toponyms around Jerusalem might have been caused by the Roman prohibition of Jewish presence in that area after the Bar-Cochba rebellion. This demographic vacuum, which existed after the huge demographic losses of the Jews due to their rebellions and the ensuing ethnic cleansing, must have been filled to some extent by settlers from other parts of the Roman Empire, who like the

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<sup>18</sup> Dalman 1916, 54; Albright 1924, 136 placed *hGbym* much more to the north, near Michmas, but his proposal is based on emendation of the text of the itinerary in Isaiah 10, 31, which is difficult to accept.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Reeg 1989, 400–401.

<sup>20</sup> Avi-Yonah 1976, 26a, s.v. Adasa.

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veterans of *Colonia* (> *Qalūniyi*) west of Jerusalem, might have been, at least partially, of non-Semitic extraction, hence unable to pronounce the pertinent laryngeal consonants.

3. *Al-Quds al-šarīf /il-Quds iš-šarīf/* (Pr: SWP, M, O) [51].
4. *Bayt al-maqdis /Bēt il-maqdis/* (Pr: O) [51]. No. 3 and 4 are Islamic designations of Jerusalem. The former which has become the regular name of the city among Muslims, is directly inspired by the Jewish epithet of Jerusalem as ('yr) *hqđš* while the latter, which seems to be merely literary, is a rendering of Heb. *byt hmqdš* (i.e. *pars pro toto*)<sup>21</sup>.
5. *Bāb al-Ġawānima<sup>h</sup> /Bāb il-Ġawānmi/* [52] (Pr: O) in the sacred precinct (*ḥaram*) of Jerusalem, pl. (collective) of the clan name *Ġānim* which is common in Palestine.
6. *al-Ḥaram /il-Ḥaram / < /~ iš-šarīf / >* (Pr: SWP, M, O) [52]. "The Sanctuary", short of the usual epithet of the Temple mount: "the Noble Sanctuary".
7. *Bayt al-qāḏī Ḥalīl /Bēt il-qāḏī Ḥalīl/* [52] (Pr: U) "House of the qadi Ḥ.".
8. *Bayt kisā /Bēt iksa/* [52] – (Pr: SWP, M, O) the 2<sup>nd</sup> component goes back to Heb. *Ks*<sup>22</sup>, an anthroponym named after the day of the full moon (*ks*'). In this case it is a calendar (> festival?) anthroponym (the residents associate the anthroponym Kisa with the founder of their village). The Massoretic vocalization of *ks*' reflects a *qatl*-formation, whereas *kisā* seems to originate from an Aramaic determinate form like OSyr. *kes'ā* which is based on an original *qatl*-formation. It may

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<sup>21</sup> Sabri 2020.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Zadok 1995–1997, 121.

be envisaged that the 2<sup>nd</sup> component has been modified during the transition of the vernacular of Judea from Judean Hebrew to a variety of Western Aramaic.

9. *ḥallat Umm laf' a<sup>h</sup> /ḥallit Imm laf' a/* [52] - (Pr: U) "The dell of the mother (= 'possessor') of the viper" – cf. CA *laf' a<sup>h</sup> < al-af' a* "viper"<sup>23</sup>. We prefer this interpretation of the last component over a derivation from the verbal root L-F- ' which is recorded in the dialect of this region (D "to develop" and the substantive *lfā* "something with which one develops something"<sup>24</sup>), since a *qatl*-substantive thereof, which would match the last component, is not recorded in the available dictionaries of vernacular Levantine Arabic.
10. *Wādī al-ṣarār /Wādī ṣ-ṣrār/* [52] (Pr: SWP, M, O) "the valley, river bed of the pebbles" < Canaanite-Heb.<sup>25</sup>; cf. *jāmi* ' (and *birkat*) *al-sarāra<sup>h</sup>* below 118.
11. *Attūn al-'arā'īš /Attūn (< lattūn) il-'arā'īš/* [52] (Pr: U) "the lime kiln of the pergolas, roofed grapevine trellises;" Alternatively the 2<sup>nd</sup> component may be misspelling of *arāyis* "anemones".
12. *al-Rujm /ir-Rujām/* "the cairn" [52] (Pr: U).
13. *'Irāq al-ḍahḍāḥ /'rāq iḍ-ḍahḍāḥ/* [52] (Pr: U) "the surface above the rock, steep wall of the shallow water" (or "of the small quantity of water").
14. *Rās šī'b at-tannūr /Rās šī'b it-tannūr/* [52] (Pr: U) "the hilltop of the narrow mountain range of the oven".

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<sup>23</sup> Ullmann 1991, 1019a.

<sup>24</sup> Seeger 2009: 237, s.v..

<sup>25</sup> Hopkins 1995.

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- 15.** *Bayt Ḥanīnā /Bēt Ḥanīna/* [52] (Pr: SWP, M, O)- The 2<sup>nd</sup> component is the Aramaic frequent anthroponym *Ḥnyn* ' "the merciful".
- 16.** *Biddū* ' /*recte Biddu*/ [52] based on B-D-D<sup>26</sup>. The orthography of the final syllable is analogous to the declension Arab. 3rd pl. m. hence devoid of historical significance.
- 17.** *Rijām Biddū* ' /*Rjām Biddu*/ [52] (Pr: O: *al-Rijmān*) "the cairns (an exceptional dialectal pl. of *rujm* like the more common *rujūm* /*rijūm*/ and *rujmān*) of B."
- 18.** *al- 'Ārūd* (Pr: O) [52] "the flat, smooth path".
- 19.** *'Ayn al- 'ullayq / 'Ēn il- 'ullēq/* [52] (Pr: SWP, M, O) "the spring of the blackberries".
- 20.** *Bayt ṭulmā /Bēt ṭulma/* [52], Crus. *Tolma* (Pr: SWP, M, O) (< Aram.<sup>27</sup>).
- 21.** *Mazra 'at al-ḥarrūba<sup>h</sup> /Mazra 'at il-ḥarrūbi/* [52] (Pr: SWP, M, O: without the definite article) "the farm of the carob tree" (*nomen unitatis*).
- 22.** *Kafr Jinnis /Kufr Jinnis/* [52] (Pr: SWP, M, O) "The village of J.". The eponym is apparently ultimately the Greek anthroponym Γενναῖος ("high-born, noble"<sup>28</sup>) or rather Γέννιος<sup>29</sup>. The latter with omission of the omicron, as common in Greek names from the

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<sup>26</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 152:2.2.44.

<sup>27</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 123.

<sup>28</sup> Fraser, Matthews *et al.* 1987, 107a; 1994, 92c; 1997, 98a; 2000, 91a–b; 2010, 108c; 2013, 89c; 2018, 97b.

<sup>29</sup> Fraser, Matthews *et al.* 2018, 97b.

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Byzantine period onwards, would be the forerunner of *Jinnis*; cf. 119 below.

23. *Kafr 'ānā* ('*āna<sup>h</sup>*) /*Kufr 'āna*/ [52], Pr: SWP, M, O) "The village of the sheep" (< Aram.<sup>30</sup>).
24. *Kafr ṭāb* (farm = *mazra 'a<sup>h</sup>*) /*Kufrṭab*/ [52] (Pr: Clermont-Ganneau<sup>31</sup>) "the good village" (< Aram. *Kpr ṭb*<sup>32</sup>).
25. *Buqay' al-ḏān* (< *ḏa'n*) / *Bqī' id-ḏān*/ [52] (Pr: SWP) "the sheep's little lowland (between mountains) or "the sheep's little cleft valley". Exceptionally the outcome of the monophthongization is /ī/ rather than the ubiquitous /ē/ because of the neighboring pharyngeal consonants.
26. *Wād al-maḡsal* /*Wād il-maḡsal*/ [52] (Pr: U) "the valley, river bed of the washing basin (var. of *miḡsal*), baptisterium".
27. *'Irāq Māzil* /*'rāq Māzil*/ [52] (Pr: SWP) "the surface above the rock, steep wall of *Māzil*" (< *Māzin* with dissimilation of nasals).
28. *Wādī al-sikka<sup>h</sup>* (1) /*Wādi s-sikki*/ [52] (Pr: SWP) "the valley, river bed of the passable route" (Jerusalem – Jericho road).
29. *'Irāq al-qaff* /*'rāq il-qaff*/ [52] (Pr: U) "the surface above the rock, steep wall of the shallow soil" (for growing vegetables, *kaff* <*qaffa*<sup>33</sup>).
30. *Arḏ al-munṭār* /*Arḏ il-munṭār*/ [52] (Pr: M) "the land of the watch-tower".

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<sup>30</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 128:2.1.1.1.7.1.

<sup>31</sup> Clermont-Ganneau 1896, 83.

<sup>32</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 101:0.13.

<sup>33</sup> Kabha 2020, 365.

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31. *Bīr al-ṣafā /Bīr iṣ-ṣafa/* [53] (Pr: U) "the well of the purity [pure water]".
32. *Muḡāyir al-fahūn /Mḡāyir il-fahūn/* "the caves of the *f*." (Pr: U) (the last component is unexplained).
33. *al-'Ayn /il-Ēn/* [53] (Pr: U) "the spring", cf. 79 below.
34. *Wādi al-jāriḥ /Wād il-jāriḥ/* [53] (Pr: U) "the valley, river bed of the hurting, injuring (one)".
35. *Bīr jawzat Šamḥ /Bīr jōzit Šaməḥ/* [53] (Pr: U) "Š.'s well of the walnut tree" (*nomen unitatis*).
36. *Arḍ al-za'frāniyya<sup>h</sup> /Arḍ iz-za'frāni/* [53] (Pr: M) "the land of *al-Z*". The latter is a determined fem. nisbe of *za'frān* "saffron".
37. *Ḥallat al-'ajūz /Ḥallit il-'ajūz/* [53] (Pr: M) "the dell of the old woman".
38. *Ḥallat Ṣalāḥ al-dīn /Ḥallit Ṣalāḥ id-dīn/* [53] (Pr: U) "Saladin's dell".
39. *Buḡay' al-ḡars /Bḡī' il-ḡars/* (Pr: U) [53] "the plantation's little lowland (between mountains) or "the plantation's little cleft valley".
40. *Bayt liqyā /Bēt liqya/* [53] (Pr: SWP, M, O) (possibly < Aram.<sup>34</sup>).
41. *A suwaydā /swēdi/* tree (*Suaeda asphaltica* or *fruticosa*<sup>35</sup>) [53] (Pr: U).
42. *Bayt nūbā /Bēt nūba/* [53] (Pr: SWP, M, O) – the 2<sup>nd</sup> component is < Aram. *nwb* ' "the fruit"<sup>36</sup>, whose cognate BHeb. *nwb* is also productive

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<sup>34</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 122.

<sup>35</sup> Dinsmore/Dalman 1911, 196:1488–1489.

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in toponymy if *Nwb* (LXX Νωβα) very close to Jerusalem has the same denotation. *Nwb* referring to a village in the southern Golan<sup>37</sup>, an Aramaic-speaking region, denotes in all probability Aram. "fruit". It seems that its Arabic survival *Nāb* is adjusted to the vernacular Arabic common verbal form "he replaces".

43. *Ḥallat al-mirjān /Ḥallit il-mirjān/* [53] (Pr: U) "the dell of the *Aragallis* plants"<sup>38</sup>.
44. *Wādī Bayt 'Ūr al-fawqā /Wādi Bēt 'Ūr il-fōqa/* [53] (Pr: SWP, M, O) "the valley, river bed of B."
45. *Ḥallat al-sal'ī /Ḥallit is-sal'ī/* [53] (Pr: U) "the dell of S.". The latter is a nisbe of *sal'* "crack, split in a rock".
46. *'Alliyat Ṣalīṭī /'Alliyit Ṣalīṭi/* [53] (Pr: U) – "the attic (2<sup>nd</sup> floor) of Ṣ.". The latter seems to be a surname deriving from Ṣ-L-Y "to pray" plus a -*t(V)* suffix.
47. *al-Ḥunaydiq /li-Ḥnēdiq/* [53] (Pr: M, O) "the little ditch, trench".
48. *'Irqān burāq /recte 'Irqān brāk/* (Pr: O: *Wadi al-Brēk*) /'Urqān [i]brāq/ [53] "the surfaces above the rock, steep walls of (the) pools;" oral transmission shows that the compilers mistook the /k/ for /q/ as in other instances in this list; cf. 82 below.
49. *Huḍbān Harūn* [53] (Pr: U) "Hārūn's plateaus" (sg. *haḍ(a)bi*). H. was listed here without the long vowel /ā/ of literary *Hārūn*, thereby rendering a colloquial form.

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<sup>36</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 122, 150: 2.2.40, 164.

<sup>37</sup> Reeg 1989, 433, s.v. *Nwb*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Dinsmore/Dalman 1911, 167:1123.

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**50.** *al-Muqrān /il-Muqrān/* [53] (Pr: U) "the aloe plants".

**51.** *Ḥallat Banī Ma'ālī /Ḥallit Bani M'āli/* [53] (Pr: U) "the dell of the sons (=clan) of M.". *Ma'ālī* is a pl. of *ma'lā<sup>h</sup>* "grandeur, nobility, illustration".

**52.** *Ḥallat al-ḥarāmiyya<sup>h</sup> /Ḥallit il-ḥarāmiyyi/* [53] (Pr: U) "the robbers' dell".

**53.** *Wādī al-fawwār /Wādi l-fawwār/* [53] (Pr: O) "the valley, river bed of the fountain, gushing water".

**54.** *Manzalat al-'rmwy't /Manzilit il-'Urmawiyāt/* [53] (Pr: U) "the camping place of the 'Urmawis". The latter ends with the fem. nisbe plus pl. *-āt*, which is common in Levantine Arabic clan names. The name is apparently based on a *qatl*-formation of '-R-M, cf. CA *'arm* "hard, wicked" or a place name *'Urma* near Beita, Nablus. The pl. *-āt* is inserted to the vulgar gentilic *-wi* in order to mark the lands of the people related to *'Urma*. Compare *'Omariyāt* and *Qaddūmiyāt*<sup>39</sup>.

**55.** *al-Maḡāsil /li-Mḡāsil/* [53] (Pr: U) "the washing basins" or (originally) "*baptisteria*".

**56.** *Marj al-jilbāna<sup>h</sup> /Marj il-jilbāni/* [53] (Pr: U) "the meadow of the *Lathyrus sativus*" (or *Vicia calcarata*<sup>40</sup>, *nomina unitatis*).

**57.** *Wād al-Ḥaddādī /Wād il-Ḥaddādi/* [53] (Pr: SWP, M, O as *Wād al-Ḥaddād*) "the valley, river bed of Ḥ." (surname <nisbe based on *ḥaddād* "smith").

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<sup>39</sup> Cf. Palmer 1881, 217 and Kabha 2020, 347 respectively.

<sup>40</sup> Dinsmore/Dalman 1911, 35: 621, 637.

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**58.** *Mazra 'at Bayt nūšif /Mazra 'at Bēt nūšif/ [53]* (Pr: SWP, M, O: *Bēt nūšef*) "the farm of B.". The ground word *bayt* "dwelling, place" is followed by a substrate lexeme, perhaps deriving from Aram. N-Š-P "to pound", cf. *nš(y)p* "fine flour" <"(finely) pounded" (G passive participle) which is recorded in ostraca from late-Achaemenid – early Hellenistic Idumea written in Official Aramaic<sup>41</sup> as well as in other Western Aramaic dialects (QA, JPA) and Old Syriac, and as *nyšp'* in Literary late Aramaic (LILA). Hence *nūšif* is a survival of G active participle (*qātil* with  $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$  which is due to the Southern Levantine Canaanite substrate), viz. "pounding, pounder". The nominal formation *qūtil* is not recorded in Arabic, but renders substrate names, such as *Jūlis*<sup>42</sup>.

**59.** *Mazra 'at Rakūbis* (text: *rkbwbs*) [53] (Pr: SWP: *Rakūbus*, M: *Raqūbis*, O: *Rakōbis*) "the farm of R.". The eponym does not look purely Semitic in view of its ending *-is*.

**60.** *Bayt laḥm /Bēt laḥm/ [53]* (Pr: SWP, M, O) – originally "the place of bread", re-interpreted in Arabic as "the place of meat"<sup>43</sup>.

**61.** *Bēt jāla<sup>h</sup> /Bēt jāla/* (cf. early Ottoman *Bayt jālā<sup>44</sup>*) [53] (Pr: SWP, M, O). The 2<sup>nd</sup> component has no transparent etymology. The Aramaic etymology al-Hilou suggested from OSyr. *gl'* "heap of stones" is acceptable only if the original *qVll*-formation has become a *qV:l*-formation, which is a very rare phenomenon<sup>45</sup>. the only example is *Jīt*

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<sup>41</sup> Yardeni 2016, 644 inaccurately rendered it as "semolina".

<sup>42</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 142:2.2.13.

<sup>43</sup> for discussion and lit., see Elitzur 2009, 220–222:46.

<sup>44</sup> Hütteroth/Abdulfattah 1977, 121.

<sup>45</sup> Al-Hilou 1986: 79, s.v..

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< \**Jitt* in Samaria (elsewhere *Jatt/Jatt̄* due to Philippi's law<sup>46</sup>). If this derivation is correct, then it is arguable (but highly tentative) that the 2<sup>nd</sup> component is a residue of \**Glym* (Γαλλυμ), a place in the 9<sup>th</sup> district of the inheritance of Judah<sup>47</sup>; homonymous with a settlement in Benjamin NE of Jerusalem,<sup>48</sup> where it is listed between Καρεμ and Βαιθηρ, i.e. *Bytr*, modern *Battīr* very close to Bēt jāla<sup>49</sup>. Survivals with omission of suffixes are common in modern Palestinian toponymy, where the same compound is recorded with or without the ground word *Byt* (see *ad* 66 below).

62. *Ḥallat al-jawz /Hallit il-jōz/* [53] (Pr: U, SWP, M, O) "the dell of the wallnuts".

63. *Rās al-ḥiniyya<sup>h</sup> /Rās il-ḥiniyyi/* [53] (Pr: M, O in the pl.: *Rūs il-ḥiniyyi*) "the hilltop of the sympathy, compassion".

64. *al-Kunaysa<sup>h</sup> /li-Knaysi/* [53] (Pr: SWP: *el-Knīseh*, M: *Kunnīsa*, O: *Knaysi*) "the little church".

65. *al-Ṭarīq al-sultānī /iṭ-Ṭarīq is-sultāni/* [53] (Pr: O) "The royal road" (e.g., Jerusalem – Ramla road).

66. *'Innāba<sup>h</sup>* [53] (Pr: SWP, M, O: also *'Annāba*) < Βετοάνναβα<sup>50</sup>. The ground word *byt* (-o- is not part of the name as it is inserted between both components in order to adjust it to the pattern of Greek compounds, cf. 104 below) here like in the survivals of Bibl. *Nblt* and

<sup>46</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 121.

<sup>47</sup> LXX addition to Jos. 15, 59.

<sup>48</sup> The list is reliable and the arrangement by district is topographically plausible, except for the unhistorical insertion of Philistia in order to obtain a total of 12 districts, which is a typological number in the OT.

<sup>49</sup> See Abel 1923: 272; 1936 [1967]: 324 and Milik 1960: 576, cf. Tsafirir *et al.* 1994: 128b with lit.

<sup>50</sup> Avi-Yonah 1976, 42b.

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Gk. Βεθβέτιν<sup>51</sup>, viz. *Bēt Nabāla*<sup>52</sup> and (*Hirbit*) *Ibīn*. More comparanda are Bibl. (*Byt*) *B'l M'wn*, (*Byt*) *Nmrh*; *Rḥwb* for *'rm Byt Rḥ(w)b* (mentioned after *'rm Ṣwb* which renders *'rm* redundant<sup>53</sup>), and possibly *Byt hkrm* > LXX Καρεμ; Talmudic (*Byt*) *M'wn* and *By Rmth* > *Rmt*<sup>54</sup>; Neo-Assyrian (*Bīt-*)*Abu-ilā 'i*<sup>55</sup>; Neo/Late-Babylonian (*Bīt-*)*Abi-ahi*, *-Gīrā* (*recte -Gērâ*), *-Hahhūri*, *-Ibâ*, *-Purnaki*, *-Taqbi-lāšir*<sup>56</sup>.

**67.** *Bayyārat 'Innāba<sup>h</sup>* /*Bayyārat 'Innābi*/ [53] (Pr: O: *Bayyārit al-Balad* [scil. 'Innāba<sup>h</sup>]) "the Artesian well of 'I."<sup>57</sup>.

**68.** *Kafrtā /Kafarṭa*/ [53] (Pr: SWP: *Kefrata*, O: *Kafarta*) < \**Kprt* ' with *t* > *ṭ* under the influence of the preceding *r*. It is based on *kpr* "village" with a conglomerate of suffixes, viz. *-t-ā*; both the base and the suffixes are Aramaic.

**69.** *al-Ja 'ariyya<sup>h</sup>* /*il-Ja 'ariyyi*/ [53] (Pr: SWP: *Wādī l-ja 'ār*; M, O) is a feminine nisbe which is based on a form deriving from J-<sup>c</sup>-R "to bellow, roar" (bovines) or "to sing strongly and badly"<sup>58</sup>.

**70.** *Wādī al-sikka<sup>h</sup>* (II) /*Wādī s-sikki*/ [53] (Pr: M, O) "the valley, river bed of the passable route (Jerusalem – Ramla road).

**71.** *Darb al-ḡafr* /*Darb il-ḡafr*/ [53] (Pr: U) "the way of the (caprid) kid" or "of the small herbage".

<sup>51</sup> Avi-Yonah 1976, 37b.

<sup>52</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 155:2.2.63.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Bagg 2007: 53, s.v. *Bīt Ruhubi*, *recte Bīt Ruhūbi*.

<sup>54</sup> Reeg 1989, 113–114, 124. For the former cf. Avi-Yonah 1976, 40a.

<sup>55</sup> Bagg 2017, 108–109.

<sup>56</sup> Zadok 1985, 78, 88–89, 91, 99, 107.

<sup>57</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 104, 146:2.2.28.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Zadok 2011, 351, where *Wādī l-ja 'ār* east of 'Innābi is mentioned.

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72. *Bi'r Mā'in / Bīr Ma'in* [53] (Pr: SWP, M; O: *Bīr Immā'in*), Crus.

*Bermenayn*<sup>59</sup> "The well of Ma'in"<sup>60</sup>. The latter is recorded in the toponymy of southern Judea and southern Philistia<sup>61</sup>. Considered the name of one of Jacob's sons<sup>62</sup>. The additional *im* is secondary.

73. *'Ajanjūl / 'Ajinjūl* [53] (Pr: SWP: *el-Juljul*; M: *'Ajanjūl*, O: *'Ajinjūl*) <JPA *'glgw* "small calf"<sup>63</sup>.

74. *Marj 'Āzir* [53] (Pr: U) "the meadow of 'A.". The latter is a hypocoristicon of Elazar (*La'zar*, Lazarus), a Christian given name.

75. *'Ayn al-'uwayna<sup>h</sup> / 'Ēn li-'wēna* [53] (Pr: O: *Jabal il-'wēna*) "the source of the little spring" is a quasi-tautological compound, cf. 92 below.

76. *Jūrat al-Rās / Jūrat ir-Rās* [53] (Pr: U) – *Lit.* "The hollow of the hilltop" which would seem to be a *contradictio in adjecto*. Hence it should actually denote "the hollow of *ir-Rās*". Compare the general phenomenon of naming plots of land and other micro-topographical features after dominant and imposing locales, such as ruins, mounds and mountains.

77. *Bayt Sīrā / Bēt Sīra* [53] (Pr: SWP, M, O) – the 2nd component is an ancient survival. It is thought to originate from the Biblical female name *Š'rh* (< \**šī'r-at*<sup>64</sup>).

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<sup>59</sup> Beyer 1942, 178.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Zadok 1995–1997, 124:2.1.11.2.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Avi-Yonah 1976, 78b, s.v. Maon I–II.

<sup>62</sup> Clermont-Ganneau 1896, II, 78.

<sup>63</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 147:2.2.34; cf. Sokoloff 2017, 444a.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Zadok 1995–1997, 122–123.

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- 78.** *al-Mazanīq /li-Mzēniq/* [53] (Pr: M: *el-Muzeiniq*, O: *Mzēniq*)– “the narrow passages, blind alleys” (pl. of *maznaq*<sup>65</sup>); (*li-*)*Mzēniq* denotes “the little narrow passage, blind alley”.
- 79.** *al-‘Ayn /il-‘Ēn/* [53] (Pr: O) “the spring” (cf. 33 above).
- 80.** *al-Burj /il-Burj/* [53] (Pr: SWP, M, O) – *Lit.* “The tower”, actually referring to a Crusader keep.
- 81.** *Ḥirbat al-burj /Ḥirbit il-burj/* [53] (Pr: SWP, M, O) “the ruin of the tower”. A Crusader keep.
- 82.** *Wādī burāq (recte burāk) /Wādi brāk/* [53] (Pr: O) “the valley, river bed of the pools” (Marom, cf. 48 above).
- 83.** *Bayt šannā /Bēt šanna/* [53] (Pr: SWP, M, O) – the 2<sup>nd</sup> component is Aram. *šn* ‘the rock’ (< “tooth”), a *qill*-formation which shifted to *qall* due to Philippi’s law (cf., e.g, *jinn* > *jann* [žann] in northern Palestinian Arabic according to an informant from Yarka).
- 84.** *Bayt al-šunnāra /Bēt iš-šunnāra/* [53] (Pr: U); *al-‘Alamī* has the indefinite form (*šunnāra*) “the place of the cat (or ‘of the partridge’)”.
- 85.** *SVbtārah /Sibtāra/* [54] (Pr: SWP: *nisbe* form *saṭṭāri*; O: *Subtāra*, *Sibtāra*, *suttāra*) – non-Semitic. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the /b/ had been assimilated to the following /t/, resulting in the geniation of the /t/<sup>66</sup>.
- 86.** *Sarafand* [54] (Pr: SWP: *Šarafand*; M; O: *Šarafənd*, all forms with *š*) < *Šarafand* is originally related to Phoenician \**Šrpt*<sup>67</sup>).

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<sup>65</sup> Dozy 1881 [1968], I, 607b.

<sup>66</sup> Robinson/Smith 1841, Appendix: 121 – *Suṭṭara*; Palmer 1881, 2918 – *Šekh Mḥammad al-Suṭṭari*.

<sup>67</sup> See al-Hilou 1986, 230; Zadok 1995–1997, 140 with n. 21; 163.

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**87.** *al-Baḥr al-māliḥ /il-Baḥr il-māliḥ/* [53] (Pr: U); "The Salty Sea", e.g. the Mediterranean Sea, cf. an endowment deed dated 1278 CE<sup>68</sup>).

**88.** *Arzayā /Arzya/ > /Irzya/* [54] (Pr: M *Irzya*) is based on *arz* "Cupressus horizontalis"<sup>69</sup> (with *a-* > *i-* after an initial glottal stop); the ending is an Aramaic nisbe (gentilic) with simplification. The sequence consonantal cluster (C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>) + semi-vowel is rare, but (unlike C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>) phonotactically possible.

**89.** *Jisr al-qanāṭīr /Jisr il-qanāṭīr/* [54] (Pr: U) "the bridge of the vaulted arches").

**90.** *al-Wādī /il-Wādi/* [54] (Pr: O), Ayalon Stream.

**91.** *Qanāt yarda<sup>h</sup> /Yarda/* [54] "the channel of *Yarda*" (Pr: U).

**92.** *'Ēn yarda<sup>70</sup>* "the spring of *Yarda*" (ancient survival without *imāla*). It is a tautology since Aram. *yrd'* denotes "the spring" (an analogical case of a tautology is the name of the ford of *Mḥāḍat 'abara*, i.e. Arab. "ford" and Aram. "*idem*", on the Jordan river, cf. also 75 above), cf. *Ḥirbat yarda* and *Ḥallit yarda* not far from the spring.

**93.** *Mazra 'at al-barriyya<sup>h</sup> /Mazra 'at il-barriyyi/* [54] (Pr: SWP, M, O) "the farm of the outer (parts)".

**94.** *'Irāq al-baqūr /'rāq il-baqūr/* [54] (Pr: U) "the surface above the rock, steep wall of the herd of oxen" (CA *baqūr*).

**95.** *al-Ḥarrūba<sup>h</sup> /il-Ḥarrūbi/* [54] (Pr: U) "the carob tree".

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<sup>68</sup> Marom 2022a, 250.

<sup>69</sup> Dinsmore/Dalman 1911, 202:1607a.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Gutfeld 2010, 3; Hofeditz 2020, 104:82–71–72.

**96.** *Mazra 'at šīḥa<sup>h</sup> /Mazra 'at šīḥa/* [54] (Pr: SWP and O: *muḡur šīḥa*)

“the farm of the pit, cavity, ditch” (Aram. *šyh*’) – exemplifying and motivated by the fact that the site has dozens of caves and underground caverns<sup>71</sup>. It was re-interpreted as *nomen unitatis* of Arab. *šīḥ* “*Artemisia herba-alba*”<sup>72</sup>.

**97.** *Marj Kab(b-)kūr* [54] Pr: U) “the meadow of K.”. The latter’s segmentation is uncertain as it is unexplained. The 1<sup>st</sup> and last syllables are homophonous with *kabb* denoting a measure and *kūr* “blacksmith’s furnace” respectively, but the combination does not yield a satisfactory sense<sup>73</sup>. Perhaps non-Semitic.

**98.** (*Šajarat*) *Bahlūl* [54] (Pr: U) “the tree of B.”. *Bahlūl* is a common surname among Arabophones. The motivation for the naming has been enhanced (despite its pejorative meaning, viz. “fool, stupid”), since it designates a popular literary-folkloristic figure. Trees can be named after individuals (also as *Ereignisnamen*). Marom cautiously considers whether it is a purely orthographic corruption of an original *mallūl* (a species of oak).

**99.** *Ḥadbat nijma<sup>h</sup> /Ḥadbit nijmi/* [54] (Pr: U) “the convexity land of the shrub, bush”.

**100.** *Sāfirīya<sup>h</sup> /Sāfriyyi/* [54] (Pr: SWP, M, O all with the definite article: *is-Sāfriyyi*). The identification with *Kpr Spwryy*<sup>74</sup> is problematic because the 2<sup>nd</sup> component of the latter (*spwr-*) is of a different formation which cannot be reconciled with *sāfir-*. An

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<sup>71</sup> Marom 2022b, 121.

<sup>72</sup> Dinsmore/Dalman 1911: 159:954.

<sup>73</sup> Dozy 1881 [1968], 2, 444a.

<sup>74</sup> Al-Hilou 1986, 200 and Reeg 1989, 359–360, s.v. with lit.

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Aramaic *qātil*-formation deriving from S-P-R (BHeb. and JBA), i.e.

"counting, counter", is to be preferred<sup>75</sup>. It ends with an adjectival suffix.

**101.** *Jūrat al- 'amūd /Jūrat il- 'amūd / (recte Jawzat /jōzit/)* [54] (Pr: U)

"the hollow (*recte*: 'walnut tree') of the column".

**102.** *Qit'at Sa'd wa Sa'id /~ Sa'id wa S'id/* [54] (Pr: U) "the plot of land

of S. and S." Called after a pair of folkloric heroes/holy men with *maqāms* in Iksāl and Rantīs, among other places<sup>76</sup>.

**103.** *Qit'at al-jāmi' / ~ il-jāmi' /* [54] (Pr: U) "the plot (of land) of the

mosque" (e.g., the land endowed to the upkeep of the mosque of *Sāfirīya*<sup>77</sup>).

**104.** *Bayt Dajan /Bēt Dajan/* (Pr: SWP, M, O) <Canaanite. Both

Standard Babylonian (in a Neo-Assyrian inscription from 701 BC) *Bīt (É)-da-gan-na*<sup>78</sup> and [Bητ]οδεγανα on the Madaba map (6<sup>th</sup> century CE) show that regarding the 2<sup>nd</sup> component its stress was on the *ultima* (in view of the <nn> and the <ε> which points to an attenuation of the unstressed *a* of the 1<sup>st</sup> syllable). The final α is in order to adjust the compound name to the Greek declension, the more so since the -o- in its *Kompositionsfüge* is another adjustment to the Greek system of compounds<sup>79</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> Cf. Zadok 1995–1997, 109:0.23; 2010, 870, II, 9.

<sup>76</sup> 'Arrāf 1993, 98, 274.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Marom 2022b, 118.

<sup>78</sup> Bagg 2007, 48, s.v..

<sup>79</sup> See Zadok 1995–1997, 120:2.1.1.1.1. cf. Elitzur 2009, 59, no. 66 above and no. 105 below.

- 105.** *Dajāna<sup>h</sup> / [id-]Dajāniyi / [54]* (Pr: SWP: Jānia<sup>h</sup>; M: el Janiya; O: ij-Jāniyi with dropping of the initial *d*<sup>80</sup>). The nisbe (> surname) *Dajāni* has /ā/. The same applies to *Dajāna<sup>h</sup> / [id-]Dajāniyya<sup>h</sup> / (> Jānya with omission of the initial unstressed and short syllable, more precisely *dā-+j > j-*, and simplification of the fem. gentilic suffix). The same shift happened in Palestinian Arab. *jāj < dājāj < dajāj* "chicken". In view of the aforesaid there is good reason for thinking that the form *Dajāna<sup>h</sup>* is an artificial and corrupted form.*
- 106.** *Ḥarbatā / Ḥarbata / "the ruin" [54]* (< Aram.<sup>81</sup>). It is identical with modern Ḥ. Banī Ḥārīt. The latter is a tribe which left its imprint elsewhere in Palestinian toponymy.
- 107.** *Bil'īn* – possibly < Can.-Heb. or Aram. *B'lyn* with metathesis, Middle-Heb. has pl. m. *-īn* like Aram.<sup>82</sup>).
- 108.** *Maḡārat 'Irāq al-ḥamām / Mḡarit 'rāq il-ḥamām / [54]* (Pr: O) "the cave of the rock, steep wall of the hollows" (homophonous with *ḥamām* "doves").
- 109.** *'Ayn Ayyūb / 'Ēn Ayyūb / [54]* (Pr: M, O) "Job's spring".
- 110.** *'Irāq al-raḥma<sup>h</sup> / 'rāq ir-raḥmi / [54]* (Pr: U) "the surface above the rock, steep wall of the vulture", less likely "sweet to the ear, soft (voice)".
- 111.** *Dayr 'Ammār / Dēr 'Ammār / [54]* (Pr: SWP, M, O) "the monastery of 'A."

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<sup>80</sup> See Marom 2022b, 114, 137 and cf. 104 above.

<sup>81</sup> See Zadok 1995–1997, 134.

<sup>82</sup> See Zadok 1995–1997, 138.

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- 112.** *Rās marj al-sūs /Rās marj is-sūs/* [54] (Pr: M & O) "the hilltop of the camping place of the licorice" (cf. 162 below).
- 113.** *Jardā /Jarda/* [54] (Pr: SWP, M, O) < Aram. "Bare place" (OSyr. *grd'* "bare", for Arabic cognate toponyms, s.vv. *ağ-ğard*, *Hirbat/Mğārat il-~*<sup>83</sup>; cf. perhaps also Lebanese *Žurday (qutl +* adjectivising *-ay*, which Wild left unexplained<sup>84</sup>).
- 114.** *Jindās* [54] (Pr: SWP, M, O) – presumably originally a common anthroponym, viz. Crus. *Gendas* < Γεννάδης < Γεννάδιος<sup>85</sup>; cf. 115 below.
- 115.** *Jisr Jindās* [54] (Pr: SWP, M, O) "the bridge of J", cf. 114 above.
- 116.** *Bayt 'Arīf /Bēt 'Arīf/* presumably < *Byt Hrp* [54] (Pr: O: Bēt 'Urīf, Bēt 'Arīf) (with *ḥ* > ' as, e.g., in *Ni 'līn*). The vocalization of the 2<sup>nd</sup> component of Bēt 'Urīf is not a true variant, but due to attenuation */\*arīf/* which is caused by the stress on the long *ultima*.
- 117.** *Arḍ al-jāmi'* [54] (Pr: U) "land of the mosque" (e.g., the land endowed to the upkeep of the mosque of Jindās<sup>86</sup>).
- 118.** *Birkat al-sarāra<sup>h</sup> /jāmi' /* and */birkit is-srāra/* "the mosque and the pool of the the pebble" [54] (< *ṣarāra*, *nomen unitatis*, cf. *ṣarār* of Wādi *ṣarār* above, 10). Cf. *ṣarāra* (of *Rujm ~*) in Transjordan, which Conder inaccurately rendered as "boulders"<sup>87</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup> Cf. Ababneh 2009, 190b.

<sup>84</sup> Wild 1973, 116.

<sup>85</sup> Clermont Ganneau (1896 [1971], 118 and Marom 2021, 14.

<sup>86</sup> Marom 2021, 30–32.

<sup>87</sup> Conder 1889, 208.

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**119.** *Jisr Kafr Jinnis* [54] (Pr: O: *Jisr Kufərjinnis*) "the bridge of KJ"),  
cf. 22 above.

**120.** *Yāzūr /Yazūr/* (< *Azūr*<sup>88</sup>; [54] (Pr: SWP, M, O) may perhaps derive from 'Z-R "to gird, encompass, equip" (Heb. with cognates in JAram. and Arab.). This derivation is highly hypothetical as this root is so far not productive in the toponymy. The earliest occurrence, viz. Standard Babylonian *A-zu-ru* (in a Neo-Assyrian inscription from 701 B.C.E.) which is compatible with LXX Ἀζωρ<sup>89</sup>, is presumably a *qātūl*-formation seeing that a sequence of initial /ā/ and /ū/ would cause the /ā/ to shift to /ū/ due to Neo-Assyrian vowel harmony. The initial *y-* is secondary and for all we know does not predate the Middle Ages after the local population switched to the Arabic vernacular. Since *qātūl* has shifted to *qatūl* in Palestinian Arabic, the possibility that /*Yazūr*/ has been re-interpreted in this vernacular is to be considered as the possible motivation for this shift<sup>90</sup>. Borée and al-Hilou consider the form with *y-* to be the original one<sup>91</sup>, but insertion of *y-* before initial *a-* is extant in Palestinian toponymy, e.g. (Ḥirbit) *Yarzi* (presumably < *Arzā*, cf. the Lebanese homonymous toponym *Yarzi* which Wild left unexplained<sup>92</sup>). For more examples of this interchange in Levantine Arabic toponymy, s.vv. *Azdūd*, *Yabrīn*<sup>93</sup>. A more complicated process might have resulted in modern *Yaqūq*, which is identified with OT

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<sup>88</sup> Cf. Zadok 1995–1997, 116.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Bagg 2007. 38, s.v. Azuru.

<sup>90</sup> See Zadok 2010, 865.

<sup>91</sup> Borée 1930 [1968], 101, 6; al-Hilou 1986, 382, s.v..

<sup>92</sup> Wild 1973, 175.

<sup>93</sup> See al-Hilou 1986: 37, 384, viz. Elitzur 2009, 349, 2b.

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*Ḥqwq* (LXX Ικα/ωκ), Talmudic *Ḥ(y)qwq* in eastern Galilee<sup>94</sup>: the weakening of the initial laryngeal, viz. *ḥ(V)-* > *'(V)-*, was followed by *'-* > *y-*. Sporadic weakening of laryngeals is recorded in and around Galilee, including two cases in the Golan which is adjacent to eastern Galilee<sup>95</sup>.

**121.** *Ġalīt* [54] (Pr: U) - a *qatīl*-formation of Ġ-L-Ṭ "to commit a mistake, slip" is not recorded; perhaps an orthographic corruption for *Ġalīz* (due to omission of the superscript diacritic dot) "thick, coarse".

**122.** *Bayt qaṣṣāb /Bēt qaṣṣāb/* [54] (Pr: U) – "butcher's house", apparently a slaughter house.

**123.** *al-Ḥurūr al-aḥmar /li-Ḥrūr il-aḥmar/* [54] (Pr: U) "the red *Ḥ*". The first component is unexplained.

**124.** *al-Atmād* [54] (text *al-Atmār*) /*li-Tmād*/ (Pr: U) "the water holes".

**125.** *al-Ḥafā'ir /li-Ḥfāyir/* [54] (Pr: U) "the excavations" (for finding water<sup>96</sup>).

**126.** *Ḥadbat Samūn al-qibli /Ḥadbit Samūn il-qibli/* [54] (Pr: U) "the southern convexity of *Samūn*". The latter is an anthroponym which is also extant in *Bēsamūn* < *Bayt Samūn* (based on Aram. *šm* "name"<sup>97</sup>).

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<sup>94</sup> Cf. Reeg 1989, 248–249.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Elitzur 2009: 347 with n. 15.

<sup>96</sup> Marom 2022a, 251–253.

<sup>97</sup> See Zadok 1995–1997, 124.

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127. *Wādī manzil Sākya<sup>h</sup> /Wādi manzil Sākyi/* [54] (Pr: U) "the valley, river bed of the inn of (the village of) S." The village's name (<*Sāqya<sup>h</sup>*) denotes "Persian wheel, Latin tympanum".
128. *Salama<sup>h</sup> /Salami/* [54] (Pr: SWP, M, O) originally consists of a *qatal*-formation of Š-L-M "to yield, pay" (Aram.) and the Aramaic hypocoristic suffix *-ā*.
129. *Abār al-ṭamād /Abār it-ṭmād/* [54] (Pr: U) "the wells of the water holes".
130. *Yahūdiyya<sup>h</sup> /Yahūdiyyi/* [54] (Pr: SWP, M, O; in the 1920s the name was officially changed to *al-‘Abbāsiyya<sup>h</sup> /il-‘Abbāsiyyi/* for nationalistic reasons<sup>98</sup>). It is a fem. nisbe of *Yhwd<sup>99</sup>*.
131. *Sidrat Mūsa /Sidrit Mūsa/* [54] (Pr: U) "Moses' lote tree".
132. *Ḥajar balāṭa<sup>h</sup> /Ḥajar balāṭa/* "stone slab, flagstone, flat stone".
133. *Arḍ Abī kabbāš /Arḍ Abū kabbāš/* [54] (Pr: U) "land of A.", viz. the father (= 'possessor') of a heap of timber"<sup>100</sup>; *Arḍ Abī Kabbāšī /Arḍ abū Kabbāšī/* is a variant thereof: its last component ends with a nisbe. It probably conveys that the *kunya* < professional designation is used as a surname here.
134. *Birkat Abī miqbil /Birkat Abū miqbil/* [54] (Pr: U) "the pool of A.", viz. "the father of the one who turns out next; favorable, happy".

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<sup>98</sup> Cf. Zadok 2010: 868.

<sup>99</sup> See Eissfeldt 1931.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Seeger 2009: 222, s.v. *kbš*.

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**135.** *ṣnawbara<sup>h</sup> /ṣnōbara/* "pine tree", *nomen unitatis* [54]. We listed it because it is a rare occurrence of a *nomen unitatis* of this species in toponymy.

**136.** *Ġābat al-ṣalqa<sup>h</sup> /Ġābit iṣ-ṣalqa/* [54] (Pr: Ottoman cadastral texts 1870: *al-Ġāba<sup>h</sup> /il-Ġābi/*; M: *al-Ghubaiya<sup>101</sup>*) "oak wood" (lit. "wood, sparse forest of the bundle of thorns"); *al-Ghubaiya /li-Ġbayyi/* is a diminutive thereof.

**137.** *Jummayz al-'Absī /Jummēz il-'Absi/* [54] (Pr: U) "the sycamores of 'A.'" A. is a nisbe form of 'Abs – after the name of an Arabic tribe Banū 'Abs.

**138.** *Ḥukr ṣayḥ 'Alī /Ḥukər šēḥ 'Ali/* [54] (Pr: U) "Sheikh A.'s vegetable gardens" (same meaning as *ḥawakīr*; cf. a contemporary inscription from Majdal 'Asqalān dated 1551 C.E., where *ḥukr* clearly denotes a pl.<sup>102</sup>). CA *ḥukr* primarily means the rent paid to the owner of the land. In this case it secondarily refers to the land itself; cf. *Sidrat ḥukr Ḥamdān* below, 157.

**139.** *Bāṭin Rāmīl (recte Zāmīl)* [54] (Pr: U) "the convexity of Z.", viz. an anthroponym current in the Ottoman period with an omission of the initial diacritic in the MS.

**140.** *Muqata<sup>h</sup> (text Muqatā<sup>h</sup>) /maqāti/ Sa'dūn* [54] (Pr: U) "S.'s cucumber (*quttā'*)-beds"<sup>103</sup>. Very probably near or on *Wādi Sa'dūn*. A

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<sup>101</sup> Marom 2020, 71.

<sup>102</sup> Sharon 1997, 187–189.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Dalman 1928–1942, II, 214 and Zadok 2010, 863.

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plot of land was named after this watercourse South of Bēt Dajan  
according to Baldensperger<sup>104</sup>.

141. *Jummayz Awlād Ḥasan /Jummēz [a]Wlād Ḥasan/* [54] (Pr: U) "the sycamores of Ḥ.'s sons" (a clan).

142. *Mirāj al-baqqā<sup>h</sup> /Mrāj il-baqqi/* [55] (Pr: U) "the meadows of the gnat, bug" (*nomen unitatis*) with a rare form of the pl. (usually *murūj /mrūj/*).

143. *Salfīt (recte Salbīt) /Salbīt/* [55] (Pr: SWP: *Selbit*; M, O: *Silbīt*) < Canaanite-Hebr.<sup>105</sup>; cf. 144 below.

144. *'Ayn Salfīt (recte Salbīt) /'Ēn Salbīt/* [55] (Pr: O) "the spring of the village of S."; cf. 143 above.

145. *Wādī al-jāmi' /Wādi l-jāmi' /* [55] (Pr: U) "the valley, river bed of the mosque" (local mosque endowment).

146. *Barfilyā /Barfilya/* [55] (Pr: SWP, M, O: also, *Barfīli*) < *Πορφυρίων/Πορφυρέων* (originally name of a mythological king, based on the word for "purple-fish") > Crus. *Porphilia*; 1595/6 C.E.: 152: *Ibarfilya*<sup>106</sup>. It is originally homonymous with *Πορφυρέων Πόλις* north of Sidon whose name is thought to be coined in the Ptolemaic period<sup>107</sup>. This survival is with dissimilation of liquids, motivated by the presence of original two *r*-s, cf. Gk. *μαργαρίτης* > OSyr. *mrgnyt*<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Baldensperger 1895, 118.

<sup>105</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 137:2.2.1.

<sup>106</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 160:3.1.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Hölscher 1953.

<sup>108</sup> Ciancaglini 2008, 207.

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and for Greek *-ιον* > Sem. *-y' /-yā/* cf. *κλωβίων* > OSyr. *qlwby'*

"cage"<sup>109</sup> ; cf. also *στάδιον* > OSyr. *'šdy'* "race-course".

**147.** *Šihriḡ al-ḥaffār /Šihriḡ il-ḥaffār/* [55] (Pr: U) "the cistern of the defender".

**148.** *al-Marj* (Pr: U) */il-Marj/* "the meadow".

**149.** *Ranṡyā /Ranṡya/* [55] (Pr: SWP: Rantie<sup>h</sup>; M: Rantiya /Rantiya/; O: *Rantiye, Ranṡi, Crus. Rentye*<sup>110</sup>) – perfectly matches *Ῥαντία*<sup>111</sup>. The name is apparently related to that of *Ranṡis* which is a Grecized form of a Hebrew name (Bibl. *Rmtym*, LXX *Ἀρμαθαίμ*); with *t* > *ṡ* under the influence of *r*.

**150.** *Jisr umm al-sa'd /Jisr imm is-sa'd/* [55] (Pr: SWP: Jisr es Sūda<sup>h</sup>) "the bridge of the mother ('possessor') of the (good) chance".

However, on the SWP map (XIII) it is marked as *Jisr al-sūda<sup>h</sup> /Jisr is-sūdi/* which Palmer rendered as "the bridge of blackish stony ground" or "of the black water"<sup>112</sup>.

**151.** *(atar)Misqā<sup>h</sup> ibn Rumayḡ /Misqā Ibn Rmēḡ/* [55] (Pr: U) "(the remains) of Ibn Rumayḡ's trough". Ibn Rumayḡ inhabited nearby al-Muzayri'a during the 18th–20th centuries<sup>113</sup>.

**152.** *al-Ṭira<sup>h</sup> /iṡ-Ṭiri/* [55] (Pr: SWP, M, O: also, *Ṭirit Dandan*) (< Aram.<sup>114</sup>).

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<sup>109</sup> Schall 1960, 58, 62–63.

<sup>110</sup> Beyer 1949–1950, 253.

<sup>111</sup> see Avi-Yonah 1976, 90b.

<sup>112</sup> Palmer 1881, 215)

<sup>113</sup> Marom 2022b, 115.

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- 153.** *Qūla<sup>h</sup>/Qūli, Quliyi/* [55] (Pr: SWP, M, O) Crus. *Chola, Cola*<sup>115</sup> (< Aram.<sup>116</sup>).
- 154.** *Sidrat al-banūn /recte Sidrit il-banīn/* [55] (Pr: U) "the sons' lote tree" (scribal hypercorrection of the oblique pl. m. to nom. pl. m. CA *banūn*).
- 155.** *Buyūt sidr /Byūt sidər/* [55] (Pr: U) "Houses of (the plot with) lote trees".
- 156.** *Ḥadbat qandūl /Ḥadbit qandūl/* [55] (Pr: U) "the convexity of the thorny shrub, scrub (*Calycotome villosa*)".
- 157.** *Sidrat ḥukr Ḥamdān /Sidrit ḥukər Ḥamdān/* [55] (Pr: U) "the lote tree of the vegetable gardens of Ḥamdān" (cf. *Ḥukr šayḥ 'Alī* above, 138).
- 158.** *Masīl and birkat Miqbil /Msīl, birkit Miqbil/* [55] (Pr: U) "the water-course, stream bed and the pool of M."
- 159.** *Ni'līn* [55] (Pr: U, SWP, M, O) < Aram. (ultimately < BHeb.<sup>117</sup>).
- 160.** *Ḥirbat Šiltā /Ḥirbit Šilta/* [55] (Pr: SWP, M, O: Šilta) (< Aram.<sup>118</sup>).
- 161.** *Wādī al-mišlib /Wādī l-mišlib/* [55] (Pr: M) "the valley, river bed of the hardening one". Palmer's "The valley of the Crucifixion"<sup>119</sup> is inaccurate, as *mišlib* < *mušlib* is not a substantive, but an active

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<sup>114</sup> See Zadok 1995–1997, 149:2.2.39.

<sup>115</sup> Beyer 1949–1950, 254.

<sup>116</sup> See Zadok 1995–1997, 150:2.2.40.

<sup>117</sup> See Zadok 1995–1997, 138:2.2.2.

<sup>118</sup> See Zadok 1995–1997, 147:2.2.36.

<sup>119</sup> Palmer 1881, 248.

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participle of the causative stem (*ašlaba*), which basically means

“gathering strength, effort” > “hardening” (cf. *šalb* “hard ground”).

162. *Marj al-sūs /Marj is-sūs/* [55] (Pr: M, O) “the meadow of of the licorice” (cf. 112 above).
163. *Dayr qaddīs /Dēr qaddīs/* [55] (Pr: SWP, M, O) “the monastery of a holy (one)” (< Aram.<sup>120</sup>).
164. *Ḥallat al-mays /Ḥallit il-mēs/* [55] (Pr: M: *El-Maisa /il-mēsa/*, *nomen unitatis*) “the dell of the *celtis australis* trees”.
165. *Marj al-tahlīl /Marj it-tahlīl/* [55] (Pr: U; O: *Jabəl il-Mhallal*) “the meadow of the jubilation, rejoicing”.
166. *Šabtīn /Šibtīn/* [55] (Pr: SWP, M, O) (< Aram. *šbtyn* “sticks, canes”<sup>121</sup>).
167. *Lattūn ḥallat Mālik /Lattūn ḥallit Mālik/* [55] (Pr: O: *ḥallit Mālik*) “the lime kiln of M.’s dell”.
168. *Maḡārat al-ḥarīq /Mḡārat il-ḥarīq/* [55] (Pr: U) “the cave of the cleared [lit. ‘scorched’] ground” (short for *ḥarīqa*<sup>122</sup>).
169. *Ši‘b ḥallat Šāwar /Ši‘b ḥallit Šāwar/* [55] (Pr: M, O) “the narrow mountain range of the dell of Š.”. The latter is an Arabic anthroponym.
170. *Qibyā /Qibya/* < Aram. “The cistern”<sup>123</sup> [55] (Pr: SWP, M, O).

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<sup>120</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 130:1.1.8.2.

<sup>121</sup> Zadok 1976, 305b *ad* 84; 1995–1997, 136.

<sup>122</sup> Kabha 2020, 179.

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171. *Ma' Abī ġurayyib /Mayy Abū ġrayyib / [55] (Pr: U)* "the water-course of Abū ġrayyib". The *kunya* denotes "the father of the little strange, extraordinary one". *Ġrayyib* is extant as a Palestinian surname.
172. *Silsilat al-nizā' /Silsilit in-nizā' / [55] (Pr: U)* "the [stone] fence of the contention, discord" (e.g., contested-boundary fence).
173. *Lattūn ġallūš* "the lime kiln of Gh." [55] (Pr: U) The latter is recorded neither as an appellative nor as a name. It may be a mistake for the surname 'Allūš which is current in Palestine.
174. *Bāṭin al-šawāšī /Bāṭin iṣ-šwāši/ [55] (Pr: U)* "the convexity, knoll of the ṣ." The latter perhaps derives from Ṣ-W/Y-Ṣ "to cheep" (cry of the chicken).
175. *Wādī al-qurayqa' /Wādi li-qrēqa' / [55] (Pr: SWP, M, O)* "the valley, river bed of the little tortoise, turtle" (diminutive of *qurqa'a*, pl. *qarāqi'*).
176. *Qāqūn /Qaqūn/* "little pelican" (Pr: SWP, M, O; also, in Ottoman documents from the 17<sup>th</sup> century: *Qāqūm*) Crus. *Caco*, *Caccho* among other forms<sup>124</sup> (< Aram.<sup>125</sup>).
177. *Mazra'at al-ġazālāt (recte il-qazālāt* according to Marom) [55] (Pr: M) "the farm of the Q." (apparently a clan name, with fem. pl. -*āt*). Levantine Arab. *qazli* "blaze" does not match the formation of the

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<sup>123</sup> See Zadok 1995–1997: 138:2.2.2.

<sup>124</sup> Pringle 1986, 58.

<sup>125</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 148:2.2.38.

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- last component which is alternately derived from Turkish *kızıl* ("red");  
for red loam soil<sup>126</sup>.
- 178.** *Kafr sibb /Kufər sibb/* [55] (Pr: SWP, M, O) (< Aram.<sup>127</sup>); Cr. *Cafresur* (corrupt<sup>128</sup>; Palmer's "Kefr sīb" is erroneous<sup>129</sup>).
- 179.** *Sidrat al-masīl /Sidrit li-msīl/* [55] (Pr: U) "the lote tree of the water-course, stream bed".
- 180.** *Manbat al-qaṣab /Manbat il-qaṣab/* [55] (Pr: U) "the growing place of the canes, bamboos, reeds".
- 181.** *Tall al-qaḥwān /Tall il-qaḥwān/* [55] (Pr: U) "the chamomil's mound".
- 182.** *al-Muḥḥaba<sup>h</sup> /il-Maḥḥabi/* [55] (Pr: M, O) "the soft, swampy, soil, the interior of a wadi"<sup>130</sup>; "the wet, clayey soil"<sup>131</sup>.
- 183.** *(st) al-Faṭḥa<sup>h</sup> /il-Faṭḥa/* [55] (Pr: M, O) "the dam or the sluice of *al-Faṭḥa*." The first part (st) is an unattested lexeme. It may reflect a colloquial form of *sadd* ("dam" or "sluice"), for the land is located on the edge of marshes. If this is the case, then the name turned to *sVtt* because of lack of vocality in the /s/, and original /t/ was mistook for /t/ of the gemination and consonant cluster. The second part is a known toponymic component, viz. "the opening, aperture, slot [of land]"; denoting the western entrance to the lands of *Qāqūn*<sup>132</sup>.

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<sup>126</sup> Redhouse 1884, 628.

<sup>127</sup> Zadok 1995–1997, 129: 2.1.1.7.1.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Pringle 1986, 34–35.

<sup>129</sup> Palmer 1881, 184.

<sup>130</sup> Kabha 2020, 385.

<sup>131</sup> Marom 2020, 72.

<sup>132</sup> Kabha 2020, 338.

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- 184.** *al-Ġāba* [55] (Pr: O), "The forest, e.g. the great Oak forest of Sharon"<sup>133</sup>.
- 185.** *al-Ḥaraza<sup>h</sup> al-kabīra<sup>h</sup> /il-Ḥarazi li-kbīri/* [55] (Pr: U) "the large perforated stone of a waterhole".
- 186.** *Tall al-šūqaf /Tall iš-šūqaf/* [55] (Pr: SWP, O: *Tall išqaf*) "the mound of pottery sherds (archaeological site)".
- 187.** *Mazra'at Dayr Sallām /Mazra'at Dēr Sallām/* [55] "the farm of S.'s monastery". This is a variant of Early Islamic (< Roman) *Kfr Sallām* in which the ground word *kpr* was replaced by *dyr* in the Byzantine period<sup>134</sup>.
- 188.** *Mazra'at Ḥiṣānat al-jammāsīn /Mazra'at ḥṣānit ij-jammāsīn/* [55] (Pr *ḥṣānat*: U; Jammāsīn tribe: SWP, M, O)– "the farm of Ḥ. of the buffalo growers". The 2<sup>nd</sup> component is apparently based on a *qitāl*-formation which is the infinitive of the 3<sup>rd</sup> stirps of Ḥ-Š-N (CA *ḥāšana*) "to abuse, revile". G of the same root denotes "to smell bad" referring to a water skin which seems to be compatible with the peculiar environment.
- 189.** *al-Ḥaraza<sup>h</sup> /il-Ḥarazi/* [55] (in *baṣṣa<sup>h</sup> /baṣṣa/*) "the perforated stone" (in the swamp); cf. the next entry (190).
- 190.** *al-Ḥurāz /il-Ḥrāz/* [55] (Pr: U) "the perforated stones" (pl. of the previous entry, 189).

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<sup>133</sup> Cf. Marom 2022a, 233–245.

<sup>134</sup> For the history of *kfr Sallām* and its possible identifications in the adjacent area see Pringle 1986, 33–34.

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- 191.** *Jisr bāb al-ṭāḥūn /Jisr bāb iṭ-ṭaḥūn/* [55] (Pr: M, O) "the bridge of the mill's gate" (referring to the entrance of Ṭāḥūnit il-Farrūḥiyyi).
- 192.** *Tall bin muḥmār recte /Tall il-muḥmār/* [55] (Pr: SWP: Tell el-mukhmār) "the mound of *m*." Crus. *Filie de Comar*<sup>135</sup>. The rare morphological formation of the last component reminds that of modern *Muḥmās* < BHeb. *Mkms/š* (LXX Μαχ(ε)μας), in which case *muḥmār* is to BHeb. *mkmr* "snare" like *Muḥmās* is to *Mkms*.
- 193.** *Birkat qilāwiyya<sup>h</sup> /Birkat qilāwiyyi/* [55] (Pr: M; O: *Birkat kalawyi*) "the pool of Q." The current pronunciation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> component was recorded as /*qalawyi*/, i.e. with *ā* > *a*; its origin is unknown to us.
- 194.** *Jummayzat al-ḥafīr /Jummēzit il-ḥafīr/* [55] (Pr: U) "the sycamore of the pit".
- 195.** *Tall Abardaḡ* [55] (Pr: U) "the mound of A." (the 2<sup>nd</sup> component is unexplained, perhaps non-Semitic).

### Excursus on *Qēbūta* (> *Qibūta*)

This modern Samaritan microtoponym is a survival of *q'bw't* /*qēbūtā*/ "box, tube, ark, coffin" (Old Syriac), "coffin" (Mandaic). An Ottoman document from 1848 C.E. has *mazra 'at Qaybūta*<sup>h136</sup>; SWP XIII (Ip) has "Keibūta" (=Qēbūta /Qibūta/)<sup>137</sup> or in the bedouin dialect /Gibūta/ opposite Farrūḥiyyi on the northern bank of the Yarqon. It is a loanword from

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<sup>135</sup> Frankel/Kochavi 2000, 25, no. 11.

<sup>136</sup> Marom 2022a, 284–285.

<sup>137</sup> Palmer 1881, 215.

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Greek κίβωτός "chest, box"<sup>138</sup>. We consider an Akkadian as less likely.

The Akkadian term for a container is with *-a-* (*qabūtu*), whereas the Greek term is with *-i-*, which is more compatible with the resulting Aramaic forms. The rendering of Gk. <τ> by Aram. <ṭ> and not by the regular <ṭ̄> is exceptional<sup>139</sup>.

### **Statistical summary of the preservation of the toponyms**

The fiscal units are listed alphabetically, and transcribed from the document. Toponyms occurring multiple times in the description of one fiscal unit boundary are counted only once for every fiscal unit. For fiscal units without boundary description, we listed only 'yes' or 'no' for preservation. The chronological point of reference for preservation is the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (all names except for no. 23 were preserved into the 20<sup>th</sup> century). Buqay' al-ġars (no. 15) and Dayr sallām (no. 16) are the only fiscal units whose location is unaccounted for. In assessing the preservation of toponyms, names Marom recorded orally from local informants are considered to have survived through previous centuries, e.g. a-priori toponymic continuity.

This study reveals patterns of name preservation in Palestine's countryside. Overall, the lowest levels of preservation are in the western part of Lod Valley (20–25%), while the highlands are characterized by higher preservation percentage of 40–60% on average (see the Summary table below and image 3). This exemplifies the general trend noticed by Zadok before<sup>140</sup>.

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<sup>138</sup> For a detailed dialectal distribution and semantics in Aramaic see the *Comprehensive Aramaic Dictionary* (accessed on 17.4.22).

<sup>139</sup> See the discussion of Schall 1960, 108–110.

<sup>140</sup> Zadok 1995–1997.

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The highest level of preservation is of site/settlement names, e.g. fiscal units (29/31 = 93.55%). This category is also diachronically the oldest, with a large Aramaic-stratum dating pre-dating 1000 C.E.. The high survival rate testifies to the stability and rigidity of the settlement map during the Ottoman period, and can be safely projected back into the Mamluk, Early Islamic, Byzantine and Roman periods, when the Aramaic speaking populations used the language as a space was already wellfunctional stratum for naming locations.

With regard to micro-toponyms, including wadis, mountains, springs and land plots, it is interesting to note the relatively high, unexpected levels, of toponymic survival. While this is partially expected for oronyms and hydronyms, it is less expected with reference to land parcels and other landforms. Most scholars regarded this Arabic-language toponymic stratum to be "recent", but here we demonstrate that many (over half) of these toponyms are of older, Early Ottoman and pre-Ottoman age. Other names, regarding limekilns, tree groups or vegetation, are ephemeral in nature.

Lastly, the paper highlights the importance of fieldwork and oral documentation for recording the local toponymic corpus and geographic knowledge of the local residents. Already Baldensperger and Kabha have shown that this practice can enrich the toponymic corpus and provide evidence for comparative etymological discussion<sup>141</sup>. In many cases, only through extensive fieldwork has it been possible to identify the preservation of names and determine their location. This reveals greater continuity in the toponymic repertoire than documented in official sources such as topo-cadastral maps as part of the Ottoman-British

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<sup>141</sup> Baldensperger 1895; Kabha 2020.

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toponymic processes and land ownership registration (compare the case of Ḥamama in the south of Palestine<sup>142</sup>).

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<sup>142</sup> Marom 2022c.



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No. of Fiscal Unit	Name of Endowed Fiscal Unit	No. of toponyms in desc. Of boundary	No. of preserved toponyms	% of preserved toponyms
1	(al-)Jīb	yes		
2	(al-)Ludd	yes		
3	Al-ḥarrūba <sup>h</sup>	yes		
4	al-Kunaysa <sup>h</sup>	8	7	87.50%
5	Bayt al-Maqdis	4	3	75.00%
6	Bayt Dajan	7	2	28.57%
7	Bayt kisā	12	8	66.67%
8	Bayt laḥm	yes		
9	Bayt liqyā	17	7	41.18%
10	Bayt nūšif	yes		
11	Bayt šannā	10	6	60.00%
12	Bēt jālā	3	3	100.00%
13	Bi'r Mā'īn	13	11	84.62%
14	Buqay' al-ḍān	14	6	42.86%
15	Buqay' al-ḡars	no		
16	Dayr Sallām	no		
17	Ḥarbatā [Banī Hārit]	9	8	88.89%
18	Ḥišānat al-jammāsīn	9	4	44.44%
19	'Innābah	9	4	44.44%
20	Jindās	10	6	60.00%
21	Kafr 'ānā	yes		
22	Kafr Jinnis	yes		
23	Kafr ṭāb	yes		
24	Ni'īn	18	11	61.11%
25	Qāqūn	10	7	70.00%
26	Rakūbis	yes		
27	Rantya	12	5	41.67%
28	Sāfiriya <sup>h</sup>	7	4	57.14%
29	SVbtāra <sup>h</sup>	8	5	62.50%
30	Yahūdiyya <sup>h</sup>	9	2	22.22%

31	Yāzūr	10	2	20.00%
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## Discussion

This is the first linguistic discussion of a Palestinian toponymic corpus from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to date. It shows that the general outlines of the Palestinian nomenclature of space were already well-developed by that time. While some terms such as *ḥalli*, *ḥirbi*, *marj*, *'rāq* remained in common use until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, others like *ṣihrj* and *ḥadbi* were no longer productive.

Bellow follows general statistics (195 = 100%) of name types and some findings

The linguistic classification of the toponyms below follows purely formal lines. A more nuanced evaluation is offered in the ensuing discussion.

Arabic: 128 (66.15%), viz. 3–7, 9, 11–14, 17–19, 21, 25–31, 33–39, 41, 43, 45–57, 62–65, 69–71, 76, 78–82, 84, 87, 89, 90, 93–95, 98, 99, 101–103, 108–112, 117, 118, 121–125, 127, 129, 131–142, 145, 147, 148, 150, 151, 154–158, 161, 162, 164, 165, 167–169, 171–175, 179–186, 189–191, 194 and apparently 188 whose 2<sup>nd</sup> component is so far unexplained. Compounds with an Arabic lexeme of foreign origin, viz. 11, 147, are not separately counted seeing that such borrowings have long become part of the Arabic lexicon (isolating the inherited Arabic vocabulary would not be meaningful in this milieu). The same applies to 47 (diminutive of an early borrowing from Iranian) and the compounds with Islamicized Biblical anthroponyms (49, 109) or the compounds

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which are inspired by Hebrew sacred (micro-)toponymy of urban space (3, 4).

Aramaic: 23 (11.79%), viz. 15, 20, 23, 24, 42, 66, 68, 73, 83, 88, 92, 100, 106 (the initial consonant is due to an Arabic reinterpretation), 113, 128, 152, 153, 163, 166, 170, 176, 178, and possibly 40.

Hybrid Arabic-Aramaic: 9 (4.61%), viz. 58, 67, 72, 91, 96, 126, 160. The 2<sup>nd</sup> component of 75 may be an Arabic diminutive of Aram. 'yn' "the spring". A compound with an Aramaic component in Arabic garb is 187.

Hybrid Arabic-(Can.-)Hebrew: 6 (3.07%), viz. 10, 44 and 144, 192; An Arabic nisbe is attached to 130, and 74 ends with a modified Biblical anthroponym current among Christians (Arabic re-analysis of *La'zar*).

Canaanite-Hebrew (with various degrees of plausibility): 13 (6.66%), viz. 2, 77, 86, 104, 116, 120 (with an Arabic reinterpretation), 143 and presumably 1; 8, 61 are Aramaicized Canaanite compounds, 60 an Arabicized Canaanite compound, 105 an Arabicized Canaanite simplex, 149 is a Grecized Canaanite simplex.

Canaanite-Hebrew or Aramaic: 3 (1.53%), viz. 16, 107 and 159.

Non-Semitic: 3 (1.53%), viz. 85 (Medieval Latin), 114 and 146 (Greek).

Hybrid (all preceded with Semitic ground words): 5 (2.56%), viz. 22 (Aram.-Gk.), 119 (Arab.-Aram.-Gk.), 115 (Arab.-Gk.), 59 (Arabic with NW Semitic plus a Greek suffix) and 177 (Arab.-Turkish).

Unexplained (all preceded by Arabic ground words): 4 (2.05%), viz. the 2<sup>nd</sup> components of 32, 97, 193 and 195.

As expected, the names of almost all the settlements belong to the pre-Arabian substrate: at least 25 (15, 20, 22, 23, 24, 40, 42, 66, 68, 72,

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73, 83, 100, 106, 107, 114, 128, 146, 152, 153, 163, 166, 170, 176, 178) are Aramaic which had been spoken before Arabic became the sole vernacular and at least 16 (1, 2, 8, 16, 60, 61, 77, 86, 104, 116, 120, 130, 143, 144, 149, 159) are Canaanite-Hebrew, the earliest recorded language spoken in Palestine before Aramaic has become the dominant vernacular in the Levant. Three settlements (16, 107 and 159) are either Canaanite-Hebrew or Aramaic. Two settlements (114, 146) represent the Greek adstratum which is coeval with the Aramaic layer. Exceptionally, two plots of land (88, 113) and a spring (92) are Aramaic survivals. At least four toponyms (16, 61, 107 and 159) display a linguistic interference between both pre-Arabic layers. The compound toponym referring to a knoll with an Aramaic anthroponym is an isolated case of a geomorphological feature, which preserved its pre-Arabian name-component. Most substrate toponyms refer to existing and ruined settlements as well as to farms named after pre-existing conglomerates.

On the contrary, only two Arabic toponyms refer to a settlement (Jerusalem). Likewise, purely Arabic names of ruins and mounds are rare. The numerous Arabic locales which form the overwhelming majority of the sample (at least 66.15%), are micro-toponyms and hydronyms (mostly wadis, i.e. beds of falling streams and springs). The micro-toponyms refer to both geomorphological and man-made features, i.e. hilltops, narrow mountain ranges, rock formations, plateaus, convexities, meadows, lowlands, dells, hollows, passages, paths, herbage and sparse forests on the one hand, and constructions (bridges, roads, towers, edifices, slaughter house, stone fences, stone slabs), installations (pools, ditches, aqueducts, wells, cisterns, waterholes and excavations, troughs, washing basins, lime kilns), camping places, farms, gardens, water fields,

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and other cultivated plots on the other, as well as to multiple and single trees, cairns and perforated stones which are partially man-made.

The category of hybrid names was mostly formed by the diffusion of Arabic as the Levantine vernacular. This process supplied a considerable number of toponyms an Arabic "framing," and contributed to their preservation: cases in point are 10, a river bed whose name has Arabic cognates, and 130, where an Arabic nisbe is attached to the ethnonym which denotes "Jews" in Arabic, a settlement which – as we happen to know – was named *Yhwd*, i.e., homonymous with the Aramaic name of Judah (BHeb. *Yhwdh*). Arabic reinterpretation of the name of a nearby settlement (120) presumably contributed to its survival. The 2<sup>nd</sup> component of 75, apparently an Arabic diminutive of Aram. 'yn' "the spring", being a tautology, seems to be a reminiscent of the transition process from the Aramaic vernacular to the Arabic one.

The Arabic framing does not disprove the antiquity of three *mazari'* (58, 96, 187), one ruin (160) and one mound (192), but cases like 44, 67, 91, 144 are very probably named after the settlements where they were located. They are the result of *Nachbennennung* thereby being late and ephemeral. In two cases the definition of toponyms as partially substrate is purely linguistic and therefore does not necessarily prove that their coinage predated the Islamic conquest of the Levant: 105, an Arabicized Canaanite simplex which was named after a Muslim Palestinian clan whose surname is a nisbe of a Canaanite settlement and 74 which ends with a modified Biblical anthroponym current among Christians (Arabic re-analysis of *La'zar*).

### Taxonomy

Regarding semantic fields, the toponymy has a binary opposition, viz. natural vs man-made phenomena. In the case of compound

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toponyms, the ground words and qualifiers (the 2<sup>nd</sup> components) can be separately classified wherever applicable (G = ground word, Q = qualifier, S = simplex). Most of the compound toponyms (118) are two-tier. Except for five which consist of a substantive and an adjective (attribute: 3, 24, 87, 123 and 185), they are genitive compounds (113: 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19–23, 25–32, 34, 36–40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 52–54, 56, 57, 59–63, 65, 67, 70–72, 74–77, 81–84, 89, 91–94, 96–99, 101, 103, 104, 109–111, 115–118, 122, 129, 131, 132, 136, 137, 139, 140, 142, 144, 145, 147, 154–156, 158, 160–165, 168, 172–175, 177–181, 186, 192–195). A minority (25, viz. 7, 9, 14, 35, 44, 51, 58, 102, 108, 112, 119, 126, 127, 133, 134, 138, 141, 150, 151, 157, 167, 169, 171, 187, 191) are three-tier, but all of them are genitive compounds, in which case they do not differ syntactically from most of the two-tier toponyms. No more than 50 toponyms are simplex (1, 2, 6, 12, 16, 18, 33 = 79, 41, 47, 50, 55, 64, 66, 69, 73, 78, 80, 85, 86, 88, 90, 95, 100, 105–107, 113, 114, 120, 121, 124, 125, 128, 130, 135, 143, 146, 148, 149, 152, 153, 159, 166, 170, 176, 182, 184, 189, 190). At least a dozen of them are plural forms (50, 55, 78, 124, 125, 159, 166, 190) or gentilics (69, 88, 105, 130 and possibly 100).

Configuration of the terrain (geomorphology): G9, Q10, Gab12, G13, Gab14, G17, S18, G25, G27, Q28 = Q 70, G29, G32, G37, G38, G39, G43, Gb44, G45, G48, G49, G51, G52, G56, G62, G63, G74, G76, Q76, S78, G94, Q96, G97, G99, G108, G110, Gab112, S113, Q118, G126, G139, G142, S149, G156, G164, G165, Gb167, G168, Gab169, G174, G181, S183, G186, G192, G195.

Nature and use of the soil as well as of the cultivated and inhabited space: G21, Q29, G30, G36, Ga58, G59, G93, G96, G102, G103, G117,

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G133, Ga138, Q140, GbQa157, Q168, G177, G180, S182, Ga187,  
Ga188.

Rock types: Q45, G48, Q61, Q83, S189, S190.

Water resources and installations: S2, G10, Q13, G19, G26, G28,  
G31, Q31, S33 = S79, G34, Ga35, Ga44, S47, Q48, GQ53, G57, G67,  
G70, G72, G75, Q75, GQ82, Gab87, S90, G91, Q91 = Q92, G92, G109,  
G118, S 124, S125, G129, G134, G144, G145, G147, Ga158 = Q179,  
Gb158, S159, G161, S170, G171, G175, G193, Q194

Flora (including vegetal foodstuffs): Q19, Q20, Q21 = S95, Qb35,  
Q36, Q39, S41, Q42, Q43, S50, Q56, Q60, Q62, S66, Q67, S88, G98,  
Q99, Q162, Q129 [var. *Atmar*], G131, S135, GQ136, G137, G141, G154,  
Q155, Q156, Ga157, Q164, S166, G179, Q180, Q181, S184, G194 and  
perhaps (if the emendation is correct) Q183.

Fauna: Q9, Q23, Q25, Q71, S73, Q84, Q94, Q110, Q142, S143 =  
144, S146, Q174, Q175, S176 and perhaps Q178.

Colours: Q123, Q177.

Buildings, inhabited and ruined conglomerates, roads, bridges,  
stone fences and installations: S6, G8, GQ11, Q14, G15, G20, G22, G23,  
G24, Q26, Q30, G40, G42, G46, S55, G60, G61, GK65, G71, G77, S80,  
GQ81, G83, G84, S85, GQ89, Q101, Q103 = Q117 = Q145, G104, S106,  
G111, G115, G116, Gab119, G122, GbQ127, G150, S152, S153, G155,  
G160, G163, Ga167, G172, G173, G178, Gb187, GbQ191;

Camping places: G54.

Anthroponyms (differ according to the actual distribution of the  
religious communities): Qb7, Q8, Q15, Q22, Q27, Q35, Q38, Q49, Q72,  
Q74, Q77, Q102, Q109, Q111, Q116, Q126, Q131, Q133, Q134, Q138,  
Q139, Q140, Qb157, Q158, Q160, Q167, Q169, Q171, Q187; S114 =  
Q115.

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**Tribal and ethnic names:** most clan names follow the traditional segmentary/lineage scheme: Banū-form: Q51; Ibn-form: Q151; Awlād-form: Q141; broken plurals after a patriarch/ancestor: Q5. While originally very common, by the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Banū-form was no longer productive in Palestine. Additionally, the *awlād* form was rarely used in the *mašriq* – but remained common in the *mağrib*. Only few such names survive in Palestinian toponymy today. Other names contain nisbe of villages or tribes: Q54, Q137, which possibly attest to diachronic population movements. Common are also personal names: S130, Q133, Q134, and perhaps: Q46, Q98, Q193. Q177 may be based originally on a corrupted form of Turkish *kızıl* "red".

Religion: 3ab =4ab, S64, Q104, S107, Q163.

Human occupations and status: Qa7, Q37, Q40, Q52, Q57, Q122, Q147.

Physical and mental properties: Q34, Q63, S69, Q161.

Human relations and characteristics: S100, S121, Q150, Q165, Q172, Q188.

Materials, implements and utensils: G11, S120, GQ132, Ga167, G173, Q 185, Q186, S189, S190, Q192.

### **Alphabetic list of the name components**

Following the convention, the order does not take into account the definite article. Appellatives are not capitalized. The forms are the phonetic ones

*abār* 129

*Abardağ* 195

*il-'Absi* 137

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<i>Abū grayyib</i> 171	<i>bēt</i> 4, 7, 8, 15, 20,	<i>'Arīf</i> 116
<i>Abū kabbāš</i> 133	40, 42, 58, 60, 61,	<i>il-'Ārūd</i> 18
<i>Abū miqbil</i> 134	77, 83, 84, 104, 116	<i>'Āzir</i> 74
<i>il-aḥmar</i> 123	<i>Biddu</i> 16, 17	<i>'ēn</i> 19, 75, 92, 109,
<i>arḍ</i> 30, 36, 117, 133	<i>Bil'in</i> 107	144
<i>il-Atmād</i> 124	<i>bin</i> 192	<i>il-'ēn</i> 33, 79
<i>il-Atmār</i> 124	<i>bīr</i> 31, 35, 72	<i>'Innābi</i> 66, 67
<i>Ayyūb</i> 109	<i>birki</i> 118, 134, 158,	<i>'irqān</i> 48
<i>bāb</i> 5, 191	193	<i>'rāq</i> 13, 27, 29, 94,
<i>Bahlūl</i> 98	<i>Bqī'</i> 25, 39	108, 110
<i>il-baḥr</i> 87	<i>brāk</i> 48, 82	<i>il-'ullēq</i> 19
<i>bani</i> 51	<i>il-Burj</i> 80, 81	<i>'Ūr</i> 44
<i>il-banīn</i> 154	<i>byūt</i> 155	<i>'Urmawiyāt</i> 54
<i>il-baqqi</i> 142	<i>'Ajinjūl</i> 73	<i>li-'wēna</i> 75
<i>il-baqūr</i> 94	<i>il-'ajūz</i> 37	<i>Dajan</i> 104
<i>Barfilya</i> 146	<i>'Ali</i> 138	<i>darb</i> 71
<i>il-barriyyi</i> 93	<i>'alliyi</i> 46	<i>[id-]Dajāniyi</i> 105
<i>bātin</i> 139, 174	<i>'Ammār</i> 111	<i>iḍ-ḍaḥḍāḥ</i> 13
<i>bayyāra</i> 67	<i>il-'amūd</i> 101	<i>ḍān</i> 25
	<i>'āna</i> 23	<i>fahūn</i> 32
	<i>il-'arā'iš</i> 11	

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<i>il-faṭḥa</i> 183	<i>il-ḥarāmiyyi</i> 52	<i>imm</i> 9, 150
<i>l-fawwār</i> 53	<i>il-ḥarīq</i> 168	<i>Irzya</i> 88
<i>il-fōqa</i> 44	<i>Ḥasan</i> 141	<i>il-Ja'ariyyi</i> 69
<i>(il-)gābi</i> 136, 184	<i>li-ḥfāyir</i> 125	<i>jāla</i> 61
<i>il-ḡafr</i> 71	<i>il-ḥiniyyi</i> 63	<i>(il-)jāmi'</i> 103, 117, 118, 145
<i>Galīt</i> 121	<i>Ḥišāni</i> 188	<i>jammāsīn</i> 188
<i>ḡallūš</i> 173	<i>li-Ḥrūr</i> 123	<i>il-jāriḥ</i> 34
<i>il-ḡars</i> 39	<i>ḥukər</i> 138, 157	<i>Jarda</i> 113
<i>il-ḡazālāt</i> 177	<i>ḥaffār</i> 147	<i>il-Jīb</i> 2
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<i>Harūn</i> 49	<i>ḥalli</i> 9, 37, 38, 43, 45, 51, 52, 62, 164	<i>Jindās</i> 114, 115
<i>ḥudbān</i> 49	<i>il-ḥarazi</i> 185, 189	<i>Jinnis</i> 22, 119
<i>ḥadbi</i> 99, 126, 156	<i>Ḥarbata</i> 106	<i>jisr</i> 89, 115, 119, 150
<i>il-Ḥaddādi</i> 57	<i>il-ḥarrūbi</i> 21, 95	<i>il-jōz</i> 62
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**Ussishkin (Winona Lake): 345–371.**