

the eye. In this connection it may be added that in the vicinity of Bethlehem there is a cave whose white dust is said to be beneficial to nursing mothers. The question accordingly arises whether these usages may not throw some light upon the "white earth" found in the Gezer *zikhîreh*, which is described as a "pendant" or locket.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

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PERSONAL NAMES.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the modern inhabitants of Palestine (males and females; Christians, Jews, and Muslims; townsmen and peasants) the normal appellation of each individual consists of two proper names—one personal, the other relational. These names are both of the same type, and any given name may be either personal or relational; they need not, therefore, be analysed separately. The personal name distinguishes the individual, the relational name defines his family connexions. The relational name may be—

1. *Ancestral*, passing unchanged from father to son through an indefinite number of generations; in which case it is identical with European patronymic surnames. At present the number of relational names of this class is comparatively small, especially among the Muslims, being confined to those indicating the descendants of eminent sheikhs, companions of Muḥammad, and other men of special distinction. But (partly under Western influence) a tendency to stereotyping other relational names is distinctly noticeable, especially among Christians and Jews, and the list of fixed surnames will, no doubt, with time continue to increase.

2. *Patronymic*, derived from the father of the bearer. This is the ordinary class.

3. *Metronymic*, derived from the mother of the bearer. This is rare, and probably denotes special circumstances in each case (*e.g.*, the mother having been left a widow before or shortly after the birth of the child named after her).

4. *Toconymic*, derived from a child of the bearer. This form of name (when derived from a son) has a honorific significance, and for purposes of formal address is very commonly used.

In the first of these classes (sometimes), and always in the fourth, *abu* is inserted between the two names, as *Ahmed abu Ishtaih*,¹ i.e., A., of the family of Abu Ishtaih; or *Muhammad abu 'Abd er-Rahman*, i.e., M., father of 'A. The employment as a form of polite address, of the eldest son's name with a prefixed *abu* (or, in the case of women, with *imm*, mother), is very common, even when the son is a young infant. A man without sons—indeed, an unmarried man—may be addressed in similar terms; the man's father's name with *abu* prefixed is in this case used, implying that if he had a son he would (in accordance with the usual custom) name him after that son's grandfather. The expression, *Abu Ni'mah*, "father of grace," is in some districts (e.g., Damascus), used for a childless man. Should the son die the father still retains his name with *Abu* prefixed as when the son was alive.

The use of a daughter's name is similarly used among Christians and Muslims in the absence of sons, generally with a suggestion of humiliation. A man will sometimes call himself by a daughter's name in the hope that Providence will pity his desolate condition and send him sons. To address a man with sons by a female toconymic would be an insult.

In the second and the third classes the two names are run together in generic relationship without any connecting substantive. *Muhammad Hasan* and *'Abd el-Hamid Shaiha* are simply "Hasan's Muhammad" and "Shaiha's 'Abd el-Hamid," i.e., M., son of H. (the father), A., son of S. (the mother).

A curious and not very common variation of class 2 must be noticed—the distinguishing of females by a name derived from the patronymic by the addition of an adjectival formative. We have notes of three women who gave their names as *Haliliyah*, *Muhammadtyah*, and *Yasifiyah*, explaining them as indicating their filiation to persons named *Halil*, *Muhammad*, and *Yasif* respectively.

The family connexions may be defined yet more closely in the not infrequent case when the combination of personal and ordinary relational names is insufficiently distinctive. Thus, we have noted a case from Abū Shūshah of a man named *'Ali Muhammad 'Aishah*. The common combination *'Ali Muhammad* is probably to be found more than once in every village; this individual is distinguished from his namesakes by the addition of the name of his paternal grandmother.

The names of women, as a general rule, are similarly constructed to those of men. Commonly in the towns, but rarely among the fellahīn, they assume positionic relational names, i.e., names derived from the personal name of the husband. A respectful toconymic formula, employing *imm*, "mother," like the masculine *abū*, is used in the towns, but seldom among the fellahīn. In towns also a childless widow is sometimes addressed as *imm* prefixed to the deceased husband's name.

Occasionally the same name is used, with or without a slight modification in vocalisation, to denote brothers or sisters of a family. This

¹ [See the table of transliteration, *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1902, p. 202.]

seemingly unresourceful proceeding is in reality (at least in the case of men) an ingenious device to reduce the apparent number of males in a family, and so to limit Government claims on the family for taxes or for military service. Sometimes the names are modified by diminution; three brothers are living in the village of Zakariya, called respectively *Jabr*, *Jâbr*, and *Jabrîn*, and two sisters in el-Kubâb named '*Aishah* and '*Âyashah*. The latter distinction is almost impossible for unaccustomed ears to catch.

Besides these legitimate names, nearly every person has one or more nicknames. Some of these are official, bestowed on him by the head-men of the village or other Government agents, in order to distinguish the bearer from other persons of the same name. A few are assumed by the bearer himself; others, the majority, are more or less humorous names attached for some special reason by irresponsible associates. There is a good deal of reticence among the fellaḥîn about telling these to strangers, and often it is merely by accident that an inquirer finds that a man whom he has always known as, say, Muḥammad Maḥmūd is spoken of among all his fellows as "the pumpkin," "the fat," or "the sergeant." In the towns there is not so much reserve, and often the nicknames are confessed to with a readiness that is extraordinary considering their frequently unflattering nature.

The nickname of a father sometimes takes the place of his real name in forming patronymics. With a certain class of names this has a very curious consequence. Among the Muslim fellaḥîn one of the commonest types of names is the compound of '*Abd*, "servant," with the name of the Deity or a periphrasis, as '*Abd er-Raḥmân*, "the servant of the merciful." These names, being clumsy, are abbreviated to '*Abd* (pronounced as a dissyllable, '*Abéd*) in addressing a person, El-'*Abd* in speaking of him. When this shortened name is combined in genitive relationship with a patronymic nickname, the apparent meaning is often grotesque. Thus a man named '*Abd-Rubbu*, "Servant of his Lord," living in Zakariya, had a lame father, and he is always addressed or spoken of as '*Abd el-A'raḡ*, which at first sight seems to mean "the servant of the lame one." A similar anomaly is to be found in the name of a boy of El-Kubâb named '*Abd el-Tayârah*, which would be translated "the servant of the toy kite."

It will be noticed that the word *ibn*, "son," is not mentioned above as used in the formation of relational names. So far as we can find, there is but one case in which this word is employed as a mode of address. When a father's nickname is used as a relational name, and that name is of the common type in which *abû*, "father," is used to express the possession of certain features or qualities, as *abu shanab*, "father [owner] of a moustache," then *ibn* is used before the *abû*. Thus one *Ḥasan Diab*, of El-Kubâb, is known to his fellows as *ibn abûl-ḥanakain*, "son of the father of two jaws," a picturesque way of expressing that his father had an impediment of speech. Female children who inherit a father's nickname of this type retain the *abû*; thus *Faṭmah abû shanab*, "F. [daughter] of the father of a moustache."

In our experience superstitions regarding names are much more prevalent among the Eastern Jews than among the Muslims. Of course, names as a whole are regarded as much more important than among average Europeans. A name suggesting good luck, like *Táfik*, may, should misfortune later attack the owner, be considered a cause of it. The name of a child that has died is generally considered too unlucky to be transferred to another one born later.

Among the Jews there are several very common beliefs and customs that call for remark. There is a general feeling against any name that might savour of compliment or an assurance of good luck. Such a name may tempt the evil powers to do an injury. Indeed, it is a frequent practice (especially when several children have died) to name a surviving child either after some such animal as "wolf," or even "dog," or to give it a name expressing a (pretended) want of affection. As an example we may mention the name *Maḳṭu'ah* "forsaken" or "cut off." There are two girls known to us possessing this name, whose parents so named them because they had lost several children previously, and were afraid that if any care was professed towards these their last hopes, the Angel of Death would carry them away likewise. In one if not in both of these cases the parents would buy no clothes for the child—all had to be given; and though intensely devoted to their little one, they took good care to hide their affection. Another development of the same idea will cause parents to keep a child unnamed for a year at least, hoping that thus he or she may be unobserved by the powers of evil.

Another even commoner custom is that of changing a person's name in the case of a dangerous illness. Within our knowledge a Spanish Jewess named *Rifkah* underwent a rather severe operation, and her friends, being anxious about her, assembled a congregation (*i.e.*, ten men), and solemnly re-named her *Mercarda* [Spanish] "bought," the idea being that she was "bought with prayer." When such formal change of name occurs, the new name chosen frequently has reference to "life"; for example, the Jewish names *Meyer* and *Khiem*, or the Arabic '*Aish*, '*Aishah*, '*Yahyah*, &c. In other cases the name of some Old Testament saint whose life was specially long, such as Enoch, Noah, &c., is chosen. The new name is retained ever afterwards.

It is hardly worth while to refer to the fact common to all, but perhaps most prominent among the Eastern Christians, that a child called after a saint is considered especially under his protection, and that among such Christians the saint's feast-day, the name-day of the child, is even more important than the child's own birthday.

The lists of names subjoined to the present paper are derived from the following sources:—

- (1) The roll of workmen now or formerly employed in the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund, about 200 in number. These are all Muslims.

- (2) A long register made in Nablûs, written in Arabic letters, of the names of persons, 90 per cent. or more of whom are Muslims.
- (3) A collection, made some years ago in Damascus, of about 3,000 names of Jews exclusively. This collection was unfortunately written in English letters without systematic transliteration, a circumstance which no doubt obscures the meaning of the names in some cases.

Many of the names here catalogued have lost their first significance, having become meaningless family names; in our experience the bearers of old family names are seldom able to give correct information regarding their significance. The classification of some names is necessarily more or less arbitrary when a word has several meanings; we have so far as possible adopted the meaning best known to the uneducated people, rather than the classical significance detailed in the lexicons. Certain words, moreover, are peculiar to the colloquial dialects, and are not to be found in dictionaries. Such colloquial meanings and words are distinguished in the list by the abbreviation *coll.* Except in special cases, the radical meaning of verbs, not the derived meaning, is given for names which are parts of verbs.

The names fall into the following classes:—

A.—Theophorous names: compounds of *'abd*, "servant," or some such word with the name of God, or with a name formed from one of the attributes of the Deity. These names denote consecration to God.

B.—Names of similar type, denoting consecration to an inferior being. The solitary example known to us is 'Abd-Muhammad, "Servant of Muhammad."¹

C.—Names of saints and heroes, especially those connected with religion.

D.—Descriptive names, expressing the possession of personal qualities, naturally by preference the more excellent attributes, and (among females) those which enhance the value of the bearer in the marriage market. Qualities of a sinister character are, however, by no means uncommon, being given either by parents as a means of averting the evil eye, or as nicknames derived from some physical peculiarity, defect, or trait in character.

E.—Territorial names.

F.—Names denoting trades and occupations.

G.—Names derived from parts of the body, animals, plants, food, astronomy, chemistry, clothing and personal ornament, musical instruments, and other objects.

H.—Names connected with the circumstances of the child's birth.

¹ Possibly this unusual name may be a spurious product, like *'Abd el-A'raj* referred to above and formed analogously.

LIST I.

MUSLIM FELLAḤĪN FROM VARIOUS VILLAGES IN SOUTHERN PALESTINE.

Part I.—Personal Names (classified).

Class A: Theophorous Names.—Males: 'Abd Allah, "Servant of God"; 'Abd el-Ḥamīd, "Servant of the Praiseworthy"; 'Abd el-Daim, "Servant of the Eternal"; 'Abd er-Rahmān, "Servant of the Merciful"; 'Abd er-Rahīm, "Servant of the Compassionate"; 'Abd er-Razzāk, "Servant of the Apportioner"; 'Abd Rubbu, "Servant of his Lord"; 'Abd el-Muṭallib, "Servant of the Desired"; 'Abd el-'Azīz, "Servant of the Noble"; 'Abd el-Fatāh, "Servant of the Opener"; 'Abd el-Kādir, "Servant of the Powerful"; 'Abd el-Laṭīf, "Servant of the Pleasant."

Females (none known).

Class B: Analogous Names denoting Consecration to Inferior Beings.—Males: 'Abd Muḥammad, "Servant of Muḥammad."

Females (none known).

Class C: Names of Saints and Heroes (especially those connected with the Muslim faith).—Most of these names belong equally to Class D, being descriptive; their modern application is, however, influenced rather by their historical association than by their meaning. It is sometimes difficult to draw a definite line between different classes of names.—Males: Ibrahim (Abraham), Isma'īl (Ishmael), Ḥasan, Husain, Aḥmad, Muḥammad, Maḥmūd, Ḥālid, Ḥalīl ("Friend" = Abraham), Sulaimān (= Solomon), 'Āli, 'Aisa (Esau, Jesus), Mūsa (Moses), Yūsif (Joseph), Yūnus (Jonah).

Females: Ḥadīġi, Zainab, Sārah, 'Ayashah, Faṭmah, Maryam, Haijar (Hagar).

Class D: Descriptive Names.—Males: Amin,¹ "Faithful"; Salīm, Salāmi, "Secure"; Muṣṭafa, "Chosen"; Sālah, "Pious"; Yahyah, "Quickened"; Rashīd, "Well-guided."

Females: Ḥalimah, "Gentle"; Ḥasnah, "Beautiful"; Ḥalwah, "Sweet"; Ḥaḍra, "Green (fresh)"; Dām el-'Azz, "Noble-blooded"; Raḳīyah, "Charmer"; 'Azīzah, "Noble"; 'Azīyah, "Consoler"; 'Alīyah, "Lofty"; Ghāli, "Dear, expensive, precious"; Sa'adah, "Fortunate"; Sariyah, "Generous"; Ṣabḥah, "Beautiful"; Ṣafiyah, "Bright"; Labībah, "Intellectual"; Na'imah, "Delicate"; Yamni, "Lucky."

Other descriptive names will be found in Part II (Nicknames).

¹ The name *Amin* is almost always pronounced *Tamin*, partly through confusion with *yamin*, "the right hand," and partly because of the influence of the interjection *yā*, prefixed to names in vocative address.

Class E: Territorial Names.—No personal territorial names are known to us; not infrequently, however, a territorial takes the place of a relational name, especially in the case of a person or family belonging to one village who has settled in another. Examples are: Aḥmad el-Ajjûri, "A. of Ajjur"; Faṭmah el-Akâwi, "F. of Acca"; Şabḥah ed-Dibwâni, "S. of Dibwan"; Ḥasan esh-Shamâli, "H. the Northerner"; Maḥmûd el-Maşri, "M. the Egyptian."

This list might be prolonged indefinitely. With it may be classed—Aḥmad el-Gharbâwi, "A. the Stranger."

Class F: Trades and Occupations.—No personal names of this class occur in the present list.

Class G: Miscellaneous.—Males: Names derived from animals—Nimr, "Panther."

Females: Names derived from precious or beautiful objects—Fadda, "Silver"; Faḍiyah, "Silvern"; Zahrah, "Flower."

Class H: Names derived from Circumstances of Birth.—Males: Month or day of birth—Sha'bân, "the eighth lunar month"; Ramaḍân, "the ninth lunar month"; Ġum'â, "Friday."

Females: Protests against too many daughters—Tamâm, "Filled up."

Part II.—Nicknames.

The following is a list of men, almost all from the villages of El-Kubâb and Abû Shûshah, with the nicknames attached to each by their fellows, and the meaning and reason for each name, so far as can be determined:—

ORDINARY NAMES.	NICKNAMES.	MEANING AND REASON.
Abd Sariyah ¹	Ibn abu Ḥuḥn	"Son of Abu-Ḥuḥn." His father was called "father of (possessor of) ḥnḥn" because he once made an absurd remark to the effect that "If God should give him a plough-share of Lydd workmanship and a yoke of oxen, and an oxgoad, and a bell hung on each side, the bells would make a sound ḥn-ḥn as he turned the cows." Apparently he never heard the last of this foolish speech.
Abd ¹	et-Taḡâra Zârîḳ	"The toy kite." } Names of his "A dart." } father, descended as patronymics. They both refer to his rapidity of motion.

¹ These are theoporous names (see Class A) abbreviated in conversation.

ORDINARY NAMES.	NICKNAMES.	MEANING AND REASON.
Abd-Allah	abu 'Armûsh ..	"Father of a grape-stalk." ' <i>Armûsh</i> is the stalk of a bunch of grapes remaining after all the grapes have been plucked off. It is applied as a nickname to one with rheum in his eyes, a name suggested by comparison with the fragment of grape-pulp adhering to the stalk.
'Abd-Allah 'Abd er-Rahîm	abu Nimrah ..	"Father of a pantheress": possibly referring to some adventure with such an animal. Analogous names are, abu Dağag, "father of chickens"; abu Ğahsbain, "father of two donkey-colts"; abu el-Ĥarâdîn, "father of lizards," all of which are known.
'Abd-Allah Mubârak ..	el-'Arîshî ..	"Of el-'Arish," the station on the confines of Egypt. In this case the name is used as a nickname and does not take the place of the relational name. Contrast those persons referred to in Part I of the present list, Class E.
'Abd er-Rahîm 'Ali ..	abu Ghûri ..	Named after a Bedâwi from the Ghêr whom this person resembled, and who happened to come to the village.
Aĥmad	'Aish	"Life," possibly on account of an unexpected recovery from sickness.
Aĥmad 'Abd-Allah ..	ibn abu Liğâm ..	"Son of the owner of a rein." Reason unknown.
Aĥmad 'Ali	Shalbak	"A tangle." Reason unknown.
Aĥmad Mansûr	1. Şarşûr	"A cockroach." Pun on <i>Mansur</i> .
	2. el-Ĥawağah ..	The common expression among the fellahîn for a person engaged in trade (this person's father frequently traded in seeds). The name is also applied to foreigners, and being generally associated with Jews and Christians, has a derogatory meaning when applied among Muslims to one another.

ORDINARY NAMES.	NICKNAMES.	MEANING AND REASON.
Ahmad <i>and</i> Muḥammad Naufal (brothers).	awlād el-Ghūl ..	"Sons of the demon (ghoul)." Reason unknown.
Ahmad Sālim	1. Sawwān .. 2. abu Ḥawal ..	"Flint." "Father of a squint." } Reason for neither name obvious.
Aḥmad abu Ishtāih ..	el-'Asi ibn abu Dabūs .. abu Thamarī ..	"The rebellious." Also applied to a child tardy in birth. "Son of the owner of a club." "Father of my fruit" (?).
'Aisa abu Ishtāih ..	1. Dahān .. 2. Ḥandarī .. 3. abu 'l-Ma'lik..	"Smoke." Meaning unknown. "Father (owner, user) of tripe."
'Ali	el-Ḳaṭāwi 'Amīsh Luhuṭ	Probably a derivative of <i>kaṭā</i> , "grouse." "Weak-eyed." Meaning unknown.
'Ali Ḥasan	Tshiko (چڪو)	Meaning doubtful. It does not sound like an Arabic word.
'Ali Muḥammad ..	Ka'akrīm ..	Meaning unknown.
'Awadī Muḥammad ..	Lasa'	any stinging insect (flea, scorpion).
Ḥalīl Muḥammad ..	abu Tin	"Father of figs."
Ḥalīl Tāba	1. Nashab .. 2. Danāni ..	"To jump." Any small buzzing insect. Allusion to his small size.
Ḥasan	1. abu Shindi .. 2. abu el-Ḥarādīn	A <i>shind</i> is a frame for keeping a weight from pressing on a loaded camel or donkey. In Turkish, <i>shindi</i> means "now." It is doubtful whether either word can be the true root of this name, which is a family name in the village of el-Kubāb. "Father of lizards." Already mentioned.
Ḥasan Diab	ibn abu 'l-Ḥanakain	"Son of the father of two jaws," a reference to a lisp which his father had.
Ḥasan	et-Tawīl	"The tall." Descriptive.
Husain	el-Ḥarrami ..	"The tether-stone." Reason unknown.
Ḥusain	abu Laban ..	A member of a <i>Zakariya</i> family who derive their descent from a derwish who on one occasion miraculously provided himself with a dish of <i>laban</i> , i.e., curdled milk.

ORDINARY NAMES.	NICKNAMES.	MEANING AND REASON.
Husain abu Nijm ..	el-Mumm ..	<i>Mumm</i> is a child's word for "bread."
Ibrahim ..	es-Şawâlhi ..	"The pious," or some such meaning.
Mahmûd Muḥammad ..	Farfûr ..	This is the name of a small bird, often used as a term of affection. In the present case, however, the name is said to be given on account of the person's skill in dancing, imitating the antics of der-wishes, &c., the word being derived from <i>farfara</i> , "to flap the wings."
Muḥammad ..	el-Ķatîl ..	"The murderer," probably an allusion to some sinister incident in his life. His wife 'Âyashi is known posionymi-cally by the same nickname. Apparently the absurdity of the juxtaposition of a name derived from ' <i>aişh</i> , "life," and a word meaning "mur-derer" never strikes any one.
Muḥammad Ḥasan ..	abu Shriḥ ..	A diminutive of <i>sharḥ</i> , a chopper.
Muḥammad Muştafa ..	1. Ballût ..	"Oak." This name he assumed himself, to distinguish him from a namesake who worked with him on the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, and who took occasion of the identity of name to pocket the wages of both.
	2. Barbûr ..	"Nasal mucus." A name often applied to persons whose nose runs frequently. In the present case it may be a coarse pun on the first nick-name.
Muḥammad Muştafa ..	abu 'l-Ķawâlish..	"Father of a sickle." A different individual from the last.
Mûsa Malymûd ..	el-Ĥîshî ..	A kind of jar.
Muştafa abu Snindi ..	el-Kalâsh ..	A kind of carriage.
Salâmi Muştafa..	el-Fâr ..	"The mouse."
Sa'id Muḥammad ..	abu 'l-Muḥarraġ ..	Uncertain (query <i>muḥarraġ</i> , a diviner?).
[Y]amin Ali ..	abu Abwâb ..	"Father of doors." Probably <i>sensu obscæno</i> .

Of women, the nicknames are very difficult to obtain. As M. Clermont-Ganneau long ago pointed out, a female anthropologist is needed properly to work the rich material to be found among the fellah women of Palestine. The following have been noted :—

ORDINARY NAMES.	NICKNAMES.	MEANING AND REASON.
Faṭmah	et-Ṭariḳ	"Of the road." Because born by the wayside.
Faṭmah	ez-Zaitûni	"Of the olives." A similar reason, because born in an olive grove.
Ḥasnah	et-Taḳiyah	"The pious." The word also means the skull-cap worn under the ṭarbûsh.
Ḥulwah	el-'Ainain	"Of the two eyes." No small distinction in this ophthalmia-riddled country.
Sârah Muḥammad	Darâj	"Staircase." Reason unknown.
Şaḫṫyah Muḥammad	Ḳarḳûmah	"A broken fragment of a jar," in allusion to her singularly small stature. The name is also applied to the last of a family.
Şaḫṫyah	et-ṭawil	"The tall." A patronymic, as the adjective is masculine. (Cf. 'Ayashi el-Ḳatil.)
Şabḫah	Turmus	"The lupin." Reason unknown.

These nicknames may thus be classified :—

1. *Descriptive names, referring directly or by allusion to some personal peculiarity or accomplishment*: et-tayarah, zârîk, abu 'armûsh, abu ghûri, abu hawal, 'amîsh, danâni, abu 'l-ḥanakain, et-ṭawil, eş-sawâlḫi, farfûr, et-taḳiyah, ḳarḳûmah, el-'ainain.
2. *Names probably referring to some remarkable or coveted possession*: abu lijâm, abu dabûs, abu thamari, abu tin, abu shriḫ, abu 'l-ḳawâlîsh, el kalâsh (?).
3. *Names derived from some event or custom of the person's life*: abu ḥnhn, 'aish, el-ḥawajah, el-'asi (?) abu laban, el-ḳatil, et-ṭariḳ.
4. *Derogatory names*: abu abwâb, abu 'l ma'fk (?), barbûr.
5. *Puns on the real name*: sarḡûr.
6. *Names of unknown intent derived from animals and plants*: abu nimrah, abu daḡaḡ, abu ḡaḫshain, abu 'l-ḥarâdîn, lasa', el-fâr, turmus, ballût, awlâd el-ghûl.
7. *Names of unknown intent derived from inanimate objects*: shalbak, şawwân, dahân, el-ḥarrâmi, el-mumm, el-ḫishi.
8. *Territorial names*: el-'arîshi.
9. *Names of unknown meaning*: handarli, luḫut, tshiko, nashab, ka'akîrim, shindi, muḥarraḡ.

(To be continued.)