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A MANUAL OF SUMERIAN GRAMMAR

AND TEXTS

Second Revised and Expanded Edition

This is an introductory pedagogical grammar, designed for readers with no previous knowledge of Sumerian or its writing system; it can be used either with or without a teacher. It includes a general description of the language and its writing system, a series of 26 graduated lessons, and a number of appendices.

Each lesson includes a sign list and vocabulary, cuneiform text(s), transliteration, transcription, and translation, detailed linguistic commentary, and discussion of the function of the text. The texts are presented in autograph and/or photograph. They include royal inscriptions, letters, legal texts, and economic/administrative texts, all dating to the Ur III period.

PREFACE
to the second edition

This edition is a substantial revision and enlargement of the first edition of 1990. The scope of the Sumerian texts used has been increased by the inclusion of Ur III letters, legal texts, and administrative texts. Appendices have been added to include more complete sign-lists and paradigms. Recent literature has been added to the bibliography. The body of the volume has been thoroughly rewritten.

It is a pleasure to thank the readers, users, and reviewers of the first edition who were kind enough to furnish the suggestions which have made this second edition possible. In particular, I would like to thank Walter Bodine, Lance DuLac, and Jennifer Ross, who made many useful comments. It was James Platt, former Managing Editor of Undena Publications, who first proposed this new edition, and Frank Comparato, current Managing Editor, who saw it through the printing process.

Finally, I would especially like to thank John Carnahan, who drew the cuneiform signs for this edition and suggested several improvements.

PREFACE

Anyone who has ever tried to learn or to teach Sumerian faces a daunting challenge. First of all, knowledge of Sumerian is still at an imperfect stage, with fundamental questions yet to be resolved. Second, there is a lack of both scholarly and pedagogical tools. There is no up-to-date sign-list or dictionary, and there is no text-book.

The aim of this *Manual* is to help alleviate this situation. It is a text-book of the Sumerian language, based on texts of the Ur III period. It is self-contained, so that it will be of use to students with or without a teacher. It includes a general description of the Sumerian language and its writing system, and then a series of graduated lessons. Each lesson contains: sign-list and vocabulary; text(s) in cuneiform, either in photograph, autograph, or both; transliteration, transcription, and translation; line-by-line commentary; discussion and elaboration of issues raised by the texts. Later lessons also include supplementary texts for review and practice. In each lesson the grammar has generally been presented inductively from the texts. Finally, there are several appendices, some treating more general topics and some serving as reference. It is hoped that this book will serve both as an introduction to the language and its background for students who will not pursue their study of Sumerian any further, and as preparation for more advanced work.

Two audiences are envisaged. The first is composed of those readers who are comfortable in Akkadian and who wish to learn Sumerian principally because of their interest in Mesopotamia. The second is composed of readers who are more comfortable in West Semitic, and who wish to learn Sumerian principally because of their interest in comparative Semitics. This latter audience may not have studied Akkadian at all, or may have studied it at some time in the distant past, and so a certain amount of material has been included here which will already be known to those who are familiar with Akkadian. Since the learning of cuneiform signs often seems like an onerous, if not unnecessary, chore for those students primarily interested in Semitics, the *Manual* has been designed with enough emphasis on transliteration and transcription to allow it to be used without learning of the signs.

Throughout the *Manual*, stress has been placed on the methodological principles involved in studying a language like Sumerian, which is incompletely understood. Since many of the problems in understanding Sumerian phonology, morphology, and even syntax are rooted in difficulties lying in the script, a certain emphasis has also been placed on the nature of the Sumerian writing system. Typological observations about the Sumerian language have occasionally been made, to show that there are other languages which work in ways similar to Sumerian.

This *Manual* will be followed, *diis ministrantibus*, by a second volume, now in an advanced stage of preparation, consisting of annotated extracts from the Sumerian literary works *Inanna's Descent* and *Gilgamesh and Agga*. The reading of literary texts will introduce students to a number of problems not encountered in reading the texts in the *Manual*.

The genesis of this book goes back to when I taught Sumerian at UCLA. I would like to repeat here my thanks from the first edition. Thorkild Jacobsen was my first teacher of Sumerian; his influence can be seen throughout the book. Sara Denning-Bolle graciously drew the cuneiform signs for the first edition. Barbara De Marco made a number of helpful stylistic observations on the overall structure and philosophy of the book. Several individuals read preliminary gestations; may I thank Daniel Foxvog, Samuel Greengus, and Stephen Lieberman. Other individuals read certain sections; I thank Denise Schmandt-Besserat and Russell Schuh. Christopher Walker helped me obtain access to a number of photographs from the British Museum. Giorgio Buccellati helped in many ways, from the initial conception to the final production. Frank Comparato and Patricia Oliansky of Undena Publications helped in preparing the manuscript. Different versions of the *Manual* have been used in various classes I have taught, and I would like to thank all those students who provided me with immediate feedback.

Any faults are my own; I would again like to hear from readers with suggestions for improvements.

I would like to rededicate this book to the memory of my mother, who lived long enough to see the first edition in print.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

PART ONE: THE SUMERIAN LANGUAGE

PART TWO: LESSONS IN SUMERIAN GRAMMAR

PART THREE: APPENDICES

TEXTS and ILLUSTRATIONS

TEXTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Importance of Sumerian

For students of Mesopotamia, the need to study Sumerian is obvious. Alongside Akkadian, Sumerian is of prime importance for reconstructing all aspects of Mesopotamian civilization. However, a knowledge of Sumerian is also useful for those primarily interested in Semitic linguistics. Sumerian had a profound influence upon Akkadian—influence upon the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. Only through a knowledge of Sumerian can one differentiate between features of Akkadian which are a product of its Semitic ancestry and those which have arisen secondarily under the influence of Sumerian.

The most recent Semitic language to be discovered is Eblaite. Even though Eblaite has only been known for a short while, its study has had a profound effect on Semitic linguistics. However, the majority of the texts found at Ebla are written completely in Sumerian, not in Eblaite. The remaining texts, although written in the Eblaite language, are couched in a Sumerian writing system which obscures many of the actual Eblaite forms. This means that a knowledge of Sumerian, especially a thorough understanding of the principles underlying the Sumerian writing system, is necessary for research in Eblaite.

Difficulties in the study of Sumerian

Sumerian is not as well understood as is Akkadian. Although there has been considerable linguistic progress in the last three decades, enough still remains unsure that scholars often have widely divergent views about Sumerian. Some of the reasons for these difficulties are summarized here; they will be discussed in more detail in the course of this *Manual*.

▶ Sumerian is not genetically related to any other known language, living or dead. By contrast, it was discovered early-on that Akkadian was a Semitic language. This genetic relationship aided early scholars in their reconstruction of Akkadian grammar and vocabulary. But in the case of Sumerian, there is no such help available.

▶ The writing system of Sumerian only imperfectly mirrors the spoken language; it does not indicate all the grammatical features which are known to have existed (or are assumed to have existed) in the spoken language. This schematic nature of the script makes it very difficult to reconstruct the morphology.

▶ With no comparative evidence and no native speakers to turn to, it is very difficult to determine what minor variations in morphology or syntax are meant to convey. Occasionally forms or sentences are found which differ only slightly from those occurring in other texts, but there is no simple way to find out what these differences signify.

It has been remarked by Igor Diakonoff, "It is a joke well known among Assyriologists that there are as many Sumerian languages as there are Sumerologists" (1976:99). Similarly, as recently as 1987 Thorkild Jacobsen said:

Knowledge of Sumerian is still in a rudimentary, experimental stage where scholars differ on essential points, so that translations, even by highly competent scholars, may diverge so much that one would never guess that they rendered the same text...Scholars have not yet been able to agree on basic grammar and its restraints (1987a:xv).

On the other hand, it is important not to minimize the extent of our knowledge of Sumerian, or, as has occasionally happened, to ignore basic facts about Sumerian grammar when translating Sumerian texts. The texts presented in this volume, for example, would be basically understood in the same way by any Sumerologist, even though there might be differences in detail. Jacobsen's point is, however, particularly valid for literary texts, which are often couched in difficult poetic language; translations of such texts can show a rather disheartening amount of disagreement.

In certain ways, it is actually easier to study Sumerian than it is to study, for example, Akkadian. This is because Sumerian does not have a great deal of morphology; there are not a large number of grammatical forms to learn. There is nothing like the weak-verb systems of Akkadian or Hebrew, which require a great deal of sheer memorization. Rather, many students find the difficulties to be more conceptual in nature: the language works in ways different than English, or other languages which students are likely to have been exposed to. It is occasionally difficult to understand some of these principles and even more difficult to observe these principles in action.

Historical background

The texts utilized here all date to the Ur III Dynasty, which extended from 2112 BCE to 2004 BCE. This dynasty grew out of the vacuum left by the collapse of the Dynasty of Akkad, which had been ruled by Akkadian-speaking kings (approximately 2334-2193 BCE). Because Sumerians were now back in power, this period is often called the "Neo-Sumerian" period or dynasty.

The Ur III Dynasty was founded by Ur-Nammu, who ruled in the city of Ur from about 2112 to 2095 BCE (the dating 2112-2004 BCE for Ur III follows the so-called "Middle" chronology; some now favor a "High" chronology, where Ur-Nammu's accession took place in 2167, not 2112, BCE). He had previously been governor of Ur under the suzerainty of the king of Uruk, Utu-Hengal. He was probably, in fact, the brother of the latter, or even his son or son-in-law. At some point he declared himself independent. During his rule, and especially during the rule of his son Shulgi, the territory controlled by Ur expanded, until it reached most of the area previously controlled by the rulers of Akkad, that is, most of central and southern Mesopotamia. After three more descendants of Ur-Nammu, the dynasty collapsed, partially due to pressures from the intrusion of nomadic tribes speaking Semitic languages. The conventional date for this collapse is 2004 or 2006 BCE; the High chronology indicates a date of 2053 BCE. Thus, the Ur III period lasted a little more than a century. With the fall of Ur, Sumerian civilization, for all intents and purposes, also fell.

Ur III was a period of relative calm and stability in much of Mesopotamia. Because of a blooming of Sumerian art and literature, which under the dynasty of Akkad had been somewhat submerged, this period is often called the "Sumerian Renaissance". Cities expanded, temples were rebuilt, and canals were dredged. Trade with various foreign countries flourished.

Limited excavations were carried out at the city of Ur, the capital of the Ur III Dynasty, in the early twentieth century, but by far the most important excavations were those of Sir Leonard Woolley, perhaps the most famous of all Near Eastern archaeologists, between 1922 and 1934. The results were published by him and others in a series entitled *Ur Excavations*. Ten volumes have appeared: Volume 1 in 1929, and Volume VII in 1976 (Volume X appeared in 1951). Woolley popularized his results in a one-volume work entitled *Ur of the Chaldees* (1929). After Woolley's death, P.R.S. Moorey revised and updated the latter volume; it appeared as *Ur 'of the Chaldees'* (1982). This is a highly readable and interesting description of the city at different historical periods. Marc Van De Mieroop's *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur* (1992) concentrates on the Old Babylonian period, but offers discussions about the limitations of archaeological and textual evidence in reconstructing Ur III society.

Texts utilized

Many, many Ur III texts have been preserved. In fact, the brief period of the Ur III Dynasty is the most fully documented period in all of Mesopotamian history. The vast majority of these texts are economic and administrative; these number in the tens of thousands, if not more. These tablets are scattered in museums and private collections all over the world. Because we lack detailed knowledge of the administrative and bureaucratic structures behind these tablets, they are in fact not always easy to understand. And the sheer number of these tablets, in fact, is an embarrassment of riches, and there has been much discussion by historians about how these tablets can be used to reconstruct social and economic history.

Very few texts of what might be called a "historical" nature have been preserved. There is much that is not known about such matters as Ur-Nammu's rise to power, the internal politics of the Ur III Dynasty, or even the physical extent of the Ur III "empire". C.J. Gadd refers to the "tantalizing want of information due to the singular unwillingness of the age to record even the triumphs, much less the failures, of its kings" (1971:617).

Some original literary texts have been preserved from this period, and some older literary works were committed to writing. Jacobsen says that the kings of Ur III, especially Shulgi,

were much concerned to preserve extant older literary works and to encourage the creation of new ones. The court background of these works is unmistakable ...A major portion of Sumerian Literature as we have it traces back to the court of the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, where it was composed and performed by the royal bards who—as we know from the court accounts—would be rewarded with gifts of silver rings (1987a:xii, 277).

Most of the texts used in this *Manual* are "royal inscriptions". As defined by W.W. Hallo,

royal inscriptions are texts which "were dedicated either by, or to, or on behalf of the king" (1962:1). This genre existed both before and after the time of Ur III, in both Sumerian and Akkadian. Hallo categorized the Ur III royal inscriptions according to form and function; this scheme has been further elaborated by Dietz Otto Edzard in his article "Königsinschriften" in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (*RlA*). Hallo also provided catalogue numbers for all the extant Ur III royal inscriptions, thus providing an easy way to refer to these texts.

In 1986, Ilmari Kärki published all these inscriptions in transliteration, following basically Hallo's catalogue but with some modification in numbering; he also included some new texts, and translated all the inscriptions into German: *Die Königsinschriften der dritten Dynastie von Ur*. In 1991, Horst Steible also published these texts in transliteration, along with many similar texts, in his *Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*. In addition to translations into German, his edition includes an elaborate commentary. As part of a long-term project based in Toronto called the *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project*, Douglas Frayne in 1997 has produced *Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)*. This new edition includes the texts in transliteration and translation, along with a fair amount of background material. Texts which exist in multiple exemplars are provided in microfiche. This work will become the standard edition of the Ur III royal inscriptions.

These inscriptions range in difficulty from quite simple to very complex. They also contain a high degree of formulaity; many of the epithets of the king, for example, occur in a large number of the inscriptions. Even the phrasing of the verbal expressions is rather fixed. To supplement these inscriptions, some Ur III letters, legal texts, and administrative texts have been included. These provide more variation in language and in content. Several hundred Ur III letters are known; they were published by Edmond Sollberger in 1966: *Business and Administrative Correspondence Under the Kings of Ur*. Hundreds of legal texts, of many different varieties, are also known. In 1956-57 Adam Falkenstein published a seminal study on *ditila*s, which are one category of these Neo-Sumerian texts: *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*. Falkenstein's book includes a thorough discussion of the legal framework and the legal vocabulary behind these texts. Both the Sollberger and Falkenstein volumes remain valuable today. Finally, many many varieties of economic and administrative texts exist, published in hundreds of places; the texts utilized in this *Manual* are from several different publications.

There has been much discussion about when Sumerian ceased to be a spoken language. The view espoused here is that Sumerian was a living spoken language in Sumer during the Ur III period. It has also been argued, however, that Sumerian was starting to die out during the latter part of this period. It has also been claimed that spoken Sumerian was pretty far on its road to extinction or might even have ceased to be a spoken language by the end of the Ur III period. The issue is important, since it raises the question whether the language used in these texts is a reflection of contemporaneous spoken Sumerian, or to some degree is a kind of "learned" language. This is not an easy question to answer; there are both historical issues and issues of general linguistics to resolve. The issue is discussed in more detail in *Appendix One*.

PART ONE: THE SUMERIAN LANGUAGE

CLASSIFICATION

Linguistic affiliation

Sumerian is a language isolate, with no genetic connection to any known language, living or dead. Numerous attempts have been made by both amateur and professional linguists to link Sumerian with many different languages, but none of these has produced convincing results. Such attempts have usually been based on surface-level resemblances with languages which are typologically similar to Sumerian. A. Leo Oppenheim has pointed out:

> The fact that Sumerian is a complicated though very well understood language which cannot be linked to any other known language has created during the past hundred years a large literature attempting to relate Sumerian to practically all languages between Polynesia and Africa. The authors of such studies unfailingly "prove" that either their own language or a language in which they happen to be interested is related to ancient Sumerian (1971:219).

Sir Gerard Clauson has summed this up: "Sumerian…has every appearance of being a 'loner', in spite of numerous attempts to foist relatives upon it, some grotesquely improbable" (1973:38). Géza Komoróczy, in his article "Flat-Earth Sumerology", says that attempts have been made to connect Sumerian with

> Semitic, Egyptian, Hyksos, Elamite, Kassite, Dravidian, Proto-Indo-European, Hittite, Armenian, Sanskrit, Etruscan, Caucasian, Georgian, Finno-Ugrian, Finnish, Hungarian, Turanian, Uralo-Altaic, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese, Polynesian, Eastern Islandic, Turkish, Basque, African, Sudanian, Bantu, etc. (1977:133).

Oppenheim and Clauson were talking about attempts to link Sumerian with particular individual languages. More recently, scholars interested in the long-range classification of languages have put Sumerian into either the Nostratic "macro-family" or the Eurasiatic macro-family (some of these classification schemes are discussed by Merritt Ruhlen [1991]). However, there is not even a consensus as to which languages fit into either of these macro-families; the concept of "Nostratic" in particular means different things to different people. Given the present state of our knowledge, these attempts can be considered ill-conceived at best.

The possibility that a connection might be found with some other language is slim, because any related languages have probably died off without leaving any written records. The original homeland of the Sumerians is unknown (this question of the ultimate origin of the Sumerians is often called the "Sumerian Problem"; it is sketched by Daniel Potts [1997:43-55]). They may have been indigenous to Mesopotamia, being one of possibly several groups present there at the dawn of history. They may have come from somewhere else, perhaps arriving in southern Mesopotamia sometime in the millennium before writing was invented; this view is the more

traditional one. Indeed, there are hints in their own mythology that they were not indigenous to Mesopotamia. If they did come from somewhere else, they lost all contact with this original homeland. This means that it is not even clear where any possible linguistic relatives might be located. Sumerian undoubtedly did have relatives. But wherever such a homeland might have been (and several possibilities have been suggested), it was probably not in an area where writing appeared very early, and so no records of these languages exist. If any relatives have survived, the science of historical linguistics is not, and perhaps never will be, able to prove connections between languages so far removed from each other in time.

It has been suggested several times that the Sumerians came from somewhere on the Indian subcontinent, and are perhaps connected with the ancient civilizations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. However, there is as yet no archaeological evidence in India to support this. Attempts to relate Sumerian to the Dravidian languages have not produced satisfying results.

Dialects

Not much is known about geographical variation within Sumerian. The extent of the Sumerian-speaking area is unclear, and Sumerian texts are preserved from only a rather limited area. The number of speakers of Sumerian was probably never very large. Moreover, the nature of the Sumerian writing system makes it difficult to see such variation. It is not yet possible, for example, to determine dialectal differences in the Sumerian of Ebla. Thus only minimal geographical variation is found, mostly in older or in later texts. There was undoubtedly more variation present than the writing system allows us to see.

Similarly, although Sumerian was spoken over a long period of time, there does not appear to be much variation before the Old Babylonian period. More differentiation is noticeable in post-Old Babylonian periods, when Sumerian was no longer a spoken language. But here the differentiation may reflect the practices of different schools and scribal centers, and not differences which were originally present in spoken Sumerian.

The Sumerians referred to their own language by a term which is often transliterated eme-gir$_{15}$ (the reading of the second sign is not sure, and so the term is also transliterated eme-gi$_7$ or eme-ku, the latter especially in older secondary literature). eme means "tongue" in Sumerian. The meaning of gir$_{15}$ is unsure. It used to be thought that it meant "Sumer"; in that case, the term eme-gir$_{15}$ would mean "the language of Sumer". More likely, the term means something like "noble, prince"; eme-gir$_{15}$ would then mean "the noble language". Because of the uncertainty in reading this word, the term "Main Dialect" is here used instead.

In addition to Main Dialect, there is also a sociolect called eme-sal. The meaning of the second element of the name is uncertain; it may mean "fine, thin". The "status" of this sociolect has been much discussed. It has traditionally been called a "women's language", because it appears in literary texts of the Old Babylonian period, used by goddesses when speaking to other goddesses. For example, in the myth *Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld*, the goddess Inanna speaks to her aide Nin-Shubur in Emesal. Emesal is not consistently used in such con-

texts, however; in other texts Inanna speaks in Main Dialect. Moreover, in texts of the later Old Babylonian period, Emesal is also used for specific genres of texts. Certain kinds of lamentations are always written in Emesal, even though recited by male priests (although the latter may well have been eunuchs). Texts in some of these genres were preserved and even composed in Mesopotamian schools over a thousand years after Sumerian had ceased to be a spoken language.

The total corpus of Emesal is rather small, but some information is also supplied by Mesopotamian lexical texts (*Appendix Two*). Emesal is attested from the beginning of the Old Babylonian period on. However, there appear to be at least one or two Emesal forms in the earlier Gudea texts, and it is possible that Emesal forms occur in a group of texts written in an unusual orthography from Tell Abu Salabikh, approximately 2600 BCE.

Emesal differs from Main Dialect in phonology and in lexicon, but not apparently in morphology. As an example from the lexicon, the Main Dialect word for the interrogative "what?" is /ana/; the Emesal form is /ta/. These are apparently two etymologically distinct words. In the phonology, there are certain fairly regular correspondences. For example, words with /d/ in Main Dialect usually have /z/ in Emesal; the word for "sheep" is /udu/ in Main Dialect, /eze/ in Emesal. In other cases the phonetic correspondences are harder to figure out. For example, the word for "lord" in Main Dialect is /en/, in Emesal /umun/. It is difficult to say exactly what the more original form was; it may have been something like */ewen/ or */uwun/. In any case, the Emesal form appears more conservative than the Main Dialect form. Because of our general lack of knowledge of Sumerian phonetics, both of Main Dialect and of Emesal, it is hard to characterize the phonetic correspondences in general between Main Dialect and Emesal. In most ways Emesal seems more conservative than Main Dialect, but in other ways it seems more innovative.

In general, it is difficult to give a coherent picture of Emesal, because the nature of the Sumerian script hides Emesal pronunciation. Scribes often wrote Main Dialect forms, even when they were presumably meant to be pronounced in Emesal. For example, in some lines of Inanna's conversation in *Inanna's Descent* only one word in the line is explicitly marked as Emesal; the other words are either couched in a logographic writing which hides the pronunciation or the Main Dialect form is written, even though we assume it was actually "read" in Emesal.

Because of the fact that Emesal seems to be sometimes used by men (even if eunuchs), and the fact that goddesses speak sometimes in Emesal and sometimes not, it is hard to say exactly what Emesal *is*, and whether it should be considered a dialect or sociolect of some kind. However, Emesal does share certain characteristics of what are called "women's languages"—that is, sociolects which are specific to women—which occur elsewhere in the world. In particular, women's languages differ from "standard" dialects in phonology—the women's dialect being generally more conservative than the standard dialect—and in the lexicon, but not in morphology. Emesal seems to fit this general pattern. But, in the rare instances in Sumerian where the actual speech of women, as opposed to goddesses, is preserved (as in some legal texts), Main Dialect is used, not Emesal.

The most recent detailed study of Emesal is by Manfred Schretter (1990), who accepts the view that it is a women's language. There has been less discussion about the possible "origins" of Emesal. Larisa Bobrova has proposed that it originated as a geographical dialect in the south of Sumer which then became closely tied to the temple and cult of the goddess Inanna (L. Bobrova and A. Yu. Militarëv 1989).

There are occasional references in late Sumerian texts to what are apparently jargons of particular occupations. For example, there are passing references to eme-udul, "the language of cowherds", and to eme-ma₂-laḫ₄, "the language of sailors". We know nothing of these jargons but their names. Similarly, there are passing references to what may be some kind of "literary dialects": eme-gal, "great language", eme-sukud, "high language", and so on. It is not known what these designations mean.

Typological characteristics

Ergativity

There are several ways in which Sumerian works differently than the Indo-European or Semitic languages. Consider the Akkadian equivalent to "The king went" (here and elsewhere, a period is used to separate morphemes; the verb forms have been slightly simplified):

(1)   šarr.u   illik
        king-NOM   VERB

Now consider the Akkadian equivalent to "The king built the house":

(2)   šarr.u   bīt.a   īpuš
        king-NOM   house-ACC VERB

In Akkadian, "king" is the subject of both sentences. It is the subject of an intransitive verb in (1), and the subject of a transitive verb in (2). Therefore, in both sentences it is put into the nominative case, šarru. In (2), "house" is the direct object of a transitive verb, and so it is put into the accusative case, bīta.

Languages in which the subject of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb are marked in one way (called the "nominative" case), while the direct object is marked a different way (called the "accusative" case), are called "nominative-accusative" languages ("accusative" languages for short).

Sumerian, on the other hand, is what is called an "ergative-absolutive" language ("ergative" for short). In an ergative language, what we consider to be the subject of a transitive verb is marked by the "ergative" case. But, what we consider to be the subject of an intransitive verb, *and* what we consider to be the direct object of a transitive verb, are both marked by the "absolutive" case.

In some ergative languages, the ending for the ergative case and the ending for the absolu-

tive case look completely different from each other. In other ergative languages, there is no case marking at all on any of the nouns; rather, ergativity manifests itself in the way that certain elements within the verb cross-reference the relationships marked by the cases. But in many ergative languages, including Sumerian, the ergative case is marked with a specific ending, while the absolutive case is unmarked. "Unmarked" can also be understood as "marked by zero", and will be symbolized here by "Ø". In Sumerian, the ergative case is marked in e, and the absolutive case in Ø.

In Sumerian, (1) and (2) would be expressed as follows:

(3)   lugal.Ø   i₃.ĝin.Ø
        king-ABS   VERB

(4)   lugal.e   e₂.Ø   mu.n.du₃.Ø
        king-ERG   house-ABS   VERB

In (3), the subject of the intransitive verb is marked by Ø, the case marker of the absolutive. In (4), the subject of the transitive verb is marked by e, the case marker of the ergative, while the direct object is marked by Ø, the case marker of the absolutive. This patterning fits the definition of an ergative language: the subject of a transitive verb is marked one way (in Sumerian, by e), while the subject of an intransitive verb *and* the direct object of a transitive verb are marked a different way (in Sumerian, by Ø).

In other words, in an accusative language the subject of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb fall into one grammatical category; in an ergative language the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb fall into one grammatical category. Consider the two English sentences "The ball rolled down the hill" and "The boy rolled the ball down the hill". In English, "ball" in the first sentence is the subject, but in the second sentence it's the direct object. Yet, in each case it's the ball that is rolling down the hill. In an ergative language, "ball" would be in the absolutive case in both the first and second sentence, and "boy" would be in the ergative case in the second sentence, marking the person who set the ball in motion. In this example, an ergative language captures our intuitions about the rôle of the ball better than does our accusative language.

There is no unanimity in the terminology used to describe ergative languages. In the above discussion, the terms "subject" and "object" were used. However, it is imprecise to use these two terms when talking about an ergative language. Some linguistic descriptions use three terms: "agent" to refer to the subject of a transitive verb, "subject" to refer to the subject of an intransitive verb, and "object" to refer to the direct object of a transitive verb. While this terminology is useful, it obscures the fact that in an ergative language the "subject" and the "object" are marked the same way. The term "agent" will be used here to refer to the subject of a transitive verb (marked by the ergative case), and the term "patient" to refer both to the subject of an intransitive verb and to the direct object of a transitive verb (both marked by the absolutive case). Thus, in the examples above, "boy" is the agent, and "ball" is the patient. In

practice, however, it is very difficult to escape using such common terms as "subject" and "object", especially in unambiguous contexts, even if these terms do not really fit Sumerian.

It has been estimated that as many as a fourth of the world's languages, belonging to a number of different language families, can be classified as ergative: many languages in Australia, many Amerind languages, many Caucasoid languages, and so on. However, the only ergative language spoken in Europe is Basque (said to have "the most thoroughgoing morphological ergativity on the planet" [Trask 1997:xiv]). Since none of the most well-known languages of Europe (or the Near East) are ergative, the concept is often unfamiliar.

There are a few other points about ergativity to be mentioned. First, the definition given above describes what might be called "morphological" ergativity, in this case specifically, how ergativity manifests itself in the case endings on nouns. Morphological ergativity can also be reflected in other parts of a language's morphology, such as verbal agreement and the cross-referencing of case markers. In Sumerian, for example, the agent is cross-referenced by an affix occurring immediately before the verbal root, while the patient is cross-referenced by an affix occurring immediately after the verbal root. In addition to such morphological ergativity, some languages exhibit syntactic ergativity, which shows itself in the ways languages use co-ordination and sub-ordination; this subject is still under investigation for Sumerian.

Second, there are very few (if any) "pure" morphologically ergative languages. Most (perhaps all) ergative languages are "split": In certain constructions, the language behaves in an ergative manner; in other constructions, the language behaves in an accusative manner. In Sumerian, for instance, the perfect aspect functions in an ergative manner, while the imperfect aspect functions in an accusative manner. That is, Sumerian is split along an aspectual axis. There are other languages in the world which are split along exactly such an axis, with the perfect aspect functioning in an ergative manner, and the imperfect aspect functioning in an accusative manner. Also, the independent pronouns in Sumerian function basically on an accusative, not an ergative, basis. Ergative languages of the world show a rather bewildering variety and complexity in the ways that they are split. For example, some use an ergative ~ accusative differentiation to mark semantic distinctions which are not easily made in the Indo-European or Semitic languages, such as volitionality. An oft-cited example is the sentence "I fell" in Tsova-Tush (also known as Bats), a language of the North-east Caucasoid family spoken in Georgia. If the act of falling is purely an accident, outside of our control, the sentence behaves in an accusative manner. If the act of falling is a result of our own action or fault, the sentence behaves in an ergative manner. Other languages use this ergativity ~ accusativity contrast to mark other kinds of information, such as degrees of animacy. Moreover, there are many languages which are wholly or partially ergative in their morphology, but not ergative in their syntax. Although there are many languages of the world which are wholly accusative in both their morphology and their syntax, there are no languages of the world which are wholly ergative in both their morphology and syntax.

It can be seen that the term "ergative" is thus somewhat ambiguous. The term was first uti-

lized to describe the patterning discussed above. The term then came to be used for languages which show this patterning; thus, Sumerian was described as an "ergative" language. However, because of the fact that ergativity is the more marked or unusual feature (although there is no ergative language in the world which is completely ergative, most of the languages of the world lack any traces of ergativity), sometimes a language having *any* ergative feature is called "ergative". That is, since Sumerian is ergative in the perfect aspect, it is called ergative. But, by the same token, since it is accusative in the imperfect aspect, it could be called accusative. The terms "accusative language" and "ergative language" are thus not binary opposites. Some writers use the expression "ergative language" to describe a language which is largely ergative, but others use it to mean a language having any ergative feature. The term "split ergative" is similarly misleading. R.M.W. Dixon says:

> 'Split-accusative' should be an equally appropriate label. Of course, 'split-ergative' is used simply because accusativity is the familiar pattern which linguists until recently thought was the basic structure for all languages (some probably still do think this), with ergativity being regarded as a novel and unusual arrangement. (If the study of linguistics had evolved among speakers of Eskimo or Basque, instead of among speakers of Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, things might have been different) (1994:55 n.17).

Because there are very few (if any) pure ergative languages, even on the morphological level, it is best not to think of ergativity ~ accusativity as a simple binary opposition. C.T. van Aalderen has said "One suspects that the whole phenomenon is more a continuum than a set of oppositions" (1982:27). That is, some languages are closer to one pole than to the other. Some recent literature, for example, speaks of "degrees of ergativity" in different languages. The situation is compounded by the fact that languages which are accusative in origin occasionally develop ergative features; this has happened, for example, to various degrees in some members of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European (Hindi, Punjabi, and Gujarathi, for example). Similarly, ergative languages can acquire accusative features (some Tibeto-Burman languages). In other cases, scholars have posited ergativity as a feature of certain proto-languages, which then became lost. The motivations for such changes are currently an object of study; some motivations seem to originate from discourse features, others may be due to the influence of other languages. Jacobsen recently argued, in fact, that ergativity in Sumerian is actually an intrusion into an originally accusative system (1988b:204f).

In the last thirty years or so linguists have shown a great deal of interest in ergative languages; the bibliography of recent works is vast. In one of these, John Du Bois says:

> Seemingly, ergativity stands as a challenge to the view that all languages are built on one universal archetype...Why are there ergative languages in the world?...Ergativity...would seem somewhat perverse in splitting up an apparently basic category like subject, assigning half its contents to a contrasting category like object. This perception of unnaturalness is of course only an index of our failure to apprehend the actual basis of ergativity, a difficulty which is simply

reinforced by traditional grammatical terminology (1987:805-807).

It is only somewhat recently that the concept of ergativity has been applied to Sumerian, although some early researchers had intimations that this was how Sumerian worked. This means that in reading Sumerological literature, such concepts and terms as "ergative", "agent", "patient", and so on, may not be used. The material might be discussed in what would now be called an ergative model, without use of the term ergative, or in older works the material might be presented in an accusative model. And there is much discussion about the details of ergativity in Sumerian. Given the complexities of split ergativity in the languages of the world, it may well be that current presentations of ergativity in Sumerian are simplistic.

As stated above, the literature on ergativity is vast. A recent book is *Ergativity*, written by the world's foremost authority on the subject, R.M.W. Dixon (1994). The article by Du Bois cited above is an important discussion, and that by Andrew Garrett (1990) discusses the origins of split ergativity. The first person to apply the term ergative to Sumerian was apparently Viktor Christian in 1932 (1932:17), although he used the term a little differently than it is understood today. Diakonoff (1965) sketched the system of ergativity in Sumerian and other languages of the Ancient Near East, without explaining the details of morphology; he has discussed the same topic in many other publications. The articles by Daniel Foxvog (1975) and Piotr Michalowski (1980) described Sumerian in an explicitly ergative framework, while elucidating the verbal morphology; they are the two most seminal articles on the topic. Van Aalderen (1982) has explored some of the theoretical issues in more detail, and ergativity in Sumerian in general is surveyed by Yushu Gong (1987). The most recent reference grammar of Sumerian, by Marie-Louise Thomsen (1984), follows an ergative model.

As an aside, many attempts have been made to find traces of ergativity in the Semitic languages; this is discussed in Hans-Peter Müller (1995).

Agglutination

Sumerian is often described as an "agglutinative" language. This term goes back to the nineteenth century, when linguists attempted to classify the languages of the world into a few basic types, based solely on typological (not genetic) criteria. One such scheme held that most of the languages of the world could be put into the following three classes:

Isolating: In isolating languages, virtually every morpheme forms a separate word. In Chinese, for example, there are no tense markers on verbs; such information is conveyed by separate adverbs of time. There are also no plural markers on nouns or verbs; this information is conveyed by separate number words.

Fusional: In fusional languages (also called "inflectional" languages), grammatical information is expressed through endings on nouns or verbs. However, several different morphemes "fuse" together into one form. Latin *amo*, for example, means "I love". The /o/ ending on the verb signals several things: the verb is first person, singular, present tense, indicative mood, active voice. However, none of the morphemes for person, number, tense, mood, or voice can

be segmented out—they are all fused into the one ending /o/.

Agglutinative: In agglutinative languages, as in fusional languages, several grammatical morphemes are combined into one word. However, the morphemes are distinct from each other; they do not fuse together. It is very easy to distinguish the base of a noun or verb from its inflectional elements. Agglutinative languages typically use strings of prefixes and suffixes. Each affix is formally distinct, and expresses one morpheme. The parade example of a language of this type is Turkish. In Turkish, the phrase "from his houses" is *evlerinden. ev* means "house"; *ler* is the plural marker; *in* is the possessive pronoun "his"; *den* is the postposition expressing the ablative case "from". In general, each affix expresses one morpheme, and each morpheme is invariant. Thus, *ler* is the automatic plural marker for all nouns; *den* means "from" after any nominal phrase, and so on. The morphemes are distinct, not fused into each other.

Sumerian is often compared to Turkish. The nominal phrase can be very long, consisting of a noun, adjectives, appositives, genitive phrases, and so on, with a case marker at the end of the entire nominal phrase. The verbal phrase consists of a string of prefixes, followed by the root, and then a small string of suffixes. Each affix expresses one morpheme, and each affix is (basically) invariable.

This scheme originated in the nineteenth century. It is not without its problems, however. Its methodological underpinnings have been attacked on several grounds (Comrie 1989:42-56 contains a thorough discussion). For one thing, languages only rarely fit neatly into one of these three categories; they are not purely isolating, fusional, or agglutinative. English, for example, is largely isolating, but it is also to some degree fusional. It is occasionally agglutinative in its processes of word-formation. In words such as "predictability" or "antidisestablishmentarianism", it is fairly easy to separate several different morphemes, both as prefixes and as suffixes. Because of such problems, linguists who specialize in linguistic typology are no longer very interested in this particular "morphological typology", that is, a typological scheme based on morphology. However, the term agglutinative is still common in Sumerological literature, especially in popular descriptions of the language.

It should be stressed that the two terms ergative ~ agglutinative refer to different analyses. The ergative ~ accusative distinction describes how the core participants in a sentence are marked in relation to each other. The isolating ~ fusional ~ agglutinative distinction describes the different ways that morphemes combine into words. In theory, a language can be either ergative or accusative, and also either isolating or fusional or agglutinative, although not all of the logical combinations seem to occur.

Word order typology

A more revealing scheme of linguistic typology is called "word order typology" or "constituent order typology". This scheme examines the basic unmarked order of the major constituents in a sentence. In English, for example, the most typical order is subject-verb-object. Hence, English is said to be a S-V-O language. Sumerian, on the other hand, is a S-O-V language,

since the basic word order is subject-object-verb.

The reason word order typology is significant is because languages with the same basic word order tend to pattern together in several ways. For example, very few S-O-V languages have prepositions. Instead, they use case endings at the end of nominal phrases, that is, postpositions (Akkadian is an exception; it is S-O-V, but with prepositions. This is due to the influence of Sumerian). As will be seen later, in many ways (not all) Sumerian is a typical S-O-V language.

As was the case with ergativity, there is a tremendous literature on word order typology (Comrie 1989 is a good introduction). G. Haayer (1986) has written one of the few studies to look at Sumerian in terms of word order typology and in terms of language universals. He points out, for example, that "Most ergative languages have SOV basic word order" and that "The combination of ergativity and postpositions in a single language points almost invariably to SOV basic word order" (1986:80). Some comments are also made in Hayes (1991).

Cross-language and areal comparison

It has often been remarked that our understanding of Sumerian will only grow as a result of a more thorough investigation of languages which are typologically similar to Sumerian. Such investigations may reveal, for example, different kinds of split ergativity, or show how certain semantic classes are marked by the verb or how nominal phrases are cross-referenced in verbal phrases. There have been a few attempts in this direction. Joachim Krecher (1987b) has looked at aspects of Sumerian nominal formation in the light of Chukchee, and Gerd Steiner (1990) has looked for typological parallels between Sumerian and Elamite, speculating on features of areal linguistics which have drawn the two languages closer. In an earlier work (1979), he studied the "intransitive-passival conception of the verb" in several languages of the Ancient Near East. Olof Pedersén (1989) has also studied some areal connections between Sumerian and Akkadian.

WRITING SYSTEM

External characteristics

In discussing any writing system, there are several factors to consider. These include the external characteristics of the writing system, its original nature, and its internal principles.

Because of the external shape of its signs, the Sumerian writing system is called "cuneiform". "Cuneus" is the Latin word for "wedge". The term was employed because of the most striking characteristic of the script: the fact that the signs are built-up of strokes looking like little wedges. The first cuneiform texts discovered were all relatively late, from a period when the wedge-shaped character of the script was most striking. In the earliest phases of the script, however, the wedge-shaped character is less pronounced. This is because in the earliest periods, the signs were actually drawn on the tablet, not impressed. Once the signs began to be

impressed, the repertoire of shapes and directions gradually became reduced, producing wedge-shaped cuneiform signs. Even in the Ur III inscriptions in this *Manual*, the signs do not look nearly as wedge-like as do those of later texts.

The cuneiform signs were inscribed by means of a stylus formed from a reed (gi in Sumerian), such as still grows in modern-day Iraq. The Sumerian word for "stylus", in fact, is gi-dub-ba, literally "reed of the tablet". This stylus was impressed upon a tablet (dub) of moist clay (im). Occasionally, other surfaces were used; likewise, the stylus could be made of bone, metal, hardwood, or other materials. The Sumerian word for "cuneiform wedge" was ⊤, read santag₄. This may derive from "head" (sağ) of "something built-up" (du₃-a). It was borrowed into Akkadian as santakku.

The first person to apply the term "cuneiform" to this writing system was one Thomas Hyde, who was Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. Hyde had become interested in the ruins of ancient Persepolis and its inscriptions, now known to be written in Old Persian cuneiform. In his *Historia religionis veterum Persarum*, published in 1700, he refers to "dactuli pyramidales seu cuneiformes". H.W.F. Saggs says "There was a Latin-derived word 'cuneiform' which the science of Anatomy already used to express the sense 'wedge-shaped'" (1995:10). Hyde thought that cuneiform was a form of decoration, not of writing (an interesting description of the earliest attempts to understand cuneiform is in *The Antiquity of Iraq*, by Svend Pallis [1956]).

The term cuneiform refers solely to the external shape of the individual signs. The cuneiform writing system was adopted and modified by many peoples of the Ancient Near East; it was used to write Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hurrian, Persian, and so on. However, the fact that these languages use signs with the same general external characteristics says nothing about their possible genetic relationship. Sumerian, Akkadian, and Persian, for example, belong to three unrelated language families. Expressions such as "cuneiform language" are occasionally encountered, but this is a rather imprecise way of referring to one of several languages, which may or may not be related, which happen to use a script with the same external characteristics.

Original nature

The writing system used for English is an attempt to render speech as closely as possible. Although in English there are features of the spoken language which are not noted in the writing (such as stress and intonation), and there are features which are found only in the writing (such as upper- and lower-case letters), and although English suffers from numerous archaic spellings, writing is basically an attempt to reproduce the sounds of speech. By contrast, the Sumerian writing system was never an exact, phonetic representation of speech; it was not "designed" to reproduce spoken language as such. Rather, to some degree the writing system is a mnemonic device, to jog the memory of the writer and reader. The earliest uses of writing were for administrative texts, of a formulaic nature, whose contents were familiar to the scribes. There was no need to write down what would be obvious to a scribe who was a native speaker of Sumerian, and who was familiar with the material being written. When such scribes read the texts, they knew how to supply the information which was not indicated explicitly in the writing.

Thus, a certain amount of information in the spoken language was not expressed in the writing. The further back in time one goes, the less the Sumerian writing system expresses grammatical elements which we assume were present in the spoken language. For example, the basic graphic shape representing the root for "to build" was originally a picture of a tent peg. In the earliest Sumerian, this one sign could be used to represent any inflected form of the verb: any person, tense, or mood. Similarly, the expression for "on that day" in Sumerian was ud-bi-a ("day-that-on"). But in the earliest Sumerian, only the sign for "day", ud, was actually written; the reader inferred the rest. This minimalist kind of writing is sometimes called "nuclear writing".

As time passed, Sumerian writing became more and more explicit, that is, the scribes wrote more and more down. For example, a composition known as the *Kesh Temple Hymn* is attested in several copies mostly from the Old Babylonian period (around 1800 BCE). In the 1960s, a version of the same composition was found at Tell Abu Salabikh, dating to about perhaps 2600 BCE. Unfortunately, only a few lines of the Tell Abu Salabikh version survive. But if one compares the Old Babylonian version with the Tell Abu Salabikh version, it can be seen that while the text itself is relatively stable, the Old Babylonian version indicates more verbal affixes than does the Tell Abu Salabikh version.

This increase in explicitness is due to several factors: perhaps a natural tendency of writing systems to become more explicit over time, the need to be able to represent vocabulary and personal names of Semitic origin, the fact that Sumerian was gradually dying out and so scribes needed more help in their own understanding of texts, and so on.

To sum up, a fundamental feature of the Sumerian writing system is the fact that it does not fully represent the spoken language. This has been summarized by Jacobsen: "The history of Sumerian writing is one of progressively ever greater but never quite attained adjustment to Sumerian speech" (1970 [1957] 366 n.1). Similarly, Marvin Powell has pointed out that "We find traces of its mnemonic character enduring to the very end of the Sumerian orthographic tradition" (1981:421). This interpretation of the Sumerian writing system, that in origin and in practice it is basically mnemonic, has been especially expounded by Igor Diakonoff, Thorkild Jacobsen, and Stephen Lieberman. A short, but pithy and valuable, discussion is given by Jacobsen in 1988b:162 n.2.

Internal principles

The script used for writing Sumerian is a combination of logographic and syllabic signs. A logographic sign (or "logogram") stands for a particular word. For example, the sign ⸶ stands for the word utu, "sun"; the sign 𒀭 stands for the word digir, "god", and so on. The external shape of many of these signs is clearly pictographic in origin. Thus the sign for "sun" was originally a picture of the sun rising over a hillock. The sign for "god" was originally a picture of a star. The original significance of many signs cannot yet be determined. Some of them may be pictographs of material objects which we cannot identify, and some signs may be purely geo-

metric or abstract in origin.

A sign can have more than one logographic value. Thus, the one sign 𒀭 can represent digir, "god", or it can represent an, "sky". In general, it is only the context which determines the meaning of the sign.

A syllabic sign (or "syllabogram") reproduces a sequence of sounds. For example, the sign 𒂷 represents the syllable /ga/. This particular syllable can form a component of several different morphemes or words: it may be part of the cohortative prefix on verbs, or part of the ending of a genitive phrase on nouns, and so on. The sign 𒂷 in these contexts does not stand for any particular morpheme or word; rather, its purpose is to represent the phonetic sequence /ga/, which may form part of a number of different morphemes or words.

Syllabic signs can represent several different sequences of consonants and vowels. Some syllabic signs stand for a single vowel (V), such as a and i. More common are signs standing for the sequence consonant-vowel (CV), such as ba and mu, or vowel-consonant (VC), such as ab and in. A few signs stand for the sequence consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC), such as tuk and gal.

Particularly when writing grammatical morphemes, Sumerian prefers not to use CVC signs. Instead, the script uses a convention that represents the sequence CVC by two signs, CV-VC. For example, the segment /nir/ is commonly written as ni-ir. A writing such as ni-ir does not imply a long vowel. This practice is purely an orthographic convention which helps to reduce the potentially large number of CVC signs which would otherwise be necessary to handle all such cases.

Many signs have more than one syllabic value. Many signs have both logographic and syllabic values, sometimes more than one of each. The syllabic value of most signs derives, in fact, from a logographic value. For example, the sign 𒀭 in its meaning as "sky" was pronounced /an/. The use of this phonetic value was then generalized, so that it came to stand for the syllable /an/ in other contexts.

Signs with more than one value are called "polyvalent", or are said to have several "readings". In general, the correct reading of a sign can only be derived from the context. This is not always obvious. Erica Reiner discusses this problem (primarily for Akkadian) in an interesting article entitled "How We Read Cuneiform Texts" (1973). Gong (1990) points out the various possibilities open to scribes when choosing how to write any particular word.

To repeat, the Sumerian writing system is both logographic and syllabic. In general, lexical morphemes are written logographically, and grammatical morphemes are written syllabically, but this is not always the case. As will be seen later, the fact that the Sumerian verbal root is basically unchanging in form (unlike, say, the situation in the Semitic languages, where the root takes on different vowels according to its grammatical function) means that a logographic system actually fits the Sumerian language rather well.

Lexical and grammatical morphemes tend to be written in only one way. For example, there are several cuneiform signs with the pronunciation /e/. However, the word for "house", pro-

nounced /e/, was almost always written with the e̲₂-sign and not with any of the other /e/-signs (for the simple reason that the e̲₂-sign was originally a pictograph of part of a house). At any given time and place in Sumer, the number of signs used as syllabograms was also limited. Similarly, in Akkadian there are some nineteen different signs representing the sequence /ša/. But this figure is misleading, because it spans the entire history of Akkadian; at any one time and place, only one or two of these values was in use.

The writing system is to some extent morphographemic. Certain grammatical morphemes exist in a longer and a shorter form; the writing system often uses the longer form while the morphology requires the shorter form. For example, the case marker for the dative case was pronounced /ra/ after consonants and /r/ after vowels. Occasionally, however, -ra is written after vowels, even though presumably pronounced /r/.

In addition to logographic and syllabic signs, there are a few other elements present in the script. The most important are determinatives (or "classifiers"). Determinatives are signs which are used to indicate the general semantic class to which a following (or occasionally a preceding) noun belongs. For example, almost all divine names are preceded by the sign ⋇ ; this sign tells the scribe that "what follows is a divine name". Most names of countries are followed by the sign ⋇ ; this sign tells the scribe that "what preceded was the name of a country". Determinatives were probably not spoken, even when Sumerian was read out loud; they were a feature of the writing system. In other contexts, the cuneiform signs which function as determinatives can also function as logographic or syllabic elements. For example, the sign ⋇, in addition to functioning as the determinative for gods, can stand for the word diĝir, "god"; the sign ⋇ , besides functioning as the determinative for countries, can stand for ki, "country".

Paleography

The mastery of cuneiform signs is no trivial chore. In certain ways, however, it is easier to learn the signs of the Ur III period than the signs of later periods. In later periods, the repertoire of sign shapes became reduced, so that (superficially) the signs of the Neo-Assyrian period, for example, all look very similar to each other. In the earlier periods the signs are much more distinct from each other, making them easier to learn.

However, one problem in studying the signs of the early periods is the occasional wide variation in external shape of any particular sign. In Text 1, the cuneiform signs are almost abstract-looking. In Text 3, they look more like cuneiform. In Text 5, they veer towards cursive. The script of the letters, ditilas, and administrative texts of the later Lessons is much more cursive than that of the royal inscriptions. This means, for example, that the sign for "house", e₂, shows a fair amount of variation even within the texts in this Manual. This variation is due to several factors: nature of the writing surface, different scribal traditions at different scribal centers, idiosyncrasies of particular scribes, and so on. Occasionally, forms show up which do not even appear in the standard sign catalogues. The shapes in the sign-lists in this Manual attempt to steer a middle ground between the more formal script of the inscriptions and the more cursive script of the other genres, but it is always necessary to study signs from autographs and

photographs, not just from sign-lists.

There is, in fact, as yet no comprehensive study of the paleography of Ur III texts. Although it has been justifiably criticized, the most useful source for further study of the signs of this period is still Nikolaus Schneider, *Die Zeichenlisten der Wirtschaftsurkunden von Ur III nebst ihren charakteristischen Schreibvarianten* (1935).

Transliteration

When discussing Sumerian grammar or vocabulary, the original cuneiform signs are not always reproduced. Rather, a word or passage may be cited in transliteration into Latin characters. *Transliteration* is a sign-by-sign reflection of the written text. It is designed specifically to reflect the actual cuneiform signs present (excluding paleographic niceties). By looking at a transliteration, one should be able to determine exactly which cuneiform signs occur in the original. Transliteration serves several purposes. Not every reader may read cuneiform. It is also more convenient, quicker, and cheaper to produce Latin characters than it is to produce cuneiform characters. Moreover, it provides an approximate phonetic rendering of the signs occurring in the Sumerian. Since many Sumerian signs have more than one reading, a scholar, by giving the text in transliteration, explicitly states his or her opinion about the reading of a particular cuneiform sign. For example, the sign ⋇ can be read Iškur (the name of a god), or im ("wind"), or ni₂ ("self"). Based on his or her understanding of the text, a scholar decides the correct reading and the appropriate transliteration.

Several different cuneiform signs have the same pronunciation. For example, there are at least five different signs pronounced /u/. These signs must be differentiated in transliteration, so that the original cuneiform can be reconstructed from the transliteration. If u̲ were used as the transliteration for all five signs, it would not be possible to go backward from the transliteration. That is, given a transliteration u̲, one could not tell which of the five possible signs actually was written in the cuneiform. To obviate this problem, a series of subscripts is used. The most common (or most important) sign with a particular value is unmarked, for example, u̲. The second most common sign with this same value is marked with a subscript $_2$, u̲$_2$. The third most common sign with this same value is marked with a subscript $_3$, u̲$_3$. The next most common signs with this same value are marked with further subscripts, u̲$_4$, u̲$_5$, and so on. This system provides a convenient means to differentiate between signs pronounced alike, thus enabling us to reconstruct the cuneiform from the transliteration. These subscripts are usually called "indices" or "diacritics".

These indices are based largely on frequency. However, these frequencies were determined on the basis of Akkadian texts, not on the basis of Sumerian texts—for the simple reason that Akkadian was deciphered before Sumerian. This produces a certain inconsistency. In Sumerian, for example, the b̲i₂-sign is more frequent than the b̲i-sign. This inconsistency is not really a problem; the alternative would have been to devise a separate system of transliteration for Sumerian, based on values and frequencies in Sumerian. But this would have engendered

so much confusion and complication that it is far easier to work within the traditional system.

Another system of transliteration uses the acute accent and the grave accent instead of the subscripts $_2$ and $_3$. Thus, the word transliterated here as $\underline{u}_2$ is transliterated $\underline{\acute{u}}$, and the word transliterated here as $\underline{u}_3$ is transliterated $\underline{\grave{u}}$. In this system, the use of acute and grave accent marks as indices has nothing to do with pronunciation. They do not indicate anything about stress, nor do they indicate anything about vocalic length, nor do they indicate anything about tone. They are used instead of $\underline{u}_2$ and $\underline{u}_3$ because it has traditionally been easier (at least in Europe) to type accent marks on a typewriter than it is to turn the carriage up to make a subscript.

The system using accent marks was in fact the first one developed, and still is widespread; the first edition of this *Manual*, for example, used the accent marks. The system using only subscripts is newer; it arose because of the ease of typing subscripts on a computer. It is not yet as commonly used as the earlier system.

With the system of accents, confusion can arise with bisyllabic signs, that is, signs which represent a segment of two syllables, such as /kala/ or /urim/. If there is more than one sign with the same bisyllabic reading, one system in use puts the accent marks on the first vowel, then continues onto the second syllable. A different system begins with the last vowel, moving back to the first. The presence of these two different systems, along with mechanical mistakes in printing, can cause problems in determining what the cuneiform sign actually was. Using subscripts obviates against this difficulty. For example, there are several signs with the value of /kala/. These are differentiated as $\underline{kala}$, $\underline{kala}_2$, $\underline{kala}_3$, $\underline{kala}_4$, and so on.

Occasionally, new values are proposed for signs. For example, it has been suggested that the $\underline{zar}$-sign also has a reading /bul/, in addition to its reading as /zar/. This new reading is indicated by a subscript "x": $\underline{bul}_x$. In time, modern-day editors of the standard sign-lists (discussed in *Appendix Three*) may accept this reading and assign a new index; thus some sign-lists give the $\underline{zar}$-sign the reading $\underline{bul}_5$ ($\underline{bul}_{(1)}$ through $\underline{bul}_4$ are already in use).

Determinatives are transliterated with superscript letters: $\underline{x}^{ki}$. For convenience sake, the determinative for "god" is transliterated as a superscript ^{d}: $^d\underline{I\check{s}tar}$. Because of the typographic difficulties of printing superscripts, some publications instead print the determinatives on the same print-line, connected by a period: $\underline{x}.ki$.

In transliteration, signs comprising one word are linked by hyphens: $\underline{kalam}$-$\underline{ma}$, $\underline{di\hat{g}ir}$-$\underline{ra}$-$\underline{ni}$, and so on. It is not always easy, however, to determine what is a "word" in Sumerian; this problem is discussed in *Lesson One*. Determinatives are an exception; no hyphens are used.

It is occasionally the case that it is not sure how a particular Sumerian sign (or word) is to be read. Such doubtful or unsure readings are often presented in caps. For example, the word for "interest-bearing loan" in Sumerian is written 𒅈 𒉈 . It is not exactly sure how the first sign is to be read. For this reason, the word is often transliterated $\underline{HAR}$-$\underline{ra}$, with the first sign transliterated by the most common value of the sign 𒅈 . Some scholars, however, believe that they now know how to read this word, and so nowadays one is likely to find the reading $\underline{ur}_5$-$\underline{ra}$. Not all Sumerologists follow this system, however, and what is sure for one Sumerologist may

not be sure for another.

Finally, it is necessary to say a few words about the typographic conventions used in transliterating Sumerian. Throughout this *Manual*, Sumerian is transliterated by Roman characters, underlined. The few Akkadian words cited here follow the same system. However, it is occasionally inconvenient to use the same typographic conventions for two different languages. To solve this problem, many publications cite Sumerian in Roman characters, but widely-spaced. Thus, the word for "god" will be transliterated as di ĝir. This may seem like a convenient procedure to differentiate Sumerian citations from Akkadian (or other) citations, but it is prone to produce mechanical errors in printing. Reading long passages in widely-spaced type is also singularly hard on the eyes.

Transcription

Transliteration is, by definition, a reflection of the written text, and so does not necessarily reproduce the spoken language well (as we think we understand it). For this reason, it is helpful to use some form of *transcription* (or *normalization*) in the study of Sumerian. Transcription attempts to reproduce Sumerian forms in their approximately correct phonological shape, disregarding the conventions, omissions, additions, and idiosyncrasies of the written text. For example, the signs appearing as $\underline{kalam}$-$\underline{ma}$ in transliteration appear as kalama in transcription, since that is probably how the word was actually pronounced; as will be seen later, the gemination here is only graphic.

There is no official or standard system of transcription of Sumerian. This situation contrasts with that of Akkadian. In Akkadian there is a standard way of transliterating texts, and also a reasonably standard way of transcribing them. This is possible for Akkadian, because we are generally confident of our understanding of the rules of Akkadian phonology and morphology; in general, transcriptions of Akkadian done by different scholars are quite similar. In the case of Sumerian, there is less confidence about the language. Because the script does not always express all grammatical elements, the morphology is often unsure. Moreover, there are several different analyses of the phonetic structure of Sumerian. This means that transcriptions done by different scholars may vary somewhat from one to the other.

The systems of transcription in most use today are actually morphological transcriptions. Morpheme boundaries are often marked. Full forms of morphemes are often given, even when it is assumed that some vocalic or consonantal segment dropped in pronunciation. The transcription used in this *Manual* is such a morphological transcription, based on the system used by Jacobsen. Morphemes are separated from each other by the use of periods. Segments which we assume were present in the spoken language but which do not appear in the written form are enclosed in parentheses.
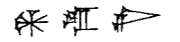
Because lexical and grammatical morphemes are usually written with specific signs (such as the word for "house", pronounced /e/, which is always written with the $\underline{e}_2$-sign and not the $\underline{e}$-sign or the $\underline{e}_3$-sign), indices are included in transcription. Thus "house" is transcribed e_2. This is

not a universal practice; some systems of transcription omit the indices. Thus, e₂, "house", might be transcribed e and not e₂, and Urim₅, "(the city of) Ur", as Urim and not Urim₅ (in the first edition of this *Manual*, the indices were not included in the transcription).

Transcription is actually fairly uncommon. It typically does not occur in editions of Sumerian texts, but does show up in discussions of grammar or poetic structure. Transcription is important, however, because transliteration alone masks too many morphological and phonological issues. Only a consistent transcription can expose a thorough understanding of the language behind the texts. Some of the simplest Sumerian inscriptions, for example, could be translated into English without much knowledge of Sumerian, simply from a knowledge of Akkadian and of basic Sumerian vocabulary; a transcription reflects the structure of the language hidden behind the written form.

To sum up, transliteration and transcription serve different purposes. Transliteration is essentially sign-by-sign, with the goal of permitting a scholar to reproduce in his or her head the cuneiform signs which appear in the original. Transcription is essentially word-by-word, with the goal of approximating the correct phonological and morphological shape of a word (in practice, however, the terms "transliteration" and "transcription" are occasionally used promiscuously).

At other times it will also be necessary to discuss the purely phonemic structure of Sumerian, ignoring idiosyncrasies of writing and morphological considerations. In that case, standard linguistic practice is followed, and the item will be put between slashes, for example, /kalama/.

These different levels of analysis can be exemplified by considering the phrase "to his god" in Sumerian. This can be written with the three signs 𒀭 𒊏 𒉈 . Our understanding of this phrase may be presented in three different ways: a transliteration, reflecting the written form: diĝir-ra-ni; a morphological transcription, reflecting our understanding of the approximate pronunciation and morphology: diĝir.ani.(r) ("god-his-to"); and a phonemic transcription, reflecting the approximate pronunciation: /diĝiranir/. These are three different ways of analyzing Sumerian. Whether we use transliteration, morphological transcription, or phonemic transcription depends on our purpose.
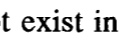
PHONOLOGY

Introduction

It is not easy to reconstruct the phonological system of Sumerian or the precise pronunciation of any of its sounds. There are two main reasons for this problem. First, since Sumerian is a language isolate, there is no comparative evidence to provide help. Second, most of the evidence for Sumerian phonology has been filtered through the Akkadian phonological system; Sumerian phonology is seen through Akkadian eyes. For instance, it is likely that the word for "son" in Sumerian was pronounced /domu/, with an initial /o/-quality vowel. But Akkadian does not have an /o/-quality vowel, and if there were only Akkadian evidence, it might never even

be known that Sumerian had such a vowel. Thus, the picture of Sumerian of the Ur III period (2112-2004 BCE) is actually based on Akkadian of the Old Babylonian period (1894-1595 BCE) and later.

Likewise, very little is known about the historical development of Sumerian phonology. Sumerian was spoken over a period of several centuries (and was used as a written language for even more centuries). The phonological system of Sumerian at the time of, say, Tell Abu Salabikh may have been quite different than that of the time of Ur III.

To some degree, more is known about the value and pronunciation of Sumerian grammatical morphemes than is known about Sumerian lexical morphemes. This is because grammatical morphemes are mostly written syllabically, while lexical morphemes are mostly written logographically. Without the evidence of lexical lists (*Appendix Two*), it is quite difficult to establish the value of a logogram. For the same reason, it is occasionally possible to see phonetic change through the course of Sumerian in grammatical morphemes, but it is more difficult to see such change in lexical morphemes.

The upshot of this is that Sumerian possessed sounds which Akkadian did not, and which can only be determined using a variety of indirect evidence. Because of the difficulties of dealing with this indirect evidence, there have been several different reconstructions of the Sumerian phonological system. These reconstructions differ both in the number of phonemes posited for Sumerian and in the phonetic value attributed to certain phonemes.

In practice, however, most transliterations do not try to exactly reproduce the sounds of Sumerian; rather, they use the standard values known from Akkadian. Thus the word for "son" is virtually always transliterated dumu, even though this is one of the clearest cases where an /o/-quality vowel can be postulated for Sumerian. Similarly, Sumerian had a velar nasal /ŋ/, which did not exist in Akkadian. The sign 𒈬 , for example, represents /ŋu/, the velar nasal followed by an /u/-quality vowel; this is the morpheme for the first person singular possessive suffix ("my") on nouns. But the normal value of this sign in Akkadian is /mu/. Therefore, this sign is often transliterated as mu in Sumerian, for example, lugal-mu, "my king". Other scholars, however, in fact transliterate this sign as ŋu₁₀, lugal-ŋu₁₀, or as some typographic equivalent, such as ĝu₁₀, lugal-ĝu₁₀. This means that transliterations of Sumerian differ somewhat from scholar to scholar. The transliteration used here reflects one conventional method of transliteration, even if its reflection of the sounds of Sumerian is somewhat shaky and incomplete.

Vowels

Sumerian had at least the following vowels:

i		u
	e	
	a	

The precise phonetic value of these vowels, particularly the /e/, is unsure.

It is probable that Sumerian also had an /o/-quality vowel. But, as discussed above, since no /o/-vowel existed in Akkadian (at least on the phonemic level), there is only indirect evidence to reconstruct it for Sumerian. It is very difficult to determine whether any particular Sumerian word had an /o/-quality vowel or an /u/-quality vowel; its existence has been established in only a few cases. If the /o/-quality vowel is added to the vocalic inventory, this becomes:

$$i \qquad\qquad u$$
$$e \qquad o$$
$$a$$

The existence of other vowels has also been posited, such as two kinds of /e/, one open and one closed. Others have postulated a series of umlauted vowels, /ä/, /ë/, /ö/, and /ü/. Bobrova and Militarëv (1989) propose an eight vowel system, which they chart as:

$$o$$
$$a \qquad\qquad u$$
$$ä \qquad\qquad ü$$
$$i \qquad e$$
$$ə$$

The presence of some of these vowels is deduced chiefly from varying spellings. For example, if a word is spelled one time with the vowel /u/ and another time with the vowel /i/, this might mean that the vowel was an intermediate vowel of some kind, perhaps /ü/, a vowel which did not exist in Akkadian, and so Akkadian speakers sometimes interpreted it as /u/ and sometimes as /i/. Bobrova and Militarëv studied numerous cases of such alternation of vowels, resulting in the eight vowel system charted above. However, the problem with this method is that such spellings typically are late, coming from a period when Sumerian was no longer a spoken language, and in fact it is very difficult to find such alternations within one specific time and place. Moreover, some of these spellings may represent allophonic variation misinterpreted by Akkadian speakers.

It has several times been suggested that Sumerian possessed nasalized vowels. However, there is no consensus about the number of such vowels; systems with one, two, or three nasals have been proposed. In general, these nasal vowels have only been posited for certain specific morphological forms. The most recent investigation, by Claude Boisson (1989), finds that none of the systems of nasals which have been posited for Sumerian is likely; their existence is not accepted in this *Manual*.

It is not known if both short and long vowels existed, at the phonemic level or otherwise; the writing system cannot unequivocally show vocalic length. It is possible that long vowels existed as a secondary development, arising from the contraction of diphthongs or other vocalic contraction.

As discussed above, in practical terms most transliterations of Sumerian only reflect the four

vowel system charted above; the other vowels usually occur in specialists' discussions about the sounds of Sumerian.

Consonants

Sumerian had the following consonants, whose existence is fairly uncontroversial:

b	p	m
d	t	n
g	k	ŋ (?)
z	s	š
	ḫ	
l	r	

ŋ is the velar nasal. ḫ is the uvular fricative [x]; š the palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ]. For ease in printing, ḫ is often transliterated as h, without the dish; since Sumerian does not have a "simple" /h/, there is no ambiguity in this usage.

The precise phonetic value of the consonant here called a velar nasal is not sure. Its existence is inferred by varying spellings in Sumerian and Akkadian, which may show m̠, n̠, g or ng. For example, sag̃a, "a kind of priest", appears in Akkadian as šangû. g̃uruš, "strong man", appears in an Eblaite lexical text written nu-ri$_2$-šum$_2$. It is thus clear that Sumerian possessed a sound distinct from /m/, /n/, and /g/, but it is not easy to determine its exact value. Alternative interpretations of this phoneme are a palatal nasal or a complex phoneme, such as a labialized velar nasal, /ŋʷ/.

Transliterations of this phoneme vary. g̃ is commonly used today, partially to avoid a precise specification of the phonetic value of this consonant; g̃ merely symbolizes "a consonant related to /m/, /n/, and /g/, but of unsure phonetic value". This is the transliteration which will be used here. In older transliterations it may appear as g or as m̠. In the case of many words, it is not known whether the word contains the phoneme /ŋ/, /g/, /m/, or /n/. The verb "to go", for example, is understood by some Sumerologists to be /gin/ but by others to be /g̃in/ (or /g̃en/).

The chart above lists three pairs of stops: /b/ ~ /p/; /d/ ~ /t/; and /g/ ~ /k/. On the surface, each pair consists of two consonants differing in voice. However, the nature of the opposition is not clear. In Akkadian, to judge from comparative evidence, a similar difference was one of voice. In Sumerian, however, it is probable that the difference was one of aspiration. The series traditionally transliterated as the voiceless stops p t k are to be understood as voiceless aspirates /pʰ tʰ kʰ/. The series traditionally transliterated as the voiced stops b d g are to be understood as voiceless nonaspirates /p t k/. This produces a system with two sets of stops: voiceless aspirates and voiceless nonaspirates. Such systems are not uncommon in the languages of the world; it occurs, for example, in Chinese.

The evidence for this opposition partially derives from the way Sumerian words were borrowed into Akkadian. At least in the early periods of Sumerian, in general Sumerian words

with initial (and sometimes medial or final) "voiced" stops appear in Akkadian with voiceless stops: Sumerian <u>barag</u>, "throne dais" > Akkadian <u>parakku</u>; <u>gala</u>, "kind of priest" > <u>kalû</u>. Similarly, early Akkadian loanwords into Sumerian show the opposite phenomenon: Akkadian <u>tamḫāru</u>, "battle" > Sumerian <u>dam-ḫa-ra</u>.

This interpretation of the opposition between the two series of stops is the most common one today, although transliterations only rarely reflect this interpretation. This means that the actual phonetic shape of Sumerian may be quite different than standard transliterations show. For example, the standard transliteration <u>gibil</u>, "new", might reflect /kipil/.

The values for the sibilants <u>z s š</u> are derived from the traditional interpretation of the pronunciation of the Akkadian sibilants, but since the question of the sibilants in Semitic and in Old Akkadian is still an open question, these conventional transliterations should not be taken as any accurate phonetic rendering. Boisson (1989), for example, interprets <u>z s š</u> as /tˢ s θ/.

There is little evidence to indicate the type of /r/ Sumerian may have had. The Akkadian word <u>šuršu</u>, "root", appears in syllabically written Sumerian as <u>šu-ḫu-uš</u>, and the Sumerian word for "red", <u>ḫuš-a</u>, appears in Akkadian both as <u>ḫuššu</u> and <u>ruššu</u>. This may indicate that the Sumerian /r/ was uvular, and not a flap.

Another phoneme which was most likely present in Sumerian is usually transcribed /dʳ/ or /dr/. Its precise phonetic value has seldom been discussed, though it is thought to be some kind of flap. Its existence is based on varying spellings which show it to be a sound distinct from /d/, /t/, and /r/. The final consonant of the verb <u>kur₅</u>, "to cut", for example, sometimes appears in syllabic spellings as /r/, sometimes as /d/, sometimes as /t/. The existence of this phoneme has only been shown for a small number of words. It is transliterated here as /dʳ/.

The existence of other consonants has also been postulated, but the evidence is more tenuous. Their existence is usually predicated on odd spellings and on the behavior of Sumerian loanwords in Akkadian. There is not space here to go into details for all these posited phonemes, but they include /ʔ/, /h/, /w/, /y/; two or more types of /l/; two or more types of /r/; /ɣ/; one or a series of pre-nasalized stops, such as /ᵐb/; and one or a series of labialized consonants, such as /gʷ/. Since most of these sounds do not exist in Akkadian, the evidence for their existence is very indirect, and individual scholars have their own preferences. Standard transliterations of Sumerian do not try to reproduce these disputed phonemes.

There is no clear evidence that consonantal length was a phonemic feature in Sumerian. There are no obvious minimal pairs, although long consonants can arise from suffixation or occasionally from assimilation (*/barbar/ > /babbar/).

Stress

Very little is known about stress. Writings which show an unexpected loss of a vowel may indicate a strong stress on the following (or preceding) syllable. The divine name <u>Amar</u>-<u>utu</u>, "Bull of the sun", appears in Akkadian as <u>Marduk</u>; this may indicate an original pronunciation /amárutuk/. A fair number of such instances occur, but generally from different places and

periods, so that it is not yet possible to determine the nature of stress, or to determine whether stress assignment is rule-governed (as in Akkadian) or lexical (as in English).

Tones

Because Sumerian seems to have a large number of homonyms, it has frequently been argued that Sumerian possessed phonemic tones. The monosyllable /u/, for example, includes words ranging in meaning from "ten" to "plant" to "to ride". This high degree of homophony is said to result from the fact that Sumerian possesses a relatively small consonantal inventory and a small vocalic inventory, coupled with a tendency towards monosyllabic roots. Diakonoff, for example, has said "Sumerian was certainly a tonal language, or else the many homonyms would have made spoken Sumerian quite unintelligible" (1983:86).

From the viewpoint of general linguistic theory, however, there is no actual hard data about how much homophony a language actually can tolerate. Also, it may be that some of what are usually considered to be homophones in Sumerian were not actually such; there may have been phonetic differences which we cannot yet readily see.

Syllabic structure

Again because of the way our knowledge of Sumerian is filtered through Akkadian, it is not possible to fully determine Sumerian syllabic structure. At least the following syllable types occur: V, VC, CV, and CVC. These are the same syllable types present in Akkadian. Just as in Akkadian, it is usually thought that initial and final clusters do not occur; that is, there are no syllables of the type CCV or VCC.

The fact that the observable syllabic structure of Sumerian is exactly like that of Akkadian raises the obvious question of whether other syllable types existed, but have been masked by Akkadian. The logographic nature of the script hides this kind of information. The possiblity of CCV syllables has been studied by Schretter (1993). The nature of the evidence only permits Schretter to admit the possibility of such syllables, without proving their existence.

System

As discussed above, the traditional inventories of vowels and consonants for Sumerian largely contain only phonemes which are known to exist for Akkadian (except for /ĝ/ and /dʳ/). It is probable that the Sumerian phonological system had phonemes which did not exist in Akkadian, but there is no unanimity about the inventory of these phonemes nor about their phonetic nature. Moreover, there has been little investigation of the Sumerian phonological system as a whole.

Any resolution of such questions about Sumerian phonology can only take place after a thorough analysis of all the details of the Sumerian writing system, with all its intricacies and vagaries. This is a major desideratum in Sumerological studies. Even then, however, it is possible that we will never be in a position to understand Sumerian phonology, let alone phonetics, to

the degree that we understand that of other ancient languages, such as Akkadian; the pronunciation of Sumerian derived from our standardized transliterations may be quite different than the way Sumerian was actually pronounced. Miguel Civil has said, for example, "The vocalic system of Sumerian will never be satisfactorily recovered" (1973b:28). And Edzard has said "In all likelihood we would be totally unintelligible to native speakers of Sumerian who happened to hear our version of their language" (1995:2108). On the other hand, it is possible that further knowledge of the writing system, of Emesal, and of Akkadian scribal practices will enable us to deepen our understanding.

As a typical example of a reconstruction of Sumerian phonology, it may be instructive to present that postulated by Lieberman (1977:66; 1979:23):

i		u	b	p	m	š
	e	o	d	t	n	ž
	a		g	k	g̃	
			z	s		
				ḫ		
			l	r	ř	

ř is the "Czech ř", Lieberman's interpretation of the /dʳ/-phoneme.

Other scholars' reconstructions can be quite different. Gordon Whittaker, for example, posits an inventory of six vowels and thirty-eight consonants; he calls this a "minimal inventory" (1998:118).

Phonology and phonetics are probably the areas where our knowledge of Sumerian is at its weakest. It is, however, largely true that Sumerian texts can be well-understood without a detailed knowledge of the phonology. However, the lack of such knowledge hinders our understanding of Sumerian poetics; we do not know much about assonance or rhyme, for example. Because we are often unsure whether a vowel was contracted or lost, we cannot yet count syllables to study prosodic structure.

A brief survey of Sumerian phonology is in Hayes (1997b). Boisson (1989) is important because it studies Sumerian phonology from a typological viewpoint. Bobrova and Militarëv (1989) contrast the phonologies of Main Dialect and of Emesal, with a goal towards reconstructing an earlier stage of Sumerian; this can be considered tentative at best. As for some of the individual sounds reconstructed for Sumerian, Josef Bauer (1975-76) investigates the /dʳ/ phoneme, Lieberman (1979) the vowel /o/, and Mamoru Yoshikawa the two types of /l/ (1990). Jeremy Black (1990) has studied the ensemble of "extra" phonemes posited for Sumerian, emphasizing the methodological problems involved. As he points out, there are several factors to be considered: the difference between a diachronic and a synchronic study of Sumerian, the possibility of change in progress, the possibility of dialectal variation, and so on: "Such variation may be called dialectal in the widest sense of the word, i.e., may reflect geographical, social, stylistic or situational variation" (1990:113).

The more phonemes and the wider range of syllabic structures that one posits for historic Sumerian, the less of a fit there is between the phonological system of Sumerian and its writing system. This lack of fit can be explained on several grounds: the filtering effect of Akkadian, the logographic writing of lexical morphemes, and so on. However, it also raises the possibility that the reason the Sumerian phonological system does not fit the Sumerian writing system is because the Sumerian writing system was not "invented" by the Sumerians. This is very much a minority opinion, and one currently out of fashion, but the lack of fit does raise questions.

As mentioned above, it has sometimes been suggested that the entire system used to transliterate Sumerian should be thoroughly revised (for example, Simo Parpola 1975). It should be based on Sumerian phonology, not Akkadian phonology, and on Sumerian sign frequencies, not Akkadian sign frequencies. Given our limitations of knowledge about Sumerian phonology, however, and the confusion which the use of different systems would engender, this is not a practical suggestion.

Amissability

As do all languages, Sumerian has a number of phonological processes, such as contraction, assimilation, and so on; these will be discussed as the occasion arises. One of the thornier questions in Sumerian involves the status of word-final consonants. Certain consonants, when in word-final position, were not pronounced. For example, the word for "throne dais" is /barag/, with a word-final /g/. But at the end of a sentence, the word would have been pronounced /bara/. However, "at the throne dais", using the locative case marker /a/, would have been pronounced /baraga/.

The word-final consonant in a root is usually referred to by the German term "Auslaut". Thus, the word for "throne dais", /barag/, had a "g-Auslaut"; the word for "to live", /til/, had an "l-Auslaut". The consonants which were regularly not pronounced in word-final position are called "amissable consonants"; those which were pronounced in word-final position are called "non-amissable". These terms are apparently peculiar to Sumerology.

Because of the practice of writing lexical morphemes by logograms, it is not actually easy to see amissability in practice. It has even been argued that the phenomenon did not exist, and that seeming cases represent vagaries of the writing system. Assuming it did exist, two issues are unresolved. First, it is not clear which consonants are amissable; opinions range from "some" to "all". Second, the scope of amissability is also unclear. While it most clearly applies to word-final consonants, it is also likely that it applies to syllable-final consonants, even within the word.

It has been said that the reality behind amissability in Sumerian is more complex than usually thought. While French has occasionally been cited as having an amissability rule (in spoken French, word-final consonants are not pronounced, although they still appear in the written form), the rule in French works pretty much across the board, while the situation in Sumerian is less easy to describe; it has been stated, for example, that in Sumerian /b/ is never lost, /d/ is always lost, and /g/ is mostly lost.

The existence of amissable consonants means that the cuneiform signs which represent words with these amissable Auslauts have two values: a "long" value, which includes the amissable Auslaut (for example, <u>kalag</u>, <u>Urim</u>$_5$, <u>til</u>$_3$), and a "short" value, which does not (<u>kala</u>, <u>Uri</u>$_5$, <u>ti</u>). With some signs, the long value and the short value have different indices, for example, <u>til</u>$_3$ = <u>ti</u>. This annoying situation is partially due to the fact that indices were originally assigned on the basis of frequency in Akkadian, not in Sumerian.

Some scholars transliterate Sumerian using basically only the long values; others transliterate Sumerian using basically only the short values. Other scholars, attempting to be more consistent in their understanding of the rules governing amissability, use both, the choice being determined by syllabic conditions: the short form if in word-final (or syllable-final) position, the long form if not. Other scholars are less consistent, using a mixture of long and short values. This latter practice is particularly true of older Sumerological literature, where one can find a mixture of transliteration principles, based primarily on customary readings of the cuneiform signs. Such customary readings have arisen from the piece-meal growth in understanding of Akkadian and Sumerian. For example, in 1940 Samuel Noah Kramer published an edition of a Sumerian poem, some 436 lines long, entitled *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*, which bemoans the destruction of the city of Ur at the end of the Ur III period; it was written probably about a century after its destruction (it is quoted on p. 281-282 below). In his introduction, Kramer says "The time is not yet ripe for a thorough and scientific overhauling of the Sumerian system of transliteration". Therefore, he "deems it best to follow the more or less established usage". In this system,

> In the case of signs representing roots that end in a consonant and may have either the long or the short value (e.g., the signs for <u>pa</u>(<u>d</u>), "to call", <u>du</u>(g), "good", etc., which may be read either <u>pàd</u>, <u>dùg</u>, etc. or <u>pà</u>, <u>du</u>$_{10}$, etc.) the transliteration uses the longer value in spite of the fact that the shorter is scientifically the more correct. Only in cases such as <u>u</u>(<u>d</u>), "day", and <u>ša</u>(g), "heart", where the shorter value has become more or less standard, is that value used in our transliteration, although the inconsistency in transliterating the signs for <u>pa</u>(<u>d</u>) and <u>du</u>(g) as <u>pàd</u> and <u>dùg</u> while giving those for <u>u</u>(<u>d</u>) and <u>ša</u>(g) as <u>u</u>$_4$ and <u>šà</u> is only too patent (1940:6).

Kramer was obviously irked by this inconsistency, but felt that there was nothing he could do about it. Although he wrote this passage over half a century ago, some editions of Sumerian texts still follow such customary usage.

A compromise occasionally made is to put the Auslaut within parentheses, for example, <u>kala</u>(g). However, if the short and long values have different indices, this can create confusion. For the sake of convenience, all word-final consonants in this *Manual* have consistently been transliterated and transcribed.

GENERAL STRUCTURE

Before starting the *Lesson*s, it may prove useful to give a sketch of a typical Sumerian sentence. All of this material will be expanded upon in the course of this *Manual*.

A Sumerian sentence consists of a series of nominal phrases followed by a verbal phrase:

$$NP_1 \quad NP_2 \quad NP_3 \quad VP$$

A nominal phrase can vary greatly in size. It can consist of a single noun ("the king"), or a larger complex, such as a noun followed by adjectives, genitive phrases, relative clauses, and so on ("the mighty king of the land, who built this temple"). At the end of each nominal phrase there occurs a case marker, which signifies the relationship of the nominal phrase to the verbal phrase. Such case markers include ergative, absolutive, locative, ablative, and so on. A complete nominal phrase is often referred to as a "nominal chain".

A typical sentence might begin with a nominal phrase marked by the ergative case, indicating the doer of the action. This might be followed by a nominal phrase marked by the dative case, indicating the recipient of the action, followed by a nominal phrase marked by the locative case, indicating where the action took place, followed by a nominal phrase marked by the absolutive case, indicating the direct object (patient) of the sentence, and so on. Some sentences might have only one nominal phrase, some might have two, some might have three or more. A complicated example from *Cylinder A* of Gudea is: <u>e</u>$_2$-<u>e</u> <u>ḫur</u>-<u>saĝ</u>-<u>gin</u>$_7$ <u>an</u>-<u>ki</u>-<u>a</u> <u>saĝ</u> <u>an</u>-<u>še</u>$_3$ <u>mi</u>-<u>ni</u>-<u>ib</u>$_2$-<u>il</u>$_2$, "The temple lifted its head towards the sky between heaven and earth, like a mountain". Here the first phrase expresses the agent, "temple". This is marked by the ergative case marker e: <u>e</u>$_2$-<u>e</u>. The second phrase expresses the equitative complement, "like a mountain". This is marked by the equitative case marker gin$_7$: <u>ḫur</u>-<u>saĝ</u>-<u>gin</u>$_7$. The third phrase expresses the locative complement, "between heaven and earth". This is marked by the locative case marker a: <u>an</u>-<u>ki</u>-<u>a</u>. The fourth phrase expresses the patient, "head". This is marked by the absolutive case marker Ø: <u>saĝ</u>. The last nominal phrase expresses the terminative complement, "towards the sky". This is marked by the terminative case marker še$_3$: <u>an</u>-<u>še</u>$_3$. Finally, this series of five noun phrases is then followed by the verbal phrase: <u>mi</u>-<u>ni</u>-<u>ib</u>$_2$-<u>il</u>$_2$.

The verbal phrase in Sumerian consists of a series of prefixes, then an invariant root, then a smaller series of suffixes. Some of these affixes are obligatory, some are optional, and some have a distribution which is as yet unsure. The affixes indicate such categories as person, tense, and mood; they also cross-reference the nominal phrases in ways quite different than the Indo-European and Semitic languages. A verbal phrase is often referred to as a "verbal chain"; the terms "verbal prefix chain" or "verbal suffix chain" are also used.

The precise number of affixes which are possible before and after the root is to some degree unsure. A large part of research into Sumerian grammar consists of trying to determine the exact number, function, and distribution of these affixes.

A typical Sumerian verbal phrase might consist of a prefix indicating mood, followed by a prefix indicating emotional involvement of the speaker, followed by prefixes cross-referencing

the adverbial participants in the sentence, followed by a prefix cross-referencing the agent of the sentence, followed by the root, followed by suffixes indicating tense and number, and so on. Much of the material in the following *Lesson*s is devoted to explicating the verbal phrase in all its glory.

PART TWO: LESSONS IN SUMERIAN GRAMMAR
⌐ **Lesson One** ⌐

This first text is a royal inscription of Ur-Nammu, the founder of the Ur III Dynasty, who ruled from 2112 to 2095 BCE. It was inscribed on a brick, now on display in the British Museum. The display stand was made many years ago. It refers to Ur-Nammu as "Ur-Gur", it refers to Nanna as "Nannar", and it dates the brick to "about B.C. 2500"—some four centuries earlier than when the chronology in use today would place it.

[90004]
BRICK OF UR-GUR, KING OF UR.
RECORDING THE BUILDING OF A TEMPLE TO
NANNAR, THE MOON-GOD, AND THE RESTORATION
OF THE WALLS OF THE CITY OF UR.
FROM MUKEYYER.   [ABOUT B.C. 2500]

Sign-list and vocabulary

Signs are loosely organized according to function. Determinatives are first, followed by proper names. Then come nouns, verbs, and syllabic signs. The following abbreviations are used: CN (canal name), DN (divine name), GN (geographical name), MN (month name), PN (personal name), and TN (temple name). This is followed by comments on the more important vocabulary items. Often, reference is made to Akkadian words which were borrowed from Sumerian, or to Akkadian semantic equivalents to Sumerian words. Although there is no reason to assume that Sumerian words always kept exactly the same meaning when they entered into an Akkadian context, or that any two Sumerian and Akkadian words had the exact same meaning, more is usually known about the Akkadian term than is known about the Sumerian one, and so it is useful to examine the Akkadian evidence.
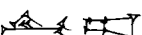
Determinative preceding DNs. Transliterated by a superscript ^{d}.

Determinative following GNs. Transliterated by a superscript ^{ki}.

Nammu   Nammu (DN, fem)

Nanna   Nanna (DN, masc)

Ur-^{d}Nammu   Ur-Nammu (PN, masc)

Urim$_5$ (Uri$_5$)   Ur (GN)

bad$_3$ city wall, rampart, fortification

e$_2$ house

lugal   king

ur   dog; man, warrior

du$_3$ to build

a (syllabic)

ke$_4$ (syllabic)

ma (syllabic)

mu (syllabic)

na (syllabic)

ni (syllabic)

Nammu Not much is known about this goddess. It is not even known if the name is Sumerian or comes from a pre-Sumerian substrate language (such substrate words are discussed in *Lesson Eight*). However, she is described as "the mother who gave birth to heaven and earth" and as "the primeval mother, who gave birth to all the gods". Thus at one time she played an important rôle in Sumerian cosmogony, but by the Ur III period had become relatively less important.

Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary, by Jeremy Black and Anthony Green (1992), contains short descriptions and discussions of all of the gods and many of the temples mentioned in the texts in this *Manual*.

The cuneiform sign which represents this name,   , can also be read engur, which lexical texts equate with the Akkadian apsû, the "watery deep" beneath the surface of the earth *(Lesson Thirteen)*. Perhaps the cuneiform sign is an abstract representation of this watery deep.

In some older Sumerological works, the two readings of this sign (Nammu and engur) were not clearly differentiated, so the name of the founder of the Ur III Dynasty sometimes appears in English as Ur-Engur or Ur-Gur.

Nanna He was the city-god of Ur. The large temple complex at Ur discussed below was sacred to him in particular. He was associated with the moon; nanna in fact seems to mean "moon". The moon-god was also called Zuen; this is discussed in *Lesson Twelve*.

In Akkadian the word nannaru occurs, glossed by the *CAD* as "luminary, light (as poetic term, an epithet of the moon god and Ištar)". The Akkadian god Sin is often called nannar šamê, "the light of the heavens". This Akkadian word may be some kind of blend or contamination between the Sumerian word nanna and the Akkadian verb nawāru, "to shine". Because of this Akkadian word, it was earlier thought that the Sumerian word had an /r/-Auslaut, and so the name sometimes appears as Nannar. However, there is no clear inner-Sumerian evidence which would indicate such an Auslaut.

On the surface, the cuneiform sign which represents his name looks like it consists of two signs: the šeš-sign   followed by the ki-sign   . This, in fact, is how the ancient Mesopotamian scholars themselves interpreted the sign. Therefore, the name is sometimes transliterated as ^{d}šeš-ki. As can be seen in older attestations of the sign, however, the second element was originally the na-sign   (compare the shape of the na-sign in line 6). This na-sign functioned as a phonetic complement to the name, helping the reader to read the sign correctly. This older form might be transliterated Nanna^{na}. This means that it is the šeš-sign alone which was originally read Nanna. The šeš-sign has several readings and meanings. It is not known what it is a picture of, nor how it got the reading and meaning Nanna.

Marc Cohen says "Perhaps the name Nanna for the moon-god was not originally Sumerian, but rather was adopted from the language and cult of the peoples the Sumerians encountered upon immigrating into southern Mesopotamia" (1996:12 n.23), that is, it is a substrate word.

Ur-ᵈNammu   The name of the founder of the Ur III Dynasty means "Man of Nammu"; its structure is discussed below.

Urim₅   Ur was one of the more famous cities in all of southern Mesopotamia. The name of the modern site is Tell al-Muqayyar, "Mound of Pitch". It derived much of its prosperity from its central location on the Euphrates. Because of the shifting of the course of the Euphrates over the centuries, it is now some fifteen kilometers from the river.

The etymology of the name is unknown. Since the city was inhabited at least as early as the beginning of the fourth millennium BCE, the name is probably a pre-Sumerian substrate word.

The two cuneiform signs which represent the name are the šeš-sign ⸺ followed by the ab-sign ⸺. The fact that the šeš-sign occurs both in the DN Nanna and the GN Urim₅ is of course no accident, since Nanna is the city-god of Ur. One of the readings of the ab-sign is eš₃, "main precinct of the city-god"; the sign itself may be a representation of a temple sitting on a platform. The writing, therefore, represents the "main precinct of the god Nanna".

Urim₅ is the long value of the sign; the short value is Uri₅. Because of the piece-meal growth of Sumerology and the changing interpretations of scholars, it is not uncommon to find one and the same sign transliterated different ways. The sign transliterated here Urim₅ / Uri₅, for example, is also found transliterated Urim, Uri₂ (and Urí), Uri₃ (and Urì) and Uri₄. Occasionally, even the standard sign catalogues (discussed in *Appendix Three)* may differ among each other. Thus the sign listed by Labat as Uri₅ is not the sign transliterated here Uri₅. The most important such discrepancies in readings will be noted as encountered.

The English equivalent, "Ur", derives from /ʾūr kasdīm/, "Ur of the Chaldees", from the Hebrew scriptures.

bad₃   The *PSD* translates this as "wall", "fortification". Its normal Akkadian equivalent is dūru, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. city wall, fortification wall, 2. inner city wall, 3. fortress, 4. enclosure of a house".

e₂   According to I. J. Gelb, "The Sumerian word é has several meanings: a) a dwelling house, even a room b) palace, temple c) family, clan d) household. The same meanings occur also for the Akkadian bītum" (1979b:2).

Sumerian has no special word for "temple"; rather, it uses the word e₂, "house", because the temple was envisaged as the dwelling place of the god. Julian Reade says: "Originally, it seems, when gods first acquired buildings of their own to inhabit, they occupied houses which were not substantially different from those of other inhabitants of a settlement" (1991:24). In the sense of "temple", e₂ can refer either to one particular building or to an entire temple complex consisting of many buildings with accompanying work force, animals, pasture lands, and so

on. Muhammad Dandamayev says "Temples in Egypt, Mesopotamia and many other countries of the Near East...were major landowners and slave-holders, owned huge flocks of livestock and were engaged in money-lending operations and trade" (1996:35). The temple complex constituted the largest and most visible set of buildings in any Sumerian city.

In recent secondary literature, it is occasionally transliterated as ʾa₃ or ʾà.

The Sumerian word for "palace" is e₂-gal, "big house", discussed in *Lesson Eighteen.*

The sign is presumably the picture of some part of a house. Petr Charvát, somewhat adventurously, says that the sign

> seems to depict a facade of a flat-roofed house with a centrally positioned door and a roof consisting of a series of superimposed layers of what we know from archaeology to have been matting, clay and the intervening waterproof materials (also bitumen layers)...The sign thus shows one of the earliest and most traditional habitation structures, the origins of which undoubtedly reach back to the Neolithic or even Mesolithic (1998:23).

lugal   Etymologically, this is a noun-adjective compound from lu₂ "man" ⸺ and gal "big, great" ⸺. The meaning changes from "great man" in general to "king" in particular. Its Akkadian equivalent is šarru. The English translation "king" for lugal and šarru carries a fair amount of ideological baggage. As Sollberger says, "The word *king* does not mean the same thing in present-day Britain as it did in the sixteenth century, or in archaic Rome or in ancient Israel" (1973:159); so also lugal and šarru differ in meaning at different times. The precise meaning of the terms is discussed by Edzard in his *RlA* article "Herrscher", and also by Wolfgang Heimpel (1992).

In older forms of the lugal-sign, the gal-component was written a little above and to the right of the lu₂-sign. At times the two signs were totally separated, and can even be written on two different lines of one case. As cuneiform signs gradually became more linear, and perhaps for reasons of aesthetics, the gal-component shifted position to the left of the word, and so in "standard" Sumerian the lugal-sign is all one sign, with the gal-component in front of the lu₂-component.

As will be discussed in *Lesson Twelve,* the order of cuneiform signs within a case in the earliest texts was to some degree free, with the order-as-written not necessarily reflecting the order-as-read.

ur   The interpretation of this word is somewhat unclear; it may mean something like "man, warrior, hero". In bilingual lexical texts, ur is glossed both as amēlu, "man" and as kalbu, "dog". ur in the meaning "dog" is not uncommon in Sumerian texts. However, ur in the meaning "man" seems to occur only in PNs; it does not have this meaning in actual texts. Curiously, the compound ur-saĝ, "hero", is common; perhaps this compound retains an older meaning of ur. It is possible that instead of there being one word ur having the two meanings "dog" and "man", there were two different homophonous words.

To judge from its very earliest attestations, the ur-sign was originally a picture of a dog or

canine of some kind. In the Ur III period, it does not look very doggie-like at all.

du₃   Although this verb occasionally means "to build" *de novo*, it more often means "to re-build". It is commonly used to describe both the rebuilding of temples which had fallen into disrepair and the enlargement of already existing buildings. It is sometimes difficult to tell in any particular text whether du₃ means "to build" or "to rebuild"; this can only be resolved by historical or archaeological data. This problem is further discussed in *Lesson Eight*. Thus, it is difficult to determine how much of Ur-Nammu's building activity consisted of new construction and how much of rebuilding and enlarging.

The translation "build" or "rebuild" is of course conventional, since the ruler himself did not do the actual building; a more precise translation might be "to have (something) built" or "to have (something) rebuilt". Susan Pollock remarks that

> Depictions of the king "at work" remained for all to see long after memories of the numerous individuals who labored to construct such buildings had faded, fur-ther contributing to the ideology that erased the efforts of most people and glorified those of the king (1999:179).

Gelb adds that "It is clear that when a ruler writes of having built a temple for a certain divinity, he means not only that he erected a temple, but also that he provided it with all the necessary means of social and economic support" (1979b:3).

du₃ is equated both with Akkadian banû, the most general word for "to build", and with epēšu, the most general word for "to make". The du₃-sign is the picture of a tent peg.

Text 1

Ur-Nammu 9
Brick
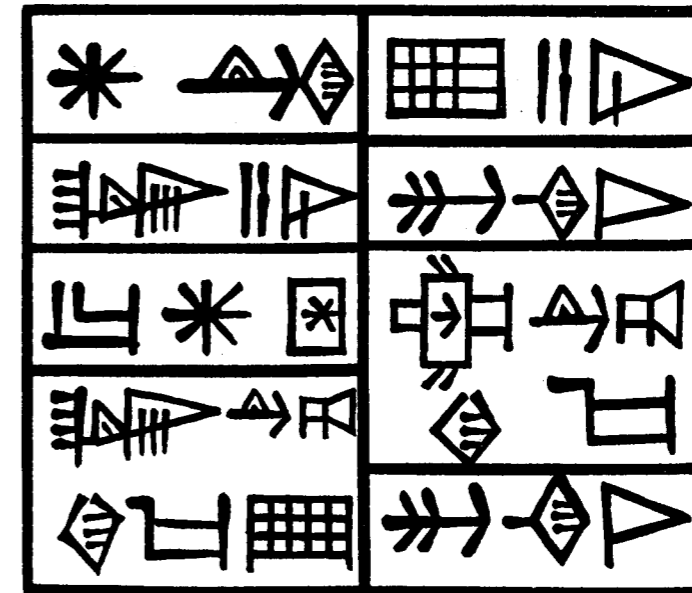
When obtainable, photographs of the texts used in the *Lessons* have been included. This has not always been possible, and so most of the texts are presented as autographs. In Assyrio-logical parlance, the term "autograph" means the hand-copy of a cuneiform text drawn by a modern Assyriologist. The quality of autographs can range from very accurate to very poor. To quote Lieberman,

> It is, of course, patent that the "autographs" of all copyists are not equally reliable. Their objectives, ranging from an exact reproduction including every scratch on the tablet to a highly abstract conventional representation of the original (some Assyriologists are even known to have produced "copies" from their transliterated notes) as well as their individual skills and abilities make the value of their copies diverge (1977:67 n.190).

It is only through experience that one acquires a feel for how accurate certain Assyriologists are (or aren't) in their autographs.

Both Sumerian and Akkadian are written from left to right across the writing surface. Text 1 is divided into two columns, read from left to right. Most royal inscriptions are subdivided into "lines", marked by an actual horizontal line impressed on the writing surface. The use of such horizontal lines in Sumerian (and Akkadian) is to some extent dependent on the genre of text. Royal inscriptions, for example, use them regularly. Many literary texts use them, but just as many do not.

This particular text was divided by its scribe into eight units, but the fourth and seventh of these units actually contain two rows of text. In each of these units, it would have been physically impossible for the scribe to write all the signs which logically go together into only one line, so the scribe spaced them over two lines. In both instances, this has the effect of splitting off the determinative ^{ki} from its GN.

The term "case" or "register" is sometimes used to describe the units physically demarcated by the scribe, and the term "line" to describe the actual rows of signs. Thus, in this text case 4 has two lines, as does case 7. Although this is a handy distinction, the term "line" is most commonly used to mean both line and case, especially in unambiguous contexts. Transliteration generally goes case by case, not line by line.

Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1: ^{d}Nanna	[Nanna	For Nanna,
2: lugal-a-ni	lugal.ani].(r)	his king —
3: Ur-^{d}Nammu	[Ur.Nammu	Ur-Nammu,
4: lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma-ke$_4$	lugal.Urim$_5$.ak].e	the king of Ur —
5: e$_2$-a-ni	[e$_2$.ani].Ø	his temple —
6: mu-na-du$_3$	mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø	built.
7: bad$_3$-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma	[bad$_3$.Urim$_5$.a].Ø	The city wall of Ur —
8: mu-na-du$_3$	mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø	he built for him.

Commentary

1. Nanna is the name of a god and Nammu the name of a goddess. Sumerian has no morphological gender system, that is, there are no special markers for either inherently masculine or inherently feminine nouns. In most cases one word may be used for either gender; thus diĝir may mean either "god" or "goddess". In other cases, the masculine and feminine are formed from different roots: gud, "bull", ab$_2$, "cow". To specifically mark gender, it is possible to add the word for "man" (nitaḫ) or "woman" (munus) after a noun. For example, dumu can mean "son", "daughter", or "child" (masculine or feminine). dumu-nitaḫ is specifically "son"; dumu-munus is specifically "daughter".

Similarly, Sumerian has no definite or indefinite article. For example, e$_2$ can mean "a house" or "the house".

2. lugal-a-ni represents lugal.ani.(r), "king-his-(for)". As discussed above, lugal "king" is in origin a noun-adjective phrase from lu$_2$ "man" and gal "great". Nouns in Sumerian have several different patterns, such as V, CV, VC, CVC, VCV, and so on.

Sumerian has a set of suffixes to indicate pronominal possession. These are called either "possessive suffixes" or "pronominal suffixes". .ani is the possessive suffix marking third person singular. The forms of the first and second persons are discussed in *Lesson Twenty*.

Since Sumerian has no gender system, .ani can mean either "his" or "her". However, Sumerian does have traces of a distinction usually called "animacy". Human beings fall into the class of animate; things and animals into the class of inanimate. In the case of the possessive suffix, .ani is only used to refer to animate antecedents; an entirely different form, .bi, is used to refer to inanimate antecedents (corresponding to English "its").

After a consonant, this suffix is normally written a-ni. After a vowel, it appears both as a-ni and as ni. For example, "his house" can appear as both e$_2$-a-ni and e$_2$-ni. In the Ur III royal inscriptions, the fuller form is more common (as in line 5). It is possible that both writings, e$_2$-a-ni and e$_2$-ni, represent /eni/ and the writing e$_2$-a-ni is a morphographemic spelling giving the fuller form of the morpheme, even if it was the shorter form which was pronounced. The fuller form is kept in transcription.

.r is the case marker for the dative case. Its form is /ra/ following a consonant and /r/ following a vowel.

In Sumerian, case markers occur at the end of an entire nominal phrase. The nominal phrase can vary in size. Minimally, it can consist of a single noun. It can also consist of a noun with a possessive suffix, or with an adjective, or with an embedded genitive phrase, or with a long series of appositives. In this particular text, the nominal phrase spans lines 1 and 2. It consists of the DN Nanna followed by an appositive consisting of a noun with a possessive suffix, lugal-a-ni. The dative case marker .r comes at the end of this entire phrase. In the transcription, brackets have been used to group the entire nominal phrase to which the case marker applies: [Nanna lugal.ani].r.

This use of case markers is thus different than their use in the Semitic or the Indo-European languages, but is typical of agglutinative languages. In the Indo-European languages, typically the first noun in a series of nouns receives the case marker determining the functioning of the phrase in the sentence; in Sumerian, it is the last noun which is followed by the case marker.

The dative case is used in Sumerian to express an indirect object, for example, "He gave it to the king". It is also frequently used, as here, to express a benefactive, that is, the person on whose behalf an action was performed. In such cases it can be translated as "for".

In this line, the case marker /r/ is not actually written. Its presence in spoken Sumerian is shown by the fact that it is actually written in other (mostly later) inscriptions, where, for example, forms such as diĝir-ra-ni-ir, "for his god", occur. In the body of texts utilized in this *Manual*, /r/ first appears in Text 13, an inscription of Amar-Sin, the grandson of Ur-Nammu. It is not known why the /r/ is sometimes written and sometimes not. /r/ is not one of the amissable

consonants, so one would expect it to be written. This is further discussed in *Lesson Thirteen*. To indicate its presumed presence, it is transcribed here within parentheses.

3. ur followed by the name of a deity is a very common way to form PNs in Sumerian. Such names are genitive phrases, meaning "Man of DN" or "Warrior of DN".

The formation of the genitive in Sumerian is different than the formations in Semitic or Indo-European. In a genitive phrase consisting of two nouns, the "possessor" follows the "possessed". The two nouns themselves are not formally marked, but the second noun is followed by the "genitive marker" .ak. For example, "the house of the king" is e_2.lugal.ak; "lady of heaven" is nin.an.ak. Genitive phrases of more than two nouns are discussed in *Lesson Ten*.

The form of the genitive marker is /ak/ following a consonant (in transcription, .ak) and /k/ following a vowel (in transcription, .k). /k/ however is an amissable consonant. As such, when in word-final position it is not pronounced, and so it does not show up in the writing system. Thus, the (underlying) Ur.Nammu.k was actually pronounced /urnammu/ and written Ur-Nammu, with no indication on the surface of the genitive relationship.

As in English, the genitive in Sumerian can express various kinds of relationship. In English, for example, the logical relationships in such phrases as "book of the boy", "warrior of Inanna", "city of Ur", and "idea of freedom" are all different. Thus the conventional terms "possessor" and "possessed" in a genitive phrase are to be understood as cover terms expressing various logical relationships. This is further discussed in *Lesson Two*.

4. lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma-ke$_4$ represents lugal.Urim$_5$.ak.e, "the king of Ur". Because the genitive marker follows a consonant (here, /m/), its full form /ak/ with initial /a/ is used. Since the genitive marker is here directly followed by a vowel, the /k/ is pronounced, and shows up in the writing. Thus, the full form of the genitive marker, /ak/, appears explicitly.

.e is the marker of the ergative case, discussed under *Ergativity*. As do all case markers, it comes at the end of the entire nominal phrase. The nominal phrase here consists of a PN, Ur-Nammu (which is a genitive phrase in origin) and an appositive which consists of a genitive phrase, lugal.Urim$_5$.ak, "king of Ur". The entire phrase may be diagrammed as: [Ur.Nammu lugal.Urim$_5$.ak].e.

The ergative case marker .e marks what we would call the active subject of a transitive verb, or, in more appropriate terminology, the agent. There is no consistent terminology in use, however, and so this .e is sometimes called an "agent", "agentive marker" or "ending", "subject", "transitive subject", "ergative marker", and so on.

The cuneiform signs do not directly reflect the morphology of the Sumerian. In transliteration, the signs are lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma-ke$_4$. In morphological transcription, this is lugal.Urim$_5$.ak.e. The ma-sign reduplicates the final /m/ of Urim$_5$, and includes the /a/ of the genitive marker. The reduplication of the /m/ is purely graphic; it does not indicate a doubled or long consonant. This is further discussed in *Lesson Two*. The ke$_4$-sign includes the /k/ of the genitive marker and the /e/ of the ergative case marker. Thus, both the ma-sign and the ke$_4$-sign represent segments of two different morphemes. This use of the ke$_4$-sign in particular is very frequent; it is the sign normally used for the combination of the /k/ of the genitive marker and the /e/ of the ergative

case marker.

5. e_2-a-ni represents e_2.ani.Ø, "his temple". As in line 2, .ani is the third person animate possessive suffix. The antecedent is ambiguous; .ani could refer to Ur-Nammu, or it could refer to Nanna. From other texts it is clear that .ani refers back to Nanna.

.Ø is the case marker for the absolutive case (also called the "absolute" case). This case indicates what we would call the direct object of a transitive verb, or, more appropriately, the patient. Again, however, there is not a great deal of consistency in nomenclature, and so such terms as "accusative", "direct object marker", and so on are commonly used.

The nominal phrase here is short, consisting of a noun with a possessive suffix: [e_2.ani].Ø.

6. This line contains the verbal phrase. mu-na-du$_3$ represents mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø, "(Ur-Nammu) built". A finite verb form in Sumerian consists of a series of verbal prefixes, followed by a verbal root, followed by a smaller series of verbal suffixes. Some of these affixes are obligatory while others are optional. Because of our general uncertainty about Sumerian grammar, the precise number of affixes occurring before and after the verbal root is unsure. The view presented in this *Manual* might be called "minimalist".

The entire sequence of verbal prefixes occurring before the verbal root is usually referred to as the "verbal chain". The first prefix which can appear in this chain is an optional "modal prefix" (abbreviated hereafter as "MP"). MPs are used for such sentence types as cohortative, jussive, subjunctive, and so on. A simple declarative sentence is in the indicative mood. In Sumerian, the indicative mood, unlike the other moods, is unmarked, with no MP. The verb in line 6 is indicative, and so there is no MP.

The next position in the verbal chain is occupied by the "conjugation prefix" (CP). There are some half dozen CPs. They are among the more mysterious features of Sumerian. They mark a relationship between the agent and the action, but it is not known what precise information these prefixes convey. This means that it is not known, for example, what the difference in meaning is between a finite verbal form with the CP mu and one with the CP i$_3$. Needless to say, there are several theories about the function of the CPs. They may be connected with time, indicating whether events are near or far temporally, relative to the speaker. They may have to do with space, indicating whether events are near or far spatially, relative to the speaker. It has even been suggested that at times they correspond to a kind of polite ~ familiar distinction, indicating relative social position of the speaker and addressee. In the most general sense, they seem to indicate the type and degree of emotional and mental involvement of the speaker with the activity. They thus convey information which is not normally conveyed in English. This means that even if the function of each of the CPs were clearly understood, it would not be possible to translate them readily into English, except by an elaborate periphrasis. Jacobsen, for example, argues that the CP mu is used "to denote 'closeness' to the speaker if by closeness we understand not only closeness in space and time but also emotional closeness, empathy, involvement" (1970 [1965] 437 n.11). Thus, in practice the CPs are often ignored; they are not reflected in translation. Writing in 1972, Maurice Lambert said "Today, the prefix does not exist

for the translator of Sumerian, it is only an object of study for the grammarian" (1972-73:97).

Text 1 uses the CP <u>mu</u>. This CP is very common in the Ur III royal inscriptions. Almost all past tense actions in main sentences in the Ur III royal inscriptions use the CP <u>mu</u>. In this *Manual*, the following CPs are discussed: <u>mu</u> (*Lesson One*); i₃ (*Lesson Six*); <u>ba</u> (*Lesson Eleven*); <u>bi</u>₂ (*Lesson Eleven*); <u>im</u>-<u>ma</u> and <u>im</u>-<u>mi</u> (*Lesson Sixteen*).

The next set of prefixes are the (mostly) obligatory "dimensional prefixes" (DP). There is nothing comparable to these forms in Semitic or Indo-European. They cross-reference (or "resume" or "register") the case relationships appearing in the various nominal phrases in the sentence, with the exception of the agent and patient. In the verb in line 6, the DP .na, written <u>na</u>, cross-references the dative case marked by .r in line 2.

Many early studies of Sumerian stated that the DPs were obligatory and that there was a one-to-one relationship between case relationships and DPs: every case relationship is resumed by its DP, and conversely every occurrence of a DP implies a corresponding case relationship somewhere in the sentence. While this one-to-one correspondence may (or may not) have been valid for some phase of pre-historic Sumerian, in actual historic Sumerian the situation is not so neat. In a detailed study of the DPs in Old Babylonian literary texts, Gene Gragg observed that they "function independently of concord to a much greater extent than has been recognized by current theories" (1973c:10).

The DPs may seem unnecessary or redundant, because they do not convey any new information; rather, they "merely" cross-reference the already-present case relationships. However, all languages have a certain amount of built-in redundancy, to help cope with the possibility of information becoming garbled or lost. Many other languages of the world cross-reference case relationships, in various ways.

The DPs are cumulative. It is possible for there to be one, two, or three DPs in one verbal chain, depending on the number of nominal phrases in the sentence (the longest attested sequence appears to be four DPs in one verbal chain). They follow a hierarchical order; the dative, for example, always comes first. Not all such rules, however, are understood; in addition, there are certain morphophonemic changes which are not clear.

In this sentence, there is only one nominal phrase (except those indicating the agent and the patient), that indicating the benefactive, so only one DP occurs. Thus the dative of lines 1-2 is cross-referenced by the DP .na, which is here written <u>na</u>; this is the usual writing.

Following the DPs comes a (probably) obligatory prefix, the "personal affix" (PA; there is no generally accepted term). PAs occur both before and after the verbal root. Their function has been much discussed. The interpretation followed here is that they cross-reference the agent and the patient relationships. In the case of a verb in the perfect aspect, the PA before the verbal root cross-references the agent. Thus, in Text 1 the PA (n.) cross-references the agent marked by the ergative case marker .e in line 4.

The form of the third person singular animate PA is /n/. As will be seen below, the PA has different forms for first and second person, and also different forms for inanimate agents. Here,

however, it is not written. In line 2, the case marker for the dative was also not expressed. However, the two situations are not parallel. The dative case marker is not normally written in texts from the early stages of the Ur III Dynasty (nor in earlier texts), but it begins to show up frequently in texts from the time of Amar-Sin on. Thus, we are reasonably confident that the /r/ of the dative case marker was present, even when not written; its (fairly regular) appearance in later texts is the result of a change in orthographic practice. The rules governing the presence and absence of the PA /n/ are, however, not so clear-cut. In texts such as Text 1, for example, is it "there" and not written, or is it simply *not* "there" at all? Its presence or absence in texts cannot simply be correlated with a dimension of time. In the Gudea texts, for example, forms both with and without /n/ occur, with no obvious rules governing their distribution. And in later Sumerian, forms also occur both with and without the /n/. This means that rules cannot yet be determined for the presence or absence of /n/ in the writing, and it is not in fact sure at what level such rules would apply. The rules may be purely orthographic; there are other cases in Sumerian where syllable-final nasals are not expressed in writing. The rules may be phonological; the /n/ may have dropped at an early date, perhaps leaving a nasalized vowel which could not adequately be represented in the script. More probably, there is a complex set of morphological and syntactical rules governing the presence or absence of /n/, rules operating at the level of the discourse as a whole. It has been posited, for example, that /n/ is only used (and so only expressed in writing) to resolve possibly ambiguous cases. Since the language of the royal inscriptions is almost formulaic, with little possible confusion of the agent and patient rôles, the use of the PA was not required.

Partially for convenience sake, I have assumed that the PA /n/ is always present, unless there is a specific reason for its absence. Hence, it is transcribed here as (n.). This presumed consistency must be taken with a large grain of salt.

After all these obligatory and optional prefixes comes the verbal root, here <u>du</u>₃. As mentioned earlier, the verbal root is Sumerian is invariable. There is also no canonical shape of the verbal root. Roots of the syllabic shape CV (such as <u>du</u>₃) and CVC are perhaps the most common, but roots of other syllabic structures are frequent.

After the verbal root, there occur a number of affixes, not all of which are well understood. They express rather a variety of seemingly unrelated functions, such as potentiality, direct speech marking, and so on.

For a verb in the perfect aspect, the most important affix which occurs in this position is a PA which cross-references the patient. The PA which cross-references a third person singular animate patient is unmarked. It can thus be represented by zero, .Ø. Thus, the patient in this sentence ([e₂.ani].Ø) is cross-referenced by a .Ø after the verbal root. This means that the patient is marked by .Ø, and that it is cross-referenced by .Ø. This may seem vaguely like cheating ("nothing cross-referenced by nothing"), but there are theoretical justifications for this interpretation, and such a system is not uncommon in ergative languages of the world.

The agent and the patient are thus cross-referenced in different ways. The agent is cross-referenced in the position immediately before the verbal root while the patient is cross-

referenced in the position after the verbal root.

To sum up, the verbal phrase in Sumerian normally consists of: an optional MP (the indicative is unmarked); an obligatory CP, which marks some kind of relationship between the agent and the action; one or more basically obligatory DPs, which cross-reference all case relationships (except those of the agent and patient); an obligatory PA, which in the perfect aspect cross-references the agent; the verbal root; an obligatory PA, which in the perfect aspect cross-references the patient; other optional affixes.

This particular verbal form may be summarized as follows:

$$\text{mu} \cdot \text{na} \cdot \text{(n)} \cdot \text{du}_3 \cdot \emptyset$$
$$(1) \quad (2) \quad (3) \quad (4) \quad (5)$$

(1)   conjugation prefix
(2)   dimensional prefix cross-referencing the dative
(3)   personal affix cross-referencing the agent
(4)   verbal root
(5)   personal affix cross-referencing the patient.

The verb in line 7 was translated as past tense, without any discussion. Sumerian has two sets of verbal forms. The difference in function between the two has been interpreted in various ways. It has been argued that the difference was one of tense (past ~ present/future); one of aspect (perfect ~ imperfect); one of Aktionsart (punctual ~ durative, and so on). An explanation in terms of aspect seems to fit the evidence best, and they will be called aspects here.

The fundamental morphological difference between the two sets of forms is that imperfect verbal forms use a different root than do perfect forms. Moreover, the PAs are distributed differently. This is discussed in *Lesson Eleven.*

The perfect root is the unmarked form; it is the citation form. It is the form given in modern Sumerian dictionaries and glossaries, and in the *Vocabularies* in this *Manual*. It is also the form normally cited in the lexical lists discussed in *Appendix Two.* As will be seen in *Lesson Eleven*, the imperfect root is formed from the perfect root in several different ways.

Akkadian scribes gave names to these two roots. One root they called ḫamṭu, meaning "quick" in Akkadian; this is our "perfect". The other they called marû, meaning "fattened up" and then by extension "slow"; this is our "imperfect". There is some evidence that the Sumerian word for ḫamṭu was ul₄ (of unsure meaning) and the word for marû was niga (meaning "fattened up"). The terms ḫamṭu and marû are frequently used by modern Assyriologists when referring to these two verbal roots in Sumerian. They are also used in a more general sense, to mean a verbal phrase which contains a ḫamṭu root or one which contains a marû root.

Although the difference between the ḫamṭu and marû is one of aspect, it is generally possible to translate ḫamṭu forms occurring in the Ur III royal inscriptions by an English past tense verb, and to translate marû forms by an English present or future tense verb. This is because of the linguistic simplicity of these inscriptions; actions occurring in the past are almost always

completed, and so translatable by a past tense verb. In more complicated texts, however, such a one-to-one translation will not work.

In this particular text, du₃ is the ḫamṭu root; as discussed in *Lesson Eleven*, the marû root is du₃-e. Since this verbal form describes a completed action, it may be translated "(Ur-Nammu) built".

7. The next two lines form a new sentence, "He built the city wall of Ur for him". Line 7 is the direct object (patient), consisting of a simple genitive phrase, bad₃.Urim₅.a. Here, as contrasted with line 4, the underlying amissable /k/ of the genitive marker is not expressed, because it is at the end of the nominal phrase and so not pronounced.

8. The verbal phrase is exactly as in line 6. It contains a DP .na, and a PA (n.). However, there is no expressed datival phrase, nor agent, in lines 7 or 8. Rather, the logical benefactive to which the .na refers is Nanna of line 1, and the logical agent to which the (n.) refers is Ur-Nammu of line 3. It often happens that a verbal chain contains elements which cross-reference nominal phrases occurring in a previous sentence. This is a kind of pronominalization. English pronominalizes by using pronouns to replace nouns. Sumerian deletes the nouns, but keeps the DPs and PAs within the verbal chain. Here both the agent and the benefactive phrases are pronominalized: "Ur-Nammu built the city wall of Ur for Nanna" becomes "He built the city wall of Ur for him".

Discussion: Structure

Having examined this inscription with a fine-tooth comb, let us now consider the structure of the inscription as a whole. If the appositional noun phrases are grouped with their head nouns, we see:

[Nanna, lugal.ani].(r)	benefactive
[Ur.Nammu, lugal.Urim₅.ak].e	agent
[e₂.ani].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)du₃.Ø	verb
[bad₃.Urim₅.a].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)du₃.Ø	verb

The dative marked in .r is cross-referenced in the verb by the DP .na; the ergative marked in .e is cross-referenced by the PA .n; the absolutive marked in .Ø is cross-referenced by the PA .Ø. This is a rather aesthetically satisfying system. As will be seen later, however, things often do not hang together so neatly.

Second, let us look at the word order of the first sentence:

BENEFACTIVE - AGENT - PATIENT - VERB
(1)   (2)   (3)   (4)

This particular order is actually somewhat different than standard Sumerian syntax. In more

standard Sumerian, the word order is:

AGENT - PATIENT - COMPLEMENTS - VERB
   (1)   (2)   (3)   (4)

or   AGENT - COMPLEMENTS - PATIENT - VERB
      (1)   (2)   (3)   (4)

The difference in word order between standard Sumerian prose and that of the royal inscriptions is in the position of the benefactive complement. In royal inscriptions, the benefactive is almost always fronted; this gives added emphasis to the deity on whose behalf some act is being commemorated. In English, the difference might be reflected as "For Nanna, Ur-Nammu built the temple", instead of "Ur-Nammu built the temple for Nanna".

Hallo's investigation of the structure of the Ur III royal inscriptions showed that their style is very formulaic. A typical inscription is composed of the following elements, almost always in the same order:

(1)   A benefactive phrase, giving the name of the deity, with optional epithets

(2)   An agentive phrase, giving the name of the builder or donor, with optional epithets

(3)   A patient phrase, describing the object built or donated

(4)   A verbal phrase, highly stylized.

— Terminology

As does every discipline, Sumerology has its own host of technical terms, such as Auslaut, amissability, and so on. Some of these terms are peculiar to Sumerology; they are not standard terms familiar to linguists. Occasionally, some of these terms are used in ways which cause linguists to take umbrage. Unfortunately, such idiosyncrasies in nomenclature also make it difficult for linguists to read secondary literature about Sumerian grammar.

The term verbal chain is used here to refer to the series of prefixes which occur before the verbal root. Sometimes the term is used to include the entire verb: prefixes-root-suffixes. Similarly, the term nominal chain is sometimes used to refer to a nominal phrase. Sometimes both the verbal chain and the nominal chain are subsumed under the category "Kettenbildung".

There is no standard term to refer to what is called here the dimensional prefix; the most common term is probably "dimensional infix". This use of the term "infix", however, is inexact; in more precise terms, "infix" refers explicitly to an affix placed within another morpheme; an example would be the /t/ in the Akkadian Gt stem or the Arabic Eighth Form.
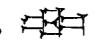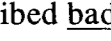
— Hyphens

The use of hyphens in transliteration varies somewhat from scholar to scholar. In this *Manual*, hyphens are used between all the signs which form an entire nominal (or verbal phrase), as long as the signs do not span more than one case. In this practice, one finds lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-

ma-ke₄. Another common practice is to only use hyphens to tie the last noun in the nominal chain to any following grammatical morphemes. Thus, this same line could be transliterated as lugal Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma-ke₄.

Both practices, or an inconsistent mixture of both, are common today. The problem with the first system is that nominal phrases can be very long, and span several cases. The problem with the second is that it is not always easy to determine what constitutes a "word" in Sumerian.

— Sign formation

Some cuneiform signs are, in origin, combinations of two different signs, one of which is pictographic and one of which is a phonetic complement or indicator of some kind, to aid the reader in the correct pronunciation of the sign. The bad₃-sign, for example, ⟨sign⟩ , is a picture of a city wall with an inscribed bad-sign, ⟨sign⟩ . The function of the inscribed bad-sign was to help the reader to pronounce the sign as /bad/.

In the case of Nanna, the DN was originally written by the šeš-sign followed by the na-sign, the latter functioning as a phonetic complement. The two signs essentially became ligatured, and so by the Ur III period it was perceived of as one sign, or as the šeš-sign followed by the ki-sign. In the case of bad₃, the phonetic complement was placed inside the pictograph, not after it.

— -ke₄

The value of the ⟨sign⟩ sign as ke₄ was deduced by Kramer in 1936. There is no native grammatical tradition which gives this value to this sign; the Akkadian lexical lists give the values of ge₂ and ki₄ (in addition to such values as kid). Kramer reasoned that the only way to make the Sumerian writing be consistent with our understanding of the morphology of the Sumerian genitive was to posit a reading ke₄, even though the lexical lists do not give this value. Virtually all modern scholars have accepted his reasoning, even if there is a lurking uneasiness about this value not occurring in the lexical lists; such uneasiness has been voiced by Lieberman (1977:58 n.155; 1979:23 n.8).

— Animacy

As was mentioned when discussing the possessive suffixes /ani/ and /bi/, Sumerian has traces of an animate ~ inanimate distinction. This distinction is seen in the PA of the third person ḫamṭu transitive verb, where /n/ marks an animate agent while /b/ marks an inanimate agent (rather a rare occurrence). This animate ~ inanimate distinction does not carry through all categories of the grammar. Nouns, for example, are not formally marked for animacy or inanimacy; this is only shown by concord in the sentence. Perhaps in earlier Sumerian animacy was more widely marked throughout the grammar.

The terms animate and inanimate are those traditionally used by linguists, even if this means that animals are called inanimate (in fables, however, animals are usually treated gram-

matically as animate). For this reason, the terms "personal" and "non-personal" are sometimes used instead of "animate" and "inanimate". Slaves, however, are occasionally treated grammatically as inanimates.

— Conjugation prefixes

Lambert was quoted above, to the effect that the CPs are simply not translated. This is because it is not known what information they convey, and the odds are that their function has no easy equivalent in English. Sollberger has said:

> Their true rôle is so distinctively Sumerian, they express ideas so alien to our languages, that not only is there no consensus on the nature of their function, but we simply ignore them without impairing, or so it seems to us, our understanding of the text. There is no other translation for mu-g̃ar and ì-g̃ar than "(he) placed", although it must be pretty obvious that had there been no difference there wouldn't have been two prefixes...It is legitimate to posit that a certain verbal form implies that the action is performed by the subject wishing to indicate that his goal, though within his immediate perception, remains without his actual sphere of physical contact; it is another thing to try and express that in one good English (or even German!) word (1973:160-161).

F.R. Kraus has criticized this view of Sollberger: "Sollberger's opinion, that Sumerian texts can be understood without paying attention to the verbal prefix, is valid for a certain kind of text, but is certainly not valid for legal documents" (1958:83 n.47).

The term "conjugation prefix" is somewhat misleading, because these elements do not have anything to do with conjugation as this term is usually understood. However, this is the only term in use. It was introduced into Sumerological studies by Rudolf Scholtz (1934:2), who says the term is based on a proposal of Benno Landsberger. The latter never published his reasons for adopting the term, but it was presumably because since most verb forms are in the indicative mood, which is unmarked, most finite conjugated verb forms actually begin with a CP.

— Personal affixes

The description of the PAs given here reflects the most common understanding today. The situation may, of course, have been more complicated. M.J. Geller, for example, has recently argued that the PA /n/ actually marks a kind of "middle voice"; he says, in fact, "if pre-radical /n/ is not written, it is not there" (1998:89). However, his examples are mostly from literary texts, which can be under Akkadian influence. Pascal Attinger (1998) examined this theory for the Gudea texts, and found that it did not explain the variation.

— Conjugation

The forms of the ḫamṭu transitive verb in the singular are listed here (the plural is given in *Lesson Fourteen*). This and other paradigms should be understood as reflecting Ur III mor-

phology, in Ur III orthography. The model verb used is sar, "to write", with the CP mu:

first person singular	mu-sar	mu.Ø.sar	I wrote.
second	mu-sar	mu.e.sar	You wrote.
third animate	mu-sar	mu.n.sar	He/she wrote.
inanimate	mu-sar	mu.b.sar	It wrote.

The form of the first person is somewhat unsure; there may have been a weak consonant of some kind. The form of the second person is more well established, because /e/ sometimes shows up in the writing. However, there are odd writings which may indicate that the form actually contained an /r/; these are discussed in Attinger 1993:217. The forms of the third person are the best established, because of the occasional presence of /n/ and /b/ in the writing.

In this section, the PAs .n and .b have been discussed as markers for the third person. Earlier, it was said that they cross-reference the agent. Strictly speaking, they cross-reference a third person agent. A first person agent ("I") is cross-referenced by .Ø, and a second person agent ("you") is cross-referenced by .e. In other words, one can understand the PAs as cross-referencing the agent, or as marking the person of the verb. These are two different ways of describing the same relationship.

— Ergativity

The concept of ergativity was discussed in *Part One*. As stated there, Sumerian is split ergative; the ḫamṭu functions on an ergative basis, while the marû functions on an accusative basis. However, ergativity only manifests itself in the contrast between active/transitive sentences and passive/intransitive sentences. Since Text 1 contains only active transitive sentences, there is no overt evidence to show that Sumerian is ergative; this can only be shown when passive/intransitive sentences are encountered.

— Coordination

In general, independent sentences in Sumerian are coordinated without any conjunction; no conjunction appears in line 7. The conjunction u₃ also occurs sporadically, coordinating both nouns and verbs; this is discussed in *Lesson Fifteen*. Since u₃ has obvious cognates in all the Semitic languages, it is plainly a borrowing from Akkadian.

— Function of text

Let us now look at the function and Sitz im Leben of this particular text. Hallo divided the Ur III royal inscriptions into five categories, based on typological criteria: standard, building, votive, weight, and seal inscriptions; examples of all five types occur in this *Manual*. Text 1 is a building inscription. These are defined by Hallo as "monuments that became integral parts, whether functional or decorative, of the buildings which they commemorated" (1962:8).

Hallo's scheme of classification has been somewhat expanded by Edzard in his article

"Königsinschriften" in the *RIA*. J.-R. Kupper (1971) and G. van Driehl (1973) discuss, among other things, some correlations among Hallo's five categories.

The category of building inscriptions is further subdivided on the basis of the type of object they were inscribed on: bricks (the most numerous of all royal inscriptions), foundation deposits, door sockets, and clay cones. Examples will be seen of each. Text 1 was inscribed on a brick forming an actual part of the masonry.

Building inscriptions in general were not designed to be read by the builder's contemporaries; rather, they were designed to be read by future rebuilders of the building, who would most likely be kings themselves. Ultimately, these buildings and their accompanying inscriptions can be thought of as attempts by rulers to attain immortality. In this vein, Van De Mieroop quotes from an inscription of Sennacherib: "When this palace will become old and ruined, may a future prince restore its ruins, may he see the stela with my name written on it, may he pour oil, may he make an offering over it, and may he return it to its place" (1999:56-57).

— Bricks

The Sumerian word for "mud brick" was sig₄, (also read šeg₁₂). Its Akkadian equivalent is libittu, presumably from a Semitic root. The Sumerian for "fired brick" was written sig₄-al-ur-ra, or one of several variants; its Akkadian equivalent is agurru. The many varying writings of the Sumerian and the Akkadian words indicate that they both stem from a common, unidentified source. Armas Salonen (1972:7) reconstructs the original common ancestor as *alghur; he also thinks that sig₄ and libittu are of foreign origin.

Fired brick was used much less commonly than (unfired) mud brick, because Sumer did not have much wood for fuel for fire to bake the bricks. It was generally used in places subject to wear and tear, especially to protect underlying mud bricks from damage caused by rain, dampness, and water drainage. Ur-Nammu's ziggurat, for instance (discussed below), had a core of solid mud brick, with an outer layer of fired brick up to eight feet thick in some places.

— Brick stamps

Text 1 was produced by what is known as a brick stamp. Brick stamps were used to mass produce copies of inscriptions. Over two dozen copies of Text 1 are preserved; all but one were produced by brick stamps. The writing on them is done in reverse ("mirror writing"), so that the impression comes out correctly.

While brick stamps were thus used to speed up the production of inscriptions, many other brick inscriptions were produced by hand, individually. Most of the inscriptions in the following *Lesson*s were such hand-drawn bricks. Again, often multiple copies of the same inscription are preserved, albeit produced by different hands.

It is impossible to say how many bricks with inscriptions were actually produced in Mesopotamia. H.R. Hall, who visited the on-going excavations on the site of Ur in 1919, wrote:

They strewed the site in every direction when I went there, despite the fact that

every officer and man who visited Ur had gone off with one or a piece of one under his arm as a souvenir, whether for himself or for some masonic lodge in which he was interested; for, as I was informed (I am not a Mason), a brick from Ur of the Chaldees was one of the more acceptable presents that a British Lodge could receive. Unhappily these bricks are so large (14 in. square) and so heavy (average weight 18 lb.) that very many of them never got much further than Nasiriyyah or even Ur Junction, and how many of these souvenirs were thrown away on trek or cast into the sea on the return voyage it is impossible to say! (1930:106).

The practice of carrying off bricks from Ur is an old one. The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle did the same when he visited the site in 1625.

Several brick stamps themselves have been preserved. The following illustrations are of brick stamps from the Old Akkadian period:
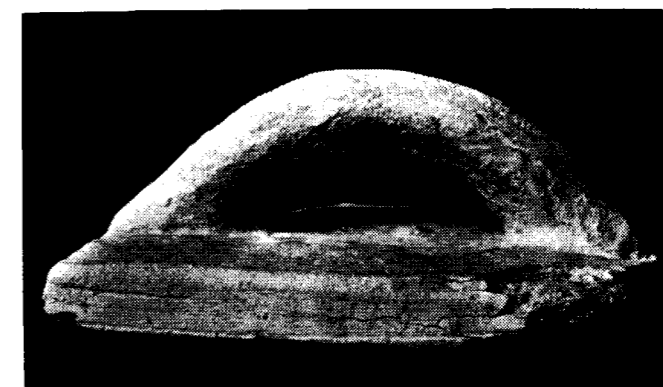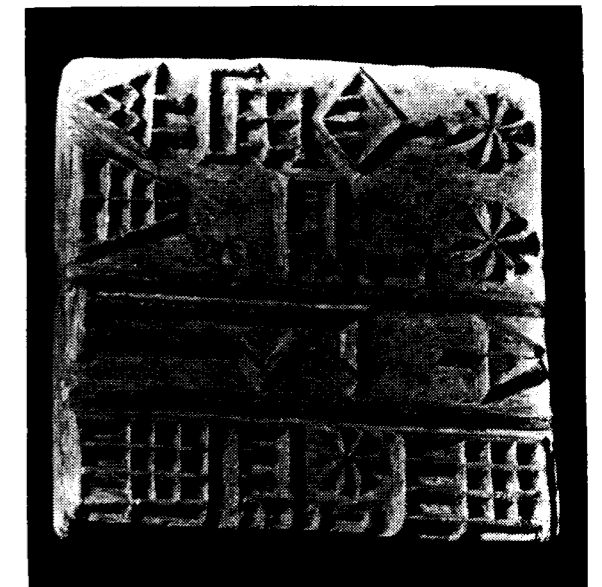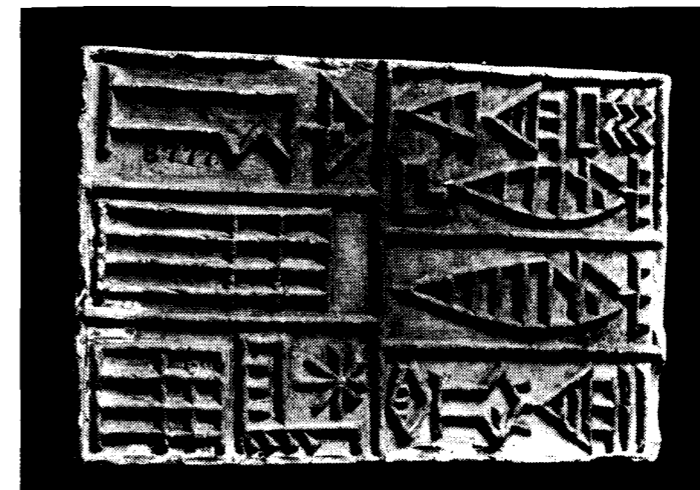
These are in Akkadian. The upper-right brick stamp reads: ^{d}Na-ra-am-^{d}Zuen BA.DIM$_2$ E$_2$ ^{d}En-lil$_2$, "Naram-Sin, the one who built the temple of Enlil". The upper-left one reads: Šar-ka$_3$-li$_2$-LUGAL-ri$_2$ LUGAL A-ga-de$_3$^{ki} BA.DIM$_2$ E$_2$ ^{d}En-lil$_2$, "Shar-kali-sharri, the king of Akkad, the one who built the temple of Enlil".

Saddam Hussein has had brick stamps in Arabic produced which have been used in on-going restoration of the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon. A photograph of one of these bricks is reproduced in an article by Raoul Zamora (1991:38-39) describing archaeological re-construction in Babylon.

The shape of the signs on brick stamps tends to be regular and almost geometrically precise, although occasionally the signs can approach the shape of hand-written signs. As Jacobsen says, "On the whole the monumental style is more conservative than the cursive one and within the monumental style that of stamped bricks more so than that of written ones" (1989:268 n.3). At times, however, the seeming geometrical precision of signs in autographs may be due to the modern-day copyist.

— History

Throughout Mesopotamian history temples were built, repaired, modified, or virtually en-tirely reconstructed. During the Ur III period, there were many royal building projects; main-taining these temples was one of the basic responsibilities of the ruler. Ur-Nammu built and rebuilt in all the major cities of the Ur III empire, including Ur, Eridu, Larsa, Nippur, and Uruk. His most famous construction project was the building (and rebuilding) of the large sacred area at Ur, consisting of several structures, including the best preserved ziggurat in all of Mesopo-tamia; its base measures some 60 x 40 meters. It was repaired by several later Mesopotamian rulers. *Lesson Eight* contains Woolley's reconstruction of Nabonidus' rebuilding of this same ziggurat.

The drawing on the top of page 56 is Woolley's reconstruction of the Ur III ziggurat. The photo below it is of the remains now standing; the conditions of these remains is partially a result of modern reconstruction of the site. One of the reasons why the ziggurat is in such a relatively good state of preservation is because of the fact that it was lined with fired brick.

While this sacred area as a whole was dedicated to Nanna, he also had his own court in front of the ziggurat, and other buildings sacred to him. The entire sacred complex was known as the E$_2$-kiš-nu-ĝal$_2$; the ziggurat was known as the E$_2$-temen-ni$_2$-guru$_3$ (both names are dis-cussed in *Lesson Eight*). A great deal of interesting material about the activities which went on in the Ekishnugal is contained in the book by Dominique Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi* (1986).

The ziggurat was damaged during the Gulf War of 1991, but the exact extent of this destruc-tion is not yet known. Writing in 1997, McGuire Gibson says:

> Bombs dropped into the ziggurat enclosure area at Ur created large craters, about ten metres in diameter and four metres deep, and one strafing run by a

plane resulted in four hundred holes in one side of the ziggurat. Use of Tell al-Lahm, to the southeast of Ur, as a position for U.S. troops was accompanied by machine-excavation of several large holes (1997:6).

Page 57 contains a photograph of one of the more famous pieces of Ancient Near Eastern art, the "Stele of Ur-Nammu". It was found in a very fragmentary state in Ur, scattered throughout the Nanna temple complex. It may have been destroyed during the Elamite sack of Ur in 2004 BCE. It depicts a number of symbolic activities, mostly obscure to us, but apparently shows Ur-Nammu himself (his name appears on a floating fragment of the stela) carrying building tools. Gadd says "This work appears to have been, when complete, a vividly descriptive presentation of all the episodes attending that king's building of the Moon-god's temple at Ur...Both the religious preliminaries and the actual operations were depicted in detail" (1971:628-629). This stela has been known since the 1920s, but the work of restoration is still being carried out. Jeanny Canby (1987) has written a very interesting discussion on this restoration.

Lesson Six contains a photograph of a figure which represents Ur-Nammu himself (some-what stylized) in his rôle as builder. Discussing the function of the Mesopotamian ruler in this rôle, Heimpel says:

> The ruler in Mesopotamia, when building for the gods, manufactured the first brick himself, sprinkled the foundations with precious materials, laid the founda-tion box, mixed some of the mortar, and led the celebrations of dedication. The best sources for these ceremonies are the building inscriptions of Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian kings and the cylinders of Gudea. The latter contain the most detailed information which is couched in poetic language and presents us with many difficulties of interpretation (1987:205).

Most building inscriptions refer to only one undertaking, for example, the building of a sin-gle temple or temple complex. However, it is not uncommon to find such inscriptions referring to two closely-related activities, such as in Text 1. The wall referred to in this text was presumably the wall which surrounded the city of Ur. Woolley describes it as follows:
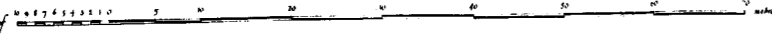
> The walled city was in shape an irregular oval, measuring about 1130 yards in length by 750 yards in width, and was surrounded by a wall and rampart. The rampart was of mud-brick with a steeply sloping outer face...Along the top of this ran the wall proper, built of burnt bricks...Of Ur-Nammu's wall not a trace remained...just because the defences of Ur had been so strong the victorious enemy [that is, the later Elamites who sacked the city] had dismantled them systematically, leaving not one brick upon another (1982:137-138).

Although Ur-Nammu's wall may have originally enclosed the entire city of Ur, the city rapidly expanded beyond these walls. The original walled city may have comprised no more than one-fourth or one-fifth of the city in the Isin-Larsa or Old Babylonian periods.
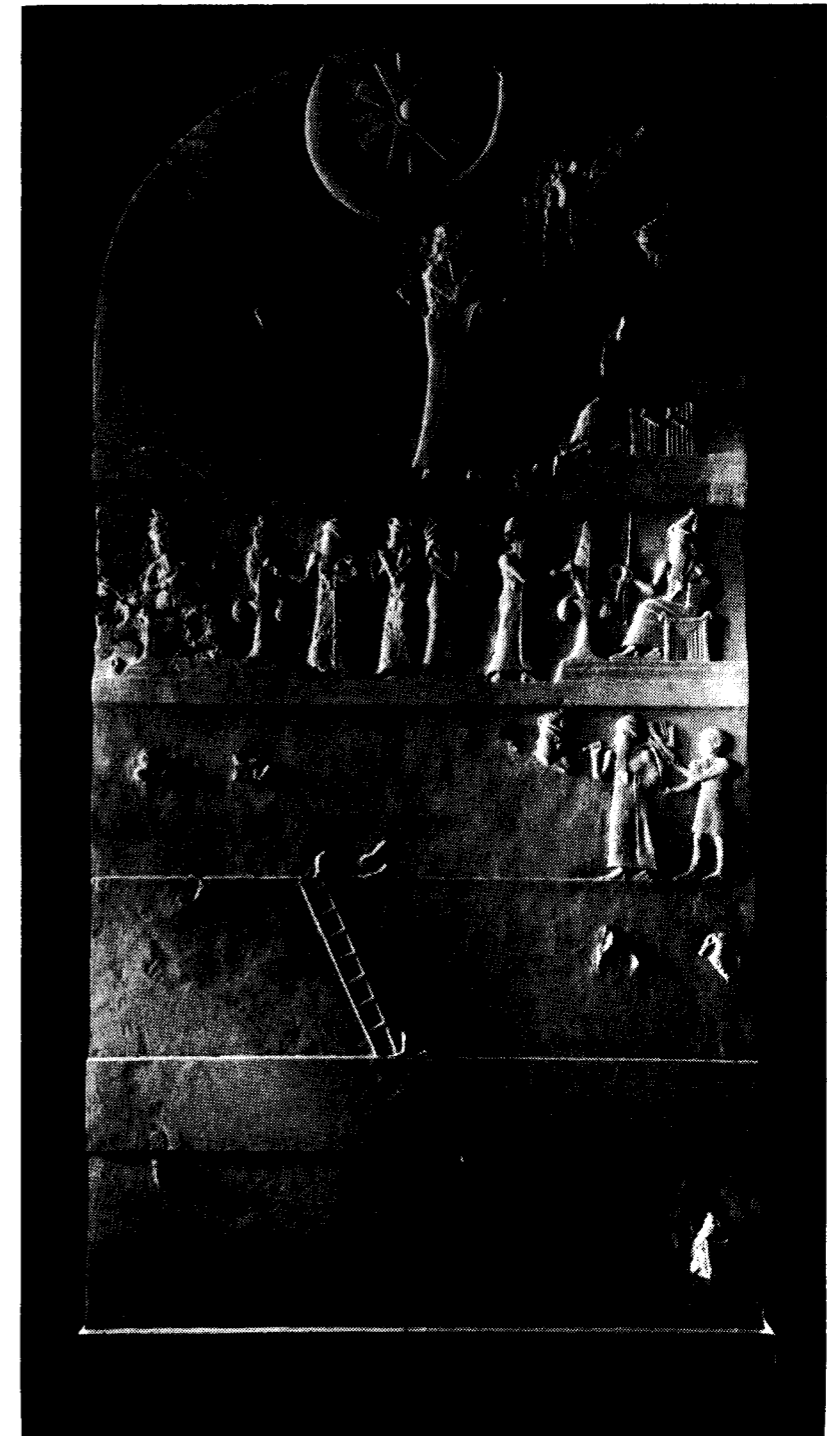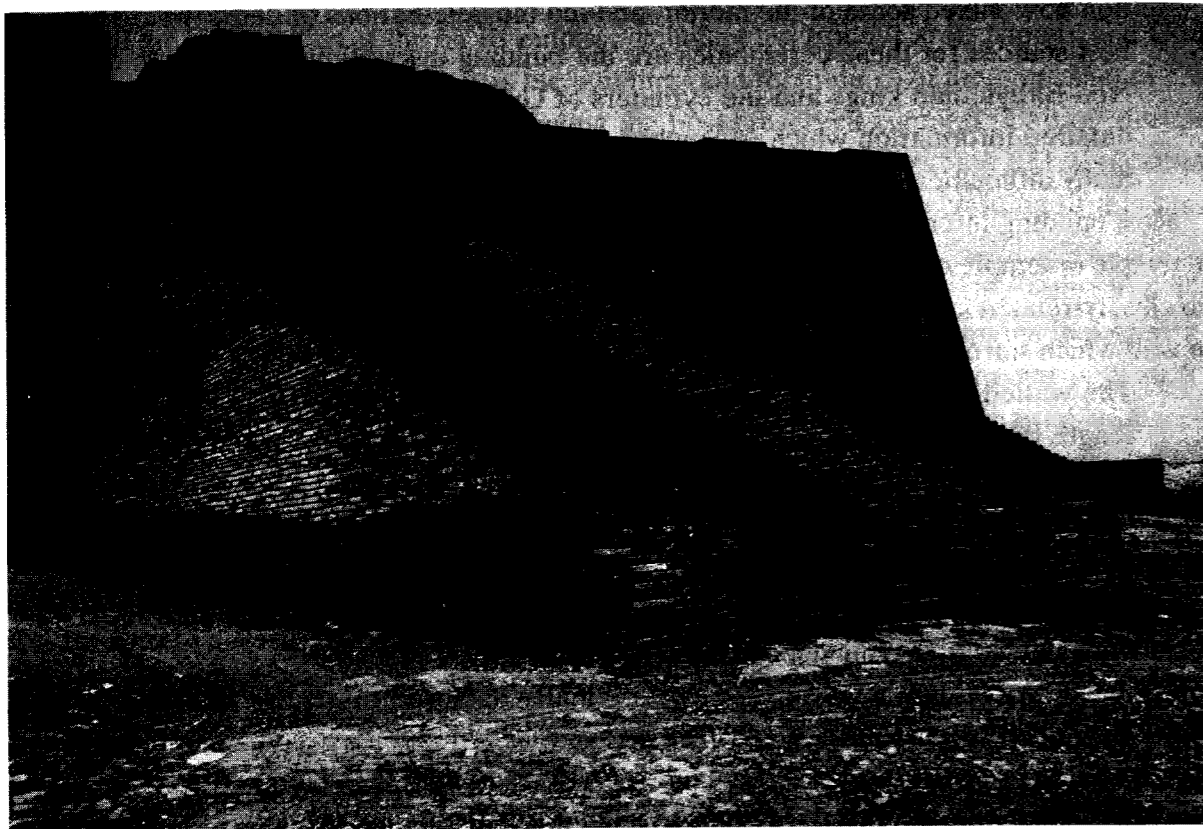
More recently, Frayne (1997:26) suggests that the wall mentioned in this inscription was not the city wall of Ur, but a wall surrounding the ziggurat. This requires further investigation.

THE ZIGGURAT OF UR-NAMMU RESTORED.

Isometric Projection
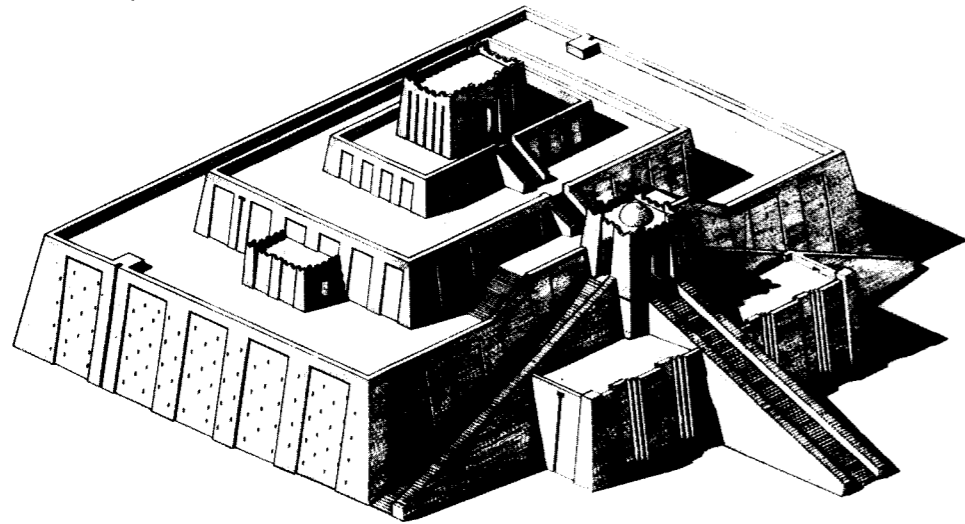
Pollock notes:

> Although undoubtedly built with an eye to defense, the monumentality and care-ful construction of at least some city walls attest to a concern with their symbolic value as well...Rulers boasting of their conquests of other cities frequently claimed that they had destroyed the defeated city's wall, a claim that archaeolo-gical evidence often indicates to be exaggerated (1999:47).

— Literature

Ur-Nammu is famous as the promulgator of the world's first collection of laws, the *Code of Ur-Nammu*. At least three copies of parts of the text are known, but all are heavily damaged. The largest fragment was found at Nippur. In 1981 a fragment of the *Code* found at Sippar was published. Basing himself on this fragment, Kramer (1983) suggested that the "author" of the *Code* was not Ur-Nammu, but rather his son Shulgi, and so the code is sometimes known as the *Code of Shulgi* or the *Shulgi Codex*. This question of authorship is still *sub iudice*.

Ur-Nammu was also the subject of several literary works. These include *The Coronation of Ur-Nammu*, a kind of self-laudatory hymn, and *The Death of Ur-Nammu and His Descent to the Netherworld*, in which his premature death on the battlefield is lamented. It has been speculated that Ur-Nammu's widow, who had the Akkadian name Watartum, commissioned or even composed the latter work.

— Proper names

ur followed by the name of a divinity is a very common way of forming PNs in Sumerian. Ur-Nammu occurs in this *Lesson*; others in this *Manual* include Ur-Ishtaran and Ur-Lamar.

For many years Sollberger argued on the basis of a syllabic writing that the first element of the name Ur-Nammu (and of similar names) should be read /sur/ and not /ur/ (for example, Sollberger 1956:11 n.4); this was first suggested by T.G. Pinches in 1903. However, the evidence is weak at best.

As was mentioned above, it is not clear if the name Nammu is of Sumerian origin or not. Civil (1985:27 n.1) transliterates the name of the first Ur III ruler as Ur-Namma, basing himself on attestations of the name in syllabic orthography. He suggests that the original form of the name was a theoretical /ur-namnam/, whatever the ultimate etymology might be. Jacobsen (1987a:155 n.5) also reads the original form of the DN as Namma, but derives /namma/ from /nin imma/, "lady female genitals": "a personification of the numinous power to shape, mature, and give birth to the child"; /nammu/ is a later form.

— Titulature

Several of the appositive phrases describing the king in these inscriptions are actually titles, occurring in many inscriptions (although sometimes it is not possible to tell if an adjectival phrase is a title or not). There has been much study on the origin of these titles, their relationship to parallel Akkadian titles, their lapse into desuetude, and so on. The principal work on this topic is by Hallo: *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles* (1957). In 1967, M.-J. Seux studied in particular the individual words occurring in Sumerian and Akkadian titles: *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*. Claus Wilcke (1974) also discusses the meaning of a number of these titles.

The title used in Text 1, lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma, "King of Ur", was used by all five kings of the Ur III Dynasty.

π **Lesson Two** π

Text 2 is a second building inscription of Ur-Nammu. It was inscribed on a brick forming part of the Inanna temple in Uruk.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒀭𒈹   Inanna   Inanna   (DN, fem)

𒆠𒂗𒄀   Ki-en-gi   Sumer   (GN)

𒆠𒌵   Ki-uri   Akkad   (GN)

𒊩   nin   lady

𒍑   nitaḫ   (nita)   man, male

𒆗   kalag   (kala)   to be mighty

𒂷   ga   (syllabic)

Inanna She was the Sumerian goddess of love and fertility, of the morning and evening star, and to some degree of war; she had other sides as well. She may have absorbed some of the attributes of originally independent deities. Later equated with the Akkadian Ishtar, she was the most important goddess in the Mesopotamian pantheon. Because of her fiery temperament and the manifold aspects of her personality, she is perhaps the most interesting of all Mesopotamian deities. Mesopotamian mythology was rather inconsistent about her ancestry; she was usually described as the daughter of An, but sometimes as the daughter of Nanna.

She was worshipped in many cities, but especially in Uruk, where she was the tutelary goddess. Her principal temple complex at Uruk was the E₂-an-na, "House of the sky/heaven", which occurs in Text 9b.

The reading of her name is much disputed; it is variously transliterated as Inana, Inanna, Innin, and Ninni₆. It is usually interpreted as nin.an.a(k), "Lady of the sky/heaven". This is how the Akkadian scribes understood her name. Jacobsen thinks that Inanna was originally the "numen of the communal storehouse for dates". He says that the an-component of her name meant "date-clusters": "Her name...would appear to have meant originally 'The lady of the date-clusters'" (1970 [1957] 376 n.32). Later, her name was re-interpreted as "Lady of the sky/ heaven".

The sign for her name may represent a bundle of reeds.

Ki-en-gi This is the ancient Sumerian designation for their land. The name is always written syllabically. It is never followed by ^ki^, the determinative for GNs. The etymology is unsure; this is discussed below. The word ended in a /r/, not reflected in the writing. The Akkadian equivalent of Kiengi was Šumeru. This Akkadian word may be a dialectal pronunciation of the word Kiengi(r). The English word "Sumer" derives from Akkadian.

The first clear appearance of the GN Ki-en-gi is in an inscription of Enshakushana of Uruk, who ruled approximately 2432-2403 BCE. He refers to himself as en-Ki-en-gi lugal-kalam-ma, "the lord of Sumer, the king of the land" (possible earlier attestations of the name are textually difficult).

Ki-uri This is the usual term for the region controlled from the city of Akkad, the capital of the Akkadian Empire. Its etymology and meaning are further discussed below. As was the case with Ki-en-gi, it is never followed by the determinative for GNs.

nin This is conventionally translated "lady"; the masculine equivalent, en, is conventionally translated "lord". The meaning of en is discussed in *Lesson Eight*. The Akkadian equivalents are beltu and bēlu. The writing of nin is discussed below.

nitaḫ The cuneiform sign is a picture of a penis. Its meanings include "male, masculine, man". The Akkadian equivalent is zikaru, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. male (human and animal), 2. man, 3. ram". As discussed in *Lesson One*, nitaḫ can qualify a noun to specify male gender. In Text 25c, lulim-nitaḫ is "male deer" and lulim-munus is "female deer".

kalag The basic meaning of this root is "to be strong"; it has many different connotations. The Akkadian equivalent verb, danānu, is translated by the *CAD* as "to become strong". The verbal adjective dannu is translated as "1) solid, strong, hard, heavy, thick, massive, fortified, steady, loud, 2) legitimate, binding, reliable, 3) strong, powerful, mighty, great, 4) fierce, savage, difficult, dangerous, serious, grave, obstinate, bad, tyrannical, harsh, pressing, urgent, essential, imperative".

Text 2

Ur-Nammu 7
Brick
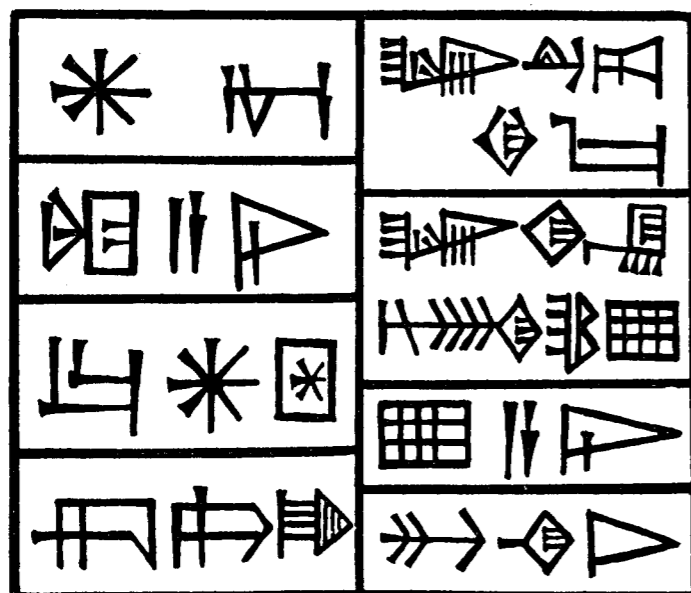
In line 6, the gi of Ki-en-gi is jammed up against the Ki of Ki-uri.

	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	^dInanna	[Inanna	For Inanna,
2:	nin-a-ni	nin.ani].(r)	his lady —
3:	Ur-^dNammu	[Ur.Nammu	Ur-Nammu,
4:	nitaḫ-kalag-ga	nitaḫ.kalag.a	the mighty man,
5:	lugal-Urim₅^{ki}-ma	lugal.Urim₅.a	the king of Ur,
6:	lugal-Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri-ke₄	lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e	the king of Sumer and Akkad —
7:	e₂-a-ni	[e₂.ani].Ø	her temple —
8:	mu-na-du₃	mu.na.(n.)du₃.Ø	built.

Commentary

2. As in Text 1, the nominal phrase expressing the benefactive consists of a DN and an appositive, which itself consists of a noun with a possessive suffix.

4. nitaḫ is one of several Sumerian words meaning approximately "man".

kalag-ga, representing /kalaga/, is an adjective meaning "mighty". In general, adjectives in Sumerian follow the noun they modify. Other modifiers of nouns, such as relative clauses, also follow their head noun. Only a few exceptions occur; they are discussed in *Lesson Seventeen*.

Many adjectives in Sumerian end in /a/, representing a morpheme .a. This .a has many uses, including formation of adjectives from verbal roots, nominalization of verbal phrases, marking of certain kinds of subordinate clause, and so on. It is usually called a "nominalizer" or "nominalizing particle", although these terms do not reflect all of its uses. For convenience sake, the term nominalizer will be used here. In this particular case, the adjective /kalaga/ is formed from the verbal root /kalag/ by the addition of the nominalizer /a/. This adjective is then placed after its head noun: [nitaḫ].[kalag.a].

Since /g/ is an amissable Auslaut, the ⬚ sign can be read both kalag and kala. The standard sign-lists give this sign the values kal, kala, kalag, kalaga, and even kalga. In this line, the two cuneiform signs of the adjective are transliterated kalag-ga. However, the same two signs of this adjective are often transliterated kala-ga. It is reasonably clear that the word for "mighty" in Sumerian was composed of two morphemes, the root /kalag/ and the nominalizer /a/. It is also reasonably clear that the word was pronounced something like /kalaga/; there are late, syllabic spellings such as kal-la-ga. But how do the two written signs convey this information? There have been various approaches to this problem. One view is to see the first sign as representing the entire word /kalaga/. In this case, the following ga-sign would be a kind of phonetic complement, giving some extra information to the reader so that he or she could choose the correct reading of the previous sign. This word might then be transliterated as kalaga^{ga}. This approach has been championed by Jacobsen, who believes that (at least for early Sumerian) "As logogram the sign will stand not only for a specific word but for a specific grammatical form of the word" (1988b:162 n.2). In his view, even mu-na-du₃ might be interpreted as ^{mu-na}munandu.

A second view attempts to make the signs fit the pronunciation of Sumerian, as reflected in our phonemic transcription. Since this word is pronounced /kalaga/, and since the /ga/-segment is expressed by the ga-sign, the first sign must be read /kala/. Thus, the two signs must be transliterated kala-ga. This view thus sees a close fit between the pronunciation and the writing system.

The third view says that there is too much information written down in all but the earliest Sumerian for the Jacobsenian view to be correct. Moreover, the writing system was never "designed" to fit the pronunciation. In addition, there are general rules of Sumerian orthography found in several contexts. In this particular case, there is a general rule that when a grammatical morpheme beginning with a vowel is attached to a lexical morpheme ending in a consonant

(such as kalag.a or Urim.a(k)), normal practice is not to write the vowel by a V-syllable, but rather to graphically reduplicate the final consonant of the lexical morpheme: kalag.a is written <u>kalag-ga</u>, and Urim$_5$.a(k) by <u>Urim$_5$-ma</u>. Thus, a transliteration such as <u>kalag-ga</u> fits the general rules of Sumerian orthography.

The problem is not easy to resolve. Several obvious questions come to mind: How do we know, for instance, that the sign ⚏ can be read as <u>kal</u>, <u>kala</u>, <u>kalag</u>, <u>kalaga</u>, or <u>kalga</u>? To what extent are readings "manufactured" (by both Akkadian scribes and modern scholars) to make the transliteration more closely approximate the (assumed) pronunciation? How valid is the general rule of Sumerian orthography presented above?

In practice, differences and inconsistencies in transliteration arise, because no matter which transliteration system is followed, the meaning does not change. Whether these two signs are understood as <u>kalaga</u>^{ga}, <u>kala-ga</u>, or <u>kalag-ga</u>, it is pretty clear that the pronunciation is /kalaga/ and the meaning "mighty". Therefore, some scholars prefer not to worry too much about such details, unless they are interested in the writing system *per se*.

The problem has been discussed at some length here, because it is useful to be aware of the theoretical principles which underpin our understanding of the writing system. This type of knowledge is also essential if one is to understand borrowings of the Sumerian writing system, such as, for example, that used for Eblaite. And it is important to be prepared for the inconsistencies and variations in transliteration which are encountered in Sumerological literature.

5. <u>lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma</u> represents lugal.Urim$_5$.a(k), "king of Ur". In line with the general rule of Sumerian orthography discussed just above, this noun phrase can be found transliterated both as <u>lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma</u> and as <u>lugal-Uri$_5$^{ki}-ma</u>.

6. <u>lugal-Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri-ke$_4$</u> represents [lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e, "king of Sumer and Akkad". Sumerian has a conjunction meaning "and" linking nouns: -<u>bi-da</u> (occurring in Text 24c), but it is relatively uncommon. It also occasionally uses the conjunction <u>u$_3$</u> borrowed from Akkadian (Text 15). Most often, Sumerian conjoins two nouns directly: <u>an-ki</u>, "heaven and earth"; <u>Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri</u>, "Sumer and Akkad".

The first element of this genitive phrase is the singular noun lugal. The second element is formed by the two conjoined nouns Kiengi.Kiuri. The genitive marker .k follows the two elements. This can be diagrammed as [lugal].[Kiengi.Kiuri].k. It is possible for either element of a genitive phrase to be even more complex, consisting, for example, of a noun with a possessive suffix, an adjective, a relative clause, and so on.

Lines 3-6 form a long nominal phrase, ending in the ergative case marker .e. This nominal phrase consists of a PN (line 3), an appositive (consisting of a noun and an adjective, line 4), a second appositive (a genitive phrase, line 5); and a third appositive (a genitive phrase, line 6).

Discussion: Structure

It is instructive to compare the structure of Text 1 with that of Text 2:

Text 1:

[Nanna, lugal.ani].(r)	benefactive
[Ur.Nammu, lugal.Urim$_5$.ak].e	agent
[e$_2$.ani].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø	verb
[bad$_3$.Urim$_5$.a].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø	verb

Text 2:

[Inanna, nin.ani].(r)	benefactive
[Ur.Nammu, nitaḫ.kalag.a, lugal.Urim$_5$.a, lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e	agent
[e$_2$.ani].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø	verb

The order of the constituents in each Text is the same. As mentioned in *Lesson One*, the constituent order in these inscriptions is quite formulaic. The difference in the two inscriptions is in the length of the various nominal phrases, and not in the basic structure. In addition, Text 2 describes only one building activity, hence is composed of only one sentence, with one verb; Text 1 described two related building activities.

— Writing system

The traditional interpretation of the <u>nin</u>-sign ⚏ is that it is the sign for "woman", <u>munus</u> ⚏ followed by the sign for "garment", <u>tug$_2$</u> ⚏ . The writing would thus graphically represent "woman wearing a special kind of garment". However, Robert Biggs has pointed out (1969:207 n.1) that the second half of the <u>nin</u>-sign is not, in fact, the <u>tug$_2$</u>-sign. It appears to be such in relatively late texts, but if one goes back to the earliest Sumerian texts, it can be seen that the <u>tug$_2$</u>-sign differs from the second half of the <u>nin</u>-sign. While this observation leaves the origin of the <u>nin</u>-sign up in the air, it illustrates the danger of relying upon relatively later sign shapes to hazard conjectures about the original pictographic value of signs.

— Continued writings

As discussed above, when a grammatical morpheme which begins with a vowel is attached to a lexical morpheme which ends in a consonant, such as the case with Urim$_5$.a(k), the Sumerian writing system reduplicates the final consonant of the lexical morpheme: Urim$_5$.a(k) is written <u>Urim$_5$-ma</u>. In Sumerological parlance, the <u>Urim$_5$</u>-sign is said here to be "continued" (or "prolonged") by the <u>ma</u>-sign. This practice presumably originated as an aid in the reading of logographic signs. A writing such as <u>an-na</u> ("of heaven", an.a(k)) shows that the first cuneiform sign is to be read <u>an</u>, and not <u>diĝir</u>; "of the god" would be written <u>diĝir-ra</u>.

— Case relationships

.ra and the other case markers in Sumerian are variously referred to as "cases", "case markers", "case endings", "postpositions", "postfixes", and so on. Strictly speaking, these terms are not all synonymous, because they do not all refer to the same level of analysis.

The term "dative case", for example, refers purely to a grammatical relationship. This case can be used to indicate several different semantic relationships: indirect object, benefactive, and so on. "Dative case marker" or "case ending" refers to the specific formal device which signals this grammatical relationship, that is, the .ra. Thus in Texts 1 and 2, .ra can be described as the marker of the dative case, used to express a benefactive.

Although these terms are distinct, in practice they are often used somewhat indiscriminately, because it is normally clear from the context which level of analysis is being referred to. Similarly, the DPs are sometimes said to cross-reference the cases and are sometimes said to cross-reference the case endings. Strictly speaking, they cross-reference the case relationships which are marked by the case endings. For ease of exposition, however, it is usually easier to present them as cross-referencing the case endings themselves.

The terms "postposition" or "postfix" are frequently used when describing Sumerian and other agglutinative languages to indicate that the case marker comes at the end of a nominal phrase. The term is meant to contrast with "preposition", thus indicating that postpositions share the functions of prepositions, yet occur at the end of the nominal chain. The term, however, is something of a misnomer. Prepositions are independent, unbound words, while the so-called "postpositions" in Sumerian are really bound forms, with no other existence.

— Case system

The genitive does not behave like the (other) cases in Sumerian, and so it is occasionally referred to as a "genitive marker" instead of a case. First, a genitive phrase can be embedded within a nominal phrase, which can then have its own case marker. That is, the genitive is cumulative with respect to the (other) cases. For example, the genitive can be directly followed by the ergative case marker .e, as in Text 1 and Text 2. The (other) cases, however, are not cumulative with respect to each other. If a nominal phrase has the dative case marker, for example, it is impossible for it to have the ergative case marker. Second, the genitive is not cross-referenced by any DP. The dative, on the other hand, is cross-referenced by the DP .na.

The reason for the difference in behavior is because of the different rôle which the genitive plays in a sentence. Genitives relate noun phrases to other noun phrases. But the (other) cases relate noun phrases to verb phrases. That is, genitives and the (other) cases perform two different functions.

The genitive behaves somewhat like the equitative (gin₇, occurring in Text 22c). Both are cumulative, and neither is resumed by any DP. Since both relate noun phrases to other noun phrases, they can be called "adnominal cases".

Similarly, the ergative and absolutive cases pattern together, in that they are the only cases

which are cross-referenced in the immediately pre- and post-verbal root position in the verbal chain (in some ergative languages, verbal cross-referencing only occurs with the agent and the patient, and not with any other case relationship). Since they express the primary participants in a sentence, they can be called "core cases".

Since the other cases relate noun phrases to the verbal phrase, they can be called "adverbial" cases. They include the following, all of which will be studied in subsequent *Lessons*: ablative, comitative, dative, locative, locative-terminative, terminative. The term "oblique" is sometimes used instead of "adverbial". The term "dimensional" is also used, since these are the only cases to be cross-referenced by the DPs.

To sum up, the Sumerian case system can be categorized as:

core	ergative	-e	agent
	absolutive	-Ø	patient
adverbial	ablative	-ta	from, by
	comitative	-da	with
	dative	-ra	to, for
	locative	-a	in
	locative-terminative	-e	by, at, in, to
	terminative	-še₃	to, towards
adnominal	equitative	-gin₇	like
	genitive	-ak	of

— Genitive

As was mentioned in *Lesson One*, possessive constructions in English can express many different logical relationships: "the book of the boy", for example, indicates possession, but "the idea of liberty" or "the land of Sumer" express different relationships. Similarly, the genitive in Sumerian can convey a range of meanings. It is convenient to use the terms "possessed" and "possessor" when describing the two members of a genitive construction, even though "land of Sumer" hardly indicates a possessed-possessor relationship.

It was Arno Poebel, the real father of Sumerian grammar, who in 1935 definitively established the form and function of the Sumerian genitive. Earlier views were quite different. For example, François Thureau-Dangin (1935) thought that the genitive was formed in two different ways: either by simple "juxtaposition" of two nouns (lugal-uru, "king-city" > "king of the city"), or by an ending .a of a "general indirect case". He thought that the /k/ which appears when a vowel follows the genitive marker was "inorganic"; it was a hiatus-breaker to avoid a sequence of two vowels. Poebel effectively destroyed Thureau-Dangin's views, but traces of the latter persisted for years. Poebel's work was further elaborated by Jacobsen (1973), Hayes (1991), and most recently Gábor Zólyomi (1996a).

— Adjectives

kalag-ga was here called an adjective. This is for convenience sake, to indicate the rôle of the word in the sentence. Morphologically, Sumerian has no special class of adjectives. Instead, it has two kinds of "participles", derived from verbal roots. One of them, the "active participle", ends in .Ø; the other, the "passive participle", ends in the nominalizer .a. These participles will be discussed in *Lesson Five*, *Lesson Ten*, and *Lesson Fifteen*.

— Roots

Traditionally, Sumerian is said to contain only nominal roots and verbal roots. Nominal roots occur only as substantives. Verbal roots can form all possible finite and non-finite verbal forms. There is no phonological or morphological distinction between the two classes of roots. Common shapes include V, CV, VC, CVC, VCV, and others.

— Typology

Very few S-O-V languages have prepositions. An S-O-V order in a language with prepositions is typically the result of influence of a substrate language; thus it is Sumerian which has brought about the S-O-V order of Akkadian.

It has been pointed out previously that the genitive in Sumerian behaves differently than the adverbial cases. This is typical of agglutinative languages, where the genitive is cumulative with respect to cases.

In most S-O-V languages, genitive constructions are expressed by the sequence possessor-possessed (regardless of the exact morphological devices used). Sumerian would seem to be atypical, in that the sequence is possessed-possessor. It will be seen in *Lesson Nine*, however, that Sumerian also possesses a genitive construction of the type possessor-possessed, although that construction is not as common as the possessed-possessor construction.

— Proper names

The fact that the Sumerian word for "Sumer" ended in an /r/ is seen from such writings as Ki-en-gi-ra, "in Sumer", representing Kiengir.a. Many different etymologies of Ki-en-gi have been proposed, and just as many explanations for the derivation of the Akkadian Šumeru from the Sumerian Ki-en-gi. A number of these etymologies are discussed in Kraus (1970) and Wilcke (1974), both of whom also discuss the precise geographical area indicated by the terms. The sheer variety of such explanations shows how unsure such attempts are. Some of those proposed by more prominent Sumerologists include:

Anton Deimel: Ki-en-gi(r) = ki.gir₃, "land of the foot", that is, "stopping place".

Edmund Gordon: Ki-en-gi = ki.gir₁₅, "noble place".

Thorkild Jacobsen: Ki-en-gi(r) = ki.Niĝir; Niĝir > Nibir > Nibur > Nibru, "Nippur". That is, the term "Niĝir" (whatever this may have meant originally) was at first applied only to the

city of Nippur. Later, in the form "ki-Niĝir", "place of Niĝir", it became generalized to the whole land of Sumer. Šumeru itself is a dialectal form of Niĝir: Niĝir > *Šimir > Šumer.

Arno Poebel: Ki-en-gi(r) is a dialectal form of kalam, "land". This would be a third dialect, distinct from Main Dialect and from Emesal, otherwise unattested.

Edmond Sollberger: Šumeru is the Emesal form of Ki-en-gi(r), whatever the etymology of the latter might be.

Many other dubious etymologies have been proposed. It has also been suggested that Ki-en-gi is a pre-Sumerian substrate word. These various etymologies illustrate the fact that there is really very little evidence to decide the issue; the data can be made to fit several different interpretations.

Somewhat surprisingly, the Sumerians are never mentioned by name in the Hebrew scriptures. However, the geographical term Šinʿār occurs eight times (discussed by Ron Zadok 1984). It has been suggested many times that this name somehow reflects Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri, although it is difficult to explain the phonetics involved or how the GN might have been transmitted.

There has been less discussion about the etymology and meaning of Ki-uri. The Ki-element may have been a determinative, even though ki normally follows its noun instead of preceding it; it may also simply mean "place". The value of the 𒆠𒌷 sign as /uri/ is known from lexical texts. It is not known what the sign is a picture of. In the Neo-Assyrian period the sign looks like two signs piled on top of each other (note its shape in Text 3), but in the earliest attestations of the sign it looks less like a double sign. At one time it was posited that the term is the same as a region known in Akkadian sources as Wa-ru-u (and variants), but this seems to be just a chance similarity in sound. Similarly, the phonetic resemblance to /Urim/, "Ur", is fortuitous. It has also been speculated that uri is connected with the Sumerian word for plow, ar.

The city of Akkad itself is written A-ga-de₃. This is presumably a pre-Sumerian word. Its location is unknown; this is one of the bigger puzzles of Ancient Near Eastern archaeology. Ki-uri stands for the territory controlled by the Akkadian empire.

— Titulature

nitaḫ-kalag-ga is a very old title, attested even with rulers preceding the Akkad dynasty. It was also used by Utu-Hengal of Uruk. It is difficult to say exactly what an expression like "strong man" or "mighty man" means; Hallo says "strong man (that is, we might almost say, independent ruler)" (1966:138).

Ur-Nammu was the first Mesopotamian ruler to use the title lugal-Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri. The term implies rule over all the land of Sumer and all the land previously controlled by the Dynasty of Akkad; it thus specifically joins together the two main ethnic groups in Mesopotamia. This title is thoroughly studied in Wilcke (1974) in the context of the Mesopotamian conception and practice of kingship; Kraus (1970) also includes much discussion about what the terms in this title
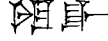
mean.

This title was used by Ur-Nammu's son Shulgi, but not (apparently) by the other rulers of the Ur III Dynasty. It was used sporadically by later rulers (in both a Sumerian and an Akkadian form), right down to the Persian period. The title was especially favored by rulers who managed to conquer Babylonia, such as Cyrus.
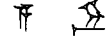
Ur-Nammu first assumed this title about the fourth year of his rule. In the early years of his reign the extent of his control was too limited and his hold too weak to permit use of such a grandiose title.
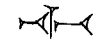
𒀭 Lesson Three 𒀭

This inscription was engraved upon a stone vessel.

Sign-list and vocabulary
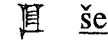
𒎏𒃼   Nin-gal   Ningal (DN, fem)

𒀀 𒊒   a...ru   to dedicate (an object)

𒋾   til₃ (ti)   to live

𒇲   la (syllabic)

𒉆   nam (syllabic)

𒊺   še₃ (syllabic)

Nin-gal   Ningal was the wife of Nanna and, according to some accounts, the mother of Inanna. Being Nanna's wife, she was especially worshipped in Ur. Her name means "great lady".

a...ru   This is translated by the *PSD* as "to give as a dedicatory gift", "to dedicate". It is typically used for donations to a temple. The most common Akkadian equivalents are qâšu and šarāku; the latter is glossed by the *CAD* as "1. to make a votive offering, to dedicate (persons, prayers, and so on) to a god, 2. to make a grant, a donation, to settle property on someone, to give a present...".

til₃   This is the most common verb meaning "to live". It is equated with Akkadian balāṭu, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. to get well, to recover from a sickness, 2. to be vigorous, in full health, to keep well, to live long, 3. to be alive, to stay alive...", and with wašābu, "... 2. to reside and live somewhere".

In Text 21 it is written syllabically, ti-il.

Text 3

Ur-Nammu 31
Stone vessel

	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	ᵈNin-gal	[Ningal	For Ningal,
2:	nin-a-ni	nin.ani].(r)	his lady —
3:	Ur-ᵈNammu	[Ur.Nammu	Ur-Nammu,
4:	nitaḫ-kalag-ga	nitaḫ.kalag.a	the mighty man,
5:	lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma	lugal.Urim₅.a	the king of Ur,
6:	lugal-Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri-ke₄	lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e	the king of Sumer and Akkad —
7:	nam-til₃-la-ni-še₃	[nam.til₃.ani].še₃	for the sake of his life —
8:	a mu-na-ru	[a].Ø mu.na.(n.)ru.Ø	dedicated (this vessel).

Commentary

7. nam is one of the few devices which Sumerian uses to derive new vocabulary. Prefixed to verbal or nominal roots, it produces "abstract nouns". For example, lugal is "king"; nam-lugal is "kingship". til₃ is "to live"; nam-til₃ is "life".

.še₃ is the case marker of the terminative (or "directive") case. This case generally indicates "direction towards" or "action towards"; it does not have any one exact translation into English. It is usually written by the še₃-sign. Here, the meaning is approximately "for the sake of" or "on behalf of". This phrase means something like "for his life", that is, "so that the king will live a long time". Akkadian equivalent phrases are ana balāṭīšu and ana nīšīšu.

The exact phonetic value of this case marker is not sure. Since the dative case marker /ra/ > /r/ after a vowel, and the ablative case marker /ta/ > /t/ after a vowel, one might expect /še/ > /š/ after a vowel. However, such a reduction only occasionally happens. It is thus possible that this morpheme was pronounced /eše/ and not /še/. Conventional practice is to transliterate the sign as še₃, and this will be done here. It will be further discussed below.

The two signs transliterated here til₃-la can also be found transliterated ti-la. This is the same problem that was discussed in *Lesson Two* with transliterations of the type kalag-ga ~ kala-ga and Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma ~ Uri₅ᵏⁱ-ma. In this particular case, there is the added irritation that the one sign ⊳–⊲ is read til₃ (with index) and ti (with no index).

8. a...ru means "to dedicate (an object)". a...ru is a "compound verb", a formation which is common in Sumerian. A compound verb consists of two elements. The first element of the compound verb is usually a noun, in this case, a. The second element is a regular Sumerian verbal root, here ru. When used in a sentence, the nominal element comes first, then comes a regular verbal form with its complete prefix chain. In line 8, the nominal element a comes first, then comes the complete verbal form mu-na-ru.

In many instances, the first element is (historically, at least) the patient of the verbal root which forms the second element. For example, gu₃...de₂ means "to speak". de₂ means "to pour out" and gu₃ means "voice". Historically, then, this particular compound verb meant "to pour out the voice", that is, gu₃ was the patient of de₂. In such cases, the first or second element of the

compound verb may appear in other contexts as free morphemes, functioning like any other noun or verb; both gu$_3$ and de$_2$ are very common words.

In other instances, the first element of the compound verb is in one of the adverbial cases. For example, "to found" or "to establish" a temple or building is ki...g̃ar. g̃ar means "to place" and ki means "ground". Here, ki is in the locative case, ki.a. The historical meaning, then, was "to place (something) on the ground".

In some cases, the meaning of one or the other element of the compound verb is unknown or unclear. The most common meaning of a, for example, is "water", and the most common meaning of ru is apparently "to send". It is difficult to derive a meaning of "to dedicate (an object)" from "to send water"; perhaps there is a hint of some cultic or ritual activity. More likely, one or both elements of this compound verb had some other (now unknown) meaning. Whatever the (original) meaning, it is assumed here that a is the historic patient. It is thus marked by .Ø, the case marker for the absolutive case, and it is cross-referenced by the PA .Ø after the verbal root.

Synchronically, it is not easy to define the category of compound verbs. Certain verbs are almost always used with certain patients. Are these compound verbs or not? There is no obvious morphological definition of compound verbs. Compound verbs are basically identified on semantic criteria. If the meaning of the compound is more than the sum of its parts—that is, if it is loosely an idiom, translatable by a single English or Akkadian word—then it is labeled a compound. In the sign-lists and vocabularies, compound verbs are indicated by the use of three periods: a...ru.

Line 7 contains a noun phrase in the terminative, marked by .še$_3$. According to what was said earlier about the DPs, one might expect the case relationship which is marked by this .še$_3$ to be cross-referenced by a DP. The DP which cross-references the terminative case is /ši/, usually written ši; it follows the datival DP in the prefix chain. Therefore, one might have expected to find a form such as a mu-na-ši-(n)-ru. This verbal form thus illustrates the basic issue concerning the nature of the DPs. Case relationships can be found that are not cross-referenced by a DP, and conversely DPs can be found where no case relationship is present. This is true for all periods of Sumerian. This is more than just an orthographic problem. That is, it is not simply the case that the DP is "there" but not written. The .še$_3$ in expressions of the type nam.til$_3$.ani.še$_3$ is not visibly cross-referenced in any of the Ur III dedicatory inscriptions.

The presence or absence of DPs probably depends on semantic factors at the level of the sentence and at the level of the discourse, that is, beyond the level of one single sentence. Certain nominal phrases are less closely bound to the sentence or to the discourse than others. For example, nam.til$_3$.ani.še$_3$ is only loosely bound to the sentence. Perhaps such phrases (almost formulaic in character) did not need to be cross-referenced, while such important constituents as the benefactive phrase did need to be cross-referenced. Since the presence or absence of the DP (ši, in this instance) is not merely a question of orthography, it is not marked in the transcription.

Discussion: Structure

The structure of this text is:

[Ningal, nin.ani].(r)	benefactive
[Ur.Nammu, nitaḫ.kalag.a, lugal.Urim$_5$.a, lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e	agent
[nam.til$_3$.ani].še$_3$	purpose
[a].Ø mu.na.(n.)ru.Ø	verb

Except for the a component of the compound verb, there is no direct object (patient) in the text. The object dedicated, that is, the vessel, is not mentioned by name. This is typically the case in such inscriptions.

This is the first text in this *Manual* to use a noun phrase to express purpose. A variety of purpose phrases will be seen in the following texts.

— Paleography

This inscription was put onto a stone vessel, not a brick. This means that the signs could not simply be impressed by means of a reed stylus. Instead, a sharp instrument of some kind was used to actually inscribe the signs into the stone. Unfortunately, no photograph of the vessel is available, and the autograph cannot well capture the technique used by the ancient scribe.

— Abstracts and concretes

nam is regularly used in Sumerian to form abstract nouns. Its ultimate etymology is unknown. It forms a noun-noun compound with its noun, not a genitive phrase. It is the functional equivalent of Akkadian abstract nouns in -ūtu, such as šarrūtu, "kingship".

nig$_2$ is regularly used to form concrete nouns from verbal roots; this is discussed in *Lesson Twenty-One*.

The border between "abstract" nouns and "concrete" nouns is somewhat fuzzy, and the topic merits further study. For example, nam-til$_3$, as used in this and similar inscriptions, seems more concrete than abstract.

— Terminative

The basic shape of the case marker for the terminative is usually thought to be /še/, written by the še$_3$-sign. The reason it is difficult to determine its exact phonetic shape is because it appears in different forms even under identical conditions. For example, the writing šu-zu-uš ("hand-your-towards", that is, "towards your hand") seems to represent /šuzuš/, with the loss of the final vowel, conditioned by the presence of the /u/ vowel before the /š/: /šuzuše/ > /šuzuš/. However, the form giri$_3$-zu-še$_3$ ("towards your foot") shows no such loss. Such variation can occur in different lines within one text or in different copies of one Sumerian text. For example, line 72 of the Sumerian literary text *Schooldays* reads "towards my hand", šu.g̃u$_{10}$.še$_3$. In most copies of the text, this is written šu-g̃u$_{10}$-še$_3$. However, at least one copy has šu-g̃u$_{10}$-uš.

The problem is further complicated by the fact that the še₃-sign also has a reading eš₂, so that if the terminative case marker follows a word ending in /e/, the writing is ambiguous; it cannot be determined if a final /e/ is present or not.

It is possible that the writings in -še₃ should be understood as morphographemic, standing for /š/. The scribe wrote the fuller form of the morpheme, even though in certain phonetic environments it had been reduced in speech. That is, -še₃ is written conventionally for the terminative case marker, without regard for its precise phonetic shape. Other morphographemic writings occur in Sumerian; the writings e₂-a-ni and e₂-ni were discussed in *Lesson One*. On the other hand, Attinger (1993:253ff) has proposed that the only way to explain the range of meanings of .še₃ and its various writings is to posit the existence of *two* distinct cases: a "terminative" in /še/ and an "adverbiative" ("adverbiatif") in /eše/ (although the two may be ultimately related).

As stated above, the terminative case in the fixed expression nam-til₃-la-ni-še₃ is not cross-referenced in the verbal prefix chain in any of the Ur III royal inscriptions. Curiously enough, however, there are a few cases in royal inscriptions from earlier periods where the terminative case in such expressions *is* so cross-referenced by its DP. This is strange, because early texts are usually less explicit in such writings than later texts. Also, although this DP does not appear in the Ur III royal inscriptions, it does appear in the writing of contemporaneous Ur III administrative texts. Such a distribution indicates that to some degree factors such as genre and style were at work in determining the presence or absence of the DPs.

For anyone who has studied Akkadian, the Sumerian terminative in /še/ immediately calls to mind the Akkadian terminative/adverbial in /iš/. The latter has a wide range of meanings (studied by Werner Mayer 1995), and to some degree the Sumerian and Akkadian cases overlap in both form and function. It seems doubtful that the Akkadian terminative morpheme was borrowed from Sumerian. The Akkadian terminative has cognates in other Semitic languages, and also, perhaps, in Afro-Asiatic (Zaborski 1990:622). Moreover, there do not appear to be any clear cases where Akkadian has borrowed Sumerian grammatical morphemes. Similarly, it is also difficult to believe that Sumerian borrowed the morpheme from Akkadian. Although rare, it does show up in very early Sumerian texts.

It is not impossible that the two are independent developments. Perhaps chance formal similarity between the two morphemes caused the two to influence each other in meaning, pulling them closer together in meaning that they may have been at some earlier period. Given the fact that Sumerian and Akkadian were in close contact for over a millennium such reciprocal influence upon the grammar would not be surprising; this topic is explored in Pedersén (1989). However, the idea that the two morphemes, each containing /š/, were originally independent of each other does strain credulity.

— Compound verbs

Most compound verbs are of the type noun-verb, where the noun is (historically) the patient

of the verb. In some cases, the noun is in one of the adverbial cases. More complicated compound verbs also occur, such as noun-adjective-verb and noun-noun-verb. In the case of the latter, one noun is (historically) the patient, and the other is (historically) in an adverbial case. An example is "to pray", kiri₃...šu...ğal₂. Literally, this is "to place (ğal₂) the hand (šu) on the nose (kiri₃)". kiri₃ is in either the locative case (kiri.a) or locative-terminative case (kiri.e). A systematic listing of the different categories of compound verbs is given by W.H.Ph. Römer 1994:67-68.

As hinted at above, it is not sure whether the nouns forming the first element of the compound verb are to be regarded as patients in synchronic terms; they may no longer have been perceived as such. This problem is discussed in *Lesson Eleven*.

There is no obvious way to synchronically define compound verbs (some ideas are discussed in Zólyomi 1996:99-102). It is thus a legitimate question to ask whether such a class of words actually exists. If more were known about the etymology of each individual case, one might be less inclined to posit the existence of such verbs. However, it is also possible that compound verbs had some special intonation contour or stress which the writing system cannot reproduce. And, as stated above, it is possible that the nominal elements of compound verbs were no longer perceived as patients.

— Dedicatory inscriptions

Texts 1 and 2 were building inscriptions, the first subclass of royal inscriptions as distinguished by Hallo. Text 3 is a dedicatory inscription; these constitute his second subclass. Dedicatory inscriptions are found on objects which were donated and placed in a temple. These objects were of many different kinds. This particular inscription is found on a stone vessel. In this *Manual*, the following dedicatory objects occur: a stone headdress (Text 10), a vase (Text 11), beads (Texts 15a, 17a, and 18a), and a cylinder seal of limestone (Text 21). All of these dedicatory objects, and several other types, are discussed in detail by Eva Andrea Braun-Holzinger 1991.

The purpose of these dedicatory objects with their inscriptions was to convey a hope from the donor for the long life of the king. In some cases, such as in Text 3, the donor was the king himself. In other cases the donor was a private individual; Text 10 records the donation of a stone headdress by an official of the king. The dedicatory objects were not always utilitarian, as the term is usually understood; that is, the vessel on which Text 3 was inscribed was not used as a routine daily eating utensil. It is made of stone. Stone, wood, and minerals are all quite scarce in Sumer, and so such a vessel would have been considered as something special. Perhaps it was used for ceremonial food offerings. Similarly, the dedicatory cylinder seal of Text 21 was probably not used as a daily, routine, cylinder seal.

The object that this text was inscribed upon has been variously called a "dish", "vessel", "plate", "Schüssel", and "Platte". No drawing or photograph has ever been published. It is in the Baghdad Museum and is not currently accessible. The stone it is made of is described as "oolite", which is a kind of limestone. The vessel was found in the *giparu*, the residence of the

High Priestess of Nanna in the temple complex at Ur. This structure is discussed in *Lesson Sixteen*.

In the past, these inscriptions were usually called "votive inscriptions" and the object itself a "votive object". This is the terminology used, *inter alios*, by Hallo. However, the use of the term "votive" to describe such objects and inscriptions was criticized by A. Grayson:

> The etymology of the word "votive" implies a vow and, since no vow is involved in the ancient Mesopotamian texts under discussion, the term is incorrect. They are certainly not "votive" or "ex-voto" inscriptions in the ancient Roman sense where a vow preceded the dedication (1980:157 n.80).

Grayson preferred the term "dedicatory inscription", and this has now become the more common usage.

Objects were also dedicated to the temple by private individuals, that is, individuals other than the king or his family and officials. It is quite possible that such gifts were given following recovery from a serious illness or some similar crisis. Many different kinds of gifts could be given; such objects are mentioned in tablets recording gifts to the temple. Presumably the majority of them did not bear any inscription. Van De Mieroop discusses a number of these gifts from the Isin-Larsa period (1989). Gelb (1972) has an interesting discussion of slaves and other individuals "donated" to the temple, where they performed all kinds of labor. Gelb says

> The masses of the temple labor force consist of individuals without families, without a male provider, or visible means of economic support. These are: widows, orphans, old people, especially old women, sterile and childless women, cripples, especially blind and deaf persons, beggars and vagabonds, prostitutes, bastards, foundlings, and the ex-voto (*arua*) personnel (1972:10).

Daniel Snell, in his book *Life in the Ancient Near East*, comments:

> Women and children were "dedicated" by relatives who could no longer support them or by themselves, and they were employed especially in weaving and processing wool. Because we have several detailed records of such persons, we know that they usually did not live long after they had been dedicated, probably owing to the wretched conditions in which they lived and worked (1997:35).

Text 3a
supplementary

The supplementary texts are meant for practice and review. They contain no new grammar and a minimum of new vocabulary.

Ur-Nammu 11
Brick
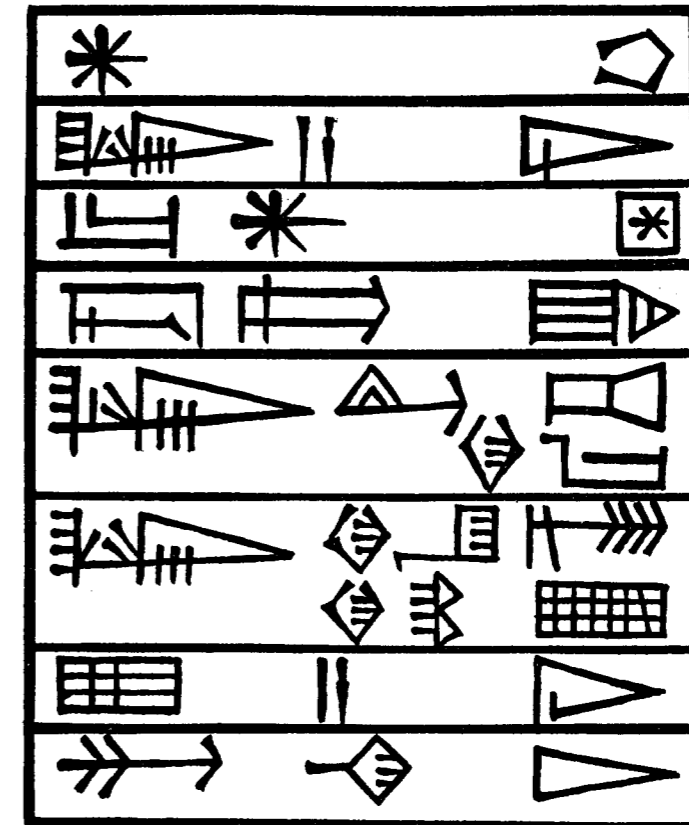
Sign-list and vocabulary

Utu Utu (DN, masc)

Utu This was the son of Nanna, and older brother of Inanna. He was primarily the god of the sun. His name in fact means "the [visible] sun", and his cuneiform sign is probably a picture of the sun rising over a hillock, or conceivably riding across the sky in a boat. He was also connected with truth, justice, and law-giving. He was equated with the Akkadian god Shamash, who is depicted on the top of the stela of Hammurapi handing over to Hammurapi the law code written on the stela.

⊨ **Lesson Four** ⊨

This text is another building inscription. It was inscribed on a clay cone.

Sign-list and vocabulary

En-lil₂ — $En\text{-}lil_2$ Enlil (DN, masc)
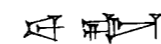
En-erin₂-nun — $En\text{-}erin_2\text{-}nun$ Enerinnun (CN)

id₂ — id_2 (i_7) river, canal

kur — kur mountain; highland; foreign land

lil₂ — lil_2 air, wind

nidba — nidba food offering

ba-al — ba-al to excavate, dig, dredge

ka — ka (syllabic)

ra — ra (syllabic)

En-lil₂ Enlil was the most important god of the Sumerian pantheon. He functioned as the active leader of the Sumerian gods, having apparently displaced the sky-god An from this rôle. Enlil was responsible for the orderly running of the universe, although he had a destructive side as well. He was worshipped at many places, but his special sanctuary was the E_2-kur in Nippur (*Lesson Seven* and *Lesson Twelve*). He was the father of Nanna.

The traditional etymology of his name is that it is a noun-noun compound meaning "Lord air" or "Lord wind" (the word en is discussed in *Lesson Eight*).

En-erin₂-nun En is "lord", $erin_2$ is "army", and nun is "noble, prince". The name of the canal may thus mean "Lord of the noble army", or perhaps more loosely "Supplier for the noble army". The CN is presumably a genitive phrase, although no genitive marker is visible. Its location is discussed below.

id₂ This can mean both "river" and "canal", as can the Akkadian equivalent nāru. Its sign is composed of two elements: , which by itself represents a "water", and , which by itself represents both engur "watery deep, sweet-waters" and Nammu, the goddess. The id_2-sign thus

graphically represents "water coming from the sweet-waters". The word for "rain" was šeg₃, written by the a-sign followed by the an-sign: 𒀀 𒀭 .

Some now read the word for "water" as e₄ or e₅ instead of a.

kur The original meaning of this word was probably "mountain". The kur-sign, in fact, is thought to be the picture of three mountain tops. The word then came to mean "foreign land". It can sometimes mean "land" in a more general sense. Edzard notes that "kur is no easy word. It can mean any territory in the surroundings of the southern Mesopotamian homeland, whatever is not quite flat" (1987:14). It is also the common name for the underworld. Its Akkadian equivalent as "mountain" is šadû.

lil₂ This has such meanings as "air" and "wind". Jean Bottéro says "We have to understand with this term something like the atmosphere, the space that separates heaven from earth" (1992:233 n.3).

At the time of Ur-Nammu, the lil₂-sign and the ke₄-sign were essentially the same, although they started out as different signs. Jacobsen 1989 offers a magisterial discussion of the evolution of these signs (criticized by Piotr Steinkeller 1995:700), as well as a discussion of the meanings of lil₂.

The English word "lilith", meaning a female demon, ultimately derives from this Sumerian word.

nidba This is a general word for "offerings". It was borrowed into Akkadian as nindabû; the forms nindabbu, nigdabbu, nidabû, nidbû, and nidpû also occur. The *CAD* translates it as "cereal offering, food offering, provisions". The writing and etymology are discussed below. It is also transliterated nindaba.

ba-al This is translated by the *PSD* as "1. 'to dig up', 'to dig out', 'to mine' 2. 'to dig (a hole)', 'to excavate' 3. 'to dig up (a grave)' 4. 'to unload (a boat)'". It can be used for digging a canal *de novo*, but it is also commonly used to describe the restoration of a canal, that is, putting it back into full service by dredging it of accumulated silt and such like; compare the similar ambiguity in meaning of du₃ discussed at *Lesson One*. The Akkadian equivalent, ḫerû, can also mean both "to dig" and "to redig".

The word is almost always written ba-al, with two signs. There are a few instances where it is spelled bal or ba-la. It is not sure what the writing ba-al implies about Sumerian phonetics. The vowel /a/ may have been long, or there may have been a glottal stop or a glide between the two /a/-quality vowels. Because of this unusual writing, it has even been speculated that the word is a borrowing from an as-yet unidentified language (Burkhart Kienast 1981a:111). For convenience sake, it will be transcribed here as ba-al.

Text 4

Ur-Nammu 23
Cone

	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	^{d}En-lil$_2$	[Enlil	For Enlil,
2:	lugal-kur-kur-ra	lugal.kur.kur.a	king of all the lands,
3:	lugal-a-ni	lugal.ani].r	his king —
4:	Ur-^{d}Nammu	[Ur.Nammu	Ur-Nammu,
5:	lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma	lugal.Urim$_5$.a	the king of Ur,
6:	lugal-Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri-ke$_4$	lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e	the king of Sumer and Akkad —
7:	e$_2$-a-ni	[e$_2$.ani].Ø	his temple —
8:	mu-na-du$_3$	mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø	built.
9:	id$_2$ En-erin$_2$-nun	[id$_2$ Enerinnun	The Enerinnun canal,
10:	id$_2$-nidba-ka-ni	id$_2$.nidba.k.ani].Ø	his canal of food offering —
11:	mu-na-ba-al	mu.na.(n.)ba-al.Ø	he dredged for him.

Commentary

2. Sumerian has a singular and a plural, but no dual. The plural of animate nouns is formed by a suffixed .ene. For example, "gods" is dig̃ir.ene, usually written dig̃ir-re-ne (this occurs in the next *Lesson*). The plural of inanimate nouns is usually said to be formed by reduplication of the noun: kur "land" and kur-kur "lands". However, it is more likely that inanimate plurals are actually unmarked; kur can mean "land" or "lands" according to context. Reduplicated forms such as kur-kur convey a sense of totality: "*all* the lands". Here kur-kur is the second element of a genitive phrase: [lugal].[kur.kur].a(k), thus "king of all the lands". Enlil, in fact, is often called lugal-kur-kur-ra.

9. The name of the canal forms an appositive to id$_2$. Specifying the name of something by means of apposition is very common.

10. This is a second appositive. The suffix .ani refers to the entire genitive phrase: "his [canal of food offering]". If one wished to say "the canal of [his food offering]", with "his" referring specifically to "food offering", this would be expressed as id$_2$.[nidba.ani].a(k). When the third-person possessive suffix is followed by the genitive marker, /ani.a(k)/ becomes /ana(k)/, so such a phrase would normally be written id$_2$-nidba-na.

The meaning of the phrase is something like "his canal which helps produce food".

11. The logical antecedent of the dative DP .na is the benefactive phrase in lines 1-3. Similarly, the PA .n cross-references the agent phrase in lines 4-6. This is thus another example of pronominalization, studied in *Lesson One*.

Discussion: Structure

The structure of this text is:

[Enlil, lugal.kur.kur.a, lugal.ani].(r)   benefactive

[Ur.Nammu, lugal.Urim$_5$.a, lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e	agent
[e$_2$.ani].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø	verb
[id$_2$ Enerinnun, id$_2$.nidba.k.ani].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)ba-al.Ø	verb

— Writing system

The pronunciation of the word for "food offering" as /nidba/ is given by various lexical lists, where it is spelled out syllabically as ni-id-ba. It derives from ninda "bread, food" and ba "to divide, to apportion". The pronunciation as /nidba/ shows a phonetic reduction of */nindaba/ > /nidba/. The various spellings in Akkadian mentioned above reflect both older and later Sumerian pronunciations.

It is written by the pad-sign followed by the dig̃ir-sign followed by the Inanna-sign. There does not appear to be any way to phonetically relate the word /nindaba/ or /nidba/ to the individual signs forming this word. Rather, the reading /nidba/ derives from the "sum" of the three signs. Without the evidence of lexical lists, in fact, there would probably be no way to figure out that this group of three signs was to be read as /nindaba/ or /nidba/. The pad-sign has several different readings, and in Akkadian stands for several different words: kusāpu "a kind of bread" (probably of Semitic etymology); kurummatu "food portion" (a Sumerian word), and so on. The significance of the Inanna-sign (if that is how it is to be understood here) is uncertain.

The term "compound logogram" is used for a single word graphically composed of several individual logograms, such as nidba, whose value is more than the sum of the individual parts and whose reading cannot be derived from the individual signs. When the reading of such logograms is unsure, a common practice is to add in parentheses the reading of the component parts. Thus, this word is occasionally transliterated as nidba (PAD-^{d}INANNA), or any of several variants, such as nidba (ŠUKUR$_2$-^{d}INANNA), since it is not clear what all the components of this particular logogram are.

Many compound logograms are known. The ancient Mesopotamian scholars themselves produced long lists of such. The lexical series *Diri* (discussed in *Appendix Two*) is a listing of compound logograms; for that reason, they are sometimes called "diri-compounds".

It is hard to say how such writings came into use. In the case of this particular word, for example, why not simply write ninda-ba? In fact, a few instances of this spelling do occur. It is possible that the original significance of the writing was something like "bread offering for Inanna". It is in fact not impossible that a word different from nidba is concealed in the spelling, a word which fell out of use and was replaced by the word nidba.

— Proper names

In the bilingual texts from Ebla, the equivalent of En-lil$_2$ is given as I-li-lu. This agrees with later Akkadian pronunciations of the name, which also show an assimilation of /enlil/ > /illil/;

some scholars, in fact, transliterate the two signs En-lil$_2$ together as Ellil.

— id$_2$

The word id$_2$ probably survives in the name of the city of Hit, on the Euphrates. Hit has always been a source of crude bitumen, which bubbles up from sources underground. The Akkadian word for bitumen, ittû, may derive from the name of the city.

The Sumerian name for the Tigris was Idigna, written ⌗⌗⌗ (the dalla sign). This is probably a pre-Sumerian word. The /id/ sequence of /idigna/ is either an accidental resemblance to the Sumerian /id/ for "river", or the Sumerian word is some kind of Sumerian folk etymology. But it has also been suggested that the word is actually Sumerian, ultimately deriving from id$_2$ "river" and ğin "to go"; the name might have meant "the (swiftly) flowing river". Another suggestion is that it derives from id$_2$-dagala, "wide river", from dagal "to be wide". In any case, it is very hard to say why it is written the way it is.

The name for the Euphrates was Buranun, again presumably a substrate word. It is written ⌗ ⌗⌗ ⌗⌗⌗ , ud-kib-nun. ud-kib-nun represents Zimbir, the city of Sippar. The writing thus represents "the river associated with the city of Sippar" (similar spellings are discussed in *Lesson Twelve*). The name thus shows that the Euphrates at one time passed through or close by the city of Sippar, which it no longer does. Saggs comments that "Every ancient city of south Mesopotamia originally lay on a major channel or stream of the Euphrates, which has since shifted" (1995:8). The reason the Euphrates was associated with the city of Sippar in particular was due to its position high up the Euphrates; to quote Saggs again, "It was the first city that immigrants coming down the Euphrates would encounter" (1995:131).

Buranun appears in Arabic as Furāt. This proper name then became an adjective used for sweet-waters (as opposed to salt-waters) in general; it is so used, for example, in the Qur'ān.

It has sometimes been suggested that the Hebrew word 'ed, which appears in Genesis 2:6 and means perhaps something like a flow of water from under the ground, is a direct loan from Sumerian id$_2$. It is doubtful if there was any direct contact between Sumerian and (Proto)-Hebrew, however. Hebrew ed may derive from Akkadian edû, glossed by the *CAD* as "on-rush of water, high water". *CAD* says that "The phenomenon referred to by edû...is a rare and catastrophic event...as against mīlu, the annual high water". This Akkadian word itself probably derives from Sumerian a-de$_2$-a, a participial form meaning "water (a) which has gushed forth (de$_2$)". This is all discussed by David Tsumura (1989:93f and 1994).

— Cones

The building inscriptions seen up to this point have all been inscribed on bricks. Text 4, on the other hand, was inscribed on what is commonly known as a clay "cone". Clay cones were used throughout Mesopotamian history; their form and function varied to some degree from period to period. A detailed description is that of Grayson, describing the cones of the Neo-Assyrian period. The clay cone

is an oblong conical object of clay. It is tapered almost to a point at one end and

at the other there is a large semi-spherical head. The same inscription usually appears on both the shaft and head. The shaft was commonly inserted in the upper portions of walls with the head, which was painted a bright colour, protruding (1980:145 n.25).

In this view, the clay cone would have been at least partially visible to on-lookers. Other scholars think that the protruding end would have been plastered over, covering up the inscription (at least, in the Ur III period).

Woolley found such cones *in situ*, forming part of the terrace of the ziggurat of Ur-Nammu:

Such cones were familiar enough as objects on museum shelves, but now for the first time we saw them in position just as the builders had set them four thousand years before...One felt a quite unscientific thrill at seeing those ordered rows of cream-coloured knobs which even the people of Ur had not seen when once the terrace wall was finished and plastered (1982:140).

The point of such cones, again quoting Woolley, was not to "parade [the ruler's] achievements before his fellow-men, but to keep the record of his piety fresh in the mind of the god, who presumably can see through a brick wall" (1982:228).

The latest such cones found in Ur date from the Neo-Assyrian period. Curiously, they were not in the wall, but were buried below the floor. Clay cones were often inscribed in duplicate; at least eight copies of Text 4 are known. They come in all different sizes.

Occasionally a differentiation is made between clay "nails" and clay "cones". Gelb says that nails "are easily recognized by their mushroom shape, with broad, thick heads and short shafts...Cones are characterized by a total or almost total lack of the head" (1948:267). Different places and periods seem to prefer one or the other; it is also possible they had slightly different functions. Publications do not always differentiate between the two, and "cone" is often used as a cover term for both cones and nails. Gelb adds "The function of such nails and cones is much the same as that of tablets commemorating the erection of public structures in modern times" (1948:268).

The Sumerian term for both cone and nail was kak. The Akkadian equivalent is sikkatu, whose meanings include "1. peg, nail (of wood or metal), 2. (part of a lock), 3. foundation cone, wall cone, 4. pyramid, pinnacle, 5. plowshare, 6. (a pock or pimple, also a disease)".

The following is a photograph of a typical cone, bearing an inscription of Gudea:
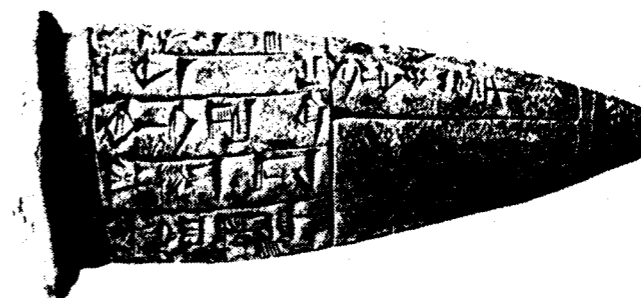
— History

It was mentioned in *Lesson One* that occasionally building inscriptions describe more than one activity. In the case of building inscriptions inscribed on clay cones, it is less common for more than one activity to be mentioned. In this particular case, the Enerinnun canal may have brought the waters which irrigated the fields of the temple being rebuilt. However, it is not clear where this canal was located. Text 4 was found at Diqdiqah, a large mound (only partially excavated) some mile and a half from the ziggurat of Ur, so Jacobsen thought that the Enlil temple mentioned in the text was at Diqdiqah, and the canal would have watered the fields belonging to the temple. Jacobsen mentions that "A number of inscriptions of Ur III and Isin-Larsa date were picked up on the site [of Diqdiqah] and brought to Ur when work there was in progress" (1970 [1960] 236). Several copies of Text 4, in fact, were found at Diqdiqah. Another copy of the inscription is said to come from Eridu, some 35 km south of Ur. Karl Oberhuber (1956) wondered if the two inscriptions marked the end-points of some kind of canal stretching all the way from Ur to Eridu. However, in 1987 another fragment was published which was found during excavations at Uruk (Joachim Marzahn 1987:33-34), making the location of the canal problematic. This is further discussed by François Carroué (1993:15-17), who wonders if the spelling En-erin₂-nun conceals a different pronunciation, and if this canal is to be identified with another canal, reasonably well-attested, spelled I-tu-ru-un-gal (and other ways). This identification of the two canals is accepted by Frayne (1997:17-18).

All five Ur III kings were actively involved with maintaining and repairing the canals and drainage systems of Mesopotamia, by dredging and reconstruction. Throughout Mesopotamian history kings boasted of their maintenance of the canal system. Canals were important not only for agriculture, but also for the transportation of supplies and troops. Daniel Potts says "These major waterways, along with many more minor canals, formed a network of links which were generally of far greater importance than the land routes between cities...The canals and rivers of the south were the highways of antiquity" (1997:20). The names of many canals in use during the Ur III period are known; most of these names are Sumerian. Ur-Nammu built and repaired a number of these canals. Kramer says he "was especially interested in irrigation and drainage projects essential to the fertility and productivity of his land" (1991:193).

It is usually assumed that much damage had been done to these systems by the Guti, who were partially responsible for bringing about the fall of the Dynasty of Akkad. The Guti (or Quti) certainly had a bad press in Mesopotamia. In *The Curse of Agade*, a Sumerian poem describing the collapse of the Dynasty of Akkad, the Guti are described as "people who know no inhibitions, with human instinct but canine intelligence and monkeys' features—Enlil brought them out of the mountains" (translation by Jerrold Cooper 1983a:31). Some recent studies, however, hold that the Guti did not do as much damage as was previously thought, nor did they hold that much control over Mesopotamia. Inscriptions such as Text 4 refer more likely to routine maintenance and expansion of the canals. Various kinds of administrative texts also refer to such activity.

Text 4a
## supplementary

Ur-Nammu 9
Brick
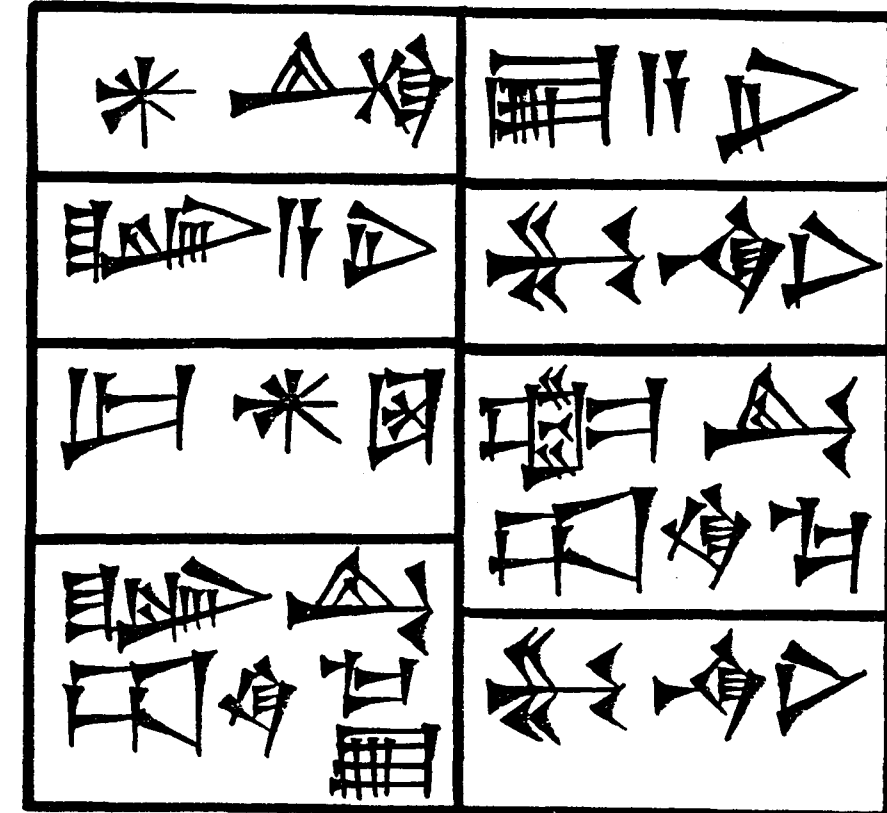
This inscription is another copy of Text 1. Both Text 1 and Text 4a were inscribed on bricks by brick stamps. The signs in Text 4a are much more wedge-shaped than those of Text 1 and look more like what we are accustomed to thinking of as cuneiform.

The two copies of the inscription differ at lines 4 and 7. In Text 4a the two signs forming the Urim₅-sign are split across the two lines of each case.

ꖌ Lesson Five ꖌ

This is another brick bearing an inscription of Ur-Nammu.
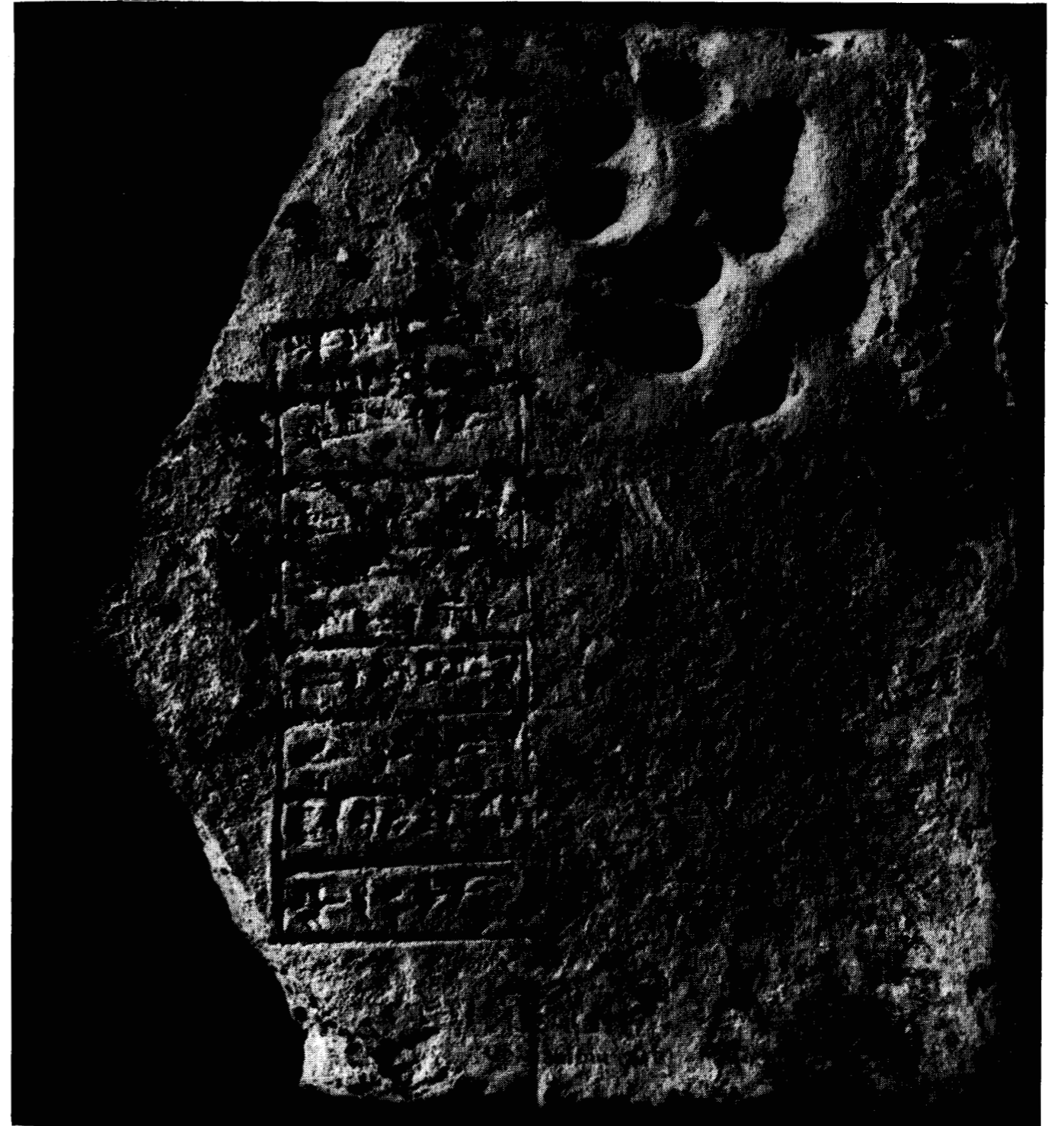
This photograph shows just how difficult it is to work from photographs. The photograph itself is of high quality, capturing both the brick and its inscription. But because of abrasion to the brick, it is very hard to read the inscription from the photograph. The autograph does not closely reflect the damage done to the brick. Nor does the autograph show what appear to be dogs' paw marks at the top right! In fact, reading the text from the actual brick itself would not be too easy.

Sign-list and vocabulary

⌐ Determinative preceding objects of wood. Transliterated by a superscript ĝiš.

✳ An An (DN, masc)

✳ an sky; heaven

✳ barag (bara₂) dais

✳ diĝir god

✳ ki place, earth

✳ kiri₆ garden

✳ gub to stand; to make stand, to plant

✳ maḫ to be splendid, magnificent

✳ sikil to be clean, pure

✳ ne (syllabic)

✳ re (syllabic)

ĝiš In addition to its use as a determinative, ĝiš means "tree; wood; object made of wood". The Akkadian equivalent, iṣu, is glossed by the *CAD* as "1. tree, 2. timber, lumber, wood, wooden implements, aromatic wood, firewood, 3. wooded area". It is sometimes transliterated ĝeš (and, in older works, ĝeš₃) and sometimes ĝiz or ĝez.

An He was the god of the sky. At one time he may have been the active leader of the Sumerian gods, but at some point prior to our written records he was displaced in this rôle by Enlil. Scholars sometimes refer to him as "shadowy" or as a kind of *deus otiosus*.

His name means "sky". Both "sky" and his name are written with the ✳ sign, the same sign used for diĝir, "god". His name is almost always written without the determinative for DNs, to avoid a sequence of two identical signs.

an This ranges from "sky" to "heaven"; the Akkadian equivalent is šamû. Such words are discussed by Wayne Horowitz in his *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (1998). Horowitz notes that "Akkadian texts from the end of the second millennium onward divide the region of heaven above the sky into two parts. Anu, the king of heaven, dwells in the higher of the two, which is often called 'The Heaven of Anu'" (1998:xiii).

barag The *PSD* translates this as "dais". It was borrowed into Akkadian as parakku, which is translated by *AHw* as "Kultsockel, Heiligtum". The brick on which Text 5 was inscribed apparently formed part of the barag of the temple.

diĝir This is the most general word for "god" and "goddess"; its Akkadian equivalent is ilu.

Very soon after the discovery of Sumerian, its agglutinative nature became evident; as early as 1855, Rawlinson pointed out that Sumerian was structurally akin to Turkish. Rawlinson himself did not argue for any genetic affiliation between Sumerian and Turkish, but attempts were made by other scholars to link Sumerian genetically with other such agglutinative languages. Several scholars sought to find lexical correspondences between Sumerian and Turkish. Most of these were ill-conceived, but the fact that the (pre-Islamic) word for "god" in Turkish (probably a sun-god) was pronounced something like /taŋrɪ/ does give one pause. Landsberger speculated, however, that diĝir might be a substrate borrowing into Sumerian, and not a result of some supposed Sumerian-Turkish genetic relationship (1974 [1943] 7). These etymological questions are discussed by Oberhuber (1991:14-17), who discusses seemingly related words in other language families.

ki This word has several meanings. It can mean "earth" (Akkadian erṣetu), "land" (mātu), or "place" (ašru and šubtu, the latter from wašābu). It is not known what the cuneiform sign is a picture of. The pair an-ki (and the Akkadian equivalent šamû u erṣetu) is often used by metonymy to mean "the entire universe".

kiri₆ It is hard to say what this precisely means. It was borrowed into Akkadian as kirû, glossed by the *CAD* as "garden, orchard, palm grove".

This word almost always appears with the ĝiš-determinative, thus ĝiškiri₆. It has been suggested that the ĝiš-component here is not a determinative, but rather a logographic sign, and so these two signs are sometimes transliterated ĝiš-kiri₆. A third proposal is that the kiri₆-sign *includes* what here is called a determinative; that is, the one sign kiri₆ is composed of two elements: ⌐ and ✳ together, and so there is no determinative. There are other cases in Sumerian where it is difficult to determine if a particular sign is a determinative or a logogram.

In older works it is frequently transliterated with an initial /g/, giri₁₁ and giri₁₂.

gub As will be discussed in later *Lesson*s, the Sumerian verbal root is basically unmarked for such categories as transitivity and causativity. The root gub, for example, can be used intransitively, "to stand", or transitively/causatively, "to make stand", "to plant". Its (intransitive) Akkadian equivalent is the irregular verb uzuzzu. The transitive/causative equivalent is the Š-stem of uzuzzu, or occasionally the verb šakānu.

Its sign was originally the picture of a foot and lower leg. It thus stands for several verbs: gub "to stand", ĝin/du "to go", de₆/tum "to bring", and so on.

maḫ The most common Akkadian equivalent of its use as an adjective is ṣīru, glossed by the *CAD* as "first-rank (in importance, quality), outstanding (in size), august, excellent (used only as a poetic term)".

sikil The usual Akkadian equivalent of the adjective from this root is ellu, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. clean, pure, 2. holy, sacred, 3. free, noble".

Text 5

Ur-Nammu 5
Brick
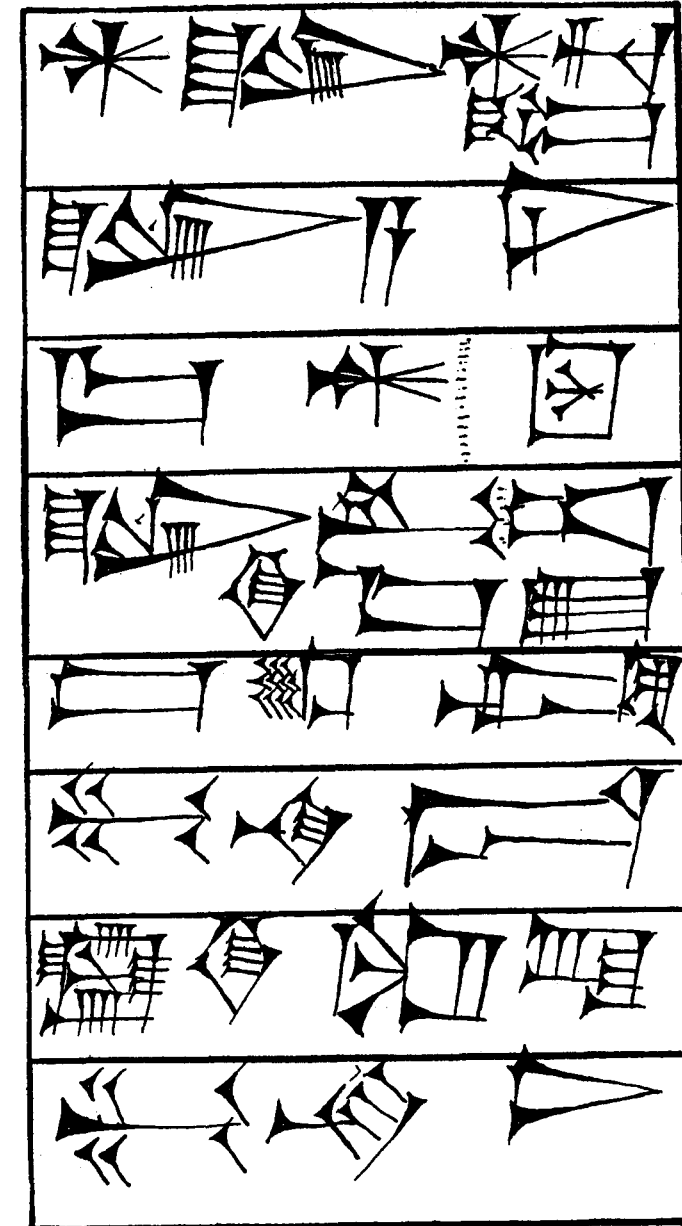
	Transliteration	**Transcription**	**Translation**
1:	An lugal-dig̃ir-re-ne	[An lugal.dig̃ir.ene	For An, the king of the gods,
2:	lugal-a-ni	lugal.ani].(r)	his king —
3:	Ur-^{d}Nammu	[Ur.Nammu	Ur-Nammu,
4:	lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma-ke$_4$	lugal.Urim$_5$.ak].e	the king of Ur —
5:	$^{gi\check{s}}$kiri$_6$-mah̬	[kiri$_6$.mah̬.Ø].Ø	a magnificent garden —
6:	mu-na-gub	mu.na.(n.)gub.Ø	planted.
7:	barag ki-sikil-la	[barag].Ø [ki.sikil.Ø].a	A dais — in a pure place —
8:	mu-na-du$_3$	mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø	he built for him.

Commentary

1. As was mentioned above, the 𐎕 sign can be confusing in context. It can represent the deteminative before DNs, the god An, the word dig̃ir "god", or the word an "sky".

As mentioned in the previous *Lesson*, the plural of animate nouns is formed by a suffixed .ene. Thus, "god" is dig̃ir and "gods" is dig̃ir.ene. This is normally written dig̃ir-re-ne, as it is here; the final /r/ of dig̃ir is continued by the re-sign.

"King of the gods" is a genitive phrase. Since lugal.dig̃ir.ene ends in a vowel, the genitive marker is /k/, not /ak/: lugal.dig̃ir.ene.k. And since the /k/ is amissable, it does not appear in word-final position. There is thus no visible marker for the genitive.

5. mah̬ is an adjective from a verbal root. As discussed in *Lesson Two*, some of what can be translated into English as adjectives end in the nominalizer .a, for example, kalag-ga = kalag.a = /kalaga/. Other adjectives do not. These latter can be understood as ending in .Ø. mah̬ is one of these, thus it is represented here by mah̬.Ø. Certain adjectives sometimes appear in .a and sometimes in .Ø, but with no apparent difference in meaning.

The forms in .a are often interpreted as "passive participles" from a verbal root and those in .Ø as "active participles" from a verbal root. For example, the adjective mah̬ is usually described as an active participle in .Ø, mah̬.Ø. While the use of these English terms is somewhat misleading (it is hard to see how kalag.a could be called a "passive participle"), they are handy morphological labels.

Although etymologically $^{gi\check{s}}$kiri$_6$-mah̬ is composed of two words, it may have been "felt" as one word. It was borrowed into Akkadian as kirimah̬u, glossed by the *CAD* as "pleasure garden".

7. sikil is another adjective, an active participle in .Ø.

.a is the marker of the locative case. This case is used to express location, either spatial ("in that place") or temporal ("on that day"). It can usually be translated by "in" or "on".

The basic form of this case marker is /a/. Following a vowel, it usually does not contract. "In the earth", for example, is almost always written ki-a. After a consonant, it is normally written by a sign continuing the final consonant of the previous word. Thus, sikil.a is written sikil-la.

8. The DP which cross-references the locative is .ni. In a sequence of DPs, it always occurs last. In this line, one might have expected to find mu-na-ni-(n)-du$_3$, but the DP does not appear. In fact, in the Ur III royal inscriptions the locative .a is usually not cross-referenced. This is more than just an orthographic problem. In *Lesson Three* there was an instance where the DP for the terminative was not expressed. There, it was said that it may have been because of the idiomatic nature of the phrase. However, such an explanation hardly fits the numerous cases where the locative case is not cross-referenced. Perhaps locative phrases in general were felt as less closely bound to the verbal phrase than were the other adverbial cases. It is therefore not indicated in the transcription.

Discussion: Structure

The structure of this text is:

[An, lugal.dig̃ir.ene, lugal.ani].(r)	benefactive
[Ur.Nammu, lugal.Urim$_5$.ak].e	agent
[kiri$_6$.mah̬.Ø].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)gub.Ø	verb
[barag].Ø	patient
[ki.sikil.Ø].a	place
mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø	verb

— Amissability

It may be useful here to review how the amissable consonants are reflected in the writing system. In the case of grammatical morphemes (which are normally written syllabically), such as the genitive .ak, the amissable /k/ does not show up in word-final position: "King of Ur" is written lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma, presumably representing /lugalurima/. When not in word-final position, it does show up. The same expression with an ergative case marker is written lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma-ke$_4$, representing /lugalurimake/.

In the case of lexical morphemes (which are normally written logographically), it cannot be determined from the writing system alone whether the Auslaut was pronounced or not. That is, just by looking at the sign, there is no way to tell whether, for example, 𒁈 was actually read as /barag/ or /bara/. Since in Text 5 the /g/ of barag is word-final, some scholars would transliterate it here as bara$_2$.

— Loan words

In a number of early loan words from Sumerian into Akkadian, final voiced stops appear as unvoiced (and usually as geminated): išib ("kind of priest") > išippu; agrig ("an official") > abarakku. Word-initial voiced stops also usually appear as unvoiced in Akkadian: barag > parakku.

As was discussed under *Phonology*, one explanation for this is that in Sumerian the series

of consonants which are traditionally transliterated as the voiceless stops p t̲ k̲ are to be understood as voiceless aspirates /pʰ tʰ kʰ/, and the series traditionally transliterated as the voiced stops b̲ d̲ g are to be understood as voiceless nonaspirates /p t k/.

— Locative

Locative phrases such as "in the earth", ki.a, are almost always written k̲i̲-a̲. That is, the /a/ of the locative case marker almost always appears in the writing. It is possible that the /a/ of the locative case marker actually does assimilate into or contract into a preceding vowel, but the writing system is morphographemic, and writes the /a/ anyway.

The locative case marker does not usually appear when its noun is an element of a compound verb (k̲i̲r̲i̲₃...š̲u̲...ĝal₂, "to place the hand on the nose", that is, "to pray", was mentioned in *Lesson Three*). It is possible that this is more than a case of assimilation or contraction. As discussed in *Lesson Three*, it is not sure how "present" case markers were in the case of compound verbs, in a synchronic sense; they may have been deleted or somehow reinterpreted.

Although in the Ur III royal inscriptions the locative case is usually not cross-referenced by a DP, in the contemporaneous Ur III administrative documents it quite frequently *is* so cross-referenced. As was mentioned in *Lesson Three*, this means that it is necessary to take such factors as genre and style into account when describing and explaining the distribution of the DPs.

— Adjectives

In Text 2 the adjective k̲a̲l̲a̲g̲-g̲a̲ occurred; in Text 5 the adjectives m̲a̲ẖ̲ and s̲i̲k̲i̲l̲ occur. As discussed above, some adjectives regularly end in .a, others regularly end in .Ø. Some adjectives are found sometimes in .a, other times in .Ø. This situation is not well understood. Krecher (1978) tried to show that, at least in certain cases, the forms in .a mark a nominal phrase as "definite" or "determined" in some way; those in .Ø are the unmarked forms. Jacobsen (1988b: 217 n.64) disagreed, pointing out that (at least in the Ur III literary texts) there are clear cases of .a occurring with indefinite forms, and also stressing the unlikeliness of a language marking definiteness in the adjective but not in the noun. Krecher then produced a more nuanced presentation, stating "The suffix -/a/ following a verbal or an adjectival base is indicating that the notion contained in this word-base and its syntactical complements is referring to certain events or to circumstances given in the present area of view" (1993:82). However, such a definition of "definite" is too vague to be heuristically useful.

The difficulty in investigating this problem (and other problems in Sumerian grammar) is that it is not easy to find sentences which share similar structures but which differ only in the presence or absence of .a on an adjective. There are usually too many other variables involved.

As discussed in *Lesson Two*, the standard view is that Sumerian has no class of adjectival roots; rather, adjectives all derive from verbal roots. This is shown by the fact that almost all "adjectival roots" also occur in conjugated verb forms. Attinger, however (1993:148-149), has argued that certain adjectives are in fact primary, not derived from verbal roots. There are only

a few of these, but they include such common adjectives as g̲a̲l̲ "great", t̲u̲r̲ "small", and m̲a̲ẖ̲ "magnificent". Krecher (1993:87 n.20) notes a few others which seem never to occur as conjugated verbs, including z̲i̲d̲, "effective, true" and e̲r̲i̲m̲₂, "bad". It is hard to say how much of this is an accident of discovery; the entire matter merits further investigation.

— History

One would like to know more about this "magnificent garden". Writing about Neo-Assyrian times, Wolfram von Soden says

> In Assyria, from the time of Tiglath-Pileser I, the kings laid out great parks with many kinds of fruit- and timber-bearing trees, as well as olive trees in later times. These parks were described in the inscriptions, with numerous specific references regarding the trees. They were often even used as zoos, and many types of imported trees were planted there. In some cases these parks (Ass. k̲i̲r̲i̲m̲a̲ẖ̲ẖ̲u̲) had earlier been forests (1994:103).
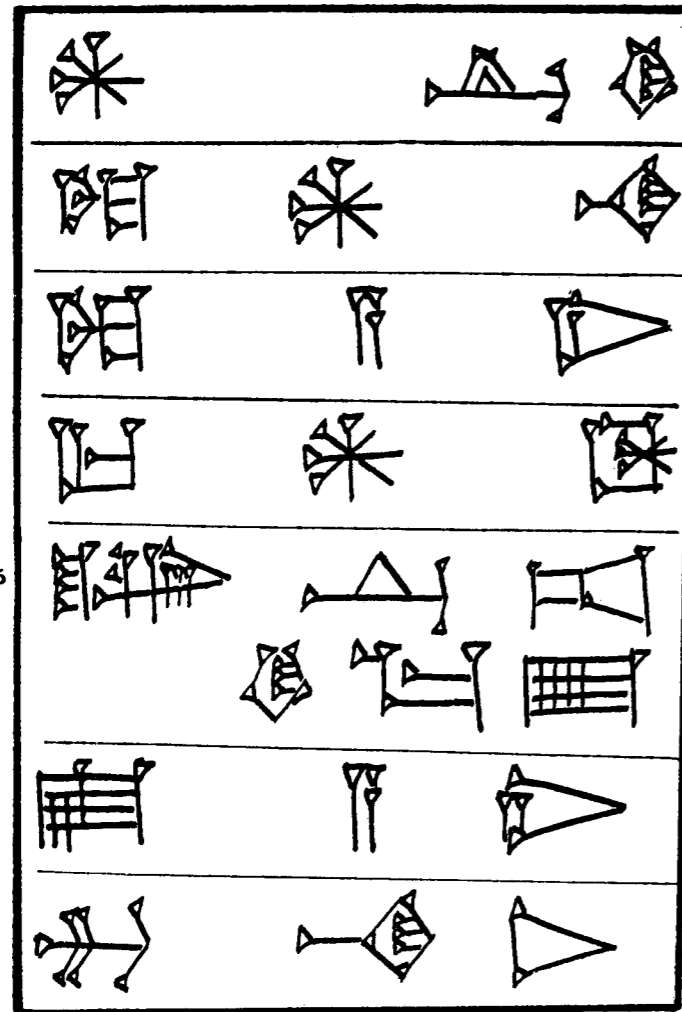
Text 5a
supplementary

Ur-Nammu 8
Brick

As was mentioned in *Lesson One*, the Mesopotamian scribes understood the Nanna-sign to consist of two signs, the šeš-sign followed by the ki-sign. In Text 5a, the Nanna-sign in line 1 is completely separated into two components; this occasionally happens in other texts.

Commentary

Except for the perhaps odd writing of the Nanna-sign in line 1, on the surface this seems like a straight-forward building inscription dedicated by Ur-Nammu to "Nanna, the 'lord' of the sky, his 'lord'". However, it is unprecedented for Nanna to be referred to as nin, which is almost always limited to feminine referents. It is possible that there is some kind of archaism present here; perhaps at some earlier time the word nin was genderless. This is seen, for example, in such masculine DNs as Ningirsu, meaning "'Lord' of Girsu". It is also possible that there was some kind of error of the scribe. Perhaps the scribe was supposed to write ᵈInanna but "heard" Nanna. However, such auditory mistakes are extremely uncommon in royal inscriptions.

The problem of this inscription is discussed by Steible (1991:102). If this "mistake" occurred in only one copy of an inscription, one might agree that there is a simple error. This text was published by C.J. Gadd in *Ur Excavations Texts* Volume 1 in 1928. Gadd clearly implies that "many" copies of this inscription were found. Yet, none of these texts have come to light, either in the British Museum or the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Therefore, this inscription is something of a puzzle. Gadd has the reputation of being a good historian but a less-than-excellent copyist of Sumerian texts. It is not impossible that the original inscription read Inanna and not Nanna, and that Gadd first transliterated the original without making an autograph. However, in his transliteration he made a mistake, writing Nanna instead of Inanna. He later produced an autograph *based on his transliteration*, not on reexamination of the actual inscription. He thereby produced a ghost inscription, one which never existed. This may seem unlikely to a modern-day scholar, but such production of autographs from transliterations is known to have occurred in the more pioneering days of Sumerology.

Because of the uncertainty surrounding this inscription, it is not included in Frayne 1997.

☶ Lesson Six ☶

Many copies of the following inscription are preserved. They all come from Nippur, the site of the temple referred to in the inscriptions (discussed in the following *Lesson*). Two copies of the inscription are reproduced. Text 6a is a stone foundation tablet. Text 6b is a brick. The inscription appearing on both of them is a standard inscription, a further sub-class of royal inscription as distinguished by Hallo.

Sign-list and vocabulary

$\underline{lu}_2$ person, man

$\underline{in}$ (syllabic)

$\underline{la}_2$ (syllabic)

lu_2 According to Gelb, "The Sumerian word $\underline{lú}$ is a noun meaning 'person', 'man' (in the sense of *homo*, *Mensch*, not *vir*, *Mann*) and may be used for both males and females" (1979b:51). Jacobsen says that $\underline{lu}_2$ "denotes a man (Akkadian $\underline{awīlum}$) or woman (Akkadian $\underline{awīltum}$) who heads a household, firm, or city" (1987a:130 n.17).

Text 6a

Ur-Nammu 3
Foundation tablet
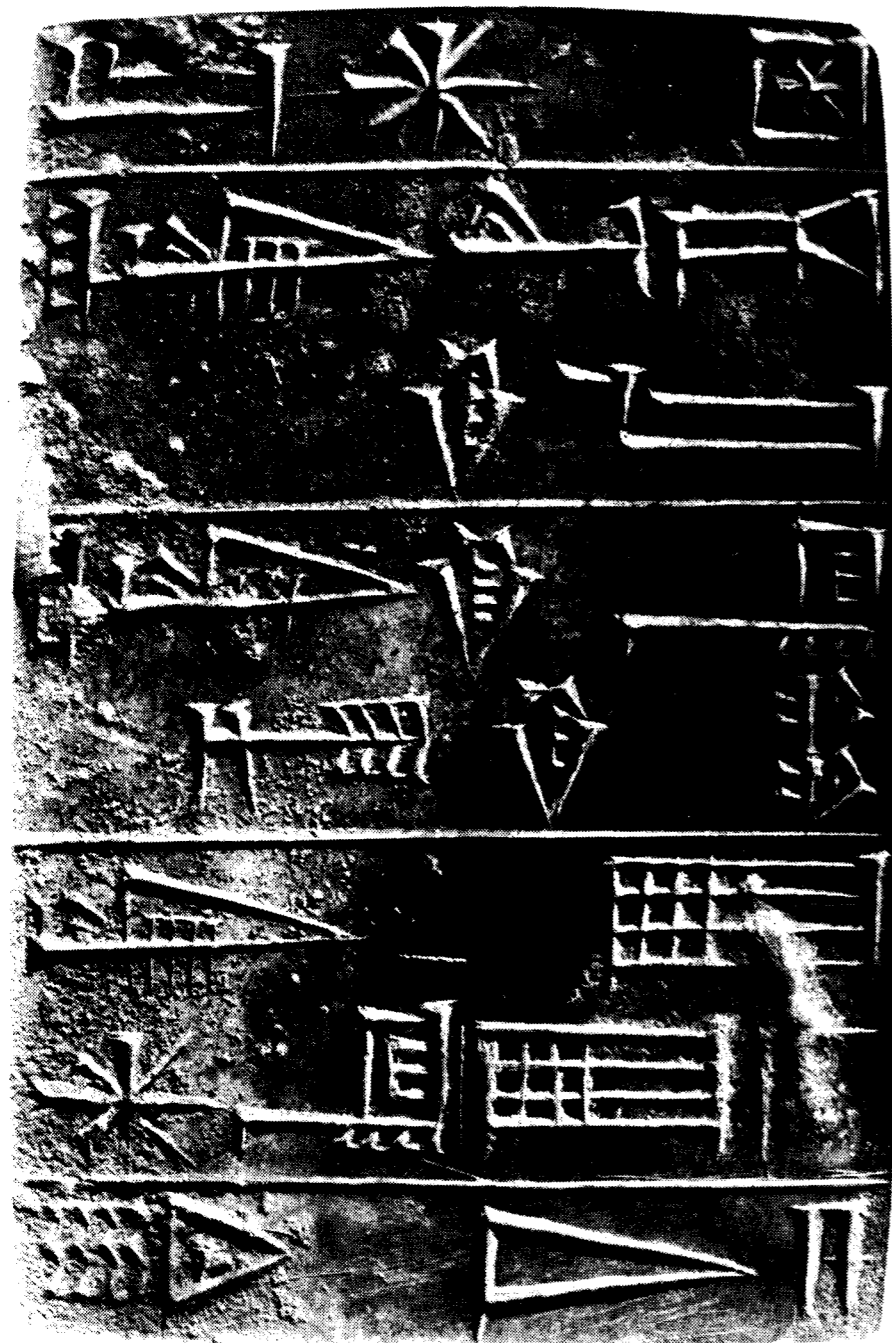
Text 6b

Ur-Nammu 3
Brick
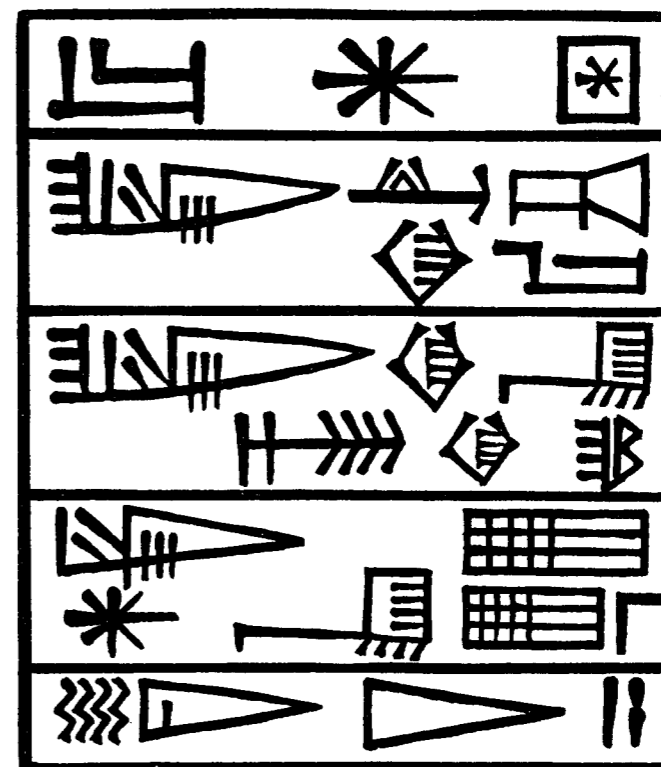
	Transliteration	**Transcription**	**Translation**
1:	Ur-^{d}Nammu	Ur.Nammu	Ur-Nammu,
2:	lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma	lugal.Urim$_5$.a	the king of Ur,
3:	lugal-Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri	lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri	the king of Sumer and Akkad,
4:	lu$_2$ e$_2$-^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$	lu$_2$ [e$_2$.Enlil.a].Ø	the man who built the temple of Enlil.
5:	in-du$_3$-a	i$_3$.n.du$_3$.Ø.a	

Commentary

4. e_2-^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$ represents e_2.Enlil.a, "the temple of Enlil", functioning as the direct object (patient) of the verb in line 5.

Lines 4-5 correspond to a relative clause in English, "the man who built the temple of Enlil", modifying Ur-^{d}Nammu of line 1. In English, this clause has three components: a head noun, "the man"; a relative pronoun, "who"; and a verbal phrase, "built the temple of Enlil". In Sumerian, there are only two elements. The first element is the head noun, here lu$_2$. The second element is the verbal phrase. Sumerian does not use any relative pronoun or marker. Instead, the head noun is followed directly by the verbal phrase. The verbal phrase itself takes the form of a nominalized sentence which stands in apposition to the preceding head noun. Nominalized sentences are formed by the addition of the nominalizer .a to a complete sentence. For example, "He built the temple of Enlil" is e_2.Enlil.a.Ø mu.n.du$_3$.Ø. This can be nominalized by the addition of .a: [e_2.Enlil.a.Ø mu.n.du$_3$.Ø].a, meaning something like "(the one) who built the temple of Enlil". Put into apposition with the head noun lu$_2$, this means "the man who built the temple of Enlil".

lu$_2$ is very common in Sumerian texts in its full meaning as "man". It is also frequent as a head noun in relative clauses modifying animate antecedents; clauses such as that occurring in lines 4-5 can be understood and translated as "the man who built", "the one who built", "he who built", and so on. Akkadian scribes themselves sometimes translated lu$_2$ as ša, the Akkadian relative pronoun.

Relative clauses in Sumerian function essentially the same as big adjectives. For example, "the mighty man" is [nitaḫ] [[kalag].[a]]. "The man who built the temple of Enlil" is [lu$_2$] [[e_2.Enlil.a.Ø mu.n.du$_3$.Ø].[a]]. Many linguists consider adjectives in general to be "reduced" relative clauses: "the mighty man" derives, in some way, from "the man who is mighty". The principle is the same; adjectives and relative clauses fulfill the same function. Relative clauses are, in fact, sometimes called "adjectival clauses".

Although such a construction as lu$_2$ e_2.Enlil.a.Ø mu.n.du$_3$.Ø.a is theoretically possible, in fact the verb form used in Text 6 is different than the verb forms seen in the previous texts. First, it uses a different CP. The CP which occurred in all the previous inscriptions was .mu, written mu. However, Text 6 uses the CP .i$_3$. If not immediately followed by a consonant, this CP is normally written by the i$_3$-sign, that is, ▷ the same sign seen previously with the value ni. Second, here the PA .n, which cross-references the agent, is expressed in the writing. The in-sign expresses the combination of the CP .i$_3$ with the PA .n. This particular use of the in-sign is extremely common.

It is difficult to say why the finite verb forms seen previously use the CP .mu but the nominalized form here uses the CP .i$_3$. As discussed in *Lesson One*, the essential difference between .mu and .i$_3$ is elusive. Jacobsen says that the CP .i$_3$ "presents the occurrence denoted by the verb as touching on the subject without inwardly conditioning him in any lasting manner" while .mu is the "mark of location of the occurrence denoted by the verb on the inside border

(.u) of the area of the speech situation (m.)...It adds to this implications of emotional involvement of the speaker, of his being personally engaged" (1970 [1965] 251, 254). That is, .i$_3$ is essentially the most neutral CP while .mu and the other CPs are only used under specific conditions. However, not all scholars have such precise an understanding as did Jacobsen. Poebel, for instance, seemed to have the opposite view of the relationship between .mu and .i$_3$. J.N. Postgate has expressed perhaps the most pessimistic view: "For many years a vexed question in Sumerian has been the distinction between the prefixes mu- and i-, and our failure to define the difference in a satisfactory way has epitomized our helplessness before Sumerian grammar as a whole" (1974:24). And, as discussed in *Lesson One*, in actual practice the CPs are basically ignored in translation.

It is likewise difficult to say why the PA .n is written here, and whether or not its presence is conditioned by the presence of the CP .i$_3$. In the previous texts, the finite verb form always had an expressed subject (agent). In Text 6, there is no expressed agent, since the verb is inside a relative clause; the lu$_2$ of line 4 is the head noun of a relative clause. One might therefore hypothesize a rule such as "verbal forms within relative clauses use the CP .i$_3$", or "verbal forms with expressed agents do not require the use of the PA .n but verbal forms without expressed agents do", but from other texts it is known that the situation is not as simple as this.

To sum up, lu$_2$ of line 4 is the head noun of the relative clause. This is followed by a finite verbal phrase nominalized by use of the nominalizer .a. This nominalized sentence stands in apposition to the head noun. The verb form embedded in the relative clause here uses the CP .i$_3$ and graphically expresses the PA .n.

Discussion: Orthography

In both copies of this text, the relative clause is split into two cases. The first case contains the more nominal components while the second case contains the more verbal component. It is not uncommon for long relative clauses to be split into two or even more cases.

— Phonology

Sumerian has both a la-sign (seen in ki-sikil-la in Text 5) and a la$_2$-sign (seen in e_2-^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$ in Text 6). This and other consistent patterning in the use of the two signs gives us a clue that Sumerian had more than one kind of /l/-sound, but the details are still to be worked out (Yoshikawa 1990).

— Conjugation prefixes

As hinted at above, the fact that the CP .i$_3$ instead of .mu appears in the relative clause raises several obvious questions: Does .i$_3$ appear outside of relative clauses? Does .mu appear inside of relative clauses? What about the distribution of .i$_3$ and .mu in general? What about different types of relative clause: clauses where the head noun is logically the agent of the verb in the relative clause ("the man who built"), clauses where the head noun is logically the patient ("the house which the man built"), and so on. What about the distribution of the CPs in emphatic

or topicalized sentences? Unfortunately, not all of these questions can be answered. The data are both limited and ambiguous. Without access to native speakers, it is difficult to test the function of all the possible variables occurring in the texts.

In the Ur III royal inscriptions, the expression "the man who built" seems to always be written in-du₃-a. In some bricks of Gudea, the form mu-na-du₃ is used in a sentence as the main verb, while the verb of the embedded relative clause uses the form in-du₃-a:

> ᵈNin-ĝiš-zid-da diĝir-ra-ni
> Gu₃-de₂-a ensi₂ Lagaš^ki lu₂ E₂-ninnu ᵈNin-ĝir₂-su-ka in-du₃-a
> e₂ Ĝir₂-su^ki-ka-ni
> mu-na-du₃
>
> For Ningishzida, his god —
> Gudea, the *ensi* of Lagash, the man who built the Eninnu of Ningirsu —
> built his Girsu temple.

A recent investigation of the CP .i₃ is that of Herman Vanstiphout. He concluded that the opposition .mu ~ .i₃ cannot be understood simply on the level of the sentence; rather, the larger context (discourse) must be examined. His tentative results are that "/i/ seems to carry substantially 'secondary' information in discourse (accompanying or descriptive information, *including consecutive verbs*)...on the supra-sentential or *discourse* level the prefix /i/ serves as a *backgrounding device*" (1985:11, 13). He does not examine relative clauses specifically, but such an investigation might prove useful.

The presence of the PA .n is also hard to explain. It has been suggested that .i₃ was actually a nasalized vowel, and that the presence or absence of a following /n/ is a question of phonology, not of morphology or syntax; indeed, it was phenomena such as these which led scholars to posit the existence of nasalized vowels in the first place. But as discussed under *Phonology*, there is no proof that nasalized vowels existed in Sumerian.

— Relative clauses

As discussed above, relative clauses are functionally equivalent to adjectives; thus the relative clause in lines 4-5 of Text 6 is basically just another modifier of the PN Ur-Nammu.

Shulgi 3 is a royal inscription in Akkadian. The equivalent of what would be a relative clause in Sumerian is rendered by a participial phrase in Akkadian, written mostly logographically: BA.DIM₂ E₂.SIKIL E₂ ᵈTIŠPAK in IŠ.NUN^ki, that is, bāni Esikil bīt Tišpak in Ešnunna, "the builder of Esikil, the temple of Tishpak, in Eshnunna"; note also the Akkadian brick stamps illustrated in *Lesson One*. It was not uncommon for Akkadian scribes to translate Sumerian relative clauses by Akkadian participles. This shows the functional equivalence of relative clauses and participles. Lines 4-5 of Text 6 could very well be translated "the builder of the temple of Enlil".

As stated above, lu₂ is very common as the head noun of a relative clause modifying an animate noun, such as in the case "the man who". lu₂ is limited to animate nouns; niĝ₂, "thing", is used in relative clauses modifying inanimate nouns.

— Standard inscriptions

There is no finite verbal form (or any other predicate) in this text. Instead, the text consists of a PN followed by a series of titles and epithets. Jacobsen called such texts "label sentences". The term is somewhat imprecise, since there is no predicate in the text and the text does not form a complete sentence. Hallo called such texts "standard" inscriptions. By "standard", Hallo meant that the text served something like a flag or other identifying device, marking the building as being the property of Ur-Nammu. They are therefore also called "property" inscriptions. Such inscriptions are often regarded as the "simplest" form of royal inscription. They usually consist of a royal name followed by a limited number of epithets, one of which may be a relative clause, as in Text 6. There is no predicate. These texts can be very short; Text 14a is a standard inscription of only two lines. It is not impossible that the entire genre of royal inscriptions began with standard inscriptions.

— Foundation deposits

The building inscriptions presented up to now have been inscribed on either bricks or clay cones. Text 6b is such a brick. A third category of building inscription, illustrated by Text 6a, is called "foundation deposit", Sumerian temen and Akkadian temmēnu (*Lesson Eight*). These were actually buried in a small pit under the foundations of walls in a building. In Woolley's words:

> Foundation-deposits are found in the corner of buildings. Built into the wall-foundations there is a small box of burnt bricks, lined with matting and water-proofed with bitumen; in it is set a copper figure of the king modestly represented as a labourer carrying on his head a basket of mortar; at his feet is a stone tablet in the form of a plano-convex brick; on the brick and on the king's skirt is an inscription recording his name and that of the temple (1982:161).

As was the case with building inscriptions, such foundation deposits were not meant to be seen by anyone except deities and future rebuilders of the temples.

Text 6a is a foundation tablet of stone. The signs were not drawn or incised onto the tablet; rather, a close examination of the photograph shows that the stone tablet was actually carved so that the wedges stand out. This was very carefully done, with the result that the signs look almost exactly like wedges drawn or incised on clay. In fact, the difference between the shape of the cuneiform signs in Text 6a and those in Text 6b is fairly minimal.

The photograph on the following page is of a bronze figurine which was found along with Text 6a, and so bearing the same inscription. The figurine may well represent Ur-Nammu himself, carrying a basket on his head with the mortar and building materials used to make the "first brick" of a building. At least two of these bronze canephore figures of Ur-Nammu have been

preserved.

Sundry other items have been found in the foundations of temples and palaces. For instance, a set of five clay dogs was found in a niche which ran alongside one of the doors of the palace of Ashurbanipal. These were apparently model watch dogs; they were inscribed with Akkadian names, including "The one who bites his enemy" and "His bark is loud".
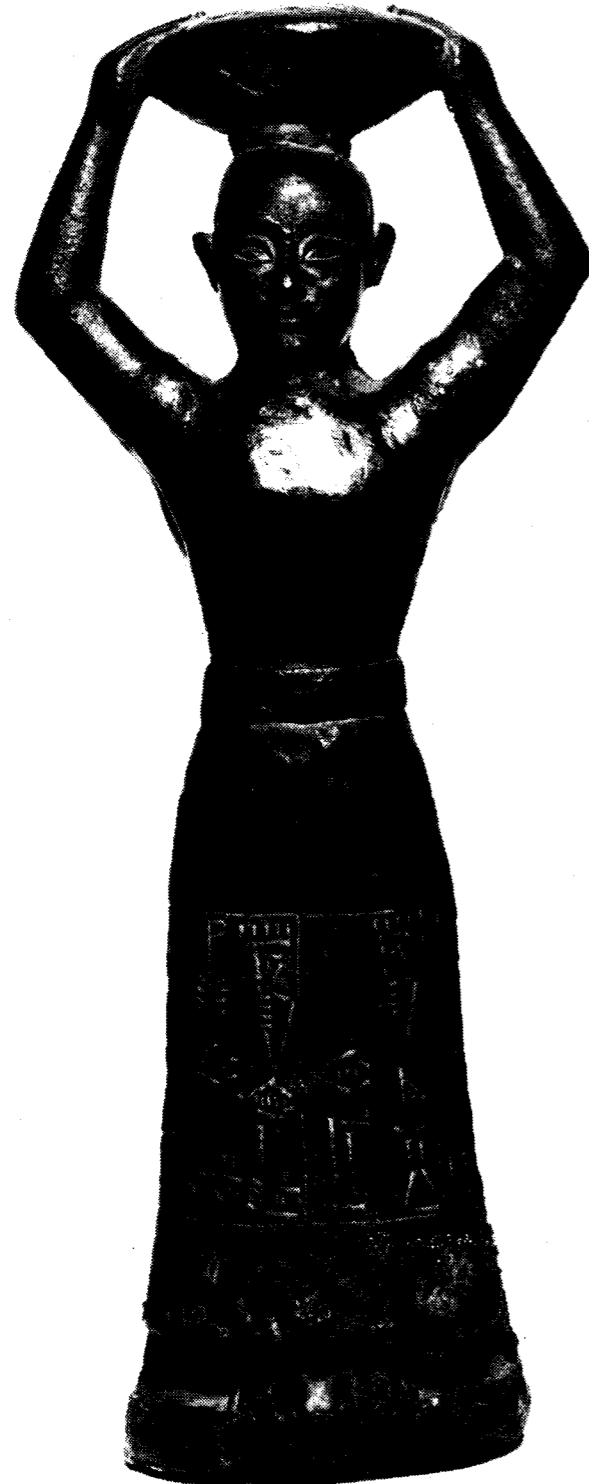

Text 6c
supplementary

Ur-Nammu 5
Brick
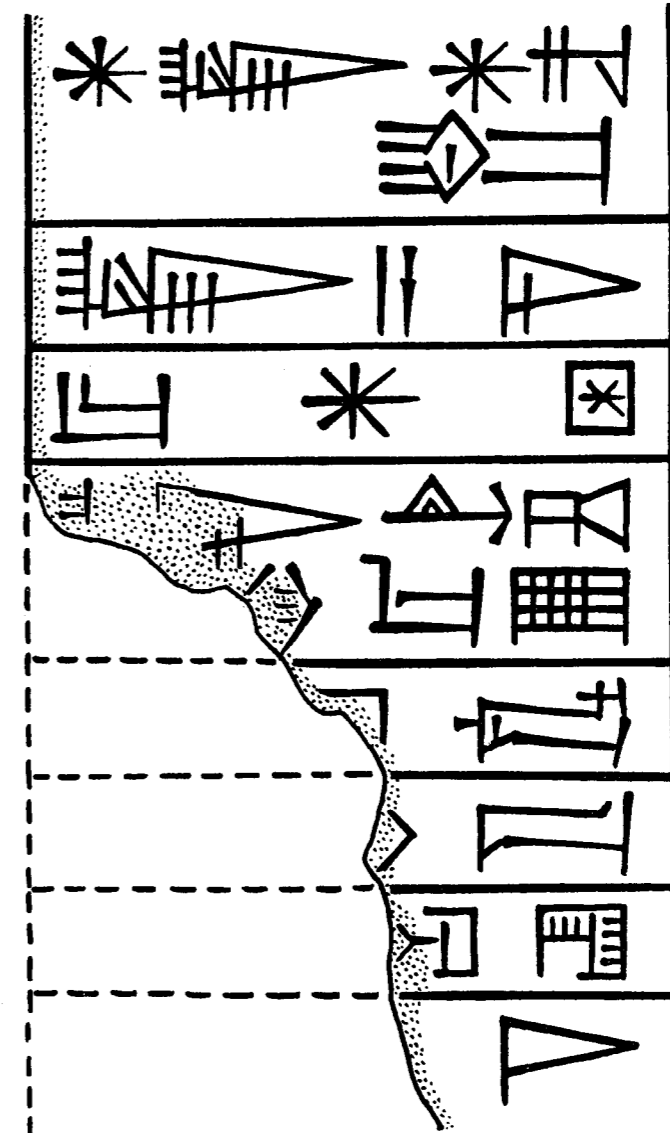
This text was inscribed on a door socket.

Sign-list and vocabulary

🔲 ☰   E$_2$-kur Ekur (TN)

🔲 ☰   ki...aĝa$_2$ to love

🔲   ĝa$_2$ (syllabic)

E$_2$-kur This was the main temple of Enlil in the city of Nippur (discussed in *Lesson Twelve*). It was by far his most important sanctuary, and Ur-Nammu carried out much rebuilding on the site. It was in Ekur that the assembly of the high gods (Sumerian ukkin, Akkadian puḫru) would meet. One of the reasons such meetings were held was to select the rulers of Mesopotamia. The god An presided over these meetings, but it was the responsibility of Enlil to carry out the decisions made by the high gods. Several hymns dedicated to Ekur have been preserved.

The TN is composed of two nouns, e$_2$ "house" and kur "mountain". In such cases, it is hard to say if the TN is formed by noun-noun composition, or by noun and appositive, or even if it is a simple nominal sentence, "The house is a mountain".

Edzard notes that Ekur consists of "an extremely huge architectural construction, one of enormous dimensions, rising high and being visible from afar" (1997:161). Because of the importance of this particular temple, its name was borrowed into Akkadian as ekurru, used as a common word for "temple" from the Old Babylonian period on. From there, it spread to some dialects of Aramaic.

A recent work which catalogues the names of all known Mesopotamian temples, with short historical descriptions, is by A.R. George, *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (1993). This is a handy reference for the quick identification of TNs occurring in all kinds of Sumerian texts.
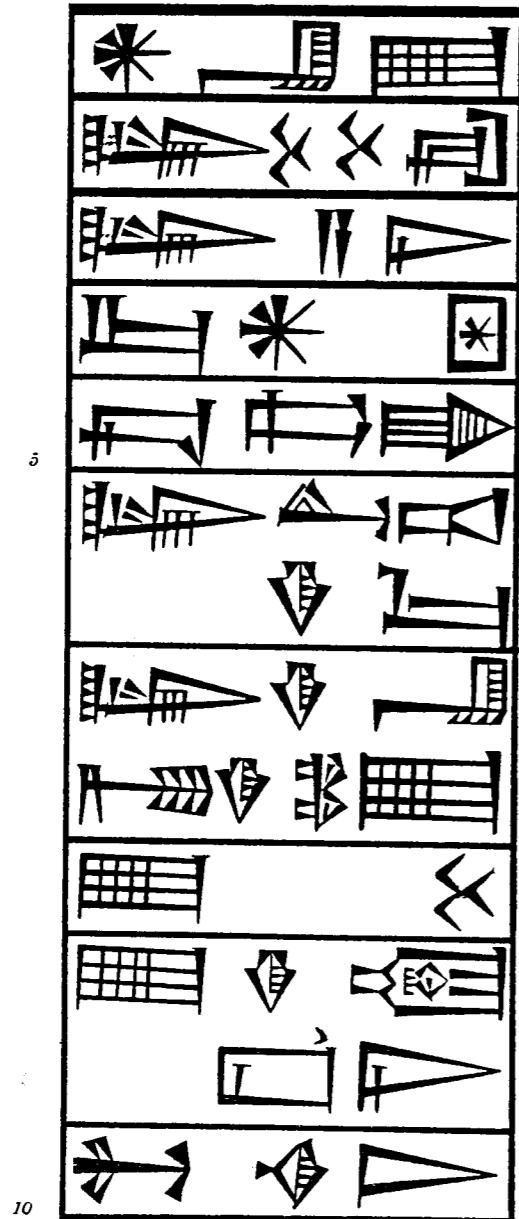
ki...aĝa$_2$ This is a compound verb meaning "to love", with many connotations; the most common Akkadian equivalent is râmu, "to love". However, it is not clear what its two elements mean. The most common meaning of aĝa$_2$ is "to measure", Akkadian madādu; it also has the meaning "to mete out" (the aĝa$_2$-sign in fact may be a picture of a vessel of some kind with something inscribed inside). The most common meaning of ki is "earth". It is hard to say how an expression such as "to measure the earth" could come to mean "to love". Either the word ki "earth" had some other meaning not now known to us, or else it is an entirely different root ki, that is, a homonym.

The Sumerian verb can be written both 🔲 and 🔲. Presumably both

writings represent /ki...aǧa/. The first writing is to be understood as ki...aǧa₂ and the second as ki...aǧ₂-ǧa₂. This means that the ⟨⟩ sign has two values: aǧ₂ and aǧa₂. Similar writings are discussed in *Lesson Ten*.

Text 7

Ur-Nammu 16
Door socket

	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	ᵈEn-lil₂	[Enlil	For Enlil,
2:	lugal-kur-kur-ra	lugal.kur.kur.a	king of all the lands,
3:	lugal-a-ni	lugal.ani].(r)	his king —
4:	Ur-ᵈNammu	[Ur.Nammu	Ur-Nammu,
5:	nitaḫ-kalag-ga	nitaḫ.kalag.a	the mighty man,
6:	lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma	lugal.Urim₅.a	the king of Ur,
7:	lugal-Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri-ke₄	lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e	the king of Sumer and Akkad —
8:	E₂-kur	[Ekur	Ekur,
9:	e₂-ki-aǧ₂-ǧa₂-ni	e₂.ki.aǧa₂.a.ni].Ø	his beloved temple —
10:	mu-na-du₃	mu.na.(n.)du₃.Ø	built.

Commentary

9. In Text 2 the adjective kalag-ga occurred, derived from the root /kalag/ by the nominalizer .a: kalag.a. In Text 7, the same formation occurs, but from a compound verb. ki...aǧa₂ is "to love"; the adjective "beloved" is [ki...aǧa₂].a. This adjective is then placed after its head noun: [e₂] [ki.aǧa₂.a]. This is all then followed by the possessive suffix: [e₂.ki.aǧa₂.a].ni.

As discussed in *Lesson One*, the third person possessive suffix is /ani/ after consonants and /ni/ after vowels (although the writing -a-ni after vowels is not uncommon). Thus the writing here should presumably be understood as [ki.aǧa₂.a].ni and not [ki.aǧa₂.a].ani.

The morphological transcription used here produces two /a/s in a row: aǧa₂.a.ni. In the spoken language, there was undoubtedly vocalic contraction of some kind. This is actually reflected in the writing, which writes only one /a/: -ǧa₂-ni. However, it is also possible to write -ǧa₂-a-ni. Text 19, for example, writes e₂-ki-aǧ₂-ǧa₂-a-ni. It is hard to say whether the latter is a morphemic spelling, or indicates a long vowel of some kind.

Discussion: Structure

The structure of this text is:

[Enlil, lugal.kur.kur.a, lugal.ani].(r)	benefactive
[Ur.Nammu, nitaḫ.kalag.a, lugal.Urim₅.a, lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e	agent
[Ekur, e₂.ki.aǧa₂.a.ni].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)du₃.Ø	verb

— Door sockets

The object that this text was inscribed on is called a "door socket", "pivot stone", or "hinge stone"; a photograph of one is reproduced in *Lesson Eighteen*. These sockets were placed somewhat underground, used to hold the bottom part of a pole serving as a support for a door.

In line 9 the autograph shows a mark above the right-hand side of the ǧa₂-sign. It is hard to say what this is; compare the ǧa₂-sign in Text 8, where no such mark is present.

Many of these door sockets contained inscriptions. In Woolley's words,

> The Sumerian door consisted of a wooden leaf fixed to a pole rather higher than
> itself; the projecting top end was held by and revolved in a metal ring attached to
> the lintel, the lower end was shod with metal and went down through a hole in
> the pavement to rest and turn on the hinge-stone. This was a boulder of (im-
> ported) hard stone, limestone or diorite, in which a cup-shaped hollow had been
> cut to take the pole-shoe, and generally one part of it had been smoothed and
> inscribed with the name of the king who dedicated the building and of the god in
> whose honour he built it...Imported stones were valuable and an old stone would
> often be taken away and re-used for some building other than that for which it
> had first been intended, so that the old inscription no longer applies (1982:160-
> 161).

As Woolley says, stone was valuable, and door sockets are one of the few objects for which stone was regularly used. In some cases door sockets were re-used solely for reasons of piety.

In Hallo's typology, door sockets are a subdivision of building inscriptions. As Woolley's description implies, the inscription inscribed on the door socket would not normally be exposed to view. This is of course true for royal inscriptions in general, which were meant to be seen by deities and future rebuilders, not by contemporaries.

According to Hallo, the Sumerian term for door socket was na₄-dab₅-ig. na₄ is "stone", dab₅ is "to hold", and ig is "door", so this presumably means "the holding-stone of the door". The Akkadian equivalent is unknown.

Armas Salonen, who was interested in the vocabulary used to express the material culture of Mesopotamia, has an entire volume on doors: *Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien* (1961).

Text 7a
supplementary

Ur-Nammu 3
Brick

This text was inscribed on a tablet made of soapstone. The autograph can only be described as lovely; it captures every ding to the original tablet. It was copied and published by H.V. Hilprecht in 1896. Hilprecht has the reputation of having produced beautifully crafted autographs.

This practice of executing painstakingly accurate autographs of unambiguous texts has found some detractors, who feel that it takes far too much time and energy, without really producing new information (although in 1896, when this autograph was published, not nearly as many cuneiform texts were known as now). This view has been particularly stressed by Powell, who in 1978 said

> Something of which Assyriologists sometimes lose sight is that someone has to pay for all those hours that the scholar uses up in the laborious and time-consuming task of copying cuneiform tablets by hand. Not only does the scholar himself consume his time in this manner, as he follows faithfully in the footsteps of his nineteenth century predecessors, but he thereby consumes the capital surplus created by the labor of others engaged in less pleasant tasks...I do not mean to imply that a carefully prepared hand copy is never desirable. On the contrary, the careful copying of mutilated or difficult texts would enormously facilitate their understanding, especially if the copyist devoted all his copying efforts to these kind of passages instead of spending his time copying texts that everyone can easily read from a photo. I am aware that this is an explosive issue... (1978:167).

As will be discussed in *Lesson Twenty-Five*, several recent editions of Ur III administrative and economic texts are published only in transliteration, except for difficult passages.
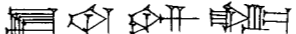
However, there is no getting around the fact that Hilprecht's autograph is a delight to look at.

�꜖ Lesson Eight ꜖

Another brick.

Sign-list and vocabulary

   Unug (Unu) Uruk (GN)

    E_2-temen-ni_2-$guru_3$ Etemenniguru (TN)

    dumu son

    en lord

    saĝ head

    gi_4 to turn; to return, to restore

    bi, be_2 (syllabic)

Unug Uruk was one of the most important cities in southern Mesopotamia. The city is an ancient one, having been continually occupied from the fifth millennium BCE until the fifth century CE. Van De Mieroop says that "Around 2800 its walls encircled an area of 494 hectares and occupation outside the walls was likely" (1997:37). In the Ur III period it may have had a population of over 60,000. Uruk is also where the earliest cuneiform texts have been found (discussed in *Appendix One*).

The city often played a rôle in political history. Before becoming king, Ur-Nammu had been military governor of Ur, šakkana-$Urim_5$^{ki}-ma, under the control of Utu-Hengal in Uruk.

The etymology of the name is unknown; this is discussed below. The pronunciation of the name as /unug/ is known from syllabic writings. However, spellings in various Semitic languages show /r/ as the middle consonant: Erech in the Hebrew scriptures, Warka in modern-day Arabic, and so on. Lexical lists also give the Akkadian equivalent with /r/: U_2-ru-uk. It is not known why the Sumerian form shows /n/ while the Semitic forms show /r/.

Even in a Sumerological context, it is common practice to refer to the city by its Akkadian name, Uruk, and not by its Sumerian name, Unug. This is partially because of the familiarity of the form Uruk from the *Epic of Gilgamesh*.

E_2-temen-ni_2-$guru_3$ This is the name of Ur-Nammu's ziggurat at Ur, illustrated in *Lesson One*. It is sometimes transliterated E_2-temen-ni_2-ila_2. The etymology is not completely sure, but it may mean "The temple whose foundation (temen) instills ($guru_3$) fear (ni_2)" or "The temple

whose foundation is clothed in fear". According to Richard Ellis, the word temen spans the meanings "foundation", "foundation platform", "foundation deposit", and "foundation tablet" (1968:147-150). In Greek, the word τεμενος means land which is dedicated to a god. It is unsure if the word is pure Greek, derived from a verb meaning "to cut", or if it also goes back to Sumerian, or if both the Sumerian and Greek derive from an earlier substrate. It sometimes appears in English as temenos, meaning loosely "sacred precinct" or "sacred foundation" .

The entire temple complex in which Etemenniguru was located was called E$_2$-kiš-nu-ĝal$_2$; Woolley called this area the "temenos" of Ur. It is hard to say what the TN means. In Old Babylonian texts on, it is also written E$_2$-giš-nu$_{11}$-gal. giš-nu and giš-nu$_{11}$ are "light" and gal is "great". giš-nu$_{11}$-gal was borrowed into Akkadian as gišnugallu, "alabaster". Edzard speculates that the change in spelling from E$_2$-kiš-nu-ĝal$_2$ to E$_2$-giš-nu$_{11}$-gal was because "The name probably was no longer understood at the end of the Old Babylonian period" (1997:163), and the scribes gave it a Sumerian folk etymology, "Alabaster Temple". Edzard himself is unsure of the original meaning.

The ziggurat of Marduk in Babylon, which may have been the inspiration for the Tower of Babel in the Hebrew scriptures, was known as E$_2$-temen-an-ki, "The temple which is the foundation of heaven and earth".

dumu This can mean both "son" and "daughter", Akkadian māru and martu.

en This is normally translated "lord", a purely conventional translation. The ruler of Uruk is always called an en. The standard Akkadian equivalent is bēlu, but en was also borrowed into Akkadian as ēnu, a kind of priest. The various meanings of en are further discussed below.

saĝ The literal meaning is "head". However, it not infrequently forms the second element of noun-noun compounds, where, as in many languages, it can take on metaphorical usages. For example, kaš-saĝ, "beer-head", is "top quality beer"; dumu-saĝ, "son-head", means "eldest son".

saĝ has many Akkadian equivalents: rēšu, "head" and several derived meanings, including the adjective rēštû; qaqqadu, "head" and several derived meanings; awīlu, "man"; eṭlu, "young man", and so on.

gi$_4$ This can be used both intransitively and transitively. Used intransitively, its Akkadian equivalent is târu (G-stem); transitively, the equivalent is turru (D-stem).

Text 8

Ur-Nammu 10
Brick
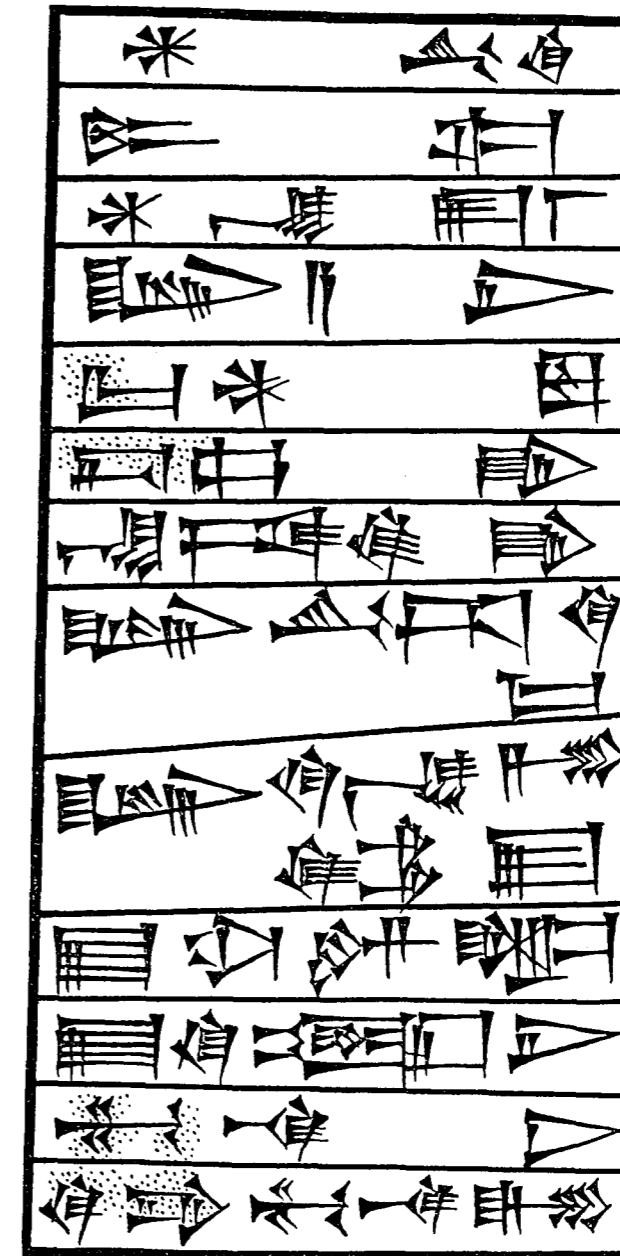
	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	ᵈNanna	[Nanna	For Nanna,
2:	dumu-saĝ	dumu.saĝ	the eldest son
3:	ᵈEn-lil₂-la₂	Enlil.a]	of Enlil,
4:	lugal-a-ni	lugal.ani].(r)	his king —
5:	Ur-ᵈNammu	[Ur.Nammu	Ur-Nammu,
6:	nitaḫ-kalag-ga	nitaḫ.kalag.a	the mighty man,
7:	en-Unugᵏⁱ-ga	en.Unug.a	the lord of Uruk,
8:	lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma	lugal.Urim₅.a	the king of Ur,
9:	lugal-Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri-ke₄	lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e	the king of Sumer and Akkad —
10:	E₂-temen-ni₂-guru₃	[Etemenniguru	Etemenniguru,
11:	e₂-ki-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ni	e₂.ki.aĝa₂.a.ni].Ø	his beloved temple —
12:	mu-na-du₃	mu.na.(n.)du₃.Ø	built.
13:	ki-be₂ mu-na-gi₄	[ki.bi].e mu.na.(n.)gi₄.Ø	He restored it to its proper place for him.

Commentary

13. ki-be₂ mu-na-gi₄ means approximately "He restored it to its proper place", that is, he rebuilt the temple at its original location. This entire expression was borrowed into Akkadian as ana ašrīšu utīr, "He returned (it) to its place".

.bi is the inanimate possessive suffix "its", referring back to the temple. It is thus the inanimate equivalent of .ani, the animate possessive suffix.

The most obvious interpretation of the first two words of this line would be to read ki-bi, interpreting it as the direct object (patient) of the verb gi₄: "He restored its place". However, there is evidence that ki-bi here is not a direct object (patient), because variations of this formulaic phrase already include an expressed patient. For example, e₂-ni ki-be₂ mu-na-gi₄ means "He restored his temple to its place", and bad₃-bi ki-be₂ mu-na-gi₄ means "He restored its wall to its place". As will be discussed in *Lesson Eleven*, Sumerian only allows one patient in a sentence. Since e₂-ni and bad₃-bi are clearly patients in these last two sentences, ki-be₂ must be in another case.

One possibility is to read ki-bi, but to understand it as ki.bi.(še₃), that is, as a noun phrase in the terminative case. In this interpretation, /še/ became /š/ after a vowel, and so does not appear in the writing system. While it is true that the phonology of the terminative case marker is not entirely clear, one might expect to find at least one instance in early texts of the terminative case marker actually appearing in this phrase, but none apparently do; moreover, the terminative case marker is regularly written after a vowel in forms such as nam-til₃-la-ni-še₃. In later texts ki-bi-še₃ does actually occur in somewhat similar contexts, but this is probably due to influence from the Akkadian equivalent.

The other possibility, that which is followed here, is to read ki-be₂, for ki.bi.e. .e is the marker of the locative-terminative case. It is difficult to pin down one specific function for this case. It shares some of the characteristics of the locative case and some of the characteristics of the terminative case. In this particular fixed expression, the force conveyed by the locative-terminative is "He returned the temple to its original place". That is, the meaning of the locative-terminative here is similar to that of the terminative.
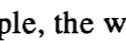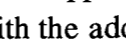
There is no DP in this particular verbal form to cross-reference the locative-terminative. The locative-terminative does have a DP, but its morphology is unclear; it may have been /e/ or /ne/. It only occurs rarely. Other times it seems to be expressed by /ni/, which is strictly-speaking the DP which cross-references the locative. This is further discussed in *Lesson Twenty-One*.
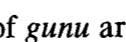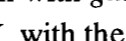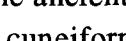
Discussion: Structure

The structure of this text is:

[Nanna, dumu.saĝ.Enlil.a, lugal.ani].(r)	benefactive
[Ur.Nammu, nitaḫ.kalag.a, en.Unug.a,	agent
lugal.Urim₅.a, lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e	
[Etemenniguru, e₂.ki.aĝa₂.a.ni].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)du₃.Ø	verb
[ki.bi].e	place
mu.na.(n.)gi₄.Ø	verb

— Sign formation

Over time, the Sumerian writing system developed a number of new cuneiform signs. The history of these developments is rarely visible to us. One not-uncommon process was the addition of short strokes to an already existing cuneiform sign in order to modify its meaning. For example, the word saĝ, "head", is represented by a sign which was originally the picture of the head and upper torso of a man, 𒊕 . The word ka, "mouth", is represented by the same sign, but with the addition of short strokes over the region of the mouth, producing 𒅗 . Such modification of signs appears in some of the earliest Sumerian texts known.

Akkadian scribes called these extra strokes gunû. This is an adaptation of a Sumerian word gun₃-a, meaning "colored" or "multi-colored". Modern scholars sometimes refer to, for example, the ka-sign as "SAG + *gunu*" or "SAG x *gunu*". This convention is especially necessary when the value of a sign with *gunu* is not known.

While the function of the *gunu* strokes to derive the ka-sign from the saĝ-sign is clear, other uses of *gunu* are not so obvious. For example, gi 𒄀 is "reed". The gi₄-sign 𒄄 is the gi-sign with *gunu*, but it is hard to say why. The Unug-sign 𒌶 appears to be the ab-sign 𒀊 with the addition of *gunu*, but the significance of this is also unclear.

The ancient Mesopotamian scribes had a highly developed vocabulary to describe the ways some cuneiform signs were derived from others. This is all surveyed in Gong's *Studien zur Bildung und Entwicklung der Keilschriftzeichen* (1993); this work includes much interesting

material. A pithy discussion of *gunu* in particular is given by Edzard in his article "Gunierung" in the *RlA*. Another similar method of sign formation, the use of šeššig strokes, is discussed in *Lesson Twenty-One*.

— Functions of .e

The locative-terminative case is marked by /e/ and the ergative case is marked by /e/. Are the two related? It is probably no accident that the two case endings share the same phonological shape. The parallel has often been made to the English preposition "by". This can express a locative ("by the river"), an instrumental ("by the hammer"), or an agent ("by the man"). Haayer has discussed this point, in terms of universal tendencies in language:

> One of the most characteristic features found in case marking in ergative languages is that the ergative case is often identical with another case, most often the genitive or instrumental, sometimes the locative or dative. In Sumerian, for instance, the ergative case is marked by the postposition -e, which is identical to the locative-terminative -e, and is in origin a deictic pronoun (1986:80).

The ergative case may thus have developed out of the locative-terminative case. The locative-terminative case may then have started to lose some of its functions, some of which began to be taken over by the locative case and others by the terminative case.

Although we understand and translate simple Sumerian sentences such as lugal.e e$_2$.Ø mu.n.du$_3$.Ø as "The king built the temple", at some "Proto-Sumerian" stage the meaning may have been something like "A temple got built, connected with the king" or "There was a building of a temple by the king". That is, to some degree pre-historic Sumerian (and historic Sumerian?) should be understood as basically "passive" in nature. Landsberger, for example, has said "Sumerian is of a passive character" (1974 [1943] 6). Jacobsen has touched upon this subject (1988b:214-215). He says that at some undeterminable time in Sumerian there was a shift in understanding from "By the man the house was built" to "The man built the house", causing various problems in morphology and conjugation. It has in fact occasionally been stated that *all* ergative systems have developed from passives. Dixon has pointed out that this is not true, but "It is certainly the case that *some* ergative systems have arisen through reinterpretation of a passive" (1994:189). The passive itself is further discussed in *Lesson Sixteen*.

— Noun compounds

dumu-saǧ is literally "son-head". This represents a case of noun-noun compounding. This is not a very productive method of word formation in historic Sumerian, but a few such cases occur. Several early proper names are probably noun-noun compounds: ^{d}En-lil$_2$, "lord-wind"; E$_2$-kur, "house-mountain". These are not genitive formations.

The element nig$_2$, used to form concrete (and occasionally abstract) nouns from verbal roots, is in origin a noun meaning "(some)thing". The original meaning of nam is less sure, but possibly had a similar origin, or may have meant something like "state-of-being". Thus, abstract

and concrete nouns formed from nig$_2$ and nam are instances of noun-noun compounding.

— History

The different functions of the en and lugal have been much discussed; they varied to some degree from place to place and from period to period. In Jacobsen's seminal article on "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia" (1957), he stated that in the earlier periods the en (Akkadian bēlu) was more of a cultic figure, while the lugal (Akkadian šarru) was a war-leader:

> In the case of the en the political side of the office is clearly secondary to the cult function. The en's basic responsibility is toward fertility and abundance...The "king", lugal, in contrast to the en was from the beginning a purely secular political figure, a "warleader" (1970 [1957] 375 n.32).

Joan Westenholz has expanded upon Jacobsen:

> Originally, the title [en] may have referred to a charismatic leader combining the two functions of spiritual guide and economic manager, with the authority and the power to make things thrive and to produce abundance, whose cult function was primary over and above any political power that might have accrued to the office. With the passage of time, the two functions were separated and the en was limited to the cultic function (1989:541).

— Substrate

The etymology of the name Uruk is unknown. Many of the oldest cities in Sumer have names which are not apparently Sumerian. Such names go back to the language(s) spoken by the people(s) living in southern Mesopotamia before the Sumerians arrived. The names of the cities of Ur and Uruk may be two of these names. Gelb says

> Almost all the Mesopotamian geographical names found in the earliest Sumerian sources are non-Sumerian and non-Akkadian and must be assigned to the proto-population of Mesopotamia. This conclusion is true of the names of rivers and mountains, as well as of cities and countries. Only in the Pre-Sargonic period do we find the first attestation of Sumerian geographical names (1962:49).

Landsberger thought that he could detect two distinct substrate populations, whom he called "Proto-Euphrateans" and "Proto-Tigridians". The words for certain material objects and professions in particular in Sumerian go back to the Proto-Euphrateans, for example, nagar, "carpenter". Some of these substrate words then passed on to Akkadian, and eventually on to Aramaic, Hebrew, and Arabic.

It is not clear how much Sumerian vocabulary is of substrate origin. Some scholars are inclined to see a large number of substrate words in Sumerian, including many GNs, DNs, and words for material objects. Salonen, for example, considers such words as barag and temen (and virtually all bisyllabic words) to be substrate words. Other scholars are less convinced. Jacobsen, for instance, has proposed Sumerian etymologies for several city names which other scholars regard as substrate names, and Powell has said that "The supposition of a pre-

Sumerian population based upon geographical names becomes more illusive the closer one examines the evidence" (1973:167-168). Edzard notes "We should be warned against making use of pre-Sumerian as a paltry excuse for our ignorance" (1997:164).

Although a pre-Sumerian etymology for many GNs has been proposed, very few pre-Sumerian PNs are attested. This reflects the fact that GNs tend to be very conservative, whereas fashions in PNs change more quickly. DNs are a hard call. W.G. Lambert says

> It is always possible that gods with seemingly good Sumerian names were originally at home in some other, non-Sumerian culture, were adopted by the Sumerians before we have any knowledge of them, and their earlier names were reinterpreted and modified into good Sumerian names. Contrariwise gods with non-Sumerian names can be good Sumerian gods (1997:1).

Thus it has occasionally been suggested that the element en appearing in such DNs as En-lil$_2$ (*Lesson Four*) and En-ki (*Lesson Thirteen*) is not the Sumerian word for "lord", but rather these are substrate names which were given Sumerian folk etymologies. There is, however, no obvious way to prove this.

— Titulature

Control of Uruk was important to all the Ur III kings. Hallo says

> Certainly the two cities [Ur and Uruk] had a venerable history of dynastic and administrative union behind them...Ur under Ur-Nammu was heir to a long history of dynastic and administrative union with both Uruk and Lagash...Nippur is the religious center, Ur the political capital and Uruk, from all indications, the ancestral home of the dynasty (1966:137; 138; 136).

As Hallo implies, the family of Ur-Nammu may well have come from Uruk. Curiously, however, Ur-Nammu was the only ruler of the Ur III Dynasty to use the title en-Unug (although it was used by several kings of the Isin period), and it only occurs in two of his inscriptions. Frayne suggests that the title shows that Ur-Nammu "did not control Uruk when he acceded to the throne of Ur" (1997:16).

— History

It is difficult to say how literally the expression "He restored it to its place" should be understood. The Sumerian phrase (and the corresponding Akkadian phrase) is ambiguous; it can mean either "to restore to a former spot" or "to restore to a former state". Woolley says that "It was customary in Mesopotamia, when rebuilding a temple, to incorporate the earlier one within the core of the platform upon which its successor was to be set. This often meant largely dismantling it" (1982:109). And as was discussed in *Lesson One*, the verb du$_3$ is ambiguous; it can mean to build from scratch or to rebuild.

Nabonidus has left several inscriptions in Ur in which he boasts of having restored the ziggurat of Ur-Nammu, Etemenniguru. He states, in fact, that Ur-Nammu started the work on the ziggurat, but did not finish it; Ur-Nammu's son and successor Shulgi also worked on the

complex, but did not finish it; only he, Nabonidus himself, completely finished and restored it. The following drawing is Woolley's reconstruction of Nabonidus' ziggurat; it is instructive to compare it with Woolley's reconstruction of Ur-Nammu's ziggurat, given in *Lesson One*. Ur-Nammu's ziggurat itself was built over an earlier temple, which itself was built over an even earlier temple.

THE ZIGGURAT OF NABONIDUS RESTORED.
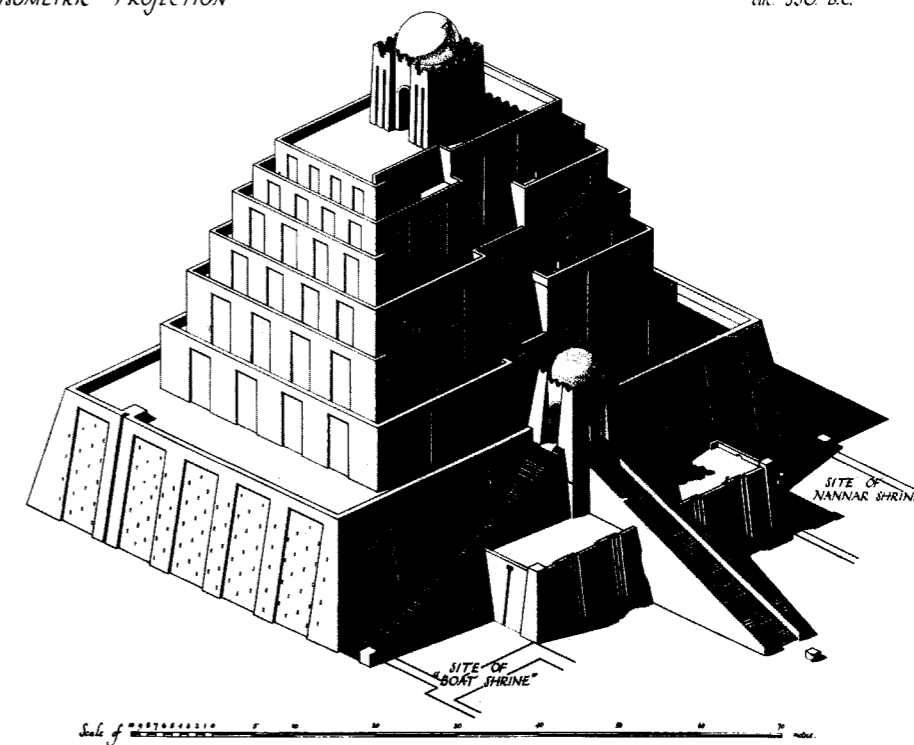
As another example of temple rebuilding, the Ishtar Temple of Assur was in existence some two thousand years, and was frequently rebuilt. Ellis says "It was always in about the same place, though sometimes the new version would be placed to one side of the earlier ruins" (1968:12). The temple of Inanna at Nippur had an even longer history. As described by Richard Zettler,

> The temple of Inanna occupied a site just southwest of the ziggurat complex for more than three thousand years from Early Dynastic I through the Parthian era. In those years the temple was built and rebuilt at least ten times and the individual structures altered and/or repaired on countless occasions. Although the layout of the building changed over time, certain features, for example, the double cellae arrangement, persisted (1992:54).

This temple varied in size from period to period, usually getting bigger. The new sanctuaries were normally built over the previous ones.

The temple dedicated to the god Sin at Khafaje, on the Diyala, goes back to the Jemdat Nasr period; it was frequently rebuilt. Before the very first foundations were laid, the entire area was dug down to a depth of almost five meters and was then filled in with clear pure sand, brought in from somewhere outside the city. It has been estimated that some 64,000 cubic meters of sand were thus moved. This was all done to ensure a pure foundation (Seton Lloyd 1984:93-96).

The principles behind the orientation of Mesopotamian temples are not at all clear, especially in the older periods; some of the evidence is contradictory. Nor are the means by which the Mesopotamians determined the orientation known. Günther Martiny, writing in 1940, said that

> Astronomical orientation is…especially noticeable in the case of late temples. The direction of orientation should probably be understood as the direction in which the god's statue faced…In Neo-Babylonian times orientation based on individual stars assigned to specific deities came into vogue (1940:92).

Sally Dunham, however, writing almost fifty years later, is less sanguine:

> Very little is known about how the ancient Mesopotamians oriented and measured off the ground plans and precincts of their temples, although we do know such measuring was important enough to be mentioned in their royal inscriptions and religious texts…Still today nothing is known about if and how the ancient Mesopotamians used astronomy to orient their temples (1986:39 and n.37).

Martiny thinks that the Gimilsin (that is, Shu-Sin) Temple in Eshnunna was oriented toward the city of Ur:

> Exactly along the projected axis of the Gimilsin Temple in the direction in which the god's statue faced, at a distance of about 300 km. toward the southeast, lies Ur, the residence of Gimilsin. Is it possible that the deified ruler, in whose honor the temple in Eshnunna was to be built during his lifetime, had demanded orientation of the temple toward Ur?…The Gimilsin Temple confronts us with what appears to be a case of geographical orientation toward the capital of the overlord (1940:95-96).

☷ Lesson Nine ☷

This is an inscription of Ur-Nammu's son and successor, Shulgi, who ruled from 2094 to 2047 BCE. It is inscribed on a weight in the shape of a sleeping duck.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒀭𒀭𒄀	Šul-gi Shulgi (PN)
𒀭 𒅁	an-ub corner
𒁕	da side
𒇴	limmu$_2$ four
𒁀	ba (syllabic)

Šul-gi In older transliterations the name was read Dun-gi. It is almost always read Šul-gi nowadays, although there is really very little evidence to fix the reading. It probably means "noble (gi) young man (šul)". The gi-element probably had an /r/-Auslaut, although the standard sign-lists do not record any value in /gir/. This gi(r) may be the same gi(r) seen in the GN Ki-en-gi. Because of this /r/-Auslaut, the ruler is occasionally referred to as "Shulgir".

an-ub This means something like "corner". ub was equated with Akkadian tubqu, glossed by *AHw* as "Ecke, Winckel". It is unclear what the an-element represents. It is possible that it was originally the divine determinative, and so this word is sometimes transliterated as ᵈub. Sollberger, for example, explains the word as "part of the world (as an emanation of the divine, hence the classifier)" (1966:183). In some relatively late texts it is written without the an-sign.

da The cuneiform sign is a picture of the head-upper shoulder-arm, that is, the side of a man. Its meaning was then extended to mean "side" in general. It is equated in lexical texts with Akkadian idu, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. arm, 2. side, edge, border, … 7. strength".

limmu$_2$ Numbers can be expressed in two ways in Sumerian. One is by use of a numeral. The number "four", for example, was pronounced /limmu/ (or possibly /limu/ or /lima/). This was usually written 𒑂 (limmu) or 𒐼 (limmu$_5$). Both spellings are usually transliterated as "4", instead of the more precise limmu or limmu$_5$.

It is also possible to spell out the number, using a mixture of logographic and syllabic signs. This is particularly the case when the number was not used strictly for counting. In this particular case, "four" is expressed by limmu$_2$, 𒇴 . In older literature this is frequently transliterated

tab-tab. This is still preferred by some modern-day scholars.

Text 9

Shulgi 52
Weight
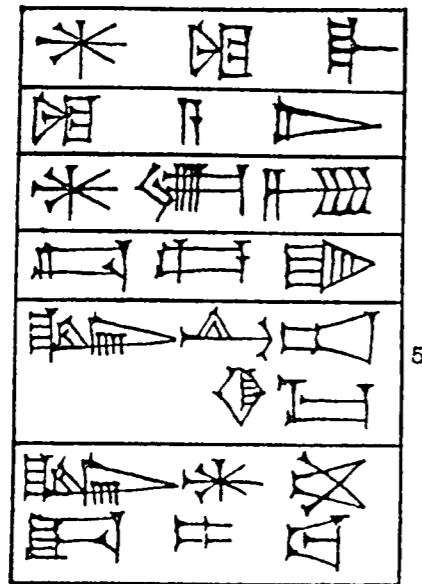
Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1: ᵈNin-gal	[Ningal	For Ningal,
2: nin-a-ni	nin.ani].(r)	his lady —
3: ᵈŠul-gi	[Šulgi	Shulgi,
4: nitaḫ-kalag-ga	nitaḫ.kalag.a	the mighty man,
5: lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma	lugal.Urim₅.a	the king of Ur,
6: lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba	lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.a]	the king of the four quarters.

Commentary

1-2. The text begins with a benefactive to a goddess, even though there is no object being dedicated. This reflects the idea that all official activity, including the regulation of weights and measures, was conducted *ad maiorem deorum gloriam*.

3. At some point in the middle of his reign, Shulgi's name begins to appear with the determinative normally used for DNs, ⧈ . This and other evidence indicates that Shulgi was deified both during and after his life-time; this is discussed below.

6. Sumerian has two different formations for the genitive, both of which occur in this line. All genitive phrases seen up to this point have been formed by the sequence possessed-possessor-genitive marker. Thus, for example, "the temple of Enlil" has been expressed as e₂.Enlil.a(k), written e₂-Enlil-la₂. Since this is the most common method of genitive formation, it is usually called simply "the genitive". Sumerian, however, has a second genitive formation. In this construction, the possessor noun with the genitive marker comes first, followed by the possessed noun with a possessive suffix. A literal translation of this construction is "of Enlil, his temple". This is expressed as Enlil.a(k) e₂.ani, written either Enlil-la₂ e₂-a-ni or Enlil-la₂ e₂-ni. This formation is called the "anticipatory genitive", because the noun with the genitive marker (Enlil.a(k)) precedes the noun with the possessive suffix (e₂.ani). As with any genitive phrase, this entire phrase can then be followed by a case marker; for example, "towards the temple of Enlil" could be expressed as [Enlil.a(k) e₂.ani].še₃.

The expression in line 6 loosely translates as "the four quarters". A literal translation is "of the corner-and-side, its four": [anub.da].(k) limmu.bi. The first element of this anticipatory genitive is "of the corner-and-side". As in the expression "king of Sumer and Akkad", there is no conjunction between "corner" and "side": anub.da. This is then followed by the genitive marker: [anub.da].a(k). This first element is then followed by the second element of the anticipatory genitive, "its four": limmu.bi.

However, this entire expression is itself the second element of a regular genitive construction: "king (of the four quarters)". The first element in this genitive phrase is lugal. The second element in this genitive phrase is [[anub.da].(k) limmu.bi]. This second element is then followed by the genitive marker .ak, producing [lugal].[[anub.da].(k) limmu.bi].a(k). The /i/ of the possessive suffix .bi then contracts into the /a/ of .ak, producing /bak/, and the /k/, as is the normal practice, is not written. Thus, a literal translation of this entire expression is "king of [of the corner-and-side, its four]", written lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba.

The anticipatory genitive tends to occur in certain fixed expressions (such as that in line 6), and is also especially common with numbers. In theory it can be used anywhere a regular genitive can be used, but in practice it is far less common. Since the title "king of the four quarters" is a frequent one, it is not a problem to recognize this expression in context. However, non-formulaic uses of the anticipatory genitive can be quite difficult to recognize. The clue to its presence is an otherwise unexplained /a/-vowel followed a little later by an otherwise unexpected possessive suffix. Several instances of the anticipatory genitive occur in the following *Lessons*.

Discussion: Numbers

The following list gives the most common forms of the numerals from one to ten. The pronunciation of most is approximate, based on late syllabic spellings, most of which are found in mathematical texts:

1	⊢—	aš
2	𝌋	min
3	𝌌	eš₅
4	𝌍	limmu
	𝌍	limmu₅
5	𝌍	ia₂
6	𝌎	aš₃
7	𝌎	imin
8	𝌏	issu
9	𝌏	ilimmu
10	𝌃	u

The numbers from six to nine are based on the system "five and one", "five and two", and so on, although phonetic changes make this difficult to see.

One of the lexical texts found at Ebla, TM.75.G.2198, is a small tablet giving the names of the Sumerian numbers from one to ten, spelled more-or-less syllabically. This tablet was probably a school or practice text. For "four", the tablet gives li-mu, presumably for /limmu/.

Diakonoff 1983 has a fascinating discussion of the history of the numbers in Sumerian.

— Vocalic contraction

In the genitive construction discussed in line 6, the sequence limmu.bi.a(k) resulted in /limmuba/. The /i/ of the possessive suffix contracted into the /a/ of the genitive marker. The sequence .bi.a(k) regularly contracts into /ba(k)/; several examples occur in the following texts. Similarly, it was mentioned in *Lesson Four* that the sequence of .ani followed by .ak produces /ana(k)/. This contraction is actually unexpected. Since the normal form of the genitive marker is /ak/ after consonants but /k/ after vowels, one might expect limmu.bi.(k) and ani.(k). This situation illustrates the fact that not all the rules for vocalic deletion, contraction, and so on in Sumerian are well understood.

— Typology

S-O-V languages are more likely to have a genitive construction of the type possessor-possessed ("of Enlil, his temple", or some such) than of the type possessed-possessor ("the temple of Enlil"). The genitive in Turkish, for example, an S-O-V, agglutinative language, is of the type possessor-possessed. Sumerian is somewhat unusual in that the most common pattern is possessed-possessor (e₂.Enlil.a(k)). The anticipatory genitive, however, is of the type

possessor-possessed (Enlil.a(k) e₂.ani), and it is possible that this represents the older construction, which was in the process of becoming limited to certain stock expressions. I have discussed this in Hayes (1991). Zólyomi (1996a) speculates that in some cases the anticipatory genitive is used to mark topicalization, that is, it permits the topic of the sentence to come first in the phrase. Yoshikawa (1992a) thinks that he has found instances of a third genitive formation, similar to that of the Semitic construct phrase. While the data are still under investigation, such cases may represent influence from Akkadian.

— Weight inscriptions

The royal inscriptions seen up to this point have consisted of building, votive, and standard inscriptions. Text 9 represents a weight inscription, the fourth of Hallo's five categories of royal inscription. The texts of weight inscriptions are similar to those of standard inscriptions, in that they do not consist of a complete sentence. It may be useful to compare Text 9 with Text 6, a typical standard inscription:

Text 6	Text 9
	ᵈNin-gal
	nin-a-ni
	ᵈŠul-gi
Ur-ᵈNammu	nitaḫ-kalag-ga
lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma	lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma
lugal-Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri	lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba
lu₂ e₂-ᵈEn-lil₂-la₂	
in-du₃-a	

As stated above, Text 9 begins with a benefactive, since all royal activities fell under the purview of a deity. Otherwise each text consists of a royal name followed by a series of epithets.

The weight upon which Text 9 was inscribed does not bear any indication of its value. Other weights do; Text 20a, for example, is a weight inscribed with the value 5 ma-na gi-na, "5 standard minas".

Weights were typically carved of stone, which means that many have been preserved. In Assyria bronze was sometimes used instead; since bronze was often melted down and reused, far fewer of these are preserved. The stone was usually carved into the shape of a sleeping duck. It is not known why such a figure was used. Oppenheim once suggested that the figure might represent a goose, not a duck, without explaining why a goose (Powell 1979:80 n.34). The following illustration is of a duck weight from the Neo-Assyrian period:
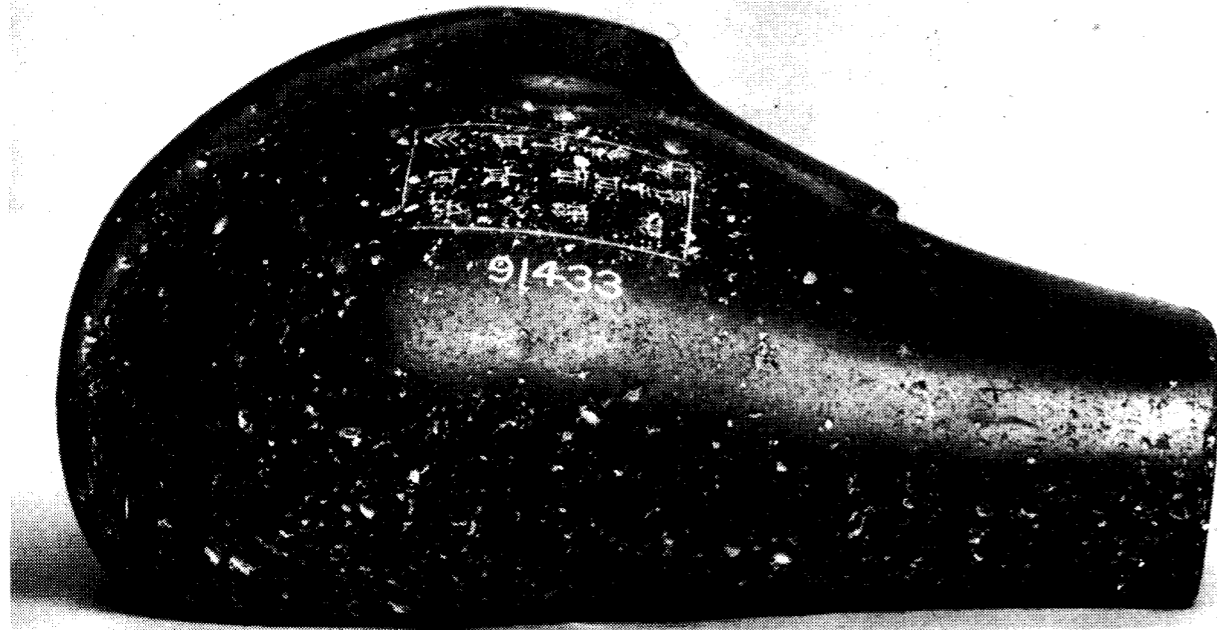
— History

The first Mesopotamian ruler to use the divine determinative before his name was Naram-Sin of the Dynasty of Akkad, who ruled approximately 2254-2218 BCE. Gadd says "No doubt the vast accession of power and width of sway won by such a mighty figure as Naram-Sin helped to make him appear superhuman" (1971:619). The determinative occurs in the royal inscriptions of all the Ur III rulers except Ur-Nammu; it was used only sporadically by rulers after the Ur III period. Although it does not occur in any of Ur-Nammu's royal inscriptions, it is so used in the Prologue to the law code usually ascribed to him. But this law code may be the work of Shulgi, and in any case the Prologue is a rather late copy, dating from the Old Babylonian period. In the Prologue and elsewhere, Ur-Nammu is referred to as the son of the goddess Ninsuna.

Occasionally, epithets in the royal inscriptions use the word "god". In Text 16, for example, Amar-Sin refers to himself as <u>diĝir</u>-<u>zid</u> ^d<u>Utu</u>-<u>kalam</u>-<u>ma</u>-<u>na</u>, "the effective god, the sun-god of his land". There is also a certain amount of literary material which indicates that the Ur III kings were considered, or considered themselves, "deified". However, it is not really known what this means. The use of the English word "deified" is rather facile; it is very difficult to say what this meant to the Ur III rulers or to their subjects (Gadd says that "vainglory and popular superstition supported [this policy]" [1971:619]). However, there is a certain amount of evidence to indicate that offerings were made to the dead Ur III kings, implying that they were worshipped as gods after their death.

Moorey says that

> The most common evidence for the worship of the deceased kings of the Ur III
> Dynasty is provided by economic documents describing deliveries to a place
> called <u>ki</u>-<u>a</u>-<u>nag</u>, where liquid offerings to the dead were libated. Nothing specific

is known of these mortuary shrines (1984:17).

The deified king has been discussed by Jacobsen:

> The deified king is not a "god" generally; he has the specific relation to the
> country that a personal god has to his ward...The king, as leader of the country
> and originator of policy, is the "personal god" of his realm. The deification of
> rulers in Mesopotamia is accordingly to be understood not in terms of the quali-
> tative contrast human:divine, mortal:immortal, etc. but in terms of function of the
> king, he is the "genius" of the country (1970 [1957] 395 n.108).

Postgate puts this all in a larger perspective:

> The Ur III state united all the ancient South Mesopotamian city-states under one
> rule, but in itself it constituted a new territorial entity with no previous communal
> identity. As such it had no patron deity. Rather than create a new one, or re-
> deploy an old one, King Shulgi resolved this by stepping into the breach himself
> (1994:181).

The topic of the deification of living and dead kings is one that has interested many scholars; some pithy observations are made by Gebhard Selz (1992:258 n.4 and n.5) and Jacob Klein (1995:846).

— History

Ur-Nammu was killed on the battlefield, but no specific details of his death are known. The literary work entitled *The Death of Ur-Nammu* is terse and difficult to understand at this spot. Woolley thought that Ur-Nammu and the other Ur III rulers (except the last, Ibbi-Sin) were buried at Ur, in a building complex he called the "Mausolea" of the Ur III rulers. Moorey has questioned this:

> The balance of available information, archaeological and textual...suggests that
> if the kings (and queen-mothers) of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur were buried in that
> city it was not in Woolley's "Mausolea", but in or adjacent to their main residen-
> tial palace, yet to be identified, in an area off the Temenos. Ur is not the only
> potential site for these graves, for they might have been in a palace at Uruk,
> home of the dynasty, or, less probably, even perhaps at Nippur (1984:18).

More recent evidence, in fact, does seem to show that Shu-Sin, at least, was buried in Uruk (Sigrist 1989; Charpin 1992).

It was under the rule of Ur-Nammu's son and successor Shulgi that the Ur III empire reached its greatest extent; Steinkeller calls him "the true builder of the Ur III state" (1991:16). There was a great deal of royal building activity and much bureaucratic reorganization. Steinkeller (1991:16-17) lists the following among the activities and reforms of Shulgi:

1)   The deification of Shulgi.
2)   The creation of a standing army.
3)   The reorganization of the system of temple households.

4) The creation of a unified administrative system for southern and northern Babylonia.

5) The introduction of the bala taxation system, coupled with the creation of a chain of redistribution centers, such as Puzriš-Dagan [Text 25a], which served to collect, to process, and to distribute the state revenues.

6) The creation of an enormous bureaucratic apparatus, as well as of a system of scribal schools that provided highly uniform scribal and administrative training for the prospective members of the bureaucracy.

7) The radical reform of the writing system.

8) The introduction of new accounting and recording procedures and of new types of archival records.

9) The reorganization of the system of weights and measures.

10) The introduction of a new calendar, the so-called Reichskalender, which became the official calendar throughout the Ur III state.

It was about half-way through Shulgi's rule when he began to conduct many military raids. A number of these were directed towards the East, modern-day Iran. The details of his campaigns are rarely known to us, and in fact it is surprising how little historical information we have about Shulgi's military activities, especially considering the fact that he ruled for almost half a century. He also had many diplomatic marriages during the course of his rule.

Shulgi was the subject of some thirty hymns, preserved to varying degrees. In *Hymn B*, he boasts "I learned the art of the scribe from the tablets of Sumer and Akkad"; he also refers to himself as "the scribe of Nisaba", the goddess of wisdom and writing. These hymns are discussed by Klein in his "Shulgi of Ur: King of a Neo-Sumerian Empire" (1995); this article contains much useful information about Ur III in general.
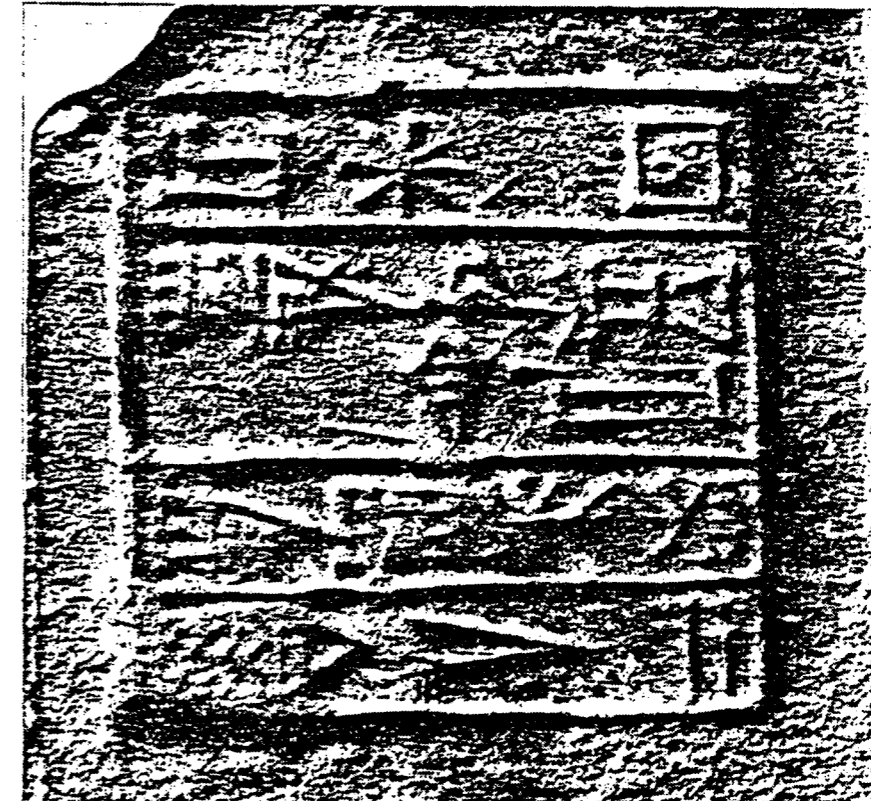
— Titulature

It was mentioned above that Naram-Sin of Akkad was the first Mesopotamian ruler to use the divine determinative before his name. He was also the first to use the title "king of the four quarters", in both an Akkadian form and a Sumerian form. This title was not apparently used by the other kings of the Akkad Dynasty. It was used once by a Gutian king, and once by Utu-Hengal of Uruk, who was overthrown by Ur-Nammu. Ur-Nammu himself did not use the title, presumably because of the limited size of his realm. Similarly, he did not use the divine determinative before his name. The title was used by all the other Ur III kings and afterward by various later rulers, in both Sumerian and Akkadian forms.

Horowitz points out "The geographic term 'The Four Regions' is based on a tradition of dividing the earth's surface into northern, southern, eastern and western quadrants derived from the four winds or compass point directions" (1998:298).

Text 9a
supplementary

Ur-Nammu 1
Brick

Text 9b
supplementary

Ur-Nammu 13
Basalt foundation tablet

In line 9, the expected du$_3$-sign of the verb mu-na-du$_3$ is most clearly a ni-sign. This is a mistake of the scribe, who was presumably influenced by the ni-sign in the line directly above.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒂍 E$_2$-an-na Eanna (TN)

E$_2$-an-na This is the name of Inanna's temple complex in Uruk, discussed in *Lesson Two*. The Akkadian ayakku, "a structure in a temple", is possibly from this word, although the phonetics involved are unclear.

‹ Lesson Ten ‹

This inscription was inscribed on a headdress or wig of diorite. D.J. Wiseman points out that this headdress was "scored on the underside to fit the rounded head of a statue". He concludes that it was "intended to be fitted to an actual statue rather than be used independently as an ex-voto object" (1960:168 n.25). Since the inscription was inscribed in stone, some of the signs are less than elegant.

Sign-list and vocabulary

Ba-u$_2$ Bau (DN, fem)

Lamar Lamar (DN, fem)

Nanše Nanshe (DN, fem)

Nin-ĝir$_2$-su Ningirsu (DN, masc)

^{d}Ba-u$_2$-nin-am$_3$ Bau-ninam (PN)

Ur-^{d}Nin-ĝir$_2$-su Ur-Ningirsu (PN)

ḫi-li attraction; headdress, wig

munus woman

zabar bronze

zabar-dab$_5$ (kind of official)

dab$_5$ to hold

dim$_2$ to fashion, form

am$_3$ (syllabic)

u$_2$ (syllabic)

Ba-u₂ She was the wife of Ningirsu, and hence a goddess of the city and state of Lagash (discussed in *Lesson Twenty-One*). In later periods she became identified with Inanna herself and with other goddesses.

The last sign of her name is the u₂-sign, ▦ , but its reading is uncertain, and so the name can be found transliterated Ba-u₂, Ba-ba₆, Ba-bu₁₁ (and Ba-bu₁₂), and Ba-wa₃. For simplicity sake, it is here transliterated Ba-u₂.

Lamar She was an intermediary or intercessory goddess. She appears on Ur III and Old Babylonian seals introducing a worshipper to a higher god or goddess; such a seal impression occurs as Text 21a. Although originating as one individual goddess, her protective aspect took on a life of its own, and in time other gods and goddesses, and even private individuals, could acquire their own personal Lamar aspect. The name Lamar becomes almost a generic word for "protection". Thus, there occur PNs of the type Lugal-ᵈLamar-ĝu₁₀, "The king is my protection". A thorough discussion of this goddess appears in the *RIA* ("Lamma/Lamassu"), by Daniel Foxvog, Wolfgang Heimpel, and Anne Kilmer.

Her name is written with the kal-sign (that is, the sign read up to now as kalag, ⏉). This is read Lama₂ (and Lama), Lamma₂ (and Lamma), Lamar, and Lammar. The word probably ended in some kind of /r/-Auslaut; Lieberman reconstructs the original form as /lamař/.

The Akkadian word lamassu is glossed by the *CAD* as "protective spirit"; on the surface, this would seem to derive from the Sumerian. Von Soden, however (1964:148-149) thinks that the Akkadian word has a Semitic pedigree, and the resemblance to the Sumerian word is only one of chance, not one of borrowing.

Nanše This was the chief goddess of Lagash. She was regularly consulted for the interpretation of dreams. When Gudea, the ruler of Lagash, had an odd dream in which a mysterious figure appeared, it was Nanshe to whom he turned for its explanation.

The cuneiform sign representing her name is basically the ab-sign (discussed in *Lesson One* in connection with the name of the city of Ur) with an inscribed ku₆-sign, ⏃ . ku₆ means "fish"; the sign is in origin the picture of a fish. This and other evidence indicates that Nanshe may originally have been some kind of fish-goddess. The same sign preceded by the determinative for city (ᵘʳᵘ) and followed by the determinative for place (ᵏⁱ) stands for the city of Sirara, one of the places where Nanshe was especially worshipped (such spellings of GNs are discussed in *Lesson Twelve*).

Her name is sometimes read as Nazi.

Nin-ĝir₂-su Ningirsu seems to have been the local name for the god elsewhere worshipped as Nin-urta, a god originally of agriculture and storms, but also of war. The two were probably independent deities who were very early identified with each other.

His name means "'Lord' of Girsu". nin is used here in the sense of en, "lord", as discussed at Text 5a. Girsu lay some twenty miles outside the city of Lagash and had a cultic connection

with it. Ningirsu's most famous temple was the E₂-ninnu meaning "House fifty"; the full form of the name was E₂-ninnu-anzuᵐᵘšᵉⁿ-babbar₂, perhaps "House of the fifty white *anzu*-birds" (George 1993:134).

ᵈBa-u₂-nin-am₃ As discussed below, this PN means something like "Bau is queen".

Ur-ᵈNin-ĝir₂-su This PN is also discussed below; it means "Man of Ningirsu".

ḫi-li The basic meaning of ḫi-li is something like "charm" or "attraction". Both Ur-Nammu and Shulgi are described in royal hymns as possessing ḫi-li. The Akkadian equivalent, kuzbu, is glossed by the *CAD* as "luxuriousness, abundance, attractiveness, charm, sexual vigor". ḫi-li also has the derived meaning "headdress" or "wig". The gudug-priests discussed in *Lesson Eighteen* are occasionally described as wearing a ḫi-li.

munus This is the most general term for "woman", Akkadian sinništu. It is sometimes transliterated mi₂. Particularly in older works, it is transliterated sal.

zabar Bronze is an alloy of tin and copper, neither of which is native to Mesopotamia. Tin came from Iran and further east. Copper came from Anatolia, Iran, Cyprus, and also Oman, where Sumerian pottery has been found.

The writing and etymology are discussed below. In older transliterations, each of the three individual signs forming this compound logogram is separately transliterated: ud-ka-bar.

zabar-dab₅ The etymology is discussed below. The original meaning of the term was "the one who holds the bronze", but it is unsure if this refers to bronze weapons or bronze utensils of some kind. Jacobsen refers to him as "the official in charge of the bronze (table-wares, cups, knives and so on of a large establishment, and possibly of the bronze weapons as well)" (1970 [1957] 382 n.55). However, the functions of officials often change over time, so that there may be a wide disparity between the etymology of the title of an official and his actual duties at any given time. The zabar-dab₅ is frequently attested in texts of many genres, and his function has been much discussed, although there is still no concensus as to this function.

Bertrand Lafont (1983) has studied the zabar-dab₅ in one specific body of texts, the administrative texts from Drehem during the Ur III period, and Charpin (1986:235ff) has studied his function in the Ekishnugal itself. Charpin thinks that the zabar-dab₅ was a "échanson". More recently, Heimpel, in his article "The Industrial Park of Girsu in the Year 2042 B.C." (1998), suggests "mirror holder".

The title was borrowed into Akkadian as zabardabbu. The *CAD* simply translates the Akkadian term as "an official". After a long discussion, it concludes with the remark that this official was "(possibly), originally the weapon carrier of the king".

dab₅ This is a very general verb meaning "to take, grab, grasp". The dab₅-sign is one of several signs which eventually fall together into the Neo-Assyrian ku-sign. In older transliterations, it appears as dib₂ (and, incorrectly, dib₄).

dim₂ While du₃ is used for the (re)construction of more substantive objects, such as palaces and temples, dim₂ is normally used for smaller, often hand-made objects. du₃ and dim₂ do not have exact one-to-one correspondences in Akkadian. dim₂ is normally equated with banû, but du₃ is equated both with banû and epēšu.

am₃ This sign is composed of two elements: 𒀀 , which normally has a syllabic reading a, and 𒀭 , which normally has a syllabic reading an. It is not clear how these two signs came to represent (together) the value /am/.

Text 10

Shulgi 29
Wig
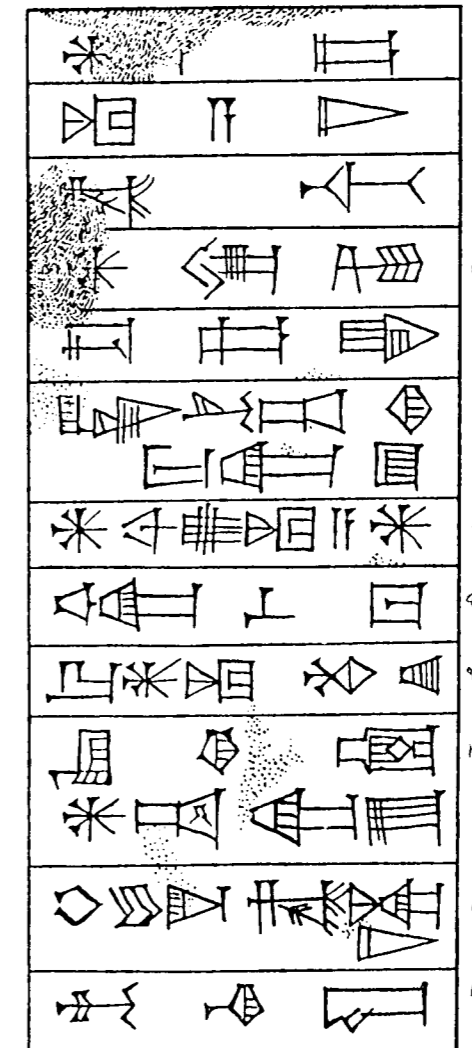
In line 1 the autograph shows a stroke of some kind between the ᵈ-sign and the kal-sign. Steible (1991:187) says that this stroke is not connected to the ᵈ-sign, but he does not elaborate. One might interpret it as the last stroke of a kal-sign: ᵈ[Ka]l-kal. This might be an unparalleled writing of Lamar. Or perhaps there is another deity concealed here. A god ᵈKal-kal is elsewhere attested, but seems to be masculine. For simplicity sake, the stroke is here ignored.

     The su-sign at the end of line 9 is incompletely drawn. It should have two horizontals inside.

Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1: ^{d}Lamar	[Lamar	For Lamar,
2: nin-a-ni	nin.ani].(r)	his lady —
3: nam-til$_3$	[nam.til$_3$	for the sake of the life
4: ^{d}Šul-gi	Šulgi	of Shulgi,
5: nitaḫ-kalag-ga	nitaḫ.kalag.a	the mighty man,
6: lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma-ka-še$_3$	lugal.Urim$_5$.ak.a(k)].še$_3$	the king of Ur —
7: ^{d}Ba-u$_2$-nin-am$_3$	[Bauninam	Bau-ninam,
8: zabar-dab$_5$	zabardab	the *zabardab*
9: Ur-^{d}Nin-ĝir$_2$-su	Urninĝirsu	of Ur-Ningirsu,
10: en-ki-aĝa$_2$-^{d}Nanše-ka-ke$_4$	en.ki.aĝa$_2$.a.Nanše.k.ak].e	the beloved lord of Nanshe —
11: ḫi-li-nam-munus-ka-ni	[ḫili.nam.munus.(a)k.ani].Ø	her beauty of womanhood —
12: mu-na-dim$_2$	mu.na.(n.)dim$_2$.Ø	fashioned.

Commentary

3-6. The essence of this line is "for the life of Shulgi". This would typically be expressed as [nam.til$_3$.Šulgi.(k)].še$_3$. However, this nominal phrase is complicated by the presence of two appositives. The first is the noun-adjective combination "mighty man", nitaḫ.kalag.a. The second is the genitive phrase "king of Ur", lugal.Urim$_5$.a(k). This entire nominal phrase may thus be diagrammed as:

$$[\text{nam.til}_3].\begin{bmatrix}\text{Šulgi} \\ \text{nitaḫ.kalag.a} \\ \text{lugal.Urim}_5\text{.ak}\end{bmatrix}.a(k).\text{še}_3$$

This results in a succession of two genitive markers, followed by the marker for the terminative case: .ak.a(k).še$_3$. In the writing system, this is reflected as: ...Urim$_5$-ma-ka-še$_3$. Since the /k/ of the first genitive marker .ak is followed by a vowel, it is pronounced and written. The /k/ of the second genitive marker .ak, however, is syllable-final before a consonant (/š/). In such cases, the /k/ does not show up in the writing system.

The problem of the amissable consonants has been discussed several times. The question is whether such consonants are amissable not only when word-final, but also when syllable-final. The theoretical sequence .ak.ak.še$_3$, for instance, is common, but the /k/ of the second genitive marker does not appear to ever be written in any of these occurrences. In general, it seems that the /k/ of the genitive marker does not appear in the writing system when it is in syllable-final position, that is, followed by a consonant beginning a new syllable. It is transcribed here within parentheses.

7. ^{d}Ba-u$_2$-nin-am$_3$ is a PN, "(The goddess) Bau is a lady", or perhaps "Bau is queen". The divine determinative goes with the name of the goddess Bau, not with the PN itself.

Sumerian has two ways to express copular sentences, that is, sentences expressing identity

of some sort: "I am the king", "The king is mighty", and so on. The first way is to inflect the verbal root meaning "to be" (me); it thus behaves like a regular verb. This formation is called the "independent copula" or "full copula". This formation is relatively uncommon; an instance occurs in Text 23b. The second formation, which is much more common, is to use a reduced form of this root as a suffix, instead of as an independent verb. This is called the "enclitic copula". For the third person, this consists of .am$_3$ suffixed to the noun or adjective serving as the predicate. Thus, "Nanna is king" is Nanna lugal.am$_3$; "Bau is queen" is Bau nin.am$_3$. .am$_3$ is usually written with the am$_3$-sign, which consists of the a-sign followed by the an-sign: 𒀀𒀭 .

To judge from previous writings of morphemes beginning with a vowel, one might expect to find a writing something like ^{d}Ba-u$_2$-nin-nam or ^{d}Ba-u$_2$-nin-na-am; here, however, the name is written ^{d}Ba-u$_2$-nin-am$_3$. This is thus a case where the script is morpheme bound; the one sign am$_3$ regularly expresses the morpheme .am$_3$, and there is no graphic reduplication of the preceding consonant. Non-morphemic spellings, however, also occur.

A PN in Sumerian which contains the name of a god usually implies that the bearer of the name is a man, while a PN which contains the name of a goddess implies that the bearer is a woman. However, there are numerous exceptions to this rule; "Ur-Nammu", for instance, is construed with the name of the goddess Nammu. There seems to be no evidence that the *zabardab* was ever a woman, and so it is likely that Bau-ninam was a man and not a woman.

8. The word zabar-dab$_5$ is composed of two elements: zabar "bronze" and dab$_5$, from a verbal root meaning "to grasp". dab$_5$ here is an "active participle". In general, verbal roots in Sumerian have two participles: an active participle in .Ø, and a passive participle in .a. The use of these rather conventional terms is not without problems, but in general the active participle denotes the doer of the action. Thus, dab$_5$ is "the one who grasps", "he who grasps". The passive participle denotes the result of the action, or the one acted upon. dab$_5$-ba would mean "something grasped". From sar, "to write", the active participle sar means "someone writing" while the passive participle sar-ra "something written".

As do participles in English, the participle in Sumerian can take a direct object. Here, zabar is the direct object of dab$_5$. Thus, an etymological translation of zabar-dab$_5$ is "the one who grasps the bronze" or "he who grasps the bronze". The object precedes the participle, just as the direct object (patient) precedes a finite verb. Several names of professions in Sumerian are formed from an active participle with an incorporated direct object; dub-sar, "scribe", literally "tablet-writer", is discussed at Text 18a. However, this particular title may have been "felt" as one unit, since it was borrowed into Akkadian as one word, zabardabbu. It is here treated as one word.

As discussed previously, adjectives in .Ø (such as maḫ) are often called active participles, and adjectives in .a (such as kalag-ga) passive participles. It is not sure if this is a valid use of these terms. One of the reasons for this confusion is because the different semantic and syntactic categories of the Sumerian root (verbal, nominal, adjectival, and so on) have not yet been definitively established. Another reason is the rather multi-faceted use of the nominalizer .a.

Participles are further studied in *Lesson Fifteen*.

9. The PN Ur-Ningirsu means "Man of Ningirsu". The DN Ningirsu itself means "'Lord' of Girsu", nin.Ḡirsu.(k). Therefore, the PN is to be understood as [Ur].[Nin.Ḡirsu.k].a(k). The first genitive marker (.k) is for [Nin].[Ḡirsu].k; the second (.ak) is for [Ur].[Nin.Ḡirsu.k].ak. However, neither of the two genitive markers appears in line 9. In certain PNs, one or more of the genitive markers was deleted, and the name was treated as one "word". Thus, the name is transcribed here as Urningirsu. It is hard to say why this happens with some PNs and not with others.

10. Lines 7-10 form the ergative nominal phrase expressing the agent of the transitive verb in line 12. The ergative case marker .e appears at the end of line 10. The nominal phrase is complicated by the presence of several appositives. Line 7 is a PN, Bau-ninam. Lines 8-9 are an appositive, describing Bau-ninam as the "*zabardab* of Ur-Ningirsu". This would normally be expressed as [zabardab].[Urningirsu].k, but Ur-Ningirsu himself is described as "the beloved lord of Nanshe", an appositive. "Beloved lord of Nanshe" is [en.ki.aga₂.a].[Nanše].k. ki.aga₂.a modifies en, forming the first element of a genitive phrase, with Nanshe being the second element. Thus "the *zabardab* of Ur-Ningirsu, the beloved lord of Nanshe" consists of [zabardab].[Urningirsu, en.ki.aga₂.a.Nanše.k].ak; this is all in apposition to the PN Bau-ninam. This may be diagrammed as:

$$\text{Bauninam} \begin{bmatrix} \text{zabardab} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{Urningirsu} \\ \text{en.ki.aga}_2\text{.a.Nanše.k} \end{bmatrix} \text{.ak} \end{bmatrix} \text{.e}$$

The end of the nominal phrase is written …ᵈNanše-ka-ke₄. As in other inscriptions, the writing sytem does not closely mirror the morphology.

11. munus is "woman"; nam-munus is an abstract, "womanhood".

This line means something like "her [beauty of womanhood]", that is, "her woman's beauty". Thus, it is a genitive phrase, followed by a possessive suffix: [ḫili.nam.munus.ak].ani.

The basic rule for the genitive marker as presented up to now has been that it takes the form /ak/ after consonants and /k/ after vowels. Thus, one would expect this phrase to be written ḫi-li-nam-munus-sa-ka-ni or something similar. What is actually written, however, is ḫi-li-nam-munus-ka-ni; the vowel /a/ of the genitive marker /ak/ does not appear in the writing.

Writings where the /a/ of the genitive marker does not appear after a consonant are not uncommon; the next example is in a formulaic phrase appearing in Text 12. It is difficult to say whether such writings tell us something about Sumerian orthography, or Sumerian phonology, or Sumerian morphology. In order to make the written form fit our understanding of the grammar, one school of thought would read the first sign as munusa, instead of munus. This would produce munusa-ka-ni, accurately reflecting munus.ak.ani. Parallel phenomena occur outside of the Ur III corpus. For example, in the inscriptions of Gudea—inscriptions highly localized to one time and place—"his king" is expressed by both lugal-ni and lugal-a-ni. In order to make lugal-ni more closely fit our understanding of Sumerian, some scholars would read the two signs as

lugala-ni instead of lugal-ni.

This interpretation was particularly adumbrated by Falkenstein, who saw similar phenomena elsewhere in Sumerian. He coined the term "überhängende Vokale" (in English, "overhanging" or "overlapping" vowels) to describe just such writings. This school of thought would thus see such writings as an orthographic problem (the standard sign-lists, however, do not recognize a reading *munusa for the sign in question).

A different view sees this as a morphological (or phonological) problem. Yoshikawa thinks that the genitive marker was sometimes /k/ after a consonant, not /ak/; he also thinks that there are cases where the genitive marker was /ak/ after a vowel, not /k/. However, he is not yet able to describe rules for the distribution of /ak/ and /k/ after consonants.

The view followed here is that this is only a feature of the writing system. Sumerian never accurately reflected the spoken language. Although a scribe may have spoken /lugalani/, he or she was perfectly happy to write lugal-ni, because with just these two cuneiform characters, he or she knew what to read. Why bother to write an a-sign if the context makes the presence of a spoken /a/ obvious? In the transcription, this is indicated by putting the expected vowel in parentheses.

Line 11 expresses the direct object (patient) of the verb dim₂, and so the nominal phrase is in the absolutive case.

Discussion: Structure

Because of the presence of so many appositional phrases, it is difficult to see the basic structure of this text. Its substance is: "Bau-ninam fashioned a wig for Lamar, for the sake of the long life of Shulgi":

[Lamar, nin.ani].(r)	benefactive
[nam.til₃.Šulgi, nitaḫ.kalag.a, lugal.Urim₅.ak.a(k)].še₃	purpose
[Bauninam, zabardab.Urningirsu, en.ki.aga₂.a.Nanše.k.ak].e	agent
[ḫili.nam.munus.(a)k.ani].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)dim₂.Ø	verb

In Text 3, the donor of the dedicated object (a stone vessel) was Ur-Nammu himself. Here the donor is an official of the king. This text thus marks the first time in this *Manual* where the subject (agent) of the main verb is not the king himself, but a private individual.

— Writing system

The innocuous-looking word zabar illustrates some of the intricacies of the Sumerian writing system. There are no metals native to Sumer; all had to be imported. Thus, zabar is not a Sumerian word; it was borrowed from some unknown language. Hallo says "In general, it may be supposed that the basic metal names are non-Sumerian 'Kulturwörter' or 'Wanderwörter'
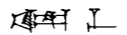
which were adopted together with their referents" (1963:140). In Akkadian the word for bronze is siparru. The pronunciation of the Sumerian word as /zabar/ and the Akkadian word as /siparru/ is known from lexical lists, where they are spelled out as za-bar and si-par-ru. Akkadian may have borrowed this word independently from the same language that Sumerian borrowed it from, or, more likely, borrowed it directly from Sumerian. In either case, the form siparru is a little odd; it would seem to derive from */sipar/, not /zabar/.

One way to resolve this discrepancy is to assume that in earlier Sumerian the word for "bronze" was, in fact, /sipar/, and that the pronunciation as /zabar/ represents an inner-Sumerian development. If the difference between /p/ and /b/ was one of voice, the change of /p/ > /b/ is not surprising; voicing of inter-vocalic voiceless consonants happens in many languages. If the difference between the two was actually one of aspiration, a change of /pʰ/ to /b/ is also not unusual. The change of initial /s/ > /z/ is less easily explained, but there are other parallels in Sumerian to this change; and in fact we know little of the actual pronunciation of the sibilants in Sumerian. The difference in vocalization between the two forms is more interesting. There is a fair amount of evidence to show that Sumerian has undergone a rather extensive process of vocalic assimilation. In words originally containing two vowels of differing quality, one vowel has assimilated to the quality of the other. In this particular case, an original */i-a/ has become /a-a/. In *Lesson Nineteen*, a similar case of */u-a/ becomng /a-a/ is discussed.

Thus, /zabar/ can be derived from /sipar/, following sound changes which are elsewhere attested in Sumerian. This then would represent a case where the Akkadian word has actually preserved a more archaic form of the word than has Sumerian. Presumably Akkadian borrowed it from Sumerian before the change of */i-a/ to /a-a/ took place.

The Sumerian word is written by the three signs ud-ka-bar. How does the pronunciation /zabar/ derive from these signs? In the case of the word nidba, there was no obvious way to phonetically relate the pronunciations /nindaba/ or /nidba/ to any pronunciation of the individual signs; that is, the word was more than the sum of its parts. But since here one of the three signs forming the word for "bronze" is the bar-sign, it seems reasonable to assume that /zabar/ derives phonetically from these three signs. But how? One possibility might be to read ud-ka as za$_x$. This type of approach is favored by some scholars, who try to make the writing system better fit Sumerian pronunciation. However, there does not seem to be any other, independent, evidence which would justify positing a reading za$_x$ for these two signs, and the standard sign-lists do not recognize such a value.

However, a further complication must be introduced. In the earliest Sumerian, the word for "bronze" is not, in fact, written ud-ka-bar. Rather, it is written 𒆊 𒇴 . The first sign is the ka-sign with a ud-sign inscribed inside. This is conventionally transliterated KAxUD, using an "x" to indicate that one sign is written inside another (signs composed of one sign with another sign inside are sometimes called "complex" signs). The next sign is the bar-sign. Thus, these signs can be transliterated KAxUD-bar. The writing ud-ka-bar represents the on-going process of Sumerian linearizing its writing system; compare the discussion of lugal in *Lesson One*.

Some scholars have posited a reading za$_6$ for KAxUD; this is accepted by some sign-lists, although with reservation. However, Falkenstein has pointed out evidence that KAxUD can be read as si$_{19}$. This reading is accepted by the standard sign-lists. Perhaps, then, the word for "bronze" should be transliterated as si$_{19}$-bar. Salonen, in fact, transliterates it as si$_{19}$-bar for the older period, but as zabar for the "nachsumerische" period (1961:108). In this interpretation, which is probably correct, si$_{19}$-bar represents an older pronunciation of the word, which in time changed to /zabar/. But the same cuneiform signs continued to be used to write the newer pronunciation.

— Overhanging vowels

The overhanging vowels have generated a certain amount of polemics in the course of Sumerological studies (discussed in Yoshikawa 1980). This overhanging vowel seems to be mostly /a/, although individual cases of overhanging /e/, /i/, and /u/ have been posited.

In Falkenstein's view, the readings in /a/ represent older forms of Sumerian words. That is, at one time these words were pronounced with a final /a/. The word for "king", for example, was originally */lugala/. At some point, these final /a/s were dropped; the word for "king" became /lugal/. However, the sign used to represent this word could be used for either the newer value /lugal/ or for the older value /lugala/. Since both values co-occurred, a scribe could write "his king" as either lugal-a-ni or lugala-ni, both representing /lugal.ani/ (presumably, the more original form would have been */lugala.ani/ or */lugala.ni/).

Other scholars question their existence; they see varying phonetic factors at work. It was mentioned above, for example, that Yoshikawa thinks that the genitive in /k/ occasionally occurred after consonants, not just vowels; thus, "the son of the king" might have been pronounced /dumulugalk/. However, Yoshikawa could not state any general rules for the distribution of /k/ and /ak/ after consonants. For other overhanging vowels (for example, in the verbal system), he has other explanations.

In writings of the lugal-ni type, it has also been posited that the /a/ was dropped: */lugalani/ > /lugalni/; this was Poebel's position. Without going into details, it can be seen that such an explanation raises more questions than it answers, such as the co-occurrence of writings such as lugal-ni and lugal-a-ni in the same time and place.

Is there any independent evidence which justifies the view that certain signs contain an overhanging vowel? The data are difficult to interpret. The fact that the nominalized forms of the verb "to love" are written both ki-aĝa$_2$ and ki-aĝ$_2$-ĝa$_2$ might seem to indicate that this one sign 𒉘 can be read /aĝ/ and /aĝa/. However, it is also possible that ĝa$_2$ here is a phonetic complement, and the form should be understood as ki-aĝa$_2$^{ĝa2}; or it might be that these writings reflect phonological problems of particular roots ending in a vowel.

The Akkadian lexical tradition is likewise ambiguous. Lexical lists do provide readings with /a/ for some signs, but for the most part they do not (for example, they show no evidence of a reading lugala or munusa). And, some of these readings with an overhanging vowel may very well result from Akkadian scribes encountering the same problems in the writing system that

we do. These scribes may have anticipated some modern scholars, by generating readings in /a/ in order to make the writing system more closely fit the pronunciation.

The view here is that the controversy arises from a misunderstanding of the nature of the Sumerian writing system. Because the expression "malt house" is written e$_2$-bappir, for example, and not e$_2$-bappir-ra (for the assumed e$_2$.bappir.a(k)), Falkenstein would say that the second sign should be read as bappira. But it is more likely that the Sumerian scribe felt no need to write any indication of the genitive marker. Such scribes were content to write e$_2$-bappir, even if they pronounced the form /ebappira(k)/. Falkenstein's school is an attempt to make the writing system more closely resemble a transcription of speech, and this is not how the writing system should be understood. Similarly, "in the land of Sumer" is normally written kalam-ma in the Gudea texts, for kalam.a. But once, apparently, this locative phrase is written kalam. Falkenstein would read this as kalama. Similarly, "on the tablet", written just dub, would be read by Falkenstein as duba. The view in this *Manual*, however, following Jacobsen, is that these writings reflect an earlier period of Sumerian orthography, when it was not necessary in general to write case endings. In the Ur III period such writings might be called archaisms, but they are still legitimate spellings.

As early as 1933, Poebel said that the "theory of the so-called 'overlapping vowel'…completely sidetracked the scientific investigation of Sumerian grammar and became one of the major hindrances to the progress of Sumerology in former times" (1933-34:152 n.3). However, as implied above, overhanging vowels are still frequently used even in the most recent transliterations of Sumerian.

— Enclitic copula

The paradigm for the enclitic copula in the singular is given below. The forms for the first and second persons will be discussed in *Lesson Fourteen*.

first person singular	-me-(en)	
second	-me-(en)	
third	-am$_3$	(after consonant)
	-m	(after vowel)

As shown, the forms for the third person are /am/ after a consonant and /m/ after a vowel. It is possible that the /a/ of /am/ is originally an epenthetic vowel. /am/ is almost always written with the am$_3$-sign. In texts pre-dating Ur III, it is usually written ⟨𒀮⟩ , read as am$_6$. Several different uses of the enclitic copula will be seen in the following *Lessons*.

— Loan words

As was discussed above, "bronze" is zabar in Sumerian, siparru in Akkadian. The word for "copper" is urudu in Sumerian, werû in Akkadian. These last two are usually spelled out in lexical lists as u$_2$-ru-du and e-ru-u. The ultimate origin and relationship of these various words

is unknown. It is not impossible that both zabar and urudu go back to a common pre-Sumerian substrate word. werû probably derives from the same substrate word.

In the bilingual lexical texts from Ebla, the Eblaite equivalent of urudu is spelled ka$_3$-pa$_2$-lum. This has no obvious Semitic cognate, and it is hard not to see some connection with the Latin word cuprum. urudu and werû have even been connected with the Indo-European word which ultimately appears in English as the adjective "red".

— Proper names

The most thorough study of PNs in Sumerian is that by Henri Limet: *L'anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3 dynastie d'Ur* (1968). This work discusses the meanings of individual names and of the various words occurring within such names.

The name ^{d}Ba-u$_2$-nin-am$_3$ was analyzed above as "Bau is queen". This is not the only possible interpretation. The word for "lady, queen" was /nin/, written with the nin-sign. The word in Sumerian for "sister" was also pronounced /nin/, though written with the nin$_9$-sign. The nin-sign and the nin$_9$-sign are very similar; they consist of the munus-sign followed by a box-like sign. In post-Ur III times, in fact, they fall together, with the result that in Neo-Assyrian times the same sign can stand for both nin and nin$_9$. Confusion between the two is not uncommon, even in Ur III times, so it has been suggested that this name is actually a vocative phrase meaning "O Bau, it's a sister!". This would be a kind of "greeting name". This is the interpretation preferred by Limet, for example (1968:184).

There are several PNs which do not show an expected genitive marker, such as the Ur-^{d}Nin-ĝir$_2$-su occurring in Text 10. Edzard asks: "The nominal syntax of Sumerian proper names needs discussion: were there special rules—or options?— of morphological simplification? Or do we have to consider all cases of defective notation of morphological elements as cases of spelling only?" (1997:164 n.24).

In the inscription Ibbi-Sin 3, a statue is donated for the life of the king by one Ur-^{d}Nin-ĝir$_2$-su, who is called en-ki-aĝa$_2$-^{d}Nanše. It is not impossible that this is the same individual mentioned in line 9 of Text 10.

— Function

As stated above, the wig which this text was inscribed on was meant to be placed on a statue of a god. Although a few small stone statues of minor gods are extant, no statue of a major god from a major temple in Sumer has been preserved. Pollock says

The deity was considered to be present in the cult statue once it had been properly fashioned and consecrated. No cult statues have been preserved, probably because the gold was melted down and reused and the wood decomposed, but according to descriptions in texts they were made out of wood plated with gold and had eyes of semi-precious stones. The statue underwent mouth- and eye-opening rituals in order to make it animate. After these rituals were performed, it

was clothed in luxurious garments and jewelry, fed, and brought into the temple, where it was placed on a pedestal in the inner sanctuary. It was fed every day with foods such as bread, beer, meat, fish, milk, cheese, butter, honey, and dates, and at various times, especially during festivals, it was taken out of the temple and paraded through the city and countryside (1999:186-187).
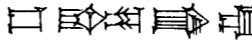
Text 10a
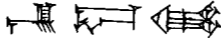## supplementary

Shulgi 1
Brick
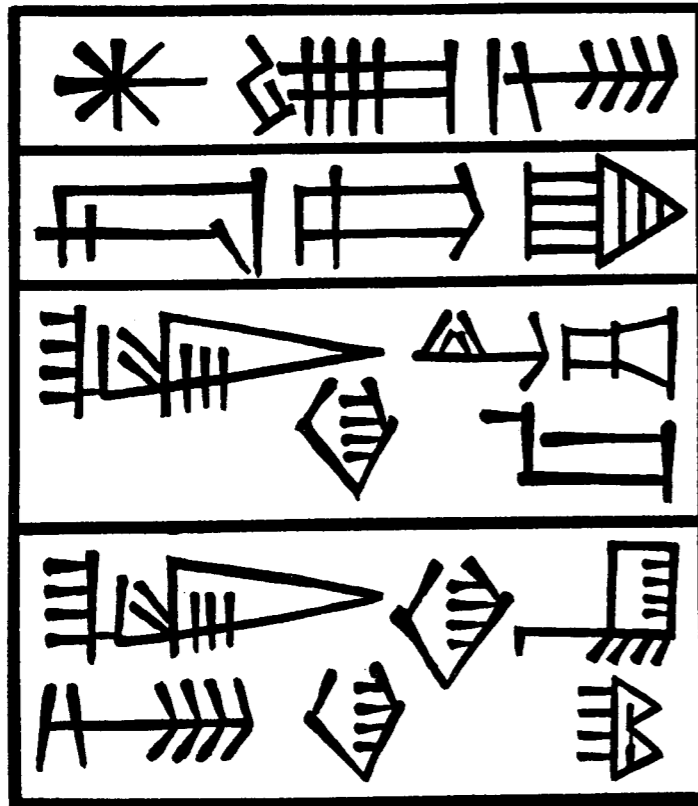
⟨𒁹 Lesson Eleven ⟨𒁹

This inscription was inscribed on the foot of a vase of marble. The vase was found in Ur, and is now in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad. No photograph is available.

Sign-list and vocabulary
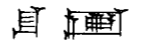
𒁹𒃲𒈨𒌍	**Bil₃-ga-meš₃** Gilgamesh (DN, masc)
𒂗𒁻�	**En-dim₂-gig** Endimgig (GN)
𒈬�𒊏	**mu-sar-ra** inscription
𒌓	**ud** (u₄) day
𒉆𒄢	**nam...kur₅** (ku₅) to curse
𒋗𒌫	**šu...ur₃** to erase
𒁉	**bi₂** (syllabic)
𒁕	**da** (syllabic)
𒂊	**e** (syllabic)
𒄩	**ḫa** (syllabic)
𒅁	**ib₂** (syllabic)
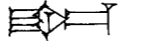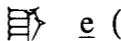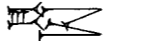
Bil₃-ga-meš₃ This appears to be the more original reading of the name familiarly known to us as "Gilgamesh". The apparent meaning of the name is "The old man (bil₃-ga) is (now) a young man (meš₃)". This sounds like an odd given name. Maureen Kovacs translates the name as "The Old One Is Youthful", and adds "Such a meaning is inherently unlikely for a name given at birth, so it may have been given at his coronation" (1985:xxvii). It may also have been an epithet applied to him after his death. In either case, his given name is thus unknown. It is also not impossible that the name had some other completely different meaning, and the standard interpretation is an ancient Mesopotamian folk etymology.

The change of initial /b/ > /g/ took place as a result of assimilation to the following /g/. It is not known when this change first took place; an Old Babylonian omen text of about 1900 BCE

has the spelling ᵈGe-el-ga.

The bil₃-sign is itself a combination of two signs, the giš-sign and the bil₂-sign.

En-dim₂-gig This was a small town, or perhaps a cultic center, near Ur (Steinkeller 1981:86-87). Steinkeller suggests it might be present-day Diqdiqah, a small mound northeast of the ziggurat at Ur. It is further discussed by Carroué (1993:35-42).

mu-sar-ra sar means "to write". sar-ra represents sar.a, the passive participle, "something written". mu has many meanings, for example, "name". mu.sar.a is something like "a written text" or "inscription". The word was borrowed into Akkadian as musarû, translated by the *CAD* as "1. object bearing an inscription, 2. inscription". Both the Sumerian and the Akkadian words are especially used to refer to royal inscriptions.

ud This is basically the same word seen in the name of the sun-god, Utu (Text 3a). The name Utu and the noun utu "sun" preserve the older value of the word, /utu/, while the word for "day" shows a loss of the final vowel /u/ and voicing of /t/; thus /utu/ > /ud/.

nam...kur₅ This is a compound verb. nam is the (historic) patient of kur₅, meaning here something like "decision". The meaning of the compound verb was originally "to cut a decision (against)". It then took on the meaning "to curse". Its Akkadian equivalent is arāru, the most general verb meaning "to curse". Other languages, such as Hebrew, occasionally use verbs meaning "to cut" with ideas such as oaths, treaties, and so on. nam...kur₅ usually takes its complement in the comitative case (Edzard 1975a:75).

The kur₅-sign can also be read tar. Confusingly enough, there are two different verbs: nam...kur₅ meaning "to curse" and nam...tar meaning "to decide the fate of/for", "to decree a destiny for". nam-tar was used as a logogram for Akkadian šimtu, "fate". nam...tar was also borrowed directly into Akkadian as namtaru, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. death, fate, 2. (a demon, bringer of death)".

These two uses were sorted out by Edzard in his important article on Sumerian oath formulas (1975a). The boundary between the two expressions is, however, not always clear, and it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between the two meanings, so both expressions are occasionally found transliterated nam...tar.

The verbal element of the verb is transliterated ku₅, kud, kur₅, and kuru₅. Its Auslaut was the /dr/-phoneme discussed under *Phonology*.

šu...ur₃ This is also a compound verb. šu means "hand" and ur₃ means "to move or drag (something)". šu is thus the (historic) patient of ur₃: "to move the hand over", and so "to erase". Its Akkadian equivalent is pašāṭu, glossed by *AHw* as "tilgen, auslöschen". šu...ur₃ takes its complement in the locative case.

There is some evidence that the root ended in /u/, and so it is also transliterated šu...uru₁₂.

Text 11

Ur-Nammu 40
Vase
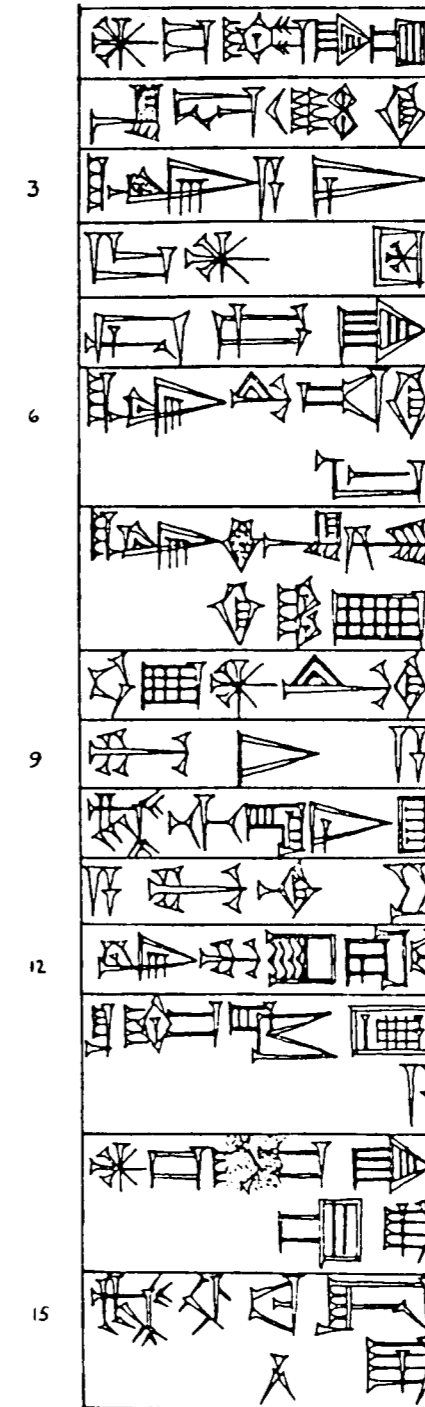
Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1: ^{d}Bil$_3$-ga-meš$_3$	[Bilgameš	For Gilgamesh
2: En-dim$_2$-gig^{ki}	Endimgig.(a)	of Endimgig,
3: lugal-a-ni	lugal.ani].(r)	his king —
4: Ur-^{d}Nammu	[Ur.Nammu	Ur-Nammu,
5: nitaḫ-kalag-ga	nitaḫ.kalag.a	the mighty man,
6: lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma	lugal.Urim$_5$.a	the king of Ur,
7: lugal-Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri-ke$_4$	lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e	the king of Sumer and Akkad —
8: ud e$_2$-^{d}Nanna	[ud e$_2$.Nanna.Ø	when he built the temple of Nanna —
9: mu-du$_3$-a	mu.(n.)du$_3$.Ø.a].a	
10: nam-til$_3$-la-ni-še$_3$	[nam.til$_3$.ani].še$_3$	for the sake of his life —
11: a mu-na-ru	[a].Ø mu.na.(n.)ru.Ø	dedicated (this vase).
12: lu$_2$ mu-sar-ra-ba	[lu$_2$.(e) musara.bi.a	May Gilgamesh curse the man who erases this inscription!
13: šu bi$_2$-ib$_2$-ur$_3$-a	[šu].Ø bi$_2$.b.ur$_3$.(e.)Ø.a](.d)	
14: ^{d}Bil$_3$-ga-meš$_3$-e	[Bilgameš].e	
15: nam ḫa-ba-da-kur$_5$-e	[nam].Ø ḫe$_2$.ba.da.(b.)kur$_5$.e.Ø	

Commentary

2. The first editor of this text read the line as en DIM$_2$.GIG^{ki}, "lord of DIM$_2$.GIG", understanding DIM$_2$.GIG^{ki} as an otherwise unattested GN, but adding the comment "I cannot understand DIM$_2$.GIG^{ki} as an epithet in line 2". However, it is now clear that there is a GN En-dim$_2$-gig^{ki} which occurs at least twice in Sumerian texts. The en-sign is thus an element of the GN, not the word "lord". Presumably, lines 1-2 form a genitive phrase, "Gilgamesh of Endimgig". This is, curiously, the same construction found in one of the other occurrences of the GN: ^{d}Nin-šubura EN-DIM$_2$.GIG^{ki}, translated by J. van Dijk as "Ninšubura von? EN-DÍM.GIG^{ki}". One might have expected a final ga-sign to express the /a/ of the genitive marker. However, when the second term of the genitive phrase is a GN, it is not uncommon to find the genitive marker unexpressed in writing; a similar situation with PNs was discussed in *Lesson Ten*.

Text 16 also contains a DN followed by a GN: ^{d}Nanna Kar-zid-da lugal-ki-aĝ$_2$-ĝa$_2$-ni-ir, "For Nanna of Karzida, his beloved king".

8. ud introduces a subordinate, temporal clause: "when he built the temple of Nanna". Sumerian does not have many different kinds of subordinate clause formation. The most common type is a temporal clause, expressing such ideas as "when", "after", "since", and so on. As is frequently the case in Sumerian, it is fairly easy to recognize the surface form of such constructions but a little harder to understand the grammar behind the writing; however, the formation is similar to that of relative clauses, discussed in *Lesson Six*.

The simplest temporal clause consists of, first, a head noun. The most frequent head noun is ud, "day", but others can occur, and occasionally the head noun is deleted. In line 8 the head noun is ud. Second comes a verbal phrase nominalized in .a, which stands in apposition to the head noun. The underlying independent sentence is here "He built the temple of Nanna", e$_2$.Nanna.Ø mu.(n.)du$_3$.Ø. This is nominalized as [e$_2$.Nanna.Ø mu.(n.)du$_3$.Ø].a. This is essentially the same construction as a relative clause. It may be instructive to compare this clause with the relative clause in Text 6. In that inscription, "the man who built the temple of Enlil" was expressed as:

    lu$_2$ [e$_2$.Enlil.a.Ø i$_3$.n.du$_3$.Ø].a

The construction here is much the same, but the head noun is ud instead of lu$_2$:

    ud [e$_2$.Nanna.Ø mu.(n.)du$_3$.Ø].a.

The difference between the two constructions is that the relative clause in Text 6 modified a noun, Ur-Nammu: "Ur-Nammu, the man who built". In temporal clauses, the clause does not modify any noun.

Finally, this entire complex is put into the locative case, marked by .a (the second .a in the transcription of line 9). The function of the locative here is to indicate "on": "on the day that":

    [ud [e$_2$.Nanna.Ø mu.(n.)du$_3$.Ø].a].a

A literal translation of this entire clause would thus be: "on the day that he built". In more idiomatic English, however, we may say "at the time when", or simply "when": "When he built the temple of Nanna, he dedicated (this vase)". Such clauses are often called, in fact, "when-clauses".

It is also possible to find other case markers in the final position, used to express other relationships of time. Thus the ablative case marker ta marks such relationships as "since, from" and the terminative case marker še$_3$ indicates "until".

In this temporal clause, the verbal chain uses the CP mu, and the PA (.n) does not appear in the writing. In the relative clause in Text 6, the CP was i$_3$, and the PA appeared in the writing. It is not easy to understand the reasons for such alternations.

Although the transcription indicates a sequence of the /a/ of the nominalizer and the /a/ of the locative case marker, it is reasonable to assume that vocalic contraction took place; in such a construction, two /a/s are never written.

Lines 8-9 form the subordinate clause; lines 10-11 form the main clause. In Sumerian, the subordinate clause regularly precedes the main clause. This is typical of S-O-V languages.

12-15. These lines express a curse. Similar wording occurs in other Sumerian inscriptions. Several new features of Sumerian grammar are introduced here.

Lines 12-13 are a relative clause, serving as the complement of the verb in line 15. Its meaning is "the man who erases this inscription". The head noun is lu$_2$, functioning as the subject of the verb bi$_2$-ib$_2$-ur$_3$. The assumed .e has assimilated into the /u/ of /lu/. The verbal phrase is nominalized by .a in line 13. Unlike the relative clause in Text 6, this relative clause does not modify another noun. It can thus be translated as "the one who", "he who", or "whoever".

šu...ur$_3$ is a compound verb. bi$_2$ is a CP not yet seen. Its function is discussed below.

All the verb forms seen up to this point have been in the ḫamṭu. As discussed in *Lesson One*, the difference between the ḫamṭu and the marû is probably one of aspect. The ḫamṭu indicates completed action while the marû indicates incompleted action. Since the inscriptions seen up to now have all described completed action in the past, they have used the ḫamṭu. The verb form in line 13, however, is used to express an incompleted action taking place in the future: "whoever will erase", "whoever might erase". Therefore, it is put into the marû. Putting a verb form into the marû entails use of the "marû root" instead of the "ḫamṭu root". The marû root is formed from the ḫamṭu root in several different ways. It is not clear exactly how many classes of marû formation exist, and the formation used for any particular verb is lexical, that is, it is not predictable. Yoshikawa, in his seminal article published in 1968, established three different classes:

► "Reduplication". The marû root is formed by reduplicating the ḫamṭu root. Thus, "to return": ḫamṭu, gi₄; marû, gi₄-gi₄.

Roots of the pattern CVC lose their final consonant when reduplicated. Thus, "to place": ḫamṭu, ğar; marû, ğa₂-ğa₂ (always written this way). This is sometimes called "curtailed reduplication".

► "Alternation" or "replacement". An entirely different root is used for the marû. This root is non-predictable from the ḫamṭu root. Thus, "to speak": ḫamṭu, dug₄; marû, e. dug₄ and e are two entirely different signs. However, there are cases where a ḫamṭu root and a marû root are written with the same sign. Thus, "to go": ḫamṭu, ğin; marû, du. The ğin-sign and the du-sign are exactly the same, ⯈! In such cases, it is only the grammatical context which indicates whether the sign is to be read as the ḫamṭu root or the marû root.

It is possible that this category represents the merging into one paradigm of roots which were originally quite distinct, just as, for example, the verb "to go" in English is now composed of forms of what in an earlier stage of the language were different roots.

► "Affixation". This is formed by suffixation of an element .e to the ḫamṭu root. This .e is called the "marû element", "marû affix", or "marû suffix". Thus, "to build": ḫamṭu, du₃; marû, du₃-e. This class is the most common formation of the marû. It is the formation used with the verb in line 13, ur₃: ur₃.e, which would normally be written ur₃-re. Here, however, the marû suffix .e has contracted into the following nominalizer .a, and so it does not show up in the writing.

The marû formation for any specific verb is not always known. Moreover, some roots fall into two, and a few even all three, classes. As mentioned above, ur₃ is a member of the affixation class, but reduplicated marû forms also occur. In later Sumerian combinations of these classes sometimes occur, such as a reduplicated root followed by the marû suffix. For example, the verb bir, "to become confused", sometimes shows such forms as -bir-bir-re. These cases have not all been explained.

In addition to requiring usage of the marû root in place of the ḫamṭu root, putting a verb into the marû entails a change in the distribution of the PAs. Let us look at a transitive verb. In the ḫamṭu, the PA position *before* the verbal root cross-references the *agent*, and the PA position

after the verbal root cross-references the *patient*. In the marû, however, it is just the opposite. The PA position *before* the verbal root cross-references the *patient*, and the PA position *after* the verbal root cross-references the *agent*. For example, "The king built the house" (ḫamṭu) is:

    (1)   lugal.e e₂.Ø mu.n.du₃.Ø

But, "The king will build the house" (marû) is:

    (2)   lugal.e e₂.Ø i₃.b.du₃.e.Ø.

In (1), the ergative case marked in .e is cross-referenced by the .n before the verbal root; the absolutive case marked in .Ø is cross-referenced by the .Ø after the verbal root. But in (2), the ergative case marked in .e is cross-referenced by the .Ø after the marû suffix; the absolutive case marked in .Ø is cross-referenced by the .b before the verbal root (.b is used here to cross-reference an inanimate antecedent; .n is used to cross-reference an animate antecedent). The case markings on the nominal participants in the sentence are the same in both the ḫamṭu and the marû: lugal.e and e₂.Ø. However, the distribution of the PAs is different.

Thus, in the verb form in line 13, šu.Ø bi₂.b.ur₃.(e.)Ø.a, the .e is the marû suffix and the .Ø cross-references the third person agent (lu₂). The .b before the root cross-references the šu, which is the (historic) patient of the verb ur₃.

The verb form may thus be summarized as:

    šu.Ø   bi₂ · b · ur₃ · (e) · Ø · a
    (1)   (2)   (3) (4)   (5)   (6) (7)

    (1)   nominal element of compound verb, historic patient
    (2)   conjugation prefix
    (3)   personal affix cross-referencing patient (šu)
    (4)   verbal element of compound verb
    (5)   marû suffix
    (6)   personal affix cross-referencing agent (lu₂)
    (7)   nominalizer, forming relative clause.

The combination bi₂.b in the verbal prefix chain is quite frequent, and usually written with the bi₂-sign followed by the ib₂-sign, as in Text 11.

As was mentioned above, the marû suffix does not actually show up in the writing here; the assumption is that it assimilated into the nominalizer a. This analysis is based on other writings where the .e is indeed present, but its absence in forms such as line 13 does give one pause.

mu-sar-ra-ba is for musara.bi.a, "on this inscription". bi is a demonstrative, loosely meaning "this". It is suffixed to its noun. It is identical in form (and probably in origin) with the third person inanimate possessive suffix.

.a is the locative case marker. musara.bi is in the locative case, serving as the complement of the verb šu...ur₃, which regularly takes its complement in the locative. The /i/ of /bi/ has con-

tracted into the /a/ of the locative; this assimilation is normal. This locative relationship is not resumed by any DP in the verbal prefix chain.

To sum up, lines 12-13 are a relative clause, meaning "the one who moves his hand over this inscription", that is, "the one who erases this inscription". This entire clause functions as the complement of the verb nam...kur$_5$ in line 15.

nam...kur$_5$ is a compound verb. nam is the (historic) patient. Ambiguities in the writing system make it difficult to determine whether nam...kur$_5$ takes its complement in the comitative case (marked in -da) or the ablative case (marked in -ta), although the balance of evidence favors the former. The word "comitative" comes from the Latin word cum, meaning "with". The comitative case expresses ideas such as "along with": lu$_2$-da, "with the man". Besides this use, many verbs in Sumerian take their complement in the comitative case. This usage is not usually predictable, and must be listed in the dictionary.

The basic form of the comitative case marker is /da/, written with the da-sign, 𒁕.

There is a problem here, however, because no overt marker of the comitative is expressed in the writing at the end of line 13. One explanation for its absence is to assume a phonological change similar to that of the dative case marker .ra. That is, /da/ > /d/ after a vowel, and word-final /d/ is not written. However, in the royal inscriptions of Gudea and the Ur III period, the comitative case marker normally appears written as da, even after a vowel. There are, though, a few cases in both earlier and later Sumerian where an expected da does not show up in the writing, and it is assumed here to be present.

The scope of the assumed comitative case includes all of lines 12 and 13:

[lu$_2$.(e) musara.bi.a šu.Ø bi$_2$.b.ur$_3$.e.Ø.a].(d).

14. The agent is marked in .e, written -e. The writing is morphemic; there is no attempt to graphically reduplicate the final /š/ of ^{d}Bil$_3$-ga-meš$_3$. Such morphemic writings are especially common with PNs; the name was felt as a unit, and the case endings added directly to the complete unit.

15. As discussed in *Lesson One*, the very first element which can occur in the Sumerian verbal chain is an optional MP, marking such sentence types as cohortative, jussive, and so on. All the verb forms seen up to this point have been in the indicative mood, which is unmarked. Here, ḫa is a form of the desiderative MP (also known as the optative or precative). The desiderative mood expresses wishes and indirect commands in the third person: "Let him/her/they, may he/she/they", and so on. The basic form of the desiderative is /ḫe/, usually written ḫe$_2$. Before the CP ba, it regularly becomes /ḫa/, written ḫa, as here.

Some moods require the use of the ḫamṭu root, while others require the use of the marû root. Others use both; one if the verb is used transitively, and the other if the verb is used intransitively. Other moods use both, under conditions which are not clear. Moreover, the use of the PAs varies with the different moods. In certain moods, the pre-verbal root position cross-references the agent. In others, it cross-references the patient. This differentiation is apparently irrespective of whether the ḫamṭu root or the marû root is used.

When the desiderative in ḫe$_2$ is used with a transitive verb, it is regularly construed with the marû root. In the case of intransitive verbs, it is also usually construed with the marû root, but some instances do occur of intransitive verbs using the ḫamṭu root; these latter are unexplained. Here the verb is transitive, and so the marû root is used. kur$_5$ is a member of the affixation class, and so the form is kur$_5$-e. The writing in this line, kur$_5$-e, is quite morphemic. It is also possible for the final consonant of the verbal root to be graphically reduplicated: kur$_5$-re.

In the desiderative, the agent, as expected, is marked by the ergative case marker .e, and is cross-referenced by the PA .Ø after the marû suffix.

ba is another CP not seen previously. It is further discussed below.

da is the DP which cross-references the comitative case. Here it cross-references the comitative case marked by the (presumed) .da at the end of line 13.

Since nam is the historic patient, one might expect it to be cross-referenced in the verbal prefix chain. Since the verb is in the marû, and since nam is inanimate, one would expect a .b before the verbal root, yet nothing is written. As is often the case, it is possible that it is "there", but not written. It is also possible that some kind of phonetic reduction took place; perhaps */ḫebadabkur/ > */ḫebadakkur/ > /ḫebadakur/; a somewhat similar case is discussed in *Lesson Fourteen*. On the other hand, it is also possible that it is *not* "there", either because nam is only a historic patient, or because there are grammatical rules governing the desiderative about which we are not fully informed. It is here put in parentheses.

To summarize the verb phrase, nam...kur$_5$ is a compound verb, with nam the (historic) patient. ḫa is a form of the MP for the desiderative. ba is a CP. da is a DP, cross-referencing the comitative. The verb form may thus be diagrammed as:

nam.Ø   ḫe$_2$ · ba · da · (b) · kur$_5$ · e · Ø
 (1)   (2)   (3)   (4)   (5)   (6)   (7) (8)

(1)   nominal element of compound verb, historic patient
(2)   modal prefix
(3)   conjugation prefix
(4)   dimensional prefix for comitative
(5)   personal affix cross-referencing patient (nam)
(6)   verbal element of compound verb
(7)   marû suffix
(8)   personal affix cross-referencing agent (Bilgameš).

Discussion: Structure

The structure of this text is:

[Bilgameš.Endimgig.(a), lugal.ani].(r)   benefactive
[Ur.Nammu, nitaḫ.kalag.a, lugal.Urim$_5$.a,   agent
    lugal.Kiengi.Kiuri.k].e

[ud e₂.Nanna.Ø mu.(n.)du₃.Ø.a].a   time
[nam.til₃.ani].še₃   purpose
[a].Ø mu.na.(n.)ru.Ø   verb
[lu₂.(e) musara.bi.a šu.Ø bi₂.b.ur₃.e.Ø.a].(d)   accompaniment
[Bilgameš].e   agent
[nam].Ø ḫe₂.ba.da.(b.)kur₅.e.Ø   verb

— Moods

The morphology of the moods in Sumerian is complex. The single most important work to unravel them is Edzard 1971ff., a series of articles which it pays to keep close at hand when reading Sumerian texts. Some of Edzard's conclusions were modified by Kienast (1981b). The desiderative mood is frequent in Sumerian texts. It is, for example, regularly used for curses. Because of various odd spellings, such as ḫa-mu-, it is difficult to say whether the underlying base form should be regarded as /ḫe/ or /ḫa/. In later texts such forms as ḫu-mu- also occur.

— Conjugation prefixes

In the paradigms presented in this book, model verbs in the ḫamṭu are generally cited with the CP mu and those in the marû are generally cited with the CP i₃. While this does represent the most common distribution (at least in the Ur III royal inscriptions), it is also possible to find verbs in the ḫamṭu with the CP i₃ and verbs in the marû with the CP mu (although this latter is rather rare).

Two new CPs appear in Text 11, .ba and .bi₂. These are almost always written ba and bi₂. The relationship between the two is unclear. It is possible that they are not unitary morphemes. For example, it has been posited that ba is not an independent CP, but rather is essentially the CP bi₂ with an added locative marker of some kind, presumably related to the locative case marker /a/. When the CP ba is present, there is frequently (but not always) a locative phrase somewhere in the sentence. On the other hand, the opposite view has been stated, that bi₂ represents basically the CP ba with the addition of a locative-terminative element /i/ or /e/; it is not uncommon to find a verb with the CP bi₂ co-occurring with a nominal phrase in the locative case (this is the case in Text 11). Moreover, bi₂ also differs from ba, mu, and i₃ in that the only DP which can follow it in the prefix chain is the locative DP .ni. The reasons why are unsure.

It is not yet possible to integrate all these facts into a coherent systematic picture of the CPs. The basic view presented throughout this *Manual* is that each and every verbal phrase in Sumerian has one and only one CP. However, this is not a universally accepted interpretation. Other views are that there are actually two different series of morphemes, with probably different functions. For example, some scholars think that writings such as bi₂-ni should be read as bi₂-i₃, with two CPs. Postgate has suggested that ba and bi₂ co-occur in the same one verbal chain in the Gudea texts. Postgate also suggested that writings such as i-im-g̃in may actually result from *i₃.mu.g̃in; the form contained two prefixes and the /u/ of /mu/ dropped after a vowel (1974:24 n.18). Such interpretations, which state that it is possible for more than one CP

to co-occur within one verbal phrase, run counter to the view presented in this *Manual*. This problem is further discussed in *Lesson Twenty-One*.

— Comitative ~ absolutive ~ ablative

In the analysis given here, lines 12-13 are in the comitative case. However, the apparent absence of the case marker da does give one pause. One possible interpretation is that lines 12-13 are the direct object of nam…kur₅. The DP da in the verb in line 15 would represent what Poebel called the "erstarrter Gebrauch des Infixes", the "frozen use of the [dimensional] infix". In Gragg's study of the DPs in Sumerian literary texts, he found a large number of instances where a comitative DP occurred without any corresponding comitative case relationship in the sentence; an example occurs in Text 14.

This is not impossible. However, there is a more general issue here. In the compound verb nam…kur₅, nam is the (historic) direct object (patient) of kur₅. Now, it is probable that Sumerian does not permit two patients in one sentence. In cases where one might expect two patients, one of them is expressed through an adverbial case. In the immediately preceding lines, for instance, the English translation was "to erase this inscription". The direct object (patient) in Sumerian is šu; the direct object in English, "this inscription", is expressed via a locative: "to move one's hand *over*". If it is true that Sumerian does not tolerate two patients, and if it also true that this rule applies to historic direct objects (patients) of compound verbs, then lines 12-13 must be marked by another case. Given the presence of the DP da in the verbal chain in line 15, this would most likely be the comitative case.

The argument that Sumerian does not permit more than one patient in a sentence is based on general linguistic theory and on empirical observation of Sumerian. Most analyses of syntactic theory contend that no language has more than one patient; if two seemingly occur, one is actually in an adverbial relationship. However, it is not clear if such a constraint would apply to compound verbs. Even though the first element of many compound verbs is historically the patient of the verb, it is not always sure if it functioned as such in historic Sumerian. For example, the compound verb gu₃…de₂ "to speak" (literally, "to pour out the voice") is quite frequent. Yet the gu₃ component is never cross-referenced as a patient by a PA in the marû, that is, no writings of the type mu-na-ab-de₂-e occur, only writings of the type mu-na-de₂-e. This may well indicate that gu₃ in the component gu₃…de₂ was no longer perceived as a patient.

There are some occurrences of nam…kur₅ where the complement is apparently expressed by the ablative case (ta) instead of the comitative. This would seem to be excluded in Text 11, because of the comitative DP in the verb. However, there are a fair number of instances where da in the verbal prefix chain apparently stands for the ablative DP ta. Thus, another possible analysis is that nam…kur₅ basically takes its complement in the ablative, not the comitative. As may be inferred, this is a very difficult question to resolve.

— Conjugation

Following is the paradigm for the marû of the transitive verb in the singular. The model verb

used is <u>sar</u>, which is a member of the affixation class. The CP used here is i₃.

first person singular	i₃-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>-<u>en</u>	i₃.sar.e.en	I write.
second	i₃-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>-<u>en</u>	i₃.sar.e.en	You write.
third	i₃-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>	i₃.sar.e.Ø	He/she writes.

The first and second persons singular are identical in form (although it is not impossible that there was some phonetic difference not clearly visible to us). The final /n/ often does not show up in the writing.

If the root ends in a vowel, there is frequent assimilation of the /e/ of the <u>marû</u> suffix into the vowel of the root. And, as in line 13 of Text 11, the <u>marû</u> suffix in the third person can assimilate into a following nominalizer. All of this can make it difficult to actually recognize <u>marû</u> forms in context. Moreover, the exact morphology of these endings is unresolved. Here it is assumed that these endings are .en, .en, and .Ø. However, an alternative analysis is to understand the endings as .n, .n, and .Ø. That is, the first and second person markers are .n, not .en. This is a thorny issue to resolve.

Following is the paradigm for verbs of the reduplication class. The model verb is <u>ǧar</u>, "to place", with the CP i₃.

first person singular	i₃-<u>ǧa₂</u>-<u>ǧa₂</u>-<u>en</u>	i₃.ǧaǧa.en	I place.
second	i₃-<u>ǧa₂</u>-<u>ǧa₂</u>-<u>en</u>	i₃.ǧaǧa.en	You place.
third	i₃-<u>ǧa₂</u>-<u>ǧa₂</u>	i₃.ǧaǧa.Ø	He/she places.

This interpretation of the <u>marû</u> of verbs of the reduplication class is essentially that of Yoshikawa. However, all such reduplicated forms end in a vowel, which is subject to contraction with the /e/ of the ending .en. This means that such forms as the following are encountered in actual texts: i₃-<u>ǧa₂</u>-<u>ǧa₂</u>-<u>e</u>-<u>en</u>, i₃-<u>ǧa₂</u>-<u>ǧa₂</u>-<u>an</u>, i₃-<u>ǧa₂</u>-<u>ǧa₂</u>-<u>e</u>, and so on. It has been argued that such writings show that Yoshikawa's analysis is incorrect, but no more satisfactory solution has been proposed.

The marker .Ø in such <u>marû</u> forms as i₃.sar.e.Ø has been treated here in two ways. First, it was called a PA, cross-referencing the transitive subject. Second, it was called a marker for the third person. As discussed in *Lesson One*, these are not contradictory interpretations, but are rather two ways of saying the same thing, that .Ø cross-references the third person transitive subject.

— <u>marû</u> formation

It was Yoshikawa (1968a; 1974) who established the three classes of <u>marû</u> formation listed above. Edzard (1971ff) expanded this into five classes:

▶ "Unchanging": The ḫamṭu root and the <u>marû</u> root are the same. This corresponds to Yoshikawa's "affixation" class: Edzard does not consider .e to be a <u>marû</u> marker.

▶ "Reduplicating": Same as Yoshikawa.

▶ "Root-varying": The two roots are different, but phonetically similar, and are presumably related historically. For example, "to approach" is te in the ḫamṭu, but teǧ in the <u>marû</u> (te and teǧ are the same sign). There may be several sub-classes of formation here.

▶ "Replacement": Same as Yoshikawa.

▶ "Irregular": These do not fit nicely into the other four categories.

The most important difference between the two systems is in the first class. The view of Yoshikawa and others is that the .e is a marker of the <u>marû</u>. The view of Edzard and others (including Thomsen) is that .e is not a marker of the <u>marû</u>; rather it is the marker of third person singular. There is thus no difference between the ḫamṭu and the <u>marû</u> root in this class. This then implies a difference in understanding how conjugation in Sumerian works. In the view of Edzard and others, the conjugation is to be understood as:

first person singular	i₃-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>-<u>en</u>	i₃.sar.en	I write.
second	i₃-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>-<u>en</u>	i₃.sar.en	You write.
third	i₃-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>	i₃.sar.e	He/she writes.

This question is very difficult to resolve. Yoshikawa's last article on the subject (1989b) presented a number of arguments to retain the view that .e is in fact a <u>marû</u> marker, and his analysis has been followed here.

As progress in Sumerology is made, it is probable that more classes, and finer subdivisions within these classes, will be established. Yoshikawa himself has indicated that his classification needs to be expanded. Kienast (1981b) has suggested further modifications to the scheme of Yoshikawa and Edzard.

Since the formation of the <u>marû</u> root from the ḫamṭu root is unpredictable, such formations have to be listed in the lexicon. Thomsen includes a very handy list of common verbs with their <u>marû</u> forms in her "Catalogue of Verbs" (pp. 295-323).

— Roots

As may have been inferred above, it is only in the last twenty or so years that the morphology of the <u>marû</u> has become clearer, thanks primarily to the work of Yoshikawa and Edzard. Even now, however, there remain thorny problems. Some difficulties are occasioned by the fact that in some cases one and the same sign stands for both the ḫamṭu root and the <u>marû</u> root (such as <u>ǧin</u>/<u>du</u>, mentioned above). The situation is still more complicated, however. Certain verbs have different roots in the singular and plural. "To sit", for example, is tuš in the ḫamṭu singular and in the <u>marû</u> singular, but <u>durun</u> in the ḫamṭu plural and <u>marû</u> plural. The verb "to go", mentioned above, is /ere/ in the ḫamṭu plural (written in a variety of ways), but /sub/ in the <u>marû</u> plural (also written in several ways). These roots with special formations in the plural are discussed by Krecher (1967-68a), Steinkeller (1979), and Yoshikawa (1981a).

This complexity is to be expected; other languages of the world show such diversity in mor-

phology. As progress is made, more such cases will be identified.

— Aspects

There has been much discussion about the precise etymology of the Akkadian grammatical terms ḫamṭu and marû, and even more discussion about the distinctions which are marked by these two terms. The difference in function between the ḫamṭu and the marû has been variously seen as a difference in tense, or a difference in aspect, or a difference in Aktionsart. In the Ur III royal inscriptions, they seem more tense-like than aspect-like: the ḫamṭu is regularly used for past action and the marû for future action. However, when dealing with more complicated texts, especially literary texts, such a single binary distinction will not work. In extended discourse, for example, it is possible to find a series of verbal forms in the ḫamṭu, marking a series of actions in the past, with an occasional verbal form in the marû, marking a circumstantial clause of some kind.

— Temporal clauses

It is not uncommon for royal inscriptions to include temporal clauses, which set the background for an event being described. Several occur in the following texts.

The Akkadian conjunction inūma, "when", derives from ina ūmi, "on the day that"; this may be a calque from Sumerian ud...a.a.

— Ergativity

Sumerian has been described as a split ergative language, because the PAs behave in an ergative way in the ḫamṭu, but not in the marû; in the marû, they behave in an accusative way. This can only be seen by contrasting transitive and intransitive sentences in the ḫamṭu and the marû. Consider the following sentences:

(1)   The king built the house.

     lugal.e e_2.Ø   mu.n.du_3.Ø

(2)   The king went.

     lugal.Ø   mu.g̃in.Ø

(3)   The king will build the house.

     lugal.e e_2.Ø i_3.b.du_3.e.Ø

(4)   The king will go.

     lugal.Ø i_3.du.Ø

In (3), the direct object is cross-referenced by the PA in the pre-verbal root position. In (4), the subject of the intransitive verb is cross-referenced by the PA in the post-verbal root position. Since the direct object in (3) and the intransitive subject in (4) are not cross-referenced in the same manner, they cannot be considered to function in an ergative way, since by definition the

direct object and the intransitive subject in an ergative language behave the same way. Thus the marû functions on an accusative basis. Since the ḫamṭu functions on an ergative basis but the marû functions on an accusative basis, Sumerian is split ergative.

The case markers in (3) and (4)—and in (1) and (2)—are the same; the difference is in the way that the case markers are cross-referenced in the verbal phrase. In ergative languages which lack a case system, ergativity only shows up in the cross-referencing system. Discussing a Mayan language called Sacapultec, for instance, Du Bois says: "As in all Mayan languages, the ergative patterning of Sacapultec morphology is entirely in the verbal cross-referencing inflection; nouns are not case-marked for grammatical relations" (1987:809).

Many ergative languages of the world are split along an aspectual basis, with the perfect behaving in an ergative way and the imperfect in an accusative way. Dixon says

> Something that is complete can be viewed either from the point of view of the patient ('something happened to X') or of the agent ('Y did something'); but a prospective activity is best viewed in terms of a proclivity of an agent. In the latter case, there is pressure for S[subject] and A[gent] to be dealt with in the same way…If a split is conditioned by tense or aspect, the ergative marking is *always* found either in past tense or in perfective aspect (1994:56, 99).

Although no examples of independent pronouns in Sumerian occur in this *Manual*, they also function on an accusative basis, not an ergative basis. This is also a common split. Dixon adds "If pronouns and nouns have different systems of case inflection, then the pronoun system will be accusative, and the noun system ergative, never the other way around" (1994:84).

The view that Sumerian is a split ergative language has been presented throughout this *Manual*, although not enough sentence types occur in the texts treated here to illustrate this in detail. Not everyone is in agreement with this view; it has been argued that there are too many apparent exceptions to be explained in a split-ergative framework.

— Reduplication

Reduplication plays several rôles in Sumerian. In this *Lesson*, reduplication is one of the devices used to derive marû roots from ḫamṭu roots. A second common use is called "free reduplication" or "ḫamṭu reduplication". This consists of reduplication of the ḫamṭu root. For example, from the verb "to place", g̃ar, comes i_3-g̃ar-g̃ar. This is not a case of marû reduplication, because the marû of g̃ar is i_3-g̃a$_2$-g̃a$_2$.

In several ways, free reduplication appears to be the functional equivalent of the D-stem ("Intensive") in the Semitic languages. Edzard's classification includes such things as stressing of plurality or totality of subject or object, plurality of occurrences, distributive relations, and so on. In bilingual literary texts, reduplication is often translated by the Akkadian Gtn ("Iterative") stem.

Free reduplication is not uncommon in Sumerian; for example, it occurs frequently in Gudea and in Old Babylonian literary texts. There appear to be no cases among the Ur III royal inscriptions, perhaps simply because of content: plural objects are not mentioned.

Certain verbs have become lexicalized in the form of a reduplicated root. For example, ur₄-ur₄, "to look for and gather up", almost always appears this way. Presumably this is because it is typically used with a plurality of objects. Such a lexicalization has a parallel in the Semitic languages, where certain roots are lexicalized in certain stems. For example, the Akkadian buʾʾû, "to look for", only occurs in the D-stem.

In context, it can be difficult with certain verbal phrases to decide whether *marû* reduplication or free reduplication is present. And if it is a case of free reduplication, it is sometimes not easy to see its function.

— Origin of cases

It has been speculated that the Sumerian case endings historically derive from nouns. Thus the comitative case marker da may be the same da meaning "side" seen in the expression "king of the four quarters", lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba. This is not impossible, but it is harder to find an etymology for the other case endings. For example, an attempt to connect .še₃ (*/eše/ ?) with eše₂ (/eše/) "rope" seems doubtful on general linguistic grounds.

— Research in Sumerian

It is sometimes fairly easy to understand the meaning of a Sumerian text, and even relatively easy to describe, on surface terms, what we see, but it is more difficult to understand exactly what is happening. For example, based on context, and on parallels in Akkadian, Phoenician, and Aramaic texts, it is pretty clear that the last lines of this text mean "May Gilgamesh curse the man who erases this inscription", regardless of the presence or absence of a DP, regardless of the distribution of the PAs, and so on. However, unless such details are well understood, it is much more difficult to figure out the meaning of really complicated Sumerian.

This text also illustrates the problems encountered in doing research in Sumerian. An obvious question which arose when discussing the presence or absence of a comitative da at the end of line 13 was, "How is the verb nam...kur₅ normally construed? Does it regularly use the comitative, or the ablative, or some other construction?". Unfortunately, without a complete up-to-date Sumerian dictionary, such questions are not easy to answer. One can look at the existing dictionaries and glossaries in text editions, but without a painstaking examination of many sources it is impossible to be sure that all attestations of any particular word have been found. Even then, it can be difficult to sort out the various levels of the problem: orthographic, phonological, morphological, syntactical.

— Curse formulas

It is not uncommon for dedicatory inscriptions to be provided with a curse formula. Typically, the first part of the inscription forms a straight-forward text; the curse is tacked on at the end. The curse is directed against anyone who either damages the object on which the inscription is inscribed or changes the name of the person mentioned in the inscription. In the Ur III texts only a limited number of curse formulas occur; the next occurrence is in Text 14. A fuller

form of the curse in Text 11 says "May DN curse the man who erases this inscription and writes his own name instead", lu₂ mu-sar-ra-ba šu bi₂-ib₂-ur₃-a mu-ni bi₂-ib₂-sar-a. The general structure of these curse formulas is discussed in Michalowski and Walker 1989.

Curse formulas are attested throughout the course of Mesopotamian history, among both the earliest and latest texts. A number of such formulas from various periods of Mesopotamian history are translated by Francesco Pomponio (1990). Some of these curses could be quite inventive. A number of Kassite and Babylonian boundary stones, for example, contain such curses as "May Sin clothe [the person who defaces this stone] in leprosy, like a garment", "May Adad fill his canals with mud", "May he spend the night like a dog in the open streets of the city", "May Gula, the mighty physician, put a severe sickness in his body, so that he passes blood like water". Neo-Assyrian treaties include such gems as "Before your very eyes may dogs and swine drag the teats of your young women and the penises of your young men to and fro in the squares of Assur; may the earth not receive your corpses but may your burial place be in the belly of a dog or a pig" (Parpola and Watanabe [1988] 49 l. 481).

Such curse formulas also exist in North-West Semitic inscriptions, and scholars have long studied the history of such curses. Walter Sommerfeld 1993 studies the light such curses throw on the cultural history of the Ancient Near East.

— History

The historical Gilgamesh was the fifth king of the First Dynasty of Uruk, which falls within the Early Dynastic II period (about 2700-2500 BCE). No inscriptions of his are preserved, or contemporary references to him, but there are a few inscriptions of his approximate contemporaries.

The first attestation of him is in a god-list from Fara, where his name is written ᵈBil₃-PAP-ga-meš₃. It is difficult to say exactly how these signs represent the name /Bilgameš/; his name is spelled several different ways in the course of Mesopotamian tradition.

Gilgamesh was very popular with the Ur III kings. According to Jeffrey Tigay, "The kings of Ur III regarded Gilgamesh as something like their personal god" (1982:13 n.50). Michalowski speculates that the "Gilgamesh stories were made part of the school curriculum during the Ur III period" (1991:54). In his hymns, Shulgi refers to Ninsuna, the mother of Gilgamesh, as his own mother, and he refers to Gilgamesh as his brother.

Text 11a
supplementary

Shulgi 20
Door socket
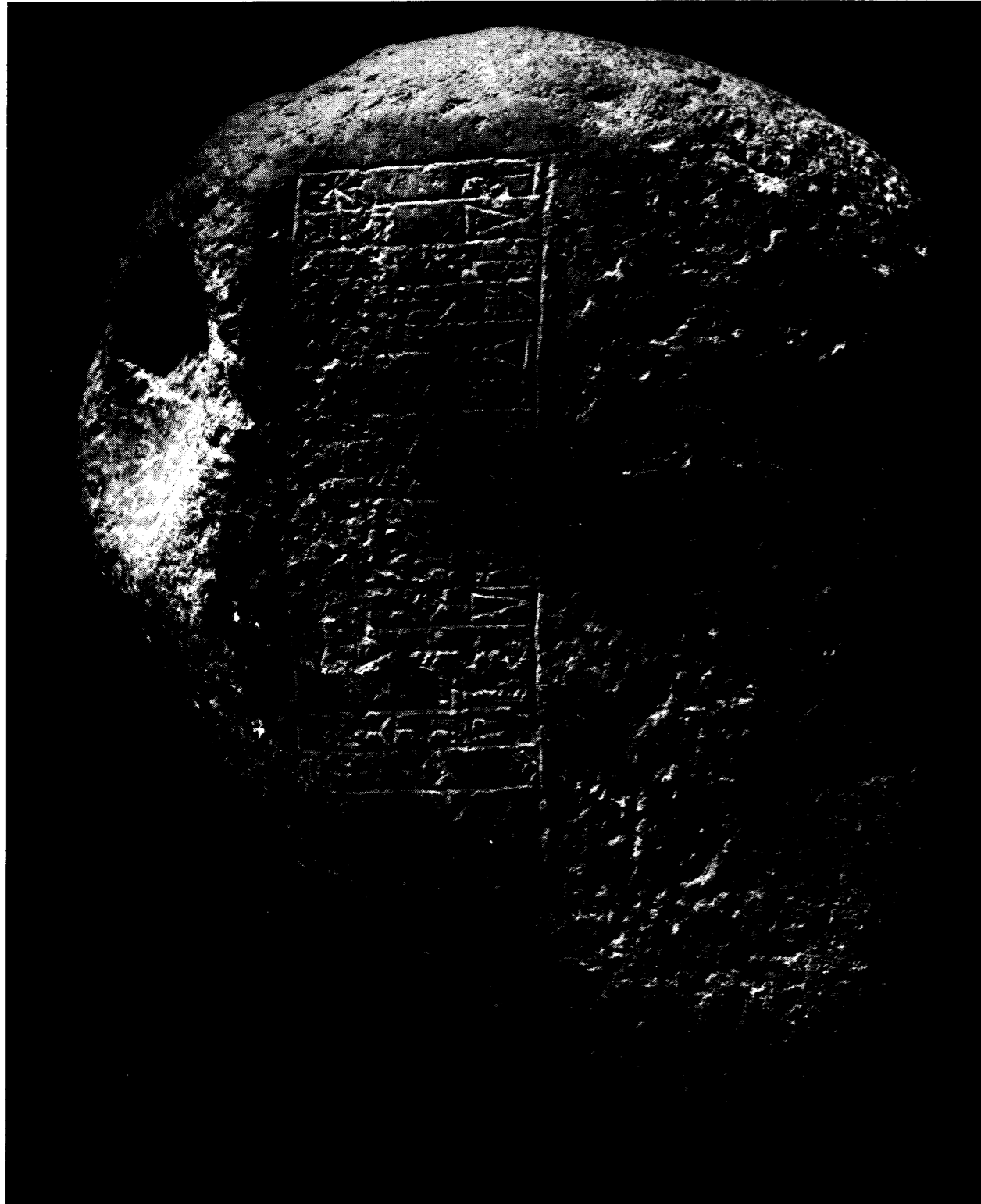
Sign-list and vocabulary

𒂍 𒄘 𒀭 𒆠   E₂-dur-an-ki Eduranki (TN)

E₂-dur-an-ki Dur-an-ki was a section of Nippur, often called the "Religious Quarter" by archaeologists. Its meaning is "The bond of (= between) heaven and earth", dur.[an.ki].(k). E₂-dur-an-ki was the name of the ziggurat at Nippur, situated within this complex. dur-an-ki is in apposition to E₂.

The expression an-ki is especially common in Sumerian religious texts of various kinds, and means essentially "the entire universe".

This text is a standard inscription of Amar-Sin, the son and successor of Shulgi, who ruled from 2046 to 2038 BCE. The text exists in many copies. Text 12a is a hand-written brick and 12b is a stamped brick.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒀭 𒂗   Zuen Zuen (DN, masc)

𒀫 𒀭 𒂗   Amar-ᵈZuen Amar-Sin (PN)

𒂗 𒆠   Nibru Nippur (GN)

𒀫   amar young bull

𒊕 𒍑   saĝ-us₂ supporter, sustainer, patron

𒅤   pad₃ (pa₃) to call, reveal

𒈬 𒅤   mu...pad₃ (pa₃) to propose, nominate

𒇷   le (syllabic)

Zuen This seems to be another name of Nanna, although it is not clear why he had two names. Jacobsen thinks that the term Nanna refers specifically to the god's rôle as the "full moon" and Zuen refers to his rôle as the "crescent moon". It has also been suggested that Zuen is the Akkadian equivalent of Sumerian Nanna, that is, they are two different names for the same deity. However, there is no obvious Semitic etymology for Zuen.

The Akkadian equivalent of this DN is usually transcribed as either "Sin" or "Suen". The Sumerian word was also borrowed into Akkadian as a common noun, appearing as sīnu, suenu, sinnu, and šinnu. It is glossed by the *CAD* as "1) the moon, 2) crescent-shaped or semi-circular object".

The writing is discussed below.

Amar-ᵈZuen This means "young bull of Zuen", amar.Zuen.(ak), a genitive phrase. Names of the type Amar-ᵈDN are not uncommon, especially in early Sumerian. The name of this particular ruler is often transcribed as "Amar-Sin" or "Amar-Suen", which are partially Akkadianized transcriptions.

Early scholars thought that the PN was Akkadian. The Akkadian equivalent of amar is būru,

and so the name appears in some older secondary literature as "Bur-Sin".

Nibru This was one of the more ancient cities in Mesopotamia, occupied at least as early as 5000 BCE. It never wielded much political power, yet was always important in the religious life of Mesopotamia. Kramer has called it the "spiritual and intellectual center" of Sumer (1963:72). Jacobsen has said:

> From the very beginning of historical times Nippur and Enlil were recognized as an undisputed source of rule over Sumer as a whole, and kings of Sumer would derive their authority from recognition in Nippur rather than from their own city and its city-god (1970 [1957] 139).

The importance of Nippur can be seen by the fact that in *The Curse of Agade*, a 281-line poem describing the destruction of the Dynasty of Akkad by the Guti, it was Naram-Sin's desecration of Nippur and its temple Ekur which was the proximate cause of the fall of the Dynasty.

The modern name of the site is Nuffar. It was the first tell to be excavated by American archaeologists. The University of Pennsylvania started excavations in 1887, and work has continued off and on until recently. The Inanna temple in particular has been studied by Richard Zettler in his *The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur* (1992).

Over thirty thousand cuneiform tablets were found during the course of the initial excavations, mostly written in Sumerian, ranging from the third to the first millennium BCE. Large numbers of these tablets are still unpublished. The majority of our preserved Sumerian literary texts are Old Babylonian copies of earlier texts, found at Nippur.

The etymology and writing of the name are discussed below.

amar The sign is the picture of a calf's head. It often means "young bull", but can be used for the young of other animals, such as amar-az, "young bear" and amar-ka5-a, "young fox".

saĝ-us2 As seen previously, saĝ means "head". us2 has several meanings, including "to lie against, to lean against". Its Akkadian equivalent is emēdu, "to lean against, to reach". saĝ-us2 can also have a transitive sense, "to lift", that is, "to support". Here it is an active participle in .Ø, with saĝ being its historic patient or incorporated object: "the one who lifts the head". Common translations are "supporter, sustainer, champion (of)". It is translated by Sollberger (1966: 165) as "protector, patron (literally, '(he who) supports the head')".

us2 itself was borrowed into Akkadian, appearing as ūsu and ussu, glossed by *AHw* as "(rechte) Bahn, Ordnung".

The us2-sign is the same sign seen earlier with the value nitaḫ.

mu...pad3 This is a compound verb. mu means "name" and pad3 is "to call, to reveal"; mu is the historic patient. mu...pad3 means "to propose" or "to nominate". The underlying idea is that the name of Amar-Sin was proposed by Enlil in the council of the gods, meeting in Nippur, to become the king of Sumer and Akkad.

Text 12a

Amar-Sin 2
Brick
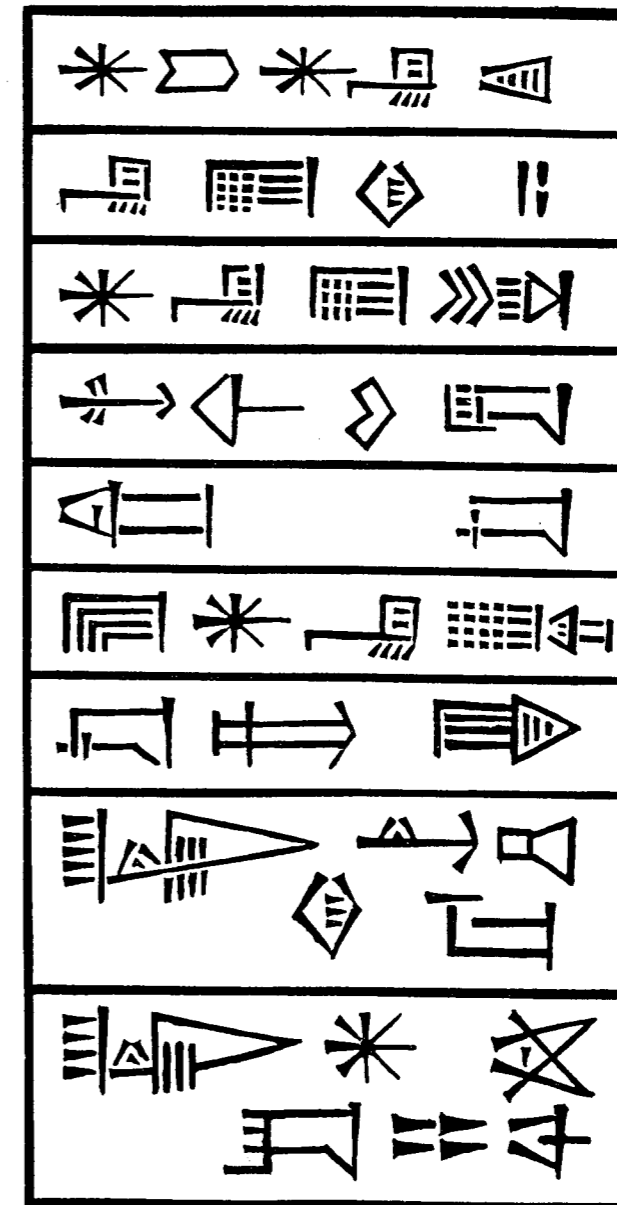
There is a certain amount of variation in the cuneiform signs in this autograph. It is difficult to say how closely the autograph reflects the original. The da at the end of line 4 has an initial vertical not seen in the da in line 9. The sign read nitaḫ in line 7 has a vertical not seen in the same sign read us2 in line 5.

It is not clear what the original pictorial value of the pad3-sign was. In any case, it is not uncommon for the left-hand part of the sign to become separated from the right-hand part of the sign. This happens in line 4 of Text 12a but not in line 4 of Text 12b.

Text 12b

Amar-Sin 2
Brick
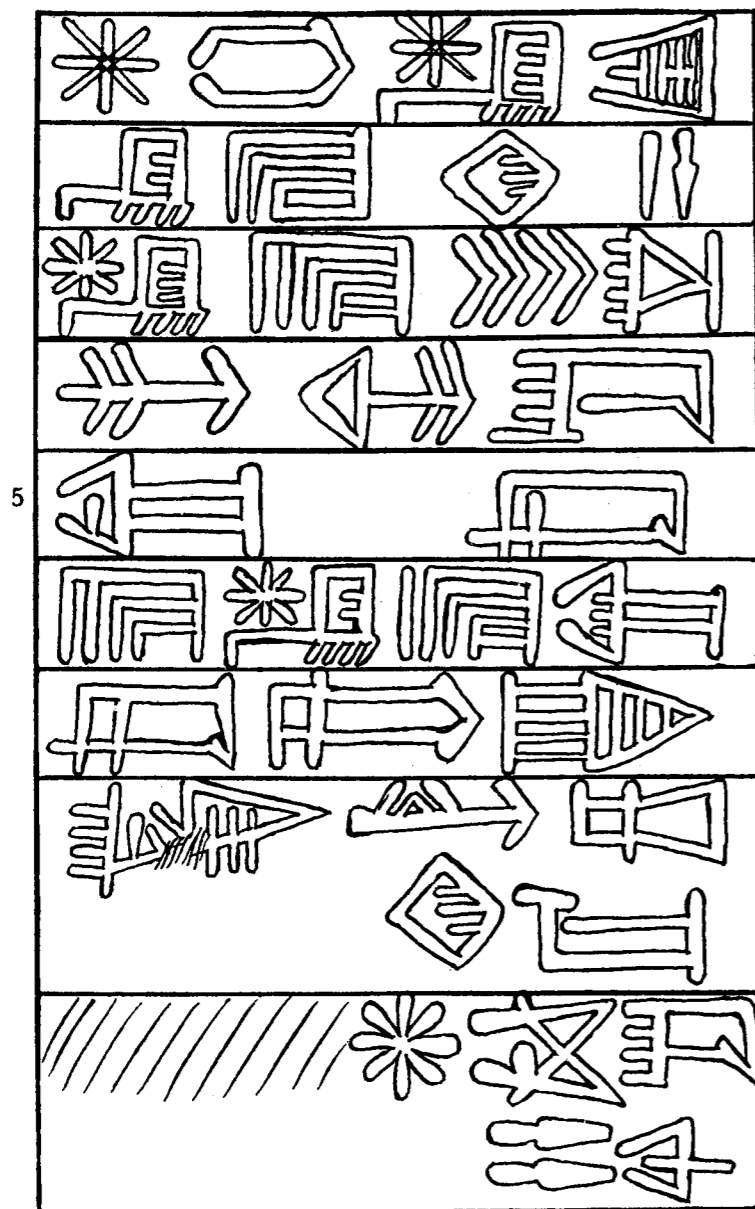
The rather schematic manner in which the signs are presented on this autograph gives one pause. The tablet was preserved in Berlin, but was destroyed during World War II; no photograph had ever been taken.

	Transliteration	**Transcription**	**Translation**
1:	^{d}Amar-^{d}Zuen	AmarZuen	Amar-Sin,
2:	Nibru^{ki}-a	Nibru.a	proposed in Nippur
3:	^{d}En-lil$_2$-le	Enlil.e	by Enlil,
4:	mu-pad$_3$-da	mu.pad$_3$.a	
5:	sağ-us$_2$	sağus	patron of
6:	e$_2$-^{d}En-lil$_2$-ka	e$_2$.Enlil.(a)k.a	the temple of Enlil,
7:	nitaḫ-kalag-ga	nitaḫ.kalag.a	the mighty man,
8:	lugal-Urim$_5^{ki}$-ma	lugal.Urim$_5$.a	the king of Ur,
9:	lugal-an-ub-da-limmu$_2$-ba	lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.a	the king of the four quarters.

Commentary

1. As was the case with Shulgi, the name Amar-Sin is preceded by the determinative for DNs. There are thus two divine determinatives in the line: the second is for the DN Zuen, and the first is for the PN Amar-^{d}Zuen.

As in the case of the PN Ur-^{d}Nin-ğir$_2$-su in Text 10, this PN shows no marking for the (assumed) genitive case, and so it is not marked in the transcription.

2-4. These lines form a relative clause modifying Amar-Sin of line 1. Sumerian has two ways of forming relative clauses. The formation seen up till now consists of nominalizing a complete sentence by .a, and then placing the nominalized sentence in apposition to a head noun. This formation is called the "full" relative clause. For example, "He built the temple of Nanna" is e$_2$.Nanna.Ø mu.n.du$_3$.Ø, and so "the one who built the temple of Nanna" is lu$_2$ [e$_2$.Nanna.Ø mu.n.du$_3$.Ø].a.

In this example, the head noun is logically the subject of the verb in the relative clause: "the one who built". In Text 11, "the one who shall erase" occurred. However, oblique relations are also possible, such as "the temple which the king built" or "the god for whom the king dedicated an offering".

In a clause such as "the temple which the king built", the word "temple" is logically the direct object of the verb. In such relative clauses in Sumerian, there is no overt marker indicating this relationship. This clause could be expressed as e$_2$ lugal-le mu-du$_3$-a. The simplest way to understand this construction is to think of it as "[the temple] [the king built (it)]". In English, there is no overt marker to indicate the relationship of logical direct object, except in the distinction between "who" and "whom": "the man who built", but "the man whom he saw". In the classical Semitic languages, a resumptive pronoun is used. For example, the Akkadian equivalent of "the temple which the king built" is bītu ša šarru ibnûšu. Literally, this is "the temple which the king built (it)". Sumerian uses no relative marker of any kind (unlike the use of English "that, which", or Akkadian ša), and there is no overt marker to indicate the direct object relationship (unlike the Akkadian -šu).

The second way relative clauses are formed in Sumerian is less understood in all its details. It is sometimes called a "reduced relative clause" and sometimes a "participial construction". It is formed by *deletion* of the entire verbal prefix chain, and nominalization of the remaining verbal root in .a.

To express "Amar-Sin, whom Enlil proposed in Nippur", using the full form of the relative clause, would be approximately: [AmarZuen] [Nibru.a Enlil.e mu.Ø mu.n.pad₃.Ø].a. The first mu. is the nominal element of the compound verb mu...pad₃; the second mu. is the CP. To express the same idea using the reduced relative clause, the prefix chain is deleted, producing [AmarZuen] [Nibru.a Enlil.e mu.pad₃.Ø].a. The mu which remains is the nominal element of the compound verb, not the CP; since the nominal component of a compound verb is not part of the prefix chain, it is not deleted. This produces the form seen in Text 12, written ᵈAmar-ᵈZuen Nibruᵏⁱ-a ᵈEn-lil₂-le mu-pad₃-da. Several English translations of this phrase are possible: "Amar-Sin, whom Enlil proposed in Nippur", "Amar-Sin, proposed by Enlil in Nippur", and so on.

Both full and reduced relative clauses are common in Sumerian, but it is not known if there are rules governing their distribution. Certain formulaic expressions tend to prefer one construction while other formulaic expressions prefer the other. For example, "the one who built" always appears as lu₂ in-du₃-a in the Ur III royal inscriptions, but "the one proposed by Enlil" always appears as lu₂ ᵈEn-lil₂-le mu-pad₃-da.

In this particular relative clause, the locative phrase precedes the agentive phrase. This is presumably to put some stress on the city of Nippur. In other inscriptions, the opposite order also occurs.

Lines 2-4 thus form an appositive, modifying "Amar-Sin" of line 1. The DN ᵈEn-lil₂-le of line 3, marked by the ergative, is embedded inside this appositive; it is not the agent of any main verb in the inscription.

5. saĝ-us₂ e₂-ᵈEn-lil₂-ka represents saĝus.e₂.Enlil.(a)k.a, "patron of the temple of Enlil". The genitive phrases seen up to now have consisted of two nouns or two nominal phrases. However, it is also possible to have a genitive phrase consisting of three or four elements, such as "the king of the temple of Nanna". Such genitive phrases are formed by the addition of an extra ".ak" for each new element in the genitive phrase. For example, "the temple of Nanna" is e₂.Nanna.(k); "the king of the temple of Nanna" is lugal.e₂.Nanna.k.a(k); "patron of the temple of Enlil" is saĝus.e₂.Enlil.ak.a(k).

Sequences of two ".ak"s are sometimes called "double genitives". Sequences of four nouns or nominal phrases (therefore, with three ".ak"s, or "triple genitives"), although permissable, are uncommon. Sumerian does not seem to tolerate a sequence of more than three ".ak"s; if such a situation would arise, no more than three are used. More commonly, a periphrasis is used instead.

The genitive phrase in this line is written saĝ-us₂ e₂-ᵈEn-lil₂-ka. The expected /a/ of the first genitive marker does not appear in the writing. One might have expected a writing such as saĝ-us₂ e₂-ᵈEn-lil₂-la-ka. Similarly, in Text 10 there also occurred an instance where an expected /a/

of the genitive marker did not appear in the writing: ḫi-li-nam-munus-ka-ni, for ḫili.nam.munus .(a)k.ani. As discussed at length in that *Lesson*, followers of the Falkenstein school would read the lil₂-sign here as lila₂, with an overhanging vowel: saĝ-us₂-e₂-ᵈEn-lila₂-ka.

Discussion: Structure

Text 12 is a standard inscription, similar to Text 6. It consists entirely of a series of appositives serving as epithets to the name Amar-Sin in line 1. There is no finite verb form and thus no agent.

> Amar-Sin,
> proposed in Nippur by Enlil,
> patron of the temple of Enlil,
> the mighty man,
> the king of Ur,
> the king of the four quarters.

— Orthography

The DN Zuen is composed of two signs, the en-sign followed by the zu-sign: ⟨𒂗𒍪⟩. The two signs are almost always written in this order. However, there is a fair amount of evidence which shows that the zu-sign was actually pronounced before the en-sign; that is, this name was pronounced something like /zuen/, not /enzu/. For example, the Akkadian word sīnu discussed above is a loan word from zuen. Akkadian even has a rare loan word gizinakku, glossed by the *CAD* as "the place of making offering to the moon god", ki.zuen.a(k). In the bilingual texts from Ebla, the Sumerian version of this DN appears once as En-zu and twice as En-zi; in all three cases, the Eblaite equivalent is Zu-i-nu (or Su₂-i-nu). There are also Akkadian PNs formed with the Akkadian version of the name of this god which appear in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and later English transcriptions. Thus, the name Sin-aḫḫē-erība, "Sin has replaced my [stillborn] brothers", appears ultimately in English as "Sennacherib". There are also a fair number of syllabic writings with the en-sign written after the zu-sign.

It is hard to say exactly how the name was actually pronounced; opinions vary between /sin/, /suen/, /suin/, /zin/, and so on. It probably varied at different times. There are some unusual spellings in late texts which indicate that at times the name Zuen was "read as written", that is, read as /enzu/ and not as /zuen/; these writings may result from scribal misunderstanding.

It is not known why this reverse order of signs is used. A similar case is discussed in the next *Lesson*. It is not impossible that the writing was to emphasize the en-component, which by a kind of folk etymology was connected with the word en "lord". In very early Sumerian, it was possible for signs within a line or case to be written in a rather free order, not always corresponding to the order of signs as they were read or pronounced. Writings such as En-zu represent, in some way, survivals from this period.
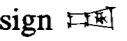
There is no standard way to transliterate such spellings. One practice is to transliterate sign-by-sign, thus En-zu in this case. This practice is not common in modern-day transliterations and is regarded as somewhat old-fashioned. A different convention gives the signs in the order-as-read, separated by a colon: Zu:en. This is sometimes then followed by the transliteration of the signs in their order-as-written, usually in caps, within parentheses: Zu:en (EN-ZU). This use of the colon is common when transliterating very early Sumerian, when the order of signs in the line or case does not correspond to the presumed order of pronunciation. Lastly, some prefer to transliterate the two signs as a unit: Zuen; this is the practice followed here.

The name was difficult even for the ancient Mesopotamian scribes themselves. Statue B of Gudea (Col. 8 l. 48) refers to Zuen mu-ni lu₂ nu-du₈-de₃, meaning approximately "Zuen, whose name none can understand".

— Writing system

The Sumerian pronunciation of the name of the city of Nippur is known from lexical lists, where En-lil₂^{ki} is spelled out as Ni-ib-ru. Similarly, the Akkadian pronunciation of the city name is also known from lexical lists, where it is spelled out as Ni-ip-pu-ru.

The Sumerian writing of the place name represents a not uncommon instance where the writing system tells us nothing about the pronunciation of the place name. The etymology of Nibru is unknown; it is presumably a pre-Sumerian substrate name. However, the city was especially associated with the god Enlil. Therefore, the name of the city was written with the same two signs used in the spelling of the name of the god, but followed by the determinative for GNs: En-lil₂^{ki}. That is, the writing does not attempt to reproduce the phonetic sequence /nibru/. Rather, the Sumerian reader would understand the written signs as standing for "the place associated with the god Enlil", that is, "Nippur". A similar case was mentioned in *Lesson Ten*, where the sign 𒀸𒅆 can be read as the DN Nanshe or the GN Sirara, depending on the determinative used. Similarly, as discussed in *Lesson Four*, the writing ud-kib-nun does not attempt to reproduce the phonetic sequence Buranun (the Euphrates), but rather graphically represents "the river having to do with the city Sippar".

The rather old-fashioned transliteration of this city name is En-lil₂^{ki}. But since the pronunciation as /nibru/ is well established, it is most commonly transliterated today as Nibru^{ki}.

— Relative clauses

The term "participial construction" has been used to describe constructions like that in lines 2-4, because a reduced verbal form with a nominalizer is formally identical with what has been called here a passive participle: a reduced mu-n-du₃, written du₃-a, is formally identical with the passive participle du₃-a. In origin, in fact, passive participles are all probably reduced relative clauses in special syntactic environments.

The construction called here "reduced relative clause" is frequently called the "Mesanepada construction" (this name for the construction goes back to Falkenstein). Meš₃-an-ne₂-pad₃-da

was the founder of the First Dynasty of Ur ("Ur I") sometime around 2550 BCE. His name means "The young man whom An chose" or "The young man chosen by An": [Meš An.e pad₃].a. This name represents the minimal form of the construction: a head noun (here, meš₃); an agentive marked in .e (An-ne₂); a verbal root (pad₃); a nominalizer. A few other names of the exact type "X-an-ne₂-pad₃-da" are also known. Lines 2-4 of Text 12 are only slightly more complicated: Text 12 includes a locative phrase, and also uses a compound verb (mu... pad₃) instead of just pad₃.

Similar examples of this construction occur in the Gudea inscriptions. The verb meaning "to found" or "to establish" is literally "to place on the ground", ki.a...ğar. A temple is called E₂-ninnu-an-ne₂-ki-ğar-ra, "The Eninnu temple, which An established" or "The Eninnu temple established by An".

The only study that deals specifically with relative clauses in Sumerian is Gragg 1972b. This article was written for a non-Sumerological audience and is by design short and schematic, but is still a useful reference. Limet 1975a studies the parallel use of .a in participial and relative sentences.

— Standard inscriptions

Copies of this text have been found at several different sites, including Adab, Bad-Tibira, Eridu, Girsu, Isin, Kisurra, Sippar, Tell el-Lahm, Ur, and Uruk. All copies were inscribed on bricks. This situation is not uncommon with standard inscriptions, which can be found anywhere the ruler held sway or where building activity was conducted under his aegis.

—— Titulature

Hallo (1957:146) considers sağ-us₂ e₂-DN, "patron of the temple of DN", to be a royal "epithet", not a "title". Of the Ur III kings, it was only used by Amar-Sin, and only used sporadically by later rulers. The epithet presumably refers to the king in his rôle as financial sustainer of the temple.

— History

The circumstances of Shulgi's death are unclear. He may simply have died of old age; he had ruled for some 48 years. It is also possible that he was assassinated. His son Amar-Sin ruled only nine years, and not much is known of his activities. All three of Shulgi's successors had names formed with the DN Sin: Amar-Sin, Shu-Sin, and Ibbi-Sin; this presumably indicates a special attachment to the worship of Sin.

Text 12c
supplementary

Ur-Nammu 10
Brick
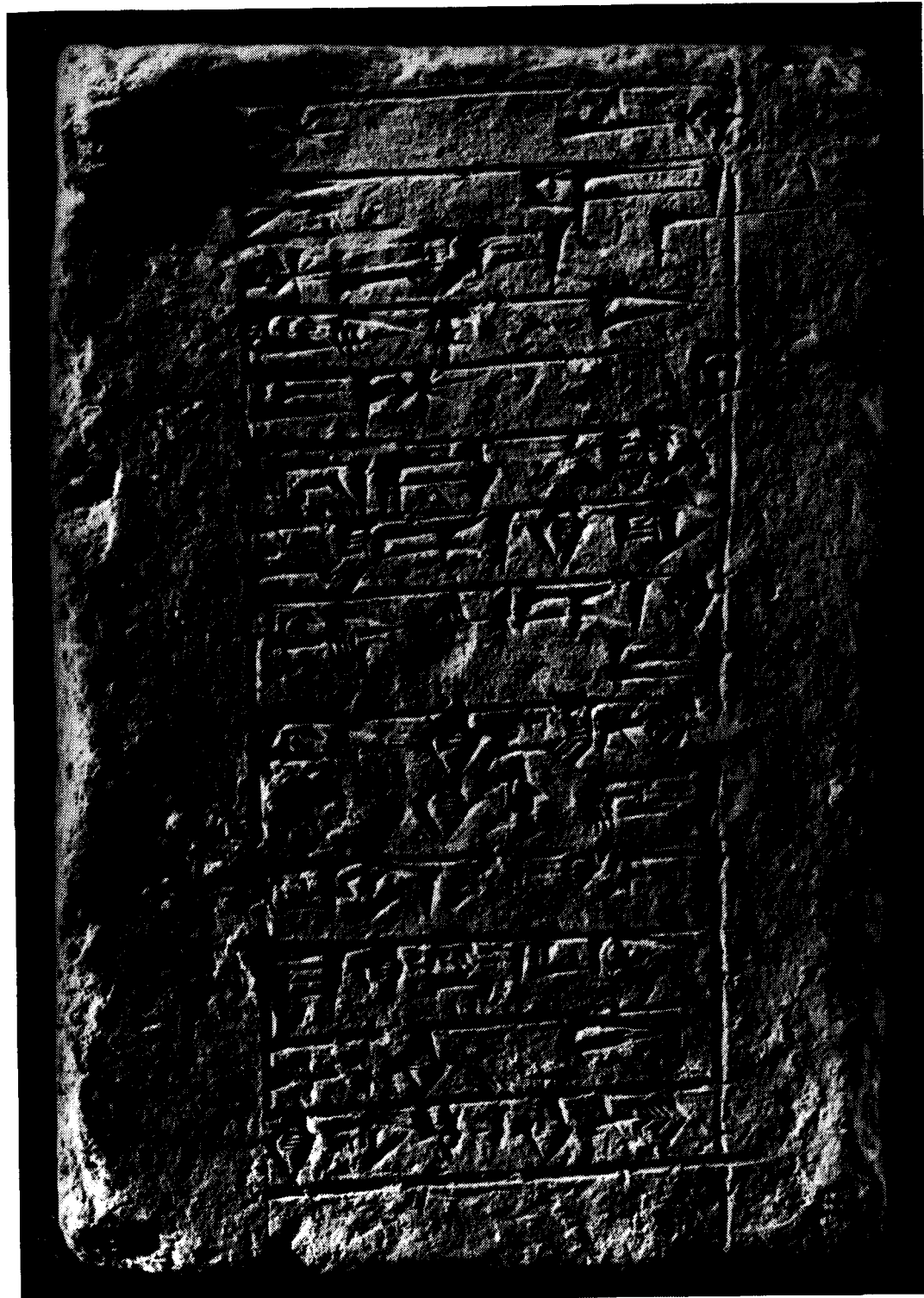
This text is a brick building inscription of Amar-Sin. It is essentially an expansion of Text 12a-b. It was found in Eridu, an ancient city in the south of Sumer.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒂗𒆠 En-ki Enki (DN, masc)

𒍇 abzu *apsu*, water basin

𒅕 ir (syllabic)

En-ki He was the god of the subterranean waters and also the god of wisdom. He was a son of Nammu. His main cult center was in Eridu, but he was worshipped throughout Mesopotamia. In some god-lists he is ranked directly below An and Enlil.

His name apparently means "Lord of the earth", en.ki.(k). There are spellings which show that this name is a genitive phrase, not a noun-noun compound. Why a god whose name means "Lord of the earth" became associated with water is not entirely clear, although, as Jacobsen has said, "from the earth also come the life-giving sweet waters, the water in wells, in springs, in rivers" (1946:146). It has also been speculated that the element /ki/ appearing in this name is a different word than the word /ki/ meaning "earth"; perhaps it is the same ki appearing in the compound verb ki...aĝa₂.

The Sumerian god Enki was equated with the Akkadian god Ea (E₂-a). The name of the latter is of uncertain etymology; it does not inflect for case. In the bilingual lists from Ebla, the Eblaite equivalent of Enki is written E₂-u₉. This would appear to be an inflected form of the name, with the nominative case marker. It has been speculated that the Akkadian writing E₂-a and the Eblaite writing E₂-u₉ are phonetic spellings representing a Semitic form something like /ḫayyu/, "The living one". This idea is explicitly developed by Cyrus Gordon (1987:19-20).

abzu This had several meanings. In Mesopotamian cosmogony it referred to the subterranean fresh waters which the Sumerians believed lay below the surface of the earth. These waters fed the wells, streams, rivers, marshes, and so on. These waters were the special purview of Enki. The Mesopotamian Netherworld was thought to lie below the waters of the abzu (although Horowitz notes that "In Sumerian texts, engur occurs much more regularly as a name for the cosmic Apsu than abzu itself" [1998:308]).

E₂-abzu was the name of a large temple in Eridu, built to honor Enki. This temple apparently stood over a fresh-water lagoon. Most of the work on this temple was done by Amar-Sin, although it was his father Shulgi who actually began the construction.

The term was later applied to a cultic object, presumably some kind of water basin used in the temple. Objects have been found at a number of sites in Mesopotamia which archaeologists have identified with the term abzu. Several such objects have been found at Ebla.

The word was borrowed into Akkadian as apsû, glossed by the *CAD* as "1) deep water, sea, cosmic subterranean water, 2) (a personified mythological figure), 3) water-basin in the temple". In the Akkadian creation myth *Enuma Elish*, the apsû was personified as a kind of primal creature. He was killed early-on by Ea, who built his own dwelling over Apsu's body.

The word looks like it is composed of two signs, the zu-sign 𒍪 followed by the ab-sign 𒀊 , and so in older transliterations this word may appear as zu-ab. However, it is known that the ab-sign was read before the zu-sign; that is, the word was pronounced something like /abzu/. This is similar to the DN Zuen, which although written en-zu was pronounced /zuen/. In the very earliest attestations of this word, however, it appears that the abzu-sign was one unitary sign, not two, and so the interpretation of the word as two signs may be a Sumerian folk etymology.

The English word "abyss" is thought to derive from this Sumerian word, via Akkadian and Greek. It has also been suggested that the word abzu is not native Sumerian, but rather derives from a substrate language. More likely, it is connected with the Sumerian word ab meaning "ocean" (Akkadian tamtu).

Text 13

Amar-Sin 5
Brick
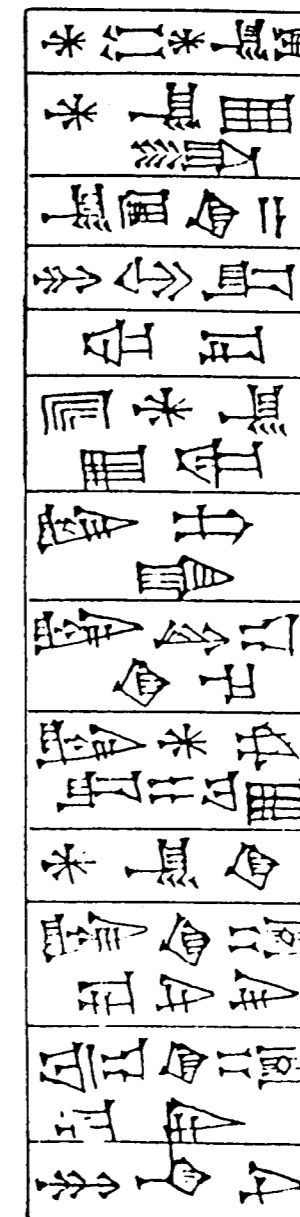
Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1: ᵈAmar-ᵈZuen	[AmarZuen	Amar-Sin,
2: ᵈEn-lil₂-le	Enlil.e	proposed by Enlil
3: Nibruᵏⁱ-a	Nibru.a	in Nippur,
4: mu-pad₃-da	mu.pad₃.a	
5: saĝ-us₂	saĝus	patron of
6: e₂-ᵈEn-lil₂-ka	e₂.Enlil.(a)k.a	the temple of Enlil,
7: lugal-kalag-ga	lugal.kalag.a	the mighty king,
8: lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma	lugal.Urim₅.a	the king of Ur,
9: lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba-ke₄	lugal.anub.da.limmu.bi.ak].e	the king of the four quarters —
10: ᵈEn-ki	[Enki	for Enki,
11: lugal-ki-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ni-ir	lugal.ki.aĝa₂.a.ni].r	his beloved king —
12: abzu-ki-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ni	[abzu.ki.aĝa₂.a.ni].Ø	his beloved *apsu* —
13: mu-na-du₃	mu.na.(n.)du₃.Ø	built.

Commentary

9. Line 9 of Text 12a-b reads lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba; line 9 of Text 13 reads lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba-ke₄. The difference between the two is the presence of the ergative case marker in Text 13. It was not present in Text 12a-b, because there was no finite verb form in that text; rather, Text 12a-b consisted of a string of appositives. But in Text 13, all the appositives are part of the nominal phrase expressing the agent of the transitive verb in line 13. As discussed in *Lesson One*, the nominal phrase to which the case markers are attached in Sumerian can vary considerably in size—all the way from a single noun to long complexes such as this one: a nine line nominal phrase.

11. The dative case marker /r/ is here expressed. Its occurrence in the royal inscriptions of Ur-Nammu is unsure, and it does not appear in the inscriptions of Shulgi. At some point in the reign of Amar-Sin there was a change in orthography, although the motivation for this full writing is unknown. During the time of Amar-Sin there are writings with the dative case marker /r/ expressed in the writing, such as here, but there are also texts where it is not expressed.

The problem cannot be described simply in chronological terms. Even in the Gudea texts there are isolated instances of the /r/ appearing in the script. For example, "for his king" is normally written either lugal-a-ni or lugal-ni in Gudea, but lugal-ni-ir occurs at least once. "For Gudea" is written Gu₃-de₂-a; the spelling Gu₃-de₂-a-ar is also attested. Falkenstein, in his study of the Gudea inscriptions, could find no rules governing either the morphology or the orthography of the dative.

It has been argued that the problem here is phonological, not orthographic. Poebel and Falkenstein have suggested that writings such as lugal-a-ni for the dative can be explained by assuming that the original /r/ of the dative case marker was completely lost, producing /lugalani/

for the dative. However, adoption of such a view entails rather baroque convolutions in explaining such forms as lugal-a-ni-ir. Falkenstein, in fact, speaks of "a secondary restitution" of the dative case marker /r/, reflecting a period when Sumerian was beginning to fall out of use as a spoken language (1960:305). This would mean that the original form was /r/, but then the /r/ was lost, and later it was "restored". However, such an explanation encounters strong linguistic objections, and also historical objections. Also, it does not account for the rise of explicitness seen in other areas of the grammar. In Text 15, for example, also a royal inscription of Amar-Sin, there occurs mu-na-an-du₃, the first occurrence in this *Manual* where the PA which cross-references the ḫamṭu agent is actually written.

12. Because of the ambiguity of the term abzu, it is not clear whether the patient in this line refers to the temple built by Amar-Sin and his father or to a cultic object within this temple. Since over fifty copies of this text are known, it could refer to the temple. This is how the *PSD* understands this passage: "Enki's shrine/temple in Eridu". The *PSD*, in fact, does not seem to accept the meaning "water basin" for Sumerian abzu at all. However, if the term here referred to the temple, one might have expected to find E₂-abzu written. Therefore it is assumed here that the term refers to an object within the temple.

Discussion: Structure

The structure of this text is:

[AmarZuen, Enlil.e Nibru.a mu.pad₃.a,	agent
saĝus.e₂.Enlil.(a)k.a,	
lugal.kalag.a, lugal.Urim₅.a,	
lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.ak].e	
[Enki, lugal.ki.aĝa₂.a.ni].r	benefactive
[abzu ki.aĝa₂.a.ni].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)du₃.Ø	verb

The first nine lines are essentially the same standard inscription seen in Text 12. The rest is a straight-forward building inscription. The result is that this inscription begins with the name of the king (the agent) instead of with the name of the deity (the benefactive). It is as if the scribe began with a stock standard inscription, then switched gears to a building inscription.

— Orthography

On the one hand, writings in which the dative case marker /r/ appears may be viewed as part of the general tendency of the Sumerian writing system to become more and more explicit over time in its representation of phonological and morphological features. On the other hand, it is hard to understand exactly how such a change took place in practice—what motivated a particular scribe, practicing by its nature a conservative craft, to write the /r/?

One might wonder if the fact that the benefactive in Text 13 is in second place in the

sentence, not first, somehow accounts for the /r/ being written. But Text 15 (and others) show the /r/ even when the benefactive is the first constituent in the sentence.

It is not known when Sumerian began to die out as a spoken language, although this presumably started during the Ur III period. If so, the increase in explicitness in the texts—such as the writing of the dative case marker /r/—may be correlated with an increased need of the scribes for help in reading and writing Sumerian. That is, as the scribes' knowledge grew more and more "shaky", there was a need to write the morphemes down in an unambiguous way. At the same time, there may have been a scholastic tendency to write all morphemes down, just as in our own scholastic tradition of transcribing Sumerian we are prone to write down full underlying forms of morphemes.

— Ergativity

There are two ergative case markers in this sentence: the .e in line 9, marking the agent of the main verb in line 13, and the .e in line 2, marking the agent of the verb in line 4 which is embedded in a relative clause. Potentially, this could cause a certain amount of confusion. If one thought that the .e in line 2 marked the agent of a main verb coming-up, the text would start to become rather confused. In practice, however, the formulaic nature of these texts helps to prevent such confusion. In the spoken language there were undoubtedly features such as stress and intonation which helped obviate such problems.

— Word order

One difference between Text 12a-b and Text 13 is the order of the constituents within the relative clause which functions as the epithet of Amar-Sin (lines 2-4 of each inscription). Text 12a-b reads Nibru^{ki}-a ^{d}En-lil$_2$-le mu-pad$_3$-da; Text 13 reads ^{d}En-lil$_2$-le Nibru^{ki}-a mu-pad$_3$-da. Both are good Sumerian. The formulation in Text 13 is the more standard syntax; the version in Text 12a-b presumably puts some stress on the locative. Both varieties of the epithet occur elsewhere.

— Textual problems

At the end of line 9, the autograph reads ke$_4$. This is exactly what is expected: a genitive marker /k/ followed by an ergative case marker /e/, and both morphemes are combined in the ke$_4$-sign. This particular use of the ke$_4$-sign has occurred in many of the previous texts.

However, other exemplars of this text read a ka-sign, not a ke$_4$-sign, at the end of line 9. This is hard to explain. There is no evidence for a (phonological) change of /e/ > /a/ at this period of Sumerian. Sporadic cases do occur in later Sumerian, but under different conditions.

One possibility is to see a long anticipatory genitive, of a kind not seen previously. The essence of the sentence would be:
"Of Amar-Sin..., to Enki his beloved lord" >
"To Enki, the beloved lord of Amar-Sin".
Although somewhat similar anticipatory genitives do occur in Sumerian, there seem to be no

exact parallels to this construction. Moreover, such an interpretation would not leave any overt agent for the finite verb.

It is difficult to find a satisfactory explanation for the writing with the ka-sign. If it occurred in only one copy, it might be considered a scribal error. Over fifty copies of this text exist. However, very few have been published completely. Sometimes, especially in early publications of cuneiform texts, common inscriptions were only summarily published. Some editions might say, for example, "five examples were found", without publishing the cuneiform of each. But without full publication, it is impossible to examine any particular line in every copy preserved. According to the catalogue listed in Frayne 1997, 37 exemplars have been collated, 20 have not. The -ke$_4$ forms seem to occur in only two of the collated exemplars, both from Eridu. This all needs to be resolved.

— Titulature

Text 13 uses the title lugal-kalag-ga, instead of nitah-kalag-ga. According to Hallo, Amar-Sin was the first king of the Ur III Dynasty to adopt this title. He and his successors used it "to the virtual exclusion of the older title" (1957:89).

— Terminology

Occasionally Sumerologists informally use an Akkadian word even when referring to its Sumerian counterpart. For example, when discussing the abzu in a Sumerian context, Sumerologists will not infrequently refer to "the *apsu*". There is no ideological motivation for such practice; it reflects the fact that Sumerologists learn Akkadian before they learn Sumerian, and also the fact that more is usually known about the Akkadian word and its referent than about the Sumerian word.
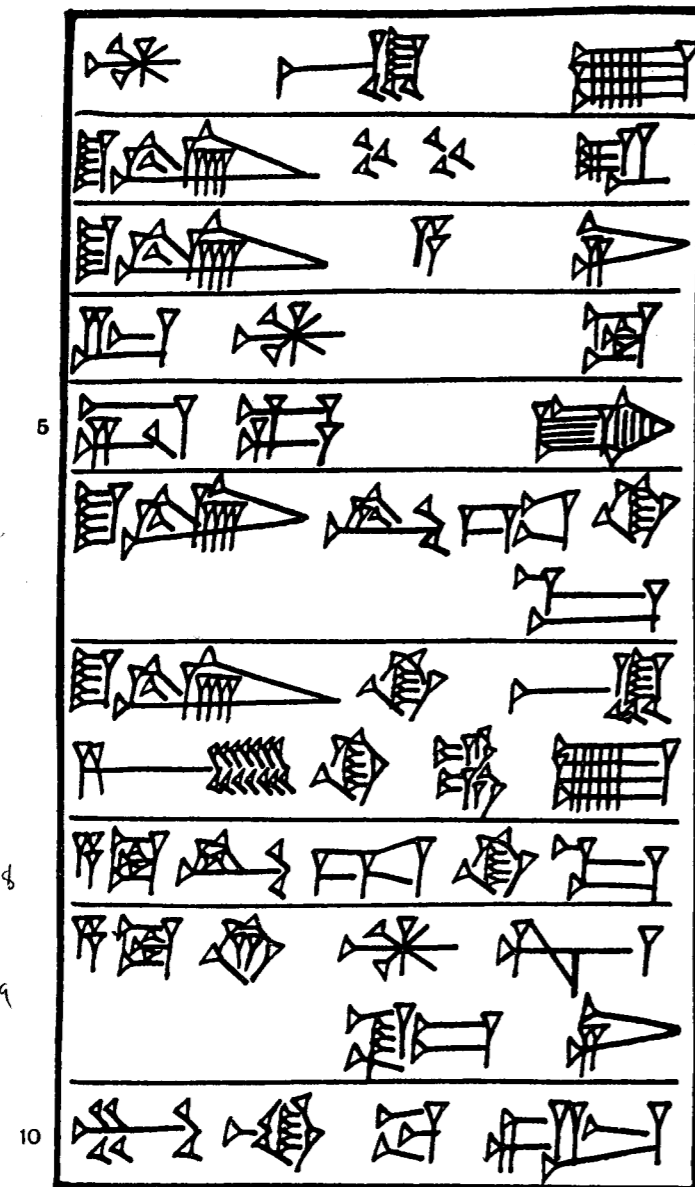
— History

Eridu was an ancient city, going back to the fifth millennium BCE. The *Sumerian King List* says that "kingship" (nam-lugal) was first brought down from heaven into Eridu. The modern name of the site is Tell Shahrayn, and many tablets have been found there.
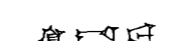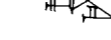
Text 13a
supplementary

Ur-Nammu 22
Cone

⟨⊟ **Lesson Fourteen** ⟨⊟

This is another standard inscription of Amar-Sin, a stamped brick. Five such stamped bricks are preserved; they probably formed part of the pedestal of a statue.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒀩	alam statue
𒂼	ama mother
𒁈 𒅖 𒂷	barag-sig₉-ga pedestal
𒆠 𒁺 𒁀	ki-gub-ba place, position
𒈬	mu name
𒉭	numun seed; offspring, progeny
𒁍	bu₃ to tear out, to uproot
𒄥	kur₂ to change
𒋛	sig₉ (si) to be narrow
𒌀	til to put an end to
𒅆	eb (syllabic)
𒄭	he₂ (syllabic)
𒉌	i₃ (syllabic)
𒅎	im (syllabic)
𒈨	me (syllabic)

alam This is the general word for "statue". Its Akkadian equivalent, ṣalmu, is glossed by the *CAD* as "statue (in the round), relief, drawing…". Akkadian has also borrowed the word

alamdimmû, "form, figure", and a few other rare words based on <u>alam</u>.

It is not known if the final consonant is /m/, /n/, or /ŋ/; the same question occurs with a few other words. It is possible that <u>alan</u> is the older and <u>alam</u> the later form. It has also been suggested that the base form is /alam/, but in general in Sumerian /m/ > /n/ at word boundaries; thus the absolute form is /alan/, but the locative, for example, is /alama/. This seems doubtful phonetically. Lieberman reconstructs the original form as /alaŋ/ (1977:145). One cannot help wondering if there is some connection with the word appearing in Akkadian as <u>ṣalmu</u> and in Hebrew as <u>ṣelem</u>, "image", although these latter words are usually thought to be of good Semitic stock.

The Akkadian <u>lānu</u>, glossed by the *CAD* as "body, figure, appearance, stature (of persons) ..." is most likely a borrowing from <u>alam</u>.

ama This is the very common word for "mother". Its Akkadian equivalent is <u>ummu</u>. The word <u>ad</u>-<u>da</u>, "father", occurs in Text 18, and <u>ab</u>-<u>ba</u>, also meaning "father", in Text 23b. Its writing is discussed below.

barag-sig₉-ga Etymologically, this means "narrow dais", barag.sig₉.a. It is translated by the *PSD* as "socle (of a statue)". It was borrowed into Akkadian as <u>barasigû</u>, translated by the *CAD* as "low socle for cultic purposes". Here it probably means "pedestal".

ki-gub-ba The verb <u>gub</u> occurred in Text 5 in the sense of "to plant" a garden; its basic intransitive meaning is "to stand". <u>gub</u>-<u>ba</u> here is presumably a passive participle; this thus means something like "standing place". Its most common Akkadian equivalent is <u>manzāzu</u>, translated by the *CAD* as "1. emplacement, stand, socle (of a stela), perching place, socket (of a door), floor of a chariot or wagon...". Here it probably means the place where the pedestal was situated.

mu Its most common meaning is "name", Akkadian <u>šumu</u>. <u>mu</u>...<u>pad₃</u> first occurred in Text 12. <u>mu</u> can also mean something like "text"; <u>mu</u>-<u>sar</u>-<u>ra</u>, "inscription", occurred in Text 11. <u>mu</u> in the meaning "year" is discussed at Text 23a.

numun This is the general word for "descendants". Its Akkadian equivalent is <u>zēru</u>, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. seed (of cereals and of other plants), 2. acreage, arable land, 3. semen, 4. male descendant(s)".

bu₃ This is translated by the *PSD* as "to tear out", "to pull out", "to uproot", "to extirpate". It can be written several different ways. Perhaps the most common is by the <u>ka</u>-sign ⟨sign⟩ with an inscribed <u>šu</u>-sign ⟨sign⟩, that is, KAxŠU. Almost as common is the <u>ka</u>-sign with an inscribed <u>kar₂</u>-sign ⟨sign⟩, KAxKAR₂.

Older works usually transliterate the <u>ka</u>-sign as <u>bu₅</u> (when necessary), KAxŠU as <u>bu₃</u>, and KAxKAR₂ as <u>bu₆</u>. Some recent works, however, transliterate *both* KAxŠU *and* KAxKAR₂ as <u>bu₃</u>, and add the fuller transliteration in parentheses: <u>bu₃</u>(KAxŠU), <u>bu₃</u>(KAxKAR₂). Such a

system can lead to confusion, because it is easy for the forms in parentheses to be accidentally dropped. And since the entire purpose of transliteration is to provide a one-to-one correspondence of a specific cuneiform sign with a specific transliteration, it is counter-purposeful to use <u>bu₃</u> for two different signs. Therefore, the older procedure is followed here, and so KAxŠU is transliterated <u>bu₃</u> and KAxKAR₂ is transliterated <u>bu₆</u>.

Unfortunately, because of the less-than-excellent quality of the autograph (or of the original), it is in fact not sure whether it is <u>bu₃</u> or <u>bu₆</u> which is actually written on Text 14! The sign as drawn does not really look like either. It is assumed here that it is actually the <u>bu₃</u>-sign (KAxŠU). Steible (1991:222) also reads it as KAxŠU!.

It is probable that the root of this word ended in some kind of /r/-Auslaut, presumably the /dr/-phoneme. Here it appears in a verb form written i₃-<u>bu₃</u>-<u>re</u>-<u>a</u>. However, no /bur/ value for this sign is recognized by the standard sign-lists. A possible reading <u>buzur₅</u> is recorded, but this may be some other use. The problem deserves further study.

<u>bu₃</u> usually governs a direct object (patient).

kur₂ This was equated with Akkadian <u>šanû</u> and <u>nakāru</u>, both of which have many meanings. For <u>nakāru</u> in the D-stem, the *CAD* lists, among others, "... 8. to discard an object (tablet, stela, and so on), to remove an inscription ... 9. to clear away rubble, etc., to discard, remove from a container, to demolish a building ... 11. to place an object in a new location ...".

Most frequently, <u>kur₂</u> governs a direct object (patient).

til This sign has several readings and meanings in Sumerian. In its reading as <u>til</u>, it is equated with Akkadian <u>gamāru</u>, <u>laqātu</u>, and <u>qatû</u>. The *CAD* glosses qatû as "1. to come to an end, to be used up, 2. to perish, 3. to become completed, finished, settled". In the causative stem, <u>šuqtû</u> is glossed as "to bring to an end".

The word <u>til</u> meaning "to live" has occurred several times, notably in the formula <u>nam</u>-<u>til₃</u>-<u>la</u>-<u>ni</u>-<u>še₃</u>, as, for example, in Text 3. It is curious that the words "to live" and "to come to an end" are homophones, both being pronounced /til/. They are, however, written differently: "to live" is written by the <u>til₃</u>-sign, ⟨sign⟩ and "to come to an end" by the <u>til</u>-sign, ⟨sign⟩ . Moreover, /til/ "to live" is only the singular root; the plural root is <u>sig₇</u>. It is not known if /til/ "to come to an end" has a special plural root.

As discussed under *Phonology*, the existence of such apparent homophones as <u>til</u> and <u>til₃</u> has led numerous scholars to suggest that Sumerian was a tonal language.
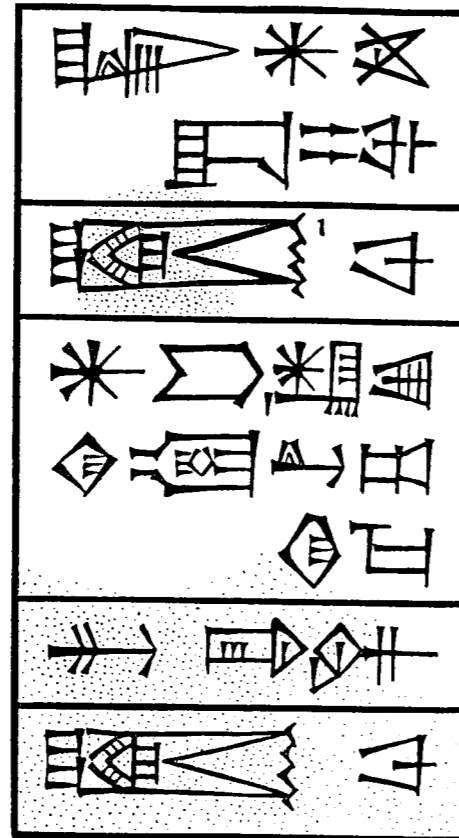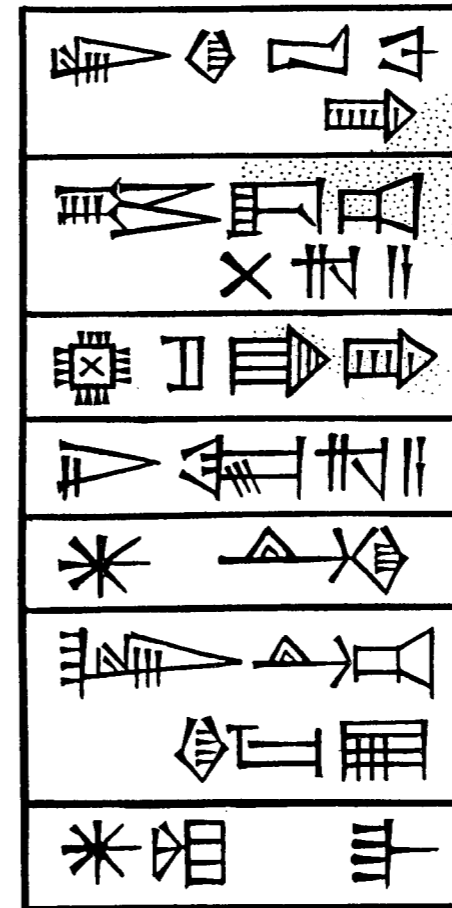
Text 14

Amar-Sin 3
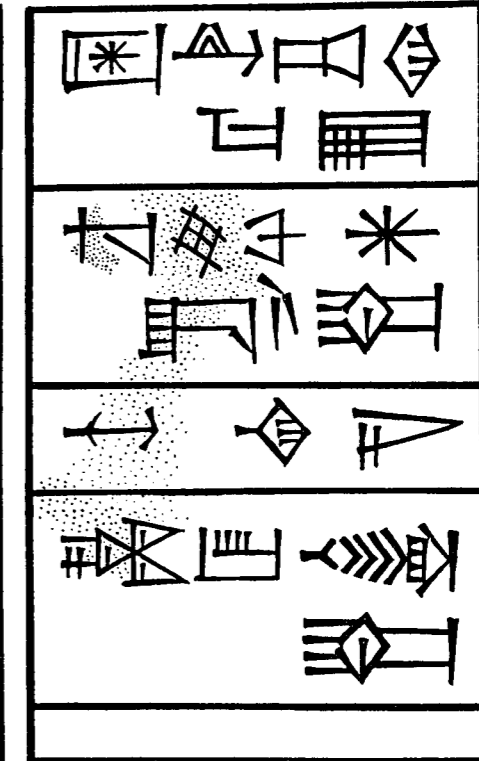Pedestal
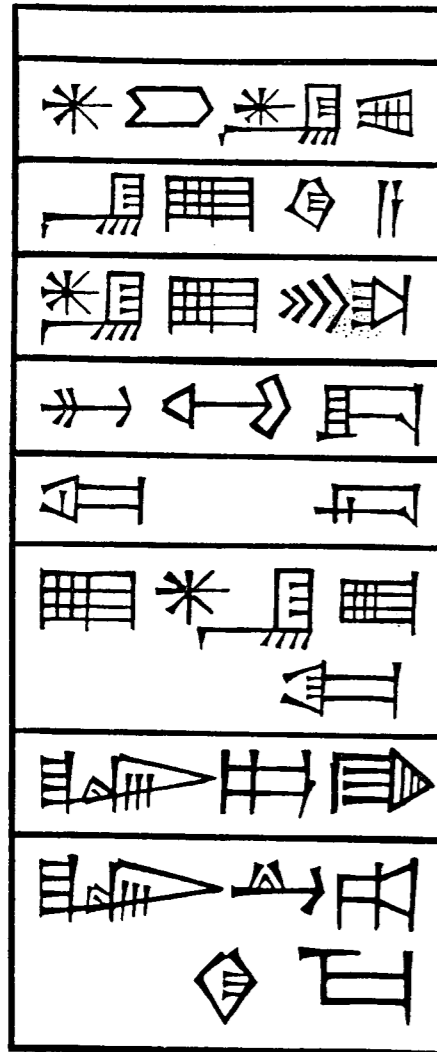
Column I   *Column I (continued)*

1. *The sign is partly restored from the duplicate, No. 90039.*

Column II   *Column II (continued)*

As discussed above, the (assumed) bu₃ in Col II line 4 is rather poorly drawn. It is hard to say if this is a mistake of the original or of the copyist; no photograph is available.

The nam-sign and the ḫa-sign in Col. II line 9 are either partly effaced or poorly drawn on the original. Not all scholars, in fact, are sure that there even is a ḫa-sign present in this particular text. But since this curse formula occurs in several other texts, its restoration is relatively certain.

In the last line, the til-sign and the le-sign are written very close together; this may have been for aesthetic reasons.

Transliteration	Transcription
I 1: ^{d}Amar-^{d}Zuen	[AmarZuen
2: Nibru^{ki}-a	Nibru.a
3: ^{d}En-lil$_2$-le	Enlil.e
4: mu-pad$_3$-da	mu.pad$_3$.a
5: sag̃-us$_2$	sag̃us
6: e$_2$-^{d}En-lil$_2$-ka	e$_2$.Enlil.(a)k.a
7: lugal-kalag-ga	lugal.kalag.a
8: lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma	lugal.Urim$_5$.a
9: lugal-an-ub-da-limmu$_2$-ba-me	lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.a(k)].me.(en)
10: alam-ba	[alam.bi.a
11: ^{d}Amar-^{d}Zuen ki-ag̃a$_2$-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma	AmarZuen ki.ag̃a$_2$.a.Urim$_5$.a
12: mu-bi-im	mu.bi].m
13: alam-ba	[alam.bi.a
II 1: lu$_2$ ki-gub-ba-bi	lu$_2$.(e) kiguba.bi.Ø
2: ib$_2$-da-ab-kur$_2$-re-a	i$_3$.b.da.b.kur$_2$.e.Ø.a
3: barag-sig$_9$-ga-bi	baragsiga.bi.Ø
4: i$_3$-bu$_3$-re-a	i$_3$.(b.)bur.e.Ø.a].(d)
5: ^{d}Nanna	[Nanna
6: lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma-ke$_4$	lugal.Urim$_5$.ak].e
7: ^{d}Nin-gal	[Ningal
8: ama-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma-ke$_4$	ama.Urim$_5$.ak].e
9: nam ḫa-ba-an-da-kur$_5$-ne	[nam].Ø ḫe$_2$.ba.n.da.(b.)kur$_5$.(e.e)ne.Ø
10: numun-na-ni	[numun.ani].Ø
11: ḫe$_2$-eb-til-le-ne	ḫe$_2$.(i$_3$.)b.til.e.ene.Ø

Translation

I 1:   I am Amar-Sin,
2-4:   proposed in Nippur by Enlil,
5-6:   patron of the temple of Enlil,
7:      the mighty king,
8:      the king of Ur,
9:      the king of the four quarters.
10,12: The name of this statue is:
11:      "Amar-Sin is the beloved of Ur".

II 5-6:   May Nanna the king of Ur
7-8:   and Ningal the mother of Ur
9:      curse
13-2:   the man who changes the position of this statue
3-4:   and the man who tears down its pedestal,
10-11: and may they put an end to his offspring!

Commentary

1. The first nine lines of this inscription are the same as in Text 12a-b, except for the later form of the royal title in line 7. Text 12a-b uses nitaḫ-kalag-ga, Text 14 uses lugal-kalag-ga.

9. -me is the first person singular enclitic copula, "I am". In older Sumerian it is usually written -me-en. The form of the second person singular is also written -me and -me-en. The third person singular is -am$_3$. The paradigm for the singular of the enclitic copula is thus as follows; the plural forms are discussed in *Lesson Twenty-Three*:

first person singular	-me-(en)
second	-me-(en)
third	-am$_3$ (after consonant)
	-m (after vowel)

The distribution of -me ~ -me-en does not exactly correspond to a difference in time. In older Sumerian -me-en is the norm. In Ur III both -me and -me-en occur, with -me predominating. However, both also occur in later texts. It is not sure if this should be regarded as an orthographic or as a phonological problem; it is discussed further below.

The regular form of the enclitic copula for the third person singular is /am/, written with the am$_3$-sign. After a vowel the enclitic copula appears as /m/, as in line 12 here.

The scope of the first person enclitic copula here consists of the first nine lines of the inscription, marked in transcription by brackets: "I am Amar-Sin...the king of the four quarters".

10. The next three lines give the actual name of the statue. The construction is an anticipatory genitive, with an enclitic copula: "Of this statue, 'Amar-Sin is the beloved of Ur' is its name", that is, "The name of this statue is 'Amar-Sin is the beloved of Ur'". The bi of mu-bi resumes alam: alam.bi.a(k)...mu.bi.m. This use of an anticipatory genitive to give the name of something is not uncommon.

11. The actual name of the statue is: "Amar-Sin is the beloved of Ur"; the PN is written within its own case. The name is an equational sentence, and so one might have expected to find an enclitic copula. However, simple equational sentences do not always use the copula, and this name is probably such an instance. It is also possible that the name is not a complete sentence, but rather is a noun phrase with an appositive: "Amar-Sin, the beloved of Ur"; this is discussed further below.

12. As discussed above, the final /m/ is the form of the third person enclitic copula which is used after a vowel.

13. The next few lines are rather complicated. Lines I:13 through II:4 are all the comitative complement of the verb nam...kur₅ in II:9. This complement includes a head noun (lu₂) governing two relative clauses. The first is marked by the -a at the end of line II:2. The second is marked by the -a at the end of line II:4. All of this is embedded inside an anticipatory genitive:

> "of this statue, the man who changes its position and tears down its pedestal" >
>
> "the man who changes the position of this statue and tears down its pedestal".

The anticipatory genitive in I:13 is resumed by the -bi in II:1 and II:3.

II:2. Since the sense conveyed is future, the verb is put into the marû. The verb kur₂ is a member of the affixation class, so forms its marû with the marû suffix .e, hence kur₂.e, written here kur₂-re.

The initial /i/ of the ib₂-sign represents the CP i₃.

There are two /b/s in this particular prefix chain; it is easier to look at the second /b/ first. Since this is a marû form of the verb, the /b/ in the position immediately preceding the verbal root cross-references the direct object, kiguba.bi.∅.

da is the DP which cross-references a nominal phrase in the comitative case. The /b/ before da is a morpheme not yet seen. Before the DPs .da (cross-referencing the comitative .da), .ši (cross-referencing the terminative .še₃), and .ta (cross-referencing the ablative .ta), it is possible for an "optional pronominal prefix" to appear. For the third person, these prefixes are .n for the animate and .b for the inanimate (the forms for first and second person are discussed below). These prefixes help to cross-reference the nominal phrases occurring in the sentence; they do not convey any new information. The use of these pronominal prefixes appears to be purely optional; they did not appear in any of the previous texts used in this *Manual*, and only show up sporadically in the remaining texts.

The presence or absence of these pronominal prefixes is more than a problem in orthography. In the case of the PAs which appear immediately before the root, the basic assumption is that they are always present, even if not written; this does not appear to be the case with the optional pronominal prefixes.

Thus, .b.da represents the comitative DP with an optional pronominal prefix.

An obvious problem here is that there is no comitative nominal phrase in the sentence for the DP and its optional pronominal prefix to cross-reference! In fact, in this verbal prefix chain there occurs both a DP (.b.da) and a PA (.b). However, there is only one noun phrase that these could cross-reference, ki-gub-ba-bi of line II:1. Furthermore, this particular verb (kur₂) seems to normally be construed with a direct object. Therefore, the PA .b cross-references the direct object, and the DP .da with its optional pronominal prefix .b does not refer back to any particular nominal phrase.

As was mentioned in *Lesson Eleven*, there are numerous instances in Sumerian where a comitative DP appears in the verbal prefix chain but with no corresponding comitative nominal

phrase in the sentence; these are examples of what Poebel called the "frozen" use of the DP. There is probably not just one single rule governing the appearance or non-appearance of the DP. More likely, there are several different factors at work, which have not yet been unraveled. This is further discussed below.

To summarize the verb form:

$$\text{i}_3 \cdot \text{b} \cdot \text{da} \cdot \text{b} \cdot \text{kur}_2 \cdot \text{e} \cdot \varnothing \cdot \text{a}$$
$$(1)\ (2)\ (3)\ (4)\ (5)\ (6)\ (7)\ (8)$$

(1)	conjugation prefix
(2)	optional pronominal prefix
(3)	comitative dimensional prefix
(4)	personal affix cross-referencing direct object (ki-gub-ba-bi)
(5)	verbal root
(6)	marû suffix
(7)	personal affix cross-referencing agent (lu₂)
(8)	nominalizer

The entire clause, nominalized in -a, stands in apposition to lu₂, forming a relative clause.

4. i₃-bu₃-re-a represents i₃.(b).bur.e.a. i₃ is the CP. On the surface, the verb has no DP, nor does it have any PA cross-referencing the apparent direct object, baragsiga.bi.∅. Since the verb form is in the marû, one might have expected to find /b/ immediately preceding the verbal root. There are at least two possible reasons for its apparent absence. Lines 3-4 are roughly parallel in form and in content to lines 1-2. It is possible that its use in the verb form in line 4 would have been redundant; that is, the parallelism in construction permitted deletion of the PA .b (and, perhaps, of the DP also). It has often been suggested that in general PAs are only present, and therefore only written, in ambiguous contexts.

However, there may be an entirely different reason for its absence. Perhaps there was a phonetic reduction of /ibburea/ > /iburea/. That is, the problem may be phonological, not morphological.

As is often the case in Sumerian, it can be difficult to determine whether a problem is orthographic, phonological, or morphological in nature. The PA is transcribed here within parentheses.

4. The assumed comitative case marker .d at the end of this line marks lines I:13 through II:4 as the comitative complement of the verb nam...kur₅ in II:9. The same use of the assumed comitative with this particular verb occurred in Text 11.

6-8. The two agents of the verb forms in lines 9 and 11 are both marked by the ergative case marker .e.

9. .n.da is the comitative DP plus the optional pronominal prefix .n. Here the animate form of the optional pronominal prefix is used because it refers back (essentially) to lu₂, "the man who".

All the verb forms seen up to this point have been in the singular. Sumerian has verbal (and nominal) forms for the singular and the plural, but does not have a dual. Since here there is a plural agent ("Nanna and Ningal"), the verb is put into the plural. The plural third person of a marû verb is usually written with a suffixed -e-ne. Several different analyses of the morphology behind this writing have been proposed. One analysis sees this writing as reflecting e.ene.Ø. The .e is the marû suffix, .ene is the plural marker, and .Ø is the PA cross-referencing the agent. This is the analysis followed here. Another analysis is to isolate the morphemes of this ending as e.Ø.ene. Jacobsen proposed a completely different analysis; he read the ne-sign as de₃. This is all a very difficult issue to resolve.

A problem in this particular verbal form is the fact that only -ne is written, not -e-ne. How should this writing be understood? The Falkenstein school would read the first sign with an overhanging vowel, kure₂. A variant of this solution is to read the kur₂-sign as kuru₅. It is very frequent for the marû suffix .e to assimilate into an /u/-vowel of a verbal root. kuru₅-ne would thus represent kur.e.ene.Ø; the second /u/ in the kuru₅-sign represents the assimilation of the marû suffix /e/ to the first /u/ of the root: /kurene/ > /kurune/.

The principle followed throughout this *Manual*, however, is that the mnemonic nature of the script meant that there was no need for the scribe to write down the full form of the morphemes.

To summarize the verb form:

$$\text{nam.Ø} \quad \text{ḫe}_2 \cdot \text{ba} \cdot \text{n} \cdot \text{da} \cdot \text{(b)} \cdot \text{kur}_5 \cdot \text{e} \cdot \text{ene} \cdot \text{Ø}$$
$$(1) \quad (2) \quad (3) \quad (4) \quad (5) \quad (6) \quad (7) \quad (8) \quad (9) \quad (10)$$

(1)   nominal component of compound verb, historic patient
(2)   modal prefix
(3)   conjugation prefix
(4)   optional pronominal prefix
(5)   comitative dimensional prefix
(6)   personal affix cross-referencing patient (nam)
(7)   verbal element of compound verb
(8)   marû suffix
(9)   plural marker
(10)   personal affix cross-referencing agent (Nanna and Ningal)

This line is essentially the same curse formula which occurred in Text 11. It is instructive to compare the verb forms of the two texts:

Text 11:   nam ḫa-ba-da-kur₅-e
Text 14:   nam ḫa-ba-an-da-kur₅-ne

The first difference is the presence in Text 14 of the animate optional pronominal prefix .n before the comitative DP .da. It is precisely cases such as this—two sentences with a minimum of variation—which show that such pronominal prefixes are indeed optional.

The second difference is in the number of the verb. In Text 11, the agent of the verb is sin-

gular ("Gilgamesh"); in Text 14, the agent of the verb is plural ("Nanna and Ningal").

11. ḫe₂ is the regular form of the desiderative MP. In its two previous occurrences, /ḫe/ > /ḫa/ before the CP /ba/.

The next position in the verbal prefix chain should be the obligatory CP. In this particular case, the CP i₃ has contracted into the /e/ of the MP ḫe₂.

.b cross-references the direct object, numun.ani.Ø. Since numun refers to "descendants, progeny", it might seem a little surprising to see numun.ani.Ø cross-referenced by .b (normally used for inanimates) instead of by .n (normally used for animates). However, .b is frequently used for what might be considered collectives, both animate and inanimate, and here numun was probably felt as such.

Since til is a transitive verb, ḫe₂ is used with the marû form of the verb. til is a member of the affixation class, so its marû root is til.e. The verb is written as expected, til-le-ne.

To summarize the verb form:

$$\text{ḫe}_2 \cdot \text{i}_3 \cdot \text{b} \cdot \text{til} \cdot \text{e} \cdot \text{ene} \cdot \text{Ø}$$
$$(1) \quad (2) \quad (3) \quad (4) \quad (5) \quad (6) \quad (7)$$

(1)   modal prefix
(2)   conjugation prefix
(3)   personal affix cross-referencing direct object (numun)
(4)   verbal root
(5)   marû suffix
(6)   plural marker
(7)   personal affix cross-referencing agent (Nanna and Ningal)

Discussion: Structure

This text is composed of three sentences:

I: 1-9	nominal sentence, with enclitic copula
I: 10-12	nominal sentence, with enclitic copula
I: 13-II: 11	verbal sentence

The structure of the verbal sentence is, in essence:

| I: 13-II: 4 | comitative complement |
II: 5-6	agent₁
II: 7-8	agent₂
II: 9	verb
II: 10	patient
II: 11	verb

— Function

Hallo classified this text as a "standard inscription". It is, however, somewhat different from the texts previously studied. It describes a statue with its name and then continues with a curse formula. Several inscriptions of this type are known.

— Apposition

In a famous monograph entitled *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen* (1932), Poebel tried to show that the first person copula in Semitic and in Sumerian could also be used to express apposition. In Text 14, the translation of the beginning of the inscription would be: "I, Amar-Sin, the one nominated…". That is, the first nine lines would not form a complete sentence, but rather would form a kind of *casus pendens* or fronting for emphasis. This also seems possible for the third person, and so the name of the statue in line 11 may be a noun and appositive and not an equational sentence.

— Sign formation

In *Lesson One* it was pointed out that some cuneiform signs are in origin combinations of a pictographic sign with an inscribed phonetic indicator. Thus the bad_3-sign is the picture of a city wall with an inscribed bad-sign serving as phonetic complement. The ama-sign ⊠ may also be one of these signs. It has an inscribed diĝir-sign, one of whose phonetic readings is am_6. Therefore, it has been suggested that the function of this am_6 component is to aid in the pronunciation of the sign as a whole. But it is difficult to make this square with the fact that the rest of the sign in which the am_6-sign resides is apparently the pisan-sign, ⊡ , which basically means "basket" or "container" of some kind. It has thus also been proposed that there is some obscure symbolism involved, "mother" being represented as a "divinity" within a "container".

— Loan words

In Text 5 the word barag, "dais", occurred; this was borrowed into Akkadian as parakku. The amissable /g/-Auslaut shows up in Akkadian as a long voiceless consonant. $barag$-sig_9-ga, however, was borrowed into Akkadian as barasigû. The amissable /g/-Auslaut of the barag-element, here in syllable-final position, does not appear. However, the intervocalic /g/ of sig_9-ga (sig.a) remains. The word-initial /b/ of barag is treated differently in each loan word. In parakku it is reflected as /p/, but in barasigû it is reflected as /b/. This shows that barasigû is a later borrowing into Akkadian than parakku. In relatively older loan words from Sumerian, Sumerian voiced stops (which, as discussed in *Lesson Five*, were probably voiceless non-aspirates) are reflected in Akkadian as voiceless stops. In relatively later loan words, the same Sumerian voiced stops are reflected as voiced stops. Needless to say, not enough is known about the historical phonology and phonetics of either Sumerian or Akkadian to explain exactly what has happened. Presumably, the difference in behavior reflects a sound change which took place in Sumerian at some time before the Old Babylonian period. Such differences, however,

are one way that the entry of loan words into another language can be dated relative to each other.

— Conjugation prefixes

In the model of the Sumerian prefix chain presented throughout this *Manual*, the use of the CP is obligatory; a CP is present in every finite verbal form. Therefore, in the verb form he_2-eb-til-le-ne of line II:11, it is assumed here that a CP i_3 has assimilated into the MP he_2. Similarly in Text 21, the view presented here assumes the presence of a CP i_3 after the cohortative MP ga, although the verb form in Text 21 is written ga-an-ti-il.

Although both the desiderative MP he_2 and the cohortative MP ga are frequently followed by such CPs as mu and ba, there appear to be no instances of writings of the type *he_2-i_3 or *ga-i_3. If the i_3 is in fact present, one might expect to find at least a few occurrences of it being written (to judge by similar phenomena in the writing system). However, none apparently occur. This means that the assumption that the attested spellings all represent assimilation may not, in fact, be correct. Jacobsen, for example, contends that the CP i_3 is "incompatible" with the cohortative MP ga. That is, the semantic information conveyed by i_3 does not permit it to co-occur with ga. This may mean that at times the MP ga is followed by *no* CP. The up-shot is that not every finite verbal form contains a CP.

This problem cannot be resolved here. However, it should be kept in mind that the general principle stated in this *Manual*—that CPs are obligatory—may need modification in the case of certain MPs.

— Pronominal prefixes

The use of pronominal prefixes before certain DPs is not uncommon. In the singular, the basic forms of these prefixes are:

first person singular	.Ø
second	.e
third animate	.n
inanimate	.b

The form of the first person singular was probably not simply .Ø. Some odd writings suggest that this marker had either a vocalic component (perhaps /e/, making the form similar to that of the second person) or a consonantal component (perhaps a semi-vowel or glottalic consonant). The forms of the plural are much less clear.

If more than one DP occurs in a verbal prefix chain, only the first DP can have an optional pronominal prefix.

An older view of these pronominal prefixes was that they were obligatory, and that their relative infrequency in texts is due to vagaries of orthography. In this view, for example, every .da DP which cross-references a third person should be understood as (n.)da. Thus, the verb

form in Text 11 should be understood as nam.Ø ḫe₂.ba.(n.)da.(b.)kur₅.e.Ø, instead of nam.Ø ḫe₂.ba.da.(b.)kur₅.e.Ø. However, this view is doubtful, because the actual number of cases where the pronominal prefixes appear before an appropriate DP is much less than the number of cases where they do not appear.

— Dimensional prefixes

In line 2, the verb kur₂ was used with the DP -da, although the sentence contains no nominal phrase in the comitative case. In some cases, verbs have become lexicalized with certain DPs, that is, the verb will frequently (with some verbs, always) have a certain DP, even if no corresponding nominal phrase occurs. Occasionally a noun phrase will be marked with a certain case ending, but the DP used in the corresponding verbal phrase will be different than expected. For example, a nominal phrase in -še₃ (the terminative) may be resumed by the DP normally used for the locative (ni). In some cases this may have happened because of a historical change in the rection of a noun phrase. That is, at one time a noun phrase may have been marked by one particular case, but in time the case which was used changed. However, the DP, being more closely bound, did not change. In the case of kur₂, for example, its complement may originally have been in the comitative case (or even perhaps the ablative case), but it eventually shifted to the absolutive case. However, it carried along its DP, resulting in such cases as line II:2, where the verbal prefix chain has both a DP and a PA, yet there is only one nominal phrase for both of these to govern. Similarly, the rection of the first element of a compound verb may change. In earlier texts, it may be in one of the adverbial cases; in later texts, it may be construed as a patient. Sometimes changes in rection may be due to Akkadian influence. Usually, however, there is not enough data in the case of any particular verb to determine why such changes occurred.

The analysis of II:1-2 presented here is not the only one possible. II:1 was explained as the patient of the verb, and the da in the verbal prefix chain as a frozen use of the comitative DP. However, the verb kur₂ sometimes takes its complement in the ablative case. It is possible that this is how this particular verb originally worked. Therefore, it has been proposed to understand line 1 as kiguba.bi.(ta), with the ablative case marker not expressed in the writing. The DP which cross-references the ablative is /ta/, normally written ta. Therefore, the verb form in line 2 would have to be understood as i₃.b.ta.b.kur₂.e.Ø.a. The fact that the text clearly shows a da-sign and not a ta-sign would seem to mitigate against such an interpretation. However, other cases of the ablative DP appearing on the surface as da instead of ta are known; the reasons why are unclear. In our particular text, there could have been assimilation of voice: /bta/ > /bda/. However, other such cases of an apparent da for ta are less amenable to phonetic explanation of this sort.

— Plural verbs

As presented in *Lesson Eleven*, the conjugation of the marû transitive verb in the singular is:

first person singular	i₃-sar-re-en	i₃.sar.e.en	I write.
second	i₃-sar-re-en	i₃.sar.e.en	You write.
third	i₃-sar-re	i₃.sar.e.Ø	He/she writes.

For the plural, the forms are:

first person plural	i₃-sar-re-en-de₃-en	i₃.sar.e.enden	We write.
second	i₃-sar-re-en-ze₂-en	i₃.sar.e.enzen	You write.
third	i₃-sar-re-e-ne	i₃.sar.e.ene.Ø	They write.

Again, there is no consensus about the (synchronic or diachronic) analysis of these forms, especially in the plural. Many variations in spelling are attested.

The conjugation of the ḫamtu transitive verb is as follows. There are numerous variations in spelling, and, as in the case of the marû, the analysis of the plural forms is not clear:

first person singular	mu-sar	mu.Ø.sar	I wrote.
second	mu-sar	mu.e.sar	You wrote.
third animate	mu-sar	mu.n.sar	He/she wrote.
inanimate	mu-sar	mu.b.sar	It wrote.
first person plural	mu-sar-en-de₃-en	mu.Ø.sar.enden	We wrote.
second	mu-sar-en-ze₂-en	mu.e.sar.enzen	You wrote.
third animate	mu-sar-eš	mu.n.sar.eš	They wrote.

— Enclitic copula

The fact that the first and second persons of the enclitic copula occur both as -me and -me-en admits of several possible interpretations. The problem may have been orthographic. There are other instances where word and syllable-final nasals are not written in Sumerian; compare the writing mu-na-du₃ for mu.na.(n.)du₃, presumably representing /munandu/. It may reflect the phonetic process of Sumerian dropping word-final nasals; in this case, the forms written with -en are to be regarded as morphographemic or historical writings. It has also been posited that the writings -me and -me-en represent one pronunciation, /mẽ/. The original word-final nasal was lost, producing a nasalized vowel which the writing system could not well represent.

— Proper names

Names were often given to objects which were dedicated. Such names could be complicated sentences in their own right. For example, a statue of Gudea dedicated to Ningirsu was named: "Ningirsu, the king (=god) whose heavy might the world cannot bear, has decided good destiny for Gudea, who built this temple" (Gelb's translation [1956:66]).

— Statues

Statues with inscribed pedestals and uninscribed pedestals are known from many periods of Mesopotamian history; compare the discussion of Shu-Sin's historical inscriptions in *Lesson Seventeen*. The most general word for "pedestal" was ki-gal, borrowed into Akkadian as kigallu; this is glossed by the *CAD* as "1. raised platform for cultic purposes, 2. pedestal, base (for a statue, a cult object, an architectural feature made of stone, metal, brick, precious stones, etc., often inscribed) ...".

— History

In addition to the copy of the text reproduced above, a Neo-Babylonian copy from the seventh century BCE has also been preserved. It was inscribed on what was apparently a model pedestal. This copy is interesting because of the presence of several errors in the Sumerian. Frayne, in fact, says that its text differs enough to justify a separate catalogue entry. Also, it has a colophon written in Akkadian, which says that the model was to be used in an "exhibition" (tāmartu) of some kind. The following quotation from Woolley describes this object, and also says something about the tenor of the time which produced it:

> A little way apart lay a small drum-shaped clay object on which were four columns of writing; the first three columns were in the old Sumerian language, and the contents of one at least were familiar to us, for we had found it on bricks of Amar-Sin, king of Ur 2046-2038 B.C., and the other two were fairly similar; the fourth column was in the late Semitic speech. "These", it said, "are copies from bricks found in the ruins of Ur, the work of Amar-Sin king of Ur, which while searching for the ground-plan [of the temple] the Governor of Ur found, and I saw and wrote out for the marvel of beholders". The scribe, alas!, was not so learned as he wished to appear, for his copies are so full of blunders as to be almost unintelligible, but he had doubtless done his best, and he certainly had given us the explanation we wanted. The room was a museum of local antiquities maintained by the princess Ennigaldi-Nanna (who in this took after her father, a keen antiquarian), and in the collection was this clay drum, the earliest museum label known, drawn up a hundred years before and kept, presumably together with the original bricks, as a record of the first scientific excavations of Ur...We shall see further examples of the achaeological spirit that prevailed in the latter days of Babylon, but undoubtedly it was reinforced by a pathetic superstition that looked back across the uncounted ages to the fabulous beginnings of things when men and gods were scarcely to be distinguished and "there were giants in the land in those days" (1982:252, 231).

In this vein, later Mesopotamian kings occasionally boasted of their ability to read Sumerian. Ashurbanipal, for instance, says: aštasi kammu naklu ša Šumeru ṣullulu, translated by the

CAD (N/1 p. 188) as "I have read the artfully written text whose Sumerian version is obscure", and ḫīṭâku miḫiṣti abnī ša lām abūbi, "I have examined the inscriptions on stone (dating) from (the period) before the flood" (Ḫ p. 160).
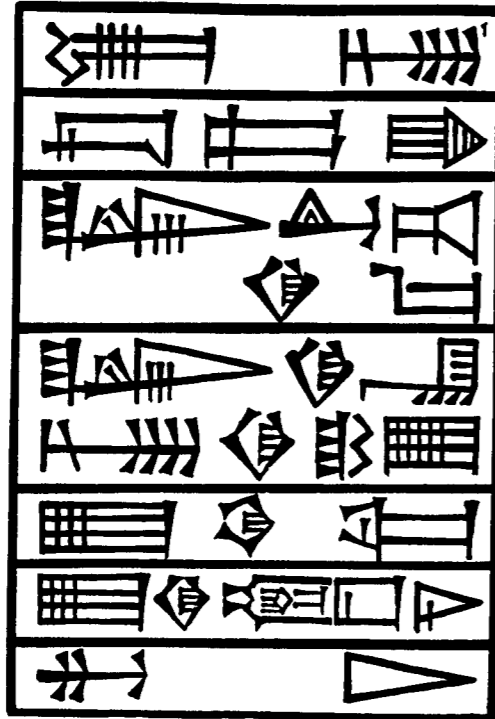
Text 14a
supplementary

Amar-Sin 1
Brick
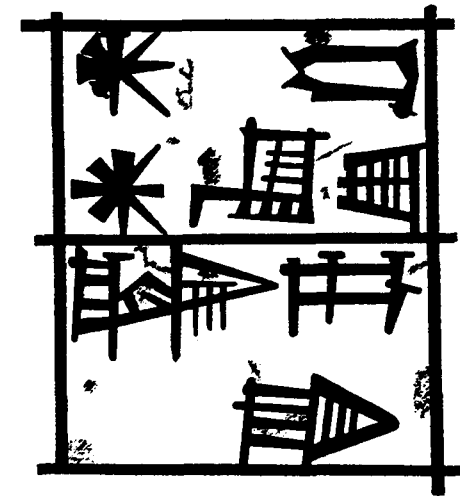
Text 14b
supplementary

Shulgi 5
Brick

1. The end of the sign ⊬⟫⟫ is restored from 90277.

The ḫur-sign in line 5 is lacking a vertical in the middle. It is hard to say if this is a mistake of the original or of the modern-day copyist.

Sign-list and vocabulary

E₂-ḫur-saḡ TN (?)

ḫur-saḡ means "mountain" and "mountain range"; the etymology is not clear. The normal Akkadian equivalent is šadû (presumed to be Semitic). The Sumerian was also borrowed as ḫuršānu, glossed by *CAD* as "mountain (range)".

Since the text has no benefactive phrase, it has been suggested that E₂-ḫur-saḡ is the name of a palace, not a temple. This is possible, although seemingly unparalleled. On the other hand, E₂-ḫur-saḡ was the subject of a temple hymn, where it is called e₂ mu-maḫ ḫur-saḡ-il₂-an-na, "House with a mighty name, high mountain of heaven". Klein (1995:844) suggests it was originally Shulgi's palace, where later he was worshipped as a divinity.

About a dozen exemplars of this text were found in a building identified by Woolley as the Ehursag itself.

⟨≖ Lesson Fifteen ⟨≖

This is another door socket of Amar-Sin.

Sign-list and vocabulary

ḡeštin vine, wine

i₃ oil, fat

i₃-nun butter

lal₃ honey

nun prince, noble

siskur₂ sacrifice

šilig to cease

u₃ and

ge (syllabic)

nu (syllabic)

ḡeštin This ranges in meaning from "grapes" to "vine" to "wine". The Akkadian equivalent, karānu, is glossed by the *CAD* as "1. wine, 2. grapevine, 3. grapes". The etymology is unsure; it may be a substrate word. The original form of the sign was apparently the ḡeš-sign followed by the picture of a leaf.

i₃ This is a general word for fats and oils, Akkadian šamnu. In older works it is transliterated as ià.

i₃-nun Literally, this is "oil of the prince", a genitive phrase. This has been variously interpreted as "butter", "ghee", and "butterfat". The Akkadian equivalent of i₃-nun is ḫimētu, translated by the *CAD* as "ghee".

lal₃ The bee is thought to be native to Syria but not to Mesopotamia. So lal₃ (and its Akkadian equivalent dišpu) may be a Syrian import. The ultimate etymology of lal₃ is therefore unsure. It

has also been speculated that lal₃ and dišpu were actually a kind of syrup made from fruits; they are thus sometimes translated "date syrup".

The frame of the sign is presumably some kind of container. The inside strokes may represent dug₃ (du₁₀), "good, sweet" (Gong 1993:36).

nun It is difficult to say exactly what this word means. The conventional translation is "prince", but this is rather misleading; "prince" is more precisely dumu-lugal. Jacobsen says nun indicates "a great nobleman of the realm outstanding by experience and wisdom—a councilor, not unlike the Anglo-Saxon *witan*" (1946:147). The usual Akkadian equivalent is rubû, glossed by *AHw* as "Fürst".

The word can take on extended meanings. i₃-nun occurs in this *Lesson*, and such terms as kaš-nun, "high quality beer", also occur.

siskur₂ This has such meanings as "sacrifice" and "blessing". Its Akkadian equivalents are most commonly niqû, the general word for "offering, sacrifice", and ikribu, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. blessing, benediction, 2. money or goods pledged by a vow to a deity, 3. prayer".

It is normally written by the ⬦ sign, written twice. This sign is the amar-sign ⬦ inside of which is the barley-sign, še ⬦ . Thus, the original pictographic significance of the sign may have been "grain-fed cattle" or something similar.

It is possible that /siskur/ originates from a reduplicated form expressing plurality or intensity, such as */sikur-sikur/; this would explain why the word was written with the same sign twice. One would then assume a change along the lines of */sikursikur/ > */sisikur/ > /siskur/. Unfortunately, the ultimate etymology of the word */sikur/ is unknown. The first /kur/ segment was lost because of some phonetic or morphological process now opaque to us. Although the pronunciation changed, the word continued to be written with two signs. A similar spelling is discussed in *Lesson Eighteen*.

Occasionally /siskur/ is written with only one, instead of two, signs. In such a case it is properly transliterated siskur. Early scholars thought that the writing with one sign was a singular and the writing with two signs was a plural; this means that the writing with two signs is sometimes transliterated siskur-siskur. Other inconsistencies in transliterating this sign occur.

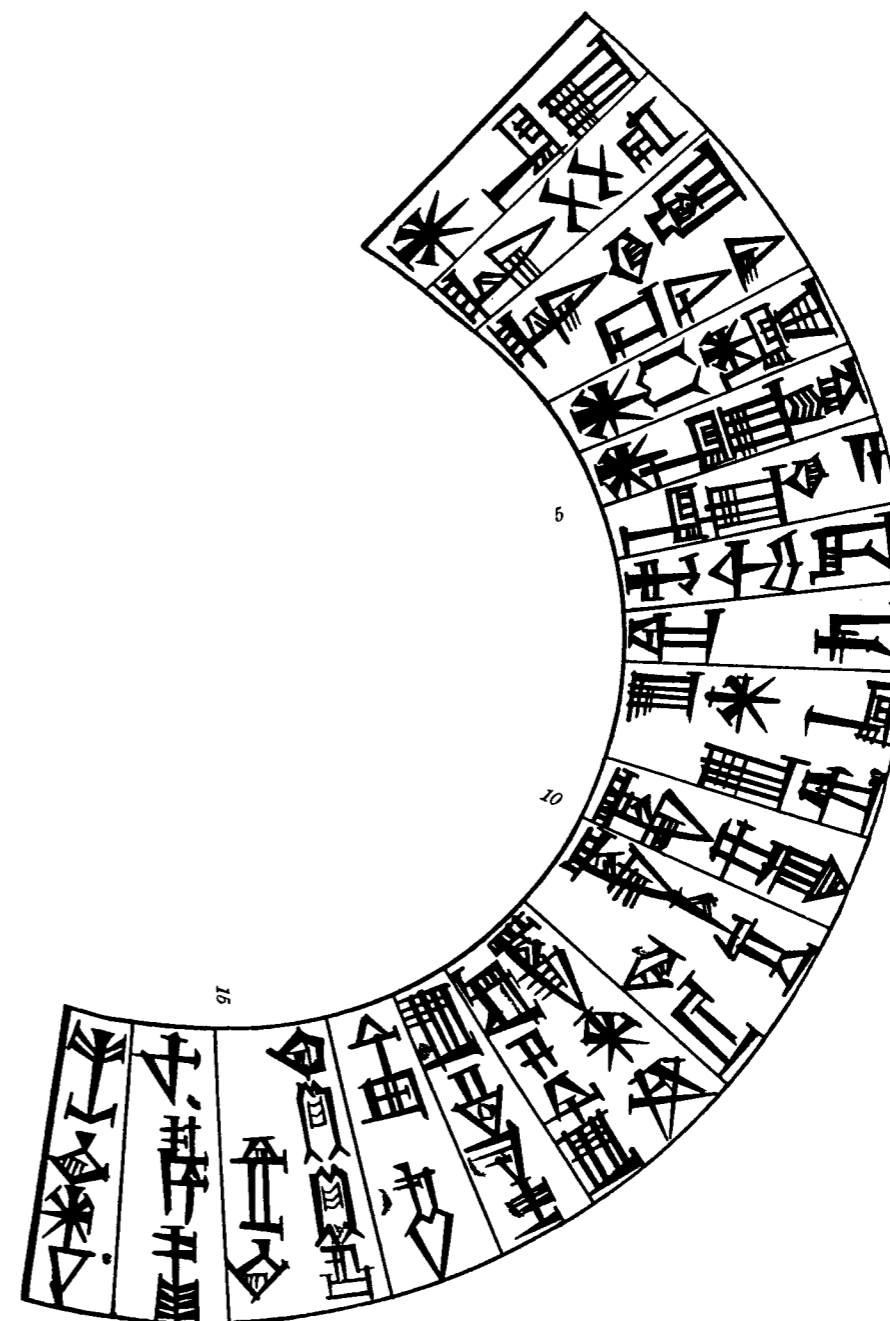The pronunciation of the sibilants is unsure, and so it is also transliterated sizkur₂, šiskur₂, and so on.

šilig The basic meaning of this verb is "to cease", "to come to an end". It is very uncommon in verbal forms; it is mostly used in participial and infinitival constructions.

It is unsure if the initial sibilant is /s/ or /š/.

u₃ This is not a native Sumerian word. It exists in all the Semitic languages, and thus is a borrowing from Akkadian into Sumerian.

Text 15

Amar-Sin 10
Door socket

Transliteration

1: ᵈEn-lil₂
2: lugal-kur-kur-ra
3: lugal-ki-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ni-ir
4: ᵈAmar-ᵈZuen
5: ᵈEn-lil₂-le
6: Nibruᵏⁱ-a
7: mu-pad₃-da
8: saĝ-us₂
9: e₂-ᵈEn-lil₂-ka
10: lugal-kalag-ga
11: lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma
12: lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba-ke₄
13: e₂ lal₃ i₃-nun
14: u₃ ĝeštin
15: ki-siskur₂-ra-ka-na
16: nu-šilig-ge
17: mu-na-an-du₃

Transcription

[Enlil
lugal.kur.kur.a
lugal.ki.aĝa₂.a.ni].r
[AmarZuen
Enlil.e
Nibru.a
mu.pad₃.a
saĝus
e₂.Enlil.(a)k.a
lugal.kalag.a
lugal.Urim₅.a
lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.ak].e
[e₂ lal₃ inun
u₃ ĝeštin
ki.siskur₂.ak.ani.a
nu.šilig.e(d).Ø].Ø
mu.na.n.du₃.Ø

Translation

1: For Enlil,
2: king of all the lands,
3: his beloved king —
4: Amar-Sin,
5: proposed by Enlil in Nippur,
8: patron of the temple of Enlil,
10: the mighty king,
11: the king of Ur,
12: the king of the four quarters —
17: built —
13: the temple (where) honey, butter
14: and wine
15: in his place of sacrifice
16: shall not cease.

Commentary

12. The .e marks the agent, which spans lines 4 through 12.

13-16. These lines are the direct object (patient) of the verb in line 17; they are marked as such by the final .Ø at the end of line 16.

e₂ means "temple". What follows is a relative clause modifying e₂. Up to this point, all the relative clauses which have occurred have been verbal sentences, such as "the man who *built*". Here, however, the relative clause is a nominal, equational sentence: "Honey, butter and wine in his place of sacrifice *are* a non-ceasing thing". Nominal relative clauses are not as frequent as verbal relative clauses, and so their syntax is not as well understood. They consist of a head noun (here, e₂) followed directly by a nominal sentence in apposition. The nominal sentence contains a nominal element as subject (here, lal₃ i₃-nun u₃ ĝeštin, followed by the locative phrase ki-siskur₂-ra-ka-na) and a nominal element as predicate (here, nu-šilig-ge); no copula is used. Unlike the case with verbal relative clauses, no nominalizer is used.

Although Sumerian does not use any relative marker after the head noun, English needs a relative adverb of some kind, such as "where".

14. As discussed in *Lesson Two*, Sumerian does not normally use any conjunction between nouns. Instead, it conjoins them directly. Occasionally the conjunction u₃, borrowed from Akkadian, occurs between nouns or nominal phrases; it can also co-ordinate clauses and sentences. Here it is used between the second and the last nouns of a list: "honey, butter *and* wine". It is hard to say why it is used.

15. The final .a is the locative case marker. It is not resumed by any DP.

16. The general all-purpose negative marker in Sumerian is /nu/, usually written nu. It can appear before both verbal forms (discussed in the next *Lesson*) and, as here, before nominal forms. šilig is an active participle from the verbal root "to cease". ed is a morpheme not seen previously. It is one of the more puzzling of all Sumerian morphemes. It normally follows marû forms of the verb; its use with ḫamṭu forms is very rare. It is also used with both active and passive participles. With active participles, it occurs as, for example, du₃.ed.Ø. With passive participles (much rarer), it occurs as du₃.ed.a. The active participle is what occurs in Text 15: šilig.ed.Ø.

The meaning of .ed has been much discussed. It must have something to do with the "future", although the nuance conveyed is unsure. In its rare occurrences with the ḫamṭu, it appears to have a future perfect sense. According to Black, "Its reference seems to be to future events, although its use in descriptive passages suggests a connotation of vividness. More important, it marks an action as *not yet begun at the moment of observation* (which can be a moment in the past)" (1991:118). Jacobsen says that .ed is the "mark of pre-actional aspect indicating prospectiveness of the action as present at the point in time the speaker has in mind. Attention is thus not on the action as future but on its prospectiveness as present" (1970 [1965] 267).

To sum up, line 16 is a nominal form, based on an active participle. .ed conveys some nuance of the future. This is all made negative by nu. Thus, this nominal form means literally "a

non-ceasing in the future thing". This is of course awkward in English; it is easier to translate the phrase into a verbal sentence, as done here: "shall not cease".

The first .Ø in the transcription of the line thus marks šilig.ed as an active participle. The second .Ø marks the complex of lines 13 through 16 as the patient of the verb in line 17.

17. mu-na-an-du₃ represents mu.na.n.du₃. This is the first time in this *Manual* where the animate PA .n cross-referencing the agent in the ḫamṭu appears explicitly in the writing.

There is no DP to cross-reference the locative nominal phrase in line 15.

Discussion: Structure

The structure of this text is:

[Enlil, lugal.kur.kur.a, lugal.ki.aǧa₂.a.ni].r	benefactive
[AmarZuen, Enlil.e Nibru.a mu.pad₃.a,	agent
saǧus.e₂.Enlil.(a)k.a, lugal.kalag.a,	
lugal.Urim₅.a,	
lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.ak].e	
[e₂ lal₃ inun u₃ ǧeštin ki.siskur₂.ak.ani.a	patient
nu.šilig.e(d).Ø].Ø	
mu.na.n.du₃.Ø	verb

Relative clauses consisting of a nominal sentence, such as that in lines 13-16, are not common in Sumerian, and so there is some question about their analysis. It is possible that these lines should be understood as the *name* of the temple: "Amar-Sin built a temple (whose name is) 'Honey, butter and wine in his place of sacrifice shall not cease'". In such constructions, Sumerian does not always use the word for "name" (mu); instead, it can conjoin the name directly as an appositive. An example occurs in Text 18: bad₃-Mar-tu Mu-ri-iq-Ti-id-ni-im, "the Martu-wall (whose name is) 'Murîq-Tidnim'".

— .ed

There is no standard term in use to refer to .ed. As mentioned above, it can appear on both finite verbal forms and on nominal forms derived from verbal roots. It is often stated that it only occurs with marû roots, but there may be a few cases with ḫamṭu roots. It occurs with both transitive and intransitive-passive forms. On nominal forms, it occurs on the "infinitive", the active participle, and the passive participle.

Jacobsen (1988b:184ff) is the most recent survey of .ed, with a discussion of previous scholarship. He emphasizes that .ed is a derivational morpheme, not an inflectional morpheme: "Its function is to create a stem that denotes preactional and postactional occurrence and so places the subject or agent at a point in time just before, or just after, the occurrence denoted by the verb".

Because the /d/ is amissable, and because the /e/ can assimilate into other vowels, it is not

always easy to determine if it is present or not. The assumed /d/ does not show up in Text 15, for example, and it is therefore possible that some other interpretation of line 16 is to be preferred. It is assumed to be here because it shows up in similar expressions in other texts. For example, *Cylinder A* of Gudea mentions the building of a basin a nu-šilig-ge-dam, "where water will not cease", šilig.ed.Ø.am₃ (.am₃ is the enclitic copula). In this *Manual*, the only other occurrence of .ed is in Text 26b, but even there the analysis is quite unsure.

— Participles

The traditional view of Sumerian is that it has two participles, an active and a passive-intransitive (the categories of voice are discussed more fully in the next *Lesson*). The active is marked by .Ø and the passive-intransitive by .a. Each participle can also appear with the element .ed. This yields four forms:

X.Ø	X.a
X.ed.Ø	X.ed.a

However, a fair number of exceptions to such a scheme occur. There are cases of participles in .Ø which have a passive-intransitive meaning and participles in .a which have an active meaning. For example, the form in Text 15 is šilig-ge, presumably for šilig.ed.Ø. Here the sense is intransitive, and therefore one might have expected a participle in .a. It is also possible that since the root šilig is inherently intransitive, and since the active participle basically means to perform the action of the root, the active participle expresses intransitivity.

In addition to these participles, Sumerian also has three (?) infinitives (again, for lack of a better term):

.a	(ḫamṭu and marû)
.ed.a	(ḫamṭu only ?)
.ed.e	(marû only ?)

The distribution of these forms is not clear, and in fact the infinitive is not very common. No clear examples appear in this *Manual*. Moreover, an /a/ can assimilate to a preceding /e/, so that a writing with -de₃ is often ambiguous and difficult to understand.

The situation was undoubtedly more complex than the above listings of participles and infinitives would indicate. Most discussions of non-verbal forms in Sumerian have applied Indo-European and Semitic grammatical categories and terms to the Sumerian forms.

I.T. Kaneva studied the participles in 1970. Her analysis was quite different from that presented above:

X.Ø	"transitive participle of the imperfect aspect"
X.a	"transitive participle of the perfective aspect"
X.a	"intransitive participle".

However, she did not apparently recognize the existence of reduced relative clauses in .a,

whose existence complicates the picture.

— Personal affixes

This text marks the first time in this *Manual* where the PA .n cross-referencing the ḫamṭu agent actually appears in the writing. As discussed in *Lesson Thirteen*, this is part of the on-going process of the Sumerian writing system becoming more and more explicit.

— Conjunctions

In Text 15, u₃ co-ordinates nouns; in Text 23b it co-ordinates two sentences inside of an oath clause.

The native Sumerian "conjunction" which is closest in meaning to "and", linking nouns and nominal phrases, is -bi-da, suffixed to the second noun: an-ki-bi-da, "heaven and earth". bi is the possessive suffix and da the comitative case marker. Thus this originally meant "heaven along with its earth", rather than simply "heaven and earth". -bi-da occurs in Text 24c, in a very specialized usage.

Sumerian also has a word meaning "and" linking verbs: -in-ga, occurring on the last verb of a series of two or more verbs, in the position after the MPs but before the CPs. No examples occur in the Ur III royal inscriptions. An example from Gudea is sipad-zid Gu₃-de₂-a gal mu-zu gal i₃-ga-tum₂-mu, "The effective shepherd Gudea knows important (things) and is also going to carry them out". The verb form represents inga.i₃.tum₂.e. Because in-ga is used so infrequently, it probably had some emphatic value, instead of expressing straight co-ordination. Its ultimate etymology is unsure.

It is usually stated that it not common for languages to borrow such function words as conjunctions, and therefore the appearance of u₃ in Sumerian is an indication of the Sumerian language giving up some ground before the onslaught of Akkadian. u₃ turns up as early as the Tell Abu Salabikh tablets (2600 BCE). According to the editor of these tablets, Robert Biggs, "Even at this early date Sumerian may have been under a heavy Semitic influence" (1974:32). However, Dixon states that "Another type of grammatical feature particularly open to borrowing is connectives. When a language without connectives such as 'or', 'and', 'until' and 'if' comes in contact with a language that has them, they can be amongst the first grammatical items to be borrowed" (1997:21 n.8). Post Ur III Sumerian also occasionally uses the Akkadian conjunction -ma.

— History

This door socket, along with another having a different inscription, was found in what is known as the "small shrine" in Nippur, part of a large temple complex dedicated to Enlil. The door socket bears traces of an inscription of Lugal-kigine-dudu, who ruled in Uruk approximately 2400 BCE, some three hundred years before Amar-Sin; this early inscription was also dedicated to Enlil. Thus, Amar-Sin's builders did not fashion a new door socket—rather, they

engraved their inscription upon this already extant door socket, which presumably they had uncovered in their work of rebuilding the Enlil temple.

— Wine

Although grapes were grown in Mesopotamia, wine itself seems to have been rather rare. Jane Renfrew, discussing "Vegetables in the Ancient Near Eastern Diet", says

> In Sumerian texts wine manufacture is never described; mention of wine is in the context of its being a very expensive and rare commodity...Wine was never plentiful in Babylonia; according to the evidence from the cuneiform texts, while wine consumption appears to have gradually increased over the centuries, it always remained the exclusive prerogative of the gods and the rich. It was an expensive luxury item of trade or else reached Babylon in the form of booty or taxes from the lands to the north and west (1994:199).

Powell also examines this in his "Wine and the Vine in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Cuneiform Evidence" (1995).

— Literary parallels

Honey and wine were used in many rituals; both were occasionally even mixed with the mortar used for the construction of important buildings. This is discussed by Lambert in his article "Honig" in the *RlA*.

The specific combination "honey, butter and wine" occurs in other Sumerian texts. Sometimes the three nouns are listed in the same order as in this inscription, and sometimes the order varies. For example, in the literary text *Nanna-Sin's Journey to Nippur*, the line "May Nanna-Sin make butter, honey, and wine (i₃-nun lal₃ ĝeštin) abundant" occurs three times.

The expression i₃-nun occurs in one of the Sumerian-Eblaite vocabulary lists. Unfortunately, only the Sumerian for this particular expression is given, not its Eblaite equivalent. One of the other entries in this vocabulary list, however, is for "good oil". The Sumerian column reads i₃-dug₃; the Eblaite equivalent is sa-ma-nu ta-bu₃.

Text 15a
supplementary

Shulgi 46
Bead

This inscription was engraved on a small bead of agate which was dedicated to Ninlil. Beads dating to the Ur III period are not uncommon; Text 17a is a bead of carnelian. Frayne suggests "The beads may have originally formed parts of necklaces which once graced statues of the goddesses" (1997:160).

Because of the small size and somewhat irregular surface of such beads, the signs inscribed on them are often less than elegant. This particular bead was acquired by the University of Lwów, but its present location is unknown; no photograph is available.
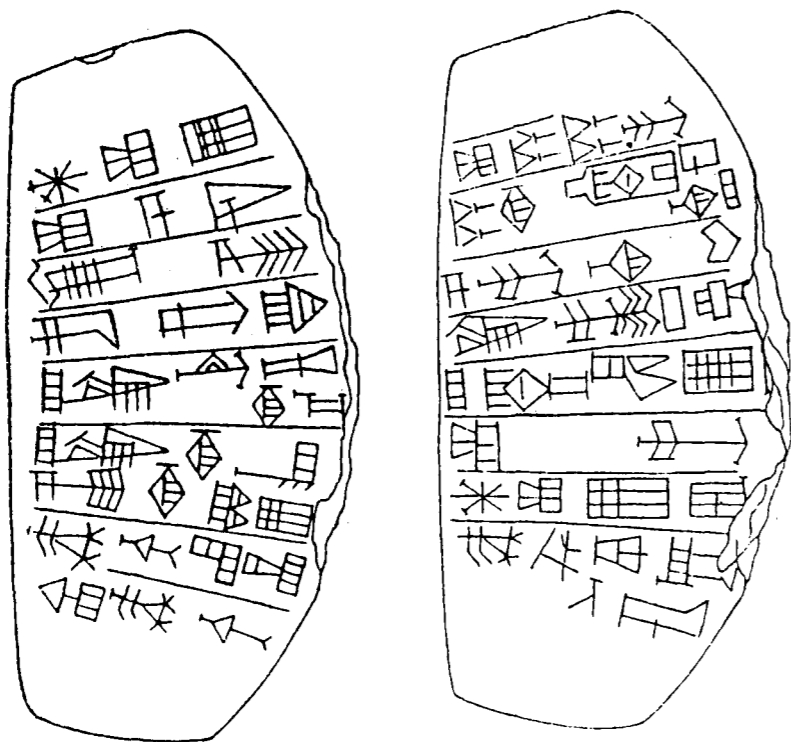
Sign-list and vocabulary

re_6 (syllabic)

re_6 This is the du-sign seen previously. Its syllabic readings include du, ra_2, and re_6, among others. It is discussed further in the next *Lesson*.
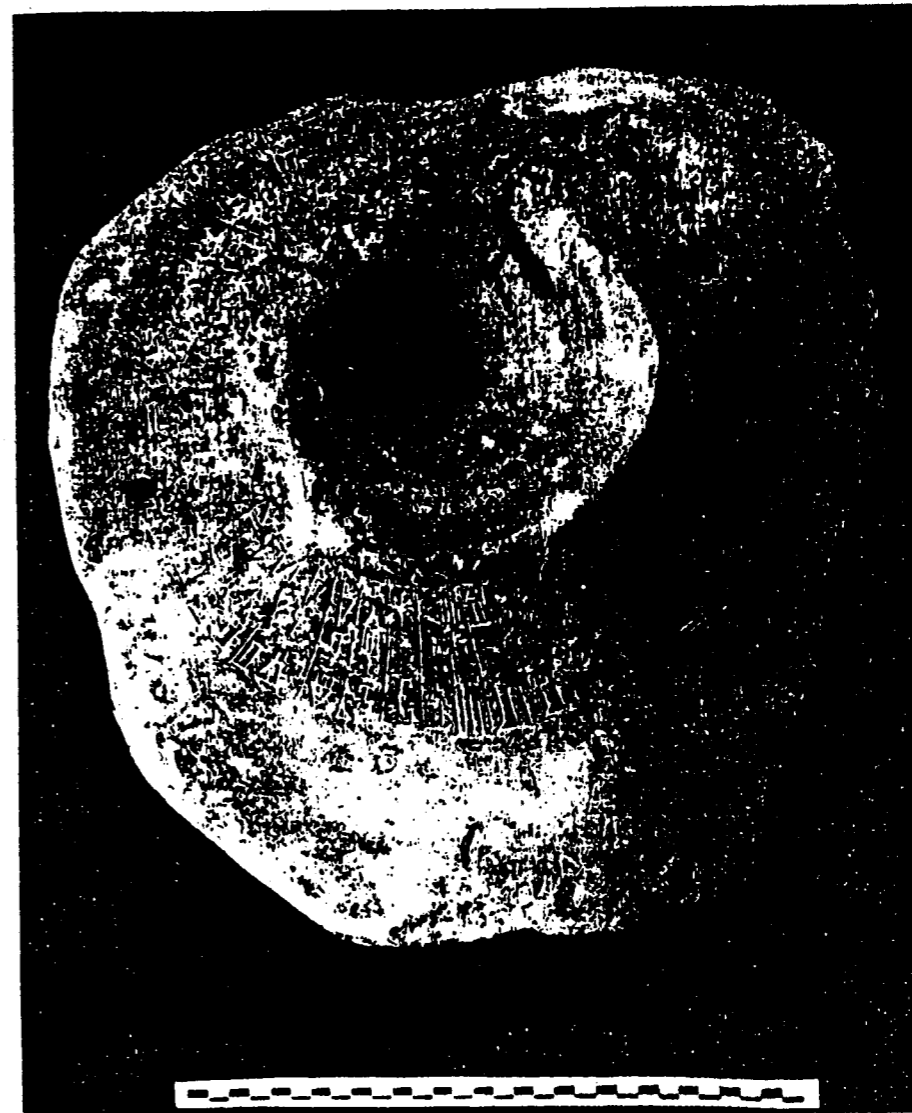
Commentary

8. u_3 serves here as a conjunction between two nominal phrases.

9. This line apparently contains a personal name. Nin-tur is the name of a goddess; the tur-sign is the same sign read previously (and in the next word) as $dumu$, . The next two signs can be read $dumu$-$\tilde{g}u_{10}$, "my child". $\tilde{g}u_{10}$, the mu-sign , marks the first person possessive suffix (Text 20b). However, there do not appear to be any parallels to such a formation of a personal name, "Nin-tur is my child", so there may be some other analysis here.

10. Here and in line 7 the nominal phrases are marked by the terminative case marker -$\check{s}e_3$.

13. The final sign is presumably the ur_3-sign.

15. The autograph seems to show ${}^d Nin$-lil_2-ke_4. This is unexpected. The DN is a noun-noun compound, not a genitive phrase, so there is no reason for the /k/ to be present; one would expect simply ${}^d Nin$-lil_2-le. If this was a mistake on the part of the scribe, it may have been caused by the fact that so many agentive phrases happen to end in the ke_4-sign, and it was mechanically written here, where it does not fit. It is also possible that the error was on the part of the modern-day copyist. Without access to the original, this cannot be checked.

16. It may be useful to compare the different forms of the standard curse formula which have occurred so far:

Text 11:	nam $\underline{h}a$-$\underline{ba}$-$\underline{da}$-$\underline{kur}_5$-$\underline{e}$
Text 15a:	nam $\underline{h}a$-$\underline{ba}$-$\underline{da}$-$\underline{kur}_5$-$\underline{re}_6$
Text 14:	nam $\underline{h}a$-$\underline{ba}$-$\underline{an}$-$\underline{da}$-$\underline{kur}_5$-$\underline{ne}$ (plural)

The difference between Text 11 and Text 15a is in the orthography of the $mar\hat{u}$ suffix. In Text 11 a morphemic spelling is used; in Text 15a the spelling follows the more usual rules of Sumerian orthography. Text 14 uses a plural verb form and also uses the optional pronominal prefix before the comitative DP.
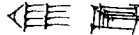
⟨𒐏 Lesson Sixteen 𒐏

This is a large door socket of Amar-Sin.

Sign-list and vocabulary

〔cuneiform〕   Kar-zid-da   Karzida (GN)

〔cuneiform〕   en priest, priestess

〔cuneiform〕   ği₆-par₄ *giparu* (part of temple complex)

〔cuneiform〕   kalam land

〔cuneiform〕   kar quay, pier; market place

〔cuneiform〕   utu sun

〔cuneiform〕   kug (ku₃) to be bright, pure, holy

〔cuneiform〕   kur₉ (ku₄) to enter

〔cuneiform〕   sud₄ (su₁₃) to be long

〔cuneiform〕   ul to be distant, remote

〔cuneiform〕   zid (zi) to be effective, true

〔cuneiform〕   ab (syllabic)

〔cuneiform〕   li₂ (syllabic)

〔cuneiform〕   ta (syllabic)

〔cuneiform〕   un (syllabic)

Kar-zid-da The name means "The effective quay", kar.zid.a. Karzida was a quay at Gaesh (written Ga-eš^ki and Ga-eš₅^ki). Neither the site of Karzida nor of Gaesh has been identified. This is discussed by Wolfgang Röllig in the *RIA* ("Karzida") and by Walther Sallaberger (1993:170-172). Gaesh was apparently close to Ur and had a cultic connection with it; it had its own Nanna temple. The fact that this stone was found in Uruk, not Ur, however, makes one wonder about its location.

The name Ga-eš^ki is apparently the source of Akkadian kaeššu, glossed by the *CAD* as "travelling merchant"; it is only attested in lexical lists.

en In addition to its use in political contexts, where the conventional translation is "lord" (*Lesson Eight*), en can also refer to a particular kind of priest or priestess, discussed below.

ği₆-par₄ This was the part of the temple where the *en*-priestess lived. It was borrowed into Akkadian as gipāru. It is further discussed below.

The two signs forming the word are frequently jammed up against each other, forming virtually a ligature, as in Text 16.

kalam This word is only used to refer to Sumer itself. The pictorial significance of the sign is unknown. It is further discussed in *Lesson Eighteen*, in the context of words for "land".

**kar** The Sumerian word kar, borrowed into Akkadian as kāru, designated both a quay and the harbor district around it. Because this was where merchants would off-load their merchandise, the word took on the meaning of "market place". The functions of the market and the market place in Mesopotamia have been much studied; a synopsis appears in the *RIA* ("Markt") by C. Zaccagnini, and the situation in Ur is described by Van De Mieroop (1992:188-190).

utu In Text 3a the name of the sun-god, Utu, occurred. utu means "the sun". The related word ud, "day", occurred in Text 11. Lieberman (1979:26) reconstructs them as /odu/ and /od/.

kug The meanings of the adjective in .Ø, kug, include "white", "bright", "clean", "pure", and "holy". Its most common Akkadian equivalent is ellu, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. clean, pure, 2. holy, sacred, 3. free, noble". It is further discussed in *Lesson Seventeen*.

kur₉ This is the most general word meaning "to enter", Akkadian erēbu. The final consonant was probably the /dr/-phoneme discussed under *Phonology*. In older works the word is usually transliterated tu; some modern-day scholars still prefer this reading.

sud₄ The verbal root meaning "to be long" can be written in two different ways. The most common writing is 〔cuneiform〕 , read as sud (or su₃). However, it can also be written 〔cuneiform〕 , as in Text 16. Older works read this last sign as gid₂, thinking that there were two different words meaning "to be long", sud and gid₂. However, it seems that the two signs are different spellings of the same word /sud/. The sud₄-sign (that is, gid₂) is the sud-sign without *gunu*. It is not uncommon to use a sign without *gunu* in place of a sign with *gunu*. For example, the gi-sign 〔cuneiform〕 is frequently found in place of an expected gi₄-sign 〔cuneiform〕 .

The final consonant of the root was again probably the /dr/-phoneme.

It has also been suggested that /gid/ represents "to be long" while /sud/ represents "to be distant"; the matter needs further study.

ul This word sometimes appears as ul, as in, for instance, uru-ul, "primeval city" or "eternal city". However, it sometimes appears as ul-li₂, apparently for /uli/. It is not exactly clear what the relationship of the two forms is to each other, although the latter is presumably the older

form. Both u̲l̲ and u̲l̲-l̲i̲₂ can be followed by the nominalizer .a, producing such forms as u̲l̲-l̲i̲₂-a̲, the form appearing in Text 16.

It is usually thought that the word is related to u̲l̲, the "bud" of a flower, but Edzard has suggested that "u̲l̲-l̲i̲₂-a̲ is a loan from Akkadian u̲l̲l̲ī̲ʾ̲u̲m̲, 'that one'" (1995:2112).

zid It is difficult to pin down a precise meaning for the adjective in .Ø, z̲i̲d̲; it is used to describe someone (or something) who does what he or she should be doing. The Akkadian equivalent is k̲ī̲n̲u̲, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. true, reliable, just, 2. honest, decent, loyal, 3. correct, normal, regular, sound, legitimate". k̲ī̲n̲u̲ itself appears as a loanword, g̲i̲-n̲a̲, in Text 20a.

li₂ This is the same sign read previously as n̲i̲ and i̲₃.

Text 16

Amar-Sin 11
Door socket
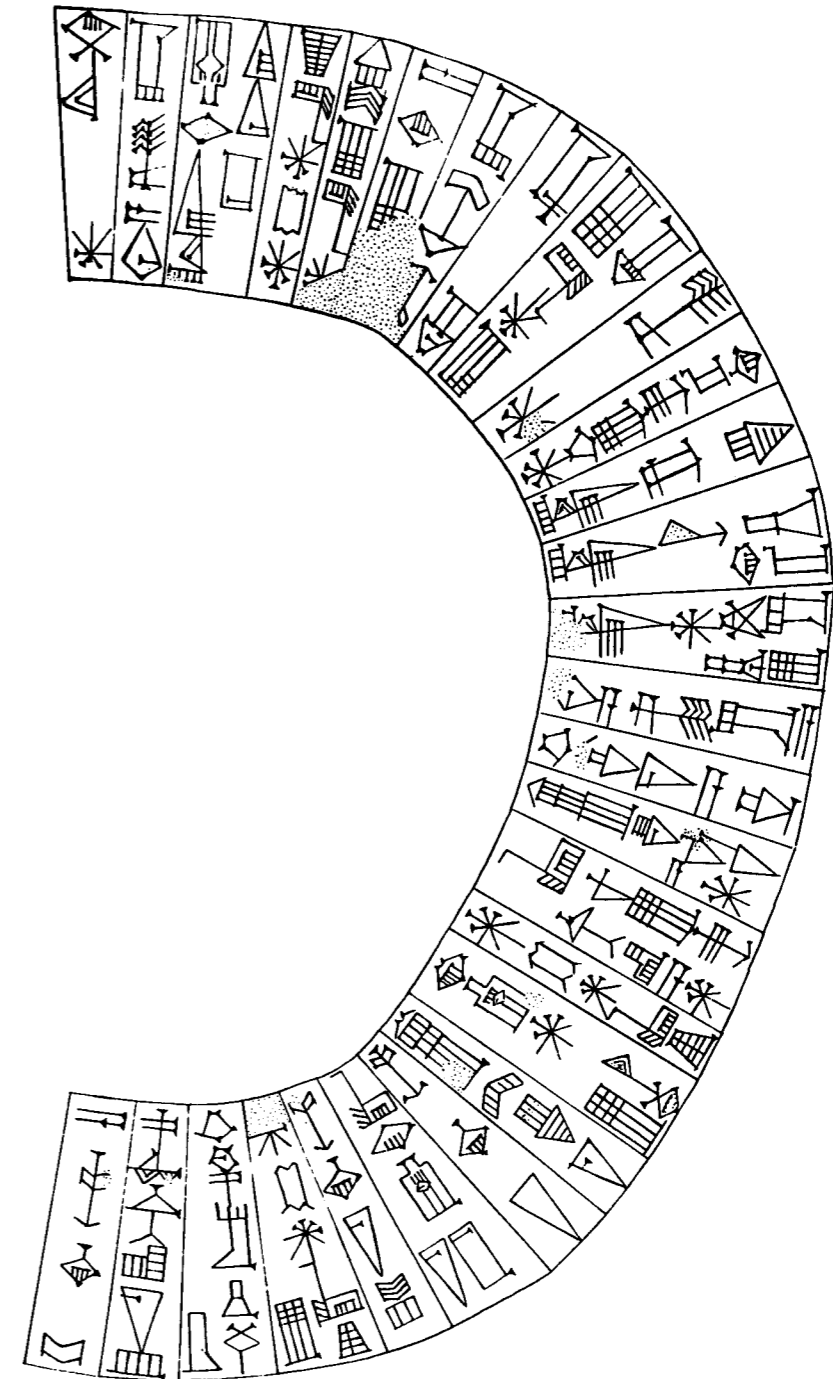
In this copy of the inscription, the <u>kalam</u>-sign (line 11) and the <u>un</u>-sign (line 18) are very similar in shape. The historical relationship between the two signs is complex. The pictographic significance of the two signs is unknown, although originally they were probably two distinct signs. They are occasionally still differentiated through the Old Babylonian period. In the *Code of Hammurapi* the <u>kalam</u>-sign appears as 𒀭 while the <u>un</u>-sign appears as 𒀭 ; this is partially the result of conscious archaicizing on the part of the scribe. However, the <u>un</u>-sign read as <u>uğ</u>$_3$ means "people", and there is a semantic connection between "people" and "land". This might mean that the signs were not distinct in origin, but became secondarily differentiated.

By the Neo-Assyrian period the two signs fell together into one sign. A number of Neo-Assyrian signs represent the conflation of two or more signs which in origin were different from each other. The Neo-Assyrian <u>ku</u>-sign 𒆪, for example, is a continuation of several originally different box-shaped signs which have all fallen together in shape.

The second sign in the word for *giparu* in this particular text has been transliterated both <u>par</u>$_3$ and <u>par</u>$_4$. In origin the <u>par</u>$_3$ and <u>par</u>$_4$ signs were presumably distinct from each other, but during the Ur III period the two signs are essentially identical, especially when ligatured with a preceding <u>ği</u>$_6$-sign. It seems that both <u>ği</u>$_6$-<u>par</u>$_3$ and <u>ği</u>$_6$-<u>par</u>$_4$ are legitimate spellings of this word; it is not clear which is more common. The transliteration <u>par</u>$_4$ has been preferred here not on the basis of inspection of the original, but because Text 22f below more clearly uses the spelling <u>ği</u>$_6$-<u>par</u>$_4$.

In line 17, the <u>nu</u>-sign is poorly inscribed; there appears to be an extra horizontal stroke running into the top of the <u>du</u>$_3$-sign. A better version of the sign appears in line 18.

Transliteration	Transcription
1: ^d<u>Nanna</u>	[Nanna
2: <u>Kar</u>-<u>zid</u>-<u>da</u>	Karzida
3: <u>lugal</u>-<u>ki</u>-<u>ağ</u>$_2$-<u>ğa</u>$_2$-<u>ni</u>-<u>ir</u>	lugal.ki.ağa$_2$.a.ni].r
4: ^d<u>Amar</u>-^d<u>Zuen</u>	[AmarZuen
5: ^d<u>En</u>-<u>lil</u>$_2$-<u>le</u>	Enlil.e
6: <u>Nibru</u>^{ki}-<u>a</u>	Nibru.a
7: <u>mu</u>-<u>pad</u>$_3$-<u>da</u>	mu.pad$_3$.a
8: <u>sağ</u>-<u>us</u>$_2$	sağus
9: <u>e</u>$_2$-^d<u>En</u>-<u>lil</u>$_2$-<u>ka</u>	e$_2$.Enlil.(a)k.a
10: <u>diğir</u>-<u>zid</u>	diğir.zid.Ø
11: ^d<u>Utu</u>-<u>kalam</u>-<u>ma</u>-<u>na</u>	Utu.kalam.ani.a
12: <u>lugal</u>-<u>kalag</u>-<u>ga</u>	lugal.kalag.a
13: <u>lugal</u>-<u>Urim</u>$_5$^{ki}-<u>ma</u>	lugal.Urim$_5$.a
14: <u>lugal</u>-<u>an</u>-<u>ub</u>-<u>da</u>-<u>limmu</u>$_2$-<u>ba</u>-<u>ke</u>$_4$	lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.ak].e
15: <u>Kar</u>-<u>zid</u>-<u>da</u>-<u>a</u>	[Karzida.a

16: <u>ud</u>-<u>ul</u>-<u>li</u>$_2$-<u>a</u>-<u>ta</u>	ud.uli.a.ta
17: <u>ği</u>$_6$-<u>par</u>$_4$-<u>bi</u> <u>nu</u>-<u>du</u>$_3$-<u>am</u>$_3$	ğipar.bi.Ø nu.(i$_3$.)du$_3$.Ø.a.am$_3$
18: <u>en</u> <u>nu</u>-<u>un</u>-<u>til</u>$_3$-<u>la</u>-<u>am</u>$_3$	en.Ø nu.(i$_3$.)n(i).til$_3$.Ø.a.am$_3$]
19: ^d<u>Amar</u>-^d<u>Zuen</u>	[AmarZuen
20: <u>ki</u>-<u>ağa</u>$_2$-^d<u>Nanna</u>-<u>ke</u>$_4$	ki.ağa$_2$.a.Nanna.k].e
21: <u>ği</u>$_6$-<u>par</u>$_4$-<u>kug</u>-<u>ga</u>-<u>ni</u>	[ğipar.kug.Ø.ani].Ø
22: <u>mu</u>-<u>na</u>-<u>du</u>$_3$	mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø
23: <u>en</u>-<u>ki</u>-<u>ağ</u>$_2$-<u>ğa</u>$_2$-<u>ni</u>	[en.ki.ağa$_2$.a.ni].Ø
24: <u>mu</u>-<u>na</u>-<u>ni</u>-<u>kur</u>$_9$	mu.na.ni.(n.)kur$_9$.Ø
25: ^d<u>Amar</u>-^d<u>Zuen</u>-<u>ke</u>$_4$	[Amar.Zuen.(a)k].e
26: <u>ud</u> <u>im</u>-<u>da</u>-<u>ab</u>-<u>sud</u>$_4$-<u>re</u>$_6$	[ud].Ø i$_3$.b.da.b.sud$_4$.e.Ø
27: <u>nam</u>-<u>til</u>$_3$-<u>la</u>-<u>ni</u>-<u>še</u>$_3$	[nam.til$_3$.ani].še$_3$
28: <u>a</u> <u>mu</u>-<u>na</u>-<u>ru</u>	[a].Ø mu.na.(n.)ru.Ø

Translation

1: For Nanna
2: of Karzida,
3: his beloved king —
4: Amar-Sin,
5: proposed by Enlil in Nippur,
8: patron of the temple of Enlil,
10: the effective god,
11: the sun-god of his land,
12: the mighty king,
13: the king of Ur,
14: the king of the four quarters —
15: — in Karzida
16: from of old
17: its *giparu* not yet having been built,
18: and no *en*-priestess having taken up residence in it —
19: Amar-Sin,
20: the beloved of Nanna —
21: his pure *giparu* —
22: built.
23-24: He made his beloved *en*-priestess enter it for him.

25-26: Amar-Sin will prolong its days.

27: For the sake of his long life

28: he dedicated (this stone) to him.

Commentary

1-2. Presumably this is a genitive phrase, "Nanna of Karzida". A similar construction occurred in Text 11: ^dBil₃-ga-meš₃ En-dim₂-gig^{ki}, "Gilgamesh of Endimgig".

10-11. These two epithets did not occur in the previous inscriptions of Amar-Sin. Amar-Sin is not just content with the use of the divine determinative before his name; he must also refer to himself as "effective god" and as "sun-god of his land". Shulgi, also, refers to himself as diĝir kalam-ma-na.

14. The .e at the end is the ergative case marker.

15. The writing in -a is ambiguous. The original editor of this inscription interpreted it as an anticipatory genitive: "of Karzida, its *giparu*" > "the *giparu* of Karzida". However, it can also represent a locative case marker: "in Karzida". Since line 18 contains .n, presumably the reduced form of the locative DP (discussed below), the interpretation "in Karzida" has been followed here.

16. Literally, this is "from a distant day", that is, "from of old", "since time primeval". ta is the marker of the ablative case. This case can usually be translated as "from", for example, e₂-ta, "from the house"; Urim₅^{ki}-ta, "from Ur".

The ablative case can only be used with inanimate nouns. To express "from" with an animate noun, a periphrasis must be used, such as "from the place of", ki.PN.a(k).ta; an example occurs in Text 24a.

The ablative can be cross-referenced in the verbal prefix chain by the ablative DP ta. However, in formulaic adverbial constructions such as this one it is not normally cross-referenced.

This particular expression, ud-ul-li₂-a-ta, is not uncommon. It occurs, for example, in a Gudea inscription: ud-ul-li₂-a-ta numun e₃-a-ta, "from of old, from when seed (first) came forth" (e₃, "to go out", Akkadian waṣû). ud-ul is also used in the formation of other adverbial phrases, such as ud-ul-la-še₃ = ud.ul.a.še₃, "for a long time", "forever".

17. All the verb forms seen up to this point have been in what we would call in English the active voice. There has been a long discussion about whether or not Sumerian has a passive voice. One view holds that Sumerian has no passive voice. Another holds that Sumerian is basically passival in nature.

To some degree this is a question of linguistic theory and not of Sumerian. It is a question of the definition and nature of active and passive, of the contrast between passive and intransitive, and of the way such distinctions are marked in morphology and syntax. The problem has sometimes been exacerbated by a tendency to transfer grammatical categories found in the Indo-European or Semitic languages to Sumerian.

In the view of some linguists, for instance, the contrast active ~ passive does not exist in

ergative languages. Oberhuber, for example, in his examination of the Sumerian passive, said that "Since Sumerian is an ergative language, by its very nature it cannot have a true passive" (1982:133). Earlier, Diakonoff said that ergative languages "have no grammatical direct object, from which follows that (1) no Accusative can exist; (2) no Passive and Active voice can exist" (1965:18). However, not all linguists agree that ergative languages cannot have a passive. Dixon, for example, describing a Mayan language called Mam, says it "has ergative morphology, and shows both an antipassive and at least four varieties of passive derivation. Two of the latter are used to mark an instance of an activity when the agent is not in control..." (1994:27). Moreover Sumerian is split ergative. This means that such theoretical constraints may not apply equally to the marû and to the ḫamṭu (although there is not complete agreement about the details of split ergativity in Sumerian).

The question also hinges on the nature of the Sumerian verbal root. As discussed above, it is assumed here that the Sumerian root is unmarked for voice or transitivity or causativity; that is, du₃ can be active or passive, transitive or intransitive. These categories are not marked at all in the root; rather, they are determined by the syntax and semantics of the entire sentence within which they occur. The parallel has been made with English sentences of the type "He is cooking". This sentence, on the surface, can either mean "The man is cooking-up", because of the temperature, or "The man is cooking some food".

In any case, it seems that the two constructions which are differentiated in English as "intransitive" and "passive" are expressed by one construction in Sumerian. This is one reason it is said that Sumerian has no passive. The compound term "intransitive-passive" (or "passive-intransitive") is often used to refer to both constructions; the terms "passive" or "intransitive" are also used, based on how the corresponding construction in English (or German) comes out.

The difference between intransitive and transitive verbs can be illustrated using ĝin "to go" and du₃ "to build". In the ḫamṭu, these are:

(1)   The king went.
       lugal.Ø   i₃.ĝin.Ø

(2)   The king built the house.
       lugal.e e₂.Ø mu.n.du₃.Ø

In the intransitive sentence "The king went", the subject of the intransitive verb (the patient) is marked by .Ø. This is cross-referenced by the .Ø at the end of the verb. To express "The house was built", which in English would be called a passive, Sumerian uses a construction identical with sentence (1):

(3)   The house was built.
       e₂.Ø   i₃.du₃.Ø

The subject of the passive verb (the patient) is marked by .Ø. This is cross-referenced by the .Ø at the end of the verb.

Sentence (3) is essentially the construction seen in line 17, although here the negative also occurs:

> (4) Its *giparu* was not built.
>
> ğipar.bi.Ø nu.(i₃.)du₃.Ø

Thus, line 17 is a passive sentence. It is not actually easy to capture this is English. Since the sentence is in the ḫamṭu, which is used to describe an action which was completed, a more apt translation into English of sentence (3) might be, for example, "The house got built".

nu is the same negative marker seen in Text 15. There it occurred with a nominal form, an active participle in .Ø. Here it is used with a verbal form. The positive form of the sentence here would be: ğipar.bi.Ø i₃.du₃.Ø, "Its *giparu* got built". The negative is expressed by nu preceding the verbal form: ğipar.bi.Ø nu.(i₃.)du₃.Ø, "Its *giparu* did not get built".

nu is used to negate indicative sentences. It is traditionally considered to fall into the category of MP. As such, it is regularly followed by one of the CPs. Here the CP .i₃ has assimilated into the /u/ of nu; this assimilation is quite common.

Line 17 is further marked by the presence of the enclitic copula am₃. The enclitic copula has occurred several times, for example, in the PN ᵈBa-u₂-nin-am₃, "Bau is queen". In addition to its use in such equational sentences, .am₃ can also be used to express circumstantial clauses. These can be translated into English as "it being the case that", "it being that", or by a participial phrase in -ing. When -am₃ is used in such a construction, it must follow a nominalized sentence. Hence the verb form here is to be understood as [[ğipar.bi.Ø nu.(i₃.)du₃.Ø].a].am₃, meaning "it being the case that its *giparu* had not (yet) been built".

To sum up, .am₃ is the enclitic copula. It is used here to express a circumstantial clause. The .a nominalizes the preceding sentence. The underlying sentence which has been nominalized is ğipar.bi.Ø nu.(i₃.)du₃.Ø, a passive sentence.

18. Lines 17 and 18 use the same syntax: a nominalized sentence followed by the enclitic copula, forming a circumstantial clause. In line 18, til₃ (intransitive in English) is construed in the same way as du₃ (passive in English) in line 17:

> [ğipar.bi.Ø nu.(i₃.)du₃.Ø].a.am₃
> [en.Ø nu.(i₃.)n(i).til₃.Ø].a.am₃

Thus, line 18 means "it being the case that an *en*-priestess had not (yet) taken up residence in it".

The writing of the sequence of the root followed by the nominalizer followed by the enclitic copula is slightly different in both clauses: -du₃-am₃ ~ -til₃-la-am₃. This is because du₃ ends in a vowel but til₃ in a consonant.

The verb form in line 18 also differs in the presence of /n/ immediately before the verbal root. This /n/ cannot be the PA .n, because til₃ "to live" is intransitive here: "an *en*-priestess had not (yet) taken up residence" in the *giparu*. More likely, this /n/ is a reduced form of the DP which cross-references the locative case. The usual form of this DP is ni (as in line 24

below). However, sporadic instances of /n/ instead of /ni/ are attested. It has not yet been possible to determine any phonological or morphological rules governing the distribution of /ni/ and /n/, but it presumably has to do with syllable structure and word stress. This problem is further discussed below.

Just as the comitative DP da often occurs in a verbal prefix chain without any corresponding comitative noun phrase for it to cross-reference, so the locative DP can also occur in verbal forms without any corresponding locative noun phrase. According to Gragg, such a use of ni often conveys a vaguely adverbial force, and it can be translated simply as "there". It can refer loosely back to some noun mentioned earlier, even if that noun is not in the locative case. In line 18, the reference is to the *giparu*, the residence of the *en*-priestess, even though ğipar.bi is not in a locative phrase (and, in fact, is more closely connected syntactically with the verb form of line 17 than with the verb form of line 18). In a sense, this use of the locative DP is a kind of pronominalization.

As was just discussed, the syntax of both lines 17 and 18 is the same, with the negative nu on a verbal form. Thus, a literal translation might be "its *giparu* not having been built, an *en*-priestess not having taken up residence in it". More idiomatic English would move the negative of the second sentence to the nominal component: "no *en*-priestess having (yet) taken up residence in it".

20. The .e is the ergative case marker. In line 14, an ergative case marker .e already appeared. Since in general in Sumerian case markers appear at the end of a nominal phrase, no matter how long the phrase might be, the presence of the ergative case marker in line 20 makes the presence of the ergative case marker in line 14 "ungrammatical". However, it is easy to see how this situation arose. Lines 4-14 form a logical unit, consisting of a series of epithets of Amar-Sin. Lines 15-18 are circumstantial clauses, setting the background for Amar-Sin's activities. Lines 19-20 are almost a parenthetical addition, a shift of topic back to the agent of the sentence, repeating Amar-Sin's name. Once these lines were introduced, it was only natural (and perhaps necessary?) to again add the ergative case marker .e. In fact, some copies of this inscription also have an ergative case marker .e at the end of line 9. The scribe may have been unconsciously influenced by the fact that lines 1-14 form a complete unit by themselves. In several royal inscriptions the phrase lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba-ke₄ marks the end of an agentive nominal phrase. In fact, if lines 15-20 here were omitted, the remaining lines 1-14, 21-22 would form a complete text by themselves.

21. This is the direct object (patient) of the verb in line 22, "his (Nanna's) pure *giparu*".

22. This is the main verb governing lines 1-21. The essence of these first 22 lines is:

(1)	For Nanna	benefactive
(4)	Amar-Sin	agent
(15)	—nothing having been done—	circumstance
(19)	Amar-Sin	agent
(21)	his *giparu*	patient
(22)	built.	verb

24. As discussed above, the verbal root in Sumerian can be used either transitively or intransitively, with no morphological change in the root itself. For example, gub can mean "to stand" or "to plant (a garden)". Similarly, kur₉ can either mean "to enter" or, as in this particular sentence, "to cause someone to enter", "to bring in". The sense here is installing the *en*-priestess in the *giparu*. In theory, lines 23-24 could be understood as an intransitive sentence, [en.ki.aĝa₂.a.ni].Ø mu.na.ni.kur₉.Ø, "His beloved *en*-priestess entered his pure *giparu*". However, the context calls for understanding this as a causative sentence. In lines 17 and 18 Amar-Sin says that the *giparu* had not been built, and no priestess had taken up residence there. In lines 23 and 24 he proclaims how he remedied this situation: *he* built the *giparu* and *he* installed the priestess.

na here and in line 22 is the DP which cross-references the dative, loosely referring back to Nanna, who was named in line 1: It was for the sake of Nanna that Amar-Sin built the *giparu* and installed the priestess.

ni is the full form of the DP which cross-references the locative. It can be translated "there", referring loosely back to "his pure *giparu*" of line 21. The verb kur₉ occurs very frequently with ni.

In a sequence of two or more DPs, the dative DP always comes first. Thus, the sequence here is na (dative) followed by ni (locative).

The use of the verb kur₉ here breaks up the parallelism in the style. The two verbs used in the negative circumstantial clauses are du₃ (line 17) and kur₉ (18), but Amar-Sin's activities are described by du₃ (22) and til₃ (24). One wonders why the writer did not say mu-na-ni-til₃ in line 24.

25. It is writings such as this which show that a PN of the type "Amar-Sin" is indeed a genitive phrase. The writing stands for Amar.Zuen.(a)k.e. In all the writings of his name seen up to this point, there was no following vowel, so the /k/ was not expressed; neither was the /a/ of /ak/. Since the name is usually written Amar-Zuen, it is usually transcribed today simply as "Amarzuen". Jacobsen, on the other hand, even in his historical and literary publications calls this ruler "Amarsuenak".

26. The four most common CPs in Sumerian are mu, i₃, ba, and bi₂; examples of all of these have occurred. Besides these four, there are a certain number of others, all with a /m/. The two most common are written im-ma and im-mi, both with (graphically) reduplicated /m/. Others are written with one /m/: i₃-mi and i₃-ma. Others occur with different initial or final vowels: am₃-ma.

The relationship among these forms is unclear. It is not sure if these variations are (mostly) orthographic (im-mi ~ i₃-mi), mostly phonological (im-ma ~ am₃-ma), or correspond to a difference in meaning. These forms will be further discussed below.

In addition to these bisyllabic forms, a form written im also occurs. One interpretation of this im is that it is a reduced form of im-ma or im-mi, although the conditions governing such reduction, as usual, are unknown. This could explain the im in line 26. However, another inter-

pretation is that a form such as im-da derives phonologically from /ibda/ = i₃.b.da. The phonological change was along the lines of /ibda/ > /idda/ > /imda/, the latter showing dissimilation. Thus the form in line 26 derives from i₃.b.da.b.sud₄.e.Ø; .i₃ is the CP and .b is the optional pronominal prefix which appears before the comitative DP. The reference of this .b is loosely ud, which is inanimate.

This explanation of im is followed here, because im is indeed normally followed by da or ta. If correct, then im should be understood as basically the CP i₃. There are cases, however, where im is not followed by da or ta, and where some other explanation is necessary.

da is the comitative DP. As was discussed above, it often occurs with no corresponding comitative nominal phrase. Here it loosely refers back to ud, even though the latter is actually cross-referenced as a patient.

Since the verb form is marû, the .b before the verbal root cross-references the direct object ud. The .Ø after the marû suffix cross-references the subject Amar-Zuen:

> Amar.Zuen.(a)k.e ud.Ø i₃.b.da.b.sud₄.e.Ø

As was just said above, ud is directly cross-referenced by the .b before the verbal root, but it is also loosely cross-referenced by the comitative DP da with its (assumed) optional pronominal prefix .b.

sud₄ is a member of the affixation class, forming its marû by addition of the marû suffix .e. The last sign of the verb is the re₆-sign, which is also the du-sign. Since sud₄ ends in the /dr/-phoneme, sometimes transliterated as î, some would transliterate this as -sur₄-re₆.

To summarize the verb form:

> i₃ · b · da · b · sud₄ · e · Ø
> (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

(1)   conjugation prefix
(2)   optional pronominal prefix
(3)   comitative dimensional prefix
(4)   personal affix cross-referencing direct object (ud)
(5)   verbal root
(6)   marû suffix
(7)   personal affix cross-referencing subject (Amar-Zuen)

Discussion: Structure

The bare-bones structure of this text is:

1-3	For Nanna	benefactive
4-14	Amar-Sin	agent
15	in Karzida	circumstance
16	from of old	
17	no *giparu* having been built	

18	no *en* having lived	
19-20	Amar-Sin	agent
21	his *giparu*	patient
22	built.	verb
23	His *en*	patient
24	he made enter.	verb
25	Amar-Sin	subject
26	its days	direct object
26	will prolong.	verb
27	For his life	purpose
28	he made a dedication.	verb

— Phonology

Line 26 was read here as <u>ud</u> <u>im-da-ab-sud</u>$_4$-<u>re</u>$_6$, with the last sign of the verb form continuing the /dr/-phoneme of the root. There is no simple way to transliterate such forms. One convention, which is not very common, is to represent the /dr/-phoneme by r̂; the verb form could then be transliterated <u>ud</u> <u>im-da-ab-sur̂</u>$_4$-<u>r̂e</u>$_6$.

Since the <u>re</u>$_6$-sign is the <u>du</u>-sign, some Sumerologists prefer to read the last signs as <u>sud</u>$_4$-<u>du</u>. This would be analyzed as -sud$_4$.e.Ø, with the understanding that the <u>e</u> of the <u>marû</u> suffix has assimilated into the /u/ of the verbal root; this is a common assimilation: /sude/ > /sudu/. One might therefore wonder about the possibility of a reading in /r̂u/ for the <u>du</u>-sign, but the standard sign-lists do not give it a reading in /ru/ or /r̂u/.

Other scholars prefer the most "neutral" reading of the <u>du</u>-sign, contending that transliterations such as -<u>sud</u>$_4$-<u>re</u>$_6$ or -<u>sur̂</u>$_4$-<u>r̂e</u>$_6$ are essentially modern-day creations of new transliteration values for Sumerian signs in order to make the Sumerian fit better our (supposed) understanding of Sumerian morphology. This is a tricky issue. In this particular case, there are two questions: Was the final consonant of the verbal root /d/, /r/, or /r̂/, and was the <u>marû</u> suffix realized as /e/ or /u/? The larger question is, is there sufficient independent evidence to warrant a reading as <u>re</u>$_6$ or as <u>r̂e</u>$_6$ for this sign, instead of a simple <u>du</u>? Such evidence is presented in Bauer's study of the /dr/-phoneme (1975-76:4-5) and in Selz 1995:255-256, but it is in the nature of the problem that the evidence is equivocal.

— Roots

As discussed in *Lesson Five*, <u>zid</u> belongs to the class of adjectives which seem never to occur as a verbal root in conjugated verbal forms. It is hard to say if this is solely an accident of attestation. Partially for convenience sake, <u>zid</u> has been asigned here to the class of verbal roots. The same has been done for <u>ul</u>, although its ultimate etymology is not clear, because it occurs with the nominalizer .a.

— Passive

In the ḫamṭu, which functions on an ergative basis, the subject of a transitive verb is marked by .e. The subject of an intransitive or passive verb, and the direct object of an active verb, are marked by .Ø (the <u>marû</u> of intransitive-passive verbs will be discussed later).

In the ḫamṭu, both intransitive sentences and passive sentences are formed the same way:

> lugal.Ø   i$_3$.g̃in.Ø
> e$_2$.Ø   i$_3$.du$_3$.Ø

A cautious statement about the passive in Sumerian is that of Jacobsen: "The external criteria determining whether a Sumerian form is active or passive in meaning are as yet far from clear and the whole question whether in actual fact this distinction may be considered germane to the Sumerian verb is yet to be decided" (1956:49*). Similarly, Christian says: "In Sumerian, we do not find the categories 'transitive' and 'intransitive', or 'active' and 'passive'. The fact that we are often forced to translate as active or passive, transitive or intransitive, only results from the inadequacies of our own language to correctly reproduce Sumerian thought" (1961: 13).

That is, the contrasts active ~ passive and transitive ~ intransitive may not be the most fitting way to describe Sumerian. It has been proposed that an analysis in terms of action ~ state would more fittingly describe Sumerian. As discussed at *Lesson Eight*, the fundamental difference between the active-transitive and intransitive-passive sentence in Sumerian is the presence or absence of an agent. Others have pointed out that a simple binary opposition between active ~ passive does not even describe English accurately. Some languages use an "active" ("John opened the door"), an "anti-causative" ("The door was opened", by a human agent), and a "passive" ("The door got opened", not necessarily by a human agent). This problem is described by Attinger (1993:148). And in practice, it is easy to be less-than-rigid in the use of such linguistic terms. There are thus several related problems: a non-language-specific definition of "passive" and related terms, a confusion between diachronic and synchronic distinctions, an explanation of how these categories work in Sumerian, and so on.

Traditionally, Sumerian grammars present two paradigms: one for the active and one for the intransitive-passive. There is no difference in the structure of the root; rather, the differences lie in the function of the PAs and in the way that the core participants are cross-referenced. Following are the ḫamṭu forms in the singular for active and intransitive-passive verbs, using the CP .mu:

	active	intransitive-passive
first person	mu.Ø.sar	mu.sar.en
second	mu.e.sar	mu.sar.en
third animate	mu.n.sar	mu.sar.Ø
inanimate	mu.b.sar	mu.sar.Ø

— <u>nu</u>

Because the negative marker <u>nu</u> precedes the CPs in the verbal prefix chain, it is usually classified as a MP. This is something of an oversimplification. In general, <u>nu</u> only negates indicative verb forms. Other moods have their own negative formation. Thus a positive wish in the third person ("may he") is expressed by the desiderative mood, marked by the MP ḫe₂-; its negative ("may he not") is expressed by the prohibitive mood, marked by the MP <u>na</u>-.

— Conjugation prefixes

The relationship of the CPs <u>im-mi</u>, <u>im-ma</u>, <u>im</u>, and other rarer forms is unsure. It is possible that there is an unanalyzable morpheme /m/ present in all these forms, although there is no adequate explanation of the different surface forms. It is also possible that these are not unanalyzable, unitary morphemes; rather, the two CPs <u>im-mi</u> and <u>im-ma</u> may somehow derive from <u>bi₂</u> and <u>ba</u> (although it is not always made clear if this derivation is to be understood in synchronic or diachronic terms). Falkenstein, for example, who has a different understanding of the CPs than that presented in this *Manual*, derives <u>im-mi</u> from *i₃-bi.

Such phonetic developments, whether understood on a synchronic or diachronic level, are very difficult to prove. Thus Falkenstein had to posit a number of unmotivated phonetic changes to get his forms to work. In general, some scholars, such as Falkenstein, are inclined to see surface variation in Sumerian as due to phonetic reasons, even if the rules governing the phonetic changes cannot be determined. Others, such as Jacobsen, are inclined to think that Sumerian morphology is more complex—perhaps much more complex—than usually thought, and that the variation we see is due to our ignorance of the morphology, not to unexplained phonetic accidents. Thus, Jacobsen believes in the existence of many more Sumerian morphemes (and categories of morphemes) than does Falkenstein.

More work remains to be done on the morphology and the semantics of the various CPs in /m/. They are studied in Krecher 1985, but some of his conclusions are exactly contrary to those posited by, for example, Yoshikawa. Krecher thinks that the basic meaning of the various forms in /m/ is "hierher", at least in the Ur III administrative and economic texts; it is less easy to demonstrate this in other genres.

— Ventive

The CPs in /m/ may bring to mind the Akkadian ventive mood in /m/, a mood with no obvious Semitic parallels. Foxvog, who has a different interpretation of many of the CPs than that presented in this *Manual*, has explicitly developed the idea that the Akkadian ventive was borrowed from Sumerian (1975:400 n.17).

— Personal affixes

In line 18, .n occurs in the pre-verbal root position. According to the rules presented in this *Manual*, this .n cannot represent the PA which cross-references an agent, because <u>til₃</u> is

intransitive. In later texts, when knowledge of Sumerian had broken down, such forms are not uncommon, and result from Akkadian scholars misunderstanding Sumerian. But other instances occur in texts written in good Sumerian. These are harder to explain, and raise fundamental questions about our knowledge of Sumerian. One school of thought says that these seeming irregularities merely reflect the inadequacy of our knowledge of how the PAs work; that is, the basic description given in this *Manual* is inadequate or perhaps wrong at some points. A variant of this school says that <u>til₃</u> and a few other intransitive verbs follow special rules in the usage of the PAs. This is briefly discussed by Michalowski (1980:95). The third view, followed here for this particular text, says that the .n here is not in fact a PA, but rather a form of the DP for the locative, even though we cannot yet specify rules for its usage.

Foxvog has suggested that the PA .n and the DP .ni are related to each other at some deep level, serving to mark "locus": "an animate or inanimate object or a place, at which the verbal event takes place, or towards which the momentum of the event is directed or at which it terminates" (1975:407).

— Case markers

The presence of the two ergative case markers in lines 14 and 20 has parallels in other agglutinative languages. If a construction starts to become very long or convoluted, the speaker (or writer) will occasionally "get lost" in the construction, and may occasionally back-track, changing the topic, and will have to repeat a previous case marker.

— History

The *giparu* at Ur was the official dwelling place of the *en*-priestess (who is sometimes referred to by the Akkadianized term "*entu*-priestess"). It was a large structure, composed of many rooms. The first such structure at Ur may go back to Early Dynastic times; it was built and rebuilt right through the Neo-Babylonian period.

The *en*-priestess was always of royal blood. Perhaps the most famous was Enheduana, the daughter of Sargon of Akkad. She is deservedly famous as the author of two well-preserved poems, written in good Sumerian. In the Neo-Babylonian period, Nabonidus installed his own daughter in the position.

The *en*-priestess "represented" the goddess Ningal. In particular, she represented the goddess Ningal while the reigning monarch represented the god Nanna (the husband of Ningal) in a "divine marriage" ceremony. This ceremony has often been discussed among Sumerologists and historians of religion. There is much disagreement about what actually happened during the sacred marriage rite, about what it was meant to represent, and about its origins. There is essentially no archaeological evidence about this ceremony, only literary evidence which is very difficult to understand and evaluate.

Penelope Weadock has summarized the functions of the *giparu*:

> Three separate units emerge from the Ur III—Isin-Larsa *giparu* building: the
> Ningal temple which is the locale in which the *entu*-priestess, as the incarnation

of the goddess Ningal, carried out her most important function as a participant in the rite of the sacred marriage; the *giparu* proper which was the official dwelling of the *entu*-priestess, with its annexe, the cemetery for the former *entus*; and the sanctuary in which the *entu* prayed for the life of the king, her father or brother, in the hope that the gods would bestow prosperity upon the land through the king, their human regent (1975:124).

Although the *giparu* at Ur is the most well-known example of this institution, it apparently existed in other cities, for example, Uruk. Text 16 quite clearly refers to a *giparu* in Karzida, not to the *giparu* in Ur. This implies a Nanna temple in Gaesh. Nothing is known of this temple or this *giparu*, nor of its cultic connection with the *giparu* in Ur.

The original meaning of the term ḡi₆-par₄ is unknown; one possibility is "storehouse".

Text 16a
supplementary

Shulgi 11
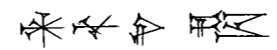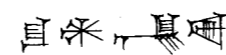Stone tablet

OBVERSE   REVERSE
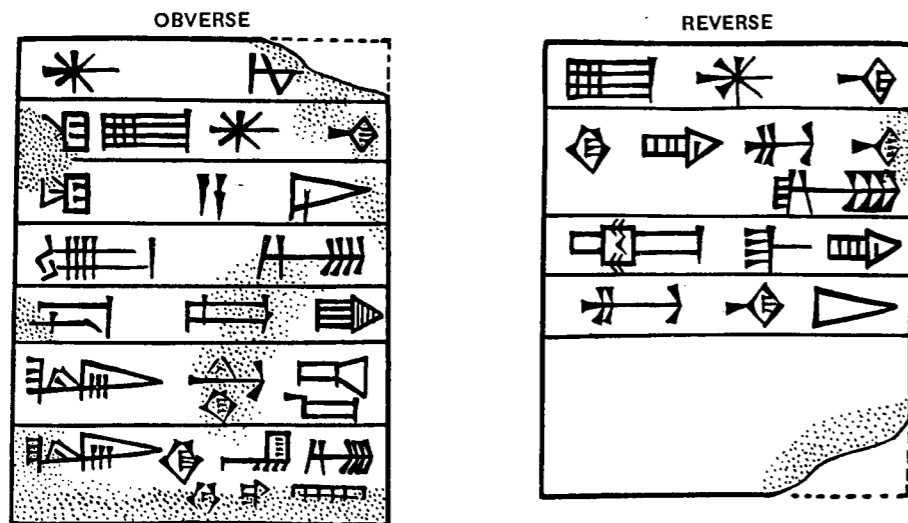
⟨𒌋 Lesson Seventeen ⟨𒌋

This is a door socket of Shu-Sin, the son and successor of Amar-Sin; he ruled from 2037 to 2029 BCE.

Sign-list and vocabulary

An-nu-ni-tum   Annunitum (DN, fem)

Šu-dZuen   Shu-Sin (PN)

dam   wife

šag₄ (ša₃)   heart

An-nu-ni-tum This was originally an epithet of Inanna. In Sargonic times, the DN ^dInanna-An-nu-ni-tum is occasionally attested. Gelb has pointed out "the tremendous number of compound divine names in the Ur III period. Such names may either be composed of elements that are all Sumerian, or those in which the second element may be interpreted as Akkadian" (1987: 125). The name ^dInanna-An-nu-ni-tum belongs to the class of names characterized by Gelb as "DN plus description".

The meaning and etymology of An-nu-ni-tum are unknown. It is possible that the -itum ending is an Akkadian feminine gentilic: /ī-t-um/. However, the meaning of "anum" or "annum" is not clear; it is hard to say if it is Akkadian or Sumerian. The epithet is discussed by Karin Gödecken (1973).

After the Old Akkadian period, the compound term ^dInanna-An-nu-ni-tum does not occur, only the individual term An-nu-ni-tum. According to J.J.M. Roberts, this pattern of attestation "suggests that the epithet split off and became an independent deity" (1972:147).
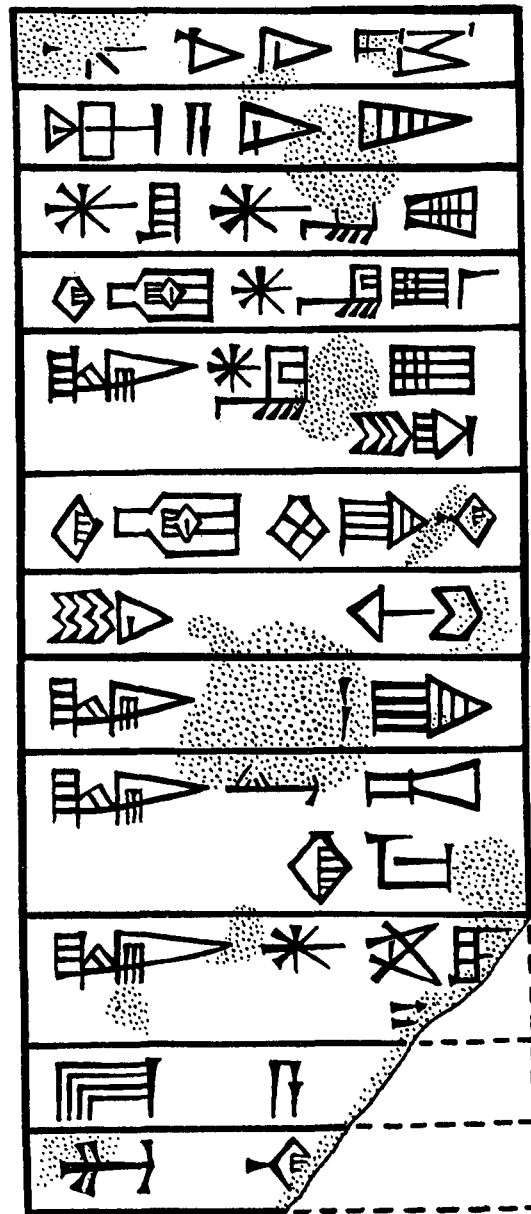
Šu-dZuen The name is Akkadian, meaning "The one of Sin" or "The one belonging to Sin". It was formerly read as "Gimil-Sin".

dam This is the usual word for "wife", Akkadian aššatu. It can also stand for Akkadian mutu, "husband".

šag₄ This is a very common word, used both in a concrete sense and with many metaphorical uses. Its Akkadian equivalent is libbu.

Text 17

Shu-Sin 6
Door socket

1. The name of the goddess is clearly An-nu-ni-tum.

Many objects containing inscriptions have been damaged, either in ancient times or in modern times. This means that part of the inscription may be completely broken away, as in the bottom right-hand corner of Text 17, or part of it may be effaced, as in the top left-hand corner, and as in case 8. The most common practice in use today to represent such damage in transliteration is to use brackets to indicate signs completely broken away, and half-brackets to indicate partially broken signs. Thus, line 11 is best transliterated e₂-a-[ni]. Brackets can also be used to indicate partially broken signs; for example, line 8 can be transliterated lugal-[kala]g-ga, and the last line mu-n[a-du₃]. Brackets are imprecise, however, in such cases as the partially effaced An-sign in line 1. Thus, the first sign of line 1 can best be transliterated using half-brackets, ⌜An⌝.

The decision about whether or not to use brackets (or half-brackets) is not always clear-cut. For example, what about the tum-sign in line 1, or the first part of the Urim₅-sign in line 9? In practice, such damage to the text is often ignored, if the context and the remaining traces of the sign make the sign unambiguous.

Similarly, it is difficult to decide how breaks should be reflected in translation. It is possible to use brackets in translation, reflecting the breaks in the text. However, since English and Sumerian are of such different grammatical structures and use different word orders, this procedure can be cumbersome and tiresome for a reader. Brackets, therefore, are often omitted in translation, especially in writings for a professional audience, because such an audience will be able to follow or control the transliteration or autograph.

Occasionally, scholars may be suspicious of a published transliteration, or even an autograph, of a cuneiform text. Or, they may wish further information about a partially effaced sign. In such cases they may collate the text, that is, physically examine the cuneiform document. If the text is not easily accessible, they may ask another scholar to perform such a collation.

The system used here is the simplest. Full brackets are used only to indicate significant breaks. They are omitted from transcription and from translation.

	Transliteration	**Transcription**	**Translation**
1:	An-nu-ni-tum	[Annunitum	For Annunitum,
2:	dam-a-ni-ir	dam.ani].r	his wife —
3:	ᵈŠu-ᵈZuen	[ŠuSin	Shu-Sin,
4:	ki-aǧa₂-ᵈEn-lil₂-la₂	ki.aǧa₂.a.Enlil.a	the beloved of Enlil,
5:	lugal-ᵈEn-lil₂-le	lugal Enlil.e	the king whom Enlil selected in his
6:	ki-aǧa₂-šag₄-ga-na	ki.aǧa₂.Ø.šag₄.ani.a	loving heart,
7:	in-pad₃	i₃.n.pad₃	
8:	lugal-[kala]g-ga	lugal.kalag.a	the mighty king,
9:	lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma	lugal.Urim₅.a	the king of Ur,
10:	lugal-an-ub-da-	lugal.anub.da	the king of the four quarters —

lim[mu$_2$-ba-ke$_4$]	limmu.bi.ak].e	
11: e$_2$-a-[ni]	[e$_2$.ani].Ø	her temple —
12: mu-n[a-du$_3$]	mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø	built.

Commentary

5. Lines 5-7 are an epithet of Shu-Sin which occurs in virtually all of his inscriptions. It was not used by his predecessors, nor by any subsequent ruler.

Although this epithet is very common, and its basic meaning is fairly transparent, the syntax underlying it is not clear. There are two (related ?) problems. The first is the grammatical relationship of ki-aǧa$_2$ to šag$_4$-ga-na. One interpretation of these lines is: "the king whom Enlil has elected *as* the beloved of his heart", that is, [ki.aǧa$_2$.a].[šag$_4$.ani].a(k). However, Sumerian would probably attach .še$_3$ to the genitive phrase to express "as", as in line 16 of Text 18, where .še$_3$ is used in a roughly parallel construction.

Another interpretation is to see ki-aǧa$_2$ as an active participle modifying šag$_4$, with the entire phrase being in the locative: "in his loving heart", that is, [ki.aǧa$_2$.Ø.šag$_4$.ani].a. The problem with this interpretation is that modifiers of nouns almost always follow their nouns, not precede them; one would not expect ki.aǧa$_2$.Ø to precede šag$_4$.ani. However, there are exceptions to this rule, and there are even occurrences (discussed below) where simple adjectives precede their nouns (although these occurrences are mostly of a formulaic nature). This is the interpretation followed here. There is probably some stylistic emphasis present.

The second problem is that lines 5-7 consist of the noun lugal and a relative clause. Since this is a relative clause, one would expect to find a sentence nominalized in .a, as was the case in all other verbal relative clauses; that is, one would expect a writing of the type in-pad$_3$-da. However, this common epithet is always written in-pad$_3$, with no nominalizing .a. This is difficult to explain. It is not simply a problem of orthography. A follower of the Falkenstein school might wonder about the possibility of a reading /pada/ for the pad$_3$-sign. However, no such value is recognized by the standard sign-lists, and in any case one would expect the writing in-pad$_3$-da, as was the case with Amar-Sin's epithet, Enlil.e Nibru.a mu.pad$_3$.a, always written mu-pad$_3$-da.

Somewhat similar instances of relative clauses without an expressed nominalizer occur elsewhere in Sumerian, sometimes of a formulaic nature. They need further investigation.

It is difficult to say if the two problems encountered in these lines—the unusual word order and the lack of a nominalizer—are related in some way or not.

7. .i$_3$ is the CP and n. is the PA which cross-references the ḫamṭu agent, Enlil.e. As discussed in *Lesson Six*, the in-sign is regularly used to represent the sequence .i$_3$—.n.

10. This line is read lim[mu$_2$-ba-ke$_4$]. There is very little space at the end of the line; the restoration is based on what we expect to find. However, it is not uncommon for the limmu$_2$-ba-ke$_4$ part of this common phrase to be written on its own line within a case, squeezed into the bottom right; note, for example, line 14 of Text 16. It is also possible that physical inspection of the text would show more room than the autograph indicates.

Discussion: Structure

The structure of this text is:

[Annunitum, dam.ani].(r)	benefactive
[ŠuSin, ki.aǧa.a.Enlil.a,	agent
lugal Enlil.e ki.aǧa$_2$.Ø.šag$_4$.ani.a i$_3$.n.pad$_3$,	
lugal.kalag.a, lugal.Urim$_5$.a,	
lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.ak].e	
[e$_2$.ani].Ø	patient
mu.na.(n.)du$_3$.Ø	verb

It thus follows the pattern of most royal inscriptions. This basic pattern, however, is somewhat difficult to recognize because of the length and the complexity of the appositional phrases in lines 4 through 10.

— Relative clauses

The interpretation of lines 5-7 given above follows Jacobsen, who translates this formulaic phrase as "the king whom Enlil envisaged in his loving heart" (1970 [1965] 466 n.20). He calls it a clause nominalized "in zero"; however, he cannot find many close parallels. These lines thus illustrate a problem already encountered several times: a construction which occurs frequently, its meaning relatively transparent, but its syntax dubious.

— Adjectives

There are a few cases in Sumerian where adjectives (or other modifiers) precede their head noun instead of following it. For example, the adjective kug, meaning "pure", regularly precedes the names of gods and goddesses: kug-^{d}Inanna, "pure Inanna", and occasionally precedes other nouns: kug-ki, "pure place". It is the only adjective to be used so regularly in this position. Other languages whose order is basically noun-adjective, such as French, also permit a certain number of cases of adjective-noun constructions. These cases are usually limited to a fixed number of adjectives or expressions. In general, languages of the noun-adjective type permit more exceptions than do languages of the adjective-noun type.

— History

The circumstances of Amar-Sin's death are unclear. An omen text of the first millennium BCE says that he died "from the bite of a shoe", i-na ni-ši-ik še-e-nim, presumably an infection caused by a bite to his foot. It is hard to say how much "genuine" historical information is contained in such a text. Shu-Sin was his son (or possibly brother) and successor; he may have served as a co-regent during the last few years of Amar-Sin's reign.

It was during Shu-Sin's reign that trouble began to appear in the Ur III Empire: the Sumerians started to feel the pressure of the Amorites, mentioned in the next inscription.

Curiously, a number of "love poems" (to use Jacobsen's term) have been preserved,
  most of which are directed to the fourth king of the dynasty, Shu-Suen. One
  guesses that this king, or perhaps more likely his queen, had in his entourage a
  woman poet who enjoyed singing about love and lovemaking, and whose works,
  since they were cast in the form of praise for the king's beauty and virile pro-
  wess, were favorably received and carefully preserved in writing (1987a:85).
We also possess two "collections" of Shu-Sin's historical inscriptions. These are two large
tablets made in the Old Babylonian period containing copies of Ur III inscriptions of Shu-Sin. In
1989, Raphael Kutscher edited one of these (*Collection A*, listed by Steible as "Shu-Sin 20i").
It is a fourteen-column tablet consisting of copies of inscriptions which were originally on three
statues. At some unknown time this Old Babylonian tablet got broken, with the result that half
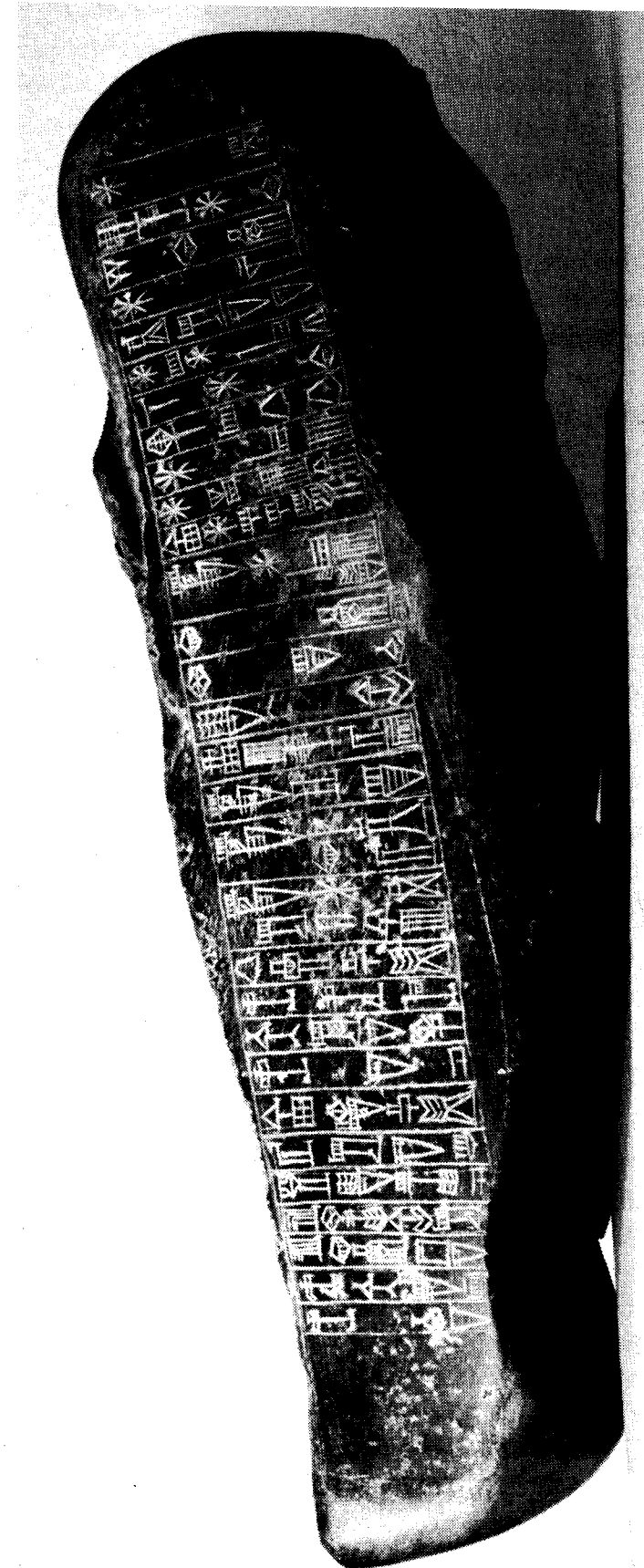of it is now in Jena and half in Haifa.

Text 17a
supplementary

Shulgi 43
Bead
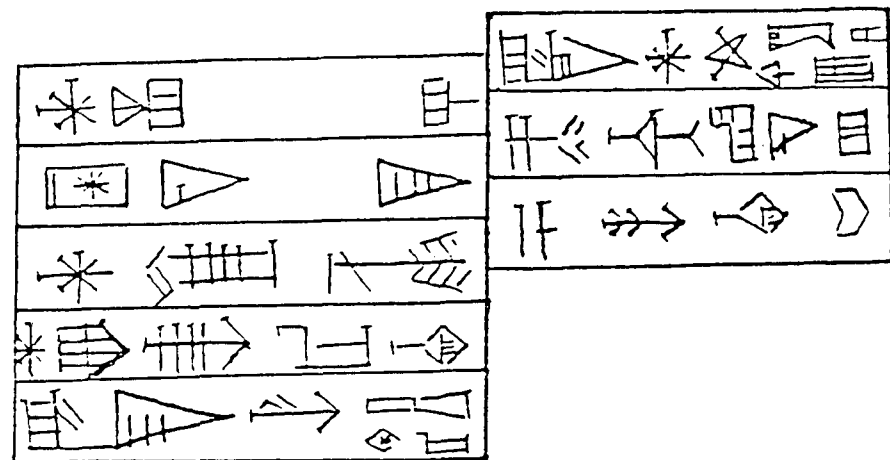
This is a bead of carnelian; Text 15a was a bead of agate. This particular bead was found at
Susa. It may have been carried off as booty by the Elamites when they sacked Ur in 2004 BCE,
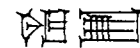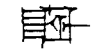putting an end to the Ur III Dynasty.

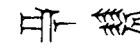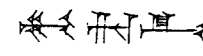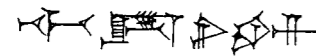𒌋𒌋 **Lesson**

Eighteen 𒌋𒌋

This door socket of Shu-Sin records a significant event of his reign.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒎏𒆤   Nin-lil₂ Ninlil (DN, fem)

𒊬   Šara₂ Shara (DN, masc)

𒈥𒌅   Mar-tu the west; the Amorites

𒈬𒊑𒅅𒋾�𒉌𒅎   Mu-ri-iq Ti-id-ni-im Muriq Tidnim (GN)

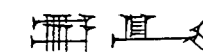𒂍𒊮�𒉆𒁕   E₂-šag₄-ge-pad₃-da Eshagepada (TN)

𒀜𒁕   ad-da father

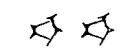𒄖�   gudug (gudu₄) (kind of priest)

𒅖   išib (kind of priest)

𒈠𒁕   ma-da land

𒉈   ne₃ forces; troops

𒉪𒅅   nir-ĝal₂ prince, hero

𒉺   sipad (sipa) shepherd

�šu   šu hand

𒁕𒁕   dadag to be clean, pure

𒃲   gal to be great

𒉈   ne₂ syllabic

Nin-lil₂ Her name means "Lady Air", a noun-noun compound. In most accounts, she was the wife (dam) of Enlil. According to the myth *Enlil and Ninlil*, Ninlil was raped by Enlil, and then became his wife. It is possible that the name "Ninlil" is a replacement of an earlier name, now unknown, and that the name "Ninlil" was devised to parallel her husband's name, "Enlil".

Ninlil was especially worshipped in Nippur. Nanna was the child of Enlil and Ninlil.

Šara₂ Shara was the god of the city of Umma, and son of Inanna. Not much is known of him; he did not rank very high in the Sumerian pantheon. Since here and elsewhere he is called nir-ĝal₂-An-na, "the prince (or hero) of An", he may originally have been a warrior deity.

The etymology of the name is unknown.

Mar-tu This term was used by the Sumerians in two ways. In a rather vague geographical sense, it meant "west" in general. In an ethnic sense, it refers to the (West-Semitic) Amorites, who dwelt in the Syrian desert west of Mesopotamia. It is not clear whether the geographic sense or the ethnic sense is primary.

It is unsure whether the word is to be read Mar-tu or Mar-du₂. Its Akkadian equivalent is usually spelled A-mur-ru-u₂. The ultimate origin and interrelation of the terms Mar-tu and A-mur-ru-u₂ is not yet clear. It is conceivable that the word is of Amorite origin, and the writing with /t/ (or /d/) is due to a particularly Amorite pronunciation of /r/.

The nomadic, destructive aspect of the Martu led to personification of this aspect as a rather fierce god, Martu, who is attested at least as early as the late third millennium. Van De Mieroop points out that "His status as a relative newcomer in the pantheon seems to be reflected in the fact that he was not the tutelary deity of a particular city" (1997:216-217). He was, however, called a "son of An".

Mu-ri-iq Ti-id-ni-im The name is Akkadian, Murîq Tidnim, meaning "That which keeps Tidnum away". murîq is the D-stem active participle in the construct state, from rêqu, "to be far away". Tidnum is probably the name of a particular Amorite tribe, although here it refers to the Amorites in general. In late lexical texts Tidnum is equated with the Akkadian word used for the Amorites: Ti-id-nu = A-mur-ru-u₂. Black therefore translates the name as "Keeper-at-bay-of-the-nomads" (1998:105).

The original form and etymology of the name Tidnum are unsure. Similar names occur in various Semitic languages, such as Ti-da-nu-um and Di-ta-nu-um in Akkadian, Ddn and Ttn in Ugaritic, Dedanim in the Hebrew scriptures, and so on. These terms may not all refer to the same people.

E₂-šag₄-ge-pad₃-da This was the principle temple of Shara in Umma. The name means "The temple chosen in (his) heart", e₂.šag₄.e.pad₃.a. The .e of šag₄.e is the marker of the locative-terminative case.

ad-da Sumerian has three words for "father": a-a, ab-ba, and ad-da. ab-ba occurs in Text 23b. Maurice Lambert (1957) studied the distribution of the three terms on geographical and class lines, but could not come to any definite conclusion about their usage.

gudug It is not easy to determine the exact function of any particular priest. The problem is exacerbated by the tendency to use the word "priest" for anyone working in a temple, no matter how unpriestly his job; there is, in fact, no obvious generic word for "priest" in either Sumerian

or Akkadian. Van De Mieroop says "The Mesopotamians did not distinguish a class of priests, but only acknowledged the existence of a number of cultic and administrative offices in the temples" (1992:123). The term "priest" is used here strictly for convenience. The Old Babylonian priesthood has been studied in detail by Johannes Renger (1967f), who exhaustively discusses the relevant Akkadian vocabulary.

Among the responsibilities of the gudug-priest was the preparation of bloodless offerings in the temple. The Akkadian equivalent priest is the pašīšu, from a root which means "to anoint". The gudug-priest is sometimes described as wearing a ḫi-li (Renger 1969:161).

The gudug-sign ⟨sign⟩ is composed of the me-sign ⟨sign⟩ (used syllabically in Text 14) preceded by the aḫ-sign ⟨sign⟩. The me-sign is used for several words having to do with purity. Its primary use is to represent the mes, the cosmic principles which the Sumerians believed to govern all aspects of life and civilization. One of the readings of the aḫ-sign is uḫ, Akkadian kalmatu, meaning "louse". Jacobsen has speculated on the significance of this (1987b:3).

The word is often transliterated guda$_4$, with the second vowel as /a/, not /u/.

išib This is a very old loan word into Sumerian from Akkadian wāšibu. This Akkadian term is usually translated "exorcist". išib was then loaned back into Akkadian as išippu, glossed by the *CAD* as "purification priest". išib itself is often translated as "incantation priest" or "ritual technician"; one of his jobs was the exorcism of certain kinds of demons. In the Old Babylonian period the išib-priest outranked the gudug-priest; temples could have several gudug-priests but only one išib-priest.

It is written by the me-sign, which, as discussed above, represents several meanings having to do with purity.

ma-da The three terms kalam, kur, and ma-da are often translated into English as "land", but they are not synonymous. Limet (1978) studied their distribution, especially in documents from the Ur III period. kalam is used exclusively to refer to Sumer. kur originally meant "mountain". It then came to mean "foreign land"; it is never used to refer to the land of Sumer. ma-da is more problematic; the sense is approximately "territory". It is used mostly for foreign lands, but in certain uses it can refer to Sumer. Jacobsen thinks that in contexts such as Text 18 ma-da means "steppe". The opposition between kalam and kur has also been studied by Steiner (1978), on a number of levels: historical, legal, and so on.

Because the term kalam is restricted to the land of Sumer, Poebel speculated that the word Ki-en-gi was a dialectal form of kalam. Both Ki-en-gi and kalam have the same Emesal equivalent, ka-na-aĝ$_2$. However, in early texts kalam may have had a more general meaning. Kutscher says that "although the literal meaning of kalam is 'country' (mātum), it narrowed its scope to 'The Country' par excellence, namely, Sumer, and eventually, to 'the nation,' i.e., the Sumerians" (1975:68).

ma-da is usually thought to be a very early loan into Sumerian from Akkadian mātu. The latter, however, is of dubious etymology; the only other Semitic language it occurs in is Aramaic.

ne$_3$ This can be used both for physical force and for military troops. The Akkadian equivalent is emūqu, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. strength (in physical sense as localized in the arms), 2. armed forces, army, 3. violence, 4. executive power, ability, value".

nir-ĝal$_2$ It is difficult to determine the precise meaning of such a word; it is conventionally translated into English as "prince" or "hero". The Akkadian equivalent is etellu, glossed by the *CAD* as "prince, lord"; it is also occasionally translated as bēlu, the general word for "lord". Such words for "hero" are discussed by Heimpel in his article "Held" in the *RlA*.

In origin, this is probably an active participle with an incorporated object. ĝal$_2$ normally means "to be", but can also mean "to have". nir-ĝal$_2$ would then mean "the one who has nir". Unfortunately, it is not known what nir means. šu-nir is a common word for "divine symbol", Akkadian šurīnu and šurinnu.

sipad This is the general word for "shepherd", Akkadian rē'û. It was a common metaphor throughout the Ancient Near East to describe the relationship between the ruler and the ruled as one between a shepherd and his flock. Here Shu-Sin is called "the shepherd of the land"; this is a common expression.

Nouns of the pattern CiCaC are uncommon in Sumerian. However, it is doubtful if a word like "shepherd" would be a substrate word or a loan word. More likely, the word is the result of some process of word formation now opaque to us. Krecher (1995:178 n.85) wonders about a connection with /sub/, the plural root of the verb ĝin, "to go", discussed at Text 26b.

The cuneiform sign used to represent this word is a combination of two signs: the pa-sign ⟨sign⟩ and the udu-sign ⟨sign⟩. The pa-sign was originally a picture of a staff or stick. In this meaning, it is read ĝidri. It was also used to represent the word for "overseer", that is, a man holding a staff of authority; in this meaning, it is read ugula. The udu-sign means "sheep". Thus, the sipad-sign graphically represents "the overseer in charge of the sheep".

It is reasonably sure that this word had a /d/-Auslaut. However, it is much more common to find it transliterated sipa instead of sipad.

šu As was the case with šag$_4$, this can be used both in the concrete sense and in derived metaphorical usages. The Akkadian is qātu.

dadag The reading is not certain; it is variously read da$_7$-dag$_3$, dag$_3$-dag$_3$, zalag-zalag, and babbar$_2$. In its meaning as "pure", the reading /dadag/ is based on late lexical texts, which give the syllabic writing da-da-ag as the equivalent of the Akkadian word for "pure", ebbu. The reading babbar$_2$ has the meaning "to be white".

The dadag-sign is formed by the writing of two ud-signs, ⟨sign⟩. Presumably the reduplication originally expressed emphasis or intensity; one sign stood for /dag/, "pure", and two signs stood for /dagdag/, "very pure". Later, */dagdag/ was reduced to /dadag/, and the meaning possibly shifted from "very pure" to "pure", but the original two signs continued to be written. The similar case of /siskur/ deriving from */sikur-sikur/ was discussed in *Lesson Fifteen*.

gal The most common adjective for "great", with many connotations, is gal, another adjective in Ø. The Akkadian equivalent adjective is rabû.

The word e₂ in the meaning "temple" has occurred in many of the *Lessons*. e₂-gal, "big house", is the standard word for "palace"; this is where the lu₂-gal > lugal, "big man", held court. This was borrowed into Akkadian as ekallu. It also appears in Arabic, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Ugaritic; in some of these languages it can mean both "palace" and "temple". These latter forms all contain an initial /h/, for example, Ugaritic hkl. This has led to the suggestion that these languages (or some of them) borrowed the word directly from Sumerian, instead of through the usual intermediary of Akkadian (for example, Edouard Lipiński 1988:65), and that Sumerian itself had an /h/ sound. This hypothesis of direct contact seems doubtful on historical grounds.

The word e₂-gal does not occur in the Ur III royal inscriptions. Although the excavations at Ur have unearthed several temples, no palace has been identified with certainty. This may be due to accidents of discovery; it is also possible that some of what have been thought to be temples might actually be palace buildings.

ne₂ This is the sign previously read as ni.

Text 18

Shu-Sin 9
Door socket
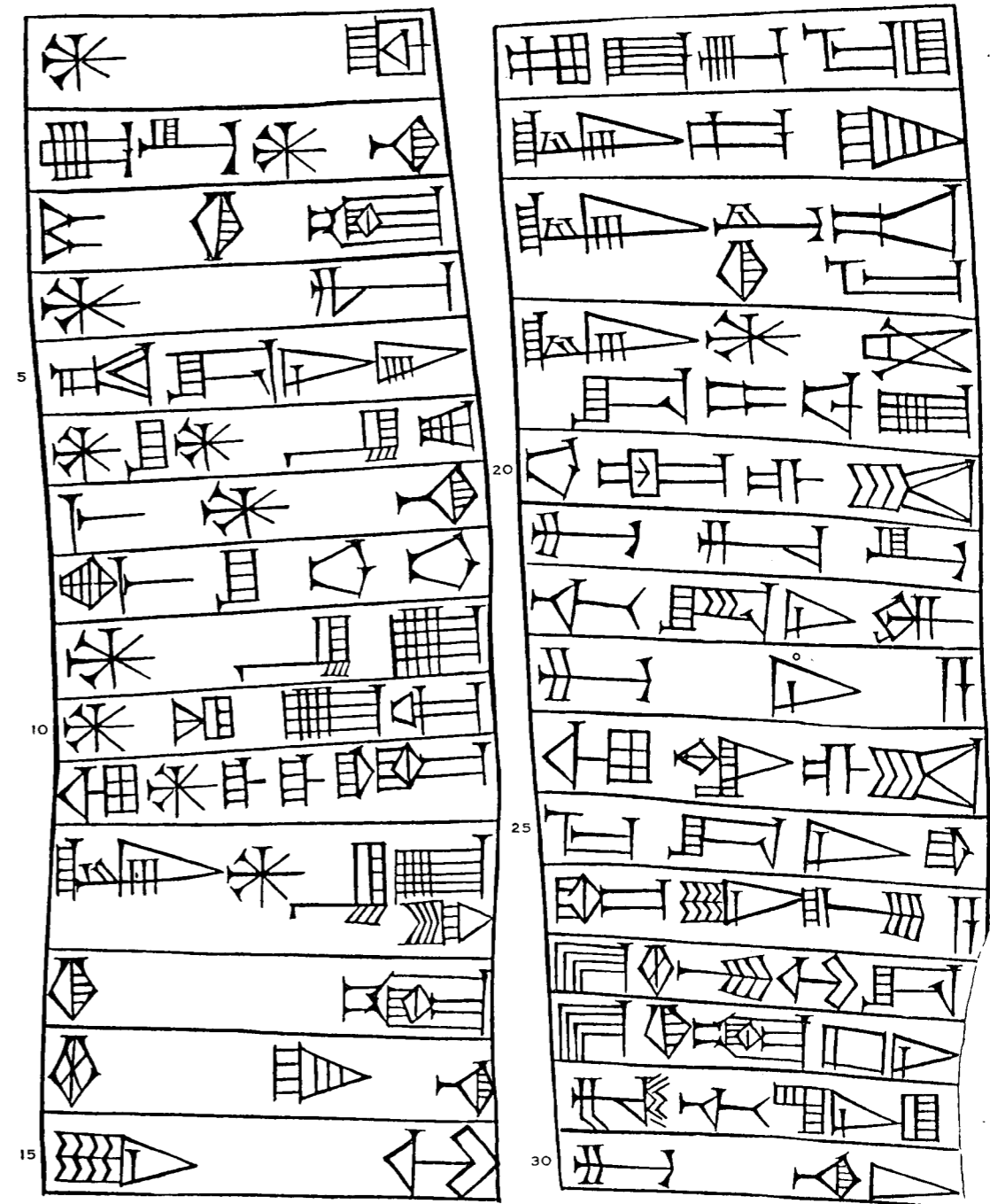
° ▷ *Rest mistake of scribe.*

In line 16, the p̲a̲-component and the u̲d̲u̲-component of the s̲i̲p̲a̲d̲-sign are jammed up against each other, forming virtually a ligature; this is a common practice with this word.

As the editors point out, in line 23 the scribe has drawn a n̲i̲-sign instead of the expected d̲u̲₃-sign. He may have been unconsciously influenced by the n̲i̲-sign in line 22, directly above.

	Transliteration	**Transcription**
1:	ᵈŠara₂	[Šara
2:	nir-g̃al₂-An-na	nirg̃al.An.a
3:	dumu-ki-ag̃a₂	dumu.ki.ag̃a₂.a
4:	ᵈInanna	Inanna
5:	ad-da-ni-ir	adda.ni].r
6:	ᵈŠu-ᵈZuen	[ŠuSin
7:	išib-An-na	išib.An.a
8:	gudug-šu-dadag	gudug.šu.dadag.Ø
9:	ᵈEn-lil₂	Enlil
10:	ᵈNin-lil₂-ka	Ninlil.(a)k.a
11:	u₃ dig̃ir-gal-gal-e-ne	u₃ dig̃ir.gal.Ø.gal.Ø.ene
12:	lugal ᵈEn-lil₂-le	lugal Enlil.e
13:	ki-ag̃a₂	ki.ag̃a₂.Ø
14:	šag₄-ga-na	šag₄.ani.a
15:	in-pad₃	i₃.n.pad₃
16:	sipad-kalam-ma-še₃	sipad.kalam.a(k).še₃
17:	lugal-kalag-ga	lugal.kalag.a
18:	lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma	lugal.Urim₅.a
19:	lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba-ke₄	lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.ak].e
20:	ud bad₃-Mar-tu	[ud bad₃.Martu
21:	Mu-ri-iq	Muriq
22:	Ti-id-ni-im	Tidnim.Ø
23:	mu-du₃-a	mu.(n.)du₃.Ø.a.a
24:	u₃ ne₃-Mar-tu	u₃ ne₃.Martu.Ø
25:	ma-da-ne₂-e	mada.ni.e
26:	bi₂-in-gi₄-a	bi₂.n.gi₄.Ø.a.a]
27:	E₂-šag₄-ge-pad₃-da	[Ešagepada
28:	e₂-ki-ag̃₂-g̃a₂-ni	e₂.ki.ag̃a₂.a.ni].Ø
29:	nam-til₃-la-ni-še₃	[nam.til₃.ani].še₃
30:	mu-na-du₃	mu.na.(n.)du₃.Ø

Translation

1:   For Shara,
2:   the prince of An,
3:   the beloved son of Inanna,
5:   his father —
6:   Shu-Sin,
7:   the *išib*-priest of An,
8:   the *gudug*-priest with the pure hands
9:   of Enlil and Ninlil
11: and of the most great gods,
12: the king whom Enlil selected in his loving heart
16: to be the shepherd of the land,
17: the mighty king,
18: the king of Ur,
19: the king of the four quarters —
23: when he built
20: the Martu-wall
21: (whose name is) Muriq Tidnim,
26: and when he drove back
24: the forces of the Martu
25: to their own land —
27: Eshagepada,
28: his beloved temple —
29: for the sake of his life —
30: built.

Commentary

8. As discussed in *Lesson Four*, š̲u̲ here is to be understood as a plural of an inanimate noun, with no formal marking.

dadag is an adjective in .Ø from the root meaning "to be pure".

The presence of the k̲a̲-sign in line 10 means that there are two genitives contained here. The writing implies the analysis "[the priest of] [the pure hands of Enlil and Ninlil]", referring to the hands of the gods. "Pure hands of Enlil and Ninlil" is [šu.dadag.Ø] [Enlil Ninlil].a(k), and so "the priest of the pure hands of Enlil and Ninlil" is [gudug] [šu.dadag.Ø.Enlil.Ninlil.ak].a(k), written with a final -k̲a̲-sign, exactly as in Text 18. It is difficult to say what this would all *mean*, since the genitive can convey various kinds of relationship.

However, the "clean hands" of the *pashishu*-priest are explicitly mentioned several times

in Akkadian texts. The sense of the sentence is thus probably: "the priest with the pure hands, in the service of Enlil and Ninlil". However, this would imply an analysis "[the priest of the pure hands] [of Enlil and Ninlil]". "The priest of the pure hands" is [gudug] [šu.dadag.$\emptyset$].a(k). "The priest of the pure hands of Enlil and Ninlil" would thus be [gudug.šu.dadag.$\emptyset$.a(k)] [Enlil Ninlil] .ak, which would probably be written gudug-šu-dadag-ga-^{d}En-lil$_2$-^{d}Nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$. Thus, if this meaning of the phrase is accepted, it is difficult to explain the writing in the text. If the writing is accepted, it is difficult to explain the meaning of the text.

9-11. Enlil and Ninlil are conjoined without any conjunction. These two deities are set off from the more vague "most great gods" by the conjunction u$_3$.

As seen in *Lesson Five*, the plural of animate nouns is formed with the morpheme .ene. Thus, "gods" is diĝir.ene. To express the plural of an animate noun-adjective phrase, such as "great gods", the plural morpheme .ene is attached to the entire nominal phrase: [diĝir.gal.$\emptyset$] .ene. In Text 18, however, there occurs diĝir-gal-gal-e-ne, with reduplication of the adjective. Such reduplication is sometimes analyzed as a plural marker, with the result that the noun phrase would have two plural markers. More likely, however, the reduplicated adjectival form gal.$\emptyset$.gal.$\emptyset$ expresses emphasis or intensity: diĝir-gal-gal means "the most great god". This noun phrase is then made plural, as usual, by the suffixed .ene, producing diĝir-gal-gal-e-ne, meaning "the most great gods".

In Text 5, the plural "king of the gods" was written lugal-diĝir-re-ne; the /r/ of diĝir was continued by the re-sign. The expression "the most great gods", however, is regularly written diĝir-gal-gal-e-ne; the /l/ of gal is not continued.

Line 11 is to be understood as a genitive phrase with the first element (gudug) omitted, since it is clear from context. The essential meaning is "(priest) of the great gods", [(gudug)]. [diĝir.gal.$\emptyset$.gal.$\emptyset$.ene].(k).

16. One of the functions of the terminative case in .še$_3$ is to express purpose. Here the sense is: "selected *to be* the shepherd of the land". Expressions of this type are not infrequent in the royal inscriptions. Here the nominal phrase marked in .še$_3$ follows the verbal form in-pad$_3$, instead of preceding it; this is common with the verb pad$_3$. This deviation from standard Sumerian syntax is presumably to give some degree of emphasis to the last constituent of the sentence. There are instances where adverbial phrases, and even patients, occur after the verb form instead of before it.

19. The .e marks the end of the ergative agent phrase, which spans lines 6 through 19.

20. Lines 20-26 form two when-clauses, governed by the ud of line 20:

    20:      when he built ...

    24:      and when he drove back ...

    30:      (then) he built.

The two when-clauses are linked by the conjunction u$_3$ in line 24. The syntax of these clauses is the same as that seen in Text 11. ud in line 20 is the head noun. It is followed by two clauses, each of which is nominalized in .a and each of which is marked by the locative case. A

more literal translation would thus be: "on (= the locative .a) the day that (= the nominalizer .a)....:

    ud   [bad$_3$.Martu ... mu.(n.)du$_3$.$\emptyset$.a].a

    u$_3$ [ne$_3$.Martu ... bi$_2$.n.gi$_4$.$\emptyset$.a].a

bad$_3$-Mar-tu is a genitive phrase, "the wall of Martu". The sense conveyed by the genitive here may well be "the wall *against* the Martu". Since Mar-tu can also mean "the West", this phrase is sometimes translated as "the Western Wall". What follows is the actual name of the wall: "Muriq Tidnim". Instead of using a construction with the word for "name" (mu), the name is expressed through apposition. The use of an appositive to express a name is very common.

24. As mentioned above, u$_3$ here links the two temporal clauses, each dependent on the head noun ud:

    ud: 1)   ... mu-du$_3$-a

            2)   ... bi$_2$-in-gi$_4$-a

25. .(a)ni is somewhat ambiguous. It could refer back to Shu-Sin, or it could refer back to ne$_3$-Mar-tu of line 24, treating the latter phrase as a singular or a collective.

.e is the marker of the locative-terminative case. As discussed in *Lesson Eight*, this case shares some of the values of the locative case marked in .a and some of the values of the terminative case marked in .še$_3$. This can lead to a certain amount of ambiguity. For example, this particular line has been interpreted in two ways. One interpretation is to understand .e here in the sense of .še$_3$. The meaning would then be: "He drove the Amorites back to their own territory". A second interpretation would be to understand .e in the sense of .a. The meaning then would be: "In his own territory, he drove out the Amorites". Without a study of all of the occurrences of the verb gi$_4$, there is no simple way to decide which interpretation is correct. The first interpretation has been followed here, because it expresses more of an active rôle for the king: Shu-Sin drove the Amorites all the way back into their own territory.

As was the case in Text 8, the (assumed) locative-terminative is not cross-referenced by any DP in the verbal chain.

Line 25 has been transliterated here as ma-da-ne$_2$-e. This assumes that the /i/ of /ani/ has contracted into the /e/ of the locative-terminative case marker, producing a pronunciation something like /madane/. Other scholars transliterate the line as ma-da-ni-e. Some do this because they do not think that such a contraction took place. Others do it because they are consciously being morphemic in their transliteration. And others do it in order to keep transliterations as "basic" as possible, without possibly pre-judging the meaning of the text. This problem is further discussed in the next *Lesson*.

26. The verb forms in lines 23 and 26 differ in two ways. Line 23 uses the CP mu (as does line 30); line 26 uses the CP bi$_2$. In line 23 (and 30), the PA .n for the ḫamṭu agent is not expressed in the writing; in line 26 it is so expressed:

    23:   mu-du$_3$-a

    26:   bi$_2$-in-gi$_4$-a

30:   <u>mu</u>-<u>na</u>-<u>du</u>₃

It is as usual hard to say whether these two differences are interconnected in some way. From this one text, one possible facile generalization would be: "The PA .n is not used when the CP mu. is present, but it is used when the CP bi₂. is present". However, in other texts the writing <u>mu</u>-<u>na</u>-<u>an</u>-<u>du</u>₃ occurred. It is such varying formations which make it very difficult to establish rules governing the interplay of the CPs and the PAs; this is further discussed below.

Discussion: Structure

Although this inscription is thirty lines long, it consists of only one sentence. The one finite verb form is in line 30:

1	For Shara,	benefactive
6	Shu-Sin	agent
20	when he built	circumstance
24	and when he drove away	circumstance
27	Eshagepada	patient
29	for the sake of his life	purpose
30	built.	verb

— <u>bi</u>₂ and <u>ba</u>

It is not uncommon to find a verb with the CP <u>bi</u>₂ co-occurring with a nominal phrase in the locative-terminative case. In Text 18, line 26 uses the CP <u>bi</u>₂, and line 25 has a nominal phrase in the locative-terminative. In *Lesson Eleven*, it was mentioned that it also not uncommon to find a verb with the CP <u>ba</u> co-occurring with a nominal phrase in the locative case. It is this pattern of co-occurrence which has led several scholars to conclude that <u>bi</u>₂ and <u>ba</u> are not of the same rank as the other CPs, and are probably composed of more than one element.

The CP <u>ba</u> frequently occurs with verb forms in passive sentences. In the *Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts* (discussed in *Appendix Two*), Sumerian verbal forms with the CP <u>ba</u> are usually translated by Akkadian stems with infixed /t/, that is, stems with separative, reflexive, and passive meanings.

Because of this common use of <u>ba</u> in passive sentences, it has been speculated more than once that there is not just one CP <u>ba</u> in Sumerian, but rather two; that is, they are homonyms (briefly discussed in Black 1986:79). One is seen chiefly in passive sentences, the other in less definable contexts. Needless to say, it is very hard to prove such an idea.

— Plurals

It is probable that formations such as <u>diĝir</u>-<u>gal</u>-<u>gal</u>-<u>e</u>-<u>ne</u>, with reduplication of the adjective, represent intensives or superlatives: "the most great gods". It is also possible that they stress totality in some way, for example, "all the gods". Only a few adjectives occur in such formations; by far the most common is <u>gal</u>. Akkadian scribes equated <u>gal</u>-<u>gal</u> with <u>rabbû</u>, an intensive

form of the <u>parras</u>-pattern meaning "very great". These and related formations are discussed by Wolfgang Schramm (1983). Krecher (1987b:86 n.17) has suggested that the sequence substantive-adjective-adjective, seen in <u>diĝir</u>-<u>gal</u>-<u>gal</u>, is actually "shortened" from the sequence substantive-adjective substantive-adjective, that is, <u>diĝir</u>-<u>gal</u> <u>diĝir</u>-<u>gal</u>. This merits further investigation.

In Akkadian texts, nouns are often marked as plurals by a suffixed -<u>me</u>-<u>eš</u> or by a suffixed -<u>ḫi</u>-<u>a</u>. These do not function as plurals in true Sumerian contexts. -<u>me</u>-<u>eš</u> is actually a form of the ḫamṭu plural of the enclitic copula -<u>me</u>. <u>ḫi</u>-<u>a</u> is a passive participle from <u>ḫi</u>, "to mix"; the form thus means "mixed, various, sundry". In good classical Sumerian it is only used with inanimate nouns. It shows up in Text 25b.

— Loan words

Both <u>ma</u>-<u>da</u> and <u>išib</u> are early loan words from Akkadian. One, however, ends in /a/ and one doesn't. Gelb has suggested that early loan words ending in /a/ reflect a stage of Semitic when the case system was not as fully developed as it was during its more "classical" periods (1961:142). It is however also possible that this /a/ represents a specialized use of the Sumerian nominalizer. Loan words from even later periods sometimes include the Akkadian nominative case ending /u/ along with mimation. Thus Akkadian <u>puḫrum</u>, "assembly", was loaned into Sumerian as <u>pu</u>-<u>uḫ</u>₂-<u>rum</u>.

— History

As mentioned above, the ultimate origin and interrelationship of the terms <u>Mar</u>-<u>tu</u> and <u>A</u>-<u>mur</u>-<u>ru</u>-<u>u</u>₂ is much debated. It has often been suggested that "Martu" was originally a geographical term meaning "West" which then became linked to the Amorites living in rhe regions west of Mesopotamia. However, since the term <u>Mar</u>-<u>tu</u>ᵏⁱ occurs not uncommonly in the Ebla texts, dating to about 2350 BCE, and since "west" does not seem to fit the Eblaite contexts, it is nowadays thought that the term was originally the name of a people. This is discussed by Robert Whiting (1995:1231).

The principal problem in studying the Amorites is that they left no writing; all we have are proper names, which can only tell us a limited amount about their language and culture. Moreover, as Whiting says, "No one has yet been able to identify an Amorite pot or weapon with certainty". Sumerian texts describe the Amorites as a people "who do not know agriculture".

The English term "Amorites" derives from 'emorī of the Hebrew scriptures, which itself derives from the Akkadian form.

— History

As the name of this wall implies, its function was to keep away the nomadic Amorites. Small numbers of Amorites, and even individuals, had been entering into southern Mesopotamia from the north-west for many years, but during the reign of Shu-Sin they began to enter in

force. The wall was designed to connect the Euphrates and Tigris rivers at a point where they came relatively close together. The translation "wall" is a little misleading; it was actually a whole system of fortifications.

It is probable that Shu-Sin's activities did not consist of the building of this wall *de novo*. More likely, it was the rebuilding and enlargement of defensive fortifications started by Shulgi. According to one text (unfortunately, somewhat fragmentary), this wall was designed to be "26 double-hours" long, that is, about 170 miles! Attempts have been made to relate this wall to defensive lines mentioned in other texts, and even in Classical sources, and to determine the location of the wall, but such attempts have lacked conviction. R.D. Barnett (1963) gives a fascinating discussion of this scholarship. Wilcke (1969) also discusses this, in the context of the larger issue of the rôle of the Amorites in the collapse of the Ur III Dynasty.

The wall was ultimately unsuccessful. Gadd says:

> As for his great wall, it proved even more ineffectual than such barriers have always been in the end. No more is heard of this vast and vain work, even if, as seems likely, it furnished a line or a foundation for similar works in later ages. Babylonia has no natural defences, and they were not to be provided by an artificial rampart so long that it could have hardly been effectually garrisoned (1971: 611).

Reade notes that "A cross-country wall built to keep them [the Amorites] away was not so much a serious defence as a symptom of despair" (1991:58).

It may seem curious that this wall was given an Akkadian name, instead of a Sumerian one. This attests to the growing importance of Akkadian as the spoken language during the Ur III period.

The kings of the Ur III period did not limit their anti-Amorite activity to defensive measures only; a number of Ur III administrative texts mention booty taken from "the land of Martu", kur Mar-tu, indicating raids by the Sumerians into Amorite territory.

— Chronology

The building of this wall is also mentioned in a "year date" of Shu-Sin. Until the Seleucid period, there was no chronological system in Mesopotamia based on a fixed date. Dating systems varied from place to place and from time to time. Beginning at least as early as the Old Akkadian period, individual years in a king's rule were given their own names. For example, the first year of the rule of Shu-Sin was named "The year when Shu-Sin became king"; his third year was named "The year when Simanum was destroyed". That is, the name given to the year referred to some important event in the rule of the king. Most scholars think that at least for the Ur III period the years were named after an event which took place in the *preceding* year; other scholars think that it was named after an event taking place in the *same* year. Van De Mieroop says

> Each year is named after an important event that took place in the preceding year. The events commemorated are primarily military campaigns, buildings of

temples or cult objects, appointments of high priests and priestesses, and public works such as irrigation projects or the building of city walls (1999:21).

These year names were gathered into lists. Without these ordered lists, it would be impossible to know which particular chronological year a given year name referred to. Scholars have spent much effort in studying these date lists. In 1938, Arthur Ungnad's article on "Datenlisten" in the *RlA* listed all the year dates known to that time. This is still a handy resource, although now outdated. A very handy quick listing of all the Ur III year names is given by Marcel Sigrist and Tohru Gomi in their *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets* (1991: 319ff), and Frayne (1997) discusses them for Ur III. Malcolm Horsnell's dissertation of 1974 (to be published in 1999) treated the year names of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

The *ditila*s studied in *Lesson Twenty-Three* and *Lesson Twenty-Four* are all provided with year dates, in accordance with their function as precise legal documents. Texts 23a and 23b, for example, are dated to Shu-Sin 6.

A typical year date is that for Year 4 of Shu-Sin, named mu ᵈŠu-ᵈZuen lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma-ke₄ bad₃-Mar-tu Mu-ri-iq Ti-id-ni-im mu-du₃, "The year (when) Shu-Sin, king of Ur, built the wall against the Amorites (named) Muriq Tidnim". The first word in a year name is the word for "year", mu. The actual name of the year is an appositive, with no special marking. Literally, then, this is: "Year: Shu-Sin...". In English, it is easier to insert the word "when": "The year when Shu-Sin...".

The wording of this particular year name is similar to the wording in lines 20-23 of Text 18. Frayne says "It can be demonstrated that temporal clauses in royal inscriptions of the Ur III through Old Babylonian periods often allude to year formulae of the king" (1983:745); this is such an instance. In a similar vein, Hallo has pointed out:

> The correlation between neo-Sumerian regnal years on the one hand and royal hymns on the other is a high one both in terms of numbers and in terms of content ...Is it too daring to suggest that each date formula was formally introduced together with a new hymn? (1966:139 and n.82).

This topic was thoroughly explored by Frayne in his 1981 dissertation.

The year formula just given is the "long" form of the year name; there is also a "short" form: mu bad₃-Mar-tu ba-du₃, "The year when the wall of Martu was built". This latter is usually interpreted as a passive construction, bad₃.Martu.(k).Ø ba.du₃.Ø. Year dates often occur in both a long form and a short form. The long form has an agent marked in .e and a verb with the CP mu. The short form is without agent and has a verb with the CP ba. For example, there are several year dates of the type: mu PN-e GN mu-ḫul "The year when PN destroyed GN" and mu GN ba-ḫul "The year when GN was destroyed"; such a short form occurs in Text 24a.

As was mentioned above, the CP ba frequently occurs with verb forms in passive sentences. However, Horsnell has questioned the standard interpretation of the short form of year dates as passives, arguing instead that they should be translated as agentless active sentences:

> The year-names were originally promulgated to commemorate the actions of the

king. The king is conceptually the cause of the event described and as such he is the grammatical subject of the year-name statement...The variants of the date-lists are therefore to be interpreted transitively either as though R[oyal]N[ame] lugal-e were carried forward for each formula of the date-list or with the pronoun understood as contained in the verb (1977:283-284).

That is, a year name of the type <u>mu</u> <u>GN</u> <u>ba-ḫul</u> should be understood as "The year when PN destroyed GN", not "The year when GN was destroyed". This is satisfying in terms of meaning, but does not explain the change in CP.

— Literary parallels

Other references to this wall have been preserved. One is in a letter by a gentleman named Sharrum-bani, the official in charge of its construction; he writes to Shu-Sin complaining of his troubles. Shu-Sin's own reply to Sharrum-bani, in which he berates him for neglecting his duties, is also preserved.

At first blush, it might strike one as rather astounding that such letters just happen to be preserved. But the reason is because these (and other) letters came to be considered literary texts, and were used for scribal instruction and practice; they are often called "royal literary letters". These letters are discussed by Michalowski in the *RIA*, under the heading "Königsbriefe". According to Michalowski's definition, "royal literary letters are thus simply letters to and from kings which were recopied in the scribal academy as part of the instruction in learning the Sumerian language". Most of these royal literary letters are products of the Ur III period, although they are only known from Old Babylonian copies. Fragments of at least four copies of the letter from Sharrum-bani to Shu-Sin are preserved. Michalowski also says

> Not a single Ur III original of this correspondence has survived...Although it is possible that all of these texts were fictitious, it is more probable that the core of this royal correspondence was based on actual archival texts, but revised, and that other texts of the same type were written long after the death of the kings of Ur (1993:4).

— History

The ninth year of Shu-Sin commemorates the building of the temple mentioned in this inscription: <u>mu</u> <u>e₂-ᵈŠara₂-Ummaᵏⁱ-ka</u> <u>ba-du₃</u>, "The year when the temple of Shara of Umma was built". Such year dates, as laconic as they are, comprise one of our principal sources of information about the history of the Ur III period.

— Mythology
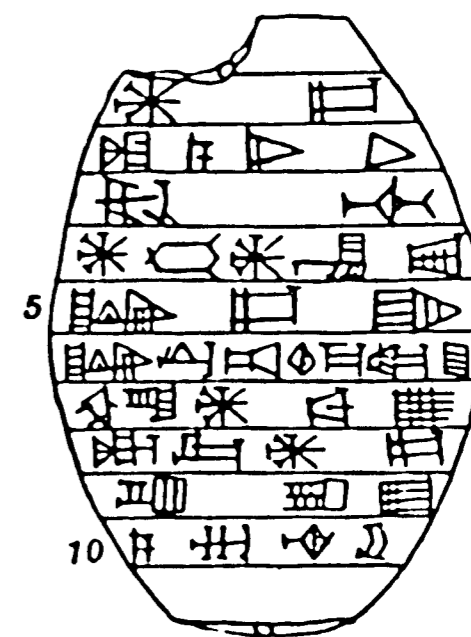
It is hard to say exactly what the expression <u>diĝir-gal-gal-e-ne</u>, "the great gods", in line 11 means. As Black and Green (1992:99) say, "The term 'great gods' is used sometimes, apparently, for the gods in general, but more usually for the principal divinities of the pantheon", which varied somewhat from time to time and from place to place.

Text 18a
supplementary

Amar-Sin 17
Bead
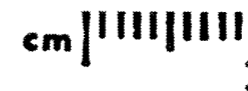
Sign-list and vocabulary

𒄩 𒆷 𒀭𒁀 𒌑 Ḫa-la-ᵈBa-u₂ Hala-Bau (PN)

𒌨 𒀭 𒆴 Ur-ᵈLamar Ur-Lamar (PN)

𒁾 𒊬 dub-sar scribe

Ḫa-la-ᵈBa-u₂ The Akkadian equivalent of ḫa-la is zittu, from the root zâzu, "to divide". It is glossed by the *CAD* as "1. share of an inheritance ...". Names of the pattern Ḫa-la-DN are common in Sumerian. Similar Akkadian names include ḪA-LA-ᵈi₃-li₂ and zi-it-DIĜIR, "Inheritance of god".

dub-sar dub means "tablet" and sar means "to write". The formation of dub-sar is the same as that of zabar-dab₅; sar.Ø is an active participle and dub is its incorporated object. The meaning is thus "the one who writes a tablet". The word was borrowed into Akkadian as ṭupšarru (read by some as ṭupšarru). Scribes are further discussed at Text 20b.

In historic Sumerian sar means "to write". It is not known what its original meaning might have been. In its earliest attestations, at Fara and Abu Salabikh, it does not occur as an independent verb but only as part of the nominal compound dub-sar. dub-sar also occurs in the bilingual Eblaite texts, but unfortunately without an Eblaite equivalent.

Commentary

2. The last sign must be a poorly drawn ir-sign. None of the signs on this small bead can be considered as elegantly drawn.

⟨𒀸 Lesson Nineteen ⟨𒀸

This is another brick of Shu-Sin.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒄩 𒁀 𒇻 𒄀 Ḫa-ba-lu₅-ge₂ Habaluge (PN)

𒌓 𒉣 Adab Adab (GN)

𒀶 arad servant, slave

𒑐 �199𒋝 ensi₂ *ensi* (city governor, local ruler)

Ḫa-ba-lu₅-ge₂ The etymology of this name is discussed below.

Adab This is the name both of a city and of a bird; the modern name of the city is Bismaya. A number of third millennium (and later) texts have been found there.

The name is either Sumerian or a pre-Sumerian substrate word. Lexical lists and rare syllabic spellings most often show the first consonant to be /d/, but spellings with /t/ and /s/ also occur. Akkadian spellings also show similar variation. Such oscillation in spelling shows that the consonant was not a simple /d/, but a more complex phoneme. Lieberman (1977:428) reconstructs the original name of the city and the bird as /oŕab/, with the /dr/-phoneme; Jacobsen however (1968:101) reconstructs it as /usabu/. The vowels in the name are discussed below.

The name of the city and of the bird is written by what appear to be two cuneiform signs, the ud-sign 𒌓 followed by the nun-sign 𒉣 . The situation is more complex, however. According to Jacobsen,

> Early occurrences show a strong tendency to combine the two later signs UD and NUN into a ligature as if they originally formed but one single larger sign...The sign is not a ligature but an original pictograph representing a disc placed on top of a pole or stake...It thus becomes likely that the writing of the city-name Adab was originally a picture of a symbol, a disc affixed to a stake for carrying, and since that picture served also to designate the *usabu* bird one may assume that the symbol represented an *usabu* bird and had a picture of that bird on its disc. Symbols of this kind are well known (1968:101).

Lieberman's reconstruction of the name of the city and of the bird as /oŕab/ immediately calls to mind the word for a kind of bird appearing in Arabic as ghurāb, in Hebrew as 'orev, and in English as "raven"!

The name is further discussed by Yang Zhi (1987); K. Szarzyńska (1996) analyzes a number of cuneiform signs which might represent standards.

arad The arad-sign and the nitaḫ-sign are very similar in Ur III times. They were presumably distinct signs in origin, but shortly after their earliest occurrences they began to merge. Moreover, the most common writing of the word for "slave" was arad$_2$, which was written with the arad-sign ("slave") followed by the kur-sign ("mountain"); this spelling is seen, for example, in Text 20b and Text 20c. Presumably the Sumerians derived some of their slaves from foreign, mountainous areas. The sign for "mountain" very early moves into the middle of the sign for "slave". The shape of the arad$_2$-sign tends to grow simpler, and even as early as the Ur III texts the arad-sign and the arad$_2$-sign look quite similar. The situation is even more messy, because the standard sign-lists do not agree on the readings for all these signs.

The Akkadian word for "slave" is wardu. This would seem to derive from the verbal root warādu, meaning "to go down to"; this root occurs in other Semitic languages. Therefore, it is usually thought that the Sumerian word arad was borrowed from the Akkadian wardu. The minority view is that wardu has nothing to do with the verbal root warādu, and that wardu is a borrowing from Sumerian. Poebel had a third theory, that both arad and wardu are derived from the geographical/ethnic term Mar-tu, "because the slaves of the earliest Sumerians (or their predecessors) presumably were almost exclusively of MAR-TU nationality" (1942:256 n.17).

The reading of the signs for "slave" is also uncertain. Some evidence shows the reading to be /arad/ while some shows it to be /ir/. According to Gelb, "Generally, the form ending in -*d* is younger than the form ending in -*r*" (1982:86). Thus, in pre-Sargonic Lagash there occurs (ARADxKUR)-ra-ni, "his slave", but in Sargonic and Ur III texts there occurs (ARADxKUR)-da-ni, "his slave". Those who accept the reading in /ir/ transliterate it as ir$_3$.

Probably most scholars derive the form in /r/ from that in /d/. Falkenstein assumed a change along the lines of */ward-a/ > */urd-a/ > */ird-a/ > */ird/ > /ir/. The problem of the original reading and the phonetic development is discussed in some detail in Krecher 1987c.

In an article on possible Indo-European loan words in Sumerian, Frayne has argued that the existence of all these variant spellings implies a foreign origin for the word, and that ir$_3$ "male slave" derives from Indo-European *uiros-s "man", and geme$_2$ "female slave" from *guena "woman" (1993:23). A rather large number of such possible loan words from Indo-European are discussed in Whittaker 1998.

ensi$_2$ The function of this official has been discussed quite often; it changed over time. According to Hallo, the term means "titular head of a city and its dependent territories" (1957:45). Jacobsen says:

> The title ensik...seems to denote specifically the ruler of a single major city with its surrounding lands and villages, whereas both "lord" (en) and "king" (lugal) imply rule over a region with more than one important city. As for the origins of the office, the ensik seems to have been originally the leader of the seasonal organization of the townspeople for work on the fields: irrigation, ploughing, and sowing (1970 [1957] 384 n.71).

But later, during the Ur III period,

> The top provincial civil administrators, the ensiks, became proper governors entirely dependent on the king and were moved at will from one post to another to minimize the dangers inherent in too strong localities. Military affairs were out of their hands entirely (1970 [1957] 155).

During the Ur III period, the *ensi* was the highest-ranking civilian authority. The corresponding military officer was the šakkana, often translated "military governor". Many of the latter were sons of the king. Occasionally one and the same person served as both *ensi* and *shakkana*. The names of many *ensi*s of the Ur III period have been preserved.

ensi$_2$ was borrowed into Akkadian, appearing as išši'akku and iššakku. It is glossed by the *CAD* as "territorial ruler (of cities, countries, etc.)".

The etymology and writing of the word are discussed below.

Text 19

Shu-Sin 3
Brick
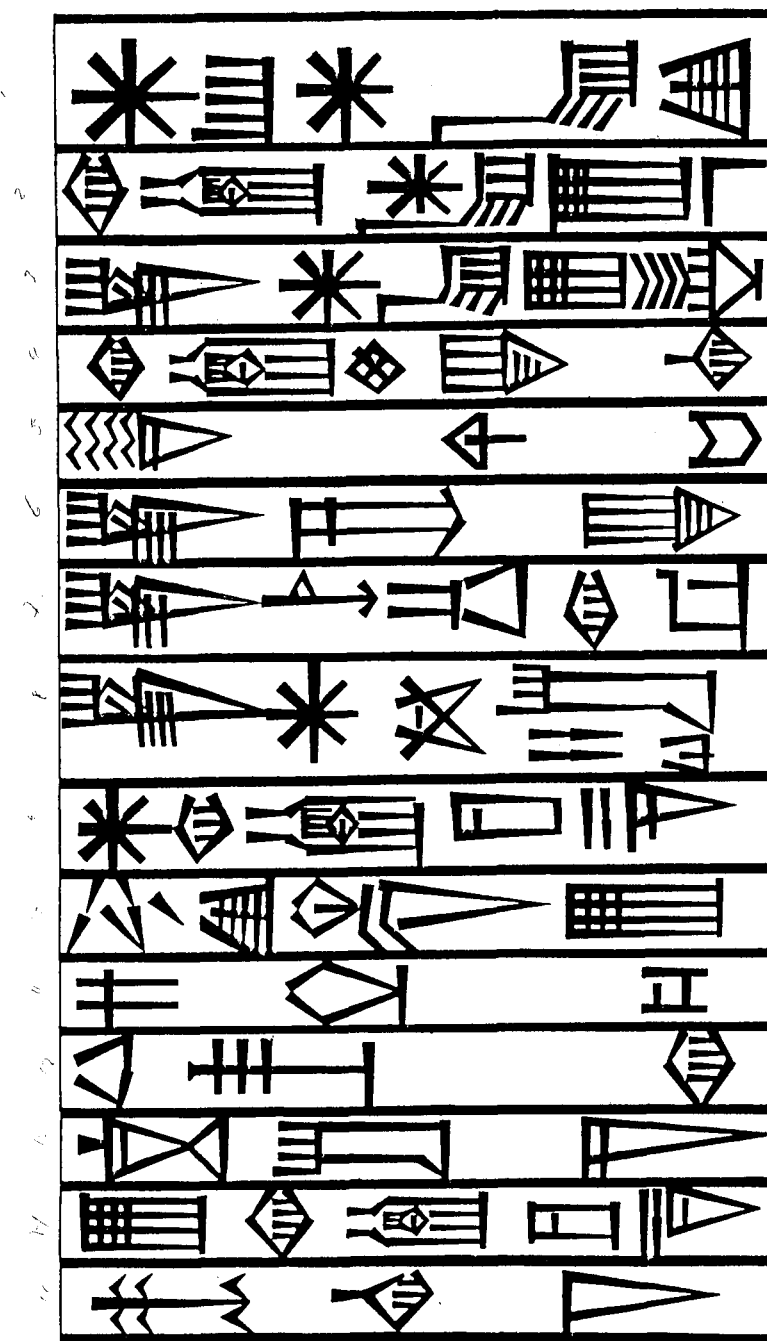
In line 5, the p̲a̲d̲₃-sign is split into two parts. As was mentioned in *Lesson Twelve*, this is a not uncommon scribal practice with this sign. It is presumably done here for aesthetic reasons; otherwise there would have been too much empty space in the line.

Since the name in line 10 is a very common Sumerian name, and since this particular *ensi* is elsewhere attested, the second sign must be a b̲a̲-sign. However, the autograph (drawn by David Luckenbill in 1930) quite clearly shows a z̲u̲-sign; a good b̲a̲-sign, as in the case of the last sign in line 8, should not have any vertical strokes over the internal horizontal stroke. Frayne has collated the text; his collation shows the mistake to be on the part of the ancient scribe, not the modern-day editor. My transliteration follows his.

	Transliteration	**Transcription**	**Translation**
1:	^{d}Š̲u̲-^{d}Zuen	[ŠuSin	For Shu-Sin,
2:	k̲i̲-aǧa₂-^{d}E̲n̲-l̲i̲l̲₂-la₂	ki.aǧa₂.a.Enlil.a	the beloved of Enlil,
3:	lugal-^{d}E̲n̲-l̲i̲l̲₂-l̲e̲	lugal Enlil.e	the king whom Enlil selected in his
4:	k̲i̲-aǧa₂-š̲a̲g̲₄-g̲a̲-n̲a̲	ki.aǧa₂.Ø.šag₄.ani.a	loving heart,
5:	i̲n̲-p̲a̲d̲₃	i₃.n.pad₃	
6:	lugal-k̲a̲l̲a̲g̲-g̲a̲	lugal.kalag.a	the mighty king,
7:	lugal-U̲r̲i̲m̲₅^{ki}-m̲a̲	lugal.Urim₅.a	the king of Ur,
8:	lugal-a̲n̲-u̲b̲-d̲a̲-l̲i̲m̲m̲u̲₂-b̲a̲	lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.a	the king of the four quarters,
9:	d̲i̲ǧ̲i̲r̲-k̲i̲-a̲ǧ̲₂-ǧ̲a̲₂-a̲-n̲i̲	diǧir.ki.aǧa₂.a.ni].(r)	his beloved god —
10:	Ḫa̲-b̲a̲ (Text: z̲u̲)-l̲u̲₅-g̲e̲₂	[Ḫabaluge	Habaluge,
11:	ensi₂	ensi₂	the *ensi* of
12:	Adab^{ki}	Adab.(a)	Adab,
13:	a̲r̲a̲d̲-d̲a̲-n̲e̲₂	arad.ani].e	his servant —
14:	e̲₂-k̲i̲-a̲ǧ̲₂-ǧ̲a̲₂-a̲-n̲i̲	[e₂.ki.aǧa₂.a.ni].Ø	his beloved temple —
15:	m̲u̲-n̲a̲-d̲u̲₃	mu.na.(n.)du₃.Ø	built.

Commentary

1-7. These lines are identical to lines 3-9 of Text 17.

9-14. Line 9 is written d̲i̲ǧ̲i̲r̲-k̲i̲-a̲ǧ̲₂-ǧ̲a̲₂-a̲-n̲i̲; line 14 is written e̲₂-k̲i̲-a̲ǧ̲₂-ǧ̲a̲₂-a̲-n̲i̲. In the previous inscriptions, such expressions were spelled without an a̲ between ǧa₂ and n̲i̲. For instance, line 23 of Text 16 writes e̲n̲-k̲i̲-a̲ǧ̲₂-ǧ̲a̲₂-n̲i̲. Text 19 thus uses a fuller writing. It is very difficult to understand the motivation behind such variation in spelling.

11-12. This is presumably a genitive phrase, ensi₂.Adab.(a). As occasionally happens in other texts, there is here no graphic expression of the genitive following a GN.

13. Since this is the agent nominal phrase, there must be an ergative marker .e present. In other inscriptions, in fact, this line is spelled a̲r̲a̲d̲-d̲a̲-n̲i̲-e̲. Here in line 13, the /i/ of the posses-

sive suffix .ani has presumably contracted into the /e/ of the ergative case marker, producing a pronunciation /aradane/. This contraction is indicated in the transliteration by transliterating the last sign as ne₂: <u>arad</u>-<u>da</u>-<u>ne₂</u>. However, the ne₂-sign is the <u>ni</u>-sign. Some Sumerologists thus transliterate line 13 as <u>arad</u>-<u>da</u>-<u>ni</u>, because they wish to avoid a possible prejudging of the written form. This latter view would regard transliterations of the type "<u>arad</u>-<u>da</u>-<u>ne₂</u>" as an attempt to jiggle the script to fit our views of Sumerian grammar; note that the same sign is read /ni/ in the very next line. A similar instance was seen in Text 18, where <u>ma</u>-<u>da</u>-<u>ne₂</u>-<u>e</u> occurred; others read this as <u>ma</u>-<u>da</u>-<u>ni</u>-<u>e</u>. It is however also possible to interpret writings of the type <u>arad</u>-<u>da</u>-<u>ni</u>-<u>e</u> as historical or morphographemic spellings. It is such ambiguities in the writing system that make it difficult to establish rules governing Sumerian phonology, especially those governing vocalic contraction.

Discussion: Structure

The bare-bones structure of this text is:

1	For Shu-Sin	benefactive
10	Habaluge	agent
14	his beloved temple	patient
15	built.	verb

In all the inscriptions seen up to this point, an initial datival phrase expressed a benefactive to a god or goddess, the deity for whom something was done or built. However, there are a few inscriptions which record actions performed by a subordinate of some kind in order to curry favor with the king. By Hallo's definition, these are still to be considered royal inscriptions, since royal inscriptions are defined as inscriptions which are dedicated either "by, or to, or on behalf of the king".

There are not many such inscriptions. Hallo lists only five building inscriptions of this type. Curiously, they all come from the reign of Shu-Sin.

— Phonology

As was mentioned above, the GN Adab is sometimes spelled with /d/, sometimes with /s/. There are a few other cases of a /d/ ~ /s/ alternation in Sumerian. Sometimes this alternation shows up in different syllabic writings of Sumerian, sometimes it shows up in differing Akkadian versions of loan words or of proper names. The name of the goddess of the scribal art, Nisaba, for instance, when written syllabically is almost always written with an /s/, but there is at least one syllabic writing with /d/. There are several possible explanations of such an alternation. One possibility is that Sumerian had a voiced interdental fricative /ð/ which it was difficult for the script to represent. This would be a consonant different from the consonant symbolized by /dr/. Another possible word containing this sound is the word for "she-goat" (Akkadian <u>enzu</u>), variously transliterated as <u>ud₅</u>, <u>uz₃</u>, or even <u>uzd</u>; perhaps this represents /uð/.

In *Lesson Ten* the word <u>zabar</u> was discussed. The pronunciation /zabar/ is the result of a vocalic assimilation from an earlier form of the word, something like /sipar/. The form /zabar/ shows that at some time Sumerian underwent a rather extensive process of vocalic assimilation, whereby the first vowel in a word took on the quality of the second vowel. The Akkadian borrowing /siparu/ preserved the more original vocalization; the word was borrowed into Akkadian before the vocalic assimilation took place in Sumerian. There are several other cases of bi-syllabic Sumerian words which show vowels of only one quality, but whose Akkadian equivalent shows vowels of two different qualities. The Akkadian preserves the older vocalization, having borrowed the word before the Sumerian vocalic assimilation occurred. For example, there is a tree usually spelled <u>za</u>-<u>ba</u>-<u>lam</u> in Sumerian; the word appears in Akkadian as <u>supālu</u>. Most likely, this is a pre-Sumerian substrate word which passed into Sumerian. It then passed into Akkadian, presumably through Sumerian (or conceivably by a different route). The form /adab/ is also a result of such vocalic assimilation; there are older spellings of the type /udab/.

— ensi₂

The etymology and the writing of the term <u>ensi₂</u> are complicated topics; this is discussed in Dunham 1986:51-52 and Jacobsen 1991.

The word probably had a /k/-Auslaut. When it is followed by a vocalic ending of some kind, a /k/ usually appears; a /k/ also appears in the Akkadian loan word <u>iššiʾakku</u>. It has frequently been suggested that the /k/ is the genitive marker; the word may originally have been a genitive phrase, en.si.(k), "the lord of <u>si</u>". Unfortunately, it is not sure what <u>si</u> means here. Jacobsen thinks that <u>si</u> means "plowable land" (1991:115); the title would originally have meant "manager of the plowable lands". But it has also been argued that the word has a pre-Sumerian substrate etymology and that the interpretation "lord of <u>si</u>" is a Sumerian folk etymology.

It can be written in more than one way. The most common spelling is with the <u>pa</u>-<u>te</u>-<u>si</u>-signs, as in Text 19. Older works in fact transliterate this word as <u>pa</u>-<u>te</u>-<u>si</u>. There is some evidence that <u>pa</u>-<u>te</u> can be read <u>en₅</u>, and so it is sometimes transliterated <u>en₅</u>-<u>si</u>. However, the word is also occasionally written <u>PA</u>-<u>SI</u>, and apparently even just <u>PA</u>; these latter writings are presumably abbreviations.

— Proper names

The PN "Habaluge" occurring in this inscription is presumably of Sumerian origin, although the exact etymology is not sure. When a name is of uncertain etymology, it is often difficult to determine the reading of the signs. For example, the third sign in this name, ⬡, can be read <u>lu₅</u>, <u>lul</u>, <u>lab</u>, <u>nar</u>, and so on. The fourth sign is graphically ambiguous, since several different signs share approximately this same shape. For example, the e₂-sign and the ke₄-sign, even though distinct signs, look very similar in several of these inscriptions. And if it is the ke₄-sign which occurs in this name, it has several different readings: <u>ke₄</u>, <u>ge₂</u>, <u>lil₂</u>, and so on.

One way such ambiguities can be resolved is to identify different spellings of the same name. For example, this particular name is not uncommon in Sumerian texts. In fact, this same

Habaluge is attested more than once (these occurrences were not known at the time that Text 19 was first published). It is most commonly transliterated Ḫa-ba-lu₅-ke₄, with the proviso that the reading of the third and fourth signs is not certain. There are also spellings where the third sign appears as lu, and not as the lu₅/lul/lab/nar-sign: Ḫa-ba-lu-ge and Ḫa-ba-lu-ge₁₈. This shows that the third sign is probably to be understood as /lu/, and so to be read as lu₅ and not as lul, lab, or nar. The fourth sign is spelled as ge, ge₂, and ge₁₈: Ḫa-ba-lu₅-ge, Ḫa-ba-lu-ge₂, and Ḫa-ba-lu-ge₁₈. This shows that the last sign is the ge₂/ke₄-sign and not the graphically similar e₂-sign; it also shows that the reading was probably /ge/. Therefore, the most likely reading of the name in Text 19 is Ḫa-ba-lu₅-ge₂.

Steinkeller (1984:9) reads the third sign as lugₓ, that is, with a /g/-Auslaut. He thinks that the meaning of the name "cannot be gauged with confidence", but it is undoubtedly a Sumerian verbal form with the MP ḫa; it may mean "May he pasture/take care of". Amedeo Alberti (1990) interprets it as "Possa egli farlo risplendere".

— History

There is a large secondary literature about slavery in the Ancient Near East. The term arad is variously translated as "servant" or "slave". But Sollberger (and others) have pointed out that "The usual translation 'slave' is a misnomer because its legal implications do not fit the Sumero-Akkadian social context" (1966:137). In a similar vein, Gelb has said that "Freedom is relative and the terms for 'slave' are quite ambiguous in the Ancient Near East, as they are in the Classical World, or for that matter anywhere else" (1979a:284).

« Lesson Twenty «

The three texts in this *Lesson* do not offer very much new in the way of grammar, but they illustrate common types of royal inscriptions not yet studied. The first is a weight of Shu-Sin. The next two are seals of Ibbi-Sin, the son and successor of Shu-Sin. Ruling from 2028 to 2004 BCE, he was the last king of the Ur III Dynasty.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒐊   "5"

𒈠𒈾   ma-na   mina (measure of weight, about 505 grams)

𒄀𒈾   gi-na   true, correct; standard, certified

5 As discussed in *Lesson Nine*, when Sumerian numerals are used strictly for counting they are normally transliterated by Arabic numerals. The word for "five" was pronounced /ya/.
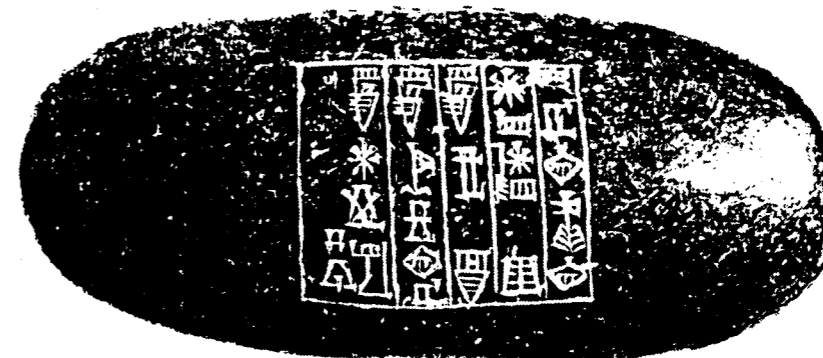
ma-na Its etymology and value are discussed below.

gi-na This is a loan from Akkadian kīnu, mentioned in *Lesson Nine* and discussed in *Lesson Sixteen* as the equivalent of Sumerian zid.

Text 20a

Shu-Sin 17
Weight

	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	5 ma-na gi-na	5 mana gina	5 standard minas.
2:	ᵈŠu-ᵈZuen	ŠuSin	Shu-Sin,
3:	lugal-kalag-ga	lugal.kalag.a	the mighty king,
4:	lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma	lugal.Urim₅.a	the king of Ur,
5:	lugal-an-ub-da limmu₂-ba	lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.a	the king of the four quarters.

Commentary

1. In general, numbers in Sumerian follow their noun, functioning almost adjectivally; the number is usually expressed by a numeral: <u>ud 7</u>, "seven days". However, in simple enumerations, as occurs in weights and in economic texts, the number comes first. This is then followed by a singular noun. In many languages the noun appearing after a number assumes a special form in number or in case. Sumerian shows no outward evidence of this; in general, agglutinative languages show no special forms after numbers. Turkish, for example, uses a singular noun after all numbers.

Discussion: Weights

This is a typical weight inscription. Unlike the weight inscription studied in *Lesson Nine*, this one actually gives its weight. It is difficult to say exactly what <u>gi-na</u> means in such contexts; it is usually translated as "standard" or "certified". Throughout all periods of history, one of the more important functions of Mesopotamian rulers was the regulation of the system of weights and measures, although not much is known of the details about how such weights were actually managed by the crown. Gadd points out that Shulgi "rearranged the calendar, set up a bureau of standards, and issued accurate weights which were preserved and imitated to the latest days of Babylonian history" (1971:618). In the prologue to the *Code of Ur-Nammu* there is a section referring to the "standardization" of the mina; this probably refers to a reform of the royal weight system. Irving Finkel has published a text dated to Amar-Sin's first year, which is a "receipt for two differing sets of weights": "The implication of the text…is that an official issue of correct weights was made at the beginning of Amar-Sin's reign, and that this document reflects a deliberate attempt to ensure that government offices were using uniform weights" (1987:192-193).

— Metrology

All the Classical Semitic languages except Ethiopic have a verbal root *mnw/y meaning "to count, to reckon". Therefore, Sumerian <u>ma-na</u> is probably a loan from Akkadian <u>manû</u> (which is also the ultimate source for the English word "mina").

The value of the <u>ma-na</u> and the <u>manû</u> varied to some degree from time to time and from place to place. Powell says "The probability is that no single, preferred norm ever existed"

(1979:87). In Sumer proper, the most common value of the <u>ma-na</u> was about 505 grams. In Mesopotamia, the <u>manû</u> was the same. In most of Syria the <u>manû</u> was a little less, ranging from 470 to 480 grams. At Ebla, it was also about 470 grams. Since this particular weight is a 5 <u>ma-na</u> weight, it should weigh about 2525 grams. It actually weighs a little less, 2511 grams.

The Sumerian <u>ma-na</u> was divided into 60 <u>gin₂</u>; the Akkadian <u>manû</u> into 60 <u>šiqlu</u>. 60 <u>ma-na</u> formed a <u>gun</u>; 60 <u>manû</u> formed a <u>biltu</u>:

1 <u>gun</u>	=	60 <u>ma-na</u>	1 <u>biltu</u>	=	60 <u>manû</u>
1 <u>ma-na</u>	=	60 <u>gin₂</u>	1 <u>manû</u>	=	60 <u>šiqlu</u>

An interesting introduction to weight metrology in general is Powell's 1979 article on "Ancient Mesopotamian Weight Metrology". A much more comprehensive presentation of virtually everything known about Mesopotamian metrology is given by Powell in his massive article in the *RlA*, "Masse und Gewichte".

The theoretical standard value of these Mesopotamian weights is determined by weighing a bunch of actual weights inscribed with their values and taking their average. Powell points out, however, that this procedure is not as easy as it seems.
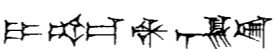
— Numbers

The sign for "5" is composed of five strokes: 𒐊 . The pronunciation of the number for "five" as /ia/ is known from mathematical cuneiform texts, where it is occasionally spelled out. The Ebla school text mentioned in *Lesson Nine*, which spells out the Sumerian numbers from one to ten, simply gives <u>i</u> for "five". Not enough is yet known about the Eblaite syllabary to say what values the <u>i</u>-sign could have had at Ebla; however, there is some evidence that one of its values was /ya/. Giovanni Pettinato, in fact (1981:143) reads the sign as <u>ia₉</u>, but this is still somewhat adventuresome.

▬ ▬ ▬ ▬ ▬
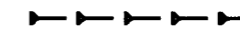
Sign-list and vocabulary

𒀭𒀮   <u>Nanibgal</u> Nanibgal (DN, masc)

𒁕𒁕   <u>Da-da</u> Dada (PN)

𒉿𒉈𒀭𒍪   <u>I-bi₂-ᵈZuen</u> Ibbi-Sin (PN)

𒌷𒀭𒀮   <u>Ur-ᵈNanibgal</u> Ur-Nanibgal (PN)

𒍪   <u>zu</u> (syllabic)

Nanibgal Very little is known about this deity. The reading of the name is somewhat uncertain,

as is the etymology. The cuneiform character appears to be the <u>an</u>-sign followed by the <u>nisaba</u> sign, and so the name is sometimes transliterated AN.NISABA or DIĜIR.NISABA. Nanibgal, in fact, is not infrequently mentioned alongside Nisaba. In the writing in Text 20b, the determinative and the <u>an</u>-component of the sign are written on top of each other, instead of following each other. This is for the sake of graphic symmetry; other times the two components are written one after the other.
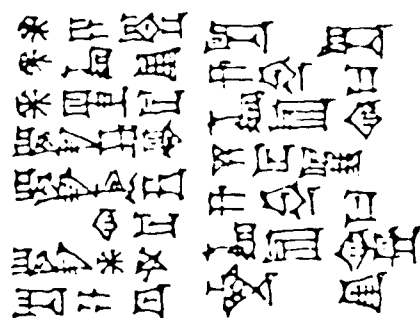
Da-da The etymology of the name is discussed below.

I-bi$_2$-^{d}Zuen The name is good Akkadian, meaning "Sin has called". <u>ibbî</u> is the preterite from <u>nabû</u>, "to call".

Text 20b

Ibbi-Sin 7
Seal impression

The name of Dada's father in line 11 illustrates the difficulty of working from autographs. The autograph seems to show the name as <u>Ur-šag$_5$</u>. <u>šag$_5$</u> (or <u>ša$_6$</u>) means "good". The name would then be a variant of <u>Ur-šag$_5$-ga</u>, a relatively common PN meaning "The good man". However, the photograph of the text is more ambiguous. The sign in question is actually somewhat damaged, and the remaining traces can be made to fit either <u>šag$_5$</u> or ^{d}<u>Nanibgal</u>. The reason for preferring the reading ^{d}<u>Nanibgal</u> over <u>šag$_5$</u> is because other seal impressions of this same individual, Dada, have been preserved in which the name of his father is more distinct, and in these the signs are clearly ^{d}<u>Nanibgal</u>.

One cannot always accept a modern day editor's transliteration of a text. An autograph carries more evidential value, but even then cannot always be accepted at face value. This is especially true for autographs which were drawn when knowledge of Sumerian was weaker than it is today. Better than a transliteration or an autograph is an actual photograph. However, for many published texts no photographs are available, and for others the photographs are reproduced in such poor quality that they are virtually useless. In cases where the reading of a sign is crucial, there is no alternative to a close examination of the original cuneiform document, sometimes supplemented by photographs taken under various conditions of lighting.

	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	^{d}I-bi$_2$-	Ibbisin	Oh Ibbi-Sin,
2:	^{d}Zuen		
3:	diĝir-kalam-ma	diĝir.kalam.a	god of the land,
4:	lugal-kalag-ga	lugal.kalag.a	mighty king,
5:	lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma	lugal.Urim$_5$.a	king of Ur,
6:	lugal-an-ub-	lugal.anub.da	king of the four quarters —
7:	da-limmu$_2$-ba	limmu.bi.a	
8:	Da-da	Dada	Dada,
9:	ensi$_2$	ensi$_2$	the *ensi* of
10:	Nibru^{ki}	Nibru	Nippur,
11:	dumu Ur-^{d}Nanibgal	dumu.Urnanibgal	the son of Ur-Nanibgal
12:	ensi$_2$	ensi$_2$	the *ensi* of
13:	Nibru^{ki}-ka	Nibru.k.a	Nippur —
14:	arad$_2$-zu	arad.zu	is your servant.

Commentary

1. In seal inscriptions, the initial nominal phrase contains the name of the king as a vocative. The vocative normally has no marking in Sumerian. Another example occurs in Text 21. There are a few cases where the vocative is marked by .e; this is presumably an extension in use of the locative-terminative case.

The essence of this seal inscription is: "Oh Ibbi-Sin, Dada is your servant".

13. A sequence of two genitive markers is contained here:

Dada,
ensi$_2$.Nibru
dumu.$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Urnanibgal} \\ \text{ensi}_2\text{.Nibru.k} \end{bmatrix}$.a(k)

14. The word for "slave" is written here <u>arad$_2$</u>, that is, <u>arad x kur</u>.

The second person possessive suffix, "your", is /zu/, written <u>zu</u>. It is difficult to say whether this line is a nominal sentence without any copula ("Dada is your servant") or an appositive ("Dada, your servant").

Discussion: Possessive suffixes

The possessive suffixes for the singular are written:

first person	- $\tilde{g}u_{10}$
second	- zu
third animate	- a-ni
inanimate	- bi

The $\tilde{g}u_{10}$-sign is the mu-sign. The initial consonant of the marker for the first person singular is the velar nasal discussed under *Phonology*, conventionally transliterated $\tilde{g}$. Therefore, $\tilde{g}u_{10}$ is the most common transliteration today of this sign in this usage. Older secondary literature uses mu, and this is still preferred by some scholars.

— Proper names

The name Da-da occurs frequently in cuneiform texts. It is not easy to determine the etymology of a name of such a simple structure, what appears to be a reduplicated CV syllable. The name has variously been considered to be Sumerian, Akkadian, pre-Sumerian substrate, or "other". In a useful article on "Ethnicity and Onomastics in Sargonic Mesopotamia" (1982b), Benjamin Foster divided personal names into four groups: Sumerian, Akkadian, Reduplicated, Unsure. Because several different etymologies have been proposed for the name Da-da, Foster did not simply put it into his "other" category, but rather he purposely omitted the name from discussion.

The German term "Lallnamen" or "Lallwörter" is used for names which have no lexical meaning, but rather are formed solely for the expressive value of their sounds. Reduplication, partial or full, is common in such names. Other examples occurring in Sumerian texts are Du-du, A-gu-gu, and Na-na-mu. Lallnamen occur in almost all languages, which is why it is hard to say if the name Da-da was "coined" by speakers of Sumerian, Akkadian, or some other language. Limet places such names in a category he labels "exotic" ("noms ésotériques"); this category includes both Lallnamen and various other names not easily amenable to analysis.

A possible variant of the PN Da-da is Da-a-da-a, occurring in Text 26a.

— Seals

Seals were used by officials in Mesopotamia to stamp their "seal of approval" upon documents of all kinds. The act of sealing could perform several functions, such as acknowledgment, authorization, guarantee, and so on.

Mesopotamian seals were of different types. Text 20b is an example of the most common type, a cylinder seal. Such seals were cylindrical in shape; they were rolled across the clay. They usually consist of two components: a pictorial scene and a short inscription. Many seals have only a pictorial scene and lack an inscription; there are also a few seals which have only an inscription and lack a pictorial scene. The pictorial representation on the seal frequently has a mythological significance, as in the example given below. It may also be a "presentation scene", thought to represent the possessor of the seal paying homage to his ruler the king. The following is a photograph of a (non-royal) seal, from the Old Akkadian period. The inscription reads: Ad-da dub-sar "Adda the scribe". The photograph is actually of an impression of the seal, not the seal itself. This is because the text on seals is inscribed in reverse (that is, mirror imaged), so that when impressed, the text comes out in the right direction.
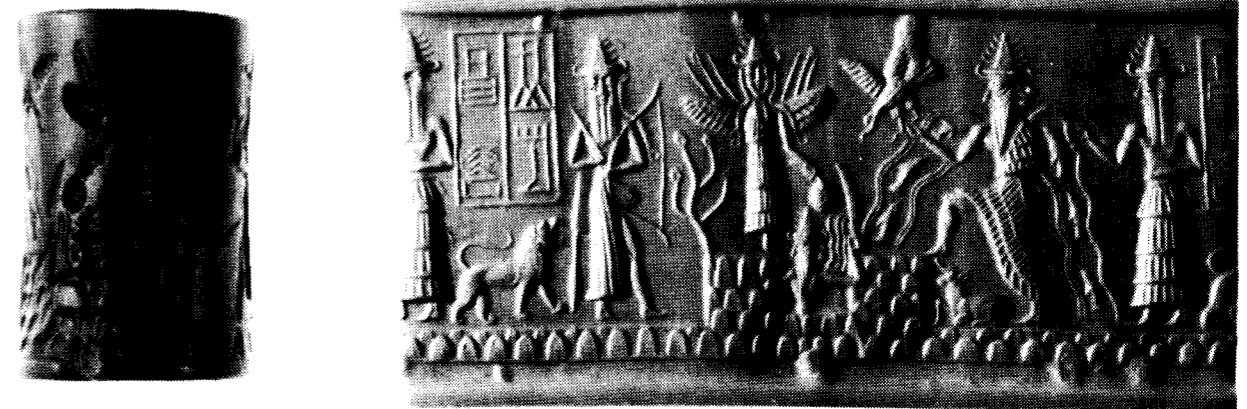
It is not easy to determine what language such a short inscription is written in. It may be perfectly good Sumerian. However, according to the criteria used by art historians, the seal in the photograph dates to the Old Akkadian period. Therefore, the language is probably Akkadian, and dub-sar should be read as a logogram for tupšarru. This latter is a borrowing from Sumerian. The word in fact eventually passes into Biblical Hebrew as tipsār.

Seals are fascinating not just to Sumerologists; they can be quite lovely. Moreover, the scenes depicted on seals, although often very difficult to interpret, constitute one of our most important sources of knowledge about Sumerian mythology and religion in general. A good short introduction, with many photographs, is Dominique Collon's *Near Eastern Seals* (1990); the seal illustrated above is reproduced and discussed on p. 44-46 (because of its wealth of detail, this particular seal has often been reproduced). A fuller work is the same author's *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (1987).

The inscriptions on seals are necessarily rather short and written in rather tiny signs, since they were squeezed onto a (for the most part) small space. This accounts for some of the odd divisions of the signs constituting names and epithets; often they are put onto more than one line. This small size can also make it difficult to read autographs or photographs of seals and their impressions, even if reproduced full size. Occasionally the script used on the seals is archaicizing, compounding the problems of reading and interpretation.

— Scribes

Students of ancient Mesopotamia have long been interested in scribes, since it is their activity which produced all our texts; Laurie Pearce (1995) gives a useful introduction to the scribal

craft. There were different kinds of scribes with different responsibilities. K.R. Veenhof mentions the rôle of the scribes "in the administration and their position in society, which may range from that of a simple clerk or a paid letter writer on the market to that of a chief accountant or secretary of a chancery or king" (1986:21). Similarly, C.B.F. Walker points out:

> [Most scribes], after all their technical training, spent their lives writing lists of deliveries of sheep or issues of barley rations and occasionally taking a letter by dictation. The more successful scribes would end up as senior administrators in the state bureaucracy, but most of their colleagues would have been happy simply with their status as educated men and the knowledge that their training guaranteed them employment ...They were members of a privileged élite who might look with contempt on their fellow citizens (1987:39; 33).

The rather automatic translation of <u>dub-sar</u> as "scribe" paints a somewhat simplistic picture. Michalowski says that "In Ur III times dub-sar was a general term for low and middle level bureaucrats...for the Ur III period alone we know the names of over 1,560 dub-sars" (1991: 51). Specifically discussing seal practice in the Ur III period, Steinkeller says

> The term dub-sar, apart from its basic meaning "scribe", is an honorific title which merely indicates the graduation of the individual in question from a scribal school...It is tempting to speculate that the "dub-sar seal" was a kind of "diploma," which may have been presented to a graduate of a scribal school at the conclusion of his studies. The possession of such a seal would have constituted proof that its owner was eligible and entitled to be employed in the state or temple administrative apparatus or to sell his services to private individuals (1977: 47-48).

Many questions about scribes remain. Writing on the "social position of Neo-Babylonian scribes", Dandamayev has said:

> Our information about the social position of the Mesopotamian scribe, his activity as bureaucrat and in the service of the community for recording of contracts is very scanty. We have no direct data on the economic situation and the social origin of scribes. We also do not know if the scribal profession was the chief source of income or if the scribes were busy with their craft along with handicraft, tilling of land and so on (1982:35).

Finally, in a thought-provoking article about what we *don't* know about Ur III society, Sollberger asks:

> We know roughly what the professional scribe's jobs consisted of, but how did he work, and where did he work, and how did he make himself known as a professional scribe and his services available? And there is of course the nagging question which is usually politely glossed over: where did the scribes get the enormous amount of clay they needed? Were there clay stationers? Did one have to buy clay or did one just go to the canal bank and help oneself...? (1972:188).

In this vein, Xavier Faivre (1995) discusses the "recycling" of some cuneiform tablets, that is, their erasure and reuse, and their use as building fill.

— Engravers

It was mentioned above that most seals consist of an inscription and a pictorial scene. The inscription and the pictorial scene were sometimes engraved by different individuals. W.G. Lambert, discussing seals of the Cassite period, asks:

> A basic question which needs answering is, who carved these inscriptions? Did one man carve both glyptic and inscription, or were separate craftsmen employed for the artistic and scribal parts? In some cases it is clear that the glyptic was carved first, because not enough room was left for the inscription, so that the last line had to be spread out among the glyptic...But in other cases where the inscription covers virtually the whole area, and the glyptic is reduced to a row of insects for example..., then one may suspect that the inscription was carved first and the glyptic was a second thought, serving merely in fugam vacui...One may wonder if two quite separate guilds of craftsmen were in existence, and such a division of labour seems very probable in the contemporary boundary stones... On general grounds too such a differentiation is likely, since the artist and the scribe needed very different training. Yet one need not suppose that this demarcation was always completely enforced (1975:220).

In the case of "monumental" inscriptions in general, it is sometimes necessary to distinguish between "scribe" and "engraver" (or "lapidary"). The latter were the persons who actually chiselled the inscriptions onto the stone. They were not always literate, but copied a design or plan, which may have been drawn onto the stone. Presumably, the engraver worked under the supervision of a scribe. In other cases, the scribe and the engraver were one and the same person; this is most likely the case with the royal inscriptions studied in this *Manual.*

The standard word for "engraver" was <u>zadim</u>. This word derives from <u>za</u>, "stone" and <u>dim</u>$_2$, "to fashion"; <u>dim</u>$_2$ is an active participle and <u>za</u> its incorporated direct object. This was borrowed into Akkadian as <u>zadimmu</u>, glossed by the *CAD* as "lapidary".

— Seal impressions

Many seals from the Ancient Near East have been preserved. Even more common than the seals themselves are seal impressions, that is, the impression of a seal upon a cuneiform document. Text 20b is a seal impression found on a record of official appointments of individuals to sundry governmental offices.

When collections of cuneiform texts are published, it is relatively uncommon to present drawings of complete seal impressions as they appear on the documents. Rather, it is more common to reproduce only the inscriptions on the seals, not the pictorial scenes. This is primarily because of the mechanical effort it takes to adequately reproduce (and even just to describe)

such pictorial scenes, and linguists are not artists or art historians. Sometimes the seal impressions will be briefly described, and occasionally published in a separate volume, distinct from the texts themselves upon which the seal impressions were impressed.

The practice of only reproducing the inscription, and not the pictorial scene, is sometimes unfortunate. While linguists may only be interested in the inscriptions, art historians, anthropologists, and historians among others are just as interested in the scene itself. Seal impressions can also be important for scholars studying groups of documents and archival relationships.

— arad-zu seals

As discussed in *Lesson One*, Hallo classified the royal inscriptions into five categories: standard, building, votive, weight and seal inscriptions. Texts 20b and 20c are royal seal inscriptions, again following Hallo's definition of "royal": "by, or to, or on behalf of the king". Many non-royal seals and seal impressions (such as that in the photograph above) have also been preserved.

There are two principal types of Ur III seals. Text 20b is an "arad-zu" seal and Text 20c is an "arad-da-ni-ir" seal. Each of the two types has a highly specific structure. In the case of the arad-zu seals, first come the name and epithets of the ruling monarch. These form a nominal phrase in the vocative. Next comes the name of an official, with various epithets or filial relationships as appositives. Lastly, the term arad-zu, "your servant", concludes the seal.

The usual interpretation of arad-zu seals is that an official had it cut out of homage or respect for the king. However, it has been speculated by Zettler that "the flow of these seals was from king to official and not from official to king" (1977:33).

A few seal impressions have been preserved where the last line reads arad-ni, not arad-zu. Presumably this is for arad.ani, "his servant" (this is another instance of the overhanging vowel problem). Too few of these have been preserved to say why they differ from the arad-zu seals.

Although arad-zu seals have traditionally been classified as Sumerian, with a Sumerian inscription, it has been proposed to read seals of this type from the Akkadian period as Akkadian, not Sumerian (Zettler 1977:38 n.1). That is, arad-zu is to be read ARAD-su$_2$, for warassu, "his servant" (this is the expected Akkadian form, resulting from the regular assimilation of */dš/ > /ss/: */warad-šu/ > /warassu/); note the arad-ni seals mentioned above. The rest of the text would then be understood as logograms, to be read in Akkadian. The reason for this possibility is because of a seal where the last word is written arad-za, presumably ARAD-sa$_3$, for /warassa/, "her servant", and another seal written geme$_2$-za, possibly GEME$_2$-sa$_3$, for /amassa/, "her servant (fem)".

While this may be true for seals of the Akkadian period, it is hard to say whether it might be true for Ur III (and other) seals. There is really no evidence to decide one way or the other. The fact that obvious Sumerian grammatical morphemes are present in Text 20b, such as -ma in line 5 and -ka in line 13, might argue that the text is Sumerian; however, Akkadian can use entire Sumerian phrases to write their Akkadian equivalents. This means that the question of the language behind these seals is still to some degree open. However, barring explicit

evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that for the Ur III period, at least, the text is Sumerian.

— History

Shu-Sin apparently died a natural death. He was succeeded by his son (or perhaps brother) Ibbi-Sin. Early in the latter's reign, the eastern territories under Ur's control broke free, then other parts of the empire began to fall away. For most of his reign, Ibbi-Sin's control extended no further than the city of Ur itself. There were invasions by the Amorites, against whom Shu-Sin had built the wall mentioned in Text 18. The presence of the Amorites limited crop production outside the city. The economy collapsed, and a vicious inflationary spiral ensued.

The Elamites, aided by a somewhat obscure group of people from the Zagros mountains known as the "Su" or "Sua" (identified by Steinkeller [1988] with Shimaski in Iran) sacked Ur, then withdrew back to Elam, carrying Ibbi-Sin back with them; he died in Anshan. Gadd says "Ibbi-Sin became the typical figure of an ill-starred king, remembered only for his captivity and death in a strange land" (1971:617). Gadd quotes a late oracle to show how the memory of Ibbi-Sin was preserved: "If the Yoke-Star rises with its face towards the west and looks at the face of heaven and no wind blows at all, there will be famine, the ruler will meet the fate of Ibbi-Sin, king of Ur, who went in bonds to Anshan" (1971:616). Ibbi-Sin is mentioned in a number of such unpleasant omina.

Very few details of the twenty-four or twenty-five years of Ibbi-Sin's reign are known, but the collapse appears to have been swift. Jacobsen has said

> How an empire like that of the Third Dynasty of Ur—to judge by our sources the
> most efficiently organized structure of its kind before Assyrian times—could so
> quickly and so completely collapse without pressure from any enemy state or
> states of comparable magnitude is really quite puzzling (1970 [1953] 173).

Jacobsen wrote this over forty years ago, but scholars are still puzzled by how fast the Dynasty collapsed. Steinkeller says "The phenomenal rise of this empire was matched only by the suddenness and completeness of its demise; in less than a century after its creation, no trace of it remained" (1991:15). Recent scholarship tends to emphasize internal factors which may have helped to put an end to the empire, as opposed to purely external factors. Charpin summarizes this view: "Some claim that the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur was caused as much by the implosion of the bureaucratic system as by the onslaught of the Amorites from Syria and the LU$_2$.SU from Iran" (1995:812).

In the course of their sack of the city, the Elamites destroyed every temple standing in Ur. This destruction was bemoaned in two Sumerian poems, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* and *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*. The first composition is over four hundred lines long. It says, in Jacobsen's translation (1987a:451):

> Bitter is the wail for you, city
> the wail set up for you!

Bitter is the wail
　　for his ravaged Ur!
Bitter is the wail for you!
　　How long must the mourner,
　　your queen,
　　be wailing it?
Bitter is the wail for you!
　　How long must the mourner,
　　Nanna,
　　be wailing it?
Brickwork of Ur, bitter is the wail,
　　the wail set up for you!
Ekishnugal, bitter is the wail,
　　the wail set up for you!

The second, over five hundred lines long, in the translation by Michalowski (1989:59) says:

The judgment of the assembly cannot be turned back,
The word of An and Enlil knows no overturning,
Ur was indeed given kingship but it was not given an eternal reign.
From time immemorial, since the land was founded, until the population multiplied,
Who has ever seen a reign of kingship that would take precedence for ever?

This destruction by the Elamites was not the only time that Ur was sacked; Samsu-Iluna of Babylon also levelled the city, in 1740 BCE. The year date for the eleventh year of his rule is "The year in which at the pleasure of Anu and Enlil he destroyed the walls of Ur and Uruk". Woolley describes the destruction:

The ruins bear eloquent testimony to the thoroughness of that destruction. The fortifications were dismantled—this indeed one might expect; every temple that we found had been plundered, cast down, and burned; every house had been consumed with fire; the whole of the great city ceased to exist (1982:214).
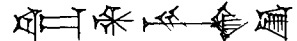
However, the city was rebuilt almost as often as it was sacked. Most kings of the Isin-Larsa period rebuilt old temples and built new ones in it. Such construction took place right through the Neo-Babylonian period. Although Ur never regained the political importance it enjoyed under the Ur III Dynasty, there were times when it must still have been an imposing city.

Ur was occupied—at least to some degree—right into the Persian period. It began to fade out of existence about the fourth century BCE. This was due to the shifting of the course of the Euphrates and concomitant loss of agriculture, changing trade patterns, and so on.

According to Daniel Potts (1997:296), the latest datable cuneiform tablets from Ur are dated to the reigns of Alexander the Great and his successor Philip Arrhidaeus.
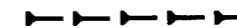
Sign-list and vocabulary

𒊕𒀭𒍪　　Saĝ-ᵈNanna-zu　Sagnannazu (PN)

𒊕　saĝa　(kind of priest)

𒁀　ba　to give as a gift

Saĝ-ᵈNanna-zu saĝ means "head", but can also have the meaning "slave" (as in Text 26a). zu is a verbal root meaning "to know" (appearing in Text 24c). PNs of this type are reduced relative or participial clauses, "The slave who knows Nanna", or more likely "The slave whom Nanna knows".

saĝa This priest was high up in the temple hierarchy. He was mostly concerned with running the administrative side of the temple. English translations of the term include "economic director of a temple" and "temple-estate administrator". The same cuneiform sign used for this priest can, in fact, also be read as šita₅, "to count" (Akkadian *manû*); the sign may depict a counting-board.

Although it has been speculated that saĝa is a pre-Sumerian substrate word, more likely it derives from the word for "head", saĝ. It was loaned into Akkadian as *šangû*, translated by the *CAD* as "chief administrator of a temple".

ba This is a very frequent verb. It is translated by the *PSD* as "1. 'to allot', 'to distribute', 'to assign', 'to give' 2. 'to give a gift'. Its most common Akkadian equivalents are *qâšu* and *zâzu*.

Text 20c

Ibbi-Sin 8
Seal impression
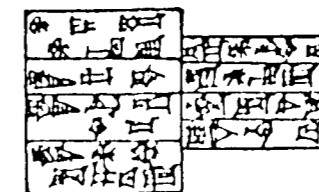
The signs in this autograph are rather difficult to read; the ke₄-sign at the end of line 4 is either poorly or oddly drawn.

	Transliteration	**Transcription**	**Translation**
1:	^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Zuen	[Ibbisin	Ibbi-Sin,
2:	lugal-kalag-ga	lugal.kalag.a	the mighty king,
3:	lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma	lugal.Urim$_5$.a	the king of Ur,
4:	lugal-an-ub-da limmu$_2$-ba-ke$_4$	lugal.anub.da limmu.bi.ak].e	the king of the four quarters —
5:	Sag̃-^{d}Nanna-zu	[Sagnannazu	to Sagnannazu,
6:	sag̃a-^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$	sag̃a.Enlil.a	the *sanga*-priest of Enlil,
7:	arad$_2$-da-ni-ir	arad.ani].r	his servant —
8:	in-na-ba	i$_3$.na.(n.)ba	gave (this seal).

Commentary

8. The verb form is almost always written this way. The in-sign contains the CP i$_3$ and the initial /n/ of the datival DP, which is then continued by the na-sign.

Discussion: Structure

The structure of this text is:

[Ibbisin, lugal.kalag.a, lugal.Urim$_5$.a, lugal.an.ub.da limmu.bi.ak].e	agent
[Sagnannazu, sag̃a.Enlil.a, arad.ani].r	indirect object
i$_3$.na.(n.)ba	verb

The dative here marks the person to whom the seal was given. It thus expresses the indirect object; in its previous uses it expressed the benefactive, the person on whose behalf an act was performed.

— arad-da-ni-ir seals

This type of seal is known as an arad-da-ni-ir seal or as an in-na-ba seal. Its most common structure consists of: First, the name and epithets of the king, with the case marker of the ergative; second, the name of an official, with various epithets; third, the appositive arad-da-ni followed by the case marker of the dative; fourth and last, the verb form in-na-ba. This results in the datival noun phrase following the agent and immediately preceding the verb. In most of the texts seen up to now, the datival noun phrase occurred at the beginning of the text.

The understood direct object in this type of seal is the seal itself. The king gave such seals to his officials (and family members), presumably as a reward for some kind of service. For this reason, they are sometimes called "presentation seals". It is also possible that the king gave the seal to an official upon his appointment to an office.

Fewer ad-da-ni-ir seals are preserved than arad-zu seals. arad-zu seals are found under all the kings of the Ur III Dynasty; arad-da-ni-ir seals are only attested for the reigns of Shu-Sin and Ibbi-Sin. This may (or may not) be due to accidents of preservation; it is also possible that there was a change in administrative practice.

As the photograph shows, the seal impression was applied several times to this document. This was a common practice.

Text 20d
supplementary

Shulgi 51
Weight
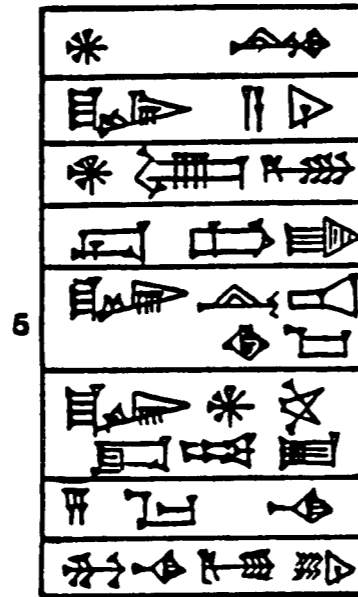
In Text 20a gi-na was used as an adjective. This was borrowed from Akkadian kīnu, with the addition of the nominalizer .a. The same borrowing can also be used as a verb, and thus without the nominalizer: mu-na-gi-in, as in line 8. Here it means essentially "He certified its value". In Text 23b, the meaning is "to confirm the status" of a slave.

The actual weight of this weight is 2478 grams.
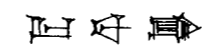
«⟜ Lesson Twenty-One «⟜

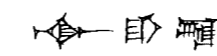This is a cylinder seal made of limestone dedicated to the life of Shulgi.
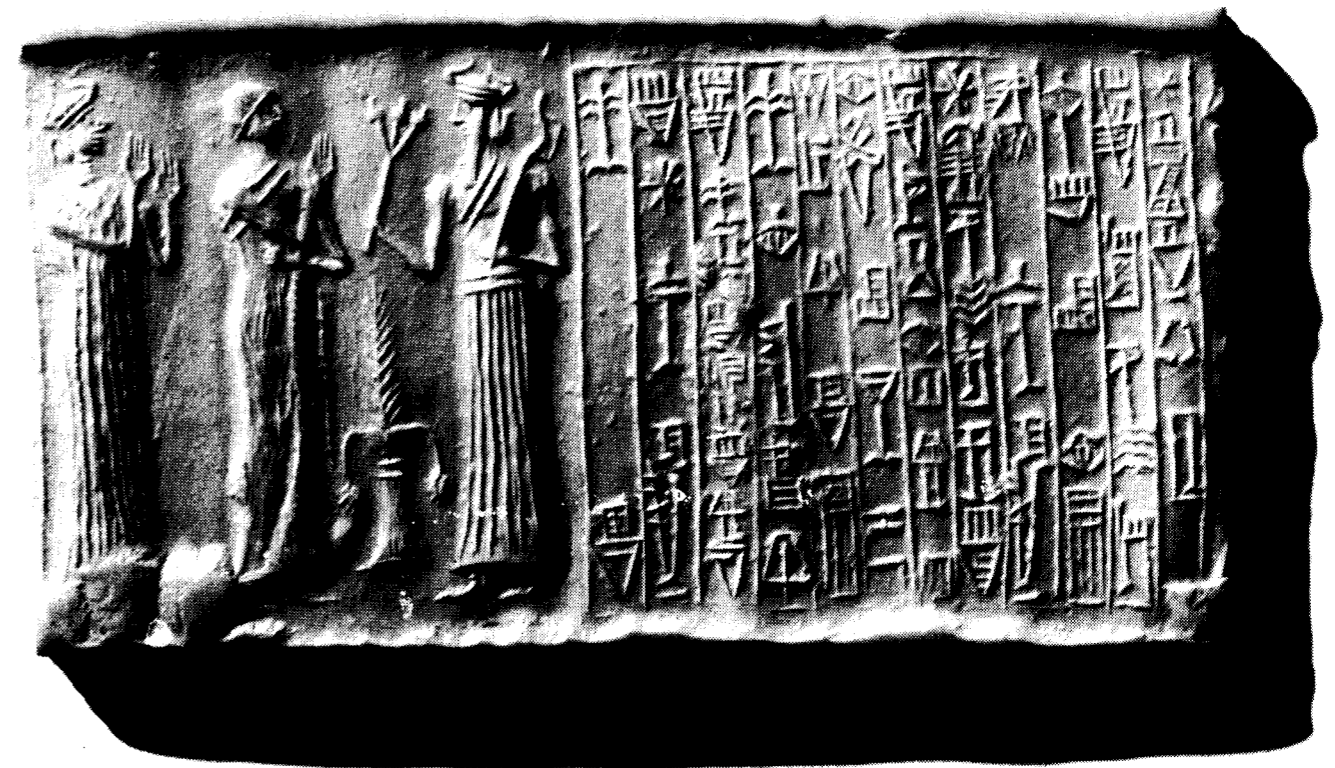
Sign-list and vocabulary

Mes-lam-ta-e₃-a   Meslamtaea (DN, masc)

Ki-lul-la Kilula (PN)

Ur-ba-gara₉ Urbagara (PN)

Lagaš Lagash (GN)

a₂ arm, strength

a₂-zid-da right-hand man

𒄄𒍝 𒍢   gu-za throne

𒄄𒍝𒍢𒋭   gu-za-lal (kind of official)

𒄑𒌋𒁇   g̃eštug₃ ear, intelligence

𒆥   kišib cylinder seal

𒳠   nig₂ (ni₃) thing

𒋭   lal (la₂) to hold, to lift, to carry

𒊮   šag₅ (ša₆) to be good, pleasant, nice

𒅋   il (syllabic)

Mes-lam-ta-e₃-a He was the god of the Netherworld; he was apparently the same god worshipped elsewhere as Nergal. Meslamtaea himself does not occur frequently in texts, but Nergal was widely worshipped, sharing the rule of the Netherworld with Queen Ereshkigal. Meslamtaea is occasionally paired with another god, Lugal-irra; this is discussed by Lambert in his *RIA* article "Lugal-irra and Meslamta-ea". Lambert says

> Late copies of rituals prescribe the burying of images of L. and M. at doors to
> prevent evil entering…they are described as 'guard-gods, who tear out the heart
> and compress the kidneys'…This function belongs to gods who stand at the en-
> trance to the netherworld waiting to pounce on new arrivals to dismember them.

Mes-lam is the name of the temple of Nergal in Kutha. Its meaning is unknown, although ᵍⁱˢmes is a kind of tree. ta is the marker of the ablative case. e₃ is a verbal root meaning "to go out" (its writing is discussed below). a is the nominalizer. Thus, the name may mean something like "He who goes out of (the temple) Meslam".

Ki-lul-la This not uncommon name is presumably Sumerian, although the etymology is unsure. The lul-sign is the same sign seen in the name Ḫa-ba-lu₅-ge₂ in Text 19. The name is variously written Ki-lul-la, Ki-lul-la₂, and Ki-lul-la₂-a.

Ur-ba-gara₉ The reading of the third sign of the name in this particular inscription is uncertain. It is assumed here that it is a poorly inscribed ga-sign, if not a simple mistake. The ga-sign can be read gara₉. Ba-gara₉ is the name of a temple of Ningirsu at Lagash (its etymology is uncertain). The PN would then mean "The man of (the temple) Bagara". This name is attested elsewhere. Names composed of Ur and a TN are not uncommon.

Lagaš The GN Lagash is used in two senses in Sumerian (and in English). In a narrow sense,

it refers to a city proper, whose modern name is el-Hiba. In a wider sense, it refers to the territory controlled from the city of Lagash. This larger entity is sometimes referred to as "Lagash-state" as opposed to "Lagash-city". Lagash-state included Lagash-city, the adjacent Girsu (modern Tello), Nina (modern Surghul), and some smaller localities.

It was early thought that Tello was, in fact, Lagash; it was not until 1953 that Jacobsen pointed out that el-Hiba was actually Lagash. Because of this confusion, the term Lagash is still occasionally used when referring to Girsu. This is all discussed in the *RIA* under "Lagaš" (by J. Bauer and D.P. Hansen) and "Girsu" (by Adam Falkenstein and R. Opificius).

The etymology of the name Lagash is unknown. It is written with the šir-bur-la signs. It is not clear how these signs came to represent the name of the city. One would guess that the la-component is a phonetic complement; the name is, in fact, occasionally written la-bur-šir.

a₂ This originally meant "arm"; the meaning was then extended to mean "strength". The *PSD* translates it as "1. 'arm' 2. 'horn' 3. 'wing (of a bird)' 4. 'side,' 'border' 5. 'border,' 'limit,' 'end' 6. 'power,' 'strength,' 'force,' 'ability'…". In the sense of "strength", its Akkadian equivalent is emūqu, which is also the equivalent of ne₃ (Text 18); emūqu is glossed by the *CAD* as "1. strength (in physical sense as localized in the arm)…".

a₂-zid-da Literally, this means "the effective arm". The *PSD* says it is used to describe "an efficient or indispensable helper or aid". It can be approximately rendered in English as "right arm" or "right-hand man". It is a not uncommon expression. A similar expression is a₂-nun, "mighty, most powerful".

gu-za This is a very common word ranging in meaning from "chair" to "throne". The *CAD* glosses the Akkadian equivalent kussû as "1. chair, sedan chair, 2. throne, 3. rule, dominion, royal property and service… 6. saddle".

gu-za is thought to be the ultimate source of the word for "chair" or "throne" appearing in many Semitic languages: Akkadian kussû, Hebrew kissē, Aramaic korsē, Arabic kursīy, and so on. The pattern of the Sumerian word is a little strange, however. It is thus possible that it is a substrate word. It has also been speculated that gu-za is a borrowing from Akkadian, whatever the etymology of the latter may be. This situation illustrates the difficulty of evaluating the evidence of loan words; it is not always easy to establish the direction of borrowing.

gu-za-lal lal is here an active participle and gu-za its incorporated object: "he who holds the throne" or "throne holder". This was borrowed into Akkadian as guzalû, glossed by the *CAD* as "an official, lit. chair-bearer, originally a servant carrying a chair after his master". As discussed in *Lesson Ten*, the functions of officials often changed over time, so it is hard to say what the job of this official was during the Ur III period.

g̃eštug₃ This has a concrete meaning as "ear", Akkadian uznu. However, it was also equated with ḫasīsu, glossed by the *CAD* as "(1) aperture of the ear, ear, (2) (faculty of) hearing, (3) understanding". Jacobsen says "The Mesopotamians believed the ear, not the brain, to be the

seat of intelligence" (1946:133). The expression lu₂-ĝeštug-dagal, "man of a wide ear", means "intelligent man".

This seems to be the only attested word for "ear". It is something of a puzzle. The verb "to hear" is a compound: ĝiš...tuku. ĝiš means "wood" and tuku means "to have". It is hard to see how "to have wood" could turn into "to hear"; this must be a different ĝiš. Presumably ĝeštug "ear" derives from ĝiš...tuku. Perhaps the original word for "ear" was ĝeš (or ĝiš), which was replaced by the longer form ĝeštug, or perhaps some now unknown word for "ear" has been replaced.

This word can be spelled in a variety of ways. The simplest way was originally the picture of a donkey's ear, 𒄿 ; this is transliterated ĝeštug. It can also be written with the signs ĝeš and tug₂ functioning as phonetic complements; the combination of these three individual signs can appear in varying orders:

$$^{ĝeš\text{-}tug_2}ĝeštug \quad = \quad ĝeštug_2$$
$$^{ĝeš}ĝeštug^{tug_2} \quad = \quad ĝeštug_3$$

Other spellings are attested; in Gudea, for example, ĝeštug^{tug₂} occurs and at Ebla ^{ĝeš}ĝeštug.

Although it is clear (now) that ĝeš and tug₂ in this particular use are phonetic complements, they are not usually transliterated as such. Since the simplest (at least, phonetically) reading of the ĝeštug-sign is pi, Sumerologists often refer to the 𒄿 sign as the pi-sign, and transliterate the spelling in Text 21 as ĝeš-pi-tug₂.

kišib   This is the usual word for cylinder seal. The Akkadian equivalent is kunukku, translated by the *CAD* as "1. seal, cylinder seal, 2. seal impression produced by a cylinder seal, 3. sealed clay tablet (legal or administrative document, also letter), 4. vertebra". The Akkadian word is of unsure etymology; a denominative verb kanāku also exists. kišib itself may be a substrate word.

nig₂   As will be discussed below, this originally was a very general word for "thing" or "something". It is not sure if it is to be read nig₂ or niĝ₂.

lal   This means such things as "to hang onto, to hold, to carry". It has many Akkadian equivalents, including alālu "to hang", kamû "to tie", našû "to carry", and others.

šag₅   Its basic meaning is "to be good". The most common Akkadian equivalent is damāqu. The verbal adjective damqu is glossed by the *CAD* as "1. good, fine, pleasant, 2. beautiful, handsome, 3. of good family, well-to-do, 4. expert, well-trained, 5. of good quality, in good condition, 6. gracious, favorable, 7. propitious, 8. effective, 9. canonical".

It is transliterated šag₅ (ša₆) and sag₉ (sa₆).

Text 21

Shulgi 47
Cylinder seal
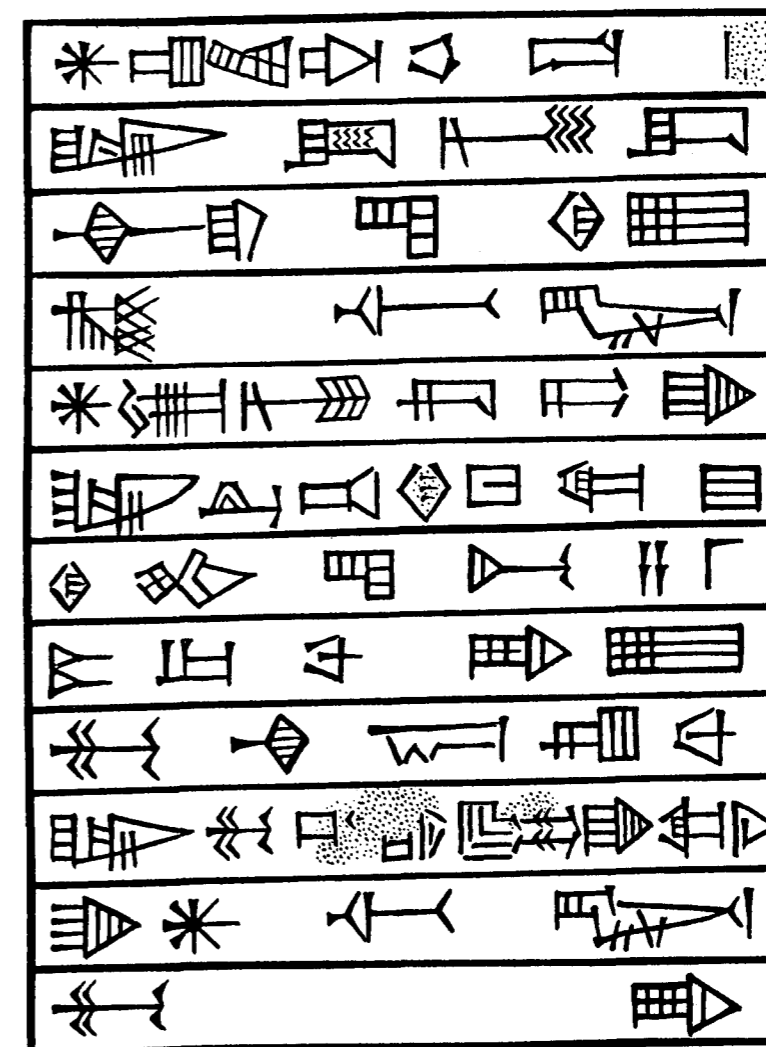
The last sign in line 6 must be a rather schematically drawn še₃-sign.

The reading of the fourth sign in line 8 is uncertain. Both the autograph (done by L. King) and the photograph show a sign which looks very close to the last sign in the inscription, which must be bi. The reading bi for this sign is also the reading preferred by Gadd, who says (1948: 98) that upon a "fresh examination" of the seal, "the engraver certainly traced, and doubtless intended, the same sign as in the last place of the whole inscription", that is, bi. However, there

would seem to be no parallel to a putative PN <u>Ur</u>-<u>ba</u>-<u>bi</u>; Gadd speculates that <u>Ba</u>-<u>bi</u> may be a variant of the name of the goddess seen in *Lesson Ten* spelled ^d<u>Ba</u>-<u>u</u>$_2$, which is read by some as ^d<u>Ba</u>-<u>ba</u>$_6$. As discussed above, it is assumed here that the sign is a poorly inscribed ga-sign. A superscript exclamation mark ! is often used to indicate that the cuneiform sign so marked in transliteration is inscribed in a deviant or aberrant fashion on the tablet. Thus, the PN in this line might be transliterated <u>Ur</u>-<u>ba</u>-<u>gara</u>$_9$!. This transliteration means that in the opinion of the modern editor, the sign is a poorly inscribed <u>gara</u>$_9$-sign.

Another convention is to employ the superscript exclamation point to mark the correct value in transliteration (that is, what the editor thinks that it should be), and to follow this with "what is actually inscribed", in caps within parentheses. Thus, a transliteration such as <u>Ur</u>-<u>ba</u>-<u>gara</u>$_9$! (BI) means that in the opinion of the editor, the sign inscribed on the tablet is <u>bi</u>, but the editor believes that this <u>bi</u>-sign is a mistake for <u>gara</u>$_9$—the scribe made an error.

As can be imagined, these conventions can be misleading and confusing. They illustrate the importance of working directly from the texts and not just from transliterations. As has been discussed several times, autographs generally carry more weight than transliterations, but photographs carry more weight than autographs.

Because of damage to the seal, line 10 is somewhat difficult to read. Of the <u>ğeštug</u>$_3$-sign, the <u>ğeš</u>-component ⊏⊐ is clear. The <u>pi</u>-component ⟨⊢ is almost completely effaced. Of the <u>tug</u>$_2$-component 闰 only the bottom is visible. In addition, the following <u>nig</u>$_2$-sign 伊 is scrunched up.

	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	^d<u>Mes</u>-<u>lam</u>-<u>ta</u>-<u>e</u>$_3$-<u>a</u>	[Meslamtaea	For Meslamtaea,
2:	<u>lugal a</u>$_2$-<u>zid</u>-<u>da</u>	lugal a$_2$.zid.a	the king, the right-hand man of
3:	<u>Lagaš</u>^{ki}-<u>ke</u>$_4$	Lagaš.(a)k].e	Lagash —
4:	<u>nam</u>-<u>ti</u>-<u>il</u>	[nam.til$_3$	for the life of
5:	^d<u>Šul</u>-<u>gi</u> <u>nitaḫ</u>-<u>kalag</u>-<u>ga</u>	Šulgi nitaḫ.kalag.a	Shulgi, the mighty man,
6:	<u>lugal</u>-<u>Urim</u>$_5$^{ki}-<u>ma</u>-<u>ka</u>-<u>še</u>$_3$	lugal.Urim$_5$.ak.a(k)].še$_3$	the king of Ur —
7:	<u>Ki</u>-<u>lul</u>-<u>la</u> <u>gu</u>-<u>za</u>-<u>lal</u>	[Kilula guzalal	Kilula, the *guzalû*,
8:	<u>dumu</u> <u>Ur</u>-<u>ba</u>-<u>gara</u>$_9$-<u>ke</u>$_4$	dumu Urbagara.k].e	the son of Urbagara —
9:	<u>mu</u>-<u>na</u>-<u>dim</u>$_2$ <u>kišib</u>-<u>ba</u>	mu.na.(n).dim$_2$.Ø kišib.bi.a	fashioned (this). The name of this seal is:
10:	<u>lugal</u>-<u>ğu</u>$_{10}$ <u>ğeštug</u>$_3$- <u>nig</u>$_2$-<u>šag</u>$_5$-<u>ga</u>-<u>ka</u>-<u>ne</u>$_2$	lugal.ğu$_{10}$ ğeštug.nig$_2$.šag$_5$.ak.ani.e	"Oh my king, let me keep him alive at his ear of favor".
11:	<u>ga</u>-<u>an</u>-<u>ti</u>-<u>il</u>	ga.(i$_3$.)n.til$_3$	
12:	<u>mu</u>-<u>bi</u>	mu.bi	

Commentary

3. Lagaš.ak.e is here written <u>Lagaš</u>^{ki}-<u>ke</u>$_4$; the initial /a/ of the genitive marker is not written. Such spellings have occurred several times; followers of the Falkenstein school read the first sign as <u>Lagaša</u>.

In all previous instances of indirect objects and benefactives, the nominal phrase occurred in the dative case, marked by .ra. Since the first nominal phrase in Text 21 expresses a benefactive, the <u>ke</u>$_4$-sign here has been interpreted by some as an "error" for the dative. The interpretation assumed here, however, is that the .e represents the locative-terminative case used instead of the dative. This would reflect a spread in usage of the locative-terminative case; such a use of the locative-terminative for the dative does not appear in earlier Sumerian.

Here the combination of the /k/ of the genitive marker with the /e/ of the locative-terminative is written with the <u>ke</u>$_4$-sign, as is the combination of the /k/ of the genitive marker with the /e/ of the ergative; this latter use of the <u>ke</u>$_4$-sign occurs here in line 8. This multiple use of the <u>ke</u>$_4$-sign can lead to confusion.

4. Here and in line 11, the root for "to live" is written <u>ti</u>-<u>il</u>, not <u>til</u>$_3$. That is, the root is written syllabically, not logographically. The spelling <u>nam</u>-<u>ti</u>-<u>il</u> also occurs in the Gudea inscriptions. Such spellings show that the final /l/ of the root was indeed pronounced in word-final position.

Lines 4-6 form a long genitive phrase:

$$\text{nam.til}_3\begin{bmatrix}\text{Šulgi}\\\text{nitaḫ.kalag.a}\\\text{lugal.Urim}_5\text{.ak}\end{bmatrix}\text{.a(k).še}_3$$

9. Because the locative-terminative is used in line 3 in the sense of the dative, it is cross-referenced by <u>na</u>, the DP properly belonging to the dative. As discussed in *Lesson Eight*, the locative-terminative is usually not cross-referenced at all. Other times it is cross-referenced by <u>ni</u>. This <u>ni</u> is the DP belonging to the locative. It has also been suggested that there are two different DPs, /ni/ which belongs to the locative and /ne/ which belongs to the locative-terminative, and that /ni/ and /ne/ are not unitary morphemes. This issue is still unresolved.

There is no expressed direct object (patient); the cylinder seal itself is the direct object.

Line 9 includes the final word of one sentence and the beginning word of the following sentence. It is unusual in Sumerian orthography for one line to contain elements of two different sentences. However, the space constraints in seals occasionally cause odd placement of signs within a line or case.

The last word in the line, <u>kišib</u>-<u>ba</u>, is the first element of an anticipatory genitive, beginning a new sentence: "Of this cylinder-seal, ... is its name", that is, "The name of this cylinder-seal is...". This use of the anticipatory genitive is similar to that seen in Text 14: <u>alam</u>-<u>ba</u>...<u>mu</u>-<u>bi</u>-<u>im</u>, "The name of this statue is...", although here in Text 21 the enclitic copula is not used.

10-11. These lines express the name of the seal.

10. <u>lugal</u>-<u>ğu</u>$_{10}$ is probably a vocative. As in Text 20b, the vocative is unmarked.

The use of <u>nam</u> to form abstract nouns has occurred in several inscriptions. Similarly, <u>nig</u>$_2$

is used to form concrete nouns from verbal roots. For example, gu_7 is "to eat" and nig_2-gu_7 is "food". Therefore, nig_2-$šag_5$ in Text 21 is probably to be understood as a concrete noun; Sollberger, in fact, translates this expression (in another text) as "grace, favour (in a concrete sense, 'good things')" (1966:158).

The original meaning of nig_2 was "thing, something". Formations with nig_2 thus represent noun-noun compounding. Unlike nam, nig_2 is not used with nominal roots. That is, such forms as *nig_2-lugal do not occur.

The transliteration ne_2 assumes that the writing represents .ani.e, the possessive suffix followed by the case marker of the locative-terminative, with the locative-terminative case here used in its more original meaning of "at, by, through". A similar spelling occurred in Text 19, where the writing -ne_2 in arad$_2$-da-ne_2 represented the possessive suffix followed by the ergative case marker .e. As discussed in *Lesson Nineteen*, some scholars would prefer to transliterate such phrases by -ni: ĝeštug$_3$-nig$_2$-šag$_5$-ga-ka-ni.

11. ga is the MP of the cohortative mood. This mood is used for positive wishes for the first person, both singular and plural: "Let me/us, May I/we". It is thus the first person equivalent of the third person desiderative MP $ḫe_2$.

The view of Sumerian grammar presented throughout this *Manual* assumes the presence of a CP in every finite verbal form. Here the assumed CP is i_3, which has presumably assimilated into the MP ga. However, a writing such as *ga-i_3 does not ever occur, so the assumption of an assimilated CP may be simplistic. This is further discussed below.

One of the thornier problems in Sumerian morphology is the form of the root which is used with each individual mood. In the singular, the cohortative ga is always used with the ḫamṭu root, whether the root is used transitively or intransitively (the plural is uncommon, and so its morphology is less clear). When the cohortative is used in the singular, there is no overt marking for person; that is, the first person subject is not marked. But the direct object is expressed by a PA immediately preceding the verbal root. Thus, the .n before the verbal root here marks the direct object, and hence the root ti-il must be interpreted as transitive: "Let me keep him alive /well".

The syntax of the PAs of the cohortative (and of other moods) thus differs from that of the indicative. In the indicative, the pre-verbal root position marks the agent in the ḫamṭu and the direct object in the marû. But in the cohortative, the subject is unmarked; the pre-verbal root position marks the direct object, and the root is always in the ḫamṭu.

12. The enclitic copula does not appear here, although it was used in the parallel expression in Text 14: alam-ba...mu-bi-im. Such variation in writing seems to show that the use of the enclitic copula was optional; it is also possible that there are rules at the discourse level governing its usage, rules not yet known.

Discussion: Structure

This text contains two sentences. The first is a straight-forward verbal sentence. The second is a nominal equational sentence. The structure is:

[Meslamtaea,	benefactive
lugal a$_2$.zid.a.Lugaš.(a)k].e	
[nam.til$_3$.Šulgi nitaḫ kalag.a	purpose
lugal.Urim$_5$.ak.a(k)].še$_3$	
[Kilula guzalal dumu.Urbagara.k].e	agent
mu.na.(n.)dim$_2$.Ø	verb
kišib.bi.a	subject
[lugal].ĝu$_{10}$	vocative
[ĝeštug.nig$_2$.šag$_5$.ak.ani].e	place
ga.(i$_3$.)n.til$_3$	cohortative
mu.bi	predicate

— Sign formation

In *Lesson Eight*, the use of gunû strokes to form new signs was discussed. A similar device is the addition of šeššig strokes to a sign. Whereas gunû strokes consist of short lines, šeššig strokes look more like cross-hatching. For example, the da-sign 𒂠 was originally a picture of a hand—upper shoulder—arm; the word has such meanings as "forearm" and "side". To indicate a$_2$, specifically "arm", šeššig strokes were added to the part of the da-sign which approximately represents the arm, yielding 𒂞 .

The etymology of šeššig is unknown, but it must be connected with the word še, "barley", whose cuneiform sign resembles this cross-hatching.

e$_3$, which occurs in the DN Mes-lam-ta-e$_3$-a, has the basic meaning "to go out". It is written with the ud-sign followed by the du/ĝin-sign. The ud-sign represents "the sun" while the du/ĝin-sign represents "to go". Graphically, then, 𒌓𒁺 symbolizes "sun—go".

— Syllabic writings

Syllabic writings of words usually written logographically, such as ti-il for til$_3$, are not common in the Ur III royal inscriptions. There are, however, several instances in the Gudea cylinders. Falkenstein suggested that the relatively high frequency of such spellings in these cylinders shows that they were written down on the basis of a dictated text. That is, the scribe(s) did not work from a written, already prepared source, but rather the scribe(s) listened to the text being read, and wrote down the text as they went along. This idea does seem like the best explanation for certain kinds of errors which occur in the Gudea texts, and there is some other evidence to support this view; it does not explain the usage in royal inscriptions, however.

— Noun formation

The term zabar-dab$_5$ originally meant something like "one who holds the bronze". The word for "scribe", dub-sar, originally meant "one who writes a tablet". In Text 21, gu-za-lal "one who bears the chair" occurs. A number of names of officials in Sumerian are composed of an active

participle with an incorporated direct object. Many were borrowed into Akkadian as simple nouns: zabardabbu, tupšarru, guzalû, and so on.

— ga and g̃ae

The cohortative MP is /ga/ and the first person independent pronoun is /g̃ae/. Since one begins with /g/ and the other with /g̃/ it does not seem that they are directly related to each other. On the other hand, the phonetic similarity between /g/ and /g̃/ and the fact that both are used for functions involving the first person raises the question whether the cohortative was originally formed by means of the first person pronoun. This is not impossible, but it is less easy to see such surface-level etymologies in the case of the other MPs.

— Conjugation prefixes

In the model of Sumerian grammar presented throughout this *Manual*, one of the basic assumptions has been that every finite verbal form obligatorily includes a CP. For verb forms in the indicative, this is a relatively uncontroversial statement. However, in the case of verb forms occurring in moods other than the indicative, this is a more problematic opinion. In particular, it is frequently the case that after the MPs ga and ḫe₂ no CP appears on the surface. The assumption presented here is that in such cases an underlying i₃ has assimilated into the vowel of the MP. This may, however, be an unwarranted assumption; it amounts to assuming that i₃ is a neutral CP, present by default. Black (1986:77-78), *inter alios*, has questioned the view that a CP is necessarily present in the case of non-indicative moods. This issue, the relationship of the CPs and the MPs, is one of the thornier problems of Sumerian grammar.

— Personal affixes

The fact that the ḫamṭu functions on an ergative basis but the marû on an accusative basis entails terminological difficulties. Throughout this *Manual*, the terms "agent" and "patient" have been used in the context of finite verb forms in the ḫamṭu, but "subject" and "direct object" have been used in the context of finite verb forms in the marû. Since the non-indicative moods are not marked by a distinction in aspect, there is no one way to refer to the core participants in the sentence or to the PAs cross-referencing them. Thus, the .n in ga.(i₃.)n.til₃ is said to refer to the "patient" or the "direct object", and the cohortative itself is said to have an unexpressed first person "agent" or "subject".

— Textual interpretation

The interpretation of line 11 given above rests on the assumption that the .n in the verbal prefix chain refers to the patient. This view would probably be accepted by most scholars. However, other Sumerologists would prefer to be less categorical in their thinking and would say that at our present state of knowledge of Sumerian grammar other possibilities cannot be excluded. Therefore, this particular line has also been translated as: "Let me live by his ear of favor" (Frayne: "Let me live by his benevolent wisdom"), or even "Let me make well his ear of

favor". These translations reflect different interpretations of the .n preceding the verbal root: marker of the first person intransitive verb, marker of the first person transitive verb, marker of the third person patient, reduced form of the DP cross-referencing the locative, and so on. In the view of this *Manual*, however, some of these translations really do bend the rules of Sumerian grammar as now understood.

— Dedicatory seals

Both Text 20b and 20c may be called functional, in the sense discussed in *Lesson Three*; that is, they were inscriptions carved on seals which were regularly used on the job. Text 21, however, is a dedicatory seal. Such seals were basically non-functional, in the sense that they were not primarily designed to be actually impressed upon written documents, as were the functional seals. Rather, they were dedicatory objects in the form of a seal. Dedicatory seals are known primarily from the seals themselves; there are very few examples of impressions of such seals, which would show that such seals were actually used (although it is always possible that this is an accident of discovery). Gelb says:

> The main characteristic of the votive seals is that while they identified the donor of the seal, they were not used by the donor but by the divinity to whom they were offered. Certain seals can be used for purely ornamental purposes but nothing would prevent the temple from employing them for identifying and legal purposes (1977:112).

Dedicatory seals were generally larger than functional seals. And whereas functional seals were inscribed in reverse, so that the impression came out correctly, dedicatory seals were not; they were meant to be looked at, not to be used.

It is probable that Kilula was the person who had this cylinder seal fashioned. He dedicated it to Meslamtaea, to bring life to Shulgi. It is hard to say why the particular god Meslamtaea was invoked on the seal; Hallo points out that "in private ex-votos inscribed on behalf of the king, it is not always certain whether the deity invoked is the personal god of the king or of the donor" (1966:136 n.53). Presumably Kilula presented the seal to Shulgi, who then gave it to the temple. Thus, the cylinder seal was basically fabricated to curry favor with the king. A somewhat materialistic interpretation of the name of the cylinder might be: "Let me make him well at his ear of favor", that is, "at his ear which hears and grants favors". The sense is, "Let him listen favorably to me", "Make him accessible to me".

However, one can't help wondering whether Shulgi had an ear ache.

— History

Tello, ancient Girsu, was the site of the first important excavation of a Sumerian tell; Ernest de Sarzec began excavations in 1877. Starting in 1893, thousands of tablets were found, including a number of royal inscriptions from the First Dynasty of Lagash and from the time of Gudea. These are one of our prime sources of Sumerian for the period. Many of these tablets

are unpublished. In 1989 the Netherlands Institute for the Near East started a new series meant to publish all the Tello texts of the Ur III period which are preserved in Istanbul; the Institute states that some 40,574 tablets and fragments are preserved (Bertrand Lafont and Fatma Yıldız 1989). Thousands of others made their way into other museums and collections.

— Study

According to Pallis (1956:178), this seal was the very first Sumerian text to be edited, by A.H. Sayce in *Journal of Philology* 3 (1870) 1-50. Sayce did not include a photograph or an autograph, but rather a transliteration, translation, and substantive grammatical commentary, which was in essence the first large-scale Sumerian grammar to be written till that time.
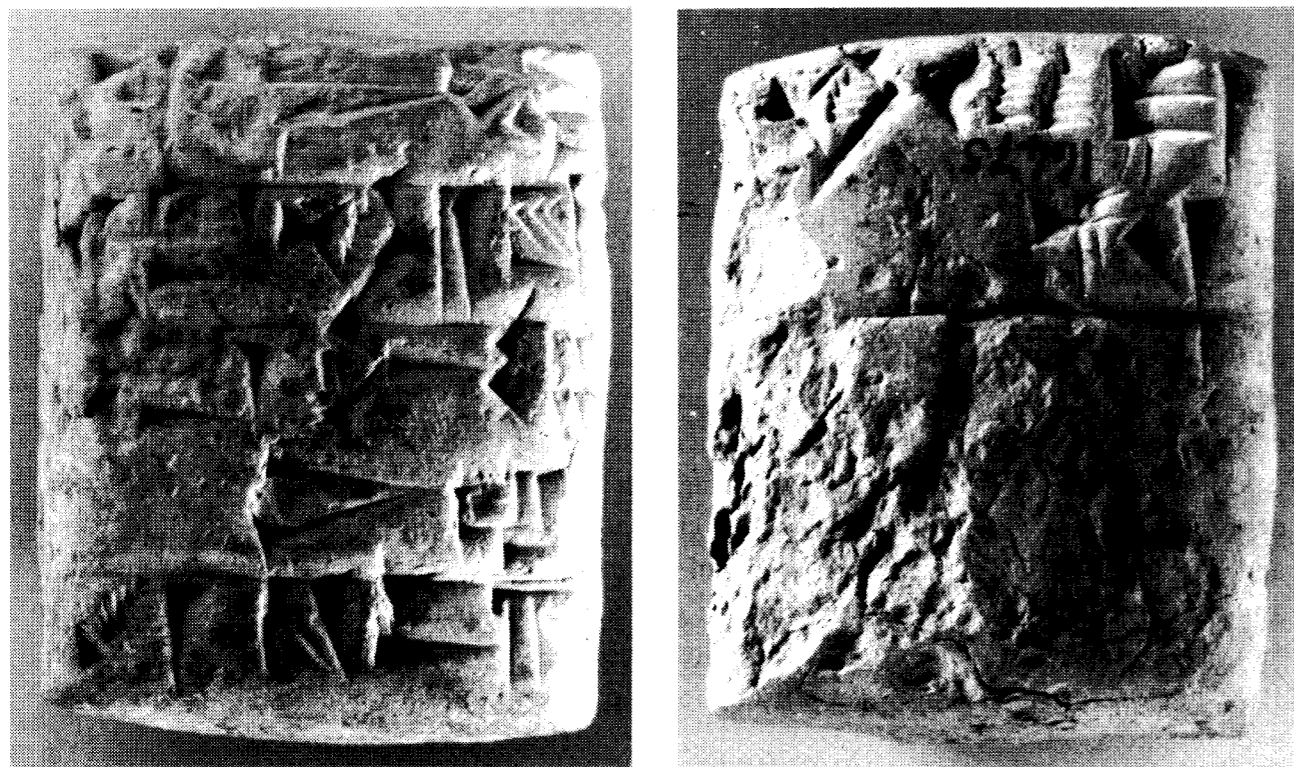
Text 21a
supplementary

Ur-Nammu 36
Seal impression
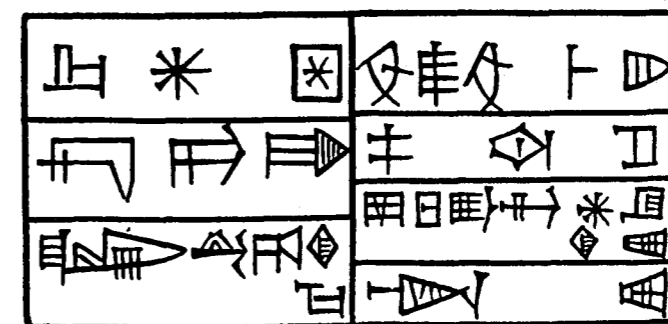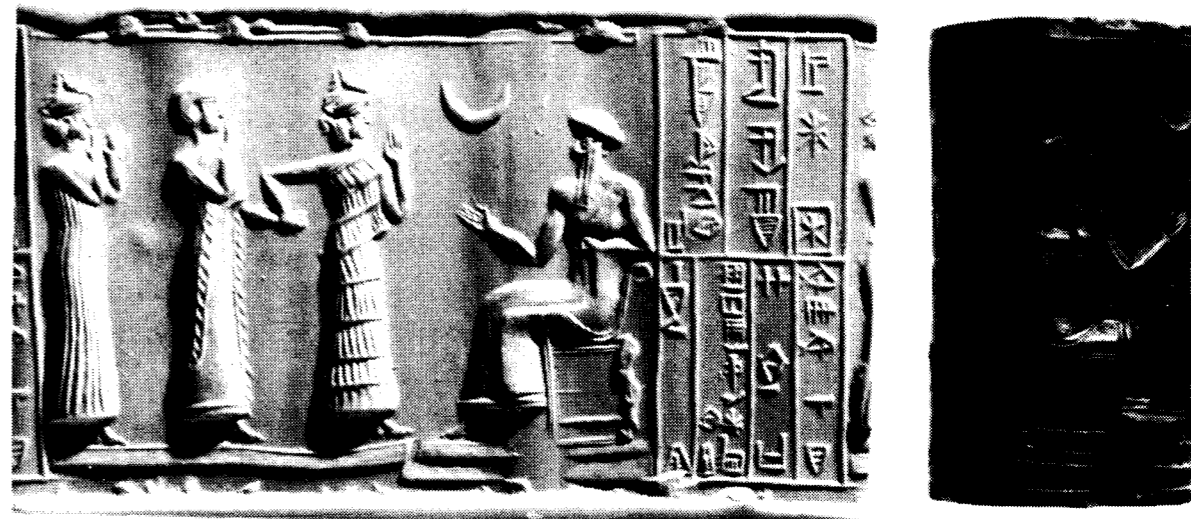
The ki-determinative in line 6 is not in its expected place. Presumably, the scribe wanted to keep the en-sign and the zu-sign close together. This particular writing may be regarded as a reflection of the practice of earlier periods in Sumerian, when the order of signs within a line or case was not as fixed nor as linear as in later times.

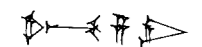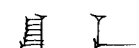**Sign-list and vocabulary**

𒄩 𒀸 𒄩 𒈨 𒅕   Ḫa-aš₂-ḫa-me-er Hashhamer (PN)

𒅖 𒆪 𒌦 𒀭𒂗𒍪   Iš-ku-un-ᵈZuen Ishkun Sin (GN)

Ḫa-aš₂-ḫa-me-er This is probably from Akkadian ḫašiḫ amir, "He was wanted (and then) was seen", two verbal adjectives in the predicative state. The er-sign is the same sign read previously as ir.

Iš-ku-un-ᵈZuen The name is Akkadian, Iškun Sin, "Sin has established". Its location is unsure.

Discussion

The seated figure is Ur-Nammu. The standing figure on the right is presumably the intercessory goddess Lamar (*Lesson Ten*). The figure is the middle is Hashhamer. The figure standing on the left is another goddess.

According to Hallo, "This is presumably the first Ur III text every published" (1962:28 n.211). Charles Bellino published a copy in *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* 2 (1820); at that time the inscription was ununderstandable. The seal is reproduced and discussed in Collon 1990:46.

«𒅕 Lesson Twenty-Two 𒅕»

The texts in this *Lesson* are letters from the Ur III period. Letters do not appear among the earliest Mesopotamian records; the first attested are from late in the Early Dynastic period. They are however attested from virtually all subsequent periods.

Letters convey all kinds of messages. The designation "letter" for these particular Ur III texts is somewhat misleading, since in form and content they are rather different than other letters, such as, for example, the letters of the Old Babylonian period. The Ur III letters mostly consist of brief notes ordering somebody to do something. Oppenheim called them "letter orders", a convenient label; the German equivalent is "Briefanweisungen". This type of letter originated in the Old Akkadian period, but became especially common in Ur III times.

The Ur III letters were studied by Sollberger in his *Business and Administrative Correspondence Under the Kings of Ur* (1966; usually cited as *TCS* 1). His book includes transliterations and translations of 373 letters, autographs of selected letters, a preliminary study of the form and content of the letters, and a very useful glossary. Since that important publication, many more Ur III letters have been published. Those published up to June 1990 are listed in Lafont 1990. Lafont's article also includes a list of letters published in *TCS* 1 which have subsequently been re-edited.

In 1967 Oppenheim published *Letters from Mesopotamia*, a selection of Akkadian letters in English translation from the Old Akkadian to the Neo-Babylonian period; the volume was meant for a general audience. More recently, Michalowski has published *Letters from Early Mesopotamia* (1993), which contains transliterations and translations of Sumerian and Akkadian letters from the Early Dynastic to Isin periods, including several types not treated by Oppenheim. A fair number of the letters published by Sollberger are also translated by Michalowski; the latter's translations are often less literal than those of Sollberger and more accurately convey the sense of the message being delivered.

Because letters were not meant to be preserved in the way such monumental texts as royal inscriptions were, and because of the varieties of purposes for which they were written, they were not subject to the same rigid constraints and formulations as were royal inscriptions. This means that these texts exhibit a variety of constructions not seen in the royal inscriptions; for example, a number of forms in the first and second person occur. However, this variety also means that there are several constructions which are not completely understood. Often the general sense is clear, but, for example, the exact morphology of the verbal chain is not sure.

Sollberger in general used the short forms of transliterated cuneiform signs, while this *Manual* uses the long forms. Moreover, Sollberger used readings with overhanging vowels. This means that his transliterations often differ slightly from those given here.

TCS 1, 46

Because administrative and economic texts are non-monumental in nature, the handwriting in them often verges toward cursive, making it rather difficult sometimes to recognize the signs, even of vocabulary already studied.
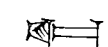
As has been discussed several times in the course of this *Manual*, actual photographs of cuneiform texts carry much more evidential value than do transliterations or autographs. It can, however, be very difficult to study photographs reproduced in publications. This is particularly true for non-monumental texts, with their cursive writing. This photograph, for example, is of good quality, but is still not easy to read.

Sign-list and vocabulary

Ba-lu₅-lu₅ Balulu (PN)

Gu-za-ni Guzani (PN)

šu...bar to release

dug₄ (du₁₁) to speak

gur to argue (?)

Ba-lu₅-lu₅ The etymology is unknown; it may be a Lallname. Limet places it in his category of "exotic" names.

Gu-za-ni The name means "His throne". Presumably it is an abbreviation for a name such as "His throne is exalted". Such abbreviated names are not uncommon. Nin-nam-ḫa-ni, "The lady whose majesty (is good)", occurs in Text 24c.

šu...bar This is a compound verb. bar has many meanings, such as "to set free, open"; it is glossed by the *PSD* as "1. 'to set aside', 'to reserve' 2. 'to neglect' 3. 'to take away', 'to steal', 'to go away', 'to hide', 'to be scarce' 4. 'to send out', 'to emit', 'to beam' 5. 'to overflow, to drip'". šu "hand" is the historic patient. šu...bar takes its complement in the dative for animate nouns and in the locative for inanimate nouns. The verb thus means "to set the hand *to*".

bar occurs in other compound verbs, such as igi...bar, "to set the eye towards", that is, "to look at, to see". šu also occurs in many other compounds, such as šu...ti, "to take", in Text 22d.

dug₄ This is the most common verb meaning "to speak", Akkadian qabû. The verb is traditionally said to have a ḫamṭu root dug₄ (du₁₁) and a marû root e. More recently, it has been proposed that the ḫamṭu singular root is dug₄, the marû singular root is e, and the ḫamṭu plural root *and* the marû plural root is e. This is discussed in Thomsen p.301.

In the ḫamṭu it is written by the the ka-sign, the sign used for "mouth" and activities associated with the mouth. The writing with the e-sign in the marû is phonetic.

gur This basically means "to return, to come back". This does not fit the context here. Sollberger suggests "to argue", derived from a meaning "to come back on the order"; such a meaning also fits the context in Text 24a.

Text 22a

Obv.

2

4

Rev.
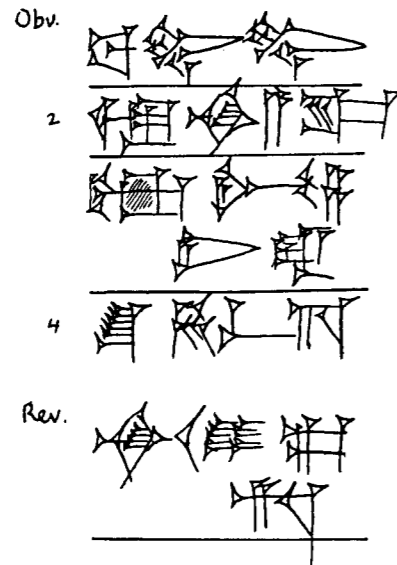
	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	Ba-lu₅-lu₅	[Balulu].(r)	To Balulu
2:	u₃-na-a-dug₄	u₃.(i₃.)na.(e.)dug₄	speak;
3:	dam Gu-za-ni-ra	[dam.Guzani.(k)].ra	the wife of Guzani
4:	šu ha-bar-re	šu.Ø he₂.(i₃).(b.)bar.e.Ø	have him release;
5:	na-mi-gur-re	na.mi.gur.e.Ø	let him not argue.

Commentary

1. The name ends in a vowel, so no case marker for the dative appears on the surface.

2. This is a fixed form, found in many of the letters, with various spellings. u₃ is the marker of the prospective mood. This mood usually marks the first in a series of verbs, used in such contexts as "after this, then this". It regularly takes the ḫamṭu root. It can occur in any person. Here the verb is second person.

The MP u₃ is here followed by an (assumed) CP, i₃. This is then followed by the DP cross-referencing the dative. Since the verb is second person, the next element in the prefix chain should be the marker for the second person. As discussed in *Lesson One*, in the ḫamṭu this marker is probably .e. The expected morphemic analysis would thus produce /nae/. What is written, however, is -na-a. Presumably there was some kind of vocalic assimilation or contraction. It is hard to say what the writing -na-a represents. How was it actually pronounced?

After all these prefixes comes, as expected, the ḫamṭu root.

In an attempt to capture the more usual sense of u₃, Falkenstein translated such formulas as "after you have spoken to him". However, such an interpretation does not fit the context. A few letters use a clear imperative in this context (as do letters written in Akkadian), so it is more likely that the prospective u₃ is used here with the force of an imperative, although it is hard to say why (Thomsen §413). Powell says that it "appears to be a *polite* imperative, of which the one who will read the message to the addressee is the formal subject" (1978:173 n.8).

This formula is so common that the entire verbal form was "felt" as a nominal form and was borrowed into Akkadian as a loan word, unnedukku, "letter"; this appears as early as Old Babylonian.

3. As was mentioned in *Lesson Four* and *Lesson Nine*, the sequence /ani/ of the possessive suffix followed by /a(k)/ of the genitive normally assimilates into /ana(k)/. Since the PN Gu-za-ni consists of a noun with the possessive suffix /ani/, and since this PN is itself the second element of a genitive phrase, one might have expected a writing such as Gu-za-na-ra, for /dam.guzani.a(k).ra/. However, the PN may have been treated here as an unanalyzable and unchanging unit; such spellings are not unusual. The full form of the case marker for the dative was simply tacked onto the PN.

The dative here marks the PN as the complement of the compound verb šu...bar: "let him set his hand *to*".

4. The verb is in the desiderative mood (discussed in *Lesson Eleven*). The logical subject of the verb is Balulu, who is also the logical subject of the verb in line 5. The MP here is written ḫa. This is unusual; one would have expected he₂. The form ḫa typically occurs only before CPs containing an /a/, such as ba. It is possible that there was assimilation to the /a/ of the root bar. However, there are other instances of ḫa written for he₂ which are harder to explain. Partially because of such spellings, it has been argued that the "basic" form of the desiderative is in fact /ḫa/, not /ḫe/ (Thomsen §394).

As discussed in *Lesson Eleven*, the desiderative of transitive verbs regularly requires the marû root. bar is used transitively here (šu is the historic direct object). bar is a member of the affixation class, formed with the marû suffix .e.

Since šu is a historic direct object, it is hard to say whether it was cross-referenced by a PA or not. Since šu is inanimate, the expected PA is .b. It is possible that .b is "there", but has assimilated into the /b/ of the root /bar/. A similar case occurred in line II:4 of Text 14, where the writing i₃-bu₃-re may represent i₃.(b.)bur.e.Ø.

The .Ø here and in line 5 cross-references the third person subject. Logically, this is Balulu; this is another instance of pronominalization.

5. na- is another MP, the marker of the prohibitive mood. This mood is used to express nega-
tive commands in the second and third person: "Do not" and "Let him not". It is almost always
written with the na-sign. It is normally followed by the marû form of the verb.

mi is one of the CPs in /m/ discussed in *Lesson Sixteen*. As stated there, the morphology
and semantics of the CPs in /m/ are still to be resolved.

As discussed above, Sollberger understood the verb gur in this line and in other letters to
mean "to argue". The exact same spelling, in fact (na-mi-gur-re), occurs in several letters; other
letters use the spelling nam-mi-gur-re. Michalowski, however, interprets it differently: "(The
matter) must not come up again!". Because of the specialized use of gur in these letters, it is
difficult to say which interpretation should be preferred.

Discussion: Function

The contents of many of the letter orders published by Sollberger are maddeningly terse.
Typically an order is given to an individual named in the first line; the following desideratives
are to be understood as referring to the same individual. This is captured in Michalowski's
translation of the letter: "Tell Balulu to release the wife of Guzani. (The matter) must not come
up again!".

While the surface maning of this letter is relatively clear, the contents remain vague; as
Sollberger notes, it is possible that Guzani's wife had been held as a pledge of security. More-
over, there is no clue to the administrative structure behind the letter. Who exactly is supposed
to give the message to Balulu? The scribe? The messenger carrying the tablet? Some unnamed
official? Geller says that these Ur III letters "probably represent replies to official requests from
a lower to a higher level of authority...The jargon of these dispatches betrays bureaucratic
thinking" (1991:144). In general, letters can be hard to understand because we lack the context
that motivated the writing of the letters and we have little knowledge of the administrative
framework in which the letters were written.

— Prospective mood

The MP u₃ is not uncommon; it is discussed in Thomsen §409-414. It is traditionally classi-
fied as one of the MPs, but because of unusual usages and writings Gragg has questioned this
standard interpretation (1968:107 n.8). A "prospective" function seems somewhat unusual as a
function of a "mood".

This u₃ is not related to the conjunction u₃ borrowed from Akkadian; more likely it derives
somehow from the word for "day", ud.

— Prohibitive mood

In addition to the prohibitive mood in na-, there is a *second* MP na-. This second one is
often called the "affirmative"; it is used to emphasize a positive statement. It was Falkenstein
who first sorted out these two different MPs, in 1942. The affirmative na- occurs far more often
with the ḫamṭu than with the marû (although this may be due to the fact that most texts relate

events in the past). The prohibitive na- is mostly (always?) used with the marû.

Because there is some overlap in the use of the marû (the marû is used at least to some
degree with both affirmative na- and prohibitive na-), it is possible that there was a difference
in pronunciation between the two; otherwise they would be homophonous. Jacobsen suggested
that the affirmative na- was closer in pronunciation to /ne/ (1970 [1965] 432 n.4), whereas
Attinger mentions the possibility that the prohibitive was actually pronounced /nan/ (1993:104
n.51a); a writing na-an-ba-an-du₃ occurs in the next text. Heimpel, on the other hand, is
reluctant "to dissociate the negative function of prohibitive na- from that of the so-called affir-
mative na-" (1981:98), and understands them both to represent a "negative rhetorical question".

The prohibitive na- is presumably etymologically related to the negative nu. It has been sug-
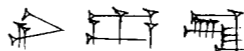gested that na- derives from *nu-ḫa, that is, it is a negation of the desiderative.

— Nominalization

u₃-na-a-dug₄ is actually used as a frozen form meaning "letter" already in Sumerian; it was
then loaned into Akkadian. There are a few other verbal forms in Sumerian which have be-
come frozen into nominal forms (Thomsen §62-64). For example, ba-an-gi₄ "response, answer"
occurs in Sumerian of the Old Babylonian period. Another example is the name of the entrance
to the Netherworld, Ganzir. This is probably a cohortative phrase, "May I destroy". It appears
in the Akkadian column of lexical lists as ganzir, an unassimilated borrowing directly from
Sumerian, and as kanisurru, where it has become integrated as a loan word. A number of
cohortatives in ga which have been borrowed into Akkadian are discussed in Selz 1993. The
common Akkadian word ḫegallu, "1. (abundant) yield (of fauna and flora), 2. abundance, pro-
ductivity" derives from the Sumerian desiderative phrase ḫe₂-ĝal₂, "Let it be".

► ►— ►— ►— ►—
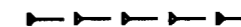
Sign-list and vocabulary

⊢𒈠 𒈨 𒊹 En-u₂-a Enua (PN)

𒀸 𒅗 𒆷 Ni-kal-la Nikala (PN)

𒁺 du₃ to detain

𒅈 ar (syllabic)

En-u₂-a The name means "The lord is a provider". u₂-a was equated with Akkadian zāninu,
glossed by the *CAD* as "provider". In the literary text *The Coronation of Ur-Nammu*, some
manuscripts call Ur-Nammu u₂-a Ki-en-gi Ki-uri, "the provider of Sumer and Akkad" while
other manuscripts call him u₂-a Nibru^ki, "the provider of Nippur".

u₂ means "grass" and thus "food", and a means "water"; u₂-a thus represents "food and

water". The form here must be some kind of participle or nominalization, "the person who provides food and water". However, Sumerian does not create participles from simple nominal roots, such as u₂ and a; perhaps some wholly different word is hidden behind the spelling.

Ni-kal-la This name is probably a variant of a not-uncommon PN Nin-kala (Limet [1968] 184-185). kal and kal-la are adjectives meaning "precious", Akkadian waqru. This is a different root than kalag "mighty", Akkadian dannu. The name thus means "The precious lady" or "The lady is precious". kal is very frequent in PNs; Šeš-kal-la occurs in Text 23b and A-kal-la in Text 24b.

   In the spelling Ni-kal-la, the second /n/ of /nin/ has assimilated into the /k/ of /kala/, producing /nikkala/. This may be due to Akkadian influence; the Sumerian DN Ningal, for example, appears in Akkadian as Nikkal; /ellil/ from /enlil/ was discussed in *Lesson Four*. It is hard to say if Ni-kal-la was pronounced /nikkala/ or, with reduction of the long consonant, /nikala/.

du₃ In addition to its basic meaning "to build", this also means "to retain, detain". This latter usage is common in the Ur III letter orders, but rare elsewhere. The sense may derive from the meaning "to pound"; the sign is the picture of a peg.

Text 22b

TCS 1, 193

Obv.
2
4
Lo.E.
Rev. blank
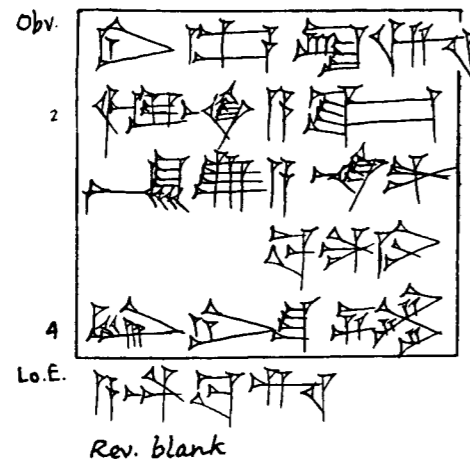
The du₃-sign in line 3 has an extra stroke.

	Transliteration	**Transcription**	**Translation**
1:	Ni-kal-la-ar	[Ninkala].r	To Ninkala
2:	u₃-na-a-dug₄	u₃.(i₃.)na.(e.)dug₄	speak;
3:	En-u₂-a na-an-ba-an-du₃	[Enua].Ø na.ba.n.du₃.(e.)Ø	let him not detain Enua;
4:	lu₂-ne₂ šu	[lu₂.ni].e šu.Ø	let his man release him.
	ḫe₂-am₃-ba-re	ḫe₂.am₃.bar.e.Ø	

Commentary

1. The /r/ of the case marker for the dative is explicitly written, even after a vowel.
3. This is another example of the prohibitive mood in na. ba is the CP. The first -an- is difficult to explain. An expected na-ba- often appears on the surface as nam-ba-; nam-ba-an-du₃ occurs in *TCS* 1, 92. It is possible that stress (about which we know very little) produced a long consonant, which was then dissimilated: /na-ba/ > /nabba/ > /namba/. While writings such as nam-ba- are common, na-an-ba- is not; another example does occur in *TCS* 1, 128: na-an-ba-du₃. Such forms support Attinger's suggestion, discussed at Text 22a, that the basic form of the prohibitive was /nan/, not /na/. On the other hand, it is possible that na-an-ba is the result of a second dissimilation: /namba/ > /nanba/. There are too few instances to be confident of an analysis.

   Since the prohibitive mood uses the marû root, the pre-radical .n presumably cross-references the animate direct object En-u₂-a while the .Ø cross-references the subject. The marû suffix does not appear in the writing; presumably it assimilated into the /u/ of the root du₃.
4. Since lu₂ is the agent of the desiderative verb, it is here transliterated lu₂-ne₂. As discussed at Text 19, others would prefer to transliterate it as lu₂-ni, to avoid prejudging a reading.

   Here the MP of the desiderative is written ḫe₂. This is followed by the CP am₃. As discussed in *Lesson Sixteen*, am₃ is one of the CPs which contain /m/. Since the distribution of the various CPs in /m/ is not yet understood, it is hard to say why am₃ is used here.

   Since am₃ begins with /a/, one might have expected to find the MP written ḫa- and not ḫe₂.

   The verbal root with its marû suffix, bar.e.Ø, is written syllabically (ba-re) instead of morphemically (bar-re or bar-e).

   Expressions of the type "Let him release him" are not uncommon in the Ur III letter orders, spelled in various ways. Line 4 of Text 22a is written šu ḫa-bar-re; in Text 22b it is written, rather curiously, šu ḫe₂-am₃-ba-re. In Text 22a there is no expressed subject, but there is in Text 22b. It is impossible to say whether the difference in writing was conditioned by the presence or absence of an explicit subject, or whether this seeming correlation is a coincidence.

Discussion: Function

   This letter is also terse; it is difficult to say who the lu₂ of line 4 refers to. The sense of the message must be "Tell Ninkala to not detain Enua and to have his servant release him".
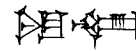
━ ━ ━ ━ ━
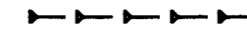
TCS 1, 200

   This text is very difficult to read from the photograph, let alone from a reproduction of the photograph. The reverse includes a seal impression which Sollberger did not copy in his autograph. This impression was applied several times, making it almost impossible to read the actual text of the letter order.
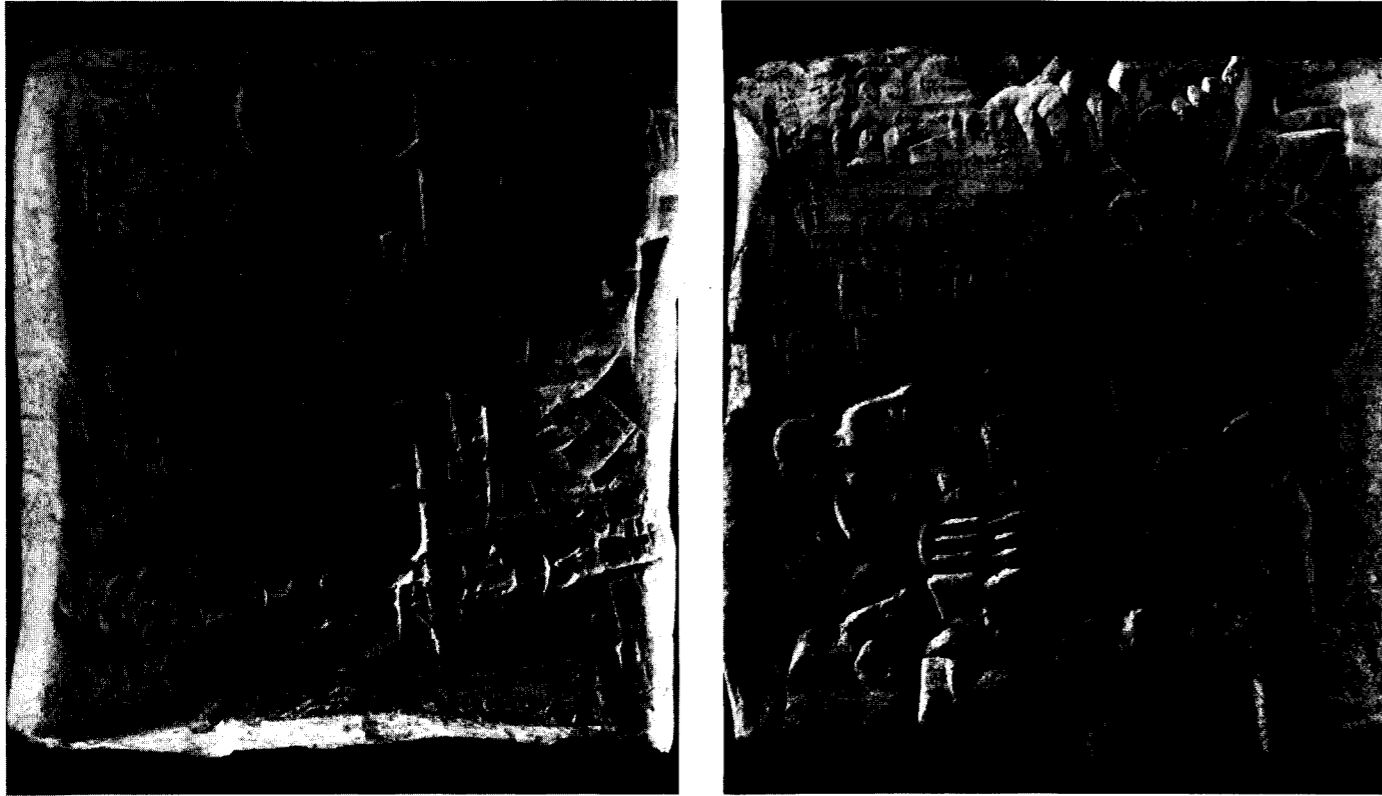
Sign-list and vocabulary

𒀭𒌋 **Nin-Šubur** Ninshubur (DN)

𒈗 𒀭𒌋 **Lu₂-ᵈNin-Šubur** Lu-Ninshubur (PN)

𒃮 𒁕 𒋗 𒌝 **Qa₂-da-šu-um** Qaddashum (PN)

𒄘 **gu₂** talent (unit of weight)

𒋢 **siki** wool

�šeš **šeš** brother

𒄀 **gi** average quality

𒈲 **sum** to give

𒀀 𒁀 **a-ba** Who?

⊢—— 1

𒃲 gi̱n₇ (syllabic)

𒄘 g̱u₁₀ (syllabic)

Nin-Šubur Ninshubur was a relatively minor deity, functioning as a kind of page or minister to other gods. Sometimes Ninshubur appears to be masculine, at other times feminine. There may originally have been two different deities, one masculine and one feminine. More likely there was only one, who sometimes played a male rôle and sometimes a female rôle depending on the deity being attended. In her female form, she is most well-known as the minister of Inanna, playing a prominent rôle in *Inanna's Descent*.

The word Shubur is presumably not Sumerian, but rather originally was the name of a people living north of Sumer; Ninshubur was apparently a deity from this area. The word Shubur (in both Sumerian and Akkadian forms) then came to be used as a rather vague geographical term for the north and north-east of Mesopotamia, an area which was home to several different ethnic groups. It is also possible that the original meaning of "Shubur" was "north" and then the term was applied to a people living in the north. The same question—which came first, the geographical designation or the name of a people—arose in connection with the name Mar-tu, discussed in *Lesson Eighteen*.

Mesopotamian texts occasionally speak of a "Subarian" language, but the term is used without any precision, to refer to Hittite, Hurrian, or even Elamite.

Lu₂-ᵈNin-Šubur The name is Akkadian, meaning "Man of Ninshubur". PNs of the type Lu₂-DN are common. Lu₂-ᵈŠara₂ occurs in Text 23a and Lu₂-ᵈNanna in Text 24b.

Qa₂-da-šu-um The name is Akkadian, from the root qadāšu, whose basic meaning in the D-stem is "to purify". qaddašum is an intensive adjective on the parras pattern; the more usual adjective in Akkadian for "holy" is the D-stem verbal adjective quddušu.

gu₂ This is a common spelling of the word for the weight measurement traditionally designated "talent". This weight measurement is usually spelled with the gun-sign; the spelling with the gu₂-sign may be an abbreviation. As discussed at Text 20a, 60 ma-na formed one gun.

siki This is the standard word for "wool", Akkadian šipātu. It can also mean "goat hair" (šartu). Gadd calls wool "an item in the life of the land hardly less important than cereals" (1971:622). T. Fish says that "As soon as men began to write at all in Sumer they wrote about sheep" (1934:316).

It is also read šig₂.

šeš This is the usual word for "brother", Akkadian aḫu. For "sister", Sumerian can use šeš, but more commonly uses an unrelated word usually transliterated nin₉. As discussed in *Lesson*

Ten, this word for "sister" is apparently homophonous with the word for "lady", nin, both being pronounced /nin/. The nin-sign and the nin₉-sign are graphically quite similar; both consist of the munus-sign followed by a box-like sign. In post-Ur III times the two signs fall together in shape.

gi siki can be modified in various ways, such as by references to color or quality. The expression siki-gi is common, but the meaning of gi here is disputed. It could be the element gi(r) seen in the PN Šul-gi and in the GN Ki-en-gi, which possibly means "noble". It has also been interpreted as wool from a kind of sheep known as uli-gi-sheep. More likely, gi here means "ordinary". The word "ordinary" is however usually written gin. This word gin is equated in lexical texts with Akkadian gurnu, glossed by the *CAD* as "of average quality". Perhaps then gi should be transliterated here gin₆, or else it is an abbreviation.

sum This is the most common verb meaning "to give", Akkadian nadānu and other equivalents. It is also read šum₂ and si₃, particularly in older transliterations. It is discussed in Thomsen p. 316 and in more detail in Edzard 1976.

a-ba The interrogative for "Who ?" is a-ba (Akkadian mannu); for "What ?" it is a-na (Akkadian mīnu). Curiously, a-ba, the animate form ("Who ?"), contains /b/ while a-na, the inanimate form ("What ?"), contains /n/.

Text 22c

TCS 1, 200
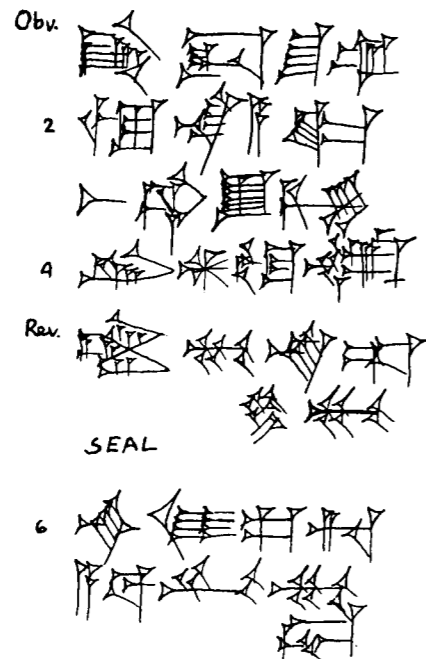
|	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	Qa₂-da-šu-um	[Qaddašum].(ra)	To Qaddashum
2:	u₃-na-a-dug₄	u₃.(i₃.)na.(e.)dug₄	speak:
3:	1 gu₂ siki gi	[1 gun siki gi].Ø	One talent of average quality wool
4:	Lu₂-ᵈNin-Šubur	[Lu.Ninšubur.(ak)].(ra)	to Lu-Ninshubur
5:	ḫe₂-mu-na-ab-sum-mu	ḫe₂.mu.na.b.sum.e.Ø	let him give;
6:	na-mi-gur-re	na.mi.gur.e.Ø	let him not argue.
7:	a-ba šeš-ĝu₁₀-gin₇	aba [šeš.ĝu₁₀].gin₇	Who is like my brother?

Commentary

3. It was mentioned at Text 20a that the metrology of ancient Mesopotamia consisted of several systems. When measuring quantities in the *gun* system, the number of *guns* is indicated by means of horizontal wedges at the beginning of the line. Here there is a single horizontal wedge, signifying "1". This number is then followed by the unit of weight, here gu₂. This is then followed by the item being weighed, here "wool"; this latter is further qualified by gi.

4. No case element at all appears at the end of this PN.

5. Since the verb form is in the marû following the desiderative MP ḫe₂, the .b in the preverbal root position cross-references the patient, that is, the talent of wool.

sum is a member of the affixation class of verbs, forming its marû by means of the marû suffix .e. Here the /e/ has assimilated into the /u/ of the root /sum/. This assimilation is quite common when the marû suffix is used with verbal roots containing /u/.

7. This is a nominal sentence, "Who is like my brother?". As discussed above, a-ba is the interrogative pronoun "Who ?".

gin₇ is the marker of the equitative case (also called the "equative" case). This expresses the idea of "like". It is used in comparisons, both literal and metaphorical. It is almost always written by the ⸢sign⸣ sign. This sign used to be read gim, and it is still occasionally found transliterated this way. Most scholars now read it gin₇ (unfortunately, gin₇ is sometimes used for an entirely different sign). Some read it ge₁₈.

This case behaves like the genitive in that it is not resumed by any DP. As discussed in *Lesson Two*, the equitative and the genitive are the two "adnominal" cases in Sumerian, in contrast to the "adverbial" cases.

ĝu₁₀ is the possessive suffix for the first person, "my". As listed at Text 20b, the possessive suffixes for the singular are written:

first person	- ĝu₁₀
second	- zu
third animate	- a-ni
inanimate	- bi

This particular line is really a rhetorical question, and occurs in other letter orders and elsewhere.

Discussion: Function

This kind of message is quite common in these letters. The basic meaning is "Tell Qaddashum to give the wool to Lu-Ninshubur and to not argue about it". The direct object (line 3) precedes the dative complement (line 4); this is presumably for emphasis.

— Equitative

The equitative is common in all kinds of metaphors and parables, including those which have become fixed phrases. Black says "Presumably there may have been a historic first use of the expression, when it may have seemed bold and original, but that lay in the prehistory of the language" (1998:25).

No matter how the basic phonological shape of the case marker for the equitative is understood (/ge/, /gim/, or /gin/), it is hard to avoid seeing some kind of connection between this and Akkadian kīma. The parallel situation of the relation between the Sumerian terminative and the Akkadian terminative was discussed in *Lesson Three*. Many scholars think that the resemblance between /gin/ and /kīma/ is fortuitous. Since however kīma is presumably composed of kī and ma, and since in general equitatives in languages are only rarely expressed by case endings, it is not impossible that Sumerian borrowed the form from Akkadian.

— Seals

This tablet was sealed with an impression reading Ur-Niĝin₂-ĝar dumu Ga-da-ra-ni dam-gar, "Ur-Nigingar, the son of Gadarani the merchant". Many letters had seals applied to them. Sollberger transliterates the text of the seal impression, but does not reproduce the impression in his autograph. As discussed at Text 20b, it is fairly common practice for text editions to omit drawings of the seal impressions themselves.

The writing on seals is often very formal, almost monumental, and occasionally archaicizing; the writing on letters is much more cursive. This difference in writing is clearly visible in the photograph of this letter.

▬ ▬ ▬ ▬ ▬

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒀭 𒌷 𒍝   Nin-a-zu Ninazu (DN)

𒌨 𒀭 𒀭 𒌷 𒍝   Ur-ᵈNin-a-zu Ur-Ninazu (PN)

𒁾   dub tablet

𒈧   maš₂ goat

�šu 𒋾   šu...ti to take, receive

Nin-a-zu Ninazu was a relatively minor deity, sometimes identified with Ninurta. His name means "Lord physician". a-zu is the word for "physician", discussed at Text 26a.

dub This is the very common word for tablet, borrowed into Akkadian as ṭuppu (or ṭuppu).

maš₂ This can mean both "goat" (Akkadian urīṣu) and "lamb" (Akkadian puḫādu). In Ur III at least it is used for both male and female goats; a specifically female goat is uz₃.

šu...ti As mentioned at Text 22a, šu, "hand", appears in the formation of many compound verbs. šu...ti is one of the most common of all Sumerian compound verbs, frequently appearing in administrative texts. ti means essentially "to approach". šu is the (historic) patient. šu...ti governs a terminative complement. The original meaning of the compound is thus "to bring the hand *towards*".

ti is a member of the replacement class; it forms its marû in /teĝ/ (written in several different ways).

In context, šu...ti can have a number of different meanings; here and in other letter orders there is probably some legal connotation not entirely obvious to us. Its most common Akkadian equivalent is leqû, "to take", which also has many extended senses.

Text 22d

TCS 1, 345
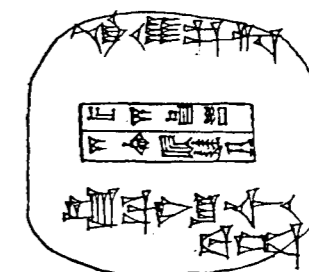
	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	1 maš₂-gal	[1 maš₂.gal].Ø	One fattened goat
2:	Ur-ᵈNin-a-zu	[Ur.Ninazu.(k)].(ra)	to Ur-Ninazu

3:	ḫe₂-na-ab-sum-mu	ḫe₂.(i₃.)na.b.sum.e.Ø	let him give;
4:	na-mi-gur-re	na.mi.gur.e.Ø	let him not argue.
5:	dub-ba-ni	[dub.ani].(še₃)	His tablet
	šu ti-ba-ab	šu.Ø ti.ba.b	take.

Commentary

1. gal of course means "large", but the sense here is probably "fattened"; note the word niga, "barley fed", in Text 25a.

3. The verb phrase here reads ḫe₂-na-ab-sum-mu; the similar verb phrase in Text 22c read ḫe₂-mu-na-ab-sum-mu.

5. The (assumed) .še₃ marks dub-ba-ni as the terminative complement of the verbal root šu...ti: "Place the hand *towards* his tablet".

The verb here is in the imperative mood, not yet seen (Thomsen §495f.). Its formation is rather different than that of the moods encountered up to now. It is formed by moving the prefix chain from its position *before* the verbal root to a position *after* the verbal root. In the case of compound verbs, the nominal component stays in its position before the root. Typically the prefix chain in imperatives is quite short, with very few DPs. Thus, the first element to show in the imperative is the root. In line 5, this is ti. The root in the imperative is always in the ḫamṭu. The next element is the CP. Here, the CP is ba. The next element is the PA cross-referencing the (historic) patient, here šu. The PAs in the imperative behave in a rather complicated way (Michalowski 1980:97). Even though the root used in the imperative is the ḫamṭu, the PA in the pre-verbal root position (then moved to a position after the verbal root) behaves like the PA in the pre-verbal root position of the marû, in that it cross-references the *patient*, and not the *agent*. Thus the PA .b here cross-references the patient šu. The difference in function of the PAs in the ḫamṭu transitive, marû transitive, and imperative can be summarized as:

ḫamṭu transitive indicative:	lugal.e	dub.še₃	šu.Ø	ba.n.ti.Ø
marû transitive indicative:	lugal.e	dub.še₃	šu.Ø	ba.b.teĝ.Ø
imperative:		dub.še₃	šu.Ø	ti.ba.b

Akkadian-speaking scribes had difficulties in keeping track of the differences in these three sets of forms.

To summarize the verb form:

šu.Ø   ti · ba · b
(1)   (2)   (3)   (4)

(1)   nominal element of compound verb, historic patient
(2)   ḫamṭu root
(3)   conjugation prefix
(4)   personal affix cross-referencing patient (šu)

Discussion: Function

This letter differs from the previous letters in that there is no addressee and no expressed imperative verb meaning "to say". This means that there is no obvious subject of the desiderative verb in line 3. In line 5 the letter shifts from the desiderative to the imperative.

The essential meaning is apparently "Let somebody give a goat to Ur-Ninazu; Ur-Ninazu shouldn't argue; take his tablet!". The details would all have been known at the time.

The tablet was provided with a seal impression, reading Ur-tur dub-sar, dumu Na-šag₅ kurušda, "Urtur the scribe, the son of Nashag the cattle-fattener".

— Imperative

In the singular imperative, there is no explicit marking of the second person (the plural is more complicated and will not be dealt with here). This is not uncommon in languages of the world; the imperative is often not marked for person. In general, it is not surprising that the imperative mood behaves differently than the other moods; imperatives often preserve archaic features.

As discussed above, the imperative always uses the ḫamṭu root, and its PA behaves essentially in an accusative manner, not an ergative manner. This is also a not uncommon situation, as Dixon (1994:101) says: "Imperative constructions may show accusative ranking while most or all other moods are ergative...Imperatives place particular emphasis on the control of an activity".

Because of contractions into the verbal root, the CP in imperatives can be difficult to see. It is very common to find a vowel /a/ in this position. From gul, "to destroy", for example, the imperative gul-a is not uncommon; *TCS* 1, 142 has e₂-a-ni gul-a, "Destroy his house!". It is not clear if this /a/ is an independent morpheme of some kind of unknown value (which is then followed by a CP) or if it is a CP itself. If it does fit into the category of CP, it is not sure if it is a phonetic variant of /i₃/ or if it is an independent CP. According to Jacobsen, for example, this /a/ is a CP which seems to especially favor imperatives. In Jacobsen's view, there are actually three CPs: /u/, "mark of limited persistence"; /a/, "mark of persistence"; /i, e/, "mark of transitory, nonconditioning aspect"; they combine with /b/ and /m/ in a complicated way.

It is assumed here that this /a/ is an independent CP, both because it would be difficult to give any phonetic explanation for a change of /i/ to /a/ and because /a/ seems to occur occasionally in the prefix chain of ordinary indicative verbs.
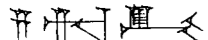
— Compound verbs

In the analysis given here, the verb šu...ti takes its complement in the terminative. This appears to be the most common usage, although since the terminative case marker is rarely written, it is not obvious to see. It is possible that the rection of the compound verb has changed. Some odd writings seem to show that the verb earlier meant "to take something *into* the hand", and not "to take the hand *to* something"; the object taken was the patient and šu was actually in

the locative. Krecher (1987b:80) suggests that this change in rection resulted from "a tendency to construe as unmarked verbal complement the noun found in nearest place to verb (= preceding the verb) if this noun is not accompanied by an adjectival or a pronominal attribute". That is, šu by its position so close to the verb became reanalyzed as a patient instead of a locative. In later texts there may have been interference from leqû, the Akkadian verb meaning "to take", which regularly takes a direct object.

► ►— ►— ►— ►—

Sign-list and vocabulary

A-bi-a-ti Abiati (PN)

Za-ri-iq Zarriq (PN)

gur (unit of capacity)

še barley

A-bi-a-ti The etymology is unknown. If the first component means "my father", the name is presumably Akkadian. What may be the same PN occurs in Text 26a, although spelled A-bi₂-a-ti.

Za-ri-iq This is an Akkadian name. The adjective zarriqu is glossed by the *CAD* as "with speckled eyes".

gur This is the most common measure of capacity. 1 gur was about 250 liters. The word was borrowed into Akkadian as kurru, translated by the *CAD* as "1. (a measure of capacity), 2. the amount of barley in one such unit"; it eventually appears as Hebrew kōr.

še Barley was the most important Sumerian grain. It was used to make bread and beer, and wages were also paid in barley. It can also mean "grain" in general. It was apparently borrowed into Akkadian as šeʾu, which the *CAD* glosses as "1. barley, grain, 2. grain (a unit of measure), 3. pine nut".

Powell has pointed out how difficult it is to identify words for plants (and animals): "Even with such commonly occurring cereals as še ('barley') and zíz ('emmer'), it is impossible to 'prove' their identifications in a rigorously logical way" (1984:49). Powell's article was published in the *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture*, a journal specifically devoted to all aspects of Sumerian agriculture.

The sign is the picture of a stalk of barley.

Text 22e

TCS 1, 13
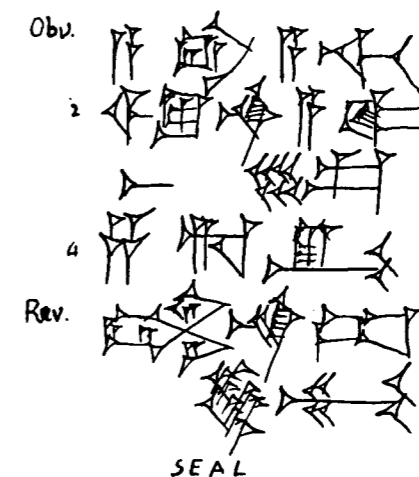
	Transliteration	Transcription	Translation
1:	A-bi-a-ti	[Abiati].(r)	To Abiati
2:	u₃-na-a-dug₄	u₃.(i₃.)na.(e.)dug₄	speak:
3:	1 še gur	[1 še gur].Ø	1 gur of barley
4:	Za-ri-iq	[Zarriq].(ra)	to Zarriq
5:	ḫe₂-na-ab-sum-mu	ḫe₂.(i₃.)na.b.sum.e.Ø	let him give.

Commentary

3. When items are measured in the *gur* system of capacity measurement, the first signs to appear are the signs indicating the amount, here "1", written by a horizontal wedge. This is followed by the item being measured, here še. This is then followed by the gur-sign itself.
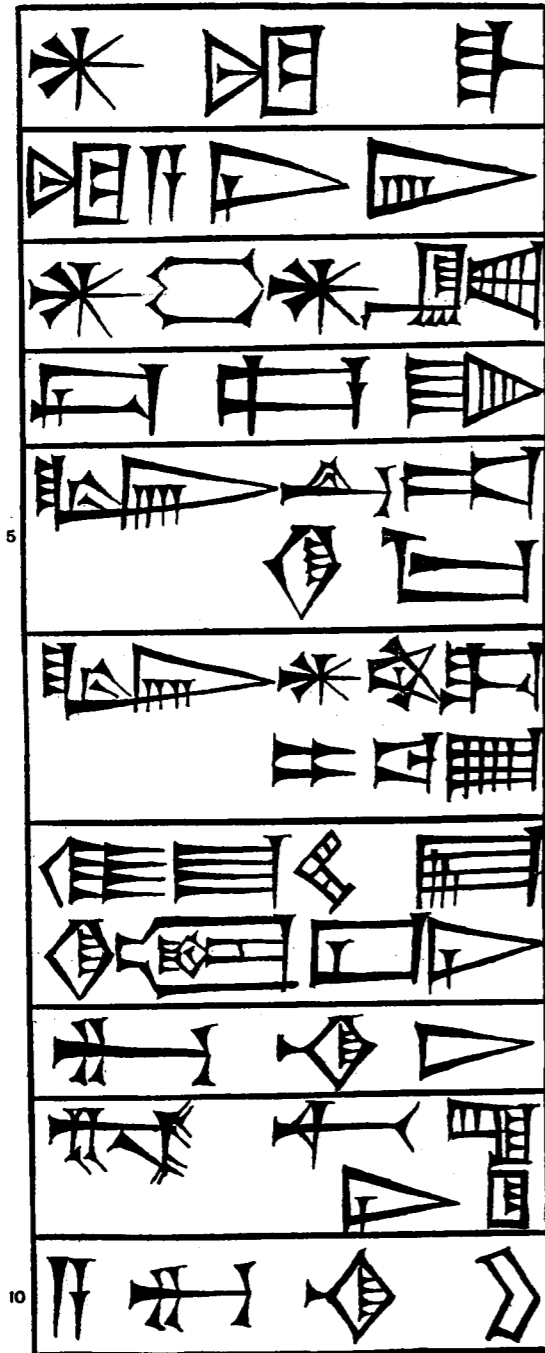
Discussion: Function

This is another terse message; the meaning is "Tell Abiati to give barley to Zarriq".

Text 22f
supplementary

Amar-Sin 13
Door socket

«𒈦 Lesson Twenty-Three «𒈦

Several different kinds of legal documents from ancient Mesopotamia have been preserved. The texts in this and the next *Lesson* are *ditila*s, one particular category of legal text. *Ditila* means "completed legal case". These are official records of legal cases, typically recording decisions rendered by judges in disputes of various kinds. The category also includes different types of court notarization. These *ditila*s may have been kept in a central archive, and not given to the litigants.

*Ditila*s are informative because they show the legal system actually in operation, as opposed to the law codes which show it in theory. While thereby providing a window into the social structure of Ur III, these texts undoubtedly represent the concerns of only the more elite members of that society, and so one cannot generalize from them to all of Ur III society. Moreover, it has frequently been pointed out that the legal processes seen in the *ditila*s and other Sumerian documents do not seem to correspond to the provisions of the attested law codes; furthermore, no contemporary text refers to any of the law codes. This discrepancy is disconcerting.

*Ditila*s are attested only from the time of Shulgi on; they thus represent one facet of his reorganization of the structure of Ur III government and administration. Over 300 have been preserved, almost all of which were found in Lagash. In 1956 Falkenstein published *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden (NSGU)*, in three volumes. Volume 1 is an introduction and thorough study of the *ditila*s, Volume 2 consists of transliterations, translations, and commentaries upon the texts, and Volume 3 includes indices, some copies, and a copious glossary; this latter has become a standard glossary of Ur III Sumerian. *NSGU* is the basic work upon which all further study of *ditila*s rests.

The language of these texts is even more difficult than that of the letters in the preceding *Lesson*. Partially this is due to the variety of constructions used, partially to the opacity of legal phraseology in any language. Moreover, the paleography can be even more daunting than that of the letters. Many PNs occur.

Perhaps needless to say, reading these *ditila*s raises many questions about the specific legal cases involved and about the theory and practice of the Ur III legal system in general, questions which can hardly be answered.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒁹   Determinative preceding PNs. Transliterated by a superscript [m].

𒂖𒀩   Ig-<u>alim</u>   Igalim (DN)

𒌶   Ištaran   Ishtaran (DN)

𒁀-ši-šag₄-ra-gi Ba-ši-šag₄-ra-gi Bashishagragi (PN)

Lu₂-diĝir-ra Ludigira (PN)

Lu₂-ĝu₁₀ Lugu (PN)

Lu₂-ᵈŠara₂ Lu-Shara (PN)

Šag₄-šu-niĝin₂ Shagshunigin (PN)

U₂-še₃-ḫe₂-gin Ushehegin (PN)

Ur-ᵈIg-alim Ur-Igalim (PN)

Ur-ᵈIštaran Ur-Ishtaran (PN)

Ur-ᵈNanše Ur-Nanshe (PN)

di-kur₅ judge

di-til-la *ditila*

igi face

maškim bailiff

mu year

mu-lugal oath

na-ru₂-a stele

udul cowherd

mu-lugal...pad₃ to swear an oath

ru₂ to erect

tuku to have, to take, to marry

igi...še₃ towards, to

eš (syllabic)

ᵐ This is often called the "mister sign" or the "Personenkeil". It is regularly used in front of PNs in Akkadian, but its use in Sumerian is rather uncommon. It did not occur in any of the letter orders and occurs only sporadically in the *ditila*s. Its use may be due to Akkadian influence. It is sometimes transliterated by a superscript ᵐ and sometimes by a superscript ¹.

Ig-alim Ig-alim was a minor deity; he was a son of Ningirsu and Bau. His name is apparently a genitive phrase, "The door (ig) of the bison (alim)". The symbolism behind the name is obscure, to say the least, although alim may be a symbol of Ningirsu.

 alim itself is a borrowing from Akkadian alpu, "bull, ox". It was reborrowed back into Akkadian as alimbû, a rare word for "bison". The alim-sign is basically the giri₃-sign, which is the picture of an animal head and which is used in the formation of several signs for animals; to this was added the igi-sign, one of whose values is lim, as a phonetic complement.

Ištaran Ishtaran was also a relatively minor god, popular in the city of Der on the border between Mesopotamia and Elam. His name, of unknown etymology, is written with the ka and di-signs. It was formerly read Sataran.

Ba-ši-šag₄-ra-gi The etymology is unknown.

Lu₂-diĝir-ra The meaning is "Man of the god".

Lu₂-ĝu₁₀ The second sign can be read several ways, so the etymology is unsure. One possibility is simply Lu₂-ĝu₁₀, "My man".

Lu₂-ᵈŠara₂ This means "Man of Shara", the deity seen in Text 18.

Šag₄-šu-niĝin₂ This is a Sumerian word meaning "compassion" or "mercy". šag₄ is "heart". šu is "hand", and niĝin₂ is "to turn around" and "to gather"; šu-niĝin₂ is "totality", Akkadian napḫaru. The literal meaning of the PN is thus something like "heart-totality" or "whole heart".

U₂-še₃-ḫe₂-gin The etymology is unsure. Hallo (1996:47), after Falkenstein, suggests "May he (my son) go after brushwood (for me)", that is, to perform a filial duty. This is grammatically possible, but the formation of the name would be unique and the meaning unusual.

di-kur₅ This is the basic word for "judge", Akkadian dayyānu. The English word "judge" of course has connotations which may not well reflect the Sumerian term. In Sumerian this was a title, not a profession, and so individuals of various professions could serve as di-kur₅. In the *ditila*s, decisions were usually rendered by two to four judges. Needless to say, the details of how all this worked in practice are unknown to us.

 This is another case of an active participle, kur₅, with an incorporated object, di. The kur₅

element is the same <u>kur</u>$_5$ seen in <u>nam</u>...<u>kur</u>$_5$, "to curse". The element <u>di</u> may be a borrowing from Akkadian <u>dīnu</u>. It is, however, also possible that it is Sumerian, derived from the verb <u>dug</u>$_4$, "to speak"; this is discussed below.

di-til-la As mentioned above, this means "completed legal case", di.til.a. The <u>di</u> element seen here is the same <u>di</u> seen in the word <u>di</u>-<u>kur</u>$_5$. <u>til</u> in the sense "to put an end to" occurred in Text 14. A legal case which was not completed is a <u>di</u>-<u>nu</u>-<u>til</u>-<u>la</u>. The Akkadians sometimes translated <u>di</u>-<u>til</u>-<u>la</u> as <u>dīnu</u> <u>gamru</u> and <u>di</u>-<u>nu</u>-<u>til</u>-<u>la</u> as <u>dīnu</u> <u>lā</u> <u>gamru</u>.

igi This is basically "eye", Akkadian <u>īnu</u>; the sign is the picture of an eye. It can also represent "face", <u>pānu</u>.

maškim This term is also a title, not a profession. It is attested in many periods of Sumerian history, in different kinds of texts. It is very common in administrative and economic texts. In the *ditila*s the <u>maškim</u> functions as a high-ranking clerk or bailiff, in charge of the practical details of running the court procedures. The Akkadian equivalent is <u>rābiṣu</u>, again with many meanings; it is glossed by *AHw* as "1) Sachwalter, Kommissär 2) Aufpasser, Wächter". This is all discussed in the *RlA* under "maškim" by Edzard and Wiggermann.

The etymology is unknown. Sumerian has no primary nouns of the shape CVCCVC, so it is presumably a compound. It is written by the <u>pa</u>-sign ⫲ followed by the <u>kas</u>$_4$-sign 𒁽. As discussed in *Lesson Eighteen* in connection with the word <u>sipad</u>, "shepherd", the <u>pa</u>-sign read as <u>gidri</u> means "staff". <u>kas</u>$_4$ means "to run" (the term <u>kas</u>$_4$, "messenger", occurs in Text 24a and Text 26b). Thus the <u>maškim</u> was in charge of low-ranking gofers.

mu <u>mu</u> meaning "name" has occurred previously. It can also mean "year", Akkadian <u>šattu</u>. Stephen Langdon, in fact, argued that "The word *mu* in Sumerian never meant 'year' until it was used as 'name' of a year...After its use as 'name' of a year it completely ousted the real Sumerian word for 'year' *bal*, 'the change', and became universally used for year" (1935: 137).

mu-lugal...pad$_3$ <u>mu</u>-<u>lugal</u> is the general word for "oath by the king"; it is a genitive phrase. It is frequently used with the verb <u>pad</u>$_3$. The latter term, as seen previously, means "to call, to reveal". The equivalent Akkadian expression uses <u>nīšu</u>, literally "life", instead of the word for "name"; "oath of the king" is <u>nīš</u> <u>šarri</u>, and "to swear" such an oath is <u>nīš</u> <u>šarri</u> <u>tamû</u>.

na-ru$_2$**-a** The standard translation is "stele", meaning a large stone set upright, bearing an inscription and often a pictorial scene. The word was borrowed into Akkadian as <u>narû</u>, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. stone monument inscribed with laws and regulations, 2. boundary stone, 3. memorial monument set up by a king". Many uses of the <u>narû</u> are discussed in Joan Westenholz 1993.

In origin, this is a noun followed by an adjective in .a. It derives from <u>na</u>$_4$, the general word for "stone" (Akkadian <u>abnu</u>), and <u>ru</u>$_2$, which means "to erect" (<u>zaqāpu</u>). It is common to find

<u>na</u>-<u>ru</u>$_2$-<u>a</u> as the patient of the verbal root <u>ru</u>$_2$; <u>na</u>-<u>ru</u>$_2$-<u>a</u>...<u>ru</u>$_2$ means "to erect a stele".

The word for "bridge" in several Semitic languages—Akkadian <u>gišru</u>, Arabic <u>jisr</u>, and so on—may well go back to Sumerian <u>ğiš</u>-<u>ru</u>$_2$, meaning "a piece of wood erected" to serve as a bridge.

The <u>ru</u>$_2$-sign is the <u>du</u>$_3$-sign ⪢. Its value as <u>ru</u>$_2$ is uncommon outside this particular phrase. The fact that /du/ and /ru/ are phonetically similar and that "to build" and "to erect" are semantically similar cannot be accidental. It has been suggested that the initial consonant was originally the /dr/-phoneme, and somehow one original root split into two.

udul This is conventionally translated as "shepherd" or, more accurately, "cowherd". It was borrowed into Akkadian as <u>utullu</u>, glossed by *AHw* as "Oberhirt". It is discussed by Hartmut Waetzoldt (1982).

The first part of the <u>udul</u>-sign is the <u>ab</u>$_2$-sign, the word for "cow". The second part of the sign is the <u>ku</u>-sign, of unknown value here.

tuku This verb has several meanings and several Akkadian equivalents, including <u>išû</u>, <u>rašû</u> and <u>aḫāzu</u>; one of the meanings of the latter is "to marry". <u>tuku</u> itself enters into the formation of several idiomatic phrases; for example, <u>lu</u>$_2$-<u>a</u>$_2$-<u>tuku</u>, literally "man who has power", is translated by the *PSD* as "1. 'powerful (person)' 2. 'able-bodied,' 'athletic' 3. 'able, clever'". <u>šag</u>$_4$ <u>tuku</u>, literally "to have heart", is "to be brave".

<u>tuku</u> forms its <u>marû</u> by reduplication: <u>tuku</u>-<u>tuku</u>. As usual with such reduplication, various syllabic spellings show that phonetic reduction may have taken place.

It is possible that the sign is read <u>tuku</u> in the meaning "to have" but <u>du</u>$_{12}$ in the meaning "to marry".

igi...še$_3$ This is a kind of compound preposition. <u>igi</u> means "face"; it forms a genitive relationship with a following noun. -<u>še</u>$_3$ is the case marker of the terminative. The expression thus means "towards the face of"; "to PN", for example, is igi.PN.a(k).še$_3$.

This particular expression is very common, as are other similar expressions in the terminative; <u>mu</u>...<u>še</u>$_3$, "because", occurs in Text 24c.
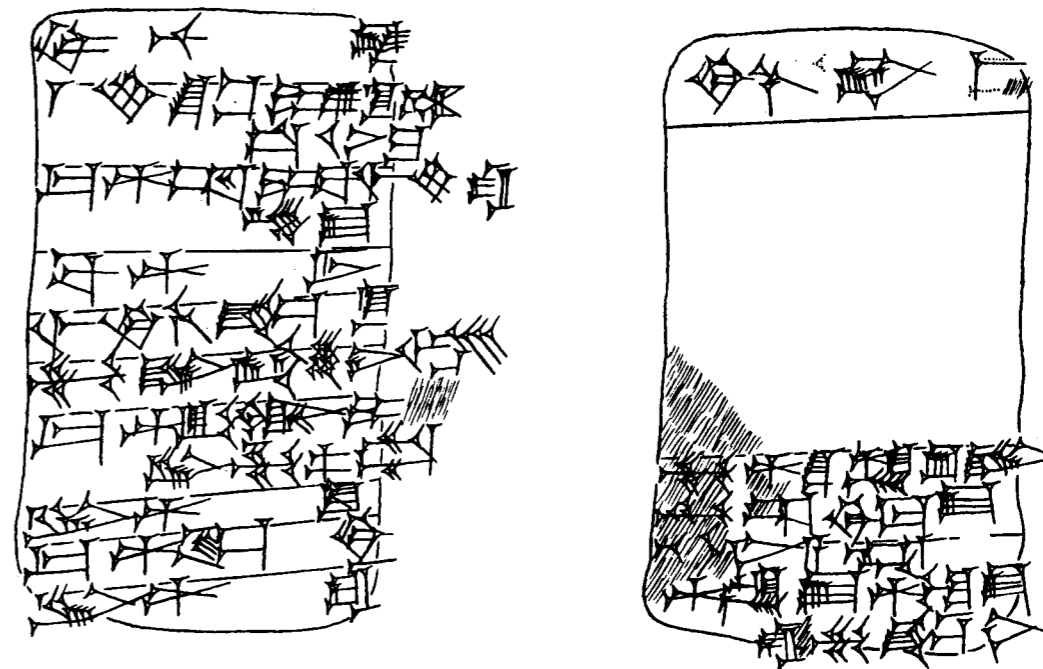
NSGU 1

This again is a photograph of high quality, but it is not easy to read, neither from the original nor from the reproduction in this *Manual*.

Text 23a

NSGU 1

In line 6, the pad$_3$-sign and the eš-sign are jammed together. In line 7, the lim-component of the alim-sign is hardly visible. In line 12, the ^{d}-sign and the En-sign form almost a ligature; this is common with these two signs in non-monumental texts.

	Transliteration	Transcription
1:	di-til-la	ditila
2:	^{m}Šag$_4$-šu-niǧin$_2$ dumu-U$_2$-še$_3$-ḫe$_2$-gin udul	[Šagšuniǧin dumu.Ušeḫegin udul.(a)].Ø
3:	Ur-^{d}Nanše dumu-Ba-ši-šag$_4$-ra-gi-ke$_4$	[Ur.Nanše dumu.Bašišagragi.k].e
4:	ba-an-tuku	ba.n.tuku.Ø
5:	igi-di-kur$_5$-ne-še$_3$	[igi.dikur.(e)ne(.k)].še$_3$
6:	mu-lugal-bi in-pad$_3$-eš	[mu.lugal.(ak).bi].Ø i$_3$.n.pad$_3$.eš.Ø
7:	Ur-^{d}Ig-alim dumu-Lu$_2$-ǧu$_{10}$ maškim	Ur.Igalim.(a) dumu.Luǧu maškim
8:	Lu$_2$-^{d}Šara$_2$	Lu.Šara

9: Ur-^dIštaran   Ur.Ištaran.(a)

10: Lu$_2$-diĝir-ra   Lu.diĝir.a

11: di-kur$_5$-bi-me   dikur.bi.me(š)

(space)

12: mu ^dŠu-^dZuen lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma-ke$_4$ mu: [ŠuZuen lugal.Urim$_5$.ak].e

13: na-ru$_2$-a maḫ   [narua.maḫ.Ø].Ø

14: ^dEn-lil$_2$ ^dNin-lil$_2$-ra mu-ne-ru$_2$ [Enlil Ninlil].ra mu.ne.(n.)ru$_2$.Ø

Translation

1: *Ditila.*

2: Ur-Nanshe, the son of Bashishagragi, has married Shagshunigin, the daughter of Ushe-hegin the cowherd.

5: Before the judges, they have taken the relevant oath.

7: Ur-Igalim, the son of Lugu, was bailiff.

8: Lu-Shara, Ur-Ishtaran, and Ludigira were the relevant judges.

12: The year when Shu-Sin, the king of Ur, erected the magnificent stele for Enlil and Ninlil (Shu-Sin 6).

Commentary

2. This line represents the patient, which here precedes the agent, presumably for emphasis.

Curiously, the only time the Personenkeil occurs in this text is before the name of the one woman mentioned.

dumu means "child" of either gender. It means "daughter" in line 2 but "son" in line 3.

3. This is the agentive phrase, marked by .e.

4. The verbal phrase "he married" almost always appears as ba-an-tuku, with the CP ba. The PA .n in the pre-verbal root position, cross-referencing the agent, is explicitly written.

The fuller form of the phrase is dam-še$_3$...tuku, "to take as a wife"; this occurs in Text 24c.

5. As discussed above, igi...še$_3$ forms a compound preposition, meaning "towards the face of". igi is in a genitive relation with its following noun, here the plural di-kur$_5$-ne.

.(e)ne marks the animate plural of di-kur$_5$. One explanation of the writing in -ne instead of the expected -e-ne (or something similar, such as -re-ne) is that the root kur$_5$ actually ends in a vowel; thus the root is sometimes understood as kuru$_5$. As has been discussed many times, however, it may be that the writing system did not need to indicate the full form of the morpheme .ene; other evidence is needed to show that the root was /kuru/ and not /kur/.

6. As mentioned above, mu-lugal...pad$_3$ is a technical legal expression meaning "to swear an oath in the name of the king". mu-lugal-bi is the patient. It is cross-referenced by the final .Ø in the verb form i$_3$.n.pad$_3$.eš.Ø.

It is unsure if .bi here and in line 11 is "its", or the collective "their", or the demonstrative

seen in line 12 of Text 11. Assuming the latter view, largely because of its legalistic color, the meaning is something like "the relevant".

6. The verb is in the ḫamṭu transitive plural, studied in *Lesson Fourteen*. To repeat the forms:

first person singular	mu-sar	mu.Ø.sar	I wrote.
second	mu-sar	mu.e.sar	You wrote.
third animate	mu-sar	mu.n.sar	He/she wrote.
inanimate	mu-sar	mu.b.sar	It wrote.
first person plural	mu-sar-en-de$_3$-en	mu.Ø.sar.enden	We wrote.
second	mu-sar-en-ze$_2$-en	mu.e.sar.enzen	You wrote.
third animate	mu-sar-eš	mu.n.sar.eš	They wrote.

The ending -eš is usually written, as here, with the eš-sign, 𒌍 . The writing in-pad$_3$-eš is thus morphemic; there is no attempt to continue the /d/ of the pad$_3$-sign.

7. This is an equational sentence, with no expressed copula: "PN was bailiff". Lines 8-11 are also an equational sentence, although there the copula is expressed: "PN$_1$, PN$_2$, and PN$_3$ were the judges". It is possible that the expressed copula in line 11 does double-duty for both equational sentences.

11. -me represents the third person plural enclitic copula. The singular forms of the enclitic copula were listed in *Lesson Fourteen*:

first person singular	-me-(en)
second	-me-(en)
third	-am$_3$ (after consonant)
	-m (after vowel)

The forms for the plural are written:

first person plural	-me-en-de$_3$-en
second	-me-en-ze$_2$-en
third	-me-eš

In earlier texts the third person plural is often written -me; in later texts, it is written both -me-eš and -me-eš$_2$. In the *ditila*s, -me is most common.

The use of the enclitic copula to name the judges involved in the case occurs throughout these *ditila*s. Most *ditila*s list either two, three, or four judges. The word di-kur$_5$ is not marked as a plural in this construction. It may be a collective, or perhaps the plural enclitic copula was sufficient to mark plurality.

12-14. These lines give the year date, discussed in *Lesson Eighteen*. The year date is regularly written on the bottom of the tablet, set off from the body of the *ditila* by physical space. This may have been done in order to file the tablets by date.

14. .ne is the marker of the third person plural dative DP, referring here back to Enlil and Ninlil. The DP which cross-references the third person singular dative has appeared often, .na. The dative DP has special forms for the first and second person singular and for the various plurals. It appears to be the only DP with such special forms. The forms for the first and second persons are not completely clear; several variants in spelling occur.

first:	a (?)
second:	ra (?)
third person animate:	na
inanimate:	ba (?)
first person plural:	me
second:	?
third:	ne

Discussion: Structure

Falkenstein studied the structure of *ditila*s in the first volume of *NSGU*. In this particular text, we see:

(1)   the heading *ditila* (line 1)
(2)   the case itself (lines 2-4)
(3)   statement about an oath (mu-lugal) (lines 5-6)
(4)   name of bailiff (line 7)
(5)   list of judges (lines 8-11)
(6)   date (lines 12-14)

The basic frame of almost all *ditila*s is the same: (1) the heading *ditila*; (2) facts concerning the case; (3) name of bailiff; (4) list of judges; (5) date. Text 23a also contains a statement about an oath, mu-lugal; this does not occur in all *ditila*s.

Within the presentation of the facts of the case (lines 2-4), the word order in Text 23a is patient-agent-verb. This position of the patient is presumably for emphasis.

— Function

*Ditila*s treat many different subjects. This text, No. 1 in *NSGU*, records a marriage. As stated above, the terseness of these records often raises more questions than answers about the practice of the Ur III legal system. For example, what did the oath (mu-lugal) mentioned in line 5 consist of? How was it administered? Why was this text even necessary? Were all marriages recorded?

This particular text, although labeled by the Sumerians themselves as a *ditila*, is not in fact a law suit, since there do not appear to be any parties contending with each other. It is more a kind of court registration.

— Roots

It has been mentioned several times that many verbs have two different roots, one for the ḫamṭu and one for the marû. Some have more, used for singular and plural subjects or objects. In addition, a few verbs have another root which is only used in certain nominal forms. These are sometimes called "non-finite roots". The derivation and function of these roots is not well understood at all. Thus the verb "to speak" is dug₄ (du₁₁) in the ḫamṭu and e in the marû. However, in certain non-finite forms, di appears. For example, gal-di, "prominent", is literally "one who speaks great things". It is unclear if the di which appears in the nouns di-til-la and di-kur₅ is this non-finite root di or a borrowing from Akkadian dīnu.
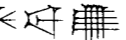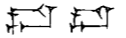
— Dating

*Ditila*s typically include a year date, but no indication of month or day. This particular text is dated to the sixth year of Shu-Sin's reign. We have no idea what the "magnificent stele" referred to in the year date was.
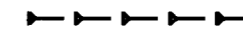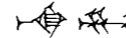
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Sign-list and vocabulary
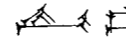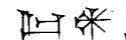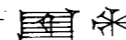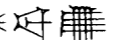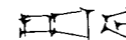
𒀠𒋃	Al-la Alla (DN; PN)
𒊮𒀭𒁀𒌑	Saḫar-ᵈBa-u₂ Sahar-Bau (DN)
𒁺𒁺𒈬	Du-du-mu Dudumu (PN)
𒇽𒊺𒂵	Lu₂-dug₃-ga Luduga (PN)
𒈾𒈬	Na-mu Namu (PN)
�	Šeš-kal-la Sheshkala (PN)
𒋾𒂊𒈤𒋫	Ti-e₂-maḫ-ta Tiemahta (PN)
�ur𒀭𒊮𒀭𒁀𒌑	Ur-ᵈSaḫar-ᵈBa-u₂ Ur-Sahar-Bau (PN)
𒀊𒁀	ab-ba father
𒉪	ibila son, heir
��erim	nam-erim₂ oath

𒀭 𒌋   siki-ba   wool rations

𒊺 𒌋   še-ba   barley rations

𒊺 𒌋   tud   to be born, to give birth

𒊺 𒌋   en₃   (syllabic)

Al-la Al-la, Akkadian Allatu, was a goddess of the Netherworld; she was perhaps identical with Ereshkigal. The etymology is unknown. The name is often written, as here, without the divine determinative.

It is, however, relatively uncommon for an individual to be given a name consisting solely of a DN, so perhaps there is some other explanation of the name.

Saḫar-ᵈBa-u₂ This is a compound DN. As discussed in *Lesson Ten*, Bau became identified with Inanna herself and with other goddesses. Little is known of Sahar; the saḫar-sign is the iš-sign.

Du-du-mu The etymology is unknown; Limet labels it as "exotic".

Lu₂-dug₃-ga This means "The good man" or "The man is good".

Na-mu This is also an "exotic" name.

Šeš-kal-la The name means "The precious brother" or "The brother is precious". The PN Ni-kal-la occurs in Text 22b and A-kal-la occurs in Text 24b.

Ti-e₂-maḫ-ta Perhaps this means "Life (comes) from the magnificent temple". A similar name formed with e₂-maḫ is Igi-e₂-maḫ-še₃, "Towards the magnificent temple".

ab-ba As discussed in *Lesson Eighteen*, this is one of the Sumerian words for "father".

ibila This means "oldest son; heir". Its Akkadian equivalent is aplu, glossed by the *CAD* as "heir, oldest son, son". The Sumerian is thought to be a borrowing from the Akkadian, although the Semitic etymology of aplu is somewhat shaky. ibila is usually written by two signs, the dumu-sign 𒌉 followed by the nitaḫ-sign 𒌋. In this text it is spelled syllabically, i₃-bi₂-la; this is not uncommon with this word, and is a clue to the fact that it is a loan.

nam-erim₂ The precise meaning of this term has often been discussed. nam is the marker for abstracts. It is not exactly sure what the erim₂-component means; it is written by the ne-ru-signs, but it is hard to say why. The Akkadian equivalent to nam-erim₂ is māmītu, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. oath (sworn by the king and the gods), sworn agreement, 2. curse (consequence of a broken oath attacking a person who took it, also as demonic power)".

The expression mu-lugal, "oath by the king", occurred in the preceding *ditila*. Both nam-

erim₂ and mu-lugal must have had specific legal meanings not visible to us.

siki-ba The word for "wool", siki, occurred in Text 22c. The verb ba occurred in Text 20c, where it was pointed out that the *PSD* glosses the verb as "1. 'to allot', 'to distribute', 'to assign', 'to give' 2. 'to give a gift'". In phrases such as siki-ba, the meaning is "wool ration". Note also the use of ba in the term nidba (Text 4), which presumably derives from ninda-ba.

**še-ba** The word for "barley", še, occurred in Text 22e.

The Akkadian equivalent of še-ba is ipru, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. barley ration (distributed by the administration of a temple, palace, etc.), 2. food allowance for subsistence (among private persons), 3. field allotted for subsistence".

tud This is a very common verb, meaning both "to be born" and "to give birth". It is equivalent to Akkadian walādu. It is spelled both tud and u₃-tud; the latter is presumably the older form.

en₃ This is the same sign read previously as le.

Text 23b

NSGU 32
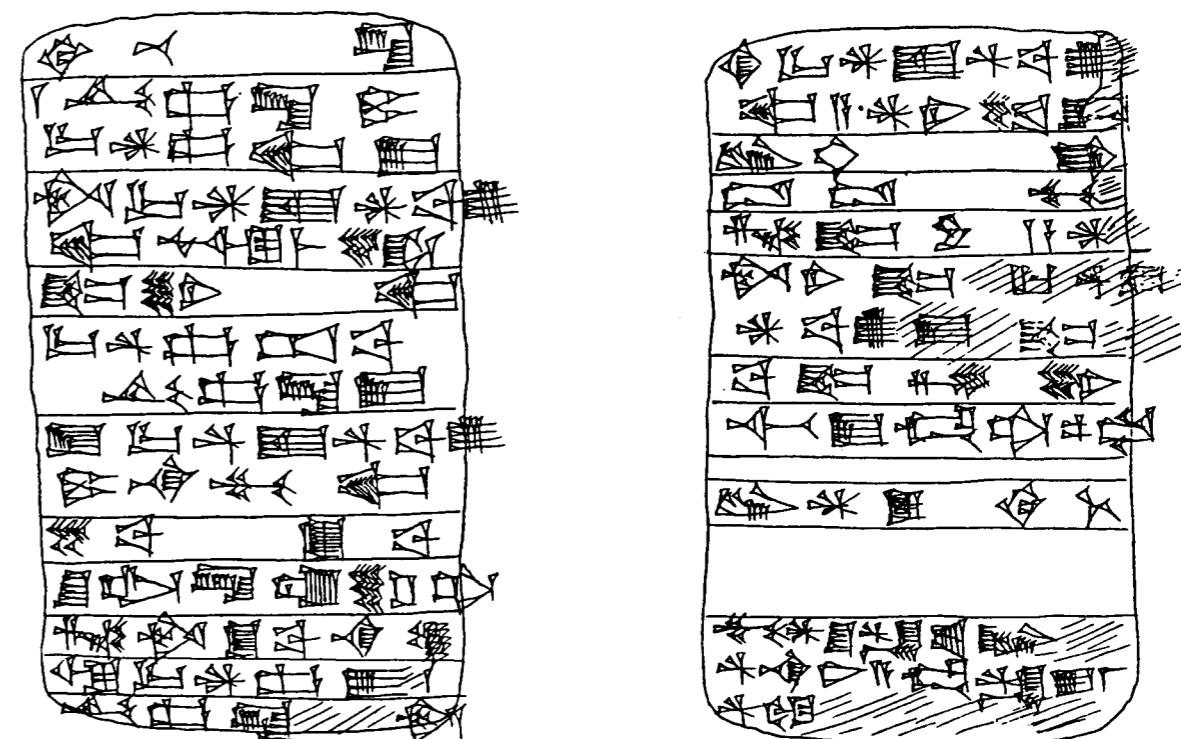
The autograph of this text and many others studied in *NSGU* was published by Henri de Genouillac in *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello*, a series appearing in Paris between 1910 and 1921. This was a time when knowledge of Sumerian was much weaker than it is now. It is very difficult to correctly copy texts which are not completely understood. Falkenstein was able to collate this tablet (and other *ditila*s), and occasionally saw signs which do not show up in de Genouillac's autographs; he marked these with a *. Such differences from the autograph are here marked with ¹.

Transliteration	**Transcription**
1: di-til-la	ditila
2: ᵐŠeš-kal-la dumu-Ur-ᵈLamar-ka-ke₄	[Šeškala dumu.Ur.Lamar.(a)k.ak].e
3: arad₂-Ur-ᵈSaḫar-ᵈBa-u₂-ka nu-u₃-me-en₃	[arad.Ur.Saḫarbau.k.a nu.(i₃.)me.en]
4: bi₂-in-dug₄	bi₂.n.dug₄
5: Ur-ᵈLamar ab-ba-Šeš-kal-la-ke₄	[Ur.Lamar abba.Šeškala.k].e
6: e₂-Ur-ᵈSaḫar-ᵈBa-u₂ dumu-Na-mu-ka	[e₂.Ur.Saḫarbau dumu.Namu.k.(ak)].a
7: še-ba siki-ba	[še.ba siki.ba].Ø
8: šu Al-la dub-sar-ta	[šu.Alla dubsar.(ak)].ta
9: nam-arad₂-še₃ ba-na-sum	[nam.arad].še₃ ba.na.sum.Ø
10: u₃ Ur-ᵈLamar-ke₄	u₃ [Ur.Lamar.(a)k].e
11: Šeš-kal-la arad₂	[Šeškala arad].Ø
12: ki-Ur-ᵈSaḫar-ᵈBa-u₂-ka-am₃ i₃-tud-da	[ki.Ur.Saḫarbau.k].am₃ i₃.tud.Ø.a
13: Lu₂-dug₃-ga	Luduga
14: Du-du-mu	Dudumu
15: nam-erim₂-am₃	[nam.erim₂].am₃
16: arad₂ i₃-bi₂-[la] Ur-ᵈSaḫar-ᵈBa-u₂-ke₄-ne	arad.Ø [ibila.Ur.Saḫarbau.k.ene].(r)
17: ba-ne-gi-in	ba.ne.gin.Ø
18: Ti-e₂-maḫ-ta maškim	Tiemaḫta maškim
(space)	
19: Lu₂-ᵈŠara₂ di-kur₅	Lu.Šara dikur
(space)	
20: mu ᵈŠu-ᵈZuen lugal-e¹ ᵈna-ru₂-a-maḫ	mu: [ŠuZuen lugal].e [narua.maḫ.Ø].Ø
ᵈEn-lil₂-la₂ ᵈNin-lil₂¹-[la₂ mu-ne-ru₂]	[Enlil].a [Ninlil].a mu.ne.(n.)ru₂.Ø

Translation

1: *Ditila.*

2: Sheshkala, the son of Ur-Lamar, said: "I am not the slave of Ur-Sahar-Bau!".

5: It is an oath of Luduga and Dudumu that barley rations and wool rations had been given to Ur-Lamar, the father of Sheshkala, in the house of Ur-Sahar-Bau, the son of Namu, on the authority of Alla the scribe, because of his status as slave, and that Sheshkala the slave was born to Ur-Lamar on the very premises of Ur-Sahar-Bau.

16: The slave has (thus) been confirmed to the heirs of Ur-Sahar-Bau.

18: Tiemahta was bailiff.

19: Lu-Shara was judge.

20: The year when Shu-Sin the king erected the magnificent stele for Enlil and Ninlil (Shú-Sin 6).

Commentary

2. This is the agent of the verb bi₂-in-dug₄ in line 4.

3. This is quoted, direct speech, governed by the verb in line 4. Sumerian typically uses no marker to indicate direct speech, that is, there is nothing except context to indicate that line 3 is direct speech. In essence, the quote functions as the direct object (patient) of dug₄.

arad₂ forms a genitive phrase with the PN Ur-ᵈSaḫar-ᵈBa-u₂. The latter is itself a genitive phrase. This produces a double genitive, arad.Ur.SaharBau.k.a(k), which is written as expected: -ᵈBa-u₂-ka. In line 6, however, one of the /ak/ elements is not visible, nor does it appear in line 12 or line 16. Presumably the PN was no longer treated as a genitive phrase. It is difficult to understand such variant spellings in similar contexts.

As discussed in *Lesson Ten*, the copula in Sumerian can be expressed in two ways: by the enclitic copula or the independent copula. In all previous texts, the enclitic copula was used; here, the independent copula is used. This is formed by conjugating the root me (Thomsen §536). Typical spellings for the copula in the singular are:

first person singular	i₃-me-(en)
second	i₃-me-(en)
third	i₃-me

In this text the first person form is written with the le-sign, read en₃: -me-en₃. This is rather an unusual spelling, but it seems the only analysis possible here.

The root me does not have a ḫamṭu ~ marû distinction. It is thus hard to say how the morphology behind the writing should be understood.

The independent copula is used much less frequently than the enclitic copula. However, it is not uncommon when the form is negative or when some modal nuance expressed by a MP is necessary.

As discussed in *Lesson Fifteen* and *Lesson Sixteen*, nu is the marker of the negative, which can precede both nominal and verbal forms. When used with verbal forms, it belongs to the category of MPs. It should then be followed by a CP. Here it is assumed that i₃ has contracted into nu: nu.(i₃.)me.en, "I am not". The spelling nu-u₃-me-en₃ may reflect this contraction; the spelling nu-u₃- is not uncommon in Ur III and post-Ur III texts (Thomsen §361).

4. As stated above, there is no direct object (patient) of <u>dug</u>₄, only the direct speech quoted in line 3. There is thus probably no PA .Ø at the end of the verb form.

5. Lines 5-15 form the core of the *ditila*, presenting the facts of the case. The main element in this complex is lines 13-15, "It is an oath of Luduga and Dudumu that". This type of oath is known as an "asseverative oath", an oath which declares that an action has actually taken place. This type of oath is typically formed by: (1) a sentence (or more) nominalized in .a forming the contents of the oath; (2) a list of the PNs declaring the oath; (3) the phrase <u>nam</u>-<u>erim</u>₂-<u>am</u>₃. The syntactic relation of these three elements to each other is unclear and will be discussed below.

Here, lines 5-12 give the contents of the oath. This consists of two sentences marked by a nominalizer at the end of line 12.

Lines 5-9 form a passive sentence; the subject (patient) is the <u>še</u>-<u>ba</u> and <u>siki</u>-<u>ba</u> of line 7: "Barley rations and wool rations had been given". Line 5 is the indirect object complement "to Ur-Lamar" and line 6 is the locative complement "in the house of Ur-Sahar-Bau".

The final .e at the end of line 5 marks the noun phrase as the indirect object of <u>sum</u>. The verb <u>sum</u> normally governs the dative, but here the locative-terminative is used instead. This is a not uncommon use of the locative-terminative in later Sumerian. A somewhat similar case occurred in Text 21, where the benefactive "for Meslamtaea" was expressed by the locative-terminative.

6. As discussed at line 3, one might have expected another -<u>ka</u>-sign, to express the sequence of two /(a)k/s followed by a locative:

$$e_2 \left[. \begin{bmatrix} \text{Ur.Saharbau} \\ \text{dumu.Namu.k} \end{bmatrix} .ak \right] .a$$

Similarly, lines 12 and 16 seem to lack an expected /ak/. In Text 10, a somewhat situation arose:

$$\begin{matrix} \text{Bauninam} \\ \text{zabardab} \end{matrix} \left[. \begin{bmatrix} \text{Ur.Ningirsu} \\ \text{en.ki.aga}_2.\text{a.Nanše.k} \end{bmatrix} ak \right] .e$$

The writing of the end of that nominal phrase was as expected: ...ᵈ<u>Nanše</u>-<u>ka</u>-<u>ke</u>₄.

8. <u>šu</u>...<u>ta</u> is a common expression, literally meaning "from the hand of"; <u>šu</u> is thus the first element of a genitive phrase. As discussed in *Lesson Sixteen*, the ablative cannot be used with animate nouns; instead, a periphrasis of some kind is required. Here <u>šu</u>...<u>ta</u> is used; <u>ki</u>...<u>ta</u> is used in Text 24a. Here the expression may have had some special legal connotation, perhaps "on the authority of".

9. <u>nam</u> is used here with <u>arad</u>₂ to form an abstract, "<u>arad</u>₂-ship". The terminative in .še₃ here expresses "because of <u>arad</u>₂-ship"; Thomsen (§198) lists several similar expressions.

The verb is passive, ba.na.sum.Ø. The PA cross-references the passive subject (patient) [<u>še</u>-ba <u>siki</u>-ba].Ø. The dative -<u>na</u> cross-references the locative-terminative which expresses the indirect object in line 5.

As stated above, the general structure of an oath requires a sentence nominalized in .a serving essentially as a predicate. When this predicate consists of two or more sentences, it is usual for each to be nominalized in .a. Thus Falkenstein transliterated this line as <u>ba</u>-<u>na</u>-<u>sum</u>-[<u>ma</u>]. There are no traces on the autograph of the presumed <u>ma</u>-sign, and evidently Falkenstein saw no such traces during his collation of the tablet; otherwise he would have transliterated the end as -*<u>ma</u>. It is assumed here that the final .a of line 12 does double-duty for both sentences.

10. In Text 15, <u>u</u>₃ introduced the last in a sequence of three nouns. Here it introduces the second sentence of the oath formula. This is also a passive sentence, "Sheshkala was born".

The verb <u>tud</u>, "to be born to", governs the locative-terminative case marked by the .e at the end of line 10. It would also have been possible to use the dative -<u>ra</u>.

12. It is hard to say what <u>ki</u> means here exactly; it has been interpreted here as "on the premises of Ur-Sahar-Bau".

The nominal phrase ends in the enclitic copula, and not the expected locative case. It is not rare to find the enclitic copula either in place of one of the case endings or even tacked onto one of them (Thomsen §45; Gragg [1968] 98). This usage is called both the "replacement of the case marker by the enclitic copula" and the "frozen use of the enclitic copula". This usage was presumably for some kind of emphasis, similar to the use of the enclitic copula to mark a circumstantial clause discussed in *Lesson Sixteen*. Since here the enclitic copula replaces the locative, the sense might be "...that *it was on the very premises* of Ur-Sahar-Bau that Sheshkala the slave was born to Ur-Lamar".

The final .a nominalizes the preceding sentence. As mentioned above, we would also expect to find a nominalizing .a at the end of line 9. Falkenstein solved the problem of its absence there by assuming the tablet was damaged, hence his transliteration -[<u>ma</u>], but it is assumed here that the .a at the end of line 12 does double-duty for both sentences.

13. Lines 13-14 are the names of the individuals giving the oath; they are thus the second element of the oath formula.

15. The formula <u>nam</u>-<u>erim</u>₂-<u>am</u>₃, an enclitic copula, forms the third component of the oath formula: "It is an oath".

16. Lines 16 and 17 presumably form a passive sentence, with <u>arad</u>₂ being the subject (patient) of the verb in line 17: "The slave was confirmed to".

The singular of this phrase is "the heir of Ur-Sahar-Bau", ibila.Ur.Saharbau. To make this plural, English pluralizes the head noun: "the heirs of Ur-Sahar-Bau". Sumerian, however, makes this plural by adding .ene on to the entire expression: [ibila.Ur.Saharbau.k].ene. This is the regular method of pluralizing noun phrases. For example, <u>šeš</u> is "brother", <u>šeš</u>-<u>gal</u> is "older brother", and <u>šeš</u>-<u>gal</u>-<u>zu</u> is "your older brother". This is pluralized by adding .ene, producing such forms as <u>šeš</u>-<u>gal</u>-<u>zu</u>-<u>u</u>₃-<u>ne</u>, "your older brothers".

The ending of the phrase is written -<u>ke</u>₄-<u>ne</u>, a not uncommon spelling. However, one would expect the phrase to be marked by one of the adverbial cases. Either the dative is used here, appearing as /r/ after a vowel and hence not marked in the writing, or the spelling represents another instance of the locative-terminative replacing the dative.

17. The root gi-<u>in</u> was seen in Text 20a and Text 20d. In the latter, the meaning was "to standardize". Here the meaning is something like "to confirm the status of". A similar use occurs in Text 24a.

The -<u>ne</u> is again the dative plural DP, seen in the preceding *ditila*, cross-referencing "the heirs of Ur-Sahar-Bau".

20. This is the same year date which occurred in Text 23a, but with differences in wording.

23b: <u>mu</u> ^d<u>Šu</u>-^d<u>Zuen</u> <u>lugal</u>-<u>e</u>   ^d<u>na-ru₂-a-maḫ</u> ^d<u>En-lil₂-la₂</u> ^d<u>Nin-lil₂-la₂</u> <u>mu-ne-ru₂</u>
23a: <u>mu</u> ^d<u>Šu</u>-^d<u>Zuen</u> <u>lugal-Urim₅</u>^{ki}-<u>ma-ke₄</u> <u>na-ru₂-a-maḫ</u> ^d<u>En-lil₂</u>   ^d<u>Nin-lil₂-ra</u> <u>mu-ne-ru₂</u>

There is often a small amount of variation in the wording of year dates. In 23b, Shu-Sin is called "king", not "king of Ur". The words for "magnificent stele" are preceded by the divine determinative; this is not uncommon with this phrase. Both Enlil and Ninlil are either in the locative case, instead of the expected dative case, or in the genitive.

Discussion: Structure

The basic structure of this text is similar to Text 23a. Here we see:

(1)   the heading *ditila* (line 1)
(2)   claim of litigant (lines 2-4)
(3)   oath (<u>nam-erim₂-am₃</u>) concerning facts (lines 5-15)
(4)   decision rendered (lines 16-17)
(5)   name of bailiff (line 18)
(6)   name of judge (line 19)
(7)   date (line 20)

The structure of Text 23a was:

(1)   the heading *ditila* (line 1)
(2)   the case itself (lines 2-4)
(3)   statement about an oath (<u>mu-lugal</u>) (lines 5-6)
(4)   name of bailiff (line 7)
(5)   list of judges (lines 8-11)
(6)   date (line 12)

The overall frame is the same: the heading *ditila*; the claims and facts; the name of the bailiff; the list of judges; the year date. However, Text 23b includes both an oath and a legal decision. Text 23b only lists one judge; this is somewhat unusual.

Within the first sentence of the oath detailing the facts, the word order is complex. First comes the indirect object, "to Ur-Lamar" (line 5); then the locative, "in the house of Ur-Sahar-Bau" (6); then the patient of the passive verb, "barley rations and wool rations" (7); then the ablative "on the authority of Alla" (8); then the causal "because of his status" (9); then finally

the passive verb (9).

— Function

Unlike Text 23a, this *ditila* is the resolution of a dispute. Sheshkala had apparently denied the fact that he was a slave of Ur-Sahar-Bau, but witnesses testified that his father had been a slave of Ur-Sahar-Bau, and that Sheshkala had been born into the same house. As a result of the investigation, he was assigned to the heirs of Ur-Sahar-Bau. Other *ditila*s record similar cases of individuals contesting their status as slave.

The key phrase here is probably the <u>nam-arad₂-še₃</u> of line 9. Sheshkala must have claimed that even though his father had worked and received rations, he was not a slave.

Again, of course, questions arise. Who was this scribe Alla? What was his job? Why is only one judge involved?

The Lu-Shara listed here as judge is the same Lu-Shara listed among the judges in Text 23a. Only a small number of judges occur in these *ditila*s.

— Oaths

The different kinds of oaths occurring in the *ditila*s were studied by Falkenstein in *NSGU*. Edzard produced a more detailed study, examining oaths from different periods of Sumerian, in his "Zum sumerischen Eid" (1975a). There are two basic kinds of oath: the asseverative oath (assertorischer Eid), which declares that an action has actually been done, and the promissory oath (promissorischer Eid), which declares that an action will be done in the future. In the Ur III texts, each oath is formulated differently. As seen in this text, an asseverative oath typically includes three components: (1) one or more sentences nominalized in .a; (2) a list of the PNs declaring the oath; (3) the phrase <u>nam-erim₂-am₃</u>. While this describes the surface, it is not easy to see the syntactic relation of these three elements to each other. There is, for example, no visible morphology marking the case of the PNs. Perhaps there is an anticipatory genitive: "of PNs, it is an oath (that)", and the preceding nominalized sentences form the predicate of a nominal sentence. However, it may well be that the wording is a reduction of some more complicated legal phraseology which we cannot yet determine. These three elements may have functioned as a list, almost like responses to a form being filled out, and thus there is no syntactic relationship between the three elements.

— Noun formation

It has frequently been noted that whereas <u>dub-sar</u> means "one who writes a tablet", <u>še-ba</u> does not mean "one who gives barley". Formations of the type <u>dub-sar</u> are active participles with incorporated direct objects, still to some degree a productive process of word formation in Sumerian. Formations such as <u>še-ba</u> may be very old noun-noun compounds, a kind of formation which became unproductive in historic Sumerian. Thus on the surface <u>dub-sar</u> and <u>še-ba</u> look the same, but historically they arise from different routes.

— Rations

The words "barley rations" and "wool rations" occur in line 7. Van De Mieroop notes that "Rations were the hallmark of the early Mesopotamian economy" (1997:154). In 1965 Gelb studied "The Ancient Mesopotamian Ration System", an article fascinating for the light it sheds on daily life, light which Gelb gathered mostly from the run-of-the-mill administrative and economic texts studied in the last two *Lessons* of this *Manual* (Daniel Potts calls Gelb "the godfather of all studies on the ancient Mesopotamian ration system" [1997:156]). Gelb says that the standard ration system "involves regular distribution of three basic commodities: barley, oil, and wool" (1965:230). These were not wages, but rather rations given to a semi-free class of laborers, neither completely free nor slaves. Only in post-Ur III times do free laborers, receiving a$_2$ "wages", occur. Gelb was able to reconstruct the standard rations of barley, oil, and wool for men, women, and children, and to determine the time of year in which these rations were distributed.

⟪🏛 Lesson Twenty-Four ⟪🏛

The texts in this *Lesson* are three more *ditila*s.

Sign-list and vocabulary

Determinative preceding professions. Transliterated by a superscript ^{lu_2}.

A$_2$-šag$_5$-ga   Ashaga   (PN)

Amar-ka$_5$-a   Amarkaa   (PN)

E$_2$-ur$_2$-bi-dug$_3$ Eurbidug   (PN)

Ur-ab-ba   Urabba   (PN)

Ur-^{d}Ba-u$_2$ Ur-Bau   (PN)

Ur-e$_2$ Ure   (PN)

Ur-gar   Urgar   (PN)

Ur-meš$_3$ Urmesh   (PN)

Si-ma-num$_2$ Simanum   (GN)

gin$_2$ (unit of measurement)

inim   word, case

kas$_4$ messenger

lu$_2$-inim-ma   witness

šam$_2$ purchase price

ḫul   to destroy

sa$_{10}$ to purchase

⊞⊣   us₂   to follow

⊞⊞   sa (syllabic)

lu₂ In Akkadian, this is a common determinative preceding words indicating professions, titles, and so on. It is relatively uncommon in Sumerian, and may be due to Akkadian influence; compare the use of the Personenkeil discussed at Text 23a. In some cases it is difficult to decide whether the lu₂-sign functions as a determinative or as the noun lu₂, "man", forming a noun-noun compound with a following word.

A₂-šag₅-ga This means "The good arm", alluding to the power of the king or of a divinity.

Amar-ka₅-a ka₅-a means "fox", Akkadian šēlebu. It is written with two signs: the lul-sign ⊞ read as ka₅, followed by the a-sign. It is hard to say how such a word was actually pronounced; the writing ka₅-a might indicate a long vowel, or perhaps there was a weak consonant between the two /a/s. Falkenstein read both signs together as ka₁₀, but there is little evidence for such a reading.

As discussed in *Lesson Twelve*, amar can be used for the young of many animals; here it is used for the baby of a fox, thus the PN means "Young fox".

E₂-ur₂-bi-dug₃ ur₂ is "foundation", Akkadian išdu. The name thus means "The house whose foundation is good". As Limet says, this presumably means that a son had been born to carry on the family line (1968:204).

Ur-ab-ba This means "Man of the father".

Ur-e₂ This presumably means "Man of the temple" or something similar.

Ur-gar The gar-sign has so many readings and values that it is not sure what this name means. To indicate this difficulty, Falkenstein read the second sign in caps, Ur-GAR.

Ur-meš₃ meš₃ occurred in *Lesson Eleven* in the PN Bil₃-ga-meš₃ meaning "young man" or perhaps "hero". The meaning here is "Man of the hero", alluding to some divinity.

Si-ma-num₂ This was an area in the north of Mesopotamia; its exact location is unsure.

gin₂ As discussed at Text 20a, this unit of measurement was 1/60th of a ma-na. The Akkadian equivalent is the šiqlu.

inim This is a very common word, with a wide range of meanings. The Akkadian equivalent, awātu, is glossed by the *CAD* as "1. spoken word, utterance, formula, 2. news, report, message, rumor, secret, interpretation, plan, thought, 3. wording, text, context, terms of an agreement, 4. command, order, decision, 5. legal case, case in court, legal transaction, 6. matter, affair, thing". inim is written with the ka-sign, which is used to represent many words, including

inim "word", ka "mouth", kiri₃ "nose", zu₂ "tooth", and so on. As discussed in *Lesson Eight*, the ka-sign is the sag̃-sign with *gunu*.

kas₄ The verbal root basically means "to run", Akkadian lasāmu. The form here is an active participle, "runner"; he was a courier or messenger. The Akkadian equivalent is lāsimu, also an active participle, glossed by the *CAD* as "express messenger, (military) scout".

It is written with the du-sign, in origin the picture of a leg and foot, with šeššig-strokes. It is sometimes read im₂ or rim₄. It is now thought that in its meaning "to run; messenger" it is read kas₄ (or kaš₄), and in another meaning, "to change", it is read im₂.

lu₂-inim-ma This literally means "man of the case", lu₂.inim.a(k). The Akkadian equivalent is šību, glossed by the *CAD* as "1. old man, old woman, 2. (in pl.) elders, 3. witness".

šam₂ This is discussed immediately below under sa₁₀.

hul This means "to destroy". Its most common Akkadian equivalent is lapātu.

sa₁₀ This is the most common verb meaning "to purchase"; in some contexts it can also mean "to sell".

The relationship between the verb "to purchase" and the noun "purchase price" is complex; this is discussed in Steinkeller 1989:153-162. Syllabic writings show that the verb ends in /a/ and that the noun ends in /am/. The evidence is less clear about the initial sibilant, but it seems that the verb begins with /s/ and the noun begins with /š/. Thus, it appears that the verb is /sa/ while the noun is /šam/. Any possible morphological connection between the two is not transparent; Sumerian has no suffix in /-m/ which forms nouns from verbs.

Verbal forms from sa₁₀ are normally written with the ninda₂-sign with an inscribed še-sign. This is the way the verb form in line 6 of Text 24a is written. The noun šam₂, however, is usually written with the ninda₂-sign with an inscribed še-sign *and* an inscribed am₃-sign, the latter serving as a phonetic complement. The am₃-sign itself is composed of the a-an-signs. Either of the three signs še, a, and an can stand outside of the frame sign, instead of inside it. In line 3 of Text 24a, the am₃-sign is outside of and following the ninda₂-sign with its inscribed še-sign.

This distinction between the writing of the verbal form and the writing of the nominal form is regularly maintained through the Ur III period, but eventually breaks down, so that in later periods several different spellings are encountered for both the verb and the noun.

The use of one transliteration for the noun šam₂ masks its various spellings. In line 3 of this text, a precise transliteration of the noun would be šam₂ ((ninda₂ x še).a.an). The outer set of parentheses is used to enclose an explicit transliteration. The inner set of parentheses indicates that the ninda₂-sign with its inscribed še-sign is followed by the a-sign and then the an-sign.

The literal meaning of the verb is "to measure out grain to". As mentioned above, the verb is written with the ninda₂-sign inside of which is the še-sign. The ninda₂-sign is some kind of container, while še represents barley. The verb sa₁₀ thus uses the terminative case to express

the person *from* whom the purchase is made, because the literal meaning is "to measure out grain *to*".

The Akkadian equivalent verb is <u>šâmu</u>. It is not sure if the Akkadian is borrowed from the Sumerian, or the Sumerian from the Akkadian, or if there is a chance phonetic relationship between the two. Akkadian borrowed many nouns from Sumerian, but there are no clear cases of it borrowing verbs; this is presumably because of the difficulty of extracting a tri-radical root from a Sumerian verbal form. There are a few cases of Sumerian verbs deriving from Akkadian; gi-<u>in</u> has already occurred, and ḫa-<u>za</u> is presumably from a<u>ḫā</u>zu. Perhaps at one time the verb and the noun were the same in Sumerian, /sa/, but Akkadian influenced the Sumerian noun, producing /šam/.

us$_2$ This has occurred in the expression <u>saĝ-us$_2$</u>, "supporter, sustainer, patron", discussed in *Lesson Twelve*. By itself, <u>us$_2$</u> can mean "to follow".

Text 24a

NSGU 79
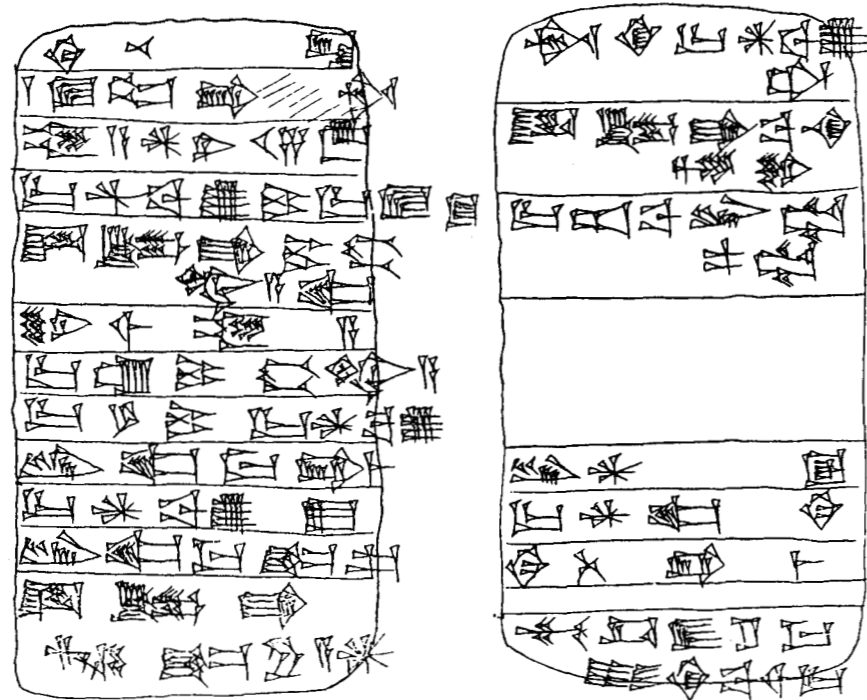
Transliteration

1: <u>di-til-la</u>

2: ᵐ<u>E$_2$-ur$_2$-bi</u>-[<u>dug$_3$</u>] <u>arad$_2$</u>

3: <u>šam$_2$-ni</u> 15 <u>gin$_2$-še$_3$</u>!

4: <u>Ur-ᵈBa-u$_2$</u> <u>dumu-Ur-e$_2$-še$_3$</u>

5: <u>A$_2$-šag$_5$-ga</u> <u>dumu-Amar-ka$_5$-a-ka-ke$_4$</u>!

6: <u>in-ši-sa$_{10}$-a</u>

7: <u>Ur-meš$_3$</u> <u>dumu-Amar-ka$_5$-a</u>

8: <u>Ur-gar</u> <u>dumu-Ur-ᵈBa-u$_2$</u>

9: <u>lu$_2$-inim-ma-bi-me</u>

10: <u>Ur-ᵈBa-u$_2$-ke$_4$</u>

11: <u>lu$_2$-inim-ma</u> <u>bi$_2$-gur</u>

12: <u>A$_2$-šag$_5$-ga</u> <u>nam-erim$_2$-am$_3$</u>

13: <u>arad$_2$</u> <u>ki-Ur-ᵈBa-u$_2$-ta</u>

14: <u>A$_2$-šag$_5$-ga</u> <u>ba-na-gi-in</u>

15: <u>Ur-ab-ba</u> ^{lu$_2$}<u>kas$_4$</u> <u>maškim</u>
     (space)

16: <u>Lu$_2$-ᵈŠara$_2$</u>

17: <u>Ur-ᵈIštaran</u>

18: <u>di-kur$_5$-bi-me</u>
     (space)

19: <u>mu-us$_2$-sa</u> <u>Si-ma-num$_2$</u>ᵏⁱ <u>ba-ḫul</u>

Transcription

ditila

[Eurbidug arad].Ø

[šam$_2$.(a)ni 15 gin$_2$].še$_3$

[Ur.Bau dumu.Ure.(k)].še$_3$

[Ašaga dumu.Amar.kaa.k.ak].e

[i$_3$.n.ši.(n.)sa$_{10}$.Ø].a

[Ur.meš.(a) dumu.Amar.kaa

Urgar dumu.Ur.Bau]

[lu$_2$.inim.a(k).bi].me(š)

[Ur.Bau.k].e

[lu$_2$.inim.a].Ø bi$_2$.(n.)gur.Ø

Ašaga [nam.erim$_2$].am$_3$

[arad].Ø [ki.Ur.Bau.(k)].ta

[Ašaga].(r) ba.na.gin.Ø

Ur.abba kas$_4$ maškim

Lu.Šara

Ur.Ištaran.(a)

dikur.bi.me(š)

muusa: Simanum.Ø ba.ḫul.Ø

Translation

1: *Ditila.*

2: Urmesh, the son of Amarkaa, and Urgar, the son of Ur-Bau, are the relevant witnesses to the fact that Ashaga, the son of Amarkaa, purchased Eurbidug the slave from Ur-Bau, the son of Ure, at a purchase price of 15 *gin*s.

10: Ur-Bau challenged these witnesses.

12: Ashaga (then) swore an oath.

13: The slave (was taken) from Ur-Bau and confirmed to Ashaga.

15: Urabba the messenger was bailiff.

16: Lu-Shara and Ur-Ishtaran were the relevant judges.

19: The year following the year when Simanum was destroyed (Shu-Sin 4).

Commentary

2-9. These lines are similar in structure to lines 5-15 of Text 23b. The main verb of this passage is in lines 7-9: "Urmesh and Urgar are the relevant witnesses". Lines 2-6 are nominalized in .a, forming a kind of predicate to line 9: The PNs are "witnesses (to the fact) that".

2. The .Ø marks this as the patient, which here precedes the agent.

3. -še$_3$ is used here to express the value of the purchase price; this use of the terminative is quite regular. The terminative here spans the entire expression: "for [his purchase price, 15 gins]". In Text 24b, the expression šam$_2$-til-la-bi 3 gin$_2$-kug-babbar-še$_3$, "for [its total purchase price, 3 gins of silver]" occurs.

The $^!$ after -še$_3$ indicates that Falkenstein saw the sign, although it is not present in the autograph; similarly Falkenstein saw a ke$_4$-sign at the end of line 5.

In the gin$_2$ system of measurement, numerals are followed by the gin$_2$-sign. The number "15" is expressed by the sign for "10" (⟨) followed by the sign for "five" (⫶).

4. -še$_3$ here expresses the complement of sa$_{10}$, "to purchase *from*". As discussed above, this derives from the literal meaning of the verb, "to measure out grain *to*". It is cross-referenced by the DP -ši- in line 6.

The occurrence of this -še$_3$ results, rather unusually, in the presence of two terminative phrases in one sentence. The first (line 3) marks the purchase price; the second (line 4) marks the seller.

5. The autograph does not show the expected ke$_4$-sign, but Falkenstein saw it, presumably on the side of the tablet. The .e indicates the agent.

6. .ši is the CP which cross-references the terminative. Here it cross-references the terminative in line 4. The .n before the .ši is another instance of the optional pronominal element which occurs before certain DPs, discussed in *Lesson Fourteen*. Here the animate form .n is used because it refers back to the seller Ur-Bau.

The final .a marks lines 2 through line 6 as the predicate of the enclitic copula in line 9. Again, it is hard to say exactly how the syntax works here. A similar problem occurred with nam-erim$_2$-am$_3$ in Text 23b, and also occurs in line 12 below.

9. Here and in line 11, lu$_2$-inim-ma is presumably treated as a collective; compare the use of di-kur$_5$-bi throughout these *ditila*s.

11. The verb gur occurred in Text 22a, apparently meaning "to argue". Here the meaning is "to deny, to contradict". It governs a direct object (patient).

12. As in Text 23b, it is difficult to say how the name A$_2$-šag$_5$-ga relates syntactically to the noun nam-erim$_2$-am$_3$. Conceivably it is a genitive phrase, "of Ashaga, it is an oath"; more likely, it is an abbreviated form of some complex legalistic phraseology. English prefers a finite verb phrase.

13-14. The verb gi-in here governs both an ablative and an (assumed) dative complement. It is easier to render this in English with two verbs.

ki...ta is literally "from the place of". As seen previously, the ablative case is not normally

used with animate nouns. Constructions such as [ki.PN.a(k)].ta are periphrastic constructions to solve this problem; the same construction occurs in Text 25c.

19. The year date in Text 24a is known as a "mu-us$_2$-sa" year. This indicates the year following some other year. For example, Year 3 of Shu-Sin is named mu Si-ma-num$_2$^{ki} ba-ḫul, "The year when Simanum was destroyed". The year date in Text 24a is "The year following the year when Simanum was destroyed", that is, Year 4 of Shu-Sin. Such year dates were used until the new year received its full name on the basis of some significant event. The year name of Year 4 of Shu-Sin, for instance, as mentioned in *Lesson Eighteen*, is mu ^{d}Šu-^{d}Zuen lugal-Urim$_5$^{ki}-ma-ke$_4$ bad$_3$-Mar-tu Mu-ri-iq Ti-id-ni-im mu-du$_3$, "The year when Shu-Sin, king of Ur, built the wall against the Amorites (named) Muriq Tidnim".
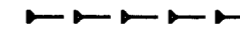
mu means "year". As discussed above, us$_2$ can mean "to follow". .a is the nominalizer. The meaning is thus "the year following". The rest of the expression is an appositive.
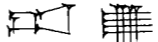
Discussion: Structure

This text also illustrates variety in the word order within the oath. First comes the patient (line 2); then a terminative complement expressing the purchase price (3); then a second terminative complement expressing the person to whom the price was paid (4); then the agent (5); then the verb (6).
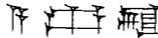
— Function

This is a common type of text, a dispute over ownership of a slave. Ur-Bau had denied testimony that he had been paid for a slave, but Ashaga took an oath to the effect that he had paid the money. This oath was apparently sufficient for the judges to declare that the slave was indeed Ashaga's. As usual, such a text raises more questions about the Ur III legal apparatus than it answers.

▶— ▶— ▶— ▶— ▶—

Sign-list and vocabulary

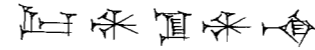|	
𒀊𒌋 𒂠	Ab-u$_2$ Abu (DN)
𒀀 𒆗 𒆷	A-kal-la Akala (PN)
𒅆𒄒	Inim-kug Inimkug (PN)
𒇽 𒀭𒀏	Lu$_2$-^{d}Nanna Lu-Nanna (PN)
𒌘 𒀭𒀊𒌋 𒂠	Ur-^{d}Ab-u$_2$ Ur-Abu (PN)
𒌘 𒀭 𒋛 𒀭𒈾	Ur-an-si$_4$-an-na Uransiana (PN)
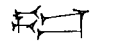
 ğišimmar date-palm

 kug-babbar silver

 ur₂ base, foundation

Ab-u₂ Very little is known about the god Ab-u₂ (also read Ab-ba₆).

A-kal-la As mentioned in *Lesson Eighteen*, one of the Sumerian words for "father" was written a-a. Presumably a here has the same meaning. kal-la is the same adjective which appeared in the names Ni-kal-la (Text 22b) and Šeš-kal-la (23b); the name thus means "Precious father" or "Father is precious".

Inim-kug This name means "The pure word".

Ur-an-si₄-an-na The etymology is unsure.

ğišimmar The date-palm was a staple of the agricultural life of Mesopotamia. The fruit was eaten, its wood used for building materials, its fronds for matting and furniture. It provided shade for plants growing around it. Postgate says "The versatility of its various parts is legendary" (1980:100), and Van De Mieroop notes that "Dates, which have a high caloric value, must have been a major part of the diet in Babylonia" (1997:163).

It is probably a pre-Sumerian substrate word. It is hard not to see some connection with the word meaning "date" appearing as tamr in Arabic, tamar in Hebrew, and so on. It was borrowed into Akkadian as gišimmaru. On the other hand, some syllabic writings in lexical texts indicate that the more original form of the word may have been */ğišnimbar/ or something similar, which turned into /ğišimmar/.

The sign used to write it is the šag₅ (sa₆)-sign.

kug-babbar This represents "silver". In the Mesopotamian economy, silver served some of the functions of money (compare the French word "argent"). It was commonly used as a standard of value. Whether it was actually used as a medium of exchange is open to debate. Hallo argues that "Silver, in the form of rings or coils, served as a medium of exchange" (1996:20), but Powell thinks this was not commonly the case, particularly with small amounts of silver, because it could not be weighed with any degree of accuracy, thus producing a situation fraught with the possibility of fraud (1979:83-87).

kug is "pure" and babbar is "shining, white" (it is written by the same sign used for "sun"). The writing thus represents "shining pure (thing)". Some read the two signs together as one sign, kubabbar.

Silver is not native to Mesopotamia, and there has been much discussion among archaeologists about the various places it comes from; one common source was Anatolia. It is not impossible that some (unknown) foreign word is hidden behind the kug-babbar signs.

The Akkadian word for silver was kaspu. This may derive from kasāpu, glossed by the *CAD* as "to chip, break off a piece, trim"; that is, bits of silver were broken off and weighed.

ur₂ This has such meanings as "base, foundation". It occurred in the PN E₂-ur₂-bi-dug₃ in the preceding text. Its Akkadian equivalent, išdu, is glossed by the *CAD* as "1. damp course, base, foundation (of a building, wall, gate, etc.) ... 3. root (of plants)". ^{ğiš}ur₂-ğišimmar must be a technical term for part of a date-palm, but it is hard to say exactly what; in this text it is called a kiri₆ in line 13. Perhaps the sense here is young palm trees still growing.

Landsberger, who was particularly interested in the flora and fauna of Mesopotamia, wrote an entire book on the date-palm: *The Date Palm and its By-products according to the Cuneiform Sources* (1967); unfortunately, he did not discuss this term.

Text 24b

NSGU 107
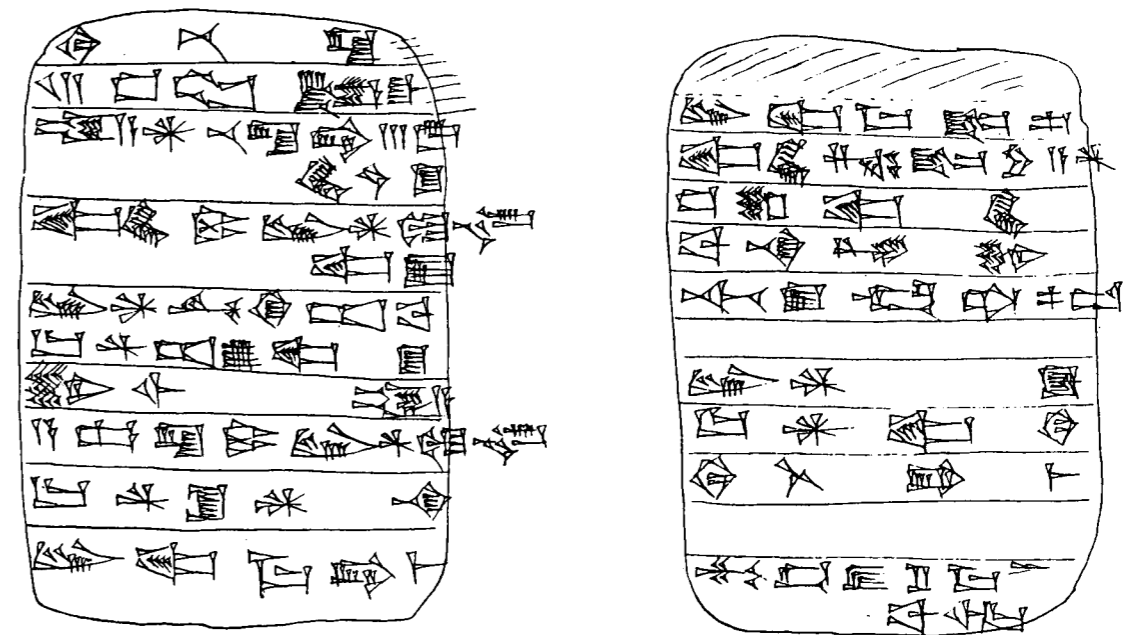
Transliteration   **Transcription**

1: di-til-la   ditila
2: 12 ᵍⁱˢur₂-ĝišimmar-gal-gal¹   [12 ur₂.ĝišimmar.gal.Ø.gal.Ø].Ø
3: šam₂-til-la-bi 3 gin₂-kug-babbar-še₃   [šam₂.til.a.bi 3 gin₂.kug.babbar].še₃
4: Inim-kug dumu-Lu₂-ᵈNin-Šubur-ka-ke₄   [Inimkug dumu.Lu.Ninšubur.(a)k.ak].e
5: Lu₂-ᵈNanna ab-ba-Ur-ᵈAb-u₂-ka-še₃   [Lu.Nanna abba.Ur.Abu.k.a(k)].še₃
6: in-ši-sa₁₀-a   [i₃.n.ši.(n.)sa₁₀.Ø].a
7: A-kal-la dumu-Lu₂-ᵈNin-Šubur   [Akala dumu.Lu.Ninšubur.(a)
8: Ur-an-si₄-an-na   Uransiana]
9: lu₂-inim-ma-bi-me   [lu₂.inim.a(k).bi].me(š)
10: [Ur-ᵈAb-u₂-ke₄]   [Ur.Abu.k].e
11: lu₂-inim-ma bi₂-gur   [lu₂.inim.a].Ø bi₂.(n.)gur.Ø
12: Inim-kug nam-erim₂-am₃   Inimkug [nam.erim₂].am₃
13: ᵍⁱˢkiri₆ Inim-kug   [kiri₆].Ø [Inimkug].(ra)
14: ba-na-gi-in   ba.na.gin.Ø
15: Ti-e₂-maḫ-ta maškim   Tiemaḫta maškim
    (space)
16: Lu₂-ᵈŠara₂   Lu.Šara
17: Ur-ᵈIštaran   Ur.Ištaran.(a)
18: di-kur₅-bi-me   dikur.bi.me(š)
    (space)
19: mu-us₂-sa Si-ma-[num₂ᵏⁱ] ba-ḫul   muusa: Simanum.Ø ba.ḫul.Ø

Translation

1: *Ditila.*

2: Akala, the son of Lu-Ninshubur, and Uransiana are the relevant witnesses to the fact that Inimkug, the son of Lu-Ninshubur, purchased 12 large roots of date-palms from Lu-Nanna, the father of Ur-Abu, at the total purchase price of 3 *gins* of silver.

10: Ur-Abu challenged these witnesses.

12: Inimkug (then) swore an oath.

13: The garden was (thus) confirmed to Inimkug.

15: Tiemahta was bailiff.

16: Lu-Shara and Ur-Ishtaran were the relevant judges.

19: The year following the year when Simanum was destroyed (Shu-Sin 4).

Commentary

2. Reduplication of the adjective gal was discussed in *Lesson Eighteen*. Here gal-gal modifies an inanimate noun, perhaps meaning "very large".

3. As in the previous text, the final -še₃ is used to express the value of the purchase price. Here the noun šam₂ is modified by the passive participle til.a, "completed". šam₂-til-la-bi is a common legal expression; the Akkadian equivalent is šimu gamru. The meaning is presumably "the final agreed-upon price".

English uses a genitive phrase in such expressions as "3 *gins* of silver", but in Sumerian this is an appositive phrase, "3 *gins* silver".

Discussion: Structure

It may be useful to compare the word order of lines 2-9 with lines 2-6 of Text 24a. In Text 24a, the order was: (1) patient (2) terminative complement expressing purchase price (3) second terminative complement expressing person to whom the price was paid (4) agent (5) verb. Here the order is: (1) patient (2) terminative complement expressing purchase price (3) agent (4) second terminative complement expressing person to whom the price was paid (5) verb. The difference in the two texts is in the position of the agent phrase.

— Function

The question of private ownership of land in Mesopotamia is a thorny one, particularly that of arable land. It is not known how much land was owned by the temple, by the palace, or by private individuals; the percentage varied from time to time and from place to place. Several *ditila*s involve disputes over property rights. This one is typical, a question about the ownership of some date-palms.

➤ ➤ ➤ ➤
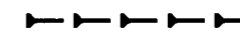
Sign-list and vocabulary

Dug₄-ga-ni-zid Duganizid (PN)

Ka₅-a Kaa (PN)

Lu₂-Ib-gal Lu-Ibgal (PN)

Nig₂-ᵈBa-u₂ Nig-Bau (PN)

Nin-dub-sar Nindubsar (PN)

Nin-nam-ḫa-ni Ninnamhani (PN)

𒌨 𒆠 𒄖 𒆷   Ur-ki-gu-la Urkigula (PN)

𒃼   ḡar to place

𒅆 𒃼   igi...ḡar to testify

𒋰   tag₄ to leave, to abandon

𒍪   zu to know

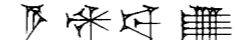𒈬 � 𒂠   mu...še₃ because

Dug₄-ga-ni-zid This means "His speech is faithful", dug₄.ani zid.Ø.

Ka₅-a The name means "Fox"; compare the name Amar-ka₅-a in Text 24a.

Lu₂-Ib-gal The Ibgal was a temple in Umma, associated with Inanna. ib itself is a relatively uncommon word meaning "chapel". Since the PN is a genitive phrase, lu₂.Ibgal.a(k), Falkenstein read the last sign with an overhanging vowel, gala₈.

It is hard to say if the DN Nanibgal in Text 20b is etymologically related or not.

Nig₂-ᵈBa-u₂ As discussed at Text 21, nig₂ means basically "thing", and so "property"; this name means "Property of Bau". Many similar names are attested.

Nin-dub-sar This not uncommon name means "The lady scribe" or "The lady is a scribe".

Nin-nam-ḫa-ni The name is an abbreviation of a name such as "The lady whose majesty (is good)"; compare the abbreviated name Gu-za-ni in Text 22a. The root is maḫ and nam is the marker for the abstract. The expected form would be Nin-nam-maḫ-a-ni. nam-maḫ has contracted in pronunciation, perhaps because of stress.

Ur-ki-gu-la The name means "Man of the Netherworld", ur.[ki.gula].(k). "Netherworld" often appears as ki-gal, "great place". Here however it is spelled with the gu-sign. The word for "great" is typically /gal.Ø/. With the nominalizer, however, it appears as /gul.a/. This is thus one of the few cases where the nominalizer .a is used with a variant base of the noun/adjective. The form gu-ul is uncommon (and may in fact be a comparative, "larger"), and the form ga-la does not occur at all. It is hard to explain all of this. However, there are other hints in Sumerian of an /a/ ~ /u/ alternation in this root; thus verbal forms use gu-ul.

Gu-la was also the name of a healing goddess; her name may mean "Great one". However, she was especially associated with dogs; statuettes of dogs were dedicated to her, and at times she may have been envisioned as a dog. This makes it hard to avoid seeing some connection with the Common Semitic word for dog, kalb.

ḡar This is a very common verb, meaning "to set" or "to place", Akkadian šakānu. It forms its marû by curtailed reduplication (*Lesson Eleven*), that is, by reduplication with loss of the final consonant, ḡa₂-ḡa₂.

igi...ḡar This means literally "to set the eye". In legal texts the meaning is "to testify, to give a deposition". It can be used both of a disputant giving his or her testimony and of a witness giving his or her testimony.

tag₄ The most common meaning of this verb is "to leave", Akkadian ezēbu. There is much disagreement about the reading; Powell (1978) discusses this at length.

zu This is the most general word for "to know", Akkadian idû and lamādu.

mu...še₃ This is a common expression, formed with the terminative (Thomsen §201 and §489). It is usually called a "causal conjunction". In origin, it is the noun mu, "name", in a genitive phrase with what follows, which all is then put into the terminative case; literally, this thus means "towards the name of". It can be followed by a simple noun, appearing as mu...a(k).še₃, meaning "because of". It can also be followed by a nominalized sentence, as in Text 24c, appearing as [mu...a.a(k)].še₃, meaning "because".

One might wonder if the Akkadian word aššum, "because", which originated from ana šum, "towards the name of", is a loan translation from Sumerian. However, other Semitic languages form causal conjunctions from the word for "name"; Egyptian Colloquial Arabic uses, for example, ism in to mean "because"; this does not occur in Classical Arabic. Thus the Akkadian may be an independent development.

Text 24c

NSGU 15
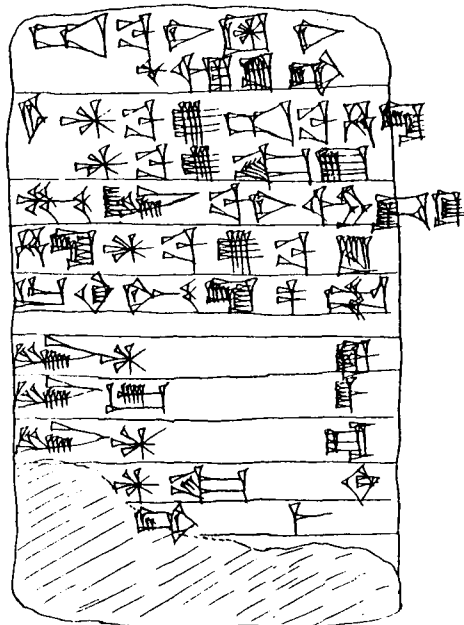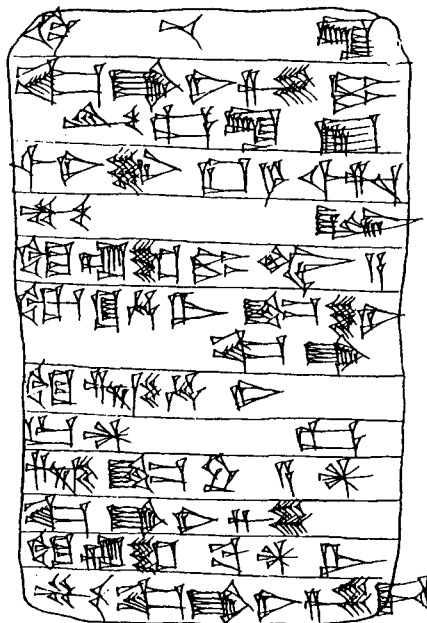
Transliteration

1: di-til-la
2: Dug₄-ga-ni-zid dumu-Šeš-kal-la-ke₄
3: igi-ni in-ᵍᵃ²ĝarᵃʳ
4: mu-lugal
5: Nin-dub-sar dumu-Ka₅-a
6: dam-še₃ ḪA-tuku bi₂-in-dug₄-ga
7: Nin-nam-ḫa-ni
8: Ur-ᵈLamar
9: nam-erim₂-am₃
10: Dug₄-ga-ni-zid
11: Nin-dub-sar ba-an-tuku
12: mu Dug₄-ga-ni-zid-da
13: ab-ba-ni ama-ni nu-u₃-zu-bi
14: Nig₂-ᵈBa-u₂ ab-ba-Ḫa-la-ᵈBa-u₂-ka-ke₄
15: mu-lugal ba-ni-pad₃-da-še₃

Transcription

ditila
[Duganizid dumu.Šeškala.k].e
[igi.ni].Ø i₃.n.ĝar.Ø
mu.lugal.(a)
[Nindubsar dumu.Kaa].Ø
[dam].še₃ ḪA.(i₃.)tuku.Ø bi₂.n.dug₄].a
Ninnamḫani
Ur.Lamar.(a)
[nam.erim₂].am₃
[Duganizid].(e)
[Nindubsar].Ø ba.n.tuku.Ø
mu [Duganizid.a
[abba.ni.Ø ama.ni.Ø nu.(i₃.)zu.Ø].bi(da)
[Nig.Bau abba.Ḫala.Bau.k.ak].e
[mu.lugal.(a)].Ø ba.ni.(n.)pad₃.a.a(k)].še₃

16: Ḫa-la-ᵈBa-u₂ ba-tag₄   [Ḫala.Bau].Ø ba.tag₄.Ø
17: Ur-ki-gu-la maškim   Urkigula maškim
    (space)
18: Lu₂-ᵈŠara₂   Lu.Šara
19: Lu₂-Ib-gal   Lu.Ibgal.(a)
20: Lu₂-diĝir-ra   Lu.diĝir.a
21: [Ur]-ᵈIštaran   Ur.Ištaran.(a)
22: [di-kur₅]-bi-me   dikur.bi.me(š)
23: [mu ...]   mu: ...

Translation

1: *Ditila.*

2: It is an oath of Ninnamhani and Ur-Lamar that Duganizid, the son of Sheshkala, testified and said: "By the name of the king, let me take Nindubsar, the daughter of Kaa, as a wife".

10: Duganizid married Nindubsar.

12: Because Nig-Bau, the father of Hala-Bau, had sworn by the name of the king to Duganizid while (Duganizid's) mother and father were unaware, Hala-Bau was set aside.

17: Ur-Kigula was bailiff.

18: Lu-Shara, Lu-Ibgal, Ludigira, and Ur-Ishtaran were the relevant judges.

20: The year ...

Commentary

2-9. The general structure of these lines is similar to that of the previous texts. The key words are in lines 7-9, "It is an oath of Ninnamhani and Ur-Lamar (that)". Lines 2-6 give the contents of this oath; they are marked by the .a at the end of line 6, which nominalizes the entire preceding complex.

Lines 2-3 are a straight-forward indicative sentence: "Duganizid testified". One might have expected a nominalizer .a at the end of line 3; it is assumed here that the .a at the end of line 6 does duty for both. In lines 4-6 the main verb is bi₂-in-dug₄, a verb of speech which governs the verbal sentence "Let me marry Nindubsar, the daughter of Kaa". As in Text 23b, there is no marker of direct speech; the quote serves essentially as the direct object (patient) of dug₄.

3. The writing of the verbal root with two phonetic complements is somewhat unusual. The expression igi-ni in-ĝar is not uncommon in these texts, spelled in several different ways.

4. It is hard to say how mu-lugal ties in syntactically with the rest of the sentence. Perhaps mu-lugal is the subject of a nominal sentence and what follows is a predicate. Or perhaps mu-lugal is a noun phrase and everything which follows is in apposition to it.

6. The form ḫa-tuku is unexpected. The context would seem to require a cohortative. As seen

previously, third person desideratives are marked by the MP ḫe₂ and first person cohortatives by the MP ga. However, a few cases occur where ḫa is written instead of ga, although this does not happen in good Classical Sumerian (Thomsen §386). This may be due to a spread in function of the desiderative, or it may indicate a phonetic similarity between the two forms. To indicate this unusual value of ḫa, it is sometimes transliterated, as here, as ḪA-.

As with the cohortative in ga-, no PA is used to indicate the subject.

The verb meaning "to marry" has the ḫamṭu root tuku; its marû root is written tuku-tuku. The cohortative in ga always uses the ḫamṭu root. The situation with ḫe₂ is more complex, because there are two homophonous moods written with the MP ḫe₂. One is used with the ḫamṭu to indicate an affirmative, stressing the past (a usage not seen in this *Manual*); the other is used with the marû to indicate a desiderative. The verb form in this line has only one tuku-sign, hence is clearly the ḫamṭu root. This is either because ḪA here has the sense of the cohortative in ga, which always uses the ḫamṭu root, or else it is here an affirmative, which would imply a completely different understanding of the text than that presented here.

The .a at the end of line 6 marks lines 2 through 6 as the predicate of nam-erim₂-am₃.

12. As discussed above, mu...še₃ is a causal conjunction meaning "because". It is formed with the noun mu (line 12), then a nominalized sentence with the genitive marker, then the terminative case ending (line 15), .a.a(k).še. The meaning in essence is thus "because Nig-Bau swore to Duganizid".

It is assumed here that Dug₄-ga-ni-zid-da is a complement of the verb mu-lugal...ba-ni-pad₃ in line 15. It cannot be in the dative, because that would be Duganizid.ra or something similar. It is probable that the final /a/, as Falkenstein suggests, marks the locative. It is not uncommon for the locative case to take over some of the functions of the dative case in later Sumerian (Thomsen §181). This locative case is then cross-referenced by the ni in line 15, ba-ni-pad₃.

13. This is almost a parenthetical addition: "his father and mother not knowing". Such complements are relatively uncommon in Sumerian. Here it is formed by the addition of -bi-da to a complete verbal sentence. -bi-da was mentioned in *Lesson Fifteen* as a conjunction, typically occurring between nouns. In origin it is the possessive suffix -bi and the case marker of the comitative. Its meaning is thus "with its...". Here it is attached to the complete sentence [abba.ni.Ø ama.ni.Ø nu.(i₃.)zu.Ø]. Since /bi/ ends in a vowel, the comitative takes the form /d/ instead of /da/. And since /d/ is an amissable consonant, this drops from the end of the word, with the result that no trace of the /da/ shows on the surface! Its presence is assumed here because there are occasional spellings in -bi-da; these latter are probably morphographemic spellings, indicating the full underlying form of the conjunction even though it was reduced in pronunciation. It is of course always possible that some other analysis of this line is to be preferred.

The verb is from the root zu. Verbs meaning "to know" occasionally behave oddly in the languages of the world; zu, for example, as in many languages, occurs in the ḫamṭu, even in imperfective contexts.

zu seems to be used here as an intransitive verb, whence the transliteration abba.ni.Ø ama.ni.Ø nu.(i₃.)zu.Ø. It is also possible that it is transitive, with no expressed object (patient); in that case the nominal phrase should be interpreted as the agent, abba.ni.e.

Although the subject is plural, the verb is singular.

14. The name Ḫa-la-ᵈBa-u₂ is a genitive phrase. It is the second term of a genitive phrase, with ab-ba (itself an appositive) being the first phrase: [abba].[Ḫala.Bau.k].ak. This is then followed by the ergative case marker. This is written exactly as expected, -Ba-u₂-ka-ke₄. Falkenstein's transliteration in *NSGU* accidentally omitted the ka-sign.

Discussion: Structure

Because of the complexity of this text, it is a little different from the previous *ditila*s; the basic frame, however, is the same. Here we see

    (1)   the heading *ditila* (line 1)
    (2)   oath (nam-erim₂) containing general statement about the case (lines 2-9)
    (3)   another general statement (lines 10-11)
    (4)   another oath (mu-lugal) containing general statement (lines 12-16)
    (5)   name of bailiff (line 17)
    (5)   list of judges (lines 18-22)
    (6)   date (line 23)

The structure of Text 23a was:

    (1)   the heading *ditila* (line 1)
    (2)   the case itself (lines 2-4)
    (3)   statement about an oath (mu-lugal) (lines 5-6)
    (4)   name of bailiff (line 7)
    (5)   list of judges (lines 8-11)
    (6)   date (line 12)

— Function

It would seem that Duganizid had previously been married to Hala-Bau; he had married her without the consent of his own parents. He then married Nindubsar. Nig-Bau, the father of Hala-Bau, raised an objection to this, but the judges decided that the first marriage should be terminated. While this much is apparently clear, one would like to know more details about the first marriage; the person of Hala-Bau was introduced rather preemptorily into the *ditila*.

This interpretation of the *ditila* assumes that the writing ḪA-tuku of line 6 represents a cohortative. If in fact it is understood as an affirmative, the sense would be quite different. Again, there is no simple way to decide which analysis is correct, but the one followed here at least produces a coherent reading.

— Conjunctions

As discussed above, <u>mu</u>...še₃ is a conjunction introducing causal clauses. Sumerian has several such conjunctions, formed by a head noun (in this case, <u>mu</u>) followed by a verb phrase with the nominalizer .a, followed by the genitive marker, followed by a case marker (in this case, <u>še</u>₃). These conjunctions are discussed at Poebel (1923) §435 and Thomsen §489. Poebel called them "nominalized indicative sentences with dimensional modification". Poebel thought that there was a genitive marker present in these constructions, but some scholars do not agree. The /k/ does not ever appear in the writing, but since here it is syllable-final before another consonant, this is the expected spelling. Similarly, it is not universally agreed that the nominalizer is required in this construction.

«𒌋 Lesson Twenty-Five «𒌋

The texts in this and the next *Lesson* are different types of Ur III economic and administrative documents. As was mentioned in the *Introduction*, tens of thousands of such documents have survived; they comprise probably 90% of all preserved Sumerian texts. In 1991 Marcel Sigrist and Tohru Gomi published *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets*. Even though this work only includes previously published tablets, it lists some 30,000 texts. In 1998 Markus Hilgert published *Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Šulgi*. This work alone includes 499 previously unpublished texts.

Many of these documents are short, terse, and standardized in structure. They can sometimes be almost impossible to understand, not because of the language, but because we know little of the administrative machinery behind the records. Much of the research being pursued in Ur III studies involves trying to elucidate the structure of the bureacracy behind these tablets.

The study of Ur III texts is not everyone's cup of tea. Outsiders are sometimes inclined to lump them all together into the "laundry list" category of text, because of their supposed lack of historical, literary, cultural, or whatever content. T. Fish, who published a *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library* in 1932, once said "An eminent Assyriologist told the writer that whenever he came across a Sumerian tablet of the kind published in the Catalogue, he dropped it at once because 'they are so deadly dull'" (1934:315). It is probably true that any one single Ur III economic or administrative text is not so interesting. However, as Fish goes on to point out, the more closely one studies these texts, the more questions arise about interconnections among the texts and about Ur III society and civilization in general, and so in the aggregate the texts become more intriguing. It is through a study of such texts that Diakonoff, for example, was able to say

> During the reign of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur the activities of the city community and the private sector of the country's economy were greatly hampered by the royal sector. The existing conditions were at the time those of complete domination of the state by a despotic bureaucratic machinery (1971:20).

He goes on to refer to this dynasty as "one of the worst totalitarian régimes known to history".

Some of our basic knowledge of the history of the Ur III period also derives from these texts. For example, the collapse of the economy during the reign of Ibbi-Sin is revealed by precisely these documents, which list prices for various commodities (discussed, *inter alios*, by Tohru Gomi [1984] and P.S. Vermaack [1991]). Foster says that

> Many Assyriologists are pessimistic about the historical usefulness of early administrative documents, without reflecting, perhaps, on the envy these resources can excite in the hearts of scholars of Hellenistic and Islamic Mesopotamia, who have, generally speaking, few or none of the same (1982a:38 n.4).

The history of the scholarship of these texts is also interesting in itself; it is surveyed by Tom
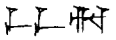
Jones (1975). A number of beautiful color photographs of Ur III texts, among others, are published by Frederick Fales in *Prima dell'alfabeto* (1988).

It is hard to find a descriptively satisfying term for this broad class of texts; they are often lumped together as "administrative" or "economic" texts. Many different varieties exist, but in general most are various kinds of accounting records of the temple and palace. Very few relate to private life; Powell notes that "The bitter truth is that at least ninety percent (and probably more) of these documents is the product of the bureaucratic mentality, which typically records things that an ordinary person would not dream of recording" (1986:10).

From a linguistic point of view, oftentimes these documents do not consist of complete grammatical sentences, but rather a series of individual nominal phrases of various lengths, occasionally without any obvious case marker. Because the language of these texts is often not very challenging, and because many of the texts follow strict patterns, it is becoming less and less common to find complete editions of Ur III texts. One practice is to publish the texts only in autograph (with or without photographs), without transliteration or translation. Another common practice is to publish the texts only in transliteration, without autographs. Since the work of producing autographs is quite time consuming and contributes very little information in the case of unambiguous texts, this practice permits large numbers of texts to be published in a shorter period of time.

The first text is taken from Tohru Gomi, Yoko Hirose, and Kazutaka Hirose, *Neo-Sumerian Administrative Texts of the Hirose Collection* (1990). This volume contains variegated Ur III administrative texts from a private collection, almost all of which are provided in transliteration, translation, and autograph.

Sign-list and vocabulary

Bar-bar-re Barbare (PN)

Be-li$_2$-DUG$_3$ Beli-tab (PN)

An-ša-an Anshan (GN)

A$_2$-ki-ti Akiti (MN)

giri$_3$ foot; conveyor

gud (gu$_4$) bull

iti month

ma$_2$ boat

niga barley fattened

zig$_3$ to distribute

Bar-bar-re The etymology is unsure.

Be-li$_2$-DUG$_3$ This is an Akkadian name, Bēlī-ṭāb, meaning "My lord is good". The predicate adjective ṭāb, "good" is written with the logogram dug$_3$ (du$_{10}$).

An-ša-an This was the capital of the state of Elam. The modern site is Tall-i Malyan. It was in Anshan that Ibbi-Sin died.

A$_2$-ki-ti This is one of the months of the Ur calendar. The etymology is unknown; it is not known if it is a native Sumerian word or an Akkadian word.

giri$_3$ The basic meaning of this word is "foot", Akkadian šēpu. In the Ur III texts it designates an official who functions as a kind of intermediary, so it is often translated "conveyor". Other interpretations are "controller" and "comptroller". It seems that giri$_3$ was not a profession as such, since giri$_3$s are often cited as having other professions, such as scribe. It was thus an office or responsibility, not a profession. It has also been suggested that giri$_3$ does not denote an office at all, but rather means something like "via".

gud This is the usual word for "bull", Akkadian alpu. It has occasionally been suggested that the Sumerian word is borrowed from Indo-European *g^{w}ou-, ultimately appearing as English "cow" (Frayne 1993:30), but the /d/-Auslaut would seem to militate against this.

iti This is the word for "month", Akkadian warḫu.

ma$_2$ This means "boat" or "ship", Akkadian eleppu (of questionable etymology).

niga The sign used to represent niga is the sign used for "barley", še. Its meaning is thus "fattened by barley" or "barley fed". Animals were fattened both for eating and for sacrifice. A fair amount is known about the "fattening grades" of sheep and other animals during the Ur III period. The person in charge of fattening was the kurušda (or gurušda), appearing in the seal to Text 22d. This may be a pre-Sumerian substrate word.

The Akkadian equivalent is marû. As discussed in *Lesson Eleven*, this was the term used by Akkadian scribes to describe the imperfect aspect in Sumerian.

The reading of the sign as /niga/ has only been determined relatively recently, and so it is occasionally transliterated niga$_x$ or, in older works, simply še.

zig$_3$ The basic meaning is "to disperse". The noun zig$_3$-ga means "disbursement". It is hard to say whether zig$_3$-ga is a passive participle in .a or an infinitive in .a. The zig$_3$-sign is the zi-sign; it is sometimes read as zig$_2$, not zig$_3$.

Text 25a

Hirose 12

Obv.   Rev.
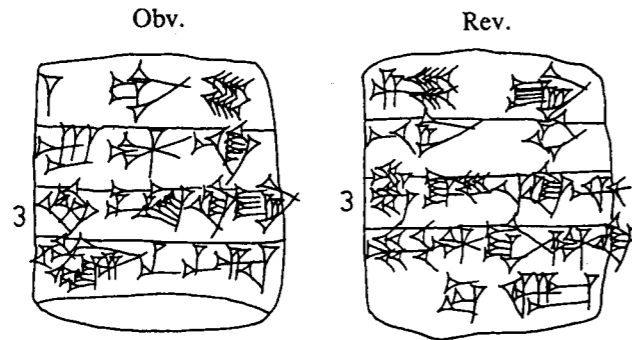
Transliteration

obv 1:	1 gud niga	
	2:	ma₂-An-na
	3:	šag₄-Unugᵏⁱ-ga
	4:	giri₃ Bar-Bar-re
rev 1:	zig₃-ga	
	2:	Be-li₂-DUG₃
	3:	iti A₂-ki-ti
	4:	mu An-ša-anᵏⁱ ba-ḫul

Transcription

[1 gud niga]
[ma₂.An.a]
[šag₄.Unug.a(k)].(a)
[giri₃ Barbare]
[ziga.
Bēlī-ṭâb].(a)
iti: Akīti
mu: Anšan.Ø ba.ḫul.Ø

Translation

obv 1:	One barley fattened bull
2:	for the ship of An
3:	in Uruk.
4:	The transmitter was Barbare.
rev 1:	Disbursement from Beli-tab.
3:	Month of Akiti.
4:	The year when Anshan was destroyed (Shulgi 34).

Commentary

Obv 1-3. These lines form a complete thought, but not a sentence; there is no predicate.

1. It is hard to say if this is a noun-noun compound or a genitival or adjectival formation.

2. ma₂-An-na is presumably a genitive phrase. The meaning is clearly "for", but no case marker of any kind is written.

3. šag₄ in its basic meaning of "heart" has occurred several times. It can also be used with the locative case to express "in". The use of šag₄ and the locative instead of the simple locative may have been for stylistic reasons; perhaps the sense here is "in the heart of Uruk". One would expect a final -ka to express the sequence of the genitive followed by the case marker .a. Nothing shows on the surface. Again, it is hard to say whether it is "there" but the schematic nature of the writing system of these terse documents does not write it, or whether it is not even "there", since no complete sentence occurs.

4. If giri₃ means "via", then this and the next line could be translated "a disbursement from Beli-tab via Barbare".

Rev 1. This type of clause can be translated in different ways; one interpretation is "withdrawn from the account of". Both that translation and the one here, "disbursement from", are attempts to reflect an administrative procedure the details of which are unknown.

Discussion: Structure

There are no complete sentences, nor any finite verbal forms, in the body of the text. Rather, it essentially consists of a list, composed of simple nominal phrases. The document is almost like a form or invoice which has been filled out. Several of the following texts function in a similar way, with very little expressed morphology or syntax.

— Function

This is a typical Ur III administrative text, recording the disbursement of a single fattened bull. Beli-tab was presumably in charge of procuring the bull, and Barbare may have been the official who actually delivered the bull from the temple flock to the official in charge of the ship, or he may have been an official who supervised this activity.

Thousands of texts recording disbursements (zig₃-ga) for various purposes have survived; they are often called "disbursement texts". In this case, the bull was used in a religious ceremony, a ritual procession of the "boat of An" in Uruk. Presumably the bull would have been slaughtered as part of the ceremony. Many Ur III texts refer to the boat of An. The boat was used to carry the statue of An from his temple during ritual processions, when the statues of gods visited each others' temples. There are a number of royal hymns and other literary texts which describe such boats and their associated rituals, such as *Nanna-Sin's Journey to Nippur*, some 352 lines long. We also have a certain number of pictorial representations of these statues and their boats. Cohen says

> Cultic ritual involving the Boat of An continued for two thousand years in Uruk. The Seleucid ritual from Uruk, dating to the 61st year of the Seleucid era (251 B.C.), details the ritual for the procession of Anu from his cella to the *akitu*-house and states that the Boat of An provided the transportation for the statue of Anu (1993:217).

— Provenience

This particular text comes from a site known today as Drehem, a few kilometers south of Nippur. The ancient name was usually written PUZUR₄-iš-ᵈDa-gan, probably to be interpreted as Akkadian /Puzriš Dagan/, meaning "In the accompaniment of Dagan". A few unusual spellings have been interpreted as implying a reading /Šilluš Dagan/, "Dagan is his protection"; scholarship is still divided on the correct reading.

In the 38th year of his rule, Shulgi designated the small village of Puzrish-Dagan to be a center for the transshipment of the many thousands of animals which flowed into the royal administrative machinery. All of these transactions were duly recorded by the ancient scribes. This has been summarized by Marc Cooper:

> The Ur III government included an administrative system which facilitated the collection and distribution of goods, particularly cattle, owed to the palace. The essential feature of the system is that cattle from throughout lower Mesopotamia, the area directly ruled by the Ur III kings, was collected into large herds, driven overland to Nippur, and then apportioned for various secular and sacred uses. In Šulgi's 38th regnal year, the E-Puzriš-Dagān—now called Drehem—was founded near Nippur to centralize the system. Drehem included a set of corrals for large cattle, small cattle, and equids. It also included various internal facilities such as kennels, breeding sheds, kitchens, storehouses, and rooms to store records (1987:177).

It has also been suggested that Puzrish-Dagan was more of an administrative center than the site of actual cattle pens and related facilities:

> ...the theory that, within the Puzriš-Dagan organization, bookkeeping and accounting on one hand, and dealing with the actual animals on the other, did not always occur in the same place, and accordingly, that Puzriš-Dagan itself was primarily an administrative center rather than a vast cattle pen, with the different animals being cared for and transferred by local branches and subordinate units of the "central bureau" (Hilgert 1997:50).

Year 39 of Shulgi was named mu ᵈŠul-gi lugal-Urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma-ke₄ lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba-ke₄ e₂ PUZUR₄-iš-ᵈDa-ganᵏⁱ mu-du₃, "The year when Shulgi, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, built the complex of Puzrish-Dagan". Puzrish-Dagan essentially passed out of use during the reign of Ibbi-Sin, when the Ur III economy began to fall apart. Marcel Sigrist, who has published many Ur III texts, has written an interesting book about the site (*Drehem*, 1992). It illustrates the kinds of information which can be gleaned from Ur III documents.

Thousands of tablets from Puzrish-Dagan have been preserved. The site has never been formally excavated; all of the tablets result from clandestine trading. Many of these tablets ended up in Istanbul and many others became scattered in collections around the world. Some tablets from Drehem are exact duplicates of tablets from other sites. It is thus possible that in addition to the copy kept at Drehem, a copy would have been sent to the place from which the

animals were sent.

— Dating

As with many different kinds of administrative texts, this one is provided with both a year and a month. The year date is that of Shulgi 34, thus from a few years before Puzrish-Dagan acquired its administrative rôle.

These year dates were used throughout the Ur III empire. However, there were several different monthly calendars; these varied from city to city. As listed in *Lesson Nine*, one of Shulgi's reforms was to establish a unified calendrical system; the result of this reform is usually called the "Reichskalender". Nevertheless, cities often continued to use the old pre-Reichskalender monthly system alongside the new one. Since Puzrish-Dagan was essentially established by Shulgi, it followed the system used in Ur (with slight differences).

The different systems are summarized by H. Hunger in his article "Kalender" in the *RlA*, and Marc Cooper has written specifically about the Drehem calendar in the Ur III period (1987). Two important larger-scale works on the calendar have recently been published. Walter Sallaberger has written on *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit* (1993), with a wealth of detail. In the same year there appeared Mark Cohen's *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (1993), which also discusses these calendars and associated festivals in detail. The Sallaberger work is very detailed, the Cohen is easier for a non-specialist to read.

The month Akiti was the seventh month of the calendar used at Ur. It was named after a festival which took place during this month, the most important festival at Ur. According to Cohen,
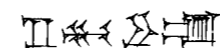
> The *akītu* festival probably originated in Ur as a celebration of the onset of the equinox-year. The major theme of the festival was the coming of the moon-god Nanna, symbolized by the waxing of the moon in the sky and reenacted by the entry of his statue by barge into Ur from outside the city...The festival had great appeal to the other cities of Sumer and eventually the rest of Mesopotamia (1993:406).

▬ ▬ ▬ ▬ ▬
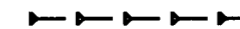
This second text is taken from Shin T. Kang, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Umma Archive* (1973). This consists of copies, transliterations, and translations of 317 Umma texts held in the World Heritage Museum of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign campus.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒈗𒈗 Lu-lu-bu-um   Lullubum (GN)

𒋛𒈬𒊒𒌝 Si-mu-ru-um   Simurum (GN)

𒌋𒀀𒋻𒃲   Še-kar-ra-ĝal₂ Shekaragal (MN)

𒀊   ab₂ cow

�   ga milk

𒋗𒉈�押   šu-niĝin₂ total

𒌑   u₂ grass

𒄭   ḫi to mix

𒀀𒊏   a-ra₂ "times"

𒇲   lal (la₂) minus

𒄰   kam (syllabic)

Lu-lu-bu-um This was a people and a rather vaguely defined geographical area in the mountainous region around the modern city of Sulaymaniyya, between the Lower Zab and Diyala rivers. The Lullubum are mentioned frequently in Sumerian and Akkadian sources, from the Old Akkadian to the Neo-Assyrian periods.

Si-mu-ru-um It is hard to say if this was a city or a territory. It may have been close to today's Altın Köprü, on the Lower Zab. It is frequently mentioned alongside Lullubum in Ur III texts.

Še-kar-ra-ĝal₂ This was the third month of the Umma calendar. As Cohen says, this probably means "Barley which is at the quay". He adds that "Two months earlier the harvest had begun and so, by the third month, the barley would probably have been piled high along the quays for shipment along the waterways" (1993:166).

ab₂ This word is extremely common in Sumerian economic texts. The Akkadian is arḫu.

ga This is the common word for "milk", Akkadian šizbu. Its cuneiform sign is some kind of vessel (Daniel Potts 1997:143-146).

šu-niĝin₂ šu is "hand" and niĝin₂ is "to turn around, to gather"; the literal meaning is approximately "what the hand gathers". The Akkadian is napḫaru, "total". šu-niĝin₂ occurred in the PN Šag₄-šu-niĝin₂, "Mercy", seen in Text 23a.
    The two signs composing this word are usually jammed up against each other, forming essentially a ligature.

u₂ This means "grass" or vegetation in general. The Akkadian equivalent is šammu.

ḫi This can be used with a variety of meanings; it is discussed below.

a-ra₂ To indicate "for the Xth time", Sumerian writes a-ra₂, followed by the numeral, followed by kam; this is discussed below. a-ra₂ may somehow derive from the verb ĝin "to go" (discussed at Text 26b), whose plural ḫamṭu root is /ere/ .

lal In the sense of "to carry", this root occurred in the title gu-za-lal, appearing in Text 21. The verb can also mean "to be too small". It is hard to say if this is the "same" root or a homophonous root. In any case, lal can also mean "minus"; this usage is discussed below.

Text 25b

Kang 252
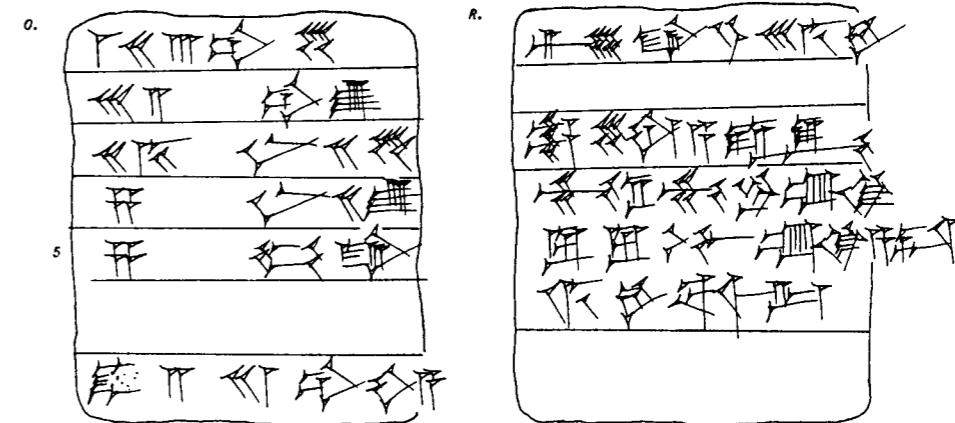
In line 6, the niĝin₂-component of the word for "total" is virtually totally erased, but its presence is clear from the stereotypical nature of this phrase.

	Transliteration	**Transcription**
obv 1:	83 gud niga	83 gud niga
2:	32 gud u₂	32 gud u₂
3:	20-lal-2 ab₂ II niga	18 ab₂ II niga
4:	4 ab₂ II u₂	4 ab₂ II u₂
5:	4 amar ga	4 amar ga
	(space)	
6:	šu-niĝin₂ 141 gud-ḫi-a	šu-niĝin₂: 141 gud.ḫi.a
rev 1:	zig₃-ga ud 30-lal-1-kam	ziga.ud.29.(a)k.am₃

(space)

2:	iti Še-kar-ra-ĝal₂	iti: Šekaraĝal
3:	mu Si-mu-ru-um^{ki}	mu: Simurum.Ø
	Lu-lu-bu-um^{ki} a-ra₂	Lulubum.Ø ara
	10-lal-1-kam ba-ḫul	9.(a)k.am₃ ba.ḫul.Ø

Translation

obv 1:	83 barley fattened bulls.
2:	32 grass fattened bulls.
3:	18 barley fattened cows, two years old.
4:	4 grass fattened cows, two years old.
5:	4 milk fed calves.
6:	Total: 141 assorted cattle.
rev 1:	Disbursement of the 29th day.
2:	Month of Shekaragal.
3:	The year when Simurum and Lulubum were destroyed for the ninth time (Shulgi 44).

Commentary

Obv 1. The number is expressed by "1 (x 60), 2 (x 10), 3". The numerals for the tens are somewhat slanted. This is the regular system of counting.

3. A common way to write numbers is to use the lal-sign, meaning "minus", with the digits to be subtracted written inside of the sign. Thus, this number is written "20-2", that is, "18".

To indicate that the cows are "two years old", the word for "cow" is followed by the digit for "two". In this convention, there is no graphic indication at all of the word for "year". If we only had this one text, its interpretation might not be clear. However, other Ur III texts have such expressions as "1 gud mu 2"; "one bull two years old". It is very hard to say how this expression would actually have been pronounced. There is also no uniform way to transliterate such forms; here Roman numerals are used.

6. The line summarizing the total is written on the bottom of the obverse, after a blank space to set it off from the initial lines. It is written "2 (x 60), 2 (x 10), 1".

gud is used here as a cover term for all the animals, and so is translated "cattle". This is a common usage.

As discussed in *Lesson Eighteen*, ḫi-a means "variegated, assorted". In Akkadian texts, it comes to be used as a logogram to mark the plural of nouns; this does not happen in "good" Sumerian. The two signs are occasionally transliterated together as ḫa₂ instead of ḫi-a.

Rev 1. The most common way to indicate ordinal numbers is to write the noun, then the numeral, then the genitive marker, and then the enclitic copula. The combination of the /k/ of the genitive marker and the /am/ of the enclitic copula is usually written by the kam-sign, as here; the initial /a/ of the genitive marker does not appear. Thus, the writing represents ud.29.(a)k.am₃. Presumably, this derives ultimately from "it is of 29".

2. The month name and year date are set off by a blank line.

3. To indicate "for the Xth time", Sumerian writes a-ra₂, followed by the numeral, followed by the genitive marker, followed by the enclitic copula. The kam-sign is again used for the sequence of genitive marker followed by enclitic copula.

Discussion: Function

This text lists the disbursements of different kinds of cattle for a particular day of a particular month of a particular year. The cattle would have gone to the temple, but absolutely no details are given. Snell notes that "The ultimate destination of the animals in the Ur III period was the temples of Nippur and the royal table" (1997:126).

— Provenience

This text comes from the ancient city of Umma. The modern name of the site is Djoha (spelled in various ways in English, such as Jokha). As was the case with Drehem, many thousands of tablets come from this site. Around 2500 to 2350 BCE, Umma was embroiled in a border dispute with Lagash; this dispute is mentioned in a number of inscriptions. Scholars have studied this conflict a number of times. It is discussed by Jerrold Cooper in his *Reconstructing History from Ancient Inscriptions: The Lagash-Umma Border Conflict* (1983b).

— Dating
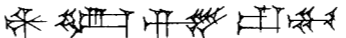
The year date is that of Shulgi 44. It is not uncommon for year dates to say that a GN was destroyed "for the eighth", "ninth", or "tenth" time. The conventional translation of ḫul as "to destroy" is actually rather strong in these contexts; the meaning may have been more like "to make a raid against". On the other hand, since none of the eight previous "destructions" of Lullubum is mentioned in any of Shulgi's year dates, perhaps this was a more significant military operation.
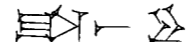
Umma had its own monthly calendar, different from that used at Ur and at Drehem; this is discussed in Cohen 1993:161ff.

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This third text, from Drehem, is taken from Alfonso Archi and Francesco Pomponio, *Testi cuneiformi neo-sumerici da Drehem N. 0001-0412* (1990). This volume consists of 412 texts in copy, transliteration, and translation from the Museo Egizio di Torino.

Sign-list and vocabulary

𒀭𒈗�urugu	^dŠul-gi-uru-ĝu₁₀ Shulgi-urugu (PN)
	Ša-aš-ru Shashru (GN)

𒀭𒌷𒌨𒆠𒈲 Ki-sig₂-ᵈNin-a-zu　Kisig-Ninazu (MN)

𒈗 lulim　deer

𒁁 uš₂　to die

ᵈŠul-gi-uru-ĝu₁₀ The name means "Shulgi is my city", that is, "my protection". Shulgi appears in several such PNs. The word uru, "city", is discussed at Text 26b.

Ša-aš-ru This was located east of the Tigris, but the exact location is unknown.

Ki-sig₂-ᵈNin-a-zu This was the fifth month of the calendar. Landsberger interpreted ki-sig₂ as a variant of ki-si₃-ga, meaning "funerary offering"; the month name would then mean "Funerary offering for Ninazu". The sig₂-sign, however, is also the sign for "wool" (siki), and so Cohen interprets it as "Wool-workers of Ninazu": "Perhaps the wool-workers were needed to produce special clothing or the crown for the statues of Ninazu and Baba, cult objects for this ritual period" (1993:149).

lulim This means "deer". The same animal appears in Akkadian as lulīmu. The ultimate etymology is unknown. The sign used to represent it is basically the giri₃-sign, which was used for alim in Text 23a, with the lu-sign and the igi-sign (read as lim) as phonetic complements.

Especially in the case of partially effaced tablets, it can be very difficult to distinguish the cuneiform signs for various animals, such as lulim, anše, az, and so on.

uš₂ This is the most common verb meaning "to die", Akkadian mâtu. It appears that the ḫamṭu singular root was /uš/, written uš₂ (the bad-sign); the marû singular root was /ug/, written either ug₅ (the bad₃-sign) or ug₇ (the bad-sign). Not all transliterations make this distinction. The plural is more complicated (Thomsen §271).

Text 25c

Archi and Pomponio 347

	Transliteration	**Transcription**
obv 1:	1 lulim nitaḫ	[1 lulim nitaḫ
2:	2 lulim munus	2 lulim munus
3:	1 amar lulim munus ga	1 amar lulim munus ga
4:	ba-uš₂ ud-25-kam	ba.uš₂.Ø](.še₃) ud.25.(a)k.am₃
5:	ki-Lu₂-diĝir-ra-ta	[ki.Lu.diĝir.a(k)].ta
rev 1:	ᵈŠul-gi-uru-ĝu₁₀	[Šulgiuruĝu].e
2:	šu ba-ti	šu.Ø ba.(n.)ti.Ø
	(space)	
3:	iti Ki-sig₂-ᵈNin-a-zu	iti: KisigNinazu
4:	mu Ša-aš-ruᵏⁱ ba-ḫul	mu: Šašru.Ø ba.ḫul.Ø
edge:	4	4

Translation

obv 4:	On the 25th day
rev 1:	Shulgiurugu
rev 2:	received
obv 5:	from Ludigira
obv 1:	1 male deer, 2 female deer, and 1 milk fed female calf deer,
obv 4:	dead.
rev 3:	Month of Kisig-Ninazu.
rev 4:	The year when Shashru was destroyed (Amar-Sin 6).
edge:	4.

Commentary

Obv 1. nitaḫ and munus are here used to specify the gender of an animal.

4. ba-uš₂ is a very common intransitive verb phrase, meaning "He/she/it died". Although in origin it is thus a finite verb form, in some contexts it functions much like a frozen adjectival phrase, that is, "dead"; this seems to be its function here.

The (presumed) .še₃ marks the first three and a half lines as the terminative complement of the compound verb šu...ti. As discussed at Text 22d, the literal sense of šu...ti is "to bring the hand *towards*".

The number is written "2 (x 10), 5", that is, "25".

5. As in Text 24a, ki...ta is literally "from the place of".

Rev 1. This is the agent of the verb in the following line. The ergative ending has presumably assimilated into the final vowel of the PN. It is also possible that the formulaic nature of the text did not require it to be written.

2. This is the main verb of the text. šu...ti occurs very often in these texts. It is typically used

for the receipt of dead animals, while the verb <u>dab</u>₅ is used for the receipt of live animals.

3. The month and year date are set off by a small space.

edge The notation on the side lists the total of dead animals. This is a common Ur III practice.

Discussion: Function

Many Ur III texts mention dead animals, although it is rarely stated how they died. While many were purposefully slaughtered, others died of natural causes. It is not clear if <u>uš</u>₂ had a specific meaning. Hallo, for example, says that <u>uš</u>₂ specifically meant "slaughtered" (1996:61). Others have stated the opposite. In any case, in the precise accounting system of the Ur III period, all these animals had to be accounted for. This text is typical of many. One official receives the dead animals from another official, and this is duly recorded. The volume this text is taken from includes over a hundred texts of this type. Its structure is summarized by Archi and Pomponio as:

> animali ba-ug₇
> ki-NP₁-ta
> NP₂ šu-ba-ti

This kind of text is often called a "<u>šu-ba-ti</u>" text. They have been studied many times. Tom Jones and John Snyder, in their seminal 1961 publication of 354 Ur III texts, say that the verb <u>šu-ba-ti</u> is used to indicate the final disposition of dead animals (and occasionally other kinds of inanimate objects); such tablets form a kind of "warehouse receipt" (1961:222-227).

— Dating

This text dates to the reign of Amar-Sin, when Puzrish-Dagan was still in active operation. Both individuals mentioned in this text, Ludigira and Shulgiurugu, are mentioned numerous times in the Drehem texts published in this and other volumes of Ur III texts. Shulgiurugu seems to have assumed his position in the third year of Amar-Sin.

≪𒌋 Lesson Twenty-Six ≪𒌋

The texts in this *Lesson* illustrate two other types of Ur III documents. The first, from Nippur, records the sale of a slave. It is taken from Piotr Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period* (1989). This is a collection of 137 texts which deal with the sale of real property and chattel. The texts are in transliteration and translation, with selected copies and a thorough discussion of the genre.

Sign-list and vocabulary

A-<u>bi</u>₂-<u>a</u>-<u>ti</u> Abiati (PN)

A-<u>da</u>-<u>mu</u> Adamu (PN)

A-<u>gu</u>-<u>a</u> Agua (PN)

A-<u>ḫu</u>-<u>šu</u>-<u>ni</u> Ahushuni (PN)

<u>Bi</u>₂-<u>bi</u>₂-<u>da</u>-<u>num</u>₂ Bibidanum (PN)

<u>Da</u>-<u>a</u>-<u>da</u>-<u>a</u> Dada (PN)

EDEN-<u>ši</u>-<u>la</u>-<u>at</u> Edenshilat (PN)

ᵈIM-<u>ba</u>-<u>ni</u> Adad-bani (PN)

<u>Im</u>-<u>ti</u>-<u>dam</u> Imtidam (PN)

<u>Šu</u>-<u>A</u>-<u>ba</u> Shu-Aba (PN)

<u>Šu</u>-<u>e</u>₂-<u>a</u> Shuea (PN)

<u>Ur</u>-<u>gi</u>₄-<u>gi</u>₄ Urgigi (PN)

<u>a</u>-<u>zu</u> physician

<u>ašgab</u> leather worker, tanner

<u>geš</u>₂ 60

𒍝   saĝ   slave

𒉺   ugula   overseer

𒉺 𒁹 𒃟   ugula-geš₂-da   (kind of official)

𒂠   eš₂   (syllabic)

𒅅   ĝal₂   (syllabic)

A-bi₂-a-ti This is presumably the same name spelled <u>A-bi-a-ti</u> in Text 22e.

A-da-mu It is difficult to say if this is Sumerian or Akkadian. Limet lists it as "exotic".

A-gu-a The etymology is unknown.

A-ḫu-šu-ni This is Akkadian, "Their brother", /aḫūšuni/. -<u>šu-ni</u> is the Old Akkadian pronoun corresponding to Old Babylonian -<u>šu-nu</u>.

Bi₂-bi₂-da-num₂ The etymology is unknown.

Da-a-da-a This is presumably a variant of the name spelled <u>Da-da</u> in Text 20b.

EDEN-ši-la-at As Steinkeller points out, the reading of the first sign is unsure. If it is the <u>eden</u>-sign, the meaning of the PN is unknown.

ᵈIM-ba-ni This is an Akkadian name. PNs of the type DN-<u>ba-ni</u> can be interpreted in two ways: /DN-bāni/, "DN is the creator", with /bāni/ being the active participle in the predicative state, or /DN-bani/, "DN is beautiful", with /bani/ being the verbal adjective in the predicative state. Since Adad is not a creator kind of god, the second interpretation is probably to be preferred here.

Im-ti-dam This is presumably Akkadian, "It has gotten (too) much for me", /imtīdam/, from <u>ma</u>ᵓ<u>ādu</u> "to be(come) much". This has been interpreted as the plaintive cry of a slave, or the cry of the pain of childbirth, or even a complaint that it was time to stop having children.

Šu-A-ba This is Akkadian, "He of Aba". The first element is clearly Akkadian, the second looks Sumerian in origin, presumably some kind of father deity.

Šu-e₂-a The etymology is unsure.

Ur-gi₄-gi₄ The etymology is unsure.

a-zu This is the standard Sumerian word for "physician"; it is translated by the *PSD* as "1. 'healer', 'physician' 2. 'healer', 'diviner'". The traditional etymology is that the word comes from <u>a</u> "water" and <u>zu</u> "to know"; the name thus means "the one who knows the water".

However, Biggs has pointed out (1966:176 n.4) that the earliest writings of the word are written a-<u>zu₅</u> and a-<u>su</u>, so the traditional etymology is probably wrong.

    a-<u>zu</u> was borrowed into Akkadian as <u>asû</u>, "physician". <u>Nin-a-zu</u> occurred in the PN <u>Ur-ᵈNin-a-zu</u> in Text 22d and in the MN <u>Ki-sig₂-ᵈNin-a-zu</u> in Text 25c.

ašgab This is a very common profession; it was borrowed into Akkadian as <u>aškāpu</u>. The *CAD* adds that "The craftsman *aškāpu* produces leather objects or objects covered with leather and is often mentioned receiving hides and materials for tanning and dyeing. The profession of the *ašgab* is attested from the Fara period onward". It may be a pre-Sumerian substrate word.

geš₂ This word is frequently continued by a sign in /d/, so it probably ended in a more complex phoneme than simple /š/, either a cluster /gešt/ or some other phoneme, perhaps /gež/. It is unclear if the first consonant is /g/ or /ĝ/. It is written with a single vertical wedge.

saĝ As was mentioned at Text 20c, the basic meaning of <u>saĝ</u> is "head", but it also comes to mean "slave"; this presumably derives from a usage such as "to count heads".

ugula This is an extremely common word, meaning approximately "overseer". The Akkadian equivalent is <u>waklu</u>. Since the latter has a cognate in Arabic, it is probable that the Sumerian is a borrowing from Akkadian. As discussed in *Lesson Eighteen*, <u>ugula</u> is written with the <u>pa</u>-sign, which was in origin a picture of a stick or staff (pronounced <u>ĝidri</u>); the sign thus symbolizes a staff of authority.

ugula-geš₂-da This official has been studied by Steinkeller (1980), who translates it "officer (in charge) of sixty (men)". It is only attested in Ur III sources. Steinkeller adds "The unit of sixty men appears, in fact, to have been standard for the Ur III military".

    The <u>ugula</u>-sign and the <u>geš₂</u>-sign are often written very close together, as in line 8 below, forming virtually a ligature. This has occasionally led to a misreading of the two signs together as the one sign <u>gur</u>.

eš₂ This sign occurs very frequently in ḫamṭu plural verb forms and in the plural of the enclitic copula.

Text 26a

Steinkeller 19
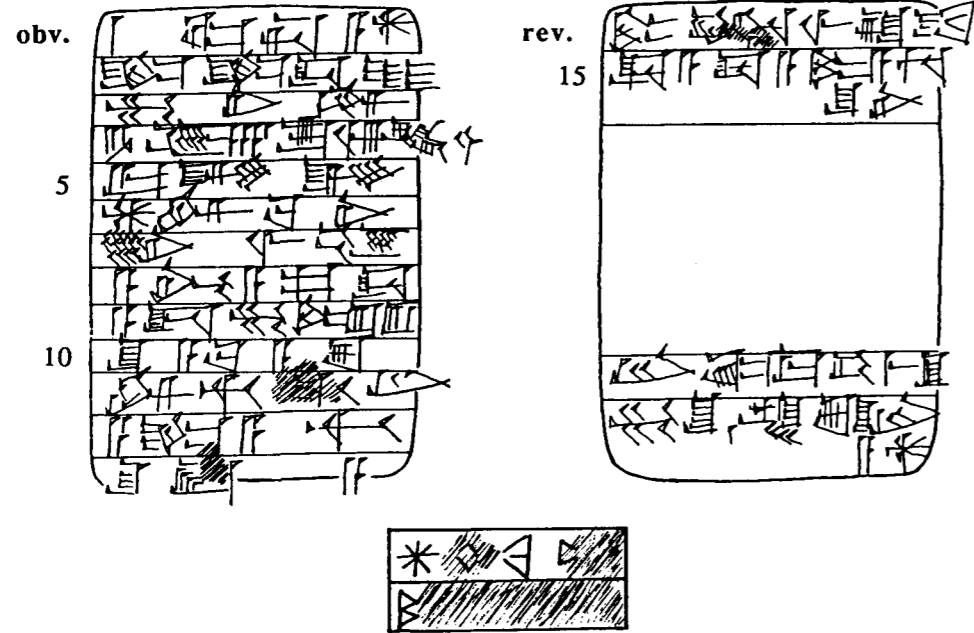
Transliteration

1: 1 sag̃-nitaḫ-am₃
2: Bi₂-bi₂-da-num₂
3: mu-ni-im
4: nig₂-šam₂ 7 gin₂ igi-3-g̃al₂ kug-babbar
5: Ur-gi₄-gi₄
6: ᵈIM-ba-ni
7: in-ši-sa₁₀
8: A-gu-a ugula-geš₂-da
9: A-da-mu dumu-X-X
10: Šu-A-ba a-zu
11: Im-ti-dam ašgab
12: A-bi₂-a-ti
13: Šu-e₂-a

Transcription

[1 sag̃.nitaḫ].am₃
[Bibidanum
mu.ni].m
[nig₂.šam₂ 7 gin₂ 1/3 kug.babbar].(še₃)
[Urgigi].e
[Adadbani].(še₃)
i₃.n.ši.(n).sa₁₀.Ø
Agua ugula.gešda
Adamu dumu.X
Šu.Aba azu
Imtidam ašgab
Abiati
Šuea

14: dumu-EDEN-ši-la-at   dumu.Edenšilat.(a)
15: Da-a-da-a dumu-A-ḫu-šu-ni   Dada dumu.Aḫušuni
    (space)
16: lu₂-inim-ma-bi-me-eš₂   lu₂.inim.a(k).bi.meš
17: mu Šu-ᵈZuen lugal-am₃   mu: ŠuSin lugal.am₃

Translation

1: Urgigi purchased from Adad-bani one male slave, by name Bibidanum, at a purchase price of 7 1/3 *gin*s of silver.

8: Agua the overseer of a crew of 60 men, Adamu, the son of X, Shu-Aba the physician, Imtidam the leather worker, Abiati, Shuea, the son of Edenshilat, and Dada, the son of Ahushuni, are the relevant witnesses.

17: The year when Shu-Sin became king (Shu-Sin 1).

Commentary

1. nitaḫ explicitly qualifies the slave as "masculine".

This line is the patient of the verb in line 7, and so might be expected to occur in the absolutive case. Thus -am₃ is here another instance of the enclitic copula replacing one of the case markers, as discussed at Text 23b. In this instance it replaces the absolutive, presumably for emphasis. However, some of the texts published by Steinkeller use -am₃ while others do not; Steinkeller points out that it is only used in the texts from Nippur.

2-3. This is a kind of circumstantial clause, marked by the enclitic copula, here taking the form /m/ after a vowel: "it being the case that Bibidanum is his name"; compare the similar use of the enclitic copula in Text 16. This results in two enclitic copulas occurring within one sentence.

4. On the basis of the writings in such documents as Text 24a and Text 24b, it is probable that this entire expression is in the terminative, to express the value of the purchase.

The šam₂-sign seems to be written ninda₂ x še, without its usual am₃ complement.

The most common way to indicate fractions in Sumerian is to use the form igi-X-g̃al₂. Thus, igi-3-g̃al₂ is "one-third"; igi-4-g̃al₂ is "one-fourth". It is not clear how these were actually pronounced, or what the original meaning was. The basic meaning of g̃al₂ is "to be present", "to be located".

5-6. No case markers are written, but to judge from the word order, line 5 marks the buyer and line 6 the seller of the slave, that is, the person to whom the price was paid. As before, the seller is presumably marked by a terminative case.

9. This is Steinkeller's transliteration. The first PN is clear. After the word dumu, the first sign of the PN can represent several different, graphically similar signs. The second sign of the PN is very difficult to even make out.

16. The third person plural enclitic copula is here written fully, -me-eš₂. In the *ditila*s, it was regularly written -me.

Discussion: Function

This text is very typical of those published by Steinkeller, recording the sale of a male slave. Other texts mention the sale of female slaves. The direct object (patient) is the first noun phrase to occur in the text, because the slave is the main topic. This is a common practice. Here it is also marked for emphasis by the enclitic copula replacing the absolutive case.

— Seal

This text was impressed with a seal. It is somewhat hard to read, but appears to be ᵈIM-ba-ni dumu X. This is presumably the same Adad-bani of line 6, the seller of the slave. It is too bad that his father's name is illegible. It is not uncommon to find sales tablets sealed by the seller.

— Dating
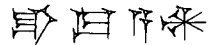
This text dates to the first year of Shu-Sin's rule.

▶━ ▶━ ▶━ ▶━ ▶━
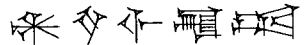
This final text is taken from Henri Limet, *Textes sumériens de la III dynastie d'Ur* (1976). This is a publication of a number of Ur III texts now housed in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels. These are of various genres, including a hymn to Shulgi, a few royal inscriptions, letters, legal acts, and a number of administrative and economic texts. This particular document is a "messenger text", listing provisions for various officials carrying out their rounds.

Sign-list and vocabulary
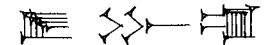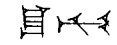
𒁲 𒁲 𒀯   Ba-ba-a Baba (PN)

𒁹 𒁲 𒀯 𒌋   Bur-ma-am₃ Burmam (PN)

𒌋 𒁹 𒁹 𒁹 𒁲   ᵈUTUˢⁱ-la-at Shamshi-illat (PN)

𒉌   Elam Elam (GN)

𒆠 𒈦   Ki-maš Kimash (GN)

𒁹 𒁹 𒁹   Sa-bu-um Sabum (GN)

𒉌 𒁹   Šušin Susa (GN)

𒁹 𒁹   Šu-numun Shunumun (MN)

𒌋   kaskal road, journey

𒉌   nim prisoner of war, slave

𒌋   ninda bread, rations

𒉌   sila₃ *sila* (measure of capacity)

𒈗   sukal (kind of official)

𒌷   uru city

𒁺   ĝin to go

Ba-ba-a This is another "exotic" name.

Bur-ma-am₃ This is conceivably an Elamite name.

ᵈUTUˢⁱ-la-at The name is presumably Akkadian. Given the phonetic complement, Utu is to be read Šamši. An element illatu, of unsure meaning ("power" ?, "family" ?) is not uncommon in Old Akkadian names. The writing implies a pronunciation /šamšillat/, contracted from /šamaš-illat/ or /šamši-illat/ or something similar.

Elam This is the state of Elam, which ultimately contributed to the fall of the Ur III Dynasty. Because of frequent skirmishes and wars between Elam and Mesopotamia, the term "Elamite" in both Sumerian and Akkadian occasionally means simply "prisoner of war" or "slave", and is used for prisoners and slaves from anywhere outside Mesopotamia proper. Daniel Potts notes that "Elam was, from the time of our earliest texts, unquestionably Sumer's greatest adversary, a constant threat looming on Sumer's eastern horizon" (1982:38-39). It is often used in rather a vague sense. The topography of Elam and adjacent regions is thoroughly discussed in Timothy Potts 1994.

The name "Elam" is presumably an Elamite word. It is written with the nim-sign. nim can mean "high". Hallo says that "The Babylonians etymologized [the name Elam] to mean 'high-land', as if derived from Akkadian *elû* 'high', and created a back formation (or loan translation) into Sumerian, NIM.KI, with the same meaning" (1995:768).

Ki-maš This region is frequently mentioned in Ur III (and other) texts. It was somewhere north of the Jebel Hamrin region.

Sa-bu-um This city is also not uncommon in Ur III texts; it was somewhere in Elam.

Šušin This represents the city of Susa, in south-west Iran, which was founded perhaps as early as 4000 BCE. It was an important city under the Elamites and later became the capital of the Achaemenid dynasty. It was destroyed during the Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century

CE, but a village, Shush, continuing the ancient name, is still there, with a tomb of Daniel, the object of a yearly pilgrimage.

The name is written with the muš₃-eren signs, although it is hard to say why. It is sometimes transliterated simply as Susa.

Šu-numun This was the fourth month of the Girsu calendar. It was the sixth month of the Umma calendar, but did not occur at all in the Ur calendar.

The etymology is unclear; perhaps it means something like "Seed in hand".

kaskal This is a very common word for "road, highway". As the *CAD* states, its Akkadian equivalent, ḫarrānu, has a wide range of meanings: "(1) highway, road, path, (2) trip, journey, travel, (3) business trip, (4) caravan, (5) business venture, (6) business capital, (7) military campaign, expedition, raid, (8) expeditionary force, army, (9) corvée work, (10) service unit".

kaskal must somehow be connected with the word for "to run; messenger", kas₄. It is possible that ḫarrānu is of Hurrian origin.

nim As discussed above, the literal meaning is "Elamite"; this was extended in use to mean "prisoner of war" and "slave". It is further discussed below.

ninda This ranges in meaning from simple "bread" to "rations". The Akkadian equivalent, akalu, is glossed by the *CAD* as "bread, loaf of bread, (beside drink) edibles, food".

sila₃ Like all units of measurement, this measure of capacity varied to some degree from period to period and from place to place. Most commonly it was about 4/5 of a liter.

sukal This official occurs in many texts, but as usual it is almost impossible to find a precise translation into English; translations run from "messenger" to "page" to "minister", depending on time, place, and context. The *CAD* translates it as "(a court official)".

It is unsure if the word was pronounced /sukal/ or /sukkal/. Because of its CVCVC (or CVCCVC) pattern, it is possible the word is not originally Sumerian.

uru This is a very common word; the Akkadian equivalent is ālu. Cognate words in the various Semitic languages have a wide range of meanings: Arabic 'ahl is "people", Hebrew 'ohel is "tent", and so on.

Marc Van De Mieroop has recently studied *The Ancient Mesopotamian City* (1997). He points out that the conventional translation of uru and its Akkadian equivalent ālu as "city" is somewhat misleading, because the term can refer to settlements of vastly different sizes: "The Akkadian term was used for anything from the metropolis of Babylon in the sixth century to a farmstead with seven inhabitants in the area of Harran in the seventh century. It was used for the entire city of Nineveh as well as for a section of it" (1997:10).

Occasional syllabic writings show the word for "city" as both /uru/ and /iri/ (Edzard 1991). This might indicate an intermediate vowel which Akkadian did not have, perhaps /ürü/. On the other hand, it is also possible that it is somehow a loan from the word for "city" which appears

in some Semitic languages, such as Hebrew, as /'īr/.

ğin This is the most common verb in Sumerian meaning "to go"; its Akkadian equivalent is alāku. It is a member of the alternation group. In older literature, it is said that ğin is the ḫamṭu root and du the marû root (both being the same sign). It seems now, however, that ğin is the ḫamṭu singular root, du the marû singular root, /ere/ the ḫamṭu plural root, and /sub/ the marû plural root. Both /ere/ and /sub/ can be written in a number of different ways (Thomsen §208 and p.306).

Text 26b

TSDU 100
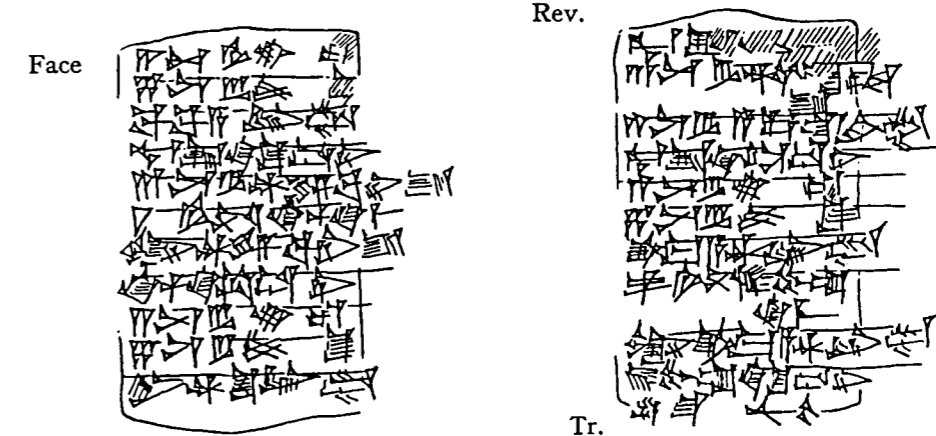
	Transliteration	**Transcription**
obv 1:	2 sila₃ ninda šag₄-uru	2 sila₃ ninda šag₄.uru
2:	5 sila₃ ninda kaskal-še₃	5 sila₃ ninda kaskal.še₃
3:	Ba-ba-a ᴸᵘ²kas₄	Baba kas₄
4:	Šusinᵏⁱ-še₃ ğin-ne₂	Šusin.še₃ ğin.e(d)
5:	3 sila₃ ninda ᵈIM-ba-ni sukal	3 sila₃ ninda Adadbani sukal
6:	60 ninda nim-Ki-mašᵏⁱ-me	60 ninda nim.Kimaš.me(š)
7:	giri₃ ᵈIM-ba-ni sukal	giri₃ Adadbani sukal
8:	Ki-mašᵏⁱ-ta ğin-ne₂	Kimaš.ta ğin.e(d)
9:	2 sila₃ ninda šag₄-uru	2 sila₃ ninda šag₄.uru
10:	5 sila₃ ninda kaskal-še₃	5 sila₃ ninda kaskal.še₃

11: Lu₂-^{d}Šara₂ ^{lu_2}kas₄   Lu.Šara kas₄

rev 1: Šusin^{ki}-[ta ĝin-ne₂]   Šusin.ta ĝin.e(d)

2: 3 sila₃ ninda ^{d}UTU^{ši}-la-at sukal   3 sila₃ ninda Šamšiillat sukal

3: 2 sila₃ ninda A-kal-la ^{lu_2}kas₄   2 sila₃ ninda Akala kas₄

4: Šusin^{ki}-ta ĝin-ne₂   Šusin.ta ĝin.e(d)

5: 2 sila₃ ninda šag₄-uru   2 sila₃ ninda šag₄.uru

6: 5 sila₃ ninda kaskal-še₃   5 sila₃ ninda kaskal.še₃

7: Bur-ma-am₃ ^{lu_2}kas₄   Burmam kas₄

8: 30 ninda nim-Sa-bu-um^{ki}-me   30 ninda nim.Sabum.me(š)

9: giri₃ Bur-ma-am₃ ^{lu_2}kas₄   giri₃ Burmam kas₄

10: Sa-bu-um^{ki}-še₃ ĝin-ne₂   Sabum.še₃ ĝin.e(d)

11: iti Šu-numun   iti: Šu-numun

Translation

obv 1:   For Baba the messenger
who is going to Susa,
2 silas of rations for staying in the city
and 5 silas of rations for the trip itself.

5:   For Adad-bani the *sukal*,
3 silas of rations;
for the slaves from Kimash,
60 loaves of bread
administered by Adad-bani the *sukal*,
who is coming from Kimash.

9:   For Lu-Shara the messenger
who is coming from Susa,
2 silas of rations for staying in the city
and 5 silas of rations for the trip itself.

rev 2:   For Shamshi-illat the *sukal*,
3 silas of rations;
for Akala the messenger,
2 silas of rations;
both coming from Susa.

5:   For Burmam the messenger,
2 silas of rations for staying in the city
and 5 silas of rations for the trip itself;
for the slaves from Sabum,
30 loaves of bread
administered by Burmam the messenger,
who is going to Sabum.

11:   Month of Shu-numun.

Commentary

Obv 1. šag₄-uru is probably an old noun-noun compound, meaning "inner part—city". This formulaic expression indicates the rations to be paid when the messenger was still at his base city, not yet having started on his journey.

2. kaskal-še₃ is the stock phrase indicating the rations to be issued for the journey.

Since this kind of text is essentially a list, not forming a complete sentence, lines 1-2 are not marked by any case marker. It is hard to say how they would have been inflected in spoken Sumerian.

4. The form ĝin-ne₂ here and in the following lines is problematic. The messenger texts sometimes have ĝin-na and sometimes have ĝin-ne₂, in essentially the same context. ĝin-na can be a participle, "going". ĝin-ne₂ is harder to explain. It cannot be a participle with -ed, the pre-actional element discussed in *Lesson Fifteen*, because in theory -ed can only be used with marû forms. A participle in -ed would thus be du.ed.∅, which would probably be written du-e. These forms in the messenger texts have been discussed by Edzard (1972:17) and others, but with no satisfactory resolution. Since there do appear to be a few reduplicated ḫamṭu nominal forms elsewhere in Sumerian in -ed, it is assumed here that the forms in these messenger texts are ḫamṭu participles in -ed, even though this is still not a completely satisfying solution. Because of the uncertainty of these forms, they are sometimes simply transliterated as du-ni.

6. In both this line and line 8 of the reverse, the unit of measurement is not given. In both cases the lines describe the food for the slaves. It is not impossible that some other unit of measurement, or some more general system of measurement, was used for slaves, as opposed to the rations specified for the messengers.

The number itself is noted by a single vertical stroke standing for "60".

The -me at the end of the line is presumably the third person plural of the enclitic copula, although again it is difficult to see the syntax of the passage as a whole.

10. Limet read the first number as "3", but the autograph shows "5", which is the amount expected.

Rev 8. The number "30" is indicated by a single vertical with three crossing horizontals. This is a common way to indicate multiples of ten.

Discussion: Function

This type of text is called either a "messenger text" or a "provisions list". Such texts list the provisions for messengers and occasionally other officials to be used when making their rounds. Typically, provisions are listed for the stay in the base city and then for the journey itself. The provisions are not meant to last for the entire journey, but rather are the rations for one day only. The Ur III empire had a well maintained system of roads and a large number of way-stations or caravanserais, where the messengers and their entourage would stop at the end of a day's journey, freshen up and sleep, and start off the following day on the next stage of the journey.

Hundreds of these texts are known. Limet's publication alone includes six of these, which he labels "provisions de voyage". Curiously, these texts are only known from Lagash and Umma; it is hard to say if this is an accident of discovery. Typically in these texts, nothing is said of the purpose of the mission itself. These texts, however, do contain interesting information, such as specific figures for rations. 5 sila₃ of bread, for example, turns out to be the standard ration for a messenger. Other messenger texts give more detail, and include rations of beer, oil, and occasionally fish and spices. The rations for groups of slaves are usually lumped together, as here.

The Elamites mentioned in these texts are usually interpreted as slaves. No term for "slave" is explicitly used, however, so it is also a possibility that they were mercenary soldiers, or even lower-level diplomatic officials of some kind. In fact, the Ur III period was one of relative peace between Sumer and Elam; the fact that these Elamite "slaves" are so frequently mentioned shows how close the contact was between the two lands.

The most detailed study of all these texts is the unpublished 1970 dissertation of Robert McNeil, "The 'Messenger Texts' of the Third Ur Dynasty". Those from Lagash have been recently studied by Sigrist (1986). McNeil does not like the term "messenger texts": "These documents are not 'messenger' texts in the sense that they describe the activities of persons primarily engaged in the transmission of messages from one person or place to another" (1970: 28). It is hard to find a more apposite term. German scholars use the term "Botenversorgstext", and this is occasionally encountered in English.

— Dating

No year date is given, only a month date. This is the usual practice with messenger texts.

Appendix One

History of Sumerian

The periodization of Sumerian, like the periodization of Akkadian, is largely based on non-linguistic criteria, including political and historical events. Several periodizations have been proposed. One of the more widely utilized is as follows:

Archaic Texts	3100 BCE
Archaic Sumerian	3000-2600 BCE
Classical Sumerian	2600-2300 BCE
Neo-Sumerian	2300-2000 BCE
Post-Sumerian	2000 BCE-100 CE

Archaic texts (3100 BCE)

The earliest known tablets containing writing come mostly from the ancient city of Uruk (*Lesson Eight*). These tablets come from a stratum usually designated as Uruk IVa, dated to about 3100 BCE. These tablets were first assigned to Uruk IVb, but then redated to Uruk IVa (Uruk IVa being more recent than Uruk IVb). Because of this change of dating, some secondary literature attributes the texts to Uruk IV, some attributes them to Uruk IVa, and some to Uruk IVb.

Almost all of these tablets were found in a dump and in architectural fill layers inside the Eanna temple complex. This complex undoubtedly played a major rôle in the economic life of the city, but since the tablets were found in a fill, the tablets did not necessarily originate in the temple complex. Moreover, the archaeology of the site is quite complicated, and in the early days was carried out using methods and recording techniques which by today's standards seem somewhat primitive. The fact that they were found in a dump means that it is difficult to establish a relative chronology for the tablets, let alone an absolute chronology. According to Eva Strommenger, a further complication is the fact that to some degree the architectural levels and building phases at Uruk have been dated on the basis of the tablets found, not vice-versa. She says that

> The phases of writing are everywhere used in order to date the level in which the specific tablets were found. This leads to the conclusion that the possibility of the existence of tablets prior to IVa...has not been recognized, but that deposits in which a few tablets were found have been dated to IVa on that basis alone (1980:481).

The Deutsches Archäologisches Institut first began excavations at Uruk in 1913; work has continued (interrupted by the two world wars) since then. The first of the archaic texts were uncovered during 1928-1931. In 1936, Falkenstein published his *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*

(*ATU*), a seminal work. In it he treated the first 620 tablets found. By now, upwards of five thousand of these texts are known.

The script on these tablets does not look much like what we think of as "cuneiform". This is because the signs on the earliest tablets were actually *drawn* with the stylus upon the tablet, not *impressed* with it. It is sometimes called "proto-cuneiform". Because the pictographic nature of many of the signs is clearly visible, the tablets themselves are often loosely called "pictographic". In 1922, Anton Deimel published *Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen* (*LAK*), based on tablets somewhat later than those of Uruk IV. This sign-list is frequently cited by scholars interested in the early stages of writing; a more recent sign-list is discussed below.

There are a few similar tablets from other sites in Mesopotamia. In addition, both from Uruk and especially from Syria (and elsewhere, including Iran) over two hundred of what are commonly called "numerical" or "impressed" tablets have been preserved. It was first thought that the writing on these tablets represented numbers, but it is more likely that the writing represents items being counted; the precise interpretation of these tablets is still unsure, and there may be more than one type. These numerical tablets may well be older than the pictographic tablets discussed above; two from Tell Brak in northern Syria, found in 1984, in particular are quite archaic looking (Finkel 1985). The archaeological evidence, however, does not allow for precise absolute or relative dating.

These early texts are undeciphered, and perhaps to some degree undecipherable. Therefore, it is impossible to be certain about what language they are written in. There are several reasons why these texts cannot yet be read:

▶ Almost all theories about the origin of writing assume that signs originated as pictographs, that is, as pictures representing objects. But even at this early date, the supposed pictographic nature of many of these signs is not obvious, that is, it is not clear what they were meant to depict or symbolize. Many of the signs appear to be abstract symbols in their very origin.

▶ Some of the abstract signs can be understood on the basis of knowledge of later Sumerian. However, a fair number of the signs (estimates range from 20% to as high as 50%) cannot be read or understood. These are signs which eventually passed out of use, with the result that later stages of the language cannot provide information about their meaning.

▶ In theory, pictographic signs can be read in any language. A sign which is a picture of a mountain top, for instance, can be read "mountain", "Berg", šadû, kur, and so on.

▶ There are no syllabic signs. This means that no grammatical features can be seen; for example, there are no case markings on nouns. There do not appear to be any verbs at all.

▶ These tablets are mostly administrative records, sometimes very short—occasionally, just a few signs long. It is very difficult to understand such texts out of context, that is, without knowledge of the administrative structure which produced these texts.

In spite of these problems in understanding the texts, most scholars feel that these texts are written in Sumerian. The main reason is because texts have been preserved from the later Uruk III stratum, which is known to be Sumerian. Since archaeologists have shown that there was a

cultural continuum between Uruk IV and Uruk III, it is reasonable to assume that the same language is present in both strata. Moreover, Powell has argued that the system of metrology used in these early texts seems to be the same system which is used in clearly Sumerian texts:

> The system of numeration deducible from the notation present on Uruk IVa/III tablets makes it virtually certain that these tablets are written in Sumerian and, *ipso facto*, highly probable that the inventor of the pictorial writing system was also a Sumerian (1981:423).

More recent work on these tablets, however, discussed in *ZATU* (see below), shows the existence of at least five different metrological systems, complicating the picture.

The study of the archaic tablets has undergone a renaissance in the last few years, primarily due to the efforts of Hans Nissen, a student of Falkenstein, who has been working on these tablets since 1964; other scholars involved in this study include Margaret Green and Robert Englund. An up-to-date discussion of these efforts is found in Nissen, Damerow, and Englund, *Frühe Schrift und Techniken der Wirtschaftsverwaltung im alten Vorderen Orient: Informationsspeicherung und -verarbeitung vor 5000 Jahren* (1990). This has been translated into English as *Archaic Bookkeeping: Early Writing and Techniques of Economic Administration in the Ancient Near East* (1993; this does not include all the plates published in the German edition). In 1987, Green and Nissen published their *Zeichenliste der archaischen Texte aus Uruk* (*ZATU*; *ATU* 2), designed to supersede Deimel's *LAK*. This contains a mine of interesting information, including a nuanced discussion of the archaeological context and dating of the tablets and of the metrological systems present (an important review is Steinkeller 1995).

The tablets themselves are in the course of (re)publication. Preliminary discussions are Nissen 1985 and 1986. *ATU* 3 (1993, Englund and Nissen) contains *Die lexikalischen Listen der archaischen Texte aus Uruk*. *ATU* 5 (1994, Englund) treats the *Archaic Administrative Texts from Uruk: The Early Campaigns*; it includes a supplement to *ZATU*.

As discussed above, earlier scholars, following Falkenstein, differentiated between Uruk IVa and Uruk III. Because of the imprecision of the early archaeological investigations of the site, Nissen speaks of an "early stage of the script" and of a "later stage of the script", based on the paleography of the tablets, not on their supposed stratigraphic find spot. Both are subsumed into the category "Archaic Texts" (the figure of "five thousand texts" given above therefore includes tablets traditionally accounted to both Uruk IV and Uruk III).

Nissen estimates that about 85% of the archaic texts are economic records and about 15% are lexical lists. He is more optimistic than most scholars about the possible decipherment of these texts, believing that he can identify about 700 of 1000-1200 different signs of the earliest phase at Uruk, and that the texts are "possibly" written in Sumerian. He bases his arguments partially on the continuity between the early lexical lists (unknown at the time of Falkenstein's publication of *ATU*) and later, well-understood lexical lists.

The fact that many of the signs in these early tablets are already abstract implies that there was some previous development behind the signs. That is, these tablets do not represent

mankind's first attempt at writing. Several different hypotheses have been proposed:

► The Sumerians may have borrowed their writing system from some other people, perhaps some distance away from Mesopotamia. This is not impossible. It has often been argued that the Sumerian writing system does not fit the Sumerian phonological system very well; this might imply that the writing system was created for a different language. Gelb once said "The concomitant conclusion is that the Sumerians borrowed their writing from another, presumably older, population" (1960:263). This is an old theory, very difficult to prove, and not much in favor today. However, as more research in Sumerian phonology is pursued, the gap between the writing system and the phonology appears to grow wider, and so this theory merits more attention than usually given to it today.

► Earlier writing may have been on perishable materials, such as wood, animal skins, palm leaves, and so on. There are parallels to such practice from later Mesopotamia and from pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia. This theory originated before the earliest cuneiform tablets, those from Uruk, were discovered. There is no obvious way to prove such a theory.

► Writing may have developed out of some earlier symbol system. Clay "tokens" have been found at many sites throughout the Ancient Near East, starting with the early Neolithic. These tokens are small objects of many different shapes; their interpretation has always been something of a puzzle to archaeologists. In a series of articles beginning in 1977, Denise Schmandt-Besserat, building on a suggestion of Pierre Amiet, has argued that these tokens were used for counting, and that writing originated in a conceptual leap, from the use of physical tokens to represent counted items to the use of symbols to represent these tokens: "The substitution of signs for tokens was no less than the invention of writing" (1986:37). This explains why some signs are abstract in their first appearance: the signs are representations of the tokens, not of the objects which the tokens represent.

Schmandt-Besserat envisages the following stages (1986:35):

(1)	8000 BCE	appearance of tokens
(2)	3250 BCE	clay envelopes hold tokens of particular transactions
(3)	3200 BCE	signs are impressed on the surface of envelopes
(4)	3100 BCE	clay tablets appear with impressed and incised signs

A summation of her research has been published in a two-volume work: *Before Writing* (1992). Volume 1, *From Counting to Cuneiform*, summarizes and expands her theories, while Volume 2, *A Catalogue of Near Eastern Tokens*, contains the raw data. These two volumes have been abridged in a more popular work, *How Writing Came About* (1996). A shorter presentation is her "Record Keeping Before Writing" (1995).

Powell agrees with her findings:

> Cuneiform was invented in a short period of time around 3000 BC by a citizen of the Sumerian city of Uruk...It arises conceptually out of the token system described by D. Schmandt-Besserat...The pictorial ancestor to cuneiform writing was invented as a conceptual whole during the time period represented by the

Uruk IV-III archaeological strata (1981:419-420).

Contrast this with the more "evolutionary" thinking of Walker: "Thus it is beginning to look as if we should think in terms of the invention of writing as being a gradual process, accomplished over a wide area, rather than the product of a single Sumerian genius" (1987:9). Nissen also hints at the complexity of the development of writing: "Writing was developed at the end of the fourth millennium B.C. by a mixed language group in which Sumerian was apparently the main component" (1988:14). It has been suggested that because of the trade which Uruk carried out and also because of the presence of prisoners of war, Uruk may have been a multilingual society.

An early vocal critic of Schmandt-Besserat's theories was Lieberman (1978, 1980). However, the majority of Sumerologists concurred with her overall interpretation of the development of writing from the system of tokens. Questions about certain aspects of her interpretation have again been voiced, for example, by Michalowski (1990) and Zimansky (1993). Friberg 1994 questions her interpretation of the numerical systems utilized in these early tablets.

As was mentioned above, the great majority of these early texts are economic in nature. Writing essentially arose for mundane, utilitarian purposes, in particular the need to maintain precise accounting records. Writing apparently arose during a period when Uruk was expanding far outside of its city-state confines, and carrying out trade throughout the Ancient Near East. There was a need to keep track of internal administrative affairs (similar to the concerns shown by the texts in *Lesson Twenty-Five* and *Lesson Twenty-Six*) and to keep track of trade. Lexical texts arose out of the need to train scribes for such activities. It was only during the succeeding Archaic Period that writing came to be used for genres other than economic texts and lexical texts.

It will be noted that no attempt has been made here to define "writing". This is not as easy as it seems. The issue is important, however. In 1995 and 1996 a few "plaques" were found in Jerf el-Ahmar in Syria, dating apparently to the Neolithic (10th millennium BCE), which contain a number of abstract symbols. It would be stretching the point to call these symbols "writing", but they must have had some symbolic function. Photographs of these plaques are published in Bertin *et al.*, *En Syrie: Aux Origines de l'Ecriture* (1997), which contains many beautiful photographs of cuneiform tablets.

The changes brought about by the invention of writing cannot be discussed here, but Schmandt-Besserat quotes a provocative statement of Lévi-Strauss from 1973:

> And when we consider the first uses to which writing was put, it would seem quite clear that it was connected first and foremost with power: it was used for inventories, catalogues, censuses, laws and instructions; in all instances, whether the aim was to keep a check on material possessions or on human beings, it is evidence of the power exercised by some men over other men and over worldly possessions (1996:55).

Archaic Sumerian (3000-2600 BCE)

Tablets from this period have been found at several sites. The oldest are from Jemdat Nasr; others are from Uruk III, Ur, Fara (modern Shuruppak), and Tell Abu Salabikh. The dating of many of these tablets is inexact and, as discussed above, Nissen includes both Uruk IV and Uruk III together

The Jemdat Nasr texts are being reedited; the first publication is by Englund and Grégoire, *The Proto-Cuneiform Texts from Jemdat Nasr* (1991). A related volume, by R.J. Matthews, is *Cities, Seals and Writing: Archaic Seal Impressions from Jemdet Nasr and Ur* (1993).

One of the reasons the Jemdat Nasr texts are particularly important is because there occurs in them a personal name written En-lil₂-ti. The word for "arrow" in Sumerian was /ti/; the sign used to represent this word was, in fact, originally a picture of an arrow. It is doubtful, however, if this name means something like "Enlil is an arrow". Rather, the root /ti(1)/ in Sumerian also means "to live". Thus, the name En-lil₂-ti means "Enlil lives", or, more likely, "May Enlil give life", "May Enlil keep alive". That is, in this name a cuneiform sign is used strictly for its syllabic value: the sign ⟨ꞓ⟩ is used for its syllabic value /ti/, not for its logographic value "arrow". This usage of a sign strictly for its phonetic value is called "phoneticization". This writing thus shows evidence of phoneticization. It also shows that the script is being used for a language where the word for "arrow" and "to live" are homophonous.

This interpretation of the personal name En-lil₂-ti goes back to Falkenstein, in 1936. It gained immediate acceptance by Assyriologists and Sumerologists, who argue that the writing shows the existence of phoneticization, shows the personal name to be Sumerian, and shows the language of the texts in which the personal name occurs to be Sumerian. The same name may also occur in the later phase of Nissen's "Archaic Texts".

In 1974, A.A. Vaiman argued against this reading of the name, stating that the sign read by Falkenstein as lil₂ is in fact the e₂-sign. Although in later Sumerian the lil₂-sign and the e₂-sign had fallen together in shape, they were different in the very earliest forms of Sumerian (discussed in detail in Vaiman 1990:114-115). Vaiman is supported by Englund (1988:131-132 n.9). If so, this means that the name cannot be used to show the existence of phoneticization, nor to show that the name is Sumerian, nor to show that the language of the texts in which the name occurs is Sumerian.

The question of when phoneticization first appears is still unclear. Steinkeller (1995:694-695) lists several possible instances already in the Uruk IV texts. One such is the writing EZEN x EN, where the inscribed en-sign is apparently a phonetic complement helping to give the correct reading of the ezen-sign. Steinkeller states that "The evidence in hand is sufficent to demonstrate that the principle of phonetic writing was fully established already in the Uruk IV script"; he goes on to add that "These writings also provide an iron-clad proof that the language underlying the Uruk script is in fact Sumerian". This is not necessarily a logical conclusion, however.

Up until the 1960s, virtually all of the texts which were known from this period were the

usual administrative and economic types. The situation changed in 1963, when the University of Chicago began excavations at a site called Tell Abu Salabikh, near Nippur. A number of texts and fragments were found dating to about 2600 BCE; these were published by Robert Biggs in 1974. The majority of these turned out to be literary texts. Some were compositions which were known from later times. For example, there is a text known as the *Kesh Temple Hymn*, preserved in numerous Old Babylonian copies dating to about 1800 BCE and later. Fragments turned up at Tell Abu Salabikh—dating to some eight hundred years earlier than the previously known copies. Other texts turned out to be previously unknown compositions. One, for example, is a collection of hymns to temples. Many of these texts are scarcely intelligible, due to our lack of knowledge of literary Sumerian at this early period.

The primary importance of Tell Abu Salabikh thus lies in revealing the existence of literary texts from the middle of the third millennium BCE. Since these discoveries, scholars have recognized fragments of literary texts among some tablets which have been known for many years. For instance, some of the Fara texts have turned out to be fragments of proverbs which are known from later proverb collections.

The texts from Tell Abu Salabikh are also important because a number of the literary texts (and some lexical texts) have colophons of the sort "So-and-so wrote this tablet", PN dub mu-sar. It is not known what the word sar means here exactly. In theory it could mean that the scribe "composed" the composition, but more likely it means that the scribe "copied" the text from a master tablet (some colophons list more than one name). However, what is surprising is that a number of these scribes have demonstrably Semitic personal names.

It is difficult to date the entry of peoples speaking Semitic languages into Mesopotamia, on linguistic or other grounds. The first evidence is usually thought to be the presence of Akkadian loan words in early Sumerian. These loan words are difficult to evaluate, however, because it is not always certain which way the borrowing went or whether a third language served as intermediary in the transmission of a word.

On the assumption that persons bearing Semitic names spoke a Semitic language (not a guaranteed assumption), the Semitic names in these colophons are thought now to be the first linguistic evidence of Semitic-speaking peoples in Mesopotamia. If the Fara texts and the Tell Abu Salabikh texts are dated to about 2600 BCE, this gives a *terminus ante quem* for the arrival of these Semitic-speaking peoples, but it does not say anything about how long they might have been present in Mesopotamia before this. These peoples must have been there for some time, since some of them had worked themselves into the intellectual and professional classes, becoming scribes. Saggs, for example, says "There must have been Semitic-speaking elements there from 2800 BC at the latest" (1995:30). Similarly, Steinkeller speaks of "Sumero-Semitic" language contact "already in Uruk III times" (1995:695), and Hannes Galter says that such contact "began long before our earliest written evidence" (1995:27).

Classical (or **Old**) **Sumerian** (2600-2300 BCE)

Most of the texts of this period come from Lagash, from a period known as the "First Dynasty of Lagash". Besides the usual administrative and economic texts, there are a fair number of royal and non-royal inscriptions. There are also a few legal texts and letters; some literary fragments have also been identified. Royal inscriptions are also known from other sites.

The end of this period corresponds to the rise to power of the Dynasty of Akkad (2334-2154 BCE), whose rulers spoke Akkadian. As mentioned above, peoples speaking Semitic languages must have been present in Mesopotamia for centuries before the time of Sargon, the founder of the dynasty (ruled 2334-2278 BCE). To some degree, Mesopotamia must have been bilingual during this time. However, with a dynasty speaking a Semitic language now in power, Sumerian gradually started to lose its prominence and position in society.

A recent addition to the corpus of texts from this period are the texts from Ebla, in northern Syria, therefore from outside of the Sumerian-speaking heartland. To date, upwards of three thousand texts and fragments have been discovered; the exact number is still unknown. The texts are in both Sumerian and Eblaite. Early accounts of the discoveries said that perhaps ninety percent of the texts were written in Sumerian, but this is too high a figure. An accurate figure will only be arrived at when the texts are more fully published.

Only a few texts in Eblaite are written in purely syllabic Eblaite orthography. By far the majority of the texts written in Eblaite are couched in an orthography which utilizes a large number of Sumerian logograms, making it very difficult to actually see the Eblaite. In the *Hamazi Letter*, for example, every single noun and verb is written with a Sumerian logogram; only such function words as prepositions are written syllabically.

Most of the texts found at Ebla are administrative or economic, chiefly dealing with the metal and textile industries. However, there are also lexical lists; some are copies of Sumerian lists known from later periods, others are bilingual Eblaite-Sumerian texts. There are a few literary texts in Eblaite, mostly incantations; these are written in largely syllabic Eblaite, but are extremely difficult to understand. The existence of literary fragments in Sumerian is still disputed.

The Sumerian texts from Ebla offer much new information about the language. The bilingual lexical texts, for example, include some Sumerian words and expressions not elsewhere attested.

Neo (or **New**) **Sumerian** (2300-2000 BCE)

Although Sumerian was on the defensive in the face of Akkadian, it enjoyed a strong—albeit brief—revival under the kings of the Ur III Dynasty. In fact, most of our preserved cuneiform tablets date to this period. There are texts from many sites, including Ur itself, Adab, Drehem, Lagash, Larsa, Nippur, Umma, Uruk, and others. There are literally tens and tens of thousands of economic documents, as well as inscriptions, letters, and other types of texts. A certain number of tablets with literary texts date to this period. Many Sumerian literary works were composed in this age. It is sometimes said, in fact, that most of preserved Sumerian literature was composed during the time of the Ur III dynasty, although only preserved on tablets from later periods.

From some time before the rise of power of Ur-Nammu, the founder of the dynasty, there are a fair number of inscriptions from the reign of Gudea, the local ruler of Lagash. Many of these are inscribed on statues of Gudea himself. The longest Sumerian composition known is a building hymn of Gudea totaling over 1300 lines. This was written over two cylinders, now preserved in the Louvre (The longest known purely literary work is the *Epic of Lugalbanda*, some 900 lines long).

The dynasty of Gudea is called "Lagash II". The chronology of Lagash II is unsure; this has been most recently discussed by Carroué (1994). The most common view today is that the last ruler of Lagash II, Nammahani, was killed in battle by Ur-Nammu early in the latter's reign. Another view is that Nammahani was killed late in the reign of Ur-Nammu, or even in the reign of Shulgi; this view would make Gudea a contemporary of Ur-Nammu, not a predecessor. The language of the Gudea texts is more or less the same as that of the Ur III texts.

It is not known when Sumerian ceased to be a spoken language; this is a current topic of discussion among Sumerologists and Assyriologists. Usually assumed to be spoken during the Ur III period, it was under the greatly increasing influence of Akkadian. Some scholars use the figure 2000 BCE, others 1900 BCE for the date when Sumerian ceased to be spoken, but this figure is rather arbitrary. The language continued to be spoken by ever smaller groups of speakers, and it is impossible to say when the last speaker of Sumerian died. What is usually meant by the question "When did Sumerian die?" is "When did the native language of the people who produced the texts we have cease to be Sumerian?". Pockets of native speakers of Sumerian may have survived for some time, particularly in southern Sumer, without producing any texts.

Other scholars have argued for an earlier death. Jerrold Cooper has said that "Sumerian as a spoken language was in all probability dead or nearly so in Ur III" (1973:241). His argument is based on the types of documents preserved during the Ur III period. Both Kienast (1981a) and Michalowski (1991) agree. Galter, in fact, says

> Under the Ur III kings, Sumerian ceased to be spoken...There is a definite break between Old and Neo-Sumerian, and a serious degree of ignorance of Sumerian grammatical elements on behalf of the scribes in the Lagaš II and Ur III administrations can be observed (1995:28).

Jacobsen, on the other hand, says "We therefore assume that Sumerian was still spoken as everyday language in the south in the Ur III period and a major part of the Isin-Larsa period as well" (1988a:124). Lieberman has stated that there is some evidence to show that "Sumerian was spoken during the Old-Babylonian period" (1979:27).

It is clear that the Ur III period was one of transition. The first three rulers bear Sumerian names, and the last two Akkadian ones. Moreover, upwards of fifty of Shulgi's children and descendants are known by name; about half have Sumerian names, about half Akkadian ones.

Post-Sumerian (2000 BCE-100 CE)

This is occasionally divided into the following subdivisions:

Early Old Babylonian	2000-1800 BCE
Later Old Babylonian	1800-1600 BCE
Post Old Babylonian	1600-

After the Early Old Babylonian period, Sumerian was dead as a native language. However, it continued to be taught in the schools as a language of culture and as a language of religious importance. The parallel has frequently been made with the rôle of Latin in the Roman Catholic Church. Latin is still written today, and even to some degree spoken; hence, it is "living", even thought it is not spoken as a native language. Similarly, Sumerian was studied and written in school, so in one sense was still living, but not as a native language. Vanstiphout has thus used the term "Standard Sumerian" to mean "the language used in the literary documents of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods...This language is a literary and therefore written form, taught in school for educational and literary purposes" (1985:1).

The majority of Sumerian literary texts which have been preserved are on tablets dating to the Early Old Babylonian period. These had been composed earlier, sometimes much earlier, and had been transmitted both by oral tradition and presumably by early copies not preserved today. It was during the Early Old Babylonian period when these compositions were committed to writing. This literary heritage is rich and of varied genres, including myths; epics; proverb collections; all kinds of compositions pertaining to the practice of religion, such as hymns, incantations, laments, and so on; and many other types. Original compositions in Sumerian were also written in this period; examples include royal inscriptions (alongside those written in Akkadian), and hymns written in honor of some of the Old Babylonian rulers.

Although the original composition of most Sumerian literary texts was in Sumerian, by native speakers of Sumerian, the native language of the scribes who copied down the literary texts during this period was Akkadian, not Sumerian. This led to a strong linguistic influence of Akkadian upon Sumerian, to the extent that the literary texts contain features which would appear to be "wrong" by the rules of Classical Sumerian grammar. Michalowski, for example, has spoken of the "profound changes in grammar evident in the Old Babylonian literary texts" (1980:91); "During the Old Babylonian period Mesopotamian scribes wrote Sumerian utilizing a profoundly different grammar, much influenced by Akkadian" (1980:86 n.3). The extent of deviation from the norm varies from one particular text to another. *Inanna's Descent*, for example, is pretty good Sumerian, with only a few "wrong" verbal forms. In *Gilgamesh and Agga*, on the other hand, there are more "wrong" verbal forms than "right" ones.

It is, of course, always possible that forms which we regard as "wrong" are in fact "right", but our understanding of Sumerian grammar is not yet sophisticated enough to correctly interpret such forms. Jacobsen has emphasized this methodological point:

Once it has been decided that our sources are generally suspect it becomes

natural to see all unexpected and difficult features as due to corruption, without seriously considering the possibility that our own limited and rough knowledge might be at fault and need revision...The essential thing is to be slow to dismiss difficulties with the easy assumption of mistakes by the Ancients (1988a:125-126).

Jacobsen's important article on "The Sumerian Verbal Core" (1988b), for example, is based on "Standard Sumerian, the language of Sumerian literature known to us for its major part in copies of Old Babylonian date".

Sumerian continued to be written right down to the Christian era. These very late texts are either cultic or astronomical. There are even a few Sumerian texts, including portions of canonical lexical lists, written in Greek characters. These are usually known as the "Graeco-Babyloniaca tablets"; they are too late to tell us much about Sumerian pronunciation of earlier periods. Stefan Maul (1991) has edited a bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian incantation written in Greek characters which is so difficult that earlier studies thought that it might be Aramaic.

The very latest cuneiform texts preserved are several astronomical almanacs, written in Akkadian with a great number of Sumerian logograms for technical terms. The latest of these can be dated by internal criteria to the year 385 of the Seleucid Era, corresponding to 74/75 CE. In his article "The Last Wedge", which studies the end of the cuneiform tradition, Geller suggests that "cuneiform could still have been read in the third century AD" (1997:43).

As mentioned above, the periodization used here, and other such periodizations, are to some degree based on external (historical and political) criteria, not on purely linguistic criteria. Jacobsen (1988a:126) proposed an alternative scheme, based on such linguistic criteria as the different kinds of assimilation that can take place in the verbal prefix chain:

> Archaic
> Old Sumerian
> Standard Sumerian (beginning with Naram-Sin of Akkad)
> Late Sumerian

Jacobsen emphasized the fact that the paucity of the data prevents overly-fine subdivisions. Unfortunately, he died before he could flesh out this scheme with precise dates.

Appendix Two

Mesopotamian Sources

Much of our knowledge of Sumerian derives from the intellectual activity of the ancient Mesopotamian scribes, scholars, and students themselves. This *Appendix* describes some of the Mesopotamian sources which provide us with information about the Sumerian language.

Lexical lists

It is especially in the area of lexicography that Sumerology depends on the ancient sources. Starting at a very early date, the Sumerians began to compile "lexical lists". Many of these lists became standardized through the course of Mesopotamian history and were even given individual names (it is not known if the Sumerians or Akkadians themselves had a word corresponding to our generic term "lexical list"). Several types of these lists exist; there is no uniform terminology to describe them.

Some of these lists were simple lists of cuneiform signs. For example, the first eight lines of a series known as *Tutati* are: 1) tu 2) ta 3) ti 4) tu-ta-ti 5) nu 6) na 7) ni 8) nu-na-ni. Other lists treat Sumerian words. One type is called a "syllabary". These typically give a logogram in the left hand column while in the right hand column the pronunciation of the logogram is spelled out, using a restricted number of syllabic signs. Another type is called a "vocabulary". These consist of lists, usually of words for semantically related things: lists of names of fish, of professions, of stones, and so on. Most vocabularies are loosely arranged according to subject, but others are organized according to graphic shape or even according to phonological shape. Vocabularies are the most common type of all lexical lists.

The basic function of these texts was to help scribes learn how to read and write Sumerian. *Tutati*, for example, must represent a very elementary level of instruction. These early texts were the product of Sumerian scholars, originating in the Sumerian scribal school system. Such study first began with individual strokes of the stylus, moving on to single signs, before moving on to words. This is all nicely illustrated by Steve Tinney in his "Texts, Tablets, and Teaching: Scribal Education in Nippur and Ur" (1998).

Lexical lists become more and more common beginning with the Old Babylonian period. At that time, Sumerian was dying out as a spoken language, if it had not already done so. By the end of the Old Babylonian period, if not earlier, Sumerian was only spoken in the schools. The function of these later lexical lists was to aid Akkadian-speaking scribes in their study of Sumerian, as opposed to the earlier texts, whose purpose was to aid Sumerian-speaking students.

By the late or post Old Babylonian period (the 15th and 14th centuries BCE), many lexical lists had become standardized in form and content. This process is usually called "canonization",

and the series are said to have become "canonical". There are about a dozen such major canonical series. Some are monolingual in Sumerian, like the earlier texts, but most are bilingual; they have a Sumerian word in the left-hand column and an Akkadian equivalent in the right-hand column.

Some of these series are quite extensive. One of the largest and best preserved is named *Har-ra = hubullu*. The first entry has ḫar-ra (the Sumerian for "interest bearing loan") in the left-hand column and the Akkadian equivalent ḫubullu in the right-hand column. In its canonical form, this series occupied 24 large tablets, totalling about 10,000 entries. Civil has called it an "inventory of material culture" (1976:125). He describes its contents as follows:

(tablets 1 and 2)	legal and administrative terminology
(3-7)	trees and wooden artifacts
(8-9)	reeds and reed artifacts
(10)	pottery
(11)	hides and copper
(12)	other metals
(13)	domestic animals
(14)	wild animals
(15)	parts of the body
(16)	stones
(17)	plants
(18)	birds and fish
(19)	textiles
(20-22)	geographical terms
(23-24)	food and drinks

Lexical lists such as these help us to determine the meaning of Sumerian words. Some of the lexical lists go even further, and add a column giving the pronunciation of the logogram in question; they are thus mixed syllabaries-vocabularies. For example, the relatively late lexical series known as *Diri* filled seven tablets in its canonical form, with more than 2,000 entries. This series was used to give the pronunciation of compound logograms, that is, logograms whose reading cannot be inferred from the individual parts. An example is nidba, discussed in *Lesson Four*. Without the evidence of lexical lists such as *Diri*, in fact, it would be virtually impossible to deduce the pronunciation /nidba/ from the writing PAD-ᵈINANNA. For this reason, such compounds are often called " *diri* compounds".

In *Diri*, the pronunciation of the logogram under discussion is given in the far left-hand column. In order to obviate ambiguities in reading, only a restricted number of syllabic signs is used to spell out the pronunciation. The second column gives the logogram in question. The third column gives the name of the sign (Akkadian scribes gave names to individual signs at least as early as the Old Babylonian period). The last column gives the Akkadian meaning of the sign.

A typical entry reads:

di-ri   diri   si-ya-ku   wa-at-ru

This tells us that the sign ⟨⟩ has the reading /diri/. Graphically, this sign looks like the si-sign ⟨⟩ followed by the a-sign ⟨⟩ (at least during the time when *Diri* was compiled. Originally, the diri-sign may have had no connection at all with either the si-sign or the a-sign. However, by the Old Babylonian period, when the repertoire of sign shapes was becoming more reduced, the diri-sign happened to assume a shape looking like the si-sign followed by the a-sign). Because of this external similarity, the Akkadians named this sign "the si of a", that is, si.a.(k). The last column gives the Akkadian translation, watru, meaning "excess" or "extra".

Copies of these canonical series have been found all over the Ancient Near East, not just in Mesopotamia. There are also somewhat similar texts, but not of any canonical status, from Mesopotamia and from outside of Mesopotamia. Their function was the same, to aid local scribes in their mastery of Sumerian (or occasionally of some other language). Some of these non-canonical texts are bilingual, some are trilingual, and some even quadrilingual. For example, from Boghazköy in Asia Minor there are several Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite trilingual vocabularies. The native language in Boghazköy was Hittite; these texts were designed to help Hittite scribes in learning both Sumerian and Akkadian. A quadrilingual vocabulary from Ugarit has entries in Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian, and Ugaritic (written syllabically).

The excavations at Ebla have uncovered lexical texts of different kinds. Some are related to the later Mesopotamian tradition; some are independent creations. Many are monolingual in Sumerian (less frequently in Eblaite). Others are bilingual, with the Sumerian again on the left and the Eblaite on the right. In some cases, the pronunciation of the Sumerian is given.

As discussed in *Appendix One*, fragments of such lists occur among the very earliest Sumerian texts which have been preserved. *ATU* 3 (1993, Englund and Nissen) consists of *Die lexikalischen Listen der archaischen Texte aus Uruk*. Nissen estimated that some 15% of the archaic texts from Uruk are lexical texts. For example, the Uruk version of a lexical series known as the *Standard Professions List*, which lists some 100 different professions and titles, is attested in at least 163 copies.

Lexical lists continued to be used up to the very last stages of cuneiform writing. Copies of some of the canonical lexical series are known from as late as Seleucid times, when Akkadian itself was no longer a spoken language, having been displaced by Aramaic. Somewhat curiously, very few exemplars dating to the Ur III period are found; Civil asks "Could it be due to the strength of the oral tradition?" (1976:127).

As was mentioned above, the standardization of these series took place largely in the 15th-14th centuries BCE. Many of what came to be canonical series are also attested in versions from before their canonization. There is no uniform terminology to refer to such texts, but it is not uncommon to use the term "precursor" or "forerunner" (or the German term "Vorläufer") to refer to the earliest copies known of series which later became canonical. Some use the term

"proto" to mean specifically the Old Babylonian precursors, that is, the series from immediately before canonization. For example, several copies of *Proto-Diri* have been preserved.

These Mesopotamian lexical lists contain a mine of information, but they are not always easy to use. Errors of various kinds have crept in; some are due to the normal accidents of textual transmission and some to Akkadian scribes not understanding their originals. There are conventions and abbreviations used by the scribes which make it difficult to understand the texts. Moreover, these lists should be thought of as a kind of "bare bones" text; there was undoubtedly a tremendous amount of oral information passed on in the Mesopotamian schools, fleshing out these texts. And, unfortunately, as Civil points out, "The modern textual reconstruction of ancient lexical lists is based to a large extent on school exercises" (1995:2307); that is, our preserved tablets are largely the work of students learning their craft; they are not carefully edited literary texts.

Civil also points out that it is not simple to recognize the order of entries in the texts:

> When they attempted to make an inventory of Sumerian words, the native Mesopotamian scribes faced a problem familiar to any lexicographer in the first stages of planning a dictionary: should the entries be organized thematically, by subjects, or should they be arranged in a serial order based on graphic or phonological characteristics of the words? One can hardly speak of planning in the compilation of the Mesopotamian lexical lists as a whole, since they were the result of a slow process, which lasted for centuries and answered many different kinds of needs: scribal training, interpretation of traditional texts, composition of new texts, and, undoubtedly, a certain amount of simple philological curiosity, spurred on by the desire of salvaging the words of an extinct language. Nevertheless, the compilers of each new addition to the traditional lexicographic corpus had to decide how the entries should be arranged (*MSL* XIII [1971] 3).

Civil has written a most useful article listing and discussing the principal Sumerian lexical texts (1976). He also discusses the modern editions of these texts, and the theoretical principles which need to be observed when attempting to write a Sumerian dictionary or glossary based on these native sources. A more general introduction is his 1995 article. The article "Lexikalische Listen" in the *RlA*, by Antoine Cavigneaux, contains complete information on the geographical distribution of the preserved tablets bearing these lists. Cavigneaux's dissertation of 1976, "Die sumerisch-akkadischen Zeichenlisten: Überlieferungsprobleme", is unpublished but often cited, because of its detail on selected problems in the transmission of signs and its background information on Sumerian phonetics. Many of the Eblaite vocabularies are discussed by different authors in Cagni 1984.

Because they exist in so many copies, lexical texts were among the first cuneiform tablets to be found and published. Their importance for the reconstruction of Sumerian was recognized early on. These texts are being systematically published in a series originally entitled *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon* (*MSL*); it is now entitled *Materials for the Sumerian*

Lexicon. Volume 1, edited by Benno Landsberger, appeared in 1937; volume 17 appeared in 1985, and several other volumes are being prepared for publication.

The rôle of the lexical lists is usually described as essentially a learning device in the schools. Very little is actually known about how Sumerian would have been taught to native Akkadian-speakers, although we do have hints in this regard and some direct information from various literary and hymnic texts. Hallo has said that "Sumerian syntax could hardly be learned except from connected prose and poetry" (Hallo and Simpson 1971:157).

These lexical lists may also have had other functions. Mogens Trolle Larsen has discussed the "place of the lexical tradition in the cognitive scheme of the ancient Mesopotamians":

> There is no doubt that the lists did function within the scribal world as part of the basic curriculum in all periods of Mesopotamian history, but it is likewise possible to understand the lists as serving another purpose, to present a systematic and ordered picture of the world (1987:208-209).

Aage Westenholz says somewhat the same thing:

> In many illiterate cultures, an enormously detailed vocabulary of plants, animals, trees, etc. functions as the skeleton of an integrated classification and taxonomy of the known world; and we may see the Sumerian lists of everything from gods to milk-pots in a similar light as an itemized statement on the world order, the origin and functioning of which mythology describes in literary terms (1985:295-296).

That is, these are attempts to understand the universe by classifying it.

Grammatical texts

Sumerian differs from Akkadian not just in vocabulary but also in morphology and syntax. These differences led Akkadian scribes to produce a series of grammatical texts, which are, in essence, a highly specialized form of lexical list. The earliest of these are known as the *Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts* (*OBGT*). Dating from about 1700-1600 BCE, these are in the form of paradigms: paradigms of verbs, nominal forms, particles, and so on. The Sumerian is on the left, and the Akkadian (if present) on the right. *OBGT* VI, for example, lists over 200 forms of the verb ĝar, "to place". Lines 124-125 read as follows:

> mu-un-ĝar   iš-ku-un
> mu-ĝar

The simplest interpretation of these lines is that for the Akkadian scribes the forms written mu-un-ĝar and mu-ĝar have the same equivalent, iškun, a third person preterite verb form. This is how most modern Sumerologists understand the two forms, as a difference in orthography, not in morphology; both mu-un-ĝar and mu-ĝar represent mu.n.ĝar.

Lines 142-143 of the same tablet read:

ba-an-ğar   iš-ta-ka-an
ba-ğar

As above, this says that both ba-an-ğar and ba-ğar have the same Akkadian equivalent, iš-ta-ka-an. To judge from other forms in the paradigm, ištakan is a Gt-preterite. If one compares these forms with the ones cited just above, it can be seen that the Akkadian scribes interpreted the difference in the Sumerian conjugation prefix as a difference in the Akkadian stem: mu-un-ğar was translated by the G-preterite iškun, but ba-an-ğar by the Gt-preterite ištakan.

A later series of texts, the *Neo-Babylonian Grammatical Texts* (*NBGT*), date from about the sixth century BCE. These texts are organized according to morpheme: a Sumerian morpheme is glossed by an Akkadian equivalent. For example, *NBGT* I, line 153, reads:

da   qa-du

This line equates the Sumerian comitative case marker da with the Akkadian preposition qadu, which means "with". Lines 405-408 of the same tablet read:

ga   lu-u₂
ḫu
ḫa
ḫe₂

The Sumerian cohortative modal prefix ga and three morphophonemic alternants of the desiderative modal prefix ḫe₂ are all "translated" as the Akkadian desiderative particle lu.

NBGT occasionally adds scribal comments or annotations, in both Sumerian and Akkadian. Examples include the Sumerian word an-ta, "prefix", and the Akkadian expression ša ištēn, "singular". These annotations do not appear in *OBGT*.

OBGT and *NBGT* are rather extensive. One might think that these texts could furnish a key to Sumerian morphology. Unfortunately, it is not so simple. These texts are all relatively late, and represent Akkadian speakers' understanding of Sumerian. At times, these Akkadian-speaking scribes seem to have had a different understanding of some Sumerian grammatical categories and distinctions than do modern-day Sumerologists. For example, in the passage from *OBGT* cited above, a difference in Sumerian conjugation prefix was equated with a distinction in Akkadian verbal stem. It is difficult to say how accurate an equation this is. Black has pointed out that *OBGT* V makes a consistent distinction in the marû between the first person suffix /en/, written -en, and the second person suffix /en/, written -e-en (1991:7). Black thinks that this might indicate a difference in pronunciation. More likely it is a purely graphic distinction, but such a distinction does not seem to operate in actual Sumerian texts.

Regarding the Sumerian and Akkadian grammatical terms which sometimes occur as annotations, Black has also said that there is "a growing body of evidence that the scribes responsible for introducing the grammatical terms into the grammatical analysis texts sometimes

misunderstood their meaning (or misunderstood the texts into which they were introducing them)" (1991:90).

There is also a certain amount of systematization and schematization in these tablets. At the same time, there is no unified method of organizing the data. As mentioned above, *OBGT* has over 200 lines of ğar, but it is not always easy to follow the principles by which these forms are organized. Other *OBGT* texts follow their own scheme of organization.

Like the lexical texts, there also occur mechanical errors due to problems of text transmission. There are also scribal conventions and abbreviations. And as mentioned earlier, there was undoubtedly a large oral component which accompanied the study of these texts, a component which is no longer accessible. These problems (and others) mean that although these grammatical texts are a font of useful information, this information cannot be used uncritically. These texts cannot be viewed as an exact reflection of Sumerian of the Ur III or earlier periods. Black has said that "In some cases it seems that we know Sumerian better than the compilers, or copyists, of our texts" (1991:7). This may be somewhat of an exaggeration, but it does seem, for example, that the Akkadian scribes understood the Sumerian aspectual system differently than we do today. They also seem to have understood causative sentences, a topic heavily dealt with in *OBGT*, differently than modern scholarship. In this vein, Black also thinks that certain Akkadian forms seen in *OBGT* were "especially concocted to set against certain Sumerian forms" (1991:29).

Thus, although Jacobsen may be correct in saying that the *OBGT* texts "constitute without question the most important single group of sources both for the history of grammatical studies generally and for our understanding of Sumerian grammar specifically so far known" (1956:1*), these texts must be approached with prudence. Jacobsen adds that "The immensity of the number of problems raised, and the relative insufficiency of our present knowledge of Sumerian becomes only too clear as one approaches the texts in earnest" (1956:2*).

As the above quotes exemplify, scholars vary in their estimation of the worth of these texts in reconstructing Sumerian grammar. Jacobsen, for example, saw them as extremely important; Krecher, on the other hand, in his study of the conjugation prefixes containing an /m/ element (1985:134), found them to be of little value, partially because of the fact that they are so much later than the earliest literary texts. Attinger also discusses some of these problems (1993:59-60). Moreover, Civil has pointed out:

> To my knowledge, the fundamental question: are the grammatical texts *descriptive* or *prescriptive?* has never been formulated, and much less answered, at least in print, although there is widespread skepticism about their descriptive adequacy (Civil *et al.* [1986] 72).

For a long time, it was thought that *OBGT* represented mankind's first attempt to formulate "paradigms"; these texts antedate the grammatical studies by scholars of Sanscrit by over a millennium. However, what may well represent the first attempt known to organize verbal forms into a paradigm is now found among the Ebla tablets. From a rather variegated monolingual lexical text (TM.75.G.2260), the following lines appear:

(line 12)   in-na-sum
               i₃-na-sum
               nu-i₃-na-sum
               ḫi-na-sum
               ba-til
               nu-til
               in-til
               ḫi-til

For several reasons, one might be hesitant about considering these lines to be a "paradigm". But they do indicate that the mind-set of the scribe(s) was heading in that direction. And this tablet antedates *OBGT* by some 500 years.

The function of the lexical texts (and the smattering of what might be called a "grammatical" text just discussed) at Ebla was similar to the function of the lexical and grammatical texts found throughout Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East in general: to enable scribes to master Sumerian. For the Eblaite scribes, however, Sumerian was a language still spoken as a native language. For the Akkadian scribes of the Old Babylonian period, Sumerian had virtually ceased to exist as a spoken language, and was only a language of the schools.

OBGT and *NBGT* were published in *MSL* IV (1956). These texts were prefaced by Jacobsen with a discussion of the Sumerian verbal system as reflected in these texts. Jacobsen has also written a very interesting article (1974) intended for a more general linguistic audience, in which he discusses the system of paradigms seen in *OBGT* and *NBGT*. More general introductions to the Akkadian and Sumerian linguistic traditions are Civil 1994 and Reiner 1994. Black (1991; first edition 1984) has written a book especially on these grammatical texts, and on the philosophy of language which they represent; this work also has much incidental discussion of various aspects of Sumerian morphology.

More recently, Civil *et al.* have published some *Middle Babylonian Grammatical Texts* (1986). These have not yet been fully studied.

Syllabic Sumerianₓ

Standard Sumerian is written using a combination of logographic and syllabic signs. However, some texts are preserved in which Sumerian is written using only syllabic signs. This is called "syllabic Sumerian", "phonetic Sumerian", or "syllabic orthography". For example, the locative phrase "in the land" is written kalam-ma in standard orthography; in syllabic orthography it is written ka-la-ma.

There are not a great number of texts in syllabic Sumerian; they are all relatively late. Most of them do not come from the Mesopotamian heartland, but rather from northern Babylonia or further afield. The practice originated in the scribal school system as a device for scribes to cope with the difficulties of standard Sumerian orthography. In the case of syllabically written incantations and liturgical texts, the purpose was to aid in correct recitation.

Unlike the lexical and grammatical texts discussed above, there is no standard or canonical system of writing syllabic Sumerian. It varies to some degree from text to text. Much of it was probably produced on an *ad hoc* basis, to deal with particular texts.

Since syllabic Sumerian is an attempt to reproduce spoken Sumerian, it should reveal features not shown in the normal orthography; thus one might think of it as another key to unlocking Sumerian morphology. Unfortunately, it is usually very difficult to understand syllabic Sumerian, even more difficult than it is to understand Sumerian in standard orthography. There are the usual problems of inconsistencies, scribal conventions, and occasional scribal misunderstanding of the originals. However, the main cause for difficulty is precisely because standard Sumerian masks certain phonetic problems, such as morphophonemic alternation, contraction, assimilation, and so on. When such phenomena actually show up in syllabic Sumerian, it is often difficult to untangle the forms. Even in cases where the same text is preserved once in standard orthography and once in syllabic orthography, the phonetic relationship between the two is not always easy to see or describe.

A simple example is the writing at-ta for standard an-ta, "from the sky" or "from above". Should it be assumed that the standard Sumerian was also pronounced /atta/, and that the written form an-ta is a morphographemic or historical writing? If so, should the an-sign be transliterated by an at-value? Perhaps in early Sumerian the word was indeed pronounced /anta/, but the assimilation took place in later Sumerian, producing /atta/. How can this change be dated? On the other hand, perhaps such a writing as at-ta reflects the regular assimilation of nasals in Akkadian, here transferred to Sumerian, and doesn't say anything about Sumerian.

Even in this one simple instance, it is possible to think of several variables which must be taken into account to explain the form. But consider a more complicated case. From the root bir, meaning "to become confused", there appears a marû form written in standard orthography as ba-bir-bir-re, showing formation of the marû by means of both reduplication and the marû suffix .e. This appears in syllabic orthography as ba-bi-ib-re, presumably reflecting /babibre/. Does this mean that the writing in standard orthography, ba-bir-bir-re, should also be understood as representing /babibre/, and that ba-bir-bir-re is a morphographemic or historical spelling? And if so, how should it be transliterated? Should -bir-bir-re be transliterated -bibreₓ? (It is possible, in fact, that *all* such graphically reduplicated marû forms conceal phonetic reduction).

Such examples illustrate the extent to which phonetic processes are masked by standard orthography, and they show the difficulty in interpreting the syllabic forms. And since syllabic Sumerian varies to some degree from text to text, it is difficult to generalize about what is seen. As mentioned above, all syllabic texts are rather late, from the Old Babylonian period or later. They thus reflect a stage when Sumerian was no longer a spoken language, so to some degree the phonetic differences from standard Sumerian may be conditioned by the Akkadian language of the scribes.

At Ebla, syllabically written versions of lexical lists have been found. Civil has called their existence "a most unexpected surprise which opens a new chapter in the understanding of the

earliest lexical compilations and provides phonological data for the oldest stages of Sumerian" (1982:1). These syllabically written lexical texts are very difficult to interpret, and only preliminary work has been accomplished.

The two examples given above illustrate the kind of information which such texts can provide. In spite of the methodological problems encountered in studying syllabic Sumerian, future investigation of these texts may help to solve some of the perplexing problems encountered in the Sumerian writing system.

The Emesal sociolect of Sumerian is written in a mixture of standard (that is, mostly logographic) Sumerian and of syllabic Sumerian. For example, the word for "lady" in Emesal is /gašan/, corresponding to Main Dialect /nin/. Sometimes Emesal texts simply use the same nin-sign as is used for the Main Dialect word; it is assumed that the "reader" will know enough Sumerian to render the nin-sign as the Emesal equivalent /gašan/. More frequently, however (at least, with this particular word), it is spelled syllabically, ga-ša-an.

An Emesal vocabulary has also been preserved in fragments, some 177 lines long (published in *MSL* IV, along with *OBGT* and *NBGT*). It gives the Emesal form in syllabic orthography in the left-hand column, then the Main Dialect form, then an Akkadian translation in syllabic orthography in the right-hand column. A typical example is line 96:

> da-ma-al   dagal   rap-šu

This tells us that da-ma-al is the Emesal equivalent to the Main Dialect adjective dagal; the Akkadian translation is rapšu, meaning "wide".

Bilinguals

Some bilingual texts have come down to us, of two main types. In the first type, a line of Sumerian is followed by a line of Akkadian translation. These are usually called "interlinear texts". There are many incantations of this sort; in such incantations, the Sumerian is often written in syllabic orthography. In the second type, the texts are written in parallel columns, with the Sumerian on the left of the tablet and the Akkadian translation on the right.

Bilingual texts are of many different genres. They include incantations (the most common variety), rituals, hymns, proverbs, letters, and even a few royal inscriptions. Sometimes even more than two languages are used. For example, among the texts found at Boghazköy (a Hittite-speaking area) there is a trilingual poem to the god Ishkur (discussed by Jerrold Cooper [1971:8]). The text is divided into groups of four lines. The first line is Sumerian in standard orthography; the second line is the same in syllabic orthography; the third line is an Akkadian translation; the fourth line is a Hittite translation. This text illustrates how syllabic Sumerian was used to help the Hittite-speaking scribes in trying to figure out the standard Sumerian version.

Most bilinguals are rather late, from the later Old Babylonian period on. Some may be earlier; for example, there are a couple of Old Akkadian bilingual royal inscriptions preserved in Old Babylonian copies. One is a bilingual inscription of Sargon, written in parallel columns

on the back of a statue of Sargon, which was re-copied in Old Babylonian times.

Strictly speaking, the term "bilingual" is used when two versions of one text are recorded on one object, such as a tablet or statue. The term is often, however, used more loosely. For example, there are a few cases where a Sumerian version of a text is present on one tablet and an Akkadian translation on another tablet (without both versions, in fact, it might never be known that the Akkadian was a translation). The term "bilingual" is occasionally used to refer to such parallel versions, even though not found on the same object.

Shulgi 7 is a royal inscription marking the building of a temple, written in Sumerian; Shulgi 3 is a royal inscription in Akkadian, recording the same event. Neither is a translation of the other; rather, they are independent compositions commemorating the same event. Such texts (unfortunately, they are few) are helpful in elucidating the relationship between Sumerian and Akkadian during the Ur III period.

A few Sumerian texts are preserved which are actual translations from Akkadian, including, for example, a royal inscription of Ammi-Ditana of Babylon (1683-1647 BCE) (Kutscher 1989:104). There are several "mistakes" in the Sumerian version. Sollberger recently published a tablet containing a Sumerian version of the epilogue of the *Code of Hammurapi*, dating to the Old Babylonian period (1991).

Bilinguals are studied by Krecher in his article "Interbilinguen" in the *RlA*; he also has a useful article on "Glossen". Galter (1995) specifically examines bilingual royal inscriptions. Jerrold Cooper (1971-1972) has an interesting article on the bilinguals from Boghazköy.

Other sources

In addition to the four types of text discussed above (lexical lists, grammatical texts, syllabic Sumerian, and bilinguals), there are a few other sources to aid in reconstructing Sumerian. For instance, there are Akkadian commentaries to certain genres of text, such as medical texts and omina. In general, they provide less information about Sumerian than do the above-mentioned texts, but do occasionally help to elucidate rare technical vocabulary in both Sumerian and Akkadian.

Appendix Three

Glossary

Research tools

There is no standard sign-list for Sumerian. There are, however, two standard sign-lists for Akkadian which are useful for the study of Sumerian. These are Rykle Borger's *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste* (third edition 1986; this is usually cited as "Borger") and René Labat and Florence Malbran-Labat's *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne* (sixth edition 1988; cited as "Labat"). Labat is especially helpful for the study of the paleography of the signs, that is, the variation in their shape over time. Borger provides some information about Sumerian grammar, and also a certain amount of bibliographic references. Friedrich Ellermeier's *Sumerisches Glossar*: Band 1, Teil 1: *Sumerische Lautwerte* (1979) is very useful in sorting out inconsistencies and variations in the transliteration of particular signs.

There is as yet no up-to-date dictionary of Sumerian. This is perhaps the single biggest obstacle hindering research into Sumerian. At different times projects have been started to write such a dictionary, but none have yet come to fruition. An interesting survey of the history of the modern lexicographical study of Akkadian and Sumerian is Borger 1984; Ellermeier 1977 discusses some of the methodological problems hindering the production of a Sumerian dictionary.

The most important on-going project is that being prepared by the University of Pennsylvania, the *Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary* (*PSD*; cited in the *Bibliography* under Sjöberg 1984ff). Three volumes have appeared so far, the letter B (1984) and the first two parts of A (1993, 1995). This is a collaborative work, based on re-examination of original sources. It is modelled in many ways after the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*. It now has its own web page: http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/psd/.

A second project is being conducted by the Institut für Sprachen und Kulturen des Alten Orients at the University of Innsbruck, the *Innsbrucker Sumerisches Lexikon* (*ISL*; cited in the *Bibliography* under Oberhuber 1990). This will also be a multi-volume work, but based on specific genres of texts. The first volume is a *Sumerisches Lexikon zu George Reisner*, "*Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit und verwandten Texten*". This first volume is based on relatively late texts, and, unlike the *PSD*, is based on secondary literature instead of the original sources. Future volumes will treat other genres. The philosophy behind the *ISL* is discussed in Schretter 1992.

As matters stand, the only complete dictionary available is that of Friedrich Delitzsch, which unfortunately dates to 1914: *Sumerisches Glossar* (reprinted in 1979). This work has much useful information, but is difficult to use and out of date in many details.

An on-line Sumerian lexicon, designed for non-specialists and hence user-friendly, is maintained by John Halloran at http:/www.sumerian.org/.

Unfortunately, even semi-serious lexicographical work in Sumerian requires looking at specialized glossaries and at the glossaries and indices of many different editions of Sumerian texts. For the genre of royal inscriptions, the most useful specialized glossary is that of Behrens and Steible: *Glossar zu den altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften* (1983). This is based on pre-Ur III texts, but because of the continuity of language and genre it is very useful for later texts. There are plans for a volume devoted to the Ur III royal inscriptions. For letters, the glossary in Sollberger's *Business and Administrative Correspondence Under the Kings of Ur* (1966) is a standard; it is also useful for other genres of Sumerian. Similarly, the detailed glossary in Falkenstein's *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* (1956) is useful for all periods of Sumerian.

A handy publication is edited by Tinney: *Index to the Secondary Literature: A collated list of indexes and glossaries to the secondary literature concerning the Sumerian Language*. This work has taken the indices and glossaries of many different works and melded them together. If one wants to know about the word "ur", for example, one can look in this *Index*, which will refer one to many different places in the secondary literature where the word is discussed; this can save a great deal of time. This is a privately produced work. The third printed edition appeared in 1993. It is now accessible and searchable through the *PSD* web page given above.

Professional Sumerologists keep large and detailed files on Sumerian words. The core of the *PSD*, for example, is Åke Sjöberg's collection of over 500,000 dictionary entries, which he started in 1949.

As was mentioned in *Lesson Ten*, the handiest quick reference for personal names is Limet's *L'anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3 dynastie d'Ur* (1968), even though it is not complete (even for the Ur III period).

For geographical names, a convenient reference is the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie (RIA)*. The first volume, edited by Erich Ebeling and Bruno Meissner, appeared in 1928; it is currently up to the letter "m". The *RIA* covers much more than geographical names; its articles treat all aspects of Mesopotamian civilization. The articles are by many different specialists; Edzard, for example, has written several of the recent articles on cuneiform writing and on the Sumerian language. Organized like a dictionary, this is a quick source to identify proper names of all kinds, even if the early articles are now dated. The *RIA* has been quoted throughout this *Manual*.

An equally ambitious undertaking is the *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes (RGTC)*, under the general editorship of Wolfgang Röllig. This is a multi-volume geographical dictionary, with full reference to all occurrences of all geographical names in cuneiform texts. The first volume appeared in 1974 (entitled "volume 2"): *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur*, edited by Edzard and Farber. Volume 1 appeared in 1977: *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der präsargonischen und sargonischen Zeit*, edited by Edzard, Farber, and Sollberger. Several volumes have since appeared.

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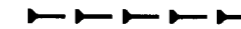
The following is meant as a quick reference to the vocabulary occurring in the *Manual*. The following abbreviations are used: CN (canal name); DN (divine name); GN (geographical name); MN (month name); PN (personal name); TN (temple name). Separate indices of DNs, GNs, PNs, TNs, CNs and MNs are given first, then a complete glossary. The entry "syllabic" means that the sign is used syllabically, not logographically. References are to pages.

Divine names

Ab-u₂	Abu	347, 348
Al-la	Alla	331, 332
An	An	92, 92-93, 96
An-nu-ni-tum	Annunitum	239
Ba-u₂	Bau	139, 140, 292, 332
Bil₃-ga-meš₃	Gilgamesh	153, 153-154, 169, 342
En-ki	Enki	126, 183
En-lil₂	Enlil	81, 85-86, 124, 126, 246, 308, 327
Ig-alim	Igalim	321, 323
Inanna	Inanna	60, 239
Ištaran	Ishtaran	321, 323
Lamar	Lamar	139, 140, 143
Mes-lam-ta-e₃-a	Meslamtaea	287, 288
Nammu	Nammu	34, 35, 58, 81
Nanibgal	Nanibgal	273, 273-274, 352
Nanna	Nanna	34, 35-36, 36, 49, 100, 101, 173, 237, 246
Nanše	Nanshe	139, 140, 180
Nin-a-zu	Ninazu	314, 315, 375
Nin-gal	Ningal	71, 237, 308
Nin-ĝir₂-su	Ningirsu	101, 139, 140-141, 146
Nin-lil₂	Ninlil	246
Nin-Šubur	Ninshubur	310, 311
Sahar	Sahar	332
Sahar-ᵈBa-u₂	Sahar-Bau	331, 332
Šara₂	Shara	246, 247
Utu	Utu	79, 154, 223
Zuen	Zuen	35, 173, 179-180

Geographical names

Adab	Adab	263, 268-269

Personal names

ᵈŠul-gi-uru-ǧu₁₀   Shulgi-urugu   369, 370

Ti-e₂-maḫ-ta   Tiemahta   331, 332

U₂-še₃-ḫe₂-gin   Ushehegin   322, 323

Ur-ab-ba   Urabba   341, 342

Ur-ᵈAb-u₂   Ur-Abu   347

Ur-an-si₄-an-na   Uransiana   347, 348

Ur-ba-gara₉   Urbagara   287, 288

Ur-ᵈBa-u₂   Ur-Bau   341

Ur-e₂   Ure   341, 342

Ur-gar   Urgar   341, 342

Ur-gi₄-gi₄   Urgigi   373, 374

Ur-ᵈIg-alim   Ur-Igalim   322

Ur-ᵈIštaran   Ur-Ishtaran   322

Ur-ki-gu-la   Urkigula   352

Ur-ᵈLamar   Ur-Lamar   262

Ur-meš₃   Urmesh   341, 342

Ur-ᵈNammu   Ur-Nammu   34, 35, 36, 145

Ur-ᵈNanibgal   Ur-Nanibgal   273

Ur-ᵈNanše   Ur-Nanshe   322

Ur-ᵈNin-a-zu   Ur-Ninazu   314, 375

Ur-ᵈNin-ǧir₂-su   Ur-Ningirsu   139, 141, 146, 151

Ur-ᵈSaḫar-ᵈBa-u₂   Ur-Sahar-Bau   331

ᵈUTUˢⁱ-la-at   Shamshi-illat   378, 379

Za-ri-iq   Zarriq   318

Temple names

E₂-abzu   Eabzu   183

E₂-an-na   Eanna   60, 138

E₂-dur-an-ki   Eduranki   172

E₂-ḫur-saǧ   Ehursag   208

E₂-kiš-nu-ǧal₂   Ekishnugal   54, 120

E₂-kur   Ekur   81, 113, 124

E₂-ninnu   Eninnu   141

E₂-šag₄-ge-pad₃-da   Eshagepada   246, 247

E₂-temen-an-ki   Etemenanki   120

E₂-temen-ni₂-guru₃   Etemenniguru   54, 119, 119-120

Ib-gal   Ibgal   352

Canal names

En-erin₂-nun   Enerinnun   81, 88

Month names

A₂-ki-ti   Akiti   360, 361

Ki-sig₂-ᵈNin-a-zu   Kisig-Ninazu   370, 375

Še-kar-ra-ǧal₂   Shekaragal   366

Šu-numun   Shunumun   378, 380

Complete glossary

a   (syllabic)   34

a   water   81-82, 374-375

a-a   father   247, 348

a-ba   who?   310, 312

A-bi-a-ti   Abiati (PN)   318, 374

A-bi₂-a-ti   Abiati (PN)   318, 373, 374

A-da-mu   Adamu (PN)   373, 374

A-gu-a   Agua (PN)   373, 374

A-ḫu-šu-ni   Ahushuni (PN)   373, 374

A-kal-la   Akala (PN)   308, 322, 347, 348

a-na   what?   312

a-ra₂   "times"   366, 367, 369

a...ru   to dedicate (an object)   71, 73-74

a-zu   physician   315, 373, 374-375

a₂   arm, strength   287, 289, 295

    a₂-zid-da   right-hand man   287, 289

A₂-ki-ti   Akiti (MN)   360, 361

A₂-šag₅-ga   Ashaga (PN)   341, 342

ab   (syllabic)   36, 123, 140, 222

ab-ba   father   192, 247, 331, 332

Ab-u₂   Abu (DN)   347, 348

ab₂   cow   325, 366

abzu   *apsu*, water basin   35, 183, 183-184, 187, 189

ad-da   father   192, 246, 247

Adab   Adab (GN)   263, 268-269

aǧa₂: ki...aǧa₂   to love   113, 113-114, 115, 149, 183, 242

Al-la   Alla (DN; PN)   331, 332

alam   statue   191, 191-192

alim   bull, ox   323, 370

am₃   (syllabic)   139, 142

ama   mother   191, 192, 202

amar   young bull   173, 174, 210, 342

Amar-ka₅-a   Amarkaa (PN)   341, 342, 352

Amar-ᵈZuen   Amar-Sin (PN)   173, 173-174, 232

An   An (DN)   92, 92-93, 96

an   sky, heaven   60, 92, 93, 96, 172

An-nu-ni-tum   Annunitum (DN)   239

An-ša-an   Anshan (GN)   360, 361

an-ub   corner   129

ar   (syllabic)   307

arad, arad₂   servant, slave   263, 264, 270, 275

   nam-arad₂   slave-ship   336

ašgab   leather worker   373, 375

ba   (syllabic)   129, 162

ba   to give as a gift   85, 283, 333

   še-ba   barley rations   332, 333, 339

   siki-ba   wool rations   332, 333

ba-al   to excavate, dig, dredge   81, 82

Ba-ba-a   Baba (PN)   378, 379

Ba-lu₅-lu₅   Balulu (PN)   302, 303

Ba-ši-šag₄-ra-gi   Bashishagragi (PN)   322, 323

Ba-u₂   Bau (DN)   139, 140, 292, 332

ᵈBa-u₂-nin-am₃   Bauninam (PN)   139, 141, 144-145, 151

bad₃   city wall, rampart, fortification   34, 36, 49, 202, 258

bar: šu...bar   to release   302, 303, 305

Bar-bar-re   Barbare (PN)   360, 361

barag (bara₂)   dais   92, 93, 97, 125, 192, 202-203

   barag-sig₉-ga   pedestal   191, 192, 202-203

Be-li₂-DUG₃   Beli-tab (PN)   360, 361

be₂   (syllabic)   119

bi   (syllabic)   119

bi-da   and   216, 356

bi₂   (syllabic)   153, 159, 162

Bi₂-bi₂-da-num₂   Bibidanum (PN)   373, 374

Bil₃-ga-meš₃   Gilgamesh (DN)   153, 153-154, 169, 342

bu₃   to tear out, uproot   191, 192-193

Bur-ma-am₃   Burmam (PN)   378, 379

Buranun   Euphrates (GN)   86, 180

ᵈ   Determinative preceding DNs   34, 93, 96, 129, 131, 134, 144, 177, 274

da   (syllabic)   153, 198

da   side   129, 168, 295

Da-a-da-a   Dada (PN)   276, 373, 374

Da-da   Dada (PN)   273, 274, 276, 374

dab₅   to hold   139, 141, 145, 372

dadag   to be clean, pure   246, 249

dam   wife   239

di-kur₅   judge   322, 323-324, 331

di-til-la   *ditila*   322, 324, 331

diğir   god   92, 93, 96

dim₂   to fashion, form   139, 142, 279

Du-du-mu   Dudumu (PN)   331, 332

du₃   to build; to detain   15, 34, 38, 82, 126, 142, 307, 308, 325

dub   tablet   15, 262, 314, 315

   dub-sar   scribe   145, 262, 277, 277-279, 295-296

dug₄ (du₁₁)   to speak   302, 303, 331, 335, 355

Dug₄-ga-ni-zid   Duganizid (PN)   351, 352

dumu   child; son   40, 119, 120, 328

e   (syllabic)   153

e₂   house   34, 36-37, 250

   e₂-gal   palace   250

E₂-abzu   Eabzu (TN)   183

E₂-an-na   Eanna (TN)   60, 138

E₂-dur-an-ki   Eduranki (TN)   172

E₂-ḫur-saǧ   Ehursag (TN)   208

E₂-kiš-nu-ǧal₂   Ekishnugal (TN)   54, 120

E₂-kur   Ekur (TN)   81, 113, 124

E₂-ninnu   Eninnu (TN)   141

E₂-šag₄-ge-pad₃-da   Eshagepada (TN)   246, 247

E₂-temen-an-ki   Etemenanki (TN)   120

E₂-temen-ni₂-guru₃   Etemenniguru (TN)   54, 119, 119-120

E₂-ur₂-bi-dug₃   Eurbidug (PN)   341, 342

eb   (syllabic)   191

EDEN-ši-la-at   Edenshilat (PN)   373, 374

Elam   Elam (GN)   378, 379

en   lord; priest, priestess   61, 119, 120, 125, 126, 140, 222, 223, 237-238

En-dim₂-gig   Endimgig (GN)   153, 154, 156

En-erin₂-nun   Enerinnun (CN)   81, 88

na   (syllabic)   35

Na-mu   Namu (PN)   331, 332

na-ru$_2$-a   stele   322, 324-325

nam   (syllabic)   71, 75, 124, 293-294

    nam-arad$_2$ slave-ship   336

    nam-erim$_2$ oath   331, 332-333, 339

    nam...kur$_5$ (ku$_5$)   to curse   153, 154, 163, 168, 324

    nam-lugal   kingship   73, 189

    nam-munus   womanhood   146

    nam-til$_3$ life   73, 75

Nammu   Nammu (DN)   34, 35, 58, 81

Nanibgal   Nanibgal (DN)   273, 273-274, 352

Nanna   Nanna (DN)   34, 35-36, 36, 49, 100, 101, 173, 237, 246

Nanše   Nanshe (DN)   139, 140, 180

ne   (syllabic)   92

ne$_2$ (syllabic)   246, 250

ne$_3$ forces; troops   246, 249, 289

ni   (syllabic)   35, 224, 250

Ni-kal-la   Nikala (PN)   307, 308, 322, 348

Nibru   Nippur (GN)   173, 174, 180

nidba   food offering   81, 82, 85, 333

nig$_2$ (ni$_3$)   thing   75, 109, 124, 288, 290, 293-294, 352

Nig$_2$-^{d}Ba-u$_2$ Nig-Bau (PN)   351, 352

niga   barley-fed   361, 362

nim   prisoner of war, slave   379, 380

nin   lady   60, 61, 65, 101, 140, 151, 312

Nin-a-zu   Ninazu (DN)   314, 315, 375

Nin-dub-sar   Nindubsar (PN)   351, 352

Nin-gal   Ningal (DN)   71, 237, 308

Nin-ğir$_2$-su   Ningirsu (DN)   101, 139, 140-141, 146

Nin-lil$_2$ Ninlil (DN)   246

Nin-nam-ḫa-ni   Ninnamhani (PN)   303, 351, 352

Nin-Šubur   Ninshubur (DN)   310, 311

nin$_9$ sister   151, 311-312

ninda   bread, rations   85, 379, 380

nir-ğal$_2$ prince, hero   246, 249

nitaḫ (nita)   man, male   40, 60, 61, 63, 69-70, 371, 377

nu   (syllabic)   209, 213

numun   seed; offspring, progeny   191, 192, 380

nun   prince, noble   209, 210, 289

pad$_3$ (pa$_3$)   to call, reveal   173, 174, 175, 254, 267, 324

    mu-lugal...pad$_3$ (pa$_3$)   to swear an oath   322, 324, 328

    mu...pad$_3$ (pa$_3$)   to propose, nominate   173, 174, 192, 324

Qa$_2$-da-šu-um   Qaddashum (PN)   310, 311

ra   (syllabic)   81

re   (syllabic)   92

re$_6$ (syllabic)   219, 234

ru: a...ru   to dedicate (an object)   71, 73-74

ru$_2$ to erect   322, 324-325

sa   (syllabic)   342

Sa-bu-um   Sabum (GN)   378, 379

sa$_{10}$ to purchase   341, 343-344, 346

sağ   head; slave   15, 119, 120, 123, 124, 174, 283, 374, 375

    sağ-us$_2$ supporter, sustainer, patron   173, 174, 181, 344

Sağ-^{d}Nanna-zu   Sagnannazu (PN)   283

sağa   (kind of priest)   283

Saḫar   Sahar (DN)   332

Saḫar-^{d}Ba-u$_2$ Sahar-Bau (DN)   331, 332

santag$_4$ cuneiform wedge   15

sar   to write   154, 262

    dub-sar   scribe   145, 262, 277, 277-279, 295-296

    mu-sar-ra   inscription   153, 154, 192

Si-ma-num$_2$ Simanum (GN)   341, 342

Si-mu-ru-um   Simurum (GN)   365, 366

sig$_4$ brick   52

sig$_9$ (si)   to be narrow   191, 192

siki   wool   310, 311, 312, 333, 370

    siki-ba   wool rations   332, 333

sikil   to be clean, pure   92, 94, 96

sila$_3$ *sila* (measure of capacity)   379, 380, 384

sipad (sipa)   shepherd   246, 249, 252, 324

siskur$_2$ sacrifice   209, 210, 249

sud$_4$ (su$_{13}$)   to be long   222, 223, 233

sukal   (kind of official)   379, 380

sum   to give   310, 312, 313

Ša-aš-ru   Shashru (GN)   369, 370

šag$_4$ (ša$_3$)   heart; in   239, 323, 363, 383

Šag$_4$-šu-niğin$_2$ Shagshunigin (PN)   322, 323, 366

šag$_5$ (ša$_6$)   to be good, pleasant, nice   288, 290

šam$_2$ purchase price   341, 343, 343-344, 377

Šara$_2$ Shara (DN)   246, 247

še   barley   210, 318, 333, 361

  še-ba   barley rations   332, 333, 339

Še-kar-ra-ğal$_2$ Shekaragal (MN)   366

še$_3$ (syllabic)   71, 73, 75, 76

šeš   brother   310, 311-312

Šeš-kal-la   Sheshkala (PN)   308, 331, 332, 348

šilig   to cease   209, 210, 215

šu   hand   154, 246, 249, 315, 323, 336, 366, 380

  šu...bar   to release   302, 303, 305

  šu-niğin$_2$ total   323, 366

  šu...ta   from   336

  šu...ti   to take, receive   303, 315, 317-318, 371-372, 372

  šu...ur$_3$ to erase   153, 154

Šu-A-ba   Shu-Aba (PN)   373, 374

Šu-e$_2$-a   Shuea (PN)   373, 374

Šu-numun   Shunumun (MN)   378, 380

Šu-^{d}Zuen   Shu-Sin (PN)   239

Šul-gi   Shulgi (PN)   129, 312

^{d}Šul-gi-uru-ğu$_{10}$ Shulgi-urugu (PN)   369, 370

Šušin   Susa (GN)   378, 379-380

ta   (syllabic)   222

tag$_4$ to leave, abandon   352, 353

temen   foundation   109, 119-120, 125

ti: šu...ti   to take, receive   303, 315, 317-318, 371-372, 372

Ti-e$_2$-maḫ-ta   Tiemahta (PN)   331, 332

til   to put an end to   191, 193, 324, 351

til$_3$ (ti)   to live   71, 73, 193, 295

  nam-til$_3$ life   73, 75

tud   to be born; to give birth   332, 333

tuku   to have, take; to marry   322, 325, 328

u$_2$ (syllabic)   139

u$_2$ grass   366, 367

U$_2$-še$_3$-ḫe$_2$-gin   Ushehegin (PN)   322, 323

u$_3$ and   51, 64, 209, 210, 213, 216, 219, 254

ud (u$_4$)   day   153, 154, 156-157, 166, 223, 306

udul   cowherd   322, 325

ugula   overseer   374, 375

ugula-geš$_2$-da   (kind of official)   374, 375

ul   to be distant, remote   222, 223-224, 234

un   (syllabic)   222, 226

Unug (Unu)   Uruk (GN)   119, 123, 125

ur   dog; man, warrior   34, 37, 58

Ur-ab-ba   Urabba (PN)   341, 342

Ur-^{d}Ab-u$_2$ Ur-abu (PN)   347

Ur-an-si$_4$-an-na   Uransiana (PN)   347, 348

Ur-ba-gara$_9$ Urbagara (PN)   287, 288

Ur-^{d}Ba-u$_2$ Ur-Bau (PN)   341

Ur-e$_2$ Ure (PN)   341, 342

Ur-gar   Urgar (PN)   341, 342

Ur-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ Urgigi (PN)   373, 374

Ur-^{d}Ig-alim   Ur-Igalim (PN)   322

Ur-^{d}Ištaran   Ur-Ishtaran (PN)   322

Ur-ki-gu-la   Urkigula (PN)   352

Ur-^{d}Lamar   Ur-Lamar (PN)   262

Ur-meš$_3$ Urmesh (PN)   341, 342

Ur-^{d}Nammu   Ur-Nammu (PN)   34, 35, 36, 145

Ur-^{d}Nanibgal   Ur-Nanibgal (PN)   273

Ur-^{d}Nanše   Ur-Nanshe (PN)   322

Ur-^{d}Nin-a-zu   Ur-Ninazu (PN)   314, 375

Ur-^{d}Nin-ğir$_2$-su   Ur-Ningirsu (PN)   139, 141, 146, 151

Ur-^{d}Saḫar-^{d}Ba-u$_2$ Ur-Sahar-Bau (PN)   331

ur$_2$ base, foundation   342, 348, 349

ur$_3$:   šu...ur$_3$ to erase   153, 154

Urim$_5$ (Uri$_5$)   Ur (GN)   34, 36, 125

uru   city   370, 379, 380-381

urudu   copper   150-151

us$_2$ to follow   174, 342, 344, 347

  mu-us$_2$-sa   year following   347

  sağ-us$_2$ supporter, sustainer, patron   173, 174, 181, 344

uš$_2$ to die   370, 371, 372

Utu   Utu (DN)   79, 154, 223

utu   sun   154, 222, 223, 348

^{d}UTU^{ši}-la-at   Shamshi-illat (PN)   378, 379

Za-ri-iq   Zarriq (PN)   318

zabar   bronze   139, 141, 145, 147-149, 150-151, 269

  zabar-dab$_5$ (kind of official)   139, 141, 145, 295-296

zadim   engraver   279

Appendix Four

General Structure and Alternate Explanations

This *Appendix* summarizes certain main points of Sumerian grammar and then points out specific areas of disagreement among Sumerologists.

General structure

1. Word order

The typical Sumerian sentence consists of a series of nominal phrases (hereafter, NP) followed by a verbal phrase (VP). Sumerian is basically S-O-V in word order:

NP_1-case marker	NP_2-case marker	NP_3-case marker	**VP**
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

The NP marking the subject usually comes first. The constituents after the subject NP are more free; adverbial cases may precede the direct object, or the direct object may precede the adverbial cases. Deviations from this standard syntax are for emphasis. For example, in most texts benefactives follow the subject, but in royal inscriptions they usually precede the subject.

2. Nominal phrase

A NP can be of almost any length and formed of several different structures, such as a single noun, noun-adjective, genitive phrase, or noun-possessive suffix. These can be combined in various ways. A typical example of a complicated NP is šeš-gal-zu-u₃-ne, representing šeš.gal.zu.ene, "your older brothers". šeš is "brother", šeš-gal is "older brother", šeš-gal-zu is "your older brother", and e-ne makes the entire NP plural. When used in a sentence, this NP would then be followed by one of the case markers, to indicate the rôle of the NP in the sentence.

3. Case relationships

The Sumerian cases may be categorized as:

core:	ergative	.e	agent	*Manual* 42	Thomsen § 173
	absolutive	.Ø	patient	*Manual* 43	Thomsen § 169
adverbial:	ablative	.ta	"from, by"	*Manual* 228	Thomsen § 203
	comitative	.da	"with"	*Manual* 160	Thomsen § 188
	dative	.ra	"to"	*Manual* 41	Thomsen § 175
	locative	.a	"in"	*Manual* 96	Thomsen § 180
	locative-terminative	.e	"by"	*Manual* 123	Thomsen § 174

terminative	.še$_3$	"towards"	*Manual* 73	Thomsen § 195
adnominal: genitive	.ak	"of"	*Manual* 42	Thomsen § 161
equitative	.gin$_7$	"like"	*Manual* 313	Thomsen § 214

4. Verbal phrase

The basic structure, omitting some rare optional elements, is:

modal prefix - conjugation prefix - dimensional prefixes - personal affix - root - personal affix

5. Modal prefix

Not all of the following have been encountered in this *Manual*:

Ø	indicative		*Manual* 43	
bara	negative affirmative	"indeed not"		Thomsen § 366
bara	vetitive	"let not"		Thomsen § 366
ga	cohortative	"let me"	*Manual* 294	Thomsen § 384
ḫe$_2$	desiderative	"let him"	*Manual* 160	Thomsen § 394
ḫe$_2$	affirmative	"indeed"	*Manual* 356	Thomsen § 394
na	prohibitive	"do not, let not"	*Manual* 306	Thomsen § 371
na	affirmative	"indeed"	*Manual* 306	Thomsen § 371
ša	contrapunctive	"on his part"		Thomsen § 404
u$_3$	prospective	"when"	*Manual* 304	Thomsen § 409

This category is traditionally called "modal prefix", although not all the semantic categories correspond to what are usually thought of as "moods". That is, the "contrapunctive" and "prospective" are not usually espressed in the languages of the world by "moods". The term "modal prefix" should thus be understood as referring to the prefixes which occupy the first position in the verbal chain.

6. Conjugation prefix

a	*Manual* 317	Thomsen § 316
al		Thomsen § 353
ba	*Manual* 161	Thomsen § 337
bi$_2$	*Manual* 157	Thomsen § 338
i$_3$	*Manual* 43	Thomsen § 307
im (etc.)	*Manual* 232	Thomsen § 329
mu	*Manual* 43	Thomsen § 336

7. Dimensional prefix

These have been treated in this *Manual* as unitary morphemes, but it is possible that historically some of them originate as combinations of two distinct morphemes.

ablative	.ta	*Manual* 228	Thomsen § 203
comitative	.da	*Manual* 161	Thomsen § 188
dative	.na	*Manual* 44	Thomsen § 175
locative	.ni	*Manual* 97	Thomsen § 180
locative-terminative	.e	*Manual* 123	Thomsen § 174
terminative	.ši	*Manual* 74	Thomsen § 195

8. Personal affix

In the pre-verbal root position these cross-reference the agent of a transitive verb in the ḫamṭu:

first person singular	<u>mu-sar</u>	mu.Ø.sar	I wrote.
second	<u>mu-sar</u>	mu.e.sar	You wrote.
third animate	<u>mu-sar</u>	mu.n.sar	He/she wrote.
inanimate	<u>mu-sar</u>	mu.b.sar	It wrote.

In the same pre-verbal root position, these cross-reference the patient of a transitive verb in the marû:

first person singular	<u>i$_3$-sar</u>	i$_3$.b.sar.e.en	I write it.
second	<u>i$_3$-sar</u>	i$_3$.b.sar.e.en	You write it.
third	<u>i$_3$-sar</u>	i$_3$.b.sar.e.Ø	He/she writes it.

The forms for the first and second persons are relatively uncommon, and can be written in different ways.

The intepretation of the personal affixes presented in this *Manual* has been basically known since Poebel. This interpretation was made much more explicit, and placed in an ergative framework, by Michalowski (1980). While this interpretation works for most verbal forms, it does not work for all of them. For example, sentences of the type <u>kišib</u>-PN <u>ib$_2$-ra</u>, "The seal of PN was rolled", from the verbal root <u>ra</u>, are not uncommon. The verb is apparently intransitive/passive, yet the .b in the pre-verbal root position seems to cross-reference <u>kišib</u>. The proper analysis of such forms is still unclear. The situation may be more complicated than appears on the surface. More work remains to be done on categorizing and explaining such exceptions to the general rules.

9. Root

Sumerian roots can be divided into two classes: verbal roots, such as <u>sar</u>, and nominal roots, such as <u>lu</u>$_2$. There is no morphologically distinct class of adjectival roots; adjectives are participles (or something similar) of verbal roots. For example, <u>gibil</u> can be used as an adjective meaning "new", but it derives from the verbal root <u>gibil</u>, "to be new".

There is no canonical shape of the verbal root. Most of the verbal roots occurring in the texts in this *Manual* are of the type CV (<u>du</u>$_3$, <u>gi</u>$_4$) or of the type CVC (<u>gub</u>, <u>pad</u>$_3$). However, there has been one CVCVC root (<u>šilig</u>), one of the type VCV (<u>aga</u>$_2$), one unsure (<u>ba</u>-<u>al</u>), and one borrowed from Akkadian (<u>gi</u>-<u>in</u>). There is an even wider variation in the shape of the nominal root. They have taken the form V (<u>a</u>$_2$), CV (<u>da</u>), VC (<u>ur</u>), CVC (<u>sag̃</u>), VCV (<u>utu</u>), CVCV (<u>dumu</u>), VCVC (<u>alam</u>), CVCVC (<u>temen</u>), and so on.

In addition to having a ḫamṭu root and a marû root, some verbs have a third root. The verb "to speak", for example, has a ḫamṭu root <u>dug</u>$_4$, a marû root <u>e</u>, and a third root <u>di</u>. This third form is limited to certain nominal forms. There is no generally accepted term to refer to it; it is sometimes called "non-finite". <u>gal</u>-<u>di</u>, for example, literally means "one who says great things", that is, "prominent". Because so few seem to exist, the morphology and function of this root remain obscure.

The root is unmarked for such categories as active ~ passive, transitive ~ intransitive, causative ~ active, and so on. For example, <u>til</u>$_3$ means "to live" and "to let live", <u>kur</u>$_9$ means "to enter" and "to make enter", "to bring in". The basic meaning of <u>gub</u> is "to stand"; in Text 5 it is used in the sense of "to plant" a garden.

10. Personal affix

In the post-verbal root position, these cross-reference the patient of a transitive verb in the ḫamṭu:

first person singular	mu-<u>tud</u>-<u>de</u>$_3$-en	mu.n.tud.en	She bore me.
second	mu-<u>tud</u>-<u>de</u>$_3$-en	mu.n.tud.en	She bore you.
third	mu-<u>tud</u>	mu.n.tud.Ø	She bore him/her.

11. Conjugation

The following are the basic conjugations of the Sumerian verb. As discussed throughout this *Manual*, there are numerous variations in spelling of certain of these forms. Moreover, there is much disagreement about the morphology reflected by these writings.

ḫamṭu transitive:

first person singular	mu-<u>sar</u>	mu.Ø.sar	I wrote.
second	mu-<u>sar</u>	mu.e.sar	You wrote.
third animate	mu-<u>sar</u>	mu.n.sar	He/she wrote.

inanimate	mu-<u>sar</u>	mu.b.sar	It wrote.
first person plural	mu-<u>sar</u>-<u>en</u>-<u>de</u>$_3$-en	mu.Ø.sar.enden	We wrote.
second	mu-<u>sar</u>-<u>en</u>-<u>ze</u>$_2$-en	mu.e.sar.enzen	You wrote.
third animate	mu-<u>sar</u>-<u>eš</u>	mu.n.sar.eš	They wrote.

marû transitive:

first person singular	i$_3$-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>-<u>en</u>	i$_3$.sar.e.en	I write.
second	i$_3$-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>-<u>en</u>	i$_3$.sar.e.en	You write.
third	i$_3$-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>	i$_3$.sar.e.Ø	He/she writes.
first person plural	i$_3$-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>-<u>en</u>-<u>de</u>$_3$-en	i$_3$.sar.e.enden	We write.
second	i$_3$-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>-<u>en</u>-<u>ze</u>$_2$-en	i$_3$.sar.e.enzen	You write.
third	i$_3$-<u>sar</u>-<u>re</u>-<u>e</u>-<u>ne</u>	i$_3$.sar.e.ene.Ø	They write.

In the case of an intransitive/passive verb, there is only one set of endings for both the ḫamṭu and the marû. The one term "Normalform" (a particularly meaningless term) is often used for both these forms.

first person singular	i$_3$-<u>g̃in</u>-<u>ne</u>-<u>en</u>	i$_3$.g̃in.en	I went.
second	i$_3$-<u>g̃in</u>-<u>ne</u>-<u>en</u>	i$_3$.g̃in.en	You went.
third	i$_3$-<u>g̃in</u>	i$_3$.g̃in.Ø	He/she went.
first person plural	i$_3$-<u>g̃in</u>-<u>ne</u>-<u>en</u>-<u>de</u>$_3$-en	i$_3$.g̃in.enden	We went.
second	i$_3$-<u>g̃in</u>-<u>ne</u>-<u>en</u>-<u>ze</u>$_2$-en	i$_3$.g̃in.enzen	You write.
third	i$_3$-<u>g̃in</u>-<u>ne</u>-<u>eš</u>	i$_3$.g̃in.eš.Ø	They went.
first person singular	i$_3$-<u>du</u>-<u>un</u>	i$_3$.du.en	I go.
second	i$_3$-<u>du</u>-<u>un</u>	i$_3$.du.en	You go.
third	i$_3$-<u>du</u>	i$_3$.du.Ø	He/she goes.
first person plural	i$_3$-<u>du</u>-<u>un</u>-<u>de</u>$_3$-en	i$_3$.du.enden	We go.
second	i$_3$-<u>du</u>-<u>un</u>-<u>ze</u>$_2$-en	i$_3$.du.enzen	You go.
third	i$_3$-<u>du</u>-<u>uš</u>	i$_3$.du.eš.Ø	They go.

Alternate explanations

There are any number of disagreements and alternate explanations about certain features of Sumerian grammar. Three of the most important alternate views are those of Falkenstein, Jacobsen, and Yoshikawa. Because a knowledge of these alternate views is often presupposed by Sumerologists writing about Sumerian grammar, it is important to be at least conversant with the main differences from the views presented in this *Manual*.

1.   Verbal phrase

The basic interpretation of the Sumerian verbal phrase presented in this *Manual* owes much to the ideas of Gene Gragg; these are briefly sketched in his 1968 article. Two principal differing views are those of Falkenstein and Jacobsen, each of whom has presented a complete description of the Sumerian verbal system. Yoshikawa's views also differ considerably, although he has not yet published a complete synthesis of these views; they appear scattered in many different publications.

(a) Falkenstein

His views are sketched in (1959) and particularly adumbrated for the Gudea texts in (1978[2]); in many ways this is also the model presented in Thomsen. His interpretation of the prefix chain is as follows:

Präformative	Konjugationspräfixe	Präfixe	Verbalinfixe	Wurzel
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

Präformative: Correspond to the modal prefixes.

Konjugationspräfixe: Include only the following: i_3, mu, al.

Präfixe: Correspond to the dimensional prefix na and the conjugation prefixes ba and bi_2. ba and bi_2 represent bi-a and bi-i. The conjugation prefixes /immi/, /imma/, and so on represent *i-bi-i and *i-bi-a, that is, they contain both a Konjugationspräfix and a Präfix.

Verbalinfixe: Include all the dimensional prefixes except na, and the personal affixes.

Falkenstein's views of Sumerian grammar have been criticized on two basic grounds. First, there is a mixing of synchronic and diacronic description. Thus Falkenstein never made it clear what he meant when he said that ba "represents" bi-a. Second, there is a regular use of terms and concepts proper to the Indo-European and Semitic languages but which do not necessarily apply to Sumerian or to languages which are typologically similar to it.

(b) Jacobsen

His views about the Sumerian verb are spelled out most explicitly in "About the Sumerian Verb" (1965), a famous article filled with interesting observations but which is most difficult to read. Some additional important comments occur in his review of Thomsen (1988a). He then summarized his views in his important 1988b article, "The Sumerian Verbal Core"; this article includes a number of keen observations about various points of Sumerian grammar.

Jacobsen's terminology for the verbal phrase is based on purely formal, as opposed to semantic, criteria:

Profixes	Prefixes	Infixes	Root
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

Profixes: Correspond to the modal prefixes.

Prefixes: Correspond to the conjugation prefixes. However, Jacobsen has specific interpretations of the meaning and function of the conjugation prefixes. He argues that they can be analyzed into two morphemes: "a pronominal-adverbial element denoting a region (m, b) and a relater or case-mark (u for tangentive, a for illative, i/a for allative)". This analysis is very detailed.

Infixes: Correspond to the dimensional prefixes and personal affixes, in rather a complicated way.

In general, Jacobsen's analysis tends to be much finer than that of other Sumerologists. In some cases, vocalic (or consonantal) alternations which most Sumerologists would regard as phonetic or morphophonemic alternation are regarded by Jacobsen as representing different morphemes. For example, the .a which shows after the root in many imperatives is regarded by Jacobsen as an independent conjugation prefix; most regard it as a somehow conditioned variant of .i_3.

Jacobsen has been criticized for producing much too detailed a segmentation of Sumerian morphology. He has also been criticized for using, and creating, non-standard linguistic vocabulary, which has sometimes varied through time and which can be very difficult to understand (and remember). On the other hand, Jacobsen's interpretations are based on a close empathy for Sumerian texts, particularly literary texts; perhaps more than any other Sumerologist, Jacobsen had a feeling for and understanding of the content of Sumerian literary texts.

(c) Yoshikawa

Yoshikawa has studied many aspects of Sumerian grammar, and has published a series of articles in an attempt to define the functions of the conjugation prefixes. In some of his later articles he has used phenomena from other ergative languages, especially Georgian, to elucidate Sumerian. He has not yet published a full synthesis of his interpretation of Sumerian grammar, but comes closest in his review of Thomsen (1988a). In an earlier article (1981b), he says:

We can tentatively specify the function of the respective Sumerian verbal prefixes as follows:

I.	bi_2-:	Ientive locative/superessive prefix
	im-mi-:	Ventive locative/superessive prefix
	ba-:	Ientive reflexive(/subjective) prefix
	im-ma-:	Ventive reflexive(/subjective) prefix
II.	mu-:	Topical agentive(/objective) prefix
	i_3-:	Non-topical agentive(/objective) prefix
III.	al-:	Neutral prefix.

As is the case with Jacobsen, Yoshikawa has been criticized for his (sometimes not explicitly defined) terminology. A number of the specific examples he uses to buttress his theories have been given alternate explanations.

2.   marû inflection

marû forms such as i₃-sar-re have been analyzed in this *Manual* as i₃.sar.e.Ø. The root is sar, which is a member of the affixation class of marû formation; .e is the marû suffix; .Ø is the personal affix cross-referencing the agent, that is, the third person marker.

An alternative explanation analyzes the form as i₃.sar.e. In this analysis, sar is a member of the invariable class of marû formation, and .e is the third person marker. This is the analysis preferred, *inter alios*, by Edzard.

The first analysis sees two morphemes after the root; the second analysis sees only one. It is not easy to determine which analysis is to be preferred. The problem is partially the result of imprecisions and ambiguities rooted in the writing system. The writing system cannot distinguish between a form such as i₃.sar.en or i₃.sar.e.en; they would both be written i₃-sar-re-en. Isolated writings of the type i₃-sar-re-e-en do occur, but there are usually several possible explanations in specific contexts for such full writing. In the case of the preactional element .ed, the /d/ is an amissable consonant. Therefore, a writing such as i₃-sar-re can theoretically stand for i₃.sar.e, i₃.sar.ed, or i₃.sar.e.ed. The /d/ is only visible if a following morpheme, such as the nominalizer .a, occurs. Moreover, the de₃-sign is ambiguous; it can be read both de₃ and ne. This means that a writing such as i₃-sar-re-e-de₃ can represent several different forms: i₃.sar.ed.e, i₃.sar.e.ed, i₃.sar.ene, i₃.sar.e.ene, and so on.

A second problem is the fact that many of the texts preserved which display the greatest variety of grammatical forms are attested in relatively late copies of literary texts. In these texts one must always guard against misunderstandings by the Akkadian-speaking scribes who copied down these texts. Similarly, the Akkadian-speaking scribes who drew up the grammatical texts discussed in *Appendix Two* sometimes included transitional or analogical forms which cannot be regarded as conforming to the standards of earlier Sumerian.

It is these problems in the writing system which make it difficult to correctly analyze the morphology of the marû.

3.   marû classes

The number of different types of formation of the marû from the ḫamṭu has not yet been completely determined. Yoshikawa's initial investigation found three classes: (1) Affixation; (2) Reduplication; (3) Alternation. This limited classification scheme fits the forms occurring in the Ur III royal inscriptions well, but that is because only a limited number of marû forms occur in these texts. Yoshikawa himself has said that his classification scheme needs expansion and revision.

Edzard both added additional categories to Yoshikawa's scheme and reformulated the definition of certain of the classes. His scheme comprises five classes: (1) Unchanging. This is actually the same as Yoshikawa's affixation group. Edzard does not consider .e to be a marker of the marû; rather, it is the marker for third person. (2) Reduplication. This is the same as Yoshikawa's. (3) Root-varying. This is a sub-class of Yoshikawa's alternation class; the two roots are different, but phonetically similar in some way. (4) Alternation. With the exception of the roots in (3), this is the same as Yoshikawa's alternation group. (5) Irregular. These last do not fit into the first four classes.

As discussed in *Lesson Eleven*, the primary difference between Yoshikawa's analysis and Edzard's analysis is in the understanding of the function of the .e appearing after the root in forms in the marû. Yoshikawa sees it as marking the marû, Edzard sees it as the mark of third person singular. Whether or not one accepts Edzard's understanding of the unchanging class, it is clear that his classification scheme categorizes more of the attested forms than does Yoshikawa's initial formulation. And as more progress is made in Sumerology, the "irregular" class will become further refined. Some of the verbs which now seem irregular will eventually be shown to follow rules which are not yet known. Whenever linguists study an unknown language, they are apt to see more irregular forms than when they have been able to expand and re-examine the data.

Appendix Five

Further Work

The Ur III texts studied in this *Manual* present only a limited picture of the grammar of Sumerian. For example, not all modal prefixes occur, and there is only limited use of the first and second persons. In order to deepen one's knowledge of Sumerian, it is necessary to do two things: read the most important secondary literature about Sumerian and to read well-edited Sumerian texts.

Study of grammar

There have been several modern large-scale grammars of Sumerian. The first of these was by Arno Poebel, in 1923: *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*. Poebel was perhaps the first modern scholar to really understand Sumerian and to put its study on a sound footing; he has been called the "father of Sumerian grammar". Although *GSG* is written in a rather old-fashioned style, and although wrong in a number of details, it is still a valuable work.

Adam Falkenstein published a complete sketch of Sumerian in 1959: *Das Sumerische*. This work is often cited by Sumerologists. It suffers from being terse (the section on morphology and syntax occupies less than thirty pages) and from a rather wide-scale use of concepts and terms which are more fitting for the description of Indo-European or Semitic languages. It is also hard sometimes to decide whether Falkenstein was talking in synchronic or diachronic terms. However, since Falkenstein's views differ somewhat from those presented in this *Manual*, and since his views are accepted (sometimes only tacitly) by many Sumerologists, this book should be worked through.

Falkenstein also produced a detailed grammar of the language of the inscriptions of Gudea (first edition 1949; second edition, published posthumously, 1978): *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*. Although limited to one group of texts, this is a very useful work. There are three volumes: (1) script and morphology; (2) syntax; (3) an *Ergänzungsheft*, with corrections and notes. The morphology volume contains elaborate paradigms; these are quite useful and are in general more accurate than those in *GSG*. In 1966 Falkenstein published *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš I: Einleitung*. This treats such topics as the historical background of the texts, and identifies the proper names which occur within them.

The grammar by Marie-Louise Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, appeared in 1984. This is a balanced and thorough presentation of the grammar, more-or-less in the Falkensteinian tradition. It will serve as the standard reference volume for some time. A systematic reading of Thomsen would reward anyone who has worked through this *Manual*. An index to Thomsen, prepared by Ada Taggar-Cohen, appeared in 1994.

Because of the importance of this book, several prominent Sumerologists have published

reviews. These reviews are important not only because of occasional modifications of the material presented in Thomsen, but also because they permit Sumerologists to present their own larger-scale interpretations of Sumerian grammar. Some of the important reviews of Thomsen include those of Black (1986), Jacobsen (1988a), and Yoshikawa (1988a).

The newest larger-scale study of Sumerian is that by Pascal Attinger: *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne* (1993). Attinger says that his book is designed to be a complement to that of Thomsen, with a slightly larger corpus, but in fact it is quite different. It contains a wealth of information about all phases of Sumerian. Part of its value lies in the enormous amount of exemplification and illustrative material which Attinger has used to back up his statements, along with a number of new observations. However, it cannot really be read without a fairly thorough knowledge of Sumerian. An important review is that by Zólyomi (1996).

Yoshikawa in 1993 published a collection of his numerous papers on Sumerian grammar, with some modifications and additions: *Studies in the Sumerian Verbal System*. It is divided into "The Verbal Suffixes", "The Verbal Prefixes", "The Verbal Infixes", and "Other Topics".

My own *Sumerian* (1997a) is a brief sketch written for linguists, who may wish to get a general picture of Sumerian without learning the niceties of the writing system.

W.H.Ph. Römer's *Die Sumerologie: Versuch einer Einführung in den Forschungsstand nebst einer Bibliographie in Auswahl* (1994) has a different scope; it is an introduction to all aspects of Sumerian civilization, including language. It has a wealth of bibliographic data.

The secondary literature about Sumerian grammar is vast. The grammars discussed above all have extensive bibliographies. There are certain articles, however, which are always worth consulting. They are referred to in Thomsen at the discussion of the relevant grammatical topics, but it is especially useful to read the following and to have them close at hand when reading Sumerian texts. Full references are given in the *Bibliography*.

> **moods**:   Jacobsen (1965); Edzard (1971ff); Michalowski (1980); Kienast (1981b)
> **conjugation prefixes**:   Jacobsen (1965); Gragg (1968; 1972a)
> **dimensional prefixes**:   Gragg (1973c); Yoshikawa (1981b)
> **personal affixes**:   Michalowski (1980)
> **ḫamṭu ~ marû**:   Yoshikawa (1968a; 1968b; 1974); Edzard (1971f); Michalowski
>   (1980); Steiner (1981)
> **plural verbs**:   Krecher (1967-68); Steinkeller (1979); Yoshikawa (1981a)
> **imperatives**:   Michalowski (1980)
> **copula**:   Gragg (1968)
> **subordinate clauses**:   Gragg (1973a)
> **relative clauses**:   Gragg (1972b)
> **ergativity**:   Foxvog (1975); Michalowski (1980); van Aalderen (1982)

Even in the few years since the publication of the first edition of this *Manual*, there has been a plethora of articles published about Sumerian grammar. Such articles appear in many different publications, and so it can be difficult to keep current with everything being published about Sumerian, especially since important grammatical observations can be found buried deep in editions of texts.

The only publication specifically devoted to Sumerian is *Acta Sumerologica*, published by the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan. This is under the general editorship of Yoshikawa. Published once a year, it includes articles on Sumerian grammar and Sumerian texts.

The easiest way to keep abreast of articles about Sumerian (and Akkadian) is the *Keilschriftbibliographie*. This appears once a year, as part of one of the issues of the journal *Orientalia*. Earlier editions of the *Keilschriftbibliographie* were organized by topic, later ones by author with extensive indices.

Reading of texts

A few anthologies of Sumerian texts in cueniform have appeared, but virtually all are too dated to be useful. Most recently Konrad Volk has published his *A Sumerian Reader* (1997), which includes forty-four Sumerian texts of different genres, with a glossary. There are however no grammatical notes, and thus beginners might find it intimidating.

It is in literary texts where more variation in grammar occurs, such as the use of the first and second persons, a variety of modal constructions, and so on. For that reason they are perhaps the most useful texts to read at this stage of study. However, this is not as easy as it sounds. As discussed above, because of the fact that most literary texts were copied down in the Old Babylonian period or later, they were often influenced by Akkadian grammar, and they occasionally contain forms which are simply "wrong" by the normative rules of Classical Sumerian grammar; such wrong forms can be disconcerting to a relative beginner.

To obviate this problem it is necessary to work through literary texts which have been well-edited. However, some editors are less interested in grammatical problems than others, and some editors may not discuss such matters as, for example, an apparently incorrect use of a personal affix. Some editors are more interested in lexicograpical matters, and may devote a seemingly inordinate amount of space to a citation of all known references for one particular word, instead of focusing on the grammar. Given the lack of a complete up-to-date dictionary, this procedure is sometimes unavoidable.

In general, it is always valuable to first skim through an edition of a literary text, in order to determine what kind of emphasis the modern editor is placing in his or her commentary—is it primarily a grammatical commentary, or lexicographic, or stylistic, and so on.

When reading through a new text, one will encounter variations of constructions seen previously, or completely new constructions. These may or may not be discussed in a commentary. Upon encountering a new form or construction, the first step is to isolate the problem, that is, determine where in the grammar the problem lies: is it a previously unseen modal prefix, or a strange use of a dimensional prefix, or a problem in a temporal clause, and so on. At this stage, one must turn to the standard grammars, and ofttimes to other secondary literature.

To ease this transition, this *Manual* will shortly be followed by a second volume, now in an

advanced state of preparation, consisting of extracts from *Inanna's Descent* and from *Gilgamesh and Agga*, with a commentary focusing on the grammar of the texts.

Appendix Six

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHw	*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AIUON	*Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli—Annali*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages*
AOAT	*Alter Orient und Altes Testament*
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOS	*American Oriental Series*
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
AS	*Assyriological Studies*
ASJ	*Acta Sumerologica* (Japan)
BagMit	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BCSMS	*Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies*
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BM	*Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*
BSA	*Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture*
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*
CRAI	*Compte rendu de la Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*
FAOS	*Freiburger Altorientalische Studien*
GLECS	*Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques—comptes rendus*
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Studies*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
ISL	*Innsbrucker Sumerisches Lexikon*
JAC	*Journal of Ancient Civilizations* (China)
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
MSL	*Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon*
MVAG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*
OA	*Oriens Antiquus*
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications*
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodia*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Or	*Orientalia*
PSD	*Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie*
RGTC	*Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cuneiformes*
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
SAOC	*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations*
SEb	*Studi Eblaiti*

SEL   *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici*
StOr   *Studia Orientalia*
TCS   *Texts from Cuneiform Sources*
UF   *Ugarit-Forschungen*
WO   *Die Welt des Orients*
YNER *Yale Near Eastern Researches*
ZA   *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAH   *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik*

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Appendix Seven

Concordances

By text

This concordance lists all the texts used in the *Lessons*. For each royal inscription, the following information is given: number according to Steible; number according to Hallo; number according to Frayne; publication of cuneiform; source of illustration. The following abbreviations are used:

BE	*Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A, Cuneiform Texts*. Philadelphia.	
	BE 1	1896
BIN	*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*. New Haven.	
	BIN 2	1920
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum*. London.	
	CT 5	1898
	CT 21	1905
MDP	*Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*. Paris.	
	MDP 6	1905
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications*. Chicago.	
	OIP 14	1930
PBS	*Publications of the Babylonian Section. The Museum, University of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia.	
	PBS 13	1922
	PBS 15	1926
UET	*Ur Excavations. Texts*. London.	
	UET 1	1928
	UET 3	1937
	UET 8	1965
UVB	*Vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen*. Berlin.	
	UVB 10	1939
VAS	*Vorderasiatische Denkmäler*. Berlin.	
	VAS 1	1907
YOS	*Yale Oriental Series*. New Haven.	
	YOS 1	1915

Textual Concordance

Text 1   Ur-Nammu 9A (Steible)
          Ur-Nammu 9i (Hallo)
          1.1.4 (Frayne)
          CT 21, 2: 90004
          Photograph of brick: Courtesy of British Museum
          Photograph of stamp seals: Courtesy of University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
          Photograph of ziggurat: Courtesy of Jack Finegan. Reproduced courtesy of Westview Press
          Drawing of ziggurat: Courtesy of British Museum

Photograph of stele: Courtesy of University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

Text 2   Ur-Nammu 7C (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 7i (Hallo)
           1.1.33 (Frayne)
           CT 21, 3: 90015
           Photograph of brick: Courtesy of British Museum

Text 3   Ur-Nammu 31 (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 31 (Hallo)
           1.1.43 (Frayne)
           UET 1, 34

Text 3a   Ur-Nammu 11 (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 11 (Hallo)
           1.1.35 (Frayne)
           CT 21, 5: 90001

Text 4   Ur-Nammu 23A (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 23i (Hallo)
           1.1.26 (Frayne)
           UET 1, 46

Text 4a   Ur-Nammu 9A (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 9i (Hallo)
           1.1.4 (Frayne)
           CT 21, 2: 90009

Text 5   Ur-Nammu 5B (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 5ii (Hallo)
           1.1.5 (Frayne)
           UET 1, 41a
           = UM 35-1-397
           Photograph: Courtesy of University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

Text 5a   Ur-Nammu 8 (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 8 (Hallo)
           UET 1, 40

Text 6a   Ur-Nammu 3E (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 3iii (Hallo)
           1.1.24 (Frayne)
           Hallo, in *Ancient Mesopotamian Art and Selected Texts*. New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library
                (1976) p. 22
           Photograph: Courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library

Text 6b   Ur-Nammu 3B (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 3ii (Hallo)
           1.1.24 (Frayne)
           CT 21, 4: 90802
           Photograph of canephore figurines: Courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library

Text 6c   Ur-Nammu 5A (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 5i (Hallo)
           1.1.5 (Frayne)
           CT 21, 5: 90296

Text 7   Ur-Nammu 16 (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 16 (Hallo)
           1.1.25 (Frayne)
           BE 1, 121

Text 7a   Ur-Nammu 3A (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 3i (Hallo)
           1.1.24 (Frayne)

           BE 1, 122

Text 8   Ur-Nammu 10A (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 10i (Hallo)
           1.1.12 (Frayne)
           CT 21, 7: 90000
           Drawing of ziggurat: Courtesy of British Museum

Text 9   Shulgi 52 (Hallo)
           1.2.53 (Frayne)
           UET 1, 55
           Photograph of duck weight: Courtesy of British Museum

Text 9a   Ur-Nammu 1C (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 1v (Hallo)
           1.1.2 (Frayne)
           Boson, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 420

Text 9b   Ur-Nammu 13E (Steible)
           1.1.34 (Frayne)
           Erlenmeyer Collection
           Photograph: Courtesy of Christie's

Text 10   Shulgi 29 (Steible)
           Shulgi 29 (Hallo)
           1.2.2030 (Frayne)
           CT 5, 2: 12218

Text 10a   Shulgi 1a (Steible)
           Shulgi 1i (Hallo)
           1.2.39 (Frayne)
           CT 21, 10: 90005

Text 11   Ur-Nammu 40 (Steible)
           1.1.47 (Frayne)
           UET 8, 4:21

Text 11a   Shulgi 20a (Steible)
           Shulgi 20i (Hallo)
           1.2.21 (Frayne)
           PBS 15, 42
           = CBS 14549
           Photograph: Courtesy of University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

Text 12a   Amar-Sin 2B (Steible)
           Amar-Sin 2ii (Hallo)
           1.3.1 (Frayne)
           CT 21, 24: 90034

Text 12b   Amar-Sin 2C (Steible)
           Amar-Sin 2iii (Hallo)
           1.3.1 (Frayne)
           VAS 1, 26

Text 12c   Ur-Nammu 10B (Steible)
           Ur-Nammu 10ii (Hallo)
           1.1.12 (Frayne)
           UM 35-1-394
           Photograph: Courtesy of University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

Text 13   Amar-Sin 5D (Steible)
           Amar-Sin 5iv (Hallo)
           1.3.15 (Frayne)
           Sumer 3 (1947) 1c, facing p. 236

Text 13a   Ur-Nammu 22A (Steible)

Ur-Nammu 22i (Hallo)
1.1.39 (Frayne)
UET 1, 45

Text 14   Amar-Sin 3A (Steible)
Amar-Sin 3i (Hallo)
1.3.10 (Frayne)
CT 21, 25f: 90811

Text 14a   Amar-Sin 1A (Steible)
Amar-Sin 1 (Hallo)
1.3.4 (Frayne)
BE 1, 22

Text 14b   Shulgi 5A (Steible)
Shulgi 5i (Hallo)
1.2.3 (Frayne)
CT 21, 11: 90278

Text 15   Amar-Sin 10 (Steible)
Amar-Sin 10 (Hallo)
1.3.6 (Frayne)
BE 1, 21

Text 15a   Shulgi 46 (Steible)
Shulgi 46 (Hallo)
1.2.88 (Frayne)
Rocznik Orientalistyczny 2 (1925) 189

Text 16   Amar-Sin 11A (Steible)
Amar-Sin 11 (Hallo)
1.3.16 (Frayne)
UVB 10, pl. 28
Photograph: *UVB* 10, pl. 23a

Text 16a   Shulgi 11A (Steible)
Shulgi 11i (Hallo)
1.2.6 (Frayne)
CT 21, 10: 90897

Text 17   Shu-Sin 6A (Steible)
Shu-Sin 6i (Hallo)
1.4.20 (Frayne)
CT 21, 28: 90844

Text 17a   Shulgi 43 (Steible)
Shulgi 43 (Hallo)
1.2.58 (Frayne)
MDP 6, 22

Text 18   Shu-Sin 9B (Steible)
Shu-Sin 9iii (Hallo)
1.4.17 (Frayne)
YOS 1, 20
= YBC 2130
Photograph: Courtesy of Yale Babylonian Collection

Text 18a   Amar-Sin 17 (Steible)
Amar-Sin 17 (Hallo)
1.3.2009 (Frayne)
BIN 2, 17
= NBC 2530
Photograph: Courtesy of Yale Babylonian Collection

Text 19   Shu-Sin 3 (Steible)
Shu-Sin 3 (Hallo)
1.4.11 (Frayne)
OIP 14, 43

Text 20a   Shu-Sin 17 (Steible)
Shu-Sin 17 (Hallo)
1.4.22 (Frayne)
de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (1912) vol. 2 pl. 26-bis: 5

Text 20b   Ibbi-Sin 7 (Steible)
Ibbi-Sin 7i (Hallo)
1.5.2007 (Frayne)
UET 3, 52
Photograph of Old Akkadian seal: Courtesy of British Museum

Text 20c   Ibbi-Sin 8 (Steible)
Ibbi-Sin 8iii (Hallo)
PBS 13, 5
= CBS 12570
Photograph: Courtesy of University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

Text 20d   Shulgi 51 (Steible)
Shulgi 51iii (Hallo)
1.2.52 (Frayne)
UET 1, 287
Photograph: *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (Tyndale, 1980) vol. 3, 1635

Text 21   Shulgi 47 (Steible)
Shulgi 47 (Hallo)
1.2.2039 (Frayne)
CT 21, 9: 89131
Collation: Gadd, *Iraq* 10 (1948) 98 n.1
Photograph: Courtesy of British Museum

Text 21a   Ur-Nammu 36 (Steible)
Ur-Nammu 36 (Hallo)
1.1.2001 (Frayne)
CT 21, 6: 89126
Photograph: Courtesy of British Museum

Text 22a   *TCS* 1, 46
Michalowski 126
Photograph: Courtesy of Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva

Text 22b   *TCS* 1, 193

Text 22c   *TCS* 1, 200
Photograph: Courtesy of Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva

Text 22d   *TCS* 1, 345

Text 22e   *TCS* 1, 13

Text 22f   Amar-Sin 13A (Steible)
Amar-Sin 13 (Hallo)
1.3.8 (Frayne)
UET 1, 67

Text 23a   *NSGU* 1
Photograph: Courtesy of University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

Text 23b   *NSGU* 32

Text 24a   *NSGU* 79

Text 24b   *NSGU* 107

Text 24c   *NSGU* 15

Text 25a   Hirose 12

By ruler

Appendix Eight

Topical Index