Thy Name is Deer, Animal names in Semitic onomastics and name-giving traditions : evidence from Akkadian, Northwest Semitic, and Arabic

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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-līṣi* "May a son come out", *Nabû-šumu-libūr* "O DN, may the son stay in good health", and *Šamaš-šumu-līšir* "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).

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[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 *-abluṭ, -uballiṭ*) or the rescue of the child (with *-īṭir, -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

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[13] E.g., *Bītum-gāmil* "The temple is the one who spares", *Bītum-nūrum/šēmî/rabi* "The temple is the light/the listener/great", *Ebabbar-tukultī* "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-abī* "Sippar is my father" (Bowes 1987: 684, 725).

[15] E.g., *Nārum-abum/ilī/ilum* "The (divine) river is the father/my god/the god" (Bowes 1987: 1096), *Idiglat-ummī* or *Ummī-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", *Qīš-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-bulluṭsu-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-dūrī/dūršu* "DN is my/his fortress", *DN-dimtī* "DN is my tower", *DN-šadî/šadûni* "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-mātim* "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-dīnī* "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*

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

"May DN see", *Lištašīm-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), *Erīb-DN* "DN has compensated", *DN-erībam* "DN has compensated for me", *Rībam-ilī* "O my god, give me compensation", *Ilu-paḫḫir* "O god, unite" (i.e., the family again). Others express trust or complaint: *Aḫa-lā-amaššī* "I must not forget the brother", *Mannu-lū-aḫūya* "Who will be my brother?" (Stamm 1939: 278ff), *Aḫu-eki* "The brother is an orphan", *Ekī* "My orphan," *Ummī-tūra* "My mother, come back to me" (NPN 291), *Lū-tēnê* "May he be my replacement" (PNA 672), and possibly *Lā-imūt* "He must not die" (i.e., a family member) and *Lā-mašê* "Unforgettable" (PNA 651). We have also the names compounded with *ḫabil* (stative) "taken/snatched away" (referring euphemistically to a dead person): *Ḫabil-aḫī* "My brother is snatched away", *Kīnu-ḫabil* ""The faithful one is snatched away", *ᶠḪabil-bēlī* "My master is snatched away", etc. (Stamm 1939: 296-7; NPN 291, 305; CAD Ḫ 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", *Aḫūni* "Our brother", *Bēlšunu* "Their lord" (i.e., his siblings) (Stamm 1939: 242ff), *Aḫāssunu* (f) "Their sister", *Aḫātum* (f) "Sister" (IPNOBS 17), *Šī-waqrat* (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: *Aḫulap-Šamaš* "Enough, o DN", *Ilī-wedāku* "My god, I am alone" (Stamm 1939: 161), *Mini-ḫaṭi-ilī* "In what respect have I sinned, o God?", *Arnī-ul-idī* "I do not know my sin", *Minam-ešīṭ* "What did I do wrong?" (Stol 1991: 200). We have also *Adi-mati* names "How long", e.g., *Adi-mati-ilu* "How long, O god?" (Stamm 1939 162, and fn.1; NPN 297b). A name like *Imtīdam* (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-ṣaḫḫitu* (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", *Ipṭur-Sîn* "DN has redeemed (for

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

me)", *Akšak-ipṭuram* "(the city of) Akšak has redeemed for me". Other examples are *Sîn-tamkarī* "DN is my merchant", *Kasap-DN* "Silver of DN", and *Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu* "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 *Sapḫum-lipḫur* "May the scattered gather" and the other examples of *paḫārum*-names, most of which are composed with DNs (Ilum, 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 *Ma-ti-utta-ālī* "When will I find my city?" and *Litūr-ālī* "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-ālī* "The king is my city", *Šarru-balti-nīšē* "The king is the pride of people", *Šarru-dūrī* "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-kīnatim* "Reign of righteousness", *Palâšû-līrik* "May his reign last", *Ṭāb-palâšu* "His reign is pleasant" (CAD P 72) and *ḫaṭṭum* "scepter": *Tarīš-ḫaṭṭum* (f) "The scepter has rejoiced", *Takūn-ḫaṭṭum* (f) "The scepter is stable" (Durand 1984: 130ff). One can also refer to names containing military terms, like *ṣâbu* "troops": *Ṣâbū'a* "My troop" and *Ṣâbu-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:

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[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-naḫiš* "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", *Nisanītum* (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-ūṣī* and *Ūṣī-ina-puqši*, both meaning "He came out with difficulty"[22] (Edzard 1998: 109; Joannès 2001: 584) suggest a painful delivery, while *Tūṣi-damqat* (f) "She came out – she is fine" and *Iptaṭar-līsir* "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", *Awīlumma* "It is a man", *Ikšud-appašu* "His nose has arrived" (Stamm 1939: 127), *Tūlid-šamšī* "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), *Nuḫāš* "Luxuriant" (NBN 168), *Ḫanṭu* "Quick" (PNA 457), *Ḫaṣṣinu* "Always affording protection" (PNA 464), *Kazubtu* (f) "Luxuriant" (PNA 609), *Lā-zakāri* "Ineffable" (PNA 659), *Lussumu* "Swift" (PNA 671), *Munnabitu* "Fugitive" (PNA 768), *Mussa'ītu* (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., *Ḫâdê-lībūšu* "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-libâšu* "Let them speak, let them come to shame", *Lidbubū-līpušū* "Let them speak, let them do (whatever they will)" (PNA 661-2), *Muzammerī-lībūšu* "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: *Isḫunnatum* (f) "Bunch of grapes", *Burāšu* (f) "Juniper", *Larindu* (f) "Pomegranate", *Šallūrum/Šallūrtum* (f) "Plum" (?) (Stamm 1939: 255-56), *Inbu* "Fruit",

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[21] Cf. Eb. *Ḫaggi-'āl* "(Born on the) festival of the city" and *Niššanu* "Born in spring" (ARES 3 269, 356).
[22] Cf. Eb. *Pušq-ī* "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-upnīšu* (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 *aḫum* "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-Amurrum bear Amurrum-names: *Ibni-Amurrum* and *Māri-Amurrum* (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 *ṣillu* "protection", *Ṣilli-šamaš* and *Ṣilli-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 *Ṣilli-Šamaš* (Kalla 2002: 150).

- Family Sîn-nāṣir (Sippar): three out of the six sons of Išme-Ea bear Ea-names: *Qīš-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).

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[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. *Ibnīšu-ilišu* "DN has created/His god has created him" (IPNOBS 116).

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

Ilšu-bāni s. *Ilšu-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:

* awīlum "man" (OB)

Awīl-Ištar s. *Awīliya* "Man of DN/Man of DN (hypocoristicon)" (IPNOBS 49).

Awīl-ili s. *Awīl-Amurrum* "Man of the god/Man of DN" (IPNOBS 48).

* idu "arm, strength" (OA)

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

Idī-Su'en s. *Idī-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)

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[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. *Aḫušina* "The good brother/Their brother (i.e., the sisters)" (IPNOBS 21).

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

Bēlī-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-iqīšam s. Ilšu-ibbišu (Kalla 2002: 148).

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

Sanum II s. Iddin-Amurrum s. Ištar-ilī s. Sanum I (ibid. 147).

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

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[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 Ilī-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-tappêšu* (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-aḫḫē* s. *Ninurta-nāṣir* s. *Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē* (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:

> Asalluḫi-nādin-aḫi, 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 Arkuḫi 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 Asalluḫi-nādin-aḫi, who cited the

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

Apparently, *Ištar-šamšī* "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 *nadītum* 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 *bēltum* "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-*

ummeānī "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 *ᶠᵈRīm-Sîn-ᵈŠala-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: *ᶠTarām-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., *Bēlī-libluṭ* "May my master live". The second subgroup reflects pleas towards the master, e.g., *Naplisi-bēltī* "Look at me graciously, my mistress". Another possibility is the utterance of confidence, e.g., *Atkal-ana-bēltī* "I trust in my mistress", or praise towards the master e.g., *Bēltī-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

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[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-dūrī*, *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* "Door-keeper", *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 names[31] 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* = *Ilšu-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-nāṣir-apli* = *Širku*, *Nergal-ušīzib* = *Puršu'* (Wunsch 2000: 12).

- *Nabu-mušētiq-ṣēti* = *Bazuzu*, *Nergal-ašarēd* = *Dādiya* (Joannès 1989: index of PNs).

- The three women: *Ṣiraya* = *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).

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[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, *Rēmanni-Bēl qallašu ša Rēmūt šunšu imbû* "Rēmanni-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 iṭṭaridu* "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-uballiṭ/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 thier 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).

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[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: *Naẓmiyya* (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; Golinets 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. Šimatum, the daughter of Zimrī-Lîm and the wife of Ḫaya-Sūmu of Ilan-Ṣura wrote to her father as follows:

> And concerning the daughter of Tēpaʿum, a man revealed himself in my dream and (said), "Let the little baby, the daughter of Tēpaʿum, 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, Tēpaʿum 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., *Tašūb-nawû* (f) "The steppe has returned" (i.e., to the kingship circle), *Tanūḫ-nawû* (f) "The steppe has calmed down", and names with the element *mātum* "country": *Tušīm-mātum* (f) "The country has taken a decision" (Akk.), *Takūn-mātum* (f) "The country has become stable" (Akk.), and *Tatūr-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 Yaḫdun-Lîm's region (the ancestor of Zimrī-Lîm). The frequency of prophecies during the time of Zimrī-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 Yaḫdun-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 *Tašūb-nawû* and *Tatūr-mātum*, which share the same concept expressed in the name of one of Yaḫdun-Lîm's years "The year Yaḫdun-Lîm has marched to (the town of) Ḫēn 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 *istiḫāra* and fatwa literature (↓2.3.2.4.2). Thus it seems probable that Šimatum conducted a kind of rite which is similar to Islamic *istiḫāra*, given that the role of the Amor. diviner in the text is somehow similar to that of the *mufti* in our Ar. data.

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[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 Yaḫdun-Lîm, see Charpin and Ziegler (2003: 41ff).
[37] MU *ia-aḫ-du-li-im a-na ḫe-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 *śamś-*, light *nīr-* rock *ṣūr-*), a kinship term (father *'ab-*, brother *'aḫ-*, son *bin-,* etc.), or a political term (e.g., king *malik-*). The most common DNs are Yaraḫ/Eraḫ, Haddu/Addu, and Dagan (Streck 2000: §1.120). Yaraḫ/Eraḫ 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 Annunītum (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-/lîm-* (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 *ḫāl-*, 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-

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[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-'aḫ* "The brother is a supporter" (No. 579), *Qāmu-ma-'aḫī* "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), *Aḫī-DN* "DN is my brother" (CAAA 205, √'ḫ; Nakata 1993: 117), *Bun(u)/Bin(u)-DN* "Son of DN", *Binat/Binti/Bintu-DN* (f) "Daughter of DN" (CAAA 286, √bn), *Śumu-DN* "Offspring of DN" (CAAA 351, √śm), and (b) status: *'Abd-DN* "Servant of DN" (CAAA 257, √'bd; Nakata 1993: 119), *Ḏu-DN* "Belonging to DN" (CAAA 295, √ḏ), 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).

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[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'ḏa/ir-DN* "DN has helped", *'Aḏrī-DN* "DN is my help" (CAAA 259, √'ḏr), *Ba'dī-DN* "DN is behind me/in favour of me" (CAAA 281, √b'd; Huffmon 1965: 173), *Yayšu'-DN* "DN has helped", *Iš'ī-DN* "DN is my help" (CAAA 276, √yš'), *Ḏimrī-DN* "DN is my guard/protection" (CAAA 297, √ḏmr), *Ya'qub-DN* "DN has protected", *'Aqbī-DN* "DN is my protection" (CAAA 265, √'qb), *Yanqim-DN* "DN has taken vengeance", *Niqim/Niqmī-DN* "DN is (my) vengeance" (CAAA 334, √nqm).

(4) Involvement of the deity in events of birth (thanksgiving names): *Yabnī-DN, Tabnī-DN* (f) "DN has created" (CAAA 288, √bny), *Yantin-DN* "DN has given" (a child/replacement) (CAAA 336, √ntn), *Ya'ūś-DN* "DN has given as a present" (Streck 2011: 457), *Yaḏra'-DN*, lit. "DN has sown (the seed)" (a metaphoric expression) (CAAA 398, √ḏr'), *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/'aḫu/'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 √mrṣ "to be sick, sad, angry" if we assume sadness about a recent death, e.g., *Yamra/uṣ-'El* "DN has become sad", *'Aḫī/'Abī-maraṣ* "My brother/father is sad/sick", and *Binu-maraṣ* "The son is sad" (CAAA 324, √mrs).

(6) Perception and consideration (thanksgiving and wish names): *Yaśma'-DN* "DN has heard" (i.e., a prayer/request) (CAAA 356, √śm'), *Ya/iydi'-DN* "DN has recognized", *DN-da'um/da'atum* (f) "DN is the one who knows" (CAAA 271, √yd'), *Yaḏkur-DN* "DN has remembered" (CAAA 296, √ḏkr).

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

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

(9) Judgment and justice (trust names): *Yaśartī-'el* "The god is my justice" (Streck 2011: 457), *Yadīn-DN* "DN has ruled/judged" (CAAA 291, √dyn), *Yaṣduq-El* "DN has proved to be just", *DN-ṣaduq* "DN is just" (CAAA 365, √ṣdq).

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

proved to be firm", *Yakīn-DN* "DN has made firm" (CAAA 302, √*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, √*ytr*; Streck 2011: 454ff).

(11) Affection and compassion: *Yaḥun(n)-DN* "DN has proved to be gracious", *Ḥanna-DN* "Gracious is DN" (CAAA 250, √*ḥnn*; Streck 2011: 457), *Ya/irḥam-DN* "DN has shown mercy" (CAAA 342, √*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: *'Aminum, 'Aminatum* (f) "Trustworthy", *Āmirum/Āmiratum* (f) "Commander, Speaker" (CAAA 13), *Da'um* "knowledgeable" (ibid. 17), *Gayida* (f) "Good" (ibid. 18), *Ḥakamatum* (f) "Wise" (ibid. 19).

(2) Physical features: *'Adamu* (f) "Red" (ibid. 13), *Labnum* "White" (ibid. 24), *'Uḏḏunān* "Big-eared" (ibid. 14), which could be a metaphor for a smart or obedient person.

(3) Names expressing joy over the birth: *Na'īmum/Ni'mum/Ni'matum* (f) "Delight, Pleasure" (ibid. 27), *Śum(m)uḫum* "Very joyful (ibid. 33), metaphors, e.g., *Nīrum, Nīra/Nūrtum* (f) "Light" (ibid. 27).

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

(5) Names indicating the status of the child in the family: *Bakirum/Bakūratum* (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 *Marṣum/Marṣatum* (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 *Niḫḫatum* (f) (ibid. 7; No. 5030), which should be normalized as *Nig'atum* and thus connected to Durand's interpretation of the Amor. notion of *nig'um* "territory where nomads search for pasture" (√*ng'*) in view of Ar. *naǧa'a* (Durand 2004: 120). The name-bearer was possibly born during such a nomadic seasonal journey. Another example is *Šalgum*<*Ṯalgum* "Snow" (CAAA 33b), which might indicate that the name-bearer was born during the snow.

(7) Names denoting social positions or status: *'Adanum* "Master", *'Adantum* "Lady" (ibid. 13), *Śugāgum* "Sheikh, chieftain of pasture" (ibid. 33).

(8) Names of locality: these are of *Mut-GN* type and formed with: (a) names of mountains: Bišri, Ebiḫ, Ḫamānum, (b) rivers: Ḫabur, Ḫanat, Ḫirmaš, or (c) lands, towns, or ethnic groups: Amnanum (Benjaminite tribe), Apum (i.e., the land of Canaan), and Ḫalab (Aleppo) (Durand 1991). An interesting example which is not formed with a DN or GN is *Mut-arri* "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. Zimrī-Lîm of Mari called his three sons after his ancestors, that is, *Yaggid-Lîm* (his grandfather), *Ḫadnī-Addu/ʿAdnī-Addu* (his father), and *Yaḫdun-Lîm/Yaʿdun-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/Yamḫad three appear with the name *Yarīm-Lîm* and two with the name *Ḫammu-rāpi/ʿAmmu-rāpiʾ* (Charpin 2004: 391). The same holds for 'mammonymy' as the case of Zimrī-Lîm's daughters suggests. The princess *Addu-dūrī* 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 Yaḫdun-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 Śamśī-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, *Yasmaḫ-Addu/Yasmaʿ-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 (*śmʿ*).

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[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-bāštī* "My father is my dignity", *Abī-nīrī* "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'), *Uṣur-pî-šarrim* "Guard the order of the king", and *Eli-ilī-bīlšināti* "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-mātīšu* "He (the king) is good for his country", *Ṭāb-eli-ummanīšu* "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-šēmêšu* "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., *Yaḫdun-Lîm-ilī* "(the king) Yaḫdun-Lîm is my god" (Durand 1984: 132).

As for the religious circle, an interesting candidate of Amor. status-related name is *Annu-tabnī* (f) "Annu has created", a female ecstatic (*muḫḫūtum*) of the goddess Annunītum (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. *Yarīm-Lîm*, for example, is attested for kings, a slave, chieftains, and servants (ARM 16/1 227), *Zikrī-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 *Yatūr-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

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[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'bēṣ*) 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 √'ṣb<ǵṣb (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'assarat*) called her son *'Asīr* "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 √*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 *Raǧa'* "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”, *’Ăḥīyāh(ū), ’ḥyhw, Yhw’ḥ* “DN is (my) brother” (Rechenmacher 2012: 112; Fowler 1988: 334, sub *’ab* and 337 sub *’ḥ*), (b) friendship: *Dōdāyāhw, Ddyhw, Rə’ū’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”, *’Ĕlīmalik, 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, Kənanyāh(ū)* “DN is firm”, *Rbyhw* “DN is great”, *Ndbyhw* “DN is noble”, *Y(əh)ōrām, ’abrām, ’lrm, Malkīrām* “DN is exalted”, *’lśgb* “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”, *Mbtḥyhw* “DN is (my) confidence”, *Nbtyhw* “DN is my path”, *B‘dyhw* “DN is on behalf of me” (lit. behind), *Bəsōdyāh* “In DN’s secret”, *Bəṣal’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)ôās* “DN has given”, *’Ĕlyāsāp* “DN has added” (i.e., a child), etc. (Rechenmacher 2012: 134ff; Fowler 1988: 92ff, 176).

(6) Compensation names: *Šelemyāh(û), 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).

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[44] Kinship terms, i.e., *’b, ’ḥ*, 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/'Ĕlī-'ezer* "DN is (my) help/support", *'ḥzyhw*, *Yhw'ḥz* "DN has sized/taken", *Səmakyāhū, 'l(y)smk* "DN has supported", *Yəqūtī'ēl* "DN has nourished" (Fowler 1988: 117; Rechenmacher 2012: 144, 166).

(8) Deity approaches man: *'Ĕlī'ātah* "DN has come", *'Ădōnīqām* "My lord has raised", *'Ănanyāh* "DN has appeared", *Šəkanyāh(ū)* "DN has dwelled", etc. (Fowler 1988: 102ff, 175).

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

(10) Healing and comfort: *Yō'ōšīyāhū, 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, 'lḥnn, Yrḥm'l* "DN has shown mercy", *'Eldăd, Dōdāyāhū* "DN loved", *Yḥmlyhw* "DN has spared" (Rechenmacher 2012: 149).

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

(13) Judgment and justice: *Gmlyhw* "DN has requited", *Ydnyhw, 'Ĕlīšāpaṭ, 'Lyrb,* all meaning "DN has judged/provided right", *Y(əh)ōṣādāq* "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", *'Armonī* "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", *'Āṣēl* "Noble", *Ḥakmōnī* "Wise", *Ḥănōk* "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. *'Āṭēr* "Left-handed", *Ḥēleb* "Fat", *Mərārī* "Strong", *Ṣū'ār* "Small", *'Ēnān* "Having big eyes", *Pāsēªḥ* "Lame, Limper", *Qārēªḥ* "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", *Bṣr* "Gold ore", *‘Aksā* (f) "Anklet", *‘Ăṭārā* (f) "Crown, Wreath", (Rechenmacher 2012: 173).

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

(9) Names of locality/social groups: *Yehūdī, Yehūdīt* (f) "Judaic", *Mṣry* "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‘ăqôb/Yiśrā’ēl* (with homiletic explanations), *Ṣidqiyyāh(ū)/Mattanyāh*, *Šəlōmōh/Yədīdyāh*, *Binyāmîn/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: *Ḥădassāh* was named *ʾEstēr* (either Iranian or from Ištar) probably when she joined the royal 'harem'. The hostages *Dāniyyēl*, *ʿĂzaryāh*, *Ḥănanyā*, and *Mîšāʾēl* were named *Bēlṭəšaʾṣṣar* (Akk.), *ʿĂbēd-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 *ʿbd-DN* "Slave of DN" (PTU 104ff; PNPPI 369ff; Maraqten 1988 191ff; Beyer 1998: 163ff; PNPI 101-02) and its fem. parallel *ʾmt/ʾmš-DN* (f) "Maid of DN" in Pho. and Palm. (PNPPI 270; PNPI 70); names of "Man of DN" type: Ug. *Mt-DN*, Pho. *ʾyš-DN*, and Palm. *ʾmr-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 √*rwm* "to be high": Ug. *Abrm, Ilrm, Bʿlrm* (PTU 182),[45] Pho. *Rmbʿl, ʾḥrm, Bʿlrm* (PNPPI 408), OAram. *ʾdnlrm* (Maraqten 1988: 116), and Palm. *Šmšrmʾ* (PNPI 115); √*ʿly* "to be high, lofty": Ug. *Ba-ʾa-la-lu, Adʿl* (PTU 108), OAram. *ḥʿly, Ddʿly, ʿbdʾbʿly* (Maraqten 1988: 227), and Palm. *ʿlybwl, ʿybʿl*, etc. (PNPI 106); √*kbd* "to be honored": Ug. *Kabid-Nana* (PTU 148) and Pho. *Kbdmlqrt, Kbdʿštrt* (PNPPI 330); √*ʿzz* "to be strong" (PTU 112; PNPPI 374; Maraqten 1988: 227); and OAram. names with *gbr* "strong, hero": *Gbrd, Qwsgbr, Šʾgbr* "DN is strong" (Maraqten 1988: 224).

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[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 √ʿqb "to protect": Ug. *Yaqub-Baʿal* (PTU 111) and Aram. *ʿqb-DN/DN-yʿqb* (Maraqten 1988: 228; Beyer 1998: 154-5; PNPI 108); Aram. nominal phrases with *str* "protection": *ʾlstr* "DN is (my) protection", and so on (Maraqten 1988: 277); nominal phrases with metaphors, such as Pho. *ʾhl* "tent, protection": *ʾhlbʿl/mlk* "DN is (my) tent" (PNPPI 262) and OAram./Palm. *šwr* "wall, stronghold": *ʾdšry, 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. *Bdbʿl/mlk/mlqrt* (PNPPI 227) and OAram. *Bdmlk* (Maraqten 1988: 136).

(4) Involvement of the deity in events of birth: these contain verbal phrases, e.g., √*bny* "to create": Ug. *Yabn(i)-DN* (PTU 119), Pho. *Bnʾ, Bnh* (hypocoristica) (PNPPI 288), and OAram. *ʾdbnh* (Maraqten 1988: 114); √*ntn/ytn* "to give": Ug. *Bʿlytn, Mlkytn* (PTU 147), Pho. *Ytnbl/bʿl/mlk, Ntnbʿl* (PNPPI 326, 364), and OAram. *ʾBntn, ʾdntn, Bʿlntn*, etc. (Maraqten 1988: 227); Palm. *Pṣyʾl* "DN has opened" (the womb?) (PNPI 109); OAram./Palm. names with √*yhb* and √*zbd*, both meaning "to bestow, grant": *ʾlyhb, ʾdgšyrzbd, 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. *Nbʿm* "DN has named/called" (PTU 164) and its Aram. counterpart *Bʿlrgm* (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, Ayaḫ* "Where is the father/brother?" (PTU 93), Pho. *Šlmbʿl* "DN has recompensed" (PNPPI 211, 417), and Aram. genitive compounds which probably refer to a recently deceased family member: OAram. *ʾḫʾby* "My father's brother", *ʾḥwm[y]* "My mother's brother" (Maraqten 1988: 118-9), and Palm. *ʾmbt* (f) "The mother is the daughter" (PNPI 69).

(6) Healing and comfort: Ug. *Ammu-rapiʾ, Abrpu, Ilrpu* "DN is healer" (PTU 180), OAram. *Yrpʾl* "May DN heal" (Maraqten 1988: 173, 228), and Palm. *Rpʾl, Rpbwl, Rpnw* < *Rpʾnbw*, all meaning "DN has healed" (PNPI 112).

(7) Salvation, help, and support: names with √ʿḏr/ʿzr "to help": Ug. *Azir-DN* "DN is the one who helps", *Yʿḏrd* "May DN help" or "DN helps" (PTU 113), Pho. *ʿzrbl, ʿzrmlk, šmnʿzr* "DN has helped" (PNPPI 375-6), and OAram. *ʾlʿzr, Bʿlʿzr* "DN has helped" (Maraqten 1988: 227); √*smk/tmk* "to support": Pho. *Mrsmk, Tmkʾl* "DN has supported" (PNPPI 366, 429) and OAram. *ʾlsmk, ʿtrsmk* "DN is my support" (Maraqten 1988: 227); Pho. *Ḫlṣ-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 √*šmʿ* "to hear, answer": Ug. *Ili-ištamiʿ, Šmʿy, Yšmʿ* (both are hypocoristic) (PTU 194), Pho. *Šmʿbʿl/mlk* "DN has heard" (PNPPI 421), and OAram. *Šmʿy* < *Šmʿ-DN* (Maraqten 1988: 220); √*ydʿ* "to know, recognize": Ug., *Bʿldʿ, Ydʿ* < *Ydʿ-DN* (PTU 142), Pho. *Ydʿmlk* (PNPPI 321-2), OAram. *Bytʾydʿ, Ydʿl* (Maraqten 1988: 225), and Palm. *Bwlydʿ* (PNPI 75); √*zkr/skr/dkr* "to remember": Pho. *Bʿlskr/Skrbʿl* (PNPPI 211) and OAram. *Zkrʾl, Zkry, ʾbdkr, Qwsdkr* (Maraqten 1988: 224, 225).

(9) Affection, goodness, and compassion: verbal phrases with √*ḥnn* "to be gracious, to show favour": Ug. *Ḥnnil, Ḥnil, Yḥnn* (PTU 136), Pho. *Ḥnnbʿl, Ḥnbʿl, Bʿlyḥn* (PNPPI 313-4), OAram. *Ḥnnʾl, Ḥnny, Yhwḥn, Qwsḥnn* (Maraqten 1988: 225), and Palm. *Ḥn-DN* (m + f) (PNPI 89); Ug. names with √*ydd* "to love": *Yadudānu* (either *yaqtul* or *qatul* form) and *Mddbʿl* "Beloved of DN" (PTU 143); Aram. names with √*rḥm* "to love": *ʾsrḥm* "Assur is gracious", *Rḥmyʾl* "Beloved of DN" and √*ṭwb*: *Ṭbšlm/Ṭbyh* "DN is good" (Maraqten 1988: 168, 225, 228).

(10) Rulership, judgment, and justice: Pho. *Bʿlšpṭ* "DN has judged", *Bʿlyšpṭ* "DN judges", *Bʿlmlk* "DN has reigned", and *Ṣpnyṣdq* "DN vindicates" (PNPPI 210, 215); Ug. *Baʿal-dānu* "DN is judge", *ʾlṣdq, Bʿlṣdq* "DN is just" (PTU 123, 187), OAram. *Ṣdqrmn* "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, Ḫiyaranu, Nqly* (all denoting months), *Ḥdṯ, Ḥudšanu* "New moon" (PTU 30); Pho. *Bn hdšt* "Son of New moon", *Ḥgy* "Born on the feast-day", *Yʿr* "(Born in ?) a Forest" (PNPPI 240; Segert 1995a: 869a); OAram. *Knny* "Born in the month Kanūn" (Maraqten 1988: 175); Palm. *Nhrʾ* (f) "Day" (?) and *ʿytʾ* "Rain" (PNPI 99, 105).

(2) Occupations and social positions: Ug. *Ibiranu* "Horse-man", *Bri* "Sculptor", *Ḥrr, Ḥry* (f) "Free" (?) (PTU 28; Segert 1995: 865a); Pho. *Glb* "Barber", *Ḥrṭmn* "Engraver", *ʾmtmlkt* (f) "Maid of the queen" (PNPPI 240; Segert 1995a: 869a); Palm. *ʾkrn* "Ploughman", *Dywn/Dynʾ* "Judge", *Zgwg* "Glazier", and *Kmrʾ* "Priest" (PNPI 67, 83, 86, 92).

(3) Plant names: Ug. *Arz* "Cedar", *Imbunu* "Fruit", *ʻdš/ts* "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", *Qrḥ* "Bold", *Qṭn* "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", *Qṭn* "Small", *Bb', Bby* (onomatopoetic?) "Baby", *N'mt* "Pleasant(ness)", *Btn'mt* (f) "Daughter of pleasantness" (PNPPI 240; Segert 1995a: 869a); OAram. *Brq* "With shining eyes, Lightning", *Gdl* "Big", *Ḥkm* "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)", *Ḥbyb'* "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. *Mṣry* "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

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[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 *Yrḥy* b. *Yrḥy* b. *Yrḥy* (Piersimoni 1995, No. 61, the Ya'atai family); *Yedī'bel* occurs five times in the Barakai family (No. 34). Six members of the Firmōn family (No. 11) bore the name *Ḥdwdn*, 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'ltg* carried that of her father's sister (No. 53, the 'Aṣūlī 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: *Pṣy'l* "DN has opened" (the womb) and *Pṣ'* (f) b. *Pṣ'* (f) (the latter form is the hypocoristicon 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.

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[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/Ḥkyšw* [Ar-Ar] (No. 3, the Ḥakaišū family), *Gdrṣw/Brbʿ* [Aram-Aram] (No. 13, the Baʿa family), *Nšʾ/Brʿbdbl* [Aram-Aram] (No. 15, the ʿAbdibel family), *Tntn/Bršʿt* [Aram-Aram/Ar] (No. 17, the Šaʿat family), *Mlkw/ʾrʾš* [Ar-Ar] (No. 47, the Arʾaš family), and *ʿtʿqb/Ḥwr* [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-asmāʾ 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 ʿIyāḍ 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).

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[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 *Saʻīd* "Lucky" and *Ǧaʻfar* "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 *faʼl* "omen" in the Prophetic tradition. *Zaǧr* "augury"[51] was interdicted by Islam as a practice of the *Ǧāhiliyya* (lit. "Age of ignorance") and the *faʼl* "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 (Bassiouney 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]

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[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 (Ištiqāq), 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-'Utbī:

> Al-'Utbī 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 (Ištiqāq 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", *Ẓālim* "Unjust",[55] *Munāzil* and *Muqātil* "Warrior, Fighter", *Ṯābit* "Stable, Brave", or names of carnivorous animals, like *Asad*, *Layṯ*, and *Ḍirġām*, all denoting "Lion", *Ḏiʾb*, *Sīd*, and *'Amallas*, meaning "Wolf".

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

3) to show the hardness and the ability to fend of attack by involving the sense of roughness of land or trees, e.g., *Ṭalḥa*, *Qatāda*, and *Samura*, all indicating "thorny trees", *Ḥaǧar* "Stone", *Ṣaḫr* "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 *Ṯa'lab* or *Ṯa'laba*.

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[54] The same explanation is attributed to Ibn Al-Kalbī (Al-Ṯa'ālibī 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., *Waḥšī* "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", *Ḫuzar* "Hare", *Ḥimār* "Donkey", *Ḫinzīr* "Pig", *Ǧaḥš* "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" (Ištiqāq 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 *'Anz*. The third time he saw something moving without identifying it, so he called the baby *Šuḫayṣ*. The fourth time it was difficult for him to see anything (*ġalabahu an yarā šay'an*), so he called him *Taġlib* (Ištiqāq 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 Ǧarīr. 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., *ǧarīr*. 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., *'Abd-DN* type and its parallel *Taym-DN*, *Imru'-DN* "Man of DN", *Šay'-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] *sa'd* "luck, fortune", and *silm* "piece" (Littmann 1948: 52).

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[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 √ḫlf "to succeed": *Ḫalaf, Ḫulayf, Ḫalīfa,* and *Ḫulayfa*; √bdl "to replace": *Badal* and *Budayl*; √'wḍ "to compensate": *'Awaḍ*;[58] √r'b "to repair, rectify": *Ru'ba* and *Ri'āb* (m+f); and √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", *Ǧabal* "Mountain", *Ǧa'far* "Small river", *'Ukāba* "Dust" (Ištiqāq); names denoting rocks and stones: *Salima* "Stone", *Ṣaḫr* "Rock", *Ḥazn* "Rugged ground", *Fihr* "Stone", and *Ḏirwa* "Summit" (Ištiqāq 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., *Abyaḍ* "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 √ǧml "to be beautiful": *Ǧamīl* and *Ǧamīla* (f); √'mr "to live, dwell": *'Umar, 'Āmir, 'Ammār, 'Imrān*; √ḫld "to be immortal": *Ḫālid, Ḫuwaylid*; √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", *Ǧadd* "Grandfather" and its diminutive *Ǧudayd* (Beiträge 91-94). Names from √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 *Ǧarīr* "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", *Ḥuḍayn* "Little lap", *Uṣaybi'* "Little finger", etc. (Beiträge 102).

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[58] This name is most likely the shortened form of *'Awaḍ-DN* in view of the modern Islamic *'Awaḍallah* and its fem. parallel *'Awaḍatallah* (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., *Maẓẓa*, *Ṭalḥa* and *Samura* (all indicating sorts of acacia), *Ḥanẓala* "Colocynth", *Murra* and *Murāra* "Myrrh",[60] etc. (Ištiqāq 563-65; Ibn Qutayba 1988: 56ff).

(8) Animal names (see chapter 5).

2.3.2.2 Islamic name-giving[61]

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-)Ḥāriṯ* 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 *Ğamīla* "Beautiful", and *al-'Āṣī* to *Muṭī'* "Obedient, Loyal". The same method holds for toponyms: a land called *'Afira* "Dusty" became *Ḫaḍira* "Green, fertile"; the name of *Yaṯrib* was changed to *Ṭāba* "Good,

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[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 *Ḥalīma, 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, Isḥāq, Ya'qūb, Sam'ān*; the woman should bear the name *Ḫadīǧa, 'Azīza, 'Afīfa*. The man who is born on a Wednesday should bear the name *'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Ṣāliḥ*; the woman should bear the name *Kulṯūm, Ḥabība*. The man born on a Thursday should bear the name *'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Abū Bakr, 'Umar*; the woman should bear the name *Kultūm, Ḥabība*. The man who is born on a Friday should bear the name *Adam, Yūnus, Yūsuf*; the woman should bear the name *Ḥawwā', Hāǧar*. 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, Šarīfa, 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.

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[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 Ǧāsim < 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 *Ḫafāǧi* named him after that place (Musil 1928: 244). Similar names are *Wādī* "Valley", *Brayda* (f) "a town in Saudi Arabia", *Bʿayǧān* "Born at the well of Baʿāǧ" and so on (Littmann 1949: 17; Hess 1912: 6ff).

(b) Time of birth: *Rmayḍīn* "Born in the month of Ramaḍān", *Štīwī* "Born in winter", *Ḥaǧǧī* "Born during the pilgrimage", *ᵉMḥārib*, *Ḥarb* "Born during the war", *Māṭir* "Born during the rain", *Ṯalǧ*, *Ṯāliǧ*, and *Ṯalǧa* (f) "Born during the snow"[64], *Nzēle* (f) "Born during a rain shower", *Ḫamīse* (f) "Born on Thursday", *Ṣbēḥa* (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 *Ǧalmūd* "Rounded stone" for a rounded-faced baby and *Ḫšīm* for a big-nosed one (Hess 1912: 7).

(3) Theophoric names indicating a long-awaited baby boy (thanksgiving names): *Daḫlallah* "Under God's protection", *ʿAṭallah* "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]

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[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)" *ᵉMṭīrān*, 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", *Maʿyūfa* (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-Sāmirrā'ī (1963; 1983: 261-81) classifies names into two major categories as the following diagram shows:
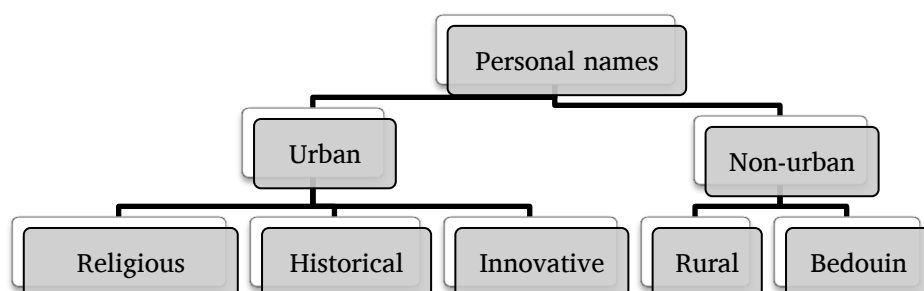
The first category, i.e., urban names, contains three subcategories:

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[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 *Iḏāʿa* "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-Sāmirrā’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 *‘Uṯmān,* the Prophet’s daughter *Fāṭima* (f), and her two sons *al-Ḥasan* and *al-Ḥusayn* (Al-Sāmirrā’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", *Naǧāt* (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-Sāmirrā’ī 1983: 269-271; Gardner 1994: 103). For revived names, such as *Ḫālid* "Immortal", *Ṭāriq* "The morning star", *Quṣay* "Distanced", *Umayma* (f) "Little mother", and *Laylā* (f) "Night", Al-Sāmirrā’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’ūṭ 1989: 129), *‘Urūba* (f) "Arabism" (SAR 2, No. 1090), *Ṯawra* (f) "Revolution", *Yaqaẓa* "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", *Ǧihād, Kifāḥ,* and *Niḍāl* (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

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[69] Names of this type are mostly formed with elements such as *sa‘d* "luck", *‘aṭā’* "gift", *ǧār* "neighbor", *ḥabīb* "beloved", *naṣr* "victory, aid", *ḍayf* "guest", etc. and are found among the Bedouins and Duruz as well (Littmann 1949: 6; Al-Sāmirrā’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 *Taḥrīr* (f) "Liberation",[72] which are obviously based on political terminology.[73]

As for non-urban names, common among rural and semi-nomadic population, Al-Sāmirrā'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., *Balāsim* (<*bilā ism*) "Without name"[75] from Iraq (which parallels the Turk. *Adsïz*) 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-Sāmirrā'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*, *'Uṯmān* and the Prophet's wife *'Ā'iša* (Al-Sāmirrā'ī 1983: 277: 264, fn. 5, 268, fn. 14).

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[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-Sāmirrā'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 *Šūʻa, Šuʻya* "Ugly", *Bišʻa* "Very ugly", *Kurheyya* "Causing hatred", or *Makrūha* "Hated" (Al-Zumor 2009: 22).[76] From Egypt and elsewhere we have *Zibāla* "Garbage",[77] *Šiḥāta* "Begging", *Mašḥūt* "Begged", etc. (Schimmel 1989: 21).

2.3.2.4.2 Names, *istiḫāra* 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 *ʻulamāʼ* "scholars or jurists", who would either recommend the names of a famous personage, or would resort to *istiḫāra* (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-ʻAḏrāʼ* 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 *istiḫāra.* 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

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[76] The same might hold for *Qabīḥa* "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-Sāmirrāʼī 1983: 268, fn. 14).

[78] The concept of *Istiḫāra* 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-ʻUṯaymīn 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 *istiḫāra* 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 *Ḥurṯān* b. *Muḥarriṯ* b. *al-Ḥāriṯ,* from √*ḥrṯ* "to cultivate" (CIK 1 139) and *Maʿmar* b. *ʿImrān* b. *ʿUmayr* b. *ʿUmar,* from √*ʿmr* "to live" (Al-Ǧāḥiẓ 1965 1: 327). A Najdi Bedouin, *ʿĀyiḍ* named his sons *ʿAwwāḍ* and *ʿAwaḍ,* from √*ʿwḍ* "to compensate" (Hess 1912: 7). By far the most derivationally productive root in the Negev Bedouin anthroponimic corpus is √*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 √*ḥbb* "to love", and *Ḥamda* (f) bt. *Ḥamdī* b. *Ḥammūd* b. *Muḥammad al-Ḥamdī al-Ǧahanī* (family name), from √*ḥmd* "to praise" (Al-Šamsān 2005: 33).

This naming practice might hold for all the brothers or some of them, like *ʿĀmir, ʿUmar, ʿĀmira,* and *ʿImrān* b. Maḫzūm (CIK 1 22). Five out of the eight sons of Wabr b. ʿAbd Allāt bore names from √*whb* "to grant", that is, *Wahīb, Ihāb, Wahbān, Wahab al-Aṣġar* "the youngest" and *al-Akbar* "the oldest" (CIK 1 100). Among modern Bedouins we find the three Najdi brothers *Miʿǧib, ʿAǧab,* and *ʿAǧǧāb* (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. ʿAbdalʿuzzā: *al-Ḥāriṯ* and *al-Ḥuwayriṯ, Ḫālid* and *Ḫuwaylid,* and *Ṭālib* and *Ṭulayb* (√*ṭlb* "to request, appeal") (CIK 1 19), and the two brothers *Baḥr* "Sea" and *Buḥayr* (CIK 1 254).

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 (*fāʿil*, *afʿal* 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-Ašʿar* "Hairy" (*afʿal* form) (CIK 1 273). The well-known early Islamic poet, al-Farazdaq (nickname) gave his sons names of *faʿala(t)* form with the ending syllable *-ṭ/ḍa*, 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. *Masʿūd* 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*, *ʿImād* and *Iyād* (Al-Arnaʾūṭ 1989: 9).

2.3.3.1.3 Names reflecting the religious affiliation of the parents

A certain pre-Islamic Rufayda b. Ṯawr gave all his sons theophoric names formed with the divine element Allāt, that is, *Aus Allāt, Šukam Allāt, Šayʿ Allāt, Wahb Allāt , Zayd Allāt , Taym Allāt , Sakan Allāt*, and *Saʿd Allāt* (CIK 1 280). All the sons of the Prophet's companion Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allah bore names of Biblical and Arabian prophets: *Yaʿqūb* "Jacob", *Ṣāliḥ*, *Yaḥyā* "John", *ʿĪsā* "Jesus", *Muḥammad*, *Isḥāq* "Isaac", *Mūsā* "Moses", *Zakariyyā* "Zechariah", *Yūsuf* "Joseph", and *ʿImrān* (CIK 1 21). Beside the names of the prophets and the theophoric names of *ʿAbd-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 *Ismaʿīl* or *Isḥāq*; a *Dawūd*'s son would probably be *Sulaymān* or vice versa, and similarly with *Yaʿqūb* and *Yūsuf*, or *Yaḥyā* and *Zakariyyā*. A similar harmony can be achieved with names of *ʿAbd-DN* type, like *ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm* "Servant of the Mighty" son of *ʿAbd 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-Aḥğār* "Stones", for they bore

the names *Ḥazn* "Rugged ground", *Ğandal* "Stones", *Ğarwal* "Rough land with stones", and *Ṣaḫr* "Rocks" (Ištiqāq 250). There are also some examples where both the father and his son(s) bear plant names, like *Ḥanẓala* "Colocynth" b. *ʿAlqama* "Bitter tree or plant"; *ʿAlqama* b. *Arṭāt* "Desert tree"; and *ʿAlqama* b. *Qatāda* "Tragacanth" (CIK 2 285, 315, 233). Other names refer to physical characteristics, like the three sons of Ḥamal b. ʿUbayd known as *al-Ašʿaṯ*, *Šuʿayṯ* (diminutive), both meaning "Rumpled-hair", and *al-Ğaʿd* "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 papponyms:

(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-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* (Al-Ṣafadī 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*; *ʿAlī* b. *ʿAlī*; and *Ḥasan* b. *Ḥasan* (Al-Ṣafadī 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 (*Ǧawhar, 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-Aṯīr 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, *Duǧāša* 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 *Ḫulay'* "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 *Ẓalūm* "Unjust" (Al-Iṣbahānī 1989: 62, 93; Al-Iṣbahānī 1984: 129), while others imply masc. attributes: *Nā'im* "Soft", *Māǧin* "Rakish", *Muštāq* "Desiring", *Našwān* "Gleeful", *Zayn* "Beautiful", *Lāhī* "Rakish", *Ḫāḍi'* "Subordinate", *Ṣāḥib* "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", *Mubaššir* "He who

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[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", *Tāǧ al-dawla/al-mulūk* "Crown of the state/the kings", *Ǧalāl 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-ḫilāfa/al-dīn/al-dawla* "Sword of Islam/the caliphate/the faith/the state", and so on.[87] Other titles denote victory: *al-Ẓāfir* "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-ǧuyūš/al-mulūk/al-ġārāt* "Father/Man of the armies/the kings/the raids", *Amīr al-umarā'/al-ǧuyūš* "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",

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[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: *Tāǧ al-nisā'* "Crown of women", *Šaraf al-nisā'* "Honor of women", *Faḫr 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 *faqīhs*" (i.e., jurists), etc. (Ibn Al-Dubayṯī 2006 5: 304; Ibn Rāfiʿ 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-Aṯīr 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 Isḥāq* (Isaac) or a man named *ʿAlī* 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-Dubayṯī 2006 2: 177), *Abū al-Hayǧā'* "War" *Muqātil* "Warrior" (Ibn Ḫallikān 1972 5: 257-60), *Abū al-Fatḥ* "Triumph" *Ǧayš* "Army" b. *Muḥammad* b. *Ṣamṣāma* "Sharp sword" (Al-Ṣafadī 2000 11: 177, No. 2969), and *Abū al-Naǧm* "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-Āḏān* "Big ears", *Abū al-Riǧāl* "Men" (because he had

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[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-Raʿd* "Thunder" (KN 70-82), *Abū al-Šawārib* "Big-mustached", and *Abū al-Ǧūʿ* "Hunger" (Ibn Ḫallikān 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-Aṯīr (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 ʿAbbās, the paternal cousin of the Prophet, and Ibn ʿUmar, 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. Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad, known as *Zawǧ al-Ḥurra* (Al-Baġdādī 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, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid and two of his grandsons were known as *Ibn Zawǧ 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-Samʿānī 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-Yaqẓān 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 ʿĀmir b. Ḥafṣ, but his birth name is ʿUbayd Allāh (Ibn Al-Nadīm 2009 1: 297). Some people, on the other hand, took alternative names, like Abū al-Qāsim, Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, whose original name is al-Wāṯiq, but he preferred the former and continued using it (Ibn Al-Dubayṯī 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. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāšim (= ʿAmru) b. ʿAbd Manāf (= al-Muġīra) b. Quṣayy (= Zayd) b. Kilāb (Ištiqāq 11-20).

A *laqab* can be *tašrīfī* "honorific", *tasḫīfī* "deprecating", or *taʿrīfī* "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. ʿAbd Allah, bynamed (*laqabuhu*) Beğôs, 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). Topically, 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 *Raʾīs 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 *Zanğī* "Black", Abū Ḫālid Muslim, so called because he was blond (Sublet 1991: 182), presumably against the evil eye (cf. ↑2.3.2.4.1).

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[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).