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Dirbas, H.

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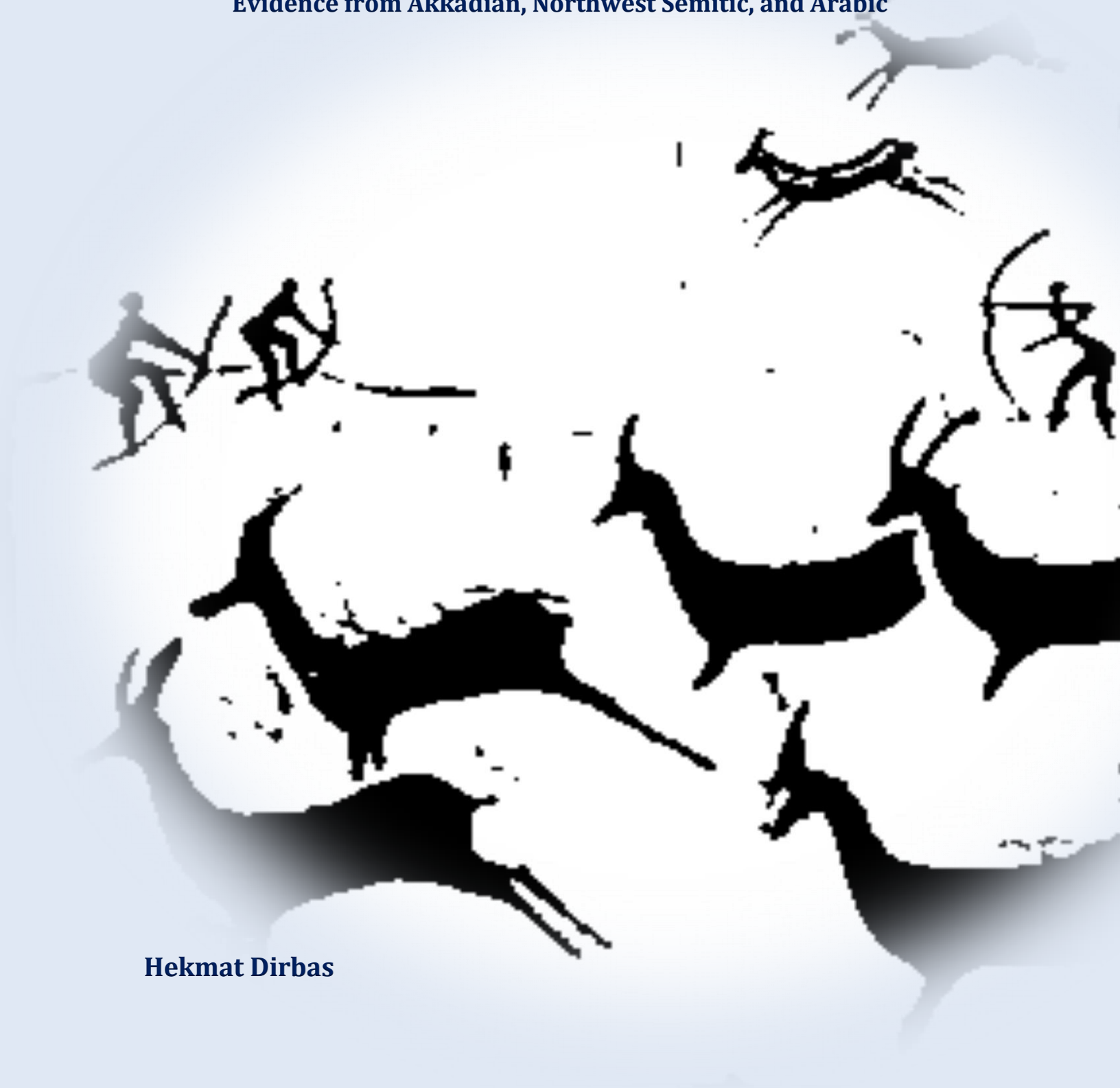
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Thy Name is Deer

**Animal Names in Semitic Onomastics and Name-Giving Traditions:
Evidence from Akkadian, Northwest Semitic, and Arabic**



Hekmat Dirbas

THY NAME IS DEER

**ANIMAL NAMES IN SEMITIC ONOMASTICS AND NAME-GIVING TRADITIONS:
EVIDENCE FROM AKKADIAN, NORTHWEST SEMITIC, AND ARABIC**

Proefschrift

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Dr. A. Al-Jallad

Dr. B. Suchard

For Luqman Gulin and Imad Musa, my best friends in Syria

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my study. I thank this community and hope it will be able to maintain these values which it has been proud of for so long.

Abbreviations and symbols

Bibliographical abbreviations

AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AHw	von Soden, W. 1965-81. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden.
ARES 3	Pagan, J.M. 1998. <i>A Morphological and Lexical Study of Personal Names in the Ebla Texts</i> . (Archivi Reali di Ebla 3). Rome.
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
Beduinen	von Oppenheim, M. 1939-68. <i>Die Beduinen</i> . Unter Mitarbeit von Erich Bräunlich und Werner Caskel. Leipzig.
Beiträge	Nöldeke, T. 1904. <i>Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft</i> . Strasbourg.
BM	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
CAAA	Gelb, I.J. 1980. <i>Computer-aided Analysis of Amorite</i> . (Assyriological Studies 21). Chicago.
CAD	1956-2011. <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago.
CDA	Black, J., George, A., and Postgate, N. 2000 ² . <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> . (SANTAG 5). Wiesbaden.
CIK	Caskel, W. 1966. <i>Ġamharat an-Nasab: das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī</i> . Leiden.
DDD	van der Toorn, K., Becking, B., and van der Horst, P.W. 1999 ² . <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> . Leiden.
DNWSI	Hoftijzer, J., and Jongeling, K. 1995. <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> . (Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten 21). Leiden.
DUL	Del Olmo Lete, G., and Sanmartín, J. 2003. <i>A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition</i> . ((Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten 112). Leiden.
ENAH	King, G.M. 1990. <i>Early North Arabian Hismaic. A Preliminary Description Based on a New Corpus of Inscriptions from the Ḥismā Desert of Southern Jor-</i>

- dan and Published Material*. Ph.D. Thesis. School of Oriental and African Studies. London.
- HALOT Koehler, L, Baumgartner, W., Richardson, M.E.J., and Stamm, J.J. 1994-2000. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Leiden.
- HIn Harding, G.L. 1971. *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Names and Inscriptions*. (Near and Middle Eastern Series 8). Toronto.
- Ikmal Ibn Mākūlā. n.d. *al-Ikmāl fī raf' al-irtiyāb 'an al-mu'talaf wa al-muḥtalaf fī al-asmā' wa al-kunā wa al-ansāb*. Cairo.
- IPN Noth, M. 1928. *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*. Stuttgart.
- IPNOBS Ferwerda, T.G., and Woestenburg, E. 1998. *Index Personal Names Old Babylonian 'Sippar'*. Leiden (unpublished).
- Iṣṭiqāq Ibn Durayd. 1991. *al-Iṣṭiqāq*. (Ed. Hārūn, 'A.). Beirut.
- KN Ibn Al-Ġawzī. 1993. *Kaṣf al-niqāb 'an al-asmā' wa al-alqāb*. (Ed. Al-Ṣā'idī, 'A.). Cairo.
- Lane Lane, E.W. 1863-93. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. London.
- LAPO 16-18 Durand, J.-M. 1997-2000. *Les documents épistolaires du palais du Mari I-III*. (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 16-18). Paris.
- Lisān Ibn Manzūr. 1995-96. *Lisān al-'arab*. (Eds. 'Abd Al-Wahhāb, A.M., and Al-'Ubaydī, M.). Beirut.
- MAAM Al-Sayyid, F.Ṣ. 1990. *Mu'ğam al-alqāb wa al-asmā' al-musta'āra fī al-tārīḥ al-'arabī*. Beirut.
- MAD 3 Gelb, I.J. 1957. *Glossary of Old Akkadian*. (Materials for The Assyrian Dictionary 3). Chicago.
- NAOMA Freydank, H., and Saporetti, C. 1979. *Nuove attestazioni dell'onomastica medio-assira*. (Incunabula Graeca 74). Rome.
- NBC Tablets in the Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library.
- NBN Tallqvist, K. 1905. *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch zu den Geschäftsurkunden aus der Zeit des Šamašsumukīn bis Xerxes*. (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 32/2). Helsinki.

- Nbn. Strassmaier, J.N. 1889. *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon (555-538 v.Chr.)*. (Babylonische Texte 1-4). Leipzig.
- NPN Gelb, I.J., Purves, P.M., and MacRae, A. 1943. *Nuzi Personal Names*. (The Oriental Institute Publications 57). Chicago.
- OAPN Dercksen, J.G. 1991. *Old Assyrian Personal Names*. Leiden (unpublished).
- OBTR Dalley, S., Walker, C.B.F., and Hawkins, J.D. 1976. *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah*. London.
- OMA Saporetti, C. 1970. *Onomastica medio-assira*. (Studia Pohl 6). Rome.
- PBS Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- PEb Archi, A., Bonechi, M., Catagnoli, A., Corò, P., and Fronzaroli, P. 2008-2011. *The Prosopography of Ebla, B, G, K*. Available online at: <http://www.sagas.unifi.it/vp-337-archive.html>.
- PHIAP Zadok, R. 1988. *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*. (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 28). Leuven.
- PKTN Hölscher, H. 1996. *Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur*. (Imgula 1). Münster.
- PNA Baker, H.D. (ed.) 1998-2011. *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Helsinki.
- PNNR Negev, A. 1991. *Personal Names in the Nabataean Realm*. Jerusalem.
- PNPI Stark, J.K. 1971. *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*. Oxford.
- PNPPI Benz, F.L. 1972. *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions: A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements*. (Studia Pohl 8). Rome.
- PQI Hayajneh, H. 1998. *Die Personennamen in den qatabānischen Inschriften: lexikalische und grammatische Analyse im Kontext der semitischen Anthroponomastik*. (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 10). Zürich/New York.
- PTU Gröndahl, F. 1967. *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*. (Studia Pohl 1). Rome.
- SAA State Archives of Assyria

SED 2	Militarev, A., and Kogan, L. 2005. <i>Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Volume 2: Animal Names</i> . (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 278/2). Münster.
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
TDOT	Botterweck, G.J., and Ringgeren, H. 1974ff. <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> , (Translated from Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament). Grand Rapids.
ThWAT 9	Gzella, H. (ed.) 2016. <i>Aramäisches Wörterbuch</i> . (Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament 9). Stuttgart.
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaler
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts

Abbreviations of contemporary student lists (Syria, The Palestinian Territories, and The United Arab Emirates)

Gaza	Gaza Strip	<i>Asmā' al-nāğihīn fī al-tānawīyya al-āmma fī al-ḍiffa wa ġazzah</i> (2013). Available online at: http://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2013/07/25/418009.html .
SAR	Syrian Arab Republic	
SAR 1	Aleppo Governorate	<i>Ġadwal al-nāğihīn fī imtiḥān šahādat al-dirāsa al-ta'lim al-asāsī</i> (2011). <i>Muḥāfazat ḥalab</i> .
SAR 2	Homs Governorate	<i>Ġadwal al-nāğihīn fī imtiḥān šahādat al-dirāsa al-ta'lim al-asāsī</i> (2011). <i>Muḥāfazat ḥumṣ</i> .
SAR 3	Daraa Governorate	<i>Ġadwal al-nāğihīn fī imtiḥān šahādat al-dirāsa al-ta'lim al-asāsī</i> (2011). <i>Muḥāfazat dar'ā</i> .
SAR 4	Deir ez-Zor Governorate	<i>Ġadwal al-nāğihīn fī imtiḥān šahādat al-dirāsa al-ta'lim al-asāsī</i> (2011). <i>Muḥāfazat dīr az-zūr</i> .
UAE	The United Arab Emirates	<i>Asmā' al-nāğihīn wa al-nāğihāt fī imtiḥān al-tānawīyya al-āmma bi-qismayhā al-adabī wa al-ilmī</i> (2012).

WB West Bank

Asmā' al-nāğihīn fī al-tānawīyya al'āmma fī al-ḍiffa wa ḡazza (2013). Available online at:
<http://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2013/07/25/418009.html>

Abbreviations of languages, dialects, scripts, and linguistic periods

AAr.	Ancient Arabian
Akk.	Akkadian
Amor.	Amorite
ANAr.	Ancient North Arabian
Ar.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ASAr.	Ancient South Arabian
Can.	Canaanite
CAR.	Classical Arabic
CS	Central Semitic
Dad.	Dadanitic
Dura	Dura Europos
Eb.	Eblaite
ES	East Semitic
Had.	Hadramitic
Hat.	Hatrene
Heb.	Hebrew
His.	Hismaic
JBaram.	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
JParam.	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
MA	Middle Assyrian
Mand.	Mandaic

MB	Middle Babylonian
Min.	Minaic
N/LB	Neo-/Late Babylonian
NA	Neo-Assyrian
Nab.	Nabataean
NWS	Northwest Semitic
(N)WSC	(North)west Semitic in cuneiform sources
OA	Old Assyrian
Oakk.	Old Akkadian
OAram.	Old Aramaic
OB	Old Babylonian
OffAram.	Official Aramaic
OSyr.	Old Syriac
Palm.	Palmyrene
Pho-Pun.	Phoenician-Punic
PS	Proto Semitic
PWS	Proto West Semitic
Qat.	Qatabanic
Sab.	Sabaic
Saf.	Safaitic
Sem.	Semitic
Sum.	Sumerian
Syr.	Syriac
Tham.	Thamudic
Ug.	Ugaritic
WS	West Semitic

Other abbreviations

App.	appendix of this study
b.	<i>bin</i> (i.e., son of)
Bed.	Bedouin (names)
br.	brother of
bt.	<i>bint</i> (i.e., daughter of)
c.	century
CAO	contemporary Arabic onomastics
dimin.	diminutive
DN	divine name
f	female name
fem.	feminine
FN	family name
fn.	footnote
gen.	genitive
GN	geographic name
hypoc.	hypocoristicon
m	male name
masc.	masculine
nick.	nickname
pl.	plural
PN(s)	personal name(s)
s.	son of
SG	social group
sg.	singular
trans.	transliteration

Symbols

↑, ↓ cf. above and below respectively

§ This symbol between parentheses refers to the corresponding paragraph number in the appendix of this study (i.e., App.)

1 Introduction

1.1 Objective and scope

Personal naming is a central and universal aspect of human sociality (Alford 1988). This is due to the fact that human ways of life are both social and personal, and naming is one of the vital aspects through which the two imply each other (Rorty 1969). Arguably, personal names are the most prototypical category of proper names. The number and types of names that are bestowed on people are highly culture-specific, as are the principles that guide the choice of a name (Van Langendonck and Van de Velde 2016: 33). In relation to meaning, however, proper names, and consequently personal names, have been a question of debate in the field of linguistics (e.g., see the discussion in Van Langendonck 2007: 24-100). A good general explanation concerning this issue is the following: a name has an ‘illusory’ lexical and etymological meaning, while the reference of the name is actually the entity carrying it, the named object (Nyström 2016: 39). In the same context of etymology, meaning, and denotation, Macdonald (1999: 254) gives an interesting example from Arabic and Hebrew:

An Arab mother calling to her child *yā ‘abdu-rraḥmān* is not saying ‘servant of the Compassionate’, she is addressing her son. In the same way, even a learned Hebraist addressing me, or referring to me, as ‘Michael’ is not asking the question ‘Who is like God?’.

Yet from an anthropological and onomastic viewpoint, such an explanation merely covers one aspect of naming, for names have a strong historical and cultural nature in that the creation or the application of a name to an individual is an act rooted in a particular moment in time and that name may carry a load of cultural meanings (Coates 2016: 539). Additionally, the ‘lexical’ meaning in some societies is thought to have an effect on name-bearers (Alford 1988: 59). Leaving aside etymology, names are considered especially powerful in traditional and nonindustrial societies. Name magic is commonly found in obtaining both positive and negative effects (Frazer 1911: 318ff; Parkin 1980).

In terms of classification, despite their huge variation across cultures, personal names tend to cluster in specific prototypical categories: theophoric, characteristic, based on natural phenomena (animal, plants, etc.), circumstantial (time and place of birth), apotropaic (i.e., protective), and so on (Alford 1988: 59ff).

Of these categories, animal names form a remarkable case. They are found in both ancient and modern languages. In ancient languages, for instance, they occur in Sumerian (Foxvog 2011: 74ff), Egyptian (Ranke 1925), Greek (Robert 1963: 184ff), and Old Norse (Jennbert 2011: 184-88). In modern languages, they are recorded in twenty-two out of the sixty societies examined by Alford (1988: 60).

Historically speaking, it is the Semitic family that, thanks to its exceptionally long recorded history, provides us with a particularly rich diversity of animal names from a period that goes from as early as the mid-3rd millennium BCE (Akkadian) until our present time (Arabic). Undoubtedly, an Arab mother calling her child *yā nimr* is not saying “leopard”, nor was it the intention of a mother from ancient Mesopotamia or Syria-Palestine addressing her child as *ayyal*, to refer to the literal meaning “deer”. In both cases, the entity referred to is the child. But why give names such as *nimr* and *ayyal*, while others can equally well fulfill the basic function of naming, that is to say, denotation? This is the question I will investigate here.

The objective of this study is to examine the use of animal names in different Semitic name-giving traditions from a linguistic and sociocultural viewpoint. This aim is articulated in the following three questions:

- (1) How do animal names occur in the Semitic onomasticon?
- (2) What are the reasons for their use?
- (3) How did the social setting and cultural changes influence their use?

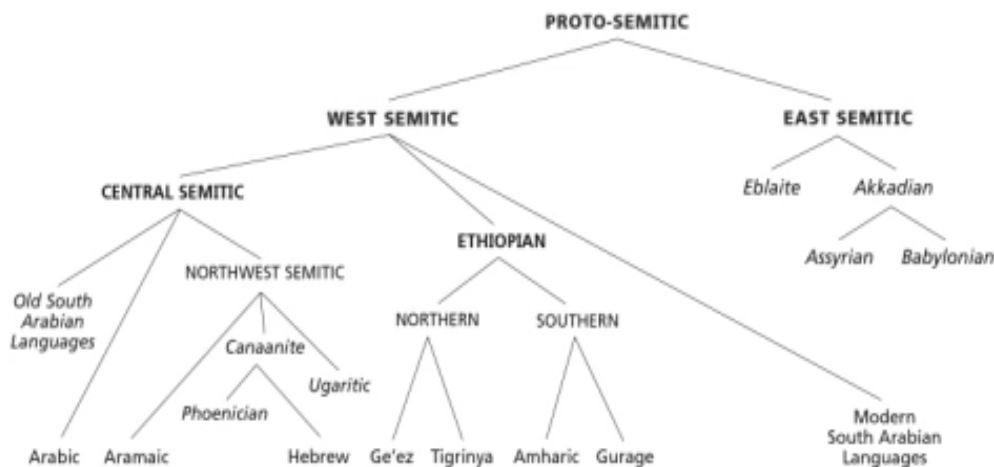
This discussion covers three language groups which reflect three individual traditions yet affected by a continuum of cultural contact: (1) Akkadian, (2) Northwest Semitic, and (3) Arabic. Additional supportive material from Eblaite as well as Ancient Arabian is included in the appendix.

What makes such an organization by language particularly appropriate for our topic is that the mentioned three groups, despite cross-cultural influences, all have their native onomastic traditions and correspond to different original speech regions with their own proper socio-cultural conditions.

Before surveying the previous studies related to our topic and addressing the methodological aspects, I shall start first with a brief outline of the languages in question.

1.2 The Semitic languages: a brief outline

The Semitic family is a branch of the Afroasiatic language family. The primary division among the Semitic languages is between East Semitic, comprising the various dialects of Akkadian and Eblaite, and West Semitic, which includes everything else. The basis for this division is a major innovation that took place in the verbal system of West Semitic: the development of the inherited stative (*qatala*) into a past tense, while the inherited past tense (*yaqtul*) has been marginalized or lost (Rubin 2008: 62). Yet the internal subgrouping of West Semitic has been debated since the systematic linguistic study of the family began in the 19th century. The classification scheme accepted by most scholars, and thus adopted in this work, divides West Semitic into three sub-branches: Central Semitic, Ethiopian, and Modern South Arabian. This classification is mainly, though not exclusively, based on an important innovation in the verbal system of Central Semitic: the new imperfect **yaqtulu* replaced the inherited form of the imperfect **yaqattal*, which is still reflected in all non-Central Semitic branches (Huehnergard and Rubin 2011). This classification scheme is outlined in the following figure:



Since Ethiopian and Modern South Arabian are excluded from our study, the brief description below will be limited to East Semitic and Central Semitic. Ethiopian is not to the same extent part of the cultural continuum that unites the Akkadian, Northwest Semitic, and Arabic traditions, and the Ethiopian onomasticon is strongly affected by Christian traditions. Modern South Arabian naming practice, by contrast, reflects a very strong influence of Islamic practices. Also, the state of research is an important factor: onomastics has been an important topic in Assyriology, Northwest Semitic, and Arabic Studies for more than a century.

1.2.1 East Semitic: Akkadian and Eblaite

Akkadian is the Semitic language of ancient Mesopotamia (a region which roughly coincides with present day Iraq), attested in several hundred thousand texts written in cuneiform script on clay tablets dating from the mid-3rd millennium BCE until the mid-1st c. CE. Akkadian in the 3rd millennium is referred to as Old Akkadian; thereafter it is split into two principal dialects, Assyrian in the north and Babylonian in the south, each of which is in turn divided into several chronological periods as is outlined in the figure below (Kouwenberg 2011):

Old Akkadian (ca. 2600–2000)	
Old Babylonian (2000-1600)	Old Assyrian (1950–1730)
Middle Babylonian (1400-1000)	Middle Assyrian (1500–1000)
Neo-Babylonian (1000-600)	Neo-Assyrian (1000–600)
Late Babylonian (600 BCE–100 CE)	

Eblaite is the language of several thousand cuneiform texts dating to the 24th c. BCE from the ancient city of Ebla, modern day Tell Mardikh, south of Aleppo, Syria. Knowledge of the language remains patchy due to the nature of the cuneiform writing system, particularly the broad use of logograms and the ambiguity in the representation of nearly all consonants and vowels. Thus the classification of Eblaite has been debated among scholars: some classify it as a distinct East Semitic language, while others see it as a dialect of Akkadian (see the summary in Streck 2011a). This discussion, however, does not affect our topic.

1.2.2 Northwest Semitic

The group labeled ‘Northwest Semitic’ in a historical-comparative framework, or ‘Syro-Palestinian’ languages in dialect geography, is commonly thought to include three major branches: Ugaritic, the Canaanite languages (or dialects), and Aramaic, in addition to several other varieties, i.e., Amorite, Sam’alian, and the language of the Deir ‘Alla inscription. Northwest Semitic languages are characterized by several shared developments, including the change of initial */w/ to /y/ (excluding the conjunction /wa-/ “and”), the regular assimilation of /n/ to the following consonant (except for /h/ in several cases), and the double plural marking on nouns of the pattern CVCC (Gzella 2011; Rubin 2008: 79).

1.2.2.1 Amorite

‘Amorite’, one of the earliest reflexes of Northwest Semitic, is a label which designates the language of all names (ca. 7000, mostly personal) and loan words (ca. 90) in Akkadian and Sumerian cuneiform texts from the mid-3rd millennium BCE until about 1200 BCE that are Semitic but not Akkadian. Amorite was chiefly spoken in the Middle Euphrates valley and the Syrian steppe (Streck 2011: 452-53). Non-Akkadian features of Amorite include: (1) the ‘imperfect’ preformative /ya-/ instead of /i-/, (2) the change of word-initial */w/ to /y/, and (3) the assimilation of /n/ before another consonant (/yattin/ ‘he gave’, varying freely with /yantin/) *yattin* < *yantin*). The case system of Amorite, however, appears to preserve some more archaic traits (Gzella 2011: 427). Despite the absence of any Amorite texts, the Akkadian Archives of the Amorite kingdoms, mainly that of Mari (modern day tell Hariri, Syria), provide us with valuable information on the Amorite people(s), that is, their political and tribal structure, religion, customs, and so on.¹

1.2.2.2 Ugaritic

Ugaritic, the language of the ancient city of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra, Syria), is attested in clay tablets in an indigenous cuneiform alphabet from the latter part of the Late Bronze Age (14th–12th c. BCE). It provides the oldest sizeable corpus of texts in a Northwest Semitic language, approximately 2000 texts representing a broad spectrum of literary genres (mythological, ritual, divinatory, epistolary, legal, economic, pedagogical), though many are fragmentary (Pardee 2011).

1.2.2.3 Aramaic

Aramaic, which has never ceased to be a living, spoken language, seems to have taken shape some time before the 9th c. BCE. During its three millennia of attestation, it has been the language of small principalities in ancient Syria, three successive world empires (Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Achaemenid), and a fair share of normative texts of three living religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Mandaism (Gzella 2015: 1). However, the division of Aramaic into phases has been a question of debate. Fitzmyer’s scheme (1979), the most widely cited one in current scholarship, divides Aramaic into five phases: Old Aramaic (ca. 900 –700 BCE), Imperial Aramaic (ca. 700–200 BCE), Middle Aramaic (ca. 200 BCE–200 CE), Late Aramaic (ca. 200 –700 CE), and Modern Aramaic (spoken today). Beyer (1984: 23-71), on the other hand, proposes an alternative tripartite division,

¹ On the political history of the Amorite kingdoms, see Charpin and Ziegler (2003); on their tribes and social life, see, for example, Durand (2004).

that is, Old Aramaic (until the 3rd c. BCE), Middle Aramaic (until the breakthrough of Arabic in the 7th c. CE), and Modern Aramaic (covers the Aramaic languages still spoken today). In his recent study, Gzella (2015: 382ff) argues that Aramaic cannot neatly be divided into a sequence of clearly-defined chronological phases and that its development is highly fluid process conditioned by diachronic, geographical, and social factors.

1.2.2.4 Canaanite

The Canaanite group includes the languages of various independent city-states, and later small regional polities, in a region that now basically corresponds to Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan. Hebrew, and to a lesser degree Phoenician, are well-attested, while the *Transjordanian* languages (Moabite, Ammonite, and Edomite) are much less well-attested. Many early Canaanite forms, however, occur in place names in 20th-18th c. BCE Egyptian transcriptions, in the Akkadian cuneiform tablets from Emar and other places in Syria-Palestine, and, more notably, in the corpus of Akkadian letters found at El-Amarna in Egypt (14th c. BCE) (Gzella 2011: 428ff; Moran 1992).

1.2.3 Ancient South Arabian

Ancient South Arabian is a collective term for four different idioms: Sabaic, Minaic, Qatabanic, and Hadramitic, which were spoken and written in Southwest Arabia at least from the early 1st millennium BCE until the rise of Islam (Stein 2011). Like Arabic, the Ancient South Arabian languages possess an imperfective of the Central Semitic type (Nebes 1994). They also share a number of areal features with Arabic, Modern South Arabian, and Ethiopian, notably the shift of Proto-Semitic */p/ > /f/, widespread use of broken plurals, and a number of lexical items (Stein 2011).

1.2.4 Ancient North Arabian and Arabic

The relationship between languages attested in the Ancient North Arabian inscriptions and Arabic is complicated and has been a subject of much confusion and debate. To clarify this issue, I will start with a short description of the former and then move to the latter.

Ancient North Arabian is a cover term for a number of interrelated dialects that are attested only in mostly brief inscriptions (dated roughly between the 8th c. BCE and 4th c. CE) and were used by the settled peoples and nomads of central and north Arabia and by the nomads in what is now southern Syria and eastern and southern Jordan. The Ancient North Arabian corpus consists of four independent branches: Taymanitic, Dadanitic (both also known as Oasis North Arabian), Safaitic and Hismaic (i.e., Old Arabic), and Thamudic (Macdonald 2004: 490-93; Al-Jallad Forthc.).

Arabic, a member of the Central Semitic category, exhibits almost 19 features which distinguish it from the other Semitic languages (Al-Jallad Forthc.). Arabic is divided into five varieties: (1) Old Arabic (refers to the inscriptions in the Safaitic and Hismaic scripts as well as few other texts in the Dadanitic, Nabataean, Nabataeo-Arabic, Old Arabic, and Greek script), (2) Classical Arabic, (3) Middle Arabic, (4) Modern Standard Arabic, and (5) Spoken Arabic Dialects (Macdonald 2000: 30; Al-Jallad Forthc.).

1.3 Review of related literature

Having surveyed the linguistic map of the Semitic family, I will now outline the previous literature concerning our topic.

The use of animal names in the Semitic name-giving traditions has been studied in three types of works: (1) early comparative onomastic works, (2) manuals (i.e., repertoires of the onomastic evidence, usually with etymological and grammatical information, in certain more or less close-knit corpora) and standard dictionaries, and (3) articles that focus on specific periods or corpora.

1.3.1 Early comparative onomastic works

Robertson Smith (1912 [1880]) and Nöldeke (Beiträge 75-90) were among the first scholars to study animal names from a comparative viewpoint.

Robertson Smith used several examples of animal names in Arabic and Biblical Hebrew in order to support his theory on totemism in the ancient Semitic cultures. According to the most widely accepted definition, totemism is a system of belief in which humans are said to have kinship or a mystical relationship with a spirit-being, such as an animal or plant. The entity, or totem, is thought to have interacted with a given kin group or an individual and served as their emblem or symbol. The main argument supporting Robertson Smith's totemistic interpretation of animal names is that they originated as tribal and consequently became personal. Some years later, this theory was adopted by other scholars (Gray 1896: 86-114; Murison 1901).²

In his chapter on Semitic name-giving, Nöldeke (Beiträge 75-90) discusses animal names beside other types of profane names. He focuses on Arabic, especially the classical onomasticon, with some examples from Biblical Hebrew and Palmyrene. The study consists of two parts: (a) a brief introduction on the reasons for using animal names, and (b) a repertoire of names.

² The totemistic theory will be dealt with extensively in three sections of this study (4.1.4.1; 4.2.4; 5.4.1).

1.3.2 Manuals and standard dictionaries

Due to the increase of the onomastic corpora of the known languages (Akkadian, Aramaic, and Ancient Arabian) and the discovery of new Semitic languages (Ugaritic, Amorite, and Eblaite), the scope of onomastic research has become more specific with regards to language, time, and place. Several manuals appeared, all of which, as Rosenhouse (2002: 99) points out, use names in two main ways: (1) as tools for understanding the life of the ancient peoples and their extinct civilizations (religion, ethnicity, cultural contact, etc.); or (2) as language elements reflecting past language stages. Most of these manuals contain a small section on animal names (mainly a repertoire of names), sometimes preceded by a brief discussion of the reasons for their use. The table below gives a summary of these works:

Language/period	Work/section on animal names	Discussion?
<u>(1) Akkadian</u>		
general	Stamm 1939: 11, 253-55	Yes
Old Babylonian Mari	Rasmussen 1981: 470	Yes
Middle Assyrian Nuzi	NPN 292	Yes
Middle Babylonian	PKTN	No
Neo-Assyrian	PNA	No
Neo-/Late Babylonian	NBN	No
<u>(2) Northwest Semitic</u>		
Biblical and epigraphic Hebrew	IPN 229-31	Yes
	PHIAP 382; Rechenmacher 2012: 170-71	No
Ugaritic	PTU 27-28	No
Amorite	Huffman 1965: 151-52; CAAA 13-35; Streck 2000: particularly §5.70	No
Phoenician-Punic	PNPPI 239	No
Aramaic		

Old/Official Aramaic	Maraqten 1988; Lipiński 1994	No
Nabataean	Cantineau 1932	No
	PNNR 164-68	Yes
Palmyrene	PNPI	No
Hatrene	Abbadi 1983; Beyer 1998	No
<u>(3) Arabic</u>		
Classical Arabic	Caetani and Gabrieli 1915: 87-88	Yes
Classical and Bedouin name-giving	Littmann 1948-49: 54ff	No

In addition to these works, one also finds onomastic information in many standard dictionaries: Akkadian (CAD; AHw; CDA), Ugaritic (DUL), Biblical Hebrew (HALOT), and Arabic (Lisān).

1.3.3 Articles focusing on specific periods or corpora

These kinds of articles have appeared recently, when the onomastic research started to refine its scope in terms of time, corpus, and name category/pattern. The works below have basically dealt with animal names:

- Stamm (1980): various comparative articles on Hebrew and ancient Semitic name-giving which include short discussions of animal names (p. 5, 7, 125ff).
- Schaffer (1981): a comparative repertoire of female names referring to animals in Ancient South Arabian.
- Millet Albà (2000): a discussion of animal names in the Mari Archives. It consists of three sections: (a) a short ‘hypothetical’ introduction on the reasons for using such names, (b) a repertoire (one-word names, suffixed names, and theophoric names), and (c) a short prosopography about names in relation to gender and affiliation. Despite its importance, however, this article does not give textual references for the mentioned personal names, nor does it establish a criterion for distinguishing the Amorite names from their Akkadian counterparts. The latter task was briefly taken by Kogan (2003: 252-55).
- Glatz (2001) on Biblical and epigraphic Hebrew. The article consists of a discussion of cultural aspects of animal names and a non-comparative repertoire of names without a consideration of linguistic issues (e.g., etymology and suffixes).

- Watson (2006, 2007): an etymological investigation of animal terms in the Ugaritic lexicon and onomasticon.

- Gaspa (2008) on profane names in the Neo-Assyrian onomasticon (i.e., animals, plants, containers, and precious items), with the first group occupying the biggest part. The work, being quite comprehensive, consists of three main sections: (a) a repertoire on Akkadian and West Semitic names, (b) a semantic analysis of some peculiarities of the names in question with a focus on animal names in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, and (c) a classification of a more limited onomastic sample according to the social, professional, and cultural settings.

- Golinets (2016) on Amorite animal names. In this thorough linguistic study, the author follows Kogan (2003) by using etymological, phonological, morphological, and syntactical considerations for distinguishing the Amorite terms from Akkadian. However, he limits his approach to terms that have been discussed in the previous works, although the huge corpus of names available in Gelb's glossary (CAAA), the ARM series, and some other Old Babylonian sources contains additional probable terms.³

To sum up, our survey of the previous research on animal names in the Semitic onomasticon shows that while manuals have focused on the repertoire of names, the specified works paid more attention to the cultural and/or social context of their use. The latter, however, have approached animal names as a distinct category without considering their context, i.e., name-giving in general. Thus, no specific and comprehensive comparative study has been done since Nöldeke (Beiträge).

Given this background, the relevance of the present study stems from the fact that it is the first work ever to discuss animal names in a wide spectrum of languages that moves away from the traditional taxonomy, as in the classical repertoires, to a comprehensive approach which is concerned with linguistic as well as sociocultural aspects in the broad context of name-giving traditions. In the following section, I shall highlight this point in detail.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Samples and sources

As indicated above (1.1), this research will cover three language groups: Akkadian, Northwest Semitic, and Arabic (classical, modern, and contemporary sources). The choice

³ For these terms, see ↓4.1.1.2.1; 4.1.1.2.2.1.

of these samples in particular is due to the fact that beside their rich lexicon and onomasticon, they provide us with several kinds of literary texts which enable us to examine our main question: the sociocultural aspects of using animal names. By including material from modern and contemporary Arabic sources, I seek to examine similarities in name-giving practices and thus link our historical knowledge of dead civilizations (ancient Mesopotamian and Syro-Palestinian) to a living one. In addition to these three samples, supportive material from other languages is included in the appendix: Eblaite and Ancient Arabian (for motivation, see ↓1.4.1.4).

The subsections below summarize the sources used, the periods under investigation, and terminological issues.

1.4.1.1 Akkadian

The study will deal with onomastic samples from the Old Akkadian period through the Neo-/Late Babylonian period as follows: general (Stamm 1939), Old Akkadian (MAD 3; Heimpel 2009), Old Assyrian (OAPN; Sturm 2000), Old Babylonian (IPNOBS; ARM; YOS 8, 13; Bowes 1987; OBTR), Middle Assyrian (OMA; NAOM; NPN), Middle Babylonian (PKTN), Neo-Assyrian (PNA; SAA), Neo-/Late Babylonian (NBN; Nielsen 2015; YOS NO. 6, 17, 19; Bongenaar 1997; Joannès 1989, index; Cousin and Watai 2016).

1.4.1.2 Northwest Semitic

Five languages will be included in this study: Amorite, Biblical and epigraphic Hebrew, Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Phoenician. The situation in the other, smaller, Canaanite languages (Moabite, Ammonite, and Edomite) is unsurprising and hence will not be dealt with. The Sam'alian and Deir 'Alla inscriptions are excluded, too, for they do not contribute any significant onomastic data. As for Amorite, it has to be stressed that this term refers only to names in the Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian corpora. Thus, all unclassifiable Semitic names from the later periods (Middle Babylonian down to Neo-/Late Babylonian) are only included in the appendix under the category '(North)West Semitic in cuneiform sources'. For the sake of classification, Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Phoenician are treated as one group under the label 'Epigraphic Northwest Semitic'. Arabian-like names in variants of the Aramaic script, namely Palmyrene, Hatrene, and Nabataean, are also discussed in this category.

The sources and works used for Northwest Semitic are the following:

- Amorite (CAAA; ARM; Huffmon 1965; Durand 1997; Streck 2000; Golinets 2016).

- Biblical and epigraphic Hebrew (IPN; PHIAP; Stamm 1980; Deutsch and Lemaire 2000; Glatz 2001; Rechenmacher 2012).

- Epigraphic Northwest Semitic: (1) Ugaritic (KTU, PTU; Watson 2006, 2007), (2) Phoenician-Punic (PNPPI), (3) Aramaic: Old/Official (Maraqten 1988; Lipiński 1994; Lemaire 2002; Porten and Yardeni 2014), Palmyrene (PNPI; Piersimoni 1995), Hatrene (Abbadi 1983; Beyer 1998), Nabataean (Cantineau 1932; PNNR), Old Syriac (Drijvers and Healey 1999), and Dura (Grassi 2012; Gzella 2015a).

1.4.1.3 Arabic

The investigation will cover samples from the classical, modern (i.e., Bedouin), and contemporary onomasticon. Material from Old Arabic (Safaitic and Hismaic) is excluded from the discussion, except for a few references in chapter five, but it is included in the appendix along with Ancient Arabian. Non-Semitic names in the Arabic onomasticon (Persian, Turkish, and so on) will not be dealt with here. Given that some classical narrative sources, in particular genealogical and historiographic texts, could include fictitious information that do not necessarily reflect authentic naming practice, the present study will also utilize material from other two reliable sources: (1) historical-biographical works by authors from the same periods they themselves dealt with, and (2) actual records (Islamic papyri and early Islamic inscriptions). Due to the diachronic aspect of the study, general onomastic dictionaries which do not consider names in their historical and geographic context (e.g., Ibn Al-Zubayr and Badawī 1991) are not used here.

Below is an outline of the sources and literature on which the present investigation is based:

- Classical narrative sources: etymological works (Iṣṭiqāq; Al-Aṣmaʿī 1989), nicknames and *kunyas* (KN; Al-Dawlābī 1999), genealogical works (CIK; Ibn Ḥazm n.d), onomastic works (Ikmāl; Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH), historical-biographical works (Al-Baḡdādī 2001; Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006).

- Epigraphic sources: (1) Papyri (Khoury 1993; The Arabic Papyrology Database, APD), and (2) early Islamic inscriptions (Al-Kilābī 2009).

- Bedouin name-giving (18th-20th c.): this includes onomastic and anthropological evidence about nomadic tribes from the Levant and the Arabian Peninsula (Hess 1912; Littmann 1921; Oppenheim 1938-69 “id., Beduinen”).

- Modern/Contemporary sources (20th c.): beside some general works (Al-Sāmarrāʿī 1983; Al-Šamsān 2005; Ḥittī 2003; MAAM), this study uses actual records, that is, samples of

student lists from three countries/areas: (1) Syria, (2) the Palestinian territories (the West Bank and Gaza Strip), and (3) the United Arab Emirates (see the abbreviation list). The reason for including these samples is that they provide us with important data that are not available elsewhere, such as the question of whether animal names are used as names or bynames, their survival among generations (i.e., the lineage), and their distribution among males and females.

Lastly, since the printed sources on modern/contemporary Arabic name-giving do not cover all naming aspects, the study uses relevant online sources, mainly fatwa websites and blogs.

1.4.1.4 Additional material in the appendix

The appendix is designated as a database for animal names in the Semitic onomasticon. In addition to the languages under investigation (Akkadian, Northwest Semitic, and Arabic), it contains material from Eblaite and Ancient Arabian, which both have a rich portion of names but lack required information on name-giving practices. Nevertheless, they are helpful from a linguistic viewpoint. With its considerable number of Northwest Semitic names, Eblaite (beside Amorite) represents the oldest trace of animal names in the Northwest Semitic onomasticon. Regarding the Ancient Arabian languages, they are included for two reasons: (1) they provide us with an onomastic ‘map’ showing the distribution of animal names in the pre-Islamic times and therefore shed light on their survival in the Islamic sources (both narrative and epigraphic), and (2) the fact that Ancient North Arabian in particular shares a large number of names with the Aramaic onomasticon (i.e., Palmyrene, Hatrene, and Nabataean) makes it highly relevant for etymological investigation and classification of animal names.

The table below exhibits the sources used for Eblaite and Ancient Arabian:

Language/script	Reference
(1) Eblaite	ARES 3; PEB; Krebern timer 1988
(2) Ancient Arabian	
Safaitic and Dadanitic	HIn (also contains data about Ancient South Arabian names)
Hismaic	ENAH
Thamudic	Shatnawi 2002

Old Sabaic	Tairan 1992
Minaic	Al-Said 1995
Qatabanic	POI
Female names in the Ancient South Arabian inscriptions	Sholan 1999; Schaffer 1981

1.4.2 Approach

The present research is mainly evidence-based, with the linguistic data as its empirical foundation. Due to its interdisciplinary nature, it applies a holistic approach involving historical linguistics, conceptual metaphor theory, and socio-onomastics.

The linguistic dimension deals with our first research question, that is, the occurrence of animal names in the onomasticon. Animal names are analyzed according to their etymology, linguistic affiliation, and word formation: one-word names, suffixed names, plural forms, and compound names. In the case of Arabic, I also include names based on by-forms. In addition to the standard dictionaries of the respective Semitic languages, the etymological part draws basically on the *Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Volume 2: Animal Names* (SED 2). Although derivative, this dictionary is still the most comprehensive work on animal names in the lexicon.

Conceptual metaphor theory is partly concerned with our second research question, that is, reasons for using animal names (see also ↓1.5). The fundamental principle of this theory is that metaphor operates at the level of thinking. Metaphors link two conceptual domains, the ‘source’ domain and the ‘target’ domain. The source domain consists of a set of literal entities, attributes, processes and relationships, linked semantically and apparently stored together in the mind. These are expressed in language through related words and expressions. The ‘target’ domain tends to be abstract, and takes its structure from the source domain, through the metaphorical link, or ‘conceptual metaphor’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 252). Such basic processes of linguistically marked items in the real world also relate to naming in the sense of the original creation of names (Dobrić 2010: 138ff). The conceptual metaphor theory, however, cannot cover all reasons for choosing a particular name for a child, which can range from historical reasons to family tradition, topics which will be approached through socio-onomastics.

Socio-onomastics can be briefly defined as a socio-linguistic study of names. It takes into account the social, cultural, and situational fields in which names are used (Ainiala 2016:

372). The term was first coined by Walther (1971), who defines the two main aims of socio-onomastics as follows: (1) the study of the social origin and use of different variants of proper names within various situations and contexts, and (2) considering the name-giver, the name-bearer, and the name-user (Walther 1971: 45). Socio-onomastic research into personal names (of all types, that is, given names, family names, and bynames) comprises, for instance, variation in the popularity of names as well as reasons for name-giving (Ainiala 2016: 373-74). In our study, the socio-onomastic method is applied in examining research questions two (partly) (reasons for using animal names) and three (the impact of social setting and cultural changes on this use). It deals with animal names in their context, that is, family tradition and social factors: gender, lifestyle (nomadic versus sedentary), status (free population versus slaves), and, importantly, the role of crucial historical changes, particularly the impact of Islamic instructions on animal names in Arabic name-giving.

1.5 Structure and organization

This study consists of four analytical chapters. Chapter two is an extensive survey of name-giving in Akkadian, Northwest Semitic, and Arabic respectively. Inspired by the socio-onomastic method, this chapter is meant to provide a framework for the three chapters on animal names thereafter. It consists of three main sections, one for each language or language group. These sections are organized according to the same general outline in that each of them deals with name-giving from a socio-cultural perspective by addressing the following points: (1) power and concept of the name, (2) naming methods/motivations (when available), (3) name patterns (theophoric and profane), (4) names within the family, and (5) names in society (basically alternative names and status-related names).⁴ The question of names and ethnicity is irrelevant to animal names and hence will not be dealt with.

Chapters three through five are dedicated to animal names in Akkadian, Northwest Semitic, and Arabic respectively. These chapters are all organized according to the same structure in that each of them consists of four main sections:

(1) The onomastic evidence: this section covers the linguistic aspects: (a) lexemes, (b) suffixes, hypocoristica, and endearment forms, and (c) the occurrence of animal names in compound names.

⁴ The order 'names within the family' and 'names in society' is inspired by Baker (2002).

(2) Reasons for using animal names: this section investigates this type of names in view of the following theories: (a) the totemistic theory, that is, animal names originated as tribal names (corresponding with chapters four and five), (b) the conceptual metaphor theory (chapters three, four, and five), and (c) the astral theory, which is to say, animal names designate astral bodies instead of real animals (chapters three and four).

(3) Animal names within the family: this section deals with the impact of family tradition on the use of this type of names.

(4) Animal names in society: this section is concerned with the use of these names as alternative names as well as their distribution in accordance with social status and cultural changes. In the case of Arabic (chapter five), I will also investigate the impact of Islamic instructions on the use of this type of names.

1.6 Conventions

1.6.1 Transcription

The traditional transcription of consonants in the study of Semitic languages, which is also employed in the present work, is at times at variance with the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) standard. The table below includes the reconstructed Proto-Semitic consonants with their reflexes in the historical daughter languages:⁵

PS	IPA	Akk.	CAr.	ANAr.	ASAr.	Amor.	Ug.	Heb.	Aram.	Pho.		
*ʾ	[ʔ]	ʾ/∅	ء	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	א	ʾ	א	ʾ	ʾ
*b	[b]	b	ב b	b	b	b	b	ב	b	ב	b	b
*g	[g]	g	ג ġ	g	g	g	g	ג	g	ג	g	g
*d	[d]	d	ד d	d	d	d	d	ד	d	ד	d	d
*h	[h]	∅	ה h	h	h	h	h	ה	h	ה	h	h
*w	[w]	w	ו w	w	w	w/y-	w/y-	וװ w/y-	w/y-	וװ w/y-	w/y-	w/y-
*z	[d͡z/z]	z	ז z	z	z	z [dz]	z	ז	z	ז	z	z
*ḥ	[ħ]	ḥ	ח ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ח	ḥ	ח	ḥ	ḥ
*ṭ	[tʰ]	ṭ	ט ṭ [tʰ]	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ט	ṭ	ט	ṭ	ṭ
*y	[j]	y/∅	י y	y	y	y	y	י	y	י	y	y

⁵ This table is adopted from Huehnergard (2011: 2067); Kogan (2011: 55); and Al-Jallad (2015: 39ff); for the Amorite consonantal phonemes, see Streck (2000: 151-256, 2011: 453ff).

*k	[k]	k	ك	k	k	k	k	כ	k	כ	k	k
*l	[l]	l	ל	l	l	l	l	ל	l	ל	l	l
*m	[m]	m	מ	m	m	m	m	מ	m	מ	m	m
*n	[n]	n	נ	n	n	n	n	נ	n	נ	n	n
*s	[ts/s]	s	ס	s	s ¹	s ³	s	ס	s	ס	s	s
*‘	[ʕ]	∅	ع	‘	‘	‘	‘	ע	‘	ע	‘	‘
*p	[p]	p	פ	f	f	f	p	פ	p	פ	p	p
*š	[tsʰ/sʰ]	š	ص	š [sʰ]	š	š	š	צ	š	צ	š	š
*š	[tʰʰʰ/ʰʰʰ]	š	ض	š [ʰʰʰ]	š	š	š	צ	š	ע	‘ ⁶	š
*q	[kʰ]	q	ק	q	q	q	q	ק	q	ק	q	q
*r	[r]	r	ר	r	r	r	r	ר	r	ר	r	r
*š	[ʃ]	š	ش	š [ʃ]	s ²	s ²	š	ש	š	ס	s ⁷	š
*š	[ʃ]	š	س	s	s ¹	s ¹	š	ש	š	ש	š	š
*t	[t]	t	ת	t	t	t	t	ת	t	ת	t	t
*t	[θ]	š	ث	t	t	t	š ⁸	t	ש	š	t ⁹	š
*d	[ð]	z	ذ	d	d	d	d	d/d	ז	ד	d ¹⁰	z
*t	[tθʰ/θʰ]	š	ظ	z [ðʰ]	z	z	š?	z/š	צ	š	t ¹¹	š
*h	[x]	h	ח	h	h	h	h	ח	h	ח	h	h
*š	[ʁ]	h/∅	غ	š	š	š	š?	š	‘	ע	‘	‘

⁶ PS */š/ is graphically represented by /q/ (qoph) in Old Aramaic and partly in the conservative spelling of Official Aramaic (Gzella 2015: 24).

⁷ In the older stages of Aramaic, */š/ is preserved and spelled as /š/ (Gzella 2015: 24, 38ff).

⁸ This was pronounced /t/ (Streck 2000: §2.111, 2011: 454).

⁹ In most of Old and partly in Official Aramaic, */t/ appears as /š/ in the consonantal script; in Old Aramaic, it was presumably still pronounced /t/, whereas in Official Aramaic, it is merely historical spelling (Gzella 2015: 24, 38ff).

¹⁰ In Old and partly in Official Aramaic, */d/ appears as /z/ in the consonantal script; in Old Aramaic, it was presumably still pronounced /d/, whereas in Official Aramaic, it is merely historical spelling (Gzella 2015: 24, 38ff).

¹¹ In Old and partly in Official Aramaic, */t/ appears as /š/ in the consonantal script; in Old Aramaic, it was presumably still pronounced /t/, whereas in Official Aramaic, it is merely historical spelling (Gzella 2015: 24, 38ff).

- Note that the exact date of the merger of /ħ/ and /ḥ/ and of /ğ/ and /ʕ/ respectively in Northwest Semitic is unknown, i.e., it is unclear whether /ħ/ and /ğ/ were still separate phonemes in the earliest known stages of Hebrew, Aramaic, and perhaps Phoenician (Gzella 2011: 433; Gzella 2015: 38).
- Vowels: note that *a, i, u* and *ā, ī, ū* respectively are Proto-Semitic, whereas *e, o* and *ē, ō* only developed in some of the historical Semitic languages.
- Note that Akkadian, Eblaite, and Ugaritic written in syllabic cuneiform have been transliterated according to usual Assyriological conventions.
- In the case of Amorite, the study uses the phonetic system of Streck (2000; 2011).

1.6.2 Other formal issues

General

- All Semitic names and words discussed here are written in *italics*.
- Translated names are capitalized.

Arabic

- The feminine marker (*tā' marbūṭa*) is written as *-a* (e.g., 'Anza).
- The initial *hamza* /' in names and references is not transcribed (e.g., *Asad/Usāma* instead of 'Asad/'Usāma).
- The definite article (*al-*) is lowercased in all names and is neglected in the translation, e.g., *al-Fahd* "Cheetah" instead of "The Cheetah". Assimilation is also disregarded, e.g., *al-Namir* instead of *an-Namir*. References, however, are capitalized (e.g., Al-Bağdādī 2001).
- Diphthongs are written with *ay* (e.g., *Kulayb*) and *aw* (e.g., 'Awf).
- Terms commonly used in English, such as caliph, fatwa, imam, Qur'an, Shiite, Sunni, etc., are reproduced without diacritics and are written in roman characters. When used in the plural, they are generally given in the singular form with an English plural: imams, fatwas, Sunnis, and so on.

2 Semitic Name-giving: An Outline

2.1 Akkadian

2.1.1 Concept and power of the name

In ancient Mesopotamian cultures, the name (Sum. MU = Akk. *šumu*) and the name-giver were perceived to belong together in that one is linked to the other. The name is not just a label; it is associated with the physical existence of the named entity and the act of naming is as important as the act of creation (Radner 2005: 15). This is clearly demonstrated in *Enūma Eliš*, the Babylonian epic of creation, where chaos represents a state of anonymity:

When on high no name was given to heaven,

Nor below was the netherworld called by name

When no gods at all had been brought forth,

None called by names, none destinies ordained (Foster 1996: 363).

The power of the name is apparent in the last part of the epic, which explains and celebrates the fifty names of Marduk, each of which is correlated with crucial points in the narratives (Foster 1995: 42).¹²

The significance of the name is also reflected in the secondary meanings of *šumu* “fame, reputation, son/offspring” (CAD Š/3 284ff), particularly the latter one, which occurs in PNs, e.g., *Šumum-liši* “May a son come out”, *Nabû-šumu-libūr* “O DN, may the son stay in good health”, and *Šamaš-šumu-lišir* “O DN, may the son prosper” (CAD Š/3 295).

Another aspect of this significance is the semantics of certain types of names (e.g., programmatic and ideological names in ↓2.1.3, group 13), the denotations of which suggest that they were considered powerful enough to convey a political statement or to depict the characteristics of their bearers either at birth or at entering a new phase of life (i.e., symbolic birth). Status-related names and typical slave names, on the other hand, show that naming reflects the social stratum of the bearer (↓2.1.5.2).

¹² The multiplicity of Marduk’s names reminds us of Allah’s 99 names in Islamic tradition (↓2.3.1).

2.1.2 Moment of naming

Normally names were given shortly after birth as we can infer from the following statement: “Gilgameš his name was from the day on which he was born” (Gilg. I 47) and the several examples of circumstantial names, i.e., the ones which refer to time of birth or the delivery condition (↓2.1.3: group 10) (Radner 2005: 27). Names that give thanks for the recovery from illness (with *-ablūt*, *-uballit*) or the rescue of the child (with *-itir*, *-ušēzib*) presume a distance in time between birth and naming, which can be just a few days (Stamm 1939: 8-10). However, slave children seem to have been named around the age of 2 to 4 years (Baker 2001: 22).

2.1.3 Name patterns

The majority of Akk. names are theophoric, which reflects a highly religious society. The theophoric element is either a deity’s name or some substitute for it. Such a substitute could be a general term for an unnamed personal god, such as *ilum* or another proper name, such as a temple name,¹³ city name,¹⁴ river name,¹⁵ or kinship term. Mostly, the distribution of the theophoric elements in names reflects the theological orientation of the community. For example, PNs from a particular city are frequently formed with the name of the deity who was the patron god or goddess of that city (Šamaš-names in Sippar, Marduk-names in Babylon, Aššur-names in Assyria, and so on) (Baker 2002: 1).

In terms of classification, however, it is quite difficult to make a sharp distinction between theophoric and profane names, for, as Stamm (1939) showed in his fundamental work, the semantics of several types makes them fit in either of these two major categories. Nevertheless, Stamm’s work is too formalistic and inclusive in nature, and since its publication other types of names have been discovered (Stol 1991: 191; Bowes 1987: 3). Considering this, I adopt a categorization that is inspired by Bowes’s work (1987) on OB theophoric names, wherein PNs are classified according to the divine characters they reflect. For the sake of comparison, I will mention Stamm’s classification (thanksgiving names, praise names, attribute names, etc.) between two brackets. The list below also takes into

¹³ E.g., *Bitum-gāmil* “The temple is the one who spares”, *Bitum-nūrum/šēmî/rabi* “The temple is the light/the listener/great”, *Ebabbar-tukultî* “Ebabbar (temple) is my trust” (Bowes 1987: 391, 396).

¹⁴ E.g., *Lišir-Sippar/Sippar-lišir* “May Sippar prosper”, *Sippar-lirbi* “May Sippar be great”, *Sippar-abî* “Sippar is my father” (Bowes 1987: 684, 725).

¹⁵ E.g., *Nārum-abum/ili/ilum* “The (divine) river is the father/my god/the god” (Bowes 1987: 1096), *Idiglat-ummî* or *Ummî-idiglat* “Idiglat (i.e., the Tigris) is my mother” (Bowes 1987: 949-50), *Ṭaban-abum* “(the canal) Ṭaban is the father” (Stol 1991: 192).

account the recent research on Akk. name-giving and the patterns found in NWS and Ar. as well:

(1) Relationship names (trust and praise names): these are mostly genitive compounds and nominal phrases which express the relationship with the deity through: (a) kinship terms: *Mār-DN* “Son of DN” and its fem. parallel *Mārat-DN* “Daughter of DN”, *Sîn/Šamaš-abī* “DN is my father”, *Sîn-abūšu* “DN is his father”, *Anu-kī-abiya* “DN is like my father” (Stamm 1939: 208, 260), *Gula/Ninkarrak-ummī* (f) “DN is my mother” (Bowes 1987: 315, 440, 689), (b) status terms: *Warad-DN* “Servant of DN” and its fem. parallel *Amat-DN* “Maid of DN”¹⁶ (Stamm 1939: 262), *Awīl-DN* “Man of DN”, *Ša-DN/Šāt-DN* (f) “Belonging to/That of DN” (Stamm 1939: 263).

(2) Involvement of the deity in events of birth (thanksgiving names): *DN-iddinam* “DN has given me (a child)”, *DN-šuma-iddina* “DN has given me a son/heir”, *Ēpiš-DN* “DN has made/created (the child)”, *Ibni-DN* “DN has created”, *Qiš-DN* “Gift of DN” (Stamm 1939: 136ff), *Ibbi-DN* “DN has named (the child)” (Bowes 1987: 1077).

(3) Healing and comfort (thanksgiving names): *Adad-ušallim* “DN has kept (him) in good state”, *Ilu-bulluṣu-iqbi* “The god has ordered to make him well”, etc. (Stamm 1939: 183ff).

(4) Names indicating protection, help, and support (trust names): (a) pure terms of trust: *Ana-Sîn-taklāku* “I trust in DN”, *Ana-ilī-atkal* “I have trusted in god”, *Nabû-alsika-ul-abāš* “DN, I have called upon you and was not ashamed” (Stamm 1939: 194, 198), *DN-andullī* “DN is my protection”, *DN-lamassī* (m + f) “DN is my protective spirit” (Bowes 1987: 813, 1194, 1034-35), (b) metaphors: *DN-dūri/dūršu* “DN is my/his fortress”, *DN-dimti* “DN is my tower”, *DN-šadī/šadūni* “DN is my/our mountain” (Bowes 1987: 882, 878, 1198).

(5) Transcendence (praise names): *Ili-ištaqi* “My god has become exalted” (Bowes 1987: 324), *Sîn-ēli-ina-mātīm* “DN arose in the land” (Bowes 1987: 351), *DN-šar-ilī* “DN is the king of the gods” (Bowes 1987: 1227).

(6) The deity is a source of justice (trust names): *Ana-Sebetti-dīni* “My decision is with the Seven Gods”, *Šamaš-šar-kittim* “DN is the king of justice”, *Kittum-Enlil* “DN is justice”, *Dīn-DN* “The decision/verdict of the god”, *DN-dayyān/Dayyān-DN* “DN is (the) judge” (Bowes 1987: 737, 878-9, 1025; PNA 367ff).

(7) Reception and consideration (thanksgiving and wish names): *Ātamar-DN* “I have seen DN”, *Lūmur-DN* “May I see DN” (Bowes 1987: 503ff), *Iṭṭul-DN* “DN has seen”, *DN-liṭṭul*

¹⁶ This type was common among priestesses (↓2.1.5.2).

“May DN see”, *Lištašim-DN* “May DN consider”, *DN-išmeanni* “DN has heard me” (Stamm 1939: 165; Bowes 1987: 1100ff, 1232ff; PNA 231).

(8) Compensation and replacement names: these reflect a previous or recent death, e.g., *Rībatum* (f) “Compensation”, *Ši-rībat* (f) “She is a compensation” (MAD 3 230), *Erib-DN* “DN has compensated”, *DN-eribam* “DN has compensated for me”, *Ribam-ilī* “O my god, give me compensation”, *Ilu-paḥḥir* “O god, unite” (i.e., the family again). Others express trust or complaint: *Aḥa-lā-amašši* “I must not forget the brother”, *Mannu-lū-aḥūya* “Who will be my brother?” (Stamm 1939: 278ff), *Aḥu-eki* “The brother is an orphan”, *Ekī* “My orphan,” *Ummī-tūra* “My mother, come back to me” (NPN 291), *Lū-tēnē* “May he be my replacement” (PNA 672), and possibly *Lā-imūt* “He must not die” (i.e., a family member) and *Lā-mašē* “Unforgettable” (PNA 651). We have also the names compounded with *ḥabil* (stative) “taken/snatched away” (referring euphemistically to a dead person): *Ḥabil-aḥī* “My brother is snatched away”, *Kīnu-ḥabil* “The faithful one is snatched away”, *Ḥabil-bēlī* “My master is snatched away”, etc. (Stamm 1939: 296-7; NPN 291, 305; CAD Ḥ 5a).

(9) Affection names: these express emotion towards the baby either through pure terms of affection or in relation to the parents and siblings: *Nūr-abim* “Light of the father”, *Aḥūni* “Our brother”, *Bēlšunu* “Their lord” (i.e., his siblings) (Stamm 1939: 242ff), *Aḥāssunu* (f) “Their sister”, *Aḥātum* (f) “Sister” (IPNOBS 17), *Ši-waqrāt* (f) “She is dear”, *Niyattum* (f) “Ours”, *Bibāya* “My little baby”, *Dādāya* “My dear” (Heimpel 2009: 352-57).

(10) Complaining names: these (mostly theophoric) express feelings related to sadness, loneliness, sin and such: *Aḥulap-Šamaš* “Enough, o DN”, *Ilī-wedāku* “My god, I am alone” (Stamm 1939: 161), *Mini-ḥaṭi-ilī* “In what respect have I sinned, o God?”, *Arnī-ul-idi* “I do not know my sin”, *Minam-ešit* “What did I do wrong?” (Stol 1991: 200). We have also *Adi-mati* names “How long”, e.g., *Adi-mati-īlu* “How long, O god?” (Stamm 1939 162, and fn.1; NPN 297b). A name like *Imtidam* (f+m) “I had enough” (probably an abbreviated form without theophoric element) (Heimpel 2009: 354) seems to evoke suffering from pain or a complaint against getting more female babies, an idea which is apparent in *Lā-ṣaḥḥitu* (f) “The unwanted” (PNA 654), undoubtedly because the birth of the male heir was most appreciated by parents.¹⁷

(11) Names indicating transaction (thanksgiving and trust names): these reflect the relationship between god and man in ‘financial’ terms, especially the ones formed with *paṭārum* “to redeem”: *Sîn-puṭram* “DN, redeem for me”, *Iṭtur-Sîn* “DN has redeemed (for

¹⁷ Cf. Gaspa (2008, fn. 222) with some examples from the modern Middle East.

me”), *Akšak-ipturam* “(the city of) Akšak has redeemed for me”. Other examples are *Sîntamkarî* “DN is my merchant”, *Kasap-DN* “Silver of DN”, and *Ištu-Aššur-ašāmsu* “I have bought him from DN” (Stol 1991: 201-02).

(12) Nostalgic names: these are related to homesickness and longing and mostly appeared due to mobility and displacement of population, problems which have been known in the Middle East since ancient times. This is apparent in OB *Saphum-liphur* “May the scattered gather” and the other examples of *paḥārum*-names, most of which are composed with DNs (Illum, Sîn, Aššur, etc.). Such names survived in the Mesopotamian nomenclature until the Early Hellenistic period (Tavernier 2010: 82ff). Due to wars, the people of OB Uruk had to move to Kiš, where they gave their children nostalgic names such as *Uruk-libluṭ* “May Uruk live” and *Enanna-libluṭ* “May (its temple) Enanna live”. Possible OB parallels are *Mat-utta-āli* “When will I find my city?” and *Litūr-āli* “Let my city come back (to me)” (Stol 1991: 191-92). From the NA prosopography we have *Mātu-lāmur* “Let me see the land” (PNA 746).¹⁸

(13) Programmatic and ideological names: these often convey political and military statements related to the legitimacy and stability of kingship. Royal ideology is early manifested in LUGAL/šarrum-names “king” from the 3rd millennium BCE onward. In many cases, such names do in fact refer to the human ruler rather than the deity (Andersson 2012: 76). The attributes they contain usually refer to dominion, wisdom and awareness, protection, care, and attentiveness of the king (Andersson 2012: 190ff).¹⁹ This type of names survived until the NB and NA periods, e.g., *Šarru-āli* “The king is my city”, *Šarru-balti-niše* “The king is the pride of people”, *Šarru-dūri* “The king is my protective wall”, *Šarru-gabbu-ūda* “The king knows everything”, etc. (PNA vol. Š sub šarrum). Royal ideology is also observed in names containing powerful political terms and emblems, like *palûm* “reign”: *Palâ-kînatim* “Reign of righteousness”, *Palâšû-lirik* “May his reign last”, *Ṭāb-palâšu* “His reign is pleasant” (CAD P 72) and *ḥaṭṭum* “scepter”: *Tariš-ḥaṭṭum* (f) “The scepter has rejoiced”, *Takûn-ḥaṭṭum* (f) “The scepter is stable” (Durand 1984: 130ff). One can also refer to names containing military terms, like *šābu* “troops”: *Šābū’a* “My troop” and *Šābu-dumqu* “The troops are fine” (PNA 1162).²⁰

(14) Circumstantial names: these record the circumstances surrounding the baby birth and could be classified into two subgroups:

¹⁸ Cf. the NWS name *Ia-amrānu* “Where is our dwelling?” (PNA 485).

¹⁹ Some examples from Eb. are *’Āna-šarrum* “The king is strong”, *Ḥanna-šarrum* “The king is gracious”, *Šar-nahiš* “The king is alive” (ARES 3 281-82, 347).

²⁰ For similar examples of programmatic/political names, see ↓2.1.5.2; 2.2.1.4.2; 2.2.1.4.3.

(a) Time of birth: *Mār-ūm-ešrā* “Born on the day 20”, *Nisanitum* (f) “Born in the month of Nisan or spring”²¹ (Stamm 1939: 264), *Šeššāiu* “Born on the sixth day” (PNA 1265), and *Tamūzāiu* “Born in the month of Tamūz” (i.e., the 4th month) (PNA 1309). A name such as *Bubutu* (f) “Hunger” (PNA 349) may fit here as well, for it implies that the baby was born during a famine or so.

(b) Condition of birth-giving: names like *Ippušqam-ūšī* and *Ūšī-ina-puqšī*, both meaning “He came out with difficulty”²² (Edzard 1998: 109; Joannès 2001: 584) suggest a painful delivery, while *Tūši-damqat* (f) “She came out – she is fine” and *Iptaṭar-lisir* “He has opened (the womb)- may he prosper” (mentioned by Radner 2005: 27-8) indicate the opposite.

(15) Greeting names: these express joy over the child, e.g., *Tūlid-dannam* “She gave birth to a strong one”, *Awilumma* “It is a man”, *Ikšud-appašu* “His nose has arrived” (Stamm 1939: 127), *Tūlid-šamši* “She bore my sun” (Heimpel 2009: 358).

(16) Physical and mental features: these can be taken as descriptive names (the appearance/characteristics of the baby at birth), wish names (that the baby will fulfill its name), or greeting names (in metaphoric language): *Qurādu* “Warrior”, *Rubātum* (f) “Queen” (Heimpel 2009: 356), *Burrušum* “With hair growing in patches” (CAD B 332), *Dābibī* “My advocate” (CAD D 16), *Etellum*, *Etellūtum* (f) “Pre-eminent” (NBN 61), *Munawwirum* “Brightening” (CAD M/2 199), *Napuštu* (f) “Life” (NBN 199), *Nuḥāš* “Luxuriant” (NBN 168), *Ḥanṭu* “Quick” (PNA 457), *Ḥaššinu* “Always affording protection” (PNA 464), *Kazubtu* (f) “Luxuriant” (PNA 609), *Lā-zakāri* “Ineffable” (PNA 659), *Lussumu* “Swift” (PNA 671), *Munnabitu* “Fugitive” (PNA 768), *Mussa’itu* (f) “Relaxed” (PNA 771).

(17) Apotropaic or anti-envy names: as their semantics suggests, such names, basically found in the NA prosopography, were given against the ill-wishers and sorcery, e.g., *Ḥādē-libūšu* “May the ill-wishers come to shame” (PNA 438a), *Libūšū* “May they (i.e., the ill-wishers) come to shame”, *Lidbubū* “Let them (i.e., the ill-wishers) speak”, *Lidbubū-libāšu* “Let them speak, let them come to shame”, *Lidbubū-līpušū* “Let them speak, let them do (whatever they will)” (PNA 661-2), *Muzammerī-libūšu* “May he who makes me sing come to shame” (PNA 787), and *Nabû-nēr-rāšāia* “O Nabû, kill the one who has (power over) me” (PNA 858).²³

(18) Plant names: *Išhunnatum* (f) “Bunch of grapes”, *Burāšu* (f) “Juniper”, *Larindu* (f) “Pomegranate”, *Šallūrum/Šallūrtum* (f) “Plum” (?) (Stamm 1939: 255-56), *Inbu* “Fruit”,

²¹ Cf. Eb. *Ḥaggi-’āl* “(Born on the) festival of the city” and *Niššanu* “Born in spring” (ARES 3 269, 356).

²² Cf. Eb. *Pušq-i* “My hardship” (ARES 3 294).

²³ For similar examples in modern Ar., cf. ↓2.3.2.4.1.

and *Inbu-DN*, *Illūrānu* “Anemone”, *Karānatu* (f) “Grape cluster”, *Buṭnutu* (f) “Terebinth (nut)”,²⁴ etc. (Gaspa 2008: 136-37).

(19) Names indicating household objects: it is unclear whether these are nicknames or given names, e.g., *Kakkulānu* “Shaped like a wooden box/beer vessel” (PNA 595), *Kandalānu* “Shaped like a *kandalu*-vessel” (PNA 600), *Pilaqqu* and *Pilaqqītu* “Spindle” (PNA 994), *Pūt-upnišu* (f) “His prayer bowl” (PNA 1001).

(20) Animal names (see chapter 3).

2.1.4 Names within the family

2.1.4.1 Systematic naming and ‘harmonic’ names

An Akk. name may contain socio-historical information about the name-bearer and his/her immediate family. For example, a name containing the element *aplu* “heir” denotes a first-born son, while a name formed with *aḥum* “brother” refers to a later-born son, etc. (Baker 2002: 1). In some cases, the distribution of the theophoric elements in names of certain family members may reflect a specific naming orientation within the family or society. An examination of some OB family trees from different towns (reconstructed in Kalla 2002) provides us with several examples of this type:

- Sanum family (Larsa): two out of the five sons of Iddin-Amurru bear Amurru-names: *Ibni-Amurru* and *Māri-Amurru* (Kalla 2002: 147).

- Sîn-nūr-mātim family (Larsa): two out of the seven brothers bear Sîn-names: *Sîn-mâgir* and *Sîn-šār-mātim*, while two others have names with the element *šillu* “protection”, *Šilli-šamaš* and *Šilli-Ištar* (Kalla 2002: 148).

- Imgur-Sîn family (Nippur): three out of the five sons of Enlil-rabi bear Šamaš-names: *Iddin-Šamaš*, *Ubār-Šamaš*, and *Šilli-Šamaš* (Kalla 2002: 150).

- Family Sîn-nāšir (Sippar): three out of the six sons of Išme-Ea bear Ea-names: *Qiš-Ea*, *Ipqu-Ea*, and *Iddin-Ea* (Kalla 2002: 153-4).

Moving to the NB corpus, theophoric names of certain family members show that the divine elements are distributed systematically, with the oldest brother bearing a Marduk-name, the second bearing a Nabu-name, and the third a Nergal-name. According to this pattern, the names reflect the divine order, whereby Marduk was the principal deity of the city, with Nabu being the second in rank, and so on (Baker 2002: 10-11).

²⁴ For a comprehensive discussion of this plant, see Stol (1979: 1-12).

In addition, an investigation of different onomastic samples, particularly from the OB and OA periods, uncovers an interesting naming practice within the family, that is, ‘harmonic names’. According to this practice, the child’s name could be formed with the same verbal or nominal element of his father’s/sibling’s name.²⁵ The following examples share the same verbal element:

* *amārum* “to see”

OA: *Amur-Ištar* s. *Amur-ilī* “I have seen DN/I have seen my god” (Ichisar 1981: 424).

* *banûm* “to build, create (i.e., a child)”

OA: *Adad-bāni* s. *Ibni-Adad* “DN is the creator/DN has created” (Stephens 1928: 8).

Adad-bāni s. *Aššur-bāni* “DN is the creator/DN is the creator” (Ichisar 1981: 421).

OB: *Ibni-Šamaš* s. *Ibnišū-ilišu* “DN has created/His god has created him” (IPNOBS 116).

Ilišu-bāni s. *Ilī-bāni* “His god is the creator/My god is the creator (IPNOBS 140).

Ilišu-bāni s. *Ilišu-ibni* “His god is the creator/His god has created” (IPNOBS 140).

* *magārum* “to consent, agree with, grant (i.e., a child)” (OB)

Imgur-Sîn s. *Sîn-māgir* “DN has granted/DN is the granter” (IPNOBS 152).

Other harmonic names share the same nominal element:

* *awilum* “man” (OB)

Awil-Ištar s. *Awiliya* “Man of DN/Man of DN (hypocoristicon)” (IPNOBS 49).

Awil-ilī s. *Awil-Amurru* “Man of the god/Man of DN” (IPNOBS 48).

* *idu* “arm, strength” (OA)

Idi-abum s. *Idi-Ištar* “The father is my strength/DN is my strength (Ichisar 1981: 433).

Idi-Su’en s. *Idi-Ištar* “DN is my strength/DN is my strength” (Ichisar 1981: 434).

* *nūr* “light” (OB)

Nūr-Ilabrat s. *Nūr-Šamaš* “Light of DN/Light of DN” (IPNOBS 234).

Nūr-Ilišu s. *Nūr-Šamaš* “Light of his god/Light of DN” (IPNOBS 234).

* *warad* “slave” in the pattern *Warad-DN* “Slave of DN” (OB)

²⁵ This investigation is inspired by my observations of Ar. name-giving (cf. ↓2.3.3.1).

Warad-Adad s. Warad-Kubi (IPNOBS 351).

Ward-Enlil s. Warad-Sîn (IPNOBS 352).

Names based on kinship terms, i.e., *abum* “father” and *aḫum* “brother” (as non-theophoric elements),²⁶ form a considerable proportion of harmonic names. Some of the examples below were likely given to express solidarity among the family members (OB):

Abum-kīma-ilim s. Abum-waqar “The father is like a god/The father is precious” (IPNOBS 8).

Abum-waqar br. Aḫum-waqar “The father is precious/The brother is precious” (IPNOBS 10).

Aḫam-aršī s. Aḫuni “I have desired a brother/Our brother” (IPNOBS 16).

Aḫum-ṭābum s. Aḫušīna “The good brother/Their brother (i.e., the sisters)” (IPNOBS 21).

Aḫuni s. Aḫu-waqar “Our brother/The brother is precious (IPNOBS 20).

Bēli-abī s. Abum-waqar “My father is my lord/The father is precious” (IPNOBS 59).

An interesting example of harmonic names from the NA Šēḫ Ḥamad is:

Būru-aḫu-iddina s. Būru-nādin-aḫḫē “The (divine) calf gave me a brother/The (divine) calf is the one who gives brothers” (Radner 2002 66: 1).

2.1.4.2 Naming after a family member

According to Baker (2002: 9), it was not the practice in either Babylonia or Assyria to name sons after the father or grandfather, at least until the Seleucid era in Babylonia, when papponymy became relatively common. This conclusion, however, seems to be incorrect and based on insufficient information on the genealogy. The reconstructed OB family trees from Ur, Larsa, Sippar, and Nippur (Kalla 2002) show that six individuals bore the same names as their grandfathers or great grandfathers:

Ilšu-ibbišu s. Sîn-iqišam s. Ilšu-ibbišu (Kalla 2002: 148).

Nūr-ilišu s. Ubār-Lulu s. Nūr-ilišu (ibid. 160).

Sanum II s. Iddin-Amurru s. Ištar-ili s. Sanum I (ibid. 147).

Ikūn-pî-Sîn II s. Ibni-Sîn s. Marduk-nāsir s. Ikūn-pî-Sîn I (ibid. 153).

²⁶ Names based on kinship terms could be understood as compensation names (i.e., for a recently deceased family member) or as expressions of endearment (Stamm 1939: 242, 278).

Utul-Ištar II s. Nanaya-ibni s. Zababa-mušallim s. Utul-Ištar I (ibid. 161).

Also, there are two persons from Ili-amranni family with the name *Iddin-Lāgamāl* (Ibid 152).

Papponymy might have been more common among religious families in the OB time (or even in earlier or later periods) as the genealogy of the *sanga* of Šamaš family in Sippar shows. Of the recorded names, three are rotated: *Warad-Sîn* (four times), *Šamaš-tappēšu* (twice), and *Annum-pî-Aya* (once) (Kalla 2002: 158). Papponymy was also known in the OA period but not as a rule (Veenhof 2014: 360ff). From Kassite Nippur we have *Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē s. Ninurta-nāšir s. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē* (Scheil 1897: 51, no. 12).²⁷

In addition to papponymy, Hellenistic Uruk knew the practices of ‘mammonymy’, i.e., the naming of a girl after her grandmother or other female ancestor (Langin-Hooper and Pearce 2014).

2.1.5 Names in society

As indicated above (2.1.2), PNs were normally given around the time of birth or at least in early infancy. Names that were given later, either in addition to the given name or to replace it, are therefore of exceptional interest (Baker 2002: 3). These and other similar types are illustrated in the subsections below.

2.1.5.1 Royal names: throne names and names of restricted use

Few Mesopotamian monarchs took throne names which were different from their personal names, like the Assyrian *Šarru-kīn* I and II and the Ešnunnean *Narām-Sîn*, that is, names of two famous Oakk. kings (Edzard 1998: 109). Another likely candidate is Assurbanipal; his name (*Aššur-bani-apli* “Aššur is the creator of the heir”) is not the kind of name that would have been given to a younger son (Baker 2002: 3). More significantly, royal names, particularly those of famous dynasties, were of restricted use. Clear evidence on this restriction is a NA document that dates from late in the reign of Esarhaddon or early in the reign of Assurbanipal:

Asalluḥi-nādin-aḥi, an official [in the service of] Milik-nūri, (is) the informer who cited “the king’s word” against Šumma-ilāni, the ruler of the city of Arkuḥi in Kašiāri (saying): Šumma-ilāni says: “after my son has been born, I shall name him Ashurbanipal”. They went to the ordeal and Šumma-ilāni turned back. The same Asalluḥi-nādin-aḥi, who cited the

²⁷ I am indebted to Prof. Stol for mentioning this example to me.

“king’s word” against Aḫu-erība, the [] of the chief cupbearer, (saying): [the name] of Sennacherib (...) [Aḫu-erība, against whom] he said this, turned back (Kataja 1987).

The implication here is that giving the name of the ruling king (or the crown prince) to a commoner, or even planning to do so, was strictly ‘taboo’ (Kataja 1987: 66-67). This restriction can also be observed in Babylonia, where a number of individuals named *Nabu-nā’id* are found in Babylonian documents of the late 7th and earlier 6th c. BCE, but there is a notable lack of such individuals born after the accession of the king of that name. Even the latest attested person, the father of a man known in a tablet dated 522 BCE, was most likely born and named before the accession of Nabonidus in 555 BCE (Baker 2002: 7).

2.1.5.2 *Status-related names*

Profession or status-related names were received as primary names by people who were destined to belong to a particular sector of society from an early age (even from birth) and as secondary/alternative names by people who entered a new phase in life; a prince ascending the throne, a man or woman being consecrated to a god, an official entering royal service (Edzard 1998: 109-110; Baker 2002: 4; Radner 2005: 29-33). Evidence on receiving a new name is an OB letter from Mari (ARM 10 141 = LAPO 18 1256):

Secondly, (concerning you) Ištar-šamši, I was glad to know that you were appointed to a weighty position I have heard of your name Ištar-šamši and felt so happy for you. Pray to Bêlet-ekallim for me whenever you enter and leave (her temple).

Apparently, *Ištar-šamši* “Ištar is my sun” received her new name when she was appointed to a religious position in the temple, and this name confirms the close relationship between the two goddesses Ištar and Bêlet-ekallim (ARM 10, p. 279, no. 20-21; LAPO 18, p. 488, no. f).

Several Sumerian and OB officials serving under kings had names that glorify their monarchs (Edzard 1998: 109). OB *naditum* priestesses received theophoric names that connect them to the deities they were dedicated to, like the god Šamaš and the goddess Aya, who is also known as *bêltum* “Mistress” and *kallātum* “Bride”. Other typical elements are *lamassum*, *lamassatum* “protective spirit, the tutelary goddess”, *ruttum/rūtum* “companion”, beside the common types *Amat-DN* “Maid of DN” and *Erišti-DN* “Desire of DN” (Harris 1964: 116-118; Barberon 2012: 8, with fn. 27). Priests (and their fathers) could be named after the god they served, e.g., “*Utu.muzalag*, son of *Iddin-Šamaš*, *gudapsû* of Šamaš, servant of Ninsianna”, and “*Nanna-saga*, scribe, son of *Nanna-kuzu*, *gudapsû* of Nanna, servant of Nimintabba” (Stol 1991: 209). Names consciously adopted by people working in the private sector are few in number. The only example is the unique OB name *Šamaš-*

ummeāni “DN is my provider of capital”, borne by a commercial agent (Stol 1991: 210). The NA eunuchs (*ša rēš šarri* officials) avoided names which alluded to the father-son relationship (Baker 2002: 4-5), while their Babylonian parallels (i.e., the ones connected with the Ebabbar temple of NB Sippar) had names in which the element *šarru* “the king” is a common component (Bongenaar 1997: 100, 108-12). Royal women seem to have received new names at marriage, like ^d*Rīm-Sîn-Šala-bāštašu* “Rīm-Sîn’s angel is Šala”, the name of the king Rīm-Sîn’s wife, as indicated by the theophoric element (Stamm 1939: 273). The daughter of *Apil-kîn*, king of Mari, also took a new name after moving to Ur: ^f*Tarām-Uram* “She who loves (the city of) Ur” (Civil 1962: 213).²⁸

Slaves often received typical names. In the special section devoted to this topic, Stamm (1939) distinguishes five subgroups based on their content and meaning. The first subgroup contains names expressing desire and requests of the slave towards the master, e.g., *Bēli-libluṭ* “May my master live”. The second subgroup reflects pleas towards the master, e.g., *Naplisi-bēlti* “Look at me graciously, my mistress”. Another possibility is the utterance of confidence, e.g., *Atkal-ana-bēlti* “I trust in my mistress”, or praise towards the master e.g., *Bēlti-magirat* “My mistress is contented”. A last group assembles the slave names which cannot be placed in any of the above-mentioned groups (Stamm 1939: 307ff). Significantly, of all the slaves known from the Egibi archive (NB period) and other contemporary archives from Babylon only one bears a name containing the divine name Marduk (i.e., the principal deity of the city of Babylon at that time), which indicates that PNs formed with this element were reserved in some way (Baker 2002: 22). Nevertheless, many other names were shared by slaves and free population as the data from OB Sippar show (Vandorpe 2010: 50-51). Some slaves were renamed when they were bought. For instance, the Nippurian woman *Niši-īnišu* bought a slave-girl and renamed her *Amat-iliya* “Slave-girl of my god” (i.e., the god of the mistress). A daughter of the slave *Amat-Bau* received the name *Amat-eššešim* “Slave-girl of the (monthly) festival *eššešum*” (Stol 1991: 209). Some NB documents also demonstrate that masters changed the names of their slaves according to their fancy: “the slave woman *Ṭabbatum* to whom he (the master) gave the name *Šalam-dininnu*” (Nbn. 391). The document Dar. 53 mentions that the kidnapper of a slave gave the latter a completely different name and then sold him (Dandamaev 1984: 108-09). Another document (BM 30877) mentions that the escaped slave *Nabû-rē’û’ā* changed his name to *Nabû-ittannu* (cited in Hackl 2013: 130, fn. 29). Remarkably, there are some OB examples where the names given to animals are patterned after or

²⁸ This, however, does not necessarily hold for ordinary women (see the examples in ↓2.1.5.3).

shared with slave names: *Aya-ummi*, a popular fem. slave name is the name of a cow. Other parallels are *Aya-dūri*, *Makkur-Sîn* and *Sîn-gamil* (Harris 1977: 51, fn. 15).²⁹

2.1.5.3 Nicknames, alternative names, and double-names

As is the case with nicknames in other cultures, the Akk. ones likely emerged as affective, humorous, or derogatory designations, or simply for a purpose of identification (i.e., to distinguish people from each other). The first group of possible nicknames to come to mind is the one referring to bodily peculiarities and defects, such as *Kutallānu* “One with a broad neck or back”, *Sukkuku* “Deaf” (CAD K 603, S 363), and *Ḫunzû* “Lame” (AHw 356). One can also consider occupational names,³⁰ which started to develop into family names in the Kassite period onward, e.g., *Aluzinnu* “Clown”, *Aškāpu* “Leatherworker”, *Atû* “Doorkeeper”, *Bānu* “Builder”, *Dayyānu* “Judge”, *Nappāḫu* “Smith”, and *Rē’i alpi* “Oxherd” (Brinkman 2006: 26ff). Names denoting household objects may fit here, too (↑2.1.3, group 19).

Apart from abbreviated and hypocoristic names³¹ and status-related names (↑2.1.5.2), there are several examples of people having two completely different names, some of which consist of two ethnically different parts. From the OB period we have:

- *Akatiya* (f) = *Ama-duga* (Sum.) (Durand 1985: 410).
- *Abâ* = *Išū-ibbišu*, *Ninnū* = *Ninurta-ašarid* (Charpin 1980: 343).
- *Nakarum* = *Ikūn-pi-Sîn* (mentioned by Radner 2005, fn. 183).

Double names are well-attested among men and women in the 1st millennium BCE Babylonia, but not in Assyria (Baker 2002: 4-6):

- *Itti-Marduk-balaṭu* = *Iddina*, *Marduk-nāšir-apli* = *Širku*, *Nergal-ušizib* = *Puršu*’ (Wunsch 2000: 12).
- *Nabu-mušētiq-šēti* = *Bazuzu*, *Nergal-ašarēd* = *Dādiya* (Joannès 1989: index of PNs).
- The three women: *Širaya* = *Šidatu*, *Tašmētu-damqat* = *Kaššaya*, and *Amat-Ninlil* = *Gigītu*. Ungnad’s assumption (1935: 321ff) that these names were given by the husbands after marriage is discounted by Baker (2002, fn. 25).

²⁹ For more examples of bovine individual names used as PNs, see Farber (1982).

³⁰ It is not unlikely that some occupational names/titles were given at birth as auspicious names, especially the ones indicating honorific skills. Others might be circumstantial in view of modern Ar. name-giving, like *Fallāḥ* “Farmer” for a Bedouin who was born when the farmers were working around (Littmann 1948: 10-11).

³¹ For example, *Rēmāni-Bēl qallašu ša Rēmūt šunšu imbû* “Rēmāni-Bēl his slave, who is otherwise called Rēmūt” (Nbn. 697: 2, 5), cited in Streck (2001: 111) with other instances of hypocoristic names.

Sometimes the second name was not an Akk. one (i.e., Greek, Aram., Iranian). Well-known examples include *Naqī'a/Zakūtu* Akk-Aram. (mother of Esarhaddon) and, in Seleucid Babylonia, individuals bearing a Greek name as well as an Akk. name (Baker 2002: 6). In the latter period the double name became more popular, where it is indicated in the cuneiform tablets with the formula X *ša šumšu šanû* Y “X whose other name is Y”. The formulas used for the royal names have a completely different phrasing: *ša ittaridu* “who is also called” and only once *ša šumšu* “whose (second) name is” (Boiy 2005: 54ff). The first person of whom something more is known is the governor *šaknu* of Uruk *Anu-uballit/Nikarchos*, who mentions in his inscription that the king Antiochus gave him the Greek name (Boiy 2005: 56).³² The adoption of Greek names by indigenous people aimed at establishing contacts with or assimilation to the elite/ruling class (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 153). This, of course, does not apply to Akk.-Akk. double names, for their function is not clarified in the texts. According to Boiy (2005), Lambertz’s hypothesis (1911) that ancient Egyptians adopted two names with two different theophoric elements in order to be protected by two gods does not match the case of Hellenistic Babylonia, for out of 13 persons with an Akk.-Akk. double name, just one has two different theophoric elements (*Antu-banāt = Ereštu-Nanāya*), whereas five have the element Anu in both names. The alternative hypothesis, he argues, is that “The second name of Akk.-Akk. was then a nickname” (Boiy 2005: 57-60). This conclusion, however, could be based on generalization, for, regardless of status-related names (↑2.1.5.2), it is not unlikely that second names resulted from a household condition, such as a disagreement between parents on the choice of the name,³³ divorce, or death of either. Moreover, in an ancient society, where identity cards did not exist, it seems probable that naming was a flexible issue and that some people adopted new names because they did not like theirs (which, of course, still happens).

³² Giving a name was a typical royal favour in antiquity. In the Book of Genesis, Joseph is given an Egyptian name and enters royal service. Dan. 1: 17 also mentions four Judeans chosen to serve king Nebuchadnezzar II and they also receive Babylonian names.

³³ My sister-in-law has two names: *Naḫmiyya* (traditional Ar.) and *Suzanne* (European). The former, the official one, was given by her father (deceased now) and the latter by the mother. Her brothers still call her by the former name, while the mother insists on the one she chose. Everybody in my family calls her Suzanne, except for her husband. Is the latter name considered a nickname in this case? Apparently not, for it was chosen at birth. If such a case existed in an ancient society, a very probable assumption, both names would have been used interchangeably in written documents.

2.2 Northwest Semitic

In this section, I will deal with name-giving in Amor., Biblical and epigraphic Heb., and epigraphic NWS from a sociocultural viewpoint. Each subsection examines the following topics: power of the name (when available), naming methods (when available), name patterns, and names in the family and society. Given that theophoric names in NWS are quite akin, I will adopt a classification scheme based on the content (i.e., divine characters). This classification is inspired by two works on Heb. names, that is, Rechenmacher (2012) and Fowler (1988); it also takes into account the categories we have examined in Akk. (↑2.1.3).

2.2.1 Amorite

Research on Amor. name-giving has focused basically on the linguistic aspect, as an attempt to reconstruct the ‘language’ through names (e.g., Huffmon 1965; CAAA; Streck 2000, 2011; Knudsen 1991, 2004; Golinetz 2010). Outside this, one finds only few articles and fragmentary remarks on name-giving in general (e.g., Durand 1984, 1997). Another aspect which has been dealt with recently is the relationship between names and ethnicity (de Boer 2014). In view of this background, this section will cover other topics which have not been studied sufficiently yet and are related to the socio-cultural dimension of Amor. name-giving.

2.2.1.1 Naming methods: *dreams and ideology*

The only information concerning the bestowal of a name in the Amor. tradition is available in an OB letter from Mari. Šimatūm, the daughter of Zimrī-Lîm and the wife of Ḫaya-Sūmu of Ilan-Šura wrote to her father as follows:

And concerning the daughter of Tēpa‘um, a man revealed himself in my dream and (said), “Let the little baby, the daughter of Tēpa‘um, be called Tagīd-nawû.” This he said to me. Now my lord must have a diviner check on it, and if that dream is true, my lord must call the daughter Tagīd-nawû. (LAPO 18 1221; Streck 2000: §1.123).

This letter goes back to the beginning of Zimrī-Lîm’s reign (Durand 1984: 127ff). The mother, Tēpa‘um belonged to the ‘harem’ women, namely the group known as ‘Les grandes musiciennes’, and it is not unlikely that she was a daughter of a king (Ziegler 1999: 73) or a secondary wife of Zimrī-Lîm himself, since the name of her daughter seems to have concerned him personally. That the baby was ‘officially’ nameless (or with a temporary name) when the letter was sent suggests that the bestowal of the name of a person from the elite used to be accompanied by a certain ceremony. Such a ceremony might

have been: (a) exceptional, i.e., to be performed in the presence of the king himself, or (b) normal, i.e., could be performed by a priest and/or a local representative of the authority. As Durand (1984: 129ff) has shown, the name *Tagīd-nawû* “The steppe has become good” belongs to the group of ‘ideological’ fem. names, which contain political terms and reflect the conflict with the Benjaminite nomads,³⁴ e.g., *Tašûb-nawû* (f) “The steppe has returned” (i.e., to the kingship circle), *Tanûḥ-nawû* (f) “The steppe has calmed down”, and names with the element *mātum* “country”: *Tušīm-mātum* (f) “The country has taken a decision” (Akk.), *Takûn-mātum* (f) “The country has become stable” (Akk.), and *Tatûr-mātum* (f) “The country has returned” (Akk.). Some of these names could be phrases taken from or inspired by well-known pieces of literature (written or oral, e.g., hymns, prayers, poetry) which go back to the time of Yaḥdun-Lîm’s region (the ancestor of Zimrî-Lîm). The frequency of prophecies during the time of Zimrî-Lîm suggests that the kingdom witnessed an atmosphere where people from different circles (women, diviners, rulers, etc.) became engaged in the religious discourse.³⁵ Hence it seems probable that the rebellions of the nomads during the beginning of his reign were somehow linked to those which took place in the time of Yaḥdun-Lîm.³⁶ In other words, the authorities tended to support their legitimacy through referring to the triumph of the latter upon the nomads, particularly the Benjaminites. This kind of reference would have been manifested through recalling certain victorious legends, poems or motifs. The presence of these, or more precisely some of their phraseology, might have been as strong to occupy the imagination of people and to be revealed in their dreams. An excellent example of the impact of certain motifs on anthroponyms and commemorative texts as well is the two above-mentioned names *Tašûb-nawû* and *Tatûr-mātum*, which share the same concept expressed in the name of one of Yaḥdun-Lîm’s years “The year Yaḥdun-Lîm has marched to (the town of) Ḥên and returned the steppe of the Benjaminites to his domination (lit. his hand)”.³⁷

Importantly, the association of names with dreams in our OB letter can still be observed in modern Ar. name-giving through *istiḥāra* and fatwa literature (↓2.3.2.4.2). Thus it seems probable that Šimatum conducted a kind of rite which is similar to Islamic *istiḥāra*, given that the role of the Amor. diviner in the text is somehow similar to that of the *mufti* in our Ar. data.

³⁴ On the Benjaminites versus the Bensim’alites, see ↓2.2.1.2.

³⁵ Most of these prophecies are available in ARM 26/1.

³⁶ On the rebellions against Yaḥdun-Lîm, see Charpin and Ziegler (2003: 41ff).

³⁷ MU *ia-aḥ-du-li-im a-na ḥe-en^{ki} il-li-ku-ma ù na-wa-am ša DUMU.MEŠ ia-mi-na a-na qa-ti-šu ú-te-er-ru-ú* (Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 59).

2.2.1.2 Theophoric names and kinship terms

A theophoric element in Amor. names could be either a DN or another numen, usually a metaphoric divine epithet (e.g., sun *šams-*, light *nīr-*, rock *šūr-*), a kinship term (father *'ab-*, brother *'ah-*, son *bin-*, etc.), or a political term (e.g., king *malik-*). The most common DNs are Yaraḥ/Eraḥ, Haddu/Addu, and Dagan (Streck 2000: §1.120). Yaraḥ/Eraḥ and El are more attested in the onomastic data from early OB Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region (in Amor. and Akk. names), which proposes a long term assimilation of Amorites in the Mesopotamian environment (de Boer 2014: 66-69). As for El, the evidence seems to suggest that he was considered the manifestation of a clan god, a concept related to the god of the fathers well known from the OT (Knudsen 1991: 868). The distribution of DNs in the Amor. onomasticon may also echo historical religious orientations. According to Durand (2004: 196), there was a religious opposition between the two major Amor. branches mentioned in the Mari Archives, that is, (1) *Binū Sim'al* (Sim'alites or Ben-sim'alites) "Sons of (the land of) the left" (= North), who mainly worshipped Addu and Ištar, and (2) *Binū Yamina* (Yaminites or Benjaminites) "Sons of (the land on) the right" (= South), who mainly worshipped Dagan and Annunitum (f).

Remarkable, however, is the considerable number of names formed with kinship terms, which reflects a society in which the tribe, the clan, or the family was the basic unit (Knudsen 1991: 868). Such terms, as well as some other elements (rain: *maṭar-*, protection: *sitr-*, lion/warrior: *aś(a)d-*),³⁸ are well-attested both as appellatives and as theophoric elements (Huffmon 1965: 101ff). The importance of consanguinity and kinship is echoed through using two basic terms as theophoric elements, that is, *li'm-/līm-* (CAAA 145, sub *li'm*) and, much less, *gayy-* (CAAA 130, sub *ga'y*). In the Mari Archives, the former, lit. "tribe, people", is used only for the Benjaminite tribes/confederations, while the latter, meaning "clan", is always associated with the Binsim'alite groups (Durand 2004: 158; 177ff; Fleming 2004). Other two kinship terms commonly found as DNs are *'amm-* and *hāl-*, usually translated as "paternal/maternal uncle" (respectively) (e.g., Huffmon 1965: 196; CAAA 15a, 20b; Streck 2000: 406) or "paternal/maternal clan" (Albright 1954: 226, fn. 26). Despite the more general meanings of **'amm-* in NWS and Ar. "relatives, clan, people" (DUL 163; HALOT 837; Lane 2149), both translations are unsatisfactory in view of: (1) the lack of information on the exact denotation of these terms in Amor., (2) the above-mentioned *li'm-* and *gayy-* as being the basic tribal units, and (3) the fact that both may refer to the spirit of the ancestor rather than to a physical or historical pater-

³⁸ On the element *'aś(a)d-*, see ↓4.1.3.1.2.

nal/maternal uncle. Thus, it seems more probable to suggest “(paternal) ancestor” for the former and “(maternal) ancestor” for the latter.

The frequency of kinship terms in Amor. PNs could be related to ancestor cults if one applies van der Toorn’s hypothesis (1996) concerning parallel names in the OT (↓2.2.2.3). A name like ‘*Ammu-rāpi*’ “The (paternal) ancestor is healer” implies an interference of the ancestor’s spirit in a healing process (e.g., through visiting a shrine or any related rite). The same holds for *Ya’ūš-‘ammu* “The (paternal) ancestor has granted” (CAAA, No. 3577), *Yantin-‘ammu* “The (paternal) ancestor has given” (i.e., a child) (No. 2989), ‘*Aḏar-’aḥ* “The brother is a supporter” (No. 579), *Qāmu-ma-’aḥī* “My brother is truly uplifting” (Streck 2000: §3.27), etc. Such names do not only express solidarity among the family/clan members or “project onto the divine world the legal and emotional bonds of family life” (Buccellati 1995: 858), they also may have a deeper root in ancient religious practices. It makes sense to consider them and other similar examples in view of *kispum*-ritual “offering for the deceased ancestors”, which is well known from textual evidence from Mesopotamia and the Syrian world (Ebla, Mari, Emar and Ugarit).³⁹

2.2.1.3 Name patterns: a semantic approach

A semantic approach of OB theophoric names from Mari has been done by Nakata (1993), who focuses on specific Amor. and Akk. types (mostly thanksgiving and trust names). For the sake of consistency, however, I will adopt the same classification scheme used for Akk. (↑2.1.3) and the other NWS languages (↓2.2.2.3; 2.2.3.1):

(1) Relationship names (trust names): these are mostly genitive constructs or nominal phrases which illustrate the relationship with the deity through terms of: (a) kinship: *DN-abu/abī* and *Abī-DN*, both meaning “DN is (my) father” (CAAA 209ff, sub √*b*; Nakata 1993: 117), ‘*Ummī-DN* (f) “DN is my mother” (CAAA 134, √*mm*), *Aḥī-DN* “DN is my brother” (CAAA 205, √*ḥ*; Nakata 1993: 117), *Bun(u)/Bin(u)-DN* “Son of DN”, *Binat/Binti/Bintu-DN* (f) “Daughter of DN” (CAAA 286, √*bn*), *Šumu-DN* “Offspring of DN” (CAAA 351, √*śm*), and (b) status: ‘*Abd-DN* “Servant of DN” (CAAA 257, √*bd*; Nakata 1993: 119), *Du-DN* “Belonging to DN” (CAAA 295, √*d*), and *Mut-DN* “Man of DN” (CAAA 325, √*mt*).

(2) Praise and greeting formulas: *Laka-DN* “(The) god is for you”, *Lana-DN* “DN is for us” (Streck 2011: 454; CAAA, No. 4303-05), ‘*Ammištamar* < *‘*Ammī-’aštamar* “I have praised my (paternal) ancestor” (Streck 2011: 456).

³⁹ For more information on this ritual, see, for example, Schmidt (1994: 27ff) and Biga (2007-08).

(3) The deity is a source of protection, help, and support (trust names): *Ya'da/ir-DN* “DN has helped”, *'Adri-DN* “DN is my help” (CAAA 259, √'dr), *Ba'di-DN* “DN is behind me/in favour of me” (CAAA 281, √b'd; Huffmon 1965: 173), *Yayšu'-DN* “DN has helped”, *Iš'i-DN* “DN is my help” (CAAA 276, √yš'), *Dimri-DN* “DN is my guard/protection” (CAAA 297, √dmr), *Ya'qub-DN* “DN has protected”, *'Aqbi-DN* “DN is my protection” (CAAA 265, √'qb), *Yanqim-DN* “DN has taken vengeance”, *Niqim/Niqmi-DN* “DN is (my) vengeance” (CAAA 334, √nqm).

(4) Involvement of the deity in events of birth (thanksgiving names): *Yabni-DN*, *Tabni-DN* (f) “DN has created” (CAAA 288, √bny), *Yantin-DN* “DN has given” (a child/replacement) (CAAA 336, √ntn), *Ya'ūs-DN* “DN has given as a present” (Streck 2011: 457), *Ya'dra'-DN*, lit. “DN has sown (the seed)” (a metaphoric expression) (CAAA 398, √dr'), *Yanbi'/Yabbi-DN* “DN has named/called” (i.e., new-born child) (CAAA 331, √nb').

(5) Compensation names: *Yar'ib-DN* “DN has repayed” (Streck 2011: 457; CAAA 354, √ryb). Names with *ay(y)a* “where”, like *'Ayya-'abu/'aḥu/'ummu* “Where is the father/brother/mother?” (CAAA 208, √'y), seem to express complaint and sadness about a recent death of a family member. The same hypothesis probably holds for some names with the element √mrš “to be sick, sad, angry” if we assume sadness about a recent death, e.g., *Yamra/uš-'El* “DN has become sad”, *'Aḥi/'Abi-maraš* “My brother/father is sad/sick”, and *Binu-maraš* “The son is sad” (CAAA 324, √mrs).

(6) Perception and consideration (thanksgiving and wish names): *Yašma'-DN* “DN has heard” (i.e., a prayer/request) (CAAA 356, √šm'), *Ya/iydi'-DN* “DN has recognized”, *DN-da'um/da'atum* (f) “DN is the one who knows” (CAAA 271, √yd'), *Yaḍkur-DN* “DN has remembered” (CAAA 296, √dkr).

(7) The deity is a source of goodness and wealth: *DN-maṭar* “DN is rain” (CAAA 327, √mtr), *DN-ni'm/na'ma*, *Na/u'mi-DN* “DN is (my) delight/pleasure” (CAAA 329, √n'm).

(8) Healing and comfort (thanksgiving names): *Yarpa'-DN* “DN has healed”, *'Ammu/Ḥālu-rapi'* “The paternal/maternal ancestor is healer” (CAAA 364, √rp').

(9) Judgment and justice (trust names): *Yašarti-'el* “The god is my justice” (Streck 2011: 457), *Yadīn-DN* “DN has ruled/judged” (CAAA 291, √dyn), *Yašduq-El* “DN has proved to be just”, *DN-šaduq* “DN is just” (CAAA 365, √šdq).

(10) Strength and transcendence (trust names): *Rabbu-DN* “DN is great” (CAAA 354, √rbb), *Dannu-DN* “DN is strong” (CAAA 294, √dnn), *DN-'aliyat*, *'Aliyat-DN* “DN is exalted” (CAAA 260, √'ly), *Ši-rāma* “She (DN) is lofty” (Streck 2011: 454), *Yakūn-DN* “DN has

proved to be firm”, *Yakīn-DN* “DN has made firm” (CAAA 302, \sqrt{kwn} ; Streck 2011: 456), *Yaklal-DN* “DN has proved to be perfect”, *Yaytir-DN* “DN has proved to be excellent”, *Yatar-DN/DN-yatar* “DN is excellent” (CAAA 279, \sqrt{ytr} ; Streck 2011: 454ff).

(11) Affection and compassion: *Yaḥun(n)-DN* “DN has proved to be gracious”, *Ḥanna-DN* “Gracious is DN” (CAAA 250, $\sqrt{ḥnn}$; Streck 2011: 457), *Ya/irḥam-DN* “DN has shown mercy” (CAAA 342, $\sqrt{rḥm}$).

Concerning profane names, they cover several topics which are common to all Sem. languages (some names could be the shortened forms of compound names):

(1) Mental features: *ʾAminum*, *ʾAminatūm* (f) “Trustworthy”, *Āmirum/Āmiratūm* (f) “Commander, Speaker” (CAAA 13), *Daʿum* “knowledgeable” (ibid. 17), *Gayida* (f) “Good” (ibid. 18), *Ḥakamatūm* (f) “Wise” (ibid. 19).

(2) Physical features: *ʾAdamu* (f) “Red” (ibid. 13), *Labnum* “White” (ibid. 24), *ʾUḏḏunān* “Big-eared” (ibid. 14), which could be a metaphor for a smart or obedient person.

(3) Names expressing joy over the birth: *Naʾimūm/Niʾmūm/Niʾmatūm* (f) “Delight, Pleasure” (ibid. 27), *Šum(m)uḥum* “Very joyful (ibid. 33), metaphors, e.g., *Nirum*, *Nira/Nīrtum* (f) “Light” (ibid. 27).

(4) Affective names: *Dawdum* “Beloved” (ibid. 17), *Ḥabībum* “Beloved”, *Ḥaninum* “Gracious” (ibid. 19), *Yadidum* “Dear”, *Yaqarum* “Dear, Precious” (ibid. 21).

(5) Names indicating the status of the child in the family: *Bakirum/Bakūratūm* (f) “First-born” (ibid. 16), *Yatamum/Yatmum/Yatumun* “Orphan”, and *Yaḥadum* “Alone” (ibid. 21), which could also be the shortened form of *Yaḥad-DN*. To these one can add *Maršum/Maršatum* (f) “Sick, Sad” (ibid. 24b), provided they reflect the situation of the bearer him/herself or that of another family member.

(6) Circumstantial names: an interesting example is *Nighatum* (f) (ibid. 7; No. 5030), which should be normalized as *Nigʾatum* and thus connected to Durand’s interpretation of the Amor. notion of *nigʾum* “territory where nomads search for pasture” ($\sqrt{ngʾ}$) in view of Ar. *naḡaʾa* (Durand 2004: 120). The name-bearer was possibly born during such a nomadic seasonal journey. Another example is *Šalgum < Talgum* “Snow” (CAAA 33b), which might indicate that the name-bearer was born during the snow.

(7) Names denoting social positions or status: *ʾAdanum* “Master”, *ʾAdantum* “Lady” (ibid. 13), *Šugāgum* “Sheikh, chieftain of pasture” (ibid. 33).

(8) Names of locality: these are of *Mut-GN* type and formed with: (a) names of mountains: Bišri, Ebiḥ, Ḥamānum, (b) rivers: Ḥabur, Ḥanat, Ḥirmaš, or (c) lands, towns, or ethnic groups: Amnanum (Benjaminite tribe), Apum (i.e., the land of Canaan), and Ḥalab (Aleppo) (Durand 1991). An interesting example which is not formed with a DN or GN is *Mut-arrī* “Man of the reunion” (Durand 2004: 189), which could be classified as an alternative or commemorative name, since it refers to a political decision. Presumably, the bearer was born during this event or acquired the name due to his participation in it.⁴⁰

(9) Animal names (↓4.1).

2.2.1.4 Names within the family and society

2.2.1.4.1 Naming after a family member

Naming after a maternal or paternal ancestor appears to have been known in the Amor. onomastic tradition, at least among royal families. Zimri-Lîm of Mari called his three sons after his ancestors, that is, *Yaggid-Lîm* (his grandfather), *Ḥadni-Addu*/*Adni-Addu* (his father), and *Yaḥdun-Lîm*/*Ya’dun-Lîm* (his uncle) (Ziegler 1997: 50). Two kings of Kurda bore the name *Aštamar-Addu* (Lafont 1994: 214-15). Of the nine kings of Aleppo/Yamḥad three appear with the name *Yarîm-Lîm* and two with the name *Ḥammu-rāpi*/*Ammu-rāpi* (Charpin 2004: 391). The same holds for ‘mammonymy’ as the case of Zimri-Lîm’s daughters suggests. The princess *Addu-dûri* carried the name of her father’s mother when the latter was alive. Another princess, *Atrakatum* bore the name of her father’s sister. *Tizpatum* (or *Tiṣpatum*) was named after one of Yaḥdun-Lîm’s daughters (Ziegler 1997: 50).

2.2.1.4.2 Programmatic names

A probable example of this type is the two sons of the Amor. king Šamši-Addu I. When he appointed them as provincial rulers, the older one, the ruler of Ekallātum on the Tigris in the Akk. East, adopted the Akk. name *Išmē-Dagan* “Dagan has heard”; the younger one, *Yasmaḥ-Addu*/*Yasma’-Addu*, adopted an Amor. name “Addu has heard” as ruler of Mari on the Euphrates (Knudsen 1991: 879). The two names can also be taken as ‘harmonic’,⁴¹ for they are based on the same verbal element (*šm*’).

⁴⁰ For more examples of profane names, see Streck (2000: §5.27-5.47).

⁴¹ On harmonic names in Akk., see ↑2.1.4.1 and in Ar., ↓2.3.3.1.

2.2.1.4.3 Profession or status-related names

The Mari Archives provide us with several examples of this category, but most of them are Akk., undoubtedly due to the Mesopotamian influence on Amor. culture. For instance, the five royal nursemaids (*tārītum*) in Mari bore names containing the element *abī* “my father”: *Abī-lītir* “May my father win”, *Abī-bāšti* “My father is my dignity”, *Abī-nīri* “My father is my light” (could be Amor.), *Abī-lū-dāri* “May my father last”, and *Abī-kī-urḫi* “My father is like a path”. Such names were likely designed to express praise and greeting toward the king and to connect the royal children to him during his absence from the palace (Ziegler 1999: 109). Names of the ‘harem’ doorkeepers are also significant in that they express the idea of faithfulness and protection: *Kītum-lizziz* “May the truth/steadiness stand” (i.e., in the ‘harem’), *Ušur-pî-šarrim* “Guard the order of the king”, and *Eli-ilī-bilšīnāti* “Pay more attention to them (the ‘harem’ women) than to gods” (Durand 1984: 127, fn. 2). The same holds for names conveying a political statement: *Ṭāb-eli-mātišu* “He (the king) is good for his country”, *Ṭāb-eli-ummanišu* “He is good for his troops”, *Ṭābat-šarrussu* “His kingship is good”, *Ikmi-ayyabēšu* and *Ikšud-ayyabēšu*, both meaning “He has defeated his enemies”, and *Ikšud-lā-šēmēšu* “He has defeated those who did not obey” (Durand 1984: 129ff). Whereas all these ‘ideological’ names are Akk. and masc., some of their fem. parallels are Amor., i.e., the ones with the elements *nawû* and *mātum* (↑2.2.1.1).

The Mesopotamian influence is also reflected by the use of the names of some Amor. kings as theophoric elements, mostly by royal officials, e.g., *Yaḥdun-Lîm-ilī* “(the king) Yaḥdun-Lîm is my god” (Durand 1984: 132).

As for the religious circle, an interesting candidate of Amor. status-related name is *Annutabnī* (f) “Annu has created”, a female ecstatic (*muḥḥūtum*) of the goddess Annunitum (ARM 22 326: 8-10). The name might have been designated to connect her to the deity she was dedicated to (Sasson 1986: 134), or it occurred as a coincidence because Annu is frequent in (or confined to) fem. names (Streck 2000: §1.122). Another probable example is *Bārikatum* (or *Barikatum*), a priestess and daughter of Ibāl-Addu the king of Ašlakka (Ziegler 1999: 46), provided the name derives from *√brk* “to bless”.

It is quite difficult to trace typical slave names in the Amor. onomasticon, since several names are simply found among slaves and free individuals, and the latter could be from the upper class. *Yarîm-Lîm*, for example, is attested for kings, a slave, chieftains, and servants (ARM 16/1 227), *Zikri-Addu* is borne by a slave, a commander, and a caterer (ARM 16/1 241). In view of this, a name attested only for a slave, such as *Yatûr-Nārum* (ARM 16/1 236), cannot be taken as evidence.

2.2.2 Biblical and epigraphic Hebrew

2.2.2.1 *Concept and power of the name*

According to the Book of Genesis (1: 3-5), naming the chaos is an essential part of creating:

And God said, "Let there be light," and there was light. God saw that the light was good, and he separated the light from the darkness. God called the light "day," and the darkness he called "night".

In this example the verb *'mr*, lit. "say" refers to the act of creating, while *qr'* "to call, name" symbolizes the act of shaping. In other words, God shapes the world when only chaos exists and uses naming to bring order from the chaos. Naming is also a method of expressing power over things. Adam was granted the ability to name animals because his place is higher in the hierarchy than the animals of the earth. It is not only naming but also control that being because the name is connected with the animal's soul (Rose 1992: 1002; Thompson 1992: 1011-1012).

The word name (*šēm*) is used in several cases in the OT, all of which are related to the central conception of name as denoting essential being. This applies with regard to both man and God. The name is a value of goodness: "a good name is more desirable than great riches; to be esteemed is better than silver or gold" (Proverbs 22:1). The relation between name and renown is the same as between honour and praise. The name is the character and greatness of the soul, but others may act upon it by raising or lowering it (Pedersen 1926: 249; TDOT 16, sub *šēm*).

The concept of a secret name is important in the OT. The best example is the story of Jacob and the angel/stranger (Genesis 32: 22-31). The latter asks Jacob his name but refuses to tell his own. According to Trachtenberg (1961: 80), the angel wants to keep his name secret "lest Jacob invoke him in a magical incantation and he be obliged to obey". The same concept is reaffirmed in Judges 13. Manoah wants to honor the messenger when the child (i.e., Samson) is born and therefore asks the angel his name. The latter responds in the same manner: "Why is it that you ask my name?" The angel also adds that his name is incomprehensible (Judges 13: 17-18).

The power of the name is reflected by stories concerning the change of somebody's name. When the original name is changed, a significant shift in the person's character occurs because the name's meaning also implies the essence of the person. The best example is Abram (lit. 'The exalted father'), who, at the age of 75, began to undergo a process of

separation in order to become worthy of fulfilling his destiny, but only at the age of 99—after the name change (into Abraham) and circumcision—did the long process come to an end (Fleishman 2001: 32). Abraham fulfills his name as the father of Ishmael and Isaac, whose descendants populate a nation.

2.2.2.2 Naming methods

In his study of name-giving in the OT, Fichtner (1956) isolated two basic formulae concerning the bestowing of a name and a reason for it. Form I appeared in the following scheme:

And he/she named the/his/her/its name of/the/that so and so

For he/she/they said (now follows the etymological explanation for the name).

This full formula is found in Exodus 2: 21-22: “Moses was willing to dwell with the man, and he gave his daughter Zipporah to Moses. Then she gave birth to a son, and he named him Gershom, for he said, “I have been a sojourner in a foreign land”. The verbs used in this formula (*'mr* and *qr'*) are the same found in Genesis 1: 3-5.⁴²

As for Form II, it occurs mostly according to the following scheme:

Therefore one calls the (its) name (of that place) so and so.

The fundamental form appears in Exodus 15: 23: “When they came to Marah, they could not drink the waters of Marah, for they were bitter; therefore it was named Marah.”⁴³

Generally, Form I has an affinity for personal names, while Form II is used almost exclusively for place name etymologies (Fichtner 1956: 380ff). In both cases, however, the explanation is etiological, as it purports to explain the origin of a known name in terms of event, utterance, or phenomenon which is brought into a causal relationship to the giving of the name (Long 1968: 7). Regarding the name-giver, the older writings (the Jahwist and Elohist sources) often have the mother name the baby, while in later ones (the Priestly source) the father does so (IPN 55).

Despite etiological aspects of Biblical stories and the fact that the etymological explanations are mostly homiletic and do not always agree with the original meaning, they exhibit naming methods which were known at that time and have been followed until recently

⁴² Other examples of Form I are Genesis 4: 25; 5: 29; 29: 32, 33; 30: 8, 11, 13, 18, 20, 24; 41: 51-52; Exodus 2:10; 18: 4; 1 Samuel 1: 20; 4: 21. Quite similar stories are Genesis 10: 25; 25: 25-26.

⁴³ Other examples of Form II are Genesis 21: 31; 26: 20-21; Exodus 17: 7; Numbers 11: 3, 34; 13: 24; 21: 3; 1 Samuel 7: 12.

among modern Bedouins in the Middle East. In order to elaborate on this issue, I will give three examples that share the same motivations.

The first example is Jabez (< *Ya'bēš*) who “was more honorable than his brothers. His mother had named him Jabez, saying, “I gave birth to him in pain.” (1 Chronicles 4: 9). The name may originate from $\sqrt{šb} < ḡšb$ (with metathesis) “hurt, pain” and this would agree with the homiletic explanation (PHIAP 131). Quite similarly in the early 20th c., a Rwala woman who had a very painful delivery (*ta'assarāt*) called her son 'Asir “Born in pain”. Another woman received a beating from her husband shortly before the son was born to her, and, still being angry with hem, she called the boy *Za'al* “Anger” (Musil 1928: 244). All these stories reflect the psychological feeling of the mother particularly.

The second example is Judah (*Yəhūdā*) “She conceived again, and when she gave birth to a son she said, “This time I will praise the Lord.” So she named him Judah”. Then she stopped having children (Genesis 29: 35). The name may derive either from \sqrt{hdy} “lead, guide” or from *w/yhd* “rendered thanks, praised”, and in which case it would be a *qatūl* formation (PHIAP 135). A Rwala woman who had two girls prayed to Allah in order to have a boy, and he granted her wish some time afterwards, so she named him *Raḡa'* “The granting of favor” (Musil 1928: 244).

The third example is Peleg: “Two sons were born to Eber: One was named Peleg, because in his time the earth was divided” (Genesis 10: 25). Despite the legendary aspect of the story, the etiological-etymological explanation seems to be inspired by a naming method which was practiced in certain cases and has also been followed until recently. A Rwala woman delivered during a heavy rain and she called her boy *Maṭar* “Rain” (Musil 1928: 244). From today's Yemen we have *Robah* (f), who was called so after a piece of land where the delivery took place when the mother was out of the house doing some work on the farm (Al-Zumor 2009: 21).

Thus, the Biblical stories concerning name-giving are based on traditional methods which were common and already known to the chroniclers. The latter used them in a kind of homiletic way in order to explain some well-known names.

2.2.2.3 Name patterns

The list below covers the major categories of theophoric names in Biblical and epigraphic Heb.:

(1) Relationship names: these express the relationship with the deity through terms of: (a) kinship:⁴⁴ *'Abī'ēl*, *'Abīyāh(ū)*, *'byhw*, *Yhw'b*, all meaning “DN is (my) father”, *'Āhīyāh(ū)*, *'hyhw*, *Yhw'h* “DN is (my) brother” (Rechenmacher 2012: 112; Fowler 1988: 334, sub *'ab* and 337 sub *'h*), (b) friendship: *Dōdāyāhw*, *Ddyhw*, *Rə'u'ēl* “DN is a friend” (Rechenmacher 2012: 113), and (c) patronage and status, such as *'Ebedmalik*, *'Ōbēdyāh(ū)* “Servant of DN”, *Nə'aryāh* “Youth/Soldier of DN”, *'šyh(w)* “Man of DN”, etc. (Rechenmacher 2012: 163).

(2) Divine titles: *'dny(h)w* “DN is lord”, *'bb'l* “The (divine) father is lord”, *'Ēlimalik*, *Mlky(h)w*, *'dnmlk* “DN is a king” (Fowler 1988: 179; Rechenmacher 2012: 111).

(3) Greatness, strength, and transcendence: *'bryhw*, *'brb'l*, *Gbryhw*, *Ygdlyhw*, *Ḥzqyhw*, all meaning “DN is strong”, *Yknyhw*, *Kənanāyāh(ū)* “DN is firm”, *Rbyhw* “DN is great”, *Ndbyhw* “DN is noble”, *Y(əh)ōrām*, *'abrām*, *'lrm*, *Malkirām* “DN is exalted”, *'lsgb* “DN is (inaccessibly) high”, *Yōtām* “DN is perfect”, *Gdlyhw* “DN is great”, etc. (Fowler 1988: 179; Rechenmacher 2012: 125ff).

(4) Protection: *Mgdlyhw* “DN is (my) tower”, *Ḥmy'hl*, *'whl* “DN is (my) tent”, *Mḥsyh* “DN is (my) refuge, shelter”, *Mbthyhw* “DN is (my) confidence”, *Nbtyhw* “DN is my path”, *B'dyhw* “DN is on behalf of me” (lit. behind), *Bəsōdyāh* “In DN’s secret”, *Bəšal'ēl* “In the shade (protection) of DN”, *Bdy(h)w* “In the hand of DN”, *'Immānū'ēl* “DN is with us” (Rechenmacher 2012: 114; Fowler 1988: 176).

(5) Involvement of the deity in events of birth: *Bənāyāh*, *Ybnh*, *Bərā'yāh*, all meaning “DN has created”, *Pətaḥyāh* “DN has opened” (i.e., the womb), *Nətan'ēl/melek/yāh(ū)* “DN has given”, *Y(əh)ōās* “DN has given”, *'Ēlyāsāp* “DN has added” (i.e., a child), etc. (Rechenmacher 2012: 134ff; Fowler 1988: 92ff, 176).

(6) Compensation names: *Šelemyāh(ū)*, *Šlmyh* “DN has compensated” (Rechenmacher 2012: 141), *Yəqamyāh*, *Ywqm* “DN has raised” (i.e., a deceased family member), *'lyšb* “DN has restored” (Rechenmacher 2012: 160).

⁴⁴ Kinship terms, i.e., *'b*, *'h*, and, less, *'m*, are quite frequent as both appellatives and theophoric elements (e.g., groups 5 and 7 below). For Noth (IPN 73-75), their use as theophoric elements indicates tribal deities. The religion of the tribe was originally monolatrous; the members considered themselves related by blood to the one anonymous god they worshipped. An alternative and more convincing hypothesis is that such terms reflect an ancestor cult which was concerned primarily with patrilineal ancestors (van der Toorn 1996).

(7) Salvation, help, and support: *'Abī/Aḥī/Ēlī-‘ezer* “DN is (my) help/support”, *'ḥzyhw*, *Yhw'ḥz* “DN has sized/taken”, *Səmakyāhū*, *l(y)smk* “DN has supported”, *Yəqūti'ēl* “DN has nourished” (Fowler 1988: 117; Rechenmacher 2012: 144, 166).

(8) Deity approaches man: *'Ēlī'ātah* “DN has come”, *'Ādōniqām* “My lord has raised”, *'Ānanyāh* “DN has appeared”, *Šəkanyāh(ū)* “DN has dwelled”, etc. (Fowler 1988: 102ff, 175).

(9) Perception and consideration: *Ya'zānyāhū*, *Yzn'l*, *Yišmā'ē'l*, all meaning “DN has heard”, *Yd'yh* “DN has recognized”, *Yaḥāzi'ēl*, *Yḥzyhw*, *R'yhw* “DN has seen”, *'nyb'l* “DN has answered”, etc. (Rechenmacher 2012: 137ff).

(10) Healing and comfort: *Yō'ōštyāhū*, *Dml'l*, *Rp'yhw*, all meaning “DN has healed”, *Nḥmy(h)w* “DN has comforted” (Rechenmacher 2012: 148).

(11) Affection and compassion: *Ḥnny(h)w*, *'ḥnn*, *Yrḥm'l* “DN has shown mercy”, *'Eldād*, *Dōdāyāhū* “DN loved”, *Yḥmlyhw* “DN has spared” (Rechenmacher 2012: 149).

(12) Bless and delight: *Ybrkyhw*, *Brkyhw* “DN has blessed”, *Hll'l* “DN has brightened”, *Yaḥdi'ēl* “DN has rejoiced” (Rechenmacher 2012: 150-51).

(13) Judgment and justice: *Gmlyhw* “DN has requited”, *Ydnyhw*, *'Ēlišāpaṭ*, *'Lyrb*, all meaning “DN has judged/provided right”, *Y(əh)ōšādāq* “DN has proved to be just”, *Nqm'l* “DN has revenged” (Rechenmacher 2012: 146).

Regarding profane names, they belong to the following categories:

(1) Circumstantial names (time and place of birth): *Ḥōdeš* (f) “Newness, New moon”, *Ḥaggī*, *Ḥaggīt* (f), and *Ḥaggay* are based on *ḥāg* “feast”, i.e., “Born on the feast-day”, *'Armoni* “Born in the palace”, *Šbty* “Born on Saturday” (IPN 222; PHIAP 386). A name such as *'Āmāl* “Labor” (PHIAP 97) could belong here (i.e., the bearer was born during work).

(2) Names indicating the status of the child in the family: *Bəkōrat* and *Bəkōr* “First-born”, *Ytwm* and *Ytwmh* (f) “Orphan” (IPN 231).

(3) Mental features (mostly wish names): *'Amnōn* “Faithful”, *'Āšēl* “Noble”, *Ḥakmōnī* “Wise”, *Ḥānōk* “Trained, skilled”, *Lōḥēš* “Whisperer”, *'Āmōq* “Clever, Wise”, *Zakkay*, *Sallay* “Pure, Innocent” (PHIAP 383ff; Rechenmacher 2012: 176).

(4) Physical features: these could be nicknames, descriptive names, or wish names, e.g. *'Ātēr* “Left-handed”, *Ḥēleb* “Fat”, *Mərārī* “Strong”, *Šū'ār* “Small”, *'Ēnān* “Having big eyes”, *Pāsē^aḥ* “Lame, Limper”, *Qārē^aḥ* “Bald” (PHIAP 383-4; Rechenmacher 2012: 176).

(5) Affection names: *Dāwīd*, *Yədīdā* (f) “Beloved” (PHIAP 108; IPN 223).

(6) Names denoting occupations and social positions: *'Āgūr* “Hired”, *'Ōbēd* “Worshipper”, *Rwkl* “Grocer”, *Šōbēq* “Winner” (IPN 231).

(7) Object names (either positive metaphors or nicknames): *'Ēpōd* “kind of robe”, *Bšr* “Gold ore”, *'Aksā* (f) “Anklet”, *'Ātārā* (f) “Crown, Wreath”, (Rechenmacher 2012: 173).

(8) Plant names: *'Allōn* “Oak”, *Tāmār* (f) “Palm”, *Zētān* “Olive tree”, *Hādassā* (f) “Myrtle”, *Šāmīr* “Thorn”, etc. (IPN 230; Rechenmacher 2012: 171-72).

(9) Names of locality/social groups: *Yehūdī*, *Yehūdīt* (f) “Judaic”, *Mšry* “Egyptian”, *Nby* “Nubian”, *Qdry* “Qedarite”, and so on (Rechenmacher 2012: 179).

(10) Animal names (see ↓4.2).

2.2.2.4 Names within the family and society

2.2.2.4.1 Papponymy

Naming after a paternal family member was unknown in in the pre-exilic period, for no single king of Judah or high priest in the First Temple of Jerusalem is called by the name of an ancestor (IPN 55-56; Goitein 1978: 7). The situation is different, however, among the Jewish community of Elephantine in Egypt, where one finds twenty-three instances of people bearing the same names as their grandfathers, such as Zaccur b. Meshullam b. Zaccur; Ahio b. Pelatiah b. Ahio; Hosea b. Ḥarman b. Hosea; and Hazzul b. Haggai b. Hazzul. The name Jedaniah, the establisher or the head of the family, appears once among the sons and twice among the grandsons. There are also two brothers, Mibtahia and Jedaniah, who gave their children the name of their father, that is, Mahseiah (Porten 1968: 235-36). Foreign influence seems to have played an important role in the popularity of this practice, not only among Jewish people but also among the other ancient Middle Eastern societies. The successors of Alexander the Great, the Seleucids in Syria and Palestine and the Ptolemaens of Egypt named their sons after themselves or their fathers, and later the Roman conquerors were observed to do the same. Thus, the high priests of Jerusalem, and later the Hasmonaean kings and high priests followed them (Goitein 1978: 8).

2.2.2.4.2 Double names, alternative names

There are no more than c. 12 aliases in the OT with double names. In most cases both names are Heb.: *Ya'āqōb/Yiśrā'ēl* (with homiletic explanations), *Šidqiyāh(ū)/Mattanyāh*, *Šālōmōh/Yədīdīyāh*, *Binyāmīn/Ben-'Ōnī*, and *Yərubba'al/Gid'ōn* (PHIAP 12-13). It seems probable that these are quite similar to the above-mentioned Akk.-Akk. double names (↑2.1.5.3), i.e., they were adopted by the bearers themselves, given by other family mem-

bers at birth, or emerged as nicknames after specific events. On the other hand, several exilic and post-exilic Jews bore double names due to political reasons: *Ḥādassāh* was named *’Estēr* (either Iranian or from Ištar) probably when she joined the royal ‘harem’. The hostages *Dāniyyēl*, *’Āzaryāh*, *Ḥānanyā*, and *Mišā’ēl* were named *Bēltāša’šsar* (Akk.), *’Ābēd-Nəgō* (Aram.), *Šadrak*, and *Mēšak* (both are Iranian) respectively by their courtiers (PHIAP 13). These examples are somehow similar to status-related names in Akk. (↑2.1.5.2) and Amor. (↑2.2.1.4.3).

2.2.3 Epigraphic Northwest Semitic

As indicated above (1.4.1.2), the label ‘Epigraphic Northwest Semitic’ is used here for Ug., Pho., and Aram., which represent the three sub-branches into which NWS is commonly divided (Pho. being the best-attested representative of Can. after Heb.).

2.2.3.1 Name patterns

Theophoric names in epigraphic NWS denote concepts which are similar to what we have examined in Amor. and Heb. (↑2.2.1.3, 2.2.2.3). Given the huge amount of data, I will briefly focus on patterns which are common to the three languages:

(1) Relationship names: these can be divided into two major groups: (a) kinship terms, like Ug./Pho. *Bn-DN* “Son of DN” (PTU 34; PNPPI 227, 287-8) and its Aram. parallel *Br-DN* (Maraqten 1988: 143; Beyer 1998: 156; PNPI 78-9), Pho./Palm. *Bt-DN* (f) “Daughter of DN” (PNPPI 293; PNPI 80), (b) status names, e.g., common WS *’bd-DN* “Slave of DN” (PTU 104ff; PNPPI 369ff; Maraqten 1988 191ff; Beyer 1998: 163ff; PNPI 101-02) and its fem. parallel *’mt/’mš-DN* (f) “Maid of DN” in Pho. and Palm. (PNPPI 270; PNPI 70); names of “Man of DN” type: Ug. *Mt-DN*, Pho. *’yš-DN*, and Palm. *’mr-DN* (PTU 162; PNPPI 277; PNPI 69); and Pho. *Gr-DN* “Client of DN” (PNPPI 228).

(2) Greatness, strength, and transcendence: these are mostly nominal phrases formed with roots such as \sqrt{rwm} “to be high”: Ug. *Abrm*, *Ilrm*, *B’lrm* (PTU 182),⁴⁵ Pho. *Rmb’l*, *’ḥrm*, *B’lrm* (PNPPI 408), OArām. *’dnlrm* (Maraqten 1988: 116), and Palm. *Šmšrm’* (PNPI 115); $\sqrt{’ly}$ “to be high, lofty”: Ug. *Ba-’a-la-lu*, *Ad’l* (PTU 108), OArām. *’ḥ’ly*, *Dd’ly*, *’bd’b’ly* (Maraqten 1988: 227), and Palm. *’lybwl*, *’lyb’l*, etc. (PNPI 106); \sqrt{kbd} “to be honored”: Ug. *Kabid-Nana* (PTU 148) and Pho. *Kbdmlqrt*, *Kbd’štrt* (PNPPI 330); $\sqrt{’zz}$ “to be strong” (PTU 112; PNPPI 374; Maraqten 1988: 227); and OArām. names with *gbr* “strong, hero”: *Gbrd*, *Qwsgbr*, *Š’gbr* “DN is strong” (Maraqten 1988: 224).

⁴⁵ Ug. names are cited either in normalized or in consonantal script, depending on the script of the text in which they appear.

(3) Protection: verbal phrases with \sqrt{qb} “to protect”: Ug. *Yaqub-Ba'al* (PTU 111) and Aram. \sqrt{qb} -DN/DN- \sqrt{qb} (Maraqten 1988: 228; Beyer 1998: 154-5; PNPI 108); Aram. nominal phrases with *str* “protection”: *lstr* “DN is (my) protection”, and so on (Maraqten 1988: 277); nominal phrases with metaphors, such as Pho. \sqrt{hl} “tent, protection”: \sqrt{hl} -*mlk* “DN is (my) tent” (PNPPI 262) and Oaram./Palm. *šwr* “wall, stronghold”: $\sqrt{dšry}$, *Nbwšry*, *Blšwr* “DN is my stronghold” (Maraqten 1988; PNPI 77); prepositional phrases, e.g., common NWS *Bd-DN* (<*bi-yad-DN*) “In the hand (i.e., protection) of DN”: Pho. *Bdb'l/mlk/mlqrt* (PNPPI 227) and Oaram. *Bdmk* (Maraqten 1988: 136).

(4) Involvement of the deity in events of birth: these contain verbal phrases, e.g., \sqrt{bny} “to create”: Ug. *Yabn(i)-DN* (PTU 119), Pho. *Bn'*, *Bnh* (hypocoristica) (PNPPI 288), and Oaram. *'dbnh* (Maraqten 1988: 114); $\sqrt{ntn/ytn}$ “to give”: Ug. *B'lytn*, *Mlkytn* (PTU 147), Pho. *Ytnbl/b'l/mlk*, *Ntnb'l* (PNPPI 326, 364), and Oaram. *'Bntn*, *'dntn*, *B'lntn*, etc. (Maraqten 1988: 227); Palm. *Psy'l* “DN has opened” (the womb?) (PNPI 109); Oaram./Palm. names with \sqrt{yhb} and \sqrt{zbd} , both meaning “to bestow, grant”: \sqrt{yhb} , $\sqrt{dgšyrzbd}$, *Blyhb* “DN has bestowed”, *Zbd-DN* “Gift of DN” (Maraqten 1988: 127, 225; PNPI 74, 76). To this category one can add verbal phrases which probably refer to the involvement of the deity in naming the newborn child, e.g., Ug. *Nb'm* “DN has named/called” (PTU 164) and its Aram. counterpart *B'lrqm* (Maraqten 1988: 141).

(5) Compensation names: this category contains different types of theophoric and nontheophoric names, e.g., Ug. complaint names with *ayy* “where”: *Ayab*, *Ayah* “Where is the father/brother?” (PTU 93), Pho. *Šlmb'l* “DN has recompensed” (PNPPI 211, 417), and Aram. genitive compounds which probably refer to a recently deceased family member: Oaram. $\sqrt{h'by}$ “My father’s brother”, $\sqrt{hwm[y]}$ “My mother’s brother” (Maraqten 1988: 118-9), and Palm. *'mbt* (f) “The mother is the daughter” (PNPI 69).

(6) Healing and comfort: Ug. *Ammu-rapi'*, *Abrpu*, *Ilrpu* “DN is healer” (PTU 180), Oaram. *Yrp'l* “May DN heal” (Maraqten 1988: 173, 228), and Palm. *Rp'l*, *Rpbwl*, *Rpnw* < *Rp'nbw*, all meaning “DN has healed” (PNPI 112).

(7) Salvation, help, and support: names with $\sqrt{dr/zr}$ “to help”: Ug. *Azir-DN* “DN is the one who helps”, *Y'drd* “May DN help” or “DN helps” (PTU 113), Pho. \sqrt{zrbl} , \sqrt{zrmlk} , $\sqrt{šmn'zr}$ “DN has helped” (PNPPI 375-6), and Oaram. $\sqrt{l'zr}$, $\sqrt{B'l'zr}$ “DN has helped” (Maraqten 1988: 227); $\sqrt{smk/tmk}$ “to support”: Pho. *Mrsmk*, *Tmk'l* “DN has supported” (PNPPI 366, 429) and Oaram. \sqrt{lsmk} , \sqrt{trsmk} “DN is my support” (Maraqten 1988: 227); Pho. *Hlš-DN* “DN has delivered” and *DN-šlk* “DN has nourished” (PNPPI 212, 311, 416).

(8) Reception and consideration: these are mostly verbal phrases with roots such as $\sqrt{\text{šm}}$ “to hear, answer”: Ug. *Ili-ištami*’, *Šm’y*, *Yšm*’ (both are hypocoristic) (PTU 194), Pho. *Šm’b’l/mlk* “DN has heard” (PNPPI 421), and OArām. *Šm’y* < *Šm*’-DN (Maraqten 1988: 220); $\sqrt{\text{yd}}$ “to know, recognize”: Ug., *B’ld*’, *Yd*’ < *Yd*’-DN (PTU 142), Pho. *Yd’mlk* (PNPPI 321-2), OArām. *Byt’lyd*’, *Yd’l* (Maraqten 1988: 225), and Palm. *Bwlyd*’ (PNPI 75); $\sqrt{\text{zkr/skr/dkr}}$ “to remember”: Pho. *B’lskr/Skrb’l* (PNPPI 211) and OArām. *Zkr’l*, *Zkry*, *’bdkr*, *Qwsdkr* (Maraqten 1988: 224, 225).

(9) Affection, goodness, and compassion: verbal phrases with $\sqrt{\text{hnn}}$ “to be gracious, to show favour”: Ug. *Hnnil*, *Hnīl*, *Yhnn* (PTU 136), Pho. *Hnnb’l*, *Hnb’l*, *B’lyhn* (PNPPI 313-4), OArām. *Hnn’l*, *Hnny*, *Yhwħn*, *Qwshnn* (Maraqten 1988: 225), and Palm. *Hn*-DN (m+f) (PNPI 89); Ug. names with $\sqrt{\text{ydd}}$ “to love”: *Yadudānu* (either *yaqtul* or *qatul* form) and *Mddb’l* “Beloved of DN” (PTU 143); Arām. names with $\sqrt{\text{rħm}}$ “to love”: *’srħm* “Assur is gracious”, *Rħmy’l* “Beloved of DN” and $\sqrt{\text{twb}}$: *Tbšlm/Tbyh* “DN is good” (Maraqten 1988: 168, 225, 228).

(10) Rulership, judgment, and justice: Pho. *B’lšpt* “DN has judged”, *B’lyšpt* “DN judges”, *B’lmlk* “DN has reigned”, and *Špnyšdq* “DN vindicates” (PNPPI 210, 215); Ug. *Ba’al-dānu* “DN is judge”, *’lšdq*, *B’lšdq* “DN is just” (PTU 123, 187), OArām. *Šdqrmn* “DN has proved to be just” or “DN is just” (Maraqten 1988: 205), and Palm. *Zdql* “El is just” (PNPI 86).

Profane names, on the other hand, express concepts which are common to all Sem. languages:

(1) Circumstantial names (time or place of birth): Ug. *Gny*, *Ĥiyaranu*, *Nqly* (all denoting months), *Hdt*, *Ĥudšanu* “New moon” (PTU 30); Pho. *Bn hđšt* “Son of New moon”, *Ĥgy* “Born on the feast-day”, *Y’r* “(Born in ?) a Forest” (PNPPI 240; Segert 1995a: 869a); OArām. *Knny* “Born in the month Kanūn” (Maraqten 1988: 175); Palm. *Nhr*’ (f) “Day” (?) and *’yt*’ “Rain” (PNPI 99, 105).

(2) Occupations and social positions: Ug. *Ibiranu* “Horse-man”, *Bri* “Sculptor”, *Ĥrr*, *Ĥry* (f) “Free” (?) (PTU 28; Segert 1995: 865a); Pho. *Glb* “Barber”, *Ĥrtmn* “Engraver”, *’mtmlkt* (f) “Maid of the queen” (PNPPI 240; Segert 1995a: 869a); Palm. *’krn* “Ploughman”, *Dywn/Dyn*’ “Judge”, *Zgwg* “Glazier”, and *Kmr*’ “Priest” (PNPI 67, 83, 86, 92).

(3) Plant names: Ug. *Arz* “Cedar”, *Imbunu* “Fruit”, *‘dš/ṭs* “Lintel”, *Gupanu*, *Gpn* “Wine” (PTU 29-30);⁴⁶ Palm. *Myšn/Myš’(f)* “Kind of tree”, *Pg’* “Fig”, *Qys’* “Tree, Wood”, *Šg’* “Teak (tree)”, *Šṭ’* “Acacia tree” (PNPI 94, 108, 110, 111, 113, 114).

(4) Physical and mental features: Ug. *Dqn* “Beard, Old”, *Gbry/Gbrn* “Strong”, *Kbr* “Big”, *Qrh* “Bold”, *Qtn* “Small”, *Uz-zi-nu*, *Uzn* “Strong”, *Ia-ši-nu*, *Yšn* “Sleepy” (PTU 29; Segert 1995: 846b); Pho. *Brqn* “With shining eyes, Lightning” (which could also refer to the circumstance of birth, ↑group 1),⁴⁷ *Gd’t* “Cut, Mutilated”, *Qtn* “Small”, *Bb’*, *Bby* (onomatopoeic?) “Baby”, *N’mt* “Pleasant(ness)”, *Btn’mt* (f) “Daughter of pleasantness” (PNPPI 240; Segert 1995a: 869a); OAram. *Brq* “With shining eyes, Lightning”, *Gdl* “Big”, *Hkm* “Wise” (Maraqten 1988: 146, 148, 164); Palm. *’mwn* “Faithfull”, *Yrq* “Pale, Yellow”, *Nšwm* “Breather”, *Š’rwn’* “Hairy” (PNPI 69, 91, 100, 115).

(5) Affective names: OAram. *Mwdd* “Beloved”, (Maraqten 1988: 177); Palm. *Bbt* (f) “Pupil (of the eye)”, *Hbyb’* “Beloved”, *N’m’yn* “Delight of the eye” (PNPI 74, 87, 100).

(6) Names indicating the status of the child in the family: Pho. *T’m* “Twin” (PNPPI 240); Palm. *Ytm’* “Orphan”, *Šr’* “The tenth” (PNPI 92, 107).

(7) Names denoting objects: Pho. *Pnsmlt* “Face of statue” (Segert 1995a: 869a); Palm. *Ksp’* (f) “Silver” and *Šyšt’* (f) “Vase” (PNPI 92, 114).

(8) Names of locality and social groups: Ug. *Birtn* “of Beirut”, *ky* “of Akko”, *Bn arwdn* “of Arwad” (Segert 1995: 865a); Pho. *’rmy* “Aramean”, *Lby* “Libyan”, etc. (PNPPI 238); OAram. *Mšry* “Egyptian” (Maraqten 1988: 181).

(9) Animal names (see ↓4.3).

2.2.3.2 Names within the family and society

2.2.3.2.1 Naming after a family member

It is quite difficult to trace this practice in the Ug., Pho., or OAram. onomasticon due to the absence of more extensive genealogical information in surviving epigraphic documents. People are usually mentioned as *PN* plus the title, nisba or as *bn PN* “son of *PN*”. The situation is different, however, in the Palm. onomasticon, where the reconstructed family trees (Piersimoni 1995) show that people were named after their brothers, fathers, grandfathers, or great grandfathers.⁴⁸ For example, the same name could appear among

⁴⁶ For more examples of plant names in Ug., see Watson (2004).

⁴⁷ Segert (1995a: 869a) suggests “(of) Thunder”.

⁴⁸ The same holds for Dura, e.g., PV 536 with both a male and a female instance (Gzella 2015a: 461b.).

three or four generations, like *Yrhy* b. *Yrhy* b. *Yrhy* (Piersimoni 1995, No. 61, the Ya'atai family); *Yedi'bel* occurs five times in the Barakai family (No. 34). Six members of the Firmōn family (No. 11) bore the name *Hdwdn*, one of them was called after his father. Six members of the Aušai family (No. 16) carried the name *Aušai*, two of them being brothers. The three sons of Blšwry carried the same name, i.e., *Šby*, which clearly indicates the death of the first-born and the taking on the name by the second, etc. (No. 13, the Ba'a family). The occurrence of two brothers with the same name, however, does not necessarily imply the death of the elder one. According to the genealogy of the Barnabū family (No. 157), *Br'th* was named so when his elder namesake (a priest) was alive. In the same family, we have *Brnbw* s. *Brnbw* s. *Brnbw*, which suggests that the family was devoted to the cult of Nabū and 'Ateh. In addition to papponymy, one finds some examples of 'mammonymy' (i.e., the naming of a girl after a female ancestor).⁴⁹ For instance, the name *Šgl'* is carried by six females of the Elahbel family (two of them being sisters), and 'mt' is attested for a mother and her daughter (No. 63, the Elahbel family). *Tdmr* (i.e., Palmyra) is borne by three females: a grandmother, her daughter, and her granddaughter (No. 75, the Zabdībōl family). A certain *Šlmt* bore the same name as her grandmother (No. 35, the Bar'ā family), while *B'tg* carried that of her father's sister (No. 53, the 'Ašūli family). Interestingly, one finds some examples where a daughter is named after her father, e.g., *Ḥlpw* (f) (with the 'Arabian' ending -ū) bt. *Ḥlp'* (with the Aram. ending -ā), meaning "Successor" (No. 222, The Taibbōl family) or two siblings with the same name of their mother: *Pšy'l* "DN has opened" (the womb) and *Pš'* (f) b. *Pš'* (f) (the latter form is the hypocoristic of the former) (No. 128, the Wahballāt family). Lastly, there is one probable instance of 'harmonic/rhyming' names, that is, the three sisters *Šly*, *Nby*, and *Ḥby* (all having the same hypocoristic ending -y) (No. 114, the Malkū family).

2.2.3.2.2 Alternative names

Aliases and double names (Greek-Latin-Sem. and Sem-Sem.) are well-attested in the Palm. onomasticon. Greek-Latin names were used in the parallel versions of bilingual inscriptions in different methods. In theophoric names, Sem. deities are equated with their Greek counterparts, like Allāt with Athena in *Wahballāt* "Gift of Allāt"/*Athenodoros* and Šamaš with Helios in *Lišamš* "Belonging to Šamš"/*Heliodoros*. Palmyrans also translated individual elements (e.g., ἀντί for ḥlp-) or chose names due to consonance, like *Zenobius* for *Zabdila*, *Zenobia* for *Batzabbay*, and *Herod* for *Ḥayran*. In other cases, however, no connection is seen: *Male* alias *Agrippa* and *Yadi* alias *Alexander* (Gzella 2005: 453). As for Sem-Sem.

⁴⁹ On this custom in Akk. and Amor., see ↑2.1.4.2, 2.2.1.4.1.

aliases and double names, they are also quite common, e.g., *Tymy/Hkyšw* [Ar-Ar] (No. 3, the Ḥakaišū family), *Gdršw/Brbʿ* [Aram-Aram] (No. 13, the Baʿa family), *Nšʿ/Brʿbdbl* [Aram-Aram] (No. 15, the ʿAbdibel family), *Tntn/Bršʿt* [Aram-Aram/Ar] (No. 17, the Šaʿat family), *Mlkw/ʿrʿš* [Ar-Ar] (No. 47, the Arʿaš family), and *ʿqb/Hwr* [Aram-Aram/Ar.] (No. 189, the Māle family).

2.3 Arabic

In this section, I will concisely deal with name-giving in the classical, modern, and contemporary onomasticon according to the following order: (1) concept and power of the name, (2) naming method and names patterns, (3) names within the family, and (4) names in society.

2.3.1 Concept and power of the name

Our information on this subject comes primarily from Islamic sources. The same Biblical theme concerning Adam’s role in naming things is found in the Qur’an:

And He (Allah) taught Adam the names - all of them. Then He showed them to the angels and said, “Inform Me of the names of these, if you are truthful (2: 31).

By naming things, thus, Adam becomes higher in status and more knowledgeable than the angels:

He said, “O Adam, inform them (the angels) of their names.” And when he had informed them of their names, He said, “Did I not tell you that I know the unseen [aspects] of the heavens and the earth? And I know what you reveal and what you have concealed” (2: 33).

Moreover, the greater and more honorable the deity/the person/the thing is, the more names he/it has. For example, Allah’s names, known as *al-asmāʿ al-ḥusnā* “The Best Names” (Qur’an 7: 180), are thought to be 99 or more (e.g., Al-Bayhaqī 1993).⁵⁰ The Prophet’s names and attributers are debated; they are five (Al-Dawlābī 1999 1: 7-8), ca. thirty (Al-Qāḍī ʿIyād 2013: 288-304), thirty-five (Hareeri 2009: 70-72), or fifty-five (Muzaffereddin n.d.: 28-32). The same multiplicity of names applies to animals and other things. Classical Ar. grammarians count ca. 600 names for the lion (most of them are originally epithets), 700 for the horse, 500 for the sword, and so forth, in what appears to be a semiotically set descending order (Stetkevych 1986: 100).

⁵⁰ Cf. their English translation in Muzaffereddin (n.d.: 1-8).

In the Ar. tradition, a name is considered significant in representing the personality of its bearer or in determining his/her fate. According to dream interpretative methods, if a dreamer sees themselves called by a name having a bad meaning (e.g., disability or deprecation), they would become ill or disgraced. If the name changes into one denoting rightness and good, like *Murra* “Myrrh” to *Sa‘id* “Lucky” and *Ġa‘far* “Small river” to *Sālih* “Good”, it means a change towards a better situation (Ibn Qutayba 2001: 108). This understanding is related to the concept of name as *fa‘l* “omen” in the Prophetic tradition. *Zaġr* “augury”⁵¹ was interdicted by Islam as a practice of the *Ġāhiliyya* (lit. “Age of ignorance”) and the *fa‘l* “omen”, either good or bad, becomes the leading principle in the choice of names (Kister 1975: 11).⁵²

As in Akk., naming in Ar. reflects the social stratum of the bearer. The honorific titles of the caliphs and military leaders, for example, are unique in that they are charged with a remarkable power expressed in their religious and political content (↓2.3.4.2.1). Names of slaves, on the other hand, are somehow different from names of free individuals (↓2.3.4.1).

The power of the name is reflected through its association with the evil eye and envy in classical and modern practices. In order to avoid such a danger, people tended to choose either a powerful name that can protect the baby or a derogatory one (i.e., apotropaic) which does not attract any attention (↓2.3.2.4.1). In modern Ar. culture, e.g., rural population in Egypt and Morocco, the first name, particularly the mother’s, is used in black magic. A mother’s name, thus, is like Achilles’ heel, a vulnerable spot, and over time it has also become something both shameful and scaring (Bassiouny 2009:148). Although there is no study that evaluates the implications of women’s names, their association with taboo and black magic seems to belong to a cross-cultural belief.⁵³

⁵¹ On augury and name-giving, see ↓2.3.2.1, 5.4.2.

⁵² On the Prophetic instructions on name-giving, see ↓2.3.2.2.

⁵³ According to Frazer (1911: 318), ‘primitive’ peoples believe that “the link between a name and the person or thing denominated by it is not a mere arbitrary and ideal association, but a real and substantial bond which unites the two in such a way that magic may be wrought on a man just as easily through his name as through his hair, his nails, or any other material part of his person”. Due to the fear of sorcerers and such, people kept their names secret and used alternative names. Since witchcraft can be practiced through writing, several societies believed that if one writes a man’s name down, one can carry off his soul along with it (Frazer 1911: 319). It is not only a fear from writing or sorcerers, but also from the world of the dead. Malagasy people, for example, avoid identifying their interlocutors or referring to them by their personal names, for someone in the world of the living or dead may overhear the utterance and take note of the individual referenced (Keenan 1976: 72).

2.3.2 Naming methods and name patterns

2.3.2.1 Pre-Islamic times

Our information on naming methods came basically from Ibn Durayd's work (Iṣṭiqāq), in which he treats the etymology of all the names known to him. Understandably, since the book is organized according to a genealogical order, it only deals with male names. The foundation of Ibn Durayd's theory (maybe a common one at that time) regarding this topic is inspired by the explanation of a certain al-'Utbi:

Al-'Utbi was asked why Arabs chose unpleasant names for their children and pretty names for their slaves. And he answered: because their children's names are for their enemies, and their slaves' names are for themselves (Iṣṭiqāq 4).⁵⁴

Remarkably, this saying is literally echoed in the explanation of the sheikh of 'Neza tribe in the early 20th c. "The names of our slaves are for us; our names are for our enemies" (Hess 1912: 7). This implies that such a practice had been followed by the Bedouins of Arabia and elsewhere for a long time.

Elaborating his argument, Ibn Durayd mentions four criteria that Arabs in the pre-Islamic period used to follow in choosing their children's names:

1) to terrify their foes/enemies by giving them names related to triumph, strength, and braveness, such as *Ġālib* and *Ġallāb* "Victor", *Zālim* "Unjust",⁵⁵ *Munāzil* and *Muqātil* "Warrior, Fighter", *Tābit* "Stable, Brave", or names of carnivorous animals, like *Asad*, *Layṭ*, and *Dirgām*, all denoting "Lion", *Di'b*, *Sid*, and *'Amallas*, meaning "Wolf".

2) to express their optimism toward the children through names which refer to prosperity, security, and good characteristics: *Nā'il* "Acquirer", *Nāḡi* "Survivor", *Sālim* "Well-being", *Sa'id* "Lucky", and so on.

3) to show the hardness and the ability to fend off attack by involving the sense of roughness of land or trees, e.g., *Ṭalḥa*, *Qatāda*, and *Samura*, all indicating "thorny trees", *Ḥaḡar* "Stone", *Ṣaḡr* "Rocks", etc.

4) the new-born child is named after the first thing the father encounters after leaving the tent while his wife is in labor. If he sees a fox, the child will be called *Ta'lab* or *Ta'laba*.

⁵⁴ The same explanation is attributed to Ibn Al-Kalbi (Al-Ta'ālibi 2000: 408-409). Dealing with it, however, we should keep in mind that it is based on a kind of generalization. A well-known slave from the time of the Prophet, for example, bore an unpleasant name, i.e., *Waḥṣi* "Wild beast" (§138).

⁵⁵ Alternatively, this name may evoke the opposite (i.e., a painful delivery) or have a reference to the father or another person as 'unjust'.

The same holds true for *Kalb* “Dog”, *Ḥuzar* “Hare”, *Ḥimār* “Donkey”, *Ḥinzīr* “Pig”, *Ġaḥṣ* “Little ass, Foal.” Arabs also used to call the baby after the first *sāniḥ* or *bāriḥ* bird (i.e., augury birds), such as *Ġurāb* “Raven” or *Ṣurad* “Shrike” (Iṣṭiqāq 5-6). Supporting this criterion, Ibn Durayd cites traditional ‘etiological’ reports about two famous Arab eponyms, that is, Wā’il b. Qāsiṭ and Tamīm b. Murr. As for Wā’il, he left the tent the first time his wife was in labor and saw a young camel. When he came back, it was a male baby, so he called him *Bakr*. The second time he saw a little gazelle, so he called his male baby *ʿAnz*. The third time he saw something moving without identifying it, so he called the baby *Šuḥayṣ*. The fourth time it was difficult for him to see anything (*ḡalabahu an yarā šayʿan*), so he called him *Taglib* (Iṣṭiqāq 6-7).⁵⁶

Dreams also played a role in name-giving, as we can infer from a report concerning the well-known early Islamic poet Ġarīr. According to the story, he was called so because his mother, while being pregnant with him, dreamt that she gave birth to a rope made out of black hair, i.e., *ḡarīr*. The rope fell down and started moving and twisting around the necks of several men killing them. The woman woke up scared and asked about the meaning of her dream. She was told that she would give birth to a male who would become a strong and sharp-tongued poet. Thus, she called him after the rope she saw (Al-Ṣafadī 2000 11: 62-63). Despite the etiological aspect of this story, naming after dreams seems to be based on a real practice which is rooted in ancient Near Eastern traditions (↑2.2.1.1). This is also supported by information from our present time (↓2.3.2.4.2).

Regarding name patterns, all theophoric names are in the genitive construct and can be divided into two groups:

(1) Relationship names: these indicate status and affiliation, e.g., *ʿAbd-DN* type and its parallel *Taym-DN*, *Imruʿ-DN* “Man of DN”, *Šayʿ-DN* “Companion of DN”, *Anas-DN* “Affable of DN” (Littmann 1948: 53), and *Sakan-DN*, which could denote “The dweller in DN’s neighborhood/protection” (Littmann 1948: 53) or, more probably, “The sacred boulder of DN” in view of OB *Warad-Sikkanim* “Servant of the sacred boulder” (Stol 1994: 203).

(2) Involvement of the deity in events of birth (thanksgiving names): these are also of *X-of-DN* type and contain elements like *aws* and *wahb*, both meaning “gift”, *zayd* “growth, addition” (i.e., of children),⁵⁷ *saʿd* “luck, fortune”, and *silm* “piece” (Littmann 1948: 52).

⁵⁶ Since this theory is basically related to animal names, we will deal with it more extensively below (5.4.1).

⁵⁷ Cf. the classical Islamic name *Ziyādat Allah* (Ikmāl 4: 195).

Profane names, on the other hand, appear to have been much more common than the theophoric ones, and they are quite similar to their parallels in the ancient Sem. languages in that they contain the following types:

(1) Compensation names: these derive from roots like \sqrt{hlf} “to succeed”: *Ḥalaf*, *Ḥulayf*, *Ḥalifa*, and *Ḥulayfa*; \sqrt{bdl} “to replace”: *Badal* and *Budayl*; $\sqrt{wḏ}$ “to compensate”: *‘Awaḏ*,⁵⁸ $\sqrt{r'b}$ “to repair, rectify”: *Ru’ba* and *Ri’āb* (m + f); and \sqrt{rf} “to darn, mend, heal”: *Yarfa’/ā* (Beiträge 98-100). It is not unlikely that some of these examples are the shortened forms of *X-of-DN* type.

(2) Names of natural phenomena: *Baḥr* “Sea”, *Ġabal* “Mountain”, *Ġa’far* “Small river”, *‘Ukāba* “Dust” (Iṣṭiqāq); names denoting rocks and stones: *Salima* “Stone”, *Ṣaḥr* “Rock”, *Ḥazn* “Rugged ground”, *Fīhr* “Stone”, and *Ḍirwa* “Summit” (Iṣṭiqāq 566). The semiotics of these names is not clear. They might be: (a) nicknames, (b) metaphors for strength, beauty and such, (c) related to magic and cult, or (d) circumstantial names.

(3) Characteristic names: these could be descriptive, like the ones derived from colors, e.g., *Abyaḏ* “White”, *Adham* “Black” (CIK 2 136), *Aḥmar* “Red” (CIK 2 146), *Asmar* “Brunet” (CIK 2 198). Other names probably imply a wish, e.g., from $\sqrt{ḡml}$ “to be beautiful”: *Ġamīl* and *Ġamīla* (f); $\sqrt{‘mr}$ “to live, dwell”: *‘Umar*, *‘Āmīr*, *‘Ammār*, *‘Imrān*; $\sqrt{ḥld}$ “to be immortal”: *Ḥālid*, *Ḥuwaylid*; $\sqrt{s’d}$ “to be happy, lucky”, *Sa’īd*, *Mas’ūd*, *As’ad*, *Suā’d* (f), and so on.⁵⁹

(4) Affective names: the best examples are the ones based on kinship terms, especially in diminutive: *Bunayy* “Little son”, *Bunayya* (f) “Little daughter”, *Ḥufayd* “Little grandson”, *Ubayy* “Little father”, *Amāma* (f) and *Umayma* (f) “Little mother”, *Ġadd* “Grandfather” and its diminutive *Ġudayd* (Beiträge 91-94). Names from $\sqrt{ḥbb}$ “to love” also fit here, e.g., *Ḥabīb*, *Ḥabība* (f), etc.

(5) Names indicating household objects: these could be nicknames or circumstantial names, like *Ġarīr* “Rope”, *al-Niṣḥ* “String”, *Rumma* “Ragged rope”, *Rayṭa* (f) “Sheet”, *Ḥafṣ* “Basket of palm leaves” (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 62ff).

(6) Names denoting body parts (mostly nicknames): *‘Uyayna* “Little eye”, *Unayf* “Little nose”, *Yudayya* (f) “Little hand”, *Ḥuḏayn* “Little lap”, *Uṣaybi’* “Little finger”, etc. (Beiträge 102).

⁵⁸ This name is most likely the shortened form of *‘Awaḏ-DN* in view of the modern Islamic *‘Awaḏallah* and its fem. parallel *‘Awaḏatallah* (Al-Šamsān 2005: 31).

⁵⁹ On the distribution of such names within the family, see ↓2.3.3.1.1.

(7) Plant names: these have been quite common in all periods, e.g., *Mazza*, *Talha* and *Samura* (all indicating sorts of acacia), *Ḥanzala* “Colocynth”, *Murra* and *Murāra* “Myrrh”,⁶⁰ etc. (Iṣṭiqāq 563-65; Ibn Qutayba 1988: 56ff).

(8) Animal names (see chapter 5).

2.3.2.2 Islamic name-giving⁶¹

Whereas the Qur’an keeps silent about name-giving, the Hadith deals thoroughly with it. In his *Tuḥfat al-mawdūd*, the orthodox scholar Ibn Qayyim [d. 751 AH] dedicated a complete section to this issue.⁶² Any name of ‘*Abd-DN*’ type that is not formed with Allah or one of his names/attributes is forbidden, except for ‘*Abd al-Muṭṭalib*’, the name of the Prophet’s grandfather. Of the profane names, (*al-*)*Ḥārīt* and *Hammām* were considered the most desirable ones (or most truthful), while *Ḥarb* “War” and *Murra* “Myrrh” were the worst, since they were ominous. *Ḥarb* was therefore changed to *Silm* “Peace” (Ibn Qayyim n.d. 189). *Barra* (f) “Devoted, Faithful” was changed to *Zaynab*, for people should not vindicate themselves (Ibn Qayyim n.d. 170). It was deemed equally desirable to change the names of persons and tribes in which mention of devils or demons could be found, like *Ḥanzab*, *al-Walhān*, *al-A‘war*, and *al-Ağda‘* (Ibn Qayyim n.d. 171ff). All sorts of rough and ill-omened names were also changed, such as *Ḥazn* “Rugged ground, Hard” to *Sahl* “Plane, Easy ground”, ‘*Āṣiya* (f) “Insurgent, Disobedient” to *Ġamīla* “Beautiful”, and *al-Āṣī* to *Muṭī‘* “Obedient, Loyal”. The same method holds for toponyms: a land called ‘*Afira*’ “Dusty” became *Ḥaḍira* “Green, fertile”; the name of *Yaṭrib* was changed to *Ṭāba* “Good,

⁶⁰ As we can see, all these masc. names end in the *tā’ marbūṭa -a(t)*, which might be either a hypocoristic suffix (↓5.2.2) or the fem. marker of the singular form of the plant mentioned.

⁶¹ The question of ‘Islamic name’ is the subject of Schimmel’s general study (1989), which, despite its importance, lacks a concrete theoretical framework. She treats all sorts of Ar. names (animals, plants, attributes, nicknames, etc.) and non-Ar. names from Turkey, Iran, and so on as Islamic, that is, confusing the ‘Islamic name’ with the names in the ‘Islamic World’. This confusion always happens to scholars who consider Islam a linguistic-cultural identity. Except for the Biblical names found in the Qur’an (i.e., Arabicized), all the Islamic names are Ar. (most of them were simply used before Islam and are found in the AAr. onomasticon) but not vice versa, and many Ar. names are still used by both Muslims and Christians (e.g., Tushyeh *et al.* 1989). I would define the Islamic name as that which implies or agrees with Islamic values, i.e., inspired by Hadith instructions, has a direct reference to the Qur’an (a phrase or a name of a Biblical or ‘Arabian’ prophet), or recalls a well-known figure from the early or classical Islamic time (the Prophet’s relatives, descendants, wives, or companions, Muslim generals and leaders, saints, etc.).

⁶² A less comprehensive approach of Islamic name-giving is available in Al-Nawawī n.d. 1: 11-13.

Suitable” (Ibn Qayyim n.d. 188-92). The Prophet is also reported to have endorsed people to choose his name but not his *kunya*: *Abū al-Qāsim* (Al-Dawlābī 1999 1: 8-13).⁶³

Outside the Prophetic instructions, an important criterion which might have been followed in a time is the naming of the new-born child according to the day of the week:

The sages and philosophers, may God Most High be pleased with all of them, have said: the man who is born on a Sunday should bear the name *Ibrāhim*, *Sulaymān*, *Ayyūb*, *Dāwūd*, *Mūsā*; the woman should bear the name *Ḥalima*, *Ḥabība*, *Zaynab*. The man who is born on a Monday should bear the name *Muḥammad*, *Aḥmad*, *Maḥmūd*, *Qāsim*; the woman should bear the name *Fāṭima*, *Āmina*, *Ḥamīda*. The man who is born on a Tuesday should bear the name *Ismā‘īl*, *Ishāq*, *Ya‘qūb*, *Sam‘ān*; the woman should bear the name *Ḥadiġa*, *‘Aziza*, *‘Afifa*. The man who is born on a Wednesday should bear the name *‘Alī*, *Ḥasan*, *Ḥusayn*, *Ṣāliḥ*; the woman should bear the name *Kulṭūm*, *Ḥabība*. The man born on a Thursday should bear the name *‘Abd Allāh*, *‘Abd al-Raḥmān*, *‘Abd al-Waḥhāb*, *Abū Bakr*, *‘Umar*; the woman should bear the name *Kulṭūm*, *Ḥabība*. The man who is born on a Friday should bear the name *Adam*, *Yūnus*, *Yūsuf*; the woman should bear the name *Ḥawwā’*, *Hāġar*. The man who is born on a Saturday should bear the name *‘Abd al-Qādir*, *‘Abd al-Karīm*, *‘Abd al-Raḥīm*, *‘Abd al-Razzāq*; the woman should bear the name *Maryam*, *Ṣarīfa*, *Laṭīfa*. Concludes (Leeds MS 344 in Ebied and Young 1977: 327).

Clearly, the text keeps silent concerning the reasons for associating these names with the days of the week, and it is likely that even the copyist/editor of the text was not aware of this point, as he adheres in the opening words to the sages and philosophers (whose opinions are, of course, trustworthy). Yet we can find clues that help us to link some names to certain days. The association of Monday with the Prophet’s names is mostly due to the classical reports that he was born on the same day. We can draw the same analogy on Adam, who, according to a Hadith, was created by God on Friday. As for Wednesday, the day of ‘Alī and his sons, we can approach its symbolism through the Shiite tradition. The last Wednesday of the pilgrimage month is considered a day of misfortune and people are not recommended to travel on it (Al-‘Āmilī 1414 AH, vol. 11: 354-55). The fatality of this day might be related to the popular belief that al-Ḥusayn, the son of ‘Alī, was murdered on Wednesday. Thus, this association may echo a Shiite belief that these names can bring luck to a baby born on such a day of misfortune.

⁶³ This Hadith has not been followed as the *kunya* *Abū al-Qāsim* is widely attested in narrative sources (Al-Dawlābī 1999 2: 162-65) and papyri from 5th-6th c. AH (Khoury 1993: 246). As far as I know, it is normal in Iraq and the eastern parts of Syria to call every Muḥammad *Abu Ġāsīm* < *Qāsim*.

2.3.2.3 Bedouin name-giving

Bedouins display two notable differences vis-à-vis the naming patterns of sedentaries in the region:

- (a) a typically non-Islamic name inventory, and
- (b) a tribal ideological slant behind their name-giving practices drawing its inspiration from agnatic society and popular religion (Borg and Kressel 2001: 33).

The most common naming methods/types among Bedouins are the following:

(1) Circumstantial names: these are related to:

(a) Place of birth: a Rwala woman who gave birth to a boy when camping near the castle of *Ḥafāḡi* named him after that place (Musil 1928: 244). Similar names are *Wādī* “Valley”, *Brayda* (f) “a town in Saudi Arabia”, *B‘ayḡān* “Born at the well of Ba‘āḡ” and so on (Littmann 1949: 17; Hess 1912: 6ff).

(b) Time of birth: *Rmayḏīn* “Born in the month of Ramaḏān”, *Štīwī* “Born in winter”, *Ḥaḡḡī* “Born during the pilgrimage”, *‘Mḥārib*, *Ḥarb* “Born during the war”, *Māṭīr* “Born during the rain”, *Talḡ*, *Tāliḡ*, and *Talḡa* (f) “Born during the snow”⁶⁴, *Nzēle* (f) “Born during a rain shower”, *Ḥamīse* (f) “Born on Thursday”, *Šbēḥa* (f) “Born in the morning”, etc. (Hess 1912: 6ff; Littmann 1949: 16-17; Borg and Kressel 2001: 55).

(c) Condition of birth-giving and the psychological situation of the mother.⁶⁵

(2) Descriptive names: these are based on the physical features of the new-born, like *Ḡalmūd* “Rounded stone” for a rounded-faced baby and *Ḥšīm* for a big-nosed one (Hess 1912: 7).

(3) Theophoric names indicating a long-awaited baby boy (thanksgiving names): *Daḥlalah* “Under God’s protection”, *Aṭallah* “Gift of God”, and *Ḍēfallah* “Guest sent by God” (Borg and Kressel 2001: 43).

(4) Wish names: these imply a wish that the new-born child will be like the mentioned thing (animal or such).⁶⁶

⁶⁴ These may also refer to the colour, meaning the baby had a white skin at birth.

⁶⁵ Cf. the reports on name-giving among the Rwala Bedouins in ↑2.2.2.2.

⁶⁶ Cf. the discussion in ↓5.4.2.

(5) Names of household objects: like *Dalle* (f) “Coffeepot” and *Bakrağ* “Jug” (Hess 1912: 7), but their function is unclear.⁶⁷

(6) Alternative names related to specific events: *Nāğī* “Survivor” was called so because he recovered from a dangerous disease (Hess 1912: 8).

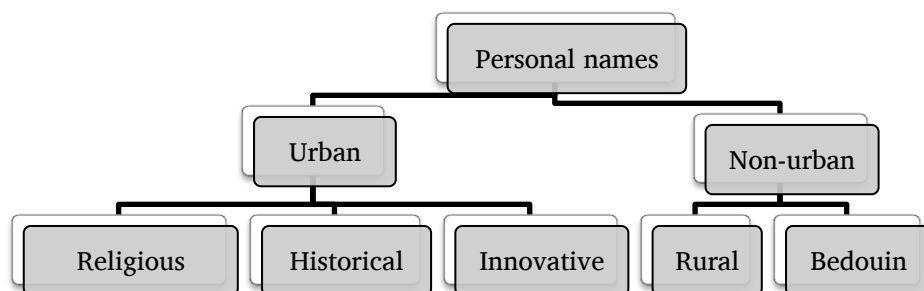
(7) Names derived from other family members’ (i.e., the father or siblings), such as the siblings *Māṭir* “Rainy (day)” “*Mṭirān*, and *Māṭre* (f) (Hess 1912: 7), or names from the root *slm* (Borg and Kressel 2001: 44ff).⁶⁸

(8) Names indicating complaint against more female babies: *Murra* (f) “Bitter”, *Ma’yūfa* (f) “Repulsive”, *Kfāyi* (f) “Sufficiency” (Borg and Kressel 2001: 54).

2.3.2.4 Modern and contemporary Arabic

2.3.2.4.1 Urban and non-urban names

Naming methods in modern Ar. differ from one country to another or even from one area to another within the same country, depending on several factors, like the degree of urbanism, local tradition, religion, cultural contact with other Ar. speaking areas, and the impact of western culture. In his general study of Iraqi and North African name-giving, Al-Sāmīrrā’ī (1963; 1983: 261-81) classifies names into two major categories as the following diagram shows:



The first category, i.e., urban names, contains three subcategories:

⁶⁷ Littmann’s hypothesis (1948: 11) that such names were given to scare the jinn away seems less likely, for there is no real association between household objects and the jinn or evil eye. Alternatively, I suggest classifying them as endearment or circumstantial names. Some might simply express the high interest of the name-giver in a specific object, like the Saudi man who is reported to have called his daughter *Iḏā’a* “Radio-broadcasting” (Al-Šamsān 2005: 28).

⁶⁸ For more examples of this naming method, see ↓2.3.3.1.1.

(1) Religious names: *Muḥammad*, *Aḥmad*, and the types ‘*Abd-DN*, *X-of-Allah*,⁶⁹ and *X-of-al-dīn* “The faith”⁷⁰ (Al-Sāmīrrā’ī 1983: 264-267).

(2) Historical or traditional names: these are related to well-known figures in Islamic history, like the two Rashidun caliphs ‘*Umar* and ‘*Utmān*, the Prophet’s daughter *Fāṭima* (f), and her two sons *al-Ḥasan* and *al-Ḥusayn* (Al-Sāmīrrā’ī 1983: 268-69). Generally, religious and traditional names are more common for males than for females, which can be contributed to the fact that Islamic practice for women differs from that of men in that it can respond to change in society where change for men Islamic practice tends to be more constrained (Gardner 1994: 103 and the references therein).

(3) Innovative names: these contain two subcategories: (a) novel, and (b) revived names. Novel names, more common for females, mostly indicate love, happiness, and hopes, e.g., *Ibtisām* (f) “Smile”, *Amal* (f) “Hope”, *Nağāt* (f) “Rescue, Salvation”, and *Šādī* “Singer”, and they were used by people because they became fed up with the ‘old-fashioned’ ones. Under this subcategory, however, one finds names with negative meanings, which were probably chosen due to their sound or rhythm, like *Hiyām* (f) “Passion”, and *Suhād* (f) “Insomnia” (Al-Sāmīrrā’ī 1983: 269-271; Gardner 1994: 103). For revived names, such as *Ḥālid* “Immortal”, *Ṭāriq* “The morning star”, *Quṣay* “Distanced”, *Umayma* (f) “Little mother”, and *Laylā* (f) “Night”, Al-Sāmīrrā’ī (1983: 271) attributes them to the rise of the national movements. The impact of nationalism and the anti-colonial movements on name-giving is also reflected by other types of names. For example, the major ideas of nationalism as well as some of its slogans and terminology occur in the following instances: *Ḥurriyya* (f) “Freedom”, *Wiḥda* (f) “Unity” (Ḥittī 2003: 79) (both are slogans of the Baath party), ‘*Arab* “Arab nation” (Al-Arna’ūt 1989: 129), ‘*Urūba* (f) “Arabism” (SAR 2, No. 1090), *Ṭawra* (f) “Revolution”, *Yaqaḏa* “Awakening” (i.e., of the Arab nation) (Ḥittī 2003: 78, 106). Names which appeared under the Arab–Israeli conflict indicate concepts related to victory and struggle, e.g., *Intiṣār* (f) “Triumph”, *Ğihād*, *Kifāḥ*, and *Niḏāl* (all being born by females and males), meaning “Fight, Struggle” (Ḥittī 2003: 75, 111, 116, 117). In addition to these, one finds among the Palestinians of Gaza and the West Bank the frequent

⁶⁹ Names of this type are mostly formed with elements such as *sa’d* “luck”, ‘*aṭā*’ “gift”, *ğār* “neighbor”, *ḥabīb* “beloved”, *naṣr* “victory, aid”, *ḏayf* “guest”, etc. and are found among the Bedouins and Duruz as well (Littmann 1949: 6; Al-Sāmīrrā’ī 1983: 264). The denotations of these examples allow us to classify them as thanksgiving and trust names.

⁷⁰ On *X-of-al-dīn* type, see ↓2.3.4.2.1.

names *Ṣumūd* (f) “Endurance”⁷¹ and *Tahrīr* (f) “Liberation”,⁷² which are obviously based on political terminology.⁷³

As for non-urban names, common among rural and semi-nomadic population, Al-Sāmīrrā’ī (1983: 272-278) classifies them into circumstantial names, plant names, animal names, tool names, and characteristic names. Thus, in principle they do not differ that much from the pre-Islamic and Bedouin names we have examined above (2.3.2.1, 2.3.2.3). To this category one can also add ‘apotropaic names’, which were used to keep the evil eye, death, and the *jinn* away.⁷⁴ An investigation of this naming practice in some Arab countries yields the following types:

(1) Confusing names: some people used to keep the child nameless (especially the male) or to give him a confusing name so that nobody can practice black magic against him, e.g., *Balāsīm* (< *bilā ism*) “Without name”⁷⁵ from Iraq (which parallels the Turk. *Adsız*) and *Chebinou* (< *šay’u-n baynahu*) “What is common between him [and the jinn]” from Tunisia (Schimmel 1989: 20-21).

(2) Names against the ill-wishers: like the frequent *Kāyid* (Ḥittī 2003: 57), the exact meaning of which becomes more obvious through its fem. Egyptian parallel *Kaydāhum* “She who acerbates them” (i.e., the ill-wishers). From Iraq we have *Tiswāhum* (f) and *‘Alāhum* (f), both meaning “She who is superior to them” (i.e., the ill-wishers) (Al-Sāmīrrā’ī 1983: 277).

(3) Names from other religions: it is reported that the Muslim population of the town of Mosul, northern Iraq, used to give their children Christian names believing that their negative connotations do not attract the evil eye. Similarly, the Christians of Lebanon used Islamic names like *Aḥmad* and *Muḥammad*, and some ‘low-educated’ Shiite Muslims chose names of ‘Sunni’ figures that are considered historical foes in their creed, e.g., the three caliphs *Abū Bakr*, *‘Umar*, *‘Uṭmān* and the Prophet’s wife *‘Ā’iša* (Al-Sāmīrrā’ī 1983: 277: 264, fn. 5, 268, fn. 14).

⁷¹ WB No. 5742, 6377, 9600; Gaza, No. 4439, 8519.

⁷² Gaza, No. 102033, 10389, 10939, and more frequent in WB.

⁷³ On the other side, i.e., the Israeli, names formed with the element *‘am* “people” (*‘Ammi*, *‘Ammihay*, *‘Ammitsur*, *‘Ammi’el*, *Ben-‘Ammi*, and the fem. *Bat-‘Ammi*) were rather frequent in the middle of the 20th c. due to nationalistic trends related to the establishment of the State of Israel, but their popularity has been decreasing since (Rosenhouse 2002: 104).

⁷⁴ On this practice in the UAS and Europe, see Hand (1984).

⁷⁵ Al-Sāmīrrā’ī (1983: 273-4) mentions that this name was improperly understood by urban Arabs as being the pl. form of *balsam* “Balsam, Balm”.

(4) Antiphrastical and derogatory names: this practice is well-documented in Yemen, where parents give their baby girls names indicating ugliness and hating in order to scare the evil eye away, like *Šū‘a*, *Šu‘ya* “Ugly”, *Biš‘a* “Very ugly”, *Kurheyya* “Causing hatred”, or *Makrūha* “Hated” (Al-Zumor 2009: 22).⁷⁶ From Egypt and elsewhere we have *Zibāla* “Garbage”,⁷⁷ *Šihāta* “Begging”, *Mašhūt* “Begged”, etc. (Schimmel 1989: 21).

2.3.2.4.2 Names, *istiḥāra* and dreams: a continuing method

Dreams played an important role in the ancient Near Eastern (↑2.2.1.1) and pre/early-Islamic practices (↑2.3.2.1). This is still observed in our time. Traditionally, in Hijaz and its neighborhoods, when choosing a baby’s name, some parents would consult one of the *‘ulamā’* “scholars or jurists”, who would either recommend the names of a famous personage, or would resort to *istiḥāra* (Snouck Hurgronje 1888-89: 138-139).⁷⁸ A report related to birth and childhood in Palestine in the thirties of the 20th c. mentions that:

Sheikh Omar of the Dervish order came to her in a dream when she was sleeping and said to her: “Oh Mahbube! Thou art pregnant and thou wilt bear a girl and thou shalt call her *Bahiye*” (Granqvist 1947: 81-82).

As for our present time, an Egyptian actress, Somaya El Khashab mentions that when she was unmarried, the Virgin Mary (*Mariam al-‘Aḍrā’* in Ar.) appeared to her in a dream and told her to choose the name *Mariam* if she gave birth to a female baby in the future.⁷⁹ The richest source on naming dreams, however, is fatwa literature. Fatwas concerning names can be classified into two categories. The first category, the majority, deals with the lawfulness of certain names.⁸⁰ The second category deals with names, dreams, and *istiḥāra*. For example, fatwa No. 222427 shows that somebody dreamt of the name of the baby before the birth.⁸¹ In another fatwa, No. 39935, the questioner mentions that his wife dreamt of both the sex and the name of the baby.⁸² Fatwa No. 4135 shows that both the

⁷⁶ The same might hold for *Qabiha* “Ugly”, the beautiful and most favorite concubine of the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil, who was so proud of the name her lord gave to her that she had it engraved on her signet ring (Goitein 1970: 520b).

⁷⁷ In Iraq *Z(i)bāla* or *Zbāna* (Al-Sāmīrrā’i 1983: 268, fn. 14).

⁷⁸ The concept of *Istiḥāra* is that the person, if unsure about the correct action to take, prays and asks God to send him/her a sign in the dream about the outcome. If the sign is a good omen (white/green colours, important religious personages, etc.), then (s)he decides that the waking life action will be beneficial and (s)he undertakes it. If the sign is a bad omen (black/red colours, an unpleasant person, etc.), the action is not beneficial and is thus canceled (Aydar 2009: 123).

⁷⁹ <http://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2015/11/02/805582.html>

⁸⁰ For example, cf. fatwas No. 181-217 by Ibn Al-‘Uṭaymīn in Al-Sulaymān 2008: 247-282.

⁸¹ <http://fatwa.islamweb.net/fatwa/index.php?page=showfatwa&Option=FatwaId&Id=222427http://>

⁸²

<http://www.islamweb.net/ramadan/index.php?page=ShowFatwa&lang=A&Id=39935&Option=FatwaId>

mother and her sister conducted *istiḥāra* concerning the choice of the name, for the giving of an unsuitable name might harm the bearer.⁸³

2.3.3 Names within the family: continuity

Name-giving within the family is reflected by two practices: (1) harmonic names, and (2) naming after a family member.

2.3.3.1 Harmonic names

Harmonic names can be classified into four categories: (1) names from the same root, (2) names with the same morphology, (3), names that reflect the religious affiliation of the parents, and (4) names from the same category.

2.3.3.1.1 Names from the same root

A naming method which has been followed since the pre-Islamic time is that family members from three generations or more bear names based on the same root, like *Ḥurtān* b. *Muḥarriṭ* b. *al-Ḥārīṭ*, from \sqrt{hrt} “to cultivate” (CIK 1 139) and *Ma‘mar* b. *‘Imrān* b. *‘Umayr* b. *‘Umar*, from \sqrt{mr} “to live” (Al-Ġāḥiḏ 1965 1: 327). A Najdi Bedouin, *‘Āyiḏ* named his sons *‘Awwāḏ* and *‘Awaḏ*, from $\sqrt{wḏ}$ “to compensate” (Hess 1912: 7). By far the most derivationally productive root in the Negev Bedouin anthroponimic corpus is \sqrt{slm} : *Silm*, *Sālim*, *Salma*, *Salīm*, *Slayyim*, *Msallam*, etc. (Borg and Kressel 2001: 44). From today’s Saudi Arabia we have *Maḥabba* (f) bt. *Muḥabbab* b. *Maḥbūb*, from \sqrt{hbb} “to love”, and *Ḥamda* (f) bt. *Ḥamdī* b. *Ḥammūd* b. *Muḥammad al-Ḥamdī al-Ġahani* (family name), from \sqrt{hmd} “to praise” (Al-Šamsān 2005: 33).

This naming practice might hold for all the brothers or some of them, like *‘Āmir*, *‘Umar*, *‘Āmira*, and *‘Imrān* b. *Maḥzūm* (CIK 1 22). Five out of the eight sons of *Wabr* b. *‘Abd Allāt* bore names from \sqrt{whb} “to grant”, that is, *Wahīb*, *Ihāb*, *Wahbān*, *Wahab al-Aṣḡar* “the youngest” and *al-Akbar* “the oldest” (CIK 1 100). Among modern Bedouins we find the three Najdi brothers *Mi‘ḡīb*, *‘Aḡab*, and *‘Aḡḡāb* (Hess 1912: 7). Another possibility is that the younger brother bears a name that is based on the diminutive form of his elder brother, like the six sons of *Asad* b. *‘Abdal‘uzzā*: *al-Ḥārīṭ* and *al-Ḥuwayriṭ*, *Ḥālīd* and *Ḥuwaylīd*, and *Ṭālīb* and *Ṭulayb* (\sqrt{tlb} “to request, appeal”) (CIK 1 19), and the two brothers *Baḥr* “Sea” and *Buḥayr* (CIK 1 254).

⁸³ <http://www.islamic-fatwa.com/fatawa/index.php?module=fatwa&id=41035>.

2.3.3.1.2 Names with the same morphology

Given that rhythm and consonance have been important in Ar. culture, parents tend to give their children names that sound very similar, e.g., with the same initial letter, with the same ending syllable, or based on the same form (*fā'il*, *af'al* and so on). An example from the pre-Islamic time is the three brothers known as *al-Adġam* “Black-nosed”, *al-Arġam* “With whiteness upon the extremity of the nose”, and *al-Atġam* “White-headed”, which all are based on the same form of their father’s, that is, *al-Aš‘ar* “Hairy” (*af'al* form) (CIK 1 273). The well-known early Islamic poet, al-Farazdaq (nickname) gave his sons names of *fa'ala(t)* form with the ending syllable *-t/da*, that is, *Labaṭa* “Fighting with swords”, *Sabaṭa* “Kind of tree with small leaves”, *Ḥabaṭa* “Grass”, and *Rakaḍa* “The movement of the horse embryo in his mother’s womb” (Ištiqāq 240). In some families the initial letter was used for generations, as in the royal Ghaznavid house with *Mawdūd* b. *Mas‘ūd* b. *Maḥmūd* [all passive participles] (Schimmel 1989: 16). This naming practice is still known in our time, like the siblings *Sāmi*, *Salām*, and *Suhād* (f) (the same initial letter); the sisters *Ḥitām*, *Aḥlām*, and *Ibtisām* (the same ending syllable); the brothers *Ziyād*, *‘Imād* and *Iyād* (Al-Arna’ūt 1989: 9).

2.3.3.1.3 Names reflecting the religious affiliation of the parents

A certain pre-Islamic Rufayda b. Ṭawr gave all his sons theophoric names formed with the divine element *Allāt*, that is, *Aus Allāt*, *Šukam Allāt*, *Šay‘ Allāt*, *Wahb Allāt*, *Zayd Allāt*, *Taym Allāt*, *Sakan Allāt*, and *Sa‘d Allāt* (CIK 1 280). All the sons of the Prophet’s companion Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allah bore names of Biblical and Arabian prophets: *Ya‘qūb* “Jacob”, *Šāliḥ*, *Yaḥyā* “John”, *‘Isā* “Jesus”, *Muḥammad*, *Ishāq* “Isaac”, *Mūsā* “Moses”, *Zakariyyā* “Zechariah”, *Yūsuf* “Joseph”, and *‘Imrān* (CIK 1 21). Beside the names of the prophets and the theophoric names of ‘*Abd-DN* type, some religious parents tend to give their sons names of the Rashidun caliphs and their daughters names of the Prophet’s wives or daughters (Abū Zayd 1995: 39). The son may be given a name that is somehow related to the paternal name. When the father is *Ibrahim*, the son is likely to be called *Isma‘il* or *Ishāq*; a *Dawūd*’s son would probably be *Sulaymān* or vice versa, and similarly with *Ya‘qūb* and *Yūsuf*, or *Yaḥyā* and *Zakariyyā*. A similar harmony can be achieved with names of ‘*Abd-DN* type, like *‘Abd al-‘Azīm* “Servant of the Mighty” son of *‘Abd al-Qawiyy* “Servant of the Strong” (Schimmel 1989: 16).

2.3.3.1.4 Names from the same category

Such names are often based on the same object (natural, physical, etc.). Four pre-Islamic eponyms from Banū Minqar, for example, were known as *al-Aḥġār* “Stones”, for they bore

the names *Ḥazn* “Rugged ground”, *Ġandal* “Stones”, *Ġarwal* “Rough land with stones”, and *Ṣaḥr* “Rocks” (Iṣṭiqāq 250). There are also some examples where both the father and his son(s) bear plant names, like *Ḥanzala* “Colocynth” b. ‘*Alqama* “Bitter tree or plant”; ‘*Alqama* b. *Arṭāt* “Desert tree”; and ‘*Alqama* b. *Qatāda* “Tragacanth” (CIK 2 285, 315, 233). Other names refer to physical characteristics, like the three sons of Ḥamal b. ‘Ubayd known as *al-Aš‘at*, *Šu‘ayt* (diminutive), both meaning “Rumpled-hair”, and *al-Ġa‘d* “Curled-hair” (CIK 1 254). This method is still known in our time. A Saudi man called his children *Hattān*, *Wābil*, *Hutūn* (f), and *Dīma* (f), all denoting “Downpour” (Al-Šamsān 2005: 34).

2.3.3.2 Naming after a family member

An investigation of onomastic samples from different periods yields three patterns of patronyms:

(a) X b. X. b. X, where the son bears the same name as his father and grandfather, like *al-Walīd* b. *al-Walīd* b. *al-Walīd* (Kister 1975: 15). This pattern is more frequent in the classical Islamic period, especially *Muḥammad* b. *Muḥammad* b. *Muḥammad*, found more than ten times in the biographical dictionary *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* (Al-Šafadī 2000 1: index of PNs). Contemporary data suggest that this pattern disappeared a long time ago.

(b) X b. X b. PN, where the son bears the same name as his father. This pattern was more frequent than the above-mentioned one in the classical Islamic period, particularly with religious and traditional names, like *Muḥammad* b. *Muḥammad*; *Aḥmad* b. *Aḥmad*; ‘*Alī* b. ‘*Alī*; and *Ḥasan* b. *Ḥasan* (Al-Šafadī 2000: indexes of vols. 1, 6, 10).

(c) X b. PN b. X, where the son bears the same name as his grandfather or great grandfather. This pattern is well-attested in the classical Islamic period, especially with religious names. For example, of fifty persons signing a document in Aswan, Egypt, in 948, and mentioning the names of their grandfathers, nine were named after them (Goitein 1978: 8). As for our time, this pattern is still frequent in the Arab world (among both Christians and Muslims). For instance, of the first 200 names mentioned in Gaza and the West Bank student list (WB), thirty sons from the former and thirty-five from the latter bear the same names as their grandfathers.

As for mammonymy, an interesting example of this practice from our present time is illustrated in a fatwa concerning name-giving, in which the questioner mentions that his old-

est daughter was given the name of his deceased mother and the younger one bore that of his deceased mother-in-law.⁸⁴

2.3.4 Names in society

2.3.4.1 Names and status: free and slave population

Typical slave names mostly refer to a perfume (*'Anbar*, *Ṣandal*, *Kāfur*), a gemstone (*Ġawhar*, *Fayrūz*, *Yāqūt*), or bead (*Lu'lu'*) (Schimmel 1989: 70ff; Sublet 1991: 43ff). Since the name *Dīnār* was common among slaves, the slave's *kunya* or *laqab* (nickname) was *Ibn Dīnār* (Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1991: 137). Although slaves were mostly named according to their masters' fancy, the new name did not necessarily replace the original one, like the Coptic slave woman whose original name, *Duḡāša* is mentioned beside her Ar. name, *Ṣafrā'* "Yellow" in her emancipation document (Khoury 1993 21: 7). Once emancipated, a slave or a *mawlā* with a typical name could adopt a new one, like *Ḥulay'* "Debauched, Dissipated", who became *'Abd Allah* (Yāqūt 1977 5: 330). As for female slaves and concubines, an examination of three books on them (i.e., Al-Iṣbahānī 1984, 1989; Al-Waššā' 1953) suggests that the majority carried typical names that are not attested for free women: *Hawā* "Love", *Malak* "Angel", *Danānīr* "Dinars", *Farīda* "Unique", *Hadiyya* "Present, Gift", *Qalam* "Crayon" (Al-Iṣbahānī 1989: 53, 82, 98, 101, 119, 126), *Funūn* "Arts", and *Ġuṣn* "Branch" (Al-Iṣbahānī 1984: 91, 99, 157, 219). Some names seem to have been used antiphrastically, like *Ġadr* "Betrayal", *Ḍa'īfa* "Weak", and *Ḍalūm* "Unjust" (Al-Iṣbahānī 1989: 62, 93; Al-Iṣbahānī 1984: 129), while others imply masc. attributes: *Nā'im* "Soft", *Māḡīn* "Rakish", *Muštāq* "Desiring", *Našwān* "Gleeful", *Zayn* "Beautiful", *Lāhī* "Rakish", *Ḥāḍī'* "Subordinate", *Ṣāḥīb* "Companion, Sexual partner", and *Waḥīd* "Lone" (Al-Waššā' 1953: 216-229). In his approach of the latter group, Al-Samarrā'ī (1983: 270, fn. 16) hypothesizes that they resemble or are based on catamites' names, as this kind of love was popular at that time.

As slavery survived until the 20th c. in some Arab countries (Burdett 2006; Lewis 1990: 72ff), one can trace the existence of distinct slave names through some samples. An onomastic study of the modern Riverain people of northern Sudan (Al-Shahi 1988) shows that ex-slaves continue to be identified as a distinct social group through, among other attributes, their traditional names and nicknames, which also holds for slaves and servants in early 20th c. Egypt (Littmann 1949: 21). As for Bedouins, they tended to give their slaves auspicious names, like *Ymīne* "Auspicious", *Se'īd* "Lucky, Happy", *Mubaššīr* "He who

⁸⁴ <https://islamqa.info/ar/144641>

brings good news”, *Mabrūke* (f) “Blessed” (while the masc. *Mabrūk* is attested for a free person) (Hess 1912: 7, 12, 15, 54), *Nāfi‘* and *Naffā‘* “Useful” (Littmann 1948: 8).

2.3.4.2 Alternative names

2.3.4.2.1 Honorific titles

Honorific titles, whether denoting religious or political statements, started to appear in the Abbasid period. Uniquely, caliphs bore propositional-sentence names formed with *Allah*, which mostly assert the idea that the power is a divine delegation, e.g., *al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allah* “Ruler by God’s command” (born by three Fatimid caliphs), *al-Mu‘taṣim bi-Allah* “He who seeks refuge in God”⁸⁵ (the 8th Abbasid caliph) and his son *al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allah* “He who trusts in God”,⁸⁶ *al-Qāhir bi-Allah* “Victorious by the will of God” (the 19th caliph), etc. The ideological dimension is differently reflected in the titles that were bestowed by the caliphs on the military and political leaders to emphasize their rank and dignity. Such titles are usually composed of the following elements: *al-dīn* “the faith”, *al-Islam*, *al-dawla* “the state/government”, *al-mulk* “the reign” and *al-mulūk* “the kings” (Ibn Auda 2003; Schimmel 1989: 59-60), e.g., *Bahā’/Badr al-dawla* “Brilliance/Full moon of the state”, *Tāğ al-dawla/al-mulūk* “Crown of the state/the kings”, *Ġalāl al-dawla/al-mulk* “Majesty of the state/reign”, *Ḥusām al-dawla* “Sword of the state”, *Rukn al-dawla* “Pillar of the state”, *Sayf al-Islām/al-ḥilāfa/al-dīn/al-dawla* “Sword of Islam/the caliphate/the faith/the state”, and so on.⁸⁷ Other titles denote victory: *al-Zāfir* “Victorious”, *al-Ġāzī* “Raider”, *al-Qāhir* “Defeater”, etc., (Al-Šihābī 1995: 136ff), in addition to the types *Abū-X* “Father/Man of so” and *Amīr-X* “Prince of so”: *Abū al-ğuyūš/al-mulūk/al-ğārāt* “Father/Man of the armies/the kings/the raids”, *Amīr al-umarā’/al-ğuyūš* “Prince of the princes/the armies” (Al-Šihābī 1995: 15, 23).⁸⁸

Royal women tended to adopt ‘harem’ names which differed from all other women’s names in that they were compound and carefully selected to be harmonious both in sound and meaning. From Andalusia we have *Ḍaw’ al-ṣabāḥ* “Light of the morning”, *Ġāyat al-munā* “Object of desires”, *Qaṭr al-nadā* “Drop of dew”, *Riyāḍ al-ḥusn* “Gardens of beauty”,

⁸⁵ The name is based on a Quranic phrase (4: 146, 175; 22: 78).

⁸⁶ This is also based on a Quranic phrase (3: 122; 8: 49).

⁸⁷ All these titles are listed alphabetically in Al-Šihābī 1995. Some of them survived as PNs in modern Ar., either in the complete form, such as *Sayf al-Islām*, *Ṣalāḥ al-dīn* (Ḥittī 2003: 21-3) or in the shortened form with the suffix *-ī* (cf. ↓5.2.3). Generally, while the elements *al-Islām* and *al-dīn* are still in use, *al-dawla* and *al-mulk* disappeared.

⁸⁸ The majority of these titles were born by non-Arab leaders, most probably in order to confirm their legality and role in supporting Islam, and they found their fertile soil during the wars against the Crusaders and the Moguls.

Sirr al-ḥusn “Secret of beauty”, and so on.⁸⁹ Outside the harem sector, women from the elite in the late Abbasid time adopted (or were given) honorific names formed basically with two remarkable elements: (1) *al-nisā’* “the women” as a second element: *Tāğ al-nisā’* “Crown of women”, *Šaraf al-nisā’* “Honor of women”, *Faḥr al-nisā’* “Pride of women”, and (2) *sitt-* “lady, queen” as a first element: *Sitt al-quḍāt* “Lady of the judges”, *Sitt al-kataba* “Lady of the scribes” *Sitt al-mulk* “Lady of the reign”, *Sitt al-Fuqahā’* “Lady of the *faqihs*” (i.e., jurists), etc. (Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006 5: 304; Ibn Rāfi’ 1982 2: 505-06).

2.3.4.2.2 *Kunya, nasab and nisba*

The *kunya* “teknonym” is the designation of a person as *abū* “father” or *umm* “mother”, plus a name, mostly the eldest son’s. According to classical Muslim scholars, the intention of the *kunya* is to honour someone by calling him or her after the first-born son, and compared to the *laqab*, it has been considered a more respectful way of addressing people (Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1991: 35-36). Another hypothesis is that the *kunya* is a metonymic designation that corresponds to a general tendency among ‘primitive’ peoples, where an individual’s name is surrounded by a taboo and is not to be pronounced unless exceptionally. But in historical times, the original intention here was forgotten (Wensinck 1986: 395-6). This hypothesis seems more likely in view of the report that the Prophet advised his followers to give *kunyas* to their children before they got nicknamed (KN 61). Over time, certain *kunyas* became associated with specific names, so that a man named *Ibrāhīm* is likely to be known as *Abū Ishāq* (Isaac) or a man named ‘*Alī* as *Abū al-Ḥasan*, as the historic men had sons of that name (Schimmel 1989: 6). Some *kunyas* could be metaphorical: *Abū al-Maḥāsin/al-Faḍā’il* “Virtues”, *Abū al-Futūḥ* “Triumphs”, *Abū al-Barakāt* “Blessings”, *Abū al-Yumn* “Happiness”, etc. (Schimmel 1989: 6-7). Interestingly, some people bore *kunyas* that match their names or their fathers’ or ancestors’, like *Abū Ḥarb* “War” b. *Abī al-Fawāris* “Knights” (Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006 2: 177), *Abū al-Hayğā’* “War” *Muqātil* “Warrior” (Ibn Ḥalikān 1972 5: 257-60), *Abū al-Faṭḥ* “Triumph” *Ġayš* “Army” b. *Muḥammad* b. *Šamsāma* “Sharp sword” (Al-Šafadī 2000 11: 177, No. 2969), and *Abū al-Nağm* “Pleiades, Star” *Badr* “Full moon” (Khoury 1993 70: 3). In general, such sort of *kunyas* became popular in the late Abbasid period onward.

The *laqab* “nickname, byname” could have the same form as the *kunya*, i.e., *Abū-X*. Presumably, the easily recognized *Abū-X laqabs* are the ones formed with common nouns, like *Abū Baṭn* “Big-bellied”, *Abū al-Āḍān* “Big ears”, *Abū al-Riğāl* “Men” (because he had

⁸⁹ These names are available on <http://www.s-gabriel.org/names/juliana/alandalus/harem.html> [accessed on 15/11/2014].

twelve sons), *Abū al-Ra’d* “Thunder” (KN 70-82), *Abū al-Šawārib* “Big-mustached”, and *Abū al-Ġū’* “Hunger” (Ibn Ḥallikān 1972 1: 406; 4: 378).

In addition to the *kunya*, there is the common type *ibn/bint-X* “son/daughter of so and so”, which is usually based on the given name or *laqab* of the father, the grandfather, or the great grandfather, etc. This type is known as *nasab* (patronymic), and Ibn Al-Aṭīr (1991: 37) puts it on the same level as *kunya*, for, in some cases, it is designed to honour people, especially the sons of notable figures, like Ibn ‘Abbās, the paternal cousin of the Prophet, and Ibn ‘Umar, the son of the second caliph. The *nasab* consists of at least one patronym denoting direct male ancestry, but there is no limit to the number of patronyms permitted. It is also possible to find a *nasab* based on the mother’s name or *laqab*. An example of the development of a *laqab* into a *nasab* is Muḥammad b. Ġa’far b. Aḥmad, known as *Zawğ al-Ḥurra* (Al-Bağdādī 2001 17: 486-87). This *nasab*, meaning “The husband of the free-woman”, could be either honorific if the wife belonged to a notable family or antiphrastical if she was an ex-slave. His son, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid and two of his grandsons were known as *Ibn Zawğ al-Ḥurra*. A *nasab-laqab* could also refer to the place of birth, such as *Ibn Āsa* “Myrtle”, the tree he was born at (Al-Sam’ānī 1980-84 1: 102).

The *nisba* is the closest concept to surname in Ar. naming conventions and is usually formed by omitting the *Ibn* element and adding the definite article *al-* and the ending *-ī*. It, as well as the modern surname, is derived from a familial, geographic or occupational origin or a nickname.

2.3.4.2.3 Nicknames

It was quite normal for an Arab person in the pre-Islamic and Islamic times to have a *laqab* “byname, nickname”, two names (or even more), beside his *kunya*. An example is Abū al-Yaqzān al-Baṣrī (*kunya* plus *nisba/surname*), a *faqīh* “jurist” (d. 850 AD) who is also known as Saḥīm b. Ḥafṣ (nickname plus patronym) and through his alternative name ‘Āmir b. Ḥafṣ, but his birth name is ‘Ubayd Allah (Ibn Al-Nadīm 2009 1: 297). Some people, on the other hand, took alternative names, like Abū al-Qāsim, Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī b. al-Faḍl, whose original name is al-Wāṭiq, but he preferred the former and continued using it (Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006, No. 2814). A *laqab* is justified by Islam provided it is not nasty (Qur’an 49: 11), and the Prophet himself is reported to have nicknamed his wives, companions, and followers (Ibn Qayyim n.d. 211). A good example of nicknames/alternative names is the paternal line of the Prophet:

Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāšim (= ‘Amru) b. ‘Abd Manāf (= al-Muğīra) b. Quṣayy (= Zayd) b. Kilāb (Iṣṭiqāq 11-20).

A *laqab* can be *tašrifī* “honorific”, *tashīfī* “deprecating”, or *ta’rifī* “for purpose of identification”. In the latter case, it is given to distinguish people of the same name from each other. This may be done simply by using words denoting the “elder” and the “younger”, as in *Ḥasan al-kabīr* “the great” and *Ḥasan al-ṣaġīr* “the little” (Schimmel 1989: 12). In order to avoid ambiguity, a nickname could be written beside the given name on living documents:

The witnesses of this deed have testified, that Mūsā b. ‘Abd Allah, bynamed (*laqabuhu*) Beġôš, has acknowledged in their presence and has called them to witness as to his obligation, that he owes to Salīm (Khoury 1993 31: 2-4).

Some nicknames were given to attract good luck, such as the black malodorous slave called *Kāfūr* “Camphor” (Schimmel 1989: 50). Typically, nicknames are richer than given names in that they cover wider objects: mental and physical characteristics, animals and plants, occupations, tools, materials, colors, food, and so on.⁹⁰ As for age, a nickname can be acquired in childhood, youth, or even later, depending on the reason behind it. Dealing with Ar. nicknames, however, one should keep in mind that some are often used antiphrastically, in a sense opposite to the accepted meaning of the word. For example, when a person of low station is called *Faylasūf* “Philosopher” or *Ra’īs al-falāsifa* “Head of the philosophers”, most probably the intention was to describe him as a pretentious fool (Goitein 1970: 520).⁹¹ Another example is *Zanġī* “Black”, Abū Ḥālid Muslim, so called because he was blond (Sublet 1991: 182), presumably against the evil eye (cf. ↑2.3.2.4.1).

⁹⁰ For some instances of this classification in CAr., see Schimmel (1989, esp. chapter. 5), and for modern and contemporary parallels, see, for example, Tushyeh and Hamdallah (1992); Haggan (2008); Borg and Kressel (2001: 75-60).

⁹¹ The same holds for our time, where a Kuwaiti teenager is nicknamed *al-Faylasūf* because he likes to talk a lot and explain everything (Haggan 2008: 88).

3 Animal Names in Akkadian

3.1 The onomastic evidence

Animal names in the Akk. onomasticon occur in three forms: one-word names, suffixed and shortened names, and theophoric names. The table below exhibits these onomastic elements in view of their cognates in the onomastica of the other Sem. languages. The rightmost column gives the corresponding paragraph number in the appendix (App.):

No	Element	meaning	Eb.	Amor.	Ug.	Heb.	Aram.	Pho.	Ar.	App.
1	<i>agālu</i>	kind of equid								48
2	<i>agargarû</i> < Sum.	fish							*	137
3	<i>akbaru</i>	jerboa			*	*	*	*	*	79
4	<i>alluttu</i> < Sum.	crab								137
5	<i>alpu</i>	bull		*		*				54
6	<i>arna-</i> <i>bu/annabu</i>	hare		*	*		*		*	86
7	<i>arrabu</i>	dormouse							*	82
8	<i>arwīu/arwû</i>	gazelle (buck), mountain goat		*					*	29
9	<i>asu</i> < Sum.	bear	*							21
10	<i>as/šqūdu</i>	a rodent, hamster (?)	*	*						83
11	<i>ayyāšu</i>	weasel			*					91
12	<i>ayyalu</i>	deer	*	*	*	*			*	30
13	<i>azaru</i>	lynx								13
14	<i>baqqu</i>	gnat	*	*					*	127

15	<i>barbaru</i>	wolf								19
16	<i>bibbu</i>	wild sheep	*							31
17	<i>būru</i>	calf								61
18	<i>dabû</i>	bear		*	*		*		*	20
19	<i>daššu</i>	buck			*					38
20	<i>di(q)diqqu</i>	a small bird								109
21	<i>ē/āribu</i>	crow, raven				*	*		*	104
22	<i>ḥaḥḥūru</i>	crow, raven								105
23	<i>ḥu/am(a)šīru</i>	large mouse			*					83
24	<i>ḥarrīru</i>	vole								83
25	<i>ḥulû</i>	shrew			*					83
26	<i>ḥurāpu</i>	young sheep	*		*				*	66
27	<i>ḥuzālu</i>	gazelle	*	*	*				*	33
28	<i>ḥuzīru</i>	pig		*	*	*			*	77
29	<i>imē/āru</i>	donkey		*		*			*	42
30	<i>immeru</i>	sheep	*	*	*	*				62
31	<i>enzu</i>	goat		*					*	64
32	<i>iššūru</i>	bird							*	106
33	<i>ka(l)labūnu</i>	locust								126
34	<i>kalbu</i>	dog	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	14
35	<i>kalūmu</i>	lamb							*	128
36	<i>kalmatu</i>	louse	*							75
37	<i>ku/albābu</i>	ant								121
38	<i>kūdanu</i>	mule		*	*				*	43
39	<i>kudurrānu</i>	wren, sandgrouse			*	*			*	115

40	<i>kulīlu</i>	dragonfly	*							135
41	<i>kupītu</i>	marsh bird								103
42	<i>kuppû</i> < Sum.	eel			*					137
43	<i>kurkû</i>	goose			*					101
44	<i>kurkurru</i>	(kind of) bird (uncertain)								117
45	<i>kurkuzānu</i>	piglet								78
46	<i>kuzāzu</i>	biting insect	*							135
47	<i>labbu</i>	lion		*	*			*	*	4
48	<i>lakānu</i>	sheep			*					75
49	<i>lalû/laliu</i>	small animal	*		*					69
50	<i>lulīmu</i>	stag, red deer								38
51	<i>mūru</i>	young bull, foal	*						*	44
52	<i>mūrānu</i>	whelp			*					27
53	<i>murašû</i>	wildcat								13
54	<i>nāhiru</i>	dolphin				*				137
55	<i>namālu</i>	ant			*			*	*	121
56	<i>nēšu</i>	lion	*						*	6
57	<i>niqūdu</i>	marsh bird				*				103
58	<i>nūbtu</i>	bee								122
59	<i>nūnu</i>	fish				*			*	137
60	<i>pagû</i>	ape								84
61	<i>paspasu</i>	duck								103
62	<i>pē/arūrūtu</i>	mouse							*	81
63	<i>perša'u</i>	flea	*	*	*	*		*	*	124

64	<i>puḥādu</i>	lamb								75
65	<i>pušḥu</i>	a rodent								83
66	<i>raqqu</i>	turtle								120
67	<i>rīmu</i>	wild bull	*						*	35
68	<i>sāsu</i>	moth	*					*		129
69	<i>sīsû</i>	horse		*	*	*	*			47
70	<i>summatu</i>	dove	*	?					*	111
71	<i>šāšīru, šaršaru</i>	cricket	*	*					*	123
72	<i>šerru, šēru</i>	snake			?					118
73	<i>šurārû</i>	lizard								119
74	<i>šelepûtu</i>	turtle								120
75	<i>šaḥû</i>	pig								78
76	<i>šēlebu</i>	fox	*	*	*	*	*		*	16
77	<i>šikkû</i>	mongoose								25
78	<i>šīlangītu</i>	fish								137
79	<i>šinūnūtu, sinuntu</i>	swallow			*				*	110
80	<i>šu(t)tinnu</i>	bat								92
81	<i>šūru</i>	bull	*				*		*	60
82	<i>šurānu</i>	(domestic) cat								13
83	<i>turāḥu</i>	ibex				?				38
84	<i>u/iqūpu</i> < Sanskrit	ape					*			84
85	<i>zību</i>	jackal (WS), or vulture (Akk.)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	18

86	<i>zīzānu</i>	cricket or cicada			*	*												123
87	<i>zun/mbu</i>	fly			*	*											*	125
88	<i>zuqīqīpu</i>	scorpion																131

According to this table, animal names in Akk. can be classified into three groups:

- (1) ES elements (No. 1, 2, 4, 9, 13, 15, 17, 20, 22, 24, 36-37, 40-42, 44-46, 48, 50, 52, 59-61, 64, 75, 80, 88), some of which are Sum. loanwords (2, 4, 9, 42, 78),
- (2) Common Sem. elements which have cognates in the onomastica of the other languages (the majority),
- (3) Common Sem. elements which are not reflected in the onomastica of the other languages (No. 16, 58, 74, 82).

The table below, the same list, shows the survival of these names in periods and their distribution according to gender:

No	Element	Meaning	OAkk/ UR III		OA		OB		MA		MB		NA		N/ LB			
			m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f		
1	<i>agālu</i>	kind of equid	*				*				*							
2	<i>agargarû</i>	fish																*
3	<i>akbaru</i>	jerboa					*		*		*		*					
4	<i>alluttu</i>	crab																
5	<i>alpu</i>	bull					*		?									
6	<i>arna- bu/annabu</i>	hare	*				*	*	*		*		*					
7	<i>arrabu</i>	dormouse					*				*		*	*	*	*	*	
8	<i>arwiu/arwû</i>	gazelle (buck), mountain goat	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*					
9	<i>asu</i>	bear			*		*	*	*									
10	<i>as/šqūdu</i>	a rodent, ham-	*		*		*	*					*					

		ster (?)															
11	<i>ayyāṣu</i>	weasel				*											
12	<i>ayyalu</i>	deer				*		*	*	*						*	
13	<i>azaru</i>	lynx				*							*				
14	<i>baqqu</i>	gnat			*	*	*									*	
15	<i>barbaru</i>	wolf	*		*	*				*		*		*		*	
16	<i>bibbu</i>	wild sheep	*			*										*	
17	<i>būru</i>	calf	*		*	*	*	*		*		*		*			*
18	<i>dabû</i>	bear					*			*							
19	<i>daššu</i>	buck	*														
20	<i>di(q)diqqu</i>	a small bird				*										*	
21	<i>ē/āribu</i>	crow, raven											*				
22	<i>ḥaḥḥūru</i>	crow, raven											*		*		
23	<i>ḥu/am(a)ṣīru</i>	large mouse	*			*	*									*	*
24	<i>ḥarriru</i>	vole				*		*					*				
25	<i>ḥulû</i>	shrew	*							*		*		*		*	
26	<i>ḥurāpu</i>	young sheep				*										*	
27	<i>ḥuzālu</i>	gazelle			*	*	*			*		*		*		*	
28	<i>ḥuzīru</i>	pig	*			*		*	*	*		*		*		*	
29	<i>imē/āru</i>	donkey	*			*		*				*					
30	<i>immeru</i>	sheep	*		*	*				*		*		*		*	*
31	<i>enzu</i>	goat				*	*									*	
32	<i>iṣṣūru</i>	bird				*		*								*	*
33	<i>ka(l)labūnu</i>	locust															*
34	<i>kalbu</i>	dog	*			*	*			*		*		*		*	*
35	<i>kalūmu</i>	lamb	*	*													

36	<i>kalmatu</i>	louse			*		*	*	*		*		*		*
37	<i>ku/albābu</i>	ant					*								*
38	<i>kūdanu</i>	mule	*		*			*							
39	<i>kudurrānu</i>	wren, sandgrouse								*	*	*		*	
40	<i>kulīlu</i>	dragonfly					*								
41	<i>kupītu</i>	marsh bird													*
42	<i>kuppû</i>	eel								*				*	*
43	<i>kurkû</i>	goose			*							*			
44	<i>kurkurru</i>	(kind of) bird (uncertain)			*	*									
45	<i>kurkuzānu</i>	piglet			*	*	*								
46	<i>kuzāzu</i>	biting insect			*										
47	<i>labbu</i>	lion	*	*		*				*					
48	<i>lakānu</i>	sheep			*	*									
49	<i>lalû/laliu</i>	small animal				*	*								
50	<i>lulīmu</i>	red deer, stag	*												
51	<i>mūru</i>	young bull, foal	*	*	*	*								*	
52	<i>mūrānu</i>	whelp	*		*	*	*	*	*					*	*
53	<i>murašû</i>	wildcat										*		*	*
54	<i>nāhiru</i>	dolphin										*			
55	<i>namālu</i>	ant				*									
56	<i>nēšu</i>	lion										*		*	
57	<i>niqūdu</i>	marsh bird				*									*
58	<i>nūbtu</i>	bee													*
59	<i>nūnu</i>	fish									*				

60	<i>pagû</i>	ape	*	*						*				
61	<i>paspasu</i>	duck	*				*	*						
62	<i>pē/arūrūtu</i>	mouse			*		*			*				
63	<i>perša'u</i>	flea	*			*							*	
64	<i>puḥādu</i>	lamb	*											
65	<i>pušḥu</i>	a rodent								*	*			
66	<i>raqqu</i>	turtle								*	*			
67	<i>rīmu</i>	wild bull	*			*		*	*	*				
68	<i>sāsu</i>	moth	*		*	*	*			*	*			
69	<i>sīsû</i>	horse			*					*	*			
70	<i>summatu</i>	dove		*			*							*
71	<i>šāširu, šaršaru</i>	cricket	*		*	*				*	*	*		
72	<i>šerru, šēru</i>	snake								?				
73	<i>šurārû</i>	lizard	*			*								
74	<i>šelepūtu</i>	turtle		*		*			*				*	*
75	<i>šaḥû</i>	pig		*										*
76	<i>šēlebu</i>	fox	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
77	<i>šikkû</i>	mongoose				*	*		*				*	*
78	<i>šilangītu</i>	fish												*
79	<i>šinūnūtu, sinuntu</i>	swallow		*	*	*	*							*
80	<i>šu(t)tinnu</i>	bat							*					
81	<i>šūru</i>	bull	*					*	*					
82	<i>šurānu</i>	(domestic) cat	*		*								*	
83	<i>turāḥu</i>	ibex	*			*								
84	<i>u/iqūpu</i>	ape								*	*	*	*	

85	<i>zību</i>	jackal, vulture													*
86	<i>zīzānu</i>	cricket, or cicada	*				*								*
87	<i>zun/mbu</i>	fly											*		*
88	<i>zuqīqīpu</i>	scorpion	*												

A comparative analysis of these data yields the following observations:

- In general, animal names are found more among males than among females. This, however, cannot be taken as a real indicator of distribution, since there have always been more data on male documentation.
- The OB period shows the highest number of animal names (49 masc. and 18 fem.), presumably because of the excavated archives from different areas (Mari, Sippar, Larsa, Isin, Terqa, etc.).
- Some names seem to be limited to Babylonia, its neighborhood, and the southern part of Mesopotamia in all periods (No. 16, 18, 23, 31, 57, 60, 74-75).

3.2 Suffixes and endearment forms

3.2.1 *-ān*

A hypocoristic-diminutive suffix (Stamm 1939: 114, fn. 2; von Soden 1969: §56r) which occurs in a few examples: *Immerēnum* < **Immerānum* “Little sheep” (OB, §62), *Arrabāna* (f) “Little she-dormouse” (NB, §82), *Baqqānu* (m + f) “Little gnat” (OB, §127), *Barbarānu* “Little wolf” (NB, §19), *Būrānu* “Little calf” (OB, §61), and *Kalūmānu* “Little lamb” (OB, §75). In the other examples this suffix is a part of the animal name itself not the proper name: *Kūdanu* “Mule” (§43), *Kudurrānu* “Wren; Sandgrouse” (§115), *Kurkuzānu* “Piglet” (§78), *Lakānu* “Sheep” (§75), *Mūrānu* “Puppy” (§27), and *Šurānu* “Cat” (§13). Remarkably, whereas this suffix occurs in both masc. and fem. names in Akk., it is restricted to masc. names in the other Sem. languages: Amor. (↓4.1.2.1), Heb. (↓4.2.2.1) and Ar. (↓5.2.1).

3.2.2 *-āya/iya*

A hypocoristic suffix which is also well-attested in NWS (Amor., Ug., and Can-Aram.). In comparison to the other suffixes in the Akk. onomasticon, *-āya/iya* is the most common one in animal names: *Akpariya* “Little jerboa” (MA, §79), *Barbariya* “Little wolf” (Oakk., OA, §19), *Dabiya* “Little bear” (OB, §20), *Iššūriya* “Little bird” (OB/MA, §106), *Kūdanāya*

“Little mule” (MA, §43), *Kurkāya* “Little goose” (OA, §101), *Laliya* “Little kid/small animal” (OB, §69), *Mūrāniya* “Little whelp” (MA, §27), *Paḡāya* “Little ape” (Oakk., §84), *Ṣaṣṣarāya* “Little cricket” (OB, §123), *Šēlebiya* “Little fox” (Oakk./OB, §16), and *Sisiya* “Little horse” (OA/NB, §47). In the following names, this suffix might represent the shortened form of *animal-of-DN* type:⁹² *Alpūya* < *Alpu-DN* “Ox” (MA, §54), *Bibbiya*, *Bibbūya* < *Bibb-DN* “Wild sheep” (Oakk., §31), *Būriya* < *Būr-DN* “Calf” (OB) and its fem. form *Būrāya* (NB, §61), *Immeriya* < *Immer-DN* “Sheep” (OB/NB, §62), *Kalbāya* < *Kalab-DN* “Dog” (NB, §14), and *Kalūmiya* (OB) and *Kulūmāya* (OA) < *Kalūm-DN* “Lamb” (§75). Given these examples, it appears that: (1) this suffix is more observed in earlier times than Stamm (1939: 113) had thought, and (2) except for *Būrāya* (f), all the other names are masc., which is also the case with *-īya* in Amor. (↓4.1.2.3) and *-ay* in Heb. (↓4.2.2.2).

3.2.3 *-Vt(um)/Ct(um)*

Beside its function as a fem. marker, this suffix serves as a hypocoristic or diminutive ending in masc. names (Stamm 1939: 113; von Soden 1969 §56s, §60a). The available examples indicate that it appears in all periods: *Arwītum*, *Arbitum* (Oakk./OB, §29), *Annabatūm* < *Arnabatūm* (OB, §82), *Arrabtum* (family name) (NB, §82), *Barbartum* (OB, §19), *Ḥuzīrtu* (MA, §77), *Immertum* (OB, §62), *Kalūndu* < *Kalūmtu* (MB, §75), *Kuppūtu* (NB, §137), *Sāsatum* (Oakk, §126), and *Šinūnūtum/Šinānūtum* (OA/OB, §110). In general, this suffix is more found in animal names than in the other types.⁹³

3.2.4 Possessive pronouns

Except for *Murašūnu* “Their wildcat” (NB, §13), all the other names have the possessive pronoun suffix 1st sg.: *Ḥuluttī* (f) “My little shrew” (NA, §83), *Ḥuzīri* (m + f) “My pig” (MA, §77), *Kalamatī* (f) “My louse” (Oakk., §128), *Nūni* “My fish” (NA, §137), *Puṣḥi* “My *puṣḥu*-rodent/My ratty” (NA, §83), and *Šahīti* (f) “My sow” (Oakk., §78). The fact that all these examples refer to harmless and small animals allows us to classify them as affective names (see also ↓3.4.1).

3.3 Animal names in theophoric names

As indicated above (2.1.3), the majority of Akk. names are theophoric, which reflects a highly religious society. Animal terms are amply found in three types of theophoric names

⁹² On this type, see ↓3.3.

⁹³ Cf. the examples from Mari in Rasmussen (1981: 187ff), where this suffix is found only in two masc. names.

as: (1) DNs, (2) epithets, and (3) construct nouns (animal-of-DN). In the following subsections, I will deal with these types in view of the literary and archeological evidence.

3.3.1 Lion (*labbu*, §4)

The lion was associated with divinity and kingship in ancient Near Eastern traditions. Depending on the context, some features of the animal are highlighted and others are pushed into the background. The motif of a female deity accompanied with lions can be traced back in the Neolithic age (Keel 1994: 158). Sumerian and Akkadian monarchs speak of themselves either as lions or fight them face-to-face. In the NA royal narration and iconography the king hunts for the animal. Presentations of deities riding lions as mounts are frequently found in iconography. Still, it is the warlike goddess Ištar (and her NWS parallels) whose association with the lion remains of special significance.⁹⁴

In Akk., the masc. form *labbu* is a poetic word, contrary to the ordinary term *nēšu*, the occurrence of which in PNs is uncertain (§6). The fem. form *labbatu/lābatu* appears only as an epithet of Ištar: *labatu Išdar* (CAD L 24-25).⁹⁵ In theophoric names, except for ^fŠī-*labbat*, comparable to DN written ^dŠī-*labbat*, all the other examples contain the Amor. form *Labba/labba*.⁹⁶

(1) As a predicate: *Šarru-labba* “DN (or the like) is a lion”, ^fŠī-*labba* “She [Ištar] is a lioness”, *Ištar-labba* “Ištar is a lioness” (OAKk.).

(2) As a subject: *Amur-Labba* “See, o Labba”, *Itbe-Labba* “Labba has come up”, *Labba-nada* “Labba is praised” (OAKk.), *Iddin-Labba* “Labba has given”, *Labba-illum* “Labba is the god”, *Labba-kāšid* “Labba is victorious” (MB).

(3) In some names *la-ba* can be either a predicate or a subject: *Bēli-la-ba* “My lord is a lion” or “Labba is my lord”, *Ilšu-la-ba* “His god is a lion” or “Labba is his god”, *Ilšu-abu-la-ba* “His god, the father, is Labba/is a lion.”

⁹⁴ On the leonine metaphor in Mesopotamia, see Watanabe (2002), and for a wider image about its symbolism in the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near East, see Strawn (2005).

⁹⁵ Interestingly, both terms are found in an OB hymn to Ištar (Lenzi 2011: 282-83):

⁽³¹⁾ *šu-pu-ú-tu₄ la-ab-bat⁴ ġ-gì-gì mu-kan-ni-šat* DINGIR-“MEŠ *sab-su-ti*. (51) ⁴*ir-ni-ni*(one sign erased)-*i-tu₄ la-ab-bu na-ad-ru lib-ba-ki li-nu-ḥa* “Resplendent one, lioness of the Igigi, making submissive the angry gods. Irninitu! The aggressive lion, let your heart (= fem.) be at rest with respect to me”. Irninitu is an exceptional hapax legomenon for Ištar (Lenzi 2011: 259), and the expression *labbu nadru* appears in the plural form in another phrase: *labbi nadrūti* “the aggressive lions” (CAD L 24ff).

⁹⁶ Cf. ↓4.1.3.1.1.

3.3.2 Dog (*kalbu*, §14)

In addition to its use as a one-word name, the element *kalb-* appears in the common Sem. type *Kalb-DN* “Dog/Hound-of-DN”. Our onomastic data show that this type goes back as early as the Oakk. period. According to some scholars, the term *kalb-* here may be understood in a figurative sense as “servant”, since it semantically corresponds to Akk. *ward-* and (N)WS *‘abd-*, which are also found in “Servant-of-DN” type (Thomas 1960: 425-26; Gaspa 2008: 126).⁹⁷ Nevertheless, some names can be approached from a different angle, like *Kalbu-Isin* “Dog of (the goddess of) Isin” (i.e., Gula) (NB) and its semantic parallel *Mūrānu-Gula* “Puppy of Gula” (NB). As is known, Gula, the healing goddess with her principal temple in Isin, was typically depicted as accompanied by her animal, the dog, most probably because dog saliva was thought to have healing power (Fuhr 1977: 143-144; Böck 2014: 38ff). Skeletons of thirty-three dogs from different ages were excavated in the complex of the Gula temple in Isin.⁹⁸ Several texts highlight the divine status of Gula’s dog, e.g., in the oath phrase *kalbum ša Gula* and the incantation: “If he touches the dog of Gula he is clean (again)” (quoted in CAD K 71). The term ‘dog’ in these examples might refer to a figurine as well as a living animal. One of the tasks of Gula’s dogs is to counter the destructive demon *Lamaštu* (whose principal victims were unborn and newly born babies) and her agents, one of which was the black ‘rabid’ dog (Böck 2014: 40-41 with the bibliography therein). An incantation reads “But we, we are not just a(ny) dog. (We are) the Dogs-of-Gula, (poised) to fly your face, tear your back to pieces, and lacerate your ankles” (Farber 2007: 640-41).

In view of this information, names like *Kalbu-Isin* and *Mūrānu-Gula* can be interpreted in two ways:

(1) (Nick)names/titles of physicians or servants at Gula’s temple. In the same context, it may not be a coincidence that one of Šamsī-Addu I’s physicians bore the name *Mērānum* “Puppy” (ARM 16/1 153), which can be figuratively understood as “Healer”.

(2) Thanksgiving names: the name-giver did a prayer and/or dedicated a clay dog to the goddess. Expressing his/her gratitude towards her, (s)he named the child after her animal (i.e., a substitute name). This explanation is reasonable in view of the prayer “for Gula I made and dedicated (this) dog of clay” (quoted in CAD K 71) and can help us to understand the MA name *Uqâ-mūrāni* “I waited for my puppy” (§27).

⁹⁷ The term *kalbu* also denotes “vassal of a king” in OA (Balkan 1957: 6, 30).

⁹⁸ The analysis showed the following distribution of age: one stillbirth, fifteen puppies, four young dogs of up to one year, four dogs between 1 ¼ to 1 ½ years, and nine adult animals (Boessneck 1977: 101).

These two hypotheses might hold for *Kalab-Bau/Kalab-Baba* (OB) and *Kalbi-Bau* (NB), too, for Bau (or Baba), the principal goddess of the Lagash area, was also a goddess of healing⁹⁹ and thus associated with a dog.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, OB *Kalbu-išar* “The dog is reliable” seems to belong to the same semantic field.

In addition, there are two interesting compound names with the element *kalbu*: *Ša-pî-kalbi* (m + f) “He/She (who was rescued from) the mouth of a dog” and *Ina-pî-kalbi-irîh* “He remained in the mouth of a dog”, both seem to indicate orphanhood (i.e., the child was found in the street).¹⁰¹

3.3.3 Bovine

In Mesopotamian literature, the use of bovine appellatives was a usual way to designate goddesses. Ninsun, the name of Gilgameš’s mother, means “Lady wild cow”. Mullis-su/Ištar, for instance, appears in NA texts as “wild cow”. Significantly, the animal appellatives by which the goddess addresses the Assyrian king as her own son in NA prophetic texts make use of the “calf” terminology “as for you, have no fear, my calf” (Parpola 1997 7, r. 11).¹⁰²

3.3.3.1 General term for the bull (*šūru*, §60)

The general term *šūru* occurs as a divine epithet in three Eb. theophoric names: *Šu-ra-Damu* “Damu is a bull”, *Šu-ra-Qawm*, and *Šur-ra-Karru*. Likewise, the term is associated with divinity in Akk.: *Ilī-šūr* “My god is a bull” (Oakk.), *Šūr-Sîn* “DN is a bull” (Oakk.), *Šūr-abī* “My father is a bull”, and *Šūr-Adad* “DN is a bull” (MA).

3.3.3.2 Wild bull (*rīmu*, §35)

The wild bull played a fundamental role in the ideology of the Neolithic period, as is reflected in the bucrania of aurochs which were collected in deposits or hung on the walls of houses in many sites in Syria (Cauvin 1994: 166–168). Based on this symbolism, deities were depicted with bull’s horns.¹⁰³ The image of the wild bull (*rīmu*) in Mesopotamian

⁹⁹ Cf. the NB name *Ba’u-asītu* “Bau is a doctor” (CT 55 65 rev. 10). I am indebted to Prof. Stol for providing me with a reference to this name.

¹⁰⁰ See for the discussion of Bau/Baba, Falkenstein (1966: 63-67).

¹⁰¹ The semantics of such names becomes apparent through two ‘literary’ legal phrases related to orphanhood: *ina pî kalbi ikimšu* “he rescued him from the mouth of a dog” and *ina pî āribi ušaddi* “he let (him) fall down from the mouth of a raven” (Landsberger 1937: 44, Tf.3, III: 34-37).

¹⁰² For a comparative study on the symbolism of the bull in the ancient Near East, see Rice (1998).

¹⁰³ Horns were also used as offering to the god of storm in Eb. “20 shekels of silver (157 g) for the circular covering of the horns of 2 bulls, offering of the king (for) Hadda of Aleppo.” (MEE 12, 36, quoted in Archi 2013: 218).

literature is rich enough that the word was used as an epithet of gods, heroes, kings, and temples (CAD R 361ff; Watanabe 2002: 57-75).

As for theophoric names, while there is a consensus that *rīmu* denotes “wild bull” in the three-element names, i.e. *Adad/Ea/Ninurta/Sîn/Šamaš-rīm-ilī* “DN is the wild bull of gods” (fem. *Aya-rīmti-ilātim, Ištar-rīmti-ilī*) (all OB), *Sîn-rīm-Urim* “DN is the wild bull of Ur”, (OB), and *Aššur-rīm-nišēšu* “DN is the wild bull of his people” (MA) (Stamm 1939: 226; CAD R 361; AHW 986; Bowes 1987: 1167-68), there has been much debate on whether the two-element names *Rīm-DN* (Oakk., OB), *Rīmuš* (Oakk.), and *DN-ri-mi* (Oakk.) are formed with the noun *rīmu* “wild bull”, “gift”, or the verb *rēmu* “to take pity, to have/show mercy”: (1) Gelb (MAD 3 231) and Macrae (NPN 313) give “to love, have mercy” (imperative) for all; (2) CAD R 361-2 has “wild bull” for all, where the sense “gift” is attested only in the fem. form *rīmūtu* (ibid. 264); (3) AHW 986 suggests “gift (of god)” (<*rīmu* II) for *Rīm-DN* and *Rīmuš*; and (4) Stamm (1939: 259) gives either “wild bull” or “gift” assuming that the term is perhaps confined to royal names (ibid. 85).¹⁰⁴ In view of the semantic of three-element names and the fem. form *rīmūtu*, I will adopt the translation suggested by CAD. As for the one-word names, i.e., *Ṛīmtum, Rīmum, Rīmu, Rīmiya*, they are mostly abbreviated forms or hypoc. (CAD R 362a).

3.3.3.3 Calf (*būru* = Sum. AMAR, §61)

This element appears in two types of names:

- As a DN, e.g., *Būr-nāšir* “The (divine) calf is the protective one”, *Būr-šar* “The (divine) calf is the king” (OMA I 187); *Būru-abu-ušur* “O [divine] calf protect the father”, *Būru-ibnī* “The [divine] calf has created”, and *Būru-iqīša* “The [divine] calf has granted”, etc. The intended god in these examples might be any of the major ones, such as (1) Marduk, one of his several designations being Sum. ^dAMAR-UTU “Bull-calf of the sun/storm” (Lenzi 2011: 291), and who is also compared to a cow with a calf in the hymn *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi I* (19-20): “He hastens to treat his beloved kindly, and like a cow with a calf, he is ever attentive.” (Lenzi 2011: 291, 499), (2) Adad: “the fierce calf (symbol) of Adad” (CAD B 342), or (3) Šamaš: “king (Šamaš), calf (born) of the holy mother cow (CAD B 340).

- The construct state: *Būr-DN* type “Calf of DN”,¹⁰⁵ which is found in Eb. *Būr-Kaym* and *Būr-i* (hypocoristicon), but much more in Akk. *Būr-Adad/Ištar/Dagan/Šamaš/Sîn* and so

¹⁰⁴ For more information on this issue, see the discussion in ↓3.6.1.

¹⁰⁵ This type may have been influenced by its Sum. parallel *AMAR-DN*, e.g., “Calf of Ašnan”, “Calf of Hendursag”, “Calf of Nin-kilim”, and so on, in addition to names indicating localities: “Calf of the New Temple”, “Palace-Calf”, “Calf of Girid”, and “Calf of Kuara” (Foxvog 2011: 75).

on. In general, this type may parallel *Inbu-DN*, lit. “Fruit of DN”, and metaphorically “Offspring/Son of DN”, both being widely found in Akk. (Stamm 1939: 261; Gaspa 2008: 150-52).

3.3.4 Wild ungulates

Three names of wild ungulates are used as divine epithets, mainly in PNs from the earlier periods (OAkk. and OB):

(1) *bibbu* “wild sheep” (§31): according to Gelb (MAD 3 93), this term is attested in several names, e.g., *Bibbi-il*, *Ea-bibbi*, *Bēlu(m)-bibbi*, all meaning “DN is my wild sheep”, *Nārum-bibbi* “The (divine) river is my wild sheep”, and *Il-bibbi* “God is my wild sheep” (OAkk.).¹⁰⁶

(2) *turāḫu* “ibex” (§38): *Meme-turāḫ* “DN is ibex” (OAkk.).

(3) *lulīmu* “stag, red deer” (§38): *Ilīma-lūlim* “My god is truly (the) red deer” and *Ilum-lūlim* “The god is the red deer” (OB).

3.3.5 Small cattle

Names of small cattle are only used in the construct state *animal-of-DN*: *Kalūm-īlim* “Lamb of god” (OB, §75),¹⁰⁷ *Immer-īli* “Sheep of god”, *Immeruša* “Her sheep”, the hypoc. *Immeriya* (OB, §62), and *Inzi-Aia* “Goat of DN” (NA, §64).¹⁰⁸ This type of names can be interpreted as an expression of attachment (i.e., a trust name), like the names in which the god is often described as the shepherd of mankind (Stamm 1939: 261). It might also express joy over the birth (Gaspa 2008: 152ff) or thanks to the deity through designing the child as a sacrificial animal.

3.3.6 Equids

Equids played an important role in the economic and religious life of the ancient Near Eastern societies. Beside their function in transportation and agriculture, donkeys,¹⁰⁹ for example, were ritually sacrificed while concluding agreements.¹¹⁰ The term *imēru* occurs

¹⁰⁶ The reading of these names, however, is not accepted in CAD B 217ff.

¹⁰⁷ The lamb is considered *ellu* ‘ritually pure’ sacrifice in ritual texts (Wilson 1994: 78). Note also the diviner’s prayer known as ‘The Lamb’ “[I cal]l to you Šamaš, I beseech you to cleanse me. In the lamb I offer, place the truth (...) on the right of this lamb, on the left of this lamb, place the truth (Foster 1996: 153).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Sum. “Goat of (the god) Ašgi” (Foxvog 2011: 74).

¹⁰⁹ On equids and their domestication in ancient Mesopotamia, see Zarins (2014).

¹¹⁰ Lafont 2001: 263ff.

as a one-word name (§42); its attestation in theophoric names is uncertain.¹¹¹ As for *mūru* “foal”, we have NA *Mu-ri-ia/Mūr-Aia* “Foal of DN”, which, if not a hypoc., would parallel Amor. *Mūru-DN* (↓4.1.3.6) and, probably, Eb. *Muhr-išu* “His foal” (the god?) (§44). These names could belong to the same context of *Immer/Kalūm-DN* mentioned above (3.3.5) or indicate youth and vivaciousness.

3.4 Animal names: reasons for their use

This topic has been but superficially dealt with in Assyriology. In this section, I will elaborate on it by addressing the following theories and practices: the nickname theory, affective names, omen names, the astral theory, and naming and royal ideology.

3.4.1 Nicknames, affective names or omen-names?

In his fundamental study of Akk. name-giving, Stamm (1939: 11) treats animal names as nicknames. He points out that this category in Akk. lists is confined largely to small animals. The endings *-ya*, *-ātum*, and *-ūtum* often found in them suggest tenderness (pet names) with a humorous nuance (ibid. 11, 253). His remark that terms denoting lion (*nēšu*) and raptors are never used (ibid. 254-55) seems correct, for the two *nēšu*-names (NA, NB) are highly uncertain (§6). Similarly, *ka-su-su* (UM 2, 2 120), which is cited as a PN “(hunting) falcon” (AHw 454b), is interpreted differently as PBS 2/2 120 (the same text), and CAD K 257a does not see a PN in it.¹¹² Stamm’s explanation of animal names as expressions of tenderness was adopted by other scholars (NPN 292; Rasmussen 1981: 471).

In his recent comprehensive study on profane names in the NA anthroponomy, Gaspa (2008) paid more attention to animal names. Semantically, his evaluation is based on animal similes in the NA royal inscriptions and other texts, in which people (the Assyrian king, his troops, and his enemies) are compared with animals. Like Stamm, however, he does not establish any criterion for distinguishing nicknames from given names. In his view, some animal (by)names can be taken as honorific ones, since they refer to animals usually meant to be an expression of positive human qualities (e.g., lion, wolf, and the wild bull). The fox mostly indicate cunning. The lynx (*Azaru*) and wild cat (*Murašū*) might probably express the idea of a furtive and nocturnal person. Names of wild goats and ibex

¹¹¹ According to Prof. Stol, ANŠE-*išg-tár* “Donkey of Ištar” (Abdi and Breckman 2007 19: 55, no. 19: 5) is a misreading of GİR-(= *šēp*)-Ištar “Foot of Ištar”. He also suggests that *Imarum*, *Emarum* in §42 could mean “The man from Emar”, “Emarite”. If all this is true, “donkey” is not attested in Akk. names.

¹¹² This information concerning *ka-su-su* was mentioned to me by Prof. Stol.

indicate agility and the ability of coping with enemies and difficult situations. *Arādu*, wild ass, refers to a frightened person, while names referring to lambs and kids can be understood as synonyms of innocence, docility, and submissiveness. The same holds for pig, which refers to docility. Anthroponyms concerning the dog convey the idea of meekness and servilism (Gaspa 2008: 142-145). As for affective names, Gaspa adopts a view which is similar to Stamm's but with a little modification. He classifies them into three categories: (1) the ones denoting animal offspring, especially 'lambs' and 'calves', which are a longstanding popular expression of innocence, vitality, and nature's bloom, (2) little animals, particularly rodents (e.g., *Akbaru*, *Arrabu*, *Asqūdu*, *Ḥarriru*) without ruling out the possible connection with their use as refined meat, and (3) names characterized by diminutive forms and the use of possessive suffixes, e.g., *Puṣḥi* "My *puṣḥu*-rodent/My ratty" (Gaspa 2008: 148-49).

Thus, the common points between Stamm and Gaspa are the following:

- (1) They see animal names as nicknames in general, but without giving any explanation.
- (2) They exclude the concept of *omen est nomen*.
- (3) They do not pay attention to the probable association between animal names and magic.

Based on the literary and onomastic evidence, these points will be discussed in the following two subsections.

3.4.1.1 Given names or (humorous) nicknames?

Presumably, one can distinguish a given name from a nickname only when there is a sufficient repertoire, i.e., data on several persons, males and females, with both. These data should contain information on the birth (or official) name, the semantics of the nickname in terms of honor/mocking, and preferably information on the ancestors' names of the given person from the paternal and/or maternal line in order to know if (s)he was called after one of them. When such data are not available, any assumption that animal names (in general or even some of them) are nicknames is merely a projection of our modern conception on a different society.

If a name is quite frequent in a certain area/period (or generally), it should rather be taken as a given name, e.g., OB Sippar: *Ḥuzālu* "Gazelle" (probably a metaphor for agility) is very frequent (IPNOBS 99), its fem. form *Ḥuzālatu*, 12 times (ibid. 99), *Šēlebu* "Fox" (a

metaphor for cunning),¹¹³ frequent (ibid. 325-26), *Arwû* “Gazelle-buck”, relatively frequent (ibid. 43), and *Arnabatu* (f) “Hare” (affective name), 6 times (ibid. 42). There is no reason to see such examples as nicknames, given that nicknames are more unique than given names and somehow related to specific attributes.

If we turn to double-names (↑2.1.5.3), the distinction becomes quite difficult. Our onomastic data yield only few examples of animal names:

OB *Iddin-Lagamal* = *Šēlebum* “Fox” (Stol 1991: 210),

OB *Nārām-Adad* = *Immerum* “Lamb” (Charpin 1980: 343),

NB *Nergal-ušēzib* = *Puršû* “Flea” (Wunsch 2000: 12),

NB *Marduk-šumu-iddin* = *Murānu* “Puppy” (Waerzeggers 2014: 64).

From a modern point of view, the first idea which comes to mind is that the given name in these examples is the theophoric one. Yet it is also possible that some individuals were given animal names or the like at birth, but they tried to change them later, i.e., if they entered a new phase of life or, simply, because they did not like them.¹¹⁴ The latter method would not always work in small communities, where people know each other very well. The person in question in this case would become known through both names, mostly until death. The nickname theory becomes less convincing when we consider the distribution of animal names in family (↓3.5) and society (↓3.6). To avoid generalization, however, it is safer to say that due to its metaphoric use, this type of names fits in both categories: given names and nicknames.

3.4.1.2 Omen names?

The practice of using omen names (especially those of animals) is known in several societies, e.g., the Arab World, India, and the Mbeere people of Kenya (↓5.4.2.1). The importance of omens in Akk. literature is well-documented in two major series *Šumma Izbu* (de Zorzi 2011, 2011a) and *Šumma Ālu* (Freedman 1998, 2006), both showing a significant role of animals. However, since this type of literature provides no direct information on name-giving, the hypothesis elaborated in this section remains speculative.

Some animals and insects were seen as good/bad omens almost in all situations. Let us examine the case of *sāsu* “moth” below in *Šumma Ālu*:

¹¹³ On the fox and cunning, see CAD Š/2 268b.

¹¹⁴ Some examples from CAr. support this hypothesis (↓5.6.1).

If moths are seen in a man's house, the owner of that house will become important (Freedman 1998 38: 1).

If there are moths becoming numerous in a man's abandoned house, that house will be inhabited; its inhabitant will be happy (Freedman 1998 38: 10).

If moths become numerous in a man's house, the house will have enough food; it will be happy (Freedman 1998 38: 11).

Hence the frequency of the name *Sāsu* in all periods (§129) might be related to the symbolism of the moth, i.e., there was a belief that it (and consequently its name) brings wealth/good to the family. It is also possible that the birth of some individuals called *Sāsu* was accompanied by the presence of this insect.

On the other hand, the negative connotation of some animals seems to have resulted from (or led to) an association with demons (MAŠKIM = *rābišum*):

If an animal demon (MAŠKIM AZ.ZA.LU.LU) is seen in a man's house, that house will be dispersed (Freedman 1998 19: 4).

This image is understandable in a world which was thought to be inhabited by all sorts of demons (Farber 1995):

If an evil demon (MAŠKIM ḪUL) is seen in a man's house, that house will be dispersed (Freedman 1998 19: 2).

If a divine demon (MAŠKIM DINGIR) is seen in a man's house, that house will be dispersed (Freedman 1998 19: 3).

Whatever the animal demon is, one would expect its name to be avoided in utterance as well as anthroponyms. As observed in a variety of cultures, the utterance of a name might lead to the appearance of the thing named.¹¹⁵ In view of this, the absence of a term like *nimru* "leopard" from the Akk. onomasticon (§10) is possibly due to the fact that it is also a designation of demon (CDA 253).

An examination of animal names in view of animal categories suggests that the people of ancient Mesopotamia tended to avoid names of venomous animals. For example, *Zuqaqīpu* "Scorpion" is found only once for an OAkk. ruler (↓3.4.2; cf. the frequent WS parallel 'aqrab sub §131) and *Še-ra-a-nu/Ši-ra-a-nu* "Snake-like" is dubious (cf. the frequent terms for snake in WS sub §118). These animals were considered not only dangerous but also devils and incantations against them as well as the feral dog were common in the Sum.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, Frazer (1911: 397) and Smal-Stocki (1950: 490).

and Akk. tradition in all periods.¹¹⁶ Some of these incantations go back as early as sources from Fara and Ebla (e.g., Cunningham 1996). Below is an OB example against the snake:

I seized the mouth of all snakes, even the *kuršindu* snake,
The snake that cannot be conjured, the *aš(š)unugallu* snake, the *burubalû* snake,
The (*šan*)*apšaḥuru* snake, of speckled eyes,
The eel snake, the hissing snake, (even) the hisser, the snake at the window
It entered the hole, went out by the drainpipe,
It smote the sleeping gazelle, betook itself to the (?) the withered oak (IM 51328: in Finkel 1999).

As for rodents' names, their occurrence in several Sem. languages indicates that they belong to a common naming tradition. Stamm's hypothesis on the affective aspect of their use seems likely if we suppose that they were given in relation to physical similarities (smallness, colour of skin and such), but without ruling out other possibilities, such as a magical association. The dormouse or jerboa (*arrabu*), for example, had a kind of magical power, since it was used against *zikurudû* (a pernicious magic practice): "you take that dormouse, put it into the skin of a mouse, put it into a grave, and make a sacrifice to the dead" (CAD Z 117; A/2 302).¹¹⁷ Whether being given names or nicknames, rodents' names appear to have had a positive value in general.

3.4.2 The astral theory: names of animals or astral bodies?

The Sumerian King List reads:

After the flood had swept over, when kingship had come down from heaven, kingship (was) at Kiš. At Kiš, Gišru was king; he reigned 1,200 years; Kullasina-bēl reigned 900 (?) years' [Nan-GI(Š)-lišma reigned 1,200 (years); En-dara-ana reigned 420 years, 3 months, (and) 3 ½ days]; Bāb[um] reigned 300 years;] Pū'an[num] reigned 840 (?) years; Kalibum reigned 900 years; Kalūmum reigned 840 years; Zuqāqip reigned 900 years; Atab reigned 600 years; Mašda, son of Atab, reigned 840 years; Arwi'um, son of Mašda, reigned 720 years; Etana the shepherd, the one who went up to heaven, who put the countries in order, was king; he reigned 1,500 years; Baliḥ, son of Etana, reigned 400 years (Glassner 2004: 121).

¹¹⁶ Similar incantations against scorpions and snakes are known in the Islamic tradition (Ibn Qayyim 1998 4: 165-170).

¹¹⁷ For more information on *arrabu* in magic, see Thomsen (1987: 40-44).

The majority of these post-diluvian rulers who preceded the famous Etana have Akk. names (the underlined ones), four of them refer to animals: *Kalibum* “Dog” or “Rabid”, *Kalūmum* “Lamb”, *Zuqāqip* “Scorpion”, and *Arwi’um* “Gazelle”, whose Sum. father’s name *Mašda* (= Akk. *Šabītum*) gives the same meaning. This unit of ‘animal-kings’, as Jacobsen (1939: 152) terms it, was probably inserted by the author of the King List before an originally independent tradition which began with Etana, who precedes a series of rulers with names of a different type. Hallo (1963: 52), on the other hand, links two of them (*Kalibum* and *Zuqāqip*) as well as some of the names of the anti-diluvian kings (*Lulim/Ayyalu*, *Dumuzi*, *Sipa-zi-an-na*) to constellations. Frayne (2008: 50-51) goes further by applying this idea to most of the twelve kings. This hypothesis would be valid if the other two animal names, *Kalūmum* and *Arwi’um* were used for constellations, which is not the case (cf. the table below). Moreover, although Frayne links the sign KIŠ to animals “aurochs, deer, or donkey”, he does not pay attention to the possible symbolic association between its name and the ‘animal-kings’ themselves. Given this information, Poebel’s hypothesis (PBS 4/1: 111) that the king Zuqāqip was perhaps figured in a legend in which he was changed into a scorpion by an angry deity seems attractive and can help us to decode the other names. As indicated above (3.4.1.2), the scorpion, the snake, and the feral dog were seen as devilish animals in ancient Mesopotamia. Neither *Zuqāqip* (§131) nor *Kalibum* (§14, to be distinguished from *Kalbum*) are found afterwards, unlike the case of *Arwi’um* (§29) and *Kalūmum* (§75), which were popular in all periods. Therefore, it is likely that the succession of a dangerous animal by a beautiful and peaceful one (dog/lamb, scorpion/gazelle) in the Sumerian King List symbolizes the replacement of an unjust reign by a just one, which was invented to introduce Etana, whose name probably means “Ascender of Heaven”. As is known from the myth concerning this king, after becoming desperate to have a child, he went up to the sky by the help of an eagle in order to find the plant of birth (Dalley 2000: 189-200). Although the rest of the text is missing, the Sumerian King List tells that he was succeeded by his son Baliḫ or Waliḫ. In view of this analysis, the Sum. tradition might imply the following idea: the kingship which came down from heaven at Kiš witnessed a state of instability and had been spoiled by some unjust animal-kings until the rise of Etana, who established a fixed and just dynasty.

In order to examine the probability of the astral theory outside the Sumerian King List and the interpretations concerning it, I will classify Akk. astral names into two groups according to their relation to anthroponyms: (1) the ones referring to animals, (2) the others (miscellaneous names). If names from both groups are found as anthroponyms, this

certainly means that the people of ancient Mesopotamia intentionally named their children after astral bodies.

Group (1) astral names derive from animal names:

Name/Meaning	Constellation	CAD/vol.	PN (attestation in App.)
<i>alluttu</i> “crab”	Cancer	A/1 360	§137 (very rare)
<i>āribu</i> “raven”	Corvus	A/2 266	§104 (very rare)
<i>barbaru</i> “wolf”	Triangulum	B 108	§19
<i>bibbu</i> “wild sheep”	unspecified planets or comets	B 218	§31 (very rare)
<i>e/inzu</i> “goat”	Lyra	E 180	§64 (very rare)
<i>ḥabaširānu</i> “like-a-mouse”	Centaurus	Ḫ 8	§83
<i>kalbu</i> “dog”	Hercules	K 68	§14
<i>nēšu</i> “lion”	Leo	N/2 193	§6 (very rare)
<i>nimru</i> “leopard”	A constellation comprising Cygnus	N/2 235	No
<i>nūnu/nūn šamê</i> “fish (of the sky”)	Pisces Austrinus, also another star or constellation	N/2 234	§137 (very rare)
<i>suḥurmāšu</i> “(mythical) goat-fish”	Capricorn	S 351	No
<i>šēlebu</i> “fox”	the star Gamma in Ursa Major	Š/2 270	§16
<i>šinūnūutu</i> “swallow, swallow fish ”	star(s) in Pisces and Pegasus	Š/3 56	§110
<i>tūltu</i> “worm”	unspecified constellation	T 466	No
<i>zuqaqīpu</i> “scorpion”	Scorpius	Z 165	§131 (very rare)

The table shows that the majority of astral names occur as anthroponyms, but this does not necessarily indicate an association between both, for none of the names from group (2) below is found as such:

Group (2) astral names which are not related to animals: *agru* “Aries” (CAD A/1 151), *epinnu* “Triangulum Boreale” (CAD E 235), *gamlu* “Auriga” (CAD G 35), *ikû* “Pegasus” (CAD I 69), *kalîtu* “Puppis” (CAD K 76), *kaiamānu* “Saturn” (CAD K 36), *nîru* “Yoke constellation, roughly equivalent to Bootes” (CAD N/2 264), *pāšittu* “Beta Andromedae” (CAD P 256), *ših̄tu* “Mercury” (CAD Š/2 416), and *zibānîtu/zibānû* “Scales constellation; precursor of Libra” (CAD Z 99/100).

This comparison leads us to the following conclusion: the use of animal names as astral names and anthroponyms somehow belongs to the same pragmatic field (i.e., metaphors) but this does in no way imply that the latter are based on the former.

3.4.3 Names of domestic animals and royal ideology

Names like *Immeru* “Sheep” (§62), *Kalūmu* “Lamb” (§75), *Būru* “Calf” (§61), *Ḫuzîru* “Pig” (§77), and *Kurkuzānu* “Piglet” (§78) are quite frequent in our data. In dealing with such names, Gaspa (2008: 148) suggests: “common profane names like those referring to domestic animals, as donkeys and sheep, may have been simply intended to express features usually attributed to these animals on account of their use in everyday life and work, like physical resistance, industriousness, and prolificness”. Yet we can go a step further by approaching these names through what we can call ‘the onomastic interaction with royal ideology’. As is known, the concept of the King-as-Shepherd occupies an essential place in ancient Mesopotamian literature and seems to have influenced other cultures. The oldest reference to it is from the Oakk. period, where king Lugalzaggesi of Uruk (2340-2316) speaks of himself as being “born for shepherding” (Zaccagnini 1994: 271). The metaphor appeared some three hundred years later, where Šu-Sîn, king of Ur (2037-2029) declares himself to be “the king whom the god Enlil, in his heart, has elected to be the shepherd of the country and of the four corners of the world”. Similarly, the OB Ḫammurapi announces that Enlil and Marduk granted to him the shepherding of the dark-haired people (Zaccagnini 1994: 271). The origin and archetype of this metaphor belongs to the divine sphere, e.g., Dumuzi/Tammuz is the shepherd-god. But since “the king is the mirror of a

god” according to the proverb (Lambert 1960: 28), he was entitled to shepherd the people/the flock.¹¹⁸

Based on this analysis, I would suggest that the frequency of PNs referring to herd/domestic animals reflects a kind of onomastic response to the representation of the people of ancient Mesopotamia in royal ideology as obedient flock/cattle.

3.5 Animal names within the family

As indicated above (2.1.4), naming within the family is reflected by three practices: (1) systematic naming, (2) harmonic names, and (3) naming after a family member. This section examines the applicability of the latter two practices to animal names.

3.5.1 Harmonic names

This naming method is not only observed in theophoric names (↑2.1.4.1) but also in animal names. A review of onomastic lists from different periods yields the following examples:

No.	Period	Name	Meaning	Reference
1	OA	<i>Ašqūdu s. Bāziya</i>	Hamster/Falcon (?)	OAPN 15
2	OB	<i>Būr-Sîn s. Būr-Enlil</i>	Calf-of-DN/Calf-of-DN	IPNOBS 68
3		<i>Ḫuzālu s. Kalūmu</i>	Gazelle/Lamb	IPNOBS 99
4		<i>Ḫuzālu s. Imēru</i>	Gazelle/Donkey	Tammuz 1993 47: 4
5	MB	<i>Kakkīšu br. Mūrānu</i>	Weasel/Puppy	PKTN 17
6		<i>Kudurrānu s. Ḫuzālu</i>	Wren/Gazelle	PKTN 17
7	NA	<i>Quqū’a s. Šēlebu</i>	Pelican/Fox	PNA 1018
8	NB	<i>Ḫabaširu s. Kalbā</i>	Large mouse/Dog	YOS 7 149: 7, 12
9		<i>Ḫaḫḫūru s. Šellebi</i>	Raven/Fox	SAA 18 5

¹¹⁸ More literature on the image of the king as a shepherd (*rē’û*) can be found in CAD R 310. For the frequent *DN-rē’û* type “DN is the shepherd” and similar names, see Bowes (1987: 1160-62).

10		<i>Kalbā s. Bāziya</i>	Dog/Falcon	Dougherty 1923: index of PNs
11		<i>Aqūbu s. Bāziya</i>	Ape/Falcon	BM 42349: 10
12		<i>Murašū s. Šellebi</i>	Wild cat/Fox	VAS 4 146
13		<i>Šēlebi s. Iqūpu</i>	Fox/Ape	Spar and von Dassow 2000 119: 7
14		<i>Šellebi s. Mūrānu</i>	Fox/Puppy	MacEwan 1984 179: 1
15		<i>Šikkūa s. Mūrānu</i>	Mongoose/Puppy	NBC 8341: 10
16		<i>Iššūru s. Mūrānu</i>	Bird/Puppy	BM 79055: 20

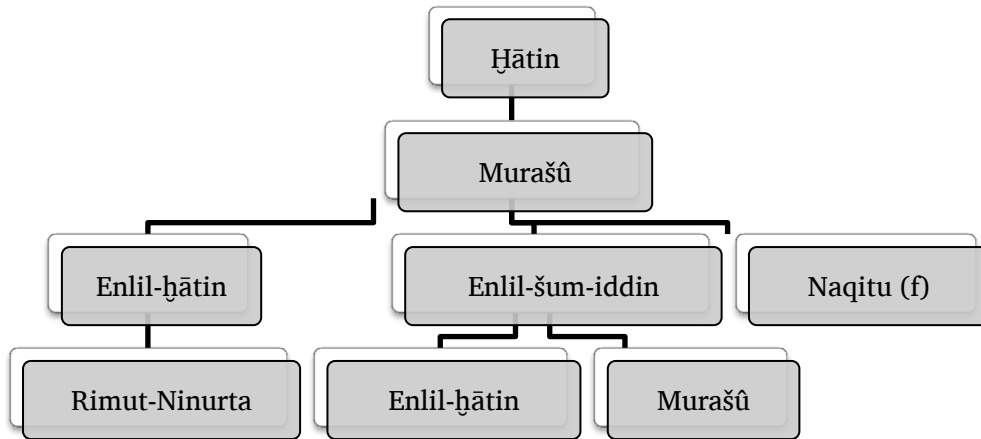
Dealing with these names, one should keep in mind that:

- (1) These pairs are relatively few in comparison to the high number of individuals bearing animal names.
- (2) Some of these names might have been given spontaneously (i.e., as fashion names) without any association with the patronyms.

In his analysis of two of these names (No. 6, 8), Gaspa (2008: 180-182) hypothesizes that they are nicknames and that the onomastic relation “Raven/Pelican-Fox” expressed common behavioral traits known to everybody that time. This, however, seems unlikely in view of the other three Foxes (No. 12-14) whose fathers/sons bore different animal names. On the contrary, such names appear to refute the ‘nicknames theory’ (↑3.4.1). Of all these examples, No. 5 is the most significant one, as it indicates that something was going on in the mind of the name-giver; the two animals could have had a special symbolism for the him or his family, or even in his area.

3.5.2 Naming after a family member: papponymy

An interesting example about the influence of this custom on the survival and popularity of animal names is the stemma of the *Murašū* family “Wild cat” (Stolper 1976: 192). According to the diagram below, *Enlil-šum-iddin*, the second son, named one of his sons after his grandfather (*Enlil-ḫātin*) and another one after his father (*Murašū*):



The frequency of the name *Murašû* in the NB period (§13) can be attributed to the reputation of the family, whose members, bankers and brokers, were engaged in several financial activities in southern and central Babylonia for a period of 50 years starting from the end of the 5th c. BCE (Stolper 1985).

3.6 Animal names in society

As mentioned above (2.1.5), naming in Akk. reflected the social stratum and/or cultic position of the bearer. To which extent did this affect the use of animal names? The following subsections will address this question.

3.6.1 Animal names as royal names

Beside the four post-diluvian rulers (§3.4.2), there are few examples of historical kings with animal names: *Rīmuš* “His wild bull” (Oakk.), *Rīm-Sîn* “Wild bull of Sîn” (the last king of Larsa Dynasty), *Immerum* “Sheep” (early OB Sippar), and *Būr-Sîn* “Calf of Sîn” (first dynasty of Isin). Although there is an individual called *Rīmu* (MA), *Rīmuš* itself is not found in any onomastic list (§35), which means that it was of restricted use. A similar interpretation could be suggested for *Immerum* in the OB period, since the corpus of Sippar shows that except for the king, there is only one individual with this name (a witness in CT 8 26b: 21, de Boer 2014: fn. 371). As for the kings *Būr-Sîn* and *Rīm-Sîn*, their names appear as theophoric elements in PNs. For instance, an official in the kingdom of Isin bore the name *Būr-Sîn-ilī* “(King) Bur-Sîn is my god” and he named his son *Ilum-bāšti* “My/The god is my happiness”, where the element “god” seems to refer to the same king (Stol 1991: 205). Yet these two examples do not mean that names of *Būr-DN* and *Rīm-DN* types were confined to kings, for we find them among several individuals from outside the royal

circle: *Būr-Adad/Enki/Mama/Aya/Ištar/Nūnu/Ningal/Šamaš* (Bowes 1987: 862-3; IPNOBS 67-8) and *Rīm-Adad/Ištar/Ninurta/Nūnu/ili* (Bowes 1987: 1167-8; IPNOBS 250-51).

3.6.2 Free and slave population

In order to examine animal names in their relation to status, I will deal with onomastic samples that cover different periods and contain sufficient information on the person in question: free or slave and his/her social stratum and profession/position.

3.6.2.1 The UR III period

The onomastic data from the UR III period evidence some high status individuals with Akk. animal names:

Name/meaning	Status	Reference
<i>Ašqudum</i> “Hamster”	<i>šakkanakkum</i> -ruler	Kienast 1994 32
<i>Kūdanum</i> “Mule”	<i>sukkallu</i> “minister, ruler of a district”	Sigrist 1984 600: 2
<i>Šēlebum</i> “Fox”	(1) ENSI “governor” (2) <i>sukkallu</i>	Sigrist 1990 44: 3; 76: 1
<i>Šeleppūtum</i> (f) “Turtle”	Daughter of the king Amar-Suen	Frayne 1997: 267

Another sample from the same period, the Garšana corpus suggests that Akk. animal names were more popular among commoners and people from the lower social class. The brick haulers mentioned in the table below, mainly women, were hired as seasonal workers for a wage of 3 liters of barley per day (Heimpel 2009: 351-65):

<i>Arwatum</i> (f) “Gazelle”	<i>Pagūtum</i> (f) “Monkey”
<i>Kalamatī</i> (f) “My louse”	<i>Pērūrūtum</i> (f) “Mouse”
<i>Kukkuzānum</i> “Piglet”	<i>Šaḫītī</i> (f) “My sow”
<i>Mūrtum</i> (f) “Foal”	

This table suggests that animal names were much more common among females than among males. The two names with the possessive suffix *-ī*, *Kalamatī* (f) and *Šaḫītī* mostly imply affection (↑3.2.4).

3.6.2.2 The Old Babylonian period

The onomastic data from Sippar show that animal names were generally used by the free population, e.g., *Akbarum* “Mouse; Jerboa”, *Arrabum* “Dormouse”, *Arwûm/Arwîtum* “Gazelle-buck”, *Bûr-DN* “Calf of DN”, *Ħuzālum/Ħuzālatum* “Gazelle”, *Kalûmum/Kalûmtum* “Lamb”, *Kurkuzānum* “Piglet”, and *Šēlebum* “Fox” (listed alphabetically in IPNOBS). Interestingly, *Immerum* “Sheep” is attested for a king (↑3.6.1) and *Annabu*, *ʿAn-na(-a)-bu* “Hare” (<*Arnabu*) for a princess (DUMU LUGAL) (VAS 7 84-5; and her seal in Pientka 1998: 311-12). Animal names are rare for slave girls, but there is a *Dabîtum* “She-bear”, a *Hamašîrum* and *Humašîrum* “Large mouse”, and a *Ħuzālatum* “Gazelle”; the latter is a popular free name (Harris 1977: 50). Among male slaves we have only one *Kalûmum* “Lamb” (BE 6/1 58, mentioned in Vandorpe 2010: 29).

3.6.2.3 The Neo-Assyrian period

According to the NA prosopography, animal names are found among all social strata:

Name	Meaning and origin	Status	PNA
<i>Akbarâ</i> (f)	Jerboa [Akk or (N)WS]	slave woman	94
<i>Akbaru</i>	Idem	(1) king, (2) slave	94
<i>Akbûru</i>	Idem [Can-Heb.]	slave owner	94
<i>Anaqātu</i> (f)	She-camel (?) [Ar.] or the Egyptian vulture (?) [(N)WS] ¹¹⁹	dependant woman	110
<i>Arādu</i>	Wild ass [Can-Heb.]	landowner	124
<i>Arbîtu</i> (f)	Gazelle [Akk.]	woman belonging to the palace	128
<i>Āribu</i>	Raven [Akk.]	slave	131
<i>Arnabâ</i>	Hare [plus the Aram. ending?]	gardener	132
<i>Arnû</i> (f)	Wild goat [(N)WS]	dependant woman	132
<i>Arrabu</i>	Dormouse [Akk.]	(1) military official, (2) exor-	132

¹¹⁹ See the discussion sub App. §94.

		cist	
<i>Ašqūdu</i>	Hamster [Akk.]	(1) physician of the royal court , (2) oil-presser, (3) scribe, (4) recipient of estate	137
<i>Barbarānu</i>	Little wolf [Akk.]	royal bodyguard	269
<i>Bassūnā</i>	Kitten [Ar. or Aram.]	dependant farmer	277
<i>Gadyā</i>	Goat [(N)WS]	military official	418
<i>Gindibu'</i>	Locust [Ar.]	Arab ruler	424
<i>Gugī</i>	Spider [NWS]	dependant individual	427
<i>Gūrā</i>	Whelp [NWS]	dependant individual	432
<i>Gurrāiu</i>	Idem	staff member of the governor's household	431
<i>Ḥaḥḥuru</i>	Raven [Akk.]	individual from Babylon	439
<i>Ḥarriru</i>	Digger [Akk.]	priest	462
<i>Ḥazāla</i>	Gazelle [(N)WS form vs. Akk. <i>ḥuzālu</i>]	military official	469
<i>Ḥazālā</i> (f)	Idem	slave woman	469
<i>Ḥimārī</i>	Donkey [(N)WS]	(1) military official, (2) three individuals from Nineveh and Aššur	472
<i>Ḥuluttī</i> (f)	Little mouse [Akk.]	woman probably from Babylon	477
<i>Ḥunišā</i>	Piglet [(N)WS]	bronze smith	479
<i>Ḥurāpu</i>	Spring lamb [Akk. or (N)WS]	(1) prince (2) tanner	480
<i>Ḥuzālu</i>	Gazelle [Akk.]	(1) prelate, (2) messenger, (3) landowner	484
<i>Ḥuzīrī</i>	My pig [Akk.]	(1) military official, (2) dependant individual, (3) merchant	484

<i>Iḡilu</i>	< Calf of DN [(N)WS]	(1) worker from Guzana, (2) farmer, (3) individual from Guzana	507
<i>Iḡlā</i>	Calf	chariot fighter	507
<i>Iḡlānu</i>	Little calf	village manager	508
<i>Iḡlī</i>	His calf	(1) official responsible for building activities, (2) horse-trader, (3) dependent person, (4) slave	508
<i>Imāri</i>	Donkey [Akk.]	royal bodyguard	538
<i>Immerānu</i>	Lamb [Akk. or (N)WS]	individual from Aššur	539
<i>Inzi-Aia</i> (f)	She-goat of DN (or with the hypoc. -aya) [Akk.]	woman from Aššur	559
<i>Kalbi-Aia</i>	Dog of DN (or hypoc. -aya)	king's personal guard, (2) son of the Egyptian Pirsaniše from Kalhu	598
<i>Kalbi-Ukû</i>	Dog of DN	(1) state official, (2) individual from Ma'allanate	598
<i>Kalbu</i>	Dog	(1) military official, (2) team commander, (3) architect, (4) scholar, and (5) seven individuals from different towns	598
<i>Kapīru</i>	Young lion [Can-Heb.]	(1) horse trainer, (2) individual from Guzana	605
<i>Kurukku</i>	Gander [Akk.]	individual from Nineveh	642
<i>Labā'u</i>	Lion [(N)WS form vs. Akk <i>lab(b)</i>]	dependant farmer	649
<i>Lubâma</i>	Idem	slave	649
<i>Murašû</i>	Wild cat [Akk.]	(1) charioteer, (2) third man of the governor of Lahiru	770

<i>Mūr-Aia</i>	Foal of DN (or hypoc. <i>-iya</i>) [Akk.]	individual from Aššur	770
<i>Nabūzâ</i>	Centipede (?) [Aram.]	merchant	905
<i>Nāhiru</i>	Dolphin (?) [Akk.]	military official	922
<i>Nasrâ</i>	Vulture [CS]	temple servant	933
<i>Nēšu</i>	Lion [Akk. or Elamite]	commander in the Elamite army	959
<i>Nūnî</i>	Fish [Akk.]	bow-maker	967
<i>Pušḫu</i> (m + f)	a rodent (rat?) [Akk.]	(1) carpenter, (2) woman from Klahu	1000
<i>Quqî</i>	Pelican [(N)WS]	prophet	1018
<i>Quqû</i>	Idem	(1) head porter, (2) scribe	1018
<i>Quqû'a</i>	Idem	(1) horse trainer, (2) outrider, (3) scribe, (4) baker	1018
<i>Raqqîtu</i> (f)	Turtle [Akk. or NWS]	Entry in a list of women or of feminine PN	1033
<i>Raqqu</i>	Idem	two dependant individuals	1033
<i>Sapūnu</i>	Hyrax [Can-Heb.]	military official	1091
<i>Sarpî</i>	Snake [Can-Heb.]	individual stationed in the town Tupḫa	1092
<i>Sāsu</i>	Moth [Akk.]	dependant individual	1095
<i>Simsimānu</i>	Ant [NWS]	dependant individual	1112
<i>Ṣe-ra-a-nu, Ṣi-ra-a-nu</i>	“Snake-like” or “He of the Steppe” [Akk.]	(1) landowner, (2) bearded courtier	1069
<i>Šū'alî</i>	Fox [Can-Heb.]	foreign governor	1153
<i>Šūrānu</i>	Cat [Akk.]	(1) cavalryman (2) dependant individuals	1159
<i>Ta'alâ/ Ta'lâ</i>	Fox [Aram.]	(1) two farmers, (2) gardener	SAA 11 203 r.

			i, 13
<i>Uqūputu</i> (f)	Ape [Akk.]	slave woman	SAA 6 45: 3

The table suggests that animal names were more popular among commoners and individuals connected to the palace. They are also more frequently found among males than among females, which, however, cannot be taken as an indicator because the NA documents in general provide us with less onomastic data about the latter. Remarkably, there are three individuals with cultic positions: *Harriru* (priest), *Quqî* (prophet), and *Nasrâ* (temple servant). Regardless of their ethnic background, presumably they were not obliged to adopt conservative or traditional names matching their status.

3.6.2.4 *The Neo-Babylonian period*

In the NB period naming practices are another indicator of the social status of the individual. Members of the elite bore a given name, a father's name, and a clan or family name. *Širkus*, dependants whose limited freedom was a result of their social subordination to an institutional temple household, were identified by a given name and father's name only, and they did not have a family name. Slaves, meanwhile, went by their given name plus 'slave of so-and-so (name of their owner)' (Kleber 2011: 105).

The table below exhibits the distribution of animal names in the three social groups: free people, slaves, and *širku*'s:

Name	Meaning	Status/occupation/social group (according to the genealogy)	Reference
<i>Alluttu</i> (f)	Crab	1 <i>širku</i>	Cousin and Watai 2016: 12
<i>Arḥaya</i> (f)	Heifer (hypoc.)	1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 12
<i>Arrabu</i>	Dormouse	free men (appearing as witnesses)	Joannès 1989: index of PNs
		1 farmer (commoner)	YOS 19 75: 19, 23
		1 carpenter (<i>širku</i>)	YOS 19 173: 2
		1 sackmaker (<i>širku</i>)	YOS 19 111: 12

		1 stock-breeder (<i>širku</i>)	YOS 7 163: 1, 9, 12
		1 slave	YOS 7 203: 7
		1 clothes mender, 1 leather worker, 1 bronze smith (all <i>širku</i> 's)	Bongenaar 1997: 317, 411
<i>Arrabatu</i> (f)	She-dormouse	2 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Bazitu</i> (f)	Exotic animal/Meerkat/Falcon	5 free women, 5 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Ḥabaširu</i>	Mouse	several free men (some are debtors or witnesses)	Wunsch 2000: index of PNs
		1 slave owner	Baker 2004 183: 5
		1 overseer (<i>širku</i>), 1 bronze smith (<i>širku</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 374
		1 scribe (free man)	Bongenaar 1997 96; Baker 2004 88: 18
<i>Ḥabaširu/Ḥabaširtu</i> (f)	She-mouse	1 free woman, 7 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Ḥuzālu</i>	Gazelle	1 baker (<i>širku</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 190
<i>Immertu</i> (f)	Ewe	2 free women, 1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>I/uqūpu</i>	Ape	1 provincial governor	Bongenaar 1997: 9
		several free men (some act as witnesses)	MacEwan 1984: 12: 13, 171: 15; Wunsch 2000: index of PNs
		1 sackmaker (<i>širku?</i>), 1 bronze smith (<i>širku?</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 328, 374
<i>U/Eqūpatu</i> (f)	She-ape	1 free woman, 2 <i>širku</i> 's	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11

<i>Iṣṣurtu</i> (f)	She-bird	1 free woman	UET 4 174: 2, 183: 1
<i>Kalabuttu</i> (f)	Locust	3 free women, 1 slave	Graziani 1986 9: 1, 4; Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Kalbā</i>	Dog (hypoc. <i>Kalab-DN</i> (cf. Stamm 1939: 12, fn. 2))	1 fisher (<i>širku</i>)	Kümmel 1979 = TCL 13, 163: 10, 15
		1 herdsman (<i>širku</i>)	Kümmel 1979 64, 93
		1 scribe (<i>širku</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 51
		1 weaver (<i>širku</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 328
		1 oil-presser (free man?)	Bongenaar 1997: 274
		1 boatman (free man?)	Bongenaar 1997: 289
		1 goldsmith (free man?)	Bongenaar 1997: 388
		1 slave	Wunsch 2003 15: 8
<i>Kalbatu</i> (f)	She-dog	1 free woman, 1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Kulbibu</i>	Ant	1 free man	Wunsch 2000 32: 18
		1 cook (<i>širku</i>)	YOS 19 156: 5
		1 prison chief	YOS 19 157: 3
<i>Mūrānu</i>	Puppy	several free men (some are witnesses)	Baker 2004 index of PNs
		1 scribe (free man)	YOS 19 1: 45
		1 oil-presser (free man), 1 chief brewer (<i>širku</i>), 1 leather worker (<i>širku</i>),	Bongenaar 1997: 219, 286, 413
<i>Mūrānatu</i> (f)	She-puppy	2 free women, 1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Murašū</i>	Wild cat	the founder of a financier	Murašu Archives

		family, banker	
		several free men	Baker 2004: index of PNs; Joannès 1989: index of PNs
		1 slave	Joannès 1989 230: 55
<i>Murašitu</i> (f)	She-wild-cat	2 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Sasa</i> (f)	Moth		Cousin and Watai 2016: 12
<i>Sinūnu</i> (f)	Swallow	3 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Summatu</i> (f)	Dove	1 free woman, 1 <i>širku</i>	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Šāširu</i>	Cricket	1 free man	Baker 2004 261: 8
		1 cook (<i>širku</i>), 1 carpenter (<i>širku</i>)	Bongenaar 1997: 189, 405
		1 slave	Wunsch 2003 159: 5
<i>Šāširu</i> (f)	Idem	1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Šaḥītu</i> (f)	Sow	1 free woman, 1 slave	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Šelepūtu</i> (f)	Turtle	4 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11
<i>Šellebi</i>	Fox	prebendery of Išhara	Baker 2004, p. 24-25
		brewer of Šamaš (?)	Bongenaar 1997: 226
		several free man (some are witnesses)	Baker 2004: index of PNs; MacEwan 1984; index of PNs

		1 slave	YOS 21 31: 12
<i>Šikkû</i>	Mongoose	free men	Spar and von Dassow 2000 126: 2; Dar. 287: 16
<i>Šikkû/Šikkutu</i> (f)	She-mongoose	1 free woman, 1 <i>širku</i> , 16 slaves	Cousin and Watai 2016: 11

In his study of name-giving of slave women in the NB period, Hackl (2013: 142) concluded that the distinction between free and slave names among female slaves does exist, but not regarding animal names. Yet some difference can be observed. The table shows that animal names are much more attested among slave women (50 vs. 19 free women). Of the 17 women called “She-mongoose” (*Šikkû/Šikkutu*), i.e., the most popular name, 16 are slaves. This also applies to *Ḥabaširu/Ḥabaširtu* “She-mouse”, the third most numerous (7 slaves vs. 1 free woman). The second-ranked name, *Bazitu*, is apparently unrelated to the social group of the bearer, as it is found for both slave and free women. *Šelepûtu* “Turtle” seems to be confined to slaves¹²⁰ (Cousin and Watai 2016: 10). The situation is different among men, however. Animal names are more attested for free men and *širku*’s than for slaves. While names like *Ḥabaširu* “Mouse”, *I/uqûpu* “Ape”, *Mûrānu* “Puppy”, *Murašû* “Wild cat”, and *Šellebi* “Fox” are relatively popular among free men (elite), *Arrabu* “Dor-mouse” and *Kalbā* “Dog” (hypoc.) are more found among *širku*’s. Given the figurative meaning of *Kalbā* “Servant”, one can classify it as ‘status-related name’ which was received in early infancy (if the bearers were dedicated to a temple household since their birth) or when they entered a new service.

To sum up this section, an examination of animal names in relation to status and gender yields the following remarks:

- 1 Animal names were generally avoided by royal dynasties.
- 2 Gender did not play a significant role in naming after animals.
- 3 Animal names are found in all social strata; their distribution among free people, commoners, *širku*’s (NB), and slaves differs from one period to another: (1) UR III: found among the elite (men) as well as commoners (women); (2) OB Sippar: much more among free people (men and women) than among slaves; (3) NA: more among commoners and law-class people than among the elite; (4) NB: more

¹²⁰ Cf. the princess with the same name in ↑3.6.2.1.

among slave women than among free women (few *širku*'s) and relatively as popular among free men as among *širku*'s (few slaves).

- 4 Based on previously mentioned remark, one can say that animal names were not traditionally among the typical slave names.
- 5 There was no strict religious attitude against the use of these names, as they are attested for individuals with cultic positions (OB and NA data) and workers connected to temple households (NB data).

4 Animal Names in Northwest Semitic

4.1 Amorite

4.1.1 The onomastic evidence: etymology and classification

As stated above (1.3.2, 1.3.3), Amor. animal terms have been discussed in two types of works: modern manuals and specific articles. Generally, there is a consensus among these works that it is sometimes quite difficult to distinguish the Amor. names from their Akk. cognates, especially the ones belonging to the PS faunal lexicon. In their approach to this issue, Kogan (2003) and, more thoroughly, Golinets (2016) use etymological, phonological, morphological, and syntactical considerations. In this section, I will apply a similar method by classifying the onomastic data into four groups: (1) Akk. terms, (2) Amor. terms, (3) debated terms, and (4) indistinguishable terms. The names mentioned by Millet Albà (2000), for which I could find no textual references in CAAA or ARM, will be excluded from the discussion.

4.1.1.1 Akkadian terms

In his review of Millet Albà's article on animal names in the Mari Archives, Kogan (2003) suggests that an onomastic element should be provisionally regarded as Akk. if:

(1) No WS etymology for the term in question can be proposed (Kogan 2003: 252): *as/šqud*- “hamster” (§83), *as*- “bear” (§21), *barbar*- “wolf” (§19), *būr*- “calf” (§61), *kulil*- “dragon-fly” (§135), and *lakān*- “(kind of) sheep” (§75).

(2) Specifically Akk. phonological features are observed or the morphological shape of a given term matches with the Akk. cognate but is not attested in other Sem. languages (Kogan 2003: 252ff): *būš*- “kind of bird, hyena” (§113), *iššūr*- “bird” (§106), and *arrab*- “dormouse” vs. *yarbV'*- (§82).

4.1.1.2 Amorite terms

A given onomastic element can be classified as Amor. according to its: (1) etymology, and (2) linguistic features.

4.1.1.2.1 Etymology

The relevant Sem. term has no reflex in Akk. (Kogan 2003: 253; Golinets 2016: 60-64): ‘*arād*- “wild ass” (§39),¹²¹ ‘*ayr*- “donkey” (§40),¹²² *burbur*- “kind of bird” (§117), *ḥ/ḥasīd*- “stork” (?) (in view of Heb. *ḥāsīdā*) (§103), *ya‘il*- “ibex” (§37), and *yamām-a* “pigeon” (in view of Ar.) (§111).¹²³ In addition to these, there are a few possibly relevant terms that have not been discussed before (listed in CAAA without an explanation):

- *Ga-aḥ-šu* and *Ga-ḥa-šum*: normalized as *ga’š-/ga’aš* (CAAA 131). Since the proposed form does not have a clear cognate in NWS, one could alternatively think of Ar. *ḡaḥš*- “donkey foal; young gazelle”¹²⁴ (Lane 382), a term which seems to be isolated in Sem. (§41).¹²⁵
- *Gu-ra-tum* (f), *Gu-ri* (gen.), and *Gu-ri-ia*: probably reflect **gūr*- “whelp” (§26).
- *Gu-ur-da-an*: may reflect **qVrd*- “tick” (§133)¹²⁶ plus the adjectival suffix *-ān* (↓4.1.2.1).
- *Gu-za-an* and *Gu-zi* (f): could be connected to Aram. *qūzā* “weasel” (§91).¹²⁷

4.1.1.2.2 Linguistic features

An Amor. term exhibits phonological, morphological, and syntactical features that are not observed in Akk.

4.1.1.2.2.1 Terms with non-Akkadian phonology and/or morphology

- ‘*azz(-at)*- “goat” (§64) vs. Akk. *e/inzu* (Kogan 2003: 253; Golinets 2016: 71),¹²⁸ provided it is not from √‘*zz* “strong” (CAAA 268; Streck 2000: 294, n. 3). The sense ‘goat’, however, is more explicit in terms with the infix *-Vn-*: ‘*anz-* and ‘*inz-* (cf. ↓4.1.3.5).
- *dabi-* and *dab(i)-at* “bear” (§20) are Amor. according to Golinets (2016: 69) because they exhibit no vowel contraction as compared with Akk. *dabû/ dabītu*, which also holds for the OAkk. name *Da-bi-um* (AHw 148).

¹²¹ This noun is also attested in Akk. texts as a WS loanword: *ḥarādu* II (AHw 322), *araddu*, and *ḥarādu* A (CAD A/2 212; Ḥ 88).

¹²² This noun is also attested in Mari texts as a WS loanword: *ḥā/āru* (AHw 328 with etymology <ug. ‘r, he., ar. ‘*air*; CAD Ḥ 118; Streck 2000: 94).

¹²³ There are also three Amor. loanwords that are not attested in the onomasticon: *baqr-* “cattle, cow”, *buqār-* “calf”, and *šamr(-at)* “wool-bearing (sheep)” (Streck 2000: 85, 87, 116).

¹²⁴ The Ḥ-sign for /ḥ/ has some attestations in Amor. names (Streck 2000: §2.168).

¹²⁵ No mention of any cognates of this Ar. term in SED 2 or Leslau 1987.

¹²⁶ On G- for /q/, see Streck (2000: 198, §2.140).

¹²⁷ On Aram. *qūzā*, see Brockelmann (1928: 651); Drower and Macuch (1963: 409).

¹²⁸ Akk. *ḥanzu*, *ḥazzu*, and *ḥazzatu* are considered WS loans (CAD Ḥ 83; Streck 2000: 96). We have also *azzatu* (CAD 1/2 531) and *a-su*, *a-sa-tum* (not as PN) (ARM 24, p. 24ff). On the etymology of ‘z in NWS, see the discussion by Hug in ThWAT 9: 556-58.

- *ḍab(a)b-*, *ḍubāb(-at)* (dimin.) “fly” (§125) vs. Akk. *zunbu/zumbu/zubbu* (Golinets 2016: 69; Streck 2000: §5.34).¹²⁹

- *ḡazāl-* “gazelle” (§33): while there is a consensus on the Amor. origin of this form (Huffmon 1965: 151; Streck 2000: § 5.22; Golinets 2016: 65), *ḡuzāl(-at)* has been a question of debate: (1) Amor. in the pattern *qutāl* with a diminutive meaning (Huffmon 1965: 151; CAAA 100; Streck 2000: §5.34), (2) Akk. (Stamm 1939: 253; AHW 362; CAD ḡ 265; Kogan 2003:253).

- *ḡimār-* “ass” (§42) vs. Akk. *imēru* (Streck 2000: § 5.30, 70; Kogan 2003: 253; Golinets 2016: 66).

- (*ḡ*)*immar-*: reflects either *’immar-* “lamb” (§62), i.e., the Amor. parallel of Akk. *immeru*, or, less likely, *ḡimār-* “ass” (§29) (Kogan 2003: 253; Golinets 2016: 65).

- *kašb(-ān-)* (§67): could be a metathesis of *kabś(-ān-)* “lambkin” or “lamb-like”, like Heb. *kabśa/kibśa* (Golinets 2016: 69).

- *lab(b)-(a)* (§4): beside its occurrence as a divine epithet (↓4.1.3.1.1), this noun is probably attested in two one-word names: (1) *La-ba* (mas.) from Mari (for a similar masc. name with the Amor. ending *-a*, see *Ya’ūla* “Ibex” in ↓4.1.2.4), and (2) *La-bu-a/’a₄-nu* from Tell al Rimah, which seems to reflect the original PS form **labu’*.

- *ṣabi-(f)* and *ṣabyat-* (f), if related to **ṭaby(-at)* “gazelle, antelope” (§36), suggest Amor. forms vs. Akk. *ṣabītu* and allow one to reconstruct the masc. form *ṣabi-* (Golinets 2016: 70 following Knudsen 2004: 322). Interestingly, both *Zabī* and *Zabya/e* are used for women in colloquial Ar. (Bed.).

- *pur’uš(-ān)* (CAAA 28) or *purḡuš(-ān)* (Streck 2000: § 2.142) attests the noun **pVrḡVṭ-* “flea” (§124). For Golinets (2016: 74), it may be Amor. because it differs from the Akk. forms *pirša’u*, *pirsa’u*, *piršu’u*, etc. (CAD P 414; AHW 855). Another obvious indicator of the Amor. origin of this form, however, is the suffix *-ān*, which is absent from all the available Akk. examples.

- Morphologically, names ending in the suffix *-a* (mostly fem.) or the diminutive *-atān* (masc.) are also Amor. (↓4.1.2.2).

The terms below, which, as far as I know, have not been discussed before, could also be related to the faunal lexicon:

¹²⁹ Or the wide scope of Ar. *√ḍbb* “to defend someone, to drive away, to hast” (Lane 951)?

- *Bu-ul-bu-lum* (§109): could be linked to JBArām./Mand. *blbl* and Ar. *bulbul* “nightingale” (Sokoloff 2002: 241b; Drower and Macuch 1963: 55b; Lane 245a). According to SED 2 (**bVL*-, No. 60), Akk. *bulīlu* “a species of crested bird” (CAD B 310) is a cognate of Ar. *b*.
- *Ḥa-ar-ga-al/Ḥa-ar-ga-lum*: this is clearly a (N)WS form of **ḥargVL*- “locust” (§126) vs. Akk. *ergīlu* which is absent from the onomasticon (AHw 240; CAD I 176).
- *Ḥa-an-zu-ra*: could be a variant (dimin.?) of *ḥV(n)zīr* “pig” (§77) or **a(n)zar* “wild cat” (§13).¹³⁰ Alternatively, it may also be related to Ug. *ḥnzr* (I) “an official” (DUL 399, 417).
- *Pa-ru-ri*: could reflect an Amor. form (dimin.?) of **paʿr* “mouse” (§81); the Akk. cognate occurs only in the fem. form *pērūrūtu*, and it is confined to women in the onomasticon.
- *Sà-aḥ-la-ba-an/Sà-aḥ-la-ba-an*: seems to denote **taʿlab*- “fox”, plus the adjectival suffix -*ān* (like Ug. *ṭʿlbn* and Ar. *ṭaʿlabān*, cf. §16).
- *Zu-úr-zu-ru-um*, *Zu-ur-zu-ri-ia*, and *ʿZu-úr-zu-úr-tum*: if not foreign names, these could be variants of **zarzī/ūr*- “starling”, like Ar. *zurzūr* (§108) or **šarša/ūr*- “cricket”, like Ar. *šuršūr* (§123).

4.1.1.2.2 Terms with non-Akkadian syntax

Compound names whose *nomen regens* has the ending *-u* are syntactically Amor., for this ending is a feature broadly attested in the Amor. onomasticon (Golinets 2016: 72ff; Streck 2000: §3.53-56): *Kalbu-DN* vs. Akk. *Kalab-DN* “Dog of DN” (↓4.1.3.3) and *Mūru-DN* vs. Akk. *Mūr-DN* “Foal of DN” (↓4.1.3.6).

4.1.1.3 Debated terms

- Names formed with *ḥagal*- (*Ḥa-ga-li-ia*, *Ḥa-ga-lim*, *Ḥa-ga-lu-um*) have caused much discussion: Gelb suggests ‘*agal*- without an explanation (CAAA 91, 260); others give “calf” (Durand 1997: 638; Millet Albà 2000: 485; Golinets 2016: 60); for Kogan (2003: 254), the sense “calf” is rather unlikely since the corresponding WS terms are always attested as monosyllabic bases with a stable *i*-vowel. Alternatively, he argues that “Akk. *agalu* ‘an equid’ should probably be taken into consideration but no WS parallel for this interesting term is known so that the nature of the initial laryngeal is hard to establish”. Apparently, Kogan’s argument concerning the sense ‘calf’ is not very accurate, for the *qatl* form is reflected by the Palm. name ‘*Aḡlibōl* “Calf of Bōl” (↓4.3.3.3). As for Akk. *agalu*, the two PNs cited under this item in CAD A/1 141 (*ʿĀ-ga-lum* and *A-ga-la*) appear to be not accepted in

¹³⁰ The Ḥ-sign for /ʿ/ has some attestations in Amor. names (cf. Streck 2000: §2.143).

AHw 15. Given this and the fact that the sign 𐤇𐤀 is rather used for /ḥa/ in Amor. names (Streck 2000: §2.168), it seems most reasonable to consider PWS *ḥagal- “partridge”, which is found in different onomastic corpora: Ug., Heb., AAr., and Ar. (§113).

- *Namašum/namišum*: explained as “Ichneumon” (with question mark) by Gelb (CAAA, 26). Golinets (2016: 80) rejects this proposition assuming that Gelb thought of the Akk. noun *nammaššû* “herds of (wild) animals” (CAD N/1 233), “Getier” (AHw. 728). His rejection is based on two arguments: (1) the orthography of the forms *Na-mi-šum*, *Na-ma-ši* (gen.), and *Na-ma-ši* does not support the morphological relation with the Akk. noun, and (2) it is difficult to explain how a person can be referred to with a generic term “herds of animals” and not with a specific animal name. Seemingly, Gelb’s assessment is based on Heb. *Nimšī/Nmš* (IPN 230) and/or Ug. *Nmš* (PTU 28, 167), the assumed cognates of Ar. *nims* “the Egyptian mongoose” (*Herpestes ichneumon*) (Lane 2854). The original pattern of this word could be *qatal* or *qatil* formation (PHIAP 70, 100), but we still need evidence for it from the NWS lexicon (cf. the mentioned names sub §24).

- *pār-* (§59): Millet Albà (2000: 486-7) mentions *ḥPara*, *ḥParatum*, *ḥPartum* “Vache” (?), and *Paratān* “Celui-de-la-vache” (?), but without textual evidence. Presumably, she thought of *ḥPa-a-ra-tim* (gen.), *ḥPa-ar-tum*, and *Pa-ra-ta-an* (ARM 16/1: 167), which are linked to the verb *BJR* (?) by Gelb (CAAA 16, 285). The Akk. form *pāru* “ein Rind?” (AHw 836b) gets support from Mari *pa^{*}-ra-tu[m]*, mentioned in a list of animals (ARM 24 42). Durand (1991a: 24) compares this word to Syr. *parrā*, Heb. *par/pāra* and Ug. *prt*, all meaning “young bull, heifer”, and he distinguishes it from Akk. *parru/parratu* “young (female) lamb” (AHw 834; CAD P 189, 192). The Amor. affiliation of the mentioned PNs is explicit in the last example (*Pa-ra-ta-an*), for the suffix *-atān* (a combination of *-at* and *-ān*) is attested in hypoc. and one-word names (cf. ↓4.1.2.2).

4.1.1.4 Indistinguishable terms

Gelb (CAAA, the glossary) listed several terms as Amor., although they belong to the PS faunal lexicon (maybe he did so due to geographical considerations). In principle, however, these terms are indistinguishable from Akk., unless they exhibit one of the morphological or syntactical features mentioned above (i.e., the ending *-u* of the *nomen regens* ↑4.1.1.2.2; and the suffixes *-a/-atān*, with more details in ↓4.1.2.2).

The list below represents this category of terms (cf. the discussion by Kogan 2003: 254; Golinets 2016: 75-78 with the bibliography therein):

'alp- “ox” (§54),¹³¹ 'arḥ- “cow, heifer” (§55),¹³² 'arnab(-at) “hare” (§86), 'arwiy- “gazelle, ibex” (§29),¹³³ 'ayyal- “deer” (§30),¹³⁴ baqq- “gnat” (§127), ḥuzīr- “pig” (§77),¹³⁵ kabś- “young ram” (§67), kalb- “dog” (§14), namal- “ant” (§121),¹³⁶ šūrān- “cat” (§13),¹³⁷ and zīb(-at)- “wolf, jackal”, “vulture” (§18).¹³⁸

4.1.2 Suffixes and endearment forms

4.1.2.1 -ān

This suffix is mainly found in masc. names. It has two functions in Amor.: diminutive and adjectival ending from substantive. The first function occurs usually with hypocoristic names, like (a) the genitive construction, e.g., 'Abdān < 'Abd-DN, (b) the predicate state, e.g., 'Adnān < 'Adnī-'il “The god is my delight”, (c) verbal names, e.g., Ya'dunān < Ya'dun-Līm “The tribe delighted”, or with diminutive -at Yayda'atān < Yayda-'el “The god knew”, and (d) interrogative sentence names (sometimes in combination with diminutive -at), e.g., Mannatān < Manna-balti-'el “Who is without god?”. The second function occurs only with one-word names: (a) animal names, and (b) geographical or ethnic names, like Baśārān and Šam'alān (Streck 2000 §5.52-71).

Compared to the other suffixes found in animal names, -ān is the most frequent one, and its adjectival function agrees with the onomastic evidence from Eb. (Bonechi 2011-12),¹³⁹ Akk.,¹⁴⁰ and Ar. (↓5.2.1). The list below contains all the available examples from Mari and elsewhere:

¹³¹ No mention of PNs under this term in AHW 83 or CAD A/1 364.

¹³² No mention of PNs in AHW 67 or CAD A/2 263.

¹³³ The names *Ar-wi-u*/^f*Ar-wi-tum*/^f*Ar-bi-tum*, etc. are treated as Akk. (Stamm 1939: 253; AHW 73; CAD A/2 294). For Streck (2000: § 2.43), UR III *Ar-bi-um* is Amor.

¹³⁴ No mention of PNs in Stamm (1939: 253-55) or AHW 24, but CAD A/1 225 lists OB ^f*A-ia-la-tum* as a WS fem. formation. Yet, we have some Akk. attestations from MB Emar and MA Nuzi.

¹³⁵ All PNs formed with this noun are treated as Akk. in CAD H 266 and AHW 362.

¹³⁶ Treated as WS in CAD N/1 208 and as Akk. in AHW 725.

¹³⁷ The form *šūrān-* is not confined to Akk. For it and other forms with metathesis in the Aram. dialects and Ar., see Huehnergard (2008: 411ff).

¹³⁸ Since no raptors in Akk. PNs (↑3.4.1), this form is most probably Amor. *ḏīb-* as Streck (2000: §5.70) suggests.

¹³⁹ *Gūr(r)ā-nu* “Whelp-like” (§26), *Karrānu* “Ram-like” (§68), *Naššān* “Hawk-like” (§98), *Būšānu* “Rock partridge-like” (?) (§113), *Birbīrrānu* “Lizard-like” (§119), and *Šaššammānu* “Ant-like” (§121).

¹⁴⁰ E.g., *Uznānu* “One with large ears” and *Qaqqadānu* “One with big head” (Stamm 1939: CAD U 261).

(1) Amor./Akk. (↑4.1.1.4): 'Alpān “Ox-like” (§54), 'Arhān “Cow-like” (§55), 'Ayyalān “Deer-like” (§30), Baqqān “Gnat-like” (§127), Huzirān “Pig-like” (§77), and Kalbān “Dog-like”¹⁴¹ (§14).

(2) Amor. (↑4.1.1.2, 4.1.1.2.2.1): 'Anzān “Goat-like” (§64), 'Arādān “Wild-ass-like” (§39), Bāzānum “Falcon-like” (?) (§95),¹⁴² Burburān “burbur-bird-like” (§117), Dī'bān “Wolf-like” (§18), Hī-im-ma-ra-an, normalized as 'Immarān “Lamb-like” (§30) or Hīmārān “Donkey-like” (§42),¹⁴³ Kašbān “Young-ram-like” (§67), Labu'ān “Lion-like” (§4), Purḡušān “Flea-like” or “Full-of-fleas” (§124), Qaw/ūzān “Weasel-like” (§91), Qurdān “Tick-like” (§133), and Ša'labān/Šu'ālān “Foxy” (§16).

4.1.2.2 -at/-atān

The suffix *-at* has a diminutive function in two types of Amor. masc. names (Streck 2000: §4.9): (1) shortened names, like *Binatum* < *Bin-DN* “Son of DN” and *Dimratum* < *Dimri-DN* “DN is my protection”, and (2) one-word names, like 'Aminatūm “True”, Rapu'atum “Healed”, and a few animal names: Ġuzālatum “Little gazelle” (§33), Ya'ilatum “Little ibex” (§37), Hī-ma-ra-ti (gen.), normalized as Hīmāratu “Little ass” < hīmār- (§42) or 'Immaratu “Little sheep” (§62), and Huziratum “Little pig” (could also be Akk.) (§77). In addition, there are two names in which this suffix occurs with the above-mentioned *-ān*:¹⁴⁴ Dī'batān “Little wolf” (§18) and Pāratān “Little young bull/heifer” (§59; ↑4.1.1.3). This combination seems to correspond to the diminutive *f(u)'aylān* in Ar. (↓5.2.4).

4.1.2.3 -īya

A diminutive suffix which is more observed in masc. names: (1) hypocoristica, e.g., 'Abdiya < 'Abd-DN “Servant of DN”, 'Aḥīya < 'Aḥī-DN “DN is my brother”, Dimriya < Dimri-DN “DN is my protection”, (2) in combination with the diminutive *-at*, e.g., Iš'atiya < Iš'i-DN “DN is my help”, and (3) in interrogative-sentence names: Manniya < Manna-ballti-'el “Who is without god?” (Streck 2000: §5.74-5.78). As for one-word names, in which this suffix is less attested, most of the available examples derive from animal names: Dī'biya “Little wolf” (§18), Dabiya “Little bear” (§20), Haḡaliya “Little partridge” (§113), Gūriya “Little whelp” (§26), Ġazāliya “Little gazelle” (§33), Pārātiya “Little young bull/heifer” (§59), and Zu-ur-zu-ri-ia, normalized either as Šuršuriyā “Little cricket” (§123) or as Zurzuriya “Little starling” (§108).

¹⁴¹ Or the shortened form of *Kalb-DN* type (↓4.1.3.3).

¹⁴² On the etymology of this term, see ↓4.1.3.4.

¹⁴³ This form is attested in the GN *Hī-ma-ra-an*^{ki} (CAAA 2276).

¹⁴⁴ On this combination, see Streck (2000: §5.57-58, 63, 65, 68).

4.1.2.4 -a

The fem. noun in Amor. has two endings *-at* and *-a* in pausa. While in compound names *-a* designates the gender of the theophoric element and the name-bearer, e.g., *'Annu-yap'a* (f) vs. *Dagan-yapu'* (m), in most one-word and shortened names it only expresses the feminine gender of the name-bearer, e.g., *'Amina* (f) “True”, *Batahra* (f) “Chosen”, and *Tanūḥa* (f) < *Tanūḥ-mātum* “The country has calmed down” (Streck 2000: §4.3-6). Animal names are special among the one-word names in this aspect, that they express the feminine gender of the species in question (ibid §4-6): *'Ayyala* (f) “Hind” (§30), *Ġazāla* (f) “She-gazelle” (§33), *Ḥuzīra* (f+m) “Sow” (§77), *Inza* (f) “She-goat” (§64), *Ya'ila* (f+m) “She-ibex” (37), and *Yamāma* (f) “Pigeon” (§111). The two masc. names, i.e., *Ya'ila* and *Ḥuzīra*, can be taken as nicknames or expressions of tenderness, like the above-mentioned ones with *-at* (4.1.2.2).

4.1.2.5 Diminutive

According to Streck (2000: §5.33-34, §5.51), Amor. has three diminutive forms: (1) *qutāl*,¹⁴⁵ observed in *Buqāqum* “Little gnat” (could also be Akk; §127), *Dubābum* “Little fly” (§125), and *Ġuzālum* “Little gazelle” (§33) (could also be Akk.), (2) *qitāl*, reflected in *Biqāqum* “Little gnat” (§127), and (3) *qutē/īl* < **qutayl*, found in one example which is not related to animals: *Ḥunīn* “Graciously-treated”.

4.1.3 Animal names in theophoric names

Animal terms in Amor. theophoric names occur as DNs, predicates, and construct nouns (animal-of-DN). In the subsections below, I will deal with these names from a linguistic and cultural perspective.

4.1.3.1 Lion

4.1.3.1.1 *Labba* (§4)

As a divine epithet/deity name, *Labba* is more attested in Akk. names from the older periods (↑3.3.1) than in Amor., where we have only three examples: *'Ammu-Labba* “Labba is the (paternal) ancestor”, the tentative name *'Amti-Labba* “Maid-servant of Labba”, and *Šumu-Labba* “Descendant of Labba”. Whether the vowel /a/ in this form is the fem. marker (Golinets 2016: 70) or a variant of the status absolutus which is otherwise vowelless

¹⁴⁵ This pattern occurs in two types of Ar. names: (1) masc. names with the diminutive-hypocoristic suffix *-a(t)*, like *'Ubāda* < *'Abd-DN* (CIK 559), *Du'āla* “Wolf” (§19), *Usāma* “Lion” (by-form) (§9), and (2) fem. names, like *Bunāna* (Ikmal 10 863), meaning “Odour” (i.e., of sheep, goats, camels, etc.) from *banna* (Lane 285).

(Streck 2011: 454),¹⁴⁶ it is in either case an indicator of the Amor. affiliation of this form. The other assumed *la-ba*-names, i.e., *Ša-du-um-la-ba*, *Ša-du-un-la-ba* and *Ša-du-u(m)-la-bu-a* (CAAA 144), are dubious, for *šadum/n* is probably a Hurrian element, and it is not certain that *la-ba* is Amor. or even Sem. in these names (Golinets 2016: 70; Streck 2000: 260). Interestingly, the noun *labb-* is not confined to theophoric names as is the case in Akk.; it is also reflected by two masc. one-word names: *Labba* and, the variant, *Labu'ān* (↑4.1.1.2.2.1). In MB Emar, the term reappears again as an epithet of Dagan in the form *lab'*: *Lab'u-Dagan* “Dagan is a lion”.

4.1.3.1.2 The question of *'aš/š(a)d- (§2)

The element *'aš/š(a)d- is used as an appellative and DN in Eb. PNs, where it is explained as “lion” in view of Ar. *asad-* (ARES 3 324; Krebernik 1988: 76); it is much more observed in Amor. PNs. Both Gelb (CAAA 13) and Millet Albà (2000: 480) have the same meaning “lion”, while others suggest “warrior” in view of Old Sab. 's¹d “men, soldiers, warriors” (Huffmon 1965: 169; Durand 1991: 82 fn. 4; Streck 2000: 321, note 2; Golinets 2016: 80). In the AAr. onomasticon, 's¹d is used as a theophoric element in Old Sab. and as a one-word name in the other languages/scripts.

The earliest occurrence of 's¹d as a name of the animal is in the Saf. inscriptions, where it is attested some twenty times in the OCIANA corpus. For example:

- By Fltt son of Tm son of Fltt son of {Bhs2} son of 'dnt and he camped on the edge of an area of sand, then the lion injured him, so, O Lt, let there be security (Al-Jallad 2015: 266).
- AbaNS 121: By S¹l is the lion ('s¹d); a rock drawing of a lion accompanies this inscription.



Tracing by Ababneh (2005)

¹⁴⁶ Streck (2000: §3.43, n. 1) compares *Labba* with other divine names/epithets with a long consonant: *Hadda*, *Kakka*, *Yamma*, *'Abba*, etc.

In view of this information, it seems probable that the sense “warrior” is secondary and that Ar. preserved the original meaning. The sense “warrior” could have emerged from a legend in which a king, an eponymous ancestor, or the like was associated with the lion. Over time, probably, the epithet replaced the concrete term and became a theophoric element with a particular reference to a class of ‘divine’ warriors. This proposition can be supported by the fact that other animal terms in Sem. languages are used as designations of leaders, nobles, and warriors.¹⁴⁷ One could also assume that the Eb. and Amor. names belong to an astral myth, in which Leo, as a deity, plays a heroic role. This might be reflected by two Amor. names formed with *maṭar*- “rain” (*’Aśdī-maṭar*) and \sqrt{yp} “to irradiate” (*’Aśdī-ēpuḥ* < *yapu*). The rain and irradiation are two characteristics of *naw’ al-asad* “Leo” in Ar. (Ibn Qutayba 1988a: 53f). As a constellation name, *h’s^ld/’s^ld* is early recorded in Saf. inscriptions (Al-Jallad 2014: 227a).

4.1.3.2 Bear (*dabi’*-, §20)

Beside its use as a one-word name in Akk., Amor., Ug., Aram., and Ar., the element *dabi’*- “bear” occurs in two theophoric names: *Šumu-dabi’* “Descendant of the bear” and *’Ammu-dabi’* “The (paternal) ancestor is a bear”.¹⁴⁸ Since the term has no clear association with any deity, it can be explained as an honorific title.¹⁴⁹

4.1.3.3 Dog (*kalb*-, §14)

Names of *Kalbu-DN* type are frequent in Amor. (vs. Akk. *Kalab-DN*): *Kalbu-Āmi* “Dog of Āmi”, *Kalbu-Samana* “Dog of the demon Samana”, *Kalbu-’Anat* “Dog of ‘Anat”, *Kalbu-’Aštar* “Dog of ‘Aštar”, and *Kalba-’el* “Dog of God”. In addition to the general sense *kalb* = *’abd/ward* “slave, servant” in this type (↑3.3.2), the name *Kalbu-Samana* can be explained differently: a horrifying name or a negative nickname in view of the image of the demon Saman.¹⁵⁰ In addition to *Kalbu-DN* type, we have the tentative name *’A-ia-ka-al-ba* “Where

¹⁴⁷ For some examples in Ug. and Heb., see Miller (1970).

¹⁴⁸ These two names are cited by Millet Albà (2000: 485) without textual references.

¹⁴⁹ Bears, which must be identified as the Syrian Brown Bear (*Ursus arctus syriacus*), clearly fascinated humans from early on and representations of them have been found in fourth- and third-millennium levels in archaeological sites in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iran. According to the Drehem documents (UR III period), bear cubs were captured in the mountains and delivered to “comic entertainers” or “musical entertainers”, who apparently used them in their performances (Michalowski 2013a: 305-06). As for the symbolism of the animal, in a NA text the Babylonian king is tied at the city gate of the inner city of Nineveh like a bear (CAD D 17). In the Bible, the bear is a paradigm of a dangerous animal from which there is no escape (Forti 2008: 62-3).

¹⁵⁰ The demon is depicted as a traditional enemy of the healing goddess Gula (↑3.3.2). It attacks infants, young men and women and prostitutes, and it is described with a lion’s mouth, dragon’s teeth, eagle’s claws and the tail of a scorpion. The overall visualization, however, was that of a dog. The demon bore several

is the (female) dog?”, the interrogative structure of which reminds us of Eb. *'Ay-parru* “Where is the young bull?” and *Ma(n)-parru* “Who is the young bull?” (§59), where *parru* could denote a deity, such as Baal after his descent to the netherworld. Thus, does the element *kalb-* in our Amor. name portray a deity? Is it a thanksgiving name related to Gula’s healing dog (↑3.3.2) or is it merely a ‘humorous’ nickname based on a phrase that was said by the bearer?

4.1.3.4 Falcon? (*bāz-*, §95)

The element *bāz/bwz* appears in Eb. and Amor. PNs, but the etymology is debated. ARES 3: 207: “falcon” in view of Palm. *bzy* (late attestation); CAAA 16: no translation; CAD B 185: a foreign word of unknown origin in view of a NA text which reads: “I received the tribute from Egypt, elephants, *ba-zi-a-ti*, (and) monkeys”; AHW 117b: “Meerkatze?”; Stamm (1939: 254): an error for *paḡitum* “female ape”. In his comment on Millet Albà’s translation “faucon” (2000: 478), Kogan (2003: 254) writes “Interpretation of *bāz-* as ‘falcon’ is most unlikely since all known WS parallels are very late and rightly thought to be borrowed from Iranian”. Yet he does not give an alternative interpretation of the Eb. and OB names. A similar opinion is given by Encyclopaedia Iranica: “Because they do not belong to the avifauna of the Arabic countries, [these birds] were imported by merchants from Greece, Turkestan, Persia and India The Persian name *bāz*, passed into Arabic before Islam, was applied apparently through ignorance to every sporting bird”.¹⁵¹ For Al-Ġāḥiḡ (1965 6: 478): *al-bāzu* ‘indahum a’ḡamiy wa al-ṣaqrū ‘arabiy: “They (i.e., grammarians/lexicographers) consider *bāz* a Persian word and *ṣaqr* an Arabic one”. Concerning Heb. *bāz* “plunder, spoil” (HALOT 117), this sense fails to explain theophoric names like Eb. *Ba-zi-LUM* “God is my B.” and Amor. *Bazī-Ištar* “Ištar is my B.”. In view of this analysis, I suggest two hypotheses: (1) the element *bāz-* in the Eb. and Amor. PNs has the same form as the Persian word but with a different (unknown) meaning, (2) it has the same meaning and should therefore be considered an Indo-Sem. term. If the latter hypothesis is correct, Amor. *Bazī-Aštar* “DN is my falcon” would reflect a specific association between the goddess of love and war and the bird, which is also evidenced in an older non-Sem. literary text, a Sumerian hymn to Inanna (the equivalent of Ištar):

The gods are (mere) birds, (but) I am a falcon (MU.TIN = kasūsu);

terrifying titles: ‘fierce dog of Enlil’, ‘vicious dog of Enki/Ea’, ‘lion of damgalnuna/Damkina’, ‘blood-spilling dog of Ninisina’, and ‘blood-drinking dog of Nintinuga’ (Böck 2014: 99ff).

¹⁵¹ <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/baz-mid>.

The Anunna-gods are goring (among) themselves, (but) I am a cow (No. 7: 27-28 in Cohen 1975: 606).

A similar association between a divinity and the falcon is found in the Islamic tradition (↓5.4.6.1.1.1). Presumably, this association did not emerge all of a sudden or only due to Persian influence; it represents the survival of an ancient Near Eastern belief as the onomastic evidence suggests.

4.1.3.5 Small cattle: goat ('anz-, §64)

The only possible example with this element is *Ḫa-an-za*-^dIM, which could be normalized as 'Anzu-Haddu "Goat of Haddu".¹⁵² If this is correct, the name parallels Akk. *Inzi-Aia* "She-goat of Ea" (NA). This type apparently belongs to the same semantic field of 'cow-and-calf' motif (*Būr-DN*) and 'ewe-and-lamb' motif (*Immer-DN*), both expressing the special affiliation of the believer to a protective deity, i.e., trust names (↑3.3.3.3, 3.3.5). Alternatively, the name could belong to a superstition in which a certain goat was connected to Addu's cult (i.e., it was believed to have a healing or blessing power).

4.1.3.6 Equids: foal (mūr-, §44)

As stated above (↑4.1.1.2.2.2), the Amor. affiliation of the element *mūr-* is reflected by the ending *-u* of the *nomen regens* of two names of *Mūru-DN* type "Foal of DN" (vs. Akk. *Mūr-DN*): *Mūru-Dagan* (Golinets 2016: 73) and *Mūru-'Aštar*. This type can be understood as an indication of belonging to the deity with a special notion of tenderness or as an expression of youth and vivaciousness (cf. ↑3.3.6).

4.1.4 Animal names: reasons for their use

This topic has been briefly dealt with in Assyriology (i.e., Lipiński 1978; Millet Albà 2000: 478). In the following subsections, I will elaborate on it by discussing two theories: totemism and the metaphor theory.

4.1.4.1 *Ditāna* and the question of totemism

Various words based on the Sem. root *ddn/dtn* have served as names of tribal units, geographical names, eponymous ancestors, and animal(s) (possibly mythical) (Michalowski 2013). As for the animal, Landsberger (1934: 94) connected Akk. *ditānu* (LB = Sum. AL-IM) "aurochs" (CAD D 164) or "Wisent?" (AHw 173) with Heb. *dīšōn* "addax".¹⁵³ Given its

¹⁵² The ending *-a* of the *nomen regens* has some attestations in Amor. names (cf. the examples in Streck 2000: §3.54c, 3.66).

¹⁵³ On the zoological identification "Mendes-Antilope, *Adax nesomaculatus*", see Donner (1995: 249).

late occurrence in Akk. sources, *ditānu* is thought to be of (N)WS origin: < **daytan-* or **taydan-* (Marchesi 2006: 9, fn. 23). Durand (1988) makes an etymological connection between Akk. *ditānu*, Heb. *dīšōn*, and Mari *tišānu*, which is mentioned in lists of exotic animals (UDU.ḪÁ *ti-ša-né*) and in a letter (*ti-ša-na-nu-um*), and supposed to denote “chamois ou mouflon montagnard”. Similarly, Streck (2000: §2.114) proposes a PS root **dtn* for these three terms. Golinets (2016: 66), who also assigns Mari *tišān-* to Amor., adopts a compromise: ‘sheep’ or ‘aurochs’. For Militarev/Kogan (SED 2, p. 296), the comparison between the three terms is rather unlikely due to phonetic and semantic considerations. Some animal terms, among them Mari *tišānu* and MB/NA *te/ušēnu* “eine Art Büffel?” (AHw 1352), possibly go back to **tayš-ān-*. On the other hand, Heb. *dīšōn* is rather related to Akk. *daššu* “buck”, both belonging to **dayš-* (SED 2, p. 297).

In his study of early Sem. literature, Steinkeller (1992: 259-62) identifies *ditānu* with the animal ÉRIN+X which is associated with the god Šamaš in Eb. texts. The evidence perhaps points to a mythical creature, that is, the human-faced bull.

For Lipiński (1978: 105-109), *ditānu* should be a kind of antelope rather than an aurochs and thus compared with the symbolic animal of the god Amurru which is most likely a gazelle or an antelope. The tribal name, or sometimes-divinized eponymous ancestor, is attested in several Akk. and Amor. names from Sargonic, Ur III and OB times, e.g., *Me^dDitān* “The sacred power of D.”, *’Ilī-Ditāna* “D. is my god”, *Ammī-Ditāna* “D. is my (paternal) ancestor”, *’Abī-Ditāna* “D. is my father”, *’Sumu-Ditāna* “Descendant of D.”,¹⁵⁴ in addition to Ug. *Bn-Dtn* “Son of D”.¹⁵⁵ Based on this, Lipiński (1978: 109ff) goes on to conclude that *Ditānu*’s figure is closer to the tribal totem than to a historical figure.

Beside the fact that neither the etymology nor the zoological identification of *ditānu* is clear, three objections arise against Lipiński’s hypothesis:

(1) Amurru and the antelope: this god, whose emblem was not only a crooked staff (*gam-lu*) but also a large mouse (in later sources), was a purely Mesopotamian theological construct to symbolize the presence of Amorites (cf. Beaulieu 2005: 36, 37, fn. 35).

¹⁵⁴ For these and more examples of *Ditāna*-names, see CAAA (126-27) and Marchesi (2006: fn. 28). On the Amor. suffix /a/ in these names, see Streck (2000: 272).

¹⁵⁵ A set of Ug. literary and religious texts refer to *Ditānu* as an ancestor of the kings (Vidal 2006: 168-69). For example, RS 24.272: 1-4 reads *kymgy’adn ’lm rbm ’m dtn wyš’al mtpṭ yld wy’y nn dtn ...* “When the lord of the great gods goes to Ditanu and asks (of him) the ruling of the child, then Ditanu answers him, etc.” (Pardee 1983: 128-31).

(2) Animals and cult in Mari texts: except for our information on the use of some animals as sacrifices at concluding treaties, i.e., the donkey and rarely the puppy and the goat,¹⁵⁶ there is no single reference to animals (real or mythical) as symbolic ancestors or such.¹⁵⁷

(3) Anthropological considerations: according to Goldenweiser, a notable anthropologist who discussed the main ‘supposed’ features of totemism, one can postulate a totemic origin only when there is sufficient information on a special association between the tribe/clan and the animal it is named after (Goldenweiser 1913: 372). Based on the available data, it is impossible to establish such an association in the case of Amor. *ditānu*.

4.1.4.2 *Animal names as metaphors and affective terms*

Names referring to small cattle, i.e., the lamb (*’immar-*) and goat (*’anz-*, *’azz-*), may evoke a notion of tenderness, for these animals symbolize innocence and belong to the religious language of the ancient Near East (↑3.3.5). The same could hold for two other kinds of animals: (a) rodents, like the hare (*arnab-*) and hamster (*aśqud-*), and (b) harmless birds, like the dove/pigeon (*yamam-a*) and stork (*ḥašid-*) (Millet Albà 2000: 478). The partridge (*ḥagal-*) probably belongs to this group or, alternatively, denotes beauty.

According to the proverbial locutions and metaphorical expressions used in Mari texts, the dog carries negative connotations. Imprudent people are compared to hasty bitches: “the bitch in her hastiness gave birth to blind puppies” (ARM 1 5: 11), while vicious persons are compared to biting dogs: “like a rabid dog, one does not know where he will bite” (ARM 3 18:15).¹⁵⁸ The animal also evokes inferiority as we infer from Kirû’s letter to her father Zimri-līm: “they respect a dog more than me” (LAPO 18 1288 = ARM 10 32: 2’-3’). Yet the term is frequent in the Amor. onomasticon, especially among nomads (as a one-word name ↓4.1.4). It could be a ‘derogatory’ nickname or a given name. In the latter case, naming practices among modern nomads could help us to solve the contradiction. A Najdi *Tslēb* < *Kulayb* “Little dog” was named so because his parents wanted him to be like a dog (i.e., against foes; ↓5.4.2.2.3).

¹⁵⁶ An OB letter from Mari reads: *ana ḥayārim qaṭālim birīt ḥana u Idamaraš mērānim u ḥazzam iššūnim-ma bēli aplahmā mērānim u ḥazzam ul addin [ḥa]yāram mār atānim [a]nāku ušaqtīl salīmam birīt ḥana u Idamaraš aškun* “In order to kill a donkey (i.e., to conclude a treaty) between the nomads and (the people of) Idamaraš, they brought to me a puppy and a she-goat, but I obeyed my lord and did not give (permission for the use of) a puppy and a she-goat. I caused a foal of a she-donkey to be killed. I established peace between the nomads and (the people of) Idamaraš” (ARM 2 37: 6-14 = LAPO 16 283).

¹⁵⁷ For the Amor. religious practices, particularly the use of stones and trees as cultic objects, see Durand (2005).

¹⁵⁸ On these proverbs/expressions with other parallels from the ancient Near East, see Bodi (2015: 75-80).

In line with the metaphoric use of animals in Mari letters, a name like *Šahû* “Pig” (Akk.) could indicate loyalty, for a servant is compared to a fattened pig: “Bēl-šunu, your servant, that like a pig one fattens, you slaughter him, nobody helps you (lit. nobody seizes your hands)” (ARMT 26/1 5: 24).

Names referring to equids can be interpreted in different ways, depending on the symbolism of the animal in question. The donkey (*himār-*) seems to carry negative connotations because this name is attested only for a slave (see the table in ↓4.1.5). Regarding the wild ass (*arād-* and *par’-*), there is no information on its connotations in Mari texts. In his approach of the NA name *Arādu* in view of animal similes in royal narratives, Gaspa (2008: 144) writes: “a nickname such as *Arādu* could, then, fit fearful and easily frightened persons”. The problem with such a statement is that royal narratives cannot be taken as a criterion for understanding animal similes in a nomadic milieu. In the Bible, the wild ass is a metaphor for wilderness and hostility (Daniel 5:21; Genesis 16: 12).¹⁵⁹ In the late pre-Islamic and transitional (*muḥaḍram*) poetry, it is never used in a derogative way, which is certainly the opposite of its domestic counterpart (Stetkevych 1986: 104-05). Generally, the wild ass enjoyed positive connotations, like swiftness and wild temper (Bauer 1992).

Similarly, names referring to wild ungulates mostly evoke positive attributes. The gazelle (*gazāl-*) and deer (*’ayyal-*) have always been symbols of savage beauty, activeness, and attractiveness.¹⁶⁰ The ibex (*w/ya’il-*) may symbolize agility and nobility.¹⁶¹

Names of wild carnivorous animals indicate prestige, power, and nobility. The lion (*labu’-/laba*) was considered a noble animal, especially through its association with divinity. The wolf (*di’b-*), whose relation with deities is unclear, symbolizes fierceness. Given naming practices in the modern Middle East, it seems possible that names of such animals were given to protect the child from sickness and demons (↓5.4.4). On the other hand, names of small carnivorous animals which are less dangerous to farmers and nomads, e.g., the mongoose (*namiš-*) and the fox (*šu’al-*), could be understood as expressions of endearment or metaphors for deception and cunning, and therefore as a wish that the name-bearer will be able to cope with difficult situations.

¹⁵⁹ For more information on the zoological designation and connotations of the wild ass, see also the discussion by Beyer in ThWAT 9: 593-94.

¹⁶⁰ In the Gilgameš Epic, the gazelle represents the concept of spontaneity and freedom (Westenholz and Koch-Westenholz 2000: 437). In a NA poetic composition, it symbolizes the beloved’s body “Ditto, [whose] thighs are a gazelle in the plain” (SAA 3, 14).

¹⁶¹ This animal in particular was usually associated with the god Enki (Jacobsen 1978: 111). In Ar. dream literature, it means a notable person/leader (Al-Akili 1992: 289).

Insect names, e.g., the gnat (*baqq-*), flea (*parġūš-*), cricket (*šaršar-*), and fly (*dubāb*) appear to be less friendly (Millet Albà 2000: 478). Presumably, they were given either as negative nicknames (in reference to smallness or devouring) or as apotropaic names, i.e., their sense was thought to be negative enough not to attract demons.

4.1.5 Animal names in society

An examination of the social status of individuals bearing animal names in the Mari Archives shows that they were of urban and nomadic background and that they belonged to all social strata (the table also contains individuals with Akk. names):¹⁶²

No.	Name	Meaning	Status
1	'Alpān	Bull-like	nomadic chieftain
2	'Arḥum (f)	Cow	weaver
3	'Arnabu (f)/ 'Arnabatum (f)	Hare	several female workers in the workshops
4	'Arrabum (Akk.)	Dormouse	free individual
5	'Arwītum (f)	Gazelle	(1) princess, (2) 'harem' women, (3) servants
6	'Ašqudum (Akk.)	Hamster	(1) <i>Limum</i> official, (2) diviner, (3) palace-shepherd
7	'Ayyala (f)	Hind	(1) singer, (2) servants, and (3) dependent women
8	'Ayyalum	Deer	(1) king of Abbatum, (2) dependent individuals
9	'Arādān	Wild ass	nomadic chieftain
10	<i>Baqqānum</i>	Gnat-like	messenger of Šamši-Addu I
11	<i>Baqqum</i> (f)	Gnat	weaver
12	<i>Bāzatum</i>	Falcon (?)	(1) weaver, (2) servant

¹⁶² All the names are listed alphabetically in ARM 16/1 and Millet Albà (2000). For more information on the females, see Ziegler (1999).

13	<i>Buqāqum</i>	Little gnat	(1) <i>sugāgu</i> “leader, chief” of Sapīratum, (2) governor of Sūḫum, (3) nomad, (4) important figure
14	<i>Būr-Nunu</i> (Akk.)	Calf-of-Nunu	(1) free individuals, (2) metalworkers, (3) weaver, (4) boatman of the palace, (5) scribe
15	<i>Būšiya</i> (Akk.)	Rock partridge or Hyena	(1) official in Saggarātum, (2) person from Ešnunna
16	<i>Dabi’atum</i> (f)	She-bear	weaver
17	<i>Dabi’um</i>	Bear	(1) palace official, (2) manufacturer of beer containers, (3) slave, (4) two nomads
18	<i>Ġazāla/Ġuzālatum</i> (f)	Gazelle	(1) princess, (2) dependent women, (3) weavers
19	<i>Ḥagalum</i>	Partridge	free individuals, (2) slave, (3) ruler of the city of Rapiqum
20	<i>Ḥimārum</i>	Donkey	slave
21	<i>Kabšatum</i> (f)	Ewe	(1) dependent women, (2) female workers in the workshops
22	<i>Kalbān</i>	Dog-like	nomad
23	<i>Kalbatum</i>	Bitch	weaver
24	<i>Kalbu</i>	Dog	two nomads
25	<i>Kurkusānum</i> (Akk.)	Piglet	(1) free individual, (2) slave
26	<i>Mērānum</i> (Akk.)	Puppy	court physician of Šamši-Addu I
27	<i>Purğušānum</i>	Flea-like	free individual
28	<i>Šēlebum</i> (Akk.)	Fox	free individuals, (2) <i>assinum</i> of the temple of Annunitum, (3) priest

The table shows that animal names were used for males and females from the elite (princes/princesses, chiefs, governors) and the lower social class (workers, slaves). Yet some differences can be observed: women from the lower social class bear the same names as princesses: *Arwītum* (No. 5) and *Ġazāla* (No. 18) (both indicate beauty and elegance), but not vice versa. No princess, for example, is called *Dabi’atum*, *Kalbatum* or any of the names we have examined in UR III data concerning the female workers in Garšana (↑3.6.2.1), which suggests that such names were somehow restricted to commoners and the lower-class population. Regarding males, *Ĥimārum* (No. 20) could be confined to slaves, as it is not borne by any free individuals.

Significantly, there are three individuals with cultic positions: *Aśqūdum* (No. 6), and two *Šēlebum*’s (No. 28), which indicates that there was no restriction on using animal names in the religious circle. The former, *Aśqūdum* appears in several letters,¹⁶³ none of which shows a play on his name by his enemy,¹⁶⁴ and we can therefore conclude that it was not considered a humorous or derogatory term.

An interesting case is the physician *Mērānum* (No. 26), whose name is perhaps an occupational title related to the healing-puppy belief (↑3.3.2). Names formed with *kalb-* (No. 22-24), on the other hand, seem to have been more common among the nomads than among the rural and urban population, as is the situation in our Ar. data (§14).

4.2 Biblical and epigraphic Hebrew

4.2.1 The onomastic evidence

Attestations of Heb. animal names come from two kinds of sources: (1) reliable sources (the OT; inscriptions discovered in official excavations or otherwise commonly accepted as authentic), and (2) dubious sources such as the Moussaieff collection (published by Deutsch and Lemaire 2000).

The table below exhibits Heb. animal names in view of their cognates in the onomastica of the other Sem. Languages. The rightmost column gives the corresponding paragraph number in the appendix (App.):

¹⁶³ *Aśqūdum* served both Šamši-Addu and Zimri-Līm, and during the latter’s reign he took charge of several diplomatic and military affairs as a representative of the king. For more information on his correspondence with the king and his mention in other letters, see ARM 26/1: 71-221.

¹⁶⁴ Durand (LAPO 18, p. 433/b) mentions an interesting example of a word-play name: in Šimatum’s letter to her father Zimri-Līm, the name of his traditional enemy Simaḥ-ilāni-ia (or Simaḥ-ilānē) of Kurda, meaning “Joy of my gods”, is written as Sima-ila-ḥanê, *Si-ma-i-la-ḥa-né-e-im*, i.e., “Sima-il, the nomad”. The first part of the name could also reflect Simma-Ila “Evil of god” or “Plague of god”.

No.	Name	Meaning	Akk.	Eb.	Amor.	Ug.	Pho.	Aram.	Ar.	App.
1	'Akbōr, 'kbr, 'kbry	Jerboa	*			*	*	*	*	79
2	'Ārād	Wild ass			*				*	39
3	'glyw, 'Eglōn, 'Eglā (f)	Calf, Heifer				*	*		*	56
4	'Ēpay, 'Ēpā 'wpy, 'py	Bird							*	93
5	'Ēper, 'Oprā	Young deer							*	34
6	'Īrā(m), 'Īrī, 'Īrū 'yr', 'yrm	(young) Donkey		*						40
7	'Ōrēb, 'rb	Raven, Crow	*						*	104
8	'Ārāḥ	Cow	*		*					55
9	'Aršā	Woodworm ¹⁶⁵								134
10	'Ayyā	Falcon								100
11	'bl	Camel				*			*	49
12	'Immēr, 'mr	Lamb	*	*	*	*				62
13	'lp	Bull			*					54
14	'prḥ, Pārū ^a ḥ	Chick, Young bird (? < *parḥ-) ¹⁶⁶							*	116
15	'Ūzay	Goose (? < *'a/iw(a)z-, waz(z)-)								103
16	'yṣ	Weasel (? < *'a(n)yaṣ-) ¹⁶⁷			*					91
17	Be'or, Ba'ārā(f), B'r'	Camel							*	50

¹⁶⁵ Following Glatz (2001: 29), who does not give an explanation. Apparently, this understanding is based on Ar. *araḏa* “wood-fretter” (Lane 48c). Zadok (PHIAP 75) suggests *'arṣ* < *'rḏ “land, earth” plus the suffix -ā.

¹⁶⁶ Zadok (PHIAP 114) connects *Pārū^aḥ* to *prḥ* “bud, shoot”.

¹⁶⁷ The publishers of the seal on which this name occurs give an uncertain interpretation “(God) has hastened” (?) (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 217).

18	<i>Beker, Bikrī, Bkry</i>	Young camel						*	*	51
19	<i>Bādān</i>	Old ibex (? < Ar. <i>badan</i>)						*	*	32
20	<i>Bbl</i>	Nightingale (? < Ar. <i>bulbul</i>)			*				*	109
21	<i>Dəbōrā</i> (f)	Bee					*		*	122
22	<i>Dgʻ</i>	Fish				*				137
23	<i>Dšōn</i>	Addax	*							38
24	<i>Gaʻal, Gʻly</i>	Black beetle (? Ar. < <i>ǧuʻal</i>)						*	*	130
25	<i>Gālāl, Gll</i>	Turtle (?)								120
26	<i>Gazzām</i>	Grasshopper								126
27	<i>Gəmallī</i>	Camel						*	*	52
28	<i>Gōg</i>	Spider (? < Syr. <i>gəwagāy</i>) ¹⁶⁸				*		*		132
29	<i>Gūnī</i>	Black-winged partridge (?) ¹⁶⁹								113
30	<i>Hā-ʻaryē</i>	Lion								1
31	<i>Ḥāgāb, Ḥagābā</i> <i>Ḥgb</i>	Locust		*		*				126
32	<i>Ḥaglā</i> (f), <i>Ḥglh</i>	Partridge			*	*			*	113
33	<i>Ḥamūṭal/Ḥamīṭal</i> (f)	Lizard (? < * <i>ḥVm(V)ṭ-</i>) ¹⁷⁰						*		119
34	<i>Ḥamōr</i>	Donkey	*	*	*				*	42
35	<i>Ḥarḥūr</i>	Raven, Crow (? < Akk. <i>ḥaḥḥūru</i>)	*							105

¹⁶⁸ They could also be lallative names (PHIAP 137).

¹⁶⁹ Based on Noth (IPN 320) and Glatz (2001, 29); alternatively, it may be a gentilic based on *gw(?)* community, corporation” (Zadok 2009: 120).

¹⁷⁰ Following Noth (IPN 39, fn. 1.) and Stamm (1980: 125), who argue that the suffix *-al* in this name functions as a diminutive. Alternatively, it could consists of *Ḥm* (the Son-god) and **tall* “dew”, like *Yhwṭl* (PHIAP 47, 181).

36	<i>Ḥēled, Ḥelday, Ḥuldā (f), Ḥldy</i>	Mole					*		*	88
37	<i>Ḥēzīr</i>	(wild) Pig	*		*	*			*	77
38	<i>Hgbh</i>	Locust ¹⁷¹								126
39	<i>Kālēb, Klb</i>	Dog	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	14
40	<i>Kpr, Kprh (f)</i>	Lion(ess)					*			3
41	<i>Layiš</i>	Lion						*	*	5
42	<i>Lē'ā (f)</i>	Cow		*					*	58
43	<i>Nāḥāš/Nāḥšōn</i>	Serpent							?	118
44	<i>Nəqōdā</i>	Crake (? < Akk. <i>niqūdu</i>).	*							103
45	<i>Nimšī, Nmš, Nmšy</i>	Mongoose (? < Ar. <i>nims</i>)			*	*			*	24
46	<i>Nšr</i>	Vulture						*	*	97
47	<i>Nūn</i>	Fish	*						*	137
48	<i>Par'ōš, Pra's</i>	Flea	*	*	*	*	*		*	124
49	<i>Pəninnā (f)</i>	Coral								137
50	<i>Pir'am</i>	Wild ass		*					*	45
51	<i>Prpr</i>	Kind of bird (sparrow or partridge). ¹⁷²								117
52	<i>Qōrē, Qrh, Qry</i>	Partridge								113
53	<i>Raḥam</i>	Egyptian vulture (? < * <i>raḥam-</i>) ¹⁷³							*	94
54	<i>Rāḥēl (f)</i>	Ewe							*	71

¹⁷¹ This name, which should be distinguished from *Hgb*, consists of three elements: the definite article /h-/, the element *gōb* “locust”, and the suffix -h (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 218). The fact that a definite article in a PN is rather unusual allows us to doubt this name, which comes from a dubious source, i.e., a text from a private collection whose authenticity may not be assured.

¹⁷² The publishers of the seal on which this name occurs are uncertain about the meaning “(God) mastered” (?) (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 221).

¹⁷³ Provided it is not from *rḥm* “to love” (PHIAP 81).

55	<i>Ribqā</i> (f)	(lassoed) Cow/Sheep ¹⁷⁴								61
56	<i>Rymh</i>	Worm							*	134
57	<i>Šāpām/n, Špn</i>	Rock hyrax					*			90
58	<i>Šārāp</i>	Cobra								118
59	<i>Šeber</i>	Lion (?)								9
60	<i>Šib'ōn</i>	Hyena (?)			?				*	22
61	<i>Šibyā</i> (f+m), <i>Šby'</i> (f)	Antelope			*			*	*	36
62	<i>Škwy</i>	Cock (?)								116
63	<i>Šōbāl</i>	Lion cub (? < Ar. <i>šibl</i>)							*	8
64	<i>Šōbēbā</i>	Lizard (? < * <i>ḏabb</i>)						*	*	119
65	<i>Šōpār, Šippōr,</i> <i>Šippōrā</i> (f)	Bird				*		*		107
66	<i>Šū'āl, Š'l</i>	Fox	*	*	*	*		*	*	16
67	<i>Sūsī</i>	Horse	*					*		47
68	<i>Tahaš</i>	Dolphin; Dugong (?) ¹⁷⁵								137
69	<i>Tirḥānā</i>	Ibex (? < Akk. <i>turāḥu</i>)	*							38
70	<i>Tōla'</i>	Worm								134
71	<i>Yā'ēl</i> (f), <i>Ya'ālā,</i> <i>Y'l, Y'ly</i>	Ibex			*	*		*	*	37
72	<i>Yālōn</i> < 'Ayyālōn	Deer	*	*	*				*	30

¹⁷⁴ Glatz (2001: 29) gives “Kuh” without an explanation; Stamm (1980: 131ff) “Strick zum Fesseln von Schafen”; similarly, Zadok (PHIAP 91) derives it from *rbq* “tie fast”. In the same context, we have JBaram. *rbq, rbq'* “cattle stall” (Jastrow 1903: 1446), Syr. *rābāqā, rābāqtā* “threshing (with cattle)” (Brockelmann 1928: 710), and Ar. *rabiq/rabiqa*, i.e., lamb, sheep, ewe, or goat having its head put into *ribq* “lariat” (Lane 1021b).

¹⁷⁵ Given the other possible etymologies of *Tahaš* (“leather”; “belt”), the sense *Tursiops aduncus/truncatus* (if that is indeed the kind of dolphin meant) is by no means certain. For a comprehensive discussion of this name, see Free and Vos (1992: 94).

73	<i>Yəmīmā</i> (f)	Pigeon, Dove			*				*	111
74	<i>Yōnā, Ynh</i>	Dove, Pigeon		*					*	111
75	<i>Ze'ēb</i>	Wolf		*		*			*	18
76	<i>Zizā</i>	Cicada, Worm (? < *zīz-)	*							123

4.2.2 Suffixes and endearment forms

4.2.2.1 *-ōn*

This is the Can. reflex of *-ān* with the typical shift $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$. It functions as adjectival, diminutive, substantive and hypocoristic suffix (PHIAP 160). There are only few examples with this suffix: *'Eglōn, Dišōn, Nāḥšōn, Šib'ōn*, and *Yālōn*, where it could be either adjectival or diminutive. In general, this suffix seems to be much less attested in Heb. animal names than in their Akk. (↑3.2.1), Amor. (↑4.1.2.1), and Ar. (↓5.2.1) parallels.

4.2.2.2 *-ay*

This hypocoristic suffix is quite common in Aram. names, but there is some reason to believe that *-ay* in Heb. names is not necessarily the result of Aram. influence (PHIAP 162). As in the other biblical names, it is mostly found in masc. names: *'Ēpay, Ūzay*, and *Ḥelday*. Epigraphic names ending in *-y* can render this suffix or \bar{i}/\bar{e} (↓4.2.2.3): *'kbry, 'wpy, 'py, Bkry, G'ly, Ḥldy, Nmšy, Qry, Škwy*, and *Y'ly* (PHIAP 157).

4.2.2.3 *-ī/ē*

More than 72 names in the OT end in this suffix, most of which are masc. The ones related to animals are: *Bikrī, Gəmallī, Nimšī*, and *Sūsī*. According to Zadok (PHIAP 156-57), it is originally either *nisba* (e.g., *'Ibrī, Garmī, Ḥōrī*) or the possessive pronoun suffix 1st sg.

4.2.3 Animal names in theophoric names

Heb. names never refer to the deity as any kind of animal (Fowler 1988: 302). The three examples of theophoric names containing animal terms are in the construct form (i.e., the animal-of-DN type):

(1) The honorific name *'Ārī'el* “Lion of El” (§1) (Rechenmacher 2012: 164), which parallels Nab. *Šb'[']lhy* (?) (§7) and Ar. *Asad Allah* (§2).

(2) *glyw* “Calf of Yhw” (§56), which can be understood as an expression of belonging to the deity with a special notion of tenderness. The name parallels Akk. *Būr-DN*¹⁷⁶ and Palm. *‘Aglībōl*¹⁷⁷ (Rechenmacher 2012: 164; PHIAP 60).

(3) *Kālēb* (§14), provided it is the shortened forms of *Kalb-DN* type (Rechenmacher 2012: 164).

4.2.4 Animal names: reasons for their use

Two theories have been suggested concerning animal names in the OT: the totemistic theory and the metaphoric theory.

The totemistic theory is deeply rooted in late 19th- and early 20th c. anthropology and its particular concerns. The initiator of this theory was Robertson Smith (1912 [1880]), who applied McLennan’s hypothesis on totemism among ancient nations¹⁷⁸ to pre-Islamic Arabia (↓5.4.1) and the OT. Robertson Smith’s main argument is that animal names in the OT are originally tribal names, but they survived later as GNs and PNs. The other two pieces of evidence of totemism are: (1) echoes of an ancient system of kinship through women (Robertson Smith 1912: 477), and (2) the biblical theme about the Jewish worship of all manner of creeping things and unclean beasts (Ezek. viii. 10, Deut. iv. 17, 18) (Robertson Smith 1912: 479). Based on this, he reaches the conclusion that totemism was not only known in ancient Arabia but also in Moab, Edom, and the land of Canaan (Robertson Smith 1912: 475). This theory was elaborated by two other scholars with some modifications. In his study of Heb. proper names, Gray dedicated one chapter to animal names and totemism, concluding that the small numbers of animal names as individual was due to the transition from a totem tribal to a national organization of society. In addition, the use of the names of ‘unclean’ animals is due to the sacred character of these animals in totem worship (Gray 1896: 86-114). Similarly, Murison believes that animal names are originally tribal names, so he argues against the poetical interpretation (or the metaphoric theory below): “To say that these names were given for poetical reasons fails to explain

¹⁷⁶ See ↑3.3.3.2.

¹⁷⁷ See ↓4.3.3.3.

¹⁷⁸ According to McLennan (1869-70), the typical representation of totemism is among the aborigines of America and Australia. These people believe that they are descended from the totem, which is revered as a protector and a friend, and whose name they bear. The line of descent is through the mother, who gives her totem to her children. Persons of the same totem are not allowed to marry. A change in the system of the kinship along with other circumstances may operate to produce homogenous groups inheriting a single totem and totem name from father to son. Once a stock becomes dominant, its totem god may come to command of all the tribes in a group and the other tribal gods become subordinate deities.

either their tribal use or why animal names are much rarer in later times, while animal symbolism is much more common” (Murison 1901: 180).

The foundation of the totemistic theory, i.e., the tribal origin of animal names, collapses when we consider the other NWS data (↑4.1; ↓4.3), which undoubtedly show that they are originally individual (unless one establishes their tribal background somewhere in the pre-historic time). Even if one may find some tribal names referring to animals, it is very probable that they are originally individual (i.e., eponymic). Moreover, an animal name does not prove any totemic origin without sufficient information on the association between the tribe and the animal it is named after (↑4.1.4.1).

Concerning the metaphor theory, which is accepted by most scholars, the concept is that animal names should be taken as metaphors, either in a descriptive sense or as a wish that the bearer would be like the animal mentioned. The not so flattering ones can be understood as ‘mocking’ nicknames (Meyer 1906: 247, 308ff; IPN 229ff; Miller 1970; Toperoff 1995: XXXIII; Glatz 2001). The metaphoric use of animal names is explicitly reflected by several passages in the OT. For example, the blessing of Jacob (Gen 49) uses a series of animals for characterizing the descendants of the twelve tribes, or the tribes themselves: Judah is a young lion, who would exercise power over his brothers; Issachar is a raw-boned donkey, who would submit to forced labor; Dan is a snake, who would provide justice and protection for his people; Naphtali is a doe, who would bear beautiful fawns; and Benjamin is a ravenous wolf, who would devour the prey and divide the plunder. Similarly, the god is compared to strong animals, i.e., the bull, horse, lion, and vulture (Korpel 1990: 523-559; Borowski 2002a: 408-410). In other places animal terms (i.e., bull, lion, goat, and wild ungulates) designate leaders, princes, and warriors (Miller 1970: 180ff). Domestic animals (sheep, lamb, equids, and heifer) were particularly effective in illustrating innocence, loyalty, and devotion (Borowski 2002: 297-8); while insects provided images of destruction and devouring (Borowski 2002: 303).¹⁷⁹

The metaphoric dimension of using animal names can be supported by the epigraphic evidence. Some cylinder seals (mostly come from dubious collections, cf. ↑4.2.1) have a picture of the animal whose name is born by the owner himself, e.g., *ʾbl* “Camel” with the picture of a Bactrian camel (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 165, No. 149), *ʾzryw* (son of) *Hgbh* “The locust” with the picture of a locust (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 17, No. 11), *Šʾl* “Fox” (son of *Mky*) with the picture of a running fox (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 84, No.

¹⁷⁹ More information on animal imagery in the OT is available in Toperoff 1995.

88), *ʿrb* “Raven” (son of *Nby*) with the picture of a bird, possibly a raven (Avigad 1981: 305), and *Yʿl* “Ibex” with the picture of an ibex.¹⁸⁰

Generally, animal names in the OT are more attested among males than among females. Apparently, the parents preferred to give their sons names of animals denoting strength and power (bull, lion, wolf, vulture), speed (falcon), wealth (horse, camel), swiftness and wild temper (ibex, wild ass), and cunning and skills (weasel, mongoose, hyrax, fox, mole). Daughters, on the other hand, received names symbolizing fertility (cow, heifer, ewe), elegance (gazelle, antelope), and blessing/affection (dove, small birds) (Glatz 2001: 28).

In line with the metaphoric theory, one could also consider the apotropaic aspect of animal names. Given the concept of the secret name in the OT (↑2.2.2.1) and the use of apotropaic names among Jewish communities in Europe and Russia (Hand 1984: 2-4) and among the people of the modern Middle East (↓5.4.4), it seems probable that the inhabitants of ancient Syria-Palestine also used animal names to protect their children from sickness (names of carnivorous animals) and demons (names of insects and serpents).

Lastly, some animal names could be based on toponyms (i.e., circumstantial names), like *ʿOprā*, which is also attested for two towns (Joshua 18:23; Judges 6: 11). The fem. form of this name suggests that the individual (1 Chr 4:14) was born in one of these two towns and thus named after it. The same may hold for *ʿŌrēb* “Raven”, the name of a Midianite captain who was captured by Gedon’s band and killed at Raven Rock (TDOT 11: 342).

4.2.5 Animal names in society: status and cultic affiliation

Animal names seem not to be limited to ordinary people; they are also found among notable and wealthy figures as well as cultic figurers. Examples of chieftains from the OT are: *Ḥamōr* “Donkey” the Hivite (Gen 34: 2), *Pir’am* “Wild ass” of Jarmuth (Joshua 10: 3), *ʿĪrām* “Foil” of Edom (Gen 36:43; 1 Chr onicles 1:54), and the two Midianite princes *ʿŌrēb* “Raven” and *Ze’ēb* “Wolf” (Judges 7:20-25). The occurrence of such names among notable figures is supported by the epigraphic sources, i.e., personal seals. The privilege of possessing a seal in ancient times was generally limited to wealthy people and chieftains. As stated above (4.2.4), some of the owners even had iconographies of the animals their names refer to. Regarding cultic figures, the OT provide us with five examples: the prophetess *Dābōrā* “Bee”, whose name could be symbolic or secondary (honorific title or nickname) in view of her image as a fighting woman (Judges 4-5), *Ḥēzīr* “Pig”, a priest (1 Chr 24:15), *Ḥuldā* (f) “Mole”, a prophetess (2 Kings 22; 2 Chr 34), *Tōla’* “Worm”, a judge

¹⁸⁰ Some images of these seals are available in Glatz 2001: 28.

(Judges 10:1-2), and *Yōnā* “Dove”, a prophet (Jonah). Similar cultic figures with animal names are also attested in Akk. (↑3.6.2.3) and Mari (↑4.1.4).

4.3 Epigraphic Northwest Semitic (Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Phoenician-Punic)

4.3.1 The onomastic evidence: etymology and classification

The epigraphic NWS onomasticon contains a high number of animal names. Whereas the Pho-Pu. names are highly certain, many of the Ug. names discussed by Watson (2006, 2007) are tentative. On the other hand, the Aram. inscriptions also exhibit names which have been roughly classified as Ar. In order to address these issues, I shall arrange the material in three subsections: (1) names based on Common Sem. elements or elements which are reliably attested in the NWS lexicon, (2) tentative names in the Ug. onomasticon, and (3) the question of Arabian-like names in the Aram. onomasticon.

4.3.1.1 Common Semitic/Northwest Semitic elements

These form the majority as the table below shows (note that the rightmost column gives the corresponding paragraph number in the appendix [App.]):

No	Element	Ug.	Pho-Pun.	Aram.						App.
				Old/Off.	Hat.	Palm.	Nab.	OSyr	Dura	
1	'VgVr- "kind of bird"	'grn								109
2	*'abVw- "fish"	'by (?)								137
3	*'akbar- "jerboa"	'kbr, Ak-ba-ru	'kbr, 'kbr', 'kbrm, 'kbrt (f)	'kbr						79
4	*'aqrab- "scorpion"				'qrbn	'qrbn	'qrb	'qrb	Ακαραβανης, Ακραβανης	131
5	*'igl- "calf"	'gl, 'gltn, (bn) 'glt	'gl		'gyly, 'bd'gylw (='Ogēlō)	'gylw, 'gyl'	'gl'		Αγγουλ, Αγουλος	56
6	*'VnVq- "female kid"	'nqt (?)								63
7	*'Vṣṣūr- "bird"	(bn) 'ṣr								106
8	*'a(n)yaṣ- "weasel"	Yṣu (?)								91
9	*'a/irbay- "locust, grasshopper"	Irbn								126
10	*'alp- "bull"	Alpy, Il(i)piya								54

11	*'arn/m- “wild goat”	<i>Imn, Urn</i> ¹⁸¹								28
12	*'arnab(-at) “hare”	<i>(bn) Armbt</i>			<i>'rmb</i>					86
13	*'arway- “lion”			<i>'ry</i>						1
14	*'atān- “donkey-mare”	<i>Atn</i>								48
15	*'ayyal- “deer”	<i>(bn) Ayl,</i> <i>(bn) Ayln,</i> <i>(bn) Aylt,</i> <i>A-ia-li</i>								30
16	*'i/arw-ān- “calf”				<i>'rwn'</i>					61
17	*'ibil- “camel”	<i>ibln (?)</i>								49
18	*'immar- “lamb”	<i>Imrn, Imrt</i>								62
19	*'VbbVl- “kind of bird”	<i>Abbly</i>								117
20	*'baqar- “large cattle”	<i>Bqrt</i>								57
21	<i>bāz</i> “falcon” (?) ¹⁸²						<i>Bzy</i>			95
22	*'bV'Vr “beast of burden, camel”			<i>B'r, B'rm</i>					<i>Βαειρις (?)</i>	50
23	*'bVkv(at) “young (she-) camel”					<i>Bkrw (f)</i>	<i>Bkrw</i>	<i>Bkry</i>		51

¹⁸¹ Watson (2006: 449) suggests “puppy-dog” in view of Akk. *urānu*.

¹⁸² On this term in Eb. and Amor. PNs, see ↑4.1.3.4.

24	*bVl- “kind of small bird”	Bl (?)								109
25	*dayš-ān- “buck” or *tayš-ān- “wild horned animal” (chamois, ram, or the like)	Tṭn (?)								38
26	*da/ubb- “bear”	Dby		Di-ib-ba-a, Dib-bu-ú-a						20
27	*ḏiʿb- “wolf”			Di-iʿ-ba-a			Dʿybw			18
28	*di/ab(b)ūr- “bee, wasp”		Dbr							122
29	dVg- “fish”	Dg								137
30	*dVlVl- “frog”	Da-li-li, Dll								136
31	*ḏVr(r)- “worm”	ḏrm (maybe pl.)								134
32	*gady- “kid”	(bn) Gdy, Gadya		Gdy, Gdyw	Gdyʿ		Gdyw			65
33	*gam(a)l- “camel”					Gmlʿ	Gmlw		Γαμλ	52

34	*gūr-, “whelp”	*gury/w-			<i>Gwr, Gwry,</i> <i>Gwrw</i> ¹⁸³		<i>Gwr’, Gwry</i>			Γοραιος, Γοραια (f), Γορας (?)	26
35	*gawzal- brood”	“dove,	<i>Gūzalu,</i> <i>Gzl</i>								111
36	*gūg- der” ¹⁸⁴	“insect, spi-	<i>Gg</i>								132
37	*gVb- “locust”						<i>Gwb’ (Gōbā)</i>				126
38	*gVrVd(-Vn)- rat”	“rodent,	<i>Grdn, Grdy</i>								80
39	*ġVrVn- eagle”	“raptor,	<i>Ġrn</i>								100
40	*ġVzāl- “gazelle”		<i>Ġzly, (bt)</i> <i>Ĥzli,</i> <i>Ĥa-zi-lu,</i> <i>Ĥu-zi-la-a</i>								33
41	*ḥagal- “partridge”		<i>Ḥgln</i> ¹⁸⁵								113
42	*ḥagVb- “locust”		<i>Ḥgby, Ḥgbt,</i>								126

¹⁸³ These could also be the shortened forms of a name like *Gwrḅ’l* (attested in Porten and Yardeni 2014: 39). Cf. Aram. *gwr* “to go into exile; to dwell” (Jastrow 1903: 229; Tal 2000: 138).

¹⁸⁴ The root *gūg- is uncertain; it is based on Syr. *gəwagāy* “spider” and Mehri *gugā* “flea” (SED 2, No. 77).

¹⁸⁵ The name is understood as “Calf” by Watson (2007: 95), which is very unlikely, for Ug. has a separate sign for ‘*ayn*, as reflected in the names based on *‘*igl*-. On the occurrence of *ḥagal- “partridge” in Amor, see §4.1.1.3.

		<i>Ḥgbn,</i> <i>Ḥa-ga-ba-nu</i>								
43	* <i>ḥargVL-</i> “locust, cricket”						<i>Ḥrglw</i>			126
44	* <i>ḥuld-</i> “mole”		<i>Ḥld</i> (f)				<i>Ḥld'</i>			88
45	* <i>ḥV(n)zīr-</i> “pig”	<i>(bn) ḤnZR,</i> <i>ḤZR, ḤZrn</i>		<i>ḤZrn, ḤZyr,</i> <i>ḤZyr', ḤnZR</i>						77
46	* <i>ḥVwVy-</i> “snake”		<i>Ḥwt</i> ¹⁸⁶		<i>Ḥwy</i>		<i>Ḥyt</i>			118
47	* <i>ḥVm(V)ṭ-</i> “reptilian, serpent”			<i>Ḥmṭṭ, Ḥa-</i> <i>am-ṭu-ṭu</i> ¹⁸⁷			<i>Ḥmṭṭ</i>			119
48	* <i>ḥVrVp-</i> “sheep”	<i>Ḥrpn</i> (?)								66
49	* <i>k(V)dVr(r)-</i> “sand- grouse” ¹⁸⁸	<i>(bn) Kdrn</i>								115
50	<i>kā/ēpīr-</i> “young li- on” ¹⁸⁹		<i>Kpr</i>	<i>Kpr, Ka-pi-</i> <i>ru</i>						3
51	* <i>ka/irr-</i> “ram”	<i>Karra,</i>								68

¹⁸⁶ Presumably also a name of a goddess (Donner and Röllig 1968: 102, No. 89).

¹⁸⁷ This name as well as the OSyr. one may reflect Heb. *ḥōmāṭ* “reptile”, JBArām. *ḥumṭā* “chameleon”, or Ar. *ḥamṭīṭ /ḥumṭūṭ* “serpent” (see **ḥVm(V)ṭ-* in SED 2, No. 99). Another possibility might be a connection with Syr. *ḥmet, ḥemṭā* “pustule, sepsis” (Drijvers and Healey 1999 As40, p. 118; Brockelmann 1928: 239).

¹⁸⁸ This root does not occur in SED 2, although Brockelmann (1928: 319) pointed to the relation between Syr. *kudrā* “vulture” and two other Sem. terms, i.e., Ar. *kudrī* and *kudārī* “large pin-tailed sandgrouse” (Ma‘lūf 1932: 215) and Akk. *kudurrānu* “Hahn” (Stamm 1939: 255; AHW 499b) or “crested bird, wren” (CAD K 494; CDA 165). The Akk. term probably has the same meaning as its Ar. cognate.

¹⁸⁹ Provided the attested names are not based on *kpr*₁ “compensation” or *kpr*₃ “village” (DNWSI 531).

		<i>Kar(r)anu,</i> <i>Kry, (bn)</i>								
52	* <i>kabš</i> - “young ram”			<i>Kbš</i>						67
53	* <i>kalb</i> - “dog”	<i>Klb, Klby,</i> <i>Klbyn,</i> ¹⁹⁰ <i>Kal-bu, Kál-</i> <i>bi-ia</i>	<i>Klb’lm,</i> <i>Klb’l,</i> <i>Klb’,</i> <i>Klby</i>	<i>Klbw, Klby</i>	DN (↓4.3.3.2)	<i>Klby, Klb’,</i> <i>’klb</i>	<i>’klbw,</i> <i>Klbw,</i> <i>Klybw,</i> <i>Klybt (f)</i>	<i>Klb’,</i> <i>Brklb’</i>	<i>Βαρχαλβας</i>	14
54	* <i>kawdan</i> - “mule”	<i>(bn) Kdn</i>								43
55	* <i>kurkiy</i> - “goose”	<i>(bn) Krk,</i> ¹⁹¹ <i>Krky</i>								101
56	* <i>la’ayat</i> - “head of large cattle”	<i>’La-e-ia-a</i> (?)								58
57	* <i>labV</i> ’- “lion”	<i>La-ab-’i-ia,</i> <i>Lbiy</i>	<i>Lb’, Lbt</i> (f)	<i>Lb’t</i>						4
58	* <i>lV’lV</i> ’- “kid”	<i>La-li-i, (bn)</i> <i>Llit</i>								69
59	* <i>layt</i> - “lion”			<i>Lyt’</i>						5

¹⁹⁰ *Klbyn* can also be explained through Eb. *Kalbiyānum* “Dog-fly; Tick” (§135).

¹⁹¹ It could also reflect *krk, ku-ri-/e-ku* “a device made of bronze; pick” (Tropper 2000: 287; DUL 455).

60	* <i>ma/i'(a)z-</i> “goat”					<i>M'zyn</i> (gentilic) ¹⁹²				70
61	* <i>muhr-</i> “foal”					<i>Mhr,</i> <i>Mhrw</i> ¹⁹³				44
62	<i>na'bā</i> “crow, type of eagle” (Aram.)					<i>N'b'</i>				105
63	* <i>na/iṣ(š)-</i> “raptor, hawk”	<i>Na-ṣi, (bn)</i> <i>Nṣ,</i>				<i>Nṣ' (f)</i>				98
64	* <i>nam(V)l-</i> “ant”	<i>Ni-ma-la-ia</i>	<i>Nml</i>				<i>Nmylw</i>			121
65	* <i>namir-</i> “leopard”		<i>Nmr</i>	<i>Nmrw</i>			<i>Nmrw/a,</i> <i>Nmr'</i>		<i>Ναμαρος</i>	10
66	<i>nūn-</i> “fish” ¹⁹⁴			<i>Nnt (?)</i>			<i>Nnwt (?)</i>			137
67	<i>namVš-</i> “mongoose”	<i>(bn) Nmš</i>								24
68	* <i>nVš/sr-</i> “vulture”			<i>Nšrw</i>	DN (↓4.3.3.4)	<i>Nšry</i>	<i>Nšrw</i>			97
69	<i>nāṣōr</i> “cricket” (Aram.)				<i>Nṣr</i>				<i>Νασωρ</i>	123

¹⁹² Another possibility is that this name is a reflex of the Heb. name *Ma'azyāh* “Yahu is my refuge/protection” (PHIAP 51), which also occurs in Aram. texts from Elephantine: *M'wzy, M'wzyh, M'zy* (Porten and Lund 2002: 373).

¹⁹³ Alternatively, Syr. *mhr* “to instruct”, *mahhar* “injurious” (Brockelmann 1928: 376), or Ar. *māhir* “skilled” (Lane 2740c).

¹⁹⁴ This root does not occur in SED 2; cf. *nwn* in DNWSI 722 and also the Akk. and Ar. cognates (< Aram.) sub App. §137.

70	* <i>par(a)</i> ’- “wild ass”	<i>Pri, Pru</i>					<i>Pr</i> ¹⁹⁵			45
71	* <i>parr</i> - “young of small or large cattle”	(<i>bn</i>) <i>Prtn, Prt</i>								59
72	* <i>pi/ard</i> - “equid, mule”	<i>Prd, Prdn, Prdny</i> (f)								48
73	* <i>pVl</i> - “elephant”					<i>Pyl</i> ’				85
74	* <i>pVl(y)</i> - “louse”	<i>Ply, Pl-la-ia</i>								128
75	* <i>pVrgVt</i> - “flea”	<i>Prgt</i>	<i>P/Brš</i>							124
76	* <i>pVšpVš</i> - “kind of insect”	<i>Ptp</i>								127
77	* <i>qaml</i> - “louse”					<i>’qml</i> (<i>Aqqamil</i>), <i>Qml</i> ’				128
78	* <i>qawq</i> - “pelican, cormorant”					<i>Qwq</i> ’				102
79	* <i>qVr(V)r</i> - “frog”	<i>Qrr, Qrrn</i>				<i>Yqrwr</i>				136
80	* <i>qVšam</i> - “locust”	<i>Qšm</i>								126
81	<i>qōpā</i> “ape” (Aram.) ¹⁹⁶					<i>Qwp</i> ’, <i>Qwpyn</i> (pl.)				84

¹⁹⁵ Beyer (ThWAT 9: 593) suggests the word was not native to Aram. Alternatively, it could reflect JBaram. *pr*’ “a type of fish” (Sokoloff 2002: 927a).

¹⁹⁶ Provided it is not (a nickname) based on *qwp* “basket” (Beyer 2004: 474ff, with another instance from a JPArAm. inscription; DNWSI 1004).

82	<i>qōzā</i> “weasel” (Aram.)			<i>Qu-za-a</i>		<i>Qwz’</i>	<i>Qwz’</i>			91
83	* <i>raḥam-</i> “raptor” (mostly Egyptian vulture)						<i>Rḥmh,</i> <i>Rḥmy</i> ¹⁹⁷			99
84	* <i>raḥil-</i> “ewe”						<i>Rḥylt</i>			71
85	* <i>raqq-</i> “turtle”	<i>Rqn (?)</i>								120
86	* <i>sā/ūs-</i> “moth”	<i>Ss, Ssn</i>	<i>Ss’</i>							129
87	* <i>su/inūn(Vw/y)-at</i> “swallow”	<i>Srnt</i>								110
88	* <i>ṣa’n-</i> “small cattle”	<i>Ṣin</i>					<i>Ṣ’yn</i>			73
89	* <i>ṣVp(p)Vr-</i> “(individual) small bird, sparrow”	<i>(bn) Ṣpr,</i> <i>Ṣprn, Ṣu-pa-ra-nu</i>				<i>Ṣpr’ (m + f),</i> <i>Ṣpry</i>				107
90	* <i>sVwsVw-</i> “horse”	<i>Ssw, Su-suwa, Śśw</i>				<i>Sws’</i>				47
91	* <i>ṭapan-</i> “hyrax”		<i>Ṣpn</i>							90
92	* <i>ṭawr-</i> “bull”	<i>Ṭr</i>		<i>Tu-ri-i</i>		<i>Twry</i>	<i>Twr’,</i>			60
93	* <i>ṭV(V)l-, *ṭa’lab-</i> “fox”	<i>Ṭ’lbn, Ṭ’l,</i> <i>Ṭ’ln, Ṭ’lb,</i> <i>Ṣa’alānu,</i>		<i>Ta-a’-la-a,</i> <i>Ta-al-a</i>						16

¹⁹⁷ Or from *rḥm* “to love”.

		<i>Ša-a-la-na</i>								
94	*ṭaby(-at) “gazelle, antelope”			<i>Ṭbyw, Ṭby, Ṭa-bi-i/ia</i> ¹⁹⁸			<i>Šbyw</i>			36
95	*w/ya‘il- “ibex”	<i>Y‘l</i>		<i>W‘lw</i>						37
96	<i>zabōg-</i> “lizard” (Aram.)				<i>Zbwg</i>					119
97	*zarzī/ūr- “starling”					<i>Zrzyrt,</i> <i>’zrzyrt</i>				108
98	*zīz- “kind of insect” (worm, cicada)	<i>Zz̄n</i>								123

¹⁹⁸ Or the shortened forms of a theophoric name with the element *ṭāb* “good” (Zadok 1977: 142; Maraqtan 1988: 168).

4.3.1.2 Tentative names in the Ugaritic onomasticon

In addition to the above-mentioned Common Sem./NWS elements, Watson (2006, 2007) discusses a considerable number of ‘tentative’ animal names. The only name which is explained through the Ug. lexicon is *Npr* “Bird” in view of *npr* “to fly”.¹⁹⁹ The other names are explained through Sem. and non-Sem. ‘counterparts’. Based on Watson’s etymological approach, I shall classify these names into eight categories (according to their linguistic affiliation) with a reference to any possible alternative etymology in the footnotes. Names that have cognates in the other Sem. languages will be identified according to their numbers in the appendix (App. = §):

(1) Akk. cognates: *Abyy* “Water bird” (Akk. *abaya* “water-fowl”),²⁰⁰ *Ayḥ* “Caterpillar” (Akk. *uyāḥu*),²⁰¹ *Aky* “Owl” (Akk. *akkû*), *Apn* “Bird” (Akk. *appānu*), *Arbn* “Water-fowl” (Akk. *aribānû*), *Argb/Arkbt* “Bird” (Emar-Akk. [a]r-ga-bu), *Arspy* “Fish” (Akk. *arsuppu*, *er-suppu*), *Illm*, *I-la-la-[a]m* (f) “Camel” (Akk. *ilulaya*), *Isg* “Bird” (Akk. *usigu*), *Bšy* “Bird; Rock-partridge” (Akk. *būšu*, §113),²⁰² *Dmr(n)* “Sheep” (Akk. *zamartum*),²⁰³ *Gmḥ(n)* “Bull” (Akk. *gumāḥu*),²⁰⁴ *Hby* “Gazelle” (Akk. *ḥāb/pum*),²⁰⁵ *Hly* “Shrew” (Akk. *ḥulû*, *ḥulium*, §83), *Ḥlln/y* “Bird” (Akk. *ḥulālu*), *Ḥlpn* “Bird” (Akk. *ḥuluppu*),²⁰⁶ *Ḥpsry* “Mouse” (Akk. *ḥab/am(a)širu*, §83), *Ḥqn* “Water bird” (Akk. *ḥūqu*), *Ḥršn* “Goldfinch” (Akk. *ḥurāšānu*), *Kmy* “Waterfowl” (Akk. *kumû*), *Kpyn* “Eel” (Akk. *kuppû*, §137),²⁰⁷ *Krb* “Bird” (Akk. *kurûbu*), *Krmt* “Butterfly” (Akk. *kurmittu*),²⁰⁸ *Kšy* “Crab” (Akk. *kušû*),²⁰⁹ *Ktln* “Broad-necked bird” (Akk. *kutlānu*), *Ldn* “Chick” (Akk. *līdānu*), *Lkn* “(a kind of) Sheep” (OA *lakānu*, §75), *Mrnn* “Puppy” (Akk. *mūrānu*, §27),²¹⁰ *Nbzn* “(suckling) Goat/Lamb” (Akk. *nabāzu* “to suckle” in reference to goats),²¹¹ *Nggn* “Donkey” (Akk. *nagāgu* “to bray”), *Nnr*, *Nan-ni-ra-ia* “Bird” (Akk. *nannaru*),

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Aram. *npr* and Ar. *nfr*, both meaning “to flee” (Brockelmann 1928: 441; Lane 2823c).

²⁰⁰ Or a hypocoristicon of a name like *Abi-DN* “DN is my father” or *Ab-X* “The father is X”.

²⁰¹ Or *Ayyāḥu* < *Ayya-aḥ(u)* “Where is the brother?” (a compensation name?), given some Amor. examples with the adv. *’ayy(a)*, e.g., *A-ia-a-ḥu*, *A-ia-a-bi* “Where is the brother/father”, etc. (CAAA 13, 40 sub *’ayya*).

²⁰² Or Syr. *bšy* “to examine” (Brockelmann 1928: 85).

²⁰³ Or from \sqrt{dmr} “to protect”, which is common in the Amor. onomasticon (CAAA 296).

²⁰⁴ Cf. also Ar. *ḡāmīḥ/ḡamūḥ*, which is specifically used in reference to a refractory horse (Lane 450).

²⁰⁵ Or Ar. *ḥb* “to hide” (Lane 693).

²⁰⁶ Or Common NWS *ḥlp*/Ar. *ḥlf* “to succeed” (cf. Stadel in ThWAT 9: 286; Lane 792).

²⁰⁷ Or JBaram. *kpyn* “famished” (Sokoloff 2002: 595a).

²⁰⁸ It could also be a hypocoristicon of *krm* “vineyard” (DUL 455; Halayqa 2008: 189).

²⁰⁹ Or simply Kassite.

²¹⁰ An alternative option is JBaram./Syr. *mwr’n*, *mwr’n* “eel; parasitic worm” (Brockelmann 1928: 404; Sokoloff 2002: 650a).

²¹¹ Or *nbz*, meaning “receipt, lot” in Aram. (DNWSI 711; Sokoloff 2002: 339a) and “to call” in Ar. (Lane 2758a).

Npl “Caterpillar” (Akk. *nappillu*), *Prgn* “Meadow-sheep” (Akk. *pargāniū*),²¹² *Ssg* “Raptor” (Akk. *sassukku* with Ug. *g* = Akk. *k*), *Šry* “Snake” (Akk. *šerru*, *šē/īru*, §118), *Škm* “Donkey” (?) (Akk. *šāgimu* “braying donkey”),²¹³ *Trzy* “Butterfly” (Akk. *turzu*), *Trn* “Hen” (?) (Akk. *turunnu*), *Tar?-pa-š[u]* (f) “Otter” (Akk. *tarpašu*), *Tiy*, *Ša-i-ia* “Raptor” (Akk. *šiy*, Emar *ša-ai*).

(2) Ar. cognates: *Aym* “Snake” (Ar. *aym/ayn*),²¹⁴ *Hmny* “Tick” (Ar. *ḥamn-at*),²¹⁵ *Šml* “Raptor” (Ar. verb “to be hard”).²¹⁶

(3) Aram. cognates: *‘qy* “Magpie” (Aram. *‘qh*).²¹⁷

(4) Heb. cognates: *Gn* “Partridge” (Heb. *gūnī*), *Hpn* “Tadpole” (Heb. PN *Hpnny*), *Kny*, *Ki-ni-ia* “Gnat” (Heb. *kēn*).²¹⁸

(5) Hamito-Sem.: *Bgrt* “Pigeon”.²¹⁹

(6) Harsusi of Oman: *Gdrn* “Worm” (?).

(7) Non-Sem.: *Hrr* “Snake” (?) (Egyp.),²²⁰ *Apt* “Snake” (Hurr.).

(8) miscellaneous:²²¹ *Arđn* “Bird”, *Ittr* “Goat”, *Udr(n)* “(type of) Horse”, *Dwn* “(a kind of) Horse”,²²² *Gmz* “(a kind of) Horse”, *Hrgb* “Eagle”, *Hrsn* “Dove”, *Lhr* “Ewe”, *Mšrn* “Frog”, *Ppn* “Mouse”, *Ray* “Snake”, *Rny* “Bullock”, *Ssl* “Sheep/cattle”, *Tan* “Spider”, *Tkn* “Insect”,²²³ *Twyn* “Insect”.

It is clear from our classification and analysis that the majority of these names are explained by Watson through the Akk. lexicon. Leaving aside the fact that the NWS/Ar. lexi-

²¹² The name could also reflect **parg-* “a kind of bird (hen, quail)” (§116).

²¹³ Or Ar. *šakama* “to bit”, *šukm* “requit”, *šakim* “lion”, etc. (Lane 1588ff).

²¹⁴ The root *ym* in Ar. gives another meaning which is supposed to be the primary one “a man/woman having no partner” (Lane 137c). Another possibility is that Ug. *Aym* reflects a name such as *Ayyūm* < *Ayya-um* “Where is the mother?” (a compensation name), like the above-mentioned *Ayḥ*.

²¹⁵ For an alternative NWS etymology, see ↓4.3.1.3.1.

²¹⁶ Deriving an animal name from a general meaning in another language is very speculative.

²¹⁷ This Aram. term as well as its Ar. parallel (*‘aq‘aq*) are presumably based on the voice of the bird in question. Yet Ar. *√‘qq* gives more options for explaining Ug. *‘qy*, e.g., “disobedient, bitter water, cleft” (Lane 2095ff).

²¹⁸ We can also think of Common Sem. *kwn* “to be reliable”, JBaram. *kny’ prww’* “an unclean bird” (Sokoloff 2002: 588a), or any other derivation of *kny* “to name”.

²¹⁹ The root is not mentioned in SED 2. Alternatively, thus, we can think of JBaram./Syr. *bgr₁* “to block; to harm”, JBaram. *bgr₂* “to mature” (Sokoloff 2002: 185b; Brockelmann 1928: 58), or the Ar. name *Baḡīr* “Abundant; Big-belled” (Lane 153b).

²²⁰ Or Sem. *hrr* “to be free”, “to dry up, burn up, shrivel” (DUL 368; Halayqa 2008: 162).

²²¹ These names are mentioned in Watson 2007: 108-09.

²²² Or based on WS *dw’* “sick” (Halayqa 2008: 127; Lane 928) plus the ending *-ān*.

²²³ Or Heb. *tkn* “to examine” (HALOT 1733).

con is rich enough to give alternative results (not necessarily related to animal names), the absence of most of the alleged Akk. counterparts from the Akk. onomasticon itself (of the total 41 items only 7 are attested) makes us wonder about their considerable occurrence in the Ug. onomasticon.

4.3.1.3 *The question of Arabic/Arabian-like names in the Aramaic onomasticon*

A given name can be classed as Arabian-like according to three criteria: (1) the etymology, (2) the noun pattern, and (3) the hypocoristic ending, i.e., Ar. *-īy* vs. Aram. *-āy*.²²⁴

4.3.1.3.1 Etymology

Several Nab., Palm., and Hat. names have been considered Ar. However, an investigation of the Aram. lexicon in specific and the NWS lexicon in general suggests alternative explanations for some of them:

- Palm. and Hat. *b'* could reflect Syr. *'abbā* "lizard" (PNPI 102; Abbadi 1983: 134) or *'Abba*/*'Abbay*, i.e., the Ar. hypocoristic of *'Abd-DN* type (Beyer 1998, No. H 11, 1; 13, 2; 96; 101, 1).

- OAram. *G'l'*, Palm./OSyr. *G'l* (m + f) can be explained through Ar. *ǧū'al* "black beetle" (PNPI 82; Al-Jadir 1983: 367) or the Syr. root *g'l* "to entrust" (Drijvers and Healey 1999: As19: 1).

- Palm. *Ḥld'* is supposed to derive from Ar. *√hld* "to last" (PNPI 88); the ending *-ā* (could be the status emphaticus or a hypocoristic) may indicate an Aram. form of Central Sem. **ḥuld* "mole" (§88).

- Palm. *Ḥmnwn* is thought to be the diminutive of Ar. *ḥamn(-at)* "louse, tick" (PNPI 89); it could also reflect Nab. *ḥmn* "chapel" (DNWSI 381-2).

- Palm. *Qrd'* is linked to Ar. *qird* "ape" (PNPI 110); Syr. *qerdā* "tick, castor bean" (Brockelmann 1928: 693) seems more probable. The Ar. cognate is *qurad*, pl. *qurād* (both are attested in the onomasticon, cf. §133).

- Nab. *Šb'(w)* and Palm. *Šb''* are explained through Ar. *sabV'* "lion; wild beast" in view of Greek trans. Saboas (Cantineau 1932: 148; PNNR 164-5). Alternatively, they could derive from Common Sem. **šb'* "seven", i.e., premature child, the seventh child, or the child born on/in the seventh day/month.

²²⁴ See the discussion by Gzella in ThWAT 9: 770.

- Nab. *Zrq* is thought to reflect Ar. *zawraq*, lit. “boat”, and also the numerous stars above the horizon (PNNR 166), which is unlikely because this term is quite late and absent from the onomasticon. Alternatively, the name could derive from Aram. *zrq* “to throw, scatter” or Syr./Hat. *zrq* “to shine, to be blue” (DNWSI 342; Drower and Macuch 1963: 171b), both having the same meaning in Ar. In relation to this, we can also think of two birds having names from the same root in Ar.: *zurraq* “black-winged kite” and *zurayq* “jay”, given that both are found in the onomasticon (§100, 109).

Given these examples, names which can be ‘reliably’ classed as Arabian-like are the ones lacking a clear Aram./NWS etymology (based on DUL; DNWSI; Halayqa 2008; HALOT). This applies to the following examples:

- Palm. *ʿwy* (relative ?) and Nab. *ʿwyw* are based on $\sqrt{ʿww/y}$ “to howl”, cf. Sab. *Mʿwyt*, CAR. *Muʿāwiya*, and Saf. *Mʿwy* (§19).

- Palm. *ʿlg*, Nab./Palm. *ʿlg* mostly reflect Ar. *ʿlǧ* “wild ass” (PNNR 164) or any other derivation from the same root, e.g., *ʿaliǧ* “strong” *ʿilāǧ* “healing” (PNPI 105; §49).²²⁵

- Nab. *Ḥšpw* seems to denote Ar. *ḥi/ušf* “fawn (PNNR 166), which is also found in the classical onomasticon (§38).

- Nab. *Whšw* is obviously from Ar. *waḥš* “wild beast”, for the word-initial **/w/* would have become */y/* in NWS (cf. §138).

4.3.1.3.2 Noun patterns

Arabian-like names exhibit the following patterns:

(1) the preservation of the word-initial **/w/*, i.e., *Wʿlw* (OffAram.) vs. NWS *Yaʿ(i)l* “Ibex”.

(2) the diminutive(s) QTyL (in view of other examples in Greek trans.):²²⁶

- Nab. *Dʿybw* “Little wolf”, *Klybw* “Little dog”, *Klybt* (f) “Little bitch”, *Rḥylt* “Little ewe”, and *Šʿyn* “Little lamb” (the Aram. form is *ʿān*), Palm. *Gʿylw/y* “Little black beetle”,²²⁷ and Palm./Hat. *ʿgylʿ/ʿgylw* “Little calf”²²⁸ (could also be the hypocoristic of *ʿAglibōl* ↓4.3.3.3).

²²⁵ Heb. *ʿlg* is an unlikely cognate because it is a metathesis of *lʿg* “stammer” (HALOT 828).

²²⁶ On diminutives in Graeco-Ar. names, see Al-Jallad (2015a).

²²⁷ The term also occurs in the Eb. bilingual lexical list of animal names: *giʿlānum*, *gi-la-(a-)núm* = ZA-GIR (Sjöberg 1996: 22).

²²⁸ Cf. Greek trans. reflecting *ʿOgeylat* in Al-Jallad (2015a: 31).

(3) aQTL pattern, which could be the broken plural aQTuL, aQTāL, etc. or, more probably, the elative aQTaL in view of other examples in Greek trans.:²²⁹

- The only clear example is Nab. *'klbw* and its Palm. parallel *'klb* (Greek trans. *Aklab*) “Rabid”. Palm. *'qml* does not belong here, for it is attested in Greek. trans. as *Aqqimil*, i.e., a Syr. form, meaning “The decayed one” (< **qaml* “louse”). The name is formed with the prefix *'an-*: *anqitil* > *aqqitil* (PNPI 72).

4.3.1.3.3 Names ending in the suffix -w: ‘Arabicized’ forms?

This suffix is more observed in the Nab. onomasticon than in the Palm. one (see the examples in ↑4.3.1.1). Most scholars agree that it reflects a case ending in triptote Ar. proper nouns (Nöldeke 1885: 73ff; Diem 1981: 336ff; Blau 2006 with the bibliography therein).²³⁰ According to Blau (2006: 28), the proper nouns lacking the suffix -w are, as a rule, of the *af'al* morpheme type or terminate in *-(a)t* and *-n*.²³¹ In later Nab. texts, the *w* appears on all words of Ar. origin, and even occasionally on Aram. ones, suggesting that it had become an orthographic relic rather than a living part of the language, like *dnh npšw fhrw br šly rbw gdynt mlk tnh* “This is the memorial of Fihir son of Sullay, tutor of Gaḏimat king of Tanūh” (LPNab 41; discussed in Macdonald *et al.* 2015: 30). Regarding PNs, another Nab. inscription (JSNab 39) shows that while the son’s name ends in the suffix -w (*Škwḥw*), the father’s has the Aram. ending *-ā* (*Twr* “Bull”). The name *Škwḥw* is apparently *qatūl* form from Aram. *škḥ* “to find; can (as a modal verb)” (cf. Gzella in ThWAT 9: 749-51; Sokoloff 2002: 1144a). An Ar. etymology of the name is highly unlikely.²³² In the same context, two Palm. examples show that the Aram. equivalent of -w, i.e., *-ā*, occurs in originally one-word Ar. names (no Aram. etymology can be proposed for them): *'bs* < *'bs* “Austere” (PNPI 103) or “Lion” (epithet) and *'lg* “Wild ass; Strong” (↑4.3.1.3.1). We can term these ‘Aramaicized’ forms.

Given this information, it seems probable that some of the alleged animal names with the suffix -w derive from Aram. nouns. Let us examine the following cases:

- Nab. *Ḥwtw* could be from Ar. *ḥūt* “fish, whale” (PNNR 166) or Aram. *ḥwt* “to be loathsome” (Sokoloff 1990: 193; Jastrow 1903: 441).

²²⁹ On the elative and broken plural in Saf. and Graeco-Ar., see Al-Jallad (2015: §4.4.2, 6.2; 2015a: 49).

²³⁰ In shortened names like *'bdw* it could be a hypocoristicon.

²³¹ There are only two exceptions: the DN *Mntw* “the goddess Manōtu/Manāt” with the suffix *-at* (cf. its attestations in Healey 2001: 132) and *'klbw* of the *af'al* pattern (↑4.3.1.3.2); these are extremely limited in their distribution and restricted mainly to the Sinai and Hisma.

²³² Ar. *škḥ* is considered archaic, for it occurs only in one word, i.e., *šawkaḥa*, understood as “latch” or the like (Al-Zabīdī 1969 6: 510).

- Nab. *Prpryw* has been linked to Ar. *furfur/furfūr* “sparrow” (PNNR 164); alternatively, it could be a ‘compensation name’ from Syr. *prpr* “to writhe” (Brockelmann 1928: 604) or a nickname from JPArAm. *prpryn* “a type of food, dish” (Sokoloff 1990: 450a).

- Nab. *Ḥmlw* is supposed to reflect Ar. *ḥamal* “lamb” (PNNR 166; §75); it could also derive from Syr./Man. *ḥml₁* “to put away, gather in grain into storage” or Syr./JBArAm. *ḥml₂* “to have mercy” (Brockelmann 1928: 239; Drower and Macuch 1963: 149; Jastrow 1903: 477).

- Nab. *Šbytw* could be the diminutive of Ar. *šabaṭ* “sun-spider” (Cantineau 1932 2: 148) or from JBArAm. *šbyt* “annulled” (Sokoloff 2002: 1107b).

- Nab. *Nmylw* (PNNR 167) could be the Ar. diminutive of Common Sem. **naml* “ant” or from JBArAm. *nmyl* “harbor” (Sokoloff 2002: 756b).

- Nab. *Ḥwrw/Ḥwyrw* could reflect Ar. *ḥuwār* “young camel” (PNNR 165) or any of the Aram. derivations of *ḥwr* “to be white; to bore a hole”, etc. (cf. the discussion by Beyer in ThWAT 9: 257; DNWSI 356-57; Brockelmann 1928: 222).

If the alternative proposed Aram. etymology of these names is correct (like *Škwḥw* above), the attachment of the Arabian suffix *-w* allows us to term them ‘Arabicized’ forms.

4.3.2 Suffixes and endearment forms

4.3.2.1 *-ān(V)*

This suffix is absent from our Pho-Pu. names but is frequently found in their Ug. parallels. Grøndahl (PTU 25c) suggests that it functions as a diminutive ending in animal names and plant names. Yet one cannot rule out the adjectival function of this suffix in view of: (1) its wide occurrence in Ug. nouns denoting adjectives and substantives (see the examples in Tropper 2000: 271-73), and (2) the fact that most of the examples we have are masc. names, which is the same in the Eb., Amor., and Ar. counterparts (also adjectival). Ug. names which explicitly denote animals are the following: *Ayln* “Deer-like” (§30), *Ibln* “Camel-like” (§49), *Imrn* “Lamb-like” (i.e., innocent) (§62), *Irbn* “Grasshopper-like” (§126), *Ḥzrn* “Pig-like” (§77), *Ḥgln* “Partridge-like” (§113), *Ḥgbn/Ḥa-ga-ba-nu* “Locust-like” (§126), *Ḥrpn* “Sheep-like” (?) (§66), *Kar(r)anu* “Ram-like” (§68), *Prdn* “Mule-like” (§48), *Ssn* “Mothy” (§129), *Šprn/Šu-pa-ra-nu* “Bird-like” (§107), *Qrrn* “Froggy” (§136), and *Tʿlbn* and *Tʿln* “Foxy” (§16). Beside these, there are two examples in which *-ān* is used with the suffix *-at*: *gltn* (§56) and *Prtn* (§59), both meaning “Heifer-like”, if they are fem. names, or “Little young bull” if *-at* is merely a hypocoristic suffix attached to masc.

names. The latter hypothesis is supported by two similar Amor. masc. names with *-atān*: *Dī'batān* “Little wolf” and *Parratān* “Little young bull” (↑4.1.2.2).

4.3.2.2 *-iy(V)*, *-a/āy(V)*

This functions as a hypocoristic-diminutive ending in NWS in general (Beyer 1984: 445; Lipiński 2001: 230; Maraqten 1988: 109; PTU 25c, 50-52; van Soldt 2010). The following examples could be hypocoristica of two-element names: Ug. *Lab'īya* < *Labu'-DN* “DN is a lion” or “Lion of god” (§4), Ug. *Alpy/Il(i)piya* < *Alp-DN* “Bull of god” in view of similar names in Akk. (§54), and Ug. and Pho. *Klby* < *Kalb-DN* “Dog of god”. The Palm. counterpart of the latter name could be: (1) from *Kalb-DN*, (2) a hypocoristicon of a verbal/nominal-sentence name with *Kalb* as a DN (↓4.3.3.2), or (3) adjectival, meaning “canine” in view of Syr. *kalbāy* (Brockelmann 1928: 328). Palm. *Nšry* is a hypocoristicon of a verbal/nominal-sentence name with *Nešr* as a DN (↓4.3.3.4).

Except for Dura *Γοραιος* and *Γοραια* (f), which are formed by Aram. *gwr* “whelp” plus *-ay*, all the other one-word names in this suffix are found in Ug.: *Dby* “Little bear” (§20), *Ḥmny* “Little tick” (?) (§133), *Ḥuzilāya* (syll. *Ḥu-zi-la-a*) “Little gazelle” (§33), *Kry* “Little ram” (§68), *Nimalāya/Ni-ma-la-ia* “Little ant” (§121), and *Prdny* (f) “Little she-mule” (§48). *Klbyn* could reflect *Kalb* (plus *-īy-* and *-ān*) “Little dog-like” or “Dog-fly; Tick” in view of Eb. *Kalbiyānum* (§135).

4.3.3 Animal names in theophoric names

Theophoric names in epigraphic NWS, particularly Aram. (Hat. and Palm.) and Ug., contain several animal terms. As in Akk. (↑3.3) and Amor. (↑4.1.3), these terms occur as DNs, predicates, and construct nouns (i.e., animal-of-DN). In the following subsections, I will discuss these types in view of the literary and archeological evidence.

4.3.3.1 *Lion (labu'-, §4)*

The fem. form *labu'at* occurs as a DN in Ug. *'bdlbit* “Servant of the lioness (goddess)”, mentioned on lists of military men. The name is also engraved as *'bdlb't* (and wrongly as *'bdlbt* and *'bdl't*) on five arrowheads from el-Khadr (north-west of Bethlehem) ca. 1100 BCE (Cross and Milik 1954) and on early Phoenician arrow-heads said to be from Ruweiseh (near Sidon-Sida); it is lacking in the classical Pho-Pun. onomasticon (Röllig 1995: 350). Such an occurrence on lists of military men and arrowheads may suggest the existence of a mercenary body of soldiers, mainly bowmen (Cross and Milik 1954). The cult of the lioness deity is also attested in south-west Canaan for the same period by a biblical toponym mentioned in Josh 15:32 and 19:6 as (Byt) *lb'wt* (DDD 524). The epithet *lb't*

could refer to any of the three chief Canaanite goddesses: Asherah, Astarte, and Anat. Under the epithet *qudšu*, Asherah is represented standing on a lion on numerous Egyptian stelae dedicated to her, together with Min and Rasheph (DDD 524ff; Wiggins 1991).

The form *labu* also occurs in Ug. theophoric names: *'mlbu* (cf. Amor. *'Ammu-Labba*) “L. is the people/paternal ancestor”, *Šmlbi* (cf. Amor. *Šumu-Labba*) “Descendant of L.”, and *Aḫi-labu* “My brother is a lion” or “L. is my brother”.

4.3.3.2 Dog (*kalb-*, §14)

The common Sem. *Kalb-DN* type is reflected by Pho-Pun. *Klb'lm* and *Klb'l*. Structurally, *kalb-* here corresponds to *'abd-* “slave, servant” (Thomas 1960: 425-26). The term also seems to bear a cultic significance in its designation of a particular religious functionary. At Kition, a Phoenician settlement in Cyprus, dogs were part of the ‘workforce’ of a temple dedicated to Astarte and Mukol (Stager 1991: 39-42). Dog bones were discovered in a 6th BCE temple to Astarte in Beirut (Elayi 2010: 166). It is impossible, however, to establish this sense in names (PNPPI 331).

The element *kalb-* appears as a DN in two Hat. theophoric names: *Klbml'* “The dog made full” (Beyer 1998: H 287) and *Brklb'* “Son of the dog” (Abbadi 1983) or “The adoptive son of the dog” (Beyer 1998: H 145,3; 317), which also occurs in OSyr. (Drijvers and Healey 1999 As48: 1; As49: 5; As50: 5) and in Dura as *Βαρχαλβας* (Grassi 2012: 169ff). The element *Kalbā* probably denotes Nergal (Aram. Nergōl), the ancient Mesopotamian deity of the netherworld, the god of pestilence and sudden death. In Hatra, this god was worshipped in the guise of Heracles as well as in more local manifestations. The inscriptions refer to him as *Nrgl* or *Nrgwl klb'*, meaning “Nergōl the dog” or, more likely, “Nergōl of the dog/keeper of the dog” (Dirven 2013: 150-51 and the bibliography therein). Statuettes of dogs were also found in small shrines related to the Nergal’s cult. Nergal’s association with the dog was not confined to Hatra; it was widespread in the northern parts of Syria and Mesopotamia during the Parthian domination, most probably due to the Persian influence, where dogs are intimately connected with the underworld (Dirven 2013: 151-52). According to Dirven (2009: 47ff), Nergal should be identical with the “Lord with his Dogs” mentioned in *The Fall of Idols* by Jacob of Sarug (451–521 AD) as one of the deities that received a cult in Harran:

He (that is Satan) put Apollo as idol in Antioch and others with him,

In Edessa he set Nebo and Bel together with many others,

He led astray Harran by Sin, Baalshamin and Bar Nemre

By my Lord with his Dogs and the goddess Taratha and Gadlat (cited in Dirven 2009: 47).

A related important work about pre-Christian religion in Harran and Edessa, the *Doctrine of Addai* does not mention the “Lord with his Dogs” (Dirven 2009). Yet it certainly preserves echoes of his cult in the name of the Edessene ruler, *Bar Kalbā* “Son of the dog” (Phillips 1876: 17, 18, 31, 39).

4.3.3.3 Bovine (§54-61)

Bovine terms are widely used as divine epithets in Ug. literature. The god 'Ilu, for example, is known as *tr* “the bull”, *tr abh* “the bull, his father”, *tr aby(/k/h) il* “the bull, my (your, his) father, 'Ilu”, *tr il d p'id* “the bull, the god of mercy”, and *tr ltpn* “the bull, the sagacious one” (Rahmouni 2008: 318-29). The divine monster of 'Ilu, 'tk is known as 'igl il 'tk “the calf of 'Ilu, 'tk” (Rahmouni 2008: 256). Although none of these epithets occurs as a DN in the Ug. onomasticon, they help us to understand the semantics of one-word and suffixed names referring to bovines: *Alp*, 'glt_n, *Prt* etc. In the same context, the Ug. name *Ibrd* (*ibr* + *d*) could be translated as “Haddu is a bull”,²³³ given that *d* is used for Hddu in KTU 4.33:26; 4.628:5 (DDD 573b). The same may hold for Pho. 'brb'l and 'brgd “DN is a bull” (?) (PNPPI 259).

In the Palm. onomasticon, DNs are amply attested as PNs. In addition to *Yarhibōl* “Moon of Bōl”, *Malkibōl* “Messenger of Bōl”, and *Ba'alšamīn* “Lord of heaven(s)”, we have 'glbw_l ('Aglibōlā) “Calf of Bōl”, the name of the moon-god, who is usually depicted with horns and a lunar halo decorating his head (Gawlikowski 1990: 2620). 'Aglibōlā is thought to be reflected through three Ar. forms/variations: Palm. 'gylw ('Ogeilu), Hat. 'bd'gylw ('Abd-'Ogeilu), and its assumed hypocoristicon 'g' ('Oggā) (Beyer 1998: 163-64; Gawlikowski 1990: 2621). Given the classical Ar. onomasticon, however, 'bd'gylw could alternatively be a nickname meaning “The little calf, 'Abd” or a name of 'Abd-of-ancestor/PN type, like 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and 'Abd al-Asad (↓5.3).

4.3.3.4 Vulture/eagle (nVšr-, §97)

The association of nVšr- “vulture/eagle” (or raptor in the general sense)²³⁴ with deities occurs as early as ancient Sem. religions. The term is used in two Ug. divine epithets: *ab nšrm* “father of raptors” for Hrgb, and *um nšrm* “mother of raptors” for Šml, his female counterpart (Rahmouni 2008: 14-17, 76-77). From Ebla we have the Sum. divine epithet:

²³³ Cf. *ibr* (I) “bull, horse” in DUL 11-12.

²³⁴ On the distinction between, or indeed confusion, of eagle and vulture, see the discussion by Beyer in ThWAT 9: 510-11.

BE $\dot{A}^{mu\dot{s}en}$ $\dot{A}^{mu\dot{s}en}$ “Adarwan, the lord of the eagles” (Pomponio and Xella 1997: 16-18) and the Sem. PN *Na-sa-ra-ʾl* “The god is a vulture/eagle” (?), provided it is not based on $\sqrt{n\dot{s}r}$ “to protect” or the like.

In the Hat. onomasticon, the element *nešrā* (Aram. form) denotes the sun-god,²³⁵ known as *māran nešrā* or *nešrā māran* “Nešra, our lord”.²³⁶ It is also quite common in theophoric names: *Brnšr*’ “(the adoptive) Son of Nešrā”, *ʿbdnšr* “Servant of Nešrā”, *Nšryhb* “Nešrā gave” (i.e., granted the son), *Nšrʿqb* “Nešrā protected”, *Nšrltb* “(May) Nešrā do good”, and the hypocoristica *Nšr*’ and *Nšry* (Beyer 1998: 149, sub *nešrā*). The god Naš/sr also occurs as early as the ASAr. inscriptions and later in the Qur’an and the classical narrative sources (Viré 1993: 1012; Ibn Al-Kalbī 1995). Presumably, the vulture was connected to a certain ‘Arabian’ deity, and through time his cult spread over several areas. The epithet replaced the real name and thus became a theophoric element, like *Labuʾ(at)* “Lion(ess)” in Akk, Amor., and Ug., *Būr* “Calf” in Akk., *Kalb* “Dog” in Hat., and so on.

In view of the frequency of Nešrā in PNs, Beyer (1998 H 1024, p. 149) understands the Hat. name *ʾhdʿqbw* as *ʾAḥīdʿoqābū* “Prisoner of the eagle (god)”, assuming an Ar. by-form of Nešrā. This proposition seems unlikely, for: (1) the name has no semantic parallel, i.e., “Prisoner of DN”, (2) there is no mention of a deity called ‘Uqāb in the narrative sources related to idols in the pre-Islamic time (e.g. Ibn Al-Kalbī 1995), and (3) the name can be vocalized in different ways, e.g., *Aḥad-ʿaqibu/ʿuqbu* “The child/successor is unique/alone”.

4.3.3.5 Locust? (*ḥgb-*, §126)

The Ug. name *ʿbdḥgb* indicates the god Resheph, known as *ršp ḥgb*. Several proposals have been offered concerning the etymology of this name: (1) “DN (of the) locust” in view of **ḥagab-* “locust, grasshopper” and the destructive connotation of the god (PTU 84, 134f; DUL 357), (2) “DN, the gatekeeper (of the netherworld)” in view of Ar. *ḥaḡaba*, and (3) “DN of *ḥgb*-toponym”.²³⁷

4.3.4 Animal names: reasons for their use

Having investigated the linguistic aspects of animal names in epigraphic NWS, I will now discuss their cultural background. The discussion considers the following theories: (1) totemism, (2) the astral theory, and (3) the metaphor theory.

²³⁵ The metaphoric representation is clearly the eagle (Beyer in ThWAT 9: 510-11).

²³⁶ For a discussion of the possible identification of Nešra, see Tubach (2013).

²³⁷ See the summary in Münnich (2013: 151).

4.3.4.1 *Aram and the question of totemism*

According to Lipiński (2000: 52ff), the name Aram is to be vocalized with a long vowel, i.e., Arām, denoting the ‘broken’ plural of *ri’m* (in view of Ar.), meaning “wild bulls”. This is also supported by the iconography. The representation of the Storm-god Hadad in the Syro-Hittite art standing on the back of a bull expresses the belief that the wild bull assists the ‘Aramaean’ totemic group. This argument is in line with Lipiński’s view concerning *Dītāna* in particular (↑4.1.4.1) and animal names in Sem. languages in general: “They may have put the baby into what was conceived to be a proper relationship with the tribal totem” (Lipiński 2001: 582). Leaving aside the unclear etymology of Ara/ām, the iconographic evidence regarding the (wild) bull is not confined to the ‘Arameans’ but is as old as the Neolithic era (↑3.3.3.2). One wonders why such an etymological connection is not observed in the names of the social groups mentioned in the Eb., Ug., or Akk. sources, although the bull as well as some other animals are widely used as representations of deities and as theophoric elements in PNs (↑3.3; 4.1.3; 4.2.3; 4.3.3).

4.3.4.2 *The astral theory*

Quite similar to the view of some Assyriologists regarding animal terms and astral bodies (↑3.4.2), Negev dedicated a small section of his work on Nab. PNs to “Celestial Bodies and Allied Personal Names” (PNNR 160-64). The section contains 54 names that are supposed to be based on astral names in CAR., almost one third of them denote animals. Negev’s theory is inspired by the name *Klbw*:

It is obvious that no Semitic parent would have named his child by the name of this abominable creature. It then occurred to me to look at the names of celestial bodies in Arabic. Indeed, this is the name of one of the most prominent heavenly constellations...” (PNNR 160).

This theory is quite unlikely, for there is no information how old most of astral names in CAR. are or, even if they were used in antiquity, how widespread they were (Macdonald 1999: 259). In addition, Negev’s statement concerning *Kalbū* simply projects modern concepts about animals on ancient cultures and ignores the fact that animal connotations may differ from one society to another or even from one family to another. As indicated above (3.3.2), the dog, as a healing animal, occupied an important place in ancient Sem. traditions. Nab. *Kalbū* could be the hypocoristic form of *Kalb-DN* type. It may also be connected to the concept of ‘animal names against foes’, which survived among the nomads of Arabia until recent times (↓5.4.2.2.3). The name of the donkey (*ḥimār*), which is considered an ‘abominable’ animal, also occurs in the onomasticon, but it is not mentioned as an

astral name. So why would a ‘Semitic’ parent give his son such a name? The fact that animal names are used for both astral bodies and people does in no way mean that the latter are based on the former, unless there is sufficient evidence for this practice.

4.3.4.3 *Animal names as metaphors*

Names of domestic animals can be explained as positive designations, for these animals served as symbols of prosperity, fertility, loyalty, and devotion. The concept of prosperity is apparent in the Pho. inscription of Kulamuwa: “Now whoever had never possessed a sheep, I made lord of flock. And whoever had never possessed an ox, I made owner of a herd and owner of silver and lord of gold” (Younger 2000: 148a). The importance of the bull (*tr*) is illustrated through the occurrence of its name as a designation of deities (↑4.3.3.3). In the Ug. epic of Kirta the bull and the gazelle are used as terms of leadership, heroism, and nobility (Miller 1970: 178, 185). Names referring to cows (*lt*, *bqr*, *prt*), ewes (*rh/hl*), and their offspring (*‘gl*, *imr*), may denote affection and welfare: “Like the heart of a cow for her calf, like the heart of a ewe for her lamb, so is the heart of Anatu after Ba’lu” (Pardee 1997: 270). In the same semantic field lies the image of a suckling domestic animal common to the curses of the OAram. treaties: “And should seven mares suckle a colt, may it not be sa[ted! And should seven] cows suckle a calf, may it not be sated! And should seven ewes suckle a lamb, [may it not be sa]ted... (Sefire I A III 22-23 in Lipiński 1975: 1 49).²³⁸

Likewise, names of equids probably carried positive connotations (swiftness, wealth, and devotion), for these animals were generally highly prized in Syria-Palestine. Equid burials have been excavated in several places (↑3.3.6). The horse was the consummate prestige animal. Ug. literature mentions chariot horses, and a series of veterinary texts dealing with the care of sick horses illustrate the importance of the horse and its unique role (Borowski 2002: 291). The horse’s association with beauty is expressed in the Ug. phrase *śśwm n‘mm* “fine (looking), choice horses” (KTU² 2.45:17, 19–20) and its Amarna-Akk. parallel *sîsû banûtu* “beautiful horses” (EA 22 I: 1) (Cohen 1996: 112). As for the donkey, its high value is equally apparent in the Ug. legend of Aqhat, as the hero’s sister Pagat, prepares the animal to carry her father to the fields (Borowski 2002: 291). Yet it seems possible that its name was given as an expression of devotion.

²³⁸ For more information on bovine imagery in Aram. literature, see the discussion by Beyer in ThWAT 9: 813-14.

Names referring to wild carnivorous animals, i.e., the lion (*ary/w, kpr, lb'*), whelp (*iran, gwr*), bear (*db*), wolf (*d'b, d/z'b*), and leopard (*nmr*), can be explained as designations of nobility, strength, or voracity. The lion served as a symbol for deities and warriors (↑4.3.3.1). The bear is linked to a god in a Ug. text “DN lay [down] like a bear” (DUL 260). The leopard provides an emblem of monarchy in the Epic of Zimri-Lim, where the king is depicted as *nimru ananātīm* “the leopard of battles” (Guichard 2014: col. II: 18). In the Ahiqar proverbs, the leopard appears as a voracious animal (Lindenberger 1983: 108; Porten and Yardeni 1993: 22-53).²³⁹

Names of wild ungulates probably evoke positive attributes, such as swiftness and nobility. Generally, these animals were connected with deities and rulers. Syrian cylinder seals from the mid-19th c. to the end of the 18th c. BCE represent the ibex with deities (Teissier 1984: 86). The stage/wild-goat (*špr*) is associated with the god Resheph in the Pho. inscription of Azatiwada “So I built it by the grace of Ba'al and by the grace of Resheph of the stages (*Ršp šprm*)” (Younger 2000a: 150). The gazelle in the ancient Near Eastern literature represents an iconic and vivid expression of savage beauty, attractiveness, and spontaneity (Gaspas 2008: 154-55). The term *zby* “gazelle, antelope” is used as a designation of a hero, leader, or prince in the Ug. epic of Kirta (Miller 1970: 185). Likewise, the ibex (*w/ya'il*) in Ar. dream literature means a person with an important position in the government who is well connected with the ruler (Al-Akili 1992: 289).

Remarkably, names of insects and reptilians are the most frequent ones: locust/grasshopper (*arby, gb, hgb, hrgl, qsm*), louse (*ply, qml*), scorpion (*'qrb*), bee/wasp (*dbr*), fly (*dbb*), worm (*dr*), flea (*prgt/pr's*), tick (*hmn* ?), lizard (*'b, zbwg-*), snake (*hwy*), and chameleon/serpent (*hmt*). Generally, insects provided images of destruction and devouring, as is apparent in the curses of the Sefire treaties: “And for seven years may the locust devour! And for seven years may the worm devour” (I,A,III,26-27 in Lipiński 1975: 49). Lines 30-31 of the same passage represent more insects beside carnivorous animals: “May the gods send every kind of devourer to Arpad and [may devour] its people [the mo]uth of the snake, and the mouth of the scorpion, and the mouth of the bear of woe, and the mouth of the panther, and the mouth of the louse, and the [wasps...]” (Lipiński 1975: 49-50). Similarly, the description of Anat's frenzy in the Ug. myth of Baal utilizes the insects imagery: “Under her are heads like bulls, above her are hands like locusts, heaps of fighters' hands are like (heaps of) grasshoppers” (Pardee 1997: 250). The army of King Kirta is

²³⁹ For more information on leopard imagery, see the discussion by Beyer in ThWAT 9: 480-81.

also compared to grasshoppers: “Like grasshoppers you will invade the field, like locusts the edges of the steppe-lands” (Pardee 1997a: 334).

As for birds, names of raptors (*anq*, *ḡrn*, *nšr*, and *rḥm*) seem to illustrate leadership and power, for some occur as divine names and epithets (↑4.3.3.4). Raptors in Ug. literature are used metaphorically when describing the powerful weapons made by Kothar for Baal in his struggle against Yamm (Borowski 2002: 301; Pardee 1997: 249). On the other hand, names denoting small birds (*šr*, *špr*, *zrzy/wr*) can be interpreted as designations of beauty, innocence, and blessing/affection. The dove (*gzl*, *ymmt*) was considered the sacred bird of a goddess (perhaps Astarte) worshipped at Beisān. The inhabitants of Syria in antiquity are reported to have honored doves as deities because its association with Semiramis, who, upon passing away, “turned into a dove” (DDD 263 and the references therein). A text from Hat. links the dove to friendship: *gōzla brāḥmē* “young dove to the friend” (Beyer 1998: H1029,2).

Names referring to the fox (*tʿlb*, *tʿl*), weasel (*anyš*), mongoose (*nmsš*), and rock hyrax (*špn*) probably evoke cunning, management, and skill. In the Bible, for example, foxes are used as illustrative of false prophets (Ezekiel 13:4) and cunning and deceitful persons (Luke 13:32).²⁴⁰ Hyraxes appear as skilled animals, although they are not powerful (Proverbs 30:26). The term *nims* in colloquial Ar. is a designation of an astute and shrewd person (Hinds and Badawi 1986: 887a; ↓5.4.6.1.2).

Regarding fish names, they are quite frequent in the Ug. onomasticon (§137), undoubtedly due to the coastal location of the city. Regrettably, however, Ug. literature does not provide us with information on fish imagery. The positive connotations of fish elsewhere in Sem. literature²⁴¹ allow us to propose a similarly positive background.

4.3.5 Animal names in family and society

Since Pho., OAram., Nab., and Hat. hardly provide us with information on this topic, I will limit my brief discussion below to Ug. and Palm.

²⁴⁰ The same holds for Ar. literature (↓5.4.2.2.1).

²⁴¹ This is reflected by an etiological explanation in the Babylonian Talmud “(the order of the letters) nun, samekh, ‘ayin (intimates that) fish is a remedy for the eye” (BT 20b/24), available online at: <http://cal.huc.edu/comment.php?coord=7103501020224>. In the Tobit story (6: 16-17), fish intestines have an apotropaic function. In Ar. dream literature, a fish symbolizes money, benefit, and earning (Al-Akili 1992: 162).

4.3.5.1 *The Ugaritic onomasticon*

Animal names are quite frequent in the Ug. onomasticon, but they are not among the eight most popular names.²⁴² If the names suggested by Watson (2006, 2007) are correct (see the discussion in ↑4.3.1.2), we would have ca. 130 animal names of the total estimate of ca. 2500 names (including the non-Sem. ones).²⁴³ A considerable amount of the Ug. animal names are of the common type *bn-PN* “Son of PN” (see the table in ↑4.3.1.1). The ones with the suffix *-t*, e.g., *Bn Imrt* “Ewe”, *Bn Llit* “Heifer”, and *Bn Snnt* “Swallow”, could be matronyms or patronyms (if we assume that the suffix *-t* functions as a hypocoristic-diminutive ending in masc. names in view of the other Sem. languages). The Ug. *bn-PN* type can be compared to Ar. *nasab ibn/bint-X* “Son/daughter of so and so”, which is also quite common in the onomasticon. Several examples of Ar. *nasab* are originally nicknames; particularly the ones indicating animals (↓5.4.6.3).

4.3.5.2 *The Palmyrene onomasticon*

An examination of the main list of PNs (PNPI 2-56) and the reconstructed family trees (Piersimoni 1995) yields the following remarks concerning the distribution of animal names in family and society:

- Generally, animal names are attested for wealthy people (as we can infer from their occurrence on family tombs belonging to the elite).
- They occur much more frequently among the males (ca. 26 names) than among the females (3 names).²⁴⁴
- ‘*gylw* “Little calf” is one of the ten most popular names (attested ca. 60 times). Interestingly, three members of the Qsm’ family bore this name: ‘*gylw* s. ‘*gylw* s. ‘*gylw* (Piersimoni 1995, No. 50).
- Beside ‘*gylw*, there are four papponyms: ‘*zrzyrt* “Starling” (No. 76), ‘*Hld*’ “Mole” (No. 371), ‘*b*’ “Lizard” (?) (No. 145), and ‘*Qrd*’ “Tick” (attested three times in the Qrd’ family, No. 70).

²⁴² These are *Yanḥamu*, *Kurwanu* (Anatolian), ‘*Abdi-milki*, *Adunu*, *Munaḥḥmu*, ‘*Abdi-Yariḥ*, ‘*Abdu*, and *Tüb-Ammu* (Nougayrol 1968: 16).

²⁴³ On this estimation, see O’Connor (2006: 273).

²⁴⁴ Fem. names are amply attested in the onomasticon (ca. 150 examples), and some of them were also borne by males. See the main list in PNPI 2-56.

- There is one possible case of 'harmonic' names: *'rwn'* "Calf" br. *'gylw'* "Little calf" (No. 14).
- Some names are only found among the ancestors (the heads of the families): *Bzy* "Falcon" (No. 328), *'klb'* "Rabid" (No. 133), *G'lw* "Beetle" (No. 174), *Gml'* "Camel" (No.176), *Gwr'* "Whelp" (No. 178), and *Yqrwr* "Frog" (No. 236). These could be nicknames.
- The other names occur only once or twice among the descendants, e.g., *Bkrw* (f) "Young camel" (No. 318), *Qml'* (No. 467), and *Şpry* "Little bird" (two times, No. 111, 324).

5 Animal Names in Arabic

5.1 The onomastic evidence

The Ar. onomasticon (CAr. Bed., and CAO) contains a large proportion of animal names. Since this study is concerned with the distribution of these names in the pre-Islamic times (for motivation, see ↑1.4.1.3; 1.4.1.4) and their survival in the Islamic sources (both narrative and epigraphic), the table below exhibits them (some are by-forms) in view of their counterparts in the AAr. onomasticon. The rightmost column gives the corresponding paragraph number in the appendix (App.):

Element	Meaning	AAr.								App.
		Saf.	His.	Tham.	Dad.	Sab	Min.	Qat.	Had.	
'adabbas-	camel									53
'aḍal-	gerbil									83
'alas-	tick									133
'anbas-	lion									9
'ankab-	spider									132
'ans-	(strong) she-camel									53
'anz-	goat	*			*					64
'aqrab-	scorpion	*	*	*	*	*		*		131
'ara/āḍ-	wild ass	*			*		*			39
'arandas-	lion									9
'atūd-	kid	*								75
'awf-	bird	*			*	*	*	*	*	93
'āwī/mu'āwī(yat)	howler, jackal	*		*		*				19
'aylān	male hyena	?	?							23
'iḡl-	calf	*		*						56
'ikrim(-at)	pigeon									111

<i>'ikriš-</i>	she-hare									87
<i>'u(k)kāš-</i>	spider									132
<i>'ukbur-/ 'akbar</i>	jerboa	*	*	*			*	*	*	79
<i>'uqāb-</i>	eagle									100
<i>'uṣfūr-</i>	finch									106
<i>af'ā</i>	viper									118
<i>aḥyal-</i>	kind of bird	*								109
<i>anūq-</i>	raptor									94
<i>arbad-</i>	viper									118
<i>arnab-</i>	hare								*	86
<i>arqam-</i>	diadem-snake									118
<i>arw-</i>	mountain goat	*				*				29
<i>asad-</i>	lion	*	*	*	*	*	*			2
<i>ašras-</i>	lion		*	*		*				9
<i>aswad</i>	huge black snake									118
<i>ayya/il-</i>	deer									30
<i>azraq-</i>	falcon									100
<i>ba'ir-</i>	camel	*	*	*				*		50
<i>badan-</i>	old ibex	*								32
<i>baḡl-</i>	mule	*								48
<i>bahdal-</i>	a kind of green bird									117
<i>bahnas-</i>	lion									9
<i>bakr-</i>	young camel	*	*	*			*		*	51
<i>baqar-</i>	large cattle, cow	*		*		*		*		57
<i>baqq-</i>	gnat	*	*							127

<i>baṭṭ-</i>	duck	*								103
<i>bayhas-</i>	lion									9
<i>bāz</i>	falcon									95
<i>birqiš-</i>	fringilla		*							109
<i>buhṭ-</i>	oryx					*		*		38
<i>bulbul-</i>	nightingale ²⁴⁵									109
<i>būm-</i>	owl									114
<i>burgūt-</i>	flea									124
<i>bVss-</i>	cat	?								13
<i>ḍab(u)‘-</i>	hyena	*	*	*			*	*		22
<i>dabāt</i>	locust									126
<i>ḍabb-</i>	lizard	*	*							119
<i>dabbūr-</i>	wasp									122
<i>dağāğ-</i>	hen									116
<i>dağfal-</i>	young elephant									85
<i>dalahmas-</i>	lion									9
<i>ḍamḍam-</i>	lion									9
<i>ḍarr-</i>	red ants									134
<i>darrāğ-</i>	hedgehog		*							89
<i>dawsar-</i>	(she) camel									53
<i>ḍaygam-</i>	lion	*								9
<i>di‘bil-</i>	(large) camel									53
<i>di‘liğ-</i>	hedgehog									89
<i>ḍi‘b-</i>	wolf	*	*	*		*		*		18
<i>ḍifda‘-</i>	frog					*				136

²⁴⁵ Against the historical assumption that Ar. *bulbul* is an Iranian loanword, SED 2 (No. 60) considers it Sem. by listing it beside Akk *bulilu* “crested bird” and some other Modern South Arabian and Ethiopian terms under the root *bVL- “kind of small bird”.

<i>dīk-</i>	rooster									116
<i>ḍirgām-</i>	lion									9
<i>ḍu'āl-</i>	wolf	*				*				19
<i>dubb-</i>	bear	*	*	*						20
<i>dV'il-</i>	weasel, jackal	*	*	*						91
<i>fa'r-</i>	mouse	*				*	*	*	*	81
<i>fahd-</i>	cheetah	*			*	*		*		12
<i>fāḥit(-at)</i>	ring-dove	*	*							111
<i>fahl-</i>	stallion, camel									48
<i>far'(-at)</i>	louse									128
<i>far'-</i>	wild ass	*								45
<i>faras-</i>	horse, mare	*	*		*	*				46
<i>farḥ-</i>	chick, brood	*								116
<i>farīr-</i>	young oryx									59
<i>farqad-</i>	calf (of a wild cow)									38
<i>farrūḡ-</i>	hen									116
<i>fazār-</i>	leopardess									11
<i>fīl-</i>	elephant									85
<i>filw-</i>	foal, colt		*	*						48
<i>fizr-</i>	lamb									75
<i>furāfiṣ-</i>	lion									9
<i>furfur-</i>	sparrow									117
<i>furhūd-</i>	lion cub									9
<i>ḡ/'Vfr-</i>	young of ungulate, fawn	*	*			*				34
<i>ḡaḍanfar-</i>	lion									9

ğady-	kid	*	*	*		*				65
ğafɾ-	kid									75
ğahl-	chameleon	*		*						119
ğahš-	young ass, gazelle	*	*			*				41
ğamal-	camel	*	*	*		*		*		52
ğarād-	locust	*								126
ğazāl-	gazelle	*				*	*		*	33
ğu'al-	black-beetle	*								130
ğudğud-	cockroach									123
ğurāb-	crow, raven	*	*							104
ğuraɖ-	rat	*	*			*				80
ğurnūq-	crane									103
ğVɥdVb-	locust									126
ğVndV'-	beetle									130
ğVndVb-	locust									126
ğVrw-	puppy, whelp									26
ħabtar-	fox									17
ħaɖaf-	small black sheep/goat									75
ħağal-	partridge	*	*	*						113
ħalam-	tick									133
ħamal-	lamb	*	*	*		*				75
ħamām-	dove			*						111
ħamn-	tick	*	*	*				*		133
ħanaš-	reptilian, viper									118
ħansā'	oryx									38

<i>ḥaraš-</i>	fly									125
<i>ḥarḡal-</i>	locust		*	*						126
<i>ḥarṭam-</i>	lion			*						9
<i>ḥarūf-</i>	(young) sheep	*							*	66
<i>ḥašram-</i>	wasp									122
<i>hawbar-</i>	cheetah									12
<i>hubayr-</i>	little hyena									23
<i>hawḍ-</i>	sandgrouse									115
<i>ḥawla(t)</i>	she-gazelle									38
<i>ḥawta‘-</i>	fly									125
<i>hawzan-</i>	a kind of bird									112
<i>ḥaydar-</i>	lion									9
<i>hayq-</i>	male ostrich									112
<i>haytam-</i>	eaglet									100
<i>ḥayya(t)</i>	snake					*		*		118
<i>ḥaz‘al-</i>	male hyena							*		23
<i>hiḡris-</i>	fox cub									17
<i>ḥimār-</i>	donkey	*	*		*	*		*		42
<i>ḥinzīr-</i>	pig									77
<i>hiql-</i>	young ostrich	*								112
<i>ḥirbiš-</i>	rattlesnake									118
<i>ḥirdawn-</i>	lizard									119
<i>hirmās-</i>	lion									9
<i>ḥirniq-</i>	she-hare									87
<i>hirr-</i>	cat	*		*						13
<i>ḥiṣf-</i>	fawn								*	38

<i>ḥisl-</i>	young lizard	*								119
<i>ḥizabr-</i>	lion									9
<i>ḥamʿ-</i>	male hyena						*	*		23
<i>ḥubāb-</i>	a kind of snake	?	?	?						118
<i>ḥubšiya(t)</i>	big ant									121
<i>ḥudayla(t)</i>	dove									111
<i>ḥuḍayr-</i>	greenfinch									109
<i>ḥuld-</i>	mole	*	*							88
<i>ḥurqūš-</i>	tick									133
<i>ḥuṣaynī</i>	fennec									17
<i>ḥuššāf-/ḥuffāš-</i>	bat									92
<i>ḥūt-</i>	fish, whale	*	*	*					*	137
<i>ḥuwār-</i>	young camel	*	*	*	*					53
<i>ḥuzar-</i>	male hare	*								87
<i>ḥuzaz-</i>	young/male hare		*							87
<i>ḥVnṭVb-</i>	locust, beetle									126
<i>ibil-</i>	camel	*						*		49
<i>kabš-</i>	ram					*				67
<i>kalb-</i>	dog	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	14
<i>kawdan-</i>	mule									43
<i>kudr-</i>	sandgrouse									115
<i>laʿā-(at)</i>	wild bull/cow				?	?				58
<i>labuʿ-</i>	lion	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		4
<i>layṭ-</i>	lion	*	*							5
<i>maʿz-</i>	goat	*	*							70
<i>maḍraḥī</i>	vulture,									100

	falcon									
<i>mishal-</i>	ass									48
<i>muhr-</i>	foal	*								44
<i>muṣʿab-</i>	camel, stallion									53
<i>naʿām-</i>	ostrich	*				*			*	112
<i>naʿġ-</i>	ewe									75
<i>naʿtal-</i>	male hyena									23
<i>nabbāḥ-</i>	dog (lit. bark- ing)					*		*		15
<i>nāhis-</i>	lion									6
<i>naḥl-</i>	bee									122
<i>nahšal-</i>	wolf									19
<i>namir-, nimir-</i>	leopard	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	10
<i>naml-</i>	ant(s)	*							*	121
<i>nasr-</i>	vulture	*	*	*	*	*		*		97
<i>nawṣ-</i>	wild ass	*	*							48
<i>nims-</i>	mongoose	*	*	*						24
<i>nūn-</i>	fish	*								137
<i>nuhām-</i>	owl									114
<i>qa/uṭāmī</i>	falcon									100
<i>qahd-</i>	lamb					*				75
<i>qalūṣ-</i>	young she-camel									53
<i>qarm-</i>	stallion									48
<i>qaml-</i>	louse	*		*				*	*	128
<i>qamqam-</i>	tick									133
<i>qašʿam-</i>	old vulture									100
<i>qaṭāt</i>	sandgrouse									115

<i>qird-</i>	ape									84
<i>qitr-</i>	a kind of snake									118
<i>qumriya(t)</i>	turtledove									111
<i>qunbur-</i> <i>qubbur-</i>	lark									109
<i>qunfuḍ-</i>	hedgehog	*	*	*						89
<i>qurad-</i>	tick			*						133
<i>raʿl-</i>	she-ostrich								*	112
<i>raʿl-</i>	ostrich offspring	*	*		*			*		112
<i>raḥam-</i>	Egyptian vulture	*	*				*			99
<i>raqāš-</i>	speckled snake									118
<i>rašaʿ-</i>	fawn			*		*				38
<i>riʿm-</i>	gazelle, white antelope	*		*					*	35
<i>riḥl-</i>	ewe	*	*	*						71
<i>š/saqr-</i>	falcon	*		*		*				100
<i>šaʿda(t)</i>	donkey mare		*							48
<i>saʿdāna(t)</i>	dove									111
<i>sāʿid-</i>	lion									9
<i>šaʿw-</i>	kinglet	*								109
<i>sab(V)ʿ-</i>	lion, beast of pray	*				*				7
<i>saband/ti</i>	leopard									11
<i>šabaṭ-</i>	sun-spider		*							132
<i>šabw-</i>	scorpion									131
<i>šadā</i>	owl									114

<i>šādīn-</i>	fawn									38
<i>saḥl-</i>	kid, lamb		*	*						75
<i>samak-</i>	fish									137
<i>sandarī</i>	a kind of bird									117
<i>šāt</i>	ewe									74
<i>šibl-</i>	lion cub	*		*		*				8
<i>sīd-</i>	wolf	*	*							19
<i>sirḥān-</i>	wolf									19
<i>šūḡā'-</i>	large-headed snake									118
<i>sulk-</i>	partridge									113
<i>summān-</i>	quail	*				*			*	111
<i>sunūnū-</i>	swallow									110
<i>ṣurad-</i>	shrike									109
<i>ṣurṣur-</i>	cricket									123
<i>ṣūṣ-</i>	brood									116
<i>tawlab-</i>	foal, young ass	*				*				48
<i>ṭawr-</i>	bull	*	*	*					*	60
<i>tays-</i>	male goat, buck							*		74
<i>ṭu'bān-</i>	viper									118
<i>ṭurmula(t)</i>	she-fox			*						17
<i>ṭV'al-, ṭ'lab-</i>	fox	*	*	*	*	*		*		16
<i>usāma(t)</i>	lion					*				9
<i>wa'l-</i>	ibex	*	*	*					*	37
<i>wa'wa'-</i>	jackal									19
<i>wabr-</i>	hyrax	*	*	*						90
<i>wahm-</i>	camel									53

<i>waḥš-</i>	wild beast	*	*	*						138
<i>ya'sūb-</i>	drone									122
<i>yu'yū'-</i>	merlin									100
<i>yamām-</i>	pigeon	*								111
<i>yarbū'-</i>	jerboa									82
<i>zabāb-</i>	shrew									83
<i>ḡaby-</i>	antelope	*					*	*		36
<i>zaġlūl-</i>	brood									116
<i>ḡalīm-</i>	male ostrich	*				*		*		112
<i>zandabīl-</i>	elephant									85
<i>zarzūr-</i>	starling									108
<i>zuġb(-at)</i>	dormouse									83
<i>zurbūr-</i>	hornet									122
<i>zurayq-</i>	jay									109
<i>zurraq-</i>	kite	*								100

The table shows that ca. 115 of these elements are also found in the AAr. onomasticon, particularly in Saf. Such a high number reflects a continuity in name-giving traditions in the Arabian Peninsula and the Syro-Jordanian steppe and supports the reliability of the classical narrative sources (at least as far as name-giving is concerned).

5.2 Suffixes and endearment forms

5.2.1 *-ān*

This suffix indicates an infinitive or adjectival form (Fischer 2002: §65; Wright 1896 1: 133ff). The latter function probably applies to the following names: CAr. *Fahdān* “Cheetah-like” (§12), *Farān* “Wild-ass-like” (§45), *Labwān* “Lion-like” (§4), *Nimrān* “Leopard-like” (§10), *Ra'lān* “Little-ostrich-like” (§112), *Sab'ān* “Lion-like” (§7), *Wa'lān* “Ibex-like” (§37), and *Ḥa'ibyān* “Antelope-like” (§36); CAr. *Ḍi'bān*/Bed. *Ḍibān* “Wolf-like” (§18); Bed. *Baqqān* “Gnat-like” (§127), *Ġaḥṣān* “Young-ass-like” (§41), *Nemsān* “Mongoose-like” (§24), *Ra'ēlān* “Ostrich-like” (§112), *Rimān* “White-antelope-like” (§35), and *Šiblān* “Lion-cub-like” (§8).

In some instances the suffix *-ān* indicates a specifically masc. form (Ibn Al-Tasturī Al-Kātib 1983: 66, 91): *Ḍib‘ān* “Hyena” vs. fem. *Ḍabu‘* (§22), *‘Uqrubān* “Scorpion” vs. fem. *‘Aqrab* (§131), and *Ṭu‘lubān* “Male fox”, whereas the unmarked *ṭa‘lab-* indicates both genders (§16). In other masc. names, this suffix is considered a radical, e.g., *Ṭu‘bān* “Huge (male) snake” (§118) and *Sirḥān* “Wolf” (§19).

5.2.2 *-a(t)*

This suffix functions as a hypocoristic-diminutive in masc. names (Littmann 1948: 52), and it is mainly found in CAr.: *Bahdala* “Little (green) bird” (§117), *Ḍabba* “Little lizard” (§119), *Ḡaḥla* “Little chameleon” (§119), *Ḡurwa* “Puppy” (§26), *Ḥarūfa* “Little sheep” (§66), *Kabša* “Little ram” (§67), *Kalba* “Little dog” (§14), *Namira* “Little leopard” (§10),²⁴⁶ *Ṭa‘laba*, *Ṭu‘āla* “Little fox” (§16),²⁴⁷ *Ḍi‘ba* “Little wolf” (§18),²⁴⁸ *Wa‘la* “Little ibex” (§37),²⁴⁹ and *Wa‘wa‘a* “Little jackal” (§19). Remarkably, this suffix is also widely used in names/by-forms indicating lion: *Asada*,²⁵⁰ *‘Anbasa*, *Dirḡāma*, *Usāma*,²⁵¹ *Furāfiša*, *Ḥaydara*, and *Harṭama* (§9).

The suffix *-a(t)* is absent from animal names in Bed. and CAO, but it is found in other types, like *Ḥamāda* and *Ḥammūda* < *Aḥmad* or *Muḥammad* and *‘Abbūda* < *‘Abd-DN* (Ḥitti 2003: 36; Allen 1956: 76).

5.2.3 *-ī*

This suffix occurs mainly in CAr.: *Arnabī* “Hare” (§86), *Ḍubay‘ī* “Hyena” (§22), *Farḥī* “Brood” (§116), *Raqāšī* (f) “Serpent” (§118), and *Waḥšī* “Wild beast” (§138). Its function is unclear, however. It could be the *nisba* ending (*ī* < *iy*), like *arḍī* “earthy” < *arḍ*, *šamsī* “solar” < *šams*, *qamarī* “lunar” < *qamr*, and so on.²⁵² Alternatively, it may indicate a hypocoristic form which is similar to the suffix *-a/iy(a)* in the ancient Sem. languages (↑3.2.2, ↑4.1.2.3-4), for it similarly occurs in two types of names: (1) shortened names in CAr. and CAO, e.g., *Šamsī* < *Šams al-dīn*, *‘Izzī* < *‘Izz al-dīn* and *Niḏāmī* < *Niḏām al-dīn/al-mulk* (Al-Sāmīrā‘ī 1983: 267-68), and (2) one-word names in CAO, e.g., *Šukrī* (SAR 2, No. 4092), *Bakrī*, and *Ḥamdī* (Ḥitti 2003: 31, 36). A less likely hypothesis is that the ending *-ī* is the possessive pronoun suffix 1 sg.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Tham. *Nmrt* and Dad. *Nmrh*.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Tham. *Ṭ‘lt*.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Saf. *Ḍ‘bt*.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Saf. *W‘lt*.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Tham., Min., Qat. *‘s‘dt*.

²⁵¹ Cf. Sab. *‘s‘mt*.

²⁵² More examples are available in Wright (1896 1: 149D).

5.2.4 Diminutive

Two diminutive forms are found in animal names: (1) *fu'ayl* (CAr.) > *f'ayl/f'ēl* (colloquial Ar.), and much less (2) *fu'ayyil* (CAr.) > *f'ayyil* (colloquial Ar.):

CAr.: *Uğayl* “Little calf” (§56), *Buğayl* “Little mule” (§48), *Bukayr* “Little young camel” (§51), *Dubayb* “Little bear” (§20), *Ḥumayr* “Little donkey” (§42), *Hurayr* and *Hurayra* (f) “Little cat” (§13), *Ḥusayl* “Little lizard” (§119), *Ḥuzayr* “Little male-hare” (§87), *Ġu'ayl* “Little black-beetle” (§130), *Ġudayy* “Little kid” (§65), *Ġunaydīb* “Little locust” (§126), *Lu'ayy* “Little wild bull” (?) (§58), *Nusayr* “Little vulture” (§97), *Suḥayla* (f) “Little kid” (§75), *Sumyaka* (f) “Little fish” (§137), *Ṣuqayr* “Little falcon” (§100), *Tu'aylib* “Little fox” (§16), *Tuwayr* “Little bull” (§60), *Usayd* (m+f) and *Usayda* (f) “Little lion” (§2), and *Zubayya* (f) “Little antelope” (§36).

Bed.: *Gērib* “Little scorpion” (§131), *Önayze* (f) “Little she-goat” (§64), *Bsēs* (f) and *Bsaysa* (f) “Little cat” (§13), *Braygīt* “Little flea” (§124), *Ḍbayb* “Little young lizard” (§119), *Ġḥayš* “Little young ass” (§41), *Ġraybī* “Little jerboa” (§82), *Ġraydī* “Little rat” (§80), *Gmēle* (f) “Little louse” (§128), *Gnēfid* “Little hedgehog” (§89), *Ḥmayyir* “Little donkey” [*fu'ayyil* form] (§42), *Ḥṣayin* “Little horse” (§48), *Ġzayyil* (f) “Little gazelle” [*fu'ayyil* form] (§33), *Fhayde* (f) “Little she-cheetah” (§12), *Srayḥān* “Little wolf” (§19), and *Mway'iz* “Little goat” (§70).

CAr./Bed.: *Du'ayb/Dwēb*, *Dwayibe* (f) “Little (she) wolf” (§18), *Ġuḥaydīb/Ġḥaydīb* (f) “Little locust” (§126), *Ġuḥayš/Ġḥayš* “Little ass” (§49), *Ġurayy/Ġrēw* “Little puppy” (§26), *Kulayb/Tslēb < Kulēb* “Little dog” (§14), *Numayla/Numēle* (f) “Little ant” (§121), *Numayr/Numēr* “Little leopard” (§10), and *Šubayt/Šbayte* (f) “Little sun-spider” (§131).

In some instances, the diminutive is the original form of the animal term itself, e.g., CAr. *Haytam* “Eaglet” (§100) and *Zurayq* “Jay” (§109).

Two hypocoristic suffixes occur in names of *fu'ayl* form:

(1) *-a(t)*, which is mainly found in CAr.: *Du'ayba* “Little wolf” (§18), *Dubay'a* “Little hyena” (§22), *Ġunda'a* “Little *ḡunda*-beetle” (§130), *Ġurayya* “Little puppy” (§26), *Ḥumayla* “Little lamb” (§75), *Kudayra* “Little sandgrouse” (§115), *Ruḥayla* “Little ewe” (§71), and *Tuwayra* “Little bull” (§60).

(2) *-ān*, which is confined to Bed. names: *Fhaydān* “Little cheetah” (§12), *Ġ'ēlān* “Little black-beetle” (§130), *Klēbān* “Little dog” (§14), *Shēlān* “Little kid” (§75), and *Twaysān* “Little buck” (§74).

In addition, Bed. colloquial uses the reduplication of the second radical in diminutive: *Bšēbiš* < *Bšayš/Bšēš* “Little cat” (§13) and *Klēlib* < *Klayb/Klēb* “Little dog” (§14).

5.3 Animal names in theophoric names

Animal terms are found in three types of theophoric names:

(1) *Kalb-DN* (§14), which survived in the Islamic onomastic tradition until a recent time (ca. 1st half of the 20th c.) as we can see in *Ch/Ġelballāh* < *Kalb Allah* “Dog of God”, found among the Bedouins of Ḥawrān, Syria, and more among the Shiites of Iraq and Iran. According to Littmann (1948: 8), a Bedouin bore this name because his father wanted him to be as loyal as a dog to the god. The same explanation is mentioned by Schimmel (1989: 65) concerning a man from a rural area in southern Iraq. In addition, there are some names in which the element *kalb-* is added to one of the Shiite imams’ names: *Kalb ‘Alī/al-Ḥusayn/al-‘Abbās* (Abū Zayd 1995: 56), the diminutive *Ġlēb ‘Alī* (< *Klēb* < *Kulayb*),²⁵³ and *Kalb al-a’imma* “Dog of the imams” (Schimmel 1989: 36). One can also refer to the title of Shah ‘Abbas I [d.1629] *Kalb-i astan-i ‘Alī* “Dog of the Threshold of ‘Alī”, which reflects the Shah’s servility towards the Shiite imamate (Rizvi 2013: 381). Semantically, *Kalb-DN* type parallels other Shiite names of ‘*Abd-X*: ‘*Abd ‘Alī/al-Ḥasan/al-Ḥusayn/al-‘Abbās/al-Zahra* (f) or *al-Zahrā’*’ (the nickname of *Fāṭima*, the daughter of the Prophet) (Al-Sāmīrrā’ī 1983: 266). In general, the Islamic *Kalb-DN* type appears to have no relation with the healing-dog cult known in ancient Mesopotamia (↑3.3.2).

(2) The honorific nickname *Asad Allah* “Lion of God” (§2; ↓5.4.6.1.1.2), which parallels Heb. *’Ārī’ēl* “Lion of El” (↑4.2.3) and, probably, Nab. *Šb[l]lhy* “Lion of (my) god” (?) (§7).

(3) The problematic name ‘*Abd al-Asad*, lit. “Servant of the lion” (CIK 2 122). For Robertson Smith (1907: 224), this name denotes the pre-Islamic god Yağūṭī, who was worshipped under the form of a lion. Nöldeke (1913: 662) is more cautious about this hypothesis, for the element *asad* is a comparatively modern word for lion, not the old word common to the various Sem. languages. The association with Yağūṭī seems unlikely, for a certain ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Asad was a companion of the Prophet (Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 4: 170; 3: 506), and the latter is reported to have changed many names that do not agree with Islam, especially the ones referring to idols (↑2.3.2.2), but there is no Hadith concerning the name of ‘*Abd al-Asad* or the cult of Yağūṭī in the form of a lion, even though the idol is mentioned in the Qur’an (71: 23). Given this information, I suggest three alternative hypotheses concerning ‘*Abd al-Asad*: (1) it is an archaic type related to the Old Sab.

²⁵³ This name was known among the low-educated population of Shiite Iraqis (Al-Sāmīrrā’ī 1983: 275).

DN *ʿsʿd* “warrior”, which is quite well-attested in ASAr. theophoric names (§2), (2) it designates the constellation ‘Leo’ (*al-asad*) in view of two parallel theophoric names, i.e., ‘*Abd Šams* “Sun” (CIK 2 131; also Saf. *ʿbdšms*, HIn 399) and ‘*Abd al-Ṭurayyā* “Pleiades” (CIK 2 554), or, more probably, (3) it is based on a tribal/eponymic name in view of AAr.²⁵⁴ and late pre-Islamic counterparts, like ‘*Abd al-Aws* (CIK 2 123), ‘*Abd Ġaṭafān* (CIK 2 124),²⁵⁵ and ‘*Abd al-Muṭṭalib* (the grandfather of the Prophet).²⁵⁶ In any case, thus, ‘*Abd al-Asad* appears to have no association with the lion or the worship of Yağūt in the form of a lion.²⁵⁷

5.4 Animal names: reasons for their use

Having discussed the linguistic features of animal names in Ar., I will now deal with their cultural aspects. The examination involves six theories and practices, that is, (1) totemism, (2) the classical Arabic theory, (3) apotropaic names, (4) affective names, (5) alternative names, and (6) naming after famous people

5.4.1 Totemism

As mentioned above (4.3.4), Robertson Smith (1912) was the first scholar to draw upon anthropological data in his treatment of ancient Sem. cultures. His application of totemism to Sem. religions resulted in his concept about the totemic origin of the slain god, or ‘totemism as sacrament’. Since this concept was extensively analyzed by Jones (2005: 59-104), I will exclude it from my discussion and limit myself to the question of animal names. Robertson Smith’s central argument is that animal names belonged to sub-tribes or stocks, but they were considered individual by the Ar. genealogical system, which is inspired by the patriarchal theory. The latter, of course, does not match the system of totemism, where kinship is reckoned through the mother. Through a complex process the totem name was transmitted through the mother as a natural result of a system of exogamy, and this explains the attestation of the same animal name among sub-tribes from dif-

²⁵⁴ Milik’s assumption (1959-60: 150) that His. *ʿbdmnnw*, *ʿbdʿdnwn*, *ʿbdʿmnw*, and *ʿbdʿmrw* are based on tribal names is very probable, for *ʿmnw* and *ʿmrw* are evidenced as such in Saf. in the forms *ʿmn* and *ʿmrt* (Al-Jallad 2015: Index of Tribes).

²⁵⁵ Both *al-Aws* and *Ġaṭafān* are independently attested as tribal and individual names (CIK 2 213, 274).

²⁵⁶ A report concerning this individual mentions that his birth name was *Šayba* “Gray-haired” and that he was called so because he was fatherless and brought up by his paternal uncle, i.e., al-Muṭṭalib. Arabs in the pre-Islamic times used to name the fatherless boy ‘*Abd-PN* after the man who took care of him (Al-Ḥalabī 1875 1: 4-5).

²⁵⁷ The literal approach of theophoric names is quite hazardous and can easily lead to fanciful conclusions. The pre-Islamic name ‘*Abd Bakr* (CIK 2 123) would evoke a camel cult if we treat the element *bakr* literally as “young camel” and not as an individual or tribal name.

ferent groups, as is the case in North America, where a Bear tribe existed among the Hurons, the Iroquois, and so on (Robertson Smith 1912: 466-67). As for names in the plural form, i.e., “Dogs” (*Kilāb*), “Panthers” (*Anmār*) and “Lizards” (*Ḍibāb*), they are originally names of tribes, each member of which would call himself a Dog and a Panther, and thus “the idea of an ancestor bearing the plural name is plainly artificial, invented in the interests of a system” (Robertson Smith 1912: 462).

5.4.1.1 *Individual or tribal names?*

A counter-argument for the totemistic origin of animal names was held by Nöldeke, who gave more examples of them from all Sem. languages known to him. His view is that the Ar. names emerged as individual and cannot be a trace of totemism, for they are only found among clans and sub-tribes (eponymic names) but not among large tribes. It was natural for a nomad living in the open air to name his children after the beasts of the field, without the necessity of totemism, and some names could be merely nicknames (Nöldeke 1886: 156ff: Beiträge 73ff). This point seems correct if we consider the following examples listed by Robertson Smith (1912: 459ff):

Asad “Lion” (a number of tribes), *Ṭawr* “Bull” (a sub-tribe), and *Ḍabba* “Lizard” (a sub-division).

From a sociological point of view, except the fact that all these names refer to animals, there is nothing common among them which would allow one to put them in one category (i.e., originally tribal names). Apparently, Robertson Smith’s categorization is based on the fact that all these names appear in *nasab* (i.e., *banū-x* “sons/descendants of x”) or *nisba* (i.e., with the gentilic suffix *-ī*). To further illustrate the question of *nasab/nisba*, tribal names, and totemism, I will shortly draw on the ANAr. evidence. Names of social groups are easily recognized in Saf. and His. through the phrase *ḍ-ʿl* “of the people/group/tribe of X”, e.g., *l s²hm bn ’dm bn bh’ ḍ- ʿl ḍf* “by S²hm son of ’dm son of Bh’ of the people of Ḍf”. Less frequent is the gentilic suffix *-y*: *l rs¹l bn qdm h-ḍfy* “by Rs¹l son of Qdm the Ḍf-ite”. Names other than those of peoples usually appear without the definite article, except for some cases, e.g., *ḥrb h- mḍy ʿl rm b-bṣr* “the Persians plundered the Romans near Bṣr” (Al-Jallad 2015: 60). Of all the names of the nomadic tribes in Saf. inscriptions only three refer to animals, that is, *Ḍʿb* “Wolf”, *Fʿrt* “Mouse”, and *Nmrt* “Leopard”²⁵⁸ (Al-Jallad 2015: Index of Tribes). In view of the high proportion of animal names in Saf., it seems probable that these are originally individual (eponyms). Interestingly,

²⁵⁸ Most likely, both *Fʿrt* and *Nmrt* are masc. names ending in the hypocoristic suffix *-(a)t* (↑5.2.2).

quite similar to Saf. inscriptions, the Qur'an uses two terms in reference to social groups. The first term is *Āl* (the same 'l), which is used in a theological sense in relation to the adherents of a certain figure (an adversary, prophet, or eponym), e.g., *Āl Fir'awn* (2: 49) against *Āl Mūsā* and *Āl Hārūn* (2: 248); *Āl Ibrahim*, *Imrān* (3: 33), *Ya'qūb* (12: 6), and *Lūṭ* (15: 59). The second term is *banū* "descendants of", which occurs in two cases: *Banū Isrā'īl* (10: 90; 20: 40, 47, and so on) and *Banū Ādam* (7: 26-7; 17: 50). When referring to big nations, the Qur'an, like Saf. inscriptions, also mentions them in the pl. form: *al-Rūm* "The Romans" (30: 2). Thus, in most cases the tribal (or group) name is eponymic, a fact which Robertson Smith denied because it does not match the idea that the totem is assigned by the mother.

Lastly, from an anthropological point of view, an animal name cannot be taken as evidence of totemism in itself, unless we are certain about the association between the tribe and the animal it is named after (↑4.1.4.1).

5.4.1.2 *Animal names in the plural form*

An examination of narrative sources yields more names in the pl. form than the ones mentioned by Robertson Smith: *Arwā* (f) "Mountain goats", pl. of *urwiyya* (§29), *Darr* "Red ants", pl. of *darra* (§134), *Ġizlān* (f) "Gazelles",²⁵⁹ pl. of *ġazāl* (§33), *Ġihāš* "Young asses", pl. of *ġahš* (§41), *Riyām*, probably pl. of *ri'm* "white antelope" (§35), and *Zabāb* "Shrews", pl. of *zabāba* (§83). All these names are individual, and according to the genealogical and gentilic works (i.e., CIK; Ištiqāq; Al-Sam'ānī 1980-84), none of them is attested for any tribe or social group. Importantly, the pl. form is not confined to animal names; it is also found in other types, like CAr. *Riyāḥ* "Winds" (CIK 2 488), and much more in CAO: *Amwāġ* (f) "Waves", *Ansām* (f) "Breezes", *Anhār* (f) "Rivers", and *Saḥāb* (f+m) "Clouds", etc. (Hittī 2003: 6, 34, 74, 75). Such forms reflect an ancient onomastic tradition²⁶⁰ which can be explained through two hypotheses: (1) circumstantial/omen-names, i.e., the birth-giving was accompanied by the presence of a group of certain animals or the like (↓5.4.2), or (2) metaphoric designations of amplification.

To sum up, an investigation of tribal names as well as names in the pl. form suggests that animal names emerged as individual and later became tribal (eponymic), which makes the totemistic origin unlikely.

²⁵⁹ <http://www.s-gabriel.org/names/juliana/alandalus/femism.html> [accessed on 8/9/2015].

²⁶⁰ AAr. names in 'QTL pattern could reflect the elative *af'al* or the pl. *af'ul*, *af'āl*, e.g., Saf. 's^ld (§2), 'd^b (§18), 'klb (§14), 'm'z (§70), 'nmr (§10), and His. 's²sr (§38).

5.4.2 The classical Arabic theory: animal names as metaphors and omen-names

According to Ibn Durayd (↑2.3.2.1), Arabs in the pre-Islamic time used to give their children animal names for two reasons: (1) after the animal first encountered, (2) to horrify their foes. An earlier comprehensive argument concerning this practice is presented by Al-Ġāhiz, but with more focus on *al-zağr* “augury”:

One said: the Arabs used to give their children names like *Kalb* (Dog), *Ĥimār* (Donkey), *Ĥağar* (Stone), *Ġu‘al* (Black beetle), *Ĥanžala* (Colocynth), and *Qird* (Ape) considering these things as good omens. The custom was that when a man had a male son, he would leave the tent to augur from birds and to seek omens. If he heard somebody saying ‘stone’ or he saw one, he would choose it as a name for his son thinking that he would be strong, dense, long-lived and patient and that he would be able to destroy anything confronting him. If he heard somebody saying ‘wolf’ or he saw one, he would think of keenness, slyness, and gaining. If it was a donkey, he would think of long age, nerviness, strength, and patience. If it was a dog, he would think of precaution, attentiveness, strong voice, gaining and so on..... (Al-Ġāhiz 1965 1: 324-6).²⁶¹

In order to analyze the two major concepts of the classical Arabic theory, i.e., omen-names and naming against foes, I will approach them separately below.

5.4.2.1 Omen-names and augury

Naming after the animal first encountered or heard is not confined to the Ar. tradition; comparative anthropological data shows that it is cross-culturally attested. In Gujarat, India, for example, an infant may be called by the name of the animal (cat, dog, crow, etc.) which is heard to utter a cry at the time when the infant is born (Enthoven 1924: 211). Among the Mbeere people of Kenya, we find the following methods (maternal vision):

- If an animal, especially a frog or a snake, enters the house of a pregnant woman frequently, a baby is named after it.
- If a pregnant woman encounters a wild animal, a baby is named after it. They are thought to be manifestations of the God.
- If a wild animal attacks a pregnant woman, a baby is named after it (Katakami 1997: 205-06).

²⁶¹ The same passage with a little modification is found in Al-Ṭa‘ālibi 2000: 408.

All these examples suggest that the animal in question is considered a divine sign. Yet the connection between this idea and naming after the birds or animals used in *zağr* “augury” described by classical Arab scholars seems to be based on a confusion. Ibn Durayd and the others mostly confused the decisions following from the behavior of animals in augury with the application of the names of the animals themselves.

5.4.2.2 *Names against foes*

Presumably, this type of names belongs to a wider concept, that is, ‘*names decisive of fate*’. On his study on name-giving among the Turkish people, Rásonyi writes: “This category is based on the idea that the animal name has changed into a symbolic one, according to what characteristic features they possessed which the parents considered desirable with regard to the infant, such as braveness, temperament, power, speed, while in the case of one or the other domestic animal its size is the symbol of the appreciated or useful feature” (Rásonyi 1976). An examination of the applicability of this concept to Ar. requires highlighting three relevant topics: (1) animal imagery, (2) animal names as individual names of other animals (i.e., horses), and (3) name-giving among modern Bedouins.

5.4.2.2.1 Animal imagery and animal names

Given that animal imagery in Ar. literature is a broad topic, I would like to focus on one sample, i.e., classical proverbs and expressions available in Al-‘Askarī’s encyclopedic work *mağma‘ al-amṭāl* [Collection of Proverb] (1988). A quite considerable proportion of this collection refers to all sorts of animals as representations of human characteristics in negative, positive, descriptive, or mocking connotations, especially the proverbs/expressions of the comparative formula *af‘alu min* followed by an animal name, e.g., *aḥṭalu min tu‘āla/al-dī‘b* “(someone is) more deceitful than a fox/wolf” (Al-‘Askarī 1988, No. 763, 759), *ākalu min ḥūt/sūs/al-fa‘r/al-fīl* “greedier than a whale/moth/mouse/elephant” (No. 250-52), *aḥqadu min ḡamal* “more malevolent than a camel” (No. 663), *ašaddu min al-asad/faras/al-fīl* “stronger than a lion/mare/elephant” (No. 1085-87), and so on.²⁶² The qualities illustrated in the table below explicitly feature in this type of proverbs/expressions:

²⁶² All the proverbs/expressions are alphabetically listed in vol. 2, appendix 1: 343-365.

vulture			*	*								*							
wolf		*				*	*		*				*			*			*

It is clear from this table that animal connotations somehow agree with the classical Ar. theory regarding the function of animal names (whether being given names or nick-names). However, it can in no way cover all the motivations behind naming, for, on the one hand, animal connotations are changeable and contextual, and on the other hand, naming is influenced by other factors, such as social status, degree of urbanism, and family values, subjects I will deal with in the coming sections (↓5.5, 5-6).

5.4.2.2.2 Animal names as individual names of other animals: horses

The book of *Asmā' ḥayl al-'arab wa ansābuhā* [*Horses of Arabs: Their Proper Names and Genealogy*] by Ibn Al-A'rābī (2007) gives information on 837 horses with ca. 590 proper names (several names are borne by more than one horse).²⁶³ Many of the horses mentioned here are named after other animals: *Tawr* “Bull”, *al-Ġarāda* (f) “Locust”, *Ġirwa* “Whelp”, *al-Ḥamāma* (f) “Dove”, *Ḥumayl* “Little lamb”, *al-Ḥuzar* “Male hare”, *Dawsar* “Large camel”, *Ḍi'ba* (f) “She-wolf”, *al-Ruḥayl* “Little ewe-lamb”, *Zahdam* “Falcon”, *al-Sirḥān*, *al-Sīd* “Wolf”, *al-Ḍubayb* “Little lizard”, *Zabya* (f) “Antelope”, *al-Ḍalīm* “Male-ostrich”, *'Aqrab* (f) “Scorpion”, *al-'Uqāb* (f) “Eagle”, *al-Ġurāb* “Crow”, *al-Ġazāla* (f) “Gazelle”, *al-Fahd* “Cheetah”, *al-Kalb* “Dog”, *Kahmas* “Lion” (epithet), *al-Na'āma* (f) “She-ostrich”, and *al-Ya'sūb* “Drone”. Strikingly, all these names are also used as anthroponyms. Given the usual application of animal imagery (↑5.4.2.2.1), such names were likely given to horses in order to reinforce certain qualities. The majority seems to denote speed and agility (cheetah, hare, lizard, ostrich, dove, falcon, gazelle, and eagle); others indicate physical strength (camel, lion, and bull). One name could be considered affective (i.e., ewe). *al-Ġurāb* “Crow” could refer to the color of the horse (i.e., black) or be taken as an ominous name that aims to bring evil upon the enemy in view of the bird connotations (see ‘crow’ in the table ↑5.4.2.2.1). *al-Kalb* “Dog” is of interest here, for it gives us an idea about the animal connotation and helps us understand the reason for its use as a PN as well. It is unlikely that a Bedouin would give his horse (which occupies a notable place in his life) such a name if the dog was considered an inferior or humble animal. The name mostly indicates fidelity towards the owner and aggressiveness towards the enemy and thus emerged in a time where the dog occupied a high status.

²⁶³ All the names are listed alphabetically in the index of the book.

5.4.2.2.3 Modern Bedouins²⁶⁴

Theoretically, some ancient naming methods may have survived among modern Bedouins, for their pastoral economy and culture did not witness radical changes. The Najdi *Ġimel* “Camel”, *Tslēb* < *Kulayb* “Little dog”, and *Sirḥān* “Wolf” were named so because their parents wanted them to be like the animals mentioned (Hess 1912: 7, 28). Names which are not related to animals can also support the concept of names against foes. For example, Littmann (1948: 8) mentions that he met a Bedouin from Ḥawrān (Southern Syria) called *Sakrān* (also Saf. *S^lkrn* in HIn 323 and CAR. *al-Sakrān* in CIK 2 503), so he immediately thought of the literal meaning “Intoxicated”, but the man explained that his father named him so because he wanted him to be drunk from the blood of his enemies. Names referring to combat and braveness fit here, too: *Dāmiġ* “He who destroys the head [*dimāġ*]” (i.e., of his foe), *Ḥnišīl* “Desert rider”, *Ġāsir* “Brave”, *Mṭā’in* “He who stabs (his foe)” (with a spear/sword), *Miġhim* “He who sends (his foe) to hell”, *Baṭṭāḥ* “He who knocks people down”, *Ġabbār* “Mighty”, *Dahḥām* “Attacker”, *Ṣaddām* “Clashing”, *Ḍārī* “Fierce”, *Ġāzī* and *Muġīr* “Conqueror, Rider”, *Mṣāri’* “Gladiator”, and so on.²⁶⁵ Such powerful names clearly show the influence of raiding and revenge on name-giving and reflect a kind of individuality and independence compared to religious names which are based on confession, confidence, and trust. The individual in this case has to struggle and face his fate in order to survive in a rough environment, where hostility could be manifested through other social groups as well as nature itself.

To conclude, our analysis of animal imagery, individual names of horses, and names of modern Bedouins supports the classical theory on name-giving in general and animal names in particular in the sense that they were given in order to express a wish and terrify foes, provided we expand the notion of ‘foes’ to include both outsiders (enemies from other tribes) and insiders (ill-wishers and such: ↓5.4.4).

5.4.3 Animal names as terms of affection and endearment

Gazelle designations are widely associated with women in poetry and dream literature. For example, a female gazelle in a dream represents a beautiful woman. Capturing a female gazelle in a dream means taking advantage of a woman, or it could mean marriage. Hunting a gazelle means profits. Shooting a gazelle with arrows means slandering a woman, and slaughtering it indicates deflowering a female servant (Al-Akili 1992: 185). Such

²⁶⁴ For a general perspective of their name-giving, see ↑2.3.2.3.

²⁶⁵ These names are mentioned in Beduinen 4; Hess 1912; Littmann 1949: 9ff, but not all of them are translated.

connotations can explain the frequency of gazelle names, especially among concubines (↓5.6.1). Similarly, names denoting doves/pigeons (i.e., metaphors for beauty and love)²⁶⁶ are quite commonly attested for women (§111). Until recently, fish names used to be appreciated in Iraq and thus given to both males and females as pet names (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014). As for Bedouins, names of rodents seem to have no negative connotations: a Najdi *Ġraydī* “Little rat” was called so because he was born with a little body and red skin (Hess 1912: 15). Although descriptive, the name reflects a notion of tenderness.

5.4.4 Apotropaic names

As indicated above (2.3.2.4.1), among some populations of the Arab world (namely low-educated people, rural population, and Bedouins), there was a belief that certain names can protect the children from the evil eye, jinn, and sorcery. This practice also applies to animal names, as is clear in the following classical report:

The expression *naffara ‘anhu* means to give him a *laqab* (nickname) that can protect him from the evil eye and jinn. A Bedouin said: when I was born, my father was told to *yunaffir ‘anni*, so he named me *Qunfuḍ* (Hedgehog) and gave me the *kunya* (teknonym) *Abū al-‘Addā* (lit. “Father of the quick-runner”) (Ibn Fāris 1979 6 459; Lisān 14: 233).²⁶⁷

The choice of the hedgehog’s name in particular is perhaps related to its attributes as an immune and quick animal. This practice has survived in modern Ar. name-giving. According to Doughty (1908), names of wild animals were awarded to keep disease and death away: “In all the Arabic countries there is a strange superstition of parents, (and this as well among the Christian sects of Syria,) that if any child seem to be sickly, of infirm understanding, or his brethren have died before, they will put upon him a wild beast’s name (especially wolf, leopard, wolverine) – that their human fragility take on as it were a temper of the kind of those animals” (Doughty 1908: 159). Indeed, a review of an onomastic sample from the Levant, i.e., the West Bank students list (WB), shows that the names of the two first animals (wolf and leopard) were common among the grandfathers, that is, the first half of the 20th c.:

Name/meaning	Sons	Fathers	Grandfathers
<i>Nimir</i> “Leopard”	11	27	91
<i>D/Dīb</i> “Wolf”	2	18	74

²⁶⁶ A famous classical book on love by Ibn Ḥazm is known as *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma* “Ring of the Dove”.

²⁶⁷ An earlier report attributes the same event to a woman who miscarried several times. Her son, *Qunfuḍ* survived and cited poetry (Ṭa‘lab 1960: 466).

It is worth mentioning that the wolf was considered a counter-jinn animal. If a child falls down because of the jinn, women say “wolf, wolf” (Al-Şarrāf 1927: 339; 1928: 346). If a jinni takes the form of any animal and sees a wolf, it will not be able to go back to its original nature; hence, the wolf comes and eats it (Al-Sahli 2009).²⁶⁸

In the same context, there is still a belief among the rural population of southern Iraq that snakes and scorpions are capable of preventing miscarriage and scaring the jinn and evil eye away. Hence some families tend to keep these animals at their houses. It is reported that a twenty-six years old woman from the countryside of the town of Kut used a snake as a belt around her body in order to keep the embryo fixed in her womb. She mentions “I tried it with the first child who is five years old now. Having lost two babies before, I named him *Tu'bān* (Viper) considering the snake a good-omen”.²⁶⁹

5.4.5 Naming after famous people

The frequency of some animal names in the onomasticon can be attributed to their association with famous people. Two popular examples of this custom in CAO are *Fahd* “Cheetah” (§12) and *Arwā* (f) “Mountain goats”, pl. of *urwiyya* (§29). The former is attested in all periods but has become much more popular in the Arab world in general and in Saudi Arabia in particular after the Saudi king Fahd b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (1923-2005). An onomastic survey of the students of the University of the King Sa‘ūd, Saudi Arabia, shows that the name *Fahd* ranks third (569 times) after ‘*Abd al-‘Aziz* (718 times) and *Ḥālid* (1104 times) (Al-Şamsān 2005: 28). Two other samples reflecting the frequency of this name outside Saudi Arabia are the student lists from the UAE (ca. 80 times) and WB (21 times). Regarding *Arwā*, it is the name of six notable women from the early Islamic time, three of them being relatives of the Prophet.²⁷⁰ There is also a Yemeni queen called *Arwā al-Şulayḥi* (d. 1138 CE) (Al-Zarkalī 2002 1: 289). A review of any onomastic list or dictionary shows that the name is quite popular in all the Arabic countries. In Syria, for example, where the lists provide us with the names of the daughters and their mothers, it is found among both.²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ Far from the Arab world, a wolf's name is given in Slovenian tradition to prevent a child's death (cited in Hand 1984, fn. 14).

²⁶⁹ *Al-afā'i li-man' al-'iḡhād wa dar' al-ḥasad wa tard al-ḡinn fi al-'irāq* “(The Use of) Snakes against Miscarriage, Evil-eye, and Jinn in Iraq”, 19/6/2008, online in Alghad: <http://alghad.com/>.

²⁷⁰ *Arwā* bt. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, A. bt. al-Ḥārīt b ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and A. bt. al-Muqawwim b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (Ibn Sa‘d 2001 10: 42, 49, 50, 217, 374).

²⁷¹ SAR 2, No. 328, 18013, 18991-92, 33464.

5.4.6 Animal names as alternative names: nicknames, *kunya*, *nasab*, and matronyms

5.4.6.1 Nicknames and honorific titles

5.4.6.1.1 Classical sources

Animal names are quite frequent as titles and nicknames in CAr., where one finds them for all kinds of people: caliphs, leaders, scholars, poets, and so on. From a classificatory viewpoint, they can be subdivided into honorific titles (political and religious) and nicknames derived from physical or psychological properties, events or accidents, ‘delocutives’, or occupations.

5.4.6.1.1.1 Honorific titles

This type of titles falls apart into political and religious. Political titles were generally bestowed by the Abbasid caliphs on military and political leaders (↑2.3.4.2.1). All the ones listed below are based on lion appellations, mostly due to the traditional association between the animal and kingship:²⁷²

- *Asad al-dawla* “Lion of the state”, Šāliḥ b. Mirdās (d. 1029 CE), the founder of the Mirdāsī dynasty in Aleppo (Al-Zarkalī 2002 3: 196) and his son Naṣr, known also as *Šibl al-dawla* “Cub of the state” (Al-Zarkalī 2002 8: 24).

- *Asad al-dīn* “Lion of the faith”, Širku b. Šādī, a Kurdish military commander and the uncle of Saladin (d. 1169 CE) (Ibn Ḥallikān 1972 2: 479). His given name in Kurdish means “Lion of the mountains”.

- *Hizabr al-dīn* “Lion of the faith”, al-Ẓāhir al-Rasūlī, a Yemenite king (d. 1438 CE) (Al-Zarkalī 2002 8: 138).

As for religious titles, they are quite popular in the Islamic onomastic tradition, especially among Shiites and Sufis. Of the ones referring to animals we have *al-Bāz al-ašhab* or *Bāz Allāh al-ašhab* “White falcon (of God)”, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī, a jurist and Sufi (d. 1166 CE) (Schimmel 1989: 52) and *Ya’sūb al-mu’minīn* “Guide of the believers” (from *ya’sūb*, lit. “drone”) for ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (the forth caliph) (Lisān 9: 189).

²⁷² For more information on this association, see ↑3.3.1.

5.4.6.1.1.2 Metaphoric nicknames derived from physical or psychological properties

Given the high number of such nicknames, I will give instances about which some explanations are available:

- *Abū al-ḍubbān*, lit. “Father of the flies”, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, the Umayyad caliph. According to the ‘humorous’ explanation, people nicknamed him so because he had a strong and smelly breath so flies fell dead when they passed by his mouth, and from this nickname came the saying *abḥaru min abū al-ḍubbān* “More stinking in breath than Abū al-ḍubbān” (KN 74; Lane 952).

- *al-Ḍi’b* “Wolf”, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-‘Adawī, a Hadith transmitter (b. 210 AH), presumably because he was sly and adroit (MAAM 120).²⁷³

- *al-Fa’r* “Mouse”, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaṭaranḡī al-Qāhirī, a poet and famous chess player (d. 1340 CE), because he was huge eater (MAAM 71, 237).²⁷⁴

- *al-Ġazāl* “Gazelle”, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam, an Andalusian poet (b. 773 CE), for he was healthy and handsome (MAAM 232).

- *al-Kalb* “Dog”, Ṣāliḥ b. Ishāq al-Ġarmī (d. 840 CE), a grammarian who used to shout when arguing or debating about any linguistic issue (MAAM 273).

- *Asad Allah* “Lion of God”: two persons are reported to have been called so by the Prophet due to their braveness at war: Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (MAAM 26).²⁷⁵

- *Asad al-baḥr* “Lion of the sea”, Aḥmad b. Māḡid al-Sa’dī, an Andalusian navigator (ca. 1498 CE), for the same reason as above (MAAM 26).

- *Baqarat Yūnus* “Yūnus’ cow”, Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-Aswad (ca. the 2nd c. AH), was called so because he narrated on the authority of Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-A’lā (KN 112).

- *Da/uḥrūġat al-ġu’al* “The black beetle’s filbert”, ‘Āmir b. Mas’ūd al-Quraṣī, a Hadith transmitter (the 1st c. AH), due to his little body (Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 4: 141; Ibn Ḥaġar 1421 AH, No. 3126).

²⁷³ On the association between the wolf and adroitness, see ↑5.4.2.2.1.

²⁷⁴ Mice are reported to be huge eater, e.g., the proverb *ākalu min al-fa’r* “(someone is) greedier than the mouse” (↑5.4.2.2.1).

²⁷⁵ This honorific nickname seems to have been more popular among Shiites (e.g., Ṭehrāi 2009 7: 20), and it is still in use as a given name in CAO (e.g., UAE, No. 70069602).

- *Dābbat ‘Affān* “Affān’s mount”, Ibrāhim b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kisā’ī, a Hadith transmitter who used to accompany the *hafiz*²⁷⁶ ‘Affān b. Muslim (MAAM 110).

- *Ḥimār al-‘Uzayz* “al-‘Uzayz’s donkey”, Aḥmad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ṭaqafī, a Hadith transmitter (d. 926 CE), was called so by the famous poet Ibn al-Rūmī, for he was a complaining person (MAAM 92). The nickname derives from the Qur’an (2: 259).²⁷⁷

- *Sūsat al-‘ilm*, lit. “Weevil of knowledge”, Ziyād b. Yūnus al-Ḥaḍramī, a Hadith transmitter who spent his life seeking knowledge in different areas (KN 271).²⁷⁸

- *Ṭa‘lab* “Fox”, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Šaybānī (b. 816 CE), a grammarian who was dodger in his answers (MAAM 66).²⁷⁹

5.4.6.1.1.3 Nicknames derived from an event or accident

- *Anf al-nāqa* “The she-camel’s nose”, Ğā‘far b. Quray‘, a pre-Islamic individual. The story tells that when he was a child, his father slaughtered a she-camel and divided it among his wives; Ğā‘far’s mother sent him to bring her her portion, but what remained was only the head and the neck. The boy pulled the head by the nose and was therefore nicknamed after this event (MAAM 44).

- *Su‘r al-asad*, lit. “The lion’s remaining food”,²⁸⁰ Muḥammad b. Ḥālid al-Ḍabbī, a Hadith transmitter (d. 768 CE), for he survived a lion’s attack (MAAM 165).

5.4.6.1.1.4 Nicknames derived from ‘delocutives’

A special case is the uttering of a word or expression that struck the name giver as typical or peculiar. As a rule, such an expression is uttered by the name bearer. This type of metonymical nicknames is called ‘delocutive’, ‘retrolocutive’, or ‘echo-name’ (Van Langendonck 2007: 281-2 and the references therein). Our classical sources show that ‘delocutives’ are particularly common for poets. For example:

- *‘Ā’id al-kalb* “He who visits the dog”, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muṣ‘ab b. Ṭābit b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (b. 729 CE), for he mentioned in one of his poems:

²⁷⁶ A term used by Muslims for people who have completely memorized the Qur’an.

²⁷⁷ In classical poetry, the domestic donkey is used in a derogative way, which is certainly the opposite with its wild counterpart (Stetkevych 1986: 104-05).

²⁷⁸ In Levantine Ar., the term *sūsa* is used for people who are addicted to certain things or hobbies (‘Abd Al-Raḥīm 2012 2: 1250). In my area (Neirab, Aleppo countryside), for example, people say *sūsit kutub* for a booklover.

²⁷⁹ On the association between the fox and cunning, see ↑5.4.2.2.1.

²⁸⁰ See also *Su‘r al-sab‘* (§7) and *Su‘r al-ḍi‘b* (§18).

What is the matter that none of you visited me when I was sick

While I visit you even if your dog is sick? (KN 316-7).

- *Mukallim al-ḍi'b* “He who talked to the wolf”, an early Islamic poet whose name is debated. He is reported to have been called so due to a line of poetry in which he mentions that a wolf told him about the coming of the Prophet (Al-‘Ānī 1982: 223).

5.4.6.1.1.5 Nicknames derived from an occupation or skill

- *Du‘mūš al-raml/al-‘Arab* “Larva of the sand/Arabs”, Rāfi‘ b. ‘Umayr al-Tamīmī, a pre-Islamic individual who was a professional guide in the desert (‘Alī 2001 17: 388).

- *al-Ta‘ālibī* “The dealer in fox furs”, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī, a famous grammarian (b. 916 CE) (MAAM 66).

5.4.6.1.2 Modern and contemporary sources

Nicknames in modern and contemporary Ar. do not differ that much from the classical ones in that the majority derives from physical or psychological properties or events. A Bedouin was nicknamed *Bu ‘Öğēle*, lit. “Father of the she-calf” because his face was so (Hess 1912: 39). From Jordan we have *el-Ġidiyy* “Kid”, for a man who in his childhood was weak and spindly-legged like a newborn goat (Antoun 1968: 165). Among Kuwaiti teenagers we find *al-Fīl* “Elephant” for a very huge boy, *Tūna* (f) “Tuna fish” for a girl with fishy smile, and *Malikat al-naḥl* (f) “Queen bee” for a girl who cares about other people (Haggan 2008: 87-8). An adroit and sly person is often called *Nims* “Mongoose”,²⁸¹ while people with feline characteristics might be called *al-Quṭayṭ* “Little tom-cat” or *Mašīš* “Cat” (colloquial Ar.); elegant and flighty persons, *Fartūt* or *Farfūr* “butterfly” (colloquial Ar.) (Schimmel 1989: 51ff). Other nicknames are based on animal sounds in colloquial Ar., e.g., *Qāq* and *Abū Šāwī* “Chicken’s clucking” (family names from the West Bank) (Atawneh 2005: 154). Names of singing birds are often used for poets and singers. Three Lebanese poets, for example, bore the nicknames *Bulbul al-balad* “The nightingale of the country”, *al-Bulbul al-ḥazīn* “The sad nightingale” (pseudonym), and *Bulbul Sūriya* “Nightingale of Syria” (MAAM 57). Among singers we find *al-‘Andalīb al-asmar* “The brunet nightingale” for the Egyptian singer ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Ḥāfiṣ, *Bulbul al-ḥaliğ* “Nightingale of

²⁸¹ An Egyptian movie bears the title *al-Nims*: https://www.elcinema.com/work/wk1004112/details_all/ [accessed on 12/01/2015]. Another comic Egyptian movie is *Nims Bond*, a word-play on the name of the well-known film series James Bond: <http://www.elcinema.com/work/wk1010199/> [accessed on 12/01/2015].

the Gulf (area)” for the Kuwaiti Nabil Š‘il, and *al-Šuḥrūra* (f) “Blackbird” for the Lebanese Šabāḥ.²⁸²

An aspect of nicknaming which is not observed in the classical sources is the word-play on the given name. This can be done through different methods, such as metathesis, replacement of one or two consonants by keeping the rhyme, reduplicating of certain letters, or reinterpreting the name as a phrase, and adapting it slightly to that. Below are some examples from different Arab countries, where the ones based on animals are in bold:

Given name	Nickname	Reason	Country/reference
Ġamāl “Beauty”	Ġā <i>al-māl</i> “The money arrives” (reinterpretation)	he is generous	Morocco (Rayḥānī 2001: 42)
Ġalīl “Glorious”	Ġā <i>al-līl</i> “The night arrives” (reinterpretation)	he has a hateful face	Rayḥānī 2001: 42
<i>al-Muḥtār</i> “The selected one, mayor”	<i>al-Muḥ tār</i> “The brain flew” (reinterpretation)	he is stupid	Rayḥānī 2001: 42
<i>Amal</i> “Hope”	Qamla “Louse” (replacement)	derogatory nickname	Oman (Al Aghbari 2010: 349)
<i>Raḥma</i> (f) “Mercy”	Šaḥma “Fat” (replacement)	derogatory nickname	Al Aghbari 2010: 349
<i>Nu‘ma</i> (f) “Blessing”	<i>Nuqma</i> “Crisis” (replacement)	derogatory nickname	Al Aghbari 2010: 349
Sa‘īd “Happy”	Qa‘īd “Crippled” (replacement)	derogatory nickname	Al Aghbari 2010: 349
<i>Aḥmad</i>	Ḥamāma “Dove”	pet name	Egypt (Allen 1956: 76)
<i>Fāṭima</i> (f)	Baṭṭa “Duck”	pet name	Allen 1956: 76
<i>Nabil/Nabīla</i> (f) “Noble”	Bulbul (reduplication)	pet name	Allen 1956: 77
<i>Hudā</i> (f) “Guidance”	Hudhud “Hoopoe” (reduplication)	pet name	Kuwait (Haggan 2008: 89)

Over time, certain nicknames developed into surnames. For example, the wealthy Mosuli family of *Ḥarūfa* “Sheep” is reported to have inherited this nickname from their great

²⁸² <http://gate.ahram.org.eg/User/Topicsm/10387.aspx> [accessed on 20/01/2015].

grandfather, who was called so by an Ottoman ruler because of his hairy body. Another family from the same city, *Dabdūb* “Little bear” (*Dubyab* in CAr.) bore this name because the grandfather was fat and short.²⁸³ Similar examples from Lebanon are *al-Fil* “Elephant”, *al-Ḥūt* “Whale”, and *Timsāḥ* “Crocodile”²⁸⁴ (all being expressions of largeness); from Palestine: *Uṣfūr* “Sparrow”, *Arnab* “Hare”, *Barāġīt* “Fleas”, *Dūda* “Worm”, *Harḍūn* “Large lizard”, *Ġāġe* “Hen”, *Sa’dān* “Monkey”, etc. (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243-44); from Egypt: *al-Gaḥṣ* “Young ass”, *al-Baġl* “Mule”, and *al-Ġurāb* “Crow”.²⁸⁵ Other surnames are formed with two elements: *Sab’ al-‘Arab* “Lion of the Arabs”, *Sab’ al-Dīr* “Lion of the city of Deir ez-Zor”, and *Sab’ al-līl < layl* “Lion of night” (§2), all probably indicating bravery, as is the case with the classical honorific nickname *Asad Allah* (↑5.4.6.1.1.2). *Kunya*-like surnames are also quite frequent, e.g., *Abū Ṭīr* “Bird” (WB, No. 18741), *Abū Ġazāla* “She-gazelle” (WB, No. 19024), *Abū al-Ḍab’āt* “Female hyenas” (WB, No. 19077), *Abū al-Kalbāt* “Bitches”, *Abū al-Ḥayyāt* “Snakes”, *Abū Samak* “Fish”, *Abū Qamīl* “Lice”²⁸⁶ (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243-44), *Abū al-Ni’āġ* “Ewes” (UAE, No. 1270), *Abū Uṣfūr* “Sparrow” (SAR 3, p. 10).

Since surnames referring to animals with negative connotations often cause embarrassment to their bearers (especially children in schools), people tend to change them officially. An Egyptian member of the family of *al-Gaḥṣ* “Young ass” (figuratively denotes a stupid and bullheaded person)²⁸⁷ is reported to have changed it to the given name of his great grandfather (not mentioned).²⁸⁸ A man from my area (Neirab, the countryside of Aleppo) changed his surname from *Ṣarṣūr* “Cricket” (a derogatory term) to *Manṣūr* “Aided (by God)”, i.e., a powerful name with the same rhyme. Indeed, people almost forgot the former.

5.4.6.2 *Kunya*

Al-Ġāḥiẓ (1965 3: 508) mentions that there was a *faqīh* (jurist) in the town of Kufa known as *Abū al-Ḥanāfis* “Black beetles” and that this was his real *kunya*, neither a *laqab* “nickname” nor a *nabz* “pejorative, deprecation”. Unlike another *Abū al-‘Aqārib* “Scorpions”,

²⁸³ <http://www.algardenia.com/maqalat/8953-2014-02-18-07-58-49.html> [accessed on 21/7/2014].

²⁸⁴ <http://www.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=54&article=568086&issueno=11480#.U6YTiiY8g8o> [accessed on 21/7/2014].

²⁸⁵ <http://classic.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=54&article=475154&issueno=10794#.U M5ubs8g8p> [accessed on 21/7/2014].

²⁸⁶ As far as I know from my area (Neirab, the countryside of Aleppo), *Abū qamīl* is a mocking term meaning “dirty person”.

²⁸⁷ In Egyptian Ar., the verb *gaḥḥaṣ* means “to behave brusquely” (Hinds and Badawi 1986: 149b).

²⁸⁸ <http://classic.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=54&article=475154&issueno=10794#.U M5ubs8g8p>

whose *kunya* was traditional in his family, *Abū al-Ḥanāfis* was the first person to adopt it. Remarkably, animal names are widely represented among *kunyas* of Hadith transmitters from the early Islamic period; it is unclear whether they are based on the given name, nickname, or *nabaz* “pejorative”:

<i>Abū/Umm</i> “Father/Mother of” + an animal name	found as PN	as nickname	reference
‘ <i>Aqrab</i> “Scorpion”	Yes	Yes	Al-Dawlābī 1999 1: 79
‘ <i>Ikrima</i> “Pigeon”	Yes	-	Al-Dawlābī 1999 2: 41
‘ <i>Uqāb</i> “Eagle”	Yes	Yes	Ikmāl 6: 247
(<i>al-</i>) <i>Haytam</i> “Eaglet”	Yes	-	Al-Dawlābī 1999 2: 341ff
<i>al-Arqam</i> “Diadem-snake”	Yes	Yes	Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 3: 83
<i>al-Aswad</i> “Huge black snake”	Yes	Yes	Al-Dawlābī 1999 1: 206ff
<i>al-Fīl</i> “Elephant” [mostly a nickname], for he also appears as <i>Abū Ḡa’far</i>	?	Yes	Al-Ḡāḥiḏ 1965 7: 85
<i>al-Ḡamal</i> “Camel”	Yes	Yes	Al-Dawlābī 1999 1: 288
<i>al-Ḥubāb</i> “Serpent”	Yes	-	Al-Dawlābī 1999 1: 303
<i>Arwā</i> (f) “Mountain goats”	Yes	-	Al-Dawlābī 1999 1: 31
<i>Asad</i> “Lion”	Yes	Yes	Al-Dawlābī 1999 1: 204
<i>Ḍarr</i> “Ants”	Yes	Yes	Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 1: 376
<i>Ḍi’b</i> “Wolf”, <i>Ḍi’ba</i> (f) “She-wolf”	Yes	Yes	Ikmāl 2: 395
<i>Fāḥita</i> “Ring-dove”	Yes	-	Al-Dawlābī 1999 2: 154
<i>Fazāra</i> “Leopardess”	Yes	-	Al-Dawlābī 1999 2: 157
<i>Ḡaḥš</i> “Young ass”	Yes	Yes	Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 6: 47
<i>Ḡarw</i> “Puppy”	Yes	?	Al-Dawlābī 1999 1: 294
<i>Ḥamal</i> “Lamb”	Yes	Yes	Ibn ‘Asākir 1995-2000

			66: 157
<i>Ḥamāma</i> “Dove”	Yes	-	Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 6: 332
<i>Ḥanaš</i> “Viper, Reptelian”		Yes	Ibn Ḥallikān 1972 7: 20
<i>Ḥayya</i> (f) “Snake”	Yes	?	Ikmāl 2: 325
<i>Ḥusayl</i> “Young <i>ḍabb</i> -lizard”	Yes	?	Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 3: 109
<i>Kabša</i> “Ram” (hypoc.)	Yes	Yes	Al-Dawlābi 1999 1: 88
<i>Kulayb</i> “Little dog”	Yes	Yes	Al-Dawlābi 1999 2: 175
<i>Layṭ</i> “Lion”	Yes	-	Al-Dawlābi 1999 2: 181
<i>Na‘āma</i> (f) “She-ostrich”	Yes	Yes	Al-Dawlābi 1999 2: 300
<i>Namla</i> “Ant”	Yes	?	Al-Dawlābi 1999 1: 102
<i>Nimrān</i> “Leopard-like”	Yes	-	Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 1: 501
<i>Sibā’</i> “Lions”	Yes	-	Ibn ‘Asākir 1995-2000 66: 258
<i>Ṭa‘laba</i> “Fox”	Yes	Yes	Al-Dawlābi 1999 1: 38ff
<i>Ṭawr</i> “Bull”	Yes	Yes	Al-Dawlābi 1999 1: 38, 116, 274
<i>Zabya</i> (f) “Antelope”	Yes	-	Al-Dawlābi 1999 1: 74, 497
<i>Umm al-Zibā’</i> “Antelopes” [sounds like a nickname]	No	-	Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 7: 35
<i>Umm Ğandab</i> “Locust”	Yes	?	Ibn Ḥaġar 1421 AH, No. 8809
<i>Umm Ġurāb</i> “Crow” [given name]	Yes	Yes	Ikmāl 7: 13
<i>Umm Zālīm</i> “Male ostrich”	Yes	-	Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 2: 92

The table suggests that some of these *kunyas* could be nicknames or *nabz* because around one third of the animal names they are based on are used as such. If we move to the Abbasid period, a review of any biographical work on people from the 4th c. AH onward

(e.g., Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006; Ibn Rāfi‘ 1982) shows that such *kunyas* disappeared, although a few animal names are found as given names (↓5.6.1). This disappearance can be attributed to the establishment of the ‘Islamic name’ (↑2.3.2.2) and the rise of the metaphorical *kunya* (↑2.3.4.2.2).

5.4.6.3 *Nasab*²⁸⁹

Animal names are widely found in *nasab* (*Ibn-X*), but it is unclear whether the ones from the pre-Islamic/early-Islamic period are based on given names or nicknames. The former option seems possible in view of the high proportion of animal names in the onomasticon. The situation is different, however, in the classical period (2nd c. AH onward). An investigation of biographical works on scholars and notable individuals from the Abbasid period (ca. 4th-6th c. AH) yields the following examples of nickname-*nasabs*:

- (1) *Ibn al-Baḡl* “Mule”, Abū al-Faraḡ, Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Uṭmān (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 5: 482).
- (2) *Ibn Baṭṭa* “Duck”, Abū ‘Abd Allah, ‘Ubayd Allah b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-‘Ukburī (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 12: 100).
- (3) *Ibn Bulbul* “Nightingale”, Abū ‘Abd Allah, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmāḥn (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 3: 466). *Bulbul* is also mentioned as a nickname of a certain Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 5: 573) and as a given name (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 7: 641).
- (4) *Ibn al-Duwayda* “Little worm”, Abū Sālim, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, who is also known as *al-Aqāq* “Cackle” [nickname] (Ibn Ḥallikān 1972 4: 440).
- (5) *Ibn al-Filw* “Foal”, two persons bore this *nasab*: Abū ‘Umar, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Uṭmān b. Aḥmad (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 8: 348) and his relative Abū Bakr, ‘Abd Allah b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (Ibn Ḥallikān 1972 11: 372).
- (6) *Ibn Ġaḥṣawayh* “Young ass” (plus the hypocoristicon *-wayh*), Abū Muḥammad, ‘Abd Allah b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Umar (Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006 3: 534).
- (7) *Ibn Ġarāda* “Locust”, three persons bore this nickname (Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006 2: 313; 3: 426; 5: 131).
- (8) *Ibn Nu‘ayḡa* “Little ewe”, three persons were called so after their ancestor (Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006 3: 63, 329).

²⁸⁹ On this type in general, see ↑2.3.4.2.2.

(9) *Ibn al-Šāt* “Ewe”, Abū Bakr, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allah, also known as Ibn *al-Qazzāz* (Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006 1: 364).

(10) *Ibn Zurayq* “Jay”, Abū Bakr, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 2: 118). *Zurayq* also appears as a given name and as a nickname of three persons (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 2: 47; 4: 393; 11: 80).

The fact that these *nasabs* occur beside the real patronyms (all being traditional-religious names) makes it explicit that they originated as nicknames. Over time, two of them (No. 1, 2) became *nisba* (i.e., gentilic/surname): *al-Baṭṭī* and *al-Baḡlī* (Al-Sam‘ānī 1980-84 2: 243, 252).

5.4.6.4 *Matronym*

This type has the same form as the *nasab*, but with the (nick)name of the mother/female ancestor, and it occurs frequently among poets. Some matronyms are reported to have been based on the real name: *Ibn al-‘Uqāb* “Eagle”,²⁹⁰ *Ibn Ġazāla* “She-gazelle” (MAAM 232), and *Ibn Ḥamāma* “Dove” (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 786). Two other examples are certainly nicknames: *Banū al-Kalba* “Bitch” (Iṣṭiqāq 20, 319) and *Ibn al-Dī’ba* “She-wolf” (MAAM 120).

5.5 Animal names within the family

As mentioned above (2.3.3), naming within the family is reflected by two practices: harmonic names and naming after a family member. In this section, I will examine the applicability of these practices to animal names.

5.5.1 Harmonic names

The concept of harmonic names is that two family members or more bear names which are etymologically, morphologically, or semantically related. An examination of the distribution of animal names within the family suggests that some instances belong to this practice. A classical report mentions that ten of the sons of Wabara b. Taḡlib bore animal names, nine of them referring to beasts of prey: *al-Namir* “Leopard”, *Dubb* “Bear”, *Fahd* “Cheetah”, *Ḍabu’* “Hyena”, *Kalb* “Dog”, *Asad* “Lion”, *Sirḥān*, *al-Dī’b*, and *al-Sīd*, all meaning “Wolf”, *al-Ta’lab* “Fox”, and *al-Bark* “Herd of camels” (CIK 1 279). Another report concerning the same family/sub-clan adds other names: *Ḥaṭ’am* “Hyena”, *al-Fizr* “Male

²⁹⁰ Grammatically, *‘uqāb* is a fem. word in CAR. (Wright 1896 1: 180C), but it is used as a masc. name in colloquial Ar. (cf. App. §100).

young leopard”, *Hirr* “Cat”, *Nims* “Mongoose”, and *Dysam* “Little wolf or bear” (Yaqūt 1977 5: 344). Despite the ‘mythical’ aspect of these two reports, especially the latter, they do reveal a naming practice that was known at a certain time. This practice is supported by other examples from the genealogical schemes: five out of the nine sons of Rabi’a b. Nizār appear with names of carnivorous animals, three of them derived from the root *klb*: *Aklub* (pl.), *Kilāb* (pl.), *Maklaba*, *Ḍubay’a* “Little hyena”, and *Asad* “Lion” (CIK 1 141). The same holds for three out of the four sons of Wālība b. al-Ḥārīṭ: *Usāma* “Lion”, *Du’ayba* “Little wolf”, and *Numayr* “Little leopard” (CIK 1 52). A certain *Mu’āwiya* “Howler, Jackal” b. *Kilāb* “Dogs” was nicknamed *al-Ḍibāb* “Lizards” (pl. of *ḍabb*), for he gave his sons names of lizards: *Ḍabb*, *Muḍibb*, and *Ḥisl* “Young-*ḍabb*” (Ibn Ḥabīb n.d.: 75).

In addition, there are some examples where the son bears a name matching that of his father, mother, or brother in that it denotes a by-form of the same animal or is based on the diminutive or plural form:

Name/period/meaning	Reference
<i>CAr. (1) pre-/Early Islamic times</i>	CIK
<i>Anmār</i> “Leopards” b. <i>al-Namir</i> “Leopard”	216
<i>Asad</i> “Lion” b. <i>Usāma</i> “Lion” (epithet)	307
<i>Du’ayba</i> “Little wolf” b. <i>al-Sīd</i> “Wolf”	90
<i>Ḡandab</i> “Locust” br. <i>Ḡunayḍib</i> “Little locust”	113
<i>Ḡunayḍib</i> b. <i>Ḡandab</i>	215
<i>Kilāb</i> “Dogs” br. <i>Kulayb</i> “Little dog”	92
<i>al-Namir</i> “Leopard” b. <i>Nimrān</i> “Leopard-like”	277
<i>Sab’</i> “Lion” b. <i>al-Subay’</i> “Little lion”	228
<i>CAr. (2) Classical Islamic period</i>	
<i>al-Haytam</i> “Eaglet” b. <i>‘Uqāb</i> “Eagle”	Al-‘Aqīlī 2000 4: 1471, No. 1967
<i>Ḥubāb</i> “Serpent” b. <i>Af’ā</i> “Viper”	Ikmāl 2: 142
<i>Ḡurayy</i> “Puppy” b. <i>Kulayb</i> “Little dog”	Ikmāl 2: 75
<i>Layṭ</i> “Lion” b. <i>Sibā’</i> “Lions”	Ibn Al-Faraḍī 2008 1: 479

<i>al-Muhr</i> “Foal” b. <i>al-Faras</i> “Mare”	Ibn Ḥaldūn 2000 1: 820
<i>Sibāʿ</i> “Lions” b. <i>Šibl</i> “Lion cub”	Ibn Ḥaldūn 2000 6: 575
Bed.	
<i>ʿUg/qāb</i> “Eagle” b. <i>Ṣagr</i> “Falcon”	Beduinen 3 413
<i>Dīb</i> “Wolf” br. <i>Dwēb</i> “Little wolf”	(Druze) Littmann 1948: 12
<i>Dyāb</i> “Wolves” br. <i>Dībān</i> “Wolf-like”	Littmann 1948: 12
<i>Ṣhaylī</i> “Little lizard” b. <i>Ḍubayb</i> “Little lizard”	Hess 1912: 7, 28
CAO	
<i>Asad</i> “Lion” b. <i>Sabʿ</i> “Lion”	WB, No. 10344
<i>Dyāb al-Dīb</i> (family name)	Gaza, No. 14725
<i>Dīb Sarḥān</i> “Wolf” (family name)	Gaza, No. 20280
<i>Haytam</i> “Eaglet” b. <i>Ṣagr</i> “Falcon”	SAR 2, No. 3110
<i>Layt</i> “Lion” b. <i>Usāma</i> “Lion”	SAR 3, No. 3893; WB, No. 6177
<i>Layt</i> “Lion” b. <i>Dīb</i> “Wolf”	SAR 3, No. 8628
<i>Nimr</i> “Leopard” b. <i>Fuhayda</i> (f) “She-cheetah”	SAR 1, No. 23942
<i>Ṣagr</i> “Falcon” b. <i>ʿUqāb</i> “Eagle”	WB, No. 14621
<i>Ṣagr</i> “Falcon” b. <i>Qaṭāmī</i> “Falcon” (epithet) b. <i>Ṣagr</i> “Falcon”	UAE, No. 7354

All these names appear to have been given purposefully in order to create a kind of onomastic harmony and express power (cf. ↑5.4.2.2). In general, they belong to the following categories: carnivorous animal (the majority), raptors, reptilians, and insects. The latter two categories are not found in our contemporary data (CAO), for presumably they are considered unpleasant.

There are also some instances where names of animals from different categories occur across two or three generations of the same family:

Name/period/meaning	Reference
CAr.	-

<i>al-Dīl</i> “Weasel” b. <i>Ḥimar</i> “Donkey”	CIK 92
<i>Ḥimār</i> “Donkey” b. <i>Ṭaʿlaba</i> “Fox”	CIK 332
<i>Ġaḥṣ</i> “Young ass” b. <i>Ṭaʿlaba</i> “Fox”	CIK 296
<i>Ġandab</i> “Locust” b. <i>Kulayb</i> “Little dog”	CIK 137
<i>Ġuʿayl</i> “Little black beetle” br. <i>Qird</i> “Ape” b. <i>Muʿāwiya</i> “Jackal”	CIK 58
<i>Ḥuḍayr</i> “Greenfinch” b. <i>Zurayq</i> “Jay”	Ikmāl 2: 482
<i>Kabša</i> (f) “She-ram” bt. <i>al-Arḡam</i> “Diadem-snake”	Ikmāl 7: 156
<i>Kulayb</i> “Little dog” b. <i>Nasr</i> “Vulture”	Ibn Saʿd 2001 4: 395
<i>Šayṭān</i> “Snake” b. <i>Anmār</i> “Leopards” b. <i>Šurad</i> “Shrike”	CIK 83
<i>Ṭaʿlab</i> “Fox” br. <i>Ġazāl</i> “Gazelle”	Al-Šafadī 2000 11: 12, No. 2263
<i>Ẓabya</i> (f) “Antelope” bt. <i>ʿIḡl</i> “Calf”	Ikmāl 5: 251
CAO	
<i>Dyāb</i> “Wolves” b. <i>Nimr</i> “Leopard”	Gaza, No. 20392
<i>Šaqr</i> “Falcon” b. <i>Nimr</i> “Leopard”	Gaza, No. 14802
<i>Šaqr</i> “Falcon” b. <i>Usāma</i> “Lion”	WB, No. 14172.
<i>Usāma</i> “Lion” b. <i>Nimr</i> “Leopard”	Gaza, No. 18780
<i>Usayd</i> “Little lion” b. <i>Fahd</i> “Cheetah”	WB, No. 22272

The fact that some of these examples may go beyond chance is supported by a report about name-giving among modern Bedouins: a wife of a Rwala slave said when delivered of a girl “Thy father’s name is Donkey, *Ḥimār*, so thou shalt be called *Baqara*, Cow” (Musil 1928: 244).

5.5.2 Papponymy

A review of onomastic works from different periods yields the following examples of papponymy derived from animal names:

1. Pre/Early Islamic (CIK 1)

Bakr b. *Ṭaʿlaba* b. *Bakr* “Young camel” (223)

al-Ḥubāb b. *Tābit* b. *al-Ḥubāb* “Serpent” (184)

Mu‘āwiya b. *Tawr* b. *Mu‘āwiya* “Howler, Jackal” (107)

Sab‘ b. *al-Sabī‘* b. *Sab‘* “Lion” (228)

Ta‘laba b. *Mālik* b. *Ta‘laba* “Fox” (55)

Ta‘laba b. *Šaybān* b. *Ta‘laba* (142)

Ta‘laba b. *Mas‘ūd* b. *Ta‘laba* (307)

2. Classical period

Asad b. ‘*Ammār* b. *Asad* “Lion” (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 7: 474)

Asad b. *al-Ḥārīt* b. *Asad* (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 7: 475)

Fahd b. *Ibrāhīm* b. *Fahd* “Cheetah” (Ikmāl 7: 76)

al-Haytam b. *Ġābir* b. *al-Haytam* “Eaglet” (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 16: 97)

al-Layt b. *Muḥammad* b. *al-Layt* “Lion” (Al-Baḡdādī 2001 14: 543)

al-Layt b. *Ḥabrawayh* b. *al-Layt* (Ikmāl 2: 351)

al-Layt b. *Ġa‘far* b. *al-Layt* (Ikmāl 1: 131)

Ta‘lab b. *Abī al-Ḥusayn* b. *Ta‘lab* “Fox” (Al-Šafadī 2000 11: 12, No. 2667)

Yarbū‘ b. ‘*Abd al-Ġalīl* b. *Yarbū‘* “Jerboa” (Ibn Al-Faraḍī 2008 2: 261)

3. CAO

Dīb b. ‘*Abd al-Bārī* b. *Dīb* “Wolf” (Gaza, No. 3260)

Dyāb b. *Sālim* b. *Dyāb* “Wolves” (Gaza, No. 14620)

Dyāb b. ‘*Imād* b. *Dyāb Abū Dyāb* (family name) (WB, No. 50)

Dīb b. *Sa‘īd* b. *Dīb* (WB, No. 18644)

Fahd b. *Muḥammad* b. *Fahd* “Cheetah” (WB, No. 25516)

Nimr b. *Fāyīq* b. *Nimr* “Leopard” (Gaza, No. 12889)

Nimr b. *Ḥasan Abū Nimr* (family name) (Gaza, No. 5842)

Nimr b. *Rašād* b. *Nimr* (Gaza, No. 143)

al-Nimr b. *Ġāzī* b. *Nimr Nimr* (family name) (WB, No. 25467)

Šaqr b. *Tawfīq* b. *Šaqr Abū Šaqr* “Falcon” (Gaza, No. 9051)

Ṣaqr b. Walid b. Ṣaqr (WB, No. 17600)

These examples show that papponymy has played an important role in the survival of some animal names. Remarkably, all the names from the latter group (CAO) are related to honorific animals in modern Ar. culture, which allows us to classify them as ‘prestige names’, unlike some others, which are found in the older generation (the grandfathers and the great-grandfathers) but not in the younger one (the fathers and the sons). Here are two instances from the UAE:

- Ḡamal “Camel”, six times (No. 2861, 2997, 3262, 4043, 11977, 15846).

- Kulayb “Little Dog”, three times (No. 2535, 15078, 15085).

These did not survive as papponyms because of their unpleasant or derogatory connotations, which indicates that the connotations that go with certain animals tend to overrule the principle of papponymy as such.

In relation to papponymy, it is worth mentioning some contemporary compound names with the element *dīb* “wolf”, i.e., *Muḥammad-Dīb*, *Aḥmad-Dīb*, *Šiḥ-Dīb*, and *Sālīm-Dīb* (family name), of which the former being the most popular one, especially in Syria (§18). Similarly interesting examples are *Muḥammad-Layṭ* “Lion” (WB, No. 6079), *Muḥammad-Ġazāl* “Gazelle” (WB, No. 20512), and *Aḥmad-Fahd* “Cheetah” (WB 17253). Such names, about which no explanation is available, appear to have no reference to the animal itself. Alternatively, they could be related to a kind of papponymy-like custom. According to this custom, the son may bear a non-theophoric compound name (known as *ism murakkab*) formed with that of his father (especially in Egypt), e.g., *Aḥmad-Amīn* and *Sayyid-Aḥmad* (Arna’ūt 1989: 12) or grandfather, e.g., *Muḥammad-Nāyif* b. *Ḥalīl* b. *Nāyif* (WB, No. 40). The opposite is also known, i.e., the son could be given a one-word name taken from the compound name of his grandfather: *Ramaḍān* b. *Wā’il* b. *Muḥammad-Ramaḍān*, *Sulaymān* b. *Munḍir* b. *Muḥammad-Sulaymān*, and *Mūsā* b. *Ibrāhim* b. *Muḥammad-Mūsā* (WB, No. 89, 111, 125). Given this papponymy-like custom, especially the former pattern, it seems likely that if the ancestor’s/father’s name refers by chance to an animal, it would be automatically added to the son’s compound name.

5.6 Animal names in society: Islamic instructions, status, and milieu

Animal names were quite frequent in the pre-Islamic times, and some of them are attested for notable figures, like *Kulayb* “Little dog” (the chieftain of Banū Taglib)²⁹¹ and *Aklub* “Dogs” (the chieftain of Banū Ḥaṭ’am) (Ibn Ḥazm n.d.: 391). *Ġahš* “Young ass” is the name of the Prophet’s father-in-law (Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 1: 143). One can also refer to many individuals called *Mu’āwiya* “Howler, Jackal”, the most famous among them being the first Umayyad caliph.

As mentioned above (2.3.2.2), the Prophet is reported to have endorsed Muslims to choose pretty names and avoid those which indicate paganism, negative attributes, and arrogance. In line with this, some animal names were changed by him: *Du’ayb* “Little wolf” (b. *Kulayb* “Little dog”) to *‘Abd Allāh* (Ibn ‘Abd Al-Barr 1992: 464, No. 707), *Ġurāb* “Crow” to *Muslim*, *Ġu’ayl* “Little black beetle” to *‘Umar*. *Kalb*, *Kulayb*, and *Ḥayya* “Snake” were disliked, but there is no Hadith regarding them (Ibn Qayyim n.d.: 175, 191).²⁹²

To which extent have these instructions influenced the use these names? And how have people from different backgrounds responded to them? In order to answer these two questions, I will examine the distribution of animal names in sedentary and Bedouin populations.

5.6.1 Sedentary population

Presumably, the movement from one lifestyle to another involved not only a cultural and behavioral adjustment but also an onomastic one. Since animal names do not agree with Islamic instructions and consequently the upper class, people from a Bedouin or rural background tended to change them to more ‘suitable’ ones, like the Hadith transmitter known as Abū al-Faḥ al-Šaybānī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 434 AH), whose birth name is *Qutayṭ* “Little cat” (Al-Baġdādī 2001 3: 50, No. 672). Another example is *Ta’lab* “Fox” b. ‘Alī b. Naṣr al-Baġdādī, who adopted the name *Naṣr* “Victory” (Al-Šafadī 2000 11: 12, No. 2665).

²⁹¹ *Kulayb* is the symbol of pride and arrogance in Ar., as is reflected in the adage *a’azzu min kulayb wā’il* “Mightier than *Kulayb* of *Wā’il*” (Al-‘Askarī 1988, No. 1354). According to the etiological myth of the name, he was called so because he took a puppy and whenever he came upon good pastureland he threw it down and claimed as his precinct the entire area over which the puppy’s howling could be heard (Al-Iṣbahānī 1932 5: 34).

²⁹² This negative attitude towards these kinds of animals is mostly due to their harmfulness and uncleanness, as one infers from another Hadith (Al-Buḥārī, no 3087): “Five kinds of animals are harmful and could be killed in the Haram (Sanctuary). These are: the crow, the kite, the scorpion, the mouse, and the rabid dog”.

To further illustrate the impact of Islamic instructions in their relationship to social status, I will analyze below five onomastic samples from different areas covering a period between the 2nd and 14th c. AH.²⁹³

- The first sample is *Tārīḥ ‘ulamā’ al-andalus* [The History of Andalusia Scholars] by Ibn Al-Faraḍī (2008), a two-volume biographical dictionary of 1650 figures (ca. 250-400 AH). The dictionary contains a relatively high number of animal names: *Asad* (No. 237-39, one of them being a *mawlā*), *‘Anbasa* (No. 1011), and *Layṭ* (No. 1089), all meaning “Lion”, *Ġandab* “Locust” (No. 322) whose *kunya* is *Abū Ḍarr* (after his namesake, the famous companion Abū Ḍarr al-Ġifārī), *Ḥubāb* “Serpent” (No. 331-32),²⁹⁴ *Ḥanaš* “Viper” (No. 389),²⁹⁵ *Ḥuzar* “Male hare” (No. 419), *Ḍu’āla* “Wolf” (No. 433-34), *Zurayq* “Jay” (patronym, No. 570), *Ḍubayb* b. *Ḍubayb* “Little lizard” (No. 613), *‘Ikrima* “Pigeon” (No. 1008), *Namir* “Leopard” (No. 1501), and *Yarbū’* “Jerboa” (No. 1650). An interesting comparison is *Kulayb* b. *Muḥammad* b. *‘Abd al-Karīm* (No. 1086), an animal name with two religious patronyms and *‘Abd al-Salām* b. *Kulayb* b. *Ṭa’laba* (No. 848), a religious given name with two patronyms referring to animals. All these examples imply a long-term persistence of traditional names vis-a-vis Islamic names. Significantly, except for *Ḍu’āla* “Wolf” and *al-Layṭ* “Lion”, none of others is found afterward according to Ibn Baškawāl’s biographical dictionary regarding the Andalusian scholars who lived in the period between the death of Ibn Al-Faraḍī and the late 6th c. AH (Ibn Baškawāl 2010: index of PNs). The only possible interpretation of such a change in name-giving is that the Arabs who lived in Andalusia until the time of Ibn Al-Faraḍī were quite attached to their tribal culture as new immigrants.

- The second sample is *Ḍayl tāriḥ madīnat al-salām* by Ibn Al-Dubayṭī (2006), a five-volume work which gives biographies of 2899 figures, particularly *faqīhs* and Hadith transmitters who lived in Baghdad or visited it (ca. 560-630 AH), among them being some women and *mawlās*. It also covers political figures and elite (caliphs, ministers, governors, etc.). The book contains ca. 300 names, only six of them derive from animals: *Ṭa’lab* “Fox” (No. 1136-37, 2549), *al-Layṭ* “Lion” (No. 2567), *al-Hayṭam* “Eaglet” (No. 2766),

²⁹³ General biographical works which cover a long period (e.g., Ibn Ḥallikān 1972; Al-Šafadī 2000; Ibn Al-‘Imād 1986; and Al-Ḍahabī 2004) are excluded here because they do not allow us to trace the change in naming methods within certain areas/milieus.

²⁹⁴ The name *Ḥubāb* is reported to have been changed by the Prophet to ‘Abdallah, for it is the name of the Devil (Ibn Qayyim n.d.: 172; Kister 1975: 6).

²⁹⁵ On the occurrence of this name in the classical onomasticon, see Marin (1982-84).

Asad “Lion” (patronym, No. 1954), *Subay‘* “Little lion” (patronym, No. 2563), and *Šuġā‘* “Huge large-headed serpent”²⁹⁶ (No. 1542-50).

- The third sample is *al-Wafayāt* [Deaths] by Ibn Rāfi‘ (1982), a two-volume book which gives short biographies of 953 religious and notable figures (*faqīhs*, judges, physicians, historians, poets, governors, sultans, etc.), among them being 26 women. All the individuals mentioned in the book died between 737 and 774 AH in the territory of the Mamluk Sultanate, but the majority is from Damascus and its neighborhoods. Of all the names only two refer to animals: *Asad* “Lion” (No. 485) and *Ta‘lab* “Fox” (patronym, No. 480).

- The fourth sample is *The Arabic Papyrology Database (APD)*,²⁹⁷ which contains documents written on different materials such as papyrus, parchment or paper (2022 texts, up to the 16th c. CE).²⁹⁸ The texts vary from administrative and personal correspondence to legal (marriage, divorce, emancipation) and business affairs (selling, debts, etc.). Unlike the previously examined biographical dictionaries, this database helps us to trace names of *mawlās* and ordinary people who were not involved in religious scholarship. A review of examples from the 2nd -8th c. AH yields the following names (mainly act as witnesses): *Asad* “Lion” (patronym),²⁹⁹ *Kalb* “Dog” (patronym),³⁰⁰ *Nimr* “Leopard”,³⁰¹ *Numayr* “Little leopard” (patronym),³⁰² *Nimrān* “Leopard-like”,³⁰³ *Tawr* “Bull” (patronym),³⁰⁴ *Ḥamāma* “Dove” (patronym),³⁰⁵ *Fahd* “Cheetah” (patronym),³⁰⁶ *Ḥarūf* “Lamb” (patronym),³⁰⁷ *Abū Ġu‘ayl* “Black beetle” (*kunya*),³⁰⁸ *Ta‘lab* “Fox”,³⁰⁹ *Ġazāl* “Gazelle” (a male³¹⁰ and a female³¹¹), *Ġarād* “Locust”,³¹² and *Quṭayṭ* “Little cat” (patronym).³¹³ In general, these examples are few compared to the high number of other names, without ruling out the possibil-

²⁹⁶ The word also means “brave”.

²⁹⁷ <http://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de:8080/apd/project.jsp>

²⁹⁸ <http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/project.jsp>

²⁹⁹ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Grohmann_APEL_234&line=12

³⁰⁰ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Khan_Khalili_I_9_a&line=3

³⁰¹ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Grohmann_APEL_135&line=4;

http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Sijpesteijn_Profit_re&line=24

³⁰² http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Khan_Khalili_I_9_a&line=3

³⁰³ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Ragib_Pressoir&line=18

³⁰⁴ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Grohmann_EBU_17&line=4

³⁰⁵ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Grohmann_APEL_39_3&line=9

³⁰⁶ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Abbott_Marriage010&line=75

³⁰⁷ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Grohmann_TWAe_5&line=3

³⁰⁸ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Grohmann_APEL_394&line=2

³⁰⁹ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Thung_CPR_310&line=12

³¹⁰ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Khan_Khalili_I_17&line=13

³¹¹ http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/show2.jsp?papname=Little_TwoPetitions_01&line=5

³¹² Khoury 1993 88: 1.

³¹³ Khoury 1993 33: 9.

ity that some of the patronyms are nicknames. It is also clear that animal names were more common among males than among females.

- Our fifth and last sample is *Fayḍ al-malik al-wahhāb al-muta‘āli* by Al-Dahlawī (2009), a three-volume biographical dictionary of 1770 notable figures from the 13th-14th c. AH (religious, administrative, military, and political figures, plus intellectuals, artists and writers). The individuals listed in the book, Muslim and Christian males and females, are from different countries: Syria, Hejaz, Maghreb, and India. The majority, however, are from Egypt. Of almost 270 given names two are related to animals: *Tu‘aylib* “Little fox” (*faqīh*, No. 194) and *Šiblī* “Lion cub” (plus the suffix *-ī*) (two Christians, a poet No. 496, and a physician, No. 506).

To conclude, our analysis shows that the earlier the sample is, the more examples of animal names it contains. They as well as the other traditional pre-Islamic names hardly survived in the urban population, especially the more religious milieus.

Regarding concubines and slaves, names denoting gazelles are quite frequent among the former, e.g., *Mahā* (f) “Oryx” (Al-Iṣbahānī 1984: 205), *Rīm* (f) “White antelope” (Al-Iṣbahānī 1932 13: 300), *Šādīn* (f) “Fawn” (Al-Waššā’ 1953: 223), and *Ẓabya* (f) “Antelope” (also borne by free women) (Ikmāl 5: 248-52).³¹⁴ Of the typical names of *mawlās*, *ḥadam* (pl. of *ḥādīm*) and *ḡulmān* (pl. of *ḡulām*) “servant, catamite, eunuch” few are related to animals: *Zu/arāfa* “Giraffe” (Ibn Ḥallikān 1972: index) and ‘*Unayza* “Little she-goat”, a *mawlā* who acts as a witness (Khoury 1993 19: 6).

5.6.2 Bedouins

When we turn to Bedouins, the image is quite different from what we have examined above. An excellent work which provides us with information on Bedouin tribes in the late Middle Ages is *Tārīḥ* [History] of Ibn Ḥaldūn (2000), namely, the first chapter of the sixth volume, in which the author treats the immigration of Banū Hilāl and Sulaym to North Africa and their impact on the socio-political scene. The available genealogical schemes yield the following animal names: *Kulayb* “Little dog” (p. 36), *Si/arḥān* “Wolf” (p. 22), *Abū al-Dī‘b* “Wolf” (p. 67), *D/Dyāb* “Wolves” (p. 61), *Ḥunayš* “Little viper”, *Sibā’* “Lions”, *Šibl* “Lion cub”, *Ṭa‘lab* “Fox” (p. 86), *Ḥurqūš* “Tick”, and *Numayr* “Little leopard” (p. 110). In general, these examples are much less than what we find among modern Bedouins (18th-20th c.) whose names are well-documented in the Ottoman Archives. An important record, and one of the earliest documents concerning modern Bedouins is a

³¹⁴ On the association between gazelles and women in Ar. culture, see ↑5.4.3.

1778/1192 record of funds (*Surre*) to ‘*urbān ṭarīq al-ḥaġġ al-šarīf* “the tribesmen of the holy Hajj’s road”, that is, the tribes of Northern Arabia and the Syrian Desert (from Hama in the north down to Mecca in the south) in return for security, food, and camels for the Hajj caravans (Šābān 2008). The document provides us with more than two hundred names, among which the Islamic ones are much less frequent than the others (i.e., animals, plants, personal peculiarities, etc.). Many of these names are in the diminutive form *f’ēl/f’ayl* < CAr. *fu’ayl* (often with the suffix *-ān*),³¹⁵ e.g., *Klēlib* < *Kulayb* “Little dog” (reduplication of the second radical), *Dbē’ān* “Little hyena”, *Ġrēdī* “Little rat”, *Ta’lab* < *Ta’lab* “Fox”, *Šēfir* “Little sparrow”, *Ġhēš* “Young ass”, *Dīb* “Wolf”, *Dwēb* and *Srēhān*, both meaning “Little wolf”, *Ġarbū’/Ġrēbī’* “(little) Jerboa”, *Ġarw* “Puppy”, *Shēlān* “Little kid”, etc. (Šābān 2008). Another work on modern Bedouin, *Die Beduinen* by Oppenheim shows that such names are also found among notable individuals, i.e., chieftains from the 19th and early 20th c.:

Sheikh’s name + patronym or surname	Beduinen/vol.	Sheikh’s name + patronym or surname	vol.
‘ <i>Ugāb</i> “Eagle” b. <i>Šager</i> “Falcon”	3: 413-14	<i>Ḥanaš</i> “Viper” el-Ḥamūd	1: 177
<i>Barġaš</i> “Flea” b. Dhām	3: 48	<i>Ġrād</i> “Locust” el ‘Aqqār	2: 284
<i>D/Dyāb</i> “Wolves” b. ‘Ammār	2: 281	<i>Ġrēbī’</i> “Little jerboa” b. Swēlem	2: 351
<i>Dīb</i> “Wolf” el-Ḥalaf	2: 205	<i>Kulēb</i> “Little dog” el ‘Awn	1: 383
<i>Ḍab’ān</i> “Hyena” Abā-’l Wukl	1: 122	<i>Nimr</i> “Leopard” b. ‘Abd el-‘Azīz b. Šeḥāde	1: 375
<i>Ḍafda’</i> “Frog” el-Šebekī	2: 250	<i>Šibl</i> “Lion cub” el Ġārallah	1: 219
<i>Fahad</i> “Cheetah” b. Menwer	1: 122	<i>Wāwī</i> “Jackal” el Šawwāš	1: 247
<i>Fhēd</i> “Little cheetah” b. Ḥšēfān	3: 116		

As for slaves, Bedouin tended to avoid naming them after carnivorous animals. If they name a slave *Kalb*, he would be like the dog against them (Hess 1912: 7). However, a name of a useful and obedient animal could be given, like *Ḥimār* “Donkey” (↑5.5.1).

Thus, except for names involving paganism, Islamic instructions on name-giving in general and animal names in particular did not have strong influence on the Bedouin onomastic tradition owing to the latter’s adherence to pre-Islamic criteria.

³¹⁵ On the diminutive and the suffix *-ān*: see ↑5.2.1, 5.2.4.

5.6.3 Contemporary Arabic: the sedentary population

A review of animal names in CAO suggests that whereas names referring to honorific and elegant animals, e.g., lion (§2, 5, 7, 8, 9), leopard (§10), cheetah (§12),³¹⁶ and gazelles (especially for females, §29, 33, 35-37),³¹⁷ are still in use, the ones denoting ‘unpleasant’ animals almost disappeared as given names (equids, rodents, insects, and so on)³¹⁸ but survived as nicknames (↑5.4.6.1.2). This change can be attributed to two factors: (1) the significant impact of urbanization on name-giving (through education and media), and (2) state interference and fatwa issuing. For example, on 29/6/1971 the Saudi Council of Ministers issued a decree (No. 331) which forbids bestowing names from the latter group (i.e., unpleasant animals) as being ‘inappropriate from a social and religious point of view’ (Al-Šamsān 2005: 44).³¹⁹ This decision is based on a Saudi policy aiming at forbidding names that are against Islamic instruction, like any of ‘*Abd-X*’ type which is not formed with Allah’s names: ‘*Abd ‘Alī/al-Ḥusayn*’ (confined to Shiites) and ‘*Abd al-Nabī/al-Rasūl*’ “Servant of the Prophet” (used by both Shiites and Sunnis) (Al-Šamsān 2005: 43).³²⁰ Similarly, a recent fatwa (No. 7616) by *Dār al-Iftā’ al-Miṣriyya* ‘Egyptian Fatwa Centre’ forbids giving names that may cause insult to the bearer according to common sense, some of them denoting animals: *Kalb* “Dog”, *Ḥimār* “Donkey”, *Baqara* “Cow”, and *Ḥarūf* “Sheep”.³²¹

In summation, our examination of Islamic name-giving (Hadith and fatwas) in its relationship to milieu and status shows that despite the strict instructions regarding ‘disliked’ names, including animal names, the latter have survived in the Ar. onomasticon. The closer the milieu is to the urban religious circle, there are less attestations of such names. They are largely found among Bedouins, including notable figures, relatively among the rural population, but hardly among the elite. This survival can be attributed to the belief

³¹⁶ On the connotations of these animals, see ↑5.4.2.2.1.

³¹⁷ For more information on the association between gazelles and women, see ↑5.4.3.

³¹⁸ In the Baghdadi dialect, for example, the term *baḡl* “mule” is used for a balky person, *ḡarbū* “jerboa” for an insignificant person, *ḥimār* “donkey” and *ḥarūf* “sheep” for stupid and dumb people (Al-Šālḡi 1979: 72, 107, 125).

³¹⁹ Unfortunately, the text is not available to me, but similar information is found in the recent decision: <http://www.alarabiya.net/servlet/aa/pdf/79dd4f46-79bd-418e-8ff1-9e3cd67b9953> [accessed on 14/5/2014].

³²⁰ There has been a historical debate on the lawfulness of ‘*Abd al-Nabī/al-Rasūl*’. The more extreme scholars (i.e., Wahhābī and Ḥanbalī) deem them unlawful (for example, Ibn Al-‘Uṭaymin’s fatwa No. 196 in Al-Sulaymān 2008: 260), while some Šafi‘ī *faqīhs* permit them. For more information on this debate, see fatwa No. 4241 issued by the state body *Dār al-Iftā’ al-Miṣriyya* ‘Egyptian Fatwa Centre’, which permits them with evidence from Šafi‘ī literature: <http://www.dar-alifta.org/viewfatwa.aspx?ID=4241> [accessed on 25/5/2014].

³²¹ <http://www.dar-alifta.org/ViewFatwa.aspx?ID=7616&LangID=1>

in the capability of such names of expressing power and protection over the children from the jinn and evil eye (↑5.4.4). Rarity or disappearance from the urban milieu is not explained only by the influence of Islam, it is also correlated with the decline of animal symbolism caused by an increasingly negative attitude toward the Bedouin culture.

6 Summary and conclusions

The aim of this study was to examine the use of animal names in Semitic name-giving traditions as reflected in three language groups (i.e., Akkadian, Northwest Semitic, and Arabic) from a linguistic and sociocultural viewpoint. This objective has been dealt with by means of three chief questions: (1) the occurrence of these names in the onomasticon, (2) the reasons for their use, and (3) the impact of family traditions, social setting, and cultural changes on this use. The study consisted of four main chapters. Chapter two, an extensive survey of name-giving traditions in the language groups in question, provides the framework for our investigation, while chapters three, four, and five were devoted to animal names in Akkadian, Northwest Semitic (Amorite, Hebrew, Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Phoenician), and Arabic respectively.

In chapter two, I have dealt with the following points: the concept of the name, naming methods, name patterns, names in the family, and names in society. A comparison between name-giving traditions in the three language groups leads to the following observations:

(1) The concept of the name reflects the same background in all language groups, that is, (a) it had a numinous power (naming is the same act as creating), (b) its relation to its bearer goes beyond being merely a label; it represents the person him/herself, and (c) naming reflects the social stratum of the bearer.

(2) Naming methods: the available direct information on this topic in three languages (Amorite, Hebrew, and Arabic) shows that naming was a psychological and sociocultural expression of: (a) a special condition of the name-giver (e.g., birth-giving condition, familial condition, illness, nostalgia, etc.), or (b) the name-giver's affiliation to the religious and cultural values of the community (s)he belonged to. Importantly, two Semitic languages, Amorite and Arabic (classical and modern sources) share what we can call 'name-giving dreams', i.e., the child is given a name received directly in a dream (Amorite and Arabic) or is named after a dreamt-of object (Arabic). This particular distribution may also point to a common Semitic background.

(3) Name patterns: some differences between language groups are observed in the case of theophoric names: in terms of contents (i.e., the relationship between deities and mankind), Akkadian covers a wider scope than the other two groups, Northwest Semitic generally exhibits the same categories (mostly two-word names, verbal and nominal), while

Arabic has the smallest number of examples (two-word names in the construct state). Profane names, on the other hand, tend to cluster in the same categories in all the languages examined (characteristic names, animal names, plant names, names indicating the time or place of birth, affective names, names indicating the child's status in the family, etc.).

(4) Naming in the family: two practices have been observed in this context: (1) naming after a family member, male (papyponymy) or female (mammonymy), a practice known in Akkadian (Old Babylonian onwards), Amorite, Palmyrene, and Arabic (till our present time), and (2) harmonic naming (i.e., two family members or more bear names which are etymologically, morphologically, or categorically/semantically related), a practice which is found in Akkadian and Arabic but hardly in Palmyrene.

(5) Naming in society: secondary names and status-related names are found in most of the languages I have examined. In Akkadian as well as Arabic (classical sources), some monarchs bore secondary names that differed from those of ordinary people. Programmatic and ideological names are also well-attested in Akkadian, Amorite, and Arabic, particularly among high officials in the royal courts and military leaders. Typical slave names occur in Akkadian and Arabic.

Chapter three was devoted to animal names in Akkadian. The investigation yielded 88 onomastic elements, most of which were used in all periods for males and, less so, females. Yet the Old Babylonian period shows the highest number. Suffixes and endearment forms are well-represented in animal names. The hypocoristic suffix *-āya/iya* is the one most frequently used, and some names bearing this suffix are the shortened forms of compound names. The diminutive *-ān* is attested for both males and females, unlike the situation in the other Semitic languages, where it is confined to males. The hypocoristic *-Vt(um)/Ct(um)* is almost as frequent in Akkadian masculine names as in their Arabic counterparts. As for theophoric names containing animal terms, Akkadian has the highest number compared to the other two language groups. These names occur in two types: (1) as divine elements (nominal or verbal phrases) and epithets (DN-is-X-animal), and (2) the construct state (animal-of-DN). The former type occurred much more frequently in the older periods (Old Akkadian, Old Babylonian), which points to an early association (pre-historic?) between deities and animals. Presumably, this association is symbolic and cannot be attributed to any sort of animal worship, for, as Watanabe (2002: 155ff) has shown in her textual analysis of animal symbolism in ancient Mesopotamian mythology, there is no evidence for such a practice: animals play no significant role in the process of the creation of the world, nor in the creation of mankind. Hence the occurrence of animal terms as divine elements is likely to be related to the metaphoric use of animals in art and liter-

ature. The second type of theophoric names, animal-of-DN, is found in different periods with several elements: *kalbu* “dog”, *būru* “calf”, *immeru* “sheep”, *enzu* “goat”, and *mūru* “foal”. Names of this type seem to reflect a special connection between the deity and the name-giver and could be understood as: (1) thanksgiving names (i.e., metaphorically, the child is like an animal granted by the deity), or (2) relationship/trust names (i.e., the child belongs to a certain deity).

Regarding the reasons for using animal names, I have dealt with five theories/practices in this chapter: (1) the nickname theory, (2) the omen theory, (3) the astral theory, (4) naming and royal ideology, and (5) naming as a family tradition. Neither the few examples of individuals bearing two names, one of them is formed with an animal name, nor the affective aspect of using animal names can support a nickname origin of all the one-word names we have encountered. Such an interpretation would be clearly based on generalization. Thus, I have considered these names from another angle, that is, in relation to omens. The survey shows that the people of ancient Mesopotamia mostly avoided names of venomous animals and predators, which all seem to have borne negative connotations in omens. Concerning the astral theory, i.e., animal names designated astral bodies instead of real animals, the evidence does not support this explanation, for all astral names not based on animal names are absent from the onomasticon. The fourth theory, naming and royal ideology, suggests that the large attestation of cattle terms and the like can be explained as a kind of onomastic response of the people of ancient Mesopotamia to their representation in royal ideology as obedient flock/cattle. Regarding naming and family traditions, the investigation shows that the above-mentioned preferences of certain families also applied to animal names. Several people were named after their ancestors, while others were given names that reflect a kind of ‘figurative’ harmony with their patronyms. Lastly, in their distribution in society, animal names were: (1) more common among people from the lower social class, (2) not among typical slave names, and (3) not affected by religious prohibition, as they occur among people with cultic positions or related, in a way or another, to temples.

In chapter four, I have dealt with animal names in Northwest Semitic, that is, Amorite, Biblical and epigraphic Hebrew, and epigraphic Northwest Semitic (Aramaic, Ugaritic, and Phoenician). The section on Amorite yielded ca. 38 (North)West Semitic elements (based on etymology and linguistic features). Twelve of these elements/variants are new: ‘*anz-*/*inz-* “goat” (to be distinguished from the previously discussed ‘*azz-*), *bulbul-* “nightingale”, *gaḥś-* “donkey foal; young gazelle”, *gūr-* “whelp”, *ḥagal-* “partridge”, *ḥargal-* “locust”, *labu’-* “lion” (to be distinguished from the previously discussed form *labb-*), *pa’rūr-*

/parūr- “mouse”, *qurd-* “tick”, *qūz-/qawz-* “weasel”, *šuršūr-* or *zurzūr-* “cricket”/“starling”, and *ta‘lab-* “fox”. Suffixes common to Amorite names are *-ān* (masculine names), *-at* (masculine names), *-ay/iya*, and *-a* (modtly feminine names). Generally, animal names occur less frequently in Amorite theophoric names than in their Akkadian counterparts. Two theories have been examined in this section regarding the reasons for using animal names: the totemistic theory and the metaphor theory. The totemistic theory that animal names originated as tribal names or as a method of binding the child to the tribal totem is unconvincing in view of one dubious ‘tribal’ name, *Ditāna*. However, the metaphoric theory that animal names were given as metaphors, either in a descriptive sense or as a wish that the bearer would be like the animal mentioned, provides a more solid explanation, especially in view of the expressions/proverbs found in Mari texts as well as the animal connotations in the literatures of the other Northwest Semitic languages. In their distribution in society, animal names are attested for individuals from different social backgrounds, some of them, like in Akkadian, having cultic positions.

The second section of this chapter dealt with animal names in Biblical and epigraphic Hebrew. The examination yielded 76 elements, 10 not occurring in the Bible. The suffixes *-ōn*, *-ay*, and *-ī/ē* are confined to masculine names. The fact that animal names in Hebrew are never used as divine names can be attributed to the impact of Yahwistic traditions on name-giving (i.e., the absence of theophoric names honoring deities other than Yahweh).³²² On the other hand, the few examples of names of animal-of-DN type agree with what we find in epigraphic Northwest Semitic (see the next paragraph). In this section, I have also considered animal names from the viewpoint of totemism and the metaphor theory. Given the epigraphic evidence as well as the data of the other Northwest Semitic languages, the totemistic argument that animal names emerged as tribal names was not found to be a sound explanation, for these names are clearly individual (both male and female). The metaphor theory, however, agrees more with the literary evidence, namely the frequent use of animal terms as designations. In line with the metaphoric explanation, some of these names were probably used to protect the child from demons, the evil eye, and illness (i.e., apotropaic), a naming practice that lives on in the Middle East to this day. Yet other names denote geographic localities named after animals. As for their distribution in society, the epigraphic evidence shows that animal names are also attested for wealthy people.

³²² Sufficient information on Yahwistic names is available in Beaulieu 2011.

The third section of this chapter treated animal names in epigraphic Northwest Semitic. The number of names varies from one language to another: Ugaritic has 68 elements (tentative ones not included), Aramaic has ca. 60 elements (including the Arabian-like ones), and Phoenician exhibits the least number of examples, that is, 12 elements. Suffixes common to epigraphic Northwest Semitic are *-ān(V)* (in Ugaritic and, less frequently, in Aramaic) and *-iy(V)/a/āy(V)* (Ugaritic, Aramaic, and, in very few cases, in Phoenician). Some names ending in these two suffixes can represent the shortened forms of compound names. As in Akkadian, animal names in epigraphic Northwest Semitic occur in two types of theophoric names: (a) as divine elements and epithets (In Ugaritic and the Aramaic languages/dialects of the Hellenistic and Roman periods), and, less, (2) in the construct state animal-of-DN. Given that there is no evidence of an animal cult, the former type should be attributed to the symbolic association between deities and animals. The latter type reflects the belonging to the deity with a special nuance of tenderness. In this section, three theories have been dealt with regarding the use of animal names, that is, the totemistic theory, the astral theory, and the metaphor theory. The totemistic theory, which is based on the tentative name *Aram*, does not offer a solid explanation for the other examples, which are all attested as individual names. The astral theory that animal names in Nabataean designate astral bodies lacks sufficient evidence. The metaphor theory, on the other hand, is more probable in view of the richness of animal connotations in literature.

Chapter five was devoted to animal names in Arabic (the classical, modern, and contemporary onomasticon). Remarkably, Arabic exhibits the highest number compared to the above-mentioned languages, that is, 257 elements, including by-forms. 115 of these are found in the Ancient Arabian onomasticon, especially in Safaitic, which, on the one hand, obviously reflects a continuity in name-giving traditions in the Arabian Peninsula and the Syro-Jordanian steppe, and, on the other hand, supports, to a certain extent, the reliability of the narrative sources (at least as far as name-giving is concerned). Suffixes common to animal names in Arabic are the adjectival *-ān* (masculine names), *-a(t)* as a hypocoristic-diminutive in masculine names (only in the classical onomasticon), and the nisba (or hypocoristic) ending *-ī* (more attested in masculine names). As in Hebrew, animal names in Arabic are never used as divine elements. The element *al-asad* in the pre-Islamic name *‘Abd al-asad* is likely to be an eponymous name. *Asad-DN* and *Kalb-DN* types are the only examples in the construct state. The former emerged as an honorific title and has survived as a personal name until our present time, while the latter is confined to the modern onomasticon (particularly among the Shiites of Iraq).

In this chapter, I have dealt with several theories and practices concerning the use of animal names: the totemistic theory, the classical Arabic theory, apotropaic names, affective names, alternative names, and naming after famous people. The totemistic theory is unlikely in view of the Ancient Arabian evidence, i.e., animal names are obviously individual, also in the plural form (which is still in use in our time). The classical Arabic theory that animal names were given: (1) to frighten foes, (2) after animals used in augury, or (3) after the first encountered animal is supported by evidence from classical sources, modern name-giving practices among nomads, and comparative anthropological data. The practice of using animal names as apotropaic names (i.e., against the evil eye and jinn as the main agents causing miscarriage) is recorded in classical and modern sources. In short, this practice involved using: (1) names of animals having negative connotations (unattractive to the evil eye and angels of death), and (2) names of powerful animals (viewed as able to counter the jinn and prevent them from entering the womb of the mother). As for affective names, their use is obvious in the classical and modern sources, especially for females (names of gazelles and doves). Animal names also occur largely as alternative names (*kunya*, nicknames, honorific titles, *nasab*, matronyms, and *nisba*). The last practice, naming after famous figures, is well-observed in modern Arabic, for both males and females. In addition to these theories and practices, family traditions have also played a significant role in the survival of this type of names until our present time. Many individuals bore animal names of their ancestors (all periods), some of which were compound forms (modern Arabic). Harmonic names are also found in all periods. Lastly, as for naming in society, my investigation suggests that it took three centuries at least for Hadith instructions to influence name-giving. While this influence is well-attested among urban and more religious milieus, it has not played any significant role among nomads until recently, which can be attributed to conservative aspects of their name-giving practices. In contemporary practices, namely among urban milieus, several animal names disappeared as given names (except for the ones referring to honorific and elegant animals) but have survived as nicknames. The fact that this survival also applies to the classical onomasticon allows us to conclude that Islamic instructions failed to establish control on naming in society at large but did succeed in the family circle. In other words, while given names are immune due to family values, nicknames tend to be affected by the authority of community.

To sum the conclusions of the three language-specific chapters in comparative remarks:

- Animal names occur in all Semitic languages, but their number varies from one language to another, depending on the richness of the onomasticon: Arabic (257), Akkadian (88), Hebrew (78), Ugaritic (ca. 68), Aramaic (ca. 60), Amorite (ca. 38), and Phoenician (12).
- Animal names point to an originally ‘Proto-Semitic’ onomastic background imbued with metaphoric, affective, and apotropaic aspects. There is, however, no evidence for totemism.
- Whereas names of herbivorous animals (wild and domestic) are common to all the corpora examined, names of venomous animals, predators, and raptors are much more attested in West Semitic, especially Arabic, than in Akkadian, and this is apparently related to the symbolic nature of names within the social ideology of a society.
- As divine elements, animal names crop up much more frequently in Akkadian than in Amorite, Aramaic, and Ugaritic, and their presence can be explained by the symbolic role animals played in art and literature. The other type of theophoric names, animal-of-DN, occurs in most of the languages investigated, and it could reflect a notion of tenderness or belonging to a certain deity (i.e., dog/calf/sheep/lamb/goat-of-DN) or honour (i.e., lion-of-DN).
- The survival of animal names in modern Arabic practices, especially among nomads, points to an adherence to ‘pre-Islamic’ naming methods vis-à-vis normative Islamic views.

With these conclusions, the present study, thanks to its interdisciplinary outlook, furnishes new avenues for future comparative onomastic research. A specialized study of personal names referring to other natural phenomena, particularly plants, would yield interesting findings, especially if it takes into consideration the distribution of theophoric/non-theophoric names. The question of naming and ancestor cult in ancient Semitic traditions, which has been briefly dealt with in our present study, is of high importance, too, especially in view of relevant archeological and textual evidence from different areas in the ancient Near East.

Appendix

Animal Names in the Semitic Onomasticon

On the organization of the data

- In addition to Akk., NWS, and Ar., this appendix contains material from Eb. and AAr. (for motivation, see ↑1.4.1.4).
- As the term Amor. is used in this study for NWS names from the OAkk./OB periods, all unclassifiable non-Akk. Sem. names in cuneiform sources from the later periods (MA/MB to NA/NB) are listed under the category (N)WSC, i.e., Northwest Semitic in cuneiform sources (see 1.4.1.2).
- Names are taxonomically classified according to animal categories/subcategories (mammals, birds, reptiles, etc.).
- Names are listed within each category according to their roots in SED 2 (marked with *) or the roots I suggest.
- Names which occur in one or two languages but do not derive from Common Sem. roots are treated secondarily.

MAMMALS

I. FELINES

Lion

§1. *'arway- (SED 2, No. 17)

Ug.	<i>Rwy</i> (hypoc. ?) (Watson 2007: 109b).
Heb.	' <i>Ārī'ēl</i> “Lion of El/God”, <i>Hā-'aryē</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 170; PHIAP 60, 75).
Aram.	OffAram. 'ry (Lemaire 2002: 265), Dura <i>Αρηρηλ</i> may be an error for <i>Αρηηλ</i> , 'ry'l (Grassi 2012: 145).

§2. *'aś/š(V)d- (see the discussion in ↑4.1.3.1.2)

Eb.	' <i>Ašda-Il</i> , <i>Aš-da-īl</i> “Il is a lion”, <i>Ḥinna-'ašda</i> , <i>I-na-áš-da</i> “Have mercy, lion” (ARES 3 324; Krebernik 1988: 76).
Amor.	' <i>Ašdum</i> , <i>Aš-du-um</i> , ' <i>Ašdiya</i> , <i>Aš-di-ia</i> , ' <i>Ašda-aḫī</i> , <i>Aš-da-a-ḫi</i> “My brother is A.” ' <i>Ašdum-abī</i> , <i>Aš-du-um-a-bi</i> “My father is A.”, ' <i>Abī-aśad</i> , <i>A-bi-a-ša-ad</i> “My father is A.”, ' <i>Ašdu-rāp</i> ', <i>Aš-du-ra-pi</i> “A. is a healer”, ' <i>Ašdī-yapu</i> ', <i>Aš-di-e-pu-uḫ</i> “My A. is radiant”, ' <i>Ašdī-yaśar</i> , <i>Aš-di-e-sa-ar</i> “My A. is just”, ' <i>Ašdī-yašu</i> ', <i>Aš-di-e-šu-uḫ</i> “My A. has helped”, ' <i>Ašdī-ki-El</i> “My A. is like a god”, ' <i>Ašdī-maṭar</i> “My A. is rain”, etc. (CAAA 13, 239, sub √aśd).
Aram.	Nab. 'šd (PNNR 165), Palm. 'šdw (PNPI 73), OSyr. 'šdw (Drijvers and Healey 1999: Am 10: 2, 8).
AAr.	"s' <i>d</i> , 's' <i>d</i> , 's' <i>dw</i> , 's' <i>dy</i> , 's' <i>dn</i> in Saf., 's' <i>d</i> in Dad. and Tham. (HIn 7, 43), 's' <i>dt</i> as (m) in Tham., Min., Qat., and (f) in Sab. ³²³ (Shatnawi 2002: 646; Schaffer 1981: 296).
Ar.	(<i>al-</i>) <i>Asad</i> , <i>al-Asad</i> , <i>Asada</i> , <i>Asīd</i> , <i>Usayd</i> (m + f), <i>Usayda</i> (f) (CIK 2 122, 195, 575; Ištiqāq 33, 56, 501; Ikmāl 1: 57-8, 67-9, 70-71, 83, 20 153), nick. <i>Asad Allah</i> “Lion of God”, <i>Asad al-rasūl</i> “Lion of the Prophet”, <i>Asad al-baḥr</i> “Lion of the sea”, <i>al-Asad al-rahīš</i> “The brave lion”, <i>Su'r al-asad</i> “The remaining food of the lion” (KN 57; MAAM 26ff), Bed. <i>Asad</i> (Littmann 1921: 6), CAO <i>Asad Allah</i> (UAE, No. 70069602), <i>Asad</i> as PN and FN, <i>al-Asad</i> , <i>al-Asadī</i> , <i>Abū Asad</i> (all

³²³ On Old Sab. theophoric names with 's'*d* “warrior”, see Tairan (1992: 61-4).

	FN) (SAR 1, p. 7, 34; SAR 2, p. 14, 98, 173; SAR 3, p. 24; SAR 4, p. 15, 231, Gaza, No. 9799, 17342).
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§3. *ka/epīr*- “young lion” (HALOT 493, DNWSI 530)

Pho-Pun.	<i>Kpr</i> (PNPPI 239).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Kpr</i> (Maraqten 1988: 175).
Heb.	<i>Kpr</i> , <i>kprh</i> (f) (PHIAP 109; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
(N)WSC	<i>Ka-pi-ru</i> (PNA 605).

§4. **labV*'- (SED 2, No. 144)

Akk.	OAkk. <i>Šu-la-pi</i> “He is my lion”, <i>Sar-ru-la-ba</i> “DN (or the like) is a lion”, <i>Ši-la-ba-at</i> , <i>Šī-la-ba</i> “She [Ištar] is a lioness”, <i>EŠ₄-DAR-la-ba</i> “Ištar is a lioness”, <i>A-mur-la-ba</i> “See, o Labba”, <i>It-be-la-ba</i> “Labba has come up”, <i>Be-lí-la-ba</i> “My lord is a lion” or “Labba is my lord”, <i>DINGIR-su-la-ba</i> “His god is a lion” or “Labba is his god”, <i>La-ba-na-da</i> “Labba is praised”, OB <i>La-ba-illum</i> , <i>La-ba-DINGIR</i> “Labba is the god”, <i>I-zu-la-bi</i> “His arm is my lion” (MAD 2 147; MAD 3 159ff), OB <i>I-din-^dla-ba</i> “Labba has given” (CAAA, No. 2459; ARM 16/1: 116), <i>A-ḫu-la-ba-ša</i> “The brother is her lion” (?), <i>DINGIR-šu-a-bu-la-ba</i> “His god, the father, is Labba/a lion” (Bowes 1987: 279, 666), MB <i>La-ba-ka-šid</i> “Labba is victorious” (PKTN 130).
Amor. ³²⁴	<i>Labā/Lbba</i> , <i>La-ba</i> (ARM 25 785 I: 6), <i>Labu’ānu</i> , <i>La-bu-’a₄-nu</i> (OBTR 297: 5), <i>’Ammu-Labba</i> , <i>Ḫa-am-mu-la-ba-a</i> “Labba is the (paternal) ancestor”, <i>Šumu-Labba</i> , <i>Šu-mu-la-ba</i> “Descendant of Labba” (CAAA, No. 1908, 5674), <i>’Am-ti-la-ba</i> (ibid) could be normalized as <i>’Am-ti-Labba</i> “Maid-servant of Labba” or <i>Amt-Ilaba</i> “Mid-servant of Ilaba” (both may also be Akk.) (Golinets 2016: 70, fn. 56). Millet Albà (2000: 479, 480) mentions three names without textual references: <i>ŠLabatum</i> “Lionne”, <i>Yasmaḫ-Laba</i> “Le-dieu-au-Lion-écoute”, and <i>Išḫi-Laba</i> “Le-dieu-au-Lion-est-mon-aide” (apparently confused with <i>Iš-ḫi-^dla-ma</i> in ARM 8 58: 10’ = CAAA, No. 3792).
(N)WSC	Amarna: <i>Lab’āyu</i> , <i>La-ab-a-ia</i> (Hess 1993: 103), MB Alalakh <i>Laba’u</i> , <i>La-ba-ú</i> and <i>La-ba-ta</i> (?) (von Dassow 2008: 455), MB Emar <i>Lab’u-Dagan</i> “Dagan is a lion” (Pruzsinzsky 2003: 196), NA <i>Laba’ú</i> , <i>La-ba-’u-u</i> , <i>La-ba-’u-u</i> (PNA 649),

³²⁴ Cf. †4.1.3.1.1.

	<i>Labâ</i> , <i>ʿLa-ba-a</i> (Radner 2002 21': 3, 5).
Ug.	<i>'mlbu</i> (↑Amor. 'Ammu-Labba), <i>Šmlbi/u</i> (↑Amor. <i>Sūmū-Labba</i>), <i>'bdlbit</i> "Servant of the lioness (goddess)", <i>Aḥi-labu</i> , <i>A-ḥi-la-bu</i> "My brother is a lion" or "L. is my brother", <i>Lab'iya</i> , <i>la-ab-ʿi-ia</i> (PTU 28, 154; PRU 6 72: 12; Watson 2007: 108).
Pho-Pun.	<i>Lb'</i> (PNPPI 133).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>Lb't</i> (Lemaire 2002: 273).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Lb'</i> , <i>Lb't</i> , Dad. <i>Lb'h</i> (HIn 508), His., Tham. <i>Lb't</i> (ENAH 456; Shatnawi 2002: 736), Qat. <i>Lb'm</i> (f), <i>Lb'</i> , <i>Lb't</i> (m+f), Sab. <i>Lb'tm</i> (f) (PQI 224; Sholan 1999: 37, 130), <i>Lb'n</i> in Min. and Sab. (Al-Said 1995: 155; Tairan 1992: 189).
Ar.	<i>Lab'</i> , <i>al-Labu'</i> , <i>Labū'</i> , <i>Labwān</i> (CIK 2 374ff; Ištiqāq 324), CAO <i>Labwa</i> (f) (SAR 1, No. 72068; SAR 2, No. 33075).

§5. **layt-* (SED 2, No. 147)

Heb.	<i>Layiš</i> (PHIAP 145; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>Lyt'</i> (Porten and Yardeni 2014: 107).
AAr.	Saf., His. <i>Lt</i> (HIn 510; ENAH 457).
Ar.	<i>'by Lyt</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 78), <i>(al-)Layt</i> ³²⁵ (CIK 2 376; Ištiqāq 546; Ikmāl 1: 75, 131, 2: 268), CAO: <i>Layt</i> is a frequent name in many Arab countries, especially Syria (SAR 1, p. 15; SAR 2, p. 5; SAR 4, p. 1, 3; UAE, No. 20012869; WB. No. 20000139).

§6. **nVhVš-*, **nVhVs-* (SED 2, No. 159)³²⁶

Akk.	NA <i>Nēšu</i> , <i>Né-e-šu</i> , <i>Ni-šú</i> (or a hypoc. of an Elamite name) (PNA 959), NB <i>Ni-e-šu</i> (?) (Weisberg 2003 169: 13).
Eb.	<i>Nēšum</i> , <i>Ne(NE)-šum</i> , <i>Nēši</i> , <i>Ne(NE)-ši</i> , ³²⁷ <i>Ḥayra-nēš</i> , <i>Ḥa-ra-ne(NE)-iš</i> "The (divine) lion is excellent", <i>Ḥāra-nēš</i> , <i>Ḥa-ra-ne(NE)-iš</i> "The (divine) lion has chosen", <i>Ša'da-nēš</i> , <i>Sa-da-ne(NE)-iš</i> "The (divine) lion is the protective deity" (ARES 3 317, 355, 360). ³²⁸

³²⁵ In CAR., *layt* also denotes "a certain kind of spider" (Lane 2684a).

³²⁶ Since this root is not very reliable, the Akk. term can also fit in **layt* ↑§5.

³²⁷ Krebernik (1988: 99): NE-*iš*, NE-*su*, NE-*šu* could be from Akk. *nēšu* "to live".

³²⁸ If the interpretation of these names is correct, the element *nēšu* may indicate Leo.

Ar.	<i>Nāhis</i> (CIK 2 443; Ikmāl 6: 120, 7: 150), nick. <i>Nahhās</i> (KN 445).
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§7. *šab(V)*⁻ “lion, beast of prey” (Lane 1298b)

Aram.	Nab. <i>Šbʿ</i> , <i>Šbʿw</i> , <i>Šbʿ[ʿ]lhy</i> “Lion of god” or “My god has satisfied (me)” (Cantineau 1932: 148; PNNR 164-5), Palm. <i>Šbʿ</i> (PNPI 113), Hat. <i>Šbʿ</i> (Abbadi 1983: 166), which could also be a hypoc. of <i>šbʿ</i> -DN “Satisfaction (through DN)” (Beyer 1998, H 18,2).
AAr.	Saf. <i>ʿsʿbʿn</i> , <i>Sʿbʿ</i> , <i>Sʿbʿl</i> “Lion of god” (?) (HIn 41, 309), Sab. <i>Sʿbʿ</i> (Tairan 1992: 129).
Ar.	<i>Sabuʿ</i> , <i>Sabuʿa</i> , <i>Subayʿ</i> , <i>Subayʿa</i> (m + f), <i>Sibāʿ</i> (pl.), <i>al-Asbuʿ</i> (pl.), <i>al-Sabiʿ</i> , <i>Sabʿān</i> (CIK 2 491, 496, 512, 514; Ikmāl 1: 80, 4: 175-176, 251, 256, 363, 7: 438), nick. <i>Suʿr al-sabuʿ</i> “The remaining food of the lion” (KN 271), <i>Qattāl al-sabuʿ</i> “He who killed the lion” (MAAM 255), Bed. <i>Sabʿ</i> , <i>Sbēʿ</i> (Littmann 1921: 11; Zakariyyā 1983: 729), SG <i>al-Bū Sbēʿ</i> (Beduinen 4 111b), CAO: <i>Sabʿ</i> is a frequent name (e.g. SAR 2, No. 9824; UAE, No. 2011022450; Gaza, No. 138), as FN <i>Sabʿ al-ʿArab</i> “Lion of the Arabs”, <i>Sabʿ al-Dīr</i> “Lion of the city of Deir ez-Zor”, <i>Sabʿ al-līl</i> “Lion of the night” (UAE, No. 20022036; SAR 4, No. 18649).

§8. *šibl*- “lion cub, whelp” (Lane 1499a)

Heb.	<i>Šōbāl</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Šbylw</i> (PNNR 164).
AAr.	<i>Šbl</i> in Saf. and Tham., <i>Šblm</i> in Sab. (HIn 339).
Ar.	<i>Šibl</i> , <i>Šubayl</i> (Ištiqāq 519, 119, 318; CIK 2 529; Ikmāl 1: 43-44, 5: 17), nick. <i>Šibl al-dawla</i> “Cub of the state”, <i>Muwattim al-ašbāl</i> “He who made the cubs orphan” (MAAM 177, 318), Bed./CAO <i>Šibil</i> , <i>Šiblān</i> , <i>Šebēl</i> , <i>Šibli</i> (plus the hypoc. -i) (Hess 1912: 31; Beduinen 4 113a, 115b; Gaza, No. 7335; SAR 1, No. 1219, 1728).

§9. Other names/by-forms for lion

Heb.	<i>Šeber</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Ar./AAr.	
	<i>ʿAnbas(a)</i> ³²⁹ (CIK 101, 189; Lane 1930b).

³²⁹ Cf. Geʿez *ʿanbasā* “lion” (Leslau 1987: 64).

' <i>Arandas</i> (Iṣṭiqāq 379).
<i>al-Ašras</i> (CIK 2 201; Lane 1532b), 's ² rs ¹ in His., Tham., and Sab. (ENAH 359; HIn 48; Shatnawi 2002: 648).
<i>al-Dalahmas</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60).
<i>Bahnas</i> (Ikmāl 1: 377).
<i>Bayhas</i> (Iṣṭiqāq 378; Ikmāl 3: 103, 7: 121).
<i>Ḍamḍam</i> , <i>Ḍumāḍim</i> (√ḍmm) (Iṣṭiqāq 228; Ikmāl 1: 568, 2: 164).
<i>Ḍayḡam</i> (√ḍgm) (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; CIK 2 241; Ikmāl 2: 372), Saf. <i>Ḍgm</i> (?) (HIn 382), Bed. <i>Ḍayḡam</i> , FN <i>Āl Ḍayḡam</i> , <i>al-Ḍayāḡim</i> (pl.) (Zakariyyā 1983: 735; Beduinen 4 30; Al-Ġāsir 2001: 459, 461).
<i>Ḍirḡām(a)</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; Ikmāl 2: 414), CAO <i>Ḍirḡām</i> (UAE, 20009890), <i>Dirḡām</i> (<i>d < ḍ</i>) (SAR 1, p. 114, 272).
<i>Furāfiṣa</i> (√frṣ) (Al-Aṣma'ī 1994: 87; Ikmāl 7: 63).
<i>Furhūd</i> "Lion cub" (in the dialect of al-Azd, a South Arabian group) (CIK 2 247; Lane 2390), Bed. <i>Ferhūd</i> (Hess 1912: 44).
<i>Ġaḍanfar</i> (Al-Ġāḥiḏ 1966 1: 326; Lane 2268), nick. <i>Ibn al-Ġaḍanfar</i> (MAAM 233).
<i>Harṭama</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; Iṣṭiqāq 199), Tham. <i>Hrtm</i> (?) (HIn 613), Bed. SG <i>al-Harātima</i> (pl.) (Al-Ġāsir 2001: 888).
<i>Ḥaydara</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; Ikmāl 7: 268, 287; Lane 531). The name has become popular due to its association with 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib.
<i>Hirmās</i> ³³⁰ (Al-Aṣma'ī 1994: 128; Ikmāl 1: 573).
<i>Hizabr</i> (Lane 1211) in the titular name <i>Hizabr al-dīn</i> "Lion of religion" (Al-Zarkalī 2002 8: 84, 138).
<i>Sā'ida</i> (CIK 2 502; Lane 1363a).
<i>Usāma</i> (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; Lane 59c), Sab. 's ¹ mt (HIn 45), CAO: a frequent name (Hittī 2003: 82).

³³⁰ It also means "rhinoceros, buffalo", which is clearly related to (or a loan form) Ge'ez *harmāz* "elephant" (Leslau 1987: 219).

Leopard

§10. **namir*- (SED 2, No. 164)

Pho-Pun.	<i>Nmr</i> (PNPPI 239, 361).
Aram. ³³¹	OffAram. <i>Nmrw</i> (Maraqten 1988: 186; Porten and Yardeni 2014: 129), Nab. <i>Nmrw</i> , <i>Nnmr'</i> (PNNR 165), Dura <i>Ναμαρος</i> (Grassi 2012: 226; Gzella 2015a: 462b).
AAr.	' <i>nmr</i> , <i>Nmr</i> in Saf, His., Tham., Sab., and Qat., ' <i>nmrm</i> in Qat. and Had., <i>Nmrt</i> in Tham., <i>Nmrh</i> in Dad. (HIn 80, 599, 600; ENAH 473; Shatnawi 2002: 652, 747; PQI 252; Tairan 1992: 218).
Ar.	<i>Anmār</i> (pl.), <i>Nimār</i> (pl.), <i>Namir</i> , <i>Namira</i> , <i>Nimrān</i> , <i>Numayr</i> (CIK 2 190, 445, 448; Iṣṭiqāq 74, 183, 515; Ikmāl 7: 192, 362-64, 414), Bed. <i>Nimr</i> , <i>Namr</i> (Littmann 1921: 19; Hess 1912: 51), SG <i>al-Bū Nimr</i> , <i>Nmūr/Nemūr</i> (pl.), <i>Numērāt</i> (pl.), <i>Benī Numēr</i> < <i>Numayr</i> (Beduinen 4 96b-7a), CAO <i>Nimir</i> is a quite popular name (e.g. Gaza, No. 143; SAR 1, No. 23942, 35112), <i>Anmār</i> (f+m) (SAR 1, No. 57151; SAR 2, No. 14037, 15468), <i>Nimra</i> (f), <i>Numyra</i> (f) (SAR 1, No. 6213, 43477; UAE, No. 20004694), the compound names <i>Maḥmūd-Nimr</i> (SAR 1, p. 201, No. 23489) and <i>Muḥammad-al-Nimr</i> (SAR 1, No. 31294), FN <i>Abū Nimir</i> , <i>Nimri</i> , <i>Nammūr</i> (dimin.) (WB, No. 95, 1175; SAR 1, No. 6497).

§11. Other names/by-forms for leopard in Ar.

Fazāra “Leopardess” as (m) PN (CIK 2 246f; Lane 2393a), (*al-*)*Sabandi/ti*, lit. “Adventurous” (Iṣṭiqāq 378).

Cheetah

§12. Miscellaneous names

**pahd*- (SED 2, No. 171): *Fhd*, *Fhdt* in Dad., *Fhd* in Saf., *Fhdm* in Qat. and Sab.³³² (HIn 473; PQI 212), Ar. *Fahd*, *Fahdān*, *Fuhayd* (CIK 2 244; Iṣṭiqāq 527; Ikmāl 7: 76), nick. *Fahd*, *Ibn al-Fahhād* “Cheetah trainer” (KN 356; MAAM 248), Bed. *Fähād*, *Fihde* (f), *Fhayde* (f), *Fahhād*, *Fhaydān* (Hess 1912: 45; Littmann 1921: 17), SG *al-Bū Fahd*, *Āl Fahhād*, *Benī Fehēd*, *Āl Fhayde*, *Fuhūd* (pl.), *Fuhēdāt* (pl.) (Beduinen 4 42a, 46), CAO (see ↑5.4.5).

³³¹ On Aram. *nemr*, see the discussion by Beyer in ThWAT 9: 480-81.

³³² Note that *fhd* also denotes “protection” in Sab. (Beeston *et al.* 1982: 43).

Ar. *Hawbar* (CIK 280; Lisān 15: 16a; see *Hubayra* from the same root ↓§23)

Cat (domestic and wild)

§13. Miscellaneous names

**a(n)z/dar* “kind of wild cat” (SED 2, No. 9): Akk. *Azaru/Azzaru, A-za-ru-um* “Lynx” (CAD A/2 527), NA *A-zar-ri* (gen.) (PNA 239), Amor. *Ḥa-an-zu-ra, 'Anzura* (?) (CAAA, No. 1944) or from (↓§77).

bVss- “domestic cat” (Huehnergard 2008: 409): NA *Bassūnâ, Ba-su-na-a* “Little cat” (?) (PNA 277), N/LB *Bissâ, ⁱBi-is-sa-a* (Zadok 1977:146), Palm. *Bs'* (PNPI 77), OSyr. *Bs'* (Drijvers and Healey 1999: P2: 29), Dura *Βασσοϛ*, if not for Greek (?) *Basus* (Grassi 2012: 171), Saf. *Bsⁱ* (HIn 105), Bed. *Bsēs* (f), *Bsaysa* (f) (Hess 1912: 12), *Bsēs, Bšēbiš* (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16), CAO *Bsayne* (f), *Bazzōn* (Beiträge 76; Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).

hirr- “domestic cat” (Huehnergard 2008: 415): *Hr* in Saf., Tham., His., *Hrt* (f) in Min. (HIn 612; ENAH 475; Shatnawi 2002: 748; Al-Said 1995, 171), Ar. *Hirr* (m + f), *Hurayr, Hurayra* (f) (CIK 2 284; Ikmāl 7: 409; Gratzl 1906: 53), *kunya: Abu Hirr/Hurayra* (Al-Dawlābī 2: 331-2; Al-Ġāḥiẓ 1966 5: 343), CAO *Hārūn* (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).

**šu/in(n)ār-*, **šurān-* “cat” (SED 2, No. 206; Huehnergard 2008: 411): Akk. UR III, *Šurā-um, Šu-ra-núm, Šu-ra-nu-um* (MAD 3 285), OB *Šu-ra-na-tum* (Rasmussen 1981: 490), NA *Su-ra-a-nu, Su-ra-nu* (PNA 1159), His *S¹nr* (?) (ENAH 415).

Akk. *Murašū* “Wildcat”, NA *Mu-ra-su-ú* (PNA 770), N/LB *Mu-ra-ši* (gen.), *ⁱMu-ra-ši-tum, Mu/Mi-ra-šū-ú/u, Mu-ra-šu-nu* (Nielsen 2015: 214; NBN 113).

Ar. *Qutayṭ* “Little cat”³³³ (Al-Baġdādī 2001, No. 672).

II. CANINES

Dog

§14. **kalb-* (SED 2, No. 115)

Akk.	Oakk. <i>Kalab-Ea, Ga-la-ab-é-a</i> “Dog of Ea”, <i>Gal-pum, Ga-lí-bu-um</i> (MAD 3 145), OB <i>Kalab-Šamaši, Kalbu-išar</i> “The dog is reliable” (stative) (Millet Albà 2000: 486), <i>Ka-la-ab-^dBa-ú</i> (UET 5 127: 8, 228: 9; YOS 14 229: 9), <i>Kalabša</i> “Her dog” (i.e., the healing goddess) (UET 5 112a iv 17, 112b iv 14), <i>ⁱKal-ba-tum,</i>
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³³³ On the etymology of *qitt*, see Huehnergard (2008).

	^f <i>Kal-bi-tum</i> (Abdi and Beckman 2007 36: 11', 24: 8), <i>Ka-al-ba-nu-um</i> (a scribe) (Lambert 1987, p. 194, line 69), MB <i>Ina-pī-kalbi-irīḫ</i> , <i>I-na-pi-i-kal-bi-i-ri-iḫ</i> “He remained in the mouth of a dog”, <i>Kal-bi</i> (gen.), <i>Kalab-Baba</i> , UR.GI ₇ - ^d <i>ba-ba</i> ₆ (PKTN 100, 118), MA <i>Ka-al-bu</i> (NPN 306b), MA <i>Kalbi-Aia</i> , <i>Kal-bu-a-a</i> “Dog of Ea”, <i>Kalbi-Ukû</i> , [<i>Kal</i>]- <i>bi</i> - ^d <i>ú-ku-u</i> , [<i>Kal-bi</i>]- <i>ú-ku-u-a</i> , UR-KU- <i>ú-ku-ú-a</i> “Dog of Ukû”, <i>Kal-bu</i> , <i>Kal-bi</i> , <i>Ka-al-bu</i> , <i>Ka-al-bi</i> (PNA 598), N/LB <i>Kal-ba-a</i> (hypoc.), <i>Kal-bi</i> , UR- <i>a</i> , <i>Kal-bi-a</i> , ^f <i>Kal-ba-ti</i> , UR- ^d <i>a-a</i> , <i>Kal-bi</i> - ^d <i>ba-ú</i> , etc. (Nielsen 2015: 170; NBN 86-7), <i>Ša-pî-kalbi</i> (m + f), <i>Ša-KA-UR</i> , <i>Ša-pi(-i)-kal-bi</i> “He/She (who was rescued from) the mouth of a dog” (NBN 199; cf. also ↑3.3.2), and the title <i>Kalab Innin</i> , <i>Ištar</i> and <i>Nanā</i> (Weisberg 2003 10: 37).
Eb.	<i>Kalibu</i> , <i>Ga-li-bù</i> , <i>Ga-li-bu</i> ₁₄ (ARES 3 309; PEb G 13).
Amor.	<i>Kalbān</i> , <i>Ka-al-ba-an</i> (Huffmon 1965: 152), <i>Kalbum</i> , <i>Kal-bu-um</i> , <i>Kalbatum</i> , ^f <i>Ka-al-ba-tum</i> , <i>Kalbu-'Ami</i> , <i>K[a]-al-bu-^da-mi</i> , <i>Kalbu-'Anat</i> , <i>Ka-al-bu-^dḫa-na-at</i> , <i>Kalbu-'Aštar</i> , <i>Ka-al-bu-eš₄-tār</i> , <i>Kalba-'el</i> , <i>Ga-al-ba-il</i> , <i>Ka-al-ba-DINGIR</i> , <i>'Ayya-kalba</i> , ^f <i>A-ia-ka-al-ba</i> “Where is the dog/bitch?” (CAAA 135 sub <i>kalb-</i> ; ARM 26/1 416; Durand 1997: 663; Millet Albà 2000: 486).
Ug.	<i>Klb</i> , <i>Klby</i> , <i>Kal-bu</i> , <i>Kál-bi-ia</i> (PTU 28, 150).
Pho-Pun.	<i>Klb'lm</i> , <i>Klb'l</i> “Dog of god,” and the shortened forms <i>Klb'</i> , <i>Klby</i> (PNPPI 331).
Heb.	<i>Kālēb</i> , <i>Klb</i> (PHIAP 74; IPN 30; Rechenmacher 2012: 164).).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Klbw</i> (Maraqten 1988: 174), OffAram. <i>Klby</i> (Lemaire 2002: 273), Hat. as DN: <i>Brklb'</i> “Son of the dog” (i.e., Nergal) (Abbadi 1983) or “The adoptive son of the Dog” (Beyer 1998: H 145, 317), <i>Klbml'</i> “The dog made full” (Beyer 1998: H 287), Palm. <i>Klby</i> and <i>Klb'</i> (PNPI 92), Nab. <i>'klbw</i> , <i>Klbw</i> , <i>Klb'</i> , <i>Klybw</i> , <i>Klybt</i> (f) (Cantineau 1932: 107), OSyr. <i>Klb'</i> , <i>Brklb'</i> (Drijvers and Healey 1999: P1: 24, As48: 1, As49: 5, As50: 5), Dura <i>Βαρχαλβας</i> (Grassi 2012: 169ff).
AAr.	Saf., His., Tham. <i>'klb</i> , <i>'klbn</i> , <i>Klb</i> , <i>Klbt</i> , <i>Klbn</i> (HIn 121, 503; Shatnawi 2002: 650, 735), Qat. <i>Klb</i> , <i>Klbm</i> , <i>Klbt</i> (f), <i>Klbn</i> , <i>Klyb</i> (PQI 221), Sab. <i>Klbt</i> (f) (Sholan 1999: 36, 128).
Ar.	<i>Kalb</i> , <i>Kalba</i> (m), <i>Kulayb</i> , <i>Kilāb</i> (pl.), <i>Aklub</i> (pl), <i>Aklab</i> and <i>Aklūb</i> “Rabid”, <i>Maklibī</i> , <i>Maklaba</i> “A land having dogs” (CIK 2 150f, 369, 371, 373, 396; Ištiqāq 20-2; Ikmāl 1: 106, 272, 381, 541, 7: 174), nick. <i>Anf al-kalb</i> “The dog’s nose”, <i>Ḥuṭām al-kalb</i> “The dog’s halter” (MAAM 103, 132, 273; KN

	317), Bed. <i>Tselb</i> < <i>Kelb</i> , <i>Tslēb</i> < <i>Kulēb</i> , <i>Tslēbe</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 47), Č/Ĝelballāh “Dog of God” (Littmann 1921: 18; see Islamic <i>Kalb-DN</i> in ↑5.3), SG <i>al-Bū Kulēb</i> , <i>Kelēbāt</i> (pl.) (Beduinen 4 70), CAO only as FN <i>al-Kalbānī</i> , <i>Klēbān</i> (UAE, No. 20037259, 70046660).
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§15. Another designation for dog in AAr./Ar.

(*al-*)*Nabbāḥ*, *Nubayḥ*, lit. “Barking”³³⁴ (CIK 2 439, 449; Ikmāl 7: 43, 332), Sab *Nbḥ* (HIn 578), Qat. *Nbyḥ* (PQI 246).

Fox

§16. **tV'(V)l-*, **ta'lab-* (SED 2, 237)

Akk. ³³⁵	Oakk. <i>Ša-le-ba</i> , <i>Ša-le-bi</i> , <i>Še-le-bu-um</i> , <i>Še-le-bu-tum</i> (m), <i>Še-le-ib</i> , <i>Še-le-bī-a</i> (MAD 3 258), OA <i>Šēlebum</i> (OAPN 98), OB <i>Še-le-bu</i> , <i>Še-le-bu-um</i> , <i>Šēlebya</i> , <i>Še₁₀-le-bu-tim</i> (gen.) (IPNOBS 326f; ARM 16/1 196), <i>Še-le-bu-tum</i> (YOS 13 168: 3), MB <i>Še-le-bi</i> (gen.) (PKTN 207), Emar <i>Šēlabu</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003 : 97), MA <i>Še-la-bu</i> , <i>Še-le-bu</i> , <i>Še-le-bi</i> , <i>Še-le-e-bi</i> (gen.) (NPN 314b), <i>Še-lu-bu</i> (OMA 462), NA <i>Še-le-pi</i> , [<i>Še?</i>]- <i>le-bi</i> (gen.), <i>Še-lu-bu</i> , <i>Še-l[u-bu]</i> (PNA 220; Gaspa 2008: 129), N/LB <i>Še-le-bi</i> , <i>Še-el-le-bi</i> (gen.) (Nielsen 2015 : 367 ; NBN 201b).
Eb.	<i>Ta'lab</i> , <i>Ša-la-ab</i> , <i>Ta'(l)ab</i> , <i>Ša-a-ab</i> , <i>Ta'la</i> , <i>Ša-la</i> , <i>Te'libu</i> , <i>Šè-lí(NI)-bù</i> (ARES 3 366-67).
Amor.	<i>Šu'ālān(u)</i> , <i>Šu-ḥa-la-an</i> , <i>Šu-ḥa-la-nu</i> (CAAA, No. 5926-27; Streck 2000: §5.70).
Ug.	<i>T'lb̄n</i> , <i>T'lb̄</i> , <i>T'ln̄</i> , <i>T'lb̄</i> , <i>Ša'alānu</i> , <i>Ša-a-la-na</i> (PTU 28, 198).
Can-Heb.	<i>Š/Sū'alī</i> , <i>Su-a-li-i</i> (plus the hypoc. -i) (PNA 1153), <i>Šū'al</i> , <i>Š'l</i> (PHIAP 112; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Aram.	OArām. <i>Ta'lā</i> , <i>Ta-a'-la-a</i> , <i>Ta-al-a</i> (PNA 1305).
AAr.	<i>T'l'</i> in Saf., <i>T'l</i> in Saf. and Tham., <i>T'lt</i> as (m) in Tham.and His. and (f) in Qat., <i>T'lbm</i> in Sab. and His. (HIn 146; Shatnawi 2002: 663; ENAH 378; PQI 108; Tairan 1992: 90).

³³⁴ The term is based on Common Sem. *√nbḥ* “to bark”, e.g., Akk. (CDA 227), Heb. (HALOT 660), Aram. (Brockelmann 1928: 411; Sokoloff 1990: 339a), and Ge'ez (Leslau 1987: 383).

³³⁵ AHW 1210: the names with the suffix *-tum* are uncertain. They could be hypoc. of *šēlebu* or from *šeleppātu* “turtle” (↓§120).

Ar. ³³⁶	<i>Tu'āl</i> , <i>Tu'āla</i> , <i>Ta'lab</i> , <i>Ta'laba</i> , <i>Ta'labān</i> / <i>Tu'lubān</i> , <i>Tu'aylib</i> (CIK 2 553ff; Iṣṭiqāq 380, 386; Ikmāl 1: 207, 509, 510, 531, 4: 404, 3: 48), nick. <i>Ta'lab</i> , <i>al-Tu'aylib</i> , <i>al-Ta'ālibī</i> (KN 129; MAAM 66), Bed. <i>Ta'lab</i> (Littmann 1921: 7), SG <i>Benī Tu'āl</i> (Beduinen 4 128b).
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§17. Other names/by-forms for fox in Ar./AAr.

<i>Turmula</i> “She-fox” as (m) name (Beiträge 80; CIK 2 554), Tham <i>Tṛmlh</i> (HIn 144).
<i>Hiğris</i> “Fox cub” and “Grivet” (Iṣṭiqāq 2: 329; Ikmāl 2: 270; Ma'lūf 1932: 119), SG <i>Hağāris</i> (pl.) (Beiträge 80), Bed/CAO <i>Hiğris</i> , <i>Hağras</i> as PN and FN, <i>Abū Hağras</i> as FN (Hess 1912: 52; Gaza, No. 14958, 15414).
<i>Habtār</i> “Fox” (Lisān 3: 12; Ikmāl 2: 23), nick. (KN 148).
Bed. <i>Hṣēnī</i> < <i>Huṣaynī</i> “Fennec” ³³⁷ (Littmann 1921: 8).

Wolf, jackal

§18. **ḏi'b*- “wolf” (SED 2, No. 72)

Akk./WS	NB <i>Zibā</i> , <i>Zi-ba-a</i> (with the hypoc. ending -a), <i>Zību</i> , <i>Zi-i-bu</i> , which also means “Vulture” (CAD Z 106; Nielsen 2015: 408).
Eb.	<i>Ḍi'bu</i> , <i>Ṣè-bù</i> , <i>Ṣè-ì-bu</i> , <i>Ḍi'(ba)-Dār</i> , <i>Zé-da-ar</i> “Dār is a wolf”, <i>Ḍi'ba-Qawm</i> , <i>Zé-ba-kam</i> ₄ “Qawm is a wolf”, <i>Ḍi'ba-dādum</i> , <i>Zi-īb-da-dum</i> “The beloved one is a wolf”, <i>Ḍi'ba-Dāmu/Ḍi'(ba)-Dāmu</i> , <i>Zi-īb/īb-damu</i> , <i>Zé-da-mu</i> “Damu is a wolf”, <i>Ḍi'bi-na'du</i> , <i>Zi-bi'?(NE)-na-da</i> “The exalted one is a wolf”, <i>Ḍi'bi-Ṣum</i> , <i>Zi-bu₁₆?(NI)-ṣum</i> “Ṣum (or the descendant) is a wolf”, <i>Ḍi'ba-Kubī</i> , <i>Zi-ba-gú-bí</i> “Kubī is a wolf”, <i>Ṣū-Ḍi'b-u</i> , <i>Zu-ṣè-bù</i> “He is a wolf”, <i>Ḍū-Ḍi'b-u</i> , <i>Zu-ṣè-bù</i> “Belonging to the wolf” (ARES 3 367, 384-5, 389).
Amor.	<i>Ḍi'batum</i> , <i>Ṣi-īb-a-tum</i> (or †§18), <i>Ḍi'bum</i> , <i>Zi-bu-um</i> , <i>Ḍi'bān</i> , <i>Zi-ba-an</i> , <i>Ḍi'batān</i> , [<i>Z</i>]i-ba-ta-an “Little wolf”, <i>Ḍi'biya</i> , <i>Zi-bi-ia</i> “Little wolf” (CAAA 364-65, sub √ <i>ṣb</i>); Streck 2000: §5.70, 5.79).
(N)WSC	<i>Zībatu</i> , <i>Ṣi-ba-tu</i> (NPN 304).
Heb.	<i>Ze'ēb</i> (Glatz 2001: 29).

³³⁶ In CAR., *ta'lab* applies to the male, *ta'laba* to the female, *tu'al/tu'āl* to both, and *tu'āla* to the female (Lisān 2: 100ff).

³³⁷ In CAR., *Abū al-Huṣayn/Hiṣn* (i.e., immune) is the fox's *kunya*/epithet (Lane 587a).

Aram.	OAr. <i>Di'bâ</i> , <i>Di-i'-ba-a</i> (Lipiński 1994: 210; PNA 382), Nab. <i>D'bw</i> , <i>D'ybw</i> (dimin.) (Cantineau 1932: 80).
AAr.	Sab. <i>D'bm</i> , <i>D'bn</i> (Tairan 1992: 115), Qat. <i>D'bm</i> , <i>D'ybm</i> , <i>'md'b</i> , meaning “The people/ancestor is a wolf” or “The people/ancestor has united” in view of Ar. <i>da'aba</i> “to collect” (POI 136-7, 197), Tham. His. <i>D'b</i> , Saf. <i>'d'b</i> , <i>D'b</i> , <i>D'bt</i> , <i>D'bn</i> (HIn 33, 246-7; ENAH 339; Shatnawi 2002: 689).
Ar.	<i>Dwyb</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 70), <i>Di'b</i> , <i>al-Di'ba</i> (f), <i>Di'āb</i> (pl.), <i>Du'ayb</i> , <i>Du'ayba</i> , <i>Dībān</i> (CIK 2 235, 237-8, Ištiqāq 48, 479; Ikmāl 2: 392, 3: 391-3, 5: 62), nick. <i>al-Di'b</i> , <i>Su'r al-di'b</i> “The wolf's remaining food” (KN 222; MAAM 310), Bed. <i>D/Dīb</i> , <i>D/D(i)yāb</i> (pl.), <i>D/Dībān</i> , <i>el-Dwēb</i> (dimin.), <i>Dwayyib</i> , <i>Dwayibe</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 24; Littmann 1921: 10), SG <i>al-Diyābīn</i> (pl.), <i>al-Diyābāt</i> (feminine pl.) (Beduinen 4 33), CAO <i>Dīb</i> , <i>Dībe</i> (f) (SAR 1, No. 2276, 3762), <i>Dībū</i> (plus the hypoc. -ū) (SAR 1, No. 3646, 7615), the compound names <i>Muḥammad-Dīb/Dīb</i> (SAR 1, No. 168, 2145, 20350), <i>Aḥmad-Dīb</i> and <i>Šīḥ-Dīb</i> (FN) (SAR 1, No. 7598, 10179), FN <i>Sālim-Dīb</i> ³³⁸ (Gaza, No. 16964), <i>Dyāb b. 'Imād b. Dyāb Abū Dyāb</i> (WB No. 50), FN <i>Dayyūb</i> (dimin.) (SAR 2, No. 333).

§19. Other names/by-forms for wolf/jackal

Akk. <i>Barbarum</i> “Wolf” [<Sum.] (CAD B 108), OAkk. <i>Bar-bar</i> , <i>Bar-bar-NI-ia</i> (MAD 3 101), OA <i>Barbarya</i> (Sturm 2000, fn. 16), OB <i>Ba-ar-ba-ru-um</i> , <i>Ba-ar-ba-ri</i> (gen.), <i>Bar-bar-tum</i> (Durand 1997, fn. 241; Kienast 1978 137: 6, seal; IPNOBS 54), MB <i>Bar-ba-ri</i> (PKTN 47), NA <i>Bar-bar-a-ni</i> (PNA 269), NB <i>Bar-ba-ru</i> (Nielsen 2015: 57).
Ar. <i>'Amallas</i> “Wolf” [by-form] (Ištiqāq 29, 561).
Ar. <i>'As'as</i> “Wolf” [by-form] (Ištiqāq 379).
Ar. <i>Du'āla</i> “Wolf” (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 59; CIK 2 238), nick. <i>Abū Du'āla</i> (Ikmāl 3: 91), Saf. <i>D'l</i> , <i>D'lh</i> , Sab. <i>D'ln</i> Sab. (HIn 247).
Ar. <i>M'āwyh</i> , <i>Mu'āwiya</i> , lit. “Howler” (i.e., dog, wolf, or jackal) (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 189; CIK 416), Sab. <i>M'wyt</i> , Saf., Tham. <i>M'wy</i> , (HIn 558), Nab. <i>'wyw</i> (PNNR 164), Palm. <i>'wy</i> (PNPI 71).
Ar. <i>Nahšal</i> “Wolf” (CIK 2 443; Al-Baḡdādī 2001 15: 588, No. 7252-3), nick. (KN 445).

³³⁸ On these compound names, see §5.5.2.

Ar. (<i>al-</i>) <i>Sid</i> “Wolf” ³³⁹ (Ištiqāq 190, 241, 537; CIK 2 512), <i>Sidān</i> (pl.) (Ikmāl 4: 376), His. <i>S¹d</i> , Saf. <i>S¹d</i> , <i>S¹dt</i> , <i>S¹dn</i> (or from <i>sadda</i> “close, do what was right”, <i>swd/sāda</i> “rule”, etc., <i>S¹d¹l</i> < <i>Sid-’Il</i> “Wolf of god” (?)) (ENAH 409; HIn 303, 313ff).
Ar. <i>Sirḥān</i> “Wolf” (Ištiqāq 537; CIK 2 514), Bed. <i>Sirḥān</i> , <i>Srēḥān</i> (Hess 1912: 28-9; Littmann 1921: 11), SG <i>Abū Sirḥān</i> (Beduinen 4 120b), CAO <i>Si/arḥān</i> is a popular PN and FN (e.g. SAR 1, No. 2846, 20143; UAE, No. 2011010801).
Ar. <i>Wa’wa’a</i> , lit. “Howler” (a hypoc. of <i>wa’wa’</i> , “dog, jackal, or wolf”) ³⁴⁰ (CIK 2 588; Ma’lūf 1932: 47).
Ar. (Bed./CAO) <i>Wāwī</i> “Jackal” (CAr. <i>ibnu āwā</i>) ³⁴¹ (Littmann 1921: 20), FN (Beduinen 4 131a; SAR 1, No. 10901; SAR 2, No. 21709; SAR 4, No. 3762; Gaza, No. 9025).

III. VARIOUS CARNIVORA

Bear

§20. **da/ubb-* (SED 2, No. 65)

Akk.	OB <i>Da-bi-tum</i> (AHw 148; Stamm 1939: 253), <i>Da-bi₄-ia</i> (OMA 191).
Amor. ³⁴²	<i>Dabi’um</i> , <i>Da-bi-um</i> , <i>Da-bi-ú-um</i> (CAAA, No. 1412; Durand 1997: 644 xii 20), <i>Dab’atum</i> , <i>Da-ab-a-tum</i> , <i>Dabi’atum/Dabyatum</i> , <i>Da-bi-a-tum</i> , <i>Dabiya</i> , <i>Da-bi-a</i> (Durand 1997: 603, n. 60; 650 iii 58; 655 vii 54), <i>Šumu-dabi(?)</i> , <i>Su-mu-da-bi</i> “Descendant of the bear” (?) (CAAA, No. 5628, normalized as <i>ṭajbi</i>) and <i>’Ammu-dabi</i> “The (paternal) ancestor is a bear” (Millet Albà 2000: 485 without textual references).
Ug.	<i>Dby</i> (Watson 2007: 109a).
Aram.	OAram. <i>Di-ib-ba-a</i> , <i>Dib-bu-ú-a</i> (Zadok 1977: 146). ³⁴³
AAr.	<i>Db</i> in Saf., His., and Tham. (HIn 233; ENAH 397; Shatnawi 2002: 685).

³³⁹ It also means “lion” in the dialect of Huḏayl tribe (Al-Sukkari n.d. 561).

³⁴⁰ This form is clearly related to √*ww/y* “to howl”, probably a metathesis. In Levantine Ar., *’aw* and *’aw’aw* are used in children talk for the dog (’Abd Al-Raḥīm 2012 2 1655).

³⁴¹ Cf. **VwVy* (SED 2, No. 21).

³⁴² Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

³⁴³ See also the discussion by Lipiński in ThWAT 9: 181-183.

Ar.	<i>Dubb</i> (m + f), <i>Dubayb</i> (Beiträge 80; CIK 2 233), Bed. <i>id-Dubb</i> (nick.) (Littmann 1921: 9), CAO <i>al-Dubayb/Dubīb</i> , <i>al-Dabdūb</i> (all FNs) (Al-Ġāsir 2001: 225; UAE, No. 19811712).
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§21. Another name for bear in ES

Asu [<Sum.] (CAD A/2 344), OA *A-sà-num*, *A-sí-a*, *A-sí-i-a* (OAPN 15; Sturm 2000, fn. 16), OB *Asum*, *Asatum* (f) (Millet Albà 2000: 484), MA *A-sa-ni* (OMA 96).

Eb. *Asu* (ARES 3 289).

Hyena

§22. *šab(u)- (SED 2, No. 220)

Amor.	^f <i>Zi-ib-a-tum</i> : could reflect <i>Šib'atum</i> "She-hyena" (Streck 2000: §4.7) or <i>Di'batum</i> "She-wolf" (↑ §18).
Heb.	<i>Šib'ōn</i> (Beiträge 79, Glatz 2001: 29).
AAr.	<i>Ḍb'</i> , <i>Ḍb't</i> , <i>Ḍb'n</i> in Saf., His., and Tham. (HIn 380; ENAH 425; Shatnawi 2002: 716), <i>Ḍb'</i> (f) in Qat. and (m) in Min., <i>Ḍb'm</i> (f/m) and <i>Ḍb'n</i> in Qat. (Schaffer 1981: 299; POI 182; Sholan 1999: 34, 112).
Ar. ³⁴⁴	<i>Ḍabu'</i> , <i>Ḍib'ān</i> , <i>Ḍubay'</i> , <i>Ḍubā'a</i> , <i>Ḍubay'a</i> , <i>Ḍubay'i</i> (Ištiqāq 552; CIK 2 24-3; Ikmāl 5: 220), Bed. <i>Ḍab'ān</i> (Littmann 1921: 13), SG: <i>Ḍabā'in</i> , <i>Abū Ḍbē'</i> (Al-Ġāsir 2001: 454; Beduinen 4 31), CAO <i>Ḍbē'</i> is attested only once as PN (SAR 4, No. 188, 22174), FN <i>al-Ḍab'a</i> , <i>Ḍab'ān</i> , <i>Abū Ḍbā'</i> (pl.), <i>Abū al-Ḍab'āt</i> (fem. pl.) (UAE, No. 2011013803, 20018918, 20035639; SAR 1, No. 46750; Gaza, No. 6546; WB, No. 382).

§23. Other names/by-forms for hyena in AAr./Ar.

<i>'Aylān</i> "Male hyena" (only eponymous) (CIK 2 149; Lane 2231a), Saf., Tham. <i>'ln</i> (?) (HIn 432; ENAH 437).
<i>Ḥam'</i> , <i>Ḥumā'a</i> (f) (Beiträge 79; Ikmāl 3: 190), Qat., Min. <i>Ḥm'</i> (PQI 131; Al-Said 1995: 100).
<i>Ḥaz'al</i> (also means a lame person) (Ištiqāq 560), Qat. <i>Ḥz'l</i> (POI 129), CAO <i>Ḥaz'al</i> as PN and FN (UAE, No. 20022705; SAR 1, No. 1234; SAR 4, No. 31235).

³⁴⁴ In CAR., *ḏabu'*, *ḏab'*, *ḏib'āna* are grammatically fem. and *ḏib'ān* masc. (Lisān 8: 17; Lane 766c).

<i>Hubayra</i> “Little hyena” (CIK 2 285; cf. <i>Hawbar</i> from the same root in ↑§12).
<i>Naʿtal</i> “Male hyena” (also fool, hairy person), nick. <i>Naʿtal Qurayš</i> (i.e., the third caliph ‘Utmān b. ‘Affān” (Ikmāl 1: 337; Lisān 14: 198; MAAM 328).

Mongoose/ichneumon

§24. *nam(V)š-* (in view of Ar. *nims* Lane 2854; cf. also the discussion in ↑4.1.1.3)

Amor.	<i>Namašu/Namišu, Na-ma/mi-ši, Na-mi-ša</i> (gen.), <i>Na-mi-šum</i> (?) (CAAA 26, No. 4996, 5003).
Ug.	(<i>bn</i>) <i>Nmš</i> (PTU 28, 167; Watson 2006: 449).
Heb.	<i>Nimši, Nmš, Nmšy</i> (IPN 230; PHIAP 100; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
AAr.	<i>Nms^l, Nms^lt</i> in Saf. His., and Tham. (HIn 600; ENAH 473).
Ar.	nick. <i>Yazīd al-nims</i> (Ibn Ḥazm n.d.: 372), Bed./CAO as FN <i>Nemsān, al-Nims</i> (Beduinen 4 96a; Gaza, No. 3444; UAE, No. 20012574).

§25. Another name for mongoose in Akk.

<i>Šikkū</i> ³⁴⁵ (CAD Š/2 434), OB <i>Ši-ik-ku-tum, Ši-ik-ka-tum</i> (YOS 13 18: 3, 102: 3), MB Emar <i>Šikkū</i> (Pruzsinzsky 2003: 97), N/LB <i>Sik-(ik-)ku-ú-a, Šik-ku-ú, Šik-ku-ut-tum</i> (Nielsen 2015: 368; NBN 180b), <i>Pani-šikkī</i> “Mongoose-face” (Stamm 1939: 371).

Whelp/cub

§26. **gūr-*, **gury/w-* (SED 2, No. 82)

Eb.	<i>Gūr-a, Gúl-la, Gūr-u, Gú-lu, Gul-lu</i> “Whelp of DN” (hypoc.), <i>Gūr-i, Gul-li</i> “Whelp of DN” (hypoc.), <i>Gūr-āy-u, Gú-ra-u₉</i> “Little whelp” or “Whelp-like”, <i>Guwayru, Gú-wa-lu, Gūr-Šil, Gú-ra-zil</i> “Whelp of protection”, <i>Gūr-rā-num, Gul-la-núm, Gūri-Li'im, Gul-li-im</i> “Whelp of Li'im”, <i>Gūr-'ab-u, Gur-a-bu₁₆</i> “Whelp of the father”, <i>Hū-gūra, Û-gú-ra</i> “He is a whelp” (PEb G, 57, 59, 64, 67, 68, 70; ARES 3 315, 372ff).
Amor. ³⁴⁶	<i>Gūratum, ŠGu-ra-tum, ŠGu-ra-tim</i> (gen.), <i>Gūru, Gu-ri</i> (gen.), <i>Gūriya, Gu-ri-ia</i> “Little whelp” (CAAA, No. 1783-86).
(N)WSC	<i>Gu-ra-ʾ, Gur-ra-a-a, Gu-ri-ia, Gur-u-u-a</i> (PNA 431ff).

³⁴⁵ Cf. **sVkk-* “kind of a small mammal” (SED 2, No. 193).

³⁴⁶ ↑4.1.1.2.1.

Aram.	OffAram. <i>Gwr, Gwry, Gwrw</i> (Lemaire 2002: 267; Porten and Yardeni 2014: 33ff; for an alternative explanation, see the discussion in ↑4.3.1.1, sub No. 34), Palm. <i>Gwr', Gwry</i> “My cub” (PNPI 81), Dura Γοραιοϛ, Γοραιο (f), Γοραϛ (?) (Grassi 2012: 181ff).
Ar.	<i>Ĝurw, Ĝurwa, Ĝurayy, Ĝurayya</i> (CIK 2: 266; Beiträge 78; Ikmāl 2: 99), nick. <i>Ibn al-Ĝurw</i> (Al-Şafadī 2000 11: 57), <i>al-Ĝurw, Ĝurw al-baḥḥā'</i> (a place in Mecca), <i>Ibn Ĝurayy</i> (MAAM 72, KN 138), Bed. <i>Ĝirw, Ĝrēw</i> (Hess 1912: 15; Littmann 1921: 7), SG <i>Āl al-Ĝarw</i> (Beduinen 4 36, 38), CAO <i>Ĝi/arwān</i> is found only once as a PN, while <i>al-Ĝarw</i> and <i>Ĝarwa</i> are rather common as FNs (UAE, No. 70063051, No. 20021326; Gaza, No. 13268; SAR 1, No. 47838).

§27. Another name for whelp/puppy

Akk. <i>Mi/ērānum, Mūrānum</i> “Puppy”, Oakk. <i>Mi-ra-num</i> (MAD 3 182), OA <i>Me-ra-ni</i> (OAPN 82), OB <i>Me-ra-nu-um</i> (ARM 16/1 153), <i>Me-ra-nu</i> (IPNOBS 209), <i>Mu-ra-nu-um</i> (?) (AHw 658), <i>ḿu-ra-na-tum</i> (Dalley 2009 377: 15), MB <i>Mu-ra-nu</i> (PKTN 143), MA <i>Mu-ra-ni-ia</i> (NPN 308a), <i>Mu-ra-nu, Uqâ-mūrāni, Ú-qa-mu-ra-ni</i> “I waited for my puppy” (OMA 330, 495), N/LB <i>Mu/mi-ra-nu, ḿu-ra-na-tum, Mūrānu-Gula, Mu-ra-nu-^dgu-la</i> “Puppy of Gula” (Nielsen 2015: 241; NBN 112ff).
Ug. <i>Mrnn</i> (?) (Watson 2006: 449).

IV. UNGULATES

Wild ungulates

§28 **arm-*, **arn-* “wild goat” (SED 2, No. 13)

Ug.	<i>Im, Um</i> (Watson 2007: 104).
Heb.	<i>'Arnān</i> (IPN 230).
(N)WSC	<i>Arnû</i> (f), <i>Ar-nu-u</i> (PNA 132).

§29. **arwiy-* “(wild) goat, gazelle” (SED 2, No. 18)

Akk.	Oakk. <i>Ar-bī-um, Ar-wi-um, Ar-wi-tum, Ar-bī-tum, Ar-bi-tum</i> (MAD 3 60), <i>Ar-wi-tum</i> (Heimpel 2009: 352), OB/OA <i>Ar-wi-um, ḿAr-wi-tum, ḿAr-wa-tum</i> , etc. (CAAA, No. 917ff; IPNOBS 43, OAPN 15), MB <i>Ar-mi-i, ḿAr-mi-ti</i> (gen.) (PKTN 39), NA <i>ḿAr-bi-tú</i> (PNA 128).
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(N)WSC	Emar 'Aryu (Pruzsinszky 2003: 154).
AAr.	Saf. 'rw, Sab. 'rwm, 'rwy (f) (HIn 38).
Ar.	Arwā (f) (pl. <i>urwiyya</i>) (Ištiqāq 80; Ikmāl 6: 314; see also ↑5.4.5), CAO the name is rather popular (e.g. UAE, No. 70047072; Gaza, No. 1583; WB, No. 888; SAR 1, No. 44192).

§30. *'ayyal- “stag, deer” (SED 2, No. 25)

Akk.	MB Emar <i>Ayyalu</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 75), MA <i>Ia-lu</i> , <i>ʿIa-li-ti</i> (gen.) (NPN 294b), NB <i>A-a-lu</i> (Joannès 1989, No. 338).
Eb.	<i>Ayalu</i> , <i>A-a-lu</i> , <i>A-a-lum</i> , <i>Ayalutu</i> , <i>ʿA-aʿa₅?(NI)-a-lu-du</i> , <i>Ayla(t)-šu</i> , <i>A-a-la-zu</i> “His satg” (ARES 3 273).
Amor. ³⁴⁷	<i>ʿAyyala</i> , <i>ʿA-ia-la</i> , <i>ʿAyyālum</i> , <i>A-ia-lum</i> , <i>ʿAyyālān</i> , <i>A-ia-la-an</i> (CAAA, No. 301-02; ARM 16/1 73; Streck 2000: §5.70; Golinets 2016: 68).
Ug.	(<i>bn</i>) <i>Ayl</i> , <i>Ayln</i> , <i>Aylt</i> , <i>A-ia-li</i> (PTU 27, 94).
Heb.	<i>Yālōn</i> < <i>ʿAyyālōn</i> (PHIAP 113).
AAr.	Saf. <i>ʿyl</i> (HIn 89).

§31. *bVb(b)- “a wild hoofed animal, wild sheep” (SED 2, No. 54)

Akk.	Oakk. <i>Bibbu</i> (uncertain names): ³⁴⁸ <i>Bí-bí</i> (gen.), <i>Bí-bí-a</i> , <i>Bibbī-il</i> , <i>Bí-bí-DINGIR</i> “The god is my wild sheep”, <i>Ea-bibbī</i> , <i>Éa-bí-bí</i> “Ea is my wild sheep”, <i>Bēlu(m)-bibbī</i> , EN- <i>bí-bí</i> “God/the lord is my wild sheep”, <i>Nārum-bibbī</i> , <i>ʿÍD-bí-bí</i> “The (divine) river is my wild sheep” (MAD 3 93ff), OB <i>Bibbi</i> (Millet Albà 2000: 484, without a textual reference), NB <i>Bi-ib-bu-ú-a</i> (Wunsch 2000 195: 14).
Eb.	<i>Bibb-ia</i> , <i>Bí-(NE)-bí-(NE)-a-a</i> , <i>Bibb-i</i> , <i>Bí(NE)-bí-(NE)</i> “My wild sheep” (ARES 3 292).

§32. *badan*- “old ibex” (in view of Ar.; cf. Lane 169b)

Heb.	<i>Bədān</i> (PHIAP 97).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>Bdn</i> (? < Ar.) (Porten and Yardeni 2014: 14).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Bdn</i> (?) (HIn 98).

³⁴⁷ Cf. ↑4.1.1.4, 4.1.2.4.

³⁴⁸ The Oakk. names are apparently not accepted in CAD B 217-19 and AHw 124.

Ar.	<i>Badan, Budayn</i> (Iṣṭiqāq 340; CIK 2 218).
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§33. *ḡVzāl- “gazelle” (SED 2, No. 92)

Akk.	<i>Huzālum</i> , OA <i>Ḥu-za-lá</i> (Bilgic and Bayram 1995 4: 4; 26: 6; 49: 2), OB <i>Ḥu-za-lum</i> , <i>Ḥu-za-la-tum</i> (IPNOBS 99; ARM 16/1 110), <i>Uzālum</i> , <i>U-za-lum</i> (Harris 1955 13: 5), MB <i>Ḥu-za-li</i> , <i>Ḥu-za-lu</i> , <i>U-za-li</i> (gen.) (PKTN 86, 233), NA <i>Ḥu-za-lu</i> , <i>Ḥu-za-la</i> , <i>Ḥu-za-li</i> (gen.) (PNA 484), N/LB <i>Ḥu-za-lu</i> (Nielsen 2015: 140; NBN 68a).
Eb.	<i>Ġuzālu</i> , <i>Ḥu-za-lu</i> (ARES 3 319).
Amor. ³⁴⁹	<i>Ġazāla</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-la</i> (Streck 2000: §2.95, 5.22), <i>Ġazālum</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-lum</i> (ARM 22 160), <i>A-za-lu-um</i> , <i>A-za-lum</i> , <i>Az-za-lum</i> (CAAA, No. 574-76), <i>Ġazāliya</i> , <i>A-sa-li-ja</i> , <i>A-za-la-ia</i> , <i>A-za-li-ia</i> “Little gazelle” (CAAA, No. 516, 571, 573), <i>Ġazālī</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-li</i> “My gazelle” (or hypoc.) (OBTR 307: 2’).
(N)WSC	<i>Ġazālu(m)</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-lum</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-la</i> , <i>Ḥa-za-li</i> , <i>Ġazālā</i> , <i>^{m+f}Ḥa-za-la-a</i> (PNA 469).
Ug.	(bt) <i>Ḥzli</i> , <i>Ḥu-zi-la-a</i> , <i>Ḥa-zi-lu</i> , <i>Ġzly</i> (PTU 28: 140; Watson 2007: 94).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Ġzlt</i> , Dad. <i>Ġzln</i> , Qat. <i>Ġzl</i> (f), Sab. <i>Ġzylm</i> (HIn 454f; POI 207).
Ar.	<i>Ġazāl</i> , <i>Ġazāla</i> (f), <i>Ġuzayl</i> , <i>al-Ġuzayyil</i> (CIK 2 274, 276; Ikmāl 7: 2), nick. <i>Ġazāl</i> , <i>Ibn ‘ayn al-ḡazāl</i> , lit. “The son of the gazelle’s eye” (MAAM 232; Ikmāl 7: 22), Bed. <i>Ġazāl</i> , <i>Ġazale</i> (f), <i>Ġzayyil</i> (f) (Littmann 1921: 16; Hess 1912: 43), SG <i>Ġazālāt</i> (fem. pl.), <i>Ġazāliyin</i> (pl.) (Beduinen 4 48a), CAO <i>Ġazāla/e</i> (f) is rather frequent, particularly in Syria (SAR 1, No. 44557, 45211; UAE, No. 0114166), <i>Ġazāl</i> is found as FN and less as (m) PN, e.g. <i>Ibrāhīm b. Ġazāl Ġazāl</i> (SAR 1, No. 728, 4099, 17495).

§34. *ḡ/Vpr- “young of ungulate” (SED 2, No. 88)

Heb.	<i>‘Ēper</i> , <i>‘Oprā</i> (f) “Young fallow deer” (IPN 230; PHIAP 93).
AAr.	Saf. <i>’fr</i> , His. <i>’fry/w</i> , Sab. <i>Y’fr</i> (HIn 56, 676; ENAH 435), His. <i>Ġfirt</i> (ENAH 444).
Ar. ³⁵⁰	<i>’fyr</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 4), <i>Ya’fūr</i> , <i>Ya’fur</i> “Dusty-white antelope” (CIK 2 589; Ikmāl 7: 434, 436), <i>Yu’fur</i> , <i>Ya’fūr</i> (also the name of the Prophet’s donkey), <i>‘Ufayr</i> , <i>‘Ufayra</i> (f), <i>al-A’far</i> , <i>‘Ufār</i> (Ibn Ḥazm. n. d.: 209; Ikmāl 6: 228; Lisān 9:

³⁴⁹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

³⁵⁰ Some of the ‘-f-r names in CAr. could also mean “dusty”.

	282ff), <i>Ġufra</i> , <i>Ġufayr</i> “Little wild goat” (CIK 2 275; Ikmāl 6: 228), Bed. <i>el-‘Öfri</i> (f), <i>‘Öfēri</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 40).
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§35. **ri’m-* “aurochs, gazelle” (SED 2, No. 186)

Eb.	<i>Rīma</i> , <i>Rí-ma</i> , <i>Rīntu</i> , <i>ʿRí-in-du</i> (ARES 3 231, 359).
Akk.	Oakk. <i>Ri-im-Ḫaniš</i> “Wild bull of DN”, <i>Rīmuš</i> , <i>Rí-mu-uš</i> “His wild bull”, OB <i>Rīm-Sin/Adad/Ištar/Ninurta/Nūnu/ili</i> , etc. “Wild bull of DN”, <i>Addu/Ea/Sîn-rīm-ilī</i> “DN is the wild bull of gods”, <i>Sîn-rīm-Urim</i> “DN is the wild bull of Ur”, <i>Ištar-rīmti-ilī</i> “DN is the wild cow of gods”, <i>Aya-rīmti-ilātīm</i> “DN is the wild cow of goddesses”, <i>Aya-rīmtum</i> “DN is the wild cow”, <i>ʿRīmtum</i> , <i>Rīmum</i> (abbr. or hypoc), MA <i>Aššur-rīm-nišēšu</i> “DN is the wild bull of his people”, MB <i>Rīmu</i> , <i>Ri-i-mi</i> (gen.), NA <i>Ri-mi-ia</i> , <i>Ri-mu-u-a</i> (abbr. or hypoc.) (CAD R 359b, 361-62; Bowes 1987: 1167-8 for more OB names).
AAr.	<i>R’m</i> in Saf., Tham., and Had. (HIn 262).
Ar.	<i>Ri’m</i> , <i>Rīm</i> (m + f) “White antelope” (Gratzl 1906: 53), <i>al-Ru’aym</i> , <i>Ruwaym</i> , <i>Riyām</i> (pl.) (CIK 2 491), Bed. <i>Rīmān</i> (also a name of a camel) (Hess 1912: 27), CAO <i>Rīm</i> (f) and <i>Rīmā</i> (f) are rather frequent (e.g. UAE, No.19802809; Gaza, No. 5775-6; SAR 1, No. 48150).

§36. **ṭaby(-at)* “gazelle, antelope” (SED 2, No. 242)

Amor. ³⁵¹	<i>Šabiyatum</i> , <i>ʿŠa-bi-ia-tum</i> , <i>Šabī</i> , <i>ʿŠa-bī</i> (ARM 23 236: 57; CAAA, No. 6343).
Heb.	<i>Šibyā</i> (f/m), <i>Šby</i> , <i>Šby’</i> (f) (PHIAP 84; Rechenmacher 2012: 171; Stamm 1980: 125).
Aram.	O/OffAram. <i>Ṭby</i> , <i>Ṭa-bi-i/ia</i> , <i>Ṭbyw</i> (Zadok 1977: 142; Maraqtan 1988: 168; Porten and Yardeni 2014: 39), provided they are not the abbreviated forms of a compound name with the element <i>ṭāb</i> “good”. The fem. counterpart <i>Ṭabitā</i> (i.e., clearly the Aram. form) was apparently reasonably frequent in Roman Palestine (cf. Acts 9: 36-40). Nab. <i>Šbyw</i> (Cantineau 1932: 138), if related to this root, is presumably Arabian, otherwise the /t/ would have been written. It could also be from Ar./Aram. <i>šby</i> “to desire” or Ar. “to be young”.
AAr.	<i>Ṭby</i> in Saf. and Min., <i>Ṭbym</i> in Qat. and Sab., <i>Ṭbyn</i> in Min., Qat., and Sab. (HIn

³⁵¹ Cf. †4.1.1.2.2.1.

	391; POI 184-5).
Ar.	<i>Zaby</i> , <i>Zabya</i> (f), <i>Za/ibyān</i> (Ištiqāq 495; CIK 2 613; Ikmāl 5: 247, 251-2), <i>Zubayya</i> (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), <i>Abū Zabyān</i> (Ikmāl 2: 156, 5: 248), Bed. <i>Zabī</i> (f), <i>Zabye</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 37), CAO <i>Zabya/e</i> (f) is quite frequent, particularly in the Gulf States and Syria (e.g. UAE, No. 20001474, 20005147; SAR 1, No. 8157, 26762), <i>Zabyān</i> is attested only once (SAR 2, No. 19300).

§37. *w/ya‘il- “ibex” (SED 2, No. 244)

Amor. ³⁵²	<i>Ya‘ilā</i> , <i>ʿIa-ḥi-la</i> , <i>ʿIa-i-la</i> , <i>ᵐIa-i-la</i> , <i>Ya‘ilatūm</i> , <i>ʿIa-ḥi-la-tūm</i> , <i>ʿIa-ḥi-la-tim</i> (gen.), <i>Ya‘ilān(u)</i> (tribe), <i>Ja-ḥi-la-n</i> , <i>Ja-ḥi-la-nu</i> (CAAA, No. 3263-65, 3272, 3859, 3863; Streck 2000: §5.70).
Ug.	<i>Yʿl</i> (PTU 28; Watson 2006: 448).
Heb.	<i>Yā‘ēl</i> (f), <i>Ya‘ālā</i> , <i>Yʿl</i> , <i>Yʿly</i> (IPN 30; PHIAP 100; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Aram.	OArām. <i>Ya‘ilā</i> , <i>Ia-(-)la-a/ʿ</i> (?) (Zadok 1977: 115, 317), OffAram. <i>Wʿlw</i> (Maraqten 1988: 156).
AAr.	<i>Wʿl</i> , <i>Wʿlt</i> , <i>Wʿln</i> in Saf. His., and Tham. (HIn 645; ENAH 482), Had. <i>ʿwʿlm</i> (f) < <i>Awʿālum</i> (pl.) (Sholan 1999: 32, 101).
Ar.	<i>Waʿla</i> (m + f), <i>Waʿlān</i> , <i>Mawʿala</i> “A land having ibexes” (Ištiqāq 350; CIK 2 405, 586), CAO only FN <i>Āl Waʿlān</i> , <i>al-Waʿil</i> (Al-Ġāsir 2001: 865; UAE, No. 70065623).

§38. Other names for wild ungulates

* <i>dayš-</i> “(male) cloven-hoofed animal” (SED 2, p. 287 without a translation): Akk. <i>Daššu</i> , <i>Da-áš-si</i> , <i>Da-si</i> “Buck” (MAD 3 115), Heb. <i>Dišōn</i> “Addax” (Glatz 2001: 29), Ug. <i>Taʿasi</i> , <i>t[a]-ʿa-si</i> , translated as “Buck” in view of Akk. <i>daššu</i> (Watson 2007: 106) seems irrelevant.
* <i>talāy-</i> “kid, lamb” (SED 2, No. 232): Saf. <i>Ṭlw</i> , Dan. <i>Ṭly</i> “Fawn” ³⁵³ (HIn 389).
Akk. <i>lulīmu</i> “stag, red deer” (CDA 185) in theophoric names: <i>Ilīma-lūlim</i> “My god is truly (the) red deer” and <i>Ilum-lūlim</i> “The god is the red deer” (Bowes 1987: 1043).
Oakk./Amor. <i>Meme-turāḥ</i> , <i>Me-me-tu-ra-aḥ</i> “Meme (i.e., DN) is ibex” (MAD 3 299), <i>ʿAlli-turāḥ</i> , <i>ʿAl-li-tu-ra-aḥ</i> “DN is ibex”, <i>ʿAlli-turāḥi</i> , <i>ʿAl-li-tu-ra-ḥi</i> “DN is my ibex” (CAAA 563,

³⁵² Cf. †4.1.2.1.

³⁵³ In CAR., *talā* signifies the young one of any of the cloven-hoofed animals, especially the gazelle when just born (Lane 1875).

No. 711-12). ³⁵⁴ Heb. <i>Tirḥānā</i> (?) (PHIAP 77-8).
AAr. <i>S²sr</i> “Young gazelle” ³⁵⁵ in Saf., Hism., Tham., and Sab., <i>’s²sr</i> in His. (probably pl.) (HIn 348; Shatnawi 2002: 709; ENAH 360).
Ar. <i>Buḥṭa</i> “Oryx” (Beiträge 83), Sab., Qat. <i>Bḥṭm</i> (HIn 123), provided it is not from <i>bḥt</i> “great, stranger, alien” (Beeston <i>et al.</i> 1982: 27).
Ar. <i>Farqad</i> “Little wild cow”, <i>Farāqid</i> (pl.) (Beiträge 48).
Bed. <i>el-’Önūd</i> (f) “She-gazelle” (which leads the herd) (Hess 1912: 41).
Ar. <i>Ḥansā’</i> (f) “Oryx” (Gratzl 1906: 53; Ikmāl 10: 870a), CAO (e.g. WB, No. 8634, 8965; SAR 3, No. 21067).
Ar. <i>Ḥawla</i> (f) “She-gazelle” (Gratzl 1906: 53; Ikmāl 10: 870a), CAO (e.g. WB, No. 8758, 8786; UAE, No. 5588, 563868; SAR 2, No. 1309).
Ar. <i>Ḥiṣf</i> “Fawn” (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 1724; Lane 743b), <i>Ḥuṣayf</i> (CIK 2 349), Had. <i>Ḥṣyfm</i> (or < <i>ḥaṣīf</i> “sharp sword”?) (HIn 222), Nab. <i>Ḥṣpw</i> (?) (PNNR 166).
Ar. <i>Mahā</i> (f) “Oryx, Gzaelle” (Al-Iṣbahānī 1984: 205), Bed. (f) (Hess 1912: 49), CAO a frequent (f) name (e.g. WB, No. 1125, 1159; UAE, No. 203, 652).
Ar. <i>Raša’/ā</i> “Fawn” (Ibn Al-Ġazrī 2006 1: 258), Sab. <i>Rš’y</i> (HIn 278), Tham. <i>Rš’t</i> (Shatnawi 2002: 695), CAO <i>Rašā</i> (f) (UAE, No. 1311, 4920; WB, No. 1288, 1446; Gaza, No. 6126; SAR 2, No 35, 960).
Ar. <i>Šādin</i> (f) “Fawn, Young gazelle” (Al-Waššā’ 1953: 223; Lane 1521a), CAO (e.g. SAR 1, No. 51525, 55326).

Equids

§39. **ar(ā)d-* “wild ass, onager” (SED 2, No. 37)³⁵⁶

Amor.	‘ <i>Arādum</i> , <i>Ḥa-ra-di-im</i> (gen.), ‘ <i>Arādān</i> , <i>Ḥa-ra-da-an</i> ‘ <i>Ardāya</i> , <i>Ḥa-ar-da-ia</i>
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³⁵⁴ Golinets (2016: 80ff) argues that these two names are Hurrian, meaning “starke Herrin”, and that the Akk. term for ibex *turāḥ* (CAD T 483ff; AHW 1372) could be a Sum. loanword (cf. also SED 2, p. 17). On the other hand, the Syr. term *trḥ/trḥ’* (Brockelmann 1928: 834) is considered an Akk. loanword (Landsberger 1934: 94).

³⁵⁵ Cf. Ug. *ṭsr* (Watson 2007: 69).

³⁵⁶ On the zoological designation and connotations of this animal, see the discussion by Beyer in ThWAT 9: 593-594.

	(CAAA, No. 1955, 2081). ³⁵⁷
Can-Heb.	MB Emar <i>‘Arādi</i> , <i>Ḥa-ra-di</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 152), NA <i>‘Ārād</i> (IPN 230; PHIAP 78), <i>A-ra-di</i> (Zadok 1977: 120).
AAr.	Saf., Dad. <i>‘rd</i> , Min. <i>‘rdn</i> (HIn 415).
Ar.	<i>Banū ‘Urayd</i> (Ištiqāq 552), Bed. <i>‘Erēd</i> , <i>‘Ardān</i> , <i>‘Āraydān</i> (?) (Hess 1912: 39). ³⁵⁸

§40. **‘ayr-* “(young) donkey” (SED 2, No. 50)

Eb.	<i>‘Ayirutu</i> (f) (ARES 3 279).
Amor. ³⁵⁹	GN <i>A-ia-ri-im</i> (gen.) (Charpin 1993: 188, A.2939:29; Golinets 2016: 61).
Can-Heb.	<i>‘Īrā(m)</i> , <i>‘Īrī</i> , <i>‘Īrū</i> , <i>‘yrm</i> , <i>‘yr</i> (PHIAP 145; Rechenmacher 2012: 171; Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 221), MB Emar <i>‘Ayarū</i> , <i>A-ia-ru</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 150), provided it is not from <i>ayyaru</i> I “flower” or <i>ayyaru</i> II “young man”, both being attested as PNs (AHw 24-5).
AAr.	Qat. <i>‘rm</i> (?), provided it is not based on “mountain, boundary crain” (POI 188; Beeston <i>et al</i> 1982: 19), Saf. and His. <i>‘r</i> (HIn 414; ENAH 432). ³⁶⁰

§41. *gaḥś/š* “young ass/gazelle” (in view of Ar.; the Amor. form is highly uncertain, cf. ↑4.1.1.2.1)

Amor.	<i>Ga-aḥ-šu</i> , <i>Ga-ḥa-šum</i> , <i>Ga-ḥa-šum</i> (CAAA, No. 1705, 1734).
AAr.	Saf., Dad., His. <i>Gḥs²</i> , <i>Gḥs²t</i> (HIn 153; ENAH 379).
Ar.	<i>Ġaḥš</i> (Al-Aṣma‘ī 1989: 185), <i>Ġaḥwaš</i> , <i>Ġiḥāš</i> (pl.) (CIK 2 255, 262), nick. <i>Ġuḥayš</i> (KN 134), Bed. <i>Ġaḥš</i> , <i>‘Ġḥayš</i> (Littmann 1921: 7; Hess 1912: 14), SG <i>Benī Ġaḥš</i> , <i>Āl Ġaḥšān</i> (Beduinen 4 34b).

§42. **ḥimār-* “donkey” (SED 2, No. 98)

Akk.	Oakk. <i>I-ma-ru-um</i> , <i>E-ma-ru-um</i> (MAD 3 47), MA <i>I-ma-ru</i> (<i>rāb</i> Arraphajē “chief”) (NAOMA 64), NA <i>I-ma-ri-i</i> (either hypoc. or “From Emar”), <i>I-ma-a-ru</i>
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³⁵⁷ Names of the *qatl* form, i.e., *‘ard-* (CAAA 96), are dubious, as they may represent Akk. (*w*)*ardum* “slave” (Golinets 2016: 61, fn. 13). Alternatively, they could be connected to the wide scope of Ar. *√rd* (cf. the fn. below).

³⁵⁸ These names could also reflect other derivations of *√rd*, e.g., *‘ard* “hard, strong”, *‘arid* “distant”, *‘arād-* plant (Lane 1998).

³⁵⁹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.1.

³⁶⁰ Saf. *‘r* “ass” is independently attested outside the onomasticon (Al-Jallad 2015: 203).

	(PNA 538).
Amor.	<i>Ḫimārum</i> , <i>Ḫi-ma-rum</i> (CAAA No. 2276-77; Streck 2000: §5.30), <i>Ḫi-ma-ra-ti</i> (ARM 16/1 108) reflects either <i>Ḫimāratu</i> “Little ass” or <i>Ḫimmara-tum</i> > <i>’Immaratum</i> “Little sheep” (↓§62).
(N)WSC	MB Emar <i>Ḫi-ma-rum</i> (Pruzsinzsky 2003: 162), NA <i>Ḫi-ma-ru</i> , <i>Ḫi-ma-ri-i</i> (hypoc.) (PNA 472), N/LB <i>Ḫi-ma-ri-ia</i> (Zadok 1977: 130).
Heb.	<i>Ḥamōr</i> (Glatz 2001: 29).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Ḥmr</i> , <i>Ḥmrn</i> , Dad. <i>Ḥmrm</i> , His. <i>Ḥmrt</i> , Qat., Sab. <i>Ḥmrm</i> (HIn 200; ENAH 391); alternatively, these could denote the color <i>aḥmar</i> “red” or the meaning “to be strong” in view of <i>Ḥumar</i> and <i>Ḥumrān</i> (CIK 2 332-3).
Ar.	<i>Ḫimār</i> , <i>Ḫumayr</i> , <i>Ḫumayyir</i> (Beiträge 81; CIK 2 324, 332), nick. (KN 159), Bed. <i>Ḫimār</i> , <i>Ḫmayyir</i> (Musil 1928: 244; Littmann 1949: 14).

§43. **kawdan*- “mule” (SED 2, No. 124)

Akk.	<i>Kūdanu(m)</i> , <i>Gu-da-núm</i> , <i>Ku-da-núm</i> , <i>Gu-da-ni</i> (MAD 3 142), OA <i>Ku-da-nim</i> (gen.) (OAPN 72), MA <i>Ku-da-na-ia</i> (OMA 294).
Amor.	OB <i>Kūdinna</i> (f), <i>Kūdunnu</i> , <i>Kūdinān</i> (Millet Albà 2000: 486, but without textual references).
Ug.	(bn) <i>Kdn</i> (PTU 28).
Ar.	<i>Kawdan</i> (Ikmāl 2: 320).

§44. **muhr*- “foal” (SED 2, No. 149)

Akk.	Oakk. <i>ḪMur-tum</i> (Heimpel 2009: 355), OA <i>Mu-ra-a</i> (OAPN 82), NA <i>Mūr-Aia</i> , <i>Mu-ri-ia</i> (PNA 770), N/LB <i>Mu-ú-ru</i> (NBN 113b).
Eb.	<i>Muhra</i> , <i>Mu-ra</i> , <i>Muhr-iya</i> , <i>Mu-rí-ia</i> (hypoc.), <i>Muhriš</i> , <i>Mu-rí-iš</i> “Foal-like”, <i>Muhr-ī</i> , <i>Mu-rí</i> “My foal” (ARES 3 352).
Amor. ³⁶¹	<i>Mūru-Dagan</i> , <i>Mu-ru-^dda-gan</i> “Foal of Dagan” (ARM 16/1 156; Golinets 2016: 73), <i>Mūru-’Aštar</i> , <i>Mu-ru-x-iš_g-tár</i> “Foal of ‘Aštar” (IPNOBS 212).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Mhr</i> (?) (PNPI 93).

³⁶¹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.2.

AAr.	Saf. <i>Mhr</i> , <i>Mhrt</i> , ³⁶² <i>Mhr'l</i> , either <i>Muhr-Il</i> “Foal of god” or the verbal form <i>Ma-har-Il</i> (HIn 571).
Ar.	<i>Ibn Muhayr</i> (Ikmāl 7: 101).

§45. **par(a)*'- “wild ass” (SED 2, No. 176)

Eb.	<i>Par'-ī</i> , <i>Bar-i</i> “My wild ass/onager” (ARES 3 228; PEb B 27).
Ug.	<i>Pri</i> , <i>Pru</i> (PTU 28; Watson 2006: 446).
Can-Heb.	<i>Pir'ām</i> (Layton 1990: 179; Glatz 2001: 29).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Pr'</i> (PNNR 164). ³⁶³
AAr.	Saf. <i>Fr'</i> , <i>Fr'n</i> (HIn 464).
Ar.	<i>Farān</i> (< <i>farā</i>) (CIK 2 245).

§46. **paras/š* “horse” (SED 2, No. 182).

Aram.	Nab. <i>Prs'</i> (PNNR 167).
AAr.	<i>Frs^l</i> in Dad., Saf., ³⁶⁴ His., and Sab. (HIn 465; ENAH 446).
Ar.	<i>al-Faras</i> (CIK 2 245).

§47. **sVwsVw*- “horse” (SED 2, No. 199)

Akk.	OA <i>Sisiya</i> , <i>Zi-zi-ia</i> (Sturm 2000, fn. 16), NA <i>Zi-zi</i> (?) (Radner 2002 204: 5'), N/LB <i>Sisu</i> , ANŠE-KUR.RA (Graziani 1991 24: 11), <i>Si-si-i</i> , <i>Si-si-ia</i> (Wunsch 2000 194: 18, 78: 13).
Ug.	<i>Ssw</i> , <i>Susuwa</i> , <i>Ššw</i> (PTU 28, 186; Watson 2006: 446).
Heb.	<i>Sūsi</i> (PHIAP 143; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Sws'</i> (PNPI 101)

§48. Other names for equids

* <i>atān</i> - “donkey-mare” (SED 2, No. 19): Ug. <i>Atn</i> (Watson 2006: 446).
* <i>bağ/ql</i> - “mule” (SED 2, No. 55): Saf. <i>Bğl</i> (HIn 113), Ar. <i>Bağl</i> , <i>Buğayl</i> CIK 2 220; Ikmāl 1:

³⁶² Or names such as *Mahra*, *Māhir*, and *Mahrī*, etc. (CIK 2).

³⁶³ It could be Arabian, though. Beyer (ThWAT 9: 593), for instance, suggests the word was not native to Aram.

³⁶⁴ Saf. *frs^l* “horse” is independently attested outside the onomasticon (Al-Jallad 2015: 203). Yet some of these AAr. names could reflect *Fāris*, *Firās*, etc.

337), Bed. <i>Bağl</i> (Littmann 1921: 6).
* <i>paḥl</i> - “stallion, ass”: ³⁶⁵ Ar. <i>al-Faḥl</i> (CIK 2 244).
* <i>pVlw/y</i> - “foal, colt” (SED 2, No. 174): Tham., His. <i>Flw</i> (HIn 472; ENAH 448), Ar. <i>al-Filw</i> (nick.) (Ikmāl 7: 55), Bed. <i>Filw</i> , <i>Filwa</i> (f) (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16).
* <i>pi/ard</i> “an equid” (SED 2, No. 177): Ug. <i>Prd</i> “Mule”, <i>Prdn</i> , <i>Prdny</i> (f) (PTU 28; Watson 2006: 446).
Akk. <i>Agālu</i> “(kind of) equid”: OAkk./OB <i>’Ā-ga-lum</i> , <i>A-ga-la</i> (CAD A/1 141; TCL 10 118: 4), MB <i>A-ga-li</i> (PKTN 21).
Ug. <i>Udr(n)</i> , <i>Dwn</i> , and <i>Gmz</i> , all are thought to denote “kind of horses” (?) (Watson 2007: 108).
Nab. <i>’lḡ</i> “Wild ass” (? <Ar. <i>’lḡ</i>) (PNNR 164).
Ar. <i>Aḥdari</i> “Onager” (patronym) (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 315).
Ar. <i>Tawlab</i> “Young ass, Foal” (Ištiqāq 184; CIK 2 545), Saf., Dad. <i>Tlb</i> (?) (HIn 135).
Ar. (Bed.) <i>Ḥṣayin</i> “Little horse” (< <i>ḥiṣān</i>) (Hess 1912: 18).
Ar. <i>Qarm</i> , <i>Quraym</i> “Stallion” (Beiträge 93).
Ar. <i>Miṣḥal</i> “Ass” (Beiträge 81; CIK 2 409), <i>Ibn/Abū Miṣḥal</i> (Ikmāl 7: 194).
Ar. <i>Nawṣ</i> “Wild ass” (CIK 2 447; Lane 2868), Saf. <i>Nṣ</i> and His. <i>Nṣt</i> (HIn 590), or from * <i>na/iṣ(ṣ)</i> - (↓§97).
Ar. <i>Ṣa’da</i> (f) “Donkey-mare” (also a GN) (Al-Aṣma’ī 1989: 185), His. <i>Ṣ’dt</i> , which may also denote “high land” (ENAH 423).

Camel

§49. **ibil*- (SED 2, No. 2)

Ug.	<i>Ibln</i> (Watson 2006: 447).
Heb.	<i>’bl</i> (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 217).
AAr.	Saf. <i>’bln</i> (HIn 15), Qat. <i>’bln</i> and <i>’bl</i> , either <i>aqtal</i> form or <i>Ābil</i> “Cameleer” (POI 53, 62).

³⁶⁵ I suggest this PS root in view of Ug. *pḥl* (Watson 2007: 107), Akk. *puḥālu* (CAD P 479), Syr. *pḥal*, *pahlā* (Brockelmann 1928: 562), and Ar. *faḥl* (Lane 2346a).

§50. *bV'Vr- “household animal, beast of burden, camel” (SED 2, No. 53)

Heb.	<i>Be'or</i> , <i>Ba'ārā</i> (f), <i>B'r'</i> (PHIAP 81).
Aram.	OAr. <i>B'r</i> (Maraqten 1988: 142), OffAram. <i>B'rm</i> (Lemaire 2002: 267), Dura <i>Βαεπις</i> (?) (Grassi 2012: 153).
AAr.	<i>'b'r</i> in Saf., <i>B'rn</i> , <i>B'r</i> in Qat. His., and Tham. (HIn 13, 111; ENAH 369; POI 98).
Ar.	<i>Ba'ūra</i> (CIK 2 225), nick. <i>Ibn al-Ba'ir</i> (Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 1: 339).

§51. *bV'kVr(at) “young (she-)camel” (SED 2, No. 56)

Heb.	Heb. <i>Beker</i> , <i>Bikri</i> , <i>Bkry</i> (PHIAP 78; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Aram.	<i>Bkrw</i> as (m) in Nab. and (f) in Palm. (PNNR 165; PNPI 9, 76), OSyr. <i>Bkry</i> (Drijvers and Healey 1999: As8: 3).
AAr.	<i>Bkr</i> in Tham. and Saf., and His., <i>Bkrm</i> in Had. and Min. (HIn 114; Shatnawi 2002: 565).
Ar.	<i>Bkr</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 260), <i>Bakr</i> , <i>Bakri</i> , <i>Bukayr</i> , <i>Abū Bakr</i> (CIK 2 123, 223, 229; Iṣṭiqāq 50; Ikmal 3: 87, 4: 316), <i>'Abd Bakr</i> (see ↑5.3), CAO <i>Bakr</i> is rather popular, beside <i>Bū-Bakr</i> and <i>Abū Bakr</i> as PNs not <i>kunya</i> (Gaza 206; UAE, No. 70064086).

§52. *gam(a)l- (SED 2, No. 79)

Heb.	<i>Gmalli</i> , either denotes <i>gāmāl</i> “camel” (plus the suffix <i>-i</i>) or a hypoc. of a name like <i>Gamali'ēl</i> , from √ <i>gml</i> “to wean, benefit” (PHIAP 28; see also Beyer 2004: 731, s.v. <i>Gml'</i>).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Gmlw</i> (PNNR 164), Palm. <i>Gml'</i> (PNPI 82), Dura <i>Γαμλ</i> (<Ar. <i>gamal</i>) (Gzella 2015a: 462b).
AAr.	<i>Gml</i> , <i>Gmlt</i> , <i>Gmlm</i> , <i>Gmln</i> in Tham., His., Saf., Qat., and Sab. (Shatnawi 2002: 667; ENAH 383; HIn 167).
Ar.	<i>Ġamal</i> (CIK 2 256; Iṣṭiqāq 413), nick. <i>Ġamal</i> (common), <i>Abū al-Ġamal</i> , <i>Ibn al-Ġamal</i> , <i>Ġamal al-layl</i> “Camel of night” (KN 71, 141-2; MAAM 75-6), Bed. <i>Ġamal</i> , <i>Ġimel</i> , <i>Ġamlā</i> (Hess 1912: 16), CAO only found among the older generations (grandfathers) and as FN (UAE, No. 70129478, 20036667; Gaza, No. 689).

§53. Other names/by-forms for camel

Ug. <i>illm</i> (f), <i>I-la-la-[a]m</i> (Watson 2007: 94).
Palm <i>ʔply</i> and Saf./His. <i>ʔfl</i> probably reflect Ar. <i>āfil</i> “young camel” (PNPI 72; HIn 59; ENAH 362).
Ar. <i>Ḥuwār</i> “Young camel” (CIK 2 337), Nab. <i>Ḥwrw</i> , <i>Ḥwyrw</i> (PNNR 165), <i>Ḥwr</i> in Dad., His., Tham., and Saf., <i>Ḥwrn</i> (HIn 208; ENAH 392; Shatnawi 2002: 679). ³⁶⁶
Tham. <i>Gršʕ</i> may reflect Ar. <i>ǧuršuʕ</i> “large camel/horse” (Shatnawi 2002: 665).
Ar. <i>ʿAdabbas</i> “Strong camel” (Ištiqāq 379), <i>ʿAns</i> “Strong she-camel” (nick.) (Ištiqāq 415; CIK 2 190), <i>ʿUmayla</i> “She-camel” (which is patient at work)” (Ištiqāq 268), <i>Diʿbil</i> “Large (she-)camel” (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 65; Ištiqāq 479), <i>Dawsar</i> “Strong (she-)camel” (Ištiqāq 262), <i>ǧazūr</i> “Camel” (that is slaughtered), <i>Qalūš</i> (f) “Young she-camel” (Gratzl 1906: 53) and as (m) nick. (KN 368), <i>al-Šaʿb</i> , <i>al-Šaʿba</i> (f) “Refractory (she-)camel” and “Lion” (CIK 2 534; Ikmāl 18 876a; Lane 1687a), <i>Mšʿb</i> , <i>Mušʿab</i> “Camel, Stallion” (untouched by a rope) (Al-Kilābi 2009: No. 276; CIK 2 437; Lane 1687b), <i>Wahm</i> “Thick and hard camel” (Ištiqāq 391).

Large cattle

§54. **ʔalp-* “bull, ox” (SED 2, No. 4)

Akk./Amor. ³⁶⁷	<i>ʔalpān</i> , <i>Al-pa-an</i> (Huffmon 1965 151; Streck 2000: §5.70), MA <i>Al-pu-ia</i> is either Akk. or Hurrian (NPN 298a).
Ug.	<i>Alpy</i> , <i>Il(i)piya</i> (PTU 27ff).
Heb.	<i>ʔp</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 170).

§55. **ʔarḥ-* “cow, heifer” (SED 2, No. 12)

Akk./Amor. ³⁶⁸	<i>ʔArḥānum</i> , <i>Ar-ḥa-nu-um</i> , <i>ʔArḥum</i> , <i>ʔAr-ḥu-um</i> (CAAA 51, No. 901, 903; Streck 2000: §5.70), NB <i>ʔArḥaya</i> (Akk., hypoc.) (Cousin and Watai 2016: 12).
Heb.	<i>ʔʾraḥ</i> (PHIAP 70).
AAr.	Dad. <i>ʔrḥ</i> (?) (HIn 36).

³⁶⁶ For an alternative interpretation of the Nab. and AAr. names, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

³⁶⁷ Cf. ↑4.1.1.4.

³⁶⁸ Cf. ↑4.1.1.4.

§56. *‘igʷal-// *‘igl- “calf” (SED 2, No. 28)

Ug.	‘gl, ‘glt _n (Watson 2006: 447), (bn) ‘glt (PTU 28).
(N)WSC	<i>Iglâ, Ig-la-a, Iglânu, Ig-la-nu</i> “Little calf”, <i>Iglî, Ig-li-i</i> “His calf”, <i>Iglû, Ig-lu-u</i> “His calf” (PNA 507-8).
Pho-Pun.	‘gl (Jongeling 2008: 364)
Heb.	‘Eglôn, ‘Eglā (f) (PHIAP 80), ‘glyw “Calf of Yhw” (Rechenmacher 2012: 164).
Aram.	Palm. ‘glbwl’ “Calf of Bôl”, ‘gylw, ‘gyl’ (PNPI 104), Nab. ‘gl’ (Beyer 2004: 230, No. 15), Hat. ‘gyly, ‘bd’gylw, ‘bd’gyly’ (Abbadi 1983: 141f; Beyer 1998: 163-64), Dura Αγγουλ, Αγουλοσ (Grassi 2014: 283).
AAr.	‘gl in Saf. and Tham. (HIn 408).
Ar.	‘Igl, al-‘Uğayl (CIK 2 353, 566), al-‘Iğla (f) (Ikmāl 1: 383ff), Bed. <i>Bu ‘Öğēle</i> (nick.) (Hess 1912: 39).

§57. *baqar- “large cattle” (SED 2, No. 59)

Ug.	<i>Bqrt</i> (PTU 119-120).
AAr.	<i>Bqr</i> in Saf. and Tham., <i>Bqrt</i> in Saf., <i>Bqrm</i> in Qat. and Sab., <i>Bqrn</i> in Sab. (HIn 113).
Ar.	<i>Baqar, Abqūr</i> (Al-Saḥāwī 1992 3: 17; Beiträge 83), Bed. <i>Baqara</i> (f) (Musil 1928: 244).

§58. *li’(at)-, *la’ayat- “head of large cattle” (SED 2, No. 142)

Eb.	DN: <i>Pū-ma-li’-a, Bū-ma-li-a</i> “Truly the word of the bull” (PEb B 63).
Ug.	^l <i>La-e-ia-a</i> (?) (PHIAP 71).
Heb.	<i>Lē’ā</i> (f) (PHIAP 71).
AAr.	Sab. <i>L’yt</i> (f) (?) (Schaffer 1981: 301), Dad. ‘ml’y (HIn 440) could mean “The people/ancestor is a (little) wild bull” in view of Ar. below.
Ar.	<i>La’āt</i> (f), <i>La’ā</i> “Wild bull/cow” (Beiträge 83), and <i>Lu’ayy</i> (still in use), which could be the dimin. form of <i>La’ā</i> (Al-Aṣma’ī 1994: 118-19; Iṣtiqāq 24).

§59. *parr- “young of small or large cattle” (SED 2, No. 181)

Eb.	<i>Parra, Ba-ra, ‘Ay-parru, A-a-bar-ru</i> ₁₂ “Where is the young bull?”, <i>Ma(n)-parru</i> ,
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	<i>Ma-ba-ru</i> ₁₂ “Who is the young bull ?” (ARES 3 273, 290, 347).
Amor. ³⁶⁹	<i>Pāratum</i> , <i>ʿPa-ra-a-tum</i> , <i>Pārtum</i> , <i>ʿPa-ra-tum</i> “Heifer”, <i>Pāratān</i> , <i>ᵐPa-ra-ta-an</i> “Little young bull/heifer” (ARM 10 170: 1; Millet Albà 2000: 486; CAAA 285, sub BJR).
Ug.	<i>Prt</i> , (<i>bn</i>) <i>Prtn</i> “Heifer” (PTU 28, 175).
Ar.	<i>Farīr</i> “Young oryx” (Ištiqāq 387).

§60. **tawr*- “bull, ox” (SED 2, No. 241; Beyer in ThWAT 9: 813-814)

Akk.	Oakk. <i>Ilī-šūr</i> , <i>ì-lí-su-ur</i> “My god is a bull” (or from <i>šurru</i> I “to bow” AHw 1287), <i>Šūr-Sîn</i> , <i>Šu-ur</i> - ^d EN-ZU “DN is a bull” (MAD 3 261), MB Emar <i>Šūru</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003 98), MA <i>Šūr-abī</i> , <i>Šu-ra-bi</i> , <i>Šu-ra-a-bi</i> “My father is a bull”, <i>Šūr-Adad</i> , <i>Šu-ur</i> - ^d IM “DN is a bull” (NPN 315a; AHw 1287).
Eb.	<i>Tūru</i> , <i>Šu-ru</i> ₁₂ , <i>Tūra-Damu</i> , <i>Šu-ra-da-mu</i> “Damu is a bull”, <i>Tūra-Karru</i> , <i>Dūr</i> ?(KU)- <i>ra-gār-ru</i> ₁₂ “Karru is a bull”, <i>Tūra-Qawmu</i> , <i>Šu-ra-ga-mu</i> “Qawm/Kaym is a bull”, <i>Tūr-īya</i> , <i>Su-rí-a</i> (hypoc.) (ARES 3 229, 304, 365ff).
Aram.	OArām. <i>Tūrī</i> , <i>Tu-ri-i</i> , <i>Tu-r[i-i]</i> (PNA 235; Gaspa 2008: 125), Nab. <i>Twr’</i> , <i>Twrw</i> (Cantineau 1932: 155; PNNR 164), Palm. <i>Twry</i> (PNPI 116).
Ug.	<i>Tr</i> (Watson 2006: 447).
AAr.	<i>Twrm</i> in Qat. and Sab., <i>Twr</i> in Saf. and Had. (HIn 150; POI 111), <i>Tr</i> in Tham. and His. (Shatnawi 2002: 662; ENAH 378).
Ar.	<i>Tawr</i> , <i>Tuwayr</i> , <i>Tuwayra</i> (CIK 553-4), FN <i>Tawr/Tūr</i> (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 244).

§61. Other names for large cattle

Akk.	<i>Būru(m)</i> “Calf”, <i>Būr-DN</i> (MAD 3 92), OA <i>Būr-DN</i> (OAPN 33), OB <i>Būr-Adad/Aya/Ištar/Nunnu/Sin</i> , etc., <i>ʿBur-ūr-tum</i> , <i>ʿBur-ūr-ta-ni</i> , <i>ʿBu-ra-na</i> , <i>Bu-ra-an</i> , <i>Bu-ri-ia</i> , (IP-NOBS 67f; ARM 16/1 82; Millet Albà 2000: 478), MB <i>Būr-Adad</i> (PKTN 55), MA <i>Būr-nāšir</i> , <i>^dBur-PAP-ir</i> “The [divine] Calf is the protector” (NAOMA 45), NA <i>Būru-abu-ušur</i> , <i>Bu-ru-AD-PAP</i> “O [divine] Calf protect the father”, <i>Būru-ibni</i> , AMAR- <i>ib-ni</i> , etc (PNA 355ff; more examples are found in Radner 2002, index of PNs), NB <i>ʿBu-ra-a</i> (Wunsch 2003 41: 1’). ³⁷⁰
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³⁶⁹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.3; 4.1.2.2.

³⁷⁰ According to Rasmussen (1981: 470), OB *Mi-i-rum* denotes Akk. *mīrum* “young bull” (CAD M/2 109); the name is in fact the Amor. form *Me’ūrum* (√’wr) (Streck 2000: §2.144).

Ug. <i>Ibr</i> “Bull, Horse”, <i>Ibrd</i> “Haddu is a bull” (?) (PTU 88; DDD 573b), Pho. <i>’brb’l</i> and <i>’brgd</i> “DN is a bull” (?) (PNPPI 259).
Heb. <i>Ribqā</i> (f) “(lassoed) Cow” (Glatz 2001: 29; see also ↑4.2.1, sub No. 55).
Palm. <i>’rwn’</i> “Calf” (PNPI 73a).

Small cattle

§62. **’imma/er-*, *’immēr-* “lamb, sheep” (SED 2, No. 5; Freedman, Geoghegan, and Kottsieper in ThWAT 9: 49-54)

Akk.	Oakk. <i>Im-me-ir</i> (MAD 3 46), OA <i>I-me-ri-im</i> (gen.) (or < <i>imērum</i> ↑§42) (OAPN 63), OB <i>Im-me-ri</i> , <i>I-mi-ru-um</i> , <i>I-me-ri-nu-um</i> (<i>Immerēnum</i> < <i>*Immerānum</i>) (CAAA, No. 3701, 2572-3; Golinets 2016: 65), <i>Immerum</i> (king of Sippar, de Boer 2014: 121ff), <i>I-me-r[i-ia]</i> (hypoc.), <i>Immeruša</i> , <i>Im-me-ru-ša</i> “Her sheep” (Kienast 1978 11: 10, 181: 11), <i>Immer-īli</i> , <i>Im-me-er-ī-lī</i> “Sheep of god” (Sigris 2003 24: 5), <i>Immertum</i> (AbB 3 81: 17), MB <i>Im-me-ri</i> (gen.) (PKTN 98), NA <i>Im-me-ri</i> (gen.), (PNA, 539), N/LB <i>Im-mi-ri-ia</i> , <i>’Im-mir-tum</i> (NBN 76b), <i>’Im-mir-tu₄</i> (CAD I 128).
Eb.	<i>Immar(u)</i> , <i>Im-mar</i> , <i>I-mar-ru₁₂</i> (ARES 3 323, 336).
Amor. ³⁷¹	<i>Ḫi-im-ma-ar-an/AN</i> (Durand 1997: 634, no. 458), normalized as <i>’Immarān</i> “Sheep-like” or <i>’Immar-’El</i> “Sheep of God”, <i>Ḫi-ma-ra-ti</i> (ARM 8 6: 31) either belongs here (<i>’Immaratum?</i>) or to <i>ḫimār</i> (↑§42).
(N)WSC	MB Alalakh: <i>Immaren</i> , <i>Im-ma-re-en</i> , <i>Immare</i> , <i>Im-ma-re/i</i> (von Dassow 2008: index 445).
Ug.	<i>Imrn</i> , <i>Imrt</i> (PTU 28, 99; Watson 2006: 447).
Heb.	<i>’Immēr</i> , <i>’mr</i> (IPN 230; PHIAP 115).

§63. **’VnṼq-* “female kid” (SED 2, No. 34)

Ug.	<i>’nqt</i> (Watson 2006: 446).
Aram.	Nab. <i>’nqw</i> (?) (Cantineau 1932: 134).
AAr.	Saf, His. <i>’nq</i> (?) (HIn 445; ENAH 441); this name as well as the Nab. one above could also denote any of the derivations of CAR. <i>√’nq</i> , like <i>’unq</i> “neck”,

³⁷¹ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

	<i>‘anāq</i> “badger”, etc. (Lane 2175ff).
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§64. **Vnz* “goat” (SED 2, No. 35; for NWS, cf. Hug in ThWAT 9: 556-58)

Akk.	OB <i>Inziya</i> , <i>ʾIn-zi-ia</i> (FM 11 24: 9), <i>Inza</i> , <i>ʾIn-za</i> (FM 4, p. 273, No. 3 iv 3'), <i>Inzānu/ Izzānu</i> , <i>Ezzānu</i> (f) (Millet Albà 2000: 485), NA <i>ʾIn-zi-a-a</i> is supposed to reflect <i>Inzi-Aia</i> “She-goat of Ea” (PNA 559); it may also be a hypoc.
Amor. ³⁷²	<i>ʾAnzā-Haddu</i> , <i>Ḥa-an-za</i> - ^d IM “Goat of Haddu” (?), <i>ʾAnzī</i> , <i>Ḥa-an-zi</i> (CAAA, No. 1942-43), <i>ʾInzum</i> , <i>Ḥi-in-[z]u-um</i> (?) (ARM 21 56: 5), <i>ʾAnzān</i> , <i>Ḥa-an-za-an</i> (ARM 22 167: 23, 327: 26). The names <i>Az-zu</i> (Durand 1997: 605 iii 73), <i>Ḥa-az-zu</i> and <i>ʾḤa-zu-tum</i> (CAAA, No. 1987, 2236) either belong to this term or to √ <i>ʾzz</i> “strong” (CAAA 268; Streck 2000: 294, note 3; Golinets 2016: 71).
AAr.	Dad. <i>ʾnzh</i> , Saf. <i>ʾnzt</i> , <i>ʾnzy</i> (HIn 444).
Ar.	<i>ʾnzh</i> [SG], <i>ʾby</i> <i>ʾnyz</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 7, 236), <i>ʾAnza</i> (CIK 189), Bed. <i>ʾAnnāz</i> , <i>ʾŌnayze</i> (f) (Hess 1912; Littmann 1949: 14), CAO <i>ʾNizān</i> as FN (WB, no 18736).

§65. **gady-* “kid” (SED 2, No. 76)

Amor.	<i>Gadiya</i> (f), <i>Gadu</i> (Millet Albà: 2000 485, but without textual references).
Ug.	(bn) <i>Gdy</i> , <i>Gadya</i> (PTU 28, Watson 2006: 447).
(N)WSC	MA <i>Ga-dī-ú</i> (OMA 218), NB ^{f+m} <i>Ga-du-u</i> (NBN 62b), NA <i>Gadiya</i> , <i>Gad-ia-a</i> (PNA 418).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>Gdy</i> , <i>Gdyw</i> (Porten and Yardeni 2014: 33), Hat. <i>Gdyʾ</i> (Beyer 1998 H 230, 1021c), Nab. <i>Gdyʾ</i> , <i>Gdyw</i> (PNNR 164f; Cantineau 1932: 76-7).
AAr.	<i>ʾgdy</i> in Saf., <i>Gdy</i> in Saf., His., and Tham., <i>Gdyn</i> in Tham., <i>Gdym</i> in Sab. (HIn 156; ENAH 380; Shatnawi 2002: 664).
Ar.	<i>Ġadiy</i> , <i>Ġudayy</i> (CIK 2 252, 263), <i>Ġadya</i> (f) (Ibn Ḥabīb n.d.: 16), nick. <i>Ġudayy</i> (Ikmāl 2: 264), Bed. <i>Ġe/adī</i> (Hess 1912: 7; Littmann 1921: 14).

§66. **ḥVrVp-* “young sheep” (SED 2, No. 113)

Akk.	<i>Ḥūrāpum</i> , OB <i>Ḥu-ra-pu-um</i> (VAS 7 154:10), NA <i>Ḥu-ra-pí</i> , <i>Ḥu-ra-pi</i> (gen.) (PNA 480).
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³⁷² Cf. †4.1.1.2.2.1; 41.3.5.

Eb.	<i>Ḥurāpu</i> , <i>Ḥu-ra-bù</i> (ARES 3 319).
Ug.	<i>Ḥrpn</i> (Watson 2007: 95), or from <i>ḥrp</i> “autumn” (Tropper 2000: 271).
AAr.	Saf., Had. <i>Ḥrf</i> (HIn 219), which may also denote a name like <i>Ḥārif</i> (CIK 2 344).
Ar.	nick. <i>Ḥarūf</i> , <i>Ḥarūfa</i> (KN 178), which are also used as FN in CAO (WB, No. 1140, 22234).

§67. **kabš-* “young ram” (SED 2, No. 114)

Akk./Amor.	<i>Kabšānu</i> , <i>Ka-ab-sa-nu-um</i> , <i>Kabšatum</i> , ^f <i>Kab-sa-tum</i> (CAAA 22, No. 3902, 4010; Amor. according to Streck 2000: §4.7 and Golinets 2016: 74), <i>Kašbān</i> , <i>Ka-āš-ba²-nu</i> (CAAA, No. 3928), a metathesis of <i>Kabšān</i> , is most probably Amor. (Golinets (2016: 69).
Aram.	OArām. <i>Kbs</i> (?) (Maraqten 1988: 173ff).
AAr.	Sab. <i>Kbšt</i> (HIn 494).
Ar.	<i>Kabša</i> (m + f) (CIK 367; Ikmāl 7: 156), <i>Kubayša</i> (f) (Ḥayāwan 5:463), nick. <i>Kabša</i> (KN 374), Bed. <i>Kbayše</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 47), CAO <i>al-Kabš</i> as FN (SAR 4, No. 23504).

§68. **ka/irr-* “ram” (SED 2, No. 118)

Eb.	<i>Karr-u</i> , <i>Ga-lu</i> , <i>Karra</i> , <i>Gār-ra</i> , <i>Karr-ān-u</i> , <i>Gār-ra-nu</i> “Ram-like”, <i>Karr-ī</i> , <i>Ga-li</i> “My ram”, <i>Kar-Mut</i> , <i>Ga-la-mu-ud</i> “The husband is a ram” (ARES 3 311; PEB G 13, 26ff).
Ug.	<i>Karra</i> , <i>Kar(r)anu</i> , <i>Kry</i> (?) (PTU 28).
AAr.	Saf., His. <i>Kr</i> , <i>Krt</i> (hypoc. ?) (HIn 498; ENAH 453).

§69. **lV'lV-* “head of small cattle, kid” (SED 2, No. 143)

Akk.	OB <i>La-li-ia</i> , <i>La(a)-lum/lu/ú</i> , <i>La-lu-ú-um</i> , ^f <i>La-la-tum</i> , ^f <i>La-lu-tum</i> (Stamm 1939: 44, 253; AHw 30 sub <i>laliium</i> II). ³⁷³
Eb.	<i>Lali'</i> , <i>La-li</i> (ARES 3 345).
Ug.	<i>La-li-i</i> , (bn) <i>Llit</i> (PTU 28; Watson 2006: 448).

³⁷³ Note that except for *La-li-ia*, all the other names are listed under *lalû* A “wish, desire” (CAD 52d; MAD 3 161).

§70. *ma/i'(a)z- “goat” (SED 2, No. 148)

(N)WSC	<i>Meḥizay</i> (? < <i>Me'izay</i> or like Palm. below) (Radner 2002 75), N/LB <i>Mi-za-tum</i> (NBN 111b).
Aram.	Palm. <i>M'zyn</i> (PNPI 95), which could also be a reflex of the Heb. name <i>Ma'azyāh</i> “Yahu is my refuge/protection” (PHIAP 51).
AAr.	Saf. <i>m'z</i> , <i>M'z</i> , <i>M'zn</i> , His. <i>M'z</i> , <i>M'zy</i> (HIn 76, 554; ENAH 464),
Ar.	<i>Mā'iz</i> (CIK 384), Bed. <i>Mway'iz</i> (Hess 1912: 49).

§71. *raḥil- “ewe” (SED 2, No. 188)

Heb.	<i>Rāḥēl</i> (f) (IPN 10; PHIAP 100).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Rḥylt</i> (PNNR 165).
AAr.	Tham. <i>Rḥl</i> (doubtful), His. <i>Rḥl</i> , Saf. <i>Rḥlt</i> (ENAH 402; HIn 274).
Ar.	<i>Ruḥayla</i> (CIK 2 490).

§72. *śaw- “sheep” (SED 2, No. 217)

Eb.	<i>Šayu</i> , <i>Sa-u₄</i> (?) (ARES 3 362).
Ug.	<i>Šb'l</i> “Sheep of Baal”, provided it is not based on Akk. <i>šu</i> “he”, i.e., “He is (truly) Baal” (PTU 191).
Pun.	<i>Šštrt</i> could denote “Sheep of DN”, “Of DN”, “Man of DN” (< abbreviation š), or the verbal form “DN has given” (< 'wš) (PNPPI 227ff, 412).
Ar.	nick. <i>Ibn al-Šāt</i> (Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006 1: 364), <i>'Ayn al-Šāt</i> “The sheep’s eye” (KN 341).

§73. *ša'n- “small cattle” (SED 2, No. 219)

Ug.	<i>Šin</i> (Watson 2006: 448).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Š'yn</i> (PNNR 165) is presumably Arabian, since the reflex of this word in Aram. is <i>'ān</i> (Brockelmann 1928: 533; Sokoloff 1990: 711b).
AAr.	His. <i>Ḍ'n</i> (ENAH 424).

§74. *tays- “he-goat” (SED 2, No. 231)

AAr.	Qat. <i>Tys^lm</i> , <i>Tys^l-l</i> “Buck of god” (PQI 107).
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Ar.	<i>Twaysān</i> “Little buck” (Hess 1912: 13). ³⁷⁴
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§75. Other names for small cattle

Akk. <i>Kalūmu(m)</i> “Lamb”, OA <i>Ku-lu-mu-um</i> , <i>Ku-lu-ma-a</i> , <i>Ku-lu-ma-a-a</i> , <i>Ku-lu-ma</i> (OAPN 43; Sturm 2000, fn. 16), OB <i>Ka-lu-mu-um</i> , <i>Ka-lu-mu</i> , <i>Ka-lu-mi-ia</i> , <i>Kalūmtum</i> (f) (IPNOBS 171), <i>Ka-lu-ma-nu-um</i> (ARM 30 M.10513: 15), <i>Ka-lu-mi-DINGIR</i> “Lamb of god” (Greengus 1979 103: 6), MB <i>Ka-lu-mu</i> , <i>Ka-lu-un-di</i> (gen.) (PKTN 118), MA <i>Qa-lu-mu-ú</i> , <i>Qa-lu-mu</i> , <i>Qa-lu-mi</i> (gen.) (NPN 306b), NA & N/LB <i>Ka-lu-mu</i> , <i>Ka-lum</i> (PNA 599; Nielsen 2015: 171), Eb. <i>Ga-lu-mu</i> , <i>Kalutt</i> , ^f <i>Ga-lu-ud</i> “Ewe-lamb” (PEb G, p. 14).
Akk. (OA): <i>Lakānu(m)</i> , <i>Lá-kà-num</i> “(kind of) sheep” (CAD L 45; Millet Albà 2000: 479), Ug <i>Lkn</i> (?) (Watson 2006: 448).
Akk. <i>Puḥād/ttu(m)</i> , <i>Bu-ḥa-ti</i> “Lamb” (MAD 3 212).
Ug. <i>Prgn</i> “Meadow-sheep” (Watson 2007: 95), or < * <i>parg-</i> (↓§116).
Ar. ‘ <i>Atūd</i> “Kid” ³⁷⁵ (Ištiqāq 87; CIK 2 205), Saf. ‘ <i>td</i> (HIn 404), which may also reflect ‘ <i>Atūd</i> “Strong”.
Ar. <i>Fizr</i> “Kid; Flock of sheep/goats” (Ikmāl 7: 51; Lane 2392c).
Ar. <i>Ḥaḍafa</i> , <i>Ḥuḍayfa</i> “Small black sheep/goat” (Beiträge 83; CIK 328).
Ar. <i>Ḥamal</i> “Lamb”, <i>Ḥumayl</i> , <i>Ḥumayla</i> (CIK 2 296, 332; Lane 649), Nab. <i>Ḥmlw</i> , <i>Ḥmlt</i> (PNNR 166; Cantineau 1932: 97), <i>Ḥml</i> , <i>ḥml</i> in Saf., <i>Ḥmlt</i> (m) in Saf., His., and Tham. and (f) in Sab. (HIn 202). ³⁷⁶
Ar. <i>Ġafra</i> (f) “Kid” (Gratzl 1906: 53).
Ar. <i>Na‘ġa</i> (f) “Ewe” (Beiträge 82), <i>Abū/Ibn Na‘ġa</i> (Ikmāl 1: 337).
Ar. <i>Qahd</i> “Lamb” ³⁷⁷ (Ištiqāq 202; CIK 2 454), <i>Quhayd</i> (Ikmāl 7: 129), Sab. <i>Qhd</i> (HIn 490).
Ar. <i>Suḥayla</i> (f) “Kid, Lamb” (< <i>saḥl</i>) (Ikmāl 6: 83ff), nick. <i>Ibn Saḥla</i> (CIK 2 499), His., Tham. <i>S^lḥl</i> (HIn 313; ENAH 409), Bed. <i>Ṣḥēlān</i> (Ṣābān 2008), CAO <i>Ṣḥēl</i> (ṣ < s) (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5), <i>Saḥl</i> as FN (WB, No. 11383).

³⁷⁴ In the Najdi dialect, the term *tēs* is an honorific title (Hess 1912: 13), while in CAR, *tays* was used for a bad-smelling and dumb person (Al-Ġāḥiḥ 1966 5: 457).

³⁷⁵ Cf. **atūd-* “male of small cattle” (SED 2, No. 44).

³⁷⁶ Some of these Nab/AAR. names could also be from *√ḥml* “to carry, charge”.

³⁷⁷ It also means “young antelope or cow, clear in color or white” (Lane 2569).

Pig, boar

§76. **hVnnVš*- “piglet” (SED 2, No. 110)

(N)WSC	<i>Ḫunišā, Ḫu-ni-ša-a, Ḫunišu, Ḫu-ni-ši</i> (PNA 479).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Ḫnš</i> (HIn 229)

§77. **hV(n)zīr*- (SED 2, No. 111)

Akk.	Oakk. <i>Ḫu-zi-ri</i> (MAD 3 136), OB (could also be Amor.) <i>Ḫuzīrān(um), Ḫu-zi-ra-an, Ḫu-zi-ra-nu-um</i> (CAAA, No. 2369; Streck 2000: §5.70), <i>Ḫuzīratum, ^mḪu-zi-ra-tum</i> (CAAA, No. 2371), MB Emar <i>Ḫuzīru</i> (Pruzsinszky 2003: 82), MA <i>^{m+}Ḫu-zi-ri</i> “My pig” (NPN 66, 319b), <i>Ḫu-zi-ir-ti</i> (gen.) (OMA 277), NA <i>Ḫu-zi-ru, Ḫu-zi-ri-i, Ḫu-zi-ir</i> (PNA 484), NB <i>Ḫu-zi-ri-i</i> (?) (NBN 68a).
Amor. ³⁷⁸	<i>Ḫuzīra</i> “Sow”, <i>Ḫu-zi-ra</i> (MAD 3 136), <i>^fḪu-zi-ra</i> (ARM 21 382 iii 44), <i>Ḫa-an-zu-ra = Ḫanzūra</i> (a variant, dimin.?) (CAAA, No. 1944) or from (↑§13).
Ug.	(bn) <i>ḪnZR, ḪZR, ḪZRN</i> (PTU 28), which might also denote <i>ḫnZR</i> (I) “an official” or <i>ḫZR</i> “assistant, auxiliary” (DUL 399, 417).
(N)WSC	<i>Ḫu-un-za-ru</i> (YOS 6 1: 34).
Heb.	<i>Ḫēzīr</i> (PHIAP 112; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Aram.	OArām. <i>Ḫzrn</i> (Maraqten 1988: 164), OffAram. <i>Ḫzyr, Ḫzyr', ḪnZR, ḪnZrw</i> (Lemaire 2002: 270; Porten and Yardeni 2014: 77).
AAr.	Sab. <i>Ḫnzrm</i> (HIn 229).
Ar.	<i>Ḫīnzīr</i> (Ištiqāq 555, CIK 2 347), modern <i>Ḫanzīr</i> (Beiträge 84).

§78. Other names for pig in Akk.

<i>Kurkuzānum, Kukkuzannum</i> “Piglet”, UR III and OA <i>Ku-ku-za-num</i> (Heimpel 2009: 345; OAPN 73), OB <i>Kurkuzānum</i> (IPNOBS 182), <i>Ku-uk-ku-sà-nu-um, Ku-ku-sa-an</i> (ARM 16/1 140), MA <i>Kur-ku-za-ni</i> (OMA 296).
<i>Šaḫû</i> “Pig, Swine” (Babylonia term), UR III <i>Ša-ḫi-ti</i> (Heimpel 2009: 357), OB <i>^fŠa-ḫa-tum</i> (Rasmussen 1981: 470), MB <i>Ša-ḫi-i</i> (gen.) (PKTN 200), N/LB <i>Šá-ḫu-ú</i> (NBN 186b), <i>^fŠá-ḫi-tu₄</i> (Giovinazzo 1987 52: 1).

³⁷⁸ This classification is based on the suffix *-a* (cf. ↑4.1.2.4).

V. RODENTS

§79. **akbar*- “mouse, jerboa” (SED 2, No. 30)

Akk.	OB <i>A-ak-ba-rum</i> , <i>Ak-ba-ri</i> , <i>Ak-ba-ri-im</i> (gen.) (IPNOBS 25), MB <i>Ak-ba-ri</i> (gen.) (PKTN 26), MA <i>Ak-pa-ri-ia</i> (NPN 297a), <i>Ak-bi-ru</i> (OMA 79), NA, NB <i>Ak-bar</i> , <i>Ak-ba-ru</i> , <i>ʿAk-bar-tu</i> (PNA 94).
Ug.	<i>ʿkbr</i> , <i>Ak-ba-ru</i> (Watson 2007: 97).
(N)WSC	<i>Akbūru</i> , <i>Ak-bur</i> , <i>Ak-bu-ru</i> , <i>A-ka-bur</i> , <i>A-ka-bu-ru</i> , <i>A-ga-bu-ru</i> (PNA 94).
Pho-Pun.	<i>ʿkbr</i> , <i>ʿkbrʿ</i> , <i>ʿkbrm</i> , <i>ʿkbrt</i> (f) (PNPPI 239, 377).
Heb.	<i>ʿAkbōr</i> , <i>ʿkbr</i> , <i>ʿkbry</i> (PHIAP 153; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Aram.	OArām. <i>ʿkbr</i> (Maraqten 1988: 198).
AAr.	<i>ʿkbr</i> in Saf., His., Tham., Min., Qat., and Had. (Shatnawi 2002: 724; HIn 428, ENAH 436; POI 192).
Ar. ³⁷⁹	<i>ʿAkbar</i> (Al-Zabīdī 1965ff 13 122).

§80. **gVrVd(-Vn)*- “kind of rodent” (SED 2, No. 84)

Ug.	<i>Grdn</i> , <i>Grdy</i> “Beaver” (Watson 2007: 97).
AAr.	Saf., His. <i>ʿgrḏ</i> , <i>Grḏ</i> “Rat” (HIn 22, 158; ENAH 381).
Ar.	<i>Ġuraḏ</i> (CIK 2 266), nick. (Al-Ṣafadī 2000 11: 53), Bed. <i>Ġrayḏī</i> (Hess 1912: 15).

§81. **paʿr*- “mouse” (SED 2, No. 170)

Akk.	<i>pē/arūrūtum</i> “Hausmaus” (AHw 856), “a small rodent, bird, or bat” (CAD P 420), UR III, <i>ʿPe-ru-ru-tum</i> (Heimpel 2009: 356), OB <i>ʿPe-ru-ru-tim</i> , <i>ʿPí-ru-ru-tim</i> (IPNOBS 241), OA <i>ʿPá-ru-ur-tim</i> , , MB <i>ʿPi-ri-ri-tum</i> (CAD P 420).
Amor. ³⁸⁰	<i>Pa-ru-ri</i> (CAAA, No. 5155).
AAr.	<i>Fʿry</i> in Qat. (plus nisba), <i>Fʿr</i> , <i>Fʿrt</i> in Saf., <i>Fʿrn</i> in Had., <i>Fʿr</i> in Sab. and Min. (Al-

³⁷⁹ Classical dictionaries only mention the pl. form: *al-ʿakʿābir ḏukūr al-yarābīʿ*, *yamāniyya*: “the ‘*akʿābir*’s are the male jerboas, a Yemenite word” (Al-Zabīdī 1965ff 13 122), which means that the lexicographers/grammarians were not aware of the singular form. Also, the singular does not occur in the modern faunal lexicon of Maʿlūf (1932). In contemporary Ar., however, it reappeared again in the singular form *ʿukbur* “*Microtus*”.

³⁸⁰ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.2.1.

	Said 1995: 149; POI 209; HIn 461).
Ar.	<i>Fa'r</i> (CIK 2 245), <i>Ibn Fār</i> (Ikmāl 7: 41), CAO <i>Abū Fāra</i> and <i>el-Fār</i> as FN (WB, No. 6196, no 8770).

§82. **yarbV'* – “kind of rodent” (SED 2, No. 251)

Akk.	<i>Arrabum</i> “Dormouse”, OB <i>Ar-ra-bu</i> , <i>A-ra-bu</i> , <i>Ar-ra-bu-ni</i> (dimin.) (IPNOBS 43; ARM 16/1 66), <i>Ár-ra-bu-um</i> , <i>Ár-ra-bu-u-um</i> (CAD A/2 303 ^a), MB <i>Ar-ra-bi</i> (gen.) (PKTN 39), NA <i>Ar-ra-bu</i> , <i>Ár-ra-bi</i> , <i>ʿAr-ra-ba-ti</i> , <i>ʿÁr-ra-ba-ti</i> (all gen.) (PNA, 132), N/LB <i>Ár-ra-bu/i</i> , <i>Ar-rab</i> , <i>Ar-ra-bi</i> , <i>Ar-rab-bi</i> , <i>Ar-rab-tum</i> (hypoc.; family name), <i>ʿÁr-rab-tu(m)</i> (NBN 15f; Nielsen 2015: 38ff; Stamm 1939: 371), <i>ʿAr-ra-ba-na</i> (MacEwan 1982 12: 2, 7).
Ar.	<i>Yarbū'</i> “Jerboa” (CIK 590), Bed. <i>Ġa/erbū'</i> , <i>Ġraybī'</i> (Hess 1912: 14; Littmann 1921: 7), CAO <i>Ġarbū'</i> as FN (WB, 4974).

§83. Other names for rodents

Akk.	<i>As/šqūdu</i> “a rodent” (CAD A/2 340) “Hamster”(?) (AHw 75), UR III <i>Aš-ku-da-núm</i> (MAD 3 76), OA <i>Asqūdum</i> , <i>Asqūdia</i> (OAPN 15; Sturm 2000, fn. 16), OB <i>Às/š-qú-du-um</i> , <i>Às-qú-du</i> , <i>ʿAsqudatum</i> (IPNOBS 44; CAAA, p. 53; ARM 16/1 68, 104), <i>Ĥa-aš-qu-da-an</i> , <i>Às-qú-da-an</i> (Huffmon 1965: 152; CAAA 53). NA <i>Is-qu-du</i> , <i>As-qu-du</i> , <i>As-qu-di</i> , <i>As-qud</i> , <i>Is-qud-du</i> (PNA 137), Eb. <i>Aš-ku-du</i> (ARES 3 288).
Akk.	<i>Ĥarrirum</i> “Vole”, OB <i>Ĥa-ri-rum</i> , <i>Ĥa-ar-ri-rum</i> , MA <i>Ĥa-ar-ri-ir</i> (AHw 327; CAD H 114), NB/NA <i>Ĥa-ri-ri</i> , <i>Ĥar-ri-ri</i> (PNA 462).
Akk.	<i>Ĥulū</i> “Shrew” (?) (CDA 119), Oakk. <i>Ĥu-li-um</i> (MAD 3 127), MB Emar <i>Ĥulā'u</i> , <i>Ĥulū</i> (Pruzinszky 2003: 82), NA, N/LB <i>ʿĤu-lu-ut-ti</i> , <i>ʿĤu-li-i-ti</i> “My little shrew” (PNA 477; NBN 68a), Ug. <i>Ĥli</i> (Watson 2007: 97).
Akk.	<i>Ĥumašīru</i> , <i>Ĥumuššīru(m)</i> , <i>Ĥab/am(a)šīru</i> “Large mouse” (Gerbil?), UR III <i>Ĥa-ba-zi-ri</i> (MAD 3 125), OB <i>ʿĤa-ma-zi-rum</i> , <i>ʿĤa-ma-az-zi-rum</i> (IPNOBS 95), <i>Ĥu-mu-št-ru-um</i> (UET 5 572: 21), MB <i>Ĥu-mu-un-ši-rū</i> (UET 7 29: 1'), N/LB <i>Ĥa-ba-šir(/ši-ri/ru)</i> , <i>ʿĤa-ba-šir-tum</i> , <i>Ĥa-an-ši/št-ir/ri</i> (NBN 65-6), Ug. <i>Ĥpsry</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 97).
Akk.	<i>Pušĥu</i> “eine Ratte?” (AHw 883) “a small animal” (shrew?) (CAD P 541), NA <i>^{m+}ʿPu-uš-ĥu</i> , <i>Puš-ĥi</i> , <i>pu-uš-ĥi-i</i> , <i>Pu-uš-ĥi</i> “My <i>pušĥu</i> -rodent/My ratty” (PNA 1000).
Ar.	<i>ʿAḍal</i> , <i>ʿAḍala</i> “Gerbil” (Beiträge 80; Ma'lūf 1932: 114), <i>Zabāb</i> “Shrews” (pl. <i>zabāba</i>) (Al-Damīrī 1992: 75; Ma'lūf 1932: 75), <i>Zuġba</i> “Dormouse” (Ikmāl 4: 81; Ma'lūf 1932: 86),

nick. (KN 242).

VI. VARIOUS MAMMALS

Ape

§84. Miscellaneous names

Akk. *Paḡa'u*, UR III: *Pa-gu-ú*, *ḫPa-gu₅-tum*, MB *Pa-ga-a-i* (gen.), *Pa-ga-a-a-i* (Heimpel 2009: 356; CAD P 18).

Akk. *U/Iqūpu(m)* [< Sanskrit, AHw 1427b), NA *Ú-qu-pu*, *ḫÚ-qu-pu-tú* (Gaspa 2008, fn. 85, 94), N/LB *ḫÚ/i-qu-pa-tum*, *U/i-qu-pu/pi*, *Ú-qu-pu* (NBN 215; Nielsen 2015: 394); Palm. *Qwp'*, *Qwpyn* (pl.) (PNPI 110; for an alternative explanation, see ↑4.3.1.1, sub No. 81).

Ar. *Qird* (CIK 2 469), modern FM (Beiträge 76).

Elephant

§85. Miscellaneous names

**pVL-* (SED 2, No. 173): Palm. *Pyl'* (PNPI 108), Ar. nick. *al-Fīl*, *Fīlawayh* (hypoc.), *kunya Abū al-Fīl* (Al-Ġāhiz 1966 7: 83, 85, 174).

Ar. *Daġfal* “Young elephant”³⁸¹ (CIK 2 230), *al-Zandabīl* “Elephant”³⁸² (nick.) br. *al-Fīl* “Elephant” (Al-Mizzī 1980-92 8: 87), *Kultūm* (?)³⁸³ (CIK 2 373), *Umm Kultūm* (f) is the name of the Prophet’s daughter.

Hare

§86. **arnab(-at)* (SED 2, No. 14)

Akk.	Oakk. <i>Ar-na-ba</i> (MAD 3 65), OB <i>^mAn-na-ba-tum</i> (IPNOBS 36), <i>^fAr-na-ba-tum</i> (IPNOBS 42; Durand 1997: 653, n. 749), <i>^{m+f}Ar-na-bum</i> (1 male and 2 females) (IPNOBS 42), <i>^fAr-na-bu-um</i> (CAAA, No. 907; Huffmon 1965: 152), <i>Annabu</i> , <i>^fAn-na(-a)-bu</i> (a princess) (VAS 7 84-5; Pientka 1998: 311-12), MA <i>Ar-na-bu</i> , <i>Ar-na-a-bu</i> (could also reflect Hurrian <i>Arn-apu</i>) (NPN 300), MB
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³⁸¹ This meaning is mentioned by Al-Ḥalīl (1980-85 8: 465). Ibn Durayd, on the other hand, gives “ample, plentiful life” (Ištiqāq 351).

³⁸² See Al-Ḥalīl (1980-85 7: 401).

³⁸³ This meaning occurs only in Lisān (12: 139). The other dictionaries follow Al-Ḥalīl (1980-85 5: 431) “a person (especially a female) having rounded face with large cheeks”. It is unclear, thus, which meaning is the primary one and whether the name was given after the animal or due to the physical appearance (at birth?).

	Emar <i>Arnabu</i> (Pruzszinsky 2003: 76), NA <i>Arnabâ</i> , <i>Ar-na-ba</i> , <i>Ár-na-ba-a</i> (could also be Aram.), <i>Er-nu-bu</i> (could also be Pho.) (PNA 132).
Ug.	(<i>bn</i>) <i>'rnb</i> t (PTU 28).
Aram.	Hat. <i>'rnb</i> (Beyer 1998 H 288a-c).
AAr.	Had. <i>'rnb</i> (f) (Sholan 1999: 32, 100).
Ar.	<i>Arnab</i> (m + f), <i>Arnabî</i> (m) (CIK 2 193; Ikmāl 7: 167), CAO as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).

§87. Other names for hare in Ar./AAr.

<i>'Ikriša</i> (m + f) “She-hare”, provided it is not based on <i>'ikriš</i> -plant (Beiträge 81).
<i>Ĥirniq</i> (f) “Little hare” (Gratzl 1906: 53), <i>Ĥirniq</i> (f) (Ibn Sa‘d 2001 10: 272), (m) nick. (Ikmāl 3: 138), Bed. <i>Ĥraynidz</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 20).
<i>Ĥuzar</i> “Male hare” (Beiträge 81), <i>Ĥuzayr</i> (Ikmāl 2: 88), Saf. <i>Ĥzr</i> , <i>Ĥzrt</i> (HIn 220).
<i>Ĥuzaz</i> “Young/male hare” (Ikmāl 2: 456; Lisān 4: 81), His. <i>Ĥzn</i> is either the pl. of this term (i.e., <i>ĥizzān</i>) or from <i>ĥzn</i> “store” (ENAH 394).

Mole

§88. **ĥuld*- (SED 2, No. 108)

Heb.	<i>Ĥēled</i> , <i>Ĥelday</i> , <i>Ĥuldā</i> (f), <i>Ĥldy</i> (IPN 230; Stamm 1980: 125; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Pho-Pun.	<i>Ĥld</i> (f) (PNPPI 239, 310).
Aram. ³⁸⁴	Palm. <i>Ĥld'</i> (PNPI 88), Nab. <i>Ĥldw</i> (Cantineau 1932: 96).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Ĥld</i> (?) (HIn 225).
Ar.	<i>Ĥuld</i> , <i>Ĥulayd</i> , <i>Ĥulayda</i> (f) (Beiträge 80).

Hedgehog

§89. Miscellaneous names

* <i>qunpuḏ</i> -, * <i>q(ʷ)inpaḏ</i> - (SED 2, No. 133): Eb. <i>Qippaḏ-u</i> , <i>Gi-ba-šu</i> (PEb G 30), <i>Qnfd</i> in Saf., His., and Tham. (HIn 490, ENAH 452), Ar. <i>Qunfuḏ</i> (CIK 2 471), nick (KN 369), Bed.
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³⁸⁴ Cf. †4.3.1.3.1.

Gnēfiḏ (Hess 1912: 47).

Ar. *Darrāğ* (Ikmāl 3: 318; Lane 869c), His., Tham. *Drg* may reflect this form or *durrāğ* “francolin” (ENAH 389).

Ar. (Bed.) *Di’liğ* (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16).

Rock hyrax

§90. Miscellaneous names

**tapan-* (SED 2, No. 240): Heb. *Šāpām/n*, *Špn* (IPN 230; Rechenmacher 2012: 171), Pho-Pun. *Špn* (PNPPI 239), (N)WSC *Sa-pu-nu* (PNA 1169).

Ar. *Wabr*, *Wubayr* (Ištiqāq 296; CIK 581, 588), *Wbr* in Saf., Tham., and His. (HIn 633; ENAH 479).

Weasel

§91. Miscellaneous names

**a(n)yaš-*, **anšaw/y* (SED 2, No. 26): Akk. OB *Ayyašu*, *A-a-šum* (AHw 25), Amor. *A-ia-zi* (?) (CAAA, No. 319; Kogan 2003: 254), Ug. *Yšu* (?) (Watson 2006: 449), Heb. *’yš* (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 217; cf. also ↑4.2.1, sub No. 16).

Aram.: Nab./Pam. *Qwz’* (PNNR 57; Yon 2013), NA *Šēḫ Ḥamad Qu-za-a* (Zadok 2009: 123), Amor. *Gu-za-an*, *’Gu-zi* (CAAA, No. 1802-03).³⁸⁵

Ar. *al-Du’īl*, *al-Dūl*, *al-Dīl* (Beiträge 78; CIK 2 232, 234; Ištiqāq 170), *D’l* in Saf., Tham., and His. (HIn 232; ENAH 396).

Bat

§92. Miscellaneous names

Akk. *Šu(t)tinnu*, *Šu-ti-in-nu* (PKTN 213), Ug. *Štn* (?) (Watson 1990: 249).

Ar. *Ḥuššāf* (Ikmāl 3: 157), a metathesis of the original form *ḥuffāš* (Al-Damirī 1992: 48-9).

³⁸⁵ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.1.

BIRDS

General term

§93. **awp*- “bird” (SED 2, No. 48)³⁸⁶

Heb.	‘ <i>Ēpay</i> , ‘ <i>Ēpā</i> ‘ <i>wpy</i> , ‘ <i>py</i> (PHIAP 144; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
AAr.	‘ <i>wyfm</i> in Qat., Had., and Sab. (POI 204ff), ‘ <i>wf</i> in Dad. and Saf. (HIn 449).
Ar.	‘ <i>wf</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 99), ‘ <i>Awf</i> , ‘ <i>Uwayf</i> , ‘ <i>Uwāfa</i> , ‘ <i>Abd</i> ‘ <i>Awf</i> ³⁸⁷ (Beiträge 85; CIK 122).

Raptors

§94. **an(V)q*- “a bird of prey” [the Egyptian vulture] (SED 2, No. 6)

(N)WSC	NA <i>Anāqatu</i> , ‘ <i>A-na-q[a-tū]</i> (?), which is supposed to be based on Ar. <i>nāqa(t)</i> “she-camel” (PNA 110). ³⁸⁸
Aram.	Nab. ‘ <i>nqh</i> (?) (PNNR 164).
Ar.	<i>Anūq</i> (a mythical Yemeni eponym) (Ibn Ḥaldūn 2000 4: 224).

§95. *bawz*, *bāz(i)* “kind of falcon, hawk” (?) (cf. ↑4.1.3.4)

Eb.	<i>Bawz/Bāza</i> , <i>Ba-za</i> , <i>Bāz-i</i> , <i>Ba-zi</i> “My falcon”, <i>Bāz-ay</i> , <i>Ba-za-a</i> (hypoc.), <i>Bāz-i-’Il-um</i> , <i>Ba-zi-LUM</i> “God is my falcon” (ARES 3 207, 291; PEb B 17-20).
Amor.	<i>Ba-za</i> , ^{m+f} <i>Ba-za-tum</i> , (IPNOBS 54), <i>Bazi-Ištar</i> , <i>Ba-zi-EŠ₄-DAR</i> “Aštar is my falcon”, <i>Ba-za-nu-um</i> (CAAA 284, sub <i>bwz</i>).
(N)WSC	MA <i>Ba-zi-i</i> (NAOMA 41), N/LB <i>Ba-zi-tum</i> (NBN 23b) or “Woman from Bazu” (Nielsen 2015: 59).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Bzy</i> (PNPI 76).
Ar.	(<i>Ibn</i>) <i>Bāz</i> (Ikmal 7: 41), <i>Bāz</i> (Littmann 1921: 7), Bed. <i>Al bū Bāz</i> (FN) (Beduinen 4 22b), CAO <i>al-Bāz</i> (FN) (UAE, No. 14256).

³⁸⁶ This term is presumably originally collective, in contradistinction to *špr* (↓§107) (cf. the discussion by Hug in ThWAT 9: 639-40).

³⁸⁷ This two-element name is mostly based on a PN and has no reference to the bird or any DN (see ‘*Abd al-Asad* in ↑5.3). Presumably, the original meaning of ‘*awf* became archaic in CAr. but is preserved in the term ‘*iyāfa* “augury (from bird)”.

³⁸⁸ One can also consider Syr. ‘*anqaṭ* ‘*aylā* “tragacanth”, ‘*anqā*, ‘*enaqtā* “groan” (Brockelmann 1928: 30).

§96. **da'y(-at)* “bird of prey” (SED 2, No. 64)

AAr.	<i>D'y</i> in Saf., <i>D'yt</i> (m) in Saf., His., and Tham. and (f) in Qat., <i>D'ym</i> in Min. and Sab. (HIn 233; ENAH 397; Sholan 1999: 33, 108). ³⁸⁹
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§97. **nVšr-/nVsr-* “vulture, eagle” (SED 2, No. 166)³⁹⁰

Eb.	<i>Našara-I(l)</i> , <i>Na-sa-ra-î?</i> (NI), “The god is a vulture” (?) (ARES 3 227, 354).
Heb.	<i>Nšr</i> (Glatz 2001: 29).
Aram.	OffAram. <i>Nšrw</i> (Lemaire 2002: 274), Hat. as DN: <i>Brnšr'</i> “Son of Nešrā”, <i>'bdnšr'</i> “Servant of N.”, <i>Nšryhb</i> “N. has given”, <i>Nšr'qb</i> “N. has protected”, <i>Nšrltb</i> “May N. do good”, <i>Nšrntn</i> “N. has given”, <i>Nšr'</i> and <i>Nšry</i> (hypoc.) (Ab-badi 1983: 91, 130f; Beyer 1998: 149, sub <i>nešrā</i>), Nab. <i>Nšrw</i> (PNNR 167), Palm. <i>Nšry</i> (PNPI 100), Dura <i>Nisraeus</i> (Gzella 2015a: 458b).
AAr.	as DN: Saf. <i>Ns^lryhb</i> “N. has given”, Sab. <i>Rbns^lrm</i> “N. is the god/great”, Qat. <i>Šfnns^lr</i> (f) “N. has looked down at me/us”; as a one-word PN: <i>Ns^lr</i> in Saf., Tham., and His., <i>Ns^lrh</i> in Dad. (HIn 268, 587; ENAH 471; Sholan 1999: 148ff).
Ar.	<i>Nasr</i> , <i>al-Nusayr</i> (CIK 2 445, 453).

§98. **na/iš(š)-* “kind of bird” (falcon, hawk) (SED 2, No. 168)

Eb.	<i>Našša</i> , <i>Na-za</i> , <i>Naššu</i> , <i>Na-zu</i> , <i>Naššān</i> , <i>Na-za-an</i> (ARES 3 227, 354).
Ug.	<i>Našu</i> , <i>Na-ši</i> , (bn) <i>Nš</i> , (PTU 28, 129; Watson 2007: 100).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Nš'</i> (f) (PNPI 100).
AAr.	Saf. <i>Nš</i> (HIn 590), which could also reflect <i>Nawš</i> (↑§48).

§99. **raḥam-* “bird of prey” [the Egyptian vulture] (SED 2, No. 189)

Heb.	<i>Raḥam</i> (?) (PHIAP 81; Glatz 2001: 29).
Aram.	Nab. <i>Rḥmh</i> , <i>Rḥmy</i> ³⁹¹ (Cantineau 1932: 146; PNNR 60).
AAr.	<i>Rḥmt</i> in His. and Saf., <i>Rḥymt</i> in Min. (ENAH 402; HIn 274).

³⁸⁹ In CAr., *ibnu da'ya* is the crow's epithet (Lane 840).

³⁹⁰ For the confusion of eagle and vulture, see the discussion by Beyer in ThWAT 9: 510-11. Prof Stol draw my attention to the fact that Akk. *našru* “eagle” is now attested as a foreign word, in Akk. texts from the West (George 2013: p. 127, on 16').

³⁹¹ Or from *√rḥm* “to show mercy”.

Ar.	<i>Raḥama</i> (Ikmāl 4: 36) and possibly <i>Raḥmān</i> (CIK 2 484).
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§100. Other names for raptors

*'ay-	“bird of prey” (SED 2, No. 23): Heb. 'Ayyā (PHIAP 146), probably Ar. <i>Yu'yu'</i> “Merlin” (nick.) (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 5924).
*ġVrVn-	“eagle” (SED 2, No. 90): Ug. <i>Ġrn</i> (Watson 2007: 98).
(N)WSC	<i>Ṣaṣî</i> , <i>Ṣa-ṣi-i</i> “Wild bird” (vulture, eagle), <i>ʿṢa-ṣu-a</i> “My wild bird” (PNA 1168ff).
Ar. <i>Ṣ/Saqr</i>	“Falcon”, <i>al-Ṣaqr</i> , <i>al-Ṣuqayr</i> (Ikmāl 1: 380, 7: 432), <i>Ṣqr</i> in Saf., <i>S¹qr</i> in Saf. and Tham., <i>S¹qrm</i> (PN and gentilic) in Sab. (HIn 322, 374), Bed. <i>Ṣaqr</i> , <i>Ṣagr</i> , <i>Ṣagir</i> (Littmann 1921: 13; Hess 1912: 34), CAO <i>Ṣaq/g(i)r</i> (SAR 2, No. 6986; Gaza, No. 543; WB, No. 3423; UAE, No. 4607).
Ar. <i>Zurraq</i>	“Black-winged kite” (nick.) (KN 241; Al-Damīrī 1992: 76, fn. 7), Saf., Nab. <i>Zrq</i> (?) (HIn 297; PNNR 166). ³⁹²
Ar. <i>al-Azraq</i>	“Falcon” (Ikmāl 3: 196, 314; Lane 1228).
Ar. <i>ʿUqāb</i> (m + f)	“Eagle” (Beiträge 86; Al-Ġāḥiḡ 1966 3: 424), <i>Ibn al-ʿUqāb</i> (f) (MAAM 232), in Modern Ar. (Bed. CAO), it is used only as (m) PN: <i>ʿÖgāb</i> , <i>ʿGāb</i> , <i>ʿIqāb</i> (Hess 1912: 40; Littmann 1921: 15).
Ar. <i>Hyṡm</i> , <i>Hayṡam</i>	“Eaglet” (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 124; Iṡtiqāq 390, 565), CAO a common PN (e.g. UAE, No. 19002; WB, No. 152-3, 215; Gaza, No. 434-5).
Ar. <i>Maḡraḡi</i>	“Vulture” (Iṡtiqāq 254) or “Falcon with long wings” (Al-Ḥalil 1980-85 3: 103).
Ar. <i>Qaṡ'am</i>	“Old vulture” (Iṡtiqāq 365), Bed. <i>Āl Qaṡ'am</i> (Beduinen 4 303).
Ar. <i>Qa/uṡāmī</i>	“Falcon” (Beiträge 86; Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60), <i>Qa/uṡām</i> (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), nick. (KN 364), CAO <i>Ṣaqr</i> “Falcon” b. <i>Qaṡāmī</i> “Falcon” b. <i>Ṣaqr</i> “Falcon” (UAE, No. 7354).

Water birds and the like

§101. *k^(v)arkiy-, *kurkiy- “goose, crane” (SED 2, No. 117)

Akk.	OA <i>Kurkāya</i> , <i>Ku-ur-ga-a</i> (OAPN 74), NA <i>Ku-ru-ku</i> (PNA 642) or (↓§117).
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³⁹² For an alternative etymology, see 4.3.1.3.1.

Ug.	(bn) <i>Krk, Krky</i> (PTU 28, 151; Watson 2007: 99), or from <i>ku-ri-/e-ku</i> “a device made of bronze; pick” (Tropper 2000: 287; DUL 455).
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§102. *q(ʷ)a'(q(ʷ)a')-// *qa'(qa')- “kind of bird” (SED No. 126)

Eb.	<i>Qūqa, Gu-ga, Qūqum, gú-gúm</i> “Pelican” or “Cormorant”, <i>Qūq-iyān Gú-gi-a-an, Gú-gi-anu, Gú-gi-wa-an</i> (hypoc.) (ARES 3 230, 314; PEb G 47-8, 56; Bonechi 2011-12: 53), provided they are not based on *gūg- (↓§132).
(N)WSC	<i>Quqû, Qu-qu-u</i> (OMA 337), <i>Quqî, Qu-qi-i, Quqû, Qu-qu-u, Quqû'a, Qu-u-qu-[u-a]</i> (PNA 1018).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Qwq'</i> (PNPI 110).

§103. Other names for water birds

*'a/iw(a)z-, *waz(z)- “goose” (SED 2, No. 22): Heb. <i>ʾŪzay</i> (?) (PHIAP 141ff).
*ġVrnīq- “crane” (SED 2, No. 91): Ar. <i>Ġurnūq</i> (nick.) (KN 343).
Akk. <i>Kupītu</i> “Marsh bird”, NB <i>ʿKu-pi-ti</i> (Nielsen 2015: 184).
Akk. <i>Niqūdu</i> “Marsh bird”, OB <i>ʿNi-qú-da-tum</i> , NB <i>Ni-qu-du, Ni-qu-ud-du</i> (CAD N/2 259; NBN 167ff), Heb. <i>Nəqōdā</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
Akk. <i>Pa'û</i> (f) “Seabird”, <i>Pa-'u-ú</i> (AHw 852; PNA 993).
Akk. <i>Paspasu</i> “Duck”, Oakk. <i>Ba-ba-az</i> (?) (MAD 3 216), OB <i>ʿPa-ás-pa-su-um</i> (ARM 23 611: 9'), MA <i>Pa-ás-pa-su</i> (CAD P 222; NPN 311b).
Amor. <i>Ḫ/Ḫasīdānu(m)</i> “Stork” (?), ³⁹³ <i>Ḫa-sí-da-nim</i> (gen.), <i>Ḫa-sí-da-nu</i> (CAAA, No. 2223-4), <i>Ḫa-sí-da-num</i> (ARM 5 35: 3), <i>Ḫ/Ḫasīdu, ʿḪa-sí-du</i> (CAAA, No. 225).
Ug. <i>Arbn</i> “Water-fowl” (Watson 2007: 97) or a Hurrian name (PTU 220, 223), <i>Ḫqn</i> “Water-bird” (?), <i>Kmy</i> “Waterfowl” (Watson 2006: 450ff).
Ar. <i>Buṭayṭa</i> “Duck” (dimin. < <i>baṭṭ-at</i>) ³⁹⁴ (KN 111), Saf. <i>Bṭ</i> (?) (HIn 108ff),

Crow/raven

§104. *ġurāb-, *ġārib- (SED 2, No. 89)

Akk.	<i>Āribu, A-ri-bu</i> (PNA 131).
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³⁹³ On the probable connection with Heb. *ḫāsīdā*, see Kogan (2003: 253) and Golinetz (2016: 62).

³⁹⁴ Cf. Syr. *baṭ, baṭṭā* (Brockelmann 1928: 66).

Heb.	‘ <i>Ōrēb</i> , ‘ <i>rb</i> (PHIAP 106; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).
AAr.	Saf., His. <i>Ġrb</i> (?) (HIn 453; ENAH 443).
Ar.	<i>Ġurāb</i> (CIK 2 275), <i>Ibn/Umm Ġurāb</i> (Ikmāl 7: 13), <i>al-Ġurbān</i> (tribe) (Beiträge 85), Bed. <i>Ġrayyib</i> (Hess 1912: 42), <i>Ġurāb</i> (Littmann 1921: 16), CAO FN <i>Abū Ġurāb</i> (WB, No. 25302).

§105. Other names for crow/raven

Akk.	<i>Ḥaḥḥur(u)</i> , <i>Ḥa-aḥ-ḥu-ru</i> (PNA 439; NBN 66a), Heb. <i>Ḥarḥūr</i> (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Palm.	<i>N‘b</i> ’ (PNPI 99).
Saf.	<i>Ġdf</i> could reflect CAr. <i>ġudāf</i> “raven” (HIn 452; Lane 2233).

Small (singing) birds

§106. **Vššūr*- “bird” (SED 2, No. 43)

Akk.	OB <i>Iššūriya</i> (Millet Albà 2000: 486), MA <i>Iš-šú-ri-ia</i> (OMA 263), N/LB <i>Iš-šur</i> , <i>Iš-šu-ru</i> (NBN 81b), <i>ʾIš-šur-tu</i> (UET 4 174: 2, 183: 1).
Ug.	(<i>bn</i>) <i>ʾsr</i> (PTU 28, 113).
Ar.	<i>Ibn ‘Ušfūr</i> “Finch” (Beiträge 85), nick. <i>‘Ušfūr al-ġanna</i> “Finch of Heaven” (KN 332), Bed. <i>‘Ošfūr</i> (Hess 1912: 40), CAO <i>‘Ašfūr</i> (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).

§107. **šVp(p)Vr*- “(individual) small bird, sparrow”³⁹⁵ (ThWAT 9: 639-40; SED 2, No. 212)

Eb.	<i>Šibāru(m)</i> , <i>Zi-bar</i> , <i>Zi-ba-ru</i> _{1,2} , <i>Zi-ba-lum</i> (?) (ARES 3 233, 385).
Ug.	(<i>bn</i>) <i>Špr</i> , <i>Šprn</i> , <i>Šu-pa-ra-nu</i> (PTU 28).
Heb.	<i>Šōpār</i> , <i>Šippōr</i> , <i>Šippōrā</i> (f) (Glatz 2001: 29).
Aram.	Palm. <i>Špr</i> ’ (m + f), <i>Špry</i> (PNPI 109).

§108. **zarzī/ūr*- “starling” (SED 2, No. 254)

Amor.	see the examples in ↓§123
Aram.	Palm. <i>ʾrzyrt</i> , <i>Zrzyrt</i> (PNPI 66, 87).

³⁹⁵ As opposed to the collective term **awp* (↑§93).

Ar.	<i>Zurzur</i> (Al-Buḥārī 1360 AH 3: 450), Bed. <i>Zarzur</i> (Littmann 1949: 11), CAO <i>Zarzur</i> as PN (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5) and FN (SAR 3, No. 1288).
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§109. Other names for small birds

* <i>bVl</i> - “kind of small bird” (SED 2, No. 60): Amor. <i>Bu-ul-bu-lum</i> “Nightingale” (? in view of Ar.) ³⁹⁶ (ARM 24 248: 14), Ug. <i>Bl</i> “kind of bird” (Watson 2007: 109), Heb. <i>Bibl</i> “Nightingale” (<Ar? Rechenmacher 2012: 170), ³⁹⁷ Ar. <i>Bulbula</i> (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), <i>Bulbul</i> as nick. (KN 114), CAO as PN (UAE, No. 10779) and FN (WB, No. 359).
Akk. <i>Di(q)diqqu(u)</i> “a small bird”, OB <i>Di-ig-di-gum</i> , LB <i>Di-di-gu-um</i> , <i>Di-iq-di-iq</i> (Stamm 1939: 255; CAD D 159).
Ug. <i>Ḥrṣn</i> “Goldfinch”, <i>ḡrn</i> “Thrush” (Watson 2006: 450), <i>Ḡrdn</i> “Singing (bird)” (?) (Watson 2007: 98).
Ar. <i>Aḥyal</i> “Small (colored) bird” (Coracias?) (Iṣṭiqāq 378f; Al-Damīrī 1992: 21, 96), Saf. <i>ḥyl</i> (HIn 31).
Ar. <i>Birqiš</i> “Fringilla” (Ikmāl 7: 183; Al-Damīrī 1992: 29, fn. 16), His. <i>Brqs</i> ² (ENAH 386), or < <i>Bar-Qōš</i> “Son of DN” (?).
Ar. <i>Ḥuḍayr</i> (Ikmāl 2: 482; Ma‘lūf 1932: 118), CAO <i>Ḥḍērī</i> “Greenfinch” (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4).
Ar. <i>Ḥummara</i> “Robin” in the nick. <i>Ibn lisān al-ḥummara</i> , lit. “Robin’s tongue” (i.e., eloquent) (CIK 2 332; Beiträge 85).
Ar. <i>Qunbura</i> , <i>Qubbura</i> (f) “Lark” (Beiträge 85), CAO <i>Qanbar</i> (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5).
Ar. <i>Ṣa‘w(a)</i> “Kinglet, Wren” (nick.) (KN 300), Saf. <i>Ṣ’y</i> (?) (HIn 373).
Ar. <i>Ṣurad</i> “Shrike” ³⁹⁸ (CIK 2 541; Ma‘lūf 1932: 227).
Ar. <i>Zurayq</i> “Jay” (CIK 2 612), a common nick. (KN 239ff).

Swallow

§110. **su/inūn(Vw/y)-at* (SED 2, No. 197)

Akk.	<i>Ṣinūnūtum</i> , <i>Sinunu</i> “Swallow”, UR III <i>fṢi-nu-nu-tum</i> (Politi and Verderame
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³⁹⁶ Cf. also ↑ 4.1.1.2.2.1.

³⁹⁷ Cf. also JBaram./Mand. *blbl* (Sokoloff 2002: 241b; Drower and Macuch 1963: 55b).

³⁹⁸ Cf. JBaram. *ṣrd*, *ṣrd’* “a permitted bird” (Sokoloff 2002: 971b).

	2005 40, r. 10), OA <i>Šinūnūtum</i> (OAPN 98), OB <i>Ši-nu-nu-tim</i> (IPNOBS 328), ³⁹⁹ <i>Ši-na-nu-tum</i> (YOS 13 280: 12), NB <i>Si-nu-nu</i> (Nielsen 2015: 335).
Ug.	<i>Srnt</i> (Watson 2006: 451).
Ar.	<i>Sunēnwa</i> (f) (Littmann 1921: 12), <i>Sunūnū</i> as FN (WB, No. 24108).

Columbidae

§111. Miscellaneous names

<i>gawzal</i> - “young dove”: Eb. <i>Gūzala/Gawzal</i> , <i>Gū-za-la</i> (ARES 3 213, 315), Ug. <i>Gzl</i> , <i>Gūzalu</i> (PTU 28; Watson 2007: 109).
* <i>sVm(V)m(-at)</i> (SED 2, No. 196): Oakk. <i>Šúm-ma-tum</i> , OB <i>Su-ma-tum</i> “Dove” (CAD S 379) ⁴⁰⁰ NB <i>Šum-ma-tu₄</i> (Joannès 1982 103: 6’), Eb. <i>Summate</i> (ARES 3 232, 371), Sab. and Saf. <i>S¹mnt</i> (f) “Quail”, Had. <i>S¹mhn</i> (f) (- <i>h</i> -/ <i>ahā</i> / < * <i>ø</i> / <i>ā</i> /) (Sholan 1999: 40, 147; HIn 330), His <i>S¹mn</i> , provided it is not from <i>smn</i> “fat” or <i>smm</i> “poison” (ENAH 415), Ar. <i>Summān</i> (Abdallah 1975: 35), <i>Sumāna</i> (f) (Al-Baġdādī 2001 16, No. 7766).
<i>yamām(-at)</i> “pigeon”: Amor. <i>Yamāma</i> , <i>ʿIa-ma-a-ma</i> , <i>ʿIa-ma-m[a]</i> (ARM 26/2 402: 17; CAAA, No. 3347; Streck 2000: §5.22), Heb. <i>Yāmīmā</i> (f) (Stamm 1980: 126; Glatz 2001: 29), Saf. <i>Ymm</i> , <i>Ymmt</i> (HIn 684), Ar. <i>Yamāma</i> (m + f) (Ibn Ḥaġar 1986 7: 59, No. 928; Al-Zarkalī 2002 3: 44), CAO a frequent (f) PN in Syria (SAR 1, No. 10, 12, 111, 124, 385, 724; SAR 2, No. 82, 129, 169, 300).
* <i>yawn(-at)</i> -, * <i>wānay</i> - “dove” (SED 2, No. 252): Eb. <i>Yūnu</i> , <i>U₉-nu</i> , <i>Wāna</i> , <i>Wa-na</i> (ARES 3 241, 373), Heb. <i>Yōnā</i> , <i>Ynh</i> (PHIAP 144; Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 219; Lemaire and Yardeni 2006: 215-16), Had. <i>Ynt</i> , Saf. <i>Ywn</i> , <i>Ywny</i> (?) (HIn 685, 691).
Ug. <i>Hrsn</i> “Dove”, <i>Bgrt</i> “Pigeon” (?) (Watson 2007: 99, 109a; for an alternative etymology, see ↑4.3.1.2).
Ar. <i>krmh</i> , <i>ʿIkrima</i> “Pigeon”, <i>ʿAkārim</i> (pl.), <i>ʿAkārima</i> (pl.) (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 96; Beiträge 85).
Ar. <i>Fāḥita</i> (f) “Ring-dove” (Gratzl 1906: 53; Ikmāl 10: 880b), Saf. <i>Fḥtt</i> , His. <i>Fḥtn</i> (?) (HIn

³⁹⁹ According to Stol (2012: 549), “Swallow” *Šinūnūtum* is probably a name of a female blinded singer. If this theory is true, one can explain the name: a female singer is like a blinded swallow: they sing best!

⁴⁰⁰ Millet Albà (2000: 486-7) links the masc. names *Summān* and *Summatān* to this term. According to Streck (2000: §5.55), *Šummān* (*Su-um-ma-an*) is the abbreviated form of a name like *Šumu-DN* “Descendant of DN”, and this might also apply to the second example (*Su-ma-ta-a-nu-um*), for the suffix *-at* occurs widely in combination with *-ān*, e.g. *ʿAbdatān* < *ʿAbd-DN* (cf. Streck 2000: §5.75 with more examples).

463; ENAH 446).
Ar. <i>Hudayla</i> (f) “Dove” (Gratzl 1906: 53).
Ar. <i>Ḥamāma</i> (f) “Dove”, <i>Ḥamām</i> (pl.) (Beiträge 85), <i>Abu Ḥamāma</i> (Ibn Al-Aṭīr 1996 6: 332), <i>Ḥumyma</i> (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), Tham. <i>Ḥmmt</i> (?) (HIn 203), Bed. <i>Ḥamāma</i> (f), <i>Ḥamām</i> (pl.) (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16).
Ar. <i>Qumriyya</i> (f) “Turtledove” (Gratzl 1906: 53).
Ar. <i>Sa’dāna</i> (f) “Dove” (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60).

Ostrich

§112. Miscellaneous names (only AAr./Ar.)

Najdi <i>Hidz</i> “Male ostrich” (< CAr. <i>hayq</i>) (Hess 1912: 53).
<i>Hiql</i> “Young ostrich” (nick.) (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 7364), Saf. <i>Hql</i> (HIn 620).
<i>Hawzan</i> , <i>Hawāzin</i> (pl.) (Beiträge 86). ⁴⁰¹
<i>al-Na’āma</i> “She-ostrich” (mostly nick.), <i>Ibn al-Na’āma</i> , <i>Na’ām</i> (pl.) (CIK 2 439; KN 443), <i>N’mt</i> (m) in Had., Saf. ⁴⁰² and (f) in Sab. (HIn 594), CAO <i>Na’āma</i> (f) (SAR 2, No 10209, 29514; SAR 4, No. 21607).
<i>Ra’l</i> , <i>Ra’lān</i> “Ostrich offspring” (Ištiqāq 204; Ikmāl 3: 306), <i>R’l</i> (m) in Qat., His. and (f) in Dad. and Saf., <i>R’yīm</i> (f) in Qat., <i>R’lt</i> (f) from Qaryat al-Faw (HIn 262; ENAH 400; POI 144ff).
<i>Ra’la</i> (f) “She-ostrich” (Gratzl 1906: 53), Had. <i>R’ltm</i> (f) (Sholan 1999), Bed. <i>Ra’ēlān</i> , <i>Ra’le</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 26).
<i>Ḍulaym</i> “Male ostrich” (dimin. < <i>ḏalīm</i>) (CIK 2 614; Al-Damīrī 1992: 115), nick. <i>Ḍū Ḍalīm</i> (KN 213), <i>Ḍlm</i> in Saf., Qat., and Sab. (HIn 393), provided it is not <i>Ḍālīm</i> “Unjust” (CIK 2 614).

Partridge

§113. Miscellaneous names

* <i>ḡagal-</i> (SED 2, No. 97): Amor. <i>Ḥagalum</i> , <i>Ḥa-ga-lu-um</i> , <i>Ḥa-ga-lim</i> (gen.), <i>Ḥagaliya</i> , <i>Ḥa-ga-li-ia</i> (Durand 1997: 638, n. 512; CAAA 91, sub ‘agal; or Akk. <i>agālu</i> ↑§48; cf. the discussion in
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⁴⁰¹ Ibn Durayd gives “an unknown bird” (Ištiqāq 291).

⁴⁰² Saf. *n’m(t)* is reliably attested outside the onomasticon (Al-Jallad 2015: 203).

↑4.1.1.3), Ug. *Hgln* (Watson 2007: 95), Heb. *Ḥaglā*, *Ḥglh* (PHIAP 80; Rechenmacher 2012: 170), Saf. *Hgl*, *Hgln*, Tham., His *Hgl* (HIn 178; Shatnawi 2002: 670ff), Ar. *Ḥaḡal* (CIK 2 291; Ikmāl 2: 250), Bed. *Ḥaḡalī* (Littmann 1921: 8), CAO FN *Abū Ḥaḡale* (WB, No. 18158).

Akk. *Būšu(m)* “Rock partridge” (?) (CDA 50), UR III, *Bu-zi*, *Il-būšī*, DINGIR-*pù-zi* “God is my *būšu*-bird” (?), *Pù-zi-a*, *Pù-zum*, *Bu-za-ti-a*, *Bu-za-tum* (MAD 3 92), OB *Bu-ša-tum*, *Bu-šī-ia*, *Bu-zi-im* (IPNOBS 70; ARM 16/1 83; ARM 21 70: 3), OA *Bu-šī-ia* (Sturm 2000, fn. 16), *^fBu-šī* (Veenhof 2010 70: 5, 14), MA *Bu-ša* (OMA 187), N/LB *Bu(-ú)-šu* as PN and FN (NBN 51b; YOS 6 37:7), Eb. *Būš-ān-u(m)*, *Bù-za-nu*, *Bù-za-núm*, *Būš-ī*, *Bù-zi*, *Bu₁₆-zi* “My *būšum*-bird”, *Būš-u*, *Bu-zu* (PEb B 69ff), Ug. *Bšy* (?) (Watson 2006: 450).

Heb. *Gūnī* “Black-winged partridge” (?) (IPN 230; Glatz 2001: 29; for an alternative explanation, see ↑4.2.1, sub No. 29), Ug. *Gn* (?) (Watson 2006), Heb. *Qōrē*, *Qr’h*, *Qry* (Rechenmacher 2012: 171).

Ar. *Sulayk*, *Sulka* (f) (Ištiqāq 246; Beiträge 85ff).

Owl

§114. Miscellaneous names

Ug. *Ġs*, *Aky* (?) (Watson 2007: 98, 108).

Ar. *Būma* (nick.) (Ikmāl 1: 564, KN 119), *Ṣadā* “Male owl”⁴⁰³ (Ikmāl 5: 37; Al-Damīrī 1992: 98), *Nuhām* “Male owl” (CIK 2 448; Lisān 14: 312).

Sandgrouse

§115. Miscellaneous names

**k(V)dVr(r)*- “sandgrouse (?)” (cf. the discussion in ↑4.3.1.1, sub No. 49): Akk. MB *Ku-du-ra-a-nu*, *^fKu-du-ra-ni-tum* (CAD K 494; PKTN 125), NA, N/LB *Ku-du-ra-nu* (PNA 632, NBN 92a; Nielsen 2015: 178), Ug. (*bn*) *Kdrn* (PTU 28), Ar. *Kudayr*, *Kudayra* (Ikmāl 7: 129).

Ar. *Hawḏ(a)* (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 58, CIK 2 281), *Qatāt* (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53), (m) nick. (KN 365), CAO *Giṭāya* (f) (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4), *al-Ya‘qūb* “Male sandgrouse”, with the same spelling as the Ar. version of the biblical name Jacob (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60).

⁴⁰³ Cf. OAram. *šdh* “owl” (DNWSI 960).

Chicken

§116. Miscellaneous names

<p>*<i>parḥ</i>- “chick, brood” (SED 2, No. 179): Heb. <i>ṗrḥ</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 170), <i>Pārūḥ</i> (Glatz 2001: 29), Saf. <i>Frḥ</i> (HIn 465), Ar. <i>Farḥ</i>, <i>Farḥi</i> (CIK 2 245), nick. <i>al-Farḥ</i>, <i>Farḥawayh</i> (plus the hypoc. <i>-wayh</i>) (KN 351), <i>Furayḥ</i> (Ibn Ḥaḡar 1421 AH, No. 314), CAO FN <i>al-Farḥ</i> (WB, No. 15419, 26202).</p>
<p>*<i>parg</i>- “kind of bird (hen, quail)” (SED 2, No. 187): Ug. <i>Prgn</i> (Watson 2007: 95; or ↑§75), Ar. <i>Ibn Farrūḡ</i> (Ikmāl 4: 180).</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Ṣwayṣ</i> “Little brood” (dimin. <i>ṣūṣ</i>) (Littmann 1921: 13), FN <i>Ṣūṣ</i> (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 244).</p>
<p>Heb. <i>Škwy</i> “Rooster” (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 171).</p>
<p>Ug. <i>Trn</i> “Hen, Rooster” (?) (Watson 2006: 451).</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Daḡāḡa</i> (f) “Hen” (Gratzl 1906: 53), CAO <i>ḡāḡe</i> (FN) (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Dīk</i>, <i>Duyayk</i> “Rooster” (Beiträge 85), nick. <i>al-Dīk</i> (KN 198), CAO <i>Dwēč</i> in Iraq (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4), <i>Dīk</i> as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).</p>
<p>Ar. <i>Zaḡlūl</i> “Brood”⁴⁰⁴ (of dove or chicken) (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 5; Ḥittī 2003: 42), FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 244).</p>

Unidentified/unclassifiable birds

§117. Miscellaneous names

<p>*<i>VbbVl</i>- “kind of bird” (SED 2, No. 3): Ug. <i>Abbly</i> (?) (Watson 2007: fn. 29).</p>
<p>*<i>pVrpVr</i>- “kind of bird” (SED 180): Heb. <i>Prpr</i> (?) (cf. ↑4.2.1, sub No. 51), Ar. <i>Furfur</i> “Sparrow, Small aquatic bird”, <i>Ibn Furfūr</i> “Sparrow” or “Fat lamb” (Ikmāl 7: 88; Lane 2357), Nab. <i>Prpryw</i> (PNNR 164).⁴⁰⁵</p>
<p>Akk. <i>Kurkurru</i> “ein Vogel” (AHw 511): possibly OB <i>Kú-ur-kú-rum</i> (IPNOBS 182), OA <i>Ku-ur-ku-ri-im</i> (gen.) (Veenhof 2010 51: 10).</p>
<p>Amor. <i>Burburum</i> “kind of bird”,⁴⁰⁶ <i>Bu-ur₂-bu-ru-um</i>, <i>Burburān</i>, <i>Bu-ur-bu-ra-an</i> (CAAA, No.</p>

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. CAR. *zuḡlūl* “little child” and *zaḡlūl* “young camel, sheep, or goat” (Lane 1235).

⁴⁰⁵ For an alternative etymology, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

1370, 1376; Millet Albà 2000: 485).
Ug. <i>Apn</i> , <i>Argb</i> , <i>Arkbt</i> , <i>Isg</i> , <i>Bbru</i> , <i>Ḥlly</i> , <i>Ḥlp</i> “Offspring” (?), <i>Ktln</i> , <i>Šn’t</i> (Watson 2006: 450ff), <i>Nnr</i> , <i>Nan-ni-ra-ia</i> (Watson 2007: 99ff).
Ar. <i>Bahdal</i> , <i>Bahdala</i> “kind of (green) bird” (Ištiqāq 557), <i>Sandarī</i> “Kind of bird” (Ištiqāq 378ff) or “Quick/brave man, lion”, etc. (Lane 1144c).

REPTILES

Snake

§118. Miscellaneous names

*’ <i>ap’aw</i> (SED 2, No. 11): Ar. (<i>al-</i>) <i>Af’ā</i> “Viper”, <i>Af’ā Nağrān</i> (CIK 2 142, Ištiqāq 362).
* <i>ḥVwVy-</i> (SED 2, No. 95): Pho. <i>Ḥwt</i> (a name of a goddess) (Donner and Röllig 1968: 102, No. 89), perhaps also Heb. <i>Ḥwh</i> (Beyer 1984: 574), Hat. <i>Ḥwy</i> (Beyer 1998 H 18, 2), Nab. <i>Ḥyt</i> ⁴⁰⁷ (PNNR 164), Sab., Qat. <i>Ḥyt</i> (f) (Schaffer 1981: 297), Ar. <i>Ḥayya</i> (f) (Gratzl 1906: 53, Ikmāl 2: 324), CAO <i>Abū al-Ḥayyāt</i> (pl.) as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).
* <i>šarap-</i> (SED 2, No. 215): Heb. <i>Šārāp</i> “Cobra” (Rechenmacher 2012: 171), (N)WSC <i>Sar-pi-i</i> (PNA 1092).
Heb. <i>Nāḥāš</i> , <i>Nāḥšōn</i> “Snake” (PHIAP 81, 96; IPN 230).
Ar. <i>Ḥanaš</i> “Viper, Reptilian” ⁴⁰⁸ (CIK 2 297), nick. (KN 170), CAO <i>Ḥanaš</i> , <i>Ḥanaša/e</i> (f) as patronyms/matronyms (e.g., SAR 4, No. 102079, 10825) and as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243; SAR 4, No. 24188), <i>Ḥniš</i> (dim) as patronym and FN (SAR 4, No. 596, 1405).
Akk./NA <i>Še-ra-a-nu</i> , <i>Ši-ra-a-nu</i> “Snake-like” or “He of the steppe” (PNA 1169). Ug. <i>Šry</i> , <i>Aym</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 102; see the discussion in ↑4.3.1.2).
Ar. <i>Arbad</i> “Huge large-headed snake” (<i>Bitis arietans</i>) (CIK 2 192; Al-Damīrī 1992: 94), Bed. <i>‘Örbid</i> (Hess 1912: 39), CAO <i>‘Irbid</i> (Al-Jumailly and Hameed 2014: 5).
Ar. <i>Arqam</i> “Diadem-snake”, <i>Ruqaym</i> , <i>Raqmān</i> , <i>al-Arāqim</i> (sub-clan) (Ištiqāq 71, 336, 440,

⁴⁰⁶ This Amor. term has its correspondence in Heb. *barbūr*, the exact lexical meaning of which is not clear (cf. SED 2, No. 61).

⁴⁰⁷ It could also mean “animals” (in general) in view of Saf. *hyt* (Al-Jallad 2015: 203).

⁴⁰⁸ Kogan (SED 2, p. 211) adopts the argument that the traditional comparison of Heb. *nāḥāš* to Ar. *ḥanaš* is rather unlikely due to the questionable metathesis and sibilant correspondence.

551; Ma'lūf 1932: 269).
Ar. <i>Aswad</i> “Huge black snake”, ⁴⁰⁹ “Greatest”, or, less likely, <i>aswad</i> -bird (Iṣṭiqāq 94; Lane 1461c, 1463b).
Saf. ‘ <i>mg</i> could reflect Ar. ‘ <i>amağ</i> , ‘ <i>ummağ</i> , ‘ <i>awmağ</i> “snake” (HIn 435; Lane 2151).
Ar. <i>Tu'bān</i> “Huge (male) snake” (Al-Zaraklī 2: 213; Lane 337), Bed. <i>Ta'bān</i> ⁴¹⁰ (Beduinen 4 446).
Ar. <i>Ḥirbiš</i> “Rattlesnake” (Ikmāl 2: 424; Lisān 3: 104).
Ar. <i>Ḥubāb</i> “Snake” (Iṣṭiqāq 308), nick. <i>al-Ḥubāb</i> (KN 147), Saf., His., Tham. <i>Ḥbb</i> either reflects this form or <i>Ḥabīb</i> “Beloved” (Shatnawi 2002: 668; HIn 172).
Ar. <i>Banū Qutayra</i> is based on <i>ibn qitra</i> “a kind of snake” (Iṣṭiqāq 369).
Ar. <i>Banū Raqāš</i> , <i>Raqāšī</i> (f) “Serpent” (speckled with white-black) (CIK 2 485; Lane 1135), Tham. <i>Rqš</i> (f), Qat., Had. <i>Rqšm</i> (HIn 285; Shatnawi 2002: 697, POI 154).
Ar. <i>Šu/iğā'</i> (probably the same as <i>Arbad</i> above) ⁴¹¹ (CIK 2 531; Ma'lūf 1932: 6).

Lizard

§119. Miscellaneous names

* <i>ḥVm(V)ṭ</i> - (SED 2, No. 99): Heb. <i>Ḥamūṭal/Ḥamīṭal</i> (f) with the diminutive ending <i>-al</i> (↑4.1.2, sub No. 33), OArām. <i>Ḥmṭṭ</i> (Maraqten 1988), <i>Ḥa-am-tu-tu</i> (PNA 449), OSyr. <i>Ḥmṭṭ</i> (↑4.3.1.1, sub No. 47).
* <i>ḥVrd/dān</i> - “kind of lizard” (SED 2, No. 102): Ar. <i>Ḥirdawn</i> “Agama” (nick.) (KN 153), CAO <i>Ḥardūn</i> as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).
* <i>šabb</i> - [Uromastyx] (SED 2, No. 221): Heb. <i>Šōbēbā</i> (PHIAP 106; Rechenmacher 2012: 171), Palm./Hat. ‘ <i>b</i> ’ could reflect Syr. ‘ <i>abbā</i> (< * <i>šabb</i> -) (PNPI 102; Abbadi 1983: 134) or ‘ <i>Abba</i> ’/‘ <i>Abbay</i> , the Ar. hypoc. of ‘ <i>Abd-DN</i> (Beyer 1998 H 11, 1, 13, 2, 96, 101, 1), His., Saf. <i>Ḍb</i> , <i>Ḍbt</i> (HIn 380; ENAH 380), Ar. <i>Ḍabb</i> , <i>Ḍabba</i> , <i>Ibn Ḍabbā'</i> (CIK 2 240, 243), Bed. <i>Ḍbayb</i> (Hess 1912: 33).
* <i>waran</i> -, * <i>waral</i> - “varan” (SED 2, No. 246): Saf., His. <i>Wrl</i> (HIn 640; ENAH 81, 481).
Eb. <i>Birbirr-ānu</i> , <i>Bir₅-bī-la-nu</i> (ARES 3 208, 292; PEb B 39).

⁴⁰⁹ On the difference between *aswad*-snake and *af'ā* “viper”, see Al-Ġāḥiẓ (1966 4: 244-6, 304).

⁴¹⁰ Or a variation of *Ta'bān* “Tired”.

⁴¹¹ The term *šu/iğā'* also means “brave”.

Akk. *Ṣurārū* “Lizard”, OAkk. *Zu-ra-ri-tím* (?) (MAD 3 246), OB *Ṣú-ra-rum*, *Su-ra-rum* (IP-NOBS 302), *Ṣú-ra-ru-um* (AHw 1114).

Hat. *Zbwg'* “Lizard” (Abbadi 1983: 103).

Ar. *Ġahl*, *Ġaḥla*, *Ġuḥayl* “Chameleon”⁴¹² (Ikmāl 2: 50, 398), Saf., Tham. *Gḥl* (HIn 154).

Ar. *Ḥisl*, *Ḥusayl* “Young-*ḍabb*” (Ištiqāq 104; CIK 2 335), Saf. *Ḥsl*, *Ḥsln* (HIn 189), Bed. *Ṣḥaylī* (a metathesis) (Hess 1912: 28), CAO FN *Suḥliyya* (Atawneh 2005: 157).

Turtle

§120. Miscellaneous names

**raqq-* (SED 2, No. 190): Akk. *Raqqu*, *Ra-qu-ú*, *Raqqitu*, *ʿRaq-qí-tú* (PNA 1033), Ug. *Rqn* (?) (Watson 2007: 102).

**š/salahpaw/y-* (SED 2, No. 202): Akk. *Šelep̄p̄tū(m)*, *ʿŠe-lep-pu-up-tu₄*, *ʿŠe-le-pu-tum* (Frayne 1997: 267; NBN 201b; Baker 2004 19: 8).⁴¹³

Heb. *Gālāl*, *Gll* (Rechenmacher 2012: 170).

ARTHROPODS

Ant

§121. Miscellaneous names

**ḥVbVš-* (SED 2, No. 96): Ar. *Ḥubšī*, *Ḥubšīyya* “Big red ants” (Ištiqāq 39, 468, CIK 2 372).

**nam(V)l-* (SED 2, No. 163): OB *Namālum*, *Na-ma-lum*, *Namālatum*, *Na-ma-la-tum* (hypoc.), (WS in CAD N/1 208; Akk. in AHw 725), Ug. *Nimaliya*, *Ni-ma-la-ia* (Watson 2007: 106), Pho-Pun. *Nml* (PNPPI 239, 360), Nab. *Nmylw* (PNNR 167),⁴¹⁴ Saf., Had. *Nml* (HIn 80, 600), Ar. *Naml* (pl.), *Namla*, *Numayl*, *Numayla* (m + f), *Abū/Ibn Numayla* (CIK 2 445, 450; Ikmāl 1: 516), Bed. *Nimla* (f), *Numēle* (f) (Littmann 1921: 19; Hess 1912: 51), CAO *Abū Namla* as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).

**šumšum-*, **sumsum-* (SED 2, No. 205): Eb. *Šaššammānu*, *Sa-sa-ma-nu* (ARES 3 235, 361; Bonechi 2011-12: 53), (N)WSC *Simsimānu*, *Si-im-si-ma-nu* (PNA 1112).

Akk. *Ku/albābu(m)*, *Kulbību(m)*, OB *Ka-al-ba-bu-um* (Durand 1997, fn. 241), NB *Kul-bi-bi*

⁴¹² It also denotes “dragonfly” and “*ḡu‘al*-beetle” (Lisān 2: 188: 100; Ma‘lūf 1932: 87).

⁴¹³ As mentioned above (sub *šēlebu* in §16), the fem. forms *Še-le-bu-tum* could also reflect *Šelep̄p̄tū*.

⁴¹⁴ For an alternative option, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

(YOS 17 113: 10, NBN 218).

Bee, wasp

§122. Miscellaneous names

**di/ab(b)ūr-* (SED 2, No. 66): Pho-Pun. *Dbr* (PNPPI 239, 300), Heb. *Dəbōrā* (f) (PHIAP 107; Rechenmacher 2012: 170), Ar. FN *Dabbūra* (SAR 2, No. 13994) and *Abū Dabbūr* (WB, No. 4739).

**nVhl-* (SED 2, No. 160): Ar. *Ibn Naḥla* (nick.) (Ibn Al-Dubayṭī 2006, No. 2492), CAO *Naḥle* as FN (Atawneh 2005: 157).

**nūb(-at)* (SED 2, No. 156): Akk. OB *^mNu-ba-tum* (nick.) (AHw 800), *^fNu-ba-ta*, *^fNu-bu-ta* (Millet Albà 2000: 486; CAAA, No. 5065), LB *^fNu-ub-ta-a* “My (beloved) bee” (NBN 168b) or from *nūptu* “gift” (AHw 800).

Ar. *Ḥašram* “Wasps” (collective term) (Al-Buḥārī 1360 AH 2: 217; Al-Saḥāwī 1992 3: 174), *Ya’sūb* “Drone, Dragonfly” (CIK 2 592), *Zunbūr* “Hornet” (Ikmāl 4: 190; Ma’lūf 1932: 128), nick. (KN 244).

Cricket

§123. Miscellaneous names

**šarša/ūr-* (SED 2, No. 213): Oakk. *Za-za-ru-um* (?) (MAD 3 246), OA *Šé-er-šé-ri-im* (Veenhof 2010 6: 38), provided it is not based on *zerzerrum*-locust (AHw 1523a), OB *Ša-ar-ša-rum*, *Ša-ša-ra-a-ia* (ARM 23 440: 17; OBTR 206), *Sa-an-sa-ar* (Durand 1997: 638 viii 36, with fn. 511), NA *Ša-an-šu-ru* (PNA 1168), N/LB *Ša-an-šī-ri*, *Ša-ši-ru* (NBN 184b), Eb. *Šaššarum*, *Za-za-lum* (ARES 3 233, 384), Amor. (?)⁴¹⁵ *Šuršurum*, *Zu-ur-zu-ru-um*, *Zu-ūr-zu-ru-um*, *Šuršurtum*, *^fZu-ūr-zu-ru-tum*, *Šuršuriya*, *Zu-ur-zu-ri-ia* (CAAA, No. 6652-54; IPNOBS 366; or <*za/urzūr* †§108), Ar. *Šuršur* (nick.) (KN 299), FM *Šaršūr* (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 244).

**zīz-* “kind of insect”⁴¹⁶ (SED 2, No. 255): Oakk. *Zi-za-núm* (MAD 3 312), OB *Zi-za-nu-u[m]*, *Zi-za-num* (YOS 8 96: 6; ARM 19 177: 4, 178: 4), N/LB *Zi-’z[u]* (?) (VAS 3, 149: 11), Ug. *Zzn* (?) (Watson 2007: 101), Heb. *Zizā*, provided it is not a lallative (PHIAP 141; IPN 41).

Aram. *nāšōr* “cricket” is most probably reflected by Hat. *Nšr* (Beyer 2013: 54) and Dura

⁴¹⁵ Cf. the discussion in †4.1.1.2.2.1.

⁴¹⁶ It could give the same meaning as Ar. *zīz* “cicada” (Ma’lūf 1932: 64).

Naωop (Gzella 2015a: 463a). The latter name is incorrectly connected to *nšr* “to defend, help” by Grassi (2012: 237).

Ar. *Ġudġud* “Cockroach” (Ibn Ḥaġar 1421 AH, No. 1111; Lane 387a).

Flea

§124. **pVrgVt-*, **pVrtaġ-* (SED 2, No. 185)

Akk.	Oakk. <i>Pir₆-ḥa-šum</i> , <i>Pir₆-ḥa-šu-um</i> , <i>Pir₆-ḥa-sum</i> , <i>Bi-ir-ḥa-šum</i> , OB <i>Per-ša-ḥu-um</i> , N/LB <i>Pu-ur-šu-ú</i> , <i>Pur-šu-ú</i> , <i>Pir-šu-ú</i> (CAD P 414).
Eb.	<i>Purġāt-u</i> , <i>Bur-ḥa-áš</i> , <i>Bur-ḥa-šu</i> , <i>Bur-ḥaš</i> , <i>Purġāt-Tīr-u</i> , <i>Bur-ḥáš-ti-lu</i> “Flea of the attendant” (?) (ARES 3 295; PEb B 74).
Amor. ⁴¹⁷	<i>Pur‘ušānu/Purġušānu</i> , <i>Pu-ur-ḥu-ša-nu</i> (CAAA, No. 5184; Streck 2000: §2.142).
Ug.	<i>Prġt</i> (PTU 28).
Pho-Pun.	<i>P/br’š</i> (PNPPI 293).
Heb.	<i>Par‘ōš</i> , <i>Pr’š</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 171; Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 221).
Ar.	<i>Burġūt</i> (CIK 2 224), also nick. of three persons, one of them being <i>Bu/argūt al-sunna</i> “The flea of the Sunnis” (KN 106), Bed. <i>Berġūt</i> , <i>Brayġīt</i> , <i>Barġaš</i> (Hess 1912: 11; Littmann 1921: 6), CAO FN <i>Berġūtī</i> , <i>Barāġīt</i> (pl.) (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).

Fly

§125. Miscellaneous names

* <i>dVb(V)b</i> (SED 2, No. 73): Akk. <i>Zu-un-bu</i> (SAA 6, 103:1, 6), <i>Zu-um-bu</i> (NBN 220b), Amor. ⁴¹⁸ <i>Ḍababum</i> , <i>Za-ba-bu-um</i> , <i>Ḍabbum</i> , <i>Za-ab-bu-um</i> , <i>Ḍābibum</i> , <i>Za-bi-bum</i> , <i>Ḍibibum</i> , <i>Si-bi-bu-um</i> , <i>Ḍubābūm</i> , <i>Du-ba-bu-um</i> , <i>Su-ba-bu-um</i> (dimin.), <i>Ḍubābatum</i> , <i>^fDu-ba-ba-tum</i> (dimin.) (CAAA 18, 127-30; Streck 2000: §5.34), Saf. <i>Ḍbb</i> (HIn 248), Ar. <i>Ḍubāb</i> (CIK 2 238), provided it is not based on <i>Ḍubāb</i> “edge of the sword” (Lane 952), Bed. <i>Banū Ḍubāb</i> (Beiträge 88).
Ar. <i>Ḥaraša</i> , <i>Ibn Ḥaraša</i> (f), <i>Abu Ḥarāša</i> (Al-Buḥārī 1360 AH 3: 213; Al-Damīrī 1992: 47), <i>Ḥawta‘(a)</i> (Ištiqāq 328).

⁴¹⁷ Cf. †4.1.1.2.2.1.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. †4.1.1.2.2.1.

Locust and grasshopper

§126. Miscellaneous names

*'a/irbay- (SED 2, No. 11): Ug. <i>Irbn</i> (PTU 28).
*g(ʷ)Vb-, *gVb- (SED 2, No. 75): Heb. <i>Hgbh</i> (<i>h- + gōb + -h</i>) (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: 218), Palm. <i>Gwb'</i> (PNPI 81).
*ga(n)dab- (SED 2, No. 80): WSC <i>Gindibu'</i> , <i>Gi-in-di-bu-u</i> (<Ar.) (PNA 424), Ar. <i>Ĝndb</i> (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 45), <i>Ĝandab/Ĝundub</i> , <i>Ĝunaydib</i> (Beiträge 89; CIK 2 265ff), Bed. <i>Ĝundub</i> (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16), CAO <i>Ĝindib</i> as FN (WB, No. 15279).
*garad- (SED 2, No. 83): Saf. <i>Grd</i> (HIn 158), Ar. <i>Ĝarād</i> (CIK 2 257), nick. <i>Ĝarāda al-wā'iz</i> "Locust, the preacher" (Al-Šafadī 2000 11: 49), Bed. <i>Ĝarād</i> , <i>Ĝrayyid</i> (Littmann 1921: 7), CAO <i>Ĝarād</i> as FN (WB, No. 16663).
<i>ḥagVb-</i> : Eb. <i>Ḥagibum</i> , <i>À-gi-bù-um</i> (ARES 3 270), Ug. <i>Hgby</i> , <i>Hgbt</i> , <i>Hgbn</i> , <i>Ḥa-ga-ba-nu</i> , <i>'bdḥgb</i> (the god Resheph?) (PTU 28, 84, 134f, DUL 357), Heb. <i>Ḥāgāb</i> , <i>Ḥagābā</i> , <i>Hgb</i> (PHIAP 96; Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
*ḥargVl- (SED 2, No. 103): Amor. ⁴¹⁹ <i>Ḥarga/āl(um)</i> , <i>Ḥa-ar-ga-al</i> , <i>Ḥa-ar-ga-lum</i> (CAAA, No. 1957-8), Nab. <i>Ḥrglw</i> (Cantineau 1932: 99), Tham., His. <i>Ḥrgl</i> (Shatnawi 2002: 673; ENAH 387), Ar. <i>Ḥarḡal</i> , <i>Ḥarḡūl</i> (Beiträge 89).
*qVšam- (SED 2, no 139): Ug. <i>Qšm</i> (Watson 2006: 452).
Akk. <i>Ka(l)labuttu</i> , <i>ᶜKa-al-bu-ut-tum</i> , <i>ᶜKa-la-bu(-ut)-tum</i> (CDA 142; NBN 87b).
Heb. <i>Gazzām</i> "Grasshopper" (?) (Rechenmacher 2012: 170).
Ar. <i>Dubayya</i> (m + f) "Little locust" (< <i>dabāt</i>) (Ikmal 3: 311, 392; Beiträge 89), <i>Ḥanṭab/Ḥunṭub</i> "Male locust/beetle" (Ištiqāq 120).
Ar. <i>Ĝaḥdab/Ĝuḥdub</i> "Locust" (<i>Gryllus cristatus</i>) (CIK 2 256; Al-Damīrī 1992: 34, fn. 2), <i>Ĝuḥaydib</i> (Al-Saḥāwī 1992 3: 66), Bed. <i>ᶜĜḥaydib</i> (f) (Hess 1912: 14).

Gnat/bug

§127. Miscellaneous names

*baqq- (SED 2, No. 58): UR III/OB <i>Baqqum</i> , <i>Ba-ak-kum</i> , <i>Baqqānim</i> , <i>Ba-aq-qa-nim</i> (gen.), <i>Baqqānum</i> , <i>Ba-aq-qa-nu-um</i> (CAAA, No. 1037, 1049-50), OA <i>Ba-qú-nim</i> (gen.) (Larsen
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⁴¹⁹ Cf. †4.1.1.2.2.1. Note that Akk. *ergīlu* and *erḥizzu* (a *hapax legomenon*) are attested in Mari texts, but not as PNs (Lion and Michel 1997: 719ff).

2010 166: 22), NB *Ba-aq-qa*, *Baq-qu* (NBN 22b), Eb. *Baqq-u*, *Ba-gu* (PEb. B 10), Amor. *Biqāqum*, *Bi-ga-gu-um*, *Bi-ka-ki-im* (gen.), *Buqqān*, *Bu-ga-an*, *Buqaqum*, *Bu-qa-ku-um*, *Bu-qa-kum*, (all are dimin.) (CAAA, No. 1242, 1349-53; Huffmon 1965: 152; Streck 2000: §2.35, 2.90), Saf. *Bqt*, *Bq*, His. *Bqqt* (dimin. *buqayqa?*) (HIn 113; ENAH 369), Ar. *Baqqa* (f) (Lisān 1: 464), Bed. *Baqqān* (Littmann 1921: 6).

**pVšpVš-*, **pVspVs* (SED 2, No. 183): Ug. *Pṭpt* “Bedbug” (Watson 2006: 452).

Ug. *Kny*, *Ki-ni-ya* (?) (cf. the discussion in ↑4.3.1.2).

Lice

§128. Miscellaneous names

**q(ʷ)aml-*, *qalm-* (SED 2, No. 130): OAkk. *Kāl-ma-tum* (CAD K 86), *ʿKà-la-ma-ti* (Heimpel 2009: 354), Palm. *ʿqml*, *Qmlʿ* (PNPI 72, 110), Saf. *Qml*, Tham. *Qmlt*, Had. *Qml*, *Qmlm*, *ʿqml* (f) (HIn 488; POI 215f; Sholan 1999: 32, 100), Ar. nick. *Ĝāʿa qamluhu* “His lice became hungry” (Littmann 1948: 7), *Gmēle* (f), *Gāmīle* (f), *Gāmīl* (Hess 1912: 47), CAO *Abū Qamīl* as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).

**pVl(y)-* (SED 2, No. 175): Ug. *Ply*, *Pí-la-ia* (Watson 2007: 104).

Ar. *Farʿa* (f) (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 61).

Moth and butterfly

§129. Miscellaneous names

**sā/ūs-* “moth” (SED 2, No. 198): Eb. *Sāsu*, *Za-zu*, *Za-zú-um* (ARES 3 231, 384), OAkk. *Sá(a)-súm/sú-um*, *Sá-sá-tum*, *Sá-sí-ia* (AHw 1033a; MAD 3 237), OA *Sá-sí-a*, *Sà-sí-a* (Sturm 2000, fn. 16), OB *Sà-sà*, *ʿSà-sà-tum*, *Sà-si* (IPNOBS 260), NA *Sa-a-su* (PNA 1095), N/LB *Sa-si-ia* (NBN 180a), Ug. *Ss*, *Ssn* (PTU 28, 186ff), Pho-Pun. *Ssʿ* (PNPPI 239; or < **sVwsVw* ↑§47), Ar. nick. *Sūsat al-ʿilm* “Weevil/moth of knowledge” (i.e., addicted to knowledge) (KN 271-2)

Ug. *krmt* “Butterfly” (Watson 2006: 452).

Scarabs/dung-beetle

130. Miscellaneous names

**gVʿVl-* (based on Ar. and Eb.⁴²⁰): Heb. *Gaʿal*, *Gʿly* (Rechenmacher 2012: 170), OAram. *Gʿlʿ* (Maraqten 1988: 149), Palm. *Gʿl*, *Gʿylw/y* (PNPI 82; for an alternative explanation, see

⁴²⁰ *Giʿlānum*, *gi-la-(a)-nūm* = ZA-GIR in a bilingual list of animal names (Sjöberg 1996: 22).

↑4.3.1.3.1), Saf. *Gʿl* (HIn 163), Ar. *Ĝuʿal*, *Ĝuʿayl* (Ištiqāq 336; CIK 2 262ff), nick. *al-Ĝuʿal* (KN 139), Bed. *Ĝʿēlān*, *Ĝʿēwil* (Hess 1912: 15).

Ar. *Ĝa/undaʿ* (m + f), *Ĝundaʿa* (Ištiqāq 170, 173; CIK 2 266; Gratzl 1906: 54).

Scorpion

§131. Miscellaneous names

**aqrab-* (SED 2, No. 31): Aram.: Nab. *ʿqrb* (Cantineau 1932: 134), Hat., Palm. *ʿqrbn* (Ab-badi 1983: 155f; PNPI 107), OSyr. *ʿqrb* (Drijvers and Healey 1999: Am10: 12), Dura *Ακραβανης*, *Ακραβανης* (Grassi 2012: 133), AAr. *ʿqrb* as (m) in Saf., His., Tham., Dad., Sab. and (f) in Qat, *ʿqrbn* in Saf. and His. (HIn 427; ENAH 435; Shatnawi 2002: 724; POI 191ff), Ar. *ʿAqrab* (f + m) (Ibn Saʿd 2001 10: 298, 304, 347; CIK 2 191), *ʿUqrubān* “Male scorpion, Centipede” (CIK 2 574; Lane 2111), *ʿGērib* (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16), CAO *ʿAqrab* and *ʿAqraba* as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 243).

Akk. *Zuqāqipu* (only OAkk., see ↑3.4.2).

Ar. *Šabwa*⁴²¹ (Ikmāl 5: 37; Lisān 7: 25).

Spider

§132. Miscellaneous names

**ankab(īt)* (SED 2, No. 33): Ar. *ʿAnkab* (nick.) (KN 339).

**gūg-* “spider, kind of insect” (uncertain base; SED 2, No. 77): (N)WSC *Gūgūya*, ^{m+f}*Gu-gu-ú-a*, *Gāgayā*, ^f*Ga-ga-a* (?) (NBN 64b), *Gugī*, *gu-gi-i* (PNA 427), Heb. *Gōg*, *Ggy* (or lallative names) (PHIAP 137).

Ug. *Tan* (Watson 2007: 109b).

Ar. *Šabaṭ*, *Šubayṭ* “Sun-spider”⁴²² (Ištiqāq 223; CIK 2 251; Ikmāl 5: 31), Nab. *Šbytw* (Cantineau 1932: 148),⁴²³ His. *S²bṭ* (ENAH 81, 417), Bed. *Šbayṭe* (f) (Hess 1912: 31).

Ar. *ʿUkāša*, *ʿUkkāš(a)* (Ikmāl 10: 532; Lisān 9: 340), Bed. *ʿAkkāš* (?) (Hess 1912: 41).

⁴²¹ SED 2 (No. 218) lists Ar. *šabw(-at)/šabāt* “scorpion” and *šawšab* “kind of lice, scorpion” under an assumed PS **šVbay(-at)* “kind of insect” reconstructed in view of Akk. *šubabītu/šupapītu* “an insect” (CAD Š/3 168) “eine Larve” (AHw 1256) and Heb. *šibay* “spider”. However, the zoological identification of the mentioned insects makes this unlikely.

⁴²² Maʿlūf (1932: 110): “Galeodes”.

⁴²³ For an alternative etymology, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

Tick and the like

§133. Miscellaneous names

**q^wVrVd-/qVrd-* (SED 2, No. 135): Amor. (?)⁴²⁴ *Qurdān*, *Gu-ur-da-an* (CAAA, No. 1799), Palm. *Qrd'* (PNPI 110; see also ↑4.3.1.3.1), Tham. *Qrd* (HIn 479), *Qurad* (CIK 471), *Qurād* (pl.) (Ikmāl 7: 81), nick. (KN 361), Bed. *Grāde* (f) (Hess 1912: 46).

ḥamn-(at)- (in view of Ar., Lane 650; the ancient Sem. PNs are uncertain): Ug. *Ḥmny* (Watson 2007: 101), Nab. *Ḥmyn* (Cantineau 1932: 97), Palm. *Ḥmnwn* (dimin.?)⁴²⁵ (PNPI 89), Tham., His., Saf. *Ḥmn*⁴²⁶ (Shatnawi 2002: 678; HIn 203; ENAH 932), Ar. *Ḥamna* (f), *Ḥumayn* (Ikmāl 2: 514, 534).

Saf., His. *Qrs²m* could reflect CAR. *qiršām* “large tick” (HIn 480; ENAH 449).

Ar. ‘*Alas*, *Ḥalama*, *Ḥurqūs*, *Qamqām* (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 61; Beiträge 90).

Worm

§134. Miscellaneous names

**bik^(w)ay-*, **bukay-* (SED 2, No. 57): Eb. *Bukā-nu(m)*, *Bù-ga-a-nu*, *Bù-ga-núm*, *Bù-gú-nu*, *Bu_{1,4}-gú-nu* “Like-a-Bukānu-Worm” (Bonechi 2011-12: 53; PEb B 58).

**ḍVr(r)-* (uncertain; SED 2, No. 74): Ug. *Ḍrm* (?) (Watson 2007: 100), Ar. *Ḍr* (Al-Kilābī 2009: No. 216), *Ḍarr*, *Abū Ḍarr*⁴²⁷ (Ibn Qutayba 1988: 60; CIK 235).

**rimm-at* “kind of insect, worm” (SED 2, No. 191): Heb. *Rymh* (?) (Lemaire and Yardeni 2006: 215-16, ostracon. 12: 6), Ar. nick. *Ḍu al-Rimma* (MAAM 127).

**tawli‘(-at)-* “worm” (SED 2, No. 230): Heb. *Tōla‘* (PHIAP 105; Rechenmacher 2012: 171).

Heb. ‘*Aršā* “Woodworm” (Glatz 2001: 29; see also ↑4.2.1, sub No. 9).

Saf. *Ngft* may reflect CAR. *naḡaf-* “sheep-moggot, bot” (HIn 596).

Ar. *Duwayd* “Little worm” (< *dūd(a)-?*),⁴²⁸ *Dūdān* (Beiträge 90).

⁴²⁴ Cf. ↑4.1.1.2.1.

⁴²⁵ For an alternative etymology, cf. ↑4.3.1.3.1.

⁴²⁶ Or from *ḥmm* “to heat”, like *Ḥammān*, *Ḥimmān*.

⁴²⁷ The description of the insect in classical sources applies to “*Solenopsis-geminata*” (Al-Damīrī 1992: 65, fn. 2).

⁴²⁸ Alternatively, the name could be the diminutive of *Dāwūd*.

Additional arthropods

§135. Miscellaneous names

Eb. <i>Kalbīyānum</i> , <i>Ga-bí-a-nu</i> “Dog fly” or “Tick” (Bonechi 2011-12: 53), OB <i>Kal-bi-ia-a-tum</i> (could also be the hypoc. of <i>kalb</i> ↑§14) (Dalley 2009 5: 11), Ug. <i>Klbyn</i> (PTU 28).
Eb. <i>Kulīl-i</i> , <i>Gú-li-li</i> “Dragonfly”, <i>Kulīl-ūn-u</i> , <i>Gú-li-lu-nu</i> (hypoc.) (PEb G 58), OB <i>Kulīla</i> (f) (Millet Albà 2000: 486).
Eb. <i>Kuzāzu</i> , <i>Gú-za-zu</i> “Biting insect” (PEb G 65), OA <i>Ku-za-zim</i> , <i>Ku-za-zi</i> (gen.) (OAPN 76).
Ug. <i>Ayh</i> “Caterpillar” (?), ⁴²⁹ <i>Tlln</i> “Insect” (Watson 2006: 452; Watson 2007: 101).
OAram. <i>Nabūzā</i> , <i>Na-bu-za-a'</i> “Centipede” (?) (PNA 908).
Ar. <i>Ḥarīš</i> “Centipede” ⁴³⁰ (Beiträge 89).

AMPHIBIA

Frog

§136. Miscellaneous names

* <i>dVVI-</i> (SED 2, No. 68): Ug. <i>Dll</i> , <i>Da-li-li</i> (Watson 2006: 453).
* <i>qVr(V)r-</i> (SED 2, No. 137): Ug. <i>Qrr</i> , <i>Qrrn</i> (Watson 2006: 453), Palm. <i>Yqrwr</i> (PNPI 91).
* <i>šVpardī'-</i> (SED 2, No. 222): Sab. <i>Dfd'</i> (HIn 383), Ar. (Bed.) <i>Difda'</i> , <i>Dfēdi'</i> (Al-Šamsān 2005: 16).
Ug. <i>Nqq</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 109b).

FISH AND AQUATIC ANIMALS

§137. Miscellaneous names

* <i>abVw-</i> “kind of fish” (SED 2, No. 27): Ug. <i>'by</i> (?) (Watson 2007: 103).

⁴²⁹ For an alternative explanation, see the discussion in ↑4.3.1.2.

⁴³⁰ This term should not be confused with *ḥarīš* “rhinoceros” (< Ge'ez) (Leslau 1987: 244).

<i>nūn</i> - “fish” (AHw 803; DNWSI 722): Akk. <i>Nūnī</i> , <i>Nu-ni-ia</i> “My fish” (PNA 967), ⁴³¹ Heb. <i>Nūn</i> (Rechenmacher 2012: 170), OffAram. <i>Nnt</i> (?) (Lemaire 2002: 274), Nab. <i>Nny</i> , <i>Nny</i> , <i>Nnwt</i> (dimin.?) (Cantineau 1932: 121; PNNR 165), Saf., His. <i>Nn</i> (HIn 601; ENAH 473), Ar. <i>Nūna</i> (f) (Ikmāl 1: 373), nick. <i>Dū al-Nūn</i> (KN 221).
Akk. <i>Agargarūtu</i> , <i>ʿA-ga-ar-ga-ru-ti</i> “Fish” (<Sum.) (PTKN, 21), Ar. <i>Ġirreyya</i> (f) “Clarias” ⁴³² (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4).
Akk. <i>Kuppû(m)</i> “Eel”, ⁴³³ MB <i>Ku-up-pu</i> (PKTN 126), N/LB <i>Ku-up-pu</i> , <i>Kup-pu-tu</i> , <i>ʿKu-up-pu-(ut-)tum</i> (NBN 92b), Ug. <i>Kpyn</i> (Watson 2006: 453).
Akk. <i>Nāhiru</i> “Dolphin” (PNA 922).
Akk. <i>Alluttu</i> (f) “Crab” (AfO 42/43 63: 12), <i>Šīlangītu</i> , <i>ʿŠī-la-an-gi-tu</i> , “Fish” (Baker 2002: 8).
Ug. <i>Dg</i> “Fish” (PTU 28), Heb. <i>Dgʿ</i> (PHIAP 166).
Ug. <i>Kty</i> “Crab” (?) (Watson 2007: 103).
Heb. <i>Pənnā</i> (f) “Coral”, <i>Taḥaš</i> “Dolphin” or “Dugong” (?) (Glatz 2001: 29).
Ar. <i>Ḥūt</i> “Whale, Fish” (CIK 2 337), Nab. <i>Ḥwtw</i> (PNNR 166), ⁴³⁴ <i>Ḥt</i> in Saf., His., Tham., and Had., provided it is not from <i>√ḥtt</i> “to fleet” (HIn 175; ENAH 385; Shatnawi 2002: 669), Bed. <i>Ḥūtān</i> , <i>Ḥwēt/Ḥwayt</i> (Hess 1912: 20; Littmann 1949: 15).
Ar. <i>Sumayaka</i> (f) “Little fish” (Gratzl 1906: 53), CAO FN <i>Samak</i> (Littmann 1949: 3), CAO <i>Šabbūt</i> “Carp”, ⁴³⁵ <i>Bunniyya</i> (f) “Barbel” ⁴³⁶ (Al-Jumaily and Hameed 2014: 4), from Egypt <i>Bulṭiyya</i> (f) “Cichlid” and <i>Šīlabāya</i> (f) “Schilbid catfish” (Littmann 1949: 3).

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§138. *waḥš*- “wild beast” (Ar.)

Nab. *Wḥšw* (PNNR 165), Saf., His., Tham. *Wḥs²*, Saf. *Wḥs²n*, *Wḥs²l*, either “The wild beast of god” or the verbal form *Waḥaš-Il* (HIn 636), Ar. *Waḥš*, *Waḥšī* (CIK 584), nick (KN 448), Bed. *Waḥš* (Littmann 1921: 19), *Wāḥāš* (f) “Falcon” (in the Najdi dialect) (Hess 1912: 53),

⁴³¹ CAD N/2 341a: the element *Nu-nu* in personal names is probably a foreign word.

⁴³² Cf. JBaram./Mand. *gyrytʿ* “kind of fish” (Sokoloff 2002: 283; Drower and Macuch 1963: 92b).

⁴³³ Cf. JBaram. *kwp̄yʿ* “kind of fish” (Sokoloff 2002: 565).

⁴³⁴ For an alternative etymology, see ↑4.3.1.3.3.

⁴³⁵ This term is probably a loan from Aram. *šbwṭ*, *šbwṭʿ* (Brockelmann 1928: 751; Jastrow 1903: 1565).

⁴³⁶ Cf. Syr. *bynyt* (Brockelmann 1928: 69).

CAO *Wahš* and *W(u)hūš* as FN (Tushyeh and Hamdallah 1992: 244).

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Samenvatting

Dankzij de uitzonderlijk lange geschreven geschiedenis van de Semitische taalfamilie kunnen wij beschikken over een bijzonder rijke verscheidenheid aan persoonsnamen uit een periode die loopt vanaf het midden van het 3e millennium BCE (Akkadisch) tot onze huidige tijd (Arabisch, maar deels ook [Bijbels-]Hebreeuws en Aramees).

Het doel van deze studie was om het gebruik van diernamen in drie taalgroepen te bestuderen (Akkadisch, Noordwest Semitisch en Arabisch) vanuit taalkundig en sociaal-cultureel oogpunt. Voor dit doel ben ik uitgegaan van drie hoofdvragen: (1) het voorkomen van deze namen in het Onomasticon, (2) de redenen voor het gebruik ervan, en (3) de impact van familietradities, sociale omgeving en cultuurveranderingen op dit gebruik. Het onderzoek bestaat uit vier analytische hoofdstukken. In hoofdstuk twee, met zijn uitgebreide overzicht van naamgevingstradities in de betreffende taalgroepen, zet ik het kader voor het onderzoek uiteen. Hoofdstukken drie, vier en vijf zijn gewijd aan diernamen in het Akkadisch, Noordwest Semitisch en het Arabisch.

Hoofdstuk twee geeft continuïteit in naamgeving in alle onderzochte talen aan en geeft aanwijzingen voor een aantal gemeenschappelijke aspecten. Naamgeving was een psychologische en sociaal-culturele uitdrukking voor een tijdgebonden/specifieke omstandigheid van de naamgever (bijvoorbeeld een omstandigheid gerelateerd aan de bevalling, familie, een ziekte, nostalgie, etc.) of zijn/haar religieuze of culturele verwantschap. Twee Semitische talen, Amoritisch en Arabisch hebben allebei wat we kunnen definiëren als ‘naamgevende dromen’, dat wil zeggen dat het kind een naam krijgt die rechtstreeks is ontvangen in een droom of wordt vernoemd naar een gedroomd voorwerp. In familieverband zijn twee praktijken waargenomen: (1) het vernoemen naar een familielid, man/vrouw, in het Akkadisch, Amoritisch, Palmyreens, en Arabisch (tot onze huidige tijd), en (2) harmonische naamgeving: twee of meer familieleden dragen namen die etymologisch, morfologisch, of categorisch/semantisch gerelateerd zijn (in het Akkadisch en Arabisch maar nauwelijks in het Palmyreens). Buiten de familiecontext, in de bredere samenleving, zijn status-gerelateerde namen en programmatische en ideologische namen (dat wil zeggen, die een politieke boodschap uiten/overbrengen) ruimschoots aangetroffen in het Akkadisch, Amoritisch en Arabisch, met name onder hoge ambtenaren in de omgeving van de koning en militaire leiders. Ten slotte, typische slavennamen komen voor in het Akkadisch en Arabisch.

De drie taalspecifieke hoofdstukken over dierennamen leverden de volgende conclusies:

- Dierennamen komen in alle Semitische talen voor als één-woord namen, achtervoegselnamen, en samengestelde namen. Hun aantal varieert echter van de ene taal naar de andere, afhankelijk van de rijkdom van het Onomasticon: Arabisch (257), Akkadisch (88), Hebreeuws (78), Ugaritisch (ca. 68), Aramees (ca. 60), Amoritisch (ca. 38), en Fenicisch (12).

- Dierennamen komen niet voor als goddelijke elementen in het Arabisch of in het Hebreeuws (vermoedelijk als gevolg van Yahwistische tradities), en duiken veel vaker op in het Akkadisch dan in het Amoritisch, Aramees of Ugaritisch. Hun aanwezigheid kan worden verklaard door de symbolische rol die dieren speelden in religie, kunst en literatuur. Het andere type van theofore namen, dier-van-DN (= goddelijke naam), komt in al deze talen voor, en het zou een notie van tederheid of het behoren tot een bepaalde godheid (hond/kalf/schaap/lam/geit/-van-DN) of eer (leeuw-van-DN) kunnen weergeven.

- Dierennamen wijzen op een oorspronkelijk 'Proto-Semitische' onomastische achtergrond vol van metaforische, affectieve en beschermende elementen. Er is echter geen bewijs voor totemisme of dierenaanbidding.

- Familie tradities (vernoemen naar een mannelijk of vrouwelijk familielid) speelden een belangrijke rol in het voortbestaan van dit soort namen, zoals blijkt uit samples uit het Akkadisch, Palmyreens en Arabisch.

- In de distributie ervan in de samenleving, blijken dierennamen meer voor te komen onder mannen dan onder vrouwen en meer onder gewone mensen dan onder de elite en slaven.

- In het geval van Arabisch, waar deze namen zijn nog steeds in gebruik zijn, wijst ons onderzoek op een langdurige weerstand van de traditionele 'pre-islamitische' naamgevingsmethoden tegen islamitische naamgeving. Het duurde minstens drie eeuwen voordat Hadith-instructies invloed kregen op naamgeving. Hoewel deze invloed duidelijk is waargenomen in stedelijke en meer religieuze milieus, was deze tot voor kort onder nomaden geheel afwezig, hetgeen kan worden toegeschreven aan het behoudende karakter van hun naamgevingspraktijken. In hedendaags Arabisch, in het bijzonder in stedelijke milieus, zijn verschillende dierennamen als voornamen verdwenen (behalve namen die verwijzen naar eervolle en elegante dieren), maar hebben het overleefd als bijnamen. Dank zij deze overleving kunnen wij concluderen dat de islamitische instructies niet in staat zijn geweest de naamgeving in de samenleving als geheel onder controle te krijgen, maar wel in

de familiekring. Met andere woorden, terwijl voornamen immuun zijn wegens familiale waarden, zijn bijnamen beïnvloedbaar door het gezag van de gemeenschap.

Curriculum Vitae

Hekmat Dirbas was born on September 8th, 1976, in Aleppo, Syria. Between 1994 and 1999, he completed a BA in History at the University of Aleppo. This was followed by a two-year Postgraduate Diploma in Semitic languages. Between 2005 and 2008, he did a Research Master in Assyriology: *Feminine Correspondence in the Mari Achieves: A Comparative Linguistic Study*, at the same university. During these years of study, he worked as a teacher. Between 2001 and 2003, he served as a high school teacher in Aleppo, Ministry of Education, and between 2004 and 2011, as a primary school teacher at the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), Aleppo, where he received a Diploma in Education in 2006. From 2011 to 2016, he pursued a PhD in Semitic languages at Leiden University under the supervision of Prof. dr. H. Gzella and Dr. J.G. Dercksen.

