Prefixed Verbal Forms in Personal Names from Ebla*

M. Krebernik – Munich

0. *Introduction, suffix conjugation*

Almost all verbal forms contained in personal names from Ebla belong to the prefix conjugation. The existence of a suffix conjugation corresponding to the Akkadian stative might be deduced from the predicative use of adjectives without an ending in names like

dab	*-ar-ru$_{12}$*	/ṭāb-/	"is good" (?)
ì-lum	*-na-im*	/-naᶜim/	" is pleasant"

Literary context supplies the plural forms *ᵓa$_x$(NI)-bù-ḫu* /Ḫabbuḫ-ū/, *da-nu-nu* /dannun-u/ and *ᵓa$_x$-bù-ḫa* /Ḫabbuḫ-a/, *da-nu-na* /dannun-a/ for the m. and f. respectively.[1]

In personal names, the use of the case-ending /-a/ in a predicative sense is much more common, e.g.

a-ba$_4$	*-il* (= *a$_x$(NI)-ba -il*)	/ᵓaba-/	"is father"
a-ma	*-il*	/ᶜamma-/	"is uncle"
ar-ra	*-il*	/ḫarra-/	"is a mountain" (?)[2]
li-ma	*-(ᵈ)da-gan* (but ᵈ*da-gan -li-im*)	/liᵓma-/	"is Lim"[3]
um-ma -a-ḫu (besides *um -a-ḫu*)		/ᵓumma-/	"is (like a) mother"

There are no clear examples of a suffix conjugation expressing not condition but action. In other terms, there seem to be no examples

---

* All personal names from Ebla texts cited in the present article are listed with their references on pp. 61-69.

[1] *ARET* II 3 IV 6-7, V 2-3.

[2] Cf. *à-ra* -NI for initial *ḫ(ḫ)*?

[3] According to P. Fronzaroli, *SEb* 1 (1979) 12, and *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 45

of a verbal category corresponding to the perfect of later west semitic languages. Names like

ba-na -aḫ
ḫa-ra -il (besides *ḫa*ₓ(ḪAL)-*ra -il*/NI)

which at first glance seem to contain perfect forms in /-a/ ("the brother has created" or "he has created a brother" and "Il has chosen") should better be interpreted according to the afore-mentioned type as composed of a predicative noun and its subject: "the brother is face /pāna-/(?)", "Il is...". The interpreṭation "Il has chosen" appears questionable not only for morphological, but also for semantic reasons, since it seems to presuppose Hebrew theology in the IIId millenium.

A great number of personal names are composed of a prefixed verbal form and a noun, the verbal form usually preceding the noun which may be its object or, less often, its object.[4]

Furthermore, there are many names consisting of a single prefixed verbal form. This type may be regarded as a shortened form of the first one. Corresponding names of the first type, i.e. names formed with the same verb and a noun, often coexist hand help to identify names of the short type.

Both types are known from Akkadian and other semitic languages as well.

1. *Endings*

1.1. The attested verbal forms belong to the 3d m., 3d f., probably also 2d. m., and 1st person sg. which are marked by prefixes only. In composite names, these forms, like the Akkadian indicative, have no endings, e.g.

i-mur -li-im
da-mur -li-im
a-mur -li-im
íl/ir- àg -da-mu
ig-rí-iš -ḫa-lam
ig-bù-ul -ma-lik

1.2. Names consisting of a single verbal form may equally occur without an ending. Often, however, nominal endings are added:

(1960) 145, *li'im* is the deified "gruppo gentilizio" as well as its leader (identical with Ass. *limmu*).

    [4] Clear examples of names containing a direct object of their verbal element are *ab-ri -a-ḫu, ar-si -a-ḫa* (and variant spellings), *ar-šè -ti-lu, ù-da aḫ/a-ḫa*. The second of these names has a semantic equivalent with inversed order of elements: *a-ḫa -ar-šè*.

ar-si		cf. -ar-si	-aḫ/a-ḫa/a-ḫu/a-ḫum
en-àr		en-àr	-da-mu
			-li-im
			-NI
	en-gi-su/šum	en-gi-iš	-ar
en-zi	en-zi-um	en-zi	-ar
			-da-ar
			-da-mu
			-du-du
			-gú-núm
			-li-im
			-ma-lik
			-^{d}ì-lam
			-ša-ḫa-ru_{12}
	en-zu-ru_{12}		
i-rí-ig	i-rí-gu	i-rí-ig	-da-mu
			-gàr
		(-ig)	-gú-nu
			-ma-lik
			-NI
			-PI.AŠ
			-ZÉ
i-ti-ig		cf. i-ti-ig	-li-im
			-sum
i-ti-in		i-ti-in	-ì-lum
	ib-du-ru_{12}/ra/lu/lum	ib-dur	-a-ru_{12}
			-^{d}ʾà-da
			-^{d}da-gan
			-i-šar
			-il/NI
			-iš-lu
			-^{d}ku-ra
			-ma-lik
			-ti-lu
ig-bù-ul		ig-bù-ul	-ma-lik
	ig-na-um	ig-na	-da-ar
			-da-mu
ig-rí-iš	ig-rí-su/sa	ig-rí-iš	-da-mu
			-gàm
			-ḫa-lam
			-li-im

ig-su-ud

íl-ba-um		*íl-ba*	-da-ar
			-da-mu
			-du-du
			-gú-núm
			-i-šar
			-IGI.DU/DU$_8$
			-ma-lik
			sa/sá-mu
			-zi-kir
ìr-a		*ìr-a*	-il
ìr-ga-bù		*ìr-gáb*	-ar
			-da-mu
dar-gáb-bù		*dar-gáb*	-da-mu
ìr-ì-bù-/ba		*ìr-íb*	-da-mu
			-ga-ar
			-NI
		ìr-íb	-ga-ma-al$_6$
			-NI
		ì-rí-ib	-il
iš$_{11}$-a		*iš$_{11}$-a*	-da-mu
			-il
			-ma-lik
			-ne-ḪAR
iš$_{11}$-a-rúm		*iš$_{11}$-ar*	-da-mu
			-li-im
			-NI

When different endings (0, /-u(m)/, /-a/) are attested it can hardly ever be ascertained whether one and the same person is meant, as is the case with *i-rí-ig* and *i-rí-gu*. It remains unclear whether this is due to the scarcity of the evidence or to a distinctive function of the morphological difference.

1.3. Sometimes a sign used to express the nominal ending of the shortened form helps to specify the final radical:

en-ga-u$_9$/U$_4$/um[5]   cf. *en-ga*   -am

---

[5] u_9 alternating with U_4 occurs also in *ib-da-u$_9$/U$_4$* of which no corresponding composite name is attested. U_4 alternates with 0 in the name *en-ʾà(-U$_4$)* besides *en-ʾà-da-mu*. U_4 expressing the nominative ending is probably to be read -*úm*, cf. ZA 72 (1982) 204.

		-da-ba-an
		-li-im
		-mu-ud/du
		-sum
i-da-ù	*i-da*	-ad-mu
		-am
		-ba-ḫal
		-gàm
		-il/NI
		-ma-lik
		-ni-ki-mu
i-bí-ù	*i-bí*	-a-du
		-da-mu
		-da-si-in
		-iš-lu
		-ni-ḪAR
		-ni-ki-mu
		-SÙ
		-zi-kir
		-zi-mu
i-rí-ig/gu	(see 1.2.)	
ìr-AN-mu, ìr-a-mu	*ìr-AN*	-a-ḫir
		-da-ar
		-da-ḫu-mu
		-da-si-in
		-ga-ma-al$_6$
		-gú-nu
		-ma-lik
		-šar
	ìl-AN	-da-gan
		-da-si-in

For *en-ga-*, the spelling *u$_9$* of the nominal ending points to final h/ḫ or y.[8] In view of the preceding stem-vowel /a/, the most probable root is n-g-h "to shine".

For *i-da-* and *i-bí-*, the spelling *-ù* of the ending, which generally represents ᵓ/ᶜ,[7] confirms that y-d-ᶜ "to know", and n-b-ᵓ "to name", "to proclaim" are the underlying roots.

For *i-rí-ig-*, the spelling *-gu* of the ending points to final q rather than k[8] and thus speaks against underlying ᵓ-r-k "to be long".

6 Cf. ZA 72 (1982) 219-221.
7 Cf. ibid.
8 Cf. ibid. 207-208.

If we rightly interpret ìr-AN-*mu* and ìr-a-*mu* as variant spellings of a shortened form of composite names with the verbal element ìr-AN-, then it follows that AN is to be read *am₆* here. This reading is supported by the Old Akkadian spelling *am* in ìr-am-ᵈ*da-gan,* ìr-am-ᵈ*ma-lik,* ìr-am-D[INGIR].[9]

2. Prefixes

2.1. 3d m. sg.

2.1.1. The following spellings of the prefix are clearly recognizable:

i-mur	*-li-im*
ib-dur	*-il*
ig-mul	*-da-mu*
iḫ-šu-ub	*-da-mu* (var. *ig-su-ub -da-mu!*)
íl-a/e	*-da-mu*
en-bù-uš	*-li-im*
ìr-gáb	*-da-mu*
iš-má	*-ì-lum*
iš₁₁-ar	*-da-mu*
u₉-ma	*-li-im* (root primae w: w-m-ʾ?)

i is generally distinguished from *ì,* which never is used for the 3d person prefix. It stands normally in place of semitic *h/ḫ* and *y,* whereas *ì* mostly represents semitic ʾ/ᶜ (cf. 1.3. and note 5). The same distinction is made between *u₉* and *ù,* (cf. 1.3. and note 4), and seems to be the reason also for the constant use of *íl-, en-* and *ìr-* instead of *il-, in-* and *ìr-* for the prefix of the 3d person m. which obviously was /yi-/, /yu-/.

In the case of *iš-* and *iš₁₁-,* however, there seems to be a tendency to differentiate between the two signs according to the final consonant of the syllable, semitic *š* and *ś* being represented by *iš,* semitic *d* and *t* by *iš₁₁:*[10]

---

9 See *MAD* III, 230 s.v. Rʾ₁M. Note also ìr-a-*mu.*
10 The use of *iš* and *iš₁₁* in personal names is very regular. Exceptions are rare and uncertain: *iš₁₁-ma* -NI (instead of *iš-má* -NI?), *iš₁₁-ba-um* (to be connected with *iš-ba-*...?), *iš₁₁-gú-nu* (š-k-n?). The distinction seems to be confirmed by the lexical texts, where, however, both signs alternate in 2 or 3 cases. Note *iš* standing in place of *s* in *MEE* IV, 227/ 488 (ḍ-r-š, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 10), 569 (š-h-H, see ib., 21), 1269 (y-b-š, see ib., 42), 1279/80 (/ʾišk-/ "testicle", equivalent of ŠIR, 1375 (/ʾišdum/ "seat", "foundation", equivalent of DÚR), and also in 809 (goddess Išḫara, cf. Ugaritic spelling *ušḫry*), against *iš₁₁* for *t* in 660 (ʾ/ᶜ-t-k-l, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 26) and 965b (/ʾitpatum/ "quiver", equivalent of MAR.URU₅). Contradictions seem to be 1184 (*iš* for *t* in t-q-l, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 42) and probably 0350 (*iš₁₁* for *š* in ḍ-r-š?). In one of the two clear cases of *š* alternating with *iš₁₁,* semitic *s* is involved (ṣ-b-ᶜ), and there is also a third, completely irregular spelling *sa* (500/528, see *ZA* 73 [1983]18). In the second case, etymology is unclear (542/566, semitic?).

š-b-ᶜ[11]	iš-ba	-il/NI
š-m-ḫ/ᶜ (or s-ʾ-l)[12]	iš-AL₆	-da-mu
š-m-ᶜ[13]	iš-má	-da-ar
		-da-ba-an
		-da-mu
		-ga-lu
		-gàr-du
		-ì-lum
		-il/NI
		-li-im
		-ma-lik
		-šum
		-zi-kir
ś-r-H[14]	iš-ra	-il/NI
	iš-la	-ab
		-BE
		-da-du
		-ma-lik
		-NI
d-k-r[15]	iš₁₁-gur	-da-mu
		-KU
		-li-im
		-TI
t-m-r[16]	iš₁₁-da-mar-	ᵈda-gan
t-r-y[17] (?)	iš₁₁-rí	-mu-ud
t-ᶜ-y[18]	iš₁₁-a	-da-mu
		-il
		-ma-lik
		-ne-ḪAR
t-ġ-r[19]	iš₁₁-ar	-da-mu

[11] Cf. Akk. *šebûm* "to be satiated".

[12] The reading *maḫ* instead of *al₆* is based on the spelling *iš-má-aḫ -ma-lik* cited above by Fronzaroli, in p. 21. The root is *š-m-ᶜ* or *š-m-ḫ* (cf. Akk. *šemûm* "to hear" / *šamāḫum* "to be vigorous", "to thrive"). The latter possibility is to be preferred if *dal/dùl-da-ma-ḫu/ḫa* belongs here (see 3.2.), since ᶜ in Ebla is not expressed by *ḫa/ḫi/ḫu*. The reading *al₆* is, however, not completely excluded (cf. Akk. *šâlum* "to ask").

[13] Cf. Akk. *šemûm* "to hear".

[14] Cf. Yiśrā'ēl (?).

[15] Cf. Akk. *z/sak/qārum* "to mention", "to name".

[16] Cf. Ugar. *il/ᶜm(y)-ttmr*. See note 36.

[17] Cf. Akk. *šarûm* "to be rich" (*išru!*)? Or /ᶜidrī-/ "my help".

[18] Cf. Akk. *še'ûm* "to seek", "to demand".

[19] Cf. Akk. *ša'ārum* "to defeat".

If we rightly interprete ìr-AN-*mu* and ìr-a-*mu* as variant spellings of a shortened form of composite names with the verbal element ìr-AN-, then it follows that AN is to be read am_6 here. This reading is supported by the Old Akkadian spelling *am* in ìr-am-^{d}*da-gan*, ìr-am-^{d}*ma-lik*, ìr-am-D[INGIR].[9]

2. Prefixes

2.1. 3d m. sg.

2.1.1. The following spellings of the prefix are clearly recognizable:

i-mur	-*li-im*
ib-dur	-*il*
ig-mul	-*da-mu*
iḫ-šu-ub	-*da-mu* (var. *ig-su-ub* -*da-mu*!)
íl-a/e	-*da-mu*
en-bù-uš	-*li-im*
ìr-gáb	-*da-mu*
iš-má	-*ì-lum*
iš₁₁-ar	-*da-mu*
u_9-*ma*	-*li-im* (root primae w: w-m-ʾ?)

i is generally distinguished from *ì*, which never is used for the 3d person prefix. It stands normally in place of semitic *h/ḫ* and *y*, whereas *ì* mostly represents semitic ʾ/ᶜ (cf. 1.3. and note 5). The same distinction is made between u_9 and *ù*, (cf. 1.3. and note 4), and seems to be the reason also for the constant use of *íl-*, *en-* and *ìr-* instead of *il-*, *in-* and *ir-* for the prefix of the 3d person m. which obviously was /yi-/, /yu-/.

In the case of *iš-* and *iš₁₁-*, however, there seems to be a tendency to differentiate between the two signs according to the final consonant of the syllable, semitic *š* and *ś* being represented by *iš*, semitic *d* and *ṱ* by *iš₁₁*:[10]

---

9 See *MAD* III, 230 s.v. RʾₗM. Note also *ìr-a-mu*.

10 The use of *iš* and *iš₁₁* in personal names is very regular. Exceptions are rare and uncertain: *iš₁₁-ma* -NI (instead of *iš-má* -NI?), *iš₁₁-ba-um* (to be connected with *iš-ba-...*?), *iš₁₁-gú-nu* (*š-k-n*?). The distinction seems to be confirmed by the lexical texts, where, however, both signs alternate in 2 or 3 cases. Note *iš* standing in place of *s* in *MEE* IV, 227/488 (*ḍ-r-š*, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 10), 569 (*š-h-H*, see ib., 21), 1269 (*y-b-š*, see ib., 42), 1279/80 (/ʾišk-/ "testicle", equivalent of ŠIR, 1375 (/ʾišdum/ "seat", "foundation", equivalent of DÚR), and also in 809 (goddess Išḫara, cf. Ugaritic spelling *ušḫry*), against *iš₁₁* for *ṱ* in 660 (ʾ/ᶜ-ṱ-k-l, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 26) and 965b (/ʾitpatum/ "quiver", equivalent of MAR.URU₅). Contradictions seem to be 1184 (*iš* for *ṱ* in *ṱ-q-l*, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 42) and probably 0350 (*iš₁₁* for *š* in *ḍ-r-š*?). In one of the two clear cases of *š* alternating with *iš₁₁*, semitic *s* is involved (*s-b-ᶜ*), and there is also a third, completely irregular spelling *sa* (500/528, see *ZA* 73 [1983]18). In the second case, etymology is unclear (542/566, semitic?).

š-b-ᶜ[11]	iš-ba	-il/NI
š-m-ḫ/ᶜ (or s-ʾ-l)[12]	iš-AL₆	-da-mu
š-m-ᶜ[13]	iš-má	-da-ar
		-da-ba-an
		-da-mu
		-ga-lu
		-gàr-du
		-ì-lum
		-il/NI
		-li-im
		-ma-lik
		-šum
		-zi-kir
ś-r-H[14]	iš-ra	-il/NI
	iš-la	-ab
		-BE
		-da-du
		-ma-lik
		-NI
d-k-r[15]	iš₁₁-gur	-da-mu
		-KU
		-li-im
		-TI
t-m-r[16]	iš₁₁-da-mar-	ᵈda-gan
t-r-y[17] (?)	iš₁₁-rí	-mu-ud
t-ᶜ-y[18]	iš₁₁-a	-da-mu
		-il
		-ma-lik
		-ne-HAR
t-ġ-r[19]	iš₁₁-ar	-da-mu

---

[11] Cf. Akk. *šebûm* "to be satiated".

[12] The reading *maḫ* instead of *al₆* is based on the spelling *iš-má-aḫ -ma-lik* cited above by Fronzaroli, in p. 21. The root is š-m-ᶜ or š-m-ḫ (cf. Akk. *šemûm* "to hear" / *šamāḫum* "to be vigorous", "to thrive"). The latter possibility is to be preferred if *dal/dùl-da-ma-ḫu/ḫa* belongs here (see 3.2.), since ᶜ in Ebla is not expressed by *ḫa/ḫi/ḫu*. The reading *al₆* is, however, not completely excluded (cf. Akk. *šâlum* "to ask").

[13] Cf. Akk. *šemûm* "to hear".

[14] Cf. Yiśrā'ēl (?).

[15] Cf. Akk. *z/sak/qārum* "to mention", "to name".

[16] Cf. Ugar. *il/ᶜm(y)-ttmr*. See note 36.

[17] Cf. Akk. *šarûm* "to be rich" (*išru!*)? Or /ᶜidrī-/ "my help".

[18] Cf. Akk. *še'ûm* "to seek", "to demand".

[19] Cf. Akk. *ša'ārum* "to defeat".

If we rightly interprete ìr-AN-*mu* and ìr-*a-mu* as variant spellings of a shortened form of composite names with the verbal element ìr-AN-, then it follows that AN is to be read *am₆* here. This reading is supported by the Old Akkadian spelling *am* in ìr-*am*-^{d}*da-gan*, ìr-*am*-^{d}*ma-lik*, ìr-*am*-D[INGIR].[9]

2. Prefixes

2.1. 3d m. sg.

2.1.1. The following spellings of the prefix are clearly recognizable:

i-mur	*-li-im*
ib-dur	*-il*
ig-mul	*-da-mu*
iḫ-šu-ub	*-da-mu* (var. *ig-su-ub* -*da-mu*!)
îl-a/e	*-da-mu*
en-bù-uš	*-li-im*
ìr-*gáb*	*-da-mu*
iš-má	*-ì-lum*
iš₁₁-ar	*-da-mu*
u₉-ma	*-li-im* (root primae w: w-m-ʾ?)

i is generally distinguished from *ì*, which never is used for the 3d person prefix. It stands normally in place of semitic *h/ḫ* and *y*, whereas *ì* mostly represents semitic ʾ/ʿ (cf. 1.3. and note 5). The same distinction is made between *u₉* and *ù*, (cf. 1.3. and note 4), and seems to be the reason also for the constant use of *îl*-, *en*- and ìr- instead of *il*-, *in*- and ìr- for the prefix of the 3d person m. which obviously was /yi-/, /yu-/.

In the case of *iš*- and *iš₁₁*-, however, there seems to be a tendency to differentiate between the two signs according to the final consonant of the syllable, semitic *š* and *ś* being represented by *iš*, semitic *d* and *t* by *iš₁₁*:[10]

<hr/>

[9] See *MAD* III, 230 s.v. R'₁M. Note also ìr-*a-mu.*

[10] The use of *iš* and *iš₁₁* in personal names is very regular. Exceptions are rare and uncertain: *iš₁₁-ma* -NI (instead of *iš-má* -NI?), *iš₁₁-ba-um* (to be connected with *iš-ba*-...?), *iš₁₁-gú-nu* (š-k-n?). The distinction seems to be confirmed by the lexical texts, where, however, both signs alternate in 2 or 3 cases. Note *iš* standing in place of *s* in *MEE* IV, 227/488 (d-r-š, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 10), 569 (š-h-H, see ib., 21), 1269 (y-b-š, see ib., 42), 1279/80 (/ʾišk-/ "testicle", equivalent of ŠIR, 1375 (/ʾišdum/ "seat", "foundation", equivalent of DÚR), and also in 809 (goddess Išḫara, cf. Ugaritic spelling *ušḫry*), against *iš₁₁* for *t* in 660 (ʾ/ʿ-*t*-k-l, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 26) and 965b (/ʾitpatum/ "quiver", equivalent of MAR.URU₅). Contradictions seem to be 1184 (*iš* for *t* in *t*-q-l, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 42) and probably 0350 (*iš₁₁* for *š* in d-r-š?). In one of the two clear cases of *š* alternating with *iš₁₁*, semitic *ṣ* is involved (ṣ-b-ʿ), and there is also a third, completely irregular spelling *sa* (500/528, see *ZA* 73 [1983]18). In the second case, etymology is unclear (542/566, semitic?).

š-b-ᶜ [11]	iš-ba	-il/NI
š-m-ḫ/ᶜ (or s-ʾ-l) [12]	iš-AL₆	-da-mu
š-m-ᶜ [13]	iš-má	-da-ar
		-da-ba-an
		-da-mu
		-ga-lu
		-gàr-du
		-ì-lum
		-il/NI
		-li-im
		-ma-lik
		-šum
		-zi-kir
ś-r-H [14]	iš-ra	-il/NI
	iš-la	-ab
		-BE
		-da-du
		-ma-lik
		-NI
ḏ-k-r [15]	iš₁₁-gur	-da-mu
		-KU
		-li-im
		-TI
t-m-r [16]	iš₁₁-da-mar	ᵈda-gan
t-r-y [17] (?)	iš₁₁-rí	-mu-ud
ṯ-ᶜ-y [18]	iš₁₁-a	-da-mu
		-il
		-ma-lik
		-ne-ḪAR
ṯ-ġ-r [19]	iš₁₁-ar	-da-mu

[11] Cf. Akk. *šebûm* "to be satiated".

[12] The reading *maḫ* instead of *al₆* is based on the spelling *iš-má-aḫ-ma-lik* cited above by Fronzaroli, in p. 21. The root is š-m-ᶜ or š-m-ḫ (cf. Akk. *šemûm* "to hear" / *šamāḫum* "to be vigorous", "to thrive"). The latter possibility is to be preferred if *dal/dùl-da-ma-ḫu/ḫa* belongs here (see 3.2.), since ᶜ in Ebla is not expressed by *ḫa/ḫi/ḫu*. The reading *al₆* is, however, not completely excluded (cf. Akk. *šâlum* "to ask").

[13] Cf. Akk. *šemûm* "to hear".

[14] Cf. Yiśrā'ēl (?).

[15] Cf. Akk. *z/sak/qârum* "to mention", "to name".

[16] Cf. Ugar. *il/ᶜm(y)-ttmr*. See note 36.

[17] Cf. Akk. *šarûm* "to be rich" (*išru*!)? Or /ᶜidrī-/ "my help".

[18] Cf. Akk. *še'ûm* "to seek", "to demand".

[19] Cf. Akk. *ša'ārum* "to defeat".

If we rightly interprete *ìr-AN-mu* and *ìr-a-mu* as variant spellings of a shortened form of composite names with the verbal element *ìr-AN-*, then it follows that AN is to be read *am₆* here. This reading is supported by the Old Akkadian spelling *am* in *ìr-am-ᵈda-gan, ìr-am-ᵈma-lik, ìr-am-D[INGIR].*[9]

2. Prefixes

2.1. 3d m. sg.

2.1.1. The following spellings of the prefix are clearly recognizable:

i-mur	*-li-im*
ib-dur	*-il*
ig-mul	*-da-mu*
iḫ-šu-ub	*-da-mu* (var. *ig-su-ub -da-mu!*)
íl-a/e	*-da-mu*
en-bù-uš	*-li-im*
ìr-gáb	*-da-mu*
iš-má	*-ì-lum*
iš₁₁-ar	*-da-mu*
u₉-ma	*-li-im* (root primae w: w-m-ʾ?)

i is generally distinguished from *ì*, which never is used for the 3d person prefix. It stands normally in place of semitic *h/ḫ* and *y*, whereas *ì* mostly represents semitic *ʾ/ʿ* (cf. 1.3. and note 5). The same distinction is made between *u₉* and *ù*, (cf. 1.3. and note 4), and seems to be the reason also for the constant use of *íl-*, *en-* and *ìr-* instead of *il-*, *in-* and *ìr-* for the prefix of the 3d person m. which obviously was /yi-/, /yu-/.

In the case of *iš-* and *iš₁₁-*, however, there seems to be a tendency to differentiate between the two signs according to the final consonant of the syllable, semitic *š* and *ś* being represented by *iš*, semitic *d* and *t* by *iš₁₁*:[10]

---

9 See *MAD* III, 230 s.v. Rʾ₁M. Note also *ìr-a-mu.*

10 The use of *iš* and *iš₁₁* in personal names is very regular. Exceptions are rare and uncertain: *iš₁₁-ma -NI* (instead of *iš-má -NI?*), *iš₁₁-ba-um* (to be connected with *iš-ba-...?*), *iš₁₁-gú-nu* (š-k-n?). The distinction seems to be confirmed by the lexical texts, where, however, both signs alternate in 2 or 3 cases. Note *iš* standing in place of *s* in *MEE* IV, 227/488 (d-r-š, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 10), 569 (š-h-H, see ib., 21), 1269 (y-b-š, see ib., 42), 1279/80 (/ʾišk-/ "testicle", equivalent of ŠIR, 1375 (/ʾišdum/ "seat", "foundation", equivalent of DÚR), and also in 809 (goddess Išḫara, cf. Ugaritic spelling *ušḫry*), against *iš₁₁* for *t* in 660 (ʾ/ʿ-t-k-l, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 26) and 965b (/ʾitpatum/ "quiver", equivalent of MAR.URU₅). Contradictions seem to be 1184 (*iš* for *t* in t-q-l, see *ZA* 73 [1983] 42) and probably 0350 (*iš₁₁* for *š* in d-r-š?). In one of the two clear cases of *š* alternating with *iš₁₁*, semitic *ṣ* is involved (ṣ-b-ʿ), and there is also a third, completely irregular spelling *sa* (500/528, see *ZA* 73 [1983]18). In the second case, etymology is unclear (542/566, semitic?).

š-b-ᶜ [11]	iš-ba	-il/NI
š-m-ḫ/ᶜ	iš-AL₆	-da-mu
(or s-ʾ-l) [12]		
š-m-ᶜ [13]	iš-má	-da-ar
		-da-ba-an
		-da-mu
		-ga-lu
		-gàr-du
		-i-lum
		-il/NI
		-li-im
		-ma-lik
		-šum
		-zi-kir
ś-r-H [14]	iš-ra	-il/NI
	iš-la	-ab
		-BE
		-da-du
		-ma-lik
		-NI
d-k-r [15]	iš₁₁-gur	-da-mu
		-KU
		-li-im
		-TI
t-m-r [16]	iš₁₁-da-mar-	ᵈda-gan
t-r-y [17] (?)	iš₁₁-rí	-mu-ud
t-ᶜ-y [18]	iš₁₁-a	-da-mu
		-il
		-ma-lik
		-ne-ḪAR
t-ġ-r [19]	iš₁₁-ar	-da-mu

11 Cf. Akk. *šebûm* "to be satiated".

12 The reading *maḫ* instead of *al₆* is based on the spelling *iš-má-aḫ -ma-lik* cited above by Fronzaroli, in p. 21. The root is š-m-ᶜ or š-m-ḫ (cf. Akk. *šemûm* "to hear" / *šamāḫum* "to be vigorous", "to thrive"). The latter possibility is to be preferred if *dal/dùl-da-ma-ḫu/ḫa* belongs here (see 3.2.), since ᶜ in Ebla is not expressed by *ḫa/ḫi/ḫu*. The reading *al₆* is, however, not completely excluded (cf. Akk. *šâlum* "to ask").

13 Cf. Akk. *šemûm* "to hear".

14 Cf. Yiśrā'ēl (?).

15 Cf. Akk. *z/sak/qārum* "to mention", "to name".

16 Cf. Ugar. *il/ᶜm(y)-ttmr*. See note 36.

17 Cf. Akk. *šarûm* "to be rich" (*išru*!)? Or /ᶜidrī-/ "my help"?

18 Cf. Akk. *še'ûm* "to seek", "to demand".

19 Cf. Akk. *ša'ārum* "to defeat".

-li-im
-NI

2.1.2. There are two examples of *i*- alternating with *a*- in the name of one and the same person:

i-da-ra-ag : *a-da-ra-ag/gú*
i-ga -li-im : *a-ga -li-im* (cf. also *i-ga -iš-ru₁₂/la-um*)

In two other cases, it is not clear if the variant spellings represent the same name:

i-ib -ma-lik : *a-íb ₋ma-lik* (cf. also *i-ib -na-im*)
i-dub -da-mu : *a-dub -da-mu*

a- may represent the 3d person prefix also in the names

a-PI -*i-šar*
-*šum*
a-nu-ud -ha-lam (cf. *i-nu-ud -da-mu*)

The spelling *a*- in all likelihood reflects the prefix in its presumably older form /ya-/. An alternation between *a*- and *i*- reflecting the same phonetic change is found also in the nominal pattern PaRiS-*um* of a root primae *y* (y-m-n):

A.ZI = *a-me-núm, a-me-tum, i-me-tum* (/yaminum/,/yamittum/,/yimittum/).[20]

2.1.3. In view of the great number of names formed with *iš-mā*- (see 2.1.1.), the spelling *áš*- in *áš-ma -zi-kir*, which at first glance seems to represent a 1st person sg., should probably be interpreted as /yaš-/ containing the 3d person prefix in its older form. This interpretation is further supported by the existence of *iš-mā -zi-kir*. The same might be true for *áš-ba* -NI compared with *iš-ba -il*/NI.

2.2. 1st person sg.

2.2.1. The prefix of the 1st person sg. is clearly attested in the spellings:

ab-rí -a-ḫu   "I have seen a brother"

---

[20] *MEE* IV, 534. Cf. *ZA* 73 (1983) 20.

ar-si -*aḫ/a-ḫa/a-ḫu/a-ḫum*   "I have got a brother"
ar-šè -*a-ḫa/a-ḫu*
    -*ti-lu*   "I have got a..."
ù-da -*aḫ/a-ḫa* (root primae w)   "I have found a brother"
    -*sa*   "I have found her (a sister?)"

With a root primae w, the spelling *ù*- of the 1st person prefix con-firms initial $^{\circ}$ and contrasts with *u₉*- in the 3d person prefix (see 1.3. and notes 4, 5). The different spellings prove that in Ebla the 3d and 1st person prefixes were still different as to their initial sounds.

2.2.2. Forms written with initial *a*- theoretically permit three inter-pretations, namely as the 1st person with prefix /$^{\circ}$a-/, or as the 3d person with prefix /ya-/, or as the imperative of roots primae $^{\circ}$ follow-ing the Akkadian pattern (*amārum : amur!*). Examples are

a-mur   -*da-mu*
    -*il*
    -*li-im*
a-šu-ur   -*il*/NI
    -*ma-lik*
a-šu-úr   -*ma-lik*
a-šur$_x$(ḪIxMAŠ) -*ma-lik*

2.2.3. The possible spelling NI = $^{\circ}a_x$ of the 1st person sg. prefix cannot unambiguously identified in personal names. Clear examples are, however, found in context.[21]

2.3. 3d f./2d m. sg

2.3.1. The 3d person f. and the 2d person m. sg. are both formed with the same *t*-prefix. Most spellings point to /ta-/. Roots primae w have *da*- besides *du*- (*du/da-bíl*-, *du/da-zi*). Both spellings alternate in *du/da-bil* -*da-mu*, representing, in all likelihood, the name of one and the same person. Thus, *da-bíl* and *da-zi* most probably reflect the original forms /tawbil/ and /tawḏi$^{\circ}$/ of monophthongized /tūbil/ and /tūḏi$^{\circ}$/ (Akk. *tūbil, tūṣi*), respectively. There are, however, also examples for /ti-/ and even for /tu-/ which ist not caused by initial w of the root or by a Š or D stem (*dùl-ba*-, *dùl-da*-, *dùl*-PI-, where-as *dùl-da-ma-ḫu/ḫa* could represent a D stem with infixed *t*). No regular vowel-distribution between prefix and stem can be seen. In *ti-gi*-, *ti-rí-ig*-, *ti-ša/šè*, *ti-šar*, only one or two radicals are expressed in

---

[21] TM.75.G.1444 XV 17: NI-*i* (see D.O. Edzard, *SEb* 4 [1981] 44 and 54). TM.75.G.1531 II 4: NI-*ma-ra-an* (see Fronzaroli, *SEL* 2 [1985] 26 f.).

writing. The vowel of the prefix might be influenced by a first weak radical at least in *ti-šar* (y-š-r). In literary contexts, the prefix *ti-* occurs with some verbal forms corresponding to the Akkadian present: *ti-a-ba-an* (</tilabban/),[22] *ti-da-ḫu-ru₁₂*,[23] *ti-na-ḫu-úš*.[24] There, *ti-* might reflect a weakening of the prefix-vowel in an unstressed syllable. The same might be true with the personal name *ti-ig-da-ra-ab*, if this represents a form /taktarrab/ corresponding to an Akkadian Gtn preterite.

The following names and spellings occur:

da-bíl	*-da-mu*	
da-du-úr		
da-dub		
da-mur	*-da-mu*	
	-li-im	DUMU.MUNUS
da-ḫi-ir	*-ma-lik*	
da-ḫir	*-da-mu*	DAM, DUMU.MUNUS
	-ma-lik	DUMU.MUNUS
da-zi	*-du-du*	
	-ma-ad(-um)/ma-du	
tab-du-ra		
tab-rí	*-sá*	
dab₆-bù-ul/lu		
dab₆-da-u₉		
dab₆-ḪAR	*-d⸣à-da*	DAM
DAB₆-*zi*	*-ma-lik*	
dag¹ (É, KÁ)-*mul*	*-da-mu*	DUMU.MUNUS
dag-rí-iš	*-da-mu*	DUMU.MUNUS
dal-da	*-gàm*	
dal-da-ma-hu		
dal-zi		
dar-am₆	*-ma-lik*	DUMU.MUNUS

---

[22] *ARET* V 3 I 2, cf. 3d person *i-a-ba-nu*, ibid. 1 IV 7.

[23] Ibid. 6 XII 2. The text has a duplicate in Tell Abū Ṣalābīkh (*OIP* 99, 326) and therefore probably should not be considered a primary source for the study of "Eblaic".

[24] Ibid. XIII 5. See previous note.

dar-gáb	*-da-mu*	DUMU.MUNUS
dar-gáb-bù		
dar-ḪUB	*-da-mu*	
dar-ib	*-da-mu*	DUMU.MUNUS
dar$_x$/dir$_x$(BAN)-*gáb*	*-du-lum*	
taš-da	*-ad-mu*	
	-ma-lik	
taš-má	*-da-mu*	DUMU.MUNUS
	-ti-lu	DAM
	*-*ᵈUTU	DAM, DUMU.MUNUS
	-zi-kir	DAM, DUMU.MUNUS
ti-gi	*-*ᵈUTU	DAM
ti-ig-da-ra-ab		
ti-iš-te	*-da-mu*	DUMU.MUNUS
ti-rí-ig	*-da-mu*	DAM
ti-rí-in	*-da-mu*	
ti-ša/ša¹(BUR)/*šè*	*-li-im*	*ma-lik-tum*
ti-šar		
ti-ti-nu/na		
du-bíl	*-da-mu*	AZU.MUNUS
	-ma-lik	DUMU.MUNUS
du-zi	*-i-šar*	DUMU.MUNUS
dùl-ba	*-ma-lik*	
dùl-da	*-gàm*	
dùl-PI	*-ga-ba-al₆*	
dùl-da-ma-ḫu/ḫa		

Of the two possible readings *dab₆* and *da₅* of the sign URUDU only the former seems to be in current use in Ebla.[25] In the case of the name *dab₆-ḪAR -* ᵈ *à-da*, the reading *dab₆* is confirmed by the corresponding m. name *ib-ḪAR -* ᵈ⁾*à-da*, whereas the reading of ḪAR remains unclear. According to shortened names like *ib-ḫu-úr*, *ib-hur.úr* and *ib-⁾à-ra*, *ib-ar*, both, *ḫur* and *àr*, seem to be possible. In DAB₆-*zi -ma-lik*, the reading of DAB₆ cannot be firmly established.

25 Cf. ZA 72 (1982) 205.

A verbal prefix seems to be involved also in the name BAN-*gáb* -*du-lum*. The reading ir_x for BAN, which was suggested by G. Pettina-to [26] on the basis of ìr-*gáb* -*ar/da-mu* agrees as to its final consonant with following -*rúm* in the name *a*-BAN-*rúm*. On the other hand, no comparable spelling with *ir* or *ìr* in place of BAN can be found, whereas *a*-BAN-*rúm* may be compared with *a-da-ra, a-da-rí*. A reading dar_x seems to be confirmed by the toponym *dar-ḫa-ti*[ki] if compared with BAN-*ḫa-ti-um*[ki]. A possible reading dir_x results from the identifica-tion of BAN-*ga*[ki] with Terqa as pointed out by A. Archi and W.G. Lambert.[27]

For the spelling UR- of the prefix, the readings *taš*- and *téš*- are possible. In accordance with the majority of spellings, *taš*- should be preferred. There is also syllabic evidence for *taš* in the name ʾ*à-taš*-*ša*, if compared with ʾ*à-da-sǎ/šè*.

The reading *dùl*- is confirmed by the existence of comparable names with *dal*-:

dùl-da -*gàm*   *dal-da* -*gàm*
dùl-da-ma-ḫu/ḫa   *dal-da-ma-ḫu*

Furthermore, *dùl-da-ma-ḫu/ḫa* and *dal-da-ma-ḫu* can be compared with *íl-da-ma-ḫu*, which represents a 3d m. (see 2.3.3.).

2.3.2. Most of the above names composed of or containing a verbal form with prefixed /ta-/, /ti-/, /tu-/ are feminine according to explicite information (e.g. DAM) or context. Obviously, the 3d person f. is used to form feminine names regardless of whether or not the grammatical subject of the verb is feminine. This phenonmenon is known from Akkadian personal names, too.[28]

2.3.3. Some of these names, however, are masculine, e.g.

da-zi   -*ma-du*   (DUMU.NITA ...)
dab₆-bù-ul   (DAM-*sù*)
taš-da   -*ma-lik*   (DUMU.NITA ...)
ti-ti-na   (DUMU.NITA ...)
dùl-ba   -*ma-lik*   (SAGI)
dùl-da-ma-ḫu   (MAŠKIM)

The two last examples are based on the assumption that a female SAGI or MAŠKIM, if there was any, would have been indicated by adding MUNUS to the logogramm like in the case of BE and BE.MUNUS[29]

26 *MEE* II, 213.

27 The reading dar_x was suggested also by J. Krecher (see below, p. 176), who mentioned Archi's and Lambert's identification of BAN-*ga*[ki] with Terqa referring to *MARI* IV (1985) 531 note 14; *Eblaitica*, 136-37.

28 See Edzard, "[m]Ningal-gamil, [f]Ištar-damqat. Die Genuskongruenz im akkadischen theophoren Personennamen", *ZA* 55 (1963) 113-130.

29 *MEE* IV, 1325-1326.

or AGRIG and AGRIG.MUNUS.[30] Most probably, we are dealing here with the 2d person m. sg. The nominal element, expressed or unexpressed, is then to be interpreted as a vocative. *dùl/dal-da-ma-ḫu(/ḫa)* and the 3d person *íl-da-ma-ḫu* probably mean the same person, since both occur in similar onomastic context.[31] For an alternative interpretation (3d m.), see note 39.

2.4. The 1st person pl. might be present in *ne/ni-ḪAR(mur?)-da-mu*. This interpretation is, however, uncertain since *ne/ni-ḪAR* is well attested as a nominal element:
a-a/i/i-zi/iš₁₁-a/šu -ne-ḪAR, BE-sù/gi/i-bí/NE/šu -ni-ḪAR.

3. Stems and "tenses"

3.1. Most verbal elements of personal names belong to a category which corresponds to the Akkadian G stem preterite with its three possible vocalizations, e.g.

ìr-gáb-
ig-rí-iš-
iš₁₁-gur-

3.2. Beside the preterite (in Akkadian terms), forms with infixed /-ta-/ are found, which in terms of form may correspond to the Akkadian perfect of the G stem or to the preterite of the Gt and Gtn stems respectively (a geminated consonant usually not being expressed in writing).

---

30 Ibid., 706-707.
31

ARET III 7 I	71 I	90 III	199 I-II
[ ]	*dùl-da-ma-ḫu*	*a-du-mu*	*en-na-NI*
dùl-da-ma-ḫu	*puzur₄-ra-ma-lik*	*uₓ-bù*	(gap)
iš₁₁-gi-ba-ìr	*en-na-ma-lik*	*puzur₄-ra-ma-lik*	*dùl-da-ma-ḫu*
i-ti-a-gú	[ ]	*dùl-da-ma-ḫu*	MAŠKIM
ib-dur-NI		*i-ti-a-gú*	*iš₁₁-gi-ba-ìr*
en-na-NI			ŠU.DU₈

ARET III 888 II	*ARET* IV 1 V	6 IX
...	*en-na-ma-lik*	*en-na-NI*
ra-ba	*dal-da-ma-ḫu*	*in-ma-lik*
dùl-da-ma-ḫa	*ib-dur-NI*	*ib-dur-NI*
i-ti-a-gú	*ìr-am₆-ma-lik*	*ra-ba*
...	*uₓ-bù*	*a-bù-ma-lik*
	...	*íl-da-ma-ḫu*
		ni-zi-ma-NI
		zi-kir-ra-a-ba₄
		i-ti-a-gú

i-da-ra-ag/gú

ib-da-ra-ag/gú

ib-da-ra-zu   *ib-lu₅-zú* (?)

ig-da-ra-ab   *ikrub* (Akkad.)
ti-ig-da-ra-ab

ig-da-rí-iš   *ig-rí-iš(-...), ig-ri-su/sa*

íl-da-ga-áš, íl-da-kaš   *il-gú-uš(-...), il-gú-sa*

íl-da-gàr   *iš₁₁-gur-...* (?)[32]

íl-da-ma-ḫu   *iš-maḫ-...* (?)[32]
dal-da-ma-ḫu, dùl-da-ma-ḫu/ḫa

en-da-ar   *en-ar-...*

en-da-bí   *i-bí-..., i-bí-ù/um*

en-da-zi   *en-zi(-...), en-zi-um*

ìr-da-az   *ìr-az-..., ìr-ra-az¹* (PÉŠ)

ìr-da-PÉŠ   *ìr-PÉŠ(.ZA/ZAₓ)-...,*
                                      ìr-ba-šu/sum/ša(/su?)[33]

ìr-da-mu   *ìr-am₆-..., ìr-am₆/a-mu*[34]

iš-da-AL₆ (maḫ/al₆?)   *iš-AL₆-...*[35]

iš-da-lá   *iš-la(/ra?)*

iš-da-má   *iš-má-...*

iš₁₁-da-mar -ᵈda-gan

These forms are vocalized in the same way as their possible Akkadian
equivalents. Verbs which have /u/ in the preterite show /a/ in the infixed
form in accordance with the Akkadian ablaut class, whereas /i/ and
/a/ remain unchanged. There is no example of an *u*-class verb containing
/u/ in the infixed form.

It seems remarkable that only one name of the composite type
containing an infixed verbal form is attested (*iš₁₁-da-mar- ᵈda-gan*)
and that exactly in this case a lexicalized Gt stem which can be
compared to its verbal element exists in Akkadian and in N.W. Semitic:

---

32   For the possible change S>L before *t*, see ZA 72 (1982) 217.
33   The sign AZ (correctly PIRIG+ZA) might in some cases be confounded with PÉŠ.
For PÉŠ as a syllabogramm of its own with value *baš*ₓ see Krecher, below, p. 177 f.
34   Cf. above, 1.3.
35   Cf. above, 2.1.1., and note 11.

šitmurum "to praise" and *ttmr*, which occurs only in personal names.[36] Thus, it seems possible that non-lexicalized use of infixation was a morphological mechanism to create shortened forms of composite names containing a verb in the preterite. Infixed verbal forms representing shortened personal names should then perhaps better be compared to the Akkadian perfect than to its Gt or Gtn stems. For the names *ig-da-ra-ab*, *ti-ig-da-ra-ab*, however, which have no corresponding composite forms, an interpretation as the preterite of a Gtn stem as suggested already for *ti-ig-da-ra-ab* in 2.3. because of the writing *ti-* of its prefix would seem semantically plausible ("he/she has constantly prayed"). The Gtn stem of *karābum* is well attested in Old Babylonian.

3.3. Forms corresponding to the Akkadian G stem present cannot be identified with certainty in composite names but seem to exist in names like

i-ku-wa-an   /yikuwwan/   (or *i-ku-pi*-AN)   /yikūn-pī-ʾil(im)/)
i-ma-ru₁₂   /yimmar-u/
i-sa-i   /yiSaHHi/
i-sa/sá-rí   /yiSarri/

In context, this category is clearly attested.[37]

3.4. Besides the G stems (and its modifications), no other stems can be identified with certainty in personal names. There are, however, two names which possibly represent forms of the N stem of ʾ-m-r:

en-a-mar   /yinʾammar/
en-a-mi-ir (reading not quite sure)   /yinʾamir/

4. Conclusions

The morphology of verbal elements contained in personal names

---

36 In cuneiform sources, the "Amorite" personal names *a-bi-aš-ta-ma-ar*, *a-bi-iš-ta-mar*, *ḫa-am-mi-iš-ta-mar* and *i-li-iš-ta-mar* are found. The Ugaritic spellings *ilttmr* and *ʿm(y)ttmr* show *t* as the first radical. The verb is generally translated "to bear fruit" on the basis of Arabic *tamar* "fruit" and corresponding words in other semitic languages (H. Huffmon, *APN*, 267; F. Gröndal, *PNTU*, 199; C.H. Gordon, *UT*, 503 no: 2701). I.J. Gelb, however, suggested a meaning "to guard, to protect" of the root *t-m-r* (*AS* 21, 32). In our opinion, a connection of Gt *ttmr* and Akkadian *šitmurum* seems plausible. In this case, the nominal element combined with *ttmr* would be the direct object. This interpretation is favoured by Akkadian names formed with *šitmurum* (usually *luštamar*-DN, *aštamar*-DN), by the possible first person in *a-bi-aš-ta-mar*, and also by the varying order of elements comparable to *a-ḫa-ar-šè* : *ar-šè-a-ḫa*, where the nominal element is clearly the direct object.

37 E.g. *i-na-ʾà-áš* /yinaḫḫaš/ (*ARET* II 1 VI 8), *i-a-ba-nu* and *ti-a-ba-an* (see note 14), NI-*ma-ra-an* (see note 13), NI-*na-ba-ru₁₂* (*ARET* II 5 IV 3). For *ARET* II 6, where many forms of this category are found, cf. note 15.

from Ebla appears homogeneous with the exception of some inconsisten-
cies in the vocalization of the conjugational prefixes. These are, in
our opinion, not sufficient to prove the existence of different underly-
ing languages but rather reflect dialectal variants or allophones which
may witness to phonological changes. The verbal system as exhibited
in the present study agrees well with the Akkadian one. In this respect,
the absence of a perfect of the west semitic type, the absence of an
"indicative" in /-u/ as well as the existence of inflectional patterns
corresponding to the Akkadian present and perfect or Gt(n) stems
and, last not least, the inflection of verbs primae w, are particularly
significant.

The above-detailed agreements between "Eblaic" and Akkadian,
with respect to the verbal system in personal names, are intended
as evidence for an alternative position to that adopted by scholars
who interprete "Eblaic" from a West Semitic point of view.[38] A
definitive clarification of the linguistic situation in Ebla requires
(supposing that it is possible) further intensive research. The following
factors may be held to qualify this position and any other as uncertain:

1) The substantial homogeneity of the source-material is not assured,
nor is it very probable. Morphological homogeneity may be a super-
ficial phenomenon, reflecting the incompleteness of the attested para-
digms. In particular, the literary texts, in which verbal forms with
"modal" endings /-u/, /a(m/n?)/ occur, might represent a body of
material diverging from personal names.

2) The verbal morphology as attested in personal names may belong
wholly or in part to a more ancient stage of linguistic development.

3) Our West Semitic comparative material is for the most part
very much more recent. It is conceivable that the later West Semitic
languages stood, in the IIId millenium, considerably nearer to contempo-
rary Akkadian.

---

[38] Personal names from Ebla have been studied from this point of view in two impor-
tant articles by H.-P. Müller, whose interpretations differ in many cases from those offer-
ed in the present article: "Das eblaitische Verbalsystem nach den bisher veröffentlichen
Personennamen" in: *LdE*, 211-233 and "Neue Erwägungen zum eblaitischen Verbalsystem"
in: *BaE*, 167-204. The most important divergencies concern the interpretation of possible
"perfect" forms, of forms with a *t*-prefix, and of forms with a *t*-infix: For "perfect" forms,
see *LdE*, 218 ff. ("Afformativkonjugation von fientischen Verben"). All examples cited there,
in our opinion, permit different interpretations, too. The *t*-prefix is considered to mark
the 3d person m. (ibid., 223 f.). In spite of the fact, that feminine names and their formation
according to Akkadian rules are not reckognized, this suggestion may still be valid as an
alternative interpretation of some masculine names cited above as possible examples of
the 2d person m. All forms with infixed *t* derived from G stem are interpreted as belonging
to the Gt stem (*BaE*, 197 f.).

INDEX AND SOURCES OF PERSONAL NAMES FROM EBLA

A1, A2, A3, A4, and M2, refer to the indexes of *ARET* I–IV, and *MEE* II, respectively. Note the following correspondences:

MEE 2	2 = *ARET* I 15	*MEE 2*	17 = *ARET* I 10
	3 = *ARET* IV 4		19 = *ARET* I 11
	5 = *ARET* I 31		20 = *ARET* I 14
	7 = *ARET* I 13		21 = *ARET* I 12
	8 = *ARET* I 16		22 = *ARET* I 17
	16 = *SEb* 4, 137 f.+Fig. 37		30 = *ARET* II 14

a–a –ne-ḪAR	A2 (*a–na*-!)
a–ba₄ –il	A3 A4
a-BAN-*rúm*	A3
a–da–ra	A3
a–da–ra–ag	A3
a–da–rí	A3
a–dub –da–mu	M2
a–ga –li–im	A3
a–ha –ar–šè	A4
a–ìb –ma–lik	A4
a–ma –il	A4
a–mur –da–mu	A3 A4 M2
–il	M2
–li–im	A3 A4 M2
a–nu–ud –ha–lam	A3
a-PI *–i–šar*	A3 A4
–šum	A3 A4 M2
a–šu–ur –il	A3
–ma–lik	A4 M2
*–*NI	A3 A4
a–šu–úr –ma–lik	A3
*a–šur*ₓ(ḪIxMAŠ) *–ma–lik*	A3 A4 (*sur*!)
ʾ*à–da–ša*	A2 A3 A4 M2
ʾ*à–da–šè*	A3 A4 M2
ʾ*à–taš*	A3 A4 M2
ʾ*à–taš–šè*	A3
ʾ*a*ₓ(NI)*–ba –il*	A3 A4 M2
ab–rí –a–hu	A4 M2
ar–ra –il	A4
ar–si	A3
ar–si –a–ha	A3 A4 M2
a–hu	A2 A3 A4
–a–hum	*Seb* 4, 163 v. VI 7

-aḫ	A3 M2
ar-šè -a-ḫa	M2
-a-ḫu	A2 A4 M2
-ti-lu	OA 18, 171 v. V 12
áš-ba -NI	A3
áš-ma -zi-kir	OA 18, 172 v. VI 9
ba-na -aḫ	A3
BE-sù -ni-ḪAR	A3
da-bíl -da-mu	A4
da-bur -da-mu	A3
da-du-úr	A3
da-dub	A4 M2
^{d}da-gan -li-im	A1
da-ḫi-ir -ma-lik	A3
da-ḫir -da-mu	A3 M2
-ma-lik	A3
da-mur -da-mu	Seb 4, 41 XI 4
-li-im	Seb 3, 35 IV 2
da-zi -du-du	A2
-ma-ad	A3 A4
-ma-ad-um	A3
-ma-du	A3 A4
dab -ar-ru$_{12}$	A3 (dib-)
dab$_6$-bù-lu	A4
dab$_6$-bù-ul	A3
dab$_6$-da-u$_9$	A3
dab$_6$-ḪAR -^{d}à-da	M2 (da$_5$-mur-)
DAB$_6$-zi -ma-lik	A3
dag$^!$-mul$^!$-da-mu	A3 (É-AN.AN.AN.AN-, KÁ-)
dag-ri-íš -da-mu	A4 Seb 2, 21 I 12
dal-da-gàm	A3 A4 (RI-)
dal-da-ma-ḫu	A4 (RI-)
dal-zi	A4 (ri-)
dar-am$_6$ -ma-lik	A4
dar-gáb-bù	OA 18, 166 IX 28
dar-gáb -da-mu	A4
dar-ḪUB -da-mu	A3
dar-ib -da-mu	A3 A4 M2
dar$_x$(BAN)-gáb -du-lum	A3 M2 (ir$_x$-)
du-bíl -da-mu	A1
-ma-lik	A1
du-zi -i-šar	A1
dùl-ba -ma-lik	A3 (súr-)
dùl-da -gàm	A4 (súr-) M2
dùl-da-ma-ḫa	A3 (súr-)

dùl-da-ma-ḫu	A3 (ṣúr-)
dùl-PI -ga-ba-al₆	M2
en-'à	A3 M2 (both en-líl)
-da-mu-	A4 M2 (en-líl-)
-U₄	M2 (en-líl-)
en-ar -ḫa-lam	A2 A3
-li-im	A4
en-bù-uš -li-im	A3 A4 M2
en-da-ar	A4
en-da-bi	M2 (en-da-ga!)
en-da-zi	M2
en-ga -am	A3 A4
-da-ba-an	A2 A3
-li-im	A3
-mu-du	A3
-mu-ud	A4
-šum	A4
en-ga-U₄	A4
-u₉	A3 M2
-um	M2
en-gi -iš -ar	A3 A4 M2
-su	A3
-šum	A3 A4
en-zi	A3 A4 M2
en-zi -ar	A3
-da-ar	A2 A3 A4 M2
-da-mu	A3 A4
-du-du	A3
-gú-núm	A3
-ᵈì-lam	A4
-li-im	A3 A4 M2
-ma-lik	A2 A3 A4 M2
-ša-ḫa-ru₁₂	A3
en-zi-um	A2 A3 A4
en-zu-ru₁₂	Seb 2, 12 V 6
gi -ni-ḪAR	A3
ḫa-ra -il	A2 A3 A4 M2
haₓ(HAL)-ra -il	A3
-NI	A2
i-bí -a-du	A3
-da-mu	A3 M2
-da-si-in	M2
-iš-lu	A2
-ni-ḪAR	A3
-ni-ki-mu	A3 A4 M2
-sù	A2 M2
-šum	A2 A3 A4 M2

i-bí-ù	A3
i-bí-um	A2 A3 A4 M2
i-bí -zi-kir	A2 A3 A4 M2
-*zi-mu*	A3
i-da -ad-mu	A2 A3 M2
-*am*	M2
-*ba-ḫal*	A4
-*gàm*	A4
-*il*	A3 A4 M2
-*ma-lik*	A2 A3 A4 M2
-*ne-gi-mu*	M2
-*ne-ki-mu*	A4
-NI	A3 A4
-*ni-ki-mu*	A3 A4 M2
i-da -ra-ag	A3
-*ù*	A4
i-dub -da-mu	M2
i-ga -iš-ru₁₂	A4
-*la-um*	A4
-*li-im*	A3 M2
i-ib -ma-lik	A2 A3 A4 M2
-*na-im*	A3
i-ku-wa-an	M2
i-ma-ru₁₂	A3
i-mur -da-mu	A3
i-mur -li-im	A2 A4 M2
i -ne-ḪAR	A3
i-nu-ud -da-mu	A3 A4 M2
i-rí-gu	A3 A4
i-rí-gu-nu	A3 A4 M2
i-rí-ib -il	M2
i-rí-ig	A2 A3 A4 M2
i-rí-ig -da-mu	A2 A3 A4 M2
-*gàr*	A3 M2
-*gú-nu*	A3 M2
-*ma-lik*	A3 A4 M2
-NI	A3 M2
-PI.AŠ	A3
-ZÉ	A3 A4 M2
i-sa-i	M2
i-sa-rí	A3 A4 M2
i-sá-rí	A3
i-ti-ig	A4
i-ti-ig -li-im	A3 M2
-*šum*	A4
i-ti-in	A2 A3

i-ti-in -ì-lam	M2
i-ti-nu	A3 A4
i-zi -ne-ḪAR	A1
i-lum -na-im	A3 M2
ib-ʾà-ra	A4
ib-ar	A3
ib-da-ra-ag	A3
ib-da-ra-gú	M2
ib-da-ra-zu	M2
ib-da-U₄	A3
ib-da-u₉	A4
ib-du-lu	A2 A3 M2
ib-du-lum	M2
ib-du-ra	A2 A3 A4 M2
ib-du-ru₁₂	A3
ib-dur -ar-ru₁₂	M2
ib-dur -ᵈʾà-da	A4
-ᵈda-gan	A3 A4
-i-šar	A2 A3 A4 M2
-il	A3 A4 M2
-iš-lu	A3
-ᵈku-ra	A4
-ma-lik	A3 A4
-NI	A3 A4 M2
-ti-lu	M2
ib-ḫu-úr	A3 M2
ib-ḫur.úr	A3
ib-lu₅-zú	A3 A4 M2
ig-bù-ul -ma-lik	A3 A4 M2
ig-da-ra-ab	A3
ig-da-rí-iš	A3
ig-mul -da-mu	A3 (ik-AN.AN.AN-)
ig-na -da-ar	A3 A4 M2
-da-mu	A2 A3 A4 M2
ig-na-um	A2 A3
ig-rí-iš	A2 A3 A4 M2
ig-rí-iš -da-mu	A3
-gàm	A3
-ḫa-lam	A4 M2
-li-im	A3 A4 M2
ig-rí-sa	A2 A3 M2
ig-rí-su	A2 A4 M2
ig-su-ub -da-mu	A2 A3 A4
ig-su-ud	A3 A4 M2
iḫ-su-ub -da-mu	A3 A4 OA 18, 167 X 21; XI 13
íl-a -da-mu	A4

-ma-lik	A 3	
-šar	A4	
íl-ʾà-ag -da-mu	A3 A4 M2	
íl-am₆ -da-gan	M2 (íl-ᵈda-gan)	
-da-si-in	A2	
íl-ba -da-ar	A3 A4	
-da-mu	A3 M2	
íl-ba -gú-nu	A4	
-i-šar	A4 M2	
-IGI.DU	A3 (íl-ba-palil)	
-IGI.DU₈	A4 M2	
-ma-lik	A3 A4 M2	
-sa-mu	A4 M2	
-sá-mu	A2	
-šum	A3 A4 M2	
íl-ba-um	A3 M2	
íl-ba -zi-kir	A3 A4 M2	
íl-da-ga-áš	A3	
íl-da-gàr	A3 A4 M2	
íl-da-kas	A3 A4	
íl-da-ma-ḫu	A4	
íl-e -da-mu	A4 M2	
-i-šar	A3 A4 M2 (íl-é-!)	
íl-gú-sa	M2	
íl-gú-uš	A3	
íl-gú-uš -da-mu	A3 M2	
-TI	A2 A3 A4 M2	
ir-a	M2	
ir-a -il	M2	
ir-a-mu	A3	
ir-a -NI	A2 A3 M2	
ir-ʾà-ag -da-mu	A3 A4	
ir-am₆ -a-ḫir	A4	
-da-ar	A2 A3 A4 M2	
da-ḫu-mu	A3	
-da-mu	A2 (14 XIX 10) A3 A4 M2	
-da-si-in	M2	
-ga-ma-al₆	A4 OA20, 41 v. III 1	
-gú-nu	A3 A4	
-ma-lik	A2 A3 A4 M2	
ir-am₆ -mu	M2 (ḫu?.AN.MU!)	
ir-am₆ -na-gàr	A3	
-šar	A3	
ir-az¹(PIRIG) -il	A3 (PIRIG) M2 (PIRIG)	
ir-az -NI	A2 (also ir-x-za-NI) A3 M2 (ir-za-ḫuš)	
ir-az¹(PIRIG) -ZÉ	A2 (x, 15...)	

ìr-ba-su	A4
ìr-ba-sum	A4
ìr-ba-ša	A2
ìr-ba-šu	A3
ìr-da-az	A4
ìr-da-PÉŠ	A2 A3 (–ḫuš) Seb 2, 12 VII 13
ìr-ga-bù	A3 M2
ìr-gáb -ar	A2 A3 A4 M2
-da-mu	A4
ìr-ì-ba	A2 A3 A4 M2
ìr-ì-bù	A2
ìr-ib -da-mu	A2 A3 A4 M2
-ga-ar	M2
-NI	A4
ìr-ib -ga-ma-al₆	M2
-NI	A3 A4 M2
ìr-PÉŠ -da-mu	A3 (ḫuš)
ìr-PÉŠ.ZA -NI	A3 (ḫuš) A4 (ḪUŠ)
ìr-PÉŠ.ZAₓ -ma-lik	A3 (ḫuš)
ìr-PÉŠ.ZAₓ -NI	A4 (ḪUŠ)
ìr-PÉŠ -ZÉ	A2 (x̄, 30...) A3 (ḫuš) A4 (ḪUŠ)
ìr-ra-az!(PÉŠ)	M2 (ìr-ḪUŠ-ra)
iš-AL₆ -da-mu	A3 M2
iš-ba -il	A4
-NI	M2
iš-da-AL₆	A2 A3 M2
iš-da-lá	A3
iš-da-má	A3 A4 M2
iš-la -ab	A3
-BE	A4
-da-du	A3 A4
-KU	A3
-ma-lik	A4 M2
-il	A2 A3 A4 M2
iš-má -da-ar	A3
-da-ba-an	A3 A4
-da-mu	A3 A4 M2
iš-má -ga-lu	A3 A4 M2
-gàr-du	A3 A4
-il	A3
-li-im	A3 M2
-ma-lik	A4
-NI	A4 M2
-šum	A3
-zi-kir	A3 M2
iš-ra -il	A3 A4 M2

-NI	A3
$iš_{11}$-a	A2
is_{11}-a -da-mu	A4
-il	A3 A4 M2
-ma-lik	A2 A3 A4 M2
-ne-ḪAR	A3 A4
$iš_{11}$-a-rúm	A3
$iš_{11}$-ar -da-mu	A2 A3 M2 Seb 4, 45 XVII 5
-li-im	A2 M2
-NI	M2
$iš_{11}$-ba-um	A4
$iš_{11}$-da-mar-^{d}da-gan	M2
$iš_{11}$-gú-nu	A3 A4
$iš_{11}$-gur -da-mu	A3 A4
-KU	A3
-li-im	A3
-TI	A3
$iš_{11}$-ma -NI	M2
$iš_{11}$-rí -mu-ud	A4
li-ma -da-gan	M2
li-ma -^{d}da-gan	A3
ne-ḪAR	A3
ne-ḪAR -da-mu	A4
NE -ni-ḪAR	A3 A4
ni-ḪAR -da-mu	A4 (i-mur-)
šu -ne-ḪAR	A3
-ni-ḪAR	A1
tab-du-ra	A3
tab-rí -sá	A3
taš-da -ad-mu	A4 (tēš-)
-ma-lik	A3 (tēš-)
taš-ma -da-mu	A3 (tēš-) M2 (tēš-)
-ti-lu	A3 (tēš-)
-^{d}UTU	A4 (tēš-) M2 (tēš-)
-zi-kir	A4 (tēš-) M2 (tēš-)
ti-gi -^{d}UTU	A4
ti-ig-da-ra-ab	A3
ti-iš-te -da-mu	A3 A4
ti-rí-ig -da-mu	M2
ti-rí-in -da-mu	A3 M2
ti-ša -li-im	A2 A3 A4
ti-šar	A3
ti-šè -li-im	A3 A4 M2
ti-ti-na	A2 M2
ti-ti-nu	A3 A4 M2
ù-da -a-ḫu	A4

-aḫ	A4
-sa	A3 M2
u₉-ma -li-im	A4
um -a-ḫu	A3
um-ma -a-ḫu	A3

Eblaitische Konjugation in Kontexten und Personennamen

Bemerkungen zur Lautlehre, Morphologie und Morphosyntax

Hans-Peter Müller, Münster

Die bislang bekannt gewordenen eblaitischen Kontexte gehören, grob differenziert, drei grossen Gattungen an, wobei freilich nicht über Zweifel erhaben ist, dass diese wirklich in einem und demselben eblaitischen Dialekt realisiert wurden. Es handelt sich um:
- Wirtschaftstexte, bei denen offensichtlich ein in der Verwaltungspraxis begründeter Formularzwang mit grammatischen Regeln konfligiert,
- literarische Texte (ARET V u.a.), bei denen die Frage der Herkunft freilich offen ist, so dass es sich allenfalls auch um andere eblaitische Sprachen handeln könnte, und
- das "Vocabolario di Ebla" einschliesslich seiner "Retexte" (MEE IV), sowie ein Kontext lediglich in der Aquation mit sumerischen (sumerographischen?) Lexemen besteht und das Bedürfnis, Aquationen zu finden, einen differentiellen Abstand von der Alltagssprache ebenso voraussetzt wie vermutlich schafft.

Diesen (und anderen) Kontexten stehen als isolierte sprachliche Einheiten die Personennamen gegenüber, deren linguistischer Zusammenhang nicht grammatischer, sondern pragmatischer Art ist, nämlich im Handlungs-"Kontext" der Namengebung und deren religiös-rituellen Implikaten besteht. Wie wohl überall in der Welt wird die Sprache der Personennamen in Ebla schon wegen dieser Implikate atavistisch