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THE SUMERIAN LANGUAGE
AN INTRODUCTION TO ITS HISTORY AND GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

BY
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PREFACE

As it will be demonstrated in the introduction below (p. 15ff.) the study of the Sumerian language is not easy: the meaning of many words and grammatical elements is far from evident, the writing is defective and we are not able to analyse the grammar very well. In the history of Sumerology many studies about Sumerian grammar have been published, but as I.M. Diakonoff puts it: 'there are as many Sumerian languages as there are Sumerologists' (1976 p. 99). At least there are many different theories concerning particular grammatical problems.

It is of course not possible here to give an account of all these studies and much less to estimate the various theories. I shall therefore only mention the most important grammatical works which form the basis of our grammatical understanding of Sumerian today. The studies mentioned below are those most often used and referred to by the Sumerologists when translating and editing a text, even if they do not agree with them. For other studies I refer to the Bibliography.

The first systematic description of the Sumerian language, to which we still owe much today, is Arno Poebel's Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik, published in 1923. Poebel based his grammatical study on a variety of Sumerian texts: pre-Sargonic royal inscriptions as well as Neo-Assyrian bilinguals. In this book as well as in several articles (see Bibliography) he defined many grammatical categories: tenses, cases, the verbal morpheme /ed/ etc. The weakness of Poebel's grammar, however, is perhaps due to the fact that he based his work on texts from different periods which cover a long space of time without paying enough attention to the different stages of the language and the consequences of the contact with the Akkadian language and of the death of the language. However, although it is partly obsolete, Poebel's work stands in many respects as the traditional grammatical study of Sumerian.
Another important work is Adam Falkenstein's *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*, I-II, published 1949-1950, as well as many articles on grammatical problems (see Bibliography). Falkenstein follows to some extent the basic work of Poebel, but the fact that he limited himself to a single group of texts, namely the Gudea inscriptions which linguistically seem to be the most reliable textual material, meant that he could revise the grammar of Poebel on various points. In a more general way Falkenstein presented his grammatical theories in *Das Sumerische* (1959) which is an extremely short but practical outline of the Sumerian language.

The main objections against Falkenstein's description of Sumerian is that he did not sufficiently realize the specific character and structure of the language, but introduced categories from Indo-European languages into the Sumerian grammar, which fact resulted in some obscure interpretations and reconstructions of 'original' forms. However, Falkenstein's grammar as well as that of Poebel represents the traditional, and probably the most widespread, view on Sumerian grammar among scholars today.

A grammar dealing with the royal inscriptions of the Isin and Larsa dynasties is I. Kärki, *Die Sprache der sumerischen Königsinschriften der frühaltbabylonischen Zeit* (1967). This study is almost identical with Falkenstein's grammar of the Gudea language, as regards both terminology, composition as well as the treatment of grammatical categories.

The Old Sumerian inscriptions from the first dynasty of Lagaš were treated by E. Sollberger, *Système verbal* (1952), where a grammatical view is presented which in many respects differs widely from that of both Poebel and Falkenstein. However, because of the defective writing of the texts under consideration the alternative interpretations cannot easily be confirmed.

Beside these grammars studies on individual grammatical problems, especially the verb, have been published, for instance R.R. Jestin, *Le verbe sumérien*, in three volumes (1943-1954).

Thorkild Jacobsen contributed to the study of the Sumerian verb with his important articles ‘Introduction to the Chicago Grammatical Texts’ (1956) and ‘About the Sumerian Verb’ (1965). There he presented an original view of the verbal system which goes far beyond
the studies of Poebel and Falkenstein, and which gives many interesting and detailed suggestions as to the meaning and analysis of the verbal morphemes.

Several other Sumerologists, especially in the last 10-15 years, have contributed to the understanding of Sumerian grammar with studies on various grammatical problems. For instance, a new theory of the occurrence of case elements in the prefixe chain was published by Gene B. Gragg (see §§ 425-426), and several studies of the verbal categories *hamtu* and *marû* have been written by M. Yoshikawa and D.O. Edzard (see §§ 231-241 and Bibliography). However, the most important discovery of the last years is perhaps the realization that Sumerian belongs to the so-called ergative languages. This fact implies a new basis of the study of the Sumerian language which in the future probably will improve our understanding of Sumerian in many respects.

It is not my intention here to give a totally new and different representation of the Sumerian language. I rather think it useful to present a general description of Sumerian, as coherent as possible. Therefore, textual material from various periods has been included, and, consequently, the present grammar will also to some extent show the changes and development of the language by comparing certain forms and phrases. In my opinion, the Sumerian texts represent first of all the literary language and in the most important period, from the beginning of Ur III to the end of the Old Babylonian period, it has no connexion with a spoken language, since Sumerian probably died out in the last centuries of the 3rd mill. B.C. ‘Development’ means therefore not the development of the spoken vernacular, but rather the changes of the written language. Partly for this reason the grammar often seems contradictory and we shall probably never understand the Sumerian language completely.

Instead of developing elaborate systems according to which for instance every verbal form shall be explained, or instead of citing all instances of a certain form or morpheme I have tried to describe how the language functions by citing whole sentences and passages in order to illustrate the context in which this or that form can be used. In many cases I follow the basic work of the Sumerologists mentioned
above, in other cases I have tried to improve or modify earlier theories; but also when I do not agree with them I have referred to various theories in order to present a varied picture of the Sumerian language and to point out other possibilities which may some day turn out to be right after all.
PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

The Sumerian Language has now been out of print for a couple of years and a reprint was much needed. This is a good opportunity to supply it with a bibliography of the literature on Sumerian grammar published since the first edition in 1984.

Since The Sumerian language went to press for the first time the study of Sumerian has become easier in some ways: through the publication of the first volumes of The Sumerian Dictionary and other lexical works and through modern editions of Sumerian texts. However, as our understanding of Sumerian grammar is still insufficient, it is to be welcomed that many studies have been published in the last few years on exactly these most difficult and complex problems. Especially the verbal stems, the prefix chain and the verbal suffixes permanently puzzle the scholars and various theories concerning the verbal aspects, hamtu and maru, the use of pre-radical -n- and -b-, and the meaning of the prefixes mu-, i-, a-, ba-, and bi- have been brought forth. After all, no consensus has been obtained how to interpret the Sumerian verbal forms; several theories exist side by side and none of them can explain all forms satisfactorily. The reasons for this situation are certainly the defective writings of the older texts which prevent a grammatical analysis, on the one hand, and the 'decay' of the Sumerian language during the first centuries of the second millennium, the period from which most of the Sumerian literary texts come, on the other. The Babylonian scribes had no doubt a very good knowledge of Sumerian, and in the Edubba they even spoke Sumerian, but, nevertheless, it must be expected that the Sumerian language of this period was highly influenced by Akkadian. It is likely that grammatical forms which had no Akkadian counterparts disappeared or were reinterpreted as corresponding to Akkadian terms. If at least some of the problems of the Sumerian grammar can be explained on the basis of Akkadian,
investigations on the relationship of Sumerian and Akkadian would probably help to throw light on the language in the Sumerian literary texts. Language contact and the way Akkadian scribes treated Sumerian grammar, not only in the Old Babylonian period but also later on in the bilingual texts, are themes which have also been dealt with repeatedly in the last few years.

Other fields, e.g. phonetics and the history of the Sumerian language, have not been as much in focus. The most surprising hypothesis has certainly been Jens Høyrup's that Sumerian is a Creole language, a theory which, not unexpectedly, has found no approval among Sumerologists. The fact that such a theory could appear, emphasizes our still imperfect knowledge and the necessity for more research in all fields of Sumerology.
INTRODUCTION

History of the Sumerian Language

The peculiar situation of the Sumerian language and the special problems connected with it are not so much due to the status of Sumerian as a dead language, but mainly to the fact that it was probably no longer spoken already in that period from which by far the most Sumerian texts date.

The Sumerian text material forming the basis of the present grammar is a part, but the most important part, of the Sumerian sources from Mesopotamia, namely including the Old Sumerian inscriptions from Lagaš from ca. 2500 B.C. on and ending with the literary texts written during the Old Babylonian period, i.e. until ca. 1600 B.C. These ca. 900 years are the period when Sumerian gradually changed from a spoken language to a literary language only. We can say for certain that it was still spoken at the beginning of this period and that without doubt it was dead at the end of the OB period, but the advancing steps of the process cannot be followed in details.

It must of course have some consequences for the study of a language whether it should be regarded as a spoken everyday language or whether it is used exclusively as a literary language written during generations by people having another language as their mother tongue. In the following I shall therefore try to outline the history of the Sumerian language.

The heartland of the Sumerians is assumed to be the southern part of Mesopotamia called Sumer, the boundary being somewhere north of Nippur; in the later part of the Early Dynastic period maybe not very far from that city.1 We do not know when the Sumerians had their

first contacts with the Akkadians, but they are probably of a very early date, ca. 3000.² There seems to be indications for a long period of close contact between Sumerians and Akkadians, at least in the boundary districts, although we cannot follow this in written sources before ED III (ca. 2600 B.C.). As a result of this situation Akkadian as well as Sumerian underwent some changes such as the adoption of loanwords. The Sumerian influence may already rather early have caused the Akkadian word order: Subject — Object — Verb, which is unusual for a Semitic language.³ Most clearly the early contact is shown in the archaic texts from Fara and Abū Ṣalābīkh (i.e. ED III ca. 2600 B.C.). In these texts there is a considerable amount of Akkadian personal names, and the scribes have Akkadian names as well. Although an Akkadian name of course does not necessarily mean that the person is an Akkadian, the names must be taken as evidence for the presence of Akkadian speakers in Sumer.⁴ In the Abū Ṣalābīkh texts the Akkadian loanword ₐ ‘and’ is the earliest certain evidence of an Akkadian loanword in Sumerian context.⁵ It thus seems probable that there was a rather large number of bilingual persons at that time (ED III) in the northern part of Sumer to which Abū Ṣalābīkh belonged. In view of what happens later on, we can perhaps say that in ED III the Sumerian speaking population was reduced compared with the preceding period. The Akkadian language thus spread from the North where bilingual regions were established, whereas the population in the southern part probably was still mostly Sumerian-speaking.

During the reign of the Akkadian dynasty of Sargon the official language was primarily Akkadian, royal inscriptions and year dates were,

² A. Falkenstein, 1960 p. 302, dates the earliest contacts to ‘Frühdynamischt II’.
⁴ Cf. R.D. Biggs, 1957: ‘Semitic Names in the Fara Period.’ OrNS 36 p. 55-66; and 1974, p.27. See also n. 6 below.
⁵ Cf. Biggs, 1974 p. 32.
however, mostly bilingual. Both languages are also used in religious
texts like incantations. In other contexts, however, Sumerian is found
only in Sumer proper. It thus seems probable that Sumerian as an
everyday language in this period began seriously to vanish and that at
least a part of the Sumerian population has become bilingual, since
Akkadian sources now also are found in Sumer.6

Nevertheless, after the Sargonic period, especially during the 3rd
dynasty of Ur, the use of Sumerian increased in official documents.
Royal inscriptions, juridical and administrative documents and letters
are almost entirely written in Sumerian, whereas Akkadian texts are
extremely rare.7 Neo-Sumerian literary texts are scarce (the Gudea
cylinders are an outstanding exception), but a part of the Sumerian
literature attested in OB is assumed to have been composed during
this period.8 This so-called Sumerian 'renaissance', however, affected
most probably the written language only, and the trends from the
Sargonic period continue in the direction that a still greater part of
the Sumerian population becomes bilingual and finally gives up the
Sumerian language. In Ur III the use of Sumerian as a spoken lan-
guage seems thus to have been very limited.

In the following OB period Sumerian must be regarded as a dead
language, even if still used as an official and literary language. By far
the most literary texts of this period are thus Sumerian, and so are
the royal inscriptions until the 1st dynasty of Babylon (see Textual
Material).

In the OB period the Sumerian tradition was continued in the
'school', the Eduba, where the literary texts were copied and studied.
Sumerian was here spoken by the scholars and the more advanced
students, who learned it, however, as a foreign language.9 Before Su-
merian thus finally became the language of a limited number of
'scientists', there was perhaps a period when a part of the population
in Sumer was able to understand, at least in part, the Sumerian
hymns, royal proclam. etc. by recognizing some Sumerian words
and expressions, although they did not speak Sumerian themselves.

6. For the distribution of Sumerian and Akkadian sources, see Gelb, 1960 p.
268. A catalogue of the Akkadian texts until OB times is given by Gelb
9. See Ä.W. Sjöberg, 1976 p. 161f. and cf. also below: Writing and Language
The history of the Sumerian language as outlined here is based chiefly on the important study of I.J. Gelb: 'Sumerians and Akkadians in their Ethno-Linguistic Relationship' (1960), and most recently the article of J.S. Cooper: 'Sumerian and Akkadian in Sumer and Akkad' (1973). Both argued for a comparatively early date of the extinction of Sumerian as a spoken language and concluded that Sumerian speakers were very few during Ur III. However, the question is disputed, other Sumerologists are thus inclined to the opinion that Sumerian was still a living language in NS but died out somewhere during the Old Babylonian period. The process of language death of course involves many cultural and social factors and there can hardly be given any general rules for the individual stages of its progress or of its duration. In our case historical and archaeological sources give only little direct information about the contact and relation of Sumerians and Akkadians, and the date of the language death must be deduced from such secondary circumstances as the spreading of Sumerian and Akkadian personal names, the occurrences of Sumerian inscriptions versus Akkadian, and the increasing number of Akkadian loanwords in Sumerian texts. All these indications are, however, rather uncertain and may allow for different interpretations.

However, an early date of the language death would agree best

10. Cf. Gelb, 1960 p. 270: 'While the Sumerian renaissance [i.e. Ur III] affected the use of the written language the country as a whole continued in the direction of total Akkadization and elimination of Sumerian elements. This can be clearly established by the growing number of Akkadian personal and geographical names in the South of the country, of Akkadian loanwords in Sumerian, and by the fact that the last three rulers of the Ur III dynasty bore Akkadian names, in contrast to the first two rulers, whose names are Sumerian'.

11. See F.R. Kraus, 1970 p. 86ff. for an outline of the various viewpoints. Cf. also Lieberman, 1977 p. 21 n. 50: 'In all likelihood Sumerian continued to be graced with native speakers down into the Old Babylonian period, through the Isin-Larsa period, although certainly the numbers of native speakers and the areas in which they lived gradually diminished and had already been significantly decreased before the Ur III period.'


with the available linguistic data. In fact the language of the non-  
canonical texts like documents and letter-orders, which presumably  
would be close to the spoken language, are very much influenced by  
Akkadian, thus indicating that the Neo-Sumerian scribes did not  
have Sumerian as their mother tongue.

The process of the extinction of the Sumerian spoken language  
may, however, be more complicated as briefly outlined here. The  
conclusions drawn on the basis of the linguistic material are thus  
expected to concern only a part of the population, namely those who  
wrote the texts. Theoretically it is quite possible, if not very likely in  
my opinion, that there were more or less isolated Sumerian-speaking  
pockets in the South as late as in the Old Babylonian period. Their  
language, however, had obviously no influence on written Sumerian,  
since they lived without linguistic contact to the literary strata of the  
society. Such possible smaller groups of Sumerian speakers are  
therefore of very limited importance to our grammatical study.

If the history of the Sumerian people and language as described here  
is correct, we must conclude, I think, that the last period where  
Sumerian was still a living language, spoken by the majority of the  
population, lies before the NS period. The NS and OB texts of various  
genres, both economic and literary, reflect the high status of  
Sumerian as the language of literature and of official and religious life,  
but not as the everyday language which was now almost exclusively  
Akkadian.

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See also the bibliography to 'Writing and Language Reconstruction'.
J.S. Cooper, 1973. 'Sumerian and Akkadian in Sumer and Akkad'. OrNS 42:  
239-246.

14. This can for instance be seen in the use of the verbal prefixes /mu-/ and  
/ba-/ in the NS period which differs from the distribution of /mu-/ and /ba-/  
in the Gudea and OB literary texts, cf. §§ 342-343.

15. So for instance Lieberman, 1977 p. 20 n. 50: 'It is not certain when Sume-  
rian ceased to be spoken; most likely it died out in Northern Babylonia be-  
fore there were no longer any native speakers in Sumer. Pockets or families  
of native speakers may have persisted long after the linguistic milieu had  
changed to Akkadian.'
Writing and Language Reconstruction

The Sumerian writing never attempted to render the language phonetically correct, exactly as it was spoken. The very first stages of writing as attested in Uruk and Ėmdet Naṣr (about 3000 B.C.) were pictographic or ideographic in nature, thus rendering only the most important words like the catchwords of an account or a literary text. This principle was never totally abandoned in the Sumerian writing, although more and more grammatical elements and phonetic complements were gradually added. The original catchword principle is also apparent in the fact that for instance in the inscriptions from Lagaš the signs were not written in that order in which they had to be read until ca. 2470 (the reign of Enatum). Note, however, that Akkadian names were always written in the right order, although the order of signs of the Sumerian context was free.

The ideographic writing system without phonetic signs for grammatical elements means that the identification of the language behind the written records is not immediately evident. On the basis of homonymous signs it is, however, made certain that the language of the Uruk and Ėmdet Naṣr texts is Sumerian. The picture of a reed, Sumerian: gi = ‘reed’, is thus used for the verb gi = ‘to return’. The texts must therefore be considered Sumerian, since it is not very likely that exactly the words for ‘reed’ and ‘return’ would be homonymous in any other language besides Sumerian.
See A.A. Vaiman, 1974 ‘Über die protosumerische Schrift’, Acta Antiqua 22 p. 15f. A. Falkenstein, 1936 p. 37ff., argued for the Sumerian language in the Ġemdet Naṣr texts in the same way based on the signs: EN LĪL TI, which he interpreted as a personal name: ‘Enil erhalte am Leben!’ TI which is the picture of an arrow is thus used for the homonyms ‘arrow’ and ‘life’ both = ti. The correct reading of the sign group is, however, Š.E.N.TI as stated by A.A. Vaiman, 1974 p. 15.

The development of the Sumerian writing and its function primarily as an aid to memory has been described by I.M. Diakonoff, 1976 ‘Ancient Writing and Ancient Written Language’ (AS 20 p. 99-121): (The Sumerian writing system) ‘even when using a maximum of phonetic values created for its signs according to the rebus principle, still remained in its essence a mnemonic system in which an exact rendering of the pronunciation was not aimed at. Thus when we try to find out the morphophonological structure of the Sumerian language, we must constantly bear in mind that we are not dealing with a language directly but are reconstructing it from a very imperfect mnemonic writing system which had not been basically aimed at the rendering of morphophonemics’ (p. 112). Cf. also M. Civil, 1973b ‘The Sumerian Writing System: Some Problems’, OrNS 42: 21-34.

The typical differences between the old and the young scribal tradition can be illustrated by the following passage of ‘Instructions of Šuruppak to his son Ziudsudra’ of which both a version from Abū Śalābīkh (ca. 2600) and an Old Babylonian version exist:

(1) [ģeš]tug₂ inim zu kalam til-la Šuruppak dumu na [n]a-mu-ri
(2) ud-ba (... ) Šuruppak ģeš BUG₂ tuku inim galam inim zu-a kalam-ma ti-la-ām, Šuruppakki₂-c dumu-ni-ra na mu-un-ri-ri ’(On that day Šuruppak), the wise one, the one knowing (elaborate) words, who lives in Sumer, Šuruppak gave instructions to (his) son.’

(1) = Abū Śalābīkh version = OIP 99, 256 I 4-6, sec Alster, 1974 p. 11; (2) = OB version 5-6, see Alster, 1974 p. 34; in parenthesis the additions of the OB version.

The addition of pronominal elements in verbal forms can be illustrated by the following examples:

(3) ensi₂-da Lagaški₂-e hé.gál-la šu mu-da-peš-e (Gudca, cyl. B XIX 14-15)
(4) DEn.līl-da kalam-e hé.gál-la šu mu-un-da-an-peš-e (Enki and the World Order 329, text H)
(3): 'with the ensi (the city) Lagaš expands in abundance';
(4): 'with Enlil the land (or: the people = uḡ-e) expands in abundance'.

Other comparisons of texts from different periods can be found in: M. Civil et R.D. Biggs, 1966 'Notes sur des textes sumériens archaïques', RA 60 p. 12; and I.M. Diakonoff, 1976 p. 104-108.

For the orthographic style called UD.GAL.NUN which occurs in the Early Dynastic texts from Fara and Abū Ṣalābīkh and which apparently is based on a simple substitution of signs, see: R.D. Biggs, 1974 p. 32; W.G. Lambert, 1976 and 1981; J. Krecher, 1978b; B. Alster, 1982.

Bearing in mind the special character of the Sumerian writing as demonstrated above: an aid to memory rather than a phonetic transcription of the spoken language, we must state that strictly speaking the only thing we can do on this basis is to try to describe how some grammatical relations are expressed in the writing. Since we cannot take the texts at their face value a detailed grammatical description of the language as presumably spoken would be a rather uncertain task of reconstructing. As stated by M. Civil one of the pitfalls facing the Sumerologist is the assumption that 'what is not written in the texts is not in the utterance' (1978b p. 21), and other pitfalls are erroneous reconstructions of grammatical elements, where they perhaps never were present.

Nevertheless it is not only tempting but also necessary, I think, at least to try to draw some conclusions about the spoken language behind the written records. The case of Sumerian is, however, a special one, since we have two stages of linguistic tradition which have to be treated differently: 1. the 'mnemonic' rendering of the spoken language, and 2. the literary tradition of the dead language. The turning-point is, as described elsewhere, probably somewhere in the last centuries of the 3rd millennium.

1. Before the language death the writing was mainly an aid to memory rendering the most important words and morphemes in an ideographic manner, omitting many things which were not thought absolutely necessary for the understanding of the text. The omissions were not solely a choice of the individual scribe, but follow some scribal rules and conventions.
2. After the extinction of spoken Sumerian the writing was still
'mnemonic' in character, since the Sumerian literary tradition was not only scribal, but also oral, and the texts were thus still a supplement to oral representation.

Cf. M. Civil, 1976a p. 130: 'The OB Nippur scribe learned to associate sounds and meanings with the signs he was being trained to write from the teacher's oral instruction, and certainly not from consulting a tablet.'

Cf. also I.M. Diakonoff, 1976 p. 108f.: 'A scribe who was sure he would not be misunderstood could allow himself to leave out an ending here and an ending there, even as late as Ur III and probably later. (...) The better trained the scribe and the more routine the text, the less need there was to express in writing everything that existed in the language.'

However, as Sumerian became a foreign language to the scribes the need for a more elaborate writing grew, and full writings of endings like the pronominal suffixes as well as the insertion of pronominal prefixes in the finite verbal forms are characteristics of these texts (cf. the examples above). By completing the writing in this way the scribes probably followed some rules for reciting the Sumerian language as it was taught in the education center, the Eduba, where the instruction, at least in the more advanced classes, seems to have been carried out in Sumerian.16 It is not impossible that the members of the Eduba knew some rules concerning the grammar and pronunciation of Sumerian, dating back to the time when the language was still spoken, but it is of course not likely that an oral tradition like this could survive the extinction of the spoken language in several hundred years without modifications. Certainly, the recitation and grammatical understanding of the Akkadian scribes during the first half of the 2nd mill. B.C. are in many respects different from that of the original Sumerian speakers, and errors, mistakes and forms influenced by the Akkadian language must be expected.17 The problem is,


however, that we are not always able to decide whether a form or an expression is originally Sumerian or rather has to be referred to this post-Sumerian stage.

Moreover, mainly for orthographic reasons, we know very little about the Old Sumerian grammar, and, therefore, in many cases we are able to understand the OS texts only when comparing with later grammatical constructions. On the other hand, the Sumerian grammar as it is available in the more comprehensive post-Sumerian textual material is somewhat heterogeneous and partly contradictory, and Akkadian influence can be demonstrated. Finally, many grammatical questions are generally insufficiently attested or occur mostly in fragmentary or very difficult context. We are thus forced to speak about 'good' and 'bad' Sumerian trying to pick out the most reliable grammatical tradition, although the problem is that the 'good' Sumerian cannot be exactly defined, since in practice we know very little about the original Sumerian language in its older stages.

What we should try to do is not to reconstruct the spoken Sumerian, which would be impossible, but to compare the various stages of the Sumerian written language in order to find out what presumably could be an old grammatical construction, and what is probably a later, secondary form. The grammar as it is expressed in the post-Sumerian texts is not of minor interest and should not be rejected as incorrect or barbarian Sumerian, since it is an interesting testimony of the treatment of the literary language, Sumerian, by the Old Babylonian scholars and scribes\textsuperscript{18}, and especially because the most important and most extensive text corpus was written in that period.

In the present grammar the language of Gudea is regarded as a sort of standard language representing the best Sumerian that is accessible to us. The reasons for this are: 1. the Gudea text material represents a homogeneous language and grammatical rules are followed rather consistently; 2. although they belong to the NS period when spoken Sumerian was vanishing the Gudea texts are not as influenced by

Akkadian as the later (and more extensive) OB material; 3. the Gudea text material is large enough to illustrate most grammatical forms and constructions.

The Old Sumerian texts, especially those from the first dynasty of Lagaš, are regarded as reflecting an earlier, more original stage of this language, but for orthographic reasons less fit for grammatical analysis. The OS inscriptions are occasionally important as a control, supporting (or contradicting) the reliability of some grammatical rules deduced from later texts.

Strictly speaking only those grammatical rules which are attested also in the older text material (Old Sumerian and Gudea texts) should be regarded as reflecting the original Sumerian language, but the literary language of the Old Babylonian period may of course contain more original material than we are able to discover, even if we always have to consider if Akkadian influence or secondary scribal practice could be responsible for any given grammatical construction. In practice it is not possible to check all grammatical forms and consider their origin and authenticity, although this of course would be the ideal demand on the grammatical analysis. As presented here, the Sumerian grammar therefore, quotes the most common forms, leaving out many obscure forms and variants, but, if possible, choosing the most original forms and rules according to the principles just outlined. I have tried to illustrate the changing of the language by giving examples from various periods.

Examples of secondary scribal practice which cannot be regarded as an original grammatical rule:

Normally the possessive suffixes /-ani/ ‘his/her’ and /-bi/ ‘its’ become -(a)-na and -ba when followed by the locative postposition /-a/ or by genitive /-ak/, e.g., ūa-na ‘in his hand’ = /ūa-ani-a/. In post-Sumerian texts from the Old Babylonian period we may, however, have ūa-ni-a or ..-bi-a (cf. for instance Kärki, 1967 p. 25). This is an example of an analytic writing which of course may render the pronunciation of the Old Babylonian time, but which is certainly not original.

Sometimes we do not know whether a change in scribal practice also reflects a grammatical change:

In Old Sumerian texts the negation prefix /nu-/ is written with the sign NU also before the prefixes /ba-/ and /bi-/, whereas later on it is written la-ba-... (from the end of OS) and li-bi-... (from OB on). This can be interpreted in two different ways:

1. The change of nu- to la- (or li-) before ba- (and bi-), is not completed before the end of OS.
2. NU-ba-... is always to be interpreted as la-ba- (we could then give NU
the value là), the use of NU instead of the phonetic la- is ideographic, NU is not mainly the phonetic value [nu] but contains the meaning: NEGATION.\textsuperscript{19}

Bibliography


The Textual Material

The textual material forming the basis of the present study of the Sumerian language dates to the period ca. 2500-1600 B.C. Historically it begins with the First Dynasty of Lagaš and ends with the First Dynasty of Babylon. The space of time covered by the Sumerian texts is thus about 900 years which is a rather long period compared to the size of the textual evidence. This means that some periods are not as well attested as others, and that the history of the Sumerian language cannot be described without serious gaps. Moreover, the various text genres are differently preserved: in one period for instance literary sources are almost totally absent, in another royal inscriptions and so on.

For these reasons it is hardly possible to describe the development of Sumerian or to define some linguistic stages of the language, like we are talking about for instance Old Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian. The Sumerian texts are thus first of all classified according to their genre and the date of the literary tradition they are belonging to, and the terms: Old Sumerian, Neo-Sumerian, Old Babylonian therefore reflect the historical periods during which the texts are written down more than the development of the language.

\textsuperscript{19} Similarly the use of ḫē is in some cases probably an ideographic writing of the modal prefix /ha-/; cf. Civil and Biggs, 1966 p. 15.
The distribution of textual material according to historical periods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical Period</th>
<th>Language Stage</th>
<th>Textual Material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2600</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Archaic’ texts from Fara and Abū Ṣalābīkh ca. 2600-2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2500</td>
<td>Early Dynastic III or Pre-Sargonic</td>
<td>Inscriptions of 1st dynasty of Lagaš ca. 2500-2350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2400</td>
<td></td>
<td>Documents and inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2340</td>
<td>Sargonic or Old Akkadian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2200</td>
<td>Gutian</td>
<td>Gudea inscriptions ca. 2140-2120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2100</td>
<td></td>
<td>Administrative and legal documents ca. 2100-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>3rd dynasty of Ur</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Old Isin-dyn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Old Larsa-dyn.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Old 1st dyn. of Babylon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

For bibliographical references concerning the textual material cited in the grammar, see Bibliography.

Old Sumerian

Most generally taken the Old Sumerian period includes the oldest intelligible Sumerian texts from about 2600 B.C. until the end of the
Sargonic dynasty ca. 2200 B.C. In a narrower sense, however, the Old Sumerian textual material is the inscriptions dating to the first dynasty of the city-state of Lagaš and contemporary material, ca. 2500-2350. The language of this period has also been called 'classical Sumerian'. The slightly older texts from Fara and Abû Ṣalābīkh (ca. 2600) are difficult and therefore as yet of comparatively little value for the Sumerian grammar.

Written sources from the Sargonic dynasty, on the other hand, i.e. ca. 2340-2200 B.C., are almost exclusively Akkadian, and on the basis of the limited number of Sumerian texts it is difficult to get an exhaustive characterization of the language in order to determine it as Old Sumerian or as an individual stage of the language.

The orthography of the Old Sumerian texts is rather defective: the older the texts the more morphemes are omitted in the writing. This means that the texts generally are difficult to understand and that their value as linguistic sources is reduced. It does not seem possible to describe the Sumerian grammar only on the basis of these texts, but the Old Sumerian material is of importance in order to check and supplement the information of later material. However, apart from the omission of several grammatical elements the orthography in most of the Old Sumerian text material is more or less the same as in the Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian literary texts.\textsuperscript{20}

Because of the defective orthography it is of course difficult to say exactly how the Old Sumerian grammar possibly differs from that of younger periods. Thus only one characteristic linguistic feature of at least some of the Old Sumerian texts may be cited, namely the so-called vowel harmony: the verbal prefixes /bi/ and /ti/ are written bi- and ti- before morphemes containing the vowels [i] or [u], but bé- and e- before [e] and [a], cf. §§ 7-9. The vowel harmony is not found after the Old Sumerian period and may be used as criterion in order to distinguish this stage of the language.

*The Genres of the Old Sumerian Textual Material*

*The Archaic Texts*, ca. 2600-2500: economic, administrative and literary texts, as well as some brief votive inscriptions.

*The pre-Sargonic Texts*, ca. 2500-2340: first of all the building

\textsuperscript{20} For the UD.GAL.NUN orthography in the Old Sumerian texts, see p. 22.
and votive inscriptions of the First Dynasty of Lagaš. Some of these inscriptions contain rather long narratives like the Stele of the Vultures (= Ean. 1) or the cones of Entemena (= Ent. 28-29). Moreover there are the famous Reform Texts of Uruinimgina (= Ukg. 1-6) which are early law texts or a sort of edict. Finally there are several thousand administrative texts. Literary texts like myths, epics or hymns are few in this period, but cf. Sjöberg, 1969 p. 7 who lists three compositions: a) 'Enlil and Ninhursag' (= MBI 1); b) 'Enlil and Iškur' (= Kramer, 1956 p. 280 and 106 fig. 6a); c) 'a mythological text' (= Ukg. 15). These texts are, however, hardly intelligible and therefore not of use for grammatical studies.

The Neo-Sumerian Period: ca. 2200-2000 B.C.

Although the duration of the Neo-Sumerian period is only about 200 years it is necessary to subdivide the text material into two groups:

The Gutian Period, ca. 2200-2100 B.C.: The inscriptions of Gudea, ruler of the city-state Lagaš ca. 2144-2124; most important is the temple hymn describing the building of the Ningirsu-temple, Eninnu, inscribed on two clay cylinders (A and B)21, besides this several inscriptions on statues and other objects, as well as some documents.

In many respects the Gudea texts seem to follow the tradition of the pre-Sargonic Lagaš texts, as regards orthography and linguistic style. The only exceptions are perhaps that there is no vowel harmony (see §§ 7-9) and that the writing is more elaborate.

The Third Dynasty of Ur (= Ur-III): ca. 2100-2000 B.C.: The most extensive textual material from the later part of the Neo-Sumerian period is an enormous number of administrative texts, accounts etc. which are of little use for the grammatical analysis, and therefore not included here. More informative is a considerable number of juridical documents and so-called letter-orders (i.e. administrative and business letters). The language of these texts is rather heterogeneous and clearly differs from the literary style. Generally speaking the texts make the impression of a less careful treatment of the language and

21. Cf. Å.W. Sjöberg, 1969 p. 6: 'The Gudea cylinders which represent early examples of the Neo-Sumerian category temple hymns may, when considered in relation to the short temple hymns among the texts from Abū Šalābīh, be the climax of a long tradition of 'Old Sumerian' literature.'
in part they seem highly influenced by Akkadian. It is thus hard to imagine the scribes having Sumerian as their mother tongue, at least their Sumerian is rather far from the classical language.\footnote{22 \(\text{Cf. above p. 19 and n. 14 as well as } \S\text{ 343.}\)}

The royal inscriptions are mostly short and uniform in content and style. As far as can be judged, their language is rather close to the Gudea inscriptions.

Literary texts are few and almost all of them are unpublished (cf. Å.W. Sjöberg, 1969 p.7).

\textit{The Old Babylonian Period, ca. 2000-1600 B.C.}

The historical period which is called Old Babylonian begins after the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur, i.e. 2003 B.C., and ends with the fall of the First Babylonian dynasty in 1594 B.C. Texts of this period included in the present grammar are best distinguished in two groups according to genre:

\textit{Royal inscriptions:} The building and votive inscriptions of the rulers of the Isin and Larsa dynasties are exclusively in Sumerian, whereas those of the First Dynasty of Babylon are mostly in Akkadian, some of them with a Sumerian version. Especially the younger part of these inscriptions contain obvious linguistic errors, and in the inscriptions from the Babylonian rulers the Akkadian model is clearly recognizable in the grammar of the Sumerian translation.

Cf. for instance the misunderstood forms of compound verbs: (5) si bī-in-sī-sā (Warad-Sin 28, obv. 24); (6) mu-un-ki-gār (Anam 4, 19); or the confusion of the inanimate and animate possessive suffixes /-bi/ and /-ani/, (see Kārki, 1967 p. 203); incorrect use of cases: terminative for locative, or locative instead of dative: (7) \(\text{D}^\text{Utu lugal-ḡā = a-na } \text{DŠamaš be-li-ia} \) 'for my king Utu' (correct: lugal-ḡu₁₀-ra; Hammurapi \textit{OECT I} 18 II 19 = \textit{PBS VII} 133 II 4); unusual constructions in Sumerian being directly translated from the Akkadian text: (8) lugal-lugal-e-ne-er lū na-me ba-ra-an-dīm-ma = šar-ru in LUGAL-ri ma-na-ma la i-pu-šu 'which no king among the kings has ever made' (Hammurapi \textit{OECT I} 18 II 16-18 = \textit{PBS VII} 133 II 2-3). The Sumerian text, however, would correctly mean: 'for all the kings no one shall ever make it'. Conversely the Sumerian translation of the Akkadian phrase should be: *lugal-lugal-e-ne-a(loc.) lū na.me nu-un-dīm-ma (or nu-mu-na-an-dīm-ma) or the like.

\textit{Literary Texts:} This term includes an extremely varied textual material containing genres like: myths, epics, hymns to gods, hymns to
kings, prayers, incantations, satirical dialogues, debates, proverbs, and collections of letters.

The literary texts constitute the bulk of the Sumerian linguistic material. At the same time they are practically the only sources to the Sumerian religious and wisdom literature, apart from the few 'forerunners' from ED III or the few NS literary texts (see above). As far as these texts are dated, which is only exceptionally the case, they range from the reign of Rim-Sin of Larsa to that of Ammiša-duqa of Babylon (i.e. 1822-1626 B.C., cf. A. Falkenstein, 1951 p. 12).

The texts were written and studied in the Old Babylonian school, Eduba, first of all in Nippur, but also in other cities, not only for the purpose of learning to write and read cuneiform, but probably also in order to improve the oral performance of certain literary genres and to compose royal hymns in Sumerian language.

The group of literary texts is very heterogeneous, not only as regards their contents, but also according to the linguistic tradition. The latter probably depends both on the date of origin of the composition as well as on the date and place of the individual duplicate. Since the editions of Sumerian literary texts only exceptionally attempt to classify their texts sources according to linguistic and literary tradition, it is a rather difficult task to point out or to characterize some group of texts or individual school according to authenticity of the language. Generally speaking, however, the texts from Nippur belong to a better tradition than e.g. texts from Ur, and narrative compositions like myths and epics often seem better according to grammar than for instance royal hymns.

The distinction drawn here between literary texts and royal inscriptions is not an absolute one. Some of the inscriptions represent a rather good tradition similar to the best of the literary texts, and some literary texts, on the other hand, are as poor as the latest inscriptions. It is perhaps more justified to say, in very general terms, that, regardless of genre, the younger the date of the origin of the composition, the less correct its grammar, that means that for instance royal hymns and the so-called Eduba compositions like Schooldays and the dialogues certainly created in the Old Babylonian period should contain more errors and secondary forms than epics and myths which probably come from an older, originally oral tradition.
Obviously this is very often the case, but again also the origin of the various text duplicates is of importance.

**Bibliography**

For the age and history of the Sumerian literary texts, cf.:


For the Old Babylonian School and the oral tradition which was probably somehow continued there, see:


For the various literary genres and the content of the individual compositions, see:


**Sumerian Texts after the Old Babylonian Period**

Sumerian texts continued to be written until the Seleucid period (2nd century B.C.), but the greater part of the Sumerian literature known in the Old Babylonian period was not copied after that time. In the later periods the Sumerian texts are: incantations, proverbs, liturgical Emesal texts and laments in Emesal; the only literary compositions that are copied after the Old Babylonian period are An-gim and Lugal-e. These texts represent a continuation of the Old Babylonian literary style, but of course errors and misunderstandings are very frequent, and examples from them are only exceptionally used in the present study to illustrate the Sumerian grammar.
Bibliography (see also above pp. 19-20)

GRAMMAR
PHONETICS.

Introduction

§ 1. A satisfactory description of Sumerian phonetics would be possible only together with a detailed study of the writing based on lexical sources, syllabic texts etc. which I have not been able to undertake within the scope of this grammatical study. Therefore, and for the sake of convenience, I have preferred to render the Sumerian phonemes in the traditional way, including, however, the phonemes [dr] and [g].

§ 2. The Sumerian phonetic system, as it is traditionally understood, is almost identical to that of Akkadian with two exceptions: 1. that Sumerian has no emphatics (q, ş and t), and 2. the Sumerian phonemes [dr] and [g]. Since our informations about the pronunciation of Sumerian come from Akkadian sources, this fact is probably the main reason for the seeming conformity with the Akkadian phonological system. Variants, different spellings of certain words, sound changes etc., on the other hand, indicate that the Sumerian phonemes in some respects differ from the Akkadian ones. But as it has been stated above in the chapter ‘Writing and Language Reconstructions’ the Sumerian writing does not represent a phonetically correct rendering of the language, and it is therefore hardly possible to reconstruct an adequate phonological system of Sumerian.

In the following I have concentrated on the most important observations concerning Sumerian phonemes, especially such which are of importance for the grammar like, e.g., the vowel harmony, contraction and deletion of vowels and consonants, etc. For more detailed studies about Sumerian phonology I shall, however, refer to the bibliography below.

23. Cf. A. Falkenstein, 1960 p. 303f., who pointed to the long duration of Sumerian-Akkadian language contact as the cause of this phenomenon.
§ 3. Bibliography

M. Civil, 1973a. 'From Enki's Headaches to Phonology'. *JNES* 32: 57-61.
See also the studies cited in the chapter 'Writing and Language Reconstruction'.

Vowels

§ 4. The vowels clearly distinguished in the writing system are: a, e, i, u. The vowels are probably both short and long. Long vowels are supposed to originate from vowel contraction or from consonant deletion.


§ 5. In monosyllabic words of the form CV the vowel is often written double in lexical texts, e.g., ba-a, zi-i, du-ú (Krecher, 1969 p. 170). The importance of this practice is disputed, but some OB lexical texts carefully distinguish writings with and without supplementary vowel which therefore seems to be significant for the pronunciation. A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 24, denied that such writings indicate primary long vowels. Doubled vowels are rare in words with more than one syllable.

Cf. also Krecher, 1969 p. 169: 'Bei Lehnwörtern im Akkadischen beobachten wir danach eine Tendenz, Langvokale durch Kurzvokale mit folgendem geminierten Konsonanten zu ersetzen.'

§ 6. Nasalized Vowels

A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 45, assumed that the conjugation prefix i-represents a nasalized vowel: [ɨ]. Nasalized vowels are apparently not attested elsewhere in Sumerian, but after all nasalization seems to be the only explanation for the changing of [b] to [m] in the following prefix chains:
im-ma- <|1-ba-|; im-mi- <|1-bi-|

If, however, the conjugation prefix i- is a nasalized vowel: [ī], then also its allophone e- in the OS texts (see § 7) must be nasalized: [ē]. Moreover, provided that the prefix a- is a variant of /ī-/ and not an independent prefixe, we also have [ā] (see § 316).

Note that i- otherwise does not represent [ī], but simply [i]; cf. for instance the prefixe chain i-bi- ... <|u-bi-|.

Vowel Harmony

§ 7. The so-called 'vowel harmony' in Sumerian is a phenomenon found exclusively in the OS inscriptions from Lagaš and a few other cities (Umma, Uruk and Ur). It concerns the verbal prefixes /ī-| and /bi-| only.

These prefixes occur as i- and bī-, respectively, before verbal stems or prefixes containing the vowels [i] and [u], e.g., ī-zīg, bī-dug4.

Before the vowels [a] and [e] they occur as e- and bē-, e.g., e-ak, e-me-a, e-ma-ni-... <|1-ba-ni|., bē-ğar.

For further details about variants and exceptions see § 309 and § 339.

§ 8. The principle for the vowel harmony was first worked out by A. Poebel, 1931, where he assumed two groups of vowels: 1. open vowels: a, ē, and ō; and 2. close vowels: ī, i and u. The prefix /ī-| was thus pronounced with the open vowel ē before morphemes containing a vowel of the first group, whereas it was pronounced [i] before a close vowel. S.N. Kramer, 1936, stated the same rule for the prefix /bi-|: bē- before open vowels and bī- before close vowels.

The existence of a six vowel system as suggested by Poebel is, however, rejected by most Sumerologists today, since only 4 vowels, a, e, i and u, seem to be distinguished in the writing. The distinction of two groups of vowels is, however, clear enough, but only in the above mentioned prefixes and only in some part of the textual material. It may, therefore, belong to a certain dialect concentrated in Lagaš.

Most recently S.J. Lieberman, 1979, has taken up the theory of Poebel and with some modifications he argues for a five-vowel system in Sumerian, graphically demonstrated like this (p. 23):

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ī</th>
<th>ē</th>
<th>ō</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```
Lieberman bases his assumptions on the pronunciation column in the lexical text Proto-Ea (MSL II), where, according to him, ú = [u], but u, ū and u₄ = [o]. This distinction, he assumes, reflects two different Sumerian phonemes. It may as well, however, reflect different Akkadian phonemes and pronunciation, and the existence of a Sumerian phoneme [o] is therefore not beyond doubt.

§ 9. Bibliography


Vowel Assimilation

§ 10. Vowel assimilation is found in a number of cases, especially in the prefix chain of the verb. This sort of ‘vowel harmony’ is based simply on identity with the following vowel. The vowel of the modal prefixes /ha-/, /ša-/, /nu-/ and /u-/ is thus (with some restrictions) assimilated with the vowel of the following conjugation prefix:

Before [i]: hé-bí-, ši-bí-, li-bí- < /nu-bí-/, i-bí- < /u-bí-/

Before [a]: ha-ba-, ša-ba-, la-ba- < /nu-ba-/, a-ba- < /u-ba-/

(only OS).

Before [u]: ha-mu- (until OB), hu-mu- (from OB on), ša-mu-, nu-mu-, ū-mu- (see also § 304 ‘Combinations of Prefixes’).

The ‘original’ vowel of the prefixes /ha-/ and /ša-/ is here assumed to be [a], but it could as well be [e] or [i]. In fact there may be no ‘original’ vowel, since it simply changes according to the following morpheme.

Vowel assimilation in a nominal, adjectival or verbal stem occurs only exceptionally, for instance in the imperative form of the verb ġen ‘to come’: ġá-na ‘come!’ < /ğe₆ + ã/. Since ĠÁ may stand for [ğe] it is also possible to read ġe₂₆-na.

§ 11. a > i

The comitative prefix /-da-/ changes to -di-, apparently because of a following -ni-, but also in other cases without obvious reasons, cf. Gragg, SDI p. 42ff. and below § 434 ‘Comitative Prefix’. 
§ 12. a > e
The comitative prefix /-da-/occurs also in the form -dè- in OB texts. This form occurs possibly either as a contraction of /-da-/+/-e-/, or as an assimilation with a preceding -e-: ba-e-dè- < /ba-e-da-/ (cf. Gragg, SDI p. 42ff.).

§ 13. e > u
After some verbal roots containing the vowel [u] the [e] of the verbal morpheme /ed/ and of the pronominal suffixes is sometimes changed to [u]: ṣub-bu-dè < /ṣub-ed-e/, -ṣub-bu-uš < /-ṣub-eš/.

Vowel Contraction

§ 14. Contracted vowels are assumed to be long, but actually we cannot say for certain whether the vowels are long or short in the examples below:

i + a > a: /-ani-a(loc.)/ or /-ani-a(k)/ > -a-na, /-bi-a/, /-bi-ak/ > -ba
u + a > a: /-ğu₁₀-a or -a(k)/ > -gā; mu-? (= 1.sg.DAT)/ > ma-
u + e > e: /mu-e-/> me- (see § 336)

u + e > u: /lū-e(erg.)/ > lū-ú


§ 15. In some cases it cannot be decided if a vowel is contracted or simply deleted. For instance is /-bi-e(erg. or loc.t.)/ always written -bi. This writing may represent either [bi] with deletion of /-e/, or it may stand for [bī] with long vowel resulting from the contraction of [i] + [e]; and as a third possibility we may also understand it as -bé = [bē] (or [be]?). Since the correct interpretation is not evident from the writing practice I transliterate -bi throughout without indication of the possible presence of an /-e/.

Consonants

§ 16. The Sumerian consonants which are distinguished in the writing are the following:

b, d, dr, g, ḡ, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, š, t, z.
Consonants in Final Position

§ 17. Final consonants are often omitted in the writing, e.g.,

é-a < /é-ak/ 'of the house' (never written é-ak)

(9) ù-mu-na-da-ku₄-re < /u-mu-na-da-ku₄.r-en/ 'after you have entered before him with it' (Gudea, cyl. A VII 2)

In some cases the final consonant may actually not have been pronounced, but the omission may also be a purely orthographic phenomenon. The circumstances under which a final consonant is deleted or not are, however, not known in details, since the pronunciation is not rendered explicitly in the writing.

§ 18. As a rule, we may perhaps presume that the final consonant of a verbal stem is dropped in the marû reduplication: ku₄₄-ku₄₄ from ku₄₄.r₄, gā-gā from ṣar, na₈₈-na₈₈ from naḡ. The marû form is thus distinguished from the hamtu reduplication ḡar-ḡar, etc. which retains the final consonant. The final consonant of a postposition or of a pronominal element we would assume to be retained, but in fact the writing does not allow us to decide this problem with certainty (cf. the examples in § 17).

A. Falkenstein, 1960, assumed that most consonants could be dropped in final position: 'Im Wort- und Silbenauslaut können alle Konsonanten schwinden, wobei aber der Schwund anscheinend nicht alle Konsonanten in demselben Maße betrifft. Besonders 'anfälliger sind die Nasale, die auch intervokalisch schwinden können.' (p. 305). Cf. also Falkenstein, 1959a p. 29. I.M. Diakonoff, 1976 also stated: 'practically all voiced stops and some other consonants are (as in French) mute in In- and Auslaut' (p. 111). Diakonoff further observed that some consonants are almost invariably retained, others mostly dropped. As reason for this phenomenon he suggested the difference between glottalized and non-glottalized or between palatalized and non-palatalized (p. 111 n. 20). Cf. M. Civil, 1973b, p. 34 n. 13.

§ 19. Because of the uncertainties concerning the actual pronunciation I have, as a principle, rendered the stems with the final consonant: dug₄ (not du₁₁), zid (not zi), nīg (not nī) etc. In the marû reduplication the short form is given, whereas the hamtu reduplication (which probably does not drop the final consonant, see § 242) is rendered as dug₄-dug₄, ḡar-ḡar etc. as far as the two kinds of reduplication can be distinguished.
The Opposition Voiced: Voiceless

§ 20. The conventional transliterations show a distinction between voiced and voiceless stops in Sumerian, b, d, g : p, t, k. But in fact it is disputed whether this distinction actually existed in Sumerian. First of all the earliest Akkadian system of writing does not distinguish b, d, g and p, t, k and it is most probable that the Akkadians borrowed this custom from the Sumerians. This means that Sumerian originally does not have the opposition voiced: voiceless. Th. Jacobsen, 1957 p. 92 n. 1, thus suggested another opposition: rounded (i.e. pronounced with rounded lips) stops and sibilants: b, d, g, z, š, and unrounded: p, t, k, s.

§ 21. Moreover, Sumerian loanwords adopted in Akkadian before the Old Babylonian period are rendered with p, t, k where the Sumerian word traditionally has b, d, and g, e.g., barag = parakkum, é.gal = ekallum, dub = t / t uppum. In loanwords from the Old Babylonian period and later, on the other hand, b = b, d = d, and g = g. A sound shift in Sumerian has therefore been assumed, but other explanations are likewise possible: I.J. Gelb, for instance, suggested two sets of Sumerian consonants, based on the early writing practice and the rendering of loanwords: 'the consonantal pattern of early Sumerian can be reconstructed as containing two contrasting sets of phonemes. One set, written by the signs transliterated with a voiced consonant of the type BA, DA, GA, ZA, expresses phonemes b/p, d/t, g/k, z/s, which sounded like voiceless p, t, k, s to the Akkadians. And another set, written by the signs transliterated with a voiceless consonant of the type PA, TA, KA, SA, expresses perhaps the phonemes p', t', k', s'. Since the Akkadians did not have aspirated stops they expressed Sumerian loan words containing the phonemes p', t', k' simply by their voiceless p, t, k. But they were fully able to express the Sumerian aspirated sibilant s' by their own š₁-₂. (Gelb, 1961 p. 33).

J. Renger, 1971, considered a sound shift in Sumerian very unlikely at a time (namely OB) where Sumerian was no longer spoken. Renger argued for an orthographic reform as the reason for the different renderings of Sumerian loanwords of the Old Akkadian and the Old Babylonian periods.

For further comments on this problem, see J. Krecher, 1969.

§ 22. It is generally assumed that no stem or affix end in one of the phonemes rendered as p, t or k. Actually, if a stem is followed by a
suffix with initial vowel, it is always written -ba, -da, -ga (or -bé, -dè, -ge), but not -pa, -ta, -ka etc. The only exceptions are the genitive postposition /-ak/ and the verb ak ‘to do’: /-ak-a/ > -(Ca)-ka, /-ak-e/ > -(Ca)-ke₄, and the verbal forms ak-ka, ...-ak-ke₄.²⁴ On the other hand, M. Civil, 1973b, suggests ‘the probable existence of a rule that adds a feature + voice to final stops before suffixes with initial vowel’ (p. 34), thus KALAG ‘strong’ = kalak, but kalaga < /kalak.a/.

§ 23. dr

Initially [dr] may occur in the verb dù ‘to build’, lit. ‘to erect (a building etc.)’, cf. the Akkadian loanword narû ‘stele’ = na dù-a ‘erected stone’.

§ 24. g
The alternation [g] ~ [b] is found in a few words, especially before [u], for instance buru₄/gu-ru ‘raven’, abrig/agrig ‘steward’, see M. Civil, 1973a pp. 59-61 with examples; see also 1973b p. 30, where Civil suggested that this alternation represents either an allophone of [g]: [gʷ] before [u], or a distinct phoneme [gʷ] or [gb]. See below [g] § 25.

§ 25. ġ

See also M. Civil, 1973a p. 61: ‘Since /ğ/ is regularly found only before ‘front’ vowels (the few exceptions can be easily explained), one could wonder

²⁴. For the verb ak, see M.A. Powell, 1982, where other readings of this stem are considered.
whether [b] \sim [g] does not represent the allophone of /\check{g}/ before the `back' vowel. If /\check{g}/ is taken as a narrower definition of /\check{g}/, then the alternation [b] \sim [g] could represent the labialized velar /\check{\eta}w/, or if /\check{g}/ = /\check{\eta}m/ (nasal labiovelar), then [b] \sim [g] = /\check{g}b/ (labiovelar stop).


§ 26. h
The existence of two different h-sounds, one which is retained in final position, another which is dropped, was assumed by I.M. Diakonoff, 1976 p. 111 n. 20 (du₈ for duh, but mah).

[h] may alternate with [g] or [k]; for instance the sign HA has also the value ku₆ ‘fish’, and cf. also the modal prefixes /ha-/ and /ga-/ (see § 386), cf. A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 24.

For [h] cf. also below [r] § 30.

§ 27. l
It has been suggested several times that there are two l-sounds in Sumerian. The reason for this is mainly the different spellings with -la and -lá, respectively, e.g.: \text{D En.lʃl-la} < /\text{D En.lʃl-ra}/, and \text{D En.lʃl-lá} < /\text{D En.lʃl-ak}/.

See Th. Jacobsen, 1957 p. 92 n. 1; I.M. Diakonoff, 1976 p. 111 n. 20: ‘one of the l-sounds is dropped in Auslaut [e.g. lá for lal, mà for mal, bí for bil, ti for til] the other is retained [in bal, gal, dal, lâl, sal].’


M. Civil, 1973b p. 29: ‘The presence of /arganum/ and /argibil/ among words which are expected to include the syllable /al/ in the ‘Song of the Hoe’, is an indication of an underdifferentiation of /r/ and /l/ in given environments.’
§ 29. Nasals

The nasals [m] and [n] may alternate in final position of a stem, thus both alam/alan ‘statue’, ezem/ezen ‘festival’, -gim/-gin₇ ‘like’.

M. Civil, 1973c p. 174, suggests that the nasal in final position is [n], but changes to [m] before vowel. With -gim/-gin₇, however, the opposite seems to be the case, cf. the frequent writing -gin₇-nam.

§ 30. r

Two r-sounds have been suggested for different reasons, cf. for instance I.M. Diakonoff, 1976 p. 111 n. 20: ‘There were two r-sounds in Sumerian, one of them dropped in Auslaut, as -r(a) of the dative postposition, ku₄ for kurₓ ‘to enter’, possibly also in bar and ġar but not in most other cases’. Å. Sjöberg, 1975 p. 218, suggests that the alternation [h] ~ [r] may point to a different r-sound (for instance ruš/huš = ruššu/huššu ‘red’ and -suh-re instead of -suh-he or -suh-e).

For [r] see also above [l], § 27.

§ 31. Sibilants

In the transliteration we normally distinguish s, š, and z, but the exact character of these sibilants is not clear.

For a discussion of the Sumerian sibilants in the light of OAkk writing practice and the spelling of Sumerian loanwords, see I.J. Gelb, 1961 p. 34-40. (See also above §§ 20-21).

B. Alster, 1972b p. 352, suggested that [z] may represent [sd], cf. the word ûz ‘goat’, which, when followed by a vocalic ending is written ûz-da or ûz-dè possibly < /usd-a/, < /usd-e/.

§ 32. Consonant Changes

b > m after the nasalized vowel of the verbal prefix /ĩ-/: /ĩ-ba-/ > im-ma-, /ĩ-bi-/ > im-mi-, see § 6 and §§ 307-308.

n > l before [b]: /nu-ba-/ > la-ba-, /nu-bi-/ > li-bí-, see § 360.

§ 33. At least in one case the voiced labial [b] is inserted between a nasal and [r]: nam.érımₑ > nam.ri > /nambri/, written nam-bi-ri, cf.
Sauren, 1969 p. 22f. This is a common phenomenon in many languages, cf. Latin *numerus* > French *nombre*.

§ 34. Phonemic Tones

Because of the great number of homonyms it has been suggested that Sumerian had phonemic tones (cf. A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 23). This assumption can, however, not be proved, since the writing has no means to show distinctions according to tones.
THE GENERAL STRUCTURE OF SUMERIAN

§ 35. Sumerian is characterized as an agglutinating language. According to J. Lyons. 1968 p. 189, 'determinacy with respect to segmentation into morphs' and 'the one-to-one correspondence between morph and morpheme are characteristic of 'agglutinating' languages'.

A typical Sumerian sentence consists of one or more 'chains', i.e. a nominal or verbal root with some affixes:

(10) /gá-e šeš lugal-ak-ra é gal-ani-a ha-mu-na-ku₄.r-en/
    A       B          C       D
'I entered indeed before the brother of the king in his big house'

The roots are italicized. A is a pronoun, B and C are nominal chains, and D is a verbal chain or finite verb.

§ 36. Word classes

Nouns. The nominal chain is made up of a nominal root which can be followed by some suffixes denoting possessive, plural and case. The pronouns are similar to the nominal chains, but can be followed by case postpositions only. The suffixes represent one morph or morpheme each: /-ak/ is genitive, /-ene/ is plural, etc.

For the construction of nominal chains, see § 46.

Verbs. The verbal chain, which is the finite construction of the verb, consists of prefixes expressing mood, some uncertain categories, and the direction of the verb, as well as a pronominal prefix and/or suffix denoting the subject and object of the verb. The affixes of the verb have often more than one function, e.g., /-na-/ which denotes the 3. sg. dative.

For the construction of the finite verb, see § 274.

Adjectives. Beside the word classes mentioned above, nouns, pronouns, and verbs, there are adjectives, which are roots standing
attributively to nouns, like gal ‘big’ above. Other adjectives are for instance: tur ‘small’, dûg ‘sweet’, kug ‘pure’, sud.r ‘remote’, etc. Many of them occur, however, also in finite verbal forms, and it therefore seems most reasonable to classify adjectives as a subclass of the category verb.

§ 37. The Categories Animate and Inanimate

Sumerian has no gender but distinguishes the categories animate and inanimate. Animate are persons. Inanimate are things and animals. This distinction is morphologically carried through in the personal pronouns, the possessive suffixes, the pronominal elements of the finite verb and in the interrogative pronouns. The animate element is generally /n/, the inanimate /b/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal Pronouns /ane/, /ene/ ‘he, she’</td>
<td>/-bi/ ‘its’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Suffixes /-ani/ ‘his, her’</td>
<td>/-b-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal Suffixes /-n-/</td>
<td>/-b-/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the interrogative pronouns the distribution of /n/ and /b/ is for some obscure reason the opposite: /aba/, animate, ‘who?’, /ana/, inanimate, ‘what?’.

Grammatically the categories animate and inanimate are distinguished too: Only animate beings can be combined with the dative. Exclusively inanimate beings are combined with the locative, ablatival and the locative-terminative cases. The plural suffix /-ene/, moreover, occurs with animate nouns only.

§ 38. Sumerian as an Ergative Language

Sumerian is a so-called ergative language. This means that the intransitive subject is treated in the same manner as the transitive object:

/lú-e(erg.) sağ-Ø(abs.) mu-n-zig/ ‘the man raised the head’
/lú-Ø(abs.) i-ku₄.r-Ø/ ‘the man entered’

The transitive subject is ergative, denoted by /-e/, whereas both intransitive subject and transitive object is in the absolutive case which has no postposition. Nouns serving as intransitive and transitive subjects are thus morphologically treated differently, and there are two categories:
1. Intransitive subject and transitive object = absolutive (lú-∅, sağ-∅)
2. Transitive subject = ergative (lú-e)

Whereas nouns distinguish the two categories above, pronouns have one form only:

/zae sağ-∅ mu-e-zig/ ‘you(sg.) raised the head’
/zae i-ku₄.r-en/ ‘you(sg.) entered’

The transitive and intransitive subjects have here merged into one category: the ‘subject case’ which corresponds to our nominative.

§ 39. In the Sumerian finite verb the intransitive subject is referred to by means of pronominal suffixes:

/ğáe i-ku₄.r-en/ ‘I entered’

Only the 3.sg. has no suffix: /lú-∅ i-ku₄.r-∅/ ‘the man entered’.

The transitive, ergative subject in the hamtu conjugation is, as a rule, referred to by a pronominal prefix:

/zae sağ-∅ mu-e-zig/ ‘you(sg.) raised the head’
/lú-e sağ-∅ mu-n-zig/ ‘the man raised the head’

§ 40. The object of the transitive verb cannot be expressed by a personal pronoun, but only by a pronominal suffix in the finite verb, provided the verb has no suffix already:

/ane i-n-tu’d-en/ ‘she has born me(or you, sg.)’, transitive, hamtu form; /-en/ = ‘me/you(sg.)’

These suffixes are identical with the subject elements of the intransitive verb (see above § 39) and in both cases they denote the absolutive. Other pronominal suffixes are: /-enden/ ‘we/us’, /-enzen/ ‘you (pl.)’, /-eš/ ‘they/them’. The 3.sg. an. and inan. has no pronominal suffix, instead the object is possibly denoted by the prefix /-n-/ or /-b-/.

§ 41. In the transitive marû conjugation the subject is denoted by pronominal suffixes, namely the subject suffixes of the intransitive conjugation:

/zae sağ-∅ mu-zi.zi-en/ ‘you(sg.) raise the head’
In the pronominal suffixes the intransitive subject and transitive object have also merged into one category: ‘subject case’.

§ 42. On the morphological level Sumerian has thus an ergative system in the nouns and the intransitive vs. the transitive hamtu conjugation, since the intransitive subject and the transitive subject are here clearly distinguished. In pronouns and in the transitive marû conjugation vs. the intransitive verb, on the other hand, the system is nominative-accusative, since the intransitive and transitive subject are here treated as one category.

This ‘split ergativity’ is no uncommon phenomenon, in fact no ergative language is entirely ergative in both syntax and morphology.

In Sumerian the relations between the categories intransitive subject, transitive subject and transitive object, are probably more complicated than outlined here. However, because of the omission of pronominal elements in the writing and many other problems about the correct interpretation of verbal forms the Sumerian split ergative pattern cannot be further elucidated here.

For details about the intransitive and transitive conjugations see §§ 275ff; about the pronominal elements, see §§ 290ff.

§ 43. Bibliography


Word Order

§ 44. The order of the elements of the nominal chain or of the finite verb is fixed. The order of the various nominal chains (ergative, dative, terminative etc.) in the sentence is, however, rather free, but the verb is always at the end of the sentence.

The usual order of an intransitive sentence is:

Subject — Verb

The usual order of a transitive sentence is:

Subject — Object — Verb
Between the intransitive subject and the verb, and between the transitive subject and the object, various dimensional cases may occur. Exceptionally a dimensional case or an adverbial expression may occur between the object and the verb. Conjunctions and interjections are always at the beginning of the sentence, before the subject.

Although these are the most frequent occurring word orders, it is not unusual that a dimensional case stands before the subject. This is for instance almost always the case in votive inscriptions which begin with the dative of the god or goddess to whom the object is dedicated:

(11) D Nin.胃肠-su-ra Gù.de.a ensi₂ Lagaški-ke₄ E.ninnu mu-na-du₄,
    ‘For Ningirsu Gudea, the ensi of Lagaš, has built the (temple)
    Eninnu’

In normal narratives it is highly unusual to place the object before the subject. The terminative mostly precedes the ablative, but otherwise the order of the dimensional cases is free.
THE NOMINAL CHAIN

§ 45. The following chart shows the possible nominal constructions with the rank and order of all the nominal affixes in both simple and genitive constructions. The various elements of the chain are of course optional, their choice depends on the sense intended in the text. In the genitive and double genitive constructions all possible elements will never occur at the same time.

Notes to the chart:
The enclitic copula (= COP) which can occur at the end of the chain replaces, so to say, the appropriate case element. For instance the phrase /lugal ki.en.gi.r-ak-m-en/ > lugal ki.en.gi-ra-me-en, can be the virtual ergative subject of the following verb: ‘I am the king of the land (and I ....)’.

-àm can, in some rare cases, also occur after the postpositions -šè, -ta and -gin. This use of the enclitic copula is probably secondary, caused by the fact that -àm is used as equivalent to the Akkadian emphasizing particle -ma, e.g.,

(12) ù inim Á.na.na ab.ba-ta-àm Šeš.kal.ta-a Nin₉.ab.b[a.n]a b[a]-an-tuku ‘and it was at the word of Anana, the father, - Šeškala married Ninabbana’ (NG nr. 16, 12-14)
§ 46. The Nominal Chain:

Simple construction: \[ \mathrm{NOUN} - \mathrm{ADJ} - \mathrm{POSS} - \mathrm{PLUR} \{ - \mathrm{CAS} \} \{ - \mathrm{COP} \} \]

/šeš gal-ğu₁₀-ene-ra/ ‘for my elder brothers’

Genitive construction:

\[ \begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Regens} & \text{Rectum} & \text{Rectum’s affixes} & \text{Regens’ affixes} \\
\text{NOUN} - \mathrm{ADJ} & \text{NOUN} - \mathrm{ADJ} & \mathrm{POSS} - \mathrm{PLUR} - \mathrm{GEN} - \mathrm{PLUR} & \{ - \mathrm{CAS} \} \{ - \mathrm{COP} \} \\
\end{array} \]

/kī.tuš diği̱r gal.gal-ene-ak-a/ = ki.tuš diği̱r gal-gal-e-ne-ka ‘in the dwelling(s) of the great gods’

/šeš lugal-ğu-ak-ene-ra/ = šeš lugal-ḡa-ke₄-ne-ra ‘for the brothers of my king’

Double genitive construction:

\[ \begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Regens 1} & \text{Regens 2} & \text{Rectum 1} & \text{Rectum 1’s affixes} & \text{Regens 2’s affixes} & \text{Regens 1’s affixes} \\
\text{NOUN} - \mathrm{ADJ} - \text{NOUN} - \mathrm{ADJ} - \text{NOUN} - \mathrm{ADJ} - \mathrm{POSS} - \mathrm{PLUR} - \mathrm{GEN} - \mathrm{PLUR} - \mathrm{GEN} - \mathrm{PLUR} & \{ - \mathrm{CAS} \} \{ - \mathrm{COP} \} \\
\end{array} \]

/é lugal kalam-ak-ene-ak-a/ = é lugal kalam-ma-ke₄-ne-ka ‘in the house of the kings of the land’

/dumu lugal kalam-ak-ene-ra/ = dumu lugal kalam-ma-ka-ke₄-ne-ra ‘for the sons of the king of the land’

/dumu i̱r lugal-ḡu-ak-ak-ene-ra/ = dumu i̱r lugal-ḡa-ka-ke₄-ne-ra ‘for the sons of the slave of my king’
Nouns

§ 47. Nouns are morphologically not distinguished from adjectives or verbs. The nouns, moreover, have no gender: the categories animate and inanimate are not expressed in the stem, and masculine and feminine nouns cannot be morphologically distinguished either.

§ 48. Compounds

There are no morphological means to derive nouns from verbs or adjectives. Verbal forms can occasionally be used as nouns (see §§ 62-63), but otherwise the only way to make new nouns is constructions of the following kinds:

a) NOUN + NOUN, e.g., an ša ‘midst of heaven’ (lit.: ‘heaven — heart’)

b) NOUN + VERB, e.g., di kud.r ‘judge’ (lit.: ‘claim — decide’)

c) NOUN + NOUN + VERB, e.g., gaba šu ġar ‘adversary’ (lit.: ‘breast — hand — place’ = ‘one placing the hand (on) the breast’)

(b) and (c) are in fact non-finite forms of the verb, for which see §§ 505-511.

§ 49. Most frequent are compounds with nu, nam and níg, which can be referred to the three above mentioned types: nu+NOUN = (a); nam+NOUN/ADJ/VERB = (a) and (b); níg+(NOUN+)VERB = (b) and (c).

§ 50. nu + NOUN

The syntactical construction of nu + NOUN forms mainly terms of professions. The exact character of /nu/ is not evident; it has been suggested that it is a phonetic variant of lú ‘man’,25 or a sort of pronominal prefix (so Edzard, 1963, 111f.).26

25. For n ~ l, cf. § 32.

26. ‘Wir können nu- mit einem der akkadischen Grammatik zu entlehenden Terminus als Determinativpronom bezeichnen, müssen aber nachdrücklich betonen, daß es im Gegensatz zum akk. šu ‘der des ...’ gewöhnlich keinen grammatischen Einfluß auf das folgende Wort ausübt. nu- hat den
§ 51. The constructions with nu- are normally asyntactic, only in one case: nu.ğişkiri₆, it seems to be a genitive construction; cf. for instance nu.ğişkiri₆-ke₄ (ergative) in NG nr. 120b, 4 (see Edzard, 1963, p. 92f.).

§ 52. The compounds with nu- are not very numerous. Terms of professions and the like are the following:

nu.ğişkiri₆-(a)k ‘gardener’ (gen. construction, ğişkiri₆ = ‘garden’)
nu.banda₃ ‘inspector’ (banda₃ = ‘small’)
nu.će (a priest) (će = ‘sanctuary’)
nu.gig (a priestess)
nu.sağ (a priest) (sağ = ‘head’)
nu.erim₂ ‘scoundrel’ (erim₂ = ‘violence’)

§ 53. nu- is probably also part of the following divine epithets, the meanings of which are unknown:

D Nu.nam.nir, epithet of Enlil
D Nu.dîm.mud, epithet of Enki
D Nu.nir, epithet of Ninurta

§ 54. There are other nouns which may also contain the morpheme /nu/, but their etymology is not quite certain:

nu.mu.su ‘widow’ (also nu.ma.su and na.ma.su, cf. A. Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 40 with n. 1-2)
nu.sîg ‘orphan’
nu.bar (a priestess)

§ 55. Bibliography


27. nu.ğişkiri₆ occurs as a loan word in Akkadian: nukaribbu or nukiribbu. The reason for this different form is not evident.
§ 56. nam + NOUN/ADJ/VERB
	nam can approximately be translated with 'something' or 'everything that belongs to it'. It is usually regarded as a derivation of the verb me 'to be', either as coming from */ana-àm/ 'what is it?'. (So A. Falkenstei

nberg, 1959b p. 101: nam-lugal = *a-na-àm-lugal 'was ist es: der König?' = 'Königtum'.) Or it is understood as derived from a finite form: */na-r-me/ 'it is so' (cf. Oberhuber, 1979 p. 450). Note that the Eme
sal form of nam is na.áğ. The verb me is in Eme
sal [ğe].

§ 57. nam+... is a rather 'productive' type of nominal compound. nam is predominantly combined with nouns denoting animate beings (= type (a) above) and forms abstracts:

nam.dam 'status of a wife'
nam.đumu 'status of a son'
nam.lú.ulú₃ 'mankind'
nam.điğir 'divinity'
nam.ur.ság 'heroism'
nam.išib 'craft of the purification priest'

§ 58. nam also occurs with an adjective or a verb (= type (b) and (c) above § 48), but also in these cases the compounds denote abstracts:

nam.mah 'might'
nam.đub 'incantation' (łu = 'to throw', lit.: 'something thrown')
nam.ti(l) 'life'
nam.nir.ğal 'authority'

§ 59. níg + (NOUN +) VERB

níg is a noun = 'thing', 'something'. It is primarily composed with verbal stems and such a compound is thus in fact identical with the non-finite verbal form: N₁ R(hamtu) (see § 508), where níg corre
dons to N₁, i.e. the object of the underlying two-participant verb.

Compound verbs can also be constructed with níg: níg + N₁ R(hamtu).

níg.ba 'gift, present' (lit.: 'something – give')
níg.gu₇ 'food'
níg.șám 'price'
níg.dirig ‘something extra’
níg.á.ğar ‘(act of) violence’
níg.si.sá ‘justice’

§ 60. níg with adjectives are: níg.dûg ‘something sweet’, níg.dağal ‘something wide’.

§ 61. níg can also be part of a subordinate construction (cf. the non-finite N₁ R(hamtu)-a, §§ 513-518):
níg dam tag₄-a ‘the (money) of the divorced wife’
níg mî ús-sa ‘something following the bride’ = ‘wedding present’

Verbal Forms as Nouns

§ 62. Finite verbs can be used as nouns. Such ‘frozen’ verbal forms are, however, not very frequent, especially not in the older Sumerian texts.

ù.na.a.dug₄ ‘letter’ is originally the introductory formula of letters: /u-ĩ-na-e-dug₄/ ‘when you have said it to him’.

(13) ù.na.a.dug₄ ĩ-sar ‘you have written a letter’ (Dialogue 3 = UET VI 150, 19).

Examples of verbal forms used as nouns are collected by W.H.P. Römer, 1970 p. 165.

§ 63. Primarily in lexical and bilingual texts from post-Sumerian times verbal forms with the prefix /ga-/ occur as nouns. ga-an-VERB most often with intransitive verbs, ga-ab-VERB with transitive verbs, e.g.,


ga-âm-ku₄₆, lit. ‘I will enter’, <ga-ĩ-m-ku₄₆.r/ = errebu ‘newcomer, intruder’ (MSL XIII 164, 103).

J. van Dijk, 1960 p. 139, suggested that ga.an.zè.er = ganzer (IGI. KUR.ZA), the name of the entrance to the Netherworld, also is a verbal form: ‘Ich will zerstören’ <ga-ĩ-n-zè.r/.

For ga- forms, see M. Civil, 1968 p. 10; a lexical list of such nouns is published in MSL XIII p. 163-166 (= Izi V).
§ 64. Note that the suffix /-a/ is not used in these cases to make nouns out of verbal forms. This fact is an argument against regarding /-a/ as a nominalization suffix (see below 'The Subordination Suffix /-a/').

Number

§ 65. In indicating number animate and inanimate nouns are treated differently:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th>Reduplication:</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(§§ 69-70)</td>
<td>(§§ 72-73)</td>
<td>(ex. 24-26)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animate</td>
<td>lugal 'king'</td>
<td>lugal-ene 'all the kings'</td>
<td>lugal-lugal-ene</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coll. noun</td>
<td>(lugal?)</td>
<td>lugal-ene 'all the kings'</td>
<td>lugal-lugal-ene</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>denoting</td>
<td>'troops'</td>
<td>(§§ 72-73)</td>
<td>(ex. 24-26)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an. beings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td>'house'</td>
<td>'complex of houses'</td>
<td>'all the houses'</td>
<td>'all the foreign lands'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 66. An inanimate noun can denote both singular and plural, or better collective, just like the English word 'sheep'. ë is both 'house' and 'houses' or rather 'complex of houses', gud is 'ox' as well as 'oxen'/'herd of oxen'. Inanimate nouns have thus no plural forms, but they can be reduplicated and thus denote a totality: kur–kur 'all the foreign lands'.

§ 67. As regards animate nouns, the single stem may probably also denote collective (see ensi₂ in ex. 20), but in general plural is expressed by the suffix /-ene/ (see § 69). Reduplication in the sense of totality occurs also with animate nouns (ex. 20-22), and even reduplication and /-ene/ together (ex. 24-26). The exact meaning of this latter form in contrast to R–ene and R–R is, however, not clear.

It is, however, also possible that the absence of the plural suffix — at least in some cases — is an orthographic phenomenon, and that we therefore should restore, e.g., ensi₂ kur-kur-ra–(ke₄-ne) (ex. 20).

§ 68. Collective nouns denoting animate beings, like ëren₂ 'troops',
have normally no plural suffix, but can be subject to a verb in the plural:

(14) ernen₂-e (...) bê-in-eš, /bi-n-e-eš/ ‘the troops have said’
      (NG nr. 215, 1-2)
(15) D.A.nun-na û di-dê im-ma-šu₄-šu₄-ge-eš, /l-ba-šu₄-šu₄-g-eš/ ‘the Anuna Gods stand in admiration’ (Gudea, cyl. A XX 23). a.nun-na means literally ‘seed of the prince’ and is a name of the great gods. In OB lit. texts, however, often:
      D.A.nun-na-ke₄-ne.

The Plural Suffix /-ene/

§ 69. /-ence/ occurs exclusively with animate nouns. It does not occur after numerals (see § 140).

The suffix is mostly written -e-ne or -Ce-ne; after a vowel it occurs as -ne. Plene writing occurs also: -Ce-e-ne.

The position of the plural suffix is after the adjective or possessive suffix: diğer gal.gal-e-ne ‘the greatest gods’;  irrig₁₀-ne ‘my slaves’, šeš-a-ne-ne < /šeš-ani-ene/ ‘his brothers’ (Lugalbanda in Hurrumkura 131 = Wilcke, 1969a p. 56).

In genitive constructions: šeš lugal-la-ke₄-ne < /šeš lugal-ak-ene/ ‘the king’s brothers’; é diğer gal-gal-e-ne-ka < /é diğer gal.gal-ene-ak-a/ ‘in the temple of the great gods’.

A. Poebel, GSG § 135, analysed /-ene/ as the reduplication of the demonstrative /e/, /n/ being 'Hiatusilger'. This explanation was accepted by A. Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 73 n.1 and 1959a p. 37; whereas it was rejected by E. Sollberger, 1969a p. 157f.

§ 70. Examples:

(16) še gub-ba gudug-ge-ne-ta ka-gur₇ e-ta-šub, /še-gub-ba
gudug-ene-ak-ta/, ‘he removed the master of the store-
house from the barley tax of the gudug-priests’ (Ukg. 4 VIII 24-27)
(17) mu.ru diğer-re-ne-ka, /murub(b) diğer-ene-ak-a/, ‘in the
midst of the gods’ (Gudea, cyl. A XXVI 17)
(18) lú.inim.ma-γu₁₀-ne (...) ensi₂-ra in-na-an-eš-a, /lú.inim.
a(k)-γu-ene ensi₂-ra î-na-n-e-eš-a(-šê)/, ‘(he declared:)'
because my witnesses have said (so and so) to the ensi' (NG nr. 113, 36-40)

(19) D Gilgameš en Kulaba ki ke₄ ur.sá-g-bi-ne-er gu mu-na-dé-e, /ur.sá-g-bi-ene-ra gu mu-na-dé-e/ 'Gilgameš, the en of Kulaba, speaks to its (Uruk's) heroes' (Gilgameš and Aka 51-52). Note the sing.dat. -na- of the verb.

Reduplication

§ 71. The reduplication is used with both animate and inanimate nouns, but it is most frequent with the latter.

As mentioned above, reduplication means probably a totality: whereas gud denotes both 'one ox' and 'a herd of oxen', gud-gud is rather 'all the oxen, every single of them'; diğir-ene means 'the gods', but diğir-diğir is 'all the gods'.

Cf. A Falkenstein, GSGL II p.47. Falkenstein thought of the reduplication of the adjective as another way to express the plural of the substantive, but I cannot agree with that, see below § 83.

It is probable that the reduplication in post-Sumerian times is used as an ordinary plural corresponding to the Akkadian plural, and without the meaning 'all ...'.

§ 72. Reduplication of the substantive normally does not occur together with reduplicated adjective, only if the adjective is an established part of the expression, e.g., šeš-gal šeš-gal 'all the elder brothers' (Lugalbanda in Hurrumkura 136, Wilcke 1969a p. 56).

§ 73. Examples:

(20) bara₂-bar₄ ki.en.gi ensi₂ kur-kur-ra ki Unug ki-ge me nam-nun-šè mu-na-TAR-e-ne 'all the sovereigns of Sumer and the ensi's of all the foreign lands ... for him because of the divine rule of princeship in Uruk' (Lugalzagesi, BE I 87 II 21-25). Note ensi₂ which is probably a collective form, see above § 67. (For the verb, see H. Steible, 1982 II p. 323.)

Note in the next two examples the contrast between the reduplicated nouns and the plural with /-ene/:

(21) ensi₂ -ensi₂ sağa-e₇-ne sa₁₂.du₅ Gú.eden-na-ke₄ -ne nidba
itu-da₂ zag mu-bi-im casing àm-ma-sá-e-ne (a: om.; b: -dé; c: om.; e-e: àm-sá-Ge⁻¹-) 'all the ensi's, the sanga's and the record-keepers of Guedena prepared the offerings for the new moon and new year ceremony' (Curse of Akkade 51-53)

(22) ab.ba-ab.ba gu.tuku-gin₇ bur.šu.ma₈-e-ne gaba.ud.da-zu³ A.HAR⁴ ud ul.līc-a-aš śi-im-dūg-dūg-ge-ne (a: var. om.; b-b: HAR; c: var. om.) 'like all(?) the first old men the old women enjoy your sunshine until distant days ...' (Lugalbanda in Hurrumkura 245-247 = Wilcke, 1969a p. 82)

(23) tardmušen-darmušen kur-ra su₆ na₄ gu[g hé-em-lá] 'may all the francolins(?) of the mountain wear carnelian beards' (Enki and the World Order 228)

§ 74. Occasionally reduplication and /-ene/ occur together in the same word (see above § 67):

(24) lu-ēš.gīd gala-mah agrig lu.lunga(KAšxGAR) ugula-ugula-ne bar sila₄ gaba-ka-ka kù bé-ğar-ré-ēš 'the surveyor(s), the chief gala(s), the steward(s), the brewer(s) and all the foremen paid silver for a ... kid' (Ukg. 4-5 IV 2-8). It is not clear if /(-e)ne/ refers to all the persons mentioned, or if we have to restore /-ene/ after every word. Cf. also sağa-sağı-ne ibid. IV 21. and 23, and V 16.

(25) DEn.lī₁(... ) ab.ba digir-digir-ré-ne-ke₄ 'Enlil, the father of all the gods' (Ent. 28-29 I 1-3)

(26) ama dumu-dumu-ne, /ama dumu-dumu-ene(-ak)/ '(Ninhursağa), the mother of all children' (Gudea, St. A I 3)

Other examples are for instance: en-en bara₂-baran₂-ge-ne 'all the en's and all the sovereigns' (Enlil Hymn 81); ur.sağ-ur.sağ-e-ne 'all the heroes' (Keš Hymn 60).

§ 75. hi-a

hi-a is originally the subordinate non-finite form of the verb hi (or he) 'to mix', hi-a means then 'mixed', 'various', 'unspecified'. It is found with inanimate nouns, for instance udu hi-a 'various sheep'. In late texts or in ideograms in Akkadian texts hi-a is used simply to denote the plural, but this is not the original function of the word.
(27) 0.0.1. šim ǧišeren hi-a '1 ban assorted cedar perfumes' (TCS I nr. 263, 14)

(28) 26 udu hi-a 4 úz-mâš hi-a '(concerning) 26 assorted sheep (and) 4 assorted goats and he-goats' (NG nr. 120b 1-2)

-meš

§ 76. /-me-eš/ is the enclitic copula with plural suffix. It is thus no true plural ending and is not used as such in the oldest texts, but only in contexts syntactically parallel to, e.g., lugal-me-en 'I, the king':

(29) dumu-bandâ₂ imin D Ba.ba₆-me(-eš) bàn-da en D Nin.ĝîr.
    su-ka-me(-eš) 'they (are) the seven daughters of Baba, the
    seven daughters of Ningirsu' (Gudea, cyl. B XI 11-12).

Especially in Sumerian ideograms in Akkadian context and in late Sumerian texts /-me-eš/ is used as a sort of plural ending like /-ene/, but it must be stressed that this is not its original function. Cf. the following predicative use of the enclitic copula, ex. 30-31 (see also §§ 541-545).

§ 77. Examples:

(30) unu₃ sipa D Nisaba-ke₄-ne dumu tu-da ama dili-me-eš, tûr
    amaš-a á è-a-me-eš 'the cow-herd and shepherd of Nisaba
    are sons born of one mother, they grew up in the cattle-pen
    and sheepfold' (Enmerkar and Enshuḫkešdana 211-213)

(31) lugal-ra lú mu-(ši-)-re₇ᵃ-eš-àmᵇ
    lú čhi-hi-a-me-ešᶜ (a: -re₇, re₇⁻; b: -a for -àm; c-c: hé-a-hé-me-eš) 'the men who
    went against the king were a mixed group of men' (Dumuzi's
    Dream 110)

§ 78. Bibliography


Adjectives

§ 79. An adjective is a stem standing as attribute to a noun. It stands
directly after the noun which it qualifies, and the affixes (possessive suffix, postposition, etc.) come after the adjective: égal ‘the big house’, uru kug-ga-ni ‘his holy city’, é libir-a ‘in the old house’ etc.

An exception is kug ‘holy, pure’ which may stand before divine names, e.g., kug DInanna ‘holy Inanna’, which occurs frequently (but never *DInanna kug).

§ 80. Some adjectives occur always, others occasionally with the suffix /-a/, e.g. ur.sag kalag-ga ‘the mighty hero’, munus šag₃-ga ‘the good woman’.

Cf. for instance: sipa zid Gù.dé.a ‘the righteous shepherd, Gudea’ (Gudea, cyl. A XI 5) and á zid-da lugal-ğá-ke₄ ‘to the right side of my king’ (Gudea, cyl. A V 10). J. Krecher, 1978c p. 382ff., suggested that the form with /-a/ denotes the determination of the main word: ‘á zi-da unterscheidet sich hinsichtlich des Attributs von sipa zi durch die Determinierung: gemeint ist nicht irgend eine ‘Güte’, sondern diejenige, die mit der ‘Rechtsseitigkeit’ gegeben ist; gleichzeitig ist auch das Leitwort determiniert, und zwar eben durch dieses Attribut: nicht irgend eine ‘gute Seite’, sondern die ‘gute Seite’ (also nicht die linke Seite).’ (p. 383).

The number of pairs of adjectives with and without /-a/ seems to be too small to confirm this observation, but if it turns out to be correct, this ‘determining’ character of /-a/ is probably derived from its subordination function, cf. inim dug₄-ga ‘the word which has been spoken’, i.e. not any word but this particular word spoken by the god or someone else, see also § 504.

§ 81. Adjectives do not differ morphologically from nominal or verbal stems and there are no morphological means to derive adjectives from other stems.

An adjectival stem is primarily characterized by its syntactic use as described above: adjectives are stems standing attributively after a noun expressing a qualification of that noun, e.g., é gibil ‘the new house’, eden dağal ‘the wide plain’, etc.

There is, however, no clear distinction between adjectives and verbs, since some adjectives are also used as verbs in both finite and non-finite forms, for instance dağal ‘to make wide’, dûg ‘to make sweet’, galam ‘to make in an artful fashion’, gibil ‘to renew’. Adjectives can therefore also be regarded as a subclass of the category verb.
Cf. Gragg, 1968 p. 91: ‘the adjective has a prefix-chain in its own right, exactly like any verb. In fact this ability must lead us to conclude that adjective in Sumerian is not an independent category, but a subclass of the category verb, and that it is only in the lexicon that certain verbs will be marked with the feature ‘adjectival’.

Reduplication of Adjectives

§ 82. The adjective may, like other stems, be reduplicated. The reduplicated adjective probably expresses superlative, e.g.,

(32) digir gal-gal-e-ne ‘the greatest gods’, this expression is frequently found and refers always to the seven highest gods of the Sumerian pantheon.

(33) uru me kug-kug-ga me-bi šu ba-ab-bal ‘of the city with the purest me’s its me’s were overturned’ (Eridu Lamentation 132)

Reduplication does not occur with all adjectives, most common is gal-gal, and also kal-kal ‘most precious’, dirig-dirig ‘excessive, extra’, whereas mah ‘great, exalted’ and nun ‘princely’ are never reduplicated.

Other adjectives like bar₆-bar₆ ‘white, lighting’, di₄-di₄.l ‘small’ and ku₇-ku₇.d ‘sweet’ are always found in the reduplicated form.

Reduplication of the adjective cannot cooccur with the reduplication of the noun which is qualified by the adjective.

§ 83. A. Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 72, explained the reduplication of adjectives denoting dimensions (like gal, šár ‘numerous’, dirig and kal) as a way to express the plurality of the substantive, whereas the reduplication of adjectives denoting colours or light (like bar₆-bar₆, dadag (= UD.UD-g) etc.) has an intensive character (cf. GSGL II, p. 47).

To my opinion it seems most likely that the reduplication expresses the superlative or has an intensive meaning, whereas the plural of the noun is either expressed by /-ene/ or it is not expressed at all, but the single nominal stem is understood as collective (see § 71). Cf. the expression: digir gal-gal-e-ne ‘the greatest gods’ of which the suffix /-ene/ denotes the plural and the reduplicated gal, therefore, most likely denotes something different, namely the superlative. It is, however, also possible that the reduplication may denote different things with different adjectives, cf. ‘Verbal Reduplication’ §§ 248-249.
Adverbial Expressions

§ 84. Adjectives are used in adverbial expressions. There are three ways of constructing 'adverbs': with /-eš/, with /-bi/, and with both /-bi/ and /-eš/. The semantic distinctions between the three types are not clear.

The affix /-eš/ is probably the terminative element /-eše/. Note, however, that in the function described here, it is never included in the prefix chain of the verb.

§ 85. a) ADJ + /-eš/

For instance: da-ré-eš 'for ever', gal-le-eš 'greatly', kug-ge-eš 'in a pure way'.

(34) An kug-ge zid-dè-eš mu-ĝar 'pure An has faithfully placed it (there)' (Gudea, cyl. B XII 26)

(35) nin-ĝu₁₀ an.šà-šê a dúg-ge-eš hu-mu-un-ĝá-ĝá (a: -ta) 'may they prepare everything well for my lady, until the midst of heaven' (Iddin-Dagan Hymn A 141)

§ 86. b) ADJ + /-bi/


(36) lû banda₃ gibil-bi é dú-ĝin₇ 'like a young man building (his) house anew' (Gudea, cyl. A XIX 22, the same phrase occurs in Curse of Akkade 10)

§ 87. c) ADJ + /-bi/ + /-eš(e)/

For instance: gibil-bi-šê 'in a new way', mah-bi-šê 'in a magnificent way'.

(37) En.an.e.du₇ (・・・)-me-en (・・・) é-bi gibil-bé-eš hu-mu-tu 'I, Enanedu, (・・・) have indeed fashioned this house anew' (Rim-Sin 8, 28-33)

§ 88. Adverbial expressions can also be derived from verbal roots plus the subordination suffix /-a/: VERB + /-a/ + /-bi/, e.g. hul-la-bi, 'gladly', ul₄-la-bi 'quickly'. The distinction ADJ + /bi/ (see § 86):
VERB + /-a-bi/ is not consistent. Stems which we define as adjectives because they occur rarely as finite verbs may add /-a-bi/: gibil-la-bi 'ane', du₉-na-bi 'humbly'.

(38) 3 udu 1 màš gal u₄-la-bi ha-mu-na-ab-sum-mu, /ha-mu-na-b-sum-e/ 'let him give him quickly 3 sheep and 1 he-goat' (TCS I nr. 9, 3-6).

(39) IR.₅ZU.EN (...)me-en (...) du₉-na-bi û.gul im-ma-an-ĝá-ĝá, /î-ba-n-ĝá-ĝá/ 'I, Warad-Sin, (...) have prayed humbly' (Warad-Sin 1, 1-13)

§ 89. Even nouns may occur in forms morphologically similar to the adverbial expressions, for instance: ud-dè-eš < /ud-eš(e)/ 'like the day-light', têš-bi 'all together, in harmony'.

(40) DNa.ra.am,Dsucn-e bara₂ kug A.ga.dèki₆-ka ud-dè-eš₄ bim-mi-in-êb (a: -êš; b-b: im-ê), /î-bi-n-ê/ 'Naram-Sin let it rise like the day-light on the holy dais of Akkade' (Curse of Akkade 40-41)

Personal Pronouns

§ 90. Pronouns are found for the 1.sg., 2.sg., 3.sg. animate, and the 3.pl. Pronouns for the 1. and 2. plur. seem never to be used, but a form derived from COP + pron. suffix replaces the pronoun in some cases. In OBG I col. VI me-en-dè-en and me-en-zé-en are rendered as equivalent to the Akkadian pronouns nīnu and attunu, respectively. Outside the lexical texts such forms are extremely rare, but cf.:


For a possible inanimate pronoun, ur₅, see § 100.
§ 91.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1.sg.</th>
<th>2.sg.</th>
<th>3.sg.</th>
<th>3.pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>ḡá.e</td>
<td>za.e</td>
<td>e.ne</td>
<td>e.ne.ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(me.e)</td>
<td>(ze)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ḡá-a-ra</td>
<td>za-a-ra</td>
<td>e.ne-ra</td>
<td>e.ne.ne-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ma-a-ra)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>ḡá(-a/e)-šè</td>
<td>za(-a/e)-šè</td>
<td>e.ne-šè</td>
<td>e.ne.ne-šè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com.</td>
<td>ḡá(-a/e)-da</td>
<td>za(-a/e)-da</td>
<td>e.ne-da</td>
<td>e.ne.ne-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>ḡá(-a/e)-gin₇</td>
<td>za(-a/e)-gin₇</td>
<td>e.ne-gin₇</td>
<td>e.ne.ne-gin₇</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In parenthesis Esenal forms.

1.sg.: In the Gudea texts the subject case is: ḡá.
2.sg.: In the OB texts za-a occasionally occurs as a variant of za-e. zé(-) instead of za(-) occurs also (cf. ex. 54).
3.sg.: In OS, Gudea and NS texts this pronoun has the form: a.ne.
3.pl.: This form should probably be explained as either /ene+ene(plur. suffix)/ or as reduplication of the 3.sg. pron. e.ne.ne.ne can also be found (OBGT I vi 380 = šu-nu; Hendursaĝa Hymn 74).

The locative and ablative cases cannot be used with persons and are therefore not combined with the personal pronouns.

§ 92. ‘Subject Case’

The case here called ‘subject case’ is the form of the pronouns when they act as subjects of one-participant (ex. 44) or two-participant verbs (ex. 43, 45). This case could also be called nominative (see §§ 38ff.).

The subject form of the pronouns also occurs in non-finite constructions thus corresponding to a noun in the absolutive and representing an underlying ergative:

(42) ḡá DNin.ĝír.su a huš gi₄-a ‘I, Ningirsu, who keep the wild waters back’ (Gudea, cyl. A 1X 20)

There are no examples of a pronoun occurring in the ‘Mes-ane-pada construction’ (see § 514): *N ḡá.e R-a. Forms with possessive suffixes are preferred instead.
(43) sipa-ḡu₁₀ ma.mu-zu ḡá ga-mu-ra-búr-búr ‘my shepherd, I myself shall interpret your dream for you’ (Gudea, cyl. A V 12)
(44) lú uru-šè ḡá-e ga-ḡen nu-mu-un-na-ab-bé, /nu-mu-na-b-e-e/ ‘nobody says to him: ‘I indeed will go to the city!’” (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 272)
(45) nam.tar-ra šà-ge gur₆-a-zu ḡá-e ga-mu-ri-ib-tar, /ga-mu-ri-b-tar/ ‘I myself will decide the fate for you, whatever you want’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 166)

§ 93. Pronouns as Objects

As a rule the personal pronouns have no ‘object case’, but objects may be expressed by the means of pronominal suffixes in the finite verb (see § 294). Sometimes, however, pronouns do act as objects, but this is never the case before Old Babylonian, and it is therefore most probably a secondary use of the pronouns. Examples are:

(46) kilib₃ diḡir gal-gal-e-ne (...) e.ne ū numun-a-ni šà kalam-ma-ka nam-mu-ni-fb-ḡá-ḡá-e-ne, /na-mu-ni-b-ḡá.ḡá-ene/ ‘All the great gods may not let him and his offspring live in the land’ (Warad-Sin 27 II 17 — III 5)
(47) e.ne ga-ba-ab-túm-mu-dè, /ga-ba-b-túm-enden/ ‘we will take him/her away’ (Inanna’s Descent 333 = 343; variants: èn and en for e.ne)
(48) lul-da ḡá-a-ra za.a lul mu-un-gi₄ ‘with lies he has sent you as messenger to me’ (Inanna and Enki II i 26)

Use of Pronouns

§ 94. The personal pronouns are not obligatory in the sentence, neither as a subject nor in any dimensional case, since these functions can be expressed in the verbal form by prefixes or suffixes. When the pronouns occur, therefore, they probably have an emphasizing character or they underline the contrast between for instance the 1. and 3. person (ex. 49).

§ 95. As a rule the pronouns are used only when no appositions follow; otherwise the enclitic copula is used, e.g., lugal-me-en ‘I, the king’, and ḡá-e lugal-me-en ‘I am the king’, but not *ḡá-e lugal(-e). Cf. however, ḡá ÑNin.ġir.su in ex. 42. (See also ‘The Enclitic Copula’ § 545).
§ 96. Examples:

(49) e-ne ḡá-a-ra gu ha-ma-an¹-ḡá-ḡá (a: var. om.), /ha-mu-DAT.1.sg.-n-ḡá-ḡá-e/ ‘may he submit to me’ (Enmerkar and Ensuhešdana 25)

(50) ḫInanna (...) saḡ-ḵi zalag-ga-ni ḡá-a²-ṣè hu-mu-ši-in-zīg (a: var. omits), /ha-mu-ši-n-zīg/ ‘towards me indeed Inanna has lifted her bright face’ (Išme-Dagan Hymn D 106)

(51) lugal-ḡu₁₀ za-gi₇ a.ba an-ga-kalag a.ba an-ga-a-da-sā, /ā-ga-kalag/, /ā-ga-e.da-sā/ ‘as you, my king, who is as mighty as you, who rivals you?’ (Šulgi Hymn D 14)

(52) ēš Ė.ninnu dū-ba za-ra ma-ra-an-dug₄, /mu-DAT.2.sg.-n-dug₄/ ‘to you he has ordered to build (his) temple, Eninnu’ (Gudea, cyl. A V 18)

§ 97. Personal Pronoun + Enclitic Copula

The personal pronouns are frequently combined with the enclitic copula: ḡá-e-me-en ‘it is me’, za-e-me-en ‘it is you’, e-ne-أم ‘it is him/her’. Such forms can be used as predicate as in ex. 53, but they may also act as a sort of emphasizing pronoun, ex. 54-55.

(53) sig-ta igi.nim-ṣè en gal-bi za-e-me-en ḡá-e ús-sa-zu-me-en ‘from below to above their great lord are you (indeed), (and) I am subordinate to you (lit.: your follower)’ (Enmerkar and Ensuhešdana 277)

(54) zé-e-me maššim-a-ni h[é]-me ‘may you be his bailiff yourself’ (TCS I nr. 128, 6-7)

(55) e-ne-أم inim en.nu-ḡá-[ta] ma-an-dab₅, /mu-DAT.1.sg.-n-dab₅/ ‘it is he indeed who has captured him for me at the command of the watchman’ (TCS I nr. 54, 6)

§ 98. Possessive Pronouns as Predicates

Possessive pronouns as predicates are PRON + /ak/ + COP: ḡá(-a)-kam ‘it is mine’, za(-a)-kam ‘it is yours’.

(56) Ur.lum.ma ensi₂ Ummaᵏⁱ-ke₄ An.ta.sur.ra ḡá-kam i-mi-dug₄ ‘Urlumma, the ensi of Umma, has said: Antasurra is mine’ (En. I, AOAT 25, p. 38: 81-85)

(57) aga ḡiš圭za ḡiš gidru nam.lugal(-la) sum-mu ḫInanna za-kam ‘to give the crown, the throne and the scepter of kingship is yours, Inanna’ (Innin 142)
§ 99. Bibliography


§ 100. *ur₅*, Inanimate Pronoun

*ur₅* serves as an inanimate pronoun: ‘it’. It is most frequently found in expressions like: *ur₅* hé-(en-)na-nam ‘it is/was verily so’; *ur₅* -gin₇ ‘like this’, e.g.,

(58) *ur₅*-gin₇ inim mu-na-ab-bé ‘he says so to him’ (Enmerkar and Enuhkešdana 39)

Cf. *OBGT* I vi 379ff. where *ur₅*-meš and *ur₅*-bi together with e-ne-ne and lu-ù-ne are translated by the Akkadian pronoun *funu* ‘they’.

The Possessive Suffixes

§ 101.

1.sg. -ḡu₁₀ ‘my’ 1.pl. -me ‘our’
2.sg. -zu ‘your’ 2.pl. -zu.ne.ne, -zu.e.ne.ne,
3.sg.an. -a.ni ‘his, her’ 3.pl. -a.ne.ne ‘their’
3.sg.inan. -bi ‘its’ -bi, also ‘their’ presumably collective.

§ 102. Examples of the singular forms are numerous, but plural forms, especially 1. and 2. person are less frequent. Some examples of plural forms of the possessive suffixes are therefore given here.

1. plur.:

(59) ad₆ šeš-me sig₄ Kul.abab₄ ki-šè ga-ba-ni-ib-ku₄-re-de-ën₅ (a: var. om.-en), /ga-ba-ni-b-ku₄.r-enden/, /ad₆ šeš-me-ak/ ‘We will bring the body of our brother to the brickwork of Kulaba’ (Lugalbanda in Hurrumkura 128 = Wilcke, 1969a p. 56)

2. plur.: This suffix, which probably is a combination of the singular suffix /-zu/ and the reduplicated(?) plural element /ene/, is not attested before the Old Babylonian period.
(60) lú.ul₃ hé-me-en-zé-en nam-zu-ne hé-eb-tar-re, /ha-ĩ-me-enzen/, /ha-ĩ-b-tar-e(n)/ ‘should you(pl.) be mortal, I will decree your(pl.) fates’ (Inanna’s Descent 243) (/ga-ĩ-b-tar/ is expected, cf. the parallel in l. 270: nam ga-mu-ri-ib-tar(-en-zé-en) ‘let me decree the fate for you(pl.)’)

3. plur.:

(61) uru-še igi-ne-ne i-im-ğá-ğá-ne, /ĩ-m-ğá.ğá-ene/ ‘they looked at the city (lit.: placed their eyes upon it)’ (Curse of Akkade 226)

§ 103. Animate /-ani/ vs. inanimate /-bi/

In older texts, OS, Gudea as well as carefully written OB literary texts, the distinction between /-ani/ and /-bi/ is strictly kept, whereas the suffixes later on frequently are confused, since Akkadian does not have this distinction. See I. Kärki, 1967 p. 203 for examples of confusion from the Isin and Larsa royal inscriptions.

Writing

§ 104. The initial vowel [a] of /-ani/ and /-anene/ disappears after a vowel, e.g., é-ni /é-ani/, but diği-rā-ni /diği-ani/. Cf. ex. 61. Especially in post-Sumerian texts plene writings are found: diği-ra-

a-ni.

(62) šeš-a-ne-ne ku.li-ne-ne kug Lugal.bān.da hur.rumᵃ,kur.ra-
kamb⁶ cim-ma-an-tag₄-a-ašc (a: -ru-um-; b: -ke₄; c-c: mu-
i-ib-tag₄-a-aš) ‘his brothers and his friends left pure Lugal-
banda in Hurrumkura’ (Lugalbanda in Hurrumkura 131-132 = Wilcke, 1969a p. 56). Note that -(a-)ne-ne comes from /-ani-ene/.

§ 105. The possessive suffixes can be followed by the enclitic copula, postpositions and by the plural suffix.

The final vowel of the suffixes in the singular is normally deleted before the locative /-a/ and genitive /-ak/:

1.sg. /-ģu-ak/    >    -ģá(-k)
2.sg. /-zu-ak/    >    -za(-k)
3.sg. /-ani-ak/   >    -a-na(-k)
inan. /-bi-ak/    >    -ba(-k)
Unconcentrated forms occur also: bar-ḡu₁₀-a (Gudea, cyl. B II 6); ē mah-ni-a (Gudea, St. A II 5).

After the plural suffixes the [a] of the postposition /-ak/ is deleted:

1.pl. /-me-ak/ > -me(-k)
2.pl. /-zunene-ak/ > -zu-ne-ne(-k)
3.pl. /-anene-ak/ > -a-ne-ne(-k)

§ 106. Possessive suffixes followed by the dative and the terminative postpositions:

1.sg. /-ḡu-ra/ > -ḡu₁₀-ūr /-ḡu-še/ > -ḡu₁₀-uš
2.sg. /-zu-ra/ > -zu-ūr /-zu-še/ > -zu-uš
3.sg. /-ani-ra/ > -a-ni-ir

inan. /-bi-še/ > -biš

(saḡ-biš è-a, Gudea cyl. B II 18)

The postpositions -ra and -šè may also be written in full.

(63) ĐUtu lugal-ḡu₁₀-ūr ‘to Utu, my king’ (Letter of Sin-iddinam to Utu 1)

§ 107. The postposition /-e/ usually disappears after the vowel of the possessive suffixes: /-ani-e/ > -a-ni. If there is reason to assume the presence of the postposition the possessive suffix is often transliterated as -a-né (or -bé). However, we cannot know whether a pronunciation [ane] actually was opposed to normal [ani] and the transliteration -a-né or -bé is thus merely an aid for the translation. In the present study the suffixes have always been written -a-ni and -bi also in cases where a loc.term. or ergative element probably is present.

§ 108. Possessive suffixes followed by the enclitic copula:

1.sg. /-ḡu-m/ > -ḡu₁₀-um
2.sg. /-zu-m/ > -zu-um
3.sg. /-ani-m/ > -a.ni-im

inan. /-bi-m/ > -bi-im

§ 109. For possessive suffixes followed by the plural suffix /-ene/, see above ex. 62.
§ 110. Etymology of the Possessive Suffixes

It is generally assumed that the possessive suffixes actually are the personal pronouns placed after the noun: é-zu thus 'house – you' = 'your house' etc. (so Poebel, GSG p. 76f.; A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 33).

Interrogative Pronouns

§ 111.

Animate interrogative pronoun: a.ba ‘who?’
Inanimate interrogative pronoun: a.na ‘what?’

It is curious that in the interrogative pronouns the otherwise inanimate /b/ occurs in the animate pronoun and the normally animate /n/ in the inanimate pronoun.

In the OB literary texts there might be some confusion about the correct use of a.na and a.ba, cf. for instance the variant in ex. 66 below, or the expression:

(64) a.ba-âm mu-zu ‘what is your name?’ (Enlil and Namzitara 23), where the inanimate a.na is expected. (Or is this expression actually to be understood as: ‘Who is it? Your name!’?)

§ 112. a.ba and a.na are, like the personal pronouns, combined with postpositions and the enclitic copula. The interrogative pronouns are also combined with possessive suffixes (§§ 115 and 122).

a.ba ‘who?’

§ 113. a.ba is the absolutive form of the pronoun, used as intransitive subject or as object (ex. 67-68). As ergative subject serves /aba-e/ > a.ba-a (but also a.ba) (ex. 65-66).

(65) a.ba-a igi im-mi-in-du₈-aᵃ (a: var. -âm), /î-bi-n-du₈-a/ ‘who has ever seen?’ (Curse of Akkade 95). The same phrase occurs in other literary compositions, for instance Dumuzi’s Dream 139; Keš Hymn 20.

(66) amar-û₁₀ᵃ gûd-baᵇ c.a.ba-c ba-ra-abᵈ-tûᵐᵉ (a: -bi for
§ 114. a.ba can occur with the enclitic copula: a.ba-àm ‘who is it?’, a.ba-me-en ‘who are you?’, cf. for instance:

(69) a.ba-me-en za.e (var.: a.ba-en za.e-me-en) ‘who are you (sing.)?’ (Inanna’s Descent 80)
(70) a.ba-àm za.e-me-en-zé-en ‘who are you(plur.)?’ (Inanna’s Descent 240)

§ 115. Occasionally a.ba can occur with the possessive suffix:

(71) dîm.me.er na.me a.ba-zu mu-un-dîm-[ma] ‘who among the gods is fashioned like you?’ (Sjöberg, 1960 p. 167: 23, bilingual šu-īl-la from the first mill. B.C.)

a.na ‘what?’

§ 116. The form a.na is the absolutive form; since a.na does not occur as ergative subject it has no subject case like a.ba-a.

(72) ĝá a.na mu-ù-da-zu, /mu.e.da-zu/ ‘what do I know from (lit.: ‘with’) you?’ (Gudea, cyl. A IX 4)
(73) dumu-ĝu₁₀ a.na bi-in-ak ‘my daughter, what has she done?’ (Inanna’s Descent 218)

§ 117. a.na is also used, not in an interrogative sense, but as a relative or indefinite pronoun:

(74) má-ĝu₁₀ DŠamaš.i.(lī) in-ku₄-ku₄-da ud nu-mu-zal-e nīg a.na bi-dug₄-ga hé-eb-ĝáĝá, ‘In my boat which Šamaš-ilī will bring, let him place whatever I have said before the day passes’ (TCS I nr. 109, 17-19)
(75) ud a.na i-ti-la-ni-a, /i-ti.l-a-ani-a(loc.)/ ‘so long as she lives’ (lit.: ‘in her days (all) that she lives’) (NG nr. 7, 4)
a-na with Postpositions

§ 118. a-na-aš ‘why?’ a-na-aš-âm ‘why (is it that)?’ (lit.: ‘to what?’)  
(76) uru-ta á.áŋ-ğä a-na-aš mu-e²-de₆ (a: var. om.) ‘Why have you brought a message from the city?’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 355)
(77) a-na-aš-âm Puzur₄-ha.ià mu še kur-ra-šè še eštub hé-na-sum ‘Why is it that Puzur-Haya has given him eštub-barley instead of kur-barley?’ (TCS I nr. 125, 3-6)

§ 119. a-na-gin₇, a-na-gin₇-nam ‘how?’ (lit.: ‘like what?’)  
(78) a-na-gin₇ an-ak ‘how does he live (lit.: do)?’ (Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld 255)
(79) a-na-gin₇-nam za.e ąğå-da² mu-da-ab-sá-eᵇ (a-a: ąğå-e-da; b: -en) ‘how can you compare with me?’ (Dialogue 1, 75 = Ni 9850, ISET I pl. 200, rev. 5 = SLTNi 113 rev. 1 = SEM 65 rev. 4)

a-na with the Enclitic Copula

§ 120. a-na-âm ‘what is it?’, ‘why?’  
(80) a-na-âm² ba-du-un kur nu-ĝi₄-šè (a: var. omits) ‘why have you come to the land of no return?’ (Inanna’s Descent 83)

§ 121. a-na me-a-bi ‘as many as they are’, ‘all of it’  
(81) ąğišinig ma.da a-na-me-a-bi ambar-bi-a a ỉb-na₈-na₈, ỉ-b-na₈ . na₈ / ‘the tamarisks of the land, all of them, drink water of its marsh’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 397)
(82) diğer an-ki-a a-na-m[e]-a-bi šilam gal-bi-me-en ‘you are the great cow among the gods of heaven and earth, as many as there are’ (Ininn 183)

§ 122. a-na + possessive suffix  
(83) kur-ra a-na-bi-me-en ‘what are you to the land?’ (lit.: ‘of the land its ‘what’ are you?’) (Gilgameš and Huwawa 20)
(84) za.e ąğå.e² dahi-maᵇ-ab ąğå.e za.e ga-mu-ra-dah a-na-me lý ba-an-tum₄ (a: ma-e; b: var. has -ba- for -ma-) ‘you help
me (and) I shall help you — what can then happen to us?’
(Gilgameš and Huwawa 110)

§ 123. Eresal Forms of the Interrogative Pronouns

The Eresal form of a-na is ta, which forms the same constructions as a-na: ta-âm, ta-gin7, ta-POSS, etc., e.g.,

(85) a.e.nea ta-gin7 b.nam-ma-ra-ab-zé.èm-en-zé-enb (a-a: var. èn; b-b: [na]m-mi-ni-[..]; [..]-ni-ib-zé-em-Χ-Χ-Χ) ‘How could I turn him over to you(pl.)?’ (Inanna’s Descent 346)

(86) mu.lu ta-zu mu-un-zu, /mu-n-zu/ ‘what can a man know of you?’ (Enlil Hymn, CT XV pl. 11f. l. 1)

(87) a.a-ğu10 ta-âm e-ra-an-dug4 ta-âm e-ra-an-dah, /i-ra-n-dug4/ ‘what did my father say to you, what did he add to you?’ (Inanna and Enki II i 49)

Interrogatives

§ 124. Interrogative expressions are constructed with a stem /me/ or /men/ and postpositions or the enclitic copula:

§ 125. me-a ‘where?’, me-šè ‘where to?’

(88) má an-na me-a sá ba-an-dug4, /ba-n-dug4/ ‘where has the boat of heaven got to (now)?’ (Inanna and Enki II i 5 and passim)

(89) nam.kalag-ga-zu me-šè ba-an-de6 nam.ur.sağ-zu me-a ‘to where has your strength brought it? Where is your heroism?’ (Ninurta and the Turtle 53)

§ 126. me-na-âm ‘when?’

(90) a.gá-âma b.me-na-âm[10] šà DŠul.gi lugal-ğu10 c ki-bi ha[d-ma-gi4-gi4 (a-a: gá-e; gá-a; b-b: me-e-na-âm; me-en-na-a; c: gá; d: omits), /ha-mu-DAT.1.sg.-gi4.gi4/ ‘as for me — when will the heart of Šulgi, my king, return to me?’ (Letter B 1, 26)

§ 127. Other interrogative expressions are me-na-šè and èn-šè, both translated adī matī ‘how long?’ (cf. Krecher, 1966 p. 101; 114). Several forms of /me/ and /me-n/ are listed in OBG T I col. X (= MSL IV p. 57ff.).
§ 128. Indefinite Pronoun

na.me, which may perhaps be derived from /ana-me/ 'what is it?', serves as indefinite pronoun with both animate and inanimate: 'anyone, anything'; with negative verbal form: 'no one, nothing'.

na.me is most often added to a noun like an adjective: lú na.me, níg na.me, but it is also used alone like in ex. 93. na.me is both ergative (ex. 92, 93) and absolutive (ex. 94).

(91) ki na.me-šè na-an-tùm, /na-ī-n-tùm-e/ 'he must not bring it to any other place' (TCS I nr. 77, 5)

(92) lú na.me inim nu-un-gā-gā, tukum.bi lú na.me inim bí-in-[gār], /nu-ī-n-gā-gā-e/, /bi-n-gār/ 'no one should lay a claim! If anyone lays a claim' (TCS I nr. 80, 6-7)

(93) alan-na-ni me.dúm.ša im-mi-in-dirig na.me sağ nu-mu-e-sum, /i-bi-n-dirig/, /nu-mu-e-sum/ 'his body she (= Nin-hursağ) has endowed with beautiful limbs, no one can rush toward him' (Martu Hymn 7)

(94) lú na.me níg na.me ugu-na³ li-bí-in-tuku (a: ugu-a-na), /nu-bi-n-tuku/ 'no one might have any claim against him' (Letter B 12, 4)

Reflexive Pronouns

§ 129. The noun ní 'self' serves as a reflexive pronoun:

ní-gü₁₀ 'myself'

ní-zu 'yourself'

ní-te-a.ni (or: ní) 'himself, herself'

ní-bi 'itself' and collective

ní-te-a.ne.ne 'themselves'

1.pl. and 2.pl. are not attested.

§ 130. The reflexive pronoun in this form may serve as the direct, absolutive, object (ex. 95, 96), or it may be followed by a postposition (ex. 97, 98).

(95) ní-te-ne-ne ba-ra-an-sa₁₀-āš, /ba-ra(abl.)-n-sa₁₀-eš/ 'they have sold themselves' (TMHNF I-II 53 = Mendelsohn, 1949 p. 15)

(96) kar.kíd ká ēš.dam-ma-na-ka ní ha-ba-ni-ib-lá-e, /ha-ba-ni-b-lá-e/ 'may the prostitute hang herself at the gate of her tavern' (Curse of Akkade 243)
(97) mušen-e ní-bi silim-e-šë\textsuperscript{a} iri\textsuperscript{b}-in-ga-àm-me (a: -eš for -šë; b: i-rf-) ‘The bird praises itself’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 97). Here probably ní-bi(-e).

(98) \textsuperscript{D}Nin.urta ur.ság šu du\textsubscript{7}-a ní-zu-šë\textsuperscript{a} ĝeštug\textsubscript{2}-zu (a: om.) ‘Ninurta, perfect warrior, heed yourself’ (lit.: ‘your ear to your self’) (Angim 81, so the OB dupl., the NA duplicates have: \textsuperscript{D}Nin.urta ur.ság-me-en šu du\textsubscript{7}-me-en ní-zu-šë ĝeštug\textsubscript{2}-zu = \textsuperscript{D}MIN qar-ra-da-at šuk-lu-lat ana ra-ma-ni-ka ú-zu-un-ka).

§ 131. The reflexive pronouns are also found in a genitive form: /ní-\textsuperscript{gu}-ak/ ‘my own’, etc.:

(99) ē.sà ní-\textsuperscript{gá}-šë mu-šë-ğen-na-am\textsubscript{6}, /ní-\textsuperscript{gu}-ak-šë mu-ši-ğen-am/ ‘he has (now) come to my own sanctuary’ (Enanatum I = AOAT 25 p. 38: X 86-87). (ē.sà is a part of the sanctuary, cf. J. Bauer, \textit{AWL} p. 192)

(130) Lugal.uru.da šám ní-te-na [š]\textsuperscript{u}-na-a si-ga, /ní-te-ani-ak/ ‘his own price was filled in the hand of Lugaluruda’ (anticipatory genitive: Lugaluruda has sold himself as a slave) (\textit{NG} nr. 38, 7-8)

§ 132. Especially frequent is the locative form of the reflexive pronoun denoting ‘by one’s own accord’: ní-\textsuperscript{gá} ‘by myself’, ní-za ‘by yourself’, ní-te-na ‘by himself’, ní-a ‘by itself’.

ní-bi-a or ní-ba ‘by itself’, ‘by themselves’ are sometimes parallel to tēš-bi-a ‘(al)together’ (cf. Heimpel, 1968 p. 152ff.).

(101) munus-e (…) i.lu é si-ga TUR.TUR-bi ní-te-na mi-ni-ib-bé, /bi-ni-b-e-e/ ‘the woman speaks of her own accord the lamentation of the destroyed house’ (Ur Lament 86-87)

(102) igi uģ-šë ū-ši-bar-ra-zu ní-a hé-ğal-la-àm ‘when you have looked at the people there is abundance by itself’ (Gudea, cyl. A III 4)

(103) \textsuperscript{Ś}is.al.gar kù \textsuperscript{D}En.ki-ka ní-ba mu-un-na-du\textsubscript{12}, /mu-na-du\textsubscript{12}/ ‘Enki’s pure alğar-instrument sang for him of his own accord’ (Enki’s Journey to Nippur 66)

(104) diğir ki\textsuperscript{a} ní-ba\textsuperscript{b} mu-un\textsuperscript{c}-na-gam-e-eš\textsuperscript{e} (a: var. probably: [-ke\textsubscript{4}-n]e; b: -bi; c: om; e: om), /mu-na-gam-eš/ ‘the gods of earth bowed down before him on their own accord’ (En-lil Hymn 7)
Demonstratives

§ 133. In Sumerian there is a number of demonstrative pronouns and suffixes, but they are not used very often, and the semantic distinctions between the various demonstratives are therefore not clear. ne.en or ne.e, ‘this’, is perhaps opposed to ri, ‘that, yonder’, which, however, is limited to fixed literary expressions (see ex. 109). The occurrences of še and -e are doubtful, and -bi which is often used in the sense ‘this’, is simply the possessive suffix of inanimate and collective.

Cf. E.I. Gordon, 1958 p. 48: ‘the threefold classification of the demonstrative elements -e-/ne- (‘here’ near the speaker), -še- (‘there’, within the view of the speaker) and -ri-/ri-a- (‘elsewhere’, outside the view of the speaker).’ Cf. OBG T Ia i 5-7 (= MSL IV p. 62); II obv. 10f., 13f. (= MSL IV p. 66).

§ 134. ne.en, ne(-e) ‘this’

This demonstrative pronoun is attested already in the Gudea texts, and occurs as well frequently in the OB lit. texts. In bilingual and lexical texts it is translated by Akkadian annû ‘this, that’ (cf. CAD A/2 p. 136), and by kīam ‘thus’ (CAD K p. 326).

(105) ud ne-na hé-gaz ‘on this day he may be killed’ (Gudea, St. B IX 7)

(106) a.da.al ne-e ta-àm mu-da-an-ku₄, /mu-da-n-ku₄/ ‘now, why has he made this enter with me?’ (or intrans.: ‘why did this enter with me?’) (Inanna and Enki II vi 54)

(107) lu₄ gu₄-gá₄ ne.en ba-e-a₄-bak-a₄ (a: -gu₁₀; b: omits; c: -c) ‘you who has done this to my nest’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 105) (cf. ex. 693)

(108) anše.kur lu₄ u₅-a-ni ù-mu-ni-in-šub, tukumbi gu₄.un-gu₁₀ da.rí-šè ne.en-nam al-sig-en₄-e.še (a: om.) ‘the horse, after he had thrown off his rider, said: ‘If my burden is always to be this, I shall become weak!’ (Proverbs 5.38)

§ 135. ri ‘that, yonder’

ri is more remote than ne.en. It is primarily found in the expression below ex. 109: ud ri-a ‘in those (far remote) days’ which has become a literary topos.

(109) ud ri-a ud sud-rá, gi₆ ri-a gi₆ bad-rá ri-a, mu ri-a mu sud-rá ri-a ‘in those days, in those distant days, in those nights, in those remote nights, in those years, in those distant years’ (Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld 1-3).
This expression occurs frequently in the beginning of literary compositions, cf. for instance The Instructions of Šu-ruppak 1-3 and, slightly different, Enki and Ninmah 1-3. It is found already in an Old Sumerian literary text from Fara (ca. 2500 B.C.), TSŠ 79 I 1-5 (collated): ud ri ud ri-šē na₅-nám, ġi₆ ri ġi₆ ri-šē na₅-nám, mu ri mu ri-šē na₅-nám. Cf. J. van Dijk, 1964-65 p. 31ff. where this literary motive is discussed.

§ 136. še ‘?’

This morpheme which occurs only in the literary composition ‘Gilgamesh and Aka’. has been interpreted as a deictic element, see W.H.Ph. Römer, 1980 p. 77 with references. In the lexical text, NBGT III i 11-15 (= MSL IV p. 158f.) unfortunately broken, še is translated by Akkadian animmamû ‘demonstrative pronoun, meaning uncertain’ (CAD A/2 p. 122). Th. Jacobsen, 1965 p. 117 n. 55, suggested the meaning ‘anyone from here’.

(110) īr lá še lugal-zu-ū ‘slave, is this(?) man your king?’ (Gilgamesh and Aka 69; also l. 70, 71, 91 and 92). Jacobsen, 1965 p. 117: ‘Slave! Is your master anyone from here?’

§ 137. –e

A suffix –e seems in some cases to be used in a demonstrative sense, see A. Poebel, GSG §§ 223-226; A. Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 56 (‘Das dortdeiktische’ Element –e ‘da, dort’). However, since there are only few instances of the demonstrative –e, and because of its identity with the erg. and loc. term. postposition it seems desirable to seek another interpretation:

(111) alam na-e mu-tu (Gudea, St. I V 1-2 = PV 1-2), Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 56, translates: ‘er formte diese Stein-Statue’, but ‘he made it into a statue of stone(loc.term.)’ seems more probable, cf.: alam na-šè mu-tu (Gudea, St. D IV 17)

(112) alam-e ē ū kug nu za.gin nu-ga-ām, (Gudea, St. B VII 49-50), here, on the other hand, –e seems to be demonstrative: ‘this (?) statue is not of silver, and it is not of lapis lazuli’. Cf. also OBGST I 324 and 326: lú-ne-ra: an-ni-a-am; lú-e-ra: an-ni-a-am, ‘this one’.
§ 138. -bi

The suffix -bi is used as demonstrative suffix, e.g., ud-ba < /ud-bi-a/ "on this/that day", lú-bi "this/that man", etc. This meaning of -bi must be derived from the possessive suffix -bi, 'its, their' (see § 101).

See for instance A. Falkenstein, GSGL II p. 24, for references in the Gudea texts.

Numerals

§ 139. one: diš, dili, aš

two: min

three: eš5

four: limmu

five: iá

six: āš < *iá + aš (5 + 1)

seven: imin < *iá-min (5 + 2)

eight: ussu < *iá-eš5 (5 + 3)
nine: ilimmu < *iá-limmu (5 + 4)
ten: u

twenty: niš

thirty: ušu2

forty: nimin, nin5

fifty: ninnu

sixty: ĝiš, ĝeš

3600: šár

The pronunciation of numerals is most often not given. In a Sumerian lexical list from early Sargonic Ebla, the numerals 2-10 is written as follows (in parenthesis the suggested pronunciation, see D.O. Edzard, 1980. ‘Sumerisch 1 bis 10 in Ebla’. Studi Eblaiti 3: 121-127): 2: menu (minu), 3: iš11-ra-am (iš or eš), 4: li-mu (limmu), 5: i (ya); 6: ašu (yâšu ?), 7: ū-me-nu (uminu), 8: u-sa-am (ussa), 9: ḫ-li-mu (ilimmu), 10: U9-PI-mu (haw(a)mu or haw(u)mu).

For numerals in Emesal see MSL IV p. 39f. (Emesal-Vocabulary).

§ 140. Cardinal Numbers

As a rule the numeral stands after the noun, like an adjective. In economic texts, however, the numeral is normally given first, for
practical reasons. Sometimes the enclitic copula is added after the numeral.

The plural suffix /-ene/ never occurs after a numeral.

(113) abgal imin-e sig.nim-ta šu a-mu-ra-ni-in-mú-uša (a-a: mu-ra-ni-uš, mu-ni-in-mú-uš) 'the seven sages have enlarged it for you everywhere(?)' (Temple Hymns 139). Note that the plural suffix is missing.

(114) mu Ur.lugal-ke₄ saq ki min-na ba-ra-sa₁₀-a-sè,/ba-ra(abl.)- (n-)sa₁₀-a-sè/ 'because Urugal has sold the slave on two places (i.e. twice)' (NG nr. 68, 6-7)

(115) kug gin iá-am₄ e-gá-gá-ne 'they pay 5 shekels of silver' (Ukg. 6 I 21-22)

§ 141. Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers are genitive constructions without regens, followed by the enclitic copula: /min-ak-am/ > min-(na-)kam 'the second'. The genitive may also occur pleonastically: ud min-kam-ma-ka < /ud min-ak-am-ak-a/ 'on the second day'.

(116) ud u-kam-ma-ka, /ud u-ak-am-ak-a/ 'on the tenth day' (Ukg. 14 II 2)

(117) mìn-kam-ma-šè a-mušen-e₄ gùd-bi-šè še₂₆ un-gi₄ (a-a: var. om.) 'As the bird cried to its nest for the second time' (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 72)

§ 142. Numerals which are not standing attributively to nouns have possessive suffixes, e.g.: mìn-na-ne-ne < /min-anene/ 'both of them' (lit.: 'their two').

Conjunctions

§ 143. /u/ 'and', written û, is a loanword from Akkadian u, 'and'. It is found already in a text from Abū Ṣalābīkh ca. 2500 B.C. (see above p. 16 and Biggs, 1974 p. 32).

û is used as a conjunction of sentences, but usually not between simple co-ordinate sentences. It is rather used in the sense 'and then ...', 'but', 'moreover', so also in the beginning of a sentence.

When û is used as conjunction of nouns it has also often an emphasizing character: 'A as well as B'.
(118) ud Ġeme₂,² Lama ba-ug₇-e-da-a, Lú,² Ba.ba₆ īr Dug₄.ga.
zi.da-ke₄ ū Ur.²Šul gi-ke₄ in-ba-a-ne, ū eğer ab.ba-ne-ne
i-ba-a-ne, /ba-ug₇-ed-a-a(loc.)/, /ī-n-ba-ene/, /ī-ba-ene/
'when Ġeme-Lama dies, Lu-Baba, the slave, Duga-zida and
Ur-Šulgi shall divide (the inheritance), and also (the estate)
after their father they shall divide' (NG nr. 7, 15-21)
(119) di.kud ib-dú.ru-né-eš ū a-ne ib-gub, /ī-b-durun-eš/, /ī-b-
gub/ 'the judges have sat and he was (also) present (lit.: stood)' (TCS I nr. 203, 3-4)
(120) ū ġá-e ní.te.ğá-ağu₁₀-uš a nam.ti sum-mu-na-ab (a-a: omits)
/sum + mu-na-b/, 'and as for me, give me(?) health (lit.: life)
for my reverence' (Letter of Sin-iddinām to Utu 45, text has
-na- 'for him' but only 'for me' seems to give sense.)

§ 144. -bi-da, literally 'with its ..', is used in the sense 'and' with
nouns and without the disjunctive force of ū:
āb amar-bi-da 'the cow with its calf' = 'cow and calf'.

§ 145. tukumbi written ŠU.NÍ.G.TUR.LAL.BI 'if'. As a rule, the verb
after tukumbi is hamtu.

(121) tukumbi nu-ub-sar Ur.me.me-ke₄ ḟb-su-su, /nu-ī-b-sar/,
/ī-b-su.su-e/ 'if they have not written it (on the tablet), Ur-
meme will restore it' (NG nr. 209, 89-91)
(122) tukumbi lugal-ğu₁₀ uginim-ma tuš-ū-bi ab-bē, /ā-b-e-e/ 'if
my king promises dwelling-places to the troops' (Letter B 2,
8)
(123) tukumbi lugal-me an-na-kam 'if our king is (indeed) of
heaven' (Letter B 11, 8)

§ 146. tukumbi with the enclitic negation ...-nu corresponds to šum-
ma lā 'except' (see Sjöberg, 1973a p. 128; von Soden, 1952 § 114i).

(124) tukumbi nam.nar-nu 'except the art of singing' (Father and
Son 110)

§ 147. According to B. Alster, 1972a p. 119, tukumbi is also used in the sense
'certainly' (see example 1972a p. 119f.), as well as in 'an elliptic construction
to express politeness ('If [you will be so kind ...] —'), approximately corre-
spanding to 'please':

(125) a ub-ta-an₂-bal-bal aⁿ tukumbi ġa-nağc, (a: om.; b: om;c-c: -KA-A)
'after you have poured water, water — please — let me drink!' (Du-
muzi's Dream 207)
§ 148. ud-da < /ud-a(loc.)/, literally 'on the day', is also used in the sense 'when' and 'if'. As a rule, also after ud-da the verb is hamtu.

(126) ud-da gú ma\(^a\)-an-\(\bar{\text{g}}\)ar gú na-ma-an-\(\bar{\text{g}}\)ar (a: ma-ra-), /mu-DAT.1.sg.-n-\(\bar{\text{g}}\)ar/, /na-mu-DAT.1.sg.-n-\(\bar{\text{g}}\)ar/ 'when he has submitted to me, he has indeed submitted to me' (Enmerkar and Enuhkešdana 26)

(127) ud-da uru-šē\(^a\) i-du-un lú bnu-mu-e\(^b\)-da-du-\(\ddot{u}\)\(^c\) (a: -ni; b-b: na-e-; c: om.), /î-du-cn/, /na-mu-e.da-du-ed(?)/ 'if you go to the city, nobody shall go with you' (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 287)

Modal Adverbs

§ 149. i.gi\(_4\).in.zu 'as if' is used in hypothetical comparisons.

C. Wilcke, 1968 p. 238f. suggested the etymology: 'the eye has noticed'. Writings are: igi.zu (Gudea texts), i.gi.in.zu, i.gi\(_4\).in.zu, e.gi\(_4\).in.zu, i.gi\(_4\).zu, igi.su and i.gi\(_4\).in.ŠUL (see Wilcke, 1968 p. 229; 1969a p. 188 n. 466a).

All references have been collected by C. Wilcke:


(128) alan igi.zu DNin.\(\ddot{\text{g}}\)ir.su-ka-kam 'as if it was a statue of Nin-\(\ddot{\text{g}}\)irsu' (Gudea, St. B VII 59)

(129) mu\(\ddot{\text{s}}\)en-e ku\(_6\)-ra\(^a\) engur-ra igi im-ma-an\(^b\)-du\(_8\) ġeštug\(_2\) ba-\(\ddot{\text{s}}\)i-in-gub i.gi\(_4\).in.zu a-e ba-da-kar umbin(GAD.ÜR) mu-ni-in-lá (a: -e; b: var. -ni-\(\dddot{\text{f}}\)b- for -an-), /î-ba-n-du\(_8\)/, /î-ba-ni-b-du\(_8\)/, /ba-\(\ddot{\text{s}}\)i-n-gub/, /ba-da-kar/, /mu-ni-n-lá/ 'the bird became aware of the fish in the water, it set the mind to it, as if it would take it out of the water, it stretched the claw into it' (Bird and Fish 116-117 = Wilcke, 1968 p. 233)

§ 150. i.ge\(_{(4)}\).en occurs only a couple of instances in the OB lit. texts. It may be a modal adverb like i.gi\(_4\).in.zu or an interjection 'but no!' Cf. C. Wilcke, 1968 p. 239f.

(130) i.ge\(_4\).en mu.lu šà.ab-\(\ddot{\text{g}}\)á-kam mu.lu šà.ab-\(\ddot{\text{g}}\)á-kam, 'but no! is he the man of my heart? is he the man of my heart?' (Dumuzi and Enkimdu 49)
§ 151. i.ne.še, or perhaps better i.ne.ėš, also written ne.ėš and e.ne.ėš, means ‘now’, corresponding to Akkadian inanna.

For references, see Sjöberg, 1973a p. 131; Krecher, 1967b p. 57.

(131) i.ne.še a mušen-e a b gūd-bi-še b še₂₆ c un-gi₄ (a-a: var.s omit; b-b: U.KI.SÈ-bi-še; Ú.KI.GA-še; gūd-ta; c: KAxlI; KAλ X; KA), /u-ī-n-gi₄/ ‘but now after the bird has cried to its nest’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 76)

§ 152. a.da.al or a.da.lam is approximately ‘now, but now’. Other writings of this word are probably i.da.al, i.da.lam and i.da.la. According to OBGT Ia rev. I 6ff. a.da.al(.lam) = i-na-an-na(--a-[ma]) ‘now, it is now’, whereas i.da.lam(-lam) is translated a-ša-a-a[r(-ma)] ‘right now’ (cf. CAD A/2 p. 413 with exclusively lexical references). The exact difference between a.da.al and i.da.al — if there is any — is not clear. Also the distinction between a.da.al and i.ne.še which are both translated inanna, ‘now’, cannot be stated exactly.


(132) a.da.al kug D Inanna-ke₄ igi me a-ši-kár-kár (a: mu-e- for me-), /mu-e.ši-kár.kár(-e)/ ‘now, holy Inanna is examining you’ (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 449)

(133) a.da.lam An-ra a dug₄-mu-na-ab a An-e b c mu-e c-dug₈-e e (a-a: ba-an-na-ab-bé(-en); ba-an-na-ab-dug₄; b: An-né; c-c: me-(-e); mu-un-; e: -e-en; -en), /dug₄ + mu-na-b/, /mu-e-dug₈-e/ ‘say to An: now! — (and) An will release me’ (Exaltation of Inanna 76)

Interjections

§ 153. ga.na or ga.nam ‘well’, ‘truly’.

It is not the imperative of the verb ġen ‘to go’, as A. Falkenstein presumed (GSGL I p. 227), since a form of ġen should be written ġā-na (or ġ₂₆-na). For ga.na cf. C. Wilcke, 1968 p. 204f.

(134) ga.na ga-na-ab-dug₄, /ga-ī-na-b-dug₄/ ‘well, I will say it to her’ (Gudea, cyl. A I 24 = III 22, 23)

§ 154. me.le.e.a ‘alas!’, ‘woe!’.

(135) me.le.e.a uru₂ mu-da-gul ্ॆ a mu-da-gul (a: var. seems to
add -ḫu₁₀) ‘alas! the city has been destroyed, and the house (var. my house) has been destroyed’ (Ur Lament 292)
(136) me.le.e.a, dam-ḫu₁₀ ír-ra a.dumu-ḫu₁₀ a.nir-ra (a: var. -àm for -ra) ‘woe, my wife — tears, my son — lament’ (Ur-Nam-mu’s Death 192)

§ 155. ù-a, ù or a ‘woe!’.
For writings, see J. Krecher, 1966 p. 114f.
(137) ù.a erim₆-ma-ḫu₁₀ ù.a erim₆-ma-ḫu₁₀ ‘woe, my treasury, woe, my treasury!’ (J. Krecher, 1966 p. 54: II 6)
CASES

Introduction

§ 156. Sumerian has ten cases: genitive, absolutive, ergative, dative, locative, comitative, terminative, ablative-instrumental, locative-terminative and equative.

Absolutive is the unmarked case, the other cases are denoted by postpositions, i.e. the case morpheme occurs at the very end of the nominal phrase and no other morpheme can follow. Exception is the genitive which is embedded in the nominal phrase of the regens of the genitive construction:

(138) /é gibil-ani-šè/ ‘to his new house’
(139) /é ab.ba-ğu₁₀-ak-šè/ ‘to the house of my father’

The enclitic copula may occur after a case element, see § 45.

Some cases occur only with animate nouns, others only with inanimate, see below § 157.

§ 157.

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§ 158. The cases dative, comitative, terminative, ablative-instrumental and probably also locative are incorporated in the prefix chain of the finite verb. For this and for the relations between cases and certain verbs see ‘The Case Elements of the Prefix Chain’ §§ 423-482.

§ 159. The meanings of the dimensional cases: locative, terminative and ablative, can be differentiated by adding a genitive compound. Such constructions are especially frequent with animate nouns which normally cannot be constructed with these cases:

Locative:
/kì-POSS-a/ ‘with’ lit.: ‘on (his) place’
/kì-PN-ak-a/ ‘with PN’ lit.: ‘on PN’s place’
/šà NOUN-ak-a/ lit.: ‘in the heart of ...’ or simply: ‘in ...’

Terminative:
/eğer-NOUN-ak-še/ ‘after’ lit.: ‘to the back of ...’
/igi PN(or NOUN)-ak-še/ lit.: ‘to the eyes of ...’: ‘in front of’,
‘before’, ‘in the presence of’
/nam NOUN-ak-še/ ‘because of, ‘for the sake of’
/mu NOUN-ak-še/ ‘instead of’

Ablative:
/kì PN-ak-ta/ ‘from’ lit.: ‘from PN’s place’
/šu PN-ak-ta/ ‘under the authority of PN’ lit.: ‘from the hand of PN’

In those cases where such constructions replace the more simple and original postpositional expressions, as for instance šà uru-ka ‘in the city’ instead of uru-a, we may perhaps speak of a first step towards a prepositional system. In these instances the genitive is often omitted, e.g., ki lugal-ta ‘from the king’, but this development is most probably a post-Sumerian phenomenon.

§ 160. Terminology

The terms of the cases used here are approximately the same as those used by A. Falkenstein, for instance in Das Sumerische (p. 38ff.). The only exceptions are ‘absolutive’ for the unmarked case (intr. subj. and tr. obj.) and ‘ergative’ for the subject of the transitive verb. These terms are in accordance with the terminology used with other ergative languages.
The terminative has been called ‘directive’ by other scholars, for instance by G.B. Gragg, SDI p. 15ff., which term may well be more justified. Also in the case of the locative-terminative another term would probably be more applicable. However, since many questions about the functions and meanings of the Sumerian cases are still unanswered, especially as regards the last mentioned case, I have chosen to retain the established terminology.

Genitive

§ 161. The genitive postposition is /-ak/, but it is never written with the sign AK. [a] is most often assimilated or deleted after a vowel; [k] is deleted in final position and is only written when followed by a vowel.

(140) ig é-ğá < /ig é-ğu-ak/ ‘the door of my house’
(141) giš.rab mah an ki-a < /..., ki-ak/ ‘the huge neckstock of heaven and earth’ (Nungal Hymn 2)

For another view of the phonological shape of the genitive postposition see E. Sollberger, 1950 p. 74-77: ‘Je pense à mon tour que la forme du suffixe est bien –a; cependant, l’argument des tenants de cette théorie, savoir que le –k- a pour but d’empêcher l’hiatus, ne rend pas exactement compte du phénomène: il s’agit, à mon sens, d’empêcher une superposition par souci de clarté’ (p. 75).

Th. Jacobsen, 1973 p. 165, interpreted -ak in the following names as the genitive postposition: DNin.kar.ra.ak, DNin.šu.štî.na.ak, Aš.nun.na.ak. It is, however, not certain that these names are genitive constructions (cf. M.A. Powell, 1982 p. 319).

In the text BIN VIII 10, 8: šíg SAL.ÜZ ak Sollberger, 1959 p. 115 saw a possible writing AK for the genitive postposition, it is here, however, the verb ak, the whole phrase denoting a quality of wool. (For the phrase šíg-(ga-) ZUM-ak, see M. Civil, 1967 p. 210f.).

§ 162. The genitive is used with both animate and inanimate beings.

§ 163. The Rank of the Genitive Postposition in the Nominal Chain

The regens of the genitive normally stands before the rectum:

(143) /é lugal-ak/ ‘the house of the king’
The case postposition of the *regens* comes at the end, after the genitive:

(144) /é lugal-ak-a(loc.)/ = é lugal-la-ka ‘in the house of the king’

In a double genitive construction both genitive postpositions stand at the end:

(145) /é šeš lugal-ak-ak(-a, loc.)/ = é šeš lugal-la-ka(-ka) ‘(in) the house of the brother of the king’

In the nominal chain the genitive postposition occurs after the affixes belonging to the *rectum* (poss. suffix and/or */-ene/*), but before the affixes belonging to the *regens*:

(146) é šeš-ĝu₁₀-e-ne-ka = /é šeš-ĝu-ene-ak-a(loc.)/ ‘in the house of my brothers’
(147) šeš ab.ba-na-ke₄-ne = /šeš ab.ba-ani-ak-ene/ ‘the brothers of his father’
(148) é šeš lugal-la-ke₄-ne-ka = /é šeš lugal-ak-ene-a(loc.)/ ‘in the house of the brothers of the king’

§ 164. Anticipatory Genitive

The word order of the genitive construction can be reversed: the *rectum* is then repeated by a possessive suffix. This is the so-called anticipatory genitive.

(149) lugal-la é-a-ni = /lugal-ak é-ani/ ‘of the king — his house’
(150) é-a ig-bi = /é-ak ig-bi/ ‘of the house — its door’
(151) Ur.ĝiš.tukul-ka gud-a-ni ga-na-ab-zig, /Ur.ĝiš.tukul.ak-ak gud-ani ga-i-na-b-zi₂₄/ ‘let me issue Ur-tukula’s ox to him’

(TCS I nr. 36, 3-4)

(152) é-a me-bi di giriş ság nu-di, /é-ak me-bi/ ‘no god scatters the divine rules of the house’ (Enlil Hymn 41)

The two members of the anticipatory genitive may be separated by another word:

(153) é-a DEn.ki-ke₄ ĝiš.hur-bi si mu-na-sá, /é-a DEn.ki.k-e ĝiš. hur-bi si mu-na(-n)-sá/ ‘Enki put the plan of the house in order for him’ (Gudea, cyl. A XVII 17)

§ 165. The genitive expresses ownership (/é lugal-ak/ ‘the king’s house’) or relationship (/šeš lugal-ak/ ‘the king’s brother’).
Genitive constructions are rather frequently found, where we use adjectives or adverbs, e.g., /é.gal nam.lugal-ak-ani/ ‘his palace of kingship’, i.e. ‘his royal palace’.

(154) ensi₂ lú ĝeštug₂ daḡal-kam = /ensi₂ lú ĝeštug₂ daḡal-ak-am/ ‘the ensi is the man of the wide ear’, i.e. ‘is a wise man’ (Gudea, cyl. A I 12) (cf. ex. 157)

§ 166. In non-finite verbal constructions the genitive may express the agent, thus replacing the ergative. This is the case only in the following non-finite construction:

(N₃) N₁ R-a N₂-ak (cf. § 514).

(155) En.an.na.túm (...) ga zid gu₇-a DNin.hur.saḡ-ka, /DNin.hur. saq.ak-ak/ ‘Enanatum (...) fed with the good milk by Nin-hursaga(k)’ (En.L. = AOAT 25 p. 36: ii 8-9)

§ 167. The regens of the genitive construction may be missing. This construction is especially frequent with the enclitic copula. It is for instance the regular way to form ordinal numbers: min-(na-)kam < /min-ak-am/ ‘the second’ (see § 141).

(156) gú-na-kam = /gú-ani-ak-am/ ‘it is of his neck’ = ‘it is his responsibility’ (TCS I nr. 177, 7)

(157) ĝeštug₂ daḡal-la-ke₄ = /ĝeštug₂ daḡal-ak-e(erg.)/ ‘of the wide ear’, i.e. ‘the wise (man)’ (Enlil Hymn 11) (cf. ex. 154).

§ 168. Bibliography


§ 169. Absolutive

Absolutive is the unmarked case, i.e. it is the nominal stem alone without any postpositional endings.

It is first of all the case of the intransitive subject and of the transitive object; unmarked are also the vocative and the members of the non-finite asyntactic construction (see § 505).

For the use of the absolutive see also §§ 38-42.
Cases marked with /-e/

§ 170. The postposition /-e/ has two apparently quite different functions: a. ergative, denoting the subject of a transitive verb, and b. denoting the direction approximately 'near to', the so-called 'locative-terminative'.

As it is difficult to imagine two semantically totally different cases to be morphologically identical, it seems more likely to regard /-e/ as one case with two functions, whose relationship, however, is not entirely clear:

a. Subject of two-participant verbs: ergative, with both animate and inanimate.

b. Direction 'near to': 'locative-terminative', with inanimate only.

This last use of /-e/ seems to be restricted to a rather limited number of verbs which can be said to take loc.term. (see § 174); with animate beings the dative replaces the loc.term. (cf. ex. 167, 174 below).

Unlike the other postpositions /-e/ may thus occur twice in a sentence with different members of the clause, namely both as transitive subject and as locative-terminative direction, cf. ex. 169.

§ 171. In some instances -e is by J. Krecher, 1965 p. 28-29, classified as an independent 'isolating particle' with temporal meaning: 'als, während o.ä.' According to Krecher this particle is distinguished from the loc.term./erg. postposition by the fact that it is not contracted after a vowel, e.g., hül-la-e, and that the [k] of the genitive postposition is deleted before the 'isolating' -e, e.g., é ša-ba-e < /é ša.b-ak-e/, not é ša-ba-ke₄. The examples of the 'isolating' -e cited by Krecher are comparatively few and many of them come from the partly obscure Emesal and unorthographic texts. To my opinion it seems also possible that these instances of -e are either ergative or locative-terminative, although they are not always quite correct according to the standard grammar and orthography.

(158) DGilgameš en Kulaba₄ ki(-a)-ke₄ DInanna-ra nir ĝal-la-e inim ab.ba uru₉ ki-na-ke₄ ša-së bnu-um-gid b (a: -së; b-b: nu-mu disgusted), /nu-i-m-gid/, /nu-mu-na-(n-)gid/ 'Gilgames, the en of Kulaba, trusting in Inanna, did not bear the word of the elders of his city in mind' (Gilgames and Aka 15-17). J. Krecher, 1965 p. 29, classified nir ĝal-la-e as the temporal use of -e, but to me it seems more likely to understand -e as the ergative postposition, although this should not be written after the form VERB-a.

(159) ud uru₂ gul-gul-e ud é gul-gul-e ud tûr gul-gul-e ud ama₃ a-gul-gul-e₉ ĝarza kug-ga šu bi-fb-lá-a-ri (a-a: tab-tab-e), /bi-b-lá-a-ri/ 'the storm,
destroying cities, destroying houses, destroying cattle-pens, destroying sheep-folds, it has bound the holy rites’ (Ur Lament 391-393). J. Krecher, 1965 p. 29, suggested the meaning ‘was anbelangt’ of -e in gul-gul-e, but it can also be ergative.

§ 172. Morphology

The postposition /-e/ is most often written -e or -Ce. After a vowel it may occur as -e, -a or -ù, for instance: ama-a (Gudea, cyl. A XIII 3), nu.bànda-a (NG nr. 44, 6); Diğir.şag₅.ga-a (NG nr. 45, 11); lú-ù (Gudea, cyl. A XIII 11); dumu-ù (Gudea, cyl. A XIII 4); ..-zu-ù (Šulgi D 38); ..-gu₁₀-ù (Šulgi D 158, 161, 180), etc.

/-e/ may probably be assimilated or deleted after a vowel, for instance after the possessive suffixes /-ani/ and /-bi/ (cf. however mu-bi-e in ex. 171). Some scholars write in these cases ...-a-né and ...-bé in order to elucidate the assumed grammar of a certain phrase. In the present study I have refrained from this transliteration practice since, first of all, it is not without doubt that /-ani + e/ > [-ane] and /-bi + e/ > [-be] and not [-ani] and [-bi]; secondly because it is not always certain whether we have to restore this postposition, especially in its locative-terminative function (for this cf. ex. 170 below, where /-e/ is also missing after a consonant: -ğa(k)).

The postposition /-e/ is also deleted after the plural suffix /-ene/.

Occasionally /-e/ may occur after the non-finite form: R-a, cf. ex. 158.

§ 173. Ergative

In the ergative function /-e/ denotes the subject of a transitive or two-participant verb in a finite clause. In non-finite constructions /-e/ occurs only together with R(hamtu)-a in the so-called ‘mes-ane-pada’ construction, where the underlying subject has the ergative postposition /-e/, cf. ex. 163 and see § 514 and 517.

The ergative postposition /-e/ is used with both animate and inanimate beings.

Together with personal pronouns the postposition /-e/ denotes both transitive and intransitive subject. The pronominal forms ğá-e ‘I’, za-e ‘you’, a-ne ‘she’, ‘he’ and a-ne-ne ‘they’ which probably contain the ergative postposition may therefore be called ‘subject case’ or ‘nominative’ (cf. §§ 38; 92).
Examples:

(160) DEn.l lá-e en DNin.ígí.r.su-šé igi zid mu-ši-bar, /mu-ši-(n-) bar/ ‘Enlil looked faithfully at the lord Ningirsu’ (Gudea, cyl. A I 3)

(161) é-e gurus ug₃-ga-gin₇ gú ki-šè ₃ba-da-an-lá₃ (a-a: ḡá-ḡá-
dé), /ba-ta-n-lá/ ‘The house bowed down its neck to the earth like young warriors who have been killed’ (Curse of Akkade 120)

(162) ú.ku.kuμušen mušen ša.sig(-ga)-ke₄ gúd hé(-em)-ma-an-
ús₃ (a: adds -e), /ha-₁-ba-n-ús(-e)/ ‘the ukuku-bird, the bird of sorrow, shall build (its) nest there’ (Curse of Akkade 261)

(163) mes An-né pàd-da, /mes An-e pàd-a/ ‘the young man called by An’, corresponding to: /An-e mes mu-n-pàd/ ‘An has called the young man’

(164) É.ninnu An-né ki ḡar-ra, /É.ninnu An-e ki(-a, loc.) ḡar-a/
‘Eninnu founded by An’ (Gudea, cyl. A IX 11). This construction corresponds to the finite sentence: /An-e É.ninnu ki-a mu-n-ḡar/, but cf. ex. 165 where an-né is loc.term.: 

(165) é me.lám-bi an-né ús-sa, /é-ak me.lám-bi an-e ús-a/ ‘the radiance of the house reaches heaven’ (Gudea, cyl. A XVII 18) corresponding to /é-ak me.lám-bi an-e ḫ-m-ús/. Cf.

(166) me.lám huš-bi an-né im-ús ‘its terrible radiance reaches heaven’ (Gudea, cyl. A IX 16).

§ 174. Locative-Terminative

The locative-terminative function of the postposition /-e/ occurs with inanimate beings only. Dative with animate beings is often parallel to loc.-term. with inanimate, see the examples below.

The meaning of the locative-terminative is approximately the direction ‘near to’. The use of /-e/ in this sense seems to be limited to a rather small number of mostly compound verbs taking loc.term. (or locative) with inanimate beings and dative with animate beings (cf. ex. 167, 174): ki...āg ‘to love’, ḡu...dé ‘to call, to speak to’, mí...dug₄ ‘to care for’, ḡál...tag₄ ‘to open’, kūš.ù ‘to be troubled about’, saḡ... 
rig₇ ‘to grant’, si...sá ‘to put in order’, si ‘to fill’, gú...si ‘to assemble’, te ‘to reach’, ḡiš...tuku ‘to hear’, ús ‘to follow, to reach’, ki...ús ‘to found’. 
/-e/ is thus in general not used with other verbs in order to denote the direction, in the sense 'to, towards' the terminative is always used. Cf. ex. 172 where kar-...-e is the indirect object of the verb ús, whereas Nina\textsuperscript{ki-šè} denotes the general direction.

The verbs taking loc.term. may have the case prefix -ni-, which probably denotes locative and/or loc.term., see § 471. The verbal prefix /bi-/ seems also to be preferred by these verbs as well as the prefix chain /ba-ni-/ (cf. ex. 170 below).

**Examples:**

(167) é-e lugal-bi gù ba-dé, /ba-(n-)-dé/ ‘its king spoke to the house’ (Gudea, cyl. A I 10). But cf.:  

(168) ur.sag šul D Utu-ra kug D Inanna-ke₄ gù mu-un-na-šé-e ‘to the hero, the young man, to Utu, holy Inanna speaks’ (Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld 51)  

(169) é-e D Asar-re šu.si ba-sá, /ba-(n-)-sá/ ‘Asar put the house in order’ (Gudea, cyl. B IV 1)  

(170) ki-ba D Ištar-an-gin₇ di uru-šá si ba-ni-sb-sá-e, /ba-ni-b-sá-e(n)/ ‘at this place like Ištaran I will put the justice of my city in order’ (Gudea, cyl. A X 26). Here as in other cases with si...sá the ‘second object’ (di uru-šá) has obviously no postposition, since both /-a/(loc.) and /-e/(loc.term.) should be written /di uru-šu-ak/.

(171) mu-bi-e an.zag-ta kur-kur-re gù im-ma-si-si, /t-ba-(b-)-si-si/ ‘all the foreign lands gather around its name from the horizon’ (Gudea, cyl. A IX 18)  

(172) uru-ni Nina\textsuperscript{ki-šè} kar Siraraki-na-ke₄ má bi-ús, /bi-(n-)-ús/, ‘he steered the ship to her city Nina, to the quay of Siraran’ (Gudea, cyl. A IV 4). Cf.  

(173) kar D En.lil.lá-šè D Nanna D Suen-e gish má na-ga-àm-mi-in-ús, /na-ga-ì-bi-n-ús/ ‘Nanna-Suen has indeed also steered the ship to the quay of Enlil’ (Nanna-Suen’s Journey to Nippur 254-255)  

(174) níg.si.sá(-e) ki ha-ba-áğ-gá-àm, níg.erim₂-e ki la-ba-ra-áğ-àm, /ha-ba-áğ-a-m/, /nu-ba-ra(abl.)-áğ-a-m/ ‘I love justice, I do not love injustice’ (Šulgi Hymn A 23-24). But cf.:  

(175) aág-a-ra\textsuperscript{a} ki ha-ba-an\textsuperscript{b}-áğ (a:\ x gá-e; b: -na\textsuperscript{2} - for -an-) ‘she has loved me’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 313 = 379)
Dative

§ 175. The dative postposition is /-ra/, written with the sign RA. It may be abbreviated to [r] after a vowel, especially after /-ani/ ‘his, her’ and the plural suffix /-ene/. e.g.:

(176) lugal-a-ni-ir ‘for his king’
(177) diĝir gal-gal-e-ne-er ‘for the greatest gods’

In the OS texts the dative postposition is regularly omitted after a vowel, as a rule it occurs only after a consonant; also when this consonant is not explicitly written, e.g.,

(178) D Nin.ĝîr.su-ra = /Nin Ĝîr.su-ak-ra/ ‘for Ningirsu (lit.: the lord of Ĝîrsu)’

but:

(179) lugal-a-ni = /lugal-a.ni-ra/ ‘for his king’

§ 176. The dative can be used with animate beings only. With inanimate nouns the locative is used instead, sometimes also the terminative or the locative-terminative (cf. ex. 174 and 175 above).

§ 177. The dative denotes the person for whom or towards whom an action is done, e.g.,

(180) D Nin.ĝîr.su-ra Gû.de.a Ė.ninnu mu-na-dù ‘for Ningirsu Gudea has built the Eninnu’
(181) en D Nin.ĝîr.su-ra Ė.ninnu Anzu₂ mušen bar₆.bar₂-ra mu-na-da-ku₄-ku₄ ‘he enters before the lord Ningirsu in Eninnu, the white Anzu-bird’ (Gudea, cyl. A VII 27-29)

§ 178. Most verbs can take dative, except those verbs denoting an action which cannot be done for an animate being like for instance zu ‘to know’, or verbs which for some other reason take another case element, for instance terminative (cf. Gragg, SDI p. 88).

The categories of verbs taking dative are according to Gragg, SDI p. 89ff.: Verbs of giving, verbs of speaking, verbs of motion, verbs of ‘action-towards’, verbs of emotion, verbs of doing for. (See §§ 438-439).

§ 179. In many cases, but not in all, there is concord of dative postposition and prefix in the verbal form. As Gragg stated, ‘for most verbs
there seems to be no reason to distinguish between their ability to take a dative complement and their ability to take a dative infix. (...) The fact that a verb can take an adverbial in -ra means that under the appropriate conditions it can also take a dative infix. It remains an open question whether the dative concord is itself an optional rule or whether it should be allowed to take place in every instance, and followed by various obligatory and optional deletion rules' (SDI p. 88).

Exception is the verb in-šè...dub 'which regularly occurs with a dative complement but never with a dative infix' (Gragg, SDI p. 88).

Locative

§ 180. The locative postposition is /-a/; it is written -a or -Ca.

§ 181. The locative postposition occurs normally with inanimate beings only; if a verb takes dative with animate beings, it takes locative (or sometimes terminative) with inanimate beings, dative and locative can thus be regarded as complementary cases. From NS on the locative sometimes replaces the dative, e.g.,


§ 182. The locative denotes the place 'where': an ki-a 'in heaven (and) on earth', uru-a 'in the city', Nibrúki-a 'in Nippur', etc.

(183) Keš₄ ki kur-kur-ra saq(-šá) ù-bi 'when Keš lifted its (head) in (or: among) the foreign lands' (Keš Hymn 8)
(184) ša-ba < /ša-bi-a/, lit. 'in their midst' = 'among them'

§ 183. In a figurative sense the locative denotes 'in the status of', 'in the capacity as':

(185) limmu-bi nam.ir nam.šeme₂-a ba-a-gi₄ 'these four were returned into their status as slaves and slavegirls' (NG nr. 30, 14)

§ 184. Temporally the locative denotes 'at a given time', 'when': ud-ba < /ud-bi-a/ 'at that day, when'. So also in the subordinate clause: ud ... VERB-a(subord.)-a(loc.) (cf. § 489).

(186) bala nam.lugal-la-šá = /bala nam-lugal-ak-šu-a/ 'during my reign' (Sin-kašid 10, 9)
§ 185. Locative is also used in adverbial phrases like for instance: á huš-na < /á huš-ani-a/ ‘in his wild strength’, hé.gál-la ‘in abundance, abundantly’, ní-ba < /ní-bi-a/ ‘on their own accord’ (cf. § 132).

§ 186. Many compound verbs take locative with the ‘second object’, for instance šu...tag ‘to decorate’, šu...ûr ‘to erase’.

(187) mušar-ra-a-ba šu bi'-îb-ra-ge(-a) ‘the one who erases this inscription’ (Warad-Sin 28, rev. 53-54)

(188) za.gin-na šu û-ma-ni-tag ‘when you have decorated it with lapis lazuli’ (Gudea, cyl. A VI 19)

§ 187. In the prefix chain of the finite verb the locative case is normally referred to by the prefix -ni- which also corresponds to the locative-terminative and the terminative, see §§ 470-482.

Comitative

§ 188. The comitative postposition is written -da, in OS also -da₅ (= URUDU).

A. Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 115, regarded the OS writing -da₅ as the most general form of the comitative in this period. However, as a rule, DA seems to be the most used sign also in the OS texts, cf. E. Sollberger, 1952 p. 97 n. 1, and ex. 189, 190 below.

The writing -dē for the comitative /-da/ occurs in the non-finite form R-a-POSS-dē (see § 521). This seems, however, to be the only case where comitative is written -dē, the examples of -dē after nouns from Gudea and NS texts in Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 156 and n. 4 are very doubtful.

§ 189. The comitative element /da/ is etymologically the noun da, ‘side’ (cf. ex. 196).

Comitative occurs with both animate and inanimate. It is incorporated in the verbal prefix chain as -da- (or -di- and -dē-, see § 441).

§ 190. The basic meaning of the comitative is ‘with’, ‘together with’, expressing accompaniment as well as mutual action. In this sense the comitative can be used with almost all verbs (cf. ex. 189, 191, 192).

Some verbs like á...ág ‘to instruct’, ad...gi₄ ‘to take counsel’, gú...lā
‘to embrace’, and verbs of emotion like húl ‘to rejoice in’, šagš ‘to be pleasing to’, ní...ri ‘to inspire fear’, sağ.ki...gíd ‘to be angry at’, regularly take comitative prefix and postposition (cf. Gragg, SDI p. 62-66 and ex. 193, 194 below; see also §§ 447-449).

§ 191. The occurrences of the postposition -da are more rare than the presence of the comitative in the prefix chain with the above mentioned verbs. In some cases -da may graphically be omitted (ex. 192), in others the noun corresponding to the comitative prefix is expressed by another case, for instance the dative as in ex. 194.

In the OB texts investigated by Gragg there were only 170 occurrences of -da against 430 of the case prefix, of those no more than 26 were cooccurrences of prefix and postposition. Gragg therefore concluded that ‘the comitative infix has a greater independence vis-a-vis the individual verb stem than was the case for the terminative and the ablative-instrumental infixes’ (SDI p. 53).

For the ‘ablitative’ meaning of the comitative prefix, see § 448.

§ 192. Examples:

(189) Ė.an.na.túm (...)-ke₄ Ená.kal.le ensi₂ Umma ki-da ki e-da-sur, /i-da-(n-)sur/ ‘Eanatum marked off the boundary with Enakale, the prince of Umma’ (Ent. 28 I 32-42)

(190) nam.dag  DNin.ğír.su-da e-da-ak-ka-am₅, /i-da-(n-)ak-a-m/ ‘he is the one who has committed a sin against (lit.: with) Ningirsu’ (Ukg. 16 VIII 1-3)

(191) ṣe dub-ğu₁₀ Ur.DŠul.pa.è-da in-da-ğál, /i-n.da-ğál/ ‘my barley tablet is with Ur-Šulpā’e’ (TCS I nr. 60, 3) (ṣe dub is probably an asyntactic construction)

(192) balağ (...) DNin.ğír.su-ra Ė.ninnu (...)-a mu-na-da-ku₄-ku₄ ‘he enters before Ningirsu in the Eninnu with the lyre’ (Gudea, cyl. A VII 24-29)

(193) DNin.sikil.a-da á mu-da-ág ‘he instructed Ninsikila’ (Gudea, cyl. A XV 15)

(194) DSuen-raa D En.lfl mu(-un)-da-húl (a: -da), /mu-n.da-húl/ ‘Enlil rejoiced over Suen’ (Nanna-Suen’s Journey to Nippur 319). Cf.: 

(195) é-d[a ..] lugal i[m]-da-hú[l] ‘the king rejoiced over the temple’ (Gudea, cyl. B XX 14)

§ 193. The comitative postposition also occurs in the expression -bi-da ‘and’, lit.: ‘with its’:
(196) zi.da-bi da-ba gub-ba-bi ḫdīdīgna ḫdīBuranun-bi-da hé.gāl
lah₃-ām ‘the zida-vessel standing at its side is the Tigris and
the Euphrates bringing abundance’ (Gudea, cyl. B XVII 9-11)

§ 194. NOUN-da nu-me-a ‘without’. For a discussion of this expression,
see Gragg, 1968 p. 100.

(197) kur gal DEn.līl-da nu-me-a uru nu-dū á.dam ki li-bī-ib-ḡar,
/nu-ī-me-a/, /nu-ī-du/, /nu-bi-bi-ḡar/ ‘without the great
mountain, Enlil, no city is built, no settlement is founded’
(Enlil Hymn 108-109)

Terminative

§ 195. The basic form of the terminative postposition is /ešē/, but it
is most often written -šē, e.g., ē-šē ‘to the house’, an-šē ‘to heaven’,
etc. Mainly in later periods (i.e. after NS) the postposition can be ab-
breviated to [š] after a grammatical element ending in a vowel (e.g.,
-ži, -gū₁₀, -a, etc.): śu-gū₁₀-uš ‘into my hand’, ud ul.lī-a-äš ‘for
ever’ (lit.: ‘to remote days’ see ex. 210). This happens only exception-
ally after a noun or adjective or a verbal stem: nīɡ.ba-aš < /nīɡ.ba-
še/ ‘as a gift’ (ex. 206), Aratta ki-äš (ex. 231).

§ 196. The terminative is used with both animate and inanimate
nouns. In the prefix chain of the verb the terminative occurs as -ši–,
see § 451.

§ 197. Terminative denotes the motion towards something:

(198) uru-šē gā-e ga-ğen ‘let me go to the city’ (Lugalbanda and
Enmerkar 272)

(199) DEn.līl-le (...) kur gū-erin₃ ki-na-šēa igit-nil [b]a-an-tl (a: var.
om.; b: -na) ‘Enlil lifted his eye towards the hostile
country’ (Curse of Akkad 153-154)

(200) ki.sur.ra DNin.ğir-su-ka-ta a.ab-šē maškim di e-ğāl-lam
‘from the boundary of Ningirsu until the sea there was a bail-
iff’ (Ukg. 4 VII 12-16)

§ 198. In a non-dimensional sense terminative also means ‘to’, ‘as re-
gards’, ‘concerning’ or ‘because of, for the sake of’:
(201) lú an-gin₇ ri-ba ki-gin₇ ri-ba-šè (...), šeš-ğu₁₀ D Nin.ģír.su
ga-nam-me-âm ‘concerning the man as big as heaven, as big
as the earth — it was verily my brother Ningirsu’ (Gudea,
cyl. A V 13-17)

(202) nam.ti-la-ni-šè mu-na-dù ‘he has built it for him for the
sake of his life’ (Amar-Sin, Brick E 27-28 = SAK p. 198)

(203) a ra.zu ge-na-ğu₁₀ -šè hu-mu-ši-in-še-ge-eš-a, /ha-mu-ši-n-
še.g-eš-a/ ‘when they have allowed me (to do so and so) be-
cause of my steadfast prayer’ (Sin-iddinam 6 I 26-27)

§ 199. The terminative postposition occurs with verbs denoting ‘to
make into’, ‘to call, to name’ and the like:

(204) alam na-šè mu-tu ‘he has formed it into a statue of stone’
(Gudea, St. D IV 17)

(205) mu-šè mu-na-sa₄ ‘he has called it by the name (...)’ (Gudea,
St. D V 8 = E IX 4)

(206) níg.ba-aš ha-ma-an-ba-e, /ha-mu-DAT.1.sg.-n-ba-e/ ‘let
her give it to me as a present’ (Warad-Sin 5, 17-18)

(207) ud D En.lîl-le D Nin.urta ur.ság kalag-ga-ni maškim-šè mu-
ni-in-tuku-a ‘When Enlil has let him have Ninurta, his strong
warrior, as bailiff’ (Išme-Dagan 3, 3-7)

§ 200. Temporal Use of the Terminative

In temporal expressions -šè means ‘to, until’: ud min-šè ‘in 2 days’
or ‘for 2 days’, but also ud min-âm means ‘for 2 days’.

(208) ud-te-ta gi₆-ba-šè ‘from evening until morning(?)’ (TCS I
nr. 56, 9)

(209) 20 guruš ud 12-šè 6 guruš ud 6-šè a.šà Lú. D Ba.ba₆-ka-kà
gub-ba-aš nu-gi.in ‘it was not confirmed that 20 workers in
12 days and 6 workers in 6 days have been working in the
field of Lu-Baba’ (NG nr. 213, 36-37)

(210) mu-ğu₁₀ ud ul.lí-a-aš gá-gá-dè ‘that my name shall be estab-
lished until remote days’ (Šulgi Hymn A 36). Cf. ud ul-la-šè
in Ent. 36 III 6.

§ 201. Terminative is moreover found in the following expressions:

nam-bi-šè ‘therefore, for that reason’
/mu ... -ak-eše/ ‘for, instead of, because of’
/bar ... -ak-eše/ 'because'
/igi ... -ak-eše/ 'before'
a-na-āš-ām 'why?' (see 'Interrogative Pronouns' § 118).
ur₃-šē-ām 'therefore, so' (see § 100).

For terminative in adverbial expressions, see §§ 84-89; in causal clauses, see § 489.

(211) 1 gīn kug.babbar-ām mu-ḡu₁₀ -šē Ba.šag₃-ga hé-na-ab-sum-
mu, /ha-ī-na-b-sum-e/ 'let him give Bašaga 1 shekel silver
on my behalf' (TCS I nr. 131, 3-6)

(212) a-na-āš-ām Puzur₄.Ha.ià mu še kur-ra-šē še eštub hé-na-
sum 'why has Puzur-Haya given him eštub-barley instead of
kur-barley?' (TCS I nr. 125, 3-6)

(213) § 4/5 še [ur lugal] 1 gīn kug.babbar mu sağ-ğá-šē A.tu-ra
in-na-sum-ma '(he has sworn) that he has given Atu 3 4/5
royal gur barley and 1 shekel of silver for the slave' (NG nr.
208, 22-25)

§ 202. In the royal inscriptions of the First Babylonian dynasty the
terminative often replaces the original dative. This is probably because
of the identification of -šē with the Akkadian preposition ana 'to,
for':

(214) DNin.hur.sağ-ğá ama in-dîm-en-na-⟨ḡu₁₀ ⟩-uš, /i-n-dîm-en-
a-⟨gu⟩-eše/ 'for Ninhursag, my mother who created me' (Sam-
suiluna A 44-45 (LIH 98) = LIH 97, 42-43 (Akkad. version):
a-na DNin-mah AMA ba-ni-ti-ta)

Ablative-Instrumental

§ 203. The ablative-instrumental postposition is /-ta/, normally writ-
ten with the sign TA.

§ 204. -da may occur where -ta is expected. In some cases this is
probably only a phonetic variation, e.g.,

(215) me-e ē-ḡu₁₀-da mušen-gin₇ im-ma-ra-dal-en, /i-ba-ra
(abl.)-dal-en/ 'I, like a bird I will fly out of my house' (Iškur
Hymn 17). But cf.:
(216) giš-bi-ta na-an-na-ra-ab-dal-en (Enmerkar and the Lord of
Aratta 115)
(217) dirig nīg ud.bi.da-ka, /nīg ud.bi.ta-ak-a/ ‘more than before’ (Warad-Sin 18 I 13’). Cf.
(218) dirig ud.bi.da-šē (Rim-Sin 10, 43) and
(219) dirig ud.bi.ta-šē (Rim-Sin 11, 30; 15, 33). These examples are probably atypical since -ta here is no usual postposition but part of the derived noun ud.bi.ta ‘old days, the past’, lit., ‘from those days’, see ex. 224, 238.

The variation -ta: -da may, however, also be due to confusion of the instrumental and comitative cases, or to uncertainty about the case with some verbs. Cf. for instance the verb šár ‘to mix’ which occurs with both -ta, -da and -a(loc.):

(220) šár-ra sahar-ra a la-ba-an-da-bšár-re-ešc (a: var. adds -t[a]?; b: adds -an-[; c: ]-šár-šár!-re-eš), /nu-ba-n-da-šár-eš/ ‘would not numerous (enemies) be mixed with dust?’ (Gilgameš and Aka 77, cf. l. 95). But cf.:
(221) sahar-ta ba-da-an-šár (TCL XV, 1: 27)
(223) kug šags-ga-zu sahar kur-ra-ka nam-ba-da-ab-šár-re, /sahar kur-ak-a na-ba-da-b-šár-en/ ‘do not mix your good silver with (lit.: ‘in’) the dust of the Netherworld!’ (Inanna’s Descent 44)

This verb probably takes either instrumental (‘to mix with’) or locative (‘to mix in(to)’) with the noun, but the prefixes of the verbal form are regularly ba-da- which probably derives from /ba-ta-/; cf. § 449.

I prefer to interpret sahar-ra in ex. 220 as /sahar-a(loc.)/ and not as /sahar-ta/ as Falkenstein did, GSGL I p. 116.

§ 205. The ablative-instrumental postposition -ta is used with inanimate beings only. The direction away from a person is expressed with ki: /ki PN-ak-ta/ ‘from PN’, lit.: ‘from the place of PN’.

Cf. also the following compounds with -ta:
/eğer ...-ak-ta/ ‘from the back of ...’ = ‘after, behind’
/ki ...-ak-ta/ ‘from the place of ...’ = ‘from’ with animate beings
/šà ...-ak-ta/ ‘from the heart of ...’ = ‘out of, from among’
/šu ...-ak-ta/ ‘with the hand of ...’ = ‘under the authority of’
§ 206. Ablative is the motion away from something, e.g. Unugki-ta ba-ğen 'he went from Uruk', but it can be used with every action or state having a starting point both in a local and a temporal sense (for the temporal use of -ta see also below §§ 207-208):

(224) ud D Nin.ğir.su (...) -ke4 să la 36000 -ta šu-ni e -ma-ta-dab5 -ba -a nam.tar-ra ud -bi -ta e -šè -gar, /i -ba-ta -(n-)dab5 -a -a/, /i -ši -(n-)gar/ 'after Ningirsu has taken his hand out of 36.000 men (i.e. chosen him among 36.000 men), he (Urunimgina) re-established the order of former days' (Ukg. 4 VII 29-VIII 9)

(225) tukumbi nu-na-an-sum è -a -ni -ta šb-su-su, /nu-ı-na-n-sum/, /ı-b-su-su-e/ 'if he does not give it to him, he shall restore it out of his (own) possessions (lit.: house)' (TCS I nr. 177, 8-11)

(226) eren2 gal-ğu10 sig-ta igi.nim-še ab-ta kur ǧiš eren-še (...) gû ga-mu-ni-šb-ğar, /ga-mu-ni-b-ğar/ 'my great army from below to above, from the sea to the cedar mountain, I will let submit to him' (Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdana 159-160)

§ 207. -ta with temporal expressions: ud/mu ...-ta means 'since ...' or '... days/years ago', e.g.,

(227) mu DŠu.Šuen lugal-ta 'since the year Šu-Suen (became) king' (TCS I nr. 148, 6)

(228) mu-da-20-ta Az.ğu10 A.al.la dumu-na in-na-ba-a, /ı-na-(n-)ba-a/ '(they have sworn) that Azgu has given him (= the slave) to Alla, his son, twenty years ago' (NG nr. 31, 10-13). In mu-da-...-ta the element -da- is not clear, see Th. Jacobsen in: J.B. Siegel, 1947 p. 32 n. 15, and Falkenstein, NG III p. 142.

(229) 1 ǧeme2 iti D Dumu.zi-ta ud 1-ám ba-ra-zal Á.nin.ğá.ta i-dab5 'Aningata has taken one slave-girl on the first day of the month of Dumuzi (lit.: from the month of Dumuzi one day has passed)' (TCS I nr. 297, 3-4)

§ 208. Temporal clauses are: ud ...-a-ta 'after ...' and eğer ...-a-ta, 'after ...', or simply ...-a-ta (see also § 489):

matter, sends a man to Enmerkar’ (Enmerkar and Ensuhešdana 273-274)

(231) Ha.maz.uz hul-a-ta Aratta(ki(-aš)) bal-a ‘When Hamazu had been destroyed, he crossed over to Aratta’ (Enmerkar and Ensuhešdana 137)

§ 209. As in other languages the ablative postposition –ta also denotes the instrument or means:

(232) á D.Nanšę-ta á D.Nin.ği.r.su-ka-ta Gù.de.a ǧidru sum-ma D.Nin.ği.r.su-ka-ra Má.gan.ki Me.lu.ha kì Gu.bi.ki kur Dilmun kì gü ǧiš mu-na-ḡal-la-ām ‘by the means of /because of the strength of Nanše and the strength of Ningirsu Magan, Meluhha, Gubi and the mountain Dilmun submitted to Gu- dea whom Ningirsu has given the sceptre’ (Gudea, St. D IV 2-11)

(233) D.Nin.ği.r.su ur.sağ D.En.lı.l-lā-ke₄ inim si.sá-ni-ta Umma.ki- da dam.ha.ra e-da-ak, /ī-da-(n-)ak/ ‘Ningirsu, the warrior of Enlil, at his (i.e. Enlil’s) righteous word made battle with Umma’ (Ent. 28 I 22-27). inim-(-)–ta is a very commonly used phrase in the Sumerian royal inscriptions.

(234) ud (...) ḫ[x[Di]din]a ḫ[|[D]üğ-ga-na usu ma.da-ni-ta im-mi- in-ba.al-la-a, /ī-bi-n-ba.al-a-a/ ‘when he has dug the Tigris, the river of his pleased heart, with the power of his land’ (Sin-i[ddin]a m, 12-15)

(235) kuš guru₂₁–bi zú-ni-ta hé-HAR–re ‘may he chew its door straps with his teeth’ (Curse of Akkade 255)

§ 210. Similar to the instrumental meaning is the use of –ta with expressions of emotion:

lípš–ta ‘in anger’
ša ge-na-ni-ta ‘of one’s own accord’ (lit.: with one’s firm heart’)
ša hûl-la-ni-ta ‘with (his/her) joyful heart’

Cf. Gragg, SDI p. 31 with examples.

§ 211. The postposition –ta also denotes distributive: ‘each’.

(236) 4 guruš á-bi 0.0.4.–ta ‘four workers — their wages (are) 4 bān each’ (TCS I nr. 17, 3)

ninda 2 sīla₃-ta kāš 4 sīla₃-ta ʿi 2 gīn-ta-ām, ud diš-a ur₅-gin₇ šu ha-ba-an-ti, /mu-ba.al-a-a/, /ha-ba-n-ti/ ‘when I dug the Tigris, the big river, (as) wages each (lit.: one) man (received) ‘xx’ barley, 2 sīla bread, 4 sīla beer and 2 shekel oil, daily (lit.: in one day) he received like this’ (Sin-iddinam 6 II 16-24)

(238) munus ud.bi.ta-ke₄-ne nita 2-ta ʾi-tuku-ām ‘the women of the past married two men each’ (Ukg. 6 III 20-22)

§ 212. It has been noted that –ta also may stand for locative, cf. Gragg, SDI p. 30 n. 3 and p. 31 (n. 1: ‘In those ‘locative’ uses of the ablative, the –ta- may indicate deixis ‘over there’.’); A. Shaffer, 1969, 433-46; A. Falkenstein, GSGL II p. 149f.

In most of the examples quoted in these works –ta seems to denote the origin and must thus be regarded as an aspect of the ablative rather than a ‘locative use’ (ex. 239, 240). In other cases the use of ablative is due to different view of the direction of some verbs, e.g. in Sumerian something is hanging from a nail and not on a nail (ex. 241).

(239) uruUr.suk₁ hur.saq Eb.la-ta gīšZa.ba.lum (...) ad-šē mu-ak-ak ‘from Ursu, the mountain Ebla, they made Zabalum-wood to beams’ (or perhaps: Z.-wood from Ursu) (GSGL II p. 149: ‘in Ursu ..’) (Gudea, St. B V 53-58)

(240) kā ki lugal ku₄-bi-ta hu.ři.in am-šē īgī ʾl-ʾl-dam ‘from the gate where the king is entering the hurin-bird is looking for the wild bull’ (GSGL II p. 150: ‘an seinem Tor ..’) (Gudea, cyl A XXV 5-6)

(241) uzu nīg.sig(-ga) gīškak-ta (igi-ni) lū a-ba-da-an-lāa (a-a: mu-un-da-lá; ba-an-ta-lá) ‘they hung up the corpse on a nail (before her)’ (Inanna’s Descent 172)

The phrase sahar-ta which frequently occurs with the verb tuš ‘to sit, to live’, can, however, hardly be interpreted as ablative but denotes apparently the locative: ‘to sit in (the) dust’:


§ 213. In the prefix chain of the verb the ablative is referred to by
the prefixes -ta- and -ra-; the instrumental which occurs less frequently is expressed by -ta-. The other meanings of the postposition -ta-, i.e. distributive, emotions, temporal, are not repeated in the prefix chain. For further details see §§ 460-469.

Equative

§ 214. The equative postposition is mostly written with the sign GIM which may be read both -gim and -gin₇. Because of the frequent spelling -GIM-nam = equ. + COP and the syllabic writings -gi-in etc. (cf. § 215), -gin₇ is perhaps the most probable form of the postposition, but note that -gim-ma-âm is also found (ex. 249), see § 29.

A. Poebel, GSG p. 128f., thought the basic form of the equative to be /gimin/, probably because of the writing -GIM-nam, which he analysed as /-gimin-am/, and the late form e-qi-me (ASK 7 obv. 4, corresponding to a-gim ‘how’). Poebel interpreted /-gimin/ as gi = ‘eins’, min = ‘zwei’, i.e. ‘eins ist (wie) das andere’ (GSG p. 123). This ‘basic’ form is, however, nowhere attested, and the proposed etymology is rather doubtful.

The writing of -gé is attested in a NS letter:

(243) a.ba šeš-šū₁₀-gé ‘who is like my brother?’ (TCS I nr. 143, 8)

The same expression with -gin₇ instead of -gé occurs frequently in the NS letters (cf. TCS I p. 120). Because of the writing -gé E. Sollberger thought -ge(n) to be the original form of the postposition (TCS I p. 120), but to me it seems more likely that -gé is an exception or a mistake.

§ 215. In the unorthographic texts the syllabic writings -gi-in, -ge-en, -gi₄-in can be found (cf. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 39f.; Sjöberg, 1960 p. 91): ab.ba-gi.in (= ab.ba-gin₇) ‘like the sea’ (VS II 1, 2 = Sjöberg, 1960 p. 89); zi-gi-in (= za-a-gin₇) ‘like you’ (CT XV 15, 21); zi-gi₄-in (= zi-gin₇) ‘like flour’ (VS II 2 iii 28); cf. also ū-ki = ūz-gin₇ ‘like a goat’ (VS II 94, 13 and VS II 95, 13 = Krecher, 1967b p. 34).

§ 216. /-gin₇/ means: ‘like’, ‘as’; it is used in comparisons. /-gin₇/ is used with both animate and inanimate nouns.

The comparison may consist of a noun, frequently also of a non-finite verb or of a relative clause; -gin₇ stands of course at the end of the whole phrase. The phrase determined by -gin₇ stands normally after the word with which it is compared (é hur.saḡ-gin₇: ‘the house like a mountain’, ex. 245).
The enclitic copula is frequently added after the equative postposition (ex. 249); the copula is probably emphatic, since it is often rendered as -ma in Akkadian (cf. Römer, 1980 p. 92).

§ 217.

(244) Zabalamₖᵢ-e u₄ si₄₄ gur₅-a-gin₇ sig₄ mu-da-gi₄-gi₄ ‘Zabalam cries like an ewe who has been cut off from (its) kid’
(Lugalzagesi, BE I 87 II 43-45)

(245) é ḫur-sag-gin₇ im-mú-mú-ne ‘they made the house grow like a mountain’ (Gudea, cyl. A XXI 19)

(246) u₄ sar gibil-gin₇ men bī-īl ‘he made it (the house) wear a crown like the new moon’ (Gudea, cyl. A XXIV 10)

(247) ki-ba Đīštaran-gin₇ di ĕru-ďá si ba-ni-īb-sá-e ‘on this place I, like Ištaran, shall put right the judgement of my city’ (Gudea, cyl. A X 26)

(248) a-bi a-gin₇ a-mu-e₆-naḡ-a₇-gin₇ a-mu-e₆-bal-e (a-a: mu-un-; b: om.) ‘you have crossed their (= the rivers’) water as if you have drunk it’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 237)

(249) ĝá-nu Lugal-bàn.da-ĝu₁₀ inim šá-ga sè-ge ur₅-gim-ma-ām, /ĝen + /i/, /sè.g + /i/ ‘come, my Lugalbanda, place the word to the heart, so it shall be!’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 162-163)

§ 218. -gin₇(-nam) may occur after a finite verb, then probably in a temporal sense: ‘just as ...’ (see Römer, 1980 p. 94).

(250) lú še lugal-ĝu₁₀ i-me-a bī-in-dug₄-ga-gin₇-nam, /bi-n-dug₄-a-gin-am/ ‘this man is my king! Just as he has said this’ (Gilgamesh and Aka 91-92)

§ 219. The enclitic copula may alternate with or even replace the equative postposition. -ām is thus also translated by kīma ‘like’ (see W. Heimpel, 1968 p. 24-42 with references and many examples).

§ 220. The equative is not incorporated in the prefix chain of the verb.
THE VERB

§ 221. The Verbal Forms

The Sumerian verb cannot be inflected but its various forms are constructed by adding prefixes and/or affixes of different kinds to the verbal root. These constructions can, both on the morphological and on the syntactic level, be separated into two groups: finite and non-finite verbal forms.

1. Finite constructions serve as the main verb of a sentence. They consist of a prefix chain with 3-4 elements on the average + the verbal root + possibly a pronominal suffix: /mu-na-ni- + ku₄.r + -en/ = ‘I(-en) have entered(ku₄.r) there(-ni-) before him(-na-).’

   For the construction of finite forms and their morphemes, see § 272ff.

2. A non-finite form is either the verbal stem alone, or the stem + a suffix: /-a/, /-e/ or COP. Such forms stand attributively to nouns.

   For the construction of non-finite forms, see §§ 500-527.

For other constructions: imperatives and the rare ‘finite’ forms without prefix chain, see § 273.

§ 222. The Verbal Stems

The verb has three or four different stems: 1. the hamtu stem, 2. the reduplicated hamtu stem, 3. the marû stem, and 4. the stem with the morpheme /ed/ (perhaps denoting the future tense).

According to the shape of the marû stem the verbs are divided into four classes: I. Regular Verbs, II. Reduplication Class, III. Alternating Class, and IV. Complementary Verbs.

The regular verbs have no marû stem, but only one basic stem, = the hamtu stem. In those forms where the marû stem of the other
verbal classes occurs, the regular verbs use the hamtu stem (like in /sum + ed/).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hamtu stem/ basic stem</th>
<th>Hamtu redupl./ total redupl. (§§ 242-250)</th>
<th>Marû stem</th>
<th>‘Future’ stem (§§ 252-259)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Regular Verbs (§§ 224-226)</td>
<td>sum</td>
<td>sum-sum</td>
<td></td>
<td>sum + /ed/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Reduplication Class (§§ 227-228)</td>
<td>ṣar</td>
<td>ṣar-ṣar</td>
<td>Partial redupl.  ṣá-ṣá</td>
<td>ṣá-ṣá + /ed/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Alternating Class (§ 229)</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>ḍ-ḍ</td>
<td>Alternated stem ḍ-ḍ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Complement- ary Verbs (§ 230)</td>
<td>dug4 de₆</td>
<td>dug₄-dug₄</td>
<td>Complementary stem  ṭūm</td>
<td>( )  tūm + /ed/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the terms hamtu and marû and the functions of these stems, see §§ 231-241.

The Verbal Classes

§ 223. The Sumerian verbs can be classified according to their way of forming the marû stem. It is, however, not always without problems to consider the correct marû stem of a verb, since the marû reduplication can be confused with the reduplication of the hamtu stem. The marû stem can most easily be recognized from the non-finite form: VERB–ed–e, but not all Sumerian verbs have by now been classified with certainty. It is of course also possible that some verbs have changed class which could explain some apparently contradicting forms.

M. Yoshikawa, 1968a, was the first to introduce the classification of the Sumerian verbs on the basis of non-finite /ed/-forms. In that study
and in his following articles on hamtu and marû (1968b and 1974) Yoshikawa classified many of the verbs listed below.

D.O. Edzard, 1971a, 1972 and 1976a, accepted the principle of Yoshikawa’s classification, but modified it on some important points (see 1976a, 45-52; 55-59).

The classification presented here differs in some respects from those of both Yoshikawa and Edzard. see below to the individual classes.

I. Class of Regular Verbs

§ 224. The regular verbs are those which have no special marû stem at all, but only one basic root = the hamtu stem. These are in fact the majority of the Sumerian verbs, and therefore the term ‘regular verbs’ is used. Hamtu and marû forms of these verbs can thus be distinguished only in the finite transitive verb, whereas intransitive forms can express the hamtu aspect only.

M. Yoshikawa, 1968a, called this class ‘Affixation Group’, because he regarded the pronominal suffix /-e/ of the 3.sg. transitive as a marû element of this class of verbs, e.g. tar = hamtu : tare = marû (see § 233). D.O. Edzard, who did not follow the affixation theory of Yoshikawa called this class ‘unveränderliche Klasse’ but used the term ‘regelmäßige Verben’ about all verbs except the complementary stems (1976a p. 48).

§ 225. 50-70% of the Sumerian verbs presumably belong to the class ‘Regular Verbs’. The verbs listed below are those which almost with certainty can be classified here, but there are no doubt more.

áğ ‘to measure’
ak ‘to do, to make’
ba ‘to give’
bal ‘to transfer, to cross’
bar ‘to open, to split’
dab₄ ‘to seize’
dah ‘to add, to augment’
dal ‘to fly’
dé ‘to pour’
dib/dīb ‘to pass’
dîm ‘to make, to fashion’
dū ‘to build’
du₈ ‘to open, to loosen’
dûb ‘to heap up’
e₁₁.d ‘to descend’
gam ‘to bow down’
gi.n ‘to be firm’
gíd ‘to be long’
gu₇ ‘to eat’
gub ‘to stand (sing.)’
gul ‘to destroy’
gur ‘to come back’
ğal ‘to be’
ha.lam ‘to destroy’
ha.za ‘to grasp’
uhg ‘to hire’
húl ‘to rejoice’
hu.luh ‘to be frightened’
kàm ‘to change’
kar ‘to go/take away’
kud.r ‘to cut’
kúr ‘to act as an enemy, to change’
kúš.ù ‘to be troubled’
lá ‘to carry’
lu.g ‘to swarm’
nigin ‘to wander’
pad.r ‘to break’
pàd ‘to call’
peš ‘to grow’
ru.gú ‘to withstand’
sá ‘to be equal to, etc.’
sa₄ ‘to name’
zar.re.ēš...sal ‘to heap up’
sar ‘to chase’
si.g ‘to level’
si.g ‘to place’
sig ‘to beat’
silig ‘to cease’
sim ‘to give’
še.g ‘to obey’
šed ‘to cool’
šíd ‘to count’
šub ‘to throw’
šúr ‘to be enraged’
tab ‘to double’
tag ‘to touch’
tar ‘to cut’
ti.l ‘to live (sing.)’
tu₁₀/₁₁ ‘to smite’
tuš ‘to sit (sing.)’
ul₄ ‘to hurry’
uru₄ ‘to plough’
ús ‘to follow’
zàh, záh ‘to flee’
zal ‘to pass’
zi.r ‘to tear out’

§ 226. Adjectives which are used as verbs belong, as a rule, to the class of regular verbs, for instance:

dağāl ‘to be/make wide’
duğ ‘to be/make sweet’
dugud ‘to be/make heavy’
gal ‘to be/make big’
galam ‘to be/make artful’
gibil ‘to be/make new’
gur₄ ‘to be/make thick’
kal ‘to be/make precious’
kalag ‘to be/make strong’
kug ‘to be/make clean’
mah ‘to be/make magnificent’
sikil ‘to be/make pure’
silim ‘to be/make healthy’
tur ‘to be/make small’

II. Reduplication Class

§ 227. The verbs belonging to this class form the marû stem by partial reduplication. Hamtu stems which end in a consonant may regularly lose this, e.g., ġā-ġā from ġár, ku₄-ku₄ from ku₄-r.

In most cases the exact phonetic shape of a reduplicated verb is not known, because the reduplication is simply rendered by doubling the word sign. It must, however, be assumed that some phonetic rules
are operating, e.g., $C_1 \mathrm{VC}_2 + C_1 \mathrm{VC}_2 > C_1 \mathrm{V} - C_1 \mathrm{V}$, or $C_1 \mathrm{VC}_2 - C_1 \mathrm{V}$, or $C_1 \mathrm{VC}_1 - C_2 \mathrm{V}$ etc. (cf. § 243). Of verbs with two syllables there are even more possibilities, but phonetic writings are rare.

In contrast to the partial marû reduplication the hamtu reduplication is probably a total reduplication, thus ĝar-ĝar versus ĝā-ĝā, see §§ 242-243. In the case of some verbs, however, the two kinds of reduplication will be identical, e.g., gi₄-gi₄ from the verb gi₄ ‘to return’.

§ 228. About 25% of the Sumerian verbs have reduplicated forms which could probably classify them as members of the reduplication class. However, because of the possible confusion with the hamtu reduplication, so far only a minor part can be proved as belonging to this class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sumerian</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gi₄</td>
<td>gi₄-gi₄ ‘to return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĝar</td>
<td>ĝā-ĝā ‘to place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>he-he ‘to mix’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kār</td>
<td>KĀR-KĀR, igi...kār ‘to examine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin</td>
<td>KIN-KIN ‘to seek’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku-ku, û...ku ‘to sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku₄-r</td>
<td>ku₄-ku₄ ‘to enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mú</td>
<td>mú-mú ‘to grow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na₉</td>
<td>na₉-na₉ ‘to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>ra-ra ‘to hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>si-si ‘to fill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa₁₀</td>
<td>sa₁₀-sa₁₀ ‘to buy/sell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šag₅</td>
<td>ša₆-ša₆ ‘to be good, pleasant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šēš</td>
<td>še₈-še₈ ‘to anoint, to shed tears’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šú</td>
<td>šu-šu ‘to cover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tag₄</td>
<td>TAG₄-TAG₄ ‘to leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu₅</td>
<td>tu₅-tu₅, a...tu₅ ‘to bathe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuk₄</td>
<td>TUK₄-TUK₄ ‘to tremble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuku</td>
<td>TUKU-TUKU ‘to have’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūr</td>
<td>ūr-ūr ‘to drag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zig</td>
<td>zi-zi ‘to rise, to lift’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zu</td>
<td>zu-zu ‘to know’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The writings with capital letters indicate that the pronunciation of the reduplicated stem is uncertain.

§ 229. III. Alternating Class

This class has only few members, so far three verbs have been classified as such. The verbs in question have both a short and an expanded form serving as hamtu and marû stem, respectively.

It is probable that more verbs whose phonetic representation of the different stems is not yet exactly known should be classified here.

M. Yoshikawa treated these verbs and the complementary verbs as one class called ‘Alternation Group’ (cf. for instance 1968a p. 259ff. and 1968b p. 411ff.). D.O. Edzard, 1976a p. 48, however, argued that verbs like ē:ē-d and te:te-ğ should be separated from verbs having two entirely different stems:
'stammverändernde Klasse' and 'Klasse der Komplementärverben', respectively. This view has been followed here.

è : è-d 'to go out'
ri : ri.g 'to pour' etc.
te/ti : te/ti-ğ 'to approach'

§ 230. IV. Complementary Verbs

Only a limited number of verbs have two entirely different roots serving as hamtu and marû stem. The marû stem can in some cases also serve as a plural verb (see § 266).

de₆ : tūm/tūm 'to bring (sing.)'
dug₄ : e 'to say (sing.)' (with plural erg. subject e is used in both hamtu and marû forms)
ğen : du 'to go (sing.)'
re₇ : su₈ -b 'to go (plur.)'
ūš : ug₅ or ug₆ 'to die (sing.)' (with plural abs. subject ug₅/6 is used in both hamtu and marû forms)

The Hamtu and the Marû Stem

§ 231. The Terms Hamtu and Marû

The terms hamtu and marû are borrowed from the bilingual grammatical and lexical lists. In these texts there are a few instances where the basic stem of a verb (e.g. zu or dug₄) is marked as hamtu, lit.: 'quick', and the reduplicated (e.g. zu-uzu) or complementary stem (e.g. e) is denoted as marû, lit. 'fat' (cf. CAD H p. 71 and M/1 p. 30ff.).

These terms have been understood as describing different aspects of the Sumerian verb, but in fact it is also possible that they refer to the Akkadian translations and not primarily to the meanings of the Sumerian stems. However, the terms hamtu and marû have gained access into the Sumerian grammar as the names of the different stems of some verbs (i.e. class II-IV), and it therefore seems most convenient to maintain them here, as long as the exact meanings of the stems in Sumerian are not known, and we therefore cannot give them more appropriate names. It must, however, be noted that our use of the

Akkadian terms probably differs from that of the Akkadian scribes who introduced them.

§ 232. Morphology

Hamtu is the basic stem, whereas the marû stem in most cases is an extension of the hamtu stem (class II and III). It is remarkable that the regular verbs (= class I), which comprise 50% or more of all verbs, have no marû stem at all but only a basic stem or, in other words, a hamtu stem.

The shape of the marû stem of the regular verbs is disputed. M. Yoshikawa, who started the discussion about the hamtu and marû stems, argued that the verbs of class I form the marû stem through the suffix /-e/, thus for instance /tar/ = hamtu, /tare/ = marû. Yoshikawa thus analyses tar-re-da as /tare-d-a/ instead of traditional /tar-ed-a/ (1968a). The transitive 3.sg. form ...-tar-e he analyses as /...-tare-Ø/ instead of traditional /...-tar-e/ where /-e/ is the pronominal suffix of 3.sg. transitive, marû (1974 p. 18). Yoshikawa therefore called the class of these verbs for 'Affixation Group'.

D.O. Edzard, on the other hand, 1976a p. 47ff., maintained the view that /-e/ is a pronominal ending and thus no marû affix. Therefore according to Edzard the verbs of class I do not change their basic stem, and he named them 'unveränderliche Klasse'. This view is followed here.

§ 233. The Affix /-e/: Marû Mark or Pronominal Element?

The crux of the discussion of the marû-conjugation is the analysis of the pronominal suffixes. The traditional view is that /-en/, /-e/, /-enden/, /-enzen/ and /-ene/ are the transitive subject elements of the 'present-future' (= the marû-conjugation), and that the vowel [e] of these elements disappears after a vowel, e.g., /tar-en/ > -tar-re-en, but /-gā.gā-en/ > -gā-gā-an. However, according to Yoshikawa's theory mentioned above (§ 232) [e] will appear only in verbs of class I and not together with the marû stems of class II, III and IV: 1.sg.: /-tare-n/, /-gā.gā-n/, 3.sg.: /-tare-Ø/, /gā.gā-Ø/, and non-finite: /tare-d-a/, /gā.gā-d-a/ (see Yoshikawa, 1968a and 1974).

This theory has some obvious advantages: all verbs have then both a hamtu and a marû stem to be recognized independent of the occurrence of pronominal elements. However, tempting as this theory is, it can neither be proved nor refuted. That the [e] does not occur after
the marû stem of the verbs of class II, III and IV can be explained by
the vocalic endings of most verbs: /-e/ is then contracted after a
vowel. On the other hand there are no clear instances of a verb of
class II, III or IV with an [e] after a consonant contradicting Yoshi-
kawa’s theory, and whenever such evidence might be found, it could
be explained as a late analogy. Therefore, it does not seem that this
problem can be easily settled.

I shall, however, refer to one feature of the Sumerian language
structure which, I think, speaks against Yoshikawa’s theory. Conson-
antic morphemes seem to be in conflict with the language structure
since double consonant in initial or final position of a syllable cannot
be expressed, and all other morphological elements of the Sumerian
language are either vocalic or can be separated into syllables of the
shape CV or VC.29 If, therefore, the subject elements of the transi-
tive marû form are /-n/, /-nden/, /-nzen/, /-ne/, it must also be as-
sumed that this is the phonetic shape of the intransitive subject el-
ements. But in this case there would often have to be double conson-
ants in final position which would be impossible to express in the
writing, and which moreover are contrary to the phonetic system of
Sumerian. In fact, we have the intransitive form i-ku₄-re-en ‘I en-
tered’, showing that at least the intransitive subject element must be
/-en/, and not /-n/: /i-ku₄.r-en/.

§ 234. Occurrences of Hamţu and Marû

Both the hamţu and the marû stem occur in finite constructions. The
transitive verb distinguishes a hamţu conjugation with pronominal
prefixes and a marû conjugation with pronominal suffixes, whereas
the intransitive verb has only one conjugation with pronominal suf-
fixes for both stems.30

Whereas verbs of class II, III and IV are able to distinguish hamţu
and marû in both intransitive and transitive forms, the regular verbs
have no intransitive marû forms, but only forms with the hamţu
stem.31

29. The only exceptions are the pronominal elements /-n-/ and /-b/- which,
however, always occur after verbal prefixes or after case elements ending in
a vowel.
30. For these conjugations, see §§ 279-282.
31. For the possibility that VERB + /ed/ of the regular verbs replaces the marû
forms of the intransitive verb, see § 256.
The hamtu stem occurs as a non-finite verb in the asyntactic form, e.g., /قار/, in the subordinate form, e.g., /قار-ا/, as well as with the enclitic copula, e.g., /قار-ام/ . The marû stem, on the other hand, apparently does not occur in non-finite constructions, here the 'future' stem is used instead, e.g., /غلا.غلا-يد/, /غلا.غلا-يدا/, /غلا.غلا-يدام/ .

The hamtu stem is moreover obligatory in the imperative.

Some modal prefixes prefer either the hamtu or the marû stem, or they have different meanings depending on whether they are combined with hamtu or marû: /گا-/, cohortative, has always hamtu; /ها-/ is affirmative with hamtu, precative with marû; /نا-/ is affirmative with hamtu, prohibitive with marû; /بارا-/ is negative with hamtu, vetitive with marû.

The Meanings of the Hamtu and the Marû Stem

§ 235. In the hamtu-marû discussion of the last 15 years the morphology of the stems has been discussed in details whereas less attention has been given to the meanings of hamtu versus marû. In general some aspectual contrast is assumed, but this has not been systematically investigated.

Lexical and literary texts render the finite hamtu forms mostly with Akkadian preterites, the marû forms with the Akkadian present tense. In traditional Sumerian grammars the two transitive conjugations were thus called: preterite (= hamtu) and present-future (= marû), cf. for instance A. Poebel, GSG p. 173 and A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 44. The distinction between the tenses was thought to be expressed by the different distribution of the pronominal elements, and the intransitive verb, which apparently does not distinguish tenses, was said to have only one tense or form: 'the normal form' (German: 'Normalform', cf. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 45).

However, as it was realized that the verb distinguishes different stems, the preterite and the present-future tenses were considered to be replaced by the hamtu and marû, which probably expresses aspectual differences: perfective and imperfective, or punctual and durative (see § 237). So M. Yoshikawa, 1968b p. 416: 'Hence it is quite probable that at least the present-future tense, as has been almost universally accepted, is to be replaced preferably by the marû aspect, while...

32. For the probable presence of /ed/ in the asyntactic non-finite form, see 509.
we are probably to replace the preterit tense with the hamtu aspect. This is to argue that the main axis of the Sumerian verbal system does not consist in the temporal difference, but, mainly, in the aspectual difference.'

D.O. Edzard, on the other hand, argued against the replacement of the categories preterite and present(-future) by hamtu and marû (1976a p. 46). In his opinion, apparently, the terms hamtu and marû point to the verbal form as a whole and not to the possible aspectual meaning of the stem: 'e = qabû marû ‘sprechen, fett/langsam’ sollte heißen, daß der Verbalstamm e in Zusammenhängen vorkommt wie ‘Präsenz’ oder ‘Präteritum Plural’. (...). Es ist demnach wohl berechtigt, die traditionellen Bezeichnungen ‘Präteritum’, ‘Präsens’ für das transitive Verbum, ‘Normalform’ für das intransitive Verbum weiter zu verwenden’ (1976a p. 54). However, Edzard did not exclude that various verbal forms might have temporal or aspectual functions, primary as well as secondary (1976a p. 54f.).

§ 236. Although hamtu and marû originally might have denoted something different, as already mentioned above, I have here chosen to use the terms in the following cases:

1. As terms for two various manifestations of the verb: hamtu = the basic stem of a verb, marû = the, in some way or other, changed stem of verbs belonging to class II, III and IV (see §§ 223-230).

2. The term ‘hamtu conjugation’ is used for the transitive finite form with pronominal prefixes (previously ‘preterite’), and the term ‘marû conjugation’ for the transitive finite form with pronominal suffixes (previously ‘present-future’). See §§ 280-282. Since the transitive conjugations probably do not express tenses (see §§ 237-240), it seems not justified to me to maintain the old terms ‘preterite’ and ‘present-future’.

§ 237. The question about the meaning of the hamtu and the marû has not yet been settled. As a matter of fact some aspectual differences of the Sumerian verb has already long been assumed by some scholars.

For previous theories about hamtu and marû ‘aspects’, see D.O. Edzard 1971a p. 209-212.

A. Falkenstein, GSGL II p. 155, described ‘Präteritum’ like this ‘in
der Mehrzahl der Fälle eine in der Vergangenheit abgeschlossene Handlung, die im Akkadischen durch den 'Punktual' (ikšud) dargestellt wird. In einigen Fällen entspricht es einem echten Perfekt.' 'Präsen-Futur' was defined as: 'eine in der Gegenwart oder in der Zukunft liegende oder eine zeitlose Handlung.'

Th. Jacobsen, 1956, considered two different distinctions: hamṭu : marû, and ...-VERB-Ø : ...-VERB-e: 'Tentatively we would suggest that the essence of the distinction [i.e. marû:hamṭu] might be one between 'process' and 'event', that the hamṭu root presents the underlying notion as a single fact, all of one piece and indivisible, whereas the marû root presents it as in process, as a striving toward or as successive attempts at, realizing it.' The distinction V-e : V-Ø 'may be defined roughly as one between unfinished and finished action. More precisely V-e indicates that the carrier of the action(subject) is visualized at a point or over a span of time within the duration of the action while V-Ø indicates that the carrier of the action(Subject of Intransitive or Passive, Object of Transitive Active) is visualized at a point or over a span of time subsequent to the action' (p. 22*). Cf. also Jacobsen, 1965: 'The root has normally punctive, singular force. A few roots differ, however, and are on lexical grounds restricted to durative and/or plural meaning. (...) A special curtailing reduplication in which the root elides its final consonant (e.g. ḡā-ḡā from ḡar) serves to lend it durative, ingressive force' (p. 96).

M. Yoshikawa, 1968b p. 401 n. 2, mentioned as possible meanings of the hamṭu and marû: 'completion, incompleteness, momentariness and continuation.'

§ 238. What the distinction hamṭu : marû really denotes is a rather difficult question because of the difficulties of interpreting Sumerian texts. When we choose to render a certain verbal form as, e.g., imperfective or durative our translations may be due exclusively to our subjective interpretation of the text, and not necessarily expressed grammatically in the Sumerian form. However, a context where hamṭu and marû forms are alternating may give some hints to the direction into which the contrast works. From such instances, I think, the functions of hamṭu and marû can very tentatively be described as follows:

Hamṭu is used in statements of universal validity, it thus expresses states and results of actions, or actions which have been completed.

Marû, on the other hand, denotes actions which have not yet
taken place (ex. 251, 252), or actions which are in progress (ex. 254, 255-258). Perhaps more precisely: actions the completion of which has not yet taken place, without specifying whether the action has already started or is to start in the future. Therefore, the marû can be translated as both present, future, imperfective and durative. The most characteristic term for the marû forms should perhaps be ingressive or inchoative.

The examples below serve to illustrate some of the differences of meaning probably expressed by changing from hamtu to marû.

§ 239. Examples:

(251) An.ta.sur.ra-ta é Dimgal.Aбу-ka-šè ní ba-ni-è-dè i-mi-
dug4, /ba-ni-è.d-en/(marû), /i-bi-(n-)dug4/(hamtu) ‘From Antasura to the temple Dimgal-Abzu I shall exercise control (?) (in the future), he has said’ (Ent. 28 IV 30-33, the verb means literally ‘let fear(? go out’)

(252) nu.síg nu.ma. {nu} su lú á tuku nu-na-ĝá-ĝá-a D Nîn.ĝîr.su-
da Uru.inim.gi.na-ke4 KÀ-bi KA e-da-kêš, /nu-û-na-ĝá.ĝá-
e-a/(marû), /Î-da-(n-)kêš.dr/(hamtu) ‘Uru-inim-gina has made the agreement with Ningîrsu, that he never will deliver (lit.: place) the orphan and the widow to the mighty man’ (Ukg. 4 XII 23-28)

(253) ki.sur.ra D Nîn.ĝîr.su-ka-ta a.ab-šè maškim di e-ĝâl-lam, /Î-
al-am/(hamtu) ‘(In the old days) there was a bailiff from the boundary ditch of Ningîrsu until the sea’ (Ukg. 4 VII 12-16). Compare marû:

(254) maškim lú nu-e, /nu-û-e-e/, ‘(now) no man acts (lit.: speaks) (as a) bailiff’ (Ukg. 4 IX 25)

(255) má.gur8-ra-na ĝirî3 nam-mi-gub
uru-ni Nina-kî-šè íd Nina-kî Ŏen-a má mu-ni-ri
íd-dè hûl-la-e kur.ku4 i-sî-il-e
/na-û-bi-(n-)gub/(hamtu), /mu-ni-(n-)ru/(hamtu), /î-sî.il-
e/(marû) ‘he has entered his magur-boat (lit.: placed the foot on), he has directed the boat towards her city Nina (following) the canal which leads to Nina, (and) he is (now) splitting the waves-of the canal with joy’ (Gudea, cyl. A II 4-6). The passage could perhaps also be interpreted as: ‘having entered the boat ... etc. he is now going to split the waves’
(256) min-kam ur.sāg-gā-ām á mu-gur li.um za.gin šu im-mi-du₃, é-a ǧiš.hur-bi im-ǧā-gā, /mu-(n-)gur/(hamtu), /ī-bi-(n-) du₃/(hamtu), /ī-m-ǧā-gā-e/(maru) ‘a second time there was a hero, he had bent (his) arm, he had a tablet of lapis lazuli in (his) hand, and he was drawing the plan of the house (on it)’ (Gudea, cyl. A V 2-4). (Or perhaps: ‘he was now going to draw a plan’)

(257) Gù.dé.a gal mu-zu gal ī-ga-túm-mu, /mu-(n-)zu/(hamtu), /ī-ga-túm-e/(maru) ‘Gudea has experienced great things, and (now) he is also performing them’ (Gudea, cyl. A VII 9-10). (Or: ‘he is going to perform them’)

In the inscription, Gudea, Statue B, the report about the making of the statue is all over in hamtu forms, then col. VII 21ff. it changes to maru:

(258) Gù.dé.a alam-e inim im-ma-sum-mu, /ī-ba-sum-e/(maru) ‘Gudea is now giving the (following) order to the statue:’

§ 240. I am well aware of the fact that the description of the hamtu and maru forms given here is rather vague. However, the system of the stems as well as that of the various conjugations of the finite verb seem to be highly inconsistent and considering the fact that Sumerian verbal forms generally are badly understood (cf. the insufficient determination of most verbal prefixes or the unclear meaning of many verbs) I think that it is not possible to give a definitive answer to the question of the exact meaning and function of the hamtu and maru stems. Moreover, it is very probable that the distinction hamtu : maru at least to some extent or in some texts functions as a result of the need for appropriate renderings of the Akkadian ‘tenses’, and this is not necessarily a particularly late phenomenon since the Sumerian-Akkadian language contact is of older date. It is thus possible

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33. Hamtu forms are thus translated by Akkadian preterite, maru by Akkadian present, e.g. in the Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts: bī-in-gur, īl = ikul ‘he ate’, i-gur, īl-e = ikkal ‘he eats’ (OBT VIII 85, 87 = MSL IV p. 103); så bi-i[n-d]u₃ = ıkṣud ‘he reached’, så an-e = ikaštad ‘he reaches’; så an-l-e-en = akaštad ‘I reach’ (OBT IX 79, 95-96 = MSL IV p. 107). The Akkadian preterite and present could, at least originally, be characterized as punctual and durative, respectively, cf. W. von Soden, 1952 p. 102ff., §§ 78-79.
that several different and maybe contradictory grammatical distinctions are expressed, dependent on the linguistic circumstances under which the text was composed or copied.

§ 241. Bibliography


B. Kienast, 1980b. 'Probleme der sumerischen Grammatik. 4'. ZA 70 : 1-35. (Comment to the above mentioned articles of D.O. Edzard).


Verbal Reduplication

§ 242. Reduplication is an important way of expressing grammatical distinctions in Sumerian (cf. nominal reduplication §§ 71-73; 82). The verbal reduplication seems to have at least two functions which are probably morphologically distinguished: 1. A partial reduplication forming the marû stem of verbs belonging to class II (see §§ 227-228); and 2. A probably total reduplication of the hamtu stem which can affect all verbs.

§ 243. In many cases it is impossible to distinguish the two kinds of reduplication for morphological or orthographic reasons, since the reduplication is simply expressed by doubling the word sign (cf. the writings DU and DU.DU in §§ 265, 267, 268). This may be a sort of ideographic writing of the partial reduplication as well as a more exact rendering of the reduplicated hamtu stem: for instance can TAG₄-TAG₄ be interpreted as the possible marû stem taₙ-taₙ or as the hamtu reduplication tag₄-tag₄. The exact morphological shape of both hamtu and marû reduplication is thus not entirely clear. On the
basis of the contrast between ḡar-ḡar(hamtu) and ḡá-ḡá(marû) it is assumed that the hamtu reduplication renders the verbal root in a fuller form than the reduplicated marû stem. However, there are only few instances of syllabic writings, and various phonetic modifications can therefore not be excluded. Moreover, some verbs possibly do not distinguish two sorts of reduplication.

Possible forms are:

\[ C_1 VC_2 + C_1 VC_2 > C_1 VC_2 - C_1 VC_2 (ḡar-ḡar), \text{hamtu reduplication} \]
\[ > C_1 V-C_1 V (ḡá-ḡá, ku₄-ku₄), \text{marû reduplication} \]

**Marû or Hamtu?**

\[ > C_1 VC_2 - C_1 V (\text{hal-ha, te-en-te, Edzard, 1976a, 53, n. 210}) \]
\[ > C_1 V-C_1 VC_2 (la-la-ah) \]
\[ > C_1 V-C_1 C_2 V (tu-ut-ke from tuk₄-tuk₄) \]

\[ C_1 VC_2 VC_3 + C_1 VC_2 VC_3 > C_1 VC_2 - C_1 VC_2 VC_3 \text{ (approximately zalzalag from ZALAG + ZALAG)} \]
\[ > C_1 V-C_1 VC_2 VC_3 \text{ (ga-ga-la-am from galam)} \]

Phonetic writings of reduplicated forms were collected by A. Poebel, GSG §§ 94-95, p. 34f. and p. 323; A. Falkenstein, 1959b p. 99f.; and D.O. Edzard, 1971a p. 227f. Most of these instances, however, come from Emesal and/or unorthographic texts, others occur in late or lexical texts, and it is therefore doubtful whether they can be used as a basis for establishing the phonetic shape of reduplicated verbs in general. They may also reflect a secondary scribal tradition.

Examples are: ba-ad-ba-ad (< bad+bad), ba-ba-r (< bar+bar), bi-bi-z (< bi-z+bi-z), bi-ib-r (< bir+bir), te-ed-mi (< dím+dím), ga-ga-la-am (< galam+galam), ge-en-ge-en (< gi-n+gi-n), gu-ul-gu-ul (< gu-l+gu-l), ḡá-ar-ḡá-ar (< ḡar-ḡar), la-la-ah and la-ah-la-ah (< /lah+lah/), si-is-h (< sùh+sùh), šu-uš-r (< šu-r+šu-r), tu-ut-k (< tuk₄+tuk₄), ta-at-k (< tak₄+tak₄), ul-lu-ul (< ul₄+ul₄), ur-ru-ur (< ur₄+ur₄). (za-al-zu-le-g < zalag+zalag, see Sjöberg, 1975 p. 238f. = In-nin-šà-gur₄-ra 160; za-al-za-le-bi in l. 124 which is variant to zalag-zalag-bi Sjöberg considers as a scribal error for zil-zil-bi, 1975 p. 235).

The Hamtu Reduplication

§ 244. The reduplicated hamtu stem occurs in both hamtu and marû
conjugation of the finite transitive verb, whereas the reduplicated marû stem of verbs belonging to class II is used exclusively in the marû conjugation. Hamtu are ex. 259, 261, 262-264, marû: ex. 260.

The hamtu reduplication cannot occur with the morpheme /ed/.

§ 245. In general the hamtu reduplication seems to express exactly the same as the plural verbs (cf. § 260): a) the plural of the intransitive subject (ex. 259 (zâh-zâh), 260), and, b) the plural of the object of the transitive verb (ex. 259 (dab5-dab5), 261, 262), that is in both cases the plural of the absolutive. In this function the hamtu reduplication is probably not obligatory, but merely serves to stress the plurality. It may thus be translated by: 'many, several, all'.

D.O. Edzard, 1971a, used the term 'freie Reduplikation'. He described the hamtu reduplication like this: 'Wir dürfen damit rechnen, daß im großen Ganzen ein produktives System der Reduplikationsbildung vorliegt – produktiv und frei im Gegensatz zu der von vornherein festgelegten marû-Reduplikation' (p. 231).

§ 246. Examples:

(259) mu 5-kam-ma dam dumu Ku.li dumu Ba.ba.gu10-ke4-ne ba-an-da-zâh.zâh-eš, dumu Ba.ba.gu10-ke4-ne mu-dab5-dab5-bé-eš, /ba-n.da-zâh.zâh-eš/, /mu-(n-)dab5-dab5-eš/ 'in the fifth year the wife and daughters of Kuli have run away from the sons of Babaği, the sons of Babaği have seized them' (NG nr. 41, 10-13)\[34]

(260) amaš ha-ra-dağal-dağal, /ha-f-DAT.2.sg.-dağal.dağal/ 'may all the sheepfolds be wide for you' (Işme-Dagan Hymn A 49)

(261) alam-bi i-gul-gul, /i-(n-)gul-gul/ 'he destroyed several/all of its statues' (Ukg. 16 IV 3-4 and 9-10)

(262) hur.sag 5 hur.sag 6 hur.sag 7-e im-me-ri-bal-bal, /i-ba-ra (abl.)-bal.bal/ 'five mountains, six mountains, seven mountains he all crossed' (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 170). For the prefix chain see § 468 to ex. 652.

§ 247. With the so-called compound verbs the hamtu reduplication refers to the plural of the 'dimensional object':

\[34.\] For further examples of reduplicated dab5, see P. Steinkeller, 1979 p. 63f.
(263) SAHAR.DUL.TAG₄-bi eden-na ki ba-ni-ús-ús, /ba-ni-(n-)ús-ús/ 'he piled up their many burial mounds in the plain' (Ent. 28 I 30-31)
(264) nīg.mī.ús.sā D.Ba.ba₆ nin-a-na-ke₄ si ba-ni-sá-sá, /ba-ni-(n-)sá-sá/ 'he put in order all the wedding presents of Baba, his lady' (Gudea, St. D II 13-III 2)

§ 248. Other functions of the hamtu reduplication have been suggested, for instance iterative and intensive, but they are difficult to verify because such meanings are based on the subjective interpretation of the text. In the lexical and bilingual texts the reduplicated hamtu stem is translated by Akkadian D-stems (i.e. factitive), by iterative tan-forms, and even by reciprocal t-forms or the causative š-stem. It must, however, be questioned whether these translations represent original functions of verbal reduplication in Sumerian. In some cases at least, they may be secondary, introduced in order to give Sumerian equivalents to the different Akkadian stems.

For a possible intensive function of the hamtu reduplication, see E. Sollberger, 1952 p. 43. D.O. Edzard, 1971a p. 231, enumerated the following previously suggested functions of the hamtu reduplication: a) Betonung der Pluralität oder Totalität des Subjekts; b) Betonung der Pluralität oder Totalität des direkten oder dimensionalen Objektes; c) Subjekt oder Objekt im Distributivverhältnis; d) Betonung der Größe, Gewaltigkeit, Bedeutung des Objekts; e) Betonung der zeitlichen Dauer (aber keineswegs 'Präsenstraduplikation!'); f) Detaillierung, Wiederholung der Handlung; g) Betonung des hohen Wirkungsgrads, der Reichweite der Handlung. The examples in Edzard, 1971a, can however, also be explained as denoting the plurality of subject or object.

§ 249. Chiefly based on the above mentioned Akkadian translations (§ 248) M. Yoshikawa, 1979b, suggested that verbal reduplication in Sumerian denotes different things with different verbs. Besides the marû reduplication he found the following functions of verbal reduplication: a) piel-reduplication (i.e. plurality if the object); b) iterative; c) causative; d) reciprocal; e) denominative; f) onomatopoeic reduplication. '(...)' the function of verbal reduplication basically differs from verb to verb, each verb thus being confined to one of the seven functions (...). It will be observed also that the marû, piel and
iterative reduplications form paradigmatically primary or major categories, and that the piel and iterative reduplications are grammatically, as well as, semantically concerned with the so-called plural expressions in Sumerian verb’ (1979b p. 117).

Although it is difficult to prove this theory convincingly, the possibility should not be totally excluded.

The functions of reduplication in Sumerian can be compared to those in other languages, cf. e.g., the New Guinean language Motu which has two sorts of reduplication: total (tore : toretore) and partial (mahuta : mamahuta). Whereas the partial reduplication has almost always the function of pluralization, the total reduplication has various functions: with verbs it denotes depreciation, repetition, continuation, or with some verbs it forms intransitive verbs from transitive, or nouns from verbs; with nouns it most often denotes diminution, with adjectives and adverbs intensification. See A.J. Taylor, 'Reduplication in Motu' (Pacific Studies in honour of Arthur Capell. Edited by S.A. Wurm and D.C. Laycock. Canberra 1970. Pacific Linguistic Series C, Book 13, 1-2, p. 1235-1245).

§ 250. Bibliography


§ 251. Tripling and Quadrupling of Verbs


Instances have been collected by A. Falkenstein, GSGL II p. 63 n. 1, and D.O. Edzard, 1976a p. 57 n. 225.

Quite a lot of these verbs belong to the Reduplication class (du₇, gi₄, ḡar, mū, ra, šū und zi), a fact which could lead to the conclusion that the tripling of the verbal root serves as the 'hamtu reduplication' in those cases where the reduplication is reserved for maru functions. This theory, however, does not take into account the cases of other verbs which are tripled (di, dīm, du, gi, KU, lá, sa₄, sīr and šār) of which at least lá, sa₄ and dīm belong to the regular verbs. Since the instances are rather few and, moreover, occur in difficult context
(Emesal and unorthographic texts), it is not possible to define the function of tripling and quadrupling further. Intensive or iterative could also be suggested.

(265) dub.lá (...)—zu guruš mah ĝeṣtin nāg—a—gin₇ ki—še b’hé—ģá—ģá b (a: —ģ[a]; b-b: hé-em—ta—ģá—ģá) ‘your gates shall fall on the earth like great men who have drunk wine’ (Curse of Akkade 232-233). Or: ‘all your gates ...’

(266) še₂⁵ gi₄—bi(—šè) kur(—ra) LUL.LUL—bi—a kia b mu-un-ra—ra ra b (a: kur—kur; b-b: mu-ra—ra) ‘Because of its cry the earth trembled in the ... of the mountain’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 46). (Perhaps ‘it trembled constantly/again and again’?)

The Verbal Morpheme /ed/

§ 252. The element /ed/ is closely connected with the verbal root; its position is immediately after this and before any pronominal element or syntactic suffix that may occur. With regular verbs /ed/ is combined with the basic stem (= the hamtu stem), with other verbs it is added to the marû stem. VERB + /ed/ is used first of all in non-finite forms but it also occurs in finite forms.

§ 253. The morpheme /ed/ is never written —ed; [e] is, as a rule, written after a consonant, but only exceptionally after a vowel; [d] is only written when followed by a vowel: tar-re < /tar—ed/, huḡ—ģe₂⁶—dè < /huḡ—ed—e/, āḡ—e—dè < /āḡ—ed—e/, gi₄—gi₄—da < /gi₄ gi₄—ed—a/, è—dè—dam < /è.d—ed—am/ etc. But also writings like āḡ—dam, bal—dè etc. occur.

[e] often but not always changes to [u] after verbs having the vowel [u], e.g., after the verbs: dub, dúb, gub, gu.ul, hur, kud.r, kûr, sum, sur, šub, tûm (gub—bu—dè, sum—mu—dè, etc.).

For writings, see for instance Yoshikawa, 1968a p. 256ff.

§ 254. Analysis of /ed/

A. Poebel has first defined the morpheme as /ed/ (GSG §§ 625-627) and most Sumerologists have followed this view.35 If, we, however,

follow the theory of M. Yoshikawa and consider /e/ as a marû mark, we consequently have to regard the morpheme as /d/ only (see § 233). Whereas it is of minor importance for the understanding of the non-finite forms whether we analyse, e.g., /kar-ed-e/ or /kare-d-e/, both: ‘in order to remove’, the analysis and understanding of finite forms are decisively influenced by the choice of marû theory. It concerns especially the forms of the 3.sg. A form with the ending -e or -Ce can thus be interpreted differently according to the two theories.

ba-gub-bu is in the traditional theory either = /ba-gub-ed/ ‘he will stand’, intrans. 3.sg.; or = /ba-gub-e(pron. suffix)/ ‘he places’, trans. 3.sg., whereas a transitive /-ed/ form would be: ba-gub-bu-dè = /ba-gub-ed-e/.

However, if /e/ is a marû mark, as according to the theory of Yoshikawa, ba-gub-bu = /ba-gube/ is the normal 3.sg. intransitive marû form as well as the transitive marû form (the latter possibly with a pronominal prefix), but it could also be an /ed/-form: /ba-gube-d/. The traditional view is followed here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional view</th>
<th>Yoshikawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intransitive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sg., hamtu</td>
<td>/ba-gub/ = ba-gub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sg., marû</td>
<td>/ba-gub/ = ba-gub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sg., hamtu</td>
<td>/ba-n-gub/ = ba-an-gub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sg., marû</td>
<td>/ba-PRON-gub-e/ = ba-....-gub-bu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Meaning of /ed/**

§ 255. /ed/-forms almost always refer to the future. A no less important function, however, seems to be to denote something that has to be done, an obligation, prospective or the like.36 So the non-finite forms: ġá-ġá-dè ‘in order to place’, nu-kur-ru-dam ‘which cannot ever be changed’, and zi-re-dam ‘it has to be destroyed’.

---

36. Modal implications of the future stem is no uncommon phenomenon, cf. for instance the use of will and shall in English (see J. Lyons, 1968 p. 309ff.).
It is noteworthy that /ed/ comparatively rarely occurs in finite forms. The lack of finite examples may of course be due to the difficulties of recognizing this element (cf. § 254), but it is also possible that the function of /ed/ is first of all to express the above mentioned modal implications in non-finite forms, whereas the finite forms will use modal prefixes.

§ 256. In finite forms /ed/ is especially frequent with intransitive verbs. When combined with regular verbs the /ed/ form thus corresponds to the marû forms of other verbs, e.g., /I-zâh-en/ 'I have run away' corresponds to /I-ku₄.r-en/ 'I have entered', /I-zâh-ed-en/-/I (will) run away' to /I-ku₄.ku₄-en/ 'I (will) enter' (cf. examples in § 258).

Verbs of class II-IV which have a special marû stem do not have to be combined with /ed/ in intransitive forms, but actually many of the intransitive /ed/-forms are verbs like gub, du, gi₄ etc. which do have a particular marû form.

Cf. D.O. Edzard, 1967 p. 59, where he examines the promissory oath formulas: 'Wenn statt der 'infiniten' Form ein 'finites' Verbum im Präsenz-Futur steht, ist /ed/ entbehrlich; ist das 'finite' Verbum intransitiv, steht dagegen /ed/. Dieser Befund liegt nahe, daß /ed/ im promissorischen Eid nur bei transitivem 'finitem' Verbum entbehrlich, sonst aber unvertauschbar war.'

§ 257. Th. Jacobsen, 1965 p. 98, interpreted /ed/ as prospective: '-ed- mark of pre-actional aspect indicating prospectiveness of the action as present at the point in the time the speaker has in mind. Attention is thus not on the action as future but on its prospectiveness as present.'

D.O. Edzard, 1967 p. 62, concluded that the primary function of /ed/ is to specify the tense, namely an action which has not yet taken place. As secondary functions he suggested modal implications: '1) der Ausdruck einer modalen Nuance des Sollens, Verpflichtetseins, die sich unschwer aus dem futurischen Zeitbezug ableiten läßt; 2) bei bestimmten negierten Verbalformen der Ausdruck des Nichtkönnens, wo ebenfalls Rückführung auf den futurischen Zeitbezug logisch plausibel erscheint.' As another secondary function of /ed/ Edzard suggested the ingressive, see 1967 p. 60ff.

§ 258. Examples:

(267) mu lugal ud a.rä min-ka i-zâh-dè-na ga-hul bi-in-dug₄, /I-zâh-ed-en-a/ 'he has sworn by the name of the king: let me die, if I run away a second time!' (NRVN I 1, 6-8)

(268) é-ḡu₁₀ lû i-bûr-dè, /i-bûr-ed-e/ 'Someone may break into my house' (Codex Lipit-Istar XIII 26)
(269) ki di.kud-ru-bi-šè digir an ki-a im-ši-gam-e-dè-eš, /i-m-ši-gam-ed-eš/ 'the gods of heaven and earth will bow down to the place where judgement is pronounced' (Nungal 35)

(270) tilla₂ nam-ba-e-gub-bu-dè-en, /na-ba-e-gub-ed-en/ 'may you not stand on the market place!' (Father and Son 29)

(271) é-a-ni dü-da ma-an-dug₄, /dü-ed-a mu-DAT.1.sg.-n-dug₄/ 'he has ordered me to build his house' (Gudea, cyl. A IV 20)

(272) ud-ta ud gur-ra-ka nu-ši-gur-da mu lugal-bi in-pàd-dè-éš, /nu-ši-gur-ed-a/, /i-n-pàd-eš/ 'they have sworn by the name of the king that they will not return from this day and in the future' (UET III, 26: 9-11)

§ 259. Bibliography


Plural Verbs

§ 260. A small number of verbs have two separate roots denoting singular and plural, respectively. The crucial factor is the plurality of the absolutive subject or object. The plural verb is thus used in one-participant forms with plural subject and in two-participant forms with plural object, whereas the singular root is used when the absolutive subject or object is singular. Cf. for instance the following forms of the verb 'to stand', gub (sing.): su₈.g (plur.):

(273) lugal-ğu₁₀ DEn.ki i-gub-bé-en, /i-gub-en/ 'my king, Enki, I am standing at your service!' (Inanna and Enki I v 16 and passim)

(274) digir digir A.nun.na (...) á-áğ-ğá zi-dè(-eš) (ši-)im-ma-su₈-ge-eš, /ša-ša-ba-su₈.-g-eš/ 'the Anuna Gods stand faithfully according to his instruction(s)' (Enlil Hymn 9)

(275) İR.DEN.ZU (...) urudu alam gal-gal(-la) (...) bí-in-su₈-ga, /bi-n-su₈.-g-a/ 'Warad-Sin who has erected the big statues' (Warad-Sin 8, 18-20)
§ 261. An exception to the above mentioned principle (§ 260) is the verb dug₄ (hamtu) 'to speak'. It is the maru stem of this verb but also the plural verb. As plural verb e occurs with plural ergative subject in transitive forms: bi-in-dug₄ = /bi-n-dug₄/ 'he has said', but bi-in-es or bi-ne-es = /bi-n-e-es/ 'they have said'.

§ 262. The function of the plural verb is thus in general the same as that of the hamtu reduplication, but the singular and plural verbs can also be reduplicated:

(276) dug₄-dug₄-ma-ab ga-ra-ab-dug₄-dug₄ ga-na dug₄-ma-ab, /((dug₄).dug₄ + mu-DAT.1.sg./, /ga-ᵲ-DAT.2.sg.-b-dug₄. dug₄/ 'tell me everything! — I shall tell you everything — come on, tell me!' (Father and Son 19-21)

(277) dub.lá-bi am-gin₇ mu-šu₄-šu₄, /mu-(n-)šu₄.šu₄/ 'he erected its gates like (i.e. resembling) wild oxen' (Gudea, cyl. A XXIV 18)

Such instances point to the other suggested functions of the hamtu reduplication: intensive, iterative, etc. (see §§ 248-249), which, however, for the present cannot be determined with certainty.

The fact that two of the plural verbs, e and u₄₅, also serve as maru stems may indicate some connection between plurality and the maru aspect; cf. the instances where the maru reduplication is identical with the hamtu reduplication, e.g., gi₄-gi₄.

§ 263. Until now only seven verbs have been identified as having separate singular and plural roots, but it is possible that more plural verbs are hidden behind different readings of the signs or behind the doubling of word signs in the writing whose exact phonetic representation is not known.

Cf. M. Civil. 1976a p. 150 and n. 44, who suggests that sun₅ (= BÜR) is probably the plural of the verb ku₄.r 'to enter'. P. Steinkeller, 1979 p. 65: 'it is possible that some of the variant readings assigned in lexical sources to the same sign will eventually turn out to be plural stems (e.g., the value sim of sum 'to give').'

38. D.O. Edzard, 1971a p. 231, classified this instance as 'Detaillierung, Wiederholung der Handlung', and translated 'sage mir alles genau ... ich will dir alles genau sagen' (p. 229).
§ 264. Bibliography


§ 265. ‘to bring’

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{hamtu} & \text{marû} \\
\text{sing.} & \text{de}_6 (= \text{DU}) \quad \text{tûm or tûm (} = \text{DU}) \quad \text{(IV)} \\
\text{plur.} & \text{lah}_4 (= \frac{\text{DU}}{\text{DU}}) \quad \text{lah}_4 \quad \text{(I)}
\end{array}
\]

Cf. NBGT II 7-8 (= MSL IV p. 148): de-e DU = ba-ba-lum ha-am-tû, DU = ba-ba-lum MEŠ ma-ru-û; Diri II 24: la-ah DU.DU = ba-ba-lum, see CAD A/I p. 10f., abâlu A, lexical section.

M. Yoshikawa considered the singular hamtu stem as tûm (= DU), the marû stem as tûm (cf. 1968a p. 259f.; 1968b p. 413; 1974 p. 35f.). However, according to NBGT cited above and to other forms with DU it is more likely that the hamtu stem is de6; for this problem, see P. Steinkeller, 1979 p. 60f. and n. 11; p. 66f.

For the plural stem lah4 (= DU) or lah5 (= DU.DU), see the examples in P. Steinkeller, 1979 p. 57ff. Note the non-finite marû form la-hi-dam (NG nr. 120a, 7; nr. 120b, 23). /lah/ can also be written lah6 = DU (Steinkeller, 1979 p. 59).

The singular marû stem tûm is also used as plural stem, cf.: ga-ba-ab-tûm-mu-dê-en, /ga-ba-b-tûm-enden/ ‘we will bring him back’ (Inanna’s Descent 310).

§ 266. ‘to say, to speak’

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{hamtu} & \text{marû} \\
\text{sing.} & \text{dug}_4 \quad \text{e} \quad \text{(IV)} \\
\text{plur.} & \text{e} \quad \text{e}
\end{array}
\]

In contrast to other plural verbs, the plural stem, e, is used with a plural ergative subject: bî-in-né-eš = /bi-n-e-eš/ ‘they have said it’ (see §§ 260-261).
§ 267. ‘to stand, to erect’

\[ \text{hamtu} \quad \text{marû} \]

sing. \quad \text{gub} (= DU) \quad \text{gub} (I)

plur. \quad \text{su}_8\cdot\text{g} (= DU) \quad \text{su}_8\cdot\text{g} (\text{also su}_8\cdot\text{g-su}_8\cdot\text{g}) (I \text{ or } II)

\text{su}_4\cdot\text{g} (\text{Gudea, NS})

Cf. *NBGT* II i 5-6 (= *MSL* IV p. 148): \( \text{gu-ub DU} = \text{ú-zu-uz DIŠ ha-am-tû, su-ug } \frac{\text{DU}}{} = \text{ú-zu-uz MEŠ ma-ru-ú} \).

The plural verb \( \text{su}_8\cdot\text{g} \) perhaps belongs to the reduplication class, cf. the \text{marû} form:

\((278)\) \( \text{nin}_9 \text{ hé-me-eš téš-bi-da hé-en-da-su}_8\cdot\text{su}_8-[\text{g}]\text{e-eš, } /\text{ha-I-n.da-su}_8\cdot\text{su}_8\cdot\text{g-eš/ ‘let (Lahar and Ašnan) be sisters, let them stand together’ (Lahar and Ašnan 181 unpubl., cited after Gragg, } \text{SDI} \text{ p. 51). Cf. also J. Krecher, } 1968\text{a p. 7ff.} \)

§ 268. ‘to go’

\[ \text{hamtu} \quad \text{marû} \]

sing. \quad \text{ḡen} (= DU) \quad \text{du} (IV)

plur. \quad /(e)re/ \quad \text{su}_8\cdot\text{b} (= DU) (IV)

/(e)re/ is written with the signs \( \frac{\text{DU}}{} = \text{re}_7, \frac{\text{DU-DU}}{} = \text{er}_x, \frac{\text{DU}}{} = \text{re}_6, \frac{\text{ir}_10, \text{er}_x, \text{or phonetically: er-re. See J. Krecher, } 1968\text{a p. 3ff. and P. Steinkeller, } 1979 \text{ p. 61 for examples.} \)

In *OBGOT* plural forms of the verb ‘to go’ are always written \( \frac{\text{DU}}{} = \text{su}_8 \) or \( \text{re}_7 \). That the hamtu form shall be read \( \text{re}_7 \) can be seen from *OBGOT* VII (MSL IV p. 88-99), e.g., l. 284:

\((279)\) \( \text{ga-ám-ne-} \frac{\text{DU}}{} \text{-en-dè-en = i ni-li-kam šu-nu-ši ‘let us go to them’}. \text{ Here } \text{re}_7 \text{ seems more justified than } \text{su}_8 \text{ because of the writing of the suffix. Cf. the marû form in l. 285:} \)

\((280)\) \( \text{hé-em-ne-su}_8\cdot\text{bé-eš = li-il-li-ku-nim šu-nu-ši ‘let them go to them’}. \text{ Cf. also:} \)

\((281)\) \( \text{lú-ù-ne lú mu-un-dè-re}_7\text{re-eš-àm, } /\text{mu-n.da-ere-eš-a-m/ ‘the men who went with her’ (Inanna’s Descent 295, text U)} \)
(282) lugal-ra dumu Adabₖi-a min-ȃm mu-(un-)ši-reₗ(re)-eš,
   /mu-n.ši-ere-eš/ ‘the two sons from Adab went to the king’
   (Dumuzi’s Dream 119)

Phonetic writings are:

(283) i-im-er-re-eš, /ī-mere-eš/ ‘they went there’ (NG nr. 120b, 10)

su₈.b is also found in a reduplicated form, e.g.,

(284) zid-da gûb-bu-zu nam nam.ti-la-šè ud sud-rá-šè hé-em-da-
   su₈-su₈₇-bé-eš (a: gloss: su-su), /ha-ī-m-da-su₈-su₈₇.b-eš/
   ‘let them go out at your right and left in order (to bring) the
   fate of life and long days’ (UET VI/1, 103: 42-43)

Unfortunately the relevant section in NBGT II (MSL IV p. 148) is
partly destroyed: col. I 1-4: [...] = a-la-ku UL₄ (= hamtu) \(\ddot{t} \ddot{a}\) DIŠ⁻, 
[...] du = (a-la-ku) šá DIŠ [ma-ru]-\( \dddot{u} \dddot{u}\), [...]DU = a-lak MEŠ UL₄,
[su₈₇]-bi = (a-lak) ma-ru-ū.

§ 269. ‘to live’

\begin{tabular}{ll}
  & \textbf{hamtu} & \textbf{marû} \\
  sing. & ti.l & ti.l (I) \\
  plur. & sig₇ & sig₇ (I ?)
\end{tabular}

sig₇ could also be read se₁₂. For references see P. Steinkeller, 1979 p.
55 n. 5, and C. Wilckë, 1969a p. 132 and n. 369, p. 139.

§ 270. ‘to sit, to live somewhere’, ‘to seat’

\begin{tabular}{ll}
  & \textbf{hamtu} & \textbf{marû} \\
  sing. & tuš & tuš (I) \\
  plur. & durun & durun (I)
\end{tabular}

/durun/ is normally written dûr (= TUŠ)-ru-nV/un; in texts earlier
than Ur III the plural stems are written TUŠ.TUŠ with the reading

Cf. also NBGT II 11-12 (= MSL IV p. 148f.): tu-üs TUŠ = a-šab
DIŠ ha-am-țū, dûr-ru-un = (a-šab) MEŠ ha-am-țū u ma-ru-ū.
§ 271. ‘to die, to kill’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>hamtu</strong></th>
<th><strong>marû</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>úš</td>
<td>(ug_5, ug_7) (IV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plur.</td>
<td>(ug_5, ug_7)</td>
<td>(ug_5, ug_7) (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ug_7–ug_7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural stem is in early texts written \(ÚŠ.ÚŠ = ug_x\), or \(ÚŠ = ug_7\), cf. J. Bauer, 1970 p. 188f. From OB on it is written \(ug_5 = EZENxÚŠ\). In OB, however, the distinction between singular and plural stems is not consistently carried through, cf. P. Steinkeller, 1979 p. 55 n. 4.
THE FINITE VERB

§ 272. A finite form is a verbal construction with a prefix chain and pronominal elements. The finite form may be terminated by the subordination suffix /-a/ (possibly followed by a postposition), or by a syntactic suffix. The construction of finite forms appears from the chart below § 274.

The finite verb has three conjugations: the intransitive conjugation, the transitive hamtu and the transitive marû conjugation (see § 275ff.).

In contrast to the finite verbs there are the non-finite forms which have no prefix chain and no pronominal element, but only suffixes (see below § 273).

§ 273. Other verbal constructions which are no real finite constructions, but consist partly of the same grammatical elements are:

Finite Forms Without Prefix Chain: In some rather few cases — only about 30 forms are attested — a verb without a prefix chain but with pronominal suffixes serves as a finite verb, e.g.,

(285) me-a tuš-ù-dè-en me-a gub-bu-dè-en, /tuš-ed-en/, /gub-ed-en/, ‘where shall I sit, where shall I stand?’ (Ur Lament 294)

In this case rather the forms ba-tuš-ù-de-en and ba-gub-bu-dè-en are expected.

Both intransitive and transitive forms without prefix chain are attested, and syntactically they do not differ from ordinary finite forms. The phenomenon does not occur before OB and is found in literary texts only, mostly in hymns and laments. Because of the few instances it is not possible to give any rules or explanation of the deletion of the prefix chain.

For examples, see W.H.P. Römer, SKIZ p. 220-223. See also W.R. Sladek, 1974 p. 193f., who suggests that the metrical accent may have something to do with the absence of the prefix chain.
\textit{Imperatives}: The imperative must be called a finite form since it has a prefix chain. The chain, however, is placed after the verbal root, e.g., gi$_4$-mu-un = /gi$_4$ + mu-n/ ‘return it’. The ‘prefix’ chain of the imperative is most often comparatively short.

For further details, see §§ 495-499. The construction of the imperative is not included in the chart below § 274.
§ 274. Construction of Finite Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal Prefixes</th>
<th>Conjugation Prefixes</th>
<th>Case Prefixes</th>
<th>Pronominal Prefixes</th>
<th>Verbal Root</th>
<th>Future Prefixes</th>
<th>Pronominal Suffixes</th>
<th>Syntactic Suffixes</th>
<th>Postpositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>§§ 359-422</td>
<td>§§ 305-352</td>
<td>§§ 423-482</td>
<td>§§ 290-293</td>
<td>§§ 231-250</td>
<td>§§ 294-301</td>
<td>§§ 252-259</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **nu**
- **bara**
- **na**
- **ga**
- **ha**
- **ša**
- **u**
- **iri**
- **nuš**

\[ \{ i \} - \text{ga}^a - \{ m \} - \text{DAT} - \text{da} - \{ t \} - \{ n \} - \{ e/a \} - \{ R(\text{marû}) \} - \{ \text{ed}^c \} - \{ \text{en} \} - \{ \text{enzen} \} - \{ \text{ene} \} - \text{ad} \]

\[ \text{al} \]

\[ (\text{§§ 353-358}) \]

\[ \{ e \} - \text{ra} - \{ a \} - \text{še} - \{ \text{ta} \} - \text{da} \]

\[ \{ \text{gin} \} - \{ \text{ri} \} \]

\[ \{ \text{eše} \} - \{ \text{gišen} \} - \{ \text{COP} \} \]

---

a) /-ga-/ and /-m-/ cannot begin the prefix chain, but are always preceded by /i-/.

b) -ra-ta- and -ta-ra- are also found, see § 467.

c) /-ed-/ can be combined with the marû stem only, with regular verbs, however, with the basic stem.

d) /-a-/ is obligatory before postpositions, see §§ 483-493.
The Intransitive and Transitive Conjugations

§ 275. Both on the syntactic, grammatical and on the morphological level the intransitive and transitive finite constructions can be distinguished:

A. intrans.: SUBJ-Ø(abs.) PREF-VERB-PRON
/lugal ba-ĝen/ 'the king came', /l-ku₄.r-en/ 'I entered'

B. trans.: SUBJ-e(erg.) OBJ-Ø(abs.) PREF-PRON-VERB, or PREF-(PRON-)VERB-PRON:
/lugal-e é mu-n-dù/ 'the king has built the house'
/gá-e é mu-dù-en/ 'I build the house' (cf. é-zu ma-ra-dû-e 'I shall build your house for you' Gudea, cyl. A VIII 18).

(The occurrences of the pronominal elements (= PRON) are here very simplified).

The means to distinguish these types of verbal constructions is first of all the pronominal elements (= PRON) (perhaps to some extent also the conjugation prefixes, cf. § 345), and it must therefore be noted that on the morphological level this distinction is possible in the finite verb only.

There are two series of pronominal elements indicating the above mentioned distinction: (a) Pronominal suffixes, (b) pronominal prefixes. Intransitive forms have only pronominal suffixes and never prefixes, whereas transitive forms have either prefixes or suffixes or both.

§ 276. The Sumerian verbal root is in principle neither transitive nor intransitive but neutral in this respect. The root ku₄.r can thus mean both 'to enter' (intrans.) and 'to bring in, to make enter' (trans.), the root sum both 'to be given' (intrans.) and 'to give':

(286) “Isimu-dē (…) lú ki.sikil Abzu Eriduk₁ⁱš-e im-ma-ni-in-
ku₄-ku₄ (…) lú ki.sikil Abzu Eriduk₁ⁱš-e um-ma-ku₄-ra-ta,
/l-ı-ı-ba-n-k₄₄.k₄₄/, /u-ı-ı-ba-ku₄-r-a-ta/ ‘Isimud makes
the girl enter Abzu-Eridu, (…) the girl having entered Abzu-
Eridu’ (Inanna and Enki I ii 16-20)

(287) e-gēr-a-ni ư dam dumu-ni dumu Ba.ba.₉₁₀–ke₄–ne ba-ne-
sum-ma, /ba-ne-sum-a/ ‘that his estate and his wife and
children were given to the sons of Baba₉₁₀’ (NG nr. 41, 6-8)

(288) é-₉₁₀ du-da ȝiskim-bi ga-ra-ab-sum, /ga-ra-b-sum/ ‘I will
give you a sign about the building of my house’ (Gudea, cyl.
A IX 9)
No verb seems to have the lexical restriction that it occurs exclusively as either transitive or intransitive. In practice some verbs may be used primarily in the intransitive, others in the transitive form, but theoretically any verb can be found in both constructions.

§ 277. Terminology

In the traditional grammars verbs like gub ‘to stand’, čen ‘to go’ and ku₄.r ‘to enter’ are called ‘basically intransitive’, whereas verbs like gū₇ ‘to eat’, dīm ‘to fashion’ and sum ‘to give’ are called ‘basically transitive’ (cf. for instance A. Falkenstein, GSGL II p. 59). J.N. Postgate, 1974 p. 26, rightly pointed to the inconsistency of this classification and instead suggested the following terminology applying to all categories of verbs: one-participant construction = ‘he went’ or ‘it was given’; two-participant construction = ‘he gave it’ or ‘he made him enter’; three-participant construction = ‘x causes y to destroy z’.

In the present study ‘one-participant’ and ‘two-participant’ are used as the most general terms for the clauses of type A and B, respectively. The terms ‘intransitive’ and ‘transitive’ are, however, also used in their traditional sense: intrans. = lugal in-ku₄ ‘the king entered’, trans. = lugal-e é mu-un-dù ‘the king has built the house’ (but še ba-de₆ ‘the barley was bought’, is one-participant).

§ 278. The intransitive/one-part. finite verb has only one conjugation: I (§ 279) with both hamtu and marû stem. The transitive/two-part. verb has two conjugations: II and III. When the verb has a special marû stem this is applied in III. The future stem with /ed/ is conjugated like the marû stem, the reduplicated hamtu stem like the single hamtu stem.

...- denotes the prefix chain consisting of modal, conjugation and case prefixes, except the pronominal prefixes. PRON means the pronominal prefixes /-b-/ and /-n-/ which may occur as transitive or object marks.

For writing and occurrences of the prefixes and suffixes, see §§ 287-301.

§ 279. I. Intransitive/One-Participant Conjugation

In the intransitive conjugation the pronominal suffixes denote the subject:
1.sg. ...-VERB-en 

Hamṭu: ‘I entered’, etc.

2.sg. ...-VERB-en 

3.sg. ...-VERB 

1.pl. ...-VERB-enden 

2.pl. ...-VERB-enzen 

3.pl. ...-VERB-es 

The *maru* forms have the same endings: *i-ku4-ku4-en‘I enter’, etc.

The pronominal prefixes */-n/- and */-b/- may exceptionally occur in intransitive/one-part. forms. Such occurrences must surely be regarded as scribal errors or mistakes.

ba-VERB is very common as the 3.sg. form, but /ba-/ is not exclusively an intrans./one-part. prefix, see §§ 341-352.

For the suffixes, their writing and occurrences, see §§ 294-301.

§ 280. II. Transitive/Two-Participant Conjugation: Hamṭu

In this conjugation the subject is denoted by pronominal prefixes (2. sg., 3.sg. an. and inan.), or by a combination of prefix and suffix (3. pl. and perhaps also 2.pl., see below). The 1.sg. has no subject mark, and the 1.pl. has only a suffix.

In those forms which have no prefix referring to the subject a pronominal element, */-b/- or */-n/- (= PRON), may occur, which refers to the object (see §§ 281, 282).

1.sg. ...(-PRON)-VERB 

2.sg. ...-e-VERB 

3.sg.an. ...-n-VERB 

inan. ...-b-VERB
1.pl. \(\ldots(-\text{PRON})\)-VERB-enden \(\ldots(-\text{PRON})\)-VERB-enden \(\text{me.en.dë.en:\ sağ i-(b-)zig-ge-en-dë-en}\)

2.pl. \(-e\)-VERB-enzen \(-e\)-VERB-enzen \(\text{me.en.zë.en:\ sağ mu-e-zig-ge-en-zë-en}\)

3.pl. \(-n\)-VERB-eš \(-n\)-VERB-eš \(\text{a.ne.ne: sağ in-zig-ge-eš}\) \(\text{¿ú-i-ne: sağ in-zig-ge-eš}\)

In the 1.sg. and pl. forms /\(\ddot{t}\)-/ alone would be written /\(\ddot{t}\)-/ = /\(\ddot{s}\)-/.

The prefix /\(\mu\)-/ is predominant before the pronominal element /-\(e\)-/ for the 2. person. In the earlier stages of Sumerian it was perhaps obligatory.

The 1.pl. form is identical with the 1.pl. of the marû conjugation, unless the verb clearly distinguishes hamtu and marû.

Poebel, GSG p. 176, reconstructed the 1.pl. preterite \(*i\)-me-dím, ‘we have made’, but such forms are not attested (cf. § 290). Since the cohortative ga-forms, which are hamtu, have /-enden/ as subject element (cf. § 389 and Falkenstein, 1939), it is here assumed that other hamtu forms, without ga-, have this ending too. Cf. also: \(i\)-sum-mu-un-dë-en, ‘we have given it (to them 15 years ago)’ (HSM 1384, 7 = Edzard, 1976b p. 160, a document dating to the reign of Enlil-bani of Isin, 1860-1837 B.C.).

The 2. pl. is uncertain. The form rendered here is based on forms like nu-mu-e-sum-mu-un-zë-en, ‘you(pl.) have not given it (to me)’ (HSM 1384, 11 = Edzard, 1976b p. 160), see also § 291.

§ 281. The singular forms of the transitive hamtu conjugation may add a pronominal suffix denoting the object: /-en/ ‘me, you(sg.)’, /-enden/ ‘us’, /-enzen/ ‘you(pl.)’, and /-eš/ ‘them’.\(^{39}\) Such forms are ambiguous unless the verb clearly distinguishes hamtu and marû stem. /\(\ddot{t}\)-n-tud-en/ can thus theoretically be both ‘I (or you, sg.) bear her’ and ‘she has born me (or you, sg.)’ (cf. D.O. Edzard, 1959 p. 243f.).

§ 282. III. Transitive/Two-Participant Conjugation: Marû

The subject of the transitive marû form is marked with pronominal

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\(^{39}\) For the 3.sg. an. and inan. object, see § 282.
suffixes, just like the intransitive subject. Only the 3.sg. and pl. differ from the corresponding intransitive forms. The 3.sg. subject is thus unmarked in the intransitive verb: /lú 1-ku₄.r/, but the transitive subject is in the marû conjugation marked by /-e/.

The 3.pl. subject of the transitive marû conjugation is denoted by the suffix /-ene/ which is identical with the plural suffix of animate nouns. The suffix /-eš/, on the other hand, is the suffix of 3.pl. in both intransitive forms and the transitive hamüşu conjugation.

The transitive marû forms have no pronominal suffixes denoting the direct object since the suffixes already refer to the subject, but a pronominal prefix (= PRON), /-b-/ or /-n-/ most often occurs immediately before the verbal root. These prefixes probably denote inanimate and animate object, respectively, or they have simply the notion 'transitive' in order to distinguish the form from the intransitive conjugation.

1.sg.     ...-PRON-VERB-en          ǧá-e saq ib-zi-zi-en,
2.sg.     ...-PRON-VERB-en          za-e saq ib-zi-zi-en,
3.sg. an. ...-PRON-VERB-e and inan. a-neš saq ib-zi-zi(e), lú-e saq ib-zi-zi(-e)
1.pl.     ...-PRON-VERB-enden        me.en.dè.en saq ib-zi-zi-en-dè-en
2.pl.     ...-PRON-VERB-enzen       me.en.zè.en saq ib-zi-zi-en-zè-en
3.pl.     ...-PRON-VERB-ene          a.ne-ne saq ib-zi-zi-ne
        lú-e-ne saq ib-zi-zi-ne

§ 283. Problems Concerning the Reconstruction of the Conjugations

It is very difficult to reconstruct the system of the pronominal elements especially as regards the two-part conjugations, since texts earlier than the Old Babylonian Period contain only little evidence. This is first of all due to the older scribal practice of omitting several grammatical elements for the sake of convenience, and because 3. person forms predominate whereas 1. and 2. person forms are rather

40. For the suffix /-e/, see § 233.
41. For the variation of /-b-/ and /-n-/, see Gragg, 1972a.
scarce. A complete system must therefore be based primarily on the Old Babylonian literary texts, that means on texts written by Akkadian speaking scribes at a time when Sumerian was already a dead language. The many variants in the various duplicates of the literary texts belonging to this period demonstrate that there was no agreement as to the insertion of these elements, and as a fact no exact rules can be given for the occurrences of the pronominal elements. The paradigms thus merely give the major trends in relation to which most forms can be explained.

The question whether the system as stated here also existed in the older language although it was not explicitly written can hardly be answered with certainty, since we have no texts to compare with. The most reliable Sumerian text material, the Gudea texts, contain only few pronominal elements, but on the other hand the Old Babylonian literary texts seem to follow a literary and grammatical tradition which can be traced back to the Gudea texts.

Causative Constructions

§ 284. In principal real causatives are three-participant constructions like (a) 'x caused y to destroy z', whereas two-participant constructions like (b) 'x caused y to go' are to be compared with usual transitive forms. In Sumerian both types are constructed like two-participant verbs.

Of the causative construction (a) there is an underlying two-participant sentence: 'y destroyed z', y is thus called the underlying subject or the second subject of clause (a). In the causative verb this underlying or second subject is in general indicated by a dative prefix or by -ni- for 3.sg., -ri- for 2.sg.42

This causative function of -ni- can be illustrated by forms in the Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts where -ni- corresponds to -š- of the Akkadian causative Š-stem (for instance OBGTVI and IX).

§ 285. Examples:

(289) kur-re gaba.šu.ğar nam-mu-riₐ-in-ₜiku-unₜₐ (a: -ni- for

42. For a possible instance of terminative instead of -ni- or dative, see Wilcke, 1969a p. 140 and n. 386: ki-gub-bi in-ne-pád, with var. im-mu-e-ṣi-in-pád, /š-ne-n-pád/, /š-mu-e-ṣi-n-pád/, 'he let them find their places' (Bird and Fish 20).
-ri--; b-b: -tuku-tuku), /na-mu-ri-n-tuku-en/ ‘I will not let you have a counterpart in the mountains’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 109)

(290) [DÆ]n.lîl-le [gabaš]u.ĝar nu-mu-ni-tuku, /nu-mu-ni-(n-) tuku/ ‘Enlil did not let him have a counterpart’ (Lugalzgesi, BE I 87 II 14-16)

(291) za-e-me-en inim-ĝu₁₀ an.ki-a gaba.ri la-ba-e-ni-tuku, /nu-ba-e-ni-tuku/ ‘you did not let my word have a counterpart in heaven and earth’ (Inanna and Ebih 66 = UET VI/1 14, 17). –e– is apparently the pronominal prefix of 2.sg. subj., here applied before the case prefix.

For the underlying transitive sentences of ex. 289-291, cf.:

(292) inim ÐEn.lîl-lá-ta gaba.šu.ĝar nu-mu-un-tuku, /nu-mu-ni-tuku/ ‘at the word of Enlil he has no counterpart’ (Išme-Dagan Hymn A 57)

(293) ká ē.gal-šè mu lugal pâd-mu-ni-ib, /pâd + mu-ni-b/ ‘make him swear (lit.: call the king’s name) at the Palace Gate’ (TCS I nr. 39,9) Cf.:

(294) mu lugal-bi in-pâd-dè-eš, /î-n-pâd-eš/ ‘they have sworn by the name of the king’ (NG nr. 99, 46; cf. also NG III p. 142)

(295) igi-bi-šè mu lugal ba-pâd, /ba-pâd/ ‘the name of the king was called before them’ (NG I p. 102: L 11004: 11)

(296) amar gàm.gàm mušèn guè-ba³ tuš-a-gin₇ mu-ni-ib-gu₇-u-ne mu-ni-ib-na₈-na₈-neb (a: -bi; b: -e for -ne), /mu-ni-b-gu₇-ene/, /mu-ni-b-na₈-na₈-ene/ ‘like a young of a gam-bird sitting in its nest they let him eat, they let him drink’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 249-248)

§ 286. In sentences of the type ‘x caused y to go’, y is the direct, ab-solute object of the two-participant verb ‘to cause to go’, and the verb is constructed like a normal transitive verb. Such constructions may, however, also contain the prefix -ni- as in the examples below, but note that -ni- also can be explained as referring to the locative.

(297) Ê.an.na.túm (...-e) e-bi Ïd.nun-ta Gú.eden.na-šè íb-ta-ni-è, /î-b.ta-ni-(n-)è/ ‘Eanatum let its ditch go out from Id-nun to Gu-edena’ (Ent. 28 I 32-II 3). But cf. the same verb without -ni-:

(298) Gù.dé.a é ÐNin.ǧír.su-ka ÐUtu-gin₇ dugud-ta ba-ta-è,
/ba-ta-(n-)-ê/ ‘Gudea let the house of Ningirsu go out/rise
like the Sun-god from the clouds’ (Gudea, cyl. A XXIV 13-
14)

(299) D Gä. tûm. dûg-ke₄ sig₄-bi kur.ku₄-a mu-ni-ku₄ , /mu-ni-
(n-)ku₄.r/ ‘Gatumdug brought the brick into ...’ (Gudea,
cyl. A XX 17-18) But intrans. with -ni-

(300) é-a hûl-la û-na-ni-ku₄ , /û-na-ni-ku₄.r/ ‘he has happily en-
tered the house’ (Gudea, cyl. A VII 30)

The Pronominal Elements

§ 287. The pronominal elements of the finite verbal form refer to
the persons involved in the verbal action. There are two main series
with different ranks: the prefixes and the suffixes. A verbal form can
have at most one prefix immediately before the verbal root and one
suffix after the root (or, if present, after /ed/), both referring to sub-
ject and/or object. The prefixes are identical with the pronominal el-
ements which under some conditions occur together with case pre-
fices (see § 428).

For the different functions of the pronominal elements, cf. for in-
stance:

(301) mu-e-šî-in-gî₄-nam =
/mu – e – šî – n – gî₄ – en – am/
PREF – ‘you’ – term. – ‘he’ – VERB – ‘me’ – COP
’It is (my king) who has sent me to you’ (Enmerkar and
the Lord of Aratta 176)

§ 288. In the standard grammars of Sumerian other terms have been
used, for instance: ‘Subjektselemente’, ‘akkusativische Personalele-
mente’ (A. Poebel, GSG p. 173; 206); ‘Personenzeichen’, ‘Akkusativ-
infixe und -suffixe’ (A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 44, 47); ‘Subject and

However, since their functions are very complex, I shall prefer
‘pronominal elements’ as the more neutral term here. Moreover, it
must be stressed that the term ‘infix’ should be used only about mor-
phemes inserted in the root or stem, and not about the elements of
the prefix chain.

§ 289. In the older stages of the Sumerian language the pronominal
elements belong to the grammatical elements which are frequently omitted in the writing, and their use before at least the Neo-Sumerian period can hardly be described. The following remarks on these elements are based largely on the occurrences in the Old Babylonian literary texts. In these texts, however, there seems to be many inconsistencies and, moreover, the various duplicates of a literary composition may render the verbal forms rather differently especially as regards the prefixes /-n-/ and /-b-/.  


The Pronominal Prefixes

§ 290. According to earlier theories there exists a series of pronominal prefixes for all persons:

1.sg. -?-
2.sg. -e-
3.sg.an. -n-
inanimate -b-
1.pl. -me-
2.pl. -e-ene-
3.pl. -ene-

Thus A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 47, when the prefixes are used before case elements; A. Poebel. GSG p. 188ff., has for the 1.sg.: ‘-’, for the 2.pl.: -ene--; when the prefixes serve as subject marks in the transitive ‘preterite’ (i.e. hamtu), Falkenstein renders the 2.pl. as -e--a-(e)ne, the 3.pl. as -n----eš (1959a p.44), Poebel has -ene--- and -n----eš (GSG p. 173).

In the texts, however, only three different prefixes are actually written, namely: /-e/- (also rendered as -ù- and -a-), /-n/- and /-b-/, and it does not seem justified to try to reconstruct prefixes for the other persons. The plural prefixes /-me-/ and /-ene-/ (or better /-ne-/) are used as dative elements only (‘for us’ and ‘for them’, respectively, see § 435; § 437), and it is thus more probable that they are case elements than pronominal elements. The 2.pl. is so rarely attested that nothing can be said with certainty about a pronominal prefix for this person, cf. §§ 281 and 291.

The conclusion must be that there are three pronominal prefixes

43. In NBGT I me is translated by ni-nu AN.TA = ‘we, prefix’ (l. 125), and e-ne = at-tu-nu KI.TA = ‘you(pl.) suffix’ (l. 146). Cf. D.O. Edzard, 1976b, p. 165 n. 14: ‘Die von A. Poebel, GSG § 453, rekonstruierte Form *i-me-dim ‘wir haben gemacht’ (...) ist m.W. bis heute nicht bestätigt worden.’ See also § 280 above.
only for three different ‘classes’: a) /-e-/ for 2. person (and perhaps also for 1. person), b) /-n-/ for animate; and c) /-b-/ for inanimate.

The Pronominal Prefix /-e-/  
§ 291. Writing: Before the Old Babylonian period there are only few instances of this pronominal prefix. In the Gudea texts it is written -ù- after /mu-/, and -a- after /ba-/ (see GSGL I p. 161); in the OB texts it is most often written -e-, but also mu-ù₈- occurs.⁴⁴

The main function of /-e-/ is to denote the 2. person:

a) As subject mark of the 2.sg. in transitive hamtu forms, e.g.,

(302) mu-e-Il ‘you have lifted’ (Angim 9)
(303) mu-e-sum ‘you have given’ (Gilgameš and Aka 104)

b) Together with the pronominal suffix /-enen/, /-e-/ may serve as subject mark of the 2.pl. in transitive hamtu forms as contrasting to marû forms which have only /-enen/, e.g.,

(305) ġiš ba-e-ʃub-bu-za-na-gin₇₁, /ba-e-şub-enen-en-a-ɡin₇₁/ ‘as you (pl.) have thrown the lot’ (Lugale = SEM 32 III 15 and dupls., cf. A. Falkenstein, 1950b p. 65)

c) Before case prefixes referring to 2.sg., e.g.,

(306) igi-bi mu-e-ši-ɡal ‘they look upon you’ (Iddin-Dagan Hymn B 59)

A vocalic element, perhaps identical with this /-e-/., may in a few cases refer to the 1.sg., thus for instance as a subject mark in transitive hamtu forms:

(307) šu zid ma-ra-a-ɡar (= /mu-DAT.2.sg.-e(?)-ɡar/) ‘I have faithfully performed it for you’ (Gudea, cyl. B II 20)

or before case prefixes:

(308) á še mu-e-da-a-áɡ (= /mu-e.da-e-áɡ/) ‘you have instructed me(-e.da-‘) (Letter, A 1, 8)⁴⁵

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⁴⁴. Cf. also pa bi-i-è ‘you have made resplendent’, si bi-i-sá ‘you have made straight’ (Iddin-Dagan Hymn B 27 and 30).
⁴⁵. The subject mark -e- in preradical position has changed to -a- because of the
/−e−/ occurs also rather frequently in contexts where it cannot denote the 2. person, for instance:

(309) me.lám-bi (...) Arattaki-a túb-gin7 a.ba-e-dul a gada-gin7 ba-e-búr (a-a: bí-in-dul) ‘Its radiance covered Aratta like a garment, enveloped it like linen’ (Enmerkar and Enshukhešdana 13)

A rule for these occurrences cannot be given. ba−e−VERB is especially frequent and probably mostly intransitive.

/−e−/ probably indicating 2.sg. trans. subject, seems to occur not only in preradical position, but also before case elements, e.g.

(310) la-ba-e-ni-tuku, /nu-ba-e-ni-tuku/ ‘you did not let it have (a counterpart)’ (Inanna and Ebih 66 = UET VI/1, 14: 17)

The Pronominal Prefix /−n−/

§ 292. /−n−/ denotes the 3. sg. animate. It is probably the same morpheme as in /−ani/ ‘his, her’ and /ane/, /ene/ ‘he, she’.

The functions of /−n−/ are:

a) As subject mark of 3.sg. animate it occurs very frequently in transitive hamtu forms, e.g. bí-in-dug4 = /bi−n-dug4/ ‘he has spoken’, mu-na-an-sum = /mu−na−n-sum/ ‘he has given it to him’, etc.

b) Together with the pronominal suffix /−eš/, /−n−/ denotes 3.pl. animate subject of transitive hamtu forms, e.g., mu-na-an-sum-mu-uš = /mu−na−n-sum−eš/ ‘they have given it to him’.

c) Before case elements referring to a person, e.g.,

(311) á mu−un−da−an−áğ = /mu−n.da−n−áğ/ ‘he has instructed him’ (Iškur Hymn 15)

d) More rarely /−n−/ may denote the 3.sg. animate object. As a rule this can only be the case in marû forms which have no pronominal prefix as subject mark, e.g.,

(312) nu−um−ma−ši−in−gi4−gi4 = /nu−i−ba−ši−n−gi4.gi4−e/ ‘He sends out no other (god)’ (Angim 95)\(^{46}\)

\(^{46}\) preceding -da−; the second -a− probably denotes some sort of transition between the pronominal prefix and the initial vowel of the verb, cf. Gragg, SDJ p. 85.

In the OB texts /-n-/ occurs in many instances where none of the functions (a-d) can be ascribed to it, for instance in intransitive forms or in transitive forms with 1. or 2. person as subjects and with inanimate object, e.g.,

(313) e.ne (...) hu-mu-da-an-ti ‘may he dwell with her’, gà.e (...) mu-da-an-ti-(e-)en ‘I will dwell with her’ (Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdana 27-28 and 58-59; we would expect /ha-mu-n.da-ti/ and /mu-n.da-ti-en/)

(314) Ir.DEN.ZU (...) -me-en (...) ù.gul im-ma-an-gá-gá ‘I, Warad-Sin, pray’ (Warad-Sin 1, 13, /I-ba-ğá.ğá-en/ is expected). 47

The reasons for these occurrences of /-n-/ are not evident.

The Pronominal Prefix /-b-/  
§ 293. /-b-/ denotes inanimate, and is probably the same morpheme as in the poss. suffix /-bi/ ‘its’.

The functions of /-b-/ are:

a) Analogous to the function (a) of the pronominal prefix /-n-/, also /-b-/ should be expected to occur as subject mark in transitive hamtu forms. Such forms are, however, comparatively rare.

(315) amar-bi (...) gù nu-um-ma-ni-ib-gi₄, /nu-I-ba-ni-b-gi₄/ ‘Its young did not answer’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 77)

b) /-b-/ may also refer to a 3.pl. subject in transitive hamtu forms; such instances can be found especially in the NS juridical texts, e.g.

(316) nam.erm₂-bi ḫb-kud ‘they have sworn’ (NG nr. 40, 8 and passim).

These forms have no pronominal plural suffix.

c) Most often /-b-/ occurs in transitive marû forms, probably referring to the inanimate direct object, e.g.,

(317) ensi₂-ra DNaňše mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄ ‘Naňše answers the ensi’ (Gudea, cyl. A V 11)

(318) ku.li-zu-ne-er nam-mu-ni-ib-bé(-en), /na-mu-ni-b-e-en/ ‘do not say it to your friends!’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 214)

47. For more such instances in the Isin-Larsa inscriptions, see Kárki, 1967 p. 120f.
Numerous examples of this occurrence of /-b-/ can be found. Moreover, /-b-/ occurs comparatively often in the cohortative /ga-/ forms, e.g.,

(319) me šu ga-mu-ra-ab-du₇₂ / /ga-mu-DAT.2.sg.-b-du₇₂/ 'I will make the me’s perfect for you' (Gudea, cyl. A II 15)
(320) ga-àm-mi-îb-gu-ul, / /ga-î-bi-b-gu.ul/ 'I will destroy it' (Šulgi Hymn D 219)

d) /-b-/ may also occur before case prefixes referring to inanimate, (321) á šed₁₀-bi-šè ní hé-eb-ši-te-en-te(-en), /ha-î-b.ši-te.en.te (.en-e)/ ‘let him refresh himself in its cool arm(s)’ (Šulgi Hymn A 33)

Also /ba-/ and /-m-/ are used before case prefixes referring to inanimate, see §§ 329; 342.

The Pronominal Suffixes

§ 294.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.sg.</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.sg.</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sg.</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.pl.</td>
<td>-enden</td>
<td>-enden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.pl.</td>
<td>-enzen</td>
<td>-enzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.pl.</td>
<td>-eš</td>
<td>-ene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffixes of series A indicate the subject of the intransitive verb (cf. § 279). In this respect the suffixes of series A are absolutive elements and may therefore also indicate the direct object of a transitive verb (see § 281). The instances of suffixes acting as object elements are, however, comparatively rare.

/-eš/ is also used in two-part. hamtu forms together with the prefix /-n-/ to denote the 3.pl. ergative subject, e.g.: mu-na-an-sum-mu-uš < /mu-na-n-sum-eš/ 'they have given it to him'.

The suffixes of series A are moreover found after the enclitic copula: e.g., lugal-me-en ‘I am (the) king’ (or: ‘you are (the) king’) (see § 541).

The series B — which differs from A in the 3. person only — serves as subject marks of the two-part. maru conjugation (see § 282): mu-gá-gá-an < /mu-gá.gá-en/ 'I place it'.

Note, however, that the suffix /-enden/ also occurs as 1.pl. subject element in two-part hamtu forms. Also /-enzen/ is perhaps used as subject element for the 2.pl. in two-part. hamtu forms together with the prefix /-e-/ (see § 291).

/-enzen/ is added at the end of imperatives to denote the 2.pl., e.g.,

(322) sum-mu-na-ab-zé-en < /sum + mu-na-b + enzen/ ‘give it to him!’ (Nanna-Suen’s Journey to Nippur 320-321)

(323) DU-mu-un-zé-en < /DU + mu + enzen/ ‘bring it!’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 19) (see § 499)

Writing

§ 295. The initial [e] of the suffixes may be changed to [u] under the influence of the vowel of the verbal root, e.g., -šub-bu-uš = /-šub-eš/. Other such verbs are: gub, hur, kúr, sum, sur, túm, gu-ul, gur; with the same verbs writings with [e] can also be found.

If the verbal stem ends in a vowel the [e] is contracted, e.g., -du-un < /-du-(e)n/, -gá-gá-an < /-gá.gá-(e)n/.

§ 296. /-en/ In the NS texts it may be written -èn or -en₆, otherwise it is written -en. After a verb ending in a vowel it is written -an or -un. The suffix is hardly attested before the NS period. In the Gudea texts the writing -e or -Ce represents /-en/, and only if followed by another suffix like -a or -àm, is it explicitly attested, e.g.,

(324) ma-du-na = /mu-DAT.1.sg.-dù-en-a/ ‘(the house) which you build for me’ (Gudea, cyl. A IX 8), but cf.:

(325) ma-ra-du-e = /mu-DAT.2.sg.-dù-e(n)/ ‘I will build it for you’ (Gudea, cyl. A XII 1).

§ 297. /-enden/ is written -(e)n-dè-en or -dè-en, e.g.,

(326) ga-ba-ab-túm-mu-dè-en (var.: ba-ab-túm-dè-en), /ga-ba-b-b-túm-enden/ ‘we will bring him back’ (Inanna’s Descent 310)

(327) gú nam-ba-an-gá-gá-an-dè-en = /na-ba-n(?)-gá.gá-enden/ ‘let us not submit’ (Gilgameš and Aka 8)

§ 298. /-enzen/ This suffix is normally written -en-zé-en; before the subordination suffix /-a/ we have the writings: -(en)-za-na, e.g.,
(328) i-su₈-ge-en-za-na = /i-su₈.g-enzen-a/ ‘you who are standing here’ (Enki’s Journey to Nippur 118)

§ 299. /-eš/ is in the older periods written -éš, later on -eš (or after verbs with the vowel [u]: -uš).

§ 300. /-e/ is written -e or -Ce (or -Cu, cf. above). This suffix is in most cases altogether omitted after a verb ending in a vowel, and it is thus most frequently found with regular verbs.

It is also attested in the OS texts.

§ 301. /-ene/ is written -e-ne or -Ce-ne, or simply -ne after verbs ending in a vowel.
THE PREFIX CHAIN AND ITS ELEMENTS

§ 302. ‘Prefix chain’ is the name of the elements of the finite verb standing to the left of the verbal stem, e.g. mu-na-an- of the form mu-na-an-dù ‘he has built for him’. There are four categories of elements in the prefix chain: 1) Modal prefixes (e.g. nu-), 2) Conjugation prefixes (e.g. mu-), 3) Case prefixes (e.g. -na-), 4) Pronominal prefixes (e.g. -n-).

In a finite form at least one conjugation prefix is obligatory, but the number of elements of the chain may vary from only one conjugation prefix to more complex chains like for instance: ha-mu-na-ab-sum-mu = /ha-mu-na-b-sum-e/ ‘let him give it (-b-) to him (-na-)’, or ga-àm-ma-da-ra-ab-e₁₁-dè-en-dè-en = /ga-ì-ba-da-ra-b-e₁₁.d-enden/ ‘let us make them (-b-) descend from there (-ra-) together (-da-)’ (Lahar and Aṣnan 40 = UET VI/1, 33: 37 and dupls.). As an average the prefix chain consists of two or three elements. The older texts (OS) have in general fewer elements, but this may be due to abbreviation and not represent the actual spoken form.

Possible combinations of the members of the prefix chain can be seen in § 274 and § 304.

§ 303. The Verbal Prefixes

The verbal prefixes proper are those elements of the prefix chain which are able to initiate the finite form. They are subdivided into three groups according to their rank:

A. Conjugation Prefixes: /ì (or ḕ), -ga-, -m-, mu, ba, bi/

At least one of the conjugation prefixes /ì, mu, ba, bi/ is compulsory in every finite form. /mu, ba, bi/ mutually exclude each other but can be combined with /ì/.

/-ga-/ and /-m-/ cannot initiate the finite form and occur always with /ì/ (or /ā/). They are therefore strictly speaking not real conjugation prefixes.
The term ‘conjugation prefix’ is a traditional one and here used merely for practical reasons. I have been unable to find a new and more suitable name, since the meaning of the prefixes belonging to this category only approximately can be established.

Note that A. Falkenstein used the term ‘Konjugationspräfixe’ for i-, mu- and al-, whereas ba- and bi- were called simply ‘Präfixe’, (1959a p. 45f.; GSGL I pp. 179-183; GSGL II pp. 158-190).

B. The Prefix /al-/  
This prefix must be listed apart, since, in principle, it is never combined with other prefixes, neither verbal prefixes nor case and pronominal elements. /al-/ stands always immediately before the verbal root. Its meaning is not known.

A. Falkenstein classified /al-/ as ‘Konjugationspräfix’ (1959a p. 46).

C. Modal Prefixes: /nu, bara, na, ga, ha, ša, u, iri, nuš/

The modal prefixes mutually exclude each other; their rank is before the conjugation prefixes. The modal prefixes express the mood, e.g., negative, prohibitive, vetitive, precative, etc., but the meaning of some of the prefixes cannot be established with certainty. A modal prefix is not obligatory in the finite verb.

The modal prefixes were named ‘Präformative’ by A. Falkenstein (1959a pp. 49-51; GSGL I pp. 217-227; GSGL II pp. 209-217).

§ 304. Combinations of Verbal Prefixes

All theoretically possible combinations are listed below. If no example is given, the form is not necessarily ungrammatical, but it is not attested as far as I know.

The Conjugation Prefixes:

/i + ga/ > e-ga- (OS), i-ga- (Gudea), in-ga- (OB)
/i + ga + mu/  
/İ + ga + mu + DAT.1.sg./ > e-ga-ma- (OS)
/i + ga + ba/  
/i + ga + bi/  
/i + m/ > im- (Gudea, NS, IL, OB), i-im- (Gudea, NS, OB)
/i + mu/ > im-mu- (OB)
\[ \text{/i + ba/} \quad \text{> e-ma-, i-ma- (OS), im-ma- (Gudea, and later)} \]

\[ \text{/i + bi/} \quad \text{> i-mi- (OS), im-mi- (Gudea and later)\textsuperscript{48}} \]

\[ \text{/i + b(PRON)/} \quad \text{> i-fb- (all periods), i-fb- (Gudea, NS)} \]

\[ \text{/i + n(PRON)/} \quad \text{> in- (all periods), i-in- (NS)} \]

\[ \text{/a + ga/} \quad \text{> an-ga-} \]

\[ \text{/a + m/} \quad \text{> am- (NS, OB)} \]

\[ \text{/a + mu/} \quad \text{> am-mu- (OB)} \]

\[ \text{/a + ba/} \quad \text{> am-ma- (OB)} \]

\[ \text{/a + bi/} \quad \text{> am-mi- (OB)} \]

\[ \text{/a + b(PRON)/} \quad \text{> ab- (OB: a-ab-)} \]

\[ \text{/a + n(PRON)/} \quad \text{> an-} \]

**Modal Prefixes and Conjugation Prefixes:**

\[ \text{/nu + i/} \quad \text{> nu-} \]

\[ \text{/nu + i + ga/} \quad \text{> nu-ga- (Gudea)} \]

\[ \text{/nu + i + ga + mu/} \]

\[ \text{/nu + i + ga + ba/} \]

\[ \text{/nu + i + ga + bi/} \]

\[ \text{/nu + i + m/} \quad \text{> nu-um- (Gudea, NS, OB)} \]

\[ \text{/nu + i + mu/} \]

\[ \text{/nu + i + ba/} \quad \text{> nu-ma- (Gudea), nu-um-ma- (OB)} \]

\[ \text{/nu + i + bi/} \quad \text{> nu-mi- (Gudea, NS), nu-um-mi- (OB)} \]

\[ \text{/nu + mu/} \quad \text{> nu-mu- (all periods)} \]

\[ \text{/nu + mu + DAT.1.sg./} \quad \text{> nu-ma- (NS)} \]

\[ \text{/nu + ba/} \quad \text{> nu-ba- (OS, Gudea), la-ba- (OS), Gudea and later)} \]

\[ \text{/nu + bi/} \quad \text{> nu-bí- (Gudea), li-bí- (NS and later)} \]

\[ \text{/bara + i/} \quad \text{> ba-ra-} \]

\[ \text{/bara + i + ga/} \]

\[ \text{/bara + i + ga + mu/} \]

\[ \text{/bara + i + ga + ba/} \]

\[ \text{/bara + i + ga + bi/} \]

\[ \text{/bara + i + m/} \]

\[ \text{/bara + i + mu/} \]

\[ \text{---} \]

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{48} im-me- is either a writing for im-mi- < /i-bi-/, or comes from im-mu-e- < /i-mu-e-/}.} \]
/bara + ì + ba/
/bara + ì + bi/
/bara + mu/ $\rightarrow$ ba-ra-mu- (OS, NS)
    /bara + mu + DAT.1.sg./
/bara + ba/ $\rightarrow$ ba-ra-ba-
/bara + bi/ $\rightarrow$ ba-ra-bí- (IL)

/na + ì/
/na + ì + ga/
/na + ì + ga + mu/ $\rightarrow$ na-ga-mu- (OS), nam-ga-mu- (OB)
/na + ì + ga + ba/
/na + ì + ga + bi/
/na + ì + m/ $\rightarrow$ nam- (Gudea, OB)
    (see /na + mu/)
/na + ì + mu/
/na + ì + ba/ 49 $\rightarrow$ nam-ma- (OS, OB)
/na + ì + bi/ $\rightarrow$ nam-mi- (OS, Gudea, OB), na-mi- (NS, IL)
/na + mu/ $\rightarrow$ nam-mu- (IL, OB), na-àm-mu- (OB),
    na-mu- (Gudea, OB)
    /na + mu + DAT.1.sg./ $\rightarrow$ na-ma- (NS), nam-ma- (OB)
/na + ba/ $\rightarrow$ na-ba- (NS)
/na + bi/ $\rightarrow$ na-bí- (NS)

/ga + ì/
/ga + ì + ga/
/ga + ì + ga + mu/
/ga + ì + ga + ba/
/ga + ì + ga + bi/
/ga + ì + m/ $\rightarrow$ ga-àm- (OB)
    (see /ga + mu/)
/ga + ì + mu/ $\rightarrow$ ga-àm-ma- (OB)
/ga + ì + ba/ $\rightarrow$ ga-àm-mi- (OB)
/ga + ì + bi/ $\rightarrow$ ga-mu-
/ga + mu/ $\rightarrow$ ga-ma- (Gudea)
    /ga + mu + DAT.1.sg./ $\rightarrow$ ga-ba-
/ga + ba/ $\rightarrow$ ga-ba-
/ga + bi/

49. It is not clear whether nam-ba- and nam-bí- (which occur in NS and OB) come from /na-ba-/ and /na-bi-/ or /na-ì-ba-/ and /na-ì-bi-./.
\( /\text{ha} + \text{i}/ \)
\[
\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{ha-} \ (\text{before -a-, -b-, -n-, -na-, -ni- and -ra-)} \\
\text{hé-} \ (\text{before -a-, -b-, -n-, -da-, -ne-, -ni-, -ri-, -šè, -ši-}) \\
\end{array}
\]

\( /\text{ha} + \text{i} + \text{ga}/ \)
\( /\text{ha} + \text{i} + \text{ga} + \text{mu}/ \)
\( /\text{ha} + \text{i} + \text{ba}/ \)
\( /\text{ha} + \text{i} + \text{bi}/ \)
\( /\text{ha} + \text{i} + \text{m}/ \)
\( /\text{ha} + \text{i} + \text{mu}/ \)
\( /\text{ha} + \text{i} + \text{ba}/ \)
\( /\text{ha} + \text{i} + \text{bi}/ \)

\( /\text{ha} + \text{mu}/ \)
\( /\text{ha} + \text{mu} + \text{DAT.1.sg.}/ \)
\( /\text{ha} + \text{ba}/ \)
\( /\text{ha} + \text{bi}/ \)

\( /\text{ša} + \text{i}/ \)
\( /\text{ša} + \text{i} + \text{ga}/ \)
\( /\text{ša} + \text{i} + \text{ga} + \text{mu}/ \)
\( /\text{ša} + \text{i} + \text{ga} + \text{ba}/ \)
\( /\text{ša} + \text{i} + \text{ga} + \text{bi}/ \)
\( /\text{ša} + \text{i} + \text{m}/ \)
\( /\text{ša} + \text{i} + \text{mu}/ \)
\( /\text{ša} + \text{i} + \text{ba}/ \)
\( /\text{ša} + \text{i} + \text{bi}/ \)
\( /\text{ša} + \text{mu}/ \)
\( /\text{ša} + \text{ba}/ \)
\( /\text{ša} + \text{bi}/ \)

\( /\text{u} + \text{i}/ \)
\( /\text{u} + \text{i} + \text{n}/ \)
\( /\text{u} + \text{i} + \text{ga}/ \)

\( /\text{ša-} \ (\text{OB}) \)
\( /\text{ša-in} < /\text{ša-i-n-}/, \text{OB} \)
\( /\text{ši-in}-(\text{OB}), \text{ši-ga-} \ (\text{OB}) \)
\( /\text{ši-im-} \ (\text{OB}) \)
\( /\text{ši-mu-}^{50} \ (\text{see also /ša + mu/}) \)
\( /\text{šè-} \ (\text{OS}), \text{ši-im-ma-} \ (\text{OB}) \)
\( /\text{ši-im-mi-} \ (\text{OB}), \text{ši-mi-} \ (\text{OB}) \)
\( /\text{ša-mu-} \ (\text{OB}), \text{šu-mu-} \ (\text{OB}) \)
\( /\text{ša-ba-} \ (\text{OB}) \)
\( /\text{ši-bi-} \ (\text{IL}, \text{OB}) \)
\( /\text{ù-} \ (\text{all periods}) \)
\( /\text{un-} \)

\(50. \text{ši-mu- is perhaps = /ša-mu-}.\)
/u + i + ga + mu/ > um- (Gudea, OB)
/u + i + ga + ba/ > ū-ma- (Gudea), um-ma- (OB)
/u + i + ga + bi/ > ū-mi- (Gudea, NS), um-mi- (IL)
/u + mu/ > ū-mu- (OS, Gudea, NS, IL, OB)
   /u + mu + DAT.1.sg./
/u + ba/ > a-ba- (OS), ū-ba- (OB)
/u + bi/ > i-bí- (Gudea), ū-bí- (IL)
/iri + i/ > iri-, i-ri-, i-ri-
/iri + i + ga/ > iri-in-ga-

/nuš + i/ > nu-uš-, ni-iš-, (cf. also na-aš-an-da-ab-p. 212 n. 95)
   /nuš + i + ga/ > nu-uš-in-ga-
/nuš + i + ga + mu/ (see /nuš + bi/)
/nuš + i + ga + ba/ > nu-uš-mu-
/nuš + i + ga + bi/ > nu-uš-ma-, nu-uš-mu-e-a-
/nuš + i + m/ > nu-uš-ba-
/nuš + i + mu/ > nu-uš-bí-, ni-iš-mi-ni-51
/nuš + i + ba/ > nu-uš-bí-, ni-iš-mi-ni-51
/nuš + bi/ > nu-uš-bí-, ni-iš-mi-ni-51

51. This form may also come from /nuš-i-bi-/.
THE CONJUGATION PREFIXES

The Order of the Conjugation Prefixes

§ 305. The mutual order of the conjugation prefixes and their possible combinations have often been discussed, and there is no consensus about it among the Sumerologists. 52

In the present study it is assumed that /ī-/ has a rank of its own before the other conjugation prefixes, and that /mu-, -m-, ba-, bi-/ constitute another rank together. /ā-/ is in most cases taken as a variant of /ī-/ and /-ga-/ is assumed to be merely an addition to /ī-/ (or /ā-/) being able to occur before /mu-, ba-/ and /bi-. /-m-/ apparently has the same rank as /mu-, ba-, bi-, since it cannot be used together with these prefixes. /-m-/ differs, however, in that it cannot begin the prefix chain, but must always be combined with /ī-/.

§ 306. This system as outlined above can be questioned on various points. The most important problem is the rank of /mu-/.. Falkenstein, to example, classified /ī-/ and /mu-/ as one group: 'Konjugationspräfixe', whereas /ba-/ and /bi-/ belonged to another group. 53

In the light of the cases where mu-VERB and ba-VERB are contrasting (see §§ 341-345) it seems, however, more likely to rank /mu-/ together with /ba-/ and /bi-/ than with /ī-/.. On the other hand, while it seems rather certain that im-ma- and im-mi- can be derived from /ī-ba-/ and /ī-bi-/, 54 it is not completely clear whether /ī-/ is compatible with /mu-. As a fact, im-mu- is first found in literary and

52. Cf. for instance the charts in Jacobsen, 1965 p. 102; and Gragg, SDI p. 8.
53. See A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 58-60; he regarded /ī-/ and /mu-/ as mutually interchangeable: /ī-/ being obligatory before a case element of the 3.sg.inan. (except -ni-), /mu-/ obligatory before case elements of the 1. person. Th. Jacobsen, on the other hand, regarded /mu-, ba-, bi-/ as belonging to the same rank, but /ī-/ to a different rank, before /mu-/, etc. (see 1965 p. 102). The question of rank is discussed in details in J.N. Postgate, 1974 p. 16-26.
54. This is for instance the view of Postgate, 1974 p. 19ff. Falkenstein, on the
lexical texts from the Old Babylonian period, but if it is correct to analyze /i-ga-/ > in-ga-, then /i/-, when combined with /-ga-/ may occur before /mu-/, cf. for example the Old Sumerian form na-ga-mu-zu ‘he knows also’ = /na-i-ga-mu-zu/ (Ean. 1 rev. I 32).

J.N. Postgate (1974 p. 24 n. 18) suggested that the prefix chains im- and i-im-, which occur in all periods, might represent /i + mu/. Referring to OBG VII (MSL IV p. 88-89) where im-mu-e-shi- is contrasting with im-shi- and i-im-shi- he concludes: ‘it seems at least worth suggesting, therefore, that forms like i-im-gin (l. 74) or i-im-shi-gin (l. 77) are for *i.mu.shi.gin, so that after /i/ the /u/ of the prefix mu- drops out if in an open syllable followed by a consonant, but is retained before a vowel.’ There may be such instances where im- is parallel to im-mu-. As a rule, however, im- seems rather to be in contrast to mu- before case elements, (see §§ 329-332), and i-im- mostly occurs in contexts totally different from that of the prefix mu- (see § 333). Therefore, I do not think it likely that /-m-/ in these cases could be derived from /mu-/. It is not excluded that there exists some relationship between /mu-/ and /-m-/ but since there is considerable uncertainty as regards both the meanings and functions of the conjugation prefixes I will leave the question open for the present.

The Conjugation Prefix /i-/

§ 307. The prefix is normally written with the sign NI = i; in IL and OB also the sign I = i- may be found. When /i-/ occurs together with pronominal elements we have the writings in- and i-b-: in-du-a = /i-n-du-a/ ‘who has built’ (= ex. 332), in-na-an-sum = /i-na-n-sum/ ‘he has given it to him’ (passim), i-b-zi-re-a = /i-b-zi-r-e-a/ ‘who destroys it’ (Gudea, St. B. VIII 10). Before other conjugation prefixes /i-/ is written i- (and e-), in OS, or im- and in-: i-ma-, c-ma- (OS), im-ma- < /i-ba-/; i-mi- (OS), im-mi- < /i-bi-/; i-im-, im- < /i-m-/; im-mu- < /i-mu-/; i-ga- (OS and Gudea), in-ga- < /i-ga-/; see the examples below and the chart § 304.

other hand, analyses im-ma- as /i-b-a-/; /-b-/ being the inanimate pronominal element, /a/ the locative element (see GSGL II p. 168); Gragg, SDJ p. 8, does not analyse them further but renders them as imma and immi. The forms bi-du₄ and i-mi-du₄ (En. 1 = AAOAT 25 p. 38, 75 and 85), šu bi-du₈-a: šu im-mi-du₈, and bi-ša₁-la-a: im-mi-ša₁ (Gudea, cyl. A V 22; IV 25; V 23; IV 26), where bi- and im-mi- occur in exactly parallel contexts, seem to be a strong argument for deriving i-mi- and im-mi- from /i-bi-/ (see § 313).
§ 308. /i-/ is considered a nasalized vowel because ī- + ba-/bī- becomes im-ma- and im-mi-. This fact may also explain why the prefix is written with the sign NI (= i) and not with ordinary I (= i).55

§ 309. In the Old Sumerian texts from Lagaš, Uruk, Ur and Umma /I/ has the variant /ī/, written ī- and e-, respectively. ī- is used immediately before verbal roots containing the vowels [i] and [u] (e.g., ī-gīd, ī-zig, ī-si, ī-dū, ī-dug₄, ī-gu₇, ī-šub, etc.) and sometimes also before verbs with the vowel [a] (e.g., ī-bal, ī-gaz, ī-pād). Further, /ī/ is used before the case element -ni-. /ī-bi-/ becomes ī-mi-; occasionally also /ī-ba-/ is written ī-ma- instead of the more common e-ma-, for instance: nam ī-ru-ni-tar-ra₆ = /ī-ba-ni-tar-e/ (Ean. 1 rev. V 32). e- is used immediately before verbal roots containing the vowels [a] and [e] (e.g., e-ak, e-ĝar, e-lā, e-me-a) and before the case elements -da-, -na-, -ne-, -šē- and -ta-. Furthermore, /ī + ba/ = e-ma-, /ī + ga/ = e-ga-.

In the OS texts we also have the writing e-me- for /ī + bi/: e-me-ĝar 'he has placed' (AWL nr. 90, 5, p. 281); e-me-sar-sar 'he has inscribed (numerous steles)' (Ent. 28 II 5); and e-ni- for /ī + ni/: e-ni-ba-e 'he will give' (AWL nr. 68, 4, p. 231); e-ni-sa₄-a-ni 'she has named' (Ean. 1 V 25).

The contrast ī- : e- is not found in the OS texts from Adab, Fara, Nippur and Isin, which have only ī-, and e- is no longer written in the Old Akkadian period.

The same 'vowel harmony' is found in the OS writings of the conjugation prefix /bi-/, see §§ 7-9; § 339.

§ 310. Bibliography


§ 311. The Meaning of the Prefix /ī-/

It is difficult to attribute any characteristic function or meaning to the prefix /ī-/. It seems to be the most neutral prefix, used where the other presumably more specific conjugation prefixes are not necessary. When /ī-/ begins the prefix chain, and when it is not followed by another conjugation prefix, it stands in most cases immediately

55. i = ī, so also Falkenstein, 1959a p. 45.
before the verb in the Gudea texts and in the OB literary texts, whereas the OS texts have many instances of /i-/ before case elements.

§ 312. Examples:

(329) lù Umma\textsuperscript{ki}-ra E.an.ba.túm-me sašuš gal DEn.lîl-lá e-na-sum, /i-na-(n-)sum/ 'Eanatum has given the big net of Enlil to the man of Umma' (Ean. 1 XVI 12-16)

(330) uru-šè i-du-e, /i-du-en/ 'I will go to the city' (Gudea, cyl. A III 18)

(331) ensi₂ lú geštug₂ daḡal-kam geštug₂ i-ḡá-ḡá, /i-ḡá-ḡá-e/ 'the ensi is a wise man, he will set his ear to it' (Gudea, cyl. A I 12)

(332) D Nin.ğiš.zi.da digir-ra-ni Gù.de.a ensi₂ Lagaški lú E.ninu D Nin.ğir.su-ka in-du-a é Gîr.su\textsuperscript{ki}-ka-ni mu-na-du, /i-n-du-a/, /mu-na-(n-)du/ 'for Ningišzida, his god, Gudea, the ensi of Lagaš who has built the Eninnu of Ningirsu, has built his Girsu house for him' (Gudea, Brick D) Note the change from /i-/ to /mu-/

(333) ud-dam i-è an.ú.sal₁₁ an-na-âm i-giatan-i₄-giatan-i₄, /i-è/, /i-giatan-i₄-giatan-i₄/ 'by day he goes out, in the evening he comes back' (Enmerkar and Ensiškiddana 41)

(334) é kug-ga i-ni-in-du na₄-za.gîn-na i-ni-in-gûn, gal-le-eš KUG.GI-ga\textsuperscript{56} šu tag ba-ni-in-dug₄, /i-ni-n-du/, /i-ni-n-gûn/, /ba-ni-n-dug₄/ 'he built the house of silver, he made it colourful with lapis lazuli. he decorated it with gold in a great way' (Enki’s Journey to Nippur 11-12)

§ 313. The meaning of /i-/ when it precedes the prefixes /ba-/ and /bi-/ (or /mu-/) is equally difficult to define. Cf. the following examples where /bi-/ and /i-/ are found in parallel contexts:

(335) munus (…) gi dub-ba kug-NE-a šu im-mi-du₈, dub mul an dug-ga im-mi-ḡál, ad im-da-giatan-i₄-giatan-i₄, /i-bi-(n-)du₈/, /i-bi-(n-)ḡál/, /i-m-da-giatan-i₄-giatan-i₄-e/ 'a woman (…) held a stylus of metal in her hand, she placed a tablet …, she was taking counsel with it' (Gudea, cyl. A IV 23-V 1) In this passage Gudea describes his dream. When later on the goddess Nanše

56. For a possible reading kù.sig₁₇ instead of traditional guškin, see M. Civil, 1976c p. 183f.
explains the dream to Gudea, she uses forms without /ī-/:
šu bī-du₄-a ‘the woman who held in her hand’, bī-ĝal-la-a
‘who placed’, but ad im-da-գi₄-a ‘who has taken counsel
with it’ (cyl. A V 22-24)

(336) Ur.lum.ma (---e) e.kis.ur.ra ḌNin.ĝir.su-ka-kc₄ e-ma-bal,
An.ta.sur.ra ǧá-kam (...) bī-du₄₄, /i̱-ba-bal/, /bi-(-n-)du₄₄/
‘Urlumma crossed the boundary ditch of Ningirsu and said:
Antasurra is mine!’ (En. I 66-75 = AOAT 25 p. 37f.). Cf.
the following passage where Ningirsu describes the event:
(337) Ur.lum.ma(---e) An.ta.sur.ra ǧá-kam i̱-mi-du₄₄, /i̱-bi-(-n-)
du₄₄/ ‘(Ningirsu said:) ‘Urlumma has said: Antasurra is
mine!’ (ibid. I. 81-85)

(338) mušen-e ǧud-bi-šē še₂₆ un-գi₄ amar-bi ǧud-bi-ta ǧu
num-ma-ni-ib-գi₄, /nu-ī-ba-ni-b-գi₄/ ‘after the bird has cried
to its nest, its young did not answer from its nest’
(Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 70-71) Compare the form without /ī-/ be-
fore /ba-/: ud na-an-ga-ma mušen-e ǧud-bi-šē še₂₆ un-գi₄
amar-bi ǧud-bi-ta ǧu ba-ni-ib-գi₄-գi₄, /ba-ni-b-գi₄,גi₄-e/
‘usually when the bird has cried to its nest, its young answers
from its nest’ (ibid. 74-75)

§ 314. Earlier Theories About ī-

Th. Jacobsen, 1965 p. 76, described the prefix /ī-/ as follows: ‘mark
of transitory, nonconditioning aspect. The prefix i/e- presents
the occurrence denoted by the verb as touching on the subject without
inwardly conditioning him in any lasting manner.’

M. Yoshikawa, 1979a, regarded /mu-/ and /ī-/ as standing in opposi-
tion to each other: ‘Topical mu-, a) absolute expression: mu- topica-
lines the high social status of agent in the absolute action. Yet the
selection of mu- is never compulsory’ (p. 186). ‘b) relative expres-
sion: mu- topicalises the action of person(s) of lower social standing,
including for instance, the action of a king towards a god’
(p. 187). ‘Non-topical i-, a) absolute expression: i- denotes the absolute ac-
tion performed by person(s) of lower social standing, inimical per-
son(s), inanimate things, without respect to other person(s). i- is also
used to denote the absolute action of a god, ensi, person of high so-
cial standing, in cases where it is not worthy of topicalization’
(p. 188f.). ‘b) relative expression: i- also denotes the relative action of
person(s) of high social status towards person(s) of lower social status, including, for instance, the action of a god towards a king’ (p. 190).

See further E. Sollberger, 1952 p. 120ff., for discussion of other theories of /I-/ and /mu-/.  

§ 315. i- after Modal Prefixes

If a modal prefix begins the prefix chain the presence of /I-/ can be established with certainty only if followed by /ba-/ or /bi-/: /ha-I-ba-/> hé-em-ma-, /na-I-bi-/> nam-mi-, etc. In forms like ga-nadug₄ ‘I will tell him’, which constitute almost half of the forms with modal prefixes, we cannot say for certain whether the forms should be analysed /ga-I-na-dug₄/ or /ga-na-dug₄/, in other words whether a conjugation prefix is always compulsory even if preceded by a modal prefix. In this study it is assumed that I- always has to be present when no other conjugation prefix occurs, and although not explicitly written in the texts, it is here always inserted in the morphemic analysis in such cases, thus: /ga-I-na-dug₄/ etc.

The Conjugation Prefix /₃-/

§ 316. Occurrences of a prefix /₃-/ are comparatively rare. It is attested already in the OS texts in a few cases in the forms: a-VERB and an-VERB (ex. 339 below). In the OArr and NS period the prefix chains an-na-, an-ne-, an-ta-, an-da-, ab-, ab-Ši- can also be found. The OB literary texts, on the other hand, seem to prefer the forms âm-, âm-ma-, âm-mi- and âm-mu-, whereas the occurrences of a-, ab- or an- are rather few.

Since the combinations /₃/ + /ba/ and /₃/ + /bi/ have become âm-ma- and âm-mi-, /₃/ must be regarded as a nasalized vowel just as it is the case with the prefix /I/.

§ 317. Examples:

(339) kug šâ-gá a-šag₃-ga, /kug šâ-ğu-a(loc.) a-šag₃-a/ ‘the silver that is good for my heart’ (i.e. ‘the price that I want’) (Ukg. 4 XI 26)
(340) tukumbi dur (a-)ab-tu.lu, /ā-b-tu.lu/ ‘if the rope is loose’

(341) ud-bi-a D Gilgameš₂ en Kul.aba₄ ki-ke₄ inim guruš uru-na-
šē₃ šà-ga-ni an-húl ur₅-ra-ni ba-an-zalag (a: -ka), /ā-n(?)-
húl/ ‘on that day Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, — his heart
was glad because of the word of his young men — he was in
high spirits’ (Gilgamesh and Aka 40-41) The grammar is
rupt: Gilgameš...ke₄ is ergative, but an-húl must be an
intransitive verb. For an- as a sort of stative prefix, see § 319.
ur₅-ra-ni ba-an-zalag is also rather expected to be an in-
transitive clause: ‘his spirits were bright’ than a transitive
form.

(342) D Utu uru-ɡu₁₀ b Kul.aba₄ ki-šē₄ am₅-ku₄-ku₄-dē-ne-a (a:
-ɡá; b: -a; c: var. om.), /ā-m-ku₄.m₄-ed-en-e-a/ ‘when
Utu will let me enter my city Kulaba’ (Lugalbanda and En-
merkar 178) The analysis of the verbal form is not clear,
...-en-e is unusual.

(343) é D En.lil-lā-šē am-ma-da-an-ku₄-ku₄, /ā-ba-da-n-ku₄.
ku₄/ ‘(Ninurta) entered the temple of Enlil’ (Angim 101)
/-n/- is not correct, since the verb is intransitive.

(344) nin₉ ki šeš am-mu-un-pād-dē-a, /ā-mu-n-pād-e-a/ ‘a sister
who reveals the (hiding) place of (her) brother’ (Dumuzi’s
Dream 138)

Is /ā-/ an independent prefix?

§ 318. Because of the limited use of /ā-/ in all periods it has been re-
garded by some scholars as a variant of /ī-/,

57 although there does not seem to be any phonetic rule according to which /ī-/ changes
into /ā-/.

It must be admitted that in many cases it seems rather fruitless to
try to establish a separate meaning of /ā-/ in contrast to that of /ī-/,
but there are indeed other important indications in favor of regarding

57. Cf. for instance A. Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 180 n. 4; see E. Sollberger, 1952
p. 118f., for references to older treatments of /ā-/. Th. Jacobsen, 1965 p. 76,
regards /ā-/ as a ‘mark of persistence’: ‘The prefix a- presents the occurrence
denoted by the verb as persisting in the subject, who is dominated and last-
ingly conditioned by it. Accordingly forms with a- denoting past action are
regularly translated into Akkadian as permansives, not preterits.’
ä-/ as an independent prefix. In Sumerian texts from Nippur dating in the Old Akkadian period forms with a- and i-, respectively, seem to contrast in the following way: /ä-/ is used in sentences where the agent is not mentioned, i.e. impersonal forms, whereas /i-/ occurs in normal transitive forms:58

(345) 135 še líd.ga lunga-ne an-ne-áģ, /ä-ne-áģ/ ‘135 líd.ga of barley were measured out to the brewers’ (TMH V 129: 1-3 = ECTJ p. 68)

(346) mLugal.sipa dumu Lugal.lá mUr.DEn.lîl šeš-ni an-ne-sum, /ä-ne-sum/ ‘(the field) was given to Lugal-sipa, the son of Lugal-la, and to Ur-Enlila, his brother’ (SR nr. 21, 6-10)

(347) 10 še líd.g[a] E.ki.gal.l[a] dumu Ur.DEn.TI E.lú Lugal.an. né-bi-da i-ne-sum, /i-ne-(n-)sum/ ‘Ekigala, the son of Ur-dEn.TI, has given 10 líd.ga barley to Elu and Lugalane’ (SR nr. 36, 5-11)

§ 319. It is not possible to confirm this meaning of the prefix because the instances of /ä/ are rather few. It must be noted, however, that the Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts seem to treat the prefix in a similar way translating forms with a- and an- most often with stative or the passive N-stem. At least some forms with a- in literary texts may also be interpreted as equivalents to the Akkadian stative, cf. e.g. ex. 340 and 341.

Cf. e.g. OBGT VI 97: ab-ĝar = ša-ki-in (Stative, G-stem)
OBGT VI 85: an-da-ĝar = ša-ki-iš-šu (do.)
OBGT VI 91: an-na-ĝar = ša-ki-iš-šum (do.)
OBGT VI 94: an-na-ni-ib-ĝar = šu-uš-ku-un-šum (do.)
OBGT VI 221: ab-ĝar-re = iš-ša-ak-ka-an (Present N-stem)

Note that the last form is corrupt: in Sumerian texts the verb ĝar cannot have the marû ending -e, the marû form of ĝar is ĝá-gá. In other cases /ä/ and /i-/ forms are translated in the same way, e.g., OBGT VII 34 and 40: both i-du and an-du = i-il-lak ‘he goes’.

Sometimes the use of an- in the Old Babylonian texts and in OBGT gives the

58. See A. Westenholz, ECTJ p. 8: ‘the Nippur tablets often employ verbal forms with a prefix a-, (...) such forms of transitive verbs are clearly to be translated in the passive. (...) The distinction between i- and a- is consistently kept only with the dative infix in transitive verbs; in other forms, the meaning of the prefix a- is less clear, and in some cases it alternates with i-.’
impression of it being regarded as one single morpheme /an/ not to be ana-
lysed as prefix + pronominal element. Whereas the Old Sumerian form an-ne-
sum is analysed as /ā-ne-sum/, no pronominal element is justified in the in-
transitive forms an-húl (ex. 341 above), an-du, sá an-e ‘he arrives’ or sá an-e-
en ‘I arrive’ (OBGT IX 95-96). The writing an- may perhaps simply render the
nasalized vowel [ā].

§ 320. In the cases of ām-, ām-ma- and ām-mi- it is also very diffi-
cult to find any semantic or grammatical distinction between these
forms and forms with the prefixes im-, im-ma- and im-mi-. The pre-
fix chains ām-, ām-ma-, ām-mi- and ām-mu- are found only in OB
literary texts or texts from later periods.

(348) E.gal.mah ki.tuš nam.lugal-(la-)ka im-ma-da-an-ku₄-k[u₄],
  /ī-ba-da-n-ku₄.ku₄/ ‘he enters (with gifts) the Egalmah,
  the royal residence’ (Išme-Dagan Hymn A 59)

  ku₄/ ‘he enters (with gifts) the house of Enlil’ (Angim 101)
  For ku₄.r with -da- see Gragg, SDI p. 60: ‘entry into a
  place as suppliant or votary’. The verbal forms should per-
  haps be interpreted as transitive forms with hamtu redupli-
cation: ‘he brought (several gifts) into the temple’.

§ 321. Many imperative forms have the prefix /ā-/; but it is not clear
whether it in these cases shall be interpreted as the independent prefix
/ā-/ or as a variant of /ī- under the special circumstances of the
enclitic position of the prefix chain in the imperative.59

(350) é-a-ni gul-a, /gul + ā/ ‘destroy his house!’ (TCS I nr. 142, 9)
(351) dub-ɡu₁₀ zi-ra-ab, /zi.r + ā-b-/ ‘cancel (lit.: break) my
  tablet!’ (NG nr. 208, 17)
(352) siskur še nu-nir-ra dug₄-ga-ab, /dug₄ + ā-b-/ ‘say a prayer
  for the ... barley!’ (Georgica 100 = UET VI/2 172 IV 4 =
  OECT I pl. 35 IV 24)

The Conjugation Prefix /-ga-/

§ 322. /ga/ is always combined with the prefix /ī/, and cannot itself

rnal one since the prefix presents the action as conditioning and compelling
for the subject’. For another view of the [a] of imperatives see M. Yoshi-
be in initial position of the prefix chain. It is thus no real conjugation prefix but rather a sort of addition to /ī/ with the meaning ‘also’ or ‘and then’.


The form of this prefix is normally considered to be /inga/ or /nga/. However, since the vowel is always [i] in initial position and with the modal prefixes /ha/, /ša/, and /nuš/, I prefer to analyse /ī + ga/ in which case the spellings -in-ga- or -n-ga- are due to the nasalization of /ī/. This analysis seems to be supported by the older writings e-ga- and ī-ga-.

It should be noted that /-ga-/ has nothing to do with the modal prefix /ga-./.

§ 324. In some rare cases the writing im-ga- can be found for /ī-ga-/ (e.g. J. Krecher, 1966 p. 60: SK 25 VII 29: im-ga-du = /(igi) ī-ga-duš/ ‘she also looked’). For the writing nam-ga- for /na-ī-ga-/, see § 325. I do not think it possible that /-m-/ here is the conjugation prefix /-m-/ (see § 329ff.); im-ga- is probably only a variant to in-ga-.

§ 325. Rank and Combinations of /-ga-/ 

/ī + ga/ may precede /m/, /mu/, /ba/ and /bi/, but in most cases /ī + ga/ are the only verbal prefixes of the chain.

The modal prefixes /nu/, /na/(affirm.), /ha/, /ša/, /iri/ and /nuš/ occur with /ī + ga/, the combination /na-ī-ga-/ is the most frequent. In the latter case both the writings na-an-ga- and nam-ga- occur. Since the prefix /m/ cannot be expected at this place, nam-ga must be considered a simple scribal variant of na-an-ga-.


Difficult forms are also na-an-ga-àm-ma- and na-an-ga-àm-mi-. According to the principle of rank we expect /na-i-ga-ba-/ = na-an-ga-ba-, and /na-i-ga-bi-/ = na-an-ga-bí-, which do occur:

(353) nam-ga-bí-íb-gul-en (a: -e for -en) ‘I shall indeed destroy it too’ (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 120)

Since /na-i-ga-i-ba(or -bi)/ seems impossible, I shall tentatively suggest that na-an-ga-àm-ma/mi- are secondary forms, that na-an-ga- in these cases is considered an independent prefix: /nanga-i-ba (or bi)/. At any rate, /ba/ and /bi/ are otherwise extremely rare after /i + ga/.

§ 326. Functions of /-ga-/  
The basic meaning of /ga/ is ‘also’. A sequence of clauses with the negative /nu-/ and /nu-i-ga-/ means ‘neither ... nor ...’ (cf. ex. 356). Whereas /i + ga/ and /nu-i-ga/ connect two sentences (ex. 355, 356), /na-i-ga/ very often occurs at the beginning of a composition or introduces a new section (ex. 358), in which cases it must be translated ‘and then ...’, or ‘and now ...’.

/ga/ occurs frequently together with -gin, ‘like’, and in this case it has the meaning ‘as well as’, e.g.,

(354) gá-e DUtúgin, in-ga-dím-me-en, /i-ga-dím-en/ ‘I am also created like Utu’, i.e. ‘I am as good as Utu’ (PAPS 107 nr. 1, 17), cf. ex. 357.

§ 327. Examples:

(355) sipa zid Gù.dé.a gal mu-zu gal i-ga-túm-mu, /i-ga-túm-e/ ‘the good shepherd Gudea has experienced great things and he is also going to carry them out’ (Gudea, cyl. A VII 9-10)
(356) alam-e ù kug-nu za.gin nu-ga-àm, /nu-i-ga-me/ ‘this statue

62. A. Falkenstein gave i(n)ga- the rank before /i/, since it precedes /mu/ which, according to Falkenstein, has the same rank as /i/. i-ga-túm-mu he thus analyses: i(n)ga-i-túmu(-e) (GSGL I p. 219).

63. It cannot, however, be excluded that /ga/ or perhaps /nga/ at least in OB is an element without a specific rank that can be added also to the affirmative prefix /na/, na-an-ga-àm-ma- thus = /na-nga-i-ba/.

64. Cf. W.W. Hallo and J. van Dijk. 1968 p. 79: ‘ingga-/iga ‘again, equally’; and p. 57: ‘the force of the verbal prefix i(n)-ga-, with or without the corresponding nominal postposition -gin, is precisely that of comparative.’
is neither of silver nor is it made of lapis lazuli' (Gudea, St. B VII 49)

(357) Kēği̙-gin7 rib-ba lú śi-in-ga-an-túm-mu
ur.sāg-bi D(aš) Aš7 .gi4-gin7 rib-ba ama śi-in-ga-an-ù-tu
/ša-i- ga-n-túm-e/, /ša-i- ga-n-ù.tu-e/
‘what man will (ever) bring forth something as great as Keş?’
‘what mother will (ever) bear someone as great as its hero
Ašgi?’
(Keş Hymn 18-19)

(358) en-e níg.ul-e pa na-an-ga-àm-mi-in-è
en nam.tar-na šu nu-bal-e-dam
D En.lîl numun kalam-ma rīl-ta è-dè
an ki-ta bad-e-dè sāg-na na-an-ga-àm-ma-an-sum
ki an-ta bad-e-dè sāg-na na-an-ga-ma-an-sum
/nanga-i-bi-n-è/, /nanga-i-ba-n-sum/
‘And then the lord let everything come forth
the lord whose decision cannot be changed,
Enlil, the seed of the land coming out of ..., hastened to separate heaven from earth,
hastened to separate earth from heaven.’
(Hymn to the Hoe 1-5 = SRT 19, 1-5. Note that nanga-...
here is used at the beginning of the composition.)

§ 328. Bibliography:

48f. Elément préfixé ga- (ña)).

The Conjugation Prefix /-m-/

§ 329. The morpheme /-m-/ cannot occur together with the prefixes
/mu-/, /ba-/, and /bi-/, and is thus said to have the same rank as
these. However, since /-m-/ is not able to begin the prefix chain, but
has always to be preceded by /í-/, it is no true conjugation prefix.

/-m-/ occurs in some specific contexts: either immediately before
the verbal root or before one of the case elements -da-, -ši- or -ta-
referring to inanimate./í-m-/ can be preceded by a modal prefix.

/-m-/ is also found in the prefix chain í-im-, occurring mostly im-
mediately before the verb, but also, especially in OB, before case el-
ements. í-im- has often been regarded as a variant to im-, but there
are strong arguments that it should be analysed differently and that it has a grammatical function of its own (see below § 333).

§ 330. The morpheme /-m-/ has been explained in different ways, and as is the case with most of the verbal prefixes it is not easy to confirm any characteristic meaning or function of it. The theory which has most arguments in its favour, I think, is that /-m-/ is a ventive element (this was put forward by M. Yoshikawa, see bibliography § 335). It may be possible that /-m-/ in some way is related to /-mu-/, although I do not think it likely that im- is the same as /î-mu-/, since im- rather must be said to be in opposition to mu-, at least in some cases.

§ 331. Earlier Theories about /-m-/

A. Falkenstein regarded /-m-/ as derived from /-b-/, the inanimate pronominal element (1959a p. 48-49). There is, however, no cogent reason for assuming a phonetic rule b > m, since we have also îb-ťa-, îb-śi-, îb-da- and îb-VERB.

Th. Jacobsen, 1965 p. 77f. and n. 8, regarded /-m-/ as an independent morpheme: ‘m†, mark of propinquity to (zero mark for collative) the area of the speech situation (m). The prefix is neutral as to direction (...) of motion’.

Also M. Yoshikawa regarded /-m-/ as an independent morpheme denoting ventive, occurring as -m- or -im- and in opposition to /-b-/ denoting intive (i.e. ‘spatial and emotional movement away from the speaker’, 1978 p. 461). î- denotes ‘non-topicality (peripheral topic)’ in opposition to mu- denoting ‘topicality (central topic)’ (1979a p. 206).

J.N. Postgate, 1974 p. 24 n. 18, suggested that /-m-/ might be derived from /mu-/ (cf. § 306). im- is, however, used before case elements referring to inanimate and thus in opposition to mu- which occurs before animate (see §§ 341-346).

§ 332. Examples:

(359) ē-a ġiš.hur-bi im-ğá-ğá, /î-m-ğá.ğá-e/ ‘he places the plan of the house on it’ (Gudea, cyl. A V 4)

(360) ud D Nin.ģír.su-ke₄ uru-ni-šè ıgi zid im-ši-bar-ra, /î-m-ši- (n-)bar-a/ ‘as Ningirsu has looked faithfully upon his city’ (Gudea, St. B III 6)
(361) 10 eren₂ E.lugal.laki 20 eren₂ Ga.eš₃ ki kaskal-šè-àm hé-em-gi₄-gi₄, /ha-ī-m-gi₄.gi₄-e/ 'let him return ten soldiers from Elugala and twenty soldiers from Gaeš for the expedition' (TCS I nr. 95, 3-6)


(363) šà D.En.lîl-lá-ke₆ ḫ̣diğna-àm a dúg-ga nam-de₆, /na-ī-m-de₆/ 'the flood (lit.: heart) of Enlil — it is the Tigris — has indeed brought sweet water' (Gudea, cyl. A I 9)

(364) lú na.me inim nu-um-ĝá-ĝâ, /nu-ī-m-ĝá.ĝâ-e/ 'no one shall claim (lit.: place a word)' (UET III 51 rev. 7)

The Prefix Chain i-im- (or i-im-)

§ 333. i-im- is in NS texts found exclusively with the verb ġen ‘to go, to come’ and almost always immediately before the verbal root.

(365) ud DĪd.lú.ru.gú-ta i-im-e-re-ēš-ša-a, /i-i(?)-m-ere-ēš-a/ 'when they came here(?) from the ordeal river' (TDr 85, 4-5) (ere is the plural hamtu stem of ġen)

(366) i-im-ĝen, /i-i(?)-m-ĝen/ 'he has come here'⁶⁵

In the OB literary texts i-im- is combined with several different verbs and in most cases a ventive element must not necessarily be ascribed to the forms:⁶⁶

(367) kur-kur ú.sal-la i-im-ná, /i-i(?)-m-ná/ 'the mountain people lie on the meadows' (Curse of Akkade 38)

(368) ki.en.gi.ra níg-ga ní-ba-ta ġišmá i-im-da-gíd-da₄ (a: -dè), /i-i(?)-m-da-gíd-a/ 'in Sumer the ships sail with goods on their own account' (Curse of Akkade 45)

§ 334. Similarly the prefix chains i-in- and i-îb-, containing the pronominal elements -n- and -b-, also occur in the NS texts, always

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65. Examples have been collected by M. Yoshikawa, 1977b p. 231f. Note also that the paradigm of the verb ġen in OBGVT VII is the only paradigm in OBGVT which has the prefix i-im-. Does this mean that this tablet of OBGVT follows an older grammatical tradition?

immediately before the verbal root and combined with various verbs. They are not found in later texts (see Yoshikawa, 1977b p. 223). These writings have mostly been regarded as simple variants to im-, in- and ìb-, but M. Yoshikawa, 1977b p. 223-236, has argued for a locative-terminative morpheme /i/ in these prefixes, and the -m- of i-im- he interprets as the ventive element.

Although this interpretation may be possible, it cannot be definitely confirmed. It is too easy to apply a locative meaning to any verb, and there may also be other possible solutions to this. However, I think M. Yoshikawa is right in his assumption that i-in- etc. have distinctive grammatical functions of their own.

§ 335. Bibliography


§ 336. The Conjugation Prefix /mu-/ 

In the form [mu] the prefix is always written with the sign MU = mu. /mu + DAT. 1.sg./ > ma-, e.g., Ma.an.sum = /mu-DAT.1.sg.- n-sum/, 'he has given to me' (very often used as personal name);

(369) ha-ma-an-pàd-dè = /ha-mu-DAT.1.sg.-n-pàd-e/ 'may he tell me (the place)' (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 26)

Together with modal prefixes note the contrast between the forms with dat.1.sg.: nu-ma-, na-ma-, ha-ma-, *ša-ma-, *tà-ma- and the combinations MOD+I+ba: nu-(um-)ma, nam-ma-, hé-em-ma-, ši-im-ma-, um-ma- (and ù-ma-) (see § 304). This distinction is, however, not always carried through in the writing.

68. According to M. Yoshikawa, 1977b p. 230, this /i/ might originate from the locative -a-: 'it might be appropriate to think, if only tentatively, that /i/-/i/- has its origin in *i-a-.'
69. Yoshikawa admits that it is a difficulty that a case element should precede the ventive /-m-/: 'Metathesis or analogy is a possible solution, but in the latter case the chronological relation between i-im- and i-in-/i-ìb- must be taken into consideration' (1977b p. 236). 'An interpretation is that i-im- developed by analogy to i-in- and i-ìb-; this presupposes that i-in- and i-ìb- appeared earlier than i-im-' (p. 236 n. 32).
/mu + 2.sg.dat/ > ma-ra-, the analysis is questionable: /mu-a-ra-/ or /mu-ra-/, /mu-a-r-a-/.⁷⁰ Examples:


After the modal prefixes /nu-/, /ga-/, /ha-/, and /ša/ the form -mu-is retained before the 2.dat. -ra-, e.g.:

(371) ma.mu-zu ḡá ga-mu-ra-búr-búr, /ga-mu-ra-búr.búr/ ‘let me interpret your dreams for you’ (Gudea, cyl. A V 12)
(372) D Šu.i.ši.šu zi sû.ud nam.ti-bi-šè ĕš É.meš.lam-ma ul-〈šè〉 šu ša-mu-ra-ab-mú-mú, /ša-mu-ra-b-mú.mú-e/ ‘Šu-ilišu will pray to you for ever in Emešlam for a long life and vitality’ (the verb means literally ‘to let the hand grow’) (Šu-ilišu Hymn A 66)

/mu/ and /e/ (pron. element of 2.sg.), is often written -me- if following a modal prefix; this writing does not occur before OB literary texts.

(373) a.da.al kug D Inanna-ke₄ i gi me³-ši-kár-kár (a: mu-e-),
/mu-e.ši-kár-kár-e/ ‘Now, holy Inanna examines you’ (En-merkar and the Lord of Aratta 449)
(374) ku₆-ḫu₁₀ ku₆ he-a hé-en³-ga-me-da-an-ku₄-ku₄ (a: var. om.), /ha-ı-ga-mu-e.da-n-ku₄.ku₄/ ‘My fish, may all kinds of fish enter with you’ (the pronominal element -n- is not correct since the verb is intransitive) (Home of the Fish 68)

For the functions of /mu-/, see below §§ 341-347.

§ 337. The Conjugation Prefix /ba-/
The prefix is always written with the sign BA = ba, except after /ı-/:
/ı-ba-/> ı-ma-, e-ma- (OS), and im-ma-, e.g.,

(375) im-ma-ĝen = /ı-ba-ĝen/ ‘he went (to the house)’ (Gudea, cyl. A XVIII 8)

According to A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 46, the prefix may also exceptionally be written PA = bà, but he gives no references.

⁷⁰. Cf. Gragg, SDI p. 84f., see for further details the section Case Elements, below.
For the functions of /ba-/ , see below §§ 341-352.

The Conjugation Prefix /bi-/

§ 338. The prefix is normally written NE = bí.

PI = bi is found for instance in IL:

(376) hé-bi-kin-kin (Warad-Sin 28 rev. 20), and in OS:
(377) 1 gud (...) lugal-le gal-banšur-še giš bi-tag ‘the king sacrificed an ox to ...
(UET II Suppl. nr. 15, 1-5)

/í-bi-/ changes to í-mi- (OS; Gudea), and im-mi- (NS; OB). After modal prefixes: /nu-í-bi-/ > nu-(um)-mi-; /na-í-bi-/ > nam-mi- and na-mi-; /ga-í-bi-/ > ga-âm-mi-; /ha-í-bi-/ > hé-(em-)-mi-; /ša-í-bi-/ > ši-im-mi-.

Before the case prefix -ni- /bi-/ changes to mi-, e.g., na gal-gal-bi lagab-ba mi-ni-de₆, /bi-ni-(n-)-de₆/ ‘he has brought large stones in blocks’ (Gudea, cyl. A XVI 6).

A. Falkenstein considered mi-ni- as a variant to mu-ni- (GSGL I p. 184f.) but as Postgate stated in 1974 p. 21f., there are heavy arguments for mi-ni- representing /bi + ni/: Although im-mi-ni- = /í-bi-ni-/ occurs rather frequently, we never have *bi-ni-, but the occurrences of mi-ni- would exactly serve as the missing *bi-ni- forms; moreover, mi-ni- can be found with verbs often occurring with /í-bi-/ alone. An argument against mi-ni- < /bi-ni-/ is perhaps that ba-ni- does not change to *ma-ni-.

(378) gi-diš-ninda ėš.gana₂ za.gin šu mi-ni-in-du₈, /bi-ni-n-du₈/ ‘he held the ... in (his) hand’ (Inanna’s Descent 25) (Variants to the verbal form are: ba-ni-in-du₈, and [b]a-an-du₈)
(379) a.tu-e šibir šu bí-in-du₈, /bi-n-du₈/ ‘the atu-priest held the staff in (his) hand’ (Keš Hymn 109)

I can give no reason for why -ni- is employed in the first example, but not in the second.

§ 339. In OS we can observe the ‘vowel harmony’ in the writing of /bi-/ similar to the conjugation prefix /í-/ (see § 309): bé- (= BI) and e-me- are found before verbs having the vowels [a] or [i], e.g., bé-ĝar-re-ēš (Ukg. 4-5 IV 1); bé-gi₄ (Ean. 2 VI 8); hé-bé-lá (Ean. 1 VII 22); e-me-sar-sar (Ent. 28-29 II 5).

bí-, e-mi-, i-mi-, hé-mi- and nam-mi-, on the other hand, are
found with verbs containing the vowel [u] (e.g., ðù, dub, dug₄, šu₄, šu₅ and tuku), but also with verbs with [i], like gi₄, si and zïg. See also §§ 7-9.

§ 340. The only case prefix which can occur with /bi-/ is -ni-.

The Functions of /mu-/, /ba-/, and /bi-/

§ 341. The functions of /mu-/, /ba-/, and /bi-/ can best be illustrated in the light of their contrasting uses. It seems as if the choice of either /mu-/ or /ba-/ is primarily decided by the element immediately following:

/mu-/, /ba-/, and /bi-/, before Case Prefixes

§ 342. /mu-/ is preferred before case prefixes referring to animate beings. In the cases where a modal prefix begins the verbal form, /mu-/ is often missing although it is followed by a case prefix with animate reference, e.g., ga-ra-ab-sum 'I will give it to you' (Gudea, cyl. A IX 9), instead of the expected ga-mu-ra-ab-sum. In these cases we will here assume that /mu-/ is replaced by /i-/ and analyse: /ga-i-ra(dat.)-b-sum/ (cf. § 315).

/ba-/ is preferred before case prefixes referring to inanimate beings, places, etc.

Examples:

(380) DEn.lil-e en DNin.gir.su-še igi zid mu-ši-bar, /mu-ši-(n-)bar/ 'Enlil looked faithfully on the lord Ningirsu' (Gudea, cyl. A I 3), cf.:
(381) KAAAL-bi-še igi zid ba-ši-bar, /ba-ši-(n-)bar/ 'he looked faithfully on its ...' (Gudea, cyl. A XIII 18)

For more examples with /mu-/, see GSGL I p. 186:

(382) ma-a-dug₄, /mu-DAT.1.sg.-,(n-)dug₄/ 'you have spoken to me'
(383) gù ma-ra-a-dé, /mu-DAT.2.sg.-,(n-)dé/ 'she has spoken to you'
(384) ha-mu-da-gub, /ha-mu-da-gub/ 'may she stand with me'
(385) inim dug₄-ga DNin.gir.su-ka-še sağ sig ba-ši-ḡar, /ba-ši-(n-)ḡar/ 'to the word of Ningirsu he bent his head' (Gudea, cyl. A XII 14-15)
(386) inim nin-a-na-šē ĝeštug₂ ba-ši-in-gub, /ba-ši-n-gub/ ‘to the word of her mistress she set her mind’ (Inanna’s Descent 175)

§ 343. This rule is followed rather consistently in the Gudea texts, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, also in the OB lit. texts. Especially in the NS juridical texts and letter orders exceptions can frequently be found. In these texts /ba-/ seems first of all to indicate a one-participant verb with non-agentive subject (cf. § 345), even if it is followed by a case prefix:

(387) Ba.zi-(...)-ra Lú.Hu.wa.wa nam.ĝeme₂-ni-šē ba-an-na-sum, /ba-na-sum/ ‘Lu-Huwawa was given to Bazi as his slave-girl’ (NG nr. 126, 12-13); but cf.:

(388) mDŠara.i.şag₅ (...) Ma.ma ū Da.da dumu-ni A.tu-ra in-na-sum, /t-na-(n-)sum/ ‘Šara-išag has given his children, Mama and Dada, to Atu’ (YOS IV 2: 1-4)

(389) igi-bi(−šē) saǧ ba-sum, /ba-sum/ ‘Before these (witnesses) the slave was given (i.e. sold)’ (UET III 14: 21)

§ 344. /ba-/ alone may also occur as a sort of case prefix with inanimate or plural (i.e. collective) reference, parallel to the dative mu-na-... or mu-ne-... with animate reference. This function of /ba-/ seems to be a later phenomenon, occurring in the NS documents and in the literary texts from the OB period on.

(390) an-né ba-te (...) ki-a ba-te (...) gud-e ba-te (...) gurūš-ra mu-na-te (...) [ki].sikil-ra mu-na-te ‘it approaches heaven ..., it approaches earth ..., it approaches oxen ..., it approaches the young man ..., it approaches the young girl’ (TCL XVI 89, 3-9) Inanimate + locative (or locative-terminative) corresponds here to animate + dative

§ 345. When the Prefix Chain Contains no Case Prefixes:

/mu-/ is preferred with animate and agentive subjects, that means that /mu-/ occurs mostly in transitive forms.

/ba-/ is preferred when the subject is inanimate and/or non-agentive, i.e. most often in intransitive/one-participant verbal forms.

Note, however, the distinction between /t-/ and /a-/ in OS texts, see § 318.

Examples:

(391) sig₄ mu-럴 uğ-gá-na mu-de₆, /mu-(n-)/îl/, /mu-(n-)/de₆/ ‘he lifted the brick and brought it before his people’ (Gudea, cyl. A XIX 15)

(392) máš bar₆-bar₆-ra šu mu-gíd-dè máš-a šu i-gíd máš-a-ni i-šag₅, /mu-gíd-e/, /î-gíd/, /î-šag₅/ ‘He is examining the white offering animal; the animal was examined: his omen was favourable’ (Gudea, cyl. A XII 16-17) Note the change from /mu-/ to /î-/ with the verb šu...gíd.

The most frequently quoted examples of this distinction of /mu-/ and /ba-/ are the year formulas of the NS kings;⁷² e.g., the third year of Amar-Suen:

(393) mu D Amar.⁴⁴ Suen-ke₄ Ur.bi.lum₃ ki mu-hul, /mu-(n-)/hul (-a)/ ‘The year in which Amar-Suen destroyed Urbilum’ or: mu Ur.bi.lum₃ ki ba-hul, /ba-hul(-a)/ ‘The year in which Urbilum was destroyed’⁷³

(394) sá-dug₄ ba-gál-la-ām, /ba-gál-am/ ‘this is the sá.dug₄-offering’ (Gudea, St. B I 12)

(395) ū-te-ām é libir-ra-āš rá-uzu-a ba-ĝen, /ba-ĝen/ ‘in the evening he went to the old temple in prayer’ (Gudea, cyl. A XVII 29)

(396) šu si-sá-a-ĝu₁₀ an kug-ge ū-a ba-ĝiĝ-ge, /ba-ĝiĝ-ed/ ‘that which my hand had arranged shall raise in a flood to the holy Heaven’ (Gudea, cyl. A X 9)

(397) uğ-e zi-šá-gál ū-ma-sum, /u-î-ba-sum/ ‘when life has been given to the people’ (uğ-e is the loc.-term.) (Gudea, cyl. A XI 24)

(398) dusu kug mu-럴 ū-šub-e im-ĝa-ĝen, /mu-n-îl/, /î-ba-ĝen/ ‘he lifted the holy basket and went to the brick form’ (Gudea, cyl. A XVIII 23)

⁷². The latest study of these year-names is: M.J.A. Horsnell, 1977. ‘The Grammar and Syntax of the Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon’. JNES 36: 277-285, where Horsnell comes to another conclusion, namely that the verb in both cases has to be interpreted as transitive.

⁷³. For the NS year-names, see N. Schneider, 1936. Die Zeitbestimmungen der Wirtschaftsurkunden von Ur III. (AnOr 13) Rome.
(399) mu-bi-e an.zag-ta kur-kur-re gú im-ma-si-si, /ī-ba-(b-)si. si/ 'at its name all foreign lands assemble from the borders of heaven' (Gudea, cyl. A IX 18)

(400) ē-e lugal-bi-ir ĝi₆-a ār im-ma-ab-de₆ dùg-bi mu-un-ĝá-ĝá, /ī-ba-b-de₆/, /mu-n-ĝá.ĝá(e)/ 'the house praised its lord during the night, it makes everything good (for him)' (Enki's Journey to Nippur 17) The distinction between /ba-/ and /mu-/ is not quite clear in this case

(401) mu-un-dù-a-ba mu-un-dù-a-ba (72)
Eridu₄ ki D En.ki-ke₄ im-ma-an-îl-la-ba (73)
hur.saĝ galam kad₅-dam a-e ba-dirig (74)
zag-ga-a-ni ĝiš.gi-a ba-an-KU (75)
ĝiškiri₆ šag₅-ga gurun îl-la-a-ba, muşen-e haš-bi mu-un-ĝá-ĝá (76-77)
/mu-n-dù-a-bi-a/, /ī-ba-n-îl-a-bi-a/, /ba-dirig/, /ba-n-KU/, /mu-n-ĝá.ĝá/

'After he has built it, after he has built it, after Enki has lifted up Eridu, the mountain which is built in an artful fashion floats on the water, he founded(?) his shrine in the cane-brake, the birds brood(?) in its pleasant garden which carries fruit' (Enki's Journey to Nippur, 72-77) The verbs in l. 73 and 75 have /ba-/ although being transitive, which is against the rule outlined above; /ba-/ in l. 75 may be explained as referring to the locative ĝiš.gi-a. It is possible that /ī-ba-/ acts differently from /ba-/.

(402) D Isimu-dè sig₄-e gù ba-an-sum, /ba-n-sum/ 'Isimud talked to the brick' (lit.: 'gave voice to it') (Enki's Journey to Nippur 70)

§ 346. However, the distinction of /mu-/ and /ba-/ illustrated in the examples above is only one aspect of their functions, since both of them can be replaced by /ī-/ (or by /ī-m-/). It is not possible to decide why /ī-/ is in some cases chosen rather than /mu-/ or /ba-/ just as the contrast between /ī + ba/ and /ba-/ alone cannot be explained satisfactorily.

For examples with im-CASE—... with inanimate reference, see § 332. Cf. also the examples with /ī-/ in § 312.
Note that /mu-/ is often deleted or replaced by /i-/ after a modal prefix, although a case prefix with animate reference follows. This is probably in order to avoid a too long prefix chain, see § 315.

§ 347. Various Theories about the Meaning of /mu-/

/mu-/ has very often been regarded as in contrast/opposition to /i-/, /mu-/ and /i-/ being a sort of prefix ‘pair’. See for instance the account of earlier theories in Sollberger, 1952 p. 120-121, and cf. A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 58f.: ‘Die Setzung von i- ist verpflichtend, wenn dem Konjugationspräfix unmittelbar ein dimensionales Infix der 3.sg. ‘sächl.’ — abgesehen vom Lokativ-Terminativinfix der 3.sg. ‘sächl.’ — folgt. Umgekehrt ist mu- verpflichtend vor den dimensionalen Infixen der 1.sg. und pl. In den übrigen Fällen (...) ist grundsätzlich sowohl i- als auch mu- möglich. (...) i- ist das Konjugationspräfix der neutralen Diktion. Der betonte Hinweis auf ein (...) richtungsbestimmtes Wort der Personenklasse im nominalen Satzteil verbindet sich mit dem Konjugationspräfix mu-.’

To this cf. J.N. Postgate, 1974 p. 24f. n. 19: ‘We would agree that in these terms, i- is neutral, since it belongs to a different rank from mu-/ba-, of which the first refers to an animate noun, and the second to an inanimate or to no noun; i- has no place in the opposition between mu- and ba-.’

E. Sollberger, on the other hand, concluded: ‘Lorsque l’objet du verbe (principalement le datif) appartient à la classe animée, et que l’on veut mettre en évidence le fait que le verbe a un objet appartenant à la classe animée, on emploie le préfixe mu-; si, en revanche, l’objet du verbe appartient à la classe inanimée, ou si on ne juge pas utile de souligner le fait que le verbe a un objet appartenant à la classe animée, on emploie le préfixe e-’ (1952 p. 122).

Th. Jacobsen, 1965 p. 79, described the meaning of mu- as follows: ‘mark of location of the occurrence denoted by the verb on the inside border (.u) of the area of the speech situation (m.). This is typically the place of the two participants, speaker and addressee, so that depending upon which of them the speaker has in mind mu-locates approximately as Latin hic and iste. It adds to this implications of emotional involvement of the speaker, of his being personally engaged.’

The latest study of /mu-/ and /i-/ is M. Yoshikawa, 1979a. ‘The Sumerian Verbal Prefixes mu-, i- and Topicality’. OrNS 48: 185-206,
where it is concluded: ‘The possible factors determining the selection of mu- and i- are the social status of the agent in correlation with that of the beneficiary, the direct objects, the localistic elements (locative, ablative, directive, terminative), the action or event as a whole, and others’ (p. 206).


§ 348. Various Theories about the Meaning of /ba-/  
/ba-/ has been called a ‘passive prefix’ because of its frequent occurrence in one-participant forms. As explained above this use of /ba-/ depends on its inanimate/non-agentive reference, and it has nothing to do with the category ‘passive’, see § 345.

In bilingual literary texts from the Old Babylonian period Sumerian ba-forms (ba-VERB and im-ma-VERB < /i-ba-VERB/) very often correspond to the Akkadian i-perfect. This indicates a temporal function of ba- which might explain those occurrences which do not follow the rules outlined above. How such a function may harmonize with the other functions of ba- is not evident, and I follow Falkenstein in the opinion that this is a later development which cannot be observed in the Gudea texts (GSGL II p. 185f. n. 3). Cf. von Soden, 1965, for a different view.

The Functions of /ba-/ and /bi-/  
§ 349. It is generally assumed that /ba-/ and /bi-/ contain the pronominal element /b/ for inanimate plus a case element, i.e. locative /a/ and locative-terminative /i/, respectively.

Cf. for instance A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 46; GSGL I p. 190 and 192. Th. Jacobsen, 1965 p. 82 describes /ba-/: ‘mark of location of the occurrence denoted by the verb inside relevant area, not that of speech situation’; /bi-/: he describes: ‘mark of location of the occurrence denoted by the verb outside, on the outside border of, the relevant area, not that of the speech situation’ (p. 84). But cf. the opinion of M. Civil cited by Postgate, 1974 p. 20 n. 11: ‘I am grateful to Prof. M. Civil for allowing me to quote his opinion that while the prefix ba- has no connection with a locative element /a/, bi- represents the prefix ba- with the addition of a ‘locative-terminative’ /i/ or /e/.’

§ 350. The relation of /ba-/ to the inanimate element /b/ is justified, not only for morphological reasons, but also because of the use of
/ba-/ in contrast to /mu-/ as described above. The locative reference of /ba-/ on the other hand, may seem reasonable in the light of the instances where ba- corresponds to mu-na- (ex. 390), but in most of the occurrences of /ba-/ this locative sense cannot be found.

§ 351. The loc.-term. sense of /bi-/ can be claimed in those cases where it occurs with a verb, for instance a compound verb, which takes loc.-term. (ex. 406-407). But /bi-/ occurs with many other verbs and very often without a loc.-term. noun, e.g., the frequent phrase bi-in-dug₄ ‘he said’. In other cases /bi-/ occurs with a noun in the locative (ex. 408), or in forms which could be interpreted as causatives (ex. 409). This use of /bi-/ resembles that of the case prefix -ni- (see §§ 470-482), and to some extent also that of the conjugation prefix /ba-/ . The semantic and grammatical distinctions between /ba-/ , /bi-/ and -ni-, and between /ba-ni-/ and /bi-ni-/ are far from evident (cf. ex. 406-412).

The prefix /bi-/ is most probably not automatically employed for the reason of concord with a loc.-term. or loc. noun, but it rather serves the semantic differentiation of the verb. It seems to be used with certain verbs or in a specific sense of the verb and regularly occurs with šu...du₈ ‘to hold in the hand’, tůg-gin₇...dul ‘to cover like a garment’, pa...è ‘to make resplendent’, and si...sá ‘to put in order, to prepare’, to mention some of the most frequent verbs with /bi-/ .

Since /bi-/ cannot occur with case prefixes other than -ni-, it can only be used when the presence of such other case prefix is not necessary. A verbal form with /bi-/ may thus possibly have a more general meaning, as the semantic differentiation of the case prefix is annulled. For instance, the verb ad...gi₄ ‘to take counsel’ normally takes -da- referring to the person with whom counsel is taken, e.g.,

(403) ad ši-mu-da-an-gi₄-gi₄₄, /ša-mu-da-n-gi₄-gi₄₄-e/ ‘she takes counsel with you’ (Enlil Hymn 160)

Without -da- the verb has a reflective sense according to Gragg, SDI p. 62. When -da- does not occur, the verb can (or must) have /bi-/ :

(404) ni-zu ad li-bi-gi₄₄, /nu-bi-(e-)gi₄₄/ ‘you did not take counsel with yourself’ (Bird and Fish 89, SDI p. 62)

(405) ìd-dè lugal-bi-ir ad im-mi-ib-gi₄₄-gi₄₄₄, /I-bi-b-gi₄₄-gi₄₄₄-e/ ‘the river takes counsel (with itself) for its king’ (Enki’s Journey to Nippur 91)
§ 352. The Use of /ba-/ and /bi-/: Examples

(406) gud du₇ máš du₇-re₄ ğIš bi₇-tag, /bi-(n-)tag/ ‘he sacrificed perfect oxen and perfect goats’ (Gudea, cyl. A XVIII 7)

(407) kar Sirara₃-na-ke₄ má bi₇-ús, /bi-(n-)ús/ ‘he directed the ship to the quay of Siraran’ (Gudea, cyl. A IV 4)

(408) é (...) muSh.hu₇-gin₇ ki šúr-ra bi₇-dû, /bi-(n-)dû/ ‘he has built the house like a dragon in a terrible place’ (Gudea, cyl. A X 19-20)

(409) ke.en.gi ki.uri gú bi₇-(i-)zig, /bi-e-zig/ ‘you have made Sumer and Akkad raise the neck’ (Iddin-Dagan Hymn B 29)

(410) šu.lu₇ si bi₇-sá, /bi-(n-)sá/ ‘he prepared the handwashing (ritual)’ (Gudea, cyl. A X 8)

(411) ki-ba Dİštaran-gin₇ di uru-ğá si ba-ni-ıb-sá-e, /ba-ni-b-sá-e/ ‘on this place like Ištaran I shall prepare the judgements of my city’ (Gudea, cyl. A X 26)

(412) ša ní-ba-ka ad ha-ba-ni-ıb-ša₄ (... tigi imin-e ad hé-em-mi-ıb-ša₄, /ha-ba-ni-b-ša₄/, /ha-ı-bi-b-ša₄/ ‘he made them (the musical instruments) resound by themselves (...), he made the tigi-drum resound’ (Enki’s Journey to Nippur 65-67) In this example there seems to be a clear relationship between ba-ni- and the locative ša-ní-ba-ka, and between /bi-/ and the loc.-term. tigi imin-e
THE PREFIX /al-/

§ 353. The Prefix /al-/ must be listed separately since it cannot normally occur with other verbal prefixes, modal prefixes, case elements or pronominal elements.⁷⁴ With very few exceptions (cf. § 354) /al-/ is written with the sign AL and occurs always immediately before the verbal root: al-ĝen, al-til, etc.

§ 354. /al-/ with Other Prefixes

In Neo-Sumerian texts /u-al-/ can be found a couple of times:

(413) šuku-bi û-ul-gíd, /u-al-gíd/ ‘after their food portions have been measured out’ (NG nr. 215, 3)

(414) šuku Lú.šalim.ma šuku lú 1-a-ĝin, û-ul-dím dirig-bi eren₂-e ba-ab-tûm, /u-al-dím/, /ba-b-tûm/ ‘after the food portion of Lu-šalim has been made like the food portion of one man the troops have taken the rest away’ (NG nr. 215, 19-21)

(415) dub-bi ú.gu ba-an-dé û-ul-pâd zi-re-dam, /u-al-pâd/ ‘its tablet has disappeared, when it has been found it must be destroyed’ (Or 47-49, nr. 411, 7-10) Cf.:

(416) dub-ba-ne-ne ú.gu ba-dé al-pâd zi-re-dam (TMH NF I-II 47, 10-13)

In lexical texts we also find /nu-al-/ which probably is a secondary development since it does not occur elsewhere: di-bi al-til = di-in-šu ga-m[i-ir] ‘its judgement has been pronounced’ (lit.: completed), di-bi nu-al-til = di-in-šu la ga-mi-[ir] ‘its judgement has not been pronounced’ (Ana ittišu VII i 31-32).

The form al-bi-in-e₁₁-dé = i-tel-li (BL pl. VIII 8-9), quoted by Th. Jacobsen, 1965 p. 78 n. 9, is late and probably misunderstood (Jacobsen: ‘reading and analysis of the form are not very clear’).

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⁷⁴ A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 46 and 59, classified /al-/ as ‘Konjugationspräfix’, i.e. the same category as /i-/ and /mu-/. So also G.B. Gragg, SDI p. 8 and 1968 p. 107 n. 8: ‘The prefix al- corresponds structurally to this conjugation class’.
§ 355. /al-/ is a rather infrequently used prefix but it can nevertheless be found in most periods and text genres, only in the Gudea text corpus it does not occur at all.

§ 356. In almost all cases al-VERB is an intransitive form, and it is thus often translated with an Akkadian stative. The exact meaning of /al-/ or the difference between al-VERB and intransitive forms with other prefixes can, however, not be determined.

It is generally agreed that the meaning of /al-/ is approximately that of the stative, cf. E. Sollberger, 1952 p. 174: /al-/ ‘semble avoir, entre autres, une valeur de duratif ou de statif’; A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 59: /al-/ ‘bildet meist stativische Formen (...), jedoch auch sientische Formen in Verbindung mit dem transitiven Präsens-Futur oder der intransitiven Normalform’. Th. Jacobsen, 1965 p. 78, suggested a different meaning of /al-/: ‘The point referred to by l#— is rarely specified; usually it is rather an ideal point, an implied goal or fulfillment point of the action as such. ‘Goal-directed aspect’ describes perhaps the function of the prefix best.’

§ 357. It cannot be excluded that there is some connection between /al-/ and /ā-/ . In the very few Old Sumerian examples /al-/ and /ā-/ occur in the same context and in the OB literary texts an- or ab- are occasionally found as variants to al-.

(417) nam-[ur]-zag-bi pad-da ĝeštu₂-ni al-zu-zu-a mu-sar-ra-bi ab-ta-ĝir-a ĝeštu₂-ni al-zu-zu-a izi ba-sum-mu ĝeštu₂-ni [al-zu-zu-a] [...] m[u-...] ĝeštu₂-ni al-zu-zu-a igid nanše-še diĝir-ra-ni na-dib-bé a-ne na-dib-bé ‘its destroyed ..., his ear ...; its inscription which has been ..., his ear ...; it is given to the fire, his ear ..., [ ...], his ear ...; before Nanše, his god, he shall not pass, he indeed shall not pass’ (Ean. 62 IV 1 - V 7) The meaning of this passage is very obscure. Cf. the translation of Sollberger, 1952 p. 175: ‘(celui qui) pour détruire son ... — c’est ce que son esprit doit savoir! — pour effacer son inscription, — c’est ce que son esprit doit savoir! — y mettrait le feu, — c’est ce que son esprit doit savoir! — y ... — c’est ce que son esprit doit savoir! — devant Nanše son dieu le prendra! lui-même il le prendra!’
(418) an en-nam šul-le-šè al-DU; an ki téš-ba sig₄ an-gi₄-gi₄ ‘An is the lord — he is standing (or going?) like a young hero, heaven and earth are shouting together’ (Ukg. 15 II 1-2) The translation is uncertain, cf. J. van Dijk, 1964-65 p. 40: ‘An, comme En, se dressa comme un jeune héros, An et Ki échangeaient des cris l’un avec l’autre’; E. Sollberger, 1952 p. 174: ‘le dieu est le seigneur: il alla vers le jeune homme’.

(419) bar 9 iku mUr.èš […] {DÍd-da} Šeš.banda nu.èš-ra DÍd-da an-na-e₁₁ Lugal.ra maškim-bi
bar gana₂ mLUL.KA lú.u₅ mUr.DNusku dumu [Š]eš.banda D[Íd]-šè al-DU.DU Ur.DGú.lá sagi maškim-bi
‘Because of 9 iku field is Ur-eš, [the …], descended into the river for Šeš-banda, the nu.èš-priest. Lugal-ra was the bailiff. Because of a field have LUL.KA, the …, and Ur-Nusku, son of Šeš-banda, gone to the river. Ur-Gula, the cupbearer, was the bailiff’. (TMH V 159 IV 16 - V 18, translation and transliteration in D.O. Edzard, SR p. 156, and A. Westenholz, ECTJ p. 80). This text from Nippur, dating to the Akkade period, contains 17 river ordeal protocols. The act is expressed either by the verb e₁₁ ‘to descend’ or by the form al-DU.DU, which may stand for al-su₈.b ‘they went’ or for al-lah₅ ‘they were brought’. In the context, however, we would expect a plural form with the ending -eš.

§ 358. Examples:

(420) En.an.e.du₇ (…) nun ní-tuku du₄ mah é lugal-la-na-šè šu. luh.ha-ta al-gub-bu-a, /al-gub-e-a/ ‘Enane-du (…), the respectful princess, who stands at the lofty platform of the temple of her king with the handwashing (ritual)’ (Rim-Sin 8, 1 and 9)

(421) si-a DINanna me kur-ra-ke₄ šu al-du₇-du₇ ‘be satisfied, Inanna! The divine rules of the netherworld are fulfilled’ (Inanna’s Descent 132)

(422) é al-dù gir₁₁.zal-bi al-dùg ‘the temple is built, its splendour is good’ (Keš Hymn 118)

(423) diğiš gir kù DIn.nu-gal-la-ke₄ ní silim-šè al-e ‘the strong goddess, the holy Nungal, praises herself’ (Nungal 63)

(424) eren₂-bi al-tur a-ga-bi-ta al-bir-re ‘their army is small, and afterwards it is dispersed’ (Gilgameš and Aka 38)
(425) gud su₇(!)-ta kar-ra-gi₇ jul al₉-si-ge (a: 2 texts have al-, 2 texts have ab-) 'like an ox which has escaped from the threshing-floor, he is filled with falsehood' (Proverb 2.85)
THE MODAL PREFIXES

The Modal Prefix /nu-/, Negative

§ 359. The negative prefix is /nu-/ which may occur before all conjugation prefixes as well as in non-finite forms. Moreover, /nu/ is used in enclitic position after nouns (see § 363).

§ 360. The negation is normally written NU = nu. Before the prefixes /ba-/ and /bi-/ it is changed to la- and li-, respectively.

In OS and Gudea texts the writings nu-ba- and la-ba- are both found; in these texts also nu-bi- is written, whereas li-bi- occurs from the Neo-Sumerian period on. It is possible that nu- in nu-ba- and nu-bi- shall be understood as a sort of logogram = ‘negation’, and not necessarily as denoting a pronunciation nu-ba/bi-. Cf. the examples:

(426) ku₆-bi lá nu-ba-da₅-kar-ré, /nu-ba-da-kar-e/ ‘a man shall not carry their fish away’ (i.e. ‘nobody shall ...’) (Ukg. 6 III 9)
(427) á bad-a-ḫu₁₀ lá la-ba-ta-è, /nu-ba-ta-è/ ‘nobody shall escape my wide arm’ (Gudea, cyl. A IX 26)
(428) ír nu-bi-dug₄, /nu-bi-(n-)dug₄/ ‘she did not wail’ (lit.: ‘said a lamentation’) (Gudea, St. B V 4)
(429) ki-bi li-bi-gi₄(<-a), /nu-bi-(b?-)gi₄/ ‘(the temple) which they have not restored’ (Sin-iddinam 2, 11)

§ 361. Examples:

(430) ír Ur.DSahar.DBa.ba₅-ka nu-ù-me-en, /nu-ù-me-en/ ‘I am not the slave of Ur-Sahar-Baba’ (NG nr. 32, 3) It is not certain what -ù- represents; the writing occurs frequently in the Neo-Sumerian texts, cf.:
(431) nu-ù-gub-ba-šè ‘because he was not present’ (lit.: ‘he did not stay (there)’) (NG nr. 84, 15)
(432) mu ibila nu-ù-tuku-a-šè ‘because he has no heir’ (NG nr. 183, 13)
(433) nu-ù-zu ‘that he does not know it’ (NG nr. 137,5; also nr. 89, 12: ‘they did not know’)
(434) nu-ù-zu-bi ‘without their knowing it’ (NG nr. 15, 13)
(435) kug DInanna-ke₄ ụ nu-um-ši-ku-ku, /nu-i-m-ši-ku.ku-e/ ‘holy Inanna does not go to sleep’ (Curse of Akkade 24) Cf. Gudea, cyl. A VI 11:
(436) é dú-dè igitu ụ Dublin aši-ku₄-ku₄, /nu-i-ši-ku₄.ku₄-en/ ‘in order to build the house you will not let your eyes sleep’
(437) Šà.nin.ša-ke₄ gud ụ ụ-nun-hu¥g, /nu-i-n-hu¥g/ ‘Šaniga did not rent an ox to yoke’ (TCS I nr. 129, 3-5)
(438) ki.sikil DInanna za-e a-na-aš nu-ub-še-ge-en, /nu-i-b-še.g-ge-en/ ‘virgin, Inanna, why do you not obey?’ (Dumuzi and Enkimdu 13)
(439) lu inim Šà-ga-na-ke₄ nu-um-mi-ib-se-sè-ge, /nu-i-bi-bse.sè.g-e/ ‘nobody has placed there the words of his heart’ (i.e.: ‘none gave him the idea’) (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 6)
(440) šà-bi nu-mu-ù-da-zu, /nu-mu-e.da-zu/ ‘I do not know its meaning (lit.: ‘its heart’)’ (Gudea, cyl. A VIII 22)

§ 362. /nu-/ can also negate the non-finite verbal forms:

(441) ur.sa¥g (...) gaba.šu.šar nu-tuku ‘the hero who has no adversary’ (Gudea, cyl. A II 10)
(442) kur ǧiššer-en-na lu-nu-ku₄-ku₄-da, /nu-ku₄.ku₄-ed-a/ ‘the cedar mountain which no man can enter’ (Gudea, cyl. A XV 19)
(443) ad.da a dam-šu₁₀ nu-di-dè dam banya ụr-ra nu-húl-le-dè, /nu-di-ed-e/, /nu-húl-ed-e/ ‘that the father says nots ‘Oh my wife’, that the young wife rejoice not in (his) lap’ (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 13-14 = UET VI/2, 124: 13-14)
(444) nu-žu-a-šu₁₀-dè ‘Without my knowing it’ (Enmerkar and Ensuhkesdana 255)

§ 363. /nu-/, and probably also /ha-/ (cf. § 402), are the only verbal prefixes which are able to occur alone without a verb. In this function nu serves as a negative counterpart to the enclitic copula with
the meaning ‘it is not’. Examples of /nu/ in this construction is found already in OS texts:

(445) na.rú-a mu-bi lú-a nu, /na.rú.a-ak mu-bi lú-ak nu/ ‘the name of the stele is not that of a man’ (Ea 1.1 rev. X 23-25)
(446) alam-e ù kug nu za.gin nu-ga-àm ù urudu nu ù an.na nu za.bar nu (…) n̄a4 esi-àm ‘this statue is neither (made of) silver nor of lapis lazuli, and it is not (made of) copper, of pewter or of bronze (…) — it is of diorite’ (Gudea, St. B VII 49-54)
(447) munus diš-àm a.ba me-a-nu a.ba me-a-ni ‘there is a single woman — who can it be?’ (Gudea, cyl. A IV 23) (lit.: who is it not — who is it?)75
(448) uru nu ‘it is not a city’ (Proverb 2.118)

/nu/ after an adjective:

(449) me-a mu-zu x mah nu ‘Where is your name not great?’ (In-nin 187)

§ 364. The same function as the enclitic /nu/ has /PREF + nu/ in OB literary texts and later on:

(450) šu peš-da-bi ba-nu ‘there was no fishing’ (Proverb 1.109)
(451) lú bî-in-nu ‘there is nothing man(-like) about it’ (Proverb 1.37)
(452) in-nu(-ù) ‘there is not’76
(453) lú še lugal-ğu₁₀ in-nu ‘this man is not my king’ (Gilgameš and Aka 70), cf.: lú še lugal-ğu₁₀ i-me-a ‘this man is my king’ in line 92.

§ 365. The form nu-a ‘without’ is apparently analogous with the non-finite verbal form R-a:

(454) ùz máš nu-a ‘goat without kid’ (TDr 26, 9)77

75. For this construction see A. Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 150, where it is compared with the pronominal conjugation.
77. For further examples, see D.O. Edzard, 1976a p. 61.
The Modal Prefix /bara-/: Vetitive and Negative Affirmative

§ 366. /bara-/ is always written ba-ra-. The prefix is found in all periods except in the Gudea texts.

\[(455) \text{lú á dah ba-ra-bí-tuku, }/\text{bara-bi-}(n-)\text{tuku/ 'nobody had too much wages'} (\text{Sin-iddinam 6 II 26-27})\]

§ 367. /bara-/ occurs before the conjugation prefixes /i-/, /mu-/, /ba-/ and /bi-/; but not before im-ma- and im-mi-.

§ 368. /bara-/ is found with all persons; forms with the 1.sg. are the most frequent.

/bara-/ with marû denotes vetitive, /bara-/ with hamçu negative affirmative. Forms with /bara-/ thus correspond to positive forms with /ha-/:  

Vetitive:

\[(456) \text{di ba-ra-a-da-ab-bé-en₆, }/\text{bara-i-e.da-b-e-en/ 'I will not carry on a lawsuit against you'} (\text{NG nr. 20, 8}). \text{ Cf. precautive:}\]

\[(457) \text{hé-na-bé, }/\text{ha-i-na-b-e-e/ 'let him tell him'} (\text{TCS I nr. 129, 10})\]

Negative affirmative:

\[(458) \text{ba-ra-ra-dug₄, }/\text{bara-i-ra(dat.-)dug₄/ 'I have never said to you'} (\text{Father and Son 77}). \text{ Cf. affirmative:}\]

\[(459) \text{ha-ra-ab-dug₄, }/\text{ha-i-ra-b-dug₄/ 'they have indeed said (prayers) for you'} (\text{Georgica 87 = OECT I pl. 35 iv 10})\]

§ 369. Examples:

/bara-/ is not particularly frequent, most often it occurs in promissory oaths, especially in the Neo-Sumerian juridical documents:

\[(460) \text{ki-sur-ra D\text{Nin.Čir.su-ka-kc₄ ba-ra-mu-bal-e c-pa₅-bi šu bal ba-ra-ak-kc₄ na.rú.a-bi ba-ra-pad-re₆, }/\text{bara-mu-bal-e/,}\]

\[(460) \text{/bara-i-ak-e/, }/\text{bara-i-pad.r-e/ 'he shall not transgress the boundary ditch of Nin\text{g}irsu, he shall not change the ditch and the canal, he shall not destroy the stele'} (\text{Ean. 1 XX 17 - XXI 3})\text{ It is also possible to understand the passage as the direct speech of the oath of the Ummaite: 'I will not transgress etc.' }/\text{bara-mu-bal-en/}.\]

(461) mí.ús.sá-зу mí.ús.sá-gué₁₀ ba-ra-me, /bara-í-me/ ‘your son-in-law shall not be my son-in-law!’ (NG nr. 18, 24)
(462) ba-ra-ab-śi₄-śi₄-dè, /bara-í-b-śi₄-śi₄-ed-en/ ‘I will not return (with this claim)’ (NG nr. 164, I 3)
(463) ki-ni ba-ra-zu, /bara-í-zu/ ‘I really do not know his place’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 144)

§ 370. Bibliography

The Modal Prefix /na-/: Prohibitive and Affirmative

§ 371. The prefix /na-/ is written na- or, if it precedes /í-m-/, /í-ba-/, /í-bi-/, nam-, e.g.,

(464) na-an-mú-mú-un, /na-í-n-mú.mú-en/ ‘do not start a quarrel’ (PAPS 107 nr. 1, 7-9)
(465) ud na-bí-zal-e, /na-bí-zal-e/ ‘the day must not pass’ (TCS I nr. 25, 7a)
(466) nam-ta-è, /na-í-m-ta-è/ ‘he went out’ (Gudea, cyl. A VIII 1)
(467) nam-mi-gul-e, /na-í-bi-gul-e/ ‘no one shall destroy it’ (Gudea, St. B VII 57)

§ 372. In OB literary texts nam-ba-... and nam-bí-... occur as well as the writings nam-ma-... and nam-mi-..., but it is not completely clear whether nam-ba/bí- represents /na-í-ba(bi)/ or rather /na-ba(bi)/ and thus, in the latter case, replace na-ba-... and na-bí-... 78

Cf. for instance:

(468) nam-mi-in-hu.luh-[...] with the variants: nam-mi-ib- and nam-bí-in-., ‘do not frighten’ (Angim 87)

78. Because of the writings nam-ba- etc. I.M. Diakonoff has assumed the form ná- for the prohibitive/affirmative prefix, see D.O. Edzard, 1971a p. 219 n. 32.
§ 373. When /na-/ precedes /i-ga-/ the prefix chain is written either na-an-ga- or nam-ga-, in OS na-ga-, e.g.,

(470) Ė.an.na.tüm-me gal na-ga-mu-zu, /na-i-ga-mu-(n-)zu/ 'Eanatum knows also great things' (Ean. 1 rev. I 31-32)

(471) ki ša-ğu₁₀ a-na-an-gaⁿ-ma-ab-bé-e-a (a-a: na-ga-, an-ga-), /na-i-ga-mu-DAT.1.sg.-b-e-e-a/ 'on the place which my heart chooses (lit.: says) for me' (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 177)

(472) ki nam-ga-bí-ib-gul-en⁽ᵃ⁾ (a: -c for -en), /na-i-ga-bi-b-gul-en/ 'I shall indeed destroy it too' (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 120)

§ 374. The prefix /na-/ has two different meanings dependent on the aspect of the verb: na + marû = prohibitive:

(473) na-(ab-)pàd-dë, /na-i-b-pàd-en/ 'do not tell (where I am)' (Dumuzi’s Dream 92)

na + hamtu = affirmative:

(474) nam-mi-gub, /na-i-bi-gub/ 'he set indeed (his foot on the ship)' (Gudea, cyl. A II 4 and IV 3)

This pattern seems to be relatively well established. However, in some cases /na-/ has the marû stem with, apparently, affirmative meaning: na-ri-bé, /na-i-ri-b-e-e/ 'they sing for you', na-mu-un-e, /na-mu-n-e/ 'she says', na-e, /na-i-e-e/ 'she says', na-ur₄-ur₄-re, /na-i-ur₄-ur₄-e/ 'she collects', na-ḡa-ḡa, /na-i-ḡa-ḡa-e/ 'she places'.

It is striking that most instances have the verb e ‘to say’ and, moreover, that all are from OB literary texts, very often in difficult context. We might, therefore, leave these examples out of account and at least state that generally marû = prohibitive, and hamtu = affirmative.

§ 375. The prohibitive /na-/ forms are the negative counterpart to the imperative and to the precative forms with /ha-/. Prohibitive is found with the 2. and 3. person, whereas the 1. person occurs with /bara-/ in vocative forms. /na-/ with 1.pl. is, however, attested:

(475) gù nam-ba-(an-)ḡá-ḡá-an-dë-en, /na-(i?-)ba-(n-)ḡa.ḡa-en-den/ 'let us not submit' and

79. The examples are from A. Falkenstein, 1942 p. 201 nr. 25; p. 204f. nr. 1-5; p. 219 nr. 3; p. 217 nr. 13; cf. also D.O. Edzard, 1971a p. 221 and note 36.
(476) ğištukul nam-ba-an-sig-ge-en-dè-en, /na-(i?–)ba-n-sig-en-den/ ‘let us not smite it with weapons’ (Gilgamesh and Aka 8 and 14) (cf. the parallel, positive forms in the same context: gú ga-ăm-gá-gá-an-dè-en ‘let us submit’, ğištukul ga-âm-sig-sig-en-dè-en ‘let us smite it with weapons’, l. 14 and 8)

§ 376. The affirmative /na-/ is used with all persons; for 1.pl., cf.:

(477) na-an-dúr-ru-ne-en-dè-en ‘we lived there’ (Enlil and Ninlil 1-3)

The term ‘affirmative’ is not very precise, and it may well be asked how /na-/ differs in meaning from other modal prefixes (/ha-/ and /ša-/) which are also called affirmative. For the present, however, it seems impossible to solve this problem, since the contexts in which these forms occur give almost no opportunity to compare the various uses of the prefixes in question.

§ 377. Th. Jacobsen regarded the affirmative /na-/ as etymologically different from the prohibitive prefix, cf. 1965 p. 73 n. 4: ‘From these data [MSL IV 194: 163: na-a = NA = šu-u; p. 194: 105: né-e = NA = šu-u and others] it seems possible to conclude that na- varied in pronunciation toward ne- — possibly in differentiation from vetitive na- — and that it has third-person reference to subject (šu) or object (šuāti). This seems confirmed in some measure by its etymology since it would appear to consist of a third-person pronominal element -n- ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘it’ (?), and a relater -a ‘in’, ‘for’.

According to this analysis Th. Jacobsen gave a more precise formulation of the meaning of /na-/: ‘As actually used (...) na-, ‘within him’, seems to present an act not objectively, in itself, ‘he did’, but subjectively, in its psychological matrix of impulse, inner urge, decision to act, in the subject, ‘he saw fit to do’ (1965 p. 74 n. 4).

A. Falkenstein also quotes a dative prefix /na-/ which in his opinion is identical with the case element -na- ‘for him/her’. There is, however, hardly any evidence for this prefix. Falkenstein himself gives only two rather uncertain examples which in my opinion may as well be interpreted as affirmative na-forms: na-gu-ul-gu-ul ‘he made indeed (the presents) great’ (Gudea, cyl. B II 12-13).

(478) é ur₅-gin₇, dím-ma enši₂ aš-e D Nin.gîr.su-ra nu-na-du na-mu-du ‘a temple made like this has no enši ever built for
§ 378. /na/- is always used in the introductory formula of Sumerian letters. If this /na/- has to be interpreted as the affirmative prefix, we would expect a *hamtu* form, but this is never the case.

(479) Lú.cn.na sağa ∆Nin.MAR.KI-ka-ke₄ na-e-a, [En].e.tar.zid [sağa] ∆Nin.[gír.ʃu-[ka]-ra [dug₄]-ga-n[a], /na-i-e-e-a/,
/dug₄ + i-na/ ‘this is what Luenna, the *sağa* of Nin-MAR.KI
says — say it to Enetarzid, the *sağa* of Ningirsu’ (Enz. 1 I 1-6)

(480) lugal-e na-ab-bé-a Ur.∆Li₉.si₄-na-ra û-na-a-dug₄, /na-i-
b-e-e-a/, /u-i-na-e-dug₄/ ‘this is what the king says —
when you have said it to Ur-Lisina’ (*TCS* I nr. 1, 1-4)

(481) m∆I.bi.∆EN.ZU lugal-ḫu₁₀-ra û-na-a-dug₄, mPuzur₄.Šulgi
ensi₂ Kazal.luki ir-zi na-ab-bé-a, /na-i-b-e-e-a/ ‘When
you have said it to my king, Ibbi-Sin, that is what Puzur-
Šulgi, the *ensi* of Kazallu, your servant, says’ (Letter A 3, 1-3)

§ 379. A morpheme /na/ occurs in forms of the verb me ‘to be’: na-
nam, ga-nam-me-àm, both = ‘it is indeed’, and (ur₃) hé-na-nam(-
ma-àm) ‘it is so’, ‘may it be so’. Although the meaning of these
phrases may well be described as affirmative, it is not beyond doubt
whether /na/ shall be regarded as identical with the affirmative modal
prefix /na-/ since it is here preceded by the prefixes /ga-/ and /ha-/ which
is otherwise not the case, and the analysis of all forms is rather
problematic.

na-nam seems to be a fixed term to which the prefix /ha-/ is
added in either an affirmative or precative sense, cf. also the very late
form in-ga-na-nam (*BL* 16, 1) ‘it is also’.

A. Falkenstein regarded na- of these phrases as the affirmative pre-
fix and analysed /ga-na-i-me-àm/; he saw ga- as a variant to hé-.⁸⁰

Note that nam-me is the prohibitive form of the verb me: ‘may it/
he/she not be’:

(482) sipa engar nam-me ‘the shepherd shall not be a farmer’
    (Proverb 1.100)

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⁸⁰. See *GSGL* I p. 220; and 1942 p. 186 n. 1.
§ 380. Examples: /na-/ , Affirmative, with me ‘to be’:

(483) (lú ...) šeš-šu₁₀  D Nin-šu₁₀ ga-nam-me-ām ‘(the man who ...
) is indeed my brother Ningirsu’ (Gudea, cyl. A V 17, cf. also A V 25 and VI 8)

(484) 1-kam-ma Maš.gu.la mu-ni hé-en-na-nam ‘of the first his name is indeed Mašgula’ (Enmerkar and Ensiuḫkēšdana 214)

(485) i-ne-šè  D Utu ud-dè-e-a ur₅  a-hé-en-na-nam-ma-ām₃ (a-a: hé-na-nam) ‘and now, when Utu lets the day begin, so may it be!’ (Curse of Akkade 274)

(486) ud-bi-a imin hé-ne-me-eš imin hé-na-me-eš ‘on that day they were indeed seven, they were indeed seven’ (I.ugalbanda in Hurumkura 57, see Cl. Wilcke, 1969a p. 49f.)

(487) a nam-de₆ a zal-le na-nam kurun₂-bi na-dùg-ge, še nam-de₆ še gu.nu na-nam ūg-e na-kú-e ‘he has brought water — it is indeed everflowing water, he makes its wine good (or: as good as wine?), he has brought grain — it is indeed ... grain, the people eat it’ (Enki and the World Order 259-260) (na-dùg-ge and na-kú-e are marû forms and should, therefore, be prohibitive, but this does not seem to make sense in the context)

(488) ki-āg-bi na-nam ki-āg-bi na-nam en E.kur-ra ki-āg-bi na-nam ‘he is indeed its beloved, he is indeed its beloved, he is indeed the beloved lord of Ekur’ (Nanna-Suen Hymn A 21-22)

For na-nam and the affirmative /na-/ together:

(489) uruki na-nam a-na-an-a-dûr-ru-ne-en-dè-en (a-a: âm-, na-âm-), /na-i-n-durun-enden/ ‘this is the city, and we live there indeed’ (Enlil and Ninlil 1-3)

§ 381. Examples: /na-/ , Prohibitive

(490) ud nu-šè-sa₁₀-sa₁₀-a-a u gul a l i p i š-bi na-na-tag-ge, /nu-i-ši-sa₁₀-sa₁₀-e-a-a/-, /na-i-na-tag-e/ ‘if he does not buy it, the overseer must not be angry with him’ (Ukg. 4 XI 29-31)

(491) D Inanna (...) Šīšu.gu.za gub-ba-na suhuš-bi na-an-ge-né numun-a-ni hé-ti₇ , /na-i-n-ge.n-e/ , /ha-i-til/ ‘may Inanna (...) not make the foundation of his throne firm, may his off-spring come to an end’ (Gudea, St. C IV 9-16)

(492) kilib₃ dígir gal-gal-e-ne (...) e-ne ̀u numun-a-ni šà kalam- ma-ka nam-mu-ni-iš-gá-gá-e-ne , /na-mu-ni-b-gá-gá-ene/
'may all the great gods not let him and his seed stay in the land' (Warad-Sin 27 II 17 - III 5)

(493) i dug-ga bur-ra na-an-še₂₂-še₂₂(-en), ir.si.im-bi-šē a nam-mu(-e)²-niğin-ne-eš (a-a: ba-e-dé-), /na-i-n-še₂₂.še₂₂-en/, /na-mu-c-niğin-eš/ (= ša-man pu-ú-ri ū-a-ba la tap-pa-ši-iš, a-na i-ri-ši-šu i-pah-hu-ru-ka) 'do not rub yourself with fine oil of the jar, (then) they will indeed gather about you at its fragrance' (Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld 187-188) The first form is prohibitive, the second affirmative; for other such pairs, see ibid. l. 185-199.

§ 382. Examples: /na-/, Affirmative

(494) [an-gal]-ta ki-gal-šē ţešṭug₂-ga-ni na-an-gub, /na-i-n-gub/ 'from the great heaven she set her mind to the great earth (i.e. the Netherworld)' (Inanna’s Descent 1)

(495) hur-sag dağal tēš-bi nam-ta-an-e₁₁, /na-i-m-ta-n-e₁₁/ '(Enlil) brought (Gutium) the wide mountain in its whole down (into Sumer)' (Curse of Akkade 155)

§ 383. Bibliography


The Modal Prefix /ga-/: Cohortative

§ 384. This prefix is written ga- before all conjugation prefixes and case elements. The vowel is normally not subject to change, unlike the prefixes ha-/hé-/hu- and ŝa-/ši-/šu-. Only exceptionally do forms like the following turn up:

(496) gu-mu-ra-ra-ba.al = /ga-mu-ra(DAT.2.sg.)-ra(abl.)-ba.al/ ‘I will return it to you’ (NG nr. 132, 5)

(497) sağ-šē gu-mu-ni-rig₇ = /ga-mu-ni-rig₇/ ‘I will give as a gift’ (Šulgi Hymn D 210)

(498) gi₄-bi-ib-gu₇ = /ga-bi-b-gu₇/ ‘I will let them eat’ (Šulgi Hymn D 176)⁸¹

⁸¹ More forms occur in Šulgi Hymn D: gi₄-ni-in-ug₇ (l. 156); gi₄-ni-in-šū (l. 169); gi₄-bi-ni-mū (l. 222); gi₄-ni-ib-bal-bal (l. 225); gi₄-ri-ib-tarar (l. 384); gu-mu-ri-ib-tarar (l. 384-387); cf. also ge₄-me-e-da-LI-na (= /ga-mu-e.da-LI-?/?/) in the difficult syllabic Dumuzi-lament VS II 2 iii 2.
§ 385. In Emesal context the cohortative prefix has the form da- or 
du₅-:

(499) da-an-u₅ ‘I will board the ship’ (VS X 199 iv 13)
(500) īr-ra da-mar-re-en ‘I will set up a lament’ (SBH 14, 18)\(^\text{82}\),
other examples are:
(501) i.lu (...) du₅-mu-ri-ib-dug₄, /ga-mu-ri-b-dug₄/ ‘let me say
a lamentation for you’ (Inanna and Bilulu 165)
(502) [Abzu Uru].zé.eb\(^{ki}-\)še me-e mí du₅-mu-na-ab-dug₄, /ga-
mu-na-b-dug₄/ ‘let me take care of Abzu-Eridu’ (Inanna
and Enki 1 i 25)

In Emesal da-, dē- and du₅- are also used for the precative /ha-/ (see
§ 395). Cohortative and precative are thus morphologically the same
category in Emesal.

§ 386. In some cases ha- is used for ga-:

(503) ha-a-tuku = /ga-i-a-tuku/ ‘I will marry her’ (NG nr. 16, 6;
15, 6: ha-tuku)
(504) ha-a-me-en = /ga-i-me-en/ ‘I will be (the slave-girl of PN)’
(Sollberger, 1976 p. 441 nr. 6, 9)\(^\text{83}\)

The writing ha- instead of ga- may suggest that /ga-/ and /ha-/ phonetically
are rather similar, cf. the Emesal forms da- etc. which are both cohortative
and precative (see § 385).\(^\text{84}\)

§ 387. The cohortative /ga-/ is found in the first person only, both
singular and plural. Instances of the 1.pl. occur exclusively in the
literary texts from the Old Babylonian period and later (cf. § 392).

§ 388. Singular cohortative forms have always the hamtu stem of the
verb, and normally there is no subject mark in the 1.sg., neither in
transitive nor in intransitive forms (see examples in § 391). Excep-
tions do of course occur:

\(^{82}\) /ga-i-n-u₅/ and /ga-i-gar-en/ are not grammatically correct. We would ex-
pect /ga-i-u₅/ and /ga-i-gar/.

\(^{83}\) The -a- may represent the transitive hamtu subject element for the 1.sg. (see
§ 291). In ha-a-me-en, however, -a- cannot be explained in this way, since
the form is intransitive.

\(^{84}\) Cf. also J. van Dijk, 1967 p. 256f. The basic form of the word hé-du₇, ‘archi-
trave’, is probably *hin-du₇ because of the Akkadian rendering hittu. The
readings hé and gan of the sign HĒ are therefore possibly only ‘Ablaut’.
(505) ga-na-ab-bé-en, /ga-i-na-b-e-en/ 'let me tell it to her'
(Iddin-Dagan Hymn A 1ff.); cf.
(506) ga-na-ga-na-ab-dug₄ (Gudea, cyl. A I 24). Cf. also the Neo-
Sumerian forms ha-a-tuku and ha-a-me-en mentioned
above (§ 386) and ex. 516.

Reduplicated forms can be understood as plural verbs denoting the
plurality of the object:
(507) ma.mu-zu gá ga-mu-ra-búr-búr, /ga-mu-DAT.2.sg.-búr.
búr/ 'let me interpret your dreams' (Gudea, cyl. A V 12)
(508) giš tur-tur-bi úr-ba ga-mu-bù-bù, /ga-mu-bù.bù/ 'let me
tear out its small trees in their roots' (Šulgi Hymn D 223)

§ 389. The plural cohortative forms, on the other hand, always have
the ending /-enden/ together with the plural stem (ex. 517-519) or
the reduplicated verb; in ex. 520 the marû form is used.

The pronominal suffix may also be missing, cf.
(509) me.en.dè (....) e.ne.sù.ud ga-da-e 'let us copulate' (PAPS 107
nr. 4, 20)

§ 390. A special expression with the prefix /ga-/ is: ga-nam-me-àm
'it is indeed', where /ga-/ is rather affirmative, similar to /ha-/

§ 391. Examples: 1.sg.
(510) na ga-ri na.ri-ğu₁₀ hé-dab₅, /ga-i-ri/, /ha-i-dab₅/ 'let me
give (you) instructions — may my instructions be followed!'
(Gudea, cyl. A VI 14). In OB literary texts the phrase goes
like this:
(511) na ga-e-ri na.ri-ğu₁₀ hé-e-dab₅, /ga-i-e-ri/, ha-i-e-dab₅ /
(Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 69). -e- is in both forms
incorrect; 'may you follow my instructions' should be:
*/ha-i-b-dab₅-en/
(512) šu zid ga-mu-ra-ab-gar, /ga-mu-ra-b-gar/ 'let me carry it
out for you steadily', (lit.: 'place the hand ...') (Gudea. cyl.
A II 13)
(513) ugula-ni ga-šè-sa₁₀ ù-na-dug₄, /ga-i-ši-sa₁₀/ 'When the
foreman has said: 'I will buy it'” (Ukg. 4 XI 23-24)
(514) gá-e Ak-kà-šè ga-àm-šì- gén (a: var. ga-ğen), /ga-i-m-šì-
ğen/ 'I will go to Aka' (Gilgamesh and Aka 57)
(515) uru-bi-a ga-tuš b'-ín-dug₄-ga, /ga-i-tuš/ 'the one who has
said: let me live in this city’ (Curse of Akkade 272)
Wrong, or at least unusual, is the ending /-en/:

(516) inim-inim-ma nam.dumu.ē.dub.ba-a-ke₄-ne ga-ab-šid-dē-en, /ga-ī-b-šid-en/ ‘I will recite the words of the school-boys’ (Dialogue 1, 7-8 = Ni 9581, ISET I pl. 205, 3-4 = Ni 9715, ISET II pl. 84, 7-8)

§ 392. Examples: 1.pl.

(517) ku.li-ni-ir ga-an-ši-re₇-en-dē-en, /ga-ī-n.ši-ere-enden/ ‘let us go to his friend’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 140)
(518) ga-ba-hūl-hūl-le-en-dē-en, /ga-ba-hūl.hūl-enden/ ‘let us rejoice’ (Ni 2461, 12 = ISET I pl. 90, love song)
(519) Dianna inim-gin₇ ga-ām-me-en-dē-en, /ga-ī-m-e-enden/ ‘Inanna, let us talk about it’ (PAPS 107 nr. 1, 8)
(520) gû ga-ām-ğá-ğá-an-dê-en, /ga-ī-m-ğá.ğá-enden/ ‘let us submit’ (Gilgamesh and Aka 14, text C)

§ 393. Bibliography


The Modal Prefix /ha-/: Precative and Affirmative

§ 394. Writing

The precative and affirmative prefix is written either ha-, he- or hudepending on which prefix is following. The basic form is here assumed to be /ha-/, but it could as well be /he-/ (see § 401). hu- is not used before the Old Babylonian period.

/ha-/ can occur before all conjugation prefixes. Generally, ha- is written before prefixes containing the vowel [a], i.e.: ba-, ma- < /mu-DAT.1.sg.-/, -ra-(DAT.2.sg.), etc., and until the Old Babylonian period also before /mu-/. hé-, on the other hand, is written before /i-/ and /bi-/. hu- is in the Isin-Larsa inscriptions and in the Old Babylonian literary texts found before /mu-/.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha-</th>
<th>hé-</th>
<th>hu-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha-ba- &lt; /ha-ba-/</td>
<td>hé-en- &lt; /ha-i-n-/&gt;</td>
<td>hu-mu- &lt; /ha-mu-/&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-ma- &lt; /ha-mu-DAT.1.sg.-/</td>
<td>hé-eb- &lt; /ha-i-b-/&gt;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-ra- &lt; /ha-i-DAT.2.sg.-/</td>
<td>hé-em- &lt; /ha-i-m-/&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>ha-mu- &lt; /ha-mu-/</td>
<td>hé- &lt; /ha-i-/</td>
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<tr>
<td>(before the OB period)</td>
<td>hé-CASE- &lt; /ha-i-CASE-/</td>
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<td></td>
<td>hé-em-ma- &lt; /ha-i-ba-/</td>
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<td>hé-em-mi- &lt; /ha-i-bi-/</td>
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Exceptions to these rules are numerous in the NS texts, but can also be found in the Old Babylonian texts:

(521) šu ha-bar-re, /ha-i-bar-e/ 'let him release' (TCS I nr. 46, 4)\(^{85}\)

(522) šu-na ha-ab-ši-ib-gi₄-gi₄₇, /ha-i-b.ši-b-gi₄-gi₄₇-e/ 'let him return it' (TCS I nr. 116, 6)

(523) ha-bí-ib-da-e, /ha-bi-b-da-e/ 'let him ...' (TCS I nr. 77, 4)

(524) ha-àm-DU, /ha-i-m-DU/ 'let them go' (TCS I 113, 7)\(^{86}\)

(525) ha-na-ab-bal-e, /ha-i-na-bal-e/ 'let him turn it over to him' (TCS I nr. 162, 9) Since -na- refers to a person ha-mu-na-bal-e is expected.

(526) hé-an-ši-dab₅, /ha-i-n.ši-dab₅/ 'let him take' (TCS I nr. 112, 5)

(527) hé-ba-ab-sum-mu, /ha-ba-b-sum-e/ 'let him give it to them' (TCS I nr. 151, 7)

(528) hé-mu-na-ab-sum-mu, /ha-mu-na-b-sum-e/ 'let him give it to him' (TCS I nr. 89, 6)

(529) DInanna ur₃-re hé-mu-e-húl-e, /ha-mu-e-húl-e/ (the analysis of the form is not very clear) 'Inanna, may you rejoice!' (Išme-Dagan Hymn K 10, cf. the var. in YBC 4609, 10 = Hallo, 1966 p. 244: ga-mu-u₈-húl-l[e] 'I will rejoice'). Note that hé- regularly occurs before mu-e:

(530) hé-mu-e-te-gál (Iddin-Dagan Hymn B 46, cf. the var.: hu-mu-te-gál)

(531) hé-mu-e-du (Dialogue 1, 143 = UET VI 156 rev. 13)

ha-ni- is found in OS and Gudea texts although we would expect /ha-i-ni-/ > hé-ni-, e.g.:

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85. Cf. hé-ab-bar-re in TCS I nr. 67, 5.
86. Cf. kas₄ hé-àm-e in TCS I nr. 252.
(532) ha-ni-gaz-e ‘let him be killed’ (Ent. 28 VI 40)
(533) ha-ni-ku₄–ku₄ ‘may you enter there’ (Gudea, cyl. B II 22)
hé-ni- is, however, used regularly in the Old Babylonian period (cf. the instances in Gragg, *SDI* p. 70)

§ 395. In Emesal texts the prefix is written as either da-, dè- or du₅-, e.g. ¹⁸⁷

(534) é-a ur dè-en-ku₄ dè-en-ná, /ha-ī-n-ku₄/, /ha-ī-n-ná/ ‘let the ... enter the house, let him lie in the house’ (*STVC* 83 II 6, see Krecher, 1966 p. 143) The verbs are intransitive and /-n-/ is thus not correct.

§ 396. Like the prefix /na-/ (cf. § 374), also /ha-/ has different meanings dependent on the aspect of the verb: ha+marû is preceptive, ha+hamtu is affirmative. (See D.O. Edzard, 1971a p. 213-216, and M. Yoshikawa, 1968b).

To this rule there is the following restriction: in some apparently intransitive forms the verb is hamtu although the meaning must be preceptive:

(535) ensi₂ inim bî-îb-gi₄-gi₄-a me D Nin.ĝîr.su-ka ba-ni-îb-lá-a sá.dug₄-na é D Nin.ĝîr.su-ka-ta inim hé-eb-gi₄ inim ka-ni hé-kêš ‘the ensi who calls back the word or who diminishes the me of Ningiru — may his offerings be called back from the house of Ningiru, may his word become invalid(?)’ ¹⁸⁸ (Gudea, St. B I 13-20) hé-eb-gi₄ is hamtu: /ha-ī-b-gi₄/, /-b-/ is not correct, since the verb is intransitive.

§ 397. Intransitive/one-participant forms of regular verbs cannot differentiate preceptive and affirmative, since they have only one form with the basic stem:

(536) nam.tar-ra-ni hé-da-kûr-ne gud-gin₇ ud-dè-na hé-gaz am-gin₇ á huš-na hé-dab₅, /ha-ī-da-kûr-ene/ = trans., marû; /ha-ī-gaz/ and /ha-ī-dab₅/ = intrans., basic stem of regular verbs, ‘may (the gods) change his lot, may he be slaughtered

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¹⁸⁸. KA...kêš means ‘to make an agreement’ or ‘to have a structure’, with -ta- ‘to become undone’ (cf. Gragg, *SDI* p. 36).
like an ox on his ..., may he be caught in his fierce arm like a bull’ (Gudea, St. B IX 5-9)

(537) na ga-ri na ri-〈gu10 〉 hé-dab5, /ha-ī-dab5/ ‘let me give instructions, may my instructions be followed’ (Gudea, cyl. A VI 14, see ex. 510 above)

(538) 〈uru-〈gu10 〉 〉 ki ma.al-ba hé-en-ga-mu-da^a-gul (a: -dè- for -da-), /ha-ī-ga-mu-da-gul/ ‘my city was indeed destroyed on its foundation’ (Ur Lament 108)

§ 398. Examples: /ha-/ , Precative

(539) 〈šà-bi ha-ma-pàd-dè, /ha-mu+DAT.1.sg.-pàd-e/ ‘may she reveal to me its meaning’ (Gudea, cyl. A II 3), cf.

(540) nam hé-ma-kud-e, /ha-ī-ba-kud-e/ ‘may she curse him’ (Gudea, St. C IV 12)

(541) níg-ak-ak-da-〈gá D Nanna 〉 en an-ki hu-mu-húl-le(-en), /ha-mu-húl-en/ ‘may you, Nanna, the lord of heaven and earth, rejoice in my deeds’ (Warad-Sin 10, 45-47)

§ 399. Examples: /ha-/ , Affirmative

(542) zi lugal 〈gá-e-me ha-na-sum, /ha-ī-na-sum/ ‘by the king’s life, it is indeed I who did give it to him’ (TCS I nr. 81, 5-7)

An affirmative form in the first person is uncommon. Cf. also:

(543) ki-bi(-šè) hé-em-mi-gi4, /ha-ī-bi-gi4/ ‘I have indeed restored it’ (Warad-Sin 7, 22; 17 II 9; 11, 39)

(544) a.ra.zu 〈ge-na-〈gu10 〉-šè hu-mu-ši-in-šè-ge-eš, /ha-mu-ši-n-š.e.g-eš/ ‘at my persistent prayer they have indeed granted it’ (Sin-iddinam 6 I 26-27)

(545) ku.li-〈gu10 〉 sağ ú-a hé-en-šub, /ha-ī-n-šub/ ‘my friend has indeed ducked down his head in the grass’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 144)

§ 400. /ha-/ with the verb me ‘to be’:

(546) 〈uru-〈gu10 〉 du₆ hé-a 〈gá-e šika-bi hé-me-en, /ha-ī-m-en/ ‘let my city become a mound, let me become its sherds’ (En-merkar and Ensuhešdana 133)

hé-ām ‘so be it’, can be used as a noun, = annu ‘consent, approval’:

(547) 〈hé-ām-zu hé-ām gul-lu [x (x x)] gul-lu ‘your ‘so be it’ is ‘so
be it’, to(?) destroy ... destroy’ (Innin 204) For hé-àm-bi see Römer, SKIZ p. 225)

§ 401. /ha-/ without a finite verb:
It is possible that /ha-/ in the affirmative sense, like /nu-/, can occur with non-finite verbs, cf. the forms quoted by J. Krecher, 1978c p. 402f.: ki hé-ús-sa-àm, šu hé-tag-ga-àm, etc. It is of course possible to analyse /ha-í-/, which would explain the writing hé-. On the other hand, if these forms are non-finite, they argue for the basic form of this prefix being /he-/.

§ 402. /ha-/ seems to share another characteristic with the prefix /nu-/: also /ha-/ can be used alone without a verb, however, not in the form ha, but as hé:

(548) lú Ummakí hé lú kur-ra hé DEn.lılı-le hé-ha-lam-me, /ha-í-ha.lam-e/ ‘Whether he is a man from Umma or a man from the mountains, may Enlil destroy him!’ (Ent. 28 VI 29-32) The same construction is found in Ukg. 1 IV 26-29.

E. Sollberger, 1952 p. 224, understands hé in these cases as an abbreviated form of /ha/ + the verb me, ‘to be’.

For /nu-/, see § 363.

§ 403. Bibliography


The Modal Prefix /ša-/

§ 404. In the Old Sumerian texts there are a few instances of this prefix written šè- or ši-. Otherwise it is attested in the Old Babylonian period only — there are no instances at all in the Gudea texts. In the Old Babylonian texts the prefix is written ša- before prefixes containing the vowel [a] (ba-, -ra-), and before /mu-/, ši- before the prefixes /ī-/ and /bī-/, šu- is rare, but can be found before /mu-/, see A. Falkenstein, 1944 p. 71. In late texts ša- may occur, see Falkenstein, 1944 p. 73.

89. Note that ša- is used although we would expect ši-ra- < /ša-ī-ra-/, like ši-imma- < /ša-ī-ba-/. Cf. ha-ra- in § 394.
§ 405. /ša-/ is found before all conjugation prefixes.\textsuperscript{90}

/ša-/ can be used with both hamtu and marû stem of the verb (cf. D.O. Edzard, 1971a p. 222).

§ 406. The exact meaning of /ša-/ can for the present not be established. Many of the instances are in hymns to gods or royal hymns.

Falkenstein called the prefix /ša-/ ‘affirmative’ (see for instance 1959a p. 50), which is a rather vague description. Moreover, no distinction can be drawn between /ša-/ and the other so-called ‘affirmative prefixes’ like /ha-/ (with hamtu) and na- (with hamtu).

Th. Jacobsen, 1965 p. 73, suggested that /ša-/ is ‘contrapunctive’ meaning ‘correspondingly’, ‘he on his part’: ‘the prefix ši- indicates that the speaker presents the occurrence denoted by the verb as a parallel, corresponding counterpart occurrence to something else.’

Cf. 1965 n.3 p. 73: ‘We base our suggestions about the meaning of the prefix on the remarkable frequency with which two entities are found in counterpart relation with each other in these examples.’

§ 407. Examples

The Old Sumerian instances, all in rather difficult contexts, are the following:

(549) DEn.ki ĝiš BULUG₃ še-šub ‘...’ (Urn. 49 III 6-7) (Cf. M. Civil, 1967 p. 211 n. 33: ĝiš-bux še-šub ‘Enki will put you in a magic circle’)

(550) na.ru-à mu-bî û-a nu mu-bi ši-e the name of the stele is not the name of a man, its name is:’ (Ean. 1 rev. X 23-25)

(551) SAR-âm te-me-nam ki bûr a še-ma-si ‘it is a ... it is a foundation — ... it is filled with water (?)’ (Ukg. 15 I 4-5)

Old Babylonian examples:

(552) kur suku-d-rå-gi₇, su.li-ma ši-bî-in-îl, /ša-bi-n-îl/ ‘I have made it (= the temple) rise in awe like a high mountain’ (Warad-Sin 6, 21)

(553) ur.sag D(aš)Aš₇ .gi₄ -gi₇ rib-ba ama ši-in-ga₃-û.tu₁ (a: var.

\textsuperscript{90} A. Falkenstein quotes an instance of /ša-/ before the affirmative prefix /na-/ (1944 p. 118 = Enlil and Ninlil 13). This form must, however, be read: ša na-mu-un-ri-ri it is the Šemšal form of the verb na...ri, ‘to give counsel’, where ša is the Šemšal form of the noun na.
an-; b: ši-in-ga-an-u₈-du₈), /ša-ī-ga(-)⁻ù.tu-c/ 'one great as its hero Ašgi — what mother will (ever) bear someone (like him)?' (Keš Hymn 19)

(554) ǧá-e ud-ba ša-ba-na-gam-c-dē-en 
         e.ne nam.mah-a-ni ši-im-ma-an-zu-zu-un a
         uru-gin₇ nam.dumu-ǧā b ǧu ši-im-ma-ǧá-ǧá-an c e.ne-ra 
         dug₄-mu-na-ab
         (a: var. om.; b: -ǧu₁₀; c: var. om), /ša-ba-na-gam-ed-en/, 
         /ša-ī-ba-n-zu.zu-en/, /ša-ī-ba-ǧā.ǧā-en/, /dug₄ + mu-na- 
         b/ 'I (on my part?) shall then bow down to him, and he (on 
         his part?) shall make known his superiority, like the city I 
         shall submit (to him) like a son — say so to him!' (Enmerkar 
         and the Lord of Aratta 291-293)

(555) sipa zid lú i.lu düg-ga-ke₄ 
         ur₅⁻ša₄ i.lu ša-ra-ni-ib-bé 
         in.nin níg.nam-ma níg.ku₇.ku₇-da 
         D Inanna ša-zu hé-mu-e-húl-le 
         in.nin tūr-ra ku₄-ra-zu-dē 
         D Inanna tūr ša-mu-u₈-{mu-} da-húl-e 
         /ša-ī-ra-ni-b-e-e/, /ha-mu-e-húl-e/, /ša-mu-e.da-húl-e/ 
         'The good shepherd, the man of the sweet cry, will shout to 
         you; lady, Inanna — with everything, with everything sweet, 
         may he please your heart! Lady, when you enter the sheep- 
         fold, the sheepfold will rejoice in you, Inanna!' (Išme-Dagan 
         Hymn K 11-16)

§ 408. Bibliography

A. Falkenstein, 1944. ‘Untersuchungen zur sumerischen Grammatik. 4: Das af- 
firmative Präformativ ši-/ša-.’. ZA 48: 69-118.

The Modal Prefix /u-/: Prospective

§ 409. The prospective prefix most often occurs as ū-, in OB literary 
texts and later also as u-. When the prefix is followed by the pro- 
nominal elements /-n-/ and /-b-/ or by /-m-/ it is written un-, ub- 
or um-.

In the older periods [u] can change to [a] or [i] under the influence of the following vowel: /u-ba/ > a-ba- (Old Sumerian), /u-bi/ > i-bí- (Gudea texts), see ex. 558.
§ 410. /u-/ may precede all conjugation prefixes; /i/ is, however, always completely deleted. In the Neo-Sumerian texts there are some few examples of /u+al/, see § 354.

§ 411. /u-/ denotes prospective or a condition.\(^91\) As a rule the prefix occurs in hamtu forms only, whereas the following clause most often has a marû form, cf. the ex. 557, 559, 561. In some cases the /u-/ form is followed by a hamtu form, e.g. an affirmative form with /ha-/; cf. ex. 560.

Cf. Gragg, 1973a p. 131: 'The basic function of ū- is to designate the first of a succession of events, without a great deal of precision as to the exact way in which the point of time designated by the ū- clauses relates to the time of the main clause. It is thus similar to the 'conjunctive' or 'gerund' constructions known in a fairly wide variety of languages, especially of the Subject Object Verb Order type. In many contexts the relation between the ū- clause and the main clause can be rendered by a simple 'and then'.'

§ 412. In imperatives the enclitic prefix chain is occasionally written –u, e.g., i.lu ġar–u 'set up a lament!' (Dumuzi's Dream 5), ě ĝál–u\(^a\) (a: –lu) 'open up!' (Inanna's Descent 76). It is, however, not likely that these forms should contain the prospective prefix, since the modal prefixes otherwise do not occur in the imperative. –u, –lu etc. must therefore represent the conjugation prefix /i/ which, in the enclitic position, is changed to [u].\(^92\)

§ 413. The prospective form with /u-/ is used in the introductory passage of letters:

\[(556)\] PN\(_1\) na-bé-a PN\(_2\) -ra ū-na-a-dug\(_4\), /na-ī-b-e-e-a/, /u-ī-na-e-dug\(_4\)/ 'this is what PN\(_1\) (= the sender) says — after you (= the messenger) have said it to PN\(_2\) (= the addressee) (he may do so and so)^93

In the Old Sumerian letter, Enz. 1, the imperative dug\(_4\)-ga-na =

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91. Gragg, 1968 p. 107 n. 8, calls it 'subordinating prefix', cf. further: 'ū is probably to be considered not a member of Mdl [= Modal prefixes], but a sentence-initial element which gets shifted to prefix position.'

92. Th. Jacobsen, 1965 p. 75, regards this /u/ as an independent prefix occurring exclusively in imperatives: 'mark of limited persistence'.

93. Instances of these introductory passages can be found in E. Sollberger, TCS I, and Ali, 1964.
/dug₄ + Ⱏ-na-/ 'say it to him' replaces the /u-/ form; in Akkadian letters the imperative qibîma 'say it' is always used. Note also that 2.sg. forms with /u-/ in late texts are translated by Akkadian imperatives (see A. Poebel, GSG § 412 p. 152).

Cf. Falkenstein, GSGL II p. 213: 'Da mit u- Formen aller Personen gebildet werden können, ist die übliche akkadische Wiedergabe der am häufigsten belegten 2.ps.sg. durch den Imperativ + satzverbindendes -ma 'und dann' als eine idiomatische Darstellung des sumerischen Satzverbandes zu erkennen, die es nicht gestattet, das Präformativ u- als Wunschpartikel oder Imperativzeichen zu werten.'

§ 414. Examples:

(557) dumu-uku₂-rá-ke₄ HAR.SAGxHA-na û-ak ku₆-bi lú nu-ba-da₃-kar-ré, /u-î-(n-)ak/, /nu-ba-ta-kar-e/ 'provided a dumu-uku has made a fish pond(?), no one shall take its fish away' (Ukg. 6 III 6-9)

(558) Ġir.su₃ ki é saq ki Lagunaški-še ǧiri₃-zu ki i-bi-ús, é-nîg-ga-r₃za ki kisib û-mi-kür, ǧiş û-ma-ta-ǧar (... ...) tur dug₄-ga-zu mah dug₄-ga-âm šu ba-a-ši-ib-ti, /u-bi-(n-)ûs/, /u-î-bi-(n-)kûr/, /u-î-ba-ta-(n-)gâr/, /ba-e.sî-b-ti(,g+e?)/ '(the goddess Nanše speaks:) When you have reached Ġirsu, the chief temple of Lagaš (lit.: when your foot has reached), when you have broken the seal of your treasury, when you have brought forth the wood from it (...), then he will receive from you your little word as a great word'

(... ...) ǧiş-hur é-a-na ma-ra-pâd-pâd-dê /mu-DAT.2.sg.-pâd. pâd-e/ 'then he will let you know all the plans of his house' (Gudea, cyl. A VI 15 - VII 6)

(559) mûr.nîg.dug ird Ǝ.lû-ta û-mu-du₈, ba-ra-ba-g[i₄]-gi₄-d]è, /u-mu-(e-)du₈/, /bara-ba-gi₄-gi₄-ed-en/ 'when you have released Urnigdug, the slave, from Elu, I shall indeed never return (in this case)' (NG nr. 28, 9-10)

(560) î́d Digna î́d ǧâl-la DUt₄-ke₄ û.ma-ɠu₁₀-ta gal-bi hé-em-mi-ba.al

ki.sur.ra.in.dub libir-ra ka-bi um-mi-tum₄
a.gam.ma-bi-šè si gal hé-em-mi-sá
/ha-î-bi-ba.al/, /u-î-bi-tum₄/, /ha-î-bi-sá/ 'I dug the Tigris, the wide river of Utu, in my triumph in a great way, (and) after having led its mouth into the old river bed, I made it
straight into the marsh in a splendid way’ (Sin-iddinam 6 II 4-11)

(561) ša im ugu abzu-ka uesta-mu-e-ni-in-šár, sig₇-en-sig₇-du₇g im mu-e-kir-kir-re-ne, /u-mu-e-ni-in-šár/, /mu-e-kir.kir-ene/ ‘when you have kneaded the heart of the clay of Abzu, Sig-en and Sig-dug will nip the clay off’ (Enki and Ninmah 3-4) Both verbal forms do not fit our pattern, we would expect: /u-mu-ni-e-šár/ and /mu-(b-)kir.kir-ene/.

The Modal Prefix /iri-/  
§ 415. Meaning and Occurrences

The instances of this prefix are rather few and almost all from the Old Babylonian literary texts or later.⁹⁴ /iri-/ occurs in marû forms of the compound verb mí...dug₄ ‘to praise’, and it is not possible to define the meaning of the prefix.

It is written i-ri- or i-rî-, and irî- (= URU).

§ 416. Examples:

(562) mí zid iri-ga-à-m-e-e, /iri-i-ga-m-e-e/ ‘he praises’ (Ur III: 6 N-T 547 IV 9-10, cited by Sjöberg, 1973b p. 43 and Römer, 1975 p. 4)

(563) nin-e ni-te-a-ni mí zid iri-in-ga-àm-me, /iri-i-ga-m-e-e/ ‘The lady praises herself’ (Nungal Hymn 62)

(564) Lugal.bàn-da ... mušen-e mí i-ri-im-me, (var: i-ri-in-), /iri-i-m-e-e/ ‘Lugalbanda praises the bird’ (Lugalbanda and En-merkar 111-113)

§ 417. Bibliography

Instances of /iri-/ are listed in:


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⁹⁴. Two occurrences of ere- (written URU) in OS may be understood either as /iri-/, or as /i-ri-/, the latter containing the 2.sg. locative-terminative element. Because of the difficult context and considering that neither iri- nor -ri- occur elsewhere in the OS texts, it seems, however, impossible to determine it further. Ean. 1 VII 7-11: rás-zi-da-rans DUtú ere-é sag-ki-za NE.DU.GL.ÚŠ ere-kēš ‘at your right Utu will rise for you, at your forehead he will tie ...’ (for the translation, see Th. Jacobsen, 1976b p. 253 and note 28).
The Modal Prefix /nuš-/  
§ 418. Normally this prefix is written nu-uš- before /i-/., /mu-/, /ba-/
and /bi-/ (ex. 567-568). Less common are the writings ni-iš- or ni-
iš-.95

(565) ni-iš-ku-le (Jacobsen, 1954 p. 82: I 6, Emesal)
(566) ni-iš-mi-ni-gáš (CT XV pl. 14 rev. 12, Emesal) Cf. nu-uš-
bí-in-tuku in the same line.

§ 419. /nuš-/ occurs exclusively in literary texts from the Old Baby-
lonian period or later. It can be combined with all conjugation pre-
xixes except /m-/. Both hamtu and marû forms are attested. It seems
to occur exclusively in direct speech.

§ 420. /nuš-/ seems, at least in some cases, to denote a hypothetical
wish: 'if only ...', 'were it but that ...'. Since the prefix occurs in
about thirty forms only, most of them in very difficult context,
there is some uncertainty as to the exact meaning and analysis of it.
It is thus not clear whether /nuš-/ contains the negative prefix /nu-/,
as suggested by the translation, admittedly rather late, in NBGT II
15-16: nu-uš = lu-ma-an AN.TA ('now! — prefix'), = ú-ul AN.TA
('not — prefix'). If /nuš-/ does contain the negative /nu-/, ex. 568
may be translated 'couldn't you tell me ...', but in other cases a nega-
tive translation does not make sense.

Römer, 1976 p. 377, suggests both a positive and a negative meaning of
/nuš-/, but states: 'Es läßt sich meistens auch nicht sicher entscheiden, ob die
Bedeutung(snüance) 'Wäre (usw.) doch ...!' oder 'Leider ... nicht!' vorliegt.'

§ 421. Examples:

(567) ud-ba giš-ellag-ğu₁₀ é nagar-ra-ka nu-uš-ma-da-ğáš-âm,
/nuš-mu-DAT.1.sg.-da-ğáš-am/ 'if only my ellag were left
in the house of the carpenter' (Gilgameš, Enkidu and the
Netherworld 172, the Akkadian text has: u₄-ma pu-uk-ku
ina bīt ūnaggāri lu-ú e-z[ib])
(568) nu-uš-ma-ab-bé-en, /nuš-mu-DAT.1.sg.-b-e-en/ 'if only

95. In Exaltation of Inanna 55: munus-bi dam-a-ni-ta šag₅-ga nam-da-ab-bé ‘its
woman shall talk pleasantly with her husband', a variant has: na-aš-an-da-
ab-bé. However, since the following parallel lines have the prohibitive /na-/ 
prefix, it seems rather doubtful whether na-aš- here represents /nuš-/.
you could tell me' (Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld 247, the Akkadian text has: *ul a-qab-ba-ku* 'I cannot tell you')

§ 422. Bibliography


THE CASE ELEMENTS OF THE PREFIX CHAIN

Introduction

§ 423. Some cases, the so-called dimensional cases, can be incorporated in the prefix chain of finite verbal forms. These cases are: dative, comitative, terminative, ablative, and locative. In principle the case elements have the same shape as the corresponding postpositions and only minor changes in writing and pronunciation occur.

The rank of the case elements in the prefix chain is between the conjugation prefixes and the pronominal element serving as subject/object mark; for the order of the case elements see § 427.

In this section the morphology and syntax of the case elements are dealt with as well as their relations to specific verbs. For the meaning of the cases in general, see Cases, §§ 156-220.

§ 424. Terminology

The case elements of the prefix chain are most often called 'infixes' or 'dimensional infixes' by the sumerologists. However, since they do not act as infixes in the stem but merely as members of the chain of grammatical elements preceding the verbal root, 'case elements' or 'case prefixes' are used here as the most appropriate terms.

Rules for the occurrence of the case prefixes

§ 425. The occurrences of the case elements in the prefix chain have mostly been regarded as more or less due to simple concord between the postpositions of the nouns in the sentence and the prefixes in the chain.

Cf. Sollberger, 1952 p. 61f.: 'L'une des particularités du sumérien consiste à reprendre dans le complexe verbal les relations grammaticales déjà exprimées dans le complexe nominal' (...) 'Ce procédé donne au complexe verbal le caractère d'un véritable résumé de la phrase entière.' (...) 'l'emploi de l'incorporation est loin d'être obligatoire, et bien souvent le complexe verbal apparaît sans aucun élément incorporé. Il semble bien que le choix entre les deux
procédés ressortissait à la stylistique, l’emploi de l’incorporation correspondant généralement à la mise en relief des relations grammaticales ainsi reprises dans le complexe verbal.’


In his study of the case elements in the OB literary texts: Sumerian Dimensional Infixes, G.B. Gragg has shown that the independence between postpositions and case prefixes is greater than hitherto assumed:

‘while concord does play a part in the placing of infixes (especially the dative and locative), the infixes also function independently of concord to a much greater extent than has been recognized by current theories. In this latter role it will be shown that infixes often function either as quasi-autonomous units or, more frequently, the semantic differentiation of different individual verbal stems’ (SDI p. 10).

Although Gragg based his investigation almost exclusively on OB literary texts, his conclusions appear to be valid for earlier texts as well. In fact the system of case prefixes seems to work much the same way in all periods, even if the rection of certain verbs may have changed. In the present study I shall therefore follow the view of Gragg as outlined in the quotation above. Also the statements given below according to the semantic range of the various case prefixes are based on his work.

§ 426. A case element occurs in the prefix chain under the following circumstances, cf. G.B. Gragg, SDI p. 13:

a) as a result of concord with Noun + Postposition in the sentence. In this way the dative and locative prefixes are used, e.g., (e.ne-ra) mu-na-an-sum ‘he has given it to him’ (the pronoun is mostly
deleted, cf. § 94), lugal-ra mu-na-an-sum 'he has given it to the king'.
b) serving semantic differentiation of the verb: especially ablative and
terminative belong to this category and are often used in order to
stress the orientation or motion of the verb. There may be con-
cord between prefix and noun complement, but the presence of
one (postposition or prefix) does not necessarily imply the presence
of the other.

dal 'to fly', with -ši- 'to fly towards' (SDI p. 24)
gi₄ has the basic meaning 'to return', with -ni- 'to answer',
with -ši- 'to send' (SDI p. 25)
igi...bar, often with NOUN+šē but without -ši-: 'to look at',
with -ši-: 'to gaze at some object in a certain manner'
(SDI p. 20f.).

c) as an independent unit which could occur with all verbs, e.g. -da-
'to be able'. There is no concord (cf. SDI p. 53ff.):

(569) kin.gi₄a ka-ni dugud šu nu-mu-un-da-an-gi₄-gi₄ 'The mes-
enger whose mouth is heavy is not able to repeat it' (Enmer-
kar and the Lord of Aratta 501)

§ 427. The Order of the Case Elements

The order of the case elements in the prefix chain is the following:

MOD – CONJ – Dative – \( \overset{\text{da}^a}{\text{(com.)}} \) – \( \overset{\text{ši}}{\text{(term.)}} \) \( \overset{\text{ta}^b}{\text{(abl.)}} \) \( \overset{\text{ni}^c}{\text{(loc.)}} \) – PRON – VERB

a) /-da-ni-/ > -di-ni- (cf. § 441).
b) Ablative occurs also as -ra-, -ta-ra- and -da-ra-ta-, see below §§ 465-
467.
c) In OB -ri- occurs for 2.sg. (§ 478).

Terminative and ablative mutually exclude each other.

As can be seen from the chart a verbal form may theoretically have
at the most four case prefixes but normally there are only one or
two. Three or four case elements in the prefix chain are exceptions,
 cf. for instance:

(570) e-na-ta-ni-è 'he let go out for him from there' (Ent. 41 IV
  2)
(571) mu-na-ra-ni-è-eš ‘they came out for him from there’ (NG nr. 127, 16)

§ 428. The Pronominial Reference of the Case Prefixes

According to A. Poebel and A. Falkenstein the reference of the case prefixes is denoted by a pronominal element preceding the case element, and they assumed individual pronominal elements for all persons: -?-, -e-, -n-, -b-, -me-, -e-ene-, -ene- (see Poebel, GSG p. 188ff., Falkenstein, 1959a p. 47). It was, however, demonstrated above (§ 290) that only three pronominal prefixes do exist, namely:

(a) /-e-/, denoting the 2.sg., e.g.,

(572) za-a-da ša-mu-e-da-ġal, /ša-mu-e.da-ġal/ ‘it is with you’
(Šu-ilîšu Hymn A 20)

Sometimes /-e-/ is used for the 1.sg. too:

(573) á še mu-e-da-a-āg, /mu-e.da-e-āg/ ‘you have instructed me’ (Letter A 1, 8)

For the writing of /-e-/, see § 291.

(b) /-n-/, animate. 3.sg.:

(574) DEn.lîl-le igi zid mu-un-šî-in-bar, /mu-n.šî-n-bar/ ‘Enlil has looked faithfully upon him’ (Iddin-Dagan Hymn B 5)

(c) /-b-/, inanimate:

(575) lú E.an-na-ta ûb-ta-ab-è-è-a, /ûb.ta-b-è.e-è-a/ ‘the man who takes it out of Eanna’ (Gudea, St. C IV 5-6)

im-CASE-... has been regarded as coming from /i-b-CASE/ (cf. for instance A. Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 195), but /-m-/ is apparently an independent morpheme, see § 329ff. above.

Comitative and terminative occur with all pronominal prefixes. Ablative-instrumental, however, only with /-b-/, since this case has inanimate reference only.

The dative prefix is the only case prefix which distinguishes all persons by different morphemes (see § 431). The 3.sg.an. -na-, probably contains the pronominal element /-n-/. The case prefixes -ni-, locative, and -ra-, ablative, do not occur with the pronominal prefixes, but -ni- has a special 2.sg. form, -ri-, in the Old Babylonian literary texts (see § 478).
Case prefixes referring to the 1., 2. and 3. person plural are extremely rare. /-me-/ which Poebel and Falkenstein classified as the pronominal element for the 1.pl., seems to occur as the 1.pl. dative prefix exclusively, cf., however,

\[(576) \, \text{á \, ba-me-da-an-āg, /ba-me.da-n-āg/ 'he has instructed us'}\n\]
\[(\text{Samsuiluna C 78 = Sollberger, 1969b p. 35; the Akkadian text has: ú-wa-'ē-ra-an-ni-a-ti})\]

The pronominal elements are often omitted in the writing, especially in the earlier stages of the language, and even in the Old Babylonian literary texts they are not written in all cases where they are expected to occur, cf. § 289. We cannot say whether this is due simply to the scribal usage and for the sake of convenience or whether it has some semantic or grammatical significance when the pronominal elements are omitted or not. It seems most logical to assume that the pronominal element is always present, even if it is not written. The choice of the conjugation prefix immediately preceding the case prefix may, however, to some extent replace the the pronominal element, cf. the next paragraph.

**Conjugation Prefixes Before Case Elements**

§ 429. The reference of the case prefix is important for the choice of the conjugation prefix immediately preceding the case prefix. Thus /mu-/ occurs before prefixes referring to a person, /ba-/ before case prefixes with inanimate reference. This rule is rather consistently carried through in the Gudea texts and to some extent also in the OB literary texts.

The prefix /i-/ can also be used before both animate and inanimate reference, and the difference between for instance mu-na-an-sum and in-na-an-sum, both 'he has given it to him', is not evident.

The conjugation prefix /-m-/ may occur immediately before -da-, -ši-, or -ta-, but not before any other case prefix. /-m-/ seems to occur exclusively or predominantly before case prefixes with inanimate reference.

Whereas /mu-/ and /ba-/ stand before the pronominal element of the case prefix, /-m-/ cannot occur with a pronominal element, but rather replaces it.

The meaning of /-m-/ is not entirely clear, but it probably denotes
ventive (cf. §§ 330-331). /-m-/ with case prefix may thus emphasize the direction, whereas /-b-CASE+/ and /ba-CASE-/ only denote inanimate reference.

§ 430. Examples:

(577) á šed₁₀-bi-šē ní hé-eb-ši-te-en-te(-en), /ha-ɪ-b.ši-te.en.te (.en-e)/ 'let him relax in its cool arms' (Šulgi Hymn A 33)
(578) Ak.kā-šē ga-àm-ši-DU, /ga-ɪ-m-ši-DU/ 'I will send him to Aka' (Gilgameš and Aka 54)
(579) ki di.kud-ru-bi-šē digir an-ki-a im-ši-gam-e-dē-eš, /i-m-ši-gam-ed-eš/ 'the gods of heaven and earth will bow down to the place where judgement is pronounced' (Nungal 35)
(580) gal₅.lá-zu im-ši-re₇-eš, /i-m-ši-re₇-eš/ 'your demons are coming here (or: towards you ?)' (Dumuzi's Dream 90)
(581) inim nin-a-na-šē saq keš ba-ši-[in-ak], /ba-ši-n-ak/ 'he paid attention to the words of his mistress' (Inanna's Descent 124)

Dative

§ 431. The dative is the only case prefix which has different prefixes for every person. According to the traditional theory (cf. § 428), these prefixes are expected to consist of a pronominal element and the case element. The latter seems here to be /-a-/; probably identical with the locative postposition which serves as dative prefix instead of the postposition -ra. The 3.sg. an. -na- can thus be analysed /-n-a-/, and the 1.sg. ma- is simply the conjugation prefix /mu-/ + /-a-/; since the 1.sg. has no special pronominal element. The other prefixes can, however, not be explained within this pattern.

Cf. Gragg, SDI p. 84f.

1.sg.    ma- < /mu-a-/    1.pl.    -me-
2.sg.    -ra-            2.pl.    ?
3.sg.an. -na- < /-n-a-/    3.pl.    -ne-

§ 432. 1.sg.: ma-. The conjugation prefix /mu-/ is obligatory before the dative of the 1.sg., and it always occurs in the form ma-. If it is preceded by a modal prefix, it may be confused with /i-ba-/ > ima-, e.g., nu-ma... can be both /nu-mu-DAT.1.sg.-/ and /nu-i-ba-/ (cf. § 304).
ma-an-dug₄, /mu-DAT.1.sg.-n-dug₄/ 'he has spoken to me'

§ 433. 2.sg.: -ra-. It is striking that this prefix is identical with the dative postposition -ra, but this is probably incidental. According to the traditional theory the original form of this prefix is */-e-a-/, and Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 200, explained [r] as 'Hiatustilger'. Gragg, SDI p. 84, on the other hand, interprets [r] as the pronominal element for the 2.sg., which is also found in the case prefix -ri- (see below § 478). Gragg moreover suggested that this element could be connected with the deictic element */-r-/ in -ri.

If no modal prefix occurs in the verbal form, /mu-/ is obligatory before -ra- and always changed to ma- in the Gudea texts. In OB lit. texts both ma-ra- and mu-ra- can be found:

(582) ma-ra-an-dug₄ = /mu-ra-n-dug₄/ 'he has spoken to you'
(e.g. Gudea, cyl. A V 18)

(583) gu₂ zid mu-ra-an-dé = /mu-ra-n-dé/ 'he has spoken faithfully to you' (Iddin-Dagan Hymn B 6)

After a modal prefix mu- is often deleted and probably replaced by the prefix /i-/; e.g.,

(584) ha-ra-ab-sum-mu = /ha-i-ra-b-sum-e/ 'may he give it to you' ⁹⁵a

/mu-/ is dropped in both Gudea and OB lit. texts.

The prefix -ri-, which occurs in OB lit. texts only, is most probably the 2.sg. counterpart to the locative prefix -ni-. In some cases, however, it occurs parallel to dative, cf. § 478.

§ 434. 3.sg.an.: -na-. This prefix may change to -ne- in some instances according to vowel harmony, but, as it seems, only in OB and later texts, e.g.,

(585) û-ne-dë-dah = /u-i-na-da-e-dah/ 'when you have added to him' (Letter to Nanna 7). Also û-na-dë-dah is found, for instance Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 243, cf. Gragg, SDI p. 82.

⁹⁵a. We would expect hé- before the prefix /i/, cf. hé-da-du = /ha-i-da-du/ 'let it come with it' (Gudea, cyl. A XI 11); nam hé-ma-kud-e = /ha-i-ba-kud-e/ 'may she curse him' (Gudea, Stat. C IV 12), but hé-ra-... is never found. Is this an indication therefore that a conjugation prefix may be altogether missing and should the form be analysed /ha-ra-b-sum-e/?
§ 435. 1.pl.: -me-. This prefix was previously understood as the pronominal element for 1.pl. The dative prefix was thus expected to be */-me-a-/, ‘for us’. -me- is infrequently attested, but almost always as a dative prefix:

(586) sum-me-eb, /sum + (mu-)me-b/ ‘give it to us’ (Inanna’s Descent 248 = 275 = 278; var. sum-me-ab)

(587) hé-me-ús, /ha-ī-me-ús/ ‘let him follow us’ (Dialogue 2, 187, var.: hé-mi-in-, cf. Gragg, SDI p. 84)

-me- as a pronominal element occurs, however, in: á ba-me-da-an-ág ‘he has instructed us’ (= ex. 576 above, Samsuilune C 78), but this text is a rather late royal inscription.

Note that -me- also may stand for /mu-e(2.sg.)-/, cf. above § 336.

§ 436. 2.pl.? No independent prefix of the 2.pl. dative is attested. When it is supposed to occur, either the singular form is used or a combination of prefix and the suffix */enzen/,. It is uncertain whether this is the original form of this prefix or whether it is a device of the Old Babylonian scribes. The inconsistencies of the form argue for the latter possibility, but the instances are too few to settle this problem.

(588) di̇gir hé-me-en-zé-en nim ga-mu-ra-an-dug₄, /ha-ī-me-enzen/, /ga-mu-ra(dat.2.sg.)-n-dug₄/ ‘if you(pl.) are gods, I will say you something’ (Inanna’s Descent 242 = I. 269 with the variants: [ga]-mu-ri-d[ug₄]; ga-mu-ra-an-dug₄-en-zé-en) Cf. I. 246 and 247:

(589) a īd-bi a-mu-un-na-ba-e-neᵃ (a-a: ma-ra-ba(-ne)) ‘if they offer you(pl.) a river as a drink’

(590) uzu níg-sig-ga 𒈹kak-ta lá-a im-ma-da-ab-sum-mu-zé-en, /ī-ba-ta-b-sum-enzen/ ‘they (or she?) will give you(pl.) the corpse that is hanging on the hook’ (Inanna’s Descent 251)

(591) e-neᵃ ta-gin₇ bnam-ma-ra-ab-zé-ēm-e[n-zé-en]ᵇ (a: en; b-b: nam-mi-ni-zé-ēm-[zé-en]), /na-mu-ra(dat.)-b-sum-enzen/, /na-ī-bi-ni-sum-enzen/ ‘how could I give her to you?’ (Inanna’s Descent 327, this line is repeated in 337 and 346 with the following variants: nam-ma-ra-ni-ib-zé-ēmmēn (= 337), nam-ma-ra-ab-zé-ēm-zé-en (= 346) It is also possible to read ta-gin₇-nam ma-ra-ab-zé-ēm-zé-en-zé-en = /mu-DAT.2.sg.-b-sum-enzen/, see D.O. Edzard, 1976b p. 162 + n. 8)
§ 437. 3.pl. : -ne-. The 3.pl. dative prefix occurs always as -ne-. According to the traditional theory the original form was */-ene-a-/, but such a form is not attested (cf. GSGL I p. 200).

(592) mu-ne-ni-du, /mu-ne-ni-n-du/ 'he has built it there for them' (Ukg. 1 II 14)

(593) di gin-re-e-ne-er mu-ne-gub-bu-nam, /mu-ne-gub-en-am/ 'I have been standing before the gods' (Ur-Nammu's Death 156)

(594) nam hé-en-ne-éb-tar-re, /ha-í-ne-b-tar-e/ 'may she decide the fate for them' (Rim-Sin 4, 28)

The Use of the Dative Prefix

§ 438. The dative prefix can be used with a large group of verbs, namely all verbs denoting an action which can be done for or in favor of somebody. According to Gragg, SDI p. 81-92, there are the following verbs with dative:

Verbs of giving, e.g., sum 'to give', ba 'to give as a ration'.
Verbs of speaking; e.g., dug₄ 'to speak', gi₄ 'to answer', dah 'to add'.
Verbs of motion, e.g., è 'to go out', ku₄.r 'to enter'.
Verbs of 'action-towards', e.g., gam 'to bow down'.
Verbs of emotion, e.g., šag₅ 'to be pleasing for', gig 'to pain'.
Verbs of doing for (ethical dative) and verbs signifying 'a consciously undertaken, goal-directed activity' (Gragg, SDI p. 91).

Verbs which cannot take dative prefix are either verbs denoting an action which cannot be done for somebody like zu 'to know', or verbs taking another case prefix, e.g., -ni-, even if the nominal complement has dative postposition. For instance: nam...tar 'to decide the fate', sağ-e-eš....rig₇ 'to grant' (see Gragg, SDI p. 88).

§ 439. The dative prefix is, like the dative postposition -ra, restricted to animate beings. An inanimate 'goal' has mostly locative or terminative, cf. for instance:

(595) e-[ne-]ra nam-uru₂-na mu(-un)-na-te, /mu-na-te/ 'she approached him for the sake of his city' (Ur Lament 82), but:

(596) Arattaki-aš ba-te 'he approached Aratta' (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 171)
(597) DEn.Il lugal kur–kur–ra–ra Nibrukišè hé-na-ab–de₆, /ha–i-na-b–de₆/ ‘(the boat) has indeed brought it to Enlil, the king of all the foreign lands, to Nippur’ (Enki and the World Order 130) Note that the terminative is not incorporated in the prefix chain in these cases.

§ 440. Bibliography


Comitative

§ 441. The basic form of the comitative prefix is /-da-/ , identical with the comitative postposition. In the prefix chain it may change to -dè- or -di- (see also Gragg, SDI p. 40ff.):

/da/ is assimilated to the vowel of the following prefix:
/-da-ni-/ > -dí-ni- or -di-ni-. This alternation occurs already in OS (for instance šu nu-dí-ni-bal-e, Ukg. 34, 1).
/-da-e-/ > -dè- and -de₄- (OB lit. texts).

(598) û-na₄–dè–dah (a: -ne-), /u-î-na-da-e-dah/ ‘when you have added to him’ (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 114)

/da/ may also be assimilated to the vowel of the preceding prefix, but this is less common:
/ba-e.da-/ > ba-e-da–, ba-e-dè–, ba-e-di– (OB lit.). According to the rules for the occurrence of the conjugation prefixes /ba-/ should not occur before a case prefix referring to an animate being, and ba-e-da– is thus not found in older texts.

(599) nir hu-mu-u₈–dè–gāl, /ha-mu-e.da–gāl/ ‘you have indeed authority’ (Šu-ilিশu Hymn A 33)
(600) mu-e-dè–zu–un, /mu-e.da–zu–en/ ‘she will learn it from you’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 13, /-en/ seems inexplicable)

In some cases there seems to be no reason for the change -da- > -dè-:
(601) mu-un-dè₄–gēn (a: -da–), /mu-n.da–gēn/ ‘he travelled with
him’ (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratna 162). See Gragg, SDI p. 46 for further examples.

§ 442. 1.sg.: /mu-da-/.

(602) ha-mu-da-gub, /ha-mu-da-gub/ ‘may she stand by me’
     (Gudea, cyl. A III 24 and I 25)
(603) á-še mu-e-da-a-a-áăg, /mu-e-da-e-áăg/ ‘you have instructed me’ (Letter A 1, 8)

§ 443. 2.sg.: /-e.da-/.

Cf. above § 441 for possible phonetic alternations.

(604) nu-mu-ù-da-zu, /nu-mu-e-da-zu/ ‘I have not learned it from you’ (Gudea, cyl. A VIII 22)
(605) amaš ša-mu-u₅-da-húl-e, /ša-mu-e-da-húl-e/ ‘the sheepfold rejoices over you’ (Išme-Dagan Hymn K 18)
(606) ka,aš bar-re-da za-a-da ša-mu-e-da-ĝál, /ša-mu-e.da-ĝál/ ‘to make decisions is with you’ (Šu-ilišu Hymn A 20)

§ 444. 3.sg.an.: /-n.da-/.

(607) mu-un-da-gu₇-e, /mu-n.da-gu₇-en/ ‘you will eat it together with him’ (Dumuzi and Enkimdu 18)
(608) mu-un-dë₇-re₇₃-eš-am (a: -da-, -ši-; b: -re₇₃-re-; c: -a),
     /mu-n.da-ere-eš-am/ ‘they who went with him’ (Gilgamesh, Enki and the Netherworld 145)
(609) di in-da-an-dug₄, /i-n.da-n-dug₄/ ‘he was involved in a lawsuit with him’ (NG nr. 77, 16)

§ 445. Inanimate: /(ba)-da-/ , /-m-da-, /-b.da-/.

(610) ad im-da-gi₄-gi₄, /i-m-da-gi₄-gi₄-e/ ‘he takes counsel with it’ (Gudea, cyl. A V 1)
(611) enkar šibir ġi₄ši₄.nu nam.sipa-da zig-da hé-em-dë-gub,
     /ha-i-m-da-e-gub/ ‘you have indeed placed by your side the šibir-weapon and the manu-staff of the shepherds’ (Enki
     and the World Order 431)
(612) šu-zu₄ ka-zu nu-ub-da-sá (a: var. om.), /nu-i-b-da-sá/
     ‘your hand is not equal to your mouth’ (Dialogue 1, 53 =
     CT XLII nr. 47 obv. II 9 = SLTN: 116 obv. 2)
For ba-da- see § 449.

1. and 2.plural are not attested.

§ 446. 3.pl.: -PI-. In the Old Sumerian economic texts there are a few instances of a prefix -PI-, apparently denoting comitative 3.pl.: (613) En.ig.gal nu.banda šu-HA ab-ba-ke₄-ne é.mi-a dub-bi e-PI-bal gú-ne-ne-a e-ne-ĝar, /i-PI-(n-)bal/, /i-ne-(n-)ĝar/ ‘En-iggal, the inspector, went over the account with the salt-water fishermen in the é.mi and placed it on their neck (i.e. ‘on their account’);96 (DP 278 VII 5-11)

Compare the form with singular case prefix: (614) En.ig.gal nu.banda dub-bi e-da-bal gú-na e-ni-ĝar (AWL nr. 184 II 5 - III 3)

Other forms are: e-PI-ĝål, i-PI-ĝål, ba-PI-lá and na ba-PI-ri; possibly also the personal name e-PI-tuš. For references see A. Poebel, 1931 p. 16f.; p. 19 with n.1; E. Sollberger 1952 p. 100f.

Poebel, 1931 p. 16ff., suggested a reading -be- < /-be-d-/ < /-bi-da-/ for -PI-, and Falkenstein, 1957-58 p. 94f., -neda- < /-ene-da-. None of these proposals harmonize with the system of the pronominal elements outlined here. However, because of lack of evidence the reading of -PI- cannot be established.97

The Use of the Comitative Prefix

§ 447. The comitative prefix is more frequent than the postposition. Cooccurrences of prefix and postposition are rare (cf. § 191 and Gragg, SDI p. 53). Most verbs which can denote actions performed together with somebody can take comitative prefix, see for instance ex. 601, 602, 607. Other verbs are: a.da.min...ak ‘to compete with’, du₁₄...ak ‘to quarrel with’, dug₄ ‘to speak with, to converse’, sá ‘to compete with, to be equal to’ (ex. 612).

96. For the meaning of dub-bi...bal with comitative, see Westenholz, ECTJ p. 50f.
97. Note that -PI- and -da- alternate in another context in Sumerian texts from Old Akkadian Nippur: su-PI-um and su-DA-um which seems to be a title of some sort. (SR nr. 56 IV 4; nr. 85 rev. 7; BIN VIII 203, 9. Cf. Edzard, 1964 p. 276.)
Verbs of emotion also take comitative prefix, for instance: saq.ki...gíd ‘to be angry with’, húl ‘to rejoice over’ (ex. 605), šà...kúš.ù ‘to soothe the heart’, ní...ri ‘to be afraid of something/somebody’, saq...siq ‘to tremble’, šaq5 ‘to be pleasing to’, ní...te ‘to be afraid of’, su...siq ‘to be afraid of’.

Cf. Gragg, SDI p. 62-64.

Other verbs which regularly take /-da-/ are: á...ág ‘to instruct’ (ex. 603), ság...dug4 ‘to scatter’, ad...gi4 ‘to take counsel’ (ex. 610), nir...gál ‘to have authority’ (ex. 599), mú ‘to grow’, si ‘to fill with’, zu ‘to know from’ (ex. 604).

For the uses of -da- see also Gragg, SDI p. 53-66.

§ 448. The comitative prefix is moreover used in the sense ‘to be able to’ (cf. Gragg, SDI p. 53-55):

1.sg. /-mu-da-.../ ‘I am able to’
2.sg. /...-e-da-.../ ‘you are able to’
3.sg.an. /...-n-da-.../ ‘he/she is able to’

Cf. NBGT I 399-402 (= MSL IV p. 145): da = le-e-ú ‘to be able to’, mu-da = e-li-i ‘I am able to’, e-da = te-li-i ‘you are able to’, an-da = i-li-i ‘he is able to’.

(615) é mu-da-ba-e-e[n], /mu-da-ba-en/ ‘I can divide the estate’ (Dialogue 3, 29 = UET VI/2, 150: 29)


(617) kin.gi4.a (...) šu nu-mu-un-da-an-gi4-gi4, /nu-mu-n.da-gi4.gi4-(e)/ ‘the messenger cannot repeat it’ (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 501)

§ 449. In some cases -da- occurs where -ta- is expected, or -da- and -ta- may alternate. For instance with the verbs ud...zal ‘to pass the day’, kar ‘to flee’ and kud ‘to cut’:

(618) ud 2 ud 3 nu-ma-da-ab-zal, /nu-i-ba-ta-b-zal/ ‘he did not let two nor three days pass’ (Gudea, cyl. A XXIII 2)

(619) ud im-di-ni-ib-zal-e, /i-m-ta-ni-b-zal-e/ ‘he spends the days’ (Enki and the World Order 30)
(620) ud 3 ǧi₆₃ aum-ta³-zal-la-ta, (a-a: ba-), /u-ī-m-ta-zal-a-ta/ 'after three days and three nights had passed' (Inanna’s Descent 173)
(621) gal₃.lá-ǧu₁₀ ga-ba-da-kar, /ga-ba-ta-kar/ 'let me escape my demons' (Inanna’s Descent 375)
(622) še ba-da-an-kud, /ba-ta-n-kud/ 'he cut the grain' (Curse of Akkade 126), but:
(623) á-ni hé-eb-ta-kud, /ha-ī-b.ta-kud/ 'may his strength be cut off' (Curse of Akkade 248)

These occurrences of -da- instead of expected -ta- can be regarded as graphic or phonetic variants (cf. A. Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 215), or as expression of a different understanding of the verb. See D.O. Edzard, SR p. 138, who interpreted zāh ‘to run away’ with -da- as: '(sich) mit/bei jemanden (befinden und von ihm) weglauen'.

Gene B. Gagg, SDI p. 47ff., observed that there are very few instances of ba-ta-... in the Old Babylonian literary texts, whereas ba-da-... occurs frequently and often where /-ta-/ is expected. He therefore concluded that ba-da- comes from /ba-ta-/ and that ba-da- < /ba-da-/ does not occur, at least only exceptionally. In the Gudea texts, on the contrary, forms with ba-ta- are more numerous than ba-da-... It thus seems that /ba-/ can precede the ablative /-ta-/, but not, or rarely, the comitative /-da-/. Both ba-da- and ba-ta- may therefore stand for /ba-ta-/. At least some of the unexpected instances of -da- in the examples above can be explained according to this theory.

§ 450. Bibliography


Terminative

§ 451. In the OS texts the terminative prefix is orthographically identical with the postposition namely written -šē-, with the exception of a few cases where it is written -ši-. After the Old Sumerian period it is always written -ši-.
§ 452. 1.sg.: /mu-ši-/  
(624) sag.ki zalag-ga-ni ŋá(-a)-še hu-mu-ši-in-zig, /ha-mu-ši-n-zig/ ‘she has indeed lifted her bright face toward me’ (Išme-Dagan Hymn D 106)

§ 453. 2.sg.: /-e.ši-/  
(625) tur dug₄-ga-zu mah dug-ga-âm šu ba-a-ši-ti, /ba-e.ši-b-ti(-e)/ ‘he will receive from you your little word like a great word’ (Gudea, cyl. A VII 3) We would expect /mu-e-ši-/; but that ba-a-ši- here means ‘to you’ can be seen from the parallel form:

(626) siskur-rá-zu-ni Gù.đé.a-āš en D Nan.ţí.r.su-ke₄ šu ba-ši-ti, /ba-(n.)si-(n-)-ti/ ‘the lord Ningirsu has received his offerings from Gudea’ (Gudea, cyl. A II 21-22)

(627) D Utu igi húl-la hé-mu-e-ši-bar-re, /ha-mu-e.ši-bar-e/ ‘may Utu look upon you in joy’ (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 95)

§ 454. 3.sg.an.: /-n.ši-/  
Although /-n.ši-/ certainly refers to an animate being the corresponding noun is often in the dative:

(628) lugal-ra dumu Adabki(-a) min-âm mu-(un-)ši-re₇, (re)-eš, /mu-n-ši-ere-eš/ ‘the two sons of Adab moved against the king’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 119) Cf. also:

(629) ku.li-ni-ir ga-an-ši-re₇-en-dē-en, /ga-ī-n.ši-ere-enden/ ‘let us go to his friend’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 140)

(630) ama dumu-ni(-ir) igi nu-mu-un-ši-bar-re, /nu-mu-n.ši-bar-e/ ‘the mother does not look at her child’ (Nisaba Hymn 41). Cf. ex. 627.

See also ex. 626 above.

§ 455. Inanimate: /ba-ši-/; /-m-ši-/; /-b.ši-/  
(631) ud D Nan.ţí.r.su-ke₄ uru-ni-še igi zid im-ši-bar-ra, /ī-m-ši-(n-)-bar-a/ ‘when Ningirsu has looked faithfully on his city’ (Gudea, St. B III 6-7)

(632) en-e inim kug D Inanna-ka-šē saγ-keš ba-ši-in-akᵃ (a: ǧar for ak), /ba-ši-n-ak/ ‘the lord gave heed to the word of Inanna’ (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 105)
(633) á.śed₁₀-bi-šè ní hé-eb-ši-te-en-te(-en), /ha-i-b.ši-te.en.te(-en-e)/ ‘let him refresh himself in its cool arm(s)’ (Šulgi Hymn A 33)

§ 456. The terminative prefix with plural reference is not attested as far as I know.

The Use of the Terminative Prefix

§ 457. The basic meaning of the terminative is the direction towards someone or something, and /-ši-/ is thus used most typically with verbs of motion. The direction can be denoted by NOUN-šè and the terminative prefix serves to emphasize the direction or to differentiate the meaning of the verb:

ku₄.r without -ši-, but occasionally with NOUN-šè, means simply ‘to enter’. ku₄.r with -ši- means ‘to enter in the presence of someone’.

de₆ without -ši- is simply ‘to carry’, but with -ši- it means ‘to bring in’.

gi₄ without -ši-, but with dative prefix or with -ni-, means ‘to answer’, with -ši-, however, it means ‘to send back’.

For these and other references, see Gragg, SDI p. 23-26.

§ 458. The terminative prefix is frequently used with verbs of attention, i.e. typically compounds with iγi and ĝeštu₂. Cf. Gragg, SDI p. 22: ‘In the compounds with gizzal, sag-kēš, and geštú (...) the presence or absence of the terminative infix seems to correspond to the placing or not placing of emphasis on the object of the attention’:

igi...bar with -ši-: ‘to look upon in a certain manner’. The verb occurs also without -ši-, apparently in a more neutral meaning: ‘to see, to look at’, then often with -ni-:

(634) en Arattaki-ke₄ im-ma igi i-ni-in-bar, /i-ni-n-bar/ ‘the lord of Aratta looked at the tablet’ (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 540) (Gragg, SDI p. 21). Cf. ex. 627 and 630.

igi...ił occurs both with and without -ši-. Cf. Gragg, SDI p. 21: ‘the distinction here seems to be that with -ši-, igi-ił means to look at some specific object, usually an individual thing; without it however it means rather to look over (perhaps usually a multitude)’.

Other verbs are: igi...dù ‘to set the eyes on’, igi...ğar ‘to place the
eyes’,igi...kár ‘to look upon’, gizzal...ak ‘to listen to’, geštug2...gub ‘to set the mind to’, geštug2...gar ‘to give thought to’, and sağ-kēš...ak ‘to pay attention to’ (ex. 632).

§ 459. Verbs which take terminative prefix are moreover: (ki...)kin ‘to seek for’, ü...ku ‘to sleep’, gū...șub ‘to be lax with respect’, ni...te ‘to relax, to cool off’ (ex. 633).

(635) .lua (...) ki mu-(un-)ši-kin-kin, /mu-n.ši-kin.kin(-e)/ ‘he looks for a man’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 270). Cf. kin without -ši-:

(636) őDumu.zi(-dē) sağ ú-a mu-ni-(in-)kin-kin-ne, /mu-ni-(n-)kin.kin-ene/ ‘they look for the head of Dumuzi in the grass’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 145 = 147 = 149). The difference between kin with -ši- and kin without -ši- is not evident to me.

Further examples in Gragg, SDI p. 26f.

šu...ti ‘to take from, to receive from’ is lit.: ‘to approach the hand to’. The person from whom the object is received is in the terminative, whereas the object to be received is in the locative-terminative, cf. ex. 625, 626. Without -ši-, šu...ti simply means ‘to take’ (cf. Gragg, SDI p. 26):

(637) őDumuzi mušen.ta-e ġā udu-ka sila₄ šu ba-ni-ib-ti, /ba-ni-b-ti/ ‘the ...-bird took a lamb in the house of the sheep’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 35 = 60)

Ablative-Instrumental: -ta-

§ 460. The ablative-instrumental prefix -ta- is identical with the ablative-instrumental postposition -ta.

/ba-ta-/ is written ba-ta- in OS and Gudea texts but later on ba-ta- is rare and perhaps replaced by ba-da- or ba-ra- (see § 449 and 465).

§ 461. The ablative-instrumental prefix -ta- has inanimate reference only. It can be preceded by the conjugation prefixes /ī-/, /-m-/ and /ba-/ and by the pronominal element /-b-/.
(638) Ė.an.na.túm (...) e- (...) e-bi Íd.nun-ta Gú.eden.na-šè įb-ta-
ni-è, /í-b.ta-ni-(n-)è/ ‘Eanatum (...) let the boundary ditch
go out from Idnun to Gu-edena’ (Ent. 28 I 32 - II 3)

(639) Gú.de.a é D Nin.gír.su-ka D Utu-gín dagger-ta ba-ta-è, /ba-
ta-(n-)è/ ‘Gudea let the house of Ningirsu go out of the
clouds like Utu’ (Gudea, cyl. A XXIV 13-14)

(640) lú Ė.nin nu-ta im-ta-ab-è-è-a mu.sar.ra-bi šu įb-ta-ab-ùr-a,
/í-m-ta-b-è-è-(e-)a/, /í-b-ta-b-ùr-(e-)a/ ‘the man who re-
moves it from Eninnu and erases its inscription’ (Gudea, St.
B VIII 6-9) Cf. įb-ta-ab-è-è-a in the parallel context St. C
IV 5-6.

The Use of the Ablative-Instrumental Prefix

§ 462. /-ta-/ in the instrumental sense is not frequent, but cf.:

(641) ĝiššinig ĝiš SĖG, An ū.ta-ta Ė.nin nu-im-ta-sikil-e-ne im-ta-
dadag-ge-èš, /í-m-ta-sikil-ene/, /í-m-ta-(n-)dadam-èš/
‘they cleaned Eninnu with tamarisk and ..., they made it
clean with it’ (Gudea, cyl. B IV 10-12), see also Gragg, SDI
p. 36.

For examples with NOUN-ta(instr.) without concord in the verb, see
Gragg, SDI p. 31.

§ 463. -ta- in the ablative sense denotes the direction from, out of
something. It occurs with verbs of motion, most often è ‘to go out’,
e₁₁.d ‘to go down’, ĝen ‘to go, to come’, sar ‘to chase away’, zìg ‘to
rise up from’.

ĝar with -ta- means ‘to remove’, without -ta- it means simply ‘to
place’.

Other verbs which take ablative -ta- are lá ‘to hang from’ and zal
‘to pass (said about time)’.

§ 464. Examples:

(642) é zag uru-ka-ta En.ig.gal nu.banda Ú ú sağa é-gal-ra (...) mu-na-ta-ĝar, /mu-na-ta-(n-)ĝar/ ‘En-iggal, the inspector,
has removed it (= various objects of wood) from the house
outside the city for U-u, the steward of the palace’ (AWL
nr. 76 III-IV)

(643) an-ta hé.gál ha-mu-ra-ta-du, /ha-mu-DAT.2.sg.-ta-du-e/
'may abundance come from heaven for you' (Gudea, cyl. A XI 8)

(644) [ud e]š₅ ĝi₆ eš₅(-âm) a`um-ta²-zal-la-ta (a-a: ba-), /u-î-m-
ta-zal-a-ta/ 'after three days and three nights have passed'
(Inanna’s Descent 173)

(645) é-e guruš ug₅-ga-gin₇ gú ki-šè ba-da-an-lá, /ba-ta-n-lá/
'the house let the neck hang from there to the earth like
young warriors who have been killed' (Curse of Akkade 120)

Ablative: -ra-

§ 465. Ablative reference is also expressed by the prefix -ra-. This
prefix occurs already in the Gudea texts and is frequent in the OB lit-
erary texts.⁹⁸

-ra- has, like -ta-, inanimate reference only. However, it cannot
occur after /-b-/ and /-m-/, but only after /ba-/ — or after another
case prefix. It has the same rank as -ta- and is used with the same
verbs. -ra- and -ta- are thus practically identical with the exception
that -ra-does not denote instrumental, but the reason for the use of
-ra- instead of -ta-is not clear. Since ba-ra- occurs whereas ba-ta-
does not (at least not in the OB period, see § 449), ba-ra- may sim-
ply stand for ba-ta-, but phonetic reasons for a change ba-ta- > ba-
ra- cannot be given.

A. Falkenstein, 1939 p. 194, hesitated to identify -ra- and -ta-. Cf. also Gragg,
SDI p. 98: 'While clear criteria cannot be set up for identifying -ra- and -ta-,
no clear rationale can be found either for establishing them as syntactically
distinct in the periods of Sumerian over which we have any control. Accord-
ingly we operate with a single ablative infix which may be realized as either
/ta/ or /ra/. If they are not to be taken as phonologically conditioned alter-
nates, one might hypothesize as follows: Of two (perhaps originally distinct)
infixed -ra- and -ta-, the latter, for whatever reason could not appear in cer-
tain positions (especially after ba-). In these positions it came to be replaced
by -ra- (and in some instances by -da-), which in these instances took over
the syntactic functions of -ta-.'

§ 466. Examples:

(646) min-[a.ne.n]e mBa.al.lí mUr.D Suen lú inim-ma saģ sa₁₀-a-
šè mu-ne-ra-è, /mu-ne-ra(abl.)-è(-eš)/ 'against these two

⁹⁸. In Gragg’s material there are 80 instances of -ra- compared with 100 in-
(persons) Balli and Ur-Suen appeared (lit.: went out) as witnesses concerning the slave who has been sold' (NG nr. 51, 12-15) Cf. the same verb with -ta-:

(647) i̱gi di.kud-ne-šē Ur.gu.la (...) Nam.mah (...) Á. lu5.lu5 nam. lú.inim.ma.bi-šē im-ta-è-eš, /i̱-m-ta-è-eš/ ‘Urgula, Nam.mah and Alulu appeared before the judges as witnesses’ (NG nr. 99, 23-27)

(648) eden-šē ba-ra-è, /ba-ra(abl.)-è/ ‘he went out from there to the plain’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 1)

(649) Me.luh.ha̱ki̱ lú kur gi̱6-ga-kama níg.šu b'kur-kur-ra b mu-un-na-ra-ab-e11-dè (a: -ke4; b-b: kúr-kúr-ra), /mu-na-ra (abl.)-b-e11.d-e/ 'Meluhha, the people of the black mountain, brings down from there goods of the mountains to her' (Curse of Akkade 48-49)

§ 467. In a few cases the sequences -da-ra-, -ta-ra-, -da-ra-ta- or -da-ra-da- probably denote an ablative element /-dara-/ or /-tara-/, or perhaps /-dra-/ or /-tra-/, cf. Gragg, SDI p. 97 and 98 n. 1.

(650) ḎNin.gi̱š.zid.da Utu-gin7, ki̱ša-ra ma-ra-da-ra-ta-è, /mu-DAT.2.sg.-da.ra.ta-è/ ‘Ningišzida rose for you from the horizon like the sun’ (Gudea, cyl. A V 20) Cf.:

(651) uru-e ḎUtu-gin7, ki̱ša-ra im-ma-ta-a-è, /i̱-ba-ta-a(?)-è/ ‘the city rose from the horizon like the sun’ (Gudea, cyl. B XVIII 12-13)

§ 468. The Variant -ri-

The rather uncommon prefix -ri- in the OB literary texts represents the ablative in a few cases. Why -ri- is used rather than -ra- cannot be explained. (See Gragg, SDI p. 100.)

(652) hur.sa̱g ūa hur.sa̱g āš hur.sa̱g i̱min-e im-me-ri-bal-bal, /i̱-ba-ra(abl.)-bal.bal/ ‘he crossed five mountains, six mountains, seven mountains’ (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 170) The analysis of the verbal form is problematic. In other cases me- comes from /mu-e-/, but here no 2. person reference is possible. im-me- must be analysed /i̱-ba-/ rather than /i̱-bi-/ since no case prefix except -ni- can follow /bi-/. bal ‘to cross’ is intransitive and normally takes ablative, but in this case locative-terminative. Cf. the parallel phrase:
(653) muš.zar.ra-gin₇ᵃ hur.saḡ-tᵃ im-me-ri-bal-bal (a: -ta; b: -gin₇) 'they crossed the mountains like a ...snake' (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 252). bal with -ta-:

(654) e ki.sur.ra D Nin.ḡır.su-ka-ka e-ma-tᵃ-bal, /i-bᵃ-tᵃ-bal/ 'he crossed the boundary ditch of Ningirsu' (Ent. 28 III 2-4). For further references, see Wilcke, 1969a p. 163f. and n. 432.

Other occurrences of ablative -ri- in Gragg, SDI p. 99f. For the prefix -ri- as referring to 2.sg., see § 478.

§ 469. Bibliography


The Locative Prefix

§ 470. The locative prefix is the last case prefix of the chain; only the pronominal elements /-n-/ and /-b-/ can occur after it before the verbal stem.

The pronominal element /-e-/ is never written after the locative prefix; it is either assimilated or deleted, or it may, in the OB literary texts, be inserted before the locative prefix:

(655) šu-.gu₃₀ šu maš.dᵃ (ù-)mu-e-nⁱ-sᵉ, /(u-)mu-e-nⁱ-sᵉ/ 'when you have changed my hands into the hands of a gazelle' (Dumuzi's Dream 170 = 197 = 232 with the variant û-mu-nⁱ-in-sᵉ) We expect */u-mu-nⁱ-e-sᵉ/.

(656) šᵃ im ugu Abzu-ka û-mu-e-nⁱ-in-šᵃʳ, /u-mu-e-nⁱ-n-i-šᵃʳ/ 'when you have kneaded the heart of the clay that is in Abzu' (Enki and Ninmah 3) We expect: */u-mu-nⁱ-e-šᵃʳ/.

In the following example /-e-/ probably refers to 2.sg. object:

(657) lú hul.gᵃl-e i.zⁱ-a im-mu-e-nⁱ-dᵃᵇ₅-bᵉ (a-a: im-me-nⁱ-), /i-mu-e-nⁱ-dᵃᵇ₅-e/ 'the evil man catches you in the ...' (Dumuzi's Dream 51)

The locative prefix most frequently occurs as -ni-, but has also the form -ri- (see § 478), and the conjugation prefix /bi-/ has probably (at least in parts) the same functions as -ni- (see § 474).
'Locative' is here meant in a very general sense. In fact the prefix is used in three different functions which are also morphologically distinct: 1. Locative. 2. Denoting the 'second object' with compound verbs. 3. Causative.

§ 471. 1. Locative. In the locative function the prefix occurs as -ni-. G.B. Gragg, SDI p. 71, found a very high percentage (40%) of concord between -ni- and the locative postposition /-a/. This fact together with the circumstance that -ni- may occur with practically any verb leads to the conclusion that -ni- refers to the locative, but in a more general sense than the postpositions which distinguish locative (-a), locative-terminative (-e) and terminative (-šē).

Cf. Gragg, SDI p. 78:-ni- 'adds the semantic feature of local determinacy to the features already defining the verb. This notion of local determinacy is usually further specified elsewhere in the verb phrase by an adverbial complement [i.e., by /-a/, /-e/ or /-šē/]. Now in Sumerian nominal postposition system the most general, i.e., unmarked, category for spatial orientation is the locative. And, as a matter of fact, it is with the locative postposition that what we have called the locative infix [i.e., -ni-] chiefly occurs. Since, within the system of infixes, there is no element which exactly covers the semantic properties of the locative-terminative, this function also is taken over by the locative infix. Moreover, as we have just seen, even when more differentiated (more marked) indicators of spatial orientation are used in the adverbal complement, this can be indicated on the verb by the less specific 'locative' infix. When more differentiation is desired in the verb, then, depending on various syntactic and semantic features of the verb, a more 'marked' infix can be used, sometimes, as we have seen, with semantic specialization of the verb.'

In the locative function as described here, the prefix occurs as -ni-. Examples are for instance:

(658) igi-ba ūšembi ba-ni-ĝar, /ba-ni-(n-)ĝar/ 'he placed kohl on their eyes' (Eann. 1 XVIII 3)

(659) sig₄ ā-šub-ba mu-ni-ĝar-ra-ni ðUtub im-da-hûl, /mu-ni-(n-)ĝar-a-ani(-da), /îm-da-hûl/ 'Utu rejoiced over his brick that he has laid in the brick form' (Gudea, cyl. A XIX 8-9)

(660) Gû.dé.a (...) -e-a dusu-bi men kug sağ-ĝá mu-ni-ĝál, /mu-ni-(n-)ĝál/ 'Gudea placed the basket of the house, the holy crown, on (his) head' (Gudea, cyl. A XX 24-25)
(661) DNin.gi.ru-su-ke₄ ēš numun i-a ša-ge ba-ni-pâte, /ba-ni-(n-)\n\n\npâte/ ‘Ningirsu has called into (his) heart the shrine which let\the seed go out’ (Gudea, cyl. B XIII 6)

Examples of verbs with -ni- corresponding to nouns in the locative
or locative-terminative can moreover be found in Gragg, SDI p. 73-
76.

§ 472. Traditionally -ni- is regarded as consisting of a pronominal
element and the locative-terminative element /e/ > /i/. According
to this we would expect /-n-i-/ > -ni-, animate, and /-b-i-/ > -bi-,
inanimate, but in fact only -ni- occurs and most often with inanimate
reference. A. Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 205, considered that the basic
form *-b-i- changed to -mi- after /i-/ (im-mi-ak), and in other
cases to -ni- by dissimilation (ba-ni-dug₄) or assimilation (i-na-ni-
kui₄). But the reasons for the phonetic change: /-b-i-/ > -ni- are not
clear, and an analysis of the prefix -ni- can for the present not be given.

The circumstances under which *-b-e- is changed to -ni- are given in Falken-
stein, GSGL I p. 205-208; for a discussion of this see Gragg, SDI p. 68-73.

§ 473. With the other case prefixes the choice of conjugation prefix
depended on the animate or inanimate reference of the prefix
immediately following (see § 429). In the case of -ni- this rule is not
always followed, no reason can thus be given for the form mu-ni-
VERB in ex. 659 and 660 in contrast to ba-ni-VERB in ex. 658 and
661.

§ 474. -ni- is the only case prefix which can occur with the conju-
gation prefix /bi-/: /bi-ni-/ > mi-ni-. /bi-/ is also analysed as /b-e-/,
containing the locative-terminative element /e/ (cf. §§ 349-351 and
for instance Falkenstein, GSGL I p. 192), but the relationship
between /bi-/ and -ni- is far from evident. Moreover the meaning of
/bi-ni-/ or /bi-/ in contrast to /ba-ni-/ and /mu-ni-/ is not clear. Cf.
for instance mío ba-ni-dug₄ and mío mi-ni-dug₄ (ex. 681, 682) and im-
675-678).

See also the examples in Gragg, SDI p. 72f. for parallels between
-ni-, im-mi- and bí-.

§ 475. The locative prefix -ni- can occur together with the dative,
the comitative and the terminative prefix. In the Old Sumerian texts -ni- also appears after ablative -ta-, but not in the Old Babylonian texts (cf. Gragg, SDI p. 67).

(662) ḫ-b-ta-ni-è, /ī-b-ta-ni-(n-)è/ ‘he let it go out from there’ (Ent. 28 II 3)
(663) e-na-ta-ni-è, /ī-na-ta-ni-(n-)è/ ‘he let it go out from there for him’ (Ent. 41 IV 2)

§ 476. 2. Denoting the ‘Second Object’ with Compound Verbs. The locative prefix is especially frequent with compound verbs and this use is certainly related to the locative function described above. With compound verbs the prefix may correspond to a noun in the locative, locative-terminative or in the dative.

In contrast to the function of the prefix described in the preceding section, where -ni- always refers to the place where something happens, the prefix with compound verbs can refer to a place or to persons and animals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.sg.</td>
<td>/mu-DAT.1.sg.-ni-/ &gt; ma-ni-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.sg.</td>
<td>/mu-ri-/ , /(MOD-)ī-ri-/</td>
<td>2.pl. /-ri-...-enzen/(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sg.an.</td>
<td>/mu-ni-/</td>
<td>3.pl. /?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>/ba-ni-/ , /bi-ni-/ &gt; mi-ni-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 477. 1.sg. :

(664) D Nisaba-ke₄ ḡēštug₂ gizzal(-la) šu daḡal(-la) a ma-ni-in-dug₄² (a-a: ma-ra-an-dug₄), /mu-DAT.1.sg.-ni-n-dug₄/ ‘Nisaba has generously provided me with intelligence and wisdom’ (Šulgi Hymn B 18-19)

(665) ud (...) ḡā-ra saḡ-e-eš-e ma-ni-in-rig₇-eš-a, /mu-DAT.1.sg.-ni-n-rig₇-eš-a/ ‘as they have granted it to me’ (Sin-iddinam 6 I 10-14)

§ 478. 2. sg., -ri- is not attested before the Old Babylonian period.⁹⁹

(666) igi ḫu-(zu) hu-mu-ri-(in-)du₈, /ha-mu-ri-n-du₈/ ‘he has

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⁹⁹ A. Poebel, 1925 p. 5ff., understood the Old Sumerian forms ere-è and ere-keš (Ean. 1 VII 8, 11) as containing the 2.sg. -ri-: /ī-ri-/ but ere- could also be the modal prefix /iri-/ (see §§ 415-417). Considering the difficult contents of the text the problem cannot be settled, cf. W.H.Ph. Römer, 1975 p. 3ff.
indeed looked kindly at you’ (Iddin-Dagan Hymn B 63) Cf. ex. 678.


(669) lugal nam gi₄-rí-ib-tar₄ nam dung gú-mu-ri-ib-tar₄, /ga-i-ri-b-tar/, /ga-mu-ri-b-tar/ ‘king, let me decree the fate for you, let me decree a good fate for you’ (Šulgi Hymn D 384)

In some cases -ri- seems to stand for *-ra(DAT.2.sg.)-ni-. This can for instance be observed in OBGT IX, and in fact G.B. Gragg derived -ri- from -ra-ni-: 2 + Loc → ra + (n)i → ri (SDJ p. 105). The form *-ra-ni- is thus exactly parallel to the 1.sg. ma-ni-.

-e- before -ri- in ex. 670-671 is probably the pleonastically applied pronominal element of the second person.

(670) ud-da DMu.ul.lîl e.ne.èm-ba a nu-ri-gubá (a-a: nu-mu-e-ri-gub), /nu-i-ra-ni-gub/ ‘if Enlil does not stand by you in this matter’ (Inanna’s Descent 48) gub with dative prefix means ‘to stand by’, the locative prefix refers to e.ne.èm-ba

(671) kur-kur(-re) ú.sal-la mu-e-ri-ná, /mu-ra-ni-ná/ ‘all the foreign lands will lay down in the meadow for you’ (Iddin-Dagan Hymn B 56) ná with dative prefix means ‘to lie before someone’, the locative prefix refers to ú.sal-la.

However, -ra-ni- is also found:

(672) ur.sag-e me-ni gal-gal-la-âm šu ma-ra-ni-ib-mú-mú, /mu-DAT.2.sg.-ni-b-mú-mú-e/ ‘the hero — his divine power is the greatest — will let it expand for you’ (Gudea, cyl. A VII 8)

(673) DEn.lîl-le say-e-eš mu-ri-in-rig, nam tar-re-dè šu-za ma-ra-ni-in-ge.en, /mu-ri-n-rig/, /mu-DAT.2.sg.-ni-n-ge.n/ ‘Enlil has given it to you, to decide the fates he has made firm for you in your hand’ (Nergal Hymn 13-14 = 18-19)

§ 479. 3.sg., animate:

(674) lugal-ni-ir ud-dè maš.ğī₆-ka Gù.dé.a en DNin.ğīr.su-ra ıgi
mu-ni-du₈-âm, /mu-ni-(n-)du₈-a-m/ ‘on this day Gudea saw his king, the lord Ningirsu, in a dream’ (Gudea, cyl. A I 17-18) Compare the following forms with igi...du₈ and with various conjugation prefixes:

(675) nin-bi D Nin.tu-gin₇ rib-ba-ra a.ba-a igi mu-ni-in-du₈, /mu-ni-n-du₈/ ‘who has ever seen someone as great as its queen Nintu?’ (Keš Hymn 20)

(676) a.ba-a igi im-mi-in-du₈-a, /î-bi-n-du₈-a/ ‘who has seen (a king)’ (Curse of Akkade 95)

(677) Ak.kà igi im-ma-ni-in-du₈, /î-ba-ni-n-du₈/ ‘Aka saw him’ (Gilgameš and Aka 67)

(678) igi dûg hu-mu-ni-du₈, /ha-mu-ni-du₈ (-en)/ ‘may you look kindly at him’ (Ninurta Hymn 24 and 25) Cf. ex. 666

(679) D Nin.gîr.su-ra Lum.ma.gin₇.dûg mu-na-ús saq-šê mi-ni-rig₈, /bi-ni-(n-)rig₈/ ‘he ... (the canal) Lummagindug for Ningirsu and dedicated it to him’ (Ean. 2 VII 3-6)

(680) Gû.de.a en D Nin.gîr.su-ke₄ nam dûg mu-ni-tar, /mu-ni-(n-)tar/ ‘the lord Ningirsu has decided a good fate for Gudea’ (Gudea, cyl. A XXIV 1-2)

§ 480. Inanimate:

(681) D Nanše dumu Eriku₇(−ga)−ke₄ eš.bar.kîg.gà mî ba-ni-dug₄, /ba-ni-(n-)dug₄/ ‘Nanše, the daughter of Eridu, cared for the oracle’ (Gudea, cyl. A XX 16)

(682) eš.bar.kîg mî mi-ni-dug₄, /bi-ni-(n-)dug₄/ ‘he cared for the oracle’ (Gudea, cyl. B V 24)

Compare the verbs with inanimate reference but without the locative prefix:

(683) gîri₃ nî-te-(a-)na-kaa igi lib-ba₉ bî-in-du₈-ru (a: −ke₄; b: −a), /bi-n-du₈-r-e/ ‘he looks with downcast eyes at his own feet’ (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 238)

(684) nam-bi (ha)-ba-an-tar-re-eš, /(ha-)ba-n-tar-eš/ ‘they have (indeed) decided its fate (i.e., for the city)’ (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 55 = UET VI/2, 124: 54 = STVC 27 rev. 7)

§ 481. 2. person plural forms are of course few, but at least in one case -ri- and the suffix /-enzen/ are used:
(685) lú-ulun₃ hé-me-en-zé-en nam ga-mu-ri-ib-tar(-en-zé-en),
/ha-i-me-enzen/, /ga-mu-ri-b-tar-enzen/ 'if you(pl.) are
mortal, I will decree (your) fates for you(pl.)’ (Inanna’s De-
scent 270, the parallel line 243 has: nam-zu-ne hé-eb-tar-
re, /ha-i-b-tar-e/ ‘may she decree your(pl.) fates’)

§ 482. 3. *Grammatical Function: Causative.* -ni- is often found in
causative verbs and probably denotes the underlying agent. Strictly
speaking only three-participant forms like ‘he causes him to lift the
head’ are real causatives, but -ni- is also found with ‘intransitive’
verbs like ku₄.x ‘to enter’ and è ‘to go out’ in two-participant forms,
cf. ex. 662-663 above, and see §§ 284-286 with examples 289-300.
The causative use of -ni- is clearly demonstrated in OBGT where
Akkadian Š-forms are translated by Sumerian verbs with -ni- (cf. Th.
Jacobsen, 1956 p. 28*ff.). In the Sumerian texts the use of -ni- in
causative forms seems less consistent.
THE SUBORDINATION SUFFIX /-a/

§ 483. The suffix /-a/ can occur with a finite verb. Its rank is at the end of the verbal form after the pronominal suffixes. The finite verb with /-a/ can be followed by postpositions or possessive suffixes and the verb is in this case treated like a noun. Therefore, /-a/ has usually been called ‘nominalization suffix’ (for instance A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 35), but /-a/ is a syntactic particle and not a morpheme used to derive nouns from other words. Its function can most properly be described as subordination.

Finite verbs with /-a/ occur in the following cases: 1. Dependent on another verb: Subjunctive (§§ 484-485). 2. Dependent on a noun: Relative and various subordinate clauses (§§ 486-490).

/-a/ occurs also in non-finite forms, for which see §§ 512-518; 522-523.

Subjunctive

§ 484. The subjunctive is directly dependent on another verb which is not necessarily a finite verb. A noun or a non-finite verb followed by the enclitic copula can also serve as main verb (ex. 688).

The subordinate verb precedes the main verb which is usually a verb of speaking, for instance: dug₄ ‘to say’, ge.n ‘to confirm’, mu lugal...pàd ‘to swear by (lit.: call) the name of the king’, nam.ērim₂... TAR ‘to swear’. The subjunctive indicates indirect speech which, however, is rarely used in Sumerian.

The finite subjunctive verb can be compared with the non-finite form R-ed-a, see §§ 522-523.
§ 485. Examples:

(686) la-ba-gi₄{-gi₄-da igi di.kud-ne-še Ur₉Suen-ke₄ mu lugal-
bi in-pâd₅, /nu-ba-gi₄{-gi₄{-ed-a/ ‘Ur-Suen has sworn by the
name of the king before the judges that he will not return
(in this matter)’ (NG nr. 103, 10-13)

(687) Ur₉Lama ensi₂{-ke₄ é Ha.la₉Ba.ba₆{-ka in-na-sum-ma-a
Ur.id.da di-ta ba-tag₄{-a Uru.in.da.zal maškim-e nam.erim₂-
bi in-TAR₉, /i-na-(n-)sum-a/, /ba-tag₄{-a/ ‘that Ur-Lama, the
ensi, has given the house to Hala-Baba and that the claim of
Ur-ida has been dismissed has Uru-indazal, the bailiff, con-
firmed by oath’ (NG nr. 106, 5-9)

(688) mu-lugal Nin.dub.sar dumu Ka₁₀ dam-še ha-tuku bí-in-
dug₄{-ga Nin.nam.ha.ni Ur₉Lama nam.erim₂{-àm, /bi-n-
dug₄{-a/ ‘it is the oath of Ninnamhuni and Ur-Lama that he
has said: ‘by the name of the king I shall marry Nin-dubsar,
the daughter of Ka’ (NG nr. 15, 4-9)

Relative

§ 486. A finite verb or a whole sentence can be subordinate to a
noun. The subordinate, or in other words, relative clause stands after
the noun which it qualifies, and the subordination suffix /-a/ is added
at the end of the finite verb. Between the noun and the relative
clause an ‘indefinite’ noun can be inserted: for animate beings: lú
‘someone’ = ‘who’, for inanimate beings: níg ‘thing’ = ‘which’. This
‘relative pronoun’ is not obligatory.

lugal lú é in-dù-a ba-úš ‘the king who has built the house
has died’

The noun which is qualified by the relative clause can be subject, ob-
ject or some other case in relation to the relative clause, but the rel-
evant postposition is not applied (cf. lú and ki in ex. 689-692).

The case of the head noun (lugal in the example above) according
to the main clause is added after the subordination suffix:

lugal lú é in-dù-a-ra mu-na-an-sum-mu-úš ‘they have given
it to the king who has built the house’

Cf. also ex. 690 and 692. The ergative postposition /-e/ is assimilated
with /-a/ (ex. 689; 691).
As a rule the verb of subordinate clauses cannot occur with modal prefixes other than the prospective /u-/ and the negative /nu-/.

An exception is the form na-bé-a = /na-i-b-e-e-a/ in the introductory passage of letters.
§ 487. Relative Clauses: Grammatical Analysis

(689) D*Nin.*gi̯.zi̯.da(-ra) Gù.de.a lù É.ninnu in-du-�(a-e)

Relative Clause

Virtual Object Verb

erg.

Subject

Dative

Main Clause

'Gudea, who has built Eninnu, has built the temple for Ninigi.
(Cf.: D*Nin.*gi̯.zi̯.da di̯i̯g̯-ra-ni Gù.de.a ensi₂ Lagaḳ̱i lù
dù, Gudea, Brick D)

(690) alam Gù.de.a ensi₂ Lagaḳ̱i lù É.ninnu in-du-� fi-n-du-

Relative Clause

Virtual Object Verb

erg.

Genitive

Locative-Terminative

Main Clause

for the statue of Gudea, the ensi of Lagaḳ̱, who has built
(Gudea, St. B I 3-12)

(691) lù di̯i̯g̯-gu₁₀-gin₇ D*Nin.*gi̯r.su-ke₄ di̯i̯g̯-ra-ni úg̱i̯

Relative Clause

Virtual Equative Subject Locative

dative

Main Clause

the man whom Ningiṣu, being his god like being my god
(Gudea, St. P III 12 - IV 2; parallel: St. I, III 11 - IV 1, v.

(692) ki D*Nin.*gi̯r.su-ke₄ kur-kur-ra ìg̱i mi-ni-ğ̱al-la

Relative Clause

Virtual Subject Locative Object Verb

loc.

Main Clause

Terminative

'to the place from where Ningiṣu has looked at the moun
(Gudea, cyl. A VIII 7-9) The plural of the object, shee

dabs₅
én-gā  gū  úma-na-ni-dē-a(-e)  (...)  na-ab-ak-ke₄

Native Object  Verb

,..., has called among the people shall not do ...'

with the var.: diğir-gā-gin₇)

-šē  (...)  ensî₃-ke₄  (...)  mi-ni-dab₃-dab₅

Subject Object  Verb

contains, the ensî has brought (numerous sheep and goats)'

and goats, is expressed by the reduplication of the verb

Object  Verb

īngištida₅ E.ninmu DNin.gir.su-ka in-dū-a é  Ġir.suₘ₉-ka-ni mu-na-

a-ke₄  (...)  så.dug₄-ba  ǧal-la-ām

Verb

Subject Predicate  Verb

the Eninmu, (these) are the offerings'

é  mu-na-dū

Object  Verb
§ 488. The subject of the relative clause can be the 2. person, for instance:

(693) lú gùd-gáa ne.en ba-e-(a-)ak-a b (a: -gù10; b: -e), /ba-e-ak-a/ 'you, who have done this to my nest' (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 105)

Sometimes the head noun of the relative clause is absent:

(694) uru-bi-a ga-tuš bî-in-dug₄-ga ki-tuš na-an-dûg-ge, /bi-n-dug₄-a(-e)/, /na-î-n-dûg-e/ '(the man who) has said: let me live in this city, shall not have a good place to dwell' (Curse of Akkade 272)

Subordinate Clauses

§ 489. The relative construction, NOUN ... VERB+a+CASE, forms various types of subordinate clauses: A. Temporal Clauses; B. Causal Clauses.

A. Temporal Clauses

/ud ... ... VERB-a-a(loc.)/ 'on the day when ...' (ex. 695-698)
/ud ... ... VERB-a-ta/ 'from the day when ...' = 'after' (ex. 699)
/eğer ... ... VERB-a-ta/ 'from the back of ...' = 'after' (ex. 700)
/... ... VERB-a-ta/ 'after' (ex. 701-702)
/en-na ... ... VERB-a- {eše} a / 'until' (ex. 703-704)

B. Causal Clauses

/bar ... ... VERB-a-ak-eše/ 'for the sake of, because'
/mu ... ... VERB-a-eše/ 'because'

§ 490. Temporal Clauses: Examples

ud ... ... VERB-a-a(loc.), lit.: 'on the day when': 'when, if'

(695) ud D*Nin.gír.su ur.ság DEn.lîl-lá-ke₄ Uru.inim gi.na-ra nam. lugal Lagaški e-na-sum-ma-a šà lú šár-u-ta šu-ni e-ma-ta-dab₂-ba-a nam.tar-ra ud-bi-ta e-šè-ĝar, /î-na-(n-)sum-a-a/, /î-ba-ta-(n-)dab₂-a-a/, /î-ši-(n-)ĝar/ 'When Ningirsu, the warrior of Enlil, gave the kingship of Lagaš to Uruinimagina, and when he seized his hand from among 36,000 men,
(then) he restored the practice of former days’ (Ukg. 4 VII 29 - VIII 9)

(696) ud D Aš. ím.babbar ḡizkim šag₃-ga-ni ści ma-ni-in-du₈-a ści nam.ti.la-ka-ni mu-ši-in-bar-a é-a-ni dù-ù-dè ki-bi ḡi₄-gi₄-dè ḡá-a-ar ma-an-dug₄-ga (...) E.temen.ní.guru₃ mu-na-dù, /mu-DAT.1.sg.-ni-n-du₈-a-a/, /mu-ši-n-bar-a-a/, /mu-DAT.1.sg.-n-dug₄-a-a/, /mu-na-dù/ ‘when Ašimbabar let me see his good sign, when he looked at me with his eye of life, and when he commanded me to build and restore his house (...), (then) I built for him the E.temen-niguru’ (Waradin 10, 25-39) (Note that R-edu is used here as subordinate to ma-an-dug₄-ga and not R-edu, see § 522)

(697) ud nu-šè-sa₁₀-sa₁₀-a-a ugula lipiš-bi na-na-tag-ge, /nu-ši-sa₁₀-sa₁₀-e-a-a/, /na-ši-na-tag-e/ ‘if he does not buy it, the ugula must not be angry with him’ (Ukg. 4 XI 29-31), variant has: ud-da nu-šè-sa₁₀-sa₁₀.

(698) ud temen-ḡu₁₀ ma-si-ge₄-na é-ḡu₁₀ ud šu zid ma-ši-tûm-da (...) im si ma-ra-ab-sá-e, /mu-DAT.1.sg.-si.g-en-a-a/, /mu-DAT.1.sg.-ši-tûm-ed-a-a/, /mu-DAT.2.sg.-b-sá-en/ ‘when you make my foundation, when (the building of) my house begins (lit.: ‘the hand is brought to the house for me’) (...), (then) I shall make favorable winds blow (lit.: ‘put straight the winds’)’ (Gudea, cyl. A XI 18-23)

ud ... ... VERB-a-ta ‘from the day when ...’: ‘after’;
eger ... ... VERB-a-ta ‘from the back of ...’: ‘after’

(699) ud é.gal-e ba-ab-tûm-ma-ta ści nu-ni-du₈-a, /ba-b-tûm-ma-ta/, /nu-ši-ni-(n-)du₈-a/ ‘(he has sworn) that he has not seen him after the palace took him away’ (NG nr. 190, 23-24)

In the Neo-Sumerian texts LUM is written instead of eger; LUM is probably to be read eger₅ or murgu₂ (cf. J.J. Finkelstein, 1969 p. 75):

(700) LUM in-tag₄-a-ta, /i-n-tag₄-a-ta/ ‘after he has left her’ (NG nr. 23, 5)

ud and eger is often omitted:

(701) Ba.gara₂ é íd-dè lá-a-e im-ti-a-ta, ninda giš bî-tag a šed₇
i-dé, /i-m-ti-a-ta/, /bi-(n-)tag/, /i-(n-)dé/ ‘after he has approached Bagara, the house which is ... at the river, he sacrificed bread, he poured out cold water’ (Gudea, cyl. A II 7-8)

(702) DŠul.gi-me-en ba-tu-(ud-)dè-en-(na-)ta nita kalag-ga-me-en, /ba-tu.d-en-a-ta/ ‘I, Šulgi, am from birth on a strong man’ (lit.: ‘since I was born’) (Šulgi Hymn A 2)

en-na ... ... VERB-a-a(loc.)/VERB-a-eš(e)(term.) ‘until’

(703) Ur.DGá.tūm.dūg-ke₄ en-na įb-bé-a 0.1.0 še (gur-)lugal-ta ha-ba-ab-sum-mu, /i-b-e-e-a/, /ha-ba-b-sum-e/ ‘until Ur-Gatumdag will speak, they shall give them 1 nigida barley each’ (TCS nr. 141, 4-7)

(704) i.bi na.am.ti.la en-na ba-ug₃ -ge-a i.bi ba-ra-an-bar-re-en, /bara-i-n-bar-en/ ‘I will not look upon him with the eye of life as long as he lives’ (lit.: ‘until he dies’) (Enki and Ninursag 219) The verbal form ba-ug₃ -ge-a is difficult, we expect /ba-ug₃ -ed-a/ = ba-ug₃ -ge-da.

§ 491. Causal Clauses: Examples

bar ... ... VERB-a-ak-eš(e)(term.) ‘for the sake of, because’

(705) lu Dub.ru.um-ma-ke₄ DUtű.hé.gál bar lugal DEn.lîl-le á sum-ma i-me-a i-zu-a-ke₄ -eš, /i-zu-a-ak-eš(e)/ ‘because the people of Dubrum knew that Utu-hegal is a king to whom Enlil has given strength’ (Utu-hegal IV 15-18)

Instead of the terminative also locative can be used:

(706) bar še-bi nu-da-sù-sù-da-ka Ur.lum.ma (...-e) e ki.sur-ra DNin.ğîr.su-ka (...) a-e į-mi-è, /nu-î-da-sù-sù-ed-a-ak-a/, /î-bi-(n-è)/ ‘because this barley ... Ur-lumma let the water go out of the boundary ditch of Ninısiris’ (Ent. 28 II 27-35)

bar can be omitted:

(707) ur.sag ug₃ -ga i-me-ša-ke₄ -eš, /i-me-eš-a-ak-eš(e)/ ‘because they are dead heroes’ (Gudea, cyl. A XXVI 15)

(708) á-nun-ğál zag.še-ni-še húl-la i-me-na-ke₄ -eš, /i-me-en-a-ak-eš(e)/ ‘because I am a strong man rejoicing in his (own) strength’ (Šulgi Hymn A 27)
mu ... VERB-a-eš(e)(term.) 'because'

(709) mu inim-bi nu-ù-zu bí-in-né-ša-šè ĝeme₂ Lú.gú.gal dumu Lú.D.Ba.ba₆-ka ba-na-gi-in, /bi-n-e-eš-a-(e)še/, /ba-na-gi.n/ 'because they said that they did not know this case, the slave girl was given to Lu-gugal, the son of Lu-Baba' (NG nr. 89, 12-14)

(710) mu D.Ašnan nu-ub-daᵃ-tu-da(-aš) nu-ub-da-(an-)sig₇-ga (-aš) kalam-maᵇ gu D.Utau nu-ub-da-(an-)dǐm-ma-(a-)aš (a: -ta--; b: -e), /nu-i-b.da-tu.d-a-eš(e)/, /nu-i-b.da-sig₇-a-eš(e)/, /nu-i-b.da-dǐm-a-eš(e)/ 'because Ašnan was not (yet) born and not (yet) created, because the thread of Uttau has not (yet) been made in the land' (Lahar and Ašnan 3-4 = MBI 8, 3-4 = UET VI/1, 33: 3-4) For the case prefix -da-, cf. Gragg, SDI p. 64: 'it is uncertain whether the comitative infix serves a conjunctive function, or whether, since the three verbs involved are all verbs of making, it implies ‘putting together, assembling, etc.’.'

In the Isin-Larsa royal inscriptions the terminative is deleted:

(711) mu (...) erim₂.ğál-ğá šu-ğu₁₀-uš bí-in-si-a, /bi-n-si-a/ 'because he has filled my enemies into my hand' (Warad-Sin 15, 15-18) -ğá is not correct, we expect erim₂.ğál-ğu₁₀, absolute.

§ 492. VERB + a + ri

This construction is found almost exclusively in Emesal laments. The meaning of -ri is disputed, especially because of the difficult context of the Emesal texts.

-ri seems to serve as a postposition, probably with the meaning 'to', 'concerning'. It is thus very similar to the terminative -še, but -ri has also an isolating, emphasizing effect, comparative to that of the enclitic copula. Instead of -ri the suffix -ra is sometimes used in the same way (cf. Krecher, 1965 p. 23; 27).

For the function of -ri, see J. Krecher, 1965: (-ri ist) 'eine heraushebende Partikel, die soviel wie 'da(s) ist', 'ich meine (auch, damit)', 'was ... anbelangt' bedeutet und sich syntaktisch wie die enklitische Kopula -äm verhält' (p. 16). 'Als gesichert erscheint nach allem die Existenz eines Element -ri (oder -re), das primär als dimensionale Postposition 'für', 'hin zu', in temporaler Verwendung 'zum Zeitpunkt von', 'als' o.ä. meint, vor allem aber zur syntaktischen Isolierung ('was ... anbelangt') nominaler Glieder verwandt wird' (p. 27).
Examples:

(712) ud gig za-ra ma-ra-ni-ib-gi₄-a-ri an-úr hé-eb-gi₄, /mu-DAT.2.sg.-ni-b-gi₄-a-ri/, /ha-i-b-gi₄/ ‘concerning the evil storm which has turned against you — it has returned to heaven’s base’ (TEP 176)

(713) mu.lu(?) i.bi-ḡu₁₀ i.bi bī-in-du₈-a-ri mūš-ām na-ma-ab-bé, /bi-n-du₈-a-ri/, /na-mu-DAT.1.sg.-b-e-e/ ‘the man who has seen my face, he says indeed: ‘it is enough’ (CT XLII 7 iii 32 = 16 rev. 27)

§ 493. VERB + a + POSS + CASE

A possessive suffix can be added after the relative clause:

(714) ġiš.guzza lú mu-na-gub-a-ni sahar-ra hé-em-ta-tuš, /mu-na-(n-)gub-a-ani/, /ha-i-m-ta-tuš/ ‘from his throne which he has erected for him, may he be seated in the dust’ (Gudea, St. B. IX 10-11)

(715) níg maš.ği₆-ke₄ ma-ab-de₆-a-ḡá ša-bi nu-zu, /mu-DAT.1.sg.-b-de₆-a-ḡu-ak/ ‘I do not know the sense of the things which my dream has brought to me’ (Gudea, cyl. A I 27-28)

The relative clause is an anticipatory genitive.

(716) DŠu.DSuen ba-ša₅-ge-na-ḡu₁₀, /ba-ša₅-en-a-ḡu/ ‘my Šu-Suen, you who are pleasing’ (SRT 23, 23)

The person of the possessive suffix can be identical with the subject of the subordinate verb. In these cases the suffix emphasize the subject:

(717) mu lugal ud ba-záh-dè-na-ḡá nir.da hé-a bī-in-dug₄, /ba-záh-ed-en-a-ḡu-a/ ‘he has declared by the name of the king: when I shall run away (lit.: on the day of my running away) — let it be cursed’ (BE III 1, 5-7)

(718) níg ḡá-e i-zu-a-ḡu₁₀ ù za-e in-ga-c-zu, /i-zu-a-ḡu/, /i-ga-e-zu/ ‘what I know (lit.: my thing that I know), you know it also’ (PBS I/2, 127: II 6-7)

§ 494. Bibliography


THE IMPERATIVE

§ 495. The imperative is formed by changing the order of the verbal root and the prefix chain of the finite form. The order of the elements of the prefix chain is, however, not changed, e.g.,

(719) sum-ma-ab = /sum + mu-DAT.1.sg.-b/ ‘give it to me’
(Schooldays 47)

§ 496. In the imperative 2.pl. the pronominal suffix /-enzen/ is added after the prefix chain, e.g.,

(720) sum-ma-ab-zé-en = /sum + mu-DAT.1.sg.-b + enzen/
‘give(pl.) it to me’ (Schooldays 14)

When the prefix chain ends in a vowel the suffix is written –en-zé-en (ex. 735). If it ends in a consonant the suffix appears as /–zen/ (ex. 732-733). In forms like

(721) nin₉-ʔu₁₀ de₆-mu-un-zé-en ‘bring my sister!’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 20),¹⁰⁰

it is not clear whether the [n] should be interpreted as the pronominal prefix of 3.sg. animate, /de₆ + mu-n + (en)zen/, or as the [n] of the suffix, /de₆ + mu(-n?) + enzen/. However, the fact that no form like *sum-ma-ab-bé-en-zé-en occurs, may suggest that the pronominal suffix of the 2. person plural, at least in the imperatives, sounds /–zen/ (or /–nzen/) and not /–enzen/.

§ 497. The prefix chain in imperative forms is normally very short. /i-/ most often appears as [a], e.g.,

(722) dub-ʔu₁₀ zi-ra-ab = /zi.r + i-b/ ‘destroy my tablet!’ (NG nr. 208, 17), cf. also ex. 727-728. /i-/ is here either changed to

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¹⁰⁰. According to § 498 the singular stem must be expected here, i.e. de₆, and not the plural stem which is lah₄ = DU

DU’
[a] because of the enclitic position, or the prefix is /ā-/,
which, on the other hand, probably is a variant form of /ī-/,
see §§ 316-321.

Between the verbal root and the prefix chain a vowel may be inserted,

\[(723) \text{húl-húl-la-mu-un-da} = /\text{húl.húl} + a + \text{mu-n-da/ 'rejoice over him!'}\) (Inanna Hymn 17 and 19), and ex. 725

M. Yoshikawa, 1979c, considered /a/ an aspectual morpheme: 'The grammatical function of the /a/ morpheme (...) may be completive or perfective, while marû and hamtu may denote the durative and punctive respectively. The primary distinction, however, in the Sumerian aspectual system must be marû and hamtu. On the other hand, /a/ aspect may be secondary in that it is morphologically based on the hamtu' (p. 175). Cf. also p. 167ff.: 'There exist two kinds of imperative': I. Imperative in hamtu aspect, i. without postposed prefix, ii. with postposed prefix. II. Imperative in /a/ aspect, i. without postposed prefix (gub-ba, gi₄-a etc.), ii. with postposed prefix (ku₄-ra-ma-ni-ib, zi-ga-ab etc.).

§ 498. The hamtu stem is always used in the imperative, in some cases
the reduplicated hamtu stem.¹⁰¹ It must be noted that the singular
hamtu stem is used in the plural imperative too, even if the verb has
a plural stem. So we have dug₄ (ex. 733) and ɠen (ex. 734), and not
the plural verbs e and e.re₇.

§ 499. Examples: Imperative, singular forms

\[(724) \text{lá-ma} = /\text{lá} + \text{mu-DAT.1.sg./ 'pay me!'}\) (Ukg. 4 XI 27)

\[(725) \text{ki.tuš dùg-ga-ma-ni-ib} = /\text{dùg} + \text{ī-ba-ni-b/ 'make (your) residence pleasant!'}\) (Gudea, cyl. B III 1)

\[(726) \text{ká é.gal-še mu lugal pàd-mu-ni-ib} = /\text{pàd} + \text{mu-ni-b/ 'make him swear by the name of the king at the palace gate!'}\) (TCS I nr. 39, 8-9)

\[(727) \text{é-a-ni gul-a} = /\text{gul} + \text{i/ 'destroy his house!'}\) (TCS I nr. 142, 9)

\[(728) \text{é-zu kalag-ga-ab} = /\text{kalag} + \text{ī-b/ 'strengthen your house!'}\)

(Codex Lipit-Ġstar III 27)

\[(729) \text{mušen ambar-ta è-ba-ra} = /\text{è} + \text{ba-ra(abl.)/ 'bird, go out of}

¹⁰¹. This was pointed out by D.O. Edzard, 1971a p. 225.
the swamp!’ (Bird and Fish 51, cf. SDI p. 94) Cf. the frequent phrase: ...-ta ba-ra-à ‘he went out of ...’

(730)  īgī-zu ġar-ī, var.: ġar-ra-ni, = /ĝar + į(-ni)/ ‘set your eye upon him’, i.e. ‘keep an eye on him’ (Georgica 49 = UET VI/2, 172 ii 11 = OECT I pl. 33 ii 24)

(731)  i.lu ġar-ū = /ĝar + ī/ ‘set up a lament’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 5)

Imperative, plural forms


(733)  dig₄-ga-na-ab-zē-en = /dig₄ + ī-na-b + enzen/ ‘prepare it for him!’ (Nanna-Suen’s Journey to Nippur 325, var.: hē-dig₄-ga-na-ab-zē-en)

(734)  ĝē₂₆-nam-ma-an-zē-en (var. om. -an-), /ĝen + ī-ba + enzen/ ‘come!’ (Dumuzi’s Dream 140) The imperative of ĝen is always written ĜA-na, etc.

(735)  ĝū téš-a sē-ke-bī-a-en-zē-enₐ suhuš ma.da bge-né-bí-zē-enᵇ (a-a: var. omits; b-b: ge-né-eb-zē-en; ge-en-ge-bī), /sē.k + bī(-n?) + enzen/, /ge.n + bī + enzen/ ‘make them obedient! make firm the foundation of the country!’ (Letter A 2, 31-32)
NON-FINITE FORMS

Introduction

§ 500. The non-finite forms are verbs without prefix chain or pronominal elements or, more precisely, the verbal root and possibly some (syntactic) suffixes. The non-finite verb is either the hamtu stem (R), the reduplicated hamtu stem (R-R), or the maru stem with /ed/ (R(m)-ed). The maru stem without /ed/ does not occur as non-finite verb (cf. § 509).

Basically there are four syntactic constructions in which the non-finite verb may occur: I. the asyntactic constructions: the verb has no affixes; II. the subordinate constructions: the verb with the suffix /-a/ is subordinate to another verb; III. the verb with the suffix /-e/ is dependent on a verb and expresses a purpose: 'in order to do so and so'; IV. the verb occurs as predicate with the enclitic copula.

A case postposition can be added to the subordinate forms, except to the forms ending in /-da/.

§ 501.

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For the writing of forms with /ed/, see § 253.
/-da/ in the 'pronominal conjugation', 1. and 2. person, is always written -dè.
For the identification of -dè with the comitative -da, see § 521.

§ 502. Negative Forms

The non-finite forms can be negated by the negative prefix /nu-/ (cf. §§ 359-365). For examples, see to the various constructions below.
The negative non-finite forms cannot always be distinguished from the finite forms without pronominal elements, e.g., /nu-ī-VERB/.

The Functions of the Non-Finite Forms

§ 503. Earlier Treatments

In the traditional Sumerian grammars the non-finite forms are classified rather according to their translation than to their grammatical functions:

1. Active, transitive participle: R, R(m)-ed
2. Intransitive and passive participle: R-a
3. Transitive and intransitive infinitive: R-a, R-ed-a, R-ed-e


It is evident that the Sumerian forms do not function exactly as the participles and infinitive of our languages. Sometimes the 'active, transitive participle', R, seems to be passive/intransitive, in other cases the 'intransitive/passive participle', R-a, must be translated as active and transitive. Several Sumerologists have studied the Sumerian non-finite forms, concentrating especially on the contrast between R/R(m)-ed and R-a:

I.T. Kaneva, 1970 p. 541-565, considered the difference between R and R-a chiefly aspectual. R she called 'transitive participle of the imperfective aspect', R-a 'transitive participle of the perfective aspect and/or intransitive participle regardless of aspect'. However, Kaneva did not recognize the morphological and aspectual distinctions of the hamtu and marù stems.

In his study of the hamtu and marù aspect D.O. Edzard, 1972,
stated that /-a/ can be combined with the _hamtu_ stem only. R-a, therefore, is originally perfective and neutral with regard to active and passive. Its function as passive participle is a secondary development, from the end of the Old Sumerian period on (1972 p. 33).

Several studies have especially concentrated on the function of the suffix /-a/ in the R-a form:

H. Limet, 1975 p. 5-19, regarded R-a as a perfective participle. /-a/, he considered, gives the verbal root 'une valeur de perfectif'.

B. Kienast, 1975 p. 1-27, on the other hand, assumed that the main function of /-a/ is to make nominal forms of the verb. Therefore, originally all non-finite forms had the ending -a and, according to Kienast, the non-finite form without suffix, R or R(m)-ed, is a secondary development. There is then no fundamental difference in meaning between the two forms, R-a and R.

J. Krecher, 1978c p. 376-403, investigated both non-finite verbs and adjectives, with and without /-a/, standing attributively to nouns. His main conclusion is that the attributive adjective or verb with /-a/ makes the noun definite. An adjective without /-a/ qualifies the noun, but ADJ + /-a/ qualifies and makes it definite. The verbal form R(_hamtu_) indicates a quality of the noun, whereas R(_maru_)-ed denotes either an imminent action or an action which occurs frequently and a quality, but never a state. The verbal root without /-a/ can never make the noun definite, but R(_hamtu_)-a indicates a state or the result of an action and makes the noun definite, just like ADJ + /-a/.

For references to the studies mentioned here, see Bibliography below § 527.

§ 504. The studies on non-finite forms quoted above (§ 503) almost all considered aspectual differences or differences between active and passive as the fundamental distinctions and some ascribed an aspectual function to the suffix /-a/. However, in my opinion, it must first of all be stated that the main distinction of the non-finite forms is between the verbal stem without suffix and the stem with /-a/. These forms are used in constructions which are substantially different as to syntax. Possible differences in aspect, like the frequently mentioned perfective:imperfective, are certainly due to the choice of
either hamtu or marû and not to the presence of /-a/. Forms with and without /-a/ occur both in hamtu and marû stem, R(h) and R(m)-ed : R(h)-a and R(m)-ed-a. The suffix /-a/ is therefore not an aspectual suffix but it denotes subordination, in the non-finite forms as well as in the relative and subjunctive clauses (cf. §§ 484-488).

The non-finite verb without suffix occurs in asyntactic constructions, whereas the form with /-a/ is subordinate either to a noun: R(h)-a, or to a verb: R(m)-ed-a. The form R(h)-a makes the noun definite as J. Krecher, 1978, stated (cf. above § 503), and, depending on whether this noun is the agent or the patient of the action, we must translate either active or passive. The distinction active:passive is thus not expressed morphologically in Sumerian, but our various translations are due to changes in the syntax.

The distinction between the asyntactic and subordinate constructions may tentatively be described by the following rather theoretical examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Asyntactic} & \\
N_2& N_1 \ R(h) : (lú) \ dub \ sar \\
\text{‘man who writes tablet(s)’} = & \text{‘scribe’} \\
N_2& N_1 \ R(m) \text{-ed} : lú \ dub \ sar-re \\
\text{‘the man (at this moment occupied by) writing a tablet’} & \\
N_1 & R(h) : níg \ ba \\
\text{‘something to give’} = & \text{‘gift’} \\
\text{Subordinate} & \\
N_2& N_1 \ R(h)-a : lú \ dub \ sar-ra \\
\text{‘the man who has written this tablet’} & \\
N_2& N_1 \ R(h)-a : lú \ dub \ sar-re \\
\text{‘the man (at this moment occupied by) writing a tablet’} & \\
N_1 & R(h) : níg \ ba \\
\text{‘something to give’} = & \text{‘gift’} \\
N_1 & R(h)-a : dub \ sar-ra \\
\text{‘this tablet which has been written’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Asyntactic Constructions

§ 505. This type of non-finite construction consists of one or two nouns and the verbal root: (N_2\ ) N_1 \ R. N_2 represents the ergative subject, N_1 the absolutive object of a corresponding finite clause, but the nouns in the non-finite construction occur without case postpositions. Therefore they are called an asyntactic sequence of nouns and verbs.

N_2 N_1 R corresponds to N_2-e(erg.) N_1 (abs.) PREF-VERB(trans.) e.g., (lú) á tuku ‘man having strength (lit.: arm)’, corresponding to
/lú-e á i-n-tuku/ 'the man has strength'. \(N_2\) is mostly animate and agentive, \(N_1\) is inanimate and non-agentive.

A dimensional unit can be inserted between \(N_2\) and \(N_1\) or between \(N_1\) and the verb (ex. 740, 744-746).

The verb occurs both in the \(hamtu\) stem, the reduplicated \(hamtu\) stem, and in the \(maru\) stem + /ed/.

§ 506. The asyntactic construction denotes in most cases a transitive action, so at least in our eyes. This is the case whether the verb is \(hamtu\) or \(maru\), or whether all three members of the construction, \(N_2\) \(N_1\) \(R\), or only two, \(N_1\) \(R\), are mentioned: diğir sağ zıg 'god who lifts the head', dub sar 'scribe'.

But there are a few cases where \(N_1\) \(R\) seems to denote a \(nomen concretum\) or the result of an action, e.g., níg ba 'gift', şe ba 'barley ration'. In these forms the verb is always \(hamtu\).

The reason why dub.sar is understood as (lú) dub sar 'one who writes tablet(s)', but níg.ba and şe.ba not as 'giver' and 'distributor', respectively, is not obvious. níg.ba, şe.ba and a few similar expressions (see below § 508) could be 'frozen' forms, perhaps very old, and their meaning have been lexicalized, whereas the 'active' form of the asyntactic construction is the common and productive type. However, since the Sumerian verbal root is neutral as regards the categories intransitive(one-part.) and transitive(two-part.), it might be asked whether the 'active' meaning of the asyntactic form originally depended on the syntax. This means that \(N_2\) \(N_1\) \(R\) was the 'active' type, because \(N_2\) represented the animate agent of the action, whereas \(N_1\) \(R\) was the 'passive' forms, since no agent is mentioned. The 'active' dub.sar is then an abbreviated form from original lú dub sar, but the meaning 'scribe' is lexicalized for the short form, dub sar. The \(nomen concretum\), \(N_1\) \(R\), seems to be replaced by constructions with nam or níg (see § 59).

§ 507. Examples:

\(Hamtu\) Forms:

(736) nin-\(\text{-}g\)u\(_{10}\) (...) diğir sağ zıg 'my queen, goddess who lifts the head' (Gudea, cyl. A II 29)

(737) lugal kur dúb 'king who smashes the foreign land' (Gudea, cyl. A XIV 18)
(738) ur.sag níg.ba-e(loc.-term.) ki ág-ra(dat.) 'to the hero who
loves gifts' (Gudea, cyl. A VI 26)

(739) gud huš zig-ga gaba.gi₄ nu-tuku 'the wild bull rising, having
no opponent' (Gudea, cyl. A XIV 14) Note the intransitive
/zig-a/ as opposed to the transitive nu-tuku and gi₄.

(740) giš.nu₁₁ il-la-(a-)ni kur.ša-ga igi ǧál 'his rising light which
looks straight into the heart of the mountain' (Enlil Hymn
4)

(741) DNè.eri₁₁.gal en ní gur₆ 'Nergal, awe-inspiring lord (lit.:
who wears fear)' (Nergal Hymn 6)

Reduplicated Hamtu Forms:

(742) tukul-ĝu₁₀ Šár.ûr kur šu-še ĝar-ĝar 'my weapon, Šarur,
which makes all lands submit' (Gudea, cyl. A IX 24)

(743) ud kalām til-til-(erg.) ki-a ur₅ im-ša₄ 'the storm, which
totally annihilates the land, roars on the earth' (Ur Lament
183)

(744) nin (...) inim kug An-(na-)ta inim dug₄-dug₄ (...) kur gul-
gul 'queen, making all decisions at the holy command of
An, destroyer of all the lands' (Exaltation of Inanna 15-17)

Marû Forms: /R(marû)-ed/

(745) si.ĝar-bi-ta muš.ša.tur muš.huš am-še eme ē-dē, /ē.d-ed/
'from its bolt ...-snakes and dragons are stretching out their
tongues against the bull' (Gudea, cyl. A XXVI 24-25)

(746) AN.IM.DUGUD mušen an.šár-ra sig₄ gi₄-gi₄ 'the Anzu-bird,
crying in heaven' (Gudea, cyl. A XI 3)

(747) DNin.ĝîr.su Abzu-a gal di 'Ningirsu, speaking great (things)
in Abzu' (Gudea, cyl. A II 11)

(748) é DNanše-ka bar-ra ku₄-ku₄ ša-ga nu-ēa (a: so three texts,
two texts have nu-ē-e, one text has nu-ē-a), /ku₄.ku₄-ed/,
/nu-ē-ed/ or /nu-ē-a/ 'what enters the house of Nanše from
outside shall not go out from the inside' (Nanše Hymn 84)

(749) DEn.ki (...) di pád-dē Utu ē-ta Utu šú-uš-še ĝalga sum-mu,
/pád-ed/, /sum-ed/ 'Enki, finding the decision, giving advice
from sunrise to sunset' (Ur-Ninurta Hymn B 4)
§ 508. *The Asyntactic Form* as nomen concretum

Examples are:

níg.ba ‘gift’
še ba ‘barley ration’
sá dug₄ (regular delivery)

țiš hur ‘drawing, plan’
níg kud (a tax)

For these expressions, cf. D.O. Edzard, 1972 p. 8f.

§ 509. *The Asyntactic Marû Form*

It is here assumed that the asyntactic marû form always has the morpheme /ed/. This means that forms like, e.g., /ğá.gá/ or /du/ do not occur, but exclusively /ğá.gá-ed/(marû) and /ğar/(hamtu) or /du-ed/(marû) and /ğen/(hamtu), and also, of course, the reduplicated hamtu forms. Theoretically ğá-gá, gi₄-gi₄, ku₄-ku₄ etc. can be marû forms both with and without /ed/, since the [e] and [d] of /ed/ are not written after a vowel and when no suffix follows. However, since the marû stems of the other non-finite constructions are always followed by /ed/, e.g., ğá-ğá-dè, nu-gi₄-gi₄-dam etc., it seems logical to restore /ed/ in the asyntactic constructions too.¹⁰² This assumption is also supported by asyntactic forms of regular verbs with the ending –e or –Ce (or –Cu). e.g., pâd–dè and sum–mu (in ex. 749).¹⁰³

The future meaning of /ed/ (cf. §§ 255-257) can apparently not be found with the non-finite forms in the asyntactic construction.

§ 510. *The Reduplicated Hamtu Forms*

Sometimes the reduplicated hamtu form occurs with the suffix –e. In most cases this –e can be interpreted as the ergative postposition (ex. 743), but in other cases it remains unexplained. The only possible explanation seems to be that it represents /ed/. This use of /ed/ with the reduplicated hamtu stem is, however, unique.¹⁰⁴

(750) nin DEn.lîl-gin₇ nam tar–tar–re DNanše–ğu₁₀ dug₄–ga–zu
zid–dam ‘lady who decides all fates like Enlil, my Nanše,
your word is righteous’ (Gudea, cyl. A IV 9-10)

(751) dub sar–sar–re–me–en ‘you are (like) one who is writing
tables all the time’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 122)

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(752) ša lugal-la-na dug-dug-ge-ra 'to him who pleases the heart of the king again and again' (Letter B 16, 7)

§ 511. Hamtu Versus Maru Forms

The difference in meaning between the hamtu and the maru forms is difficult for us to grasp and to express in the translation. Generally it seems that the hamtu forms denote some constant quality of the ‘subject’ (N2), cf. (lú) á tuku ‘a strong man’, and the form is therefore also used as nomen agentis, e.g., dub sar ‘scribe’, kug dím ‘silversmith’, lit.: ‘who forms silver’. The reduplicated hamtu form is used in the same way, but stresses the plurality of the object (N1).

The maru forms, on the other hand, seems to describe an action which actually takes place while telling the story, but it also denotes an action of some duration.

Subordinate Constructions

§ 512. The verbal root + /a/ occurs in various syntactically different constructions. There is also a grammatical difference between the constructions with hamtu stem and those with maru + /ed/. The first is relative, subordinate to a noun (§§ 513-518), the latter subordinate to a verb and thus comparable to the subjunctive (cf. §§ 522-523).

The reduplicated hamtu stem is very rare in subordinate constructions and seems to occur only as R–R–a–POSS–dè. Maru forms can also occur in this construction, cf. §§ 519-521.

In all constructions listed below, N1 corresponds to the absolutive subject/object of a one-part./two-part. verb, while N2 denotes the ergative subject of a two-participant verb.

The Subordinate Hamtu Forms

§ 513. The non-finite form R(hamtu)-a is traditionally described as ‘intransitive and passive participle’. This agrees with the type:

(a) N1 R(h)-a, Utu è-a ‘the rising sun’,
    inim dug4-ga ‘the spoken word’

The intransitive or passive translation depends on whether N1 is agentive or not. In both cases the verbs, è-a and dug4-ga, make the noun definite, just like the relative clauses: Utu i-è-a ‘the sun which rose’,
    inim ba-dug4-ga ‘the word which was spoken’.

Cf. ex. 753-756 in § 517.
§ 514. The ergative agent of the verb can also be specified in the subordinate construction, either in the ergative or in the genitive:

(b) \( N_1 N_2 -e R(h)-a, \text{inim An-né dug}_4\text{-ga} \) 'the word spoken by An'
(c) \( N_1 R(h)-a N_2 -ak, \text{inim dug}_4\text{-ga An-na} \) 'the word spoken by An', lit.: 'An's spoken word'

Both constructions correspond to the finite relative clause: inim An-né in-dug₄-ga 'the word which An has spoken'. I cannot explain the possible semantic difference between (b) and (c).

For examples, see § 517.

§ 515. In one subordinate construction the verbal form cannot be translated as passive, but is rather active:

(d) \( N_2 N_1 R(h)-a, \text{lú é dú-a} \) 'the man who has built this house'

Here the agentive noun, \( N_2 = \text{lú} \), is determined by the phrase é dú-a, and it seems therefore active. It corresponds to the finite relative clause: lú é in-dú-a, 'the man who has built the house'.

For examples, see § 517.

§ 516. The seeming active meaning of type (d) above has confused those who thought R-a to be a passive participle. But, like the syntactic form R, the subordinate R(h)-a is neither active nor passive, neither transitive nor intransitive. The active and passive forms in our languages consider the action from different viewpoints: from the point of view of the agent(active) or of the patient(passive). Sumerian does not have morphologically distinct forms for this, but expresses almost the same by changing the syntax.

§ 517. Examples:

Type (a): \( N_1 R(h)-a \)

(753) igi-zu-šè dusu kug gub-ba 'the holy basket which stands before you' (Gudea, cyl. A VI 6)
(754) kur a-ta ūl-la 'the mountain rising out of the water' (Gudea, cyl. A III 19)
(755) gal₅.lá ti-la 'the sitting demon' (Dumuzi's Dream 134)
(756) An-gin₇, dín-ma 'created like An' (Angim 1)
Type (b): $N_1 N_2 - e R(h)-a$

This is the so-called Mes-anne-pada construction, after the personal name: mes An-né pàd-da ‘the young man, called by An’.

(757) E.ninnu An-né ki ĝar-ra ‘Eninnu founded by An’ (lit.: ‘placed on the ground’) (Gudea, cyl. A IX 11)

(758) a nun-né ša kug-ga ru-a ‘the seed engendered by the prince in the holy womb’ (Šulgi Hymn X 93)

(759) ú-a Uri₂ ki₄-ma DEn.lîl-le ĝar-ra ‘provider of Ur, installed by Enlil’ (Warad-Sin 12, 7-8)

Type (c): $N_1 R(h)-a N_2 - ak$

(760) Gù.dé.a unu₆ mah-a(loc.) tu-da DĜátûm.dûg-ga-kam ‘Gudea, born by Ĝatumdug in the sanctuary’ (Gudea, cyl. A XVII 13-14)

Type (d): $N_2 N_1 R(h)-a$

(761) lugal-juana D Nin.ĝîr.su en a huš gi₄-a ‘my king, Ningîr-su, the lord who returns the wild water’ (Gudea, cyl. A VIII 15)

(762) Gù.dé.a lù é dû-a-ra mu-na-ab-ús-e ‘he brings it to Gudea, the man who has built the house’ (Gudea, cyl. A XV 13-14)

(763) A.kal.la lù saq sa₁₀-a ‘Akala, the man who has bought the slave’ (NG nr. 37, 17)

(764) ama dumu-ni gù á-zî dé-a, dumu ama-a-ni-ir ka-dû-a dug₄-ga ‘a mother who shouts at her child, a child who speaks obstinately to his mother’ (Nanše Hymn 168-169)

§ 518. The subordinate constructions (a)-(c) can, like the relative clause, qualify a noun which represents a dative or another dimensional case:

(e) $N_3 N_1 R(h)-a (N_2 - ak)$

$N_3$ is a virtual dative or another case, the two-part. subject $N_2$, is often added at the end of the construction, with genitive.

**Example:**

(765) En.te.me.na ensi₂ Lagaški ĝidru sum-ma DEn.lîl-lá(-k) ‘Entemenâ, the ensi of Lagaš, to whom Enlil has given the sceptre’ (Ent. 28 V 19-23)
The Pronominal Conjugation

§ 519. A possessive suffix can be added to the subordinate form, both in the hamṭu and the marû form: R(h)-a-POSS and R(m)-ed-a-POSS. The possessive suffix denotes the subject of the verb: as subject of a two-participant verb it corresponds to N₂-aš in type (c) above, but the suffix can also represent the absolutive subject of a one-participant verb.

The pronominal conjugation serves almost as a temporal clause, denoting an action simultaneous with or immediately preceding the action of the main verb.

§ 520. The constructions of the 3. person forms on the one side and the 1. and 2. person forms on the other side are slightly different.

Examples, 3. person forms:

(766) ur.sağ ē-a-na ku₄-ku₄-da-ni ud mē-šē KA ġá-ġgar-ām, /ku₄-ku₄-ed-a-ani/ ‘when the hero enters his house he is (like) the storm calling for fight’ (Gudea, cyl. B V 4-5)

(767) DBa.ba₆ (...) á ná-da-ka-na ku₄-ra-ni ʾidīdigna a.ū-ba ġá-ġgar-ām, /ku₄.r-a-ani/ ‘having stepped to her bed (lit.: the side of her bed), Baba is (like) the Tigris at high water’ (Gudea, cyl. B V 10-13)

(768) BIR.HUR.TUR-ra₄ abul-la ē-da-ni kā-abul-la-ka bmu-ni-in₄-dab₅-bé-eš (a: -re; b-b: mu-un-) ‘As B. goes out of the gate they catch him in the gateway’ (Gilgameš and Aka 60-61) Since the marû stem of ę is ę.d (cf. the form ę-dé-dam), we would expect ę-dé-da-ni = /ę.d-ed-a-ani/

§ 521. To the 1. and 2. person forms an element -dē is mostly added. This form does not occur before the Old Babylonian period. -dē is probably the comitative postposition /-da/, denoting ‘with my/your (going, etc.)’. Another possibility is that -dē derives from the ablative-instrumental /-ta/: -ta > -da > -dē. This was suggested by G.B. Gragg, 1973a p. 128f., on the basis of the form ku₄-ku₄-da-ni-ta, /ku₄.ku₄-ed-a-ani-ta/ ‘when she has entered’ (Inanna’s Descent 100). Cf. the temporal clauses with -ta (§§ 489-490). No postposition can follow after -dē.

Plural forms are not attested.

Examples:

(769) a ša a dé-a-zu-dè ‘when you water the field’ (Georgica 4 = UET VI/2, 172: 4)

(770) ká é.gal-la-šè gen-a-ĝu₁₀-dè simlim-ma lugal-ĝá-ke₄ èn li-bí-in-tar ‘When I came to the gate of the palace, no one asked about the health of my king’ (Letter A 1, 9-10)

(771) ku₄-ku₄-da-ĝu₁₀-dè gišgu.za gaba-ba KUG.GI gir.ĝar.ra lú na-ma-an-de₆, /ku₄.ku₄-ed-a-ĝu-da/, /na-mu-DAT.1.sg.-n-de₆/ ‘when I was entering, someone brought me a chair with golden ... (and) a footstool’ (Letter A.1, 23-24)

The Subordinate Marû Form

§ 522. The subordinate marû form, (N₁) R(m)-ed-a, is mostly directly subordinate to a finite verb, e.g., ‘to say’, ‘to declare’, ‘to order’ etc. It is thus exactly parallel to the subjunctive clause (see §§ 484-485). Possibly due to the morpheme /ed/ the form denotes an action which has not yet taken place. The subject of the subordinate verb is, as a rule, not the same as the subject of the main verb.

The form R(m)-ed-a is often confused with the construction R(m)-ed-e (see §§ 524-525). In the Old Babylonian literary texts the writings -da and -dè often occur as variants in the duplicates. The distinction between R(m)-ed-a and R(m)-ed-e as described here and in § 524 is thus not consistently carried through in all texts, and we can perhaps say that the two, originally distinct forms, at some moment, in post-Sumerian times, have merged into one category.

The R(m)-ed-a and R(m)-ed-e forms have been discussed in detail by D.O. Edzard, 1967, especially p. 43 and 46.¹⁰⁵

§ 523. Examples:

(772) é-a-ni dú-da ma-an-dug₄, /dú-ed-a/, /mu-DAT.1.sg.-n-dug₄/ ‘he has ordered me to build his house’ (Gudea, cyl. A IV 20)

(773) ûg-bi ug₅-ge-daₐ á mu-un-āg-eš-a-ba (a: var. has -dè), /ug₅-ed-a/, /mu-n-āg-eš-a-bi-a/ ‘after they have ordered that its people be put to death’ (Ur Lament 142)

Cf. the R(m)-ed-e forms, subordinate to the verb á...áğ, in the next example:

(774) ùg-e ú nir.ğál gu₇- (ù-) dè a dûg na₈ na₈ - dè DEn.lîl-le á-bi mu-da-na-áğ, /gu₇- ed-e/, /na₈ na₈ - ed-e/, /mu-da-na-(n-) áğ/ 'Enlil has ordered you to let the people eat fine grass and drink sweet water' (Iddin-Dagan Hymn B 10-11)

Note the change from R(m)-ed-a to R(m)-ed-e in the next example; the subordinate form is expected:

(775) İ.si.in ki nam.gá.nun DEn.lîl-la-şè gá-gá-da mu TUKU. TUKU-da nam.ra.ak-(ka- )ne-ne(-a) ak-dè uruki uruki-bi TUŞ.TUŞ-ù-dè, DEn.lîl-le gá-a-ra ma-an-dug₄ ‘Enlil has ordered me to establish Isin as the ... of Enlil, to let it have a name (i.e. be famous), to gather their booty, to inhabit their cities’ (Letter A 3, 12-14)

See also the examples in § 525.

§ 524. The Form R(m)-ed-e

The construction (N₂) R(m)-ed-e is indirectly dependent on a main verb. In contrast to the form R(m)-ed-a, the subject of the verb R(m)-ed-e and the subject of the main verb are, as a rule, identical. The form R(m)-ed-e denotes an intention or a purpose, something to take place in the future, as indicated by the morpheme /ed/. R(m)-ed-e and R(m)-ed-a are often confused, see above § 522.

The form R(m)-ed-e has been discussed in D.O. Edzard, 1967, especially p. 41-44.

§ 525. Examples:

(776) é dû-dè igi-zu ù dûg-ga nu-ši-ku₄-ku₄, /dû- ed-e/, /nu-ši-ku₄- ku₄ - en/ ‘in order to build the house you will not let sweet sleep enter your eyes’ (Gudea, cyl. A VI 11)

(777) é DNin.ğir.su-ka dû-dè Gü.dé.a uru-ni Ğir.su ki-şè gü mu-na-si-si, /dû- ed-e/, /mu-na-si-si-e/ ‘in order to build the house of Ningirsu they (Magan and Meluhha) assemble for Gudea in his city Ğirsu’ (Gudea, cyl. A XV 9-10)

tūr-bi-a nu-gub-bu-dē, udu-bi amaš-bi-a nu-daḏal-ea-dē (...), An D En.līl D En.ki D Nin.hur.sag,ga-ke₄ nam-bi ba-an-tar-re-eš (a: -lu-) 'that the days shall be changed, the plans be ruined, that the me’s of Sumer shall be destroyed, that the rulership returns to its house, that cities shall be destroyed, that houses shall be destroyed, that stalls shall be destroyed, sheep-folds destroyed, that its ox shall not stand in its stall, that its sheep shall not be numerous in its sheep-fold, (...) — An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursaĝa have decided it as its (Ur’s) fate’ (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 1-8 and 55 = BE XXXXI, 3 = UET VI/2, 124; 125)

(779) E.kur ǧišmá mah-gin₇ gul-gul-lu-dē, kur kug ba.al-gin₇ sahar du₈-a-ù-dē, hur.sag na₄za.gin-na-gin₇ kud-re-dē, uru D ɪškur-e ba-an-de₆-a-gin₇ gu ki-šē bgang-a-dēb, ē-e kur ǧiš’erēn kud nu-me-a uruduha-zi.in gal-gal ba-ši-in-dé-dē (a: dû-; b-b: ba-an-da-ab-lā) ‘in order to destroy Ekur like a huge boat, to turn it into dust like a mountain where silver is dug, to cut it into pieces like a mountain of lapis lazuli, to bow its neck to the earth like a city that Iškur has carried away, (therefore) he cast big axes against the house, although it is no mountain where cedars are felled’ (Curse of Akkade 110-115)

§ 526. Non-finite Forms with Enclitic Copula

The enclitic copula can be added after the non-finite forms, e.g.,

(780) lú é lugal-na dû-dam, /dû-ed + -a-m/ ‘this is the man who builds the house of his king’, or probably: ‘who is going to build’ (Gudea, cyl. A XVI 18)

(781) mu Lú.D Ba.ba₆ -šē Dug₄.ga.zid.da Ĝeme₂.D Lama-ra sum-mu-dam, /sum-ed + -a-m/ ‘Instead of Lu-Baba it is Duga-zida who shall give this to Ĝeme-Lama’ (NG nr. 7, 11-14)

With the 1. and 2. person the enclitic copula probably replaces the personal pronoun (cf. § 545):

(782) nin ama Lagaš₃ ki ġar-ra-me, ġar-a + -me-en/ ‘you, the lady, the mother who has founded Lagaš’ (Gudea, cyl. A III 3)
In the form $N_1 \ R(m)$-ed-a-m the morpheme /ed/ surely points to the future; $R(m)$-ed-a-m denotes something which has to be done, something inevitable (cf. D.O. Edzard, 1967 p. 39):

(783) èn-bi tar-re-dam, /tar-ed + -a-m/ 'it has to be examined'
     (NG nr. 212, 25)
(784) é-e gu₇-dam, /gu₇-ed + -a-m/ 'things) to eat for the palace'
     (AWL nr. 44 III 4)

§ 527. Bibliography

COMPOUND VERBS

§ 528. A compound verb is a frequently occurring combination of a verb and a certain direct object making up a semantic unit, e.g., igi...bar ‘to look at’, lit.: ‘to open the eye’, ģeštug₂...gub ‘to set the mind (lit.: ear) to’. The meaning of a compound verb cannot always be explained from the meaning of the individual members, for instance: sá...dug₄ ‘to reach’ = ‘to say ...(?)’, si...sá ‘to make straight’ = ‘...’.

An adjective or an adverbial expression can occur as an established part of the compound: igi zid...bar ‘to look faithfully at’, sağ an-šè...ı’il ‘to lift the head towards heaven’.

Grammatically the compound verbs do not differ substantially from other verbs. The object of the compound verb usually stands immediately before the verb, or possibly separated by the adjective or adverb as mentioned above. This is of course the normal position of the object, but with other verbs the word order is more free. The criterion whether a verb must be considered as a compound verb is fairly vague, it is usually not based entirely on grammatical reasons, but rather on the meaning of the verb.

For the definition of the category compound verb, see the comments by E. Sollberger, 1952 p. 41f. See also J.N. Postgate, 1974 p. 35f.

§ 529. Some examples of compound verbs are:

kig...áğ ‘to love’ sá...dug₄ ‘to reach’
šu...bal ‘to change’ pa...è ‘to make resplendent’
igi...bar ‘to look at’ ad...gi₄ ‘to take counsel’
ģá.la...dag ‘to cease doing ģeštug₂...gub ‘to set the mind something’
    something’
ğù...dé ‘to call, to cry’ ģú...ĝar ‘to submit’
igi...dug₈ ‘to look upon’ sağ an-šè...ı’il ‘to lift the head al-dug₄ ‘to demand’
                              towards heaven’
ù...ku ‘to sleep’
šağ.e.eš...rīg₇ ‘to grant’
si...sá ‘to make straight, to prepare’

gāl...tag₄ ‘to open’
nam...tar ‘to decree the fate’
šu...ti ‘to receive’

A list of the compound verbs occurring in the Gudea texts can be found in A. Falkenstein, *GSGL* I p. 119-128. A similar list for the Isin-Larsa royal inscriptions is in I. Kärki, 1967 p. 88-94.

See also Catalogue of Verbs below p. 295-323.

§ 530. Examples:

(785) ḫṣu gigir-bi kug. NE za.gin-na šu u-ma-ni-tag, /u-i-ba-ni-e-tag/ ‘when you have decorated this chariot with ...-metal and lapis lazuli’ (Gudea, cyl. A VI 19)

(786) mu-bi kur ša-še pa bī-è, /bi-(n-è)/ ‘he made its name resplendent until the center of the mountains’ (Gudea, cyl. A XXIV 11-12)

(787) nam u-mu-tar a.ba(-a) šu a-mi-ni-ib₄-bal-e (a-a: i-ni-ib-), /bi-ni-b-bal-e/ ‘after you have decreed the fate — who will change it?’ (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 103)

(788) NaNše(-er) sağ-e gu aš-a a mu-(un-)na-ab-sá-e (a: -ām for -a), /mu-na-b-sá-e/ ‘for Nanše she makes straight the row of the servants as a single thread’ (Nanše Hymn 101)

(789) i.ne.še ab.lål kur-ra₄ gāl bù-bí-in₂-tag₄ (a: -re; b-b: [um]-ma-an-), /u-bi-n-tag₄/ ‘now, after you have opened a hole in the underworld’ (Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld 240)

(790) níg.dùg-ge níg.dùg-ge al na-an-ga-ām-mi-in-dug₄₄, /na-i-ga-bi-n-dug₄₄/¹⁰⁶ ‘sweet things, sweet things he has indeed also wished’ (Nanna-Suen Hymn E 6)

(791) kuš álā na-ğāl-la ki-bi-še sá im-dug₄₄, /i-m-dug₄₄/ ‘where there is no ala-drums, he let it reach its place’ (Enki’s Journey to Nippur 94)

(792) níg.si.sá(-e) ki ha-ba-āg-ğā(-ām) níg.érım₂-e ki la-ba-ra-āg-ğā(-ām), /ha-ba-āg-a-m/, /nu-ba-ra(abl.)-āg-a-m/ ‘I love the right, I do not love the evil’ (Šulgi Hymn A 23-24)

¹⁰⁶. For the analysis of the verbal form, see § 325.
§ 531. Since the Sumerian verb cannot have two direct objects, the noun corresponding to the object in the translation (the second or indirect object) stands in a dimensional case, very often the locative-terminative, for instance: sąḡ-e (ex. 788), nīḡ-dūḡ-ge (ex. 790), nīḡ. si.sā-e (ex. 792), ē-e (ex. 793). But a compound verb can also take other cases, cf. § 476.

In one-participant constructions the nominal member of the compound (giš in ex. 795, gu in ex. 796) is the absolutive subject of the verb, and the ‘second object’ still stands in the dimensional case, in ex. 795 and 796 in the locative-terminative.

(795) gu.dé-a-ni giš ba-tuku-ām, /ba-tuku-a-m/ ‘his cry has been heard’ (Gudea, cyl. B III 2) Cf. ex. 794
(796) im sīg.ba-ke₄ gu ba-dé, /ba-dé/ ‘the wool-ration tablet has been called for’ (TCS I nr. 149, 3-4) Cf. Postgate, 1974 p. 36f.

§ 532. A construction which seems to be peculiar to the compound verb is that in some cases the noun and the verb occur as the direct object of an ‘auxiliary’ verb, ak or dug₄. There seems to be no semantic distinction between the ordinary compound verbs and such ‘double compounds’.

(797) temen-bi i ir.nun-ka šu tag ba-ni-dug₄, /ba-ni-(n-)dug₄/ ‘he has decorated its foundation with fine oil’ (Gudea, St. C III 8-10) Cf. ex. 785
(798) Eninnu me-bi an ki-a pa è mu-ak-ke₄, /mu-ak-e/ ‘he makes the me of Eninnu resplendent in heaven and earth’ (Gudea, cyl. A I 11) Cf. ex. 786
(799) inim (...)a šu bal bī-in-ak-ēš, /bi-n-ak-ēš/ ‘they have changed (their) statement’ (NG nr. 113, 23-24) Cf. ex. 787

§ 533. In post-Sumerian texts, especially after the Old Babylonian period, the compound is sometimes misunderstood and taken as the
verbal stem. This is probably due to a misunderstanding of the lexical texts where the whole Sumerian compound is quoted with the Akkadian translation, e.g., si sá = esēru. But sometimes only the verbal root (e.g., sá) is listed in the lexical texts with translations of various compounds (sá = esēru, etc.).


§ 534. Bibliography

THE VERB ME 'TO BE' AND THE ENCLITIC COPULA

§ 535. The root of the Sumerian verb 'to be' is me. It has only this basic stem which cannot be differentiated according to tense or aspect.

The meaning of me both as finite verb and in enclitic position is simply 'to be', and it expresses the predicate. It has no semantic overtones like 'to exist'.

Cf. for instance Th. Jacobsen in Gordon, 1958 p. 549: 'me always means 'to be (in some fashion)'/'Sosein', and not 'to be (somewhere)'/'Dasein', which is always gâl or gâ-gâ.'

G.B. Gragg, 1968 p. 102: 'In fact it is misleading even to speak of the meaning of the copula in Sumerian. The copula is not present in the deep structure generated by the P(hrase) S(tracture) rules. It is introduced into Sumerian sentences solely by a copula-insertion transformation, and has no other function than to mark certain types of predication and to act as a verb-like carrier of affixes.'

me is used both as a finite and a non-finite verb as well as in enclitic position. The enclitic form is perhaps the most common. Finite forms, on the other hand, are almost exclusively found with modal prefixes, or occasionally with case prefixes, which cannot be expressed with the enclitic copula.

The Finite Forms of me

§ 536. me occurs always as a one-participant verb with pronominal suffixes:

1.sg. ...-me-en
2.sg. ...-me-en
3.sg. ...-me

1.pl. ...-me-enden
2.pl. ...-me-enzen
3.pl. ...-me-eš
§ 537. Examples:

(801) pi.lu₅.da ud-bi-ta e-me-a (var.: e-me-am₆), /i-me-a(-m)/ 'these were abuses of former days' (Ukg. 4 VII 26-28)

(802) ur.sag ug₅-ga i-me-ša-ke₄-éš ka-bi ki a nag-šè mu-ğar, /i-me-eš-a-ak-eš(e)/ 'because they are dead heroes he set their mouth to the water-drinking place' (Gudea, cyl. A XXVI 15-16)

(803) mŠeš.kal.la dumu Ur.DLama-ka-ke₄ ir Ur.DSahar.DBa.ba₆-ka nu-ù-me-en bi-in-dug₄, /nu-i-me-en/ 'Šeš-kala, the son of Ur-Lama, said: 'I am not the slave of Ur-Sahar-Baba' (NG nr. 32, 2-4) In other cases the same phrase is written nu-me, see NG III p. 140.

(804) mí.ús.sa-zu mí.ús.sa-ğu₁₀ ba-ra-me, /bara-i-me/ 'your son-in-law shall not be my son-in-law' (NG nr. 18, 24)

(805) diğir hé-me-en-žé-en inim ga-mu-ra-an-dug₄, /ha-i-me-enzen/ 'should you be gods, I will say you a word' (Inanna's Descent 242)

(806) E.kur-šè za.e lú-bi hé-me-en, /ha-i-me-en/ 'for Ekur you are indeed its man' (Iddin-Dagan Hymn B 43)

(807) dumu-ni Ġîr.ǧîr [e]n.ne-bi-da DUdug eden-na DLama eden-na hé-em-ma-da-me-eš-âm, /ha-i-ba-da-me-eš-a-m/ 'her son Ġîrîgîr and she herself shall be the Udu of the plain and the Lama of the plain' (Inanna and Bilulu 111-112) Note both finite and enclitic form of me.

§ 538. Emesal Forms

In Emesal the verb apparently has the form [ĝe], see J. Krecher, 1967a p. 100 and 104, e.g.,

(808) ze ši-in-ga-ĝe₉(NE)-na, /ša-i-ga-me-en-a/ 'you are indeed' (Manch. Tam. VI 23, see Krecher, 1967a p. 100f.)

(809) é mu.tin ba-ra-ĝen-na-ğu₁₀ a.xe.er ba-da-ti, /ba-ra(abl.)-me-en-a-ğu(-a)/ 'in my house from where there was wine, is (now) lamentation' (Krecher, 1966 p. 57: IV 10)

§ 539. The form nu-me-a is probably a non-finite form. It is found in the expression ...-da nu-me-a 'without':
(810) kur gal DEn.lîl-da nu-me-a uru nu-du ádam ki li-bí-ib-gar, /nu-ı-du/, /nu-bi-b-gar/ 'without Enlil, the big mountain, no city is built, no village is founded' (Enlil Hymn 108-109)

§ 540. The verb me also occurs in some fixed expressions like: ga-nam-me-àm ‘it is indeed’, ur₅ hé-en-na-nam-me-àm ‘let it be so’. These forms can hardly be analysed according to the normal rules for the presence of verbal prefixes.

(811) šeš-ğu₁₀ D Nin.ğir.su ga-nam-me-àm ‘it was certainly my brother Ninígirsu’ (Gudea, cyl. A V 17)

The form hé-àm ‘let it be’, which can also be used as a noun in the sense ‘consent, approval’, is probably an extremely short finite form: /ha-ı-m(e)/. See § 400.

The Enclitic Copula

§ 541. The enclitic form of the verb me is added immediately after nouns, adjectives, pronouns and non-finite verbs, sometimes even after postpositions (cf. § 45). The enclitic copula can also be added to finite verbs.

The enclitic copula terminates the form or the clause, and no other suffix normally follows. The suffix of direct speech, /-eše/, may come after a noun + COP, see ex. 829.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.sg.</th>
<th>-me-en</th>
<th>1.pl.</th>
<th>-me-enderf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.sg.</td>
<td>-me-en</td>
<td>2.pl.</td>
<td>-me-enzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sg.</td>
<td>(-a)-m</td>
<td>3.pl.</td>
<td>-me-eš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3.sg. form is written -am₆ (in OS texts) or -ám (later than OS) and -Cam after consonants. After words ending in a vowel other than [a] it is often written -Vm (see ex. 815, 829), but also -ám (ex. 824). Theoretically the 1. and 2. person forms as well as the 3.pl. can be analysed both /-me-SUFFIX/ and /-m-SUFFIX/. In the Old Sumerian and Gudea texts the pronominal suffixes are not written and -me stands for both /-me-en/ and /-me-eš/. 1. and 2. plural forms are not attested in the early texts.

The Emesal form of 1. and 2.sg. is often written DU = -ğen, cf. § 538 above.
§ 542. The enclitic copula is the normal way to express the predicate. The enclitic copula can be regarded as a form of the verb me 'to be' of which the prefix chain has been deleted. A phrase ending with the enclitic copula is therefore a full sentence similar to those ending with a finite verb.

**Examples**

(812) dîgir-ra-ni DŠul.utul-am₆ 'his god is Šulutul' (Ent. 2 III 2-3)
(813) pa.bil.ga-ni Ur.¹Nanše ensi₂ Lagaški-kam 'his grandfather, Ur-Nanše, was the ensi of Lagaš' (Ean. 2 VIII 4-7)
(814) An.ta.sur.ra ǧá-kam, /ga-ak-a-m/ 'Antasura is mine' (Ukg. 6 IV 7-9)
(815) zà.mí mu.ru-bi-im 'it is the middle of the hymn' (anticipatory genitive: /zà.mí(-ak) mu.ru.b-bi-m/) (Gudea, cyl. A XXX 16)
(816) ama nu-tuku-me ama-ǧu₁₀ zé-me, /nu-tuku-ed-me-en/, /zé-me-en/ 'I am one having no mother, you are my mother' (Gudea, cyl. A III 6)
(817) min-kam ur.saḡ-ǧá-ām á mu-gur, /min-ak-a-m/, /ur.saḡ-a-m/ 'secondly there was a hero, he has bent his arm' (Gudea, cyl. A V 2-3)
(818) (... ...) saغا-sağ-a-ne dusu-šè i-īl-am₆ 'these were the things which the temple administrators brought as offerings' (Ukg. 4 V 19-21)

§ 543. The enclitic copula is regularly used with numerals, both with cardinal and ordinal numbers, see §§ 140-141.

(819) tūmuṣen min-nam igi-ba šembi ba-ni-ǧar 'the pigeons are two, he placed kohl on their eyes' (Ean. 1 XVIII 2-3)

§ 544. The enclitic copula may also be used in descriptions and comparisons, almost equivalent to -gin₇ 'like'. In post-Sumerian texts the copula and the equative are often used side by side. In other cases -gin₇ replaces the enclitic copula of earlier texts (ex. 822).

Post-Sumerian lexical texts translate the copula with Akkadian kīma 'like' (NBGT IX 270f. = MSL IV p. 175), cf. W. Heimpel, 1968 p. 33 ff.

(820) é-a dub.lá-bi šu₄.shu₄-ga-bi La.ha.ma Abzu-da šu₄-ga-ām
'the portals of the house (as) they stand (there) are the Lahama-gods standing by in Abzu' (Gudea, cyl. A XXIV 26-27)

(821) é kur gal-àm an-né im-ús 'the house is a big mountain, it reaches to heaven' (i.e. 'it reaches heaven like a big mountain') (Gudea, cyl. B I 6)

(822) ud-gin, an-ṣūr-ra-ti dum.dam mu-ni-ib-za = ḫi-[ma u₄]me i-na i-[ṣid] šamē [ud-da]-az-za-am 'he howled like a storm at the horizon' (Angim 74) This is the Neo-Assyrian version of Angim, the OB texts have ud-dam.

§ 545. When an apposition or an epithet is present the enclitic copula is used instead of the personal pronoun: ĝá-e é mu-dù 'I indeed have built the house', but

(823) sipa-me(-en) é mu-dù 'I, the shepherd have built the house' (Gudea, cyl. B II 5). In this case sipa-me(-en) means probably simply 'I, the shepherd', and not 'I am the shepherd'. The construction *ĝá-e sipa etc. seems to be ungrammatical, or it is at least not very frequent (cf. § 95).

§ 546. When the enclitic copula occurs after a finite verb it possibly emphasizes the whole sentence:

(824) lugal-ni-ir ud-dè maš.ĝi₆-ka Gù.dé.a en D Nin.ĝir.su-ra igi mu-ni-du₄-âm, /mu-ni-(n-)du₈-a-m/ 'Gudea saw his king, the lord Ninĝirsu, on this day in a dream' (or perhaps: 'it was his king he saw ...') (Gudea, cyl. A I 17-18)

(825) bur an-na mu-de₆ tin mu-ni-dé-dé
DA.nun ki Lagaški en D Nin.ĝir.su-da ki-bi mu-da-rín-né-eš-âm
ews-a-nam.išib-ba šu mi-ni-du₇
/mu-(n-)de₆/, /mu-ni-(n-)dè.dè/, /mu-da-rín-eš-a-m/, /bi-ni-(n-)du₇/ 'he brought the bowl of heaven, he poured wine into it, — it is the Anun of Lagaš who are shining there with Ninĝirsu — in the house he completed the rites of the purification priest' (Gudea, cyl. B V 21-23) If the translation is correct the phrase with -âm seems to be an interpolation in the passage.

(826) D Iš.mε, D Da.gan (...)-ra ud D En.lîl-le D Nin.urt₄ ur.sag kalag-ga-ni maškim-šè mu-ni-in-tuku-a, šita mi.tu₄m sag ninnu
mu-na-dîm, sig₄ al-ûr-ra ġīštukul ki-âq-â-ni mu-na-an-gub-ba-âm, /mu-ni-n-tuku-a/, /mu-na-(n-)dîm/, /mu-na-n-gub-a-m/ 'when Enlil has made Ninurta, his mighty warrior, the bailiff of Išme-Dagan, he (Išme-Dagan) fashioned for him (Ninurta) the šita and the mitum weapon with the 50 heads, and he placed his beloved weapons on a brick' (Išme-Dagan 3, 1-12)

§ 547. Bibliography

THE SUFFIXES /-ēše/ AND /-gīšen/ 

/-ēše/

§ 548. /-ēše/ is a particle indicating direct quotation. It occurs immediately after the direct speech, in most cases after a finite verb, but it may also occur after an imperative or the enclitic copula.

/-ēše/ does not occur before the Old Babylonian period. It is particularly frequent in proverbs, fables and Eduba compositions (for instance Schooldays, Father and Son).

For a possible occurrence of /-ēše/ in a Neo-Sumerian letter, see W.W. Hallo, 1969 p. 173: kug in-da-tuku-ši ‘he owes him money, quoth he’ (= TCL II 5557, 3).

The suffix is always written -e-še.

§ 549. Examples

(827) lu ĝiš.hur-ra-ke₄ a-na-aš-âm ĝá-da nu-me-a i-zig-a-ge-enᵃ-e-še in-túd-dè-en (a-a: -gin₇-), /i-zig-en/, /i-n-túd-en/ ‘who was in charge of drawing said: ‘why did you stand up when I was not here?’ — and he beat me’ (Schooldays 37)

(828) a.me.re-zaᵃ en.nu.un ak-ab-e-še (a-a: ĝiri₃-zu) ‘watch your feet!’ he said’ (Proverb 1.192)

(829) a.ab.ba TŪN-bi kāš-ĝu₁₀-um-e-še ‘(the fox having urinated into the sea:) ‘the whole of the sea is my urine’ he said’ (Proverb 2.67)

§ 550. Bibliography

/-ğišen/

§ 551. /-ğišen/ which occurs at the end of the clause, mostly but not exclusively after a finite verb, indicates irrealis: 'where it that'. It is not very frequently used, in the OB literary texts only a couple of instances can be found. In lexical and bilingual texts /-ğišen/ corresponds to the Akkadian irrealis suffix -man.

The irrealis particle is written -ğiš-en or -ğiš-še-en.

§ 552. Example:

(830) á mu-e-da-áğ-ğiš-še-en á áğ-gá ma-ab-sum-mu-un-e-še, /mu-e-da-áğ +ğišen/, /mu-DAT.1.sg.-b-sum-en + eše/ 'if I try to teach you something, you say, 'are you giving me instructions?' (Father and Son 43-44)

Other instances are: Father and Son 48 (var.); 119; 120; the translation of this text is, however, highly difficult.

§ 553. Bibliography: See above § 550. A. Falkenstein, 1952, deals also with the suffix /-ğišen/.
UNUSUAL ORTHOGRAPHY

§ 554. A number of Sumerian literary texts are usually characterized as 'syllabic' because of their uncommon orthography. The most remarkable feature of these texts is the extensive use of monosyllabic signs, but other unusual writings are also found. J. Krecher has therefore suggested 'unorthographic' as the most appropriate term (1967b p. 17-19).107

Syllabic writings are for instance: ba-ra for bar-ra, bu-ru or bu-ur = buru₅, da-am = dam, en-gu-ra = engur-a. The syllabic writings may often differ phonetically from the standard orthography: û-ki stands for ûz-gin₇ 'like a goat', ki-bi-la-ba for ki gibil-la-bi 'its new place', etc.108

In the unorthographic texts, not only are polysyllables written with monosyllabic signs, but two syllables can be written with one sign, e.g., a-sa-gaba for a-sâg-ga-ba. Moreover, homophones often replace the usual word sign, for instance du, normally 'to go', for dù 'to build'.

A text can be unorthographic throughout, but mostly both unorthographic and standard writings are used side by side in the same text.

§ 555. Unusual writings can be found sporadically in almost every Sumerian text of all periods depending on the scribal tradition, the ability of the scribe, etc. For instance many syllabic and unorthographic writings occur in Neo-Sumerian juridical documents (see H. Sauren, 1969), and some can also be found in the Gudea inscriptions (listed in GSGL I p. 23-34).

Texts which exclusively or to a great extent are written in an extraordinary orthography occur only from the beginning of the second


millennium B.C., or maybe already at the end of Ur III. In all there are about 200 such texts, most of them written in Babylonia during the Old Babylonian period. Later on unorthographic texts almost exclusively come from regions outside Babylonia, e.g., Boğazköy and Assyria. From the first millennium B.C. there are only few unorthographic texts.\textsuperscript{109}

Most of the Babylonian texts are cultic songs and laments in Euesal, but a smaller number from the Old Babylonian period is written in the main dialect. Several of the texts are moreover bilingual.

§ 556. The unorthographic texts make up only a very small part of the Sumerian text material, and they do not represent any homogeneous scribal tradition. The purposes and reasons for the unusual orthography seem to be very different.

The Euesal orthography is anyhow largely syllabic and it is, therefore, very probable that other syllabic and unorthographic writings in these texts have come into being in consequence.\textsuperscript{110} But the main reason, it seems, must be the simplification of the Sumerian writing, which of course is rather complicated for those who do not know the language very well like the scribes outside Babylonia. Writing syllabically the scribe uses the well-known syllabic signs common to the Akkadian writing instead of the many Sumerian word signs and ideograms. Another reason for the unusual orthography could be the intention of giving more exact information about the pronunciation of the text. This could for instance be the case of the Euesal songs and laments to be recited by the kalû priest.

In all cases, however, the unorthographic texts belong to a scribal tradition inferior to that of the Old Babylonian literary texts in general, and they give the impression of a considerable neglect of the content and lack of understanding. These texts can therefore hardly be used for a reliable reconstruction of the original Sumerian phonetics, but the syllabic and unorthographic writings may, on the other hand, give some hints as to the scribal tradition in which these texts came into being.

\textsuperscript{109} J. Krecher, 1967b p. 21-30, gives an outline of the occurrence and age of the unorthographic texts.

\textsuperscript{110} Cf. J. Krecher, 1967b p. 20.
Cf. M. Civil, 1967 p. 209: 'To assume that the syllabic texts imply an inter-
mediate step in which the transmission took place exclusively by oral means
seems unavoidable in some cases, although definite proof is still lacking. Such
a step did not exist in the cases where the syllabic version is written beside
the text in standard orthography, as in the Nippur and Susa examples which,
with their obvious didactic purposes and as products of schools of high stand-
ing, represent the most reliable and useful type of syllabic texts. At the other
extreme we have tablets like Nat.Mus. Copenhagen 10051 (Jacobsen, JCS 8,
82f.), a poor man's compact version of the great series am-e bara₂-na-ra.' (...)
The tablet 'represents the work of some scribe unfamiliar with the rules of
Sumerian orthography, who knew by heart, and not very well at that, the
series am-e bara₂-na-ra.'

§ 557. Example:
The unorthographic texts are extremely difficult to read and trans-
late, if we do not have exact parallels. As example may serve the be-
ginning of a hymn to the moon-god, probably from Sippar dating to
the late OB period and composed in the main dialect:

(831) úr-NE-ru an kug-ge si-a 'light(?) filling the pure heaven'
      ku-zu-e mi-li gur-ù-a, 'the wise one(?)', dressed in radiance'
      (kug zu-e me.lám gùr-ru-àm)
      D Nanna me-en-zu ku-ku-gu 'Nanna, your crown is pure(?)'
      (D Nanna men-zu kug-kug-ga)
      en di-il₅ en bar₆-bar₆ an-ne ši x 'lord, ..., shining lord, An
      has ...'

      (en dili(?) en bar₆-bar₆ an-né ...)
      (Nanna-Suen Hymn J 6-9)
In parenthesis the probable equivalence of the main dialect
is rendered. There is no text or duplicate in normal ortho-
graphy.

For editions of unorthographic texts, see Bibliography below § 558,
especially the studies of E. Bergmann and J. Krecher.

§ 558. Bibliography
E. Bergmann, 1964. 'Untersuchungen zu syllabisch geschriebenen sumerischen
Texten. 1'. ZA 56: 1-43.
E. Bergmann, 1965. 'Untersuchungen zu syllabisch geschriebenen sumerischen
Texten. II'. ZA 57: 31-42.
§ 559. eme-sal is the Sumerian term for the language used in certain texts such as hymns and laments. It thus seems to be a sort of literary dialect. Emesal may, however, also occur in shorter passages of other literary compositions and then especially in direct speech of women. In contrast to the main dialect of Sumerian which is called eme-gir₁₅, the Emesal dialect is characterized by certain phonetic differences and by the use of specific Emesal words, whereas there are no grammatical differences between Emesal and the main dialect.

eme-sal probably means ‘thin tongue’ or ‘fine tongue’, sal being equivalent to Akkadian raqqu ‘thin’ (cf. AHW II p. 958). Cf. also the Sumerian loan word in Akkadian emesallu ‘fine taste, fine tongue, genteel speech’ (CAD E p. 148). See further J. Krecher, 1967a p. 87 n. 1. I.M. Diakonoff, on the other hand, suggested as the translation of eme-sal ‘twisted, slanted sideways’ in the sense ‘quaint’ or ‘corrupted language’ (1976 p. 113).


§ 560. The Emesal Text Genres

The oldest texts written in Emesal are cultic songs of the early Old Babylonian period and most Emesal texts are dated to the later part of this period. The cultic song is the only Sumerian genre which is continued after the Old Babylonian period, since we have Neo-Assyrian and Seleucid copies of Emesal compositions probably copied from older originals. Besides these texts there are Emesal passages of varying length in other Old Babylonian literary texts, primarily the laments and the love songs (the so-called sacred marriage texts).

Cultic Songs

The Emesal compositions belong to different genres, in OB they are
called: ēr.šēm.ma, balağ and šīr.nam.šub, after this period they are: šu.ša.la and ēr.ša.huğ.ğā. These songs are hymns of praise to gods or laments over the destruction of temples or cities. Very often, but not always, the laments are spoken by a goddess and many songs are connected with the god Dumuzi. Characteristic of the Emesal compositions are moreover the many repetitions. In the Neo-Assyrian and Seleucid texts it is explicitly noted that they were recited by the kalû-priest, and it is very probable that this was also the case in the older periods, although we cannot say for certain since no ritual directions are preserved.

A detailed representation of the Emesal genres and their history is given by J. Krecher, 1966 p. 11-51, together with a list of the Old Babylonian texts, p. 16-17.

Literary Texts

Outside the cultic songs we find Emesal in the speech of the goddess Inanna in the love songs (cf. Krecher, 1966 p. 12f.); moreover Emesal occurs in the laments (for instance in the first ki.ru.gû of the Ur Lament, and in passages of the Eridu and Nippur Lament), and in myths etc. where goddesses are speaking (e.g., Inanna’s Descent 29-67; Inanna and Enki II i 15-16, 21-26). But Emesal is not used in every case where a goddess or women is speaking, thus the speech of Inanna in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 389-412 is in Emegir.

The Emesal Vocabulary

Another source for the study of the Emesal dialect is the Emesal Vocabulary, a lexical list consisting of three tablets. This ‘lexicon’ gives the Emesal and the Emegir forms of a word and its Akkadian translation, as well as the Emesal form of many divine names. The Emesal Vocabulary dates to the first half of the first mill. B.C., it is published in MSL IV p. 1-44.

§ 561. Phonetic Alterations

Characteristic for the Emesal dialect is that certain phonemes have been replaced by others: [d] > [z], [g] > [b], etc. These alterations are not always carried through, cf. [d] in dim.me.er (= diğir), and the first [g] in mu.gi4.ib (= nu.gig). The phonic alterations are dealt with by J. Krecher, 1967a p. 87-110 with many examples.
Cf. S. Parpola, 1975 p. 254: ‘Most of the phonetic differences between Main Dialect and Emesal noted here can be explained as autonomous sound changes occasioned by a forward shift of the basis of articulation (u > i = high back > high front; k > p, t = velar > labial/dental stop; ŋ > m, n = velar > labial/dental nasal; ş > s = post-alveolar > alveolar fricative; s > Θ = alveolar > dental fricative) which seems to indicate that ‘backward-flanged’ phonemes (i.e. narrow vowels, and labial or dental, including alveolar consonants) were considered ‘finer’ than their ‘forward-flanged’ counterparts.

**Consonants:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Dialect</th>
<th>Emesal</th>
<th>Examples:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>udu = e.zé ‘sheep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dūg = zé.eb ‘good, sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dugud = zé.bi-da ‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>igi = i.bi ‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nu.gig = mu.gi₄.iib ‘hierodule’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sig₄ = še.eb ‘brick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>šà-g = šà-b ‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğ</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>diğir = dìm.me.er ‘god’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ģá-e = ma-e ‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ģál = ma.al ‘to be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ģar = mar ‘to place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ğir = me.er ‘dagger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ğiri₃ = me.ri ‘foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ğiš = mu ‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>sağ = še.en ‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ha.lam = ge.le.èğ ‘to destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>munus = nu.nus ‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ha.lam = gel.le.èğ ‘to destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nam = na.ág</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sum = zé.èğ ‘to give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kalam = ka.na.ág ‘land’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>niğir = li.bi.ir ‘herald’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>nu.gig = mu.gi₄.iib ‘hierodule’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>nin = šen ‘lady’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nir = še.er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dNirah = dše.ra.ah, the snake god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nundum = šu.um.du.um ‘lip’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Main Dialect . Emesal . Examples:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{s} & > & z \\
\text{s} & > & \$ \\
\end{array}
\]

sum = \text{zé.èğ} 'to give'
\[\text{sig}_4 = \text{šे.eb} 'brick'\]
\[\text{sağ} = \text{šे.en} 'head'\]

Vowels:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{a} & > & e \\
\text{i} & > & e \\
\text{i} & > & u \\
\text{u} & > & e \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{alim} = \text{e.lum} 'deer'\]
\[\text{inim} = \text{e.ne.èğ} 'word'\]
\[\text{i} = \text{u}_5 'fat'\]
\[\text{udu} = \text{e.zé} 'sheep'\]

§ 562. The Emesal Lexicon

It is not intended here to give a complete list of Emesal words, but merely the most common words and forms are given below. Other lists of Emesal words can be found in:

- \text{MSL IV p. 1-44: 'The Emesal Vocabulary'. (= ESV)}
- \text{J. Krecher, 1967a. 'Zum Emesal-Dialekt des Sumerischen'. \textit{HSAO} I p. 87-110. (= 1967a)}

See also the bibliography in § 566.

Specific Emesal words are the following:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Emesal} & \text{Emegir} & \text{Examples:} \\
\text{aš.te/ti} & \text{gu.za} & 'throne' (\text{ABZ p. 215}) \\
\text{ga} & \text{túm or de}_6 & 'to bring' \\
\text{gašan, ga.ša.an} & \text{nin} & 'lady', cf. \text{Ga.ša.an.an.na} = \text{DInanna} \\
\text{mu.ud.na} & \text{gitlam, nitadam etc.} & 'spouse' (\text{ESV 73}) \\
\text{mu.lu} & \text{lú} & 'man' \\
\text{ù.mu.un, umun} & \text{en} & 'lord', 'en-priest' \\
\text{ta(−àm)} & \text{a.na(−àm)} & 'what?' \\
\end{array}
\]

Emesal forms of Emegir words:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Emesal} & \text{Emegir} & \text{Examples:} \\
\text{a.da.ar} & \text{a.gàr} & 'field' (\text{ESV III 71}) \\
\text{á.mar} & \text{é.ğar}_8 & 'figure' (\text{ESV III 93-94}) \\
\text{áğ} & \text{níg} & 'thing' (1967a p. 106) \\
\end{array}
\]
<p>| Emesal          |  | Emegir          |  |
|-----------------|  |                |  |
| D Am.an.ki      |  | Enki (ESV I 38)|  |
| aš...tar        |  | ‘to ask’ (1967a p. 106) |  |
| aš.e̞.er        |  | ‘lament’ (ESV III 73) |  |
| da-, dē-, du₅-  | /ga/-, ha-/ | the cohortative and preceptive/affirmative prefixes (cf. §§ 385, 395) |  |
| da.ma.al        |  | ‘wide’ |  |
| di.im           |  | the equative postposition (ABZ p. 217) |  |
| dim.me.er       |  | ‘god’ (ESV I 1) |  |
| di.ta, di.id    |  | ‘one’ (ESV III 131, ABZ p. 217) |  |
| du₅.mu          |  | ‘child, son’ |  |
| e.lum           |  | ‘aurochs’ (ESV II 23) |  |
| é.mar           | é.gar₈ | ‘figure’ (ABZ p. 216) |  |
| e.ne.ēğ         |  | ‘word’ (1967a p. 103f.) |  |
| e.ri            |  | ‘slave’ (ABZ p. 216) |  |
| e.zé            |  | ‘sheep’ (ESV II 89) |  |
| gel.le.ēğ       |  | ‘to destroy’ (1967a p. 103f.) |  |
| gi₄.in          |  | ‘slave-girl’ (ABZ p. 216) |  |
| i.bi            |  | ‘eye’ (ESV II 185) |  |
| ka.na.âġ        |  | ‘land, Sumer’ (1967a p. 103f.) |  |
| li.bi.ir        |  | ‘herald’ (1967a p. 89) |  |
| ma(-e)          |  | ‘I’ |  |
| ma.al           |  | ‘to be’ (ESV III 77) |  |
| ma-ma           |  | ‘to place’, marû (ESV III 76) |  |
| mar             |  | ‘to place’, hamtu (ESV III 78) |  |
| mar.za          |  | ‘rite’ (ESV III 81) |  |
| D Ma.zé.eb.zib  |  | The goddess Gatumdug (ESV I 96) |  |
| D Gā.tūm.dug    |  |  |  |
| me.cr           |  | ‘anger’ (ESV III 87) |  |
| me.ri           |  | ‘foot’ (ESV II 197) |  |
| mu(.uš)         |  | ‘tree’ |  |
| mu.du.ru        |  | ‘sceptre’ (ABZ p. 215) |  |
| mu.gi₄.ib       | nu.gig | ‘hierodule’ (1967a p. 89) |  |
| mu.nu₁₀/nu₁₂    | unu₃, utul | ‘shepherd’ (ABZ p. 215) |  |
| mu.tin          |  | ‘wine’ (1967a p. 89) |  |
| D Mu.ul.lifl    |  | Enlil |  |
| mu.un.gâr/gar   |  | ‘farmer’ (ABZ p. 215) |  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emesal</th>
<th>Emegir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu.ush.tuğ P₁</td>
<td>ğeštug₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na.āg</td>
<td>nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na.ma</td>
<td>nağa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu.nus</td>
<td>munus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si.mar</td>
<td>si.ĝar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su₅.ba</td>
<td>sipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šà.ab</td>
<td>šà.g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>še.eb</td>
<td>sig₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>še.en</td>
<td>šag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>še.en.bûn.na</td>
<td>nîg.bûn.na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>še.er.ma.al</td>
<td>nir.ĝal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DŠe.ra.ah</td>
<td>DNirah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šu.um.du.um</td>
<td>nundum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u₅</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zé.eb</td>
<td>dûg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zé.ed</td>
<td>túd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zé.bi.da</td>
<td>dugud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zé.ēg</td>
<td>sum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'ear' (ABZ p. 215) (1967a p. 103f.) 'soap' (ABZ p. 215) 'woman' (ESV II 68) 'bolt' (ABZ p. 215) 'shepherd' 'heart' (1967a p. 89) 'brick' (1967a p. 89) 'head' (ESV II 181) 'tortoise' (ABZ p. 216) 'prince' (= etellu) The snake-god (ESV I 19) 'lip' (ESV II 187) 'grease' (ESV II 175) 'sweet', 'knee' 'to hit' (ESV III 117) 'heavy' (ESV II 22) 'to give' (ESV III 118)

§ 563. Orthography

The specific Emesal words are necessarily written syllabically, e.g., zé–eb = /zeb/, 'sweet' (Emegir: dûg), but syllabic writings also turn up where they are not absolutely required, and in fact Emesal texts have to a large extent syllabic and unusual orthography (see §§ 554-558).

On the other hand the Emesal is often not consistently carried through in a text, but mixed with forms of the main dialect, even where a special Emesal form exists.

The question may be raised whether the more or less consistent occurrences of Emesal words and forms mixed with Emegir forms reflect the actual pronunciation of the text, or whether we have to restore or reconstruct the Emesal throughout in the text as for instance A. Falkenstein (1952-53) and S.N. Kramer (1940) do. Cf. S.J. Lieberman, 1977 p. 33 n. 89: 'Word graphemes usually employed for emegir words when found in emesal context are to be read in emesal. This is shown not only by the arrangement of the emesal lexicon, dimir = diĝir = ilu which presents the emesal orthographies as though
they were pronunciations of the emegir spellings, but also by the
variants in which one manuscript writes the emegir word and another
manuscript writes the emesal form.' So also I.M. Diakonoff, 1976 p.
116, describing this as 'another feature of mnemonic techniques used
in Sumerian writing'. J. Krecher, 1967a p. 95, on the contrary, argued
against this practice and stated that Emegir forms cannot be excluded
in Emesal context.

To me it seems most probable that the Emesal dialect was pro-
nounced more consistently and not only in some words, and the rea-
son why it is not always explicitly written is that the Emesal forms
imply more syllabic signs, that means more space and they are there-
fore avoided if possible. In spite of this it seems preferable not to re-
construct the Emesal forms in order not to blur the original ortho-
graphy of the text, and also since it is not always certain how the
Emesal actually is to be read.

§ 564. What is Emesal?

There is no general agreement as regards the problem what Emesal
actually denotes. It is thought to be either a local dialect or a
women's language.

See for instance J. Krecher, 1967a p. 110: 'Trotz der unterschied-
lichen Gestalten des Emesal in altbabylonischer Zeit postulieren wir
wohl zu Recht einen in sich einheitlichen Dialekt des Sumerischen,
der uns nur in seinem verschieden starken Anteil am altbabylonischen
Emesal erhalten ist. Allerdings sind uns Zeit und Ort eines solchen ur-
sprünglichen sumerischen Dialekts unbekannt, ja wir sind nicht ein-
mal sicher, ob nicht verschiedene Dialekte dem altbabylonischen
Emesal zugrunde liegen'.

I.M. Diakonoff, 1976 p. 113ff., took the opposite view: 'There are
certainly no indications that it is a territorial or a tribal dialect, al-
though elements of such dialects may be present in Emesal'. ... 'Both
internal evidence and anthropological analogies seem to suggest that
Emesal, whatever the exact meaning of the term might be, was ac-
tually a women's language. Tabooing of the use of 'men's' words and
'men's' pronunciation is known the world over, more especially
among peoples speaking structurally archaic, 'ergative' languages'.111

111. For various earlier theories, see A. Falkenstein, 1959a p. 18.
The fact that Emesal occurs primarily in direct speech of women in
the literary texts is of course a strong argument in favor of the the-
ory of Emesal as a women’s language. Moreover, as I.M. Diakonoff,
1976 p. 113f., pointed out, the differences between Emegir and
Emesal are exactly those distinguishing men’s language from women’s
language in other cultures, namely phonetic and lexical alterations,
but not grammatical differences. The occurrence of Emesal in cultic
songs is thus explained as due to the fact that the kalû-priests who
recited these songs were eunuchs, and not being regarded as men,
they had to use women’s language. 112

On the contrary, it must be noted that there are practically no
Emesal occurrences outside the literary texts and we have thus no
Emesal piece of actual speech at least pretending to be written down
as it was spoken (there are for instance no Emesal words in the juridi-
cal documents quoting the statement of a woman). Moreover, the
oldest Emesal texts are from the early Old Babylonian period, that
means after Sumerian has died out as a spoken language. Emesal,
therefore, appears most of all as a literary dialect, and we can say
only little about its original character and extension. 113

§ 565. Examples:

(832) šu ud-da an-ta ba-ma-al a -la-ke4 -eš (a: -ğál- for -ma-al-)
 (*šu ud-da an-ta ba-ğál-la-ke4 -eš)
 KA hu-mu-dûb eden(!)-na ud gi4 -a me.e hé-em-ma(!)-
 na b -di c (b: om.; c: -dug4 )
 (*KA hu-mu-dûb eden-na ud gi4 -a ğá.e hé-em-ma-na-
     dug4 )
 ud-da gaba-bi b a-ra-mu-da-zi d (d-d: ba-ra-ba-ra-zi; ba-
     ra-mu-da-ab-zi)
 (*ud-da gaba-bi b a-ra-mu-da-zi)

483, and J. Renger, 1969 p. 192f. argued against this: see also J. Krecher,
1966 p. 36.

113. Note, however, that there are also other possible restrictions for a ‘taboo
language’, cf. for instance in some Australian languages, where a certain
dialect is used in communication with some relatives of the opposite sex
(for instance between a man and his mother-in-law); this ‘taboo language’
has the same grammar as the normal language, but an entirely different
Queensland. Cambridge, p. 32-34).
en.unu-landers  é.nun.kug é na-ág-ga.śa.an-na-ğu₁₀ (e-e: munus-e; f: -ga)

(*munus-me-en Ė.nun.kug é nam-nin-na-ğu₁₀)
bal-ba ud sù-rá na-ma(!)-ni-in-ḫar-re-eš-āmš (g: -a for -ām)

(*bal-ba ud sù-rá na-ma-ni-ḫar-re-eš-ām)
Ir a.še.er-ra ki ha-ma-ab⁸-ús-ēi (h: -an- for -ab-; i: -ām for -ē)

(*Ir a.nir-ra ki ha-ma-ab-ús-e)
'Because the hand of the storm is from heaven (?)
I screamed and cried to it: Storm, return to the plain!
(But) the storm's breast did not rise.
To me, the woman, in Enunkug, my house of ladyship,
a rule of long days they have not granted.
Weeping and lamentation may follow me'
(Ur Lament 110-115)

(833) ga.śa.an-ḫen əa.ša.ba.ta ud zal-la-ğu₁₀-dē
(*nin-me-en etc.)
Ga.śa.an.an-na-ḫen əa.ša.ba.ta ud zal-la-ğu₁₀-dē
(*D Inanna-me-en etc.)
ud zal-la-ğu₁₀-dē e.ne di-da-ğu₁₀-dē
(Emegir: the same)
ud zal ĝi₆-di-a-šē ən.du dug₄-ga-ğu₁₀-dē
(Emegir: the same)
gaba mu-un-ri gaba mu-un-ri
(Emegir: the same)
ù.mu.un ku.li An-na gaba mu-un-ri
(*en ku.li An-na etc.)
ù.mu.un-e šu-ni-a šu im-ma-an-du
(*en-e etc.)
DUšum.gal.an.na gü-ĝa-a gü-da ba-an-lá
(Emegir: the same)
me-a am šu ba-mu-u₈ é-me-šē da-ĝen
(*me-a am šu ba-mu-u₈ é-ğu₁₀-šē ga-ĝen)
ku.li D Ma.ul.lṣl-lá šu ba-mu-u₈ é-me-šē da-ĝen
(*ku.li D En.lṣl-lá šu ba-mu-u₈ é-ğu₁₀-šē ga-ĝen)
am-[ğu₁₀] lul-la-šē ta mu-na-ab-bē-en
(*ama-ğu₁₀ lul-la-šē a.na mu-na-ab-bē-en)
am-ğu₁₀ D Ga.śa.an.gal-e lul-la-šē ta mu-na-ab-bē-en
(*ama-ğu₁₀ D Nin.gal-e lul-la-šē a.na mu-na-ab-bē-en)
'I, the lady, having whiled away the time since yesterday, 
I, Inanna, having whiled away the time since yesterday, 
having whiled away the time, having danced, 
having sung songs all day to evening, 
he met me, he met me!
The lord, the friend of An, met me, 
the lord took my hand in his, 
Ušum-gal-ana embraced me, 
where (are you taking me)? wild bull set me free! let me go 
to my house!

Friend of Enlil, set me free! Let me go to my house! 
What shall I say to my mother as a lie? 
What shall I say to my mother, Ningal, as a lie? 
(Love song, PAPS 107 nr. 4, 1-12; translation in Th. Jacobsen, 
1976a p. 28f.)

§ 566. Bibliography

CATALOGUE OF VERBS

Introduction

The list of verbs given below is not exhaustive. It contains the most frequently attested verbs and their compounds, especially those found in the examples in the grammar. Adjectives are also listed here if they occur in verbal forms.

The main purpose of the catalogue is to show the classification of the verbs as well as their meanings with various case elements. As regards the differentiation of meaning with case prefixes and postpositions, I rely mainly on G.B. Gragg’s basic study *Sumerian Dimensional Infixes*, cited here as *SDI*.

A real dictionary of the Sumerian verbs would deserve detailed lexical studies and is of course beyond the scope of this grammar. I have therefore generally omitted references of the occurrences of the verb’s various forms, and bibliographical references are only exceptionally given. Such references can be found through the lexical indices in the Sumerian text editions (cf. for instance Bibliography).

‘to measure,’ ex. 345.
á . . . ág ‘to command, to instruct (someone: -da-).’ Ex. 193, 308, 311, 576, 773, 774, 830.
ki . . . ág ‘to love (someone: dative; something: loc./loc.-term.).’
Ex. 174, 175, 738.

‘to make, to do’. Ex. 73, 78, 107, 190, 233, 239, 557, 691, 693, 828.
ak is used with several compounds and as an ‘auxiliary’ verb in
double compounds:
a.dam.in...ak 'to compete (with someone: -da-)'.
á dúb...ak 'to beat the wings'; with -ši-, 'to fly towards' (SDI p. 24).
bar...ak 'to choose, to examine'.
du₁₄ ...ak 'to quarrel (with someone: -da-)'.
ğeštug₂ ...ak 'to turn the mind (?)', with -ši-, cf. SDI p. 22.
gizzal...ak 'to listen', with -ši-. Also without -ši-, cf. § 458 and SDI p. 22.
kīn...ak 'to work, to manufacture'.
sa gaz...ak 'to rob (someone: dat.)'.
sağ kéš...ak 'to pay attention to, to give heed to', with -ši-. Ex. 581, 632.

Double compounds are: pa ē...ak (ex. 798) and šu bal...ak (ex. 460, 799); see pa...ē and šu...bal.

ba Regular verb.
'to give as a gift or a ration'. Ex. 118, 206, 228, 589, 615, 616.
ka...ba 'to converse'.

bad.r Regular verb, cf. bad-e-dè (ex. 358).
'to be remote, to remove'.
dûg...bad.r 'to run, to hurry' (lit.: 'to remove the knees from each other').
igi...bad.r 'to open the eye'.

ba.al Regular verb(?).
'to dig', ex. 234, 237, 560.

'to cross, to transfer (to someone: dat.)', with -ta-: 'to pour off, to librate' (cf. SDI p. 33). Ex. 248, 262, 336, 460, 496, 525, 654.
áš...bal 'to curse'.
dub-bi...bal 'to go over the account', with -da-. Ex. 613, 614.
ğiš.gan...bal lit.: 'to hand over the pestle', i.e. 'to conclude a sale' (= bukannam šuṭuṭuqu).
KA...bal 'to converse, to discuss' (the reading of KA is not known, either inim 'words', or gû 'voice').
sağ...bal 'to shake the head'.
šu...bal 'to change, to set aside', also šu.bal...ak. Ex. 33, 125, 358, 787.
bar    Regular verb, cf. ka.âš bar-re-da (ex. 606).
       ‘to open, to split’, with -ta-: ‘to keep away’ (SDI p. 33).
igi...bar ‘to look at, to examine’; with -ši-: ‘to gaze at some object in
       a certain manner’ (SDI p. 21), in this sense also with dative about
       persons; with -ni-: ‘to examine, to peer into’ (SDI p. 21). Ex. 102,
       160, 360, 380, 381, 574, 627, 630, 631, 634, 696, 704.
ka...bar ‘to open the mouth’.
ka.âš...bar ‘to make decision’, ex. 606.
šu...bar ‘to release’, ex. 521.

bi₆ (=BA) Regular verb?
       ‘to tear’, with -ta- ‘to tear off’, cf. SDI p. 34.

bil    The verbal class is not known
       ‘to burn’.

bir    The verbal class is not known.
       ‘to scatter’, ex. 424.

bi.z The verbal class is not known. Reduplicated form: ...-bi-bi-zé.
       ‘to drip.’

       ‘to tremble’.

buluğ₃    Regular verb, cf. nu-buluğ₃ ŏe₂₆-e-dè (Lamentation over Sumer
       and Ur 15 = UET VI/2, 124: 15).
       ‘to grow, to make grow’.

bu.luh The verbal class is not known.
       ‘to tremble’ (cf. bu.úh).

bu.r or bû.r    Regular verb.
       ‘to tear out’. ex. 508.

bûr    Reduplication class? The verb is most often reduplicated, also in
       hamtu forms, cf. ga-mu-ra-bûr-bûr (ex. 43).
       The basic meaning of bûr is perhaps ‘to spread out (said of a gar-
       ment)’, then also ‘to loosen, to dissolve’, ‘to reveal, to interpret
       (a dream)’ (see Wilcke, 1969a p. 143f.; Sjöberg, 1960, p. 105 f.).
gur₃ . (ru.) uš...búr (also du.ru.uš búr, Enmerkar and Ensukhešdana 47). The meaning of this compound verb is rather obscure, cf. Sjöberg, 1969 p. 133f. and 154, where he translates 'to rage against someone/something'; the compound is translated g/kašāsu which means 'to bare the teeth' (CAD G p. 52). It is most often used about snakes.

búr    Regular verb, cf. i-búr-dè (ex. 268).
       'to pierce, to break into (a house)'.

dab₃    Regular verb, cf. dab₃-bé-dè (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 34); also written da-b, da₃-b or dab.
       'to seize, to catch'. Ex. 55, 224, 229, 259, 510, 511, 526, 536, 657, 692, 768.
šu.kin...dab₃ 'to prostrate' (see Civil, 1976c p. 184ff).

dadag (= UD.UD) is the reduplicated form of dág (= UD so far only attested in lexical texts). (For dadag, see Sjöberg, 1969 p. 137f.) 'to be/make clean'. Ex. 641.

dag    Regular verb.
       'to run, to rove about' (cf. Berlin, 1979 p. 70).
šá.la...dag 'to cease (doing something)', often with -ta-. (See Wilcke, 1969a p. 130f.)
šu...dag 'to roam about, 'to run away'. (Cf. Wilcke, 1969a p. 207.)

dağal Regular verb, cf. nu-dağal-e-dè (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 8 = UET VI/2, 124: 8).
       'to be/make wide'. Ex. 260, 778.

       'to add, to say further', 'to help' (cf. Römer, SKIZ p. 122). Ex. 84, 87, 585, 598.

dal    Regular verb.
dar  Reduplication class, cf. dar-dar-re-dam (Uruk Lamentation = UET VI/2, 141: 2).
‘to split’.
á...dar ‘to confiscate’ (cf. Falkenstein, NG III p. 90).
ki...dar ‘to split the earth’ (said about plants).

dé  Regular verb.
‘to pour’, often with -ni-. Ex. 779, 825.
a...dé ‘to pour out water’. Ex. 701.
gù...dé ‘to call, to cry, to speak to’, lit.: ‘to pour out the voice’.
   Ex. 19, 167, 168, 383, 583, 691, 796.
ú.gu...dé ‘to disappear, to lose’. Ex. 415, 416.

de₆  Singular verb, see § 265.
Singular, hamtu: de₆, singular, maru: túm, túm
Plural, hamtu: lah₄, singular, maru: lah₄
‘to bring’, wihi -ṣi- or -ta- denoting the direction (cf. SDI p. 24: ‘túm
   in itself simply means ‘carry’ (…) but with -ṣi- it becomes ‘bring
   in’). Ex., de₆: 76, 89, 323, 363, 391, 414, 487, 597, 715, 771,
ar/ár...de₆ ‘to praise’, ex. 400.
ki...de₆ ‘to bury’.
müš...de₆ ‘to stop, to cease’.
šu...de₆ ‘to bring the hand to something’, ‘to set to work’, ex. 698.

di,  see dug₄.

dib and dib Regular verb.
‘to pass (by).’
igi-šè...dib/dib ‘to pass in front of/before’.

dím  Regular verb, cf. dím-me-dè (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur
   74 = UET VI/2, 124: 73).
‘to make, to fashion, to create’. Ex. 8, 71, 214, 354, 414, 478, 710,
   826.

dirig  Regular verb (?)..
‘to float, to be extra, to be supreme over (dat./loc.).’ Ex. 93, 401.

du, see gēn.
‘to erect something on the ground’: ‘to build’.
The initial consonant is probably the dr-phoneme, cf. § 23, and cf.
the Sumerian loanword in Akkadian narū ‘stone monument’,
from na dū-a ‘erected stone’. Ex. 11,180, 197, 202, 324, 325, 332,
334, 370, 401, 422, 478, 531, 592, 689, 690, 696.
en.nu.ûg...dū ‘to guard, to watch’.
ga.ba.al...dū ‘to challenge’. (For ga.ba.al, see Gordon, 1958 p. 67:
‘It is perhaps likely that ga-ba-al is actually a Sumerian loanword
from the Akkadian qablov, ‘controversy’, rather than a derivative
of the Sumerian verbal root bala.’)
šu...dū ‘to bind the hands’. (See Alster, 1972a p. 113.)

du₇ Reduplication class (?), cf. du₇-du₇-da/-dam (Iddin-Dagan
Hymn A 27; Keš Hymn 62), but du₇-dē (RTC 339, 5).
‘to butt, to gore’ (see Heimpel, 1968 p. 300-307).
šu...du₇ ‘to be/make perfect, to complete’ (with -ta- cf. SDI p. 36);
ex. 98, 319, 421, 825.

The verb possibly ends in [h] or [r], see Falkenstein in MSL IV
p. 29 to line 25; cf. also igi bi-in-du₈-ru (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar
207-208 and Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 238).
‘to open, to loosen, to release’, ex. 133,559.
igi...du₈ ‘to see, to look at’, most often with -ni- or /bi-/. Ex. 65,
129, 666, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 683, 696, 699, 713, 824.
šu...du₈ ‘to hold in the hand’, with -ni- or /bi-/. Ex. 256, 335, 378,
379.
zar.re.eš...du₈ ‘to pile up’, see Cooper, 1978 p. 109.

du₁₂ The verbal class is not known.
‘to play (an instrument)’, ‘to sing’, ex 103.

dub Reduplication class (?).
‘to heap up’, as objects often gur₇ ‘grain’, sahar ‘sand’, or zi ‘flour’.
With -ta- in the sense ‘to sprinkle off, to strew’, see SDI p. 33.
múš...dub, cf. Reisman, 1973 p. 194: ‘the verb has to do with
combing or setting of hair’.

‘to tremble, to make tremble’.
á...dúb, most often á.dúb...ak, ‘to beat the wings’, with -ši- and -šé indicating the direction: ‘to fly towards’ (SDI p. 24).
in(-šè)...dúb ‘to insult, to taunt’, with -ni- (see SDI p. 80).
ság...dúb ‘to smash the head’, mostly with -da- (for examples, see Sjöberg, 1969 p. 103, and 1973a p. 121).

dug Adjective/Regular verb. Emesal: zé.b.
‘to be/make good, pleasant’, ex. 22, 422, 487, 694, 725.

dug4 Complementary verb.
Singular, hamtu: dug4, singular, marû: e
Plural, hamtu: e, plural, marû: e

The non-finite marû forms are: di, di-da, di-dam, di-dè; ex. 15, 152, 200, 443, 747.
al...dug4 ‘to demand, to desire’, very often with -ni-. Ex. 790.
di...dug4 ‘to carry on a lawsuit’, against someone: -da-. Ex. 456, 609.


ğiš...dug4 ‘to trample’, see Cooper, 1972 p. 81-83.
mí...dug4 ‘to care for, to flatter, to praise’, often with -ni-. Ex. 502, 562, 563, 564, 681, 682.
sá...dug4 ‘to reach, to overwhelm’, often with -ni-. Ex. 88, 791.
ság...dug4 ‘to scatter’, with -da- or -ta-, cf. SDI p. 65. Ex. 152.
še.e.r.ka.an...dug4 ‘to cover with, to adom’, with -ni-.
šu (dašal)...dug4 ‘to supply, to provide (generously) with’, with -ni-. Cf. Jacobsen, 1943 p. 120 n. 13. Ex. 664.
šu.tag...dug4 ‘to decorate’, with -ni-. Ex. 334, 797. See tag.

dugud Adjective/Regular verb.
‘to be/make heavy or important’.

duh, see dug8.
dul  Regular verb or reduplication class? Cf. dul-lu (Šu-ilišu Hymn A 6), but du₆-ul-du₆-ul-e (Nusku Hymn IV 7).
     ‘to cover’, the object which is covered is mostly in the locative, cf. ex. 309.

dun  The verbal class is not known.
     ‘to dig (with a hoe)’.

dúr.ru.un, see tuš.

e,     see dug₄.

     (Gudea, cyl. A XXI 27). è sometimes alternates with e₁₁. è is also
     written i, especially in the reduplicated form i-i, see for instance
     ‘to go out, to bring out’. Ex. 40, 251, 297, 298, 333, 358, 427,
     466, 570, 571, 575, 639, 640, 646, 647, 648, 650, 651, 706, 729,
     732, 745, 768.
     á...è ‘to bring up’.
     dalla...è ‘to appear, to shine, to make resplendent’.
     pa...è ‘to make resplendent, to manifest’, also pa.è...ak; often with
     -ni- or /bi-/. Ex. 358, 786.

e₁₁.d Regular verb.
     ‘to go down (or up), to bring down (or up)’. Ex. 419, 495, 649.

e.re, er, see ĝen.

ga, Emesal, see de₆.

gal  Adjective/Regular verb.
     ‘to be/make big’.

galam  Adjective/Regular verb.
     ‘to be/make artfully’. According to A. Falkenstein, 1959c p. 75,
     the basic meaning of galam is ‘stufenweise emporsteigen’; cf.
     Römer, SKIZ p. 120, who translates ‘erhöhen’.

gam  Regular verb. It is also possible to read gûr.
‘to bow down, to kneel’ for someone: dative.

‘to slaughter, to kill’, ‘to strike, to break, to crush’. Ex. 105, 532, 536.

gë.n  Regular verb, cf. ge-né-dè (Iddin-Dagan Hymn B 7).
‘to be/make firm, to strengthen’. In juridical documents ge.n is used in the sense ‘to establish something as the property of someone (dat.)’ (cf. ex. 709). Ex. 203, 209, 491, 673, 735.

gi₄  Reduplication class, cf. gi₄-gi₄-dè (ex. 696, 778).
‘to return, to come back’. Ex. 48, 90, 185, 333, 361, 462, 559, 686, 712.
‘to send (back), with -ši-; ex. 230, 301, 312. Cf. SDI p. 25.
‘to answer’, with dative prefix (the person to whom the answer is given) and -ni-, ex. 317.
ad...gi₄ ‘to take counsel (with someone: -da-),’ without -da- the verb is reflective, cf. ex. 404 and SDI p. 62. Ex. 335, 403, 405.
Ka/inim/gù...gi₄ ‘to answer’, with dative prefix and -ni-, ex. 338; with /bi-/ ‘to call back the word’, ex. 535.
ki-bi(-šè)...gi₄ ‘to restore’, lit.: ‘to return to its place’; mostly with /bi-/ or with dative prefix. Ex. 429, 543.
sa...gi₄ ‘to prepare’. See Römer, 1980 p. 64f.
sağ...gi₄ ‘to topple’, see Falkenstein, 1964 p. 54; Cooper, 1978 p. 117.
sig₄/še₂₅/še₂₆...gi₄ ‘to cry, to shout’ (cf. Sjöberg, 1969 p. 77 and 152). Ex. 117, 244, 418.
šu(-a)...gi₄ ‘to repay, to repeat’; ex. 569, 522.

gib or gil  Regular verb?
‘to be crossed, twisted’, ‘to block, to cause difficulty’ (cf. Sjöberg, 1969 p. 128f.).

gibil  Adjective/Regular verb.
‘to renew, to renovate’.
gid  Regular verb.
‘to be/make long’, ‘to measure out’ (ex. 413), ‘to draw’ (cf. Falkenstein, NG III p. 113).

ğiș mâ..gid ‘to sail’, lit.: ‘to draw a boat’, with -da-. Ex. 368.
sağ(.ki)...gid ‘to be angry (with someone: -da-)’, ‘to be enraged’.
şâ-şê...gid ‘to bear in mind’, ex. 158.
šu...gid ‘to accept’, lit.: ‘to stretch out the hand’. šu...gid is also
used in the specific sense ‘to observe the offering animal’, cf. ex.
392.

gig  Regular verb?
‘to be/make sick’, ‘to be painful to (= dative).’
hul...gig ‘to hate’.

gu₇  Regular verb, cf. gu₇-(û-)dê (ex. 774), gu₇-dam (ex. 784).
For the reading gu₇ instead of kû, see Borger, 1967.

gub  Singular verb; regular verb; see § 267.
Singular, hamtu: gub, singular, marû: gub
Plural, hamtu: su₈.g, plural, marû: su₈.g
‘to stand, to erect’; with -da: ‘to stand by, to serve’ (ex. 602);
with -ta: ‘to stand aside’. Ex. 15, 119, 255, 270, 273, 274, 275,
277, 278, 285, 328, 384, 420, 431, 474, 593, 602, 611, 670, 714,
826.
ğeštug₂...gub ‘to set the mind to’, with -ši: ex. 129, 386, 494.
ù.ma/ù.na...gub ‘to attain victory, triumph’.

gu₄.ud  Reduplication class? Written gu₄-ud and gu₄-gu₄-ud.
‘to jump’.

gu.ul  Regular verb, cf. gu.ul-lu-dê (Warad-Sin 18 I 14).
‘to enlarge, to increase, to make numerous’; the verb is often re-
duplicated.
gu-ul can also stand for gul ‘to destroy’.

gul  Reduplication class, cf. gul-gul-lu-dê (ex. 778).
‘to destroy’. With -ši: ‘to fall upon’ (SDI p. 24); with -ta: ‘to
wreck to pieces, to destroy utterly’ (SDI p. 37). Ex. 135, 159,
261, 320 (gu.ul), 350, 353, 467, 472, 538, 727, 744.
gùn  The verbal class is not known; the verb is often reduplicated. ‘to be/make multicoloured’. Ex. 334.

gur  Regular verb, cf. nu-gur-re-dè (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 37 = UET VI/2, 126 III 7).
‘to come back, to return’, in juridical documents in the sense ‘to return in a legal case, to reject (evidence)’.
With ablative: ‘to turn away from’, see SDI p. 49. Ex. 272.
á...gur ‘to bend the arm’. Ex. 256.
gù...gur ‘to gather, to collect’, often with -da- and often reduplicated.
šu...gur ‘to roll, to wrap’.

gúr, see gam.

gur₄  Adjective/Reduplication class (?).
‘to be/make thick’, ‘to feel wonderful’.

ğál  Regular verb.
‘to be (somewhere)’, ‘to be available’.
‘to place’ (with -ni- or /bi-/); with -ši-: ‘to place into’ (cf. SDI p. 25).
‘to be with someone’, with -da- also ‘to have on one’s person, to carry’, ğál with -da- is also used in the sense ‘to be possible’, see SDI p. 55. Ex. 191, 200, 253, 335, 394, 530, 566, 567, 572, 660, 791.
gù ǧiš...ğál ‘to submit’ (to someone: dative), ex. 232.
igi...ğál ‘to look upon’, often with -ši-.
kıra šu...ğál ‘to pay homage to (dative)’, lit.: ‘to place the hand on the nose’.
nir...ğál lit.: ‘authority or confidence is with someone (-da-)’, ‘to have authority’, ‘to be reliable, to trust in’. Ex. 158, 599.
zi ša...ğál ‘to provide (someone: -ši-) with life’.

ğar  Reduplication class, marû stem: ǧā-ǧá, cf. ǧá-ǧá-dè (ex. 210).
‘to place’, occasionally with -ni-; ex. 24, 34, 35, 46, 74, 115, 252, 256, 658, 659.
‘to restore’, with -ši-, ex. 224.
‘to remove’, with -ta-, ex. 558, 642. (Cf. SDI p. 33: ‘With the verb gar ‘set, place’, on the other hand the semantic specification added by -ta- seems to be that of setting at some other level’.)
á...ğar ‘to resist, to rebel (?)’. See Berlin, 1979 p. 77 with examples; Berlin translates: ‘to behave arrogantly’.

du₄₁...ğar ‘to start a fight’.
düğ...ğar ‘to bend the knees, to kneel down’, for someone: dative.
dûr...ğar ‘to seat, to take seat’.
ğu...ğar ‘to submit’, to someone: dative; lit.: ‘to place the neck’. Ex. 49, 126, 226, 327, 520, 554.
ğu-a...ğar ‘to place on the neck’. Ex. 613, 614.
ğeştu₂₂...ğar ‘to listen to’, usually with -şï-. For the use of -şï- with this and similar verbs, see § 458. Ex. 331.
ğīr₃...ğar ‘to move forward, to make one’s way’, with -ni-.
ğīr₃-şē...ğar ‘to place something under the authority of someone’, the terminative is not repeated in the prefix chain.
igi...ğar ‘to look at’, for the use of -şï- with this verb, cf. § 458. Ex. 61, 730.
inim...ğar ‘to bring an action against someone (before the court)’, ‘to claim’, ex. 92, 364.
i.si.iš...ğar ‘to wail’, to someone: dative, cf. SDI p. 89.
ki...ğar ‘to found’, lit.: ‘to place on the ground’, ki is virtually locative; often with -ni- or /bi-/ . Ex. 6, 197.
ki-şē...ğar ‘to fall/throw upon the ground’, ex. 265.
me...ğar ‘to make silent’, cf. Sjöberg, 1969 p. 143.
ṣağ...ğar ‘to oppose someone/something (-da-)’.
ṣağ sig...ğar ‘to bend the head’, before someone/something: -şï-, ex. 385.
šu...ğar ‘to perform a task, to carry out’, ex. 307, 512. With -ta-: ‘to cease doing something’.
šu-a/şē...ğar ‘to be/place in the hand’.
ù.gul...ğar ‘to pray to, to entreat’, with dative. Ex. 39.

ğen Singular verb, complementary verb. See § 268.
Singular, ḥamṭu: ğen, singular, marû: du
Plural, ḥamṭu: (e.)re₇, er, plural, marû: su₈ .b

ğır Regular verb (?), cf. ġir-re-da (Šulgi Hymn B 108).
‘to lighten, to flash’, often nim-gin, ...ğır ‘to flash like lightning’. Ex. 417.
hal  Reduplication class (?), cf. hal-ha-dam (DP 222 XII 2).
    ‘to deal out, to distribute’.

ha.lam  Regular verb, cf. ha.lam-e-dè (ex. 778).

ha.luh, see hu.luh.

har  Regular verb (?). It is also possible to read hur.
    ‘to chew’, ex. 235.

ha.za  Regular verb (?).
    ‘to hold, to grasp’.

he or hi  Reduplication class (?).
    ‘to mix’, ex. 31.

huğ  Regular verb.
    ‘to hire, to rent’, ex. 437.
    šà...huğ ‘to calm down the heart, to pacify’.

hul  Regular verb?
    ‘to destroy’, ex. 231, 267, 393.

húl  Regular verb, cf. nu-húl-le-dè (ex. 443).
    ‘to rejoice over’, usually with -da-, but also -ṣi-; -da- is perhaps more
    original, cf. mu-da-húl in Ean. 1 IV 17 and V 5. Ex. 194, 195, 255,
    341, 518, 529, 541, 555, 605, 659, 708, 723.

hu.luh  Regular verb. Also ha.luh.
    ‘to become frightened’, ex. 468.

hur  Probably regular verb.
    ‘to scratch, to grind’.
    ǧiš...hur ‘to draw’.
    ki...hur ‘to scratch the earth’.

i and i-i = è, è-è.

il  Regular verb or reduplication class? Cf. il-dam (Gudea, cyl. A
    XXVIII 22) and il-il-dam (cyl. A XX 6).
'to lift, to carry', ex. 246, 302, 391, 398, 401, 552, 754, 818.
igi...i1 'to lift the eyes', both with and without -ši-, cf. SDI p. 21:
'With -ši-, igi-il means to look at some specific object, usually an individual thing, without it however it means rather to look over (perhaps usually a multitude).' Ex. 199, 240.
say (an-še)...i1 'to lift the head (towards heaven)', usually without -ši-

ir The verbal class is not known. ir seems to occur only as a compound verb together with zi:
zi...ir 'to be worried', see Römer, SKIZ p. 113 f.

kal Adjective/Regular verb.
'to be/make precious'.

kalag Adjective/Regular verb.
'to be/make strong, to strengthen', ex. 51, 728.

kàm Regular verb. kàm seems to occur exclusively in the form nu-kàm-me(-da/dam) 'which cannot be changed'.

kar Regular verb, cf. kar-re-dë (Rim-Sin 18, 31).
'to flee away (from), to take away, to remove', with -da-, see § 449.
Ex. 129, 426, 557, 621.

kàr Reduplication class, cf. igi kàr-kàr-dë (or better ka₄-ka₂-dë ?)
(Iddin-Dagan Hymn A 172).
'to shine, to illuminate'.
igi...kàr 'to look upon, to examine, to select', often with -ši-, cf.

KÉŠ Probably regular verb. KÉŠ can be read kéš or kešda, it probably ends in [dr]: /kešdr/, cf. KÉŠ-re₆-dë (BIN IX 332, 3)
'to bind'.
KA...KÉŠ 'to bind the word/mouth', 'to make an agreement', ex. 252. According to SDI p. 36: 'to be bound, to have a structure', but with -ta-: 'to become undone, to be disorganized'.
zag...KÉŠ 'to seize, to grasp', with -ni-

kíd or kid₇. The verbal class is not known.
'to pinch off (clay), to break off'.
kin, or perhaps better kīg (= KIN). Reduplication class, cf. nu-KIN-KIN-dē (nu-ki_x-kī_x-dē?) (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 12 = UET VI/2, 124: 12).
kī...kin ‘to seek’, with -šī-. Cf. SDI p. 26: ‘With (ki+)kin-kin ‘seek’ (perhaps ‘scour the ground for’), -šī- designates the object of the search’. Ex. 635; cf. § 459.
umbin...kin ‘to shear’.

kir Reduplication class? Cf. ex. 561.
‘to nip off (clay)’.

ku Reduplication class, cf. ū nu-ku-ku-dē (Ur Lament 81). The verb is always reduplicated; it is found in the following compound only: ū...ku-ku ‘to sleep’, with -šī-. In Gudea texts: ū...ku₄-ku₄. Ex. 435, 436.

kú, see gu₇.

kud.r Regular verb, cf. kud-re-dē (ex. 779).
‘to cut off’, with -ta-. Ex. 622, 623.
nam...kud.r ‘to curse’, often with -ta-. Ex. 540.
nam.erim₂ (-bi)...kud.r ‘to swear’, ex. 316.

ku₁₀-g Adjective, as verb always (?) reduplicated: ku₁₀-ku₁₀(-g).
‘to be black or dark’.

kug Adjective/Regular verb, cf. kug-ge-da (Gudea, cyl. B IX 6).
‘to cleanse’.

ku₄.r Reduplication class, cf. nu-ku₄-ku₄-da (ex. 442). It has been suggested that the verb has a plural stem sun₃, see § 263.
‘to enter, to let enter, to bring in’, with -ni- (loc.) or dative prefix (‘to enter before someone’); -ni- is also used in the causative sense ‘to let enter’. With other case prefixes, cf. SDI p. 24: ‘With -šī- (...ku₄.r) seems to have the sense ‘enter into the presence of’”; p. 60: -da- ‘can occur with ku₄ also in the sense of ‘to turn into; to
become.' Ex. 9, 10, 59, 74, 106, 181, 240, 286, 299, 300, 342, 343, 348, 374, 533, 534, 555, 748, 766, 767, 771.

kúr Regular verb, cf. kúr-ru-dē (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 17 = UET VI/2, 124: 17).
‘to change’, often with -da- (com. or abl. ?). Ex. 536, 558.

kúš.ù Regular verb, cf. kúš.ù-dē (Ur Lament 80).
‘to be troubled, to care about, to become tired’.
šà...kúš.ù ‘to rest the heart’, ‘to make love to’, ‘to take counsel with’ with -da-.

lá Regular verb, cf. lá-e-dē (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 18 = UET VI/2, 124: 18 = BE XXI 3, 18); lá-dē (ex. 437).
a) ‘to carry’, ‘to hang (from)’, with -ta-. Ex. 23, 96, 241.
b) ‘to weigh out, to pay’, ex. 724.
c) ‘to bind, to harness’, with -ši-.
d) ‘to be few, to diminish’, ex. 535.
e) ‘to stretch’, ex. 129.
gú...lá lit.: ‘to let the neck hang down’, ‘to bow down’, also ‘to embrace’, with -ta-. Ex. 161.
ğiš...lá ‘to be silent’ (cf. Heimpel, 1968 p. 157).
sa...lá ‘to stretch the net’.

lah₄₅, see de₆.

lu (Reduplication class ?)
‘to be/make numerous, abundant’.

lu₉ Probable regular verb.
‘to swarm (said of fish and birds)’, see Wilcke, 1969a p. 158.

luh The verbal class is not known.
‘to be clean, to cleanse, to wash’.

ma₅ Reduplication class ? The verb seems to occur exclusively in the reduplicated form.
‘to burn’, ‘to grind’, see Cooper, 1978 p. 131.
mah  Adjective/Regular verb.
   ‘to be/make great, magnificent’.

me  The verb occurs in the basic form, me, only.
   ‘to be’. See §§ 535-547. Ex. 54, 60, 197, 201, 250, 278, 356, 430,
   461, 482, 486, 504, 546, 588, 705, 707, 708.

mú  Reduplication class, cf. mú-mú-dè (Lamentation over Sumer and
   Ur 10 = UET VI/2, 124: 10).
   ‘to grow’, ex. 245.
   áš...mú ‘to curse’.
   du₄₄...mú ‘to start a quarrel’, ex. 464.
   šu...mú  a) ‘to enlarge, to expand’, ex. 113, 672; with -ni-.  b) ‘to
   pray’, with dative. Ex. 372.

mu₄₄ Reduplication class (?), cf. mu₄₄-mu₄₄-da-zu-dè (Samsuiluna
   Hymn 50).
   ‘to dress, to clothe, to put on clothing’.

mul  The verbal class is not known.
   ‘to shine, to radiate (said about branches, pa)’.

ná  Probably regular verb. NÁ should perhaps rather be read nú, cf.
   ba-e-dè-NÁ-un/ù-nam (Ur Lament 319); NÁ-ù-dè (Samsuiluna A II
   27-28).
   ‘to lie’, with -da-: ‘to lie together’; with -ni-: ‘to lay down’. Ex. 367,
   534, 671.

na₄₄ Reduplication class, cf. na₄₄-na₄₄-dè (ex. 774).
   ‘to drink, to let drink’; with -ta-: ‘to drink out of’ (SDI p. 36). Ex.
   81, 125, 248, 265, 296.

niğini For the marû form, see Krecher, 1978d p. 71 n. 80: ‘/niğini/,
   geschrieben LAGAB = niğini, ist offenbar die hamtu-Basis; in marû-
   Belegen wird (immer) LAGAB.LAGAB (= NIGIN₁), auch LAGAB.
   LAGAB.E/NÉ (= ‘NIGIN-e/né’) geschrieben, was wahrscheinlich
   (immer?) /nini/ zu lesen ist (nini/ninni, nín-né)’. Cf. the non-finite
   form nu-LAGAB.LAGAB-NE = nu-nini-dè (?) (Lamentation over
   Sumer and Ur 45 = UET VI/2, 124: 44).
   ‘to wander around, to surround’, ex. 493.
šu...niĝin ‘to proceed, to hurry’.

pad.r Regular verb. That the verb ends in the phoneme [dr] can be seen from the form ba-ra-pad-re₆ (ex. 460).
‘to break’.

‘to call’, ‘to see, to show, to reveal, to find’; SDI p. 95: with abl.
prefix ‘to choose out of’. Ex. 344, 369, 415, 416, 473, 539, 558, 661.
ér...pàd ‘to weep’.
mu lugal...pàd ‘to swear by the king’s name’, ex. 272, 293, 294, 295, 686.

peš Probably regular verb, cf. šu mu-da-peš-e (ex. 3).
‘to be/become thick’.
šu...peš ‘to expand’, ex. 3, 4.

pil, pîl, pi.il or pe.el The verbal class is not known.
‘to be/make obscure, dirty, defiled’.

ra Reduplication class.
‘to beat, to press’; with -ta-: ‘to throw away’ (SDI p. 34). Ex. 266.
gù...ra ‘to shout’.
ğıš...ra ‘to beat with a wooden stick, to thresh’.
kišib...ra ‘to seal’.
šu...ra ‘to knead clay and form it into a tablet’ (cf. SDI p. 54, and
Enmerkar and Ensuhešdana 77).
tî...ra ‘to shoot an arrow’, cf. Wilcke, 1969a p. 175.

ra.g Regular verb (?), cf. šu bí-îb-ra-ge-a (ex. 187).
šu...ra.g ‘to erase’.

re₇, see ñen.

ri Alternating class, hamtu: ri, marû: ri.g. As plural stem probably ri.ri.g.
a) ‘to pour, to inject into’.
b) ‘to place upon, to impose, to lean against’, with -ši-. Cf. SDI
p. 25: ‘ri does not take -ši- in its frequent meaning ‘pour, inject
into' even when the adverbial complement is in -šē. It does however take -ši- in those contexts where it could be translated by Akk. emēdu.

c) 'to throw away', with -ta- (SDI p. 34).

na...ri 'to give instructions', ex. 1, 2, 510, 511.

nī...ri 'to be afraid of something, to inspire fear', with -da-.

šu...ri 'to wring the hands over', with -ši-, see SDI p. 25.

rig, The verbal class is not known; perhaps regular verb.

sağ.e.eš/sağ-šē...rig, 'to bestow, to grant', with -ni- and -ri-. Ex. 497, 665, 667, 673, 679.

rín Reduplication class, cf. rín-rín-dam (or better ri₁ₓ-ri₈ₓ-dam?) (Gudea, cyl. A XIX 18).

'to be/make bright', ex. 825.

ru The verbal class is not known.

a...ru 'to dedicate, to give as a votive gift', with dative.


'to withstand, to oppose'.

rú, see dù.

sá Regular verb.

'to be equal to, to compare with, to compete', with -da-. Ex. 51, 79, 612.

si...sá 'to make straight, to put in order, to prepare', often with -ni- or /bi-/. Ex. 5, 21, 153, 169, 170, 233, 247, 264, 410, 411, 560, 698, 788.

sa₄ The verbal class is not known.

'to name, to call by name', ex. 205.

sa₁₀ Reduplication class, cf. sa₁₀-sa₁₀-dē (see Edzard, 1967 p. 41: Nik. 293 I 3).

'to buy', with -ši-, ex. 490, 513.

'to sell', with -ra-, abl.; ex. 95, 114.
sal  Adjective/Regular verb.
    ‘to be thin’, ‘to spread’.
    zar.re.eš...sal ‘to spread’, ‘to heap up’.

sar  Regular verb.
    ‘to write’, ex. 13, 121, 751.
    ‘to drive’, with -ni-; ‘to chase away’, with -ta-, cf. SDI p. 34.

sè.g/k  Regular verb, cf. sè-ge-dam (NG nr. 12, 18), sè-ke-dè (Iddin-
        Dagan Hymn B 8).
    ‘to place’, ex. 249, 439.
    gù...sè.g/k ‘to make obedient’, ex. 735.
    sá...sè.g/k ‘to plot, to plan’, see Sjöberg, 1969 p. 103f.
    sağ ...sè.g/k ‘to take care of’, see Römer, 1980 p. 58.

si  Probably reduplication class.
    ‘to be full, to fill’; with -da-: ‘to fill with’. Ex. 551.
    gù...si ‘to assemble’, ex. 171, 399, 777.
    šu-šè...si ‘to fill into the hand’, ‘to hand over, to deliver’. Ex. 711.

si.g, si.ig  Probably regular verb.
    The meaning of this verb is not very clear; it is sometimes used
    about things which are placed on or into the ground, for instance
    foundation (cf. ex. 698) or standards, but it also seems to be con-
    fused with si ‘to fill’. (Cf. for instance Sjöberg, 1969 p. 139f.)
    Ex. 100, 101, 425.

sig  The verbal class is not known; sig is only rarely used as finite verb.
    ‘to be weak’, ex. 108.

sig  Regular verb.
    ‘to beat (rhythmically, for instance a drum) to tremble, to smite’,
    ex. 476.
    sağ...sig ‘to move the head from side to side’, ‘to tremble’, with -da-
    (SDI p. 63).
    šà...sig ‘to be oppressed’.

sig7, see ti.

sig7 or sa7.g  The verbal class is not known.
'to be/make pleasant, beautiful, to create’ (see Gragg, 1969 p. 177). Ex. 710.


si'il  Regular verb or reduplication class? Cf. si'il-le-dê (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 30 = UET VI/2, 124: 29), si'il.si-le-dê (Nungal 23).
'to split, to tear apart', also 'to go away, to absent.oneself'. ka.tar...si'il 'to praise'.

silig  Regular verb, cf. nu-silig-ge-dam (Gudea, cyl. A XXIX 6).
'to cease, to lay aside one's work'. The verb occurs almost exclusively in non-finite forms. See Sjöberg, 1969 p. 64.

silm  Adjective/Regular verb.
'to be/make good, healthy'.

su  Reduplication class.
'to replace', ex. 121, 225.

su and su  Probably reduplication class.
'to drown, to go down (said about ships), to set under water'.
kuš,...su(su) 'to level, to devastate', see Cooper, 1978 p. 113.
It is not certain that the compound belongs here.

sù  The verbal class is not known.
'to sprinkle'.
ù...sù 'to dine, to eat', see Sjöberg, 1969 p. 54.

su.ub  The verbal class is not known.
The basic meaning of su.ub is probably 'to rub'; it occurs mostly as a compound verb. See Deller and Watanabe, 1980.
ki-a...su.ub 'to kiss the ground, to prostrate oneself'.
naga...su.ub 'to rub with soap'.
ne...su.ub 'to kiss'.
šu...su.ub 'to gather up, to collect, to scrape together'.

su₈.b, see ḡen.
sud.r Reduplication class, cf. sù-sù-ud-dê (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 28 = *UET VI/2, 124; 27*).
‘to be/make remote, lasting’.
šu...sud.r ‘to stretch the hand out after something’ (lit.: ‘to make the hand remote’).
á...sud.r ‘to make the arms wide (?)’, see Wilcke, 1969 p. 180.

sù.g The verbal class is not known.
‘to be/make naked, empty, waste’.

su₈.g, see gub.

suh The verbal class is not known.
igi...suh ‘to stare with wide-open eyes’. (See Römer, 1980 p. 68.)

sùh The verbal class is not known.
‘to be/make confused’.

sukud The verbal class is not known.
‘to be/make high’ (cf. ex. 552).

sum Regular verb, cf. sum-mu-dê (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 32 = *UET VI/2, 124, 31*), sum-mu-dam (ex. 781) Emesal: zé.em.
gû...sum ‘to talk to’, with dative. Ex. 402.
ğeštug₂...sum ‘to give ear to, to listen to’, with dative.
sağ...sum ‘to rush towards’, ex. 93, 358.

sur Reduplication class (?), cf. sur-sur-ru-dê (Nungal 15).
‘to perform an action from which a liquid product results’, so Civil, 1964 p. 81.
kâš...sur ‘to urinate’.
şà...sur ‘to have diarrhea’, cf. Sjöberg, 1960 p. 160.

ša₄ The verbal class is not known.
še...ša₄ ‘to moan’.
ur₅...ša₄ ‘to roar’, ex. 743.

šag₅ Reduplication class, marú: ša₆.ša₆ (.g).
‘to be/make good, favourable’, ‘to be/make pleasing to’, with dat.
or -da-. Ex. 223, 339, 392, 716.

šám, see sa₁₀.

šár The verbal class is not known.
a) ‘to mix’, with -da- (cf. § 204). See Römer, 1980 p. 82f. Ex. 220,
   221, 222, 223, 561.
ul...šár ‘to gladden’, see Sjöberg, 1969 p. 67.

še.ba Probably regular verb.
‘to be careless, negligent’, see Falkenstein, NG III p. 132; Ali, 1964
p. 75 n. 12.

šed₇, šed₁₁ Probably regular verb.
‘to be/make cool’.
šà...šed₇ ‘to cool/soothe the heart’.

še.g Regular verb.
‘to be obedient, to obey, to agree’; with -ši-: ‘to comply with some-
one’s prayer’. Ex. 203, 438.

šeğ The verbal class is not known.
‘to rain’.

šeğ₆ The verbal class is not known.
‘to boil’.

šeš, šeš₄ Reduplication class, marú: še₆-še₆.
‘to anoint’, ex. 493.
ér...šèš ‘to weep’.

šid Probably regular verb.
‘to count, to recite, to read aloud’, ex. 516.

šú Reduplication class, cf. šú-šú-(û-)dé (Lamentation over Sumer
and Ur 51 = UET VI/2, 124: 50 = BE XXXI, 3, rev. 22). ‘to cover, to overwhelm’, with -da- (see SDI p. 44 and 53).
ud...šú ‘to become dark, dusky’, said about the sun, day(light), see Sjöberg, 1969 p. 136; Berlin, 1979 p. 84.

šub Regular verb.
‘to fall (upon), to throw’; with -ta-: ‘to throw away, to remove’;
with -da-: ‘to drop, to let fall’, cf. SDI p. 44. Ex. 16, 108, 305, 545, 549.
gú...šub ‘to be lax with respect, to scorn’, with -ši-, see SDI p. 27.

šúm Regular verb.
‘to slaughter’.

šúr Regular verb.
‘to be enraged (against someone: -da-)’, cf. SDI p. 63.

tab The verb tab seems in some instances to be a regular verb, but cf. tab-tab-bé-dē (ex. 778).
‘to be/make double, to clutch, to clasp to’; with -da-: ‘to join’ (see SDI p. 59).
gaba(-a, loc.)...tab ‘to hold to the breast’.

tag Regular verb, cf. nu-tag-(ge-)dē (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur = UET VI/2, 124: 41 and 47), or reduplication class (so Yoshi-
‘to touch’.
ğiš...tag ‘to sacrifice’, often with dative. Ex. 377, 406.
ki...tag ‘to lay something on the ground’, especially used in the meaning ‘to lay the foundation’, cf. Römer, SKIZ p. 62 n. 151.
kušu/kušum(= U+PIRIG) (ki)...tag ‘to crawl, to run (?)', see Civil, 1976a p. 135ff.; Berlin, 1979 p. 70.
šu...tag ‘to cover, to decorate’, often with -ni-. Ex. 188.
zag...tag ‘to push, to put off’. Cf. Gragg, 1973c p. 70: ‘In most of the clear instances zag-tag seems to mean ‘overthrow, reject’ — frequently with negative implications.’

tag₄ Reduplication class.
tag₄ is the traditional reading of the verb KÍD. On the basis of lexical texts Powell, 1978 p. 181ff., suggested a reading taka₄ for the
hamtu stem, and da_x da_x (= TAG4-TAG4) for the maru stem.
'to leave, to divorce, to neglect, to disregard', ex. 62, 687, 700.
ğal...tag4 ‘to open’, ex. 789, 793.
šu...tag4 ‘to send’, with dative.

tál The verbal class is not known.
'to be/make wide, broad, to spread wide', perhaps rather: 'to be/
make unfold'; said about wings, arms. See Berlin, 1979 p. 74;

tam The verbal class is not known.
bar...tam, bar.tam...ak ‘to choose’, see Hallo, 1973.

tar Regular verb, cf. tar-re-dè (ex. 673), tar-re-dam (ex. 783).
'to cut'.
ën...tar ‘to question, to ask (someone: dat.)’, ‘to examine’. Ex. 770,
783.

nam...tar ‘to decide the fate’, most often with -ni- (or -ri-, 2. sg.).
The verb occurs also with -da-, cf. SDI p. 57: 'The comitative infix
is also used to signify engagement in some activity along with
someone else (. . .). Under this heading it is fairly frequent with
nam-tar ‘to decide the fates’ in situations where a number of gods
do this together.' Ex. 45, 60, 594, 668, 669, 673, 680, 684, 685,
750, 778, 787.

nam.erim2-bi...TAR ‘to swear, confirm by oath’, ex. 687. The
readings tar and kud are both possible in this compound verb.

te or ti Alternating class, hamtu: te, ti, maru: te.ğ, ti.ğ, cf. te-ğe₂₆-e-
'to approach (someone: dat.)', ex. 300, 595, 701.
šu...ti ‘to receive’, lit.: ‘to approach the hand to something’, with
terminative and -si-, cf. § 459. Ex. 237, 558, 626, 637.
ni...te/ti ‘to be afraid of’, with -da- (cf. § 447).

t.e.en Probably reduplication class.
ni...te.en ‘to relax, to cool off’, with -si- (cf. § 459). Ex. 321.

ti.1 Singular verb, see § 269.

Singular, hamtu: ti.1, singular, maru: ti.1
Plural, hamtu: sig₇, plural, maru: sig₇
‘to be alive, to live, to dwell, to let live’. Ex. 1, 2, 75, 313, 755.

til Regular verb, cf. til-le/e-dè (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur = UET VI/2, 124: 46 and 49).
‘to be completed, to finish, to cease, to perish’. Ex. 491.

tu₅ Probably reduplication class (so Yoshikawa, 1974 p. 25).
a...tu₅ ‘to bathe, to wash’.

tu₁₀.b, tu₁₁.b Regular verb. tu₁₀ = HUB, tu₁₁ = HÚB. The readings hub and hub for this verb are not totally excluded, but cf. Cooper, 1978 p. 119 for arguments in favour of /tub/.
‘to strike, to smite’, ‘to pile up’.

tu.d, û.tu.d The verbal class is not known.
‘to bear, to fashion’. Ex. 30, 37, 111, 204, 357, 702, 710, 760.

túd Probably regular verb.
‘to hit’, ex. 827.

tuk₄ Probably reduplication class.
‘to tremble’; see Wilcke, 1969a p. 150.

tuku Reduplication class? (See Powell, 1978 p. 181 n. 28.) The reading of the reduplicated form, TUKU-TUKU, is not clear.
‘to have’. In juridical documents tuku is used in the sense ‘to marry’. Ex. 2, 12, 94, 207, 238, 252, 289, 290, 291, 292, 420, 432, 441, 503, 688, 739, 775, 826.
ğiş...tuku ‘to hear’, ex. 230, 794, 795.

tu.lu Probably regular verb.
‘to be/make loose, limp’, ex. 340.

tur Adjective/Regular verb, cf. tur-re-dè (Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 47 = UET VI/2, 124: 46).
‘to be/make small, to reduce’, ex. 424.

tuš Singular verb, see § 270.
Singular, hamtu: tuš, singular, marû: tuš
Plural, hamtu: durun, plural, marû: durun

u₅ The verbal class is not known.
‘to ride, to mount’.
má(-a)...u₅ ‘to go on board, to embark’, ex. 499.

ug₅, ug₇, see úš.

ul₄ Probably regular verb (so Yoshikawa, 1974 p. 34).
‘to hurry, to hasten’.

u₁₈.lu The verbal class is not known.
See Sjöberg, 1969 p. 102-103; and cf. CAD A /1 p. 376: u₁₈.lu ‘seems to have denoted a supernatural awe-inspiring phenomenon and is also used to describe winds abnormal in intensity’.
ğeštug₂...u₁₈.lu ‘to forget’.

ûr Reduplication class, cf. ûr-ûr-ru-dam (Nungal 24).
‘to drag (over the ground)’, often with -ni-.
ğiš...ûr ‘to harrow’, often with -ni-.
šu...ûr ‘to erase’, with -ni- and /bi-/; also with -ta-, cf. SDI p. 95.
Ex. 640.

ur₄ Probably reduplication class.
‘to reap, to collect, to harvest’.

‘to plow’.

ús Regular verb.
gú...ús ‘to raise the neck’.
gúd...ús ‘to build a nest’, ex. 162.
ki...ús ‘to set on the ground, to establish’, often with -ni-. Ex. 263, 558.
šu...ús ‘to lay the hand on something’. In the sense ‘to send, to dispatch’, see Sollberger, TCS I p. 187; ‘to push on (the door)’, see Sladek, 1974 p. 191.
zag...ús ‘to border on, to stand by, to set aside’.

úš Singular verb, see § 271.
Singular, hamtu: úš, singular, marû: ug₅, ug₇
Plural, hamtu: ug₅, ug₇, ug₇-ug₇, plural, marû: ug₅, ug₇
‘to die, to kill’. Ex. 118, 161, 704, 707, 773.

ù.tu, see tu.d.

za The verbal class is not known.
This verb occurs always in compounds with onomatopoetic words like for instance dum dam...za ‘to howl’ (see ex. 822), others are:
bu.ud-ba.ad, bûl-bal, dub-dab, du.bu.ul-da.ba.al, gûm-ga.âm,
gun₅(KUN)-ga.an, hu.um-ha.am, mul-ma.al, pu.ud-pa.ad, pu.ug-
pa.ag, sûh-sah₄, zur-za.ar, wu-wa. See Civil, 1966 p. 119: ‘All these forms mean ‘to make noise’, usually a repeated, monotonous kind of noise’.

záh, zâh Probably regular verb, cf. i-zâh-dë-na (ex. 267).
‘to run away, to flee’, ex. 259, 717.

zal Regular verb.
‘to pass (said about time), to spend the day’, often with -ni-; with -ta- in a temporal sense, cf. SDI p. 36. Ex. 74, 229, 465, 618, 619, 620, 644.

zalag The verbal class is not known.
‘to be/make bright’. zalag is often reduplicated, for this form, see Sjöberg, 1969 p. 137f. Ex. 341.

zé.eb (Emesal), see dug.

zé.ém (Emesal), see sum.

zé.er, zi.r Regular verb, cf. zi-re-dam (ex. 415).
‘to tear out, to remove, to break’, often with -ta-. Ex. 351.

zig Reduplication class, marû: zi-zi.
‘to rise, to stand up’; with -ta- or -ra-: ‘to rise up from’. Ex. 50, 151, 396, 409, 624, 736, 739, 827.
su...zig 'to be afraid of', with -da-. Lit.: 'to stand (said about) the body hair', 'to have gooseflesh', see Sjöberg, 1969 p. 58.

zil The verbal class is not known. 'to peel off, to strip off'. Cf. Sladek, 1974 p. 199.

zil The verbal class is not known. The verb is mostly reduplicated. 'to make pleasing', see Sjöberg, 1974 p. 169.

zu Possibly reduplication class. 'to know'; with -da-: 'to learn from someone'. Ex. 72, 86, 257, 417, 433, 440, 444, 463, 470, 554, 600, 604, 705, 715, 718.

zuh The verbal class is not known. 'to steal'.
Some Comments on the Transliteration

It is not recommendable to aim at a transliteration phonetically more exact than the original text. Therefore, the transliteration lugal-ni = /lugal-ani/ is preferred to lugala₂⁻ni etc. (cf. Civil, 1973b p. 32-34). In order to facilitate the understanding forms like dug₄, pàd, zid or zig, etc. are preferred rather than du₁₁₁, pà, and zi (cf. Diakonoff, 1977 p. 110-112). Although it is probable that reduplicated stems are phonetically reduced they are written in full, e.g., zalag-zalag, tuku-tuku, since the pronunciation of such forms as a rule is not known.

Dots are used in a succession of signs forming a semantic unit and in proper names, for instance ur.sag ‘hero’, ki.sikil ‘girl’ (but ki sikil ‘pure earth’), ḏEn.līl, the god Enlil, Ur. ḏNammu, the king Ur-Nammu, etc. Hyphens are used between roots and grammatical elements: ē-a ‘in the house’, ki-bi-šē ‘to its place’, mu-na-an-dug₄ ‘he said it to him’.

Sign values are according to R. Borger, 1978. Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste. (AOAT 33) Neukirchen-Vluyn. Words of two syllables, however, are written with numbers: ensi₂ instead of énsi, ǧiri₃, instead of ǧiri, etc.

Words with the phoneme [g̚] have the same index numbers as the sign values with [g], thus ǧá = gá, ǧu₁₀ = gu₁₀ = MU.
Abbreviations and Symbols

abl. ablative
abs. absolutive
acc. accusative
ADJ adjective
affirm. affirmative
Akkad. Akkadian
an. animate
C consonant
CAS case postposition or prefix
com. comitative
COP the enclitic copula
dat. dative
DAT the dative element of the prefix chain
ED III Early Dynastic III
erg. ergative
gen. genitive
GEN the genitive postposition /-ak/
IL Isin-Larsa period
inan. inanimate
instr. instrumental
intrans. intransitive
lit. literary
loc. locative
loc.-term. locative-terminative
MOD modal prefix
N noun
NA Neo-Assyrian
nom. nominative
NS Neo-Sumerian
O Akk Old Akkadian
OB Old Babylonian
OBJ object
om. omit(s)
one-part. one-participant
OS Old Sumerian
pl. plural
PLUR the plural suffix /-ene/
PN  personal name
POSS  possessive suffix
pron.  pronominal
PRON  pronominal prefix or suffix
PREF  element of the prefix chain of the finite verb
R  verbal root: non-finite forms
R(h)  the hamtu stem
R(m)  the marû stem
R-R  the reduplicated hamtu stem
sg., sing.  singular
SUBJ  subject
Sum.  Sumerian
term.  terminative
three-part.  three-participant
trans.  transitive
two-part.  two-participant
Ur III  The Third Dynasty of Ur
V  vowel
var.  variant
VERB  the verbal root, regardless of stem
{}  morphemes in this parenthesis have the same rank and
{}  cannot occur together
{}  this parenthesis in the transliteration indicates that the
{}  sign should be deleted
<>  indicates that the sign does not occur in the text but is
<>  restored in the transliteration
[ ]  indicates phonemes
//  indicates morphemes
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**AfO** Archiv für Orientforschung. Berlin, Graz.

**AJA** American Journal of Archaeology. Boston, Concord, Princeton.


**AS** Assyriological Studies (University of Chicago).


**ASJ** Acta Sumerologica. Hiroshima.


**AWL** See Josef Bauer, AWL.

**BE** The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts.


BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden.


CAD The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago 1956-.

CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. London.

CT XV Leonard W. King, 1902.

CT XXXVI Cyril John Gadd, 1921.

CT XLII Hugo Heinrich Figulla, 1959.


ECTJ See Aage Westenholz, ECTJ.


GSG See Arno Poebel, GSG.

GSGL I, II See Adam Falkenstein, GSGL I and II.


ISET II Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan. Sumer Edebi Tablet ve Parçaları (Sumerian Literary Tablets and Fragments in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul), II. By Samuel Noah Kramer. (Türk


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PBS VII

RA

RTC

SAK
See François Thureau-Dangin, SAK.

SBH

SDI
See Gene B. Gragg, SDI.

SEM

SKIZ
See Willem H. Ph. Römer, SKIZ.

SLTNi

SR
See Dietz Otto Edzard, SR.

SRT
Edward Chiera, 1924. Sumerian Religious Texts. Upland (Pa.)

StOr

STVC

TCL

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See Edmond Sollberger, TCS I.

TDr

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TMH V

TMHNF I-II

TMHNF III

TMHNF IV

UET *Ur Excavations, Texts.* London.


WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Wien.


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Gudea, St. D: F. Thureau-Dangin, *SAK* p. 76-79.

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TMH V nr. 159: Sumerian document from the Old Akkadian period. A. Westenholz, ECTJ p. 79-81.


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UET II Suppl. nr. 15: Archaic text. No text edition.


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