STUDIES IN THE EBLA LEXICAL LISTS, II. MEE 4 82, 84, 85, 86*

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TM.75.G.2300 = MEE 4 85 = eEBL-j

The bilingual lexical list 75.2300 (*MEE* 4 85, *EV* m¹; photograph of the obverse in *MEE* 4, Tav. XXXd, and in Fronzaroli 1995a:354) is inscribed on the obverse of a rounded small tablet.

eEBL-j deals with two Sumerian terms, both with their Semitic translation. Both these entries occur in the Ebla bilingual list. Since eEBL-j has entries attested after the end of the main source EBL₁, it does not belong to the same family of manuscripts as EBL₁. It is not immediately clear if eEBL-j is related to some of the other main sources. In fact², it bears rare Sumerian terms, its first translation differs from that attested in the main sources, and its second Sumerian term is without translation in the main sources. However, all this is true if the main sources EBL₂ and EBL₄ are considered, but it cannot be proven for the main source EBL₃, where both these entries are missing. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that eEBL-j belongs to the same family of manuscripts as EBL₃.

The marker \ of the Semitic translation, which is found in other texts of the same type, does not occur in eEBL-j.

The text of eEBL-j runs as follows:

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obverse
(1) (= VE 970, EV 0467)
I:1-2 munsub(LAK-672) / sa-rí-a-du "hair, mane"
(2) (= VE 1004, EV 0177)
II:1-2 kad<sub>4</sub> musen / ba-gi-lu-um "(a kind of bird)"
reverse (blank)
Commentary:
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^{*} Besides the common abbreviations, "EBK" refers to the Ebla unilingual Sumerian lexical lists of the éš-bar-kins type, "EBL" to the Ebla bilingual lexical lists, and "eEBL" to the so-called excerpts of bilingual lexical lists. Furthermore, "r." refers to the obverse and "v." to the reverse of the tablet, while AH means "Archaic HAR-ra", EBLA "Ebla Bilingual List of Animals", ELFA "Ebla List with Flying Animals", ELPB "Ebla List with Parts of the Body", ESL "Ebla Sign List", ESLA "Ebla Semitic List of Animals", LLi "List of Livestock" (or "Cattle A"), LA B "List of Animals B", and LFA "List of Flying Animals" (or "Birds"). As for the other papers of this series see Studies in the Ebla Lexical Lists, I. MEE 4 77, 83, 87, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica - Università di Firenze 17, Florence 2007, pp. 199-214, and Studies in the Ebla Lexical Lists. An Overview, in preparation. Thanks are due to Pelio Fronzaroli, Amalia Catagnoti, Gianni Marchesi, Leonid Kogan and Silvia Alaura for their suggestions and criticisms, and to W.G.E. Watson who kindly corrected the English text.

¹ Pettinato 1982:105.

This has been noted in Fronzaroli 1995a and 1995b:58.

(1) In the main bilingual lists the sources EBL₂ and EBL₄ translate the Sumerian term LAK-672 as da-mu, clearly $d\bar{a}mum$, "blood"³. In these two sources LAK-672 is therefore to be read uš_x, a reading already attested at Šuruppak and at Abu Salabikh. At Ebla this reading is confirmed by ESL 61, LAK-672 = u-sum, and by the syllabic writing ab-u-sum, and u-u-sum, found in LLi a19⁵.

Therefore, II millennium ú $\S = d\bar{a}mum$ was $u\S_x = d\bar{a}mum$ in the second half of the III millennium, at least for the Ebla scribes of the bilingual sources EBL₂ and EBL₄. It is noteworthy that at Ebla "blood" does not occur among the parts of the body collected in the sources of ELPB available to us⁶.

It has been suggested that the Semitic translation found in eEBL-j 1, sa-ri-a-du, has the same etymology $*sa^{\epsilon}r(-at)$ - of the II millennium Akkadian term for "hair", $s\bar{a}rtu$ (commonly = Sumerian siki, Nippur Ugumu 10, but also = Sumerian munsub, Nippur Ugumu 25)⁷, but also that the equivalence is to be interpreted as us_x (LAK-672) = $sa^{\epsilon}r\bar{v}yatum$, "net (of blood vessels)"⁸, "capillary"⁹.

At Ebla (where siki, *passim* in the administrative texts and untranslated in *VE* 971, only means "wool") "human hair (on the head)" is siki-sag, at least for ELPB a63-64, siki-sag / igi-um, "human hair (on the head)" / "face"10. This term for "hair", siki-sag, does not occur in the bilingual list, but it is found in the unilingual Sumerian list *MEE* 15 7 r.III':2'11 and in the bilingual list eEBL-a₁ 102 (see *ad loc.*), where unfortunately it is not translated, but significantly it occurs at the end of a section of Sumerian terms with sag, which mainly deals with parts of the head.

As for $*śa^{c}r(-at)$ - at Ebla, it also occurs in two entries of the bilingual list:

VE~260, SAGxKÍD = sa-ra-du-um (source EBL_{1b}), also = ma- al_6 -a-tum (source eEBL- a_1 , eEBL- b_1 and eEBL-d) and = bar-a-tum (source eEBL- b_2), and

VE 972, SIKI.UZUD, SIKI.LAK-175 = sa-ra-du-um (source EBL_2), sa-ra-tum (source EBL_4).

In VE 972 the Sumerian term (= aka_x , later aka_x), also attested in AH B 247, should refer to animal's hair and mean "coat, hair, fleece", cf. the deliveries of fleeces, aka_x 0 the sumerial administrative texts such as ARET I 14, 15 and 75.1418 (and

³ Krebernik 1983:35 and 1984a:46; Civil 1984:96; Fronzaroli 1995b:58, 2005a:36 and 2005b:200 n. 21; Bonechi 1997:477ff.; Sjöberg 2003a:259 and 2003b:544.

⁴ Pettinato 1981a:204; Civil 1984:96; Archi 1987a:100; Fronzaroli 1995b:58 n. 48; Sjöberg 2004:265.

Biggs 1966:84 n. 78; Pettinato 1981a:55; Steinkeller 1995:704; *PSD* A/2, p. 166; Sjöberg 2003a:259. Cf. also gud-uš_x-ga, amar-uš_x-ga and am-uš_x-ga in LLi b19, c19 and d19. Furthermore, see uš_x-ga^{mušen} in LA B 99, in LFA 103 (corresponding to u₅-giš-mušen of the Šuruppak source) and in ELFA 9 (Biggs 1966:84 n. 78; Pettinato 1981a:117, 119; Archi 1987a:100; Bonechi 2000:280; Veldhuis 2004:298f.), and ga-uš_x^{mušen} in the Šuruppak source of LFA 100 (ga^{mušen} in the Ebla source, ga-uš_x^{mušen} in the Ur III Girsu source, hé-úš ^{mušen} in the OBab. source at Yale, Akk. *ṭabbi*²u, Pettinato 1981a:117, 120; Veldhuis 2004:235f.). As for uš_x at Šuruppak see also Bonechi 2008.

Even if "blood" could have been attested in the second and lost main tablet of the list, see the reconstruction of the sources in Catagnoti - Bonechi n.d.

⁷ Gelb et alii 1991:225.

⁸ Fronzaroli 1995a, 1995b:58, 2003:106, 2005a:36, 41 and 2005b:200 n. 21.

⁹ Sjöberg 2003a:259 and 2003b:544.

¹⁰ Catagnoti - Bonechi n.d., with literature.

To be read siki sag, notwithstanding Picchioni 1997:49 and 164 n. 167, palaeography 275 n. 1.

also *en-na-il* lú SIKI.UZUD in *ARET* III 627 v.IV:1'f.). Its Semitic translation in the sources EBL₂ (sa-ra-du-um) and EBL₄ (sa-ra-tum) should be interpreted as ša ratum, Akk. ša ru(m), with the contextual meaning "coat, hair, fleece" suggested by the meaning of its Sumerian counterpart¹².

In $VE~260^{13}$, the source EBL_{1b} has the writing sa-ra-du-um, once again from *sa'r(-at)-, as the translation of a different Sumerian term, namely SAGxKÍD. This is translated by the source eEBL-b₂ as bar-a-tum, which, on the basis of $p\bar{e}rtu = s\bar{a}rtu$ of Izbu Comm. 137, should be derived from *par'-, "(loose) hair (of the head)" 14. The third and more frequent (sources eEBL-a₁, eEBL-b₁ and eEBL-d) translation, $ma\text{-}al_6\text{-}a\text{-}tum$, on the basis of $p\bar{e}rtu = mal\hat{u}$ in An IX 78 and LTBA 2 1 vi 26 and 2:362 should be compared with Akk. $mal\hat{u}(m)$ II, "unkempt, matted, dirty (body) hair", often used in the plural. Since all the Ebla translations end with /-t-/, probably they may all be interpreted as plural forms. The equivalence in VE~260 may be read (sag)munzer_x(SAGxKÍD) (forerunner of the later SAG.IM.SÍR, SAG.MU.SÍR) = $sa\text{'}r\bar{a}tum$, $par\text{'}\bar{a}tum$ and $mal\text{'}\bar{a}tum$, with specific reference to "unkempt, matted, dirty hair" (in opposition to hamanzer = $mus\bar{a}tu(m)$, "combed-out hair").

To sum up, it is possible that at Ebla "human hair (on the head)" is siki-sag = ?, "coat, hair, fleece" is SIKI.UZUD, SIKI.LAK-175 = $\delta a^{c}ratum$, and "unkempt, matted, dirty hair" is (sag)munzer_x(SAGxKÍD) = $\delta a^{c}ratum$, $par^{c}atum$ and $mal^{c}atum$.

It is interesting to observe how - just after a section mainly dealing with boats, má - the very disturbed sequence of seven entries in EBK-A 896-903 // VE 966-973 (missing from the source EBL₃) is arranged:

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[a] (= EBK-A 896 // VE 966, EV 092)
EBK-A
EBL<sub>2</sub>, EBL<sub>4</sub>
                                         <om.>
eEBL-u
                                         háb / bí-ì-šum
[b] (= EBK-A 897 // VE 967)
EBK-A, EBL<sub>2</sub>, EBL<sub>4</sub>
                                         geštin
[c] (= EBK-A 898 // VE 634, VE 968, EV 024)
EBK-A
                                         AD_6.A-NA
                                         <om.>
EBL_1
EBL<sub>2</sub>, EBL<sub>4</sub>
                                         A.AD<sub>6</sub>-NA / si-gú-um
                                         A.AD<sub>6</sub>-NA / si-gú <sup>!</sup>(GU)-um
eEBL-d
[d] (= EBK-A 899 // VE 636, VE 969, EV 023)
EBK-A
                                         AD_6<.A>-geštin
EBL_1
                                         <om.>
EBL<sub>2</sub>, EBL<sub>4</sub>
                                         A.AD<sub>6</sub>-geštin
eEBL-d
                                         AD_6.A-geštin / [...]-LUM
[e] (= EBK-A 900 // VE 970, EV 0467)
                                        LAK-672
EBK-A
EBL_2, EBL_4
                                        uš_x(LAK-672) / da-mu
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¹² Fronzaroli 1982a:134, 1984a:180f. and 1984b:149, "pelo; capelli"; Krebernik 1983:35; Sanmartín 1991:203f.; Sjöberg 1996:14 and 2003a:544.

¹³ Sjöberg 2003a:543f., with discussion and literature.

¹⁴ Fronzaroli 1965:30, 43; Militarev - Kogan 2000:192.

eEBL-j munsub(LAK-672) / sa-rí-a-du

[f] (= EBK-A 901 // VE 971)

EBK-A siki

EBL₂, EBL₄ siki

[g] (= EBK-A 902 // VE 972)

EBK-A SIKI.UZUD

EBL₂, EBL₄ SIKI.LAK-175 / sa-ra-du-um, sa-ra-tum.

This sequence includes a short complete section of five entries in [a-e] and the beginning of the next section (siki) in [f-g].

[a] The sequence begins with the Sumerian term for "stinking fish-oil or glue, ill-smelling oil", hab^{15} . Its Semitic translation is $bi^2 \&um < *b^2 \&u^{16}$. Rather than "stink, stench" (Akk. $bu^2 \&u$) or "bad, malodorous" (Akk. $b\bar{\imath}\&u$), for this equivalence a meaning "menstrua" is probable, since the Sumerian term is also found in ELPB b27, at the very end of the extant list dealing with parts or features of the lower body¹⁷.

[b] Then there is the untranslated but well known Sumerian term for "wine", geštin.

[c-d] The sequence continues with two Sumerian terms including the sign $L\acute{U}x\acute{U}\breve{S}$, that is AD_6 (LAK-339).

The only known reading of this sign is ad_6 , adda, but additional unknown values may be supposed. The meaning "human cadaver, corpse" of adda occurs at Ebla in the unilingual Sumerian list *MEE* 15 27 v.VII':16', but elsewhere AD₆ means "fermented, sour, putrid", see

VE 128, ninda-AD₆ = hamisum, "sour bread" 18, and

VE 684, §e-AD₆ = \underline{dar} u had \overline{artim} , where the translation literally means something like "seed of (alcoholic) fermentation"¹⁹.

Furthermore, see

gig:AD₆ in the unilingual Sumerian list *MEE* 15 27 v.IV':9' (perhaps "fermented wheat"; or an anatomical term?), and, perhaps,

bìd-AD₆ in the unilingual Sumerian list *MEE* 15 41 v.I':11' (perhaps "putrid anus (a disease?)" or "putrid excrement").

The alternation between AD₆.A and A.AD₆²⁰, however, could suggest an unknown value of this cluster of signs, perhaps ending in /-n/ because of the -NA, and thus it remains unclear whether A is simply a, "water". The Semitic translation in [c] has not been interpreted. The Semitic writing in eEBL-d, si-gu-um, has the sign -gu-, used specifically for /qu/. Therefore, it may be a form derived from *sqy, "to give to drink, irrigate": A.AD₆-NA = siqum < *siqymm, perhaps something like "putrid water used for irrigation" or the like. However, eEBL-d is full of mistakes²¹ and, as yet, there is no published photograph of it. If -gu- in eBL-d is a further ancient scribal mistake, or a

¹⁵ M. Civil *apud* Steinkeller 1981:27 n. 14.

Sjöberg 2003a:262 (therefore Bonechi 1999:98 is to be corrected).

Catagnoti - Bonechi n.d. Cf. ⁴háb, "gall-nut or madder (*Rubia tintorum*)", well known from Uruk to Ebla, also as the name of a red-brown colour.

¹⁸ Conti 1990:83 and n. 93, with literature.

Conti 1990:179 and n. 521, "(un momento della preparazione della birra)", with literature.

²⁰ Bonechi 2007a.

²¹ Bonechi 2007a and 2008b, n. 1.

modern misprint for $-g\hat{u}$ - (used twice in the main sources), then a more convincing interpretation (suggested to me by Leonid Kogan) is then $\delta irkum$ (or $\delta erkum$), to be compared to Akk. $\delta arku(m)$, "~ pus, suppuration"²².

- [d] With a fragmentary translation, the Sumerian term includes geštin, here perhaps not "wine" but "reddish like wine".
 - [e] In the bilingual sources EBL₂ and EBL₄ the entry means "blood".
- [f] Then a new section, clearly based on acrography, begins²³. It is the section siki: after the Ebla Sumerian term for "wool" in [f] (untranslated, so we do not know if at Ebla its Semitic equivalent was $\bar{sipatu}(m)$ as in Akkadian) there is in
 - [g] the Sumerian term for "coat, hair, fleece", as seen above.

While the previous acrographic section with má and the following one with siki are easy to justify, the rationale of the section between má and siki found in EBK-A remains to be clarified. It seems to me that the scribe of EBK-A wrote a section of Sumerian terms which refer to malodorous and/or red liquids. This results from reading in sequence the meanings suggested for the entries in this section of EBK-A:

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"menstrua (?)",
"wine",
"~ pus, suppuration",
"putrid reddish liquid (?)" and
"blood"<sup>24</sup>.
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However, it is important to note that the synoptical reconstruction of the Ebla section in EBK-A 896-902 shown above is artificial.

I wonder if the entries in EBK-A 896 and 898-900 may be a forerunner of the much later sequence found in the part of HAR-ra = hubullu dealing with the human body, Hh XV Gap A a₂a - a₂4a (MSL IX, pp. 10f.):

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uzu ar-hu-us arhus = r\bar{e}mu, "womb", uzu arhus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to the womb)", uzu ushus-a-sag<sub>4</sub>-ga = [...], "(liquid related to t
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In Hh XV a₂4 §arku corresponds to lu-gu-ud lugud(ÚŠ.BABBAR), and cf. Hg Hh XV 34, adama(ÚŠ.GI°) a-da-mu = adamatu = §arku. See PSD A/3, p. 32 and CAD Š/2, pp. 63f. ("§arku (Sumerian 'white blood'), as opposed to adamatu (Sumerian 'black blood'), appears to refer to light-colored discharges from the body, e.g., the purulent discharge from the urethra (associated with chronic gonorrhea), the ears, and the anus (as in dysentery), as well as to the suppuration issuing from a wound or ulcer").

Notice, however, that in the Ebla main bilingual list normally the term which is also the key-word of each acrographic section occurs at the end of the section itself. This applies to ú, sa, é, giš, šu, šà, a, še, muš, UD, an, gi₆, íb, kur, ugula, kaskal, maḫ, SU, zi, ḤI, tur, bir₅, si, mu, dub, zíd and zag, see *VE* 307, 312, 341, 497, 533, 595, 642, 700, 742, 779, 815, 819, 867, 869, 960, 981, 994, 1019, 1050, 1071, 1087, 1098, 1122, 1150, 1167, 1175 and 1182. However, also cases in which the key-word occurs at the beginning of its section may be found, as in the cases of gir₇, gú, ga, ir, gìš, íl, dul and dam, see *VE* 995, 1030, 1039, 1041, 1106, 1168, 1193 and 1255. Clearly the former arrangement is more common in the first part of the *VE* (i.e. in its first 950 entries) and in the case of sections with many terms, while the latter is more common in the second part, and in shorter sections.

In fact, we have to distinguish between, on the one hand, this section as conceived by the scribe of the monolingual source EBK-A (and probably also by the scribe of the bilingual excerpt eEBL-u) and, on the other side, its rearrangement made by other scribes working in a different bilingual perspective²⁵.

The scribes of the bilingual sources EBL₂ and EBL₄ anticipated the entries EBK-A 898 and 899 probably because they took seriously the presence of the sign A in the Sumerian version. Thus they put these two entries (VE 634 and VE 636)²⁶ into the acrographic section a, mainly dealing with "water" (but perhaps not by chance before VE 637, a-kum₄ = $m\bar{a}y\bar{u}$ $hamm\bar{u}tum$, lit. "hot water", actually perhaps "thermal water"²⁷, therefore near another normally malodorous liquid). Therefore these scribes undid the suggested semantic structure of the thematic section conceived by the scribe of EBK-A, where the focus was on other kinds of liquid substances. Yet another option was adopted by the scribe of eEBL-d, who put together in obv. II:3-8 Sumerian terms with AD₆ (ninda-AD₆, A.AD₆-NA and A.AD₆-geštin) and their translations. This confirms how pliable and amorphous the material available to the scribes was, once they deviated from the thematic lists.

The section EBK-A 896-900 was furtherly reduced by the scribes of the bilingual sources EBL₂ and EBL₄ because of the omission of the entry in EBK-A 896. At the end of the process, in the bilingual sources EBL₂ and EBL₄ this section had changed its thematic rationale, only including two entries, "wine" and "blood", clearly related only because of the red colour of both the referents.

In the single sources, the relevant material just discussed occurs as follows:

EBK-	A v.X:28-34:		
896	<u></u> háb		"menstrua" (?)
897	geštin		"wine"
898	AD_{6} . A	A-NA	"~ pus, suppuration"
899	AD_{6} <	A>-geštin	"putrid reddish liquid" (?)
900	$u s_x(LA)$	AK-672)	"blood"
901	siki		"wool"
902	SIKI.U	UZUD	"coat, hair, fleece"
EBL_2	and EBL ₄ :		
<i>VE</i> 63	4 A.AD	₆ -NA / širkum	"~ pus, suppuration"
<i>VE</i> 63	6 A.AD	₆ -geštin	"putrid reddish liquid" (?)
<i>VE</i> 63	7 a-kum	₄ / māyū ḥammūtum	"thermal water" (?)
	•••		
<i>VE</i> 96	6 <om.></om.>		
VE 96	7 geštin		"wine"

Disregarding the issue of the chronological order of production of the tablets, a major problem which makes the suggestion proposed here very preliminary.

To complicate the situation, the source EBL₄ interpolates di-di = \dot{a} -la-gúm (< *hlk) in VE 635!

As for this interpretation of the equivalence see Bonechi 1999:98 and 100, but see also Pettinato 1980:168, a-UD; Krebernik 1983:25; Butz 1987:346, n. 164; *PSD* A/1, p. 27, a-kum₄; Fronzaroli 1994:124, a-UD, "un prodotto del tipo del vino" (so also in Lahlouch - Catagnoti 2006:517); Conti 1998:10 and 2001:196, a-UD; D'Agostino 2003a:142 n. 23, a-hád.

VE 968	<om.></om.>	
VE 969	<om.></om.>	
<i>VE</i> 970	$us_x(LAK-672) / d\bar{a}mum$	"blood"
<i>VE</i> 971	siki	"wool"
VE 972	SIKI.LAK-175 / ša ^c ratum	"coat, hair, fleece"
eEBL-d:		
r.II:3-4	ninda-AD ₆ / ḥamiṣum	"sour bread"
r.II:3-4	ATS A STA / v! 1	// · • • •
1.11.5	AD ₆ .A-NA / širkum	"~ pus, suppuration"
r.II:3-4	AD_6 .A-NA / Sirkum AD_6 .A-geštin / []-LUM	"~ pus, suppuration" "putrid reddish liquid" (?)

In attitude, the scribe of eEBL-j (probably a senior scribe and not a beginner) may have differed even more from the scribes mentioned so far. Possibly, he was aware that the reading uš_x and the meaning "blood" were not unique to LAK-672.

In fact, at Ebla LAK-672 also occurs in contexts in which a meaning "blood" is ruled out.

(a) There are, in fact, cases in which LAK-672 has an homophonous reading $u\check{s}_x$, with reference to later $\check{u}\check{s} = sek\bar{e}ru(m)$, "to shut off, block up". See:

EBK-A 574 // VE 612, a-uš_x-ki = zi-gi-lum (source EBL₁), = za-gi-ri a (sources EBL₂ and EBL₄), sikrum and $sak\bar{u}ri$ $m\bar{a}y\bar{u}$, "dam, barrage"²⁸. The term a-uš_x-ki also occurs in the unilingual Sumerian lists MEE 15 21 r.II:3' and MEE 15 25 v.V:9', while, in the unilingual Sumerian lists, cf. the following terms, probably related to this entry:

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a-u\S_x (MEE 15 25 v.IV:13' and MEE 15 32 v.III':14') and ki-u\S_x (MEE 15 21 r.VI:14' and MEE 15 32 v.III':15').
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EBK-A 544 // VE 579 also refers to hydraulic works, $\S ag_4$ -a-u $\S_x = sa$ -a-tum (source EBL₁), = si-a-tum (sources EBL₂ and EBL₄), $\S aytum$ and $\S iy\bar{a}tum$, "rainwater cistern, place where water collects"²⁹.

Therefore, in the second half of the III millennium at Ebla, the sign BAD with the value úš was not used for "blood" or for "to shut off, block up". Only later were $u\S_x = d\bar{a}mum$ and $u\S_x = sak\bar{a}rum$ reduced to $u\S = d\bar{a}mu(m)$ and $u\S = sek\bar{e}ru(m)$.

However, besides $u\check{s}_x$ I, "blood" and $u\check{s}_x$ II, "to shut off, block up", other readings of LAK-672 were also known in the second half of the III millennium.

- (b) At Šuruppak sùmur is probably attested in AH C b248, má-sùmur³⁰.
- (c) Then there is sub_5 , related to the value munsub of LAK-672³¹. At Ebla it occurs in EBK-A 493 // VE 525, $\S u-sub_5 = ib-z\acute{u}$ (source EBL₁), = $"a_5-gi-da-tum"$ (sources EBL₂ and EBL₄), probably $\rlap/hib \S um$ and "agidatum" or "aqidatum", "(a kind of bandage for the hands)", later in Mesopotamia $\S u-su-ub = \S u\S ippu(m)$, "towel"³².

²⁸ Butz 1987:343; Krebernik 1988:28; Conti 1990:169 and 1998:13; Sjöberg 2003b:550f. and 2004:265.

²⁹ Conti 1990:162f.; Sjöberg 2004:265; cf. D'Agostino 1990:56, šà a-LAK-672.

Veldhuis 2004:147, "sumur = MUNSUB ... a kind of reed structure on a boat", with literature; Alster 2005:15, "a cover of reeds or similar protecting the center of a boat against the sun"; Attinger 2007, "cabine".

³¹ Civil 1960:71 and 1984:96; Biggs 1974:62, with literature; Picchioni 1997:159 n. 74.

³² Conti 1990:147f.; D'Agostino 1990:104.

(d) But munsub was also known to the Ebla scribes, as shown by an entry of the section dealing with ropes and parts of the harness of AH A, attested in the Abu Salabikh source *IAS* 33 r.X:12-17 and in the Ebla source *MEE* 3 45+46 v.I:2-9³³:

```
ad-tab, "headstall of a harness",
KA-SU, "tethering rope",
níg-anše-aka, "part of the harness",
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níg-dul₅, "cover(ing) of the head" or "yoke for equids",

(éš-)dam-ga, "(binding of) the draft pole",

(éš-)sa-ḤAR, "carrying net",

(éš-)munsub, "goat hair (rope)",

éš-bára, "sack".

These materials could suggest that the basic differences between siki vs. munsub are (a) untied and short hair vs. tied and long hair (or a hair-style) and (b) hair vs. the mane (which is also gú-bar = $gup\bar{a}r\hat{u}$).

(e) However, I am uncertain about the reading and meaning of LAK-672 in:

u₆-ti-LAK-672 (at Šuruppak in *SF* 69 r. VI:2, perhaps a(n anatomical?) term referring to the eye),

ašal_x (LAK-636)-LAK-672-TAR (at Šuruppak in AH C b217),

giš-LAK-672 (at Ebla in EBK-A 457, in the unilingual Sumerian lists *MEE* 15 23 v.IV:12' and *MEE* 15 41 edge III':1', and in *VE* 489, = u\$-du-bu\$, uninterpreted, in the sources EBL₂ and EBL₄, untranslated in the sources EBL₃ and probably also in EBL₁).

The same problem applies to the two names of stones in one of the Šuruppak sources of AH B (SF 20 r.II:13f.):

```
gú-LAK-672<sup>za</sup>, murgu-LAK-672<sup>za</sup>,
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as well as for the following terms found in unilingual Sumerian lists from Ebla, probably with reference to parts of the intestine (considering that at Ebla $\$ag_4$ means not only "interior of a building, (secluded) chambers", as in VE 595, = $hadrum^{34}$, but also "inner body, internal organs", as in ELPB b6)³⁵:

šag₄-gig-LAK-672 (*MEE* 15 18 r.V':4' and *MEE* 15 25 v.III:2', wr. šag₄-LAK-672-gig),

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šag<sub>4</sub>-si-LAK-672 (MEE 15 25 v.III':3'),
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\$ag₄-LAK-672 (MEE 15 18 r.V':6', MEE 15 25 v.III:4' and MEE 15 32 v.III':13').

Here perhaps LAK-672 is a verb, to be read either sub_5 (as in $§u-sub_5$) or $u§_x = sak\bar{a}rum$, "to shut off, block up", discussed above (therefore $§ag_4-gig-u§_5$, $§ag_4-si-u§_x$ and $§ag_4-u§_x$ are names of parts of the intestine or of diseases of the intestine?).

However, the entries now discussed show the existence of a series of terms formed by names of parts of the body + LAK-672:

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gú-LAK-672,
murgu-LAK-672,
šag<sub>4</sub>-LAK-672,
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See Civil 2008:114-118; Bonechi 2007b:204f. (as for níg-dul₅).-

Fronzaroli 1980a:44, 1984a:165, 1984b:134, 1988:14 and 2003:103; Huehnergard 1987:78 n. 30; Conti 2001:197; cf. in Mesopotamia $\S ag_4 = qerbu(m)$ and also the use of Italian "budello".

Catagnoti - Bonechi n.d., with literature.

šu-LAK-672.

As we saw above, for \S u-LAK-672 there is evidence for the reading \S u-sub₅. Furthermore, a word in some way related to these terms (unless it is a Semitic loanword?) is ne-sub₅ (EBK-A 783), which in *VE* 849 is translated as *ne-sa-gu* (source EBL₁), *ne-sa-gu-um* (sources EBL₂ and EBL₄), i.e. *ni\Squm*, "kiss"³⁶.

However, these interpretations of the two Semitic translations si-rí-a-du and sa-rí-adu look unlikely to me³⁸. I suggest that the scribe of eEBL-j opted for the value munsub of LAK-672, and that at Ebla sa-ri-a-du = munsub is $\delta a^{\prime}riyatum$, "hair, mane" or the like³⁹. If so, this scribe shows he is aware that LAK-672, when used as a substantive, refers to "blood" and to "hair, mane". This was probably clear also to the scribe of EBK-A as well as to the scribes of the bilingual sources EBL₂ and EBL₄. In fact, the only rationale I see for the sequence LAK-672 - siki in EBK-A 900-901 // VE 970-971 is that LAK-672 had both the meanings "blood" and "hair, mane". In its first meaning, it closed the non acrographic but strongly thematic section dealing with evil smelling and / or red liquids, but at the same time in its second and rarer meaning it introduced the acrographic section siki dealing with "hair" and "wool". If this conjecture is correct, the scribes of the bilingual sources EBL₂ and EBL₄ translated LAK-672 as "blood", while the scribe of eEBL-j translated it as "hair, mane". A merely palaeographic reason for the proximity of LAK-672 and siki in these texts seems less probable to me, because in the second half of the III millennium LAK-672 had not yet become SIKI+SUHUR (like MUNSUB some centuries later), but ERIN+LAK-347.

Therefore I suggest for VE 730 an equivalence $\&i^c riy\bar{a}tum = igi-u\&_x$ or $= igi-sub_5$ or = igi-munsub, but anyway with reference to an anatomical part of the eye, probably the "eyelash(es)", not attested in ELPB, where the Sumerian terms which refer to the "eye" in (a17 - a24) and in (a32 - a34) are⁴⁰

```
igi, "eye", SAGxIGI(LAK-309a) (probably to be read gakkul<sub>x</sub>), "eyeball(s)", sig<sub>7</sub>-gi-zi, "pupil(s)",
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Krebernik 1983:33; Civil 1984:96; Krecher 1984:141; Conti 1990:203 and 1993:104; Fronzaroli 1991:471; Sjöberg 2004:269; Fronzaroli - Catagnoti 2006:283; Bonechi 2007a.

³⁷ Sjöberg 2003a:259; unexplained in Conti 1990:185.

In Militarev - Kogan 2005:344 both *si-rí-a-du* and *sa-rí-a-du* are compared to the difficult Semitic root *\$\(\delta V r y (-\bar{a}n)\)- and varr., "(Achilles') tendon; sinew, muscle (of leg)", discussed in Militarev - Kogan 2000:239f., where the occurrences of "'artery' in Syr. \$\delta e r y \bar{a}n\bar{a}\$, Mnd. \$\delta i r i and \text{ Arb. } \delta ariyy\bar{a}n\-, and of 'blood vessels' in Amh. \$\delta r a s a nother meaning 'artery, blood vessel' for common Semitic?)" are mentioned.

As for the formation cf. e.g. VE 1151, uru-bar = $\hat{\imath}$ -r $\hat{\imath}$ -a-tum, $\hat{\imath}$ r $\hat{\imath}$ yatum, "suburbs" (Fronzaroli 1979b:9 and 1984b:131, 143; Sjöberg 2004:273).

Catagnoti - Bonechi n.d., with literature.

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sig<sub>7</sub>-ka-kešda, probably "eyelid(s)",
sig<sub>7</sub>-igi, "eyebrow(s)",
igi-ub, perhaps "lachrymal gland, tear-sac",
igi-LAGAB, "(a part of the eye)",
igi-kun, "(a part of the eye)",
igi-su<sub>4</sub>, "(a part of the eye)",
igi-su<sub>4</sub>-su<sub>4</sub>, probably "iris",
igi-dar, "ocular cavity",
```

while other relevant Sumerian anatomical terms dealing with the "eye" in other Ebla lexical sources are

e-igi-2, perhaps "optic nerve" (in the unilingual Sumerian list MEE 15 18 r.III':8'), and

 sig_7 -gi₄-zi-na, "(a part of the eye)" (in the unilingual Sumerian list *MEE* 15 26 v.IV:18).

(2) The Sumerian term⁴¹ also occurs in the "Tribute" List 26 and 54 (Ebla source, ga-kad₄^{mušen} in the Šuruppak sources; the context refers to its eggs) and in LFA 79 (Šuruppak source, kak-tum ^{mušen} in the Ebla source). At Ebla it is found in EBK-A 934 and in unilingual Sumerian lists *MEE* 15 32 v.VI':13' and *MEE* 3 41 I':5'.

In VE 1004 it is left untranslated by the main sources EBL_2 and EBL_4 (missing from EBL_3). Its translation in $eEBL_7$ may derive from *bqr, "to perforate, split"⁴². Probably it is an 0/1participle, $b\bar{a}qirum$, perhaps with reference to a typical behaviour of the bird, such as its ability to split objects or the like (the "woodpecker"?).

TM.75.G.2318 = MEE 486 = eEBL-k

The III millennium Ebla bilingual lexical list 75.2318 (MEE 4 86, EV n⁴³: photograph in *MEE* 4, Tav. XXXe) is inscribed on the obverse of an irregularly rounded small tablet. The text is rather badly written.

eEBL-k deals with two Sumerian terms, both with their Semitic translations. After collation of obv. II:1⁴⁴, it is clear that the two equivalences refer to the female condition. A comparable feature is found in TM.75.G.2354 = *MEE* 4 87 = eEBL-i, where a selection based on the meaning of the terms was made by the scribe (there, however, this thematic approach – the "arm" – matches the acrographic principle because all the Sumerian terms belong to the á- series). The former equivalence does not occur in the main sources of the Ebla bilingual list. The latter includes a Semitic translation which is not the same as found in the bilingual sources EBL₁, EBL₂ and EBL₄. Since this entry is missing from the source EBL₃, it cannot be ruled out that eEBL-k belongs of the family of manuscripts to which also EBL₃ belongs. It is unclear to me whether the list is second-rate work by a senior scribe or whether it was written by a junior scribe. Three times out of four, however, eEBL-k includes rare terms.

Salonen 1973:205; Pettinato 1981a:117, 119, 164; Baldacci 1994:58; Veldhuis 2004:241f.; Sjöberg 2004:269f.

Fronzaroli 1995b:58, "pulcino, inteso come colui che fende il guscio per uscire dall'uovo"; Sjöberg 2004:269f.

⁴³ Pettinato 1982:104.

⁴⁴ Fronzaroli 1984a:185.

The text has the marker \ of the Semitic translation, but only in the first equivalence. The text of eEBL-k runs as follows:

```
obverse
(1) (= EV 0221)
I:1-2 nam-munus / ù-nu-sum \ "femininity"
(2) (= VE 581, EV 0371)
II:1-2 šag<sub>4</sub>-zu / wa-a-tum "midwife"
reverse (blank)
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Commentary:

- (1) eEBL-k provides the only Ebla attestation of this Sumerian abstract term (as for the nouns with nam- see below, eEBL-n). Its Semitic translation is 'unūtum45.
- (2) The Sumerian term also occurs (a) in ED Lú C 44 and ED Lú E 159, (b) in the literary text *Hymn to Nisaba* found at Ebla (*ARET* V 7 v.VI:2), and (c) in the Šuruppak and Ebla administrative records⁴⁶. In the Ebla unilingual acrographic (éš-bar-kin₅) lists it is attested in EBK-A 546 and in *MEE* 15 32 v.III':16' and *MEE* 15 53 r.III':6'. As for the bilingual list, in *VE* 581 the main sources EBL₁, EBL₂ and EBL₄ translate it as *mullittum*, a 0/2 participle⁴⁷. eEBL-k has a different translation but with the same etymology, *wallādum* or more probably *wallāttum* < **wld*⁴⁸.

TM.75.G.2199 = MEE 4 82 = eEBL-1

The III millennium Ebla bilingual lexical list 75.2199 (*MEE* 4 82, *EV* j⁴⁹; photograph in *MEE* 4, Tav. XXXa) is inscribed on the obverse of a regularly rounded, very small tablet.

eEBL-l deals with one Sumerian term, followed by its Semitic translation. This equivalence does not occur in the main sources of the Ebla bilingual list, and therefore eEBL-l cannot be related to any of them.

The text has of the marker \ of the Semitic translation.

The text of eEBL-l runs as follows:

Pettinato 1976:50, "womanhood"; Fronzaroli 1979a:76, 1982a:141, 1984a:128, 151, "womanliness (?)", and 1984b:153, "la grafia permetterebbe anche una forma *1u23-*"; Krebernik 1983:45f.; Sjöberg 2004:278; e-PSD, "femininity".

Biggs 1966:176 n. 4; Fronzaroli 1980a:43, 1982b:102 and 114, 1984a:146, 152 and 1984b:174, 185f.; Krebernik 1983:23, 1984b:208 and 1992:138; Pomponio 1987:225, 311, 225 s.v. šà-zumunus-la as for WF 74 rev. I; Conti 1990:163; D'Agostino 1990:166 n. 66; Pomponio - Visicato 1994:32, 94; Visicato 1995:105, 108 and 1997:127; Biga 2000:66, FPN ... dam šag₄<-zu>-SÙ.

Pettinato 1980:30; Fronzaroli 1980a:43, 1982b:102, 114, 1984a:126, 128, 146, and 1984b:174; Krebernik 1983:23, 1984:208 and 1992:138; Conti 1990:163; D'Agostino 1990:166 n. 66; Bonechi 2006:84. Cf. mu-wa-li-tum in the administrative Ebla text ARET I 15 r.VI:2, Archi 1985:296.

⁴⁸ Fronzaroli 1984a:152 and 1984b:185f.; Krebernik 1992:138; Bonechi 2006:89.

⁴⁹ Pettinato 1982:103.

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obverse
(1) (= EV 0419)
I:1-2  haš-haš / ga-da-tum \ "pieces"
I:3, II:1 (blank)
reverse (blank).
```

Commentary:

(1) Because of the later lexical equivalence has $= gad\bar{a}du^{50}$ (where the WSemitic loanword in Akkadian means "abtrennen" in AHw, p. 273, "to chop" in CAD G, p. 8, and "~ to separate off" in CDA^2 , p. 87), the translation in eEBL-l has been mostly derived from Semitic *gdd, "to cut (off), separate off, engrave" ("couper, inciser" in DRS I, pp. 99ff.), while, as for its morphology, sometimes it has been interpreted as an infinitive 0/1, $gad\bar{a}dum^{51}$.

However, in the main Ebla bilingual list, a reduplicated Sumerian form such as haš-haš (a) is not used to indicate the plural of a noun (as, instead, happens e.g. in the Ebla administrative records for writings such as lugal-lugal or dumu-mí-dumu-mí) and (b) normally does not correspond to a Semitic 0/1 infinitive $1a2\bar{a}3$ -, which commonly corresponds to non-reduplicated Sumerian elements (e.g. VE 717, ér = ba-ga-um, bakayum, "to cry")⁵² or to Sumerian compound verbs (e.g. VE 145, igi-gar = ba-la-um, $bar\bar{a}yum$, "to inspect")⁵³.

Bearing in mind that in the Ebla bilingual list the Semitic 0/1 infinitive is written using sequences such as Ca-Ca-Cum / Ca-Ca-Cu(-um), we can distinguish three groups of equivalences in which a reduplicated Sumerian element occurs.

[A] In 37 equivalences reduplicated Sumerian elements are found in second position of compounds, while the Semitic translations are not sequences such as *Ca-Ca-Cum / Ca-Ca-Cu(-um)*⁵⁴:

VE 44	ninda-du ₈ -du ₈	a-ba-um
<i>VE</i> 55	níg-sag ₇ -sag ₇	a-ga-ša-tum (?), a-gú-šu
<i>VE</i> 62	níg-dùg-dùg	da-bù
<i>VE</i> 64	níg-lu-lu	ti-³à-ma-tum
<i>VE</i> 68	níg-é-sún-sún	en-nu, 'à-na-núm
<i>VE</i> 71	níg-sig-sig	ša-nu, ḫu-nu-ga-tum

Aa III/5:103ff. (M. Civil et alii, MSL XIV, p. 346), ha-as-has = sebēru, haṣābu, haṣaṣu, habasu, hakāru, gadādu, hasālu, kapāru, hummuru, hiṣbu, habālu; Diri I 64f. (M. Civil et alii, MSL XV, p. 108), has-has [has-has] = subburu, hubbusu.

Edzard 1981:38, 141; Biga - Milano 1984:325; Pomponio - Xella 1984:30f.; Archi 1987b:50ff.; Fronzaroli 1988:25 and 1993:49f.; Krebernik 1992:140f. ("/katātum/ (Hebrew) or /gadādum/ (cf. HAŠ = gadadu) 'to cut, break'", with the suggestion that TAR-TAR in ARET V 7 hides a form of haṣābum, "to cut, break"); Pettinato 1996:211 and 165; Conti 1997:29ff. and nn. 19f. ("= acc. gadādu, 'tagliare'"); Pasquali 1997:237 n. 95; Waetzoldt 2001:72; Rendsburg 2007:87. Cf. Mander 1982:235f.; D'Agostino 1996:36f.

⁵² Krebernik 1983:27; Conti 1990:183.

⁵³ Fronzaroli 1984a:157f.; Conti 1990:86f.

As for the pairs of Sumerian terms where one of them has a reduplicated element see Krecher 1984:154 and Conti 1990:69f. n. 33, with further literature, «Krecher ... nota che ad una coppia di sumerogrammi, dove il secondo ha il secondo elemento raddoppiato (X.A : X.A.A) corrisponde frequentemente una coppia di glosse, con rapporto 1v2v3-: tv1(tv)2v3-».

VE 74	níg-kar-kar	dal-da-i-bù
<i>VE</i> 77	ninda-sal-sal	iš-bí-lu
V E126	níg-di-di	da-da-rí-bù(-um), du-da-rí-bù(-um),
		da-da-mi-su
VE 132, 1401	níg-mes-mes	uš-ti-du
<i>VE</i> 175	gù-dim-dim	ḫu-ba-ra, ḫu-ba-lum
<i>VE</i> 176	gù-é-dim-dim	ha-ha-na-tum
<i>VE</i> 258	sag-KAK-bad-bad	NE-ti-ù sag, ga-la-tum
<i>VE</i> 282	še-ú-ri-ri-ga	li-gi-tum
VE 467	giš-pa-mul-mul	hu-si-bù, hu-sa-bù, hu-sa-bu ₁₆
VE 476	giš-šu-dab-dab	a-du-um, mu-a-[]
VE 529	šu-gíd-gíd	mu-da-bíl-du
<i>VE</i> 555	á-du ₇ -du ₇	da-da-ga-bù-um
VE 574	šà-dab-dab	du-uš-da-na-um, du-uš-da-ne-um, du-
		ša-ne-úm
<i>VE</i> 578	šà-gíd-gíd	bí-na-tum
VE 603	a-NE-NE	ti-iš-da-ti-mu
VE 656	še-àr-àr	da-'à-nu-um, da-'à-núm
VE 662	še-zú-zú	ma-ba-ga-da
VE 665	ŠE-SIG ₄ -NE-NE	ga-za-um, gi-za-um
VE801	an-EN-EN	du-uš-da-i-i-lu-um, du-uš-da-ḍà-lum,
		na-u ₉ -lum
<i>VE</i> 892	ì-rá-rá	ra-gi-um
<i>VE</i> 939	dug-gur ₄ -gur ₄	gu-ra-ru ₁₂ ŠE+TIN, gu-ra-lu ŠE+TIN
<i>VE</i> 990	al ₆ -dab-dab	du-ub-da-lu-um, dub-da-lu-um
<i>VE</i> 1049	zi-du ₈ -du ₈	da-da-me-zu-um
<i>VE</i> 1132	ù-sá-sá	da-da-ì-lum, si-ga-bù-um
<i>VE</i> 1139	ù-gal-gal	du-da-gi-LUM, da-da-mu-um
<i>VE</i> 1145	mu-gìri-gìri	da-la-LUM
<i>VE</i> 1165	dub-zu-zu	ù-me-a-núm
<i>VE</i> 1216	sag-si-bad-bad	ma-ba-a-su sag
<i>VE</i> 1250	mes-lu-lu	[]- <i>rí-tum</i>
VE 1264	ab-lá-lá	<i>ur-</i> ^r x¹-[]
<i>VE</i> 1406	še-gud-gud	gi-za-lu a-ti wa-ba-um.
Clearly the Somit	is translations in VE 55 6	2 64 68 71 74 77 126 122 175 176

Clearly the Semitic translations in VE 55, 62, 64, 68, 71, 74, 77, 126, 132, 175, 176, 258, 282, 467, 476, 529, 555, 574, 578, 603, 662, 665, 801, 892, 939, 990, 1049, 1132, 1139, 1165, 1216, 1250, 1264 and 1406 are not of the Ca-Ca-Cum / Ca-Ca-Cu(-um) kind. Actually, these equivalences refer to elative or intensive nominal forms. While the meaning of the equivalence in VE 1145 is still unknown, based on the occurrence of ninda-du₈-du₈ as the name of a profession in the Ebla source of Names and Professions List 47, VE 44 should refer to the name of a profession of the $1a22\bar{a}3$ - type ($^{\prime}app\bar{a}yum$, "baker") 55 , and the equivalence in VE 665 certainly refers to a noun (an anatomical term) 56 .

⁵⁵ Bonechi 2006:89, with literature.

⁵⁶ Catagnoti - Bonechi n.d.

[B] In four equivalences, reduplicated Sumerian terms occur in the first position in compounds, before a verbal base, and once again their Semitic translations are not 0/1 infinitives:

<i>VE</i> 164	téš-téš-kú	du-uš-da-gi-lum
<i>VE</i> 531	šu-šu-ra	da-ba-um, ma-ḫa-zi i-da-2
<i>VE</i> 793	MUL-MUL-za	na-me-su(-um)
<i>VE</i> 1126	DIM-DIM-za	da-da-me-šum.

Of the three translations which are not 0/1 infinitives, VE 793 and VE 1126 refer to kind(s) of noise⁵⁷. As for the meaning of VE 164⁵⁸, notice that VE 163 probably means "famine, hunger, starvation"⁵⁹: the possibility that this pair (if it is a pair) of equivalences refers to the opposition between a lack and an abundance of food cannot be ruled out.

Semitic 0/1 infinitives could occur only in VE 531⁶⁰, but I prefer nominal forms such as *taphum* and *maḥṣi yidayn*.

[C] In 8 equivalences reduplicated Sumerian elements do not occur in compounds:

VE 716	ér-ér	ì-ti-ma-a-tum
<i>VE</i> 792	mul-mul	ga-ma-du
VE 826, 635	di-di	a-lu-um; 'à-la-gúm, 'à-gúm, 'à-a-gúm
VE 829	^{sá} sag ₇ -sag ₇	du-da-du-um; da-da-zi-gúm
<i>VE</i> 980	kas ₄ -kas ₄	du-da-zi-lu-um, du-da-zi-lum
<i>VE</i> 1234	dal-dal	nu-bù-ru ₁₂ -um
<i>VE</i> 1304	me-me	ù-me-tum
EV 0419	ḫaš-ḫaš	ga-da-tum.

Since they are not of the *Ca-Ca-Cum / Ca-Ca-Cu(-um)* kind, the Semitic translations are not 0/1 infinitives in *VE* 716, 829, 980, 1234 and 1304.

In VE 792 the equivalence refers to the "Pleiades", $kaymatum^{61}$. In VE 826 and 635 both the Semitic translations, with reference to a kind of motion, show forms from *hlk and *w' r^{62} . They may be interpreted, I think, as two (almost synonym) nouns of the 1a23- pattern, wa'rum and halkum.

To sum up, it seems unlikely that in EV 0419 ga-da-tum is the 0/1 infinitive gadādum.

The equivalence could refer to another nominal form of *gdd. If so, it may be (a) a 1a23- m. s. noun, namely gaddum, cf. VE 826, di-di = halkum and wa'rum (see above), (b) or, more likely, a $1a23-\bar{a}t$ - f. pl. noun, namely $gadd\bar{a}tum$, cf. VE 716, ér-ér =

⁵⁷ VE 793, 1126, see Civil 1984:88, 83 and Black 2003:49f.; both the Semitic translations from *nm*

VE 164, tušta kilum, Conti 1990:90 and n. 126, tušta kilum < * kl, "verosimilmente moltiplicazione" because of Akk. šutākulu, with literature and discussion, and Fronzaroli 2006:37, "multiplier".

Sjöberg 2003b:539f., δa_4 -gar = δa_4 -zu-um, δa_4 -sur = δa_4 -sur = δa_4 -yum.

⁶⁰ Conti 1990:151 and nn. 412f., with literature and discussion, *ṭapāḥum* and *maḥāṣi yidayn*, "battere le mani".

Conti 1990:191 and n. 584, with literature and discussion; "comet" in Archi 1988.

⁶² Krebernik 1983:36; Conti 1990:198 and nn. 618ff., /halākum/, /halkum/, /wa'rum/, with literature and discussion.

'idma'ātum, "tears"⁶³. A generic translation "pieces" fits well with the many occurrences of haš (-haš) in the Ebla administrative texts, which will be discussed elsewhere⁶⁴.

TM.75.G.2202 = MEE 4 84 = eEBL-n

The III millennium Ebla bilingual lexical list 75.2202 (*MEE* 4 84, EV 1⁶⁵; photograph in *MEE* 4, Tav. XXXc) is inscribed on the obverse of a very small and olive-shaped rounded tablet (the writing runs along the longer axis). It is well written.

eEBL-n deals with one Sumerian term, followed by its Semitic translation. This equivalence does not occur in the main sources of EBL, while the Sumerian term could occur in eEBL-d, where, however, it should have a different translation (obv. V:6f., see *ad loc.*).

eEBL-n bears the marker \ of the Semitic translation.

The text of eEBL-n runs as follows:

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obverse
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(1) (EV 0219)

I:1-2 nam-bárag/da-za-a5-numv "the act of spreading, smearing (or the like)"

reverse (blank).

Commentary:

(1) The reading of the two terms is uncertain, and the entry is still unexplained.

At Ebla NAM has the values bir₅ (and bir_5), buru₅, nam and sim. In the Ebla acrographic list, a section NAM with eleven entries is found in EBK-A 1012-1022 // VE 1088-1098. These entries are:

- (a) terms with nam-, in reference to abstract notions or to *nomina actionis*:
- (a1) nam-en = ma-li- $g\acute{u}$ -um, $mal\bar{\iota}kum$, "kingship", in EBK-A 1012 // VE 1088 (sources EBL₂ and EBL₄)⁶⁶;
- (a2) nam-nam-en = du-da-li- $g\acute{u}$ -um, tumtallikum, "exertion of kingship", in EBK-A 1013 // VE 1089 (sources EBL₂ and EBL₄)⁶⁷;
- (a3) nam-ku₅ = gi_4 -tum, kittum, "sworn pact, oath", in EBK-A 1014 // VE 1090 (Sumerian term in the sources EBL₃ and EBL₄, translation in the source EBL₃)⁶⁸;
- (a4) nam-ra-aka = δa -la-tum, \underline{t} allatum, "booty", in EBK-A [1017] // VE 1093 (sources EBL₃ and EBL₄)⁶⁹;

⁶³ As for *VE* 716, Conti 1990:183 and n. 555, with literature.

⁶⁴ Bonechi n.d.

⁶⁵ Pettinato 1982:104.

⁶⁶ Fronzaroli 1979b:6 and 1984b:145; Krebernik 1983:38 and 1984b:199.

Fronzaroli 1979b:6, 1979c:94, 1980b:94, 1982b:115f., 1984a:182, 1984b:139 and 1996:54, n. 13; Pettinato 1981a:255 and n. 48; Krebernik 1983:38 and 1984:199; Civil 1984:83, 84; Conti 1990:37f.; Archi 1996:26 n. 71.

Fronzaroli 1980c:69, 1984c:9f., 1989:11 and 1995c:21f. as for *gi-tum* in the Ebla "chancery" texts; Edzard 1984:107; Gelb *et alii* 1991:109; Biga 1996:25 n. 14, 68 and 1998:220; Catagnoti 1997a:111f. and 1997b:49f.

- (a5) nam-munus = $\frac{1}{2}un\bar{u}tum$, "femininity", in EV 0221 (source eEBL-k, see above)⁷⁰;
- (a6) nam-nir = [...], perhaps "authority, supremacy" (source eEBL-c₄, see *ad loc.*);
- (b) terms with sim, "swallow":
- (b1) sim-ma = dag-ga-tum, daggatum, "chicken", in EBK-A $\langle 1020 \rangle$ // VE 1096 (sources EBL₃ and EBL₄)⁷²;
- (b2) sim-gùn^{mušen} (?) = sa-su-ga-lum (?), perhaps $ša\check{s}u$ garum, perhaps "(a kind of swallow)" or less probably "(a kind of sparrow, perhaps the) golden oriole", in EBK-A <1021> // VE 1097 (source EBL₄)⁷³;
- (c) terms with bir₅⁷⁴, "flying insect" rather than "locust", and at Ebla probably "fly", perhaps also generic for "insect":
- (c1) $bir_5 = \dot{s}\dot{e}-b\dot{u}$, dibbum, "fly", in EBK-A 1022 // VE 1098 source EBL₄, Akk. zumbu, zubbu(m), $zunbu^{75}$.
- (c2) bir₅-ur = ga-bi-a-num, $kalbiy\bar{a}num$, "tick", in EBK-A 1015 // VE 1091 (Sumerian term in the sources EBL₃ and EBL₄, Semitic translation in the source EBL₄)⁷⁶;
- (c3) bir₅-na-DU.DU = *nu-bí-a-núm*, *nuppilānum*, "(a kind of insect)", probably "caterpillar" or less likely "(a kind of butterfly)"⁷⁷, in EBK-A [1016] // VE 1092 (sources EBL₃ and EBL₄), cf. Akk. *nappillu*, "caterpillar", in Hh XIV 246 and 273d-275b

Fronzaroli 1979a:76, 1982a:139, 1984a:183 and 1984b:129, 150; Pettinato 1981b:141; Krebernik 1983:38; Conti 2003:129; cf. PSD A/3 p. 126. The Sumerian term is also attested in AH D 40'.

Pettinato 1976:50, "womanhood"; Fronzaroli 1979a:76, 1982a:141, 1984a:128, 151, "womanliness (?)" and 1984b:153, «la grafia permetterebbe anche una forma *1u23*-»; Krebernik 1983:45f.; Sjöberg 2004:278; e-PSD, "femininity".

⁷¹ Krebernik 1992:130.

⁷² Sjöberg 2003a:264.

Readings (sim-? bir¹-? -gùn? -dar? -lum? -LUM?) and interpretation however uncertain, cf. Rendsburg 1992, §a§u¹garum; Müller 1995:137 and n. 11; Sjöberg 2003a:264 and 2004a:271; Veldhuis 2004:270; Militarev - Kogan 2005:46f. Furthermore, is sa-su-ga-lum another case of "synthetic" writing (most recently discussed in Bonechi 2008b), to be interpreted as "sa-ga-LUM and su-ga-LUM"?

⁷⁴ Cavigneaux - al-Rawi 2002:45ff. and Veldhuis 2004:224ff., with literature.

This same interpretation was independently suggested to me by Leonid Kogan in a letter dated February 28, 2008. On "fly" in Semitic see Militarev - Kogan 2005:108-111.

Cf. Salonen 1973:150; Sjöberg 2003b:553, "dog fly", Sumerian term compared with later nim-urgi₇ = zumbi kalbi, Semitic translation with Akk. gību, "(a kind of fly)" and related Semitic terms; Militarev - Kogan 2005:112. The translation confirms that at Ebla ur = kalbum (Bonechi 2001:40). In the Ebla administrative text 75.1669 v.III:4 ga-bí-a-núm is a PN. Moreover, because of the rather improbable writing of the translation I wonder if VE 1395', read "BU-ur = u₉-a-NE-LUM" (source EBL_{3b}) in Pettinato 1982:339, is in fact another attestation (to be collated) of this entry.

Incidentally, the as yet unidentified Sumerian and the Semitic terms for "butterfly" very probably occur in the Ebla lexical lists. The former is giriš_x(UḤ)^{mušen} (for this term see recently Veldhuis 2004:246 and n. 87, with literature, and Civil 2007:25), which is attested in LA B 117 (source E₄, MEE 3 18 r.VI: '18¹). The latter is to be found in ESLA 44 (MEE 4 116, r.IV:12, read gul-zi²-NE²-tum in Pettinato 1982:386, and unexplained in Sjöberg 1996:19) and in EBLA 68 (MEE 4 96 v.V:1', read [...]-rx¹-NE-tum in Pettinato 1982:108), where almost certainly gul-zi-bí-tum occurs. This writing, if confirmed, is to be interpreted as kurṣiptum or kurṣibtum, which is the same term known in Akkadian (Militarev - Kogan 2005:164 and XLVI).

corresponding to ^{zi-bi-in} zíbin and to za-na-bal, za-na-maḥ, za-na-mul and ušu⁷⁸; or to be read zibina_x(BIR₅)^{na}-DU.DU?;

- (c4) bir₅-KUR = ir-bi-nim, ' $erb\hat{e}num < *$ 'arbay- $\bar{a}n$ -um, "locust", in EBK-A [1018] // VE 1094 (sources EBL₃ and EBL₄), Akk. $erb\hat{u}(m)^{79}$;
- (c5) bir₅-KUR^{mušen} = ir-gi-lum, hergilum, "(a kind of locust)", in EBK-A ¹⁰¹⁹ // VE 1095 (sources EBL₃ and EBL₄), Akk. $ergilu^{80}$;

Therefore buru₅^{musen}, "sparrow", does not occur in the section NAM of EBK-A and EBL.

In eEBL-n a possible reading of the Sumerian term is nam-tág⁸¹, "sin", but the Semitic translation is different from the various Akk. terms for "sin" (i.e., ennettu(m), gillatu(m), gullutu(m), $l\bar{u}tu(m)$ I, $namtagg\hat{u}$, $pipil\hat{u}$, $\delta ettu$), and I am unable to explain "da-za-NI-LUM" as an Ebla form with such a meaning.

My reading nam-bárag = da-za- $^{\prime}a_5$ - $n\acute{u}m$ is a reference to VE 129, níg-babárag = WA-za- \grave{u} (source EBL_1), = da-ti-ba-[um] (source EBL_{3a}). Elsewhere I have discussed these two translations, suggesting that they are the Semitic nouns wa, $^{\prime}um$ or wi, $^{\prime}um$ (from Semitic *wd') and $tap\dot{h}um$, $tip\dot{h}um$ (from Semitic * $tp\dot{h}$), and that the equivalence may refer to "poultice" On these grounds, in eEBL-n the translation may be a ta12a3- $\bar{a}n$ -form taw, ta12a3-ta12a

⁷⁸ Sjöberg 2000:413 and n. 11, and 2003b:553; cf. D'Agostino 1990:135f., "nam-na-DU.DU".

⁷⁹ Cavigneaux - al-Rawi 2002:51 and n. 152, «bir₅-kur ('criquet de montagne'?) = *ir-bí-núm*, à rapprocher de l'akk. *erbû*?»; Militarev - Kogan 2005:15f.

⁸⁰ Castellino 1984:368; Baldacci 1994:65; Sjöberg 2000:412 n. 10; Cavigneaux - al-Rawi 2002:51 and n. 152; Veldhuis 2004:226; Militarev - Kogan 2005:142f.

The entry is read "nam-dag = $t\acute{a}$ - $z\acute{a}$ -ni-lum" in Pettinato 1982:104.

⁸² Bonechi 2008b, with literature.

It remains unclear to me whether and how relevant two further Ebla equivalences are here. They are VE 201, KA-an-DAG (also attested in the unilingual Sumerian list EBK-A 191, KA-an KA-an-DAG'(E) = ba-zi-lu-um (sources EBL_2 and EBL_4), = ba-zi-lum (source EBL_{3a}), and VE 1198, baran-DAG = WA-sa-NI-um (source EBL₄), = WA-sa-NI (source EBL_{3b}). The two Sumerian terms show the same formation, and a verb (bárag = Akk. *Suparruru* II, "to spread out", *Seţû(m)* II, "to spread out"; dag = Akk. $naq\bar{a}ru(m)$, "to demolish, scratch", dag-dag = Akk. $nag\bar{a}\bar{s}u(m)$, "to go to(wards)", itangušu, "to wander, travel about") looks more likely to me than a noun (dag = Akk. Subtu(m)). But both the Ebla Semitic translations are of uncertain interpretation. The former has been compared to Akk. bussuru(m), bussurtu(m) (D'Agostino 1990:64, «KA an-dag, 'messaggio, ambasceria' ... si può avanzare l'ipotesi che dag sia stato considerato un verbo ausiliare»), but a more convincing comparison is with Aram. bzr, "to scatter" (Sjöberg 2004:259, «if DAG is to be read as bara 'to spread (out)'»). The morphology of the Semitic translation remains unclear (1a2ī3-?). The latter (read wa-sa-NI(-um) in Pettinato 1982:327), on the basis of the meaning "to roam freely; to pursue, search after" of the verb bar--dag, has been read "wa-sa-lí-um" (Civil 1984:83, "/wašāru/, 'to release' ... 'to roam freely'", followed by PSD B, pp. 117f., and see also Sjöberg 2004:275), with the problematic use of NI with the value lí. The more probable readings are WA-sa $a_5(-um)$ or WA-sa-i(-um), and WA-sa- $bu_{16}(-um)$. The former, as "wa-sa-i(-um)", is adopted in Butz 1984:115 and n. 85, «'ausbreiten' (von) 'Garben' ... Zu akkad. wuşşûm 'ausbreiten, weit öffnen'»; the latter in D'Agostino 1990:169 n. 76, "wašābu, attestato nelle liste mesopotamiche per il valore bàra del segno DAG"). Cases of Semitic /r/ written by means of signs of the series A (a, i and u₉) are known at Ebla (Bonechi 1989:138f.), but, to my knowledge, cases of NI = a_5 or i for /ra/, /ri/, are unattested. If the translation is to be read WA-sa-bu₁₆(-um), among other possibilities cf. perhaps Ar. 'ašaba, "mêler; blâmer", 'ušābat, "gens d'origines diverses", 'awšāb, "ramassis de gens de toute sorte" (*DRS*, p. 640, *wśb / 'śb), or Syr. 'awšēb, "étendre" (*DRS*, p. 645, *wšb).

Sigla of the lexical lists quoted:

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AH A
              IAS 31+33, IAS 30 + 37 + 226, IAS 35 + 225, MEE 3 45 + 46,
              TM.75.G.10011, MEE 3 61 (excerpt)
AH B
              SF 20, SF 21+22, IAS 34
AH C
              SF 43 + 74
AH D
              MEE 3 44
EBK-A
              MEE 4 115 = MEE 15 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5
              MEE 4 12; MEE 4 24; MEE 4 32; MEE 4 40; MEE 4 47 + 48 + 53 + 60
EBL_{1a-e}
              (source D in Archi 1986:83)
EBL_2
              MEE 4 1+2+3+4+5+6+7+16+17+18 (source A in Archi 1986:83)
EBL<sub>3a</sub>
              MEE 4 13 + 14 + 15 + 19 + 20 + 21 + 25 + 26 + 31 + 33 + 34 + 35 + 36
              +37 + 38 + 39 + 41 + 42 + 43 + 44 + 49 + 50 + 51 + 52 + 54 + 55 + 56
              +57 + 58 + 59 + 61 + 62 + 72 + 106 + 107 (source C in Archi 1986:83)
EBL_{3b}
              MEE 4 63 + 64 + 71 + ARET III 683 (source A<sub>2</sub> in Archi 1986:83)
              MEE 48 + 9 + 10 + 11 + 22 + 23 + 27 + 28 + 29 + 30 + 45 + 46 + 65 +
EBL_4
              66 + 67 + 68 + 69 + 70 + MEE 3 42 (source B in Archi 1986:83)
EBLA
              MEE 496 + 101 + 104 + 112
ED Lú C
              SF 47
ED Lú E
              IAS 54 + 56 + 58, IAS 55 + 59, IAS 60, IAS 57, MEE 3 7 + 8 + 9 + 10 +
              11 +, MEE 3 6, HSS X 222, MAD 5 35, Buccellati 2003
eEBL-a<sub>1</sub>
              MEE 481, EV i
eEBL-a<sub>2</sub>
              MEE 4 75, EV c
              MEE 4 74
eEBL-b<sub>1</sub>
              MEE 473
eEBL-b<sub>2</sub>
eEBL-c<sub>1</sub>
              [lost tablet]
              MEE 4 76, EV d
eEBL-c<sub>2</sub>
eEBL-c<sub>3</sub>
              [lost tablet]
eEBL-c<sub>4</sub>
              MEE 4 79 + 110, EV g+ai
              MEE 489 + 90, EV q
eEBL-d
eEBL-k
              MEE 4 86, EV n
eEBL-u
              MEE 4 108, EV ag
ELFA
              MEE 3 40
ELPB
              MEE 3 68, 71, 70
              MEE 3 51, 52 = Archi 1987:91-113
ESL
ESLA
              MEE 4 116
LA B
              IAS 28, IAS 27, MEE 3 20, MEE 3 22 + 23, MEE 3 19 + 24 + 25 + 75 +
              MEE 15 57, MEE 3 18, MEE 3 21
              ATU 3 "Birds", SF 58 obv. VI:11ff., MEE 3 39
LFA
              ATU 3 "Cattle A", SF 81, IAS 25 + 26, MEE 3 12 + 13 + 14 + 15 + 16 +
LLi
              17, MEE 3 62 (excerpt).
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Sumerian writings:

haš-haš "pieces", = $gadd\bar{a}tum$, eEBL-l 1 kad₄^{mušen} "(a kind of bird)", = $b\bar{a}qirum$, eEBL-j 2 munsub(LAK-672) "hair, mane", = \$a $r\bar{i}yatum$, eEBL-j 1

nam-bárag "the act of spreading out", = tawṣaʿānum, eEBL-n 1

nam-munus "femininity", = 'unūtum, eEBL-k 1 8ag₄-zu "midwife", = wallāttum, eEBL-k 2

Further Sumerian elements:

 $\begin{array}{lll} b\'{a}rag & see nam-b\'{a}rag \\ munus & see nam-munus \\ mu\breve{s}en & see kad_4{}^{mu\breve{s}en} \\ zu & see \breve{s}ag_4-zu \end{array}$

Semitic writings:

ba-gi-lu-um $b\bar{a}$ girum, "(a kind of bird)", = kad₄mušen, eEBL-j 2

da-za-ḍa₅-núm tawṣa^cānum, "the act of spreading out", = nam-bárag, eEBL-n 1

ga-da-tum gaddātum, "pieces", = haš-haš, eEBL-l 1

sa-rí-a-du ša'rīyatum, "hair, mane", = munsub(LAK-672), eEBL-j 1

ù-nu-sum"unūtum, "femininity", = nam-munus, eEBL-k 1

wa-a-tum

wallāttum, "midwife", = šag₄-zu, eEBL-k 2

Semitic terms:

'unūtum \dot{u} -nu-sum, "femininity", = nam-munus, eEBL-k 1 $b\bar{a}qirum$ ba-gi-lu-um, "(a kind of bird)", = kad₄ mušen, eEBL-j 2

gaddātum ga-da-tum, "pieces", = haš-haš, eEBL-l 1

 $\delta a^{\epsilon} riyatum$ $\delta a - ri - a - du$, "hair, mane", = munsub(LAK-672), eEBL-j 1

tawṣa'ānum da-za-'a₅-núm, "the act of spreading out", = nam-bárag, eEBL-n 1

wallāttum wa-a-tum, "midwife", = šag₄-zu, eEBL-k 2

Semitic roots:

*'anut- "to be feminine, female": see 'unūtum *bqr "to perforate, split": see bāqirum

*gdd "to cut (off), separate off, engrave", see gaddātum

*śa^cr(-at)- "hair": see ša^crīyatum

*wdc "to stretch (out), spread (out), strew, release": see tawṣacānum

*wld "to bear, give birth to (a child)": see wallāttum

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Abstract

The paper deals with four small bilingual lexical lists, TM.75.G.2199, 2202, 2300 and 2318 = *MEE* 4 82, 84, 85 and 86, found at Tell Mardikh (Syria), ancient Ebla, in Archive L.2769 of the III millennium BC royal palace. A new edition of each text is provided, followed by a philological and lexical commentary and by indexes of the writings and of their interpretations.