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Blas Infante Pérez

*Studi interculturali 3/2013
«Identità e Modernità»*

«Ma allora accade un fenomeno curioso, non avvertito dagli storici. O protetti dai signori, a cui servivano contadini, o senza alcuna protezione, aggrappati al suolo della Patria, gli andalusi corrono a nascondersi. Quelli che sapevano parlare bene il castigliano in luoghi dove non erano conosciuti; quelli che non riuscivano a dissimulare la parlata o l'accento moresco, nelle montagne e in luoghi inaccessibili. Più ancora: la maggioranza di coloro che erano stati effettivamente espulsi torna nel suolo patrio».

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Hilma Granqvist takes part in the harvest, Artas, Palestine.ⁱ

MOTHER AND CHILD IN PALESTINE:
THE ARTAS MATERIAL IN HILMA GRANQVIST NACHLASS
AT THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
ROSANNA SIRIGNANO

Most part of the following article an extract from my BA and MA research work about the renowned anthropologist Hilma Granqvist's contribution to our knowledge of Palestinian Arabic.

Hilma Granqvist died in 1972 in Helsinki. Shortly after her death the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), with the valuable help of Shelagh Weir, acquired all the material resulting from Granqvist's fieldwork in Palestine.

Granqvist's research represents an important contribution to ethno-anthropological studies of Palestine, because of the richness of the content and the detailed description of women's lives, with particular attention to their linguistic practices. Hilma Granqvist learned Palestinian Arabic because she was aware of the importance of speaking the language of the culture she was researching. As anthropologist the worldview of each human being is transmitted through his language, and so attention to linguistic practices allows us to develop a better understanding of the complexity of a given social system.

ⁱ Karen Seger, *Portrait of a Palestinian village, the photographs of Hilma Granqvist*, London, The Third World Centre for Research and Publishing. (1981)

This selection of examples show that our knowledge of Palestinian Arabic could be extended even through indirect sources, such as ethnographical works.

Anyway, Granqvist's accurate description of a Palestinian small village daily life will ever have a unique and special place in Middle East anthropology.

In 1972 the anthropologist Shelagh Weir, whose help has been invaluable to me, visited Granqvist's house in Helsinki to go over her papers: «Her living room was lined with files and books; she had obviously spent years sorting, annotating and labelling her precious research materials».ⁱⁱ

HILMA GRANQVIST: BIOGRAPHY AND WORK

Hilma Granqvist was born in 1890 in Sippo. Her family was Swedish-speaking Finn, a minority group in Finland. In 1911, having finished her schooling at a girls school in Helsinki, she began to study at Ekenäs Seminarium. She received a teaching diploma there in 1914 together with Helena Westermarck.ⁱⁱⁱ Helena was the elder sister of Edward Westermarck (1862-1939), who was to become fundamental to the career of Granqvist in the years that followed.

In 1921 Granqvist obtained a master's degree in pedagogy, child psychology and philosophy at Helsinki University. Then she decided to continue her studies with the Associate Professor of Practical Philosophy, Gunnar Landtman, who assigned her a thesis on «Women and the Old Testament». In order to acquire more knowledge about this issue, Granqvist went to Berlin where she attended a course in Old Testament Studies at the university. Then she moved to Leipzig where she studied archaeology and theology.^{iv} Granqvist soon realised that the material available to write her book was not sufficient, so she decided to go to Palestine in order to study the lives of women. She left for the field work for the sake of her personal interests, without the support of any academic institution. Granqvist's tutor in Berlin, the theologian and biblical scholar Professor Ernst Sellin (1867-1946), felt that any woman of the generation preceding Granqvist's wishing to carry out field research in Middle East would have been considered «mad».^v So even a great Professor of the 19th century Berlin stressed her pioneering role.

In 1925 Hilma Granqvist obtained a scholarship from a the Finnish students union Nylandska Nationen. In the summer of the same year she left for Palestine. In Jerusalem she studied Palestinian archaeology, taught by Professor Albrecht Alt (1883-1956) at the *Deutches In-*

ⁱⁱ Shelagh Weir, «A pioneering anthropologist in Palestine», *The Middle East in London*, vol 8, N. 4 April-May 2012, pp. 16-17.

ⁱⁱⁱ Suolinna, Kirsti, «Hilma Granqvist: a Scholar of Westermarck school in its decline», *Acta Sociologica*, 43\4, p. 318. (2000)

^{iv} Suolinna 2000.

^v Shelagh Weir, «Hilma Granqvist and Her Contribution to Palestine Studies», *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 2\ 1, 6 (1975).

stitut für Evangelische Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes (DEIAHL).^{vi} At the end of this course Granqvist began her research in Artas.^{vii} She remained in the village until March 1927. She got a chance to return again three years later, thanks to an international scholarship from The Association of American University Women.^{viii}

Between the two stays in Artas, she followed a course in sociology at the London School of Economics, taught by Professor Westermarck. Here Granqvist had the privilege to meet one of the most important 20th century anthropologists, Bronislaw Malinowsky (1884-1942) and she attended one of his courses in 1938.

The research which Hilma Granqvist undertook between 1925 and 1931 provided her with most of the material, that later became the content of her published work. In 1931 she published *Marriage conditions in a Palestinian village* vol. 1 and in 1935 the second volume appeared.^{ix} These two volumes offer a detailed description of marriage stages and some aspects of family life. In 1939 Granqvist published *Arabiskt Familjeliv*. Thanks to this book, she won a prize in a Scandinavian competition, that used to reward scientific work.^x

Based on the materials collected during the years from 1925 to 1931, the two volumes dedicated to childhood, *Birth and childhood among the Arabs* (1947) and *Child Problems among the Arabs* (1950),^{xi} offer a complete overview of children's way of life of the Palestinian village Artas, starting from the phase of pregnancy.

In the first book the author describes the customs and traditions regarding conception, pregnancy, birth and post-natal practices, such as social and religious education, training and circumcision. The second book deals with the health and care of the child, examining issues such as infant mortality and devoting a large part of the description to rituals that ward off evil forces. It also provides a detailed list of names that were actually chosen for children, with several tables divided by gender and derivation. The two books can be considered a continuation of the previous publications of the author, *Marriage conditions in a Palestinian village* volumes I (1931) and II (1935), which concern the same group of people and give a complete picture of the family in the community of Artas.

During the Thirties, Hilma Granqvist tried to find new funding in order to be able to go back to Artas, without any success. In 1959, twenty-eight years after her last stay in Palestine, she returned to the village thanks to the support of the Elin Wagner Foundation of Stockholm.^{xii} In 1965 she published the results of her last period of research: *Muslim death and burial. Arab customs*

^{vi} She was the first women to be accepted by the DEIAHL.

^{vii} The Arabic transliteration is Artās but for reason of convenience and to make the toponym recognizable I will use the current trasliteration «Artas».

^{viii} Weir 1975, p. 7.

^{ix} For reasons of convenience the two book will be initialled respectively: MC I and MC II.

^x I was unable to find any further information about this competition.

^{xi} For reasons of convenience the two book will be initialled respectively BC and CP.

^{xii} Weir 1975, p. 7.

and traditions studied in a village in Jordan.^{xiii} Here she describes customs and beliefs about illness and death.

Even though her work was highly valued, Hilma Granqvist has never had the academic professional career that she could have deserved.^{xiv} Her application for a senior lectureship was rejected by Helsinki University.^{xv} This was probably due in part to her choosing her own country to carry on an academic career, since Finland was not a country that dedicated much time and attention to anthropological research.^{xvi} Moreover, at that time it was not easy for a woman to have an academic career. But on the other side, being a woman allowed her to explore the Muslim world in a way which would have been impossible for a man. As Professor Westermack stated: «*Oriental women can be properly studied by women only*».^{xvii} Paradoxically, being a woman was both a great obstacle to Hilma Granqvist's career, and, at the same time, it gave her a unique possibility to have access to women's spaces.

ARABIC HANDWRITTEN NOTES

The analysis of the Arabic handwritten notes acquired by the PEF gave me the possibility to explore Artas women world more closely and to give them a voice. The PEF gave me the permission to access Granqvist's archive which is composed by field notes, journals, pictures and personal letters. When I began to be interested in Hilma Granqvist's works in 2009, I came across an article entitled *Hilma Granqvist and her contribution to Palestine Studies* by Shelagh Weir. This article included a report on Hilma Granqvist's material by professor Emanuel Marx with a short description of the contents of the files. Thanks to this list, I was able to select the files more suitable for my research. I examined twenty two of over seventy files. I spent two weeks at the PEF taking more than five thousand photographs of all the Arabic texts and of the reviews of Granqvist's works. Because of time constraints, only manuscripts used for *Birth and Childhood among Arabs* (1947) and *Child problems among Arabs* (1950) were transcribed and analysed from a linguistic perspective.

To better organize my work, I divided my pictures according to the different subjects. I followed the chapters and paragraphs to which the handwritten notes refer to. Unfortunately, the

^{xiii} After the 1948 war Artas became part of Jordan. For reasons of convenience the book will be initialled DB.

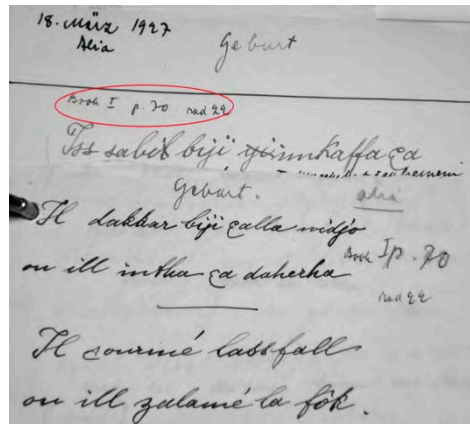
^{xiv} Shelagh Weir, «A pioneering anthropologist in Palestine», *The Middle East in London*, vol. 8, N. 4 April-May 2012, p. 17.

^{xv} Suolinna 2000, p. 319.

^{xvi} Cf. John E. Owen, «Sociology in Finland», *American Sociological Review*, 19\1, pp. 62-68, (1954) and Rabier, Jean-Claude, «La sociologie en Finlande», *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 18\1, pp. 109-131. (1977)

^{xvii} Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, vol. I, Helsinki, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum. (1931)

papers contained in the files are not individually numbered: each piece of Arabic text is accompanied by a page and line reference to the English book in which it has been translated and analysed. Probably the number of the page was added later by Hilma Granqvist as can be seen (circled) in the pictures below.



Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

After the construction of a digital archive as personal working tool of digital archive, I began to analyse and transcribe the manuscripts in a scientific transliteration of Colloquial Arabic. Unfortunately, I could only guess the right transcription because of a number of difficulties I faced. First of all, I have never heard the Artas dialect spoken, so it would be worthwhile to go to the village in order to compare Granqvist's texts with contemporary, living speech in Artas.

Apart from interesting linguistic issues, many valuable aspects of the Palestinian oral literature and folklore have emerged. I will start with the analysis of the different types of handwritten notes found at the PEF, then some lullabies not documented before, and finally some linguistic issues will be presented. However, first of all it must be remembered that the richness and accuracy of Granqvist's studies are actually the result of the efforts and determination of a special «Scientific Committee» composed of four women.^{xviii} Let me introduce them and give a brief account of their biographies:

Louise Baldensperger (1862-1938) was the daughter of an Alsatian missionary, Henry Baldensperger, who had settled in Jerusalem in 1848. Like other Europeans at that time, the Baldensperger family was principally attracted to Palestine because of its biblical heritage and its importance to the Christian faith. They bought a plot of land in Artas, where Louise would go to

^{xviii} Hilma Granqvist, *Birth and Childhood Among The Arabs. Studies in a Muhammadan village in Palestine*, Helsingfors, Söderström & Co. Förlagsaktiebolag, 1947, p. 25.

live for the rest of her life. The whole family was interested in Palestinian culture: Louise's brother, Philip, wrote the famous book entitled *The immovable East*.^{xix} Another brother of her, Emile, became a beekeeper and, thanks to his travels across Palestine, collected Palestinian proverbs and folklore.

Sitt Louisa, as the inhabitants of Artas used to call her, spoke fluent Palestinian Arabic and lived like the villagers, sharing every aspect of the daily life with them. She introduced Hilma Granqvist to two excellent «sources of information»: 'Alya and Ḥamdīye. The information that these two women revealed about Palestinian culture was translated and, without adulteration, became part of the five monographs on Artas. I would like to quote a passage from Hilma's writing to show her research attitude: «I needed to live among the people, hear them talk about themselves in Artas, make records while they spoke of their lives, customs and ways of looking at things. For that reason I decided to remain in Palestine».^{xx}

This is confirmed by the words of the anthropologist Annelies Moors: Granqvist «was a listener, more than an observer».^{xxi} Her attitude to fieldwork was mirrored by her relationship with the informants. 'Alya and Ḥamdīye followed a fixed schedule: they went to Sitt Louisa's home first thing every day, when the villagers were more relaxed and full of energy. From eight o'clock in the morning to noon, they would go around the village visiting the *fellahīn* (peasants) and finding out the day's events. In the afternoon all the data collected were patiently rewritten, translated and ordered^{xxii} with the help of Sitt Louisa.

It is also interesting to say something about the lives of 'Alya and Ḥamdīye: 'Alya was born after her father's death. Her father had married two women. She married a Bedouin when she was still a child, but some time later he left the village and never came back. 'Alya had a child who lived only forty days. Then she left for Bethlehem, where she became the wet-nurse of the French consul's son. She followed them to Jerusalem and then Beirut, until the child became independent. After she had come back to the village, she became the second wife of the *sheikh* Nofal. She never got along with her co-wife and the death of her daughter, Raḥma, further increased her suffering. By the time Granqvist met her, she was a widow and a blind woman. During her unhappy second marriage, she had learnt many aspects of the Bedouin life, including some of its songs.

Ḥamdīye was also a widow by the time Hilma Granqvist arrived in the village. She was working as a maid for Louise Baldensperger. During her first marriage, she became a *ḥardāne*, a term which describes a woman who has taken refuge in her father's house because of the abusive be-

^{xix} Philip J. Baldensperger, *The Immovable East, studies of the people and customs of Palestine*, London, Sir Isaac Pitman & sons, LTD. No. 1 Amen Corner, E. C., 1913.

^{xx} Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, vol.II, Helsinki, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 1935, p. 2.

^{xxi} Cf. Inge E.Boer, *Uncertain Territories. Boundaries in Cultural Analysis*, Amsterdam-New York, Editions Rodopi B. V., 2006, pp. 219-37.

^{xxii} Granqvist 1935, p. 20.

haviour of her husband.^{xxiii} After the birth of a child, she rejoined her husband. When he died, she married a Bedouin with whom she lived in Transjordan. She came back to the village, where she lived with her family, after being widowed again.

Being aware of some aspects of the lives of these three women is of particular importance for the textual analysis of the Arabic manuscripts of the Hilma Granqvist *Nachlass*. It seems that most of the Arabic quotations are from ʿAlya and were re-written by Louise Baldensperger, who could be a faithful transcriber of the Palestinian vernacular, since she did not know any Classical Arabic.

Louise Baldensperger's papers are written in Latin letters and follow a personally elaborated system of transliteration. Hilma Granqvist probably added an interlinear English or German translation to some of *Sitt Louisa's* manuscripts later. These papers are written in red ink, are written in red ink sometimes alternated to black lines, which gives them an aesthetical value as well.

Louise Baldensperger, as I said above, used her own criterion to transcribe the sounds which did not exist in her own language. Since she was Alsatian, it is presumed that she spoke both French and German. This is reflected in the characters she uses for consonantal sounds. For example, in some of her handwritten texts «sch» indicates the voiceless palatal sibilant, which according to the scientific transcription of vernacular Arabic is «š»; «ch» to indicate the voiceless velar fricative instead of «x» or «ou» to indicate the long vowel «ū».

Only a small part of the notes were written by Hilma Granqvist herself. Probably this is due to her limited knowledge of Arabic at the beginning of her field work in Palestine. The fact that Granqvist uses some diacritical marks in her written texts (below) suggests that she copied *Sitt Louise's* notes in her own writings. In her last work about Artas, she explained why she cared about coping and preserving her Arabic field notes: «*Notes in language of the culture studied are always of value in themselves. My notes in Arabic (dialect) will be handed over to a library to be available for students interested in the subject.*»^{xxiv}

^{xxiii} Granqvist 1935, p. 218. She devotes an entire chapter (IX) to this problem, quite common in Palestine, by analysing specific cases and giving biblical parallels.

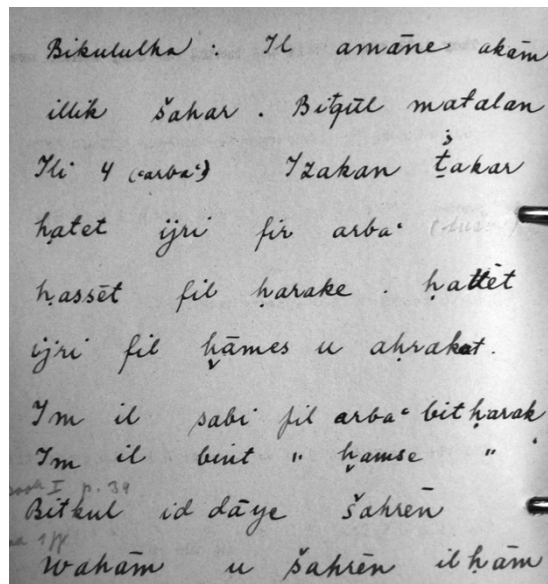
^{xxiv} Hilma Granqvist, *Muslim Death and Burial: Arab Customs and Traditions Studied in a Village in Jordan*, Helsinki, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 1965.

The Welcome of the Negro
 Arab. L. p. 83

Moh. Salamy jinto
 Mohamed Salamy his coming from
 min Tharika, bard igiaba
 Arabian after absence
 18 sans. — H. Kahmouch
 of eighteen years. A man by name Kahmouch
 fo Dethi, would outado
 in Bechlehem and his children are in America
 fo Tharika il maltoed
 aqja, Sabbar Kahmouch
 the letter came to him
 calla jentt Moh. S.
 Kahmouch announced / brought the news
 for the coming of Mohamed Salamy
 Wa shafou ulla nou call
 Eke At once they saw that he came at the
 middwan, hamallou il
 usual stoppingplace
 sandouk la Foude Saq el
 They load the
 trunk on Jude / Jude carried the trunk

Wen shouftha? —
 Shoufthaifoll koude. —
 A. is. Sal. bikoel:
 Habi il ibshara. —
 Lagem azourou ou
 asoudlo 2 tun Exasal.
 alji: ^{malum on s. hadi}
 — H. Lothara calige

Louise Baldensperger's manuscripts
 Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund



Hilma Granqvist's handwritten note.
 Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Hilma Granqvist learned Palestinian Arabic from Mr Wahby (whose first name remains unknown), a Palestinian Arab who spoke English. He was educated in Russia where he met his wife Olga, who was the Head of Schools for the West Bank under the Jordanians. Mr Wahby was a scholar and had a good library. Before 1948 he and his family lived in the suburbs of what is now West Jerusalem. In 1948 the Jewish forces gave them twenty-four hours to leave and they fled to Beit Jala. The Israelis confiscated Wahby's library, which is probably now in the Hebrew University Library.^{xxxv}

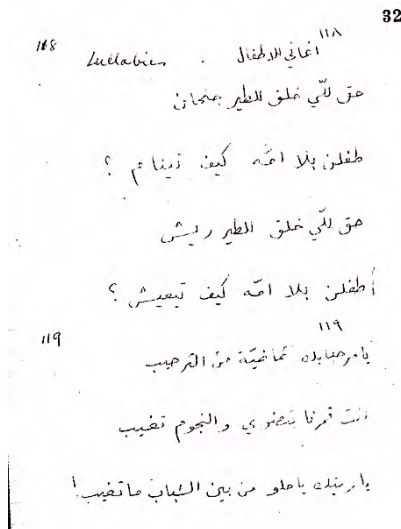
The manuscripts in Arabic characters were written by two of Granqvist's friends: Elias Haddad and Judy Farah Docmac. The Christian scholar Elias Nasrallah Haddad taught Arabic at the teacher's Seminary of the Syrisches Waisenhaus in Jerusalem. Together with Hans Henry Spoer he wrote a *Manual of Palestinian Arabic for self-instruction*, which is often mentioned by Hilma Granqvist. He was also the author of many articles about Syrian-Palestinian folklore. It seems that he helped Ms Granqvist in the understanding of Palestinian proverbs, formulas etc.^{xxxvi} It is presumed that Haddad and Docmac re-wrote the texts basing their work on Louise Baldensperger's transcriptions. Apparently, Haddad helped Granqvist in the early period while Docmac

^{xxxv} I received this information in an e-mail sent to me by Shelagh Weir on last April, 3rd h. 6:10 pm. She personally visited the Wahby family in 1967.

^{xxxvi} Granqvist 1931, p. 21.

helped her when she went back to Sweden after the war.^{xxvii} Judy Farah Docmac was the headmaster of the Lutheran School of Bethlehem.^{xxviii} He rewrote most of Granqvist's material in Arabic letters in 1959 and assisted Granqvist in checking difficult terms and dialectal forms. Granqvist describes stimulating conversations with other Arab intellectuals at Mr and Mrs Docmac's house, where she learnt many new things about Palestinian customs and traditions.^{xxix}

Granqvist's correspondence confirms that there was a close relationship between her and the Docmac family. She only kept in touch with Docmac after her return to Sweden in 1965 and was sure to ask about their mutual friends, such as Wahby, Tawfiq Canaan and others. In his written texts, Docmac tends to standardise the Arabic dialect of the Artas peasantry



Docmac 32 (A) It is a handwritten notes re-written by Docmac in 1959.

Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

because of his high level of education, a scholarly tendency which remains still widespread in this field.

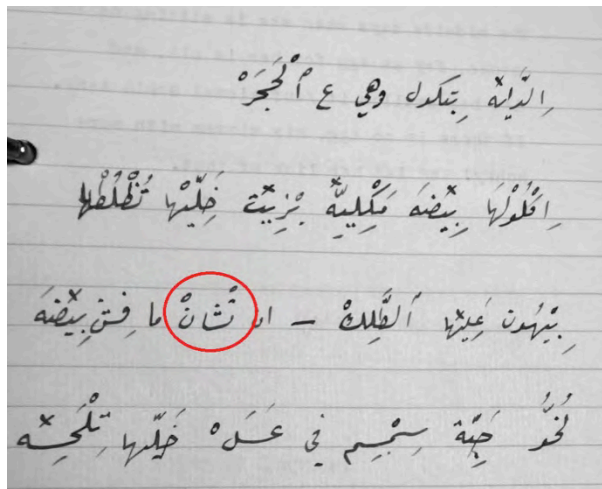
When I found myself to deal with all the lexical material which I culled from Hilma Granqvist's work, I have collected in a glossary. Then I have checked all the glossary entries in

^{xxvii} Information received in an email by Shelagh Weir sent to me on last April 3rd, h. 6:10 pm.

^{xxviii} PEF archive: Docmac 28 (B).

^{xxix} Granqvist 1965, p. 11.

three Neo-Arabic dictionaries concerning the Levantine area: the invaluable dictionary of Levantine Arabic by Adrien Barthélemy published in 1935-69,^{xxx} its following integration by the islamologist Claude Denizeau (1960),^{xxxi} the small but nonetheless invaluable German-Arabic dictionary by Leonhard Bauer (1957)^{xxxii} and *The Olive Tree* by Elihay (2009). Then the entries were checked against the eight volumes of *Arbeit und Sitte in Palaestina* by the theologian, philologist and palestinologist Gustav Dalman (1855-1941),^{xxxiii} which contain a large quote of Arabic terms. Finally I consulted the Palestinian Arabic Dialect Dictionary by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Barḡuṭī (1987-2009)^{xxxiv} and the two glossaries which accompany the collections of contemporary Palestinian Arabic texts by Ulrich Seeger: *Der Arabische Dialekt von il-Ḫalīl* (1996) and *Der Arabische Dialekt der Dörfer um Ramallah* (2009).^{xxxv} In the paragraphs that follow I will focus on some content of the manuscripts, showing their value from a sociolinguistic point of view.



This is probably a handwritten note by Haddad. The tā-šīn group (circled) in the picture seems to be an attempt to render the rural pronunciation of the letter kaf. One can assume that Haddad tried to write the colloquial dialect phonetically to help Hilma Granqvist. Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

^{xxx} For reason of convenience from here on I will use abbreviations: Barthélemy 1935: B.

^{xxxi} Abbreviated: De.

^{xxxii} Abbreviated BA.

^{xxxiii} Abbreviated Dal. I-VIII.

^{xxxiv} Abbreviated: Bgh.

^{xxxv} Abbreviated respectively S. 96 and S. 09.

SHAME AND HONOUR IN ARTAS: EUPHEMISMS AND FEMALE ISSUES

In all societies people resort to linguistic euphemisms when they have to speak about something perceived as embarrassing or disgusting. Linguistic taboos are used especially to talk about sexuality or intimate parts of the body in a way that is considered as more acceptable. It seems that this phenomenon is more widespread among women than men.

In BC Hilma Granqvist gives an example of a linguistic taboo:

There are several verbs which can be translated as «to give birth». They are used with different nuances in meaning and in different contexts.

The verbs *xallaf* - *ġāb* - *ʿaqab* mean «to give birth» and they are used in the same way. They are used to talk about a genealogy since they literally mean «to leave behind».

ʿAlya used the verb *ʿaqab* in the following case:

«How many boys *has* he *left*? He *has left* four boys. He who has sons born to him does not die. The house is built up. Ahmad Jedallah *left* only four daughters. The house is ruined».^{xxxvi}

Unfortunately, only one version of this text written in Arabic letters by Docmac has been found in the archive.

The verb *ġāb* from the root Ġ Y B simply means «to carry» and by extension it becomes «to carry in the womb» and then «to beget».

The verbs *xallaf* - *ġāb* - *ʿaqab* are used mainly by men. They can still be used by women, but only in the sense of «to give birth» and never in the sense of «to beget».

In contrast to Classical Arabic, in their dialect the Artas villagers do not use the verb *walada* to mean «beget». ʿAlya said: «The verb *walada* is not used of a man but of a woman». In other words, «it is not a word that a woman likes to utter when she speaks to a man».^{xxxvii} It seems that women prefer to use a synonym of this verb which is *wadaʿ*, that is not, according to ʿAlya states, considered shameful.

According to ʿAlya herself, the usage of these verbs could be classified as follows, from least to most shameful:

1. *wadaʿ*: this is more honourable for a woman to utter in the presence of a man. It also means «to overcome».
2. *ʿaqab*: this is acceptable. Used by women also to mean «to leave».
3. *xallaf*: this is acceptable. Used by women also to mean «to follow».
4. *ġāb*: this is acceptable. Used by women also to mean «to beget».
5. *walad*: this is actually shameful and used only among women and never in the presence of a man. It is used to mean «to give birth».

The linguistic taboos found in BC and CP, but in translated form, are analysed, from the previously unpublished Arabic, below:

^{xxxvi} Granqvist 1947, p. 29.

^{xxxvii} Granqvist 1947, p. 29.

MENSTRUATION

The taboo surrounding menstruation is due to the impure state of the women during those days of her cycle. Women cannot perform their ritual duties, such as the five daily prayers, fasting and pilgrimage.^{xxxviii}

[°]*āde*: this literally means «habit, custom». It is a common term and sometimes combined with the adjective *aš-šahriyya*, meaning «monthly».^{xxxix}

'SHE IS MENSTRUATING'

All the expressions *ibtīgīha il-°āde* (PEF), *iġat hal-°āde*, *šār ma°ha l-°āde* (OT) and *°alēha il-°āda* (Ritt-Benmimoun-Procházka 2009) mean «she is menstruating».^{xl}

illī °aleyha id-damm (p. 78): this literally means «the one who has the blood».^{xli}

AFTERBIRTH

The afterbirth is called *il-uxt*, *il-uxxett*, which literally means «sister» or *il-rafīqe*, *rafīqe*, which literally means «the companion».

The same phenomenon is registered in Iraq, where besides the words «sister» and «companion», the word «neighbour» (*ġāra*) is also used. Assyrians (Nestorians) used the word *ġimma* «twin» or *hawarta* «female likeness or double». Mandeans used the word «sister» and «neighbour» but also the word *ġuft* «pair, partner» and «*uštun*» support.^{xlii}

^{xxxviii} Fatima Sadiqi, *Women, Gender and Language in Morocco*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2003.

^{xxxix} See for other Arabic dialects Ritt-Benmimoun-Procházka, «Female issues in Arabic dialects: Words and expressions related to the female body and reproduction», in *Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí* edited by J. Aguadé, F. Corriente, Á. Vicente, Y. M. Meouak, Zaragoza, Instituto De Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, 2009, p. 34.

^{xl} In Syria (Damascus, Aleppo) I personally heard the expression *mā °aley salāt* «I am not praying» which was a way of saying «I am menstruating so I cannot pray». Ritt-Benmimoun-Procházka (2009, p. 37) indicate two examples of this kind of euphemism, but only from Šanaa (*mā °alayya šala\šiyām*) and from Baghdad (*mā °indi šala*). W. Marçais, «Nouvelles observations sur l'euphémisme dans les parlers arabes maghribins», in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 13, 1953, Melange Isidore Lévy, 1955, p. 357, relates that in Tunisia and southern Algeria a similar expression is used (*ħurmet* or *ħarmān -eššlā* «l'interdiction de la prière»).

^{xli} Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun-Procházka 2009, p. 35.

^{xlii} Stephana Drower Ethel, «Woman and taboo in Iraq», *Iraq*, 5\2, 1938, pp. 105-17.

According to Ethel Stephana Drower, there might be a connection between the afterbirth and the *qarīna*. As I said above, the terms *qarīna* and *tabi^ca* indicate a companion, someone who follows. It might be possible that the magical practices surrounding the afterbirth come from its association with evil spirits. In Iraq, as in other cultures in the world, the afterbirth is believed to have a special status and power. It is also called *xalaṣe*, which literally means «end».

ANUS

In Hilma Granqvist's handwritten notes we find the expressions:

bāb ilnafs: this literally means «the door of breath»^{xliii} or «the door of the soul»,^{xliv} *bāb ilxātem*: «door of the ring», *bāb ilbadan*: «door of the body» to refer to the anus.

It is said that immediately after the delivery, the child's anus must be closed. This is done for fear that his or her spirit leaves it. For this reason it is called a «door» from which the spirit could exit.^{xlv} It is also called: *ṭaraf*: «end» i.e. «the end of the body» or *ṣurum*: «last breath». According to Docmac^{xlvi} the verb *ṣurim* means «to breath one's last, i.e. to die».

DELIVERY

xallāṣ: This literally means «the end» i.e. «the end of the birth separation».^{xlvii} The *laqemt ilxallāṣ* is a bite of food given to the mother soon after the delivery.^{xlviii}

MASCULINE GENITALS

ḥōbar w ṣnōbar: It seems to be an expression without meaning. *ḥōbar* could be a word that replaces something that is too shameful to utter and is meant to be understood within the context in which it is spoken. Anyway, it refers to a pair.

The text which follows is part of the description of the circumcision of Khalil Mustafa's sons, in which this term is used. It is customary to give a gift to the circumcised boy. It can be a cow or some other animal or, as in this case, a bride:

^{xliii} Granqvist 1947, p. 73.

^{xliv} Docmac's translation.

^{xlv} Granqvist 1947, p. 73.

^{xlvi} Docmac's handwritten note n. 63 (A).

^{xlvii} Docmac's handwritten note n. 86 (A).

^{xlviii} Granqvist 1947, p. 89.

p.201, ll. 17-21^{xlix}

yōm biqaddmu la-l-imḥher biqul

hōbar yā ṣnōbar yā ʿammī Aḥmad

biqūlo ibṣer yā walad

ilak bintī (aw dābe aw maṣārī)

išadu yallī ḥāḍrīn in bintī aḡato

abū ilwalad biqūl ana qabbālha

mā biḥōṭeš fēd

when (the boy) is offered to the circumciser he says:

genitals, my father's brother Aḥmad

he says to him: speak, my son

for you my daughter (or an animal or money)

I testify that you are present that my daughter is to be for him

the father of the boy says: I accept her!

No bride price is given

Hilma Granqvist gives this example to show that there is a possibility that circumcision was originally performed as an initiation rite for marriage. She underlines that Muslims in Palestine believe that it is not proper for a man to get married if he has not been circumcised.¹

FEMININE GENITALS

farraḡ, farreḡ: I did not find this term in any other source which I consulted. It seems to be a loan from Classical Arabic *farāḡ, furūḡ* opening, aperture, gap, breach, pudendum of the female, vulva. Granqvist translates «shame» and only once she translates «flesh». The word *laḥem* (flesh) is also used.

TO HAVE SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

tāḥa\yīḥ (B.), *yīḥi, yeḥi* (OT) To step down, to descend to sb.\sth (B.\Ba.\Bgh.), to cover (a female), to jump (an obstacle) (B.), to walk down, to flow down, to mature (S.96\09), to fire, to sack, to give (someone) the boot (OT).

aḡa-iḡa-iḡi\yiḡi-yīḡi to come (S.09) (as in to enter the marital bedroom).

PREGNANCY

The abstract noun «pregnancy» is often used: *ḥable, ḥibla, ḥibbla, ḥebbla*, with the pharingealization of «b» and the verb *ḥabal\yiḥbal*. The feminine singular active present participle of the verb *ḥamal\yiḥmil* to carry, *ḥāmle*, is used as well as in several other Middle Eastern dialects.ⁱⁱ

^{xlix} Granqvist 1947.

¹ Granqvist 1947, p. 201.

ⁱⁱ Ritt-Benmimoun-Procházka 2009, p. 41.

A word which is not found in the list of the words to denote «pregnant» published by Ritt-Benmimoun-Procházka 2009 is:

nāqel: active present participle of the verb *naqal\yənqol* (B.), *yunqul* (S.09) to carry (B.\S.09), to move, to transfer (B.\OT), to transcribe, to copy (B.), to convey (OT).

Granqvist states that *naqlat* means «conception» or «to move from one place to another» (BC 34). It is presumed that it used only by women.^{lii}

Finally the expression *fīha walad\wlād* literally means «there is a child or there are children inside her».

LABOUR PAINS

Words from the root Ṭ L Q are used:^{liii}

ṭalqa labour pain, and

ṭalqa\yiṭlaq, to be in labour.

BREASTS

bizz: the original meaning is «nipple». It is common in several Arabic dialects such as Egyptian and Yemeni Arabic. Words derived from the root *b-z-l*^{liv} are probably etymologically related to *bizz-buzz*.

The onomatopoeic *bizz* reproduces the sound of the child who sucks from their mother's breast. In Syrian Arabic baby talk the word *zəzz* (Aleppo and Damascus) means «breast».^{lv} One's attention may be easily driven to the colloquial Italian *zizza*. I would suggest that *bizz* (pl. *ibzāz*, *bzāz*) is a lexicalisation of children babbling in a particular way.

ibzāz: This plural form is recorded once in a popular saying: *ibzāz iz-zlām fihunneš laban. ma^canatu mā fīš imhinnye*: «the breasts of men have no milk. It means that men have no mercy».^{lvi}

bzēz: It is found in the expression: *bzēzi il-yamīn w qlabī ḥazīn* «by my right breast and by my heart is sad»^{lvii} which expresses a vow or promise.

^{lii} Granqvist 1947, p. 34.

^{liii} Cf. Ritt-Benmimoun-Procházka 2009, pp. 45-6.

^{liv} Ritt-Benmimoun-Procházka 2009, p. 48: words derived from the root *b-z-l* are widely used in Maghribi dialects of both the Hilālī and pre-Hilālī types. Two examples are *bazzūl* (Maṛāzīg) and *bazzūla* (Tunis).

^{lv} Charles A. Ferguson, «Arabic baby talk», in *Structuralist studies in Arabic Linguistic. Charles A. Ferguson's Papers, 1954-1994* by R. Kirk Belnap and Niloofar Haeri, Leiden Brill, 1956, pp. 179-97, p. 181.

^{lvi} Granqvist 1947, p. 155.

MIDWIFE

As in most Syro-Palestinian, Egyptian and Sudanese dialects the Persian loanword *dāya*^{lviii} is used, pronounced *dēye*, with *imālah* (inflection).^{lix}

BARRENNESS

In the texts analysed for this work, a word for barrenness has not been found. Barrenness is mentioned only once in the text which follows:

p. 98, ll. 3-5

lāzem tindaffon iktēr ʿamiq bass niswan

it should be buried very deeply only by women
so that dogs do not eat it for fear that she be-
comes barren

la-yōk linho il-kalāb la xōf lamma tiḥball

Instead of saying explicitly «for fear that she becomes barren» the verb *ḥabal*, «to become pregnant» is put in the negative. *la xōf amma tiḥball* means «for fear that she does not become pregnant (again)». A similar linguistic behaviour is found in Damascus, in Baghdad, in Şanaa and in Ceuta (Spanish Morocco).^{lx} I would like to suggest that the fear of barrenness is shown by the fear and unwillingness women have to pronounce the appropriate word.

I have given much attention to euphemism and female issues because these themes have been so far rather neglected in linguistic work about Palestinian Arabic. This work, as it can be seen, in some way completes and expands upon Ritt-Benmimoun-Procházka's (2009) fascinating article about female issues in Arabic dialects.

LULLABIES AND BABY TALK

In every culture lullabies are sung to rock a child to sleep. In all the languages of the world lullabies express mothers' feelings toward their children: love, hope, fear etc. Lullabies are so different from folk songs, that they are recognisable even if the language of the «singer» is different from that of the listener. Most of the people remember till adulthood the soothing melodies and the soothing words which someone sung to them in their infancy. Rhythm, and the simple structure of lullabies, help children to shape and control their emotions. Mothers sing faster to attract

^{lvii} Hilma Granqvist, *Child Problems among the Arabs*, Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1950, p. 156.

^{lviii} Ritt-Benmimoun-Procházka 2009, p. 47.

^{lix} It is a phonetic phenomenon which consists in the shifting of the long vowel *ā* towards *ē* (sometimes towards *ī*).

^{lx} Ritt-Benmimoun-Procházka 2009, p. 49.

the attention of their child, and slow down instead to keep hold of their attention. The children respond to those emotions by smiling, cooing, or moving their limbs. Even if they do not understand the meaning of the words, they are perfectly able to grasp the emotional meaning.^{lxi}

Artas women seem to have been instinctively aware of the great importance of singing lullabies. Granqvist wrote: «It is really touching to think that a peasant woman in spite of all the work she has to do can find time to sing to her child».^{lxii} Granqvist gives the English translation of ten lullabies heard in Artas. Fortunately the original texts have been found in PEF archive.

In 1932 Stephan Hanna Stephan collected several Palestinian nursery rhymes and songs. He explicitly thanked Louise Baldensperger and ʿAlya Saleh for having given him some rhymes.^{lxiii} The lullabies collected by Hilma Granqvist, which I found in the archive, should be added to this invaluable collection of these special kinds of folk songs.

Only one of the lullabies quoted in Stephan's collection resembles one I found in the PEF archive: the rest are new, and so far unstudied.

PEF archive (Song 10, p. 120)^{lxiv}

yā aṣṣūr-t il-xalle
Thou bird of the wilderness^{lxv}
hatī il-nōm fī kurtalla
bring sleep in a little basket!
yā aṣṣūr-t il baḥrēn
Oh bird of the two lakes!
hatī il-nōm la-lʿinōn
bring sleep for the eyes
yā aṣṣūr il-wādē
Oh bird of the valley!
hatī il-nōm al-wlāde
bring sleep for the little boy
yā aṣṣūr-t il-qaʿa
Thou bird of the plain!
hatī il-nōm fī saʿa
Bring sleep quickly!

Stephan 1932, 65

yā aṣṣūr(i)t il-wādi
O bird of the valley
hātī-n-nōm la-l-iulādi
bring sleep to the children
ya aṣṣūr(i)t(i) ḡ-ḡbāl(i)
O bird of the mountains
hatī n-nōm bi-r-rīāl(i)
bring sleep in roṭls
ya aṣṣūr(i)t il-xalle
O bird of the dell
hatī-n-nōm bi-s-salle
bring sleep in baskets
ya aṣṣūr il-baḥrēn
O bird of the two seas
hātī n-nōm la-lʿinēn
Bring sleep to the eyes

^{lxi} Dean Falk, *Finding our tongues. Mothers, Infants and the Origin of Language*, New York, Basic Books, 2009, p. 59.

^{lxii} Granqvist 1947, p. 120.

^{lxiii} St. H. Stephan, «Palestinian Nursery Rhymes and Songs», *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 12, 1932, 62, fn.1.

^{lxiv} Granqvist 1947, p. 120.

^{lxv} Translation from Granqvist 1947, p. 120.

yā aṣṣūr-t il-bistān

Oh bird of the gardens!

hātī nōm fīl-fingān

Bring sleep in a cup!

ya aṣṣūr(i)t il-qā'a

O bird of the hill-side

hātī n-nōm (i)b-sā'a

Bring sleep at once

As it can be seen from the synopsis above, Granqvist and Stephan seem to have collected different versions of the same lullaby. Some verses are exactly the same but are arranged in a different order. Probably different versions of the same lullaby circulated in the area. Here the child is compared to a little bird and a delightful scene is evoked by this lullaby. One can imagine a mother who rocks her child outside in the fresh air and sings this lullaby looking at the birds flying past in the sky.

Song 9, p. 120^{lxvi}

nām ya ḥabībī nām^{lxvii}

ta adbaḥlak tēr il-hamām

ya hamama lā tixāfī

baḍḥak 'a l-baby ta yinām

sleep, my darling, sleep

so that I may kill for you the pigeon

you pigeon, fear not

I am only joking with the baby, so that he may sleep

The mother asks the child to sleep so that she can kill a pigeon for him or her. When she sees the pigeon getting fearful, she comforts it, saying: «No, pigeon, do not be afraid, I am only joking with the baby».^{lxviii} She has tender feelings toward the pigeon as she has toward her child.

The mother is also compared to a bird: she protects her child in the same way a bird protects their chick with their wings.

Song 1, p. 118^{lxix}

hakk lall xallak lall tēr ḡinḥān

tiḥlōn ball imo kiif yinām

xalaq lall Allāh lall tēr

'iṣ tiḥlōn balla immo kiif ta'is

it is the right for the Creator to furnish a bird with wings

a baby without his mother how can he sleep

it is the right to have created the bird

a baby without his mother how can he live?

^{lxvi} Granqvist 1947.

^{lxvii} It is presumed that these opening words are very common in lullabies. Cf. in Palestine: (Stephan 1932, p. 80): *nāmi ya ḥabībti nāmi*; in Upper Egypt (Giovanni Canova, «Immagini e motivi ricorrenti nelle ninnananne dell'Alto Egitto», *Annali Ca' Foscari*, 193,1980, p. 18): *nām nām ya ḥabībī nām*.

^{lxviii} Granqvist 1947, p. 119.

^{lxix} Granqvist 1947.

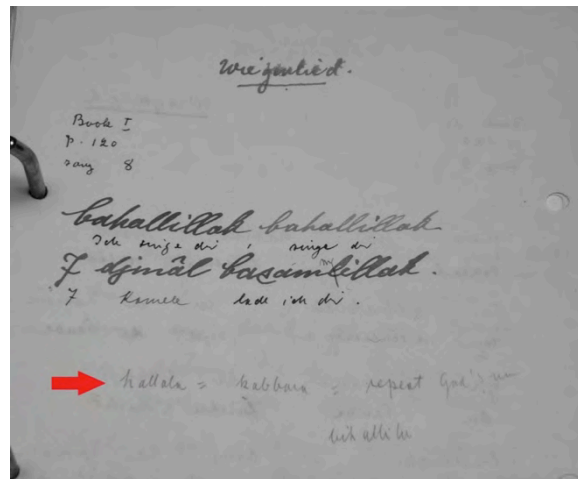
In the next one the mother is prepared to do anything for her child: seven camels may be loaded for her child. This is probably a common expression to suggest generosity and kindness.^{lxx}

Song 8, p.120^{lxxi}

bahalillak bahalillak
7 ġimāl baħammillah

I sing you, I sing you
seven camels I load for you

It is presumed that «*bahalillak bahalillak*» or *bihalillo* originally means «repeating the Muslim declaration of belief in oneness of God *lā ilāha illa-llāh*».^{lxxii} *Bahalillah* is the first person of the imperfective of the delocutive^{lxxiii} verb *hallala*. Probably Granqvist translates «I sing you, I sing you» because it is a common formula used for praising and singing.^{lxxiv}



Sitt Louisa's handwritings. Granqvist added a note about the meaning of the verb «hallala». Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

^{lxx} I found a similar expression in an Arabic lullaby still popular today called «Seven camels»: Here seven camels are loaded with different nuts used to celebrate every child's new tooth. (Taghreed Najjal, illustrated by Hiba Farran, *Musical Tickles Set (3 Books and audio CD)*, Al-Salwa Publishers. 2013.)

^{lxxi} Granqvist 1947.

^{lxxii} Stephan 1932, p. 67 fn. and Granqvist PEF handwritten notes n. P1020661.

^{lxxiii} Cf. the best known delocutive verb in Arabic, *basmala* «to invoke the name of God».

^{lxxiv} Stephan 1932, p. 67 fn. 11.

A MIXED BAG OF LEXICAL ISSUES

I will list here some apparently unrelated examples of words culled from Granqvist *Nachals* and not previously documented in glossaries and dictionaries of Levantine Arabic. The following words can be found in Granqvist's published texts and, together with an analysis of her handwritten notes, show once again how much attention she showed to linguistic aspects and her heightened sensibility to them. This little lexical choice will present the reader with a short symbolic journey in the daily life (and perception of it) of a small Palestinian village.

burnus: a thin membrane in which the newborn child is enveloped (BC 71)

Normally *burnus* means, «ample manteau sans manches se fermant au cou par une agrafe» (B.) «Every cloth which covers the head or a part of it which is linked to the head». (Bgh.)

fēd: bride price, filly (MC I 30, 118, 119, 131, 139, 144\ II 275, 282, 294, 304\ BC 33)

The usual word for bride price *mahr* has the same root as *muhra*, which means female foal or mare. The word *fēd*, when used by Artas villagers, describes the fillies which must be given to the former owner of a thoroughbred horse in compensation for his agreeing to part with it.^{lxxv} The obligatory gifts from a bridegroom to his bride's parents' brothers (*baṣa*) are compared to this.^{lxxvi}

When a man asks for a bride, he often uses this formula: «I wish for a filly (*muhra*). He is asked: «A filly which eats with its hand or its mouth? He answers: «A filly which eats with its hand». As Granqvist assumes, it may be that there is a pun on this word, because of the similarity between *mahr* «bride price» and *muhra* «filly».^{lxxvii}

Muhra is also used as the name of a woman because a woman is often compared to a thoroughbred horse.^{lxxviii}

buxnuq, *baxnūqa*\ *baxānīq* head-cloth for new-born children (BC 99), cap, head kerchief tied under the chin (De.) Barghuthi describes it as follows:

Something which is wrapped round the head and the neck, tied in front. Piece of wool which is worn on the head so that it covers the entire head and the neck. There is only an opening for the face. (Colloquial Arabic buxnaq, buxnuq, buxnak, bunaq; Classical Arabic: it notes «a head veil or a little burnus»).

heṭaliye: sweet food (BC 106)

Sitt Louisa gave the recipe to Hilma Granqvist:

^{lxxv} Granqvist 1931, p. 144 and 1947, p. 33.

^{lxxvi} Granqvist 1931, pp. 127, 131 and 1947, p. 33.

^{lxxvii} Granqvist 1931, pp. 144-145.

^{lxxviii} Granqvist 1931, p. 144 and 1950, p. 36.

Wheat is crushed a little in a mill; it is then put into water where it lies for two or three days. Then it is pressed and the starch falls to the bottom and the husks float on the top. These are taken away and given to the hens or other animals. Then the starch is cooked in milk with sugar or honey, and butter is added. It is very good.^{lxxxix}

gēl: milk of pregnant woman (BC 109)

I did not find this term in any source which I consulted. It seems to be a loan from the Classical Arabic *ḡayl* which means «breastfeeding during pregnancy, milk of a pregnant woman». The root Ġ Y L in its first form means «to feed, to nurse». The term is cited in Granqvist's work with the diphthong *-ay-* subject to monophthongization. Canaan also mentions the *ḡalib ḡēl* which implies the belief that it is very dangerous to suckle from the breast of a pregnant woman. It is believed that pregnancy changes the composition of the milk.^{lxxx}

Regarding the milk of a pregnant woman a story is told:

p.109, ll. 13-14

maṭalan Zārīfe Šāleḡ hī ḡibblā w bintha

for example Zārīfe Šāleḡ was pregnant and her daughter

bitšrabb ḡalīb ḡēl ḡarām °allēha

drinks the milk of a pregnant woman. It is a sin.

māhī mīte il-bint

The girl was half-dead

ll. 21-24

ḡalīb il-ḡēl bumkubh °a rakabīn il-xēl

milk of a pregnant woman it shows in the riders

maṭalan yaṭla°u ḡabbal

for example by climbing a mountain

w in faza°u yiḡru bi°qabb °anhom

and they are in a hurry they delayed

biqulu rāde° ḡalīb ḡēl

it is said he drank the milk of a pregnant woman

laban immo: his mother's milk (BC 264, n.5) It is a dish which consists of the flesh of a young sheep or a young goat boiled in milk.

manūha: the best goat (BC 165, n. 6). This term could come from the classical root N W H, which means «to raise, to elevate, to praise, to laud, to extol, to acclaim etc.».

^{lxxxix} Granqvist 1947, pp. 245-246 n. 48.

^{lxxx} Canaan 1927, p. 171.

malake: this literally means «the queen». It is the main dress of the outfit of the bride used also for other celebrations (MC II 44, 177\ BC 186).

ġulfe: foreskin (BC 207). The same is found in Standard Arabic.

abū ġulfe: This is an insult for an uncircumcised man. In Standard Arabic the word *aġlaf*, which means «uncircumcised», also describes a «rude, uncivilized man».

These few examples can only begin to scratch the surface of the potential research at hand. To better understand the immense importance that should be attached to the cultural recovery of Hilma Granqvist's Arabic notes I will quote a statement by Simon Hopkins, Professor of Arabic language and literature at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem:

Since the Holy Land has been studied so intensively for so long, and since the Arab-Israeli conflict has brought the area into the focus of concentrated world attention, it might be thought that Palestinian Arabic is a very well known and very well documented language. This, however, is not at all the case. New facts are being discovered all the time.^{lxxxi}

It is thanks to Granqvist that Artas is the most documented village in Palestine today and thanks to her work that Musa Sanad was inspired to found the Artas Folklore Centre in 1993. The aim of this centre of research is the preservation of peasant culture and the restitution of dignity to an oppressed and ignored people. This was also what a patient, courageous and painstaking researcher as Hilma Granqvist did. She gave voice to people who normally lacked the power of speech, and she also spoke of people's relationship to the earth and to their own freedom.

^{lxxxi} Simon Hopkins, «Notes on the History of the Arabic Language in Palestine», *LiCCOSEC* 20, 2012, pp. 50-73, p. 59.