

Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra

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3 Linguistic Analysis

3.1 Summarizing Charts

The following summarizing tools (Table 4 and Chart 1) can help to visualize the subdivision of the 376 personal names attested in the Aramaic inscriptions of Hatra in accordance with their linguistic affiliation. They are a revised version of the chart published in Marcato (2016, 347). To the 368 personal names examined on that occasion, fresh evidence has been added, particularly, 8 Aram. names (*brkmr'*, *brnšry*, *hdyrt*, *zky'*, *kwny*, *sb'*, *šlm'*, *šrrmry*), 2 Arab names ('*ydly*, *qyymt*), 2 Iran. names (*mhrbndq*, *myhr'*), 2 Greek names (*dyns*, *nqndrs*), and 3 Unclassified names (*bd/rynšw*, *zby'*, *štb*). Conversely, a more careful evaluation has led to the deletion of 4 Aram. names (*blh'*, *gbr*, *gbr'*, *nbwhny*), 2 Iran. names (*mhr*, *štb*), 1 Greek name (*slwq*), and 2 Unclassified names (*hwšy'*, *šdrn*). These emendations led to the total of 376 names attested in the present corpus.

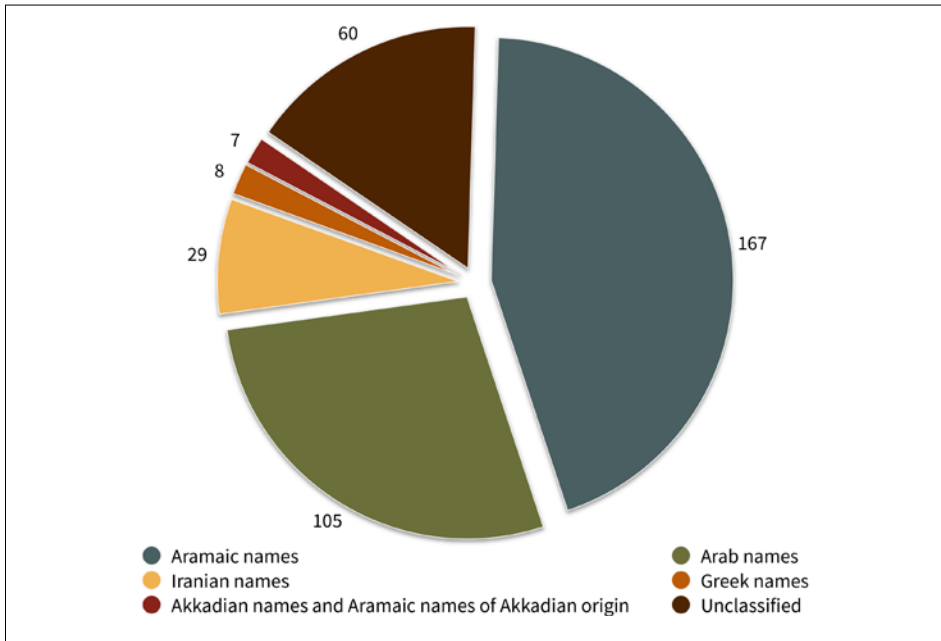
The criteria for this grouping of Hatran names are the same as stated in Marcato (2016, 348) and are here quoted in full:

- The number of attestations of a name is not considered: only the occurrence of the name in the corpus is recorded.
- Hypocoristic forms that display varying endings are considered separately, although they derive from the same word or divine name. For example, Adda ('*d*') and Adday ('*dy*') are catalogued under different entries, even though they both are hypocoristica built upon the theonym Adda.
- Names written with the use of *matres lectionis* (<'>, <w>, <y>) are catalogued under separate entries too. Sometimes, the use of the *mater lectionis* may simply point at a more accurate writing of the same name, with a more precise indication of its vocalisation. However, since the same consonantal structure can receive many different vocalisations, a *mater lectionis* may also identify a completely different name. Moreover, the frequent absence of relevant prosopographical data makes it rather difficult to establish whether a writing with or without a *mater lectionis* refers to the same individual.

Table 4. Linguistic Affiliation of Hatran Names

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>Aramaic names (167; 44.4%)</p> | <p><i>'bw, 'by, 'gr, 'd, 'dwktb, 'dwnr, 'dy, 'dn, 'lhyhbw, 'lhšmš, 'mb, 'srybrk, 'srpnd, 't'qb, blbrk, bl'qb, brb'lšmyn, brzqyq', brzqq, brklb, brkmr, brlb, brnbw, brny, brny', brnny, brnšr, brnšry, br'y, br'qbw, brš, bršw/y, bršmš, btsmy, gbrhdd, gdyhb, gzbry, grb, dd', ddy, hdyrt, zd/rwq', zd/rq', zky', zqy, hbr, hwyš', h'la, h'n, hnn', hnny, hnšmš, t'ryd, yhblh', yhbrmryn, yhbšy, yhbšmš, ymaq, kwny, klbml', kmr', krs', kštw, lhdd, lwṭb, lšgl', mṭlš, mky, mkmrtn, mlw, mlk', maqymšmš, mr', mrhwn, mrhn, mry, mry', mrn, mrnyhb, mrtbw, nbwgbr, nbwyhb, nbwktb, ndr, nwhdr', n'wr', nšr', nšrhb, nšry, nšryhb, nšrlṭb, nšr'qb, ntw'nšr, sb', smy, sr'm, 'b, 'bd'dn, 'bd'lh', 'bdšr, 'bdbšmyn, 'bdlh', 'bdly, 'bdmlyk, 'bdmlk, 'bdnrgwl, 'bdnšr, 'bdnšr', 'bdsy, 'bdsmy, 'bdš, 'bdšlm', 'bdšlmn, 'bdšm, 'bdšmš, 'bsmy, 'bš, 'bšy, 'bšlm', 'dry, 'drl, 'wbd'ly, 'nny, 'qb, 'qb', 'qbw, 'qbwy, 'qby, 'qbn, 'qbsmy, 'qbšm, 'qbšmš, 'qyb, 'qybšmš, 'qwp, 'qp, 'qrwn, 'qšbrmryn, 'rby, 'rbn, 'rbt', 'rḥdd, 'rḥmny, 'rḥmšmš, 'rymw, 'rmw, 'rmšmš, 'rp, 'rpš, 'rpšmš, 'šyl, 'šlm, 'šlmn, 'šm'ny, 'šmš, 'šmšbryk, 'šmšbrk, 'šmšgd, 'šmšḥdyt, 'šmšy, 'šmšyhb, 'šmštyb, 'šmšmkn, 'šmšdry, 'šmšqb, 'šrt', 'šrrmry</i></p> |
| <p>Arab names (105; 27.9%)</p> | <p><i>'bgr, 'dltw, 'tyš, 'khl, 'ryš, 'ršd, 'š, 'šw, 'šlm, 'šlmw, 'tlw, bd/ryd/r', bwšyr, blg, blgw, brzl, gblw, grwt, grm'lt, grmlt, dmgw, drm, hbl', hybšw, hny, whby, whyb', wylt, zbydw, zyd'lt, hbbw, hbw/y, hbybw, hywš', hyr', hyrw, hyrš', hp', hp'zw, hp'zy, hpyzy, hryš, ṭw'y, ydy'w, yhybw, kbyrw, kšy, myt', mlykw, m'yrw, m'n, m'nw, nbwsm', nwrn, nšr, nšrw, skyr', sqyr, bdw, 'bd'gylw, 'bd'gyly, 'bd'gyly, 'bhryn, 'byd', 'bydw, 'bn, 'g, 'gly, 'wbdw, 'wd, 'wdw, 'wyg, 'wyd'lt, 'wydšr, 'wydw, 'wydlt, 'wydšr, 'z, 'zy, 'ztw, 'ydly, 'ky, 'lt, 'lt', 'šy, 'q, 'plq, 'sdyq, 'qyymt, 'qymy, 'qymt, 'qymty, 'qynt, 'r'mt, 'rp'zw, 'rp'nny, 'šbw, 'šly, 'šny, 'š'dw, 'šrdw, 'tymw, 'tymly, 'tymlt, 'tmlt, 'tmny</i></p> |
| <p>Iranian names (29; 7.7%)</p> | <p><i>'špd/r, 'stnq, 'prhṭ, 'št'ty, 'štt, 'štty, 'tnq, 'bndw, d/rwšmhr, dwšp'ry, wlgš, wnwk, wrdn, wrwd, zdy, zn, 'mhr', 'mhrbndq, 'mhrdt, 'myhr', 'mnyš, 'snṭrwq, 'snṭraq, 'stnbl, 'ryt, 'ryt, 'šbz, 'tyrdt</i></p> |
| <p>Greek names (8; 2.1%)</p> | <p><i>'lkšdrws, 'dys, 'dmywn, 'ṭwkrws, 'nmsys, 'naqndrs, 'slwk, 'slkw</i></p> |
| <p>Akkadian names and Aramaic names of Akkadian origin (7; 1.9%)</p> | <p><i>bšwn, ṭpsr', nbwbn', nbwdyn, šwznb'l, tqwn, ttny</i></p> |
| <p>Unclassified (60; 16%)</p> | <p><i>'b, 'bygd, 'bygyd, 'd/rnb, 'lṭwm, 'lkwd/r, 'nšb', 'pḥw, 'bby, 'bd/r, 'bd/ry, 'bd/rynšw, 'gd', 'gdw, 'gdy, 'gwsn, 'dd/ršy, 'hkyd/rd/r, 'zbg', 'zbdy, 'zbw/yd, 'zby', 'hb', 'hbyb, 'hyy, 'hys', 'hyn', 'hryšw, 'hršt, 'tt', 'ymlyk, 'ymlk, 'knzyw, 'mymy, 'nyhr, 'bd, 'bdgd', 'bdy, 'bwš, 'by, 'bs', 'yny, 'ly, 'nn, 'qrbn, 'qrbn', 'šy, 'ty, 'prhnd/r, 'rw/zḥw, 'šb', 'šbrw, 'šṭ, 'šṭb, 'šmw, 'šmšgrm, 'thmrw, 'tky, 'tlmw</i></p> |

Chart 1. Linguistic Affiliation of Hatran Names



The principal linguistic phenomena that can be highlighted by the examination of personal names consider orthographic, phonological, morphological, and syntactical traits.

3.2 Orthographic And Phonological Features

3.2.1 Sibilants in Names of Akkadian Origin

The NA shift between <s> and <š>¹ is attested for the theonyms Assor (*'srybrk*, *'srpnd*'), Iššar (*ntwn'šr*, *'bd'šr*, *'wyd'šr*, *'wydšr*, perhaps [...] *'šrly*; cf. also *'šrbl* 'Iššarbēl' in H 34, 35, 38), and Šamš (always *šmš* at Hatra, but cf. NWS onomastics in NA sources such as *'bdšmš* / Abdi-Samsi); cf. also *tpsr*', loanword from Akk. *tuṣšarru*/*tupšarru*, consistently spelled with <s> in Aram. The correspondence between Akk. <š> and Aram. <š> in *bšwn* and *šwznb* is due to historical spellings: cf. the relevant entries for attestations in older Aram. corpora.

1 On this highly debated issue cf. for example Kaufman 1974, 140-2; Fales 1986, 61-5; Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 9-10.

3.2.2 Sibilants in Arab Names

For an overview of Saf. [s¹] and [s²], cf. recently Al-Jallad (2015, 44-5, 2017, 138-9). The correspondence among Aram. and ANA sibilants is not always predictable:²

Aram. <s> = Saf. <s¹>: **ḥrys** (Arabic *ḥarasa*-Aram. *ḥrš*), **skyr'** (Arabic *sakira*-Aram. *škr*), **nbwsm'** (Arabic *sami'a*-Aram. *šm'*).³ Aside from testifying to the correspondence between Aram. <s> and ANA <s¹>, these names provide evidence for the use of Arabic (or ANA) verbs, even though in all cases an Aram. cognate with <š> is attested. This points to the Arab origin of these names and probably toward the linguistic background of the writers as well, who had knowledge of the Aram. script but whose native language was an ANA language or dialect.

Aram. <š> = Saf. <s¹>: **'š'**, **'šw**, **'šlm**, **'šlmw**, **nšr'**, **nšry**, **šly**, **šny'**, **š'dw**.⁴ The same correspondence is attested with **kštw**, Aram. loanword in Saf., and the theonyms Ba'alšamīn, Nešra, and Šalmān; Šamš in Saf. is *s²ms¹*. Cf. also **šrt'**, Saf. *s¹rṭ[n]* and Syr. *sartānā*; this spelling may likewise hint at the Arab background of the writer.

Aram. <š> = Saf. <s²>: **'tyš'**, **'ryš'**, **bwšyr**, **šbw**, **šrdw**.⁵ Since Saf. <s²> very likely expresses a lateral phoneme (Al-Jallad 2015, 45, 2017, 138), we may conclude that <š> in Hatran transcriptions of Arab names renders two distinct phonemes, which could be differentiated only once they were pronounced.

2 To the names listed below, add the uncertain (cf. the relevant entries): **gwsn'**, **sqyr**, **'šy**.

3 Uncertain: **'bs'**.

4 Uncertain: **šb'** (Aram. or Arab), **šbrw** (Aram. or Arab), **šmw** (highly uncertain).

5 Uncertain: **'nšb'** (Aram. or Arab), **ḥryšw** (Aram. or Arab), **ḥršt** (Aram. or Arab). Add **'ršd**, attested with <s²> in Tham., Sab., Hadr.

3.2.3 Laryngeals and Pharyngeals

Onomastic evidence testifies, in some cases, to the loss of pharyngeals and laryngeals. See below for the dissimilation [ʿ] > [ʾ]. The retention of the glottal stop can be observed in *rʿmt* and perhaps *brʿ*.

Aphaeresis of [ʿ]: *'mb'*, *brzl*, *grmlt*, *yhbhlh'*, *mrtbw*, *'bdlh'*, *'bdly*, *tymlt*, *'wydl't*.⁶

Apocope of [ʿ]: *mry*, *rpš'*, *rpšmš'*.

Apocope of [h]: *'bw*, *mrtbw*, *'bdly*.

Aphaeresis of [ʿ]: *rp'zw*.

Prothetic [ʾ]: *'prht'*.⁷

3.2.4 Assimilation

Assimilation of [n]:

[ng] > [gg]: *lšgl'*.

[nd] > [dd]: *'lkšdrws*.

[nz] > [zz]: *gzbry*.

[nk] > [kk]: *mky*, *mkmrtn*.

[np] > [pp]: *'pḥw'*

[nt] > [tt]: *ḥršt'* (if it corresponds to Saf. *ḥrs²nt*), *ttny* (NB, cf. entry).

Other phenomena of assimilation:⁸

[bd] > [bb] (or apocope of <d>): *'bwš'*, *'bḥyrn*, *'by*.

[dḥ] > [ḥḥ] (or apocope of <d>): *'bḥyrn*.

[dn] > [nn]: *ttny* (NB, cf. entry).⁹

[ds] > [ss]: *'bsmy'*.¹⁰

[dš] > [šš]: *'bš'*, *'bšy*, *'bšlm'*.

[lš] > [šš]: *bšwn*, *'bdb šmyn*.

[tṭ] > [tṭ]: *mṭlš'*.

6 Add *'drl'*, but perhaps a scribal mistake.

7 Uncertain: *'nšb'*.

8 Add perhaps [st] > [tt] = <t> in *'tnq*, but this may also be a scribal omission.

9 Uncertain: *'bn'*.

10 Uncertain: *'bs'*.

3.2.5 Dissimilation

Dissimilation of [n]:

[bb] > [nb]: **šwznbl**.

[dd] > [nd]: **'srpnd'**. The dissimilated [n] points to a geminated second radical (D imperative).

Other phenomena of dissimilation:

['] > [']: **'t'qb, ḥp'zw, ḥp'zy**; likely also for the form **ḥpyzy**.

[q] > [k] before emphatics: **kšy', kštḡw**. The name **šdyq** points instead at an Arab spelling. **ŠDQ** is attested in Aram. as an exception to the dissimilation of emphatics; however, since the usual Hatran spelling of this root is **ZDQ** (cf. the possible reading **zdaq'** of **zd/rq'**), it is preferable to compare this name with ANA and ASA **šdq**.

3.2.6 Use of *Matres Lectionis* in Hatran Semitic Onomastics

The vocalization of Hatran names is often problematic. The sole Greek-Hatran bilingual known so far (D 4, from Dura Europos) provides only two Greek transcriptions; on the other hand, Greek transcriptions of Semitic names from Palmyra and Dura Europos can be taken into account, but a perfect correspondence among dialects should not be taken for granted. To avoid repetitions, not all uses of *matres lectionis* are included in this section: for their use in transcriptions of foreign names, or to indicate the state of the noun, a hypoc. suffix, a pronominal suffix, etc. see below under the section 'Morphology'.

<'> = [ā]: **lšgl', sr'm**; also for the det. or hypoc. suffix and 3rd m.s. perfect of 3rd-weak verbs.

<w> = [o]: **'bdnrgwl, 'wbd'ly, 'wbdw, 'wyg, qwp'**.

<w> = [ō]: **zd/rwq', lwṭb, mrhwn, nwhdr'** (Iran. loanword in Aram.), **n'wr', qrwn', šwznbl**.

<w> = [u]: **bwšyr, bšwn**.

<w> = [u]?: **'lhyhbw**.

<w> = [ū]: **'bw, 'dnwr, brnbw, grwt, zbw/yd** (if **zbwd**), **ḥbw/ys'** (if **ḥbws'**), **mrtbw, nbwbn', nbwgbr, nbwdyn, nbwyhb, nbwktb, nbwsm', nwrn, ntw'nšr, 'bwš, 'wd, 'wdw, tqwn**; also for the Canaanite pas-

sive participle pattern and apocopated 3rd f.s. pronominal suffix.¹¹

<y> = [e]: *'bygyd, ḥpyzy, ḥrys, ymlyk, nyhr'*, *'bdmlyk, rymw, šmšbryk, šmšḥdyt*.¹²

<y> = [ē]: *yḥbrmryn, qšbrmryn*.

<y> = [i]: *hny, wylt*, in both cases associated with a glottal stop (Abbadi 1983, 178).

<y> = [ī]: *brb'lsmyn, brzqyq'*, *'bdb'smyn*; also 1st s. possessive and object pronominal suffix, and [ī] of Arabic *CaCīC* or *nisbe* forms.

<y> = [āy]: Aram. *nisbe* forms.

3.2.7 Transcriptions of Greek and Iranian names

Greek Names:

<κ> = <k>: *ṭwkrws, slwk, slkw*.

<κ> = <q>: *nqndrs*.

<ξ> = <k+s>: *'lkšdrws*. Palmyrene parallels usually display <k+s>, with the exception of *'lkšndry* (Yon 2013a no. 1:1).

<τ> = <ṭ>: *ṭwkrws*.

<ι> = <y>: *nmsys*.

<ο> = <w>: *'lkšdrws, ṭwkrws*.

<εῖ> = <y>: *dyns*.

<εῦ>/<εῦ̄> = <w>: *ṭwkrws, slwk*.

<ίω> = <yw>: *dmywn*.

Iran. names:

[d] = <ṭ>: *'prṭn, 'štt, 'štty, 'št'ty*.¹³

[k] = <q>: *'stnq, 'tnq, mhrbndq, snṭrwq, snṭrq*.

[ā] = <'>: *r'yt*.

[ē] = <y>: *dwšpry, mnyš*.

[i] = <y>: *myhr'*.

[ī] = <y>: *tyrdt*.

[ō] = <w>: *dwšpry, wrwd, d/rwšmhr*.

11 Uncertain: *'lṭwm, 'lkwd/r*.

12 Uncertain: *mymy*.

13 Uncertain: *šṭb* ([d] or [t] if Iran. name).

[u] = <w>: *wnwk*.

[ū] = <w>: *bndw, snṯrwq*.

Uncertain: <w> in *gwsn*' may express [u], [ō], [au]. However, this name may also not be Iran.

3.3 Morphological Features (in Semitic Names)

3.3.1 Nouns

3.3.1.1 One-Word Names

Noun Patterns

The majority of Hatran one-word names derive from triconsonantal roots; the sole biconsonantal ones are 'b' and perhaps 'd' (cf. entry). Due to the frequent impossibility of determining the exact vocalization of a name, only the less ambiguous patterns are presented here. Aram. and Arabic patterns are sometimes indistinguishable due to the presence of cognate roots; they coexist with other linguistic features such as the Canaanite passive participle *CaCūC*.

Aram. *CaCīC*: *hdyrt, ṯryd', ydy'w, yhybw, 'qyb'*.¹⁴

Arabic *CaCīC*: 'ryš, 'tlw, ḥbbw, ḥbw/ys' (if read ḥbys'), ḥbybw, kbyrw, kšy', myt', sqyr, 'wydw, 'šy, šdyq, šny', šrdw.¹⁵

Aram. or Arabic *CaCīC*: *zbw/yd* (if read *zbyd*), 'ly.¹⁶

Canaanite *CaCūC*: *zbw/yd* (if read *zbwd*), *qrwn'*.¹⁷

Aram. *CaCCāC*: *kšṯw, rbn*.

Arabic relative 'aCCaC: 'bgr, 'kḥl, 'ršd, 'šlm, 'šlmw.¹⁸

Arabic diminutive *CuCaYc*: *bd/ryd/r'* (if read *bryd'*), *bwšyr, whyb', skyr'*,

14 Uncertain: *ḥnyn', ḥnn', ḥnny*. Add the genitive construction 'qybšmš.

15 Uncertain: *bd/ryd/r', ḥrys, qymy, qymt, qymty*. Add the genitive constructions: *hybšw* (uncertain), 'wyd'lt, 'wyd'šr, 'wydlt, 'wydšr.

16 Uncertain: *ḥbyb*.

17 Add the genitive construction *ntwn'šr*.

18 Uncertain: 'ṯyš.

'byd', 'bydw', 'wbdw', 'wyg', šmyšw (Hatran-Greek bilingual D 4).¹⁹

Uncertain diminutives *CuCaγC*: **zbw/yd** (if read **zbyd**), **zbydw**, **hbbw**, **hbyb**, **hnyn**'. The <y> between the second and third radicals may point at a diminutive *CuCaγC*. This is attested with Arabic roots, as seen above, which allows for the suggestion that an Arab origin is more likely, also for names with doubtful derivations from Aram. or Arabic. This pattern is nonetheless attested also in Aram., though less frequently.

Aram. diminutives (-ān suffix): 'qrbn', 'qrbn'.²⁰

Aram. *nisbe*: **zqy**'.²¹

Arabic *nisbe*: 'ky'.²²

Gender, Number, and State of Nouns

For the ambiguity of suffixed -' as hypoc. or Aram. det. suffix, see below: for determinate nouns in genitive constructions and nouns in verbal sentences, cf. the relevant entry in the discussion of two-words names.

Aram. m.s. absolute: **hbr**, **hlq**, **ymq**, **rbn**.²³

Aram. m.s. determinate: 'gr', **grb**', **zd/rwq**', **zd/rq**', **zky**', **hn**', **hnyn**', **hnn**', **ṭpsr**', **ṭryd**', **kmr**', **mlk**', **mr**', **mry**', **nwhdr**', **n'wr**', **sb**', 'b', 'qrbn', **qwp**', **qp**', **qrwn**', **šṭ**'.²⁴

Aram. f.s. absolute: 'dn (if Aram.).

Aram. f.s. determinate: **krs**', **rbt**' (hypoc.).²⁵

19 Uncertain: **hryšw** (uncertain, cf. entry, **mlykw**). Add the genitive construction 'wbd'ly.

20 Uncertain: **nwrn**, 'qbn.

21 Uncertain: **kwny**.

22 Uncertain: 'šy, **tky**.

23 Uncertain: 'rnb, **ndr**, 'bd, 'ly.

24 Uncertain: 'd', 'nšb', **gwsn**, **zbg**', **šṭ**'.

25 Uncertain: **šṭ**'.

Arabic f.s.: *grwt*, *wylt* (participle), *ħršt*, 'ztw',²⁶ 'lt, 'lt',²⁷ *qyymt*, *qymt*, *qymty*,²⁸ *qynt*, *r'mt*.²⁹

As to the female name *hdyrt*, the presence of the (apparently Arabic) suffix *-t* attached to this Aram adjective may be due to a defective writing of the Aram. f.s. determinate suffix, i.e. an apocope of <'>, or to a phenomenon of Arabicization by means of the Arabic f.s. suffix.

Use of loanwords (nouns and verbs) in onomastics:

Akk. loanword: 'gr', *brlb'*, *ṭpsr'*, *šwznl*.

Iran. loanword: *gzbry*, *knzyw*, *nwhdr'*.

Lallatives: *bby*, *mymy*.³⁰

3.3.1.2 Two-Word Names

Noun + Possessive pronominal suffix:

1st s.: 'by, 'bygd, 'bygyd, *mry*, 'bdly, 'dry, 'yny, *rby*, *šmš'dry*, [...] 'šrly.³¹

3rd f.s. apocopated: 'bw, *mrtbw*.

3rd m.p. (Aram.): *mrhwn*, *mrhn*.

3rd m.p. (Akk.): *bšwn*.

Interrogative pronoun *mn* + noun: *mky*,³² *mkmrtn*.

Aram. genitive constructions: 'mb' (f.), *brkmr'*, *mrtbw* (f.).

Arabic genitive constructions: 'bħyrn.

Aram. genitive constructions (with theonym): *brb'lšmyn*, *brzqq'*, *brzqq*, *brklb'*, *brlb'*, *brnbw*, *brny*, *brny'*, *brnny*, *brnšr'*, *brnšry*, *br'y*, *br'qbw*, *brš'*, *bršw/y*, *bršmš*, *btsmy'* (f.), 'bd'dn, 'bd'lh, 'bd'šr, 'bdb'šmyn, 'bdgd', 'bdlh', 'bdly, 'bdmlyk, 'bdmlk, 'bdnrgwl, 'bdnšr, 'bdnšr', 'bdsy', 'bdsmly', 'bdš', 'bdšlm', 'bdšlmn, 'bdšm', 'bdšmš, 'bsmy', 'bš', 'bšy,

26 With hypoc. or nominative suffix.

27 With hypoc. suffix.

28 With hypoc. suffix.

29 Cf. Diem 1980, 355-7. Add Aram. or Arab 'yny.

30 Uncertain: *tt'*.

31 Uncertain: *šmšy*.

32 Hypoc.

'*bšlm*', '*wbdly*', '*qybšmš*',³³ '*rḥdd*'.³⁴

Arabic genitive constructions (with theonym): *zyd'lt*, '*bd'gylw*', '*bd'gyly*', '*bd'gyly*', '*wyd'lt*', '*wyd'šr*', '*wydlit*', '*wydsr*', '*ydly*', *rp'nnny*, *tymly*, *tymlt*, *tmlt*, *tmny*.³⁵

Canaanite genitive construction (*CaCūC* passive participle construct + theonym): *ntwn'šr*.

3.3.2 Prepositions

b: *bd/r'* (if read *bd'*).

k: *mky*, *mkmrtn*.

l: *lhdd*, *lšgl'*, [...]'*šrly* (incomplete, cf. entry).

3.3.3 Verbs

Aram. G perfect: '*dwktb*', '*lhyhbw*', '*t'qb*', *bl'qb*, *gdyhb*, *yhbllh'*, *yhbmrryn*, *yhbšy*, *yhbšmš*, *mrnyhb*, *nbwbn'*', *nbwyhb*, *nbwktb*, *nšrhb*, *nšryhb*, *nšr'qb*, '*nnny*', '*qbsmy*', '*qbšm*', '*qbšmš*', *rḥmny*, *rḥmšmš*, *rp'*', *rpš'*', *rpšmš*, *šwznbl*, *šm'ny*, *šmšyhb*, *šmš'qb*.

Aram. G perfect + 1st s. object pronominal suffix: '*nnny*', *šm'ny*.³⁶

Aram. G passive participle: see above, *CaCīC* pattern.

Aram. D perfect: *blbrk*, *ḥwyš'*', *klbml'*', *qšbrmrryn*, *šmšbryk*, *šmšbrk*, *šmšḥdyt*, *šrrmry*.

Aram. D imperfect: '*srybrk*'.

Aram. D imperative: '*srpnd'*'.

Aram. Dt participle: *mṭlš*.

Aram. C perfect: '*pḥw?*'

Aram. C imperfect: *lwṭb*, *nšrlṭb*.

Aram. C active participle: *mqymšmš*, *šmšmkn*.

Arabic perfect (I, m. and f.): *brzl*, *grm'lt*, *grmlt*, *ḥp'*', *ḥp'zw*, *ḥp'zy*, *ḥpyzy*, *nbwsm' p'zw*.³⁷

33 Passive participle + theonym.

34 Uncertain: '*bs'*', '*drl'*'.

35 Uncertain: *hybšw* (adjective or active participle + theonym).

36 Uncertain: *ḥnnny*, *rḥmny*.

37 Uncertain: *whby*.

Arabic active participle (I): *hny*, *wylt*.³⁸

Arabic active participle (II or IV): *m'yrw* (cf. entry).

Aram. G or Arabic (I) perfect: *hb'*, *šmšgrm*.

Aram. G or Arabic (I) imperfect: *ymlyk*, *ymlk*.

Akk. G perfect subjunctive: *ttny*.

Uncertain (Aram. or Arabic) perfect forms: *'dltw*, *zbdy*, *ndr*, *nšr*, *'qb*, *'qb'*, *'qbw*, *'qbwy*, *'qby*, *'qbn*.

Imperfect forms with a *y*- prefix are to be considered Aram. rather than Arabic (as proposed by Beyer 1998, 138). This is an OA and OffA feature still found in Palm. and Old Syr. (Healey 2009, 51), whereas the usual Hatran Aram. prefix for the 3rd m.s. imperfect is *l*- (Beyer 1998, 137-8). Its presence is probably due to the conservative character of onomastics, in which it nonetheless coexists with *l*- prefix forms (*lwtb* and *nšrltb*). Conversely, the name *ymlyk/ymlk* may have an Arab origin, since it has perfect parallels in Nab. and Saf.

3.4 Syntactical Features (in Semitic Sentence-Names)

3.4.1 Nominal Sentences

Theonym + noun: *'dwnr*, *nbwqbr*, *nbwdyn*, *šmšgd*, *šmštyb*, *šmšmkn*, *šmš'dry*.³⁹

Noun + theonym: *'bygd*, *'bygyd*, *'lhšmš*, *gbrhdd*, *ḥyws'*, *ḥyrš'*, *ḥnšmš*, *mqymšmš*, *rmšmš*.⁴⁰

Interrogative nominal sentence: *mky*,⁴¹ *mkmrtn*.

38 Uncertain. *drm*, *hybšw*.

39 Uncertain: *'drl'*.

40 Uncertain: *'d/rnb* (if read *'dnb*), *dd/ršy*.

41 Hypoc.

3.4.2 Verbal Sentences

Theonym + verb: 'dwk**tb**, 'lhy**hbw**, 'sry**brk**, 'sr**pnd**', 't'qb, bl**brk**, bl'qb, **gd**yh**b**, kl**bl**ml', mrny**hb**, nbwb**n**', nbwy**hb**, nbwk**tb**, nbwsm', nšrh**b**, nšry**hb**, nšrl**tb**, nšr'qb, šmšbry**k**, šmšbr**k**, šmšgr**m**, šmšḥdy**t**, šmšy**hb**, šmš'qb.

Verb + theonym: brzl, gr**m**'lt, gr**mlt**, ḥwyš', ḥp'zw, ḥp'zy, ḥpyzy, y**hb**lh', y**hb**rmryn, y**hb**šy, y**hb**šmš, 'qbs**my**', 'qbš**m**', 'qbš**mš**, qšbr**my**n, rḥmš**mš**, rp'zw, rpš', rpš**mš**, šwz**nbl**, šrr**my**.⁴²

Hypoc. (verb or verb + other elements): 'pḥw?, ḥp', y**mlyk**, y**mlk**, lw**tb**, 'nny, rp', šm'ny; see also above, "Uncertain perfect forms".

Hatran names structured as verbal sentences are characterized by the presence of a theonym as subject, which can be rightly hypothesized also for hypoc. forms. Verbs are consistently attested in the 3rd m.s. person: their occurrence also with female theonyms is common practice in Hatran onomastics (Beyer 1998, 140).

3.5 Hypocoristic Suffixes to One- and Two-Word Names

Hypocoristica are attested for one- and two-word names. The following lists include all attestations on the basis of their suffix.

Hypoc. -': br**nšr**', brš', gd', hbl', ḥb', ḥwyš', ḥyws', ḥyrš', ḥyš', m'n', nšr', sb', 'bdš', 'bdš**lm**', 'bdš**m**', 'bš', 'bš**lm**', 'g', 'q', 'qb', 'qbš**m**', rpš', šyl', šlm'.⁴³

Hypoc. or det. -': 'b', 'š', bd/ryd/r', blg', dd', whyb', ḥbw/ys', ḥyr', kšy', myt', skyr', 'byd', 'wyg', 'lt', 'qyb'.⁴⁴

Hypoc. -w: br'qb**w**, bršw/y, hybšw, ydy'w, yhybw, kšṭw, mlw, 'bdw, 'wbdw, 'wydw, rw/zḥw (if read rwḥw), rymw, rmw.⁴⁵

Arabic nominative -w: 'dltw, 'šw, 'šlmw, 'tlw, blgw, gblw, dmgw, zbydw,

42 Uncertain: 'd/r**nb** (if read 'dnb), rḥ**my**.

43 Uncertain: zby', ḥnn'. Hypoc. -' is attached also to the Iran. theonyms mhr' and myhr'.

44 Uncertain: ḥny**n**', nyhr', 'bn', 'bs', 'z', šb', šny'. Hypoc. or det. -' is attached also to Iran. zn'.

45 Uncertain: 'pḥw, gdw, kbryw, mlykw, m'nw, 'qbw, šbrw, šmw.

*ḥbybw, ḥyrw, m'yrw, nšrw, 'bydw, 'wdw, 'ztw, šbw, š'dw, šrdw, tymw.*⁴⁶

Hypoc. -y: 'dy, 'št'ty, 'št'ty, *bd/ry, brny, brnšry, br'y, bršw/y, gdy, dd/ršy, whby, zbdy, ḥnny, ṭw'y, yhbšy, mky, nšry, 'bdy, 'bd'gyly, 'by, 'bšy, 'zy, 'ydly, 'qby, 'ty, qymy, qymty, šly, tymly, tmny, ttny.*⁴⁷

Suffix -wy: *'qbwy.*

Suffix -y': *brny, 'bd'gyly, 'gly.*⁴⁸

Suffix -yw: *knzyw.*

The use of suffixes to create a shortened form of a personal name follows rather unpredictable criteria and a variety of hypoc. with -, -w, -wy, -y, -y', and -yw are attested (cf. the overview in Beyer 1984, 445). Among these, it seems worthy to discuss briefly -' and -w.

Suffixed -' is attached to Aram. and Arab names. As to the first type, it may stand for a shortened form or a determinate state. The determination by means of a suffixed -', however, may have been applied also to Arab names, implying thus that at Hatra they were adapted to the dominant linguistic situation (Abbadi 1983, 179). As remarked more recently with reference to the Saf. name *gṭm*' attested at Dura Europos (Macdonald 2005, 120), Aramaized Saf. personal names are comparatively well attested (cf. the list in WH, 19) and frequently paralleled by names built upon the same root and displaying a prefixed article *h-* (e.g. '*bd*' and *h'bd*'). A similar situation can be observed for Hatran names, among which hypocoristica with suffixed -' are attested together with hypocoristica bearing the suffix -w, traditionally considered proof of the Arab origin of the name (e.g. 'š' and 'šw; *blg*' and *blgw*'). The corpus thus displays a parallel situation to that attested for Safaitic names, which may be evidence of the coexistence of Arab hypocoristica and their Aramaized equivalents at Hatra as well. However, tracing a clear separation and determining the reasons for the development of these different Arab hypocoristica is rather complicated, since suffixed -w occurs also on originally Aram. forms (*ydy'w, yhybw*, perhaps '*phw*'). The suffix -w is generally understood as an Arabic nominative case ending when it is attached to theonyms or nouns (for Nab. onomastics cf. Diem 1973, 234-7, 1981, 336-7; 342-4); conversely, when it occurs on verbal forms it is interpreted with certainty as a hypocoristic. A suffixed -w is attested also in Palmyrene onomastics and could be part of

46 Uncertain: *ḥbbw, ḥryšw, thmrw, tlmw.*

47 Uncertain: *ddy, rḥmny, šmšy.*

48 Uncertain: *zby'.*

a shared Arab onomastic heritage that preserved traces of case endings. We are unable to state whether the language spoken by the Arab population gravitating round Hatra maintained case endings; since personal names tend to preserve archaic features, one could also suppose that such hypocoristica with *-w* testify to a more ancient linguistic phase. In this regard, Mascitelli (2006, 236) points at some methodological shortcomings in the work of Diem (1973): firstly, the assumption that Nab. was an Arabic dialect in which case endings were not employed anymore, so that suffixes attached to personal names would have been just frozen forms; moreover, the use of a rather outdated and comparatively restricted onomastic corpus, i.e., the names listed in Cantineau 1932. Mascitelli (2006, 242 n. 162) proposes that suffixed *-w* in Nab. onomastics may depend on a euphonic shift [ā] > [ō]; a *-y* suffixed to two-word names built as genitive constructions, instead, could be a frozen genitive ending, deriving from an Arabic background and still preserved in Aram.

3.6 Semantic Taxonomy of Hatran Semitic Personal Names

3.6.1 General Remarks

The taxonomic study of Semitic personal names based on their semantic value has proved to be a highly promising source of sociolinguistic information since the publication of two classic analyses of Semitic anthroponymy, Noth (1928), which treated Jewish names, and Stamm (1939), which covered the Akkadian evidence. These reference works constituted the basis for a number of studies published in the subsequent decades, which aimed at going beyond the traditional linguistic and structural evaluation of anthroponyms and focused instead on the social and religious implications of the choice and usage of names. A comparative discussion is presented, for example, in the volume *Altorientalische und semitische Onomastik* (Streck-Weninger 2002), in which nine papers discuss Sumerian, Hittite, Egyptian, Akkadian, Hebrew, Ancient South-Arabian, and Arabic personal names.

As to Akkadian names, a major overview is Edzard (1998-2001, part A. on Sumerian names and B. dedicated to Akkadian names). Amongst more recent contributions, Baker (2002) focuses on the practices of name-giving in the 1st millennium BC; Hackl (2013) analyses the factors inherent in the choice of female slave names in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid cuneiform texts, referring to Noth's (1928) and Stamm's (1939) semantic categories; Porten (2016) deals with the occurrences of Akkadian onomastics in Aramaic texts mainly from Achaemenid Egypt, comparing them with the semantics of Hebrew names.

Similar examinations of Aramaic names have been carried out on specific corpora or case-studies. Silverman (1981) analyses 'servant names'

in Aramaic and other Semitic languages; Negev (1991, 155-79), which should be consulted alongside the remarks in Macdonald (1999), attempts a socio-historical evaluation of the Nabataeans drawing upon the lexicon and semantics of their personal names; Yon (2013b) discusses anthroponyms built upon animal names in Palmyrene Aramaic and contemporary corpora from Syria and Mesopotamia.

After Noth (1928), several other important investigations were conducted on Jewish names: among the most recent ones, cf. Silverman (1985, especially 246-74 for the semantic analysis and caution as to Stamm's *Ersatznamen*, see below), Fowler (1988) on theophoric names, and for a re-examination of the whole corpus, cf. Rechenmacher (2012, 109-82).

The studies cursorily mentioned above have expanded the scheme introduced by Noth (1928) with abundant ramifications. Regarding Hatran anthroponymy, the comparatively high presence of names that cannot receive a univocal interpretation makes it advisable not to outline an excessively detailed taxonomy. Further research and the publication of new texts will surely contribute to a better definition of these issues.

The basic principles of such a semantic taxonomy can be summed up as follows, considering two-word and one-word names separately. The Hatran corpus does not testify to three-word names, typical of Akkadian anthroponymy.

From a linguistic point of view, as seen above, theophoric **two-word names** can be built as genitive constructions, nominal or verbal sentences. Semantically, the following categories have been identified:

- Confessional or credal names (*Bekennnisnamen*), which state a quality or an attribute of a deity. They are subdivided into self-confessional (*Selbstbekennnisnamen*) and general confessional names (*allgemeine Bekennnisnamen*). The first ones comprise, for example, the very common 'servant names' built upon 'bd' (Silverman 1981) and aim at asserting and strengthening the relationship between the name-bearer, and by consequence the name-giver, and the deity. Such a close relationship with a deity can be also stated by means of the possessive 'my'. General confessional names do not imply any specific relationship and attribute to the deity a quality that is perceived as paramount. Linguistically, they appear most frequently as genitive constructions and nominal sentences.
- Confidence names (*Vertrauensnamen*) highlight trust and faith in the deity by the name-bearer in a more personal tone than confessional names, encompassing a broad semantic scope (help, protection, favour, light, etc. from the deity). These names are almost invariably genitive constructions and nominal sentences as well.
- Thanksgiving names (*Danknamen*) express gratitude to the deity for an intervention of some kind and include, amongst others, a profusion of names built upon roots such as 'to give', 'to donate', 'to create'.

They are, to a large extent, sentences with a perfect form; otherwise, genitive constructions which correspond to, or can be turned into, a verbal sentence of the type mentioned above. A subgrouping of these names, intended by Stamm (1939, 278-306) as substitute names (*Ersatznamen*), greets the substitution of a deceased member of the family by means of a new-born child, or expresses a familiar relationship with the deity, probably as thanksgiving for the birth of a long-desired child (Silverman 1985, 257; Rechenmacher 2012, 141-2). Cf. Silverman's (1985, 257 n. 23) caution toward Stamm's (1965) later excessively inclusive approach with regard to this semantic subcategory.

- Petition names (*Wunschnamen*) address the deity for a prayer or request, usually expressed with an imperfect (Aramaic) or an imperative verb (Akkadian).

One-word names are often hypocoristica of theophoric names; animal, plant, profession, and constellation names, as well as designations of physical and behavioural characteristics. In certain cases, defects, endearment names, diminutives, and lallatives are attested. These names correspond to Noth's (1928, 221-32) *Profane Namen* and to Stamm's (1939, 242-57) *Zärtlichkeitsnamen* 'endearment names'. Sometimes these categories overlap: for example, the Arab names **whyb**' and **zbydw** are both hypocoristica of thanksgiving names and diminutives. They are listed under "Thanksgiving names" due to the more discrete nature of this category.

Drawing upon studies on Classical Arabic anthroponyms (Wild 1982; Muth 2008), one-word Arab names, which display a substantial spectrum of semantic values, can be considered as proper names (*ism*, 'alam, *ism al-'alam*) or nicknames (*laqab*). Within such a large range, the comparatively high incidence of names referring to unpleasant characteristics should be interpreted in light of their apotropaic value against the evil eye or, more generally, against any harm that the child may incur in his life (Wild 1982, 155; 156; Muth 2008, 719).

The following schematic taxonomy is based upon the linguistic affiliation of Hatran Semitic names: Aramaic, Arab, Akkadian, and Semitic Unclassified names are taken into account. As to the last group, Aramaic or Arab names are inserted into the scheme only if their meaning (or one of their possible meanings) can be ascertained with a reasonable degree of certainty. Iranian and Greek names, together with names for which a Semitic etymology cannot be currently determined, are excluded.

3.6.2 Two-Word Names

3.6.2.1 Aramaic

Confessional names

- Self-confessional: *mrtbw*, 'bd'dn, 'bd'lh', 'bd'sr, 'bdb'smyn, 'bdlh', 'bdly, 'bdmlyk, 'bdmlk, 'bdnrgwl, 'bdnšr, 'bdnšr', 'bdsy', 'bdsmy', 'bdš', 'bdšlm', 'bdšlmn, 'bdšm', 'bdšmš, 'bsmy', 'bš', 'bšy, 'bšlm', 'wbd'ly, rḥdd.
- General confessional: 'dwnr, 'lhšmš, *gbrhdd*, *ḥnšmš*, *mkmrtn*, *mqymšmš*, *nbwqbr*, *rmšmš*, *šmštyb*.

Confidence names: 'drl', *šmšgd*, *šmš'dry*.

Thanksgiving names: 'dwktb, 'lhyhbw, 'mb', 't'qb, *blbrk*, *bl'qb*, *brb'lšmyn*, *brzqyq*, *brzqq*, *brklb*, *brkmr*, *brlb*, *brnbw*, *brny*, *brny*, *brnny*, *brnšr*, *brnšry*, *br'y*, *br'qbw*, *brš*, *bršw/y*, *bršmš*, *btsmy*, *gdyhb*, *ḥwyš*, *yhblh*, *yhbrmryn*, *yhbšy*, *yhbšmš*, *klbml*, *mrnyhb*, *nbwyhb*, *nbwktb*, *nšrhb*, *nšryhb*, *nšr'qb*, *ntwn'sr*, 'qbsmy', 'qbšm', 'qbšmš, 'qybšmš, *qšbrmryn*, *rḥmny*, *rḥmšmš*, *rpš*, *rpšmš*, *šmšbryk*, *šmšbrk*, *šmšḥdyt*, *šmšyhb*, *šmšmkn*, *šmš'qb*, *šrrmry*.

Petition names: 'srybrk, 'srpnd', *nšrltb*.

3.6.2.2 Arab

Confessional names

- Self-confessional: *hybšw*, 'bd'gylw, 'bd'gyly, 'bd'gyly', 'bḥyrn, 'wyd'lt, 'wyd'sr, 'wydlt, 'wydšr, 'ydly, *tymly*, *tymlt*, *tmlt*, *tmny*.
- General confessional: *ḥywsš*, *ḥyrš*, *rp'nny*.

Thanksgiving names: *brzl*, *grm'lt*, *grmlt*, *zyd'lt*, *ḥp'zw*, *ḥp'zy*, *ḥpyzy*, *nbwsm'*, *rp'zw*.

3.6.2.3 Akkadian Names and Aramaic Names of Akkadian Origin

Confessional names

- General confessional: *nbwdyn*.

Thanksgiving names: *nbwbn'*, *šwznbl*.

3.6.2.4 Unclassified

Confessional names

- Self-confessional: *'bdgd'*.

Thanksgiving names: *'bygd*, *'bygyd*, *dd/ršy?*, *šmšgrm*.

3.6.3 One-Word Names

3.6.3.1 Aramaic

Hypocoristica

- Confessional names: *hdyrt*, *zky'*, *ḥbr*, *ḥlq*, *lhdd*, *lšgl'*, *mky*, *mlw*, *mlk'*, *mr'*, *mrhwn*, *mrhn*, *mry*, *mry'*, *ndr*, *qrwn'*, *rby*, *rbn*, *rbt'*, *rymw*, *rmw*.
- Confidence names: *ḥn'*, *ḥnn'*, *ḥnny*, *'dry*.
- Thanksgiving names: *'bw*, *'by*, *ṭryd'*, *ydy'w*, *yhybw*, *'nny*, *'qbwy?*, *rp'*, *šm'ny*.
- Petition names: *lwṭb*, *šyl'*.
- Theonyms: *'d'*, *'dy*, *dd'*, *ddy*, *mrn*, *nšr'*, *nšry*, *smy*, *šlm'*, *šlmn*, *šmš*, *šmšy*.

Animal names: *n'wr'*,⁴⁹ *'b'*, *qwp'*, *qp'*.

Profession names: *'gr'*, *qzbry*, *kmr'*, *kšṭw*, *nwhdr'*.

Constellation names: *šrt'*.

Physical characteristics: *'dn*, *grb'*, *zqy'*, *ymq*, *krs'*, *mṭlš*, *sb'*, *sr'm*.

The following one-word Aramaic names are excluded, due to the many plausible meanings they can be given: *zd/rwq'*, *zd/rq'*, *'qb*, *'qb'*, *'qbw*, *'qby*, *'qbn*, *'qyb'*. The meaning of *kwny* is unclear.

3.6.3.2 Arab

Hypocoristica

⁴⁹ 'Braying', technically not an animal name but nonetheless pertaining to this semantic sphere.

- Confessional names: *blg'*, *blgw*, *wylt*, *ḥbw/ys'?*, *ḥyr'*, *ḥyrw*, *ṭw'y*, *mlykw*, *'bdw*, *'byd'*, *'bydw*, *'wbdw*, *'wydw*, *'z'?*, *'zy'?*,⁵⁰ *'ztw*, *'lt*, *'lt'*, *šdyq*, *šny'*, *tymw*.
- Confidence names: *'dltw'?*, *ḥrys'?*, *'wd*, *'wdw*, *šly*, *šrdw*.
- Thanksgiving names: *'š'*, *'šw*, *hny*, *whby*, *whyb'*, *zbydw*, *ḥbbw*, *ḥbybw*, *ḥp'*, *nšr*, *nšrw*, *š'dw*.
- Theonyms: *hbl'*, *m'n'*, *m'nw*, *'g'*, *'gly'*.

Animal names: *grwt*, *r'mt*.

Profession names: *qynt*.

Physical characteristics: *'bgr*, *'khl*, *gblw*, *drm'?*, *kbyrw*, *sqyr*, *'wyg'*, *'ky*, *šbw*.

Behavioural characteristics: *'tyš'?*, *'ryš*, *'ršd*, *'šlm*, *'šlmw*, *'tlw*, *myt'*, *m'yrw*, *skyr'*, *'bn'?*, *'šy*, *'q'?*.

Pure endearment names: *qyymt*, *qymy*, *qymt*, *qymty*.

Diminutives: *bd/ryd/r'?*, *bwšyr*.

Varia: *dmgw*, *kšy'*, *nwrn*, *plq*.

3.6.3.3 Akkadian Names and Aramaic Names of Akkadian Origin

Hypocoristica

- Confessional names: *bšwn*.
- Thanksgiving names: *tqwn*.
- Petition names: *ttny*.

Profession names: *ṭpsr'*.

3.6.3.4 Unclassified

Hypocoristica

- Confessional names: *knzyw'?*, *'bd*, *'bdy*, *'by*, *'yny*, *'ly*.
- Confidence names: *ḥyy*, *ḥyš'*, *nyhr'*.
- Thanksgiving names: *'b'*, *zbdy*, *zbw/yd*, *ḥb'*, *ḥbyb*, *ḥnyn'*.
- Petition names: *ymlyk*, *ymlk*.
- Theonyms: *gd'*, *gdw*, *gdly*, *'ty*.

50 'z' and 'zy' may also be the theonym 'Uzzā.

Animal names: 'qrbn, 'qrbn'.

Plant names: šṭ'.

Lallatives: bby, mymy.

The following Unclassified names can be linked to several languages (not only Semitic) and thus have many different semantic connotations: 'd/rnb, bd/r', bd/ry, zby', ḥryšw, ḥršt, 'bwš, 'bs', 'nn, 'šy, šb'', šbrw, šṭb, šmw. Other Unclassified names cannot presently receive any certain etymology nor semantic scope: 'lṭwm, 'lkwd/r, 'nšb', bd/rynšw, gwsn', hkyd/rd/r, zbg', ṭṭ', prhnd/r, rw/zḥw, thmrw, tky, tlmw.

