An introduction to the grammar of Sumerian

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Version 4/21/16
(corrected typos, inconsistencies;
solution key to exercises added)

Budapest 2016
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Abbreviations in the morphemic glossings

~ reduplication
~PL = reduplication expressing verbal plurality
~PF = reduplication expressing present-future tense
1 = first person
2 = second person
3 = third person
A = agent (subject of a transitive verb)
ABL = ablative case-marker or prefix
ABS = absolutive case-marker
ACC = accusative
ADV = adverbiative
ANT = prefix of anteriority
COM = comitative case-marker or prefix
COOR = coordinator prefix
COP = copula
CVN = compound verb nominal element
DAT = dative case-marker or prefix
DEM = demonstrative pronoun
DN = divine name
ERG = ergative case-marker
FIN = finite-marker prefix
GEN = genitive case-marker
GN = geographical name
H = human
L1 = locative1 case-marker or prefix
L2 = locative2 case-marker or prefix
L3 = locative3 case-marker or prefix
L4 = the archaic locative enclitic =/ne/
MID = middle prefix
MOD = modal prefix
NEG = negative particle
NH = non-human
NOM = nominative
ORD = suffix that forms ordinal numbers
P = patient (object of a transitive verb)
PF = present-future, or the marker of the present-future
PL = plural
PR = pronoun
PN = personal name
POSS = possessive enclitic
PT = preterite, or the marker of the preterite
RDP = reduplication
S = subject (subject of an intransitive verb)
SG = singular
SUB = subordinator suffix
STM = standard marker
SYN = syncopated form of a verbal prefix
TL = tenseless
TERM = terminative case-marker or prefix
TN = temple name
VEN = ventive prefix
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Foreword

This textbook is the edited version of the teaching material used during my Sumerian classes. Its first version was prepared by Szilvia Jáka-Sövegjártó in 2012, while I was on sabbatical leave, and she kindly took over my classes. I am most grateful to Szilvia for her incentive, and also for her help in preparing this version, especially the first lesson of the book. I also thank to Melinda Hagymássy, who helped me in writing a number of the exercises and provided important feedback on earlier versions of this work.

This book is not intended to be a comprehensive grammar of Sumerian. For that purpose one should study Bram Jagersma’s magnificent work (2010). My experience as a teacher has been that for students of Sumerian, it is intimidating and frustrating to have to face so much uncertainties and vagueness when starting to learn Sumerian. One simply cannot see the forest for the trees because of that. I remember my first year as a student, when I had to read the Cylinders of Gudea together with advanced students; it took me months to figure out the basics. I had to rely on perplexing reference books without any didactic intention.

The present book attempts to present the forest first. Problems and uncertainties are left out or are mentioned only in the Further readings sections, descriptions are shortened on purpose; it pretends that Sumerian is a language whose basic grammatical rules may be learnt during the fourteen or so weeks of a semester. It has been made on the assumption that after decades of grammatical research it has become possible now to teach a general framework of Sumerian grammar that may function as the basis of further, more intensive and elaborate studies.
Lesson 1: Introduction

Sumerian was spoken in the southern part of ancient Mesopotamia, an area which roughly corresponds to today’s Iraq. The name of the language derives from its Akkadian name: Sumeru. The Sumerian term was eme-gir which may mean “native tongue”. Sumerian is a language isolate with no known ancient or modern relatives. It is an extinct language, and can be studied solely from written sources, which were recorded using the cuneiform script, a mixed logographic-phonographic writing system.

Sumerian is a mainly agglutinative language, characterised by split ergativity.¹ It has a system of grammatical gender based on the distinction between human and non-human referents. It is a verb final language, and the order of words preceding the verb is determined by the information structure of the sentence.

1.1 Sources
The first written documents, created most probably by Sumerian speaking people, are dated to the end of the 4th millennium BCE. These texts were recorded using a logographic writing, which could be read in any language, and thus are unsuitable for grammatical analysis. Therefore, the written sources of the Sumerian language come mainly from the 3rd and 2nd millennia BCE, but the language remained in use for religious and scholarly purposes as late as the 1st millennium BCE. The corpus of Sumerian texts from the 1st millennium, however, was definitely not produced by native speakers of the language and thus does not form a solid basis for the grammatical description of Sumerian.

The status of the 2nd millennium BCE texts is also ambiguous, as the most important corpus from this period is that of the literary compositions used as educational tools or in cultic praxis during the Old Babylonian period (ca. 2014-1595 BCE). The scribes are certainly no native speakers of Sumerian, and this results in erroneous transmission of the texts, at least compared to the 3rd millennium corpus. However, many morphological features of the language can first be noted during this period as a result of the excessive study of the language and reproduction of its written sources.

Descriptive grammars of the Sumerian language, for this reason, are based mainly on the corpus from the second half of the 3rd millennium. The preceding periods include the archaic texts from Ur (ca. 2800 BCE) and the Fara period (ca. 2600 BCE). Both corpora include several genres, administrative, legal, lexical and even literary texts. Their orthography is, however, defective and thus no appropriate object of grammatical research. The relevant corpora of Sumerian texts, which the present grammar is mainly based on, are as follows:

- Old Sumerian period (ca. 2470-2340 BCE)
- Old Akkadian period (ca. 2340-2200 BCE)
- Neo-Sumerian period
  - Lagash II period (ca. 2200-2113 BCE)
  - Ur III period (ca. 2112-2004 BCE)

¹ On split ergativity in Sumerian see Lesson 9, section 9.1 below.
The corpus of texts written in Sumerian is substantial both in its size and in its variety. The number of Sumerian texts must be over one hundred thousand, which include an immense quantity of economic and administrative documents, a large corpus of literary texts, lexical texts (word- and sign lists), royal and monumental inscriptions, letters, legal texts, mathematical texts, and even grammatical texts. Unfortunately only a very small portion of this relatively vast corpus may be used for the purpose of linguistic description, because about 90% of the written sources consist of administrative records.

1.2 Some features of the Sumerian writing system

The Sumerian script used in the second part of the 3rd millennium BCE is a mixed logographic-phonographic system. It includes two types of signs: logograms, i.e., word signs representing a word on the level of meaning; and phonograms representing a sequence of sounds. Many signs may be used either as a logogram or a phonogram depending on the context.

If a logogram has more than one possible pronunciations, it may be accompanied by auxiliary signs. There are two types of such auxiliary signs. If the auxiliary sign functions as a logogram, it is called determinative, identifying the semantic class of the preceding or following sign. If it functions as a phonogram it is called phonetic complement, specifying the phonemic value of the preceding or following sign, repeating the word wholly or partially.

The development of the writing system just described was a long process. In the 4th millennium BCE the Sumerian writing system was purely logographic, the signs being depictions of the represented object or abstract symbols, primarily stemming from administrative conventions. The use of the existing logograms could be extended in two ways:

i) semantic association: a logogram could get another pronunciation with a metaphorically or metonymically related meaning; or

ii) phonemic association: a logogram could get a different meaning, when a newly associated word was pronounced similarly to the original one.

These innovations prevented the Sumerian writing system from introducing a new sign for every single word. Logograms could also be combined to gain new word signs. In some of these composite signs only the meaning of the constituent logograms counts, however, in some cases the reading of the signs was used as a phonemic indicator disambiguating the reading of the new, yet logographic construct. With the help of these techniques the number of signs remained limited to around 600.

The phonograms developed from logograms. The technique had already been discovered earlier: the reading of a logogram may be used to specify the reading of a composite sign. As the demand to put abstract grammatical morphemes into writing arose, some logograms with the appropriate phonemic values were chosen to denote such abstract morphemes. Though these signs were the first phonograms, they might be better described with the term

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This term is used by Jagersma (2010: 15) instead of the well-established term “syllabogram”. He points out that this term is more appropriate, since the rendering of phoneme sequences is intended and not that of syllables.
“grammograms” as signs with similar phonemic values were not applied freely, but rather, such functions were assigned to a limited set of signs. According to Jagersma, the choice of signs not only took their phonemic values of signs into consideration, but also additional features such as vowel length (Jagersma 2010: 24).

The Sumerian writing system retained a highly logographic character even in the 2nd millennium BCE, making it difficult for us to detect any phonemic or morphological changes within a word stem. Another difficulty from the point of view linguistic description is the phenomenon that “grammograms”, i.e., graphemes used to write grammatical morphemes, tend not to reflect changes in the form of the morphemes. The negative particle /nu/, for example, may change to /la/, when followed by the syllable /ba/. Yet it is apparently up to the scribe to decide whether to write the word in question using the phonogram pronounced as /la/, or with the grammogram used commonly to denote the negative particle, the sign nu-, irrespective of its actual pronunciation, see Lesson 16, section 16.1 below.

The same happens to the terminative case-marker =/še/, which may be written with the sign ŠE₃ (with the readings -še₃ or -eš₂) even when one is pretty sure that after an open syllable ending with /a/, it was probably reduced to only /š/, and one would consequently expect it to be written with the phonographic sign -aš₂.

The Sumerian writing system in the 3rd millennium BCE is an imperfect tool for the phonemic rendering of texts for yet another reason: syllable-final consonants were often ignored in the spelling of grammatical morphemes. The writing system simply lacked the appropriate signs to record closed syllables. The need to circumvent this inadequacy gave rise to two techniques. In Ebla a closed C₁VC₂ was spelled with an additional CV-sign, with the second sign repeating the vowel of the first one: C₁V-C₂V to be read as C₁VC₂. In Mesopotamia a set of VC-signs came into use at the end of the 3rd millennium BCE, mainly relying on CVC-signs originally starting with the phoneme /ʾ/, which was lost in almost all environments by the end of the millennium. Here a closed syllable was spelled as C₁VC₂ to be read as C₁VC₂. The use of this technique, however, remained optional, although it became increasingly regular in Sumerian texts until the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE.

Also at the end of the 3rd millennium BCE a new method emerged for the representation of vowel length: plene-writings, i.e., the adding of an additional V-sign, to indicate a long vowel or vocal contraction. Although plene-writings occur in some contexts frequently and consistently, the method never became a norm to indicate a long vowel in writing.

1.3 Dialects
As every language, spoken Sumerian too must have had a number of different local and temporal varieties. We, however, know, the language only from written sources, and consequently most of these variations went lost forever. We have access only to a written, formal version of Sumerian whose traits and history may be very different from the traits and history of the vernacular. Yet, it is also possible that the traits of the local dialects are reflected in local scribal traditions in the Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian periods. During the second half of the 3rd millennium BCE two main traditions can be distinguished, the Northern (Nippur, Adab, Isin) and the Southern Sumerian (Lagash, Umma, Ur, Uruk) dialects.
In the Old Sumerian period only a handful of differences among the two dialects can be detected: the vowel harmony of the verbal prefixes in the southern cities (see Lesson 2 section 2.2. below), the use of the finite-marker prefix /a(l)/ in a passive sense in the north Babylonian cities (see Lesson 11, section 11.1. below), and the use of the comitative case in the function of the terminative in the 25th century, for example. During the Old Akkadian period most of these distinctive features disappear, only the distinctive passive markers are retained. Additionally a new dialectal difference emerges, namely the voiceless aspirated affricate /çʰ/ — the /dr/ phoneme in the earlier literature — becomes /ɾ/ in Southern but /d/ in Northern Sumerian (see Lesson 2, section 2.1 below)

By the end of the 3rd millennium BCE, with the rise of the Ur III dynasty, the local traditions are not reflected in the written language any more. The Sumerian language was standardised in a form related to Southern Sumerian and this written variety also spread in the northern area of Sumer (cf. Drehem sources). The only place where texts with the features of the Northern dialect or with mixed features come from was Nippur. The proof that the standardisation of Sumerian only occurred on the level of the written language is provided by the Old Babylonian Sumerian which preserved many features of Northern Sumerian. As the centre of power moved to the north, this is also reflected in the formal, written language.

A unique variety of Sumerian which should also be mentioned here is a sociolect known under the Sumerian term eme-sal (meaning probably "fine tongue"). The eme-sal dialect is characterised by phonological alteration and by limited lexical substitution, that is, the morphological and syntactical rules of Sumerian remain intact, the difference only appears on the level of the phonology and the lexicon. The elements of the eme-sal dialect are usually mixed with standard Sumerian. It is not possible to know at what date or in which region eme-sal first emerged, but it is supposed to be a form of spoken Sumerian, specifically a women's dialect. By the early 2nd millennium, the period in which it is first recorded in writing, the eme-sal dialect had already become restricted to certain religious and poetic genres and contexts, also including the literary representation of women's speech.

1.4 The Sumerian-Akkadian bilingualism
Sumerian was only one of the main languages used by a multilingual society. The other major language was East-Semitic, and from about the 24th century onwards one of the dialects of East Semitic, Akkadian. Contact between the two languages is thought to have begun at least as early as the beginning of writing at the turn of the 4th to the 3rd millennium BCE. The presumably widespread bilingualism resulted in similarities between the two languages on the level of lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax. Many of the shared features are already present in the languages when they become accessible to us in the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE. We cannot therefore know if the assumed shared traits are the result of the long-term language contact of a linguistic area or the result of unilateral diffusions with changing directions.

Whatever the relationship between the two languages in earlier times was, it is reasonable to assume that from about 24th century onwards Akkadian became the dominant language with a resulting asymmetrical bilingualism in which knowledge of Akkadian may have proved practical in more and more contexts. The reduction of Proto-Semitic gutturals in Akkadian at around this
time may point to a relatively large Sumerian speaking population changing to Akkadian, and in the subsequent centuries only interferences from Akkadian on Sumerian are attested and never the other way round. The dominance of Akkadian eventually led to the replacement of Sumerian by Akkadian as the vernacular. It can be assumed that by the end of the Old Babylonian period Sumerian was no longer acquired as a first language, and that already during the Old Babylonian period the majority of the users of written Sumerian were native speakers of Akkadian or other languages. The appearance of the long, sophisticatedly organised Akkadian–Sumerian verbal paradigms, the so called Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts (Black 1991), which analyse Sumerian in terms of Akkadian categories, also imply the second language status of Sumerian.

At the beginning of the 2nd millennium several genres, such as letters, legal records, administrative documents disappear gradually. Sumerian becomes restricted to more formal registers, like royal inscriptions (usually bilingual in Sumerian and Akkadian), and literary texts. After the Old Babylonian period Sumerian remained to be taught and learnt only for the purposes of the cultic, literary and scholarly tradition.

Starting from around the end of the 3rd millennium, Sumerian undergoes an Akkadization which must be connected with the change in its sociolinguistic status. Its sound system becomes more similar to that of Akkadian: e.g., voiceless consonants become voiced in most environments; /uj/ and /aj/ become monophthongized. Grammatical distinctions of Sumerian are no longer maintained consistently or are replaced as a result of a mismatch between Sumerian and Akkadian distinctions: e.g., human and non-human pronominal forms are often used erroneously; the use of the locative1, locative2, and locative3 cases becomes promiscuous. A number of structural interferences from Akkadian can be observed: e.g., the correspondence between case-markers and verbal prefixes disappear, and the nominal case-markers are influenced by the corresponding Akkadian idioms; Sumerian develops morphological causativity.

1.5 From cuneiform script to modern linguistic analysis
The mixed logographic-phonographic writing system reflects the morpho-phonological structure of Sumerian to varying extent in different periods. The morpho-phonological structure of Sumerian words must therefore be reconstructed by setting up correspondences between the sequence of graphemes and the sequence of morphemes. This interpretation is necessarily subjective to some extent, and reflects the grammatical model of the interpreter. The object of linguistic description, however, must be the reconstructed sequence of morphemes, and not that of graphemes.

It must be clear that one cannot even hope to recover the full complexity of the language. Its phonology, morphology, syntax, and usage can be reconstructed only incompletely and to varying extents from the linguistic evidence at our disposal. This short grammar attempts to describe what seem to be the most important characteristics of the language.

In order to overcome the difficulties caused by the writing system, all Sumerian examples used in this grammar will be presented in four lines: the first line represents the utterance in standard graphemic transliteration; the second, a segmentation into morphemes (reconstructed by interpreting the sequence of graphemes); the third, a morpheme-by-morpheme glossing; and the fourth, a
In the graphemic transliteration subscript numerals distinguish homophonic graphemes, and superscript graphemes are semantic classifiers; graphemes that constitute a word are linked by hyphens; in the morphemic segmentation and in the glosses the sign “=” links enclitics to their hosts. Three special characters are used in transliterating Sumerian: ŋ (pronounced as the last consonant in *sing*), ḫ (pronounced as the last consonant in *loch*), and š (as the first consonant in *ship*).

1.6 The linguistic study of Sumerian

When the cuneiform script was deciphered in the early 19th century, three languages written in cuneiform were discovered: Akkadian, Persian and Elamite. Only after understanding the Akkadian texts better did scholars become aware of the existence of texts written in another different language. The royal library in Nineveh provided a large number of bilingual sources, mainly lexical lists and literary texts with Akkadian translations which contributed to the decipherment of the Sumerian script and language.

The first systematic attempt at the linguistic description of Sumerian was realised by Arno Poebe in his *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik* in 1923. His research was based on the written evidence available at the time. Adam Falkenstein’s two volume *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagash*, published in 1949 and 1950, attempted to elaborate the grammar of a homogenous group of texts from the Lagash II period. In the following decades the written evidence of Sumerian increased and so did the need of a Sumerian grammar considering the recently published material. In 1984 Marie-Louise Thomsen published *The Sumerian Language*, a textbook still in use nowadays. The third edition published in 2001 has only an appendix with the literature published after 1984, but the main text is the same.


Unfortunately no modern Sumerian dictionary is available, making the learning of Sumerian even more challenging. The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (= PSD) project published only the letter A and B (Sjöberg et al. 1984–1998). The online version of the PSD covers all letters but is basically only a glossary (= ePSD, [http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd1](http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd1)). Daniel Foxvog’s *Elementary Sumerian Glossary* (2016b) is an extremely valuable reference work, and

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3 The morphemic glossing follows the conventions of “The Leipzig Glossing rules” ([http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php](http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php)).
the glossary and sign list in Volk’s chrestomathy (Volk 2012) is also very useful for beginners.

One may also consult the “Leipzig-Münchner Sumerischer Zettelkasten” (http://www.assyriologie.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/woerterbucher_und_lexika/sumglossar/zettelkasten2006_09.pdf, last updated in 2006), “The Index to the Sumerian Secondary Literature” (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/issl), and Pascal Attinger’s “Lexique sumérien-français” (http://www.iaw.unibe.ch/unibe/portal/fak_historisch/dga/iaw/content/e39448/e99428/e122665/e122821/pane123080/e199038/Lexiquesumrien-franais.pdf), for information on the meaning of Sumerian words.

The most important signs lists are Borger 2003 and Mittermayer 2006.

Further readings and resources
A longer and more technical introduction to the study of Sumerian is Black and Zólyomi 2007 (an even longer version of this paper is available online at various places: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/edition2/pdf/diachronsum.pdf or http://www.hebraizstika.hu/attachments/00000129.pdf). On Sumerians the most up-to-date summary is Cooper 2013 (available online at http://neareast.jhu.edu/pdf/jcooper/Sumer_Sumerisch_RLA_13_2012.pdf, which is in English in spite of its German title).

An essential paper on the context of the eme-sal sociolect of Sumerian is Cooper 2006.


On the history of Sumerian-Akkadian bilingualism the best paper to consult is Woods 2006. An important contribution is Sallaberger 2004, who discusses the death of Sumerian on the basis of the distribution of Sumerian and Akkadian personal names. Sallaberger 2011 is a case-study based on the Ur III archive of Garshana, with many important observations on Sumerian-Akkadian bilingualism.

Black 1991 remained to be the best work to start with for the so called grammatical texts.

In addition to the printed and often not easily accessible publications of Sumerian texts, there exist now a growing number of online corpora produced by scholars of cuneiform. The best place to start with is the homepage of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative project (= CDLI, http://cdli.ucla.edu/), which endeavours to register all cuneiform texts. It contains now more than 400,000 records, publishing copies and/or photos of inscribed objects and their transliterations. The other important project is The Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus (ORACC, http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/). It “comprises a workspace and toolkit for the development of a complete corpus of cuneiform whose rich annotation and open licensing are designed to support the next generation of scholarly research and online dissemination of data and findings” (Robson 2014: 143).

The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Royal Inceptions project (= ETCSL, http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/) contains more than 400 Sumerian literary texts from
the Old Babylonian period in transliteration, English prose translations and bibliographical information for each composition.

The Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts (= BDTNS, \url{http://bdts.filol.csic.es}) is a relational database of around 100,000 administrative cuneiform tablets from the end of the 3rd millennium BCE.

The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Royal Inscriptions (= ETCSRI, \url{http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/}) is one of the ORACC sites; it is an annotated, grammatically and morphologically analyzed, transliterated, trilingual (Sumerian-English-Hungarian), parallel corpus of all Sumerian royal inscriptions.

A survey and assessment of all assyriological internet sites is provided by Charpin 2014.

For more details on the history of the linguistic study of the Sumerian language see now Marsal 2014 and 2015.
Lesson 2: Phonology

Sumerian is an extinct language without any known relatives. The reconstruction of its sound system must therefore rely entirely on written sources which were recorded using a mixed logographic-phonographic writing system. The interpretation and transliteration of this writing system is eventually based on our understanding of Akkadian phonology. Additional evidence is provided, for example, by the behaviour of loanwords, by glosses in syllabaries and vocabularies, by spelling variants of the same word, by the ancient names of cuneiform signs, and by Greek spellings of Sumerian and Akkadian words from the Hellenistic period. Needless to say, the reconstruction of the Sumerian sound system will always involve a certain degree of conjecture.

2.1 The consonants
The transliteration system used for Sumerian is based on its sound system in the 2nd millennium BCE, which differs significantly from the sound system of the 3rd millennium, and whose reconstruction itself is based on a by now partly overhauled understanding of Akkadian phonology. In Table 2.1 below each consonant is represented in square brackets by their reconstructed pronunciation in the 3rd millennium (using the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet), followed in curly brackets by the letter with which they are normally transliterated, called graphonemes.

Graphonemes are phonemic units distinguished by the writing system. Their values ultimately reflect their use in an Akkadian context and depend on our understanding of Akkadian phonetics.

One may ask if it were not better to use different systems for transliterating Sumerian texts from different periods. One could argue, for example, that the verbal form mu-na-duš should be be transliterated as mu-na-tsʰu if it occurs in an inscription of Ur-Nanshe from the 25th c. BCE. There are a number of arguments against such a proposal. First, this would entail that any time a new proposal about the pronunciation of Sumerian is made and accepted, the transliteration system would be changed. Second, we simply cannot know when exactly the assumed changes happened. Third, this would be against the spirit of the writing system used for Sumerian, which even in the later periods made great use of word signs that encoded the language on the level of the meaning and not on the level of its pronunciation. One therefore has to accept that the transliteration system we use may not reflect the actual pronunciation of a word, and is based on readings of the cuneiform signs in the first part of the 2nd millennium BCE. In a way the graphonemes may be considered to function like variables in mathematics, their value depending on the period and place where a text comes from.

Consonants which went lost during the 3rd millennium BCE, and are therefore usually ignored in the transliteration, are marked with {–}; vl. = voiceless, asp. = aspirated in Table 2.1. In the descriptions below phonemes are enclosed by forward slashes.
Table 2.1: The Sumerian consonants in the 3rd millennium BCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>DENTAL OR ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>LATERAL</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>vl. asp.</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>vl. asp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>[pʰ]</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>[ʾ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>[bʰ]</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ts]</td>
<td>[ʂ]</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>[ʂ]</td>
<td>[ʐ]</td>
<td>[-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>[ɭ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[-]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>[mʰ]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>[-]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stops (except for the glottal stop) and affricates had two series in the 3rd millennium BCE. Both were pronounced voiceless, their distinctive feature being aspiration. Around the 2000 BCE, the plain voiceless stops underwent sound change: they became voiced in most environments. The aspirated voiceless stops retained their old pronunciation. At the same time the plain voiceless affricate ([ts]) underwent the same change as the plain voiceless stops: it became a voiced affricate ([dz]) in most environments. The voiceless aspirated affricate ([tsʰ]) disappeared from the language by the end of the 3rd millennium: it merged with [ɾ] or [t] before a vowel, while it was lost word-finally and before a consonant.

A phoneme /h/ can be reconstructed only in a couple of words, like */haj/ “house” (later ez = /e/) or /hit/ “river” (later idz = /id/). Both this phoneme and the glottal stop /ʾ/ were lost during the second half of the 3rd millennium BCE. The phoneme /j/ gradually disappeared by around 2000 BCE, syllable final /uj/ and /aj/ became /u/ and /e/ respectively (e.g., */aj/ “water” > “/e/”.

Note that the consonant transliterated with the graphoneme {r} was a tap [ɾ], a consonant produced with a very short closure, and not a trill. The voiceless aspirated affricate ([tsʰ]) appears in the earlier literature as the /dr/-phoneme.

### 2.2 Vowels and vowel harmonies

The writing system indicates the existence of four vowels. Vowel length was probably phonemic but as the writing system did not indicate vowel length systematically, this assumption is partly based on circumstantial evidence like, e.g., Sumerian loanwords into Akkadian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>{i}</td>
<td>{u}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>{e}</td>
<td>{a}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2: The vowels

The assimilation of certain verbal prefixes containing the graphoneme {i} or {e} in respect of vowel height to the vowel of the following syllable, the so-called “Old Sumerian vowel harmony” was an isogloss dividing cities in southern Babylonia (Lagash, Umma, Ur and Uruk, which exhibit the assimilation) from cities further north in Babylonia (Nippur, Adab, Shuruppag and Isin) in the 25th–23rd centuries BCE. In subsequent centuries the assimilation disappeared.

The following prefixes take part in this vowel assimilation:
— The finite marker /i/ (see Lesson 11, section 11.1 below). The graphoneme {e} is written with the sign E as in exx. (1), (3), and (9) below; the graphoneme {i} is written with the sign NI (= is) as in exx. (2), (4), (10) below.

(1) En-metena 1 3:4 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)⁴
e-ma-ta-bala
₅i₅m₅s₃ba₃₉ta₃₅₁e₃₅₁bala₃₉₁₅θ
FIN-VEN-MID-ABL-L2-cross-3.SG.S

(2) DP 218 rev. 4:2 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P220868)⁵
is₅tud-da-a
₃₃i₃₃₁₃₃₁₃₃₁₅₃₃₁₅a₃₃₁₅θ
FIN-3.SG.H.A-bear-3.SG.P-SUB-L1

— The ventive prefix followed by a 3rd ps. sg. non-human composite locative2 or locative3 prefix (see Lesson 14, section 14.3 and 14.4). The graphoneme {e} is written with the sign ME as in ex. (3) below; the graphoneme {i} is written with the sign MI as in ex. (4) below.

(3) En-metena 1 2:5 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
e-me-sar-sar
₃₃i₃₃₄₃₃₃₃₅₁₃₃₃₃₃₁₅₃₃₃₃₁₅θ

(4) En-metena 23 29–30 (RIME 1.9.5.23) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222530)
i₃₅mi₃₃₁₃₃₃₃₃₁₅₃₃₃₃₃₁₅dug₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₁₅θ

— The 3rd ps. sg. non-human composite locative2 or locative3 prefix (see Lesson 14, section 14.3 and 14.4 below). The graphoneme {e} is written with the sign BI (= bez) as in ex. (5) below; the graphoneme {i} is written with the sign NE (= bi₂) as in ex. (6) below.

(5) Iri-kagina 1 4:8 (RIME 1.9.9.1) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222607)
be₂₃jar-re₂-eš
₃₃b₃₃₁₉₃₃₁₉₃₃₁₉₃₃₁₅₃₃₁₈eš

(6) En-metena 1 2:8 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
b₂₃gi₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₇θ

⁴ Q-numbers and P-numbers refer to the catalogue-numbers of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative Project (http://www.cdli.ucla.edu). Q-numbers refer to compositions, P-numbers to manuscripts. In the morphemic segmentation of the finite verbal forms subscript "S + number" refers to the verbal slots discussed in detail in Lesson 6 below.

⁵ Abbreviations follow the conventions of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations_for_assyriology).
— The terminative prefix (see Lesson 13, section 13.2 below). The graphoneme {e} is written with the sign ŠE₂ as in ex. (7) below; the graphoneme {i} is written with the sign ŠI as in ex. (8) below.

(7) En-ana-tum i 5 4:8 (RIME 1.9.4.5) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
\[ \text{he₂-na-še₁-ŋal₂} \]
\[ s₁ha₂-s₁n₃-i₃a₂-ši₂-s₁₂ŋal₁₂ \]

(8) En-metena i 6:8 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
\[ \text{he₂-na-ši-gub} \]
\[ s₁ha₂-s₁n₃-i₃a₂-ši₂-gub₁₂ \]

— The locative₁, and 3rd ps. sg. human composite locative₂ or locative₃ prefix (see Lesson 14, section 14.2, 14.3 and 14.4 below). The graphoneme {e} is written with the sign NI (= nez) as in ex. (9) below; the graphoneme {i} is written also with the sign NI as in ex. (10) below.⁴

(9) En-metena 23 18 (RIME 1.9.5.23) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222530)
\[ e-ne₂-pad₂-da-a \]
\[ s₁i₂-s₁n₃-i₃a₁-s₁₂pad₁₂-a̅₁a \]
FIN-3.SG.HL₂-3.SG.HA-find-3.SG.P-SUB-L₁

(10) DP 103 rev. 2:1 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P220753)
\[ i₃-ni-gi₄ \]
\[ s₁i₂-s₁n₃-i₄-s₁₂gi₁₂i₄ \]
FIN-3.SG.HL₂-3.SG.HA-return-3.SG.P

The signs used to write the graphoneme {i} remained in use after the vowel harmony disappeared.

On the basis of the writing system used to record Sumerian in the first part of the 2nd millennium BCE, Sumerian appears to have only four vowels; i.e., the writing system distinguishes four vowels, see Table 2.2 above. There exist, however, data which suggest that the writing system used in the 2nd millennium BCE may not have reflected the number of vowels in the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE adequately.

Table 2.3 below shows the correspondences between the vowel of the verbal prefixes and the vowel of the stems as reflected in our transliteration system in texts form around the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE from places which exhibit vowel harmony. It is based on data collected by Keetman (2014: 144–149). The table shows, for example, that all the verbal stems transliterated with the graphoneme {a}, e.g., āar “to place”, or āk “to act”, occur with a “low” version of the verbal prefix, which undergoes vowel assimilation.

⁴ Note that both the “high” and the “low” forms were written with the same grapheme, but it is assumed in this textbook that the “high” and the “low” forms were pronounced differently.
The problem occurs with the stems transliterated with {u} or {e} graphophonemes. Some of them occur with the “low”, some with “high” prefixes. The data in Table 2.3 suggests that the vowels written as {u} and {e} might have had a high and low variant in Sumerian, making the number of vowels 6, a suggestion already put forward by Poebel (1931: 6). Keetman (2005) goes further and he does not consider it impossible that the Sumerian vowel system consists of 7 or 9 vowels.

Table 2.4 below shows a possible interpretation of Poebel’s suggestion, using the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet. It shows that, for example, the graphoneme {u} may correspond in fact both to a low back vowel [ɔ] and a high back vowel [u].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix / stem</th>
<th>{i}</th>
<th>{u}</th>
<th>{e}</th>
<th>{a}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{i}</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{e}</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3: Correspondences of verbal prefixes and verbal bases

Vowel harmony — the agreement among vowels in successive syllables in respect to one or more features — is also attested among the vowels of a word stem in Sumerian. In particular, in polysyllabic Sumerian words the vowels of the syllables often appear to be the same, i.e., they are transliterated with the same graphoneme, e.g., zalag “to be bright”, saḥar “dust”, njir₃ “foot”, gibil “to be new”, tukul “weapon”, sukud “height”.

The phenomenon is also attested with loan words, with the advantage that the original form of the word is also known, e.g., gada < Akk. kitûm “linen”, libr < Akk. lab(ir)um “to be old”, njir < Akk. nāgirum “herald”, silim < Akk. šal(l)num “to be healthy”.

There also exist words which are attested both in forms with two similar and with two different vowels: a-gu₃ vs. ugu “skull”, a-ne vs. e-ne “he”, ḫa-luḥ vs. hu-luḥ “to be afraid”, u-šub vs. is-šub “brick-mold”.

The last two groups of the words involved suggest that it is the vowel of the first syllable that assimilates to the vowel of the second one, which may well be due to the stress on the last syllable of the words, see the next subsection.

2.3 Syllable structure and stress

Sumerian syllables may have the structure CV, (VC), or CVC. It is likely that before the glottal stop /ʼ/ was lost, all words began with a consonant and consequently
VC type syllables did not existed. Word initial consonant clusters were not tolerated. Sumerian had a stress-accent, and Sumerian words were probably stressed on the last syllable.

**Further readings**
The best systematic treatment of Sumerian phonology is without doubt Jagersma’s chapter on phonology in his grammar (2010: 31–67). He not only discusses the phonemes in detail but also the methodology with which the sound system of an extinct and unrelated language recorded with a mixed logographic-phonographic writing system may be recovered.

There are a number of papers on the vowel harmony of the verbal prefixes. Poebel 1931 and Kramer 1936 are still worth reading. Krispijn 2000 discusses the phenomenon in its historical context. The two latest contributions, Keetman 2005, 2014 and Smith 2007, are important but are not for the light-hearted. The vowel harmony within the word stems is discussed in detail in Keetman 2014.

The classical study on the phoneme /g/ is Krecher 1978. Keetman 2004 is an important contribution on the distinctive features of stops and affricates in Sumerian. The Greek spellings of Sumerian and Akkadian words from the Hellenistic period are discussed in Maul 1991. On the various proposal concerning alleged “extra” phonemes, phonemes concealed by the writing system, see Black 1990.

**Exercises**
2.1 Consider the data below on the correspondences between stops in Sumerian and Akkadian in loanwords. Then fill out Table 3.5, mark the feature that applies to the group of graphonemes in the left with a “+”. Try to explain on the basis of the features why Akkadian borrowed the Sumerian words the way it did.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sumerian</th>
<th>voice</th>
<th>aspiration</th>
<th>emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{b}, {d}, {g}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{p}, {t}, {k}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akkadian</th>
<th>voice</th>
<th>aspiration</th>
<th>emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{b}, {d}, {g}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{p}, {t}, {k}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{t}, {q}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.5

3rd millenium
Sumerian {b}, {d}, {g} correspond to voiceless graphonemes in Akkadian

e₂-gal → ekallum “palace”
kiri₃-dab₃ → kartappum “groom”
nu-banda₃ → laputtûm “overseer”
barag → parakkum “dais”
gada → kitûm “linen”
dug₃-gan → tukkannum “bag”
u₂-dug₄ → utukkum “demon”
gu-za → kussûm “throne”
Phonology

Sumerian {p}, {t}, {k} correspond to voiceless graphonemes in Akkadian

- pisan → pišannum “basket”
- temen → temennum “foundation”
- ensi₂ → išši ‘akkum “ruler”
- kiri₃-dab₃ → kartappum “groom”
- kar → kārum “quay”
- sukkal → šukkalum “messenger”
- niš-kin₂ → kiškanūm “(a tree)”

Akkadian {p}, {t}, {k} correspond to voiced graphonemes in Sumerian

- puršumum → bur-šu-ma “old person”
- aplum → iš-bi₂-la “heir”
- šāpirum → šabra “administrator”
- šimtum → si-im-da “mark”
- mātum → ma-da “country”
- tankārum → dam-gar₃ “merchand”
- milkum → ma-al-ga “counsel”
- maškānum → maš-gara₂ “settlement”
- šākinum → šagina “general”
- rākibum → ra-gaba “rider”

Akkadian {b}, {d}, {g} and {ṭ}, {q} correspond to voiced graphonemes in Sumerian

- labirum → libir “old”
- ūmum → dim₂-ma “decision”
- maštarum → maš-dara₃ “inscription”
- nāqidum → na-gada “shepherd”

2.2 Consider the data below. Try to explain the form of the Sumerian loanwords in Akkadian on the basis of what you have learnt about stress in Sumerian in this lesson; for the rules of stress in Akkadian, see Huehnergard 1997: 3–4 (1.3).

a) Sumerian words with a final consonant, preceded by a short vowel:

- al → allu “hoe”
- gal → kullu “bowl”
- duḥ → tūḥu “waste”
- us₂ → uššu “foundation”
- ma₂-gur₈ → makurru “ship”
- ku₃-dim₂ → kutimmu “silversmith”
- bīsaṇ → pišanum “basket”
- muḫaldim → muḥatimmu “cook”
- mar → marru “shovel”

b) Sumerian words with a final consonant, preceded by a long vowel:

- nar → nāru “singer”
- en → ēnu “high priest”
- kar → kāru “quay”
- ambar → appāru “marsh”
- banšur → pāššuru “table”
- an → ānu “sky”
- eg₂ → iku “dike”
- gir₄ → kiru “oven”
- ur-saṇ → uršānu “hero”
- bur-zid → pursitu “bowl”
gala-maḥ ṭ kalamāḥu “chief lamentation priest”

2.3 Which of the listed stems would be used with the verbal prefixes in periods and places that exhibit vowel harmony?

a) {še} (TERM): tud, gi₄, ṃal₂, šug, pad₃

b) {mī} (VEN-3NH-LOC2/3): gi₄, gur, sar, bala, tud

c) {ne} (LOC1-3): dug₄, ṃal₂, du₃, gi₄, tar, gul

d) {i} (FIN): dim₂, tuš, gi₄, sa, sig
Lesson 3: The nominal template and the non-adverbial cases

This lesson describes the general structure of the Sumerian noun phrase. In the second part of the lesson the two adnominal cases of the language, the main characteristics of the genitive and the equative are discussed.

3.1 The nominal template

The Sumerian noun phrase consists of five structural positions, see Table 3.1 below. P1 and P2 may be occupied by a variety of structural units. P3 may be filled either with a noun phrase in the genitive or with an enclitic possessive pronoun. The possessive pronoun in P3 and the elements occurring in P4 and P5 are enclitics, i.e., affixes being added to phrases but not to lexical heads.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HEAD</td>
<td>MODIFIER</td>
<td>POSSESSOR</td>
<td>PLURAL-MARKER</td>
<td>CASE-MARKER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1: The Sumerian nominal template

In ex. (11) the human dative case-marker attaches directly to the head of the noun phrase. In ex. (12), however, it follows the genitive case-marker of the noun phrase in P3.

(11) Gudea Statue B 7:24 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P232275)

\[
\text{\`nin-ninjirsuk} \cdot \text{ra} \\
\text{p} \cdot \text{DN=} \cdot \text{ra} \\
\text{“for (the god) Ningirsu”}
\]

(12) Ur-Bau 1 3 (RIME 3/1.6.1) (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P231808)

\[
dumu \cdot \text{an-na-ra} \\
p \cdot \text{dumu} \cdot \text{an=} \cdot \text{ak} \cdot \text{ra} \\
p \cdot \text{child} \cdot \text{DN=} \cdot \text{GEN} \cdot \text{ra} \\
\text{“for the child of (the god) An”}
\]

The noun phrase occupying P3 may have elements in up to four of its five positions, and then there may be four structural units between the head (P1) and the case-marker (P5) of the main noun phrase as in ex. (13) below.

(13) CUSAS 17, 13 3:8 (unknown, cca. 23th c.) (P251599)

\[
\text{\`nam-that} \cdot \text{\`sesh-a-ne-ne} \\
p \cdot \text{\`namthat} \cdot \text{\`sesh} \cdot \text{\`ane} \cdot \text{\`en} \cdot \text{\`ak} \cdot \text{\`0} \\
\text{life} \cdot \text{\`brother} \cdot \text{\`3} \cdot \text{SG,H.POSS} \cdot \text{\`PL=} \cdot \text{\`GEN} \cdot \text{\`ABS} \\
\text{“the well-being of his brothers”}
\]

In exxs. (14) and (15) below, the noun phrase occupying P3 contains yet another noun phrase in its P3. In ex. (15) the embedded noun phrase is an appositional construction.
The nominal template and the non-adverbial cases

(14) Iri-kagina 1 3:18 (RIME 1.9.9.1) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222607)

sipad udu siki-ka-keš-ne

₄₃₄₄₅₄₆

šipad udu siki-ka-keš-ne

₄₃₄₅₆

šipad udu siki-ka-keš-ne

₄₅₆

šipad udu siki-ka-keš-ne

₄₅₆

šipad udu siki-ka-keš-ne

₄₅₆

“the shepherds of sheep of wool (= wool-bearing sheep)”

(15) Shulgi 2046 1‘-3’ (RIME 3/2.1.2.2046) (Ur, 21st c.) (P226193)

nam-tiš Šulgi diŋir kalâm-ma-na-ka-še₃

₃₄₅₆

nam-tiš Šulgi diŋir kalâm-ma-na-ka-še₃

₃₄₅₆

nam-tiš Šulgi diŋir kalâm-ma-na-ka-šे₃

₃₄₅₆

nam-tiš Šulgi diŋir kalâm-ma-na-ka-šे₃

₃₄₅₆

nam-tiš Šulgi diŋir kalâm-ma-na-ka-šे₃

₃₄₅₆

“for the well-being of Shulgi, the protective god of his land”

As the elements in P4, P5, and the possessive pronoun in P3 are enclitics attaching to the final word-level constituent of the noun phrase, all these elements cumulate at the right end of the phrase in simple and double genitive constructions like in exx. (13), (14), and (15).

P1 may be occupied by simple nouns, compound nouns, pronouns, non-finite verbal forms, and clauses with subordinate finite verbal forms. P2 may be occupied by non-finite verbal forms, relative clauses, noun phrases in the genitive case (see Lesson 4, section 4.1), cardinal numbers, and demonstrative pronouns. A noun phrase may have more than one modifiers. P3 may be filled either with a noun phrase in the genitive case or with an enclitic possessive pronoun, see table 3.2. below. The enclitic possessive pronoun is therefore a pronoun that stands for a noun phrase in the genitive case. Note that the 3rd ps. sg. non-human enclitic =/be/ may also be used with a plural reference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1ST PERSON</th>
<th>2ND PERSON</th>
<th>3RD PERSON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG -ŋu₁₀ (=/ŋu/)</td>
<td>-zu (=/zu/)</td>
<td>h. -(a)-ne₂ (=/ane/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NH -be₂ (=/be/)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL -me (=/mē/)</td>
<td>-zu-ne-ne (=/zunenē/)</td>
<td>-(a)-ne₂-ne (=/anenē/)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: The enclitic possessive pronouns

P4 may be filled only with the plural-marker =/enē/. This enclitic is used only with noun phrases whose head belongs to the human class, but its use is not obligatory. The exact conditions of its use are unclear. Its meaning may involve individualising. The plural marker is not used with human head nouns modified with numerals or functioning as the subject of a copular clause. The plurality of noun phrases whose head belongs to the non-human class is usually not overtly marked.

Both human and non-human head nouns may undergo full reduplication; human head nouns with the plural marker may also be reduplicated, see ex. (16) below. The function of this morphological process is certainly to mark some sort of plurality; its exact meaning is, however, unclear, but often involves a notion of totality, as in ex. (16) below:
The nominal slot P5 accommodates the case-markers. Nine enclitic case-markers may be distinguished in Sumerian: \(/\text{o}/, \/=\text{e}/, \/=\text{(')}\text{a}/, \/=\text{ra}/, \/=\text{ta}/, \/=\text{da}/, \/=\text{še}/, \/=\text{ak}/, \/=\text{gen}/. The case-markers are enclitics that function to distinguish cases. In Sumerian cases are distinguished, however, not solely by nominal case-markers, the verbal affixes also play an essential role in the identification of cases. Three of the nominal case-markers (\/=\text{ra}/, \/=\text{(')}\text{a}/, and \/=\text{e}/), and one of the verbal affixes (\text{i} in S10) are used as markers of more than one case. On the basis of correspondences between nominal case-markers and verbal affixes eleven cases can be distinguished in Sumerian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>NOMINAL CASE-MARKER</th>
<th>VERBAL AFFIX</th>
<th>CASE TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>human</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-human</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ergative</td>
<td>(/\text{e}/)</td>
<td>(/\text{e}/)</td>
<td>final pronominal prefix (S11) and pronominal suffix (S14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>(/\text{ø}/)</td>
<td>(/\text{ø}/)</td>
<td>final pronominal prefix (S11) and pronominal suffix (S14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>(/\text{ra}/)</td>
<td>(/\text{e}/)</td>
<td>/a/ (S7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>(/\text{da}/)</td>
<td>(/\text{da}/)</td>
<td>/da/ (S8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>(/\text{ta}/)</td>
<td>(/\text{ta}/)</td>
<td>/ta/ (S9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminative</td>
<td>(/\text{še}/)</td>
<td>(/\text{še}/)</td>
<td>/ši/ (S9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative1</td>
<td>(/\text{'}\text{a}/)</td>
<td>(/\text{ni}/)</td>
<td>/ši/ (S10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative2</td>
<td>(/\text{ra}/)</td>
<td>(/\text{'}\text{a}/)</td>
<td>/i/ or /e/ (S10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative3</td>
<td>(/\text{ra}/)</td>
<td>(/\text{e}/)</td>
<td>/i/ or /e/ (S10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>(/\text{ak}/)</td>
<td>(/\text{ak}/)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equative</td>
<td>(/\text{gen}/)</td>
<td>(/\text{gen}/)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3: The Sumerian case-system

The twelve cases may be classified into three groups: i) ergative and absolutive, encoders of Agent, Subject and Patient, the primary syntactic functions; ii) adverbial cases; iii) adnominal cases. The uses of the adverbial cases will be discussed in detail in Lessons 12–14 below. The absolutive, the ergative, and the adnominal cases are discussed in the second part of this lesson.

---

9 Verbal structural positions will be referred to as “slots” (= S) throughout this book to distinguish them from the structural positions of the noun phrase, referred to as “positions” (= P).
A number of scholars assume the existence of an adverbiative case. Instead of the adverbiative case — which signals a grammatical relationship between two words — this textbook proposes a derivative morpheme, which turns an expression into an adverb of manner. It will be discussed in Lesson 5, section 5.2.

3.2 The ergative and the absolutive case

The ergative and the absolutive denote the Agent, the Subject, and the Patient, the three primary syntactic functions. The ergative case-marker is the enclitic =/e/; the absolutive case is signalled with the lack of any case-marker, i.e., with a so-called null-morpheme, indicated in the morphemic glosses of this textbook as =/ø/.

In ex. (17) below the subject of the transitive verb, the Agent (henceforth, A), is in the ergative case. The object of the transitive verb, the Patient (henceforth, P), is in the absolutive.

(17) Gudea Cyl. A 22:9 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

to-rule = /e/ house = /ø/ VEN-3.SG.H.A.-build-3.SG.P

“The ruler has built the temple.”

In addition to P, the absolutive may also denote the Subject (henceforth, S), the subject of an intransitive verb. In ex. (18) below, the subject of the intransitive verb kur “to enter”, the god Nin-gehszida, is in the absolutive case.

(18) Gudea Statue E 8:11–15 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232278)


“His (= Gudea’s) personal god, Nin-gehszida, entered (with these gifts to Bau into her temple in Iri-kug).”

The absolutive case may thus encode both S and P, while the ergative encodes the A. Languages in which A is encoded with a case different from the one that encodes both S and P are called ergative. Ergative languages are distinguished from accusative languages in which it is the A and S that are encoded similarly with a case called nominative case, while the P is encoded with a different case called accusative. Table 3.1 below illustrates the difference between ergative and accusative languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERGATIVE</td>
<td>ergative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCUSATIVE</td>
<td>nominative</td>
<td></td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 3.3
3.3 The genitive case

The genitive case usually relates two nominals within a noun phrase. The noun phrase in the genitive, the possessor, occupies P3 of the noun phrase whose head is the possessum. The main function of the genitive is to denote the possessor.

Its basic form is */ak/, but it rarely appears in this phonetic shape: the */a/ of the genitive case-marker usually contracts with a preceding a vowel; and in word-final position the */k/ of the */ak/ is probably lost. When the */a/ of the enclitic contracts with a preceding short vowel, the result is as a rule an */ā/, see, e.g., exx. (19) and (20) below. When it contracts with a preceding long vowel then the result is the preceding long vowel, see, e.g., ex. (13) above and ex. (21) below, in which the contraction with the last vowel of the plural marker */enē/ results in */ē/. The contraction is, however, reflected by the writing only when the word sign, see ex. (22) below, then nothing may be noticed.

(19) Gudea Statue B 8:24 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P232275)

кисаль

кисал

П1

лугал(-назака) П1

кирму на

П1

лугал(-назака) П1

в дворе Нингирсу, мой господин"

(20) Gudea Cyl. A 24:8 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

П2

лугал

П2

лугал(-назака) П2

"его монастырь"

(21) Gudea Statue A 1:3 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232274)

ама

П1

думу-дumu-нет

П1

нин=анет=ра

П1

мать

П1

делла=П3.СG.Poss=P5.Poss=GEN П3.Абс

"мати всех детей, его мать"

(22) Ur-Namma 14 6 (RIME 3/2.1.1.14) (Ur, 21st c.) (Q000942)

П1

лугал

П1

лугал(-назака) П1

"король Сарма и Аккад"

When the */k/ of the genitive case-marker is at the end of a closed syllable, then the writing does not reflect its presence; one may infer its occurrence only from the form of the morpheme that follows. When the human dative case-marker */ra/ is preceded by an open syllable, it undergoes apocope and is reduced to */ɾ/; and the syllable closing */ɾ/ of the resulting closed syllable */CVr/ will not be written until the end of the 3rd millennium BCE, see ex. (23) below. In ex. (24) the dative case-marker has the unreduced form */ra/ because of the preceding closed syllable. As the word eninnu ends in a vowel, the syllable must be closed because of the presence of a genitive case-marker */ak/.
The nominal template and the non-adverbial cases

(23) Gudea 72 1–2 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (Q00924)

\( ^{\text{q}} \text{nîn-šubur} \text{ niñ-a-nez} \)

\( p_{1} \text{nînšubur} \text{ p}_{1} \text{nin=p}_{3} \text{nian=p}_{5} \text{ra} \)

\( p_{1} \text{DN} \text{ p}_{1} \text{lady=p}_{3} \text{3G.H.POSS=p}_{5} \text{DAT.H} \)

“for Ninshubur, his lady”

(24) En-an-tum I 19 1–2 (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222490)

\( ^{\text{q}} \text{nîn-ŋir₂-su₂, e₂-ninnu-ra} \)

\( p_{1} \text{nînšûrk} \text{ p}_{1} \text{eninnu=p}_{5} \text{ak}=p_{3} \text{ra} \)

\( p_{1} \text{DN} \text{ p}_{1} \text{TN=p}_{5} \text{GEN}=p_{5} \text{DAT.H} \)

“for Ningirsu in the temple E-ninnu”

The next lesson, Lesson 4 discusses in detail the various constructions in which noun phrases in the genitive are used.

3.4 The equative case

The equative case expresses a relation of comparison between two noun phrases. The equative case-marker attaches to the the noun phrase that functions as the basis of the comparison, called the standard in linguistic literature. The equative case-marker is the enclitic \(=/\text{gen}/\), written with the sign DIM2 \((=\text{gen}_7)\).

In linguistics one may distinguish between i) equative constructions, which express sameness of extent, and ii) simulative constructions, which express sameness of manner. In English the equative and the simulative constructions are different, as the examples in Table 3.4 below show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPAREE</th>
<th>PARAMETER</th>
<th>STANDARD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MARKER</td>
<td>MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) You</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) Ninurta</td>
<td>roars</td>
<td>like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: Equative and simulative constructions

In Sumerian, however, the equative and simulative constructions are the same, neither of them contains a parameter, and they may be distinguished only on the basis of their meaning.

Ex. (25) below is a personal name containing an equative construction. The goddess Bau functions as standard, and the standard marker is the equative enclitic.

(25) CTNMC 4 4:19 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P247619)

\( ^{\text{q}} \text{ba-u₂-gen₂-a-ba-sag₉} \)

\( p_{1} \text{bau=p}_{2} \text{gen=p}_{1} \text{aba=0} \text{S₂=t₃1.5} \text{sag=₃₄} \text{Ø} \)

\( p_{1} \text{DN=p}_{3} \text{EQU=p}_{1} \text{who=3ABS} \text{FIN=fine-3SG.S} \)

“Who-is-as-kind-as-the-goddess-Bau?”

Exx. (26) and (27) below are simulative constructions; the standards of the comparison, “the new moon” in the former, and “a bull” in the latter, are case-marked with the enclitic \(=/\text{gen}/\):
(26) Gudea Cyl. A 24:10 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

ud-sakar gibil-e-gen7 men bi-il₂
₃p₁ud-sakar ₃p₁gibil-φ₃p₃gen ₃p₁men=₃p₅φ ₃b₁⁻₃₁ il₁⁻₃₁ φ
₃p₁Crescent.moon ₃p₁new-TL=₃p₁EQU ₃p₁crown=₃p₁ABS ₃SG.NH-L3-3SG.H.A-Carry-3SG.P

“He (= Gudea) had it (= the temple) wear a tiara shaped like the new moon.”

(27) Lugal-zagesi 1 2:30–32 (RIME 1.14.20.1) (Uruk, 24th c.) (Q001379)

urim-e gud-gen7 saŋ an-še₃
₃p₁urim=₃p₁e ₃p₁gud=₃p₁gen ₃p₁sag=₃p₁φ ₃p₁an=₃p₁še
₃p₁GN=₃p₁ERG ₃p₁bull=₃p₁EQU ₃p₁head=₃p₁ABS ₃p₁š=₃p₁TERM
mu-dabs-il₂
₃₃₂₃mu-š₃n₃₁da⁻₃₁ b⁻₃₁ il⁻₃₁ φ
VEN-3SG.H.COM-3SG.NH.A-Raise-3SG.P

“Ur raised its head to the sky like a bull because of him.”

Constructions with the enclitic copula may also be used in a similative function, see Lesson 8, section 8.4 below.

Note that the two adnominal cases discussed in this lesson differ in their syntactic behaviour. The genitive relates two nominals within a noun phrase, i.e., possessor and possessum form one single noun phrase. The noun phrase in the equative, however, constitute a separate noun phrase, outside the noun phrase with which it compares.

Further readings

On the case system of Sumerian see Zólyomi 2010, who argues that cases should not be distinguished solely on the basis of the form of their case-markers; the distribution of the case-marked words should also be taken into consideration.

The 3rd ps. possessive enclitics =/ane/ and =/be/ are assumed to be =/ani/ and =/bi/ in the earlier literature. This textbook follows Jagersma (2010: 214–217), who, on the basis of their writings, argues convincingly that their last vowel is in fact /e/.

The syntax of noun phrases with the equative enclitic is discussed in Sövegjártó 2011. For a typological study of equative and simulative constructions in the languages of Europe, see Haspelmath and Buchholz 1998.

Exercises

3.1 Look up the words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

3.2 Provide a morphemic segmentation and glosses to the noun phrases below on the basis of the transliterations and translations provided. The grammatical function of the noun phrases is indicated in brackets.

a) nin-a-na-ke₄ “his lady” (A)
b) iři-ne₂ “his city” (A)
c) nin diji-r-re-e-ne “the lady of the gods” (S)
d) lugal-µ₁₁₀ “my master” (A)
e) nam-ti₁₁ šeš-a-ne-ne “the life of his brothers” (P)
f) niij₂ šu-ŋ₃₂ “the thing of my hand” (S)
g) arad₂-zu “your servant” (S)
h) inim diji-r-re₂-ne “the order of the gods” (P)
i) e₂ iři nam-lugal-ŋ₃₂-ka “the temple of the city of my kingship” (P)
The nominal template and the non-adverbial cases

j) 

k) 

l) 

m) 

n) 

o) 

p) 

q) 

r) 

s) 

t) 

u) 

3.3 Mark the positions and add the missing morphological glosses in the noun phrases below. Translate the noun phrases, too. All the information you need may be found in Foxvog’s glossary (2016b) or can be figured out from the translation (given only in difficult cases). (PN = Personal Name, DN = Divine Name, GN = Geographical Name)

a) 

b) 

c) 

d) 

e) 

f) 

g) 

h) 

i) 

j) 

k) 

l) 

PN₁  PN₂  GN  =L2.NH  =L3.NH  =ERG  =ERG  =ERG  =L2.NH  =L2.NH  =ERG  =L3.NH  =ERG

PN  GN  =ERG  =L2.NH  =L2.NH
3.4 The following noun phrases consist of the same morphemes, but in a different order. What is the consequence of these differences on the meaning of the noun phrases? Please translate them!

a) 1. p₁dumu p₃[šeš=₃ane=₃enē=₃ak]=₃ø
2. p₁dumu p₃[šeš=₃ane=₃ak]=₃enē=₃ø

b) 1. p₃anše p₃[l]libir-ø p₃[šeš=₃λu=₃ak]=₃ø

3.5 There is something wrong with the following examples, except for one. Please identify the problem in each case.

a) p₁e p₃[diŋ] p₃[gal-ø]=₃enē=₃ø
"the temples of the great god"

b) p₁azu p₃[zid-ø] p₃[λu=₃ak]=₃ø
"the good doctors of the king"

c) p₁dam p₃[zid-ø]=₃ane=₃ak
"his good wife"

d) p₁namtil=₃λu
"my well-being"

e) p₁ezem p₃[gal-ø]=₃enē=₃ø
"the great festivals"

f) p₁kugsig p₃[kugbabbar]=₃zu=₃ø
"your gold and silver"

g) p₁geme p₃[l]libir-ø p₃[damgar=₃ane]=₃ø
"the old female servant of the merchant"

3.6 Go to the ETCSRI corpus (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/corpus) and write “N5=ERG” (without the quotation marks) in the Search Oracc box. Find and make a list of the graphemes that may be used to write the ergative case-marker, depending on the morpheme or sound before and/or after the case-marker! Try to find differences depending on the location or period of the texts! If you are uncertain about the morphological make-up of a word, follow the link to the text, then either place the cursor over the word in question, or click on the word “Proofing” on the left side of the page.

3.7 Go to the ETCSRI corpus (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/corpus) and write “N₄=PL” (without the quotation marks) in the Search Oracc box. Find and make a list of the graphemes that may be used to write the plural-marker, depending on the morpheme or sound before and/or after the case-marker! If you are uncertain about the morphological make-up of a word, follow the link to the text, then either place the cursor over the word in question, or click on the word “Proofing” on the left side of the page.
3.8 Go to the ETCSRI corpus ([http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etscri/corpus](http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etscri/corpus)) and write either “N3-ju” or “N3-ani” (without the quotation marks) in the Search Oracc box. Find and make a list of the graphemes that may be used to write the 1st ps. sg. or 3rd ps. sg. human possessive enclitic, depending on the morpheme or sound before and/or after them! Try to find out differences depending on the location or period of the texts! If you are uncertain in the morphological make-up of a word, follow the link to the text, then either place the cursor over the word in question, or click on the word “proofing” on the left side of the page.

3.9 Transliterate the text of Ur-Nanshe 26 (RIME 1.9.1.26) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222380) (a handcopy of the text can be found at [http://cdli.ucla.edu/P222380](http://cdli.ucla.edu/P222380)) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the text with the help of Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). Gloss all the words of the text (except for the verbal form) in the way it is done in this textbook. Then go to the ETCSRI edition of the text ([http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etscri/Q001042](http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etscri/Q001042)), click on the “proofing” link on the left side of the page, and compare your glosses with ETCSRI’s glossing. Which grammatical elements are not written in the orthography of this early text?
Lesson 4: Genitive constructions

The genitive construction in ex. (28) is of the most familiar type both in terms of its meaning and construction: it expresses possession and the possessor, the noun phrase in the genitive case, occupies P3 of the noun phrase whose head is the possessum.

(28) Iri-kagina 1 4:9 (Lagash, 24th. c.) (Q001124)

gud | dinjir-re2-ne-ke4
P3gud | P2[PL,dinjir=PL,en=PL,ak]=P2,e
P3ox | P2[PL,god=PL,PL=GEN]=P2,GEN

"The oxen of the gods"

There exist, however, other types of genitive constructions which differ from this common type. This lesson describes the most important characteristics of three “atypical” genitive constructions. In modifying genitive constructions the noun phrase in the genitive functions as the modifier of the head, which also affect its syntactic behaviour: it occupies P2 but not P3 of the noun phrase. In left-dislocated genitive constructions the possessor occupies a position before the noun phrase whose head is the possessum. In genitive constructions with suspended cliticization only the last of the coordinate genitive constructions is case-marked.

4.1 Modifying genitive constructions

In these constructions the relation between the head and the noun phrase in the genitive is not possession, rather, the noun phrase in the genitive functions as the modifier of the head. Accordingly the noun phrase in the genitive stands in P2 of the noun phrase whose head it modifies; and a possessor, see ex. (29), a possessive pronominal enclitic, see exx. (30), (31) and (35), or a modifying non-finite verbal form, see ex. (32), may therefore only stand after its genitive case-marker.

(29) Iri-kagina 1 4:10–11 (Lagash, 24th. c.) (Q001124)

ki | šum2-ma | ensi3-ka
P3ki | P2[PL,šum=PL,ak]=P3,š
P3place | P2[PL,onion=PL,GEN]=P3,GEN

"the onion-plot of the ruler"

(30) Gudea Cyl. B 10:1 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

sipad | anše-ka-ne2
P3sipad | P2[PL,anše=PL,ak]=P3,ane=P3,š
P3herder | P2[PL,donkey=PL,GEN]=P3,3.SG.H.POSS=P3,GEN

"his donkey herder"

---

8 Adnominal ablative functioning as modifiers may also stand in P2, see Lesson 13, section 13.1 below.
28 — Genitive constructions

(31) Gudea Cyl. A 10:27 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ki banšur-ra-ŋu₆
₃ki [₃banšur=₃psak]=₃ŋu=₃ø
₃place [₃table=₃pSGEN]=₃1.SG.POSS=₃pL3.NH
“at my dining place”

(32) VS 14, 162 obv. 3:2 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P020173)
4 usan₃₃ mar gibil
₃us [₃mar=₃psak] [₃gibil-ød]=₃ø
₃place [₃onion =₃pPGEN]=₃pSGEN=₃ABS
“4 new wagon whips”

If ex. (29) were altered by placing the possessor ensik=ak between the word šum “onion” and its genitive case-marker, as in possessive genitive constructions, then it would have a different meaning as illustrated in the following hypothetical example:

(33)
₃*[ki [₃šum [₃ensik=₃psak]=₃psak]=₃ø
₃place [₃onion [₃ruler=₃pGEN]=₃pGEN=₃pABS
“The place of the ruler’s onion”

Functionally modifying genitive constructions compensate for the lack of derivational affixes deriving adjectives from nouns.

Modifying genitives have two main subtypes: i) non-referential genitives and ii) locative genitives.

In non-referential genitives the structural unit in P2 is a noun without reference to an existing entity. In exx. (29)—(31) above the words šum “onion”, anše “donkey”, and banšur “table”, respectively, do not refer to an existing entity; they modify the meaning of the preceding word, the head. A sipad anše=ak, for example, is a kind of herder.

In a non-referential genitive construction the structural unit in P2 may only consist of a noun or another non-referential genitive. In ex. (34) below the non-referential genitive ₃tug [₃[gu anše=ak=ak]] “donkey neck” functions as the modifier in another, superordinate non-referential genitive: ₃tug [₃[ggu anše=ak=ak]], “donkey neck cloths”.

(34) TSA 31 obv. 2:4 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P221392)
26 tug₂ gu₂ anše-ka sumun
₂tug [₂gu [₂anše=₂psak]]=₂ak
₂place [₂onion [₂ruler=₂pGEN]=₂pGEN]=₂ABS
“26 old donkey neck clothes”

In locative genitives the noun phrase in the genitive is a geographical name which denotes the location of the head:

(35) Gudea 8 6 (RIME 3/1.01.07.008) (Lagash, 22nd c.) (Q000892)
e₂ njiršu ki-ka-ne₂
₂[e [₂njiršu=₂psak]=₂ane=₂ø
₂temple [₂GN=₂pGEN]=₂3.SG.H.POSS=₂pABS
“his temple in Girsu”
4.2 Left-dislocated genitive constructions

The possessor normally occupies P3 of the noun phrase. Under certain conditions, however, the possessor may occupy a position before the head of the noun phrase, i.e., it may be left-dislocated. This construction is called “anticipatory genitive” in earlier literature.

In a left-dislocated genitive construction the possessor is in the genitive, and P3 is occupied by a resumptive pronominal enclitic that agrees in person, gender, and number with the possessor. In ex. (36) below the possessor \(e_2\) “house, temple” does not occupy P3 of the noun phrase \(ni_2\ gal\) “great awesomeness”, but is left-dislocated and is in the genitive. P3 is occupied by the pronominal enclitic =/be/.

(36) Gudea Cyl. A 9:17 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
\[\begin{align*}
e_2-a & \quad ni_2 \quad gal-be_2 \\
p_1e_2 & =p_5ak \\
p_1 \text{house} & =p_5 \text{GEN} \\
p_1 \text{fear} & \quad p_2 \text{great-TL} = p_3.3.\text{SG.NH.POSS} = p_5 \text{ABS} \\
kalam-ma & \quad mu-ri \\
p_1 \text{kalam} & =p_6 a \\
p_1 \text{land} & =p_5 1.1 \quad \text{VEN-LI.SYN-settle-3.SG.S} \\
\text{“The temple’s great awesomeness settles upon the Land”}
\end{align*}\]

The left-dislocated possessor and the possessum may be separated by another noun phrase:

(37) Gudea Cyl. A 17:17 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
\[\begin{align*}
e_2-a & \quad d_4 \text{en-ki-ke} & \quad ni_2 \text{-}hur-be_2 \\
p_1e_2 & =p_5 ak \\
p_1 \text{temple} & =p_5 \text{GEN} \\
p_1 \text{plan} & =p_3.3.\text{SG.NH.POSS} = p_5 3.\text{NH} \\
\text{si} & \quad mu-na-sa_2 \\
p_2 \text{Si} & =p_5 \phi \\
p_1 \text{horn} & =p_5 \text{ABS} \quad \text{VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-3.SG.H.A-equal-3.SG.P} \\
\text{“Enki put right the design of the temple for him.”}
\end{align*}\]

The possessum of the left-dislocated possessor may be the participant of a relative clause, in this case the left-dislocated possessor may stand in front of the relative clause’s head noun:

(38) Gudea Cyl. A 17:11 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
\[\begin{align*}
d_4 \text{en-lil} & =p_2 la_2 \quad lu_2 \quad \text{šag=ga-na-kam} \\
p_1 \text{enlil} & =p_5 ak \\
p_1 \text{lu} & \quad \text{[p_5 \text{šag}=p_5 \text{ane}=p_5 \phi]\}=p_5 \phi=\text{am-}\phi \\
p_2 \text{DN} & =p_5 \text{GEN} \\
p_1 \text{man} & \quad \text{[p_5 \text{heart}=p_3.3.\text{SG.H.POSS}=p_5 \text{GEN}]} = p_5 \text{ABS}=\text{COP-3.SG.S} \\
\text{“He is a man of Enlil’s heart.”}
\end{align*}\]
but only the last one is case 
Suspended constituent which is relevant to 
making the possessor 

(39) Gudea Statue B 8:41–42 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P232275) 
gus-de₂-a ensi₂ lagaši₂-ka 
p₁gudea p₁ensi k p₁[\text{gula}=p₁ak] = p₁ak 
p₁PN p₁ruler p₁[\text{PN}=p₁GEN] = p₁GEN 
lu₂ inim-ne₂ ibe-kur₂-a 
p₁lu p₁[\text{Inim}=p₁ane=p₁φ] 
sp₂-š₂₃-kur-s₂₃-e₂₃-a] = p₁φ 
p₁man p₁[\text{word}=p₁3.SG.H.POSS=p₁ABS \text{FIN}=3.SG.NH.P-change-3.SG.A-SUB]=p₁ABS 
“the man who changes the orders of Gudea, the ruler of Lagash” 

In the following example the possessum of the left-dislocated possessor 
e=ak “house=GEN” is itself a left-dislocated possessor. This doubly left-dislocated genitive construction may be derived from an underlying double genitive construction in two steps as is shown in (a–c) below. 

(40) Gudea Cyl. A 6:1–2 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7) 
e₂-a du₃-ba mul kug-ba 
p₁e=p₁ak p₁du=p₁e=p₁ak p₁mul p₁kug=p₁e=p₁a 
p₁house=p₁GEN p₁building=p₁3.SG.NH.POSS=p₁GEN p₁star p₁holy=p₁3.SG.NH.POSS=p₁L₂.NH 
gu₃ ma-ra-a-de₂ 
p₁gù=p₁(φ) 
sp₂-ma=ak-s₃₅₁-e₂₃-s₂₅₁-n₂₅₁-de₂₅₁ 
p₁Voice=p₁ABS VEN-2.SG-DAT=1₂-pour-3.SG.A 
“She will announce to you the holy stars of the building of the house.” 

(c) 
p₁e=p₁ak p₁du=p₁e=p₁ak 
p₁mul p₁kug=p₁e=p₁a 
p₁house=p₁GEN p₁building=p₁3.SG.NH.POSS=p₁GEN p₁star p₁holy=p₁3.SG.NH.POSS=p₁L₂.NH 

(b) 
p₁du p₁[\text{e=p₁ak}] = p₁ak 
p₁mul p₁kug=p₁e=p₁a 
p₁building p₁[\text{house}=p₁GEN] = p₁GEN p₁star p₁holy=p₁3.SG.NH.POSS=p₁L₂.NH 

(a) 
p₁mul p₁kug p₁[\text{du} = p₁ak] = p₁a 
p₁star p₁holy p₁[\text{building} = p₁\text{house}=p₁GEN] = p₁L₂.NH 

In Sumerian the order of the words preceding the verb is determined by 
the information structure of the clause. Information structure is understood “as a 
phenomenon of information packaging that responds to the immediate 
communicative needs of interlocutors” (Krifka: 2007: 13). The left-dislocated genitive functions to move the possessor into a sentence-initial position, thereby 
making the possessor the topic of the clause, as a result of which the clause will be 
construed as being about the possessor, i.e., the clause will express information 
which is relevant to and which increases the listener or reader’s knowledge of this 
constituent. 

4.3 Genitive constructions with suspended cliticization 
Suspended cliticization in Sumerian is the grammatical phenomenon when in an 
appositive or coordinate construction only the last unit of the construction may 
be case-marked. Suspended cliticization in appositive constructions is often 
attested in inscriptions of the 3rd millennium BCE. In ex. (41) below the 
construction has three units: enlil, lugal kur-ak, and abba dinir=enē=ak, 
but only the last one is case-marked with the ergative.
One could argue that in constructions like ex. (41) above, the three units of the appositive construction are considered as a single unit from syntactic point of view, consequently the ergative case-marker of the case governed by the verb attaches to its very end. The same happens in ex. (42) below, where the appositive construction nammahne, ensik lagaš=ak “Nam-mahne, the ruler of Lagash” functions as the possessor of the possessum namtil “life, well-being”. The appositive construction is regarded as one unit, the genitive case-marker governed by the head of the noun phrase therefore attaches to the end of its second unit.

Suspended cliticization is also attested with coordinate constructions like ex. (43) below. Here the two coordinate noun phrases, two genitive constructions, “the pedestal of Enlil” and “the pedestal of Utu”, are case-marked only once with the locative2, the case governed by the verb of the sentence.

Similarly to ex. (43), ex. (44) too contains two coordinate genitive constructions; and the two noun phrases are also case-marked here only once with the case governed by the verb of the sentence, the absolutive. In this example, however, also the genitive is suspended: only the second genitive construction is marked with the genitive (ensik kurkur=ak), the case-marker is not present in the first one (baragbarag kiengir). In ex. (44) therefore clitic suspension occurs twice: once with the case governed by the verb, once with the case governed by the possessum.
In ex. (45) the coordinate construction consists of three genitive constructions, and the whole construction is left-dislocated. Here too, the possessor is case-marked with the genitive only in the last of the three genitive constructions.

(45) En-metena 4 5:4–8 (RIME 1.09.05.04) (Q001117)

\begin{align*}
\text{dumu unug}^\text{ki}, & \quad \text{dumu larsam}^\text{ki}, \quad \text{dumu pas-ti-birs-ra}^\text{ki}-\text{ka} \\
[l_P^1 \text{dumu} \quad p_P^1 \text{unug}] & \quad [l_P^1 \text{dumu} \quad p_P^1 \text{larsam}] & \quad [l_P^1 \text{dumu} \quad p_P^3 \text{patibira}]=p_P^3 \text{ak}=p_P^3 \text{ak} \\
[l_P^1 \text{child} \quad p_P^3 \text{GN}_1] & \quad [l_P^1 \text{child} \quad p_P^3 \text{GN}_2] & \quad [l_P^1 \text{child} \quad p_P^3 \text{GN}_3]=p_P^3 \text{GEN}=p_P^3 \text{GEN} \\
[\text{ama}]-\text{gi}_4-\text{be}^2, & \quad e-\text{par} \\
\text{p_P^1 \text{amargi}}=p_P^3 \text{be}=p_P^3 \emptyset & \quad \text{s_i}-\text{s}_11-\text{n}_112-\text{Jar}-\text{s}_14 \emptyset \\
\text{p_P^1 \text{freedom}}=p_P^3 \text{3.SG.NH.POSS}=p_P^3 \text{ABS} & \quad \text{FIN}-3.\text{SG.H.A-place}-3.\text{SG.P} \\
\end{align*}

“He released the citizens of Unug, the citizens of Larsam, and the citizens of Patibira.”

Further readings
A more detailed description of the left-dislocated genitive constructions can be found in Zólyomi 1996b and 2005.

Suspended cliticization in texts from the 3rd millennium BCE is discussed in detail by Wilcke 1990: 459–464; Wilcke does not use this term, which is adapted from the term “suspended affixation”, used mainly in linguistic works on Turkish, another agglutinative language.

Exercises
4.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

4.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

4.3 Go to the ETCSRI corpus (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/corpus) and write “N5=GEN” (without the quotation marks) in the Search Oracc box. Find and make a list of the graphemes that may be used to write the genitive case-marker depending on the morpheme or sound before and/or after the case-marker! Try to find differences depending on the location or period of the texts! If you are uncertain about the morphological make-up of a word, follow the link to the text, then either place the cursor over the word in question, or click on the word “Proofing” on the left side of the page.

4.4 Translate the following expressions into Sumerian. Provide morphemic segmentation and glossing to them, use bracketing, as well. All expressions are assumed to be in the absolutive.

a) the true son of the king (\textit{zid-\partial = true-TL})
b) the true sons of the mighty king (\textit{ma\textbf{h}-\partial = mighty-TL})
c) the true sons of the mighty kings
d) the true sons of the mighty king of the land
e) the true sons of the mighty king of all the lands
f) the true sons of the mighty kings of all the lands
g) the shepherd of his donkeys
h) the shepherd of his mother’s donkeys
i) the shepherd of his kind mother’s donkeys (\textit{sag-’a = kind-PT})
j) the shepherd of his kind mother’s healthy donkeys (\textit{zid-\partial = healthy-TL})
k) the mother of his donkey shepherd
Genitive constructions — 33

4.5 Translate the following expressions into Sumerian, and then left-dislocate the underlined expressions. Provide morphemic segmentation and glossing to them, use bracketing, as well. All expressions are assumed to be in the absolutive.

a) the king’s scribe f) the king of all lands
b) my wife’s children g) the hero’s donkey
c) the servant of my father’s house h) the father of all gods
d) the servant of my father’s house i) the well-being of my brothers
e) the courtyard of my lord j) the shepherd’s garment

4.6 Determine which sentences contain a left-dislocated genitive construction only on the basis of the morphemic segmentations! What is the trick?

a) mu-be-e anzag=ta kurkur=e gu=ø i-m-b-a-si-si-e
b) namnundakiṣara=ak ur=be=ø na=’a mu-ns-a-n-n-du-ø
c) id=be=’a uš=ø mu-r-a-n-de-ø
d) e melem=be=ø an=e uš=’a=sê

e) ū=nu=ak ni gal=ø=be kalam=’a mu-n-ri-ø
f) ibila dudu=ak=ene=e kag=anene=’a ba-ni-n-gen-eš
g) ane=ø saŋ=ane=sê diŋir=ø=am-ø

h) e ninjirsuk=ak=ø eridu=gen ki sikil-ø=’a b-i-n-du-ø
i) gudea lu e=ø du=’a=ak=ak namtil=ane=ø ḫa-i-ṣud-ø

4.7 Transform the constructions of exx. (43)–(45) into constructions without suspended cliticization. You only have to produce the morphemic segmentation and glossing (2nd and 3rd line of the examples).

4.8 In Lesson 3, section 3.1 above, ex. (46) was used to demonstrate the structure of the Sumerian nominal template. Relabel its brackets now on the basis of what you have learnt in this lesson about modifying genitive constructions.

(46) tri-kiṣara 1 3:18 (RIME 1.9.9.1) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222607)
si-pa-d udu siki-ka-ke-enna


“the shepherds of sheep of wool (= wool-bearing sheep)”

4.9 Transliterate the text Gudea 18 (RIME 3/1.1.7.18, ex. 2) (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232472) (Volk 2012 no. 6) (a photo of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P232472) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the text. Gloss all the words of the text (except for the verbal form) in the way it is done in this textbook. Then go to the ETCRSRI edition of the text (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcrsri/Q000896), click on the “proofing” link on the left side of the page, and compare your glosses with ETCRSRI’s glossing. Compare the orthography of this text with that of Ur-Nanshe 26 treated in the exercises of the previous lesson. What are the differences?
Lesson 5: Pronouns, adverbs, and numerals

This lesson focuses on the closed word class of pronouns: the independent personal, the interrogative, the indefinite, the reflexive, and the demonstrative pronouns. The enclitic possessive pronoun is discussed in Lesson 3 above. The second part of the lesson describes the adverbs of manner and the forms and function of the adverbiative enclitic. The lesson concludes with a section on numerals in Sumerian with an emphasis on the syntax of the numeral expressions.

5.1 Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns

Unlike in languages like English or German, independent personal pronouns play a rather restricted role in Sumerian. The main reason for this is that verbal participants that are contextually identifiable are referred to not by independent pronouns but by pronominal affixes incorporated in the finite verbal form (see Lesson 6, section 6.5 below). In ex. (47) the “he” pronoun of the English translation corresponds to the 3rd ps. sg. pronominal suffix in S14 of the Sumerian finite verb.

(47) Gudea Cyl. A 2:26–27 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

kug \d{na}2-tum3-dug3-ra mu-na-\d{en},
kug natumdug-ra s\d{mu}-\d{a}nim3-a\d{en}-\d{s12}\d{en}-\d{s14}\d{en}
holy DN=DAT.H VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-go-3.SG.S

“He went to holy Gatumdug.”

Independent personal pronouns are used as a rule only when their referents function either as contrastive topic or as focus. In ex. (48) below the first pronoun (/\d{en}/ “you”) is in focus, i.e., it expresses an exhaustive identification, as the English translation also indicates. The second pronoun (/\d{ne}/ “I”) expresses a contrast to the other participant.

Both as contrastive topic and as focus the pronouns in ex. (48) may also have been marked with prosodic prominence; in contrast, the verbal pronominal affixes are always unaccented.

(48) Enmerkar and En-suhgir-ana 278 (ETCSL 1.8.2.4)

\d{sig}-ta igi-nim-\d{še}3 en gal-be2 za-e-me-en
\d{sig}-ta iginim=\d{še} en gal=be=\d{e} ze=\d{e}=me-en
low=ABL upper=TERM lord big=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS 2.SG.PR=ABS=COP-2.SG.S
\d{ne26}=e us2-sa-zu-me-en,
\d{ne}=\d{ø} us2=a=zu=\d{ø}=me-en
1.SG.PR=ABS follow-PT=2.SG.POSS=ABS=COP-1.SG.S

“(For the people) from the south to the highlands, their great lord is you (and no one else). As for me, I am indeed only second one to you.”

Table 5.1. below shows the forms of the independent pronouns. The 1st and 2nd ps. pl. forms are supplied with various periphrastic constructions. Note that the 3rd ps. forms belong to those which are attested both in forms with two
similar and with two different vowels (see Lesson 2, section 2.2. above); the former is the form used in the 3rd millennium BCE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1ST PERSON</th>
<th>2ND PERSON</th>
<th>3RD PERSON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG ści-e (/ṣe/)</td>
<td>za-e (/ze/)</td>
<td>a-ne (/ane/, e-ne (/ene/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL —</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>a-ne-ne (/enanē/), e-ne-ne (/enene/)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: The independent pronouns

Sumerian exhibits an ergativity split according to the semantics of the noun phrase. Nouns are marked ergatively, while independent personal pronouns are marked accusatively, i.e. they do not distinguish formally between A and S.

The interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns behave like nouns, and accordingly they take case-markers. The human interrogative pronoun is formed from the stem /aba/, while the non-human from the stem /ana/. The stem /me(n)/ is used only with adverbial cases.

a-aba (aba=ø : who=ABS) = “who”, “whom”
a-aba-a (aba=e : who=ERG) = “who”
a-na (ana=ø : what=ABS) = “what”
me-a (me=a : wh=L1) = “where”
me-še₃ (me=še : wh=TERM) = “where to”

Constituent questions in Sumerian follow two main patterns in terms of the form and place of the interrogative pronouns. An interrogative pronoun may occur: i) in a sentence-initial position; or ii) immediately before the verb. In sentence-initial position it is as a rule accompanied with a 3rd. ps. sg. enclitic copula, see ex. (49) below. When it stands immediately before the verb, then it usually occurs alone, see ex. (50).

(49) Proverbs collection 2 + 6 Segment D 23 (ETCSL 6.1.02)
“Who caulked the boat?”

(50) Enmerkar and En-suṣig-ana 121 (ETCSL 1.8.2.4)
“What shall I say to the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba?”

The indefinite pronoun

The pronoun /name/ “some, any” is used as an indefinite modifier, most often in negative clauses as in exx. (51)–(53) below:
The words *lu₂* “person” and *ni₃₂* “thing” may also be used in a pronominal function with the meaning “someone, anyone” and “something, anything”, respectively, without the modifier *na-me*, see, e.g., ex. (54) below.

The reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns behave like nouns, and accordingly they take case-markers. The reflexive pronouns are formed from the stem */ni(te)/ with the addition of a possessive enclitic. As a rule the allomorph */ni*/ occurs before a consonant, while */nite/ occurs before a vowel. The 1st and 2nd ps. pl. forms are not attested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1ST PERSON</th>
<th>2ND PERSON</th>
<th>3RD PERSON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni₂-te- ≠ni₃₁₀ (ni=ŋu)</td>
<td>ni₂-te- ≠ni₃ (ni=ŋu)</td>
<td>h.: ni₂-te-ne₂ (nite=ane)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ni₂-te-ne₂ (nite=anén)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: The reflexive pronouns

The form */nite/ may also be written as *ne-te-*, see ex. (56) below, or as *mete*(TE+ME)-, see ex. (57) below in the 3rd millennium BCE. The pronoun may occur without a possessive enclitic when used as the object of a compound verb, see ex. (480) in Lesson 16 below.

The reflexive pronoun is used when the A or the S of a verb is coreferent with one of the other participants of the verb; except for the participant in the dative, in which case the middle prefix */ba/- is used, see Lesson 11, section 11.4 below:
(55) TMH NF 1-2, 53 obv. 8 (Ur, 21st c.) (P134365)
ni₂-te-ne-ne ba-ra-an-ša₂-i₃-aš₂
nite=anenē=ø sagonal₁₃₅₁₁n₃₁₂₁₅Ša₃₁₅eš
“They sold themselves.”

(56) NWHCM 2009.174 obv. 14–16 (Umma, 23th c.) (P480080)
ne-te-ni-ta, kar-da-hi₃-ši₃, ba-genden
nete=ane-ta kardahi=še ba-genden-ø
self=3.SG.H.POSS=ABL GN-TERM MID-go-3.SG.S
“He left on his own for Kardahi.”

(57) E-ana-tum 3 3:15–16 (RIME 1.09.03.03) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001067)
iri mete-na, šu he₂=na-zi₃g₃
iri nite=ane=’a šu=ø s₁₁₃₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₅₁₅₁₅zig₃ø
“May there be a revolt against him in his own city!”

A comparison of exx. (57) and (58) shows that when the reflexive pronoun functions as possessor, it emphasizes that the possesum belongs to a particular person.

(58) En-metena 1 6:26–29 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
nam-lu₃lu₇ iri-na šu u3-na-zig₃
namulu=ε iri=ane=’a šu=ø s₁₁₃₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₅₁₅₁₅zig₃ø
šag₄ iri-na-ka, ha-ne₂-gaz=ze₃₅(AB₂.ŠA₁₇.GE)
šag iri=ane=ak=’a s₁₁₃₁₅₁₁₁₁₁₅₁₅₁₅gaz₃ø
heart city=3.SG.H.POSS=GEN=1.L MOD=1.L-3.SG.H-kill-3.SG.A
“After there has been a revolt against him in his city, may the people kill him in the middle of his city!”

Demonstrative pronouns

Five demonstrative pronouns can be identified but the semantic distinction between them is not always clear. The pronouns =/e(n)/, =/be/, =/re(n)/, and =/še/ are used as enclitics. The pronoun (=)/ne(n)/ is used both as enclitic, see exx. (62) and (63) below, and as an independent pronoun, see exx. (64) and (65) below. The pronoun /ur/ is used only as an independent pronoun, see ex. (67) below. The most frequently attested of them are =/be/, see ex. (59) below, =/e(n)/, see exx. (59) and (60) below, and (=)/ne(n)/, in this order. The demonstrative pronouns =/re(n)/ and =/še/ are used mainly in fixed expressions.

(59) Ur-Namma 19 2:7–8 (RIME 3/2.1.1.19) (Ur, 21st c.) (Q000946)
e₂=ba a-ba₄-nanna-gen₇,
₃₃e₂=be₇₋ak aba=ø-nanna-gen=ø
₄₁leve=₃₋DEM=₃₋GEN who=ABS-DN-EQU=ABS
mu=be₂
mu=be=ø-am=ø
name=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS=COP-3.SG.S
“Of this levee ‘Who-is-like-the-god-Nanna?’ is its name.”
Numerals, pronouns, and adverbs — 39

(60) Rimush 18 18–22 (RIME 2.1.2.18) (Agade, 23rd c.) (Q000842)
lu₂₁₈
person
im-sar-ra-e, ab-ha-lam-me-a

“Whoever obliterates this inscription, ....”

(61) The three ox-drivers form Adab 15 (ETCSL 5.6.5)
amar-e a-ba-kam

“Whom does this calf belong to?”

(62) Gudea Cyl. A 1:17 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ud-ne maš-ŋi₆-ka,

“On this day, in a dream, ....”

(63) Gudea Statue B 9:6–7 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P232275)
gud-genz, ud=ne-na ḫez-gaz

“May he be slaughtered like an ox on the very day!”

(64) Enki and Ninhursaga 201 (ETCSL 1.1.1)
a-na-am³ ne-e

“What is this?”

(65) FaoS 17, 45 10 (Nippur, 21st c.) (P123220)
ne-me arad₂ ḫa-me

“(Ipquṣa and Shu-Nimmug sold their sister Ala-NE. If she stops working,) it is these (i.e., the brothers) who should be slaves (in her place).”

(66) The Debate between Grain and Sheep 20 (ETCSL 5.3.2)
nam-lu₂₁₂₁ ud-re-a-ke₁-ne

“The people of those days”

It is likely that these demonstrative pronouns participated in a three-degree set “this” (near the speaker), “that” (within view of the speaker), “that” (outside of the view of the speaker). The following groupings are attested in grammatical and lexical texts:
“this” near the speaker “that” within view of the speaker “that” outside of the view of the speaker

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/et(n)/</td>
<td>/še/</td>
<td>/re(n)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ne(t)/</td>
<td>/še/</td>
<td>/re(n)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/et(n)/</td>
<td>/re(n)/</td>
<td>/be/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: The demonstrative pronouns

In actual texts, however, the pronoun /be/ often appears rather to have the meaning “this”, see, e.g., ex. (59) above or ex. (106) below. It is also often used as a quasi-definite article, and it is likely to be the source of the 3rd ps. sg. non-human possessive enclitic. The pronoun /ur/ is often attested with the equative case-marker as in ex. (67) below.

(67) Gudea Statue B 6:77–7:3 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P232275)

ē₂ urs-gen₁ dim₂-ma, ensi₂ dili-e

ē ur-gen dim₃-a=∅ ensi dili=e

house DEM=EQU make-PT=ABS ruler single=ERG

⁴₃nin-gir₂-su-ra, nu-na-du₃,
ninnirsuk=ra ₃₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁


“No ruler ever built a temple fashioned like this for Ningirsu.”

5.2 Adverbs of manner and the adverbiative

There are two ways to form adverbs of manner in Sumerian: i) With the adverbiative enclitic /eš/; ii) with the enclitic /be/. First we discuss the adverbiative in detail as its exact classification is controversial.

The basic form of the adverbiative enclitic is /eš/. In many contexts the enclitic of the adverbiative and the terminative case-marker are written with the same grapheme, ŠE₁, which may be read either as –še₁ or –eš₂, consequently the adverbiative and the terminative case are not always easy to tell apart in practice. It is the easiest to distinguish them after words ending in a consonant. In ex. (68) below the spelling clearly shows that the form of the adverbiative is /eš/, in contrast to the terminative in ex. (69) whose basic form is /še/.

(68) Gudea Cyl. A 24:8 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

ē₂ lugal-na zid-de₁-š₂ mu-du₁,

ē lugal=ane=ak=∅ zid-∅=eš ₃₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁₅₆₇₈₉ₐ–ₐ₁


“He built his master’s temple in the appropriate manner.

(69) Gudea Statue B 3:8–9 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P232275)

gu₃=de₂-a, sipad zid-še₃ kalam-ma

gudea=∅ sipad zid-∅=še kalam=’a

PN=ABS shepherd right-TL=TERM land=L1

ba-ni-pad=da-a


“(when Ningirsu) chose Gudea for (being) the true shepherd of the Land for himself, ....”

After a word ending in a vowel the terminative case-marker /še/ reduces to /š/; the adverbiative and the terminative are therefore difficult to distinguish
in this morphological environment, see Attinger (1993: 253), who offers a list of morphological criteria to be used to distinguish between them.

The /e/ of the adverbative enclitic may contract with last vowel of the word it attaches to, and the syllable closing /š/ is often not written as the contrast between the orthography in ex. (70) and ex. (71) demonstrates.

(70) Gudea Statue B 6:76 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
gil-sa  im-mi-ak
gil-sa=eš  s₂ši₄=ma₃₆=m₅₁₉i₃₄₁₉=n₃₁₉ak₃₁₉=∅
“After building the E-ninnu for Ningirsu, Gudea, ruler of Lagash,) donated (the booty) to it for ever.” = lit. “(He) made (the Eninnu) treat (the booty) in the manner of a treasure.”

(71) Ur-Namma 19 2:5–6 (Ur, 21st c.) (Q000946)
urim₃-e  gil-sa ša₅,  he₂-mi-ak
urim-e  gilsa=eš  s₂ha₃=ša₃₆=m₅₁₉i₃₄₁₉=n₃₁₉ak₃₁₉=∅
“He donated indeed (the drained swamp) to Urím for ever.” = lit. “He made indeed Urím treat (the drained swamp) in the manner of a treasure.”

The function of the adverbiative is to form an adverb of manner. The adverbiative is therefore not a case which signals a grammatical relationship between words, but a kind of derivational formative that functions to change the word class of an expression. The adverbiative can be attached to nouns, see exx. (70) and (71) above, to nouns modified by a non-finite verb, see ex. (72), and to non-finite verbs, see ex. (68) above. All these expressions change into an adverb. The adverbiative enclitic is probably a loan from the Akkadian terminative-adverbial –iš.

(72) Enki’s journey to Nibru 71 (ETCSL 1.1.4)
e₂-engur-ra-ke₄  šir₃  dug₃-ge-eš  im-me
eengur₉-e  šir  dug₉-o-eš  s₂ši₄=ma₃₆=m₅₁₉i₃₄₁₉=n₃₁₉ak₃₁₉=∅
TN=3.NH  song  sweet-TL-ADV  FIN-VEN-3.SG.NH-L3-speak.PF-3.SG.A
“He praised the E-engura temple in the manner of sweet songs”

The other way to form an adverb of manner is to attach the enclitic =/be/ to a tenseless, see ex. (73), or a preterite non-finite verbal form, see (74) below.

(73) Enlil in the Ekur 75 (ETCSL 4.05.1)
abzu  barag  kug-ga  gal-be₂  tum₂-ma-zu
abzu  barag  kug₃=a  gal-o=be  tum₃-a=zu
GN  dais  holy=L2.NH  great-TL=3.SG.NH.POSS  suit=PF=2.SG.POSS
“That you are greatly suited for the abzu, the holy throne ....”

(74) Letter from Ishbi-Erra to Ibbi-Suen 25 (ETCSL 3.1.17)
š-e-ba-ne₂  ul₄-la-be₂  al-ti₉-la
šeba=a₅e=∅  ul₅-a=be  s₂₃=ša₃₅₁=ni₃₅₄=∅₃₅₉  a=∅=am-∅
ration=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS  hurry=PT=3.SG.NH.POSS  FIN-complete=3.SG.S-SUB=ABS=COP=3.SG.S
“The thing is that his grain rations have quickly been exhausted.”

The enclitic =/be/ may well be related to the 3rd ps. sg. non-human possessive enclitic, but the origin of this construction is unclear. From the Old
Babylonian period onwards the meaning of this form is occasionally reinforced with an additional adverbative:

(75) Anam A 38 (ETCSL 2.7.1.1)

\[\text{en-lil-še} \quad \text{maž-bez-eš₂} \quad \text{naž-me-en}\]

\[\text{en-lil-še} \quad \text{maž-be=eš} \quad \text{naž-a=o-me=en}\]

DN=TERM \quad \text{great}=3.SG.NH.POSS=ADV \quad \text{exist-TL}=\text{ABS}=\text{COP}=2.SG.S

“You are grandly there for Enlil!”

5.3 Numerals

Sumerians used a sexagesimal number system, i.e., they counted in multiples of sixty. As numerals normally were written with logograms, the reconstruction of their phonological and morphological form is not without problem. The numbers 1–5, 10, 20, 60 and 3600 are expressed with unanalyzable words, while the other numbers are probably compound numerals which are either additive or multiplicative, or both.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Sumerian Numerals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>/diš/ or /aš/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>/min/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>/eš/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>/limmu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>/ya/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>/aš/ (= 5+1 */ya/ + /aš/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>/imin/ (= 5+2 */ya/ + /min/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>/ussu/ (= 5+3 */ya/ + /eš/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>/limmu/ (= 5+4 */ya/ + /limmu/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>/u/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A sentence like “John bought 4 bulls” may be expressed in two different ways as far as the numeral modifier of “bulls” is concerned in Sumerian. In construction a) the cardinal number functions as the modifier of the head noun as in exx. (76) and (77) below:

(76) Gudea 56 3:3-4 (RIME 3/1.1.7.56) (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P234436)

\[\text{šita₃(KAK.GIŠ)} \quad \text{ur} \quad \text{sa₃} \quad \text{3-še₃}, \quad \text{mu-na-dim₂} \]

\[\text{šita} \quad \text{ur} \quad \text{p₂=sa₃} \quad \text{p₂=še₃} \quad \text{s₄=mu₃=nn₅=sa₃=dim₅=š₁₄} \]

\[\text{mace} \quad \text{lion} \quad \text{p₂=head} \quad \text{p₂=TERM} \quad \text{VEN}-3.SG-DAT=3.SG.H.A-make=3.SG.P \]

“He fashioned a mace with three lion heads from it.”

(77) En-metena 1 3:25–27 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)

\[\text{SAHAR.DU₃=TAK₄=bez₃} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{5-a} \]

\[\text{SAHARDUTAK=be=∅} \quad \text{p₁=ki} \quad \text{po₅=∅₅} \quad \text{a} \]

\[\text{burial.mound=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS} \quad \text{p₁=place} \quad \text{p₀=∅₅=2.L₂.NH} \]

\[\text{i₃-mi=dub} \]

\[\text{s₃=mu₅=be₅=b₅=∅₃=∅₃=∅₅=dub₅=∅₅} \]

\[\text{FIN=VEN=3.SG.NH.L₂=3.SG.H.A-pile.up=3.SG.P} \]

“He piled up their burial mounds in five places.”

In construction b) the cardinal number functions as the predicate complement and the counted thing or person as the subject of a copular clause as in exx. (78) and (79) below.
There is a discrepancy between spoken and written forms of metrological expressions in Sumerian. In spoken language the word order is “measured item - measure - numeral”, while in writing, especially in administrative texts, the norm becomes “numeral - measure - measured item” by the end of the 3rd millennium BCE. In these texts the written word order is governed by scribal convention and not by grammatical rules. The tendency that numerals precede the quantified nouns apparently serves visual clarity. The former order, which reflects the spoken language, is used in ex. (80) below, while the latter one is used in ex. (81).

"If a man divorced (his) wife, the ruler received 5 shekels of silver."

A construction in which the numeral stands in apposition to the quantified noun and the possessive enclitic attached to the numeral agrees in person, gender and number with the quantified noun functions to make the expression definite:

"A closed case of royal judges, seven of them" = “A closed case of the seven royal judges"
The numeral with the possessive enclitic may also be used without an immediately preceding noun:

(84) NRVN 1, 224 obv. 8 (Nippur, 21st c.) (P122441)

limmu-ne-ne

four=3.PL.POSS=TERM

Lit. “for their four” = “for the four of them”

Ordinal numbers are formed from cardinal numbers with a suffix -/kama(k)/:

(85) Gudea Cyl. A 23:4 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

ud 7-kam-ma-ka  e-e  im-mi-dabš

day 7-ORD=L1  house=L3.NH  FIN-VEN=3.SG.NH=L3-3.SG.H.A-encircle=3.SG.P

“By the seventh day he had set them (= the stelae) up around the temple.”

Further readings


For the different constructions with numeral modifiers, see Jagersma 2010: 246-255 and 706-707.

The adverbiative was first identified by Attinger (1993: 253–255), who considers it a case, unlike this textbook. An important contribution to its form, spellings, and history is Meyer-Laurin 2012. She argues against the assumption that the adverbiative is a kind of derivational formative, but does not rule out that the Sumerian adverbiative =/eš/ was a loan from the Akkadian terminative-adverbial –iš (2012:236).

Exercises

5.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

5.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

5.3 Provide the missing parts of the morphemic glossings in the following examples.
a)  mu ₃ [dumu=ane=ø] ₃-am₃ ba-gub-ba-še₃
name
Lit. “Because his sons that are three (in number) were on duty.”

b)  a-ba-am₃ ₃₃=ma₃ bi₃-in-du₄

“Who caulked the boat?”

c)  za-gen: a-ba ₃ [a-ga-kalag]
za-gen aba=ø ₃₃ [a-ga-kalag]=ø
FIN-COOR-strong-3.SG.S

a-ba ₃ [a-ga-an-da-sa₃]
aba=ø ₃₃ [a-ga-an-da-sa]=ø
FIN-COOR-3SG-COM-equal-3SG.S

“Who is as mighty as you, and who rivals you?”

d)  amar-e  a-ba-am₃ ₃-ba-an-tum₂
amar-e aba=ø=am-ø ₃₃ [ba-tum]=ø
MID-3.SG.H.A-lead-3.SG.P

“Who leads this calf away?”

e)  a-ba-am₃ ₃ [za-e-me=en]
aba=ø=am-ø ₃ [za-ø]=me=en
=COP-2SG.S

“Who are you?”

5.4 Translate the following expressions into Sumerian. Provide transliteration, morphemic segmentation, and glossing.

a)  5 shekels of gold
b) the ruler of two cities (= A)
c) this temple (= P)
d) of this canal
e) in the middle of their own cities
f) where?
g) why?
h) I do not owe you any silver.
j) Who is this man?
k) He built the house of his mother quickly.
l) the three royal sons
m) in the 3rd temple

5.5 Transliterate the text Gisha-kidu 1 (RIME 1.12.6.1, ex. 01) (Ur, 21st c.) (P222828) (a photo of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P222828) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the text with the help of either Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to all words, except for the finite verbs. Then go to the ETCSRI edition of the text
(http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q001325), click on the “proofing” link on the left side of the page, and compare your glosses with ETCSRI’s glossing. How could you characterize the text in terms of suspended cliticization?

5.6 Transliterate the text Ur-Namma 33 (RIME 3/2.1.1.33, ex. 01) (Ur, 21st c.) (P226641) (a copy of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P226641) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the text with the help of either Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). The text is no. 1 in Volk’s (2012) chrestomathy. Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to all words, except for the finite verb. Then go to the ETCSRI edition of the text (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q000953), click on the “proofing” link on the left side of the page, and compare your glosses with ETCSRI’s glossing.
Lesson 6: The verbal template

The finite verbal form is the most important constituent of the clause in Sumerian. In addition to the modality, voice, tense, and direction of the verbal event, it may also indicate the syntactic function of up to four of the verbal participants, even when no noun phrase or independent pronoun is present in the clause. This lesson gives an overview of the structure and functioning of the Sumerian finite verb. The detailed description of the functions of the morphemes it may consist of can be found in the subsequent lessons of the textbook.

6.1 The general structure of the finite verbal form
Finite verbal forms in Sumerian are distinguished by the large number of affixes that can be attached to a verbal stem. These affixes and the verbal stem may be arranged into 15 structural positions or slots on distributional grounds. There are eleven slots before the stem, which itself fills slot 12 (henceforth, S12) and there are three slots after the stem. Unlike in German or English, where only the subject is cross-referenced with an affix on the verbal form, Sumerian verbal forms may cross-reference up to four participants of the verb. Table 6.1. below gives an overview of the affixes’ functions.

| Slot 1 | MODAL prefix (ḫa), negative particle, prefix of ANTERIORITY, STEM (in imperative forms) |
| Slot 2 | FINITE-MARKER prefix, MODAL prefixes (all the other) |
| Slot 3 | COORDINATOR prefix |
| Slot 4 | VENTIVE (cislocative) prefix |
| Slot 5 | MIDDLE prefix or the 3.SG.NH PRONOMINAL prefix /b/ (specifying the person, gender and number of the first in the sequence of adverbial prefixes) |
| Slot 6 | INITIAL PRONOMINAL prefix (= IPP) (specifying the person, gender and number of the first in the sequence of adverbial prefixes) |
| Slot 7 | Adverbial I: DATIVE prefix |
| Slot 8 | Adverbial II: COMITATIVE prefix |
| Slot 9 | Adverbial III: ABLATIVE or TERMINATIVE prefix |
| Slot 10 | Adverbial IV: LOCATIVE1, LOCATIVE2, or LOCATIVE3 prefix |
| Slot 11 | FINAL PRONOMINAL PREFIX (= FPP) (referring to A or P, depending on the tense, or LOCATIVE3) |
| Slot 12 | STEM |
| Slot 13 | PRESENT-FUTURE MARKER (in intransitive verbs) |
| Slot 14 | PRONOMINAL SUFFIX (referring A, S, or P depending on the tense) |
| Slot 15 | SUBORDINATOR |

Table 6.1: The verbal template

The finite verb is almost always the last constituent of the clause; only in literary texts may a constituent stand behind it.

6.2 The prefixes of S11–15
S11 and S14 contain pronominal affixes which may cross-reference the Agent, the Subject, and the Patient of the finite verb. The syntactic function of these verbal participants is mainly indicated by the position of the affixes that cross-reference them; so, e.g., in the present-future conjugation the pronominal suffix in S13 cross-references A and S, while the final pronominal prefix in S11 cross-
references P. S12 contains the verbal stem. S13 contains the present-future marker suffix /ed/, which occurs in the intransitive present-future forms. The morphemes of S11–S14 are involved in the expression of the grammatical categories of verbal tense and verbal plurality. The detailed description of their functioning is the subject of Lessons 8 and 9.

S15 contains the subordinator suffix /ʾa/. It changes the clause of the finite verb into a subordinate clause, which may then function as a relative or a complement clause. The subordinator suffix is discussed in Lesson 7.

6.3 The adverbial prefixes

The prefixes of S5–10 are involved in the verbal cross-reference of participants in an adverbial case; see also Table 3.3 in Lesson 3, section 3.1 above. These participants may be cross-referenced either by a composite or by a simple adverbial prefix.

A composite adverbial prefix is composed of i) a pronominal prefix and ii) an adverbial prefix. The former specifies the person, gender, and number, while the latter identifies the syntactic function of the prefix’s referent. In ex. (86) below, the indirect object of the verb šum₂ “to give” is in the dative case. In the verbal prefix-chain this participant is cross-referenced by a composite dative prefix that consists of an initial pronominal prefix /nn/ in S6 and a dative prefix /a/ in S7 (both in bold).

(86) Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 420 (ETCSL 1.8.2.3)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{en-me-er-kara}_2-\text{ra} & \quad \text{en-ki-ke}_4 \quad \text{neštug}_2 \quad \text{mu-na-an-šum}_2 \\
\text{enmerkar} & \quad \text{enkik} = e \quad \text{neštug} = \theta \\
\text{PN} = \text{DAT.H} & \quad \text{DN} = \text{ERG} \quad \text{ear} = \text{ABS} \quad \text{VEN} = \text{3.SG.H-DAT} = \text{3.SG.H.A-give} = \text{3.SG.P} \\
\text{“The god Enki gave wisdom to Enmerkar.”} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The relationship between the noun phrase in the dative and the composite adverbial prefix is schematized in Table 6.2. It shows that the function of the dative adverbial prefix /a/ corresponds to the function of the dative case-marker =/ra/, both serve to indentify the syntactic function of the verbal participant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REFERENTIAL EXPRESSION</th>
<th>NOUN PHRASE</th>
<th>ADVERBIAL PREFIX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PN=DAT.H</td>
<td>Enmerkar</td>
<td>/nn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DN=ERG</td>
<td>=/ra/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear=ABS</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A simple adverbial verbal prefix consists only of an adverbial prefix without a pronominal prefix. The existence of simple adverbial prefixes follows from the structure of the verbal prefix-chain: there is only one pronominal slot, S6, before the adverbial prefixes (this rule, however, is valid only with some qualifications, for which see below). So, if, for example, the prefix-chain contains a dative prefix in S7, then any adverbial prefix following the dative prefix must occur as a simple adverbial prefix, i.e., without a pronominal prefix. In ex. (87) below, for example, the locative2 prefix in S10 (in bold) occurs as a simple prefix, because it is preceded by a composite dative prefix.

(87) Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 420 (ETCSL 1.8.2.3)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{en-me-er-kara}_2-\text{ra} & \quad \text{en-ki-ke}_4 \quad \text{neštug}_2 \quad \text{mu-na-an-šum}_2 \\
\text{enmerkar} & \quad \text{enkik} = e \quad \text{neštug} = \theta \\
\text{PN} = \text{DAT.H} & \quad \text{DN} = \text{ERG} \quad \text{ear} = \text{ABS} \quad \text{VEN} = \text{3.SG.H-DAT} = \text{3.SG.H.A-give} = \text{3.SG.P} \\
\text{“The god Enki gave wisdom to Enmerkar.”} \\
\end{align*}
\]
(87) Gudea Cyl. A 9:10 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
garza-ja2 mul an kug-ba
 regulate=1.SG.POSS=GEN star sky holy=3.SG.NH.POSS=12.NH

"On the day she/he was buried, (various golden objects) were put next to her/him."

In contrast, the locative2 prefix occurs as a composite adverbial prefix in ex. (88) below. It consists of an initial pronominal prefix /nn/ in S6 and a locative prefix /i/ in S10 (both in bold). In ex. (88) the locative2 prefix in S10 is the first adverbial prefix of the finite verb: it is not preceded by any other adverbial prefix, and there is no other morpheme between it and the initial pronominal prefix in S6. Consequently, the initial pronominal prefix specifies the person, gender, and number of the verbal participant in the locative2 case.

(88) En-metena 1 6:21–23 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
nin-nir2-su-ke, - sa-šuš-gal 3=ni-šuš
ninjirsuk-e sašušgal=∅ 3=an=3=n=31=31, n=31=šušš31=∅
"After Ningirsu had thrown a battle-net on him (= the Ummaite), ...

It follows from the above description that the dative prefix occurs always as a composite prefix, as its slot (S7) is the nearest to the slot of the initial pronominal prefix (S6). Other adverbial prefixes may have either composite or simple form. Simple adverbial prefixes always refer to a 3rd ps. non-human participant.

The pronominal prefix of a composite adverbial prefix is as a rule a morpheme in S6. There exist, however, three exceptions to this rule:

i) There is no initial pronominal prefix in S6 cross-referencing a 3rd ps. sg. non-human verbal participant, but a /b/ in S5, which is diachronically related to the middle prefix, is used in this function. The mutually exclusive distribution of the middle prefix and the 3rd ps. sg. non-human pronominal prefix has the consequence that no composite adverbial prefix with a 3rd ps. sg. non-human reference may occur in a verbal form with a middle prefix. So, in ex. (89) below, the comitative may occur in a composite form, as its 3rd ps. sg. human pronominal prefix occupies S6, but in ex. (90) below the locative2 must occur in a simple form because of the presence of the middle prefix. The mutually exclusive distribution of the middle prefix and the 3rd ps. sg. non-human pronominal prefix explains that forms like *ba-ba-šum [ba-ba-ašum-∅ = MID-3.SG.NH-DAT-give-3.SG.S], approx. "was given to it" are grammatically incorrect and are not attested.

(89) UET 3, 335 rev. 1’ (Ur, 21st c.) (P136656)
ud ba-nu-a ba-an-da-ñana
ud ba-nu-∅-a-a 3=sa=ba-n31=dašan31=∅
day MID-lie=3.SG.S-SUB=1.1 MID-3.SG.H-COM-place-3.SG.S
"On the day she/he was buried, (various golden objects) were put next to her/him."
The verbal template

(90) Nisaba 8, 365 rev. 7 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P321037)
ma₂-a ba-a-n₂-a=ar
ma₂=a₃₅ba₃₅e₃₅-n₃₅ar₃₅ø
boat=l₂.NH MID=l₂-place-3SG.S
“(Various animals) were put on the boat.”

In ex. (91) below S5 is used by the middle prefix, consequently the ablative prefix occurs in a simple form, without any pronominal prefix.

(91) Gudea Cyl. A 19:13 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
bis₃₅-u₃-s₃₅ub-ba₃₅-ta₃₅ sig₄ ba₃₅-ta₃₅-il₂
bisa₃₅-u₃šub=ak=ta₃₅ sig=ø₃₅ba₃₅-ta₃₅=n₃₅-il₃₅ø
basket brick.mold=GEN=ABL brick MID-ABL-3SG.H.A-raise-3SG.P
“He lifted the brick out of the frame of the mould.”

ii) If the composite form of a dative, locative2, or locative3 (i.e. of cases that may indicate motion towards a destination) refers to a 1st ps. sg. participant, then the pronominal element is not the 1st ps. sg form of the initial pronominal prefix in S6, but the ventive prefix in S4. In ex. (92) below, the ventive prefix in S4 precedes the dative prefix in S6, and the two morphemes form a composite adverbial prefix with a 1st ps. sg. reference.

(92) The victory of Utu-hegal 29 (ETCSL 2.1.6)
gu₃₅-ti₃₅umkin₃₅’en-lil₃₅-le ma-an₃₅-sum₂
Gnuti₃₅=ø enil₃₅-e₃₅m₃₅-n₃₅-lil₃₅=ø
GN=ABS DN=ERG VEN-DAT-3SG.H.A-give-3SG.P
“Enlil has given Gutium to me.”

iii) The locative1 prefix /ni/ in S10 has no composite form, but only simple form: it always occurs without a pronominal prefix, and always cross-references a 3rd ps. non-human participant.

The adverbial cases and their verbal markers are discussed in detail in Lessons 12–14. The ventive prefix in S4, the 3rd ps. sg. non-human pronominal prefix in S5, and the initial pronominal prefixes in S6 are discussed in Lesson 11.

6.4 The prefixes of S1–5
The first slot of the finite verbal form contains the prefix of negation and the modal prefix /ḫa/. Their function is discussed in the last lesson of the textbook, Lesson 16. The prefix of anteriority of S1 is involved in indicating the relative time of the verbal event in Sumerian, it is discussed in Lesson 9, section 9.2.

S2 may contain all the modal prefixes, except for /ḫa/-, and the finite prefixes. The modal prefixes will be treated in Lesson 16, section 16.2 below, together with the prefix /ḫa/-.

The finite-marker prefix has a complicated history that is obscured by the phenomenon that in many morphological environments it went lost. In the Sumerian texts we know, in many verbal forms it only indicates that the verbal form functions as the predicate of the clause and not as a modifier of a noun.

The coordinator prefix in S3 functions as a clause coordinator. The main function of the ventive or cislocative prefix in S4 is to indicate a motion towards a deictic center that may be the location of the speech event or one of the speech
act participants, the speaker or the addressee. The middle prefix on S5 indicates that the verbal action or state affects the grammatical subject or his interests. The prefixes of S2–5, except for the modal prefixes, are discussed in Lesson 11.

6.5 Observations on the functioning of the finite verbal form

The Sumerian verbal template consists of fifteen slots. The existence of a relatively large number of structural positions does not entail that a finite verb should have a morpheme in every slot. In fact no finite verbal form is attested in which all slots are filled with a morpheme. The shortest finite verbal form contains at least three morphemes: a finite-marker in S2, the stem in S12, and a pronominal suffix cross-referencing S in S14 as in ex. (93) below.

(93) Gudea Cyl. A 12:12 (Lagash, 22nd. c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
gu₃-de₂-a i₃-zig
gudea=ø s₂,i₃zig-s₃₅φ
PN=ABS FIN-rise-3.SG.S
“Gudea woke up.”

The number of morphemes in the longest finite verbal forms is eight, see e.g., in ex. (94) below, or nine, see e.g., in ex. (95) below.

(94) En-metena 2 3:5–4:2 (RIME 1.9.5.2) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222546)
id₂-nun-ta, mu-bi-kur-ra,
idnun=ta mubikura=še
WN=ABL GN=TERM
e-na-ta-ni-e₃
t₃,i₃nn₃,a₃₅ta₃₅ni₃₃₅e₃₅φ
“(For Ningirsu, his master who loves him, En-metena) extended it (= the boundary levee) from the Idnun canal until Mubikura.”

(95) En-metena 1 6:15–16 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
a₃₄ag₄a₄ag₃₅ta₃₅de₃₅,
ams-ta-bala-e-da
ašag=ø tum-ed=e s₂₃₅m₃₅b₃₅ta₃₅e₃₅₁₃₅bala₃₅₁₃₅ed₃₅₁₃₅φ₃₅₃₅a
field=ABS bring-PF=DAT.NH FIN-VEN-3.SG.NH-ABL-L2-cross-PF-3.SG.S-SUB
“who crosses (the boundary levees) in order to take away fields”

As expected, it is not the case either that all morphemes occur with the same frequency. An examination of the relative frequency of the morphemes of slots 1–10 (Zólyomi 2013) resulted in Chart 6.1 below.⁹

---
⁹ The examination was based on the 2135 morphologically analyzed finite verbal forms which were available at the website of Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Royal Inscriptions (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsrli) on 1 August 2013.
The chart shows that in the corpus of the royal inscriptions the most frequently used verbal prefix among the prefixes of slots 1-10 is the ventive in S4. Among the 2135 finite verbal forms 1415 contained a ventive prefix, which is 66 % of all finite verbal forms in the corpus.

263 finite verbal forms contained a modal or negative prefix in S1 (= 12 %). Among the 263 forms, 59 were negated forms with the prefix /nu/-. The most frequent prefix among the adverbial prefixes was the dative in S7: 979 (= 46 %) finite verbal forms of the corpus contained a dative prefix. The second most frequent were the various locative prefixes in S10: 453 (= 21 %).

Another study (Zólyomi 2013b) examined the co-occurrences of the adverbial prefixes based on 2138 finite verbal forms available at ETCSRI on 3 August 2013. Table 6.3 below shows the findings of the study in detail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>TERM</th>
<th>L1</th>
<th>L2</th>
<th>L3(V10)</th>
<th>L3(V11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALONE</td>
<td>857</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>58</td>
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<td>DAT</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>L3(V10)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>L3(V11)</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3: Co-occurrences of the adverbial prefixes

The study found that among the 2138 finite verbal forms in the corpus, 1529 (72 %) contained a single adverbial prefix, 138 (6.45 %) contained two, and only 3 (0.14 %) contained three prefixes. It concluded that Sumerian finite verbal forms in this corpus typically contain only one adverbial prefix. If they contain
two, then one of them is the dative in the great majority of occurrences. Finite verbal forms with three adverbial prefixes (see, e.g., ex. [94] above) are extremely rare. Chart 6.2 below visualize the data of Table 6.2.

The two peaks of the chart indicate that in this corpus a verbal form with two adverbial prefixes typically contains an adverbial prefix that specifies the location of the verbal event, and the dative, which cross-references the beneficiary; note that this corpus contains a great number of votive inscriptions. If the verbal form contains a third adverbial prefix, then as a rule it refers not to the location of the event but has some other function, as in ex. (96) below, where the ablative basically functions to modify the meaning of the verb similarly to the verbal prefixes in German, e.g., “herauskommen”.

(96) Gudea Cyl. B 18:12–13 (Lagash, 22nd. c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
iri-e 4 utu-gin7, ki-ša-ra
iri=e utu=gin kīšar=ʾa
city=DAT.NH DN=EQU earth=1.2.NH
im-ma-ta-a-e3
s3l=s4m-s5b-s7a-s9ta-s10e3-s12e3-s14s
“Like Utu, he (= Gudea) rose on the horizon for the city.”

The verbal participants of the finite verb are cross-referenced with the adverbial prefixes and the pronominal affixes of S11 and S14. There is, however, no one-to-one correspondence between the verbal affixes and the case-marked noun phrases of the clause. Two types of discrepancies may be distinguished:

i) The noun phrase in an adverbial case is not cross-referenced with any adverbial prefix

The co-occurrence between the noun phrase in the dative, the comitative, and the locative cases (used in a local meaning) is quite strict. A noun phrase in any of these cases occurs as a rule together with a corresponding adverbial prefix in the verbal prefix-chain (unless the structure of the prefix makes it impossible, see
Lesson 14, sections 14.3 and 14.4 below). In case of the ablative and terminative
the co-occurrence is much less strict. Noun phrases in the ablative or terminative
may quite often occur without a corresponding adverbial prefix, see Lesson 13
below. This is obviously a semantic issue, a detailed examination of the
phenomenon is needed.

Starting from around the end of the 3rd millennium BCE the
correspondence between noun phrases and adverbial prefixes is often lost: the
nominal case-markers are influenced by the corresponding Akkadian idioms but
the “original” adverbial prefix is preserved, see, e.g., ex. (306) in Lesson 12 below.

ii) The adverbial prefix has no nominal counterpart in the clause

This phenomenon is quite common, because both the adverbial prefixes and the
pronominal affixes of S11 and S14 may function as anaphoric (or occasionally, as
cataphoric) pronouns. These affixes are therefore not agreement markers: they
may occur either without or with a coreferential noun phrase in the clause. They
may exceptionally also occur with independent pronouns, but only to express a
contrast.

The adverbial prefixes and the pronominal affixes of S11 and S14 function
similarly to the pronouns of other languages, a verbal participant introduced
earlier in the discourse may be encoded only with a verbal affix in Sumerian.

In ex. (97) the Agent (= Ningirsu) is cross-referenced by the prefix /n/ in
S12, and the verbal participant in locative2 (= the city of Umma) is cross-
referred by a composite adverbial prefix /bi/ in S5 and S10. The noun phrase in
the ergative, and the noun phrase in the locative2 are “missing” from the
sentence. Both of these verbal participants were mentioned in the text previously,
they are therefore referred to only by pronouns, as in other languages. The
independent personal pronouns of the English translation correspond to the
verbal affixes. Some scholars translate sentences like ex. (97) with pronouns in
brackets, assuming and indicating that they are actually not present in the
Sumerian sentence. This assumption is unfounded, the pronouns are there, but
they are part of the finite verbal form.

(97) En-metena 1 1:28–29 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
inim 𒂗𒆜-𒌊-𒋾-𒈾-𒆜-𒋾-𒈾-𒆜-𒋾-𒈾-𒆜-𒋾-
“By the order of Enlil, he (= Ningirsu) threw a battle net on it (= the city Umma).”

Occasionally adverbial prefixes occur without referring to any verbal
participant. In this case their function is to modify the meaning of the verb,
similarly to the verbal prefixes of German verbs, like aus- oder weggehen, see, eg.,
ex. (96) above, and ex. (98) below, in which the ablative prefix modifies the
meaning of the verb sa₂₇ “to barter” to “to sell”.

(98) TMH NF 1-2, 53 obv. 8 (Ur, 21st c.) (P134365)
ni₂-te-ne-ne  ba-ra-an-sa₂₇-aš₂
nite-anen-e₇  si₇₂₇₅₅-₅₅₂₅-₅₅₂₅-₅₅₂₅-e₇
“They sold themselves.”
Further readings

The rule that only the first of the adverbial prefixes of a finite verb may be preceded by a pronominal prefix, i.e., that a finite verb may only contain one composite adverbial prefix, was explicitly formulated by Joachim Krecher (1985: 133) for the first time; see also Attinger 1993: 206 (§134 R1). The consequences of Krecher’s rule are discussed in Zólyomi 1999: 220–224.

On the anaphoric use of the adverbial prefixes and the pronominal affixes of S11 and S14, see Zólyomi 2010: 580–583.

Exercises

6.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

6.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

6.3 Identify the slots in the following prefix chains. Find all the adverbial prefixes and decide whether they are composite or simple.

a) saskinga-y-saskinga
b) ḥa-y-saskinga

c) saskinga-nē-saskinga
d) ši-y-saskinga

6.4 Assign the glossed morphemes to slots and try to translate the verbal forms on the basis of the glosses.

a) FIN-VEN-3.SG.NH-DAT-give-3.SG.A
b) VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-3.SG.NH.P-speak.PF-3.SG.A
c) ANT-VEN-3.SG.NH-DAT-3.SG.NH.A-give-3.SG.P

f) ANT-VEN-3.SG.H.-DAT-COM-L1-enter-2.SG.S

6.5 Try to pair the verbal forms with the translations. You do not have to know the meaning of the stem, just concentrate on the slots and the information hidden in the gloss.

saskinga-y-saskinga-saskinga
MOD-3.SG.H.P-stem-PF-2.SG.A

“They stepped forward to him with ....”

saskinga-y-saskinga
MOD-FIN-stem-3.SG.S

“He also demolished it.”

saskinga-y-saskinga

“After he had thrown it on him, ....”
“Do not buy her!”

“It cannot be tired.”

“From which he consumed it.”

“After you had entered to her into it with them, ....”

“He bought her from them (lit. ‘bartered for them’).”

“May it come to an end!”

“After he left her, ....”

6.6 Transliterate the text Ur-Namma 4 (RIME 3/2.1.1.4, ex. 01) (Ur, 21st c.) (P226639) (a photo of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P226639) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the text with the help of either Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). The text is no. 3 in Volk’s (2012) chrestomathy. Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to all words. Then go to the ETCSRI edition of the text (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q000936), click on the “proofing” link on the left side of the page, and compare your glosses with ETCSRI’s glossing.

6.7 Transliterate the text Gudea 64 (RIME 3/1.1.7.64, ex. 01) (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P234557) (a photo of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P234557) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the text with the help of either Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). The text is no. 4 in Volk’s (2012) chrestomathy. Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to all words. Then go to the ETCSRI edition of the text (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q000921), click on the “proofing” link on the left side of the page, and compare your glosses with ETCSRI’s glossing.
Lesson 7: Non-finite verbal forms and relative clauses

The first section of this lesson discusses the forms and functions of the non-finite verbal forms. It is followed by a section on the subordinator suffix, which transforms the clause of a verb into a subordinate clause. The subject of the third section is the relative clause, which may be formed either from a non-finite verbal form or from a subordinate clause with a finite verb in Sumerian. The lesson concludes with two sections on constructions involving non-finite verbal forms. The first functions as a purpose clause, the second as a temporal clause.

7.1 Non-finite verbal forms

Three forms of the non-finite verbal form can be distinguished on formal grounds:

- $PT _{STEM-ø}$ tenseless non-finite verbal form
- $PT _{STEM-ʾa}$ preterite non-finite verbal form
- $PF _{STEM-ed}$ present-future non-finite verbal form

The first two forms use the preterite stem, while the third form uses the present-future stem of the verb, supposing the verb has one. In all three forms the stem may undergo a plural-reduplication, see, e.g. ex. (117) below. Non-finite verbal forms can only be prefixed with the negative prefix /nu/-; The opposition between the preterite and the present-future is maintained only with verbs expressing an action. Non-finite verbal forms expressing a state always use the preterite form.

Future forms often express modal meanings. This is also true about the present-future non-finite verbal form which may express the modal meaning of necessity, obligation, see e.g., ex. (99) below, ability or inability, see, e.g., ex. (118) below:

(99) NG 209 obv. 2:16–17 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P134582)
nam-erim₂-be₂ ku₂-ru-dam
namerim=be=ø kur-ed=ø=am=ø
oath=3.SG.NH.Poss=ABS cut-PF=ABS=COP=3.SG.S
“This is to be taken an oath about.”

The preterite and the present-future non-finite verbal form consist of the verbal stem and a suffix which is the marker of tense. The tenseless non-finite verbal form consists only of the verbal stem without any material suffix, indicating iconically that it is a form which expresses the verbal state or action without any temporal reference point as permanent and essential. The expression lugal gābari nu-tuku means, for example, “a king who has no rival”. The use of a preterite non-finite verbal form nu-tuku-a would refer to a king who until a given point of time has not had or at a given point of time does not have a rival.

Sumerian is a language without a distinguishable word class of adjectives. Adjectival concepts are expressed with non-finite verbal stems or with structures like the modifying genitive construction, see Lesson 4, section 4.1 above.
Verbal stems with an adjectival meaning (e.g., dugud “heavy”, tur “small”, suukud “high”, dug, “sweet”) occur most frequently as tenseless non-finite verbal forms. They occur in fewer contexts than a verb expressing an action. This is, however, the consequence of their meaning which affects in which grammatical forms they can occur, but does not justify the postulation of a separate word class of adjectives in Sumerian.

Tenseless non-finite verbal forms are one of the main sources of compound nouns. The following compound nouns are based on headless tenseless non-finite verbal forms: dub-sar “scribe” < dub sar (dub=Ø sar=Ø : tablet=ABS write-TL) “he who writes tablets”, kus-dima “goldsmith” < kus dima (kug=Ø dim=Ø : metal=ABS fashion-TL) “he who fashions metal”.

Adjective-like compound constructions are normally based on tenseless non-finite verbal forms: usu tuku (usu=Ø tuku=Ø : power=ABS have-TL) “powerful”, igi pal, (igi=Ø pal=Ø : eye=ABS exist-TL) “wise”.

Compound verbs with nominal parts that derive from non-finite verbal forms also use tenseless non-finite verbal forms: šu-tag — dugš “to decorate” < šu=Ø tag=Ø=Ø : hand=ABS touch=TL=ABS “to do hand touching”, see also ex. (173) below in Lesson 9, section 9.3.

Sumerian non-finite verbal forms can function both as verbal adjectives and as verbal nouns. Unlike in many other languages, these two functions are not distinguished morphologically in Sumerian. Used as a verbal adjective they modify a head noun in P2 of a noun phrase, or form a predicate with the copula, see, e.g., ex. (99) above, exx. (100) and (130) below.

(100) BM 106451 7 (Umma, 21st c.) (P200743)
lus-am3
lu-Ø=am-Ø
false=TL=ABS=COP-3.SG.S
“(Lu-Suena declared:) ’This is false!’”

Used as a verbal noun, they function as nouns that take cases. In ex. (101) below the present-future non-finite form of the verb duš “to build”, together with its object, e₂ “house, temple”, functions as a verbal noun. It is the left-dislocated possessor of the word njškim “sign”, and consequently is in the genitive.

(101) Gudea Cyl. A 9:9 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
e₂-gu₁₀ duš-da
e=ŋu=Ø du-ed=ak
house=1.SG.POSS=ABS build-PF=GEN
njškim-be₂ ga-ra-ab-šum₃
njškim-be=Ø s₂g₂₅-a₅₁-b₅₁šum
sign=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS MOD-2.SG.-DAT-3.SG.NH,P-give
“I promise to give you the ominous sign concerning the building of my temple.”

In ex. (102) below again the present-future non-finite form of the verb duš “to build”, together with its object, e₂ “house, temple”, functions as a verbal noun. Here, however, it functions as a non-finite complement clause of the verb “to say”, and is in the locative2 case.
(102) Gudea Cyl. A 4:20 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

In ex. (103) below the preterite non-finite form of the verb sa₁₀ “to barter”, together with its object saŋ “slave”, functions as a verbal noun. It is the possessor of the expression lu₂ inim-ma “witness”, and consequently is in the genitive.

(103) NG 51 rev. 3 (Umma, 21st c. BCE) (P131780)

Non finite verbal forms that function as a verbal adjective and modify a head noun in P2 of a noun phrase are discussed in section 7.3 of this lesson as examples of non-finite relative clauses.

7.2 The subordinator suffix (Slot 15)

The last structural position of the finite verb, S15, accommodates the subordinator suffix /’a/. Although it attaches to the verb as the last constituent of the clause, it affects in fact not the verb but the clause. It transforms the clause of the verb into a subordinate clause which may then function either as a complement clause, having the properties of a noun and taking a case, or as a relative clause, occupying P2, the position of the modifier in a noun phrase. The finite relative clauses are discussed in section 7.3 of this lesson.

Exx. (104) and (105) below are examples of subordinate clauses functioning as complement clauses. In both examples the subordinate clauses function as possessors. In ex. (104) the subordinate clause is a left-dislocated possessor, while in ex. (105) the subordinate clause occupies P3 of the noun phrase whose head is the expression lu₂ inim-ma “witness”. Note the structural similarity between ex. (103) and ex. (105): in the former the possessor is a non-finite verbal form used as a verbal noun, in the latter the possessor is a subordinate clause used as a complement clause.

(104) Iri-kagina 1 12:23–28 (RIME 1.9.9.1) (Lagash, 24th c.)

“Iri-kagina made an agreement with Ningirsu that he would not surrender the orphan or the widow to the powerful.”
indicated merely by the composite ablative prefix the source from which the god consumes the oil.

Causal subordination may be expressed with a construction involving a subordinate finite clause used as a complement clause: $p_1$ bar $p_3$ [complement clause]$_{p_5}$ = ak = 'a (outside [complement clause] = GEN = L2.NH) or $p_2$ mu $p_3$ [complement clause]$_{p_5}$ = ak = še (name [complement clause] = GEN = TERM) “because of ...” as in ex. (106) below (with bar), and in ex. (229) (with mu) in Lesson 11, section 11.4 below.

A relative clause states something about a head noun which is coreferent with one of the participants in the relative clause. In Sumerian a head noun may be modified by two varieties of relative clauses: clauses containing a finite verb and clauses containing a non-finite verb. In both cases the relative clause follows the noun. In the following, the first type will be referred to as a finite relative clause and the second type as a non-finite relative clause.

In finite relative clauses the finite verb of the clause is suffixed as a rule with the subordinator suffix -(‘)a/ in S15, and the subordinate clause occupies the modifier position of the noun phrase (= P2) whose head (= P1) is the relativized noun, as in exx. (107)-(111) below. In non-finite relative clauses the verbal form is a non-finite verbal form: in exx. (113), (114), and (117) a tenseless, in exx. (112), (115) and (116) a preterite, and in ex. (118) a present-future non-finite verb. The non-finite relative clause also occupies the modifier position of the noun phrase whose head is the relativized noun.

The A of the non-finite verbal form may be expressed either by a noun phrase in the ergative case preceding the verbal form as in ex. (116), or by an noun phrase in the genitive case, as the possessor of the relativized noun as in exx. (112) and (115). The former construction is often called as the mesanepada-construction in the literature after the personal name mešš-an-ne₂-padaš-da (mešš-an-e pad-‘a : young.man DN=ERG find-PF “young man chosen by An”).

Less frequently the possessor of the relativized noun expresses the indirect object of the verb as in ex. (117) below, which is a headless non-finite relative clause.

Note that in finite relative clauses the syntactic function of the head noun within the relative clause is marked in Sumerian not with a relative pronoun but with a pronominal affix of the finite verb. In ex. (107) below, for example, the head noun gur-gur₄ kug luḥ₃-ba “gurur vessel of purified silver” functions as the source from which the god consumes the oil. This syntactic function is indicated merely by the composite ablative prefix š₃-b₃₉₈-ta in the verbal prefix-
chain of the subordinate finite verb. The relative clause occupies P2 of the noun phrase, whose head is *gur-* **gur** _kug luh-ha_, the relativized noun. The case-marking in P5 marks the syntactic function of the whole noun phrase in the main clause.

(107) En-metena 7 14–16 (RIME 1.9.5.7) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222539)

`gur-` **gur** _kug luh-ha_ **i**3 **itud-da_**

P1[**gur-** **gur** _kug luh-*a=ak_] **P2**[**i** **itud=ak=ø_**

P1[**vessel** **silver** **clean-PT=GEN_** **P2**[**oil** **month=GEN=ABS_**

`q-nin-pirz-su2-ke4_**ab-ta-gu=a_**

ninjirsuk-=` _**s2a3b5ga3s12gu3s14e5s15a**=pø_

DN=ERG **FIN-3.SG.NH-ABL-eat-3.SG.A-SUB=** **P2**[ABS

**mu-na-dim2_** **S5**[**mu-na** **z2a5f3s11n5s15dim=** **S1=5**8


“(For the god Ningirsu, En-metena) fashioned a *gur-gur* vessel of purified silver, from which Ningirsu consumes the monthly oil (offering).”

(108) En-ana-tum I 18 2:3–7 (RIME 1.9.4.18) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222497-8)

`šu-ni-al-dugud_**kindagal_**nam-nu-banda, **e2-šag=ga_**

P1[**šunialdugud_** **P2**[**kindagal_** **P4**[**namnubanda_** **P5**[**ešag=ak=ø_**

P1[**chief.barber_** **P2**[**overseership** **inner.room=ABS_**

**an-na-tah-ha, **KIB **mu-dim2-dim2_** **S5**[**a5s6b3s11z3s10tah=** **S1=5**5**e=** **S2**[**e=** **S3**[**E**=[**ø=** **S4**[**mu=** **S5**[**n5s11dim=dim=** **S1=5**8


“Shuni-aldu-gud, the chief barber, to whom the office of the personal quarters’ overseer was also given, fashioned numerous inscribed clay nails.”

(109) Gudea Statue B 1:13–14 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)

`ensii_**inim** **bi2-ib2-gi4=a_**

P1[**ensii_** **P2**[**inim=ø_** **S3**[**b3s11a3s51gi=** **S1=5**5**g1=** **S2**[**e=** **S3**[**E**=[**ak=ø**%

P1[**ruler_** **P2**[**word=ABS_** **3.SG.NH-L2-3.SG.H.P-return-PF-3.SG.A-SUB=** **P5**[GEN

“The ruler who withdraws (the regular offerings), ....”

(110) Gudea Cyl. A 5:19 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

`ud_**ki-šar-2a_**ma-ra-ta-e3-a_**

P1[**ud_** **P2**[**kišar=’a_** **S3**[**mu=** **S4**[**F3s7a3s51ta=** **S1=5**5**e=** **S2**[** mark=ø**%

P1[**light_** **P2**[**horizon=L2.NH **VEN-2.SG-DAT-ABL-L2-leave-3.SG.S-SUB=** **P5**[ABS

“The daylight that had risen for you on the horizon ....”

Exx. (111) and (112) below are instructive about the interchangeability of finite and non-finite relative clauses; the same idiom is expressed as a finite relative clause in the former, and as a non-finite relative clause in the latter.

---

10 This noun phrase is the first in a sequence of noun phrases standing in apposition to each other. Only the last of these noun phrases is case-marked with the genitive, which is to be understood as the case-marker of all noun phrases in the sequence.
(111) Gudea Cyl. A 7:11–12 (Lagash, 22nd. c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
inim ḫanaš-e mu-na-duš-ga-aš,
p1,inim p2[ɲans=ɛ-e] s1[mu-sa-nun=a] n2-[niš]-l1[duš-giš-tuš=niš]-a] = p5šē
san sig ba-ši-nar
san sig-∅=∅ sa-[ba-ši]-niš-[j]=n1[na]-niš[∅]
Lit. “He set a low head to the words that Nanshe told him” = “He accepted what Nanshe told him.”

(112) Gudea Cyl. A 12:14-15 (Lagash, 22nd. c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
inim duš-ga ʾnin-njir2-su-ka-šēš,
p1,inim p2[dug-‘a] p1[ninjirsuk=ak] = p5šē
p1,word p2[Speak-PT] p1[DN=GEN] = p5TERM
sag sig ba-ši-nar
sag sig-∅=∅ sa-[ba-ši]-niš-[j]=n1[na]-niš[∅]
“He accepted what was told by Ningirsu.”

There seems to be no restriction on the syntactic function of the participants to be relativized: the relativized noun is the A in exx. (109), (113), and (117); the S in exx. (110) and (114); the P in exx. (111), (112), (115), and (116), the indirect object in ex. (108); a place adverbial in exx. (107) (in the ablative) and (118) (in the locative).

(113) Gudea Statue E 2:1–2 (Lagash, 22nd. c.) (P232278)
arad ni2 tuku nin-a-na-kam
p1,arad p2[ni=∅] tuku-∅] p1[nin=ane=ak]=∅=am-∅
“(Gudea) is the reverent (lit. ‘who has fear of gods’) slave of his lady.”

(114) Gudea Statue E 4:14 (Lagash, 22nd. c.) (P232278)
kisal mah-na
p1,kisal p2[mah-∅]=ane=‘a
p1,courtyard p2[great-TL]=3.SG.H.POSS=1L
“in her main courtyard”

(115) Gudea Statue B 2:16–17 (Lagash, 22nd. c.) (P232275)
dumu tud-da ʾna=2-tum2-duš-lō-ke4
p1,dumu p2[tud-‘a] p1[natumdag=ak] = p5e
p1,child p2[bear-PT] p1[DN=GEN] = p5ERG
“the child born by the goddess Gatumdug”

(116) Gudea Cyl. A 2:28 (Lagash, 22nd. c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
dumu an kug-ge tud-da
p1,dumu p2[an kug= e tud-‘a]= p5∅
p1,child p2[DN holy=ERG bear-PT]= p5ABS
“the child born by the holy god An”
(117) E-anatum 4:9–10 (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222460)

kur gu₂ ṯār-ṯār, ṣin-nir₂-su₂-ka-ke₄
p₁[kur=e gu=Ø ṣin-ṯār-Ø] p₃[ninjirsuk=ak]=p₅e

“who makes all the foreign lands submit to Ningirsu”

(118) Gudea Cyl. A 15:19 (Lagash, 22nd. c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

kur ʿerin-na lu₂ nu-ku-ku-da
p₁[kur e=ak] p₁[lu=Ø nu-ku-ku-ed]=p₅a
p₃[mountain cedar=GEN] p₃[man=ABS NEG-enter=PF-PF]=p₅L1

“into the mountain of cedars which no one is to penetrate”

Even possessors of verbal participants may be relativized, as shown by the following examples:

(119) NG 215 obv. 1:5 (Umma, 21st c.) (P131762)

lu₂ 3 šuku-be₂ i₁-la₂-a
p₁[lu 3] p₁[šuku=be=Ø] s₃[l₃] la₄=s₄ a]=p₅e

“the three men whose subsistence land was curtailed”

(120) Gudea Cyl. A 17:18 (Lagash, 22nd. c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

e₂ me-l₃me₂ an-ne₂ us₂-sa
p₁[e] p₁[melem=be=Ø an=e us-s-a]=p₁še)


“(Towards) the temple whose halo reaches to heaven”

The relative clauses play an important role in the interclausal syntax of Sumerian as temporal subordination is usually expressed with the construction p₁[noun] p₂[relative clause]=p₅case-marker: p₁[ud] p₂[relative clause]=p₅a (day [relative clause]=L1) “on the day when ...”; p₁[egar] p₂[relative clause]=p₅ta (back [relative clause]=ABL “after ...”. Occasionally the head noun may be missing from these constructions.

7.4 Non-finite verbal forms expressing a purpose

A special construction with the present-future non-finite verbal form is used as a subordinate clause expressing a goal or purpose. The present-future non-finite verbal form is used in this construction as a verbal noun and is case-marked with the non-human dative case-marker =/e/. There is no difference between constructions in which the A of the subordinate clause is the same as the A, see ex. (121), or S, see ex. (122), of the main clause, and constructions in which the A is different from the A of the main clause, see exx. (123) and (124) below.

Functionally these constructions are comparable to infinitives. Note that the phenomenon that the morpheme used to express the infinitive is the same as the one used to mark the indirect object is attested in other languages, for example in English: cf. “to do”, and “he gave it to him”.

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11 This noun phrase is the first in a sequence of noun phrases standing in apposition to each other. Only the last of these noun phrases is case-marked with the genitive, which is to be understood as the case-marker of all noun phrases in the sequence.
64 — Non-finite verbals and relative clauses

(121) Gudea Cyl. A 15:9–10 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

"In order to build the temple of Ningirsu (Magan and Meluhha) gathered for Gudea at his city Girsu.

(122) En-metenna 1 6:15–16 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)

"who crosses (the boundary levees) in order to take away fields"

(123) DP 307 obv. 2:1–6 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P220957)

"En-iggal, the overseer, gave fish to Amar-Girid, the cook, so that he (= Amar-Girid) makes them into fish-oil(?)"

(124) SNAT 535 1–5 (Umma, 21st c.) (P130295)

"Ur-Halmusha gave Lugal-ushur, the smith, 1 and 2/3 manos of bronze, to produce an axe."

Examples like (125) below suggest that when the structure of the prefix-chain allows it, the composite dative prefix that cross-references the non-finite form may occur.

(125) Gudea Cyl. A 15:9–10 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

"He shook the brick mould and left the brick to dry"
7.5 Non-finite verbal forms as adverbial clauses of time

A special construction involving both the preterite and the present-future non-finite verbal form is used as a subordinate temporal clause. This construction was referred to as pronominal conjugation in earlier literature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRETERITE FORMS</th>
<th>PRESENT-FUTURE FORMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.SG</td>
<td>p₂STEM-a=ŋu₁₀=ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(stem-PT=1.SG.POSS=L4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.SG</td>
<td>p₂STEM-a=zu=ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(stem-PT=2.SG.POSS=L4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.SG HUMAN</td>
<td>p₂STEM-’a=ane=ŋe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(stem-PT=3.SG.H.POSS=L3.NH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.SG NON-HUMAN</td>
<td>p₂STEM-’a=be=ŋe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(stem-PT=3.SG.H.POSS=L3.NH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.PL</td>
<td>p₂STEM-’a=anene=ŋe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(stem-PT=3.PL.POSS=L3.NH)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1

1st and 2nd person plural forms are not attested. The morphological analysis of these forms is controversial. Being verbal nouns these forms too should be case-marked with a case. The table above assumes that the 1st and 2nd ps. forms are case-marked with an enclitic */ne/*, which might be an archaic marker of the locative, the nominal equivalence of the locative1 verbal prefix */ni/*, surviving only in marginal, non-productive contexts. The 3rd ps. forms are analyzed as being case-marked with the non-human locative3 */e/.

The use of the subordinator suffix */(‘)a/* with the present-future forms is unexpected. It may represent a secondary development on the analogy of the preterite forms starting with a reanalysis of the most frequent 3rd ps. sg. present-future forms like ku-ku-da-ne (= ku-ku-ed=ane=e) “at his entering” as ku-ku-ed.’a=ane=e. The preterite forms express anteriority, see ex. (126) below, while the present-future forms express simultaneity, see ex. (127) below, with the verbal event of the main clause.

(126) Lugalbanda in the mountain cave 241 (ETCSL 1.8.2.1)
nu₂=a-zu-ne uŋ³ ši-mu-e-da-nu₂
nu₂’-a=za=ne uŋ=ø s₂ša-s₄mu-s₅e-s₃da-s₁₂nu-s₁₄ed-s₁₆ø
lie-PT=2.SG.POSS=L4 people=ABS MOD-VEN=2.SG-COM-lie-PF=3.SG.S
“When you have lain down, the people lie down with you.”

(127) Nam-mahne 6 2:2–5 (ETCSL 1.8.2.1)
(lagash, 21st c.) (P234696)
⁰lamma tar-sir₂-sir₂-ra, kisal ⁰ba-u₂-ka ku₄(REC56)-ku₄(REC56)-da-ne₂
lamma tarsirsir=ak=ø kisal bau=ak=’a ku₄-ku-ed=’a=ane=e
spirit GN=GEN=ABS courtyard DN=GEN=1 L enter~PF-PF-SUB=3.SG.H.POSS=L3.NH
alan-e nin-ŋu₁₀, nještug₂-ga-ni-a
alan-e=ø nin-ŋu=ø nještug=ane=’a
alan=DEM=ERG lady=1.SG.POSS=ABS ear=3.SG.H.POSS=L1
mu-na-ni-ru-gu₂
s₄mu-s₅n=ni-₀s₁₀ni-₀s₁₁n-s₁₂rugu-s₁₄e
VEN-3.SG.H=DAT=L₁-3.SG.H.P-whitstand-3.SG.A
“Whenever the protective spirit of Tarsirsir enters the courtyard of Bau, this statue will attract my lady's attention towards him.”
The present-future stem of the verb .ngen “to go”, forms the 3rd ps. forms of the construction without an -/ed/ and /'a/ suffix:

(128) ABTR 13 rev. 5 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P100201)
[a]-dam-šaḫ⁻šē³ du-ne-ne
adamšaḫ=šē du=anenē=e
GN=TERM go.PF=3.PL.POSS=L3.NH
“When they were going to Adamshah”.

(129) MVN 22, 71 rev. 8 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P206204)
a-dam-šaḫ⁻ta du-ne₂
adamšaḫ=ta du=ane=e
GN=ABL go.PF=3.SG.H.POSS=L3.NH
“When they were coming from Adamshah”.

In texts from the first part of the 2nd millennium BCE and in later texts the 3rd ps. sg. forms are sometimes case-marked with the locative1 or the ablative instead of the locative3, what may be an interference from Akkadian which translates these forms with the construction ina + infinitive + genitive pronoun. A correspondence between the Akkadian preposition ina and the Sumerian locative1 and ablative was well established.

The construction is also attested with the word dili “single”: dili-ŋu⁻ne “on my own, I alone”, dili-zu⁻ne “on your own, you alone”, see ex. (130) below, dili⁻ne₂ “on his own, he alone”.

(130) İbbi-Suen B Segment A 37 (ETCSL 2.4.5.2)
dili-zu-ne₂: maḫ⁻me=en
dili⁻ne₂ maḫ⁻ø=ø-me=en
single=2.SG.POSS=L⁴ august-TL=ABS=COP=2.SG.S
“You alone are august!

Further readings
The word class of adjectives is controversial in Sumerian. A general survey of the word classes of Sumerian is provided by Black 2002. His arguments for a separate word class of adjectives in Sumerian are detailed in Black 2000. He, and also Jagersma (2010: 267–284), assume that Sumerian has a closed word class of adjectives.

On the function of the possessor of the head of a relative clause, see Peust 2009. On the archaic locative enclitic, called here locative⁴, see Krecher 1993: 96–98.

Exercises
7.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

7.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

7.3 Add morphological segmentation and glossing to the excerpt from a votive inscription of Lugal-zagesi below. Translate the text with the help of Foxvog’s (2016b) glossary. Pay special attention to the genitive constructions used in this text, and find the
constructions where the text uses suspended cliticization. Then go to the ETCSRI edition of the text (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q001379), click on the “proofing” link on the left side of the page, and compare your glosses with ETCSRI’s glossing.

Lugal-zagesi 1:3–35 (RIME 1.14.20.1) (Uruk, 24th c.) (Q001379)

i 3 lugal-zag-ge-si
i 4 lugal unugki-ga
i 5 lugal kalam-ma
i 6 išib an-na
i 7 lu-maḥ
i 8 ˹nisaba
i 9 dumu bu11-bu11
i 10 ‘ensi3 umma3ki
i 11 ‘lu3-maḥ
i 12 ‘nisaba-ka
i 13 ˹ig i zid bar-ra
i 14 an lugal kur-kur-ka
i 15 ensi2-gal
i 16 ˹en-lilz
i 17 neštu2 šumu2-ma
i 18 ˹en-ki
i 19 mu pad3-da
i 20 ḫuti
i 21 sukkal-маḥ
i 22 ˹suen
i 23 ʃagina
i 24 ˹ḫuti
i 25 u2-a ˹inana
i 26 dumu tud-da
i 27 ˹nisaba
i 28 ga zid gu2-a
i 29 ˹nin-ḫur-saḥ
i 30 lu3 ˹meš3-saḥna-unugki-ga
i 31 saŋ a2 e3-a
i 32 ˹nin-girim3
i 33 nin unugki-ga-ka
i 34 agrig maḥ
i 35 dišir-re-ne-ra

7.4 Transliterate the text Shu-Suen 12 (RIME 3/2.1.4.12, ex. 2) (Ur, 21st c.) (P226510) (a photo of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P226510) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Add morphological segmentation and glossing to the text. Translate the text with the help of Foxvog’s (2016b) glossary. Then go to the ETCSRI edition of the text (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q000996), click on the “proofing” link on the left side of the page, and compare your glosses with ETCSRI’s glossing. Identify and list the non-finite verbal forms. Can you notice something about the orthography of the text?
Lesson 8: Non-verbal predication and other uses of the copula

In Sumerian there exist two kinds of non-verbal predicates. The more common type is the one in which the predicate contains a verbal copula. If the S of the non-verbal predicate is in the 3rd ps. sg. then the non-verbal predicate may occur without a copula in certain contexts. This lesson describes both kinds of non-verbal predicates, and also the various other uses of the copula.

8.1 Copular clauses

The Sumerian copular clause is an intransitive clause which consists of two main parts: a) the subject and b) a non-verbal predicate. The predicate itself consists of two parts: i) a structural unit functioning as the predicate complement (= PC) and ii) a copula.

The Sumerian copula is a verbal copula formed from the verb me “to be”. It has two forms: the independent and the enclitic copula. The independent copula is a finite verb with at least one verbal prefix, while the enclitic copula is attached to the last word of the clause with out any prefix. As a rule the predicate complement is situated next to the copula; if the copula is enclitic, then it cliticizes to the predicate complement. In copular clauses, where the constituent next to the copula is the predicate complement, the predicate complement as a rule predicates a property about a referential S. Ex. (131) contains a 3rd ps. sg. enclitic copula cliticized to the last unit of the predicate complement:

(131) En-metena 7 21–22 (RIME 1.9.5.7) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222539)
ud-ba du-du, saŋŋa ‘nin-girz-suz=ka-kam
ud=be=a (dudu=ø) pc[saŋŋa ninjirsuk=ak=ø]=am-ø
day=DEM=L1 [PN=ABS] pc[official DN=GEN=ABS]=COP=3.SG.S
“At that time Dudu was the temple administrator of the god Ningirsu.”

As other stative verbs in Sumerian, the copula too has only a preterite and no present-future form. Both the independent and the enclitic copula are suffixed with the set of pronominal suffixes that are coreferential with the participant in the absolutive case in preterite tense verbal forms (called Set B in Table 9.1, in Lesson 9, section 9.1. below). The final /e/ of the copula and the initial /e/ of the pronominal suffixes are contracted to a single vowel, which may have been long.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>-me-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENCLITIC</td>
<td>-me-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.1: Forms of the copula

In the 3rd ps. sg., the enclitic copula uses a special stem, the stem /am/ instead of /me/. The 3rd ps. sg. enclitic copula is written as –ams(AN) until around 24th c. BCE, and later as –ams(A.AN).

If a noun phrase ends in a vowel, the vowel of the 3rd ps. sg. enclitic copula /am/ contracts with the vowel. The contraction is, however, reflected by the writing only when the preceding morpheme is written with a phonographic sign
as in ex. (132) below. In ex. (133) the enclitic copula follows a word sign, the copula and the preceding word most probably contracted to /esim/, yet the writing does not reflect the contraction. In a similar example, ex. (134), where the preceding morpheme is written with a phonographic sign, the contraction is reflected also by the writing.

(132) BM 106540 obv. 3 (Umma, 21st c.) (P200724)

nin-ŋi₄-tum
pc[nin=ŋu=∅]-am-∅
pc[sister=1.SG.POSS=ABS]=COP-3.SG.S

“She is my sister.”

(133) Gudea Statue B 7:54 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)

esi-am₃
pc[esi=∅]=am-∅
pc[diorit=ABS]=COP-3.SG.S

“(The statue) is of diorite.”

(134) Shu-Suen 1 4:44-46 (RIME 3/2.1.4.1)

iri₂₃-ba,
šu₄-suen, dijir-be₂-em
PC₅[city=3.SG.NH.POSS=GEN] [PN=ABS] PC₅[god=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS]=COP-3.SG.S

“In literary contexts, see exx. (135) and (136) below, and in personal names of the 3rd millennium BCE, see ex. (137) below, the copula may use yet another stem, the stem /na/nam/. This stem may derive from a modal form of the copula: na-me-∅ (= MOD-COP-3.SG.S), which became /nam/ after the loss of the stem final -e/, and was expanded again pleonastically with the affirmative epistemic modal prefix /na/-.. The form may, at least originally, have expressed epistemic certainty, see Lesson 16, section 16.2 below.

(135) Lugalbanda in the mountain cave 59 (ETCSL 1.8.2.1)

ud-be₂-a 7 he₂-na-me-eš
ud=be=a pc[7=∅] [ša₃₄-ha₃₄]-sa₃₄nam=sa₃₄eš

“At that time there were seven of them.”

(136) Enmerkar and En-suḫḫir-ana 15 (ETCSL 1.8.2.4)

sukkal en aratta₄₄-ka sukkal an-sig₇-ga-ri-a
PC₅[sukkal en aratta=ak=ak] [sukkal ansigi₄₄-a=∅]
PC₅[minister lord GN=GEN=GEN] [minister PN=ABS]
mu-ne₂ he₂-en-na-nam
pc[mu=ane=∅] [ša₃₄-ha₃₄]-sa₃₄nam=sa₃₄∅
pc[name=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS] MOD-FIN-COP-3.SG.S

“Now the name of the lord of Aratta’s minister was minister Ansiga-ria.”

(137) BIN 8, 345 obv. 7:6 (ED IIIb) (P221476)

ba₂-ua₂-na-nam
pc[bau=ak=nanam=∅
pc[DN=GEN]=COP=3.SG.S

“She/he belongs to Bau.”
The S of a copular clause is in the absolutive case. The copula agrees in person and number with the S. The S of a copular clause may be expressed in three ways: i) both as an overt lexical noun phrase and by a pronominal suffix on the copula, see, e.g., ex. (142) below; ii) solely by the pronominal suffix on the copula, see, e.g., ex. (132) above; or iii) both as an independent pronoun and by a pronominal suffix on the copula, see, e.g., ex. (143) below.

As a rule the predicate complement is in the absolutive case. Less frequently it may be in the genitive, as in exx. (138), (139); ablative (expressing an instrumental meaning), as in ex. (140); or equative, as in ex. (141) below:

(138) En-ana-tum I 2 rev. 2:5 (RIME 1.9.4.2) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222496)
an-ta-su-ra ḫa₂-kam

₃[antasura=ø] ₁[ne=ak]=am-∅
₃[GN=ABS] ₁[LSG,PR=GEN]=COP-3.SG.S

“The Antasura is mine!”

(139) TCS 1, 177 rev. 2 (unknown, 21st c.) (P145700)
gu₂-na-kam

₃[gu=ane=ak]=am-∅
₃[neck=3.SG.H.POSS=GEN]=COP-3.SG.S

“It is of his neck.” = “It is his responsibility.”

(140) NG 214 obv. 1:8 (Umma, 21st c.) (P131761)
in-im ur-ni-jin-na₅-nar nu-band₅-a-ta-am₃

₃[inim =word PN overcome=GEN=ABL]=COP-3.SG.S

“This was with the permission of Urnigingar, the overseer.”

(141) TCS 1, 327 obv. 3-4 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P111288)
a₂₅ tug₂ gada₅ du₃₂ₕ

₃[a tug gada=ʾ du₂-∅=ak=∅]
₃[wage cloth line=12.NH go-TL=GEN=ABS]

₃[urim=ma-gin=nam]
₃[urim=ak=gen]=am-∅
₃[GN=GEN=EQU]=COP-3.SG.S

“The wages for ‘walking’ on cloth and line are as those of Urim.”

The independent and the enclitic copula have a complementary distribution. The independent form of the copula is used i) when the meaning of the predicate requires the use of a verbal prefix other than the finite-marker prefix (this verbal prefix is a modal prefix in S₁ in ex. [142], while it is the coordinator prefix in S₃ in ex. [143]); ii) in subordinate copula clauses, which may be a complement clause as in ex. (144), or a relative clause as in ex. (145). In morphosyntactic environments different to i) and ii), the enclitic copula is used. The enclitic copula thus occurs in place of a not subordinate independent copula whose prefix-chain consists exclusively of a finite-marker prefix. It may have come into being through the syncopation of the finite-marker prefix /i/. As it often happens, the older form was retained in subordinate contexts.
(142) Lugalbanda and the Anzud bird 106 (ETCSL 1.8.2.2)
\[
dinjir₃ \quad \text{he₂-me-en}
\]
\[
do{\text{PC}} \quad \text{dinjir=ο} \quad \text{s₃ha}-5₁₃me₃₁₄en
\]
\[
do{\text{PC}} \quad \text{god=ABS} \quad \text{MOD-FIN-COP-2.SG.S}
\]
“if you are a god, ….”

(143) Shulgi C 9 (ETCSL 2.4.2.03)
\[
ninjir₃-erim₃=ma \quad \text{usan}₁ \quad \text{bar-uš-be₂}
\]
\[
do{\text{PC}} \quad \text{ninjerim=ak} \quad \text{PC\{usan \quad baruš=be=ο}}
\]
\[
do{\text{PC}} \quad \text{PC\{evil=GEN} \quad \text{PC\{scourge \quad stick=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS}
\]
\[
\%26 \quad \text{in-ga-me-en}₃
\]
\[
s₄\text{[ne=ο]} \quad \text{s₂j₄-s₃ nga₄-s₅₁ me₃₁₄en}
\]
\[
s₄\text{[1.SG.PR =ABS]} \quad \text{FIN-COP-COP-1.SG.S}
\]
“As for all evil, their scourge and stick are also me.”

(144) NG 212 obv. 2:4 (Umma, 21st c.) (P142272)
\[
arad₃ \quad 4\text{šara}₂ \quad \text{i₃-me-a}
\]
\[
do{\text{PC}} \quad \text{arad} \quad \text{šara=ak=ο} \quad \text{s₂j₃-s₃ me₅₁₄e₃₅₃ a=ak}
\]
\[
do{\text{PC}} \quad \text{slave GN=GEN=ABS \quad FIN-COP-3.SG.S-SUB=GEN}
\]
“(Lugalazida is to take the assertory oath) that he (= Lugalitida) is a slave of the god Shara”.

(145) ASJ 4, p. 141, no. 6 obv. 2 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P102167)
\[
ut₃ \quad \text{tur₃-ra} \quad \text{i₃-me-a}
\]
\[
do{\text{PC}} \quad \text{tur=PT=ABS \quad FIN-COP-3.SG.S-SUB=L1}
\]
“When he was ill.”

Non-verbal predicates may be negated in two ways: i) The negative equivalent of a copular clause with a 3rd ps. sg. S and an enclitic copula is negated solely with the negative particle /nu/ and the negative clause contains no copula; ii) if the S is not in the 3rd ps. sg. and/or the copula is not enclitic, then the clause is negated with an independent copula prefixed with the negation prefix /nu/.

In ex. (146) below the first clause is negated with the particle /nu/, while the second is negated with an independent copula prefixed with the negation particle /nu/.

(146) Gudea Statue B 7:49–50 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
\[
\text{alan-e,} \quad \text{u₃ } \quad \text{kug } \quad \text{nu}
\]
\[
s₃\text{[alan=ε=ο]} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{PC\{kug=ο} \quad \text{nu}
\]
\[
s₃\text{[statue=DEM=ABS] \quad and \quad PC\{silver=ABS\} \quad NEG}
\]
\[
z₃\text{[zagin=ο]} \quad \text{nu-ga-am₃}
\]
\[
do{\text{PC}} \quad \text{zagin=ο} \quad \text{s₃nu-s₂j₃ nga₃-s₅₁ me₃₁₄ø}
\]
\[
do{\text{PC}} \quad \text{[lapis.lazuli=ABS]} \quad \text{NEG-FIN-COOR-COP=3.SG.S}
\]
“This statue is of neither silver nor lapis lazuli.”

The affirmative equivalent of the first clause would contain the 3rd ps. sg. form of the enclitic copula (*kug=ε-am-ο: silver=ABS=COP=3.SG.S), while the affirmative equivalent of the second clause would contain an independent copula because of the presence of a coordinator prefix in S3 (*s₂j₃ nga₃-s₅₁ me₃₁₄ø: FIN-COOR-COP=3.SG.S). The difference in the way the two clauses are negated in ex. (146)
is thus conditioned by the form of the copula in the corresponding affirmative clauses.

Non-verbal predicates may be used to express a range of semantic relations. In English, for example, the same verb, the verb “to be”, is used to express identity, attribution, possession, benefaction, and location. In Sumerian only the first four of the semantic relations mentioned are expressed with the copular verb me “to be”, while for location a different verb, the verb 旮al “to exist somewhere”, is used.

### 8.2 Non-verbal predicates without a copula

If the S is in the 3rd ps. sg., then the non-verbal predicate may occur without a copula in certain grammatical environments. There are four grammatical environments in which the non-verbal predicate is attested to omit the copula: i) copular clauses functioning as proper names (names of persons, statues etc.) in which the S is an overt lexical noun; ii) seal inscriptions; iii) the negated counterpart of copular clauses in which the S is in the 3rd ps. sg. and the copula is enclitic (see the previous subsection above); iv) interrogative clauses.

In proper names consisting of a non-verbal predicate the copula may be omitted if the S of the clause is an overt lexical noun, as in exx. (147) and (148) below. If the S is not an overt lexical noun, then the copula is present, as shown by ex. (149) below.

(147) UET 2, 338 rev. 2:2 (Ur, 28th c.) (P005925)

 ama-geštin
\[s^1[ama=ø]_PC[neštin=ø]\]
\[s^2[mother=ABS]_PC[wine=ABS]\]
“The-mother-is-wine”

(148) Amar-Suena 20 1 (RIME 3/2.1.3.20) (Ur, 21st. c) (P200450)

 nin-he₂-du₂
\[s^1[nin=ø]_PC[hedu=ø]\]
\[s^2[lady=ABS]_PC[ornament=ABS]\]
“The-lady-is-an-ornament”

(149) Nam-mahne 11 9 (RIME 3/1.1.12.11) (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P234704)

₂utu-kam
\[s^1[utu=ak]=am-ø\]
\[s^2[DN=GEN]=COP-3SG.S\]
“He-is-Utu’s”

In seal inscriptions ending with the “your slave” formula, which functions as the predicate, the copula never occurs, as in ex. (150) below.

(150) Shulgi 86 (RIME 3/2.01.02.86) (unknown, 21st c.) (P226941)

 ba-qar₃-tum, dumu-munus lugal, ⁴šul-gi-iš-li₂, arad-zu
baqartum dumumunus lugal-ak=ø ⁴šulgišili=ø \[s^1[PN₁=abs]\]
PN₁ daughter king=GEN=ABS ⁴[PN₁=abs] \[s^2[slave=2SG.POSS=ABS]\]
“Baqartum, the king’s daughter: Shulgi-ili is your slave.”

If the S of an interrogative clause is in the 3rd ps. sg., then the copula may be dropped. In ex. (151) below the first clause is interrogative, while the second one is declarative; the S of of both clauses is in the 3rd ps. sg. In the first clause
the copula after the predicate is omitted, while in the second one the predicate complement is followed by a copula. The presence of the copula in the first clause is thus conditioned by the type of the clause. (In ex. [151] the sentence-initial interrogative pronoun is accompanied by a copula. The structure and function of forms like this is discussed in Lesson 5 above.)

(151) Enlil and Nam-zid-tara 23-24 (ETCSL 5.7.1)
a-ba-am₁ mu-zu₃
aba=ø=am-ø pc[mu=zu=ø]
who=ABS=COP-3.SG.S pc[name=2.SG.POSS=ABS]
nam-zid-tar-ra mu-ŋu₃=um
s[namzidtara=ø] pc[mu=ŋu=ø]=am-ø
s[PN=ABS] pc[name=1.SG.POSS=ABS]=COP-3.SG.S

“What (lit. who) is your name? My name is Nam-zid-tara.”

8.3 Copular biclausal constructions

Copular clauses may be used as parts of biclausal constructions. In Sumerian copular biclausal constructions the initial clause is always a copular clause. The verb of the second clause is typically a finite, non-copular verb, but occasionally the second clause too may be copular. The defining characteristic of copular biclausal constructions is that one of the participants of the copular clause and one of the participants of the other clause are coreferential. The shared participant may occur as an overt noun phrase only in the initial copular clause, and is present only in the form of a pronominal affix on the (verbal) predicate in the second clause.

A typical example is ex. (152) below, in which the S of the copular clause functions as P in the second, non-copular clause. The shared participant is li “juniper”, which is referred to by a pronominal suffix in S14 of the finite verb in the second clause. The two component clauses of this construction could be used separately without any modification as simple sentences. In sentences like ex. (152) the predicate of the initial copular clause may be interpreted as an attributive apposition or as an attributive relative clause of the shared participant, as shown also by the second, non-literal translation.

(152) Gudea Cyl. A 8:10 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
li₃ [li=ø] u₂ sikil kur-ra-kam
s[li=ø] pc[u sikil kur=ak=ø]=am=ø
s[juniper=ABS] pc[plant pure mountain=ABS]=COP-3.SG.S
izi-a bi₂-si-si
izi=’a s₃,b₃=₁-s₁₂,i₃₅₂i₃=si₃₅₄=ø
fire=1.₂.NH 3NH₁-1₂-3.SG.A-fill=PL-3.SG.P

Lit. “The juniper is the pure plant of the mountains; he (= Gudea) put it onto the fire.”
= “He put juniper, (which is) the pure plant of the mountains, onto the fire.”

In relative clauses of non-copular verbs the relative clause is syntactically subordinate, formally marked with the subordinator suffix -’a/, as in ex. (153) below.
Copular clauses may also be used in similar constructions. In ex. (154) below the head of the copular relative clause (ab₂ “cow”) is the possessor of the predicate complement of the copular clause. The copular clause is subordinate, formally marked with the subordination suffix in S₁₅, and consequently the copula uses its independent form.

Subordinate copular relative clauses similar to ex. (154) may, however, be formed only if the relativized constituent is different from the S of the copular clause. Subordinate copular relative clauses in which the relativized constituent is the S of the copular clause do not exist in Sumerian; they are substituted by biclausal constructions like ex. (152) above. To put it simply, the sentence “John, who is a sailor, built a house” may only be said in Sumerian as “John is a sailor; he built a house”. In constructions like ex. (152) above, the copular clause functions as paratactic, i.e., syntactically non-subordinate, copular relative clause; its predicate functions only to provide some additional information about about the shared participant.

In Lesson 5 (section 5.1) above it was mentioned that only participants functioning as identificational focus or contrastive topic are referred to by independent pronouns. As a consequence of this rule, appositional constructions with a pronominal head, e.g., “I, the shepherd”, do not exist in Sumerian; ex. (155) below would be ungrammatical in Sumerian, a copular biclausal construction is used instead, see ex. (156) below.

(153) Gudea Cyl. A 7:11–12 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

\[\text{inim} \quad 4\text{nanše-e} \quad \text{mu-na-dug₄ga-aš,} \]
\[\text{p₁inim} \quad \text{p₂[nanš₅e=]s₄mu₅n₅-a₅s₁₅dug₅₁₄a₅s₁₅=₅₅e} \]
\[\text{p₁word} \quad \text{p₂[DN=ERG VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-3.SG.H.A-speak-3.SG.P-SUB]=₅₅TERM} \]
\[\text{san} \quad \text{sig} \quad \text{ba-ši-nar} \]
\[\text{san} \quad \text{sig=₀=₀} \quad \text{š₂₃bar₃s₁₅ṣ₃₄na₅₁₄=₅₁₄\text{e}} \]

Lit. “He set a low head to the words that Nanshe told him” = “He accepted what Nanshe told him.”

(154) NG 137 obv. 7 (Umma, 21st c.) (P131782)

\[\text{ab₂} \quad \text{š₃₄bar₃tur} \quad \text{mu-be₂} \quad \text{i₃-me-a} \]
\[\text{p₁ab} \quad \text{p₂[š₃₄bar₃tur=₀]} \quad \text{p₂[mu-be=₀]} \quad \text{š₃₅s₁₅me₃₅a₃₄=₅₅\text{e}} \]
\[\text{p₁Cow} \quad \text{p₂[PN=ABS]} \quad \text{p₂[name=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS]} \quad \text{FIN-COP-3.SG.S-SUB]=ABS} \]

“the cow whose name is Shabar-tur”

(155)

\[\text{₅₉me₅₉e} \quad \text{sipad₅₉e} \quad \text{e₂} \quad \text{mu-du₅₁} \]
\[\text{₅₉me₅₉e} \quad \text{sipad₅₉e} \quad \text{e=₀} \quad \text{₅₄mu₅₄-a₅₄du₅₄=₅₄} \]

1.SG.PR shepherd=ERG house=ABS VEN-1.SG.A-build-3.SG.P

“I, the shepherd, have built the temple.”

(156) Gudea Cyl. B 2:5 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

\[\text{sipad₅₁-me} \quad \text{e₂} \quad \text{mu-du₅₁} \]
\[\text{₅₁sipad₅₁=me-en} \quad \text{e=₀} \quad \text{₅₄mu₅₄-a₅₄du₅₄=₅₄} \]
\[\text{₅₁sipad₅₁=me-en} \quad \text{e=₀} \quad \text{₅₄mu₅₄-a₅₄du₅₄=₅₄} \]

“I am shepherd, I have built the temple. = I, who am a shepherd, have built the temple. = I, the shepherd, have built the temple.”
8.4 The copula functioning as standard marker

In some of its occurrences the 3rd ps. sg. enclitic copula =/am-ø/ lends itself easily to a translation with the preposition “like”:

(157) Iddin-Dagan A 172 (ETCSL 2.5.3.1)
lugal  dijin=am\text{3}  šag=be-\text{a}  mu-un-da-an-til\text{3}
lugal=\text{ø}  dijin=ø=am-ø  šag=be-\text{a}  s₄mu₂₃n₃⁷da⁻₃₁øn₃₁₃₁₄lo₃₄⁺
king=\text{ABS}  god=\text{ABS}=\text{COP}=3.SG.S  heart=3.SG.NH.POSS=\text{L1}  \text{VEN}=3.SG.COM=\text{L1.SYN}=\text{live}=3.SG.S

“Lit. “The king is a god, he lives with her in it.” = “The king lives with her (= the goddess Ninegala) in it like a god.”

The ancient scribes already recognized this usage. In a grammatical text from the first millennium BCE (NGBT IX l. 270-271 in MSL 4: 175), the enclitic copula is equated with the Akkadian preposition kīmā “like”.

It was discussed in Lesson 3 above that in similative constructions, which express sameness of manner, and equative constructions, which express sameness of extent, the standard marker is as a rule the equative enclitic =/gen/. In ex. (157) above, which in essence is a similative construction, the predicate complement with the copula appears to be interpreted as the standard with its marker.

Ex. (157) may be considered a copular biclausal construction. There exists, however, examples which may be not be construed as consisting of a copular and a non-copular clause.

In ex. (158) below the constituent šag enlil=ak “the heart of the god Enlil” is in the ergative case, the case required by the transitive verb of the second clause. Should this constituent still function as the S of the copular clause “the heart of the god Enlil is the river Tigris”, then it would be in the absolutive case. Consequently this example is not biclausal, the morpheme =/am/ functions in it truly as a standard marker (= STM), but not as the predicate of a copular clause. Ex. (157) above should probably be interpreted similarly, but in this example the change in the grammatical function of the enclitic copula may not be recognized, as the word lugal “king” would be in the absolutive both in the copular and the non-copular clause.

(158) Gudea Cyl. A 1:9 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
šag₄  en-li₂₃laz=ke₄  idigna=am₃
šag  enlil=ak=ø  idigna=am
heart  DN=GEN=ERG  WN=STM
a  dug₃=ga  nam-de₆
a  dug=ø=ø  s₃₁na⁻₄₃m⁻₃₁b⁻₃₁dₑ⁻₄₁ø
water  sweet=PT=ABS  MOD=VEN=3.SG.NH.A-bring=3.SG.P

“The heart of the god Enlil brought sweet water like the river Tigris.”

The use of =/am/ as standard marker appears to be restricted to literary texts, suggesting that it belonged to a higher register; and it is used as standard marker only in similative constructions.

8.5 The copula functioning as focus marker

In copular clauses the constituent next to the copula is mostly the predicate complement. The order of the predicate complement and the S may, however, sometimes be inverted, as in the second clause of ex. (159) below.
“(Turam intending to defend himself against accusations that he has placed instead in all hands).”

In copular clauses with an inverted word order the predicate complement does not predicate a property about a referential S. It does something fundamentally different; it exhaustively identifies the referent of a description by naming it. So in ex. (159) the description “my mother” is identified as “you” (and no one else). The S next to the copula functions thus as the identificational focus of the copular clause, i.e., “[it] indicates that the focus denotation is the only one that leads to a true proposition” (Krifka 2007: 33). Copular clauses like the second one in ex. (159) are called specificational in linguistics.

Copular biclausal constructions in which the copular clause is specificational are to be translated and interpreted as cleft clauses. The constituent next to the copula, see exx. (160) and (161), or a subconstituent of the constituent next to the copula, see ex. (162) below, functions as the identificational focus of the clause.

(160) Hoe and Plough 147 (ETCSL 5.3.1)

\(\text{[\text{ne}=-\text{e}-\text{me}-\text{en}]}\) \(\text{mu}=-\text{sar-ra}\) \(\text{a} \quad \text{bi}=-\text{ib}=-\text{sig}-\text{o}=\text{sig}-\text{ge-en}\)

\(\text{[\text{ne}=-\text{e}-\text{me}-\text{en}]}\) \(\text{musar}=-\text{a}\) \(\text{a}=\text{o}\) \(\text{b}=-\text{g}=-\text{t}=\text{t}=-\text{sig}-\text{sig}-\text{en}\)

\(\text{[\text{a}=-\text{S10}]\text{COP}=-\text{S10}}\) \(\text{plot}=\text{L2.NH}\) \(\text{water}=\text{ABS}\) \(\text{3.SG.NH-L2-3.SG.NH-P}-\text{put}-\text{PL-1.SG.A}\)

“It is me who puts water in all the plots.”

(161) Gudea Cyl. A 13:2 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

\(\text{siki udu gan-na-kam}\)

\(\text{[siki udu gan-o}=-\text{ak}=-\text{am-o]}\)

\(\text{[wool sheep bear-TL=GEN=ABS]}\)

\(\text{[\text{š}u\text{-a}]\text{mi-ni-ŋar-ŋar}}\)

\(\text{[šu\text{-a}]}\)

\(\text{[šu\text{-a}]}\)

\(\text{[šu\text{-a}]}\)

\(\text{[šu\text{-a}]}\)

\(\text{[hand=1]}\)

\(\text{VEN-L1-3.SG.H.A-put=PL-3.SG.P}\)

“(He undid the tonge of the goad and the whip; it was wool from lamb-bearing sheep that he placed instead in all hands).”

In ex. (162) below the constituent next to the copula is the noun phrase \(\text{udu}-\text{ŋu}=\text{ø}\) (sheep=1.SG.POSS=ABS) “my sheep”. From the context, however, it is clear, that the focus is in fact its subconstituent, the enclitic possessive pronoun “my”, as Turam-ili intends to defend himself against accusations that he has given someone else’s sheep to Sulalum.

(162) NG 138 rev. 7 (Umma, 21st c.) (P200731)

\(\text{udu-ŋu-o-um}\)

\(\text{šu}=-\text{la-lum-ra}\)

\(\text{in-na-šum}\)

\(\text{[udu-ŋu-o=am}=\text{ø}\)

\(\text{šulalum}=\text{ra}\)

\(\text{[sheep=1.SG.POSS=ABS]}\)

\(\text{PN=DAT.H}\)

\(\text{FIN-3.SG.H-DAT-1.SG.A-give-3.SG.P}\)

“(Turam-ili declared:) ‘I gave MY sheep to Sulalum.”
Further readings
For a detailed description of all uses of the copula in Sumerian see now Zólyomi 2014c.

For similitative and equative constructions in Sumerian see Sövegjártó 2011.

Exercises

8.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

8.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

8.3 Translate with the help of Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to the following examples.

a) iri₂₂, ḫu₂-suen, dijir-be₂-em
b) da-du maškim-be₂-em
c) (S = “you”) ṣin₂₂-n₂₂-ḥi-li šagi₂₂-ga-na-me-en
d) (S = “you”) en za-e-me-en lugal za-e-me-en
e) šer₃-ra-ga-ši₂₂, dumu nibru₃-kam, ur-sagi₂₂-ga, ḫa₂₂-mu₂₂-na-šum₂₂-mu
f) (A = “I”) sipad-me e₂₂ mu-du₂₂
g) ṣutu₂₂-am₃ an-shag₂₂-ge im-si
h) ṣe₂₂-meš₃ zid₂₂-dam kurun₂₂ kug mu-un-il₂₂
i) dijir an ki-a za-e-me-en i₃-zalag₂₂-ge-en

8.4 Translate the following clauses into Sumerian. Provide only the morphemic segmentation and glossing.

a) At that time Gudea was the ruler of Lagash.
b) As for Ningirsu, the ruler is a man of his heart.
c) I, the king, built the great temple of my mighty gods.
d) Who are you?
e) Ningirsu was the mighty god of Gudea, ruler of Lagash.
f) The ruler of Lagash is you.
g) They are the seven royal judges.
h) She was kind.
i) She is not my wife.
j) You are not the king of Ur.
k) He is not the king of Ur.
l) They are not the king of Ur either.
m) Of this temple, Ningirsu is its god.
8.5 Analyze and translate the following excerpt from a literary text with the help of Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary. Add the missing morphemic glossing to the lines. Explain the use of the various kinds of copular clauses and of the independent pronouns.

(163) Enmerkar and En-suhgir-ana 276–280 (ETCSL 1.8.2.4)
za-e-me-en en ki aŋ₂
ci[ze=ø]-me-en [en ki=ø aj-ø
ci inana-me-en
inanak=ak=ø]-me-en
dili-zu-ne: mah-me-en
dili=zu=ne [pc[mah=ø]-me-en
ci inana-ke₄ ur₂ kug-ga-ne2-še₃ zid-de₃-eš
inanak=e ur kug=ane=še zid=eš
mu-un-pad₃-de₃-en ki f'aj₂,Šaj₃-ne₂-me-en
ci mu=S₁₁,ŠS₁₄ pad=S₁₄,en [pc[ki=ø aŋ=ane=ø]-me-en
sig-ta igit-im-še₃ en gal-be₂ za-e-me-en
sig=tà igit-im=še [en gal=be=ø] ci [ze=ø]-me-en
ŋe=ø-e us₂-sa-zu-me-en,
ci[ŋe=ø] [us-Ša=zu=ø]-me-en
a řu-Ša-za-gaba-Šari-zu nu-me-en
a=ø řu-Ša=za [pc[gabari=zu=ø] ci nu=S₁₂,ŠS₁₄ me=S₁₄ en
še₃ gal za-e-me-en
ci[še₃ gal=ø] ci [ze=ø]-me-en
ŋe=ø=e nu-mu-da-sa₋e-en ud da-Ša₂,še₃
ci[ŋe=ø] ci nu=S₄,ŠS₆ sa=S₁₄,ŠS₁₄ en ud dari=še
Lesson 9: Verbal tense

This lesson describes the formal means used to distinguish the preterite and present-future tense in Sumerian. It also discusses the prefix of anteriority /u/ in S1, because of the prefix’s role in expressing the relative time of the verbal event in Sumerian.

9.1 The formal marking of the tenses

In the indicative mood Sumerian finite verbal forms distinguish two verbal tenses: present-future (= PF) and preterite (PT). Sumerian has a relative tense system: the verbal form called here the present-future denotes actions that are not anterior, but simultaneous or posterior, relative to a given reference point. The verbal form called the preterite denotes actions anterior relative to a given reference point. The opposition between the present-future and the preterite is neutralized in verbal forms denoting permanent states, as verbs used in a stative meaning always use the preterite tense. The terms present-future and preterite are kept here as convenient labels used for referring to the two tenses of Sumerian.

Formally the two tenses are distinguished either i) solely by agreement patterns involving the affixes in S11 and S14, or ii) by a combination of i) with one of the following grammatical devices: a) the form of the verbal stem in S12, or b) the suffix -/ed/, a marker of present-future, in S13.

In exx. (164) and (165) the same verb Šum₂ “to give” is in preterite and present-future, respectively. In (92) the A is expressed with a pronominal prefix in S11, while in (165) it is expressed by a pronominal suffix in S14. Both the preterite and the present-future verbal forms use the same simple stem Šum₂.

(164) The victory of Utu-hegal 29 (ETCSL 2.1.6)

Gu-ti-um₂iₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐ$_{13}$
suffixes, which differ only in final pronominal prefixes (= FPP). Slot 14 may be filled by either of two sets of suffixes, which differ only in their 3rd ps. forms. Note that in 3rd ps. sg. only the

The pronominal affixes which are involved in the agreement pattern of the tenses may be arranged into three sets, see Table 9.1. below. Slot 11 contains the final pronominal prefixes (= FPP). Slot 14 may be filled by either of two sets of suffixes, which differ only in their 3rd ps. forms. Note that in 3rd ps. sg. only the
Verbal tense

FPP distinguishes between human and non-human forms, while the pronominal suffixes in S14 do not.

The 2nd ps. sg. FPP is /e/. In texts from the 3rd millennium BCE the /e/ contracts with the preceding vowel and lengthens it, whereas in texts from the 2nd millennium BCE the contraction results in an /ē/. The exact form of the 1st ps. sg. FPP is uncertain, but its existence can be inferred from the form of the preceding prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SLOT 11</th>
<th>SLOT 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FPP</td>
<td>SET A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>/n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 2</td>
<td>/e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 3 H</td>
<td>/n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 3 NH</td>
<td>/b/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 2</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 3</td>
<td>/nnē/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.1

Sumerian is an ergative language which exhibits split ergativity in its verbal agreement system. The pronominal cross-referencing system of the preterite is ergative: both the S of intransitive verbal forms and the P of transitive verbal forms are cross-referenced by the same set (Set B) of pronominal suffixes in S14, while the A is cross-referenced by a different set of affixes. The pronominal cross-referencing system of the present-future is nominative-accusative: A and S are cross-referenced with the same set of suffixes (Set A) in S14, except for the 3rd ps. forms, while P is cross-referenced with the FPPs of S11. In 3rd ps. sg. and pl. the present-future has a tripartite system: A, S, and P are all marked with different affixes.

9.2 The preterite

In the preterite S and P, the verbal participants in the absolutive, are cross-referenced with the suffixes of Set B in S14. In other words, both the S of intransitive verbal forms and the P of transitive verbal forms are cross-referenced by the same set of pronominal suffixes in S14 in the preterite.

The agreement pattern of the transitive preterite forms is complex. The singular A is cross-referenced by the singular forms of the final pronominal prefix in S11. The plural A is cross-referenced by a periphrastic construction involving the use of two affixes: the singular forms of the FPP in S11 and the plural forms of Set B in S14. The verbal form in ex. (171) below is, for example, a 3rd ps. pl. transitive preterite. It contains a 3rd ps. sg. human FPP in S11 (/n/), and a 3rd ps. pl. pronominal suffix in S14 (-/eš/). These two affixes together cross-reference the 3rd ps. pl. A. One could say that the FPP in S11 agrees in gender and person, while the suffix in S14 agrees in number and person with the Agent. Note that in these plural transitive verbal forms no affix cross-references the P.

(171) NG 99 rev. 1:3–4 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P111162)

is-bi-la du-du-ke-i-ne, ka-ga-ne-ne-a ba-ni-gi-in-eš
ibila dudu=ak=ene=e kag=anene=`a
heir PN=GEN=PL=ERG mouth=3.PL.H.POSS=1L MID=L1-3.SG.H.A-confirm=3.PL

“The heirs of Dudu confirmed this in their account (lit. ‘in their mouths’).”
Note that the 3rd ps. pl. FPP /nnē/ is not used for cross-referencing A in transitive preterite verbal forms. In addition to the periphrastic construction described in the previous paragraph, a 3rd ps. pl. A may also be cross-referenced with the 3rd ps. sg. non-human prefix /b/ in S11.

The agreement pattern of the preterite forms is summarized in Table 9.2 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S11</th>
<th>S12</th>
<th>S14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRANSITIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSITIVE (SG A)</td>
<td>A (with a sg. IPP)</td>
<td>stemₚₚ</td>
<td>S (with set B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSITIVE (PL A)</td>
<td>A (with a sg. IPP)</td>
<td>stemₚₚ</td>
<td>P (with set B)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.2: The preterite agreement pattern

9.3 The present-future
In present-future forms A and S are cross-referenced with different sets of suffixes in S14: A with Set A, while S with Set B. Note that Set A and B differs only in the 3rd ps. forms. P is cross-referenced with an FPP in S11.

In intransitive present-future forms the suffixes of set B cross-referencing S are preceded by the suffix /ed/ in S13 until the end of the 3rd millennium BCE, in the 2nd millennium its use becomes less regular. Note that in verbal forms whose verbal stem has no special present-future form, only the suffix /ed/ distinguishes the intransitive present-future from the intransitive preterite as both use Set B in S14 to cross-reference S.

The 3rd ps. pl. FPP /nnē/ is attested only in texts from the 24th and 23rd c. BCE, no more than six times; one of them is (172) below. For cross-referencing a 3rd ps. pl. P, /nnē/ is supplanted by the 3rd ps. sg. non-human prefix /b/ in S11.

(172) FaoS 19, Gir32 rev. 7 (Lagash, 23rd c.) (P213570)

\[ \text{ḫa-mu-ra-ne-šum-mu} \]
\[ \text{s₁₃ha₃-mu₃-ₚ₃ₚ₅ⁿ₃₇ₙ₃₅₉-e} \]

MOD-VEN-2.SG-DAT-3.PL.P-give-3.SG.A

“May he give them to you!”

When the participant functioning as P of the transitive present-future verbal form is a 3rd ps. sg. non-human, then the presence of the cross-referencing prefix /b/ in S11 is not obligatory, as in ex. (173) below. In this example the participant functioning as P is not cross-referenced by any prefix, the presence of the 3rd ps. sg. suffix -/e/ in S14, however, can alone indicate that the verbal form is transitive.

(173) Gudea Cyl. A 1:11 (Lagash, 21nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

\[ \text{e₂-ninnu me-be₂ an ki-a} \]
\[ \text{eninnu=ak me=be=e an ki=a} \]

TN=GEN essence=3.SG.NH.POSS=L3.NH sky earth=L1

\[ \text{pa e₁ mu-ak-ke₄} \]
\[ \text{pa=ø e-ø=ø s₄₃₉mu₃₅₉n₃₇ₙ₃₇₉ak₃₄en} \]

branch=ABS leave-TL=ABS VEN-L1.SYN-act-1.SG.A

“I will make the grandeur of E-ninnu known everywhere.
This phenomenon is not restricted to transitive present-future forms, it may also be observed in imperative forms and in forms with the modal-prefix /ga/-, see lesson 17 below, i.e., in any form which cross-references P in S11.

The agreement pattern of the present-future forms is summarized in Table 9.3 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S11</th>
<th>S12</th>
<th>S13</th>
<th>S14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRANSITIVE</td>
<td>stem&lt;sub&gt;pf&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-/ed/-</td>
<td>S (with set B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSITIVE</td>
<td>P (with an IPP)</td>
<td>stem&lt;sub&gt;pf&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>A (with set A)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.3: The present-future agreement pattern

The present-future tense is also signalled by the form of the verbal stem with some of the verbs. In particular, Sumerian verbs can be grouped into four classes according to their form in the present-future:

i) Verbs belonging to the REGULAR CLASS use the same stem both in the present-future and preterite. The majority of the verbs belongs to this class.

ii) Verbs belonging to the REDUPLICATING CLASS use a reduplicated stem in the present-future. If the stem ends with a consonant, then the consonant is either omitted in the reduplicated form, e.g.: ɲar<sub>pr</sub>/ɲar/ : ɲa2-ɲa2<sub>pr</sub>/ɲa-ɲa/ “to put”, ɲan<sub>pr</sub>/nan/ : nas-nas<sub>pr</sub>/na-na/ “to drink”, kur₉<sub>pr</sub>/kur/ : ku₁₄-ku₄<sub>pr</sub>/ku-ku/ “to enter”; or it is preserved only in the first syllable: hal<sub>pr</sub>/hal/ : hal-ba<sub>pr</sub>/hal-ba/ “to distribute”, te-en<sub>pr</sub>/ten/ : te-en-te<sub>pr</sub>/ten-te/ “to cool off”. If the monosyllabic stem ends with a vowel, then the whole stem is reduplicated, e.g.: gi₄<sub>pr</sub>/gi/ : gi₄-gi₄<sub>pr</sub>/gi-gi/ “to return”; mu₂<sub>pr</sub>/mu/ : mu₂-mu₂<sub>pr</sub>/mu-mu/ “to grow”. Some bisyllabic verbs form their present-future stem by a reduplication of the first syllable with an accompanying voicing of the consonant: tuku<sub>pr</sub>/tuku/ : du₁₂-du₁₂<sub>pr</sub>/du-du/ “to have”; taka₄<sub>pr</sub>/taka/ : da₁₃-da₁₃<sub>pr</sub>/da-da/ “to leave”.

iii) Verbs belonging to the EXTENDING CLASS use a stem extended with a consonant in the present-future, e.g.: e₃<sub>pr</sub>/e/ : ed₂<sub>pr</sub>/ed/ “to go out”, te<sub>pr</sub>/te/ or ti<sub>pr</sub>/ti/ : ten₃<sub>pr</sub>/ten/ or ti₃<sub>pr</sub>/ti/ “to approach”. The presence of the stem-final consonant is shown by the orthography only if there is an affix after the stem.

iv) Verbs belonging to THE SUPPLETIVE CLASS use an entirely different stem in the present-future, e.g.: dug₄<sub>pr</sub>/dug/ (sg.), e<sub>pr</sub>/e/ (pl.) : e<sub>pr</sub>/e/ (sg. and pl.) “to speak”. See also Table 11.1 in Lesson 11 below for more verbs with a suppletive stem; the form of these verbs also depends on the plurality of their participant in the absolutive.

In the Sumerian texts we have at our disposal preterite verbal forms outnumber present-future forms greatly. Only the preterite may be used with stative verbs, and this is the most often used tense in texts referring to past events.

In ex. (174) below the present-future is used to express an action that will take place in the future, posterior relative to the present of the text. The present-future is also used to express future events in the protasis part of curse formulas see, e.g., ex. (60) in Lesson 5, and exx. (167) and (168) above.
An expression of wish, see also Lesson 16, section 16.2 below.

1. The victory of Utu-hegal 28 (ETCSL 2.1.6)

```
dumu iri-na-ke=-ne  gu₃  mu-ne-de=-e
dumu iri=ane=ak=enē=ra  gu=∅  s₄mu₅₆nnē₅₇a₅₁₃de₅₁₄e

"He addressed a speech to the citizens of his city: '...'
```

In ex. (178) the present-future is used with the modal prefix /ḥa/- to express a wish, see also Lesson 16, section 16.2 below.
(178) Gudea Cyl. B 2:6 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

In ex. (179) below the present-future is used to express a habitual action.

(179) En-metena 7 14–16 (RIME 1.9.5.7) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222539)

In addition to the formal means of the previous subsection, the prefix /u/ of S1 is also involved in indicating the relative time of the verbal event in Sumerian. It denotes anteriority relative to the event of a following clause. If the verb of the following clause is in the present, it denotes anteriority in the future, while if it is in the preterite, it denotes anteriority in the past. Verbal forms with the prefix /u/ are as a rule in the preterite.

The prefix assimilates to the vowel of the next syllable only if it forms an open syllable, see ex. (182) and the first verbal form in ex. (183) below. If it forms a closed syllable, /uc/, then it does not assimilate. Its behaviour gives further support to the assumption that the 3rd ps. sg. human IPP is /nn/, if followed by a vowel. The different vowels of the prefix of anteriority in exx. (181) and (182), /u/ vs. /i/, may easily be explained if one assumes that the grapheme NI represents /nii/ in the former, but /ni/ in the latter.

(180) Iri-kagina 3 2:16’–18’ (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222610)

If a man divorced (his) wife, the ruler received 5 shekels of silver.

(181) En-metena 1 6:21–23 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)

“After Ningirsu had thrown a battle-net on him (= the Ummaite), ....”
Further readings
The most important article on the forms of the present-future stem is Krecher 1995. A part of the sumerological literature refers to the preterite and present-future tenses of Sumerian with the ancient Akkadian terms as ḫantu (“quick”) and marû (“slow”) respectively, see Black 1991: 99–119 on these ancient terms. The “classical” account of the various stems used in present-future is Edzard 1976. On the use of the tenses in Sumerian, see Streck 1998.

On split-ergativity in general and in Sumerian, see Woods 2000: 314–319. The origin of split-ergativity in the Sumerian verbal system is the subject of two papers. Interestingly their main conclusions are somehow contradictory. Coghill and Deutscher (2002) argue that the ergative pattern of the preterite arose in Sumerian when a passive structure was reanalyzed as active-transitive as it happened in many other languages. Schulze and Sallaberger (2007) conclude that the present-future pattern derives from “the grammaticalization of the antipassive as an accusative construction” (163) as it happened in many other languages. The complexity of the issue is indicated by the fact that both articles needed two authors, an assyriologist and a linguist.

On the function of the prefix of anteriority and on its possible Semitic origin, see Civil 2008.

Exercises
9.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

9.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

9.3 Change the present-future forms into preterite, and the preterite forms into present-future. You only have to produce the morphemic segmentation and glossing (2nd and 3rd line of the examples).

a) 
mu-ak-ke₄
₄Šmu₂₆⁻š₈₅⁻₃₁₄⁻₄ₑ
VEN-L1.SYN-act-3.SG.A

b) 
ma-ra-ab-mu₂-mu₂
₄Šmu₂₆⁻š₇₅⁻₃₁₄⁻₃₁₂ᵥ₄⁻₄ₑ
VEN-2.SG-DAT-3.SG.NH.P-grow-PF-3.SG.A
9.4 Go to the ETCSRI corpus (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/corpus) and write “V12=STEM-PF” (without the quotation marks) in the Search Oracc box. You will have all the verbal forms listed which use a special present-future stem. Collect them and pair them with their preterite stem.

9.5 Translate the text Lugal-kigine-dudu 1 (RIME 1.14.14.01) (Uruk, 24th c.) (Q001368) with the help of Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s (2016b) glossary. Add morphological segmentation and glossing to the text. Then go to the ETCSRI edition of the text (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q001368), click on the “proofing” link on the left side of the page, and compare your glosses with ETCSRI’s glossing.

1. 4en-lil₂ 3. lugal-kur-kur-ke⁴ 5. gu₂ zid e-na-de₂-a
2. lugal-ki-ṇen-ne₂-du⁷-du⁷-ra 4. ud 4en-lil₂-le
6. nam-en
7. nam-lugal-da
8. e-na-da-tab-ba-a
9. unug₂-ga
10. nam-en
11. mu-ak-ke₄
12. urim₂-mar₃
13. nam-lugal
14. mu-ak-ke₄
15. lugal-ki-ṣen-ne₂-du₇-du₇-de₃
16. nam gal ḫul₂-la-da
17. ₄'en-lil₂ lugal ki am₂-ne₂
18. nam-ti₃-la-ni-še₃
19. a mu-na-ru
Lesson 10: Verbal plurality

The alternation of the verbal stem has two main functions in Sumerian: i) to signal the present-future tense; ii) to signal verbal number. The former was discussed in the previous lesson. This lesson describes the formal means used to signal verbal number in Sumerian.

10.1 Event number

Number is traditionally considered to be a nominal category; in some languages, however, the plurality of verbal events or the plurality of certain participants may trigger alternations in the form of the verb. Sumerian also appears to be a language in which verbal number plays an important role.

Two main types of verbal number can be distinguished: event number and participant number. Event number relates to the plurality of the verbal event manifesting itself in many different but related ways: iterative, durative, or intensive verbal action, totality of the object (see, e.g., exx. [184], and [362]), or the subject, distributive meaning, i.e., more then one subject or object is involved in the verbal action simultaneously or successively (see, eg., exx. [185], [186], [187], and [188] below). Some of these meanings may also involve the plurality of one of the participants, but this is only a consequence of the verb’s meaning. Sumerian signals the plurality of verbal events by the full reduplication of the verbal stem (plural reduplication). Both present-future and preterite forms may undergo plural reduplication.

(184) Shulgi A 91 (ETCSL 2.4.2.01)
kur ḫu-mu-gam-gam
kur=∅ ši₃₅₄₃₅₁₃₅₂₄₂₃₃₂₅₃₂₅₄∅
foreign.land=ABS MOD-VEN-1.SG.A-subdue=PL-3.SG.P
kalam=∅ ši₃₅₄₃₅₁₃₅₂₄₂₃₃₂₅₃₂₅₄∅
land=ABS MOD-VEN-1.SG.A-firm~=PL-3.SG.P
“I subdue the foreign lands completely; I secured the land fully.”

(185) Iri-kagina 5 obv. 4:1–4 (RIME 1.9.9.5) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222618)
kug za-gin=be₂ ba-ta-keš₂-keš₂
kug zāgin=be=∅ ši₂₅₃₅₁₃₅₂₂₅₂₅₃₅₂₂₅₂₅₄∅
alan=be₂ i₃₄-gul-gul
alan=be=∅ ši₂₅₁₃₅₂₂₅₂₅₃₂₂₅₂₅₄∅
“(He set fire to the temple of the goddess Gatumduq,) collected all its precious metal and lapis lazuli from it for himself, and destroyed all its statues.”

(186) En-metena 1 2:4–5 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
eg₂=ba na-ru₂-a e-me-sar-sar
e₂=be=’a naru’=a=∅ ši₂₅₂₅₃₅₂₂₅₂₅₃₂₂₅₂₅₄∅
“He set up inscribed stelae all over along that dike.”
10.2 Participant number

The second type of verbal number, the participant number relates to the number of participants involved. As in other languages displaying this grammatical category, participant number operates on an ergative basis in Sumerian, as well: the alternation of the verbal stem reflects the plurality of the participant in the absolutive, i.e., either that of S or that of P.

The set of alternating stems consists of a limited number of intransitive verbs expressing position or motion, or transitives that indicate the causation of motion; the verb “to die” is also typically involved. In the case of these verbs the number of participants makes a semantic difference that may explain the use of verbal number which ultimately always relates to the semantics of the verb. Table 10.1 below shows the stem alternations of the six Sumerian verbs involved:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>PF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“to go”</td>
<td>/jen/o</td>
<td>/du/o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“to stand, to put”</td>
<td>/gub/o</td>
<td>/dur/o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“to sit, to seat”</td>
<td>/tuš/o</td>
<td>/dur/o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“to live”</td>
<td>h:/til/p</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nh:/lug/p</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“to die, to kill”</td>
<td>/uš/m</td>
<td>/ug/m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“to bring”</td>
<td>countables: /tum/o</td>
<td>countables: /lah/o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mass nouns:</td>
<td>/de/o</td>
<td>mass nouns:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.1

The most often used writings of the stems of Table 10.1 are: a) ṣen; b) du; c) e-re; d) sus/sub; e) ṣub; f) sus/šug, šus; g) tuš; h) duru; i) duru₃, (KU.KU); j) ti/tils; k) lu/lug, lug₃ (LUL); l) se₂/sig₇, se₁₁, ze₂; m) ušz; n) ug₇, ug₅, ug₃ (UŠ₂.UŠ₂); o) tumz; p) de₅, di₅ (TI) (in Garshana); q) tum₃; r) laḥ₄, laḥ₃, la- (he/a).

As exx. the (189)–(192) below show there is a tendency that when the participant in the absolutive functions as S, then the verb shows a 3rd ps. pl. agreement, see exx. (189) and (191) below. When the participant in the absolutive functions as P, then it is cross-referenced with 3rd ps. sg. pronominal suffix in S14, see exx. (190) and (192). In the former examples, therefore, plurality is
signalled by both the verbal stem and the pronominal suffix; in the latter examples, however, only by the verbal stem.

(189) NWHCM 2009.174 obv. 9–10 (Umma, 23rd c.) (P480080)

'umma²⁴⁷-a, ki-naz i₃-durun₃(KU.KU)-ne₂-eṣ₃
umma²⁴⁷-a ki-naz a s₂-i₃-b₅₋₀(i)=s₂₃durun₃-eṣ
GN=12.NH place=1.SG.POSS=12.NH FIN=3.SG.NH-1₂.SYN-sit.PL-3.PLS

“They are staying with me (lit. ‘at my place’) in Umma.”

(190) NG 120b rev. 9–10 (Umma, 21st c.) (P131776)

nag-su⁶-šē₃ hazanum-e ma₂₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃°

nag-su=šē hazanum=e ma₂₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃°

“The mayor took them (= the sheep) to Nagsu.”

(191) Gudea Cyl. B 11:13–14 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

nam-sīta sag₃-ga gu₃-de₂-a-a-da en ṅ₄nin-gir₂-su-ra
namšīta sāg₃-a gudea=ak=da en ninjingur=ra
entreaty friendly-PT PN=GEN=COM lord DN=DAT.H
mu-na-da-šā₄=ge-eṣ₂

“They stepped forward to Lord Ningirsu with friendly entreaties on behalf of Gudea.”

The use of the suppletive plural stems is triggered by the plurality of participants, and not by the plurality of event as in the case of plural reduplication. The difference in function of suppletive plural stems and plural reduplication is also implied by the phenomenon that plural stems may also undergo plural reduplication:

(192) Gudea Cyl. A 23:7 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

e₄-a mi-ni-šū₄-šū₄
e₄-a ma₂₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃°


“He had each of them (= stone basins) stand in the temple.”

There exist some examples mainly from the 3rd millennium BCE, in which the plurality of the participant in the absolutive (P or S) apparently is signalled by an –/en/ suffix. The suffix –/en/ appears to be the vestige of an older, supplanted grammatical system. The traces of this system may also be detected in the plural stem of tuṣ “to sit”: /durun/ < */dur-en/; and probably in the 1st and 2nd ps. pl. suffixes of S₁₄: –/en-den/ < */en-den/, –/enzen/ < */en-zen/.

All examples involve the verb kur₃ “to enter, bring in”, except for the last example, ex. (195), which comes from a literary text dated to the first part of the 2nd millennium BCE.

(193) VS 14, 179 10:3 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P020190)

mu-na-kur₃(DU)-re₃-na-am₉

“These [= various animals] are (gifts) brought in for (Baragnamtara).”
Verbal plurality

(194) UET 3 1410 3–4 (Ur, 21st c.) (P137735)
awili ṇubandaš巴-ni₂-ın-kur₃-re-en₃
AWILI əNUBANDA= sBa₅-SH ni₁₃-n₄₁₃ kUr•en•₃₁₄∅
"Awili, the overseer brought them (= 8 troops) in."

(195) The Death of Gilgamesh, Me Turan Version Segment F 168 (ETCSL 1.8.1.3)
e₄ nin-a-ta nin₉ me-ši-du-un
e nin=ak-ta nin=∅ s₃₈₆-n₈₉₅ ſi₉₂₂ du•en•₃₁₄∅
house sister=GEN=ABL sister=ABS VEN-2.SG-TERM-gO-PL-3.SG.S
"From the sisters’ house the sisters will come to you."

Further reading
The linguistic description of this lesson is informed by Mithun 1988 and Corbett 2000.

Verbal plurality and full reduplication of the preterite stem is discussed by Edzard 1971: 226–232. B. Tanos’s unpublished dissertation (2012) is the most comprehensive work on verbal plurality in Sumerian. He also published a long article on the semantics of verbal plurality (2014).

The two most important articles about the forms of the suppletive verbal stems are Krecher 1967/8 and Steinkeller 1979.

Since almost all forms of the verb “to bring” are written with the sign DU, the reading and interpretation of its various forms was an unsolved problem. The breakthrough in this issue was made by Walther Sallaberger (2005), mainly with the help of the Garshana texts in which the form /de/ is written not with the DU sign (= de₆) but with the TI (= di₃). Meyer-Laurin 2010 examined the 3rd millennium BCE occurrences of the verb in detail, using Sallaberger’s insights as a starting point.

This textbook assumes that the various form of the verb “to bring” depend on whether the P of the verb is countable or mass noun. Sallaberger assumes that the form of the verb depends on whether the P “can move on his/its own (persons, herd animals, boats)” (“kann sich selbst bewegen [Personen, Herdentiere, Boote]” or “must be carried” (“muss getragen werden”) (2005: 573). Meyer-Laurin assumes that we have in fact two lexemes: tum₃ “to lead” (“geleiten”) and de₆ / tum₃ “to deliver” (“liefern”) (2010: 11) until the end of the 3rd millennium BCE. In my view, the distinction between countable and mass nouns explains better that the plural form /laḥ/ may not be used with things which “must be carried” or “delivered”. As a matter of fact, none of the accounts of the various forms of the verb “to bring” may explain all occurrences, especially when 2nd millennium examples are also taken into consideration.

For the plural suffix -/en/, see Jagersma 2010: 322–323. For a typologically similar language in which an affix “does not show person agreement, but which indicates the plurality of participants, object or subject, depending on the case frame of the verb”, see Sandawe, a language spoken in Central Tansania (Kießling 2002).

Exercises

10.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.
10.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

10.3 Go to the ETCSRI corpus (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/corpus) and write “V12=STEM-RDP” (without the quotation marks) in the Search Oracc box. Select at least 10 verbal forms and try to explain the meaning of the plural reduplication.

10.4 Go to the ETCSRI corpus (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/corpus) and write “V12=STEM-PL” (without the quotation marks) in the Search Oracc box. Pair the plural stems with the singular stems.

10.5 Create the plural or singular version of the following examples. You only have to produce the morphemic segmentation and glossing (2nd and 3rd line of the examples).

a) 
\[\text{kug } ṃa₂-tum₃-dug₃-ra \text{ mu-na-ṇen,} \]
\[\text{kug } ṃatumdug-ra \text{ } s₃,\text{mu-₅₃-na}-\text{ṣ₂-₃₁₂-ṇen-₃₄} \]
\[\text{holy } DN=\text{DAT.H} \text{ VEN-₃,SG,H-DAT-go-₃,SG,s} \]
“He went to holy Gatumug.”

b) 
\[\text{ umożliw₃-ra}, \text{ ki-ṇa₂ } i₃-durun₃(KU.KU)-ne₂-ₑš₂ \]
\[\text{umma}=\text{a } \text{ki-ṇu}=\text{a} \text{ } s₂₁,\text{be-₃₁₀-i(ṣ₂)-ṣ₂₁₂-durun-₃₄₂-eš} \]
\[\text{GN=₁₂,NH place=₁,SG,POSS=₁₂,NH FİN-₃,SG,NH-₁₂,SYN-sit.PL-₃,PL,S} \]
“They are staying with me (lit. ’at my place’) in Umma.”

c) 
\[\text{ensiz-be₂}, \text{ mu-uṣ₂} \]
\[\text{ensik}=\text{be}=\text{∅} \text{ } s₃₁,\text{mu-₃₁₂-uš₃₁₂} \]
\[\text{ruler=₃,SG,NH,POSS=ABS VEN-₃,SG,H,A-die-₃,SG,P} \]
“He killed its ruler.”

d) 
\[\text{gud-be₂ } \text{nu-mu-da-tum₂} \]
\[\text{gud}=\text{be}=\text{∅} \text{ } s₁₄,\text{nu-₃₆,mu-₃₆-da-₃₁₂,nu-₃₆,tum-₃₄} \]
\[\text{ox=DEM=ABS NEG-VEN-₃,SG,H-COM-₃,SG,H,A-bring-₃,SG,P} \]
“He was not able to bring that ox.”

e) 
\[\text{lugal-keš₃-da}, \text{ e-da-se₁₂} \]
\[\text{lugalkeš₃-da} \text{ } s₁₃,\text{ṣ₁₂,da-₃₁₂-se-₃₁₄-eš} \]
\[\text{PN=COM FİN-₃,SG,H-COM-live.PL-₃,PL,S} \]
“They live by Lugal-Keš.”

f) 
\[\text{nag-su²-šₑ₃ } \text{ḥa-za-num₂-e, } \text{mu-na-an-lah₃} \]
\[\text{nagṣu=₅e } \text{ḥazanum= } s₄,\text{mu-₅₃-na}-\text{ṣ₂-₃₁₂,na}-\text{ṣ₂-₃₁₂-lah-₃₄} \]
“The mayor took them (= the sheep) for him to Nagsu.”
g) inim-ba ḫa-mu-da-gub
    inim-be=a ḫa-S₁₉µ-S₆₉ da-S₁₀₀ n-S₁₂ gub-S₁₂ Ø
word=DEM=L₁ MOD-VEN-1.SG-COM-L₁ SYN-stand-3.SG.S
“May she stand with me in this matter!”

h) nam-šīta sag₉-ga gu₁-de₂-a-da
    namšīta sag-a gudea=ak=da
entreaty good-PT PN=GEN=COM
en ṅnin-jir₂-su-ra mu-na-da-šu₄-ge-eš₂
en ninjirsuk=ra S₄₉u₉-nn₇₉-a₉ṣda-S₁₂ šu₄-še₄
“(Bau’s septuplets) stepped forward to lord Ninjirsu one by one with friendly entreaties on behalf of Gudea.”

10.6 Transliterate the text FaoS 19, Gir32 (Lagash, 23rd c.) (P213570) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). A copy of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P213570. Translate the text with the help of Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s (2016b) glossary.
This lesson describes the function of the morphemes that may occupy S2–6 of the finite verbal form. The grammatical functions expressed by the finite-marker prefixes in S2, by the ventive in S4, and by the prefix /ba/- in S5 are controversial in Sumerology. The reason for this is that they express functions that are not easily recoverable from the entirely written corpus of an ancient extinct language. The finite-marker prefixes are the vestige of an obsolete system expressing a difference in verbal tense and a difference between dynamic and stative verbs. The ventive is an allative deictic morpheme, and the prefix /ba/- is a marker of middle voice. The prefix /nga/- in S3 functions as clause coordinator. The lesson concludes with the description of the final pronominal prefixes in S6 that function as the pronominal part of the composite adverbial prefixes.

The modal prefixes, except for the prefix /ḫa/-, also occupy S2: they cannot co-occur with a finite marker. They will, however, be discussed in Lesson 16, section 16.2, not in this lesson.

11.1 The finite-marker prefixes (Slot 2)
This prefix has two allomorphs: i) /i/ and ii) /a(l)/-, and the second allomorph has again two allomorphs: a) /al/- when there is no other prefix between it and the verbal stem, see ex. (201) below; b) /a/- in all other environments, see, e.g., ex. (204) below. The /i/- prefix assimilates to the vowel of the following syllable with respect to vowel height around the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE, see Lesson 2, section 2.2. above.

In verbal forms containing a morpheme in any of S3–10, the occurrence of the finite-marker prefix is constrained by a rule which is clearly phonological by nature: it occurs only if the verbal form starts with a consonant cluster without the finite-marker prefix. In ex. (196) below, for example, the verbal form starts with a geminated consonant, /mm/ without the finite-marker. The verbal form in ex. (197) has no finite-marker, its starts with a single consonant.

(196) Gudea Cyl. A 18:8 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
  e₂-e im-ma-ŋen
e=  s₅₂=m₃₄-b₃₅-a₃₁₂-ŋen₅₁₄ø
house=DAT.NH FIN-VEN-3.SG.NH-DAT-go-3.SG.S
  "He went to the temple."

(197) Gudea Cyl. A 2:26–27 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
kug disLoggedIn-dug-ra mu-na-ŋen,
kug ṇatudug-ra s₄₃=μ₃₄-n₅₃-a₃₁₂-ŋen₅₁₄ø
holy DN=DAT.H VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-go-3.SG.S
  "He (= Gudea) went to holy Gatumdug."

In ex. (198) below the finite-marker is present, without it the verbal form would again start with a geminated consonant, /mm/. And the verbal form starting with a single consonant in ex. (199) has no finite marker either.
This case is finished

word=
inim=be=ø

(prefixed with present see ex preterite verbal forms expressing an action. occurred in all which the prefix which is, however, disappearance would any of S3 morpho change that resulted in finite verbal forms. "Gudea woke up."

PN=
gudea=ø
gudea

(Gudea Cyl. A 4:4 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
kar nijin₃-na-ke₄ ma₂ bizz₂
kar nijin=ak=e ma=ø b₃z₃₁ₖ₃₁₅₃₁₅₃₁₅₃₁₅₁₂

"He (= Gudea) moored the boat at the quay of Nigin."

In verbal forms in which the finite-marker prefix is the only prefix before the verbal base in S12 the rule just described does not hold. In ex. (200) below the presence of the finite-marker has no phonological reason, it is apparently only there to indicate that the verbal form functions as a predicate but not as a modifier.

(200) Gudea Cyl. A 12:12 (Lagash, 22nd c. (ETCSL 2.1.7)
gudea=ø i₃-zig
gudea=ø b₃₁₂zig₃₁₂ø
PN=ABS FIN-rise-3.SG.S

"Gudea woke up."

The phonological nature of the rule that predicts the presence of the finite-marker suggests that the system we know is the outcome of a linguistic change that resulted in the disappearance of the finite marker in many morphophonological environments. In verbal forms containing a morpheme in any of S₃–10, the finite-marker is preserved only in environments where its disappearance would result in a consonant cluster at the beginning of a word, which is, however, not allowed by the rules of Sumerian phonotactics.

Our texts consequently only preserved the remnants of an old system in which the prefix /1/- and /a(0)/- had a complementary distribution and probably occurred in all finite verbal forms. In this system the finite-marker /1/- was used in preterite verbal forms expressing an action. Verbal forms expressing a state, see exx. (201) and (202), a state resulting from a previous action, see ex. (203), or present-future verbal forms expressing an action, see exx. (204), (205) below, were prefixed with /a(0)/-.

(201) CUSAS 26, 45 rev. 1:3 (unknown, 23rd c.) (P427623)
inim=be₂ al-til
inim=be=ø s₂al₃₁₂til₃₁₄ø
word=DEM=ABS FIN-complete-3.SG.S

“This case is finished.”
(202) E-ana-tum 1 obv. 4:20–22 (RIME 1.9.3.1) (Lagash, 25th c. BCE) (P222399)

“E is worthy of the E-ana of Inana of the Ebgal”

(203) En-ana-tum I 18 2:3–7 (RIME 1.9.4.18) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222497-8)

“Shuni-aldugud, the chief barber, who has been assigned to the personal quarters’ overseer, fashioned numerous inscribed clay nails.”

(204) Rimush 18 18–22 (RIME 2.1.2.18) (Agade, 23rd c.) (Q000842)

“Whoever obliterates this inscription, ....”

(205) En-metena 7 14–16 (RIME 1.9.5.7) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222539)

“(For the god Ningirsu, En-metena) fashioned a gurgur vessel of purified silver, from which Ningirsu consumes the monthly oil (offering).”

This reconstructed original system almost completely disintegrated in the Sumerian used in the South (preserved mainly in texts from Lagash) by the end of the 3rd millennium BCE. Here the the prefix /i/- replaced the prefix /a(l)/- in almost all verbal forms, except for the imperative, see ex. (206), and also ex. (390) in Lesson 14, section 14.3, exx. (478) and (479) in Lesson 16, section 16.2 below.

(206) NG 208 obv. 17 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P135570)

“Destroy my sealed tablet!”

In the North (preserved mainly in texts from Nippur and Adab) the original distribution and functions of the two finite-marker prefixes remained more or less intact; and the verbal forms with the prefix /a(l)/- acquired even an additional function compared to texts from the South: the finite-marker prefix /a(l)/- came to be used as a marker of passive verbal forms, see ex. (207) below,
corresponding to verbal forms with the middle prefix /ba/- in Sumerian in the South, see section 11.3 below.

(207) OSP 2, 58 1–4 (Nippur, 23rd c.) (P216212)
čen-lil₂-le-ma-ba-ra, an-na-la₂
enlilemaba=ra s₂a₅₇₃₅₅₁₅₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₅₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₅₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁0. “(16 shekels of silver, (which is) the value of the corvée obligation,) were paid to Enlilemaba.”

Exx. (208) and (209) below show that passive forms expressed with the middle marker /ba/- in Ur, may be expressed with the finite-marker /a(l)/- in Nippur.

(208) MS 4096 rev. 6 (Ur, 21st c.) (P253193)
igi²-be₂-še₃ mu lugal ba-pad₃
igi-beše₃ mu lugal=ak=₀ s₂₃₅₁ₑ₅₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁₀₆₅₁0. “The promissory oath was sworn before them.”

(209) MVN 3, 330 obv. 9 (Nippur, 21st c.) (P113890)
mu lugal-be₂ al-pad₃
mu lugal=ak=be=₀ al-pad=₀
name king=GEN=ABS FIN-call-3.SG.S
“The promissory oath concerning it was sworn.”

The old function of the /a(l)/- finite-marker to mark present-future forms was apparently also known to the Nippurian compilers of the so called Old Babylonian Grammatical texts, which date to the first part of the 2nd millennium BCE. In OBGT VII (MSL 4 88–89), for example, which is an Akkadian-Sumerian paradigm of the verb ǧen = alākum, “to go”, the present-future Akkadian verbal forms are translated with Sumerian verbal forms containing the finite-marker /a(l)/-:

(210) OBGT VII 31–33 (= A 24189) (Nippur)
31. al-du i-fil³-lak
32. al-du-un a-al-lak
33. al-du-un tal₂-lak

11.2 The coordinator prefix (Slot 3)
The prefix /nda/- functions as clause coordinator, prefixed, as a rule, to the verbal form of the last one of the coordinated clauses. Its meaning is usually conjunction: A, and also B; but when the coordinated clauses are negated it may also mean disjunction: neither A, nor B.
(211) Shulgi C 9 (ETCSL 2.4.2.03)

niŋ₂-erim₂-ma usan³ bar-uš-be₂
niŋerim=ak usan baruš=be=∅
ev=GEN scourge stick=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS

ₙ₂ₑ₂₆ in-ga-me-en₃
ₙ₁ₑ=∅ ₂ₛ₁–₃₅₉ nga₃–₃₁₂ me₃–₃₁₄ en
1.S.G.PR=ABS FIN-COOR=COP-3.SG.S

“...and the adverbial ventive functions as an allative deictic element, in linguistics...”

(212) Sargon 1 38–41 (RIME 2.01.01.01) (Agade, 24th c., in Old Babylonian copies) (Q000834)

³iri₁-ne₂ e-hul¹
iri=ane=∅ s₂i–₃₁₁ n–₃₁₂ hul–₃₁₄ θ

bad₁-be₂ e-ga‘tiₙ₃¹²
bad=be=∅ s₂ι₃–₃₁₁ nga₃–₃₁₂ sig–₃₁₄ θ

“He raided his city and also demolished its city-walls.”

(213) Gudea Statue B 7:49–50 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)

alan-e, u₃ kug nu
alan=e=∅ u kug=∅ nu
statue=DEM=ABS and silver=ABS NEG
za-gin₃ nu-ga-am₃
zagin=∅ s₃₁ nu–₃₁³ nga–₃₁₂ me–₃₁₄ θ
lapis.lazuli=ABS NEG-FIN-COOR=COP-3.SG.S

“This statue is of neither of silver nor lapis lazuli”

The conjunction of noun phrases is expressed most often with the conjunction particle áticas, which is a loan from Early Semitic *wa.

(214) Shu-Suen 12 7–8 (Ur, 21st c.) (Q000996)
nam-sipad kalam-ma, u₃ an-ub-da limmuₒ₂–ba–še₃
namsipad kalam=ak u anubda limmu=be=ak=še
shepherdship land=GEN and quarter four=3.SG.NH.POSS=GEN=TERM

“...as the shepherd of the land and of the four quarters”

11.3 The ventive prefix (Slot 4)
The ventive (called cislocative in linguistics) has two functions in Sumerian: i) it functions as an allative deictic element, indicating motion towards the location of the speech event and/or by implication towards one of the speech act participants, the speaker or the addressee; ii) it functions as a 1st ps. sg. pronominal prefix before the dative as well as the locative2 and locative3 prefix.

In practice these functions are not always easily separated as all three cases mentioned may indicate motion towards an entity. Nevertheless, when the ventive functions as a 1st ps. sg. pronominal prefix then there is nothing between it and the adverbial prefix, so the two morphemes together form a composite adverbial prefix as in ex. (215) below. When the ventive functions “only” as a

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12 The pronominal use is secondary, developed from its function to indicate a motion towards the location of the speech event, see Mithun 1996 for similar developments in other languages.
deictic element, then a pronominal prefix occurs in S5 or S6 between it and the adverbial prefix, should there be any in the prefix-chain. In ex. (216) below, for example, the 2nd ps. sg. initial pronominal prefix in S6 separates the ventive and the dative prefix.

(215) Gudea Cyl. A 10:28–29 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

dījīr
gal-gal
lagas\textsuperscript{a}-a-keš-ne,
dījīr
gal-gal-ø
lagas=ak=enē=e
god
big-PL-TL
GN=GEN=PL=ERG

gu₂
ma-si-si-ne

gu=ø
š₄m-₅,a⁻₁₁,si-₅₁,ënē
neck=ABS
VEN-DAT-fill=PF-3.PL.A

“(In the E-bagara, my dining place,) the great gods of Lagash gather around me.”

(216) Gudea Cyl. A 11:8 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
an-ta
he₂-gal:
ḥa-mu-ra-ta-ŋen
an-ta
ḥe₂gal=ø
š₃ḥa-šmu-š₃,ra-₅₁,ta-₅₁,ën-₃₁,ø
sky=ABL
abundance=ABS
MOD-VEN-2.SG-DAT-ABL-go-3.SG.S

“Abundance comes down to you from heaven.”

The prefix has two basic allomorphs:

i) /m/ before a vowel, see ex. (215) above, or before /b/, see ex. (223), or immediately next to the verbal base, see ex. (217) below. The /b/ assimilates to the /m/, see ex. (223), and the resulting sequence /mm/ is reduced to /m/ if followed by another consonant, see ex. (227);

ii) /mu/- in other environments, see, e.g., ex. (222), but its vowel may assimilate to the vowel of the next syllable (although not always shown in the writing), if the syllable starts with an ungeminated consonant, see exx. (224) and (225), but not if the syllable starts with a geminated consonant, see ex. (226) below.

The reference to the “here”, the location of the speech event, explains the use of the ventive in verbal forms describing the movement of people or goods towards the city of the scribe who created the document as in ex. (217) below.

(217) Nisaba 15, 873 10–12 (Irisagrig, 21st. c.) (P387957)

2
sil₃
tu=₂
2
ku₆,
š₃a-umu
lu₃kiŋ₂-gi-a
lugal,
2
sil₃
tu=₂
ku=ø
šalum
kingia
lugal=ak=ø
2
unit
soup=₂
fish=ABS
PN₂
messenger
king=GEN=ABS
ud
udu
ur-দe₂
im-ŋen-na-a
ud
udu=ø
ur-εd=ε
š₃l-₁₁,š₃₁,iš₃₁,ŋen-₁₁,ø-₃₁,ø=₃₁,a-’a
day
sheep=ABS
pluck=PF=DAT.NH
FIN-VEN-go-3.SG.S-SUB-L₁

“2 liters of soup, 2 fish: Salum, the royal messenger, when he came to pluck the sheep.”

In the verbal form describing the opposite movement there is no ventive prefix. The verbal form in ex. (218) below contains the middle prefix /ba/- in its separative function, see below in section 11.4.
Since the ventive indicates a movement towards the place of the speech event, it may also be used to indicate a movement to a person in the 3rd ps., if his or her location is construed as “here” by the speaker, i.e., the scribe. In ex. (219) below the scribe uses the ventive with the verb “to bring”, whose destination is Barag-namtara, the wife of the ruler. The verbal form used to describe the opposite transaction in ex. (220) does not contain the ventive.

(219) Nik 1, 300 obv. 2:2–rev. 1:2 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222069)

ur-e2-mušši, gal dam-ga3 e2-miž-ke4, barag-nam-tar-ra [dam]
uremušak gal-ø damgar emi=ak=e baragnamtara dam
PN1 gal-TL merchant GN1=GEN=ERG PN2 spouse
lugal-an-da, ensi2, lagašši-ka-ra, mu-na-de6
lugalanda ensik lagaš-ak=ak=ra s₃₄mu₃₃₅₃₆₄a₃₆₄₅₆₄de₃₄₀

“Ur-Emusha, the chief merchant of the Emi, brought (various cosmetics) to Barag-namtara, spouse of Lugal-Anda, ruler of Lagash.”

(220) Nik 1, 300 rev. 2:3–3:4 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222069)

ur-e2-mušši-ra, barag-nam-tar-ra, dam lugal-an-da
uremušak=ra baragnamtara dam lugalanda
PN1=DAT.H PN2 spouse PN3
ensi2, lagašši-ka-ke4, e-na-la₃
enšik lagaš-ak=ak=e s₃₄l₃₅₆₃₅₆₄a₃₆₈₅₇₃₆₈₉la₃₅₀₁

“Barag-namtara, spouse of Lugal-Anda, ruler of Lagash, payed (with a certain amount of wool) to Ur-Emusha.”

One should not assume that the scribe and the wife of the ruler stay at exactly the same location, rather it is a kind of subjective alignment between the two that is expressed by the use of the ventive. Here one of the two participants of the transaction is identified as belonging to “here” from the point of view of the scribe.

In the trial records from the end of the 3rd millennium BCE the expression “to come forward as witness” is regularly used with ventive, indicating that the witness occurs at the trial, construed as “here” by the scribe who wrote the text, see e.g., ex. (221) below.
(Apparently, the use of the ventive divides the deictic space into a “here” and a “there” in Sumerian, and the association with the “here” may be based not only on considerations of physical proximity. When the ventive refers to neither the speaker nor the addressee, but to a 3rd ps. participant, then its use seems to be extended metaphorically to function as an emphatetic deictic element. Linguistic empathy is described as “the speaker’s attitude with respect to who, among speech event participants (the speaker and the hearer) and the participants of an event or state that he describes, the speaker takes sides with.” (Kuno 1978: 174).

This use of the ventive is a logical extension of its basic deictic function to refer to a “here-ness”, or “hither-ness”: its use therefore may imply emotional closeness, an evaluative or subjective alignment between the writer or narrator and the participant(s) of an event he describes.

It is expected that in texts of an administrative nature the allative deictic use of the ventive is the typical. In literary texts, however, its more metaphoric, emphatetic use may also play a role. In exx. (222) and (223) below, for example, the reference to “here-ness” is more intangible than in an administrative text, but still understandable, as the movement here is directed towards Gudea and the main temple in Girsu respectively, the leader and the symbol of the political community the scribe must have belonged to.

(222) Gudea Cyl. A 15:10 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gu}_3 & \text{-} \text{dez}_2 \text{-a} & \text{iri}_1 \text{-} \text{ne}_2 & \text{\textcircled{\textit{nijr}_1} - \textit{su}^2 - \text{\textcircled{\textit{še}_3}}} & \text{gu}_2 & \text{mu}_1 \text{-} \text{na} - \text{si} - \text{si} \\
\text{gudea} & \text{=} & \text{ra} & \text{iri}_1 \text{=} \text{ane} & \text{\textcircled{\textit{njirsu}^3} - \text{\textcircled{\textit{še}}} & \text{gu} & \text{=} & \text{ø} & \text{\textcircled{\textit{m}u}_1} & \text{=} & \text{\textcircled{\textit{nu}^2} - \text{\textcircled{\textit{fin}^3} - \text{\textcircled{\textit{a}^1} - \text{\textcircled{\textit{si}^2} - \text{\textcircled{\textit{si}^3} - \text{\textcircled{\textit{si}^4}}}}} \\
\text{PN} & \text{=} & \text{DAT.H} & \text{city} & \text{=} & \text{3.SG.NH.POSS} & \text{GN} & \text{=} & \text{TERM} & \text{neck} & \text{=} & \text{ABS} & \text{VEN} & \text{=} & \text{3.SG.H-DAT-fill} & \text{PF} & \text{=} & \text{3.SG.A} \\
\text{“(Magan and Meluhha) gathered for Gudea at his city Girsu.”} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(223) Gudea Cyl. A 9:18 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mu}_1 & \text{-} \text{bez}_2 \text{-e} & \text{an} & \text{-} \text{zag-ta} \\
\text{mu}_1 & \text{=} & \text{be}_1 & \text{=} & \text{an} & \text{zag} & \text{=} & \text{ta} \\
\text{name} & \text{=} & \text{3.SG.NH.POSS} & \text{=} & \text{DAT.NH} & \text{horizon} & \text{=} & \text{ABL} \\
\text{kur}_1 & \text{-} \text{kur}_1 & \text{=} & \text{gu}_2 & \text{im} & \text{-} \text{ma} & \text{-} \text{si} & \text{-} \text{si} \\
\text{kur}_1 & \text{=} & \text{kur}_1 & \text{=} & \text{gu} & \text{=} & \text{ø} & \text{\textcircled{\textit{m}u}_1} & \text{=} & \text{\textcircled{\textit{nu}^2} - \text{\textcircled{\textit{fin}^3} - \text{\textcircled{\textit{a}^1} - \text{\textcircled{\textit{si}^2} - \text{\textcircled{\textit{si}^3} - \text{\textcircled{\textit{si}^4}}}}} \\
\text{mountain} & \text{=} & \text{PL} & \text{=} & \text{ERG} & \text{neck} & \text{=} & \text{ABS} & \text{VEN} & \text{=} & \text{3.SG.NH-DAT-fill} & \text{PF} & \text{=} & \text{3.SG.A} \\
\text{“In response to its fame all lands will gather from as far as heaven’s borders.”} \\
\end{align*}
\]

But then we also have numerous examples where no movement is involved and the use of the ventive may only express some kind of alliance or involvement with participants of the verbal event as in the examples below.
The prefixes of Slots 2–6 — 105

(224) Gudea Cyl. A 12:1–2 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

e₂-ud-de₃ ma-ra-du₃-e

house=ABS day=ERG → VEN-2.SG-DAT-build-3.SG.A

ηia-e ma-ra-ab-mu₂-mu₂

night=ERG → VEN-2.SG-DAT-build-3.SG.NP-bind→PF-3.SG.A

“The day will build the temple for you and the night will make it rise for you.”

(225) Gudea Cyl. A 23:7 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

e₂-a mi-ni-šu₄-šu₄

temple=PL owner=ABS =STAND.PL→PL-3.SG.P

“He had each of them (= stone basins) stand in the temple.”

(226) Gudea Cyl. B 19:20–21 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

e²-₁-lil₂-ra ḫ₂-nin-mah mu-ni-us₂


“He (= Gudea) seated Ninmah next to Enlil.”

(227) Gudea Cyl. B 20:14 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

e₂-₁-da¹ lugal ḫ₂⁻¹-da⁻²-hul₃

e₂-da lugal=Ø → μ₂⁻¹-mu₂-š₂⁻¹-da⁻²-hul₂₄-š₂₄-Ø

house=COM owner=ABS → FIN-VEN-3.SG.NH-COM-rejoice→3.SG.S

“The owner rejoiced over the temple.

The exact determining factors affecting the emphatic deictic use of the ventive are impossible to discover in the case of an extinct language. One can only speculate that the very frequent use of the ventive in votive and royal inscriptions reflects the alignment that the composers of these texts felt between them and the royal and divine participants. One may mention as support for this assumption the text Iri-kagina 5, where ex. (228) below comes from. This text narrates from the point of view of Iri-kagina, ruler of Lagash, how Lugal-zagesi, king of Uruk, loots and destroys many of the temples of Lagash. Remarkably all verbal forms in this 105 line long narrative text are without ventive, indicating probably the sense of alienation the composer felt towards the events described.

(228) Iri-kagina 5 obv. 4:1–4 (RIME 1.9.9.5) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222618)

kug za-gin₃-be₂ ba-ta-keš₂-keš₂


alan-be₂ i₁-gul-gul

alan=be=Ø → š₂₁⁻¹-n₂₁-gul₄-gul₂₄-Ø

“(He set fire on the temple of the goddess Gatudug,) collected all its precious metal and lapis lazuli from it for himself, and destroyed all its statues.”

13 For an online transliteration and translation of the text, see http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q001133.
11.4 The middle prefix (Slot 5)

Slot 5 accommodates the prefix /ba/-, which functions as the marker of middle voice in Sumerian. Its basic function is to mark that the verbal action or state affects, mentally or physically, the grammatical subject (A or S) or his interests.

The middle marker may occur with the verb i) to signal the inherently middle semantic of the verb; or ii) to add the property of subject affectedness to a verb that is not inherently middle, so that the event will be construed as affecting the subject.

Spontaneous events belong to the inherently middle semantic verbs. In these verbal events the grammatical subject exercises little control or volition, it is, however, highly affected by the event as in exx. (229)–(230) and (232)–(233). Ex. (231) demonstrates that when the verb uš₂ is used in the meaning “to kill”, then the /ba/- prefix does not occur.

(229) NG 80 obv. 13–14 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P111313)

mu lu₉-gi-gun₉-na šeš₉ gug₉-li gudu₄ ba-uš₂
mu lugigunak šeš₈ guli gudu₉=ak=ø ba₅,ba₅, uš₉,š₅,ø
name PN₁ brother PN₂ priest=GEN=ABS MID-die-3.SG.S
i₃-bi₃-la nu-ur₅-tuku₅-aše₃
ibila=ø š₅₁,nu₅₂-i₅₁,n₅₂-tuku₅₁,ø₅₂₅,a=ak=še₅₁
heir=ABS NEG-FIN-3.SG.H.A-have-3.SG.S-SUB=GEN=TERM
“Because Lu-giguna, the brother of Guli, the priest, died, and had no heir, ....”

(230) NG 138 obv. 5 (Umma, 21st c.) (P200731)

na-ba₁ ba-uš₂
naba=ø š₅₁,ba₅,š₅₁,ø
PN=abs MID-die-3.SG.S
“Naba died.”

(231) E-ana-tum 6 4:18–19 (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001058)

ens₂₃-be₂, mu-uš₂
ensk=be=ø š₅₁,mu₅₁,n₅₂,uš₅₁,ø
ruler=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS VEN-3.SG.H.A-die=3.SG.P
“He killed its ruler”

(232) Amar-Suen 9 32–39 (RIME 3/2.1.3.9) (Ur, 21st c.) (Q000984)

lu₃ e₂ a-ba-sumun, u₃-un-du₃₁
lu e=ø š₅₁,u₃-ba₅₁,sumun₃₄,ø Š₅₁,u₅₁,n₅₂,du₅₁,ø
“The man, who, after the temple has become dilapidated, rebuilds it, ....”

(233) Gilgamesh and Huwawa A 113 (ETCSL 1.8.1.5)

ud g₆₃₉₃ ma₂-gan₅₁ ba-su-a-ba
ud ma ma=ø š₅₁,ba₅₁,su₅₁,ø₅₁,a=be=’a
day boat GN=ABS MID-sink-3.SG.S-SUB=3.SG.NH.POSS=L₁
“When the Magan boat sank, ....”

(234) OIP 115, 126 rev. 5 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P123715)

iti₉-ta ud 8 ba-ra-zal
itid=ta ud 8=ø š₅₁,ba₅₁,ta₃₁,zal₃₁,ø
month=ABL day 8=ABS MID-ABL-pass-3.SG.S
“8 days elapsed from the month.”
Verbs of grooming, exx. (235), (236), and (237b), and verbs of motion without a change in the location, ex. (237a), (237), and (239), also belong to the inherently middle verbs.

(235) Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld 206 (ETCSL 1.8.1.4)

\[\text{tug}^2 \text{ danz=danz-na-ne}= \text{im-ma-an-mu} \]
\[\text{tug} \text{ dan}=\text{dan}=\text{a-ane}=\phi \quad S_1^1 \text{m} S_5 \text{ba} S_1 n S_1^1 \text{mu} S_1 \phi \]


“He put on his cleanest garments.”

(236) Dumuzi-Inana E1 6 (ETCSL 4.08.31)

\[\text{a im-ma-tu}^5 \]
\[\text{a}=\phi \quad S_1^1 \text{m} S_5 \text{ba} S_1 n S_1^1 \text{tu} S_1 \phi \]

water=abs FIN-VEN-MID-3.SG.H.A-wash=3.SG.P

“She had sat in the dust and clothed herself in a filthy garment.”

(237) Inana’s descent to the netherworld 308 (ETCSL 1.4.1)

\[\text{sa}^5 \text{h=ra} \text{ ba}=\text{da}=\text{an}=\text{tu}=\text{š} \quad \text{tug}^2 \text{ mu}=\text{dur}=\text{ra} \text{ ba}=\text{an}=\text{mu}^4 \]
\[\text{sa}=\text{h}=\text{ra}^=\text{a} S_5 \text{ba}=\text{sa}=\text{d}=\text{a}=\text{S} S_1^1 \text{tu}=\text{š}=\text{S} S_1 \phi \quad \text{tug} \text{ mudur}=\text{ak}=\phi \quad S_5 \text{ba} S_1 n S_1^1 \text{mu} S_1 \phi \]


“She had sat in the dust and clothed herself in a filthy garment.”

(238) Gudea Cyl. A 22:23 (Lagash, 22nd c.)

\[\text{ut}=\text{a} \text{ la}=\text{ga}=\text{š}=\text{š}=\text{k} \text{<ke}=\text{a} \quad \text{gud} \text{ gal}=\text{gen}=\text{a} \quad \text{ba}=\text{il}=\text{il}=\text{š} \]
\[\text{ua} \text{ la}=\text{ga}=\text{š}=\text{š}=\text{e} \text{ gud} \text{ gal}=\text{ø}=\text{gen} \text{ a}=\phi \quad S_5 \text{ba} S_1 n S_1=\text{il}=\text{il}=\text{š}=\text{ø} \]


“The provider of Lagaš lifted his horns like a mighty bull.”

(239) Dumuzi’s Dream 164 (ETCSL 1.4.3)

\[\text{ḫuru}=\text{s}=\text{e} \quad \text{ṭu}=\text{u}=\text{ra} \text{ an}=\text{še}=\text{š} \quad \text{š}=\text{u}=\text{ne}=\text{š} \quad \text{ba}=\text{ni}=\text{in}=\text{zig}=\text{š} \]
\[\text{ḫuru}=\text{s}=\text{e} \quad \text{ṭu}=\text{u}=\text{ra} \text{ an}=\text{še} \text{ š}=\text{u}=\text{ane}=\phi \quad S_5 \text{ba}=\text{š}=\text{i}=\text{n}=\text{S} S_1^1 \text{zig}=\text{š}=\text{š}=\text{ø} \]


“The lad raised his hands heavenward to Utu among them.”

In indirect reflexive middle verbs the prefix /ba/- marks that a single participant functions both as grammatical subject and either i) as indirect object, or ii) as benefactive, or, iii) with motion verbs, as goal. If these functions were distributed between two participants, the second one would be in the dative.

Verbs of obtaining and receiving are inherently indirect reflexive middle, see exx. (240) and (241) below. Here the participant in question functions both as A and as recipient.

(240) Gudea Cyl. A 2:21–22 (Lagash, 22nd c.)

\[\text{lugal}=\text{a}=\text{ne}=\text{š} \quad \text{sizkur}=\text{š} \quad \text{ra}=\text{zu}=\text{ne}=\text{š} \quad \text{gu}=\text{š}=\text{e}=\text{a}=\text{š}=\text{a} \]
\[\text{lug}=\text{a}=\text{ne}=\text{š} \quad \text{sizkur} \quad \text{arazu}=\text{ane}=\phi \quad \text{gudea}=\text{š}=\text{e} \]

king=3.SG.H.POSS=ERG prayer supplication=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS PN=TERM

en \[\text{ṭi}=\text{n}=\text{ḫir}=\text{š}=\text{s}=\text{u}=\text{ke}=\text{š} \text{š}=\text{u} \quad \text{ba}=\text{š}=\text{i}=\text{ti} \]
\[\text{en} \text{ nin}=\text{i}=\text{nir}=\text{s}=\text{u}=\text{k}=\text{š}=\text{u}=\text{e} \quad S_5 \text{ba}=\text{š}=\text{i}=\text{š}=\text{i}=\text{n}=\text{S} S_1=\text{š}=\text{i}=\text{š}=\text{ø} \]


“His master, Lord Ningirsu, accepted from Gudea his prayer and supplication.”
The prefixes of Slots 2–6

(241) En-metena 1 3:34–37 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)

The ruler set up his bed
ruler=ensik=ensi
(He set fire
statute=alan=be=ø
alan
precious.metal
kug
kug
grammatical subject does something for his own benefit. Here the participant in
since
day
e
ud
ud
(\textit{nete=ane})
(\textit{kardahi=še})
self=3.SG.H.POSS=ABL
GN=TERM
MID-go-3.SG.S
“He left on his own for Kardahi.”

(242) NWHCM 2009.174 obv. 14–16 (Umma, 23th c.) (P480080)

ne-te-ni-ta,
kar-da-hišišei,
ba-ṇen
nete=ane=ta
kardahi=še
self=3.SG.H.POSS=ABL
GN=TERM
MID-go-3.SG.S
“When Ur-Ishkur, the ruler of Hamazi, left with his daughter-in-law.”

(243) AUCT 3, 84 obv. 2–4 (Drehem 21st c.) (P104315)

ud
ur-‘iškur
ensik,
ḥa-ma-ziši-ke4
ud
uriškurak
ensik
ḥamazi=ak=e
day
PN
ruler
GN=GEN=ERG
e2-gi=a-ne2
ba-an-tum2-ma-a
egi=a-ne=ø
55ba=si1n3i1tum3i1,ø=3i1,a=a’
bride=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS
MID-3.SG.HA-bring-3.SG.P-SUB=L1
“When Ur-Ishkur, the ruler of Hamazi, left with his daughter-in-law.”

(244) NG 190 obv. 2:12 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P111354)

ud
e2-gal-e
ba-ab-tum2-ma-ta
degal=e
55ba=si1b=si2tum3i1,ø=3i1,a=ta
day
palace=erg
MID-3.SG.HA-bring-3.SG.P-SUB=ABL
“Since the palace took him away, ....”

The indirect reflexive /\textit{ba}/- may also be used to indicate that the
grammatical subject does something for his own benefit. Here the participant in
question functions both as the grammatical subject (A or S) and as the beneficiary.

(245) Iri-kagina 5 obv. 4:1–4 (RIME 1.9.9.5) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222618)

kug
za-gin3-be2
ba-ta-keš2-keš2
kug
zagin=be=ø
55ba=si1n3i1keš3i1,ø=3i1
precious.metal
lapis.lazuli=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS
MID-ABL-3.SG.HA-bind=PL-3.SG.P
alan-be2
i1-gul-gul
alan=be=ø
55i1=si1n3i1gul=3i1,ø
statute=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS
FIN-3.SG.HA-destroy=PL-3.SG.P
“(He set fire to the temple of the goddess Gatumdug,) collected all its precious metal and
lapis lazuli from it for himself, and destroyed all its statues.”

(246) Gudea Cyl. A 2:24 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

ensik=ke4
‘išu-tum3-dug3-še3
ki-nu2-a-ne2
ba-gub
ensik=tematudug=še
kinu=ane=ø
55ba=si1gub3i1gub3i1,ø
ruler=ERG
DN=TERM
bed=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS
MID-3.SG.HA-stand=3.SG.P
“The ruler set up his bed for himself near to Gatumdug.”
(247) Iri-kagina 3 2:15′–18′ (RIME 1.9.9.3) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222610)
luz₂ dam ui-taka₄, kug gi₄₅ 5-am₃₆
lu₄-e dam=ø s₁u₅₂₁n₅₂₂taka=₃₄θ kug gi₄₅ 5=ø-am=ø
ens₂₄-ke₄, ba-de₆
ens₅-e s₁ba₇-s₁₁n₅₁-s₁₂de₃₁θ
ruler=ERG MID-3.SG.H.A-bring-3.SG.P

“If a man divorced (his) wife, the ruler took 5 shekels of silver for himself.”

(248) Gudea Statue E 9:6–12 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232278)
ki-gub-ba-be₂ lu₂ nu-zi-zì
kiguba=be=ø lu₄-e s₅₁nu₅₂₁=₃₁zì-zi₃₁θ
pedestal=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS man=ERG NEG-FIN-rise~PF-3.SG.A
sa₂-dug₄-be₂ lu la-ba-nì-la₂-e
sadug=be=ø lu₄-e s₁₅₁u₅₂-s₁₀n₅₁-b₅₁₂-lal₃₁e
offering=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS man=ERG NEG-MID-1.1-3.SG.NH.P-small-3.SG.A

“No one should lift its (= the statue of Gudea) pedestal, no one should curtail its regular offerings for his own benefit!”

As in a number of other languages the middle marker is also used in verbs with a passive meaning, where the grammatical subject is by definition the participant affected by the verbal event. The middle “marker does not directly express passive meaning; rather, the semantic function or functions it encodes happen to be compatible with the meaning of the passive” (Klaiman: 1991 84). Exx. (249) and (250) show the active and passive, i.e., middle, version of the same year name. In the middle version the A is left unmentioned.

(249) BPOA 7, 1948 rev. 3 (Umma, 21st c.) (P291162)
mu d’amar-s₅₁ṣuen lugal-e ur-bi-lum mu-hul
mu amarsuenak lugal=ε urbilum=ø s₅₁mu₅₂₁n₅₁hul₃₁θ
year PN king=ERG GN=ABS VEN-3.SG.H.A-raid-3.SG.P

“The year: Amar-Suena the king raided Urbilum”

(250) BPOA 6, 1287 rev. 10 (Umma, 21st c.) (P292490)
mu ur-bi₂-₃₄₄ lum₃₁ ba-hul
mu urbilum=ø s₅₁ba₇-s₁₂hul₃₁θ
year GN=ABS VEN-3.SG.H.A-raid-3.SG.P

“The year: Urbilum was raided.”

(251) Gudea Statue B 4:10 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
usan₁ la-ba-sag₃
usan=ø s₁₅₁u₅₂-s₁₂sag₃₁θ
whip=ABS NEG-MID-hit-3.SG.S

“No one was whipped.”

(252) Shulgi D 219 (ETCSL 2.4.2.04)
ni₃₂ ki-en-gi-ra ba-a-gu-la
ni₃g kengir=’a s₅₁a₇-s₁₂gul₃₄θ=’a₅₁,a=ø
thing homeland=₂₂.NH MID-1.2-destroy-3.SG.S-SUB=ABS
kur-ra ga-am₃₄-mi-ib-gu-ul
kur=’a s₁₂ɡa₃₄m₃₂-b₇₁₀l₃₁b₃₁₂gul
foreign.land=₂₂.NH MOD-VEN-3.SG.NH.=₂₂.3.SG.NH.P-destroy

“Whatever has been destroyed in the homeland, I shall destroy in the foreign lands!”
The prefixes of Slots 2–6

(253) NG 41 obv. 5–8 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P110926)
mu gur-lu ba-gaz-Šē₃, egin-Še₂ u₃ dam
mu gur=ø₅₅ ban-lim=gaz₃₅₁, Še=ak=Še egin=Še Še đam
name PN=ABS MID=kil-3.SG.S-SUB=GEN=TERM estate=3.SG.H.=POSS and spouse
dumu-Še₂ dumu ba-ba-gu₁₀-ke₄-ne, ba-ne-Šum₂=ma
dumu=Še=ø₁₅ dumu babagu=ak=enē-ra₅₅₀ ba₅₅₁=Ši₅₁=n₅₁₀=Šum₂=ma
child=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS child PN=GEN=PL=DAT,H MID=3.PL=DAT=give=3.SG.S-SUB=GEN

“(Lu-Girsu was the commissioner when) Gull’s estate, his wife and child were given over to the children of Babagu, because he had been killed (as a punishment).”

The middle /ba/ may also mark the emotional affectedness of the grammatical subject. In exx. (254) below it is Gudea who is affected by what he has seen, namely, he likes it. In contrast, in exx. (255) and (256) the divine approval affects the participant in the terminative.

(254) Gudea Cyl. A 13:18 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ka-al-be-Še₃  igit Zid  ba-Ši-bar
kalak=Še₃  igit Zid=ø=ø₅₅₂=Ši₅₁=n₅₁₀=Šum₂=ma

“He (= Gudea) looked at the clay pit with satisfaction.

(255) Gudea Cyl. A 1:3 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ën-lil₂-e en Še₃  en=Še₃
EN=ERG lord DN=TERM
igit Zid=ø=ø₅₅₂=Ši₅₁=n₅₁₀=Šum₂=ma

“Enlil looked at lord Ningirsu with approval.”

(256) Gudea Statue B 3:6–7 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
ud Še₃  iri-neš-Še₃
ud Še₃  iri=Še
day DN=ERG city=3.SG.H.POSS=TERM
igit Zid  im-Ši-bar-ra
igit Zid=ø=ø₅₅₂=Ši₅₁=n₅₁₀=Šum₂=ma

“When Ningirsu had looked favourably upon his city, ...”

S5 also accommodates a pronominal prefix /b/ that functions as the non-human pronominal prefix before the adverbial prefixes of S7–10. It may occur only when S5 is not used by a middle prefix /ba/- For the writings and functioning of the non-human pronominal prefix of S5, see the lessons on the adverbial cases, Lesson 12–14 below.

11.5 The initial pronominal prefixes (Slot 6)
The initial pronominal prefix (= IPP) occupies S6 of the finite verbal form. The IPP functions as the pronominal prefix of the composite adverbial prefixes in S7–10. It specifies the person, gender, and number of the referent of the first prefix in the sequence of the adverbial prefixes, see Lesson 6 section 6.3 above.
Before the dative, the locative2, and the locative3 prefix an allomorph of the ventive prefix in S4 functions as the 1st ps. sg. pronominal prefix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ST</td>
<td>2ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>/r/ or /e/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.1: The initial pronominal prefixes

The 3rd ps. sg. prefix refers only to human participants. Non-human participants are referred to by the prefix /b/ in S5. The allomorph /nn/ occurs before a vowel, while /n/ occurs before a consonant.

The 2nd ps. sg. prefix has two allomorphs: i) /r/ before a vowel; ii) /e/ before a consonant. In texts from the 3rd millennium BCE the /e/ contracts with the preceding vowel and lengthens it, whereas in texts from the 2nd millennium BCE the contraction results in an /ē/.

The exact form of the 1st ps. sg. IPP is uncertain, but its existence can be inferred from the form of the preceding prefixes.

Instead of /enē/, a periphrastic construction ...S6-r-S7-a/S10-i-...S14-stem-S14-enzen (= ...-2.SG-DAT/1.SG-2.PL) is also attested in literary texts from the first part of the 2nd millennium BCE, referring to a 2nd ps. pl. participant. This construction apparently follows the pattern of 3rd ps. pl. forms of the preterite conjugation, see Lesson 9, section 9.2 above.

For the writings and functioning of the initial pronominal prefixes, see the lessons on the adverbial cases, Lesson 12–14 below.

**Further readings**

The only detailed description of the finite-marker prefixes in S2 is Jagersma’s (2010: 526–549) lengthy account, a masterpiece of linguistic reconstruction. Earlier descriptions discuss the finite-marker, the ventive, and the /ba/- prefix under the label “conjugation prefixes”. As this lesson demonstrated the use of this term is not justified.

Civil 2008 discusses nominal and verbal conjunction in Sumerian.

The most detailed description of the functions of the middle voice in Sumerian can be found in Woods’s monograph (2008: 87–97, 163–212, 225–267). His survey of the linguistic background of the middle voice is very useful and illuminating.

On the ventive prefix Foxvog 1974 and Krecher 1985 are still the most important studies. Woods 2008 also extensively discusses the function of the ventive prefix; see, however, Keetman 2015 who points out the inherent flaws in Woods’s approach, which does not recognize morphological variants conditioned by the morphological context, and assigns functions to the ventive (namely the expression of control to the allomorph /mu/) that characterize in fact the conditioning morpheme (the pronominal prefix /n/, the 3rd. ps. sg. marker of A in S11), but not the ventive. See also Keetman 2015b. Kouwenberg 2008 discusses the use of the ventive in Akkadian, providing an interesting and illuminating comparison with the Sumerian ventive.

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Exercises

11.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

11.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

11.3 Try to create the passive version of the following Sumerian clauses by leaving out the 
A₃, adding the /ba/- prefix, and transforming the verbal form. You only have to produce the morphemic segmentation and glossing (2nd and 3rd line of the examples). Note that two forms are impossible to form!

a)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{en-me-er-kara²-ra} & \enspace \text{d-en-ki-ke₄} \enspace \text{ṭešṭug₂} \enspace \text{mu-na-an-šum₂} \\
\text{enmerkar}=\text{ra} & \enspace \text{enki}=\text{e} \enspace \text{ṭešṭug} = \text{ø} \enspace \text{ṣ₄mu₃₆nn₃₅a₃₅₁n₃₅₁₂šum₃₅₁₄ø} \\
\text{PN}=\text{DAT.H} & \enspace \text{DN}=\text{ERG} \enspace \text{ear}=\text{ABS} \enspace \text{VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-3.SG.H.A-give-3.SG.P}
\end{align*}
\]

b)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nam-lu₂-lu₇} & \enspace \text{ṣag₄} \enspace \text{iri-na-ka,} \enspace \text{ḥa-ne₂-gaz-ze₄(AB₂.ŠA₃,GE)} \\
\text{namlulu}=\text{e} & \enspace \text{ṣag} \enspace \text{iri}=\text{ane}=\text{a₄}=\text{a} \enspace \text{ṣ₁ḥa₃₅₁₀ni₃₅₁₂gaz₃₅₁e} \\
\text{people}=\text{ERG} & \enspace \text{heart} \enspace \text{city}=\text{3.SG.H.POSS=GEN=1.L1} \enspace \text{MOD-L₁-3.SG.H.P-kill-3.SG.A}
\end{align*}
\]

c)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṭnin-ṣir₂-su-ke₄,} & \enspace \text{sa-ṣuš-gal} \enspace \text{u₁-ni-šuš} \\
\text{ninnirsuk}=\text{e} & \enspace \text{sa-ṣuš-gal}=\text{ø} \enspace \text{ṣ₄u₃₆nn₃₅₁₀šuš₃₅₁₂šum₃₅₁₀} \\
\text{DN}=\text{ERG} & \enspace \text{battle.net}=\text{ABS} \enspace \text{ANT-3.SG.H.L₂-3.SG.H.A-cover-3.SG.P}
\end{align*}
\]

d)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gu-ti-um}^{ki} & \enspace \text{d-en-lil₂-le} \enspace \text{ma-an-šum₂} \\
\text{gutium}=\text{ø} & \enspace \text{enlí}=\text{e} \enspace \text{ṣ₄m₃₅₆ᵃ₃₅₁₂šum₃₅₁₂šum₃₅₁₀} \\
\text{GN}=\text{ABS} & \enspace \text{DN}=\text{ERG} \enspace \text{VEN-DAT-3.SG.H.A-give-3.SG.P}
\end{align*}
\]

e)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e₂} & \enspace \text{ud-de₃} \enspace \text{ma-ra-du₁-e} \\
\text{e}=\text{ø} & \enspace \text{ud}=\text{e} \enspace \text{ṣ₄₄ma₃₅₆ᵃ₃₅₁₂du₃₁ₑ} \\
\text{house}=\text{ABS} & \enspace \text{day}=\text{ERG} \enspace \text{VEN-2.SG.DAT-build-3.SG.A}
\end{align*}
\]

f)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ensi-ke₄} & \enspace \text{e₂} \enspace \text{mu-du₁} \\
\text{ensik}=\text{e} & \enspace \text{e}=\text{ø} \enspace \text{ṣ₄₅mu₃₅₁₂du₃₁₁ø} \\
\text{ruler}=\text{ERG} & \enspace \text{house} \enspace \text{VEN-3.SG.H.A-build-3.SG.P}
\end{align*}
\]

g)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lu₁} & \enspace \text{umma₃₁₁ría₄ke₄,} \enspace \text{e₂-ki-sur₃(ERIN₂)-ra-ke₄,} \enspace \text{izi} \enspace \text{ba-šum₂} \\
\text{lu} & \enspace \text{umma}=\text{ak}=\text{e} \enspace \text{ekisurak}=\text{e} \enspace \text{izi}=\text{ø} \enspace \text{ṣ₅b₅₃₅₆ᵃ₃₅₁₂šum₃₅₁₁ø} \\
\text{man} & \enspace \text{GN}=\text{GEN=ERG} \enspace \text{TN}=\text{DAT.NH} \enspace \text{fire}=\text{ABS} \enspace \text{VEN-3.SG.H.H-DAT-3.SG.H.A-give-3.SG.P}
\end{align*}
\]

11.4 Transliterate the text RTC 19 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P221416) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the texts using Foxvog’s (2016b) glossary. A copy and photo of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P221416. Concentrate on the verbal forms and the human participants, the various goods mentioned are less important. Explain the presence and the lack of the ventive in the verbal forms on the basis of what you have learnt in this lesson.
11.5 Compare the verbal forms in exs. (222) and (223) above and explain the difference between them on the basis of what you learnt about the finite marker and the allomorphs of the ventive in this lesson.

11.6 Go to the ETCSRI corpus (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/corpus) and write “V2=FIN” (without the quotation marks) in the Search Oracc box. Select at least 10 verbal forms and try to explain the presence of the finite-marker on the basis of what you have learnt in this lesson.

11.7 Go to the ETCSRI corpus (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/corpus) and write “V5=MID” (without the quotation marks) in the Search Oracc box. Select at least 10 verbal forms and try to explain the function of the middle prefix on the basis of what you have learnt in this lesson.
Lesson 12: The dative and the comitative case

This lesson describes the verbal and nominal marking of the dative and the comitative together with their most important uses. We start with the dative case.

12.1 The dative case (Slot 7)
The verbal prefix of the dative case is /a/. The form of the nominal case-marker depends on the grammatical gender of the participant: human verbal participants are case-marked with the enclitic =/ra/; while non-human verbal participants are case-marked with the enclitic =/e/. When the human case-marker is preceded by an open syllable, then the enclitic =/ra/ may be reduced to /r/; and the syllable closing /r/ of the resulting closed syllable /Cvr/ will not be written until the end of the 3rd millennium BCE, see, e.g., exx. (267) and (270).

The co-occurrence of the noun phrase with a dative case-marker and the dative prefix is very strict: a noun phrase in the dative always occurs together with a corresponding dative prefix in the verbal prefix-chain.

In the verbal prefix-chain the dative is always cross-referenced by a composite adverbial prefix, as its slot (S7) is the nearest to the IPP. The 1st ps. sg. pronominal prefix is expressed by an allomorph of the ventive prefix in S4, and the composite prefix is written as a rule with the grapheme MA, see, e.g., ex. (263) below. The 2nd ps. sg. pronominal prefix is the IPP /r/ in S6, and the composite prefix is written as a rule with the grapheme RA, see, e.g., ex. (264) below. The 3rd ps. sg. human pronominal prefix is the IPP /nn/ in S6, and the composite prefix is written as a rule with the grapheme NA, see, e.g., ex. (272) below. The 3rd ps. sg. non-human prefix is expressed with the prefix /b/ in S5. The 3rd ps. sg. non-human composite prefix is written as a rule with the grapheme BA, see, e.g., ex. (276) below. When, however, preceded by a ventive prefix, the /b/ of the 3rd ps. sg. non-human composite prefix assimilates to /m/, and then it is written as a rule with the grapheme MA, see, e.g., ex. (259) below.

The 1st ps. pl. pronominal prefix is the IPP /mē/ in S6, and the composite prefix is written as a rule with the grapheme ME, see, e.g., ex. (257) below. The 3rd ps. pl. pronominal prefix is the IPP /nnē/ in S6, and the composite prefix is written as a rule with the grapheme NE, see, e.g., ex. (270) below. Both in 1st and 3rd ps. pl. the long vowel of the IPP and the dative prefix are fused to an /ē/.

When followed by a simple locative2 prefix /e/ in the verbal prefix-chain, the dative and the locative2 are fused to /ē/ in the 2nd millennium BCE, see ex. (275) below.

The three most important functions of the dative case are to denote the indirect object, the beneficiary, or the goal of the verbal event. With verbs of giving the dative denotes the recipient of the verb:

(257) FaoS 19, Gir23 obv. 7–rev. 1 (Lagash, 23rd c.) (P217056)
‘lugal-ka’, ḫe₂₃-e₂₄-šum₂₃-mu
lugalka-e s₂₃₃₅₋₃₇₅-šum₋₃₅₃-e
PN=ERG MOD-1.PL-DAT-give-3Sg.A
“May Lugalka hand it over to us!”
The dative and the comitative case

(258) [sic] 5 obv. 1:1–3  (RIME 1.09.09.05) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222618)
lu₄ umma₄=m₄=ke₄,  e₂-ki-sur₄ па ra=ke₄,  izi₄ ba-šum₂
lu₃ umma₃=a₃mek₃ e₃=kisurak₃=e₃  izi₃=φ₃ b₅=ṣ₅a₅₃n₅₃₂šum₅₃₁φ₃
"The Ummaite set fire (lit. 'give fire') to the Eribira."

(259) Gudea Cyl. A 11:24  (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
kalam= e zisag₂m₄=na₄=ṣum₂
kalam= e zisag₂=t₂m₄=na₄=ṣum₂
land=DAT.NH  vigour=ABS  ANT-VEN.3.SG.NH-DAT.3.SG.NH.A-give-3.SG.P
"This will give vigour to the Land, ...."

(260) Enmerkar and the lord of Aratta 420  (ETCSL 1.8.2.3)
en-me-er-kara₂ra  e'en-ki₃ke₄  nešrug₃  mu-na-an-ṣum₂
enmer₃kar=ra  e₄nešrug₃=φ₄  mu₄na₄-na₄=ṣum₂
"Enki gave wisdom to Enmerkar."

With verbs of speaking the dative denotes the addressee of the verb:

(261) Gudea Cyl. A 2:26–27  (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
kug  d₄ga₂=um₄=ṣum₂-ra  mu₄na₄-nen,
kug  natumdu₂₃-ga₂=um₄=ṣum₂-ra  su₃mu₃=su₃=ṣ₃₁n₃₁₂ṣum₃₁₁φ₃
holy  DN=DAT.H  VEN.3.SG.H-DAT-go.3.SG.S
sizk₃ur₂  mu₃na₃-be₂
siz₃kur=φ₄  su₄mu₄=ṣ₄₃₃n₃₃₃a₃₃₃b₃₁₂e₄=ṣ₄₁e₄
prayer=ABS  VEN.3.SG.H-DAT.3.SG.H.P-speak.PF.3.SG.A
"He went to holy Gatumdu₂₃ and prayed to her."

(262) Gudea Cyl. A 2:13  (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ur-saq₃  'ma₃-a-dug₃
urs₃aq=φ₃  su₄m₄₁=ṣ₃₁₂e₄=ṣ₃₁₂dug₃=ṣ₃₁φ₃
hero=ABS  VEN-DAT.2.SG.A-speak.3.SG.P
"Hero, you have commanded me."

(263) Gudea Cyl. A 4:20  (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
e₂-a₄ne₂  du₃-da  ma₃-an-dug₃₁
e₃-an=φ₃  du₄=ed₄=ṣ₄men₄₁=ṣ₄₃₃₃dug₄=ṣ₄₁φ₃
house=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS  build-PF.L₂.NH  VEN-DAT.3.SG.H.A-speak.3.SG.P
"He ordered me to build his temple."

(264) Gudea Cyl. A 5: 18  (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
e₅š₁  e₂-ninnu-na  du₃-ba
e₅š₁_ninnu₅=ane₅=ak  du₅=be₅=ṣ₅
shrine  TN=3.SG.H.POSS=GEN  build=3.SG.NH.POSS=L₂.NH
za₃-ra  ma₃-ra-an-dug₃₁
za₃-ra  su₃ma₃=su₃₁=ṣ₃₁₂dug₃₁=ṣ₃₁φ₃
you=DAT.H  VEN.2.SG-DAT.3.SG.H.A-speak.3.SG.P
"He spoke to you about the building of his shrine, the E-ninnu."
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(265) The victory of Utu-hegal 28 (ETCSL 2.1.6)
dumu iri-na-ke=ne              gu₁  mu-ne-de₂=e
dumu iri=ane=ak=enē=ra          gu=∅  s₄mu₂₈nŋeᵗ₅aₛ₁₂deₛ₁₄e
“He addressed a speech to the citizens of his city: ‘...’.”

(266) Inana’s descent to the netherworld 332 (ETCSL 1.4.1)
gals=la₂-ne  kug ₄inana-ra  gu₁  mu-na-de₂=e
gall=enē=e  kug  inana-ra  gu=∅  s₅mu₂₈nŋeᵗ₅aₛ₁₂deₛ₁₄e
demon=PL=ERG  holy  DN=DAT.H  voice=ABS  VEN-3.SG.H=DAT-pour-3.SG.A
“The demons say to holy Inana: ‘...’.”

The dative may denote the participant affected by the event either benefactively or adversatively, for the latter, see ex. (271) below:

(267) Gudea 2 1–8 (RIME 3/1.1.7.2) (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P431937)
₁ba₂u₂,  dumu  an-na,  nin-a-ne₂,  gu₁=de₂-a,  ensi₂
bau dumu an=ak  nin=ane=ra  gudea  ensik
DN₁ child  DN₂=GEN  lady=3.SG.H.Poss=DAT.H  RN  ruler
lageš₄-ke₄,  e₂  iri-kug-ga-ka-ne₂,  mu-na-du₃
lageš=ak-e  e  iri-kug-ak-ane=∅  s₅mu₂₈nŋeᵗ₅aₛ₁₂nₛ₁₂duₛ₁₄∅
“For Bau, the child of An, his lady, Gudea, ruler of Lagaš, built her temple in Iri-kug.”

(268) Gudea Statue A 2:1–2 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232274)
dub-šen  kug=g-ne₂,  mu-na-di₃
Dubšen  kug=∅-ane=∅  s₅mu₂₈nŋeᵗ₅aₛ₁₂nₛ₁₂di₃∅
“He (= Gudea) manufactured her holy treasury chest for her (= Inana).”

(269) Gudea Cyl. B 2:21 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
₂nin-ni₇r₂-su  e₂-ₚu₂  mu-ra-du₃
Nimżirsuk=∅  e=zu=∅  s₅mu₂₈rⁿ₅aₛ₁₂ duₛ₁₄∅
DN=ABS  house=2.SG.POSS=ABS  VEN-2.SG.DAT-1.SG.A-build-3.SG.P
“Ningirsu, I have built you your temple!”

(270) Gudea Statue I 3:4–6 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232282)
di₇r  gal-gal  lagaš₄-ke₄-ne,
di₇r  gal-gal=∅  lagaš=ak=enē=ra
god  great=PL=TL  GN=GEN=PL=DAT.H
₂e₇-ne-ne,  mu-ne-du₃
₂e-ne=∅  s₅mu₂₈nŋeᵗ₅aₛ₁₂nₛ₁₂duₛ₁₄∅
“He built all the great gods of Lagash their temples.”

(271) NG 51 rev. 3 (Umma, 21st c. BCE) (P131780)
l₃u  inim-ma  saŋ₉  sa₉-a-še₂  mu-ne-ra₂e₃
lu  inim-ak  saŋ=∅  sa₉-a=ak=še  s₅mu₂₈nŋeᵗ₅aₛ₈₂₅₉aₛ₁₂eₛ₁₄∅
man  word=GEN  head=ABS  buy-PT=GEN=TERM  VEN-3.PL-DAT-ABL-leave-3.SG.S
“(Two persons) came forward as witnesses against them that the slave had been bought.”

With verbs of motion the dative denotes the goal of the motion without, however, implying contact:
(272) Gudea Cyl. A 2:26–27 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

d₇gaz-tum-dug-ra mu-na-ŋen,

kug natumdug-ra s₄mu-₃₄₃₅₅₁₃₂₁₆₄₁₃₂₁

“(The lord of Aratta placed on his head the golden crown for Inana.) But he did not please her (= Inana) like the lord of Kulaba.”

(273) Gudea Cyl. A 18:8 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

e₂-e im-ma-ŋen

e= e s₅₁s₄₃­₅₃₂₃₅₁₃₂₁₆₄₁₃₂₁

house=DAT.NH FIN-VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-go-3.SG.S

“The Elamites came to him (= Gudea) from Elam.”

(274) Gudea Cyl. A 15:6 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

elam elam-ta mu-na-ŋen

elam=ø elam=ta s₄mu-₃₄₂₃₅₁₆₃₃₂₁₆₄₁₃₂₁

elam=ABS GN=ABL VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-go-3.SG.S

“The Elamites came to him (= Gudea) from Elam.”

The dative may denote the participant who is considered to be the cause of a situation:

(275) Iddin-Dagan B 56 (ETCSL 2.5.3.2)

kur-kur₂ u₂-sal-la mu-e-re-nu₂

kur=ku₁=ø usal=’a s₄mu₃₄₃₅₅₁₆₃₅₁₆₄₁₃₂₁


“All the foreign lands rest on the meadows thanks to you.”

The dative may denote the participant that experiences a sensation or feeling:

(276) Iddin-Dagan B 53 (ETCSL 2.5.3.2)

nam-lugal-zu uʒ₁-e ba-sag⁹

namlugal=zu=ø uʒ₁-e s₃₄b₃₅₅₁₆₃₅₁₆₄₁₃₂₁

kingship=2.SG.POSS=ABS people=DAT.NH 3.SG.NH-DAT-good-3.SG.S

“My kingdom is good for the people.” = “The people like your kingship.”

(277) Enki and Ninhursaga 262 (ETCSL 1.1.1)

šeš-ŋu₁₀ a-na-zu a-ra-gig

šeš=ŋu₁=ø ana=zu=ø s₃₂a₃₅₅₁₆₃₅₁₆₃₅₁


ka-ŋu₁₀ ma-gig

kag=ŋu₁=ø s₄₅₃₅₃₂₃₅₁₆₃₅₁

mouth=1.SG.POSS=ABS VEN-DAT-sick-3.SG.S

“My brother, what part of you hurts? ’My mouth hurts.’”

(278) Enmerkar and the lord of Aratta 30 (ETCSL 1.8.2.3)

en kul-abā-=ž magg₇=mu-mu-na-sag⁹

en kulaba=ak-gen s₃₁n₃₄₃₄mu₃₅₅₁₆₃₅₁₆₃₅₁

lord GN=GEN=EQU NEG-VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-good-3.SG.S

“(The lord of Aratta placed on his head the golden crown for Inana.) But he did not please her (= Inana) like the lord of Kulaba.”
The semantic object of the frequently attested compound verb ki “place” — anz “to measure” = “to love”, i.e., the verbal participant loved, is in the dative:

(279) Shulgi A 23 (ETCSL 2.4.2.01)

\[\text{niq2-si-sa2-e} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{ha-ba-anz-nq2-an} \quad \text{am1}\]


“I do like righteousness.”

(280) Iri-kagina 14p 1-2 (RIME 1.9.9.14p) (Lagash, 24th c. BCE) (P222652)

\[\text{qba-u2} \quad \text{barag} \quad \text{iri-kug-ga-ka} \quad \text{tum2-i-ma},\]

\[\text{ba} \quad \text{barag} \quad \text{irikug}=\text{a}' \text{a} \quad \text{tum2-i-a=e}\]

\[\text{DN} \quad \text{dais} \quad \text{GN}=\text{GEN=L2} \quad \text{worthy-PT=ERG}\]

\[\text{iri}=\text{ka1-gi-na-ra} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{mu-na-anz}\]

\[\text{irikaginak-ra} \quad \text{ki}=\text{a} \quad \text{s}4\text{mu-s}6\text{n}=\text{a-s}5=\text{a-s}11\text{n}=\text{s}5=\text{a-s}21\text{i}\]

\[\text{PN}=\text{DAT.H} \quad \text{earth}=\text{ABS} \quad \text{VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-3.SG.H.A-measure-3.SG.P}\]

“Bau, who is worthy of the dais of Irikug, loves Iri-kagina.”

12.2 The comitative case (Slot 8)

Both the nominal case-marker and the verbal prefix of the comitative case are /da/, written as a rule by the grapheme DA. When the nominal case-marker is preceded by an open syllable, then the enclitic =/da/ may be reduced to /d/, in which case the comitative case-marker is often not present graphematically, especially in 3rd millennium BCE. When followed by a locative1 prefix /ni/ in the verbal prefix-chain, the comitative prefix may assimilate to /di/, and then it is written as a rule with the grapheme Di (= Ti), see, e.g., ex. (292) below. When followed by a simple locative2 prefix /e/ in the verbal prefix-chain, the comitative and the locative2 are fused to /da/ in the 2nd millennium BCE, see ex. (290) below. When followed by a prefix /b/ in S11, the closed syllable /dab/ is written with the grapheme DAB (= URUDU) in the 3rd millennium, see, e.g., ex. (289) below.

The co-occurrence of the noun phrase with a comitative case-marker and the comitative prefix is very strict: a noun phrase in the comitative almost always occurs together with a corresponding comitative prefix in the verbal prefix-chain.

In the verbal prefix-chain the participant in the comitative may be cross-referenced either by a composite or by a simple adverbial prefix, for the latter see, e.g., ex. (283) below. The simple prefix always cross-references a 3rd ps. sg. non-human participant. The 1st ps. sg. pronominal prefix is the IPP /a/ in S6, see, e.g., exx. (285) and (308) below. The 2nd ps. sg. pronominal prefix is the IPP /e/, see, e.g., exx. (288) and (296) below. The 3rd ps. sg. human pronominal prefix is the IPP /n/ in S6, see, e.g., exx. (284) and (313) below. The 3rd ps. sg. non-human prefix is expressed with the prefix /b/ in S5, see, e.g., ex. (287) below.

The 1st ps. pl. pronominal prefix is the IPP /me/ in S6, see, e.g., ex. (305) below. The 3rd ps. pl. composite prefix is written as a rule with the grapheme PI, which is assumed to have a reading neda and is used for writing -/s6mn[math]e-s8da/-, see, e.g., ex. (270) below.

The comitative in its basic function marks the participant that accompanies another participant in a verbal event. The accompanying participant may be another human or god with the ability to act on his own, see, e.g., ex. (281); an object, see ex. (283); an abstract entity, see, e.g., ex. (286); or even action expressed by a non-finite verbal noun, see ex. (287) below.
In ex. (287) above the verbal event expressed by the non-finite verbal noun in the comitative functions as a condition of the event in the main clause. This use...
of the comitative anticipates its function to denote the participant which is considered to be the cause of the verbal situation. This use is based on a metonymic extension of accomplishment by implicature: the presence of an accompanying participant is interpreted as a precondition of the verbal event.

(288) Gudea Cyl. A 11:16  (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ki-en-gi-ra₂  i₃  dirig  mu-da-de₂
kiengi=₃ i₃  dirig=o=ø  s₄₅mu₇₆-e₅₆da⁻₅₁₀n⁻₅₁₂de⁻₅₁₄ø
GN=L₁ oil surplus-TL=ABS VEN-2.SG-COM-L₁.SYN-pour-3.SG.S
"Under you more oil will be poured than ever in Sumer."

(289) Lugal-zagesi 1 3:24–26 (RIME 1.14.20.1) (Uruk, 24th c.) (Q001379)
nam-luzu₅₂₃,  u₂šim-gen₇,
namlulu=e  ušim=gen
mankind=ERG greenery=EQU
šu daŋal  ḥa-mu-dab₅₄-dug₄
šu daŋal=ø  s₁₈ha₅₄mu₅₆e₅₂da₅₁b₅₁₂dug₅₁ø
"Under you the people do spread as abundantly as grass."

(290) Ur-Ninurta D 33  (ETCSL 2.5.6.4)
ug₃  u₂-sal-la  hu-mu-un-de₃-nu₂
ug=ø  usal₄-a  s₃₂₃₄mu₇₆n₅₆e₅₂s₁₀₂₃₁₂nu₅₁ø
person=ABS meadow=₁₂.NH MOD-VEN-3.SG. H-COM-L₂-lie-3.SG.S
"May the people rest on the meadows under his rule!"

The comitative may denote one of the acting participants in a naturally reciprocal verbal event:

(291) En-metena 1 1:25–27 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.)
umm₃₄-da  da₃-ha-ra  e-da-ak
umm₃₄=da  damhara=ø  s₁₂-s₂₅b₅₆da₃₁₁n₅₁₁ak₃₁ø
"(Ningirsu) made a battle with Umma."

(292) Gudea Cyl. A 22:12–13 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ê-en-ki-da  e₂-an-gurs-ra-ka,  šag₄  mu-di₃-ni-ib₂-kus₂-u₁₃
enki=da  eangurak=a  šag=ø  s₄₅mu₇₆n₅₆da⁻₃₁₀ni⁻₃₁₁b⁻₃₁₂kus₃₁e
DN=COM TN=L₁ heart=ABS VEN-3.SG.H-COM-L₁-3.SG.NH.P-be.tired-3.SG.A
"(Its abzu foundation pegs, big mooring stakes, he drove into the ground so deep,) they could take counsel with Enki in the E-engurak."

(293) Gudea Cyl. A 13:3 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
am₃₄-e₅₆-da  gu₁₃  nu-ma-da-de₂
ama-e₅₆da  gu=ø  s₁₂₅mu₇₆n₅₆da⁻₃₁₀ni⁻₃₁₁b⁻₃₁₂ku₅₁ø
"No mother conversed with her child."

With the verbs expressing emotion the comitative denotes the participant that causes emotion. This usage is based on a metonymic extension of accomplishment by implicature: the presence of an accompanying participant is interpreted as the cause of the emotion expressed by the verbal form.
(294) Gudea Cyl. A 19:8–9 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

They live by Lugal
He embedded its Sh
im
weapon=

(Utu rejoiced over his (= Gudea) putting the brick into the mould.)

(295) Gudea Cyl. B 20:14 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

“Uturojoiced over his (= Gudea) putting the brick into the mould.”

(296) Ishme-Dagan J 17–18 (ETCSL 2.5.4.10)

“The owner rejoiced over the temple.

(297) E-ana-tum 8 5:9–6:4 (RIME 1.9.3.8) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P431083)

“All the lands trembled before Eanatum, called by name by Ningirsu.”

The comitative may express a location next to, at, or by someone or something:

(298) Gudea Cyl. A 22:20 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

“He embedded its Shar-ur weapon beside Lagash like a big standard.”

(299) DP 117 obv. 6:4–5 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P220767)

“They live by Lugal-Keš.”
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(300) DP 117 obv. 6:7–8 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P220767)
lugal-e₂-ni-še₃, e-da-se₁₂
lugaleniše=da s₂i₃-n₅₆-da₅₁-se₅₁eš
PN=COM FIN-3.SG.H-COM-live.PL-3.PL.S
“They live by Lugaleniše.”

With the verb **tuku** “to have” the comitative denotes the participant who owes something to someone. This use of the comitative originates in the local meaning “near to, at” of the comitative: “X has something which is at Y” = “Y owes something to X”.

(301) Nik 1, 297 2:2–4 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222066)
sag₃-sag₃-da, gi₇gal-si, e-da-tuku
sagsag=da gi₇galsi=e s₂i₃-n₅₆-da₅₁-n₅₁-tuku₅₁o
PN=COM PN=ERG FIN-3.SG.H-COM-3.SG.H.A-have-3.SG.P
“Sagsag owes this (= some wool) to Gishgalsi.”

(302) MAD 4, 17 rev. 5–8 (Umma, 23rd c.) (P215179)
8 siki ma-na, ama-e₂-e, barag-nita-da
8 siki mana=ø ama=e baragni=ta-da
8 wool unit=ABS PN₁=ERG PN₂=COM
ud-be₂-ta, i₁-da-tuku-am₃
dud=be=ta s₂i₃-n₅₆-da₅₁-n₅₁-tuku₅₁o²₃₅, a=ø=am-ø
day=DEM=ABL FIN-3.SG.H-COM-3.SG.H.A-have-3.SG.P-SUB=ABS=COP-3.SG.S
“Barag-nita owed 8 mina wool to Ama-e from that time.”

(303) TSU 12 obv. 1–4 (Nippur, 21st c.) (P135183)
11 udu bar-ŋal₂, ur-ššigir-da,
11 udu barpal=ø urwigir=da
11 sheep hairy=ABS PN₁=COM
arad=æ, i₁-da-tuku-am₃
arad=æ s₂i₃-n₅₆-da₅₁-n₅₁-tuku₅₁o²₃₅, a=ø=am-ø
“It was the case that Urgigir owed 11 hairy sheep to Arad.”

(304) NATN 571 obv. 7 (Nippur, 21st c.) (P121269)
kug-nu-mu-da-a-tuku
kug=ø s₅₇-n₉₆-mu⁻₃₉₆-da₅₁-e₅₁-tuku₅₁o
silver=ABS NEG-FIN-VEN-1.SG-COM-2.SG.A-have-3.SG.P
“I do not owe you silver.”; lit. “You do not have silver with me.”

(305) NATN 626 obv. 6’ (Nippur, 21st c.) (P121324)
me-da-tuku-a
₅₃m₃-e₅₁-da₅₁-n₅₁-tuku₅₁o²₃₅, a=ø
1.PL-COM-3.SG.H.A-have-3.SG.P-SUB=ABS
“... (all the silver what) we owe him.”; lit. “He has with us.”

In ex. (306) below the locative2 case-marker of the debtor (Nagamu) probably reflects the influence of the corresponding Akkadian idiom îšû “to have”, which construes the debtor with the preposition **ēli** “on, over”. Note that the verbal form retained the original comitative prefix.
(306) NRVN 1, 65 obv. 1–4 (Nippur, 21st c.) (P122278)
64 gu-ła₂ gi izi
64 gula gi izi=∅
64 sheaf reed fire=ABS
ur₄-nusku-ke₄, na-ga-mu-ur, an-da-tuku
urnuskuk-e nagamu-ra š₂a₃₅n₃₈da₃₁n₃₁₂tuku₃₁₄∅
“Nagamu owes 64 sheaf of reed for burning to Ur-Nusku.”

With the verb ɲal₂ “to be somewhere” the comitative denotes the participant that possesses something. This use of the comitative originates in the local meaning “near to, at” of the comitative: “Something is at X” = “X possesses something”.

(307) UET 3, 744 rev. 5’ (Urim, 21st c.) (P137068)
simug-ne in-neda(P1)-ɲal₂
simug=enē=da š₂i₃₅n₃₈da₃₁₂ɲal₃₁₄∅
simug=PL=COM FIN=3.PL-COM-exist-3.SG.S
“The smiths have it.”; lit. “This is with the smiths.”

(308) MVN 11, 168 rev. 8 (Umma, 21st c. BCE) (P116181)
še e₂-a nu-mu-da-ɲal₂
še=∅ e=’a š₁₅nu₅₄mu₅₆-š₅da₃₁₄n₃₁₂ɲal₃₁₄∅
grain=ABS house=I NEG-VEN-1.SG-COM-1.L.SYN-exist-3.SG.S
“I have no grain in the house.”; lit. “There is no grain in the house with me”

The comitative may express ability. In these verbal forms the grammatical subject (A or P) is also cross-referenced by a comitative prefix in the verbal prefix-chain:

(309) NG 132 rev. 1 (Umma, 21st c.) (P101690)
gud-b₂e₂ nu-mu-da-tum₂
gud=be=∅ š₁₅nu₅₄mu₅₆-š₅da₃₁₄n₃₁₂tum₃₁₄∅
“He was not able to bring that ox.”

(310) Nebraska 19 rev. 22 (Umma, 21st c.) (P121704)
kišibilidad lu₂ nu-ub-d₄a-su-su-da-ne
kišib lu š₁₅nu₅₁₁₃b₅₈da₃₁₂su₅₁₄su₃₁₅ed₅₁₄∅₅₁₅’a=enē=ak=∅
seal man NEG-FIN-3.SG.NH-COM-repay~PF-PF-3.SG.S-SUB=PL=GEN=ABS
“The sealed tablet of the people who cannot pay back.”

(311) En-metena 1 2:27 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
bar še-b₂e₂ nu-da-su₃-su₃-da-ka
bar še=be=∅ š₁₅nu₅₁₁₁b₅₈da₃₁₂su₅₁₄su₃₁₅ed₅₁₄∅₅₁₅’a=ak=’a
outside grain=DEM=ABS NEG-FIN-3.SG.NH-COM-repay~PF-PF-3.SG.S-SUB=GEN=I₂.NH
“As this (amount of) barley cannot not be repaid, ....”

With the compound verb a₂ “arm” — apa₂ “to measure” = “to instruct” the comitative denotes the participant who is instructed.
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(312) Gudea Cyl. A 15:11 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

*nin-zag-ga-da* a₂ mu-da-aŋ₂

*ninzaga=da* a=ø ₃₄mu⁻*S6n=Sa*-S1n-S₁₂aŋ⁻S₁₀φ


“He commanded Ninzaga.”

With the verb *zaḥ₃* “to be away, to run away” the comitative denotes the participant from whom someone runs away.

(313) ECTJ 50 1–4 (Nippur, 23rd c.) (P020464)

*lugal⁻*-a₂⁻zid-da, arad₂ lugal-ki-gal-la, ensiz-da, in-da-zaḥ₃

lugalazida arad lugalkigal=ak=ø ensik=da ₃₄i⁻S₁₂n=S₁₀da⁻S₁₂zaḥ⁻S₁₀φ

PN₁ servant PN₂=GEN=ABS ruler=COM FIN-3.SG.H-COM-flee-3.SG.S

“Lugal-azida, the servant of Lugal-kigal, ran away from the ruler.”

**Further readings**

For both cases one may consult the corresponding sections of Gragg 1973, Balke 2006, and Jagersma 2010, whose descriptions, however, differ in their approach to cases in Sumerian. The approach of the present textbook’s author is explained in Zólyomi 2010.

The comitative prefix expressing ability is discussed in detail by Gragg 1973: 53–55.

**Exercises**

12.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

12.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

12.3 Compare exx. (299) and (300) above. How could you explain the graphemic presence of the comitative in the former and its absence in the latter?

12.4 Go to the ETCSRI corpus ([http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/corpus](http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/corpus)) and write “N3=ani.N5=ra” (without the quotation marks) in the Search Oracc box. What orthographic change can be recognized? Can you identify the ruler under which the change started?

12.5 Transliterate the text Gudea 4 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232332) (Volk 2012 no. 10) (a copy of the text can be found at [http://cdli.ucla.edu/P232332](http://cdli.ucla.edu/P232332)) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the text with the help of either Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to all words. Then go to the ETCSRI edition of the text ([http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q000890](http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q000890)), click on the “proofing” link on the left side of the page, and compare your glosses with ETCSRI’s glossing.

12.6 Transliterate the text Gudea Statue H (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232281) (Volk 2012 no. 18) (a photo of the text can be found at [http://cdli.ucla.edu/P232281](http://cdli.ucla.edu/P232281)) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the text with the help of either Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to all words. Then go to the ETCSRI edition of the text ([http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q001547](http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q001547)), click on the “proofing” link on the left side of the page, and compare your glosses with ETCSRI’s glossing.
The dative and the comitative case
Lesson 13: The ablative and the terminative case

Slot 9 of the verbal prefix-chain may be filled by either an ablative or a terminative prefix. This distribution may be explained by their converse meaning: the participant in the ablative denotes the source of the verbal event, while the participant in the terminative denotes its goal. This lesson describes the verbal and nominal marking of these cases together with their most important uses. We start with the ablative case.

13.1 The ablative case (slot 9)

Both the nominal case-marker and the verbal prefix of the ablative case are /ta/, written as a rule by the grapheme TA. Between two vowels the /t/ of the verbal prefix may have been rhotacised to a tap [ɾ], and then the prefix was written with the grapheme RA as in exx. (319) and (324) below.

The co-occurrence of the noun phrase with an ablative case-marker and the ablative prefix is rather loose: adverbially used verbal participants in the ablative may occur regularly without any corresponding prefix in the verbal prefix-chain, see, e.g., exx. (314) and (320) below. The ablative prefix may also occur without cross-referencing any verbal participant; in this case the prefix’s function is to modify the meaning of the verb, as in ex. (319) below.

The ablative as a rule is used only with non-human verbal participants; human participants may be referred to with the circumfixal construction ḫPN=ak-ta (place PN=GEN=ABL), see, exx. (320) below. In the verbal prefix-chain the participant in the ablative may be cross-referenced either by a composite or by a simple adverbial prefix, for the latter see, e.g., ex. (329) below. The 3rd ps. sg. non-human pronominal prefix is expressed with the prefix /b/. When S5 is occupied by the middle prefix /ba/-, then the pronominal prefix /b/ may not be used and the ablative prefix occurs in its simple form without a pronominal prefix, see, e.g., ex. (316) below.

The ablative may be used both as an adverbial and as an adnominal case. Used as an adverbial case its basic function is to denote the source or origin of the verbal event.

(314) SACT 1, 154 obv. 6 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P128909)
ud umma⁵-ta i⁴-im-ŋen-na-a
ud umma=ta ₃₂⁽⁴⁾m-₃₁₂gen-₃₁⁴a=₃₅₁₃,a=₃₄₃₅
day GN=ABL. FIN-VEN-go-3.SG.S-SUB=L₁
“When she came from Umma.”

(315) Gudea Statue B 8:6–9 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
lu e₂-ninnum-ta im-ta-ab-E₃,E₃-a
lu eninnum=ta ₃₂⁽⁴⁾m₃₁₂b₃₃ta-₃₁₁e₃₅₁₃₃,e₃₅₁₃₅₁₃₁₃₅₅₁₃₃,a
“The one who takes it (= the statue) out of the Eninnu.”

(316) Gudea Cyl. A 19:13 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
bis₃u₃-sub-ba-ta sig₄ b₃₃-ta-il₂
bis₃u₃-sub=ak-ta sig=∅ ₃₅₁₂b₃₃ta-₃₁₁n₃₅₁₃₃il₃₅₃₅₁₃₃₀
basket brick.mold=GEN=ABL brick MID-ABL-3.SG.H.A-raise-3.SG.P
“He lifted the brick out of the frame of the mould.”
(317) En-metena 1 2:1–3 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)

eg₂⁻be₂ id₂-nun-ta, gu₂-eden-na-še₃, i₂-ba-ta-ni-e₃

“He made the dike lead from the Id-nun until the Gu-edena.”

(318) Gudea Statue B 3:6–4:1 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232274)

kur man₂-ganⁿ-k₄-ta, na₄-esi im-₄-ta-e₁₁
kur magan=ta esi=ø s₃₂¹₃₄₅-₅₆₅₉₃₁-n₂₅₆₄₅₁₀e₇₄₆₈⁰

“He brought down diorite from the mountain of Magan.”

(319) NG 51 rev. 3 (Umma, 21st c. BCE) (P131780)

lu₄ inim-ma sa₄ŋ sa₁₀-a-še₃ mu-ne-ra-e₃
lu₄ inim-ak sa₄-š=ak=še s₄₃₄₅-₅₆₅₉₃₆₉₅₆₈⁰
man word=GEN head buy-PT=GEN=TERM VEN-3.PL-DAT-ABL-leave-3.SG.S

“(Two persons) came forward as witnesses against them that the slave had been bought.”

(320) AUCT 1, 942 rev. 5–6 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P103787)

ki puzur₄-er₃-ra-ta, ba-zig⁳
ki puzurera=ak=ta s₅₃₄₅zig₃⁻₁⁰
place PN=GEN=ABL MID-raise-3.SG.S

“These were deducted from Puzur-Era.”

(321) DP 339, rev. 2:3–3:1 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P220989)

iri-k₃-gi₣-na, lugal, lagaš⁻⁴₃₄₅⁻₆₃₄₅-k₄, e₂-gal-ta e₂-ta-ed₂-de₃
dišigina₂₃₄₅₆₇₉₃₁₄₅₆₈⁰
RN king GN=GEN=ERG palace=ABL FIN-3.SG.NH-ABL=3.SG.NH.P-leave-3.SG.A

“Irikagina, king of Lagash, will supply them from the palace.”

(322) DP 512 rev. 2:1–4 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P221162)

šul-me, agrig⁻⁴₃₄₅, e₂-gal-ta, e₂-ta-jar
šulme agrig⁻⁴₃₄₅-e egal=ta s₂₃₄₅₆₇₈₉₃₁₄₅₆₈⁰
PN steward=ERG palace=ABL FIN-3.SG.NH-ABL=3.SG.H.A-place-3.SG.P

“Šulme, the steward, supplied them from the palace.”

When the participant in the ablative is a set of similar entities, then the ablative may have a separative meaning. In ex. (323) Gudea is selected out of a group of people. In ex. (324) the month (iti) is considered as a set of days. In ex. (325) the word ab₂ “cow” refers to a group of cows.

(324) Gudea Statue B 3:10–11 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)

šag₄ lu₂ 2₁₆₀₀₀-ta, šu-ne₂
šag lu₂ 2₁₆₀₀₀=ak-ta šu=ane=ø
heart man 2₁₆₀₀₀=GEN=ABL hand=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS

ba-ta-an-dab₃-ba-a s₂₃₄₅₆₇₈₉₃₁₄₅₆₈⁰a²=₄₃₄₅a=a₄
MID-ABL=3.SG.H.A-seize=3.SG.P-SUB=1.L1

“(When) he selected him out of 2₁₆₀₀₀ people, ....”
The ablative and the terminative case — 129

(324) OIP 115, 126 rev. 5 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P123715)
itī-ta ud 8 ba-ra-zal
itid=tā ud 8=∅ $₃š$ba₅$š$ta⁻₅$š$zal⁻₅$š$∅
month=ABL day 8=ABS MID-ABL-pass=3.SG.S
“8 days elapsed from the month.”

(325) SAT 1, 189 rev. 2 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P131298)
ab=tā niṯjin₂-na
ab=tā niṯjin₁-a
cow=ABL encircle-PT
“(these animals are) separated from the cows”

In ex. (326) below the adverbial ablative is used in the meaning “apart from, in addition”.

(326) E-ana-en₂-tum 5 6:2–5 (RIME 1.9.3.5) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222400)
nam-ensi₂, lagaš⁻₃-ta, "$'nam'$-lugal kiš⁻₂,
namensik lagaš=ak=ta namlugal kiš=ak=∅
rulership GN=GEN=ABL kingship GN=GEN=ABS
mu-na-ta-šum₂
$₄mu$₅nn⁻₅$š$ta⁻₅$š$šum⁻₅$š$∅
“In addition to the rulership of Lagash, she also gave him the kingship of Kiš.”

The adverbial ablative may also denote the participant that functions as the tool or instrument with which an action is carried out, as in exx. (327), (328), and (329) below.

(327) JCS 10, 28 no. 5 obv. 6 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P111899)
1 udu niga lugal-e niṯir₂-ta in-gaz
1 udu niga=∅ lugal-e niṯir₂-ta $₃š$li⁻₅$š$ni⁻₅$š$gaz⁻₅$š$∅
1 sheep fattened king=ERG dagger=ABL FIN-3.SG.H.A-kill-3.SG.P
“One fattened sheep killed by the king with a dagger.”

(328) En-metena 1 1:8–13 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
me-salim, lugal kiš⁻₄-ke⁴ inim $'ištaran-na-ta$,
mesalim lugal kiš=ak=e inim $ištaran=ak=ta$
RN king GN=GEN=ERG word DN=GEN=ABL
eš₂-gana₂ be₂-ra,
eš₂gana=∅ $₅š$be⁻₅$š$ni⁻₅$š$ra⁻₅$š$∅
ki-ba na bi₂-du₃
ki-be₂-a na=∅ $₃š$bi⁻₅$š$ni⁻₅$š$du⁻₅$š$∅
“By the order of Ištaran, Mesalim, king of Kish, laid the measuring line on it, and set up a stela on that place.”
The ablative and the terminative case

(329) E-ana-tum 1 obv. 16:17 (RIME 1.9.3.1) (Lagash, 25th c. BCE) (P222399)

nam e-na-ta-kud
nam=Ø s₂₃ ŋ₃₄Š₃_r₃₇₄ ŧ₃₄a₃₇₄ta-s₃₁₁ n₃₁₂ kud-s₃₄Ø

“(E-ana-tum gave the great battle-net of Enlil to the Ummaite, and) made him swear a promissory oath by it.”\(^\text{15}\)

The ablative may also be used in a temporal sense: noun phrases in the ablative answer the question “since when?” as in exx. (330) and (331) below.

(330) TCS 1, 148 obv. 6 (Umma, 21st cc) (P141927)

mu dšu-suen lugal-ta
mu šusuen lugal=ta
year RN king=ABL

“Since the year: Šu-Suen (became) king”

(331) Nik 1, 156 rev. 1:4 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P221925)

eŋ̃̄ir4 gurur₂-ma-ta
eŋ̃̄ir gurum=ak=ta
back inspection=GEN=ABL

“After stock-taking”

When used as an adnominal ablative, the noun phrase in the ablative is in an attributive relation with another noun, i.e., it functions as its modifier. The most common function of the adnominal ablative is to denote the (recent) location of an entity.

The noun phrase in the ablative may relate syntactically to the modified noun in three different ways:

i) the noun phrase in the ablative may be part of the noun phrase whose head is the modified noun. In ex. (332), it occupies P2 of the noun phrase whose head it modifies, and is followed by a possessive pronominal enclitic in P3 and a case-marker in P5. In ex. (342), the noun phrase kug-babbar 8 gi₃₄ ⁿ₄-ta functions as the modifier of ḫar, and is followed by a case-marker in P5. In ex. (345) it occupies P2 of a noun phrase that itself functions as the possessor of another noun phrase.

ii) the noun phrase in the ablative is outside the noun phrase whose head it modifies. In exx. (333), (334), (335), and (336) the noun phrase in the ablative is unlikely to be part of the noun phrase whose head it modifies. Syntactically it is a separate noun phrase that nevertheless functions as the attribute of the noun phrase in the ergative in exx. (333), (336), and (338); in the absolutive in exx. (337) and (336), in the locative1 in ex. (334), and in the locative2 in ex. (335).

iii) Both the noun phrase in the ablative and the noun phrase whose head it modifies function as separate arguments of the same verb. Consequently the noun phrase in the ablative has double case-markers: the inner, ablative case-marker signifies its function as a modifier, the outer case-marker signifies its function as a verbal argument. In ex. (341) each of the women of former days is characterized by having married two men; the former noun phrase functions as the A of the verb, signaled by the ergative case-marker, while the latter functions as the patient of the verb signalled by the absolutive. In ex. (340) each of the ten

\(^{15}\) On the causative interpretation of this example, see Lesson 15, section 15.4 below.
bulls is to be replaced with two cows (signalled by the ablative); and the cows are also in the absolutive as the S of the non-finite verbal form.

(332) Gudea Cyl. A 2:2–3 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

*nānše nin9 dinjir sirara₆-ta-ŋu₁₀

*p₁*nin p₁*cod *[sirara₆=ta]*₇*ŋu₇*e

*p₁*sister p₁*god *[GN=ABL]*₇*1.SG.POSS=ᵣᵢ⁸⁷*ERG

šag₁-be₂ ḥa-ma-pad₃-de₁

šag=be=∅ s₃*ha₃-*m₃*₁₅*₃₅*pad₃*₁₅*e

heart=₃.SG.NH.POSS=ABS MOD-VEN-DAT-find=₃.SG.A

“May my Nanshe, the sister, the goddess from Sirara, reveal its meaning to me!”

(333) Gudea Statue H 3:1–5 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232281)

nin dumu ki aŋ₂ an kug-ga-ke₄,

nin dumu ki=∅ aŋ-∅ an kug=ak=e

lady child earth=ABS measure-TL DN₁ holy=GEN=ERG

ama ³ba-₃u₂, e₂-tar-sir₂-sir₂-ta,

ama bau=ₑ etarsirsir=ta

mother DN₂=ERG TN=ABL

gu₃-de₂-a Ṽnam³-₃i₁₅*mu-na-šu₃m₂
gude₃=ra nam₃=∅ s₄*mu₃₄*₃₄*₁₅*n₃*₁₅*šum₃*₁₅*∅


“The lady, beloved daughter of the holy An, mother Bau of the Etarsirsir gave Gudea life.”

(334) Gudea Statue F 1:12–2:1 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232279)

*n₄َا₂-tum₃-dug₃, nin-a-ne₂,

ṯatumdu₃=∞ DN lady=₃.SG.H.POSS=ERG

laga₃ši, iri ki aŋ₂-ȵa₂-ne₂-ta

laga₃ši iri ki=∅ aŋ-∅=ane=ta

GN city place=ABS measure-TL-₃.SG.H.POSS=ABL

un₃₄*šuba₃-a, mu-ni-tud-da-a

unu ²šuba₃-a s₄*mu₄₃₄*ni₃*₁₅*₃₄*tud₃*₁₅*a₃*₁₅*a=a

dwelling shining=₁¹ VEN-₁¹-₃.SG.H.A-bear-₃.SG.P-SUB=₁¹

“...to whom Gutumdug, his lady, from Lagash, her beloved city, gave birth in the shining sanctuary.”

(335) Gudea Statue B 1:17–19 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)

sa₂-dug₃-na e₂ ³nin- tabIndex=ta

sadug=ane=₁ᵃ e ninjirsuk=ak=ta

offer=₃.SG.POSS=₁₂.NH house DN=GEN=ABL

inim ḫe₂-ₑ⁻₂-*gi₄

inim=∅ s₃*ha₃₃-*b₃₅(₀)*o₃₅*gi₃₅*∅

word=ABS MOD-FIN-₃.SG.NH-₁₂.SYN-return=₃.SG.S

“May his regular offering in the temple of Ningirsu be withdrawn!”
(336) Gudea Cyl. A 16:15–16 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

Ten fattened bulls each [ring is of 8 shekels of silver.]

(337) VS 27, 47 rev. 1:1 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P020363)

“Total: 119 ewes together with their lambs, and goats with their kids”

(338) DP 224 obv. 6:5–9 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P220874)

“Dudu, the temple administrator, together with his wife and child will consume them in the temple of Kisal.”

The ablative and the terminative case

(339) SA 149 1–2 (Umma, 21st c.) (P128727)

“720 bundles of reed, in each packages (there are) 15 bundles.”

(340) AUCT 1, 181 1–2 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P103027)

“Ten fattened bulls: to be replaced with 2 cows each”
The ablative and the terminative case — 133

(341) Iri-kagina 3 3:20’–22’ (RIME 1.9.9.3) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222610)
munus ud-be₂-ta-keᵻ-ne nita 2-ta
munus ud-be-ta-ak=ene=e nita 2-ta=∅
woman day=DEM=ABL=GEN=PL=ERG man 2=ABL=ABS

ši-tuku-am₃
š₃₁₁₅₅₂₄tuku₃₁₅₅₁ₐ=∅=am-∅
FIN-3.SG.H.A-have-3.SG.P-SUB=ABS=COP-3.SG.S
“The women of old days married two men each.”

(342) AUCT 1, 942 5–8 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P103787)
2 ḫ₇₂₃₄₅₆₇₈ har kug-babbar 8 gin₄-ta-ta,
2 p₁₇₂₃₄₅₆₇₈ har p₃₄₅₆₇₈[kugbabbar 8 gin₈-ta]=₈₅₉₈ta
2 p₁₇₂₃₄₅₆₇₈ ring p₂₃₄₅₆₇₈[silver 8 unit=ABL]=₈₅₉₈ABL

₃u₃₄₅₆₇₈gi₅₆₇₈ḫ₅₆₇₈ maritum=∅₄₅₆₇₈n₄₅₆₇₈[₄₅₆₇₈kur₄₅₆₇₈e₅₆₇₈š₃₅₆₇₈₃₅₆₇₈a-ʾa
day instrument=ABS VEN=1-ENTRY-3.SG.H.A-enter-3.PL-SUB=1.1
“Each person 2 silver rings of eight shekels of silver each: Șulgi-nuri, female singer, and Balala, son of Agalum: when they brought in the maritum-instrument.”

13.2 The terminative case (slot 9)
The nominal case-marker of the terminative is /šē/ written the sign ŠE₃. The verbal prefix is /šī/, written with the sign ŠI.

Around the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE the vowel of the terminative prefix /šī/ assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable in respect of vowel height (the so-called ‘vowel harmony’ of the literature). The “high” form was written with the grapheme ȘI, transliterated as šī-; while the “low” form was written with grapheme ŠE₃, transliterated as šē-, see, e.g., ex. (354) below.

When the nominal case-marker is preceded by an open syllable, then the enclitic =/šē/ may be reduced to /š/, in which case the terminative case-marker is often not present graphemically, especially in the 3rd millennium BCE, see, e.g., ex. (356) below.

The co-occurrence of the noun phrase with a terminative case-marker and the terminative prefix is rather loose: adverbially used verbal participants in the terminative often occur without any corresponding prefix in the verbal prefix-chain, see, e.g., exx. (345) and (373) below.

The terminative may be used with both human and non-human verbal participants. In the verbal prefix-chain the participant in the terminative may be cross-referenced either by a composite or by a simple adverbial prefix, for the latter see, e.g., ex. (354) below. The simple prefix always cross-references a 3rd ps. sg. non-human participant.

The 1st ps. sg. pronounal prefix is the IPP /’/ in S6, see, e.g., ex. (371) below. The 2nd ps. sg. pronounal prefix is the IPP /e/ in S6, see, e.g., ex. (370) below.

The 3rd ps. sg. human pronounal is expressed with the prefix /n/ in S6. The 3rd ps. sg. non-human pronounal prefix is expressed with the prefix /b/ in S5 of the verbal template. When S5 is occupied by the middle prefix /ba/-, then the pronounal prefix /b/ may not be used and the terminative prefix occurs in its simple form without a pronounal prefix, see, e.g., ex. (417) below.
The 3rd ps. pl. human pronominal prefix is the IPP /nnē/ in S6, see, ex. (349) below.

The basic function of the terminative is to denote the destination or goal of the verbal event.

(343) En-ana-tum I 2 rev. 4:10–5:2 (RIME 1.9.4.2) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222496)

eg2: ki-sur-ru, din-nir-šu’-ka-šē3, mu-gaz
dyke border DN=GEN=TERM VEN-3.SG.H.A-kill-3.SG.P
“(Enanatum) drove (Urluma, ruler of Umma) back until the border canal of Ningirsu,”

(344) Gudea Cyl. A 2:5 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
iri-ne2 niqin6-šē3 id3-niņin6-šu-du-a ma2 mu-ni-ri
“He directed the boat on the canal Id Nin-dua towards her city Ninin.”

(345) Gudea Cyl. A 4:5 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ensi2-ke4 kisal dinjir sirara=tā-ka
courtyard=SG.RULER GEN=TERM VEN-L1-3.SG.H.A-raise-3.SG.P
“The ruler raised his head high (lit., ‘towards the sky’) in the courtyard of the goddess from Sirara.”

(346) Gudea Cyl. A 15:10 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
gu3-dez-a iri-ne2 niqir2-su-šē3 gu2 mu-na-si
“(Magan and Meluhha) gathered for Gudea at his city Girsu.”

(347) Gudea Cyl B 5:4–5 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ur-saŋ ez-a-na ku4=ku-ed-a-ne2,
ud me3-šē3 gu3 2ŋār-am3
ud me3-e gu=ō ŋar-ō=ō-am-ō
storm battle=TERM sound=ABS put-TL=ABS=COP-3.SG.S
“As the warrior entered his temple, he was a storm roaring into battle.”

(348) NG 120b rev. 9–10 (Umma, 21st c.) (P131776)
nag-su’-šē3 ḫa-za-num-e, mu-na-an-laḫ5
“The mayor took them (= the sheep) for him to Nagsu.”
(349) SNAT 125 obv. 4–7 (unknown, 21st c.) (P129886)

ur₄-nin-tur₅-ke₄, ur₄-suen us₃, nin-dub-sar dam-ne₂-še₃,
urninturak=er ursuen u nindubsar dam=ane=še
PN₁=ERG PN₂ and PN₃ wife=3.SG.H.POSS=TERM
in-ne-ši-sa₁₀
s₂₁₄₂nē₂₅ši₂₁₄₂₃₁₄₆₅₂₆₅₁₀

“Ur-Nintura bought (a maiden) from (lit. ‘bartered [a maiden] towards’) Ur-Suen and Nindubsar, his wife (for 2 and 2/3 shekels of silver ).”

(350) HSS 3, 42 rev. 2:1 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P221351)

ŋi₃⁻zi e₂-muhaldim-še₂₃, gal₂-la
ŋi₃ζi emuhaldim=še gal⁻₂a
wall kitchen=term exist-PT
“wall that lies towards the kitchen”

The destination of the verbal event may also be an abstract entity but not a locality. The noun phrase in the terminative may then denote the result, see exx. (351)–(353), purpose, see exx. (355)–(360), or the reason of the verbal event, see exx. (361)–(364).

Abstract destination = result

(351) DP 307 obv. 2:1–6 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P220957)
k₆₄ hab₂-še₃ ak-de₃ amar-girid₂ ki muhaldim-ra
ku₅=∅ hab=še ak-ed=e amargirid muhaldim-ra
fish=ABS fish.oil=TERM make-PT=DAT.NH PN cook=DAT.H
en-ig-gal nu-banda₂ e-na-šum₂
eniggal nubanda-e s₂₁₄₂₅₅₂₅₂₅₃₁₁₂₅₁₀

“En-iggal, the overseer, has given the fish to Amar-Girid, the cook, so that he (= A.) makes them into fish-oil (?)”

(352) Gudea Statue A 3:2–3 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232274)
alan-na-ne₂-še₃, mu-tud
alan=ane=še s₄₅₆₃₁₁₄₂₅₁₀

“He made it (= diorite) into his own statue.”

(353) Gudea Statue B 5:45–47 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
g₀₄₂ eren-be₂₃ ig gal-še₁₃, mu-dim₂
eren=be=∅ ig gal-∅=še s₄₅₆₃₁₁₄₂₅₁₀

“He manufactured the cedar-beams into big doors.”

Abstract destination = purpose

(354) Aya-Ane-pada 6 1–5 (RIME 1.13.6.6) (Ur, 24th c.) (P222841)
d₃₄nin⁻³-a-zus₅, lu₃-dug₃₅-[ga], nam-til₃, aya₂-an-ne₂-pada-da-še₃,
ninazu=ra luduga=e namtıl ayaanepada=ak=še
DN=DAT.H PN=ERG life PN=GEN=TERM
a mu-na-še₃-ru
a=∅ s₅₆₃₅₂₅₂₅₅₁₁₂₅₁₀

“To Nin-azu, Luduga dedicated this for the well-being of Aya-Ane-pada.”
Note that in the following example there are two verbal participants in the terminative:

(355) Anonymous Nippur 6 1–7 (Nippur, 24th c.) (P222761)

$n$-en-lil₂, $d$-en-lil₂(E₂)-la₂, dumu ad-da-ke₄,
ninlil=ra enlilak dumu adda=ak=ε
DN=DAT,H PN₁ child PN₂=GEN=ERG
ga-ti₂-la-še₁, nam-ti₂, dam dumu-na-še₁,
gatila=še namtil dam dumu=ane=ak=še
offering=TERM life wife child=3.SG.H.POSS=GEN=TERM
a mu-na-ru
a=∅ $_5$mu-$>_5 nn-$>_5 a$-$>_5 i$-$>_5 r$-$>_5 u$-$>_5 ø$
“To Ninlil, Enlila, child of Adda, dedicated this (vessel) as a votive offering for the well-being of his spouse and child.”

(356) E-ana-tum 1 obv. 4:22–23 (RIME 1.9.3.1) (Lagash, 25th. c.) (P222399)

$e$₂-an-na, $d$-inanna, eb-gal-ka-ka, a-tum₂
eana inanak egbal=ak=ak′=a $>_5 a$-$>_5 b$-$>_5 i$-$>_5 r$-$>_5 u$-$>_5 ø
TN₁ DN TN=GEN=GEN=L₂.NH FIN=3.SG.NH=L₂.SYN-worthy.of-3.SG.S
mu mu-ne₂-še₁
mu=še $>_5$mu-$>_5 nn-$>_5 a$-$>_5 i$-$>_5 r$-$>_5 u$-$>_5 ø
“(Inanna) named (lit. ‘called as name’) him (= E-ana-tum) ‘He is worthy of the E-ana of Inanna of the Egbal’.”

(357) Ishme-Dagan 7 1–7 (RIME 4.1.4.7) (Isin, 20th. c.) (Q001951)

$š$-me-$d$-da-gan, lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ra, ud $d$-en-lil₂-le, $d$-nin-urta,
išmedagan lugal kengir kiuri=ak=ra ud enlil=e ninurta
PN king GN GN=GEN=L₃.H day DN=ERG DN
ur-saŋ kalag-ga-ne₂, maškim-še₁, mu-ni-in-tuku-a
ursaŋ kalag=ane=∅ maškim=še $>_5$mu-$>_5 nn-$>_5 a$-$>_5 i$-$>_5 r$-$>_5 u$-$>_5 ø
“When Enlil appointed Ninurta, his powerful warrior, as commissioner to Ishme-Dagan, king of Sumer and Akkad.”

(358) Iri-kagina 14q 1–2 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222653)

iri-ka-gi-na, nam-sipad-še₃ mu-tud
iri-arginak=∅ namsipad=še₃ $>_5$mu-$>_5 a$-$>_5 i$-$>_5 r$-$>_5 u$-$>_5 ø
PN=ABS shepherdship=TERM VEN-3.SG.H.A-have-3.SG.P
“(Bau) gave birth to Iri-argina so that he becomes a shepherd.”

(359) En-ana-tum I 13 15–16 (RIME 1.9.4.3) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P431100)

ur ḫa-lu-ub₂, iš-duš-še₃ mu-na-durun,(TUŠ.TUŠ)-na
ur halub išlu=še $>_5$mu-$>_5 nn-$>_5 a$-$>_5 i$-$>_5 r$-$>_5 u$-$>_5 ø
“... on the halub-tree lions which he seated for him as doorkeepers.”
The ablative and the terminative case — 137

(360) AUCT 1, 328 5–6 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P103173)
1 gud šu-gid₂, e₂-muhaldim-še₃
1 gud šugid emuhaldim=še
1 bull supply kitchen=TERM
“1 bull, supply for the kitchen”

Abstract destination = reason

(361) Gudea Cyl. A 4:16 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
a-ne sa₃₅-ne₂-še₃ di₃₂-ra₃-m₃
ane=∅ sa₃-an=še di₃₂=∅-am-∅
3.SG.PR=ABS head=3.SG.H.POSS=TERM god=ABS=COP-3.SG.S
“He, because of his head, was a god.”

(362) Gudea Cyl. A 23:26 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
lugal mu-ne₂-še₃ kur tuku₂-tuku₂-e
lugal mu=ane=še kur=∅ tuku₂-tuku₂=∅
kings name=3.SG.H.POSS=TERM mountain=ABS rock=PL-TL=ERG
“The king, at whose name (lit. ‘because of whose name’) all foreign countries tremble.”

With the compound verb šu “hand” — ti “to approach” = “to receive” the terminative denotes the participant from whom something is received:

(363) Gudea Cyl. A 2:21–22 (Lagash, 22nd c.)
lugal-a-ne₂ sizkù₂ r₃₂-zu-ne₂ gu₃-de₂-a-aš₂
lugal-ane=e sizzkù arazu=ane=∅ gudea=še
kings name=3.SG.H.POSS=ERG prayer supplication=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS PN=TERM
en ³ nin⁻sip₂=su₃₅₅ šu bar ši-ti
en ninjirsuk==e šu=e š₃₂₅₉₅₃₁₃₅₁₉₃₂₁₆
“His master, Lord Ningirsu, accepted from Gudea his prayer and supplication.”

The terminative is used in the construction mu “name”/bar “outside” NP=ak/possessive pronoun=še, which means “because of” (see also ex. [81] in Lesson 5, section 5.3. above):

(364) LEM 178 7 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P112521)
bar-ju₃₀=še₃ šu ḫe-bar-re
bar-šu=∅ šu=∅ š₃₂₅₉₃₀₂₅₆₂₅₁₉₁₆
outside=1.SG.POSS=TERM hand=ABS MOD=FIN-3.SG.NH+L₂.SYN-open-3.SG.A
“May he release it because of me!”

(365) OIP 121, 470 111 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P124200)
mu š₃₂₅₉₃₀₃ jìṣbun₃(KI.BI) tu₃₅-ša-ne-še₃
mu š₃₂₅₉₃₀₃ jìṣbun=∅ tu₃₅-a=en₅₂=ak=še
name general meal=ABS sit-PT=PL=GEN=TERM
“because of the generals who are having a meal”

The terminative may also be used in a temporal sense: noun phrases in the terminative answer the question “until when, how long”: 
(366) TCS 1, 56 rev. 5 (Umma, 21st c.) (P145646)
ud-te-ta  ḫniš-ba-še₃
udten=ta  ḫiba=še
evening=ABL midnight=TERM
“from evening until midnight”

The terminative is used in the construction igi NP=ak/possessive pronoun=še, which means “before, in the presence of”:

(367) Sargon 11 36–37 (RIME 2.1.1.11) (Agade, 23rd c.) (Q001403)
igi-ne₂-še₃,  ninda  i₃-gu₄-e
igi=ane=še  ninda=ø  s₂₁š₃₁b₃₁₂gu₃₁₄e
face=3.SG.H.POSS=TERM bread=ABS FIN-3.SG.NH.P-eat=3.SG.A
“(5400 people) eat (daily) before him (= Sharrukin)

Verbs of seeing may construe their perceptual target with the terminative as in the following examples:

(368) Gudea Cyl. A 1:3 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ën-lil₂-e  en  liri₃-su₂-še₃
enlil=e  en  ninširsuk=še
DN=ERG lord DN=TERM
igi  zid=ø= ø  s₄mu₅₆n₉ši₅₁n₅₁₂bar₅₁ø₃₁
“Enlil looked at lord Ningirsu with approval.”

(369) Gudea Statue B 3:6–7 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
ud  liri₃-su₂-še₃  iri-ne₂-še₃
ud  ninširsuk=e  iri=ane=še
day  DN=ERG  city=3.SG.H.POSS=TERM
igi  zid  im-ši-bar-ra
igi  zid=ø= ø  s₂₁š₃₁m₅š₃₁b₃₅ši₅₁₁n₅₁₂bar₅₁ø₇₁₅a
“When Ningirsu had looked favourably upon his city, ....”

(370) Shulgi R 2 (ETCSL 2.4.2.18)
[a]-rₐ¹  en-lil₃-le  igi  zid  mu-u₅-ši-bar
aja  enlil=ε  igi  zid=ø= ø  s₄mu₅₆e₉ši₅₁₁n₅₁₂bar₅₁ø₃₁
“Father Enlil looked at you with approval.”

(371) Ishme-Dagan A Segment A 103 (ETCSL 2.5.4.01)
igi  nam-tils-la-ka-ne₂  ḫu-mu-ši-in-bar
igi  namšiš=ak=ane=ø  s₁₁₁š₃₅mu₅₁₂ši₅₁₁n₅₁₂bar₅₁ø₃₁
“She indeed looked at me with her life-giving look.”

(372) Gudea Cyl. A 19:24 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ab₂  amar-be₂-še₃  igi  ṭal₃-la-gen₇
ab  amar=be=še  igi=ø  ṭal₇-a-gen
cow  calf=3.SG.NH.POSS=TERM  eye=ABS  exist-PT-EQU
“Like a cow keeping an eye on its calf, ...”
In some cases the terminative appears to express not destination, but location next to something, as in the following examples:

(373) En-ana-tum I 13.15-16 (RIME 1.9.4.3) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P431100)
e₂-sē₂₆₃₅₂₆₃₅₅₂₆₃₆₅₅₂₆₅₆₂₆₅₇₂₆₅₈₂₆₅₉₂₆₆₀₂₆₆₁₂₆₆₂portion 2

e₅₆₂₆₆₁₂₆₆₂portion 2

“(when ...) he set them (= cedar trees) up around the temple.”

(374) Gudea Cyl. A 2:24 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ensₙ₂₆₂₆₂portion 2
ensₙ₂₆₂portion 2

ru₁₃₄₅portion 2
“The ruler set up his bed for himself near to Gatumdug.”

(375) Gudea Cyl. A 13:16 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
pisₙ₂₆₂portion 2
pisₙ₂portion 2

frame mould=GEN=TERM kid=ABS MID-TERM-3.SG.H.A-lie=3.SG.P
“At the brick-mould he had a kid lie down.”

Further readings
For both cases one may consult the corresponding sections of Gragg 1973, Balke 2006, and Jagersma 2010, whose descriptions, however, differ in their approach to cases in Sumerian. The approach of the present textbook’s author is explained in Zólyomi 2010.

The constructions used with the compound verb igi — bar are discussed in Zólyomi 2007b. This study also discusses the changes in these constructions on the influence of Akkadian.

The interpretation of ex. (334) above and the function of the adnominal ablative are discussed in Bauer 2005.

On the different constructions used with the adnominal ablative, see Sővegjártó 2011: 31-32, who convincingly argues in connection with the equative case that a noun phrase in an adnominal case may not be part of the noun phrase whose head it modifies.

Exercises
13.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

13.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

13.3 Transliterate the text of NG 1 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P111896) (a handcopy of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P111896) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012), the text is no. 32 in Volk’s (2012) chrestomathy. Translate the text with the help of either Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to the verbal forms.

13.4 Transliterate the text of NG 124 (Nippur, 21st c.) (PP134570) (a handcopy of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/PP134570) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012),
13.5 Transliterate the text VS 14, 35 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P020049) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). A copy and photo of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P020049. The text is no. 42 in Volk’s (2012) chrestomathy. Translate the text with the help of Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s (2016b) glossary. For the numerical expression used in them you may consult ORACC’s preliminary description of metrological expressions (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/doc/downloads/numref.pdf), or Powell’s entry in the Reallexikon der Assyriologie (1987–90).
Lesson 14: The locative cases

Slot 10 of the verbal prefix-chain is the last of the slots containing an adverbial prefix. It may be filled with the verbal marker of either of three cases: locative 1, locative 2, and locative 3. This lesson describes the verbal and nominal marking of these three cases together with their most important uses.

14.1 The adverbial cases of Slot 10

The verbal marking of the adverbial cases of S10 shows a variety of forms depending on the morphological environment. These forms can be classified into various groups on the basis of i) whether the prefixes have a simple or a composite form and ii) whether the FPP in S11 is empty.

There may be a number of reasons why S11 is empty: i) the verbal form is intransitive, see, e.g., ex. (401) below; ii) in a transitive present-future verbal form no prefix cross-references the non-human P, see, eg., ex. (414) below; iii) in verbal forms containing the modal-prefix /ga/- no prefix cross-references the non-human P, see, e.g. ex. (421) below; or iv) in imperative forms no prefix cross-references the non-human P, see, e.g., ex. (411) below.

For a summary of the forms of the verbal markers of the three locative cases see Table 14.1 below; for the detailed description of the various forms listed in this table see the subsections on the respective cases below (note that Table 14.1 lists only attested forms). For a summary of their nominal markers and functions, see Table 14.2 below.

Table 14.1 below shows that there are important differences among the verbal markings of the locative cases. The locative 1 is only cross-referenced by simple prefixes. The locative 3 has no syncopated and simple forms; when S11 is not used for cross-referencing another verbal participant, it is cross-referenced by a final pronominal prefix in S11, see section 14.4 below for the details.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPOSITE FORM</th>
<th>SIMPLE FORM</th>
<th>FPP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S11 filled</td>
<td>S11 empty</td>
<td>S11 filled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>S₁₀/ni/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(L1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2</td>
<td>S₄/mu/¬₁₀/Minimal (VEN-L2)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S₄/r/¬₁₀/i/ (2.SG-L2)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S₆/nŋ/¬₁₀/i/ (3.SG.H-L2)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S₅/b/¬₁₀/i/ (3.SG.NH-L2)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S₆/ŋŋ/¬₁₀/e/</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L3</td>
<td>S₄/mu/¬₁₀/Minimal (VEN-L3)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S₄/r/¬₁₀/i/ (2.SG-L3)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S₆/nŋ/¬₁₀/i/ (3.SG.H-L3)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S₅/b/¬₁₀/i/ (3.SG.NH-L3)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S₆/ŋŋ/¬₁₀/e/</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14.1: The verbal marking of the locative cases

[a] exx. (376), (378), (379); (380), (381a), (382), (437); b) exx. (377), (381b), (383); c) ex. (403), (408); d) ex. (390); e) exx. (166), (387), (391), (393), (399), (406), (409b); f) exx. (167), (384), (388), (400), (402), (407), (410), (422); g) ex. (394); h) exx. (392), (411); i) ex. (405); j) ex. (386), (415), (416); k) exx. (389), (395), (409a), (413), (418); l) ex. (414); m) exx. (168), (396a), (397), (398), (401), (412), (417), (420), (421); n) (431); o) ex. (404), (438); p) exx. (424), (432), (439); q) exx. (425), (428), (433), (440), (443), (444); r) ex. (441); s) ex. (423); t) ex. (436); u) exx. (427), (430), (434), (435), (437), (442)]

The locative2 and locative3 both differ from the locative1 in implying movement to or location inside an entity; the locative1 implies movement into or location inside an entity. The difference between the locative2 and locative3 encodes a difference in relative orientation: both patterns imply proximity and contact from outside, but the locative2 implies horizontal direct contact (= above),
while the locative3 implies a non-horizontal direct contact (= beside). The local meanings of the three locative cases of S10 are summarized in Table 14.2 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
<th>NOMINAL MARKERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE1</td>
<td>inessive</td>
<td>“at”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE2</td>
<td>superessive</td>
<td>“to”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE3</td>
<td>adessive</td>
<td>“to”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14.2: The meaning of the locative cases

14.2 The locative1

The locative1 is used only with non-human verbal participants. The locative1 prefix /ni/ has no composite form, only a simple form: it always occurs without a pronominal prefix, and always refers to a 3rd ps. non-human participant. The nominal case-marker of the locative1 is =ʾa/.

If S11 contains no morpheme and consequently the locative1 prefix forms an open unstressed syllable, then the vowel of the prefix /ni/ becomes syncopated, and the prefix is reduced to /n/. Instructive about this phenomenon are the two forms of the same verb in ex. (381) below: the first verbal form is transitive, S11 is filled with the morpheme /n/ and the locative1 prefix has the form /ni/; the second verbal form is intransitive in which S11 is empty, and the locative1 prefix has the syncopated form /n/. The prefix /ni/, the non-syncopated form of the locative1 prefix, is written as a rule with the grapheme NI.

The syncopation of the locative1 prefix results in the compensatory lengthening of the finite marker, indicated by plene-writing from the end of the 3rd millennium BCE, see ex. (377) below.

The vowel of the locative1 prefix /ni/ assimilates to the vowel of the following syllable in respect to vowel height (the so-called “vowel harmony” of the literature) around the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE. Both forms were written with the grapheme NI, but it is assumed in this textbook that the “high” and the “low” forms were /ni/ and /ne/ respectively, reflected by the transliteration ni- and ne2-.

In its basic function the locative1 indicates a location inside something, see, e.g., ex. (338) above, exx. (376) and (377) below; or a movement inside something, see exx. (378)–(380) below. The location may also be within an abstract entity like a “statement”, as in ex. (381) below.

(376) En-metena 1 6:28–29 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
šag4  iri-na-ka,  ḫa-ne2-gaz-ze₂(AB₂.ŠA₂.GE)
šag  iri=ane=ak=ʾa  ḫa-s₃₁₃₁ni₁nin₃₁₂₃gaz₂š₃₄e
heart  city=3.SG.H.POSS=GEN=1L  MOD-1.L-3.SG.H.P-kill-3.SG.A

“May (the people) kill him in the middle of his city!”
The locative1 may be the very first prefix of a verbal form. Illuminating about this phenomenon are the two forms of the same verb in exx. (378) and (379) below: both forms are transitive and must contain a locative prefix, ex. (379) differs only in the presence of a ventive prefix.

Verbal forms like the one in ex. (378) were earlier transliterated as is-nar (s₂i₅₃₄n₅₃₁n₅₁₂n₅₁₄n₅₁₈n₅₁₀θ = FIN-3.SG.H.A-place-3.SG.P). Verbal forms like the one in ex. (380), however, suggest that the form should start with a prefix /ni/ because of the vowel harmony, a form like s₂i₅₃₁n₅₁₂n₅₁₄n₅₁₈n₅₁₀θ would be written as e-nar around the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE. In the context of ex. (380) the graphemes NI GAR may therefore only be transliterated as nez-nar (₃₁₀ni₅₃₁n₅₁₂n₅₁₄n₅₁₀θ = L₁-3.SG.H.A-put-3.SG.P), but not as is-nar.

(378) Gudea Cyl. A 18:24 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
gu-de₂-a im u₃-sub-ba ni-nar
gudea=im=∅ ušub=’a s₅₁₀ni₅₃₁n₅₁₂n₅₁₄n₅₁₀θ
PN=ERG clay=ABS mould=L₁ L₁-3.SG.H.A-place-3.SG.P
“Gudea put clay into the mould."

(379) Gudea Cyl. A 19:8–9 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
sig₄ u₃-sub-ba mi-ni-nar-ra-ne₂;
sig=∅ ušub=’a s₄mu₅₁₀ni₅₃₁n₅₁₂n₅₁₄n₅₁₀θ,a=ane=da
‘atu im-da-hul₂;
uten=∅ s₄i₅₃₄m₅₃₂b₅₃₄da₅₁₂hul₅₁₀θ
DN=ABS FIN-VEN-3.SG.NH-COM-rejoice-3.SG.S
“Utu rejoiced over his (= Gudea) putting the brick into the mould.”

(380) DP 601 obv. 1:3–2:1 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P221251)
a₂-nez-kur-ra, saŋ apin-ke₄, numun nez-nar
anekura saŋ apin=ak=∅ numun=∅ s₃₁₀ni₅₃₁n₅₁₂n₅₁₀θ
PN head plough=GEN=ERG seed=ABS L₁-3.SG.H.A-PLACE-3.SG.P
“Anekura, the chief ploughman sowed it with seeds”; lit. “put the seeds in (the earth)”

(381) NG 99 rev. 1:2–5 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P111162)
ii₃-bi₃-la du-du-ke₅-ne ka-ga-ne-ne-a ba-ni-gi-in-eš
i₄bi₃la dudu=ak=ene=∅ kag=anen=∅ s₅₁₀ba₅₁₀ni₅₃₁n₅₁₂gın₃₁ₑ₄eš
mu imim ii₃-bi₃-la-ne-ka ba-an-gi-na-še₃
mu imim i₄bi₃la=en=∅=ak=∅ s₅₁₀ba₅₁₀n₅₁₂gın₅₁₀θ,a=ak=še
name word heir=PL=GEN=L₁ MID=L₁-SYN-confirmer-3.SG.S-SUB=GEN=TERM
“The heirs of Dudu confirmed this in their account (lit. ‘in their mouths’). Since it has been verified in the statement of the heirs, ...."
The locative1 may denote the verbal participant which functions as the material with which a verbal action is carried out:

(382) En-metena 1 5:12–13 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
nam-nun-da-ki-par-ra₄ ur₂-be₂
nammundakiṈara=ak ur=be=∅
CN=GEN base=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS
na₂-a mu-na-ni-du₁₃
nα₂-a₄₃₄₅₆₇₈₉₀ni₄₅₆₇du₁₃=∅₈
“He built the fundamentals of Namnunda-kigara from stone.”

(383) Gudea Cyl. A 16:25 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
sipad=de₁₃ e₂ kug-gα mu-du₁₃-e
sipad=e₁₃ e=∅ kug=α₃₄₅₆₇du₅₆₇e
shepherd=ERG house=ABS silver=L₁ VEN-L₁.SYN-build-3.SG.A
“The shepherd was going to build the temple from silver.”

14.3 The locative2

The locative2 may used both with human and non-human verbal participants. In the verbal prefix-chain the participant in the locative2 may be cross-referenced either by a composite or by a simple adverbial prefix. The form of the nominal case-marker of the locative2 depends on the grammatical gender of the participant: human verbal participants are case-marked with the enclitic =/ra/; while non-human verbal participants are case-marked with the enclitic =/a/.

The locative2 prefix has two allomorphs: i) /i/ after a consonant; ii) /e/ after a vowel.

In the 1st ps. sg. composite form the 1st ps. sg. pronominal prefix is expressed by the /mu/ allomorph of the ventive prefix in S4, see, e.g., ex. (403) below. The 2nd ps. sg. pronominal prefix is the IPP /t/ in S6, see, e.g., ex. (404) below.

The 3rd ps. sg. human pronominal prefix is the IPP /nn/ in S6, and the composite prefix is written as a rule with the grapheme NI, see, e.g., ex. (387) below. However, around the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE the vowel of the composite locative2 prefix /nNi/ assimilates to the vowel of the following syllable in respect to vowel height (the so-called “vowel harmony” of the literature). Both the “high” and the “low” forms were written with the grapheme NI, but it is assumed in this textbook that the “high” and the “low” forms were /ni/ and /ne/ respectively, reflected by the transliteration ni- and nez-; for the latter, see, e.g., ex. (393) below.

The 3rd ps. sg. non-human prefix is expressed with the prefix /b/ in S5, and the composite prefix is written as a rule with the grapheme NE, transliterated as bi-, see, e.g., ex. (400) below. However, around the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE the vowel of the composite locative2 prefix /bi/ assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable in respect of vowel height (the so-called ‘vowel harmony’ of the literature). The “high” form was written with the grapheme NE, transliterated as bi-; while the “low” form was written with grapheme BI, transliterated as be-, see, e.g., ex. (402) below.

The 3rd ps. pl. human pronominal prefix is the IPP /nnē/ in S6, see, e.g., ex. (394) below.
If S11 contains no morpheme and consequently the composite locative2 prefix forms an open unstressed syllable, then the vowel /i/ of the 2nd ps. sg, 3rd sg. human, and 3rd ps. sg. non-human locative2 prefix becomes syncopated. The 3rd ps. sg. human composite prefix prefix is reduced to /n/, see ex. (386) below. The 3rd ps. sg. non-human composite prefix prefix is reduced to /b/, see, e.g., exx. (389) and (395) below. In case of the 2nd ps. sg composite prefix, it may not be decided on the basis of the attested forms which allomorph of the 2nd ps. sg. IPP is used; thus in Table 14.1 and in ex. (405) below a question mark indicates the uncertainty of the form.

The syncopation of the locative2 prefix results in the compensatory lengthening of the finite marker, indicated by plene-writing from the end of the 3rd millennium BCE, see ex. (395) below. Compare this example with ex. (427) below. In ex. (427) a 3rd ps. sg. non-human locative3 is cross-referenced by the final pronominal prefix /b/ in S11. Here no syncopation took place, consequently there is no lengthening of the finite marker either.

The simple locative2 prefix always cross-references a 3rd ps. sg. non-human participant. If S11 contains no morpheme, then the simple prefix /e/ contracts with the preceding vowel and lengthens it in the 3rd millennium BCE, see, e.g., ex. (401) below, whereas in texts from the 2nd millennium BCE the contraction results in an /ē/, see exx. (397) and (398) below.

It is unclear what happens with the simple locative2 prefix, when S11 is filled with a morpheme, as the orthography as a rule does not suggest its presence. The problem can be demonstrated by a comparison between exx. (384) and (385). Both sentences are about the building of a temple on a ritually clean place, and contain a transitive preterite verbal form. Ex. (385) differs in the presence of a participant in the dative. Consequently, a simple locative2 prefix should occur in the verbal form, yet nothing indicates in the writing of the verbal form that there is an /e/ between the dative prefix and the FPP. Since verbal forms like the one in ex. (385), do not change to mu-ne-du₃ (s₅₄mu₅₆nn₅₇a₅₁₀e₅₁₁n₅₁₂du₅₁₄ø = VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-L2-3.SG.H.A-build-3.SG.P) in the 2nd millennium BCE, one cannot but assume that the simple locative2 prefix /e/ is not present in these forms.

In its basic function the locative2 indicates a location above or on top of someone or something, or a movement to the top of someone or something:

(384) Gudea Statue B 4:7–9 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S11</th>
<th>S10</th>
<th>S9</th>
<th>S8</th>
<th>S7</th>
<th>S6</th>
<th>S5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nin-gir₂-su-ka</td>
<td>eridug₃⁻₇ gen₇</td>
<td>ningirsuk = ak = ø</td>
<td>eridug = gen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>DN = GEN = ABS</td>
<td>GN = EQU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>sikil-la</td>
<td>bi₂-du₃</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>sikil = ø = a</td>
<td>s₅₂b₅₁₀⁻₃₁₁n₅₁₂du₅₁₄ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“He (= Gudea) has built the temple of Ningirsu in a place as pure as Eridu.”
(385) Gudea Statue F 3:6–7 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232279)
i'iri-kug-ga  ki  dadag-ga-a
irikug=e a  ki  dadag=a a
GN=L1 place bright-PT=1.2.NH
e2  mu-na-du1
e=ABS  ∴  mu-na-du1

“He built the temple for her in a purified place in Irikug.”

(386) Amar-Suen 9 45–46 (RIME 3/2.1.3.9) (Ur, 21st c.) (Q000984)
mûš 3 nanna  he2-en-ḫar
muš  nanna=ak=ABS  ∴  ḫa-[s]-i-[s]-n5₁₀(i>)-n5₁₀ šušš₅₁₀
snake  DN=GEN=ABS  MOD-FIN-3.SG.H-L2-place=3.SG.S

“May the snake of Nanna fall upon him!”

(387) En-metena 1 6:21–23 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
ēnin-gir2-su-ke4,  sa-šuš-gal  ušu-ni-šuš
ninjuršuk=e  sašušgal=ABS  ∴  sšu₅₁₀[n₅₁₀]-sšu₅₁₀ šuš₅₁₀

“After Ningirsu had thrown a battle-net on him (= the Ummaite), ....”

(388) En-metena 1 1:28–29 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)
inim 3 èn-lil-zi-lu2-ta  sa-šuš-gal  bii-šuš
inim  enlil=ak=ABS  sašušgal=ABS  ∴  sšu₅₁₀[n₅₁₀]-sšu₅₁₀ šuš₅₁₀

“By the order of Enlil, he (= Ningirsu) threw a battle-net on it (= the city Umma).”

(389) E-ana-tum 1 obv. 18:21–22 (RIME 1.9.3.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222399)
ûmma=ABS  an-ta  he₂-en-šuš
umma=ABS  an-ta  ḫa-[s]-i-[s]-b₅₁₀(i>)-n₅₁₀ šuš₅₁₀
GN=L2.NH sky=ABL  MOD-FIN-3.SG.NH-L2.SYN-cover=3.SG.P

“May (the battle net of Ninhursaga ...) be thrown on Umma from above!”

(390) Ninurta G 66–68 (ETCSL 4.27.07)
kug  ama  3lianšu  dug₃-ga-na-ab
kug  ama  nānšu  3du₃-g₃a₃=en-n₃₁₁b
holy mother  DN  speak-FIN-3.SG.H-DAT=3.SG.P
3inutu=ABS  a₂  bad  ḫu-mu-ri-in-gub
3inutu=ABS  a  bad=ABS  ∴  ḫa₃₃₃-g₃u₃₃₃-n₃₁₁b şuš₃₃₃ šuš₃₃₃

“Ask the holy mother Nanšu to cast her protecting arms over you as if she were the god Utu!”

(391) Iri-kagina 14f 1 (RIME 1.9.9.14f) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222462)
ēnin-gir2-su-ke4  iri-ka-gi-na-ra  anzu₃lo豚-gen7
ninjuršuk=e  irikaginak=ra  anzu₃lo=ABS
DN=ERG  PN=L2.H anzu₃lo.bird=EQV
a²  bad  mu-ni-gub
a  bad=ABS  ∴  mu₃₃₃-n₃₁₁b-gu₃₃₃ šuš₃₃₃ šuš₃₃₃

“Like the Anzud bird, Ningirsu has placed his outstretched arms over Iri-kagina.”
(392) Gudea Cyl. A 3:17 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
nin-ŋu₁₀ ŋ₉z-tum₃-dug₁₀ ŋ₉z-ra ḥa-mu-ŋu₃-šub
nin=ŋu gatumdu=∅ ŋa=ra š₁ha-s₄mu₃-s₁₄e₂-s₁₂šub-s₁₄∅
lady=1.SG.POSS DN=ABS 1.SG.PR=L₂.H MOD=VEN-L₂-fall-3.SG.S
“Gatumdu, my lady, may (your hand) fall on me!”

(393) VS 14, 121 (= AWL 184) rev. 1:3 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P020137)¹⁶
gu-na, e-ne₂-ŋar
gu-ane=’a s₂₁-s₄₂nn-s₄₁l₁₁n₃-s₁₂ŋar-s₁₄∅
“(En-iggal, the overseer) has entered it as his debt (lit. ‘put him on his neck’)”.

(394) VS 14, 20 (= AWL 183) rev. 1:1–4 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P020007)¹⁷
šubur, nu-banda₁, gu₂-ne-ne-a, e-ne₂-ŋar
šubur nubanda= e gu₂-ane=’a s₂₁-s₄₂nn-e₂-s₁₁n₃-s₁₂ŋar-s₁₄∅
“Šubur, the overseer, has entered it (= a given amount of silver) as their (= 3 fishermen) debt (lit. ‘put them on their neck’)”.

(395) MVN 9, 85:5–6 (Umma, 21st c.) (P115728)
ugu₂ ur-ŋ³⁵⁵gigir-ka-ka, i₃-ib₂-ŋal₂
ugu uṛgigirak=ak=’a s₂₁-s₂₂b-s₁₁₀(i-)=s₁₂ŋal-s₁₄∅
skull PN=GEN=L₂,NH FIN=3.SG.NH-L₂.SYN-exist=3.SG.S
“They are on the account (lit. ‘on the skull’) of Ur-gigira.”

(396) Shulgi D 219 (ETCSL 2.4.2.04)
nip₂ ki-en-gi-ra ba-a-gu-la
nip₃ kengir=’a sₛba₃-s₁₁₂gul-s₁₄∅-a=∅
thing homeland=L₂,NH MID=L₂-destroy=3.SG.S-SUB=ABS
kur-ra ga-am-mi-ib-gu-ul
kur-’a s₂₁₂-ga-s₄₄₃₅ⁿ₃-s₂₂₁b-s₁₁₀i₁₁₂gul
foreign.land=L₂,NH MOD=VEN-3.SG,NH-L₂-3.SG,NH,P-destroy
“Whatever has been destroyed in the homeland, I shall destroy in the foreign lands!”

(397) Iddin-Dagan B 56 (ETCSL 2.5.3.2)
kur-kur u₂-sal-la mu-e-re-nu₂
kur-kur=∅ usal=’a s₄mu₃-s₄₃g₃-s₁₁₂e₂-s₁₂šu-s₁₄∅
land=PL=ABS meadow=L₂,NH VEN=2.SG=DAT=L₂-lie-3.SG.S
“All the foreign lands rest on the meadows thanks to you.”

(398) Ur-Ninurta D 33 (ETCSL 2.5.6.4)
uŋ₃ u₂-sal-la hu-mu-un-de₃-nu₂
uŋ=∅ usal=’a sₛ₂₁₂-hu-s₄₃μ₃-s₄₃da₃-s₁₁₂šu-s₁₄∅
people=ABS meadow=L₂,NH MOD=VEN-3.SG.H-COM=L₂-lie-3.SG.S
“May the people rest on the meadows under his rule!”

¹⁶ The L₂ prefix agrees in person and number with the possessor of the “neck”, a case of external possession, see Lesson 15 below.
¹⁷ The L₂ prefix agrees in person and number with the possessor of the “neck”, a case of external possession, see Lesson 15 below.
(399) NG 205 obv. 1:2–4 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P111164)

\text{igni-sag\-ga} \ urdu: \ maš-gu-la-ra, \ i\-bi\-\la \ maš-gu-la-ke\-\ne,

\text{igisaga} \ urdu \ mašgula=ak=\ra \ ibila \ mašgula=ak=\en\=e

\text{PN} \ slave \ \text{PN}=2=\text{GEN}=L2.H \ heir \ \text{PN}=2=\text{GEN}=\text{PL}=\text{ERG}

\text{inim} \ \text{in-ni}^{-\text{inim}} \ \text{gar}^{-\text{er\-e\-s}}

\text{inim}=\emptyset \ \text{s\=\i}^{-\text{inim}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}

\text{word}=\text{ABS} \ \text{FIN}=3.\text{SG.H=L2-3.\text{SG.H=A-place=3.PL}}

“The heirs of Maš-gula raised a claim for (lit. ‘put a word on’) Igi-saga, the slave of Maš-gula”

(400) NG 194 31’ (Lagash, 21st c.) (P110833)

\text{luz\-ge\-na} \ ab\=\i\-\text{\=\i} \ \text{ba-a\-\=\i\-\=\i\-ar}

\text{lugena}=\\=\i \ \text{ab=be\=\i a} \ \text{inim}=\emptyset \ \text{s\=\i}^{-\text{inim}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}

\text{PN}=\text{ERG} \ \text{cow=DEM=L2.NH} \ \text{word=ABS} \ 3.\text{SG.NH=L2-3.\text{SG.H=A-place-3.SG.P}}

“(Ur-Ninmarki has bought a cow from Abakala.) Lugena raised a claim for (lit. ‘put a word on’) that cow.”

(401) NGU 212 obv. 1:2 (Umma, 21st c.) (P142272)

\text{kug\-ba} \ \text{inim} \ \text{ba-a-\=\i\-\=\i\-ar}

\text{kug=be\=\i a} \ \text{inim}=\emptyset \ \text{s\=\i}^{-\text{inim}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}

\text{silver=DEM=L2.NH} \ \text{word=ABS} \ \text{MID-L2-put-3.SG.S}

“(It was established that Dinili has bought Agi for 6 shekels of silver.) A claim has been raised for that silver.”

(402) Iri-kagina 5 obv. 1:8–9 (RIME 1.9.9.5) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222618)

\text{e\=\i} \ \text{gal} \ \text{ti-ra-a\=\i\-ka,} \ \text{\=\i} \ \text{be\=\i\-bad}

\text{e} \ \text{gal-\=\i} \ \text{tira\=\i=ak=a} \ \text{\=\i} \ \text{be\=\i-\=\i}

\text{house} \ \text{big-TL} \ \text{GN=GEN=L2.NH} \ \text{hand=ABS} \ 3.\text{SG.NH=L2-3.\text{SG.H=A-open-3.SG.P}}

“He looted (lit. ‘opened the hand on’) the great temple of Tiraš.”

With the compound verb \text{nam} “fate” — \text{tar} “to cut” = “to determine the fate”, the locative2 denotes the participant for whom a fate was determined:

(403) Lugal-zagesi 1 3:32–33 (RIME 1.14.20.1) (Uruk, 24th c.) (Q001379)

\text{nam} \ \text{sago-ga} \ \text{mu-tar-re-e\=\i\-a}

\text{nam} \ \text{sag\-a=\emptyset} \ \text{s\=\i}^{-\text{mu-ga}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}

\text{fate} \ \text{good-PT=ABS} \ \text{VEN=L2-3.\text{SG.H=A-cut-3.PL-SUB}=L1}

“The good fate they have determined for me ....”

(404) Shulgi D 384 (ETCSL 2.4.2.4)

\text{nam} \ \text{dug\=\i} \ \text{gu\=\i\-mu-ri\=\i\-ib\=\i\-tar}

\text{nam} \ \text{dug-\=\i=\emptyset} \ \text{s\=\i}^{-\text{gu\=\i\-mu-ga}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}

\text{fate} \ \text{good-TL=ABS} \ \text{MOD-VEN=2.SG.L2-3.\text{SG.NH.P-cut}}

“I will determine a good fate for you!”

(405) Gudea Cyl. B 20:18 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

\text{sig\=\i e\=\i\-ninnu} \ \text{nam} \ \text{he\=\i\-\=\i\-tar}

\text{sig} \ \text{eninnu}=\emptyset \ \text{nam=\=\i} \ \text{s\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}=\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}\text{\=\i}^{-\text{\=\i}}

\text{brick} \ \text{TN=ABS} \ \text{fate=ABS} \ \text{MOD-FIN=L2-cut-3.SG.S}

“O brickwork of E-ninnu, may a fate be determined for you!”
(406) Gudea Statue D 5:4–7 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232277)

\textit{locative2 denotes the participant released:}

\begin{verbatim}
She named the altar = barag = ø
\end{verbatim}

(407) Shulgi F 30 (ETCSL 2.4.2.6)

\begin{verbatim}
On that day An determined a good fate for Gudea, the temple-builder.
\end{verbatim}

(408) Gudea Cyl. A 10:12–14 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

\begin{verbatim}
With the compound verb \textit{mu} “name” — ŝe₂₁ “to call” = “to name”, the locative2 denotes the participant who is given a name:
\end{verbatim}

(409) E-ana-tum 1 obv. 4:22–23 (RIME 1.9.3.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222399)

\begin{verbatim}
“(Inana) named him ‘He is worthy of the E-ana of Inana of the Ebgal’.”
\end{verbatim}

(410) Sargon 16 12–13 (Agade, 24th c.) (Q000835)

\begin{verbatim}
“She named (the altar) ‘The altar is An’s table.’”
\end{verbatim}

(411) Dumuzi-Inana D 19 (ETCSL 4.08.04)

\begin{verbatim}
“My sister, release me!”
\end{verbatim}
(412) MVN 15, 218 obv. 4–rev. 1 (Umma, 21st c.) (P131033)
ur-ṣḥendur-saṣ-ga₂, še-na
urḥendursaṣ = ak še = ane ‘a
PN = GEN grain = 3.SG.H.POSS = L2.NH
šu ḥa-mu-na-a-ba-re
šu = šiḥa₃mu₃n₃n₃a₃i₅e₃₁₂bar₃₁₂e
hand = ABS MOD-VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-L2-open-3.SG.A
“May he release Ur-Hendursaga’s grain!”

(413) TCS 1, 72 obv. 6 (unknown, 21st c.) (P145657)
anš-e-ba šu ḥe₂-eb-bar-e
anš-e = be ‘a šu = šiḥa₃₂ma₂n₁e₂₁₂bar₂₁₂e
donkey = DEM = L2.NH hand = ABS MOD-FIN-3.SG.NH-L2.SYN-open-3.SG.A
“May that donkey be released!”

(414) TCS 1, 240 rev. 3 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P145739)
šu ḥa-mu-ne-bar-re
šu = šiḥa₃₂ma₂n₁n₁₂e₂₁₂bar₂₁₂e
hand = ABS MOD-VEN-3.PL-L2-open-3.SG.A
“May he release them!”

With the verb düs “to hold on, to detain” the locative 2 denotes the participant detained:

(415) MVN 6, 1 obv. 4–5 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P217677)
ur-lum-ma-ra, lu₂ ba-ra-ba-du₁
ur-lumma = ra lu = šiḥa₃₂ma₂n₁(i>)š_i₅₁₂du₂₁₂e
“Definitely no one detained Ur-Lumma.”

(416) TCS 1, 48 obv. 3–rev. 2 (unknown, 21st c.) (P145641)
ur-ṣ₂naṣ-e dumu-dabš lu₂ na-ru₂-a-ka-ra,
urnanše dumudab lunarua = ak = ra
PN₁ worker PN₂ = GEN = L2.H
eš₂-gir₁i₇-eš₂ na-ba-du₁
ešgiri = eš si₃₂na₃₂ma₃₂n₃₁₀(i>)š_i₅₁₂du₂₁₂e
“He should not detain Ur-Nashe, the worker of Lu-Narua by (lit. ‘in the manner of’) a nose-rope.”

(417) TCS 1, 229 rev. 3–4 (unknown, 21st c.) (P145730)
a-ša₃g₄ in-dabs-ba-na, na-ba-a-du₁
ašag si₅₁₂n₁₂dab₁₂e₃₁₂a = ane ‘a
“He should not retain the field he has seized for himself.”

With the compound verb inim “word” — gi₄ “to return” = “to withdraw, cancel” the locative 2 denotes the participant withdrawn:
(418) Gudea Statue B 1:17–19 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
sa₂₃-dug₄-na e₂₃ nin-ŋirsu-ka-ta
sadug-an₃= a e ninjirsuk=ak=ta
offer=3.SG.NH.POSS=L2.NH house DN=GEN=ABL
inim  he₂₃-eb₂₃-gi₄
inim=ø s₁₇₃-b₃₅-s₁₀(i=)ø s₁₂₃-gi₃₅=ø
word=ABS MOD-FIN=3.SG.NH-L2.SYN-return=3.SG.S
“May his regular offering in the temple of Ningirsu be withdrawn!”

With verbs of speaking the locative2 denotes the participant about whom someone speaks, see also exx. (263) and (264) above:

(419) BM 24108 obv. 3–rev. 1 (Lagash 21st c.) (P145596)
ma₃-gu-la-ra, 1(geš₃) še gur,
mašgula=ra 60 še gur=ø
PN1=DAT.H 60 barley unit=ABS
iš₃um₂-mu₁-da,  he₂₃-na-dug₄
šum-ed’a s₁₇₃-š₂₅-n₁₀-s₁₀=₁₂₃ dug=ø
“1 did tell him to give 60 gurs of barley to Maš-gula!”

(420) Gudea Cyl. A 6:1–2 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
e₂₃-a duš-ba mul kug-ba
e=ak du=be=ak mul kug=be’a
house=GEN buildings=3.SG.NH.POSS=GEN star holy=3.SG.NH.POSS=L2.NH
gu₃ ma-ra-a-de₂
gu=ø s₄₆₅-mu₅-r₅₆₅-e₅₆₅-de₅₆₅=ø
voice=ABS VEN-2.SG-DAT=L2-pour=3.SG.A
“She (= goddess Nisaba) will announce to you the holy stars auguring the building of the temple.”

(421) Gudea Cyl. A 9:10 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
ḫa₃r₃-ḫa₂ mul an kug-ba
ḫa₃r₃=ḫu=ak mul an kug=ø=be’a
regulation=1.SG.POSS=GEN star sky holy-TL=3.SG.NH.POSS=L2.NH
gu₃ ga-mu-ra-a-de₂
gu=ø s₅₆₅₆₃₆₅.mu₅₇₅-e₅₆₅=ø
voice=ABS MOD-VEN-2.SG-DAT=L2-pour
“Let me tell you the pure stars of heaven indicating my regulations!”

(422) NRVN 1, 115 rev. 3–4 (Nippur, 21st c.) (P122331)
i₃-la₂₃ nu-la₂₃, 3 gi₃₄ kug-babbar
s₁₇₃₅₁₃₉₃₅₁₃₉₅₁₃=ø s₁₃₃₃₁₅₁₃₅₁₃=ø 3 gi₃₄ kugbabbar=ø
la₂₃-da bi-dug₄
la-ed’a s₅₃₃₃₅₁₃₅₁₃₅₃₅₁₃=ø
“He said that if he paid it back (by the agreed time, it would be all right); if he did not, he would pay 3 shekels of silver.”
14.4 The locative3
The locative3 may be used both with human and non-human verbal participants. The form of the nominal case-marker of the locative3 depends on the grammatical gender of the participant: human verbal participants are case-marked with the enclitic =/ra/; while non-human verbal participants are case-marked with the enclitic =/e/.

The verbal marking of the locative3 differs in one important respect from the verbal marking of the locative1 and locative2: when the IPP in S11 is not used for cross-referencing another verbal participant, then locative3 is cross-referenced not by a syncopated composite prefix, but by a final pronominal prefix in S11.

Similarly to the locative2 prefix, the locative3 prefix in S10 probably also has two allomorphs: i) /i/ after a consonant; ii) /e/ after a vowel, for the latter, see ex. (441) below.

In the 1st ps. sg. composite form the 1st ps. sg. pronominal prefix is expressed by the /mu/ allomorph of the ventive prefix in S4, see, e.g., ex. (431) below. In the 2nd ps. sg. composite form of the locative3 prefix, the pronominal prefix is the IPP /r/ in S6, see, e.g., ex. (438) below.

The 3rd ps. sg. human pronominal prefix is the IPP /nn/ in S6, and the composite prefix is written as a rule with the grapheme NI, see ex. (424) and (439) below. However, around the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE the vowel of the composite locative2 prefix /nni/ assimilates to the vowel of the following syllable in respect of vowel height (the so-called “vowel harmony” of the literature). Both the “high” and the “low” forms were written with the grapheme NI, but it is assumed in this textbook that the “high” and the “low” forms were /ni/ and /ne/ respectively, reflected by the transliteration ni- and nez-; for the latter, see, ex. (432) below.

The 3rd ps. sg. non-human prefix is expressed with the prefix /b/ in S5, and the composite prefix is written as a rule with the grapheme NE, transliterated as bi-, see, e.g., ex. (428) below. However, around the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE the vowel of the composite locative3 prefix /bi/ assimilates to the vowel of the following syllable in respect of vowel height (the so-called ‘vowel harmony’ of the literature). The “high” form was written with the grapheme NE, transliterated as bi-; while the “low” form was written with grapheme BI, transliterated as bez-, see, ex. (444) below.

The 3rd ps. pl. human pronominal prefix is the IPP /nnē/ in S6, see, e.g., ex. (441) below.

When S11 is filled with a morpheme and the verbal form contains another adverbial prefix, then no locative3 prefix may occur in the prefix-chain. We have a number of contrasting examples ([425] vs. [426] and [428] vs. [429] below), which differ only in the presence of a dative prefix. In the forms with the dative, the orthography does not indicate the presence of a simple locative3 prefix. The locative3 may therefore only be cross-referenced by a composite adverbial prefix or by a final pronominal prefix in S11, but not by a simple adverbial prefix in the verbal prefix-chain.

In its basic function the locative3 indicates a location next to someone or something, or a movement to someone or something. The verb usz “to be next to” goes always with the locative3, see exx. (423)–(428) below.
(423) Gudea Cyl. A 3:11 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)\(^\text{18}\)

\[\text{zan-} \text{mu-us}\]

\[\text{zag-} \text{mu-us}\]

\[\text{side} = 1.\text{SG.POSS} \text{=} L.3.\text{NH} \quad \text{VEN} \cdot 1.\text{SG.L3-be.next} \cdot 3.\text{SG.S}\]

"It attaches to my side."

(424) Gudea Cyl. B 19:20–21 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

\[\text{en-} \text{nin-mah} \text{=} \text{mu-us}\]

\[\text{enil}= \text{ra} \quad \text{nininmah} \text{=} \text{mu-us}\]

\[\text{DN} = \text{L.3.H} \quad \text{DN} = \text{ABS} \quad \text{VEN} \cdot 3.\text{SG.H-L3} \cdot 3.\text{SG.H.A-be.next} \cdot 3.\text{SG.P}\]

"He (= Gudea) seated Ninmah next to Enill."

(425) Gudea Cyl. A 4:4 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

\[\text{kar} \quad \text{nigin} \text{=} \text{ми} \text{= ke} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{bi} \text{=} \text{us}\]

\[\text{kar} \quad \text{nigin} \text{=} \text{ak} \text{=} \text{e} \quad \text{ma} \text{=} \text{= us}\]

\[\text{quay} \quad \text{GN} = \text{GEN} \text{=} \text{L.3.NH} \quad \text{boat} = \text{ABS} \quad 3.\text{SG.NH-L3} \cdot 3.\text{SG.H.A-be.next} \cdot 3.\text{SG.P}\]

"He (= Gudea) moored the boat at the quay of Ninin."

(426) Ur-Ningirsu II 3 2:6–7 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (Q000929)

\[\text{abul} \text{inim-si-saz} \text{=} \text{ke} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{nanshe} \quad \text{mu-na-us}\]

\[\text{abulinsisak} \text{=} \text{e} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{nanshe} \text{=} \text{ak} \text{=} \text{e} \quad \text{mu-na-us}\]

\[\text{Inimisasa.gate} = \text{L.3.NH} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{DN} = \text{GEN} = \text{ABS} \quad \text{VEN} \cdot 3.\text{SG.H-DAT} \cdot 3.\text{SG.H.A-be.next} \cdot 3.\text{SG.P}\]

"He made the temple of Nanshe adjacent to the Inimisasa-gate for him."

(427) Gudea Statue G 2:9–10 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232280)

\[\text{nin-piš-zid-da} \quad \text{e} \text{ejer-be} \quad \text{ib} \text{=} \text{us}\]

\[\text{ninnišžida} \text{=} \text{e} \quad \text{ejer} \text{=} \text{be} \quad \text{ib} \text{=} \text{us}\]

\[\text{DN} = \text{GEN} = \text{ABS} \quad 3.\text{SG.NH.L3-be.next} \cdot 3.\text{SG.P}\]

"Nin-gish-zida followed them."

(428) En-metena 1 2:6–8 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001103)

\[\text{na-ru} \text{=} \text{a} \quad \text{me} \text{-salim-ma} \quad \text{ki} \text{=} \text{be} \quad \text{bi} \text{=} \text{gi}\]

\[\text{nar} \text{=} \text{a} \quad \text{mesalim} \text{=} \text{ak} \text{=} \text{e} \quad \text{ki} \text{=} \text{be} \quad \text{bi} \text{=} \text{gi}\]

\[\text{stele} \quad \text{PN} = \text{GEN} = \text{ABS} \quad \text{place} = 3.\text{SG.NH.POSS} = \text{L.3.NH} \quad 3.\text{SG.NH-L3} \cdot 3.\text{SG.H.A-return} \cdot 3.\text{SG.P}\]

"He restored the stele of Mesalim (lit. 'returned it to its place')."

(429) Gudea Statue B 5:17 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)

\[\text{ki} \text{=} \text{be} \quad \text{mu} \text{-} \text{gi}\]

\[\text{ki} \text{=} \text{be} \quad \text{mu} \text{-} \text{gi}\]

\[\text{place} = 3.\text{SG.NH.POSS} = \text{L.3.NH} \quad 3.\text{SG.NH-L3} \cdot 3.\text{SG.H.A-return} \cdot 3.\text{SG.P}\]

"He restored it for him (lit. 'returned it to its place')."

(430) TUT 105 obv. 2:5 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P135678)

\[\text{2} \quad \text{sila} \quad \text{gi} \text{=} \text{lugal-ke} \quad \text{ba} \text{-ab-ak}\]

\[\text{2} \quad \text{sila} \text{=} \text{e} \quad \text{ig} \text{=} \text{lugal-ke} \text{=} \text{e} \quad \text{ba}\]

\[\text{2} \quad \text{unit} \quad \text{door} \quad \text{king} = \text{GEN} = \text{L.3.NH} \quad \text{mid} = 3.\text{SG.NH-L3-make} \cdot 3.\text{SG.S}\]

"2 sila (oil) were applied to the door of the king."

---

\(^{18}\) The L3 prefix agrees in person and number with the possessor of the "side", a case of external possession, see Lesson 15 below.
(431) NG 202 rev. 9 (Umma, 21st c.) (P131781)

kas-li-am3  igi-še3  gešba2ba  mu-ra
kali=ø=am-ø  igi=še  gešba=ø  š4mu₃₁₀e₃₁₁n₃₁₀ra₃₁₀ø

“(Durgarni killed Kali. Durgarni was questioned, and he said:) ‘It was Kali who first punched me.”

(432) E-an-a-tum 1 obv. 9:2–3 (RIME 1.9.3.1) (Lagash, 24th c.)

e₂-an-na-tum₂-ra  lu₂  ti  mu-ne₂-ra
eana tum = ra  lu = e  ti = ø  š₄mu₃₆₆n₃₁₁i₃₁₁n₃₁₀ra₃₁₀ø

“Someone shot an arrow at E-an-a-tum.”

With the compound verb si “horn” — sa₂ “to be equal” = “to be straight, proper, ready” the locative3 denotes the participant made straight, ready, or proper:

(433) Gudea Statue R 1:6–7 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232290)

lu₃  bii₃=lu₃-da  dijin-re-ne₃-ke₄,
lu₃  biluda  dijin=enē=ak=ē
man  rite  god=PL=GEN=L3.NH
si  bii₂-sa₂-sa₂-a
si=ø  š₅b₃₁₀i₃₁₁n₃₅₁₂sa₃₅₁₀ø₃₅₁₅a=ē

“(Gudea,) the man who performed the rites of the gods properly”

(434) Lugal-zagesi 1 3:27–28 (RIME 1.14.20.1) (Uruk, 24th c.) (Q001379)

ubur  an-na-ke₄  si  ḡa₃-mu₃-dab₃-sa₂
ubur  an=ak=ē  si=ø  š₃ḡ₃₅₄mu₃₆₃₆da₃₅₁₂b₃₅₁₂sa₃₅₁₀ø
udder  heaven=GEN=L3.NH  horn=ABS  MOD-VEN-1.SG.COM-3.SG.NH-L3-equal-3.SG.S

“Under my rule the heavenly udder will certainly be ready!”

With the compound verb mi₂ “woman” — dug₄ “to do” = “to care for, to praise” the locative3 denotes the participant cared for:

(435) Gudea Cyl. A 7:16 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

ḡe₃-e  mi₂  im-ē
ḡe₃=ē  mi=ø  š₃₁₅ᵐ₃₅₁₂b₃₅₁₂e₃₅₁₄e
wood=L3.NH  woman=ABS  FIN-VEN-3.SG.NH,L3-do-3.SG.A

“(Gudea checked the wood piece by piece), taking great care of the wood.”

(436) Nanna C Segment B 16 (ETCSL 4.13.03)

mi₂  ga-e-dug₄
mi=ø  š₂ga₃₅₁₁e₃₅₁₂dug
woman=ABS  MOD-2.SG.L3-do

“I shall praise you!”

In verbal forms, where the IPP in S11 is not used for cross-referencing a non-human P, the locative3 is cross-referenced not with a prefix in S10, but with an FPP in S11. In ex. (437) below the prefix /b/ in S11 cross-references the non-human participant, “the boat”, in locative3. In S14 the pronominal suffix cross-references the word šerkan “ornament”, which functions as S, the Agent of the
verbal activity is not present in the clause. S10 is used by the locative1 prefix. The verbal form ex. (437) thus contains the markers of more than one locative cases.

(437) Shulgi D 360 (ETCSL 2.04.02.04)
an-gen mul-a še-er-ka-an mi-ni-ib-zu-dug₃
an-gen mul=a šerkan=∅₄₅₇₉₈₂₉₁₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₃₀₃₉₂₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₁₉₃₉₂₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₁₉₃₉₂₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₁_{10}

sky=EQU star=L1 ornament=ABS VEN-L1-3.SG.NH.L3-do-3.SG.S
“It (= the boat) was decorated with stars like the sky.”

Examples like exx. (430), (434), and (437) above, in which the verbal marker of locative3 in S11 is preceded either by another adverbal prefix (comitative in ex. [434], locative1 in ex. [437]) or by a middle prefix (in ex. [430]), provide further evidence that the prefix /b/ before the stem in a locative3 function may only be an IPP and not the syncopated form of the composite prefix /bI/ (₃b₃₁₀i= = 3.SG.NH.L3-).

An important secondary function of the locative3 is to denote the causee in causative constructions of transitive verbs. The verb gu₇ “to eat” provides several examples demonstrating this function of the locative3. This verb is often used in the meaning “to make someone eat” = “to feed someone”. The participant who does the actual eating (= the “eater”) is in the locative3 case, the “feeder”, who causes someone to eat is in the ergative, and the food consumed is in the absolutive. The “feeder” may be missing from the clause, and then verbal form is the passive form of a causative, as in ex. (442) below.

(438) Lipit-Eshtar D 6 (ETCSL 2.5.5.4)
ga nam-šul-la mi-ri-in-gu₇
a ga namšul=ak=∅₄₅₇₉₈₂₉₁₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₃₀₃₉₂₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₁₉₃₉₂₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₁_{10}
“She (= the goddess Nintur) has fed you with the milk of vigour.”; lit. “She made you consume the milk of vigour.”

(439) MVN 3, 36 obv. 3:2–7 (Isin, ED IIIb) (P222204)
1/2 kug ma-na, ma-hir, dumu amar-šuba₄₃(MUŠ₃.KUR.ZA)-ra,
1/2 kug mana=∅ mahir dumu amaršuba-ra
1/2 silver unit=ABS PN₃ child PN₂=L3.H
a-pa-e₃ azlag₃₂, sam₃₂-š₃ₑ₃, i₃-ni-gu₇
apa’e azlag=š₃ sam=š₃₂ i₃=₁₂₃₆₉₀₅₁₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₁₉₃₉₂₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₁_{10}
PN₃ fuller=ERG price=TERM FIN-3.SG.H.L3-3.SG.H.eat-3.SG.P
“Apa-e, the fuller, made Mahir, the son of Amar-šuba, receive (lit. ‘eat’) half mana of silver as the price.”

(440) Shulgi H Segment D 19 (= Ni 2275 iv 19) (ETCSL 2.4.2.08)
u₃₄=e u₂ nir-ḫal₄₂ ḫa-bi₃₂-gu₇-e
u₃=e u₂ nirgal=∅₄₅₇₉₈₂₉₁₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₃₀₃₉₂₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₁_{10}
people=L3.NH food fine=ABS MOD-3.SG.NH.L3-3.SG.NH.P-eat-3.SG.A
a dug₃ ḫa-bi₃-na-na₃
a dug=∅₄₅₇₉₈₂₉₁₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₁₉₃₉₂₃₄₉₁₂₉₂₈₁_{10}
water sweet=ABS MOD-3.SG.NH.L3-3.SG.NH.P-drink-PF-3.SG.A
“May he (= Shulgi) make the people eat fine food, may he make them drink sweet water!”
The locative cases — 157

(441) MVN 3, 1 obv. 3:4 (Isin, ED IIIb) (P222204)

in-ne-gu₇
₃₁₁₇₁₁₃₁₁₁₁₁₄₁

“He made them receive (lit. ‘eat’) (a certain amount of silver).”

(442) OIP 121, 54:3 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P123784)

ad-be₂ ur-gir₁₅-re ba-ab-gu₇
ad-be=ø urgir=e ₃₁₁₃₁₁₃₁₁₁₁₁₄₁


“The dogs were fed with their carcasses”; lit. “The dogs were made eat their carcasses.”

When the causee is a non-human inanimate, or dead participant without the ability to act on its own, the causee may be interpreted as the instrument with which the verbal action is carried out:

(443) Gudea Cyl. A 15:22 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

gō'₂̣ g u₂ e₂ t u₃ n gal-e im-mi-kud
ern=be=ø tun gal-ø=e ₃₁₁₃₁₁₃₁₁₁₁₁₄₁


“He cut down its cedars with great axes.”; lit. “He made the great axes cut its cedars”.

(444) Ur-Nanshe 17 3:3–6 (Lagash, 25th c.) (Q001025)

ur-nimin, dam, ₄nanše,
urnimin dam nanše=ak=ø
PN spouse DN=GEN=ABS

tu₃=be₂-pad₃
maš=e ₃₁₁₃₁₁₃₁₁₁₁₁₄₁


“He chose Ur-nimin (as) the spouse of Nanše with a goat (i.e., by extispicy) (lit. ‘made the goat choose’).”

Further readings

For the cases of S₁₀ one may consult the corresponding sections of Gragg 1973, Balke 2006, and Jagersma 2010, whose descriptions, however, differ in their approach to cases in Sumerian; and in fact none of them assume the existence of three locative cases. The approach of the present textbook’s author is explained in Zólyomi 2010.

The most important paper is Jagersma 2006 on the verbal marking of the locative; note, however, that he discusses it under the name “oblique object”. A critical discussion of Jagersma’s “oblique object” is Zólyomi 2014b.

Zólyomi 2014 discusses in detail the system of local cases in Sumerian and its changes under the influence of Akkadian in the first part of the 2nd millennium BCE.

Exercises

14.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

14.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.
14.3 Transliterate the text of NG 99 obv. 2:15–rev. 1:31 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P111162) (a handcopy of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P111162) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012), the text is no. 38 in Volk’s (2012) chrestomathy. Translate the text with the help of either Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to the verbal forms.

14.4 Transliterate the text of NG 17 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P110828) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). A copy of the text can be found in Volk’s (2012) chrestomathy; the text is no. 37 in the chrestomathy. Translate the text with the help of either Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to the verbal forms.

14.5 Transliterate the text VS 14, 94 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P020109) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). A copy and photo of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P020109. The text is no. 44 in Volk’s (2012) chrestomathy. Translate the text with the help of Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s (2016b) glossary. For the numerical expressions used in them you may consult ORACC’s preliminary description of metrological expressions (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/doc/downloads/numref.pdf), or Powell’s entry in the Reallexikon der Assyriologie (1987–90).
Lesson 15: Constructions involving an “extra” verbal participant

All the constructions discussed in this lesson are characterized by the presence of a verbal participant that may be considered additional from a certain point of view. In causative constructions there is a further participant, the “causer” present. In compound verb constructions the participant functioning as P is non-referential and forms a semantic unit with the verb. The participant truly affected by the verbal action is therefore construed with an adverbial case. In case of external possession both the possessor and the possessum of an inalienable possession are separate verbal participants. In case of dative promotion the finite verb has two participants which may be cross-referenced in S10 of the verbal prefix-chain. One of them will be promoted to the status of indirect object marked with the dative case. This lesson will describe the most important characteristics of these four constructions.

15.1 The causative construction
Sumerian is a language without a morphologically marked causative. The causative verbal form differs from the corresponding non-causative form only in the increased number of participants.

In causatives of intransitive verbs the underlying S becomes P:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
<th>CAUSATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15.1

Ex. (445) below is a hypothetical intransitive clause that may form the basis of the actual ex. (446). In ex. (445) the person “I” is the verbal participant who steps on a bed. In ex. (446) the same person does the actual stepping, but the clause has an additional verbal participant, Inana, who causes “me” to step on the bed. The causer functions as the A of ex. (446) and is marked accordingly in S11 with a 3rd ps. sg. human FPP. The S of ex. (445) functions as the P in ex. (446). Since the pronominal suffix in S14 cross-references the participant in the absolutive, both the S in ex. (445) and the P in ex. (446) is cross-referenced with the same morpheme. In other words, the two verbal forms in exx. (445) and (446) differ only in the presence of a further verbal participant, the causer; and no other morpheme indicates its causative meaning.

(445) *ŋišnu₂ gi-rin-na ḫe₂-ib₂-gub-en
nu girin-े’a 5₁ḥa₂-ś₂b₂-ś₂a₂(ि)ो-ś₂gub₂-en
bed flowery-TL=2.NH MOD-FIN-3.SG.NH-L2.SYN-stand-1.SG.S
“I indeed stepped onto the flowery bed.”

(446) Ishme-Dagan A 105 (ETCSL 2.5.04.01)
*ŋnu₂ gi-rin-na ḫe₂-biz-in-gub-en
nu girin-े’a 5₁ḥa₂-ś₂b₂-ś₂a₂(ि)ो-ś₂gub₂-en
“She (= Inana) indeed made me step onto the flowery bed.”
In causatives of transitive verbs the underlying A will be marked with the locative3 case:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
<th>CAUSATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>L3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15.2

In ex. (447) the predicate is the transitive form of the verb gu₇ “to eat”: the overseers (= the “eaters”) function as the A, the consumed bread (= the “food”) as the P. In ex. (448) the “eaters”, the people, the participants who does the actual eating, are in the locative3 case. The function of A is taken over by the causer, here Shulgi, who makes the people eat (and drink). The two verbal forms in exx. (447) and (448) differ only in the presence of a further verbal participant, the causer; and no other morpheme indicates its causative meaning. In contrast to the causative of intransitive verbs, however, one of the participants of the underlying transitive form cannot retain its case in the causative form: the “eater”, the causee, i.e., the underlying A, will become an adverbial participant in the locative3.

(448) Shulgi H Segment D 19 (ETCSL 2.4.2.08)

uŋ-e  u:  nir-ŋal₂  ḥa-bi₂-ib₂-gu₇-e
uŋ-e  u  nirγal-ø=ø  s₁b₂-s₁₂b₃₁₀b₁₂-gu₇-s₁₄ø
people=L3.NH  food  fine-TL=ABS  MOD-3.SG.NH-L3-3.SG.NH.P-eat-3.SG.A
a  dug₁  ḥa-bi₂-nas-na₈
a  dug-ø=ø  s₁₂b₂-s₁₂b₁₂-s₁₀b₁₂-na₈-s₁₄ø
water  sweet-TL=ABS  MOD-3.SG.NH-L3-3.SG.NH.P-drink-PF-3.SG.A

“May he (= Shulgi) make the people eat fine food, may he make them drink sweet water!”

The causer may be missing from the clause, and then verbal form is the passive form of a causative, as in ex. (449) below. In this example the middle prefix indicates that the verbal participant cross-referenced in S11 functions as a causee, someone who was made to eat by an unspecified A, the causer. This example may be contrasted with ex. (450), in which the A is also unspecified, but here the missing participant must be interpreted as the “eater”.

In other words, both exx. (449) and (450) are passive verbal forms (signalled by the presence of the middle prefix), but the former is the passive of a causative (similar to ex. [448]), signalled by the presence of the /b/ in S11; while the latter is the passive of a transitive form (similar to ex. [447]), signalled by the emptiness of S11.
Constructions involving an extra verbal participant — 161

(449) OIP 121 54:3 (Drehem, 21st c.) (P123784)
ads-bi ur-gir-ra bi-ugur
ads=be=ø ur-gir= $b^{511}_b$-$d^{512}_b$gu-$s^{514}_s$
carcass=PASS.3.SG.NN=ABS dog=3.SG.NN MID=3.SG.NN.L3-eat=3.SG.S
“The man from Urim raised a claim on the territory of Lagash.”

(450) DP 80 obv. 2:1–5 (Lagash, 24th c.) (P220730)
ki-a-naŋ-ŋaz, ba-gu;
kiaŋ=′a $s_b^{510}_b$-n-$s^{512}_s$gu-$s^{514}_s$
place.libation=1.1 MID-1.1.SYN-eat=3.SG.S
“(Two sheep) were consumed at the place of libations.”

15.2 The compound verbs
A compound verb is the combination of a verb and a noun phrase where the noun phrase is non-referential and consequently forms a semantic unit with the verb. The combination of IGIN “eye” and BAR “to direct”, for example, is used in the meaning “to look at”, literally “to eye-direct”. The syntactic function of the noun phrase is typically P, but occasionally the noun phrase may be a participant in the locative3 case.

Functionally these constructions compensate for the lack of derivational affixes deriving verbs from nouns. Two verbs, DUG “to do” and AK “to act”, are used especially often as light verbs, i.e., as the verbal part of compound verbs functioning as verbalizers: INIM “word” and DUG means, for example, “to say”, and NAM-LUGAL “kingship” and AK means “to rule as a king”.

The meaning of the compound verbs often requires another verbal participant which is affected by the verbal action. This participant functions as a kind of “semantic object” in addition to the grammatical object. The case of this semantic object varies, it appears to depend idiosyncratically on the verb. The locative3 (e.g., IGIN “eye — DUS “open” = “to look”) and the locative2 (e.g., INIM “word” — NAR “to place” = “to claim”) are the cases most often attested in this use, but there are compound verbs also with the dative (KI “place” — AP “to measure (?)” = “to love”), the terminative (IGIN “eye” — BAR “to direct” = “to look at”), and the comitative (AZ “arm” — AP “to measure (?)” = “to instruct”). Here are some instances involving compound verbs, but the reader may find many more examples in the previous lessons on adverbal cases.

(451) Enmerkar and the lord of Aratta 554 (ETCSL 1.8.2.3)
en aratta₇-ke₄ gig-e IGIN biz-in-dus₈ en aratta=ak=ë gig-e IGIN=ø $s_b^{510}_b$-$s^{511}_s$-$s^{512}_s$du-$s^{514}_s$
lord GN=GEN=ERG wheat=3.NH eye=ABS 3.SG.NN.L3-3.SG.H.A-open=3.SG.P
“The lord of Aratta looked at the wheat.”

(452) Utu-hegal 1 6–8 (RIME 2.13.6.1) (Uruk, 22nd c.) (Q000876)
ki-sur-ra lagaš₇-ka₄ lu₂ urims-ka-ke₄,
kisura lagaš=ak=′a lu urim=ak=e
territory GN=GEN=12.NH person GN=GEN=ERG
IGIN biz-ŋar
IGIN=ø $s_b^{510}_b$-$s^{511}_s$-$s^{512}_s$ŋar=ø
“The man from Urim raised a claim on the territory of Lagash.”
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(453) Irī-kagina 14p 1–2 (RIME 1.9.9.14p) (Lagash, 24th c.) (P222652)

ḍba-u₂ barag iri-kug-ga-ka tum₂-ma
bau barag iri-kug=ak₃-a tum₃-a=e
DN=seat GN=GEN=L₂.NH be.suitable-PT=ERG

iri-ka-gl-na-ra ki mu-na-aŋ₂
iri-kaginak-ra ki-ø smu₃-n₄n₁-a₅n₁₂-a₅n₁₄₀


“The goddess Bau, who is worthy of the seat of the city Irikug, loves Irikagina.”

(454) Gudea Cyl. A 1:3 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)

ḍen-lil₂-e en ‘nin-gir₂-su=še₃
enlil=e en ninjirsuk=še
dN=ERG lord DN=TERM

igi zid mu-ši-bar
igi zid-ø=ø smu₃-n₄n₁-s₁₂-bar-₃₁₀


“The god Enlil looked at lord Ningirsu with approval (lit. ‘with true eyes’).”

(455) Shulgi G 8 (ETCSL 2.4.2.07)

ḍen-lil₂-da a-ba a₂ mu-da-an-aŋ₂
enlil-da aba-e a=ø smu₃-n₄n₁-da₅₁₂n₁₂-a₅n₁₄₀


“Who ever instructed divine Enlil?”

15.3 The external possession construction

External possession is the grammatical phenomenon when in a semantic possessor-possessum relationship the possessor is expressed externally to the noun phrase that contains the possessum, and occurs as a separate verbal participant. Cross-linguistically external possession constructions are as a rule allowed for only when the possessor is human and the possessum is inalienable. Body-part expressions are thus the most common possensa that may occur in external possession constructions.

External possession manifests itself in Sumerian in clauses in which a body-part expression and its possessor occur as separate constituents, and the verbal form cross-references either only the possessor, or both the possessor and the body part. In the former case the possessor and the body part are in the same case, see, ex. (456) below; in the latter the possessor is in the dative, whereas the body part is in the locative1, see ex. (459) below.

In ex. (456) below the possessor of the word šu “hand” is the god Ningirsu. The word 龊nin-gir₂-su, however, is not in P3 of the noun phrase whose head is šu “hand”. It is a separate constituent and occupies a sentence-initial position; P3 of šu “hand” is filled by a resumptive pronominal enclitic that agrees in person, gender, and number with the possessor (=ane : 3.SG.H.Poss). Both the possessor ( الداخل nin-gir₂-su) and the inalienable possessum (šu) are in the locative2 case. The composite locative2 prefix of the verbal form shows agreement with the human possessor, but not with the possessum. The agreement with the possessor instead of the inalienable possessum may signal that the predicate is construed to be about the possessor.
Constructions involving an extra verbal participant — 163

(456) E-ana-tum 4 2:3–6 (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222460)

E anatum 4:3–6 (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222460)

d nin-pirü-sú-ru, ašag ki an-une,
nin-pirük-ru ašag ki=ø an=ø=ane
DN=1.L.H field place=ABS measure-TL=3.SG.H.POSS

gu-eden-na, šu-na mu-ni-gi4
guedenak=ø šu=ane=’a ši-ši-me 3S.H.POSS=1.SG

“He returned (Ningirsu’s) beloved field, the Gu-edena, under Ningirsu’s control.”

In ex. (457) the possessor is not present in the sentence. Nevertheless, the composite locative2 prefix of the verbal form show agreement not with the grammatically non-human inalienable possessum (= piris “foot”) but with the human possessor, who is present in the sentence only as a 3rd ps. sg. human possessive enclitic attached to the word piris.

(457) Lugal-zagesi 1 1:44–45 (RIME 1.14.20.1) (Uruk, 24th c.) (Q001379)

kur-kur=ø piris=ane=’a ši-ši=me 1.SG.H.POSS=L2.NH VEN=1.SG.H-L2-1.SG=return=1.SG

“(when) he (= Enlil) made all the countries serve him (= Lugalzagesi) (lit. ‘threw all the countries to his feet’).”

In ex. (458) below the copula shows agreement with the 2nd ps. sg. possessor, but not with the grammatically non-human inalienable possessum igi “face”. The possessor is present in the sentence only as a 2nd ps. sg. human possessive enclitic attached to the word igi.

(458) Iddin-Dagan D 30 (ETCSL 2.5.3.4)

igli zu huš=me-en
igli zu=ø huš=ø=me-en
face=2.SG.POSS=ABS awesome-TL=ABS=1.COP-2.SG.S

“Your face is awesome.”

In ex. (459) below the inalienable possessum (= kag “mouth”) is in the locative1 case. The locative1 case may only cross-reference a non-human verbal participant, there exist no 3rd. ps. sg. human composite locative1 prefix. Consequently the possessor of kag “mouth” is expressed as the indirect object and is cross-referenced accordingly with a dative prefix in the verbal form.

(459) Ishme-Dagan A 90 (ETCSL 2.5.4.01)

4 utu nin=2-si-sa inim gi-na,
utu=ø nin=sisa inim gi-’a=ø
DN=ERG justice word firm-PT=ABS
ka=na ḫa-ma-ni-nar
kag=yu=’a ši-ḫa-si-m=2S.H.POSS=1.SG.H=1S.H.POSS

“The god Utu put justice and reliable words in my mouth.”

“Utu legte mir Gerechtigkeit und zuverlässige Worte in den Mund”.

The German translation of ex. (459) is shown here to demonstrate how easily the sentence may be translated into German, which itself knows external
possession: “Die Mutter wusch dem Kind die Haare” = “The mother washed the child’s hair.

15.4 The dative promotion

Except for verbal forms in which the locative3 is cross-referenced by an FPP, the verbal markers of the cases locative1, locative2 and locative3 occupy the same verbal slot, S10. When in a transitive verbal form, which otherwise would case-mark one of its participants (X) with either the locative2 or locative3, the use of a of locative2 or locative3 prefix is obstructed because of the use of another verbal prefix, then this participant X will be promoted to the status of indirect object and will be construed with the dative. The use of the dative may well be due to its function to denote the participant affected by the verbal activity.

Two types of obstruction are attested in our texts. The more common type is when the S10 is occupied by a locative1 prefix as in exx. (461) and (463) below.

The compound verb nam “fate” — tar “to cut” = “to determine a fate” case-marks the participant whose the fate is determined with the locative2, see ex. (460) below. The same participant is in the dative in ex. (461), where a participant in the locative1 is also cross-referenced in the verbal form.

(460) Ninazu A 26 (ETCSL 4.17.1)

[an]-ne₂ nam dug₃ mu-ri-in-tar
an-e nam dug-ø=ø

“The god An has determined a good destiny for you.”

(461) Shulgi P Segment C 25 (ETCSL 2.4.2.16)

ubur₂ kug-₃₄₅₆ a nam ma-ra-ni-tar
ubur kug=m₄=₄ nam=ø

“I have decided your fate with my holy bosom.”

The compound verb verb si “horn” — sa₂ “to be equal” = “to be straight, proper, ready” denotes the participant that is affected by the verbal action with the locative3 as shown in ex. (462) below. The same participant is in the dative in the next example, ex. (463), where the location of the verbal action is specified with a place adverbial in the locative1.

(462) Gudea Statue R 1:6-7 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232290)

lu₈ bi₃-lu₃-da di nghị-re-ne-ke₄₄₄₆₈,
lu₈ bi₃-lu₃-da di nghị-en₇=e ak=e
man rite god=PL=GEN=L₃.NH
si bi₃-sa₂-sa₂-a
si=ø

“(Gudea,) the man who performed the rites of the gods properly”
The other type of obstruction can be observed in ex. (464) below. The second verb here is a causative that should look like nam=ø₅₁₀₃₆₅₁₁₉₃₅₁₂₉₅₁₆₅₁₈₃₅₄, see Lesson 6 above, may be circumvented by promoting the original causee to the dative.

Further readings
In the first part of the 2nd millennium BCE the verbal prefixes cross-referencing the underlying A (i.e., the causee) in causatives of transitive verbs will be reinterpreted as causative markers, the detailed description of this development can be found in Zólyomi 2005b: 347–353.

The definition of compound verbs is controversial in Sumerology. A good reading to start with is Attinger’s description in Attinger 1993: 178–182. Zólyomi 1996 reviews Attinger’s book and also discusses his definition. Attinger 2004 uses the position of question words for the identification of compound verbs. Attinger gives a summary of his views in Attinger 2007: 24–26, which he concludes like this: “En bref, et contrairement à Zólyomi, je crois que la distinction entre verbes composés et verbes non composés est moins de nature que de degré.” A conclusion one would find hard to disagree with. An often quoted work on compound verbs is Karahashi’s unpublished but easily available dissertation (Karahashi 2000). For those who can read Hungarian, Tanos 2015 is an interesting study on the semantics of compound verbs in Sumerian.

On compounds with the verb dug₄, the comprehensive work is Attinger 1993. For the numerous compounds with the verb ak, one should consult the vocabulary entry the verb in PSD, together with Attinger’s review (Attinger 2005).
On the semantics of some of the compounds with the verb **ak**, see also Ebeling 2007.

The constructions used with the compound verb **igi — bar** are discussed in Zólyomi 2007b. This study also discusses the changes in these constructions due to the influence of Akkadian.

The most detailed description of external possession in Sumerian can be found in Zólyomi 2005. Jagersma’s account of the phenomenon is in Jagersma 2010: 396–398. For the linguistic treatment of the phenomenon, see Payne and Barshi 1999. Dative promotion is discussed in Zólyomi 1999: 238–242, called there as “four-participant verbal forms”.

### Exercises

15.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.

15.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

15.3 Try to reconstruct the underlying transitive clause of the following actual examples of causative constructions. You only have to produce the morphemic segmentation and glossing (2nd and 3rd line of the examples).

(465) Išme-Dagan 7 1–7 (RIME 4.1.4.7) (Isin, 20th c.) (Q001951)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PN</th>
<th>Ši-me-da-gan</th>
<th>uren</th>
<th>šar-e</th>
<th>šar-še₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>king</td>
<td>Enlil</td>
<td>Ninurta</td>
<td>hero</td>
<td>strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GN</td>
<td>GEN=EN=1.3.H</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>deputy=TERM</td>
<td>DN=ERG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN=ERG</td>
<td>uṣ₂</td>
<td>uren</td>
<td>šar-ša₂</td>
<td>e=ša₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people</td>
<td>numerous-TL=L3.NH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us₂</td>
<td>zid</td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>b-dabš₂</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>path</td>
<td>right-TL=ABS</td>
<td>MOD=3.SG.H-L3-3.SG.H.KA-have/3.SG.P-TAKE=3.SG.A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>b-dabš₂</td>
<td></td>
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(466) Ur-Ninurta D 34 (ETCSL 2.5.6.4)

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<th>šar₂</th>
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<td>hero</td>
<td>strong</td>
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<td>GN</td>
<td>GEN=EN=1.3.H</td>
<td>deputy=TERM</td>
<td>DN=ERG</td>
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<td>PN=ERG</td>
<td>uṣ₂</td>
<td>uren</td>
<td>šar-ša₂</td>
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<td>people</td>
<td>numerous-TL=L3.NH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us₂</td>
<td>zid</td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>b-dabš₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>path</td>
<td>right-TL=ABS</td>
<td>MOD=3.SG.H-L3-3.SG.H.KA-have/3.SG.P-TAKE=3.SG.A</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>b-dabš₂</td>
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<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>b-dabš₂</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>b-dabš₂</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(467) Gudea Cyl. B 5:20 (ETCSL 2.1.7) (Lagash, 22nd c.)

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Ši</th>
<th>iš-e</th>
<th>b-dabš</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>king</td>
<td>Ningirsu</td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>e=ša₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GN</td>
<td>GEN=EN=1.3.H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN=ERG</td>
<td>iš-e</td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>b-dabš₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ox fat sheep</td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>b-dabš₂</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(468) Gudea Cyl. B 5:20 (ETCSL 2.1.7) (Lagash, 22nd c.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PN</th>
<th>Ši</th>
<th>Ši₂</th>
<th>b-dabš₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>king</td>
<td>Ningirsu</td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>b-dabš₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GN</td>
<td>GEN=EN=1.3.H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN=ERG</td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>b-dabš₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ox fat sheep</td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>Ši₂</td>
<td>b-dabš₂</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15.4 Create causative forms from the following examples. Insert the god Ningirsu as the causer. You have to produce only the morphemic segmentation and glossing (2nd and 3rd line of the examples).
15. Please, explain the case-marking of the word "nin-hur-saj" in the following example!

Which word is cross-referenced by the composite locative2 prefix, and why?

(468) E-an-a-tum 1 obv. 4.24-26 (RIME 1.9.3.1) (Lagash, 25th c. BCE) (P222399)

"She (= Inana) has made him (= Eanatum) sit on the right knee of the goddess Ninhursaga."

15.6 Example (469) below is the only verbal form from the 3rd millennium BCE that does not obey Krecher’s rule about the number of composite adverbial prefixes in the prefix-chain as discussed in Lesson 6, section 6.3 above. What is wrong with it? Do you have any explanation?
Constructions involving an “extra” verbal participant

(469) E-ana-tum 1 rev. 5:32-36 (RIME 1.9.3.1) (Lagash, 25th c. BCE) (P222399)

\(\text{ānin-ki, nam-ne ma-ni-kus-ra,}\)
ninki nam=ane=∅ \(s_4m^{-3}_5a^{-5}_6n^{-5}_16s_11h^{-1}_5s_11kud^{-1}_5s_14a=e\)

\(\text{umma}^\text{hi}, \text{muš ki-ta girii-ba}\)
\(\text{umma}^\text{ak} \text{muš ki-ta=e girii=be=’a}\)
\(\text{GN=GEN snake earth=ABL=L3.NH foot=3.SG.NH.POSS=L2.NH}\)
\(\text{zu}_2 \text{he}_2-mi-du^3-du^3-e\)
zu=∅ \(s_1^5\text{ha}^{-1}_3s_4\text{m}^{-3}_5s_10b^{-5}_3s_11b^{-1}_5s_12du-du^{-1}_5s_14e\)
tooth=ABS MOD-FIN=3.SG.NH.L2-3.SG.NH.L3-hold~PF=3.SG.A

“(If he violates this agreement), may the goddess Ninki, by whom he has sworn, have snakes from the ground bite Umma’s feet!”

15.7 Transliterate the text of NG 205 obv. 1–13 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P111164) (a handcopy of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P111164) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the text with the help of Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to the verbal forms.
Lesson 16: Negation and modality

The modal prefixes of the finite verbal form may occur either in S1 or S2. The prefix /ḥa/- and the other modal prefixes differ in respect of whether they may co-occur with the finite-marker prefix. The prefix /ḥa/- may be followed by a finite-marker, the other modal prefixes may not. Consequently, this textbook assumes that /ḥa/- occurs in S1, while all the other modal prefixes occupy S2 and are in complementary distribution with the finite-markers. S1 also accommodates the negative particle. This lesson describes the most important uses of these morphemes, together with the imperative form of the verb, in which the verbal stem moves into S1 of the prefix-chain.

16.1 The negative particle

Indicative verbal forms are negated with the particle /nu/- prefixed to the verbal form. It is also used with non-finite verbal forms, see ex. (472) below. In finite verbal forms that would start with a finite-marker without the negative particle, the particle /nu/ is followed by a finite-marker. Its /u/ contracts with it, resulting in /ui/, which, however, is not always indicated in the writing as in ex. (470).

The vowel of the prefixed particle may occasionally assimilate to the vowel of the next syllable. Before a syllable /ba/- or /bi/- the prefixed particle changes to /la/- and /li/- respectively, see ex. (474) below; but the writing may not reflect this sound change, see ex. (473) below.

(470) BM 24108 rev. 2–3 (Lagash 21st c.) (P145596)
a-na-aš-ām₃,  nu-u₃-na-šum₂
"Why did not he give it to him?"

(471) MVN 11, 168 rev. 8 (Umma, 21st c. BCE) (P116181)
še  e₂-a  nu-mu-da-nal₂
še=∅  e='a  s₁nu₅₃mu₅₆*-s₄da₅₉n₅₁₂₅₁₀₂₉al₅₁₀∅
grain=ABS  house=1₁  NEG-VEN-1.SG-COM-L₁.SYN-exist-3.SG.S
"I have no grain in the house."; lit. "There is no grain in the house with me"

(472) Gudea Cyl. A 15:19 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (ETCSL 2.1.7)
kur  9t₂erin-na  lu₂  nu-k₄-ku₄-da
kur  erin=ak  lu=∅  nu-k₄-ku₂-ed=∅]=p₄,a
mountain=GEN  man=ABS  NEG-enter-PF-PF-3.SG.S=L₁
"into the mountain of cedars which no one is to penetrate"

(473) Gudea Statue B 5:4 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
am-a₂-ke₄  er₂  nu-bi₂-dug₄
amaerak=en  er=∅  s₁nu₅₁₂₅₁₀*-s₄₁₉n₅₁₂₅₁₀₂₉dug₅₁₀∅
wailling,woman=ERG  tears  NEG-3.SG.NH-L₂-3.SG.HA-speak-3.SG.P
"The wailing woman did not utter laments."

The particle /nu/- is generally thought to be used only for the negation of indicative forms, cf. “[nu] is not used if a modal form is to be negated, ....” (Edzard
2003: 114). Nevertheless, it may have modal meanings with present-future verbal forms, as in ex. (474) below.

(474) Gudea Statue E 9:6–12 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232278)
ki-gub-ba-be₂ lu₂ nu-zi-zi
kiguba=be=ø lu=e s₁₂nu₃-s₂₁zi-zi₃₄e
pedestal=3.SG.NH.Poss=ABS man=ERG NEG-FIN-rise~PF-3.SG.A
sa₂-dug₁=be₂ lu la-ba-ni-laa-e
sadug=be=ø lu=e s₁₂nu₃-s₂₁ni₃₁-b-s₁₄lal₃₅e
offering=3.SG.NH.Poss=ABS man=ERG NEG-MID-1.1-3.SG.NH.P-small-3.SG.A

“No one should lift its (= the statue of Gudea) pedestal, no one should curtail its regular offerings for himself”

The negative particle may also occur without any verbal form: the negative equivalent of a copular clause with a 3rd ps. sg. S and an enclitic copula is negated solely with the negative particle /nu/- and the negative clause contains no copula. An instructive example is ex. (475) below, where the first clause is negated with the particle /nu/-, while the second is negated with an independent copula prefixed with the negation particle /nu/-.

(475) Gudea Statue B 7:49–50 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
anal-e, u₃ kug nu
s₃[alan=e=ø] u pc[kug=ø] nu
s₃[statue=DEM=ABS] and pc[silver=ABS] NEG
za-gin₃ nu-ga-am₃
pc[zagin=ø] s₁₂nu₃-s₁₂nga₃₄me₃₅ø
pc[lapis.lazuli=ABS] NEG-FIN-COOR-COP-3.SG.S

“This statue is of neither silver nor lapis lazuli.”

The affirmative equivalent of the first clause would contain the 3rd ps. sg. form of the enclitic copula (*kug=ø=am-ø : silver=ABS=COP-3.SG.S), while the affirmative equivalent of the second clause would contain an independent copula because of the presence of a coordinator prefix in S3 (*₃₂i₃₂ nga₃₄ me₃₅ø : FIN-COOR-COP-3.SG.S). The difference in the way the two clauses are negated in ex. (475) is conditioned thus by the form of the copula in the corresponding affirmative clauses.

16.2 Modality
The linguistic literature on modality usually distinguishes two main types of modality: epistemic and deontic modality. Epistemic modality refers to the “evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring or has occurred in a possible world” (Nuyts 2001: 21). Deontic modality indicates the speaker’s degree of requirement of, desire for, or commitment to the realisation of the proposition expressed by his utterance.

The notions of epistemic and deontic modality were applied to Sumerian by Miguel Civil (2000) for the first time. This textbook follows him in using these notions, but the description given here is different from Civil’s. Table 16.1 below summarizes the uses of the modal prefixes; * refers to affirmative, - to negative forms.
Table 16.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EPISTEMIC</th>
<th>DEONTIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+/ha/</td>
<td>-/na(n)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-/ha/</td>
<td>+/bara/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-/ga/-/ha/</td>
<td>/na(n)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>/bara/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nuš/-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16.2 shows the correspondences between affirmative and negative forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EPISTEMIC</th>
<th>DEONTIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+/ha/</td>
<td>-/bara/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-/ha/</td>
<td>+/na(n)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-/ha/- (possible)</td>
<td>+/na(n)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>/bara/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperative

The imperative expresses a direct command. It is marked not by a prefix: in the imperative form of the verb, the verbal stem occurs in S1 instead of its usual position in S12, with the consequence that all verbal prefixes are positioned after the stem in imperative verbal forms. One could state that it is the verbal stem itself that is prefixed in imperative forms.

The imperative forms always use the preterite stem. The 3rd ps. sg. prefix /b/ cross-referencing a P may be missing from S11; the orthography, however, may not help in deciding this issue; so, for example, in ex. (476) below, only the writing du₃-ma, but not du₃-ma-ab is expected in the 23rd c. BCE. See, however, ex. (477) below, in which the /b/ is clearly indicated by the orthography. The imperative is negated with the modal-prefix na(n)-, see ex. (499) below.

(476) CUSAS 17, 13 2:1 (RIME 1.14.add21.01) (unknown, cca. 23th c.) (P251599)
e₂-ŋu₁₀ 
ŋu=ø 
s₁-du₅₄-m₅₅-a₅₁,b
house=1SG.POSS=ABS build-VEN-DAT-3NH.P
“Build up my temple for me!”

(477) NG 20 obv. 7 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P128442)
10 gi₄g₃ kug-babbar-am₃ šum₃-ma-ab,
10 gi₄g₃ kug-babbar-ø-am-ø ṣ₁šum₃₄₅₆₅₇₈₉₁₀b
10 unit silver=ABS=COP-3.SG.S give-VEN-DAT-3.SG.NH.P
“Give me ten shekels of silver!”

Singular S or A is not marked with any verbal pronominal affix, plural S or A is cross-referenced with the suffix /-nzen/ in S14. As the construction treats S and A alike, it can be said to have a nominative-accusative conjugation pattern. In imperative forms the finite-marker prefix is /a/-, see exxs. (478) and (479) below.
“Destroy his house!”

(NG 208 obv. 17 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P135570)
kišib-ŋu₁₀ zi-ra-ab
kišib=ŋu=∅ s₁zi₅₂王爷 ŝ₁₁₅₁
seal=1.SG.POSS=ABS break-FIN=3.SG.NH,P
“Destroy my sealed tablet!”

The prefix /ga/-

The prefix /ga/- occupies S2 of the verbal prefix-chain, it is in complementary distribution with the finite-marker prefix. The prefix /ga/- is only used is in 1st ps. sg. or pl. Its meaning can be paraphrased as “It is my/our intention to VERB”. It is characterised by a special construction that uses the preterite stem but cross-references the P with the final pronominal prefix in S11.¹⁹ As in present-future verbal forms the final pronominal prefix in S11 may be missing if the P is a 3rd ps. sg. non-human. Singular S or A is not marked with any verbal pronominal affix, plural S or A is cross-referenced with the suffix -/enden/ in S14. As the construction treats S and A alike, it can be said to have a nominative-accusative conjugation pattern. Modal forms with the prefix /ga/- are negated with the modal-prefix /bara/-, see ex. (494) below.

(NG 208 obv. 17 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P135570)
kišib-ŋu₁₀ zi-ra-ab
kišib=ŋu=∅ s₁zi₅₂王爷 ŝ₁₁₅₁
seal=1.SG.POSS=ABS break-FIN=3.SG.NH,P
“Destroy my sealed tablet!”

¹⁹ For a rare exception in a text from the first part of the 2nd millennium BCE, see ex. (50) above in Lesson, section 5.1.
Negation and modality — 173

(483) Lugal-zagesi 1 3:35–36 (RIME 1.14.20.1) (Uruk, 24th c.) (Q001379)

sipad $_s\text{an-gu-\text{-}gal\_}$, da-ri$_2$ ḫe$_2$-me
sipad sangugal=∅ dari=še $s_1$ḥa$^{-}_{512}$-$s_1$me=$s_1$en

shepherd foremost= ABS forever=TERM MOD-FIN-COP-1.SG.S

“May Lugalka hand it over to us!”

The prefix /ḥa/-

The prefix /ḥa/-, written with the grapheme HA, can be used as a marker of both epistemic and deontic modality. In finite verbal forms that would start with a finite-marker without the prefix /ḥa/-, the prefix is followed by a finite-marker. The vowel of the prefix then contracts with the finite marker /i/-, the contracted form, /ḥē/-, is written as a rule with the grapheme HE₂. The prefix /ḥa/- may also assimilate to the vowel of a following syllable, see, exx. (486) and (493) below.

As an epistemic marker, /ḥa/- can have a weak meaning: “it is possible that ...”, or a strong meaning: “it is a certainty/necessity that ...”. When it expresses epistemic possibility, then transitive verbs usually use the present-future tense, while when it expresses epistemic certainty, then the verb uses as a rule the preterite tense. An epistemic /ḥa/- in its weak meaning is negated with the modal prefix /na(n)/-, see, ex. (500) below; in its strong meaning with the prefix /bara/-, see, e.g., ex. (498) below.

Clauses with a verbal form prefixed with /ḥa/- expressing epistemic possibility are often to be translated as conditionals, like in exx. (484) and (485) below. In ex. (485), for example, the interpretations “if he strikes with it” and “if he breaks it” derive from the epistemic meanings “he may strike with it”, and “he may break it” respectively.

(484) Lugalbanda and the Anzud bird 106 (ETCSL 1.8.2.2)

dījr ḫe$_2$-me-en
dījr=∅ $s_1$ḥa$^{-}_{512}$-$s_1$me=$s_1$en
god=ABS MOD-FIN-COP-2.SG.S

“If you are a god, ....”

(485) The Axe of Nergal 9–11 (ETCSL 5.7.3)

ḫe$_2$-sag$_{-}ge$ a$_2$-ne$_2$ na-an-kuš$_2$-u$_3$,
$s_1$ḥa$_{-}_{512}$-$s_1$ag$_{-}_{514}$ $a$=ane=∅ $s_2$nan$_{-}_{512}$kuš$_{-}_{514}$∅
MOD-FIN-hit-3.SG.A arm=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS MOD-be.tired-3.SG.S

ḫe$_2$-eb$_2$-ta-ku$_{-}e$, ga-mu-na-ab-silim
$s_1$ḥa$_{-}_{512}$-$b$_3$sa$_{-}_{512}$ku$_{-}_{514}$ $g$a$_{-}_{512}$mu$_{-}$_$g$n$_{-}$_$g$a$_{-}$_$g$-$s_1$b$_{-}$_$s_1$b$_{-}$_$silim$

“If he strikes with it (= the axe), his arm cannot get tired; if he breaks it, I will repair it for him.”

As a deontic marker, the prefix /ḥa/- expresses a realizable wish, a request, or an advice. Transitive action verbs prefixed with a deontic /ḥa/- use the present-future tense.

(486) FaoS 19, Gir23 obv. 7–rev. 1 (Lagash, 23rd c.) (P217056)

'lugal-ka', ḫe$_2$-me-$šum$-mu
lugalka= $s_1$ḥa$^{-}_{512}$me$_{-}$_$g$a$^{-}_{512}$-$šum$-$s_1$e
PN=ERG MOD-1.PL-DAT-give-3.SG.A

“May Lugalka hand it over to us!”
As a marker of deontic modality expressing a realizable wish, /ḥa/- can be contrasted with the prefix /nuš/- which expresses an unrealizable wish: in ex. (489) below, Inana mourns the dead king Ur-Namma, and she knows that her wish may not be fulfilled.

(489) Ur-Namma A 213 (ETCSL 2.4.1.1)

sipad-šu₂₉ nu-uš-ma-an-ku₄-ku₄
sipad-šu₂₉ hi-li-a-ne₂
shepherd=1.SG.POSS=ABS nu-uš-ma-an-ku₄-ku₄=nuš₄-m₇₃₉₄₃₈₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁₄₃₈₄₅₁
When in the sequence of two clauses both use a modal form of the verb, then the second clause may often be translated as a purpose clause, as in exx. (492) and (493) below. A similar construction is also attested in Akkadian (see Huehnergard 1997: 147 [16.4]), so this construction may be another example of mutual influence between the two languages.

(492) Letter from Kug-Nanna to the god Ninšubur Segment B 6 (ETCSL 3.3.39)

\[ \text{ša} \text{g} _ { 1 } \text{ib-} \text{ba-zu} \text{ga-ab-ḫuŋ-e} \]

\[ \text{ša} \text{g} \text{ib-}^ { - } \text{a} = \text{zu} = \emptyset \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ} \text{a} \text{g} _ { 3 } \text{a} - \text{b} _ { 5 } \text{i} _ { 1 } \text{b} - \text{ḫuŋ-} \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 4 } \text{e} \]

heart angry-PT-2.SG.POSS=ABS MOD-3.SG.NH.P-pacify-3.SG.A

\[ \text{u} \text{r}_ { 3 } \text{zu} \text{ḥe} = \text{bur}_ { 2 } - \text{e} \]

\[ \text{u} \text{r} = \text{zu} = \emptyset \text{ṣ} \text{i} \text{a} - \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 3 } \text{bur}_ { 3 } \text{i} _ { 3 } \text{e} = \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 4 } \emptyset \]

liver=2.SG.POSS=ABS MOD-FIN-release-PF-3.SG.S

“Let me to soothe your angry heart, so that your spirit will be assuaged.”

(493) Ninurta G 66–68 (ETCSL 4.27.07)

\[ \text{kug} \text{ama} \text{id} \text{n} \text{a} \text{n} \text{še} \text{ṣ} \text{d} \text{u} \text{g} _ { 4 } - \text{g} \text{a} - \text{na} - \text{ab} \]

\[ \text{kug} \text{ama} \text{n} \text{a} \text{n} \text{še} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ} \text{i} \text{d} \text{u} \text{g} _ { 5 } - \text{ṣ} \text{a} - \text{a} - \text{ṣ} \text{n} _ { 7 } - \text{a} - \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 1 } \text{b} \]

holy mother DN speak-FIN-3.SG.H-DAT-3.SG.P

\[ \text{id} \text{u} \text{t} \text{i} \text{=} \text{gen} \text{a} \text{bad} \text{ḥ} \text{u} \text{m} - \text{mu} - \text{ri} - \text{in} - \text{gub} \]

\[ \text{id} \text{u} \text{t} \text{i} \text{=} \text{gen} \text{a} \text{bad-} \text{ḥ} \text{u} \text{m} - \text{ṣ} \text{u} \text{g} _ { 5 } \text{mu} = \text{ṣ} \text{a} - \text{r} _ { 5 } \text{i} _ { 1 } - \text{ṣ} \text{n} - \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 3 } \text{gub} = \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 4 } \emptyset \]


“The holy mother Nanše to cast her protecting arms over you as if she were the god Utu!”

The prefix /bara/-

The prefix /bara/- occupies S2 of the verbal prefix-chain, it is in complementary distribution with the finite marker prefix. The negative modality prefix /bara/- is used as the negative counterpart of both deontic /ga/- and strong epistemic /ḥa/-

When it negates a /ga/-form, then the verbal form is present-future as a rule, see also ex. (489) above. When it negates a /ḥa/-form, then the verbal form is preterite as a rule.

One can assume that all three verbal forms express the same kind of modality in ex. (494) below. The first two verbal forms use the prefix /ga/-, while the third the prefix /bara/-

The co-occurrence of these forms reveal that /bara/- may be used as the negative counterpart of /ga/-.

(494) BE 3/1, 4 obv. 4–6 (Nippur, 21st c.) (P105558)

\[ \text{e} \text{z} - \text{za} \text{g} \text{a} - \text{gub} \text{g} \text{a} - \text{am} _ { 3 } - \text{ta} - \text{e} \]

\[ \text{e} _ { 2 } - \text{zu} _ { 2 } - \text{a} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ} \text{a} - \text{g} _ { 3 } - \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 3 } - \text{gub} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ} \text{g} _ { 4 } - \text{ṣ} \text{a} - \text{m} _ { 3 } - \text{b} - \text{ṣ} \text{a} - \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 3 } - \text{e} \]


\[ \text{ba} \text{ra} - \text{ba} - \text{za} \text{ḥ} _ { 5 } - \text{de} - \text{e} _ { 1 } - \text{e} _ { 5 } - \text{e} \]

\[ \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ} \text{a} - \text{ṣ} \text{a} - \text{g} _ { 5 } - \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 3 } - \text{zah} _ { 5 } - \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 3 } - \text{e} \text{d} \text{e} - \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 4 } \text{e} \]

MOD-MID-run.away-PF-1.SG.S

“I will serve in your house, I will go out of it, but I will not run away!”

(495) E-ana-tum 1 obv. 20:2–21:1 (RIME1.9.3.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222399)

\[ \text{eg} _ { 2 } - \text{pas} - \text{be} _ { 2 } - \text{ṣ} \text{u} - \text{bala} - \text{ba} - \text{ra} - \text{ak} - \text{ke} \]

\[ \text{eg} \text{pa} - \text{be} = \text{e} - \text{ṣ} \text{u} - \text{bala} = \emptyset \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ} \text{ṣ} \text{a} - \text{ṣ} \text{a} - \text{b} - \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 3 } - \text{ak} - \text{ṣ} \text{i} _ { 4 } \text{e} \]

levee ditch=3.SG.NH.POSS=L3.NH change=ABS MOD-3.SG.NH.L3-make-1.SG.A

“I will (never ever) change its levees and ditches!”
The prefix /bara/- is also the negative counterpart of the prefix /ḥa/- when expressing epistemic certainty, meaning something like “certainly not” or “absolutely not”:

(496) TCTI 2, 3916 rev. 4–5 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P133112)
zi lugal  diri-ɡa-še₂₈ ba-ra-a-su
zi lugal-ak  diri-’a-še₂₈ s₂₉bara₋₃₁₋₃₆₈,₃₇,₃₈ₒ
life king=GEN exceed-PT=TERM MOD-1.SG.A-repay-3.SG.P
“By the king’s life! I certainly did not pay back too much!”

(497) MVN 6, 1 obv. 4–5 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P217677)
ur-lum-ma-ra,  lu₂₈ ba-ra-ba-du₁₉
urlummak=ra  lu=∅ s₂₉bara₋₃₂₋₃₆ₒ n₁₀(i)=∅ s₁₂du₋₃₄ₒ
PN=L₂.H person=ABS MOD-MID-3.SG.H=L₂.SYN-hold-3.SG.S
“Definitely no one detained Ur-Lumma.”

One can assume that all three verbal forms express the same kind of modality in ex. (498) below. The first two verbal forms use the prefix /bara/-, while the third one the prefix /ḥa/- in a strong epistemic meaning. The co-occurrence of these forms reveal that /bara/- may be used as the negative counterpart of /ḥa/-.

(498) Shulgi A 70–71 (ETCSL 2.4.2.01)
ni₂₉  ba-ra-ba-da-te  su₁₉ ba-ra-ba-da-zig₁₉
ni=∅ s₂₉bara₋₃₂₋₃₆ₒ ’₃₆da₋₃₂₋₃₇,₃₈ₒ su=∅ s₂₉bara₋₃₂₋₃₆ₒ ’₃₆da₋₃₂₋₃₇,₃₈ₒ
pirij  bani₋₁₃-da-gen;  guruš=ru-uš  ḫu-mu-bur₂₂-bur₂₂
pirij  banda-∅=gen  gurus=∅ s₁₃ḥa₋₃₄mu₋₃₁₋₃₂₋₃₇,₃₈₋₃₉da₋₃₂₋₃₇,₃₈ₒ
lion  banda-TL=EQU CVN=abs MOD-VEN-1.SG.A-glow’=PL-3.SG.P
“(I, the king, however,) could certainly not be scared, nor could I be terrified. I did rush forth like a fierce lion.”

The prefixe na(n)-
The prefix /na(n)/- occupies S2 of the verbal prefix-chain, it is in complementary distribution with the finite-marker prefix. The prefix /na(n)/- is used with dynamic transitive verbs in the present-future and with intransitive and stative verbs in the past tense. The negative modal prefix /na(n)/- has two basic functions. Firstly, it is the negative counterpart of the imperative:

(499) The instructions of Shuruppak 154 (ETCSL 5.6.1)
[kar]-kid  na-an-sa₁₀₋₃₁₋₃₂₋₃₉-an
karkid=∅ s₂₉na₋₃₁₋₃₂₋₃₇,₃₈ₒ sa₋₃₉,en
prostitute=ABS MOD-3.SG.H,P-buy~PF-2.SG.A
“Do not buy a prostitute!”

Secondly, it is the negative counterpart of the prefix /ḥa/- when expressing deontic modality. One can assume that both verbal forms express the same kind of modality in ex. (500) below. The first verbal forms use the prefix /na(n)/-, while the second the prefix /ḥa/- in a deontic meaning. The co-occurrence of these forms reveal that /na(n)/- may be used as the negative counterpart of deontic /ḥa/-.
The arguments for the separation of the two morphemes can be found in Attinger relict of knowledge inherited from ancient times.

In its epistemic meaning the prefix /na/- might have been largely supplanted by the prefix /ña/.

**Further readings**

The most important descriptions of the traditional approach to the modal prefixes in Sumerian are Edzard 1971 and 2003: 113–130. An important contribution to the topic is Attinger 1993: 288–297, who takes notice of many of the shortcomings of the traditional approach. Civil’s description with the introduction of the modern linguistic terminology can be found in Civil 2000.

In a number of grammatical environments the negative modal prefix /na(n)/- and the affirmative /na/- may be written with the same grapheme NA. The arguments for the separation of the two morphemes can be found in Attinger 1993: 289–291 and Jagersma 2010: 565–569. The most detailed study on the affirmative /na/- is the unpublished work of Ecklin (2005).

A description of the affirmative /na/- as a prefix of evidentiality is Marsal 2012.

**Exercises**

16.1 Look up the new words used in the examples of this lesson in Foxvog’s (2016b) or Volk’s (2012) glossary, and learn them.
16.2 Study the examples of this lesson carefully and make yourself familiar with their grammatical analysis.

16.3 Compare the examples below! Why does ex. (502) use the negated form of an independent copula; and why do the other two examples use only the /nu/ particle without a copula?

(502) NG 32 obv. 3 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P110613)
    arad  ur-di-š-šu-du-ša-ka  nu-uš-me-en₁₁
    arad  urkušbauk=ak=ø  s₁nu₃s₁₁me₄s₁₄en
    slave  PN=GEN=ABS  NEG-FIN-COP-1.SG.S
    “I am not a slave of Ur-Kuš-Bau.”

(503) E-ana-tum 1 rev. 10:23-25 (RIME1.9.3.1) (Lagash, 25th c.) (P222399)
    na-ru₂-a,  mu-be₃  lu₂-a  nu
    narua=ak  mu=be=ø  lu=ak  nu
    stele=GEN  name=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS  person=GEN  NEG
    “The stele’s name is not that of man.”

16.4 Explain the form of the negative prefix in the example below!

(505) Gudea Statue B 4:10 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
    usan=₁  la-ba-sag₃
    usan=ø  s₁₅nu₃s₁₁sag₃ø
    whip=ABS  NEG-MID-hit-3.SG.S
    “No one was whipped.”

16.5 Explain the meaning of the modal-prefix, the form of the locative3 prefix, and the tense of the verb in the following example!

(506) Gudea Statue B 1:17–19 (Lagash, 22nd c.) (P232275)
    sa₂-dug₄-na  e₂  nin-njirsu-ka-ta
    sadug=ane=₁a  e  ninjirsuk=ak-ta
    offer=3.SG.NH.POSS=L₂.NH  house  DN=GEN=ABL
    inim  ḫe₂-eb₂-gi₄
    inim=ø  s₁₅ha₃-s₂₁b₅s₁₀(i)>øs₁₂gi₃ø
    word=ABS  MOD-FIN-3.SG.NH=L₂.SYN-return-3.SG.S
    “May his regular offering in the temple of Ningirsu be withdrawn!”

16.6 Negate the following modal forms!

a)  iri  mete-na,  šu  ḫe-na-zig₃
    iri  nite=ane=₁a  šu=ø  s₁₃ha₃-s₅₁n₇s₅₁n₇s₁₃zig₃ø
    “May there be a revolt against him in his own city!”
b) ṣarza-ṣa\textsuperscript{2} mul an kug-ba
ṣarza=ṣu=ak mul an kug=be=\textsuperscript{a}
regulation=1.SG.POSS=GEN star sky holy=3.SG.NH.POSS=L2.NH

gu\textsuperscript{3} ga-mu-ra-a-de\textsuperscript{2}
gu=\textsuperscript{o} \textsuperscript{s3}g\textsuperscript{a}=\textsuperscript{m4}m\textsuperscript{a}-\textsuperscript{3}r\textsuperscript{a}-\textsuperscript{7}a\textsuperscript{5}t\textsuperscript{e}-\textsuperscript{3}l\textsuperscript{e}-\textsuperscript{3}de
voice=ABS MOD-VEN=2.SG=DAT=L2-pour

“Let me tell you the pure stars of heaven indicating my regulations!”

c) gud-gen\textsuperscript{7}, ud=ne-na ḥez-gaz
gud=gen ud=nê=\textsuperscript{n}a \textsuperscript{s1}ha\textsuperscript{3i}-\textsuperscript{3}l\textsuperscript{e}gaz-\textsuperscript{3i}\textsuperscript{a} ther=\textsuperscript{a}
ox=\textsuperscript{a} day=DEM=L1 MOD-FIN-kill=3.SG.S

“May he be slaughtered like an ox on the very day!”

d) urim\textsuperscript{3}-\textsuperscript{e} gil-sa-\textsuperscript{a}, ḥez-mi-ak
urim=\textsuperscript{e} gil\textsuperscript{Ṣa}=\textsuperscript{e} \textsuperscript{s1}ha\textsuperscript{3i}-\textsuperscript{3}l\textsuperscript{e}m\textsuperscript{55}b\textsuperscript{310}l\textsuperscript{e}n\textsuperscript{51}n\textsuperscript{51}ak-\textsuperscript{51}\textsuperscript{a}

“He donated indeed (the drained swamp) to Urim for ever.” = lit. “He made indeed Urim treat (the drained swamp) in the manner of a treasure.”

e) inim\textsuperscript{e}a ḥa-mu-da-gub
inim\textsuperscript{e}a \textsuperscript{a} \textsuperscript{s1}ha\textsuperscript{3i}-\textsuperscript{3}m\textsuperscript{56}l\textsuperscript{e}da\textsuperscript{5}n\textsuperscript{51}l\textsuperscript{e}gub-\textsuperscript{51}gub
word=DEM=L1 MOD-VEN=1.SG.COM-L1.MOD=SYN-stand=3.SG.S

“May she stand with me in this matter!”

f) an-ta ḥez-\textsuperscript{a}vil\textsuperscript{3}, \textsuperscript{a}ha-mu-ra-ta-\textsuperscript{a}nen
an-ta \textsuperscript{a} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}heg\textsuperscript{a}}l\textsuperscript{a}=\textsuperscript{a} \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}s1}ha\textsuperscript{3i}-\textsuperscript{3}m\textsuperscript{56}l\textsuperscript{e}da\textsuperscript{5}n\textsuperscript{51}l\textsuperscript{e}gub-\textsuperscript{51}gub
sky=ABL abundance=ABS MOD-VEN=2.SG=DAT=ABL=go=3.SG.S

“Abundance comes down to you from heaven.”

g) ni\textsuperscript{2} ki-en-gi-ra ba-a-gu\textsuperscript{a}
ni\textsuperscript{2} kengir=\textsuperscript{a} \textsuperscript{55}ba\textsuperscript{3i1}e\textsuperscript{3}l\textsuperscript{e}gul-\textsuperscript{51}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{=}=\textsuperscript{3}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{=}\textsuperscript{a}
thing homeland=1.L2.NH MID=L2-destroy=3.SG.S-SUB=ABS

kur-\textsuperscript{a} ga-am\textsuperscript{a}3-mi-ib-gu\textsuperscript{u}l
kur=\textsuperscript{a} \textsuperscript{s2}ga\textsuperscript{34}m\textsuperscript{3a}b\textsuperscript{310}l\textsuperscript{e}l\textsuperscript{51}b\textsuperscript{312}gul

“Whatever has been destroyed in the homeland, I shall destroy in the foreign lands!”

16.7 Please, look up the context of the following two exx. on the ETCSL website! Compare the use of the modal forms in them! Try to explain their use on the basis of what you have learnt in this lesson.

(507) Dumuzi’s Dream 91 (ETCSL 1.4.3)
nin-ṣu=\textsuperscript{u} sa=\textsuperscript{a} ka-an- suger ki-\textsuperscript{u} su=\textsuperscript{a} ga-\textsuperscript{a} n\textsuperscript{a} ab-pads-[\textsuperscript{a}]

“My sister, I will duck down my head in the grass! Don’t reveal my whereabouts to them!”
Negation and modality

(508) Dumuzi’s Dream 144 (ETCSL 1.4.3)
gus-li-ḫu₅ saŋ u₂-a ḫe₂-en-šub ki-ne₂ ba-ra-zu
“My friend must have ducked down his head in the grass, I have no idea about his whereabouts.”

16.8 Add morphemic segmentation and glossing to the following letter-orders, and translate them with the help of Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). For the numerical expression used in them you may consult ORACC’s preliminary description of metrological expressions (http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/doc/downloads/numref.pdf), or Powell’s entry in the Realexikon der Assyriologie (1987–90).

a) LEM 180 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P107192)

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<td>1. ḫa-mu-na-ab-šum₂-mu</td>
</tr>
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<td>2. u₃-na-a-dug₄</td>
<td>2. kišib₁-ba-ne₂-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 1(ban₂) zîz₂</td>
<td>3. ga-ab-ta-tur</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. lu₂-ṣiškur-ra</td>
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d) TCS 1, 128 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P111261)

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<td>2. u₃-na-a-dug₄</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. 2(u₂) 2(aš) gi₃ kug-babbar</td>
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<td>4. di̕iš-sukkal-ra</td>
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b) TCS 1, 269 (unknown, 21st c.) (P145756)

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<td>1. ū₂₂-e ū₂-ṣe₂n</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. u₃-na-a-dug₄</td>
<td>2. ga-na-ab-šum₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 1/2(diš₂) gi₃kug₄ babbar</td>
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<td>4. e₂-zid-ṣu₂₁₀</td>
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c) MVN 6, 429 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P114829)

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<tr>
<td>2. u₃-na-a-dug₄</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 2(u₂) 2(aš) gu₃gi₂zi</td>
<td>2. a-ma-ru-kam</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. di̕iš-sukkal-ra</td>
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<td>2. a₃ma-ru₃-kam</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. a-ba še₂-ṣu₂₁₀-ge₂</td>
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e) LEM 87 (Lagash, 21st c.) (P112518)

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<td>2. u₃-na-a-dug₄</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. ₅si₃-ṣar₂₂-kalam-ma</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ₄ur₃-me₂š₃</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. dumu lugal-ka-gi-na-me-eš</td>
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1. ḫa₃₂₃-e₂₃-ga₂₄ ²nin-e₂₂-gal-ka ša₄₃ mar- sa-me-eš
2. na-an-ba-na-a-du₃
Negation and modality

f) TCS 1, 142 (Nippur, 21st c.) (P145683)

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<td>1. a₂-an₂a-saŋja-kam</td>
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<td>2. tukum-bi</td>
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<td>3. ŋeš nu-ra-tug₂-ga</td>
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<td>4. lu₂-nin-šubur-ka-ra</td>
<td>4. e₂-ne₂-gul-a</td>
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<td>5. lu₂ is-ŋeš na-ne-zi-zi</td>
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<td>1. ḫe₂-na-dug₂</td>
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<td>2. a-na-aš-am₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. maš-gu-la-ra</td>
<td>3. nu-u₃-na-šum₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 1(geš₂) ŋe gur</td>
<td>4. ḫe₂-na-ab-šum₂-mu</td>
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<td>5. ŋum₂-mu₂-da</td>
<td>5. inim-be₂ na-ba-ab-gur-re</td>
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Transliterate the text of FaoS 19, Gir21 (Lagash, 23rd c.) (P213588) (a handcopy of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P213588) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the text with the help of Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to the verbal forms.

Transliterate the text of FaoS 19, Um5 (unknown, 23rd c.) (P215523) (a handcopy of the text can be found at http://cdli.ucla.edu/P215523) with the help of Volk’s sign list (2012). Translate the text with the help of Volk’s (2012) or Foxvog’s glossary (2016b). Assign morphemic segmentation and glossing to the verbal forms.
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Solution key to selected exercises

2.1

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<tr>
<td>{p}, {t}, {k}</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<td>{p}, {t}, {k}</td>
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<tr>
<td>{ṭ}, {q}</td>
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</table>

In Sumerian both series of stops were pronounced voiceless, their distinctive feature being aspiration. Consequently, both series were “heard” as voiceless by Akkadian native speakers. In Akkadian all three series of stops were pronounced without aspiration. Consequently, all three series were “heard” as sounds without aspiration by Sumerian native speakers.

2.2

Sumerian words were stressed on the last syllable. In group a) of the Sumerian loan words into Akkadian the last consonant of the original Sumerian word becomes geminated in Akkadian, making the penultimate syllable of the Akkadian word heavy. The stress on the last syllable of the original Sumerian word may thus also be retained in the Akkadian word. In group b) of the Sumerian loan words, the syllable structure of the Akkadian word did not have to be adapted, as the loaned Sumerian word’s long last vowel made the penultimate syllable heavy without any change.

2.3

a) {še} (term): ȵal₂, pad₃
b) {mi} (ven-3nh-loc2/3): gi₄, gur, tud
c) {ne} (loc1–3): ȵal₂, tar
d) {i} (fin): dim₂, tuš, gi₄, sig

3.2

a) nin-a-na-ke₄
nin=ane=ak=e
lady=3.SG.H.POSS=GEN=ERG

b) iri-ne₂
iri=ane=e
city=3.SG.H.POSS=ERG

c) nin dijin-re-e-ne
nin dijin=enē=ak=∅
lady god=PL=GEN=ABS

d) lugal-ŋu₁₀
lugal=ŋu=e
king=1.SG.POSS=ERG
e) nam-ti₃ šeš-a-ne-ne
   namtîl šeš=anêne=ak=ø
   life brother=3.PL.POSS=ABS

f) niŋ₂ šu-ŋa₂
   niŋ šu=ŋa=ak=ø
   thing hand=1.SG.POSS=GEN=ABS

g) arad₂-zu
   arad=zû=ø
   servant=2.SG.POSS=ABS

h) inim diŋir-re₂-ne
   inim diŋir=enê=ak=ø
   word god=PL=GEN=ABS

i) e₂ iri nam-lugal-ŋa₂-ka
   e iri namlugal=ŋu=ak=ak=ø
   house city kingship=1.SG.POSS=GEN=GEN=ABS

j) dumu ensi₂ lagasḫ₂-ka-ke₄
   dumu ensîk lagas=ak=ak=e
   child ruler GN=GEN=GEN=ERG

l) ama diŋir-re-ne-ke₄
   ama diŋir=enê=ak=e
   mother god=PL=GEN=ERG

m) lugal an-ub-da limmu₂-ba-ke₄
   lugal anûbda limmu=be=ak=e
   king quarter 4=3.SG.NH.POSS=GEN=ERG

n) diŋir-ŋu₁₀-gen⁷
   diŋir=ŋu=gen
   god=1.SG.POSS=EQU

o) šu maḫ-ne₂
   šu maḫ-ø=ane=ø
   hand mighty-TL=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS

p) mu-be₂
   mu=be=ø
   name=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS

q) diŋir-ra-na-ke₄
   diŋir=ane=ak=e
   god=3.SG.H.POSS=GEN=ERG

r) e₂-ne-ne
   e=anêne=ø
   house=3.PL.POSS=ABS
s) dinjir-re-ne
dinjir=enē=e
god=PL=ERG

t) bad₃ gal-be₂
bad gal-ø=be=ø
wall great=TL=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS

u) lugal-ne₂
lugal=ane=ra
king=3.SG.NH.POSS=DAT.H

3.3
a) p₁,lugalazida p₁,arad p₁,p₁,lugalkigal=p₅,ak]=p₅,ø
p₁,PN₁ p₁,slave p₁,p₁,PN=p₅,GEN]=p₅,ABS
“Lugal-azida, the slave of Lugal-kigal”

b) p₁,namlugal p₁,p₁,kiš=p₅,ak]=p₅,ø
p₁,kingship p₁,p₁,PN=p₅,GEN]=p₅,ABS
“the kingship of Kish”

c) p₁,biluda p₁,p₁,dinjir=p₄,enē=p₅,ak]=p₅,e
p₁,rite p₁,p₁,PN=p₅,GEN]=p₅,PL=3.NH
“the rites of the gods”

d) p₁,dinjir p₂,galgal-ø p₁,p₁,lagalš=p₅,ak]=p₄,enē=p₅,e
p₂,god p₂,big~PL=TL p₁,p₁,GN=p₅,GEN]=p₅,PL=ø=ERG
“the great gods of Lagash”

e) p₁,e=p₃,uju=p₅,ø
p₁,e=p₃.1.SG.H.POSS=p₅,ABS
“my temple”

f) p₁,namtil=p₂,ane=p₅,ø
p₁,life=p₃.3.SG.H.Poss=p₅,ABS
“his life”

g) p₁,kisura p₁,p₁,ninmirsuk=p₅,ak]=p₅,e
p₁,border p₁,p₁,PN=p₅,GEN]=p₅,PL=3.NH
“to Ningirsu’s border”

h) p₁,en p₁,p₁,aratta=p₅,ak]=p₅,e
p₁,lord p₁,p₁,PN=p₅,GEN]=p₅,ERG
“the lord of Aratta”

i) p₁,zapag=p₃,zu=p₅,ø
p₁,cry=p₂.2.SG.POSS=p₅,ABS
“your cry”

j) p₁,nu p₂,girin-ø=p₅,a
p₁,bed p₂,pure~TL=p₅,2.NH
“onto the flowery bed”
k) \( p_1 \text{a} \) \( p_2 \text{dug-} \text{e}=p_5 \text{ø} \\
\( p_1 \text{water} \) \( p_2 \text{sweet-} \text{TL}=p_5 \text{ABS} \)

“Sweet water”

l) \( p_1 \text{mesalim} \) \( p_4[p_1 \text{lugal} \ p_1 \text{kiš}=p_5 \text{ak}]=p_5 \text{e} \\
\( p_1 \text{PN} \) \( p_4[p_1 \text{king} \ p_5 \text{GN}=p_5 \text{GEN}]=p_5 \text{ERG} \)

“Mesalim, king of Kish”

3.4

a) 1. The child of his brothers
   2. The children of his brother

b) 1. The old donkey of my brother
   2. The donkey of my old brother

3.5

a) the plural-marker is not used with non-human nouns
b) it should be: \( p_1 \text{azu} \) \( p_2 \text{zid-} \text{ø} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{lugal}=p_5 \text{ak}]=p_4 \text{enē}=p_5 \text{ø} \)
c) the case-marker is missing at the end of the noun phrase

3.6

a) 1. The child of his brothers
   2. The children of his brother

b) 1. The old donkey of my brother
   2. The donkey of my old brother

4.4

a) \( p_1 \text{dum} \) \( p_2 \text{zid-} \text{ø} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{lugal}=p_5 \text{ak}]=p_4 \text{enē}=p_5 \text{ø} \\
\( p_1 \text{child} \) \( p_2 \text{true-} \text{TL} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{king}=p_5 \text{GEN}]=p_4 \text{PL}=p_5 \text{ABS} \)

b) \( p_1 \text{dum} \) \( p_2 \text{zid-} \text{ø} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{lugal}=p_5 \text{ak}]=p_4 \text{enē}=p_5 \text{ø} \\
\( p_1 \text{child} \) \( p_2 \text{true-} \text{TL} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{king}=p_5 \text{GEN}]=p_4 \text{PL}=p_5 \text{ABS} \)

4.5

a) \( p_1 \text{dum} \) \( p_2 \text{zid-} \text{ø} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{lugal}=p_5 \text{ak}]=p_4 \text{enē}=p_5 \text{ø} \\
\( p_1 \text{child} \) \( p_2 \text{true-} \text{TL} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{king}=p_5 \text{GEN}]=p_4 \text{PL}=p_5 \text{ABS} \)

b) \( p_1 \text{dum} \) \( p_2 \text{zid-} \text{ø} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{lugal}=p_5 \text{ak}]=p_4 \text{enē}=p_5 \text{ø} \\
\( p_1 \text{child} \) \( p_2 \text{true-} \text{TL} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{king}=p_5 \text{GEN}]=p_4 \text{PL}=p_5 \text{ABS} \)

g) \( p_1 \text{shepherd} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{anše}=p_3 \text{.SG.H.Poss}=p_5 \text{GEN}]=p_5 \text{ABS} \)

h) \( p_1 \text{shepherd} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{ama}=p_5 \text{ak}]=p_5 \text{ø} \\
\( p_1 \text{[} \text{donkey}=p_5 \text{.GEN}]=p_5 \text{ABS} \)

i) \( p_1 \text{shepherd} \) \( p_4 \text{[} \text{anše}=p_5 \text{.mas} \text{.pl}=p_5 \text{ak}]=p_5 \text{ø} \\
\( p_1 \text{[} \text{donkey}=p_5 \text{.GEN}]=p_5 \text{ABS} \)
Solution key to selected exercises — 199

4.5

a) p₁dubsar p₁lugal=p₁ak=p₅ø  
p₁scribe p₁king=p₅GEN=p₅ABS

p₁lugal=p₅ak  p₁dubsar=p₁ane=p₅ø  
p₁king=p₅GEN  p₁scribe=p₅3.SG.H.POSS=p₅ABS

b) p₁dumu p₁dam=p₁nu=p₁ak=p₄enē=p₅ø  
p₁child p₁spouse=p₁3.s.G.POSS=p₅GEN=p₄PL=p₅ABS

p₁dam=p₄nu=p₅ak  p₁dumu=p₁ane=p₄enē=p₅ø  
p₁spouse=p₄3.SG.H.POSS=p₅PL=p₅ABS

c) p₁arad p₁e p₁abba=p₁nu=p₁ak=p₅ø  
p₁servant p₁house p₁father=p₁3.SG.POSS=p₅GEN=p₅ABS

p₁e p₁abba=p₁nu=p₁ak=p₅ø  p₁arad=p₁be=p₅ø  
p₁house p₁father=p₁3.SG.POSS=p₅GEN=p₅ABS

d) p₁arad p₁e  p₁abba=p₁nu=p₁ak=p₅ø  
p₁servant p₁house p₁father=p₁3.SG.POSS=p₅GEN=p₅ABS

p₁abba=p₁nu=p₅ak  p₁arad p₁e=p₁ane=p₅ak=p₅ø  
p₁father=p₁3.SG.POSS=p₅GEN=p₅ABS

p₁servant p₁house=p₁3.SG.H.POSS=p₅GEN=p₅ABS

e) p₁kisal p₁lugal=p₁nu=p₁ak=p₅ø  
p₁courtyard p₁king=p₁3.s.G.POSS=p₅GEN=p₅ABS

p₁lugal=p₁nu=p₅ak  p₁kisal=p₁ane=p₅ø  
p₁king=p₁3.s.G.POSS=p₅ABS

g) p₁courtyard p₁lugal=p₁nu=p₁ak=p₅ø  
p₁king=p₁3.SG.H.POSS=p₅ABS

p₁lugal=p₁nu=p₅ak  p₁kisal=p₁ane=p₅ø  
p₁king=p₁3.SG.H.POSS=p₅ABS

p₁courtyard=p₁3.SG.H.POSS=p₅ABS

f) p₁lugal p₁kur=kur=p₁ak=p₅ø  
p₁king p₁land=pl=p₅GEN=p₅ABS

p₁lugal=p₁be=p₅ø  
p₁land=pl=p₅GEN  p₁king=p₁3.SG.H.POSS=p₅ABS

p₁kur=kur=p₅ak  p₁lugal=p₁be=p₅ø  
p₁land=pl=p₅GEN  p₁king=p₁3.SG.H.POSS=p₅ABS
4.6

Look for a noun phrase whose last case-marker is the genitive.

4.7

p1.barag p1[enlil=p1ak]=p5‘a
p1.barag p1[uatu=p5ak]=p5‘a
p1.dais p1[DN1=p5GEN]=p5L2.NH
p1.dais p1[DN2=p5GEN]=p5L2.NH

[p1.barag-barag p1[kiengir=p5ak]]=p5‘a
[p1.dais-barag p1[GN=p5GEN]]=p5L2.NH

or

[p1.barag-barag p1[kiengir=p5ak]]=p5‘a
[p1.dais-barag p1[GN=p5GEN]]=p5L2.NH

4.8

sipad udu siki-ka-ker-ne

5.3

a)

mu duumu-ne3 3-am3 ba-gub-ba-še3

mu s[dumu-ane=∅] pc[3=∅]=am-∅ ss-ba-gub-ss4=ss5=ak=še

5.4

a) 5 giŋ₁₄ kug-sig₁₇-am₃, 5 giŋ₁₄ kug-sig=ø=am-ø 5 unit gold=ABS=COP-3.SG.S

b) ensi iri 2-na-ke₄ ensik iri 2=ak=e ruler city 2=GEN=ERG

c) e₂-e  
  e=ø=ø  
  house=DEM=ABS  
  or

c) e₂-be₂  
  e=be=ø  
  house=DEM=ABS

d) eg₂-ba  
  eg=be=ak  
  canal=DEM=GEN

e) šag₄ iri ni₂-te-ne-ne-ka,  
  šag iri nite=anenē=ʾa  
  heart city self=3.PL.POSS=L1

f) me-a  
  meʾa  
  wh=L1
202 — Solution key to selected references

g) a-na-aš
   ana'=še
   what=TERM

h) kug-babbar na-me nu-mu-da-a-tuku
   kugbbar name=∅ nu-mu-'da-e-tuku-∅
   silver some=ABS NEG-VEN-1.SG=COM-2.SG.A-have-3.SG.P

i) a-ba-amō lu₂-ne-e
   aba=∅=am-∅ lu₂=nē=∅
   who=ABS=COP-3.SG.S person=DEM

k) e₂ ama-na ula-la-be₂
   e ama=ane=ak=∅ ul₃-a=be
   house mother=3.SG.H.POSS=GEN=ABS hurry-PT=3.SG.NH.POSS
   mu-du₁
   mu-n-du-∅
   ven-3.SG.H.A-build-3.SG.P

l) dumu lugal-la 3-am₃
   dumu lugal=ak=∅ 3=∅=am-∅
   child king=GEN=ABS 3=ABS=COP-3.SG.S

m) e₂ 3-kam-ma-ka
   e 3-kamak=’a
   house 3=ORD=L₁

6.3
a) s₄VEN₅₂IPP₅₁COM₅₁STEM₅₁pronominal suffix (composite comitative)
b) s₃MOD₃FIN₃IPP₃DAT₃₁FPP₃₁STEM₅₁pronominal suffix (composite dative)
c) s₄VEN₅₄IPP₅₁DAT₅₉ABL₅₂STEM₅₁pronominal suffix (composite dative, simple ablative)
d) s₄FIN₅₄IPP₅₁COM₅₁FPP₅₁STEM₅₁pronominal suffix (composite comitative)
e) s₅FIN₅₃L₁₃₁STEM₅₄pronominal suffix (simple locative1)
f) s₅MID₅₉TERM₅₁FPP₅₁STEM₅₁pronominal suffix (simple terminative)
g) s₄VEN₅₄IPP₅₁DAT₃₁₀L₁₃₁FPP₃₁STEM₅₁pronominal suffix (composite dative, simple
locative1)
h) s₃FIN₅₄IPP₅₇DAT₅₁STEM₅₁pronominal suffix (composite dative)
i) s₃MOD₃VEN₅₄IPP₅₁COM₅₁FPP₅₁STEM₅₁pronominal suffix (composite comitative)
j) s₄VEN₅₁₅₁FPP₅₁STEM₅₁pronominal suffix (simple locative1)
k) s₄VEN₅₄IPP₅₁TERM₅₁FPP₅₁STEM₅₁pronominal suffix (composite terminative)

6.4
a) s₄FIN₅₄VEN₅₅₃SG.H=SG.DAT₃₁₂give₅₁₄3.SG.A
   “She will give it to it.”

b) s₄VEN₅₆₃SG.H=SG.DAT₃₁₁₃SG.H=P₃₁₂speak.PF₃₁₄3.SG.A
   “He says to him: ‘...’”

c) s₄ANT₄VEN₅₅₃SG.H=SG.DAT₃₁₁₃SG.H.A=SG.DAT₃₁₂give₅₁₃SG.P
   “After she had given to it, ....”

d) s₅FIN₅₃₃SG.H=SG.ABL₃₁₁₃SG.H,A=SG.DAT₃₁₂place₃₁₄3.SG.P
   “She supplied them from it.”

“He built it in it for her.”

f) 闪过3.SG.H.DAT-3.SG.COM-3.SG.L-3.SG.enter-3.SG.S

“After you had entered to her into it with them.”

6.5

闪过3.Sg.n-3.SG.L-sa-sa-3.SG.en

“Do not buy her!”

闪过3.Sg.ba-3.SG.L-til-3.SG.

“May it come to an end!”


“After you had entered to her into it with them, ....”

闪过3.Sg.a-3.SG.L-xa-3.SG.L-gu-3.SG.en-3.SG.a

“From which he consumed it.”

闪过3.Sg.u-3.SG.nn-3.SG.L-xa-3.SG.L-suš-3.SG.

“After he had thrown it on him, ....”

闪过3.Sg.i-3.SG.nga-3.SG.L-sa-3.SG.en

“He also demolished it.”

闪过3.Sg.i-3.SG.nn-3.SG.L-shi-3.SG.L-sa-3.SG.en

“He bought her from them (lit. ‘bartered for them’).”


“They stepped forward to him with ....”

闪过3.Sg.u-3.SG.L-xa-3.SG.L-taka-3.SG.

“After he left her, ....”

闪过3.Sg.na-3.SG.L-kušu-3.SG.

“It cannot be tired.”

8.3

a) 闪过3.SG.H-de-ak, 闪过3.SG.H-sušu-ak, 闪过3.SG.H-dišir-be-ak

“Of their town, Shu-Suen is its protective god.”

b) 闪过3.SG.H-da-du maškim-be-ak

“Dadu was its commissioner.”


“As for Ninlil, you are the delight of her heart.”
d) en za-e-me-en lugal za-e-me-en  
en=Ø  ze=Ø-me-en lugal=Ø  ze=Ø-me-en  
lord=ABS  2.SG.PR=ABS=COP-2.SG.S  king=ABS  2.SG.PR=ABS=COP-2.SG.S  
“The lord is you, the king is you.”

e) “ers-ra-ga-ši-ir, dumu nibru₃-kam,  
erragašir=Ø dumu nibru=ak=Ø-am-Ø  
PN₁=ABS  child  GN=GEN=ABS=COP-3.SG.S  
er-sag-га, ḥa-mu-na-šum₂-mu  
ursaga=ra  ḥa-mu-nn-a-n-šum-e  
PN₂=DAT.H  MOD-VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-3.SG.H.P-give-3.SG.A  
“May he hand over Erra-gashir, (who is) a citizen of Nippur, to Ursaga!”

f) sipad-me  e₂  mu-du₁  
sipad=Ø=me-en  e=Ø  mu₁-du-Ø  
shepherd=ABS=COP-1.SG.S  house=ABS  VEN-1.SG.A-build-3.SG.P  
“I, the shepherd, have built the temple.”

g) ṗutu-am₁ an-šag₃-ge  im-si  
putu=am anšag=Ø  i-m-b-si-Ø  
DN=STM  heaven=13.NH  FIN-VEN-3.SG.NH.L3-fill-3.SG.S  
“It fills the midst of the heavens like the god Utu.”

h) meš₃ zid-dam kurun₃ kug  mu-un-il₂  
meš zid-Ø=am kurun kug-Ø=Ø  mu-n-il-Ø  
“He bears holy fruits like a true mesh-tree.”

i) dijir an  ki-a  za-e-me-en  i₃-zalag-ge-en  
dijir an  ki=ak=Ø  ze=Ø-me-en  i₃-zalag-en  
god sky earth=GEN=ABS  2.SG.PR=ABS=COP-2.SG.S  FIN-shine-2.SG.A  
“It is you who illuminates for the gods of heaven and earth.”

8.4

a) ud=be=a  gudea=Ø  ensik  lagaš=ak=Ø-am-Ø  
day=DEM=L1  PN=ABS  ruler  GN=GEN=ABS=COP-3.SG.S

b) ninjirsuk=ak  ensik=Ø  lu šag=ane=ak=Ø-am-Ø  
DN=GEN  ruler=ABS  person  heart=3.SG.H.POSS=GEN=ABS=COP-3.SG.S

c) lugal=Ø-me-en  e  gal-Ø  dijir mah-Ø=nu=enê=ak=Ø  
king=ABS=COP-1.SG.S  house  great-TL  god  mighty-TL=1.SG.POSS=PL=GEN=ABS  
mu₁-du-Ø  VEN-1.SG.A-build-3.SG.P

d) aba=Ø=am-Ø  ze=Ø-me-en  
who=ABS=COP-3.SG.S  2.SG.PR=ABS=COP-2.SG.S

e) ninjirsuk=Ø  dijir  mah-Ø  gudea  ensik  lagaš=ak=Ø-am-Ø  
DN=ABS  god  mighty-TL  PN  ruler  GN=GEN=GEN=ABS=COP-3.SG.S

f) ensik  lagaš=ak=Ø  ze=Ø-me-en  
ruler  GN=GEN=ABS  2.SG.PR=ABS=COP-2.SG.S
Solution key to selected exercises — 205

g) dikud lugal=ak 7=be=ø=me-eš
judge king=GEN 7=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS=COP=3.PL.S

h) sag-ʾa=ø=am-ø
kind-PT=ABS=COP=3.SG.S

i) dam=nu=ø nu
spouse=1.SG.POSS=ABS NEG

j) lugal urim=ak=ø nu-i-me-en
king GN=GEN=ABS NEG-FIN-COP=2.SG.S

k) lugal urim=ak=ø nu
king GN=GEN=ABS NEG

l) lugal urim=ak=ø nu-i-nga-me-eš
king GN=GEN=ABS NEG-FIN-COOR-COP=3.PL.S

m) e=ane=ak ningirsuk=ø dijar=be=ø=am-ø
house=3.SG.H.POSS=GEN DN=ABS god=3.SG.NH.POSS=ABS=COP=3.SG.S

n) anše=am kugsig=ø mu-n-il-ø
donkey=STM gold=ABS VEN-3.SG.H.A-bear-3.SG.P

8.5

9.3
a) mu-ni-n-ak-ø

b) mu-r-a-n/b-mu-ø

c) i-nn-i-b-gi-gi-ø
FIN-3.SG.H.L2-3.SG.NH.P-return~PF-3.SG.A
or
c) i-n-ši-gi-gi-ø
FIN-3.SG.H.L2.SYN-return~PF-3.SG.A

d) mu-r-a-n-du-ø

e) m-a-b-šum-e
VEN-DAT-3.SG.NH.P-give-3.SG.A

g) ba-ni-b-gin-enē
MID-L1-3.SG.NH.P-confirm-3.PL.A
or
g) ba-n-gin-enē
MID-L1.SYN-confirm-3.PL.A
h) b-i-b-nä-nä-enē
   3.SG.NH-L2-3.SG.NH,P-place~PF-3.PL.A
or
h) i-b-(i>)nä-nä-enē
   FIN-3.SG.NH-L2.SYN-place~PF-3.PL.A

i) gu=ø m-a-n-sig-eš

j) mu-nn-a-b-dim-e
    VEN-3.SG.H-DAT-3.SG.NH,P-create-3.SG.A

k) sizkur=ø s₄mu-nn-a-n-dug-ø

10.6
a) kug ƞatumdug-ra mu-nn-a-ere-eš
b) umma=`a ki=`nu=`a i-b-(i>)tuš-ø
    GN=L2.NH place=1.SG.POSS=L2.NH FIN-3.SG.NH-L2.SYN-sit-3.SG.S

c) ensik=be=ø s₄mu-n-ug-ø

d) gud=be=ø nu-mu-n-da-n-laḥ-ø

e) lugalkeš=da i-n-da-tiš-ø
    PN=COM FIN-3.SG.H-COM-live-3.SG.S

f) nagsu=`e hazanum=ø mu-nn-a-n-tum-ø


g) inim=be=`a ḷa-mu=`da-n-sug-eš
    word=DEM=L1 MOD-VEN-1.SG-COM-L1.SYN-stand.PL-3.PL.S

h) en ninjirsuk=ra mu-nn-a-da-gub-ø

11.3
a) enmerkar=ra ṭeštug=ø i-m-ba-nn-a-šum-ø
    PN=DAT.H ear=ABS FIN-VEN-mid-3.SG.H-DAT-give-3.SG.S

b) šag iri=ane=ak=`a ḷa-ba-n-gaz-ø
    heart city=3.SG.H.POSS=GEN=L1 MOD-MID-L1.SYN-kill-3.SG.S

c) sašušgal=ø u-ba-n-(i>)šuš-ø
    battle.net=ABS ANT-MID-3.SG.H-L2.SYN-cover-3.SG.S

d) —
Solution key to selected exercises — 207

15.4

a) ninjirsuk-e
   DN=ERG
   lu inim=ak saŋ sa’=a=ak=še mu-nnē-a-n-ta-e=ø

b) ninjirsuk-e ensik=ra e=ø mu-nn-i-n-du-ø

c) ninjirsuk-e e=da lugal=ø ᵃⁱᵐ-b-da-n-hul-ø

d) ninjirsuk-e e= ø i-m-b-a-n-ηen-ø

e) ninjirsuk-e amarsuenak lugal=ra urbilm=ø mu-nn-i-n-hul-ø

e) e=ø i-m-ba-r-a-du=ø
   house=ABS FIN-VEN-MID-2.SG-DAT-build-3.SG.S

f) e=ø i-m-ba-du₃₁₄=ø
   house FIN-VEN-MID-build-3.SG.S

g) —

11.5

The two verbal forms differ only in the grammatical gender of the participant in the dative. This results in a different allomorph of the ventive prefix (/mu/ vs. /m/); and the latter allomorph of the ventive in turn requires the presence of the finite marker.

12.3

In the first example the personal name ends with a closed syllable, the form of the comitative enclitic is therefore =/da/. In the second example the personal name ends in a vowel, the form of the comitative enclitic is therefore =/d/, the short /a/ drops. The writing of this =/d/ would require a VC sign, AD, which is not used.

15.3

išmedagan lugal kengir kiuri=ak=e ud ninurta
PN king GN GN=GEN=ERG day DN
ursan kalag=ane=ø maškim=še mu-n-tuku₃₁₄=ø₃₁₅’a=a
hero strong=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS deputy=TERM VEN-3.SG.H.A-have-3.SG.P-SUB=L1
uŋ šar=ø=e
people numerous-TL=ERG
us zid=ø=ø ḥa-i-b-dab-e
path right-TL=ABS MOD-FIN-3.SG.NH.P-take-3.SG.A

gud i udu i=ø e=e i-b-dab-ø
ox fat sheep fat=ABS temple=ERG FIN-3.SG.NH.A-receive-3.SG.P
15.5
The example demonstrates the phenomenon external possession. The word "nin-hur-saŋ" is in human locative2. It is cross-referenced by a composite locative2 prefix in the verbal prefix-chain. Ninhursag is the inalienable possessor of the word dub "knee" in the clause. It is, however, not in P3 of the noun phrase whose head is dub "knee". It is a separate constituent and occupies a sentence-initial position; P3 of dub "knee" is filled by a resumptive pronominal enclitic that agrees in person, gender, and number with the possessor (=ane : 3.SG.H.POSS). Both the possessor ("nin-hur-saŋ") and the inalienable possessum (dubs) are in the locative2 case. The composite locative2 prefix of the verbal form shows agreement with the human possessor, but not with the possessum.

15.6
The dative prefix apparently precedes the 3rd ps. sg. IPP. The example may indicate that the structure of the verbal prefix-chain is the result of a long process.

16.3
The negative equivalent of a copular clause with a 3rd ps. sg. S and an enclitic copula is negated solely with the negative particle /nu/- and the negative clause contains no copula. The first example is in the 1st ps. sg., so it has to be negated with a negated form of the the independent copula.

16.4
Before a syllable /ba/- the prefixed negative particle /nu/- changes to /la/-.

16.5
The modal prefix /ha/- has a deontic meaning expressing a wish. The verbal form is intransitive, S11 contains no FPP. Consequently, the composite 3rd. ps. sg. non-human locative2 prefix becomes syncopated. Intransitive and stative verbs prefixed with /ha/- always use the preterite tense in whatever function, epistemic or deontic, the prefix is used.

16.6

a) iri mete-na, šu na-na-zi-zi
dub=n=शु=नानाके ZI-SG=GEN, hand=ABS MOD-3.IN.PF.SG.NA.SA.

"May there be no revolt against him in his own city!"

b) npj=za-na mul an kug-ša
nej=za=ng=कुगशा=ZI-GEN, STAR=SG

"I will not tell you the pure stars of heaven indicating my regulations!"

c) gu3 ba-ra-mu-ra-a-de-ša
voice=ABS MOD-VEN-2.IN.PF.SG.MA.

"He should not be slaughtered like an ox on the very day!"
d) urimš-e gil-sa-āš, ba-ra-mi-ak
   urim-e gilsa=ēš

   “He certainly did not donate (the drained swamp) to Urim for ever.”

e) inim-ba nam-mu-da-gub-be₃
   inim=be='a
   word=DEM=L1 MOD-VEN=1.SG-COM-L1.SYN-stand-PF-3.SG.S

   “May she not stand with me in this matter!”

f) an-ta ḥe₂-nal₂ ba-ra-mu-ra-ta-ṣen
   an-ta ḥenal=∅
   sky=ABL abundance=ABS MOD-VEN=2.SG-DAT-ABL-go-3.SG.S

   “Abundance certainly does not come down to you from heaven.”

g) nij₂ ki-en-gi-ra ba-a-gu-la
   nij kengir=‘a
   thing homeland=1.L2 destroy=3.SG.S
   kur-ra ba-ra-amš-mi-gu-ul-le-en
   kur='a
   kur=ra
   foreign.land=1.L2 MOD-VEN=3.SG,NH-L2-3.SG,NH.P-destroy-1.SG.A

   “Whatever has been destroyed in the homeland, I shall not destroy in the foreign lands!”

16.7
In the first clause of the first example the 1st ps. speaker expresses his intention to duck down his head. His second clause is a negated imperative. In the first clause of the second example, the speaker expresses epistemic certainty. His second clause is negated epistemic certainty.

16.8
a) ḥa-buš-bus₃, uš-na-a-dug₄,
   ḥabubu-ra

   1(ban₂) zizz, lu₂-āšškur-ra, ḥa-mu-na-ab-šum₂-mu,
   1 zizz=∅ luiskur=ra
   1 emmer=ABS PN=DAT.H MOD-VEN=3.SG,H-DAT-3.SG,NH,P-give-3.SG.A

   kišib-ba-ne₂-ta, ga-ab-ta-tur
   kišib=ane=ta
   tablet=3.SG,H.POSS=ABL MOD-3.SG,NH-ABL-small

   “Please tell Habibu: He should give 10 litres of emmer wheat to Lu-Ishkur! I will deduct it from his tablet.”
b) ur-šara₂  u₁-na-a-dug₄,  1/2(dīš)  gi₂₃  kug-babbar
uršara=ra  s₁u₆₃nn₅₃a₅₁₃e₅₁₃dug₅₁₃ø  1/2  gi₂₃  kugbabbar=ø
PN=DAT.H  ANT-3.SG.H-DAT-2.SG.A-speak-3.SG.P  1/2  unit  silver=ABS

ez₂-zid-ŋu₁₀,  ḫa-na-ab-šum-mu
ezidgu=ra  s₁ha₃₂₁-i₆₃nn₇₃a₅₁b₇₁₂šum₃₁₄e
PN=DAT.H  MOD-FIN-3.SG.H-DAT-3.SG.NH.P-give-3.SG.A

“Please tell Ur-Shara: ‘He should give 660 kilograms of fodder reed to Dingir! I myself, when he comes, will give it back to him!’”

c) lugal-gu₂-gal-ra,  u₁-na-a-dug₄,  2(u)  2(aš)  gu₂  gi-zi
lugalgugal=ra  s₁u₅₃n₅₃s₅₁₃a₃₁₃e₅₁₃dug₅₁₃ø  22  gu  gizi=ø
PN=DAT.H  ANT-3.SG.H-DAT-2.SG.A-speak-3.SG.P  22  unit  reed=ABS
dipir-sukkal-ra,  ḫe₂-na-ab-šum₂-mu
dipirsukkal=ra  s₁ha₃₂₁-i₆₃nn₅₃a₅₁b₇₁₂šum₃₁₄e
PN=DAT.H  MOD-FIN-3.SG.H-DAT-3.SG.NH.P-give-3.SG.A

na-mi-gur-re,  a-ma-ru-kam
š₂nan₅₃m₃₁₃b₇₁₂ši₃₁₄i₆₃gur₃₁₄e  amaru=ak-ø-am-ø
a-ba  šeš-ŋu₁₀-ge₂
aba=ø  šeš-ŋu=gen

who=ABS  brother=1.SG.POSS=EQU

“Please tell Lugal-gugal: ‘He should give 660 kilograms of fodder reed to Dingir-sukkal! He should not bring up this again! It is urgent! Who is like my brother?’”

d) lu₂-šara₂,  u₁-na-a-dug₄,
lušarak=ra  s₁u₆₃nn₅₃s₅₁₃a₅₁₃e₅₁₃dug₅₁₃ø

₃ur-₃am₃a,  u₁₃  ba-zₗ₃,  lu₂  na-an-ba-du₃
urlam₃a  u₁₃  baza=ra  lu=ø  s₁₂₃₉₅ba₅₁₃n₅₁₃(i>)ø₅₁₃du₅₁₃ed₅₁₃ø
PN₂  and  PN₁=2.LH  person=ABS  MOD-MID-3.SG.H-L₁₂.SYN-HOLD-PF-3.SG.S
ze₂-e-me  maškim-a-ne₂,  ḫe₂₁-me
ze=ø-me-en  maškim-ane=ø  s₁ha₃₂₁-i₆₃me₃₁₄en

2.SG.PR=ABS=COP-2.SG.S  deputy=3.SG.H.POSS=ABS  MOD-FIN=COP-2.SG.S

“Please tell Lu-Shara: ‘No one should detain Ur-Lamma and Baza! It is you who should be their (lit. ‘his’) bailiff!’.”
Solution key to selected exercises — 211

e) 
na-ne₂-ra¹, u₃-na-a-dug₄,
nane-ra ₃₄u₅₆₇₈₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉₉°
g)  
na-ne₂, u₃-na-a-dug₄, maš-gu-la-ra
nane=ra ₃₁u₃-hn-₃₅a₃₇₁e₃₅₁₂dug₃₄ø mašgula=ra
PN₁=DAT.H ANT-3.SG.H-DAT-2.SG.A-speak-3.SG.P PN₂=DAT.H
1(geš)  şe gur, ‘šum₂-mu’-da, ḥe₂-na-dug₄
60  şe gur=ø  šum-ed’-a ₃₁ḥa₃₁₂-h₃₅nn-₃₅a₃₇₁’₂₃₁₂dug₃₁ø
60  barley  unit=ABS  give-PF=1₂.NH MOD-FIN-3.SG.H-DAT-1.SG.A-speak-3.SG.P
a-na-aš-am₁,  nu-u₃-na-šum₂
ana=še=am-ø ₃₁nu₃₅₁-h₃₅nn-₃₅a₃₇₁n₃₅₁šum₃₁ø
ḥe₂-na-ab-šum₂-mu
₃₁ḥa₃₁₂-h₃₅nn-₃₅a₃₇₁b₃₁₂šum₃₁e
MOD-FIN-3.SG.H-DAT-3.SG.NH,P-give-3.SG.A
inim-be₂  na-ba-ab-gur=re
inim-be=ø ₃₂nan₃₅ba₃₁₁b₃₁₂gur₃₁e
word=DEM=MID-3.SG.NH,P-return-3.SG.A

“Please tell Nane: ‘I did tell him to give 18,000 liters of barley to Maš-gula! Why did not he give it to him? He must give it to him! He should not bring up this issue again!”